

*Renate Schlesier (Ed.)*

# **A DIFFERENT GOD?**

**DIONYSOS AND  
ANCIENT POLYTHEISM**



A Different God?



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Dionysos and Ancient Polytheism

Edited by  
Renate Schlesier

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## Preface

Is Dionysos different? For many modern writers he was, all the more when they were avant-garde artists or adventurous scholars. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, he started to be conceived, especially under the auspices of romanticism, almost as a modern god, in any case not a figure confined to remote times and people long dead. Until now, to judge from contemporary culture and recent scholarship, he has not become outdated or *démodé*.

But what about antiquity? Classicists used to consider Dionysos historically a “new”, a “late”, a “foreign” god – as he was labelled by influential ancient authors like Euripides – until sometime in the twentieth century, when he emerged from the decipherment of Linear B tablets of the second millennium B.C. as one of the oldest Greek divinities. But this made the quality of ‘strangeness’ traditionally ascribed to him, and not so much to other gods, even more challenging. One is still compelled to ask: was Dionysos perceived by the ancients as distinguishing himself generally or even radically from all the other gods? Which spheres did he occupy, in comparison to other divinities, together with or in contrast to them? And which impact do the changing paradigms of modern scholarship, as well as the kaleidoscope of modern art and literature, have on our understanding of this god?

These questions were at stake at an international conference held in the Pergamon Museum Berlin on 25–28 March 2009 and entitled “A different god? Dionysos and ancient polytheism”. The present volume contains, mostly in expanded form, all the papers and the visual documentation presented at this conference. It also includes elaborated versions of the statements pronounced during the conference by Walter Burkert, Susanne Gödde and Susanne Moraw at a round-table discussion. In addition, papers by research scholars of the project “A different god: constructions of the modern Dionysos” (Michael Konaris, Oliver Leege, Roberto Sanchiño Martínez and, as senior scholar, myself), which were not delivered at the conference for reasons of limited schedule, are published here as well. Beginning with the keynote lecture of Glen Bowersock who inaugurated the conference in a splendid fashion, the papers are arranged in this volume under the following thematic or chronological captions: “Newborn Dionysos as model”, “Differences and common features”, “Dionysiac realms in perspective”, “Specific media of transmission”, “Theatre and the polis of Athens”, “Hellenistic and roman paradigms”, “Modern reflections”.

The Dionysos project in the frame of which the conference was planned, started in 2005 at the Institute for the Study of Religion at the Freie Universität Berlin. It is part of the Collaborative Research Center “Transformations of antiquity”, financed by the German Research Foundation (DFG) and institutionally located at the Humboldt Universität Berlin. A first public initiative of this project was – already the great international Dionysos conference in view – the organization, in collaboration with Agnes Schwarzmaier and her colleagues from the museum staff of the Berlin Antiquity Collection (Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz), of the exhibition “Dionysos – Transformation and Ecstasy”<sup>1</sup> at the Pergamon Museum, which opened on 4 November 2008 and ran, with an extension resulting from its great success, until 24 January 2010. From the material exhibited there, the conference of March 2009 took great profit. Furthermore, it was a much welcomed coincidence that the Pergamon Museum simultaneously put on display another exhibition, “The return of the gods: Berlin’s hidden Olympus”, thematically supplementing the Dionysos exhibition and likewise showing exclusively objects of Berlin’s rich Antiquity Collection.

The conference took its cue from the observation that in modern scholarship and art, Dionysos often appears to be atypical for ancient culture, an exception within the context of ancient polytheism or even an instance of a difference that anticipates modernism. The task was therefore to find out how contemporary scholarship can achieve a more precise understanding of the diverse transformations of this ancient god from Greek antiquity to the Roman Empire. Scholars from all branches of classical studies and from eight countries – France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Switzerland and the United States – followed the invitation to confront this task. These scholars were deliberately chosen from three categories: first, a representative group of well-known international experts in the study of Dionysos was requested to take a fresh glance on material or theoretical issues already treated by them and to re-investigate their own earlier treatments; second, international specialists in other areas of the Classics were urged to take the study of Dionysos into consideration and to apply to it their expertise; third, junior scholars were encouraged to contribute to the future of the study of Dionysos with their skills. As was our hope, the combined effort of these scholars has eventually led to new insights into the history of interpretation between antiquity and today, vase paintings and other archaeological monuments, sanctuaries, rituals and religious-political institutions like theatre. This includes new material and new readings of the texts of ancient poets, historians and philosophers, as well as of papyri and inscriptions.

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1 Catalogue: Schlesier/Schwarzmaier (2008).

To my great satisfaction, the intention to join most disciplines of the Classics in this conference volume has been realized: represented are not only the history of ancient religion, Greek and Latin literature, ancient history and classical archaeology, but also the history of ancient philosophy, theatre and economy, the study of visual art and architecture, papyrology and epigraphy, as well as the history of modern scholarship and the history of antiquity's transformation in literature and culture or even in recent performances of the *Bacchae*. Inescapably, the informed reader will miss some scholars internationally renowned in the field of the study of Dionysos. Yet those scholars, too, some of them, regrettably, unable to participate, are in a way present in this volume, with the lasting impact of their works, often cited and discussed.

It must be emphasized that controversies were not avoided here, but rather welcomed and stimulated, as were contrasting looks at the same materials or themes, not least concerning the visual evidence, the connections between Dionysos and women, or the issue of epiphany. Should the diversity of sources or methods and the challenge of previous views prove capable of yielding a far-reaching, innovative and richly faceted account of the “different” god, the main goal of this book will have been reached.

As for previous scholarship, one of the most important former accounts is supplied by the volume “Masks of Dionysus” of 1993, edited by Thomas Carpenter and Christopher Faraone, which documented a conference held at Blacksburg, Virginia, in October 1990.<sup>2</sup> A significant part of the authors of the present volume participated already in this unforgettable event. To a lesser extent, this is also true for the later conference held in Madrid in February 2010 (some of us met there once more) which was organized by Alberto Bernabé and will soon result in a publication, forthcoming in 2012, entitled “Redefining Dionysus”. By contrast, the aim of the present book is not to ‘redefine’ Dionysos, but to put this god and his sphere into perspective, to point out their boundaries and transgressions alike. This perspective mainly relates to two contexts: the context of the ancient polytheistic culture and the context formed by a plethora of individual and often very specific views on a great variety of topics, belonging to the particular scopes of ancient societies, but also to those of later cultures. One of the starting points of this volume is the methodological proviso that these individual views are not to be understood as merely mirroring dominating conceptions or common social experiences, but rather as reflections, in an intellectual sense, of mainstream as well as other conceptions and experiences, though some of those may seem odd or isolated or exceptional.

This proviso extends also to polytheism, chosen as the focal point for all the aspects of Dionysos considered here. One should be aware of the fact that

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2 Carpenter/Faraone (1993).



polytheism, much like the more recent label monotheism, is not a concept developed in those ancient societies in which the idea of a single creator god was still unheard of. This is not to deny that the concept of polytheism may have heuristic value if applied to a culture in which many gods are venerated in a multitude of local cults and talked about in innumerable stories, conventionally designated as myths, imaginative stories which were present in all genres of ancient literary tradition and visual art. Yet as it were, the logic of polytheism has sometimes been overestimated in scholarship. *Pace* structuralism, it turns out not to be a binary one. Furthermore, it seems more promising today to be attentive to its “inconsistencies” (Versnel) and its “illogic”,<sup>3</sup> too. In this respect, Dionysos is likely to be a particularly intriguing, and none the less specifically illuminating, case in point. Doubtless, he is a multi-faceted god. But does this make him different, in the context of ancient polytheism? Quite the contrary, because this is a quality he shares with every other Greek god or goddess, all of them multi-faceted and each one connected with several and often overlapping spheres of influence or function. Is he not different at all, then? Such a conclusion would be no less misleading than the presumption that multifariousness was a privilege reserved to him. Recent scholarship prepared us to acknowledge that all of the most prominent Greek divinities were multi-faceted in their particular way. And it is actually some, if not all, of the multiple facets of Dionysos which are explored in this volume in order to grasp his particular multifariousness – in the realm of the ancient world, but also in the minds of modern artists or scholars, including ourselves.

Since a comparable endeavour has not yet been previously undertaken in the same way, the present volume was planned to be, in many respects, as comprehensive as possible, without limiting access to it through higher pricing. To my great pleasure, this wish was met by the publisher, De Gruyter (Berlin/Boston), and especially by the senior editor of its classics division, Dr. Sabine Vogt, who, in an incomparable way, supported and assisted the publication process from the start to the end with untiring professional and personal energy. Her generous and extremely effective advice and help in resolving a multitude of problems which surfaced during this process was invaluable, and I gladly express my deepest gratitude here. The publisher allowed, and encouraged, the inclusion of a large section with the pictorial evidence discussed in this volume, consisting of 122 figures on 68 plates (a considerable number of them in colour). This part of the book, in particular, profited much from the skill of De Gruyter’s production editor Florian Ruppenstein whom I owe special thanks. An exhaustive appendix includes both the full bibliography of all the works cited and a particularly detailed index, in which all kinds of names mentioned, all ancient evidence discussed

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3 Parker (2005) 6.

and many termini technici employed or treated in this book are listed. All this, I hope, will be, in addition to the articles published here, helpful for further scholarship.

It goes without saying that I owe the greatest debt of gratitude to the authors of this volume. Several of them have been friends for many years or even decades, and almost all the others are personal acquaintances whom I encountered during common research experiences in the past and continue to encounter. I feel all the more indebted to them and obliged to thank them for their collaboration and patience or, in some cases, for their continued willingness to submit their papers despite many constraints. As for the conference on which this book is based, further words of gratitude are in order: without the support of the German Research Foundation for the Collaborative Research Center of which our Dionysos project is part, the conference would not have been possible. Its success was guaranteed by a large amount of financial resources, the majority of them coming from an amalgam of institutions of the Freie Universität Berlin, of which only the main will be mentioned here: above all, the University's research office with its head Ellen Fröhlich and with Angelika Apostel, the Center for International Cooperation with its former head, Dr. Dorothea Rüländ, and also the Excellence Cluster "Topoi. The formation and transformation of space and knowledge in ancient civilizations" with its previous head Prof. Dr. Friederike Fless. Last but not least Prof. Dr. Andreas Scholl, the director of the Antikensammlung, must receive our particular thanks here since he permitted to reproduce objects from the Berlin collection and offered for our conference, as a very generous host, the hall just beneath the Pergamon altar.

A book such as this necessarily needs rather technical help as well. As for some of the images, this support was provided by François Lissarrague, by Susanne Muth's team at the Archaeological Institute of Humboldt University, and by Yvonne Schmuhl from Munich's Antiquities Collection, to all of whom I am very grateful. Concerning the English versions of the articles submitted by non-native speakers, Fabian Meinel has to be singled out whose efforts in bringing the textual revisions to conclusion were especially valuable. The scrupulous readings of Kosta Tsilimekis – who was also responsible for the technical organization of the conference – and of Ulrike Zellmann, during the first steps of proof correction, deserve many thanks, too. The compilation of the bibliography, integrating all individual reference lists, profited from the assistance first of Roberto Sanchiño Martínez and then of Matthias Flaig and Guido Nerger. The task of preparing the basis for the index of the book was courageously and efficiently carried out by the youngest collaborators, Marius Lackner and Tobias Petry, to whom I also express my warmest gratitude. Inevitably, it cannot be excluded that, despite multiple checking, errors remain, and for these, of course, I assume full responsibility.

Some words, finally, about several editorial decisions which are not self-evident. These concern mainly spelling and quotation rules, but also the index which does not distinguish between text and footnotes, since in most cases the textual discussions continue in the notes. The names of ancient authors, the titles of ancient books and the abbreviations of these names and titles follow, for the most part, the conventions of the third edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Exceptions to this rule involve authors or titles of works transmitted from antiquity only in the form of fragments. The same distinction has been applied to ancient geographical names: of these, the most widely documented are given according to the *interpretatio latina* spelling or else in their English form, while the rest is just transliterated from the Greek. On the other hand, personal names, with the exception of the names of most ancient authors, but also mythic and cultic names or termini technici are transliterated by the Latin letters that correspond to the Greek alphabet. Phonetical transliteration is not employed here. The usefulness of such a transliteration system is questionable, since it depends on pronunciation rules of modern languages. Yet, besides the avoidance of phonetical transliteration throughout, a complete consistency in terms of spelling is not achieved in this volume or even intended. A relative consistency as described above, related to the same kind of names or material, has been considered more appropriate for the multinational readership we hope to assist. German and English, the two languages in which the articles of the volume are written, probably need no justification as traditional idioms of scholarship, widespread enough. At all events, the use of more, no less traditional, languages was excluded for publishing reasons.

This book presents Dionysos as an emblematic god – not only emblematic for modern transformations of antiquity, but also for a wide range of fields characteristic of ancient Greek religion and culture in its entirety. He was an integral part of ancient polytheism and this polytheism is not conceivable without him. Perhaps the specific difference of Dionysos, in this realm, consists in the fact that this god and his features are particularly ‘good to think with’, if only in order to include into the scholarly reflecting upon the main qualities of the Greek gods – their anthropomorphism, their eternally youthful immortality, and their great but restricted power<sup>4</sup> – a variety of irregularities and contradictions which have long been considered as scandalous or even repelling, but are still fascinating and provocative.

Berlin, October 2011

Renate Schlesier

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4 Cf. Henrichs and Bremmer in: Bremmer/Erskine (2010).



## Newborn Dionysos as Model



## Infant Gods and Heroes in Late Antiquity: Dionysos' First Bath

*Glen W. Bowersock*

We gathered in Berlin to consider the possibility of a “different god”, and so I turn here to a surprising but little remarked difference in the representation of Dionysos, the god who is at the center of our deliberations. This is a difference not only from his own story but also from every other divine narrative down to the moment it appears. It arises in the context of the god's infancy as it had been told since the earliest times. We all know that Dionysos was twice-born, untimely ripped from the womb of his dying mother and then brought to term in the thigh of his father, Zeus. Once the baby had emerged into the light of day, he was taken up by Hermes and presented for care to some nymphs who often kept company with a Silenos. The baby is frequently represented in classical and Hellenistic art either with Hermes (fig. 1) or with the nymphs, sometimes even on the lap of one of them. From this stage Dionysos was quickly seen to have matured into the seductive youth that is one of his many guises in ancient iconography.

Over many centuries scenes from the god's infancy were confined to those moments with Hermes and the nymphs. His post-natal days evidently held little interest apart from the escort service of Hermes and the attending nymphs to whom he delivered him, as already in the Homeric hymns. No significant episode appears to have marked the life of the infant Dionysos, nothing remotely comparable to the well documented and well illustrated story of the baby Herakles strangling a snake. Dionysos seems to have gone directly from Zeus' thigh by way of Hermes and the nymphs into a willowy adolescence.

Yet from the Augustan age onwards something new and altogether different shows up in the iconography of this complex god, an episode that was not only an important addition to the older tradition but equally an episode for which there was nothing at all comparable in the entire Greek pantheon. Suddenly we are confronted with the ritual of the baby's first bath upon entering the world. As far as I am aware, no god, whatever the circumstances of birth, had been depicted before as undergoing a cleansing

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What follows corresponds to the keynote address of the Dionysos conference, delivered at the Pergamon museum Berlin, 25 March 2009.

bath to wash away the traces of delivery. Even Nonnos, whose compendium of legends about Dionysos in forty-eight books embraces traditions of many epochs and nations, has nothing more to say in his elaborate account of the two births in Book Nine than that after the second birth Hermes entrusted the tiny god to the nymphs before he was washed: ἀχυτλώτοιο διαΐσσοντα λοχείης.<sup>1</sup> This is the only allusion of any kind in the Dionysiac texts to bathing the infant god, and not even Nonnos describes the bath.

But it appears on the side of a silver skyphos from the House of Menander at Pompeii (fig. 2) and on a sarcophagus in the Capitoline Museum (fig. 3) from the first century of our era. These are the first known examples, in the very long history of Dionysiac iconography, of the bath of the infant Dionysos or indeed of any infant divinity or hero. It is impossible to say which of the two examples has priority, although obviously the Pompeian skyphos can be no later than 79. But we can say with confidence that on the basis of extant evidence this motif never appears before the Roman Empire. Ernst Kitzinger once claimed with reference to the skyphos, in a paper on the bathing of the baby Jesus in Byzantine art, that the Dionysos example must have had its origins in the Hellenistic age.<sup>2</sup> But he offered no reason whatever for that supposition, and it is little more than a scholar's natural disinclination to believe that the first surviving example of a motif must indicate the time of its creation. But with two examples from the first century and none before, it does look as if something different had been added about that time to the repertoire of Dionysos narratives.

The first bath of the god spread widely after it was introduced. It appears in the late first and second centuries on a sarcophagus in Munich (fig. 4) and, far away from Italy, at least twice in Asia Minor – on the relief of the *scaenae frons* of the theatre at Perge (fig. 5) and of the theatre at Nysa (fig. 6). The ancient connection of the name Nysa with one of the nymphs who looked after the infant Dionysos must have spread from the town of that name in the Maeander Valley to the great city of Pamphylia in the south.

Something else surprising happened as a result of this new iconography. It was taken over in the representations of the birth of Alexander the Great, whose travels in India had already dramatically enlarged the narratives of Dionysos' world travels. The impact of Alexander on the life-story of Dionysos is well known, but the retrojection of a Dionysiac motif into the Alexander iconography only occurs with the first bath.

In 1957 and 1959 the Emir Chéhab published an exceptional series of mosaics about Alexander from Suweidiye in the vicinity of Ba'albek, ancient Heliopolis in the mountains of Lebanon. One illustrates the moment after his

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1 Nonnos, *Dion.* 9.25.

2 Kitzinger (1963) 100–101.

birth (fig. 7). With Olympias looking on, a nymph washes the newborn child in a conical vessel that is very close in appearance to the one in the Dionysos scenes. This Lebanese mosaic is unique, but there is no doubt about what is depicted there, since Olympias, Alexander, and the nymph are all identified by labels in Greek. Nothing in the Alexander literary tradition mentions the first bath. The *Historia Alexandri Magni*, normally assigned to Pseudo-Callisthenes, is eloquent on the delayed parturition of Olympias, so as to assure the right astrological moment for the birth of a world conqueror. The celestial welcome for the child through thunder and lightning is duly noted, but not a word about a bath. In this case it would be impossible to see a transference from the Alexander story to Dionysos, as with the Indian travels. Once Dionysos had conferred a kind of divinity upon Alexander by taking over his fabulous journeys, it seems that Alexander's reputation profited from a subsequent innovation in the Dionysos narrative.

Nor was the infant Alexander the only heroic figure in the Roman Empire to appropriate the new episode in the Dionysos story. The Trojan hero Achilles, who, with his Homeric notoriety, had already become an object of cult in classical Greece and the Troad, also was worshipped as a god in the Black Sea area under the name of Achilleus Pontarches.<sup>3</sup> A long tongue of land, the Tendra spit, near Olbia even bore the name of "The Racecourse of Achilles (Ἀχιλλέως δρόμος)", and his cult acquired still wider prominence in the imperial period.

The life and exploits of Achilles were the subject of a grand epic by the Flavian poet Statius, who adds for the first time in extant literature a now famous detail about the infant Achilles.<sup>4</sup> To ensure invulnerability his mother Thetis dips him in the river Styx, but unfortunately, because she grasps him by the ankle as she does so, he, like Siegfried a millennium later, went through life with one spot on his body that would be vulnerable to a mortal attack. It would be rash to assume that Statius invented the story of Achilles' heel, but on present knowledge he is the first to mention his immersion in the river. This was not a first bath or a baptism, but it bore features of both. Its appearance in roughly the same time-frame as Dionysos' first bath is inescapable. Before long, the infant Achilles was also given his own first bath, and thenceforth the parallel with Dionysos became very close.

Something interesting is obviously going on here, but it is not easy to say what it is. The placing of an infant god or hero in a rounded vessel for his first bath, and the immersion of a future hero in a potent river as a protection against lethal weapons, all occur too early to postulate the slightest influence from the gospel stories of baptism. In fact the earliest representations of Jesus'

3 See now Hupe (2006).

4 Statius, *Achil.* 1.134, 269.



first bath, which come in the early middle ages, undoubtedly mirrored what was by then old Dionysiac imagery. The bath of the infant Jesus is not found before the eighth century in the Oratory of Pope John VII within the old St. Peter's at Rome. The ancient literary tradition for Dionysos, Achilles, and Alexander is totally silent on the first bath. But whatever the provocation for such a new item in the biography of a god or hero under the Roman Empire, it is abundantly clear that this detail was welcomed and enthusiastically perpetuated. I believe it may be possible to find a plausible explanation for the appearance of this motif and, on the basis of that, to investigate its exceptional popularity in late antiquity.

The Pompeian provenance of one of the two earliest illustrations of the bath of the infant Dionysos points to Campania. Augustus took a well publicized interest in the Greek culture of this region and, in a dramatic gesture on the island of Capri, he asked Greeks to dress as Romans and Romans as Greeks. Suetonius reports that he even mandated each to speak the other's language.<sup>5</sup> Although this must have been for some festive occasion, it clearly signaled the support of the first *princeps* for a revival of Hellenic traditions in Campania within the framework of the Roman state. Certainly in 2 B.C. or slightly later the city of Naples established a festival of Greek competitions on the Olympic model, the *Italica Rhomaia Sebasta Isolympia*. These coincided with what Cassius Dio called a deliberate effort to foster Greek culture at Naples, and the Italian *Sebasta* soon became a staple fixture in the itineraries of athletes in the Roman Empire. The city's hellenization under Augustus also included the introduction of a totally new cult of Dionysos, administered by Greek-speaking Romans. Epigraphical testimony for this cult, which begins only under Augustus, reveals a significant innovation, the cult of the bearded youth Dionysos *Hebon*, who is known from no other part of the ancient world.<sup>6</sup>

Many centuries later Macrobius took note of this exceptional worship of Dionysos at Naples as part of its fourfold annual commemoration of the god's entire lifecycle from birth to old age. The cycle began with the god's birth on the shortest day of the year, the winter solstice, *quod tunc brevissimo die veluti parvus et infans videatur*.<sup>7</sup> Hence the creation of a Neapolitan Dionysiac cult in the context of Greek culture in Campania, with its explicit renewal each year from the god's birth and infancy, provides by far the most reasonable context for the introduction of the imagery of the first bath. The silver skyphos from Pompeii, a town that lay close to Naples, would fit comfortably into this context. If it does, the bath as the first part of a lifecycle would then have

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5 Bowersock (1965) 84. Suet. *Vita Aug.* 98.3.

6 For a full discussion of this cult, see Bowersock (1998).

7 Macrobius. *Sat.* 1.18.9.

spread from Campania across both the west and the east, as we can see in Munich and Perge. This interest in a lifecycle narrative starting with infancy may have spawned the subsequent innovation of Thetis' dipping Achilles in the river Styx. Since this follows so closely upon the first, it is hard to believe that it happened by simple coincidence.

What follows after these early beginnings is a widespread growth in pictorial narratives of the lifecycles of both Dionysos and Achilles. The parallel of the Achilles story with that of Dionysos becomes only reinforced over time, as the infant Achilles too is given a first bath even before his immersion in the Styx. The late antique interest in the infancy of both the god Dionysos and the hero Achilles can be observed in a series of striking images on mosaic, silver, and ivory.

At Sepphoris in third-century Palestine a large floor mosaic in an opulent house of a rich leading citizen, perhaps even the Jewish Patriarch (as Zeev Weiss has suggested),<sup>8</sup> depicts a drinking bout of Dionysos and Herakles in its central panel (fig. 9). A series of encompassing frames around the central scene represents episodes in the lives of these two figures. But there is relatively little about Herakles – only a humiliating scene of vomiting after too much drink, and a moment of aggression against a woman. Nothing appears from his infancy, no strangling of a snake, nor any allusion to his legendary labors. He is clearly the less successful partner in the drinking competition, and we are left in no doubt that this is a celebration of Dionysos. He appears triumphant in a large panel of drunkenness that matches the one for Herakles without any trace of embarrassing behavior. He also appears in other surrounding panels for his first bath, his education at the hands of the nymphs of Nysa, his wedding banquet with Ariadne, and a euphoric bacchic procession. Dionysos is not only the superior divinity in this mosaic: he is presented, unlike Herakles, with a series of the incidents of his lifecycle. The first bath is given a prominent place in the mosaic carpet and identified by the words Διονύσου λουτρά (fig. 10). By the time this mosaic was laid down the first bath of the infant Dionysos had clearly become an essential part of his story in the Near East.

The bath is equally prominent in the celebrated mosaic panels in the House of Aion at New Paphos on Cyprus about a century later. The first of six episodes in the life of Dionysos shows Hermes with the infant god in his lap awaiting the first bath, with Nysa in attendance along with the other nymphs and allegorical figures (fig. 8). The iconography of this panel is open to considerable discussion, but many, including myself, see such a close parallel to early Christian images of the virgin and child as to imply a reverse borrowing of Christian imagery into a pagan context.<sup>9</sup> This imagery can be documented

8 Talgam/Weiss (2004).

9 Bowersock (1990) 52.

in the catacomb of St. Priscilla at Rome more than a century and half before the Cyprus mosaic, but in any case whether such a view can be sustained or simply reflects a shared tradition has no bearing on the exceptional prominence assigned here to the first bath. As the first of the six panels to be read in tracing the life of Dionysos in this mosaic, it appears as the defining moment in bringing the god into the world, and this sets the Roman and late antique representation of him altogether apart from the entire repertoire of images from the classical and Hellenistic periods.

If we compare the infancy of Achilles in this later period, the images move in parallel with those of Dionysos. The integration of Achilles' first bath into a series of narratives comprising his career is closely connected with a lively cult of that hero in late antiquity. Two magnificent pieces of silver,<sup>10</sup> from roughly the same period as the New Paphos mosaics, are dedicated to the lifecycle of Achilles. One is a famous dish from the Kaiseraugst treasure (fig. 11 and fig. 12), and the other the now notorious dish from the so-called Sevso treasure (fig. 13 and fig. 14), which remains to this day in the vaults of an auction house and inaccessible to the general public. Both pieces of silver have a central medallion showing the disguised Achilles on Skyros at the moment he is called to arms and reveals his true identity. The episode on Skyros, one of the most famous instances of cross-dressing in ancient mythology, was clearly popular in the Roman and late antique periods. We know that one of the scholarly riddles that intrigued the emperor Tiberius was the name that Achilles took when he lived among the women of the island,<sup>11</sup> and the centrality of the Skyros scene both on the Kaiseraugst plate and the Sevso plate confirms that the story continued to attract attention.

Around the border of both the Kaiseraugst and Sevso pieces are other scenes from the life of Achilles. Both plates depict the first bath, although only the Kaiseraugst border also depicts Thetis as she dips her baby in the river Styx. This is because the Sevso border is not confined to the story of Achilles. But the two representations of the first bath are very similar and include a round bowl that served as a tub. The bath seems to signify the arrival of a divine being, just as it did in the Ba'albek mosaic of the birth of Alexander, and the iconography is consistently that of Dionysos, who seems to have served as the prototype.

If we now go back to the mosaics at New Paphos on Cyprus, we find in the so-called House of Theseus one surviving panel of a large floor mosaic that was devoted to the life of Achilles. It is a splendid depiction of Thetis and Peleus observing the first bath of their son (fig. 15). The elaborate design of this image constitutes a pendant to the bath of the infant Dionysos in the

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10 On the social implications of late antique silver, see Leader-Newby (2004).

11 Suet. *Tib.* 70.3.

House of Aion and reinforces the link between the god and the hero that has dominated this inquiry into the infancy of both. By this date the cult of Achilles that had long been flourishing in the Black Sea regions of Achilleus Pontarches acquired new strength in those traditional areas where it had arisen in classical times. When Julian went to the plains of Troy with the bishop Pegasius we know from a well known letter that the emperor wrote to a pagan priest that both Julian and Pegasius were surprised and moved to discover a flourishing cult of Achilles there: "They have set up a figure of the great Achilles in the unroofed court [...]. Now I found that the altars were still alight, I might almost say still blazing."<sup>12</sup>

An extraordinary set of ivory plaques, discovered in 2002 by Petros Themelis in leather pouches at Eleutherna in Crete, repeats the imagery of the birth of Achilles within the framework of a lifecycle for the hero (fig. 16). These ivory carvings can be dated to the middle of the fourth century and are therefore roughly contemporaneous with both the Kaiseraugst and the Sevso silver.

Even more impressive is the hymn that the neo-Platonic philosopher Syrianus composed to celebrate Achilles after the hero was held responsible for saving Athens from destruction during a series of devastating earthquakes (Zosimus 4.18.1–4; transl.: G.W.B.):

(1.) Τούτου τελευτήσαντος (Valentinian I) ἐμπεσὼν τῷ Σιρμίῳ σκηπτὸς τὰ βασιλεία κατέφλεξε καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν, ἔδοξέ τε τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα κρίνειν δεινοῖς οὐκ αἴσιον τοῖς κοινοῖς πράγμασιν εἶναι τὸ τέρας· καὶ σεισμοὶ δὲ ἐν τισὶ συνηνέχθησαν τόποις. (2.) Ἐσείσθη δὲ καὶ Κρήτη σφοδρότερον, καὶ ἡ Πελοπόννησος μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος, ὥστε καὶ τὰς πολλὰς διαρρυῆναι τῶν πόλεων, πλὴν τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς· ταύτην δὲ καὶ περισωθῆναι φασὶν ἐξ αἰτίας τοῖσδε· Νεστόριος ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις ἱεροφαντεῖν τεταγμένος ὄναρ ἐθεάσατο παρακελευόμενον χρῆναι τὸν Ἀχιλλεῦ τὸν ἦρωα δημοσίαις τιμᾶσθαι τιμαῖς· ἔσεσθαι γὰρ τοῦτο τῇ πόλει σωτήριον. (3.) Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκοινώσατο τοῖς ἐν τέλει τὴν ὄψιν, οἱ δὲ ληρεῖν αὐτὸν οἶα δὴ ὑπέργηρων ὄντα νομίσαντες ἐν οὐδενὶ τὸ ῥηθὲν ἐποίησαντο, αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν λογισάμενος τὸ πρακτέον καὶ ταῖς θεοειδέσιν ἐννοίαις παιδαγωγούμενος, εἰκόνα τοῦ ἦρωος ἐν οἴκῳ μικρῶν δημιουργήσας ὑπέθηκε τῷ ἐν Παρθενῶνι καθιδρυμένῳ τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀγάλματι, τελῶν δὲ τῆς θεῶν τὰ συνήθη κατὰ αὐτὸν καὶ τῷ ἦρωϊ τὰ ἐγνωσμένα οἱ κατὰ θεσμόν ἔπραττε. (4.) Τούτῳ τε τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς τοῦ ἐνυπνίου συμβουλῆς ἔργῳ πληρωθείσης, ἐπιβρίσαντος τοῦ σεισμοῦ μόνους Ἀθηναίους περισωθῆναι συνέβη, μετασχούσης τῶν τοῦ ἦρωος εὐεργεσιῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς· ὅτι δὲ τοῦτο ἀληθές ἐστι, μαθεῖν ἔξεστι δι' ὧν ὁ φιλόσοφος Συριανὸς διεξῆλθεν, ὕμνον εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἦρωα γράφων· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀνάρμοστα τοῖς προκειμένοις ὄντα παρέθηκα.

(1.) After his death a thunderbolt that fell upon Sirmium burnt up the palace and the agora, and to expert judges in such matters it seemed that this portent was inauspicious for public affairs. Furthermore earthquakes occurred in various places.

12 Julian. *Ep.* 79, pp. 85–86 Bidez.

(2.) Crete too was shaken rather violently, along with the Peloponnese and the rest of Greece, with the exception of the city of Athens and Attica. It was said that this region was saved for the following reason. Nestorios, who was the designated hierophant at that time had a dream instructing that it was necessary to honor the hero Achilles with public honors. This would save the city. (3.) When Nestorios informed the authorities of his vision, they thought he was babbling like the very old man he was and took no account of what he said, but he himself, reckoning what needed to be done and being experienced in divine designs, constructed a small image of the hero in his temple and placed it at the feet of the statue of Athena seated in the Parthenon. Carrying out the customary rituals for the goddess at the same time as for the hero he accomplished the rite that had been ordained for him. (4.) In this way the admonition of the dream was really carried out, and when the earthquake occurred it happened that only the Athenians were saved along with all Attica, which shared in the benefactions of the hero. That this is the truth can be learned from the account of Syrianus the philosopher, who wrote a hymn in honor of this hero. I have added this story because it is not inappropriate for my enterprise.

Zosimus reports here that after earthquakes and other natural disasters in the Balkans and in Greece an aged hierophant called Nestorios had a dream advising that salvation for the city of Athens lay in cultic honors for Achilles. When the city priests decided that Nestorios was simply senile, they chose in consequence to do nothing, whereupon the old man himself fashioned a small image of the hero and offered the appropriate rites. The city was thus protected, and the episode served as the basis of Syrianus' hymn, which Zosimus explicitly mentions.

Although the hymn itself does not survive, we are lucky to have a fragment of another hymn to Achilles from his traditional haunt in Berezan in the northern Black Sea. From the three elegiac couplets of this poem, as preserved on stone (fig. 17) and edited by Heinz Heinen, we can gain a glimpse into a lost poetic literature that must at one time have supplemented the images we have been examining:

[Κυκλο]τερὲς κτεάτισμα θεῶν, [Ἀχιλῆος] ὄχημα,  
 νῆσσε περικλύ[στη], κύμασι γηθομένη,  
 σὸν πέ[δον εἴ]ληχεν Θετίδος γόνος αἶμα [ῥ' ὕπερ]θε  
 Αἰακίδης Ἀχι[λ]λεῦς ἀθα[νατοῖ]σιν ἴσος.  
 Ἄλλ' Ἀχι[λ]λεῦ, δέ[ξαι θυ]σῆν καὶ εἶλλας ἴσθι  
 ἡμετέρ[αν ἀ]ῖων μοῦσαν ἀπὸ γραφίδος.

Rounded possession of gods, chariot of Achilles, sea-girt isle, rejoicing in waves, from on high the offspring and blood of Thetis: the Aeacid Achilles, like an immortal, has claimed your land. Now Achilles, receive my sacrifice and be propitious as you attend to the Muse of my writing.<sup>13</sup>

13 Hupe (2006) 218, no.7.

Why should the infancy, and particularly the first bath, of Dionysos and Achilles have been so potent in the representation of these two? The account of Macrobius, whom I have already cited for his testimony on Hellenism in early imperial Naples, emphasizes the annual renewal of the divine lifecycle, beginning with the winter solstice, and he goes out of his way to compare this with the annual rebirth of the infant god in Egypt: *qualem Aegyptii proferunt ex adyto die certa, quod tunc brevissimo die veluti parvus et infans videatur*. Similarly Epiphanius, the bishop of Salamis, like Macrobius another late antique polymath, mentions a ceremony in Egyptian Alexandria for the annual birth of Kore (Demeter), and another for a goddess – probably Allath among the Arabs at Petra.<sup>14</sup> A late antique textile now in the Louvre but discovered at Antinoë in Egypt illustrates precisely the first bath of Dionysos (fig. 18). There is no need or justification to assign an Egyptian origin to these annual rituals, but we can safely say that the lifecycle narratives that begin with a first bath reflect widespread cults of annual renewal through the rebirth of at least certain gods or heroes. Dionysos appears to have been the first of these, and in his case the immediate origin was most probably Neapolitan. But Dionysos had always been an international god, and what the Neapolitans may have created could easily have drawn from or found links in other regions and cultures.

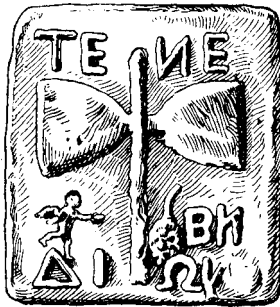
The incorporation of Achilles into the pattern of innovation that had been launched with Dionysos allowed that great hero to break out from the confines of Pontic worship to become a much more powerful presence in places as remote from one another as Athens in Greece, New Paphos in Cyprus, Kaiseraugst in Switzerland, and Lake Balaton in Hungary, which, in my judgment, is almost certainly the provenance of the Sevso treasure. This internationalization of Achilles brought him into the ambience of the already international god Dionysos, whose vast geographical impact emerges nowhere more vividly than in the huge epic of Nonnos in the fifth century. Both the infant god and the infant hero proclaimed the unending renewal of their divinity every year at the winter solstice, the shortest of all days and therefore the one most full of promise. Several centuries were still to pass before the motif that so distinctively characterizes these two figures was borrowed to illustrate the career of another divine child, whose birth was likewise celebrated annually, Jesus of Nazareth. This proved to be the final stage in the narratives of holy infancy that linked together these iconic figures of polytheism and of Christianity.

Meanwhile, the presentation of the divine child on the lap of Hermes or, after time, on the lap of the Virgin had a long life before it. Consider the famous mosaic images from the second Aya Sofia – the building we can see today in Istanbul, or from Ravenna. If we may say with reasonable confidence

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14 Epiphanius, *Panarion* 51.22.10–11.

that the first bath of Dionysos, or even of Achilles, preceded and inspired the later renderings of the infant Christ in his bath as in the Oratory of Pope John VII from the early eighth century (fig. 19), it looks as if the iconography of the presentation of the divine child took shape amid shifting traditions of both Hellenism and Christianity in late antiquity and constituted an adaptation of forms that begin to emerge in the early scenes of the Madonna of the Roman Catacombs of St. Priscilla. The Augustan innovations at Naples in the cult and representation of the infant Dionysos appear to have had a much more far-reaching impact than anyone in Campania in the first century could have ever foretold. They left their traces in late antique paganism not only through the lifecycle of Dionysos but of Achilles as well, and they created a solid iconographical foundation for Christianity in later centuries.



Differences and Common Features





# Dionysos – ‚different‘ im Wandel der Zeiten. Eine Skizze

Walter Burkert

Die Zeugnisse für den Gott Dionysos erstrecken sich über volle zwei Jahrtausende, doch in einer Weise, daß das ‚Gesicht‘ des Gottes sich hinter wechselnden Masken zu verstecken scheint. Es sind immer wieder andere Kraftfelder, andere Herausforderungen an eine auf Verstehen bedachte Forschung. Versucht sei hier eine grobe Skizze, mit sehr selektiven Literaturangaben, mit Hinweisen besonders auf Aspekte, die noch kaum genügend aufgearbeitet scheinen. Vieles, doch nicht alles, kommt in diesem Symposium zur Sprache. In den Blick treten acht Stationen.

## 1. Der mykenische Dionysos

Der Name Dionysos war eine der großen Überraschungen bei der Entzifferung von Linear B; Entscheidendes ist später dazugekommen. Zentral ist jetzt das Täfelchen aus Kydonia/Chania: „Ins Zeus-Heiligtum, für Zeus, Honig, Amphora, für Dionysos, 2“.<sup>1</sup> Dazu ergibt ein neuer *joint* aus Pylos: *Diwonusojo eschara*, „Herd des Dionysos“.<sup>2</sup> Dionysos ist da, in Kreta wie in Pylos; ‚Andersartigkeit‘ freilich wird nicht deutlich, vielmehr Einordnung in ein polytheistisches System, dominiert von ‚Zeus‘ mit seinem Heiligtum *Diwion*; die Namensverbindung von *Diwo-nusos* und *Diwei* ist offenbar mit im Spiel. Was genau in Pylos *eschara* ‚Herd‘ heißt, steht dahin.

Man wird annehmen, daß Spuren von diesem mykenischen Dionysos bis in die wohlbekanntere archaisch-klassische Epoche reichen. Am ehesten wird man an die *Anthesteria* denken, die „alten Dionysia“ laut Thukydides (2.15.4); der Monat Anthesterion hat seinen festen Platz in dem nachmykenischen, doch sicher sehr frühen attisch-ionischen Kalender;<sup>3</sup> das Suffix *-teria* für Feste ist in Linear B bezeugt. Kann man von hier aus auf die Rolle von Wein im Kult des Dionysos bereits in der Bronzezeit schließen? Und wie steht es mit der Vereinigung der ‚Königin‘ in Athen mit Dionysos im *boukoleion* (Arist.

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1 Godart/Tzedakis (1991), Hallager (1992) 75–81.

2 PY Ea 102 + 107, Melena (2001) 36 f. (den Hinweis hierauf verdanke ich Alberto Bernabé).

3 Trümpy (1997).

*Ath. Pol.* 3.5) – nicht auf der Akropolis: im Mykenischen heißt *basileus* nicht ‚König‘ –? Auch der Wein-Mythos von Ikarios und Erigone wird an die Anthesterien angehängt. Zum anderen sind die Befunde im Heiligtum von Aya Irini auf Keos faszinierend, wo offenbar eine Tradition von der Bronzezeit her besteht. Dort wurde der Kopf einer minoischen Tänzerin-Figur im 8. Jahrhundert (?) auf dem Boden als Quasi-Götterbild ‚errichtet‘, und eine spätere Inschrift nennt „Dionysos“.<sup>4</sup> Man denkt an den aus der Erde wachsenden Dionysoskopf auf attischen Vasen des 6. Jahrhunderts: ‚chthonische‘ Bezüge? Zu Keos tritt die Insel Naxos, deren im 8. Jahrhundert gegründete sizilische Kolonie den Dionysos als ihren Gott propagiert – die entsprechenden Münzen treten, unter attischem Einfluß, natürlich erst im 6. Jahrhundert auf. Die Mythen um Theseus, Ariadne und Dionysos auf Naxos sind durch attische Vasen faßbar, mindestens seit der François-Vase; das Paar Dionysos-Ariadne, in den Vasenbildern vorausgesetzt, ist schon in Hesiods *Theogonie* (947–949) verankert.

## 2. Der Dionysos der altepischen Dichtung

Man pflegte auf der geringen Rolle des Dionysos bei ‚Homer‘ zu insistieren und nahm dies gern als Argument, daß Dionysos überhaupt erst sekundär ins griechische Pantheon eingedrungen sei;<sup>5</sup> dies ist durch Linear B widerlegt. Die epischen Dionysos-Befunde haben sich zudem etwas erweitert.

Zentral bleiben die bekannten Verse aus der Diomedie, *Ilias* 6.132–137, über die ‚Ammen des rasenden Dionysos‘ und ihre Verfolgung durch Lykurgos. Hier ist Dionysos ‚different‘, anders als irgend ein anderer Gott, ein ‚rasender‘, ein ‚leidender‘. Ein für uns blinder Hinweis ist der Bezug zu Lykien im Kontext dieser Passage.

Wenig beachtet wurde der erste ‚Homerische‘ Hymnos, dessen erhaltene Schlußverse ihn als Dionysos-Hymnos ausweisen, auch wenn das dort gegebene Aition für die trieterischen Dionysos-Feste nicht mehr verständlich ist. Hinweise, auch einige Papyrus-Fragmente führen darauf, daß Hauptinhalt der Mythos von Heras Fesselung durch Hephaistos und ihre festliche ‚Lösung‘ durch Dionysos war.<sup>6</sup> Der Hymnos beschreibt damit die Einführung des Dionysos in den Kreis der olympischen Götter; er kann als ähnlich fundamental gelten wie der ihm folgende Demeter-Hymnos.

Wesentlich jünger ist wohl der bekannte siebte der Homerischen Hymnen, den wir kaum lesen können, ohne die Münchner Exekias-Schale vor

4 Caskey (1981).

5 Rohde (1898<sup>2</sup>) 1–102.

6 West (2001). Der Mythos erscheint dann bei Alkaios (fr. 349 Voigt) und wird ein Lieblingsmotiv in Bildern vom dionysischen Zug, *LIMC* s.v. Hephaistos Nr. 114–172.

Augen zu haben: Dionysos im Schiff, mit Efeu und Trauben, umspielt von Delphinen – wir befinden uns im 6. Jahrhundert.

Für uns wenig auffällig ist im letzten Gesang der *Odyssee* der Hinweis, daß die goldene Amphora für die Gebeine von Achilleus und Patroklos ein Geschenk des Dionysos an Thetis war (*Od.* 24.74 f.); doch nicht nur Stesichoros (fr. 234 Page) hat dieses Detail aufgegriffen; daß auf der François-Vase Dionysos zur Hochzeit von Peleus und Thetis mit einem Gefäß auf dem Haupt kommt, weist doch wohl auf den gleichen Text. Ist dies der älteste Verweis auf eine Beziehung von Dionysos zu den Toten?

Die neue Archilochos-Elegie<sup>7</sup> zeigt, daß die Geschichte von dem irrtümlich in Teuthranien mit Telephos geführten Kampf des Troia-Heeres damals als sozusagen ‚klassischer‘ Text bekannt war, wie immer wir uns den Status der *Kypria* zu dieser Zeit vorstellen mögen. Daß Telephos von Dionysos durch eine Weinranke zum Straucheln gebracht wurde, dürfte dazugehört haben.<sup>8</sup> Über weitere Hintergründe dieses ‚teuthranischen‘ Mythos können wir nur spekulieren.

Ein nicht unwichtiges Noch-Nicht ist festzuhalten: Silene und Satyrn erscheinen im alten Epos für sich, nicht verbunden mit Dionysos: *Silenoï* sind im alten Aphrodite-Hymnos (*Hom. Hymn.* 5.262) die wilden Partner der Nymphen im Bergwald. Erst Kleitias, der Maler der François-Vase, ordnet die pferdefüßigen *Silenoï* ins Gefolge des Dionysos ein; doch eine Vase des Ergotimos zeigt den gefangenen *Silenos* im Zusammenhang des Midas-Mythos.<sup>9</sup> Die *Satyroi* als ‚nichtsnutzige, Unmögliches anstellende‘ Gesellen treten in den Katalogen des Hesiod (fr.10) auf; daß sie zur Nachkommenschaft des Doros gehören, hat erst ein neuerer Papyrusfund ergeben. Sie sind demnach wohl in der Peloponnes zuhause; man kann die Geschichte von Amymone und dem Satyr (Aesch. fr. 13–15) als ein Stück aus dieser Tradition vermuten. Für die in der attischen Vasenmalerei des 6. Jahrhunderts standardisierten Gestalten schwanken die Modernen zwischen den Benennungen als Silene oder Satyrn. Einflüsse der ägyptischen Bes-Ikonographie sind anzuerkennen. Sicher sind die *Satyroi* unter einem ‚Papa *Silenos*‘ dann mit dem Theaterspiel etabliert, das auf Pratinas zurückgeführt wird; sie sind später als die *tragoidoi*, doch wohl noch vor dem Perserkrieg aufgetreten. Tanzende *Satyroi* finden sich in der attischen Vasenmalerei seit Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts.

Es gibt vermutlich Altes auch außerhalb des alten Epos. So nennt Alkaios den *Kemlios Zonnysos Omestas* in der Ur-Mythologie von Lesbos, neben *Zeus Antiaos* und *Hera Aiolea* (fr. 129 Voigt); Androtion (*FGrH* 324 fr. 56) führt

7 *P. Oxy.* 69 Nr. 4708, Obbink (2006).

8 *Kypria* fr. 20 Bernabé; man beachte, daß Telephos als Arkasides (diese Namensform auch Hes. fr. 165.8) mit Arkadien (noch) nichts zu tun hat.

9 Berlin 3151 = *ABV* 79, Carpenter (1991) fig. 6.

den Dionysoskult von Lesbos auf Makar zurück, der gemäß *Ilias* 24.544 der älteste Herr von Lesbos ist.

### 3. Der Dionysos der archaisch-klassischen Glanzzeit

Ihm gilt vor allem, nicht nur seit Nietzsche, die Aufmerksamkeit der Interpreten. Hier nur knappe Hinweise. Eine Leitfunktion übernimmt für uns die attische Vasenmalerei; sie ist, durch Amphoren, Kratere, Stamnoi und Kylikes, ganz realiter verbunden mit der entwickelten Symposien-Kultur der Elite.<sup>10</sup> Der Zecher erfährt, und benennt, seit Archilochos die Macht des Weingottes, „vom Wein zusammengewittert im Bewußtsein“ (fr. 120 West); dazu gehört das Kultlied *Dithyrambos*. Die Einführung des ‚neuen‘ Dionysos-Festes in Athen, *Dionysia ta Megala*, wird etwas vor Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts angesetzt, mit der Dithyramben-Aufführung als musikalischem Zentrum – der Dithyrambos wird nach 510 in die neue Phylenorganisation integriert; er wird dann vom Drama überstrahlt. Die attische Tragödie wird als die bedeutendste Schöpfung dieser Epoche gelten; sie beläßt dem Dionysos wichtige Positionen.<sup>11</sup> Daneben stehen die privaten Symposien, wie man sie auch gern schon mit den Liedern des Alkaios verbunden sieht.<sup>12</sup>

Als Rätsel bleiben die ‚Lenäen-Vasen‘, ein Wein-Kult von Frauen um ein ad hoc hergestelltes Masken-Idol.<sup>13</sup>

Man sollte Athen nicht vereinzeln, auch wenn anderwärts die Bezeugung weniger dicht ist. Wir erfahren vom Dionysos-Kult in Korinth um ‚Arion‘, wo die Tyrannen die aristokratischen ‚Bakchiaden‘ verdrängt hatten, aber auch in Sikyon, wo der Tyrann Kleisthenes einen Heroenkult dem Dionysos als dem Zuständigen übereignet (Hdt. 5.67–68). Zunehmende Bedeutung des Dionysos zeigt sich dann im 4. Jahrhundert in Delphi, wenn beim Tempel-Neubau dem Apollon der östliche, dem Dionysos aber der westliche Giebel gewidmet ist. Die Polarität Apollon-Dionysos, die offenbar zunächst in der Musik empfunden wurde,<sup>14</sup> wird so zum Programm.

Bemerkenswert sind früher schon die attischen Vasenbilder eigentlicher ‚Mänaden‘, die in zwingender Weise ein verändertes Bewußtsein zum Ausdruck bringen. Grundlegend sind einige wenige Stücke, um 500 v. Chr. Dies sind keine Phantasieprodukte; es muß solche Phänomene, solche Frauen ge-

10 Zur Ikonographie: Carpenter (1986), Isler-Kerényi (2007), ältestes Bild eine melische Amphora, Ende 7. Jh., wohl aus dem Umkreis von Delos, *LIMC* s.v. Dionysos Nr. 708.

11 Bierl (1991).

12 Rösler (1980).

13 Frontisi-Ducroux (1991).

14 Pind. fr. 128c.1–4, *Pap. Hibeh* I 13, West (1992) 16–23. Delphi: Paus. 10.19.4.

geben haben.<sup>15</sup> Hängen sie mit der ‚pythischen Gesandtschaft‘ (*Pythais*) nach Delphi zusammen, die athenische ‚Thyiaden‘ in Kontakt mit Thyiaden von Delphi brachte? Der durch Platon (*Phd.* 69c) berühmte Spruch, daß es „viele Narthex-Träger, doch wenige Bakchen“ gebe, deutet auf das Nicht-Manipulierbare, insofern Echte der dionysischen Verwandlung hin.

#### 4. Bakchische Mysterien

Die frühere Tendenz, ‚Mysterien‘ als vorzugsweise spätantik, allenfalls hellenistisch einzuordnen, ist durch Neufunde entscheidend widerlegt. Daß Herodot für Olbia im 5. Jahrhundert die älteste und weitgehend maßgebende Beschreibung der Weihen des Gottes gibt, „der Menschen zum Wahnsinn veranlaßt“ (4.79.3), hatte man zu wenig ernst genommen. Die Graffiti von Olbia (5. Jahrhundert) und die neuen Goldblättchen (seit dem 4. Jahrhundert) sind inzwischen vielseitig und gründlich behandelt worden und sollen hier nicht weiter diskutiert werden, auch nicht der Begriff der ‚Orphik‘.<sup>16</sup> Älteste Zeugnisse stammen aus dem 6. Jahrhundert; Herodot (2.81) weist auf Bezug zu Ägypten hin: Dionysos-Osiris.

Offenbar geht damit die Verbindung des Dionysos mit dem Totenkult einher. Die Goldblättchen sind ‚Totenpässe‘, die dem Toten Anweisung geben oder ihn selbst sprechen lassen. Allgemeiner ist die Wirkung des Dionysischen auf die Grab-Ikonographie; sie erreicht noch im 6. Jahrhundert auch die Etrusker. Ein besonders großes, noch kaum genügend bearbeitetes Corpus stellt dann die italische Vasenmalerei des 4. Jahrhunderts dar; noch weniger hat man sich um die ähnliche Ikonographie im funeren Bereich von Makedonien/Thrakien gekümmert.<sup>17</sup> Die ‚bakchische‘ Funerär-Ikonographie bleibt bestimmend in Italien bis ans Ende des Hellenismus, und sie wirkt danach noch weit in die Kaiserzeit, einschließlich der Sarkophagkunst.<sup>18</sup>

15 *LIMC VIII Suppl.* s.v. Mainades Nr. 7, 8, 36, 39. Vgl. Henrichs (1978a). Attische und Delphische Thyiaden: Paus. 10.4.3 vgl. Soph. *Ant.* 1150 f.; Paus. 10.32.7; Plut. *Mul. virt.* 249e–f, Alkmeoniden und Delphi: Philochoros *FGrH* 328 fr. 115.

16 Bernabé (2004–2007) Nr. 463–465, 474–496, Graf/Johnston (2007). Zur Diskussion Burkert (1982/2006) 191–216, Burkert (2009<sup>3</sup>) 79–106. Der Derveni-Papyrus bringt viel zu Orpheus, doch im erhaltenen Text nichts zu Dionysos.

17 Der thrakische Dionysos hat seine durch Rohde zugewiesene einzigartige Bedeutung verloren, bleibt aber wichtig. Andeutungen in [Euripides] *Rhesos* 970–973, zu Makedonien Plut. *Alex.* 2.7.

18 Horn (1972).

## 5. Der Dionysos der hellenistischen Monarchien

Eine weniger beachtete Entfaltung findet der Dionysos-Kult im Zusammenhang des hellenistischen Königtums. Was mit einer Laune Alexanders in Indien zu beginnen scheint,<sup>19</sup> hat sich als Legende entfaltet und reiche Ikonographie hervorgebracht, hat bei den Ptolemäern, Seleukiden und Attaliden besondere Wirkung erzielt.<sup>20</sup> Ptolemaios IV. geriert sich als ‚Neuer Dionysos‘; die Pergamener setzen seit ihrem Aufstieg die *cista mystica* mit der aus dem Korb sich ringelnden Schlange auf ihre ‚Kistophoren‘-Münzen. Der Mächtige zeigt sich in göttlicher Wonne, die Untergebenen drängen sich, in kultischen Formen daran teilzuhaben.

## 6. Bacchanalia

Ein Absturz in die Katastrophe ereignet sich in Italien mit dem berüchtigten Fall der *Bacchanalia*, 186 v. Chr. Auch dies sei hier nicht weiter besprochen.<sup>21</sup> Als Quellen bleiben wir auf das *Senatus Consultum* (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 581) und auf Livius (39.8–19) angewiesen. Es handelt sich – vor den Christenverfolgungen – um den spektakulärsten Fall der Anwendung staatlicher Gewalt gegen eine religiöse Bewegung. Was die Beschuldigungen angeht, so könnte man aus christlichen Sekten oder New Age-Bewegungen gewiß nicht weniger Bizarres zusammenbringen. Die Repression hatte Erfolg.

## 7. Dionysos-Bacchus in der Kaiserzeit

Dies ist ein weiteres umfassendes und inkohärentes Kapitel: In dieser ‚globalen‘, dauerhaften und relativ stabilen Epoche kann von einer allverbreiteten, doch gleichsam gezähmten Präsenz des Dionysischen die Rede sein. Man kennt und ehrt Bacchus-Dionysos, doch ohne Aufregung, ohne Skandale; wir haben praktisch auch kaum Texte. Die Gaben des Gottes, einschließlich der Freude an Wein und Sex, erscheinen als natürliche Gegebenheiten, denen man mehr oder weniger Beachtung schenken mag; kaum etwas weist auf Ekstase, Ausbruch, Offenbarung einer anderen Wirklichkeit.

Inschriftlich bezeugt ist eine Fülle von Vereinen, die sich der Mysterien des Dionysos rühmen.<sup>22</sup> Über Vereinsmeierei mit allerhand Ehrungen führt dies kaum hinaus. Dazu kommen die Dionysischen Sarkophage, mit fast re-

19 Arr. *Anab.* 6.28.1–2 vgl. 5.2.5, Seibert (1972) 204 ff.

20 Burkert (1993).

21 Pailler (1988), *ThesCRA* II 97.

22 Jaccottet (2003a).

gelmäßigen Hinweisen auf *Mysteria – cista mystica*, gelegentlich Gewalt und Sex –, doch ihr Realitätsbezug ist fraglich.<sup>23</sup> Das schönste Monument findet sich chronologisch gleich am Anfang dieser Epoche, die Fresken der ‚Villa dei Misteri‘ bei Pompei. Auch ihnen soll hier kein neuer Interpretationsversuch gelten. Nichts weist auf eine besondere Abgeschlossenheit oder Heimlichhaltung dieser Malerei in diesem Zimmer hin. Das gilt auch von den vergleichbaren Motiven in anderen Häusern von Rom bis Nordafrika, in Gemälden, Reliefdecken, Mosaiken.<sup>24</sup> Reinhold Merkelbach wollte insbesondere den Roman des Longos auf Dionysische Mysterien beziehen;<sup>25</sup> doch dies ist, wenn überhaupt, nur eine eher beiläufige Dimension in diesem auf erotische Entdeckung fokussierten Text.

## 8. Dionysos nach dem Sieg des Christentums

Nach dem durchschlagenden Erfolg des Christentums im 4. Jahrhundert bleiben verstreute Zeugnisse für ein merkwürdiges Weiterleben der Dionysos-Gestalt. Kaum von einem anderen der alten Götter ist Vergleichbares zu berichten. Was wir finden, ist freilich durchaus heterogen:

Ein Mosaik des 4. Jahrhunderts in Paphos zeigt Dionysos das Kind, mit Nimbus, im Schoß des Hermes als Zentrum der Verehrung; die Überlagerung mit der eben sich entfaltenden christlichen Ikonographie ist nicht zu übersehen.<sup>26</sup>

Erhalten sind Behänge aus ägyptischen Gräbern, üblicherweise als ‚koptische‘ Textilien benannt, darunter einer, der ganz dem Dionysos gewidmet ist, doch gegen 400 in einem eindeutig christlichen Grab Verwendung findet.<sup>27</sup>

Später gibt es, im 6. Jahrhundert, das Riesenepos des Nonnos in 48 Büchern, *Dionysiaka*. Sind sie mehr als ein Sprachspiel um seiner selbst willen? Der Verfasser war möglicherweise ein christlicher Bischof.<sup>28</sup> Erstaunlich ist, wie er neben dem Gängigen offenbar seltene, relativ alte Quellen heranzieht, mit Konzentration auf Kleinasien – seine Darstellung des Typhon-Mythos hat zum hethitischen Illuyankas-Text eine verblüffende Nähe.<sup>29</sup>

23 Turcan (1967), Matz (1968–1975), Geyer (1977).

24 Matz (1963) 15, Merkelbach (1988).

25 Merkelbach (1962) 192–224, Merkelbach (1988) 137–197.

26 Daszewski (1985). Siehe fig. 8 (Bowersock).

27 Flury-Lemberg (1987), dazu Willers (1992) 141–151.

28 Livrea (1987) 97–123.

29 Nonnos 1–2, vgl. Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.39–44 mit dem Motiv, daß Typhoeus die Machtmittel des Zeus (Waffen/Sehnen) zunächst in seine Gewalt bringt und ein Helfer (Kadmos; Hermes und Aigipan bei Apollodor) sie zurückholen muß.



Schließlich taucht eine Nennung des Gottes Dionysos noch 691/2 auf, 70 Jahre nach der Hedschra, in den Beschlüssen des Konzils von Trullo, canon 62: Verboten werden soll, daß die (maskierten) Männer beim Weinkeltern den Dionysos anrufen (Διώνυσον [...] ἐν ταῖς λήναις ἐπιβοᾶν).<sup>30</sup> Bedenkt man, daß das Satyr-Kostüm am einfachsten von der Praxis des Kelter-Tretens her zu verstehen ist,<sup>31</sup> bleibt das Staunen über die Beständigkeit religiös-volkstümlicher Praxis.

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30 Kerényi (1976a) 69 n. 49, Trombley (1978) 5, Trombley (1993) 183 n. 39–40.

31 Um Gewand-Verschmutzung zu vermeiden, keltert man nackt, was aber zur Maskierung und zum Verstecken der Genitalien führt – was durch den Kunst-Phallos ins heiter-paradoxe Gegenteil gekippt wird.

# *Heis Dionysos! – One Dionysos?* A Polytheistic Perspective

*Henk S. Versnel*

The title of this book raises two issues: the god Dionysos and the divine world to which he belongs. My suggestion to focus my talk on the second of the two met with the gratifying approval of Renate Schlesier, enthusiastic initiator and able organizer of our conference. If the title of my contribution nonetheless refers to both issues, this is because it would show a dangerous lack of respect to disregard entirely the only god in classical Greece who was (once) proclaimed “one”. I will pay him due reverence in the final part of this paper.

## 1. One God or Many? Ancient Voices

Cicero (*Nat. D.* 3.21 ff.)<sup>1</sup> scorns “certain (Greek) theologians” (*ii qui theologi nominantur*) who had figured out that there are three different gods with the name Zeus, two of them born in Arcadia, the third in Crete, their distinctions grounded on topographical and genealogical arguments.<sup>2</sup> In this type of literature there is a proliferation of lists of gods that shelter different personae under one name: four different Vulcans, five different gods named Hermes and so on. Are these nothing more than theoretical constructions? How far can we trust theologians? To go by Cicero, just as far as you can throw them and everybody knows how far a theologian – ancient or modern – can be thrown. But what about ‘normal’ Greeks? Can they have been so confused as to have dozens of different gods with the same names?

In order to show that the issue is not as far-fetched as it may seem at first sight, let us cast a glance at contemporary *de facto* polytheism in the

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Andrew Ford was kind enough to check the English of the first version of this paper, while Jenny and Andy Simanowitz subjected the final text to a severe editing process. I am deeply grateful to all of them.

1 And he is not the only one. Callimachos, for instance, *Hymn to Zeus* 6–7 preceded him.

2 Pausanias 4.33.1 tells us that he could not name all the places where Zeus was said to be born or raised.

Mediterranean area.<sup>3</sup> I must hasten to stress that I am interested in *analogies* in the domain of the conceivable or the inconceivable in notions relevant to our topic, *not* in issues of continuity or tradition. I am fully aware of recent distrust concerning the issue of continuity, including its relevance to the conceptual framework of ancient Greek culture.<sup>4</sup>

Every visitor to the Mediterranean will be struck by the alarming number of local varieties of Madonnas and Panaghias. Five Madonnas are honoured in Montegrano, a little village in South Italy. They are differentiated according to principles of topography or quality, and for many of the inhabitants the connection between them and the mother of Christ is opaque to say the least.<sup>5</sup> When a Montegrano boy who had studied for the priesthood in Naples attempted to explain to an old woman of the village that there is only one Madonna, she laughed at him. “You studied with the priests for eight years”, she said, “and you haven’t even learned the differences between the Madonnas!”<sup>6</sup> The context leaves no doubt that the five different Madonnas of the village are indeed perceived as distinct and different personae.<sup>7</sup> Anyone who has witnessed processions of the religious fraternities in a Spanish town at the annual festival knows that the Jesus of one church simply is not the same as the Jesus of the next.<sup>8</sup> In contemporary Greece it is just the same.<sup>9</sup> Asked by

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3 I borrow the term ‘*de facto* polytheism’ from Werblowsky (1987) 439, who applies it *inter alia* to the cult of saints.

4 Herzfeld (1982); Danforth (1984). For a sensible rejoinder, I would like to refer to Cohen (1991) 38–41. Asked why we should select the modern Mediterranean as an exemplary model for ancient Greek phenomena (not, to be sure, as a case of proved historical or ethnic continuity) he says: “The main reason is that there is no other group of well-documented societies which manifest the same patterns of social practices.” I have called this principle “matching codes of behaviour” and applied it in Versnel (1987). However, the discussion is in full swing. See for the position of women: Sourvinou-Inwood (1995). On non-continuity in dance, see Naerebout (1997) 54–102. For the defense: Walcot (1996).

5 Moreover “some peasants even believe that certain saints are more powerful than God” (Banfield [1958] 125).

6 Banfield (1958) 124 f.

7 For instance, only one of them is generally identified as the mother of Christ (who, incidentally, in this case is fully exchangeable with God). The Madonnas are: (1) the Madonna of Pompeii, whose miracles are well-known in Montegrano; (2) the Madonna of Carmin, whose feast is celebrated in a nearby town; (3) the Madonna of Peace, who is honoured in Montegrano with a feast and with a statue erected after World War I and to whom the mothers prayed for their sons at war; (4) the Madonna of Assunta, the protectress of one of the Montegrano churches; and (5) the Madonna Addolorata, most commonly identified with the mother of Christ.

8 As for late antiquity, one can only guess what is intended by the author of the Christian *defixio*: *Domne lobis (nobis) obt[i]me cabtuline (Capitoline) (AE 1939)*.

9 As it was in medieval Byzantium, which claimed to be the home of *the* (one and only) Maria. Baynes (1955) 255: “And of course the Byzantines conceived of the Virgin as

the resident anthropologist (some decades ago Greek families in isolated villages tended to consist of father and mother, the children, the grandparents and the resident anthropologist) whether the Hagios Georgios of their village was the same as the St. Georges of other places, the locals declared: “The Hagios Georgios we have here is not the same Saint who comes from Cappadocia (who is the great dragon slayer). Ours is from right here.”<sup>10</sup> Likewise they explain that there is “a local Hagia Paraskevi who is from here; not the Hagia Paraskevi from outside”.<sup>11</sup>

So much by way of introduction. Let us go *ad fontes* – the ancient Greek sources. In antiquity, the same region that boasts a ‘St. George from right here’ housed a goddess named ‘Mother of the Gods from right here’ (Μήτηρ Θεῶν Ἀυτόχθων),<sup>12</sup> as well as a Macedonian Dionysos.<sup>13</sup> Incidentally, the Mace-

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dwelling with them at Constantinople; where else should she dwell?” See there for some striking tales expressing this belief. Her robe, too, was in the possession of Byzantium, *ibid.* 247. For a full treatment see: Pentcheva (2006).

- 10 Blum/Blum (1970) 46. Herzfeld (1984) 654, and (1987) explains this as a synecdoche: the name of the saint actually only stands for the icon which he is locally said to prefer over all others. “The icon can be said to represent materially the *aspect* of the saint’s essence that is signified by the local epithet.” This is a good example of how a ‘unitarian’ view can breed dyslexia. His reproduction of the text is glaringly contradicted by the words as cited by Blum & Blum, which after “Ours is from right here” continue: “He appeared here for the first time long ago, upon the rock where you can see that his horse stood.” This cannot but refer to the saint himself. Which, of course, does nothing to deny that icons are important tools to visualize the holy person, represented by them, as Herzfeld argues.
- 11 Blum/Blum (1970) 324. Cf. 93: “I am not sure if the bones belong to the same St. Paraskevi as people usually talk about, or whether she is a different saint”; cf. 90, 196. Nor is this a Mediterranean privilege. A tiny congregation of the reformed church in a Dutch village at last discovered the *real* name of God and thus created their own God. That name was ‘Lord Ouch’ as revealed in a psalm, which in their version began: “Heer Aai” (Lord, ouch, ...), and that was the way how he should be addressed, while just simply God or Lord (Dutch: “Heere Heere”) certainly was the name of another – suspicious – impostor. The creation of this type of name is well-known. Cf. *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* I (1977) s.v. Ach, Ah me, Och, Oh, Ohimé, Uff. These appear to develop into names of a giant, a demon, a witch, the devil etc. Burkert (1981) mentions examples of chance semantic changes.
- 12 Petsas (1983) (cf. *SEG* XXXIII 532), who explains this deity as: “the indigenous in contrast to deities [...] introduced [...] from elsewhere.” Hatzopoulos (1994) 64 f. regards a series of female deities worshipped in Beroia, including the *Meter theôn autochthôn*, as different *interpretationes* of one pre-Hellenic πόντια Θηρῶν and gives more literature. The testimonia (all dating from the period between ca. 150 to 300 C.E.) in: Petsas et al. (2000) as listed in the index s.v. αὐτόχθων. The *Meter autochthôn* is once (no. 156) called Μήτηρ Θεῶν Ὀρεία. Nor is she the only goddess with the epithet *autochthôn*. From an inscription of the second cent. B.C. it appears that Samos (not unjustifiedly) boasts a *Hera autochthôn*. See: Peek (1940) 168 f., who argues that this cannot mean simply ‘the Samian Hera’ but must denote ‘eingeboren’, ‘seit alters eingessen’, which implies that she must be the transfiguration of an old Carian

donian Mother of the Gods had to face competition from the *Lydian* Mother of the Gods (Μητρί Θεῶν Λυδ[αί]) as this goddess is known from an inscription from the region of Sardis.<sup>14</sup> In that region she was associated (if not identified) with ‘our Rhea’ (Ῥέης ἡμετέρης) and a ‘Lydian Zeus’ (Ζεὺς Λύδιος).<sup>15</sup> As for Dionysos we will return to the question of his identities. We observe that, in past and present, aspects of place and of local identities, either implied or expressed explicitly by a topographical epithet, play a major part. Not only topographical epithets, however.

Let us zoom in on Attica for a moment. In the festive calendar of the small Attic community of Erchia<sup>16</sup> Apollo<sup>17</sup> is honoured under no fewer than six different epithets – Pythios, Lykeios, Delphinios, Apotropaios, Pagion, Nymphegetes – on different days and with different sacrifices, duly differentiated as ἐν ἄστει or ἐμ Πάγῳ Ἐρχιάσι. The same is true of Zeus with his mostly functional epithets: Meilichios, Polieus, Eoptes, Epakrios, Teleios,

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goddess. Cf. *FGrH* 540 T 1; Chaniotis (1988) 308 f. E 16. Hdt. 4.180.2 records that girls of the North African Auseis tribe perform ancestral rites for “the native goddess (τῆ αὐθιγενεῖ θεῶ) whom *we* call Athena”.

- 13 Διονύσω Μακεδονικῶ (Larissa, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. B.C. – 1<sup>st</sup> cent. C.E.): K.I. Gallis, *Arch. Deltion* 27 (1972, appeared in 1977) 419; *SEG* XLVII 206; *BE* 1978, 256.
- 14 Robert (1987) 359–361, a unique and isolated Lydian claim on the goddess who is often referred to as Μητρη Φρύγια. The Mother of the Gods, Kybele, was already called ἐπιχωρίη Θεός of Sardis in Hdt. 5.102.1. See: Roller (1999) 128–131.
- 15 ‘Our Rhea’ in *Anth. Pal.* 9.645, as discussed by Schwertheim (1995), whom I owe the epigraphic evidence, including the Lydian Zeus, for which see also: Robert (1962<sup>2</sup>) 207; 214.
- 16 *LSCG* no. 18. See: Daux (1963); Dow (1965); Humphreys (2004) 177–188. Of course, similar varieties of names and epithets occur in other cult calendars, collected by Dow (1968). Cf. Mikalson (1977); Humphreys (2004) 145–188. The earliest one, the calendar from Thorikos (ca. 430 B.C.), though known before through inadequate manuscripts, was published from the stone after these publications: Daux (1983). Improvements by Scullion (1998). Parker (1987) focusses on the Thorikos calendar. Text, commentary and bibliography in Lupu (2005) no. 1; Humphreys (2004) 155–165. D. Lambert, who contributed Lambert (2000) (and see *ibid.* 71–80), is preparing a monograph edition of all Attic sacrificial calendars.
- 17 To take one of the greater gods amongst the many. Another ‘polyonymos’ in the same calendar is Zeus. These two gods are the most prominent gods in other calendars as well (see: Mikalson [1983] 70 f.). The other gods are less lavishly provided, which, of course, is not necessarily indicative of their general wealth or dearth of epithets. In Pausanias alone, for instance, one counts 59 epithets of Athena (Loeb ed. V. index p. 206). It is true, though, that Zeus seems to dwarf all other gods. For Zeus in Athens cf. Wycherley (1964), esp. his “Synopsis of Zeus Cults at Athens”, 175 ff. For a full list of epithets of Zeus see: Schwabl (1972/1978). Quite a few epithets have only a single attestation and new epithets emerge regularly, especially in inscriptions from Asia Minor. See: Schwabl (1993). However, for cult calendars the general rule is phrased by Dodds (1973b) 153: “nearly half of the sacrifices listed are offered to no Olympian deity but to a menagerie of heroes, daemons, and obscure godlings.”

Horios. Other calendars from Attica, most of them found in the second half of the last century, all of them incomplete, yield the same picture.

How are we to value divine epithets? As a device for making a distinction between different but homonymous gods, or as indications of different manifestations, functions or aspects of one and the same god? I have been interested in this and related themes from the early seventies onwards, boring my students to death with such questions and the problems involved, and I gladly took the opportunity to expand on them in more detail in my Sather Lectures in 1999.<sup>18</sup> However, after all these years and despite such important recent work on the epithet as that of Henrichs and Parker, it is amazing how many modern observers still tend to take the latter option – one god with many surnames – for granted,<sup>19</sup> or just disregard the whole question as a *quantité négligeable*.<sup>20</sup>

Let us have a closer look. On the one hand it is obvious that epithets often function as devices to assign different qualities to one and the same god and, as such, plead for a unitarian point of view. But as we have seen, both the elderly ladies of Montegrano and the locals of the Greek village with their own autochthonous Saint George took a radically different point of view. I would propose to try taking the dilemma seriously – a dilemma, moreover, that counts among the most interesting, typical and meaningful in the field of Greek polytheistic conceptualization, and not only because *both* viewpoints can be persuasively defended.

For there *is* also another viewpoint, a pluralist one, which suggests itself in several well-known cases. Let me call to mind the most obvious one. While bearing the same name Zeus, the Zeus Olympios (or Zeus Basileus), the great king of heavens, so blatantly differs from the Zeus Meilichios, a decidedly

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18 The present paper is a tiny abstract of part of the first chapter of the book-version *Coping with the Gods: Wayward Readings in Greek Theology*, in the present paper cited as Versnel (2011).

19 This is a typical example of the risk, as Helfer (1968) wrote, that “our conclusions are too frequently functions of what we assume to be limits of understanding”, a scholarly tendency that we will discuss later *inter alia* in reaction to a statement by Sourvinou-Inwood (1990) 18: “The gods who were worshipped in the different *poleis* were, of course, perceived to be the same gods (cf. also Hdt. 5.92–93). What differed was the precise articulation of the cult, its history, its particular modalities, which aspect of each deity each city chose to emphasize”. What I wish to (re-)consider in what follows concerns two elements of this statement, viz. “of course” and “were perceived”. The latter expression, for instance, necessarily evokes the question “perceived by whom?” (Hdt. 5.92–93, by the way, is far from proving her point).

20 Even those who admit the problem and accept a basic differentiation between various homonymous gods with different epithets always hasten to add that ‘essentially’ they remain one and the same god.

chthonian character often portrayed as a snake,<sup>21</sup> that, as has often been observed, they can hardly be understood as two different manifestations of one and the same god.<sup>22</sup> They may even play radically opposite roles on the same historical stage. Xenophon during his Persian expedition enjoyed the constant beneficial support of Zeus Basileus (*An.* 3.1.12; 6.1.22), whereas Zeus Meilichios<sup>23</sup> persecuted him because Xenophon, as he found out too late, had failed to sacrifice a holocaust to him (*An.* 7.8.4).<sup>24</sup>

It is tempting to equate the dividing line between the two options, the unitarian and the separative/pluralist, with the cleft that separates the intellectual upperclass from the simple folk of lower social ranking, those whom my friend Angelos Chaniotis has in mind when he writes: “Bei den alten Griechen ging es vor allem darum: Was koche ich heute Abend, und weniger um die Frage: gibt es einen idealen Staat?”<sup>25</sup> If so, are these common

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- 21 Which does not mean that any snake depicted in painting or relief should represent Zeus Meilichios. On this god the most comprehensive study still is: Cook (1925). A full collection and good discussion of the epigraphical evidence in: Jameson/Jordan/Kotansky (1993) 81–103 (with snakes representing Zeus Ktesios, Zeus Philios and Agathodaimon at 94 f.). A new view of the god’s nature mainly based on epigraphic evidence: Cusumano (1991). Attic cults and shrines are collected by Lalonde (2006), Appendix 103–120.
- 22 Something similar can be said about the Roman Iuppiter and his chthonic counterpart Veiovis (a name that, like Iuppiter, contained the element *-iov*. Apart from being a ‘subterranean Zeus’, Zeus Katachthonios or Chthonios was also a name of Hades (Hom. *Il.* 9.457). When mention is made of ‘another Zeus’ (Aesch. *Suppl.* 231) or “the hospitable Zeus of the departed” (Aesch. *Suppl.* 156) this always refers to Hades.
- 23 How very difficult it is for the modern reader to accept as much as *the possibility* that the Zeus Meilichios mentioned at this place (on whom see: Lendel [1995] ad loc.), even despite the entirely different type of sacrifice, simply *may be* a god different from Zeus Basileus, exemplarily appears in the Loeb edition by C.L. Brownson. Although he translates correctly: “Xenophon replied that he had not sacrificed *to that god*” (τούτω τῷ θεῷ, as opposed to the other god Zeus Basileus), he helpfully both corrects the author and misleads the reader by commenting: “i. e. Zeus in this particular one of his functions, as ‘the Merciful’.”
- 24 This clash between these two homonymous gods has often been noticed, most recently by Parker (2003) 182. Pulleyn (1997) 98 considers the possibility that Xenophon ignored one god by mispronouncing his name, but fortunately rejects this suggestion. Vernant (1980) 99 who also paid attention to the inconsistency between the opposing forces of two Zeuses (actually three: also Zeus Soter), does not view it as incompatible with his principle of unity.
- 25 In: *Kinderuniversitas. Mit Kindern in der Wissenswelt* (University Heidelberg). I hardly dare – but cannot resist – to refer the reader to Etzioni (1988) XI, 15, 139, cf. 145, who argues that people’s thoughts and acts tend to be subrational because of limited intellectual capabilities, as quoted by Naerebout (1997) 319, who adds: “If anything we tend to underestimate the differences in intelligence, skills and proficiency: generally it is suggested that most individuals are clustered around the average, while in fact all test results combine to show a gentle curve sloping towards the minimum and the

folk less interesting than philosophers or tragic authors? Not in the eyes of the historian.<sup>26</sup> However it is *not*, and certainly not universally, the case that such diversity is explicable in social terms. The assumption of a social differentiation as the sole basis for the theological distinction would be too rash, oversimplified, and, worse, incongruous with the ancient evidence, as two ancient authors, undeniably belonging to the intellectual upper class, may illustrate.

Hdt. 1.44: In the famous passage describing the reaction of King Croesus upon learning that his son has been killed in an accident at the hand of a guest who had found protection in his palace,

he called on Zeus ‘Purifier’ (Δία καθαρισιον), taking him as witness of what he had suffered at the hands of the guest; he also called ‘Protector of the Hearth’ (ἐπίστιος) and ‘Protector of Friends’ (ἐταιρήιος), with these names addressing that very same god (τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὀνομάζων θεόν), calling [the one] ‘Epistios’ because he had unwittingly entertained his son’s murderer in his house, and calling [the other] ‘Hetaireios’, because the man he had sent to guard his son had turned out to be his bitterest enemy.<sup>27</sup>

At first glance the author seems to sustain the unitarian position, yet on second view he undermines its universal validity. The interesting point is that Herodotus *takes the trouble to emphasize* that it *is* one and the same god Zeus<sup>28</sup> that is invoked under three different epithets indicating three different qualities. He is apparently aware of another equally valid option, that the three Zeuses might be taken as three different personae, an option he does not favour at this place, but which in different contexts may prevail.

maximum. It is surprising that historians (and other analysts of human society) seldom, if ever, refer to this basic fact. Apparently scholars often consider their own mental abilities as normative, probably without giving the issue much thought.” Fortunately there was one great classical scholar who did acknowledge these simple facts of life: A.D. Nock, “Religious Attitudes of the Ancient Greeks”, in: Nock (1972) II.549 f.: “We must not look for consistency in men’s religious actions, any more than in their secular conduct: norms of belief and facts of practice, words and deeds do not fit: nor do men mean all that they say, in reverence or irreverence, least of all men as nimble of wit and tongue as were many of the Greeks. Religion is not all or nothing, certainly not among them.”

26 Here the theory of “the Great” versus the “Little Traditions” (and their interactions) as introduced in the 1950’s by the Chicago anthropologists Robert Redfield and MacKim Marriott deserve more attention than they get from classicists involved in the study of Greek religion.

27 My translation is as literal as (barely) bearable. All translations I have seen – as usually – imply heavy interpretation. Note that the Greek verb καλέω, like English ‘to call’, denotes both ‘to call on’ = ‘invoke’ and to call = ‘to name.’

28 I am not the first to have been struck by the singularly explicit comment τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὀνομάζων θεόν in this text. Cf. Legrand (1932): “Réflexion singulière, telle qu’on en trouve parfois dans les rhapsodies de la tragédie, aux endroits mêmes les plus pathétiques”; Asheri (2007): “Herodotus’ explanation of the three epithets could not be better.”



Similarly Xen. *Symp.* 8.9 has Socrates say:

Whether there is one Aphrodite or two, Ourania and Pandemos, I do not know (οὐκ οἶδα). For even Zeus, who is believed to be one and the same god, nonetheless has many epithets (καὶ γὰρ Ζεὺς ὁ αὐτὸς δοκῶν εἶναι πολλὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔχει).

The interesting point, here again, is that Socrates does betray concern about the problem, explicitly acknowledges his inability to choose between the two options and even continues emphasizing the distinction between Aphrodite Pandemos and Ourania, “on the ground of their different altars, temples and sacrifices” (χωρὶς ἑκατέρω βωμοῖ τε καὶ ναοὶ εἰσι καὶ θυσίαι)!<sup>29</sup>

I could not imagine clearer evidence that the unitarian position, taken as patently obvious by many modern scholars is *not* self-evident, either for the ancient authors themselves or for their readers. And if space would allow, one could add the numerous testimonies of persons and groups invoking ‘our’ Apollo or ‘our’ Athena as opposed to and distinct from the gods with the same names but worshipped in another polis.<sup>30</sup> The texts of Herodotus and Xenophon are particularly important since they provide an ancient Greek – emic – legitimation for our – etic – questions. But, as Socrates shows, we must not expect explicit, monolithic, or unequivocal answers. Different contexts may foster different interpretations, few people were inclined to reflect, fewer to comment explicitly on such issues as the difference between separative and unitarian views. The fact that many if not a majority of texts are ambiguous on this point may appear regrettable at first sight, but on second thought may hide a particular meaning of its own.

## 2. One God or Many? Three Modern Voices

Let us once more narrow down the issue, this time to a recent controversy concerning the unity versus diversity dilemma, which will prove particularly relevant to the god Dionysos, although the god does not play an explicit part in that discussion. To my mind no dispute reveals more clearly the core of the aporia. One antagonist, or rather the target, since he is the one who is attacked and as far as I know has not responded so far, is John D. Mikalson. He is one of the few scholars who has taken an explicit and unveiled pluralist position since

29 Of course, as always, serving his argument. See on these two goddesses and their identities: Pirenne-Delforge (1988); Pirenne-Delforge (1994), index s.v. Aphrodite Ourania and Pandemos. On A. Pandemos in the late archaic period: Scholtz (2002/03). On A. Pandemos as an ‘Aphrodite politique’: Petre (1992–1994). Interesting on the polysemantic Aphrodite of Kos: Dillon (1999) 63–80. Cf. Parker (2002).

30 I have devoted ample attention to this issue in Versnel (2011) Ch. 1.

the nineteen-eighties of the last century, as exemplified for instance by one of his many relevant statements: “To Athenians Athena Polias, Athena Skiras, and Athena Hygieia were separate, for all purposes independent deities.” However, except for a few soul mates, such as Madeleine Jost with her 1985 book on Arcadian cults, his overt and thoroughly argued statement remained a voice in the wilderness, not least due to the dominant influence of Vernant and his school, for whom recognition of a pluralist position would mean a deathblow to their central theory.

It was the Vernantian position that was adopted by the late Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood<sup>31</sup> in a frontal and scathing critique of Mikalson’s position focusing on his provocative assertion “that the gods of tragedy are ‘artificial’ literary creations that had little relationship with the gods worshipped by the Athenian polis”.<sup>32</sup> She starts with an impassioned caveat against ‘modern constructs’ and “strategies conducive to the creation of meanings which make perfect sense to modern scholars” (apparently to the detriment of our understanding of ancient Greek religion). Next, she sets out her arguments in favour of the conviction which she had formulated in an earlier publication as follows: “The gods who were worshipped in the different *poleis* were, of course, perceived to be the same gods.”<sup>33</sup>

Now, how does she try to prove this thesis that is presented with such easy conviction? I give here an extremely condensed summary of her argument. Against Mikalson’s separative position Sourvinou-Inwood (henceforth S.) argues that each god’s unity is attested by at least five general characteristics, typical and universally valid for that god:

1) Common iconography. The common and ubiquitous iconographical type of each god suggests unity in the mental representation of the deity. Artemis is always pictured as a young girl with a bow and arrow, and usually with a deer.

2) Genealogy. The core aspect of each divinity includes mythical family bonds. How could a Paeon, as inscribed in a sanctuary, refer to Apollo, the son of Leto and Zeus, if each Apollo was perceived as a different divinity?

3) The central unity of the name. Cult regulations sometimes use the deity’s name alone, without epithet, or refer to some deities by name alone and to others by name and epithet, an element that we have already discussed.

4) Important cultic elements were shared between different sanctuaries of the same divinity with different epithets. Example: the *Arkteia* for Artemis

31 Sourvinou-Inwood (1997) 161 (and in the following esp. against Mikalson [1991]).

32 The idea has been put forward many times. One for many: “we would be well advised to erect a firm partition between stage and temple/chapel” (Pleket [1981] 177).

33 See the full quote above n. 19, with my preliminary reaction.

Brauronia and Artemis Mounichia, and vases of a particular type and shape that are used for several Artemides in Attica.

5) Common myth. Mythological representations may be shared by temples of gods with different epithets. Example: according to Mikalson's thesis, Athena in the Gigantomachy scenes of the Parthenon metopes should represent Athena Polias while Athena in the same mythological context on the east pediment of the Athena Nike temple should be Athena Nike.

Neglecting all these unifying elements would in her view yield an "extremely implausible scenario, which makes nonsense of the way in which meaning is created out of images".

It is impossible in the available space to go extensively into all the arguments presented here. Fortunately, all of them can be tackled on one and the same common underlying layer of argumentation. Her first point, the iconographic unity, may serve as illustration. Let us, just for the sake of argument, accept for a moment the universality of one iconographical scheme for every god with one name and many epithets, including local ones (a universality, for that matter, which is non-existent to begin with).<sup>34</sup> What, then, is the probative value of this observation?

Let us return, for a moment, to twentieth-century theology, or rather Mariology. Whatever her name – be it Maria, Madonna, Our Lady, the Holy Virgin, Panaghia – the mother of god is predominantly pictured as a woman, mostly seated, with a baby in her arms – either on her right or left arm (which, incidentally, can make all the difference between various local Holy Virgins). So what? Are they "of course perceived to be the same divine persons" on account of this common representation? Perceived by whom? As we have seen all these Holy Virgins worldwide are differentiated as distinct personae by the local believers. *Despite* the very uniform iconography! It appears that iconography as an argument for overall identity is precarious to say the least and lacking probative value, to tell the truth.

What is true for universal iconography is equally true for all the other universalities listed by Sourvinou-Inwood: genealogy,<sup>35</sup> name, common cultic elements, and mythology.<sup>36</sup> In principle, all Holy Virgins are the mother of

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34 Think of the confusing iconographies of Zeus Meilichios and Apollo Agueius, and the chronological differences between the bearded older Apollo of the archaic period and the younger one of classical times, as well as the black Artemis of Sicily and the black Demeter of Arcadia, for all of whom Sourvinou-Inwood's global interpretation is insufficient.

35 Which, for that matter, is far from being as uniform as S. claims: the Arcadian Demeter, apart from the colour of her skin, is married to Poseidon, not Zeus, and this has serious consequences for the nature of her progeniture.

36 Which is not homogeneous either. Gods are involved in a multitude of local myths, often radically diverging from – and even contradicting – the Homeric and Hesiodic

Christ. They also share the ritual elements of, for instance, the rosary with the concomitant mumbling of Hail Marys, and they share the myth of birth, oppression, flight to Egypt, and final grief, as it is all pounded home during Scripture readings at religious services. As for her name, during the official cultic services of Scripture reading, sermon, hymns and prayer, the Mother of God is consistently referred to as Maria or Holy Virgin, *not* as Maria del Carmin or Maria Addolorata.

Now, all these universalities apparently do nothing to affect the locals' conviction (*after* the service) that the Maria of this particular church or parish, with her particular surname, is a special local Maria with very special qualities, and as such different from other Marias.<sup>37</sup>

So, the tenets of Sourvinou-Inwood – now in fact exposed as a dogmatic, very modern, academic and rationalistic creed – just collapse when confronted with the incredible, yet undeniable, potentials of living religion. The facts on which her position is based may be true if viewed from one perspective, but do not bear out her conclusions as absolute, monolithical and exclusive laws.<sup>38</sup>

The conclusion – based on the evidence of living religion, not on theoretical premises – is that belief in a plurality of gods with one and the same name appears to prevail worldwide among religious people, including Christian believers who might have been expected to be more curtailed by one religious authority than were our undogmatic ancient Greeks. And this leaves us with the question of who is the one that is applying 'modern constructs' or using "strategies conducive to the creation of meanings which

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ones, as no modern textbook in Greek mythology fails to notice. See e.g. Buxton (1994). This then has immediate consequences for figurative art. Snodgrass (1998) shows how early Greek artists derived their motifs only rarely from the Homeric poems but far more frequently from their local mythologies.

37 See on Spanish Maria-devotion: Christian (1977) 77. Cf. Christian (1972) 89–93 and index s.v. advocations, apparitions, Mary. Esp. 48: "The church maintains that there is only one Mary, that all representations of her are interchangeable. But devotions have crystallized around different representations, a manifestation of the inevitable problem of localization [...]. The parishes [...] (with specific shrine images) [...] countered the universalist impulse by diversifying the image of Mary. As a result, even though the same divine figure reigned everywhere, the symbols for different communities were distinctive, and *each community could be said to have its own Mary*" (my italics, HSV). Compare a discussion in the *Canterbury Tales*: "Of all Our Ladies I love best Our Lady of Walsingham. And I Our Lady of Ipswich", as quoted by Thomas (1971) 29 with splendid illustrations on page 30 of different specialisations of different saints. The plurality of Our Ladies is obviously related to Maria's topographic distribution as well as to her many functions. See: Pelikan (1996) and the bibliography in: *ER* 9 (1987) 252, s.v. Mary. On numerous different Madonnas in ex votos: Brauneck (1978) 74 ff. For ex votos with three different Madonnas in one picture: Creux (1980) 12.

38 Cf. Feyerabend (1986) 217: "In einer solchen Welt, die aus relativ selbständigen Teilen besteht, ist die Annahme universeller Gesetze *nicht sachgemäß* und die Forderung nach universellen Normen tyrannisch."

make perfect sense to modern scholars”.<sup>39</sup> In fact, an expression such as ‘of course’, far from being an argument, is at odds with the methodology, recommended by Sourvinou-Inwood herself, “which, as far as possible, prevents our own – culturally determined – assumptions from intruding into, and thus corrupting, the investigation”. In a scholarly discourse on the religion of a foreign culture this term, being an undisguised reference to our own paradigm, is better avoided. So please, never say “of course” when talking Greek religion. Of course? Of whose course? Our course, their course?

### 3. One God or Many? One God and Many!

In the meantime we find ourselves confronted with two scholars who hold radically contrasting views on polytheistic complexities, and each of whom contests the other’s view as incompatible with her/his own (correct) one. In other words both of them take a firm and exclusivistic stance in our modern Western cosmology, which does not allow two contrasting incompatible truths to co-exist peacefully,<sup>40</sup> and which has no room for ambiguities. On the contrary, I would propose that one might, just *might*, consider a third option.<sup>41</sup> This implies venturing for a moment into the Greek cultural cosmology, which does not compulsively avoid ambiguities, and accepting that (the) Greeks had to live with two (or more) mutually exclusive realities *and yet coped with the inherent paradoxes and inconsistencies*.

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39 Sourvinou-Inwood (1997) 161, as quoted above.

40 I adopt here terms and concepts introduced by Oudemans/Lardinois (1987).

41 I do not claim originality in this respect. See for instance Buxton (1994), who on page 213, arguing for the “provocative ambiguity” of myths, in his turn acknowledges indebtedness to “the superlative Introduction to Versnel 1990”. In brief: we agree. Cf. also Jost (1985) 15, who rightly stresses that side by side with the common imagery of the pantheon, largely an inheritance from the past, the cultic personalities of gods differed widely from place to place. Finally, poets and thinkers adapt the gods to their own concepts of the universe: “Ce sont donc des approches divers des dieux et des héros qu’il faut confronter si l’on veut dépasser l’image stéréotypée d’un panthéon simple et cohérent.” One must all the more regret the deafening silence on the at the time refreshing viewpoints of Rowe (1976) 48. Discussing the opposition between Guthrie, who sees a contradictory chaos in the many aspects of Apollo, and Walter F. Otto’s unitarian vision: “In Apollo all the splendour of the Olympic converges”, Rowe finds that Otto was involved in just the same type of exercise as Hesiod, namely that of attempting to mitigate, in a creative way, the apparent chaos and disunity of Greek religious ideas. He concludes: “I am not sure therefore that Guthrie’s view that there are unresolved contradictions in the character of Apollo, or of Dionysos, is necessarily mutually incompatible with Otto’s attempt at conciliation; for they simply belong to different spheres of discourse.”

There cannot be any doubt that mythical and (local) cultic personae of a god might diverge dramatically. While attending a tragedy,<sup>42</sup> admiring a mythical scene in visual art, or listening to a mythical tale, one would (in fact one was contextually forced to) identify with a world of mythical identities that were ingrained in everybody from early childhood. This temporarily determined the focus and wiped local identities off the screen. When confronted in cult with the local and functionally specialized – and, through their nearness, more familiar – gods with their surnames, the focus shifted and temporarily pushed the imagery of the mythical god to the background. Indeed as Paul Veyne<sup>43</sup> wrote: “un abîme mental séparait les dieux comme figures mythologiques et les dieux comme objets de la piété des fidèles.”

Which of the two is right, Mikalson or Sourvinou-Inwood? Both are, *of course*. But not at the same time, in the same circumstances or viewed from the same perspectives. Greeks or the Greeks managed to cope with the two (and more) religious realities that we briefly discussed, all stored in their mental stock, by shifting from one to another and back, whenever the context or situation required it.<sup>44</sup> In this way they managed to prevent the multiple facets of their religious imagery from blurring into chaos. As long as we (like the Greeks) think only in one register, we may find a relatively orderly and neat little cosmos. As soon as we try to cross the borders between different registers, the threat of inconsistency, confusion, and conflict looms large. My suggestion is to follow the Greeks in *not* doing that, or if you must, for instance when you suffer from the regrettable ambition to write a textbook, consistently to avoid generalizing statements (which would, as I well realize, make it a particularly

42 Which is not the same as fully appreciating or even so much as understanding the text. Wallace (1995) 204, on the basis of a host of contemporary testimonies (*not* restricted to Aristophanean comedy!), concludes that: “In the second half of the fifth century the Athenians came to realize that, despite the power and the beauty of their traditional poetry, in fact they did not actually understand it.” Cf. Pickard-Cambridge (1968<sup>2</sup>) 261: “It may be that the obscurity imparted to the words of the tragic choruses was one, among others, of the causes of its rapid decline in the fourth century. Poets might not care to compose what their hearers could not follow.”

43 *Annuaire Collège de France* 76 (1976) 371. See his statement quoted below, n. 48. Cf. Henrichs (1976a) 261; Pleket (1981) 177.

44 And so it could happen, that when the best of the workmen involved in the construction of the Propylaea was terribly injured and given up by the doctors, the goddess (ἡ Ἐεός = *the* Athena herself) appeared in a dream, saved him, and that next Perikles erected a statue for Athena Hygieia at the place where she had already an older altar (Plut. *Vit. Per.* 13.12–13) whose base may have been found with the inscription: “The Athenians to Athena Hygieia” (Raubitschek [1949] no. 166). There we find her sided by a statue of Hygieia, which may have been an offshoot of the same Athena Hygieia and must have been very difficult to keep apart from her. See on this dilemma: Graf (1985) 216 f.; Auffarth (1995) 353 ff. Things are not so simple as some modern scholars would like to have them!

unreadable textbook, unanimously discouraged for use by undergraduates). If you have just heard that the Hagios Georgios from right here is not the same as the one in Cappadocia, you are not supposed to ask: and how about the dragon? Did your local Georgios kill the beast or didn't he? That is to wilfully break the dividing lines and mix up categories, thus creating chaos. This is also breaking the rules of the game. So do not ask an ancient Greek how the Apollo Agueius at his doorstep – very much Apollo, to be sure, but a legless one – could have recovered the cattle that the Herm in his garden – very much Hermes, but an armless one – had stolen, as it is told in the Homeric Hymn to Hermes. Because then you are mixing up different registers which makes you the one who is creating chaos, not your Greeks.

So, to put it provocatively, gods bearing the same name with different epithets *were* and *were not* one and the same.<sup>45</sup> Theirs was a chameleonic nature, with different aspects or indeed identities rising to prominence and fading into the background in alternation according to their momentary registrations in the believer's various layers of perception. Various different conceptions of the unity or diversity of gods with one name and different epithets or different residences are stored in the mind of a person, but it is the shift in context – literary, social, regional – (or on the level of education)<sup>46</sup> that triggers a specific focus.<sup>47</sup> As Paul Veyne once wrote: “a worshipper who made a vow in pious affection did not think of the mythological biography of the god to whom he

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45 I used this expression in my 1999 lecture and am happy to find nearly the same in Mikalson (2005) 37: “The deities of Greek poetry, in a sense, both were (by name, physical appearance, and sometimes function) and were not (by local cult myths, rituals, and sometimes function) the deities whom each Greek personally worshipped.” Mikalson in this first chapter, independently from my own research, briefly formulates his view on problems of divine identities on which he made occasional notes in earlier works and on which I very much agree. Cf. Auffarth (1994a) 19: “Die Götter [in contradistinction to locally determined heroes, HSV] dagegen gibt es in fast jedem Ort. Und doch sind es nicht die gleichen. Sie sind Teil des lokalen Pantheons, das in jeder Polis wieder anders zusammengesetzt ist.”

46 I hesitate, though, to make an all-too-rigorous distinction between ‘popular’ religion and that of poets and philosophers, even if it is in the first group that one may expect a more ‘separatist’ imagery of the world of the gods, cf. above.

47 In the words of Borgeaud (1996) 23: “Un dieu, en effet, c’est toujours des dizaines d’aspects et de fonctions partagés et contrastés avec ceux d’autres dieux. Un dieu, tel qu’il apparaît dans la relation rituelle, constitue donc un point nodal, conjoncturel et problématique. C’est dans la relation concrète de l’interlocuteur à la puissance, que s’opère le classement du panthéon, et donc de nomination.” Such an alternation of perspectives is easily conceivable, to mention only one instance, in the case of Aphrodite in the many different colonies of Miletos, about whom Greaves (2004) 31 concludes: “The seafaring Milesians and their colonists worshipped Aphrodite as a sea goddess; the precise epithet of Aphrodite and the cults of Milesians colonies in general were mutable from region to region and they adopted and adapted the local practice.”



prayed for assistance. But if questioned he would speak on this mythical aspect.”<sup>48</sup>

So far so good. Jonathan Z. Smith once wrote: “The historian’s task is to complicate, not to clarify.” I suggest we accept this challenge. For we have not nearly finished our quest. If we now accept a basic structural pluriformity of each god, the next question, one that as far as I know has not previously been broached, already looms up: are there also differences *in the degree to which* one identity (say the image of the god in daily cultic milieu) of a god permeates the persona as staged in myth and tragedy? On one hand there are extreme contrasts. Typical are, for instance, the contrasts between the lofty Apollo of Delphi and the Homeric hymn on one hand, and his little namesake Apollo Aguius on the other, or between Zeus Olympios and Zeus Ktesios, who is worshipped in the form of a mail-jar; or that of Hermes, the swift god of myth, in vase painting, and the palaestra, and the immovable Herm. Demeter has been branded an Olympian, a chthonian, a women’s goddess, an agrarian fertility goddess, a city goddess, a marginal goddess, a goddess of the curse, a representative of divine justice. Now Demeter may be all this but never all at once. One god – as identified by one name – always participates in a variety of systems. In accordance with each system the god will show a different face. Sometimes literally. ‘Our Demeter is black’ say the Arcadians, who worship a chthonian black Demeter who is the spouse of Poseidon. They cannot read – or listen to – the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, the Olympian goddess who has a daughter by Zeus, without adjusting both the goddess’s colour and her family relationship to this more radiant milieu. A legitimate question, however, is whether all the gods share to the same extent such an *extremely* kaleidoscopic multifaceted and divergent pluriformity. And it is with this question that I finally find the courage to turn to the god who is in the centre of our interest.

#### 4. Dionysos: Many

Must we conclude that this modest polytheistic paper has “nothing to do with Dionysos”, as the expression goes? Let us see. First of all, if it is typical of Greek gods in general to have several different personae at their disposal and to shift from one to the other according to the requirements of context, literary

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48 Veyne (1986) 280: “un fidèle qui faisait pieusement et anxieusement un vœu ne pensait guère à la biographie mythologique du dieu auquel il demandait secours. Mais quand on l’interrogeait, il parlait de cet aspect mythique.” This free alternation of identities is not restricted to polytheistic Greece. In a discussion of Zeus of Carmel/of Heliopolis (modern Baalbek), Millar (1993) 270 says that the god was “whatever his worshipper said he was.” Cf. *ibid.* 249 on Dolichenus: “His worshippers could literally make of him what they would.” Kaizer (2008) focusses on similar phenomena.



genre, type of discourse or perspective, then we may expect that the same is true for Dionysos. And, exactly in his case, this will not come as a big surprise. In the second half of the last century the scholarly focus has been on the wild, disorderly, ambiguous, paradoxical nature of the god, characterised inter alia by the inversion of social norms, by ecstasy, maenadism, and other anti-cultural traits. His personality is marked by ambiguities: born twice, Dionysos displays divine, human and animal traits. As the inventor of wine he has made a fundamental contribution to Greek civilization; as the ‘Raw-Eater’ he challenges the foundations of Greek (and, generally, human) culture.<sup>49</sup> In the former quality he was predominantly worshipped by men, in the latter, the domain of maenadism, by women.<sup>50</sup> Dionysos has both masculine and feminine traits.<sup>51</sup> Embodying the vitality of life on one hand, he also has marked connections with death and afterlife on the other. He comes<sup>52</sup> and disappears. In short, then, “Dionysos is essentially a paradox, the sum total of numerous contradictions”, as Albert Henrichs wrote in a 1979 paper.<sup>53</sup> And even more lapidarily: “Dionysos is different”, which was the opening line of

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49 Cf. Graf (1985) 74–80, on Dionysos Omados, with an interpretation as a signal of ‘abnormality’, *ibid.* 80 n. 44.

50 Maenadism was restricted to women. Originally and naturally, male maenads were unimaginable, since maenadism was inter alia an expression of female rebellion against male authority and a ritual reaction to the restrictions of women’s life in Greece. The most extravagant image of these functions can be found in Strabo’s report – after Posidonius – that in the ocean near the mouth of the Loire there is an isle inhabited by the women and wives of a Gallic tribe, who are totally devoted to and possessed by Dionysos. In marked contradistinction to historical Greek maenads, who every second year temporarily left their husbands to seek Dionysos, these Gallic *bakchai* regarded the island as their homeland and only visited their husbands once a year, soon to return to their god and his abode: Strabo 4.4.3–6; Posidonius *FGrH* 87 fr. 56, discussed by Detienne (1986a) 67 ff. On maenadic rituals as women’s monopoly: Kolkey (1973–4); Kraemer (1979); Zeitlin (1982). Bremmer (1984) 282 ff. wants to trace their origin back to girls’ initiations, an idea suggested before him by Seaford (1981) 264. Henrichs (1978a) 133 n. 40, and (1984) 69–91, gives the evidence for women’s monopoly. This does not exclude an occasional male intrusion into Bacchic ritual and *thiasoi* already in the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. See: Henrichs (1982) 147 and Casadio (1987) 212 n. 39a, who refers to vase pictures as represented and discussed by Bérard/Bron (1984) no. 179, 191, 197. Of course, (promiscuous) *thiasoi* need not always have had a maenadic character.

51 See on this amalgamation of male and female features and its threat: Segal (1978); Evans (1988).

52 The classical evocation of Dionysos as the ‘coming god’ is Otto (1933) 75–81. Cf. Detienne (1986b).

53 Henrichs (1979) 3. The paradoxical and ambiguous nature of Dionysiac religion was already emphasized by Otto (1933) and Gernet (1953). For the Nietzschean roots of this idea see: Henrichs (1984a) and Casadio (1987) 191–193; Vernant (1985). Detienne *AEHE* 92 (1984–5) 320 ff. has made an attempt to attribute the ecstatic, threatening aspect to Theban, and the mild, cultural aspect to Athenian Dionysos.

that same article and is in question form the title of the present book. Many among us, especially Bakchai and Bakchoi of a more advanced age by now, and very much including the present writer, have joined old Teiresias in an enthusiastic search for this fascinating and intellectually exciting Nietzschean god. People of our times love ambiguous gods. Nothing to be ashamed of. So far then, Dionysos is no less multifaceted than any of the other gods. A distinctive feature of the god may be that rather more than in other deities his multifariousness seems to betray features of a *coincidentia oppositorum*.

As has often been observed, however, this picture, which leans heavily on Euripides' *Bacchae* (and some ritual elements concurring with this tragedy), threatens to monopolize the total picture of the god. More recently, scholars including (but not restricted to) Richard Seaford and Cornelia Isler-Kerényi<sup>54</sup> have drawn a radically different picture of the god. In their view, instead of a cultural outsider or even the great antagonist of the polis, Dionysos should be viewed as basically conditional to the well-being of polis and political culture. Especially in the sophisticated version of Cornelia Kerényi, who positions the god in between nature and culture, on the basis of vase paintings of the archaic period, this thesis is appealing. However, the two images, that of the wild and that of the mild Dionysos, seem to remain more or less opposed and mutually exclusive, somewhat in the nature of the discussion between Mikalson and Sourvinou-Inwood. If one picture is correct, the other of necessity seems to be ousted.

Fortunately, Albert Henrichs (1990a), without renouncing his earlier profession that “Dionysos is different”, has analysed Dionysiac cults as performed in the demes in the countryside of Attica and argued that side by side with the ecstatic, savage, violent, unruly and indeed terrifying Dionysos of myth and especially Euripidean tragedy, there is a calm, friendly, mild and generous god of wine and the good life, as we know him from his cultic honours in the Attic calendars mentioned earlier in the present paper. Importantly, Henrichs emphasizes that the two opposite sides were separate identities, already distinguished as Dionysos *agrionios* and *melichios* by Plutarch and Nietzsche, which did not mix easily, but that after all Dionysos was both. This once more concurs with what I have argued about the duplicity or multifariousness of gods in general.

Two questions: One Dionysos? Dionysos, a different god? Our answer is that Dionysos was *not* different in that, just like all other gods, he was *not* one but boasted several identities, first of all (but not only) that of myth on one

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54 Seaford (1994); Seaford (1996). I must confess, however, that I have serious doubts concerning his views on the polis-unifying function of tragedy in the first, and of the *Bacchae* in the second book. Cf., more balanced, Seaford (2006a); Isler-Kerényi (2007) and numerous earlier studies on Dionysiac religion and imagery.

hand and that of cult on the other. He shares the *normality of common* cult-practice and ritual festivities as Henrichs has shown. If Dionysos was different it is in that particular identity of his that is pictured in the *Bacchae* and which thus distinguishes him from all other gods. Different too, perhaps, in that, more than with any other god (and not only in the most obvious case of maenadism), in his case myth pervades ritual and ritual permeates myth in an unparalleled reciprocal osmosis.

## 5. One Dionysos!

Finally, what about *Heis Dionysos* in my title? *Heis* is Greek for ‘one’, is it not? If Dionysos is not ‘one’ in the sense in which we have so far used the word in this paper, he *was* the first god as far as we can see that was acclaimed as *heis*. In order to understand both the meaning and the religious setting of this term, I must now briefly summarize my one and only earlier contribution to Dionysiac studies, namely that in Chapter II of *TER UNUS*.

As early as the fifth century B.C., but more noticeably in the fourth century, cults of new and/or foreign gods<sup>55</sup> such as Kybele, Bendis, Sabazios and some other less prominent immigrants<sup>56</sup> made their appearance in our sources. As far as the evidence allows us to judge, these congregations differ from the established cult types in that they were entered by choice, at least some of them were marked by ecstatic behaviour and they recruited their clientèle predominantly among women.<sup>57</sup> The most revolutionary and least

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55 Sometimes either less foreign or less new than handbooks make us believe. In his discussion of the ‘New Gods’ Parker (1996) warns against sloppy labels. The gods Pan and Asklepios (on the entry at Athens of the latter see most recently: Riethmüller [2005] 241–250) came to Athens in the early and late 5<sup>th</sup> century respectively. Though acknowledged as Greek gods, in the eyes of the Athenians they were *xenikoi theoi*. Kybele had a complex migratory history; she is attested in Greece already in the 6<sup>th</sup> century and received a sanctuary at Athens in the 5<sup>th</sup>. See most recently: Munn (2006).

56 In *TER UNUS* (1990) 102–131, I have devoted an extensive discussion to these gods, the nature of their cults, their impact on sections of the Athenian population and the reactions they provoked from the authorities of the polis. Important studies published since are: Garland (1992); Bremmer (1994) (brief summary of the main characteristics); Auffarth (1995); Parker (1996) 152–198; Allan (2004).

57 We must realize, however, that practically without exception our sources represent the negative image constructed by male observers. Bremmer (1994) 91 f. tends to emphasize female interest. Parker, with reference to *TER UNUS* 121 n. 101, is more reticent on this point. On another modern assumption, namely “the scholarly tendency to see the new gods, and especially those with ecstatic rites, as the sort of thing the lower classes might be more prone to indulge in”, Allan (2004) 126 comments that “it betrays the same misconceptions that have long obscured the prevalence of ‘magic’ at all levels of ancient Greek society”.

questionable novelty was that the adherents did not make a secret of their exclusive affection<sup>58</sup> for one god. This was probably the main reason why they aroused suspicion as a potential threat to the religious stability and the *nomoi* of the polis. Suspicion and hostility provoked stigmatization, which of course may have had a distorting effect on the scanty evidence we have. It is beyond doubt that stigmatization in its turn provoked repression and indeed led to the prosecution of (at least) three ‘priestesses’, two of whom were executed. According to our (late) sources, the accusations included: ‘assembling *thiasoi*’, ‘making love potions’, ‘mocking the mysteries’, ‘initiating in rites of foreign gods’, ‘dealing in drugs and charms’, ‘impiety’. The introduction of foreign cults and the suspicion of practicing magic are throughout antiquity two sides of the same coin and in Athens might provoke an *asebeia* trial several of which occurred in the fourth century. The most notorious of these is the trial of Socrates on charges not unrelated to those just mentioned.<sup>59</sup>

Striking analogies between Euripides’ *Bacchae* and the religious features of the new cults suggested to me the idea that this tragedy may betray references to a type of religiosity that we descry in the new cults of the fourth century, some of which the poet may have perceived in his own time. In *TER UNUS* 131–172 I listed nine relevant characteristics of the new god, his priest, the maenadic retinue, and especially the religious mentality of his followers. They include the following features: the new god is extolled as greater than any other god, and hence claims reverence from all mortals, in Greece and, indeed, throughout the world. His followers magnify his greatness in acclamations and hymns, and revere him in the most humble fashion. His major blessing is the happiness shared by anyone who follows him. The one who refuses to worship the invincible god is excessively punished. In the end the onlookers express their error in not having acknowledged the unique quality of the ‘new’ god; they repent and praise the god.

Particularly striking are the extravagant praises of the god’s *unique* superiority, the chorus extolling him as “the foremost of the blessed ones” (*Bacch.* 377 f.), “not less than any of the gods” (777), and with the acclamation: δέσποτα δέσποτα (583). The most outrageous of them all, “Dionysos,

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58 Unique ‘affection’ by no means implies refusal to pay reverence to the gods of the polis. See below on the nature of henotheism.

59 See *TER UNUS* 115–118 for the ‘priestesses’; 123–130 for *asebeia* trials including the one against Socrates, where I argue for a relationship between the indictments against Socrates and those against the priestesses of the new cults. Parker (1996) 199–217, esp. 214–217, after a judicious discussion, very close to mine, seems to endorse this view. Some relevant recent studies on *asebeia*- and related trials, especially those of the three ‘priestesses’: Cooper (1995); O’Sullivan (1997); Collins (2001); Trampedach (2001) 137–155; Arnaoutoglou (2003) 91–96. Cf. also Edmonds (2008); Eidinow (2010).

Dionysos, not Thebes, has power over me” (1037 f.), is an undisguised proclamation of an escapist and indeed deviationist attitude that cannot but have been shocking in the ears of its Athenian audience.

Altogether the total picture just sketched is unparalleled in earlier Greek literature, in which one can encounter single elements but never a consistent and coherent complex such as that of the *Bacchae*.<sup>60</sup> This enhances the probability that the *Bacchae* represents the first reflection of – and *on* – the phenomenon of new cults of ‘foreign’ gods with their ‘sectarian’ deviation from routinized forms of religion,<sup>61</sup> deviant above all in their explicit professions of a structural ‘adversion’<sup>62</sup> to one ‘unique’ god. It would be hard to find a more direct instance of ritual inspiring myth. In the words of a scholar who more recently launched a meticulous search for references to ‘new gods’ in Greek tragedy and whose findings may reinforce our confidence in the reliability of other literary information:

In this way the *Bacchae* captures perhaps better than any other document of Greek religion the feelings of fifth-century Greeks as they contemplated these non-Olympian and non-epic deities: such powers are new to *our* polis and its religious and mythological traditions, but their rites are immemorial and demand recognition and respect. This is not to deny the evidence that the new gods were regarded with suspicion by some (or treated as suspicious in order to make a rhetorical point), but at the same time we should beware lest the relative literary and mythical poverty of the new gods leads us to neglect or deny their religious importance.<sup>63</sup>

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60 Myths as those of Tantalos, Sisyphos, are of a quite different nature. For a comment on the critique of Osborne see the appendix to this paper.

61 It is a truism that there is never a one-to-one relationship between tragedy and historical reality, but it is no less true that, in the words of Allan (2004) 148: “Yet the poet’s very decision to include such features tells us much about their audience’s shared religious attitudes.” At page 131 Alan quotes a passage from the tragedy *Semele* by Diogenes of Athens (Ath. 14, 636a = *TrGF* I 45 fr. 1.1–6) which shows a ‘syncretism’ of Dionysos’ and Kybele’s devotees, very similar to the one in the *Bacchae* of his contemporary Euripides. This means that “Euripides was not alone in combining Dionysiac myth and cult with that of the new gods”. For a full discussion I must refer to *TER UNUS* 172–189.

62 The term was introduced by Nock (1933) to distinguish this type of surrender to henotheistic forms of belief from the (rare) conversion to a monotheistic creed. On these notions see Versnel (2011) Ch. 3.

63 Allan (2004) 146, concluding: “As H.S. Versnel has shown in his magisterial study of Dionysiac ambiguities, the *Bacchae* reflects contemporary uneasiness concerning new cults and their ecstatic worship.” Earlier Bremmer (1994) 91 f. largely accepted my theory. Parker (1996) 198, while referring to “Versnel’s striking study of *Bacchae*” decides that “the questions rest” on whether the ecstatic cults were places of “sectarian, missionary enthusiasm” and whether “turning to Sabazius or Mother entail in any degree a turning away from other gods”. However in an addendum to his page 192 n. 144 (*ibid.* 345 f.) he notes that recent findings of funerary monuments of devotees in

The term coined for such a type of religiosity is henotheism.<sup>64</sup> It may be defined as: the privileged devotion to one god, who is regarded as uniquely superior while other gods are neither depreciated nor rejected and continue receiving due cultic observance whenever this is ritually required.

Our evidence grants us only scanty glimpses of the creed, myth, and ritual of these fourth-century cults, but in their distinctly henotheistic nature they certainly foreshadowed Hellenistic and later forms of religiosity<sup>65</sup> focussed on a unique and all-powerful god. The nine characteristics that I traced in the *Bacchae* are all matched in the religious expressions of these later henotheistic cults, as I have shown in *TER UNUS*. One of the central expressions of this henotheistic religiosity – which lay at the roots of the concept – was the cheer with which the god was acclaimed by his adherents: εἷς (ὁ) θεός ‘one (is the) god’. In such acclamations *heis* does not mean ‘the only one’ but ‘unique’, or

the Kybele cult may change the image and entail a more positive judgement. Cf. in the same vein Segal (1982/1997) 352 f.; 359.

- 64 The term ‘Henotheismus’, first introduced by F.J.W. Schelling in the sense of “relative rudimentary monotheism”, was canonized (and used interchangeably with ‘Kathenotheismus’) by Max Müller in order to indicate, in a polytheistic context, the momentaneous and selective adoration of one god, who, for that specific moment of devotion, is exclusively honoured with all available predicates. See: Yusa (1987). For the application of the term in the study of Egyptian religion: Hornung (1971) 233. For its occurrence in Graeco-Roman religion: *TER UNUS* and Versnel (2011) Ch. 3.
- 65 Mikalson (1998) very much leaning on inscriptional evidence, attempts to demonstrate a high degree of continuity in Athenian religion during the Hellenistic period, a useful (though not surprisingly new) corrective on dominant assumptions, and as such widely welcomed and praised by critics. On the other hand, quite a few critics betray doubts with regard to his tendency, against a general scholarly view, to deny or at least downplay novel religious initiatives in this period. In a discussion of my ‘nine features of henotheistic religion’ M. correctly notes that in our mainly epigraphical sources they do not occur prior to the imperial era (as I explicitly admitted myself). His inference that hence there was practically nothing of the kind in the Hellenistic period necessarily must smooth over the evidence on new cults and types of religiosity in the fourth century B.C. that are at issue here, as well as the remarkable henotheistic traits in the contemporaneous Asklepios cult, for which see Versnel (2011) Ch. 5. Here his restrictions in place (Athens), time (beginning in the later fourth century) and privileged type of evidence practically preclude a balanced judgement. Space does not allow me to open a detailed discussion here. I refer to relevant critical notes in (generally positive) reviews such as in *CLAnt* 68 (1999) 459 (on private cults); *CW* 93 (1999) 215 (on curse tablets); *CR* 50 (2000) 125 (on ruler cult). Most thoughtful, explicit and to the point is L. Albinus, in: *Gnomon* 73 (2001) 315–319, who details his theoretical and methodical objections (in a way comparable to that of other critics on M.’s earlier works) to M.’s approach concluding: “One might be entitled to ask if he is adequately equipped to criticise Versnel’s demonstration of changing principles in orientation, based as it is on the interpretation of a literary tradition.” To which I would only add one of the many helpful methodological advices in Sahlins (1995), namely to avoid the logical fallacy of converting an absence of evidence into the evidence of an absence.

‘uniquely great’. The central god is worshipped not as being the only god there is, but as being incomparably more majestic than all other gods.<sup>66</sup>

The fact that the earliest acclamation that included the word εἶς is ‘*Heis Dionysos*’ and stems from a Bacchic milieu certainly does nothing to discourage the idea that Euripides’ *Bacchae* displays henotheistic features. This acclamation is the only pre- or early Hellenistic testimony of the cheer *heis*. It is attested in a Gurob papyrus,<sup>67</sup> which has preserved a fragment of what may have been an Orphic book. It contains an invocation of the *Kouretes* and the password: *heis Dionysos*.<sup>68</sup> The papyrus is from the third century B.C., but the text itself should be attributed to the fourth century at least.<sup>69</sup> So, as far as we can see, Dionysos was the first god to be hailed with an acclamation that became the most characteristic identification of the great henotheistic gods of later times.

In sum, Dionysos was neither ‘different’ nor ‘one’ since he shared the multifariousness of all other gods: like theirs his name covered many identities. However, he was the only classical god who was acclaimed *heis* and it is this ‘oneness’ and its implications that made him different.

### Appendix: Response to a Critique

In his critique of my study of the *Bacchae* Osborne (1997) sorely misses the mark. The objective of his article is to show that maenadic ecstasy as displayed in (later 5<sup>th</sup> cent.) vase painting and literature, must be seen as a reflection about “what it was to be a maenad”. It was the “oneness with the deity” as manifest in the ecstatic behaviour of (contemporary) maenadic groups that was central to at least one stream in classical visual and literary art. It is most specifically represented in Euripides’ *Bacchae*, which is “an exploration of what it is like to be an outside observer of phenomena *with which Athenian society had been long familiar*” (my italics). Corresponding to the visual maenadic imagery of his time Aeschylus, on the other hand, may rather have been “exploring the limits of ecstatic cult in a society where ecstatic cult was essentially

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66 A discussion and more recent literature since *TER UNUS* in Versnel (2011) Ch. 3.

67 *P. Gurob* 1,23; Kern (1922) 31; Pack (1965<sup>2</sup>) 2464. For recent discussion: Johnston/McNiven (1996); Graf/Johnston (2007) 150–155, with a translation of the text at 188 f. The authors seem to doubt the reading “one” but do not give their arguments, in fact do not mention the word in their discussion. Hordern (2000) provides a meticulous discussion of the text and notes (134): “the final prose section begins with the statement ‘one Dionysus’ [...] but it is difficult to insert the phrase into the hexameters here”, referring to West (1983) 253.

68 That it is a password may be inferred from the word immediately following the acclamation: εἶς Διόνυσος σύμβολα.

69 What we cannot be certain of is the cultural identity of the acclamation, although the text itself betrays unmistakably Orphic features. Did it originate in Greece or with a local cult group in Egypt, influenced by Egyptian conceptions?



commonplace”. In general, it is not the extravagant ritual aspect of maenadic groups (handling of snakes, consumption of raw meat), but “maenadism as a particular religious experience” that marks Osborne’s (henceforth O.) interest.

I am not sure whether, in his critique of my position, he has realized how much our approaches have in common. My focus, too, is ‘religious experience’, not however in its specific maenadic form, but as manifest in the Dionysiac type of devotion of the god’s followers. Ecstatic ritual, be it maenadic or that of the contemporary ‘new’ cults – as most obvious in the cults of the (very Dionysiac) Sabazios (Dem. *De corona* 259–260) or Kybele (Diogen. Trag. in: Ath. 14, 636a [*TrGF* I 45 fr. 1.1–6]) –, was not a central issue in my argument: it does not even occur among my nine characteristics of Dionysiac religiosity in the *Bacchae* as briefly summarized above in the present text. All nine characteristics concern expressions of a specific type of religiosity that, as I argued, is typical of a henotheistic brand of devotion. It is this type of devotional religiosity (*not* primarily the element of ecstasy) that I believed to perceive in the contemporary ‘new’ cults. I suggested that Euripides was the first to conceive and explore the Dionysiac (maenadic) worship in terms of the new religiosity of contemporaneous cult groups. The difference between our positions, then, is that O. focusses on the ‘oneness *with* the deity’ in *traditional* ecstatic maenadism, while my interest was in the ‘oneness *of* the god’ as a conspicuous, though so far unnoticed, henotheistic trait in the *Bacchae*, which one may recognize in the exclusivist devotion characteristic of the *new* cults.

This, however, is anathema in light of O.’s dogmatics. So he writes: “The core of his (i. e. Versnel’s) argument might be caricatured as follows: Euripides must have written the *Bacchae* for some reason; he cannot have been using maenadism to tell us something about ritual maenadism because the two had little in common and there may have been no ritual maenadism at all in Athens; therefore he must have been trying to say something about some real phenomenon which did have something in common with mythical maenadism; we can conveniently locate such a phenomenon in the new cults pouring in from the east at the end of the fifth century.” And his fulmination closes with the absurd *non sequitur*: “If Euripides’ *Bacchae* is commenting on a contemporary issue, what reason have we to think that the bacchants of Aiskhylos and his contemporaries were not commenting on a contemporary issue? But if Aiskhylos’ plays similarly explored some contemporary issue through mythical maenadism, was that also a non-dionysiac issue? Are we to suppose that behind every literary exploration of maenadism there is a new ecstatic foreign cult?”

Here then we have another difference between O. and me. Unlike my opponent, I think that by first consciously and explicitly making a caricature of – in fact by willfully misrepresenting – an opponent’s argument and next scornfully demolishing this caricature O. introduces a novelty in scholarly criticism, which is *pessimi exempli* and definitely puts its author beyond the pale. Serious discussion thus being excluded, let me respond with a *non-caricatural* description of O.’s own avowed course of action. In his article O. is uniquely focussed on maenadism, inter alia as represented in Euripides’ *Bacchae*. So far, so good. However, in his maenadic monomania O. forbids not only modern interpreters but even the ancient author to take interest in anything else than ‘reflecting on the nature and meaning of *traditional* maenadism’ (my italics. Incidentally, is this *not* assuming that “Euripides must have written the *Bacchae* for some reason”, a motive that O. had scornfully censured just before?). In other words, O. instructs both interpreter and author to firmly close their eyes to any contemporary thought, trend, event, beyond traditional maenadism. And this in the case of an author about whose works there is a near unanimous consensus that “In them indeed is all the history of its time [...]. Every experience and every idea that stirred his age [...] they



have all been absorbed by a genius of unlimited perception and penetration” (G. Zuntz); “wohl aber zeigt sich an allen Ecken und Enden seines Werkes die Problematik der Zeit, in die er sich gestellt sah” (A. Lesky). We are talking of the same poet whose works are pervaded and deeply influenced by contemporary intellectual thought (F. Egli, *Euripides im Kontext zeitgenössischer intellektueller Strömungen. Analyse der Funktion philosophischer Themen in den Tragödien und Fragmenten* [Munich/Leipzig 2003]) and in whose tragedies political events of his time find a (filtered) reflection (A.M. Bowie, “Tragic Filters for History: Euripides’ *Supplikes* and Sophocles’ *Philoctetes*”, in: C. Pelling [ed.], *Greek Tragedy and the Historian* [Oxford 1997] 39–62).

Yet in the view of O. this author *must* have written his *Bacchae* in complete isolation of and blindfolded to religious trends in contemporary Athens. Corollary to this is that interpreters are required to close their eyes to the extraordinary devotional expressions that we detect in the *Bacchae* in such a dense concentration as nowhere before in Greek literature. Finally, I plead lack of ability to cope with the absurd inference that if one author may have chosen (not has been forced to!) to sketch the Dionysiac (maenadic) worship in terms of the new religiosity of contemporaneous cults, every other author (as e.g. Aeschylus) with an interest in things maenadic, too, should have to wait for a new ecstatic foreign cult. For that matter, does O. wish to renounce Aeschylus’ *intention* to refer to the newly introduced system of judicial decision-making in *his* contemporary Athens on the ground that every other tragic author who might have a similar intention would make himself dependent on the appearance of another new legal system? I wonder what fit of frantic *angst* or fanatic zeal may have prompted a distinguished scholar to resort to such an unworthy style of argumentation.

# Sacrificing to Dionysos: Regular and Particular Rituals

*Stella Georgoudi*

Let us begin with a preliminary remark. I do not intend to give here a general description of the sacrifices to Dionysos in the Greek cities. I mainly wish to present some reflections about a Dionysiac sacrifice which is usually considered as exceptional, unusual, and extremely strange.<sup>1</sup>

Exceptional, unusual, strange: there is a problem with these kinds of definitions which I would like to highlight very briefly before going any further. Some scholars, who hold that we must more or less *classify* Greek sacrifices, propose a distinction between two general categories: the first category would include what is called ‘normal’ or ‘ordinary’ or ‘regular’ sacrifices based on ‘common practice’; the second category would be characterized by what scholars qualify as ‘powerful actions’, ‘unusual sacrifices’, ‘highlighted modifications’, or as ‘deviations’ from the sacrificial ‘normality’. Scholars agree, more or less, on the main elements of the so-called ‘normal’, ‘ordinary’ and ‘regular’ sacrifices. There is less agreement about what could be defined as ‘powerful’, ‘unusual’, ‘abnormal’, ‘distorted’ or ‘deviant’ actions or sacrificial rites. But the question is whether this kind of binary classification can help us to comprehend Greek sacrifices, which were characterized by a variety and a complexity that is often hard for us to come to terms with.

If we establish a rough account of the sacrifices to Dionysos in the so-called ‘sacred laws’,<sup>2</sup> we see that the god by and large receives the usual domestic animals, like oxen, goats, sheep, and sometimes bulls,<sup>3</sup> which are

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1 This text is by no means an exhaustive study. It constitutes only a first and brief part of an issue which will be developed in a work in progress (*Des bêtes et des dieux: sacrifices et purifications dans le monde grec*).

2 On this modern and inappropriate appellation which artificially creates a category of *leges sacrae*, cf. Georgoudi (2010b). For this rapid account, I have only taken into consideration the three volumes of Sokolowski (1955: *LSAM*; 1962: *LSS*; 1969: *LSCG*), and the more recent work of Eran Lupu (2005).

3 The bull was the traditional sacrificial animal of the City Dionysia in Athens; led in procession, it was sacrificed in the sacred precinct (*en tōi hierōi*) of the god, probably with other animals: *SEG XV 104* (127–126 B.C.), I, l. 15–16; *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1006* (122–121 B.C.), l. 12–24. According to some ephebic inscriptions, a bull was also sacrificed to Dionysos at the Rural Dionysia of Piraeus: *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1008* (118–117 B.C.), l. 13–16; *1028* (100–99 B.C.), l. 16–19; *1029* (94–93 B.C.), l. 10–11; cf. Pickard-Cambridge (1968<sup>3</sup>) 44, 59–62.

offered also to the other gods. However, it would be useful to make three remarks:

1) Pigs are rather rare in these documents,<sup>4</sup> while they appear sometimes on vases in a Dionysian context and in a few sacrificial scenes associated with Dionysos.<sup>5</sup> It would be worth exploring also the votive reliefs, like the one coming from Koropi in Attica (4<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C.): Dionysos, wearing a short chiton, *nebris* (fawnskin) and *endromides* (high boots) and with a kantharos in his right hand, stands beside his altar receiving the honors of sixteen worshippers preceded by a small person holding a *kanoun* (basket) and leading a pig.<sup>6</sup>

2) Gods have different tastes when it comes to sacrifices of young animals: Dionysos is very fond of kids (*eriphoi*), Apollo prefers lambs and Zeus piglets.<sup>7</sup>

3) In some ‘sacred laws’ we have only the term *hiereia*,<sup>8</sup> which we usually translate as “sacrificial victims”, a translation that is rather improper, as has been demonstrated recently.<sup>9</sup> When this term is used, it is impossible to say with precision which animal was sacrificed.

However that may be, the general question of the choice of sacrificial animals is an important and difficult one. If we take into consideration the diversity of our sources and the differences among the Greek cities with respect to cult, we may be able to suggest some reasons or factors likely to influence both the choice of sacrificial animals and the quantity of victims on each occasion. We can, for example, point out:<sup>10</sup>

- 1) Economic and budgetary reasons.
- 2) The importance assigned to certain cults and festivals within a city.
- 3) The state of development of a city’s trade network for import of animals from abroad.
- 4) Reasons of prestige which may motivate a city or an individual, such as the benefactor (*euergetes*) of the Hellenistic age, to choose costly victims, cattle in particular.
- 5) Reasons due to the ecosystem of a region, favoring the breeding of certain animal species and not of others.

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4 According to the detailed religious calendar of Kos (mid-4<sup>th</sup> century), a sacrifice of a piglet and a kid (*choiros kai eriphos*) is offered three times in the same month (Batromios) to Dionysos *Skyllites* (probably from *σκυλλίς* = vine-branch: Hesychius, s.v.), *LSCG* no. 151 A 44–47, 57–59, 61–63.

5 Cf. Peirce (1993) 242–244, 255–256.

6 See van Straten (1995) 87, fig. 92.

7 See below, n. 10.

8 Cf., for Dionysos, *LSCG* no. 166, 61–66 (Kos); *LSS* no. 83, 8, 17 (Astypalaia).

9 Brulé/Touzé (2008).

10 I have developed this topic at greater length in: Georgoudi (2010a), with a particular mention of the sacrificial bond between Zeus and piglets.

6) Finally, the personality of the divine or heroic recipient, including his specific ‘history’ composed of myths, tales, narrations, and images, and the worship he receives.

Dionysos, as other divinities, too, is sometimes involved in particular modes of sacrifice with peculiar features, considered generally by scholars as ‘irregular’, ‘abnormal’, ‘deviant’ or even ‘savage’ actions. The island of Tenedos gives us a conspicuous example of such a sacrifice in honor of Dionysos. The (only) source is Aelian (*NA* 12.34) and, more specifically, a chapter where the author speaks about various customs relating to animals in different places:

The people of Tenedos (says Aelian) keep for Dionysos *Anthroporhaistes* a pregnant cow, and as soon as it has given birth, they tend it like a woman in child-bed (οἷα [...] λεχώ). The newborn young (βρέφος) they sacrifice, after binding buskins (κοθόρνους) upon its feet. But the man who strikes it with the axe is pelted with stones by the people (literally, in public, δημοσίῳ) and runs away until he reaches the sea.

It is true that it is not easy to understand such a ritual and to explain it in every detail. However, this text has led to particularly spectacular interpretations and has been used to support theories of human sacrifice, human guilt, omophagy or cannibalism.

Misunderstandings begin with the translation of the epithet of Dionysos connected with this cult. What does *Anthroporhaistes* mean? More than a century ago, L. R. Farnell argued that: “the cult-term ἀνθρωπορραίστης, attached to the god in Tenedos, must be interpreted as the ‘render of men’, and in fact, according to Porphyry, the human sacrifice to Dionysos ὤμαδιος existed once in Tenedos as in Chios.”<sup>11</sup> This translation of the cult-epithet *Anthroporhaistes* has been adopted, even independently of Farnell, by many scholars. So, this particular Dionysos of Tenedos is usually designated as a “render of men”,<sup>12</sup> a “dépeceur d’hommes” or “démembreur d’humains”,<sup>13</sup> a “sbranatore di uomini”.<sup>14</sup> Dionysos *Anthroporhaistes* would then be a god “who tears men to pieces”.<sup>15</sup>

This interpretation is however difficult to accept<sup>16</sup> because the verb *rhaio* does not mean ‘to rend’, which in Greek is *diamelizo*, but rather ‘to break’, ‘to strike’, ‘to crash’ or ‘to hammer’. The noun ραιστήρ designates, for example,

11 Farnell (1909) 164–165.

12 E.g. Otto (1965) 105; Henrichs (1981) 222.

13 E.g. Coche de la Ferté (1980) 147; Daraki (1985) 63; Bonnechere (1994) 224: “Le Dionysos ténédeén n’est autre qu’ἀνθρωπορραίστης, démembreur d’humains”.

14 Cf. Brelich (2006) 139.

15 Cf. Brelich (1969) 199.

16 The translation “render of men” had already been criticized as “somewhat inexact” by Cook (1914) 659 and n. 6, or as “wrong” by Kerényi (1976b) 190 n. 4.

the hammer with which Hephaistos forged the armour of Achilles in Homer (*Il.* 18.477) and with which in Aeschylus Prometheus is nailed to the rocks.<sup>17</sup> From this point of view, Dionysos *Anthroporhaistes* would be one who ‘hammers’ men; in French we could say a “marteleur d’humains”.<sup>18</sup> Alternatively, if we want to use vaguer and more general terms, we could call him “smiter of men” (Cook), or “man destroyer”,<sup>19</sup> but without relating this latter name to the idea of ‘dismemberment’.<sup>20</sup>

The rather inexact translation ‘render of men’ is evidently due to the confusion with a ritual concerning another Dionysos, also on Tenedos, a Dionysos called *Omadios*, understood as the “Raw One”.<sup>21</sup> In a very laconic passage of *De abstinentia* (2.55.3), Porphyry says: “In Chios too, they used to rend a man to pieces (ἀνθρώπων διασπῶντες) sacrificing him to Dionysos Ὠμάδιος, as they did also on Tenedos, according to Euelpis the Carystian”. This Dionysos *Omadios* is further associated with the better known Dionysos *Omestes*, the “Raw Eater” to whom Themistocles, according to Plutarch, who is relying on the testimony of Pha(i)nia of Lesbos (4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.),<sup>22</sup> sacrificed three noble Persian youths before the battle of Salamis.

I have no intention to touch on the problem of human sacrifice here, which I treated elsewhere.<sup>23</sup> But this confusion between Dionysos *Omadios* or *Omestes*, on one side, and Dionysos *Anthroporhaistes* on the other, has led some scholars down the wrong path.

First, even though the sacrifice on Tenedos in honor of Dionysos *Anthroporhaistes* is not a human sacrifice, there are some who see in this Tenedian ritual “le vestige” or “the equivalent” of a human sacrifice, holding that “the significance of the rite is that of a human sacrifice”.<sup>24</sup> According to these scholars, we are dealing here with a case of ‘animal substitution’, where the newborn calf is *dressed and treated as a child*, or *disguised as a child*.<sup>25</sup> This

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17 Aesch. *PV.* 55–56.

18 Jeanmaire (1951) 229, 256, translates rightly “marteleur d’hommes”, in spite of his dubious interpretation of the Tenedian sacrifice (see below). But his translation has been ignored by most scholars.

19 Cf. Obbink (1993) 74–75.

20 As seems to do Burkert (1977a) 256 (engl. ed. 1985, 164–165).

21 Judging from the opinion of Farnell (see above, n. 11), this confusion arose long ago, but it is recurrently reactivated by the alleged close connection between Dionysos *Omadios* and Dionysos *Anthroporhaistes* (cf., for instance, Nilsson [1967] 575; Casadio [1994] 33 n. 47).

22 Plutarch, *Them.* 13.2–5.

23 Georgoudi (1999).

24 Coche de la Ferté (1980) 147; Brelich (1969) 199–200 (italics mine).

25 Cf., for instance, among others, Jeanmaire (1951) 229: the newborn calf “était habillé comme un enfant, ce qui se laisse interpréter assez naturellement comme indice de l’atténuation d’un sacrifice abominable” (that is, a human sacrifice); Henrichs (1981)

theory was excellently summarized long ago by Cook, also in relation to the Tenedian sacrifice: “In this singular rite the calf dressed in buskins was obviously the surrogate for a human victim in Dionysiac attire”.

Second, according to another well-known theory closely related to the preceding one, the sacrifice on Tenedos shows a kind of ‘union’ or even ‘communion’ with the god. The animal sacrificed is identified with Dionysos, *it is Dionysos*. The sacrifice of the calf would then be the sacrifice of the god himself, in his child-form. Undoubtedly, this kind of interpretation has its origin in what Albert Henrichs judiciously calls “Dionysiac sacramentalism”, a theory modeled on the Christian Eucharist and supported by scholars who attribute a sacramental character to ‘maenadic omophagy’. As is well known, according to this conception the animal (or human) torn and eaten by maenads would be “the god himself”, and Dionysiac *omophagia* would then be a “sacramental communion” between the worshippers and the god “present in his beast-vehicle” – as E. R. Dodds puts it, one of the supporters of this notion besides Jane Harrison and other scholars.<sup>26</sup> Along the same lines, Jeanne Roux concludes, in her commentary of the *Bacchae*: “en dévorant la chair crue [of the sacrificial animal identified with Dionysos], le fidèle était censé manger la chair et le sang du dieu et s’en incorporer les vertus”.<sup>27</sup> But as Henrichs points out, with *bon sens*: “as long as we cannot even be sure that the Greeks identified Dionysos with his sacrificial animals, or that historical maenads practised omophagy in the literal sense, the whole theory remains a splendid house of cards”.<sup>28</sup>

Finally, it is also well known that some scholars connect the idea of the ‘suffering god’, killed and eaten by his worshippers, with the Zagreus myth, according to which Dionysos, while yet a child, was torn to pieces by the Titans. For many scholars it is well established by ‘the majority of ancient sources’ that the Titans boiled (or boiled and roasted) the limbs of Dionysos and thereafter consumed them. Thus, they put the accent on the *eating* of the god, considering this act as a fact of capital importance.

Once again, I have no intention to raise here the complicated question of the murder or, according to certain sources, the dismemberment of Dionysos (-Zagreus), which has been treated by many specialists.<sup>29</sup> But as Ivan Linforth

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205–206; Burkert (1983) 21 and n. 35: “a calf treated as a child”; or as human being: Brelich (2006) 139; Graf (1985) 76–77; Bonnechere (1994) 224: the ritual of Tenedos “nous mettrait en présence d’un *reste de sacrifice humain* dans l’île” (italics mine). – The next quotation: Cook (1914) 659.

26 Dodds (1951) 277–278.

27 Roux (1972) 292.

28 Henrichs (1982) 159–160.

29 Cf., among others, the stimulating reflections of Detienne (1977), in particular 163–217: “Dionysos orphique et le bouilli rôti”.

has convincingly shown almost seventy years ago,<sup>30</sup> the majority of the texts, and more specifically the earliest of the sources, “which supply sure and explicit information” about this myth, say nothing about *eating* the body of Dionysos. Three later authors do refer to this fact, but not in the same manner. Plutarch, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century C.E., mentions “the sufferings (*pathe*) of the dismemberment of Dionysos”, and the punishment of the Titans “after they have tasted his blood (γευσασμένων τοῦ φόνου)”; Olympiodoros, in the 6<sup>th</sup> century C.E., says that they ate of the flesh (τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτοῦ ἀπογεύεσθαι), and finally, according to the Latin author Firmicus Maternus (4<sup>th</sup> century C.E.), the Titans cut up the body, divided the parts among themselves, cooked them in various ways and devoured them completely (*membra consumunt*).<sup>31</sup> It should be noted that only the two last authors explicitly mention ‘the eating of flesh’. Even supposing that Plutarch has this in mind, the word he uses is not *sarx* (flesh), but *phonos* (blood). Furthermore, Plutarch, an authority on Delphic traditions, associates the dismemberment of Dionysos with his grave in Delphi: “the people of Delphi”, he says, “believe that the remains of Dionysos (Διονύσου λείψανα) rest with them close beside the oracle.”<sup>32</sup>

Therefore, I do not think that the people of Tenedos, who offered this particular sacrifice, dressed the newborn calf in ‘hunting boots’ in order to transform it into a little Zagreus, and I do not think either that for the sacrificers this sacrificial animal “played the role of the suffering god”.<sup>33</sup> First of all, there is nothing in the passage of Aelian indicating that the calf was ‘dressed’ or ‘disguised as a child’.<sup>34</sup> Its animal nature is perfectly visible and recognizable. Furthermore, it was not the calf that was “treated” as a human being, it was the cow of which they “take care of” (θεραπεύουσιν), after calving. But how are we to understand the use of the buskins, of the *kothornoi*? It is well known that the *kothornos*, the buskin or high boot, is worn by women and men, particularly by travelers, by tragic actors, but also by gods as for instance Hermes. Nevertheless, it is a fact that “Dionysos does often wear boots of some kind” and that “the connection of the *kothornos* with him is well enough established”.<sup>35</sup> That these boots are a very characteristic attribute of the

30 Linforth (1941), especially the chapter V (307–364): “Myth of the Dismemberment of Dionysos”.

31 Plutarch, *De esu carniū*, 1.7 = *Mor.* 996c; Olympiodoros, *In Plat. Phaed. Comment.* 61c (Norvin) = *Orph. frag.* fr. 220 Kern; Firmicus Maternus, *Err. prof. rel.* 6.3 = *Orph. frag.* fr. 214 Kern.

32 Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.*, 35 = *Mor.* 364 f-365a.

33 As Kerényi believes (1976b) 190.

34 While accepting here the idea of “the god identified with his sacrificial victim”, Obbink (1993) 73 admits that “this is nowhere made explicit”.

35 Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 207, and also *ibid.* 171, 175, 190, 197, 205, 208, on the *kothornoi*.



god is shown in the *Frogs* by Aristophanes. At the beginning of the play, Dionysos, dressed in a *krokotos* (a saffron-coloured tunic), with a lion-skin over it, enters the orchestra, holding a *rhopalon* (club) and wearing buskins. This peculiar costume astonishes Herakles and makes him laugh. “What does all this mean?”, he asks Dionysos. “How can a *kothornos* come together with a *rhopalon*?” (v. 47). I do not think that the accent is put here on the “effeminate character of the κόθορνος” and the “effeminacy” of Dionysos.<sup>36</sup> Aristophanes here uses metonymically the words *kothornos* (= Dionysos) and *rhopalon* (= Herakles), underlining through this juxtaposition their incompatibility, at least for Herakles. For the audience, familiar with theater and dramatic plays, a personage presented with *kothormoi* on the stage, even if equipped with attributes of Herakles, could be no other than Dionysos.<sup>37</sup>

Thus, instead of considering the case of Tenedos as a substitution of a human sacrifice, or as a kind of sacred ‘communion’ with the divinity, during which the sacrificers consume the blood and flesh of the divine child as they consume the blood of the newborn calf, it would be better to explore another possibility and to search for another explanation, simpler and more consistent with Greek cult and mentality. Endowing the newborn calf with one of the most characteristic elements of Dionysos’ figure, the people of Tenedos perhaps wished to qualify it as the Dionysiac victim par excellence, to mark it as a *hierion* that could not belong to any other god, and as the most appropriate sacrificial victim in the cult of Dionysos.

Though following a different *modus operandi*, this kind of ‘marking’ of a victim may remind us of the marking of some animals that belonged to the sacred herds of different deities or were dedicated to gods for sacrificial purposes.<sup>38</sup> There are various kinds of marks, but sometimes the mark (*semeion*,<sup>39</sup> *charagma*) branded on the animal reproduces an attribute of the divinity. For example, the heifers sacred to Artemis *Persia*, on the other side of

36 As Pickard-Cambridge maintains (1968) 207. But see the doubts of Stanford (1968) 75, at v. 46–47: “A hint that D.[ionysos] is abnormally effeminate is not certain”. Furthermore, qualifying the *kothornos* as “effeminate shoe” (Pickard-Cambridge [1968] 207) is going too far, since it can be worn both by men and women: cf. Hesychius and *Suda*, s.v. κόθορνος (ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξί).

37 According to Pausanias (8.31.4), the statue of Zeus *Phlios* in his temple, at Megalopolis, resembles Dionysos (Διονύσω ἐμφορές), principally because the god “has buskins (κόθορνοι) as footwear”.

38 Cf., for example, a fragmentary ‘sacred law’ of the island of Ios, regulating the grazing of flocks on the premises of a sanctuary (probably Apollo *Pythios*), allows animals to graze in the sanctuary area, but these beasts “had to be branded as sacred” (*hiera kausai*): LSCG no. 105 (4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. B.C.), Chandezon (2003) 139–141.

39 Cf. the mark (*semeion*) put on the cow destined to be sacrificed at the festival of Persephone at Cyzicus. This sacrificial victim had to come from the sacred herds (*hierai agelai*) of the goddess (Porph. *Abst.* 1.25.8).



the river Euphrates, had “brands upon them in the shape of the torch of the goddess”;<sup>40</sup> an animal associated with Hermes could have a caduceus branded on it.<sup>41</sup> In some cases, the sacrificial victims, even if they did not belong to the sacred herds, were branded a few days before the festival of the deity or, in other cases, some time before the procession. For instance, a decree from the island of Astypalaia (2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.) stipulates to brand (*charaxounti*) in advance all (*panta*) sacrificial victims (*hierieia*) to be led along in the procession organized on the 30<sup>th</sup> day of the month Iobakchios, in honor precisely of Dionysos.<sup>42</sup> Our document does not say what kind of figure was reproduced on the animals’ coat, but whatever it was, this mark showed clearly that these victims were assigned to Dionysos and that they belonged to the god and were ready to be sacrificed on his altar.<sup>43</sup> It is also significant that even the branding-iron (*charaktera sideroun*) was kept in the sanctuary of Dionysos. It was an instrument put under divine protection.

Returning to Tenedos, we could make the supposition that the *kothornoi* functioned as a kind of mark, not branded on the animal, but put on the newborn calf, since very young animals were usually not branded.<sup>44</sup> However this may be, it is clear that we are dealing with a very complicated sacrificial procedure that may seem peculiar to us, even though it is presented by Aelian as a regular offering on this island. In order to reach the best possible understanding of this sacrifice, I think that we must examine it also in the context of sacrifices of *pregnant* victims, a kind of ritual with which, despite certain differences, it shares some common features. This interesting and many-sided chapter of Greek sacrifice cannot really be explored within the scope of this paper.<sup>45</sup> I just want to recall that sacrifices of pregnant animals are associated mostly with female deities, even if an inscription from Kos suggests

40 Plut. *Luc.* 24.4: βόες ἱεραὶ [...] χαράγματα φέρουσαι τῆς θεοῦ λαμπάδα.

41 Cf. a coin of Pheneos (5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C.) with the head of Hermes on the one side, and an ox marked with a *kerykeion*, on the other side (*LIMC* V 1 [1990], Hermes no. 228).

42 *LSS* no. 83; cf. Lupu (2005) 99–100.

43 In all probability, the branding of the victims took place after their inspection (*dokimasia*) with the purpose to find out if the animals were suitable for sacrifice (cf. *LSS* no. 83, l. 17–18). According to the regulations of the Andanian Mysteries (91/90 B.C.), the victims (*thymata*), inspected and found worthy of sacrifice, were marked (*sameiothenta*) ten days before the Mysteries. See the recent publication and study of the inscription: Deshours (2006) 34–37, l. 65–73. Cf. also Feyel (2006a).

44 Beasts not branded, usually called *asema* (Dor. *asama*), “without mark (*semeion*)”, were very probably the very young ones, cf. Chandezon (2003) 43.

45 I hope to return to these questions in the work cited above (n. 1), in order to re-examine, modify and complete a brief paper published years ago: Georgoudi (1994). See more recently Bremmer (2005a), where the accent is put on the “abnormal” aspect and the “negative” meaning of these sacrifices related to the transitional period between youth and adulthood.

that male deities could receive this kind of victim as well (*LSCG* no. 154 B 1. 37–44). Anyway, the sacrifice of Tenedos can be compared to a sacrifice offered to Artemis on the island of Patmos, a ritual which is as difficult to understand as the one on Tenedos. According to an epigram, written in a pithy style, a maiden in the service of Artemis, bearing the title of *hydrophoros* (water-carrier), is honored because she has successfully accomplished the sacrifices of “quivering goats” (σπαιρόντων αἰγῶν) and their fetuses (ἔμβρυα).<sup>46</sup> Notwithstanding the many problems posed by this ritual,<sup>47</sup> the evidence allows us to detect a major difference between this case and the sacrifice of Tenedos: in honor of Artemis the pregnant animal is sacrificed; in Dionysos’ case, by contrast, the pregnant animal is not sacrificed, but is especially fed and treated after calving, like a woman in childbed – a different ritual treatment which has to be explained.

Let us turn to the final phase of the sacrifice on Tenedos, summed up very briefly and laconically by Aelian: the man who struck the calf with the axe was publicly stoned and fled to the sea. How are we to understand this action? For the majority of scholars, we are dealing here with a variant of the peculiar ritual of ox-slaying during the Attic festival called *Dipolieia* (or *Bouphonia*) associated with the cult of Zeus *Polieus*. We have different sources for this ceremony, but according to the simplest account given by Pausanias, the “ox-slayer” (*bouphonos*), the person, that is, who kills the ox with an axe, throws down the axe and runs away in flight, while the others, “as though they did not know who had done the deed”,<sup>48</sup> bring the axe to trial.

This elaborate ox-slaying ritual is generally regarded as proof of the ‘bad conscience’ or ‘guilt’ felt by the ancient Greeks when killing sacrificial animals. But should we accept this interpretation? Let me refer to some brief reflections formulated in a previous article. Many years ago, in our book on Greek sacrifice,<sup>49</sup> the view was put forward that “this very strange and absolutely

46 Kaibel (1878) no. 872. See now Merkelbach/Stauber (1998) I.169–170. The term ἔμβρυα can designate either the newborns (cf. Homer, *Od.* 9.245), or the fetuses.

47 One of the main difficulties concerns the interpretation of the term *parabomia*, translated by Bremmer (2005a) 161 as “minor sacrifices”. However, as a linguistic and contextual analysis can show, *parabomia* rather suggests, in this case, a kind of sacrifice accomplished ‘beside the altar’, a ritual supposed to differ from the sacrifice taking place on the altar of Artemis.

48 “The deed” (τὸ ἔργον), in the text of Pausanias (1.24.4), a word that does not mean “murder” (“meurtre”), as it is translated, for example, in the French edition of Pausanias (Collection des Universités de France), Paris 2001<sup>2</sup>. Some scholars use this incorrect translation in favor of theories about the ‘guilt-consciousness’ of the Greeks (see below). As Robert Parker rightly remarks (2005) 187, the name *Bouphonia* means “Ox-killing”, not “Ox-murder”, “as it is often mistranslated” (see further *ibid.* 187–191 on this summer festival of Zeus *Polieus*).

49 Detienne/Vernant et al. (1979).

singular ritual [was] a dramatization of the questions inherent in all animal sacrifice, the extreme form of the ‘comedy of innocence’ that Greeks played out whenever they sacrificed an animal”.<sup>50</sup> However, “the Athenians themselves, in the classical period, looked upon this festival as something extremely old-fashioned, *archaia*, says Aristophanes in the *Clouds* (984–985), joking about these two names” (*Dipolieia* and *Bouphonia*). Moreover, the important progress that has been made in the fields of archaeology, epigraphy and iconography in recent years has changed our perception of Greek sacrifice, which should not be considered as a “homogeneous entity”. From this point of view, “the example of the *Bouphonia* is a good one to show the pitfalls of generalization: from a particular sacrificial ritual that takes place in a particular context and time, in a particular cult, we should not generalize and construct a whole theory about killing animals in Greek sacrifice. In addition, we may say that, owing to the variety of sacrificial forms in the Greek cities, there is almost no general statement about Greek sacrifice that cannot be modified and even refuted by a contrary example”.

The report of Aelian is too short and allusive to permit a meaningful comparison with the very detailed stories about the ritual of the *Bouphonia*. Still, I find nothing in Aelian’s passage which indicates that “the sacrificer” was “pursued by the participants, who hurled stones at him, thus *purifying themselves of guilt*”.<sup>51</sup> Confronted with such lacunose evidence, the best we can do is to avoid general judgements and to try instead to elucidate some points as, for instance, the possible associations between Dionysos, the axe (or double-axe) and the cult of Tenedos.

According to certain literary and iconographic documents, Dionysos seems to have been associated with the double-axe from early on. This association is made, though rarely, on vases (see for instance fig. 1),<sup>52</sup> even if specialists in the field of iconography are not always sure about the identity of the god holding a double-axe on certain images. We have to acknowledge that Hephaistos is the god par excellence related to this instrument, but at least in some cases there may be reason to hesitate between the figure of Dionysos and that of Hephaistos (see fig. 2).<sup>53</sup>

50 For this and the following quotations, cf. Georgoudi (2010a) 94–95.

51 Burkert (1983) 183 (*italics mine*).

52 Cf. the Attic black-figured amphora (fig. 1, late 6<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C.) that depicts a bearded Dionysos in the company of two Silenoi: the god is seated on a bull with a rhyton in his right hand and a double-axe on his shoulder (*LIMC* III 1 [1986], Dionysos no. 436, but the dating – late 4<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C. – is no doubt a typographical error).

53 Cf., for example, a red-figured cup from Vulci by the Ambrosios Painter (fig. 2, late 6<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C.) which shows a god sitting on a seat with wings and wheels, holding a *kantharos* in his right hand and a double-axe in his left. Most scholars recognize Hephaistos on the grounds of a dubious inscription: cf. Boardman (1975) 225 fig. 120;

As for the literary evidence, I would like to give two examples: if we may believe, says Athenaeus, Chamaeleon of Heracleia (a peripatetic, ca. 300 B.C.), Simonides of Keos also composed verses enigmatic in character (γριφώδη), and in one of these “riddles” he called the double-axe “ox-slaying servant of Lord Dionysos” (Διονύσοιο ἄνακτος βουφόνον [...] θεράποντα).<sup>54</sup> Athenaeus mainly explains this *logos* by a custom in Ioulis on Keos: in this city, the native city of Simonides, the ox (*bous*) to be sacrificed to Dionysos was to be struck with an axe (*pelekei*) by one of the young men. When the festival was near, this sacrificial axe had to be taken to a blacksmith’s shop, and Simonides once was one of these *neaniskoi* responsible for this task.

But Dionysos himself can also be called “(Double) axe”. According to Theopompus, Alexander, the tyrant of Pherai, treated Dionysos *Pelekos* with pre-eminent reverence (*eusebein diaphoros*) during rites performed in the seaport town of Pagasai on the Thessalian coast.<sup>55</sup> Perhaps in order to show his devotion to the god, between 369 and 357 B.C. Alexander struck coins that show an armed horseman and a double-axe, or a double-axe alone.<sup>56</sup> The name *Pelekos* is considered as a *difficilior lectio* and it is usually corrected by philologists to read *Pelekys*. However, the term *pelekkos* is found already in Homer, where it means the axe-handle; but according to Pollux, it can also signify, by extension, the axe itself.<sup>57</sup>

More interesting for our topic are the coin-types of the island of Tenedos itself. From the sixth century onwards, the obverse of these coins shows a janiform head consisting of two profiles combined, mostly a male and a female. It is not always easy to be sure about the identity of these profiles; easier to identify is the iconography on the reverse of these coins: a double-axe with a short handle. I leave out some theories suggesting that the double-axe at Tenedos was the recipient of an actual cult having its origin in the Minoan period, though certain texts from late antiquity do refer to two axes dedicated

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LIMC IV 1 (1988), Hephaistos no. 43; but others favour Dionysos: Cook (1914) 213–216, fig. 159 (on this kind of seat associated with Dionysos); the inscription: Beazley (1963) 174–175, no. 31.

54 Simonides, fr. 172 Bergk = 113 Edmonds, *ap.* Athenaeus 10, 456c–e; cf. Giordano (1977) 72–73, fr. 42. We should observe, by the way, that the substantive *bouphonos* means “ox-slayer”, and not “bull-slayer” (*taurophonos*), as some scholars erroneously translate it (cf. also above, n. 48).

55 Theopompus, *FGrH* 115 F 352 Jacoby, *ap.* *Scholia Graeca in Hom. Iliadem*, 24.428 Erbse. There is no reason to accept, as Jacoby, Erbse and other scholars do, the correction of *Pelekos* to *Pelagios*, proposed by Maas. The form *pelekos* is attested in the manuscript V.

56 Head (1911) 308, fig. 176; Cook (1925) 661, fig. 598, 599.

57 Hom. *Il.* 13.612, cf. Hesychius, s.v. πέλεκκος; Poll. 10.146: πέλεκυς καὶ καὶ ὄμηρον πέλεκκος.

on the island of Tenedos and honored by the inhabitants.<sup>58</sup> Some of these coins show an amphora beside the double-axe or a bunch of grapes and even a little Nike holding a wreath. There is also the name of Tenedians (ΤΗΝΕΔΙΩΝ or ΤΗΝΕΔΕΟΝ) stamped on the reverse of the coins (cf. fig. 3 and 4).<sup>59</sup>

This iconography appears not only on the coins of Tenedos. Two lead weights (*hemimnaia*) from the same island also show the grapes as well as the double-axe accompanied by the inscription ΤΗΝΕΔΙΩΝ (fig. 5).<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, the close relation between the double-axe and Tenedos is also indicated by a bronze tablet of Hellenistic date (ca. 300–250) from Olympia. Found near the temple of Zeus in the Altis, it records a decree in honor of Damokrates, a Tenedian wrestler, and is decorated with a bunch of grapes and two double-axes (fig. 6).<sup>61</sup>

Thus, the *pelekys* becomes a kind of Tenedian symbol, a mark that refers in general to the history and culture of Tenedos.<sup>62</sup> From this point of view, the use of the axe in the sacrifice on Tenedos seems more explicable. This relation between the axe and the Tenedians is further confirmed by a series of traditions, stories and proverbs, which associate the double-axe with the origins of Tenedos or present it as a typical Tenedian instrument with which to put to death someone who commits bad and unjust actions or bears false witness. Thus, for instance, the proverb *Tenedios pelekys* (“Tenedian axe”) was used in reference to cruel actions, qualifying the double-axe as a terrible killing instrument.<sup>63</sup>

Returning to the coins, we may conclude, as other scholars have done, that the grapes imply a Dionysiac context and that the axe refers, among other things, to the Tenedian cult of Dionysos. But what about the janiform profiles on the obverse of the coins? It could be suggested that it represents a “two-formed” Dionysos, a kind of a Dionysos *dimorphos* as he is called in an Orphic hymn (30.3). In cases where it is definitely a female profile that is shown, one could also think of Dionysos and Ariadne. However, the wreaths sometimes adorning these male–female profiles have been identified, by numismatists, as

58 Cf. *Suda* and Photius, s.v. Τενέδιος ξυνήγορος: [...] δύο γὰρ πελέκεις ἐν ἀναθήμασι τιμῶσι Τενέδιοι.

59 Cf. Head (1911) 551, fig. 288; Jenkins (1972) 300–301, fig. 673, 674. See also Cook (1925) 654–657, fig. 583–594, where the author publishes some specimens from his own collection.

60 Babelon/Blanchet (1895) 678 no. 2241; Cook (1925) 658, fig. 595, 596.

61 Dittenberger/Purgold (1896) 75–76 no. 39; Cook (1925) 658–659, fig. 597. Damokrates also had his statue in the Altis: Paus. 6.17.1.

62 The double axes of Tenedos were considered as a significant offering to gods: cf. the *pelekeis* dedicated at Delphi by the Tenedian Periklytos (Paus. 10.14.1).

63 Cf. Aristotle, fr. 593 Rose, who confirms also the fact that the coins of Tenedos “have stamped upon them an axe on one side and two heads on the other”.

laurel-, and not as ivy-, wreaths. Therefore, they suppose that the heads are those of Zeus and Hera.<sup>64</sup> This hypothesis should not be rejected. For the part of the Greek world which Tenedos belonged to there is some evidence suggesting a cult-association between Zeus, the ‘Aeolian goddess’ (identified with Hera) and Dionysos, particularly on Lesbos, for which we have the important testimony of Alcaeus (fr. 129 LP). The poet, writing in the 7<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C., speaks of a “well visible, great and common sanctuary (εὐδελον τέμενος μέγα ξύνον, v. 2–3)”, on his native island of Lesbos, where a divine triad composed of Zeus *Antaios*, the “*Aioleia* glorious goddess” (Αἰολήμιαν [κ]υδαλίμαν Ξέον, v. 6), and Dionysos *Omestes*, the “Raw-eater” (ὠμήσταν, v. 9), was honored.<sup>65</sup> Sometimes, the cult of these three *synnaoi theoi*, the three divinities “sharing the same temple”, has been interpreted as a combination of two opposite elements: Zeus and Hera, on one side, representing “the civilized idea of marriage”, and Dionysos, on the other, representing “the Other”, “coming from outside” the community, because “the eating of raw food [...] puts him outside civilization”.<sup>66</sup>

These kinds of theoretical and general oppositions do not seem very helpful to the comprehension of Greek cult facts. In the particular case of the Lesbian cult, this approach does not function.<sup>67</sup> First of all, Dionysos seems well established in Lesbos, as more thorough research would show; and second, if we pay attention to the fragment of Alcaeus (fr. 129 LP), we see that Zeus and the Aeolian goddess are not presented as the “protectors of marriage”. Zeus is invoked as *Antaios* or *Antaios*, a divinity besought with prayers and a god of suppliants, while the Aeolian *theos* is called πάντων γενέθλα, the goddess who “gives birth to all things”.<sup>68</sup>

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64 On these questions and on the Tenedian *pelekeis*, in general, the pages written by Cook on “The double axes of Tenedos” ([1925] 654–676) are still very useful, despite the dubious and unproven theories about, for instance, “the ‘Minoan’ cult, which occasioned the Tenedian combination of god and goddess”, or about “the survival of the ‘Minoan’ double axe in Tenedos” (ibid. 673, 675).

65 See, in particular, Liberman (1999) I.61–62, fr. 129, with bibliography and notes.

66 Cf. Seaford (1993) 135.

67 The cults of Lesbos, especially this pre-eminent divine triad, require a particular study which must take into consideration also other fragments of Alcaeus (as, for example, the fr. 306E [a] Liberman, about the etiology of the epithet *Omestes*), in relation to the poetry of Sappho.

68 This is no reason for considering “questa Hera lesbica” as “madre universale [...] erede della grande dea asianica della natura”: Casadio (1994) 31 n. 45 – once more a general and vague statement which proves nothing.



These rather incomplete reflections about the Dionysos *Anthroporphaistes* of Tenedos and his particular sacrifice cannot reach a very satisfactory conclusion. A further investigation and analysis of this cult must also consider, besides other problems, a question which is not new but deserves more attention. As mentioned above, Dionysos *Anthroporphaistes* is more or less put on a par with a series of other forms of Dionysos such as *Omadios*, *Omestes*, *Agrionios* and *Mainomenos*. All these figures of Dionysos are often associated with ‘otherness’, savageness, barbarism, *diasparagmos*, human sacrifice, omophagy and cannibalism. Moreover, all these notions or practices are seen by certain scholars as ‘essential component parts of Dionysian religion’. From this point of view, Dionysos would draw his worshippers along with him to these situations and would force them to adopt his own ‘savageness’. For example, himself being an “eater of raw flesh”, and even a “man eating” god, “hungry of human flesh”,<sup>69</sup> he would instill the same desires in his followers. Or he would transform into cannibals those who refuse to recognize the savage, ‘omophagic’ nature of the god.

In order to confirm or invalidate such theories, it would be fruitful to re-examine a series of cases where Dionysos is confronted with his opponents (the stories, for instance, of the Minyads or the Proitides, the women of Argos, or the Bassarai etc.). Such a re-examination should also take into account the different figures of Dionysos, his behavior in various contexts, the complexity of the opposing aspects his figure contains or the epithets which he shares with Zeus (*Meilichios*, *Charidotes*, *Ploutodotes*), and which show that, however cruel, avenging and punishing he may be, Dionysos, like his father, can also be a generous, propitious and helpful divinity for humans.

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69 Cf. Henrichs (1981) 222–223; Detienne (1977) 150–151.



# Cults of Dionysos: Economic Aspects

*Marietta Horster*

## I. Introduction

Sacrifices, festivals, sanctuaries and other manifestations of cult and cult practice have an economic impact. Sacrifices and festivals had to be financed, sanctuaries built and maintained, priests and cult personnel rewarded. The responsible institution determined how funding was to be provided and administered. In addition, many regulations concerning cultic rituals, as well as nearly all concerning the places where the cult ceremonies took place, had consequences for the economic organisation of the cult, its income and its expenses.

This paper<sup>1</sup> will present the main outlines of the economy of cult, drawing on a range of cults because the specific evidence for the economics of cults of Dionysos is very scattered geographically and in time. However, significant examples of cults of Dionysos will be cited wherever appropriate, and features specific to his cult will be highlighted.

After a few words on the aspect of expenses in general, the paper will largely concentrate on the income and revenues of private and public cults.

## II. Expenses

The expenses of cult may be summarised as follows: in addition to the high costs for the building, rebuilding and maintenance of sanctuaries with shrines, cult-statues and altars, an important part of the cult-budget involved festivals and sacrifices – important both with respect to the quantity of the expenditure and the quality e.g. of the sacrificial animals.<sup>2</sup> The quantity and quality of

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1 The results presented in this article are based on my DFG-funded research project 'Religiöse Funktionsträger' part of the SPP 1209: *Die hellenistische Polis als Lebensform*.

2 Cult expenditure: Debord (1982) 185–193 and Dignas (2002) 13–35 for Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor, and Davies (2001a) and Horster (2004) 194–195, 208–212 for classical Greece. Nilsson (1957) passim for Dionysos. Building expenses are documented e.g. in the building accounts from Epidaurus, Burford (1969); for artisans and builders in sanctuaries, see Feyel (2006b). Cult calendars, like that of Thorikos (*SEG* 33. 147, late fifth or fourth century B.C.), specify the expenditure for sacrifices:



sacrifices and festivals defined the standing of each cult in relation to other cults in a given polis. This standing depended, among other things, on the number and kinds of sacrifices offered, and on the length and character of any festivals related to the cult, since this indicated how important this divinity was for the citizens' sense of identity.<sup>3</sup>

The polis institutions – the demos and the *bouleutai*, or subsidiary structures, if they existed in a city, such as the demes in the case of Athens – supervised the cult calendar of the public cults and decided upon all religious matters. These included the number, frequency and kinds of sacrifices, the kinds and number of animals offered, the minimum or maximum cost for an animal victim, the route and procedure of a procession, the length and procedure of contests, and all questions concerning the funding of processions, contests and other rituals.<sup>4</sup> The late fifth or early fourth century B.C. cult calendar of the Attic deme Thorikos, for example, prescribes the following regulations for Dionysos:<sup>5</sup> no deme sacrifices are to be held during the Dionysia in the city of Athens – which means, implicitly, that also everyone from the deme is supposed to be in the city for this major urban festival. In the month of Anthesterion, the following sacrifice is scheduled by the deme (l. 33–35): “for Dionysos, on the twelfth, a tawny or [black] goat, lacking its age-marking teeth (is to be sacrificed).”<sup>6</sup> In the same month, in addition, a sheep-sacrifice to Zeus Meilichios was required for the deme. Two months later, in Mounichion (l. 40–46), nine deities received a deme sacrifice, including one for Dionysos, who again was supposed to receive a goat of yellowish-brown or black colour, at a specific location called Mykenos or Mykenon.

In Athens and many other cities from classical to Roman times, the main festivals, like the Dionysia, were financed partly by the respective polis and partly by wealthy men of the local elites, who undertook liturgies to provide the agonistic elements of the Dionysia. Lists of *agonothetes* or *choregoi*, and honorific inscriptions recording individual liturgists' lavish provision of equipment and endowments for the competitions and performances at Athens or, for example, at the Carian city of Iasos, bear testimony to the success of this

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Lupu (2005) 116–149; cf. the literature on cult calendars mentioned below, n. 4. A fifth-century inscription of the Athenian deme Ikarion has on its obverse an inventory of the monies for Dionysos and Ikarios, *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 253.

3 *Anthesteria* and other Dionysiac rituals and festivals in Athens and Attica: Henrichs (1990a), Parker (2005) 290–326.

4 Cult calendars: Mikalson (1975), Whitehead (1986) 185–208, Rosivach (1994), Trümper (1997), (1998) and Lupu (2005) 65–70 on cult and festival calendars; on authority in decisions upon matters of cult, see Garland (1984) 78–80, Sourvinou-Inwood (1990), (1995), Parker (2005) 89–115.

5 *SEG XXXIII* 147 = Lupu (2005) 115–149 (no. 1).

6 Translation: Lupu (2005) 122.

system of breaking up the expenses of the Dionysia festivals from classical to Roman times.<sup>7</sup>

In the post-classical period, inscriptions attest contributions paid by individuals to supplement the funding of the Dionysia, and they also record the important role of the Dionysiac *technitai* in shaping such festivals.<sup>8</sup> Financial demands could have various consequences for citizens and other festival participants. One example is attested for the theatre of Dionysos in the Piraeus. In the fourth century B.C., entrance-fees were charged for competitions and performances in order to cover the costs of the construction and maintenance contracts (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 1176*).

This short survey of cult-expenses has focused on public cults and polis institutions, and left out the large number of cult-forms and rituals that were privately organised. Privately financed cult-expenses fall more or less into the same categories, namely sacrifices, festivals and processions, the maintenance of buildings connected with rituals and with cult associations, and regular meetings with or without banquets. With regard to cult-income, private and public cults seem to have shared some, but differed in other means of financing their cult activities and property. To understand who was responsible for the cults, including their financial organisation, a few remarks on the dichotomy – not always clear-cut – of public and private cults are in order.

### III. Private Cults – Public Cults – ‘Hybrid’ Forms of Cult Practice

Even though sharp categorisations overstate the distinctness of the existing structures and fail to capture the diversity of cult practice and the *realia* of cult organisation, for the sake of clarity cultic contexts will be categorised here in a manner actually too broad to account for the rather scattered evidence. For cults of Dionysos, as for most other gods and deities, there are two main categories of cult practice and organisation. First, there are the so-called public cults that are organised by a polis; often, they are at least partly financed from

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7 Athens: Ghiron-Bistagne (1976) 78–100 with a discussion of examples of honours for *agonothetes* and *choregoi* (e.g. *IG II<sup>2</sup> 3073*, *SEG XXXVI 186*); Goette (2007) on choregic monuments; Crowther (2007). For honorific decrees related to the theatre as a place of honour and for the funding of plays, see Chaniotis (2007). A reform of the financing of the Athenian Dionysia took place at the end of the fourth century B.C. After the reform, the *choroi* were paid for by the Athenian state.

8 *I. Iasos* 160–166: ‘theatre inscriptions’. See Le Guen (2001) vol. II, Le Guen (2007) and Ma (2007) on the Dionysiac artists’ various responsibilities and functions at different festivals.

the public budget.<sup>9</sup> Second, there are the so-called private cults that are most often administered by a cult association. Here the cult's main characteristics and activities, the rites and sacrifices are regulated and organised by the association, and the sacrifices and feasts are financed by the association or by individual members. In addition, individual private sacrifices with no connection to organised cult associations might be an integral part of public rituals and festivals.<sup>10</sup> Sometimes, regulations for this kind of individual sacrifice are preserved in 'sacred laws', for example for Dionysos at Thasos in the fourth century B.C., or for Dionysos at Astypalaia in the second or first century B.C.<sup>11</sup> In the latter case, the restrictions concern the date (only in the month of Iobakchios) of cult practice, and the procedure for the public inspection of the victims offered by individual devotees.<sup>12</sup>

There were several possible combinations of the two main organisational structures, namely publicly organised cults and cult associations, and each combination had different economic implications for the financial organisation of the cult.<sup>13</sup> Individual rituals and sacrifices in private cults could be integrated into the religious calendar or into the religious topography of the polis: this is the case when private cult associations were allowed to use public altars and public spaces. The members of the private cult association of the Boukoloï of Pergamon, for instance, obviously took an active part (either in person or by

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9 A well-known example is the mixed funding of the Dionysia in Athens: it was partly funded from the civic budget, while costs were also shouldered by men who took over liturgies for the competitions. On the *choregeia*, see above, n. 7. At the public procession of Dionysos, all inhabitants had to wear ivy crowns (LSS 46), but, of course, there was no public supply of ivy crowns, and so the citizens and inhabitants had to take care of that for themselves. At Delos, the Dionysia and the Apollonia were financed by the city and not through the revenues of the cult of Apollo: see Dignas (2003) 20 f.

10 Georgoudi (1998) presents some examples in which private sacrifices were an integral part of larger rites, especially the major public festivals. However, in some cases, private sacrifices were explicitly forbidden in the context of a public festival. One such example is the festival for Asklepios at Erythrai (380–360 B.C.), LSAM 24 = I. Erythrai II 205, cf. Georgoudi (1998) 328 n. 15, Graf (1985) 250–257. At Erythrai, the pre-incubational sacrifices were restricted to public ones during the festival, whereas private preliminary sacrifices were permitted outside the festival context.

11 Thasos: LSS 67. The first line could imply a public context, but the restored text is not entirely certain, cf. Georgoudi (1998) 326 n. 7. Astypalaia: LSS 83.

12 This kind of inspection of sacrificial victims is attested quite often in classical and Hellenistic inscribed sacred laws, cf. Feyel (2006a). For regulations on sacrifices (not only animals) in sacred laws, see Lupu (2005) 55–65.

13 On the interaction of private and public cults (but without reference to economic implications), see Sourvinou-Inwood (1990), (2000) and Villanueva Puig (1998). The latter concentrates on rituals and cults of Dionysos. However, in many of her examples the private or individual aspects of public cults are reduced to the secrecy of rituals, individual choice in initiation-like rituals, and the ecstatic element in the state of trance.

providing funding) in the organisation of the main public festival of Dionysos in Pergamon, a festival that took place every second year (*trieteris*). These Boukoloi, with their sub-groups, the Hymnodidaskaloi, Silenoi, and Choregoi, obviously played a part in the musical or theatrical performances of these festivities.<sup>14</sup>

It is also attested that the converse happened as well, in particular when rituals or sacrifices in privately organised cults were paid for by public funds, or when public officials took part in private ritual. The latter is attested for the Dionysos cult in third century B.C. Miletos. Certain rituals of the private cults of Dionysos 'Bakchos' were either presided over by the priestess of the public cult of Dionysos, or else the public priestess received a fixed sum as recompense for private rituals, sacrifices and initiations not supervised by her.<sup>15</sup>

Another way in which public administrative and economic issues were mixed with private interests and cult organisations is that threats of punishment (most often fines for free men and women, and corporal punishment for slaves of both sexes) for violations of sacred property or of ritual and other regulations of a privately organised and financed cult were sometimes enforced by public institutions.<sup>16</sup>

Public cults that were partly in the hands of private (or at least non-polis) groups are of much greater consequence for the mixing of public and private responsibilities. This becomes obvious whenever a holder of a priesthood was not appointed by an institution of the polis but by a designated family or group of people, such as the priest *ek genous* of Dionysos Demoteles in Karystos in Roman imperial times.<sup>17</sup> Rather exceptional is the reward and honouring of two distinguished Pergamene citizens by Attalos II and III: they received, among other things, the priesthood of Dionysos (Kathegemon), a cult closely connected with the ruling family of the Attalids.<sup>18</sup>

The best known example of this phenomenon is the cult of Demeter and Kore in Eleusis. The Eleusinian cult incorporated elements of a typical polis cult in which the main outlines of cult organisation, regulations and financial

14 For a discussion of the evidence and the plausibility of this explanation, see Ohlemutz (1940) and Jaccottet (2003a) I.108–110.

15 *I. Milet* III 1222: the public priestess was to receive one stater at the *trieteris* from every participant in private cult. See the German translation and commentary by Peter Herrmann ad loc. and Jaccottet's (2003a) commentary I.74–77, with text and French translation II.251–253.

16 In Thessalonike (third century C.E.) the city was to receive the legacy of a rich female donor if the private cult association (*thiasos*) of Dionysos would misuse the revenues of the endowment, *IG X* 2.1 260, see Jaccottet (2003a) II.55–58.

17 *IG XII* 9.20 from the second century C.E.

18 *I. Pergamon* 248. On the cult of Dionysos Kathegemon for the Attalid dynasty, see Musti (1986).

matters were determined by the Athenian demos and the boule of the Athenians. The sanctuary itself was in Eleusis and was the Eleusinian deme's main sanctuary. However, most of its priesthoods and lower cult officials were in the hands of the two (in imperial times probably three) Attic *gene*.<sup>19</sup> Neither the institutions of the Athenian polis nor those of the deme Eleusis had any legal influence on the choice and appointment of the priests and priestesses.

Besides this lack of influence of the polis institutions on 'its' priesthoods, already in the fifth century B.C. not the entire amount of the revenues of the Eleusinian cult was dedicated to the Goddesses. The major part of the incoming fees from the initiates and the grain tithe from the allied states was handed over to the Goddesses, and the money and goods were integrated into the sanctuary's budget, controlled by *tamiai* elected by the Athenian demos. However, a smaller part of this income went into the private purse of the priests and priestesses.<sup>20</sup>

Similar regulations are well known from all over the Hellenic world, for example the third-century B.C. regulations for the priesthoods of Dionysos at Miletos. The fragmentary decree stipulates that the revenues from sacrifices and services be reserved for the profit of the respective priestess.<sup>21</sup> In a later decree concerning the sale of a priesthood of Dionysos Thylophoros at Kos, the publicly appointed priestess is allowed to assign sub-priestesses. All female followers of Dionysos who want to sacrifice (privately) or be initiated (individually) need the main priestess's authorisation.<sup>22</sup>

From classical to Roman times, nearly all imaginable kinds of combinations and hybrid forms of public and private organisation and funding are attested for Dionysiac cult activities, as well as the two 'normal' organisational forms, namely private cult associations and public polis cults. Elements of mixed forms are found in the import of maenads from Thebes to Magnesia and the setting up of four *thiasoi* associations;<sup>23</sup> in the private associations of Bakchoi in Miletos, which were connected with the public priestess at least by

19 On the organisation of the cult of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis, especially on the various priesthoods and cult officials, see Clinton (1974), on the role of the *gene* in cults at Athens, see Parker (1996) 284–327.

20 We may imagine that the priests and priestesses of Demeter and Kore had costly obligations similar to those of the many other state and deme priests and priestesses, but the ratio of income to expenditure in the priesthoods is not known. Inscriptions concerning Eleusis: *IG I<sup>3</sup> 32* (Epistatai decree), *IG I<sup>3</sup> 78* (First-fruits decree) and *IG I<sup>3</sup> 386–387*. On the financial regulations of the Eleusinian cult, see Cavanaugh (1996).

21 *I. Milet III 1222*, for details see below.

22 At Kos, two inscriptions record a *diagraphē* of the priesthood of Dionysos Thylophoros: 1) late second or early first century B.C., *LSCG 166*, and 2) *I. Kos 216* (dated to ca. 225 or 175 B.C.), cf. Parker/Obbink (2000), Wiemer (2003).

23 *I. Magnesia 215*, which is a Roman copy of an earlier – perhaps mid-third-century B.C.? – text.

payments of fees;<sup>24</sup> and in the various cults of Dionysos in Pergamon that featured interactions between the official cult of Dionysos Kathegemon and the cults of several private associations like the Bakchoi and Boukoloi and those of the international Dionysiac *technitai*, some of which had cult- and meeting-places next to the civic theatre.<sup>25</sup>

Despite of all this evidence for the intertwining of public and privately financed and administered cults, it may be doubted that privately organised associations of female followers of Dionysos were combined with any of these structures, because of the difficulty of integrating their collective ‘trance’ experiences and trance-rituals within public cults and festivals, as has been argued recently.<sup>26</sup>

#### IV. The Regular and Irregular Income of Cults

Generally speaking, there were two main types of income, irrespective of whether the cult was publicly or privately organised: steady, regular, basic income; and sporadic, irregular revenues.

##### Sacred Land

Regular income could be guaranteed by the possession of landed property. This property might be used by the sanctuary for breeding and grazing the god’s cattle and sheep.<sup>27</sup> It was financially effective to lease the land to private

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24 For the mixed public/private character of the Miletos regulations, see Henrichs (1969).

25 Dionysos Kathegemon: e.g. *I. Pergamon* I 221. 248; Bakchoi: *MDAI(A)* 27 (1902) Nr. 86; Boukoloi: *I. Pergamon* 485, *SEG* 29. 1264. The Dionysiac artists had their main headquarters at Teos, but during Pergamene hegemony (since 188 B.C.) there was a branch of the *technitai* in Pergamon, *MDAI(A)* 32 (1907) Nr. 8. For their impact in the organisation of festivals, see Le Guen (2001) and Aneziri (2007). In addition, there was a cult association of the Midapedites (*I. Pergamon* II 297), and one for Dionysos Nesiotes (*I. Pergamon* II 320). For the various attestations of Dionysiac cults of the Hellenistic and Roman periods in Pergamon, see Ohlemutz (1940) 92–121 and Hirsch (2001) 229–246.

26 Villanueva Puig (1998) presents an actually quite problematic approach in speaking of privately organised groups (esp. maenads) as standing in contrast to the participants in major public festivals of Dionysos.

27 Sacred animals: Isager/Skydsgaard (1992) 191–198, Chandezon (2003), Horster (2004) 128–136.

farmers. The sacred land provided the god and his or her cult with a regular income in money and kind.<sup>28</sup>

There are one or two examples of sacred land belonging to a cult of Dionysos in western Greece. Large, carefully carved bronze inscriptions record the settlement of a dispute that arose in the south Italian city of Herakleia in the late fourth century B.C. and concerned the sacred property of Dionysos and Athena.<sup>29</sup> The land had been cultivated illegally, the culprits had to pay high penalties, the boundaries of the land plots had to be defined again, and, finally, the land was leased out. According to the inscription, Dionysos had four large estates, 221 hectares of forest and 111 hectares of agricultural land: the two inscribed bronze panels relate details of the rules and regulations for their cultivation. The amount of the rent due depended on their different agricultural usability. There is perhaps another example of this kind of landed property attested in western Greece, known from the so-called *Tabulae Halaesinae*, a Hellenistic inscription from the city of Halaisa in Sicily. It states that large plots of land were let for rent, and a building named Meilichieion, probably a sanctuary, is mentioned in this context. The god with the epithet Meilichios was either Dionysos or Zeus, so the attribution to Dionysos is not certain.<sup>30</sup>

Apart from leasing out land, there are various ways to use landed property profitably, including ‘temple states’ and vast temple estates, where many tenants or even entire villages belonged to a sanctuary.<sup>31</sup> Such temple estates are attested for the inland parts of south-east Asia Minor, the hinterlands of Syria and Palestine, and, in another organisational form, for Hellenistic and Roman Egypt. One of the most famous examples is the sanctuary of Zeus at Baitokaike. In the first half of the third century B.C., Antiochos I or II

28 Isager/Skydsgaard (1992) 181–190, Horster (2004) 139–191. On Delphi and Apollo’s land, see Rousset (2002) and for the elaborate accounts of Delian Apollo’s vast property, see Kent (1948), Vial (1984) 317–347 and Reger (1994).

29 IG XIV 645 I with regulations for Dionysos’ property, cf. Horster (2004) 165–167 on the dispute and on the regulations for cultivation.

30 IG XIV 352, precise date unknown (3<sup>rd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. B.C.), cf. Prestianni Giallombardo (1980/81) 175–181. However, it has been a matter of debate whether the land with *balaneion* surrounding or next to the Meilichieion is public or sacred land of Zeus (or, less well attested, Dionysos) Meilichios, cf. Prestianni Giallombardo (2004/05) 232 and 234–235 and Cusamona (2007) with references to further literature.

31 On temple villages (*hierai komaí*), see Briant (1975) *passim*, Schuler (1998) 193; on the political and economic importance of temple states and large estates of sanctuaries, see Dignas (2002) 226–233 and Gotter (2008) with references to further literature. For Egyptian temple estates, see Menu (1995), various contributions in Lipiński (1979), Rowlandson (1996) 61–62, Monson (2005). Temple revenues in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt could also be guaranteed by the collection of taxes and by incomes from the *syntaxis*, cf. Préaux (1979), Stead (1984) and Clarysse/Vandorpe (1998).



bestowed certain favours on the sanctuary: not only it was granted landed property, encompassing an entire village; in addition, it was stipulated that the sanctuary receive tax-income from the village and its inhabitants.<sup>32</sup> This shows that issues of ownership and financial management of such a large temple estate must have been very complex. Even though there is not much evidence for the wealth of sanctuaries and priesthoods of Dionysos in Hellenistic Egypt, it is obvious that the new cult so closely connected to the royal house of the Lagids was given substantial landed properties with dependent farmers and thus had an enormous potential for a high income.<sup>33</sup>

The Herakleia documentation on disputes over Dionysos' property of the late fourth century and other examples of disputes over sacred property demonstrate that the sacredness of the land did not necessarily improve the leaseholders' attitude to payment:<sup>34</sup> even regarding leases of sacred land, the revenue may not always have been as regular and secure as was presumably hoped. Some sacred land donated to Dionysos was probably let for rent, whereas other such land may have been used for pasturing sacred animals or growing provisions for the sanctuary.<sup>35</sup>

### Mandatory Financial Contributions

In addition to the basic income from land-leases, other sources of regular revenue for the maintenance of the cult and its more or less costly rituals were the fixed, mandatory payments for certain expenses.

These obligatory contributions could be due from various groups of people. Of primary importance was the obligation of the responsible (public or private) institution to guarantee payment for certain services, rituals, cult

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32 *I GLS VII 4028* – the Greek text is integrated into a Latin inscription of a letter of Valerian, Gallienus and Saloninus from the third century C.E.

33 For the role of the cult of Dionysos in Ptolemaic Egypt, see Dunand (1986). Athenaeus 5, 196–203 presents the text of Callixeinus of Rhodes (*FGrH 627*) who describes the extravagant and extremely costly procession in honour of Dionysos that was performed in Alexandria under the auspices of Ptolemy II. It goes unmentioned but seems probable that large parts of the procession were at the expense of the royal treasury, but other parts of the procession might have been paid for by the groups represented in it. An extensive commentary on the procession is provided by Rice (1983). For literature on temple estates and revenues in Egypt, see above, n. 31.

34 An inscription of the city of Aizanoi in Phrygia dates to the year 125/26 C.E. and records the correspondence of the citizens with the proconsul of Asia and the emperor Hadrian, *MAMA IX P1*. The magistrates of the city had asked for this intervention by the Roman authorities, because they were not able to receive the rents of defaulting debtors on leases of sacred land, cf. D'Hautcourt (1999) 254.

35 On donations, see below. For the non-profit uses of sacred land, see Horster (2010).



objects, or construction works in a sanctuary or other cult location. Sometimes mandatory contributions in cash or kind by the priests and priestesses are recorded, which were usually stipulated by decree of the private or public institution responsible. The priests' obligations most often have involved the supply of animal victims and other components of sacrifice. In Miletos, the holders of the public priesthood of Dionysos were bound by contract to provide certain services to the city and to the worshippers (*I. Milet III 1222*). The Miletos inscription alludes to unspecified obligations to be rendered to the female participants in the rituals by the priestess of the public cult of Dionysos. In addition, everything necessary for the initiation of women was to be provided by the priestess at every such meeting.

Obligatory contributions in cash or kind by individuals who wanted to sacrifice or to use the services of the cult are recorded for a range of cults from classical to Roman times.<sup>36</sup> Ten sacrificial cakes and ten drachmas were a mandatory payment prior to consultation of the oracle of Trophonios at Lebadeia (*LSCG 74*), to give only one example. Depending on the character of the cult – private or public – such mandatory fees and contributions were determined by decree either through a private association or, in the case of a public cult institution, the *demos* or *deme* assembly. In the course of time, fees might be added and existing fees changed or repealed.

This last category of obligations, intended to secure the cult's income, was dependent on various factors: like the regular receipts from land-leases and the regular payments guaranteed by the assembly of the members of a cult association or by the *demos*, the income of a cult and its sanctuary depended on its popularity, the frequency of visitors (who paid fees and sacrificed) and the generosity of priests, priestesses, and worshippers. Therefore it could vary over time.

Although classifications of income categories simplify the variety of manifestations through the centuries, the main outlines of the cults' revenues are identifiable. Only a few testimonies for regular income and cult-fees concern the cults of Dionysos, but as most such revenues were in general not dependent on the god or the cult's character, it may perhaps be inferred that, on the whole, the cult of Dionysos did not differ with respect to these general categories. However, it is possible to identify a few instances where there is a connection between cult-income and the specific character of a particular cult: healing cults,<sup>37</sup> oracles,<sup>38</sup> and mystery cults, including those of Dionysos. The

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36 Sokolowski (1954), Le Guen (1988), Lupu (2005) 45–75.

37 In many attested cases, pilgrims seeking help in sanctuaries of Asklepios or other healing deities usually had to pay an entrance fee or other fees in connection with the incubation and healing rituals that lasted several days. On the entrance fee in the City Asklepieion in Athens in the late fourth century, see Aleshire (1989) 90; her far-

aspiring *mystes* had to pay an initiation fee,<sup>39</sup> and some mystery cults even collected additional fees for the presentation of the mysteries.<sup>40</sup>

### Fees for Cult Service

As for initiation fees, the inscriptions concerning cults of Dionysos are less revealing than those of the cult of Demeter and Kore in Eleusis. For example, in the accounts of the year 408/07 B.C. (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 386–387*), the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Eleusis received as income around 4300 drachmas for the Great Mysteries, and forty-six drachmas for the Lesser Mysteries.<sup>41</sup>

Besides records of such fees for the cults of Demeter and Kore and a few other mystery cults in Greece and Asia Minor,<sup>42</sup> there are also some for Dionysos. The most notable example comes from Hellenistic Miletos (*I. Milet*

reaching interpretation is criticised by Nutton (2004) 354 n. 70. Similar later examples are known from the sanctuary of Asklepios in Erythrai (third century B.C., *LSAM 24 = I. Erythrai II 205*) with a two obol fee and additional sacrifices before and after the incubation, and for Amphiaraos in Oropos. In this sanctuary, the pilgrim who wanted to be cured by the god had to pay no less than nine obols (*LSCG 69.20*, dated to 386–374 B.C., cf. *IG XI 4. 1032 b7*), cf. Sokolowski (1954) 153 with further examples and references.

- 38 It seems that in most oracular sanctuaries a consultation fee in cash or kind had to be paid, at least by private persons. Although some aspects of the myth and cult of Dionysos are connected with the oracular sphere, and e.g. Pausanias (9.30.5, concerning Thrace) speaks of an oracle of Dionysos, there is no attestation of a regularly functioning oracle cult or oracular sanctuary of Dionysos outside literary sources; cf. Chirassi Colombo (1991). Apart from the cake-offerings mentioned above and ten drachmas for the consultation of the oracle of Trophonios of Lebadeia, other kinds of fees are also attested, such as skins and entire victims for the Labyadai of Delphi (*LSS 74, D 34 ff.*), cf. Sokolowski (1954) 154, 223–224.
- 39 Eleusis (initiation fees to be paid to various cult officials; fees attested for the late fifth century): the wages of the cult officials were to be paid by the initiation candidates, including those of the priestess of Demeter, the *hierophantes*, the *hierokeryx*, the priest at the altar's service, the *phaidyntes*, and the priest responsible for the purification.
- 40 Attested in the accounts of the Eleusinian divinities are fees in the context of the presentation of the mysteries: for the Great Mysteries and the Lesser Mysteries, cf. Sokolowski (1954) 154.
- 41 Cavanaugh (1996) 187–203 presents a detailed discussion of the inventory and the cult income described in lines 144–183.
- 42 E.g. the mysteries of Andania (*LSCG 65*), year 92/91 B.C. In Andania, two *thesauroi* boxes existed, one for voluntary offerings, and one for obligatory fees. After the mysteries, the boxes were opened and the contents used to cover the expenses: a part of the income was earmarked for construction costs, another part, of 6000 drachmas, was destined for Mnasistratos, the re-founder of the cult, and the rest was taken by the state. For *thesauroi*, see Kaminski (1991) 88–91 who discusses the Andania evidence with further references (cf. 178–181).

III 1222): should a female worshipper wish to be initiated into one of the private cults of Dionysos Bakchios, in whatever place that may be (city, chora, island), she should reimburse the public priestess with one stater for the period of a *trieteris* (two-year interval between festivals).<sup>43</sup> That is, a woman might be initiated into the mysteries by the priest or priestess of a private cult association, but in that case she had to provide the public priestess with compensation for the fact that she had not been asked to initiate. This public priestess of Dionysos received a standard fee for every initiation of a woman, private or public. These fees were destined for the private purse of the priestess as compensation for the sum she had paid to purchase the priesthood and for the additional costs she incurred for services and sacrifices as part of her duties.<sup>44</sup>

In contrast to the income just mentioned, which was connected to a specific type of cult (healing cults, oracles and mysteries), the following fees, taxes and other kinds of revenues are attested for all kinds of cults:

Many cult-regulations stipulate offerings and fees for sacrifices. In most cases these fees were in kind, that is, most often portions of meat and also, though less often, the skin of the animals offered.<sup>45</sup> The earliest preserved regulations of this type date from the late fifth century B.C.<sup>46</sup> In some regulations, the priest or priestess received a *dermatikon*, a fee in money in place of the victim's skin.<sup>47</sup>

The Miletos inscription from 275 B.C. (*I. Milet* III 1222) specifies that female worshippers who wanted to sacrifice to Dionysos had to give a share to the public priestess. The next lines of the inscribed rules enumerate the entrails and the part of the thigh that the priestess should receive. The late third-/early second-century B.C. *diagraphé* for the sale of the priesthood of Dionysos Thylophoros at Kos has similar regulations pertaining to sacrificial perquisites that the priestess should receive.<sup>48</sup>

Less common are regulations that prescribe monetary fees for sacrifices.<sup>49</sup> One example is the *pelanos*, which was a sacrificial cake of flour and honey, but

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43 Extensive commentaries by Henrichs (1969) and Herrmann, *I. Milet* III 1222 ad loc. with further references.

44 On sales of priesthoods, see below.

45 Examples presented by Sokolowski (1954) and Lupu (2005) 59–65.

46 *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 250, Attic deme of Paiania, 5<sup>th</sup> century: kind and cash, Sokolowski (1954) 156 and Parker (2005) 195. For the significance of the monetisation of fees in a cultic context, see Seaford (2004) 84–85.

47 For the Athenian *dermatikon* accounts of the fourth century B.C., see Rosivach (1994) 48–65.

48 *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1012 = *I. Kos* 216, dated to ca. 225 or ca. 175.

49 According to a fourth-century Athenian inscription (*LSCG* 28 = *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1356), the incoming fees for the sacrifices were to be shared between the priestess of Hera and the

the word is often used as a synonym for a fee that had to be paid in money in place of the cake.<sup>50</sup> A few *leges sacrae*, like the one in Kos for Demeter offers the choice of paying a fee in cash or of leaving behind a portion of the victim.<sup>51</sup> Other cult-regulations from Asia Minor and Kos require sacrifices on specific private occasions (like marriage or voyages overseas) and for certain occupational groups (like soldiers, traders, ship-owners), and these are always combined with fixed sums for the sacrifice.<sup>52</sup>

Similarly, from all over Greece and Asia Minor, and from the late fourth century B.C. down to Roman imperial times, these prescribed sums for obligatory sacrifices are attested for slaves undergoing manumission.<sup>53</sup> In addition to inscriptions that refer to sacrificial fees for public cults, there are some from private cult associations with similar sets of regulations.<sup>54</sup> In most of the known cases, the payments or remunerations in cash or kind are for the benefit of the priest or priestess, but there are some records of sacrifice-shares or fees in money from which the sanctuary profits directly.

In the cult of Aphrodite Pandamos at Kos, the sanctuaries' *thesauros*, filled with the revenues from sacrificial fees, was opened once a year (*I. Kos* 178). The priestess received half of the cash-box's contents and the other half was assigned to the account of the goddess. It was determined that this money should then be used for construction and repairs in the sanctuary. Similarly, in rules for both a hero-cult at Thasos and the Athena-cult at Lindos, the sacrifice fees were assigned to the budget for necessary maintenance and building-work at the shrine.<sup>55</sup>

One might however see the common provision for remuneration of a priest or priestess as a kind of indirect income for the cult, because the priests rendered services for the city and the worshippers and sometimes had to pay for services and sacrifices themselves. Thus, ideally, the fees the priests received

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goddess: the priestess is remunerated with 5 drachmas, while the skin or a compensatory payment of three obols was to go to the goddess; portions of meat, grain, honey, oil, and wood are all to be paid in obols (from three to one and a half).

50 Davies (2001b) 119–120 with references to inscriptions from Delphi.

51 *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1006 = *LSCG* 175 of the fourth or third century. On the date see Parker/Obbink (2000) 420 with n. 10.

52 E.g. from Kos: *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1000 = *LSCG* 168 l. 17–34, *I. Kos* 178a(A) l. 5–9, 15–29. These and other examples are discussed by Parker/Obbink (2000) 428, Wiemer (2003) 293–300.

53 Parker/Obbink (2000) 418 (Aphrodite Pandamos), 441 (Adrasteia and Nemesis, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.).

54 See below for the regulations concerning libation obligations in the Athenian Iobakchoi inscription of 164/65 C.E.: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1368 = *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1109 = *LSCG* 51, cf. text and French translation by Jaccottet (2003a) II.27–35.

55 Thasos, *BCH* 1940/41, 166 ff., cf. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1015, 982, Kaminski (1991) 129, with further references, for Theogenes, the famous fifth-century athlete and hero; Lindos, *IG* XII 1.813, cf. Sokolowski (1954) 157.

would circulate back into the cult – at least in part. Besides this kind of regulation concerning fees and remuneration in the context of sacrifices, there are also other fees to the benefit of a cult that are mainly connected with private cult associations.

### Entry Charges and Fees in Private Associations

These types of contributions in support of a cult are set out in a decree of the private Dionysiac cult of the Iobakchoi association at Athens, dated to 164/65 C.E.<sup>56</sup> The entry charge of the Iobakchoi of Athens was set at 50 drachmas plus a *sponde* of wine (l. 38). The children whose fathers were already members of the association paid only half of this contribution. The *sponde* of wine was evidently a contribution that the members of the association had to pay (in money or kind?) each month (l. 47). The payment of the 50 drachmas, however, seems to have been a one-off or perhaps an annual fee. In addition, many social occasions involved obligatory contributions in money or kind to the funds of the association. In the case of the Athenian Iobakchoi, the following opportunities are listed: “marriage, birth of a son, entry into the ephebeia, grant of citizenship, membership in the municipal or panhellenic council, the office of athlothete, thesmothete, eirenarch, etc.” (l. 130 ff.) More such examples in Greece, Asia Minor, the Aegean islands and Egypt are known from inscriptions and papyri.<sup>57</sup>

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56 *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1368 = Syll.<sup>3</sup> 1109 = LSCG 51*. The date is revised by Ameling (1985) and accepted by Jaccottet (2003a). The decree of the Iobakchoi concerns a range of subjects such as the admission, discipline, offices, and duties of the officials, cf. Moretti (1986), Arnaoutoglou (2003) 179 f., and Jaccottet (2003a) I.83–84, II no. 4. Schäfer (2002) discusses the archaeological remains of the association’s house and sanctuary.

57 It is difficult, however, to use the information about *thiasotai* groups in general as evidence for the cult of Dionysos, because the private cult associations called *thiasotai* are not always connected with Dionysos. The word *thiasos* is used only since the 5<sup>th</sup> century in connection with Bacchic groups. In the following centuries the word *thiasotai* denotes a variety of followers of a cult and especially of private cult associations, independently from a connection with Dionysos. Thus, as Dionysos or Dionysiac cult elements are not mentioned explicitly in the decree of a group like this, the material cannot be used as evidence for the organisation and financial aspects of Dionysiac private cult associations. However, apart from the Iobakchoi at Athens in imperial times, mentioned above, there were also the Dionysiastai at Athens, for which some information is preserved in inscriptions of the second century B.C. They refer to themselves as *orgeones*, a private cult association (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 1325/26*) that held assemblies only once a year (in December, the month of Poseideon). The term *thiasotai* is attested from classical to Roman times in inscriptions from Sicily, the Pontus region, Greece, Asia Minor, the Aegean islands, Crete, Rhodes and Cyprus. In his 2003 study of the private religious associations in Athens, Ilias Arnaoutoglou discussed in detail the

## The Sale of Priesthoods of Public Cults

The sale of priesthoods at an auction is a practice confined to Asia Minor, some islands of the eastern Aegean and some cities on the coast of the Black Sea.<sup>58</sup> The evidence comes largely from the third century B.C. to the early first century C.E. Mostly, it was priesthoods of minor public cults that were sold by auction.<sup>59</sup> Therefore, it may be assumed that the few priesthoods of Dionysos that are known to have been sold were related to a minor city-cult. An example is the priesthood in the cult of Dionysos in Priene which was probably related to the Panionion.

The purchase of a priesthood was attractive for the buyer because of the privileges and financial rewards and compensations that were part of the contracts.<sup>60</sup> The dates for the preserved sale contracts of priesthoods for Dionysos are: for Dionysos at Miletos 275 B.C.; for Dionysos Thyllophoros at Kos the late third or early second century B.C.; for Dionysos Phleios at Priene the second century B.C.; for Dionysos Bambyleios at Skepsis in the Troad, probably the second century B.C.<sup>61</sup> The purchase price and a sales tax of 10 % had to be paid in a few instalments.<sup>62</sup>

The income from the sale of a priesthood had a rather irregular character, since most such priesthoods were contracts with appointment for life. Some of the known examples of a *diagraphē* (an inscribed description of duties, privileges and remunerations, combined with a sale contract) state that the purchase price is designated for the expenses of the deity. Some *diagraphai*

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testimonies and various recent interpretations of the use of the term *thiasotai*: for *thiasos* and *thiasotai* and shifts of its meaning, see Arnaoutoglou (2003) 61–67 and, with less precision, Jaccottet (2003a) I.57, 59–62. There are examples of obviously non-Dionysiac associations with *thiasotai* members e.g. in the second- and third-century C.E. *thiasos* of followers of Theos Hysistos in the city of Tanais, cf. Ustinova (1999) 183–195, and the followers of the Thracian goddess Bendis in Athens and Attica, sometimes called *orgeones*, but more often, in honorific decrees of Hellenistic and Roman Athens, labelled as *thiasotai* of Bendis, cf. Arnaoutoglou (2003) 60.

58 Parker/Obbink (2000) 420, Wiemer (2003), Horster (2006) 186–203.

59 'Minor' in this case refers either to the relatively less important prominence of particular myths and rituals in a specific urban context, or to the size and wealth of the sanctuary, or to the wealth and importance of the families of the purchasers of the priesthoods in a given city, so far as one of these criteria can be detected.

60 Remuneration by skins, meat and fees for sacrifices, precedence in processions, special garments and distinctions (Priene), *ateleia* and exemptions from liturgies or military service and poll tax (Skepsis) etc. The issue is discussed by Le Guen-Pollet (1988) and Dignas (2003), cf. also n. 55 above.

61 Miletos, *I. Milet* III 1222; Kos, *LSCG* 166 and *I. Kos* 216; Priene, *I. Priene* 174; Skepsis, *SEG* XXVI 1334, cf. Taşliklioglou/Frisch (1975) 106–109 and Sokolowski (1976).

62 Parker/Obbink (2000) 425; Wiemer (2003) 281 f.

explicitly make additional specifications concerning the intended use of the incoming money. On the island of Kos, the contracts for Asklepios, Aphrodite Pandamos and Hermes Enagonios, dating from the late third and the early second century B.C., stipulate that the money from the sale of the priesthood be spent on repairing or adorning the deities' shrine.<sup>63</sup>

### Donations and Legacies to Cities, Sanctuaries and Private Associations

In one private cult association of Dionysos, the Dionysiastai, there was a member called Dionysios, an Athenian citizen and probably also a member of the *orgeones* of the Mother of the Gods, who in 185/84 B.C. had built the shrine for Dionysos and had promised a considerable amount of money to his fellow members of the Dionysiastai.<sup>64</sup> Such benefactions by individual members are well attested for private cult associations, at least in a general, vague sense, because most honorific decrees do not mention the specific donation made by the benefactor. In the case of Dionysios, the sum of money he had spent seems to have been exceptionally high. In 175/74 B.C. in a second decree that the Dionysiastai passed after Dionysios' death, they heroized the deceased and made his son Agathokles priest of Dionysos for life, an honour and duty that his father had already held until his death.<sup>65</sup>

Very few inscriptions record large donations for the benefit of the god Dionysos and the financing of his cult. One such record is provided by a *horos*, a boundary stone, documenting the donation of sacred land to the public cult of Dionysos Lyseios by King Eumenes II Soter (197–159 B.C.) in Thebes, Boeotia.<sup>66</sup> Another record of the donation of sacred land also comes from Boeotia: a short inscription from the Hellenistic period (precise date unknown) relates that Xeneas, son of Ponthon, had donated sacred land to

63 Parker/Obbink (2000) 422, 425, cf. Wiemer (2003) on income and expenditure as set out in the contracts for the sales of the Koan priesthoods.

64 IG II<sup>2</sup> 1325, cf. Arnaoutoglou (2003) 153.

65 IG II<sup>2</sup> 1326 = LSCG 49 lists the benefactions of the deceased Dionysios, son of Agathokles of Marathon. A lifelong priesthood of Dionysos passing from father to son is also attested for the evidently public cult of Dionysos in Pergamon. In this case, Attalos II and III provide Athenaios (142/135 B.C.) with the priesthood that his father Sosandros had held until his death. Reasons for the appointment included Sosandros' previous excellent performance of the sacrifices, and the fact that Athenaios had already been a deputy-priest to his father when he was no longer able to carry out the processions, but also because Dionysos himself seems to have desired it and because Attalos III had judged Athenaios "worthy with respect to the dignity of the god and the royal house", and so Athenaios was made priest of Dionysos for life, *I. Pergamon* I 248.

66 SEG XV 328 cf. Ameling (1995) 133–134, Cat. 84. For the use of sacred land, see above.



Dionysos of the city of Thespiai.<sup>67</sup> Only one lavish donation of a Roman emperor for the cult of Dionysos is attested, the restoration of the temple of Dionysos at Teos by Hadrian.<sup>68</sup> Generously financed building-works for sanctuaries and meeting places of Dionysiac cult associations are attested from Kallatis and a few other places.<sup>69</sup> For one specific part of such a building, one of these Kallatian associations of Dionysos preferred to share the expenses, which is attested by a list of small contributions (subscriptions) of the third century B.C.:<sup>70</sup> a commission of three members of the *thiasos* was selected and responsible for taking care of the money collected and the building process; the decree promises these commissioners the honour and reward of a crown after completion of their duties.

Less spectacular are gifts of statues for the decoration of the meeting place, paid for by individual members.<sup>71</sup> In these cases, inscribed bases usually provide the clue. Another example is the *stibas* (a particular kind of cultic mattress): if

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67 IG VII 1786, cf. Migeotte (1994) 5–6, 10–11.

68 SEG II 588 with additions, cf. Boatwright (2000) 129–132.

69 IScM III 46 of the early Roman empire, cf. Jaccottet (2003a) II.125–126. IScM III 80: a cave for Dionysos financed by a priestess of Athena in the second half of the first century C.E., cf. Jaccottet (2003a) II.127–129. Kallatis had at least one very active Dionysiac cult association which is well attested over several centuries. Many Kallatian inscriptions from the third century B.C. to the first century C.E. honour benefactors of the Dionysiac *thiasos*, but most of them do not mention the benefaction itself or the amount of money spent, IScM (Kallatis) III 36, 43–44. The meeting place of the *mystai* of the ‘first’ *thiasos* in Ammonia (Phrygia) was probably financed by voluntary payments by all members, MAMA VI 239; in Pergamon a *propylon* with columns is dedicated to Dionysos (‘Bromios’) in the first century C.E., I. Pergamon 297; in Smyrna a mosaic from the late second/early third century C.E. is dedicated in the *Bakcheion*, I. Smyrna 733; some building-works connected with a sacred house (*hieron oikon*) were paid for by a priest of Dionysos in the mid-second century C.E., I. Erythrai 132; in Ephesos an architrave is dedicated in the *Bakcheion* by private funds, I. Ephesos 434, first or second century C.E.; and in Rhodes a member made several legacies in money for building-works, IG XII 1. 937; from an unknown site in the Aegean comes an inscription attesting the donation of a stairway, CIG 1948.

70 IScM III 35. For building-works financed by subscription, see Migeotte (1984).

71 IGBulg 5579, a *xoanon* is donated in Augusta Traiana in the second or third century C.E.; IGBulg 20, a statue of Pan is dedicated to Dionysos and the *thiasos* in third-century B.C. Dionysopolis; IScM II 120, a statue of Dionysos in Tomis, perhaps from the first century B.C., cf. Jaccottet (2003a) II.129–130; honorific statues of emperors or benefactors are part of the interior decoration of the meeting place of Dionysiac cult associations, e.g. for Hadrian in Smyrna (I. Smyrna 622) or in Ephesos (I. Ephesos 275), e.g. two statues for a benefactor of a cult association of Dionysos at Tenos, IG XII 5. 951.



the furnishing of a *stibas* for the members of an association was paid for by one member, the donor was probably always honoured by the assembly.<sup>72</sup>

It has been assumed that legacies or donations of vineyards were very characteristic of Dionysos,<sup>73</sup> but this seems doubtful, as the following examples suggest. In the third century C.E., a priestess promises the bequest of a vineyard to her *thiasos* in Thessalonike (*IG X 2.1 260*); the revenues were to be used to organise and finance a banquet in her memory at regular intervals; if the *thiasos* should fail to fulfil this duty, another *thiasos* ('Dryophoros') of the city would receive the legacy of the vineyard and its revenues. Although the idea that there was a type of donation specific to Dionysos is attractive, inscriptions from Dodona and Mantinea contradict this:<sup>74</sup> a donation of estates including vineyards to Zeus of Dodona is known from inscribed evidence of the fourth (?) century B.C.,<sup>75</sup> and in the first century C.E., a priest of Asklepios honoured a certain Julia Eudia, because she had donated a vineyard of more than half a hectare to an association of priests of Asklepios at Mantinea.

Since the evidence that connects Dionysos with vineyards in the property of a god or sanctuary is rather meagre, there seems to be nothing specific to Dionysos in the ownership of vineyards or wine-producing installations. The vineyards were just a different form of landed property from which a deity could receive a regular income by leasing it out profitably. A wealthy sanctuary like the Artemision in Ephesos not only had income from rented salt-pans and fish-ponds, but profited also from the use of stone-quarries and vineyards in the Karystos valley. A co-operative produced the wine and sold it in the city of Ephesos. The exact judicial and financial transactions in this context are not clear, but the sanctuary obviously profited financially from the wine production.<sup>76</sup>

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72 However, a *stibas* inscription is not always honorific in character, and some of them may have been architectural elements of the room in which the *stibas* banquet with leaves and flowers took place: *I. Pergamon 488* (end of first century C.E.?), *I. Smyrna 722* (second century C.E.?), *IScM II 167* (Histria, second half of the second century C.E.).

73 Jaccottet (2003a) 1.55–56: Dionysos connected with wine, II.55–58 on Thessalonike. See also Baladié (1980) 180: cult of Dionysos in Sparta and vineyards in the Eurotas valley, 182–183: cult of Dionysos in Patrai and Pellana and vine-growing in Achaia.

74 *IG V 2. 268*, on which see Riethmüller (2005) 210.

75 *GDI 1365*, cf. Chandezon (2003) 102–105.

76 Income of the Artemision: one of the earliest attestations of monetised income for a sanctuary is the inscribed silver plate probably dated to the sixth century B.C., *I. Ephesos 1*. In 44 C.E., an edict of the proconsul Paullus Fabius Persicus, concerning the finances and privileges of the Artemision, was published (*I. Ephesos 17–19*). Some of the details are discussed in Dignas (2002) 141–156. Other inscriptions include boundary stones or texts regulating the boundaries of the land belonging to Artemis, *I.*

Besides the respective city, sanctuary or cult association of Dionysos, the donor or legator also profited. He or she received honours and rose in prestige.<sup>77</sup> If he or she was willing to donate enough money in a legacy, the honours and commemorative acts could be regularly repeated even after the donor's death.<sup>78</sup>

Whether the cult was private or public, the scattered evidence makes it clear that neither public cult nor private cult organisations could count on private benefactors for a regular addition to their income or a standardised provision of expenses in the cults of Dionysos.

### Sanctuaries as Banks

The masses of loans granted by the sanctuary of Apollo at Delos in late classical and Hellenistic times, and perhaps also the few loans granted by the Artemision at Ephesos that are attested down to the second century C.E., are likely to be exceptions, insofar as they amount to regular banking functions of a sanctuary and regular income for the cult from interest on loans.<sup>79</sup> The rich Ephesian Artemision was no 'paradigm' of a temple-economy organised like a commercial enterprise. The wealth and diversity of the Artemis sanctuary's property and income is neither typical nor paradigmatic. International banking-activities,<sup>80</sup> huge landed property, quarries, and salt-pans, fish-ponds and fishing rights, a roaring local trade in devotional objects, splendid festivals of several days' duration with attractive markets and fairs, do not form the standard equipment of sanctuaries from classical to imperial times.<sup>81</sup>

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*Ephesos* 3501–3502, 3506–3513, 3516. Despite the Artemision's often attested wealth, during the civil war of the first century B.C. the sanctuary had probably lost some of its revenues, which Augustus partly restored to the goddess, cf. Dignas (2002) 171–177.

77 E.g. the Dionysiastai of Rhodes list all honours a member of their association had received, *IG XII* 1.155 and 161 (both second or first century B.C.).

78 E.g. at Thera, 210–200 B.C., a woman left 500 drachmas to the association, so that the interest from the money would provide the financial basis for the eternal commemoration of herself and her daughter, *IG XII* 3.329 and *IG XII* 3 Suppl. 1295; cf. another example with explicit reference to the sums of the legacies for a Dionysiac association in Magnesia, second century C.E., *I. Magnesia* 117.

79 See Bogaert (1968) 279–304 and Gabrielsen (2005) on the various activities of temple banks in Graeco-Roman antiquity. Bogaert collects records of up to 25 temples with attested banking operations, primarily depository functions and/or loans and credit. The Artemision in late Hellenistic and Roman times is far from being a typical polis sanctuary, cf. Bogaert (1968) 245–250 and 287–298, on Delos, see Bogaert (1968) 127–161, Reger (1994) 37–39, 60–61.

80 Drexhage (2007) 52.

81 Drexhage (2007) 52 argues that the Artemision was a "paradigma". He assumes that one of the goals of the emperors' building activities in Asia Minor was to promote the

In most known cases, sanctuaries were used only for deposits to secure the safekeeping of cash.<sup>82</sup> The inviolability of the sanctuaries and the gods' property seemed to guarantee the safety of the money even in most difficult times.<sup>83</sup> Dio Chrysostomus (*Or.* 31.54–55) claims that large sums of money were deposited by Ephesians and people from all parts of the world in the temple of Artemis at Ephesos. The money would be kept in the temple, the deposits registered, and not even the city's authorities would dare to make (profitable) use of it. This and many other sources mention the depository function, without a connection to any other banking activity. Therefore, such deposits were most probably locked, an arrangement to guarantee the safety and security of the deposited money, even for a long period. Consequently, deposits cannot have been meant to provide a sanctuary with money that could be used for loan-grants to the city or individual citizens. As the money did not 'work', the deposited money did not bear interest. Even though deposits in money are well attested from classical to Roman times in the Greek-speaking world, there are no literary or epigraphic sources that connect such deposits with sanctuaries of Dionysos. However, it is quite likely that cults of Dionysos with a temple building and storerooms for the votives and treasury accepted deposits of money for short- or long-term safekeeping, but that this left no traces in written records.

In contrast to most of the Greek cities in the west and also in the Roman west,<sup>84</sup> in some mainland Greek cities, sanctuaries loaned money, as in the cases of the Delian sanctuary and the Artemision of Ephesos already

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sanctuaries as important economic units of a city. Drexhage rightly stresses the range of the emperors' motives for their choice of what to sponsor in the context of building activities. For a less optimistic view of the possibility of detecting the motives of such imperial euergetic activities in individual cases, see Horster (2001) 222–247.

82 Bogaert (1968) 281–288.

83 A violation of this rule evokes outrage in political oratory and historiography (and perhaps in reality). Standard clichés in political debates to discredit the adversary included the despoiling of sanctuaries in the context of wars, cf. e.g. the plundering of Delphi by the Phocians, on which Theopompus wrote an accusatory treatise called "On the Treasure Plundered from Delphi" (Athenaeus = *FGrH* 247–249), or Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.33–34 on the Arcadians enriching themselves with the money of the sanctuary of Zeus in Olympia from 364 to 362 B.C., as well as the behaviour of Roman generals or governors who remove votives and cult-statues to Rome (see Miles [2008] 48, 70, 89, 92, 171–176, 181 with references).

84 No "banques sacrées" in western Greece and Sicily, Bogaert (1968) 279–280; none in Rome and the western Roman empire, Andreau (1999) 120, cf. 124. The Magna Graecia evidence from Lokroi Epizephyrioi was unknown to Bogaert in 1968. On Lokroi Epizephyrioi and the loans that the Zeus Olympios treasury granted to the city in the late fourth and the third century B.C., see Musti (1979), Costabile (1992a), Horster (2004) 200. An edition of the Lokroi inscriptions with translations is presented by Costabile (1992b).

mentioned.<sup>85</sup> Credit granted from the temple-treasury to individuals or the city to which the sanctuary belonged are recorded from the mid-fifth century B.C.,<sup>86</sup> but no record of any such transactions concerns cults and sanctuaries of Dionysos. In general, we have no proof that many sanctuaries were used as banks for more than just depository functions. In particular, there is no testimony supporting the idea of a 'rich' urban sanctuary of Dionysos whose treasury the responsible authorities would be willing to make profitable use of.

### Religious Festivals, Fairs and Markets

Religious festivals, *panegyreis*, took place at many if not most of the sanctuaries from the late archaic period to the fourth century C.E., when pagan festivals were no longer tolerated. These periodic festivities were integrated into the religious calendar of a city, unless the cult and its sanctuary were connected with a private association.

The duration of the festival depended on the rituals and sacrifices connected with the established traditions and myths of city and sanctuary. The length of the festival, the number and size of sacrificial victims, the expenses for the public budget and the financial commitments of rich and prominent citizens for the cult and the festival – all these cult manifestations and observable attitudes gave visible form to the citizens' veneration for a specific deity. Such festivals created, strengthened and reinforced the bonds holding together the civic body.

Besides civic festivals, in which the citizens (and sometimes also the other residents) participated, there were some festivals of regional or international importance. The various events at a festival, especially competitions and performances, could attract people from abroad. The sanctuaries profited through the votives and additional sacrifices. Larger groups of pilgrims and

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85 Loans and credit of sacred money, and transactions by 'temple banks' are presented and discussed by Bogaert (1968) 288–294, Migeotte (1984) 363–377, Davies (2001b). Loans on property of the gods are attested rarely, see Horster (2004) 47–49 for the classical and early Hellenistic period, D'Hautcourt (1999) 257 with three examples from the first century B.C.

86 See Millett (1991), Davies (2001b), Horster (2004) 197–200 for a discussion of the earliest attested loans of sacred money. In 432 B.C. the Corinthians proposed in the assembly of the Peloponnesian league to lend some money from the sacred treasure in Delphi and the one in Olympia to pay mercenaries (Thuc. 1.121, 143). Another early attestation is dated to 440 B.C. and connected with the sacred money administered by the deme of Rhamnous, *IG I<sup>3</sup> 248*: obviously, the deme of Rhamnous decided on the loans of sacred money, which were probably granted to individuals; the *demarchos* and the *hieropoioi* were responsible for keeping the accounts. For further evidence, see Bogaert (1968) 288–294, Millett (1991), Horster (2004) 197–198.

participants in the festivals often camped in tents in the vicinity of the sanctuary.<sup>87</sup> These gatherings of people, or at least those of a larger group than citizens and residents alone, attracted merchants and all kinds of commercial and craft activities.<sup>88</sup> In addition to the direct or indirect benefits for cult and sanctuary, some festivals had a major economic impact on the polis to which the cult belonged.

Of the few literary and epigraphic sources for the festival markets of pre-Roman times, the large inscription regulating the organisation of the mysteries of Andania at the beginning of the first century B.C. is of prime importance.<sup>89</sup> Even though the documentation is sparse, it becomes obvious that wherever such markets took place in connection with religious festivals, the markets followed economic rules and interests. However, it is unknown to what extent the particular market's services and range of products were independent of the pilgrims' requirements in the context of the festival.<sup>90</sup> The guarantee of *ateleia*, the exemption from taxes for merchandise sold during the festival, is a good indicator of the respective city's interest in the attractiveness of the festival and the fair connected with it.<sup>91</sup> The Dionysia in Athens, of which so many details are known, must have been just such an attractive occasion for businessmen of all sorts to offer their goods and services. However, apart from the hubbub of

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87 Livy 32.33 refers to the Isthmian Games as the meeting place and market of Greece and Asia Minor, cf. Polyb. 18.44–48. On the practical organisation of the festivals, see Dillon (1997) 204–226, Chandezon (2007); camping during festivals, *ibid.* 277 n. 3; magistrates organising religious markets, *ibid.* 284–290; medical services at the Panathenaia in Ilion, *I. Ilion* 3 lines 16–18, cf. Chandezon, 285–286.

88 On the role of markets and fairs for the attractiveness and prominence of sanctuaries, see Debord (1982) 11–17, 23–25; DeLigt (1993) 225–235. Bresson (2000) 174–178 discusses the question of fixed prices during religious festivals with markets.

89 *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 736: for the market, lines 99–103; for the water-supply, lines 104–106; cf. text, translation and commentary by Deshours (2006). The *agoranomos*' duties in the context of the *panegyris* of Andania are control of the purity and unmixed quality of products, control of weights and measures, and securing the water supply for the pilgrims. For the growing importance of markets and fairs (irrespective of the religious or other context) and the different documentation of market regulations in Roman Asia Minor, see Nollé (1982) and DeLigt (1993).

90 Chandezon (2007) 278–279.

91 One of the earliest attestations comes from Eretria, ca. 340 B.C., *LSCG* 92, lines 32–33, a decree which concedes *ateleia* during the festival of Artemis Amarysia. – The explicit tax exemption (*ateleia*) for a monthly *panegyris* at the sanctuary of Zeus in Syrian Baitokaike emphasises the economic aspects of this part of the religious festival, *IGLS* VII 4028, 26 (of unknown date, a letter of a king Antiochos, third to early first century B.C.), cf. Chandezon (2007) 281. However, the sanctuary and its organisation were not 'typically' Greek. One market-day twice a month (!) in connection with sanctuaries and/or religious festivals as at Baitokaike seems to be an uncommon arrangement in Greece and western Asia Minor.

bystanders during and after the main procession,<sup>92</sup> no profane activities are documented.

## V. Concluding remarks

Sumptuous as well as modest sacrifices; lavish festivals lasting several days, with markets and a strong economic impact on the city as well as moderate, short festivities; sanctuaries large and small; purchasable priesthoods and elected dignitaries; cults with or without landed property: as in the case of most other deities, for Dionysos there was no standard category of cult economy.

However, a few aspects that seem typical of cults of Dionysos can be noted: initiation fees for the *mystes*; the donation of a *stibas* or *stibadeios* in connection with a specific form of banquet related to Dionysiac rituals in private cult associations; the many attested worshippers and devotees organised privately who were willing to contribute fees and taxes for the cult and to make donations in money and kind for Dionysos' and the association's wealth and prestige. This shows again how Dionysos' cults and rituals were intertwined with a variety of 'normal' cult economies.

For some of the regulations for sacrifices and fees mentioned above, a main motive is doubtless the increase of the cult's income, and that of the priest, by forcing particular groups of persons to pay money or to compensate in kind for sacrifices in the shrine. Sacred laws in which regulations are given for public sacrifices and festivals do not mention (at least in most cases) the source of the money required to meet the expenditures. This implies that the funding was secure, because the required sums were either provided by public funds assigned to particular cults, or were taken out of the deities' own budget. The group responsible for the cult (most often the demos of a city or a private cult association) took over the obligation to fulfil the necessary duties by whatever financial means necessary.

A few sale contracts for priesthoods in which various regulations for cult income are listed express the purpose of these regulations, the desire for example "to increase the honour of the gods" or to cause a "procession to be more splendid".<sup>93</sup> Although no such statement occurs in any of the surviving inscriptions concerning the economy and budget of cults of Dionysos, we may infer that the desire to heighten and increase the honour of the god and the prestige of the cult was the main impulse and stimulus behind all the various attested rules and regulations. The public festivals of Dionysos with dramatic performances and competitions, the dancing of maenads in nightly processions,

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92 Henderson (1991) and Goldhill (1994).

93 Parker/Obbink (2000) 427 referring to inscriptions from Kos.

the initiation, the secret objects and the secret knowledge as well as the banquets and rituals of private cults could be presented in a spectacular and impressive manner, with funding by various means, but probably often with a relatively large element of personal engagement compared to cults of other important divinities of the Graeco-Roman world. From the perspective of cult economy and finance, Dionysos was only a slightly 'different' god.

# „Fremde Nähe“. Zur mythologischen Differenz des Dionysos

*Susanne Gödde*

## I. Differenz, Alterität, Fremdheit

Dionysos, so schreibt der im Jahre 2007 verstorbene Altertumswissenschaftler Jean-Pierre Vernant in seiner Studie *Mythos und Religion im alten Griechenland*, verkörpere in der Welt der olympischen Götter „die Gestalt des Anderen“.<sup>1</sup> Vernant bezieht sich hier auf seinen Lehrer Louis Gernet,<sup>2</sup> doch im Hintergrund dieser Zuschreibung steht vermutlich die Tradition der französischen Existenzphilosophie, namentlich die Philosophen Jean-Paul Sartre und Maurice Merleau-Ponty, später dann auch Emmanuel Levinas, die das Andere bzw. den Anderen, und auch ganz speziell den Blick des Anderen, als fundamentale Kategorie einer phänomenologischen Bestimmung des Selbst und seiner Subjektivität etabliert haben.<sup>3</sup> In einer Reihe faszinierender Studien hat Vernant die „Figuren des Anderen“ – das sind für ihn neben Dionysos vor allem die Gorgo Medusa und die Göttin Artemis – in der griechischen Religion und Mythologie ausgemacht, und dabei das moderne philosophische Konzept in die Koordinaten einer soziologisch und anthropologisch orientierten Deutung des antiken Imaginären, wie es in Text und Bild begegnet, überführt.<sup>4</sup> Während Vernant im Zusammenhang mit der Gorgo Medusa von dem „absolut Anderen“ spricht, „dem Anderen des Menschen“, konstatiert er für Dionysos und Artemis eine nur partielle Andersheit.<sup>5</sup> Die Erfahrungsdimension, in der dieses Andere dem Menschen begegnet, die Modalität, in der es

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1 Vernant (1995) 88 (im Original: „figure de l’Autre“).

2 Vgl. die Zusammenstellung der Referenzen in Henrichs (1993) 32 n. 50.

3 Allerdings stellt Vernant diesen Zusammenhang nicht explizit her. Henrichs (1993) 31 n. 46 vermutet hinter der Formulierung „Dionysos, der befremdliche Fremde“ (1995, 86; frz.: 1990, 96: „L’étrange étranger“) Freuds „Unheimliches“; auch das Konzept des Anderen sieht Henrichs (1993) 34 n. 54 eher in einer Nähe zu Sigmund Freud und Rudolf Otto als vor dem Hintergrund der französischen Philosophie; vgl. auch unten Anm. 15.

4 Z.B. Vernant/Frontisi-Ducroux (1983); vgl. auch Vernant (1988b); sowie das Kapitel „Das Bild, das Imaginäre, die Imagination“ in Vernant (1997) 177–224, bes. 218 f.; zu diesem Themenkomplex ebenfalls Frontisi-Ducroux (1991).

5 Z.B. Vernant (1988b) 22 f.; vgl. Vernant (1997) 219.



erscheint, ist immer wieder die Maske, das – groteske – Gesicht, das dem Betrachter einen – freilich verzerrten – Spiegel vorhält. Das Andere wird dadurch nicht zuletzt als das verfremdete Eigene ausgewiesen. Den Blick der Gorgo-Maske, von dessen Macht der Betrachter gebannt zu werden droht und in dem er sich selbst zugleich als anderen wahrnimmt, beschreibt Vernant wie folgt:

[V]ielmehr bringt diese Gestalt den Maskeneffekt dadurch hervor, daß sie uns in die Augen blickt. So als ob diese Maske unser Gesicht nur verlassen, sich von uns nur gelöst hätte, um wie der eigene Schatten oder das eigene Spiegelbild uns starr gegenüberzustehen, ohne daß wir uns davon trennen könnten. Es ist unser eigener Blick, der in der Maske festgehalten ist. Das Gesicht der Gorgo ist der Andere, unser eigener Doppelgänger, das Fremde, reziprok zum eigenen Gesicht wie das Abbild im Spiegel [...]; ein Abbild freilich, das zugleich mehr und weniger ist als man selbst; einfacher Reflex und Realität des Jenseits, ein Abbild, das sozusagen nach einem schnappt, weil es, statt uns das Erscheinungsbild unseres eigenen Gesichts zurückzuwerfen, den Blick optisch zu brechen, in seiner Grimasse den grauerregenden Schrecken einer radikalen Andersheit sichtbar macht, mit der wir uns identifizieren werden, indem wir versteinern.<sup>6</sup>

Dies ist der weitere Reflexionsrahmen, innerhalb dessen Vernant den Begriff und das Konzept des ‚Anderen‘ verwendet. Wie im Falle der Gorgo handelt es sich auch bei der Maske des Dionysos in der Regel nicht um ein Requisit, das von den Kulteilnehmern wie von Theaterschauspielern getragen wurde, sondern vielmehr um ein Accessoire, das gesehen wird – und selber sieht. Neben der emblematischen Verdichtung des Anderen und Fremden in der Maske macht Vernant die Alterität des Dionysos noch in einem weiteren zentralen Moment seiner Kultpraxis aus, nämlich in der Raserei oder *mania*. Diese, so expliziert er seine eingangs zitierte Aussage von der ‚Gestalt des Anderen‘, stelle die Gesellschaftsordnung grundsätzlich in Frage – allerdings ohne sie vollständig aufzuheben: „[Dionysos] sprengt sie, indem er durch seine Gegenwart einen anderen Aspekt des Heiligen enthüllt, der nicht mehr regulär, stabil und festgelegt ist, sondern fremd, ungreifbar und verwirrend“.<sup>7</sup> Vernants Analyse besticht vor allem durch die Beobachtung, daß die Verkörperung des Anderen den Gott Dionysos keineswegs zu einem ‚Outsider‘ oder gar Gegner der Polisreligion mache. Vielmehr seien das Anderssein des Dionysos und die mit diesem Gott einhergehenden Kultpraktiken unerläßlicher Bestandteil der Polis, die es sich leiste, das Exzentrische zu integrieren, es nicht zu marginalisieren, sondern es als ebenso ‚zentral‘ anzuerkennen wie die, so impliziert er, weniger von der Norm abweichenden Kulte der anderen Götter:

6 Vernant (1988b) 70.

7 Vernant (1995) 88.

Anders als seine Mysterien befindet sich der Dionysoskult nicht an der Seite der staatlichen Religion, um diese zu erweitern. Vielmehr bringt er die offizielle Anerkennung einer Religion, die in vieler Hinsicht der Stadt entgeht, ihr widerspricht und sie überschreitet, durch die Stadt zum Ausdruck. Er führt im Zentrum des öffentlichen Lebens religiöse Verhaltensweisen ein, die andeutungsweise, in symbolischer Form oder auch offen exzentrische Aspekte aufweisen.<sup>8</sup>

Trotz der ekstatisch-transgressiven Momente, die zu gewissen Festen und Praktiken des Dionysos-Kultes gehören, sei dieser ein integraler Bestandteil der griechischen Polis-Religion gewesen. Lediglich eine Sonderform der Dionysos-Verehrung, die Mysterien, nimmt Vernant von dieser Feststellung aus.<sup>9</sup>

Daß Vernant die Alterität des Dionysos vor allem an das Phänomen der durch diesen Gott induzierten Ekstase und Entgrenzung bindet, zeigt ebenfalls eine Studie, die ausschließlich der – in diesem Falle: tragischen – Erscheinungsweise des Dionysos gewidmet ist, nämlich der Aufsatz „Der maskierte Dionysos in den *Bakchen* des Euripides“, der zuerst 1985 erschien.<sup>10</sup> Im Vergleich mit dem starren Todes-Schrecken, den die monströse Gorgo Medusa im Menschen auslöst und der als das ganz Andere seiner Lebendigkeit erachtet werden kann, erscheint die Form der Andersheit, die Dionysos verkörpert, dynamischer und transformativer, kathartischer und subversiver, ja, indem er nicht zuletzt als Gott des Spiels und der Illusion präsentiert wird, sogar kreativer. Auch hier betont Vernant die Affirmation dieses entgrenzenden Identitätsverlustes durch die Polis:

Es handelt sich darum, für einen Augenblick im Rahmen der Stadt selbst, mit ihrer Zustimmung, wenn nicht unter ihrer Herrschaft die Erfahrung zu machen, ein anderer zu werden, nicht im Absoluten, sondern anders in Bezug auf Vorbilder, Normen und Werte, die einer bestimmten Kultur eigentümlich sind.

[...]

Er [scil. Dionysos] verwischt die Grenzen zwischen dem Göttlichen und dem Menschlichen, dem Menschlichen und dem Tierischen, dem Diesseits und dem Jenseits. Er läßt das, was isoliert und getrennt ist, miteinander in Verbindung treten. Sein Einbrechen in Form reglementierter Trance und Besessenheit in die Natur, in die soziale Gruppe, in den einzelnen Menschen bedeutet einen Umsturz

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8 Vernant (1995) 88 („nicht an der Seite“, frz. „pas à côté“, meint „nicht außerhalb der staatlichen Religion“). – Zum Phänomen der Akzeptanz bakchischer Kulte durch die Polis s. auch Versnel (1990) 149 f.: „We may conclude that the threatening and potentially disruptive features inherent in the Bacchic rites, although not entirely unnoticed, never provoked serious restrictive measures in Greek *poleis* as far as we know.“ Ähnlich: 155, 157. Beispiele für die Verehrung des Dionysos als Gott der Polis finden sich etwa bei Kolb (1977) 118 f.

9 Burkert (1985) 163 zählt die Mysterien ebenfalls nicht zu den „state festivals“.

10 Vernant (1996).

der Ordnung, der durch ein ganzes Spiel von Wundern, Phantasmagorien und Täuschungen und durch eine verwirrende Verfremdung des Alltäglichen entweder nach oben schwenkt, in eine idyllische Verbrüderung aller Kreaturen und in die glückliche Gemeinschaft eines plötzlich wiedergefundenen Goldenen Zeitalters, oder umgekehrt, für den, der es verweigert und leugnet, nach unten schwenkt, in den chaotischen Irrtum eines schreckenerregenden Grauens.<sup>11</sup>

Die wenigen Zitate aus Vernants Arbeiten über Dionysos dokumentieren, daß es ihm nicht vorrangig darum geht nachzuweisen, daß Dionysos – im Sinne der Differenz – anders als die anderen Götter des Pantheons sei (obwohl die Alterität auch diesen Aspekt einschließt), sondern vielmehr darum, daß er eine vom Alltäglichen unterschiedene Erfahrung des Anderen ermögliche und verkörpere. Zum einen markiert er das Andere der Polis-Ordnung, indem er diese Ordnung überschreitet (aber zugleich auch affirmiert); zum anderen versetzt er die Menschen, die seinem Kult folgen, in einen (reglementierten) Zustand des Andersseins, der Ekstase, der Abweichung von der Norm der Besonnenheit. Die von mir jeweils in Klammern gesetzten Wörter deuten an, daß es sich bei der von Dionysos induzierten Transgression jeweils um eine relative und nicht um eine absolute Subversion handelt, daß die Alterität, die dieser Gott bewirkt, letztlich im Dienste der Identität zu sehen ist – es sei denn, sie dient der Bestrafung seiner Gegner. Vernant sieht also in der Ekstase und im fratzenhaften Gesicht der Maske denselben Mechanismus am Werk. Was hier als psychologische, aber auch performative Alterität gedeutet werden kann, gewinnt dort zusätzlich eine mimetische und daher ästhetische Dimension, weshalb Dionysos für Vernant auch als Gott der Fiktion und der Illusion gilt. Die Maske findet sowohl im Kult als auch auf dem Theater Verwendung, und in beiden Bereichen werden im Zeichen des Dionysos Erfahrungen vermittelt, in denen Alterität und Identität einander zuarbeiten.

Jean-Pierre Vernant ist freilich nicht der einzige moderne Religionshistoriker, der die Andersartigkeit des Dionysos betont hat. Unterschiedliche Modelle von Fremdheit gingen seiner Deutung des Gottes, in der das Konzept allerdings die größte theoretische Reichweite besitzt, voraus. Bevor ich diese kurz vorstelle, sei eine Überlegung zum methodischen Status derartiger kulturtheoretischer Ausdeutungen eines antiken Gottes angestellt. Die modernen Versuche, in den Mythen und Kulte eines Gottes eine Theorie kultureller oder gesellschaftlicher Ordnung, ein Momentum anthropologischen Selbstverständnisses ausfindig zu machen, sind zunächst dem Verdacht einer nachträglichen Ontologisierung oder zumindest Allegorisierung der so disparaten antiken Tradition ausgesetzt. Als historisch real können sie wohl kaum erachtet werden, denn die Götter des griechischen Pantheons wurden – in ihrer Funktion als Götter – zunächst sicher nicht als derart homogene oder gar

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11 Beide Zitate: Vernant (1996) 81.

theoriefähige Entitäten tradiert, sondern in Form einer Fülle von Erzählungen und Bildern einerseits, von Ritualen und Festen andererseits, die jeweils lokal und zeitlich voneinander divergierten. Zwar läßt sich jenseits eines religiösen ‚Gebrauchs‘ bereits in Philosophie und Literatur der Antike selbst durchaus eine kulturtheoretische und systematisierende Überformung einzelner Götter des Pantheons ausmachen: Man denke etwa an die Klassifizierung der Wahnsinnsgötter im Platonischen *Phaidros* oder an die erzieherische Funktion, die den Musen, Apollon und Dionysos als Vorstehern der drei Chöre in Platons *Nomoi* zukommt;<sup>12</sup> in einem noch stärker allegorisierenden Gestus geraten Apollon und Dionysos in den delphischen Schriften des Plutarch zu gegensätzlichen, nahezu kosmologischen Prinzipien, ähnlich wie es später bei Nietzsche geschehen sollte.<sup>13</sup> Und auch literarische Texte, wie etwa das Corpus der attischen Tragödien, tradieren die Götter gewiß nicht in ‚Reinform‘, sondern verwandeln sie den Bedürfnissen ihrer jeweiligen Handlungen an: Was wir durch die Aphrodite des Euripideischen *Hippolytos* oder die Hera des *Herakles*, aber auch den Dionysos der *Bakchen* über den religiösen Status dieser Gottheiten erfahren, kann nur durch umsichtige hermeneutische Operationen freigelegt werden. Im Kult selbst sind die Götter, wie es etwa die – freilich ebenfalls literarischen – ‚Homerischen‘ Götterhymnen zeigen, vor allem Protagonisten von Erzählungen und Adressaten von Gebeten und Wünschen, und man verband mit ihnen weder geistesgeschichtliche Theoreme noch eine soziologische Geschichte der Institutionen.

Um eine Brücke zu schlagen zwischen diesem heterogenen Material und den modernen Ausdeutungen und Aneignungen des Dionysos mag der nunmehr etablierte Begriff des ‚Diskurses‘ geeignet erscheinen, der deutlich machen kann, daß wir, wenn wir nach der ‚Differenz‘ des Dionysos fragen, nicht von dem Gott selbst handeln, sondern von einer Vielzahl an ganz unterschiedlich zu gewichtenden Perspektiven und Praktiken, die antike Schriftsteller und Künstler, aber auch die Teilnehmer an seinem Kult, gegenüber diesem Gott eingenommen haben. Aus einem in sich so heterogenen Material die These von der absoluten Differenz eines Gottes abzuleiten, wäre gewiß problematisch, zumal angesichts des Umstandes, daß alle anderen Götter sich uns nicht weniger in Form einer solchen Fluidität von Quellen und ihren Deutungen präsentieren.<sup>14</sup> Denn die Behauptung einer Differenz setzt die Statuierung einer Einheit, einer klar bestimmbareren Größe voraus, in

12 Platon, *Phaidros* 244a und 265b; *Nomoi* 2, 664b–672d.

13 Plutarch, *Über das E in Delphi*, Kap. 9, 388e–389a.

14 Bereits Walter F. Otto hatte sich im methodischen Kapitel seines *Dionysos*-Buches vehement gegen die Festlegung eines Gottes auf eine Funktion (z. B. Vegetationsgott) gewehrt. Vgl. etwa Otto (1933) 14 und passim. Was Otto zurückweist, ist dabei die Reduzierung der Götter auf ‚Begriffe‘, der er allerdings das – freilich nicht weniger ontologisierende – Konzept des ‚Wesens‘ entgegenhält.

Relation zu der die Differenz als Abweichung bestimmt werden kann. Die Frage nach dem Personen-Status der antiken Götter, nach ihrem ‚Wesen‘ oder ihrer Einheit ist aber alles andere als unstrittig. Dieses methodologische Caveat ist im Hinterkopf zu behalten, wenn im zweiten Teil dieser Skizze – in heuristischer Absicht – Merkmale der mythologischen ‚Differenz‘ für den Gott Dionysos ausgemacht werden sollen.

Doch zunächst noch ein Blick auf weitere Konstellationen des Fremden oder Anderen in der Tradition des Dionysos und seiner Deutungen: Für eine historische Rekonstruktion des antiken Diskurses um Dionysos ist es immerhin aufschlußreich, daß, soweit ich sehe, keine antike Quelle seine Rolle innerhalb des Götterpantheons je in der Terminologie des Anderen oder der Differenz beschrieben hat, sondern daß es sich bei beiden Begriffen ganz offensichtlich um moderne Kategorien handelt.<sup>15</sup> Dies mag am Fehlen einer ausgeprägten Subjektphilosophie in den frühen Epochen der griechischen Antike liegen, die die Voraussetzung zur Etablierung einer solchen Kategorie des Anderen zu bilden hätte.<sup>16</sup> Es mag aber auch am Charakter unserer Quellen liegen, die uns den Gott überwiegend als Protagonisten narrativer und performativer Texte vorführen und nicht als Gegenstand einer systematisierenden und abstrahierenden Reflexion.

Will man hingegen den Begriff des ‚Anderen‘ oder ‚Fremden‘ mit Blick auf die griechische Antike historisieren, so stößt man auf das kulturell so komplexe, weil ambivalente Konzept des *xenos* und der *xenia*. Marcello Massenzio etwa macht dieses Konzept in seiner Studie *Cultura e crisi permanente: la ‚xenia‘ dionisiaca* aus dem Jahre 1970 für den Gott Dionysos geltend, wenn er konstatiert, daß Dionysos in der antiken Literatur häufig den Status eines *xenos* innehatte (man denke v. a. an Euripides’ *Bakchen*<sup>17</sup>), was sowohl die Rolle des Fremden als auch die des Gastes umfasse.<sup>18</sup> Diese Terminologie – die nach Massenzio das Ritual des *xenismos*, der Götterbewirtung durch die Menschen,<sup>19</sup> aber auch die dem Dionysos immer wieder begegnende *axenia* einschließt – trägt der Beobachtung Rechnung, daß im Kern zahlreicher Dionysos-Mythen seine Überführung und Ankunft aus der ‚Fremde‘ steht, auf

15 Zum Attribut des *xenos* siehe weiter unten. Vernant (1991) 195 n. 2 sowie (1988) 7 f. mit n. 2 beruft sich für die Terminologie des ‚Anderen‘ zwar auf die Platonische Unterscheidung von *to hauton*, ‚das sich selbst Gleiche‘, und *to heteron*, ‚das in sich Verschiedene‘ (vgl. Henrichs [1993] 34 n. 54 und oben Anm. 3), doch sehe ich nicht, daß in Vernants anthropologischer Deutung antiker Mythen das Andere als seinen Gegensatz das Sein des Einen oder Sich-selbst-Gleichen impliziert.

16 Dazu etwa Gill (1996); Arweiler/Möller (2008).

17 Dazu Burnett (1970).

18 Massenzio (1970) 372 n. 132; vgl. die Diskussion dieser These bei Lämmle (2007) 345 mit n. 33.

19 Dazu Flückiger-Guggenheim (1984), zu Dionysos: 101–119.

die die Einheimischen jeweils mit anfänglichem Widerstand reagieren, bevor die gastliche Aufnahme des Gottes und die Installierung seines Kultes sich vollziehen kann.<sup>20</sup> Auch das Athener Theater-Fest – die Großen Dionysien – habe nach den Thesen von Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood ihren Ursprung in einem solchen *xenismos*.<sup>21</sup>

Während der *xenismos* stärker das Moment der Fremdheit, also des nicht Einheimisch-Seins, als jenes der Andersheit im Sinne Vernants betont, verweist eine weitere rituell-religiöse Form der Performanz, die Dionysos eignet, wiederum stärker auf den Aspekt einer *anderen*, und das heißt von der Norm abweichenden, Modalität des Erscheinens: Gemeint ist die Epiphanie, der vor allem Walter F. Otto in seiner immer noch lesenswerten *Dionysos*-Studie Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt hat.<sup>22</sup> Otto legt dem Konzept der Epiphanie – das er in die auf Hölderlin zurückgehende Formel vom „kommenden Gott“ faßt<sup>23</sup> – dieselben Mythen der Ankunft und des Widerstands zugrunde, die die zuvor genannten Forscher seit den 70er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts strukturell der Götterbewirtung, dem *xenismos*, subsumierten. Doch akzentuiert er an diesen Erzählungen weniger den Aspekt der rituellen Überführung und Aufnahme des fremden Gottes als vielmehr den des – meist plötzlichen und gewaltsamen – Erscheinens des in seiner Furchtbarkeit befremdlichen Gottes. Dieses deutet er weder als ein „geschichtliches Ereignis“ noch als eine geographische Bewegung, die die Herkunft des Gottes von einem bestimmten Ort und seine Ankunft an einem anderen beschreibt, sondern als ein überzeitliches Charakteristikum des Gottes selbst.<sup>24</sup>

Ottos Deutung von Epiphanie und Ankunft ist wiederum gegen ein viertes und wissenschaftsgeschichtlich noch älteres Modell der Fremdheit des Dionysos gerichtet, das heute als überholt gelten darf, sich jedoch in populärwissenschaftlichen Darstellungen hartnäckig hält: Es handelt sich um die in der modernen Forschung seit Erwin Rohdes *Psyche* immer wieder vertretene These von der ungriechischen Herkunft des Dionysos, der als ‚Barbar‘ aus dem lydischen Osten oder dem thrakischen Norden mit seinen unzivilisierten Kulturen in Griechenland eingedrungen sei. Otto hat diese Deutung, bei der es

20 Zum Widerstand gegenüber dem „neuen“ Gott Dionysos vgl. auch die religionshistorische Deutung der *Bakchen* durch Versnel (1990) 156–213 sowie unten Punkt 5.

21 Sourvinou-Inwood (1994) sowie Sourvinou-Inwood (2003), bes. 69–100, 151; vgl. auch Kolb (1977). Zur Verwendung des Terminus *xenismos* im Zusammenhang mit Dionysos (und Demeter) vgl. Plutarch, *Demetrios* 12 sowie Pseudo-Apollodor 3.14.7; dazu Sourvinou-Inwood (1994) 277 f. und (2003) 73 f. Zu den *epidemiai* des Dionysos als rituelle Reflexe seiner mythischen Ankunft s. auch Versnel (1990) 132.

22 Otto (1933) 70–80; vgl. auch Henrichs (1993) 15–22 und in diesem Band sowie Leege (2008).

23 Vgl. dazu Frank (1982).

24 Otto (1933) 71; vgl. auch Flückiger-Guggenheim (1984) 102 mit n. 7.

sich, wie er schreibt, um eine „Verwechslung von Kultwanderung und Epiphanie“<sup>25</sup> handele, bereits vor der Entdeckung der mykenischen Linear-B-Täfelchen, die Dionysos als einen griechischen Gott ausweisen, zurückgewiesen.

Barbarische Herkunft, epiphanisches Wesen, der fremde Gast und die anthropologische Kategorie des ‚eigenen Fremden‘ sind also – nun in der wissenschaftshistorisch chronologischen Reihenfolge – vier Deutungsmuster, die mit unterschiedlichen Akzentuierungen einer gewissen Überfremdung und Dämonisierung des Dionysos zugearbeitet haben. Eigens zu untersuchen wäre, welcher Stellenwert und Einfluß für jeden einzelnen dieser vier Ansätze dem Dionysos aus Nietzsches *Geburt der Tragödie* zugeschrieben werden kann. Andererseits soll nicht verschwiegen werden, daß es ebenfalls Deutungen des Gottes gibt, die seine kulturelle oder soziale Funktion eher im Moment einer vitalistischen (so bei Kerényi<sup>26</sup>) oder kohäsiven Kraft sehen. Noch in der jüngsten Studie zu Dionysos, von Richard Seaford, wird der Gott zum Emblem einer ritualistischen und utopischen Kommunität Gleichgesinnter im Verbund mit der Natur.<sup>27</sup>

## II. Fünf Merkmale der Differenz

Für alle hier vorgestellten Deutungen eines fremden Dionysos ist die *mania*, der Wahnsinn, als ein ‚anderer Zustand‘ – sei es des Gottes selbst, sei es seiner Anhänger – von entscheidender Bedeutung.<sup>28</sup> Die folgende Merkmalliste orientiert sich nun nicht allein an Fremdheit und Alterität in der dionysischen Kulterfahrung, sondern an der induktiven Sichtung von Geschichten, die von Dionysos erzählen, und zwar hinsichtlich solcher Momente, die – nun im Vergleich mit anderen Göttern – auf eine grundsätzliche Singularität oder Exzentrik des Gottes Dionysos hinweisen.<sup>29</sup> Dies geschieht in dem Bewußtsein, daß diese Suche nach dem Differenten, wie oben ausgeführt, weder die Gleichheit aller anderen Götter noch eine homogene Identität von antiken Göttern überhaupt implizieren soll.

25 Otto (1933) 52.

26 Kerényi (1976a).

27 Seaford (2006a).

28 Dieses Moment sieht Flückiger-Guggenheim (1984) 102 auch in der Bewirtung des ‚fremden‘ Dionysos: „Aber vor allem erklärt sich die Fremdheit des Gottes in seinem ekstatischen Kult.“

29 Dabei werden spezifische Attribute oder Zuständigkeitsbereiche – wie Efeu, Wein, Theater etc. – nicht berücksichtigt, da jeder der Götter durch solche allein ihm eigenen Bereiche charakterisiert war. Der Akzent liegt auf denjenigen Differenzmerkmalen, die einen strukturell anderen Status des Dionysos begründen können.



In der Tat lassen sich mindestens fünf Aspekte aufführen, die zur gut bezeugten mythologischen oder kultischen Spezifik des Dionysos gehören und ihn kategorial von allen anderen griechischen Göttern unterscheiden können. Zwar wird man auch für alle anderen Götter des Pantheons exklusive Attribuerungen angeben können, und der eine oder andere der im Folgenden aufgeführten Punkte mag nicht ganz und gar singulär in der griechischen Götterwelt sein. Mindestens zwei, vielleicht drei Differenzmerkmale jedoch kann Dionysos allein für sich beanspruchen, und das Zusammenspiel aller fünf Aspekte erlaubt es durchaus, für ihn einen kategorial anderen Status zu postulieren als für die anderen Götter.<sup>30</sup>

### 1) Die sterbliche Mutter

Grundlegend für die transitorische und exzentrische Rolle, die Dionysos im Confinium von Götter- und Menschenwelt innehat, ist sicherlich der Umstand, daß er der göttliche Sohn einer sterblichen Mutter, nämlich der Thebanerin Semele, ist.<sup>31</sup> Alle anderen Nachfahren aus solchen ‚Mischehen‘ in der griechischen Mythologie gehören eindeutig der Kategorie des Heros an. Wenn auch einige wenige von ihnen nach vollbrachtem Leben aufgrund besonderer Umstände wie Entrückung oder Apotheose ihre menschliche Endlichkeit transzendieren und – wie Achill oder Menelaos – in einem glücklichen Jenseits oder – wie Herakles – auf dem Olymp fortleben, so kommt doch keinem von ihnen der Status der Göttlichkeit schon seit der Geburt zu. Zwar gibt es neben der Überlieferung des Gottes Dionysos auch die lokale, an den Kult von Elis gebundene Tradition eines Heros Dionysos,<sup>32</sup> doch lassen alle anderen Quellen – und dies ist wohl die panhellenische Perspektive – keinen Zweifel daran aufkommen, daß er ein Gott ist. Zwar wird die Frage, ob er dies bereits von Anfang an ist oder ob er allererst durch den Blitz des Zeus oder die Schenkel-Schwangerschaft (siehe dazu Punkt 2) immortalisiert wird, in der Forschung durchaus nicht einmütig verhandelt. Festzuhalten ist jedenfalls, daß solche Verhandlungen nicht in den antiken Texten begegnet, sondern offenbar einem modernen Systematisierungsbe-

30 Im Folgenden wird auf eine vollständige Dokumentation der Quellen zu den einzelnen Aspekten verzichtet zugunsten einer selektiven und exemplarischen Auswahl der wichtigsten Stellen. Für weiteres Material sei auf die entsprechenden Handbücher verwiesen.

31 Vgl. v. a. Hes. *Theog.* 940–942, wo die Polarität von sterblicher Mutter und unsterblichem Sohn explizit unterstrichen wird. Eine ausführliche Behandlung dieses Problems, v. a. anhand der Darstellung in Euripides’ *Bakchen*, findet sich in Schlesier (2007b).

32 Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 36; Paus. 5.16.6; vgl. dazu Schlesier (2002a).



dürfnis entsprechen, nach dem der Sohn einer sterblichen Mutter kein Gott sein könne.<sup>33</sup> Wenn weiter unten (Punkt 3) davon die Rede sein wird, daß Dionysos in der Überlieferung in eine markante Nähe zum Tod gerückt wird, ja gelegentlich sogar selbst als sterbender Gott begegnet, so ist es verführerisch zu spekulieren, ob sich diese Affinität zum Tod durch die mangelnde göttliche Potenz, also das Fehlen des zweiten göttlichen Elternteils, erklären ließe. Daß derart ‚logische‘ Schlußfolgerungen jedoch der antiken Mythologie nicht gerecht werden, beweist der Umstand, daß Dionysos’ Sterben oder Leiden ausgerechnet in denjenigen Varianten der Überlieferung belegt ist, in denen er als Sohn der Göttin Persephone figuriert, nicht aber für den Semele-Sohn.<sup>34</sup> Wenn Dionysos leidet oder gar stirbt, dann tut er auch dies als Gott und nicht als Halb-Gott oder Gott-Mensch. Gleichwohl läßt sich aufgrund der hier und im Folgenden zusammengetragenen Beobachtungen die These vertreten, daß in der Göttlichkeit des Dionysos – anders als bei den ‚leicht lebenden‘ homerischen Göttern – eine auffällig menschliche Erfahrungsdimension enthalten ist, und zwar über das für anthropomorph vorgestellte Götter ohnehin geltende Maß hinaus.<sup>35</sup>

## 2) Die doppelte Geburt

Unmittelbar verbunden mit der Sterblichkeit seiner Mutter ist die Erzählung von der doppelten Geburt des Dionysos. Nachdem Zeus der schwangeren Semele in Gestalt des Blitzes erschienen ist und diese getötet hat, entnimmt er den Fötus dem Mutterleib und trägt ihn in seinem Oberschenkel aus, bis der Zeitpunkt der Geburt herangekommen ist.<sup>36</sup> Auch diese doppelte Geburt unterscheidet Dionysos von allen anderen Göttern des griechischen Pantheons. Verschiedene Formen der irregulären Geburt – meist als Parthenogenese bezeichnet – sind aus der griechischen Mythologie überliefert. Die mutterlose

33 So das Ergebnis von Schlesier (2007b), die nachweist, daß die Unsterblichkeit des Dionysos unabhängig von einem nachträglichen Akt der Immortalisierung ist (313 und passim); anders etwa Bollack (2005), der Dionysos als durch den Blitz vergöttlichten „dieu-homme“ auffaßt; eine Auseinandersetzung mit dieser Frage findet sich auch bei Otto (1933) 62–70, der die ‚Gottwerdung‘ an die Reifung im Schenkel des Zeus bindet (68) und Dionysos als einen „Angehörigen zweier Reiche“ (70) kennzeichnet; vgl. auch Versnel (1990) 132: „Born twice, Dionysos displays both human and animal traits.“

34 Vgl. Schlesier (2003) 4.

35 Henrichs (1993) 18 formuliert dieses Paradox so: „Each of these divine prerogatives [scil. immortality, superhuman power, and the capacity for self-revelation] takes on a special significance, because it defines the divinity of Dionysus, exceptionally and paradoxically, in terms of his apparent humanity.“

36 Eur. *Bach.* 88–104.

zweite Geburt des Dionysos läßt sich am ehesten mit der Kopfgeburt der Athena vergleichen, deren Mutter Metis zuvor von Zeus verschlungen wurde. Während sowohl Dionysos als auch Athena sowohl eine Mutter als auch einen Vater haben, bringt Hera ihren Sohn Hephaistos ganz ohne väterlichen Samen zur Welt.<sup>37</sup> Anders als im Falle der Athena, deren überwiegend männliche Rolle als Kriegsgöttin durchaus mit der Geburt aus Zeus’ Kopf in Einklang gebracht werden kann,<sup>38</sup> läßt sich für Dionysos’ Schenkelgeburt eine solche gender-spezifische Deutung nicht formulieren. Im Gegenteil: die Nähe zu Frauen sowie, zumindest seit dem 5. Jh. v. Chr., die weiblichen Züge des Gottes selbst, gehören zu seinen hervorstechenden Charakteristika.<sup>39</sup> Die Geburtsgeschichte des Dionysos, der allein von einem Vater zur Welt gebracht wird, hat nicht die Konsequenz, daß die Mutterposition beziehungsweise das Moment der Weiblichkeit in seinen Geschichten zur Leerstelle wird. Die im griechischen Pantheon einzigartige doppelte Geburt, soviel kann festgehalten werden, unterstreicht und problematisiert, ja verzögert den Modus seines Eintretens in die Welt.<sup>40</sup> Ob sie seine Göttlichkeit potenziert oder eher auf eine besondere Fragilität verweist, das geben die Quellen nicht preis.

### 3) Leiden und Tod

Die potentielle Sterblichkeit des Dionysos sowie seine angebliche Affinität zum Leiden ist überlieferungsgeschichtlich am schwierigsten darzustellen und zugleich durch moderne Konstruktionen am stärksten verzerrt worden. Die erste Erwähnung des Dionysos innerhalb der literarischen Tradition, nämlich der homerische Bericht von seiner Verfolgung durch Lykurg und der Flucht zur Meeresgöttin Thetis (*Il.* 6.132–141), zeigt einen erstaunlich defensiven Gott Dionysos, der sich, anders als in den meisten anderen Widerstandsmythen, seiner göttlichen Macht nicht bedient, um sich seines Gegners zu erwehren. Daß Dionysos, der hier als „rasend“ (*mainomenos*) eingeführt wird (vgl. Punkt 4), in dieser Passage in für Götter ganz und gar ungewöhnlicher Weise<sup>41</sup> als Opfer von Verfolgung und gewaltsamer Bedrohung gezeigt wird,

37 Zum Verhältnis dieser drei von der Norm abweichenden Göttergeburten vgl. Schlesier (2007b) 320.

38 Doch begegnet Athena auch in der Rolle als Mutter und *kourotrophos* des Erichthonios.

39 Vgl. Cain (1997a).

40 Lämmle (2007) 373 sieht auch in diesem Motiv den für die Dionysos-Mythen zentralen Aspekt des Widerstandes (dazu Punkt 5), doch bleibt festzuhalten, daß die Tötung der Semele durch den Blitz keinesfalls gegen Dionysos gerichtet war.

41 Der fünfte Gesang der *Ilias* zeigt freilich im Rahmen der Aristie des Diomedes die durch Athena ermöglichte Verwundung der Götter Ares und Aphrodite, doch gehört bei diesen Göttern das ‚Leiden‘ keineswegs, wie vielfach für Dionysos postuliert, zu

ist unumstritten, wenngleich das für die modernen Deutungen so wichtige Reizwort *pathos*, das auf eine *passio* des Gottes verweisen könnte, in dieser Passage von Homer nicht verwendet wird.

Dennoch haben viele Interpreten – in der Folge von Karl Otfried Müller und Friedrich Nietzsche – die Homer-Stelle verabsolutiert und, nicht selten im Bann einer unreflektierten *interpretatio christiana*, in der generellen Rede vom ‚leidenden‘ oder ‚sterbenden‘ Dionysos verdichtet.<sup>42</sup> Dieser Aspekt seiner Exzeptionalität ist also vor allem von wissenschaftsgeschichtlicher Brisanz. Insbesondere im Zusammenhang mit der Frage nach der Genese der attischen Tragödie aus dem Dionysoskult wurden immer wieder, meist auf der Basis einer mißverstandenen Herodot-Stelle (5.67), die ‚Leiden des Dionysos‘ als ursprüngliches und diese Gattung prägendes Thema konjiziert<sup>43</sup> – eine Deutungsfigur, die sich jedoch, bei aller Prominenz von *pathos* und Klage in der Tragödie, nicht verifizieren läßt.

Den deutlichsten Hinweis auf einen möglichen Tod des Dionysos gibt Herodot, der ihn im zweiten Buch seiner *Historien* immer wieder mit dem ägyptischen Gott Osiris gleichsetzt, dessen zentrales Mythologem der Zerreißungstod und die Restitution seines Körpers darstellt.<sup>44</sup> Doch ist die unhinterfragte Annahme, es handele sich hier um die viel später, nämlich erst im 6. Jh. n. Chr., zusammenhängend überlieferte Geschichte von der Zerreißung des Dionysos Zagreus durch die Titanen und die darauf folgende Anthropogenese,<sup>45</sup> problematisch. Die durchaus marginal überlieferte Verwendung des Beinamens Zagreus für Dionysos (zuerst: Kallimachos, *Aitia* fr. 43.117; vgl. auch Plut. *De E apud Delphos* 9 = 389a) ist hier herangezogen worden; zudem wurden gelegentliche Hinweise auf ein „altes Leiden“ oder „Unrecht“, für das die Toten der Persephone im Hades Buße entrichten müssen, von modernen Interpreten mit der Zerreißung des Dionysos und seiner orphischen Rolle als

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ihren zentralen Charakteristika. Henrichs (1993) 41 mit n. 35 weist darüber hinaus auf den signifikanten Unterschied hin, daß, während Aphrodite und Ares gleichsam in einer ‚Himmelfahrt‘ zum Olymp auffahren, um dem menschlichen Angriff zu entgehen, Dionysos in die Tiefe des Meeres flüchtet.

42 Eine umfassende Rekonstruktion und Kritik dieser Deutungen findet sich bei Schlesier (2003).

43 So etwa von Karl Otfried Müller im frühen 19. Jahrhundert und später von den Cambridge Ritualists mit ihrer These von Tod und Wiederauferstehung eines Jahresdaimons, der mit Dionysos identifiziert wurde; darüber hinaus faßte Jane Ellen Harrison die mänadische Omophagie als Einverleibung des toten Gottes auf. Zu diesem wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang: Henrichs (1984b) 230; Henrichs (1993) 26–29; Schlesier (1994) 145–192; Schlesier (1995a) 397–401; Schlesier (1998b) 417–419; Schlesier (2003) 4–7.

44 S. dazu mit weiterer Literatur Gödde (2007), bes. 48 f. mit n. 32 sowie 71–73.

45 Dazu Edmonds (1999).

Sohn der Persephone erklärt.<sup>46</sup> Die komplexe Gemengelage dieser Überlieferungsstränge kann hier nicht angemessen nachgezeichnet werden. Festzuhalten ist mit aller Vorsicht, daß die antike griechische Literatur – vor allem in der Analogisierung des Herodot – zumindest Spuren einer Tradition bewahrt, nach der der Gott Dionysos nicht unsterblich gewesen zu sein scheint.<sup>47</sup>

Leiden und eine besondere Beziehung zum Tod eignen innerhalb des griechischen Pantheons vor allem den Mysteriengottheiten Persephone und Demeter, deren leidvolle Erfahrungen – Raub und Trauer – die Initianden in Eleusis offenbar während der Mysterienfeier nachvollzogen. Das Material zu den bakchischen Mysterien zeigt Dionysos jedoch weniger deutlich als Prototyp des sterblichen Initianden – es sei denn, man wollte dessen zentrales Initiationserlebnis, das, wie die bakchischen Goldplättchen bezeugen, an die Vorstellung eines Verwandlungs- und Wiedergeburtssrituals gebunden war, als genuin durch den Verwandlungsgott Dionysos vorgeprägte Erfahrung deuten.<sup>48</sup> Hauptsächlich aber figuriert Dionysos in diesen Texten als „Löser“ der Toten – und weniger als selbst Gestorbener<sup>49</sup> –, und mit dieser Rolle mag auch seine Präsenz in der antiken Sepulkralkunst zu erklären sein. Leiden und Tod des Dionysos sind also bei genauerer Betrachtung zu relativieren und auf die Spezialmythologie einer religiösen Gruppe zu reduzieren, doch bilden sie immerhin ein Mosaiksteinchen im Ensemble der sich immer wieder auch gegenseitig affizierenden Varianten der mythologischen Überlieferung dieses Gottes, und zudem eines, das – abgesehen von Persephone, deren Hochzeit mit Hades ebenfalls als eine Form des Sterbens aufgefaßt werden kann – bei allen anderen Götterfiguren fehlt.

Die tentative Sterblichkeit einerseits und die Zugehörigkeit zu den Jenseitsgöttern andererseits (Heraklit setzt Dionysos etwa mit Hades gleich: fr. B 15 DK) erklärt möglicherweise auch die weitgehende Marginalisierung des Dionysos – wie die der beiden Göttinnen Demeter und Persephone – in den homerischen Epen. Diese drei Götter gehören nicht zum sogenannten Götterapparat der *Ilias*, sie werden von Homer, anders als von späteren Dichtern, nicht als auf dem Olymp lebend vorgestellt. In der Gruppe der leicht lebenden Götter, die als kontrastive Folie für die Schicksale des kurzlebigen Achill und

46 Das ‚alte Leid‘ bzw. ‚Unrecht‘: Pindar fr. 133; Platon, *Nomoi* 854b und öfter; Dionysos als Sohn der Persephone: Diodor 5.75.4.

47 Vgl. auch die Tradition, nach der man in Delphi das Grab des Dionysos gezeigt hat: etwa Callim. fr. 643.

48 Vgl. die Diskussion zweier Goldplättchen mit weiterer Literatur in Schlesier (2003) 13–18 sowie Schlesier (2001a).

49 Vgl. jedoch Schlesier (1997) 660, die für die Mysterien eine „auch an Dionysos selbst demonstrierte Erfahrung eines gewaltsamen Todes“ annimmt.

des Duldens Odysseus dienen, hat Dionysos keinen Ort<sup>50</sup> – auch die wenigen weiteren Erwähnungen dieses Gottes bei Homer bringen ihn in eine auffällige Nähe zum Thema des Todes und der Sterblichkeit.<sup>51</sup>

#### 4) Reziproker Wahnsinn

Daß im Moment des Wahnsinns ein besonders vielschichtiges Merkmal der Differenz auszumachen ist, nämlich insofern, als die dionysische Erfahrung nicht nur anders ist als die in anderen Götterkulten zu machende, sondern auch als Erfahrung einer kategorial anderen Wahrnehmung und eines kategorial anderen Zustands beschrieben werden kann, wurde bereits im ersten Teil dieses Beitrags ausgeführt. In diesem Sinne hatte Jean-Pierre Vernant die Formel von Dionysos als einer „figure de l’Autre“ geprägt.

Zwar können auch andere Götter als Dionysos Wahnsinn verhängen – etwa Aphrodite, Ares oder Hera –, doch gehört der Wahnsinn in diesen Fällen erstens nicht zu den diese Götterfiguren in Kult oder Literatur zentral bestimmenden Wirkformen, und zweitens handelt es sich dabei in der Regel vor allem um den strafenden Wahnsinn, nicht aber um die kulturell und anthropologisch viel weiter reichende und in die Polisreligion eingebundene kollektiv-transgressive und kultisch-normierte Erfahrung, wie sie die Anhänger des Dionysos machen. Es kann im Rahmen dieser kurzen Merkmalliste weder auf das Problem der Historizität des dionysischen Mänadismus eingegangen werden, noch ist es möglich, das Phänomen der *mania* zwischen den Polen der

50 Vgl. Seaford (1993) 142–146, der die Abwesenheit des Dionysos in den homerischen Epen mit dem Fehlen bestimmter, vornehmlich tragischer Ideen-Komplexe, wie familiärer Gewalt, Subversion von Ritualen und Wahnsinn außerhalb der Schlacht, erklärt. Des weiteren scheint ihm die Abwesenheit des Polis-Gottes Dionysos mit der grundsätzlich marginalen Bedeutung des Polis-Gedankens bei Homer zu kongruieren. Zu Dionysos bei Homer s. auch Privitera (1970) und Schlesier (2011a); (2011b).

51 *Od.* 11.321–325 (Tötung der Ariadne, durch Dionysos veranlaßt); *Od.* 24.73–75 (die Amphora, in der die Knochen von Achill und Patroklos bestattet werden, ist ein Geschenk des Dionysos). Doch kennt Homer, wie *Il.* 14.325 (Dionysos als *charma brotoisin*) belegt, auch die positive Wirkung des Gottes. Es gilt bei jeder Deutung dieses Gottes, die Aspekte des Vitalismus und der Freude einerseits sowie der Gewalt und Todesnähe andererseits in ein für die jeweilige Überlieferung angemessenes Verhältnis zu bringen. Homers Ausschluß des Dionysos aus der olympischen Gemeinschaft könnte darauf hindeuten, daß für ihn der zweite Aspekt überwog; vgl. aber Henrichs (1984b) 212, der vor einer Vereinseitigung der dunklen Seiten des Dionysos, wie er sie seit der Romantik konstatiert, warnt: „There can be no doubt that the Greeks considered Dionysos above all the wine god and that the idea of life in all its natural manifestations was, on the whole, much more prominent in the Greek conception of the god than his occasional connection with death.“

religiösen Erfahrung und eines psychopathologischen Zustandes näher zu analysieren.<sup>52</sup>

Hingewiesen sei lediglich auf einen weiteren Aspekt, der den von Dionysos ausgelösten Wahnsinn kategorial von anderen Formen göttlichen Wahnsinns unterscheidet: Anders als Aphrodite, Ares oder Hera begegnet Dionysos in der literarischen und bildlichen Tradition immer wieder auch als ein selbst wahnsinniger Gott, also als ein Gott, der die kultische Erfahrung seiner Verehrer mit ihnen teilt. Als paradigmatisch für dieses dionysische Deutungsmuster gilt der früheste literarische Beleg für Dionysos überhaupt, die kurze Erzählung von seiner Verfolgung durch Lykurg in *Ilias* 6 (vgl. oben Punkt 3), in der er als *mainomenos*, als ‚rasend‘, gekennzeichnet ist. Während die genaue Deutung des Partizips an dieser Stelle rätselhaft bleibt,<sup>53</sup> zeigt die Parodos der Euripideischen *Bakchen* deutlicher, wie Dionysos in Menschengestalt als „Chorführer“ (*exarchos*, V. 141) fungiert und von den asiatischen Mänaden zum gemeinsamen Tanz in den Bergen gerufen wird: „wenn Bromios die Schwärmenden (*thiasous*) führt, in das Gebirge, in das Gebirge (*eis oros*)“ (Eur. *Bacch.* 115 f.). Die Epodos des Chorliedes beschreibt ihn gar, wie er die Omophagie praktiziert (135–139).<sup>54</sup> Auch Vasenbilder zeigen den ‚rasenden‘ und seinen Kult selbst ausübenden Dionysos – man denke etwa an die eindrucksvolle Darstellung eines tanzenden Dionysos mit Rehkalfell und zerrissenem Tier auf einem rotfigurigen Stamnos im British Museum in London oder das Innenbild einer Schale des Makron aus der Villa Giulia in Rom.<sup>55</sup> Auf einer Amphora in München ist Dionysos ebenfalls im kultischen Tanz gemeinsam mit Mänaden dargestellt (Fig. 1a–b) – um nur einige von zahlreichen Beispielen zu nennen.

Daß Götter an den eigenen Kulturen partizipieren, daß also das Verhalten der Kultteilnehmer in rituellen Handlungen des Gottes gespiegelt wird, kennen wir vor allem vom ikonographischen Phänomen der librierenden Götter, es ist also an sich noch kein Alleinstellungsmerkmal des Dionysos.<sup>56</sup> Im Falle des ‚rasenden‘ Dionysos jedoch enthält diese Amalgamierung von Gott und Kultteilnehmer zusätzliche Implikationen: Zunächst zeigt sie, daß die Göttlichkeit des Dionysos einerseits und andererseits seine Hingabe an eine – in

52 Dazu Versnel (1990) 131–155; Henrichs (1994) mit weiterer Literatur; sowie Schlesier (2008a), unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Rolle der Frauen.

53 Vgl. Henrichs (1994) 42 f.

54 Zur strittigen Identifizierung des Satzsubjekts mit Dionysos an dieser Stelle s. Henrichs (1994) 46 mit n. 62.

55 Siehe das Frontispiz in Henrichs (1996b) sowie zu weiteren Bildzeugnissen: Henrichs (1994) 45 n. 54.

56 Dazu Simon (1953); Henrichs (1994) 44 f.

diesem Fall von ihm selbst repräsentierte – übermächtige Instanz, die zu einem totalen Kontrollverlust führt, einander nicht widersprechen.<sup>57</sup>

Zweitens aber, und das ist für das hier angeführte Differenzmerkmal entscheidend, impliziert das Rasen des Dionysos, da es sich dabei um eine per definitionem kollektive Praxis handelt, seine unmittelbare Präsenz in der Gruppe seiner Kultteilnehmer und rückt ihn somit auch in dieser Hinsicht (vgl. Punkt 3) deutlicher als andere Götter in die Nähe der Menschen.<sup>58</sup> Sein Thiasos besteht – wie es die Vasenbilder immer wieder zeigen – aus Mänaden und Satyrn, also aus kultisch rasenden Frauen und halbanimalischen, halb-menschlichen männlichen Wesen. Mit diesen Figuren erhält Dionysos in Literatur und Bildkunst eine Entourage, die eindeutig als nicht-göttlich gekennzeichnet ist und die seine Teilhabe sowohl an der menschlichen als auch an der tierischen Welt markiert. Auch Artemis und Apollon spielen im griechischen Pantheon eine zentrale Rolle als prototypische Tänzer beziehungsweise Musiker. Doch sehen wir sie kaum im Kreise von menschlichen Tänzern – im Gegenteil: mit der Darstellung eines Apollon Kitharodos konnte ein Vasenmaler eine Szene unzweideutig auf dem Olymp lokalisieren.<sup>59</sup>

Das emphatische Verhältnis zwischen Gott und Kultteilnehmern, das den Kult des Dionysos durchaus von allen anderen Götterkulten unterscheidet, weist noch eine weitere Spielart auf, die dem gemeinsamen Rasen auf den ersten Blick zu widersprechen scheint, es aber tatsächlich nur in eine andere, graduell unterschiedene Form der Entrücktheit überführt. Zahlreiche Vasenbilder, aber auch die dramatische Überformung der dionysischen Mysterienpraxis in Euripides' *Bakchen*, überliefern ein symmetrisches Figurenarrangement, in dem der Gott und sein menschliches Gegenüber durch einen intensiven Blickkontakt, ein ‚inneres en-face‘, miteinander verbunden sind (Fig. 2).<sup>60</sup>

57 Zwar lassen sich für eine solche Überwältigung eines Gottes durch eine stärkere Macht durchaus Episoden aus anderen Göttertraditionen zum Vergleich anführen, doch gehören diese Formen des Kontrollverlusts eben nicht zur Topik des jeweiligen Gottes: etwa die Überwältigung der Aphrodite durch die sonst von ihr selbst ausgelöste Macht der Liebe im Homerischen Hymnos an Aphrodite; oder die Überwindung des Zeus durch Hypnos im Rahmen von Heras Intrige in *Ilias* 14. Vgl. auch die Beispiele für verwundete Götter oben Anm. 41.

58 Meist jedoch figuriert er im Thiasos seiner Anhänger nicht als selbst rasend; ein anderer Bildtopos liegt bekanntlich vor in den Mänaden-Gruppen, die die Bildsäule bzw. Maske des Dionysos umtanzen, siehe dazu Moraw (1998) 93.

59 Simon (1969/1998) 141. Für Artemis hingegen finden sich Zeugnisse einer Teilnahme an dionysischen Szenen: vgl. Pindar fr. 70b.19 ff. Snell und die Abb. 148 in Simon (1969/1998) 165 f.

60 Vgl. auch die Abb. 277 in Simon (1969/1998) 285. Außerdem Eur. *Bacch.* 470. Zu dieser Reziprozität schreibt Vernant (1997) 219: „zu sehen, wie Dionysos einen sieht, heißt, die Grenze zwischen dem Gott und seinem Adepten zu verwischen, den Bac-



An dieser Stelle sei nochmals an die Bedeutung erinnert, die in Vernants Dionysos-Deutung der Blick des Anderen, häufig in der Maske vergegenwärtigt, einnimmt. Ähnlich wie der Befund, daß Gott und Kultteilnehmer mit demselben Beinamen – *bakchos* – bezeichnet werden können, dokumentiert auch das reziproke Sehen und Gesehenwerden in diesen Darstellungen dionysischer Szenen eine besondere und nur für Dionysos bezeugte Nähe zwischen Gott und Mensch, die jedoch des Unheimlichen nicht entbehrt.

### 5) Theomachoi

Mit dem letzten Punkt wenden wir uns einem strukturellen Moment der Dionysos-Mythen zu, das die Spezifität dieses Gottes, vielleicht auch das Paradox seines Kultes besonders eindrücklich akzentuieren kann: Es handelt sich um den Umstand, daß zahlreiche aitiologische Erzählungen die Machtdemonstration und die kultische Verehrung des Dionysos an das Motiv des anfänglichen Widerstandes gegen seinen Kult binden.<sup>61</sup> Diese sogenannten Widerstandsmythen dokumentieren einen Reflex der Abwehr gegenüber einer derart die Ordnung bedrohenden Form der Kultausübung, doch verbleibt dieser Reflex ganz und gar auf der narrativen und mythologischen Ebene und hat keinerlei historische und religionspolitische Relevanz.<sup>62</sup> Dionysos gehört, wie wir inzwischen wissen, zu den alteingesessenen Göttern der antiken griechischen Poleis, und wir besitzen – bis zum römischen Bacchanalien-Skandal im Jahr 186 v. Chr. – kein einziges historisches Zeugnis dafür, daß eine Polis gegen seinen Kult tatsächlich opponiert hätte. Der Widerstand gegen den Gott gehört vielmehr zum fiktionalen und reflexiven Umgang mit den potentiellen Gefahren und Transgressionen, die sein Kult mit sich bringt, er darf keinesfalls, wie lange Zeit geschehen,<sup>63</sup> als Spiegelung historischer

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chanten in der Trance mit dem Gott vereinen, dem *bakcheus*.“ – Eine differenzierte Analyse des Bildmotivs ‚Dionysos und Gefährtin‘ (im Unterschied zu dem eher homogenen Kollektiv von Gott und Mänaden) bietet Moraw (1998) 66–99, die den Akzent auf die sich verändernde Rolle der Mänade (von wild rasend bis hin zu ‚bürgerlich‘) legt. Moraw spricht anlässlich der kompositorischen Zuordnung von Gott und weiblicher Figur von der „weiblichen Erfahrung der Gottesnähe“. Die Fig. 2 zeigt dies am Beispiel eines männlichen Satyrs.

61 Vgl. Kolb (1977) 116–118 mit n. 97 (die wichtigsten Mythen und ihre Belege); Versnel (1990) 199 n. 351; Sourvinou-Inwood (1994) 274, 289; Lämmle (2007) 372 n. 132.

62 Vgl. Versnel (1990) 149 f. (das Zitat oben Anm. 8) sowie 197 f.: „refusal of worship is an unknown phenomenon in the archaic and classical period“ und 202: „Historically, the punishment of mortals who resist (the coming of) a god does not become topical until the Hellenistic and imperial periods.“

63 Vgl. etwa Wilamowitz (1932/1959) II.65: „In diesen bekannten Geschichten steckt die Erinnerung an heftige Kämpfe gegen die neue Religion [...]“



Tatsachen, aber auch nicht als Kritik an oder Marginalisierung des Dionysos mißverstanden werden.

Eine stattliche Reihe von Dionysos-Gegnern läßt sich aus der Überlieferung benennen, gegen deren Widerstand und durch deren Bestrafung Dionysos selbst seinen Kult gewaltsam einsetzen mußte: Darunter sind, neben den bekannteren Geschichten von Pentheus und Lykurg, etwa Perseus, die Minyas-Töchter, die Proitiden, die Töchter des Eleuther beziehungsweise, in einer anderen Version der Überführung des Dionysos-Kultes aus Eleutherai, die Athener selbst zu nennen.<sup>64</sup> Auch hinter der Erzählung vom Tod des Ikarios verbirgt sich ein Widerstand gegen die gefährlichen Wohltaten des Dionysos, denn es sind das Mißtrauen und die Angst gegenüber dem Wein, den Dionysos dem Ikarios überbringt, die dessen Nachbarn zu Mördern werden lassen. Eine etwas andere Variante des Widerstandes gegen den Gott enthält die im 7. Homerischen Hymnos überlieferte Erzählung von den tyrrhenischen Seeleuten, die Dionysos in Delphine verwandelt.<sup>65</sup> Hier wird der Kult des Gottes nicht wissentlich abgelehnt, sondern der Frevel der Seeleute besteht in der unwissenden Mißachtung des Gottes und seiner Macht sowie in dem daraus resultierenden Wahn zu meinen, sie könnten Dionysos zu ihrem Gefangenen machen.

Das Motiv des *theomachein*<sup>66</sup> begegnet also in unterschiedlichen Graden – vom aktiven und intentionalen männlichen Kampf (Lykurg, Pentheus) über die weibliche Weigerung, an der für seine Verehrung geforderten Raserei teilzunehmen (Minyaden, Proitiden, Kadmos-Töchter), oder dem Spott (Töchter des Eleuther) gegen den Gott, bis hin zur blinden Verknennung des Gottes, die aber ebenfalls bestraft wird (tyrrhenische Seeleute). Besonders prominent innerhalb dieser Widerstandsnarrative ist die Bestrafung der weiblichen Gegner durch eben die Aktivität, die auch im Zentrum des normgerecht praktizierten Kultes steht: das mänadische Rasen – es stellt die Strafe dar für die Kadmos-Töchter, die Proitiden, die Minyaden und die Töchter des Eleuther.<sup>67</sup> Mindestens zwei dieser vier Gruppen von Frauen – die Kadmos-Töchter und in einigen Varianten die Minyaden – werden von

64 Dazu Versnel (1990) 199 n. 351: „The sequence: introduction of the new god, refusal to accept him, punishment with a plague, ‚conversion‘ after consultation of the Delphic oracle, is exemplarily illustrated, for instance, in the story of the introduction of Dionysos’ image from Eleutherae to Athens.“

65 Vgl. Flückiger-Guggenheim (1984) 106.

66 Kamerbeek (1948).

67 Der Widerstand gegen Dionysos Melanaigis aus Eleutherai wird in einigen Varianten den Töchtern des Eleuther (dazu Kolb [1977] 125 f.), in anderen den Athenern zugeschrieben (dazu u. a. Lämmle [2007] 345). Die ersteren werden von Dionysos mit Wahnsinn gestraft, die letzteren mit einer Geschlechtskrankheit, die sie mit der Herstellung kultischer Phalloi kompensierten.

Dionysos so weit in die Raserei geführt, daß sie ihre eigenen Söhne ermorden, womit das ekstatische Ritual des Sparagmos und der Omophagie in der Zerstörung der eigenen Familie pervertiert wird. In der doppelten Zuschreibung der *mania* – bald als beseligende Form der Verehrung des Gottes und bald als durch diesen verhängte Strafe – liegt der Schlüssel zum Verständnis der dionysischen Ambivalenz. Derselbe Kontrollverlust, der, solange er unfreiwillig und ohne die Anerkennung des Gottes geschieht, in der Destruktion endet, führt, wenn er sich freiwillig mit und für den Gott vollzieht, zur Seligkeit. Ohne die Bereitschaft zur Aufgabe der Kontrolle und zur Überschreitung der Grenzen, das zeigen diese Erzählungen vom Widerstand, läßt sich Dionysos nicht verehren. Die Verweigerung dieser Transgression, nicht aber die ‚normgerechte‘ Transgression selbst, führt zur Zerstörung des Oikos. Daß diese Verweigerung, dieser Widerstand wiederum zum topischen Inventar der Dionysos-Mythologie gehört, zählt ebenfalls zu den Differenzmerkmalen des Dionysos, der dadurch, mehr als alle anderen Götter des griechischen Pantheons, zu einem streitbaren Gott wird.<sup>68</sup>

### III. Welcher Dionysos?

Mit den vorangegangenen Überlegungen wurde versucht, eine Differenz in der Überlieferung des Dionysos auszumachen, indem – heuristisch und mit methodischem Vorbehalt – hinter der Vielzahl an mythologischen Varianten tentativ ein konsistentes Ganzes postuliert wurde, das sich durch fünf Merkmale von anderen Göttertraditionen unterscheidet. Ich habe nicht, oder nur beiläufig, den Dionysos Homers von dem des Euripides, den Ovids von dem des Plutarch oder die antiken Dionysoi von demjenigen Nietzsches unterschieden, sondern ich habe – experimentell und in gleichsam strukturalistischer Manier – ‚einen‘ Dionysos als Quersumme aller Mosaiksteine der Überlieferung konstruiert und dieses Konstrukt mit den Quersummen anderer Göttermythologien verglichen. Das Resultat – die fünf Differenzmerkmale – müßte durch genauere, auch quantitative, Untersuchungen und Gegenproben gestützt (beziehungsweise revidiert) werden. Die Gefahr eines Zirkels ist groß. Nur scheinbar ist die Annäherung an den antiken Dionysos, wie ich sie im zweiten Teil unternommen habe, eine historische, denn das Material ist durch

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68 Zwar findet sich auch in der literarischen Tradition anderer Gottheiten das Erzählschema ‚Hybris gegen den Gott und darauf folgende Strafe‘, und auch in diesen Zusammenhängen werden die Gegner der Götter bisweilen als *theomachoi* bezeichnet; doch ist dieser Kampf gegen den Gott niemals in derart grundsätzlicher Weise mit der Anerkennung seiner Göttlichkeit und der Durchsetzung seines Kultes verknüpft wie in den dionysischen Widerstandsmythen.

die modernen Suchbegriffe bereits kartographiert, der Blick gelenkt durch die Frage nach der Differenz, der Scheinwerfer wird auf das eine Detail gerichtet, blendet dabei aber anderes aus.

Das Ergebnis ist nicht überraschend: Vor uns steht ein besonders menschlicher, den Menschen naher Gott, der sie aber zugleich über ihre menschlichen Grenzen hinauszutragen vermag in einen anderen Zustand, und dies gegebenenfalls gewaltsam, mit aller Macht, die einem Gott zu Gebote steht. Auf der Skala zwischen Mensch und Gott gehört Dionysos im Vergleich mit allen anderen Göttern wohl die größte Amplitude.

Die Frage, ob die aufgelisteten Merkmale die These von einem differenten Dionysos wirklich untermauern können, hängt jedoch davon ab, wie topisch, wie zentral die genannten Kriterien innerhalb der mythologischen Vielfalt der Dionysos-Bilder wirklich sind. Sind es marginale Züge, singuläre Varianten, die aber die Interpreten seit der Antike besonders fasziniert haben und deshalb heute zum festen Bestandteil unseres Bildes von Dionysos gehören, oder läßt sich nachweisen, daß sie zu einem potentiell invarianten Kern der Figur gehören?

Die erneute, cursorische Durchsicht des Materials hat ergeben, daß dasjenige Argument für einen menschlichen Gott Dionysos, das die Moderne am meisten fasziniert hat, zugleich das am wenigsten unumstrittene ist: der leidende und sterbende Gott sollte wohl – wenn angesichts der Heterogenität des Materials überhaupt von Zentrum und Peripherie gesprochen werden darf – als marginal erachtet werden, als nur singulär oder in speziellen Kontexten belegt. Die vier verbleibenden Merkmale jedoch dürften die Probe aufs Exempel bestehen: die sterbliche Mutter, die doppelte Geburt, der auf gleicher Augenhöhe mit den Menschen vollzogene Kult, die Bedeutung des Widerstands für die Aitiologie des Kultes – all das sind Charakteristika, die Dionysos zu einem besonderen Gott im griechischen Pantheon machen. Freilich folgt daraus keineswegs, daß die Suche nach anderen, aber strukturell nicht minder gewichtigen Spezifika im mythologischen Arsenal der übrigen Götter aussichtslos wäre. Differenz – jeder einzelnen Gottheit gegenüber den anderen – ist wohl eine *conditio sine qua non* jeder polytheistischen Religion.

# Göttliche Präsenz als Differenz: Dionysos als epiphanischer Gott

*Albert Henrichs*

Seit mehr als 75 Jahren wird die physische Präsenz des Dionysos als maßgebliches Deutungskriterium angesehen, das ihn von anderen Göttern unterscheidet. Walter Burkert hat diesen Konsens so auf den Nenner gebracht: „Dionysus more than other *theoi* is a god of epiphany, not to be held back or kept in confinement, a god taking possession, a god who makes himself felt in the stage of ἐνθεός.“<sup>1</sup> Den Anstoß zu diesem Konzept gab das antike Dionysosbild. In Ovids Dionysos-Aretalogie im 3. Buch der *Metamorphosen* heißt es ausdrücklich, daß kein Gott „mehr präsent“ (*praesentior*) sei als er.<sup>2</sup> Es darf als sicher gelten, daß Ovid hier griechischen Vorbildern folgt, darunter den *Bakchen* des Euripides. Trotzdem bleibt zu fragen, inwieweit Dionysos als *deus praesentissimus* bzw. θεὸς ἐπιφανέστατος<sup>3</sup> und damit als der „gegenwärtigste Gott“ verstanden werden kann. Stimmt es wirklich, daß sich Dionysos durch den Grad seiner Präsenz von anderen Göttern unterscheidet? Es geht dabei um das Spezifische der dionysischen Göttlichkeit, gemessen an der Häufigkeit bzw. Intensität der ihm in den literarischen Quellen zugeschriebenen Tendenz zur Selbstoffenbarung. Anders ausgedrückt: nimmt Dionysos als Epiphanien-gott eine Sonderstellung ein? Die wie auch immer verstandene Präsenz der griechischen Götter hängt engstens mit ihrer anthropomorphen Körperhaftigkeit zusammen.<sup>4</sup> Das trifft in besonderem Maße auf Dionysos zu, der in den sich um ihn rankenden Mythen häufiger seine Gestalt wechselt als andere Götter. Hand in Hand mit der gesteigerten Körperlichkeit geht eine Steigerung seines epiphanischen Potentials. Hören wir dazu den intuitivsten modernen Deuter des Dionysos:

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- 1 Burkert (1997/2011) 154; ähnlich Burkert (1985) 162: „Dionysos is of his very essence the epiphany god“, mit Berufung auf Otto (1933). Vgl. Versnel (1990) 137–139 u. 165 sowie Henrichs (1993) 15–21 zu Dionysos als „god of epiphany“ im antiken und modernen Dionysosverständnis. Zum in der Forschung selten betonten Nexus zwischen Epiphanie und Enthusiasmus vgl. Burkert (1977/2011) 172–174 u. 406–407, (1997/2011b) 143–144.
  - 2 Ovid, *Met.* 3.658 f.: *nec enim praesentior illo / est deus*. Eur. *Bacch.* 500–502 lieferte das Vorbild (so Herter [1980] 119 Anm. 5).
  - 3 So wird Dionysos Eubouleus in einer kaiserzeitlichen Inschrift des 3. Jh. n. Chr. tituliert: Jaccottet (2003a) II.267–268 Nr. 161.
  - 4 Henrichs (2010a) 32–35; Versnel (2011) 37–43, 379–383, 388–391.

Von der Gewaltigkeit seines Hereinbrechens, die den Mythos so leidenschaftlich bewegt, geben uns die Kultformen das deutlichste Zeugnis. Sie zeigen ihn als den Kommenden, den Epiphaniengott, dessen Erscheinung viel dringender und zwingender ist, als die irgend eines anderen Gottes.

Er war verschwunden, und nun wird er plötzlich wieder da sein.

Auch andere Götter, wie Apollon, gehen in die Ferne und kehren wieder. Aber nur Dionysos verschwindet auf unbegreifliche Weise aus dem Kreise der Seinen oder versinkt in die Tiefe. Überraschend, wie sein Kommen, so ist sein Weggang.<sup>5</sup>

Das Zitat stammt aus dem 1933 erstmals publizierten und seitdem wiederholt nachgedruckten *Dionysos*-Buch des damaligen Frankfurter und späteren Tübinger Altphilologen und Religionsforschers Walter F. Otto (1874–1958), der es meinte wissen zu müssen. Denn er glaubte fest an die zeitlose Existenz der griechischen Götter, die er als „Gestalten des Seins“ und Verkörperungen von „Urphänomenen“ verstanden wissen wollte. In trotzigem Alleingang ontologisierte er die „Götter Griechenlands“, wie er sie im Anklang an Schiller nannte, und gab ihnen den Status platonischer Ideen.<sup>6</sup> „Die Götter sind“,<sup>7</sup> verkündete Otto 1929 im Brustton der Überzeugung und verwischte damit zum Leidwesen der Fachwelt die Grenzen zwischen Glauben und Wissen, zwischen Offenbarung und Geschichte sowie zwischen Innen- und Außenperspektive. Mit diesem Kernsatz seiner hellenisch-neopaganen Theologie gab Otto der homerischen Vorstellung von den „ewig seienden Göttern“ (z. B. Homer, *Il.* 1.290: θεοὶ αἰὲν ἔόντες) eine neue und unerwartete Wendung. Durch die einfache Auslassung des Adverbs „ewig“ (αἰὲν) deutete er die homerische Unsterblichkeitsformel zu einer abstrakten Seinskategorie um, die über die gemeingriechische Bejahung der Existenz der Götter entschieden hinausgeht.<sup>8</sup> Οἱ θεοὶ εἰσὶν bedeutet „die Götter sind“ im Sinne von „sie existieren“.<sup>9</sup> Dagegen gilt von Ottos Göttern in einem völlig anderen Sinne, daß sie „sind“. Sie führen nämlich ein Sonderdasein, das sie in eine unnahbare, zeitlose Ferne rückt: „An die Stelle der Frage nach der Entwicklung trat die

5 Otto (1933) 75.

6 Otto (1929). Zum programmatischen Titel *Die Götter Griechenlands* und zu W. F. Ottos theologischem Konstrukt vgl. Henrichs (1990b) 118–120 u. 139–141; Cancik (1984/1998) u. (1986/1998); Leege (2008) 137–140; Bremmer (im Druck).

7 Reinhardt (1966) 378 mit implizitem Bezug auf Otto (1929) 302: „Diese Gestalten haben keine Geschichte – weil sie *sind*. Die Urtümlichkeit und Ewigkeit ihres *Seins* ist übermenschlich in der vollkommensten Menschenähnlichkeit.“

8 Zum Postulat der Unsterblichkeit der griechischen Götter vgl. Henrichs (2010a) 29–32.

9 Zur Bestätigung bzw. Leugnung der Existenz der griechischen Götter seitens der Griechen vgl. Henrichs (1976b).

Frage nach dem Wesen.“<sup>10</sup> Das Wesentliche an den Göttern erschöpft sich für Otto letztlich in ihrer seinsmäßigen Präsenz. So erklärt er die „Gegenwart“ des Gottes bzw. „die Erscheinung der Gottheit“ als „Urphänomen“, in dem sich „von allem Wirklichen das Wirklichste“ konstituiert.<sup>11</sup>

Ottos Wesensbestimmung der griechischen Götter stieß auf ähnliche Ablehnung wie mehr als ein halbes Jahrhundert zuvor Nietzsches *Geburt der Tragödie*. Als eine der ersten Gegenstimmen konterte Wilamowitz ein Jahr nach Erscheinen von Ottos *Die Götter Griechenlands* auf seinem Totenbett im Berliner Westend: „Die Götter sind da.“<sup>12</sup> Welchen Unterschied zwei Buchstaben machen können! Indem er ein winziges Wörtchen hinzufügte, verschob Wilamowitz die Akzentsetzung von „sind“ auf „da“. Das reichte aus, um Ottos neue Seinstheologie auf den Kopf zu stellen und die griechischen Götter zurück in die konkrete historische Wirklichkeit zu holen, wo sie nach Meinung von Wilamowitz hingehörten. Ironischerweise arbeitete Wilamowitz in diesem Moment an seinem letzten Werk, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, in dem die griechische Religion immer wieder vom Standpunkt eines aufgeklärten preußischen Protestantismus beurteilt und dabei oft verzerrt dargestellt wird.<sup>13</sup> Im Grunde trugen Wilamowitz und Otto ähnliche Scheuklappen und unterschieden sich mehr durch ihre akademische Herkunft – Otto kam ursprünglich aus der Usener-Schule – als durch ihre zeitgemäßen Vorurteile, die ihnen nicht selten den Blick auf die Griechen und ihre Religion verstellten.<sup>14</sup>

In einer Würdigung Ottos, die sich durch eine sonderbare Mischung von genuiner Bewunderung und kaum verhaltener Ironie auszeichnet, kommt Karl Reinhardt (1886–1958) auf Ottos Hölderlin-Verständnis zu sprechen und stellt fest, daß die „Erkenntnis, daß die Götter sind“, auch eine „Hölderlinsche Erkenntnis“ ist, was jeder Hölderlin-Leser unschwer nachvollziehen kann.<sup>15</sup> In diesem Zusammenhang bezeichnet Reinhardt seinen vormaligen Kollegen als „Künder der griechischen Götter“<sup>16</sup> und damit als Propheten im Gegensatz zum Religionswissenschaftler. Bekanntlich nimmt

10 So treffend Ottos Frankfurter Kollege Karl Reinhardt in Reinhardt (1966) 378, der hinzufügt (379): „Otto befreit die Götter Griechenlands aus ihren geschichtlichen Fesseln.“

11 Otto (1933) 32.

12 Wilamowitz (1931) 17, 23 u. 42 mit deutlichem Bezug auf Otto, aber ohne ausdrückliche Namensnennung. Ottos polemische Entgegnung ließ nicht lange auf sich warten: s. Otto (1933) 13, 17–18. Zu Wilamowitzens „the gods are present“ als versteckte Replik auf Ottos „the gods exist“ vgl. Bremmer (2010) 8–10.

13 Henrichs (1985) 290–294.

14 Zu Ottos Stellenwert innerhalb der Usener-Schule und zu Konvergenzen zwischen Wilamowitz und Otto vgl. Schlesier (1995b), bes. 348–351.

15 Reinhardt (1966) 379.

16 Ebd. Zu Ottos und Reinhardts gemeinsamen Frankfurter Jahren vgl. Cancik (1984/1998) 151–153.

Dionysos unter Ottos Göttern eine Sonderstellung ein. Ist er doch der einzige Olympier, den Otto separat in einer Monographie behandelt hat.<sup>17</sup> Ottos akademische und intellektuelle Wurzeln reichen tief. Seine Seinstheologie wäre ohne den Einfluß Heideggers, zu dem er Kontakt hatte, undenkbar.<sup>18</sup> Ottos an Polaritäten reiches Dionysosbild ist Friedrich Nietzsche ebenso verpflichtet wie der Romantik.<sup>19</sup> Ottos Epiphaniebegriff orientiert sich an Hölderlins Theologem vom „kommenden Gott“ und unterscheidet sich deutlich von den Epiphanienvorstellungen seiner Zeit und seiner Vorgänger: „Daß Dionysos wesensmäßig der ‚Kommende‘ ist, daß dies also nicht Spiegel zufälliger Faktizität ist, sah Walter F. Otto.“<sup>20</sup>

Epiphanie wird gemeinhin als das Erscheinen und damit die Selbstoffenbarung einer göttlichen Macht verstanden, sei es in einer unmittelbaren Begegnung von Gott und Mensch – so vor allem in den Epiphanieszenarien von Epos und Tragödie – oder in Form einer Traumvision, wenn nicht indirekt durch eine göttliche Wundertat.<sup>21</sup> Diese geläufige Auffassung entspricht voll und ganz dem Wortsinn von φαίνεσθαι (‚sich offenbaren‘ bzw. ‚in Erscheinung treten‘), einem bereits im ersten Buch der *Ilias* (Vers 198, vgl. 200) epiphanisch verwendeten Schlüsselwort, das bis in die Spätantike in sowohl heidnischen als auch christlichen Texten als Leitbegriff göttlicher Präsenz erscheint. Epiphanie hat im geläufigen antiken und modernen Wortgebrauch mit Sehen und Gesehen-Werden zu tun. Dieser doppelte Aspekt erfordert zwei aufeinander angewiesene Partner, einen Gott, der sich durch sein Erscheinen als solcher zu erkennen gibt (φαίνεσθαι), und einen für die göttliche Offenbarung empfänglichen Sterblichen, der die Gottheit in den Blick nimmt (ὁρᾶν/ἰδεῖν) und ihre Göttlichkeit erkennt bzw. anerkennt. Dieses Ablaufschema, das auf der gegenseitigen Annäherung von Gott und Mensch beruht und dem ein konventionell festgelegtes Vokabular entspricht, läßt sich in der überwiegenden Mehrzahl aller literarisch bezeugten Epiphanieberichte nachweisen, in der Prosa ebenso wie in der Poesie.<sup>22</sup>

17 Otto (1933) im Unterschied zu Otto (1929).

18 Cancik (1984/1998) 142; Leege (2008) 138.

19 Henrichs (1990) 140 u. 156 Anm. 86; Schlesier (1990b) 350–351; Cancik (1984/1998) u. (1999) 246–248.

20 Burkert (1977/2011) 250, mit Verweis auf die beiden Epiphaniiekapitel in Otto (1933) 71–81; zu Burkerts Otto-Rekursen s. Schlesier (2010b) 161–163. Zum „kommenden Gott“ vgl. Frank (1982); Henrichs (1990b) 140–141; Gödde (in diesem Band).

21 Pfister (1924) 278; Versnel (1987b); Graf (1997) 1150; Henrichs (2010a) 33; Burkert (1977/2011) 285–287; Platt (2011).

22 Zum Nebeneinander von φαίνεσθαι und ὁρᾶν/ἰδεῖν samt deren Ableitungen, mit oder ohne Verben wie γνῶναι oder νοῆσαι, die den Augenblick der Gotteserkenntnis zum Ausdruck bringen, vgl. z.B. Homer, *Il.* 1.198–200, *Od.* 16.159–164; *Hom. Hymn. Dion.* 7.2, 8 u. 15; Aischylos, *Ag.* 110, 115–116; Sophokles, *Phil.* 1409–1420, 1445–1447; Euripides, *Bach.* 498–502, 1075; Kallimachos, *Apollon-Hymnos (Hymn. 2)* 9–



Die Dionysos-Epiphanien in Epos und Tragödie folgen im wesentlichen diesem Schema. Das gilt besonders für die beiden wichtigsten epiphanischen Texte, den 7. Homerischen Hymnos (auf Dionysos) und die *Bakchen* des Euripides, die beide von Wörtern nur so strotzen, die das göttliche Erscheinen und das davon ausgelöste menschliche Sehen bzw. Wahrnehmen bezeichnen. Im Prolog der *Bakchen* wird der Euripideische Dionysos nicht müde, die Zuhörer daran zu erinnern, daß er sich nicht nur als Gott in menschlicher Gestalt, sondern auch in menschlicher Verkleidung offenbaren wird.<sup>23</sup> Wie so vieles in den *Bakchen* wird auch die geläufige Vorstellung eines anthropomorphen Gottes durch die polare Entgegensetzung eines wahren und eines falschen, bloß zum Schein angenommenen Anthropomorphismus zugespitzt und damit problematisiert. Daß die Götter schwer zu erkennen sind, wird bereits im homerischen Epos wiederholt betont.<sup>24</sup> Götter und Menschen können sich bis zum Verwechseln ähneln. Was sie letztlich wesensmäßig voneinander unterscheidet, sind Macht und Unsterblichkeit, göttliche Eigenschaften, die sich nicht in der Erscheinungsform der Götter offenbaren, sondern in ihrer Wirkungsweise.<sup>25</sup>

Nirgendwo ist Dionysos mehr präsent als in den *Bakchen*. In fünf der sechs Szenen des Stückes tritt er auf. In seiner Monographie über die Bedeutung der Götter in der Euripideischen Tragödie behandelt Christian Wildberg ausführlich die Bühnenepiphanien von Göttern wie Aphrodite, Apollon und Dionysos.<sup>26</sup> In diesem Zusammenhang charakterisiert er die *Bakchen* des Euripides mit vollem Recht als „monumentale Epiphanie des Gottes“, d.h. des Dionysos.<sup>27</sup> Die sukzessiven Selbstoffenbarungen des Dionysos auf der Bühne in seiner doppelten Gestalt als anthropomorpher Gott eigener Prägung und als Gott in menschlicher Verkleidung richten sich an ein menschliches Gegen-

11; *P. Mil. Vogl.* VIII 309, col. V 12–15 = Poseidippos 29 Austin/Bastianini; Chariton, *Kallirhoe* 1.14.1, 2.2.5–6, 3.9.1. In diesen epiphanischen Zusammenhang gehören auch der *ἱεροφάντης* (*IG XII* 76.24, 423/22 v. Chr.) und die *ἐπόπται* (*IG XII* 6.51, um 460 v. Chr.) der eleusinischen Mysterien. Dazu Henrichs (2010a) 33–34 mit Verweis auf den noch unpublizierten, zuletzt im November 2009 als Corbett Lecture in Cambridge gehaltenen Vortrag mit dem Titel „The Epiphanic Moment: Sight and Insight in Ancient Greek Encounters with the Divine.“

23 Euripides, *Bacch.* 1–63, bes. 4 u. 53–54. Vgl. Henrichs (1984a) 85–86; Vernant (1986a) 247–250; Versnel (1990) 165; Wildberg (2002) 149–162.

24 Homer, *Il.* 20.131, *Od.* 13.312 u. 16.161, *Hom. Hymn. Dem.* 2.111. Dazu Henrichs (2010a); Versnel (2011) 38–39.

25 Zum griechischen Gottesbegriff und zur ambivalenten „Macht“ der griechischen Götter zuletzt Henrichs (2010a); Burkert (1977/2011) 280–289; Versnel (2011) 379–438.

26 Wildberg (2002) 113–135. Wildberg würzt seine Analyse mit markanten Neubildungen wie „Theaterepiphanie“ (113) und „Epiphanietheater“ (123), die sich am antiken Epiphaniebegriff orientieren.

27 Wildberg (2002) 149. Vgl. Seaford (2006a) 41–43.



über, das die göttliche Erscheinung visuell zur Kenntnis nimmt.<sup>28</sup> Diese Funktion übernimmt in den *Bakchen* in metatheatralischer Manier das Theaterpublikum, das damit zum Komplizen sowohl des Gottes als auch des Dichters wird.<sup>29</sup> Denn Pentheus ist aufgrund seiner Gottlosigkeit außerstande, den neben ihm stehenden Gott als solchen zu erkennen. Als nämlich der verkleidete Dionysos dem König während ihrer ersten Begegnung enthüllt, daß er als Gott auf der Bühne „präsent“ sei – παρών ist das griechische Wort, wie in ‚Parusie‘ –, fragt Pentheus ungeduldig: „Wo ist er? Er ist nämlich für meine Augen nicht sichtbar (οὐ φανερός).“ Der verweiblichte Fremde, d. h. Dionysos, entgegnet: „An meiner Seite. Aber weil du unfrohm bist, kannst du ihn nicht sehen (οὐκ εἶσορᾷς).“<sup>30</sup>

Wie immer man zu Walter F. Otto stehen mag, es bleibt sein unbestrittenes Verdienst, daß er die Götterepiphanie in den Mittelpunkt seiner Dionysosinterpretation gestellt hat. Dieser Ansatz sollte sich vor allem in der französischen Forschung als besonders fruchtbar erweisen.<sup>31</sup> An die Stelle einer sich im visuellen Feld vollziehenden Epiphaniebegegnung, wie wir sie in den *Bakchen* und generell in den literarischen Epiphanieszenen finden, tritt bei Otto jedoch das dynamische Schema vom plötzlichen Kommen und Verschwinden des Gottes, für das er sich nur auf ganz wenige antike Texte berufen konnte. So zitiert Otto das bekannte elische Kultlied auf Dionysos, das ich in seiner Übersetzung wiedergebe: „Komm, Herr Dionysos, in der Eleer heiligen Tempel, von Chariten begleitet, in den Tempel mit dem Stierfuß stürmend, würdiger Stier, würdiger Stier!“<sup>32</sup> Das entscheidende griechische Wort, das den kommenden Gott evoziert, ist hier das imperativische ἐλθεῖν, „komm!“. Vom Weggehen des Dionysos ist allerdings in dem Kultlied keine

28 Vgl. Euripides, *Bach.* 477: „den Gott sehen“ (τὸν θεὸν ὁρᾶν) u. 470: „als [der Gott] mich und ich ihn sah“ (ὁρῶν ὁρῶντα).“ Die frappierende Formulierung ὁρῶν ὁρῶντα bezieht sich auf die epiphanische Reziprozität von „Sehen“ seitens des die göttliche Epiphanie wahrnehmenden Menschen und „Gesehen-Werden“ des Gottes durch den Menschen. Es ist signifikant, daß Euripides diese Formulierung dem Dionysos selbst in den Mund legt (der hier allerdings als menschlicher Repräsentant des Gottes spricht).

29 Vgl. den Beitrag von Bierl in diesem Band.

30 Euripides, *Bach.* 500–502. In hellenistischer Zeit beriefen sich die Mänaden in ihren Kultliedern auf „die Parusie (bzw. Präsenz) des Dionysos“ (Diod. Sic. 4.3.3: τὴν παρουσίαν ὑμνεῖν τοῦ Διονύσου). Vgl. Henrichs (1978a) 144–147 u. Seaford (2006a) 42.

31 Ich denke vor allem an Detienne (1986a) u. Vernant (1986a). Vgl. Jaccottet (2003a) I.115–116.

32 Otto (1933) 76 mit Bezug auf Plutarch, *Mor.* 299ab (*Quaest. Graec.* 36) = *PMG* 871. Zu dem nicht unproblematischen Text und seiner Interpretation vgl. Furley/Bremer (2001) I.369–372, II.373–377; Scullion (2001); Schlesier (2002a). Der Refrain „würdiger Stier“ (ἄξιε ταῦρε) erscheint bezeichnenderweise im Manuskripttitel von Nietzsches Sophokles-Vorlesungen als Chiffre für Dionysos als Theatergott (Henrichs [2005] 451).

Rede; Otto setzt es stillschweigend voraus, wie er selbst zugibt.<sup>33</sup> Antike Belege dafür fand er in Texten wie dem Lykurgos-Mythos im 6. Buch der *Ilias*, in denen das plötzliche Verschwinden des Gottes ohne Betonung seines Kommens thematisiert wird.<sup>34</sup>

Der polare Nexus von Kommen und Gehen, von Präsenz und Abwesenheit kann sich auf keine direkten antiken Zeugnisse stützen und bleibt Ottos eigene Kreation. Das tut jedoch seinem monumentalen Konstrukt eines polaren, aus Gegensatzpaaren konstituierten Dionysos keinen Abbruch. Als Verkörperung von Gegensätzen erscheint Dionysos in der Literatur erstmals in den *Bakchen*. Ein halbes Jahrhundert älter sind die Antinomien Frieden/Krieg, Wahrheit/Lüge und Leben/Tod/Leben, die sich auf den dionysischen Knochengraffiti aus Olbia finden, einer milesischen Kolonie im Mündungsgebiet des Bug am Schwarzen Meer.<sup>35</sup> Die Ursprünge des polaren Dionysos liegen also vermutlich im orphisch-dionysischen Bereich. Spätere Nachklänge, die wenigstens zum Teil von den *Bakchen* inspiriert sind, finden sich bei Horaz und Plutarch.<sup>36</sup> Letztlich ist und bleibt es jedoch Otto, der dem polaren Dionysos zum Durchbruch verholfen hat. Wenn wir diese Ahnenreihe ernst nehmen, ist die Möglichkeit nicht von der Hand zu weisen, daß das Dionysosbild, von dem wir in der Nachfolge Ottos immer noch stark zehren, letzten Endes über die *Bakchen* hinaus auf religiöse Minderheiten zurückgeht, die am Rande der griechischen Kultur angesiedelt waren.

Das Kapitel von Ottos *Dionysos*-Buch, in dem er das elische Kultlied im Zusammenhang mit dem Erscheinen und Unsichtbarwerden des Gottes behandelt, trägt den bezeichnenden Titel „Der kommende Gott“.<sup>37</sup> Der Leser erfährt nicht, daß es sich dabei um ein bekanntes Zitat aus Hölderlins Elegie „Brot und Wein“ handelt, wo es im Schlußvers der dritten Strophe heißt: „Dorthier kommt und zurück deutet der kommende Gott.“<sup>38</sup> Die Mobilität, die Hölderlin hier seinem christlich verstandenen, ja als Reinkarnation einer eucharistischen Christusfigur fungierenden Dionysos andichtet, scheint in der Tat eine Doppelbewegung zu implizieren, die einem Kommen und Gehen des

33 Otto (1933) 179.

34 Homer, *Il.* 6.130–141.

35 *OF* fr. 463–465 Bernabé. Die Abfolge Leben/Tod/Leben deutet auf dionysische Jenseitsvorstellungen; dazu Henrichs (2010b) 90 mit weiterer Literatur.

36 Henrichs (1984b) 235 Anm. 85 u. (1993) 30 mit Anm. 44; vgl. Versnel (in diesem Band) zur „Duplizität“ bzw. zum Doppelcharakter des Dionysos.

37 Otto (1933) 75–81.

38 Hölderlin, „Brot und Wein“ (1800/1801), Vers 54 (Stuttgarter Ausgabe, Bd. 2, 91). Der ursprüngliche Titel der Elegie lautete „Der Weingott“, mit deutlichem Bezug auf Dionysos. Vgl. Frank (1982) 270 u. 283 Anm. 25 (ohne jeden Hinweis auf Otto); Schmidt/Schmidt-Berger (2008) 42–44, 174–181, bes. 44: „[Hölderlins ‚kommender Gott‘] ist die mythologische Projektion der eigenen Zukunftserwartung.“

Gottes entspricht. Hölderlins „kommender Gott“ hat allerdings mit dem Kommen des Stiergotts in der elischen Anrufung nichts gemein. Vielmehr ist damit zu rechnen, daß dem Dichter die eschatologische Gestalt des in die Welt „kommenden“ (ἐρχόμενος) Erlösers vorgeschwebt hat, von dem im Johannesevangelium wiederholt die Rede ist.<sup>39</sup>

Seit Otto gilt Dionysos als der epiphanische Gott schlechthin. Seine unübersehbare Präsenz in Kunst und Literatur, die Häufigkeit und Intensität seiner Epiphanien und seine unheimliche Nähe zu den Menschen werden in der wissenschaftlichen Diskussion immer wieder betont.<sup>40</sup> Dem entspricht im großen und ganzen das Bild, das Epos und Tragödie von ihm zeichnen. Zwar neigen dort Götter wie Aphrodite, Apollon und Athene ebenfalls zu epiphanischen Auftritten, aber die ihnen zugeschriebenen (Bühnen-)Epiphanien sind im Vergleich zu denen des Dionysos kürzer und weniger ostentativ. Im Untertitel seines *Dionysos*-Buches unterscheidet Otto zwischen den Bereichen von „Mythos und Kultus“, die sich die Thematik des Epiphanieerlebnisses auf ganz unterschiedliche Art zu eigen machen.

Alles bisher Gesagte gilt ausschließlich für die mythischen Epiphanien des Gottes. Im Kult manifestiert sich die dionysische Präsenz auf andere Weisen. Epiphanische Strafwunder wie in den *Bakchen* lassen sich für Dionysos nicht nachweisen. Das mag Zufall sein. Denn für andere Götter wie Asklepios, Isis und Sarapis sowie die Gottheiten der kleinasiatischen Beichtinschriften sind visuelle Selbstoffenbarungen mit Strafcharakter epigraphisch bestens bezeugt.<sup>41</sup> Inschriften aus allen Teilen der griechischen Welt liefern seit der Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. reichliche Belege für Götterepiphanien verschiedenster Art. Dabei handelt es sich überwiegend um Göttererscheinungen in Traumvisionen. Viele dieser Texte sind aretalogischer Natur, d. h. sie legen Zeugnis ab für die außerordentliche Wunderkraft des betreffenden Gottes.<sup>42</sup> Dabei fehlen Epiphanieszenarien, die einer festen Erzählstruktur folgen, wie wir sie in den literarischen Texten finden, so gut wie ganz. Zu den Gottheiten, denen in den Inschriften am häufigsten Epiphanien in kultischem Kontext zugeschrieben werden, gehören mit Abstand Apollon, Athene, Asklepios und Isis.<sup>43</sup> Doch der Gott, der den literarischen Texten zufolge am ehesten als der epiphanischste der griechischen Götter (θεός ἐπιφανέστατος) zu gelten hat, nämlich Dionysos, glänzt in den inschriftlich erhaltenen Kultepiphanien durch Abwesenheit.

39 Johannesevangelium, z. B. 1.9, 3.31, 6.14, 11.27.

40 Vgl. Henrichs (1979); Schlesier (2007b); Schmidt/Schmidt-Berger (2008) 9–54; Gödde (in diesem Band).

41 Totti (1985); Versnel (1990) 190–193; Petzl (1994) u. (1998).

42 Vgl. Henrichs (1978b) u. (2006) 64–66; Versnel (1990) 41–52, 190–193 u. (2011) 283–289.

43 Pfister (1924).

Mir ist nur eine einzige Inschrift bekannt, in der von einer Dionysos-Epiphanie die Rede ist. Sie stammt aus Magnesia am Mäander und ist seit über hundert Jahren bekannt.<sup>44</sup> Darin wird berichtet, wie auf Geheiß des delphischen Orakels drei Mänaden von Theben nach Magnesia importiert wurden, die dann eine entsprechende Zahl von Mänaden-Thiasoi in Magnesia gründeten. In der Inschrift, die aus der Kaiserzeit stammt, ist das hellenistische Gründungsorakel wörtlich zitiert. In einem dieser delphischen Hexameter heißt es, daß „Bakchos gesehen wurde, wie er in einem Baumstumpf lag“ (Βάκχος θάμνω ἐνὶ κείμενος ὤφθη). Aus dem folgenden Vers erfahren wir, daß Dionysos bei der Gründung der Stadt Magnesia „als Jüngling erschien“ (ἐξεφάνη δ' ἔτι κοῦρος). Mit ὤφθη („er wurde gesehen“) und ἐξεφάνη („er erschien“) wählten die Verfasser der Inschrift die beiden häufigsten Epiphaniewörter, mit denen bereits im homerischen Epos die beiden entscheidenden Momente des Epiphanieerlebnisses festgehalten werden, nämlich das Erscheinen der Gottheit und die Wahrnehmung dieser göttlichen Selbstoffenbarung durch den menschlichen Augenzeugen.<sup>45</sup> Allerdings offenbarte sich Dionysos den Einwohnern von Magnesia nicht direkt, sondern in der Form eines Kultbildes, das in einem Busch bzw. Baum gefunden wurde und die Züge eines jungen Mannes trug. Ob das Bild selbst aus Holz geschnitzt war, bleibt offen. Jedenfalls verbinden sich in dieser Wundererzählung mehrere traditionelle Motive, darunter der enge Zusammenhang von Götterbild und Götterepiphanie, das plötzliche epiphanische Auftauchen eines Kultbildes sowie der ikonographische Darstellungstyp, der Dionysos in der Form eines ephebischen jungen Mannes zeigt. Die Frage drängt sich auf, wie es zu verstehen ist, daß derselbe Gott, der in Literatur und Kunst alle anderen Götter an Epiphanien übertrumpft, in den Inschriften so schlecht abscheidet und selbst in dem Text aus Magnesia nur indirekt und aufs rein Bildhafte und Statueske reduziert in Erscheinung tritt. Es ist, als ob Dionysos, was die Inschriften betrifft, als Epiphaniengott von der Bildfläche verschwindet. Ich habe dafür keine Erklärung, vermute aber, daß die massive Präsenz des Dionysos in der panhellenischen Dichtung, vor allem in Epos und Drama, für seine Abwesenheit in den Inschriften verantwortlich gewesen sein könnte. Möglicherweise war man der Ansicht, daß Dionysos im Gegensatz zu anderen Göttern keiner kultischen Propaganda bedurfte, weil er in den literarischen Texten, die allbekannt waren, bereits zur Genüge als Epiphaniengott ausgewiesen war.

Mit dem Epiphaniebegriff hängen die Ankunftsmythen engstens zusammen. Zahlreiche aitiologische Erzählungen berichten davon, wie Dionysos als Erfinder des Weinbaus oder als Kultgründer in Attika, Theben oder anderswo

44 I. *Magnesia* 215 = Jaccottet (2003a) II.244–247 Nr. 146. Vgl. Henrichs (1978a) 123–137; Graf (2004) 111–112.

45 S. oben, Anm. 22.

ankommt, um dort wirksam zu werden.<sup>46</sup> Der Advent des Gottes verändert schlagartig die Landschaft. Diejenigen, die an den neuen bzw. unbekanntem Gott glauben, werden belohnt, und wer sich ihm widersetzt, wird bestraft. Die *Bakchen* sind das Paradebeispiel für diese ambivalente Präsenz des Dionysos. Die moderne Forschung tat sich lange Zeit mit den Ankunftsmythen schwer und schwankte zwischen einem historischen und einem phänomenologischen Verständnis dieser Erzählungen. Noch in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts glaubten selbst Gelehrte vom Kaliber eines Wilamowitz und Nilsson in der Nachfolge Erwin Rohdes daran, daß Dionysos erst spät, im 8. Jahrhundert v. Chr., von Thrakien oder Kleinasien kommend nach Griechenland eingewandert sei.<sup>47</sup> Auf diese Weise wurde das antike Konstrukt vom „fremden“ Gott, wie Dionysos in den *Bakchen* heißt, wörtlich genommen und auf gewohnte Weise historisiert.<sup>48</sup> Der erste, der sich unter Berufung auf das religionsphänomenologische Konzept vom kommenden Gott energisch gegen diese unrechtmäßige Vereinnahmung des Dionysos seitens eines engstirnigen Historismus wehrte, war Walter F. Otto.<sup>49</sup> Er sollte recht behalten. Denn weniger als zwanzig Jahre nach dem Erscheinen von Ottos *Dionysos*-Buch tauchte der Name des Gottes zum ersten Mal auf den neuentzifferten Tafeln mit Linear-B-Texten auf.<sup>50</sup> Damit war ein für allemal erwiesen, daß Dionysos bereits vor 1250 v. Chr. in Griechenland als Gott verehrt wurde. Während die Entzifferung der Linear-B-Texte für die anderen Götter, deren Namen in ihnen erscheinen, lediglich bestätigen, was man längst zu wissen glaubte, begann für Dionysos mit dem Jahre 1953, als die ersten Ergebnisse der Entzifferung von Michael Ventris und John Chadwick publiziert wurden, eine Art von Wiedergeburt. Schlagartig war er nicht mehr der fremde Gott und schon gar nicht ein neuer Gott im historischen Sinn, sondern ein alteingesessener Gott mit einem festen Platz im Religionssystem der minoischen Zeit. Ebenso schlagartig wurde gleichfalls klar, daß sich bereits die Griechen der archaischen Zeit mit Dionysos schwertaten und ihn für fremd hielten, weil er menschliche Verhaltensweisen bzw. Vorstellungen verkörperte, die ihnen fremd vorkamen. Die angebliche Fremdheit des Dionysos entpuppte sich sozusagen über Nacht als ein Verfremdungseffekt, der mehr mit dem „Dio-

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46 Kerényi (1976/1994) 91–123; Flückiger-Guggenheim (1984).

47 Henrichs (2003) 482; Schlesier (2010b) 149–150.

48 So z. B. Eur. *Bach.* 233. Zu Dionysos als fremdem Gott vgl. Gödde in diesem Band.

49 Otto (1933) 56 u. 60–62. Otto (1956) 113 datiert mit indirektem Verweis auf die Linear-B-Tafeln die Verehrung des Dionysos auf Kreta „in [die] Mitte des zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr.“, ohne auch nur anzudeuten, daß seine Vermutung über die vorhomerische Existenz des Gottes durch diesen Neufund glänzend bestätigt wurde.

50 Palaima (1998); Burkert (1977/2011) 77–78.

nysos in uns“<sup>51</sup> als mit den tatsächlichen historischen Ursprüngen des Dionysos zu tun hatte. Nach den zeitlichen, geographischen und religionshistorischen Ursprüngen des Dionysos wird weiterhin gesucht. Ob die Wissenschaft hier jemals fündig wird, ist zweifelhaft. Letztlich bleibt Dionysos doch ein ‚fremder‘ Gott, aber auf andere Weise, als es sich Rohde und Nilsson vorstellten.

Wenn man sich lange mit einem so unauslotbaren Gott wie Dionysos beschäftigt hat, kommt der Moment, wo man vielleicht doch ein bißchen an seine Existenz glaubt. Ein derartiger Glaube an einen Gott, den es eigentlich gar nicht gibt, ist eine heikle Sache und stellt den Religionsforscher vor eine Gewissensfrage. Dabei geht es nicht allein um die eigene Glaubwürdigkeit, wie das Beispiel von Walter F. Otto zeigt, sondern noch mehr um die wie auch immer zu definierende Existenz dieses Gottes. In den Bildern und Texten, in denen Dionysos seit der Antike immer wieder Gestalt annimmt, ist er uns so „nahe“, aber dann auch wieder gerade in der Annäherung so fern und „schwer zu fassen“.<sup>52</sup> Die absolute Göttlichkeit, die für die Griechen fraglos zu seiner Existenzweise gehörte, ist ihm abhanden gekommen, und damit auch die darin liegende Unsterblichkeit. Trotzdem lebt er in der sich ständig erneuernden Rezeption seiner früheren Existenzformen und Erscheinungsweisen stark weiter. So bleibt denn Dionysos ein Gott, der noch immer quicklebendig ist, obwohl er seit langem nicht mehr existiert. Als einer der „gewesenen Götter“, wie Karl Reinhardt die Olympier einmal nannte, ersteht er immer wieder aufs neue wie der Phönix aus der Asche.<sup>53</sup> Damit verkörpert er ein existentielles Spannungsverhältnis, das in dem antiken Mythos von Tod und Wiedergeburt des Dionysos Zagreus, dem leidenden Gott von Nietzsches *Geburt der Tragödie*, vorgegeben ist.<sup>54</sup> Als Gott tot zu sein und als Rezeptionsfigur anhaltend weiterzuwirken, ohne dabei seinen göttlichen Sonderstatus einzubüßen, ist das Paradox seiner gegenwärtigen Existenz. Dasselbe gilt im Prinzip auch für alle anderen antiken Götter. Aber da diese nicht in gleichem Maße präsent waren bzw. weiterhin präsent sind wie Dionysos, ist die Diskrepanz zwischen ihrem in der Antike geglaubten und ihrem heutigen, auf ihren modernen Rezeptionen basierenden Seinsmodus weniger eklatant. Auch hier erweist sich Dionysos wieder als differenter Gott. Allerdings unterscheidet sich die moderne Präsenz des Dionysos durch die unüberbrückbare Distanz, die uns von der antiken Gotteserfahrung trennt,

51 Henrichs (1993) 35 u. (2003) 482. Die so modern klingende Formulierung ist neuplatonisch: Damascius, *In Phaedonem* 9.7 (τοῦτο ἡμῖν οἱ Τιτᾶνες ἐμποιοῦσιν, καθ’ ὃ καὶ τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν Διόνυσον διασπῶμεν).

52 Nach Friedrich Hölderlin, „Patmos“ (1802), Vers 1–2: „Nah ist / Und schwer zu fassen der Gott“.

53 Reinhardt (1966) 379.

54 Nietzsche, *Die Geburt der Tragödie*, Kapitel 10. Dazu Reibnitz (1992) 217, 257–271; Henrichs (1993) 26–29 u. (2005) 454–455; Schlesier (2003).

grundsätzlich von dem antiken Epiphanieerlebnis. Horaz konnte von sich behaupten, er habe Dionysos „gesehen“ (*Bacchum [...] vidi*).<sup>55</sup> Für uns nimmt der Gott bestenfalls als Replik und Konstrukt Gestalt an.<sup>56</sup>

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55 Horaz, *Carmina* 2.19.1–2; Henrichs (1978b).

56 Für manche Anregungen danke ich Renate Schlesier.



## Dionysiac Realms in Perspective





# Dionysos, the Banquet and Gender

*Pauline Schmitt Pantel*

In every regard, real and symbolic, Dionysos is a surprising god. He was a divinity familiar to the Greeks through his representation on a large amount of vases with images, especially on those used in daily life, his place in diverse rituals in addition to the festivals dedicated to him, and the abundant myths to which he gave birth. But Dionysos is a divinity always at odds with expectations, as all researchers would agree, whatever their approach. A different god, a god apart – that is the theme of this collection of essays, a point which I would like to illustrate both literally and figuratively by combining two domains in which Dionysos shows himself both perfectly at ease and subtly outside of the accepted norms. The first domain is that of the banquet where Dionysos rules as master, dispenser of wine and supervisor of the good manners that govern the sociability of citizens. The second is that of women. In this domain, Dionysos is present as the god who observes the rites of the women with benevolence. An exhaustive examination of both these domains obviously exceeds the scope of the present inquiry. I will therefore narrow the focus to a well-defined body of vase images from the archaic period (6<sup>th</sup> century B.C.) which combine the two themes. These images revolve around the representation of Dionysos on the *kline* (at the banquet) beside a woman, who is sometimes identified as Ariadne. I shall consider these images within the group of representations of women and men at the banquet, on the one hand, and within that of Dionysos in the company of a single woman, on the other. This double scope will allow me to compare the two domains and to propose an interpretation which differs slightly from those generally given of the meaning of Dionysos and Ariadne at the banquet.

## Banquets of the Gods

It is on Olympus, the divine retreat, that the gods surrender themselves to their favorite pastime, the banquet. “All day long until the setting of the sun they feasted, nor did their heart want of the meal of which each had his share.”<sup>1</sup> The gods eat and drink but their food is not for men; ambrosia and nectar are

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Translated from the French by Benjamin Periello and revised by Fabian Meinel.

1 Homer, *Il.* 1.601–602.

intended for immortals. They listen to music by and for themselves, sheltered from the cares reserved for mortal men. The banquet is a sign of their bliss and carefree happiness, and the Greeks readily compared divine existence to an eternal feast. The gods, however, are rarely represented feasting together. One exception, possibly misleading, is the scene painted on a cup attributed to the Kodros Painter (fig. 1, 2, 3). Here we see divinities in pairs, recognizable by their attributes and their inscribed names.<sup>2</sup>

While the gods recline, the goddesses are shown seated on the banquet couches (*klinai*) or, in the case of Aphrodite, standing. This follows a well-known iconographic convention which begins on Corinthian vases and continues on Attic pottery towards the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. On the tondo of the vase, we see Plouton and Persephone, while on the exterior of the cup we find Amphitrite and Poseidon, Hera and Zeus, Aphrodite and Ares, Ariadne and Dionysos. A cupbearer and a satyr are also present, in their usual places: Ganymedes before Zeus and Komos before Dionysos. The gods are holding *phiaiai*, while the goddesses are holding different objects bearing no direct relationship to the banquet. There is no food on the tables. I shall return to the meaning which should be given to this scene, subject of numerous commentaries. For now, I will just stress that some scholars do not consider this a symposion scene.<sup>3</sup>

Although there are practically no images representing all the Olympian gods together at banquet, the texts do tell of their commensality, and numerous scenes portray gods and heroes individually at banquet. But in these cases, again, not all the gods are depicted. It should be pointed out that goddesses are never represented as solitary banqueters, an interesting point when considered in terms of gender. Of the immortals portrayed in banquet scenes, two stand out: Dionysos and Herakles. These two divine personages have a special relationship to the feast. Dionysos, inasmuch as he is the god of wine, has for his principle attribute the kantharos when he is reclining on a kline. The reasons for Herakles' connection with the banquet are different: the mythical accounts make him out to be a glutton. But apart from his depictions in specific mythical episodes, his representation in banquet imagery is not fundamentally different from that of Dionysos.<sup>4</sup>

2 Attic red-figure cup. London, BM E 82 (Kodros Painter), ca. 430–420 BCE. *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1269. Carpenter (1995) fig. 1–3. See here fig. 1, 2, 3. There is an impressive bibliography relating to this cup; see e.g. Carpenter (1995).

3 On the partial grouping of gods positioned as banqueters in visual representations, see the article “banquet” (L. Bruit et al.) in *ThesCRA* II (2004) 215–250.

4 One example is the Munich amphora 2301. *ABV* 254.4 et *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 4.9. Carpenter (1986) pl. 25. See the nuances in the banquet article in *ThesCRA* (above, n. 3), where is also a list of the other gods depicted alone at banquets.

Representing the gods individually as banqueters is also a way of expressing their divine status. For example, the portions of meat hanging from the tables before the dining couches resemble the portions of honor reserved for the gods, or the portions distributed after a blood sacrifice.<sup>5</sup> Some scholars see in this representation of meat an allusion to the ritual of the *trapezomata*, gifts of raw meat placed on a table for the gods.<sup>6</sup> Without seeking to identify any particular ritual, which is always risky,<sup>7</sup> I think these representations of meat placed on tables in front of the gods emphasize the important status of the divine person depicted. Meat can also appear in this form on the banquet tables of men, but it appears more often in the form of little pieces cut into equal portions, which refers to the principle of equality in Greek sacrifice.

What can be said with certainty, thus, is that in text and image gods feasting at a banquet are represented in an activity highly valued in the Greek world for many well-known reasons.<sup>8</sup>

### Women at Banquet

A more specific topic is the representation of women at banquet. This vast subject is also frequently addressed and includes at least two sets of images, not actually distinct but often treated separately: women banqueting among themselves and/or appearing in a ritual context with food and wine; and women at banquet at the side of men. Interpretations of these two sets vary in the analysis of details of the images; from a general point of view, however, there is no dissent: the images are regularly taken to depict either respectable women or *hetairai*. In two previous studies I have tried to show the fragility of such assertions. I will now repeat my conclusions.<sup>9</sup>

On certain vases, women handle drink (wine) or food, and/or are represented at banquet. The designation "*Frauenfeste*" (festivals for women) given to these scenes derives from the frequent postulate that the occasion

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5 Durand (1979) and Durand (1986); Berthiaume (1982).

6 So Gunnel Ekroth in a work in progress on Greek sacrifice.

7 See the methodological remarks on the so-called 'Lenaian' vase corpus by Frontisi-Ducroux (1991).

8 It seems to me unnecessary to look for the meaning of the representation of a god at banquet in another culture, such as that of king Assurbanipal, as does, for example, Carpenter (1995). Of course, in Assyria the position of the reclining banqueter is the symbol of royalty. But when this theme was imported to Greece, it was inscribed in a totally different culture, that of the archaic aristocracy. On this point, see Dentzer (1982).

9 Schmitt Pantel (2001) and (2003). The content of these articles has been republished in Schmitt Pantel (2009) with the image documentation.

must be a religious ritual for women. On the so-called 'Lenaian vases' women handle wine in a context where an effigy of Dionysos is present. They appear to be presiding over a ritual of wine distribution. Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux has amply demonstrated that attempts to identify a specific, actual festival come to nothing.<sup>10</sup>

Another related iconographic corpus is that of the "*rituelle Frauengelage*" (ritual banquets of women), an idea developed by Semeli Pingiatoglou and Margot Schmidt.<sup>11</sup> The images on the vases belonging to this group bear no relation to the scenes of a classic symposium; rather they are scenes in which women are shown among themselves. Pingiatoglou looked for Athenian festivals where there was this type of feminine conviviality: at least the Lenaia, the Haloa, the Stenia, and the Thesmophoria qualify. Going through each festival by a process of elimination, she considered the function of the elements present in the image and was left with the festival of the Thesmophoria, and more precisely, the sacrifice and the meal on the third day known as the Kalligeneia. M. Schmidt, however, questions the validity of giving a specific name to the festival portrayed in visual representations and stresses that we should not look behind such scenes for a concrete representation of real life. She argues, instead, that these scenes do not reflect any particular festival but are an echo of female participation in festivals during which women hold a banquet. In short, these groups of images only allow us to conclude that women sometimes ate amongst themselves, without our knowing the exact circumstances.

### Women and Men at the Banquet

Alongside the images showing women only, handling food or at banquet, there is an important set of representations of women accompanying men at the banquet. Among this set, a first type of representations may depict *hetairai*. The women are shown in various stages of undress, or in the process of undressing, in the male dominated realm of the symposium.<sup>12</sup> They participate in the various games that comprised the second half of the banquet that included music, the game of *kottabos*, wine cups, erotic advances, and copulation.

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10 Frontisi-Ducroux (1991). See also Frontisi-Ducroux (1997).

11 Pingiatoglou (1994) and Schmidt (2000); cf. esp. *ibid.* 437 and 439. For the archaeological evidence, see in particular Kron (1992).

12 Peschel (1987); Reinsberg (1989); Kurke (1997). Cf. Hartmann (2000): the aim of her article is to demonstrate that the images and texts concerning the *hetairai* must be read as a discourse addressed to men and encouraging them to behave well through the depiction of disgraceful behavior. This idea is repeated in Hartmann (2002).

A subgroup of this first type appears to be that of naked women among themselves holding drinking vessels. Rather than considering these scenes as representations of some banquet in real life among *hetairai*, we ought to see here an imaginary representation of courtesans depicted in a position that characterizes them especially under the gaze of the male banqueters, who in turn hold drinking vessels.<sup>13</sup> Related to that is a number of studies which also treat the relationship between women and wine.<sup>14</sup>

A second type of images shows one or several clothed women present at a banquet of males, but seated at the edge of the dining couch (*kline*), or on a separate chair. These scenes of women seated at a banquet<sup>15</sup> are similar to those depicted on the above-mentioned Kodros Cup. In such scenes, the women do not appear to take an active part in the symposion. They are simply present, unconcerned by the gestures of conviviality. The most common interpretation is that these women are wives and are depicted in a ‘dignified’ position. This reflects the well-known difference between courtesans and legitimate wives, a distinction quite difficult to spot in iconography. What can we say about the opposition between the two?

In re-examining the entire set of banquet images with *hetairai* alongside the set of images with *hetairoi*, young male companions, I was struck by the similarity of the situations, attitudes and gestures. The young boys and the *hetairai* are interchangeable, both at the side of the adult men who call the shots, the ones who invite and to whom are accorded the varying forms of erotic pleasure, whether visual, auditory or sexual. The images do not allow us to determine the status of these individuals: free or slave, future citizens, prostitutes, courtesans. The parallel between their bearing leads us to think that the status of the young men and women is the same, whether we choose to call them ‘companions’ (*hetairoi* or *hetairai*) or ‘servants’. In any case, it hardly seems possible to make a distinction between the women, supposedly treated as instruments of pleasure, and the young men, supposedly equal participants (‘guests’). The historiography of relations between the sexes is partly responsible for this alleged clear-cut distinction, given the value it places on the relationship between *erastes* and *eromenos*.<sup>16</sup>

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13 See Lissarrague (1991) on images of women at the banquet.

14 Frontisi-Ducroux (1991); Lissarrague (1991); Noël (1999) and Noël (2000); cf. Villanueva Puig (1988) with a bibliography on this theme. See also Villanueva Puig (2009) and Villard (1987).

15 For example, on a black-figure hydria (Berlin F 1890) and on a black-figure psykter (Tarquinia 6823).

16 According to Dover (1978), this difference of treatment is manifest in the fact that the women are “brought along” (one could almost say ‘transported’ as with the krater and pitcher) and the young men are “invited”. He writes (*ibid.* 94): “The beds on which guests lay at a symposium, commonly two to a bed, were equally adapted for

The interchangeable nature of the images presenting women and young men at a banquet is a point we must stop and consider. It questions a facile distinction between men (of a youthful age-group but with the same status as the adult men) and women pushed to the bottom of the social ladder: slaves, prostitutes and courtesans.<sup>17</sup> The erotic inclinations of citizens, those for whom the painters created these scenes, may have disregarded such divisions. Hierarchy is certainly present in the banquet, but in my opinion it distinguishes between the men who are players in the game and the others, young men and women. There is no simple distinction made between masculine and feminine, but in a more subtle way between those for whom such representations at banquet refer to an elevated (social and/or political) status, and those for whom they do not. Thus we can perceive how the construction of gender is inseparable from other forms of identity construction, whether social or political. What seems to me most important to stress in reference to these images of women and young men at the banquet is that both are ancillaries, making it easier for us to identify those who shape the way of being in a society, whether at the banquet or in other social or institutional situations.<sup>18</sup>

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homosexual and heterosexual approaches, with the difference that the eromenos was the fellow-guest of the erastes, whereas the hetaira or female dancer or musician must be got on to the bed before serious embracing and titillating could begin.” Behind this reading, derogatory of women and praiseworthy of the young men, is, it seems to me, a common assumption of the premium placed by the Greeks on erotic relations between men to the detriment of eroticism between men and women. The book that Dover dedicated to homosexuality is exemplary of this. After having shown (ibid. 99) that “homosexual and heterosexual courting sequences, as portrayed by the vase-painters, are virtually identical”, he adds that “consummation, however, is radically different”. Dover explains this in the following terms: in heterosexual coitus, the woman is invariably in the passive and the man in the active position. In intercrural copulation (characteristic of homosexual relations) the *eromenos* stands upright and the *erastes* leans towards him. In sum, the *eromenos* (young man) is treated as an equal, the woman as an inferior.

- 17 As Bérard (1984) 85 remarks: “devant nombre d’images qui ne correspondent pas au modèle du type ‘femmes au foyer’ les archéologues s’en tirent par une pirouette. Soit ils les repoussent vers le bas de l’échelle sociale: les femmes mises en scène ne sont que des esclaves, des prostituées ou des hétaires, soit ils les évacuent par le haut: elles figurent des héroïnes, des muses, des déesses. Dans les deux cas on leur dénie un statut social normal. Faut-il alors admettre que les honnêtes femmes n’existent pas?”
- 18 The category of gender should be integrated into other systems of classification of a society if we wish to carry out a universal historical reading. A limited example such as that of the banquet makes this need clearly felt. See Sébillotte Cuchet/Ernoul (2007).

## Representations of Dionysos with a Woman

I have reiterated the conclusions from my former study of these images in order better to illustrate the underlying plan of the present inquiry which relates to a body of images found mostly on Attic black-figure vases of the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. This is a homogenous corpus as concerns period and center of production, social and political context, production and reception of the images but also, it is important to stress, as concerns the borrowings and innovations of the painters. I will leave aside the question of workshops and style of the painters, as this is outside my realm of competence. Instead I will look at these images from the perspective of a historian, without trying to uncover a sequential history of tyranny or aristocratic oligarchy, but taking into account the system of representation used in 6<sup>th</sup>-century Athens, of which we know about thanks to a host of diverse sources of which these images form a part.

Among the impressive and well-studied imagery of Dionysos during the archaic period, a small group of images stands slightly apart from the traditional representations of the god:<sup>19</sup> we see Dionysos in the company of a woman, in a relationship that seems personal, almost intimate. I deliberately do not name and/or categorize the woman. The feminine entourage of Dionysos takes on such diverse forms in visual representations that it is impossible to define boundaries. In any event, I do not think that an identification with one particular figure would be useful, except perhaps from our Cartesian perspective, nor do I think this was the intention of the painters themselves, since the multivalent nature of images is one of their principle means of expression. It is fruitless, for example, to try to determine in each scene whether the female companion of Dionysos is a maenad, i. e. a woman of his divine entourage, or some other figure. Some elements in the image may offer recognizable signs, but they are seldom certain. As evidence for the difficulties of classification, consider the *LIMC* article on Dionysos, where the encounter between the god and women is dealt with in different sections. In “Dionysos and his followers”, the article distinguishes between encounters with a single maenad, those with several, and those with satyrs and maenads. The paragraph entitled “Dionysos and Ariadne” is frequently punctuated with question marks as to the identity of the woman, and in the section “The cultural sphere”, some

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19 Among others, see Shapiro (1989a); Carpenter (1986) and Carpenter (1997); Murray (1990) and Murray/Tecusan (1996); Frontisi-Ducroux (1991); Hedreen (1992); Lissarrague (1999); Isler-Kerényi (1999) and Isler-Kerényi (2001); Fahlbusch (2004); Schlesier (2008b) and Schlesier/Schwarzmaier (2008). Cf. Villanueva Puig (2009): in this book the author repeatedly deals with the theme that concerns me here, that of Dionysos and Ariadne. I was not aware of this work until after the present article had been written.



images are classified under the heading “Dionysos and the *Basilinna* (the wife of the ruling archon)”.

The privileged relationship between Dionysos and a particular woman, whom Cornelia Isler-Kerényi calls the “*sposa-matrona*” or “matronly-bride”, may take several forms. In the corpus of Attic black-figure vases, the themes connected with this privileged relationship are not very numerous; but additional ones appear later in the iconography.<sup>20</sup> I have counted five themes: the chariot, Dionysos taking a woman by the hand, two people facing one another, the presence of Hermes and other divinities, and sharing a *kline*. Taken together, these scenes have a thematic coherence.

In mythology, Dionysos and Ariadne, like Thetis and Peleus, constitute one of the models of human marriage.<sup>21</sup> The former presents a male god with a mortal woman, the latter a goddess with a mortal man. The visual representation of their weddings reflects a certain number of Greek marriage practices of the archaic period. For example, many publications have underlined the importance of the procession with the future spouse on a chariot. This marks the shift from one *oikos* to another and is a central element in the representation of the marriage of Thetis and Peleus.<sup>22</sup>

## Chariot Scenes

Dionysos and a female companion are often represented with a chariot. These chariot scenes follow at least two scenarios. Either Dionysos and the woman are on the chariot together (fig. 4),<sup>23</sup> or the woman is alone on the chariot or

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20 The *LIMC* III Dionysos article divides the imagery of Dionysos and Ariadne according to the following rubrics: Dionysos and a standing Ariadne conversing (alone, with satyrs, maenads and others); Dionysos carried with Ariadne (by Ariadne, a satyr, or both); Dionysos seated with Ariadne standing; Dionysos and Ariadne seated (alone or in the *thiasos*); Dionysos and Ariadne at a symposium; Dionysos and Ariadne on a chariot; the meeting of Dionysos and Ariadne in the presence of Hermes, Silenos and maenads; the epiphany of Dionysos at Naxos. To me, this classification seems arbitrary, in that it takes into account those gestures recognized today while saying nothing about the configurations intended by the Greeks themselves.

21 Concerning the abundant bibliography on Greek marriage, I subscribe to the thesis of Vèrilhac/Vial (1998). See also Oakley/Sinos (1993); Lissarrague (1996); and Hartmann (2002).

22 See Bérard (1984) and Lissarrague (1991).

23 On a black-figure amphora from Munich (M 31) from around 500, Apollo and Artemis stand behind a quadriga. Two people stand on the chariot, their identity unknown due to damage of the vase, though they are taken to be Dionysos and Ariadne. – On a black-figure lekythos from Limoges (Musée Adrien Dubouché), ca. 470, we see (?) a woman (A.) and Dionysos on a chariot. – On an Attic black-figure hydria (Vatican

in the process of boarding, while Dionysos is either in front of or alongside the team of horses, and sometimes he looks at the woman.<sup>24</sup> Although the two cases do evoke a transition from the *oikos* along the lines of the marriage ritual, the image is nonetheless far from being a precise rendering of the rite, according to which the groom (here represented by Dionysos) would not be present in the procession, and certainly not in the chariot. The presence of Hermes sometimes reinforces the interpretation of the scene as an allusion to marriage, given that Hermes was the god of passage, including that of marriage.

### Scenes of Pursuit?

It seems to me that there is another type of scene that could be regrouped along with the iconography of marriage.<sup>25</sup> Generally labeled ‘Dionysos pursuing a woman’, these scenes are often catalogued along with numerous other scenes of pursuit or abduction. Lucy Turnbull, however, who has described one of such vases (fig. 5),<sup>26</sup> reaffirmed the identification of Dionysos by the ivy crown and stressed the “almost certain identification of Ariadne”; she noted, however, the absence of violence and panic in the scene. The god has grabbed the woman’s shoulder with his left hand, while the right hand is touching her arm, without seeming to grasp it. The woman is stepping forward, holding a round object in her left hand, and while she turns to face the god she seems more hesitant than frightened. Perhaps. I myself am interested in Dionysos’ gesture, which is almost (but not quite) that of the

423), 520–510, Dionysos and a woman (A.), on a quadriga facing frontwards, turn their heads up. *ABV* 281. *LIMC* III Dionysos 765. See here fig. 4. – Cf. the Attic black-figure amphora from Bologna (Mus. Civ. 29), 520–510. Dionysos and a woman on a quadriga in a frontal view, with a satyr and a maenad on either side. *ABV* 285.3. *LIMC* III Dionysos 766.

- 24 On an Attic black-figure amphora (Priam Painter) from Munich (Antikenslg. SL.460), ca. 510, the woman (Ariadne or Athena) is on a chariot, while Dionysos stands behind the quadriga along with a satyr and maenad. *ABV* 331.4. *LIMC* III Dionysos 769. – On an Attic black-figure amphora from Bologna (Mus. Civ. 33) a woman stands on a chariot; in the background Dionysos looks at her. There is a billy-goat in the scene. – Attic black-figure amphora from Rome (Villa Giulia 15730), 520–510. Dionysos with grape vines and a woman (A.) driving the chariot. A maenad and a satyr stand in the background. *ABV* 373.181. *CVA* 3, pl. 19 (103). – Attic black-figure amphora (after the Lysippides Painter) from Würzburg (Wagner Museum, L 267), ca. 510. Dionysos in front of the quadriga, with ivy, head turned, looking behind him, a woman (A.) mounts the chariot and takes the reins; Hermes and two smaller satyrs. *ABV* 258.10. *LIMC* III Dionysos 768.
- 25 Neck amphora, University Museum, University of Mississippi (1977.3.87). See here fig. 5.
- 26 Turnbull (1981).

young man's grip on the young woman's wrist often found in scenes representing marriage. This gesture, the *cheir epi karpo*, which makes the groom the young woman's *kyrios*, can be found in numerous vase images.

### Scenes of Encounter

Most of the encounter scenes show Dionysos and a woman facing one another. The woman is depicted in different ways. It is a theme in which the boundary between a maenad and a woman of a different status is difficult to establish. The following three images show this multivalent representation. On a black-figure amphora from Munich, Dionysos holds a kantharos as he faces a dancing woman.<sup>27</sup> The satyr behind her is also dancing. The context is rather one of a Dionysian procession. Another black-figure amphora from the Louvre<sup>28</sup> shows Dionysos, a woman, and three satyrs (fig. 6). Dionysos holds a kantharos, while the woman raises an oinochoe, perhaps to pour wine into the kantharos. The status of the woman is unclear; the inclusion of wine-drinking accoutrements would suggest that she is a maenad. Finally, on another black-figure amphora,<sup>29</sup> Dionysos and a woman are between two satyrs. Here, Dionysos holds no drinking vessel, but an ivy branch instead. The woman is empty-handed (there is a crack running along her head) and is wearing a veil that we see behind her peplos. Her status is unclear.

These scenes remind us of the uncertain boundaries that exist in the depictions of Dionysos' encounter with a woman. A maenad, for instance, is usually shown dancing; her feet do not touch the ground, she is in movement. But some images belong to an intermediate category, since the identity of the woman depicted on them seems to be fluid.

In my view, this intermediate category accounts for the scene on an amphora where we see Dionysos at the center followed by a dancing satyr.<sup>30</sup> Dionysos holds a rhyton and an ivy branch; he is behind a woman who turns to face him. She is dressed in a long garment, her head is bare, and she holds her two hands at her belt, as though tying or untying it. Cornelia Isler-Kerényi suggests that this gesture has a sexual connotation, citing an article of mine.<sup>31</sup> She comments on the scene, saying, "we have obviously passed from the realm

27 Munich 1520.

28 Louvre F 204 (Lysippides Painter), 530–520. Beazley, *Addenda* 65 (254.1). See here fig. 6.

29 Louvre F 59 (after the Lysippides Painter). *ABV* 259.15.

30 Louvre F 36 bis. Beazley, *Para* 58 (142.8).

31 Schmitt Pantel (1977).

of wives to that of *hetairai*.<sup>32</sup> I would suggest a slightly different reading: the belt marks her status as wife, while the gesture of untying marks her preparation for the sexual act: this can exist in the world of matrimony as well as in that of the *hetaira*.

### Scenes of Anakalypsis

In scenes where Dionysos is facing a woman, there are a series in which the woman wears a chiton, a himation, and sometimes a veil. With her hand, she draws away the train of her garment or veil which falls from her head as she looks at Dionysos (fig. 7). This gesture has a specific name in the marriage ritual: the *anakalypsis*.<sup>33</sup>

In other examples, Dionysos and the woman either face one another or stand side by side in a group of deities that include Hermes, Poseidon, and Amphitrite.<sup>34</sup> Dionysos raises a kantharos, while the woman, here certainly Ariadne, holds a flower; with their upraised arms interlaced with one another they stand face to face, as do Poseidon and Amphitrite. Ariadne and Dionysos are treated like another divine couple. The presence of Hermes may be an allusion to their marriage. Since Hermes is turned towards the outside, he may be introducing something else.

On a black-figure column crater, Ariadne and Dionysos share the same seat, while Apollo and Hermes stand on either side facing the couple.<sup>35</sup> Dionysos holds a rhyton. The gods facing the couple are witnesses to the scene. Hermes' presence is expected, and Apollo plays the lyre and celebrates the couple's union through music.

32 Isler-Kerényi (2001) 119: "Dalla sfera delle moglie siamo evidentemente passati al mondo delle etere".

33 I mention but a few examples among the dozens of scenes of this type: black-figure cup with bands (Amasis), ca. 550–540. Louvre F 75. Dionysos and a woman (A.) surrounded by satyrs and maenads. Dionysos holds a rhyton, while Ariadne holds a crown and lifts her veil. *ABV* 156.81. *LIMC* III Dionysos 714. – Black-figure amphora (Berlin Painter), 540–530. Louvre F 3. Beazley, *ABV* 297.12. Dionysos and a woman (A.) are surrounded by two satyrs and a maenad. Dionysos holds a rhyton and vine; Ariadne (?) lifts her veil. – Black-figure two-handled amphora with cover, 550–540. Louvre F 5. Dionysos, woman (A.), satyrs and maenads. Dionysos holds a kantharos; woman lifts her veil. – Attic black-figure amphora, 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Louvre F 32. Dionysos, woman and three satyrs. Dionysos holds a rhyton and a vine branch. Ariadne (?) lifts her veil and seems to touch the vase. *ABV* 135.43. *LIMC* III Dionysos 715. See here fig. 7. – Black-figure two handles amphora, 530–520. Louvre Eléonte 908. Dionysos, woman and satyr. Dionysos holds a rhyton. Ariadne (?) lifts her veil.

34 Red-figure hydria, 510–500. Louvre G 41.

35 Louvre, Campana 1861, Cp 11283. Circa 500.

I will not enter the extensive debate concerning the exact nature of the *anakalypsis* gesture. Does the gesture entail a woman lifting her veil and showing her heretofore hidden face? Or is she lifting a veil that did not really cover her face as much as frame it? Françoise Frontisi does not think that the bride would have had her head entirely shrouded by a veil falling over her face, and she interprets the *anakalypsis* as the act of the woman presenting herself as a veiled bride, thus marking her status as a married woman. According to this interpretation, the gesture of unveiling would be both matrimonial and erotic – a gesture of purpose and belonging.<sup>36</sup> The moment and place during the wedding ceremony where the gesture of *anakalypsis* occurs has also elicited fierce discussions, which have been exhaustively discussed by Florence Gherchanoc.<sup>37</sup> For my purposes here, it suffices to retain only that “the veil appears as an important element in the process of the construction of the marital bond, at once the sign and guarantee of the young woman’s worth”, while the unveiling, the *anakalypsis*, is a gesture that signifies taking possession, as well as the acceptance of the *gamos*. It is a sign of the marital bond. At times, the woman holds a crown and a bowl with ribbons, but the gesture of unveiling does not seem to be in conjunction with her other gestures, such as offering a flower or a round object in other scenes.

The woman’s gesture is important for our understanding of the meaning of a scene, but it is not the only clue. In most examples, Dionysos holds up a rhyton and sometimes a kantharos. Certainly, we recognize here the habitual attribute of the god, since bearing a drinking vessel characterizes the god of wine. Can we go further and see in this gesture an element of the marriage ritual, perhaps an allusion to a libation? The gesture itself is not explicit: the god does not tilt his drinking vessel towards the ground. And the vase is not a phiale, although the phiale is not the only libation vessel. It is difficult to push this interpretation any further.

### Banquet Scenes?

The last set of images is that of Dionysos and a woman, both resting on a *kline*. The examples are less numerous than in the case of the preceding theme.

One scene on a black-figure Attic amphora from Florence (fig. 8) presents perhaps a problem of interpretation.<sup>38</sup> Thomas Carpenter and all the other

36 Frontisi-Ducroux (2008) 64–65.

37 Gherchanoc (2006), with bibliography on this topic (the quotation: *ibid.* 257). Cf. Llewellyn-Jones (2003).

38 Florence Mus. Arch. 70995, ca. 560–550. *ABV* 110.32. *LIMC* III Dionysos 756. See here fig. 8.

scholars I have consulted identify a man (Dionysos?) and a woman. But Cornelia Isler-Kerényi identifies two men: an adult (Dionysos?) and a young man. Both are reclining on a *kline*, gazing at one another. Each wears a garment that covers the right shoulder. The table is not clearly depicted as separated from the *kline*. According to Carpenter it has been slid under the *kline*. Beneath the dining couch (and the table?) there is a dog. On either side of the *kline* two naked men and two women attired in long chitons dance while a smaller dog stands on its hind legs. A rhyton is suspended on a wall. Depending on one's reading of this scene, it may or may not belong to our theme. I am inclined towards one particular reading: that of a man beside a woman (because of the profile of this reclining figure on the left). But I find it interesting that there can be ambiguity in recognizing the sex of the two banqueters. Other examples of such amphora scenes show either Dionysos reclining on a *kline* and a seated woman (fig. 9),<sup>39</sup> or both reclining on a *kline*: Dionysos wears only a himation, while the woman is bare-chested, with a garment from her waist down (fig. 10),<sup>40</sup> or they can be lying on cushions (fig. 11a–b).<sup>41</sup>

We find comparable scenes on lekythoi and other kinds of vases, like amphorae (fig. 12 and 13).<sup>42</sup>

39 Black-figure amphora from Boston (01.8052), ca. 530–520. *ABV* 242.35 and 259.26. *CVA* 1 pl. 24. Dionysos reclining on a *kline* and a woman (A.), seated on the *kline*. Her feet rest on a stool. Dionysos holds a skyphos, the woman a flower. Both are clothed. Turned towards one another, they return each other's gaze. Table with dishes (strips of meat). Four satyrs and maenads, one of whom climbs the vine surrounding the scene. See here fig. 9.

40 Attic black-figure neck amphora from Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Mus. GR 27.1864.48), ca. 510. *ABV* 259.17. *LIMC* III Dionysos 757. Dionysos holds a phiale, the woman raises her hand to her crowned head. In front of the *kline* there is a table with strips of hanging meat and a pitcher. There is a dog under the table; in front of a servant, a cupbearer. On either side pairs of dancing satyrs and maenads. See here fig. 10.

41 Black-figure neck amphora from Munich (Antikenslg. 1562), ca. 510. *LIMC* III Dionysos 758. Dionysos and a woman reclining on the ground on cushions. They are looking at one another. The woman is bare-chested. Dionysos holds a kantharos. On the vine surrounding the scene climb several satyrs. See here fig. 11a–b.

42 Attic black-figure lekythos from Athens (Mus. Nat. 541), ca. 500. *LIMC* III Dionysos 759. Dionysos and a woman on a *kline*. In front is a table with strips of meat. There is a little stool. Dionysos and the woman wear a himation over one shoulder. Dionysos holds vine branches. The woman turned towards him has head gear in the form of a turban and holds a cup in her right hand. There are two satyrs. – Other examples of similar scenes include: black-figure amphora from Mississippi (Univ. Mus. Univ. Mississippi 1977.3.62), 510–500. Dionysos reclines on a *kline* and holds a rhyton. The woman is seated on the same *kline*, her feet resting on a little stool. She holds a crown. On a table there are strips of meat. The scene includes a satyr. See here fig. 12. – Black-figure oinochoe from Geneva (Mus 20608.1968), ca. 500. *LIMC* III Dionysos 760. Dionysos, reclining on a *kline*, looks at the woman (A.) seated to his right on a chair.

Some of these scenes have been studied by Thomas Carpenter.<sup>43</sup> His research has been my guideline, although I take issue with some of his interpretations and conclusions. I recapitulate his argument: Carpenter takes as a point of departure the Kodros Cup and examines the activity it depicts. Is it really a symposium of the gods? The sequence of images that he then follows within the context of Dionysian iconography allows him to cast doubt on this interpretation and to propose another: the divine couples are on a nuptial bed, which recalls their married state. Do the images we have just seen support such a reading?

The scene on which Carpenter's argument rests is that of the Cambridge amphora (see fig. 10).<sup>44</sup> His description runs as follows:

A man and a woman, both naked to the waist and both wearing ivy wreaths, recline on a *kline*. The man holds a *phiale*, the woman touches her wreath with her right hand, perhaps crowning herself. A table stands next to the *kline* with another *phiale* and with food and ivy sprigs on it. By it stands a small naked youth with an *oinochoe* in his right hand, a flower (?) in his left; below it is a dog chewing on a bone. At either end a satyr holds up a maenad; one plays pipe, the other *krotala*.

Carpenter then asks whether the scene is a symposium, noting that the vine and the presence of satyrs and maenads fix the man's identity as Dionysos. In his reading, the woman is therefore automatically identified as Ariadne, and he asks whether the wife of a god would be represented "in such an immodest pose". But, I would ask, immodest for whom?

Carpenter is looking for the source of this type of representation, and he finds it in banquet scenes on Corinthian vases of the 590's which show naked women at the side of men on the *klinai*. These women are generally known, he says, as "*hetairai*". A short time later the theme also appears in Attic pottery. As these women are *hetairai* it would be, according to him, improper to

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Both are crowned. Dionysos's himation reaches the table that is covered with strips of meat. A dog lies under the *kline*. – Black-figure amphora from Bologna (Bologna Pel 7). Dionysos reclines on a *kline*. He holds a vine branch. A woman is seated on the *kline*, her feet resting on a stool. She holds a flower. There is food on the table. There are three additional women in the scene. – Black-figure amphora from Würzburg (Würzburg L 207). Dionysos reclines on a *kline*. He is empty-handed. The table has meat on it, and a dog is underneath. A woman is seated at the head of the *kline*. Another woman is standing between the *kline* and the table. A man dances. See here fig. 13. – Red-figure krater from the Metropolitan Museum (1986.11.12), ca. 470. On one side, a series of gods: Dionysos seated, a goddess, Zeus, Athena, Apollo, Artemis. On the other side in a lacuna there are two *klinai*: Dionysos and a woman (Ariadne) on one, a krater in the middle, a winged woman standing (Nike or Hebe), Herakles on the other. Satyrs depicted near the krater and under one of the handles. Carpenter (1995) fig. 10 and 11a–b.

43 Carpenter (1995); the following quotation: *ibid.* 152.

44 See above, note 40. See here fig. 10.



represent Ariadne in this kind of symposion. Thus, this scene has a different meaning for Carpenter.

At this point, we may immediately cast doubt on the identification of these women as *hetairai*, at least as concerns women on black-figure vases. Furthermore, even if one reasons in terms of theme-borrowing rather than of conjugal morals, nothing prevents a painter from taking such a theme and changing it to represent Dionysos and Ariadne.

Carpenter continues his argument. For different reasons the Florence amphora (see fig. 8) does not seem to him to represent a symposion either.<sup>45</sup> Why? The couple's hands are empty. The table has disappeared under the couch, and we see no food on it. There is a dog under the table and a drinking horn suspended on the wall in the background. What is more, *komastes* dance on either side of the *kline*. In a symposion scene, *komastes* would be unusual, as would the absence of food and drinking vessels according to Carpenter, who considers that the motif of the symposion was retained in order to illustrate a particular event.

Carpenter returns to the Cambridge Amphora (see fig. 10) in order to indicate that the woman with the bare torso is indeed Ariadne and that the "immodest" nature of the scene may be intentional and have some special meaning. The image could be erotic, and the best explanation, according to him, is that of a representation of the marriage-bed, the painter having borrowed an old form (that of the symposion) to give it new meaning.

Other scenes are compared. Carpenter also advances ritual explanations for certain images, following Erika Simon and Walter Burkert, such as the sacred wedding of the *Basilinna*, wife of the ruling archon, at the Anthesteria. I do not agree with him on this point, because as mentioned above, I think that it is difficult to identify specific rituals in images.

A portrayal of Dionysos and a woman – which differs from that on the Cambridge amphora and other examples showing the god reclining together with a woman – appears around 520. Here, it is only Dionysos who reclines on the *kline*, while the woman is seated. The oldest image is on an amphora from Boston that I have already mentioned (fig. 9).<sup>46</sup> Other similar scenes appear on vases at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. For Carpenter, this portrayal is a variation of the other, and the woman is again Ariadne. There are great similarities with the scene of the Kodros painter where Ariadne is named (see fig. 2), seventy years later.<sup>47</sup> Carpenter's hypothesis is thus that the woman reclining on the

45 See note 38 above and here fig. 8.

46 Black-figure amphora from Boston (01.8052). Reference at note 39, above. See here fig. 9.

47 In the intervening period, around 470, the psykter/krater from the Metropolitan Museum shows Dionysos reclining on a *kline* and Ariadne seated.



*kline* with Dionysos and the woman seated beside him while he reclines are both Ariadne, and that these allegedly first representations on Attic vases of Dionysos and Ariadne in an erotic atmosphere relate to marriage.

Carpenter then returns to the Kodros Cup (see fig. 1, 2, 3). Carpenter argues as follows: The imagery is that of marriage, the iconographic theme was borrowed from the banquet, but these divine couples are not participating in a symposion. None of the gestures of the gods suggest this to be the case; quite the opposite. Carpenter emphasizes that Aphrodite, standing next to Ares, holds a pyxis, which is almost always associated with women, often in the context of marriage.<sup>48</sup> Nor does the alabastron of Amphitrite correspond to a symposion. In short, the representation used for each of the four groups allows us to understand them as couples on a nuptial bed. For Carpenter, the tondo depicting Plouton and Persephone is an ambiguous scene susceptible to several readings, including that of a funeral bed. And Carpenter concludes that a 5<sup>th</sup>-century Athenian would have been surprised that in this scene someone would see gods attending a symposion. The *kline* is not a banquet couch but a nuptial couch. The erotic elements of the symposion (men and *hetairai*) are absent. The scene has thus become very respectable although the undercurrent is erotic.

I would like to make several remarks about this argument. The first concerns the representation of the goddess Aphrodite on the Kodros Cup. Why is she the only woman standing? Carpenter emphasizes her importance for marriage in general. But one should note that Aphrodite is the only divinity not married to her companion reclining on the *kline*. From the *Odyssey* we know that Ares is her lover and that in the pantheon, she is the wife of Hephaistos, who is not present. That she is depicted standing rather than seated on the *kline* of Ares may be a reminder of their unmarried status. Aphrodite and Ares do not represent a married couple.

Why should we wish to shift from the interpretation of the *kline* in the context of a symposion to that of a *kline* as matrimonial bed? Do the images permit such an interpretation? What does the banquet theme correspond to in the system of archaic representations? And does the banquet not also have a role in the marriage ritual? This is not the place to re-examine each point in Carpenter's argument. I will only address a few. The Cambridge amphora (see fig. 10) is in the same register as the banquet scenes from the same period which show a man and a woman together on the *kline* (Corinthian and Attic). Every element of the image conforms to this traditional representation which can be found on vases since the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. It is only because the woman is sometimes identified as Ariadne, wife of Dionysos, that the

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48 For Erika Simon (1953) 60, the representation of Zeus and Hera on the Kodros Cup refers to the *hieros gamos* celebrating the *theogamia* at Athens in the month of Gamelion.

interpretation which points to a banquet is contested. But this supposes a reading of all nude women on black-figure vases as courtesans, which, as we have seen, is questionable. Furthermore, cannot the images convey eroticism through female nudity (as is the case with male nudity) without degrading the status of the person represented? It seems worth asking this question. Behind 'our' difficulty in seeing Ariadne the wife depicted bare-chested, are we not projecting a system of contemporary (or rather 19<sup>th</sup> century) values on what may or may not have been 'immodest' for the Greeks?

I think that we are led astray in trying to read the status of women according to whether they are naked or clothed. The question pertains more to the idea of eroticism and feminine beauty as depicted by Athenian painters of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, and has less to do with decency. The important point is the perception of the viewers, the painter's clients who handle and look at these vases during a banquet.<sup>49</sup> The scenes on the Cambridge amphora, like those on the Munich vase, are clearly situated in the world of Dionysian exuberance and fantasy that allows any flight of imagination, such as having satyrs climb the grapevines. A conjugal bed under the curious gaze of satyrs would perhaps be a misplaced interpretation – let's be serious. I would go one step further. An image representing two people on a *kline* in the position of banqueters says nothing about what they are actually doing. In studying the male dominated banquet scenes from the archaic and classical periods, I believe I have shown that what was illustrated in such representations were the social or even political (civic) values that the custom of the banquet conveyed: sharing sacrificial meat and consecrated wine is one of the signs of membership in a group of equals, on which the political community is built.<sup>50</sup> Among other things, the image of the banquet is a marker of civic identity. But the world of citizens, one could say, was male, very exclusive, and women had no place at a civic banquet.

The few images of Dionysos sharing his *kline* with a woman, herself reclining or seated, may well be no more than a moment of inspiration and creation of painters who combined several popular themes. We might also hazard a hypothesis – a historian's mania – that would re-insert the composition of these scenes among the norms put in place by the archaic city. There was a moment when women acquired their status in the city: when after a complicated and fragile process, the succession of rites and procedures that we call 'marriage', she became a man's sole progenitor of legitimate children in his *oikos*. Images depicting the sharing of a common *kline* with a man may express this status. There is no need to know whether this was really the case after the meal held following the *gamos*. It is highly probable that

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49 Lissarrague (1987).

50 Schmitt Pantel (1992/2011).

women did not participate in this wedding banquet. The few images of Dionysos and a woman (sometimes identified as Ariadne) at a banquet can thus be placed among the different moments chosen by the painters to express the particular relationship uniting the god and the mortal: the chariot, the grabbing of the wrist, the presence of Hermes, the unveiling. The ‘banquet scene’ would not necessarily have represented a moment of the *gamos*; it was perhaps the means chosen by archaic imagery to express the importance of such a change.

This interpretation inserts the body of images in archaic history. It carefully takes into account social practices in a manner not strictly sequential or ritual but cultural, in the larger sense given by the German language to the term *Kultur*. It rests on a series of questions and even criticisms of the way in which we, contemporary scholars, assign status and judge the behavior of the men and women represented on 6<sup>th</sup>-century Greek vases. Among the numerous qualities that researchers like to ascribe to Dionysos is his conspicuous ability to express both feminine and masculine qualities, as well as his willingness to give the world of women its proper place in the city. But what should also be emphasized is that he is the only god who married a mortal woman, blurring two borders: between divine and human, and between desire just for pleasure, on the one hand, and legitimate conjugality, on the other. We have observed that it is rare for a god to share his *kline* with a woman, but this may be understandable in the case of Dionysos, if the representation of the two people at banquet in the archaic period truly represents social and civic values. Dionysos and Ariadne at banquet could thus offer the very rare image of a certain form of equality.<sup>51</sup>

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51 Starting from a completely different set of images, that of Ariadne who gave a woolen thread to Theseus to escape from the labyrinth, although, metaphorically at least, she was unable to spin and weave a cloth, Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux (2009) explores in detail the relationship between Ariadne and Dionysos. She writes (53–54): “Quant à Dionysos, n’est-ce pas précisément l’inaptitude d’Ariane à une féminité canonique et rangée qui l’a séduit? Il n’apprécie guère les tisseuses trop consciencieuses, les obsessionnelles incapables de lâcher leur métier. Ariane est faite pour l’amour [...]. Aussi le dieu, bien avisé, s’empresse-t-il de la consoler, d’en faire son épouse-amante, un modèle de conjugnalité érotique, et de la rendre immortelle.” This is another reading of this couple, which also underlines its uniqueness.

# Eros Reigns Supreme: Dionysos' Wedding on a New Krater by the Dinos Painter

*Victoria Sabetai*

## Introduction

One of the events in Dionysos' mythical biography is his happy marriage with the Cretan princess Ariadne, on whom he bestowed immortality. In comparison to the god's thiasos and scenes of Dionysiac myth and cult, the iconography of this marriage between a virtually 'monogamous' god and a mortal has attracted limited scholarly interest.<sup>1</sup> This is partly due to the fact that it is difficult to identify Ariadne in the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C., a time when the god is frequently shown with a generic female companion who has been given various names. Because of this absence of a fixed iconography, Ariadne becomes recognizable only from the early 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. onwards, when she starts appearing with her name inscribed. By the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. she figures prominently as Dionysos' female companion par excellence.

More recently, the Ariadne of the vase painters has attracted substantial scholarly comment. Carpenter first argued that a small number of archaic scenes depicting Dionysos on a kline together with a bridal female referred to the god's marriage with Ariadne. This corpus of vases was extended by Diez del Corral Corredoira, who devoted a monograph to the theme of Dionysos' wedding and its long tradition in vase painting and concluded that it served as a paradigm for human marriages and that Ariadne imbued the imagery with romance.<sup>2</sup> The heroine was further contextualized by Isler-Kerényi, who examined the relationship of Dionysos to women and claimed that attaching a mythological name-tag to the god's female companion in the black-figure

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1 For a synopsis of current scholarly trends in Dionysiac imagery see Villanueva Puig (2007) 197–205; cf. Schlesier/Schwarzmaier (2008); Moraw (in the present volume).

2 Carpenter (1995); Diez del Corral Corredoira (2007) with discussion of the history of scholarship on the subject (17–20). For the late 5<sup>th</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. see particularly Metzger (1951) 41–58; 110–125; Paul-Zinserling (1994) 41–44; 49–53. On Ariadne in ancient visual art (and beyond), cf. Schlesier (2008b); on the earliest red-figure example of a Dionysiac narrative of Ariadne, abandoned by Theseus, crowned by Eros and sleeping under a vine, a cup from the Brygos painter in Tarquinia (490/470 B.C.): *ibid.* 142.

scenes is less important than understanding her function – and so her symbolic import – in the image. Thus, this anonymous woman, perhaps Ariadne, who is distinguished from the generic nymphs only by her intimate relation with the god, played the role of the archetypal bride and legitimate wife, with whom Dionysos was particularly associated as god of women. According to Isler-Kerényi, the Dionysiac marriage in an idyllic ambience and in the presence of the nuptial thiasos was a model of happiness and a symbol of eternal bliss.<sup>3</sup>

Set against this background, a new krater recently donated to the Benaki Museum<sup>4</sup> and dated to 420–410/05 B.C. is a welcome addition to the corpus of depictions of Dionysos' marriage (fig. 1, 2, 3, 4). The krater may be attributed to the Dinos Painter, a follower of the Polygnotan Group and a painter of intriguing Dionysiac scenes, such as the one on his 'Lenaia' stamnos.<sup>5</sup> This krater is important, for it highlights the complex relationship between late classical Dionysiac imagery and cultural values that find expression in the context of Dionysiac religiosity, such as bliss within the frame of the legitimate marriage, an institution highly valorized in the Periclean polis. This iconographic study revolves around the following: (1.) The union of Dionysos and Ariadne as a scene of ritual celebration that is construed by combining the imagery of the symposion, the wedding and the thiasos. (2.) The Dionysiac hierogamy in the visual language of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. and its origins in the archaic period. (3.) The affinities of the Dinos Painter's image with monumental art in other media, namely the "Totenmahlreliefs". (4.) The question, addressed rarely, of who received vases depicting Dionysos' marriage and on what occasion, as well as the function, in life and death, of red-figure kraters bearing this theme. (5.) The imagery of the Dionysiac wedding and its alleged relation to its ritual parallel, Dionysos' *gamos* at the Anthesteria.

### Staging the Scene and its Protagonists

The new krater by the Dinos Painter depicts the Dionysiac hierogamy among the god's thiasos (a satyr-boy and female figures on side A; other members of the thiasos are on side B). Above one handle there is an altar; above the other,

3 Isler-Kerényi (1991); Isler-Kerényi (2007) 107–157, esp. 110–124; 160; 170.

4 The krater was donated to the Benaki Museum by A. Doxiadis and formed part of a group of four red-figured vases, of which two are calyx kraters decorated with the Dionysiac hierogamy. The remaining two are a Polygnotan pelike and an amphora by a Latest Mannerist. All of these vases are going to be published by the author of the present essay. I thank A. Delivorrias and E. Papageorgiou for the publication permit.

5 On the Dinos Painter see McPhee (1973) 1–50; Matheson (1995) 147–161. He has greatly influenced the majority of 4<sup>th</sup>-century B.C. vase painters.

a door. The scene on the front (side A) is a closed, self-contained composition, which is steeped in a solemn mood, in contrast to the agitated thiasos on side B. That both sides of the krater are compositionally and thematically related is indicated by the draped satyr at the end of the procession on side B who gestures towards the event taking place on the front side.

The focus of the krater is the couple of Dionysos and Ariadne. He is shown reclining and resting his thyrsos on his shoulder while raising a kantharos with wine to his lips; she is sitting at his feet tying a wreath (fig. 5). Both wear festive wreaths and share the upholstered and richly draped bed that is known from other works by the Dinos Painter.<sup>6</sup> The god and his companion are depicted at equal height, gazing into each other's eyes. The antithetic composition and symmetry of design express the equality and intimacy between the figures and imbue the scene with a sense of harmony. Breaking with the earlier Polygnotan figure-type and influenced by Parthenoneian sculpture, the Dinos Painter has transformed Dionysos into a youthful figure.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, he is probably the first of the late 5<sup>th</sup>-century B.C. artists to present the god as the focal point in the composition and to show him reclining as a monopsiast (for this motif had gone out of fashion long before his time).<sup>8</sup> This new figure-type of Dionysos hereafter becomes very influential.

The woman at the feet of the god's kline can be identified as Ariadne, who in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. is 'Ariadne the bride', veiled and richly decked with jewels. In addition, the painter highlighted in white a telling detail, namely her special shoes, the *nymphides*, which were often worn by bridal figures in Attic iconography to denote their journey to a new home and, metaphorically, to a new phase of their life.<sup>9</sup> Ariadne's wreath is a pictorial motif that is rooted in generic images of erotic gift-giving between men and women.<sup>10</sup> It became associated in particular, and from early on, with the bridal female interacting with Dionysos; and, although not all women holding it should be identified with Ariadne, it is the latter's characteristic, if not exclusive, attribute in the archaic period, almost disappearing afterwards.<sup>11</sup>

Right at the central axis of the composition and bridging the space between the divine couple with his step is Eros, who strides to crown Ariadne with a wreath. Both highlighted in white and yellow-gold, Eros and Ariadne

6 Matheson (1995) pl. 135.

7 Except in cult-related scenes, such as his 'Lenaia' stamnos with the effigy of Dionysos: Matheson (1995) pl. 136. For the young Dionysos and the Parthenon see Carpenter (1993); Isler-Kerényi (2009a) esp. fig. 8: her reconstruction of the god at the pediment is almost identical to the Dionysos on our vase.

8 McPhee (1973) 37.

9 Sutton (1981) 188; 205 ff.

10 Sutton (1981) 308–315; *CVA* Benaki 1, text to pl. 39–40 (V. Sabetai).

11 Diez del Corral Corredoira (2007) 76–78; 85; 109; 126.

are engaged in the same activity, which enhances the importance of the love-gift and creates a pictorial echo. Eros is the only animated figure on the front side, touching both the figures of Dionysos and Ariadne with his toes as he leaps; his partial overlap with Dionysos' hand and the fact that he carries an erotic gift makes him the god's agent of love and gives concrete visual expression to his desire for Ariadne. That she reciprocates the god's desire is indicated by her own present for Dionysos. Eros emphasizes the specific nature of the union of the couple by mediating their mutual glances while at the same time drawing the viewer's attention specifically to Ariadne. Thus, the literal and emotional focus of the scene is the small closed circle of a happy couple in love. This scene is framed by a wider circle of attendants all looking towards or directed towards the protagonists. On the far left of the scene, a wreathed satyr-boy stands above an elaborate gilded volute krater; he is cast in the role of the symposion's *pais*, holding an oinochoe and a gilded, donkey-protome rhyton for a libation. On the far right are two wreathed women decked with jewels. One is seated and plays a drum. The other, cast as a worshipper or sacred attendant and wearing a patterned *ependytes* and a maiden-like coiffure, approaches the couple with a tray that contains one round and one pyramidal cake. More food offerings are summarily depicted on the low, base-like table in front of the couple's couch, at a place where one would have expected either a higher three-legged table or a footstool, especially as Ariadne's toes partly overlap with it. The draped kline gives to the overall scenography "the air of a magic carpet story",<sup>12</sup> as it hovers slightly above the horizontal ground line and has no visible legs; this dreamy or visionary atmosphere is further enhanced by the fruit-bearing ivy leaves and the laurel sprigs floating all around.

On the reverse side of the krater (see fig. 2), members of the god's thiasos move like a chorus, presumably towards the altar which is above the handle and which shows signs of actual use (red lines at its side denote blood and small red lines alternating with vertical white dots on the table area probably indicate burning of seeds or aromatics, see fig. 3). First in line is a draped woman holding a thyrsos, followed by a wreathed drum-player. Last comes a wreathed satyr, comely dressed in a himation, like a citizen. He is depicted in a dancing posture, looking back, with an out-stretched arm and open palm, and saluting in awe and with respect the divine couple on the front side.

Although identifying the figures and the event depicted on our krater presents no difficulties, the scene of Dionysos and Ariadne as happy couple amidst the thiasos is staged in a highly unusual manner that invites a reading on several levels. Pictorial elements drawn from the imagery of the symposion and the marriage are fused in a scene with ceremonious character and ritual

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12 Matheson (1995) 153–154.



resonances which signals the specific (sanctified) nature of the union of Dionysos and Ariadne. The divine symposion is suggested by the presentation of Dionysos as reclining banqueter, the satyr-*pais*, the food-bearer, as well as the vessels appropriate for drinking and for libations; the bridal Ariadne, Eros, and the love-gifts point to the couple's happy marriage. The 'shared kline' motif is double-edged. It could signify both the banqueter's dining couch and the matrimonial bed. This fusion of sympotic and erotic-nuptial elements is staged in a sacred ambiance which is indicated by the altar and the door. Should the scene be called divine symposion, divine marriage, or apparitional presence of the couple in union? The term '*hierogamia*'<sup>13</sup> sums up all of the above, but at the same time conceals the several underlying layers of meaning in this image. In what follows we will look at 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. iconographic schemes for Dionysos' wedding and at the genealogy of the 'shared kline' formula in the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C.; we will also consider to what degree these correspond to imagery used for ordinary human weddings.

### The Dinos Painter's Dionysiac Hierogamy in the Context of Red-Figure Iconography

In the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C., the conjugal union of Dionysos and Ariadne is represented as the epitome of a marriage imbued with erotic bliss, even though the representational patterns used for it do not usually involve a kline; the Benaki krater is an exception in this respect. Early classical painters prefer the 'amorous pursuit' pattern. By the second quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. the couple is shown in a wedding scene and the pursuit gives way to solemn marriage imagery elevated further by the attendance of Olympian gods.<sup>14</sup> On a fragmentary loutrophoros from the Sanctuary of the Nymphe the god is depicted next to Ariadne, presumably holding her by the hand according to the pictorial formula '*cheir epi karpo*' which indicates the marital union of the bridal couple. The divine couple is surrounded by satyrs as if they were the pair's relatives and friends.<sup>15</sup> The amorous pursuit hints at the sexual nature of the upcoming nuptials, whereas the '*cheir epi karpo*' motif is a more formal iconographic formula suggesting an ordinary Athenian wedding.<sup>16</sup>

13 '*Hierogamia*' is a terminus technicus for modern iconographers, but may not be applicable to the ancient cultic realities: Avagianou (1991) 19–26; 177–202.

14 Kaempf-Dimitriadou (1979) 30–32.

15 Painter of Bologna 228, to be published by M. Kyrkou, whom I thank for this information. For this important shrine that was devoted to a wedding deity see *LIMC* VIII, Suppl. (1997) 902, s.v. Nymphe I (M. Kyrkou).

16 For the iconography of the Attic wedding see Sutton (1981) esp. 177–196; Sutton (1989); Oakley/Sinos (1993).



Eros first appears in Dionysiac imagery at about this time. This appearance is probably best understood as an appropriation from the nuptial iconography intended for Athenian citizens, and especially for brides, which in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. becomes very popular in vase painting.<sup>17</sup> The renewed emphasis on weddings and women is set in historical circumstances that valorized the role of wives as mothers of legitimate Athenian citizens as is expressed, for instance, in Perikles' citizenship law of 451–450 B.C. This development in the genre of nuptial imagery imposed its patterns also on Dionysiac iconography.<sup>18</sup> Eros' earliest autonomous appearance in a canonical wedding scene occurs on a krater by the Mykonos Painter dating from 470–460 B.C. which depicts Dionysos' wedding procession and uses the '*cheir epi karpo*' motif. The winged god Eros is here confined to the secondary area of one of the handles (the other features a Nike).<sup>19</sup> The painter's choice of this placement must have been dictated by the canon requiring winged figures, usually Nikai, to feature below the handles on nuptial vases. Once the god of love has made his entrance into the Dionysiac repertory he was bound to stay, and from the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. onwards he becomes a conventional figure in hierogamy scenes.

The kline is rare in red-figure nuptial iconography. It appears in the second quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. in mythological and generic depictions of the nuptial *thalamos*, where it can be partly seen through the open door; sometimes, though rarely, it is the focus of the scene.<sup>20</sup> The bridal couch features also in the context of the Ariadne story. There is an important antecedent to the Benaki image, namely a Polygnotan scene on a krater in Tübingen where all figures are named (fig. 6). The god comes to Ariadne who is lying on her bed, while Himeros pours the contents of a phiale on her head, possibly for purposes of consecration, purification or erotic magic.<sup>21</sup> A satyr-boy holding a chous stands nearby. This scene has been associated by Simon

17 For Eros and Dionysos in 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Attic vase painting see Diez del Corral Corredoira (2007) 256–273; cf. further Isler-Kerényi (2004b) for the theme in Apulia.

18 The transition can be seen on an oinochoe by the Niobid Painter, where the Dionysiac couple is placed between Aphrodite and Eros, although the painter still uses the old representational pattern of the pursuit: Kaempf-Dimitriadou (1979) pl. 22.3–5.

19 Neils (1997) 234 fig. 5–6.

20 For the kline and the nuptial *thalamos* see Sutton (1989) 343–344; Oakley/Sinos (1993) 35–37. For the nuptial bed as the focal point with the bride on it, see *CVA* Würzburg 2, pl. 33.4; 34; 35.

21 Dated to 440–430 B.C., *CVA* Tübingen 4, pl. 18; Diez del Corral Corredoira (2007) 187–188. Himeros, the personification of desire, is known from several contexts with erotic and prenuptial content as the brother of Eros and Pothos, as well as the companion of Peitho, 'persuasion'. The Dinos Painter depicts him named next to Dionysos also on another krater: Matheson (1995) 382, D9. For Himeros see *LIMC* III (1990) 425–426, s.v. Himeros (A. Hermary).

with a small corpus of images on wine vessels which she interpreted as reflecting an actual ritual central to the Anthesteria: the re-enactment of the god's union with Ariadne represented by her surrogate in the cult, the Basilinna, wife of the Archon Basileus.<sup>22</sup> We shall return to this issue after an examination of the way in which the kline formula is used in Dionysiac visual narratives of the late 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.

At about the time of the Dinos Painter (430–400 B.C.) the encounter of the couple in images including a bed occurs both in narrative and emblematic scenes, but by the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. it acquires iconic value, perhaps under this painter's influence. On a krater by the Kadmos Painter the kline motif is part of a visual narrative that unfolds in vignettes. These tell the story of Ariadne's abandonment, upon Athena's order, by Theseus on the island of Naxos, where an enamored Dionysos then rescued and married her.<sup>23</sup> As in the previous Polygnotan scene, the couple is not yet sharing the kline; Ariadne is shown alone on her bridal couch while Eros decks her with a wreath, thus alluding to the couple's upcoming erotic encounter. The Dinos Painter, by contrast, depicts the couple on the same couch and makes the kline episode his central focus. Removed from any narrative development in time and space, the shared-kline motif is moreover integrated into the frame of the divine banquet and the god's thiasos. Timeless and static, the image has thus become emblematic. The Dionysiac couple as an icon which forms part of more elaborate compositions occurs in contemporary or slightly later scenes, as, for instance, on the "Pronomos Vase", where it may have functioned as a sort of divine *augurium* in a scene showing the cast of a satyr-play; or where the satyr-play itself was a gift on the occasion of Dionysos' marriage to Ariadne.<sup>24</sup>

Before the Dinos Painter, the depiction of the Dionysiac couple according to the shared-kline formula is rare and its interpretation debated. Two

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22 Simon (1963).

23 *ARV* 1184, 4; *CVA* Syracuse 1, III I, pl. 10.

24 Hedreen (2007) 176–177. See further the "Lykourgos Hydria" (Barr-Sharrar [2008] 96 fig. 85; 199 n. 14) where the couple is shown embracing each other. Eros and the volute krater feature next to them presumably because they derive from the same unified original composition. For an Apulian image depicting the Dionysiac couple in the shared-kline pattern while riding a mule, see G. Richter (1966/1996) fig. 300. For manipulations of the kline motif in the South Italian repertory, where it appears in generic contexts of amorous reverie, cf. further Hirschmann (1995). The Meleager Painter, an Attic follower of the Dinos Painter active from the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> to the early 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C., uses the kline motif in his version of the nuptials of Adonis, where the bride sits on a separate seat at the feet of the reclining groom. The wedding context is here prioritized but remains linked to the banquet, as this scene unfolds on the splendid hybrid shape of a volute dinoid krater: Burn (1991). The Dinos Painter himself used the icon of the couple in a multiple-register composition; it shows the couple among an ecstatic thiasos, but no bed is depicted: Matheson (1995) pl. 139.

examples may be mentioned in association with our scene and should be regarded as its antecedent variants in red-figure. Eros is not depicted but the marital or erotic union is implied by other visual means. Of the two, the one chronologically closer to our scene is the Kodros Painter's so-called "divine symposion" cup (ca. 430 B.C.), a unique piece that was found in Etruria.<sup>25</sup> The other, earlier one is a krater by the Troilos Painter (470–460 B.C.) which depicts the Dionysiac couple reclining next to Herakles.<sup>26</sup>

In the Kodros Painter's "divine symposion" cup the participants are five named reclining gods accompanied by their consorts. As on the Benaki krater, different layers of signification accumulate in this type of representation which has been recently seen as a celebration of erotic and matrimonial liaisons on a divine level. Persephone and Plouton are depicted in the tondo; on the outside are the couples of Poseidon and Amphitrite; Zeus and Hera attended by Ganymedes; Ares and Aphrodite; and Dionysos and Ariadne attended by the satyr Komos. Hera is shown as a veiled matron. Aphrodite and Amphitrite are depicted as brides, the former holding a pyxis, the latter dipping a pin into an alabastron to draw perfume. This rare motif signals the *charis* of the bride and is known from both vase painting and relief sculpture.<sup>27</sup> Persephone and Ariadne are iconographically associated by their common gesture of reaching out as if to offer or receive the phiale proffered or just received by Plouton and Dionysos respectively. The reasons for the particular choice of this assembly of divine couples are open to debate. But beyond this question we also need to note that is an atypical symposion, for there is no food on the tables and no krater to mix the wine, while the erotic/nuptial overtones predominate.<sup>28</sup> That the klinai are not adjacent and that the couples show no interaction with one another may turn each couple vignette into a conceptual nuptial chamber.

The cup could be perceived as a discourse on the theme of marriage in a unified and elevated picture which, however, is rooted in the iconographic scheme of the symposion. Although the male gods are shown as typical monopsiasts, each with his specific attribute, the goddesses are characterized by greater variety in posture and gesture and of objects held. Their appearance

25 See Schmitt Pantel (in the present volume), fig. 1, 2, 3. Avramidou (2006) recently discussed the cup from an Etruscan point of view. For a synopsis of previous interpretations see Diez del Corral Corredoira (2007) 170–173. Although some scholars believe that a number of Attic vases found in Etruria were made for the Etruscan market, others think that the vase painters operated within the Athenian cultural milieu and with a general public in mind. For a balanced approach to this complex question cf. e.g. Arafat/Morgan (1994).

26 Padgett (2002) esp. 258–266.

27 Williams (1961) fig. 1e–f; Kei (2008) 197 fig. 1; Lubtchansky (2006) 224 fig. 6; Thönges-Stringaris (1965) pl. 5.

28 Carpenter (1995) was the first to connect this cup with Dionysos' marriage.

as seductive brides and matrons either by gesture and dress (Hera) or by objects held (Aphrodite, Amphitrite) exemplifies different qualities and varying visions of the normative nubile female. The gesture of offering or receiving the phiale that both Ariadne and Persephone perform is enigmatic.<sup>29</sup> The outstretched arm of the gods may indicate that the phialai are being offered to the goddesses for a libation or, perhaps less plausibly, for a drink. Greek married women did not participate in the symposion<sup>30</sup> and it is possible that the context here is libational rather than sympotic.<sup>31</sup> The libation is a ritual act that is isolated and distinct from that of the symposion, although it often precedes it.<sup>32</sup> Thus, the libation which Persephone and Ariadne may be about to perform in the company of their consorts on the Kodros Cup may symbolically mark the importance of the relationship between the couples and highlight, together with their depiction on the same bed, their marital bond. Although for the goddess as well as for the heroine the transition to marriage was not unproblematic, both were eventually offered a new beginning and a sort of new life, one in the Dionysiac paradise, the other as the semi-annual wife of Hades. As such figures, Ariadne and Persephone<sup>33</sup> on this cup could have been seen as paradigmatic figures for brides about to marry or for maidens who died prematurely, a function which may have been fulfilled by the Benaki krater, too, as will be argued below.

In sum, the formal appearance of the five divine couples, each sharing a couch and handling libational bowls and nuptial paraphernalia referring to beauty and seduction, should be seen as an emblematic visualization of the importance of the conjugal relationship at the highest level at which male-female relationships are significant. The nature of the union of the divine pairs is emphasized and involves the entire cosmos, from heavens to sea and even down to the underworld. It has a civilizing effect imparting civic order,

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29 Phialai are libational implements, but Carpenter (1995) 146 notes that they may also have been meant here as solemn drinking vessels. On the phiale see most recently Tsingarida (2009).

30 Schmitt Pantel (2003). However she argues, rightly I think, that female consorts of banquet scenes can be seen as women of status, not *hetairai*. See also her contribution to the present volume.

31 Dionysos and Ariadne are depicted libating while lying on their kline in the presence of Eros and Athena on a new 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. calyx krater from Rhodes, where Ariadne holds a similar type of bent rhyton with animal protome as the one in the hands of the satyr-boy in the Benaki scene: Avramidou (2009) 5 fig. 6.

32 It also marks the heroes' or ephebes' comings and goings in the so-called departure scenes, and may thus define transition and change of status. In this type of scene the women of the household are actively engaged in the libation ritual as oinochoe- or phiale-holders. Lissarrague (1995) 133; 140.

33 For nuptial vase-shapes devoted to the sanctuary at Eleusis and for Eros in the imagery of Persephone see recently Tiverios (2009) 280–281.

integrating even the wild sphere of Dionysos and taming bellicose Ares through the arts of love. The scene suggests family bliss and invests marriage with ideas of equality and erotic desire. The ritual and ceremonial character of the scene, in which the iconographic boundary between symposion and wedding is dissolved to yield, instead, a merged, codified type that combines elements of both, is, however, only a variation of an old black-figure theme: for if the shared-kline formula is put into iconographic perspective, one realizes that it has always been particularly, though not exclusively, connected with Dionysos' marriage to Ariadne, as will be seen below.<sup>34</sup> Moving further backwards in the red-figure series, a psykter-krater by the Troilos Painter of ca. 470 B.C. provides a rare 5th-century antecedent to the Kodros Painter's cup. An assembly of Olympians is depicted on side A and two pairs on side B: Dionysos and Ariadne (her name is given) on a shared couch attended by a satyr; and a reclining Herakles attended by Nike. Ariadne holds a phiale like a citizen wife, while Dionysos is bowing to retrieve wine from a calyx krater on the ground next to his bed.<sup>35</sup>

In general, the imagery of Dionysos' union with Ariadne after the mid-5th century B.C. conveys the idea of conjugal union. By the 4th century B.C. the idea of their marriage as a physical and psychical union has become a topos, as a passage in Xenophon's *Symposium* (9.2–7) indicates, where the Syracusan Kallias presents his philosophy of a carnal Eros by arranging a dance whose choreography displays Dionysos' marriage. Ariadne anxiously waits for the god, and when he comes to her they kiss, embrace and head off bed-wards. The symposiasts watch on, aroused, and at the completion of the pantomime the bachelors vow to marry, whereas the married men rush off to find, not *hetairai*, but their wives.<sup>36</sup> However, this intertwinement of the themes of banquet and marriage will not have been new as is indicated by the archaic examples that are discussed next.

### The Origins of the Dionysiac Hierogamy in Black-Figure Vase Painting

The shared-kline motif is an invention of black-figure vase painting, with a peak of popularity on late 6th-century B.C. vases, mostly amphorae; it further appears in the early years of the 5th century B.C. on small, mass-produced

34 Carpenter (1995) 147–152 argues that the reason why they appear on a kline may be connected with the fact that Dionysos is the 'reclining god' par excellence. See further Fehr (2003) 23–37. For the archaic images see the following paragraphs.

35 See n. 26, above.

36 Wohl (2004) esp. 354–356.

lekythoi of low quality but high popularity. It is this old archaic scheme that the Dinos Painter revisits and reformulates in the late classical period. On a dozen rather sizeable black-figure vases the motif is integrated into a festively erotic context, in combination with vines and wine.<sup>37</sup> The female figure bears all the characteristics that Dionysos' bride is known for. She is eroticized, either half-naked or elaborately dressed; she holds a flower like a *kore* or makes a wreath and is intimately linked to her reclining consort by position and gaze. The reclining couple is surrounded by satyrs, nymphs and grapevines; on occasion Hermes also appears. On one vase a *pais* is about to pour a libation together with a phiale-holding Dionysos; on another the female figure ties a wreath just like in the Benaki scene.<sup>38</sup> Remarkably, a krater occasionally appears on side B, carried in a festive procession by silens or komasts participating in a celebration.<sup>39</sup> These images are the archaic forerunners of the Benaki scene that the Dinos Painter re-invented in the years of the Peloponnesian War. All the elements that link these older images together are present on the Dinos Painter's Benaki krater: the couple on their bed surrounded by the thiasos, the *pais* attending them, the eroticism and charm of the female, the wreath-making and the elaborate krater.

The overall scheme ultimately derives from early 6<sup>th</sup>-century B.C. Corinthian images of convivial symposia with multiple banqueters on adjacent klinai, female companions and dogs. The new motif of the couple reclining alone may have been created a little later for the depiction of mortal pairs as well as of Dionysos and his bride; this, at least, is indicated by an amphora by the Ptoon Painter and another by Lydos dating from before the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. to which the above-mentioned late archaic amphorae are heirs (fig. 7).<sup>40</sup> Both painters use the shared-kline motif, yet the former, who must have been the latter's teacher, depicted a generic couple. Lydos, by contrast, adds a drinking horn as well as men and women in a dancing posture; their gesturing with open palms recalls komasts or adorants coming into the presence of the divine pair. Lydos' figures are covered with rich bed drapery

37 Carpenter (1995); Diez del Corral Corredoira (2007) 120–137. The theme of the reclining Dionysiac couple has variations; for instance, the couple may recline on the ground; or Dionysos reclines and Ariadne stands or sits on a separate seat. See also the contributions of Schmitt Pantel (with fig. 9–13) and Moraw (with fig. 7) to the present volume.

38 For these vases see Diez del Corral Corredoira (2007) 129–130 pl. 58; 125–126 pl. 55 respectively.

39 Carpenter (1995) 155–156 fig. 8.

40 Carpenter (1995) 152–153 thinks that the Lydos amphora should not be included in the corpus of Dionysos' marriage. Isler-Kerényi (2007) 126 sees a homoerotic couple here. Contra: *LIMC* III (1986), s.v. Dionysos, 756, pl. 388 (C. Gasparri); Diez del Corral Corredoira (2007) 125–126. I thank M. Tiverios for discussions on this vase. For the Ptoon Painter's piece, see Shapiro (1989b) 17 fig. 4a–4b.

that leaves parts of their upper body exposed.<sup>41</sup> Although the partial nudity of the female consort in archaic imagery has been seen as indicating a *hetaira*, semi-nudity is here just another ‘costume’ for the seductive bride, Ariadne.<sup>42</sup> The whole scenography recalls the eroticism which the above mentioned Xenophon passage is imbued with. Any interpretation of a half-naked woman in a symposion context as *hetaira* implies a photographic reading of such scenes, which, however, are highly codified visual constructs.<sup>43</sup> In sum, the shared-couch formula was represented as a festive celebration and invested with nuptial and sympotic connotations particularly associated with Dionysiac marital happiness already in the archaic period.<sup>44</sup>

Several vases using the kline motif in the depiction of the Dionysiac couple found their way to Etruria, where presentations of an archetypal (anonymous) conjugal couple also enjoyed popularity, a fact that may attest to a parallel evolution of themes in Greece and Etruria. The “Tomb of Hunting and Fishing” (540–530 B.C.) offers a striking example for the use of the theme of the reclining marital couple in the archaic Etruscan context. The husband holds a phiale for a libation for which a small *pais* rushes to retrieve wine from an elaborate volute krater; his wife meanwhile offers him a garlanded wreath. Another attendant uses a long needle to extract unguent from an alabastron. This wall painting decorates the pediment of the tomb and is therefore the culmination point of the building. The scene has been termed a “conjugal komos”. It may, however, best be described as an icon of the couple in conjugal union, because the wife, in contrast to other Etruscan females, is not drinking but holding a wreath, just like the Ariadne of the vase paintings.<sup>45</sup> The remaining paintings of the tomb arranged on the walls depict human creative activities set in a variety of land- and seascapes. When

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41 Side B of this amphora bears a complementary subject, i. e. the ‘Judgment of Paris’, a theme with prenuptial meaning.

42 For nudity as a costume for maidens, not *hetairai*, see Ferrari (2002); Kreilinger (2007); Sabetai (2009).

43 Carpenter’s ([1995] 152–155) understanding of the naked woman as “immodest” precluded him from identifying the scene by Lydos with the Dionysiac hierogamy. Against the ‘hetaira’ interpretation in early symposion scenes: Schmitt-Pantel (2003) and Diez del Corral Corredoira (2007) 125–127. A more generic and ‘modest’ variant of the shared-kline motif that develops in red-figure depicts an ordinary couple glancing at each other and wrapped in the same piece of bed-cloth, thus recalling the poetic expression of the mantle as a shared covering for lovers. The painterly preference to depict the couple wrapped in bed-cloth rather than nude and copulating suggests the covert and controlled sexuality of citizen marriage and is thus a celebration of the conjugal union. For the literary metaphor of sharing the same mantle and its visualization in art see Baggio (2004) 27–100, esp. 48–62.

44 Diez del Corral Corredoira (2007) 68–105.

45 Cf. Lubtchansky (2006) 222–226.



combined with the presence of satyrs on the gable of the entrance wall, the entire iconographic program seems to convey the idea of the conjugal union at the heart of a harmonious cosmos in the context of Dionysiac religiosity.<sup>46</sup>

### The Dinos Painter's Dionysiac Hierogamy and the 'Feast-Reliefs'

The Dinos Painter's hierogamy is morphologically related to the "Totenmahlreliefs", or hero-feast reliefs, a well-defined group of reliefs which depict a banqueting scene. Our example resembles closely the earliest Attic examples in the series, which date from the last decades of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. These earliest examples are characterized by a variety of representational patterns that will give way to more fixed schemes in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The constituent elements of a banqueting relief in its developed 4<sup>th</sup>-century B.C. form comprise a reclining male, usually bearded, who is holding out a vessel, usually a phiale or rhyton similar to the one held by the satyr on the Benaki krater; a woman sitting at the man's feet on the same kline or on a separate seat; and a boy, similar to our young satyr performing the role of the symposion's *pais*, who draws wine, usually from a volute krater placed at the edge of the scene. In front of the couch there is a table laden with ritual cakes; occasionally, more figures, usually adorants, may be added in the spot which on the Benaki vase is occupied by our *ependytes*-clad maiden.<sup>47</sup>

Besides widespread diffusion and a long iconographic evolution, the feast-reliefs also have a long history of interpretation. Of particular interest has been the question whether they represent a past moment of the deceased or heroized man or else a blissful symposion in the afterlife, although in the classical period the so-called 'Totenmahl' is not associated with death. Recent scholarship on the subject stresses the formal character of the scenes and their aristocratic-heroic connotations.<sup>48</sup> The woman does not function as a mere 'attribute' but is an essential part of the composition, for she and the male banqueter are usually of equal size.<sup>49</sup> Their relationship is that of husband and

46 Haynes (2000) 228–230.

47 For the "Totenmahlreliefs" see Thönges-Stringaris (1965); Dentzer (1970); Dentzer (1982), esp. 109–126; Larson (1995) 43–57; Scholl (1996) 149–159. For the banqueting hero in vase painting and relief sculpture, see Shapiro (2009).

48 As is indicated by the armor hanging on the wall, the monumental furniture combined with small-scale figures and the occasional dog underneath the table. See, e.g., the reliefs from Thasos and Paros: Thönges-Stringaris (1965) pl. 3–5. All early reliefs feature an irregular ground line (Dentzer [1970] 80) which may remind one of the 'flying' (or 'hovering') couch effect of late-classical iconography.

49 Larson (1995) 47.



wife and thus their identities “are consciously made to mirror human social relationships” in a human and social milieu, “for the setting is domestic and the woman plays the role of a respectable matron in her own house”.<sup>50</sup>

The “Totenmahlrelief” was transplanted to the Greek world from the Near East and became popular in the Ionian cultural sphere. A series of feast-reliefs was introduced into Attica around 450 B.C. under Ionian influence, but the first genuinely Attic variants were created around 420 B.C. by sculptors who had worked on the Parthenon; these are usually found in the Piraeus and have been tentatively associated with a local sanctuary of Dionysos in this area.<sup>51</sup> One example, dating from around 400 B.C., is the “Actors Relief” (fig. 8), which depicts a reclining male with animal-rhyton and phiale (identified as Dionysos by a later 3<sup>rd</sup>-century B.C. inscription) and seated on a couch he shares with a female.<sup>52</sup> The duo is flanked by several actors; the scene is thus reminiscent of the “Pronomos Vase”. The “Actors Relief” does not depict three of the elements constitutive of a feast-relief: there is no *pais*, no krater and no table with food. Although Dionysos and his companion are occasionally referred to as ‘banqueters’, the only hint at the symposion is the rhyton and the phiale, which, in fact, belong more specifically to the realm of the libation. This downplay of sympotic overtones recalls the Kodros Cup discussed above and may indicate, again, that the motif of the shared couch exemplified the special bond between the male–female couple; when reduced to an icon-like formula, it could be further manipulated to fit into several contexts.<sup>53</sup>

After 400 B.C. these Attic feast-reliefs become standardized, with a few recognizable subgroups. Before that time, however, they are characterized by variety and experimentation. The Benaki scene bears a striking resemblance to the earliest extant monument of this type, from Piraeus and dated to 420 B.C., which depicts a couple of equal height sharing a kline (fig. 9). The relief is in a poor state of preservation, but the woman probably touched her veil in a bridal gesture, while the gesture of the man has suggested, to interpreters, either wreath-waving or kottabos-playing. The relief depicts both a table with cakes and fruits, as well as a footstool.<sup>54</sup> Although the shared-kline formula of the

50 Larson (1995) 48; 50.

51 Dentzer (1970) 87.

52 For bibliography on this relief and for the history of its interpretations see Avramidou (2009) 7 n. 58; for other suggestions, see Shapiro (2009) 183–185.

53 The “Kodros Cup”, which predates all known Attic feast-reliefs, is affiliated with the Ionian relief from Thasos dated to 460 B.C. in that it uses the same figure-type of the alabastron-holding woman.

54 Dentzer (1970) 67–90, with fig. 1, sees a wreath, whereas Grandjouan (1989) 10 n. 29 interprets the gesture as kottabos-playing. The relief slightly antedates the Dinos Painter’s image or is roughly contemporary.

Dinos Painter's image is indebted to this relief, its placement in a feasting context, with animal-protome rhyton and metal volute krater, according to our present knowledge slightly antedates all extant Attic examples. The earliest appearance of this type of rhyton is on the late 5<sup>th</sup>-century B.C. "Actors Relief"; the volute krater also appears, as a new form, at that time, substituting the dinos of the earlier Ionian monuments.<sup>55</sup> The Benaki scene can further be compared to a feast-relief from Piraeus, dating from around 400 B.C., which depicts a wreath-making female consort identical to the Benaki Ariadne, a *pais* next to a volute krater and a male worshipper in the place of our *ependytes*-clad maiden (fig. 10).<sup>56</sup>

In sum, instead of adhering to the black-figure vase painting tradition of which he must have been well aware, the Dinos Painter reformulated the old representational pattern of Dionysos' marriage by turning to sculptural models notable for their formal pictorial language, their official character and their use in a votive/cultic context. The feast-reliefs' emphasis on the pair of husband/symposiast and wife/bride is characteristic also of the Dinos Painter's Dionysiac image and may be seen as emblemizing sanctioned role-models for the Athenian citizens of the late 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Our painter's predilection for elaborate symposion utensils elevates the scene even further and turns the Dionysiac marriage into an icon of bliss that was probably much missed and intensely desired in the last years of the Peloponnesian War.

### The Dionysiac Hierogamy as a Scene of Ritual Feast: Metalware, Altar, Door, Votary and Clad Satyr

Although the union of Dionysos and Ariadne was a paradigm of divine marital bliss and was visualized as a festive celebration already in the archaic period, it is in the Dinos Painter's times that it is depicted as a ritual feast in a sanctuary, with elaborate symposion utensils that are faithful representations of contemporary precious vessels. The fact that the primitive horn-rhyton of the archaic scenes is replaced by an elaborate donkey-protome rhyton, and that the clay volute krater's place is taken by a metal ribbed specimen,<sup>57</sup> both toreutic masterpieces known to have existed in post-Persian Wars Athens,

55 For the earliest Attic feast-relief depicting a volute krater, see Thönges-Stringaris (1965) pl. 7.1. The only echo of the Ionian reliefs in our scene is the satyr-boy, who seems like a mirror image of the *pais* on the Thasos relief (460 B.C.).

56 Athens N.M. 1501; Thönges-Stringaris (1965) pl. 7.2. For a wreath-maker see further Dentzer (1970) 84 fig. 5–6. The close relationship between the Benaki Ariadne and her consort is emphasized by the overlap of their figures.

57 For the horn-rhyton of the Lydos scene and the clay krater on side B of an amphora with the Dionysiac couple in bed see Carpenter (1995) 153 fig. 6; 156 fig. 8.

highlights the prominence of such hierogamy scenes which convey wealth, elevated status and add a taste of realism to an otherwise emblematic scene. The ritual setting of the scene is indicated by the altar and the door, markers of sacred space and possible allusions to the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century urbanization of shrines in the city of Athens. Both are new to the scheme of the Dionysiac hierogamy which in the archaic period favors landscapes with vines; once introduced, however, they quickly become standard.

The use of rhyta for libations (fig. 11) was a Persian practice which in Athens came to signify luxury and exoticism and invested the personages using them with divine and/or heroic qualities. Attic rhyta in the form of Dionysiac animals, such as donkeys, appear at about 450 B.C. and were a Greek adaptation of a Persian shape. The donkey conveyed specific Dionysiac symbolism, as it features in the episode of the return of Hephaistos and is generally linked to sexuality.<sup>58</sup> The Dinos Painter placed the rhyton in the hand of the satyr-*pais*, in order to emphasize Dionysos' solemn drinking from his kantharos and in this way to focus attention on the ritual consumption of wine by the very god who taught the Greeks how to drink it: diluted with water in a krater, the epitome of civilized banqueting.<sup>59</sup>

Equally luxurious, the volute krater (fig. 12) was produced in both metal and clay and in vase painting is commonly, but not exclusively, associated with the realm of Dionysos and the symposium. In her study of the "Derveni Krater" from the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. showing Dionysos' wedding, which belonged to a named private individual, Barr-Sharrar showed that manufacturing gilded volute kraters, such as the one on the Benaki vase, required sophisticated technical skills. In southern mainland Greece they were reserved for sanctuaries and rituals as we know from the Parthenon inventories.<sup>60</sup> In the Dinos Painter's image, the readiness to display precious metal to honor the god's union with Ariadne is greatly emphasized.

The half-opened doorway and the altar (fig. 13 and 14), both polysemic, create a ritual ambiance.<sup>61</sup> The door is a short-hand for the god's shrine, but it

58 Hoffmann (1989) 137–147; 153–160.

59 According to historians of the late 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. the practice of mixing wine with water was introduced at the Anthesteria: Humphreys (2004) 240; 253; 271.

60 For golden rhyta and metal kraters in the Parthenon inventories of 434/433 B.C. and 403/402 B.C. respectively see Hoffmann (1989) 155; Barr-Sharrar (2008) 74–76; 79. The latter discusses the associations between Dionysos and metal kraters; she argues that these may have also been used by the rich in domestic ceremonies. See further Metzger (1951) pl. XVIc, XLVIIIb and Avramidou (2009) 6 fig. 8, for 4<sup>th</sup>-century B.C. scenes with elaborate animal-rhyta held by banqueters. For the "luxury culture" that produced and used such artefacts see Miller (1997) 188–217.

61 For altars in Dionysiac scenes see Paul-Zinserling (1994) 33; Aktseli (1996) 27; 37–38. For doors in nuptial scenes see e.g. Sabetai (1998) 325–326.

also denotes the *thalamos* in nuptial scenes, often with the bride or the bed discernible through its opening. In our example the door is half-open, but no couch is there, for it is depicted fully on the obverse side of the vase; in this case the god's sanctuary would also be his nuptial chamber. The half-open door may also imply the presence of the god in his shrine. Although the setting of the scene may be on Naxos, as myth would have it, the painter may also have thought of Dionysos' wedding to the Basilinna at the Attic Anthesteria. Interpretation here is contingent upon our understanding of the image either on a mythological or a cultic level – or, preferably, a level which allows for an artistic conflation of both. The testimonia mention two buildings in Athens in connection with this ritual, the god's shrine *en Limnais*, opened once a year to receive the god on the day of the Choes, and the *Boukoleion*, the Archon Basileus' house where the Sacred Marriage was re-enacted.<sup>62</sup> Could it be that the half-open door here alludes to these sites or is it just a generic marker of sacred space not referring to any specific Dionysiac locale? An examination of the door-formula shows that it occurs in depictions of sanctuaries and opens to a void, which has been interpreted as visualizing the notion of passage or communication between sacred interior and outer world rather than referring to a specific building.<sup>63</sup> It cannot be ruled out, however, that this generic marker of sacred space took a more specific or nuanced meaning in Dionysiac hierogamy scenes.

The food-bearing female may have entered the sacred space of side A from side B, for she is depicted on the same ground level as the figures on the back (fig. 15).<sup>64</sup> She is placed close to the drum-holder, who may constitute another visual link with side B, where this figure is repeated. The food-bearer belongs to the special age-class of *parthenoi*, as is suggested by her coiffure, a wrapped ponytail, and her smaller size. Her hieratic dress points towards the cultic sphere and identifies her as a worshipper or sacred attendant; elsewhere in the Dinos Painter's oeuvre she is named *Dione* and *Opora*, the latter a personification, and may carry a tray with grapes instead of cakes and loaves.<sup>65</sup> These latter recall votive food-offerings particularly appropriate to ritual and identical with those on the feast-reliefs, but figures carrying seeded fruits and nuts are also familiar from nuptial imagery.

The visual link between the two sides of the vase is the rare figural type of the draped satyr, here cast as a respectable and comely citizen in accordance

62 For these buildings see most recently Humphreys (2004) 252–254.

63 Halm-Tisserant (1995). This formula further occurs in 4<sup>th</sup>-century B.C. scenes and on South Italian vases.

64 Votaries at the edges of the scene are also a feature of the 'Totenmahl' as already noted.

65 *ARV* 1152.8; *CVA* Vienna 3, pl. 105; Moraw (1998) pl. 21. See further *ARV* 1159.1, for a woman carrying a bunch of grapes and a flat tray with small fruit next to a reclining Dionysos in a scene by a follower of the Dinos Painter.

with the solemn ambiance of the scene. The satyr gestures in awe and astonishment at what he is ‘seeing’<sup>66</sup> through the door’s opening, while dancing off to join the Dionysiac females heading to the altar (fig. 16). A creation of red-figure vase painting and especially popular after the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century B.C., the citizen-satyr has been the object of debate. Such silens occur in Dionysiac scenes, but they also feature in more generic contexts.<sup>67</sup> Simon associates them with the Anthesteria on the basis of a small, mostly Polygnotan, corpus of scenes that depict the dressed satyr as the nuptial attendant of a woman she identifies as Basilinna/Ariadne. She argues that this figural type does not illustrate satyr-play as was commonly thought in earlier scholarship, but that painters imagined him as an attendant in the *gamos* ritual of the Choes day.<sup>68</sup> Lissarrague thinks that the citizen-satyr creates a comic and humorous effect when he appears, and that his depiction in citizen attire aims at humanizing him.<sup>69</sup> Moraw posits that such figures attest to a tendency to show satyrs as harmless beings that are fully integrated into the polis-culture and conform to its civic norms and institutions. This taming of the satyr in the classical period is inversely analogous to a closer association, at that time, of the polis with the Dionysiac. For, not only does the satyr become civilized and humanized, but also citizens now acquire Dionysiac identities, appearing with such insignia as thyrsos and kantharoi.<sup>70</sup> Heinemann, by contrast, thinks that dressing the satyr as citizen does not make him benign or positive. According to him, this change should rather be understood against the background of the 5<sup>th</sup>-century B.C. discourse on the relationship between the human and the bestial; for him, the citizen-satyr offers a model of identity for the viewer of the scene and is neither civilized nor harmless, but had an ambiguous, occasionally threatening function.<sup>71</sup>

The citizen-satyr of our scene is not part of any mythological episode, nor does he belong to the realm of cult, for there is no indication that we are dealing here with the ritual disguise of a human worshipper wearing a satyr-mask.<sup>72</sup> He is thus better seen as an artistic creation, a figure that contributes to

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66 For gazing as a characteristic of satyrs, see Lissarrague (1993) 219. For a scene of on-looking as voyeurism of a different kind and context by the Dinos Painter, see *ARV* 1154.35.

67 For the rarity of the dressed satyr, see *LIMC* VIII, Suppl., s.v. Silenoi 1115, no. 39–45, pl. 753–754 (E. Simon).

68 Simon (1963) 19–22.

69 Lissarrague (1993) 210–212.

70 Moraw (1998) 126–130.

71 Heinemann (2000) 332–334 with previous bibliography; his views are informed by theories focusing on the reception of imagery by the viewer.

72 In his overview Jameson (1993) 55 criticizes the opinion that the satyrs appearing in the so-called Basilinna-scenes represent disguised men.

the solemn tone of the scene. The thiasos of the drum-holding and thyrsos-bearing women to which he belongs seems more ambiguous in that these females could represent Dionysiac nymphs but also mortal women appearing as Dionysiac nymphs.<sup>73</sup> However this may be, each figure tends to interact in a different way with the Dionysiac pair, either serving or addressing them or going to the god's altar. The citizen-satyr, in particular, is a telling element in a scene of layered meaning replete with visual references to the contemporary polis-culture as, for instance, the votary, the shrine and the exquisite man-made symposion objects. These latter enhance the lavishness of the scenography and indicate that the clay krater with the icon of the divine couple's apparitional presence in a state of happy conjugal union may have been the perfect backdrop for a mortal wedding feast.

### The Krater at the Wedding Feast

Is it possible that such a scene on a krater may have been suitable for a real wedding feast, where the ordinary human couple could have identified themselves with the happy divine pair, as may have been the case with the archaic amphora juxtaposing the Dionysiac couple on side A and mortal couples, kissing, on side B?<sup>74</sup> Little is known about real-life wedding feasts except that men and women ate and drank together, but segregated. Actual wedding symposia were never represented and the shared-kline formula does not occur in nuptial scenes on wedding vases despite the fact that other wedding customs we know to have been practiced in actual life were thematized in art. The only wedding feasts represented in art were the unhappy feast of Peirithous and that of the centaur Dexamenos.<sup>75</sup>

Most archaic and classical kraters similar to ours have been found in Italy which has led to the assumption that luxury shapes were intended mainly for export. This is a questionable conclusion, however, based solely on the picture

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73 For the problems of terminology with regard to terms such as 'maenad', 'nymph', 'bakche', see most recently Schmidhuber (2007); Diez del Corral Corredoira (2007) 152–159; Bonansea (2008).

74 Diez del Corral Corredoira (2007) 127–128 pl. 56a–56b.

75 Oakley/Sinos (1993) 22–24, esp. 24. On a mid-5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. calyx krater by the Nekyia Painter the mattresses and pillows on which Peirithous' guests reclined lie on the floor and a volute krater has been knocked over. For the feast of Dexamenos with a wreath-making female seated on his bed see a partly preserved krater in *CVA* Louvre 3, pl. 8, fig. 1 and 4; pl. 9, fig. 1 and 4; this joins with a fragment in the art market: Sales Catalogue Jean-David Cahn AG, Auktion 2, 26. Juni 2000, no. 74. I thank Gunnel Ekroth for informing me about this krater in the Louvre and its joining fragment in the art market.

that emerges from the Athenian funerary record, from which elaborate vessels are absent and which instead is dominated by small and medium-sized pots. Fragments of elaborate kraters associated with public dinners which have been found in the wells of the Agora indicate, however, that luxury ceramics did exist in Athens, but they were intended for use in actual life and not deposited in graves.<sup>76</sup> An exquisite example by the Niobid Painter from a settlement in Central Greece indicates that such vessels were used primarily in feasts of a community; a fact that is corroborated by the occasional ancient repair work traceable on them.<sup>77</sup> Calyx kraters (especially in the 4<sup>th</sup>-century B.C.) are particularly popular in Boeotia, often found in a good state of preservation in tombs.<sup>78</sup>

Our krater is intact, except for its foot. Its first owner upon discovery acquired it together with three other vases in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>79</sup> The only other intact piece from this small group donated to the Benaki Museum is a calyx krater by a follower of the Pronomos Painter also depicting a Dionysiac hierogamy and dated to 400–390 B.C. (fig. 17 and 18).<sup>80</sup> The chronological proximity of the two kraters, their shared subject-matter, their similar (intact) state of preservation, the fact that the Pronomos Painter and his followers were pupils of the Dinos Painter and the surfacing of the vases in the 19<sup>th</sup> century may be conducive evidence pointing towards the illicitly excavated cist-graves of Boeotia, possibly of Tanagra or Thebes, which were covered with big slabs of stone that allowed the vases to survive intact. Because of the extensive grave looting in Boeotia, the story of the use of the krater in this region remains to be written and may hold surprises, for it may not be associated exclusively with males. In a splendid 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. case from Thebes, a set of two small calyx kraters by the L.C. Group (350 B.C.), one depicting a female, presumably Ariadne, in front of Dionysos, the other a satyr and a ‘maenad’ (fig. 19 and 20), was given to a girl, together with seated bridal female figurines and miniature shoes, their *nymphides*. These terracottas suggest that the dead girl never attained the ideal status of bride.<sup>81</sup> She was thus an *aoros*, a youth cut down

76 Rotroff/Oakley (1992) 11 pl. 23–29; Moore (1997) 26–30.

77 The krater by the Niobid Painter depicting the *theoxenia* is exhibited in the Lamia Museum, but remains unpublished. For ancient repairs on a krater by the Dinos Painter see Moraw (1998) pl. 21, esp. fig. 52a, c–d (above, n. 64).

78 Gareizou (1997). When elaborately decorated vases do occur in Attic graves, these have been usually smashed and burnt in the burial custom of the offering trench/place.

79 See above, n. 4.

80 Painter of Vienna 1089; he is a member of the Plainer Group, which is influenced by the Pronomos Painter. I thank Ian McPhee for the attribution of this krater.

81 Bonanno-Aravantinos (forthcoming). The tomb was a cist with dimensions suitable for an adult, but the skeleton belonged to a girl. The kraters were placed together outside the cover slabs. The fact that they are small attests to their symbolic character. I thank M. Bonanno-Aravantinos for permission to publish the kraters by the L.C. Group.



before her time, a bride of Hades, and was given symbolic objects that characterized her as the bride she never was.<sup>82</sup> The set of these small kraters may have been intended as allusions to her wedding feast and to Ariadne as her role-model, the legendary princess who gained happiness and immortality through her marriage to a god. The coiffure of bulging tufts above the forehead which characterizes some of the *kore* figurines from that grave, but also from others found in the same area and dating from the same time-period, occasionally occurs in L.C. Group scenes depicting a woman, usually called 'maenad' or Ariadne, at the moment of her introduction to the seated Dionysos by Eros or a satyr (fig. 21). In these scenes, it is probably Ariadne, as the quintessential Dionysiac nymph, who features prominently at the centre, while Dionysos is placed at the side or is not depicted at all but only alluded to through the altars at the handles. Ariadne's surprise in the face of Eros and/or Dionysos the groom, and consequently at her impending erotic initiation into a blissful Dionysiac state, is illustrated also in other 4<sup>th</sup>-century B.C. examples, where such hierogamies and Dionysiac reveries were perhaps invested with new, more elaborate cultural and theological meanings.<sup>83</sup>

In sum, locating Dionysiac hierogamy imagery primarily within a conventional festive context such as the wedding feast and paying attention to its possible meanings for maidens who either crossed safely into maturity or never attained it sheds new light on the function of such scenes and the vases bearing them. These latter may have been splendid display pieces, on occasion arranged as a set. Although we should avoid generalizations, the case of the L.C. Group kraters from Boeotia at least seems to point in this direction. If Boeotia was the place of discovery of the two new Benaki kraters, too, the issue becomes even more important in view of the popularity that Dionysos enjoyed in this area and of the diffusion of the theme further to the north.<sup>84</sup>

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82 The appearance of wedding symbols in funerary contexts can best be understood in view of the ancient belief that the death of a woman could be conceived of in terms of wedding imagery. Cf. Rehm (1998).

83 For the L.C. Group see *CVA* Thebes 1, text to pl. 88; *CVA* Benaki 1, text to pl. 51–52 (V. Sabetai); *CVA* Berlin 11, text to pl. 59 (A. Schöne-Denkinger); for Ariadne and Eros in L.C. Group scenes see Diez del Corral Corredoira (2007b) 256–260; 265. There is conclusive evidence pointing towards a Boeotian manufacture for this group of vases. A study under way of Boeotian grave contexts by the author will help amend the gaps in our knowledge on this subject.

84 Thebes was Dionysos' legendary birthplace. We should further recall here the "Derveni Krater" found in Macedonia and thought by some to have had a life-use before becoming a sepulchral heirloom: Barr-Sharrar (2008). For the Dionysiac couple in the presence of a satyr holding an animal-protome rhyton on a painted Macedonian kline cf. Sismanidis (1997) 35–47; 61–67; pl. 1–6; 10–11.



## The Dinos Painter's Hierogamy and the Anthesteria

Since the hierogamy by the Dinos Painter is construed as a scene with ritual overtones, we may ask whether there exist any connections between such imagery and the sphere of cult, especially in view of the fact that a ritual Dionysiac *gamos* lay at the very heart of the Attic festival of the Anthesteria. It should be noted right away that pictures on vases are artistic constructs which should not be used as documentary photography to reconstruct ancient rituals that are partially known from a variety of diverging and often contradictory literary sources. The images do not illustrate religious rituals. And yet they may be inspired from, or allude to, them in various subtle, humorous or poetic ways, and it is therefore crucial to determine their tone and mood within their context of reference. Although the approach adopted here is 'iconocentric', it seems legitimate to ask whether there existed any correspondences between the visions of the Dionysiac marriage in art and that of its ritual representation in the festival. Rituals are themselves also representations. Rituals and painted scenes therefore belong to the same imaginary world; it is at least possible that they both had a parallel evolution or had close connections.<sup>85</sup>

The silence of the testimonia is an obstacle in any attempt to reconstruct the ritual formulae of the *hieros gamos* at the Anthesteria and to compare it to ordinary wedding customs and their representation in nuptial imagery. For instance, the literary sources suggest that the Basilinna was escorted from the shrine *en Limnais* to the *Boukoleion* where the Sacred Marriage was consummated. But whether or not this imitated the customary wedding procession of the nuptial vases has been a matter of debate. We are equally in the dark about the details of the Sacred Marriage's re-enacted consummation.<sup>86</sup> The Pseudo-Aristotelian *Constitution of Athens* (*Ath. pol.* 3.5) talks of *symmeixis* and *gamos* but scholarly opinion is divided as to the meaning of these words. In the case of *symmeixis*, semantic possibilities range from ceremonial meeting to

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85 For "iconocentricity" as a current scholarly trend in the hermeneutics of Dionysiac vase painting and for the need to also account for the "painterly imaginary" see Csapo/Miller (2007b) 28–29, esp. n. 140. See, further, Lissarrague (1993) 217 n. 43. For different but related discussion with reference to the shape of the chous and its – denied – relationship to the Anthesteria see S. Schmidt (2005) 156–165.

86 Regarding the reconstruction of the *gamos* at the Anthesteria, Jameson (1993) 54–56 summarizes the interpretative options offered by vase paintings. Humphreys (2004) esp. 90 and 223–275 offers a critical account of the festival and stresses that conventional accounts amalgamate sources of different genres from a long stretch of time into a synchronous text; her reconstruction (236–237) of the Basilinna's procession not as a wedding but as a tyrant's ceremonial entry seems unconvincing. See further Lyons (1996) 103–133; Kapparis (1999) 329.

physical consummation and, in the case of *gamos*, from secret union to the public celebration that followed.<sup>87</sup>

Antedating the Dinos Painter are a few post-mid-5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. examples which depict the couple attended by a satyr-boy holding a chous. These attest to the existence of a visual discourse about the *gamos* of Dionysos and the ritual at the Anthesteria (see fig. 6). As mentioned above, Simon thinks that these scenes refer to the re-enactment of the god's marriage to Ariadne that takes place at the Anthesteria and involves the mythical heroine's surrogate in cult, the Basilinna.<sup>88</sup> The chous held by the satyr is a visual reference to the Choes day; by depicting it the painters hint at Dionysos' marriage as taking place in the context of the wine festival in Athens, not on the Naxos of myth; further, the combination of a chous and a named Ariadne invites us to compare the Athenian rite at the Anthesteria with the heroine's marriage to the god.<sup>89</sup> The secret rites were accessible only to a select few, yet the visually attuned recipient of vases with such scenes may have been predisposed to understand and acknowledge some sort of parallelism between the images and the ritual itself, despite the fact that details of the latter were unknown to the wider public. It is important at this point to determine in what key the vase paintings in Simon's corpus were tuned. The general mood of some of these scenes may have been humorous in vein, which might open up other interpretive possibilities; for instance that they may have been perceived as a kind of folk mythological comedy in the context of a culture of shared humor, as suggested also by the pantomime in Xenophon mentioned above.<sup>90</sup> In contrast to these images, however, the Dinos Painter's picture is rather solemn and serious in spirit; its visual references to the Anthesteria are not literal, as was seen in the analysis of the citizen-satyr, the food-bearing maiden, the altar and the door.<sup>91</sup> Furthermore, our satyr-*pais* does not hold a chous but an oinochoe of type II (fig. 22), which is the type appearing more commonly in generic libation scenes.<sup>92</sup>

87 Jameson (1993) 55 n. 23; Kapparis (1999) 324–344, esp. 328–330; Humphreys (2004) 253 n. 74; Isler-Kerényi (2007) 122–123; Barr-Sharrar (2008) 121–122.

88 Simon (1963) esp. pl. 5.1.

89 Jameson (1993) 55 n. 23.

90 See, e.g., a Polygnotan krater in Tarquinia: Simon (1963) pl. 5.3. Cf. also a related discussion concerning a different but also relevant context in Topper (2007) esp. 88. Traditional scholarly discourse posits dependence on satyr plays or lost wall paintings as sources for such images, but recent studies (e.g. Lissarrague [1993] 217) defend the autonomy of vase painting in relation to literature and the stage.

91 Our food-bearing maiden cannot be paralleled with any of the honored and probably older and married *gerarai* mentioned in the testimonia as officiating in the *gamos* of Dionysos at the Anthesteria.

92 The neck and mouth of this vase indicate that it is not a chous.

## Conclusions

The Dinos Painter derived the elements for his innovative Dionysiac hierogamy from different pictorial realms. As the result of a conscious reassessment of the archaic representational patterns and a renegotiation of the semantics of the classical votive feast-reliefs, his image offers a new vision of the nature of the union of the Dionysiac couple, a marriage full of love. The apparitional presence of the pair in union is staged in a sacred urban space and involves solemn libation-pouring and feasting with precious symposion ware used in real life. The eroticism of the archaic imagery has given way to a calmer ethos, where the emphasis has been placed on the emotional bond between the divine spouses in accordance with the ideology of the citizen marriage which prevailed after 450 B.C. in Athens and which is reflected in the art of this period in general. Eros, ritually attired votaries, imaginary beings such as citizen-silens, satyr-*paides*, precious symposion ware and sacred monuments – all enhance the visionary character of this highly charged scene. Instead of narrating visually an episode from Dionysos' mythical biography, that of his encounter with Ariadne, the Dinos Painter depicts Dionysos' marriage as a nuanced ritual scene of emblematic character. Marriage and the symposion were regarded as milestones in cultural evolution. To glorify the role of Dionysos in them painters visualized the god as the quintessential banqueter and groom. The nuances and layered meanings of the Dinos Painter's image render it a mirror of social, emotional and cultural realities prevailing in the late classical period. The aim of the painter was not to portray a particular event at a specific moment of the Anthesteria, as modern scholars of religion may have wished, but to prompt recollections of a familiar occasion and to convey something of its essence to the viewer: conjugal union and bliss in the frame of a divine feast. Dionysiac hierogamy scenes invited comparisons between the divine figures and the human couple. Thus, they were particularly appropriate for the decoration of major symposion vases, such as kraters, which could also have been displayed and used in wedding feasts or could accompany an *aoros*, a prematurely deceased, unmarried youth, to his or her grave.

# Dionysos, the Wine and Ikarios: Hospitality and Danger

*Philippe Borgeaud*

Dionysos is born of a mortal, after the establishment of Zeus' rule; he therefore falls outside the cosmological range of Hesiod's *Theogony*. But if so, elsewhere we nonetheless find primordial conflicts and cosmic struggles connected with Dionysos: motifs of earthquakes and cracks and of Zeus' combat with the Titans or Typhon.

The Greek construction of the human is haunted by the thought of disorder, by the awareness of a potential regression to a pre-cultural stage; and by the threat of madness: assumptions of discordance, of an abyss, that is, of which precisely a divine figure like Dionysos is reminiscent of. Ruling beside Zeus, Dionysos is an earth-shaker.<sup>1</sup>

Orphic theology, which developed in reference to Hesiod, reveals what was already a Greek reading, different from that of Nietzsche. At a very early stage, Orphism built up and promoted an alternative cosmogony which focused on Dionysos. It is however in relation to Zeus (and not Apollo) that Orphism emphasized the importance of the god.<sup>2</sup>

As a matter of fact, Orphism introduces the reign of Dionysos in the wake of the reign of Zeus; a reign that remains present and fundamental. In order to bring unity to a world threatened by diversity and destruction, Zeus had absorbed it. He had swallowed the world, so as to recreate it inside himself before giving birth to it again; the world he then pulled out of his skull is the world we now live in. Zeus thus appears as the guarantor of a certain equilibrium and coherence. The main divinity in Orphism, however, is his son Dionysos. Actual ruler of our world, Dionysos did not supplant his father. Zeus and Dionysos are in fact complementary, allies so to say. As Jean Rudhardt suggested, in his study (published posthumously, and only recently) on the *Orphic Hymns*, Dionysos' function is to take over and eventually assume the richness of the primordial and disturbing discordances, in a world where Zeus assumes balance and continuity.<sup>3</sup> With Dionysos, a place is given to

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1 Cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 576–861.

2 On Dionysos, Zeus and Orphism, see Rudhardt (2008) 258–280. On Dionysos, Nietzsche, and Orphism, see Borgeaud, in: Borgeaud et al. (1999) 195–199.

3 Rudhardt (2008) 279.

disorder, to phantasms, to drunkenness, and to theater – a cultic institution located at the very heart of politics.

Dionysos is also wine. To Ion of Chios, wine (the beverage and its power) is an epiphany of Dionysos: “Untamed child with a bull-face, new and not new, very sweet shepherd of the Erotes who are letting out heavy sighs, wine, you who frees the mind, and governs men (οἶνον ἀερσίνοον ἀνθρώπων πρῦταίν).”<sup>4</sup> It can thus be said that, just as wheat *is* Demeter, wine *is* Dionysos. Such an equation, however, relies on two assumptions: that the power of wine refers to the power of the god, and that wine is not primeval. It is a gift, given to humans by Dionysos, as is repeated ever since Hesiod (*Op.* 614, cf. *Theog.* 941). Dionysos gives wine as Demeter gives wheat, an idea emphasized particularly in Euripides’ *Bacchae* (272 ff.). As is well known, wheat, as much as wine, is a pathway to civilization. As a Greek would say (cf. *Amphis Comic.*, fr. 9 KA), wheat allows a βίος ἀληγμένος, a “life of ground grain”, free from the constraints of bestiality. Monsters (or absolute aliens) do not eat bread, and they do not know how to make use of wine. This is a well-established idea we encounter already in the *Odyssey*: the *Kyklops*, who is not a farmer and does not grow wheat, is defeated by the wine Odysseus offers him. By contrast, civilized beings, i. e. real human beings, are “bread-eaters” and are able to use wine properly. In Greek culture, human beings are those upon whom such proper use of wine, besides bread, confers a precarious balance: vine-growing (akin to farming, with which it can sometimes be confused) clearly distinguishes man from the brute and the beast.

In this perception of what constitutes humanity, the difference between bread and wine lies in the fact that one does not only need to know how to make wine, but also how to drink it, how to use it. For wine to become a civilized pleasure it needs to be mixed and to be dosed properly; and its consumption needs to be framed by complex rituals.<sup>5</sup> Wine in itself (pure) is a cause of disorder. It nevertheless becomes the revealer of a greater harmony, if (and only if) it is consumed with care. Wine is an ambiguous *pharmakon* (both remedy and poison), linked to *mania* (madness). It has the power to put monsters to sleep (the paradigm being precisely the *Kyklops* of the *Odyssey*), but also to alienate, to deceive, and to transform reality. Last but not least, it has the power to charm, in a positive way: that is to comfort, to wipe away all worries, just as music or poetry would. This wine which takes away worries, οἶνον λαθικόδεον, as Alcaeus puts it (fr. 346), is a gift of Dionysos: “The son of Zeus and Semele has given it to the humans (ἀνθρώποισιν)”, who are delighted.<sup>6</sup>

4 Ion of Chios, fr. 744 *PMG*; cf. Olding (2007).

5 Cf. Lissarrague (1987).

6 Alcaeus, fr. 346 *LP*.

Wine can sometimes be given as a mystery, like the revelation of a rite, as one can see in a Cologne papyrus commented on by Anton Bierl.<sup>7</sup> As Dirk Obbink has shown for his part, there can be a “theomorphization” of wine.<sup>8</sup> The god offers to humans something that has an intimate link with himself, a power of alienation to which he himself can fall victim; thus in the *Iliad* (6.132–141), when the infant Dionysos, frightened by Lykourgos, dives into the sea, he is presented as *mainomenos*: under the effect of *mania*. And in *Iliad* Book 14 (325), the son of Semele is called *charma brotoisin*, “joy of mortals”. Wine is not explicitly referred to in these two passages. But a broader power is concerned; a power of which wine will soon enough become one of the most obvious symbols.<sup>9</sup>

Wine can also be described as the blood of the god. In the early 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C., in a poem about the Kyklops, Timotheus tells how Odysseus served the Kyklops wine he had received from Maron: “And into it he poured one ivy-wood cup of the dark immortal drops, teeming with foam, and then he poured in twenty measures, and so he mingled the blood of the Bakchios with the fresh-flowing tears of the Nymphs (αἶμα Βακχίου νεορρύτοισιν δακρῦοισι Νυμφᾶν).”<sup>10</sup> It would of course be hasty to claim that such a metaphor makes of Dionysos a forerunner of Christ in some sense. To be sure, such an implicit link will eventually be established, especially by Nonnos of Panopolis. But this is a secondary construction, based on the old tradition to call wine the blood of grapes, which one can already find in both the *Hebrew Bible* and the *Septuagint* (*Deut.* 32.14), as well as in Achilles Tatius (2.2.4), on which Nonnos (for the Brongos episode)<sup>11</sup> seems to rely. “The blood of the grape”: in Achilles Tatius it is Dionysos himself who uses this expression – when he offers wine to the Tyrian shepherd, a scene which is explicitly compared to the hospitality given to Dionysos by Ikarios in Attica.<sup>12</sup>

7 Cf. Bierl (1990); the Cologne Papyrus paraphrases a fourth-century comedy presenting wine as a gift of Dionysos, in a mystery cult context.

8 Obbink (1993) 78–79 (“Sacramental Wine Drinking”).

9 In the *Odyssey*, Dionysos offers Thetis an amphora which he had himself received from Hephaistos. This amphora does not serve as a vessel for wine, but is clearly an urn in which Thetis will collect, after their incineration, the bones of Achilleus, mixed with those of Patroklos (*Od.* 24.73–77). I regret to discard the interpretation of Giovanni Casadio (1999) 23, who suggests that the ashes, in this amphora, are immersed (“immerse”) into a blend of wine and oil.

10 Timotheus, fr. 780 *PMG* (transl.: David A. Campbell).

11 See below.

12 This comparison is extended by Morton Smith to the story of Jesus’ miracle at Cana as found in the gospel of John (*John* 2.1–11); cf. Smith (1996). I wish to thank Glen Bowersock for bringing back to my mind this very important, informative but also partly confusing study concerning the interferences between Dionysos and Yahweh.

In his *Aitia* (fr. 178), Callimachus speaks of an Athenian citizen living in Egypt, who never failed to celebrate the Athenian festival of the Anthesteria (*Pithoigia* and *Choes*) as an annual rite intended to celebrate Erigone, the unfortunate daughter of Ikarios. This allusion undoubtedly refers to poetic and scholarly speculations regarding certain Athenian rites, some of which may be related to the origins of tragedy (Thespis sometimes appears as originating in Ikaria, the homeland of Erigone).<sup>13</sup> From this time on, and probably not earlier, the myth of Erigone, daughter of Ikarios, was linked, as a form of comment, to the rite of the swing (the *Aiora*), a rite that was introduced into the festival of the Anthesteria only at a late stage.<sup>14</sup>

The story of Erigone, daughter of Ikarios, the eponymous hero of Ikaria, is the subject of a poem by Eratosthenes, the very learned Alexandrian astronomer and librarian.<sup>15</sup> Born around 276 B.C., Eratosthenes headed the library of Alexandria, following Apollonios of Rhodes, from 245 to 194. He began this task under Ptolemy III Euergetes, and his poem *Erigone* was probably written during the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator (222–204 B.C.), a devout worshiper of Dionysos (cf. Athenaeus, 7.2 = 276b). We know this poem (a short idyll and, according to Pseudo-Longinus, a perfect, flawless masterpiece),<sup>16</sup> through a few fragments, all of which have been thoroughly studied.<sup>17</sup>

A possible Callimachean influence can be detected in the topic of a poor wretch offering hospitality to the god. The god shows up at his place, in a small village in Attica, where Ikarios lives with his daughter Erigone (“born with the dawn”) and a dog named Maira (“the sparkling, the brilliant”). The trio forms a strange little household, suddenly disturbed, disquieted by the arrival of Dionysos.

In another poem by Eratosthenes concerning the origins of constellations (the *Astronomy*, or *Katasterismoi*), we again encounter Ikarios, Erigone and Maira. It thus appears difficult to determine whether the fragments of

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13 Cf. Pickard-Cambridge (1962) 69–76 (testimonies 6, 7, 14, with a cautious commentary).

14 On this matter, necessitating a quite sensitive evaluation of the relationship between myth and exegesis, as well as a clear understanding of the historical evolution and transformation of rituals, see Humphreys (2004) 223–275 (“Metamorphoses of Tradition: the Athenian Anthesteria”).

15 Cf. Jacob (1992); Geus (2002). Another Erigone, the daughter of Aigisthos and Klytemnestra, also committed suicide by hanging herself; she has therefore sometimes been included into the scholarly discussion of the Anthesteria, cf. Johnston (1999) 219–220.

16 [Longinus] *Subl.* 33.5.

17 Cf. Solmsen (1947); Rosokoki (1995).



Eratosthenes relating to Erigone belonged to his small elegiac poem, focusing specifically on the heroine, or to his astronomical poem.

Eratosthenes, as far as we can see, is strongly influenced by the *Hecale* of Callimachus.<sup>18</sup> The story of Ikarios and Erigone, as we have it, begins just like the story of Hekale: there a perfect but poor hostess receives Theseus at a table reduced to the minimum (fr. 252 Pfeiffer, ὀλίγη τροπέζη, *mensa pauper*), in a region of Attica very close to the village of Ikarios. In the Ikarios story, the protagonist welcomes Dionysos, unaware of the divine identity of his guest, who is only passing by, probably on his way from Thebes.<sup>19</sup> He offers the best he can offer: a meal composed of some barely grown vegetables (similar to those Hekale prepares for Theseus) as well as milk.

According to Pseudo-Apollodorus (3.14.7), in the chronology of the myth this event takes place just at the time when the people of Eleusis welcome, at a more noble level, a little old lady, who is in fact none other than Demeter. The girls and the servants introduce the old mourning woman into the palace in order to serve as a nurse for the king's son, recognizing her only much later for the goddess she is. And just as the people of Eleusis receive from Demeter the wheat and the mysteries, Ikarios too is given an extraordinary gift. When Dionysos, pleased with the humble but nonetheless wonderful hospitality of Ikarios, takes leave of him, he gives him a young vine shoot, and tells him how to grow it.

The god then teaches Ikarios how to transform the grapes into a strange brew and tells him to spread this knowledge. Just as agriculture and the art of

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18 Cf. Solmsen (1947) 269. There is no doubt about intertextuality, even if, according to Rosokoki (1995) 19, the anteriority of Callimachus remains uncertain.

19 Cf. Biers/Boyd (1982) 1–2: “Prior to 1887 the location of the deme Ikarion was unknown, various savants having placed it at sites all over Attica at one time or another. In May of that year, however, the German scholar Arthur Milchhofer, walking from Marathon to Kephissia, stumbled upon a ruined church in a valley on the north slope of Mount Pentelikon. The church had numerous ancient blocks built into its walls, including dedications to Dionysos, and this, together with the modern name of the area, Dionyso, led Milchhofer to conclude that the remains represented the location of the deme Ikarion.” At Ikarion, the statue of Dionysos is attested since the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century: cf. Romano (1982). Karl Kerényi has written some enthusiastic pages about this visit of Dionysos to Ikarios' home. He stressed that the demos called Ikaria was located in the area of Marathon, close to the harbor where one arrived from Naxos (the island where Dionysos meets Ariadne), or from Ikaria (an island famous for its vineyards). Perhaps influenced by Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (6.125), which allude to Dionysos (Liber) taking the appearance of a wine grape in order to seduce Erigone (cf. below), Kerényi wanted to recognize in Erigone a character similar to Ariadne. Cf. Kerényi (1976b) 148–160. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the travel of Dionysos does not lead the god from Naxos to the demos of Ikaria in Attica, but from Thebes to Ikarios' home in Attica, and then from Ikaria to Naxos; see Nonnos, *Dionysiaca* 47, who is explicit on this point.



transforming wheat into flour and then into bread had spread from Eleusis, the art of wine-making will spread throughout the world from Ikaria, a village dependent on Athens, just like Eleusis. In this story, told from an Athenian perspective, we perceive a chauvinistic claim, a sort of political propaganda. This claim appears as a transformation of the mythical, pan-hellenic tradition, according to which bread and wine are signs of a civilized life which includes the cultivation of land and the organization of time and the seasons.

Ikarios fills a goatskin with wine – the skin of a goat killed because it endangered the young vineyard –, loads his chariot and leaves for his mission to spread the newly acquired knowledge. It is this image of a wine-carriage pulled by oxen and slowly moving away from its village on its way towards humanity which is reflected in the starlit sky in the form of the ‘Bootes’ leading the ‘Chariot’, the ‘Big Dipper’ constellation. Ikarios’ chariot, in a way, seems a mythical prefiguration of “Thespis’ carriage”, to which Horace alludes when recalling the time of traveling impromptu stages which preceded proper architectural structures that would welcome embryonic tragedy.<sup>20</sup> According to Hyginus (*Fabula* 130), Ikarios is accompanied, on his journey, by his daughter and his dog. In most other authors, he travels alone; daughter and dog remain at home, waiting for his return. Ikarios, meanwhile, introduces the shepherds (or herdsmen) of Attica to the gift of Dionysos; they drink it, sure enough, but do not yet know the rituals and precautions the potent beverage requires. They drink without measure, individually, in an uncivilized way, just as the Kyklops or the Centaurs would. Every one of them drinks in isolation from the others, with no banquet master present to control the event; and, of course, no one adds water as it should be done in accordance with precise standards of dosing. Dead-drunk and gesticulating wildly, the shepherds utter indecent words, the words of a satirical drama. Some of them come to believe that Ikarios had given them poison in order to steal their cattle. Under the influence of unmixed wine, which reveals the more negative side of Dionysos’ enchanting power, the shepherds have lost their reason: they hallucinate and become violent. Thus, they beat poor Ikarios to death and leave his body unattended (according to other versions, they throw his body into a well; in an even older tradition, they bury it at the foot of a tree). Then they fall into a deep sleep, each on his own spot. When they wake up they realize that their sleep had never been better and call for Ikarios to reward him for his blessing. But Ikarios does not show up! His murderers, the only ones to know what really happened, have a guilty conscience. Fearful, they take flight and find refuge on the island of Keos, closest to the coast of Attica in the area of Cape Sounion. There, they are offered hospitality and settle. The body of Ikarios is

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20 Regarding Thespis’ carriage (called *plaustrum*, just like Ikarios’ chariot in Hyg. *Astr.* 2.4.3), cf. Hor. *Ars P.* 276.

thus abandoned, unburied; or (as in some other accounts) buried by the hands of those who have murdered him.<sup>21</sup>

In the version which I believe is most faithful to Eratosthenes, that of Hyginus' *Astronomy*, Erigone, Ikarios' daughter, misses her father, who fails to return. She goes in search of him. Maira the dog suddenly appears, yowling in an untypical, mournful way. This, for Erigone, indicates a fatal event, the idea of which had already crossed her mind. For the girl, anguished, had no option but to imagine dead the father who had been missing for so many days and months. The dog, carrying in its mouth a piece of Ikarios' clothes, leads Erigone to the body. When she finds it, the girl is devastated, inconsolable. Crushed by loneliness and poverty she sheds abundant tears and eventually kills herself. She hangs herself from the tree which marks her father's burial place. The dog, too, dies slightly later, in this way appeasing the *manes* of Erigone.

Zeus (or Dionysos, according to others) took pity on the three unfortunates and placed their bodies among the stars. For this reason the constellation which others call 'Guardian of the Bear' is called 'Cowherd' by some, in memory of Ikarios; likewise, 'Virgo' can be associated with Erigone. The dog, finally, found entry into the constellations as 'Canicula' (because of its name Maira, "the shining one", its catasterism appears particularly apt). These catasterisms eternalize in the sky precisely the moment – and movement – prior to the unacceptable misfortune, a peaceful scene which precludes the outburst of madness; but they cannot stop, at an earthly level, the contaminating effects of Ikarios' murder, Erigone's suicide and Maira's lonely death.

A kind of social epidemic spreads across the Athenian territory, originating in the impurity which results from the unpunished murder. Young girls commit suicide; for no evident reason, they hang themselves. Erigone, just before her death, had uttered a curse requiring from the gods that if Ikarios' death remained unredeemed and unpunished, the Athenian girls would die of a death similar to hers. Unaware of this curse, the Athenians consult Apollo at Delphi. The oracle advises that in order to escape their fate Erigone must be appeased. Since Erigone had hung herself, the Athenians decide that the appropriate remedy would be the symbolic repetition of the hanging: hence the Aiora, the ritual of the swing.

An anonymous writer, quoted by a certain Critolaus (who is alluded to in the pseudo-Plutarchean *Parallela Minora*),<sup>22</sup> turns Ikarios' story into a Roman

21 Nonnos (*Dionysiaca* 47.138–139) insists on the issue of Ikarios' corpse, the treatment of which points to the "pious" Erigone, as Ovid calls her (*Ibis* 613; cf. *Met.* 10.451); but this is another story: cf. Borgeaud (2005).

22 Ps.-Plutarch, *Parallela Minora* 9a et 9b (307e-308a). Critolaus (Müller, *FGH* 4, 372): the identity of this author of *Phainomena* is problematic. According to Jacoby (*FGrH* 3 C,

one; he retains only the issue of the wine, the winemaker's fate and the establishment of a ritual. It is quite a bizarre alternative version. Kronos (Saturn) is welcomed in Latium by a farmer, whose daughter he rapes. The farmer's daughter (called Entoria or Cleitoria) gives birth to four sons, Janus, Hymnus, Faustus and Felix. Saturn presents the farmer – all of a sudden called Ikarios – with grapes and wine, instructs him, and tells him to spread this knowledge among his neighbors. Some of these get drunk and fall into a deep slumber. Others, believing themselves poisoned, kill Ikarios by stoning. The children hang themselves. The god of Delphi urges the Romans to perform a ritual in order to end the resulting epidemic and to appease the anger of Saturn. A certain Lutatius Catulus, a nobleman, builds a sanctuary next to the Tarpeian rock and a four-faced altar – either because of the four children, or because of the four seasons of the year –; then he determines January as the month of the festival. After that, Saturn places all the protagonists among the stars, in the constellation of Virgo, where they will serve as harbingers of the harvest.<sup>23</sup>

Dionysos seducing the daughter of the winemaker is not an incongruous motif. We encounter it in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (6.125), where the poet alludes to the metamorphosis of Dionysos, for the sake of a union with Erigone, into a cluster of grapes. What remains strange, however, and will retain our attention, is that among these stories which tell of the invention and spread of a fundamental element of culture, the theme of violence, as exemplified in the episode of the winemaker's murder, tends to be forgotten or ignored.

The rape of the winemaker's daughter by Saturn appears as an exception. This seems to be the case with the story of Ikarios as told by Nonnos of Panopolis as well – to which I will return soon. The Roman story is connected with the etiology of an archaic ritual, likely to be interpreted by the Romans as the transformation of a child-sacrifice ritual of the Carthaginian type. Dionysos is forgotten in such a context and the motif of the winemaker's violent death serves the purpose of a proper Roman mythology, in relation to the age of Saturn.<sup>24</sup>

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823.3) it is highly improbable that this Critolaus should be identified with the homonymous historian. Concerning Entoria, cf. Knaack, *RE* s.v. Entoria, col. 2650.

23 Aratos refers to one of these stars as "Vindemiator" (*Phaen.* 138; cf. Columella, 2.2.24).

24 On the relationship between Saturn and Dionysos, cf. Brisson (1988). As was suggested by Brisson (*ibid.* 976), Saturn, in Augustan poetry, may take the place of Dionysos: "La monarchie universelle de Dionysos [...] ne pouvait offrir de modèle qu'à une monarchie hellénistique de type alexandrin. Par sa victoire, Auguste avait rejeté ce modèle [...]. Si donc Virgile voulait créditer le vainqueur d'Actium d'un retour de l'âge d'or, comme il l'avait fait pour le consul Pollion, cet âge d'or ne pouvait plus être dionysiaque; même le Dionysos revu et corrigé par les Orphiques n'était plus un patron acceptable pour ces nouveaux temps heureux, car trop évocateur des prétentions

In Silius Italicus' *Punic War* we also encounter a transposition of Ikarios' story, this time to Campania, more precisely to the Falernus Ager. The purpose is to celebrate a famous wine handed down by Dionysos himself. Falernian wine owes its name to a certain Falernus, who plays the role of Ikarios. This Falernus, when entertaining his divine guest, wants to serve milk; but the god fills beech bowls with wine, in this way revealing himself to Falernus. Drunk, Falernus falls asleep, only to wake up in a land now covered with vineyards. The story ends here, on a very happy note. There is no drama and no misfortune.

The same can be said of Achilles Tatius, who in *Leucippe and Clitophon* (2.2) offers an account of the origins of the Tyrian wine-harvest festival. Here, Dionysos is welcomed by a cowherd, who also offers him milk before being offered wine. End of the story. We have to wait for Nonnos, in the 6<sup>th</sup> century C.E., for the topic of the winemaker's murder to resurface.<sup>25</sup> When Nonnos (following Achilles Tatius among others) tells the story of Brongos, a pre-civilized mountain-dweller who receives the wine from Dionysos, no mention is made of the protagonist's murder or anything of the sort. But when he recounts the arrival of Dionysos in Attica, in the house of Ikarios, he deliberately amplifies the Eratosthenian data, alluding discretely to the passion of Christ.<sup>26</sup> The god's entrance into Attica echoes the entrance of Christ into Jerusalem, and Ikarios' murder echoes Jesus' death. The pious Erigone, the "heavenly Virgin", is visited at night by Ikarios' ghost, a possible echo not only of Patroklos' *eidolon* visiting Achilles, but also of Christ's posthumous apparition to his disciples, as suggested by Konstantinos Spanoudakis.<sup>27</sup>

If the character of Ikarios and of the story how he receives wine from the god is not known prior to the Hellenistic period, the motif of Dionysos' gift of wine to a primeval winemaker is well attested and appears in a series of myths, a comprehensive list of which would exceed the scope of the present essay.<sup>28</sup> What is new in the myth of Ikarios and Erigone in comparison with these myths is not so much the claim of an Athenian village to be the birthplace of winemaking; nor the pretention of an Athenian peasant to appear as the source of its diffusion through the world. The originality of Ikarios' story lies

défaites de la monarchie alexandrine. La tradition hésiodique combinée aux légendes italiennes offrait à point nommé la figure de Saturne pour patronner l'ère nouvelle qui s'était ouverte à Actium, plus durablement il est vrai qu'à Brindes." I am grateful to Therese Fuhrer, who invited me to be attentive to the historical implication of this *interpretatio romana*.

25 Cf. Nonnos, *Dionysiaca* 47.138–139.

26 Cf. Accorinti (2004); Spanoudakis (2007). In the commentary to her edition of Nonnos de Panopolis, Fayant (2000) 9–43 (with respect to Ikarios), is not mentioning this allusion.

27 Spanoudakis (2007) 61–62.

28 I will limit myself to refer to Massenzio (1970) 13–45.

elsewhere; it is radically new for another reason: it is a unique story because it presents the first human winemaker as the victim of the gift he has received in reward for his piety. For this gift is responsible for his violent death. It is precisely this motif (of a human benefactor who eventually becomes the victim of this invention) which Ovid and Propertius also use, both alluding to the poem of Eratosthenes.<sup>29</sup>

In the Ikarios stories, Dionysos does not have to punish those who resist his cult, as he does in a range of well-known myths. He does not demand cult or recognition. He is only passing and, even more striking, he does so in a rather surreptitious and furtive way, as Marcel Detienne already observed. He is a discrete single-night visitor, who will not stay for long.<sup>30</sup> It is Ikarios, to whom the dissemination of viticulture is entrusted, who appears at the center of the narrative, not least because of his confrontation with a hostile, uncivilized humanity.

This shift needs to be investigated, in comparison with the traditional mythical elements. One would expect to encounter the scenario of resistance to Dionysos. But this is not the case here. What we encounter here could be interpreted as the story of a first inventor, a *protos heurètes*, that takes a dramatic turn when the inventor shows his discovery to the world. But it is not quite that either. It is Dionysos who invents the wine, not Ikarios. And the one who is eventually killed is Ikarios, not Dionysos. This tragic ending is not the result of the protagonist's rejection of Dionysos' gift but of the ignorance of his murderers who kill him while he was in fact willing to distribute the gift he received, assuming a task which would normally be Dionysos'. Ikarios, in this story, seems to assume the role of a Hellenistic Dionysos in the footsteps of Alexander. It thus appears as a dissonant variant with regard to the classical data, and may even be seen to constitute a criticism of a specifically post-classical idea of Dionysos.

Regarding the origins of civilized mankind, a classic paradigm had emerged in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, developing from the Promethean tradition the earliest traces of which we find in Hesiod. This speculative extension of the mythical data – yet expressing itself through myths and narratives, too – aimed to explain the progress of civilization in terms of an opposition between nature and culture. As is evinced by the play *Prometheus* attributed to Aeschylus as well as by the sophists, in Greek thought the notion of *physis*, nature, was

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29 Ovid (*Ibis* 611–616) and Propertius (*Elegiae* 2.33b) are certainly attentive readers of the *Erigone* of Eratosthenes, which was, according to Longinus (quoted above n. 16), “without imperfection”.

30 Detienne (1986a) 48–50.

questioned and set in opposition to *nomoi* (conventional rules, laws) that allowed humans to distinguish themselves from the realm of beasts.<sup>31</sup>

This discourse regarding the progress of culture – *against* nature – was eventually challenged by quite a different discourse, both more universal and more circumscribed; a propagandist agenda at first, and then also an imperialistic one. Starting in the late 6<sup>th</sup> century, Athens claims to be spreading civilization; civilization, in that context, appears not as a human invention, but as a divine gift from Demeter in the form of the Eleusinian mysteries as well as wheat. In visual art, from the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. onwards, Triptolemos frequently stands close to Dionysos. The image of the Eleusinian hero is an important matter. As suggested by Isabelle and Antony Raubitschek,<sup>32</sup> Triptolemos was first simply considered an Eleusinian prince to whom Demeter had given the knowledge of agriculture (symbolized by an ear of wheat) and the mission to instruct Attic farmers in the cultivation of wheat. Beginning in the late 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C., when the new Athenian democracy started to assert leadership as the supposed metropolis of all Ionians, the role of Triptolemos changed. He was portrayed on innumerable Attic vases – on objects of propaganda, that is – on his journey to accomplish his mission, standing on a winged chariot drawn by huge serpents. In this strange vehicle Triptolemos goes on his mission to distribute the gift of wheat beyond the borders of Attica, in the territories under Athenian hegemony, and soon enough around the world. The popularity of this image of Triptolemos in his carriage continues to increase at least until the collapse of all Athenian imperialistic ambitions following the rise of Macedonia.

Athens keeps the privilege of the Eleusinian mysteries, and the slightly dust-covered pride of having once received the gift of wine from Dionysos himself, just at the time when Demeter taught mankind about the mysteries and farming. All this however, from now on belongs to a remote memory. Real power has moved elsewhere and such symbolic civilizing acts as the giving out of wheat and wine have been claimed for different propaganda purposes. The discourse regarding the origins and the dissemination of civilization is now reformulated in terms of benefits spread by conquest and war. The mythology of Dionysos is reshaped, rewritten. In the footsteps of Alexander, Dionysos visits India, leading an army of maenads and satyrs in an expedition which, along with war, brings civilization. This expedition carries the benefits of culture from a center whose precise localization is disputed, towards a humanity now universally defined by the proper use of wine and wheat.

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31 Cf. Lovejoy/Boas (1935); Heinimann (1945); Laroche (1949); Gigante (1956); Guthrie (1957); T. Cole (1967); Ostwald (1969); Dodds (1973a); Blundell (1986).

32 Raubitschek/Raubitschek (1982).

Diodorus Siculus bears witness to this new ideology. In the first nine chapters of his work, he deals with the rule and the civilizing accomplishments of Osiris and Isis, the Egyptian equivalents of Dionysos and Demeter. This gives him the opportunity to set forth a series of topics directly borrowed from Hellenistic ruler-ideology. Great royal ancestors rather than elementary principles, his Osiris-Dionysos and Isis-Demeter appear as benefactors (*euergetai*). Prior to being divinized by a grateful memory, these inventors of the first technical devices set off on a mission to spread their knowledge throughout the world, a mission which combines large-scale military expeditions with the foundation of cities. On his journey to India, Osiris-Dionysos brings along Maron, a specialist in viticulture we know from the *Odyssey*, his son Makedon, the wolf-headed ancestor of the Macedonians, and even Triptolemos, an authority in grain-farming.

It is in the context of such Hellenistic paradigms concerned with humankind and human civilization and in the context, too, of an Athenian withdrawal from history, that Eratosthenes comes up with the figure of poor Ikarios: the figure of an Athenian winemaker whose rather unsuccessful mission comes to a brutal end at the very gates of his village.

# Der bakchische Gott

Renate Schlesier

Mit dem Ausdruck ὁ Βακχεῖος Θεός<sup>1</sup> – „der bakchische Gott“ – wird Dionysos im 3. Stasimon von Sophokles' Tragödie *König Ödipus* prägnant charakterisiert, ohne daß es der Nennung des Namens Dionysos bedurfte. Dieser Gott wird im Kontext, mit Rekurs auf die ältere literarische Tradition, als Spielgefährte von Nymphen auf Bergeshöhen bestimmt und, in situativem Bezug auf das Findelkind Ödipus, als ein möglicher Adressat von Kindern, die diese Nymphen gefunden oder geboren und vielleicht von Göttern empfangen haben. Doch welche Qualität ist es, die ihn spezifisch als „bakchischen Gott“ auszeichnet? Das Sophokleische Chorlied bringt ihn mit der Szenerie einer wilden Natur, mit erotisch freizügigen, nicht durch die Ehe gebundenen, ammenhaften und mütterlichen Frauen in Verbindung, keinen unsterblichen Göttinnen, sondern (wie es hier heißt) „langlebenden“<sup>2</sup> Nymphen, die auch mit anderen männlichen Göttern Umgang haben und vielleicht sogar von ihnen und anderen Nymphen abstammen. Sexuelle Beziehungen werden evoziert, doch wie genau das „spielerische Zusammensein“ (συμπαίζειν)<sup>3</sup>

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Teile des folgenden Aufsatzes basieren auf Schlesier (2007a) u. (2008a). Für anregende Debatten über frühere (Vortrags-) Fassungen des Textes danke ich den Diskutanten in Tübingen, Paris, Montreal, Lübeck und Berlin sowie Susanne Gödde, Albert Henrichs, Oliver Leege und Roberto Sanchiño Martínez.

- 1 Soph. *OT* 1105; syntaktischer Kontext (1105–1109): εἶθ' ὁ Βακχεῖος Θεός / ναίων ἐπ' ἄκρων ὀρέων / εὐρημα δέξαστ' ἐκ του / Νυμφῶν ἑλικωνιάδων, αἷς πλεῖστα συμπαίζει. Vgl. dazu Bollack (1994) 72 (Übersetzung: „Sei es, daß der bakchische Gott, / der auf den hohen Bergen wohnt, / den Fund erhalten hat von einer / der helikonischen Nymphen, mit denen er sich am liebsten vergnügt.“), 125 (Text), 218–226 (Kommentar).
- 2 Den „Langlebenden“ werden die Nymphen in dem Chorlied kurz davor (Soph. *OT* 1099: μικραίωνων) zugerechnet (s. auch Hes. fr. 304 Merkelbach/West), analog zu den mit Göttern tanzenden und Ambrosia essenden Nymphen im Aphrodite-Hymnos (δηρὸν ζώουσι, *Hom. Hymn.* 5.260; Kontext: 257–261). Dort (Vers 262 f.) sind sie in Bergeshöhlen Liebespartnerinnen u. a. der „Silenoi“ – hier ohne expliziten Bezug auf Dionysos; dieser Bezug wird dann in der attischen Bildkunst des 6. Jh. hergestellt, z. B. auf der ‚François-Vase‘: in Dionysos' Gefolge bei der Rückkehr des Hephaistos in den Olymp erscheinen „Silenoi“ und „Nymphai“ (so inschr.) als tänzerisch-erotische Partner; vgl. dazu und zu anderen schwarzfigurigen Vasen aus Athen, aber auch aus anderen Regionen Griechenlands: Isler-Kerényi (2007) 85 passim.
- 3 Soph. *OT* 1109. Dionysos als ‚Spielgefährte‘ von Nymphen auf Bergeshöhen: schon bei Anakreon, fr. 357.4 *PMG* (dort zusammen mit Eros und Aphrodite), in einer Anrufung des Gottes als erwünschter Helfer bei der homoerotischen Verführung eines



zwischen Dionysos und den Nymphen zu denken ist, bleibt ungesagt. Nur eines scheint sicher: Es ist nicht der Wein, der hier die besondere Qualität des bakchischen Gottes maßgeblich determiniert.<sup>4</sup>

Dies steht in sonderbarem Kontrast zur wohl bekanntesten und dauerhaftesten Bestimmung dieses antiken griechischen Gottes: Dionysos ist – ob unter diesem Namen oder dem seines römischen Pendants Bacchus – auch nach dem Ende der antiken Kultur und dem Untergang antiker Religionspraxis bis in die Gegenwart hinein der Inbegriff des Weingotts geblieben.

Jünglings; συμπαίζειν auch in Anakreon, fr. 358.4 *PMG*: das poetische Ich wird dort durch Eros zum ‚gemeinsamen Spielen‘ (hier in eindeutig sexuellem Sinn; ebenso in Theoc. *Id.* 11.77) mit einer jungen eleganten Frau aus Lesbos verlockt, allerdings ohne Erfolg – doch nicht weil etwa diese Frau keusch wäre (sie wird vielmehr als eine jüngere Männer bevorzugende und evtl. auch der Homosexualität nicht abgeneigte Hetäre dargestellt). Siehe auch die συμπαίστρια in Aristophanes’ *Fröschen* (*Ran.* 411), die im unterweltlichen Hymnos der seligen Mysten an den dionysisch-eleusinischen Iakchos als sexuell attraktive Tanzpartnerin erscheint. Zu Iakchos und Dionysos in den *Fröschen* vgl. Ford (in diesem Band).

- 4 Siehe aber zuvor, in einer Anrufung des thebanischen Gottes Dionysos, mit der das Einzugslied des Chors endet (*OT* 211–212), als „weingesichtiger Bakchos“ (οἰνώπα Βάκχον), „ebenso ausgerüstet wie die Mänaden“ (μαυνάδων ὁμόστολον); dies ist vielleicht der früheste Beleg (neben Eur. *Hipp.* 860) für die Verwendung von *bakchos* als Gottesnamen (diese männliche Form bezeichnet seit Heraklit den in Dionysos-Mysterien Eingeweihten, s. unten, mit Anm. 28). – In den Textzeugnissen klassischer wie archaischer Zeit wird Dionysos als „bakchischer Gott“ in der Regel nicht in Relation zum Wein, sondern durch andere Qualitäten definiert, darunter v. a., wie hier bei Sophokles, sein besonders enges Verhältnis zu (erotisch erfahrenen) Frauen: Nymphen und Mänaden (dafür namhaft gemachte Modelle, in Literatur und Bildkunst: seine Mutter Semele sowie seine in der Tradition lange Zeit einzig benannte Geliebte, Ariadne, die seine Braut – gr. *nymphe* – erst nach ihrer Liebschaft mit dem attischen Heros Theseus wird; unsterblich und alterslos gemacht als Dionysos’ Gattin: Hes. *Theog.* 949; Vergöttlichung der Semele: ebd. 942). Der in der bisherigen Forschung meistens benutzte (von mir bewußt nicht verwendete) Ausdruck ‚mythisch‘ für diese Modelle verhindert gewöhnlich die Frage nach deren Bedeutung im Kult. Kultisch dokumentiert ist z. B. die Hochzeit des Dionysos mit der *basilinna*, der Ehefrau des höchsten Kultbeamten Athens (laut Burkert [1977/2011] 252: analog zu Ariadne). – Die Betonung ‚nicht-monogamer‘ Erotik bei dionysischen Frauen (Ariadne, die *basilinna*, die Nymphen) in den antiken griechischen Textzeugnissen hat bisher in der Forschung wenig Beachtung gefunden; ikonographisch korrespondiert dem die Analogisierung von Mänaden, Nymphen und Hetären (vgl. dazu z. B. Moraw [1998] v. a. 37–43, mit Verweis auf die Nähe zur Symposions-Ikonographie, u. Isler-Kerényi [2007] v. a. 161–171, die vom Typus der „hetaera-nymph“ spricht; s. auch Villanueva Puig [2009] z. B. 215 zur Verwandtschaft der „figure ménadique“ mit der „hétaïre“). Zu Bildbeispielen für sexuell „orgiastisches Treiben“ von nackten (efeubekränzten) Frauen und Satyrn, auch im Beisein von Mänaden, vgl. Moraw (1998) 42. Henrichs (1987) versucht, Nymphen und Mänaden in der Bildkunst (und auch in der Dichtung) so strikt wie möglich auseinanderzuhalten, vermerkt aber erotische Bezüge bei beiden Figurentypen; vgl. dazu auch Schmidhuber (2007) u. Bonansa (2008), mit weiterer Literatur.

Noch als Nietzsche, bekanntlich äußerst folgenreich für die Moderne, „das Wesen des Dionysischen“ durch den „Rausch“ bestimmt, wird dies von ihm in erster Linie auf „den Einfluß des narkotischen Getränkes“ zurückgeführt.<sup>5</sup> Potentiell gefährliche Rauschhaftigkeit, verbunden mit faszinierender Rätselhaftigkeit, wird dem Gott Dionysos nicht erst in der Moderne zugeschrieben, sondern ist schon in der Antike für ihn eher als für alle anderen Gottheiten kennzeichnend. Dies resultiert indessen relativ selten aus seiner meist unproblematisch wirkenden Qualität, der Weingott par excellence zu sein. Bedrohlich, faszinierend und mysteriös war und ist Dionysos vielmehr vor allem durch eine weitaus umfassendere Beziehung zum Rausch, die vom Wein und anderen materiellen Mitteln der Erzeugung von Rauschzuständen auch ganz unabhängig sein kann: Für die Griechen der Antike war Dionysos nicht zuletzt der Ekstasegott par excellence, der Gott der Raserei in allen ihren Erscheinungsformen und Wirkungen, den positiven wie den negativen.<sup>6</sup> Und wenn in der Moderne der Begriff des Dionysischen zu einem universalen Synonym des Ekstatischen wird, des verlockend und gefährlich Rauschhaften in jeglicher Bedeutung,<sup>7</sup> so läßt sich dies also durchaus mit antiker Tradition verbinden.

Die nachantiken Schriftsteller und Bildkünstler, und vor allem die der Renaissance und der Moderne, haben versucht, die Spannweite zwischen den Besonderheiten dionysischer Ekstase und ihrer Universalisierbarkeit in imaginären Kreationen auszumessen. Demgegenüber sahen sich die modernen Historiker der antiken griechischen Religion mit dem Problem konfrontiert, die Besonderheiten dionysischer Ekstase zu erfassen<sup>8</sup> und zugleich der Tatsache Rechnung zu tragen, daß es sich bei der Ekstase um eine universelle menschliche Erfahrung<sup>9</sup> handelt, die nicht an bestimmte Kulturen oder Religionen, Zeitepochen oder geographische Räume gebunden ist. Die Lösungsversuche für dieses Problem unterscheiden sich vor allem darin, ob der Akzent entweder auf das eine oder auf das andere gelegt wird, entweder auf

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5 So Nietzsche 1872 im 1. Kapitel von *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik*.

6 Zu diesem und weiteren Spezifika des Dionysos: Schlesier (1997); vgl. jetzt Götter (in diesem Band). Bei Seaford (2006a) 105 wird die Ekstase im Dionysoskult nur knapp als zu „abnormal mental states“ gehörig abgehandelt, die in vielen Kulturen zu beobachten seien. Zur Kritik dieser (auf Dodds zurückgehenden) und anderer reduktionistischer Auffassungen dionysischer Ekstase vgl. Osborne (1997) v. a. 187–194 u. 209.

7 Vgl. Baeumer (2006); Sanchiño Martínez u. Leege (beide in diesem Band).

8 Siehe dazu in jüngerer Zeit besonders Henrichs (1994). Fokussiert auf Mänaden-Ekstase: Henrichs (1978a); Kraemer (1979); Bremmer (1984); Osborne (1997). Zur Forschungsgeschichte der Mänaden: Moraw (1998) 2–6.

9 Vgl. z. B. Lewis (1971/1989), Gladigow (1978) sowie (v. a. zur Funktion der Musik) Rouget (1980).

das, was vielen, wenn nicht allen Ekstaseformen und -techniken gemeinsam ist, oder auf das, was für dionysische Ekstase spezifisch erscheint.

Bevor im Folgenden einige Lösungsversuche dieses kulturspezifisch und zugleich anthropologisch relevanten Problems präsentiert und analysiert werden, sollen zuerst zentrale und grundlegende Charakteristika dionysischer Ekstase vorgestellt werden, wie sie sich aus der schriftlichen<sup>10</sup> Überlieferung der Griechen ergeben. Diese Überlieferung ist nun vorwiegend eine literarische. Wie weitgespannt aber das Ausmaß der kreativen Freizügigkeit war, die schon die antiken Schriftsteller (wie auch die Maler) bei aller pragmatischen Gebundenheit ihrer Produktionen für sich in Anspruch nehmen konnten, ist ein Faktum, das die meisten modernen Religionshistoriker kaum zur Kenntnis genommen haben. Trägt man diesem Faktum jedoch Rechnung, so werden viele gelehrte Versuche hinfällig, entweder Elemente antiker Realität direkt aus den antiken Testimonien abzuleiten oder ihnen im Gegenteil jeglichen reflektierenden Realitätsbezug abzusprechen. Statt dessen tritt der jeweils spezifische Perspektivismus der Schrift- und Bildzeugnisse in den Vordergrund, und mit ihm die methodische Schwierigkeit, ihm so differenziert wie möglich gerecht zu werden.

### Homers Dionysos ‚mainomenos‘

Dabei ist als erstes festzuhalten, daß Dionysos im ältesten literarischen Zeugnis der antiken griechischen Tradition, der homerischen *Ilias*, mit keinem Wort<sup>11</sup> und durch keinen Kontext mit dem Wein in Verbindung gebracht wird, obwohl allen Personen dieses Epos vom Krieg der Griechen gegen die Trojaner, ob zur einen oder zur anderen Kampfpartei gehörig, der Wein (*oinos*) wohlvertraut ist, als Trankspende für die Götter beim Opfer, als unverzichtbarer Bestandteil beim daran anschließenden Festmahl, und der Wein sogar gleichnishaft die Farbe des Meeres oder die von Rindern bezeichnen kann. Anders als andere Gottheiten gehört Dionysos bei Homer nicht zu den die Handlung bestimmenden Personen (weder in der *Ilias* noch in der *Odyssee*), und sein Name wird in beiden homerischen Epen nur je zweimal erwähnt.<sup>12</sup> An der ersten Stelle aber, an der Dionysos bei Homer genannt wird, im 6.

10 Zur Bildtradition: Kunze-Götte (1992); Osborne (1997) 194–211 (mit Abb.); s. auch unten, Anm. 80.

11 Auch nicht durch den Ausdruck *charma brotoisin* (*Il.* 14.325), wie oft behauptet wurde: vgl. unten, Anm. 23.

12 Dionysos bei Homer: Privitera (1970) 49–89; Wathélet (1991); M. Davies (2000); lexikalischer Überblick (zu Dionysos sowie zu Ariadne bei Homer): Schlesier (2011a) u. (2011b).

Gesang der *Ilias*, kennzeichnet ihn ein Beiwort, das ihn lapidar als „rasenden“ (μαίνόμενος)<sup>13</sup> definiert.

Bemerkenswert daran ist nun nicht allein, daß Dionysos damit von Beginn der Tradition an als Ekstasegott erscheint, sondern vor allem, daß er selbst es ist, der ekstatisch rast. Dies ist für sich genommen zwar in Homers *Ilias* noch kein Unterscheidungsmerkmal des Dionysos, sondern verbindet ihn zumindest mit einem weiteren Gott, dem Kriegsgott Ares, der in diesem Epos ebenfalls als „rasender“ (*mainomenos*) charakterisiert ist,<sup>14</sup> so wie auch der Zustand der kämpfenden Krieger (nicht zuletzt des Haupthelden der *Ilias*, des Achilleus) mit derselben Terminologie als ein „Rasen“ beschrieben wird. Auffällig an der homerischen Definition des Dionysos als Ekstasegott ist jedoch, daß er allein, nicht die ihn an dieser Stelle umgebenden Personen, durch das Rasen bestimmt wird, während in der jüngeren – schriftlichen wie bildlichen – Überlieferung es vorwiegend sein Gefolge ist, das ekstatisch rast, ja von ihm in diesen Zustand versetzt wird. Doch gerade von späteren Textzeugnissen wird unterstrichen, daß damit nicht etwa eine Differenz zwischen dem Gott und seinen Verehrern markiert werden soll, sondern daß die Ekstase etwas ist, das Dionysos mit den von ihm in diesem Zustand versetzten Menschen teilt, ja an dem er gemeinsam mit ihnen teilnimmt.

Auch an der homerischen Textstelle indessen tritt er gemeinsam mit einer Gruppe von Personen auf, und er wird sogar, in seiner Eigenschaft als rasender Gott, durch seine Zugehörigkeit zu ihnen bestimmt: Wer sind diese Personen? Es sind Frauen, ja der Text spezifiziert: Es sind seine „Ammen“ (τιθήναι). Und diese Ammen, so konkretisiert die epische Erzählung weiter, befinden sich mit ihm gemeinsam in freier Natur und sind dort dabei, eine rituelle Handlung zu vollziehen. Diese wenigen Elemente bereits (unabhängig von weiteren, nicht direkt zur Ekstase des Gottes gehörigen Aspekten)<sup>15</sup> lassen erkennen, daß Dionysos gegenüber allen anderen homerischen Göttern einen Ausnahmestatus<sup>16</sup> einnimmt: Keiner anderen Gottheit wird eine derartige<sup>17</sup>

13 Hom. *Il.* 6.132: μαίνομένοιο Διωνύσοιο. Titelformulierungen, in Anlehnung daran: Otto (1933) 121 (für das Buchkapitel „Der wahnsinnige Gott“) u. Henrichs (1994) (für den Aufsatz „Der rasende Gott“); zu *Il.* 6.128–141: ebd. 41–47. Zu Otto vgl. Leege (2008) 137–140.

14 Ares μαίνόμενος sogar noch vor Dionysos: *Il.* 5.831; auch Zeus „rast“ (μαίνεται, *Il.* 8.360, s. auch 24.114); Achill, als Rasender definiert (durch Hektor, *Il.* 6.101: μαίνεται). Vgl. Henrichs (1994) 43.

15 Dazu Schlesier (2011a).

16 Zur Konzeption des Dionysos als „Gott der Ausnahme“ vgl. Burkert (1977/2011) 433. Vgl. auch Kunze-Götte (1992) 153 f., die darauf hinweist, daß Dionysos in der spätarchaischen Bildkunst als einziger Gott oft durch Übergröße von anderen Figuren abgesetzt wird, wie eine „visionäre Erscheinung“. Zu Dionysos als Gott der Epiphany s. unten, Anm. 79.

Biographie zugeschrieben, mit einem Kindheitsstadium, während dessen der Gott, wie ein gewöhnliches Menschenkind oder ein junges Säugetier, auf Milchnahrung angewiesen ist, mit einem Gefolge, zu dem auch nach der Kinderzeit, wie bei privilegierten Menschen, weiterhin als Vertrauenspersonen die Ammen gehören, die ihm ihre Milch gegeben und ihn aufgezogen haben. Und nicht zuletzt: von keiner anderen Gottheit wird berichtet, daß sie gleichzeitig und gemeinsam mit ihren Verehrern rituell tätig sein kann.

Schon bei Homer also erscheint Dionysos in einer Szenerie, die ihn in mehrfachem Sinne enger als alle anderen Gottheiten an die Menschen heranrückt: Denn der auch sonst für die griechischen Götter kennzeichnende Anthropomorphismus, ihre ‚Menschenförmigkeit‘, wird hier bis zur Analogie mit einem Säugling ausgeweitet, und die auch sonst von menschlichen Gemeinschaften den Göttern gewidmete rituelle Tätigkeit erlaubt hier ausnahmsweise sogar, daß der Gott selbst in Person daran teilnimmt. Der Zustand aber, in dem Dionysos dies tut, ist der des Rasenden, so als sei es sein eigener Ausnahmezustand, der seinen Ausnahmestatus sanktioniert.

### ‚Mainades‘ und ‚Bakchoi‘

Als Platon, wohl mehr als vierhundert Jahre nach Homer, seinen Lehrer Sokrates im Dialog *Phaidros* über die Segnungen der „göttlichen Raserei“ (oder des „göttlichen Wahnsinns“), *theia mania*, dozieren läßt und ihre Verursachung klassifikatorisch vier verschiedenen Göttern oder Göttergruppen zuschreibt, dem Apollon, dem Dionysos, den Musen sowie Aphrodite und Eros, kennzeichnet er die der Einwirkung des Dionysos zugeordnete *mania* spezifisch als *telestike*.<sup>18</sup> Diese Bestimmung ist abgeleitet von dem Wort *τελετή*, das wörtlich ‚Vollendung‘ und im übertragenen Sinne ‚Ritus‘ bedeutet und das im Singular wie im Plural (*teletai*) meist für geheime Einweihungsriten, für Mysterienkulte verwendet wird.<sup>19</sup> So viel ist also sicher: Bei Platon wie bei Homer ist die für

17 Zu dieser und anderen Behandlungen der (modellhaften) Biographie des Dionysos (im Vergleich mit der des Apollon) in der antiken griechischen Literatur: Zeitlin (2002) und in diesem Band.

18 Pl. *Phdr.* 244a: *θεία μανία*; *Phdr.* 265b: *μανία* des Dionysos: *τελεστική*. Vgl. Schlesier (2006), bes. 56 f.

19 Zu *telete* als *Terminus technicus* für die Feier der Mysterieneinweihung, aber auch „für religiöse Feiern allgemein gebraucht“: Burkert (1977/2011) 413; *teletai* im Sinne von Initiationsriten: ebd. 365 (beim Frauenfest der Thesmophorien im Demeterkult); *telete* als Bezeichnung für die Einweihung des Skyles (Hdt. 4.78–80) in Dionysos-Mysterien: ebd. 433; *teletai* durch orphische Einweihungspriester bei Platon (*Resp.* 364b–365a): ebd. 441. Auch die *Phaidros*-Stelle zur *mania telestike* des Dionysos (Anm. 18) versteht Burkert als zur Mysterieneinweihung gehörig, und ebenso die Verwendung der Ausdrücke *teletai* und *orgia* in Euripides’ *Bakchen* (ebd. 434).

Dionysos spezifische Ekstase etwas, das von kollektiven Riten nicht zu trennen ist und das sogar zu seiner Entstehung auf solche geheimnisvollen Riten angewiesen zu sein scheint. Worin diese ekstatischen kollektiven Riten zu Ehren des Dionysos aber bestanden, wer diejenigen sind, die sie praktizierten, unter welchen Bedingungen diese Riten zugänglich waren, und welche Ziele damit verfolgt wurden, dies sind Fragen, die sich anhand der antiken Überlieferung nur tentativ, wenn überhaupt, beantworten lassen und für die die religionshistorische Forschung, vor allem seit dem späten 19. Jahrhundert, mannigfaltige und divergierende Lösungen gefunden hat.

Die Schwierigkeiten der Forschung resultieren nicht allein daraus, daß sich die Entstehung der überlieferten Texte über einen Zeitraum von ca. 1300 Jahren, zwischen den homerischen Epen aus dem 8. Jahrhundert v. Chr. und dem Monumentalepos des Nonnos (*Dionysiaka*) aus dem 5. oder 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr., erstreckt. Vielmehr rühren die Schwierigkeiten vor allem daher, daß der größere Teil der Texte zum Bereich der literarischen, metrisch geformten Tradition gehört, vor allem zum Epos, zur frühen Chorlyrik und zum klassischen Drama des 5. vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts. Der Perspektivismus dieser Texte ist aber nicht einfach gattungsgebunden, sondern im engeren und weiteren Kontext jeder Textstelle in höchst komplexer Weise spezifiziert. Erschwerend kommt hinzu, daß diese Tradition äußerst bruchstückhaft ist und nur einen quantitativ geringfügigen Teil dessen ausmacht, was tatsächlich von antiken Dichtern produziert wurde. Aber auch die Prosa-Überlieferung (vorwiegend philosophische und historiographische Texte) ist oft fragmentarisch und enthält nur eine begrenzte Zahl zusammenhängender Werke, die noch dazu, für die Frage nach den Spezifika der dionysischen Ekstase, relativ wenig hergeben. Die Partikularität der jeweiligen Aussagen, ihre Standpunktabhängigkeit, ihre Kontextgebundenheit und Situativität, ihr jeweiliger Grad von Fiktionalität werfen also generell eine Fülle von methodischen Problemen auf, von deren Lösung die Forschung bis heute weit entfernt geblieben ist.<sup>20</sup>

Was die Textzeugnisse zur dionysischen Ekstase aus den Jahrhunderten zwischen Homer und Platon betrifft, so handelt es sich nun um ein relativ schmales Textcorpus, dessen Aussagen durch die restliche Überlieferung der während des folgenden Jahrtausends entstandenen Texte bemerkenswerterweise nicht grundlegend verändert oder wesentlich erweitert werden. So ist es nur konsequent, wenn sich die religionshistorische Forschung bei ihrem Versuch, zum Verständnis der dionysischen Ekstase zu gelangen, vorwiegend auf dieses ältere Textcorpus stützt, das im wesentlichen aus zwei Prosatext-

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20 Ähnliche methodische Probleme gelten auch für die Bildkunst, wie in der ikonographischen Forschung jüngerer Zeit zunehmend realisiert wird.

stellen des späten 6. bzw. des frühen 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. sowie aus Textaussagen der Tragödien klassischer Zeit, also des 5. Jahrhunderts, besteht.

Aus diesem Material ergeben sich insbesondere zwei zentrale Aspekte der dionysischen Ekstase, die die Forschung bis heute vor kaum überwindbare Probleme gestellt und in weiterhin andauernde Kontroversen verwickelt haben: Der erste Aspekt betrifft die Frage, wie die besondere Rolle der Frauen dabei einzuschätzen ist, und der zweite Aspekt die Frage, in welchem Maße und in welchen Zusammenhängen Menschen beider Geschlechter daran rituell beteiligt sein konnten. Ein zusammenhängender literarischer Text ist es vor allem, in dem diese Fragen beantwortet zu sein scheinen, da in seinem Mittelpunkt das von Dionysos hervorgerufene ekstatische Rasen von Frauen steht, aber zugleich keineswegs ausgeschlossen wird, daß auch Männer unter bestimmten Bedingungen daran beteiligt sein können: Bei diesem Text handelt es sich um die Tragödie *Die Bakchen* des Athener Tragödiendichters Euripides aus dem späten 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr., und so ist es nicht überraschend, daß die moderne religionshistorische Erforschung der dionysischen Ekstase von diesem Drama ihren Ausgang genommen hat und immer wieder zu ihm zurückkehrt.

Für diese Tragödie im besonderen, aber auch für die gesamte Textüberlieferung seit Homer bis auf Platon gilt, daß ein Leitfaden zum Verständnis der dionysischen Ekstase am ehesten auf terminologischem Wege zu gewinnen ist, also auf der Grundlage der dafür jeweils verwendeten sprachlichen Bestimmungen. Kompliziert ist dieses Unterfangen deshalb, weil man es hier mit zwei wortgeschichtlich getrennten und auch semantisch nicht deckungsgleichen Wortfeldern zu tun hat: mit den auf das Rasen (*mainesthai*) und die Raserei – oder den Wahnsinn (*mania*) – bezogenen Termini, einerseits, und andererseits mit Termini, die sich ebenfalls auf das ekstatische Rasen beziehen, aber durch ein anderes Verbum, *bakcheuein*, und ein Spektrum davon abgeleiteter Beinamen des Dionysos (Bakchos, Bakcheios, Bakchios, Bakcheus) ausgedrückt werden, die noch für den römischen Gottesnamen Bacchus determinierend waren. Zahlreiche Versuche wurden von modernen Forschern unternommen, beide Wortfelder radikal auseinanderzuidividieren und auf verschiedene Weise unterschiedlich zu gewichten, ein Unterfangen, das übrigens durchaus an Unterscheidungsbemühungen mancher antiker Autoren anknüpfen konnte.

Für die wissenschaftliche Moderne charakteristisch waren insbesondere folgende Konstruktionen: zum einen die These, daß die Tätigkeitsform des *bakcheuein* und die entsprechenden Beinamen des Dionysos nicht spezifisch mit Ekstase zu tun haben, sondern eine vage kultische oder metaphorische Bestimmung sind, und zum anderen die (damit nicht unbedingt unvereinbare) These, daß die Mania und terminologisch verwandte Bestimmungen in dionysischen Zusammenhängen bloß mythisch und/oder literarisch zu werten



sind, während der Bakchos und die Bakche Kulttermini seien, die allenfalls äußerlich mit mythischen und/oder literarischen Zusammenhängen verbunden worden seien. Die Frage nach dem Realitätsgehalt dionysischer Ekstase wurde vor diesem Hintergrund meist auf zweierlei Weise beantwortet: Entweder stellte man die These auf, daß dionysische Ekstase eine mythisch-literarische Erfindung sei, wenn nicht gar eine ambivalente Wunschvorstellung der antiken Männergesellschaft, daß sie also ins Reich der Phantasie und der Imagination gehöre, oder man konzedierte, daß es rituelle dionysische Ekstase durchaus real gegeben habe, dies jedoch aus den antiken Beschreibungen nur mit Hilfe von Materialien aus der modernen Psychologie oder Ethnographie nach dem Analogieprinzip erschlossen werden könne und daß diese antike Ekstasepraxis ebenso wie die von modernen Psychologen und Kulturanthropologen untersuchten Phänomene bewertet werden müsse.

Hier empfiehlt sich nun ein erneuter nüchterner Blick auf die Textbasis und den dort dokumentierten Wortgebrauch. Das griechische Substantiv *ekstasis* („Heraustreten“, „Außer-sich-Sein“) ist erstmals im Werk des Aristoteles bezeugt.<sup>21</sup> Das entsprechende Verbum *ἐξίστημι* (wörtlich: sich aus etwas herausbegeben) im Sinne von „nicht bei sich sein“, „seiner Sinne nicht mächtig sein“, „den Verstand verlieren“ ist schon bei den antiken Tragödiendichtern Sophokles und Euripides<sup>22</sup> anzutreffen; es ist in der Regel keineswegs kultisch konnotiert und (ebensowenig wie später das Substantiv bei Aristoteles) terminologisch nicht festgelegt. Mit diesem Ausdruck werden zuweilen Individuen charakterisiert, die temporär die bewußte Kontrolle über sich verloren haben, ohne daß damit jedoch ein Zustand beschrieben wird, der rituell herbeigeführt wird.

Wie verhält es sich nun mit den zu *mania* oder zu *bakchos* gehörigen Wortfeldern? Für das *mainesthai* und die *mania* gilt Ähnliches wie für *ekstasis* und das dazu gehörige Verbum: Von einer terminologischen Festlegung kann keine Rede sein. Eine religiöse Bedeutung des Wortgebrauchs ist zwar nicht ausgeschlossen, aber determiniert ihn keineswegs. Wenn ein Gott wie Dionysos oder Ares bei Homer als *mainomenos* bestimmt wird, dann unterscheidet sich der damit bezeichnete Zustand des Rasens nicht etwa fundamental von der Raserei menschlicher Personen außerhalb religiöser Zusammenhänge. Ja, es wird damit nicht einmal unmißverständlich signalisiert, daß dieses Rasen in jedem Fall negative, destruktive Auswirkungen zeitigt. Zerstörerisch ist das

21 Z.B. Arist. *Cat.* 10a1: ἔκστασις, bezogen auf „Jähzornige“ (ὄργιλοι) und „Rasende“ (μανικοί), als angeborene oder erworbene bzw. vorübergehende affektive Qualität; *Phgn.* 808b34: ἡ περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἔκστασις, als durch Sexualität provozierter Zustand; vgl. aber *Rh.* 1, 1361a37. Siehe zu *ekstasis* auch das *Corpus Hippocraticum* u. andere medizinische Schriftsteller.

22 Z.B. Soph. *Ant.* 564; Eur. *Bacch.* 850 (hier von Dionysos bei Pentheus bewirkt, doch nicht rituell erzeugt).



Rasen des Ares deshalb, weil er der Kriegsgott ist, und nicht, weil die Eigenschaft des Zerstörerischen unabdingbar und stets zum Rasen gehört. Für eine zerstörerische Wirkung der Raserei des Dionysos *mainomenos* aber findet sich an der betreffenden Textstelle bei Homer keinerlei Indiz. Als Charakteristikum fehlt der destruktive Zug (anders als in der nachfolgenden Tradition) dem homerischen Dionysos auch an den anderen ihn namentlich erwähnenden Textstellen. Die zweite (und letzte) Bestimmung des Dionysos in der *Ilias* lautet im Gegenteil kurz und knapp, er, der Sohn des Zeus von der Menschenfrau Semele, sei „Wonne der Sterblichen“ (*charma brotoisin*).<sup>23</sup> Worin diese zauberische Wonne besteht, bleibt offen, hier wie auch sonst bei Homer. Und dennoch signalisiert gerade diese prägnante Charakteristik, wie wohlbekannt die von Dionysos vermittelte Wonne bereits in der Entstehungszeit der homerischen Epen gewesen sein mußte, so daß ein bloßer Hinweis darauf genügen konnte, und ebenso, welche zentrale Bedeutung diese offenbar spezifisch mit Dionysos verbundene religiöse Erfahrung für die antike griechische Kultur bereits im 8. Jahrhundert v. Chr. besaß.

Schon in der homerischen *Ilias* findet sich allerdings ein zum Mania-Wortfeld gehöriger Terminus technicus, der bis in die modernen Sprachen hinein seine terminologische Festlegung behalten hat: Dies ist der Ausdruck „Mänade“ (*μαινάς*), wörtlich: die rasende, die der *mania* unterworfenen Frau. Bei diesem Ausdruck handelt es sich um die wohl bis heute bekannteste terminologische Bezeichnung für eine ekstatische Dionysos-Anhängerin. Er ist bei Homer Bestandteil eines Vergleichs für den Zustand, in dem sich plötzlich die Ehefrau des Hektor, des wichtigsten Kriegshelden der trojanischen Seite, Andromache, befindet, nachdem sie von berechtigten Vorahnungen des Todes ihres Gatten auf dem Schlachtfeld gepeinigt worden war. „Wie eine Mänade“,<sup>24</sup> so heißt es im Text, stürmt sie daraufhin los. Gerade die Tatsache,

23 Hom. *Il.* 14.325: *χάρμα βροτοῖσιν*. Wenn Burkert (1977/2011) 252 schreibt, „Dionysos als Gott des Weins ist ‚Wonne für die Sterblichen‘“, so läßt sich dies durch die *Ilias* nicht belegen, sondern macht erforderlich, ‚Parallelstellen‘ bei Hesiod in den homerischen Text hineinzulesen; ähnlich methodisch fragwürdig: die Benutzung der *Ilias*-Stelle als Beleg für den Weingott bei Henrichs (1982) 214 Anm. 12 u. (1996a) 480. Auffällig ist, daß in der sonstigen Überlieferung, wenn Dionysos, wie hier, als Sohn der Semele charakterisiert wird, seine Qualität nicht als Weingott, sondern als Ekstasegott betont ist (s. unten, z. B. Anm. 74), oder auch die Vergöttlichung seiner sterblichen Mutter (Hes. *Theog.* 940–942). Der von Leto geborene Apollon wird ebenfalls als *charma brotoisin* gekennzeichnet: *Hom. Hymn.* 3.25 (an Apollon).

24 Hom. *Il.* 22.460: *μαινάδι ἴση*. Es wirkt wie eine (sprachlich variierte) Antizipation, wenn Andromache zuvor (*Il.* 6.389) mit einer „Rasenden“ (*μαινομένη*) verglichen wird; signifikant ist, daß dieses Partizip die weibliche Form desjenigen ist, das vorher im selben Gesang den dort erstmals bei Homer genannten Dionysos charakterisiert hatte (*mainomenos*). Vgl. Schlesier (1993a), bes. 102: auch zur Verwendung von *mainas* (wiederum in einem Vergleich) für die Göttin Demeter im *Hom. Hymn. Dem.* 2.386

daß der Ausdruck „Mänade“ zum Zwecke eines Vergleichs verwendet wird, macht deutlich, daß dadurch tatsächlich die Bekanntschaft des zeitgenössischen Publikums der homerischen Epen mit dem Ausdruck als *Terminus technicus* vorausgesetzt wird, so daß eben nicht erst detailliert geschildert werden muß, was man sich unter einer Mänade vorzustellen hat. Andromache stürmt wie eine Mänade – in diesen knappen Worten ist alles gesagt, ähnlich wie mit der Bestimmung des Dionysos als „Wonne der Sterblichen“. Dem Wissenden ist dies genug. Sie stürmt wie eine Mänade – Dionysos muß hier nicht eigens erwähnt werden, auch wenn er es ist, in dessen Kult Frauen als Mänaden umherstürmen. Denn für den literarischen Vergleich an dieser Stelle kommt es nicht auf den Ekstasegott an, als der er im selben Epos zuvor präsentiert worden war. Wichtig ist hier lediglich der suggestive Verweis auf eine offenbar wohlbekanntere, für Mänaden spezifische Verhaltensweise und Erscheinungsform, nämlich die des plötzlichen wilden Losstürens. Daß dies etwas mit Dionysos zu tun hat, wird allenfalls durch die zuvor im Epos dokumentierte Bestimmung des Gottes als *mainomenos* insinuiert.

Erst zwei oder drei Jahrhunderte nach den epischen Dichtungen, im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr., ist der *Terminus technicus mainas* wieder in der literarischen Überlieferung, vor allem in den Werken der Tragödiendichter, dokumentiert und wird dann ausdrücklich zur Kennzeichnung der ekstatischen Frauen im Umkreis des Dionysos dienen.<sup>25</sup> Für die Konsistenz dieser späteren Wortverwendung im Vergleich mit der epischen ist es instruktiv, daß ebenso bei den späteren Dichtern der Ausdruck *mainas* zum Vergleich oder zur

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(ἤϋτε μαινάς), hier beim freudigen Wiederzusammentreffen mit ihrer aus der Unterwelt zurückgekehrten Tochter Kore-Persephone. – Diese Verwendungen von *mainas* in der epischen Dichtung sprechen gegen die Vermutung von Henrichs (1994) 52, daß das Wort „ursprünglich ein von der Männergesellschaft geprägter Ausgrenzungsbegriff“ war.

25 Der Typus der Mänade ist jedoch in der attischen Bildkunst bereits seit dem 6. Jh. präsent (und zeitgleich im Homerischen Demeter-Hymnos als Komparandum der Göttin dokumentiert, s. die vorige Anm.); vgl. dazu z.B. Osborne (1997) 208, der daraus „the reality of ecstatic cult in both archaic and classical Athens“ ableitet; im Corpus der sog. ‚Lenäen‘-Vasen findet er das ‚Erforschen‘ („explore“) von „a particular sort of Dionysiac experience, the experience of coming face to face with the god, [...] the peculiarly maenadic experience“ (s. auch ebd. 209, gegen Dodds, Bremmer und Henrichs gerichtet: „I want to stress maenadism as a peculiarly *religious* experience – the experience of oneness with the deity“; zum Problem des „maenadism“ s. aber unten, Anm. 49 und 50). Dabei werden allerdings diejenigen Vasen ausgeblendet, die solche Erfahrungen auch bei Satyrn oder gewöhnlichen Männern zeigen; dagegen wird von Kunze-Götte (1992) passim zu Recht die Darstellung einer geschlechterübergreifenden und transformatorischen, ja „verzaubernden“ Wirkkraft dionysischer Ekstase betont, die auch die Grenzen zwischen Mythos und Realität durchbricht; irreführend ist jedoch der von ihr dafür benutzte Begriff der „Transzendenz“. Siehe auch unten, Anm. 80.

Analogisierung herangezogen wird, um weibliche Raserei auch außerhalb dionysischer Zusammenhänge zu kennzeichnen. Dies gilt ebenso für den Ausdruck *bakche*, ein Synonym für *mainas*,<sup>26</sup> auf das nun die Aufmerksamkeit gerichtet werden soll. Hier jedoch kommt eine Besonderheit des Wortgebrauchs ins Spiel, die das Geschlechterverhältnis im Rahmen dionysischer Ekstase auf ganz andere Weise determiniert, als dies bei *mainas* (weiblich) und *mainomenos* (männlich) der Fall ist. Das Partizip (*mainomenos* bzw. *mainomene*) ist nämlich auf beide Geschlechter anwendbar, kann also männliche wie weibliche Rasende bezeichnen. Für die substantivische Wortform *mainas* trifft dies jedoch nicht zu. Es gibt also nur weibliche Mänaden, keine männlichen, ja auch der Mänadengott Dionysos selbst kann keineswegs mit dem weiblichen Terminus technicus *mainas* bezeichnet werden, zu dem im übrigen an keiner Stelle der antiken Literatur ein männliches Pendant überliefert ist.

Ganz anders liegen die Verhältnisse nun im Falle der *bakche* als eines Synonyms für *mainas*. Die männliche Form des Ausdrucks *bakche*, also *bakchos*, ist nämlich tatsächlich bezeugt, und zwar relativ häufig, später oft sogar für Dionysos selbst, und schon die erste Stelle in der Textüberlieferung, an der das Wortfeld, noch vor dem entsprechenden Tätigkeitswort *bakcheuein*, erscheint, spricht von männlichen *bakchoi*. Das Textzeugnis stammt aus dem späten 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr. und gehört zu einer Aussage des vorsokratischen Philosophen Heraklit von Ephesos (fr. B 14 DK),<sup>27</sup> die von dem Kirchenvater Klemens von Alexandrien als kurzes Fragment (verschränkt mit seiner eigenen Deutung) überliefert worden ist:

(τίσι δὴ μαντεύεται Ἡ. ὁ Ἐφέσιος;) νυκτιπόλοις, μάγοις, βάκχοις, λήναις, μύσταις<sup>28</sup>  
[...] τὰ γὰρ νομιζόμενα κατ' ἀνθρώπους μυστήρια ἀνιερωστὶ μεεῦνται.

26 Ein weiteres Synonym ist *thyias*, das ebenfalls die „stürmende Frau“ bezeichnet, ein Terminus technicus für ekstatische Dionysos-Verehrerinnen v. a. im Kult von Delphi, abgeleitet von *θύω*, ‚stürmen‘, wie ein Kultname der (sterblichen und vergöttlichten) Dionysos-Mutter Semele, Thyone; dieser Name ist zuerst belegt bei Sappho, fr. 17.10 Voigt, sowie im ältesten überlieferten Dionysos-Hymnos (*Hom. Hymn.* 1.21 = 1D.12 West; nach West gehören die Verse 11–12 vielleicht ursprünglich nicht zu diesem Hymnos). Zum Monatsnamen Thyios vgl. Burkert (1977/2011) 433. Zu *θύω* im Kultlied der Elischen Frauen an Dionysos: Schlesier (2002a) 161 f., 180–182 (mit weiterer Literatur).

27 Zu intertextuellen Bezügen zwischen der Parodos der *Bakchen* und Heraklit, fr. B 14 DK: Schlesier (1998a) 46–48.

28 In der Heraklit-Forschung ist umstritten, ob diese Aufzählung von Personengruppen den Wortlaut des Philosophen wiedergibt; Kahn (1979) 80 f. druckt zwar nur den letzten Satz des Fragments B 14 (bei ihm No. CXV), nennt aber in seinem Kommentar (ebd. 262 f. u. 335) starke Argumente, die für die Authentizität auch der Aufzählung sprechen, anknüpfend an Bollack/Wismann (1972) 92–94. – Unstrittiger Text des Klemens: die von mir in runde Klammern gesetzten Formulierungen sowie die Auslassung in eckigen Klammern.

(Wem nun prophezeit Heraklit, der Ephesier?) Den Nachtschwärmern, Zaubern, Bakchoi, Lenai, Mysten. [...] Denn die bei den Menschen gebräuchlichen Mysterien werden auf unheilige Weise mystisch gefeiert.

Der Ausdruck *bakchos* (im Plural) ist hier Bestandteil einer Aufzählung verschiedener Termini *technici* mit vorwiegend eindeutig religiöser Bedeutung. Aufgezählt werden vier verschiedene Menschengruppen, deren Gemeinsamkeit zunächst darin besteht, allesamt „Nachtschwärmer“ (*nyktipoloi*)<sup>29</sup> zu sein.<sup>30</sup> Eines dieser religiösen Kollektive wird als ausschließlich weiblich gekennzeichnet, die *lenai*, von denen überliefert ist, daß es sich dabei um rasende Frauen im Dionysoskult handelt,<sup>31</sup> also um ein weiteres Synonym für Mänaden. Die drei anderen Kollektive werden generisch männlich verwendet (können also bereits nach den Regeln der Grammatik sowohl Männer als auch Frauen umfassen): Die weiteren Bezeichnungen lauten „Zauberer“ (*magoi*), „Mysten“ (*mystai*) und eben „Bakchanten“ (*bakchoi*). Die ekstatische Qualität ist bei zwei von diesen vier Kollektiven bereits terminologisch vorgegeben (bei den *bakchoi* und bei den *lenai*), und beide Kollektive sind in der übrigen antiken Tradition auf die rituelle Beziehung zu Dionysos festgelegt. Für die anderen beiden Kollektive fehlt eine solche eindeutige terminologische Vorgabe, doch läßt die sonstige Textüberlieferung erkennen, daß ekstatisches Verhalten durchaus zur Charakteristik der Zauberer und Mysten gehören kann, und zwar nicht zuletzt dann, wenn diese dem Dionysoskult zugeordnet werden.<sup>32</sup>

29 Bereits diese Qualität kann ekstatisches Verhalten implizieren: als *nyktipoloi* werden die mit Dionysos (hier: Bakchios) schwärmenden *bakchai* in Eur. *Ion* 717 bezeichnet; vgl. *Ion* 1049: die Nachtschwärme, die Persephone als Herrin der Wege regiert; der Schwarm der Toten, den Zeus Chthonios senden soll, in Aischylos' *Psychagogoi*, fr. 273a.9 *TrGF* III; im Singular: Beiwort des Zagreus, den ein Bakchos und Myster des kretischen Zeus verehrt, in Euripides' *Kretem*, fr. 472.11 *TrGF* V/1 (vgl. dazu Henrichs [1991] 187–192).

30 So Bollack/Wismann (1972) 92–94; Jaccottet (1998) 10 f.

31 Vgl. auch Heraklit, fr. B 15 DK, wo (in Zusammenhang mit Phallophorien sowie der Gleichsetzung von Hades und Dionysos) von Menschen die Rede ist, die zu Ehren des Dionysos „rasen und das Lenaia-Fest feiern“ (μαίνονται καὶ ληναιζουσι). Bei den *Lenaia* handelt es sich um ein altes, weitverbreitetes Dionysosfest; s. auch den häufigen ionischen Monatsnamen *Lenaion*, zuerst bezeugt bei Hes. *Op.* 504. In Athen wurden die *Lenaia* im Gamelion (Januar/Februar) gefeiert (der Monatsname verweist auf eine – wohl göttliche – Hochzeit); zum kultischen „Rasen“ von Frauen bei den *Lenaia*: Burkert (1977/2011) 432 f.

32 Zur Gleichsetzung von ‚bakchisch Rasenden‘ mit Zauberern bzw. Sängern von Zauberliedern s. Schlesier (1998a) 47; vgl. auch *mainas* bei Pindar, *Pyth.* 4.216 (unten, Anm. 38), für einen Liebeszauber. Zur Reihung jenseitiger *bakchoi* und *mystai* im ältesten überlieferten Goldblättchen (um 400 v. Chr., aus Hipponion in Süditalien = Graf/Johnston [2007] 4 f., No. 1), als Zeugnis für Dionysos-Mysterien: Cole (1980).

Signifikant für Heraklits Textaussage ist nun vor allem, daß alle vier Kollektive gemeinsam durch eine spezifische religiöse Tätigkeit gekennzeichnet werden: Sie üben Mysterienkulte, also geheime Einweihungsriten aus (*mysteria myountai*). Und für die von mir vorher erwähnten Fragen danach, ob den Frauen im Zusammenhang mit dionysischer Ekstase eine spezifische Rolle zukam und ob Männer daran Anteil haben konnten, ergibt sich aus diesem Heraklit-Fragment unmißverständlich, daß beides zutrifft. Es gab also rituelle ekstatische Gruppierungen, die als mänadische Frauen definiert sind (hier: die *lenai*) – woraus allerdings nicht, wie es oft geschieht, geschlossen werden kann, daß bei ihren Riten keine Männer beteiligt sein konnten –, und es gab ebenso rituelle ekstatische Gruppierungen, in denen die Frauen nicht notwendigerweise einen privilegierten Status besaßen und die sich aus Männern und Frauen zusammensetzen konnten (die *bakchoi*). Die rituelle Tätigkeit dieser beiden Gruppierungen (wie auch der von Heraklit genannten beiden anderen) zeichnet sich jedoch dadurch aus, daß sie den Charakter eines nächtlichen Mysterienkults aufweist (dessen religiöse Qualität Heraklit hier im übrigen als *anieros*, unheilig, bezeichnet).<sup>33</sup>

Der Realitätsgehalt dieser Implikationen des Heraklit-Fragments findet seine Bestätigung wenige Jahrzehnte später in einer Textpassage des wie Heraklit aus Kleinasien stammenden, vielgereisten Historikers Herodot. Im 4. Buch seiner *Historien* (Kap. 78–80) berichtet er vom Schicksal eines Barbaren-Königs namens Skyles, der väterlicherseits von einem Skythen, mütterlicherseits jedoch von einer Griechin abstammte.<sup>34</sup> Dieser sei so griechenfreundlich gewesen, wird von Herodot, seinem Zeitgenossen, unterstrichen, daß er beschloß, sich in den Mysterienkult des Dionysos Bakcheios einweihen zu lassen. Die Textaussagen an dieser Stelle sind nun nicht allein deshalb religionshistorisch so aufschlußreich, weil wir hier zum ersten Mal etwas Genaueres von einem solchen explizit dionysischen Mysterienkult erfahren und dabei zugleich unmißverständlich mitgeteilt wird, daß dieser Kult auch Männern zugänglich war (was ja bereits das Heraklit-Fragment zum Ausdruck brachte). Höchst aufschlußreich ist Herodots Bericht nicht zuletzt deshalb, weil in ihm zwei Feststellungen getroffen werden, die bemerkenswerterweise ebenfalls erst neuerdings in der religionshistorischen Forschung die ihnen gebührende Aufmerksamkeit finden: zum einen, daß der Name des Dionysos Bakcheios<sup>35</sup>

33 Adoménas (1999) 94 hat zu Recht darauf insistiert, daß dies nicht als „an evaluative judgment, a condemnation of the mysteries“ zu verstehen ist, sondern im Einklang mit Heraklits Konzept der Einheit der Gegensätze steht. Vgl. auch Wildberg (in diesem Band).

34 Zu Hdt. 4.78–80 vgl. v.a. Burkert (1977/2011) 433; Henrichs (1994) 47–51; Jaccottet (1998) 11 f.

35 Der Benutzung des Epitheton Bakcheios für Dionysos als Mysteriengott durch Herodot entspricht der direkt als Gottesname verwendete Ausdruck Bakchios in den

darauf verweist, daß dieser Gott die Menschen in Raserei versetzt, und zwar innerhalb eines diesem Gott spezifisch zugeordneten, also ‚bakchischen‘ (und nicht etwa orphischen) Mysterienkultes, sowie zum anderen, daß das bakchische Rasen etwas spezifisch Griechisches sei (was an dieser Stelle zur Erklärung dafür dient, daß die barbarischen Skythen, im Gegensatz zu ihrem gräkophilen König, darüber spotten und damit nichts zu tun haben wollen, ja, ihn bald darauf töten).

Vor dem Hintergrund dieser beiden miteinander durchaus kongruenten Textzeugnisse eines Philosophen und eines Historikers können nun die dichterischen Erwähnungen dionysischer Ekstase zwischen Homer und Platon lediglich cursorisch behandelt werden. Auffällig ist zunächst, wie selten in unserer Überlieferung dieses Thema vor dem 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. überhaupt vorkommt. Bei dem jüngeren der beiden großen Ependichter, Hesiod, fehlt es ganz. Der älteste griechische Lyriker, Archilochos, bringt eine spezifische dionysische Ekstase, den Weinrausch, mit der Ausübung seiner Sangeskunst in Zusammenhang und rühmt sich, daß er das Kultlied des Dionysos, den Dithyrambos, „anzustimmen weiß“, wenn alle seine Sinne gleichzeitig „durch den Wein vom Blitz getroffen sind“.<sup>36</sup> Das zur Tätigkeit des *bakcheuēin* gehörige Wortfeld und die durch die *mainas* bestimmte Terminologie kommen aber in der archaischen Dichtung vor dem klassischen Drama überhaupt nicht vor (mit Ausnahme des Homerischen Demeter-Hymnos, wo die Göttin

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bisher eindeutigsten, direkten Textzeugnissen für Dionysos-Mysterien, den beiden Goldblättchen aus einem Frauengrab im makedonischen Pelinna (4. Jh. v. Chr.); s. unten, Anm. 77. Bakchios als der Gott, zu dessen Ehren Frauen ekstatisch umher schwärmen: Eur. *Ion* 717 (s. oben, Anm. 29). Daß eine (kultische) Beziehung bestehen könnte zwischen den bakchischen Mysterien, in die Männer wie Frauen eingeweiht werden konnten, und dem Rasen von (meist als *bakchai* oder *mainades* bezeichneten) Frauen wurde in der Forschung bisher kaum in Erwägung gezogen. Vor diesem Hintergrund konnte sich, in einem Zirkelschluß, die axiomatische Meinung durchsetzen, daß der angebliche Ausschluß von Männern aus dem „Mänadismus“ (vgl. dazu unten, Anm. 50) zugleich ein Ausschluß der Möglichkeit heterosexueller Erotik gewesen wäre; s. aber Diod. Sic. 4.4.1–2, wo sexuelle συνουσία im nächtlichen Mysterienkult des „anderen“ Dionysos (Sohn von Zeus und Persephone), der „auch Sabazioz genannt“ werde, lokalisiert wird. – Zum Verbum *bakcheuēin* und zu den davon abgeleiteten Epitheta Bakcheios, Bakchios, Bakcheus usw. des Dionysos, vgl., am Beispiel der *Bakchen* des Euripides, Schlesier (1998a); auch in anderen Tragödien: Schlesier (1985) u. (1988); Bierl (1991).

- 36 Archilochos, fr. 120 West: ὡς Διωνύσου ἄνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος / οἶδα διθύραμβον οἴνωι συγκεραυνῶθεις φρένας. Der Akzent liegt auf der Wirksamkeit des Weingenusses für die Performance (des Kultliedes); die häufige Behauptung, Wein sei hier als Inspirationsquelle dichterischer Produktion bestimmt, trifft nicht zu (s. auch Horaz, *Carm.* 2.19.6 u. 3.25.1–2: dort werden der Enthusiasmus und die Ekstase des Dichters auf Bacchus, jedoch nicht explizit auf Weingenuß zurückgeführt; vgl. Fuhrer in diesem Band).



analog zu Homers Andromache mit einer *mainas* verglichen wird).<sup>37</sup> Dieser (vielleicht nicht zufällige) Überlieferungsbefund wirkt so, als sei diese Terminologie erst von den attischen Dramatikern, v. a. den Tragikern, als besonders angemessen erachtet worden, um in ihren beim größten Dionysosfest Athens aufgeführten Theaterstücken häufig verwendet zu werden, auch wenn die dramatische Handlung primär ‚nichts mit Dionysos zu tun‘ hatte. Bei den Hymnendichtern Pindar und Bakchylides, Zeitgenossen des Herodot sowie der drei großen Athener Tragödiendichter Aischylos, Sophokles und Euripides, ist jedes der beiden Wortfelder ein einziges Mal bezeugt. Pindar verwendet *mainas* im übertragenen Sinne, im poetischen Bild von dem „Mänaden-Vogel“ (*mainas omis*),<sup>38</sup> den die Göttin Aphrodite dem Jason zukommen läßt, um mit seiner Hilfe Medea zu ekstatischer Liebe zu verzaubern. Und Bakchylides bestimmt Dionysos in einem (den Athenern gewidmeten, wohl bei den Agonen der Großen Dionysien in Athen, wie die Dramen, aufgeführten) Dithyrambos geradezu kanonisch als den Gott, „der die bakchischen Frauen in Taumel versetzt“ (*orsibakchan*).<sup>39</sup>

Dieser Wortgebrauch entspricht nun tatsächlich demjenigen der Tragiker im Rahmen eines allerdings bedeutend umfangreicheren Corpus von Textstellen. Bei den Tragikern ist die dionysische Ekstase im buchstäblichen Sinne fast ausschließlich eine weibliche Angelegenheit, und im übertragenen Sinne wird sie auch zur Kennzeichnung des Verhaltens von Figuren beiderlei Geschlechts angewendet, die durch andere Gottheiten als Dionysos, wie vor allem Ares, Hera und Aphrodite, in den Zustand der Raserei versetzt worden sind.<sup>40</sup> Allerdings sind auch Andeutungen zur Beziehung bakchischer Raserei auf den Mysterienkult des Dionysos<sup>41</sup> nicht erst bei Euripides, sondern schon bei den beiden älteren Tragikern Aischylos und Sophokles zu finden,<sup>42</sup> und

37 Oben, Anm. 24.

38 Pind. *Pyth.* 4.216: μαινάδ' ὄρνιν.

39 Bacchyl. *Dith.* 5 Irigoien (= *Dith.* 19 Snell), 49–50: τὸν ὄρσιβάκχα[ν] [...] Διόνυσσον (als Sohn der Semele). Zu Dionysos' semantisch ähnlichem Epitheton *gynaimanes* im 1. Hom. Hymnos (an Dionysos): unten, Anm. 74.

40 Dazu Schlesier (1985), (1993a) u. (2002b). Anders Bierl (1991) u. in diesem Band: „metatheatralisch“ verstanden.

41 Zur Forschungsgeschichte der Beziehungen zwischen Tragödie und Mysterienkulten: Schlesier (1995a), bes. 412–415.

42 Z.B. Aesch. *Cho.* 696–699 (698 βακχείας καλῆς codd.: dazu Schlesier [1993a] 112–114); zu *bakcheia* als geheimer Einweihungsritus in den *Bakchen* s. Burkert (1977/2011) 434, u. ebd. 437: zur Inschrift (5. Jh. v. Chr.) im Grabbezirk von Cumae in Süditalien, als Demonstration für das „Ausnahmelos“ der bakchisch Eingeweihten (*bebakcheumenoi*) im Jenseits. Vgl. auch den „unbetretbaren“ (ἄβατον) Hain des Dionysos, wo er als βακχιώτατος mit seinen „göttlichen Ammen“ (θείαις τιθήναις) umherschwärmt, in Soph. *OC* 674–680. Zur Mysterien-Thematik in Euripides' *Hippolytos*: Schlesier (2002b); in den *Bakchen*: Schlesier (1998a).

ebenso fehlen Bezüge zur Erotik keineswegs, wenn in Tragödien des Sophokles oder des Euripides die Ekstase des bakchischen Gottes oder der von ihm bakchisch erregten Frauen evoziert wird.<sup>43</sup> Dabei ist zu bedenken, daß alle vollständig erhaltenen Tragödien, mit Ausnahme der *Bakchen* des Euripides, einen Handlungszusammenhang dramatisieren, der nicht direkt mit Dionysos und den auf ihn bezogenen Mythenerzählungen im Zusammenhang steht. Daß dennoch dionysisches Vokabular und speziell dasjenige der bakchischen Raserei in der Mehrzahl der überlieferten Tragödien an vielen Stellen verwendet wird, ist erklärungsbedürftig und wird kontrovers diskutiert, hat aber die Aufmerksamkeit der Interpreten erstaunlicherweise erst in jüngerer Zeit auf sich gezogen.

### Frauen und Männer in Euripides' *Bakchen*

Letzteres gilt nicht für die Tragödie der Euripideischen *Bakchen*, auf die nun auch deshalb etwas genauer eingegangen werden muß, weil die modernen Religionshistoriker, auf die ich zum Schluß noch exemplarisch eingehen werde, ihr Bild dionysischer Ekstase vor allem aus diesem Drama abgeleitet haben. Die Handlung dieser Tragödie soll hier nur knapp zusammengefaßt werden: Dionysos kommt gemeinsam mit dem Chor der Bakchen (und dies sind hier Anhängerinnen, die er aus dem griechisch-barbarischen Kleinasien mitgebracht hat) in seine Geburtsstadt Theben, deren Einwohner fast ausnahmslos ihn nicht als Gott anerkennen wollen. Er versetzt deshalb alle Frauen der Stadt in bakchische Raserei und läßt sie ins Gebirge stürmen. Gegenüber dem anti-dionysischen König Pentheus tritt er in der Maske eines Menschen, genauer: eines Mänaden-Anführers auf und bewirkt schließlich, vorwiegend mit rhetorischen Mitteln, daß dieser sich ins Gebirge begibt, um dort von seiner eigenen Mutter und den anderen thebanischen Frauen in bakchischer Raserei zerrissen zu werden.

Für die Verwendung der Kultsprache<sup>44</sup> in diesem Stück ist es bezeichnend, daß sowohl der Chor der lydischen Frauen als auch die ekstatischen Thebanerinnen vor allem als Bakchen (und zuweilen auch als Mänaden) bezeichnet werden. Im Zustand demonstrativer bakchischer Ekstase wird jedoch nur eine Person auf der Bühne vorgeführt, und zwar erst gegen Ende des Stücks, Agaue, die Mutter des Pentheus, die sich rühmt, mit ihren eigenen Händen

43 Z.B. Soph. *OT* 1105–1109 (s. oben, Anm. 1); dazu, sowie zu Eur. *Ion* 550–554 u. *Phoin.* 21–22: Schlesier (1993b) 16–21 (zur *Ion*-Stelle jetzt auch: Schlesier [2010a] 215–217); zu Soph. *Trach.* 216–220: Schlesier (1993a) 105–108. Zu den erotischen Sehnsüchten des Bakchen-Chors bei Euripides s. unten, Anm. 47.

44 Dazu detailliert Schlesier (1998a).



eine Jagdbeute zerrissen zu haben, aber noch nicht weiß, daß es der Kopf ihres eigenen Sohnes ist, den sie in ihren Händen hält, und nicht derjenige eines wilden Tiers. Worin die bakchische Ekstase der Thebanerinnen außerhalb der Stadt in den Bergen bestand, wird nicht vor aller Augen gezeigt, sondern nur von Boten als Augenzeugen dem Pentheus und dem Chor der asiatischen Bakchen, schließlich, nach dem Zerreißungstod des Königs, nur noch dem Chor berichtet.

Wie ist es aber um die dionysische Ekstase der Frauen des Chors bestellt, die ebenfalls als Bakchen, und einmal auch als Mänaden,<sup>45</sup> bezeichnet werden? Sie nehmen zwar für sich in Anspruch, daß sie über einen privilegierten, und zwar auf Freiwilligkeit beruhenden Zugang dazu verfügen, aber ihr Auftreten auf der Bühne kann nicht als praktizierte Ekstase bezeichnet werden. Ihre Chorlieder schwelgen in Lobpreisungen bakchischer Tätigkeiten und des sie anführenden Gottes Dionysos, ohne daß sie dies selbst jedoch auf der Bühne vorführen. Aus den Lobgesängen der lydischen Bakchen ergibt sich allein, daß sie durch andeutungsweise beschriebene frühere Erfahrungen über den Zugang zu bakchischem Kult, nicht zuletzt zu geheimen Einweihungsriten,<sup>46</sup> verfügen und daß sie sich diese Praktiken, vor allem deren wonnevolle, bezaubernde und erotisch vielversprechende Erfahrungsdimensionen, auch für die Zukunft wünschen.<sup>47</sup> Ansonsten frappt gerade das Unekstatische, das besonnen Räsonnierende ihres Auftretens. Und dies gilt ebenso für den Gott selbst, der in der Maske eines Sterblichen die Handlung dominiert. Der Bühnenraum, so ergibt sich daraus, ist offenbar nicht der angemessene Ort privilegierter und verherrlichter dionysischer Ekstase.

Die Gemeinsamkeiten, aber auch die – in der bisherigen Forschung gewöhnlich übersehenen – Unterschiede zwischen den beiden Gruppierungen von Frauen, den lydischen und den thebanischen Bakchen,<sup>48</sup> springen bereits in dieser knappen Zusammenfassung der Tragödie ins Auge. Ein entscheidender Unterschied scheint darin zu bestehen, daß nicht die freiwillige, sondern nur die unfreiwillige dionysische Ekstase menschenmörderische Resultate

45 Eur. *Bacch.* 601 (während der sog. ‚Erdbeben‘- bzw. ‚Palastwunder‘-Szene); vgl. zu den Textstellen mit βάκχαι und μαινάδες in den *Bakchen*: Henrichs (1994) 36 Anm. 19.

46 Leinieks (1996) 123–152 versucht, jeglichen Bezug der *Bakchen* zu Mysterienterminologie zurückzuweisen; sein Ergebnis (ebd. 152: „it was important for Euripides to avoid any suggestion of mysteries in connection with Dionysos in the play“) überzeugt jedoch nicht. Zu den nicht wegzudiskutierenden textlichen Bezügen der *Bakchen* zu bakchischen Mysterien: Burkert (1977/2011) 434. Auf diese Bezüge hat bes. Seaford (1981) aufmerksam gemacht. Zu einem Überblick über die *Bakchen*-Forschung bis Mitte der 90er Jahre s. Segal (1997).

47 So v. a. im 1. Stasimon, Eur. *Bacch.* 402–416 (die lydischen Bakchen sehnen sich nach der Aphrodite- und Erosen-Insel Kypros und nach Pieria, denn: ἐκεῖ Χάριτες, ἐκεῖ δὲ Πόθος, ἐκεῖ δὲ βάκχαις Θέμις ὀργιάζειν).

48 Dazu ausführlich Schlesier (1998a); vgl. auch Bollack (2005).

zeitigt. Bei beiden Gruppierungen, dem Chor und den Königsmörderinnen, handelt es sich jedoch in diesem Stück ausschließlich um Frauen, was manche Religionshistoriker zu der Behauptung ermutigt hat, der „Mänadismus“ sei eine auf Frauen beschränkte, eine „weibliche Angelegenheit“.<sup>49</sup>

Dennoch darf nicht übersehen werden, daß Euripides in diesem Stück keineswegs unterstellt, daß dionysische Ekstase ausschließlich den Frauen vorbehalten sei.<sup>50</sup> Vielmehr gehört es gerade zum literarischen, zum kompositorischen Arrangement des Dramas, daß in ihm, außer dem männlichen Gott Dionysos selbst, Frauen keinen exklusiven, wohl aber einen privilegierten Zugang zu ekstatischen Riten besitzen – im Guten wie im Schlimmen. Was die lydischen Bakchen betrifft, so gehören sie zu den aus Griechen und Barbaren gemischten Völkerschaften „ganz Asiens“, unter denen der Gott bereits seine Mysterien eingeführt hat, wie er im Prolog verkündet, also auch unter den asiatischen Männern. Die besondere Rolle der Frauen des Chors kommt allein darin zum Ausdruck, daß Dionysos nur sie, und nicht männliche Dionysos-Mysten, aus Asien in seine Geburtsstadt Theben geführt hat. So

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49 So die Formulierung von Gernet (1953/1976) 72, im Sinne eines angeblich unbestreitbaren Faktums definitiv übernommen von Henrichs (1982) 147, (1984a) 69 u. (1994) 55: „das Mänadentum war eine ‚chose féminine‘, von der die Männer ausgeschlossen waren“. Allerdings wird bei Henrichs (1978a) 143 u. (1984a) 70 zu Recht the „complete lack of direct information concerning the practice of maenadism prior to the hellenistic period“ hervorgehoben; die dann belegbaren „mixed *thiasoi* of men and women under female leadership which had their roots in maenadic rites“ (ebd. 70 f.) deutet er als eine Art Dekadenzerscheinung, eine Abweichung von der vermeintlich zuvor bestehenden Norm reiner Mänaden-Thiasoi. Nachweise für eine solche Norm bleibt er allerdings schuldig; sein Haupt-„Beleg“ sind Euripides' *Bakchen*, z.B. Henrichs (1978a) 133 Anm. 40. Allerdings gehen Euripides' lydische Bakchen davon aus, daß sie von einem Menschenmann geführt werden (daß es Dionysos selbst ist, weiß nur das Publikum), wie Burkert hervorhebt (1977/2011) 434, *pace* Henrichs (1984a); auch Kadmos und Teiresias schließen sich in bakchischem Aufzug den Mänaden an (vgl. unten, Anm. 52 u. 72).

50 Vgl. dazu und zum Folgenden Schlesier (1998a) u. Jaccottet (1998), die anhand einer Reihe von Textstellen (darunter auch aus Euripides' *Bakchen*) herausgearbeitet hat, daß das Postulat eines kompletten Ausschlusses von Männern aus den mädadischen Riten, wie es z.B. von Gernet und Henrichs (s. die vorige Anm.) autoritativ vertreten wird, sich nicht halten läßt; sie schlägt vor, den modernen Begriff „ménéadisme“ (vgl. dazu auch unten, Anm. 61) durch den des „bacchisme“ zu ersetzen (ebd. 16): „Le terme même du ‚ménéadisme‘, qui porte la marque d'une vision exclusivement féminine du mouvement, ne peut plus désormais convenir à l'expression du phénomène orgiastique dans sa totalité.“ Zu den (von Jaccottet nicht einbezogenen) erotischen Aspekten bakchischer Ekstase s. Schlesier (1993b). Zu der von Henrichs für seine ‚Mänadismus‘-These häufig herangezogenen Inschrift aus Magnesia am Mäander (2. Jh. n. Chr./3. Jh. v. Chr.): Jaccottet (2003a) II.244–247, No. 146 (mit Kritik an Henrichs); vgl. auch bes. I.63–100: Zurückweisung des Konzepts eines regelhaften ‚Mänadismus‘ ohne Männer, v. a. anhand der inschriftlichen Überlieferung zu dionysischen Vereinen.

werden die lydischen Bakchen zu Repräsentantinnen ganz Asiens, die die männlichen Bakchoi mitvertreten können.<sup>51</sup>

Aber auch die thebanischen Bakchen müssen keineswegs grundsätzlich auf Männer in ihrem Kreis verzichten. Mit dem Tode bedroht sind nur diejenigen Männer, die sich ihnen in feindlicher Absicht nähern. Männer, die sich ihren Riten anschließen wollen, sind jedoch durchaus willkommen und haben keineswegs um ihr Leben zu fürchten, wie in diesem Stück an den beiden Greisen Kadmos und Teiresias,<sup>52</sup> dem Vater der Königsmutter und dem prototypischen Wahrsager, vorgeführt wird, denen ihr dionysischer Aufzug sogar jugendliche Kräfte verleiht.

Dennoch wird auch an ihnen, wie an den thebanischen Frauen, demonstriert, daß es verschiedene Erscheinungsformen, um nicht zu sagen: Zugangsgrade zur Erfahrung dionysischer Ekstase gibt. Anregend und verjüngend mag ekstatisches Tanzen im Tierfellgewand mit bakchischen Frauen auch für alte Männer wie Teiresias und Kadmos sein, die ihr Tun theologisch oder staatspolitisch rechtfertigen. Das Telos bakchischer Ekstase haben sie damit freilich noch nicht erreicht. Dies gilt, tragisch gewendet, auch für die Thebanerinnen, deren ekstatisches Tun den Augenzeugen zufolge nur am helllichten Tag, ohne musikalische Blas- und Schlaginstrumente und ohne erotischen Umgang mit Männern stattfindet und schließlich in grauenhaftem Mord kulminiert. Die im bakchischen Mysterienkult versprochene glückselige Vollendung bleibt ihnen verschlossen. Nicht sie, sondern ausschließlich die lydischen Bakchen des Chors können dies in diesem Stück für sich in Anspruch nehmen.

### Charakteristika bakchischer Ekstase

Vor dem bisher skizzierten Hintergrund konnte vielleicht deutlich werden, wie erstaunlich konsistent sich die Textüberlieferung zur dionysischen Ekstase von Homer bis zu Platon darstellt. (Insofern befindet sich Euripides' *Bakchen-*

51 Dies zeigt ihr Auftrittslied im Stück (*Bach.* 72–82): hier wird „derjenige“ (generisch männlich) seliggepriesen, der die „Weißen der Götter gesehen hat“ (ὅστις εὐδοίμων τελετὰς θεῶν εἶδώς) und im Dienst an Dionysos auf den Bergen im Thiasos bakchisch rast; s. dazu und zum Kontext: Schlesier (1998a).

52 Henrichs (1984a) 69 f. nimmt an, daß die beiden Greise, die sich zu Beginn des Stückes in bakchischer Ausrüstung (Thyrsosstäbe, Hirschkalbfelle, Efeukränze) zu den Mänaden in die Berge begeben, „(n)ever join in the rites of the real maenads on the mountain“; dagegen spricht *Bach.* 1223 f.: beide kommen später „von den Bakchen“ (βακχῶν πάρα) aus den Bergen zurück. Daß sie die Zerreißen des Pentheus nicht wahrgenommen haben, wie Euripides den Kadmos betonen läßt, beweist nicht, daß sie, wie Henrichs postuliert, keinerlei rituellen Kontakt in den Bergen mit Mänaden gehabt haben können.

Tragödie durchaus im Einklang mit der übrigen Tradition.) Daraus ergeben sich, vereinfacht gesagt, folgende Grundzüge, die weitaus mehr Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen der literarischen und kultgeschichtlichen Überlieferung umfassen, als meistens in der bisherigen Forschung postuliert wurde: Dionysische Ekstase kommt zunächst dem Gott selber zu und kann von ihm auf Menschen übertragen werden. Wie der Gott selbst ist diese Ekstase ein spezifisch griechisches Phänomen, das seit dem ältesten literarischen Zeugnis griechischer Sprache, also seit dem 8. Jahrhundert v. Chr., belegt ist, an dem jedoch auch – männliche wie weibliche – Angehörige anderer Kulturen und Völker (vor allem diejenigen, die sich der Mischung mit Griechen nicht verschließen) partizipieren können.<sup>53</sup> Die Ekstase von Mänaden und weiblichen Bakchantinnen kann nicht strikt von der Ekstase männlicher Bakchanten unterschieden werden. Ihre individuellen Modelle sind der rasende Gott selbst und die am engsten zu ihm gehörigen, unsterblich gewordenen Frauen, seine Mutter Semele/Thyone und seine Geliebte Ariadne, ihre kollektiven Modelle die Ammen des Gottes und die Nymphen sowie die Silene und Satyrn. Emotional kulminiert diese Ekstase bei denen, die sich ihr freiwillig hingeben, in leidenschaftlich bewegter, stürmischer Wonne und verzaubernder Glückseligkeit, die erotische Erfahrungen mit einschließt. Für diejenigen jedoch, die sich gegen sie wenden, kann sie zerstörerisch sein. Der rituelle Rahmen zur Erzeugung bakchischer Ekstase ist ein (seit dem 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr. dokumentierter) dionysischer Mysterienkult, an dem Frauen wie Männer beteiligt sein konnten. Frauen, vor allem sexuell erfahrene Frauen, besaßen dabei jedoch eine besonders privilegierte Position.<sup>54</sup> Eine bloße Ausrüstung mit dionysischen Gewändern und Kultgegenständen oder ein bloßes Tanzen in dieser Ausrüstung vermittelt für sich genommen noch nicht die vollständige Glückseligkeitserfahrung, denn diese ist an die Vollendung der Mysterieneinweihung in nächtlichen, vom aufreizenden Klang der Pauken und Blasinstrumente erfüllten, wildbewegten Festen gebunden.

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53 Dies zeigt etwa das Beispiel des skythischen Königs Skyles bei Herodot (s. oben, Anm. 19 und 34), oder die Prologaussage des Euripideischen Dionysos, *Bachh.* 13–22.

54 Zum privilegierten Status der verheirateten bzw. der sexuell erfahrenen Frauen (γυναικες) im bakchischen Kult s. Diod. Sic. 4.3.3; vgl. dazu Schlesier (1993b) 27–29; am Beispiel des Kultlieds der Elischen Frauen (*PMG* 871): Schlesier (2002a). Siehe auch die Anrede der (in bakchische Mysterien eingeweihten) lydischen Frauen des Chors durch Dionysos als *gynaikes*: Eur. *Bachh.* 56, 604, 848; im Unterschied dazu befinden sich unter den nur gezwungenermaßen rasenden thebanischen Mänaden (bei denen im übrigen – im Gegensatz zu den Bakchen des Chors – keine Erfahrung mit Nachtfesten, Musikinstrumenten und Erotik erwähnt wird) auch unverheiratete Mädchen (*parthenoi*): *Bachh.* 694; zur Forschungsdebatte über diese Textstelle: Schlesier (2010b) 165 mit Anm. 84.

## Theorien dionysischer Ekstase bei Rohde, Dodds und Jeanmaire

Zum Schluß sei nun exemplarisch auf drei höchst wirkungsmächtige religionshistorische Forschungspositionen verwiesen, die sich auf dieselbe Textbasis beziehen, die auch meiner Untersuchung zugrunde liegt, aber zu ganz anderen Ergebnissen gelangen. Es handelt sich dabei zunächst um die Position von Erwin Rohde (1845–1898), eines engen Freundes von Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900), die im 1894 erschienenen 2. Band seines Werkes *Psyche. Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen*<sup>55</sup> dokumentiert ist, sodann um die Auffassungen zweier Autoren, deren beide hierfür relevante Monographien im selben Jahr, 1951, publiziert worden sind, Eric Robertson Dodds (1893–1979), *The Greeks and the Irrational*,<sup>56</sup> und Henri Jeanmaire (1884–1960), *Dionysos. Histoire du culte de Bacchus*.<sup>57</sup> Determinierend für ihre jeweiligen Positionen mögen bereits die unterschiedlichen Perspektiven und Problemstellungen gewesen sein, mit denen sie sich dem Phänomen dionysischer Ekstase nähern. Das Problem, das Rohde zu lösen suchte, bestand darin, die Gründe für die Entstehung des Glaubens an die (rituell herstellbare) Möglichkeit menschlicher Unsterblichkeit bei den Griechen herauszufinden, eines Glaubens, der tatsächlich in den ältesten Schriftzeugnissen der Griechen nicht explizit zu finden ist. Dodds wiederum ging es darum zu zeigen, daß das Denken der Griechen der Antike von seinen Anfängen an keineswegs durch und durch rational determiniert war, sondern daß die Griechen, wie andere Völker an anderen Orten und zu anderen Zeiten auch, dem Irrationalen und damit für Dodds per definitionem aufklärungsfeindlichen religiösen Praktiken und Vorstellungen ihren Tribut geleistet haben. Für Jeanmaire nun war es selbstverständlich, daß es ein hoffnungsloses Unterfangen wäre, die dionysische Ekstase historisch und anthropologisch richtig einzuordnen, wenn es nicht ein gegenwärtig zugängliches Beobachtungsmaterial gäbe, das Gemeinsamkeiten damit aufweist.

Rohdes Ausgangspunkt ist die Ekstasis selbst als ein kultur- und epochenübergreifendes Phänomen. Er kann sich dies jedoch nur als ein Heraus-treten der Seele aus dem Körper denken. Da aber eine solche Vorstellung einer vom Körper getrennten Seele, die auch wieder in den lebenden Menschen zurückkehren kann, in der älteren griechischen Schrifttradition fehlt und dort,

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55 Zum kultur- und wissenschaftshistorischen Kontext von Rohdes *Psyche* vgl. v.a. McGinty (1978) 34–70, 200–207; Cancik (1985) 471–476, 498–501; s. auch Henrichs (1984b) 224–228; Leege (2008) 136.

56 Zu Dodds' Dionysos-Deutung, im Vergleich zu anderen Positionen: s. McGinty (1978) 181–186, 243 f.; Henrichs (1984b) 227 f.

57 Zu den wichtigsten Vorläufern dieser drei Dionysosforscher gehören Karl Otfried Müller (1797–1840), s. dazu Schlesier (1998b), und Jane Harrison (1850–1928), s. Schlesier (1994) 123–192.

wo diese Auffassung später auftritt, mit nicht-griechischen, vor allem thrakischen, aus Asien stammenden, schamanistischen Glaubensinhalten und Praktiken in Verbindung gebracht wird, folgert Rohde, daß ekstatische Kulte wie der des Dionysos nicht auf griechischem Boden erwachsen sein konnten, sondern daß die Griechen sie aus der Fremde übernahmen. Daher kann Dionysos für Rohde kein genuin griechischer Gott sein und die ihm gewidmeten ekstatischen Praktiken nichts anderes als ein „altthrakischer Aufrengungscult“,<sup>58</sup> der erst im Laufe der Zeit „hellenisirt und humanisirt“ wurde.<sup>59</sup> Dieser Kult habe sich, so Rohde, als eine „Epidemie“ über ganz Griechenland verbreitet und dabei, wie er mit Bedauern vermerkt, dem griechischen Volk eine bleibende „morbid Anlage“ vermittelt. Erst in der Philosophie und in den zum Christentum hinführenden asketischen Praktiken sei dann eine komplette Spiritualisierung der (ursprünglich schamanistischen) Vorstellung von der unsterblichen Seele gelungen.<sup>60</sup>

Auch für Dodds steht die angebliche Krankhaftigkeit dionysischer Ekstase im Vordergrund. Der „Mänadismus“,<sup>61</sup> den Dodds vorwiegend aus der Darstellung der thebanischen Mänaden in Euripides' *Bakchen* konstruiert, sei nichts als „a particular type of religious hysteria“<sup>62</sup> gewesen. Dies zeuge davon, daß „primitive“ Elemente aus früheren Entwicklungsstufen der Menschengattung auch auf höherem Entwicklungsniveau weiter als „survival“ mitgeschleppt werden und besonders in Krisensituationen wieder an die Oberfläche dringen, und zwar in Form von „spontaneous attacks of mass hysteria“,<sup>63</sup> analog zu den Tanzepidemien des Mittelalters, die auch von anderen Forschern vor ihm<sup>64</sup> und nach ihm gern als Analogon herangezogen werden. Daher schätzt Dodds

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58 Rohde (1894/1898) 50. Seit der Entzifferung von Linear-B-Texten (aus dem 2. Jahrtausend) nach dem 2. Weltkrieg hat sich diese Annahme einer nicht-griechischen und späten Herkunft des Dionysoskultes als verfehlt herausgestellt; s. Burkert (in diesem Band). Bereits Otto (1933) hatte intuitiv für das hohe Alter der spezifisch griechischen Dionysosverehrung plädiert; s. dazu Henrichs (in diesem Band).

59 Rohde (1894/1898) 44.

60 „Epidemie“ und „morbid Anlage“: ebd. 47; zu Platons zukunfts wirksamer Theologisierung: ebd. 262–295. Zur Forschungsgeschichte des Konzepts der unsterblichen Seele, im Zusammenhang mit Theorien des Schamanismus, des Pythagoreismus und der Orphik: vgl. Bremmer (2002) 11–40.

61 Dodds (1951) 270–282 (= „Appendix I: Maenadism“, zuerst 1940 publiziert). Zum Problem des modernen Begriffs „maenadism/Mänadismus/ménadisme“, den sich nicht zuletzt Henrichs (seit [1978a]) sowie Bremmer (1984) konzeptuell zu eigen machten und der sich, vermittelt v. a. über Jeanmaire (s. unten, Anm. 68), seit Gernet (1953/1968) auch bei französischen Forschern, v. a. der Vernant-Schule, eingebürgert hat, s. oben, Anm. 49 und 50.

62 Dodds (1951) 274.

63 Ebd. 272; s. auch 275, zur Verwendung der Ausdrücke „survival“ und „primitive“.

64 Bereits von Nietzsche, im 1. Kapitel der *Geburt der Tragödie*.

die Mänade ein als „a real, not a conventional figure“,<sup>65</sup> die mehr oder weniger identisch in allen Religionen „of a Dionysiac type“<sup>66</sup> zu finden sei, und nicht einfach als „mythological character“ angesehen werden dürfe, sondern als „an observed and still observable human type“.<sup>67</sup> Dieser anthropologische Typus nun sei weiterhin, wie schon für den thebanischen König Pentheus bei Euripides, ein reales politisches Problem, das verständlicherweise staatliche Autoritäten auf den Plan ruft.

Jeanmaire seinerseits interessiert sich für den „göttlichen Wahnsinn“ und den „ménadisme“ wiederum nicht zuletzt unter medizinischen und ethnographischen Gesichtspunkten.<sup>68</sup> Als psychologisch orientierter und kulturvergleichend motivierter Historiker versucht er diesem Phänomen noch spezifischere komparatistische Erklärungsmuster zuzuordnen, als dies bei Rohde oder Dodds geschieht. Er übersieht dabei auch nicht, daß die dionysische Ekstase bei den Griechen gerade mit geheimen Einweihungskulten in Verbindung gebracht wird. Dies jedoch wird von ihm auf ein allgemeines Modell von Initiationsriten, insbesondere Pubertätsriten zurückgeführt.<sup>69</sup> Da aber die antike Überlieferung oft betont, daß es sich bei den ekstatischen dionysischen Frauenkollektiven vor allem um sexuell bereits erfahrene Frauen handelt, gelingt es Jeanmaire nur mit Mühe, das Initiationsmodell damit in Einklang zu bringen. Auch ein weiteres von ihm herangezogenes Modell, die etwa in gegenwärtig noch zu beobachtenden nordafrikanischen Kulturen vollzogene Heilung von klinischer Besessenheit durch Ekstasepraktiken, findet seine Grenze am antiken Material, da dionysische Ekstase dort bis auf Platon<sup>70</sup> eben gerade nicht mit Heilungsabsichten in Verbindung gebracht wird.

### Worin besteht die Attraktivität des bakchischen Gottes?

Es fällt auf, daß *ein* Aspekt von diesen Forschern weitgehend umgangen wird, der in der antiken Überlieferung als zentraler Aspekt dionysischer Ekstase nicht zu übersehen ist und dort immer wieder dazu verwendet wird, die Attraktivität dieser Kultpraxis gerade für Frauen zu motivieren. Dieser Aspekt betrifft

65 Dodds (1951) 273.

66 Ebd. 277.

67 Ebd. 278.

68 Jeanmaire (1951) v. a. 105–219 (Kapitel 4: „La Mania divine“ und 5: „Le Ménadisme“). Die richtungweisenden Studien von McGinty (1978) und Henrichs (1984b) zum modernen Dionysos gehen nicht auf Jeanmaire ein.

69 So auch Bremmer (1984); vgl. Burkert (1977/2011) 435 (zu Diod. Sic. 4.3.3, wo den *gynaikes* im Dionysoskult ein höherer Status als den jungen Mädchen zugeschrieben wird).

70 Pl. *Phdr.* 244d–e. Vgl. zu diesem Problem jetzt Graf (2010).



das erotische Fluidum bakchischer Raserei.<sup>71</sup> Auch andere einflußreiche moderne Forscher haben dies meist ausgespart oder allenfalls zaghaft angedeutet.<sup>72</sup> Doch bereits in einem frühen Zeugnis poetischer Tradition wird dieser erotische Aspekt unverkennbar betont: Die Dichterin Sappho kennzeichnet den Dionysos ihrer Heimatinsel Lesbos, den „Sohn der Thyone“ – wie seine Mutter als ekstatisch Stürmende hier heißt –, durch das mit ihm assoziierte Liebesbegehren (*himeros*).<sup>73</sup> Für sich genommen weniger eindeutig

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- 71 Z.B. bei Pindar (oben, Anm. 38); im 1. Stasimon von Eur. *Bacch.* (oben, Anm. 47); an weiteren Stellen der Tragödien von Sophokles und Euripides (oben, Anm. 43). Frühester Beleg: Sappho (unten, Anm. 73). Zu einer nicht mit Raserei und bakchischer Ekstase, wohl aber mit Dionysos und seinen Spielgefährten, dem „Bezwinger“ (δραμόλης) Eros, der Aphrodite und den Nymphen, verbundenen erotischen Wirkkraft des Gottes s. auch Anakreon, fr. 357 *PMG* (oben, Anm. 3). – Zur Kritik an Theorien dionysischer ‚Asexualität‘ vgl. Sauzeau (2000).
- 72 Schlicht gelegnet, auf der Basis eines universalistischen Vorurteils: bei Otto (1933), v. a. 161: „Das Echt-Weibliche verrät sich in der geringen Bedeutung der Liebeslust, die notwendig hinter dem ewigen Gefühl mütterlicher Sorge und Pflege verschwinden muß“; oder idealisierend wegdiskutiert (ebd. 160): „wenn er [Dionysos] auch gelegentlich einen uns unanständig klingenden Beinamen (wie Χοιροψάλας [= Polemon, fr. 72b Müller]) erhält, so prägt sich der hohe Adel seines Geistes um so deutlicher auf allen Darstellungen aus“; oder allenfalls romantisiert (ebd. 160 f., zu Dionysos und Ariadne): der Unterschied zu „echtmännlichen Göttern“ bestünde darin, „daß seine Liebe ekstatisch ist und ihn ewig mit der Geliebten verbindet“. Vgl. zu Burkerts (an Otto anknüpfender) Reserve gegenüber der Erotik dionysischer Frauen (die schon Nietzsche vollständig ignorierte): Schlesier (2010b) 162 f.; eine ähnliche Reserve ist auch kennzeichnend für die meisten anderen maßgeblichen Dionysosforscher in der 2. Hälfte des 20. Jh., z. B. Gernet (1953/1976), Henrichs (v. a. [1982] 147 f. mit 224–226 u. [1994] 55), Vernant (1985), Versnel (1990). In ausdrücklichem Gegensatz zu Otto betonte v. a. Kerényi (1976a) 119 „die eigentümliche Erotik der dionysischen Frauen“, die ihm zufolge jedoch dadurch charakterisiert sei, daß sie „bei ihren ekstatischen Festen die Männer ausschloß“ (was noch von Henrichs als unumstößliche Tatsache angesehen wird) und deshalb notwendigerweise „visionär“ blieb; woher Kerényi diese Gewißheit nimmt, bleibt allerdings unklar. Vgl. Henrichs (2008) u. (1982) 225 Anm. 98, mit Rekurs auf Diodor: „Dionysus’ presence at maenadic rites (Diodorus 4.3.3) was imagined by the maenads (and to that extent it was a religious experience), but not re-enacted by a male substitute“ (bei Letzterem wäre jedoch eher ein *non liquet* angebracht, denn weder für Henrichs’ Meinung noch für das Gegenteil gibt es direkte Zeugnisse); vgl. Henrichs (1978a) 135 f. zur Beziehung von „maenadism and sex“, unter Berufung v. a. auf die keuschen thebanischen Mänaden in Euripides’ *Bakchen*: „the rites of the maenads were *orgia* in the ritual sense but not orgies in the modern pejorative sense of that term“. Siehe auch oben, Anm. 49.
- 73 Sappho, fr. 17.10 Voigt; s. oben, Anm. 26. – Einen anderen Akzent setzt Solon, fr. 26 West, wo Aphrodite, Dionysos und die Musen in eine Reihe gestellt werden; dies scheint hier jedoch eine präjudizierte Trennung ihrer jeweiligen Sphären voraussetzen (ähnlich wie in Platons Klassifikation der unterschiedlichen Zuständigkeiten verschiedener Mania-Götter, s. oben, Anm. 18), anders als etwa bei vergleichbaren



ist es, wenn der Gott in dem nur fragmentarisch überlieferten, ebenfalls aus der archaischen Epoche stammenden 1. Homerischen Hymnos (an Dionysos) mit den Beinamen „junger Bock“ (*eiraphiotes*) und „Frauenbetörer“ (*gynaimanes*) angerufen wird.<sup>74</sup> Mit der letzteren Bestimmung greift der Hymnos jedoch einen Ausdruck auf, der schon in der *Ilias* bezeugt wird und dort unmißverständlich erotisch konnotiert ist.<sup>75</sup> Bei Homer bezeichnet das Wort jedoch nicht den Gott Dionysos, sondern den trojanischen Königssohn Paris, den Verführer der Helena, dessen Raub der schönsten griechischen Frau das destruktivste Ereignis der griechischen Geschichtserinnerung, den trojanischen Krieg, und damit den Untergang Trojas und vieler griechischer Helden, ausgelöst hat. Im selben Gesang der *Ilias* aber, in dem das Wort *γυναιμανές* zum ersten Mal auftaucht, als Charakteristikum des Paris, wird kurz zuvor sein Raubtierfell-Aufzug auf dem Schlachtfeld und wenig später sein verführerisches Erscheinungsbild im Schlafzimmer der Helena, in das ihn die Liebesgöttin persönlich (die ihn gerade vom Tode errettet hatte) direkt vom Schlachtfeld versetzt, ähnlich geschildert wie Jahrhunderte später das Aussehen des in Menschengestalt auftretenden Dionysos der *Bakchen* des Euripides, dessen „weingesichtige“, „aphrodisisch“ höchst reizvolle Wirkung auf Frauen sein Gegner Pentheus voll Verachtung schmät.<sup>76</sup>

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Assoziationen in Anakreon, fr. 357 PMG (oben, Anm. 3) oder in Eur. *Bacch.* 402–416 (oben, Anm. 47).

- 74 *Hom. Hymn.* 1.17 = 1D.8 West: εἰραφιῶτα γυναιμανές. West übersetzt *eiraphiotes* (hier u. 1.2 sowie 1.20 = 1 A.3 sowie 1.D.11 West) seltsamerweise mit „Bull god“; *gynaimanes*: „women-frenzier“. Dionysos *Eiraphiotes* wird abschließend (1.20–21 = 1D.11–12 West) noch einmal gemeinsam „mit der Mutter Semele“ begrüßt, „die sie Thyone nennen“ (ἦν περ καλέουσι Θυώνην); zu diesen gehörten auch Sappho (s. die vorige Anm.) sowie Pindar (*Pyth.* 3.99). Der Hymnos hatte wohl einen ähnlich großen Umfang wie die in der Sammlung folgenden Hymnen 2–5 an Demeter, Apollon, Hermes und Aphrodite; West hält es für möglich, ihn wie den 5., den ältesten Homerischen Hymnos (an Aphrodite) ins 7. Jh. v. Chr. zu datieren. – Zu *eiraphiotes*: mit dessen Anrufung begann Alkaios’ Dionysos-Hymnos (Alc. 349a Voigt: Ἐρραφέωτ’); vgl. auch das – eine Analogie mit einer solchen Tierverwandlung des Dionysos evozierende – ‚in die Milch fallende Böcklein‘ (*eriphos*, als Kultstatus der Eingeweihten, mit Vergöttlichung verbunden, ähnlich wie der ‚in die Milch fallende Widder‘ und der ‚in die Milch springende Stier‘ der Goldblättchen aus dem makedonischen Pelinna: s. unten, Anm. 77) auf den zu Dionysos-Mysterien gehörigen Goldblättchen des unteritalischen Thurioi, ebenfalls aus dem 4. Jh. v. Chr. (Text und engl. Übers.: Graf/Johnston [2007] 8–9, 12–13, No. 3 u. 5).
- 75 *Hom. Il.* 3.39 u. 13.769: Paris angeredet von seinem Bruder Hektor, dem stärksten trojanischen Kriegshelden, als *γυναιμανές*, „der die Frauen verrückt macht“: hier eindeutig in erotischer Bedeutung. – Vgl. auch Kratinos’ *Dionysalexandros* (test. 1 KA), wo Dionysos Helena erhält, nachdem er Paris’ Rolle beim Paris-Urteil übernommen hat.
- 76 Paris mit Pantherfell (παρδαλέν) auf dem Schlachtfeld: *Hom. Il.* 3.17 (wegen seiner Feigheit von Hektor als unmännlicher Frauenheld geschmäht, ebd. 38 ff.); Paris im

Welches Fazit läßt sich ziehen? Es sieht tatsächlich nicht so aus, als ob die Griechen der Antike den Gott Dionysos und die von ihm bewirkte und rituell eingebundene Ekstase als eine krankhafte Angelegenheit oder als eine Vorstufe zu rein spiritueller Askese betrachtet haben. Vielmehr scheinen sie alle Formen rauschhafter Seligkeit, die den Menschen über sich selbst hinaustreiben, einschließlich der rauschhaften und halluzinatorisch aufgeladenen Erotik, mit der spezifisch dionysischen, und damit einer partikular griechischen, Ekstase verbunden zu haben. Aber erst seit ca. zwei Jahrzehnten kennen wir einen (ins 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. zu datierenden) Text, der in einem nordgriechischen Frauengrab gefunden wurde und der trotz aller Rätselhaftigkeit am deutlichsten belegt, daß erst die dionysische Mysterienerfahrung als Kulmination dieser Seligkeit aufgefaßt wurde. Der Text, der die Verstorbene als Eingeweihte eines bakchischen Mysterienkults ausweist, wurde auf Goldfolien in Gestalt von Efeublättern geritzt und auf der Brust der Frau deponiert.<sup>77</sup> Die

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Schlafzimmer, geschmückt mit einem Festgewand wie ein Reigentänzer: *Il.* 3.391–394. Pentheus zur erotischen Verführungskraft des „frauengestaltigen“ (ἠηλύμορφος), in der Maske eines lydischen Fremden in Theben auftretenden (wie ein Avatar des Paris aus *Il.* 3 wirkenden) Dionysos: Eur. *Bacch.* 353 u. 233–238; s. auch, anknüpfend an die Dionysos-Episode in *Il.* 6, die Bezeichnung des Dionysos durch Lykurg als „der feminine Mann“ (ὁ γύναις) in Aischylos' *Edonen* (Aesch. fr. 61 *TrGF* III), zit. bei Ar. *Thesm.* 136. Zu Paris und Dionysos vgl. Suter (1993). – Die sexuelle Attraktivität eines ‚weiblich‘ aussehenden Mannes für Frauen ist offenbar für Homers Hektor und Euripides' Pentheus ganz verständlich; s. dagegen z. B. Otto (1933) 159–163 (in seinem Kapitel „Dionysos und die Frauen“), der dies durch eine den dionysischen Frauen zugeschriebene unerotische ‚Mütterlichkeit‘ zu entschärfen versucht. – Die ‚Verjüngung‘, ja ‚Verweiblichung‘ des Dionysos in der Bildkunst seit dem 5. Jh. v. Chr. (bartlos seit dem Parthenon-Fries) wäre vor diesem Hintergrund erneut zu durchdenken.

77 Text u. engl. Übersetzung: Graf/Johnston (2007) 36 f., No. 26a/b; Übers. der längeren, 7-zeiligen Version der beiden bis auf Z. 4 u. 7 identischen Pelinna-Texte: „Now you have died and now you have come into being, O thrice happy one, on this same day. / Tell Persephone that the Bacchic One (*Bakchios*) himself released you. / Bull, you jumped into milk. / Quickly, you jumped into milk. / Ram, you fell into milk. / You have wine as your fortunate honor. / And below the earth there are ready for you the same prizes [or rites] (*telea*) as for the other blessed ones.“ Die Anrede der toten Mysterin als „dreimalseelig“ (*trisollbie*): generisch männlich. Der Text wird von Graf/Johnston als orphisches Zeugnis gedeutet, ebenso wie alle anderen Goldblättchen. So auch Bernabé/Jiménez San Cristóbal (2008) 61–94; für sie (53 *passim*) ist der *bakchos* der Goldblättchen ein vergeistigter orphischer Myster, der sich endgültig von aller Körperlichkeit gelöst hat, in striktem Gegensatz zum nicht-orphischen dionysischen *bakchos*. Burkert (1977/2011) 432–439 rubriziert die Goldblättchen und die mit Dionysos *Bakchios* bzw. *Bakcheios* assoziierten Einweihungsriten unter den Kapitel-Titeln „Bacchische Mysterien“ und „Bacchische Jenseitshoffnung“. Vgl. Henrichs (2010b); Kritik an Bernabé: ebd. 93; zu dem 2004 publizierten Goldblättchen aus Pherai (= Graf/Johnston [2007] 38 f. No. 28, mit der Lesart *orgia* [*Bakchou*]): ebd. 96–98. Kritik an der Deutung der Goldblättchen als Zeugnisse für orphische Doktrinen: Schlesier (2001).

tote Eingeweihte selbst wird in diesem Text angedredet, und es wird ihr versichert, daß sie – vermittelt durch die „lösende“ Wirkkraft des bakchischen Gottes (*Bakchios*) „selbst“ (αὐτός) – nach ihrem Tode eine Neugeburt erwartet („sage der Persephone, daß Bakchios selbst dich gelöst hat“ [ἔλυσε]). Daher verwundert es nicht, daß der Text auch auf rituelle Erfahrungen mit Milch verweist. Das dionysische Rauschgetränk par excellence, der Wein, fehlt signifikanterweise hier ebenfalls nicht, doch er wird für die Mystin in ein materielles Signum der vergöttlichenden Glückseligkeit im Kreise anderer Mysten transformiert: „Du hast den Wein als die glückselige Ehre. Und es erwarten dich unter der Erde Vollendungen/Preise/Weiheriten (τέλεα) wie für die anderen Seligen.“ Damit endet der Text.

Es zeigt sich also: Als Ekstasegott mußte Dionysos für die Griechen der Antike alle Rauscherfahrungen, auch die des Weins,<sup>78</sup> integrieren, und so konnten die in seine Mysterien Eingeweihten zu der Gewißheit des Privilegs gelangen, in der Unterwelt auch die Grenze zwischen Sterblichkeit und Unsterblichkeit endgültig überschreiten zu können. Die ‚lösende‘ – nicht im theologisch vergeistigten Sinne ‚erlösende‘ – Einwirkung des Gottes durch seine die Menschen konfrontierende Erscheinung, die transformierende und

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78 Wein war also, nach dem Zeugnis der Pelinna-Goldblättchen, in Dionysos-Mysterien auch Frauen zugänglich; jedoch ist festzuhalten, daß bakchische Ekstase nicht primär durch das Weintrinken stimuliert gewesen zu sein scheint (zu „mänadischer Ekstase“ vgl. Henrichs [1994] 38 Anm. 27); unstrittig ist, daß heftige rhythmisch wiederholte Bewegungen, wie diejenigen bei wilden Tänzen, zu den wichtigsten Stimulanzien und Ausdrucksformen dieser Ekstase gehörten. Wein war für griechische Frauen jedoch nicht ‚tabu‘; am ritualisierten Weinkredenzen und Weingenuß im griechischen Symposion waren neben männlichen Bürgern, Sklaven und Epheben zwar keine verheirateten Frauen, aber gewöhnlich auch Musikerinnen, Sklavinnen und Hetären beteiligt. Erstaunlicherweise wird dennoch in der Forschung bis heute meist vom ‚männlichen Symposion‘ gesprochen und so getan, als seien die (mittelbar oder unmittelbar) dionysisch konnotierten Symposionsgefäße, aber auch die sie kommunikativ (und oft direkt zu erotischem Zweck, wie beim ‚Kottabos‘-Spiel) benutzenden Symposiasten nur dem ‚männlichen Blick‘ ausgesetzt gewesen. Die Vorstellung moderner Gelehrter von einer rigorosen Geschlechtertrennung innerhalb zentraler Wirkungsbereiche des Dionysos (Männer unter sich beim Symposion, Frauen unter sich bei mänadischer Raserei) mag zwar einem Simplifizierungs- und Systematisierungsbedürfnis entgegenkommen, läßt sich jedoch mit den wohl weitaus komplexeren antiken Erfahrungsdimensionen nicht vereinbaren. Nur die in der Regel gemeinsame Einweihung von Frauen und Männern auch in dionysische Mysterien hat man inzwischen, aufgrund der mittlerweile durch Neufunde in dieser Hinsicht eindeutigen Quellen, wohl oder übel akzeptiert; Burkert, z. B. (1977/2011) 434, spricht in diesem Zusammenhang objektivistisch von „geschlechtsindifferenten“ Feiern. – Zur Kombination promiskuer männlicher wie weiblicher Homo- und Heterosexualität in der archaischen Symposionslyrik (inkl. Sappho) und der zeitgenössischen Vasenmalerei, auch in explizit dionysischen Kontexten, siehe Schlesier (im Druck) u. Schlesier/Schwarzmaier (2008) 21 f. mit Abb. 3–4 u. Kat. 31–32; vgl. oben, Anm. 4 und unten, Anm. 80.

emotional erschütternde Erfahrung seiner plötzlichen Epiphanie,<sup>79</sup> wurde offenbar als (rituell provozierbare) Voraussetzung dafür erachtet – wie es etwa Darstellungen des ‚face-to-face‘ des bakchischen Gottes mit wechselnden Partnern aus seinem ihn ekstatisch und lustvoll, ‚gelöst‘ umtanzenden Thiasos von Nymphen und Frauen, Satyrn und Männern in der attischen Vasenkunst archaischer und klassischer Zeit imaginativ zu suggerieren scheinen.<sup>80</sup>

Erklärungsbedürftig bleibt indessen weiterhin, warum der vom bakchischen Gott ausgelösten psycho-physischen *ekstasis* und dem dabei erzeugten, wohl kaum als etwas rein Geistiges erlebten *enthousiasmos* in der antiken Überlieferung eine besondere Attraktivität für Frauen zugeschrieben wird, wenn auch keineswegs eine, die ihnen exklusiv vorbehalten war. Nur mit einem angeblich für Frauen grundsätzlich gültigen Desinteresse an Sexualität, wie es Walter F. Otto autoritativ deklarierte,<sup>81</sup> oder mit dem kompensatorischen Bedürfnis unterdrückter Frauen, sich hin und wieder ohne Männer auszutoben, wie Wilamowitz einfühlend und mitleidsvoll vermutete,<sup>82</sup> hat dies sicherlich nichts zu tun. Daß glückselige bakchische Ekstase als etwas einzu-

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79 Zu Dionysos als Gott der Epiphanie vgl. in diesem Band: Henrichs sowie Moraw u. Cole; bes. in Euripides' *Bakchen*: Bierl; wissenschaftsgeschichtlich: Götde.

80 Vgl. die Materialien und Interpretationen z. B. bei Moraw (1998), Moraw u. Schmitt Pantel (beide in diesem Band), Schmidhuber (2007) u. Villanueva Puig (2009), auch zu den erotischen Implikationen der dionysischen Bildzeugnisse; s. auch Isler-Kerényi (2007) 170 zu einem Ergebnis ihrer ikonographischen Analysen: „in the female perspective, the meeting with Dionysos takes the form of an initiation and mystery event“. Hinzufügen wäre hier, daß die Bildzeugnisse dies, wenngleich seltener, auch für eine ‚männliche Perspektive‘ – und zwar nicht allein der Satyr-Gestalten (vgl. dazu ebd. 223) – nahelegen (s. auch Carpenter in diesem Band). Letzteres ist komplett unterbelichtet bei Acker (2002), die nur dem „refus de la *mania* par les hommes: Lycurgue, Orphée, Penthée“ ein Kapitel widmet (ebd. 91–97) und im Zentrum der „rituels ménadiques“ die „maternité“ lokalisiert, wie dies schon Otto (s. oben, Anm. 72) tat. Isler-Kerényi (2007) hat jedoch, wie bereits in ihren früheren Publikationen, gezeigt, daß die Mütterlichkeit dionysischer Frauen nicht gegen ihren Braut- bzw. Nymphen-Status ausgespielt werden kann (vgl. auch Sabetai in diesem Band) und Dionysos auch nicht auf einen ‚Gott der Frauen‘ festgelegt werden kann; s. außerdem passim die konsequente Vermeidung des Ausdrucks ‚Mänade‘ für weibliche Figuren auf dionysischen Vasenbildern, aber auch des Themas Ekstase generell; Dionysos deutet sie primär als „peace-maker“. Zum Verhältnis von Text- und Bildzeugnissen vgl. auch oben, v. a. Anm. 2 und 4.

81 S. oben, Anm. 72.

82 Für Wilamowitz (1932/1959) 68 f. waren die bedrückende „Erniedrigung“ und „orientalische Einsperrung“ der Frauen „bei den Ioniern und auch den Athenern“ für die deshalb nur zu verständliche weibliche Neigung zu mänadischer Raserei verantwortlich, doch er ist überzeugt: „in die Berge haben die Männer niemals mit den Frauen ziehen dürfen“ (Widerspruch dagegen: Burkert [1977/2011] 434); bekanntlich fühlte Wilamowitz sich auch sonst ritterlich bemüßigt, die sittliche Ehre antiker griechischer Frauen – wie nicht zuletzt die der Dichterin Sappho – zu verteidigen.

schätzen ist, das außerhalb eines dionysischen Mysterienkults und nur von Frauen unter sich erfahrbar war, scheint jedenfalls ganz unwahrscheinlich zu sein.



## Specific Media of Transmission



# Dionysos in the Mirror of Philosophy: Heraclitus, Plato, and Plotinus

*Christian Wildberg*

## I.

If it were not Dionysos for whom they march in procession and chant the hymn of the phallus, their action would be most shameless. But Hades and Dionysos are the same, him for whom they rave and celebrate Lenaia. (Heraclitus fr. B 15 DK; transl. Kahn)<sup>1</sup>

These well-known and much-discussed sentences are attributed to Heraclitus of Ephesus (ca. 535–475 B.C.) by Clement of Alexandria. They appear to be the oldest attested references to the god Dionysos in a philosophical context.<sup>2</sup> Not untypically of a Heraclitean fragment, this short passage has raised numerous questions of interpretation the answers to which depend in part on the context in which it was preserved, on one's general view of Heraclitus' thought, and on how one is inclined to resolve certain grammatical difficulties. All of this we shall discuss anon in some detail; for present purposes, the Heraclitus fragment may serve us as occasion to preface this paper with a few *general* remarks about the reception and interpretation of Dionysos in the ancient philosophical literature, and what insights one can hope to garner from examining just this literary genre.

The first point to make is the following: assuming that the ancient philosophers were working towards what Mircea Eliade called the 'desacralization' of the world, one might think that in line with their advocacy for a general revision of traditional religion they might have had plenty of motivation to ridicule and deride the Bacchic rituals as outbursts of irrational superstition, and to offer philosophy as an antidote to this sort of (in their view) confused religious practice. In principle, they should have applauded figures

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- 1 See Kahn (1979) 80 with comments 262 f. In his edition of Heraclitus, this fragment carries the number CXIV.
- 2 Other early literary occurrences of the name Dionysos include *Od.* 11.325 and *Hom. Hymn* 7.



like Pentheus for their opposition to the god. After all, Pentheus was a reasonable man. But until the time we get to the thinkers committed to Christianity, there is actually very little evidence for this sort of intellectual attitude, and the fragment of Heraclitus quoted at the beginning, with its startling identification of Dionysos and Hades, should put us on notice that the ancient philosophical responses to the cult of Dionysos, however much they may exude the scent of intellectual superiority, were actually richer and more complex than mere opposition would suggest. And as it turns out, the figure of Dionysos as he appears in ‘the mirror of philosophy’ is no less complex than the representations of Dionysos we know from literary or art-historical contexts, if not more so.

The second point is that at the time of the ancient philosophers, at least those of the archaic, classical, and Hellenistic periods, the public celebration of the cult of Dionysos was still very much alive. The cult was part and parcel of the annual cycle of festivals, and active or passive participation in them continued to be a matter of personal experience. In short, the ancient philosophers were much more closely acquainted with all things Dionysian than we will ever be. Now, if one wants to understand who or what the god Dionysos is, one might think that somebody so acquainted with the ancient ritual should be best qualified to answer this question. After all, it is in the enactment of ritual, understood and interpreted in the light of the relevant myth, that a deity manifests him- or herself to the participants. But again, the Heraclitus fragment cautions us also against that sort of assumption. *Per se*, acquaintance with the ritual(s) does not amount to any privileged insight into the metaphysical nature a deity is presumed to have. This, I take it, is at least an incidental implication of Heraclitus’ fragment, even if Heraclitus meant to convey an entirely different point. The first of the two sentences quoted above focuses on the celebrants of the cult, condemning their actions as shameless; the second sentence makes it clear that, according to Heraclitus, the followers of Dionysos have no understanding of the nature of the god they are worshiping. And indeed, if we can believe the numerous stories that tell of Dionysos’ ostensible arrival in Greece, people seem to have had a genuine problem with even recognizing Dionysos as a god at all, with detrimental consequences. If even intimate acquaintance with the cult does not guarantee that one knows what precisely one is doing and whom precisely one is worshiping, then Protagoras was not only a cautious agnostic, but also clearly right when he began his famous discourse *On the Gods* with the words: “Concerning the gods, I have no means of knowing whether they exist or not or of what sort they may be, because of the obscurity of the subject and the brevity of human life.”<sup>3</sup>

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3 Protagoras, fr. 80 B 4 DK.

This general insight should not be suspended when it comes to Heraclitus. Although he may very well claim superior understanding for himself, we have no good reason to believe him without qualification, when he states with authority and conviction that “Dionysos and Hades are the same”. Maximally, this could be some kind of crucial and welcome fact about Greek religion. But it could just as well be a piece of private interpretation – both idiosyncratic and provocative – by someone who enjoyed crafting such idiosyncratic provocations.<sup>4</sup> A historian of religion should resist the temptation to grant remarks such as these some kind of higher-order veracity and draw sweeping historical inferences from them, as has been done, for example, when it is claimed that Heraclitus’ statement confirms the god’s chthonic character, or that at an early, and perhaps more authentic, stage in the history of Greek religion Hades and Dionysos had yet to be differentiated. Any theological pronouncement made in the course of a philosophical (re-)interpretation of ritual representation is just another kind of representation, even if it may claim a different sort of authority.

The third point is closely related to the second: philosophers have axes to grind; even though they have a commitment to truth, they are typically not even-handed historians of religion. There are good reasons to believe that Heraclitus’ theological remarks (this one as well as others) are not ‘innocent’ but rather part and parcel of *his* own peculiar philosophical agenda. To be sure, it should certainly prove instructive to listen to what philosophers, in the course of developing their own answers to the puzzle of human existence, had to say about the myths and traditions surrounding a deity that tended to incite entire communities to celebrate the non-rational aspects of human nature. But we need to be careful not to overestimate their pronouncements, bearing in mind what they say may well serve ulterior purposes. And indeed, as we shall see, Dionysos could be harnessed to provide powerful support for philosophical doctrines that, on a superficial level, had little or nothing to do with the god. In other words, it appears that Dionysos could be and often was *instrumentalized* for philosophical purposes, and in the course of this instrumentalization, Dionysos – what else would one expect? – changes: he, or rather his now fully rationalized representation, could become mellow, benign, and politically correct; or it could become fraught with metaphysical significance of the highest order, as for example in late antiquity, when the revival of a particular Dionysian mythologem, that of the mirror of Dionysos, provided the crucial spark of inspiration that helped to address one of the most pressing questions of Neoplatonic anthropology.

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4 A further complication arises from the fact that Heraclitus’ remark is mediated to us in the text of another author, in this case Clement of Alexandria, who of course quoted him for *his* own polemical purposes.

Trying to discern the reflection of Dionysos in the mirror of philosophy is, therefore, not a simple thing. It is obvious, moreover, that it would be quite impossible to cover the entire 1200 years of philosophical writing in ancient Greece and Rome, and to show comprehensively or in any great depth how philosophers in antiquity responded intellectually to the cult of Dionysos, and what reasons they had for their response. This is especially true since the ancient philosophical response was by no means uniform; on the contrary, each philosophical school, if not each philosopher, insofar as he dealt with Dionysos at all, seems to have developed its own idiosyncratic interpretation of Dionysos. That does of course not mean that *every* philosopher had a considered interpretation at his fingertips: assuming that to write *philosophically* upon the topic of concern is to write from a point of view of a professional rationalist, who by definition has, or should have, no *intrinsic* commitments to religious beliefs, mythical traditions, or local cult practices, one should also find that the Greek rationalists had no deep philosophical interest in the cult and worship of Dionysos (even if they may have had, for philosophical reasons, considered views about Zeus, for example, as that god was intimately associated with such important philosophical ideas as justice and power). And sure enough, there are some who, as far as we can tell, did not have anything noteworthy to say about Dionysos: there is no evidence, for example, that the atomists and Anaxagoras, or Aristotle and the Stoics, committed any significant time and effort to making sense of Dionysos. But there are some philosophers in whose writings Dionysian elements play prominent and crucial roles. What this paper aims to achieve is to focus on three such episodes in the broader history of ancient philosophy, and to show in some detail how Heraclitus, Plato, and Plotinus understood the significance of Dionysos, and how they connected the deity with their own philosophical concerns.

## II.

Let us proceed in chronological order and begin with Heraclitus. According to Clement of Alexandria, the late 2<sup>nd</sup>-century Father of the Church, the enigmatic sage from Ephesus made the following pronouncement (*Protrepticus* 2.34.5) – Kahn’s translation, which I am not necessarily endorsing, was given at the beginning of this paper; the Greek original reads as follows:

εἰ μὴ γὰρ Διονύσωι πομπὴν ἐποιοῦντο καὶ ὕμνεον ἄισμα αἰδοίοισιν, ἀναιδέστατα εἴργασται, φησὶν Ἡράκλειτος, ὡς τὸς δὲ Ἄϊδης καὶ Διόνυσος, ὅτεωι μαίνονται καὶ ληναῖζουσιν.<sup>5</sup>

εἴργασται Clement: εἴργαστ' ἄν Schleiermacher; Wilamowitz, *Glaube der Hellenen* (1932) II.209 n. 2 (= 207 n. 1 in the 2nd ed.) regards the verb as “verschrieben” but offers no cure.

On the surface, this fragment looks like, and has often been taken to be, a piece of moral criticism of Dionysian ritual – one of those crucial and memorable moments in the course of human intellectual history when reason emancipates itself from the perversions of primitive religion. This, in any case, is probably how our source, Clement of Alexandria, understood the saying, for he quotes it immediately after recounting a fairly hair-raising piece of mythology (*Protrepticus* 2.34.3–4). The story goes, Clement tells us, that Dionysos wanted to descend to Hades<sup>6</sup> but did not know how to get there; a certain man by the name of Prosymnos offered to show him the way if, in return, Dionysos offered himself to penetration. Not easily fooled, Dionysos solemnly promises to comply, but only *after* he has gone to Hades and come back, i. e. after Prosymnos' directions will have been proven correct. Now, the directions were correct, but when Dionysos returns, he discovers that his demanding theo-erotic informer has passed away. (It is tempting to think that Hades had a hand in this, but this is nowhere suggested.) In order not to appear to be breaking his promise, Dionysos visits the place where Prosymnos was put to rest; he breaks off a branch from a nearby fig tree, forms it into the shape of a phallos and does what the deceased would have done to him had he still been alive.<sup>7</sup>

Clement tells us that the φαλλοί erected in cities throughout Greece serve as ‘mystical reminders’ of just this episode (ὑπόμνημα τοῦ πάθους τούτου μυστικόν),<sup>8</sup> and when he quotes Heraclitus immediately following this claim, he clearly wants to suggest that already some sensible pagans, such as Heraclitus, condemned the obscenity of the public rituals of Dionysos, in

5 A fairly literal translation could be: “If it were not for Dionysos for whom they make the procession and sing the sexual organ song – what is done (by them) is most shameful, says Heraclitus; but Hades and Dionysos, for whom they go mad and celebrate the wine festival, are the same.”

6 Presumably in order to bring back his mother Semele, but that is not stated by Clement.

7 In Claude Mondésert's 1949 French translation of Clement, Dionysos himself comes across as “plein de désirs impurs”, but there is no indication of this in Clement's text.

8 Kerényi massages this remark about ‘mystical memorials’ into the somewhat fanciful claim that “[a]ccording to one myth, Dionysos himself fashioned a phallos from fig wood for use in a mystic rite connected with his return from the underworld”: Kerényi (1976b) 260.

which citizens gathered in processions around huge *phalloi*.<sup>9</sup> The worship of a god like *this* can only be ἀναιδέστατον. Earlier in the *Protrepticus* – in a passage that illustrates rather well that Clement’s reports of the views of the pagan philosophers are never innocent but always instruments of his own rhetoric – Clement had already stated that (according to him) Heraclitus threatened those who celebrate the mysteries in such unholy ways with punishment after death.<sup>10</sup>

Framed in this way, Heraclitus would appear to be an Ephesian Pentheus, taking issue with Bacchic revelry on account of its inherent shamelessness only thinly concealed by the pretext of piety. The second part of the fragment might then even seem to reinforce this impression: if Dionysos is the same as Hades, the rituals in question better have a more dignified character altogether!<sup>11</sup>

But this Clementine contextualization of Heraclitus, even if it is not entirely misguided, does not seem to exhaust the fragment’s meaning. We have to remember, for example, that Heraclitus did not exactly condone solemn funeral rituals either; according to his peculiar way of looking at

9 Cf. Clem. *Protr.* 2.34.5, where Clement understands Bacchic revelry not so much as the result of intoxication (by wine) but rather as an activity brought about by the “most disgraceful office of licentiousness” (διὰ τὴν ἐπονειδιστον τῆς ἀσελείας ἱεροφαντίαν). – We hear of such processions from Athenaeus who speaks (10, 445a–b) of some kind of perpetual *phallophoria* on Rhodes, performed by one Antheas of Lindus (4<sup>th</sup> cent.). A more detailed description of another ritual is given by Athenaeus in 14, 622b–d: “But the *phallophoroi* do not use a mask, but binding on their heads a bonnet of tufted thyme and holly they place on top of this a thick wreath of violets and ivy; wrapped in thick mantles they come in [i.e. to the theater], some by the side-entrance, others by the middle doors, marching in step and reciting: ‘To thee, Bacchus, we raise this glorifying song, pouring forth a simple measure in varied melody – a song new and virginal, in no wise used in earlier lays; no, undefiled is the hymn we consecrate.’ They would then run forward and jeer at any one they picked out; they did this standing still, but the man who carried the phallus-pole kept marching straight on, smeared with soot.” (trans. Gulick). These examples are instructive, but it is an open question how much they tell us about the Bacchic ritual of 6<sup>th</sup> century Ionia familiar to Heraclitus.

10 See Clem. *Protr.* 22.1–2 (= fr. B 14 DK): “Νυκτιπόλοις, μάγοις, βάρχοις, λήναις, μύσταϊς,” τούτοις ἀπειλεῖ τὰ μετὰ θάνατον, τούτοις μαντεύεται τὸ πῦρ: “τὰ γὰρ νομιζόμενα κατὰ ἀνθρώπους μυστήρια ἀνιερωστὶ μυσθύντα.” On the genuineness of these lines see the discussion in Kahn (1979) 262 with further references.

11 Criticism of the mystery cults is also implied in fragment B 14 DK: “The mysteries current among men initiate them into impiety” (trans. Kahn). However, it seems almost impossible to isolate, in this instance, any genuine Heraclitean material from Clement’s diatribe. In his commentary on fr. B 14 DK, Kahn (1979) 263 interprets the evidence to warrant the claim that “Heraclitus is not an aristocrat or conservative in religious matters. He is a radical, an uncompromising rationalist, whose negative critique of the tradition is more extreme than that of Plato a century later.” This view has been forcefully challenged by C. Osborne (1997) and Adoméas (1999).

things, the bodies of the dead are worthless rubbish more easily disposable than dung.<sup>12</sup> So what is the meaning of this fragment about Dionysos and Hades?<sup>13</sup>

Admittedly, Heraclitus seems to have found some harsh words for established religious practice in the polis, harsher words than Xenophanes found earlier, or Socrates and Plato would find later.<sup>14</sup> However, the intended point of this particular saying might well have been a different one.<sup>15</sup> The key to the riddle lies in paying attention to detail, in this case a considerable textual difficulty. The fragment is commonly translated as a counterfactual of the present: ‘If it were not for Dionysos [...], their action would be shameless.’ However, in the text as it reads in the manuscripts, the perfect praeteritum εἶργασται without ἄν does not look like possible syntax for a counterfactual apodosis; and so, Friedrich Schleiermacher once proposed an emendation that would be almost universally accepted by later editors: εἶργαστ’ ἄν (for the pluperfect εἶργαστο ἄν).<sup>16</sup> But it is difficult not to agree with Wilamowitz who found Schleiermacher’s attempt to cure the passage quite dissatisfactory,

12 Cf. fr. B 96 DK = Plut. *Quest. conv.* 4.4.3: νέκυες γὰρ κοπρίων ἐκβλητότεροι.

13 Although initially developed quite independently, the following interpretation of the fragment turns out to agree largely with a paper published by Albin Lesky in 1936. In it, Lesky opposed W.F. Otto’s use of Heraclitus in support of a (to Lesky’s mind problematic) *chthonic* interpretation of Dionysos. Lesky’s careful argument was in turn dismissed by Otto’s admirer Karl Kerényi; see Kerényi (1976b) 240 n. 158: “In opposition to the false interpretation of these lines [i.e. Heraclitus fr. 15] given by A. Lesky in ‘Dionysos und Hades’ see G.A. Privitera, ‘I rapporti di Dioniso con Posidone in età micenea,’ p. 203.”

14 See esp. fr. B 5 DK: “They are purified in vain with blood, as if someone who stepped in mud should try to wash himself off with mud. Anyone who noticed him would think he is mad. And they pray to these images as if they were chatting with houses, not recognizing what gods or even heroes are like” (Kahn). Here, Heraclitus ridicules the ritual of blood purification and the common practice, still alive today, of praying to statues.

15 It is worth pointing out how W.K.C. Guthrie (1962) 475 f. tried to make sense of Heraclitus’ intention. His understanding of the true meaning of the fragment is that Heraclitus “criticizes Dionysiac religion, though with an important qualification”. The qualification is that Heraclitus criticizes those who worship Dionysos without knowing what they are doing. He apparently reads the last part of the fragment “as a hint that the acts performed are only reprehensible when the performers do not understand the significance of what they are doing. [...] The upshot is that Heraclitus was not hostile to initiations and Dionysiac *orgia* as such, but deplored the fact that they were carried out without any understanding of their true significance. This made their performance wrong and impious, reducing phallic rites to mere obscenity.” – In what follows, I agree with Guthrie that this fragment is no testimony to Heraclitus’ hostility towards Dionysos.

16 Kahn (1979) 80 does not follow Schleiermacher in inserting an ἄν so as to turn the apodosis into a counterfactual, but he still translates: “[...] their action would be most shameless.”

exclaiming in a footnote in *Glaube der Hellenen*: “Wie kann man sich bei dem Nachsatze beruhigen, wie ihn Schleiermacher gegeben hat”.<sup>17</sup>

Apart from the extreme unlikelihood that Heraclitus wrote εἶργαστ’ ἄν after ignoring two other instances of hiatus in αἶσμα αἰδοίοισιν and ἀναιδέστατα εἶργασται,<sup>18</sup> the sense the fragment acquires after Schleiermacher’s emendation seems rather lame: ‘The procession of Dionysos would be obscene, if it were not conducted as a procession in honor of the god; but since it is so conducted, it is not obscene.’ That is precisely what any attendant of Dionysos might have said, and we don’t need a man of the caliber of Heraclitus to point it out to us. Clement had an obvious interest in this saying because of its moralizing ring, and precisely because of this it is not impossible to imagine that Clement quoted Heraclitus quite freely and, in consequence, may have distorted the syntax.<sup>19</sup> However, even though the syntax is suspect, it is not entirely without parallel. As Albin Lesky pointed out ([1936] 25 f.), a similar construction occurs in Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon* 866–868: Klytemnestra tells the chorus of the rumors that pained her during her husband’s absence: καὶ τραυμάτων μὲν εἰ τόσων ἐτύγγανεν / ἀνὴρ ὄδ’, ὡς πρὸς οἶκον ὠχετεύετο / φάτις, τέτρηται δικτύου πλέω λέγειν. In Sommerstein’s translation: “[...] if this man [Agamemnon] met with as many wounds as was said in the reports that were channeled into our house, he’s got more holes in him to count than a net has.” If the apodosis were constructed with a past tense verb supplemented by ἄν to convey objective non-reality, the clause would lose its character as a sinister foreboding of Agamemnon’s fate: in Klytemnestra’s mind, Agamemnon is already slain in the way suggested by this metaphor.<sup>20</sup> In a similar way, if

17 Wilamowitz (1931–1932) II.209 n. 2 (= 207 n. 1 in the 2nd ed.). Lesky (1936) 25 agrees with Wilamowitz that Schleiermacher’s attempted emendation is unacceptable and makes the further point, against Wilamowitz, that the text is actually sound, see below.

18 Elision of the vowel before words of the stem αἰδ- is common enough in prose and poetry, before ἐργ- and εἶργ- it occurs, when it occurs, mostly in cases of preceding demonstrative (e.g. ταῦτ’ εἶργασθε, etc.), but cf. Soph. *OT* 1368: ἀριστ’ εἶργασμένα. There is no parallel for εἶργαστ’ ἄν in the entire extant Greek literature. Both Stahl (1907) 409 and Lesky (1936) 26 think that the transmitted text, although unusual, is sound and correction superfluous; cf. also, following the transmitted text, Bollack/Wismann (1972) 95.

19 Heraclitus does not seem to have used counterfactual statements all that often; only three other instances are attributed to him, and none of them pose any syntactical problem, see fr. 23; 40; 99. Wilamowitz expressed serious doubts not only about Schleiermacher’s conjecture, but also about the syntactical integrity of the entire quotation, see Wilamowitz (1931–1932) II.209; rejected by Lesky (1936) 24 f.

20 Other examples in Stahl (1907) 409. The general explanation given for non-canonical constructions of counterfactual conditionals is that the reality of the apodosis is maintained independently of the unreality of the protasis; cf. Stahl (1907) 409 and



the Clementine transmission of the text can be trusted, what Heraclitus probably intended was not a regular counterfactual, but some kind of assertion of a *sic et non*. The sense of his adage, I submit, might well have been: ‘What the attendants of Dionysos do is, as a matter of fact, obscene, but since it is done in the context of a religious procession, it is at the same time, again as a matter of fact, not obscene.’

This shift of nuance conveys a rather different point than the one it had on the traditional interpretation. Now the Dionysos-fragment accords less with Heraclitean criticisms of contemporary morals or religion and more with a series of other pronouncements that try to accustom readers with two closely related and fundamental Heraclitean tenets, namely that of the importance of *perspective* and that of the *unity of opposites* (see e. g. fr. 13; 51; 57; 59–62; 67; 80; 88; 111; 126). According to these doctrines, insight into the *logos* reveals the fundamental interdependence of anything with its opposite: it is impossible for a thing, state of affairs, or activity to exist without the simultaneous implication of the opposite thing, state of affairs, or activity. And when one looks at the same subject matter from a different perspective, this dialectic tends to reveal itself, precisely because the opposites belong together and form a hidden harmony. Heraclitus had illustrated these crucial pieces of doctrine in a number of different ways, drawing on different but equally familiar contexts of human experience, such as nature, society, or *techne*: for example, he pointed out that day is inextricably linked with night, summer with winter, ‘up’ with ‘down’; likewise, there is no musical harmony without the tension of the strings of a lyre, no peace without war, no satiety without hunger (*coincidentia oppositorum*). Although polar opposites, they belong, in an important sense, together, and are aspects of a higher-order unity that could not exist without their opposition. Moreover, things look entirely differently from different perspectives: the sea is wholesome to some creatures as it is harmful to others; pigs prefer mud over clear water, and so on. In our fragment 15, Heraclitus now makes exactly the same point, only this time he appeals to a context of religious experience and ritual. Rather than boorishly condemning Bacchic ritual as immoral, he points out that it presents itself to the philosophical mind as inherently ambivalent. There is no such thing as a Bacchic ritual that is not at once pious *and* immoral, constituted as it is by a harmony of opposites that makes itself felt even on the level of language: the ritual procession of *phalloi* involves pious ἄισματα that are at the same time ἀναιδέστατα.<sup>21</sup> And so it is, *mutatis mutandis*, with everything else in Heraclitus world. The point of the fragment, therefore, is not to condemn, as Clement

Lesky (1936) 26: “In dieser Gestaltung des Hauptsatzes irrealer Perioden wird sein Inhalt unabhängig von der im Vordersatz gegebenen Bedingung als Realität gesetzt.”

21 Heraclitus clearly delighted in the alliteration of ἄισμα αἰδοίσιον ἀναιδέστατα.



would have us believe, but to illuminate. Harmony of opposites is part of the structure of reality in all its aspects, and any human being who is awake to the world's *logos* ought to comprehend this.<sup>22</sup>

Notice how Heraclitus takes the claim of the interdependence of opposites even a step further: Dionysos and Hades are the same, he states paradoxically. If we understand 'Hades' as a metonym for 'death' and retain the sexual connotation given to Dionysos in the first part of the fragment (Dionysos is the reproductive male organ), the clear sense of this statement is that the two gods are polar opposites of a concealed harmony (ἄρμονίη ἀφανής) of reproduction and demise. In that sense, and *only* in that sense, do the two gods belong together to form a unity of opposites.<sup>23</sup> Religious ritual recognizes different deities, and has to recognize them; but in the final analysis of the *logos*, Hades and Dionysos will turn out to be polar manifestations of the one all-encompassing and ever changing divinity, just as everything else is:

God <is><sup>24</sup> day-night, winter-summer, war-peace, satiety-hunger. God changes just as what mixed with spices is named according to the taste<sup>25</sup> of each.  
(fr. B 67 DK)

In conclusion of this discussion of Heraclitus, the interpretation of the fragment B 15 proposed here suggests that we can safely dispose of the view (first brought into circulation by Clement) that Heraclitus was in some important way opposed to the cult of Dionysos as such.<sup>26</sup> One would also

22 In interpreting the Dionysos-fragment in this way I find myself in broad agreement with C. Osborne (1997) and Adoménas (1999).

23 N.B. that what Heraclitus says here is a philosophical provocation, not a piece of common knowledge at the time (so Kerényi [1976b] 240), nor some kind of hard evidence (of the 'chthonic' Dionysos *vel sim.*) to be used by the religious historian. It is impossible to go along with W.F. Otto when he writes (1965) 116 that Heraclitus' "comments must stand as one of the most important bits of evidence that have come down to us." And: "For Heraclitus, Dionysos is the god of insane wildness [...]. This god, he says, is the same as Hades. What can keep us from believing him? [...] His aphorisms, however paradoxical they may sound, bear witness to the nature of things." If the interpretations of Otto and Kerényi were right, Heraclitus' remarks would hardly be worthy of Heraclitus.

24 There is no form of the verb 'to be' in the Greek text. From a linguistic point of view, supplying it is unproblematic, but the omission may well be significant. According to Plato's *Theaetetus* (180a–183b), Heracliteans avoided any language that might suggest stability, i.e. that something 'is' such-and-such, since everything is in flux. – The interpretation of the entire fragment (preserved in Hippolytus, *Refutatio* 9.10.8) is quite problematic; see the discussion in Kahn (1979) 276–281.

25 Just as in Anaxagoras' fragment 4, ἡδονή here means 'taste'.

26 Rohde (1898<sup>2</sup>) II.153 has a somewhat obscure note on the fragment; it might be taken to accord with the interpretation offered here: "ὡυτός δὲ Ἄϊδης καὶ Διόνυσος: fr. 127 (und insofern, weil mit heraklitischer Philosophie vereinbar, sollen die Dionysosmysterien gelten dürfen. Das muss der Sinn des Ausspruchs sein)."

want to reject the interpretation – which has acquired the status of a commonplace in the study of Greek religion – that this fragment bears witness to the identity of Dionysos and Hades. What Heraclitus' train of thought suggests is rather the exact opposite of what is asserted on the level of language: Hades and Dionysos are as a matter of fact exact polar opposites, one the grim demon of death, the other the 'archetype of indestructible life' (to borrow Kerényi's phrase). And in virtue of *that* fact, and that fact alone, do they form a Heraclitean unity.<sup>27</sup>

Looking somewhat further afield at the general drift of Heraclitus' scattered pronouncements on religion,<sup>28</sup> one gets indeed the impression that he regarded religious thought and talk as the product of a sorely deficient *ratio*, to which he offers his own dialectic as an antidote. But this did not prevent him from using the god Dionysos and the rituals associated with him as examples to drive home a particular Heraclitean point. And if we understand Heraclitus in this way, as I think we must, the view of Dionysos that emerges here is of a piece with the more familiar iconography of the figure of Dionysos as a force of life-affirming transgression. To be sure, Dionysos descends to the underworld, e. g., in Plutarch's *Moralia* (565–566; 1105), shaking hands with Hades as on the famous Apulian volute krater. But his work is not that of Hades; on the contrary, he is the *transformer* of the underworld, the one god who can inspire even the inhabitants of Hades to a few moments of celebration and joy.

### III.

Apart from appropriating Dionysos for philosophical purposes, Heraclitus' remark also conveys, as we saw, the sense of an awareness of a disturbing ambiguity inseparably connected to the deity. As we move forward in our survey and into the literature of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, the period between Heraclitus and Plato, Dionysos begins to appear in less ambiguous ways, and in novel contexts. Allegory is on the rise, and religion is incorporated into a budding scientific discourse about the human body. According to an entry in Hesychius, Metrodorus of Lampsacus (the elder, who died in 464) assigned gods (or at least their names) to human organs, apparently in order to provide a general description of the latter's nature and function. He referred to the liver as 'Demeter', and gall was 'Apollo'; 'Dionysos' he assigned to the human

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27 See also Seaford (2006a) 78–81.

28 See notes 11 and 14 above.

spleen (fr. 61 A 4 DK).<sup>29</sup> The Pythagorean Philolaus (ca. 480–385) classified triangles by giving them different divine names, distinguishing four different types and naming them, for reasons only known to himself, after Kronos, Hades, Ares, and Dionysos.<sup>30</sup> All of this may strike us as very obscure and perhaps even tedious; but the underlying idea that the members of the Greek pantheon could and should be understood allegorically was an important one. The possibility to appropriate traditional religious symbols – outgrowths of an ostensibly deficient *ratio* – and to recycle them in new and exciting ‘scientific’ contexts must have been supremely satisfying, given that even today allegory continues to serve generations of scholars of religion and the human psyche as a rough-and-ready methodology.

Religious sentiments, too, were shifting. In the first quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, feelings of fear and despair at a time of crisis could still drive Greeks to propitiate Dionysos with human sacrifice.<sup>31</sup> At the end of the century, one should like to think, such acts of religious barbarism were history. But not everyone jumped on the bandwagon of the self-appointed high priests of 5<sup>th</sup>-century enlightenment. Lest the chilling stories of how Dionysos arrived in Greece be forgotten, when over-confidence in human counsel and control led to the swift undoing of individuals, families and the social fabric of entire cities, Euripides (485/4–406) wrote the *Bacchae*, first staged posthumously in 405. A treatment of this particular intellectual reaction to the cult of Dionysos – one that set out to uphold the traditional iconography with its ambivalent

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29 Metrodorus reserved the names of Homeric heroes for natural bodies: Agamemnon is, allegorically speaking, the clear sky, Achilles the sun, Helen the earth, Paris Alexander the air, and Hektor the moon. On Metrodorus see Diels-Kranz (1954) II.49 f.

30 According to Proclus (*In Euclid*. 167.6–11; cf. Diels-Kranz 44 A 14). The thought clearly seems to prefigure Plato’s assigning of triangles to the different elements, because the way in which the gods are characterized is as follows: Kronos constitutes the substance of wet and cold, Ares that of fire, Hades “holds together” life on earth, and Dionysos is the overseer of wet and warm generation, of which wine, being both wet and hot, is the symbol. It is not clear how much of this is Proclus, how much Philolaus.

31 Plutarch (*Themistocles* 13.2–3) recounts the gruesome story how, on the eve of the battle of Salamis, the Greeks sacrificed three Persian prisoners of war (ostensibly the sons of Xerxes’ sister) to Dionysos Carnivorous (ὠμηστῆ Διονύσῳ): “Themistocles was terrified, feeling that the word of the seer was monstrous and shocking; but the multitude, who, as is wont to be the case in great struggles and severe crises, looked for safety rather from unreasonable than from reasonable measures, invoked the god with one voice, dragged the prisoners to the altar, and compelled the fulfillment of the sacrifice, as the seer commanded” (trans. Perrin). Plutarch’s source, Phanias of Eresus, a contemporary of Theophrastus and like him an important follower of Aristotle, is a reliable one.

message – lies beyond the scope of this paper.<sup>32</sup> It is worth pointing out, however, that Euripides, in this play at any rate, not only eschewed the contemporary trends by refusing to allegorize the meaning of Dionysos; he also revealed himself, for the last time in his life, as a subtle and profound reader of ancient myth, explaining to his audience, once and for all, the fundamental duality of Dionysos as both the kindest but also the most terrifying of the gods.<sup>33</sup> The burden of the motif of Dionysos in late 5<sup>th</sup>-century Athenian political discourse, and his association with crisis and instability, is not only suggested by Euripides' *Bacchae* but also by Aristophanes' spirited attempt to bring relief (in his *Frogs*, also staged in 405). The huge success of these two plays near the century's end may well have had a retarding effect on the forces of enlightenment in their effort to demystify and secularize, especially since not just the theater but also the social and political reality of Athens was replete with disturbing Dionysian signifiers. Not unlike Thebes, the Athenian political establishment had ruined the affairs of the city, and a certain Dionysian character by the name of Alcibiades was universally identified as one of the culprits. For a long time, Athens had embraced the cult of Dionysos more enthusiastically than any other city in Greece, celebrating the god annually with elaborate processions and dramatic performances;<sup>34</sup> yet in spite of this, the god continued to cast a threatening shadow over the community. Much like the Dionysos in Euripides' play, this god of unpredictable madness, ecstasy, and drunken revelry posed a conundrum that needed to be addressed in a comprehensive manner.

#### IV.

These last remarks are important insofar as they draw attention to a cultural background that should make another Athenian's reaction to Dionysos more intelligible. This reaction could not have been more different from the

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32 To the extent that Euripides is left out of consideration, the paper is methodologically objectionable as it assumes the existence of a boundary within the ancient intellectual world (between 'philosophy' and 'literature') that was most definitely not there, or at least not initially: the distinction between philosophical, historical, poetical, and literary concerns and genres is a modern one. Early thinkers were poets, and early poets were thinkers, and all of them equally sought to bring their imagined pasts to bear on the collective present.

33 Eur. *Bacch.* 859–861. On the fundamental ambivalence of Dionysos, see Versnel (1990) 96–205.

34 Dionysos was celebrated in Athens during the winter months with four successive festivals: Rural Dionysia, Lenaia, Anthesteria, and City Dionysia. For a reconstruction of the nature and character of each of these festivals see Parker (2005) 290–326.

treatment the god received at the hands of Euripides only half a century earlier. As we turn to the fourth century, we encounter the work of Plato, the most powerful and creative rationalist in antiquity. The problem of how to respond, as a political philosopher, to the challenge of Bacchic ritual seems to have been on Plato's mind to a much greater degree than commonly recognized. Once one begins to look for them in Plato's work, Dionysian motifs turn up in numerous and highly significant contexts. One could say that Plato's treatment of Dionysos is a continuation of Athens' enormous cultural effort, in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, to domesticate the cult of Dionysos,<sup>35</sup> a domestication that was in its scope far more elaborate, ambitious, and consequential than the supposed domestication of the Erinyes after the acquittal of Orestes dramatized by Aeschylus.

To begin with, we may rehearse the well-known observation that in spite of all the Socratic display of rationality and sobriety, the hero of Plato's philosophical dialogues is a figure amply invested with Dionysian attributes. The main evidence for this assertion comes from the *Symposium*, a conversation that takes place under the ritual auspices of the god.<sup>36</sup> The relevant passages are so well known that it may suffice to recall them only in outline: in the last part of the dialogue, the gathering is disturbed by the noisy arrival of a group of drunken revelers in the entourage of Alcibiades, professional destabilizer of the polis, hard-core symposiast, and seducer of women. In this dialogue at least, Alcibiades acts like a human incarnation of Dionysos; with his arrival one gets the impression that Dionysos himself is taking over the party.<sup>37</sup> Alcibiades sets out to cajole everyone into some heavy drinking, but the presence of Socrates, whom he had not noticed at first, stops him in his tracks (213b–c). When Eryximachus, the doctor, assigns him the task of continuing the interrupted series of speeches in praise of Eros,

35 On Dionysian imagery in Athens in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, see Carpenter (1997).

36 This is the reason why Agathon says at the beginning (Pl. *Symp.* 175e) that he will invoke Dionysos as judge (δικαστής) over a matter that does not normally fall under the purview of the god (i. e. the question, briefly disputed between him and Socrates, how wisdom can be transferred from one person to another). The dialogue's topic is, of course, the god Eros, and Dionysos is barely mentioned explicitly, except in another short episode (176a–d) that foreshadows Plato's treatment of symposia in the *Laws*: after dinner and before the serious drinking and talking is supposed to begin, three highly significant things happen: first, an offering is made to Dionysos with song in the god's honor (176a); next, the renowned doctor Eryximachus reminds everyone that alcohol abuse is a liability (χαλεπὸν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἡ μέθη ἐστίν, 176d); and third, the female flute player is sent out of the room (176e).

37 Alcibiades also interrupts a conversation in the *Protagoras* (347b), but the more suggestive parallel is of course Aristophanes' *Frogs*: just as Dionysos is searching for Euripides in Hades and rediscovers Aeschylus, so Alcibiades is searching for Agathon and rediscovers Socrates.

Alcibiades eulogizes with drunken abandon and in the most flattering terms – not the god, nor the tragic poet he came to see, but Socrates!<sup>38</sup> We hear that Socrates not only looks like the satyr Marsyas, he also is, like him, a most daring flute player, only much better in that he does not even need an instrument to mesmerize his audience. He does it with the power and beauty of his speech alone (215b–d). When you listen to Socrates, your heart begins to palpitate more heavily than the hearts of dancing corybants (215d–e); he stings and transforms everyone who encounters him with the *mania* and *bakcheia* of philosophy (218b). But Socrates not only talks more, and talks more sense than anyone else, he also drinks more than anyone (cf. also 214a and 220a). In short, he is comparable to no other man, only to a silenos or satyr (221c–222a).

None of Alcibiades' assertions are disputed or retracted in the dialogue;<sup>39</sup> on the contrary, they seem to be confirmed by it. At the end of the night and many a *krater* later, Socrates is the last man standing, in full possession of his wits and ready to spend the following day as if nothing at all had happened the night before.<sup>40</sup> Plato praises Socrates through the character of Alcibiades/Dionysos as some kind of 'Über-Korybant' who is not only uncannily immune to the liberating intoxication of wine but rather himself a source of inspiration, intoxication, and transformation.

The question why exactly Plato chose to invest the man who, in the western tradition, was to become the paragon of reason with lavish Dionysian symbolism is a problem that does not yield to an easy answer. Any attempt to tackle the issue by speculating about the factual satyr-like character of the historical Socrates is both hopeless and beside the point. More promising is the suggestion that the peculiar characterization somehow responds to the demands of the genre of symposiastic literature, but that is not wholly satisfactory either, especially if one considers further evidence, e. g. in the *Crito* discussed below. In any case, Plato's implied suggestion seems to be that a life lived to the dictates of reason will be as liberating as any symposiastic revelry or Bacchic ritual, or even more so. Socrates is immune to the power of Dionysos (and to common Eros) precisely because he is already free, a figure of sage authenticity that can neither be destabilized nor seduced. And in turn, it is just this self-assured stability of character, coupled with an air of intellectual

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38 The reason Alcibiades proffers for praising Socrates rather than Eros is that Socrates, according to him, typically resorts to violence if not he himself but any other god or man is praised in his presence (214d). This entirely fictitious reason is reminiscent of Dionysos' obsession with appropriate recognition by the polis community, and his violent reaction when it fails to comply.

39 Socrates was invited to intervene if he thought Alcibiades deviated from the truth, 214e.

40 Confirming what Alcibiades had said about him 220a.

superiority which comes across as irony, that turned Socrates at once into a public nuisance (the “gad-fly” of the Athenians) and an irresistible attraction to scores of young spectators. One cannot fail to notice that the effects of Socrates’ irony and intellectual superiority are not unlike the disturbing irony and superiority displayed by the divine chorus leader in Euripides’ *Bacchae*, Dionysos himself.<sup>41</sup>

Two further points are worth making in this connection: first, the characterization of Socrates’ personality in terms of Bacchic imagery is most prominent in the *Symposium*, but it is not confined to that dialogue.<sup>42</sup> There is an exceedingly striking passage at the end of the *Crito* (54 d), at the moment when Socrates irrevocably accepts the time and circumstance of his imminent death.<sup>43</sup> Socrates has just finished impersonating the “Laws of Athens” as they successfully persuade him not to do anything that will undermine their authority and damage his own reputation. In a highly perplexing passage, Plato abruptly resorts to the vocabulary of Bacchic ritual:<sup>44</sup>

You know, my dear friend Crito: this is what I seem to be hearing, just as *the corybants seem to be hearing flutes*, and the *sound* of these arguments is *buzzing* in my ears so that I am unable to hear any other arguments. Be assured that if you continue to disagree with what I now think, you will waste your words. [...] Leave it, then, Crito, and let us act in this way, for that is the way *the god leads us*. [my italics]

One wonders which god precisely Plato thought was leading Socrates at this fateful moment when he consented to offer himself as sacrificial victim to the greater cause of philosophy. In the *Apology*, Socrates had aligned himself with “the god in Delphi” (20e), and it is quite natural to assume that this is the deity he is referring here too, i.e. Apollo. But the immediate context of this last remark introduces a fair amount of ambiguity, which is highlighted by the fact that Dionysos too was closely associated with the Delphic sanctuary.<sup>45</sup> In any

41 On Socrates as overpowering ironist, see Nehamas (1998) 70–98.

42 It is perhaps noteworthy in passing that Plato mentions Dionysos briefly in the *Phaedrus* 265b as one of the four madness-inspiring gods.

43 On the passage see Linforth (1946) 136 f. Linforth carefully examines all the evidence to be found in Plato and elsewhere on “corybantic rites”; one of the main points of this rich paper is to repudiate the thesis, first proposed by Scaliger and developed by Rohde, that the Greeks recognized a “Corybantic disease” that consisted in “exhibiting the symptoms of delirium and the uncontrollable desire to dance” (150).

44 {ΣΩ.} Ταῦτα, ὦ φίλε ἑταῖρε Κρίτων, εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι ἐγὼ δοκῶ ἀκούειν, ὥσπερ οἱ κορυβαντιῶντες τῶν αὐλῶν δοκοῦσιν ἀκούειν, καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ αὕτη ἡ ἦχη τούτων τῶν λόγων βομβεῖ καὶ ποιεῖ μὴ δύνασθαι τῶν ἄλλων ἀκούειν· ἀλλὰ ἴσθι, ὅσα γε τὰ νῦν ἐμοὶ δοκοῦντα, ἐὰν λέγῃς παρὰ ταῦτα, μάτην ἐρεῖς. ὁμως μέντοι εἴ τι οἶε πλέον ποιήσεις, λέγε. {ΚΡ.} Ἄλλ', ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν. {ΣΩ.} Ἐὰ τοῖσιν, ὦ Κρίτων, καὶ πράττωμεν ταύτην, ἐπειδὴ ταύτην ὁ θεὸς ὑφηγεῖται.

45 See Ivanov (2011), chapter 2.



case, the “Laws of Athens” successfully dissuade him from fleeing the prison, and it is their *arguments* that cause such a *buzz and clamor*, so much so that Socrates is unable to listen to any other point of view. Plato positions Socrates at a curiously paradoxical intersection of Dionysianism and rationality, turning him again, just as in the *Symposium*, into a corybant of reason.<sup>46</sup>

The second point that needs to be made is this: if I am not mistaken, the motif of the ‘Bacchic Socrates’ is entirely absent from any other biographical tradition of Socrates that survives; there is no hint of it in Aristophanes, nor in Xenophon, nor in Diogenes Laertius. Socrates the corybant of reason is a Platonic invention, that is to say, an original interpretation of the historical person Plato knew. One cannot but admire Plato’s choice of imagery, given that Socrates and his circle of interlocutors were about to be torn asunder by the Athenian executioner, and given that this event, the death of Socrates, was to lead to the perennial resurrection of Socrates in the philosophical imagination of western intellectual history. One thing seems clear: Plato would not have evoked Bacchic imagery when he dramatized the moment that sealed the fate of his mentor if he had not shared his city’s long-standing fascination with the power of Dionysos, and had not assumed a position of critical distance to it.

## V.

We see the criticism emerge more clearly in Plato’s final work, the *Laws*. In casting Socrates as a figure invested with the iconography of Dionysos, Plato was subtly but surely also reshaping the 5<sup>th</sup>-century iconographies of Dionysos, and in the *Laws* we encounter the result of this process. Virtually the entire first two books of this monumental dialogue on governance are devoted to a discussion of the possible usefulness of drinking for the ideal polis.

The first thing to note is that Plato appears to have refined his views on alcohol consumption considerably over time. In the *Republic*, his concern seems to have been with the *abuse* of alcohol, and he was quick to condemn it, at least as far as the guardians are concerned.<sup>47</sup> In the *Laws*, the Spartan

46 Note that when Plato (in the *Phaedo*, 69c) famously cites the dictum *ναρθηκοφόροι μὲν πολλοί, βάρχοι δὲ τε παῦροι*, he continues with the suggestion that the “few” being referred to are the true philosophers: *οὔτοι δ’ εἰσιν κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν δόξαν οὐκ ἄλλοι ἢ οἱ πεφιλοσοφηκότες ὀρθῶς*.

47 See *Republic* 3, 398e: “Drunkenness, softness, and idleness are also most inappropriate for our guardians. – How could they not be? – What, then, are the soft musical modes suitable for drinking parties? [...] Could you ever use these to make people warriors? – Never.” Also: *Republic* 3, 403e4–6: “We said that our prospective guardians must avoid drunkenness, for it is less appropriate for a guardian to be drunk and not know



Megillus professes himself sympathetic to a culture of abstinence,<sup>48</sup> but not so the Athenian, Plato's mouthpiece. In the course of the discussion of this "not unimportant custom" (οὐ σμίκρον ἐπιτήδευμα, 637d4) the conclusion is reached that the consumption of wine – that welcome gift of the god against dreadful old age – may in fact have important moral and political functions.<sup>49</sup> Plato's doctrine is that weaknesses of character show up more readily under the influence of alcohol; in consequence, it becomes quite easy to gauge a person and his<sup>50</sup> susceptibility to vice if and when he is intoxicated (649b–650b).<sup>51</sup> Rather than preaching abstinence, the Athenian draws the conclusion that alcohol consumption should be an important part of the education of the mature citizen. At annual wine festivals, citizens can playfully put each other to the test, and periodical intoxication provides one with opportunities to develop one's character through exercises of suppressing certain unwanted emotions stirred by intoxication.<sup>52</sup> Far from being "most shameful", as may have been suggested by Heraclitus, or dangerous (the view of the *Republic*), the cult of Dionysos, properly understood and administered, is now just the very opposite: an entirely beneficial civic activity, the best way to "produce reverence (αἰδώς) in the soul, and health and strength in the body"! In order to give this radically new view of a civilized Dionysos sufficient plausibility, Plato reduces him to a god of wine;<sup>53</sup> he is of course aware of the darker Orphic iconography and ritual, but *those* aspects of the deity are artfully removed from the readers' view.<sup>54</sup> Witness the following passage, *Laws* 2, 672a–d:

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where on earth he is than it is for anyone else." – Even sleep in a state of drunkenness (μέθης, 571c5) is said to be condemnable, because wine can arouse the lowest instincts of the soul.

48 Cf. *Laws* 1, 636e–637b.

49 *Laws* 2, 666a–b: "So how shall we encourage them to be enthusiastic about singing? [...] When (a citizen) reaches his thirties, he should regale himself at the common meals and invoke the gods; in particular, he should summon Dionysos to what is at once play-time and the prayer time of the old, which the god gave to mankind as a cure against the austerity (αὐστηρότης) of age. This is the gift he gave us to make us young again [...]"

50 Wine consumption by women is not something Plato contemplates in this context.

51 Plato's thought in this instance does not seem to be original. Alcaeus asserted that wine is a mirror of mankind (fr. 104 Diehl = fr. 333 Voigt) and a fragment attributed to Aeschylus states that wine is a mirror of the soul (fr. 393 *TrGF* III).

52 On the catharsis of emotions in the *Laws* see Belfiore (1986).

53 Already in the *Cratylus* (406c), Plato had (playfully?) derived the name 'Dionysos' from 'Didoinysos', 'wine-giver', and the word 'wine' (οἶνος) from 'thinking to have a mind': ὁ τε γὰρ Διόνυσος εἶη ἂν ὁ <διδούς> τὸν <οἶνον> "Διδοίνυσος" ἐν παιδιᾷ καλούμενος, οἶνος δ', ὅτι <οἶεσθαι νοῦν> ἔχειν ποιεῖ τῶν πινόντων τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐκ ἔχοντας, "οἶόνους" δικαιότατ' ἂν καλούμενος.

54 See also Linforth (1946) 160 f. on the absence of corybantic rites in the discussions of music and dance in both the *Republic* and the *Laws*.

So let us not abuse the gift of Dionysus any longer in the old unqualified terms, saying that it is bad and does not deserve to be received into the state. One could enlarge on this benefit even more. – What is the benefit? – There is a story and rumor which says that Dionysus was robbed of his wits by his stepmother Hera, and that he gets his revenge by stimulating us to Bacchic frenzies and all that mad dancing that results. *This story, however, I leave to those who see no danger in speaking of the gods in such terms.* [...] According to the common story wine was given to men as a means of taking vengeance on us – it was intended to drive us insane. But our interpretation is entirely the opposite: the gift was intended to be a medicine, and to produce reverence (αἰδώς) in the soul, and health and strength in the body. (transl. Saunders) [my italics]

Furthermore noteworthy in this connection is that the first two books of the *Laws*, just as the passage just cited, contain numerous explicit references to Dionysos,<sup>55</sup> which is in keeping with the entire treatise's general foregrounding of religious language, ritual prescriptions and theological doctrine. In distinction to the *Republic*, Plato is clearly legislating here the terms and conditions of religious worship; in the case of ritual drinking, those citizens that are allowed and indeed encouraged to cultivate it are not simply defined by age and gender, but are addressed as a cult community, viz. the "Chorus of Dionysos", as distinct from the Choruses of the Muses and of Apollo, which are the cult communities of younger generations. Plato casts his newly adopted 'alcohol policy' in ostentatiously religious language, which suggests that the focus of his concern did not simply aim at the use and abuse of alcohol in the city, but also at the appropriation and domestication of the entire cult of Dionysos. The god receives from Plato a new and more uniform mask, with the god's iconography narrowed down to only one of its aspects. In the course of this focalization Plato thinks he is able to integrate Dionysos fully into the life of the polis, and it is quite obvious that a religious reform of this kind had to be framed in religious language and encompass regulations that rely on the language of religious ritual.

The upshot of the Platonic domestication of the cult of Dionysos is that the quintessential Bacchic revelers are, surprisingly, no longer women of reputable social standing in their twenties and thirties<sup>56</sup> but male citizens in their forties and fifties; instead of roaming the mountain slopes and valleys one now stays in the polis; instead of making phallophoric processions one now reclines comfortably on soft couches in *andrones*, drinks in restrained measure and interrupts this civilized activity with the occasional dance step or song.

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55 The name of the god, for example, is invoked some 16 times, along with innumerable other implicit or oblique references, whereas in the *Republic* the name 'Dionysos' does not occur at all in the relevant sense; only in his discussion of the lovers of sights and sounds (*Rep.* 5, 475d) does Plato refer once and in passing to festivals of Dionysos.

56 Or, as the evidence suggests, *thiasoi* of mixed gender, which routinely raised suspicion of immorality.

The outdoors have become the indoors, and the god venerated *there* has lost most of his seductive power and destabilizing potential; the Dionysos who once destroyed Thebes has himself become a political institution – a pillar of society. Plato of course knew the ancient myths of the destructive force of Dionysos as well as anybody (see the text quoted above), but he censures them as dangerous. It is quite certain that he was reluctant to grant them any valence.<sup>57</sup>

## VI.

And neither, it seems, did his readers. It may be a matter of dispute whether Plato's transformation of the cult of Dionysos is merely *reflecting* a socio-religious trend or actually *setting* one.<sup>58</sup> The fact of the matter is that in subsequent centuries the intellectual discourse is remarkably silent about the menacing destabilizer of the polis we encounter in Euripides' *Bacchae*. If Dionysos is mentioned at all, and especially by philosophers, the name of the god is almost invariably used symbolically, though no longer of inner organs and their function: 'Dionysos' is now a standard synonym for 'wine', just as 'Aphrodite' is a synonym for 'sex' and 'Ares' for 'war'.<sup>59</sup> The *Corpus Aristotelicum* refers to Dionysos in just this sense, and this sense only;<sup>60</sup> the fragments of the Stoics have nothing to contribute to our understanding of Dionysianism,<sup>61</sup> and the same holds for Epicurus and his Roman disciple

57 The Platonic domestication and political integration of the cult of Dionysos is of a piece with Plato's general revision of theology. In *Republic* Book 2, he fully developed the idea that the gods are good, arguing that the concept of a deity, properly understood, necessarily includes its goodness; on the problem of Plato's theology see Bordt (2006).

58 Evidence for government-controlled Dionysian mysteries in Egypt is found in the so-called Edict of Ptolemy IV Philopator, who ruled from 221 to 205 B.C.; cf. Seaford (2006a) 58. In Hellenistic Athens, actors and musicians were organized in associations under the protection of Dionysos; on the so-called οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται see Aneziri (2003).

59 See e.g. Aristotle, *Politics* 2, 1269b27–31: ἔοικε γὰρ ὁ μυθολογήσας πρῶτος οὐκ ἀλόγως συζεῦσαι τὸν Ἄρην πρὸς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην· ἢ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀρρένων ὀμιλίαν ἢ πρὸς τὴν τῶν γυναικῶν φαίνονται κατοκώχιμοι πάντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι.

60 Unless the discussion concerns some historical point about temples or festivals of Dionysos. Cf. Bonitz' *Index Aristotelicus* p. 199 a 56–59 and, for example, *Problemata* 953b30–32: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ τε οἶνος ἀφροδισιαστικούς ἀπεργάζεται, καὶ ὀρθῶς Διόνυσος καὶ Ἀφροδίτη λέγονται μετ' ἀλλήλων εἶναι.

61 The 1<sup>st</sup>-century C.E. Stoic philosopher Cornutus wrote a compendium of Greek deities in which Dionysos is consistently and exclusively interpreted as the god of wine and intoxication: for example, one of Dionysos' attributes is a thyrsos because drunk people need a stick to support themselves, etc. See Nesselrath (2009) 100–107 and Busch/Zangenberg (2010) 135–141.

Lucretius; given the atomists' minimal sensibility for religious matters in general, this is hardly surprising.<sup>62</sup>

Talk about Dionysos enjoys a revival of sorts in the Second Sophistic. Lucian knows how to spin tall tales about Dionysos as the tipsy dandy who, with a mere handful of dancing woman, conquers entire armies of elephant cavalry (see his *Dionysos*). In one of his stories, Zeus tries to figure out how to attract more women; Eros gives him the advice to dress up like Dionysos: such is the attractiveness of the fellow (*Dialogues of the Gods* 6). When we encounter Lucian's Dionysos directly, he is an effeminate giggler who exchanges jokes with Apollo, like the one about the other day, when Priapos tried to seduce him (*Dialogues of the Gods* 2). Lucian of course knows what he is doing: "What does this Dionysos have to do with Dionysos?" he asks rather aptly at one point.<sup>63</sup> "Nothing" would be our answer; Lucian's frivolous stories merely betray the fact that by the 2<sup>nd</sup> century C.E. the terrifying archaic iconography of Dionysos had completely lost its grip on the collective imagination.

## VII.

But Dionysos was to change his shape in the ancient philosophical tradition one more time. In the antiquity's final centuries, the handful of remaining pagans, highly educated Platonists who understood themselves as guardians of a millennium of intellectual history, probed the ancestral myths for their hidden significance and meaning in order better to preserve and defend the beliefs enshrined in their waning culture. One such myth acquired particular importance for them: the ancient and presumably Orphic account of the primordial *sparagmos*, according to which the Titans, on Hera's bidding, attacked and devoured the infant Dionysos-Zagreus.<sup>64</sup> The story is usually only hinted at in our ancient sources as it was regarded as a *mysterium* one did not talk about. The story went roughly like this: to carry out their sinister plot, the Titans distract the infant Dionysos with a mirror (and some other children's

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62 Dionysos is not mentioned in the title of what remains of Epicurus' vast literary output. In Lucretius, Dionysos is referred to as Bacchus (twice 2.656 and 3.221), as Liber (5.14), or as Euthius Euan (5.743). Except for the passage in 5.14, where Liber is said to have been the discoverer of wine, the reference is a symbolic one, to alcoholic beverage.

63 Lucian, *Dionysos* 5.1: Ἄλλὰ τί πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον ὁ Διόνυσος οὔτος; εἴποι τις ἄν.

64 Zagreus, the son of Zeus and Persephone, was possibly an ancient Cretan deity that was later, presumably in Orphic circles, identified with Dionysos: see Ivanov (2011), chapter 9. On the difficulty to trace all aspects of the myth back to 5<sup>th</sup>-century Orphism see Edmonds (1999). For our purposes, the question of the historical pedigree of the Neoplatonists' version of the myth is of no consequence.

toys); as Dionysos becomes engrossed with the toy and, presumably, his own image in it, the Titans tear him into pieces, cook them and eat them.<sup>65</sup> Only Dionysos' heart is saved, and this in turn enables Dionysos' eventual resurrection with the help of Zeus. But before that, Zeus avenges the death of his son with a mighty thunderbolt, thoroughly destroying the Titans, but from the smoldering soot of the Dionysos-satiated Titans, strangely, the human race emerges.

The anthropological message of this sinister myth is that we humans are born of a Titanic nature, treacherous and violent, yet our *bodies* harbor also a spark of divine lineage: a fragment of Dionysos. Unlike any other animal, our corporeal nature is dual, both Titanic and Olympian, both brutish and sublime.<sup>66</sup> In late antiquity, this startling myth enjoyed something of a revival, and several accounts of it have come down to us in philosophical contexts.<sup>67</sup> For example, in his commentary on Plato's *Phaedo*, the 6<sup>th</sup>-century Alexandrian Platonist Olympiodorus<sup>68</sup> is discussing the passage 61c–62c where Socrates develops the thesis that philosophy is a preparation for death; in that context, Socrates mentions certain ineffable accounts (ἀπόρρητα), according to which it is unlawful to take one's own life. Olympiodorus explains what he thinks these ἀπόρρητα referred to are, so as to render Plato's 'mythical argument' against suicide intelligible to his audience:

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65 The myth is most fully, and beautifully, told by the 4<sup>th</sup>-century Christian writer Julius Firmicus Maternus, *On the Errors of Pagan Religions* 6.1–5. Shorter versions, or parts thereof, can be found in many different contexts; see e.g. Nonnos, 6.169–205; Plotinus, *Enn.* 4.3 [27] 12; Callimachus, fr. 374; Proclus, *In Tim.* 1.173.1–6; 2.197.24–27; *In Alcibiad.* 344.31; Damascius, *De princip.* 94; Plutarch, *De esu carn.* 1.7 (= *Orphicorum Fragmenta* 210); Onomacritus fr. 4 (= *Orphicorum Fragmenta* 210); Diodorus Siculus 5.75.4; Olympiodorus, *In Phaed.* 1.2; Clement *Protr.* 2.15. Plato may allude to this myth when he mentions an 'unnamed crime' in connection with Orpheus (*Cratylus* 400c; *Phaedo* 62b). Other possible early allusions in Herodotus (2.42; 61; 132; 170) and Isocrates (11.39). – See also Lobeck (1829) 564–568; Harrison (1922) 478–571 = chapter 10. – Pausanias (8.37.5) links the myth to Onomacritus: "The first to introduce Titans into poetry was Homer, representing them as gods down in what is called Tartarus; the lines are in the passage about Hera's oath. From Homer the name of the Titans was taken by Onomacritus, who in the orgies he composed for Dionysos made the Titans the authors of the god's sufferings." That the myth of the Titans attacking the child Dionysos is of Orphic origin is argued, among others, by Guthrie (1952) 120 and West (1983) 166, and strongly denied by Edmonds (1999).

66 For discussions of the Zagreus myth see for example Macchioro (1920); Festugière (1935); Linforth (1941) 307–364; Burkert (1977b); Kerényi (1976b) 262–272; West (1983); Fol (1993); Sorel (1995) 64–87; Edmonds (1999); Taylor (2008) 95–98; Edmonds (2009).

67 See above n. 65.

68 See Olympiodorus, *In Phaed.* 1.2–3.

We must not commit suicide – not because, as the text seems to say, we are in some sort of bondage, viz. the body (for that is evident, and Plato would not have called this ‘ineffable’); rather, we must not commit suicide because our body is Dionysian. For we are part of him, if at any rate we are put together from the soot of the Titans who had eaten the god’s flesh.<sup>69</sup>

According to Olympiodorus’ understanding of the Orphic myth, suicide would be sacrilege; since part of our body is Dionysian, taking one’s own life would amount to an impious re-enactment of the original *sparagmos*. It is remarkable that as late as the 6<sup>th</sup> century, a pagan philosopher teaching a predominantly Christian student body could invoke and interpret an Orphic myth of great antiquity in order to sketch a pagan anthropology that conformed, however distantly, with the new religion’s belief in the sanctity of life and the fundamental duality of our being.

But that does not answer the question what precisely attracted the Neoplatonists to the gruesome anthropology of the Zagreus myth. How could the disturbing amalgam of motifs such as the jealousy of Hera, the savage murder of a defenseless child, ritual cannibalism, and the smoldering soot of vanquished Titans have appealed to the superior sensibilities of a Platonist? As in the case of so many questions concerning Neoplatonic philosophy, the answer lies with Plotinus. As far as we can tell, it was he who revived the myth and extracted from it psychological insights that were much more profound than the Platonic injunction against suicide.

Plotinus was, of course, an idealist who gave ontological priority to immaterial phenomena – such as the functions of our psyche – over the material world of our bodily existence. For an idealist of this sort, it poses a considerable problem to explain how the immaterial and cognitive aspects of reality (traditionally referred to as ‘soul’, ‘intellect’ etc.) ever became involved with matter to form living beings that are subject to the evils and travails of embodiment. The problem is a particularly pressing one in the case of human beings since we, unlike any other natural species, are embodiments not only of animalistic forms of psychic activity but somehow share (and this is our defining characteristic) in the power of higher forms of reason and understanding. So why are we here, and how did we get here? Plotinus was of course well aware of common ‘explanations’ to the effect that man was created by god, or by some gods (such as we find in Hesiod, Plato and the Bible). But he intensely disliked the notion of divine craftsmen laboring and making

69 *In Phaed.* 1.3: οὐ δεῖ οὖν ἐξάγειν ἡμᾶς ἑαυτούς, οὐχ ὅτι, ὡς δοκεῖ λέγειν ἡ λέξις, διότι ἐν τινι δεσμῷ ἔσμεν τῷ σώματι (τοῦτο γὰρ δῆλόν ἐστι, καὶ οὐκ ἂν τοῦτο ἀπόρητον ἔλεγεν), ἀλλ’ ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐξάγειν ἡμᾶς ἑαυτούς ὡς τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν Διονυσιακοῦ ὄντος· μέρος γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἔσμεν, εἴ γε ἐκ τῆς αἰθάλης τῶν Τιτάνων συγκείμεθα γευσαμένων τῶν σαρκῶν τούτου.

things.<sup>70</sup> And he even more disliked (for good philosophical reasons, of course) the view that human existence is a form of punishment for our souls' ostensibly evil disposition.<sup>71</sup> Embodiment is neither evil, nor the result of evil, nor entirely involuntary; nor (and this point was very important to Plotinus) is it actually the case that our souls descend completely into the material world.<sup>72</sup> So, what precisely is embodiment? His answer is that it is an event both innocent and irresistible, yet one with enormous consequences – so enormous, irresistible, and innocent as looking at oneself in a mirror. The crucial passage is found in *Ennead* 4.3 (*On Difficulties about the Soul* 1), in a section in which he discusses the question of how soul comes to be in a body (4.3.9 ff.). According to Plotinus, there is a distinction to be made between the souls of the stars and the souls of humans:

The heavenly bodies are gods because they do not depart ever from those intelligible gods. [...] They look towards intellect since their soul never looks elsewhere than there. *But the souls of men see their images as if in the mirror of Dionysos and come to be on that level with a leap from above*, but these too are not cut off from their own principle, and from intellect.<sup>73</sup> [my italics]

This brief simile contains, in a nutshell, Plotinus' explanation of the fact of human existence. Again, the central thesis is tied to the Zagreus myth, except that in Plotinus the focus has shifted from the story's center, the Titans' crime, to one of its details, the mirror that helps to distract the infant Dionysos.<sup>74</sup> Note also how the motif of the mirror is immediately connected with the

70 See e.g. *Enn.* 3.8 [30] 2; 2.9 [33] 10.

71 See e.g. *Enn.* 1.8 [51] 2.

72 For a concise summary of the Plotinian position on incarnation, see Steel (1978) 34–38. – The general problem of embodiment in Neoplatonism is of course far more intricate and complex than suggested there or in the following brief remarks of this paper, which intend only to illuminate the initial incentive of the disembodied soul to descend. For a fuller treatment of incarnation one would have to discuss, among scattered remarks in Plotinus, the fascinating embryological treatise *Ad Gaurum* by Porphyry, which sheds light on the Neoplatonic views on such questions as the moment of embodiment (i. e. whether it occurs, at the time of birth or at the time of conception, a debate that has far-reaching anthropological and astrological implications), the precise ways in which nature prepares bodies for higher animation, and the processes of the soul's separation from the body (natural vs. philosophical death). Only preliminary work in this direction has been carried out; see e.g. Pépin (1970), Blumenthal (1971), Hadot (1976), Steel (1978).

73 *Enn.* 4.3 [27] 11.24–12.3: Θεοὶ δὲ εἰσιν οὗτοι τῷ ἀεὶ μὴ ἀποστατεῖν ἐκείνων, καὶ τῇ μὲν ἐξάρχῃς ψυχῇ προσρητῆσθαι τῇ οἶον ἀπελευθούση ψυχῇ, ταύτη δέ, ἥπερ καὶ εἰσι καὶ ὁ λέγονται, πρὸς νοῦν βλέπειν οὐδαμοῦ ψυχῆς αὐτοῖς ἢ ἐκεῖ βλέπουσῃς. Ἀνθρώπων δὲ ψυχὰι εἶδωλα αὐτῶν ἰδοῦσαι οἶον Διονύσου ἐν κατόπτρῳ ἐκεῖ ἐγένοντο ἄνωθεν ὀρμηθεῖσαι, οὐκ ἀποτμηθεῖσαι οὐδ' αὐταὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀρχῆς τε καὶ νοῦ.

74 On examples for representations of mirror scenes in ancient art, including mirrors of Dionysos, see Taylor (2008).



characteristically Plotinian claim of the undescended soul: just as an image appears *in* the mirror only if and when there is some *external* object, in the same way our natural existence as animated bodies is only the image of another, more stable psychic reality over and above the realm of nature. Now, Plotinus' suggestion is that our not yet embodied souls "see" themselves in matter as if in a mirror. Seduced by the delightful possibilities of the phenomenal world and the part they might play in it, the souls "jump down" without deliberation.<sup>75</sup> Gazing into the mirror of matter, spontaneous and innocent desire makes our souls embark on the migration to this world: as soon as our disembodied selves behold their image, they are already 'here' while still remaining 'there'. Something quite innocent arose within them and tore them asunder.

According to the Neoplatonic interpretation of the Zagreus myth, human beings are, in a sense, images of Dionysos, fleeting and fragmented appearances in his mirror. Or, to put it differently: fleeting and fragmented dispersions of divine consciousness in the mirror of matter.<sup>76</sup> Now, it might be tempting to dismiss this mythico-philosophical anthropology as just another piece of Neoplatonic humbug; but that would be pedestrian. The reason is that Plotinus' analysis contains a startling, and startlingly modern, insight into human psychology. In Neoplatonism, processes that take place on a lower level of reality are somehow prefigured on a higher level, and likewise every macrocosmic-metaphysical claim, such as the one we are dealing with, must have its counterpart in the guise of an image within the world of individual being. The question therefore is, does Plotinus' sweeping understanding of the Zagreus myth throw any light on any phenomenon familiar to us on the level of human psychology?

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75 Plotinus compares the impulse leading to embodiment to spontaneous jumping (of children, presumably), or the desire of men for intercourse with a woman, or for heroic action, none of which are deeds that require, and hardly ever involve, rational deliberation (λογισμός). Cf. *Enn.* 4.3 [27] 13.17–20: "The souls go neither willingly nor because they are sent, nor is the voluntary element in their going like deliberate choice, but like a natural spontaneous jumping or a passionate natural desire of sexual union or as some men are moved unreasoningly to noble deeds." (Ἴασι δὲ οὔτε ἐκοῦσαι οὔτε πεμφθεῖσαι· οὐ γὰρ τὸ ἐκούσιον τοιοῦτον ὡς προελέσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡς τὸ πηδᾶν κατὰ φύσιν, ἢ <ὡς> πρὸς γάμων φυσικὰς προθυμίας ἢ [ὡς] πρὸς πράξεις τινὲς καλῶν οὐ λογισμῷ κινούμενοι.) – Diogenes Laertius (2.33) recounts the fascinating anecdote that Socrates recommended the constant use of the mirror, but there is no suggestion that this had anything to do with the myth of the mirror of Dionysos.

76 As Carolle Tresson puts it in a forthcoming study entitled *L'aporie ou l'expérience métaphysique de la dualité dans le Peri Archôn de Damaskios*: "Les Titans symbolisent les principes d'individuation et de division qui morcellent l'intellect cosmique (Dionysos) dans l'espace et dans le temps."



As far as I can see, Plotinus did not further articulate and explore the implications of what it means to experience oneself as an image,<sup>77</sup> but it is not difficult to draw a connection between Plotinus' anthropology and the work of Jacques Lacan, in particular what he identified as the "mirror stage" in the development of the young child.<sup>78</sup> Lacan (1977) 1 discovered that a "child, at an age when he is for a time, however short, outdone by the chimpanzee in instrumental intelligence, can nevertheless already recognize his own image in a mirror". This distinctly human and early ability to recognize oneself in something external and other, and the construction of one's identity in the negotiation of the self and that other, remain, according to Lacan (ibid. 2), part of the fundamental structure of human psychology, only partially overcome by the acquisition of language. "This jubilant assumption of his specular image by the child at the *infans* stage, still sunk in his motor incapacity and nursing dependence, would seem to exhibit in an exemplary situation the symbolic matrix in which the I is precipitated in a primordial form, before it is objectified in the dialectic of identification with the other, and before language restores to it, in the universal, its function as a subject".

Even though Lacan's psychoanalytical theory of the importance of the mirror stage for human development goes well beyond the implications of the Zagreus myth as drawn by the Neoplatonists, the former is clearly related to latter in significant ways.<sup>79</sup> In both cases, the recognition of oneself in and identification with the other (i. e. the image) transforms an originary awareness of authentic identity into an imagined, processed and acquired one. It is not difficult to draw the further connection from here to the concerns of modern cultural criticism lamenting the way in which human existence is increasingly captivated by, and held hostage to, a plethora of social symbols and imagined idols that together determine our confused and scattered identity, an identity that, if had to be spelled out, would prompt a litany of cultural, religious, and social roles and commitments, all of which are of our own collective making, and all of which we consistently mistake for our own reality.<sup>80</sup> Malcolm Bull

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77 Not unreasonably so, given that he was more interested in vanquishing the limitations of embodiment than exhaustively exploring their phenomenology.

78 See Lacan (1977) 1–7. The French title of the famous paper is *Le stade du miroir comme formateur de la fonction du Je*. An earlier version of this paper was delivered at the 14<sup>th</sup> International Psychoanalytical Congress in August 1936 and published in English in 1937.

79 Lacan was almost certainly acquainted with the motif of the mirror of Dionysos through Erwin Rohde's *Psyche*, which had been published in French in 1928.

80 I am thinking in particular of the work of Marshall McLuhan, but see also Bracher (1993). – The social and political danger inherent in the progress and proliferation of media technology is thematized, with explicit reference of the Zagreus myth, in Ralph Comer's detective story *The Mirror of Dionysos* (1969). One passage (ibid. 93) is particularly revealing and deserves to be quoted in full: "'So what,' said Lawson. 'Why

has published a suggestive essay on modern migration in which he sheds fascinating light on the phenomenon of regional mobility, borrowing the relevant terms of his analysis from the Plotinian-Lacanian psychology of the seduction of the imaginary.<sup>81</sup> What all these forms of modern cultural criticism, however, fail to achieve (in distinction to the precepts of Neoplatonism) is to show a way out, to show how human beings might possibly liberate themselves from the slavery of the fabricated image. If the lens and the screen, the magazine and the newspaper, television, film and the hyper-reality of digital representation are indeed the modern mirrors of Dionysos that constantly seduce us to look for ourselves in *them* while in fact luring us further away from any genuine experience of the self in a state of non-fragmented authenticity, we are forever condemned to relive the fate of Dionysos-Zagreus.

Plotinus' philosophy can be understood as a bold attempt to train the mind to break the power of the image and to interrupt the perpetual diversion of our consciousness into a state of alienation from the self. Plotinus' famous last injunction to his student Eustochius might have been spoken by Dionysos himself: "Try to bring back the god in us to the divine in the All."<sup>82</sup>

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all this rigmarole about photographers?' 'Because photography is the dominant art form of the present time. A cornucopia of images. And now, through electronics, a greater influence for good and evil than all the books ever written. The camera lens is the modern mirror of Dionysos and those, like you, who use it, are the new high priests. Legend has it that the Titans were able to kill Zagreus by distracting his attention with his own distorted image in a mirror. Perhaps that is what is happening to the world. Perhaps there are those who want it to happen.' Lawson smiled. 'The medium or the message.'"

81 See Bull (2001) 23: "If we pick up the Plotinian imagery in Lacan's early texts, it alerts us not just to the range of Lacan's sources, but to the value of the mirror stage as a political myth comparable in potency to that of Hegel's master and slave. In certain respects, it seems more relevant to the contemporary situation than Hegel's dialectic, for it hinges on image rather than status, on movement rather than struggle, and on the relation of the one and the many rather than a dyadic rivalry. Above all, it provides a model for the dynamics of migration: the smooth reflective surface of the host region, the lure of the image glimpsed within it, and the experience of alienation that frequently results."

82 The text of this passage is not transmitted uniformly; some manuscripts read "Try to bring back the god (or the divine) in *you* (pl.) to the divine in the All". On Plotinus' last words, see Sala (2002) and Most (2003). – In a suggestive passage, Pausanias (8.37.7) talks about a remote sanctuary in Arcadia, where a mirror was used to show visitors to the sanctuary not their own images but, as it were, their true nature, reversing, in a manner of speaking, the entrapment of their consciousness. Whenever pilgrims looked into *this* mirror, they beheld not their own image, but the image of the higher reality of the sanctuary's deities: "On the right as you go out of the temple there is a mirror fitted into the wall. If one looks into this mirror, one will see oneself at first either very dimly or not at all – yet it is possible to see clearly the images of the gods on their throne." – The narrative is part of Pausanias' description of the Despoina sanctuary in Lycosura,

## VIII.

For Heraclitus, Dionysos is the antipode of Hades; yet in virtue of the doctrine of the unity of opposites, Dionysos also is, in a Heraclitean sense, the same as Hades. Venerating Dionysos is at the same time shameless and pious, depending on which way one looks at the matter. Heraclitus' pronouncements on Dionysos are as cryptic and illuminating as the rest of his thoughts; still, we can safely credit him with inventing an entire industry, that of thinking about Dionysos philosophically and of attempting to decipher the god's significance in the larger scheme of human affairs, both social and psychological. Over the centuries, philosophers continued to grapple with the reality of the transgressive cult of Dionysos and the meaning of the myths that surrounded him. Already in antiquity, attempts were made to understand the god in a straightforward and symbolic way, but they were not very influential. Of greater concern seems to have been the question how to integrate a subversive and destabilizing deity into the cultural landscape of the polis. For some reason, it was Athens where the necessity to contain and integrate Dionysos was felt with unparalleled urgency. In the wake of the Athenian domestication of Dionysos for the Greek world, the iconography of Dionysos gradually changes into that of the Greco-Roman Bacchus, a jolly fellow who presides over the enjoyment of wine, women, and song. Philosophers of that period rightfully harbored little or no intellectual interest in this figure. But in late antiquity, when the rise of Christianity rekindled interest in a deeper understanding of the human condition, of human destiny and the possibilities of salvation, the old Orphic myth of Dionysos-Zagreus served philosophers as a rich and incisive metaphor. The insight they arrived at was not that Dionysos is Hades, but rather, and no less paradoxical, that Dionysos is what we are, and that, individually and as a species, our human consciousness shares with him the fate of being torn asunder by the entrancing promise and conceit of the imaginary in space and time.

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west of Megalopolis. For the topography and reconstruction of the sanctuary, see Papachatzis (1980) 331–41.

# Visual Differences: Dionysos in Ancient Art

*Susanne Moraw*

The specific nature of Dionysos' 'difference' does not only depend on a given epoch and its intellectual and historical background. What we are told about the god is also a question of genre – the main ones of interest here are literature, visual arts and performing arts, especially theatre. Even the different subgenres of one and the same genre, e.g. painted vases and sculptured sarcophagi as subgenres of the visual arts, do not present Dionysos in exactly the same way: factors such as the aims of the customer or the producer as well as the context of the reception of the work in question have to be taken into consideration, too. Several contributions to the Berlin conference dealt with the presentation of Dionysos in art.<sup>1</sup> Chronologically, the contributions ranged from the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. to the 4<sup>th</sup> century C.E. The media discussed included painted vases, mosaics, luxury items, votive reliefs, cult statues and sculptured altar friezes. The present essay will use some of this material, but will look at it from a different angle. It aims to focus on aspects that seem to be characteristic of Dionysos, aspects that effectively make him a 'different god'. We will deal with Dionysos as god of women and god of epiphany; with the inclusion of mortals in his retinue; with the promise of a blessed afterlife that is projected onto him; with Dionysos as fighter; and with Dionysos as the most human god.

## Dionysos as God of Women

One of the most important Athenian festivals, the Anthesteria, included the 'Hieros Gamos', the sacred marriage, of Dionysos and the Basilinna, the wife of the Archon Basileus. Because of the scarcity of written evidence we do not know much about the ritual itself.<sup>2</sup> What seems to be crucial, however, is the fact that this is "the only attested ritual enactment of a wedding between a Greek god and a mortal".<sup>3</sup> There is no comparable testimony for any other

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1 See, in the present volume, the contributions of Glen Bowersock, Thomas Carpenter, Alexander Heinemann, Cornelia Isler-Kerényi, Victoria Sabetai, and Pauline Schmitt Pantel.

2 See e.g. Parker (2005) 303–305, Deubner (1932) 93–123 and Burkert (1977a) 361–363.

3 Parker (2005) 303.

deity. Furthermore, this sacred marriage was not considered a bizarre oddity but was seen as fundamental for the well-being of Athens. The Basilinna performed her secret rites “on the city’s behalf”, as Apollodorus tells us in his speech against Neaira.<sup>4</sup> Accordingly, some of the vases produced in Athens during the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. refer to this event. As Victoria Sabetai convincingly shows in her contribution, they represent Dionysos together with a consort in an environment with cultic connotations.<sup>5</sup>

Possibly, similar allusions to the Anthesteria can already be found on earlier Attic vases. What is certain is that at least as early as around 575 B.C. some vase painters represented the god in the company of a female figure.<sup>6</sup> This woman is characterized in different ways, for instance as a noble lady with a wreath in her hand or as a mother of twins. A fine example is on a plate (now in Berlin) from the archaic period, on which a seated Dionysos faces a well-dressed woman who holds a flower in her hand (fig. 1).<sup>7</sup> She represents a generic type of woman rather than a well-defined mythic persona like Ariadne.

In the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. the production of similar images increased considerably. Dionysos was now represented with so many different kinds of women that he can aptly be called a ‘god of women’.<sup>8</sup> Vase painters working in the new red-figure technique<sup>9</sup> attempted to find new iconographic formulae for the women engaged in Dionysian cult activity, the maenads, and for their state of ecstatic frenzy. On a famous cup of the Berlin collection painted by Makron, six maenads are dancing with loose hair and wild movements (fig. 3). One of them plays the *krotala* (a percussion instrument that resembles castanets); others whirl around thyrsos, one of them even a fawn.<sup>10</sup>

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4 [Dem.] 59.73, transl. A.T. Murray. See also the contribution of Hans-Joachim Gehrke in this volume.

5 See the contribution of Victoria Sabetai.

6 According to Isler-Kerényi (2007) 6–8, the man on one of the so-called Melian amphorae from the late 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C., facing a woman and holding a kantharos in his hand, can already be called Dionysos. This identification is far from certain: see the discussion of the early vases in Moraw (1998) 70–71 n. 344. For the Attic vases, see also Isler-Kerényi (2007) 110–124.

7 Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin F 1809. Cf. Schlesier/Schwarzmaier (2008) 171–172 cat. no. 21.

8 See the contribution of Pauline Schmitt Pantel. The other aspects of the god – most importantly, the god of wine – do remain prominent. For an exhaustive study of all these aspects in early Greek art, see Isler-Kerényi (2007).

9 For technical aspects, see Boardman (2001) 79–83.

10 Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin F 2290. Cf. Schlesier/Schwarzmaier (2008) 152–153 cat. no. 1. For early depictions of maenads, see now also Villanueva Puig (2009).

Sometimes, Dionysos himself appears to his ecstatic followers on these vases.<sup>11</sup> He is imagined as being ‘really there’, as their companion.<sup>12</sup> The raving maenads appear as a group related to Dionysos. There is no single maenad who has a privileged relationship with the god. From then on, if Dionysos is represented in a special relationship with one woman, this woman, on red-figure vases, is explicitly characterized as Ariadne. The Cretan princess who had been abandoned by Theseus and was elevated to the status of Dionysos’ wife is clearly recognizable on such vases because of the context and the other protagonists. On a hydria in Berlin, for instance, Dionysos approaches Ariadne, still reluctant, while Athena, with a gesture of her hand, gives a signal to the equally reluctant Theseus to leave (fig. 2).<sup>13</sup>

From then on Dionysos was represented in art (also) as the paradigmatic husband. His marriage with Ariadne was considered the paradigm of an emotionally and sexually blissful marriage.<sup>14</sup>

The vase painters still working in the traditional black-figure technique used other means for visualizing Dionysos’ affinity with the female world. The god’s retinue of maenads and satyrs, the thiasos, should be understood as an elevation of human cult participants to a mythic sphere. These cult participants can either be male participants of a symposium dancing with *hetairai* or female

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11 See e.g. the Kleophrades Painter’s famous amphora in Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2344: Schlesier/Schwarzmaier (2008) 149 fig. 3. For an equally famous black-figure precursor by the Amasis Painter on an amphora in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles 222, see Schlesier/Schwarzmaier (2008) 22 fig. 4. The ivy leaves that are quite prominent in that image (wreaths of god and maenads, twigs in the hand of both maenads) may bear an erotic connotation, given the relationship between male god and female followers: unpublished paper of Fatima Diez Platas, “Dionysos’ Heart: The God and the Ivy in Early Greek Texts and Images”, delivered at the FIEC congress in Berlin 2009, August 25.

12 The so-called ecstatic epiphany (“ekstatische Epiphanie”) was already a crucial element of the religion of Bronze-Age Crete, see Matz (1958) and Hägg (1986). In the Bronze Age, this kind of ritual was not restricted to a maenadic cult of Dionysos but is attested for female as well as for male deities, performed by female as well as by male cult participants, see Niemeier (1989). This indicates how important a better knowledge of the Bronze-Age Dionysos would be for a better understanding of his ‘difference’ in historical times: was he different already then? Or are we to understand his difference as the result of later developments, perhaps because in his myths or in his cult traits of an earlier age were kept that were abandoned in the case of other deities?

13 Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin F 2179. Cf. Schlesier/Schwarzmaier (2008) 166–167 cat. no. 17. For Ariadne, see also the contribution of Pauline Schmitt Pantel; she told me that in her opinion Ariadne entered the Attic ‘*imaginaire*’ around 500 B.C. in the company of Theseus. The latter became the national hero of Athens in these years, see e.g. Calame (1990). Accordingly, the women who had been represented together with Dionysos on earlier Attic vases should probably not be called Ariadne. Cf. also Schlesier (2008b).

14 Cf. the contribution of Victoria Sabetai.

followers of Dionysos performing maenadic rites, on their own or together with male cult participants.<sup>15</sup> In late black-figure representations of Dionysos and the dancing thiasos, one of the maenads occasionally leaves her satyr-partner and approaches the god. On a fragmentary amphora in Berlin (fig. 4),<sup>16</sup> Dionysos is shown with ivy wreath and drinking horn standing amidst the dancing thiasos. Two maenads are dancing towards him, while at the same time looking back to two satyrs behind them. (The face of the maenad on the left of Dionysos is unfortunately destroyed.) A third maenad is dancing on the very left. The number and the gender of the persons depicted, three male and three female, inevitably creates the impression of three couples. Thus in the eye of the viewer, the dancing maenad in the middle is closely linked to Dionysos: she, the cult participant, occupies the place that had been traditionally the place of the god's consort.<sup>17</sup> Like the fifth-century vases alluding to the *hieros gamos* between Dionysos and the Basilinna, these earlier vases allude to the marriage-like relationship between the god and a mortal woman.

On a hydria in Berlin we see Dionysos mounting a chariot and a woman clad in chiton and cloak with an ivy wreath in her hair standing in front of him (fig. 5).<sup>18</sup> Though one would be inclined to interpret such a woman as a maenad or as the consort of the god, the vase painter made clear that he meant someone else: "Semele", as he wrote between the legs of the horses, indicating that this woman was Dionysos' mother. Semele was a Theban princess who aroused the desire of Zeus and was burnt to ashes by the unveiled sight of her lover. Her son Dionysos, being partly of divine and partly of human origin, nevertheless was a god. Upon reaching adulthood, he went down to Hades and brought his mother to Mount Olympus.<sup>19</sup> In all probability the vase

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15 For the *komos*, the dance of revellers and *hetairai*, as the iconographic model for depictions of the thiasos, see Greifenhagen (1929). The iconography of the so-called maenads on Attic vases owes its existence mainly to two sources: the iconography of the dancing *hetairai* and the iconography of women in Dionysiac ecstasy, see Moraw (1998) 31–43. This is the reason why maenads in vase painting are so often strongly sexualized – which, of course, has nothing to do with the reality of maenadic cult.

16 Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin F 1827. Cf. *CVA* Berlin 5.18–19.

17 For this and related phenomena on late Attic black-figure vases, see Moraw (1998) 249–252.

18 Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin F 1904. Cf. Schlesier/Schwarzmaier (2008) 167–168. cat. no. 18.

19 See Paus. 2.31.2 and 2.37.5. Cf. Hes. *Theog.* 942 and Pind. *Ol.* 2.25–28: "Long-haired Semele lives among the Olympians / after dying in the roar of a thunderbolt; / Pallas loves her ever / and father Zeus; and her ivy-bearing son loves her very much" (transl. William H. Race, italics mine).



painter of this hydria wanted to depict the elevation of a mortal woman to the sphere of the Olympian gods, a topic uncommon in the case of other deities.<sup>20</sup>

A considerable number of black-figure vases of lower quality are concerned with another important topic: the mask of Dionysos suspended on a pillar or column, around which maenads dance or perform ritual actions. Our example, a lekythos in Berlin (fig. 6),<sup>21</sup> shows the column with two masks (rendered with little attention to detail). On either side there is a cloaked woman with twigs in her hand (probably meant to be ivy). These images remain within the human sphere, without any reference to a divine sphere beyond or to indecent male intruders like the satyrs. In this way the vase painters visualized the more orderly aspect of Dionysian cult: a cult according to the norms of the polis.<sup>22</sup>

Still another set of images shows Dionysos reclining in the company of a half-naked woman.<sup>23</sup> On a neck amphora in Cambridge (fig. 7) they share a couch, both wearing nothing but a himation around their waists. A small servant-boy brings a jug of wine, while satyrs and maenads are dancing acrobatically in order to entertain the couple. In front of the couch is a table with bread, meat and wreaths. Beneath the table is a dog gnawing a bone. The status of the reclining woman is difficult to determine. Sometimes she is called a *hetaira*; sometimes she is called a divine companion. Maybe it would be better to accept the fact that she has no explicitly defined status. Many Attic vases from around 500 B.C. represent naked or half-naked women in different contexts, e. g. swimming or engaged in procedures of embellishment. There is no unequivocal sign in these images which allows us to determine securely the status – *hetaira*, woman of citizen status, or goddess? – of the woman in question. Instead, the main message of these images is “beauty”, “sexual attractiveness”.<sup>24</sup> I therefore propose that the images showing Dionysos and a half-naked woman should be understood in a similar way: Dionysos is the god accompanied by a beautiful woman. The identity of this woman is not a matter of interest. The only thing that we can deduce through comparison

20 Perhaps one could compare depictions of Athena leading her protégé Herakles to Olympus in a chariot, e.g. on a contemporary black-figure hydria in Madison, Elvehjem Museum 68.14.1: Boardman (1990) 127 no. 2889 pl. 117.

21 Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin V.I.3356. See Schlesier/Schwarzmaier (2008) 83–85.

22 Cf. the images of women engaged in cults of various Athenian goddesses in: Kaltsas/Shapiro (2008) 46–47 (Athena performing a libation, assisted by a solemn Athenian woman), 104–105 (Athenian girls dancing or racing for Artemis), 146 (a procession of Athenian women and men worshipping Demeter and Kore).

23 See the contributions of Victoria Sabetai and Pauline Schmitt Pantel.

24 See Moraw (2003) 10–18.



with other images is that she cannot be meant to represent, explicitly, either a heroine or a goddess.<sup>25</sup>

No other god is imagined by the vase painters as surrounded by so many different kinds of women. The use of these vases varies: most of them were vessels intended for the male dominated drinking party, the symposium; some, like the late black-figure lekythoi, were especially used by women; some were probably burial objects used as gifts for the dead. But no matter what the original context for viewing these images was, they all define Dionysos as the god of women. As such he can be represented in two ways, either facing a single woman or surrounded by a female group. A common feature of all these women is the fact that their status is not the same as the status of Dionysos. Some of them are human cult participants. This is so in the case of the Basilinna, the wife of the Archon Basileus, who performs the sacred marriage with the god; in the case of the maenads dancing around the pillar adorned with the god's mask, who should equally be considered pointing to Athenian women; and in the case of the maenads performing ecstatic rites who are elevated by the vase painters to a mythical sphere where Dionysos himself appears to them. In other cases the status of the women in question remains undefined. This holds particularly for the various 'companions' who are represented as facing Dionysos or dining with him. Here, the only thing that can be said with certainty is that they are not defined as a distinct goddess, for instance as Aphrodite. Finally, Semele and Ariadne, the mother and the wife of Dionysos, should be mentioned. Human women both, of noble descent, they each mated with a god. Ariadne was elevated to the Olympian sphere at once by her husband Dionysos. Semele first died a terrible death caused by her lover Zeus and was made immortal only later, by her son.

This observation leads us to another characteristic which all female figures considered here have in common: encountering Dionysos has positive consequences for them or even their whole city. According to the literary sources, it was for the well-being of Athens that the Basilinna performed her secret rites. Moreover, she was given the opportunity to imagine herself as consort of the god. The Athenian maenads may have performed their rites partly for personal reasons – for the experience of ecstasy and *enthousiasmos* and as a temporary escape from the restrictions of their daily life. On the other hand, it was exactly these well-defined and socially acceptable outlets that guaranteed social order on the polis-level as a whole.<sup>26</sup> Other women – those

25 A naked heroine with an inscription that leaves no doubt about her identity, Helen, appears in Attic vase painting only at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The goddess Aphrodite is never shown completely naked in Athenian art until the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. See Moraw (2003) 34.

26 See Chryssoulaki (2008) and Larson (2007) 126–143, esp. 127.

of undefined status as well as the princesses Ariadne and Semele – owe an exceptional improvement of status to Dionysos. They are elevated to the status of a god's companion or even of a goddess. This clearly contrasts with the bitter fate experienced by mortal women who were elected by other divine lovers such as Apollo or Zeus. Innumerable stories tell us about rape, secret birth, exile or death.<sup>27</sup> Accordingly, the Attic vases from around 500 B.C. represent the confrontation of a (mostly male) deity and a (mostly female) mortal in the iconographic scheme of a pursuit.<sup>28</sup> It is only Dionysos who is represented as a god who can approach a woman or can be approached by women without ensuing disaster.<sup>29</sup>

### Dionysos as God of Epiphany

Dionysos does not only appear in person to his maenads or to the dancing thiasos. In his essay, Alexander Heinemann draws attention to the fact that Hellenistic sculptors changed the traditional pattern of the so-called “Totenmahlrelief”, or “funerary-meal relief”, that is, a votive relief depicting a reclining heroized dead or a god approached by mortals.<sup>30</sup> The earliest known example of the new type is an almost completely preserved marble relief of the late third century B.C. from Piraeus (fig. 8).<sup>31</sup> The reclining man is still characterized as a dead elevated to heroic status by the snake that is curling around one of the legs of the table in front of him. His female companion who is sitting at the end of the couch is also a stock figure of the genre. What is new, however, is the youthful and drunk Dionysos approaching from the left, supported by a much smaller satyr. He takes the place that in traditional funerary-meal reliefs was reserved for the mortal attendants. The sculptor chose this iconographic pattern in order to visualize the epiphany of Dionysos. The reclining couple gesticulates vividly and bids the god welcome.

27 One could think of the fate of Semele mentioned above, or of Kreousa, treated in the contribution of Froma Zeitlin.

28 See Kaempf-Dimitriadou (1979).

29 At least as long as the women acknowledge his divine status and power. The fragment of an Attic vase painted by Euphronios shows clearly what happens if they do not: the women of Thebes tore their king Pentheus (name inscribed) to pieces because of madness sent by Dionysos as punishment for their own disbelief as well as the king's: fragmented psykter Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 10.221 a-f; 520/510 B.C.; Villanueva Puig (2009) 60–61 fig. 1.

30 For funerary-meal reliefs in general, see Hausmann (1960) 25–31 fig. 12–15; for the development of the Hellenistic type out of late archaic and classical ones and for the diverse changes of pattern, see Borbein (1968) 183–186. The Hellenistic sequel was first established by Watzinger (1946/47).

31 Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 741, late 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.; cf. Wolf (1998) 80 fig. 24.

Some years later, a sculptor located the god's epiphany explicitly in the sphere of the living: on a votive relief in the Vatican that is only partly preserved,<sup>32</sup> we see a couple on the couch. The heads of both are badly damaged, but we can still recognize that they look to the right. In front of the couch, there is a table, but no snake. On the left, there is a servant-boy. On the right, which is also badly damaged, one can still recognize a kneeling satyr-boy. As we can deduce from later examples, he is untying the god's sandal.<sup>33</sup> Dionysos, thus, has to be substituted approaching from the right, possibly accompanied by further members of his mythical retinue, untying his shoes and wishing to join the surprised mortals in their banquet.<sup>34</sup> He is represented as a god who appears in person to those who celebrate him and his gift, the wine. Most probably, these votive reliefs were once dedicated to Dionysos in one of his sanctuaries. They celebrate Dionysos as the god of wine and feasting, of a life full of pleasure. As has been emphasized in recent years,<sup>35</sup> it was this worldly aspect of Dionysos – and of the cult of Dionysos – that was of interest especially for the Greeks of the Hellenistic age.

Votives were usually dedicated to a deity either in order to ask for a favour or to give thanks for a favour already received.<sup>36</sup> Some of them bear evidence to an official festival, for example in honour of Athena.<sup>37</sup> More often, however, they are devoted to deities who were believed to pay attention to the troubles and sufferings of common men and women. Most votive reliefs are expressions of popular religion, depicting the moment of contact between a pleading mortal and a benign god. The usual strategy for depicting this moment is to show one or more impressively huge, and rather static, deities that are approached by tiny mortals.<sup>38</sup> Depictions of healing gods are the most

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32 Rome, Vatican, Saletta degli originali Greci inv. 1346, ca. first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.: Wolf (1998) 80 fig. 25 and Borbein (1968) pl. 39.2.

33 These reliefs with a somewhat different iconography (the so-called Ikarios reliefs) from the first century B.C. as well as the roughly contemporary so-called Campana reliefs were produced for the Roman market and for decorative use. They probably go back to a (hypothetical) prototype of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. of unknown function (votive relief like the older examples? decorative relief like the younger?). For the Campana reliefs, see Borbein (1968) 183–186 pl. 39.1. For the Ikarios reliefs, see e.g. Cain (1997b) 57, with figure.

34 Cf. Borbein (1968) 185: “das Mahl der Sterblichen wird durch die unerwartete Epiphanie des Dionysos unterbrochen.”

35 See e.g. Wolf (1998) 85–87.

36 Hausmann (1960) 4–7.

37 For the following, see Edelmann (1999) 175–181.

38 I.e. most of Hausmann's “Verehrungsreliefs” (“adoration reliefs”): Hausmann (1960) 57–79 fig. 30–32, 34, 36, 40. Cf. Edelmann (1999) 154–166.

notable exception. On a relief of the classical period from Piraeus (fig. 9),<sup>39</sup> the sculptor has represented the epiphany of Asklepios and his daughter Hygieia. Asklepios bends over a sick woman, who is sleeping on a couch, in order to cure her suffering. On the left, the woman's family, much smaller in scale, is watching and praying.

Like these non-Olympian deities, Dionysos appears to those who honour him and who ask for his help – even if ‘help’ should here be understood rather differently: the god ‘helps’ mortals to get drunk or to rid themselves of their daily sorrows. The sculptors of the Hellenistic votive reliefs represented Dionysos as god of epiphany.<sup>40</sup> He is “*der kommende Gott*”, as Walter F. Otto aptly called him years ago.<sup>41</sup>

### Dionysos as the God who Integrates Humans into His Sphere

Dionysos is one of the few Olympian gods regularly, and until late antiquity, represented with a retinue,<sup>42</sup> in his case the thiasos. Together with his maenads and satyrs, he is depicted as living in a realm of his own.<sup>43</sup> But this does not mean that his world is hermetically closed. As we have already seen with respect to Dionysos and women in Attic vase painting, artists liked to give visual expression to the fact that the god is able to draw mortals into this mythical retinue: Athenian women performing maenadic rites were depicted as the maenads of myth; Athenian men dancing after the consumption of wine at the symposion were depicted as satyrs. In some instances, a cult effigy of Dionysos is shown, surrounded not by ordinary humans, but by satyrs and/or maenads.<sup>44</sup> The sculptor of the famous Telephos frieze in Pergamon chose yet another way to visualize the oscillation between human and mythic that is so characteristic for the Dionysian realm (fig. 10): in a rural sanctuary, we see two lavishly dressed women, one of them followed by a servant-girl, conversing

39 Athens, Piraeus Museum 405, ca. 400 B.C.: Edelmann (1999) 215 cat. no. F 24. Cf. Hausmann (1960) 58 fig. 28 and Edelmann (1999) 166–167.

40 The same can be said of the rendering of Dionysos in a battle scene of the Telephos frieze, see the section on “Dionysos in battle”, below.

41 Otto (1933) 74.

42 Other examples include Apollo (with Muses, Nymphs or Moirai) and, most importantly, Aphrodite/Venus. For Apollo, see Kokkorou-Alewrás (1984); for Aphrodite/Venus, see below.

43 Alexander Heinemann, in his contribution, called this phenomenon the “*Eigenweltlichkeit*” of Dionysos.

44 E.g. as worshipping an archaic cult effigy: Hackländer (1996) 47–53.

with each other.<sup>45</sup> That this is a sanctuary of Dionysos is indicated not by the god himself or by his cult effigy but by the presence of two satyrs, both sitting on rocks. Though completely naked and seemingly belonging to a different sphere, they nevertheless converse with the women.

The presence of mortals in Dionysos' retinue is typical for representations of the god from the archaic age to late antiquity.<sup>46</sup> Dionysos shares this with another important deity, Aphrodite/Venus. Since the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C., vase painters show mortal women, above all brides preparing for the wedding, in an Aphrodisian environment.<sup>47</sup> On Roman sarcophagi of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E., the deceased woman herself is depicted as *Venus Marina*.<sup>48</sup> Even as late as 400 C.E., on a silver casket probably intended as a wedding gift, the bride of Christian faith, Proiecta, can explicitly be compared to Venus.<sup>49</sup> Roman women wealthy enough to afford a sculptured sarcophagus or a silver casket, then, seem to have felt no qualms about equating themselves with the goddess. For men to identify with Dionysos seems to have been more difficult. On some Apulian vases intended for tomb contexts there is a nude young man in the thiasos whose identity – Dionysos himself or a mortal cult-participant? – is left open, at least for modern viewers.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, it is well known that some Hellenistic rulers propagated an equation with Dionysos, a tradition that ended with Marc Antony.<sup>51</sup> Following the latter's unfortunate end after the battle of Actium, the model was discredited. This is probably one of the reasons why an actual equation with Dionysos is rarely found in Roman

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45 Pergamonmuseum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, panels 44–46 of the Telephos frieze. Cf. Dreyfus/Schraudolph (1996) II.93 fig. 15–16, and Heilmeyer (1997) 110–111 fig. 15–16.

46 For the Hellenistic works of art, this aspect is stressed in Alexander Heinemann's essay in the present volume.

47 See Götte (1961) 60–71 and Burn (1987) 26–44.

48 See Zanker/Ewald (2004) 126–128 fig. 103 and 110.

49 See L. Schneider (1983) 5–38.

50 See e.g. the description of a bell krater once in a private collection in New York, Trendall/Campitoglou (1987) 50 no. 33 pl. 15.3: a young man with thyrsos and kantharos leaning on a pillar and wearing nothing but a tiny cloak over his left shoulder, in conversation with a seated satyr with thyrsos, is called “nude youth” by the authors. Another half-naked young man with fillet in his hair, thyrsos and torch, following a satyr with torch and situla, however, is called “Dionysos”: bell krater Zagreb, Archaeological Museum 5, Trendall/Campitoglou (1987) 71 no. 48 pl. 24.5. It seems that the whole set of attributes – cloak, fillet or wreath, thyrsos, torch, situla, drinking vessel – can be given to both followers and god. For the Apulian vases, cf. also the contribution of Thomas Carpenter in this volume and the next paragraph.

51 For details, see the section below, on “Dionysos in battle”. For Marc Antony, cf. Therese Fuhrer's contribution in this volume.

art.<sup>52</sup> The questions involved would certainly merit further investigation, but this exceeds the scope of the present contribution. Anyhow, the fact that Dionysos and Venus are deities who allow mortals to enter the divine sphere is certainly one of the reasons for the popularity that both enjoyed until the end of antiquity.

### Dionysos as God of a Blessed Afterlife

As we learned from Thomas Carpenter, a facet of this integration can be found in Apulian vase painting of the late 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. Many vases, especially kraters, were decorated with Dionysos and his thiasos, either dining at the symposium or dancing in a procession. In both cases, a beautiful nude young man may join the Dionysian retinue.<sup>53</sup> Unlike the Attic vases treated above which were intended mostly for daily use, the Apulian vases discussed here were exclusively made for, and found in, tombs.<sup>54</sup> Consequently, their decoration has to be interpreted according to the sepulchral context. Another point that has to be taken into account is the fact that southern Italy was famous for its wide-spread Dionysian mysteries.<sup>55</sup> Thus, the Dionysian world on these Apulian vases is meant to be an image of a blessed afterlife: of the pleasures that await the deceased who, in life, had been initiated into the cult of Dionysos. The young man often depicted on these vases has to be interpreted as the ideal image of the deceased.

I am not certain if every person who was buried with such a vase had been an initiate of the Dionysian mysteries in life.<sup>56</sup> Perhaps in some cases these images were simply used as an iconographic formula for a hoped-for happy

52 In addition to the fact that Dionysian *tryphe*, so popular among Hellenistic rulers, was difficult to reconcile with the officially propagated Roman values. Today, more than 450 Roman sarcophagi showing the Dionysian thiasos are known, but only very few have the dead directly identified with Dionysos, i. e. the portrait head of the dead combined with the body of the god: Zanker/Ewald (2004) 135–177, esp. 160 fig. 145. A direct identification of a female deceased with Ariadne was apparently less problematic, see Zanker/Ewald (2004) 162–167 fig. 118, 147 and 152. On a more abstract level, a deceased (always male?) child could be compared to Dionysos as infant, see children's sarcophagi decorated with scenes from the god's childhood: Zanker/Ewald (2004) 146–147 fig. 130.

53 See the contribution of Thomas Carpenter, esp. fig. 5–6 (volute krater Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire A 1018; cf. Trendall/Campitoglou [1987] 35 no. 9 pl. 10.1) and fig. 7 (volute krater Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum 1873.21.1; cf. Trendall/Campitoglou [1987] 171 no. 45 pl. 56.4).

54 There existed, of course, also Apulian vases made for daily use, with another kind of decoration and sometimes different technique, see Trendall (1989) 14.

55 See Burkert (1987), esp. 21–23, and Schlesier (2001a).

56 The same scepticism is expressed already by Burkert (1987) 22.

afterlife, as were the Roman sarcophagi with images of the marine thiasos later on.<sup>57</sup> The question is, then, on how abstract a level these images could be conceived of. And a related question:<sup>58</sup> what about the female initiates? Could they identify with the nude young man, too? Or did they, for identification, rely on the maenads? Or were they not buried with such vases at all? In order to answer these questions, one would have to analyse the decoration of vases found in unambiguously female grave contexts.

Most important for the present inquiry, however, is the fact that it was the image of Dionysos and his world that was chosen by the vase painters and their customers to visualize ideas of a blessed afterlife; not the image of another deity, e. g. of the Eleusinian goddesses.<sup>59</sup>

### Dionysos in Battle

It may appear somewhat surprising that Dionysos is also considered a fierce fighter. Already in archaic art he was imagined by sculptors and vase painters as taking part in the Gigantomachy, the fateful battle between the Olympian gods and the earth-born Giants<sup>60</sup>. Moreover, the spread of Dionysian cult could be presented as a conquest:

I have left the gold-rich lands of the Lydians and Phrygians and travelled to the sun-scorched uplands of the Persians, to walled Bactra, to the Medes' wintry terrain, to wealthy Arabia, and the whole tract of Asia which lies by the briny sea with its fair-towered cities full of Greeks and barbarians mixed together. I came to this city [that is, Thebes] before all others in Greece when I had set Asia dancing and [established] my mysteries there, so that I should be a god manifest to mortals.

That is what the god himself tells his audience in the prologue of Euripides' *Bacchae*.<sup>61</sup> In the time of Alexander the Great, the god's mythical conquests served as a model for the king's actual conquest of India; and the propagated benevolence of his reign could be compared to the blessings associated with

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57 Cf. Zanker/Ewald (2004) 117–134.

58 I owe this suggestion to Therese Fuhrer.

59 Of the five most popular mystery cults in antiquity – the mysteries of Mithras, Isis, Meter, Eleusis and Dionysos – only the last two were already of importance for the Greek world of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The Dionysian mysteries were the more 'international' ones because they were not bound to one specific sanctuary, as in the case of Eleusis, but could spread through diverse regions by means of travelling priests or priestesses. It seems that in the period in question, the Dionysian mysteries could even be seen as a kind of substitute for the Eleusinian ones: Burkert (1987) 30–53, esp. 36–38.

60 See Vian (1952) 83–90.

61 Eur. *Bach.* 14–23 (transl. James Morwood). Cf. Bosworth (1996) 145.

the world of Dionysos.<sup>62</sup> Vice versa, from now on Dionysian triumph was often presented as an 'Indian' triumph, with elephants and tigers,<sup>63</sup> after the model of Alexander's famous venture. Alexander's successors, above all the kings of Egypt, remained faithful to the idea; they used to represent themselves as *neos Dionysos*, as a reincarnation of the god.<sup>64</sup>

On the Pergamon Altar, built in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C., Dionysos appears twice.<sup>65</sup> On the great external frieze he is shown fighting, in a prominent position, in the battle against the Giants. Together with his deified mother Semele and his mythical retinue of satyrs and nymphs he is depicted on the southern risalite wing, clearly visible for every ancient viewer who climbed the stairs up to the podium with the sacrificial altar proper. This prominent position is comparable to that of the famous group of Zeus, Herakles and Athena – and of all fighting Giants, too – on the opposite side of the building (fig. 11a–b).

They were the first figures that met the eye of anyone who entered the area of the Great Altar, and they are, of course, the most important ones: Zeus was the highest god of the Greek pantheon and the one to whom the altar (which could even be regarded as his Olympian palace) was dedicated.<sup>66</sup> Athena, on the other hand, was the patron goddess of Pergamon. Finally, Herakles, today barely visible on the frieze due to heavy damage, was the mortal hero whose presence, according to an oracle, was necessary for the gods to win the battle.<sup>67</sup> Thus on this frieze, there is no difference between Dionysos and the other gods. He is distinguished from the mass of the fighting deities only by his prominent position, which may be understood in relation to the prominence of Dionysos' splendid theatre and temple in Hellenistic Pergamon.<sup>68</sup>

The inner walls surrounding the elevated court with the sacrificial altar were decorated with another, smaller frieze. This frieze depicted the life and deeds of Telephos, son of Herakles and the Arcadian princess Auge, whom the

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62 See Bosworth (1996).

63 See e.g. the famous Roman sarcophagus in Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Inv. 23–31, 170/180 C.E.: Zanker/Ewald (2004) 312–316 and fig. 131–132. For a focus on India even as late as the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century C.E., see the *Dionysiaka* of Nonnos.

64 See e.g. Rice (1983).

65 For ample discussion and for illustrations, see the contribution of Cornelia Isler-Kerényi in this volume. For further reading, see Dreyfus/Schraudolph (1996) and Heilmeyer (1997).

66 See Scholl (2009).

67 Cf. (Pseudo-)Apollodorus 1.6.1.

68 Cf. Dreyfus/Schraudolph (1996) II.36 and foldout 1; Heilmeyer (1997) 34 and 29 (all drawings by Wolfram Hoepfner).



ruling Attalid dynasty claimed as the mythical founder of Pergamon.<sup>69</sup> A large part of that frieze was devoted to the fights in which Telephos and his men managed to drive back the Greek army that had invaded Mysia on its way to Troy. In one of these scenes Dionysos is represented as actively taking part in the fighting.

According to myth,<sup>70</sup> the god was angry with Telephos. Thus, Dionysos intervened in the fighting by making grow vine-branches that troubled Telephos so much that his antagonist Achilles was able to thrust a spear into his thigh. Dionysos (only partially preserved) is represented approaching from the right. The two fighters are in an even poorer condition, but at least the thrust of the spear into Telephos' thigh is still discernible.<sup>71</sup>

The frieze is populated by minor deities and mythical figures. Two river gods, for example, attend construction work in a sanctuary. On another panel, nymphs bath the newborn Telephos while a mountain goddess is sitting in the background.<sup>72</sup> Like the detailed rendering of the landscape, these figures helped to contextualize the whole mythical story in the area of Hellenistic Pergamon. They helped to promote the illusion that the viewer was an eyewitness to the events.<sup>73</sup> Unlike the Gigantomachy frieze, which is situated in a remote sphere, the Telephos frieze seems to present the human world as it was known to and imagined by the inhabitants of Pergamon. For this reason it is not surprising that the Olympian gods do not appear personally on the Telephos frieze but are represented by their cult effigies. On panel 20 (fig. 12),<sup>74</sup> for example, king Teuthras is leading his adopted daughter Auge to Telephos (who is now lost). On a pillar in the background one can see an archaistic cult effigy of Athena whom Auge served as a priestess.<sup>75</sup>

69 The political use (or abuse) of decorative sculpture was common in Greek sanctuaries. Cf. the results of research on the Athenian Parthenon, e.g. Schneider/Höcker (2001), or on Delphi, e.g. Hölscher (1974). For Pergamon, see Schalles (1986).

70 For different reasons for that anger, cf. Schwenn (1934) 365.

71 Panel 31; cf. Dreyfus/Schraudolph (1996) II.89 fig. 10, and Heilmeyer (1997) 108 fig. 11.

72 River gods: panel 50 (Dreyfus/Schraudolph [1996] II.94 fig. 17, and Heilmeyer [1997] 112 fig. 17); nymphs and mountain goddess: panel 8 (Dreyfus/Schraudolph [1996] II.85 fig. 3, and Heilmeyer [1997] 102 fig. 3). Cf. the satyrs in the sanctuary of Dionysos on panels 44–46 (see here, fig. 10). – On the issue of the bath of a newborn hero or god, see Bowersock (in this volume).

73 See Andrew Stewart in: Dreyfus/Schraudolph (1996) I.42.

74 Dreyfus/Schraudolph (1996) I.64–65 cat. no. 7, and Heilmeyer (1997) 156–157 cat. no. 23.

75 Other examples: panel 11, with Auge and her maid-servants adorning the cult effigy of Athena (Dreyfus/Schraudolph [1996] II.85 fig. 2, and Heilmeyer [1997] 101 fig. 2); panel 1, with Telephos pleading in front of a cult statue of Apollo (Dreyfus/Schraudolph [1996] II.90 fig. 11, and Heilmeyer [1997] 108 fig. 10). Panel 49 is more difficult to interpret (Dreyfus/Schraudolph [1996] II.94 fig. 17, and Heilmeyer [1997]

As far as we can tell from the fragments, Dionysos is the only major deity on the Telephos frieze who is represented as being really there, i. e. corporally present. Nevertheless his figure is rendered in a slightly smaller scale than the human figures on the frieze.<sup>76</sup> This probably means that the sculptor meant him to be in the background, indicating spatial recession by smaller scale.<sup>77</sup> In the original (and now unfortunately mostly lost) composition, Dionysos must have appeared to Telephos and Achilles from the background. To these mortal fighters he is the ‘god of epiphany’, as he is to mortal maenads, members of the thiasos or banqueters.

Dionysos is the only deity who is represented in persona on both friezes of the Pergamon Altar: as god appearing to mortals on the Telephos frieze, as god among gods on the Gigantomachy frieze. The other mythical figure who is represented twice is Herakles. Like Dionysos, Herakles was the son of Zeus and a mortal woman, in this case the Theban princess Alkmene. Unlike Dionysos, however, he was not born a god but gained divine status only after his death.<sup>78</sup> As has already been noted, Herakles’ presence in the Gigantomachy was crucial; hence his prominent position on the Gigantomachy frieze. On the Telephos frieze, Herakles is depicted as the father of Telephos,<sup>79</sup> thus ultimately linking the foundation of Pergamon to Zeus himself. This oscillation between the human and divine spheres is typical for both Herakles and Dionysos, as is the mixture of human and divine features in their personality. Dionysos shares this last characteristic not only with Herakles but also with a few other ‘divine men’, as the next section will show.

### Dionysos as the Most Human God

Glen Bowersock demonstrated in his keynote address of the conference that Roman artists, especially those working in late antiquity, emphasized the fact that Dionysos has a biography. An ivory pyxis dating from as late as the 5<sup>th</sup> century C.E. (fig. 13), for instance, depicts four stages of the god’s childhood and youth.<sup>80</sup> It starts, on the very left, with Dionysos ‘first birth’<sup>81</sup> from the

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112 fig. 17): the cult statue of a goddess of unknown identity sitting in her small temple?

76 Dreyfus/Schraudolph (1996) I.68, and Heilmeyer (1997) 162.

77 Cf. Andrew Stewart, in: Dreyfus/Schraudolph (1996) I.42.

78 See e.g. the detailed account in Diod. Sic. 4.38.

79 See e.g. panel 12, with Herakles discovering his baby-son who had been abandoned in the wilderness: Dreyfus/Schraudolph (1996) I.60–61 cat. no. 5, and Heilmeyer (1997) 152–153 cat. no. 21.

80 Bologna, Museo Civico. Cf. Volbach (1976) 71 cat. no. 95 pl. 52, and Hermann (1967) 74 pl. 4c.

fatally wounded Semele. Semele is watching the baby that is attended by two midwives or maid-servants. Under her couch is a vast vessel intended for bathing the newborn god.<sup>82</sup> The act of giving birth is represented in ancient art only rarely.<sup>83</sup> The baby's first bath in the presence of the mother was a more dignified iconographic substitute for it.

In the next scene, a slightly older child is sitting on a throne, surrounded by two dancing warriors, and on the left, a kneeling woman holds out a mirror to him. This scene is an allusion to an Orphic myth, which must have been common knowledge in late antiquity: the infant Dionysos, destined heir to the throne of Zeus and guarded by the Kouretes, was lured away with a mirror and torn to pieces by the Titans at the instigation of jealous Hera.<sup>84</sup> In the third scene we see Dionysos, still a chubby child, learning to ride a goat. Silenos lends him a helping hand, and a woman, probably one of the nymphs of Nysa, is watching.<sup>85</sup> The last picture shows the triumph of the youthful god: Dionysos stands on a chariot drawn by panthers and is accompanied by his ecstatically dancing followers, the thiasos. Thus the entire frieze of the pyxis can be read as a narrative, from 'born from a mortal mother', to an allusion to 'terrible suffering and death', and, finally, to 'triumphant god'.<sup>86</sup>

Dionysos is not the only figure whose childhood and youth – whose biography, so to say – was of interest for both artists and customers of late antiquity. The same holds true for Alexander, whose first bath is depicted on a famous mosaic in today's Lebanon,<sup>87</sup> and especially for Achilles. Achilles'

81 The 'second birth', from Zeus' thigh, is only rarely depicted, e.g. on a Roman sarcophagus, today in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore: Hermann (1967) 73 pl. 4b.

82 For the iconographic tradition of Dionysos' first bath and for comparison with the first baths of Achilles, Alexander and Jesus, see also Hermann (1967).

83 Depictions on grave monuments for midwives are the main exception: Rawson (2003) 101–102.

84 See Guthrie (1952) 108–123. The most important sources are Firm. Mat. *Err.* 6 (quoted and translated by Guthrie, 108–109) and Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2.17.2–18 (quoted and translated by Guthrie, 110–121). For the "mirror of Dionysos" as a symbol of the attractiveness of the visible world for the souls which must descend or "leap" into it, see Plotinus, 4.3.12. For later Neoplatonic allegorical interpretation of the whole story, in which the rending of Dionysos by the Titans symbolises the division of the divine power in the material world, see the passages collected by Kern (1922) 227–228 no. 209 (for the Latin tradition, cf. Macrobius. *In Somn.* 1.12.12 and *Sat.* 1.18.15). See also the contribution of Christian Wildberg to the present volume.

85 Another woman, on the very left, is playing the tympanon. It is difficult to decide if she is to be considered as part of that scene, or as part of the preceding one, with the dancing Kouretes.

86 Does this betray a conscious parallel to the life of Jesus Christ incarnate? This may be so, cf. the results of the analysis of Nonnos' *Dionysiaca* and of the Sappho and Nea Paphos mosaics in Bowersock (1990) 41–53.

87 See the contribution of Glen Bowersock.

childhood and youth was a popular theme in late antique art, depicted on floor mosaics, luxury items like silver vessels and even on less precious terracotta dishes.<sup>88</sup> Comparable to the ivory pyxis showing Dionysos discussed above, artistic representations of Achilles' biography usually start with his birth, then show some scenes from his childhood and upbringing, and end with the triumphal youthful hero.<sup>89</sup> Representations of Achilles' birth always show his mother Thetis reclining and watching her maid-servant(s) bathing the newborn baby,<sup>90</sup> an iconographic scheme familiar from depictions of the birth of Dionysos and Alexander. In the case of Achilles, it is linked to another bathing scene, the bath in the river Styx. According to myth,<sup>91</sup> the goddess Thetis attempted to obtain immortality for the child that she had conceived by a mortal, Peleus. She plunged little Achilles into the river Styx, making his skin invulnerable – with the exception of the ankle, that she grasped in order not to lose the baby in the whirling water. As is well known, Thetis' attempt failed: Achilles met an early death at Troy and was believed to have been carried off to the Island of the Blessed. In historical times he was worshipped as a hero.<sup>92</sup>

Dionysos is the only Olympian god whose biography is a subject of late antique art – and perhaps the only Olympian god whose biography is of interest at all.<sup>93</sup> Furthermore, he is the only Olympian god of partly human origin.<sup>94</sup> All the other Olympians have both a father and a mother of divine status.<sup>95</sup> Children of mixed origin, on the other hand, are as a rule not of divine, but of human status, even if they may gain a kind of deification later, as in the cases of Herakles or Achilles.<sup>96</sup> Thus, these biographic depictions relate Dionysos to men like Achilles or Alexander – who claimed to be the son of

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88 For a general view of these materials and topics, see Kemp-Lindemann (1975) 232–242.

89 Achilles' 'triumph' can either be the termination of his female disguise in Skyros – and hence the start of his career as a hero –, as on the Kaiseraugst silver dish, or, more often, the death of his archenemy Hektor. Only in one case, on the so-called Tensa Capitolina, Achilles' death is depicted, too.

90 For illustrations, see the contribution of Glen Bowersock. On the Kaiseraugst silver dish little Achilles is sitting on the floor, looking in the direction of the bathing vessel.

91 Our earliest source is Stat. *Ach.* 1.133–134; cf. Balensiefen (1996) 91–95, with fig. 16–19.

92 See the contribution of Glen Bowersock; cf. Kemp-Lindemann (1975) 242–245.

93 The biography of Zeus, as told in Hesiod's *Theogony*, is a somewhat different story.

94 Cf. Hes. *Theog.* 940–942. His partly divine, partly human origin is crucial for understanding the nature of Dionysos, as was already emphasized by Otto (1933) 62–70.

95 The mother of Hermes, Maia, being at least a nymph. For the Olympians, cf. Simon (1969/1998).

96 As a rule, too, the offspring is male. The most important exception, and a very interesting one, is Helen.

Zeus<sup>97</sup> –, whose personae combine human and divine traits and who in late antiquity were considered *theioi andres*, “divine men”.<sup>98</sup> These divine men, depicted on floor mosaics or silver vessels in the houses of the elite, were perceived as exempla. They personified the complex intermingling of mortal and immortal, elements that were supposed to constitute the human being,<sup>99</sup> and they had achieved exploits that one could at least attempt to emulate. Perhaps late antique biographic depictions of Dionysos such as on the pyxis discussed above have to be seen in the same light: not so much as images of a god in whom one ‘believed’ but as the expression of the intermingling of human and divine.

A related, though somewhat different, case are the depictions of Jesus. Like Dionysos, Jesus Christ was the son of a divine father and a mortal mother. His two natures, i. e. the human and the divine, and the question how exactly to define their relationship, was an obsession of late antique theological dispute.<sup>100</sup> Since the 4<sup>th</sup> century C.E., the nativity was regarded as the crucial expression of the incarnation, the ‘becoming flesh’ of god’s *logos* in Jesus Christ, conceived in the womb of the Virgin Mary. Accordingly, depictions of the nativity begin in the time of Constantine, representing the child in the manger, with ox and donkey watching.<sup>101</sup> The iconographic scheme of the first bath that we met in the biographic depictions of Dionysos, Achilles, and Alexander, is (according to the present state of our knowledge) adopted only later: at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century C.E. in the East,<sup>102</sup> not before the 7<sup>th</sup>

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97 Cf. Plut. *Alex.* 3 and 27. See recently P. Green (2007) 23–24.

98 For the late antique conception of the divine man, see Stutzinger (1983b); for the importance of this conception for interpreting the biographic depictions of Achilles, see Stutzinger (1983c).

99 Balensiefen (1996) shows that Achilles – a goddess’ son who was nevertheless destined to die young – could even be regarded as an example for the *conditio humana*: the way he is depicted in literature and art in a given epoch betrays contemporary discourses on human mortality and on an immortal part in men.

100 For the following, see Ristow (1983) 347.

101 Ristow (1983) 348.

102 The earliest example is the so called ‘Marienseide’ (see Kötzsche [1993] and Kemp [1994] 116–118), a textile from a tomb in Egypt, representing the story of Mary from childhood to nativity, with an iconography that differs from the later examples. Still visible is the partly destroyed manger, with the donkey. The following lacuna probably once contained the reclining Mary, the main person of the story. On the very right there is a reclining fountain nymph, the personification of the fountain from which the water of the first bath of Jesus had been taken. (Such a fountain was actually shown to pilgrims to the Holy Land, see Hermann [1967] 71.) The personification of the fountain resembles the personification of the Styx in the depictions of Achilles’ bath in the river Styx (cf. above, n. 91). The baby Jesus Christ is sitting in front of the nymph, on an object hard to define, holding another object in his outstretched left hand. Later depictions, an Egyptian textile of the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century C.E. (see Hermann [1967] 64

century C.E. in the West.<sup>103</sup> As with Dionysos and the ‘divine men’, the artistic motif of the naked, helpless<sup>104</sup> little baby being bathed helps to emphasize the humanity of the person in question.



Let us recapitulate. Because of his mixed origin, partly human, partly divine, Dionysos has two natures. On one hand, he is a god among gods.<sup>105</sup> With regard to the artistic monuments discussed above, this is most magnificently expressed in the depiction of Dionysos on the Gigantomachy frieze of the Great Altar at Pergamon. Possibly, this holds true for other official monuments, too, where depictions of the Olympian gods helped to visualize the grandeur of the political community which had commissioned the monument.<sup>106</sup> The Olympian gods in the sculptural decoration of the Athenian Parthenon are but the most prominent, well-known example.<sup>107</sup> Cornelia Isler-Kerényi recently analyzed depictions of Dionysos in the presence of other gods on Attic vases and came to the conclusion that he is portrayed as guarantor of cosmic order and as bringer of peace.<sup>108</sup> As mighty god and fierce fighter, Dionysos was also a suitable role-model for Hellenistic kings and a figure they identified with. This is comparable to the phenomenon that in art, literature and political propaganda Roman emperors tended to equate

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fig. 1c) and a Syrian marble relief of probably the 5<sup>th</sup> century C.E. (Wulff [1914] 131–132 fig. 120, cf. Wilhelm [1970] 100), represent the baby sitting in a bathing vessel, without fountain nymph, and Mary reclining and watching, like the mothers of Dionysos, Achilles or Alexander in the depictions of the first bath discussed above.

103 With the baby in the bathing vessel: fragmentary mosaic from the Oratory of John VII in St. Peter’s, dated 705–708 C.E. (see the contribution of Glen Bowersock), and fresco in the Catacomb of San Valentino, Rome, around 642 C.E. or later (see Hermann [1967] 64–65 fig. 5, and Lawrence [1961] 329). With the baby sitting in the lap of one of the midwives: fresco at Castelseprio, probably 8<sup>th</sup> century C.E. (see Hermann [1967] 66 pl. 2c).

104 For the nudity of children as an iconographic formula for (inter alia) helplessness, see Moraw (2008) 123 and n. 21.

105 The idea of Dionysos as newcomer of low esteem was abandoned already years ago, see e.g. Burkert (1977) 85–86 and McGinty (1978).

106 For the Attalids and the Altar, esp. for an equation of the Attalids’ military ventures with the battle of the Olympians against the Giants, see Schalles (1986) and Scholl (2009).

107 For Athens and the Parthenon, see Schneider/Höcker (2001) 115–155.

108 E.g. in his prominent role at the wedding of Thetis and Peleus or in the return of Hephaistos. See Isler-Kerényi (2008).

themselves, on a metaphorical level, with divine figures like Jupiter or Sol (the figure of Dionysos having been discredited by Marc Antony).<sup>109</sup>

On the other hand, Dionysos is an Olympian god who enters into an unusually intimate relation with mortals. In myth, he is the loving son of a mortal mother as well as the loving husband of a mortal wife. In cult – i. e. in ritual *stricto sensu* as well as during a drinking party – he is likely to appear to his followers or to draw them into his mythical realm. It is these aspects that eventually make Dionysos a different god. I would suggest that in art these aspects prevail on monuments intended for a more private use. We have seen that Dionysos could be imagined as god of women on Attic vases intended for various different uses. As god of epiphany, he was portrayed on Attic vases, too, but also, for instance, on privately dedicated votive reliefs. Even on an official monument like the Great Altar in Pergamon, he was shown as appearing to mortal fighters: that is, on the Telephos frieze, whose more ‘intimate’ character (compared to the Great frieze) has been emphasised by various scholars.<sup>110</sup> The sculptors of the Telephos frieze used even more artistic means to characterize the Dionysian realm: they depicted a sanctuary of Dionysos populated with mortal women and satyrs, thus visualizing the intermingling of the human and the divine spheres typical of Dionysos on Attic vases and in many other genres. On Apulian vases intended as burial objects, on the other hand, Dionysos was represented as the god of a blessed afterlife, with the promise that everybody initiated into his mysteries would be allowed to join his mythical retinue. Finally, luxurious vessels or mosaics in late antique houses put especial emphasis on the idea of Dionysos as the most human god, the one in whose person the divine and the human meet.

The whole complex of Dionysos in art would of course merit greater attention. However, if the papers delivered at the Berlin conference in 2009 are more or less representative, it seems that in art, the ‘human’ side of Dionysos was much more popular and much more widespread. This is only partly due to the fact that artefacts for private use are more numerous than official monuments. As it was pointed out above, Dionysos in his more official role as guarantor of order and peace could be depicted on Attic vases, too. It seems that in the discourse of the visual arts the focus was on Dionysos’ difference.

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109 For Jupiter or Sol, see e.g. Zanker (1987) and Bergmann (1998). For the rare cases of an emperor using Dionysian imagery for propaganda on coins, see Zanker/Ewald (2004) 153–154 fig. 138.

110 See e.g. Andrew Stewart, in: Dreyfus/Schraudolph (1996) I.42, and Huberta Heres, in: Heilmeyer (1997) 109.



# Dionysos and the Blessed on Apulian Red-Figured Vases

*Thomas H. Carpenter*

During the last quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C., the way Dionysos is depicted on Attic red-figure vases suddenly changes. For more than a century and a half, from his first appearance on a black-figure vase ca. 580 B.C., he was shown as a bearded adult wearing a chiton and sometimes a himation. Then suddenly ca. 420 B.C., in the work of the Dinos Painter, he became a beardless youth, naked or half-naked, and as suddenly, the old form all but disappeared.<sup>1</sup> It is not at all clear what provoked the change, but it is precisely the young, beardless god who first appears on South Italian red-figure vases before the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C., and it is in this form that he continues to appear there for another century. It is tempting to see continuity between the Attic and South Italian versions of Dionysos, such that the South Italian version is simply an adoption of an Attic model. However, the change is more complex than that, and we would be unwise to assume that the South Italian god is essentially the same as the Attic deity.

My focus here is on depictions of the god in Apulian red-figure, which was by far the largest school of vase painting in South Italy – more than 10,000 vases have been attributed to individual hands and workshops by Dale Trendall and Alexander Cambitoglou.<sup>2</sup> Apulian red-figure was first produced during the third quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. and continued to be produced on through the 4<sup>th</sup> and into the early 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries B.C. The early painters were almost certainly trained in Attic workshops. While the vases are usually said to have been produced in workshops at Greek Taras, there is no solid archaeological evidence to confirm that supposition. But wherever they were produced, Apulian vases are seldom found outside of Apulia; Trendall estimated 1 % of the extant production has been found elsewhere – as such, they were not an export commodity as Attic vases seem to have been, but were designed for local markets and we can assume that the imagery reflects local interests.<sup>3</sup>

The geographical context is particularly important here. Apulia (fig. 1) is the region of South Italy that stretches from the heel up the Adriatic coast to the Gargano and inland to the Bradano river. Taras was the only Greek city in

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1 Carpenter (1997) 85–103.

2 *RVAp* and supplements.

3 *RVAp* xlvii.



Apulia, and it controlled a chora that extended only some 15 kilometers from the city's center. The rest of that vast area was inhabited by Italic people for whom, by the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C., three archaeological cultures can be defined, largely on the basis of pottery styles – the Messapians to the south, the Daunians to the north, and the Peucetians between them. As recent studies have demonstrated, the Italic people, not the Greeks, provided the principal markets for Apulian red-figure. Thus we should keep in mind that the Dionysos who appears on these vases is aimed primarily at an Italic, not a Greek, market. We can be even more specific as to the markets.<sup>4</sup>

Dionysiac imagery on Early and Middle Apulian vases appears primarily on kraters.<sup>5</sup> Most of those kraters have been found in tombs, and the evidence we have for provenances points to Peucetia most often. Tombs at many rich Italic sites, particularly in Peucetia, have been the source of large numbers of high quality Attic and Apulian vases, the Italic settlement at Ruvo di Puglia being one of the richest. Pottery makes up a substantial portion of the objects found in Apulian tombs, and in Peucetia a krater is almost always included as the largest vase, as recent publication of tombs from Rutigliano makes particularly clear.<sup>6</sup> It is quite possible, perhaps even probable, that many of these kraters were designed and produced for the tomb, in which case the imagery on them should be understood in a funerary context.

By the early 5<sup>th</sup>-century B.C. many Italic settlements were importing Attic figure-decorated pottery depicting a wide range of subjects. Their familiarity with Attic imagery, together with the Attic training of Early Apulian vase painters, make it not at all surprising that much of the imagery in early Dionysiac scenes is derived from Attic models. Scenes on two late 5<sup>th</sup>-century Attic vases found in Italic tombs at Ruvo di Puglia in Peucetia, one now in the Jatta Museum in Ruvo and the other in Karlsruhe, include key elements common to both Attic and Apulian depictions.

On either side of the neck of an Attic volute krater by the Talos Painter (fig. 2), a bearded, fully clothed Dionysos, who wears an ivy wreath on his head, is part of a procession.<sup>7</sup> On the obverse the god is accompanied by satyrs and maenads with torches, thyrsos, pipes, a tympanon, an oinochoe and a kantharos, elements that are all repeated on the reverse. These are elements

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4 Carpenter (2003).

5 Of more than 380 representations of Dionysos (identified as such by Trendall in *RVAp*) 88 % are on kraters, 4 % on oinochoi and 3 % on situlas.

6 Riccardi (1989); De Juliis (2006). For Ruvo di Puglia, see Montanaro (2007). By contrast, the largest vase in Messapian tombs was more often a trozella or nestoris.

7 Ruvo 1501, *ARV* 1338.1. h. 59.8 cm.

that become standard in Apulian Dionysiac scenes from the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>8</sup>

The Karlsruhe vase, an Attic hydria also found at Ruvo (fig. 3), adds a further element common in Apulian scenes, the nakedness of the god himself.<sup>9</sup> In the lower frieze on that vase a naked beardless Dionysos wearing a fillet over an ivy wreath and holding a thyrsos stands in the center, accompanied by dancing maenads with thyrsos and a tympanon and a seated satyr playing pipes. The bearded Dionysos almost never appears on Apulian vases, but the painters were well aware of the traditional bearded form, as the statue of the god on an Early Apulian vase from Ruvo makes clear, suggesting that the bearded and the beardless forms had different meanings for them.<sup>10</sup>

As the Karlsruhe vase illustrates, the basic imagery for the god comes from Attic models: thyrsos, tympanon, torch, kantharos and the naked beardless form of the god, but from the start, Apulian painters add elements to Dionysiac scenes that rarely if ever appear on Attic vases: the actor's mask,<sup>11</sup> the narthex, the kottabos stand,<sup>12</sup> and the situla. They used the language of Attic red-figure to express their own perception of a Dionysos that was already well formed by the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.

On a few vases Dionysos is named, and sometimes he participates in identifiable scenes from myth such as the death of Pentheus, the Gigantomachy or the punishment of Lykourgos, making the identification certain. But on at least 250 Apulian vases from before the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, mostly kraters, a naked or semi-naked youth, who appears in rather generic scenes with a thyrsos and/or a kantharos has traditionally been called Dionysos. In one of the more common scenes, the youth is part of a procession that usually includes a woman and sometimes a satyr as illustrated here on a krater from the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century now in Cleveland (fig. 4).<sup>13</sup> One of the participants in the procession often carries a torch, implying that the

8 The repainting that appears in Sichtermann (1966) pl. 34 has been removed. I examined this vase at the Museo Jatta in 2008 and it is clear that while the lower part of Dionysos' face is missing, a blob of black paint in the region of his neck must be part of a beard. The two costumes represent the two standard forms of representation for the bearded god on Attic vases. On one side he wears a short chiton and on the other a himation over a chiton.

9 Karlsruhe 259, *ARV* 1315.1, h. 50 cm. For the tomb group see Montanaro (2007) 643–650, tomb 152.

10 One exception known to me is an early calyx krater from Taranto (Taranto 4651, *RVAp* 1/37) where the bearded god wears a panther skin over a short chiton, and boots. I know this image from the Cambitoglou Archive in Sydney. For the bearded statue of Dionysos, see Naples 82922 (H.2411).

11 Trendall (1988).

12 Jacquet-Rimassa (1995).

13 Cleveland 89.73: *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Jan. 1992, 1–15.

procession takes place at night, and others can carry a *situla* or a *kottabos* stand. The procession can move to the left or to the right.

The youth on the Cleveland vase is typical of the majority of the youths in these Apulian scenes. His feet are bare and his cloak is draped over his arms and around his back, leaving his front-side completely exposed. His hair is short and he wears a simple white fillet on it. He rarely wears an ivy wreath. By contrast, one of the more dependable attributes of Dionysos on Attic vases is the ivy wreath, which he also usually wears on Apulian vases where his identity is clear, and the god's hair is usually long. The scenes with the naked youth, such as this one, are unquestionably Dionysiac, but is the youth intended to be Dionysos? What might the scenes have meant to the Italic people of Peucetia?

An important divergence in the use of male nudity on Attic and Apulian vases provides a key to understanding these scenes with the naked youth, and here I use *nude* and *naked* interchangeably to describe a male whose genitals are exposed. On both Apulian and Attic vases, most identifiable heroes and warriors in identifiable conflicts are shown nude. So, for example, the *Dioskouroi*, Pentheus, Lykourgos, Aktaion, Theseus, Herakles and Bellerophon are usually depicted nude. So too are warriors in the *Centauiromachy* or *Amazonomachy* and in the *Ilioupersis*. We can safely assume, however, that no sensible Greek or Italic individual believed that anyone ever went into battle naked. As Jeff Hurwit has aptly noted, "in combat nakedness was suicidal".<sup>14</sup> Rather, for Attic and Apulian painters, nudity seems to have been the costume appropriate for heroes. The nude statue of a warrior on an Early Apulian amphora from Gravina seems to express this same idea; the young warrior in death has been elevated to the status of a hero through his nudity.<sup>15</sup> Several decades later the nudity of a statue in a *naiskos* becomes a convention on Apulian vases, not limited to warriors.<sup>16</sup>

On Attic pots, nude males often appear together in athletic and sympotic scenes, but apart from erotic, heroic and mythic scenes, nude males are rarely depicted in the presence of respectable women. On Apulian pots, however, nude males are commonly shown with women, and this is a very significant difference between the two. Where male nudity was a defining characteristic of aspects of Attic culture, there is no reason to believe that it was adopted by the Italic people of Apulia. The careful depictions of local dress in some scenes on column kraters would suggest otherwise, as we shall see.

The different meanings attached to nudity are most clearly illustrated in depictions of a scene usually labeled 'warrior departing', a common subject on

14 Hurwit (2007) 46.

15 Taranto, *RVAp* 2/3, pl. 8.4.

16 Lohmann (1979).

both Attic and Apulian vases. In most Attic depictions, the warrior is shown in the presence of a man and a woman, presumably his parents, while in most Apulian scenes only women participate in the ritual with him. The warrior in Attic scenes is rarely nude, while the warrior in comparable Apulian scenes usually is.<sup>17</sup> These differences between the Attic and Apulian scenes may point to significant differences in meanings conveyed by them.

The ‘warrior departing’ scenes also allow us to refine even further our understanding of Italic markets for figure-decorated vases. Virtually all Apulian depictions of a warrior or warriors departing from before the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century appear on column kraters, and no Apulian column kraters have been found in Greek contexts; rather, those for which a provenance is known come primarily from Italic sites in Peucetia. In other words this was a shape and a subject aimed at an exclusively Italic market.

The Apulian scenes of ‘departing warriors’ can be divided into two groups, those that show Italic warriors, identified by distinctive clothing and implements, and those that show what I will call “hellenized” warriors and women. The Italic warriors are always clothed, the hellenized warriors are rarely clothed. Two vases by the same painter illustrate the difference particularly well. On a column krater in Geneva two women face two naked youths, one of whom holds a shield and both of whom have spears.<sup>18</sup> One of the women holds an oinochoe and a phiale and one of the warriors holds a phiale. These are the normal implements that appear in Attic scenes of the departing warrior. On the other vase, in New York, Italic warriors wear belted loin clothes covering their genitals, while the women wear belted chitons.<sup>19</sup> Both warriors hold spears, and one holds a local form of shield. The oinochoe and the phiale have been replaced by a local form of vase, a nestoris. There can be little doubt but that both scenes represent mortal (as opposed to mythic) warriors and women. Both versions were designed for non-Greeks as shown by the shape. In one version the Italic people are represented quite explicitly as Italic people, and it seems clear that nudity is not part of the local custom. The fact that both versions flourish at the same time suggests different tastes in the Italic audiences.<sup>20</sup>

To return to the divergence between Attic and Apulian uses of nudity, a nude youth with a strigil on some Early and Middle Apulian vases is often identified as an athlete. Sometimes the youth appears with Nike, as on a bell

17 Matheson (2005) 29 notes that most examples with a nude warrior known to her “include inscriptions naming the warrior and the other figures in the scene. The majority of these names come from the Trojan epic”.

18 Geneva 15042, *RVAp* 3/60, pl. 16.1.

19 New York 17.120.241, *RVAp* 3/61, pl. 16.3.

20 Carpenter (2003) 12–16.

krater in Bari where he stands between Nike with a fillet and a woman with a wreath.<sup>21</sup> More puzzling is a scene on an Apulian bell krater in a private collection in New York, where a woman with a mirror stands between two nude youths.<sup>22</sup> The one in front of her holds a strigil and a staff, the one behind only a staff. On both of these vases the nudity of the youths makes sense if they are to be understood as athletes, but the presence of neither woman makes any sense at all from a narrative standpoint. As I noted earlier, nude males, athletes or otherwise, rarely appear together with women on Attic vases. Surely the implication of these scenes on Apulian vases is not that Italic women frequented the palaestra and consorted with nude youths. In short, it is unlikely that they have any correlation with an experienced reality.

Nude males on Attic pots were connected in some way with a known reality. Nudity in athletics was one of the ways Greeks saw themselves as different from barbarians,<sup>23</sup> and while Athenians returning from a symposium, as depicted in komos scenes on red-figure vases, may not often have pranced about naked, accounts of such events make the concept possible and the nudity acceptable. On the other hand, Apulian painters seem to have borrowed the nudity more as a symbol. The distance between image and real life is significantly greater for Apulian red-figure than it is for Attic. For Attic images there is a reality that the images suggest; for Apulian there is rather a symbol system. I suggest that the naked youth in generic scenes found on kraters in Italic tombs might well be understood to represent the deceased, stripped, if you will, of his mortality.

Imagery on an early Apulian volute krater (ca. 400 B.C.) now in Brussels lends itself to this interpretation and allows us to take it a step further (fig. 5 and 6).<sup>24</sup> Attributed to the Painter of the Birth of Dionysos, one of the pioneers of what comes to be called the ornate style of Apulian painting, the vase was found in the “environs de Bari” in Peucetia.<sup>25</sup> Given the good state of preservation, it must have been found in a tomb, and at nearly a meter tall it is unlikely to have had any practical use before deposition in the tomb. I think we can assume that the imagery on such an elaborate vase was not chosen at random and probably had funerary connotations.

The subject of the scene on the body of the obverse is the apotheosis of Herakles in a chariot with Athena; the scene on the neck is a komos. The scene on the body of the reverse shows an Amazonomachy, while on the neck is a traditional scene of a warrior departing (or returning). On both sides, the

21 Bari 5595, *RVAp* 4/43, pl. 23.5.

22 New York Klejman, *RVAp* 3/64.

23 Thuc. 1.6. See Bonfante (1989).

24 Brussels A 1018, *RVAp* 2/9, pl. 10.

25 *CVA* Brussels 1, pl. 1.

painter has explicitly linked the scene on the body with the scene on the neck. On both, the scene above is a mortal version of the mythic scene below.

In the main scene on the reverse of the vase, only one of the warriors in the Amazonomachy is naked, the other three are conspicuously clothed. On the neck, all three of the warriors are naked, and the seated warrior to whom a woman offers a phiale wears the same white pilos that is worn by the naked warrior in the main scene. The nudity of the warriors on the neck shows that the scene is not taken from 'reality' yet surely the figures are to be seen as mortals. One might read the scene on the neck as an offering to a dead warrior whose mortal battle is by analogy raised to mythic proportions by showing him in the Amazonomachy in the scene below.

In the main scene on the other side, a naked Herakles rides in a chariot driven by Athena presumably on their way to Olympus. They are preceded by a Nike with a kottabos stand and followed by a Nike with a spear and shield. Below them, flanked by a satyr and a maenad both with thyrsos, a half-naked Dionysos reclines in a symposion pose holding a kantharos and a thyrsos, while a woman with a narthex sits at his feet. A situla stands on the ground beside him. The dominant theme is sympotic, and the Nike with a kottabos stand leading the chariot seems to imply that Herakles is on his way to a divine symposion at which Dionysos officiates.

On the neck a procession of three naked youths and a woman playing pipes moves to the left. One youth holds a staff and a situla, another holds a kantharos and a torch and a third has a tympanon. The kantharos and situla here are repeated from the scene below. The torch, the tympanon, and the pipes player are elements that appear in the majority of Dionysiac scenes on Apulian vases. Here again a mortal scene on the neck echoes a myth scene below. Here again the nudity of the youths on the neck removes the scene from an Italic reality. Both Herakles and the youths are on their way to symposia. Again, the imagery suggests an analogy – deceased Herakles is made divine, as deceased youths head for a blessed afterlife?

In a famous passage in his *Republic* Plato has Adeimantus, brother of Glaucon, says mockingly:

Musaeus and his son claim that the gods give moral people even more exciting advantages. Once they've transported them, in their account, to Hades and got them reclining on couches for the party they've laid on for just people (συμπόσιον τῶν δόσιων), they next have them spending eternity wearing chaplets on their head and drinking, on the assumption that the best possible reward for goodness is perpetual intoxication. (*Republic* 363c–d, transl. Waterfield)

Though the statement is clearly intended as ridicule, as clearly, it must be based on well-known beliefs to have an effect. Whether those practices or beliefs were Greek, or whether they reflect Plato's experiences in Apulia is, of course, impossible to say. He is said to have gone to Magna Graecia to meet with

Pythagorians perhaps in 389/88, and the final version of *Republic* is thought to have appeared by the mid-370's.<sup>26</sup> The imagery on the Brussels krater, which dates to about 400, could allow an interpretation in which the symposion stands as a metaphor for a blessed afterlife for the devotees of Dionysos.

Given the funerary contexts in which they were found, the scenes with naked youths make most sense as depictions of fabricated realities representing aspirations for the afterlife. In each we can best understand the naked young man as representing the deceased – one a victorious warrior, one a triumphant athlete. In the processional scenes, we might see the youth as an assimilation of the deceased with the god.

Satyrs in scenes with the naked youth remain to be explained. While we cannot know precisely what satyrs meant to Italic people in Apulia, some scenes suggest a function broader than that played by satyrs on Attic vases. So, for example, on a krater now in Dresden, a satyr with a thyrsos observes as a Nike holds out a laurel wreath to a naked youth by an altar, or on another krater a satyr plays pipes in front of a seated youth who holds a spear and above whom hangs a laurel wreath.<sup>27</sup> Of particular interest is another scene where a naked youth with a staff stands facing a woman with a fan who sits on a rock, while to the right a satyr with a wine skin beckons.<sup>28</sup> In none of the scenes can the naked youth, who must be mortal, be understood as part of a reality experienced by Italic people in Apulia, nor do any of the scenes represent parts of mythic narratives. Rather the satyrs might better be seen as guides to and denizens of the blessed afterlife.

On several Early Apulian kraters a youth, often referred to as Dionysos, holds a female mask. For example, on a krater in London, Nike holds out a laurel wreath to the youth while a satyr with a bird stands behind her.<sup>29</sup> On a krater in New York, an altar with a krater on it stands between the youth with a thyrsos and a mask and a satyr holding a torch.<sup>30</sup> Where a spear in the Dresden vase just discussed indicates a warrior, here a mask could indicate an actor. So too on the reverse of the Cleveland krater discussed earlier, the remarkable bust of a youth wearing a laurel wreath, with figures from the comic stage on either side of him more likely represents an actor than the god himself.<sup>31</sup>

Let me conclude with two vases that bring together elements I have discussed above which point to an understanding of the youth as representing

26 Riginos (1976) 62; Emlyn-Jones (2007) 123.

27 Dresden 376, *RVAp* 5/279, pl. 42.1; Basel Market, *RVAp* 4/117, pl. 28.5.

28 Swiss Market, *RVAp* 5/15a, *RVSIS* fig. 116.

29 London F 163, *RVAp* 3/12.

30 New York L 63.21.5, *RVAp* 3/2, pl. 13.1.

31 See above, n. 13.

the deceased. One is a column krater now in Florida, where Italic warriors prepare to depart, one on foot, one on horseback.<sup>32</sup> A Nike with a sash approaches one, a woman with a huge nestoris and a wreath approaches the other. Where most column kraters have a stock scene of draped youths on the reverse, this one has a fully developed scene. A procession moves to the right led by a satyr with a situla who is followed by a naked youth with a thyrsos and phiale and a woman with a thyrsos and a wreath, who is identical to the woman with the nestoris on the obverse. Perhaps here too we should see a procession into a Dionysiac afterlife.

The other vase is a volute krater (ca. 390 B.C.), now in Edinburgh (fig. 7).<sup>33</sup> There a half naked Dionysos, an ivy wreath and elaborate fillet on his head, reclines on a couch swinging a kottabos cup as a woman prepares the target on a stand similar to the one we saw earlier on the Brussels vase. A young satyr with a torch and a situla stands behind him. What is particularly striking about this scene is a naked youth with his arms raised who walks in from the left. I suggest that we should think of him as one of the deceased who has arrived at his reward and marvels at the wonder of it all.

One fundamental perception of Dionysos by the Italic people of Apulia, as we know him from their figure-decorated pottery, concerns the god's role in the promise of a blessed afterlife. His connection with the underworld has been well established by a volute krater attributed to the Darius Painter, now in Toledo, where he touches the hand of Hades in the presence of Persephone.<sup>34</sup> But this is a gentle underworld scene, where a tame Kerberos, tied to a column is teased by a cute paniskos, and maenads dance off to the left. This is the promise to those who participate in his mysteries. So, the nude youth, often called Dionysos, who participates in dozens of Dionysiac processions, is best understood, I believe, as the assimilation of the deceased with the god himself, and as such is a consoling image for the living who know that for them death will have no sting.

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32 Tampa 104, *RVAp* 9/187, pl. 82.1–2.

33 Edinburgh 1873.21.1, *RVAp* 7/45, pl. 56.4.

34 Toledo 1994.19, *RVAp* 18.41a1, *AJA* 113 (2009) 36, fig. 6.





# Epigraphica Dionysiaca

*Susan Guettel Cole*

## Dionysos is Different

Dionysos is not like other gods. Like Herakles, he hovers between mortal and divine, belongs out of doors, and is constantly on the road. Because both are sons of Zeus, the two are sometimes paired in worship or represented together, as at Thasos, where their images decorated one of the gates on the western side of the city. On one relief Herakles crouches with his bow drawn turned to face the outer territory. On another, now lost, Dionysos was once pictured with his maenads. The inscription that linked the two images dates from the late sixth or early fifth century B.C.:

Ζηνὸς καὶ Σεμέλης καὶ Ἀλκμήνης ταυπέπλο  
ἑστᾶσιν παῖδες τῆσδε πόλεως φυλακοί (IG XII 8.356).<sup>1</sup>

Children of Zeus and Semele and Alkmene of the long peplos stand here as guardians of this city.

Divine status can be an issue for both Dionysos and Herakles. Nevertheless, the two are not at all alike in appearance, attitude, character, or displays of power. In fact, Dionysos does not do what other gods do. He does not like to stay at home; he can change his identity with ease; and he is an irresistible tease. Moreover, he does not have a day job. He seems like an outsider. In Euripides' *Bacchae* he appears as a Lydian stranger, but if we look carefully, as Pentheus does not, we find that Dionysos is the original insider, as Semele's tomb attests, pointed out in the theater and still smoking when her son returns home as an adult.<sup>2</sup>

Even in antiquity people confused one Dionysos with another and conflated his rituals with those of other divinities.<sup>3</sup> We hear of Arignote, a woman from Samos who is said to have studied with Pythagoras and Theano

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1 Picard (1962) I.43–83. The relief of Herakles is in Istanbul; the location of the other one is not known.

2 Eur. *Bach.* 6–9. There was a *sekos* of Semele at Thebes in the second century B.C., where decrees could be displayed; Le Guen (2001) I.20, 28.

3 In his description of the painting of Polygnotos at Delphi, Pausanias says that the Dionysos who seduced Ariadne was the same Dionysos who made a campaign in India: 10.29.4–5.

and seems to have had a reputation for being one of this god's most devoted fans. The *Suda* says that she wrote philosophical works and at least two books on mysteries: one called *Bacchica* (also entitled *Hieros Logos*) and another called *Teletai of Dionysos*.<sup>4</sup> The note writer for the *Suda* must have been confused because the entry associates *Bacchica* with the mysteries of Demeter. It is possible that there were three separate works: one called *Hieros Logos*, about the mysteries, and two about Bacchic matters, one entitled *Bacchica* and the other *Teletai Dionysou*.

## Dionysos and Wine

Dionysos would have needed two books because his personality was so complex. I have selected a handful of ordinary, but slightly eccentric, inscriptions to illustrate a few of the many different ways to encounter Dionysos. There is a tremendous variety in the local stories about this god, and there were many ways to worship him. Nevertheless, the traditional themes of Dionysiac literature seem absent from his rituals as reported in inscriptions. In literature we notice that Dionysos had a tendency to turn the table on his followers, to confuse his worshippers by making a sudden about face. The god does this neatly in Euripides' *Bacchae*, when he punctuates his conquest of Pentheus by saying simply "ἄ" (810). Dionysos has so much power because he puts his antagonists off balance. His reputation for this power comes from his long association with wine. The original primary function of Dionysos probably was the protection of the grapevine and its great product. On Keos a Mycenaean structure is associated with Dionysos because of an early classical graffito found there. The text is scratched on the foot of a broken skyphos:

Εὐξάμενος  
Ἄνθιππος  
ὁ Ἰολιέτης  
Διον[ύ]σοι  
ἀνέθ[η]κην  
τὴν κύλικα  
τὴνδε.

Having prayed (and therefore made a vow), Anthippos from Ioulis dedicated this kylix to Dionysos.<sup>5</sup>

There is no evidence to connect the Mycenaean finds on the site with Dionysos, but the inscription gives us evidence for the late archaic period.

4 Ἰαρινιώτη, α 3872, *Suda on Line*. Tr. Graham Shipley 13 October 2000. 21 August 2009 <<http://www.stoa.org/sol-entries/alpha/3872>>.

5 Caskey (1995) 138, fig. 24 (*SEG XL 716*).

Anthippos calls his skyphos a kylix. Whether or not the wine had muddled his memory, his dedication makes a connection between the container and the god. Personal identity can be challenged by drinking too much, and wine could throw Anthippos off balance, but he still knows his own name. Of the numerous simple dedications to Dionysos found throughout the ancient Greek world, most are probably associated with viticulture and the service of wine. Recognition of Dionysos, however, required recognition of the power of wine and therefore the proper use of wine in a communal setting.

### Ancient Autopsy and Oaths of Purity

Epigraphical information about Dionysiac ritual can turn up in unexpected places. One of these places is ancient literature. Texts described or quoted by ancient writers are important sources of information because they can give us clues to ancient audiences and their expectations about texts displayed in public. I would like to take a moment to discuss a well-known text, but one that none of us has ever seen because it has never been found. We know it only from a written summary of its content given by a biased prosecutor in an Athenian trial. This summary is a piece of *Epigraphica Dionysiaca*, but it refers to a text unlike any other inscription in the Dionysiac corpus. Already almost illegible in the fourth century B.C., this inscription recorded the law about the requirements for the wife of the Basileus. The Basileus was the Athenian official who had jurisdiction over traditional Athenian festivals. Important rites of the city in honor of Dionysos were entrusted to his wife. Called Basilinna once in the speech,<sup>6</sup> she served during the Anthesteria, early spring rituals organized around the production and preparation of wine. In his attack on Neaira, the speaker paraphrases the inscribed law setting down the qualifications for the wife of the Basileus:

τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ νόμον ἔθεντο ἄσπτην εἶναι καὶ μὴ ἐπιμειγμένην ἑτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ ἄλλὰ παρθένον γαμεῖν, ἵνα κατὰ τὰ πάτρια θύηται τὰ ἄρρητα ἱερὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα γίγνηται τοῖς θεοῖς εὐσεβῶς καὶ μηδὲν καταλύηται μηδὲ καινοτομήται. ([Dem.] 59.75)

They made a law that his wife be an *aste* [i.e. from a citizen family] and that he marry one not touched in intercourse by another man but a *parthenos* [virgin], so that the sacred rites that cannot be mentioned be carried out for the sake of the city according to the customs of our fatherland, and so that the customary rites for the gods be respectfully observed and nothing be omitted or added.

6 [Dem.] 59.75. I do not follow all of the choices of the text of Kapparis (1999), but the translations here have been influenced by his commentary and translation and by the translation of Behrs (2003).

The speaker describes a stone stele inscribed with this law set up next to the altar in the sanctuary of Dionysos *en Limnai*:

καὶ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον γράψαντες ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ ἔστησαν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διονύσου παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν ἐν Λίμναις, καὶ αὕτη ἡ στήλη ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔστηκεν, ἀμυδροῖς γράμμασιν Ἀττικοῖς δηλοῦσα τὰ γεγραμμένα, μαρτυρίαν ποιούμενος ὁ δῆμος ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ εὐσεβείας πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ παρακαταθήκην καταλείπων τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις, ὅτι τὴν γε θεῶν γυναῖκα δοθησομένην καὶ ποιήσουσαν τὰ ἱερὰ τοιαύτην ἀξιούμεν εἶναι. ([Dem.] 59.76)

And writing this law on a stone stele they set it up in the sanctuary of Dionysos along the altar in Limnai, and this stele still stands even now, showing what was written on it in faint Attic letters, the *demos* creating a testimony for the sake of its own piety toward the god and leaving behind for those who come after a sacred trust that if a woman is given to the god [i.e. in marriage] and performs the sacred rites, we expect her to be of such a status.

When the speaker says that the letters were “faint” or “dim”, he probably means that they were hard to read because the original red paint had washed away. Charges were brought against Neaira sometime between 343 and 340. Because the Athenians gave up using the Attic alphabet by the end of the fifth century B.C., the inscription had to be almost a century old at the time of Neaira’s trial. It would therefore be among the early, but not the earliest texts connected to Dionysos. It would also be an example of an inscribed purity requirement, something unusual for Athens in the extant documents. The citation of this text and the description of its age give us a rare window on local Athenian practice in displaying ritual requirements for purity.

The speaker exploits the reputation of the sacred ritual of the Anthesteria to emphasize the enormity of an alleged crime against the city by Neaira, whose daughter Phano had been married to the Basileus and had therefore served as Basilinna. The Basilinna had two responsibilities during the Anthesteria.<sup>7</sup> One of her tasks was to administer the oath of the *gerairai*, fourteen venerable female attendants of Dionysos at Athens.<sup>8</sup> Her other task was to play the role of the wife of Dionysos in a performance of a wedding ritual.<sup>9</sup> Apollodorus makes a strong claim that Phano’s marriage to the Basileus

7 Humphreys (2004) 223–275 offers a helpful critique of the modern interpretation of the sources for the entire festival.

8 *Suda* γ 191 Γεραῖα: ἡ γραῦς. καὶ Γεραῖαι, αἱ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἱερώμεναι γυναῖκες. Poll. 8.108.1: γεραραί. αὗται ἄρρητα ἱερὰ Διονύσῳ ἔθυσον μετ’ ἄλλης θεωρίας. καθίστη δὲ αὐτὰς ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗσας τεσσαρασκαίδεκα. Hsch. 402: γεραραί· ἱέρεια κοινῶς. ιδίως δὲ αἱ τῷ Διονύσῳ τῷ ἐν Λίμναις τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπιτελοῦσαι, τῷ ἀριθμῷ ἰδ’.

9 At the Boukoleion, now believed to have been located in the area of the Prytaneion, to the east of the acropolis in Athens; see Schmalz (2006) 64–65, for remains of fifth and fourth century buildings and a large fifth century deposit of ivy-decorated lekythoi found here. For problems of understanding the sources for this event, see Parker (2005) 304.

was not valid and implies that, as Basilinna, she had corrupted these rites. Also, although he does not say this directly, he makes it clear that she had also corrupted the oath of the *gerairai*. He does this by requesting that the sacred herald pronounce the oath itself to the court, but only that part which can be spoken in public, so that the jurors can “hear the oath and what is said, as much as is possible for them to hear, and know how sacred (*semna*), holy (*hagia*), and ancient (*archaia*) these rites are” ([Dem.] 59.78). The quoted text is as follows:

ἀγιστεύω καὶ εἰμι καθαρὰ καὶ ἀγνή ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν οὐ καθαρευόντων καὶ ἀπ’ ἀνδρὸς συνουσίας, καὶ τὰ Θεοῖνια καὶ τὰ Ἰοβάκχεια γεραίρω τῷ Διονύσῳ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ ἐν τοῖς καθήκουσι χρόνοις. ([Dem.] 59.78)

I am pure [‘I live a holy life’, so Kapparis] and I am cleansed and pure from other things not clean and from intercourse with a man, and I celebrate the Theoinia and the Iobakcheia for Dionysos according to ancestral custom and at the established times.

The details of the ritual are important and explain why the requirements for participation were so carefully set out. The speaker says that the Basilinna administered the oath to the *gerairai* while they held baskets at the altar “before they touched the victims”, πρὶν ἄπτεσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν (59.78). The gesture of touching is significant. Touching the meat or blood of the victim was an important gesture in oath sacrifice, a ritual that in itself indicates a solemn oath.<sup>10</sup> Oaths of assertion about sexual purity were apparently not uncommon. Pausanias tells us about one in Achaia.<sup>11</sup> Oaths to support claims of sexual purity are also parodied by Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata* when she exacts a promissory oath and directs the other women to swear to pretend to seduce their husbands, but to abstain from the actual sexual act itself.<sup>12</sup>

The speaker says that the inscription about the *gerairai* was erected in the Marshes, “in the oldest and most sacred sanctuary of Dionysos, so that many would not see what was written there, for it is opened (only) once in each year, on the twelfth of the month Anthesterion” (59.76). If the speaker is right, the inscription was not exhibited for all to see, but set up in an almost inaccessible place. It is secluded in the sanctuary where only the gods and the participants in the ritual could read it. This limitation suggests that some

10 *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 921.75–76; *LSAM* 20.56; Ar. *Lys.* 197–239; Aeschin. 1.114; Lycurg. *Leoc.* 7.20; *LSCG* 151 D 14 (restored by Sokolowski).

11 The priestess of Ge Eurysternos at the sanctuary of Ge near Aigai in Achaia had to maintain celibacy (ἀγιστεύει) while serving and could not have had sexual intercourse with more than one man before accepting the office. The test for candidates was to drink bull’s blood: Pausanias 7.25.13.

12 Dillon (1995) 137. Most commentators have missed this interpretation because they translate ἱερῶν as “sacred objects”.

inscriptions were not exhibited to promote publicity, but to guarantee ritual correctness. The text was exhibited in the sanctuary because it validated the status of the Basilinna on the one day in the year when the actions in this sanctuary were required by the city. These rites of the Anthesteria were celebrated by a few for the sake of the whole city and a select group of females interceded with Dionysos on the city's behalf by offering sacrifice to the god. The inscription shows that Dionysos was considered a god of the *polis*, and that the requirements for the status and behavior of his attendants were established, recorded, and remembered by the *demos*.

Women did not normally have much occasion to swear formal oaths accompanied by sacrifice, the kind of oath the Greeks called “great oaths”. Exceptions are clearly defined. Women generally swore oaths in only two areas of female activity. One of these was the area of the gods when carrying out the duties of priesthood. The other area had to do with issues of paternity, because it was believed that only a mother truly knows the father of her child. A woman's oath tested her fidelity and the narrow and very specific range of that oath reflects the community's anxieties about female sexuality. Males did not have to swear oaths about their sexual activity. In certain situations, on the other hand, women were expected to swear oaths about their sexual history. We know that priestesses of Demeter on Kos swore an oath when they took office, but we have only a tiny handful of examples of oaths by female ritual specialists. The text most like the oath of the *gerairai* at Athens is the oath of the *hierai* at Andania, deep in the Peloponnese almost 250 years later. The great Andanian inscription, directing the administration of the mysteries (91/90 B.C.), begins with the procedures for qualifying to serve. In addition to swearing to carry out the duties of her appointment, each of the sacred women, the *hierai*, had to swear that she had “behaved with regard to her relationship with her husband piously and justly (ὀσίως καὶ δικαίως), in conformity with the rules of gods and men”:

πεποίημαι δὲ καὶ ποτὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τὰν συμβίωσιν ὀσίως καὶ δικαίως (IG V 1.1390.8).<sup>13</sup>

In both Athens and Andania women hidden from the ordinary population performed sacrifices on behalf of the city. They were required to swear oaths because the ritual standards for their sexual purity were so high. The level of sexual purity for such female ritual specialists is directly related to the hallowed nature of the ceremony they perform. The Athenian speaker appeals to Athenian identity when he emphasizes the degree of sanctity required of the Basilinna and the *gerairai*:

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13 For a discussion of oath ritual in this text, see Deshours (2006) 115–118.

[...] καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ γυνὴ ὑμῖν ἔθυσε τὰ ἄρρητα ἱερὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ εἶδεν ἃ οὐ προσῆκεν αὐτῇ ὄραν ξένην οὔσαν, καὶ τοιαύτη οὔσα εἰσῆλθεν οἱ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος Ἀθηναίων τοσοῦτων ὄντων εἰσέρχεται ἀλλ' ἢ ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως γυνή, ἐξώρκωσέν τε τὰς γεραίρας τὰς ὑπηρετούσας τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἐξεδόθη δὲ τῷ Διονύσῳ γυνή, ἔπραξε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως τὰ πάτρια τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, πολλὰ καὶ ὄγια καὶ ἀπόρητα. ([Dem.] 59.73)

[...] and this woman performed for you for the sake of the polis the sacred rituals that cannot be spoken, and she saw what it was not fitting for her, a foreigner, to see, and although she was such, she entered where no other of the Athenians entered, although the Athenians are so many, except for the wife of the Basileus, and she administered the oath to the *gerairai* who serve the rites, and she was given as wife to Dionysos, and she performed for the sake of the city the ancestral rites, the ones for the gods, many and sacred, and not to be spoken.

### Dionysos and Purity

Purity is important for the Basilinna and the *gerairai*, but it is rarely a stated issue for other worshippers of Dionysos. We must infer the purity requirements for his cult from the chance remarks of ancient historians and commentators or from the assumptions made in formal documents recorded on stone. In the *Bacchae* Euripides uses the same verb as the oath of the *gerairai* (ἀγιστεύειν), but he implies that it is participation in the rites themselves that purify the participants.

ὦ / μάκαρ, ὅστις εὐδαίμων / τελετὰς θεῶν εἰδὼς / βιοτὰν ἀγιστεύει καὶ / θιασεύεται  
ψυχὰν / ἐν ὄρεσσι βακχεύων / ὁσίοις καθαρμοῖσιν (Eur. *Bacch.* 73–77).<sup>14</sup>

O happy is the one who, blessed and knowing the rituals of the gods lives a pure life and joins his soul with the group, raving in the mountains with the holy (and cleansing) purifications.

We must distinguish between this sort of purifying ritual and the traditional rituals requiring purification before taking part.

The women of Tanagra in Boiotia, who went down to the sea and walked in the water to purify themselves before taking part in the *orgia* of Dionysos, make a strong statement about cleansing to restore purity. They cleansed themselves in the water in clear view of the population along the shore.<sup>15</sup> Sexual purity was not always a component of required ritual purity, but ritual purity would normally have been a concern for worshippers, even worshippers

14 Discussed by Parker (1983) 288–290 and esp. Schlesier (1998a).

15 Women compromised other ritual at Tanagra. They were not allowed to enter the *hieron* of the local hero, Eunostos, whose death was due to a treacherous woman. Kleidamos, a prominent citizen, is said to have met the hero himself on the way to the shore to wash away the pollution attached to him from penetration of his sanctuary by a female. The whole story is told by Plutarch in *Quaest. Graec.* 40 = *Mor.* 300d–301a.



of Dionysos. Otherwise the god's sacred space would not have been marked off by inscribed boundary markers, as it is in Thebes, Thespiai, and Alexandria Troas. At Thebes a stone marks Dionysos' sanctuary with the text: ἱερὰ ἡ γῆ Διονύσου Λουσείου.<sup>16</sup> At Thespiai four boundary stones each inscribed Θεοῦ Τάυρου once marked the corners of the god's sacred space.<sup>17</sup> At Alexandria Troas three stone boundary markers remain from the original four that once marked the god's sanctuary with the phrase: ἱερὸς Διονύσου.<sup>18</sup> At Knidos, purity was indirectly a concern. Here a short text was set up to prevent anyone, male or female, from camping out in the sanctuary of Dionysos.<sup>19</sup> When the city of Teos sold a piece of land to the Technitai of Dionysos, they called it a "sacred possession" (κτῆμα ἱερόν).<sup>20</sup> At Delos the *topos* (place) of Dionysos, and the *temenos* of Leto, were protected by a formal law of the *boule* and *demos* declaring that "the place (*topos*) around Dionysos" and the sanctuary of Leto be cleansed, and that no one should throw manure or ashes in the cleaned out area. As is typical for those who disregarded such regulations, slaves were beaten and the free were fined. Dionysos did not have a temple at Delos, but he did have an altar there, and the space around the altar had to be kept pure for his rites.<sup>21</sup> At Delos Dionysos also required other forms of ritual attention. In preparation for the Dionysia at Delos the road to the theater and the theater itself had to be purified with the blood of a piglet before the annual procession of the Dionysiac *phallos* could wind its way through the town and around the orchestra in the theater. Both the piglet and the material to make the *phallos* were included in the annual public temple budget.<sup>22</sup> Because of such requirements for purity, Dionysiac ritual needed preparation. Traditional Dionysiac celebrations were therefore not spontaneous, but had to be scheduled events, like the festivals for other gods.

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16 SEG XV 328.

17 IG VII 869.

18 *I. Alexandria Troas* 69–71; three boundary stones found at Kızıltepe; Late Hellenistic period.

19 *I. Knidos* 160; second half of the fourth century B.C.

20 Le Guen (2001) 39.7.

21 SEG XXIII 498. See Bruneau/Ducat (1965): Plan II, for the altar identified with Dionysos (125 no. 70), located near the Triarian wall and the temple of Leto (111 no. 53) on the other side of the Agora of the Italians.

22 Cole (1993) 30–31.

## Dionysos in Disguise

The theater was the place where many people would have encountered Dionysos. Appropriately, he is the most theatrical of the gods. In Aeschylus' *Edonians*, when he comes on stage wearing the equivalent of a party dress, Lykourgos calls him a "girlie" (γύννις, *TrGF* fr. 61 Radt). In Euripides' *Bacchae* Pentheus holds the Lydian stranger in contempt and pointing out what he finds effeminate, says that he has a female shape, ἤγλυμορφος (Eur. *Bacch.* 370). Dionysos pays tit for tat later when he dresses Pentheus up in one of his mother Agave's *peploi* to prepare him for death dressed "in the form of a woman" (γυναικόμορφος, 854–855).

Although a god, Dionysos can make himself appear as a human male. What's more, he creates the illusion of males turning into females and of females turning into males. A small series of manumission texts from Beroia in Macedonia gives us a curious twist on such transformations. These are generic manumission texts where one or several former young slaves are consecrated to a god to protect their free status.<sup>23</sup> In these particular texts that god is Dionysos. There is nothing unusual about the form of the texts. What is unusual is the choice of the divinity. Dionysos is not a typical guarantor of manumission. First of all, here he receives both boys and girls. At Beroia, such consecrations, especially of females or children were normally made to a female divinity, Artemis Agrotera, Artemis Eileithyia, Demeter, or the Mother of the Gods.<sup>24</sup> Secondly, Dionysos does not have a reputation for reliability. Traditionally people preferred a steady, more powerful and consistent divinity, like Zeus at Dodona, Apollo at Delphi, or Artemis, Poseidon, Athena, and later, Asklepios, and Sarapis. Nevertheless, Beroia is not unique. Paradoxically, Dionysos is no stranger to manumission. He was a protector of manumission at Naupaktos as early as the second century B.C.<sup>25</sup>

The four texts from Beroia, much later in date (248–264/265 C.E.), are inscribed on a column found very near the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Beroia. The column seems to be from a sanctuary of Dionysos and the texts give us a new Dionysos, a god loaded down with a striking collection of descriptive epikleseis. The shortest and least complicated text is as follows:

ἀγαθῆι τύχηι.  
 Κάσσιο<ς> Σαλούστιος Ἄλκαϊος  
 ἔδωρήσατο θεῶ Ἄγρι[ω] Διο-  
 λύσῳ, Κρυπτῶ, Ψευδάνο-

23 Published by Hatzopoulos (1994) 65–72.

24 Petsas et al. (2000), for the inscriptions from the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods in Macedonia.

25 For example, *IG IX* 1<sup>2</sup>.624–628; middle of the second century B.C.

ρι κόραν ὀνόματι Κασσάν-  
 δραν ὡς ἑτῶν ὄκ[τ]ὸ ὡς τὸ π[ρο]-  
 τεθὲν πιπτάκιον τ[ῆς]  
 δωρεᾶς περιέχει.  
 εὐτυχεῖτε.

(*I. Beroia* 56, 264/265 C.E.)

With good fortune!

Cassius Salustius Alcaeus presented to the god Dionysos, *Agrios* (Wild), *Kryptos* (Hidden), and *Pseudanor* (Sham Man), a girl by name Cassandra, eight years old, as the displayed record (tablet) of the gift certifies.

May you be well!

Here the god Dionysos is described with three terms: “Wild”, “Hidden”, and “Fake Male”: Ἄγριος, Κρυπτός, and Ψευδάνωρ. These titles do not seem to match the god’s function as a protector of newly manumitted slaves. Or is there a connection?

He is a “god”, and he is also a “false male”. The strangest of the three terms is Ψευδάνωρ. The word appears only once in Greek literature, in a paragraph where Polyaeus explains how the Mimallones got their name:

Ἀργαῖος βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων, Ταυλαντίων Γάλαυρος· Ταυλάντιοι στρατεύουσι ἐπὶ Μακεδόνας. Ἀργαῖος, ἦν γὰρ αὐτῷ χεῖρ ὀλίγη, κελεύει τὰς παρθένους τῶν Μακεδόνων, ἐπειδὰν οἱ πολέμιοι προσάγωσι τὴν φάλαγγα, αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους τῆς Ἐρεβοίας ἐπιφανῆναι. οἱ μὲν δὴ προσῆγον· αἱ δὲ ἐπεφάνησαν καὶ κατήεσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους παρθένοι πολλαὶ θύρσους ἀντὶ δοράτων πάλλουσαι καὶ στεφάνοις τὰ πρόσωπα σκιαζούσαι. Γάλαυρος ἐξεπλάγη ἄνδρας εἶναι τὰς παρθένους ἀπὸ μακροῦ νομίζων καὶ τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν ὑπεσήμηνεν· Ταυλάντιοι δὲ ἔφευγον τὰ τε ὄπλα ἀποβαλλόντες καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα καταλιπόντες. Ἀργαῖος ἀμαχεῖ κρατήσας ἱερὸν ἰδρύεται Διονύσω Ψευδάνωρι καὶ τὰς παρθένους, ἃς πάλαι Κλώδωνας ἐκληζον οἱ Μακεδόνες, αὐτὸς κληζέειν ἔταξε διὰ τὴν μίμησιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν Μιμαλλόνας (Polyaeus, *Strat.* 4.1).

Argaios was king of the Macedonians, Galauros of the Taulantians. The Taulantians made a campaign against the Macedonians. Argaios, for he was short-handed, ordered the young Macedonian *parthenoi*, when the enemy was bringing their phalanx up, to appear to them from behind Mt. Ereboia. They then attacked, but many *parthenoi* appeared and came down from the mountain beating their *thyrsoi* instead of spears and keeping their faces shadowed with their (ivy) crowns. Galauros was shocked and from a distance, believing that the *parthenoi* were men, gave a sign for retreat. The Taulantians fled, throwing away their arms and leaving behind their equipment. Argaios, having won without a battle, founded a temple for Dionysos Pseudanor and the *parthenoi*, whom the Macedonians once called Klodones, he himself arranged to call Mimallones because of their imitation of men.

In contrast to the companions of Dionysos dispersed and defeated in the attack by Lykourgos in the *Iliad*, the females in this story are successful. In the *Iliad*, the female companions of Dionysos are ineffectual, they throw down their θύσθλα (probably sacrificial equipment) and run away, while Dionysos, in

fear, jumps into the sea.<sup>26</sup> In the Macedonian story, however, Dionysos is rewarded not only for protecting his female companions, but for guaranteeing their success. Here, a Pseudanor is a female who imitates a male. A Ψευδάνωρ in battle is an antonym to γύννις, θηλύμορφος, and γυναικόμορφος, all of which are used derogatorily of males impersonating females. Ψευδάνωρ is not a derogative term, but actually a compliment that recognizes the positive contribution of the females.<sup>27</sup> Hatzopoulos, who published this series of inscriptions, identifies the stories about disguise and the appearance of sex change as surviving pieces of ancient initiation rituals where boys dressed as girls, and girls dressed as boys, to mark the change to adult status by emphasizing gender inversion.<sup>28</sup> The inscriptions from Beroia, however, use the epiklesis to refer to the god, not to the young women. Can Dionysos share the status of his followers?

A hidden Dionysos would also be a puzzle. Hatzopoulos reminds us that rites of adolescent transition at Sparta included the *krypteia*, where certain adolescent males had to hide and sneak around making surprise attacks on helots at night. The *kryptoi* were practicing for military life.<sup>29</sup> Dionysos had to hide, too. We might recall here that the stone inscribed with the law about the Basilinna at Athens was “hidden” in the locked sanctuary *en Limnais* 364 days of the year. It is also possible that the adjective κρυπτός refers either to the god or to some incident in literature where Dionysos had to hide from his enemies. For instance, after the god’s first birth when Zeus had to protect the infant from the wrath of Hera, he sewed Dionysos into his thigh. Euripides says the fetus was “concealed (κρυπτός) from Hera” (Eur. *Bacch.* 98).<sup>30</sup> Plutarch describes how at the Agrionia the women give up searching for Dionysos because he is hidden (κέκρυπται) with the Muses. But remember that Plutarch says of the Agrionia that the priest of Dionysos chases the Minyans descended from the three daughters of Minyas and, if he can catch one, kills her with his sword.<sup>31</sup> Sometimes a special statue of Dionysos had to be hidden away because it was so powerful that it was brought out only when this power could be neutralized by ritual. At Sikyon a gold and ivory statue of Dionysos was on display at his temple near the theater. Next to the statue stood Bakchai carved from white stone. Pausanias says, “They say that Dionysos drives these sacred

26 Hom. *Il.* 6.128–137. At Halikarnassos *thysthla* are described as “on the altar”, so perhaps the word refers to the sacrifice itself; *SEG* XXVIII 839.

27 The contributions of women in warfare are highlighted in ritual as unusual and anomalous. See Graf (1984).

28 Hatzopoulos (1994); (2006).

29 Hatzopoulos (1994) 88–96.

30 Dionysos imprisoned by Pentheus is “hidden in dark prisons” (*Bacch.* 549). Also: “The gods artfully conceal the lingering foot of time and hunt down the unholy” (888).

31 Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 38 = *Mor.* 299 f.

women mad” (2.7.5). The Sikyonians had two other *agalmata* of Dionysos, but these they kept hidden away in the *Kosmeterion* and brought them into the Dionysion only one night in the year. Is Dionysos “hidden” because he is brought out only on special occasions or did local people just not know where to look? Sometimes they were surprised. When the Magnesians found an image of Dionysos hidden inside a tree split open by a storm, they had to send to Delphi to find out how to deal with it.<sup>32</sup> The people of Brasiai found baby Dionysos hidden in a chest together with the corpse of his mother, Semele, when the chest washed up on the shore of their coast.<sup>33</sup> Or is Dionysos hidden because he can disguise his identity and confuse his enemies, his competitors, and his worshippers? We could say that the real Dionysos is always in disguise, and his audience is always challenged.

### New Inscriptions

We are part of that audience and we are still confused. Inscriptions should help us, but epigraphical texts are bound by genre and conform to ancient patterns of publication and display. The material is framed by an ancient discourse that we must take into account in our evaluation of meaning. Writing on stone was expensive and no one entrusted to stone their own original compositions or their own personal observations about a god. Protocols of courtesy and attachment to traditional genres and formulae block our view of the events these texts represent. Nevertheless, we can be consoled by the expansion of the systematic study of epigraphy. Many new bits of information about Dionysos have appeared on the epigraphical horizon in the last few years. The discovery and publication of new gold tablets has multiplied our evidence, confirmed the connection between Dionysos and the ritual of the tablets, and opened a new door into the complexities of bacchic eschatology. Graf and Johnston,<sup>34</sup> and Bernabé,<sup>35</sup> have published new editions and discussions of the tablets. Every year brings at least one new text to light. Jaccottet has gathered inscriptions produced by bacchic organizations and commented on their content.<sup>36</sup> Le Guen has compiled a dossier of inscriptions about the activities of Dionysiac Technitai,<sup>37</sup> and Aneziri has analyzed the same corpus.<sup>38</sup> We can step back now and see that Dionysiac activities were recognized and advertised

32 *I. Magnesia* 215.

33 Paus. 3.24.3–4.

34 Graf/Johnston (2007).

35 Bernabé/Jiménez San Cristóbal (2008).

36 Jaccottet (2003a).

37 Le Guen (2001).

38 Aneziri (2003).

in all the lands around the entire Mediterranean. Dionysiac activities endured throughout all of antiquity. Inscriptions mentioning his name and his worshippers have been found from Olbia to Mauretania and from Nice to Dura-Europos.

The epigraphical evidence for Dionysos is very different from both the literary evidence and the imagery of painting and sculpture. There are far fewer maenads and satyrs in inscriptions, and many more ordinary worshippers. Our texts on stone are filled with the names of those who strove to amplify the reputation of a local bacchic organization. Dionysos is to be found in many kinds of conventional texts: 1) decrees of cities, demes, and religious organizations; 2) dedications, individual and corporate, of statues, votive reliefs, buildings, altars, annual rituals, etc.; 3) priest lists and sales of priesthoods; 4) honors at the Dionysia and honors from corporate groups; 5) boundary stones to demarcate sacred space; 6) regulations and thanks for sanctuary development, maintenance, and repair; 7) *leges sacrae* and ritual calendars; 8) oracles and curses, and 9) epigrams and paeans; 10) letters; 11) *Senatus consulta*; and, last of all, 12) end of life sepulchral texts.

The manumission texts from Beroia call Dionysos “Agrios” (“Wild”). As Hatzopoulos points out, this is not a typical epigraphical term. Actually, Dionysos himself is rarely wild, but his cult places imitate the wilderness. He has a variety of both natural and constructed cult places. Dedications of sacred space for Dionysos include a cave sanctuary at Kallithea (in Macedonia), a megaron at Abdera (in Thrace), a cave at Kallatis, and a stibas at Smyrna. Worshippers earn status in local organizations known by various titles: *thiasos* (a technical term that now appears on a gold tablet), *speira*, *synodos*, *mystai*, *patromystai*, *neoi mystai*; *bakchoi*, *neobakchoi*, *bakcheioi*, *bakchiastai*, *boukoloι*, *archiboukoloι*, *hierophantes*, *hymnodoι*, *technitai*, *thiasotai*, *dionysistai*, *iakchistai*, *mainades*, *thyiades*, and *Asianoi*. Individuals can be called *archaios mystes*, *bakchos*, *bakche*, and *narthekephoros*. Dionysos’ dedicants can be priests, *technitai*, actors, *choregoi*, wine sellers, and Dionysiac *podarioi*. Characteristic Dionysiac equipment can be mentioned in inscriptions: *thyrsoi*, bells, water organ, mirrors, and castanets. Local groups are democratic, they decide on their own procedures and they confer honors on their benefactors and leaders with the same procedures that the city uses. There is no central authority and groups could call themselves whatever they wished. They could also call Dionysos anything they wanted to. The god is called “Macedonian” Dionysos in Thessaly at Larisa<sup>39</sup> and “Thracian” Dionysos in Egypt at Thebes.<sup>40</sup>

Dionysos often receives dedications together with another divinity, most often Herakles (because they share the same father and the same ambiguous

39 SEG XXVII 206; late first century B.C. or early first century C.E.

40 SEG VIII 714; second century B.C.

status betwixt human and divine) and Demeter (because the two divide earth's products of grain and the vine). Dionysos also appears with Poseidon, Persephone, and Aphrodite.

### Dionysos and Oaths

Dionysos, like other divinities in the manumission texts from Macedonia, is called "Theos". He *is* a *theos*, but as I said at the beginning, this god does not have a day job. Clearly, he is free from some of the responsibilities that come naturally to other gods. For instance, he is not trusted with judicial functions. We can actually measure this characteristic by comparing the number of times Dionysos appears as a divinity called on to witness important oaths. Dionysos was certainly no stranger to oaths. We saw that in Athens Dionysiac ritual could require female ritual specialists to swear oaths of assertion about their state of purity. The worshippers of Zeus Dionysos Gongulos at Thessalonika swore oaths about the maintenance of two vineyards.<sup>41</sup> Oaths also played a role in the ritual language of bacchic rites. Secrecy of the rites was protected by oaths sworn by participants.<sup>42</sup>

When it was a matter of swearing an oath themselves, however, worshippers of Dionysos did not trust their own god. Sommerstein and his colleagues have collected the evidence for oaths and it is possible to keep score by counting examples in their new database on the Internet.<sup>43</sup> The score for Dionysos called to witness is 23, for Zeus it is 1428. Granted, Zeus is an expert on judicial decisions, but of the 23 places where Dionysos is called to witness, almost all the examples are fictional, exclamatory, informal oaths in works of Aristophanes (fifteen examples, four of which are in the *Clouds*). Two of the last four notes are by the character Pheidippides (swearing for opposite outcomes, 90–91 and 109); one by the chorus speaking in the voice of the poet at the beginning of the *parabasis* (518–519); and the last one by Unjust Discourse (1000–1001).<sup>44</sup>

Dionysos was a god of many festivals, worshipped everywhere, and popular in both two- and three-dimensional visual representations. Dionysos himself is called by many names in inscriptions. He is known as Auloneus (Kako-Sialesi, Boeotia), Estaphylos, Sphaleotas, Karpios, Botrys, Prinophoros,

41 IG X 2.1 259.

42 See Bernabé (2005) 191–192 no. 619 F, for a possible example.

43 To be found at: <http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/classics/oaths/intro.aspx>.

44 Sommerstein (2007) 132–133. Oaths play a larger role in *Clouds* than in all the other extant plays combined. Sommerstein counts fifty-six exclamatory oaths in all of Aristophanes' comedies, with forty-six of these in *Clouds*.



Paraboles, Bassareus, Dasyllios, Narthakophoros, Maiynnites, Bakchios, Dallios, Briseus, Kathegemon, Prokathegemon, Phleus, Epekoos, Bresagenes, Thrakios, Kryptos, Pseudanor, Erikryptos, Agrios, Erikepaios, and he is syncretized with Zeus as Zeus Dionysos in Macedonia and Phrygia.<sup>45</sup> He was a god, however, with few substantial temples. His permanent installations were primarily theaters, where his statue was accessible from the orchestra and where an altar was probably always near. At the deme Ikaria in Attica, when a choregos swore the oath to fulfill his responsibilities for producing a dramatic performance, he touched the statue (*agalma*) of Dionysos. We know this fact from a heavily damaged deme decree of the second half of the fifth century B.C.<sup>46</sup> We learn from this decree another possible gesture of oath swearing.<sup>47</sup>

This single example from Ikaria, however, does not give us any context for the role of Dionysos in oath swearing. When compared with the judicial role of other gods, Dionysos does not have a large part in the act. In fact, scholiasts are surprised when Aristophanes has Pheidippides swear by Dionysos in the *Clouds* (108–109). In the comment on these lines a scholiast says, “It is logical that he swears by Dionysos, for in this he is celebrating the Dionysia”. The oaths sworn in Aristophanes’ *Clouds* are not full-blown oaths exchanged between two contesting parties or the kind of oaths of assertion sworn by the *gerairai*. They are only the colloquial exclamatory oaths that peppered popular speech. Nevertheless oath swearing becomes an issue later in the play when Strepsiades tries to decide what to swear by if there is no Zeus, but only clouds and fog.

In Aristophanes’ *Frogs* the character of Dionysos himself swears several oaths, and in one case, he even lies in swearing.<sup>48</sup> When he wants to swear on a reliable god himself, Dionysos chooses Apollo, not one from his own circle, like Pan or the satyrs (49–51). Ordinarily, Dionysos is an acceptable witness

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45 The scholars working on the Banque de Données des Epiclèses Grecques, Centre de Recherche et d’Etude des Sociétés et Cultures Antiques de la Méditerranée <<http://www.sites.univ-rennes2.fr/lahtm/crescam/>> have collected over 470 examples of Dionysos with an epiklesis. It is important to notice that poetic examples outnumber epigraphical.

46 *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 254.

47 Romano (1982) 398–409, esp. 407, for the head of the statue. There was a temple of Dionysos at Ikaria; see *SEG XXII* 117 for the Dionysion. The fragments of the statue have recently been assembled and Dionysos has been reconstructed as a seated figure sitting under a baldachin decorated with eight carved bunches of grapes; Despinis (2007) 103–137, with plates 24–25.

48 Dillon (1995) 147: oaths in Aristophanes can be “a sort of colloquial reflex that [...] reflects the common usage of the street [...]”. Characters can “perjure themselves without noticeable effect [...]”. Occasionally, as with the Sausage Seller and Dionysos, individual circumstances can be brought to bear in such a way as to render the act of perjury relatively innocuous”.



only when the subject of the oath has to do with the theater. Aristophanes himself swears by Dionysos when he argues that his first *Clouds* was the best play he ever wrote (*Wasps* 1046; compare *Clouds* 518–519). We can see this policy carried out in a decree of the early third century B.C. from Eretria where the agreement of the Euboean representatives with the Dionysian Technitai about the preparations for the Euboean festival cycle requires both parties to the oath to swear by Apollo, Demeter, and Dionysos (*IG XII* 9.207).<sup>49</sup> Dionysos is a witness to this oath because the subject of the oath is the production of theatrical events.

### Divine Epiphany

There is a short inscription once seen on Thera that raises the possibility of epiphany. Cyriac of Ancona, who copied the text in the fifteenth century, is our only source. The text records a generous thank offering made by a local woman, Kritarista, daughter of Diodoros. Except for the definite articles, every word of this text deserves a comment:

Ἡ γεραιρά τοῦ πρὸ πόλεως καὶ ἐπιφανεσ-  
τάτου θεῶν Διονύσου Κριταρίστα Διοδώρου  
τὸν ξεστὸν σὺν τοῖς ἐπικλιόμενοις τοῖχον  
μετὰ τῆς ἀντοικοδομῆς καὶ τῆς βάσεως  
ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων κατεσκεύασε τῷ θεῷ  
χαριστεῖον. (*IG XII* 3.420)

The *geraira* of Dionysos protector of the city and of the gods the one most likely to suddenly appear, Kritarista daughter of Diodoros had the wall built, hewn with its stones joined to the supporting building and base, [paid for] from her own resources as an offering of thanks for the god.

There are many issues we could bring up in discussing this short, formulaic text. It is formulaic, yet it finds its way into two citations in *LSJ* for abnormalities: ἀντοικοδομή is a hapax, and χαριστεῖον appears only twice with this spelling. There are other issues. What is the wall for? It seems to be an addition to a building for Dionysos. Why is a woman dedicating a wall? Is she spending family cash; is she using capital from another source; or is she using cash from her dowry or an inheritance? Or is she in charge of family resources because, lacking a father and brothers, she stands in their place? Why is Kritarista thanking Dionysos? Has she just had a significant personal experience from a sudden epiphany of the god? The epithet ἐπιφανής and

49 Le Guen (2001) 1.6–12. If any of the Technitai abandon the job before the cycle of performances is completed, they are fined and the money is sacred to Dionysos and is to be used for his temple (42–49).

its superlative ἐπιφανέστατος are used elsewhere to describe Dionysos as a god of epiphany.<sup>50</sup> And what about the problem of πρὸ πόλεως? Does it refer to the god's ritual space "in front of the city" or does it have a political meaning like "protector of the city"? Or can we imagine a comprehensive meaning that embraces both the location and the role of the god?

The most interesting piece of information reported down the centuries to us from that day back in the 1450's when Cyriac copied the words from the stone is the very first noun in the text: *geraira*. We are almost back where we began, finding another *geraira* associated with Dionysos. Is she like the *gerairai* who served Dionysos at Athens? But what is a *geraira* doing at Doric Thera, where there was no Anthesteria? Or was there? Would Arignote and her book called *Bacchica* help us now? Dionysos πρὸ πόλεως was worshipped at Thera,<sup>51</sup> where Ἀνθιστήρ is a name of his and πυθόχρηστος is one of his epithets.<sup>52</sup> Jaccottet suggests that this is an official Ionian Dionysos imported together with a spring festival associated with wine when the Ptolemaic garrison was established on Thera in the Hellenistic period.<sup>53</sup> Kritarista could then have been a *geraira* like the fourteen at Athens, and would probably have taken an oath as a condition of her service. She would have done so because she expected Dionysos, whom she calls ἐπιφανέστατος. Does this word refer to the god's image, located in a most conspicuous place just outside the city, near the gate, or did Kritarista use this word to describe Dionysos himself because he was the god most likely to make an appearance, come suddenly into view, and demand her full attention?

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50 Ἐπιφανής in Phrygia (*SEG* XX 37). Ἐπιφανέστατος in Pisidia (*CIG* III 3979), Naples (*IG* XIV 716), and some unknown place in the Aegean (*SEG* XLVI 2224). The last example commemorates the gift by a woman of a side wall to Dionysos Eubouleus.

51 *IG* XII 3.522.

52 *IG* XII 3.329 (210–200 B.C.); Jaccottet (2003a) II.170, a decree about a fund established for an annual celebration.

53 Jaccottet (2003a) II.280, citing *IG* XII 3.468, an inscribed altar dedicated to Ptolemy Philometor and Dionysos, takes up a suggestion of Hiller von Gaertringen. See Parker (2005) 301–302, on Callim. fr. 178, for an Athenian immigrant celebrating parts of the Anthesteria in Egypt.



# Dionysos in and out of the Papyri

*Dirk Obbink*

Dionysos could be bookish – even learned. He does actually read a book, or says he did. Aristophanes in *Frogs* (52–53) also tells us the name of the play he read, while serving on shipboard: Euripides' *Andromeda*:

ἐπὶ τῆς νεῶς ἀναγιγνώσκοντί μοι  
τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν πρὸς ἑμαυτόν.

The reverence with which Aristophanes makes the god mention the play, produced in 412 B.C., shows that it was already something like a classic by the time of *Frogs*' production in 405. This classicism befits the plot of the *Frogs* and Dionysos' search for an acceptably canonical Greek poet. But I submit that Dionysos' connection with books and literate, learned sympotic and religious culture goes deeper: it is attested by his wide presence both in and out of the papyrological evidence surviving from the ancient world. In what follows, I propose to trace briefly the footprint that Dionysos left over time in the material book-culture of the Greco-Roman world, as can be known from papyrus finds, over and against the epigraphic record (of the Orphic-bacchic gold-leaves for example) and the indirect tradition for his importance.

For reasons of space, I will include highlights only, offering a rapid run-through of Dionysos' major appearance in the papyri, in order to assess the weight and character of the presence the god left in the ancient literary record as a whole, and not just in works that survived to be transmitted to the Renaissance in Mediaeval manuscripts. I conclude with a new and previously unconsidered example of Dionysos in the papyri that illustrates in particular the value of new accessions to this growing body of evidence for the god.

Tracing this paper-trail of Dionysos is no easy task.<sup>1</sup> The *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* in its current incarnation is woefully deficient insofar as it lacks most papyrus texts not included in the special corpora like *PMG* and *TrGF*. The other databases currently available on-line, like the *DDDP* (*Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri*) and the *HGV* (*Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens*), do not include the texts of non-documentary papyrus texts, while the bibliographical databases like the *LDAB* (*Lewven Database of Ancient Books*) and the *Mertens-Pack index of literary papyri* do not index the content of the papyri in the form of their texts, only their titles and

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1 Cf. Obbink (2008).

bibliographical references. The indexes to Alberto Bernabé's Teubneriana volumes of *PEG* include an invaluable selection of Dionysiaca. But one cannot efficiently find in that corpus all the testimonies to Dionysos that derive from the evidence on papyri. An on-line search of Marc Huys' *Catalogue of Subliterary Papyri*, consisting mainly of mythographic texts on papyri, produces only twelve results for the name of Dionysos, and these are mainly in mythographic summaries. So this doesn't get us very far.

It must also be remembered that no Greek papyrus survives from before the Macedonian settlement of Egypt after the middle of the fourth century B.C. As a result, chance finds have it that no papyrus yet attests the antiquity of the lines Diomedes speaks to Glaukon in *Iliad* 6 (128–141) in which Dionysos makes his début in Greek literature:

οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ Δρύαντος υἱὸς κρατερὸς Λυκόοργος	130
δὴν ἦν, ὅς ῥα θεοῖσιν ἐπουρανίοισιν ἔριζεν	
ὅς ποτε μαινομένοιο Διωνύσοιο τιθήνας	
σεῦε κατ' ἠγάθειον Νυσηῖον· αἶ δ' ἅμα πᾶσαι	
θύσθλα χαμαὶ κατέχευαν ὑπ' ἀνδροφόνοιο Λυκούργου	
θεινόμεναι βουπλήγι· Διώνυσος δὲ φοβηθεῖς	135
δύσεθ' ἄλὸς κατὰ κύμα, Θέτις δ' ὑπεδέξατο κόλπῳ	
δειδιότα· κρατερὸς γὰρ ἔχε τρόμος ἀνδρὸς ὁμοκλή.	

Since even the son of Dryas, Lykourgos the powerful, did not	130
live long; he who tried to fight with the gods of the bright sky,	
who once drove the fosterers of rapturous Dionysos	
headlong down the sacred Nyseian hill, and all of them	
shed and scattered their wands on the ground, stricken with an ox-goad	
by murderous Lykourgos, while Dionysos in terror	135
dived into the salt surf, and Thetis took him to her bosom,	
frightened, with the strong shivers upon him at the man's blustering.	

(Transl. R. Lattimore)

But an almost equally early author references the link between Dionysos, wine, and poetic pursuits in an elegiac poem that survives in a Roman period copy on papyrus from Oxyrhynchus: *P. Oxy.* 854, overlapping with a citation by Athenaeus 483d of Ἀρχίλοχος ἐν ἐλεγείοις (fr. 4 West), that allows the restoration of lines 6–9 in the papyrus:

- .] . . . [
   
 φρά[
   
     ξεινοί [ . ] [
   
 δεῖπνον δ' οὔ[τε
   
 5      οὔτ' ἐμοὶ ὠσαι[
   
 ἀλλ' ἄγε σὺν κώ[θωνι θοῆς διὰ σέλματα νηὸς
   
     φοίτα καὶ κοίλω[ν πώματα ἀφελκε κάδων
   
 ἄγρει δ' οἶνον [ἔρυθρον ἀπὸ τρυγός· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμεῖς
   
     νήφονες [ἐν φυλακῇι τῆιδε δυνησόμεθα (+ inf.)

[*new poem*] Observe (?) ... strangers/guests ... a meal ... nor for me ... But come, make trip after trip with a cup across the deck of the swift ship, pull the covers off the hollow casks, and draw the red wine to the dregs; we won't be able to (stay) sober on this watch. (Transl. D. E. Gerber, modified)

The publication of additional fragments of this papyrus manuscript of Archilochus' elegies as recently as 2006 (*P. Oxy.* 4708) showed that the marginal graphic that appears after line 1 in the text above of *P. Oxy.* 854 is not a stichometric letter indicating line 800, as Grenfell and Hunt who published it believed, but rather a diacritical coronis, marking the end of one poem and the beginning of another in the collection of elegiac poems.<sup>2</sup> As a result we now know for the first time that Archilochus' elegiac poem on Dionysos and drinking (of which fr. 4 West was part) began with a word like φρά[ζε, probably instructing behavior in the symposion, following (and in contrast to) the δεῖπνον (4) in the manner of a *magister bibendi*. It perhaps went on to exhort the guests (3 ξεινοί) to join in accordingly, or perhaps rather contrasted this behavior with that of barbarian foreigners (3 ξεινοί), before giving more specific instructions for opening the barrels on shipboard in the lines overlapping with the quotation we know from Athenaeus.

Dionysos was no stranger to Archilochus' verse, as shown frequently in iambic contexts as it is in elegiacs (fr. 120 West):

ὥς Διωνύσου ἀνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος  
οἶδα διθύραμβον οἴνωι συγκεραυνωθείς φρένας.

(For) I know how to take the lead in the dithyramb, the lovely song of lord Dionysos, my wits thunderstruck with wine. (Transl. D. E. Gerber)

In addition, the new fragments of the ancient edition that included *P. Oxy.* 854 may well contain a veiled reference to Dionysos' appearance in the form of a vine-shoot in the Mysian episode preceding the Trojan War (*P. Oxy.* 4708 fr. 1, lines 18–22, fig. 1):<sup>3</sup>

2 Obbink (2006), esp. 1 n. 8. See also W.B. Henry (2006).

3 The beginnings of lines 19 and 22 contain new readings, now confirmed by the ink-traces on the papyrus under special imaging, and have not previously been included in

Τε]ύθραντος δ' ἔρατῆν πρὸς πόλιν [ἐ]ξ[έπεσον  
 ἐ]νθ[α [μ]ένος πνειοντ[ε]ς ὁμῶς αὐτ[ο]ί τε καὶ ἵπποι  
 ἀ]μφ' Ἐ[λέν]ηι μεγάλως θυμὸν ἀκηχέ[δατο  
 φ]άντο γὰρ ὑπσιπυλον Τρώων πόλιν εἰσ[αναβαίνειν  
 αἰ]ψ', ἀκτῆν δ' ἐπάτεον Μυσίδα πυροφόρο[ν].

They had set upon the lovely city of Teuthras. Snorting fury with their horses alike, on account of Helen, they came in distress of spirit. For they thought they would quickly be mounting the high-gated city of Troy. But in reality they were treading on wheat-bearing shore of Mysia. (Transl. D.O.)

In other words, Troy, the 'high-gated city', and the 'wheat-bearing shore' (i. e. fertile plain) of Mysia at first provided seductively attractive enticements to marauding colonial adventurers, as elsewhere in Archilochus. But they would be disappointed: Helen was a phantom, and the city was Pergamon not Troy, while the 'wheat-bearing' plain turned out actually to be wine-bearing, in the form of Dionysos' miracle epiphany as the vine-shoot that entangled Telephos' foot and kept him from otherwise killing Achilles in the battle-turned-sour that resulted in the flight of the Greeks as narrated in Archilochus' poem. This aspect is specifically centred upon by Pindar in *Isthmian* 8.49–52:

ὃ καὶ Μύσιον ἀμπελόεν  
 αἶμαξε Τηλέφου μέλα-  
 νι ραίνων φόνῳ πεδίου  
 γεφύρωσέ τ' Ἀτρεΐδαι-  
 σι νόστον, Ἐλέναν τ' ἔλύσατο.

Achilles bloodied the vine-clad  
 plain of Mysia with dark drops of Telephos' wound,  
 and he bridged a return home  
 for the Atreidai and rescued Helen.

(Transl. W. H. Race, modified)

Pindar's reference to Helen's rescue and to the 'return home' links this episode explicitly with the Epic Cycle narratives with which Archilochus' text now forms an early constellation of intertexts. Among other things, it is clear that the Mysian engagement told an aetiological tale for the coming of viticulture in Asia Minor due to the advent of the Greeks: for previously the Mysians knew no vines or wine, but they would come fatefully to know them through Telephos' fateful wounding. The institution of viticulture in Mysia is thus seen by Archilochus to have foundational cultural significance, heralded by the appearance of Dionysos in the form of the first vine-shoot.

any published editions of the fragments of Archilochus' poem on Telephos (line 20 beginning ἀφ[αδ]ίηι ed. pr., and 22 beginning αἰ]ψα μ[α]ττην ed. pr.).

In a different but equally contested context Alcaeus, in exile somewhere on Lesbos (in the stasiotic poems) calls on three gods in his desperation for release from hardship. One of these is Dionysos (fr. 129.6–12 = *P. Oxy.* 2165 + 2166):

σὲ δ' Αἰολίην [κ]υδαλίμαν θεόν  
 πάντων γενέθλαν, τὸν δὲ τέρτον  
 τόνδε κεμήλιον ὠνύμασσ[α]ν  
 Ζόνυσσον ὠμήσταν. ἄ[γι]τ' εὔνοον  
 θῦμον σκέθοντες ἀμετέρα[ς] ἄρας  
 ἀκούσατ', ἐκ δὲ τῶν[δ]ε μόχθων  
 ἀργαλέας τε φύγας ῥ[ύ]εσθε

10

and you Aeolian, Glorious Goddess, Mother of all, and this third one here they named Kemelios, Dionysos, eater of raw flesh. Come with gracious spirit hear our prayer, and rescue us from these hardships and from grievous exile. (Transl. D. A. Campbell, modified)

But the poem goes on to show that Alcaeus has been quoting the oath, taken over a sacrifice (cutting a lamb's throat) by members of his own political faction in the Sanctuary of the Three Gods on Lesbos, an oath that was subsequently broken by the traitor Pittacus, and denounces him, praying for vengeance (14 κήνων Ἐρίνυς, cf. 10 ἄρας i. e. prayer and imprecation) for the oath-breaking. The *temenos* is famously called ξυνός by Alcaeus (3), i. e. common to the three gods who were σύνναοι there. Does this refer to the close association of these particular gods (cf. Sappho fr. 17 and the Aeolian Mother)? Or does it refer to the holding of the sanctuary 'in common' by all of the major cities of Lesbos? If the former, the poem might go far to helping to determine how Dionysos was worshipped and regarded on sixth-century Lesbos. The association with his father Zeus might give him a role in civic rule or law and justice, as a symbouleutic advisor in political affairs (as in Anacreon fr. 357 *PGM*, discussed below). The Aeolian Mother is made responsible for the saving of Dionysos in the new papyrus commentary discussed below, where his paternity is also a concern. But most scholarly attention regarding Alcaeus' Dionysos has focussed on his 'raw' aspect: 9 ὠμήσταν describes him (early on in Greek culture) as an eater (or feeder?) of raw flesh, an obvious allusion in the cultic context to rites of ὠμοφαγία. In 8, however, κεμήλιον remains unexplained. Beattie's Σεμέληιον, 'son of Semele', is an attractive correction of the papyrus' text (and it also finds support in the new papyrus commentary on a poetic text discussed below, where Semele is also mentioned).

By comparison, a different and lighter note is discernible in Anacreon's address to Dionysos (fr. 357 *PGM*):



ὦναξ ᾧ δαμάλης Ἔρωσ  
 καὶ Νύμφαι κυανώπιδες  
 πορφυρῇ τ' Ἀφροδίτῃ  
 συμπαίζουσιν, ἐπιστρέφει  
 δ' ὑψηλὰς ὀρέων κορυφάς·                   5  
 γουνοῦμαί σε, σὺ δ' εὐμενῆς  
 ἔλθ' ἡμῖν, κεχαρισμένης  
 δ' εὐχολῆς ἑπακούειν·  
 Κλεοβούλω δ' ἀγαθὸς γένεο  
 σύμβουλος, τὸν ἐμόν γ' ἔρω-                   10  
 τ', ὦ Δεόνυσε, δέχεσθαι.

Lord, with whom the frisky Eros sports, and the dark-eyed Nymphs, and the pink glowing goddesses of love, as you roam across the mountains' lofty summits, I make supplication to you, to come with kindly favour to hear my gracious prayer: Stand by Kleoboulos, and be his wise advisor, O Dionysos: make him accept my love. (Transl. M. L. West)

A cletic hymn in glyconics and pherecrateans, the poem gives a serious role to the god, but with an amorous upshot. It is probably, but unprovably complete (note ring composition with γουνοῦμαί at the fulcrum) and addresses Dionysos, who is asked to wisely advise Kleoboulos (in this case to accept the singer's love). Perhaps the poem was composed for Polykrates, as an aid to win the boy's affection or express his own, at the same time complementing the boy or the tyrant by implying that the poet, no doubt in his cups, might be in love with him, too. 10 σύμβουλος is obviously a pun on the boy's name. But the epithet might also recall Dionysos Eubouleus, with its Orphic associations (for example, in the Gurob Papyrus, discussed below). But unlike Alcaeus fr. 129 discussed above (and Anacreon fr. 348, the hymn to Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on Maeander which began his book 1), this poem has nothing to do with public cult. Anacreon's amatory plight requires a last-resort plea to Dionysos as an advisor in private affairs. In the same way Anacreon in fr. 411a despairs of help from love-troubles, while fr. 411b associates this (probably in a mythological exemplum) with the effects of madness inflicted on the Bassarai by Dionysos (also discussed in the new papyrus commentary presented below):

- (a) ἀπό μοι θανεῖν γένοιτ'· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλη  
 λύσις πόνων γένοιτ' οὐδάμα τῶνδε.  
 (b) Διονύσου σαῦλα Βασσαρίδες

By contrast, in drama Dionysos takes a more public role: at any rate, here his effects on the city, on rulers, and public figures are endlessly exemplified. Even comedy and satyr play (for example, in Euripides' *Cyclops*) could showcase the god and his effects. What happens when Paris cannot be found for the

infamous Judgement of Paris (the story known from the Epic Cycle poem *Cypria*), and the only substitute that can be found is the comic god, Dionysos? In 1904 a papyrus (*P. Oxy.* 663) yielded most of the plot-summary of a lost comedy by Cratinus (career: 454–423 B.C.), penned at the end of a roll containing the entire play. Although in the papyrus nothing survives of the play itself, and there are precious few quotations, the Hypothesis to Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros* (test. 1 KA) survives almost intact:

[...] judgement Hermes [5] leaves, while these (m.) say some things to the spectators about the making of sons (or: about poets) and joke and make fun of Dionysos when he appears [10]. When [the goddesses and Hermes] enter and [promise him gifts], from Hera unshaken tyranny, from Athena [15] success in war, and from Aphrodite to make him very beautiful and attractive, he judges her (scil. Aphrodite) to be the winner. After this he sails [20] to Sparta, takes Helen, and returns to Ida. A little while later he hears that the Greeks are ravaging the countryside [25] and looking for Alexandros. Very quickly he hides Helen in a basket [30] and turns himself into a ram to await developments. (The real) Alexandros enters and detecting both of them [35] orders them to be led to the ships, intending to hand them over to the Greeks. When Helen refuses, he takes pity on her and retains possession of her, to keep her as his wife. Dionysos he dispatches to be handed over [40]. The satyrs go along with him, insisting that they not betray him. In the play [45] Perikles is very convincingly made fun of by innuendo (δι' ἐμφορέως) for having brought the war on the Athenians. (Transl. I. C. Storey)

Here Cratinus interestingly goes back to the traditional version of the Judgement of Paris. Alexandros keeps Helen, while the Greeks will not tolerate it. Thus the Trojan War is still fought, according to Cratinus' version. The satyrs would be equally at home in a comedy or a satyr play. In tragedy, Dionysos remains ubiquitous, not so much by his explicit presence, as by subtle allusion and innuendo to Dionysiac myth and ritual. The exceptions are plays having to do with Dionysos' arrival at Thebes and among the Bassarai. In particular, the papyri (along with the late antique cento *Christus patiens*) have provided one means of restoring the ending to Euripides' *Bacchae* that is badly mangled in the Mediaeval manuscripts.

In the Hellenistic tradition, we are fortunate to have a number of important papyri that firmly attest Dionysiac cult and ritual. Dionysos fails to get a mention in the fourth-century papyrus treatise with its commentary on an Orphic theogony known as the Derveni Papyrus, but the theogony explicated by the commentator itself is thought to have had its end point in the birth of Dionysos from the union of Zeus and Persephone, his death at the hands of the Titans, and his recessitation. The Derveni papyrus discusses numerous *teletai* with Dionysiac resonances. Similarly, the Gurob Papyrus, from the third century B.C. and found at Gurob at the lower entrance to Fayum, gives a list of rituals and ritual objects in Greek of the Ptolemaic

period.<sup>4</sup> It is not a theoretical or allegorical treatise or commentary like the Derveni Papyrus. But it gives early references to Dionysiac *teletai* and ritual directions and locutions. “Save me Brimo, Demeter, and Rhea with armed Kouretes” it begins, while “Eleusinian Dionysos” doesn’t appear until later in the list. Then follow instructions for sacrifice. The name Eubouleus appears several times. Then Demeter and Pallas in the genitive. There are further requests for divine salvation: “King Erikepaios, save me”. Dionysos is juxtaposed with the word *symbola*, and the formula θεὸς διὰ κόλπου “god through the bosom/lap” (a *synthema* associated by Clement of Alexandria with Sabazios: see the new papyrus commentary discussed below). Then are listed “what are given to you for consumption”, “basket”, and finally a list of toys: cone, spinning top, knucklebones, mirror. The list is sufficiently confused to perplex several generations of historians of religion. But it attests the complex mythology of different mystery divinities, among them Dionysos, and at a much earlier period than the Orphic Hymns (which are in some respects otherwise comparable but are much later). It gives the earliest attestation of the toys used to distract the baby Dionysos, as it records prayers and locutions perhaps used for protection in a dangerous state of contact with Dionysos.

Even a brief survey such as this would be incomplete without mention of the second century B.C. ‘Dionysiac’ edict on papyrus ascribed to Ptolemy IV Philopator, preserved on a Berlin papyrus,<sup>5</sup> regulating those who perform initiation rites for Dionysos in Egypt. They are ordered to come to Alexandria and register with a named official, and to declare from what persons they have received the sacred rites (ἱερά, perhaps ‘objects’?) for three generations back – and they must turn in a copy of their sacred text (ἱερός λόγος), sealed, after inscribing their name on it. Now I have repeated here what almost all modern translators take as ‘a copy’ of their sacred text, whereas in fact the text (a rescript of a royal decree) says nothing about a copy. It says: ‘turn in their *hieros logos*’ (διδόναι τὸν ἱερὸν λόγον). Perhaps it was simply understood that they would turn in a duplicate copy (ἀπόγραφον) rather than their original, or that they would keep one. But the means and skill necessary to produce one cannot have been inconsiderable. And had these texts been standardized and obtainable in multiple copies so easily, the process of registration and individuation by signed name would hardly have been necessary. Rather, the papyrus decree envisages many different papyrus books each owned by a different initiator and differing as each became more specialized, such as we find typically in the professionalization of ritual craftsmen, for example in the later compilations of the magical handbooks like *PGM IV* (the ‘Mithras Liturgy’, with its own detailed description of a mystery rite). This process of

4 See the re-edition and commentary by Hordern (2000).

5 Schubart (1916/17) 189 f.; Fraser (1972) II.345 f.

specialization might be seen as already underway in the Derveni author's commentary (although it seems to have circulated as a book).<sup>6</sup> Each would be textually unique and as such would have had little chance of surviving the ravages of time. The whole process has less to do with secrecy, as to the lack of a fixed paradosis, together with differentiation of the text by competing professionals, and to a demand for explanation resulting in a sparagmos of the text through lemmatization, quotation, and hybridization in a commentary tradition. Dionysos and religious exegesis went hand in hand, one religious specialist vying to outdo the next, so that there attached to the god an increasingly layered series of seeming contradictions and consequent refinements.

In the papyri recovered from the Villa of the Mysteries at Herculaneum after the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 C.E., and especially in Philodemus' *On Piety*, Dionysos is rife. This is due in the main to the connection between the Dionysiac mysteries and the kind of religion with which the author in that work is critically engaging. The work distilled the contents of Apollodorus of Athens' *On Gods* (itself in 24 books) into a kind of critical epitome. Apollodorus' work was concerned mainly with epithets of individual gods including Dionysos, and there may have been an entire book devoted to Dionysos as there were to other individual gods. Mythologoumena having to do with Dionysos' death and dismemberment (likely to disturb any rationalist philosopher) at the hands of the Titans, are special favourites with Philodemus, who in one section of the treatise is especially exercised to argue that no true god could (as the poets and mythographers had described them) actually have died (Phld. *De pietate* = *P. Herc.* 247 fr. 3):

4954	[Διονύσωι δέ εἶ-]		
4955	[ναι τρεῖς γενέσεις,]		
4956	[πρώτην μὲν τού-]	30	
	των ἑτὴν ἐκ τῆς μητρὸς,	<b>247 3</b>	
	ἑτέραν δὲ ἑτὴν ἐκ		
	τοῦ μηροῦ [Διός, τρί-	Callimachus fr. 43.117 et 643 Pfeiffer	
4960	την δὲ τῆ[ν ὅτε δι-	<i>Alcmeonis</i> fr. 3 Davies = 3 Bernabé	
	ασπασθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν	Aeschylus <i>Sisyphus</i> TrGF III fr. 228	5
	Τιτάνων Ἡέ[α]ς τὰ	Aeschylus <i>Aegyptii</i> TrGF III fr. 5	
	μέλη συνθε[ίσης	Terpander fr. 8 Bergk	
	ἀνεβίω{ι}. κὰν [τῆι		
4965	Μοψοπία[ι] δ' Εὐ[φορί-	Euphorion fr. 33 Scheidweiler = CA 36	
	ων [ὄ]μολογεῖ [τού-	= 53 De Cuenca = 39 van Groningen	10
	τοις. [οἱ] δ' Ὀρ[φικοί]	OF fr. 59 Bernabé	
	καὶ παντά[πασιν		
	ἐνδιατρε[ίβουσιν.		

6 See Obbink (1994).

And (some say) that Dionysos has three births: of these, first is the one from his mother, second that from the thigh of Zeus, and third the one when he was torn apart by the Titans and came back to life after Rhea reassembled his limbs. And in his *Mopsopia* also Euphorion agrees with these last two points; the Orphics indeed dwell on them. (Transl. D. O.)

This passage relates literally Dionysos' three different births, followed by the three corresponding deaths of Dionysos – a notion too odd not to have a pedigree. Philodemus' initial target here, from which he is paraphrasing via Apollodorus, is a text of Callimachus (fr. 43 Pfeiffer, from *Aetia* II, where we are told that Zagreus was named as son of Zeus). Philodemus (following Apollodorus) goes on to parallel this text in a poem of Euphorion, as well as the writings of certain unnamed Orphics and Egyptian authors. Here the Apollodorean original can be seen to have been delineating the un-homeric idiosyncracies in the representations of Dionysos by the *neoteroi* (poets later than Homer), a frequent pastime of Apollodorus'. The passage is further notable for its citation of the epithets 'Zagreus' and 'Orphikoi' (the second is the earliest recorded instance). Dionysos never looked stranger to the uninitiated, and more paradoxical, than he did in the Orphic and Dionysiac mysteries. It may be significant that the 'Orphikoi' are not the only ones according to Philodemus to see Dionysos in this light. They join other authors and groups who, in the context of the mysteries, chose to define Dionysos by his contradictory characteristics.<sup>7</sup>

Herculaneum and its Villa of the Papyri continue to yield new evidence for Dionysos. As late as 2007 two major new finds emerged. In the late 1990's archaeologists uncovered a new part of the huge villa that yielded the Herculaneum library and had been accessed only by means of tunnels since the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This was achieved by digging a huge hole and exposing the south-west corner of the Villa. When works stalled shortly afterwards, a number of prominent scholars called for action, predicting significant finds of what might remain to be discovered amidst the two or more unknown stories of the villa now lately revealed to view. Yet archaeologists remained sceptical and works stood inert for almost a decade. When conservation efforts resumed in the early 2000's, no sooner was the surface scratched than findings began to emerge. Dionysica have been the beneficiaries in at least two of the new finds, hardly surprisingly, since the slopes of Vesuvius were covered with vineyards in antiquity as they are today. First: two sides, two legs, and part of the back of a wooden throne decorated with ivory bas-reliefs (fig. 2). The sides depict the gods Attis and Dionysos, together with mystery implements, pinecones, and

7 The line numbers on the left are those of my forthcoming Oxford edition. Underlined letters designate editorial changes to the 19<sup>th</sup>-century copy of the papyrus. – See further on this passage Henrichs (2011).

phalloi. The reliefs on the throne recall the Attideia ceremonies commemorating the death and resurrection of the god Attis, the husband and ritual victim of the goddess Kybele. The throne may have been used in connection with the reading of mystery texts in initiation ceremonies in a structure juxtaposed with the Villa of the Papyri. It is comparable to the one from the House of Menander in Pompeii in which the dramatist is depicted in a wall painting as seated and composing a play. And of course we have the later throne of Maximianus from 547 C.E. (ivory over wood, in the Archepiscopal Museum in Ravenna). But the new throne is especially valuable in that it is the only throne surviving from this period. Second, in 2007 a new marble relief (fig. 3) with Dionysiac scenes came to light during similar conservation work in an adjacent part of the site (a luxury domicile in the north-west insula, another only partially excavated villa). It was found mounted two metres above floor level on a painted plaster wall of a large room decorated in the fourth style.

Nor is there any reason to think that we have seen the last of Dionysos in the papyri. A new papyrus commentary (fig. 4) now in the Green Family Collection in the United States is offered below, as testimony. A kind of τὰ περὶ Διούσου or treatise on Dionysiaca in the form of a commentary on an unknown classical work of literature, it begins with the explication of a word in the text (probably fr. 1 ii 11, 16 πεύκη, or ῥύμβος 12–13, 16), before going on to comment on another word in the classical work, μανικά ‘ecstatic rites’ (in both columns, traces of a previous column precede, while a third column follows in fr. 1):

fr. 1 col. ii

. . . . .  
 . . . . . c. 25 ] . α [

c. 20 ] . . . . [

c. 15 ]λοι βάρβαροι καλοῦνται

5 . . . . . ] . [ . ] ντου ἔστιν ἔτι ἔνραπτος  
 εἰς τὸν μηρὸν ἀφανίζεται ἔχει Ἡραξ τῆς  
 Λυδίας ἔνθα τὰ ὄρη τὰ Ἴστα καλούμενα ἔνθα οἱ  
 Λυδοὶ φασιν γενέσθαι τὸν σαβάζιον ἔνταῦθα  
 . . . ] ἐπ[ι]τυγχάνει Δημήτηρ ἦν Ἰ{μ}πτην  
 κ[αλοῦσι τ]ῆν μητέρα τοῦ θεοῦ, οἱ δὲ γυναῖκα  
 10 καὶ [ . ] [ . . . . . ], ὡς ἔχει. αὕτη ἐπιτυγχά-  
 νει παιδι βωῶντι καὶ ἐκκόπτει πεύκην καὶ  
 ποιεῖ ῥύμβον καὶ ἐπομένη περι<ρ>υμβεῖ ὅπως ὁ ῥύμ-  
 βος περιέχον τὴμ φωνὴν ἀφανίζη καὶ, μὴ  
 καταφανῆς γένηται. ἐφθέγγετο δὲ ταῦτα ἅ λέ-  
 15 γουσιν ἐν σαβαζίου τελετῇ εὐάζοντες. ὅστις  
 δὲ ῥύμβον ἐξ ἄλλου τινὸς ποιεῖ ἢ ἐκ πεύκης  
 Διούσω ἢ σαβαζίω οὐκ οἶδεν ὅ τι ποεῖ. vac.

**μανικά·** ἔπει δὲ τρεῖς μῆνες παρῆλθον, λύει  
 20 ἕκ τ[ο]ῦ μῆροῦ καὶ δίδωσιν Ἀθηνᾶι, ἣ δὲ λαβοῦσα  
 φέρει εἰς Θήβας καὶ δίδωσιν ταῖς σεμέλης ἀδελφαῖς  
 καὶ ταῖς νύμφαις, αἱ δὲ λαβοῦσαι ἔτρεφον. ἣ δὲ Ἥρα  
 ἰδοῦσα μανίας αὐταῖς ἐμβάλλει καὶ ταῖς τρε-  
 25 φούσαις, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν  
 λόγῳ. καὶ ἡ γεῦσις τοῦ αἵματος πρὸς τῷ μα-  
 νικῶι προσκεῖται καὶ ἐνθεάζουσιν. αἱ δὲ Βασσά-  
 > ραι ταῦτα ποιοῦσιν καὶ τοῖς ξίφεσιν αἴσσουσιν.

MARGIN

fr. 2 col. ii

..... ] [ ..... ] [ ..... ]  
 ..... ] εἰς Κάδμου τ ..... ]  
 ..... ] ἀρη ποεῖν ἠδελα ..... ]  
 ..... ] Κάδμου δίδωσι[  
 5 ..... ] ὀτησας αὐτὴν ἠδε καταπ ..... ]  
 Διόνυσον ἑπταμήνας ἔχουσα [ ..... ]  
 τῷ δὲ ὄγδο[ει-  
 εται τοῦτον δὲ τον[ ..... ]  
 ..... κε[ ..... ]  
 10 παφουσα[ ..... ]  
 φρεσι δ[ ..... ]  
 δαδ ..... ατης Φερσεφονείης κ[ ..... ]  
 τοφρ[ ..... ]  
 διαρρ[ ..... ]  
 15 ισοσ[ ..... ]  
 εχου[ ..... ]  
 δε[ ..... ]  
 ..... ] [ ..... ]  
 αιδεαδ[ ..... ]  
 20 λεαστ ..... μ κνονδισδεκνιτ [ ..... ]  
 MARGIN?

Translation (fr. 1 col. ii):

[...] are called barbarians ... is ... through the hatred of Hera [Dionysos] is hidden, still sewn-up in [Zeus'] thigh, where the mountains of Lydia called the Ista (?) are, hence the Lydians say that he is Sabazios there (or: that Sabazios is born there) (*word unread*). Demeter, whom they call Hipte, mother of the god, happens upon (him, scil. Dionysos), but whom others say was a woman and (*word unread*), as it is. She happens upon the child (scil. Dionysos) as he is crying and cuts down a pine-tree and makes a *rhymbos* and proceeds to whirl it around like a top, in order that the *rhymbos* by surpassing (or: resounding?) might hide the child's voice and lest the child be revealed. And these things which they say with cries of "euoi" in the worship of Sabazios she sounded out loud and clear. And anyone who makes a *rhymbos* for Dionysos or Sabazios from anything else than pine has no idea what he is up to.

*manika*: After three months passed, he (scil. Zeus) releases (him, scil. Dionysos) from his thigh and gives him to Athena, and she takes him and brings him to Thebes and gives him to the sisters of Semele and to the nymphs, and they, having taken him, were nurturing him. Hera, seeing (this, or: him), inflicts madnesses upon them and those nurturing him, just as has been said by me also in the preceding discussion. And the drinking of blood belongs to (or: is attached to) the manic state [i.e. blood-drinking is a concomitant or byproduct of the manic state] and to those who revel madly. The Bassarai do these things and rush about with their swords.

Datable to the second half of the third century B.C., it is now one of our two or three earliest known commentaries, as can be seen from its format: lemmata in *ekthesis* (18 *μανικά*), and paragraphi and forked-paragraphi (marking the end of commentary entries). It invites comparison with the Derveni Papyrus both for its format (columns 36 letters in width, the average length of a hexameter), and for its content. The author writes in a style that consists of short simple sentences with little subordination, beginning without introductory particles; hiatus is not avoided.

The scribe assimilates consonants, and writes *ρύμβος* rather than *ρόμβος* (which is Attic, rather than Koine, according to Schol. Theoc. 2.30 and Ath. 7, 330b). The commentary seems to relate the events of Dionysos' career as known, for example, from Euripides' *Bacchae* to aspects of Dionysiac ritual. Compare Pausanias' summary of the events at Thebes in the myth (2.2.7–8):

πενθέα ὑβρίζοντα ἐς Διόνυσον καὶ ἄλλα τολμᾶν λέγουσι καὶ τέλος ἐς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἀναβάντα δὲ ἐς δένδρον θεάσασθαι τὰ ποιούμενα· τὰς δέ, ὡς ἐφώρασαν, καθελκύσαι τε αὐτίκα Πενθέα καὶ ζῶντος ἀποσπᾶν ἄλλο ἄλλην τοῦ σώματος. ὕπερον δέ, ὡς Κορίνθιοι λέγουσιν, ἡ Πυθία χρᾶ σφισιν ἀνευρόντας τὸ δένδρον ἐκεῖνο ἴσα τῷ θεῷ σέβειν· καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τόδε τὰς εἰκόνας πεποιήνται ταύτας.

They say that Pentheus treated Dionysos spitefully, his crowning outrage being that he went to Kithairon, to spy upon the women, and climbing up a tree beheld what was done. When the women detected Pentheus, they immediately dragged him down, and joined in tearing him, living as he was, limb from limb. Afterwards, as the Corinthians say, the Pythian priestess commanded them by an oracle to discover that tree and to worship it equally with the god. For this reason they have made these images from the tree. (Transl. W.H.S. Jones / H. A. Omerod)

This kind of connection of mythic events to local religious customs is familiar enough. But the lemmata in the commentary are not from Euripides' *Bacchae*. Possibly it is a commentary on Aeschylus' lost tragedies *Pentheus* or *Bacchae*, *Xantriae*, or *Bassarai* (the last about Orpheus' dismemberment), or on a lost comedy (cf. Aristophanes, *Vespae* 1496 *μανικά* πράγματα). The narration and its explanations (though not the lemmatic commentary form) are also closely



comparable with Diodorus Siculus' and Strabo's accounts of Dionysos' role in world history and geography. Diodorus at 4.4.1–2, for example, says:

μυθολογοῦσι δὲ τινες καὶ ἕτερον Διόνυσον γεγενῆσθαι πολὺ τοῖς χρόνοις προτεροῦντα τούτου. φασὶ γὰρ ἕκ Διὸς καὶ Φερσεφόνης Διόνυσον γενέσθαι τὸν ὑπὸ τινῶν Σαβάζιον ὀνομαζόμενον, οὗ τὴν τε γένεσιν καὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τιμὰς νυκτερινὰς καὶ κρυφίους παρεισάγουσι διὰ τὴν αἰσχύνην τὴν ἕκ τῆς συνουσίας ἐπακολουθοῦσαν.

Some writers of myths, however, relate that there was a second Dionysos who was much earlier in time. For according to them there was born of Zeus and Persephone a Dionysos who is called by some Sabazios and whose birth and sacrifices and honours are celebrated at night and in secret because of the disgrace associated with the intercourse. (Transl. C. H. Oldfather)

This suggests the possibility (and it can be no more than a guess) that the author of the papyrus was Neanthes of Cyzicus (*FGrH* no. 84 and 171), whose *Hellenica* were a major source for Diodorus Siculus' *Universal Histories* (see Strabo 10.3.10–17 and Diod. Sic. 3.62.1–4.5.1). Strabo at 10.3.15 (p. 470) says:

καὶ ὁ Σαβάζιος δὲ τῶν Φρυγιακῶν ἔστι καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τῆς μητρὸς τὸ παιδίον παραδοῦς τὰ τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ αὐτός.

Sabazios also belongs to the Phrygian group and in a way is the child of the Mother [of the Gods], since he too transmitted the rites of Dionysos.

Or, again, we may be dealing with an author who used the work of Neanthes (or some other Hellenistic scholar) in a commentary. The commentary may be assumed, however, to be on a work of canonical classical literature (rather than a minor author), and more likely poetry than prose, since only on such authors and works were Hellenistic commentaries normally written (the Derveni Papyrus being, at its early date, the exception that proves the rule).

The shadowy figure 'Hipte' (attested in dedications from Asia Minor) at fr. 1 ii 8 is known from the Orphic Hymns (48 and 49) and from Proclus (*In Tim.* I p. 407 Diehl = 296 Bernabé; cf. Amphytheos *FGrH* 431 = Schol. Ar. *Av.* 874).<sup>8</sup> More familiar is the aetiology of *rhombos* by the nurses of Dionysos at fr. 1 ii 11–14 in Pindar fr. 70b, where *στοναχαί / μανίαί τ' ἀλαλαί τ'* (12–13) sounds much like the language suggested by the new papyrus commentary. But in spite of how similar Pindar's description is to the account in the commentary, the word *μανικά* does not come from a known text of Pindar. Nor does Pindar (or any other author for that matter), accord to Athena (of all divinities) a role in saving Dionysos from Hera's wrath. This may point to an

8 I have so far been unable to make out the crucial word in the description of her by 'others' (οἱ δέ) in line 10 of fr. 1 col ii: the first letter after καὶ is *prima facie* λ (less likely α); after the break, ]βρωχωσι—the last two letters written half the size of the others—would suit the traces, before ὡς ἔχει (if these letters correctly articulated).

Attic provenance or derivation for the classical literary work commented on, perhaps a drama (tragedy or comedy) or a dithyramb. On the other hand, Athena is credited in the Orphic tradition with saving the heart of Dionysos after his dismemberment by the Titans and their blasting by Zeus. This suggests a connection with an Orphic text, such as might well have been found in the Orphic mysteries as celebrated in late fifth-century Attica (cf. Aristophanes, *Frogs* 378 with Dover's note ad loc. for a possible role for Athena Soteira in the Attic mysteries).<sup>9</sup>

In conclusion, Dionysos not only has, but continues to have, a long history in the papyri. He left a footprint that was commensurate with the breadth of imagination he inspired in both opponents and proponents, adherents and persecutors, and with the wide reach of his cultic and ritual role. It would not be misguided to characterize him as a literary or even learned god, for the traditions of exegesis, scholarly and otherwise, that his many manifestations and manifold contradictions demanded. He left a learned footprint in the traditions of the ancient book, matched only by those who were, in this respect as in many others, his successors in the Christian culture that followed.

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9 I owe this reference to Mark Griffith.





## Theatre and the Polis of Athens



# Athenian Identity, Dionysiac Festivals and the Theatre

*Natale Spineto*

The specific nature of the relation between Dionysos and the theatre has always posed a key problem of interpretation in Greek religion, from the proverb “Nothing to do with Dionysos” to contemporary debates in the fields of archaeology, philology, history of religions and history of theatre. Since the problem stems from the Dionysiac ritual framework within which the dramatic *agones* took place, the question is that of the relation between three topics: the god (along with all the features that characterize him in the golden age of Athenian drama); the content of the theatrical performances; and the structure of the festivals (the Great Dionysia, in the first place, then the Lenaia, the Rural Dionysia, and, in the background, the Anthesteria).

Among the ‘solutions’ that have had most success in the past twenty years is that of Simon Goldhill, which I will take as the starting point of my argument. Goldhill’s model may be very briefly summarized as follows: the Great Dionysia present two opposite poles. The first is that of the ritual framework that characterizes the festival. Goldhill analyses this framework using an anthropological interpretative key that has its roots in the distinction (based on sociological theory) between ceremony and transgression. The ritual framework of the Great Dionysia, as it presents itself in the pre-play rituals, suggests a festival of celebration, in which the ceremonial and official aspect predominates and in which the existing order of the city of Athens is symbolically re-affirmed. Embedded within this ceremonial framework, however, is theatre, which bears contrary characteristics: those of transgression, of an overturning of order. In particular, “the tragic texts seem to question, examine, and often subvert the language of the city’s order”.<sup>1</sup> The same thing happens in comedy.<sup>2</sup>

Goldhill follows a tradition of studies that identify as the content of drama a suspension of everyday customs through which access to another reality, characterized by a symbolic inversion, is possible. Goldhill re-interprets these approaches in accordance with the anthropological perspectives of scholars such as Edmund Leach and Victor Turner. In the Great Dionysia we thus recognize a dialectic of two opposite poles: that of affirmation of order

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Translated from the Italian by Jonathan Hurt and revised by Fabian Meinel.

1 Goldhill (1990) 114.

2 Goldhill (1991) 174.

(through the ceremonial framework) and that of its negation (enacted in the drama). These two opposite poles are not just coexistent but are interconnected in such a way that inversion and transgression are possible to the extent that the festive framework contains them and acts as a counterweight to them. The role of Dionysos, then, is that of a reference point for the dynamics of the festival, since the figure of the god contains the opposite features of order and transgression, the capacity to dissolve the social order and to re-define it in a different way: “Dionysos’ sphere would seem to encompass precisely the sense of paradox and reversal I have described in the relations between the pre-play ceremonies and the plays in the City Dionysia.”<sup>3</sup>



Goldhill’s model provides a clear, and in many respects convincing, solution to the problem of the relation between Dionysos, the festival and theatre. But it can be questioned. I will try to identify its limitations and suggest an alternative model. For reasons of space I will of course not be able to consider all aspects of the Great Dionysia, much less to compare the City Dionysia with the other dramatic festivals of Athens. I will therefore start from a particular problem which I will examine from a particular point of view. The problem pertains to the social groups that took part in the festival. The point of view that I will adopt is a socio-anthropological one.

The socio-anthropological approach will help to define the dynamics of the festival on the basis of the different components of Athenian society that had a role in it; moreover, I shall borrow, from the analytical tools provided by this anthropological approach, the distinction between identity and otherness, a distinction which I shall use as an instrument of interpretation for the festival. Among the social groups that take part in the festival, I shall pay particular attention to foreigners; this will enable me to extend the discussion to the other dramatic festival of Athens, the Lenaia.

Naturally, I will not be able to go into the details of my arguments nor present all the evidence that support them and the critical debate about them. For an exhaustive discussion of the subject I refer the reader to my book on the Dionysiac festivals of Athens.<sup>4</sup>

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3 Goldhill (1990) 127.

4 Spineto (2005).



In analyzing the Great Dionysia from the point of view of the social groups that participated in them, three aspects require our particular attention: the initial procession, the audience of the performances and the role of the different components of society in the development of the festival.

The *pompe* which opened the festival was led by the archon (Ath. 12, 542e) and took place on the morning of the first day, the 10<sup>th</sup> of Elaphebolion.<sup>5</sup> Participants in the procession included, apart from sacrificial animals (bulls, oxen and others),<sup>6</sup> a *kanephoros* (a girl of noble birth who carried a basket, schol. Ar. *Ach.* 241), metic *skaphephoroi* (basin carriers) wearing purple garments, citizen *askophoroi* (wineskin carriers, *Suda* s.v. Ἀσκοφορεῖν), and perhaps also *obeliaphoroi*<sup>7</sup> (loaf carriers) and *hydriaphoroi* (jug carriers) who were daughters or wives of metics.<sup>8</sup> The presence of the *kanephoros* has been judged particularly important by Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood because it emphasizes the presence of the female gender.<sup>9</sup> It is likely that those who were going to take part in the *agones* also took part in the procession, particularly the members of the choruses,<sup>10</sup> perhaps led by the *choregoi* and wearing exceptionally rich garments.<sup>11</sup> It is also likely that those who had a right to reserved seats in the theatre took part in the procession. The participants enjoyed a particular inviolability: Ktesikles was condemned to death for lashing an enemy with his whip during the procession.<sup>12</sup> The procession clearly constitutes an expression of the identity of Athens, in its various components, which are represented physically and symbolically, as they are in the procession of the Panathenaia.<sup>13</sup>

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5 Such a procession is recorded in other cities as well: see Cole (1993) 30.

6 Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 61.

7 Poll. 6.75 mentions *obeliaphoroi* who carried bread loaves to the temple of Dionysos, although it is not clearly stated when.

8 The “jug-carriers” would have been the daughters of the metics (*Suda* s.v. Σκαφηφόροι), or their wives (Poll. 3.55): whether they took part in the processions is not stated, but it is possible to infer this from the sources.

9 Sourvinou-Inwood (1994) 271.

10 Nilsson (1916/1951) 209.

11 Their participation in the parade gave the *choregoi* the prestige that they derived from their expenditure on and donations to choruses: Wilson (2000) 97–98.

12 Another is censured for expelling and hitting a spectator who had taken his seat (Dem. *Meid.* 178–180). See Ghiron-Bistagne (1976) 197–198.

13 Sourvinou-Inwood (1984) 271–272. On the procession of the Panathenaia, see Maurizio (1998) 297–317.



An analogous analysis of the festival as a physical and symbolic expression of the city's identity<sup>14</sup> can be made with regard to the audience present in the theatre, in connection with their spatial arrangement.

As a matter of fact, the social importance of full citizens in classical Athens is mirrored in the essential role this category of people played in the *agones*. The problem of the definition of Athenian citizenship continues to be debated, and it is generally admitted today that the status of citizen can only be defined by taking into account its fluidity, its complexity and its relational nature. In any case, with these reservations in mind, it remains true that citizenship in Athens is based on the three traditionally recognized elements of adult status, male gender and Athenian birth.<sup>15</sup>

The essential role of the citizens is also reflected in their position in the theatre. In this regard, it should be emphasized that the epigraphic and literary evidence is scarce and that it dates from periods later than the classical age. It is however possible to formulate, on the basis of this evidence, some considerations that enable us to reconstruct a hypothetical but plausible picture.

The front seats of the theatre were reserved for those who enjoyed *proedria*, a privileged seating: priests, archons, heralds, *strategoï*, war orphans, public benefactors and foreign ambassadors.<sup>16</sup> The tiers can be subdivided into segments, and it is likely that the citizens, divided according to their tribes, sat in the areas behind the various special seats.<sup>17</sup>

One part of the theatre was reserved for the five hundred *bouleutai* (*bouleutikon*, Ar. Av. 794 and schol.; *Suda* s.v. Βουλευτικός; Hsch. s.v. βουλευτικόν), another for the ephebes, who sat in the *ephebikon* (in addition to the passages from *Suda* and Hesychius cited above, see Poll. 4.122; schol. Ar. Av. 794), perhaps in the central *kerkis*.<sup>18</sup> The ephebes were probably divided according to their tribes.<sup>19</sup> Thus, all the main components of the

14 It could be said, in general, that in the procession the group establishes a relationship with the environment, while organising itself (Kavoulaki [1999] 297).

15 Manville (1994) 24–25; Hunter/Edmondson (2000). The problem is examined especially in Edmondson (2000) V–VII.

16 On the *proedria*, see Maaß (1972); Henry (1983) 291–292. On the places of *proedria* in Dionysos' theatre (from an archaeological point of view), see Polacco (1990) 115–121.

17 Polacco (1981) 10. The dates of the inscriptions range from the third or second centuries B.C. to the first century C.E.; see also the case of the theatre at Ephesus (Roman age), for which R. Heberdey was able to reconstruct the distribution of the different (sub-)groups in the audience: the *boule* in the centre, with the *gerousia* to its left and the ephebes to its right, then the six tribes on both sides and finally the priests and the winners of the gymnastic competitions on the left and the children on the right. Polacco thinks that the distribution might have been similar in the theatre at Athens (*ibid.* 11).

18 Polacco (1981) 10.

19 *Ibid.* 39.

political structure imposed by Kleisthenes would be present in the theatre: the ten tribes, the council of the governors and the new generations of citizens.<sup>20</sup> The women, the issue of whose presence among the audience will receive greater attention below, must have had a position separate from that of the men (schol. Ar. *Ecl.* 22) and at some distance from the stage (Ar. *Pax* 962–967). Thus, if they were present, they were probably placed in the upper part of the theatre; foreigners, according to a fragment of Alexis (fr. 41 Kassel), were positioned to the side of the building.

There is no doubt that *paides* attended the *agones* (Ar. *Nub.* 539; *Pax* 50; Eup. fr. 244 Kassel; Men. *Dys.* 967; Pl. *Grg.* 502d; Arist. *Pol.* 7, 1336b20), perhaps escorted by a pedagogue (Theophr. *Char.* 9.5), but we do not know where they sat; quite possibly next to their parents.

A number of analogies have been noticed between the act of attending a performance and that of participating in a political assembly<sup>21</sup> and between the development of the performances and judicial activities.<sup>22</sup> Emphasis has also been placed on the ‘democratic’, or at least non-aristocratic, characteristics of the seating arrangements in the theatre. The problem of how to evaluate such analogies and characteristics, however, remains open to debate. What can be said with relative certainty, though, is that the theatre, the symbolic value of its form and the arrangement of the seats, is a reflection of Athenian society.

Athens is present as a unified whole, but also as an entity made up of various constituent parts. The form of the theatre and the relatively egalitarian nature of the seats, which, except for a few cases, are all more or less the same, allude symbolically to the unity of the social fabric. Within this unity, however, the various fibres of society are represented in a hierarchical order. Thus, if the hypothesis formulated above is correct, the audience is divided up into tribes; and in the centre is the group of young men serving in the army and that of the *bouleutai*<sup>23</sup> who constitute the unifying factor of the various components of the *polis*; authorities, especially religious ones, are seated in the front rows, while foreigners and women are placed in marginal positions. In short, the identity of the *polis* is expressed, and therefore celebrated, in the procession, and in the seating arrangements in the theatre as well.

We turn to the activities taking place before the performances: the *choregeia* (schol. Ar. *Plut.* 954), a crucial activity in the organisation of performances, was reserved for full citizens. Children were allowed to take part in the

20 Winkler (1990) 38.

21 Arnott (1991) 14; Ehrenberg (1974) 27–28.

22 Segal (1991) 214.

23 Winkler (1990) 42 notes that the competition between the tribes is replaced, in the central seats, by the presence of administrators and city defenders, representatives and guarantors of the unity of the *polis*.

performances; and the ephebes carried the statue of Dionysos to the theatre and made sacrifices. The actual role of the ephebes is a subject of debate because a proper assessment of their function would require us to solve the controversial problem of the characteristics of the *ephebeia* in the classical age of Athenian theatre. There is no space to dwell on this question here, so I must again refer readers to my study of the festivals; but a link between the festival and young men in the age of military service is likely in the classical age too.<sup>24</sup> War orphans, whose education was financed by the state, also participated in the performances;<sup>25</sup> they were given a complete suit of armour (the *panoplia*) before the beginning of the performances. The presence of orphans and ephebes is partly a demonstration of the city's strength and power before the foreigners.

As for the foreigners, the sources say they are present in great numbers<sup>26</sup> because navigation is open. They are in Athens for trade purposes and political reasons. In criticizing fifth-century Athenian politics, Isocrates recalls the custom of presenting the war orphans and the public money in the theatre (*De pace* 82). This public money probably consisted of the tribute the *polis* levied from the allies (the *symmachoi*, who attended the performances of the Great Dionysia). The ambassadors were entitled to a free reserved seat, and the City Dionysia were the occasion for renewing treaties. The attendance of so many foreigners ensured that during the Dionysia the foreign cities rewarded the *proxenoi*.

The inclusion of all these social groups of foreigners can be explained by the function which the festival had with relation to the city's identity: Athens appears as a hierarchically organised whole. The presence in the theatre of armed men and of the allies' tribute bears witness to the power and the hegemonic role that the city had with respect to the allies as well as to all the others, Greek and barbarian, present at the festival.



Now that the picture of the Great Dionysia as a celebration of Athens' identity has been defined, it is possible to review the entire evidence concerning the festival from another, quite contrary, point of view: that of its transgressive aspects.

Let us return to the subject of the procession. We have seen how the *pompe* possesses, at a first level of interpretation, characteristics analogous to those of

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24 Spineto (2005) 238–254.

25 For the sources and their analysis, see *ibid.* 254–271.

26 *Ibid.* 271–292.

the Panathenaia procession. However, there are elements that distinguish the procession at the Great Dionysia from the Panathenaic one. These elements are related to the sense of propriety inspired by the parade. There is, first of all, the *komos* (Dem. *Meid.* 10), but the sources are too vague for us to be able to deduce precise and significant information about this element.

What certainly distinguishes the Dionysiac procession is the presence of the phallos. On this subject, too, evidence is meagre, but sources do exist and they seem to agree. The presence of the phallos is mentioned in a famous passage of Plutarch (*De cupid. divit.* = *Mor.* 527d) which recalls the simplicity of the processions in ancient times. There are, however, other sources on the use of the phallos in the procession. A fragmentary inscription states – if the hypothesis about the missing parts is correct – that the new colony of Brea was obliged, in the fifth century B.C., to send a phallos to the Dionysia every year; the Parians were under the same obligation;<sup>27</sup> and in the fourth century members of the second Athenian League sent a phallos to Athens.<sup>28</sup> These pieces of evidence, which are not disproved by any valid alternative hypothesis, are also confirmed by the foundation myth of the festival. This story, whose central character is Pegasos, concludes with the celebration of Dionysos Eleuthereus through phalloi, in memory of his accession and the sexual suffering it involved.<sup>29</sup>

We have no other information about the nature of the phallophoria: Susan Guettel Cole thinks the phalloi must have been made of wood, that they were burnt at the end of the celebration and replaced by new ones the following year.<sup>30</sup> A parallel can be found in the procession of the Dionysia of Delos, where a phallos, probably multicoloured, was paraded on a cart.<sup>31</sup> It is not necessary to point out the relevance of the phallos to Dionysos. It should, however, be mentioned that the display of the phallos in a cultic context was not considered a normal practice in Athens:<sup>32</sup> only within Dionysiac

27 *IG I<sup>2</sup>* 46, Brea. See Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 62.

28 See Accame (1941) 230–231.

29 It is precisely this fact, which implies the presence of the phallos in the myth of foundation of the *Dionysia megala*, which should caution us not to underestimate – as does, for example, Wilson (2000) 346 n. 214 – the meaning of the phallophoria in the development of the festival.

30 Cole (1993) 28.

31 See the documentation and the bibliography recorded by Cole (1993) 30–33 and accompanying notes. According to her, it is possible that the phallophoria was associated with manifestations of *aischrologia* in the form of *tothasmos* (33). In the case of Athens, this hypothesis remains possible, but has not been proven.

32 See Sauzeau (2000) 26. It is precisely in the prominent role of the phallos that Bremmer (1994) 19 sees the characteristic nature of the rupture of the social order of the Dionysia. See also Hoffman (1989) 100.

ceremonies<sup>33</sup> does the phallos lose its shameful character (Heraclitus, fr. B 15 DK).<sup>34</sup> All these elements show that the ceremonial aspect combines with the transgressive one in the structure of the procession.

The analysis of the social strata involved in the celebrations leads to similar conclusions. The identity of the citizen is constructed, like all identities, by marking boundaries and establishing dynamics of inclusion and exclusion. In Athens, exclusion concerns primarily young men, foreigners and women. These are all part of the social fabric of the *polis*, but at the same time they occupy a marginal place with respect to the identity of the citizen. The mere fact of the participation of young men, foreigners and women in the festival is therefore a sign of openness towards otherness.

However, something more emerges from a systematic exploration of the subject: the different social groups do not take part in the Dionysia merely as components of that identity of Athens of which they are part, in one way or another, but also as bearers of the features of marginality that characterize them.

Here are some examples of this phenomenon: the main characteristic of the ephebes consists in being on the border, and at the point of transition, between the world of the *paides* and that of adults. The ephebes enjoy some but not full political rights. Physically, too, they are on the margins: they carry out their activity in the border territories of Attica. Their condition is marginal. The ephebe, who feels solidarity with the other because he lives in close contact to him and who guarantees the integrity of the borders, can act as an intermediary for the entrance of Dionysos into the theatre, the entrance of a 'foreign' god who makes borders and boundaries problematic – here in that he comes to the Great Dionysia from Eleutherai, which is, significantly, situated on the border between Attica and Boeotia.<sup>35</sup> It is thus the ephebes who carry the statue of Dionysos into the theatre and who make possible the beginning of the dramatic *agones*.

The war orphans share the ephebes' marginality. Orphans are a social group which is protected by the state only with respect to hereditary rights and which is dependent on the generosity of relatives or strangers. However, if they are the sons of men who died in war, the state commits itself to taking care of them, paying for their military training and integrating them into the structure of the city. Indeed, the state makes them the future defenders of the *polis* and as such they are displayed during some of the most popular festivals in the Greek world. The ceremony that takes place in the theatre marks the

33 Including the symposion, see: Isler-Kerényi (2001) 194.

34 See the commentary by M. Conche, Paris 1986, 157 ff.

35 The marginality of the ephebe corresponds, in a way, to that of Dionysos. On this see Segal (1982) 165.

pinnacle of the orphans' military training: they wear the *panoplia*, the full armour, and are admitted to the status of hoplites. This happens even if they are not entitled to this honour by birth. Their 'second birth', as Plato calls it (*Leg.* 11, 926d–e), is thus accomplished through a (possible) advancement in the social scale and the acquisition of the right to serve the city in the army. In this aspect too, therefore, the war orphans share a characteristic feature of the ephebes: they both are in a phase of transition, of passage. Lastly, through their presence they express the continuity between the war dead and those who have taken their place; they thus celebrate the Athenian dead demonstrating at the same time the present power of Athens.

Let us turn to the foreigners. Their presence in large numbers in Athens is particularly significant. But some other details should also be mentioned. Aeschines states that a law forbade those who had been granted a crown by the Council or by the Assembly to have their crowning proclaimed in the theatre (*In Ctes.* 44–45). But another law, his adversaries object, says exactly the opposite: that the proclamation can take place as long as the people or the *boule* have decreed it (*Dem. De cor.* 120; *Aeschin. In Ctes.* 36). The contradiction must have been real, and the situation of uncertainty created by the ambiguity of the law leaves scope both for the argument of the orator and for the response of his opponent. Aeschines tries to resolve the ambiguity by distinguishing between two different categories of people to whom the two opposite rules apply: the prohibition concerns those who obtained a crown, but those who had received the honour from a foreign country would be regarded as exceptions. Aeschines' solution is particularly significant for our discussion, as it clearly implies that exceptional treatment was accorded to foreign cities during the festival.

Another category of foreigners, the slaves, attended the performances along with their masters, as can be deduced from two passages in Theophrastus (*Char.* 2.11; 9.5) and other evidence. But what needs to be emphasized in particular is that the theatre was the place where slaves were customarily manumitted. This is suggested by a law which forbids this practice. The law, quoted by Aeschines (*In Ctes.* 41), prohibited the public manumission of slaves during the celebration of the Great Dionysia.<sup>36</sup> Their liberation in the theatre is particularly significant because it proves that they participated in the festivals as protagonists, in a sense. It has been pointed out that eventually they did not participate as slaves but as free-men-to-be.<sup>37</sup> This, however, does not weaken the importance of the evidence; rather, it orients its interpretation: just like the

36 The scholia to Demosthenes record that during the Dionysia some prisoners were also set free (schol. ad *Dem.* 614, 23 in C. Müller, J. Hunziker, *Oratores attici* II, Paris 1888, 106).

37 Goldhill (1997) 62.

ephebes and the war orphans, the slaves that attend the Dionysia are in a state of transition, in a border area, as it were. Once again we therefore find a social group which experiences an elevation of status and celebrates its acquisition during a Dionysiac festival.<sup>38</sup>

Finally, a word on women, our last category. The question of their presence in the theatre cannot be analysed in detail here. I will only say that a systematic examination of the sources and a survey of the extensive bibliography on the subject suggest that the presence of women in theatrical performances is plausible.<sup>39</sup> It is certain that they took part in the procession as *kanephoroi* and it seems possible that they participated in other parts of the festival. The participation of women in the procession is in itself exceptional considering the confinement to the private sphere that characterizes their role in everyday Athenian life. If it is argued that women were among the audience, this exceptional role of women during the festival becomes even more significant.



The evidence that has been discussed shows that during the festival there existed an openness towards segments of society that had a minor role in everyday Athenian life. This is so not only during the Great Dionysia but also during other Dionysiac festivals, in ways particular to each festival. Because of space limitations I will consider in detail only one case: the presence of metics and foreigners in the other great Athenian dramatic festival, the Lenaia.

All the various groups of foreigners which participate in the Great Dionysia are not present during the Lenaia: the festival takes place during the winter months when navigation is closed and none of the people who usually come to Athens for trade purposes are in the city.<sup>40</sup> Not even the delegations from other cities that come to the polis for diplomatic negotiations or military business are present. But at least one category of foreigners we do find during the Lenaia: the metics, foreigners who live permanently in Athenian territory. Metics do not only attend the celebrations but play a particular and central role: as it was not the case at other festivals, at the Lenaia a *xenos* could be part of a chorus and a metic could be appointed for the *choregeia*, the liturgy

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38 This evidence is linked to the special relationship that Dionysos has with certain transitional phases of human life, which has been particularly emphasized by Cornelia Isler-Kerényi in a series of studies culminating in Isler-Kerényi (2001) where references to her previous articles will be found.

39 Spineto (2005) 292–312.

40 Ar. *Ach.* 378 and schol.; 504–506.



through which choruses were organized and subsidized.<sup>41</sup> Liturgies, ‘public services’, were compulsory and brought prestige to those who were appointed to them; they were a way of showing one’s generosity and abilities and were therefore a source of popular approval and political advantages. There is a link between liturgy, democratic rights, political commitment and full citizenship. This link, together with the religious dimension of the *choregeia*, explains the exclusion of the metics – who were part of the economic but not the political society<sup>42</sup> – from the organisation of the choruses at the Great Dionysia. There was indeed a law explicitly denying foreigners participation in the choruses, which specified a fine of a thousand drachmas for violators.<sup>43</sup>

The Lenaia are an exception. *Xenoi* can perform in the choruses and metics can exercise the function of *choregoi*: this means that the boundary, or barrier, which separated citizen from foreigner was broken down or opened up. By granting them the right to form a chorus the city recognizes metics as members of the social body, as components of the polis’ identity. But this happens on the condition that a commonly accepted rule is suspended and that non-citizens are granted privileges which normally belong to full citizens.<sup>44</sup> What makes it possible for this to happen at the Lenaia? A series of inscriptions from Delos which give lists of *choregoi* suggests the answer: metics appear regularly in the lists giving the names of those who exercised the *choregeia* at the festivals of Dionysos but they never appear when Apollo is concerned.<sup>45</sup> The decisive element, then, is the reference to Dionysos.

The particularity of the situation at the Lenaia is especially evident if it is seen in relation to the Great Dionysia, when navigation has resumed and many *xenoi* are present in the audience of the dramatic *agones*. But metics play a less important role at the Great Dionysia than at the Lenaia. At the Lenaia, foreigners are absent; metics are allowed to exercise the *choregeia*. At the Great Dionysia, by contrast, foreigners are present, some of them in official roles; but now metics are denied participation in the choruses (schol. Ar. *Plut.* 954).

The reason for this asymmetry can be found in the different nature of the two festivals. The Lenaia are more ‘intimate’,<sup>46</sup> and at this festival Athens sees

41 Schol. Ar. *Plut.* 954; Ulp. comm. Dem. *Lept.* 462, 13; Lys. *Eratost.* 20; epigraphic testimonies: D. Lewis (1968) 368–380; Edmonson (1982) 48–50. See Whitehead (1977) 80; Wilson (2000) 319–320 n. 93.

42 Hansen (1993) 89.

43 *Plut. Phoc.* 30–36.

44 It is also possible to consider the openness regarding the metics as a recognition of their importance in a period where the inferior role of this category of people was established by the Periclean legislation: Wilson (2000) 28. Due to the lack of precise chronological references, this ‘tempting’ hypothesis still has no documentary basis.

45 Hauvette-Besnault (1883) 103–125.

46 They are thus described by Parke (1977) 105.



itself in relation to the foreigners within; the *choregeia* entrusted to metics implies a confirmation of the central role of the resident foreigners, who are essential to Athens' prosperity, and at the same time constitutes an exception to the rule that liturgies are the highest expression of (proper) citizenship. At the Great Dionysia, on the other hand, the identity of Athens is defined not in relation to the foreigners who live in the city, but to those who live outside of it.<sup>47</sup> In both cases one could speak of an unusual opening-up towards foreigners. But a total and indiscriminate opening-up would have been unacceptable, since it would have disturbed the balance between official and transgressive elements. The opening-up thus occurs in a regulated manner, according to a principle resembling that of 'communicating vessels'. The Lenaia open up to foreigners within, but close down to those who come from outside; the Great Dionysia open up to foreigners who come from outside, but close down to foreigners within, the metics.<sup>48</sup> These differences are linked to the peculiarities of the various festivals; however, they also constitute but so many variations on the general acknowledgement of the exceptional role accorded to foreigners which was characteristic of Dionysiac celebrations: at the Anthesteria, slaves, who were foreigners, were allowed to drink with their masters (schol. Hes. *Op.* 368); at the Rural Dionysia slaves took part in the festivities<sup>49</sup> and some cases are documented of foreigners who were admitted to the *choregeia*.<sup>50</sup> Dionysos, who is presented as a *xenos*, is apt to perform the role of mediator between citizen and foreigner.



Let us consider, then, what is suggested by this analysis of the social groups involved in the festival. We may say that the Great Dionysia imply a celebration of the identity of Athens but that at the same time this identity is questioned, debated, suspended and turned upside down. Robert Parker has distinguished between a reversal in the strict sense of ordinary social norms, which is very rare, and a reversal in the broader sense of irregular behaviour of various types, which is frequently present in the festivals.<sup>51</sup> In the case of Dionysos, one may speak of a reversal in the strict sense in the case of the

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47 Hall (1989) 163–164.

48 Spineto (2007) 60.

49 Plut. *Mor.* 1098b–c.

50 Eleusis: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1186. The case is under discussion: Whitehead (1986) 216; Wilson (2000) 244; 374 n. 150.

51 Parker (2005) 172.

Anthesteria. But as we have seen, even in a festival like the City Dionysia some important components of inversion are present.

The suspension of ordinary life is not absolute: it is limited in time and is possible only within the festive context of the Dionysiac celebrations; it is always carefully regulated; and it ultimately serves to reinforce identity. It is as if the overturning of normal customs which Dionysos brings with him gives the social community a safety valve; as if it periodically opened the rigidity of the system in order to keep it intact. Thus, the inversion which Dionysos brings forms part of that *kosmos* which embraces everything and in which the foreigners, once the festival of the god is over, return to their accorded place, to remain there with even greater permanence.



We can now return to Goldhill's model, which we discussed at the beginning. According to Goldhill, in the City Dionysia there is a contrast between order, which is characteristic of the festive ceremonies, and disorder, which is characteristic of the tragedies and comedies. In the model that I have described, however, the dialectic between order and transgression is already present in the festive framework. But this means that the balance which characterizes Goldhill's model becomes unstable. We no longer have a ceremonial framework within which a transgressive rite (that of theatre) is performed, but a framework which itself already includes elements of both order and disorder. The same can be said of the content of the tragedies and comedies: it is not pure transgression, but a dialectic between transgression and a return to order.

The problem of how to interpret the tragedies and comedies performed within this framework is highly controversial and we cannot discuss and, even less, solve it here. I will simply indicate the tradition of research in which I follow: the tradition which originates from the research of Angelo Brelich in the 1960's and which was later developed further by other scholars.

Very briefly, Brelich's starting point is the observation that the content of tragedy and satirical drama – with a few exceptions, which, as we shall see, do not change anything – consists of mythical actions. Now, the function of myth, that of founding present realities, including customs and institutions, by referring to an original temporal dimension, can be seen in operation in tragedy: even the *Persians*, a play which seems to resist an interpretation of this kind, reinforces Athenian order by representing the defeat of the antithetical reality of the Persian world. The protagonists of tragic poetry are usually heroes, superhuman individuals who, as Brelich himself showed, possess features of imperfection which are connected with their belonging to a

mythical time when the order of the cosmos was not yet fixed.<sup>52</sup> In this time they can manifest those features of *hybris* which are traditionally considered to be the central driving force of tragedy. This *hybris* typically derives from the intransigence of the tragic characters, which is expressed, inter alia, in the exclusive practise of the cult of one specific deity or the uncompromising adherence to an ideal or a value which endangers the equilibrium of the Greek *kosmos* and the Athenian political reality. This situation entails a conflict that concludes with the establishment of a superior harmony in which each party, and each value, is accorded its correct place. The comedies are an integral part of the same Dionysiac ritual context in which tragedy is placed, but their themes do not directly concern myth and their characters are not heroes. The characters they portray belong to the everyday experience of the Athenians, but they distort it, departing from the norms which regulate social life. Whereas tragic heroes contravene the norm by confounding the limits between man and god, the transgression of comic characters goes in the opposite direction: we may say that the protagonist of tragedy is superhuman, and that the protagonist of comedy, who is characterized by a display of obscenity, by eating excesses and scatological references, is subhuman.<sup>53</sup> Thus the parallel between the two dramatic patterns consists in the reference of both to what corresponds to the human scale.<sup>54</sup>

Dionysos' patronage of drama can thus be explained on the basis of the mythology and the cults that concern the god: these involve, in most situations, a breaking or dissolving of order; this order, however, is not eliminated permanently, but is restored and confirmed in ways which vary according to the situation.<sup>55</sup> Accordingly, the dynamics of tragedy and comedy, which presuppose a world in which the norm is suspended, are possible only if activated under the aegis of the god who, on one hand, is the key for access to a reality in which rules can be broken and, on the other, allows controlling transgression and guarantees a return to order. But the same can be said of the structure of the festivals, even the Great Dionysia, which, of all Dionysiac celebrations, seem to be the most official, the most formal, and the most sumptuous. The relations between the festival and the dramatic performances, and also the relations between this institution and the content of tragedies and comedies, emerge as relations of structure. Under the protection of Dionysos there is established a dialectic between identity and otherness, between order and transgression. This dialectic constitutes the keystone of the

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52 Brelich (1958) *passim*.

53 Brelich (1975) 104–118, 112.

54 *Ibid.* 117.

55 *Ibid.* 117–118.

Dionysiac festival in all its parts, from the procession to the *agones*, and can be found in both the ceremonial framework and the inner dynamics of the plays.



# Dionysos auf der Bühne. Gattungsspezifische Aspekte des Theatergottes in Tragödie, Satyrspiel und Komödie

Anton Bierl

## 1. Dionysos und der Festrahmen

Dionysos ist eine besonders lebendig-kreative Gottheit, die sich notorisch einfachen Definitionsversuchen entzieht. Bekanntlich umfaßt er polare Oppositionen. So steht schon auf einem berühmten orphischen Knochentäfelchen in Olbia mit geritzten Lettern geschrieben: ΒΙΟΣ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ ΒΙΟΣ („Leben – Tod – Leben“), ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ („Frieden – Krieg“), ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ ΨΕΥΔΟΣ („Wahrheit – Lüge“).<sup>1</sup> Damit ist es noch nicht genug; als weitere Gegensätze, zwischen denen er frei oszilliert, sind zu benennen: Frau – Mann, Gott – Mensch/Tier, Licht – Dunkel, Polis – Land, Drinnen – Draußen, Fremde/Ausland – Heimat, Griechen – Barbar, Zivilisation – wilde Natur, Kosmos – Chaos, Idylle – Gewalt, Freude – Leid, Lachen – Destruktion, Ruhe und Wohlgeordnetheit – Gewalt und Wahnsinn, heitere Festlichkeit – Ekstase. Dionysos bedeutet allerdings weder die reine Antithese noch die viel zitierte *coincidentia oppositorum*. Vielmehr berühren sich die beiden Seiten in gegenstrebigter Spannung, wobei die Pole fast als energetische Vitalkräfte zu verstehen sind, die sich in permanentem Austausch und in dynamischer Wechselwirkung befinden. Die Begriffsreihen sind daher nicht einfach abstrakte Größen, sondern ganz konkret im Kult und Mythos erfahrbar. Bakchos ist dementsprechend nicht nur die gewaltsame, ekstatische, die Ordnung auflösende Macht, sondern auch eine zentrale Polisgottheit, die gesellschaftlich stabilisierende Funktionen übernimmt. Destabilisierende, pervertierende Szenarien sind eher im Mythos, positive, die Gruppenzugehörigkeit festigende Phänomene wie Feier, Freude und Wohlergehen eher im Kult angesiedelt. Dionysos ist überdies kaum einfach das Andere schlechthin. Freilich verkörpert er aus besagten Gründen wohl mehr als andere griechische Gottheiten die Differenz. Zudem befindet er sich in ständigem Wandel und setzt auch andere bestimmten Transformationen aus, die sich in der Bandbreite aller kategorialen Gegensätzlichkeiten bewegen.<sup>2</sup> Seine cha-

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1 Im Zusammenhang mit Dionysos: *OF* fr. 463–465 Bernabé.

2 Bierl (1991) 13–20 und 227 (Appendix 1).

rakteristischen Merkmale und Verantwortungsbereiche sind ferner: a) Wein und Rausch; b) wilde Natur und Animalität; c) Wahnsinn und Ekstase; d) die Unterwelt und der Tod, wobei Initiationen Perspektiven auf ein gesegnetes Leben im Jenseits eröffnen; e) Erotik und Liebe; f) Tanz, Musik, Performativität; g) Maske und Verkleidung; h) Fiktion, Imagination, Vision, Wunder, Epiphanie, Präsenz.<sup>3</sup>

Gerade die letzten Punkte f) bis h) machen ihn zum Gott des Theaters. Die *θεά* der Prozession – die „Schau“ einer sich entladenden Energie, die sich durch Musik, Lärm, Tanz, wilde körperliche Bewegung, durch Zeichen der Ausnahme und durch phallische Demonstration manifestiert, wird zur Schaubühne des *θέατρον*, zum Rund, in das „der kommende Gott“ einzieht und in dem er erscheint.<sup>4</sup> Er ist *θεατής*, teilweise Akteur und sogar Anführer seiner ihn begleitenden Entourage weiblicher Bakchen und männlicher Satyrn. Der chorische Thiasos spiegelt sich zudem im aktuellen *χορός*, der diesen im Spiel (*re-enactment*) verkörpert und reaktualisiert. Der zu seinen Ehren tanzende Bürgerchor stellt eine Verbindung zum Zuschauer dar, der damit selbst zum Teilnehmer wird. Durch wechselseitige Oszillationsbewegungen zwischen Innen und Außen, zwischen Kult und Mythos wird die theatrale Inszenierung zur umfassenden multimedialen Performance im Zeichen des Gottes.<sup>5</sup> Zugleich ist das Drama in einen von der Polis oder vom Demos streng geregelten, rituell-dionysischen Festkontext gestellt (Städtische Dionysien, Lenäen, Ländliche Dionysien). Der rituell-performative Rahmen wird zum Teil im Bühnengeschehen reflektiert. Bekanntlich wird eine einfache rituelle Performance durch Selbstverweise auf das eigene Tun immer wieder bestärkt.<sup>6</sup> Solche Selbstreferenzen gehen dann in die dramatischen Aufführungen ein und werden schließlich durch zunehmende Selbstreflexion auf das eigene Spiel ergänzt, was sich in den späten *Bakchen* zu einer metatheatralen, intellektuellen Form weiterentwickelt.<sup>7</sup>

3 Henrichs (1982) bes. 139; Henrichs (1996a) bes. 479; Henrichs (2008) bes. 23.

4 Vgl. Otto (1933) bes. 74–80; zur besonderen Präsenz und zur Tendenz, sich in einer Epiphanie zu zeigen, vgl. Henrichs (2008) 19. Zum epiphanischen Charakter der Parodos der *Bakchen* in Form einer Prozession vgl. nun Bierl (2011).

5 Allgemein Bierl (1991); Bierl (2001); Bierl (2011).

6 Bierl (2001) 37–64.

7 Bierl (1991) 177–218.

## 2. Ursprung und die dramatischen Gattungen

Ferner verortet selbst ein so aufgeklärter Philosoph wie Aristoteles, der die Tragödie ansonsten weitgehend als literarisches Lesestück betrachtet, den Ursprung des Dramas deutlich im Dionysoskult.<sup>8</sup> Denn er berichtet im vierten Kapitel seiner *Poetik* (Arist. *Poet.* 1449a9–24), daß die Tragödie, bevor sie ihre eigentliche Vollendung fand, ursprünglich mit dem Dithyrambos, mit dem Chorischen im allgemeinen sowie besonders mit dem ‚Satyrhaften‘ (σατυρικόν) zu tun hatte, das offensichtlich nicht mit der nachträglich um ca. 500 v. Chr. in den dionysischen Wettbewerb integrierten Gattung des von Pratinas erfundenen Satyrspiels identisch ist. Erst allmählich entwickelte sich demnach die Tragödie als eigenes Genre zu einer ernststen Form längeren Zuschnitts.

Bevor Dionysos in den dramatischen Gattungen im einzelnen betrachtet werden kann, seien zunächst einige allgemeine Bemerkungen vorausgeschickt. Die okkasionelle Einbettung kann in einer frühen Phase, in der der Ritus und Mythos die dominanten Ausdrucksweisen einer traditionellen Gesellschaft darstellen und die mimetische Produktion auf einer mündlichen Kommunikation basiert, mit der Gattung nahezu zusammenfallen<sup>9</sup> – nach der prägnanten Formulierung von Gregory Nagy: „the occasion is the genre“.<sup>10</sup> Daher sind der Rahmen der rituellen Gelegenheit und die dortigen Abläufe, die alle unterschiedliche Zeichen des Dionysos inszenieren, von großer Bedeutung. Die dionysischen Ausnahmefeste sind charakterisiert durch Phallosumzüge, Wein, Efeu, Ekstase, wilden Tanz und groteske Körper, durch ‚Cross-dressing‘, phantastische Kostümierungen und Masken, durch das Verkörpern von wilden Satyrn und mythischen Mänaden – alle Elemente des δρώμενον verweisen auf eine Verkehrung der Ordnung sowie auf einen Eintritt in eine vorübergehende Welt des Liminalen und Zonalen. Erst nach dem Fest, bei dem die dramatischen Spiele wohl als performative Wucherungen aufgeführt werden und Bestandteile der Einbettung widerspiegeln, kehrt man in die Welt des normalen Alltags zurück. Im begleitenden Mythos als λεγόμενον wird häufig die Ankunft des Gottes der animalistischen Vitalität gefeiert oder der Widerstand gegen den Fremden thematisiert. Genetisch kann man nur spekulieren: Zunächst gibt es wohl rein chorische Performances, dann ‚Improvisationen‘ mit den Anführern, den χορηγοί und ἑξάρχοι, die als ‚Antwörter‘ dem Chor gegenübertreten. Ein Abbild frühesten ‚Antwörter‘, die schließlich den Part der Schauspieler übernehmen, ist wohl der Papposilen im Satyrspiel.

8 Zur Emergenz des Dramas aus rituellen Vorstufen vgl. nun Csapo/Miller (2007a).

9 Vgl. Nagy (1990a) 9 und 362 f. und Nagy (1994/95) bes. 11–14.

10 Nagy (1990a) 362 und Nagy (1994/95) 13.



Erst als dieser rituelle Rahmen allmählich unter dem Einfluß einer zunehmenden Verschriftlichung und Fiktionalisierung brüchig wird und die Polis politische Selbstaussagen und -inszenierungen darüberlegt, ist man darauf bedacht, die Okkasion durch festere Gattungsnormen abzulösen und innerlich mit größerer Pointiertheit zu reproduzieren.<sup>11</sup> So differenzieren sich im Kontext des nämlichen Festes der Städtischen Dionysien die Tragödie, das dazugehörige Satyrspiel und die Komödie heraus. Vorausgeschickt werden muß, daß diese festliche Gelegenheit entsprechend der Ritualdynamik und der Interaktion des Rituals mit der antiken Politik ein Konstrukt der Peisistratiden darstellt. Diese haben bekanntlich im Zuge einer aktiven Religionspolitik die uralte Polisgottheit mitsamt ihren ländlichen Festen mit politischen Ritualen zu einem komplexen inszenatorischen Konglomerat verwoben. In der Tragödie wirken die politischen Implikationen der panhellenische Geltung beanspruchenden Polis Athen am deutlichsten.<sup>12</sup> So entwickelt sich die ursprünglich einfache, noch auf das Lachen zielende Performance bald zur Feierlichkeit. Als Stoff übernimmt sie nun, wie der schon vorher generisch installierte chorlyrische Dithyrambos, den hehren, allen Griechen gemeinsamen Mythos. Die Tragödie ist dabei die erste dramatische Gattung, die in den neuen Festrahmen gestellt wird (ca. 534 v. Chr.). Der hohe Anspruch zum Ziel der pompösen Selbstdarstellung verbindet sich hier mit Mythen und inszenatorischen Darstellungen des Leidens, die von anderen Heroenkulten auf dieses Fest übertragen werden.

Die Komödie und das Satyrspiel bleiben äußerlich näher an dem originär heiter-lachhaften Spiel als die Tragödie. Das Satyrspiel wird erst eine Generation später um ca. 500 v. Chr. in den Festablauf integriert und mit der tragischen Trilogie zur neuen Tetralogie verbunden. Das Satyrhafte, das sich natürlich außerhalb des neu geschaffenen Rahmens erhielt, wird dabei wohl als Kompensation für den Verlust des Ursprünglichen eingebunden und im Sog der sich mittlerweile herausgebildeten Tragödie selbst zu einer eigenen, mit dieser eng verbundenen Gattung. Schließlich wird die Komödie erst 487/86 v. Chr. in den offiziellen Agon aufgenommen, weshalb die genuine Verbindung der ländlichen dionysischen Feste mitsamt den karnevalesken und aischrologischen Elementen als performativer Rahmen mit dem neuen Genre lange Zeit erhalten bleibt. Nach der weiteren Destabilisierung des ursprünglichen Okkasionzusammenhangs durch das neue tetralogische Konstrukt sollte die Komödie wohl als weiteres dionysisches Element mit eigenem Chor diese agrarische, eher den Demen zukommende und vor allem lachhaft-aggressive Komponente wiederherstellen. Interessanterweise verdoppelt der nun hinzutretende komische Chor die Zahl der zwölf Choreuten, die in den beiden die

11 Vgl. Nagy (1990a) 9, 362 Anm. 127 und Nagy (1994/95).

12 In bezug auf Dionysos vgl. Bierl (1991) 45–110.

Tetralogie ausmachenden Gattungen den nämlichen Chor bilden. Offensichtlich ist man stets um Ausgleich zwischen ritueller Tradition und literarisch-ritueller Innovation bemüht.

Angelo Brelich hat sich bereits im Sinne einer funktionalen Gattungsbestimmung Gedanken zum Dionysischen in der Tragödie und Komödie und zu deren Unterscheidung gemacht. Seiner Meinung nach wendet die Tragödie die Perspektive im Sinne der dionysischen Inversionstendenz nach oben ins Heroische, indem sie Taten der Helden als Hybris brandmarkt und ins übermenschliche Leid steigert, um dadurch beim Publikum an das Einhalten des Maßes zu appellieren. Die Komödie verzerrt hingegen die Welt durch Lachen, Spott, Aischrologie, Obszönität und phallische Riten nach unten ins Niedrige und Subhumane, also in den Bereich des „Häßlichen“ (vgl. Arist. *Poet.* 1449a32–37). Durch solche Verkehrungen der bestehenden Ordnung erhält die versammelte Bürgergemeinde die Gelegenheit, sich ihrer gültigen Normen bewußt zu werden.<sup>13</sup> Diesem Modell folge ich in den folgenden Ausführungen.

### 3. Dionysos in der Tragödie

In der Forschung hat sich nach langer Skepsis, die unter anderem durch die Überzeichnungen Friedrich Nietzsches und der Cambridge Ritualists bedingt war, in den letzten zwanzig bis dreißig Jahren deutlich ein Konsens darüber eingestellt, daß Dionysos als Theatergott in besonderer Weise mit dem Drama zu tun hat. Bisher hat man allerdings das Hauptaugenmerk auf die erhabene Tragödie gelegt, während die sogenannten niederen Spielformen diesbezüglich weniger untersucht worden sind.

Im Bereich der Tragödie beginnt nach Walter Burkerts epochemachendem Aufsatz zum dionysischen Ursprung im Bocksopfer<sup>14</sup> in den 1980er Jahren eine Bewegung, das gerade auf dem späten bei Zenobios (5.40) und in der *Suda* (o 806) überlieferten Sprichwort οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον basierende, lange Zeit vorherrschende Urteil zu widerlegen, Dionysos habe mit der Tragödie genuin nichts zu tun.<sup>15</sup> Aufgrund der Tatsache, daß die Tragödie an Dionysosfesten zu Ehren dieses Gottes aufgeführt wurde, hat man einen direkten strukturellen Zusammenhang zwischen dem Inhalt und der rituellen

13 Vgl. Brelich (1975). Zur funktional-pragmatischen Gattungsbestimmung der Komödie vgl. Bierl (2002a).

14 Burkert (1966).

15 Vgl. u.a. Seaford (1981); Goldhill (1987); Winkler/Zeitlin (1990); Bierl (1991); Seaford (1993); Schlesier (1993a); Zeitlin (1993). Manche Einführungen und Companions haben heute selbstverständlich ein Kapitel zur Verbindung des Dramas mit Dionysos: Easterling (1997b); Seaford (2005).

Einbettung gesucht.<sup>16</sup> Die radikale Hinterfragung der neuen *communis opinio* von Scott Scullion ist eine völlig überzeichnete und unzutreffende Einzelstimme, die einen Rückfall in positivistische Positionen bedeutet.<sup>17</sup>

Für die Relevanz des Dionysos und des Dionysischen in der Tragödie hat man unterschiedliche Wege eingeschlagen, selbst wenn nur wenige erhaltene oder lediglich dem Titel nach bekannte Stücke auf die Bedeutung der dionysischen Mythen thematik verweisen (daher rührt ja das Sprichwort):<sup>18</sup> Einige Interpreten machen den Konnex in einer allgemeinen anthropologischen Beziehung aus,<sup>19</sup> andere postulieren einen deutlichen Gegensatz zwischen der äußeren, eher affirmativen Rahmung und dem destruktiven Gehalt der Tragödie.<sup>20</sup> Wieder andere betrachten die dionysische Ausnahme und Lizenz als Grund der Verkehrung und Verzerrung der Normen auf der Inhaltsebene.<sup>21</sup> Ansonsten geht man natürlich oft den Weg über die späten Euripideischen *Bakchen*, die in sophistischer Manier die im Gott inhärenten Spannungen zu einem hochkomplexen poetologischen Konstrukt überzeichnend verbinden. Häufig werden die schon von Nietzsche daraus abgeleiteten Theoreme und Begriffe des modernen philosophischen Denkens in einem Zirkelschluß wieder auf die einzig erhaltene Dionysostragödie zurückübertragen. Gerade das Fiktionale und Imaginäre des Theaters verortet Jean-Pierre Vernant schlechthin in Dionysos und in dessen Maske.<sup>22</sup> Richard Seaford postuliert hingegen ein politisches Modell, das auf der Inhaltsebene als *pattern* die Zerstörung des königlichen Haushalts zum Ziel der Herausbildung einer kollektivistischen Polisordnung präsentiert.<sup>23</sup> Das Politische wird zudem mit dem Diskurs des lange etablierten Poligottes in Verbindung gebracht.<sup>24</sup> Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood sieht ebenfalls einen direkten Zusammenhang zwischen der rituellen „Matrix“ des umrahmenden Dionysoskults, der die gastliche Aufnahme des ankommenden Gottes in kollektiven Begehungen feiert, mit den Inhalten und Strukturen einer rekonstruierten Prototragödie, die diesen ξενισμός im Mythos reaktualisiert.<sup>25</sup> Man hat das Dionysische ferner in Mysterienbezügen und angeblichen Verläufen von Einweihungen ausgemacht.<sup>26</sup>

16 Dagegen, besonders gegen den ritualistischen Ansatz von Seaford (1996), mehr als skeptisch Friedrich (1996); Friedrich (2000); Friedrich (2001). Vgl. die ausgewogenere Besprechung von Seaford (1996) durch Bierl (1999).

17 Scullion (2002).

18 Zu einer Zusammenstellung der Titel vgl. Bierl (1991) 10–13.

19 U.a. Aronen (1992); Bierl (1991); Brelich (1975); des Bouvrie (1993).

20 Z.B. Goldhill (1987).

21 U.a. Hoffman (1989).

22 U.a. Vernant (1986a).

23 Seaford (1993); Seaford (1994).

24 Bierl (1991) 45–110.

25 Sourvinou-Inwood (2003).

26 Vgl. u. a. Seaford (1981); Schlesier (1995a).

Überdies wird die selbstreflexive, metatheatrale Verbindung zwischen Dionysos als Gott des Theaters, dionysischen Zeichen und performativen Theaterkonstituenten betont.<sup>27</sup> Insbesondere der Verweis auf den bestimmenden Chor, den Tanz und die Musik wird unterstrichen.<sup>28</sup> Zudem hat man die systematische Untersuchung aller Stellen unternommen, in denen der Gott und dionysisch Konnotiertes vorkommen. Erst damit kann man sich von der Fixierung auf die *Bakchen* lösen und Dionysos allgemein für die ganze Gattung rehabilitieren.<sup>29</sup>

Vor allem hat man hinsichtlich der dramaturgischen Verwendung des Gottes auf diachroner Ebene zwischen den einzelnen Tragikern unterschieden und bestimmte Tendenzen ausgemacht. Entscheidenderweise nimmt die Bedeutung des Dionysos von Aischylos bis zum späten Euripides wider Erwarten nicht ab, sondern zu. Außerdem sieht man den Einsatz des Gottes als Mittel, mit dem der tragische Autor die Spannung zwischen den positiven und negativen Polen nutzt, um den Effekt des dramatischen Umschlags, der μεταβολή und περιπέτεια, zu steigern.<sup>30</sup> Ferner hat man die Übertragung dionysischer Zeichnung auf andere Figuren erkannt, selbst wenn der Dionysosmythos nicht zum Thema gemacht wird. Durch Metaphern oder Vergleiche werden Frauen im rasenden Wahnsinn zu Mänaden und Bakchen; und in Mania versetzte Helden werden mit der Aktion des βακχεύειν und Ähnlichem in Zusammenhang gebracht, wodurch sich die Gattung auf die rituelle Rahmung und den Ursprung zurückbeziehen kann.<sup>31</sup>

Fast zwanzig Jahre nach dem Buch *Dionysos und die griechische Tragödie* hat sich meine Meinung in den genannten Punkten kaum geändert. Gegen den Aspekt der dionysischen Selbstbezüglichkeit, den ich damals nach Charles Segals *Bakchen*-Interpretation vor allem anhand der tragischen Chorlieder mit Dionysosnennung deutlich herausgearbeitet habe und der erst später im Zusammenhang mit dem Schlagwort „choral self-reference“ allgemein berühmt wurde,<sup>32</sup> regte sich gerade in der deutschen Wissenschaft anfänglich heftiger Widerstand.<sup>33</sup> Im Gegensatz zur gängigen Meinung entsteht in einer solchen

27 Segal (1982) 215–271; Bierl (1991) 111–218; Bierl (2001) bes. 37–86; Kaimio et al. (2001); Dobrov (2001).

28 Vgl. Bierl (1991) u. a. 35 f., 83 f., 99, 106 f., 129, 155, 164, 190 f., 224 und 242 f. (Stellenangaben zum Chortanz in Verbindung mit Dionysos); vgl. zur Komödie Bierl (2001); Calame (2004).

29 Bierl (1991). Vgl. auch Zeitlin (1989/1996); Zeitlin (1993); Schlesier (1993a).

30 Bierl (1991) 111–218, bes. 119, 129, 140–146, 216, 223–226.

31 Bierl (1991) bes. 230 f.; vgl. auch Schlesier (1993a).

32 Vgl. Segal (1982) 242–247; Bierl (1989) 52 Anm. 45; Bierl (1991) u. a. 35 f., 83 f., 99, 106 f., 129, 155, 164, 190 f., 224 und 242 f.; Henrichs (1994/95); Henrichs (1996b); Henrichs (1996c). Zu dieser Thematik insgesamt Bierl (2001) 37–45.

33 Vgl. Kullmann (1993). Vgl. schließlich die als überlange Rezension abgefaßte Habilitation von Radke (2003). Ihre massive Pauschalkritik an diesem Ansatz kann nicht

Autoreferenz kein Bruch mit der ‚Illusion‘, vielmehr gelingt es dem Publikum, sich mit Hilfe der Verweise auf das aktuelle rituelle Tun mit dem rituellen Geschehen auf der Bühne zu identifizieren.<sup>34</sup> Gegen die Selbstreferentialität im chorischen Sprechen erhob man oft den Einwand, daß allein der Dichter die Worte und Handlungen dem fiktiven Chor in den Mund lege und es nicht in der Macht des dramatischen Chors liege, selbst seine Äußerungen und Bewegungen zu bestimmen. Freilich wird dabei übersehen, daß der ποιητής in einer lebendigen Chorkultur rituelle Chöre reinszeniert, von denen sich der Theaterchor ableitet. Die dramatische Rolle hat sich in einem historischen Prozeß erst herausgebildet und sich über die performative Stimme gelegt. Im Drama reaktualisieren die Choreuten mittels Mimesis andere Tanzreigen des Rituals. Für den Zuschauer erscheinen diese trotz ihrer Einbettung in einen mythischen Plot zugleich wie viele andere traditionelle Chöre, die singen und tanzen. Durch die selbstbezüglichen Signale gelingt es dem Autor, den Chor als vermittelnde Instanz zwischen den fiktionalen Heroen des Damals und Dort und dem Publikum des Hier und Jetzt einzusetzen und somit zugleich den Zuschauer an das Ritual der Okkasion zurückzubinden, also ihn zum rituellen Teilnehmer einer kultischen Handlung zu machen. Von bewußter Metatheatralität sollte man vielleicht erst beim sophistisch-intellektuellen Euripides sprechen, wenngleich sich diese Dimension bereits seit Aischylos über Referenzen auf das eigene musikalische Tun allmählich herausbildet.

Ferner betonte ich, wie die Spannung zwischen einer positiven kultischen Stimme der eigenen Performativität und der negativ-zerstörerischen Stimme des mythischen Plots von Sophokles und Euripides zunehmend dramaturgisch als ein den Stimmungsumschwung vertiefendes Verfahren eingesetzt wird.<sup>35</sup> Dionysos wird damit gewissermaßen auch in denjenigen Tragödien zum Katalysator der tragischen Handlung, in denen sein Mythos nicht ausdrückliches Thema ist. Der aus der Übertragung auf alle mythischen Stoffe resultierende Verlust des Bezugs zu Dionysos, der in dem Sprichwort „Das hat nichts mit Dionysos zu tun“ zum Ausdruck kommt, wird damit erneut kompensiert und die Aufführung an die Gelegenheit und den Ursprung angebunden. Den Sophokleischen Hyporchemata kommt dabei eine besondere Rolle zu. Wie sehr man mißdeutet werden kann, will ich anhand der en-

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überzeugen, weil sie meinen Versuch, die Frage auf eine neue Grundlage zu stellen (Bierl [2001] bes. 37–86), und Kaimio et al. (2001) schlichtweg ignoriert. Die Forschungen hinsichtlich der metatheatralischen Dimension, gerade der *Bakchen*, kann man nicht einfach als ‚postmodern‘ oder poststrukturalistisch abqualifizieren, wie es Skeptiker gerne tun (Seaford [1996] 32). Zur Frage vgl. auch Segals luzide Behandlung im Nachwort zur erweiterten zweiten Auflage von Segal (1982/1997) 369–378, bes. 370–375 und seine ausgezeichnete Antwort (*Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 98.5.26) auf Seafords kritische Rezension (*Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 98.3.10).

34 Vgl. Bierl (1991) 111–119, 223 und Bierl (2001) 43–45.

35 Bierl (1991) bes. 223–226.

thusiastischen Schlußstrophe des berühmten fünften Stasimons von Sophokles' *Antigone* (1115–1152) zeigen, wo der Chor sein eigenes Tanzen auf den angerufenen Gott sowie auf dessen kosmische Dimension projiziert:

ἰὼ πῦρ πνεόντων  
 χοράγ' ἄστρων, νυχίων  
 φθεγμάτων ἐπίσκοπτε,  
 Ζηνὸς γένεθλον, προφάνηθ',  
 ὦναξ, σαῖς ἅμα περιπόλοις  
 Θυίασιν, αἶ σε μαινόμεναι πάννυχοι  
 χορεύουσι τὸν ταμίαν Ἰακχον.

Ioh, von Feuer atmenden  
 Sternen Chorführer, nächtlicher  
 Stimmen Aufseher,  
 O Sohn, des Zeus Sproß, erscheine,  
 O Herr, zusammen mit deinen dich umringenden Dienerinnen,  
 Den Thyiaden, die rasend dich die ganze Nacht  
 in Chören betanzen, den Teiler-Herrn Iakchos!  
 (Soph. *Ant.* 1146–1152)

Rainer Friedrich beschreibt meinen ersten Versuch, dieses Phänomen zu fassen, in arger Verzerrung wie folgt: „Ritualism of this kind is taken to bizarre lengths in an Ottonian-Dionysiac reading of the *Antigone*, which goes as far as inventing an actual epiphany of Dionysos in the theatre.“<sup>36</sup> Natürlich war doch die von mir angesprochene Epiphanie im übertragenen Sinne gemeint!<sup>37</sup> Das Lied spielt wie andere Sophokleische Freudenlieder mit falschen Hoffnungen und Erwartungen und ist in hohem Maße ironisch. Sophokles macht Dionysos in seiner italischen und attisch-eleusinischen Manifestation (*Ant.* 1119–1121), die zunächst auf seine positiven Jenseitsfunktionen hinweist, zum Auslöser und Fokus des tragischen Umschlags. Unmittelbar danach stellt sich die Katastrophe ein, die der Chor noch glaubt abwenden zu können. Die Tendenz des Gottes, sich vor anderen zu manifestieren – die *Bakchen* kann man in der Gänze als eine wirkliche theatrale Epiphanie der Gottheit lesen, die im zweiten Teil brutal rächend wirkt – wird hier in dramaturgischer Absicht auf den tragischen Prozeß übertragen.<sup>38</sup> Selbstverständlich ist er nicht *wirklich* erschienen. Denn nur in den seltensten Fällen tritt eine Gottheit ἐναργῶς

36 Friedrich (1996) 280 Anm. 40 in bezug auf Bierl (1989). Fast hat es den Anschein, als spielten hierbei auch ideologische Voreingenommenheiten und Fehleinschätzungen eine Rolle: In typischer Nachkriegshaltung werden bei Friedrich (passim) Walter F. Otto und Friedrich Nietzsche zu Wegbereitern des Nationalsozialismus.

37 Deutlich wurde das Verb ‚erscheinen‘ in Anführungszeichen gestellt: Bierl (1989) 53; Bierl (1991) 130. Ebenfalls wörtlich scheint den Zusammenhang Schlesier (1993a) 104 Anm. 58 mißzuverstehen. Ähnlich wie ich dann Henrichs (1994/95) 77 f.; Henrichs (2008) 25–27.

38 Zur epiphanischen Qualität des Gottes in der Parodos der *Bakchen* vgl. Bierl (2011).

Menschen gegenüber. Wenn sich die Gottheit nicht als Mensch verkleidet, ist allein der Lichtglanz für das Gegenüber tödlich. In der Tragödie geschieht ein Gottesauftritt daher normalerweise nur vom Spielgeschehen etwas abgetrennt im Prolog oder zum Ende als *deus ex machina*.<sup>39</sup> In kultisch-kletischen Hymnen wird eine Gottheit jedoch häufig angefleht, die Führung des Chors virtuell zu übernehmen.<sup>40</sup> Dabei wird die Hoffnung gern auf himmlisch-kosmische Dimensionen ausgedehnt, mit denen der Chor als Formation immer wieder metaphorisch in Verbindung gebracht wird.<sup>41</sup>

In deutlich tragischer Ironie übernimmt also Dionysos unmittelbar nach dem kultischen Anruf in der *Antigone* gewissermaßen die Führung: Nicht real, sondern fast als tragisches Prinzip kommt er mit „reinigendem Fuß“ (καθαρίω ποδί, *Ant.* 1144) und bringt totales Leid sowie die vollkommene Auflösung der Ordnung. Theben wird dabei von seinem Herrscher und von dessen als Krankheit (*Ant.* 1141) stilisierter Hybris gesäubert, und in übertragenem Sinne stellt sich eine psychische Reinigung beim Publikum ein, die Katharsis, von der Aristoteles (*Poet.* 1449b24–26) spricht. Die positive Stimmung der Hoffnung im kultischen Gebet des Chors, der sich zugleich mit dem Verweis auf den Fuß auf sein aktuelles dionysisches Tanzen bezieht, wird also dramaturgisch zum Kontrast verwendet. Erfahrbar wird die Gottheit über das Ritual des Kollektivs, das singt und tanzt und damit die Zuschauerschaft emotional aufrüttelt. Dionysos ist angesichts der Verhältnisse in seiner Heimatstadt zusammen mit seiner Entourage in den Zustand des ekstatischen Wahnsinns geraten. Als Emblem der Rache stellt er symbolisch auch über kosmische Kräfte das Recht wieder her, für das Antigone als dessen Agentin in absolut einseitiger Weise eingetreten ist. Die Gewalt des tragischen Endes wirkt in der Tat wie ein Feuer astraler Dimension, das alles zerstört und reinigt. Die vorgenommene Lektüre<sup>42</sup> ist nicht ein metaphysisch abgehobenes Philosophieren über Dionysos, selbst wenn Walter F. Otto für die Herausarbeitung der fundamentalen Gegensätzlichkeit der modernen religions- und literaturwissenschaftlichen Kritik den entscheidenden Anstoß gab,<sup>43</sup> sondern eine am performativ-dramatischen Geschehen orientierte, textnahe Deutung,

39 Vgl. Bierl (2004a) 43–45.

40 Vgl. Bierl (2001) 42, 144 Anm. 101, 145, 147 f.

41 Vgl. Bierl (2001) 49 Anm. 89; zur kosmischen Dimension des Dionysos vgl. die Inschrift aus Olbia (*OF* fr. 537 Bernabé): ΒΙΟΣ ΒΙΟΣ („Leben – Leben“) ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ („Apollon – Apollon“) ΗΛΙΟΣ ΗΛΙΟΣ („Helios – Helios“) ΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΚΟΣΜΟΣ („Ordnung – Ordnung“) ΦΩΣ ΦΩΣ („Licht – Licht“).

42 Vgl. Bierl (1989) und Bierl (1991) 127–132.

43 Man wachte Otto nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg erst über den französischen Strukturalismus wieder zu rezipieren. Vor allem Henrichs (1982) 158 f., 233 f. rehabilitiert dessen hermeneutischen Stellenwert. Zu Otto vgl. auch Bierl (1991) 14.



die vor allem die Wirkweise des Theatergottes und seines Chors bildlich-konkret nimmt.

Insgesamt plädiere ich dafür, das tragische Leid und die entsetzlich zerstückelnde Gewalt mit dem zentralen Bild des dionysischen Sparagmos metaphorisch in Beziehung zu setzen. Gerade Aischylos ist hier besonders expressiv: Die *Perser*, in denen der Sieg über die Persermacht im Jahre 480 v. Chr. acht Jahre danach auf der attischen Bühne aus der Perspektive der Unterlegenen verarbeitet wird, um dieses Ereignis ins kollektive Gedächtnis zu überführen, weisen eine auffällige und kulturell aufgeladene textliche Tiefenstruktur auf, die sich aus Praktiken und Bildern speist. In deutlicher Weise prägen Klageriten sowie daraus hervorgehende Metaphern und Metonymien der Zerstörung die hochpoetische Sprache. Überall bilden Ausdrücke des Zerreißen, Zersplitterns, Zerwalkens, Zerbrechens, Aufreibens, Aufspießens, Zerraufens und Zerkratzens das eindringliche Vokabular des Pathos, das sowohl die Gewalt der kriegerischen Auseinandersetzung als auch die Vehemenz der Trauer und des Verlusts vermittelt. Gerade mittels des betont wiederholten Verbs *σπαράσσειν* wird eindringlich an den Sparagmos angeknüpft.<sup>44</sup>

Im ganzen muß in der Tragödienforschung noch genauer die mythisch-rituelle sowie symbolische und metaphorisch-ikonische Poetik untersucht werden.<sup>45</sup> Als Hypothese möchte ich formulieren, daß das zentrale Pathos, der Wahnsinn und die totale Vereinzelnung des tragischen Helden sich sprachlich immer wieder in im weitesten Sinn dionysischer Metaphorologie manifestieren. Gerade das seelische Innenleben der leidgeplagten Heldinnen und Helden wird bald zu einem mächtigen Szenario bakchischer Bilderwelten. Opfer, Gewalt, Mania, Leid, Terror und Schrecken haben in der Gattung einen deutlich dionysischen Anstrich, selbst wenn Dionysos und sein Mythos gar nicht im Zentrum stehen.

Bei den *Bakchen* ist wohl noch mehr auf die bildlich-performative Verwebung der theatralen mit der mythisch-rituellen Ebene zu achten. In der einzig erhaltenen Tragödie, in der der dionysische Sparagmos des Leibs des Leidensmannes ‚Pentheus‘ (von *πένθος* – ‚Leid‘) selbst zum Thema gemacht wird, wird die Gewalt der Zerreißen mit einer tragischen Fragmentierung der rituell-mythischen Versatzstücke auch performativ umgesetzt.<sup>46</sup> Der Gottesgegner (*θεομάχος*) wird als Figur inszeniert, die sich dem Theater und seinen Gegebenheiten widersetzt, indem sie nur das evident vor Augen Liegende als Realität anerkennt. Dionysos will Pentheus durch Illusionierungen, Halluzinationen, Wunder, Täuschungen und Rätsel auf die tiefere Schicht der Schaubühne ziehen. Da er sich weiterhin weigert, darauf einzugehen, bestraft

44 Vgl. Bierl (2007a) 53–62.

45 Vgl. Bierl (2007b).

46 Bierl (1991) 177–218.



ihn der Gott mit der grausamen Zerstückelung. Die Kunst der Rache liegt in der raffinierten Strategie, den Kontrahenten mit ausschließlich aus dem mythisch-kultischen Bereich des Dionysos stammenden Elementen zum Untergang zu führen. Die Instrumente der tragischen Tat sind die sich ebenfalls der Gottheit widersetzenen thebanischen Frauen, die als rasende Mänaden den Spion in Stücke reißen. Die gegenstrebigenden Spannungen zwischen den dualen Oppositionen werden in der Vielfältigkeit der Zeichen in eine *mise en abyme* der Bestrafungsintrige überführt, die zu einem grausamen, pervertierten Anti-Theater entartet. Zuletzt werden die verstreuten Leichenteile zusammengesetzt und der Tote beklagt: Klage ist in der Autoaggression des Zerkratzens und Zerraufens mimetische Nachahmung der Dekomposition des Todes, zugleich verarbeitende Rekomposition und Rückkehr in die Normalwelt. In der *compositio membrorum* spiegelt sich das fragmentierte Ganze, das als Dionysisches in dieser Tragödie zur Aufführung kommt.

Chortanz, Gesang, Theater, Rhythmus, Pauken, Musik, Mania, Oreibasis, Sparagmos, Omophagie, Mänadentum, Opfer, Weintrinken, ausgelassene Feiern, spezifische Kostümierung mit Thyrsos und Tierfellen, Maskierung, Verjüngung, heftige Bewegung, Mysterieninhalte, Vorstellungen eines idyllischen Lebens nach dem Tode, Opferriten, Licht- und Lauteffekte sowie deren Verdoppelungen und Wiederholungen in der Selektion, Variation und Kombination bewirken einen Wirbel von Bruchstücken des gesamten mythisch-rituellen Dionysos-Komplexes, der in der Performance der *Bakchen* auf ästhetische Weise neu inszeniert wird. Diverse Handlungsmuster wie die Mysterieninitiation, das Jahresfestritual, das Opfer und der Ablauf Pompe – Agon – Komos werden verschachtelt, ineinander gespiegelt, in Teile zerlegt und zur Plot-Struktur zusammengesetzt. Zudem vermengen sich Elemente der institutionellen kultischen Rahmung mit Spielsplittern im Stück. Die einfache tragische Handlung findet ihren Höhepunkt und narrativen Reflex im ausführlichen zweiten Botenbericht (Eur. *Bacch.* 1043–1152), der wiederum aus sämtlichen Versatzstücken montiert ist.<sup>47</sup> Überall gibt es Doppelungen, Spiegelungen, das Zusammenfallen von Teilbereichen, die verwirrende Überlappung von Mythos und Kultus, von asiatischem und thebanischem Chor, von Glückseligkeit und Schrecken, von Männlichem und Weiblichem, von Realität und Illusion, von Krieg und Frieden, von Gewalt und Utopie, von Fremdem und Einheimisch-Athenischem. Es geht in den *Bakchen* also weniger um das Nachspielen eines bekannten Mythos als einer Handlung, vielmehr um das Inszenieren einer dionysischen Totalität, die sich aus der Fragmentierung, Demontage, Mischung und Remontage von Einzelzeichen ergibt. Der Theatergott führt demnach unter seiner Regie sein spezifisches Theater der multimedialen Vielstimmigkeit auf der Grundlage

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47 Vgl. Bierl (1991) bes. 210–215.

aller Bestandteile auf, die im Theatralen, vor allem in der *choreia* sowie im Mix von Ritus und Mythos liegen.<sup>48</sup>

Bevor ich im Folgenden auf das Satyrspiel zu sprechen komme, möchte ich noch eine ganz andere Dimension des Dionysos behandeln, die Lebensweisheit im Angesicht des Todes und der Gewalt sowie Perspektiven auf eine Rettung im Jenseits, die mit Initiationskulten in Beziehung gesetzt werden können. Gerade die in letzter Zeit neu gefundenen orphisch-bakchischen Goldblättchen aus dem sechsten und fünften Jahrhundert v. Chr. geben dafür eine schöne Parallele. Neben allem Leid und Schrecken finden sich gerade in den Chorliedern bisweilen Stimmen zur Existenz, Schuld, zur Sterblichkeit und zu menschlicher Beschränktheit. Im späten *Oidipus auf Kolonos* ist der Held angesichts der abscheulichen Taten, die den absoluten Bruch aller zivilen Codes bedeuten, vor der Polis Athen ausgestellt. Der Chor integriert in seiner begrenzten Unbegrenztheit die volkstümliche, aus dem fragmentarischen Dialog *Eudemos* des Aristoteles (fr. 44 Rose) auf uns gekommene Weisheit des betrunkenen Silens, der, als er vom reichen Midas gefangen wird, auf dessen Frage, was das Allerbeste auf der Welt sei, dem Sinn nach die nämliche Aussage von sich gibt, die unter anderem auch in die Reflexionen des Theognis Einzug hielt (Thgn. 425 und 427):

μη̄ φῦναι τὸν ἅπαντα νι-  
κᾶ λόγον· τὸν δ', ἐπεὶ φανῆ,  
βῆναι κεῖσ', ὀπόθεν περ ἦ-  
κει πολὺ δεύτερον ὡς τάχιστα.

Nie geboren zu sein, übertrifft jegliches Raisonement;  
doch dann das weitaus Zweitbeste, sobald einer erschienen ist:  
dorthin zu gehen, woher er kommt, möglichst schnell.  
(Soph. OC 1224–1227)

Diese vordergründig so pessimistische Sicht des Silens,<sup>49</sup> die sich der Sophokleische Chor in seiner Vielstimmigkeit aneignet, wird durch Ödipus, den leidenden Helden par excellence, mehr als evident. Und doch teilt der Verfluchte zuletzt auch den Segen des Todes in einer geheimnisvollen Schlußszene, die manchen Berührungspunkt mit den eleusinischen Mysterien aufweist.<sup>50</sup> Diese athenische Kultvariante ist an anderen Orten, besonders im südlichen Italien, mit Erfahrungen dionysischer Initiationsriten verwandt. Der

48 Vgl. nun auch Bierl (2009a) 24–26.

49 Vgl. auch Bacchyl. 5.160 Maehler; *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* 78 f. Vgl. Nietzsche (1872) 35.10–24; für ihn war dieses Diktum für den angeblichen Pessimismus der Griechen zentral. Seiner Meinung nach sind dann die berühmten tragischen Helden wie Prometheus oder Ödipus „nur Masken jenes ursprünglichen Helden Dionysus“ (71.23–24). Vgl. dazu Bierl (1991) 13 Anm. 29.

50 Calame (1998).

gräßliche Alte wandelt sich zu einem Heros, dessen Kult im attischen Hain von Kolonos im Bühnenspiel performativ eingerichtet wird. In der für die griechischen Dämonen und Helden charakteristischen Ambiguität verkörpert er zentrale athenische Werte:<sup>51</sup> den Feinden zu schaden und den Freunden zu nützen.<sup>52</sup> Er verschwindet zuletzt mysteriös in den unterirdischen Klüften attischen Bodens. Der Erde von Kolonos einverleibt, des Ortes, an dem der neunzigjährige Sophokles einst geboren wurde, fungiert er zugleich als ein Zeichen der Hoffnung, den schrecklichen Umständen am Ende des Peloponnesischen Kriegs in der realen Polis zu entfliehen. Der tragische Chor wird damit neben seiner Eingebundenheit in das Spielgeschehen auf einer extrafikionalen und poetisch-bedeutungsvollen Ebene zur genuin dionysischen Stimme. Im Festrahmen gibt er nämlich eine weitere typische Dimension seines Gottes preis, das Wissen um eine Existenz im Jenseits, die in anderem Kontext als volkstümliches Diktum nicht zufällig dem Silen zugeschrieben wird. Dionysos steht somit für eine tiefere Sicht auf das Tragische, das sich nicht nur im schrecklichen Pathos erschöpft, sondern auf Erlösung und andere Erfahrungen nach dem Tode verweist.<sup>53</sup>

#### 4. Dionysos im Satyrspiel

Eine ganz andere Perspektive nehmen der Silen und seine Begleitung im Satyrspiel ein. In dieser Gattung gipfelt nach Pat Easterling der ganze tetralogische Wettbewerb.<sup>54</sup> Denn darin ist Dionysos immer präsent, qua seiner festen Chortruppe der Satyrn, welche von den nämlichen Choreuten wie denen der vorherigen Tragödien-Trilogie verkörpert werden. Damit ist spätestens hier Dionysos an die theatrale Aufführung zurückgebunden. Erst jüngst sieht man, daß das Satyrspiel am Ende des tragischen Agons nicht nur eine naive, dumme Blödelei zur psychischen Entspannung darstellt, um im Nachhinein das einfache Volk zufriedenzustellen, das protestierend nach Kompensation für den angeblich verlorengegangenen Bezug zum Dionysischen ruft. Nein, auch hier gibt es durchaus Einsichten aus verzerrter Sicht. Zudem finden sich selbstreferentielle Spielereien, Verweise auf das eigene chorische Tun, ja sogar leicht-pfiffige Auseinandersetzungen mit kanonischen Mythen oder anderweitigen Erzählungen, die zur Literatur geworden sind, zumal das wilde dionysisch-animalische Kollektiv immer in eine fremde, zu ihr so gar nicht passen wollende Story geworfen wird.

51 Brelich (1958).

52 Blundell (1989) bes. 226–259.

53 Vgl. dazu auch Easterling (1997b) 52 f.

54 Easterling (1997b) 38.

Die Gattung des Satyrspiels wird bekanntlich vom Peripatetiker Demetrios (*De elocutione* 169) treffend als τραγωδία παίζουσα bezeichnet. Denn sie bezieht sich zum einen als tänzerische, stark vom Chor bestimmte Performance noch mehr als die Tragödie ständig auf die eigene Aufführung, auf das παίζειν des genuin-rituellen Treibens zurück, zum anderen gerät der auf einer allbekannten Sage oder Episode basierende simple Plot häufig mit dem feststehenden Chor der dionysischen Satyrn in einen ludisch-widersinnigen Kontrast. Als ungestümes bakchisches Gefolge sind sie ganz vom Es diktiert und führen sich wie Kinder (παῖδες) auf. Konzeptionell an die Schwelle zum Erwachsensein und Tierischen zurückversetzt, leben die Choreuten diesen Zustand des ‚Betwixt and Between‘ aus. Satyrn sind als Repräsentanten des Differenten und so ganz Anderen offenbar „good to represent“ and „good to think with“. In ganz anderer Tonlage blicken sie auf Elemente des vorherigen trilogischen Spiels zurück, verarbeiten Themen und vermengen es lustig-burlesk mit Mythisch-Rituellm.<sup>55</sup>

Das zentrale Thema des Ausschlusses, der Gefangennahme und Befreiung der dionysischen Chorgruppe wird jüngst im metatheatralen Schlüssel als Ausdruck des Legitimationsbedarfs des heiteren Genres und als Auseinandersetzung mit der dominanten Tragödie gelesen.<sup>56</sup> Metapoetisches muß freilich von dem im Spiel befindlichen Zuschauer intellektuell nachvollzogen werden können. Selbstverständlich sind solche Gedankenspiele bezüglich dramatischer Gattungen für einen Teil des Publikums möglich. Und daß Dionysos als Theatergottheit für solche Diskussionen prädestiniert ist, habe ich selbst deutlich gemacht. Die Frage stellt sich allerdings dabei, ob das genuin Ludische dabei nicht durch zu abstrakte Konstrukte zerstört wird. Doch entsteht durch den Einbezug solcher Diskurse auch neues Potential für fröhliche Unterhaltung mit facettenreichem Hintergrund. Die Mehrheit wird freilich, wohl in der eigentlichen Performance gefangen, eher die rituelle Inkongruenz empfunden haben, die wohl noch expliziter Lachen hervorgerufen haben mag.

Meines Erachtens sollte man diese Phänomene jedoch eher in rituell-performativer Weise deuten, was das Metapoetische natürlich nicht aus-

55 Vgl. die guten Bemerkungen zu den Satyrn von Lissarrague (1990b) und (1993); doch wie die meisten Kritiker will auch er nicht ein Spiel mit der Fiktion oder literarische Parodie anerkennen ([1990] 235 f.).

56 Lämmle (2007) bes. 377: „Im Satyrspiel wird die in den Tragödien praktizierte Ausklammerung des Dionysos und seiner heiteren Aspekte sowie die Öffnung für andere mythische Stoffe wiederholt und – auf der Basis der in den Mythen um Dionysos angelegten Bewegung, daß nämlich Dionysos von einem beliebigen System zunächst versuchsweise gezeugnet, unterdrückt, eliminiert wird, um schließlich den Beweis seiner Zugehörigkeit zu diesem System zu erbringen – auf komische Weise in ihr Gegenteil überführt.“ Vgl. auch die Dissertation (unter meiner Betreuung) von Lämmle (2009).

schließen muß. Am Beispiel des Pratinas-Fragments (*TrGF* I 4 fr. 3), des sogenannten Hyporchemas, des Euripideischen *Kyklops* und anderer Texte zeigte ich den durchgehenden Bezug auf die eigene chorische Performance und betonte damit den überall in den Widerstandsszenarien thematisierten Aspekt der performativen Darstellung der triumphalen Entladung der zuvor unterdrückten Energie, die im Rückstau um so heftiger hervorbricht.<sup>57</sup> Die Satyrn möchten sich in ihrer ganzen absurden Inkongruenz oft selbst ihrer bakchischen Natur entziehen. Doch als dionysische Chortanztruppe ist und bleibt man selbstverständlich immer in Dionysos' Bann. Sich gegen die eigene Flötenbegleitung aufzulehnen, darf man nicht wörtlich als poetologischen Protest mißverstehen, sondern bedeutet ein kindisches Unterfangen. Das Lied des Pratinas zeigt die für Satyrn wie auch für Dionysos selbst typische Paradoxie sich überschneidender und gegenstrebigere Sphären. Die wilden Wesen fühlen sich beim Gesang und Tanz einerseits vom Begleitinstrument der dionysischen Flöte dominiert und wollen dagegen in absurder Weise ankämpfen. Ihr ganzes Streben ist andererseits darauf gerichtet, Dionysos nicht abzuschütteln, sondern zugleich ganz für sich zu vereinnahmen.<sup>58</sup>

Ferner kann man das Ludische im Wesen des Dionysos und seines Gefolges auch auf der Plot-Ebene als textgenerierendes und kreatives Prinzip erkennen. Die Handlung des *Kyklops* bezieht sich beispielsweise auf die berühmte Polyphem-Episode im neunten Gesang der Homerischen *Odyssee* (9.105–566).<sup>59</sup> Für alle Satyrspiele ist der heiter-inkongruente Verweis auf allbekannte Geschichten und Mythen charakteristisch und das Fundament des lachhaften Effekts. Das performativ-experimentelle Verfahren ist am ehesten mit einer heutigen Slapstick-Komödie im Film, Fernsehen oder auf der postmodernen Bühne zu vergleichen. In solchen neuen *comedy*-Formen werden ähnlich wie im Satyrspiel auf einer simplen *story*, welche die Ausgangsgeschichte in einen ganz anderen Kontext stellt, berühmte Texte, Märchen, Geschichten oder Filme oft nur über *catchwords* und patchworkartig in parodisch-heiterem Ton verarbeitet.

Satyrspieldichter sind also darauf bedacht, Versatzstücke von einer Ebene zur anderen zu verschieben, Motive im Ort und Zeitablauf der Geschichte zu verlagern, zu vertauschen und zu verdoppeln. Sie arbeiten mit Antizipationen,

57 Bierl (2006) 120–134, bes. 128: „Das Thema der Befreiung unterstreicht die zentrale Vorstellung der Entladung der chorisch-dionysischen Energie, was in den Aufgabenbereich des Dionysos *Lysios* fällt. Als Satyrn verkörpert man die rituelle Garantie dafür, dass das Drama mit Dionysos und spielerischem Chortanz zu tun hat. Die angebliche oder wirkliche Unterdrückung lässt die angestaute dionysische Lebenskraft umso deutlicher manifest werden. Der eigentliche Herr dieser infantilen Spieler ist Dionysos selbst, dem man sich absurderweise am liebsten entzöge.“

58 Vgl. ἐμὸς ἐμὸς ὁ Βρόμιος (2) [...] ἄκου' ἄκουε τὸν ἐμὸν Δῶριον χορείαν (17).

59 Für die folgenden Ausführungen vgl. nun Lämmle (2009) 290–307.

verzerren das Dionysische in die burleske Tonlage von Wein, Sex und Gesang und reichern alle Figuren mit dionysischen Zeichen an. Ferner konservieren sie auf absurd-unbegründete Weise wichtige Themen und Strukturen des kanonischen Ausgangsdiskurses. Zudem nehmen sie gerne die zentrale, nicht zuletzt für Wein stehende Metonymie ‚Bakchos‘ wörtlich, der somit selbst zum Agens wird, selbst wenn der Gott sonst nur als idyllisches Ziel projiziert wird. An anderer Stelle faßte ich zusammen:

Dynamisch-paradoxes Aufbereiten des immer gleichen Gedankenspektrums, das Wirbeln des Körpers im Tanz und das fröhlich-absurde Vermengen kultureller Zusammenhänge ergeben ein neues Gemisch experimenteller Sprengkraft, das wie der schäumende Wein ermöglicht, den Kosmos aller zivilisatorischen Diskurse aus der dionysischen Perspektive des Anderen munter-heiter in der Gemeinschaft des Theaters durchzuspielen.<sup>60</sup>

## 5. Dionysos in der Komödie

Die Alte Komödie ist ein aus rituellen Schwarm- und Phallosumzügen hervorgegangenes Spiel, das die wunderbare und absonderliche Verkehrung aller Normen im Rückfall auf eine vorzivilisatorische Stufe feiert und durch die späte Einbindung in den theatralen Agon viel länger Ritual bleiben konnte.<sup>61</sup> Die *Funktion* der komischen Gattung besteht also darin, im ‚komischen Sprung‘<sup>62</sup> zurück in atavistische Zeiten aus der nach unten pervertierten Perspektive des Anderen, Häßlichen und Derb-Obszönen eine komplementäre Sicht auf die aktuelle Welt und ihre Gesetzmäßigkeiten zu ermöglichen.<sup>63</sup> Der durchweg ambivalente, als phantastisch-groteske Ganzkörpermaske<sup>64</sup> agierende komische Held begibt sich dabei meist auf eine Reise in eine ‚Anderwelt‘, die auf den realen Alltag und die Polis dialektisch bezogen bleibt. Aus diesem zeitlich und örtlich so differenten Territorium bezieht er Kraft und Potential, als Mängel erkannte Zustände zu heilen.<sup>65</sup> Die parabatistische Offenheit zum rituellen Rahmen, zur Dimension der feiernden und Theater spielenden Bürger ist hier ubiquitär feststellbar, nicht nur auf der chorischen

60 Bierl (2006) 138.

61 Vgl. Bierl (2001) 29 f.

62 Vgl. Lohr (1986) 63–68.

63 Zur Perspektive des Häßlichen vgl. Brelich (1975) 112. Zum funktionell-komplementären Verständnis der Komödie, die mit einem ‚Zurück zu den Anfängen‘ operiert, vgl. Münz (1998) 78, 101, 109, 118, 134–136, 151 f. und 228 f. Vgl. nun auch Bierl (2009b) 19 f.

64 Vgl. Münz (1998) 109, 120, 132 und 275–279.

65 Zu diesen Ausführungen vgl. auch Bierl (2002b) 172 f. und nun Bierl (2009b) 19–25.

Ebene, sondern auch in den Schauspielerszenen. Von einer Illusion im Sinne einer geschlossenen Handlung kann hier gar nicht gesprochen werden.<sup>66</sup>

Die Studie von Xavier Riu, die einzige, die dem Phänomen des Dionysischen in der Komödie, interessanterweise nicht dem Gott Dionysos, gewidmet ist, erscheint etwas einseitig und ist zu sehr von der Konstellation der *Bakchen* abgeleitet.<sup>67</sup> Dementsprechend konstruiert Riu das Dionysische der komischen Gattung aus einer strukturalistisch-soziologischen Lektüre nach Jean-Pierre Vernant und überblendet dabei alles mit dem festen dionysischen Handlungsmuster, das Francis M. Cornford entwickelte.<sup>68</sup> In der Aufnahme des Dionysos als Prinzip des Anderen in die Polis wird nach Riu die Auflösung der Ordnung durchgespielt.<sup>69</sup> Das Dionysische ist freilich nicht nur ein negatives Szenarium der Destabilisierung und Zerstörung, sondern steht auch für positive politische Werte, insbesondere für die Kollektivität einer kohärenten Polis, gerade in der Komödie.<sup>70</sup>

Ausgehend von der funktionalen Gattungsbestimmung im Komos und in Phallosumzügen, von denen wir späte Reflexe in den Phallosliedern des Semos (fr. 851 *PMG*) besitzen,<sup>71</sup> ist hier erneut eine ganz andere Stimmlage auszumachen. Obwohl sowohl das Satyrspiel als auch die Komödie Lachen erzeugen und heiter sind sowie auch sonst näher am Dionysisch-Rituellen stehen, ist die Komödie doch vom Satyrspiel deutlich geschieden. Satyrn finden sich zwar ganz selten auch als komische Chorgruppe, doch werden sie wohl in der Komödie entsprechend den generischen Normen andere Töne angeschlagen haben. Wie gesagt, die Komödie hat einen eigenen Chor, der zwar ebenso wie der tragische von der Bürgerperspektive aus Dionysos verehrt, doch ist die konstitutive Spannung, die Dionysos umfaßt, hier im Vergleich zur Tragödie unterschiedlich perspektiviert. Das Lachen ist weder ludisch-heiter, noch ziehen sich die Akteure als inkongruent-unstimmige Tolpatsche einfach von der Ausübung jeglicher Gewalt feige zurück. In der Alten Komödie ist das Lachen unter anderem aggressiv. Und im Zeichen der negativen Seite des Gottes gibt es auch hier Gewalt, Krieg und Aggression. Zudem prägen derbe Sexualität, groteske Körperlichkeit, übler Spott, Aischrologie, das ὄνομαστὶ κωμῶδεῖν, Skatologie, Tothasmos, iambischer Stachel, Transvestismus, Rausch, Ekstase, animalische Wildheit, archaisch-atavistisches Chaos, Szenarien der Unter- und Anderwelt, Phallos, ausgelassene Tanzfor-

66 Bierl (2001) Index s.v. ‚Parabatisches‘, ‚Offenheit (Transversalität) in Richtung auf die énonciation‘.

67 Riu (1999).

68 Vgl. Cornford (1914).

69 Vgl. Seaford (1996) mit der Rezension von Bierl (1999) und insgesamt Riu (1999) mit der Rezension von Bierl (2002c).

70 Bierl (1991) bes. 18–20, 45–110, bes. 49–54.

71 Bierl (2001) 300–361.



men, Ganzkörpermasken mit verzerrenden Formen und vieles mehr die komische Gattung. Auf der positiven Seite des dionysischen Spektrums finden sich nun ländliche Idylle, Natur, Utopien eines Goldenen Zeitalters, Essen, Opfer, Wein, Feier, Symposion, Festlichkeit, Heiterkeit, blühende Vegetation, reicher Ackerbau, Handel, *happy endings*, Hochzeit, Sex und Erotik, Frieden und Gesundheit, festlicher Chortanz und anmutige Musik. Und gerade in der Alten Komödie neigt die eine Sicht erneut dazu, unversehens in die andere umzukippen. Dementsprechend droht die idyllische Utopie grundsätzlich in eine Dystopie umzuschlagen, mitsamt allen dem Dionysos zugeordneten Zeichen.

Die Komödie bewegt sich also im oszillierenden, sich transformierenden Spiel dieser Perspektiven. Der dionysische κῶμος, in dem der Bürger den Zustand des ‚Betwixt and Between‘ des Epheben reaktualisiert, wird dabei auf die κωμ-ῶδία übertragen. Der Ephebe entledigt sich dort in der wilden Gruppe sämtlicher Zivilisationsnormen, indem er alles um sich herum krumm und klein schlägt, indem er vergewaltigt, exzessiv trinkt, lärmt und hemmungslos umherschwärmt.

Im Gegensatz zur leicht-heiteren Weise des Satyrspiels, in dem vorrangig der Mythos und dessen kanonische Verarbeitungen ludisch parodiert werden, kann die Alte Komödie alle bestehenden Diskurse in ihren spezifischen Modus einlesen. Das gilt vor allem für sämtliche die Polis betreffenden Bereiche, insbesondere für die Tagespolitik, das Gerichtswesen, den demokratischen Prozeß, aber auch für Mythos, Ritual, Feste und Orakelwesen. Dabei dürfen ebensowenig neu aufkommende Spezialdiskurse und die Literatur vergessen werden, besonders gilt dies für die parallele Gattung, die Tragödie, die in Form der *paratragodia* viel Stoff bietet. Alles, was mächtig ist oder Autorität genießt, wird verspottet und fratzenhaft nach unten verzerrt, also Politiker, Strategen, Richter, Priester, Ärzte, Dichter, Weise und Philosophen. Und vor allem können selbst Götter diesem generischen Verfahren unterzogen werden.

Für unser Thema ist natürlich das groteske Auftreten des Dionysos in den *Fröschen* interessant. In dieser Komödie können exemplarisch die politischen und metatheatralen Implikationen des Dionysos herausgearbeitet werden.<sup>72</sup>

Dionysos ist hier eher der Gott des athenischen Kults als des Mythos. Er wird dementsprechend mit den Mysterien von Eleusis (*Ran.* 312–459), an denen er als Dionysos-Iakchos neben Demeter und Persephone einen wichtigen Anteil hat,<sup>73</sup> mit dem dionysischen Kultort ἐν Λίμναις (*Ran.* 216 f., 234), mit den bakchischen Anthesterien (*Ran.* 209–220) und den Lenäen<sup>74</sup> in

72 Bierl (1991) 27–44.

73 Vgl. Graf (1974) 43 und 46–69. Vgl. dazu jetzt auch Ford (in diesem Band).

74 Tierney (1934/35) stellte sogar die These auf, in der Parodos der *Frösche* werde nicht die Prozession von Eleusis nachgezeichnet, sondern man beziehe sich auf Teile des



Verbindung gebracht. Neben seiner in diesem Stück entscheidenden Rolle als Theater- und Polisgott ist Dionysos auch als Weingott bezeichnet.<sup>75</sup> In den *Fröschen* spielt er die ganz und gar komische Rolle des Hanswursts oder βωμολόχος<sup>76</sup> – fast möchte man meinen, er ist gar keine Gottheit. Gerade im ersten Teil ist er zum Menschen mit allen Schwächen degeneriert, der sich im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes ins Hemd macht; Pascal nennt diesen Dionysos empört „un dio falso e bugiardo“,<sup>77</sup> also einen Gott, der seiner göttlichen Attribute vollkommen verlustig gegangen ist.<sup>78</sup> Seit einem frühen Beitrag von Charles Segal hat man den Verlauf der Komödie als Prozeß verstanden, in dem Dionysos allmählich zu seiner eigenen Identität findet.<sup>79</sup> Vor allem stellen die *Frösche* die charakteristische Reise in die Anderwelt, hier in die Unterwelt, szenisch dar. Durch seine Verbindung mit dem Tod und mit mysterienartigen Vorstellungen im Jenseits ist Dionysos dazu prädestiniert, diesen Weg zu gehen. Diesen will er als Theatergott einschlagen, da er eine ganz private, erotisch konnotierte Mania (*Ran.* 103) für den sophistischen Dichter Euripides entwickelt hat und ihn nach dessen Tod wieder auf die Erde zurückholen will. Für die Realisierung seines Wunsches inszeniert er ein privates Theater, das für das Publikum die Form eines klamaukartigen ‚Anti-Theaters‘ annimmt. Um Einlaß in der Unterwelt zu finden, heckt er den absurden Plan aus, sich als Herakles theatralisch-mimetisch zu maskieren. Denn Herakles hat bereits eine κατάβασις εἰς Αἴδου als letztes und gefährlichstes seiner zwölf Abenteuer erfolgreich überstanden. Durch diese Tat, für die er zuvor eine Initiation benötigte, erfüllte er den grausamen Auftrag des Eurystheus, den Höllenhund Kerberos aus dem Hades zu holen.<sup>80</sup> Gleichzeitig besorgt er sich nun bei

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Lenäenfestes. Mit dem Verweis auf eleusinische Mysterienriten könnten zumindest implizit die Lenäen einbezogen sein, da sie mit Eleusis in enger Beziehung standen; vgl. Deubner (1932) 125.

- 75 [...] ἐγὼ μὲν ὄν Διόνυσος, υἱὸς Στρωμίου (*Ran.* 22). Vgl. auch *Ran.* 218–220, 297, 740, 1150.
- 76 Segal (1961) 214 f. betont, daß Dionysos nicht nur als Clown auftritt, wie ihn Cornford (1914/1993) 179 ausschließlich sehen will, sondern daß er auch ausgewogene literarische Urteile von sich gibt.
- 77 Pascal (1911) 33; vgl. auch 29–33.
- 78 Vgl. dagegen Lapalus (1934). Die These von Pascal (1911) 45–48, Aristophanes habe den Gott wegen seiner angeblichen Feindschaft gegenüber den wilden bakchischen Riten zum vulgären Normalbürger reduziert, ist offensichtlich von der damaligen *Bakchen*-Diskussion beeinflusst, in der bekanntlich die Palinodisten den Anti-Palinodisten gegenüberstehen. Vgl. Bierl (1991) 177 f. und die palinodistische Interpretation der *Bakchen* von Pascal (1911) 34–44.
- 79 Vgl. Segal (1961) und u. a. Bierl (1991) 27–44.
- 80 Dazu benötigte Herakles eine Initiation in einen Mysterienkult; vgl. Eur. *HF* 613: τὰ μυστῶν δ' ὄργι' εὐτύχησ' ἰδών. Dort sind jedoch nicht die Mysterien in Eleusis, sondern die sogenannten Kleinen Mysterien in Agrai gemeint; eine ihrer Hauptaufgaben bestand speziell in der Purifikation einer Blutschuld.

seinem grotesken Bruder eine initiatorische Information, womit der Weg auf der Grundlage einer orphisch-dionysischen Unterweltstopographie vorgezeichnet wird.<sup>81</sup> Vom Heiligtum im Sumpfe, von wo aus an den Anthesterien die Kerengeister auf die Welt zurückkehren, steigt er offenbar hinab. Im Motiv des Sumpfs als Morast und der dort lebenden Frösche, die dem Gott als Nebenchor feindlich begegnen (*Ran.* 209–267), verarbeitet Aristophanes orphische Vorstellungen von moralisch Verwerflichem. Der quakend-lärmende Schlagabtausch wird zum komastischen Agon des aggressiv-skatologischen Niederschreiens, der die generische Okkasion und Funktion nachempfindet. Die Schwelle zum Tod wird auch sonst mit Monstern wie Empusa (*Ran.* 285–305) markiert. Schließlich erreicht Dionysos das positive Gegenbild, das Reich der in eleusinischer Glückseligkeit chorisch jauchzenden Mysteren. Der Weg in die Anderwelt ist also durch Stationen wie in einer Prozession ausgezeichnet, deren positive oder negative Charakterisierungen chorisch umgesetzt werden.

Das ganze Stück, besonders der klamaukartige erste Teil bis zum Agon, lebt zudem von der Problematisierung der μεταβολή, des ständigen Wechsels, des oszillierenden Hin und Her zwischen differenten Polen und der laufenden Transformation zwischen Extremzuständen, was ja in Dionysos angelegt ist und in der Gattung auf groteske Weise szenisch verarbeitet wird. Der berühmte Dichteragon, dem er im zweiten Teil unversehens als Theatergott vorsitzt, gerät auf dieser Folie zum bizarren Schlagabtausch von unterirdischen Monstern und Heroen, die im absurden Ineinanderspielen von wechselseitig sich komplementierenden Vorstellungen den Umschlag von differenten Zuständen verdeutlichen. Das Ganze kulminiert in der abstrusen, noch auf die Ebene des Politischen gehobenen Entscheidung, die eigentlich gar keine ist. Dionysos verkehrt dabei zu guter Letzt auch noch seine ursprüngliche Intention um hundertachtzig Grad.

Eine ähnlich inkongruente, typisch komische Überlappung zweier Figuren scheint Kratinos im *Dionysalexandros* (PCG IV fr. 39–51 KA), wohl an den Lenäen 430 v. Chr. aufgeführt, vorgenommen zu haben. Nach dem in *P. Oxy.* 663 gefundenen Argumentum übernimmt Dionysos hier die Rolle des Paris beim berühmten Urteil und entscheidet sich seiner Natur entsprechend natürlich für Aphrodite und die Erotik. Er entführt daraufhin Helena und feiert mit ihr Hochzeit auf dem Ida. Als die Achaier in Troia eintreffen, um mit einem gewaltigen Feldzug Rache zu üben, geriert sich Dionysos erneut als jämmerlicher Feigling. Er versteckt sich und macht sich durch die Verwandlung in einen Widder, ein ganz dionysisches Opfertier, unsichtbar. Nun kommt Paris-Alexandros, dessen Rolle Dionysos usurpiert hat, ins Spiel und entdeckt ihn. Für die arme Helena empfindet der troianische Prinz Mitleid

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81 Vgl. dazu insgesamt Bowie (1993) 228–253; Lada-Richards (1999), bes. 45–122.

und behält sie bei sich als seine Frau. Dionysos schickt er hingegen mitsamt dem Satyrchor zu den Achaiern zurück.<sup>82</sup> Zusätzlich wird Dionysos mit Anspielungen auf Perikles überblendet. Das üble und lächerliche Verhalten des Gottes zielt nämlich eigentlich auf den übermächtigen Strategen, der sich tyrannisch über den Demos hinweggesetzt hat. Vor allem wird damit dessen unrühmliche, von Liebschaften und vorsichtigem Taktieren bestimmte Politik zu Beginn des Peloponnesischen Kriegs aufs Korn genommen. Im Gegensatz zur Tragödie erscheint Dionysos also in zahlreichen anderen Stücken auf der komischen Bühne und wird kräftig verspottet.<sup>83</sup>

Auch andere Helden und Figuren der Aristophanischen Komödie stimmen partiell mit Dionysos überein. So werden beispielsweise der Weinbauer Trygaios sowie Philokleon, Dikaiopolis und in den *Thesmophoriazusen* der tragische Dichter Agathon zum Teil mit dem Theatergott ineinandergespielt. Trygaios' grotesker Mistkäfer, der ihm als Fluginstrument in den Himmel dient, ist unter anderem homonymisch mit dem Kantharos, dem spezifisch-dionysischen Weingefäß, verbunden.<sup>84</sup>

Dikaiopolis ist in den *Achamern* über Versatzstücke dionysischer Riten und Mythen auf grotesk-komposite und gegenstrebig verschränkte Weise mit dem Gott der Komödie verwoben. Der Held verschafft sich zunächst mittels eines Priesters von Eleusis, das auch mit Dionysos in Beziehung steht, einen Friedenswein, Konkretisation der  $\sigma\pi\omicron\nu\delta\alpha\iota$ , und damit einen Privatfrieden. Die obligatorische ‚Reise‘ verläuft parallel zur Bewegung der szenisch umgesetzten Phallosprozession der Ländlichen Dionysien von der Stadt auf das Land, wo der Held schließlich einen betrügerischen Lebensmittelmarkt installiert. Gleichzeitig geht es aber in die Geisterwelt der Anthesterien. Das dionysische

82 Zur Satyrspielqualität vgl. jüngst Bakola (2005). Nach ihr stellen die Satyrn wie in manchen anderen Komödien den Hauptchor.

83 Gemäß seiner komischen Typologie ist er ein ausschweifender, gefräßiger, eher einfältiger Prahler, dessen Worte angesichts seiner Feigheit Lügen gestraft werden. Dionysos trat im 5. Jh. als ein derartiger komischer Held außer im *Dionysalexandros* des Kratinos auch in den *Taxiarchoi* des Eupolis (PCG V fr. 268–285 KA), im *Adonis* des Platon (PCG VII fr. 1–8 KA) und in den *Apokottabizontes* des Ameipsias (PCG II fr. 1–5 KA) auf. Weniger weiß man über die folgenden Komödien (doch es kann vermutet werden, daß Dionysos auch hier einen ähnlichen Typus verkörperte): Magnes' *Dionysos* (PCG V fr. 1–2 KA), Krates' (II) *Dionysos* (PCG IV test. 1 KA), Aristomenes' *Dionysos asketes* (PCG II fr. 11–13 KA) und Aristophanes' *Dionysos nauagos* (PCG III.2 fr. 277 KA). Aus fr. 75 (PCG III.2 KA) kann man schließen, daß Dionysos auch in den *Babyloniern* des Aristophanes aufgetreten ist, hier allerdings als Richter über athenische Bürger.

84 Vgl. Elderkin (1924) 49–75; er sieht Trygaios als komisches Abbild von Dionysos Protrygaios; zu diesem vgl. Kany (1988); an dem vor der Weinlese gefeierten Fest der Protrygaia wird durch Simulation des Weinreifeprozesses die Ankunft des Gottes Bakchos symbolisch begangen; zu Dionysischem vgl. auch Reckford (1987) bes. 3–45. Zu Trygaios im *Frieden* vgl. nun Bierl (2009b) 26–32.

Phalloslied (*Ach.* 241–279) als monodisches Pseudo-Chorlied re-inszeniert die Anfänge der Komödie und drückt zugleich die Isolierung vom Bürgerkollektiv aus.<sup>85</sup> Dem aggressiven Chor der Köhler aus Acharnai, die eine Art von schwarzen Urmenschen<sup>86</sup> und gegnerischen Geistern verkörpern, stellt sich der Held mit rhetorisch-theatraler Mimesis des Telephos auf dem Hackblock entgegen. Mittels des von Euripides geborgten Lumpen-Outfits des Bettlerkönigs von Mysien, der wie Dionysos zugleich Fremder und Grieche ist, kann er sie in der neu angelegten Rolle auf seine Seite bringen. Außerdem werden die Motive des troianischen Kriegs, der Verletzung und der Heilung sowie die Orestsage eingespielt.<sup>87</sup> In für die Gattung der Alten Komödie charakteristischer Weise gibt es weder eine einheitliche, nach den Regeln der Wahrscheinlichkeit verlaufende Handlung als geschlossene ‚Illusion‘ noch besitzen die Figuren eine feste Identität als Individuum, sondern sie changieren in dionysischer Manier zwischen diversen performativ hergestellten Rollen oder *personae*, in die sich sogar noch die Figur des Dichters mengt.<sup>88</sup> Zuletzt wird der am Bein verletzte und als kriegerisches Ungeheuer gezeichnete General Lamachos als Gegenbild des Dikaiopolis ausgespielt, der die dionysischen Anthesterien als Symbol des neu gefundenen Friedens mit viel Wein und Sex feiert. Von den Ländlichen Dionysien kehrt man also vom Demos in die Stadt und das dortige zentrale dionysische Fest zurück. Der Held wird dabei zum Sieger des Kannenfests gekürt, des Höhepunkts der karnevalesken Umkehr. Er vergegenwärtigt so das unheimliche Isolationstrinken am Choentag, für das Orest das mythische Modell liefert. Zugleich wird er in gewisser Weise Dionysos selbst angeglichen, der in seinem Tempel im Sumpfe ankommt und die Basilinna heiratet, hier komisch mittels erotischer Spielchen mit Hetären ausgedrückt.

Schließlich kehrt, wie gesagt, Lamachos von der militärischen Operation zurück, wobei er nun selbst mit Zügen der Telephosfigur überlagert wird. Die

85 Bierl (2001) 350–361.

86 Nagy (1990b) 151 Anm. 30.

87 Vgl. Foley (1988); Bowie (1993) 18–44; Möllendorff (2002) 66–70. Nach dem epischen *Kyklos* wird der von Griechen abstammende Myserkönig Telephos von Achill verwundet, der glaubt, in Troia gelandet zu sein. Dem Verletzten wird geweissagt, daß ihn nur derjenige, der ihm die Wunde zugefügt habe, heilen könne. Daher begibt sich Telephos schließlich nach Argos. Mit einem Bettlergewand bekleidet gibt er sich als angeblicher Feind des Telephos aus. Mit einer glänzenden Rede verteidigt er sich und die mit ihm verbündeten Trojaner. In Bedrängnis nimmt er dann den kleinen Orest als Geisel und bedroht ihn am Altar mit dem Schwert, wie Dikaiopolis den Kohlenkorb (*Ar. Ach.* 325–334), um Achills Hilfe zu erpressen. Telephos wird durch die Heilung zum Verräter an seiner kleinasiatischen Heimat, da er nun im Gegenzug verspricht, die Griechen nach Troia zu führen. – Zur Gestaltung des Telephos-Mythos in Pergamon vgl. Isler-Kerényi (in diesem Band).

88 Vgl. auch Slater (2002) 42–67.

beiden Antagonisten, die den Krieg und den Frieden emblematisch verkörpern, werden konkret körperlich auf performative Weise gegenübergestellt. Wie Telephos von Dionysos wegen Vernachlässigung seines Kults in Mysien damit bestraft wurde, daß er sich in einer Weinranke verfing, stürzte und dadurch von Achill am Bein verwundet wurde, so hat sich der General beim Sprung über einen Graben an einem Weinpfahl verletzt und kommt humpelnd herein. Dikaiopolis hat zuletzt einen Schlauch als Siegespreis im Askoliasmos gewonnen, einem lustigen Hüpfwettbewerb auf einem Weinschlauch. Der gegenstrebig aufeinander bezogene Kontrast der Kontrahenten ist in typisch dionysischer Manier als oszillierendes Kaleidoskop von ineinander verschränkten und immer neu aufscheinenden Gegensätzen komponiert. Lamachos und Dikaiopolis versinnbildlichen in mancherlei Hinsicht respektive Hades und Dionysos bzw. Ares und Dionysos.<sup>89</sup> Doch wird, wie erwähnt, der Gegensatz von Tod und Leben wie auch von Krieg und Frieden von Dionysos selbst überspannt. Für das kunstvolle theatrale Spiel liefern die dionysischen Feste und Einzelriten ebenso wie die Mythen in einem eigenartigen Pastiche den bakchischen Hintergrund.<sup>90</sup> Das kreative komisch-paradoxe Neben- und Ineinander, das dem beschriebenen *patchwork-slapstick*-Verfahren des Satyrspiels in mancher Weise ähnelt, öffnet dabei der versammelten Polis komplementäre Sichtweisen auf das Leben in einer Demokratie, wo sich der einzelne Bürger ständig zwischen der Freiheit, eigene Triebe und Wünsche zu erfüllen, und gesellschaftlichen Zwängen befindet.

Das dionysische Ausnahmefest der Anthesterien als temporäre Auflösung der Ordnung kann überhaupt für viele Aristophanes-Stücke als freies Modell ausgemacht werden. In diesem Fest wird ähnlich wie in den Komödien der Weg zurück zu den Uranfängen beschritten: Die olympischen Götter werden abgesetzt, und Tote und total verkehrte Figuren kehren auf die Erde zurück.<sup>91</sup>

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89 Zum Gegensatzpaar von Ares und Dionysos und ihren gegenseitigen Überlappungen vgl. Bierl (1991) 155 f. mit Bezug auf Eur. *Phoin.* 784–800.

90 Zum Pastiche dionysischer Feste und Riten vgl. Habash (1995).

91 Die Anspielungen auf die Anthesterien werden explizit in den *Acharnern* (Bruch mit der öffentlichen Ordnung in einer Polis; Schaffung eines Privattraumes, der durch den Ritus der Ländlichen Dionysien geheiligt wird; zuletzt Feier der Choes) und in den *Vögeln* (Verweise auf die χύτροι; Opferstreik; Zeus und die Olympier werden zum Abdanken gezwungen; Heilige Hochzeit mit der Basilinna). Die Grundstruktur findet sich aber auch im *Plutos* (Opferstreik; Absetzung des Zeus und Installation eines neuen utopischen Gottes; Prozession mit χύτροι) und im *Frieden* (Rückzug der olympischen Götter und Installation [Hidrysis] der Eirene; Heilige Hochzeit). Ein ähnliches Handlungsmuster offenbart sich auch in den *Rittern* (Sukzessionsmythos; Agon der alten mit einer neuen Ordnung, die den herkömmlichen Rahmen sprengt; Verjüngung des Demos und wundersame Rückkehr zum Alten), in den *Wolken* (Absetzung des Zeus; Auseinandersetzung zwischen alter und neuer Religion), in den *Wespen* (der Konflikt zwischen Vater und Sohn entspricht dem Kampf von Alt mit Jung; der

Umgekehrt gilt das Rekurrieren auf den positiv konnotierten Kultus des Dionysos als Ausdruck besonderer Freude und Ausgelassenheit. Außerdem scheinen sich ganze Passagen an einem dionysischen Muster zu orientieren. Wein, ländliche Idylle, Feste, Sexualität und Frieden werden als Gegenwelt zu der von Politik und Krieg bestimmten realen Welt der Polis gezeichnet (vgl. *Acharner, Frieden*). Gerade durch den *Frieden* scheint sich in auffälliger Weise eine dionysische Zeichenflut zu ziehen.<sup>92</sup>

Die *Wespen* kann man in einer ähnlichen Weise einer Betrachtung unterziehen, wie dies oben beim Satyrspiel angestellt wurde. Philokleon verkörpert in seiner Mania für das Gerichtswesen eine archaisch-dionysische Komponente der gesellschaftlichen Vitalität, die man nicht einfach weg-schließen, unterdrücken oder umerziehen kann. Alle Versuche seines Sohnes, ihn für den Verlust des Öffentlichen mit einer privaten Einführung in das Symposionswesen zu entschädigen, sind zum Scheitern verurteilt. Schließlich kommt sein eigentliches Wesen selbst hier erneut zum Vorschein: Im Rausch schlägt Philokleon wild um sich, beleidigt in aggressiver Manier die Umstehenden und bemächtigt sich der Hetären. Im Komos reaktualisiert er trotz seines Alters die Phase des wilden Epheben und die ungehemmte Natur. Er prügelt, hurt, verspottet und sprengt alle Grenzen der Norm. Ganz am Ende wird seine unbezwingbare dionysische Energie performativ im Wettanz gegen die tragischen Dichter, die Söhne des Karkinos, die kleinen ‚Krebse‘, auf die Bühne gebracht. In seinen wilden Wirbelbewegungen wird er zur Inkarnation des Dinos, ja der chaotischen Drehbewegung der Natur, die alles verschlingt. Die aufgestaute Lebenskraft bricht also wiederum um so heftiger hervor.<sup>93</sup>

Außerdem bezieht sich der Chor in viel stärkerer Weise, als dies in der Tragödie geschieht, auf das eigene Tun in der Orchestra zu Ehren des Theatergotts und direkt auf Dionysos oder den Polisfestrahmen zurück. Im reinen Chortanzlied der *Thesmophoriazusen* (947–1000) thematisiert man ausschließlich die eigene kyklische Drehbewegung, ohne daß man Mythen als Exempla einliest, bis man diese schließlich auf den mythischen Dionysos und seinen Thiasos projiziert. Im Tanz wird gleichzeitig Mnesilochos der Per-

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Generationenkonflikt wird zusätzlich mit Allusionen auf die Göttergenerationen untermalt) und in den *Fröschen* (der Agon zwischen dem alten Dichter Aischylos und dem neuen Dichter Euripides wird mit Anspielungen aus dem Kontext des Konflikts der Göttergenerationen verstärkt; Dionysos steigt in seinem Heiligtum ἐν Λίμναις in die Unterwelt und holt die alte, chaotische Macht Aischylos zurück auf die Erde). Zu den *Vögeln* vgl. Craik (1987); Auffarth (1994); zum *Plutos* vgl. Bierl (1994b); zum Thema von Alt und Neu vgl. Bierl (2004b).

92 Dies sah bereits ähnlich Elderkin (1924) 49–75.

93 Zu Philokleon als dionysischem Ithyphallos vgl. MacCary (1979); zur krankhaften Mania des Helden vgl. Sidwell (1990). Zu weiteren dionysischen Motiven vgl. M.I. Davies (1990).

spektive der Thesmophoriazusen angenähert, die sich bekanntermaßen der Vorstellung nach ebenfalls in den jugendlichen Zustand des Dazwischen zurückversetzen. Ähnlich wie in der Tragödie, die durch diverse Parodien komisch verarbeitet wird, vollzieht sich an dieser Stelle also der Umbruch, zunächst zum Spiel mit weiblichen Figuren an der Schwelle zum Erwachsenenalter, dann zur komischen Lösung.<sup>94</sup>

Die Idylle Attikas wird mit deutlich bakchischer Zeichnung und mittels der Erwähnung der dort stattfindenden Dionysosfeste ähnlich wie in der Tragödie (z. B. Soph. OC 668–683) evoziert. In der Gegenstrophe der Parodos der *Wolken* besingen beispielsweise die einziehenden Choreuten als tauige Wesen die attischen Gefilde, die die mystische Schau bewahren und wo wie in Eleusis Selige in Festzügen wandeln. Zuletzt kommt man auf den eigenen Festrahmen und die performative Chorkultur an den Städtischen Dionysien im Frühling zu sprechen – ἦρί τ' ἐπερχομένῳ Βρομία χάρις / εὐκελάδων τε χορῶν ἐρεθίσματα / καὶ μούσα βαρύβρομος ἀλῶν (*Nub.* 311–313).

## 6. Gattungsinterferenzen und -überschneidungen

Zuletzt gilt es noch darauf hinzuweisen, daß Gattungen selbstverständlich nie fest sind. Gerade in der nämlichen Okkasion eines einzigen Dionysosfestes konnten die drei dramatischen Genres miteinander in kreativen Austausch treten. Die Nähe zwischen dem Satyrspiel und der Komödie, den heiteren Formen, ist naturgemäß am größten.<sup>95</sup> Von dem für das Satyrspiel charakteristischen Ausschlußversuch des dionysischen Vitalitätsprinzips mitsamt seiner nachfolgenden Eruption in den *Wespen* habe ich schon gesprochen. Hier wird das Dionysische freilich selbst wie ein Monster behandelt, mit dem sonst die Satyrn konfrontiert sind. Wie erwähnt kann sich die Komödie in explizit dionysischen Stücken natürlich auch der grotesken Satyrn als Chorbegleitung des Gottes bedienen. Das Verfahren der rituellen und rein chorischen Selbstbezüglichkeit ist in beiden Gattungen sehr ähnlich. Vergleichbares kann freilich auch in der Tragödie geschehen. Da sich das Satyrspiel und die Komödie in unterschiedlicher Weise grundsätzlich auf die Tragödie beziehen, werden zudem Modi der tragischen chorischen Selbstreferenz und der hohen Hymnik eingelesen. Gerade in den Parabasen-Oden der Komödie stehen ähnliche Reihengebete wie in der Tragödie, in denen Dionysos als Gott des Festrahmens mit Vorliebe die Schlußposition einnimmt. In den *Wolken*

94 Bierl (2001) 105–299.

95 Eine ausführliche moderne Studie dazu fehlt; C. Fakas plant zu diesem Fragenkomplex eine Habilitationsschrift.



kommt man in der Antode nach Apollon, Artemis und Athena auf Dionysos zu sprechen, der, ganz ähnlich wie dies auch öfter in der Tragödie geschieht, in einer chorischen Projektion auf dem Parnas mit flammenden Fackeln im Tanze imaginiert wird (Ar. *Nub.* 603–606). Und die Bitte um Erscheinen des Dionysos wird mit dem tragischen Ende, in dem der bäurische Held Strep-siades seinen dionysischen Energieausbruch auslebt und mit Fackeln die Denkerbude anzündet, in ähnlicher Technik wie in der *Antigone* des Sophokles in dramatisch-ironischer und übertragener Weise erfüllt. Zudem hat man die komisch-lachhaften Züge, die sowohl auf die Komödie als auch auf das Satyrspiel verweisen, in der Zeichnung des Dionysos in den Euripideischen *Bakchen* längst erkannt.<sup>96</sup>

Τί ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον; (Plut. *mor.* 615a) – „was hat dies mit Dionysos zu tun?“ In der zu sehr auf die Tragödie fokussierten Dramenforschung haben viele vorschnell mit dem bekannten Diktum οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον (Zenobios 5.40; *Suda* ο 806) geantwortet. Dionysos ist jedoch multidimensional und steht für ein Spiel zahlreicher, sich laufend ablösender Perspektiven und dynamischer Gedankenexperimente. Alle drei Gattungen haben im dionysischen Rahmen entsprechend den entstehenden generischen Normen mehr oder minder viel mit dieser Gottheit und mit seinem sich auf der Bühne in Fülle generierenden Zeichensystem zu tun – also πολλὰ πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον.

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96 Zu komischen Elementen vgl. Seidensticker (1982); zu Parallelen mit dem Satyrspiel *Kyklops* vgl. Seaford (1981) 272–274.





# Dionysos' Many Names in Aristophanes' *Frogs*

Andrew L. Ford

“God of many names”, πολυώνυμε, is the first word of Sophocles' famous hymn invoking Dionysos in the *Antigone* (1115). Richard Jebb comments that the epithet is “peculiarly suitable to Dionysus, owing to the manner in which his cult was interwoven with other cults [...]. Dionysus was distinctively *polueidês kai polymorphos* (Plutarch *Mor.* 389c)”. One might leave the matter at that; it seems logical that the god of multiple and shifting identities should also be “many-named”. But, if the epithet is suitable, it is hardly specific to Dionysos, for, as Jebb notes, other gods are entitled to be called *polyonymos*: Apollo, for example, has as many titles without presenting so many contradictory aspects.<sup>1</sup> There is, however, one striking feature of the names for Dionysos to which Sophocles' epithet can be taken to point, and this is a respect in which he was a “different” god. This study will propose that what was distinctive about Dionysos' names was not simply that they were numerous, but that so many of the most powerful ones had lost their meanings in the course of time. To find examples I need go no further than the scholion on this passage, which explains *polyonyme* by saying “for some call him Bakchos, others Iakchos, Lyaïos, or Euïos and others Dithyrambos”: of these five names, only *lyaios* is readily intelligible in Greek.<sup>2</sup>

Henk Versnel's *Triumphus* has given a rich survey of such Dionysian epikleseis from the point of view of the history of religion.<sup>3</sup> My concern is literary, to bring out the fact that the god's obscure titles could provoke poets composing songs to him and provide them with special expressive possibilities. Now the fact that Dionysos was feted with archaic cries and calls with no obvious meaning might again seem easily comprehensible: Dionysos is *bromios*, the “noisy” one, and it is reasonable that his names should sometimes stress sound over sense. And for poets, this semantic underdetermination might have been compensated for by the fact that a multiplicity of names facilitates

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1 The rich variety of Dionysian epithets can be illustrated by pointing to *Anth. Pal.* 9.524, an alphabetic epigram that fills 24 verses with his titles; but note that 9.525 executes the same trick with Apollo.

2 Diodorus Siculus (4.5.1–2) explains a number of Dionysos' obscurer epithets (*bakcheios*, *lenaïos*, *bromios*, *pyrigenes* and *thriambos*) before breaking off with a *recusatio* because the names are too many (περι ὧν μακρὸν ἄν εἴη λέγειν). Similarly, Cornutus *Graec.* 59.

3 Versnel (1970) 16–38.

composition and provides an opportunity to exhibit *sophia* by choosing an epithet that is either *recherché* or *le mot juste*. But for ambitious poets I suggest such language could pose a challenge: one would be reluctant to leave out of a Dionysiac hymn words that carried a powerful emotional charge from being associated with intense experiences of cult. Such words could also be felt to be intimately bound up with the god, since they had no other meanings and so belonged to the god alone. But when a poet introduced such language into his song, he abandoned for that moment his signifying power, his ability to control meaning and direct thought. To some degree, then, these powerful vocables were in competition with the poet's distinctive voice: a poet who resorted to traditional language like *bakchos*, *euios* or *dithyrambos* was composing words that anyone might have composed, words that even an amateur chorus might sing. A fine lyric hymn ought to be more than a collective cry.

Again, comparing the case of Apollo can make the poetic issue clearer. Among his many epithets, one old and obscure title was commonly used in cult and song – *paian*, already a theonym in Mycenaean. But there is a notable difference between the way *paian* is used in paeans and *dithyrambos* in dithyrambs. The cry *ie Paian* can be found, in one variant or another, in almost every paean.<sup>4</sup> Its meaning was obscure enough to the Greeks that they could trace it to antithetical etyma: *paiein* to pray for victory and *pauein* to call for rescue. Nonetheless, the role and function of *paian* were quite well defined. For Athenaeus and others, the “paeanic refrain” (697a: τὸ παϊανικὸν ἐπίφθεγμα) was sufficient to define a poem as a paean and direct it to Apollo-Paian. In dithyrambs, by contrast, the word *dithyrambos* is not very common, nor does it serve as a marker of the genre. Instead we find that songs to Dionysos tend to pile his names and epithets to enrich their appeals to the god. Now hymns to any god may begin by giving out several epithets to be sure to catch the divinity's attention. But poets of songs to Dionysos often manifest an effort to search out new and exotic epithets, and to accumulate them insistently.<sup>5</sup> Philodamus of Skarpheia, for example, began a song summoning Dionysos to the Delphic Theoxenia of 340: “Dithyrambos, Bakchos, Euios, bull, ivy-haired, Bromios” (Διθύραμβε Βάκχ' εὔιε, ταῦρε, κισσοχαῖτα, Βρόμιε (v.1–3 Powell). Pindar brought the god into his dithyramb for the Athenians by inventing a new epiklesis, “the ivy-knowing god, whom we mortals call Roarer and Shouter” (τὸν κισσοδαῖ θεόν, / τὸν Βρόμιον, τὸν Ἐριβόαν τε βροτοὶ καλέομεν, fr. 75.9–10 Snell-Maehler).<sup>6</sup> Pindar sets his new

4 See Schröder (1999) 49–61, with the qualifications of Käppel (1992) 68.

5 For this dynamic in dithyrambic poetry, see Ford (forthcoming).

6 Pindar's “ivy-knowing” is such a venturesome expression that it is often, wrongly, emended away: for “knowing” in connection with Dionysos' mystery role, cf. ἀδαήμονα in Hdt. 8.65 quoted below.

and difficult epithet among two old names mortals have for the divinity, but both of these stress the noisiness and shouting accompanying his cult. The New Dithyramb is well known for its tendency to profuse and arcane epithets, but this feature is already found in Pindar's dithyramb: its fifteen legible verses (fr. 75 Snell-Maehler) include nine compound epithets, of which six are hapaxes or not previously attested.<sup>7</sup>

Naturally, no word can remain in use and remain meaningless for long, and explanations were not lacking for Dionysos' old epithets; *dithyrambos*, for example, was so often and so variously connected with the god's birth myth that not only was its original meaning forgotten, but the fact that it had been forgotten was forgotten.<sup>8</sup> Such games did not disperse the mist of mysterious and potent-sounding titles surrounding the noisy god. The example I focus on is one whose obscurity was *not* forgotten, not redeemed by myth. This is *Iakchos*, the name and epithet with which Sophocles ends his ode to the god (*Ant.* 1153). *Iakchos* was interesting to poets, I will suggest, because its sound testified to its history, to the stages by which it evolved from nonsense syllables to divine name.<sup>9</sup> The word began as a joyous inarticulate cry, *iakche*, which was perhaps at first used in connection with more than one deity.<sup>10</sup> In Athens, *iakche* became especially associated with the Eleusinian mysteries in which participants shouted it out repeatedly during the procession from Athens to the sanctuary.<sup>11</sup> In this context, *iakche* was at some point reinterpreted as a vocative and thus personified as *Iakchos*, the tutelary daimon of the procession. In due course *Iakchos* acquired concrete form: an image of him was carried in the procession by the *Iakchagogos* and his statue was placed beside Demeter and Kore in a temple at Athens – holding a torch to symbolize the nighttime arrival of the procession at Eleusis.<sup>12</sup> Finally, the appellation *iakchos* came to be used by the poets as an epithet of Dionysos, like *bakchos*.<sup>13</sup> Graf attributes the *Iakchos*-Dionysos connection to the highly excited atmosphere of the

7 Details in Zimmermann (1992) 38 f., van der Weiden (1991) 186.

8 For etymologies of *dithyrambos*, Ieranò (1997) 159–167. Perhaps it was to counter domestications of the sacred title by etymology that Pratinas defamiliarized it again, invoking Dionysos as “*thriambo-dithyrambos*, ivy-haired lord” (Θριαμβοδιθύραμβε, κισσόχαϊτ’ ἄναξ, fr. 3.16–17 *TrGF*).

9 On *Iakchos*, see esp. Graf (1974) 51–66, Clinton (1992) 64–71 and, among older studies, Deubner (1932) 73 f., Foucart (1914) 110–113.

10 Graf (1974) 55 n. 20. Chantraine takes it as an onomatopoeic word, perhaps derived from *eche*.

11 Burkert (1983) 30 n. 2, (1985) 74.

12 Pausanias 1.2.4. Clinton (1992) 65 n. 12, (1974) 96 f.

13 Graf (1974) 56. Poets also used *iakchos* by metonymy for the Eleusinian processional song or any song for Dionysos.

procession, which involved ecstatic dancing and a *pannychis* on arrival. The passage from *Antigone* is the earliest literary evidence we have for this usage.<sup>14</sup>

When each of these developments occurred is unclear. It used to be thought that the daimon *Iakchos* was not invented until after Salamis, for which the main evidence cited was an anecdote from Herodotus.<sup>15</sup> Herodotus (8.65) records an incident he attributes to Dikaios, an exiled Athenian in the service of Persia. Just before the battle of Salamis, Dikaios was devastating the Thriasian plain with the Spartan Demaratos when they saw an enormous cloud of dust heading their way from Eleusis, as though 30,000 men were on the march. From this cloud emerged an extraordinary sound, which Dikaios, the Athenian, perceived was the mystical *iakchos* cry (τὸν μυστικὸν ἰακχόν). But Demaratos, who is unfamiliar with the Eleusinian mysteries (ἄδραήμωνα), does not understand the utterance (τὸ φθεγγόμενον), and so Dikaios must explain that the “sound you hear is the *iakchos* cry that the Athenians shout in their festival” for the Mother and the Maid (καὶ τὴν φωνὴν τῆς ἀκούεις ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὀρτῇ ἰακχάζουσι). As Eleusis has been abandoned, Dikaios reasons that this voice is divine (θεῖον τὸ φθεγγόμενον) and that a god would aid the Athenians and their allies.

Here the noun ἰακχόν and the verb ἰακχάζουσι have nothing to do with Dionysos, and indeed do not even imply a personified *Iakchos*. But we cannot infer that *Iakchos* had not yet been added to the Eleusinian pantheon, because Herodotus is writing around the same time as Sophocles, and in *Antigone* the personified cry seems to be presupposed by the equation of *Iakchos* and Dionysos.<sup>16</sup> What I find significant about this passage is that Herodotus emphasizes the incomprehensibility of the *iakchos* cry by focalizing his story through two hearers, one of whom ‘knows’ and another who does not. Therefore, even if the personified *Iakchos* had arisen very early, there remained an awareness that the roots of his name lay in meaningless vociferation.<sup>17</sup> The connection between the appellative *Iakchos* and the mystic cry was kept alive

14 Clinton (1992) 66. Cf. Graf (1974) 52 n. 10 on the controversial restored black-figure lekythos from Sicily (Berlin F 1961 = *ABV* 273) which may show Herakles on Olympus with Dionysos and what some have claimed is a form of *Iakchos* inscribed.

15 E.g. Foucart (1914) 110 (“Au temps des guerres médiques, il n’avait pas encore de personnalité; il désignait les chants et les acclamations poussées par le cortège des mystes.”); cf. Kern *RE IX* (1914) s.v. *Iakchos*. Clinton (1992) 65 n. 71 takes the fact that no temple to *Iakchos* has been found at Eleusis as a sign that he is a latecomer there.

16 So Graf (1974) 58 n. 43; Clinton (1992) 65 n. 71.

17 The incomprehensibility of the paean cry figures in another story in Herodotus 5.1: the Paionians are camped opposite the Perninthians but do not attack because they have been advised by an oracle not to engage unless they are summoned by name (*onomastí*); when the Perninthians sing a battle *paian*, the Paionians, a half-barbarian people, mistakenly take the refrain for their own name and successfully attack, thus unexpectedly proving the oracle true.

by the related words *iakcho*, *iakcheo*, and *iakche*, all of which describe noise, whether the clamor of resounding objects or the inarticulate cries of people in joy or fear.<sup>18</sup> Hence Dodds translated *Iakchos* at *Bacchae* 725 as “Lord of Cries”.<sup>19</sup>

In Sophocles as well, the appellative *Iakchos* seems to have special force, for he places it prominently as the last word of the ode, as if it were the final justification of the opening epithet “many-named”. Dramatic reasons for closing on the Eleusinian dimension of Dionysos have been well discussed by Albert Henrichs.<sup>20</sup> He explains that Sophocles is recurring to the play’s “death theme” and Antigone’s “progressive self identification with the world of the dead”. Henrichs also notes that, although the chorus begins by invoking the god “of many names”, the epikleseis that follow in the opening three verses are rather perfunctory: “delight of the Kadmean nymph” and “son of Zeus” is what any Theban chorus would be expected to call the god. The song as a whole focuses rather on Dionysos’ cult places – from Magna Graecia to Eleusis and Thebes in the strophe, and then on him as the leader of processing choruses from Delphi to Nysa and Thebes in the antistrophe. This is well observed, and yet in two places the chorus does refer to Dionysian cult cries, and in striking language.<sup>21</sup> At the end of the first antistrophe (1134 f.), the god reaches Thebes to the accompaniment of “immortal words crying *evoe*” (ἀμβρότων ἐπέων εὐαζόντων). The utterances of Dionysos’ chorus are immortal because they are cries repeated from a time beyond memory. They are personified (as Sophocles had personified oracular language in the parodos of *Oedipus Tyrannus*: ἀμβροτε Φάμα, 158),<sup>22</sup> to express the autonomy of Dionysian epikleseis, even if this autonomy reduces to the cry *evoe* getting itself repeated without end. A second reference to the strangeness of Dionysos’ cult language is the synaesthesia near the beginning of the antistrophe (at 1146 f.): as in *Bacchae* (725 f.), Dionysos appears as heavenly choregos, who “watches over the nocturnal vociferations” of his chorus (νυχίων φθεγγμάτων ἐπίσκοπε). In naming the speech that the god paradoxically beholds, Sophocles chooses a word, *phthegma*, that leaves space to include meaningless utterances, as in Herodotus’ *to phthegomenon*; this is speech that is not so much heard as witnessed. In both Sophoclean expressions it seems more important that the god’s epikleseis be ritually performed than that they be understood.

18 Graf (1974) 56 f. notes that ancient etymologies connect *Iakchos* with these sounding words, which are also found in descriptions of Dionysos’ noisy cult.

19 Dodds (1960) 165.

20 Henrichs (1990a) 265–270.

21 See Adami (1900) 237–244 for the epithets.

22 So Lloyd-Jones/Wilson (1990) 145, who reject emendations (e.g. ἐπεράν) that would tame the language. Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.299.

The audience of *Antigone* will soon know that this hymn is shadowed by futility, for the suicides of Antigone and Haimon are about to be announced. The cletic hymn to Dionysos thus brings no epiphany, and the chorus' alienation from their saving god is expressed by their concluding not with a vocative to greet the god, but with a quotation of his name from another chorus: *iakche* in the text is said by the happy Thyiads in Delphi as they greet their (*ton*) lord *Iakchos*. In becoming a substantive rather than a vocative, the potent shout *iakche* is drained of some of its power: no rescue is at hand. If *polyonymia* is in some degree the key-note of the ode and *Iakchos* is its climax, we may understand the *poly-* in *polyonyme* not simply as referring to the abundance of the god's titles (as in the standard hymnic compliment *polyhymnos*, "of many songs", for example) but as hinting at the confusion such profusion can engender, giving the element the sense it has in *polythroos* or *polyglossos* for overabundant, even confusing speech. This is the direction taken, I shall now argue, in the parodos of Aristophanes' *Frogs*, which is the fullest presentation of *Iakchos* on the Attic stage. In tracking the strong reliance on *iakchos* in this text I rely on Fritz Graf's analysis of Eleusinian elements in the parodos<sup>23</sup> while hoping to bring out its poetic functions by seeing it against the opening scenes of the play.

The musical and dramatic cue for the parodos is given at *Frogs* 312, when Xanthias and Dionysos hear the sound of *auloi* and sense mystic torches. Herakles had earlier told them (in 154) they would encounter initiates in the underworld, and so when the chorus appears chanting Ἰακχ', ὦ Ἰακχε, Xanthias infers that "these are they" (*tout' est' ekeino*, 318). Dionysos is persuaded (321) and they retire to watch the chorus perform four hymns, of which the first and last are to *Iakchos*.

The first hymn (324–336) opens by invoking the god with an epithet, Ἰακχε ὦ πολυτίμητε, in which the normal force of *poly-* would be that he receives many high and costly honors. In what follows, however, the literal sense of *poly-* is foremost, since the "many honors" of *Iakchos* consist in his name being pronounced again and again. The chorus repeats the refrain and bids the god to join their holy choral dance (χορείων, 334) decked in a crown of Eleusinian myrtle.<sup>24</sup> Their plea that *Iakchos* dance with "insatiable foot" (331) recalls the appeal to Dionysos in *Antigone* to come with "purifying foot" (1114). But *Frogs* is a comedy, and in comedy cletic hymns succeed: *Iakchos* arrives in the antistrophe, probably in the form of lighted torches taken up by

23 Graf (1974) 40–51.

24 The myrtle is only one suggestion of Eleusinian (and other, esp. Dionysian) choruses, Clinton (1992) 64 n. 6. Against attempts to deny that the Eleusinia is Aristophanes' principal focus here, see Bowie (1994) 228–230, Dover (1993) ad loc.

the chorus (340).<sup>25</sup> The *praesens deus* is greeted with another repetition of his name (341), and the rejuvenated chorus bids him lead out the procession (351 f.).

Then comes the anapaestic address to the audience (353–371), but the initiatory atmosphere is maintained in its opening demand for *euphemia* and in its close, which calls for songs that are appropriate to “this festival and its all-night revels” (370 f.). Thereupon two hymns follow, one to Soteira (372–382) and “another kind of song” (ἑτέρον ὕμνων ἰδέαν) to Demeter and her “chaste” rites (385–393).<sup>26</sup> These are followed by a final song to Iakchos so he may join the procession to “the goddess” (400). This return to *Iakchos* is strongly marked by his name: the last song begins with the same invocation as the first, Ἰακχε ὦ πολυτίμητε (398, cf. 324), and each of its three verses concludes with a new refrain (403, 408, 413), whose epithet “Iakchos, friend-of-choruses” (Ἰακχε φιλοχορευτά) hints at the god’s fundamental connection with the Eleusinian procession.

Is there a reason for the poet’s intense, recurrent interest in the *Iakche* cry? I think the answer is given at the opening of the last song, where *Iakchos* is praised as having “invented the sweetest of festival songs” (μέλος ἑορτῆς / ἠδιστον εὐρών, 398 f.). Invention (*heurein*) is a common theme in Dionysiac as other hymns, but what aetiological story is alluded to here? The readiest answer is that the song of Eleusinian initiates, what Herodotus calls the *mystikon iakchon*, was “invented” by *Iakchos* in the sense that he gave his name to it as its defining refrain. With his typical combination of insight and irreverence, Aristophanes reverses the historical development from shout to name and congratulates the personified shout for having invented the song. His exaggerated praise effectively reduces the panoply of Eleusinian ritual celebration to a god’s name repeated over and over.

In fact, I think that Aristophanes, in this reductive mood, traces the *Iakchos* song further back, all the way back to the animal realm. This appears if we listen to the parodos while remembering the play’s first song, the famous Frog Chorus. When Dionysos mounts Charon’s boat to cross the great marsh leading to the underworld (181), he is told he will hear (ἀκούσει, 205) extraordinarily beautiful songs. These will come from frog-swans (Βατράχων κύκνων, 207) which is oxymoronic, since frogs were no singers: an ancient etymology of “frog” took βάτραχος from “having a harsh call” (παρὰ τὸ βοῆν τραχεῖαν ἔχειν).<sup>27</sup>

25 Wilson dagers the text at 340 in his *OCT*, but either ἦκεις or ἦκει seems necessary.

26 Fraenkel (1962) 201 f. infers from 385–388 that “für die Prozessionslieder beim Zuge nach Eleusis [...] solche ganz einfachen iambischen Perioden sehr beliebt waren.” On Soteira: Haldane (1964).

27 *Etymologicum genuinum* (Orion). Cf. Ar. *Av.* 769–784, Eur. *IT* 1104.



As Dionysos begins to row across the marsh, the famous refrain arises, Βρεκεκεκεξ κοαξ κοαξ (209). The chorus then identifies itself in a riddling periphrasis, and their astrophic iambo-trochaic song rewards close reading.

Λιμναῖα κρηνῶν τέκνα, ξύναυλον ὕμνων βοάν φθεγγώμεθ', εὐγηρυν ἔμᾶν ἄοιδάν, κοαξ κοαξ,	211
Marshy children of springs, let us raise a call shared with the aulos, my magnifloquent song, koax koax.	

Lyric high style<sup>28</sup> names these children of marshy springs “marshy children of springs”, and elevates their croaking to a kind of song accompanied by the *aulos*. The elevation is supported by the novel epithet εὐγηρυς (translated by a coinage in 213), but the tone is immediately lowered when the phrase concludes with the repeated *koax koax* in 214.

In describing the frogs’ croak as “a song shouted in accompaniment to the *aulos*” (ξύναυλον ὕμνων βοάν, 212) the epithet has multiple senses: taken with *boan*, *xynaulos* suggests “accompanied by the *aulos*” and this one assumes would be literally true in performance; but so soon after “marshy” (λιμναῖα), *xynaulos* may suggest Dionysos’ oldest Athenian sanctuary “in the Marshes” (ἐν Λίμναις). Hence frog song is also *xynaulos* in the sense that it is indigenous to – that it shares an αὐλή with – Dionysos *Limnaios*.<sup>29</sup>

This implication is confirmed when the chorus goes on to explain that the hymn they sing is the same one they used to “shout out” (ἰαχήσαμεν, 217) in the world above during the feast of *Chytroi*:

ἦν ἄμφι Νυσήιον Διὸς Διώνυσσον ἐν Λίμναισιν ἰαχήσαμεν, ἦνίχ' ὁ κραιπαλόκωμος τοῖς ἱεροῖσι Χύτροισι χωρεῖ κατ' ἔμὸν τέμενος λαῶν ὄχλος.	215
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28 On the style of this song: Silk (1980) 137, Campbell (1984).

29 As Callimachus calls the god, fr. 305 Pfeiffer. For the same play on *xynaulos* see Euripides, *Helen* 1106 (of the nightingale). Aristophanes makes the same pun with *synnomois* at *Birds* 678 of the nightingale, both “harmonious” and “sharing a habitat” with the hoopoe; cf. 736–781 and *Thesm.* 947, 983.

Which once we sang for the Nisaeon  
 son of Zeus, Dionysos  
 in the Marshes when at sacred Chytroi time  
 the drunken revelers thronged my sanctuary.

The song we hear in Hades is thus what the frogs once used to perform during the Anthesteria in the precinct of Dionysos of the Marshes. *Chytroi* was the last day of the festival when the sanctuary would have been crowded with hung-over celebrants. With his genius for metaphor, Aristophanes envisions the croaking frogs *en Limnaïs* as a chorus singing antiphonally to Dionysos' groaning celebrants as they make their way to "our sanctuary" (κατ' ἐμὸν τέμενος).

The frogs close this first song to *Iakchos* with the refrain (220), and in what follows insist on it twice more (223, 235). They are implicitly identifying their song with its croaked refrain, and so when an exasperated Dionysos finally insults them as "nothing but *koax*" (227), they are happy to accept the characterization:

Εἰκότως γ', ὦ πολλά πράττων  
 Ἐμὲ γάρ ἔστερξαν εὐλυροὶ τε Μοῦσαι  
 καὶ κεροβάτας Πάν, ὁ καλαμόφθογγα παίζων· 230  
 προσεπιτέρπεται δ' ὁ φορμικτὰς Ἀπόλλων,  
 ἔνεκα δόνακος, ὃν ὑπολύριον  
 ἔνυδρον ἐν λίμναις τρέφω.

For I am beloved by the fair-lyred Muses  
 and by horn-traveling Pan, who plays on the sounding reed. 230  
 Apollo the kitharist also delights in me,  
 for the sake of the reed, to which lyre's support  
 I give watery nurture in the marshes.

The marsh frogs are dear to the gods of music because they nurture the reed, which was, at least in olden times, a basic component of both wind and string instruments.<sup>30</sup> The implicit aetiology supports troping frog croaks as a kind of music. Aristophanes' allusion here is not so much, as some have suggested, to a kind of New Music, as to *natural* music, for the connections between the musical arts and the natural, material constituents of music-making was a subject of reflection in the fifth century.<sup>31</sup> Euripides tersely expresses some of

30 As the scholiast explains, the "ancients" used to make the panpipe from reeds (before they used horn, cf. κεροβάτας 230). For reeds used to make a bridge for the lyre and phorminx, cf. Hsch. who defines βατραχίσκοι as a part of the kithara (μέρος τι τῆς κιθάρας).

31 Rogers (1902) 39 aptly quotes Apuleius calling the reed *musicae suavis nutricula*. Defradas (1969) and Higgins (1977) contend that Aristophanes is parodying new dithyramb here.

its paradoxes in a fragment: “the hymn-maker reed nurtured by the river Melas, the wise nightingale of fair-blowing *auloi*” (fr. 556 *TrGF*: τὸν ὄ υἱμοποιὸν δόνα[χ', ὄν ἐκφύει Μέ]λας / ποταμὸς ἀηδόν' εὐπνῶων αὐλῶν σοφῆν). The glide between nature (*physis*) and art (*techne*) is exemplified by Euripides' calling a reed in a river a song-maker or “hymn-poet” (*hymnopoios*), and in calling the nightingale, a natural singer, “wise”: like the reed-poet, a wise *aedon* embodies both the naturalness and artificiality of song (*aoide*), for *aedon* was also a name of the mouthpiece of an *aulos* or of the *aulos* as a whole (Eur. fr. 931).

Aristophanes' frog-chorus thus shows us a Dionysiac cult song returned to a natural, watery landscape, the marshes, where reeds are instruments and animals a chorus. Hence there is a scientific, ethological tenor to Dionysos' calling the frogs a “song-loving species” (φιλωδὸν γένος, *Ar. Ran.* 240). The playful erasure of the border between natural and artistic music is also at the heart of the word βόαξ, an important verbal inspiration for Aristophanes' *koax* that commentators seem not to have noticed: Epicharmus (fr. 29) and comic poets, including Aristophanes (fr. 475), attest to *boax* as the name of a grunting fish.<sup>32</sup> Aristotle says it is the only fish that makes a noise and explains its name onomatopoeically from its call (*boa*).<sup>33</sup> The *boax* and the frogs with their *koax* are watery animals at the lower border of human speech.

As the frogs go on they remain very much an animal chorus, and frog-behavior is depicted as a watery kind of choreography (247). Their nimble dance (χορείαν αἰόλαν, 247 f.) amidst galingale and reeds forecasts the holy chorale of the initiated (the ἀγνήν, ἱερὰν [...] χορείαν, 334). But the animal chorus stresses its sonority rather than meaningfulness: the last colon of their song is filled with a large onomatopoeic compound, πομοφολυγοπαφλάσμασιν, that straddles the gap between language and noise.

It may be clear by now that I want to suggest that the burden of the frogs' refrain, *koax koax* – which Dionysos picks out as the essence of their song (“nothing but *koax*”, 227) – forecasts the initiates' *iakch' o iakche* in the parodos. Both Dionysian chants – one a natural sound heard at the Anthesteria and the other a meaningless human cry at the Eleusinia – have at their core a short guttural phrase redoubled. This phrase, echoing from the play's first song to the parodos, suggests that the crude, hung-over music for Dionysos in the Marshes during Anthesterion grew up seven months later and became the sacred epiklesis of the ritually pure initiates on their way to Eleusis. The incessant *koax koax* of the frogs in honor of Dionysos *en Limnais* is the earlier, more natural form of the Eleusinian song for Dionysos as *Iakchos*. The inventive Aristophanes hears in the repeated Dionysian refrain an ennobled

32 Pherecrates' οὐκ ἔστιν ἰχθύς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ἢ βόαξ (fr. 178 KA) is suggestive of *Ran.* 227.

33 Aristotle fr. 301. Cf. Athenaeus 287a (ὠνομάσθη δὲ παρὰ τὴν βοήν).

croak, as if aware of the fact that the divine name originated in an excited shout.

It seems worth going further and suggesting that the connection between the two songs would have been made very clear in performance if the two choruses were one and the same. The croaking frogs, which Dionysos only hears but does not see, are revealed when they appear in the parodos to be none other than the initiates chanting mumbo-jumbo whom Herakles had predicted. As the scholia infer from *akousei* in 205, the frogs are not seen by Xanthias and Dionysos, a dramaturgical touch also found in *Clouds*.<sup>34</sup> But as the parodos begins and they enter changing their earlier iambs for the ionic characteristic of cult song, Xanthias can infer “these are the ones” (τοῦτ’ ἔστ’ ἐκεῖνο, 318). The phrase has something of the flavor of an initiate’s ‘aha’ experience at the moment of revelation.<sup>35</sup> Xanthias’ reaction is also a cue to the audience, for it now realizes that the promised frog-swans, a Bacchic *thiasos* in a land as bright as Athens, are a sublimated version of *rana ridibunda* and its guttural refrain in the marshes. This is perhaps as much a decision about performance as textual interpretation, but I see no reason why the two choruses could not be the same.<sup>36</sup>

In part, this equation reflects the comic tendency to find humor in reducing the spiritual to the physical. But behind it we may sense a more philosophical view, an enlightened anthropological approach to the origins of religious institutions such as underlies Teiresias’ naturalistic explanation of the cults of Dionysos and Demeter in *Bacchae*.<sup>37</sup> This outlook is extended to other cultural institutions, including the art of song, in a passage from Democritus. In a progressivist scenario, Democritus imagines primitive man learning the arts of civilization from various animal species: just as we learned the art of weaving from spiders, so we learned “housebuilding from swallows, and song by imitating the swan and nightingale”.<sup>38</sup> In a relevant contrast with Aristophanes, Democritus traces song to the swan and nightingale, both thought beautiful singers, while the swallow, whose call struck the Greeks as

34 Of course, the frogs were likely visible to the audience: Rogers (1902) ad 205, MacDowell (1995) 280, Allison (1985), Zimmermann (1985) 164–166. *Pace* Dover (1993) 56.

35 Cf. the ‘aha’ at Plato *Symp.* 210e.

36 I am encouraged to see that Andreas Willi (2008) has argued for identifying the two choruses, though on very different grounds.

37 *Bacchae* 274–285; cf. Henrichs (1975) 110 n. 64.

38 Democritus fr. B 154 DK (χελιδόνος ἐν οἰκοδομίαι, καὶ τῶν λιγυρῶν, κύκνου καὶ ἀηδόνας, ἐν ᾧ δῆι κατὰ μίμησιν). Cf. fr. B 144 DK and Ford (2002) 145 f. with n. 57.

chattering nonsense, teaches not singing but housebuilding.<sup>39</sup> Aristophanes, however, is more fond of nonsense language and so mates swans with frogs (at 207) to generate his natural chorus.

This progressivist view was shared widely at the time. Euripides seems indebted to Prodicus for the discourse on Demeter and Dionysos in *Bacchae*, but Protagoras was of the same school, and so too it seems was Diagoras of Melos. Before concluding I return briefly to the beginning of the parodos and Xanthias' recognition of the chorus' identity. At 320 I should read "They [the frogs] are singing at any rate the very same *Iakchos*-song as Diagoras" (Ἄδουσι γοῦν τὸν Ἰακχὸν ὄνπερ Διαγόρας, 320). Aristarchus I think was right to read the proper name Diagoras here, though Dover's 1993 commentary and Wilson's 2008 *OCT* follow Apollodorus of Tarsus and print the weaker "through the agora" (δι' ἀγορᾶς).<sup>40</sup> Dover observes that "there is no doubt that utterance of the name 'Diagoras' on the comic stage in 405 would make the audience think not of lyric poetry but of 'atheism' and outrageous blasphemy", but he rejects mention of Diagoras as "a poor joke and theatrically pointless to say".<sup>41</sup> In the context I have proposed, however, this person seems quite relevant for three reasons. First, Diagoras of Melos was known as a composer of songs for Dionysos, including dithyrambs; secondly, he acquired a reputation as an atheist who showed contempt for the Eleusinian mysteries;<sup>42</sup> finally, Epicurus puts Diagoras in the company of Prodicus and Critias as those who ascribed gods to convention, and explained belief in them by etymology, that is by historicizing their names.<sup>43</sup> If Aristophanes presents the *iakchos* hymn as a sublimated natural cry, it is the kind of thing that could be popularly associated with this scientific dithyrambist and enemy of the mysteries. Such a view is not only historically plausible, but fits the nuance of the Greek of 318–320 which marks Xanthias' logic with the particles *pou* and *goun*: Τοῦτ' ἔστ' ἐκεῖν', ὃ δέσποθ' οἱ μεμνημένοι / ἐνταῦθά που παίζουσιν, οὐς ἔφραζε νῶν. / Ἄδουσι γοῦν τὸν Ἰακχὸν ὄνπερ Διαγόρας. Simply from hearing *iakch'* *o iakche*,

39 Cf. the "mouseion of swallows" for decadent tragic poets at *Frogs* 93. For swallows' "chattering" (*chelidonizein*) representing barbarous speech, cf. *Birds* 1681, *Frogs* 681 f., and Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 1050 f.

40 For attempts to make cultic sense of "through the agora" cf. Dover (1993) ad loc. and Graf (1974) 49 with notes 40–43.

41 Dover (1993) 127 f. Wilson prints "through the Agora" in his *OCT* at 320, but is unenthusiastic enough about its relevance to record in his apparatus van Leeuwen's suggestion that Xanthias' thought is interrupted here.

42 Schol. *Aves* 1073. He is mocked as impious in [Lysias] 6.17 of the year 399, and Socrates is called "Socrates of Melos" in *Clouds* (830) when he disbelieves in Zeus. He was reportedly outlawed possibly around 415 (*Av.* 1072–1074; Crateros *FGtH* 342 F 16).

43 See Obbink (1996) 352 f. Reading "Diagoras" here is strongly argued for by Janko (2001) 6–11 and (1997) 89 f.; cf. 88 n. 234 on *Frogs*.

he deduces that the singers are the initiates: "at any rate they are singing the Iakchos song, the very one that Diagoras sings."

In closing let us note that the underlying scenario here is the same as that in Herodotus. A pair of witnesses to Iakchos' chorus fails at first to understand what it hears. In Herodotus, one is an insider, one not; in Aristophanes, the insider should be Dionysos, for indeed the chorus is using one of his many names; but the hapless god depends on the outsider slave for understanding. In comedy, the slave's eye is penetrating. He infers that 'this is that', he has a revelation. We too have a revelation if we realize that the annual Iakchos song springs from the same source as the croaking of frogs heard each year in Dionysos' sanctuary.

This study of one of Dionysos' names, focusing on its first and on its fullest attestation in literature, can only close with the suggestion that further attention to the god's epithets in lyrics directed to him may show that they are frequently overabundant, usually insistently sonorous and sometimes explore the limits of articulate speech. One may suspect that the intelligentsia was ready to disregard Dionysos' old names as sanctified nonsense. In tragedy, one may find, as in Sophocles, a sense that they bring us no closer to the many-named wandering deity; it is as if words do what they want to do, not what we want, and recourse to *Iakchos* will not in the end succeed. Lastly, comic and ironic poetry may use Dionysos' names to luxuriate in senselessness, as I have argued Aristophanes does in *Frogs*. Xanthias could see in the *Iakchos* cry the same lesson Aristophanes saw, that beneath all the pomp and pretense of ritual display, the substance of religion was human speech, especially incomprehensible and misunderstood words whose greatest power was in sheer iteration. The exuberant comic poet delighted in the lesson that this name of Dionysos taught, a lesson we may paraphrase from a modern ironic lyricist, Wallace Stevens: like Aristophanes, Stevens saw that, "The imperfect is our paradise", and he could have been speaking of Dionysos' many names when he added, "in this bitterness, delight [...] lies in flawed words and stubborn sounds."<sup>44</sup>

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44 Stevens (1955) 193.



# Plädoyer für Pentheus oder: Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Religion für die griechische Polis

*Hans-Joachim Gehrke*

Angesichts der wesentlichen Bedeutung der Polis als politisch-soziale Organisationsform der griechischen Kultur ist wiederum die Frage nach dem Stellenwert der Religion bzw. des Religiösen in diesem Rahmen kardinal. Dionysos und seine diversen Kulte sind dabei besonders relevant. Deren Rolle soll hier im Zentrum stehen. Dabei gehe ich von den *Bakchen* des Euripides aus und folge einer Bahn, die Henk Versnel mit dem Kapitel „ΕΙΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ. The Tragic Paradox of the *Bacchae*“ in seinem Buch *Ter Unus. Isis, Dionysos, Hermes. Three Studies in Henotheism*<sup>1</sup> geöffnet hat. Ich versuche, seine Analysen weiterzuführen und um einige wenige Beobachtungen, vor allem zur hellenistischen Polis, zu ergänzen.

Henk Versnel hat den in den *Bakchen* zugrunde liegenden Konflikt besonders klar herausgemeißelt. Wir finden zwei in sich völlig richtige und begründete Standpunkte: Hier steht der Anspruch der Polis, unter Rückgriff auf Jacob Burckhardt als „unentrinnbar“ bezeichnet, dort der Anspruch der Religion, nicht minder radikal. Schon damit demonstriert das Stück, das nun auch konkret sehr viel mit Dionysos zu tun hat, was Jean-Pierre Vernant zur Perspektive der Tragödie gesagt hat, daß es nämlich um „des problèmes, des questions sans réponse, des énigmes dont les doubles sens restent sans cesse à déchiffrer“, um Helden als „l’objet d’un débat“ gehe und daß der damit neben die alltägliche Realität gestellte Raum des Imaginären so recht zu dem Gott passe, der dahin wirke „à brouiller sans cesse les frontières de l’illusoire et du réel, à faire surgir brusquement l’ailleurs ici-bas, à nous dépendre et nous dépayser de nous-mêmes“.<sup>2</sup>

Dieser schon als solcher verstörende Grundkonflikt wird nun noch vertieft, weil hier für das Religiöse der Gott Dionysos steht, der Gott, der das ganz Andere, das Außer-Sich-Sein, ja das Perverse verkörpert oder zu verkörpern scheint. Dies wird im Drama mit größter Deutlichkeit und Wirksamkeit herausgearbeitet.<sup>3</sup> Es zeigt sich zunächst in der Gefährdung bzw. Umkehrung traditionellen Rollenverhaltens: Die orgiastischen Rituale der

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1 Versnel (1990).

2 Vernant (2007) I.1186 f.

3 Vgl. auch Versnel (1990) 134, 137 und bes. 158 ff.



Frauen sind *teletai ponerai* (260) bzw. es handelt sich um *aischrourgia* (1062). Die Frauen nehmen nämlich Wein beim Essen zu sich (260–263) und verkehren mit fremden Männern,<sup>4</sup> was durch die nächtlichen Umstände der mänadischen Handlungen (486) gefördert wird. Dies wird präzise und konkret ausgemalt; heute könnten wir auch von Männerphantasien sprechen (besonders deutlich 215–247). Auch wenn später ein Hirte, der die Frauen selbst beobachtet hat, deutlich relativiert (686–688) und sogar von *eukosmia* (693) spricht, weiß er doch um so Schlimmeres zu berichten, daß nämlich die Frauen, die im übrigen ihre Pflichten als Mütter und Hausfrauen vernachlässigen (700–702, vgl. 1236), wie Amazonen gegen Männer kämpfen, noch dazu erfolgreich, mit Thyrsosstäben gegen richtige Waffen (731–768, bes. 761–764) – *horribile dictu*.

Alte Männer, die normalerweise würdevoll auftreten (sollen), fangen an zu tanzen, und das auch noch ungeschickt. Statt Respekt zu genießen, machen sie sich damit lächerlich (248–254, 322–325, 363–365). Und dann der Fremde, der sich als Verehrer des Gottes gibt und doch der Gott selbst ist – und übrigens schon damit changierend und verwirrend!<sup>5</sup> Bei ihm sieht es so aus, als sei sein Geschlecht nicht eindeutig: Er ist ein Schönling (453 f.). Die langen Locken, die sein Gesicht umspielen, sowie seine weiße Hautfarbe trennen ihn vom Mann, der in Sport und Ringkampf trainiert ist (455–459).<sup>6</sup> So steht er der Frau näher als dem Mann. Als sich Pentheus, getragen von der voyeuristischen Lust, die Mänaden zu beobachten, auf den Trug des Fremden-Gottes einläßt, wird er, in weiblicher Kleidung, „frauengestaltig“ (*gynaikomorphos*, 855) und damit gegenüber seinen Mitbürgern lächerlich (854). Auch das wird breit ausgemalt (912–948).

Der Gott bzw. sein Anhänger ist überdies kein Grieche. Seine Fremdheit ist sogar die des Barbaren. Seine Heimat ist Lydien (462–464), was schon Klischees von Üppigkeit und Haltlosigkeit wachruft, und die orgiastischen Tänze zu seinen Ehren sind Allgemeingut bei den Barbaren, was von Pentheus nur mit deren gegenüber den Griechen geringer entwickelten Intelligenz erklärt werden kann (482 f.). Die Verehrerinnen des Gottes werden später von Agae demonstrativ als „asiatische Frauen“ angeredet (1168). So wie die Ordnung der Geschlechter ins Rutschen kommt, wird auch die Klassifizierung der Völker beeinträchtigt. Deshalb ist es nur konsequent, daß er auch ein Feind der Polis, dieser griechischen Errungenschaft, ist, deren Macht und

4 V. 223, vgl. 487 sowie 772–774.

5 Vernant (2007) I.1198 ff.

6 Zu entsprechenden Bilddarstellungen, die diesen Typ des Dionysos seit dem ausgehenden 5. Jh. zeigen, s. Schlesier/Schwarzmaier (2008), 26 f. Abb. 8 f.; 39 Abb. 9 = Kat. Nr. 20; 44 Abb. 1; 46 Abb. 4; Kat. Nr. 38. Vgl. generell Grassinger/Scholl (2008) 110.

Rechtsanspruch wiederum Pentheus verkörpert (489, 503–505), schließlich sogar als einziger (963).<sup>7</sup> Dies kann ihm freilich von anderer Seite – der der Dionysosverehrerinnen – bestritten werden. Aus deren Sicht ist er *atheos, anomos adikos*,<sup>8</sup> und gerade darin liegt die Provokation des Politischen und des Politikers.

Das Umstürzende gerade dieses Gottes und seines Kultes, das Perverse im Wortsinne, wird aber besonders im Spiel mit der Vernunft und der Klugheit deutlich, auf die die Griechen, zumal in Zeiten der Sophistik, so stolz waren (482 f.). Daß die ordentliche Einteilung zwischen Vernunft und Vernebelung, zwischen Klarheit und Wahn, Weisheit und Torheit gestört ist, ja daß sich Klugheit und Irrationalität geradezu umkehren lassen, wird schon zu Beginn des Stückes, in dem Trialog zwischen Pentheus, Kadmos und Teiresias, überdeutlich dramatisiert (198 ff., 326 f., 330 ff., 358 f., 369), gleich in dem ersten Chorlied widergespiegelt (386–396, bes. 395, 427–431), immer wieder aufgegriffen und gegen Ende recht deiktisch präsentiert (997–1011): Pentheus, der sich auf seine klugen Überlegungen viel zugute hält und die Dummheit der anderen attackiert, ist ein Überschlauer, nur vermeintlich Kluger; in Wirklichkeit ist er ein Rasender, der außer sich ist (326 f., 359) – dem also genau die Qualität der *mania* und der *ekstasis* zuzuschreiben ist, die die Adepten des Dionysos auszeichnet, und der geradezu einem Monster gleichkommt (537–544).

Demgegenüber erscheint der Gott gerade in der *mania* als der wahre Seher, der sogar in den Körper des Anhängers schlüpfen und in diesem ekstatischen Ineinswerden<sup>9</sup> die Sehergabe weitergeben kann (298–301). Während die – vermeintliche – Klugheit des Pentheus Wahn ist, ist der Wahn des Gottes also echte Klugheit, ist der Gott des Rasens der Weise und Beherrschte (641, 655 f.). So fehlt dem Pentheus auch das Verständnis für die Mysterien des Gottes, wie in der ersten Stichomythie zwischen beiden sichtbar wird (470–476): Er ist *abakcheutos*, nicht vom Gott enthusiastisiert, und nicht fromm (*asebes*). So kann er ihn auch nicht sehen (502). Kurzum: „Dem Toren scheint, wer Weisheit spricht, ein Tor“ (480).

Der Gott kann aber auch selbst gegenüber Wahn und Ekstase die Vernunft vertreten, in dem Moment, da jene dem Pentheus verhängnisvoll werden. Hier argumentiert er wie Pentheus: Vernünftig bleibe er, wenn er keine Frauenkleider anziehe. Andernfalls sei er außer sich (850–853). Das gehört aber letztlich zum Trug und zur List des Gottes selbst, der den von seiner Lust und dem Gotte umnebelten Herrscher, wie wir schon sahen, zunächst als

7 Vgl. aber auch den Hirten, der seine Kollegen zum Angriff auf die Mänaden aufruft und als gleichsam politiknah charakterisiert wird (717 f.).

8 *Bacch.* 1015, vgl. Versnel (1990) 175.

9 Hierzu s. jetzt Schlesier (2008a).

„frauengestaltig“ lächerlich macht (854 f.) und dann seinem schrecklichen Ende zuführt. Hier betont er dann, daß er jetzt – in der Umnachtung – seine vorherige geistige Erkrankung abgelegt habe (947 f.). Die höhere Wahrheit und Weisheit des göttlichen Wahns wird dann im folgenden Chorlied (997–1011) und ganz prägnant am Ende des Botenberichts über das gräßliche Ende des Pentheus (1150–1153) wieder aufgenommen.

Wenn sich Dionysos und das Dionysische so fassen und verstehen, so darbieten und inszenieren lassen konnten, wie in den *Bakchen* geschehen, dann konnte in ihm auch ein für die Polis und ihre Ordnung zutiefst subversives Potential stecken. Mindestens konnte man eine solche Auffassung vertreten, wie das ja im Falle von Pentheus deutlich wird. Das läßt sich noch vertiefen, wenn man von der Seite der Polis her an die Sache herangeht und dabei, was ich nun tun will, auf unsere empirischen Kenntnisse dieser Gemeinschaftsform zurückgreift. Verlassen wir also für einen Moment den Raum des Imaginären der Tragödie und schauen wir auf die Polis und ihre Grundsätze und Regeln selbst.

Hier zeigt sich nun, daß der von Jacob Burckhardt ins Spiel gebrachte Begriff des „Unentrinnbaren“ gerade auch in neueren Forschungen zur griechischen Polisbildung und Gesetzgebung bestätigt und zugleich modifiziert wurde: Es gab keine Totalität im Zugriff der Gemeinschaft auf den Einzelnen. Dazu mangelte es häufig an den Möglichkeiten der Durchsetzung. Es gab aber einen solchen Zugriff dem Grundsatz nach, insofern die Polis beanspruchte, über Leben und Tod der ihr Angehörenden zu entscheiden, und indem sie dazu in Form von Gesetzen Regeln fixierte und auch Kontrollmechanismen etablierte. Insofern war sie der Idee nach eine Zwangsgemeinschaft. Es ging aber auch um einiges, nämlich um das Wohlergehen, ja letztlich die schiere Existenz der Gemeinschaft. Ausgerechnet der zum Tode verurteilte Sokrates hat dies im *Kriton* unterstrichen. Das mag nun ein Platonischer Sokrates sein. Doch schon der athenische Gesetzgeber Solon hatte davon gesprochen, er habe *dike* und *bia*, Recht und Gewalt, vereint, und der athenische Politiker Demosthenes arbeitete diese Dominanz der Polis-Gesetze in seiner Rede gegen Timokrates markant heraus.<sup>10</sup>

Grundsätzlich konnten alle Phänomene des menschlichen Lebens, insbesondere des Zusammenlebens, der Regulierung durch Gesetze unterworfen werden. Angesichts von deren existentieller Bedeutung konzentrierten sich die Griechen aber auf zwei Bereiche: Zum einen blickten sie auf besondere Konfliktpotentiale, die der Gemeinschaft gefährlich werden konnten, zum anderen schufen sie besonders penible Regeln, wo es um den Verkehr mit den Göttern ging, die sogenannten *leges sacrae*. Daß die Gemeinschaft auch vor dem Religiösen nicht Halt machte, unterstreicht den erwähnten Totalitäts-

10 Hierzu s. generell, mit weiteren Hinweisen, Gehrke (1995) u. (2000).

anspruch. Denn es war besonders gefährlich, wenn man die Götter kränkte, und wenn dies nur einer aus der Gemeinde tat und sich diese darum nicht kümmerte, traf es sie in ihrer Gesamtheit.

So konnte man – und es handelt sich um den Platonischen Euthyphron, der hier für eine verbreitete Ansicht, eine *doxa*, steht – mit folgenden Worten Frömmigkeit definieren:

Wenn jemand versteht, betend und opfernd den Göttern Angenehmes (*kecharismena*) zu reden und zu tun, das ist fromm (*ta hosia*), und das errettet die Häuser der einzelnen und das Gemeinwohl der Staaten (*ta koina ton poleon*). Das Gegenteil aber des ihnen Angenehmen ist das Ruchlose (*asebe*), wodurch auch alles umgestürzt und zerstört wird. (Platon, *Euthyphr.* 14b)

Hier, eben hier, konnte die Gemeinschaft nicht mit sich spaßen lassen. Gerade hier kommt zum Ausdruck, daß sie immer auch eine religiöse Gemeinschaft war. In dem – wohl auf die mittlere Stoa zurückgehenden – Konzept der *theologia tripartita*, das M. Terentius Varro in seinen *Antiquitates Rerum Divinarum* entfaltet, ist dies die *theologia politike* bzw. *civilis*. Und in ihr geht es darum, „welche Götter von Staats wegen der jeweilige Bürger verehren und welche heiligen Handlungen und Opfer er machen soll“.<sup>11</sup>

Da die Gemeinschaft in religiösen Angelegenheiten nicht gleichgültig sein und nicht über eventuelle Verstöße hinwegsehen konnte, gab es in Athen und anderen griechischen Poleis ein spezielles Delikt, die Asebie, die in einem öffentlichen Prozeß auf Leben und Tod verfolgt wurde.<sup>12</sup> Selbst wenn man die Varronische Formulierung als Einschränkung auf rituelles Handeln deutet, war dieses Delikt keineswegs klar definiert. Im Grunde konnte jeder religiöse Regelverstoß, oder was dafür gelten konnte und bei den jeweiligen Richtern durch Urteil entsprechend bestätigt wurde, damit verfolgt werden. Der Prozeß gegen Sokrates liefert dafür ein treffendes Beispiel. Auch wenn wir zu Recht eine deutliche Unterscheidung zwischen der Polis und der Kirche mit ihrer Inquisition machen, so liegt hierin durchaus etwas Inquisitorisches, auch wenn es nicht um Dogmen und ‚Wahrheiten‘ geht: In religiösen Dingen besonders aufzupassen war durchaus Sache der Polis.

Dies verleiht nun dem in den *Bakchen* durchgespielten Konflikt bzw. dem dortigen Konfliktpotential noch eine zusätzliche Brisanz, geht es doch nicht nur um die Ordnung schlechthin, sondern auch um deren religiöse und insofern ganz existentielle Position. In der erwähnten Charakterisierung des

11 Zitiert nach Assmann (1984) 18, vgl. auch – aus religionssoziologischer Sicht – Eßbach (2008) 132 ff., mit in diesem Zusammenhang interessanten Bemerkungen zum Widerspruch zwischen dieser *theologia* und dem mit der *theologia mythike* bzw. *fabularis*, also dem künstlerisch-literarischen Aspekt der Religion, verbundenen *enthousiamos*, welcher ja auch im Dionysischen eine Rolle spielt.

12 Hierzu s. besonders Versnel (1990) 23 ff.

Pentheus als „gottlos“ (*atheos*), damit aber „gesetzlos“ (*anomos*) und „rechtlos“ (*adikos*) durch den bakchantischen Chor (1015) kommt diese Herausforderung prägnant zum Ausdruck.<sup>13</sup> So paßt es vollkommen zu den Prinzipien der Polis, wenn Pentheus dem Teiresias vorhält, er wolle einen „neuen Gott (*daimon*)“ einführen (256) – geschrieben wenige Jahre, bevor Sokrates ganz wirklich deshalb angeklagt und zum Tode verurteilt wurde. Wenn Teiresias dem entgegenhält, daß Dionysos ein für die Menschen ganz besonders bedeutsamer Gott sei (274–309), „groß in Hellas“ (309), und dem Pentheus, der es doch besonders gut mit der Polis meint, Wahnzustände vorwirft, die medikamentös nicht therapierbar seien (326 f.), wird das noch verstärkt.

Nicht nur die Ordnung der Polis ist gestört und das komplexe Regelwerk der Götterverehrung ist beeinträchtigt durch diesen Gott. Er ist ein besonders großer Gott, im Strafen wie im Erfreuen,<sup>14</sup> wie in der großen (Un-)Tat der Agaue sichtbar wird (1198 f.), als Zeichen der Bedeutung und Strafgewalt des Gottes (1225 f., 1236 f., 1249 f.). Er ist so gewaltig, daß er den ganzen Menschen will, ihn der Polis völlig entzieht: „Dionysos, Dionysos hat Macht über mich, nicht Theben“, ruft der Chor aus (1037 f.), und Versnel hebt hier zu Recht, unter Hinweis auf Vernant, den Totalitätsanspruch des Gottes hervor, der den ganzen Menschen und die gesamte Gemeinschaft beansprucht.<sup>15</sup> Das ist definitiv für die Polis ganz inakzeptabel: Sie wollte und mußte – um den Preis ihrer Existenz – Maßstab und Bezugspunkt für die Gemeinschaftsbildung sein; und sie ist dies auch in der Tat gewesen. Beides, die Herrschaft des Gottes in der Welt und die Herrschaft der Gesetze in der Polis, zusammenzubringen, mußte einer Quadratur des Kreises gleichkommen – so konnte man die *Bakchen* verstehen, als dichterischen Ausdruck für die Inkompatibilität von Polis und Dionysoskult.

Pentheus, der Repräsentant der Gemeinschaft, hätte also – nicht nur im Drama im Dionysostheater, sondern auch vor Gericht in einer *graphe asebeias* vor den Geschworenen – etwa wie folgt plädieren können: „*Andres dikastai*. Es ist schon schlimm genug, daß hier einfach ein neuer Gott eingeführt wird. Daß es auch noch so einer ist wie dieser, macht es noch schlimmer. Er dreht unsere Werte um: Frauen vernachlässigen ihre Pflichten und lassen ihren Trieben freien Lauf, ehrwürdige Greise machen sich lächerlich, unsere griechische Vernunft wird durch barbarisches Treiben ersetzt. Was aber am schlimmsten ist: Er untergräbt das Fundament unserer gesamten sozialen Ordnung. Statt Loyalität unserer Polis gegenüber zu üben, wie es für deren Wohlergehen zwingend notwendig ist, sollen wir uns ihm allein unterwerfen. Das ist schlimmster Fundamentalismus. Es zerstört nicht nur unsere Ordnung,

13 Vgl. Versnel (1990) 175 f.

14 V. 860 f.; im folgenden Chorlied wird das gleichsam orchestriert.

15 Versnel (1990) 186 mit Anm. 307, vgl. auch Vernant (2007) I.1197.

sondern weckt auch den Zorn der Götter, die eifersüchtig auf ihren Rang achten. Hier hilft nur die Todesstrafe.“

Vergleichbar hätte man im realen Athen argumentieren können. Das Gegenplädoyer liefern die *Bakchen*. Doch wie hätte ein wirkliches Gegenplädoyer ausgesehen? Das gab es nicht, denn der Dionysoskult wurde nie als ‚Neuheit‘ vor Gericht gezogen, obwohl, ausweislich der *Bakchen* des Euripides jedenfalls, bekannt war, wie umstürzlerisch-gefährlich er sein konnte. Er war Bestandteil der Poliskulte und damit des Polislebens. Und gerade weil dies angesichts der in den *Bakchen* reflektierten Debatten alles andere als selbstverständlich war, muß man erklären, wie das möglich war bzw. funktionierte. Denn was Euripides zugespitzt hatte, war mit dem Gott des Andersseins, des Außer-Sich-Seins, auch ganz konkret gegeben. Gehen wir aus von dem, was Jean-Pierre Vernant in diesem Zusammenhang ermittelt hat:<sup>16</sup>

Prägnant erscheint Dionysos als Gott der Alterität. Er entfaltet seine Macht gegenüber den Mitgliedern der Gemeinschaft, Männern wie Frauen, und nicht zuletzt auch den Familienmüttern, indem er in ihren Alltag die unvorhersehbaren Dimensionen „*de l'ailleurs*“ bringt (I.1197). Obgleich ein alter Gott, der namentlich schon aus der mykenischen Epoche bekannt ist, ist er immer auch der Andere, der Fremde, der Neue, der kommt. Er ist der Gott der Maske, der sich verbirgt und andere täuscht, zugleich aber auch den Sichtkontakt mit den Menschen sucht (I.1198, so auch II.1799). Er enthüllt sich, indem er sich versteckt und damit doch erscheint, als Gott der *parousia* (I.1245 f.). Dionysos verkörpert die komplette Alterität, er kann seine Gegner vernichten, aber ebenso seine Anhänger mittels der Ekstase in eine vollkommene und freudige „*communion*“ mit sich versetzen (I.1201).

Ähnlich, wenn auch ohne die besondere Akzentuierung der Alterität, ist das Bild, das die aktuelle Forschung liefert. Nehmen wir der Einfachheit halber den Katalog der Berliner Dionysos-Ausstellung, besonders die Beiträge von Albert Henrichs, Renate Schlesier und Susanne Gödde, aus denen sich aus meiner Sicht folgendes ergibt: Bei den Mänaden geht es ganz offensichtlich um ein ekstatisches Ineinswerden mit dem Gott: Man tritt, als *mainomenos* und vom Gott in diesen Zustand versetzt, aus sich heraus – also in Trance, wie wir sagen würden – und nimmt ihn damit in sich auf. Dies wird gefördert durch die nächtlichen, auf Initiationen beruhenden und im Gruppentanz vollzogenen Rituale.<sup>17</sup>

Dabei kommt es nicht, wie manche Männerphantasien suggerieren und infolgedessen im griechischen *imaginaire* überdeutlich sichtbar gemacht wird – man denke an Pentheus in den *Bakchen* (215–225 besonders) oder an die

16 Zum Folgenden s. bes. Vernant (2007) I.1197 ff., II.1422 ff., 1476, 1487, 1606 ff., 1799. Weiteres mit detaillierten Hinweisen bei Versnel (1990) 131 ff.

17 Schlesier (2008a) 28.

zahlreichen Satyrscenen auf Vasenbildern<sup>18</sup> –, zu sexuellen Ausschweifungen. Vielmehr geht es um eine besondere „Seligkeit“<sup>19</sup> in der Imagination. Deren Gipfel ist die Einbildung, daß man den Gott liebt, mit dem man eins wird.<sup>20</sup> Deshalb wird auch die Epiphanie des Gottes so stark betont.<sup>21</sup> In diesem Zusammenhang ist die Maske des Gottes wichtig, die dessen Anwesenheit suggeriert, aber doch zugleich deren imaginierten Charakter betont.<sup>22</sup> Neben diese ekstatische Vereinigung in Trance und Einbildung läßt sich die vergleichbare Erfahrung von Alkohol- und Geschlechtsgeuß stellen. Das kommt in der Verbindung von Wein und Liebe mit Dionysos zum Ausdruck,<sup>23</sup> die ja auch ihrerseits für Rausch und Ekstase stehen.

Beides darf aber nicht miteinander verquickt werden. Die Erfahrung der Trance im Kult, wie sie oben umschrieben wurde, mag ‚Seligkeitserfahrungen‘ mit *sex and drugs* ähneln. Doch ist dies, anders als schon griechische Männerphantasien zeigen, nicht zwingend verbunden. Wenn beides nebeneinander genannt wird, dann ist das zunächst im Sinne einer Analogie zu verstehen. Man stellt diese her, damit die Wirkung der Trance vorstellbar wird. Freilich konnte man dieser mit solchen Hilfsmitteln auch Vorschub leisten. Im Kult des Dionysos spielten Wein (und Sex) auch ganz konkret eine Rolle, aber offenbar primär in den männlichen Kontexten des Symposions, nicht in den mänadischen Kulturen. Dies mag die Bedenklichkeit der Kulte für die Polis im Vergleich zu dem zugespitzten Konflikt der *Bakchen* etwas reduziert haben. Dennoch blieb das Unberechenbare, Unkontrollierbare, Geheimnisvolle der dionysischen Kultübung mit ihrem Zugriff auf die Person und mit ihren eigenen Ritualen einer eigenen Gemeinschaft neben der Polis. Damit stellt sich die weiterführende Frage nun ganz konkret, wie die Polis mit der Integration solcher Kulte eine *coincidentia oppositorum* erreicht hat.

Zunächst läßt sich am Beispiel Athens konstatieren, daß und wie der Dionysoskult bzw. die verschiedenen dionysischen Praktiken und Kulthandlungen im offiziellen Rahmen der Poliskulte figurierte.<sup>24</sup> Dies geschah über einen längeren Zeitraum hinweg, vor allem in den aufeinander folgenden Monaten Poseideon, Gamelion, Anthesterion und Elaphebolion (Dezember/Januar bis März/April) mit den Ländlichen Dionysien, den Lenäen, den Anthesterien und den Großen oder Städtischen Dionysien.<sup>25</sup> Mindestens letztere

18 Schlesier/Schwarzmaier (2008) 18 ff.

19 Schlesier (2008a) 40.

20 Vgl. Philostrat, *Eikones* 2.17.9 mit Henrichs (2008) 20.

21 Sophokles, *Ant.* 1115 ff. mit Henrichs (2008) 25 f.

22 Vgl. Gödde (2008) 95; zur Maske s. auch generell Vernant (2007) I.1198, II.2055 f.

23 Solon fr. 26 West mit Henrichs (2008) 24.

24 Hierzu s. generell Vernant (2007) II.1657 ff.

25 Vgl. den Überblick bei Gödde (2008) 98 f.



unterstreichen schon mit ihrem Namen die große Bedeutung des Rituals und damit des Gottes im Rahmen der Polis.

Besonders instruktiv sind in diesem Rahmen die Anthesterien, die ja sogar einem Monat des staatlichen Kalenders ihren Namen gegeben haben und von Thukydides als „älteste Dionysien“ (2.15.4) bezeichnet werden. In ihnen kommt das Anders- und Fremdartige des Gottes, seine Ankunft und Aufnahme, seine umstürzlerische und orgiastisch-rauschhafte Wirkung in allen Details des Rituals zum Tragen.<sup>26</sup> Es ist aber gerade damit ein zutiefst integratives und für die Identität der Gemeinschaft (übrigens auch über Athen hinaus im Bereich der Ioner) wesentliches Fest.

Dies wird vor allem in einem Akt deutlich, der wohl am mittleren Tag des dreitägigen Festes stattfand: Der neue und fremde Gott zieht in die Stadt ein und heiratet dort im *boukoleion*, im ‚Haus des Rinderhirten‘, die *basilinna*, die ‚Königin‘.<sup>27</sup> Das ist die Gattin des in religiösen Dingen wichtigsten Repräsentanten der Polis Athen, des Archon Basileus. Diese ‚Heilige Hochzeit‘ (*hieros gamos*) zeigt in sinnfälliger Weise, wie die kultische Integration des Dionysos in Athen funktionierte. Was im Theben der *Bakchen* grandios scheiterte, war hier schon längst gelungen: der Ausgleich, die Versöhnung zwischen den entgegengestrebenden Kräften der Polis und des Gottes. Es handelt sich im übrigen auch – es ist ja hier eine Frau, die gleichsam für die Polis steht – um ein im Hinblick auf die Geschlechterordnung integratives Fest. Ist es zuviel gesagt, wenn man resümiert, daß in dieser Hochzeit die ekstatische Einheit der Mänaden mit Dionysos, die auch als sexuelle Vereinigung mit dem Gott imaginiert werden kann,<sup>28</sup> zur göttlichen Ehe sublimiert wird, und daß gerade darin die Verbindung zwischen den unerhörten Provokationen des Gottes und der Ordnung der Polis rituell nachgespielt und symbolisch demonstriert wird?

Auf welche Weise dieser Ritus und andere dionysische Kulte konkret eingeführt wurden, entzieht sich weitestgehend unserer Kenntnis. Viele mögen zwar einst neu gewesen oder mindestens als neu eingerichtet aufgefaßt worden sein, haben aber doch wohl seit Menschengedenken bestanden, wie Thukydides’ Hinweis auf das Alter der Anthesterien signalisiert.<sup>29</sup> Die Einführung der Großen Dionysien bringt man gemeinhin bekanntlich mit Peisistratos in Verbindung, ohne daß hier wirklich Klarheit besteht. Wir wissen aber aus der Zeit der Demokratie, also einer geordneten Polisverfassung, daß es in Athen, wie auch sonst in griechischen Poleis, klare Regularien für die

26 Vgl. die Zusammenstellung von C. Auffarth in: *DNP* I 732 s.v. Anthesteria.

27 Hierzu s. jetzt auch Steinhart (2004) 88 ff. und den Beitrag von Susanne Moraw in diesem Band.

28 Vgl. oben Anm. 20.

29 Zum Alter s. auch Vernant (2007) I.1198.



Einführung neuer Kulte und damit neuer Götter gab, wie es etwa im Falle der Kybele, des Asklepios und der Bendis deutlich wird.<sup>30</sup>

Um die Verbindung zwischen der Polis und noch so widerstrebenden, sagen wir: politisch unkorrekten Kulturen wie dem des Dionysos zu stiften, die darin liegende Quadratur des Kreises zu realisieren, hatte die Polis Instrumentarien und ein klares *Procedere*, nicht zuletzt mit dem, was sie besonders charakterisiert, mit den Gesetzen. Daß die Gemeinschaft ganz selbstverständlich Gesetze auch und gerade in sakralen Angelegenheiten erließ, daß sie sich hier komplett zuständig sah, so daß in der athenischen Volksversammlung der erste Tagesordnungspunkt immer „religiöse Angelegenheiten“ (*ta hiera*) war, gab den Rahmen vor.

Was den Grundkonflikt, von dem wir sprachen, noch vertiefte, nämlich die Tatsache, daß die Polis auch eine religiöse Anstalt war, erleichterte auf der anderen Seite den Ausgleich und die Integration. Selbstverständlich blieben auch hier die Götter selbst nicht ausgespart. Wie häufig in der Gesetzgebung und stets in der sakralen Legislation wurde hier auch das Orakel befragt, also der göttliche Wille erkundet. Das war in diesem Zusammenhang besonders wichtig. Aber auch damit war der Kreis der Polisgemeinde, auch im politischen Sinne, nicht verlassen; denn über die Auslegung der Orakel und die daraus resultierenden konkreten Maßnahmen entschieden wiederum die Instanzen der Polis, wie Kai Trampedach in seiner noch ungedruckten Habilitationsschrift über „Politische Mantik“ jüngst eindrucksvoll gezeigt hat.

Bei Dionysos selbst war das zur Zeit der *Bakchen*, wie schon angedeutet wurde, offenkundig ausgestanden. Seine Kulte waren etabliert. Er trug aber mit dem Signum der Alterität auch stets das des Kommenden und Neuen, so daß das Problem des Neuen, einer neuen, anderen und stärkeren, forcierten und fordernden Religiosität, wie Henk Versnel überzeugend gezeigt hat (bes. 204 f.), von Euripides in den *Bakchen* gerade am Beispiel des Dionysos durchdekliniert werden konnte. Es ist aber ebenfalls klar – auch das hat Versnel an Hand verschiedener Beispiele deutlich herausgearbeitet –, daß die griechischen Städte mit neuen Kulturen, auch exotisch-rauschhaften und insofern radikalen und sozusagen barbarischen Riten und Göttern in diesem Sinne sehr gut fertig geworden sind.<sup>31</sup> Ähnlich dem, was wir bei den Anthesterien in Athen beobachten können, werden diese Kulte durch die Aufnahme in die Gemeinschaft und die damit einhergehenden symbolhaften Akte entschärft, kanalisiert, meinethalben: zivilisiert, ohne damit ihre gefühlte und gemeinte Substanz aufzugeben.

30 Versnel (1990) 105 ff.; weiteres (zu Kotys, Sabazios, Isodaites) ebd. 113 ff.

31 Versnel (1990) 141 ff. unter Hinweis auf ein wichtiges Beispiel aus Magnesia am Mäander.

Welche Rolle Tanz und Musik dabei spielten und wie eng das mit der griechischen Sozialisation verbunden war, hat schon vor langer Zeit Max Weber gesehen. In seiner geradezu schon klassischen *Religionssoziologie* betont er, übrigens historisch-vergleichend, die Griechen hätten die „rein musikalisch-rhythmisch erzeugten Formen der Ekstase geduldet“ und das „Ethos‘ der Musik als ‚politisch‘ richtig abgewogen“. „Das Hellenentum schätzte, trotz aller Abneigung des Stadtpatriziates gegen den dionysischen Rauschkult, die Ekstase, die akut orgiastische als göttlichen Rausch, die milde Form der Euphorie, wie sie vor allem Rhythmus und Musik vermittelten, als ein Innenwerden des spezifisch Göttlichsten im Menschen. Gerade die Herrenschrift der Hellenen lebte mit dieser milden Form der Ekstasis von Kindheit auf“. <sup>32</sup> Erst unlängst hat Barbara Kowalzig in ihrem wichtigen Buch *Singing for the Gods* auf die Bedeutung der Chorlieder und des Tanzes für die Verehrung der Götter und die soziale Integration zugleich verwiesen. <sup>33</sup>

Die Polis zeigte sich jedenfalls stets in der Lage, mit solchen religiösen Phänomenen auch nach ihren Regeln angemessen umzugehen. Das gelang auch in einer Zeit, ich meine die Epoche des Hellenismus, als die Griechen noch mehr als zuvor mit anderen religiösen Formen konfrontiert waren und dabei die Götter gleichsam immer größer und bedeutender wurden, die allgewaltige Isis, die machtvollen Sonnen- und Himmelsgötter der Aramäer und Babylonier oder die vielgestaltigen starken göttlichen Frauen und Mütter in Anatolien und Syrien. Es war eine solche Zeit, eine solche Religiosität und eine solche Götterart, die Euripides in den *Bakchen* nach Versnel's ingenüöser Interpretation (189 ff.) bereits vorweggenommen hatte: Hellenismus avant la lettre. Die Polisgemeinschaften waren imstande, auch dies zu integrieren.

Dabei half ihnen gewiß das alte Muster im Umgang mit den Mysterienreligionen. <sup>34</sup> Hier hatte man es seit je mit starken und besonders wirksamen Varianten von Gottheiten zu tun, nicht zuletzt solchen, die mit den Menschen und ihrem Leben, auch über den Tod hinaus, besonders eng verbunden waren. Über sie wurden spezielle Geschichten erzählt, und sie wurden in aparten Ritualen und Spielen verehrt. In ihren Kulturen stand neben der Polisgemeinde in der Regel eine Gemeinschaft von speziell Eingeweihten, die mit jener nicht zusammenfiel, auch wenn sie mit ihr vielfältig verflochten war. Solches ließ sich vielfältig erweitern, und so kam es zu einem bunten Nebeneinander von *demos* und *thiasos*, *orgeones* und wie die diversen Gruppen auch immer hießen, von politischer und kultischer Gemeinde – ohne daß damit die politische Gemeinde ihren religiösen Charakter verlor.

32 Weber (1972) 327, 335.

33 Kowalzig (2007); vgl. auch Steinhart (2004) 8 ff.

34 Zu den mystischen Aspekten bei Dionysos s. Versnel (1990) 130 ff.

Abschließend sei dieses Spektrum aus meiner Sicht am Beispiel der Atargatis, der Syrischen Göttin, und ihrer Aufnahme in der griechischen Welt illustriert.<sup>35</sup> Auf Delos kann man das am besten studieren. Hier existierte mindestens seit dem Anfang des 2. Jahrhunderts ein syrisches Heiligtum bzw. ein Kultplatz der Göttin. Ihre Verehrer waren in Delos ansässige hellenisierte Syrer aus dem Ursprungsort des Kultes Hierapolis-Bambyke. Sie waren in griechischem Sinne als Religionsverein (*thiasos*) organisiert und praktizierten auf Delos, in einem eigens von ihnen angelegten und mehrfach erweiterten Heiligtum, Kulthandlungen ähnlich denen, die sie traditionell gewohnt waren, in Form von Prozessionen, Kultaufführungen und Banketten. Am Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts erhielt der Kult einen eher offiziellen Charakter innerhalb der attischen Kulte. Zu den Verehrern gehörten nun Athener und Angehörige anderer auf Delos ansässiger Gruppen. Und die Kulthandlungen wurden von einem Priester geleitet, der Athener war. Zugleich änderte sich die Anrede bzw. der Name der Göttin: Aus Atargatis oder Syria Theos wurde jetzt Hagne Aphrodite oder Hagne Theos.

Delos als wichtiger Hafen- und Handelsplatz ist für eine derartige Übernahme und Anpassung ein naheliegender Ort. Doch die Rezeptionsdynamik war in diesem Falle wesentlich größer. Der Kult der Syrischen Göttin ist in Griechenland schon früher belegt. Er ist sogar im Binnenland bereits im 3. Jahrhundert fest verankert. Das zeigt sich im aitolischen Phistyon.

Dort heißt die Göttin ‚Aphrodita Syria Phistyis‘ oder ‚Aphrodita Syria en Hiaridai‘, also auch nach der Polis selbst bzw. einem Stadtteil, in dem sich ihr Heiligtum befand. Gerade das zeigt, wie stark die ‚fremde‘ Göttin bereits mit der Polis verschmolzen und in das öffentliche Leben integriert war. Aus anderen Bezeichnungen allerdings läßt sich schließen, daß sie auch gleichzeitig als Doppelperson, als Einheit von zwei Gottheiten gedacht werden konnte, nämlich als „Mutter der Götter“ (*meter theon*) und „Jungfrau“ (*parthenos*). Vorstellungen von Jungfräulichkeit und Reinheit sind auch sonst mit der griechischen Atargatis verbunden.

Die hier schon greifbare Nähe zu Demeter – und damit auch zu deren Tochter Kore – ist nun auch sonst für die Dea Syria vielfältig belegt. Dazu paßt vorzüglich, daß für sie auch konkret Mysterien bezeugt sind, und zwar im peloponnesischen Thuria, wo die Syria Theos einen Tempel hatte. Zu den Mysterien, die man ihr dort darbrachte, gehörten auch Spiele und eine Prozession, was an die eleusinischen Mysterien erinnert. Im benachbarten Andania gab es ebenfalls Mysterien, die man auf eine Inspiration seitens Eleusis zurückführte und die ihrerseits einen Einfluß auf die Mysterien von Thuria

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35 Zum Folgenden s. Gehrke (2009), mit den entsprechenden Details und Belegen.

gehabt haben sollen.<sup>36</sup> Viele Elemente sind hier jeweils miteinander verschmolzen, nicht zuletzt auf der Ebene spezifischer Kultpraktiken. Gerade aber die Mysterien hatte man nicht aus Bambyke übernommen. Sie sind griechische Zutat bei einer Göttin, die man in die Nähe griechischer Mysterien-gottheiten stellen und auf diese Weise integrieren konnte.

Was mit Atargatis und ihrer Verehrung geschah, war im einzelnen recht komplex. Es war aber immer in das Gefüge der Polis eingebunden, in der solche Gottheiten und Feste zu den wichtigsten gehörten, wie besonders bei Pausanias sichtbar wird, der im übrigen bezeugt, wie bedeutsam und charakteristisch das noch in der Kaiserzeit war. Nicht zuletzt damit bewies die griechische Polis auch im Hellenismus ihre Vitalität. Problematisch wurde es erst, als sie es mit einem ganz großen Gott zu tun bekam, der keine anderen Götter neben sich duldete. Doch auch hier ergaben sich Gemeinsamkeiten: Einen Gott, der erschien und starb und dann wiedererstand, und eine Mutter, die zugleich Jungfrau war, gab es hier wie dort. So mußte man neue Mechanismen entwickeln, um auch solche religiösen Vorstellungen zu integrieren. Aber der neue Herr sollte sich *à la longue* doch als stärker erweisen.

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36 Pausanias 4.33.4 ff. mit 4.2.6 u. 3.10, vgl. den Überblick bei A. Chaniotis, in: *DNP I* 681 f. s.v. Andania B. Mysterien.





## Hellenistic and Roman Paradigms



# Inszenierungen von Göttlichkeit. Die politische Rolle von Dionysos/Bacchus in der römischen Literatur

*Therese Fuhrer*

## 1. Bacchus: Liber Pater oder „Neuer Dionysos“?

Nach Rom kam Dionysos, zusammen mit Demeter und Kore, angeblich auf Weisung der Sibyllinischen Bücher im Jahr 496 v. Chr. Diónyšos wurde zu Dionýšus, meist jedoch wurde er mit seinem häufigsten Zweitnamen Bacchus benannt.<sup>1</sup> Im Zuge der Hellenisierung der altrömischen Bauerngottheiten wurde Bacchus mit dem altitalischen Gott Liber gleichgesetzt, der mit Libera ein Götterpaar bildete, wie es für die frühe römische Religion typisch ist. Liber und Libera wurden zusammen mit Ceres mit der genannten Göttertrias Dionysos, Demeter und Kore identifiziert, und die drei Gottheiten erhielten einen Tempel am Fuße des Aventin, mit Blick auf das Marranatal zwischen Aventin und Palatin.<sup>2</sup>

Dionysos wird also in Rom zu einem Bauerngott, der in einer Partnerschaft lebt. Als Liber trägt er auch häufig den Beinamen Pater, der sogar zum Bestandteil des Namens wird: Somit wird Dionysos in Rom auch zum Vatergott. Ihm und seiner Partnerin Libera zu Ehren wurde im März das Fest der Liberalia gefeiert, an dem alte Frauen in der Funktion von Liber-Priesterinnen Opferkuchen verkauften, die sie anschließend auf ihren Feuerbecken für die Käufer opferten.<sup>3</sup> Selbst wenn er als Schutzgott der vegetativen und animalischen Fruchtbarkeit auch mit phallischen Umzügen gefeiert wurde,<sup>4</sup> war der römische Liber Pater kein differenter Gott im Pantheon der römischen Götter.

Dionysos ließ sich aber nicht so einfach romanisieren und schon gar nicht ganz domestizieren oder ‚verbäuerlichen‘. In Rom und in den Landstädten Italiens fanden offenbar im Rahmen des Bacchuskultes weiterhin auch orgi-

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1 Zur lateinischen Nomenklatur vgl. Wacht (2010) 80.

2 Zu Tempel und Kult vgl. Pailler (1988) 458–465; Wiseman (2008) 131–137.

3 So Varro, *Ling.* 6.14.7; Ovid, *Fast.* 3.713–770; u. a. Dazu Wacht/Rickert (2010) 80.

4 Der Name Liber wird von Varro im sexuellen Sinn als ‚Befreier‘ vom männlichen Samen gedeutet (*Antiquitates*, fr. 93 Cardauns; vgl. Aug. *De civ. D.* 7.2 f.), wohl erst später wie griechisch *Lyaios* im Sinn der Befreiung von sozialen Zwängen durch den Weingenuß (vgl. z. B. Plut. *Mor.* 289a = *Quaest. Rom.* 104). Dazu Wacht/Rickert (2010) 79 f.



astische Feiern statt, gegen die der römische Senat im Jahr 186 v. Chr. mit restriktiven Vorschriften einschritt.<sup>5</sup> Die Bacchanalia wurden offensichtlich als ernsthafte Bedrohung der politischen, sozialen und religiösen Ordnung der italischen Städte wahrgenommen. In der literarischen Tradition wird das Vorgehen des Senats zum Symbol des römischen Widerstands gegen fremde Kulte, der Begriff ‚Bacchanalia‘ zum Synonym für religiöse Exzesse, für die Gefährdung der Moral und damit des Staates.<sup>6</sup>

In der Folge wurde Dionysos in Rom tatsächlich zu einem differenten Gott, ja sogar zu einem teilweise ausgegrenzten Gott. Durch die Identifikation mit Liber Pater wurde er keineswegs vollständig in das altrömische Pantheon integriert, sondern wurde mehr denn je zu einem bipolaren Gott, von dem man sich sowohl Wachstum und Gedeihen der Pflanzen und Tiere als auch Befreiung von sozialen und sexuellen Schranken und Normen versprach. Durch seine Polarität wurde Bacchus/Liber vielfältig interpretierbar und damit auch nutzbar für soziale, kulturelle und politische Bedürfnisse. Aufgrund dieser Doppelidentität konnten sein göttlicher Schutz, seine Gunst, seine sowohl affirmativ als auch negativ konnotierbare Symbolkraft in Rom – auf andere Weise und vielleicht mehr als in Griechenland – in den unterschiedlichsten Kontexten beansprucht werden. Mit ihren schillernden Facetten konnte die römische Gottheit und Figur Bacchus/Liber in mehreren Bereichen des kulturellen und politischen Lebens sowohl genutzt und integriert als auch ausgeschlossen oder marginalisiert werden.

In der folgenden Untersuchung soll Bacchus' Rolle in der römischen Praxis der Divinisierung von Herrschern in der späten Republik und in augusteischer Zeit im Zentrum stehen.<sup>7</sup> Grundlage der Diskussion dieses Phänomens sind fast ausschließlich literarische Zeugnisse, in denen dem Gott eine panegyrische Funktion im Herrscherlob zugeschrieben wird. Bacchus wird hier zur literarischen Figur, die in den Texten entweder selbst – als Gott – auftritt und neben den Herrscher gestellt wird oder deren ‚Maske‘ der divi-

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5 Livius (39.8–19) erzählt die Vorgeschichte dieser Maßnahme, den ‚Bacchanalien-Skandal‘, und gestaltet sie als dramatische Episode: 7000 Anhänger des Bacchus, Frauen und Männer, hätten sich in geheimen Treffen dem Trunk und sexuellen Exzessen hingegeben, Ritualmorde begangen und staatsgefährdende Aktivitäten geplant. Als Gegenmaßnahme wurde per Senatsbeschluß, der in den größeren italischen Städten auf Bronzetafeln publiziert wurde, die Größe der Versammlungen in diesem Kult auf ein Höchstmaß von fünf Mann festgesetzt; römischen Bürgern wurde untersagt, als Priester mitzuwirken; den Frauen wurde verboten, in den religiösen Vereinen im Bacchuskult eine führende Funktion einzunehmen. Zu den schwierigen Fragen der Quelleninterpretation vgl. Pailler (1988); präzisierend Briscoe (2008) 230–250.

6 Zu dieser symbolischen Deutung des Bacchanalien-Skandals vgl. Pailler (1988) 745–816.

7 Zur Praxis der Herrscherverehrung und zu den antiken Vorstellungen vom Gottmenschen vgl. Claus (1996); Peppel (2003).

nisierte Herrscher trägt. In beiden Fällen wird die Figur ‚Bacchus‘ eingesetzt, um die Gottesnähe oder Göttlichkeit eines Menschen zu inszenieren.

Mit dem Begriff der Inszenierung soll der Aufführungscharakter der im genuin statischen Medium Text dargestellten Handlungen und Interaktionen herausgestellt werden.<sup>8</sup> Die Figuren, die in einem Text auftreten, zu Wort kommen, handeln, beschrieben werden usw., werden als Akteure oder Rollenträger/innen verstanden, die in einem bestimmten sozialen Rahmen nach bestimmten Regeln inter-/agieren und ihre Rolle spielen. ‚Inszenieren von etwas‘ bedeutet, dieses ‚etwas‘ mittels bestimmter, in der Regel zeichenhafter Requisiten oder Gesten oder Laute, also auch mittels Sprache, zur Erscheinung zu bringen oder zur Schau zu stellen. Die ‚Inszenierung von Göttlichkeit‘ basiert demnach auf einem komplexen Zusammenspiel zwischen der als Gottheit oder Gottmensch inszenierten oder sich inszenierenden Figur und den sozialen Mitspieler/innen, die bereit sind, die Zuschreibung von Göttlichkeit oder Gottähnlichkeit an die/den anderen zu akzeptieren, die sie aber auch zurückweisen können.<sup>9</sup>

Die Göttlichkeit des Dionysos/Bacchus wird in der Regel durch bestimmte Attribute wie Efeu, Thyrsosstab, Pantherfell, Thiasos, später auch mit dem Raubtiergespann zur Erscheinung gebracht. Diese Attribute dienen in der bildlichen und textuellen Darstellung des Gottes zur Definition seiner Machtbereiche im Unterscheid zu denjenigen anderer Gottheiten. Werden dieselben Attribute einem menschlichen, historischen Individuum zugeordnet, dienen sie dazu, diesen bestimmten Menschen *als* Gott Dionysos/Bacchus oder zumindest als eine irdische Erscheinung, eine Epiphanie, dieses Gottes zu identifizieren. Dionysos – der Theatergott – stellt eine ausgesprochen breite Palette von Masken zur Verfügung, mit denen ein Mensch seine eigene Macht und sein Charisma zur Schau stellen kann.<sup>10</sup>

Die Praxis der Inszenierung eines Herrschers *als* Dionysos – in der Regel handelt es sich um Selbstinszenierungen – läßt sich auf Alexander zurückführen. Er stellte sich mit seinem Indienfeldzug in die Nachfolge des Gottes als des Weltbezwingers, des Bringers von Kultur, Zivilisation und Frieden im Osten.<sup>11</sup> Alexander der Große und seine Nachfolger Ptolemaios IV. Philopator, Ptolemaios XII. Auletes, der Vater der Kleopatra, sowie eine Reihe

8 Die textuelle Repräsentation von Inter-/Aktionen, die meist in einem Gegensatz zu den performativen Darstellungsformen gesehen wird, läßt sich damit auch besser als Medium verstehen, das am „Prozeß des gemeinsamen Hervorbringens von Ideen, Vorstellungen, Werten etc.“ beteiligt ist (Fischer-Lichte [2004] 25).

9 Zur Rollentheorie als Analysemodell in der Literaturwissenschaft vgl. Fuhrer/Zinsli (2003) 7–11. Zum performativen Charakter der Divinisierung von Herrschern vgl. Peppel (2003) 78 f.

10 Vgl. Anderson (1993) 7 f.

11 Die Testimonien bei Wacht/Rickert (2010) 76 f.

weiterer hellenistischer Könige ließen sich jeder als *Neos Dionysos* darstellen und verehren: als „neuer“ im Sinn von „zweiter, neu in Erscheinung tretender Dionysos“, vielleicht auch als jugendlicher Gott.<sup>12</sup> Als *Neos Dionysos* ist ein Herrscher eine dieser Erscheinungsformen des Gottes, nicht notwendigerweise der inkarnierte Gott, sondern eine Manifestation des Gottes und seiner Macht in der Gestalt eines Menschen mit herausragenden Qualitäten, in der Regel eines jugendlichen Herrschers.<sup>13</sup>

## 2. *Neos Dionysos* versus Apollo

Einer der prominentesten ‚Schauspieler‘, der sich als *Neos Dionysos* ‚verkleidete‘, war nun allerdings kein Grieche, sondern ein Römer: Marcus Antonius, der Triumvir der Jahre 43–33 und seit Mitte der 30er Jahre auch der Gegenspieler Octavians.<sup>14</sup> Die Tatsache, daß ein Römer in der Rolle des Neuen Dionysos bereits in den antiken Quellen Aufsehen erregte und es in der modernen Geschichtsschreibung noch immer tut, ist sicher auch gerade darauf zurückzuführen, daß er ein Römer ist. Nicht nur nahm er mit dieser Maskerade eine hellenistische, also nicht-römische Praxis der Herrscherrepräsentation auf; er glied sich damit auch ausgerechnet dem Gott an, dessen Kult in Rom seit dem Bacchanalien-Skandal mit der Vorstellung der Störung der moralischen und politischen Ordnung verbunden wurde.<sup>15</sup>

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12 Eine Reihe weiterer hellenistischer Herrscher ließ sich als Dionysos verehren (Antiochos IV., Antiochos VI. Epiphanes, Antiochos XII., Mithridates VI. Eupator Dionysos); dazu Wacht (2010) 77. Zum Begriff ‚*neos*‘ und seinen Implikationen vgl. Cerfaux/Tondriau (1957) 422 und 430, die die semantische Nähe zum Epitheton ‚*epiphanes*‘ hervorheben. Zum Phänomen der Epiphanie und dem Begriff des *deus praesentissimus* (nach Walter F. Otto) vgl. Henrichs (1993) 8–21.

13 Neben Dionysos eignen sich auch andere Gottheiten – Herakles, die Dioskuren, in Rom auch Romulus/Quirinus – für eine solche Annäherung zwischen Mensch (einem Herrscher) und Gott, weil sie einerseits einen sterblichen Elternteil haben, andererseits auf der Erde unter den Menschen gewirkt haben.

14 Dazu Cerfaux/Tondriau (1957) 297–306; Taeger (1960) 90–96; Michel (1967) 126–132. – Interessant ist, daß Caesar, dessen Gefolgsmann Antonius war, gemäß Servius den Liber-Kult in Rom wieder eingeführt haben soll (*ad Ed.* 5.29). Nach Turcan (1977) und Pailler (1988) 728–743 bezieht sich Servius auf Caesars Versuche, die Bacchanalien als *öffentliches* Fest zu institutionalisieren; Antonius habe mit seiner Inszenierung als *Neos Dionysos* Caesars religionspolitische Tendenz weitergeführt (so Turcan [1977] 323).

15 Nach Kienast (1969) 440–442 stellte sich Antonius mit der Inszenierung als *Neos Dionysos* gezielt der Alexander-Imitatio des Pompeius entgegen. Wallmann (1989) sieht darin eine Reaktion des Antonius auf die Bezeichnung Octavians als *divi filius* und des Sextus Pompeius, der sich als Sohn Neptuns inszenierte.

Zur ablehnenden Haltung gegenüber Antonius' Selbstinszenierung als Neos Dionysos dürfte denn auch am meisten die Antipropaganda der gegnerischen Seite beigetragen haben.<sup>16</sup> Ihr haben wir zudem wahrscheinlich die literarischen Testimonien zu verdanken. Denn neben Inschriften und Münzen, die ausnahmslos aus dem griechischen und kleinasiatischen und ägyptischen Raum stammen,<sup>17</sup> bezeugt auch eine Reihe von literarischen Texten, daß sich Mark Anton in dieser Form divinisieren ließ. Plutarch, Cassius Dio und Sokrates von Rhodos erwähnen seine Auftritte als Neos Dionysos zunächst in Ephesos im Jahr 41 v. Chr. im Nachgang des Sieges bei Philippi, dann im selben Jahr bei der Begegnung mit Kleopatra in Kilikien und schließlich in Athen im Jahr 39/38, wohin Antonius zusammen mit seiner Frau Octavia, Octavians Schwester, gekommen war.<sup>18</sup>

Auf zwei dieser Schilderungen von Mark Antons ‚Self-Fashioning‘ als Dionysos will ich im Folgenden näher eingehen, da in beiden Passagen deutlich wird, wie sich Göttlichkeit im Text – und wohl auch in der dem Text möglicherweise zugrunde liegenden Realität – inszenieren läßt.

Plutarch stellt im *Antonius* dessen Empfang in Ephesos als göttliche ProzeSSION dar (24.4 f.):

(4) εἰς γοῦν Ἐφεσον εἰσιόντος αὐτοῦ, γυναῖκες μὲν εἰς Βάκχος, ἄνδρες δὲ καὶ παῖδες εἰς Σατύρους καὶ Πᾶνας ἤγοῦντο διεσκευασμένοι, κιττοῦ δὲ καὶ θύρσων καὶ ψαλτηρίων καὶ συρίγγων καὶ αὐλῶν ἢ πόλις ἦν πλέα, Διόνυσον αὐτὸν ἀνακαλουμένων Χαριδότην καὶ Μειλίχιον. (5) ἦν γὰρ ἀμέλει τοιοῦτος ἐνίοις, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς ὤμηστῆς καὶ Ἀγριώνιος. ἀφηρεῖτο γὰρ εὐγενεῖς ἀνθρώπους τὰ ὄντα, μαστιγίαις καὶ κόλαξι χαριζόμενος.

Als er in Ephesos einzog, gingen Frauen als Bakchantinnen, Männer und Knaben als Satyrn und Pane kostümiert vor ihm her, von Efeu und Thyrsosstäben, vom Klang von Saiteninstrumenten, von Schalmeien und Flöten war die Stadt erfüllt, und ihn selber priesen sie als Dionysos den ‚Freudenbringer‘, den ‚Huldreichen‘. Das war er gewiß für einige; für die meisten aber war er der ‚Rohverschlinger‘, der ‚Grausamwilde‘. Männern von edler Geburt nahm er ihr Vermögen und verschenkte es an Galgenstricke und Speichellecker.<sup>19</sup>

Antonius zeigt sich in seiner Aufmachung als Dionysos, dem ein Zug von als Bakchantinnen verkleideten Frauen und von als Satyrn und Pane kostümierten Männern und Knaben – der bakchische Thiasos mit den bekannten Akteuren – vorausging. Ins Bild gehören Efeu und Thyrsosstäbe, also die vegetativen

16 Dies betonen Becher (1969) und Kienast (1969) 445–447.

17 Dazu Zanker (2009<sup>5</sup>) 65–73; Michel (1967) 130–132; Mannsperger (1973) 384–386.

18 Nach Vell. 2.82.4 zog Antonius mit Efeukranz und Thyrsosstab gemeinsam mit Kleopatra durch Alexandria. Eine Zusammenstellung der Quellen findet sich bei Cerfaux/Tondriau (1957) 297–301.

19 Text: Christopher B. R. Pelling; Übersetzung: Konrat Ziegler.

Attribute, sowie das akustische Element: Die Stadt ist „erfüllt“ vom Klang von Saiteninstrumenten, Schalmeien und Flöten. Man nennt ihn den „Freudenbringer“ und „Huldreichen“ (*Charidotes* und *Meilichios*). Allerdings, fügt Plutarch hinzu, nahmen ihn die meisten Zuschauer als „Rohverschlinger“ und „Grausamwilden“ (als *Omestes* und *Agrionios*) wahr.

Plutarch läßt Antonius bzw. sein Empfangskomitee in Ephesos auf das Standardrepertoire der Dionysos-Darstellungen zurückgreifen und diejenigen Epiklesen verwenden, die die charismatische und segenspendende Kraft des vergöttlichten Herrschers herausstellen (§ 4). Die Inszenierung scheint jedoch gemäß Plutarch von der Mehrzahl der Epheser in einem anderen Sinn interpretiert worden zu sein. Die genannten Attribute ließen sich offenbar ohne weiteres auch anders dekodieren und auf die antizivilisatorischen Züge des Gottes beziehen. Zwar hat auch diese Seite durchaus ihren Ort im Herrscherlob: Wer dem Gott bzw. dem mit ihm identifizierten Herrscher den Gehorsam verweigert, zieht dessen Zorn auf sich und wird bestraft. In Plutarchs Referat werden die Epiklesen *Omestes* und *Agrionios* jedoch auf Antonius' Raffgier, Willkür und Bestechlichkeit übertragen (§ 5).<sup>20</sup> Diese Interpretation illustriert geradezu beispielhaft, daß die Zeichen einer Inszenierung immer mehrdeutig sind.

Ein bei Athenaios überliefertes Fragment aus dem *Bellum civile* von Antonius' Zeitgenossen Sokrates von Rhodos schildert dessen Auftritt als Neos Dionysos in Athen, der Stadt, die besonders eng mit dem Dionysos-Kult verbunden war (Ath. 4.29, 148b–c [= Socr. Rhod. *FGrH* 192] und d):<sup>21</sup>

(148b) [...] ἰστορεῖ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐν Ἀθήναις μετὰ ταῦτα διατρίψαντα περίοπτον ὑπὲρ τὸ θέατρον κατασκευάσαντα σχεδίαν χλωρᾶ πεπυκασμένην ὕλην, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν Βακχικῶν ἄντρων γίνεται, ταύτης τύμπανα καὶ νεβρίδας καὶ παντοδαπὰ (148c) ἄλλ' ἀθύρματα Διονυσιακὰ ἐξαρτήσαντα μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ κατακλινόμενον μεθύσκεσθαι [...]. καὶ ἔκτοτε ἐκέλευσεν ἑαυτὸν Διόνυσον ἀνακηρύττεσθαι κατὰ τὰς πόλεις ἀπάσας.

(148d) καὶ Γάιος δὲ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ὁ Καλλικόλα προσαγορευθεὶς διὰ τὸ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ γεννηθῆναι οὐ μόνον ὠνομάζετο νέος Διόνυσος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Διονυσιακὴν πᾶσαν ἐνδύνων στολήν προήει καὶ οὕτως ἔσκευασμένος ἐδίκαζεν.

Sokrates von Rhodos erzählt weiter, daß Antonius bei seinem Aufenthalt in Athen über dem Theater ein von überallher sichtbares Gerüst aufstellen ließ, mit einem Dach von grünen Zweigen – so wie bei den zu den Dionysosfesten gebrauchten ‚Höhlen‘ –, daß er auch Handpauken, Rehfelle und all das Zubehör des Dionysoskultes anhängte und dort mit seinen Freunden vom Morgen an hingelagert zechte. [...] Und er ließ von da an in allen Städten kundtun, er sei als Dionysos anzureden.

20 Zur Technik des „Argumentieren[s] mit zweideutigen Kultnamen“ in der religiösen (Anti-)Propaganda vgl. Mannsperger (1973) 387 f.; Pelling (1988) 179–181.

21 So auch Cass. Dio 48.39.2; Sen. *Suasoriae* 1.6; vgl. Vell. 2.82.4.

Der Kaiser Gaius, der den Beinamen Caligula, ‚Soldatenstiefelchen‘, trug, weil er im Militärlager geboren war, wurde nicht nur ‚Neuer Dionysos‘ betitelt, sondern legte auch die ganze Ausstattung des Dionysos an, zog so umher und saß so aufgeputzt zu Gericht.<sup>22</sup>

Antonius baute das Dionysos-Theater zu einem *atron* um, ließ Tympana, Rehfelle und andere Requisiten des Dionysos-Kultes aufhängen und veranstaltete dort ein Zechgelage mit Musikbegleitung. Auch hier griffen der Autor bzw. Antonius und seine Leute tief in die Requisitenkiste der Dionysos-Insignien. Diesem Auftritt, nun auf der realen, nicht-metaphorischen Bühne – der Bühne des Dionysos-Theaters –, folgte der Befehl, daß ihn alle griechischen Städte als Dionysos anreden sollten.<sup>23</sup> Eine Reihe von literarischen Quellen bezeugt zudem seine Identifizierung als Neos Dionysos mit Osiris, an dessen Seite Kleopatra als Nea Isis oder Selene erscheint.<sup>24</sup>

In Rom hätten diese Auftritte eine ganz andere Reaktion erzeugt. Eine solche Form der Inszenierung von Göttlichkeit entspricht nicht der römischen Tradition und Auffassung von politischer Macht. Ein ‚neuer Bacchus‘ oder ‚neuer Liber Pater‘ (*alter Bacchus* oder *alter Liber*) existiert im republikanischen Rom nicht. Antonius hätte dort eine solche Selbstdarstellung wohl auch nie unternommen.

Aber bereits die in Antonius’ hellenistischer Inszenierung benutzten Codes ließen sich von der gegnerischen Seite leicht umdeuten, wie Plutarch deutlich macht. Ein aufschlußreiches, wenn auch spätes Zeugnis für diese Praxis der polemischen Umkodierung ist die Feldherrnrede, die Cassius Dio Octavian vor der Schlacht bei Actium halten läßt (50.24–30): Antonius habe „sämtliche Lebensformen seiner Vorfahren abgelegt und eifere statt dessen allen fremden und barbarischen Sitten nach“; er verehere Kleopatra als Isis und Selene und identifiziere sich als Dionysos auch mit Osiris, also mit einem fremden Gott.<sup>25</sup>

22 Text: S. Douglas Olson; Übersetzung: Max und Ursula Treu.

23 Vom Erfolg dieser Maßnahme, die Sokrates Antonius zuschreibt, zeugt möglicherweise eine Passage aus einer Athener Inschrift (39 v. Chr.?), einem Ehrendekret für einen römischen Kosmetes (IG II<sup>2</sup> 1043.22–24). Der Triumvir wird dort „Antonios Theos Neos Dionysos“ genannt, dem zu Ehren panathenäische Festspiele abgehalten wurden. Dazu Michel (1967) 131 f.; Mannsperger (1973) 386.

24 Plut. *Ant.* 50 und 54; Cass. Dio 49.40.3; Zonaras 10.20; Serv. *ad Aen.* 8.696. Dazu Mannsperger (1973) 387; Taeger (1960) 93; Michel (1967) 131 f.; Brenk (1992). Auch die in der Athener Inschrift (s. Anm. 23) erwähnten panathenäischen Spiele sind eine Form der Inszenierung der Göttlichkeit des Triumvirn (auch sie stehen in der Tradition des hellenistischen Herrscherkults, wie z. B. der Ptolemaia in Alexandria).

25 Cass. Dio 50.25.3 f.: νῦν πάντα μὲν τὰ πάτρια τοῦ βίου ἤθη ἐκλειπόμενα, πάντα δὲ τὰλλότρια καὶ βαρβάρικα ἐζηλωκότα, καὶ ἡμῶν μὲν ἢ τῶν νόμων ἢ τῶν θεῶν τῶν προγονικῶν μηδὲν προτιμῶντα, τὴν δ’ ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνην καθάπερ τινὰ Ἴσιν ἢ Σελήνην προσκυνοῦντα, καὶ τοὺς τε παῖδας αὐτῆς Ἥλιον καὶ Σελήνην ὀνομάζοντα, καὶ τὸ

Auch die Macht des Weingottes, des ‚Sorgenlösers‘, läßt sich leicht negativ konnotieren: Immer wieder verweist Octavian in Dios Darstellung auf Antonius’ Ruf als Trinker und bezieht dessen ausschweifende Lebensweise auf die beanspruchte Affinität zu Dionysos.<sup>26</sup> Dios Octavian erklärt Dionysos durch die Umkodierung seiner Eigenschaften zum differenten Gott, um dahinter den Menschen Antonius zu treffen.

Auch nach dem Sieg bei Actium und den Erfolgen in Alexandria und damit nach Antonius’ und Kleopatras Tod zog es Octavian offenbar vor, den Gott auf Distanz zu halten. Er selbst stellte sich demonstrativ in den Schutz Apollos, des erklärten Siegergottes von Actium. Apoll und Dionysos waren zwar in der Antike mit Sicherheit nicht die Gegenpole, zu denen Nietzsche sie gemacht hat,<sup>27</sup> doch erwecken die Testimonien zu Octavians bzw. Augustus’ Religionspolitik der 20er Jahre des 1. Jh. v. Chr. den Eindruck, als ob ein solcher Antagonismus betont werden sollte, um den Gegensatz zwischen dem Sieger und dem Besiegten möglichst deutlich herauszustellen. Diese Konstruktion der Differenz brauchte Octavian/Augustus nicht zuletzt deswegen, um die Auseinandersetzung mit Antonius und Kleopatra als Krieg gegen einen äußeren Feind deklarieren und ihm das Odium des Bürgerkriegs nehmen zu können.<sup>28</sup>

Der tendenziöse Umgang mit den beiden Göttern zeigt sich auch in Octavians Baupolitik. Der Tempel für die anfangs erwähnte Göttertrias Ceres, Liber und Libera am Fuß des Aventin wurde laut den Quellen im Jahr 493 v. Chr. geweiht, also kurz nach der Einführung des Kults in Rom. Gemäß Ciceros Urteil war er außerordentlich prachtvoll (*Verr.* 4.108: *pulcherrimum et magnificentissimum*).<sup>29</sup> Im Jahr der Schlacht von Actium wurde er durch ein Feuer zerstört.<sup>30</sup> In diesem Jahr befand sich ein anderer Tempel noch im Bau, der ebenfalls eine prominente Position einnehmen sollte: der Apollotempel auf dem Palatin. Die beiden Heiligtümer, der prachtvolle Ceres-Liber-Libera-Tempel und der noch unfertige Apollo-Tempel, standen sich somit über dem Marranatal und über dem Circus Maximus – gut sichtbar für die Zuschauer im Circus – eine Zeitlang gegenüber. Doch während der Tempel von Antonius’ Schutzpatron im Jahr von dessen Niederlage bei Actium (31 v. Chr.) abbrannte, erstand der Tempel des Siegergottes von Actium, neben dem

τελευταῖον καὶ ἑαυτὸν Ὅσιριν καὶ Διόνυσον ἐπικεκληκότα. Vgl. ebd. 50.5.3; Plut. *Ant.* 54.6. Dazu Brenk (1992) 160.

26 Dieser Ruf haftete ihm spätestens seit Ciceros *Philippicae* dauerhaft an, und Antonius begegnete ihm bekanntlich in der Schrift *De ebrietate sua*. Dazu Wallmann (1989) 225; Marasco (1992).

27 Die Belege bei Nisbet/Hubbard (1998<sup>2</sup>) 316 f.; Krasser (1995) 93–95.

28 Vgl. dazu Binder (1971) 232–237.

29 Vgl. Dion. Hal. 6.17.2–4; 6.94.3. Zum Folgenden Wiseman (2008) 131–137.

30 Cass. Dio 50.10.3 f.



Wohnhaus des Princeps, neu; im Jahr 28 v. Chr. wurde er feierlich geweiht.<sup>31</sup> Augustus weist in den *Res gestae* auf seine baupolitischen Maßnahmen im sakralen Bereich hin: Neben dem Apollo-Tempel habe er in Rom 82 weitere Tempel wieder aufgebaut, allerdings nur diejenigen, die „in dieser Zeit wiederhergestellt werden“ mußten (*quod eo tempore refici debebat*).<sup>32</sup> Der ehemals prächtige und markante Ceres-Liber-Libera-Tempel gehörte nicht zu dieser Auswahl. Erst kurz vor Augustus' Tod wurde mit dem Wiederaufbau begonnen, und erst im Jahr 17 n. Chr., bereits unter Tiberius, wurde er neu geweiht.<sup>33</sup> Bis dahin konnten die Zuschauer im Circus also nur den Apollo-Tempel in vollendeter Form bewundern, und möglicherweise blickten sie noch lange auch auf die Ruinen des anderen Tempels auf der Gegenseite. Offenbar wurde der Gott zu stark mit der östlichen und damit feindlichen und fremden Tradition in Verbindung gebracht, gegen die – gemäß der augusteischen Selbstdarstellung – Rom in den 30er Jahren anzukämpfen hatte.<sup>34</sup>

### 3. Bacchus/Liber in der augusteischen Dichtung: Versuch einer Rehabilitierung?

Doch so wenig wie sich Dionysos aus Theben vertreiben ließ, ließ sich Bacchus/Liber aus dem römischen Pantheon ausschließen. Er war außerhalb des politischen Diskurses zu prominent und in der Dichtung und bildenden Kunst zu sehr präsent, um erfolgreich mit einer *damnatio memoriae* belegt werden zu können. Octavians/Augustus' ‚penteisch‘ anmutende Maßnahmen der Ausgrenzung des Gottes endeten jedoch nicht tragisch. Denn den

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31 Dazu Zanker (2009<sup>5</sup>); Gurval (1995) 111–136. Nach Sueton soll sich Augustus als Sohn Apollos und bei einem Bankett als Apoll ausgegeben haben (Suet. *Aug.* 70 und 94.4 f.); dazu Mannsperger (1973) 394 f. Doch können diese Zeugnisse genauso gut der anti-augusteischen Gegenpropaganda zugeschrieben werden. Auch Octavian mußte ja wissen, daß die Divinisierung zu Lebzeiten in Rom anders funktionierte als in den östlichen Provinzen; dort ließ er sich bekanntlich nicht als Apollo, sondern zusammen mit der Dea Roma als Herrscher kultisch verehren. Dazu Claus (1996) 416 f.; Alvares Cineira (1999) 58–61.

32 *Res gestae* 20,4; vgl. Liv. 4.20.7; Suet. *Aug.* 30.2; Cass. Dio 53.2.4 f.

33 Tac. *Ann.* 2.49.1.

34 Auch die augusteische Münzprägung läßt darauf schließen, daß Apollo mehr Prominenz erhalten sollte als Bacchus. Die augusteischen Cistophoren zeigen häufig statt der genuinen Efeuranken Lorbeerkränze. Selbst auf den Sarkophagen treten die beliebten Motive mit bacchischen Thiasoi in augusteischer Zeit weniger häufig auf. Dazu Mannsperger (1973); Taeger (1960) 114. Wie Becher (1976) 96–99 betont, ist die Zurückhaltung allein auf die Ablehnung des Neos Dionysos Antonius zurückzuführen und gilt nicht der Gottheit Liber per se.



Mythos schrieben diejenigen Dichter fort, die sein engster Vertrauter Maecenas bereits in den 30er Jahren ihm und sich selbst verpflichtet hatte.

Vergil ruft zu Beginn der *Georgica* nach der Anrede an Maecenas zuerst die *mundi lumina*, also Sonne und Mond (1.5 f.), dann Liber und Ceres (1.7: *Liber et alma Ceres*), die Faune, Neptun, Aristaeus (1.14: *cultor nemorum*), Pan, Minerva, Silvanus, alle ländlichen Schutzgottheiten und schließlich – als dreizehnten – Caesar/Octavian an (1.24: *tuque*), den er in göttliche Sphären rückt (1.24–42). Liber wird hier in Gesellschaft seines Gefolges angerufen, aber auch neben den olympischen Göttern Sol und Luna, den Erzeugern der Jahreszeiten, neben Ceres, der Spenderin des Getreides, Neptun, dem Gott des Pferdes (1.12–14), Minerva, der „Erfinderin des Ölbaums“ (1.18 f.: *oleae* [...] *inventrix*), und schließlich neben Octavian, dem Schutzherrn der Städte, dem „Spender der Früchte“ und dem „gewaltigen Herrn über Winde, Wetter und Wachstum“ (1.25–28).<sup>35</sup> In dieser Gesellschaft ist Liber der Vegetationsgott, der den Menschen die Rebe gebracht hat (1.9), also der Kulturbringer. Als solcher ist er in den *Georgica* auch weiterhin prominent. Der Anfang des zweiten Buches ist als Gebet an den *pater Lenaeus* gerichtet (2.1–8), der mit seiner Epiphanie (2.7: *veni*) die Natur zum Gedeihen bringen, die Weinfässer füllen und – mit vom Kothurn befreiten Füßen – die Trauben stampfen soll.

Der Liber Pater der *Georgica* ist also die altrömische Vegetations- und Bauerngottheit.<sup>36</sup> Als solche erhält er einen prominenten Platz in dem Epos, das Vergil – laut Sueton – Octavian vorgelesen haben soll, als dieser im Jahr 29 v. Chr. als Sieger von Actium aus dem Osten zurückkehrte.<sup>37</sup>

Wir wissen nicht, ob bzw. inwieweit die *Georgica* Auftragsdichtung im Dienst des Maecenas und damit auch Octavians waren. In jedem Fall aber läßt sich der Vergilische Text als Versuch lesen, den Gott, den sich Octavians Gegenspieler als Patron zu eigen gemacht hatte, auch wiederum für die andere, die genuin römische Seite in Anspruch zu nehmen. Bacchus wird mit Zügen ausgestattet, die ihn gerade nicht als orgiastischen und fremden Gott markieren. Er ist der Gott des Weines und wird in Gesellschaft auch der

35 1.17–19: *Liber et alma Ceres, uestro si munere tellus / Chaoniam pingui glandem mutauit arista, / poculaque inuentis Acheloi miscuit uuis* [...]. 25–28: *tuque adeo, quem mox quae sint habitura deorum / concilia incertum est, urbisne inuisere, Caesar, / terrarumque uelis curam, et te maximus orbis / auctorem frugum tempestatumque potentem / accipiat cingens materna tempora myrto*. Dazu Erren (2003) 13–17, der hier die „Frömmigkeit einer neuen augusteischen Religion“ repräsentiert sieht, „in der römische Folklore und hellenistische Mythologie mit alexandrinischem Herrscherkult zu einem neuen künstlichen Ganzen verschmelzen“ (ebd. 15). – Apollo fehlt in dieser Reihe. Der Landbau ist nicht seine Domäne; ihm und Pales werden in den Büchern 3 und 4 die Vieh- und Bienenzucht zugewiesen.

36 Dazu Bruhl (1953) 134 f. Vgl. auch Tibull 2.1, wo das elegische Ich Osiris-Bacchus zu einem ländlichen Fest einlädt.

37 Suet. *Vita Verg.* 27.

olympischen Kulturstifter genannt (1.5–28); er ist also kein differenter, ek-statischer Gott. Er zieht sogar den Kothurn aus, wenn er Wein preßt (2.7 f.).<sup>38</sup>

Unabhängig von der Frage, inwiefern dieser Text ein religionspolitisches Programm unterstützt, läßt sich folgendes festhalten: Bacchus' Ehrenplatz in den *Georgica* trägt dazu bei, daß dieser Gott nicht völlig aus der römischen Religionspolitik verbannt wird, daß er sich nicht allein von Antonius' Herrschaftsrepräsentation bzw. von Octavians Gegenpropaganda besetzen läßt.<sup>39</sup> Dies kann offenbar nur durch die deutliche (Re-)Romanisierung und (Re-)Domestizierung gelingen. Nur so kann Bacchus/Liber sogar mit Octavian in eine Reihe gestellt werden. Octavian ist hier also nicht ein ‚Neuer Dionysos‘, sondern ein Gottmensch, der – wie Dionysos und andere Gottheiten – zum Gott und Kulturbringer auf der ganzen Welt werden kann.

Vergil bedient sich dabei bekannter Topoi des Herrscherlobs: Der *laudandus* wird in der Gemeinschaft bestimmter Götter selbst als göttlich inszeniert.<sup>40</sup> Dasselbe Muster wiederholt sich im Augustus-Lob der Anchises-Rede im sechsten Buch der *Aeneis* (6.792–805), wo der Götterreigen, in den Augustus eingereiht wird, aus Hercules (6.801) und Liber besteht (6.804 f.).<sup>41</sup> Horaz läßt in der dritten Römer-Ode Pollux und Romulus hinzukommen (*Carm.* 3.3.9–16), und im Augustus-Brief erscheint neben den Genannten nun auch Castor (*Epist.* 2.1.5–17). Romulus, Liber, die Dioskuren und Hercules sind Halbgötter, die durch ihr Wirken auf der Erde den Menschen Nutzen und Segen gebracht haben, und darin ist ihnen der *divi filius* ähnlich. Eduard Norden hat gezeigt, daß sich die beiden augusteischen Dichter mit ihren Katalogen an der enkomiastischen Technik der Alexander-Panegyrik orientierten.<sup>42</sup> In solchen Reihungen läßt sich die Göttlichkeit des menschlichen Herrschers nicht durch Gleichstellung mit den Göttern und Heroen, sondern durch die Ähnlichkeit ihrer Leistungen und Verdienste für die

38 *Huc, pater o Leneae, ueni, nudataque musto / tinge nouo mecum dereptis crura coturnis.* Nach Erren (2003) 281 f. legt Bacchus hier die „erhabene göttliche Würde zugunsten menschlicher Arbeit“ ab und inszeniert den Gattungswechsel von der Tragödie zur Lehrdichtung.

39 R.A. Smith (2007) deutet auch die weiteren Stellen in den *Georgica*, an denen Bacchus genannt ist, in diesem Sinn.

40 Dazu Norden (1899/1966) 468 f./424 f.

41 6.792–795: *Augustus Caesar, Diui genus, aurea condet / saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arua / Saturno quondam, super et Garamantas et Indos / proferet imperium.* [...] 801–805: *Nec uero Alcides tantum telluris obiuit, / fixerit acripedem ceruam licet, aut Erymanthi / pacarit nemora, et Lemam tremefecerit abui; / nec, qui pampineis uictor iuga flectit habenis, / Liber, agens celso Nysae de uertice tigris.*

42 Norden (1899/1966).

Menschheit darstellen.<sup>43</sup> Dies ist eine subtilere Form der Inszenierung von Göttlichkeit als die Identifikation *als* Gott, *als* Hercules oder Neos Dionysos.

Man hat diese Stellen als Ausdruck der von Octavian/Augustus propagierten Alexander-Imitation sehen wollen:<sup>44</sup> Dionysos hätte also durch diese panegyrische Tradition – sozusagen verpackt in einen rhetorischen Topos und im ‚Multipack‘ mit anderen Heroen – wiederum einen Platz im römischen Pantheon, zumindest im Reigen der Göttersöhne, erhalten. Die *Georgica* weisen Bacchus jedoch eine wichtigere Funktion zu als die der panegyrischen Staffage. Bacchus ist in den *Georgica* eine der kultur- und damit auch staats-tragenden Gottheiten.

Ebenso bleiben in der Horazischen Dichtung Bacchus' Auftritte nicht auf den panegyrischen Katalog beschränkt. Horaz ist zwar auch der Dichter, der für die Säkularfeier im Jahr 17 v. Chr. das *Carmen saeculare* verfaßt hat, das mit einem Anruf an Apollo und Diana beginnt und mit dem Bekenntnis des Chores zu diesen beiden Gottheiten endet. In der sechs Jahre zuvor (23 v. Chr.) publizierten Odensammlung läßt er jedoch Apollo hinter andere Gottheiten zurücktreten, und die Rolle des inspirierenden Gottes der Horazischen Lyrik kommt ausgerechnet Bacchus zu.<sup>45</sup> In *Carm.* 2.19 erscheint dieser dem Dichter in der Wildnis in der Rolle des Gesangslehrers von Nymphen und Satyrn und stimuliert ihn zu einer Aretalogie seiner selbst.<sup>46</sup> Bacchus ist es auch, der den Dichter „fortreißt“, wenn er die Apotheose des Augustus besingen will (*Carm.* 3.25):

Quo me, Bacche, rapis tui  
 plenum? quae nemora aut quos agor in specus  
 velox mente nova? quibus  
 antris egregii Caesaris audiar

43 In der Römer-Ode (*Carm.* 3.3) ist es die *ars* (V. 9), die Fähigkeit, gerecht und standhaft zu sein (V. 1–8), die Pollux, Hercules, Augustus, Bacchus und Quirinus zu den Göttern in den Olymp geführt hat bzw. führen wird. Nach Krasser (1995) 128–130 stellt sich der Dichter selbst in diese Reihe, indem er ‚seinen‘ Gott Bacchus durch die Apostrophe aus der Heroenreihe heraushebt.

44 So Kienast (1969); Mette (1960/1988); Doblhofer (1966) 122–142; Buchheit (1981).

45 Zu dieser Funktion des griechischen Dionysos vgl. Nisbet/Hubbard (1998<sup>2</sup>) 316; Krasser (1995) 94 mit Anm. 11.

46 V. 1–8: *Bacchum in remotis carmina rupibus / vidi docentem, credite posteri, / Nymphasque discentis et auris / capripedum Satyrorum acutas. / Euhoe, recenti mens trepidat metu / plenoque Bacchi pectore turbidum / laetatur. Euhoe, parce Liber, / parce, gravi metuende thyrso.* Henrichs (1978b) sieht in der Darstellung des Bacchus, der dem Dichter *als* Dichter erscheint, eine Kombination des hesiodeischen Inspirationstopos (Bacchus als Inspirationsgott) sowie des „Wundertopos der kultischen Aretalogie“ (Bacchus' Epiphanie als Dichter). Krasser (1995) 108–127 interpretiert dagegen die inszenierte Bacchus-Epiphanie im Sinn einer Selbstdarstellung des Dichters und versteht Bacchus „letztlich als Emanation des Dichters und als Widerspiegelung seines Werks“.

aeternum meditans decus	5
stellis inserere et consilio Iovis?	
dicam insigne, recens, adhuc	
indictum ore alio. non secus in iugis	
Edonis stupet Euhias,	
Hebrum prospiciens et nive candidam	10
Thracen ac pede barbaro	
lustratam Rhodopen, ut mihi devio	
ripas et vacuum nemus	
mirari libet. o Naiadum potens	
Baccharumque valentium	15
proceras manibus vertere fraxinos,	
nil parvum aut humili modo,	
nil mortale loquar. dulce periculum est,	
o Lenaeae, sequi deum	
cingentem viridi tempora pampino.	20
Wohin, Bakchos, reiest du mich, von dir	
Erfllt? In welche Haine werde ich gefhrt, in welche Klfte	
Entrissen in neuer Eingebung? Welche	
Grotten werden mich hren, wie ich des herrlichen Caesar	
Ewigen Glanz sinne	5
Den Sternen anzureihn und dem Rate Jupiters?	
Sagen werde ich Erhabenes, Neues, bis heute	
Ungesagt von anderem Munde! Nicht anders auf den Bergesjochen	
verzckt staunt die thrakische Bakchantin,	
Wenn den Hebrs sie schaut und vom Schnee wei	10
Thrakien und nur von barbarischen Fen	
Betreten Rhodope, als ich, ferne vom Pfad,	
Die Ufer und den einsamen Hain	
Freudig bewundere. O du der Najaden Herr	
Und der Bakchen, die es vermgen,	15
Mit ihren Hnden zu beugen ragende Eschen,	
Nichts Geringes noch niedrigen Tons,	
Nichts Sterbliches werde ich knden: S ist die Gefahr,	
O Lenaeus, zu folgen dem Gott,	
Umkrnzt die Schlfe mit grnendem Weinlaub. <sup>47</sup>	20

Der Gott bringt ihn dazu, etwas „Ausgezeichnetes und Neues, bisher Ungehrtes“ (7 f.: *insigne, recens, adhuc / indictum*) zu sagen, wenn er Caesars „ewigen Glanz“ gttlich macht (5): Bacchus stimuliert ihn zum brillanten und innovativen Herrscherlob. Wie die Mnade den Hebrs und das schneebedeckte Thrakien bestaunt, wundert sich der Dichter ber den einsamen Dichterhain (13: *ripas et vacuum nemus*), womit der Neuheitsanspruch nochmals deutlich gemacht wird. Der Gott ist der Garant fr eine groe, erhabene und unsterbliche poetische Rede auf den vergttlichten Augustus (17 f.: *nil*

47 Text: D. R. Shackleton Bailey; bersetzung: Bernhard Kytzler.

*parvum aut humili modo, / nil mortale loquar*). Inspirationsgottheiten sind also nicht die Musen und/oder deren ‚Anführer‘, der Musagetes Apollo, sondern Bacchus, und zwar nicht der brave Bauerngott Liber, sondern der Gott der Ekstase, der Herr über die Najaden und Mänaden, mithin der Gott der normbrechenden Frauen (14 f.), der gefährliche Gott, auch wenn diese Gefahr reizvoll ist: Dem Gott zu „folgen“ ist „eine süße Gefahr“ (18 f.: *dulce periculum est, / o Lenae, sequi deum*).<sup>48</sup>

Vor dem Verstehenshorizont der Ereignisse des Bürgerkriegs der 30er Jahre und der Religionspolitik Octavians bzw. Augustus' muß man bei der Lektüre von *Carm.* 3.25 über die enge Verbindung zwischen Bacchus und Augustus erstaunt sein. Der Text fordert geradezu auf zu staunen: wie die Mänade vor dem verschneiten Thrakien oder der Dichter in der unbekanntem Dichterlandschaft. Bacchus liefert hier nicht – wie in den Inszenierungen des Antonius als Neos Dionysos – die Requisiten für eine Maskerade eines Herrschers in seiner eigenen Rolle, sondern er wird zum Auslöser eines innovativen Sprechakts, mit dem der Herrscher selbst zum Gott werden soll.<sup>49</sup> Wenn man das Gedicht vor der Folie der Bilder des Antonius als Neos Dionysos lesen will – und der historische Kontext der 20er Jahre erlaubt dies –, kann man das Gedicht als Aufforderung verstehen, Dionysos bzw. Bacchus nicht (mehr) als Schutzgott des Antonius, sondern des Augustus zu sehen. Mit diesem Gedicht schließt Horaz den – nun auch ekstatischen – Gott wiederum in das religionspolitisch akzeptierte römische Pantheon ein.

Eigentlich wäre es ja auch erstaunlich gewesen, wenn die römische Religionspolitik diesen mächtigen Gott, den Weltbezwiner, Kulturbringer, Freudenspende, den auch grausamen Gott dauerhaft dem Gegner überlassen hätte. Zwar scheint man in der architektonischen und ikonographischen Herrschaftsrepräsentation Dionysos/Bacchus fast ganz aufgegeben zu haben.<sup>50</sup>

48 Albert Henrichs macht mich darauf aufmerksam, daß man nach dem Anruf an den Gott (V. 19: *Lenae*) eigentlich *te sequi*, nicht *sequi deum*, erwarten würde (vgl. Nisbet/Rudd [2004] 308); *sequi deum* setze damit bereits die in V. 4–6 angekündigte Apotheose des Augustus voraus: Dieser würde somit in den Thiasos des ‚gefährlichen‘, weil ekstatischen Gottes nicht nur einbezogen, sondern führte ihn, ausgestattet mit den entsprechenden Requisiten, selbst an (V. 20: „die Schläfen mit grünendem Weinlaub bekränzend“; nach Nisbet/Rudd [2004] 308 f. bekränzt der Gott nicht sich, sondern den Dichter).

49 Augustus wird in dem poetischen Bild, mit dem das Gedicht Bacchus' Wirken darstellt, selbst nicht mehr erwähnt; seine Göttlichkeit wird aber durch die Ankündigung der Apotheose inszeniert, zu der Bacchus – im Bild – den Dichter inspiriert (nach Henrichs wird sie in V. 19 auch vollzogen; s. oben Anm. 48). Nach Krasser (1995) 131–136 ist die Leistung des Dichters gleichermaßen Thema wie die Augustus-Apotheose; der Inspirationsgott Bacchus wird damit zur „Denkfigur [...] als Form der Darstellung poetischer Autarkie und poetischer Leistung“.

50 Dazu s. oben Anm. 34.

Doch hat ihn die zeitgenössische Dichtung an prominenter Stelle für Octavian/Augustus in einer Weise in Anspruch genommen, die den Eindruck erweckt, als sollte der Gott für die römische Religion rehabilitiert und damit auch für die Kommunikation mit den Menschen, zumal mit Dichter und Herrscher, wieder aktiviert werden.<sup>51</sup> In einem literarischen, zumal einem poetischen Text ist eine solche Rehabilitierung offenbar eher möglich als in anderen Medien, da die Dichter eine Beziehung zwischen Göttern und Menschen auf vielfältige Art und Weise inszenieren können, sei es, daß sie Gott und Herrscher in eine Reihe stellen, sei es, daß sie den Gott selbst sein Verhältnis zu einem Menschen artikulieren oder ihn dessen Apotheose autorisieren lassen.

#### 4. Neos Dionysos redivivus

Welche Rolle die in der Umgebung des Hofes produzierte Dichtung in der augusteischen Religionspolitik gespielt hat, läßt sich allerdings nicht genau sagen. Die Rezeption und Wirkung dieser Literatur in einer über den Hof hinausgehenden Öffentlichkeit darf wohl nicht überschätzt werden.<sup>52</sup> Die offizielle Rehabilitierung des Gottes Bacchus/Liber fand denn auch erst mehr als drei Jahrzehnte später statt, indem Augustus kurz vor seinem Tod mit dem Wiederaufbau des Ceres-Liber-Libera-Tempels begann. Auch als der brave Liber Pater und Partner von Libera und Ceres mußte Bacchus lange auf dieses Schmuckstück verzichten.

Augustus' Nachfolger haben dem Gott seinen Platz im römischen Pantheon belassen. Tiberius weihte den besagten Tempel im Jahr 17 n. Chr. Allerdings begann man danach, den Gott erneut zur Chiffre für das Fremde zu machen, und aus dem Liber Pater wurde bald wieder auch der griechische Dionysos. Gemäß dem Zeugnis des Athenaios trat Caligula – nun in Rom selbst – wiederum als Neos Dionysos auf.<sup>53</sup> Laut Tacitus vermählte sich Messalina, die Urenkelin Mark Antons, als Mänade bei einer als Bacchus-Fest inszenierten Hochzeitsfeier mit ihrem Geliebten Silius.<sup>54</sup> Beide Testimonien

51 Vgl. dazu Becher (1969), bes. 100 f. Hierzu passt Plut. *Ant.* 75: Dionysos und sein Gefolge hätten am Vorabend der Schlacht bei Actium Antonius verlassen, um auf Octavians Seite überzutreten. Dazu Cerfaux/Tondriau (1957) 305 f.

52 Dazu Eich (2000) 53 f., bes. 74 f.

53 Ath. 4.29, 148d. Das Testimonium folgt im Anschluß an das Zitat aus Sokrates' *Bellum civile* (s. oben mit Anm. 22). Vgl. auch Phil. Alex. *Leg. ad Caium* 79.149–151. Dazu Taeger II.285; vgl. auch Cerfaux/Todriau (1957) 342–345, die Athenaios' Zeugnis allerdings nicht zu kennen scheinen und Caligulas Identifikation mit dem Neos Dionysos abstreiten (so die Bemerkung ebd. 345, Anm. 1).

54 Tac. *Ann.* 11.31. Dazu Alvarez Cineira (1999) 134 f.; Jaccottet (2008) 203–207 weist auf den theatralen Charakter der Szene hin.

scheinen einer prinzipatskritischen Tendenz verpflichtet zu sein, die mit der römischen Skepsis gegenüber dem orientalisierenden Herrscherkult und den Reminiszenzen an den Bacchanalien-Skandal operiert.

Im Osten des Reiches bleibt die Tendenz, den Herrscher mit dem (Neos) Dionysos gleichzusetzen oder zu assoziieren, weiter lebendig und unproblematisch. Der Titel Neos Dionysos ist für Trajan, Hadrian und Commodus in griechischen Inschriften bezeugt und bezeichnet den jeweiligen Kaiser als Vorsitzenden der Dionysos-Techniten.<sup>55</sup> Hadrian ließ sich im Jahr 123 vom Techniten-Kollegium in Ankyra in einem Festzug, einem *agon mystikos*, zusammen mit Dionysos als Neos Dionysos feiern.<sup>56</sup> Zahlreiche Darstellungen seines geliebten Antinoos zeigen den Jüngling als Dionysos und/oder Osiris.<sup>57</sup> Hadrians Adoptivsohn und Nachfolger Antoninus Pius, der Erbauer des Dionysos-Tempels von Baalbek,<sup>58</sup> ließ im Jahr 149 auf einem Medaillon Dionysos und Ariadne mit den Zügen seines eigenen Adoptivsohns Mark Aurel und von dessen Gattin Faustina prägen: Nun wird der Gott *als* Mitglied der kaiserlichen Familie inszeniert!<sup>59</sup> In der Religionspolitik des Septimius Severus nimmt Bacchus neben Hercules eine zentrale Position ein; beide waren die *di patrii* der nordafrikanischen Severer-Stadt Leptis Magna, wo sie auch auf den Bauten omnipräsent sind.<sup>60</sup> Nun wird also der Dionysos-Kult zum offiziellen Staatskult. Doch erst dessen Sohn Caracalla soll sich nach seinem Regierungsantritt als Bacchus ausgegeben haben.<sup>61</sup> Die *Historia Augusta* läßt auch noch Caracallas Neffen Elegabal mit den Attributen des Bacchus auftreten.<sup>62</sup>

Dieser wiederholte Rückgriff auf die Figur des griechischen Dionysos im Rahmen der kaiserlichen Selbstdarstellung wirkt bereits konventionell. Dionysos/Bacchus scheint im Zuge der Divinisierungsstrategien der römischen Kaiser ins Standardrepertoire aufgenommen worden zu sein.<sup>63</sup> Seine Eigen-

55 Trajan: *IG* XIV 2496 = *IGR* I 18; dazu Cerfaux/Todriau (1957) 359. Hadrian: *IGR* III 1 und 209 (Ankyra); *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1386 (Athen); *Gr. Inscr. Brit. Mus.* 600 (Ephesos); *IGR* I 17 (Nîmes); *IGR* IV 1517 (Sardes); dazu Beaujeu (1955) 172 f. und 199; Bruhl (1953) 187. Commodus: *SEG* IV 522 (Ephesos); dazu Taeger (1960) 405.

56 *IGR* III 1; dazu Beaujeu (1955) 172 und 199. Eine Reihe von Inschriften bezeugt die Gleichsetzung mit Dionysos neben Helios und Asklepios; dazu Taeger (1960) 376 f.

57 Dazu Bruhl (1953) 187 f.

58 Dazu Beaujeu (1955) 322 f.; Jeanmaire (1951) 470 f.

59 Dazu Bruhl (1953) 188 f.; Beaujeu (1955) 308.

60 Dazu Foucher (1981) 700.

61 Cass. Dio 77.7.4. Dazu Bruhl (1953) 191–193.

62 *Hist. Aug.* 17.28.2. Dazu Cerfaux/Todriau (1957) 370 f.; Bruhl (1953) 193.

63 Ein anderer differenter Gott, Christus, wurde ebenfalls mit Dionysos wie auch wiederum mit Hercules in Verbindung gebracht. Gottessohnschaft, Weinwunder, Tod und Auferstehung sowie Pfingstereignis wurden in Analogie zu Geburt, Tötung und Wiedergeburt, Weinwunder und Ekstase im Dionysos-Mythos gestellt. Auch dieser

schaft als fremder Gott scheint er nun auch im politischen Bereich verloren zu haben. Allerdings blieben die Inszenierungen im Rahmen bestimmter Schemata und Klischees.

Die römische Gottheit Dionysos/Bacchus/Liber Pater bietet oder – dekonstruktivistisch gesprochen – *ist* ein System von Zeichen, die sich im politischen und literarischen Diskurs unterschiedlich konnotieren oder enkodieren lassen. Aus ihnen lassen sich Vorstellungen des griechischen, in Rom fremden, unrömischen, auch bedrohlichen, gleichzeitig des altrömischen, ländlichen, Fruchtbarkeit und allgemein Gedeihen bringenden Gottes konstruieren. Er ist Vegetations- und Inspirationsgott, ekstatischer und orgiastischer Gott, Maskengott, der seine eigene Maske den hellenistischen und römischen Herrschern für die Inszenierung ihrer Göttlichkeit zur Verfügung stellt. Er ist damit auch in dem Sinn ein differenter Gott, daß sich sein semantisches System besser als dasjenige anderer Götter dazu verwenden läßt, die Differenz zwischen Mensch und Gott als unscharf erscheinen zu lassen.

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Gott ließ sich trotz zähem und grausamem Widerstand nicht vertreiben. Dazu Wacht/Rickert (2010) 91–95.





# Ein dekorativer Gott? Bilder für Dionysos zwischen griechischer Votivpraxis und römischem Decorum

*Alexander Heinemann*

In Pergamon stellt ein Admiral für seinen König die Statue eines trunkenen Satyrs auf; delische Bürger schmücken ihr Haus mit dem Bild eines in Safrangewänder gehüllten Dionysos auf einem Geparden; ein von Efeu umrankter Skyphos markiert den Grabbezirk der im Krieg für Rhodos gefallenen Sklaven: Ob in der Welt der Lebenden oder der Toten, in öffentlichen oder privaten Räumen, unter welcher Erscheinungsform und in welcher sozialen Schicht auch immer – Bilder des Dionysos und seines Kreises sind in der hellenistischen Welt buchstäblich omnipräsent. Zu seinen Ehren wälzt sich ein goldener Phallos von 120 Ellen Länge durch das Stadion von Alexandria, und als dort schließlich auch die letzte der Diadochenmonarchien ihrem Ende entgegengeht, setzen der Gott und die Seinen sich bei Nacht und Nebel ab, um bei den neuen Herren der Welt weiterzufeiern.<sup>1</sup>

Dort hat das Fest längst begonnen: Die römische Expansion nach Griechenland und Westkleinasien ist kaum abgeschlossen, als sich die sogenannten ‚neuattischen‘ Werkstätten im späten 2. Jh. v. Chr. daranmachen, die politisch und ökonomisch potenten Eliten in Rom, Latium und Campanien mit einer wahren Flut von Produkten einzudecken, die treffend als Ausstattungskunst subsumiert worden sind.<sup>2</sup> Diese (oft kleinformatischen) Skulpturen, Reliefs, Schmuckbasen sowie marmornen Geräte wie Kandelaber oder Kratere sind Träger einer vor allem dionysischen Bildwelt: Unterlebensgroße Satyrn und

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Renate Schlesier, die für das Berliner Kolloquium einen ungewöhnlich offenen und freundschaftlichen Kreis zusammengeführt hat, bin ich dankbar für die Einladung und die Möglichkeit, dort einige Überlegungen vorzustellen, die auch in der Niederschrift einiges von der Skizzenhaftigkeit des Vortrags bewahrt haben. Für hilfreiche Hinweise und Gespräche in Freiburg danke ich außerdem Wolfgang Ehrhardt, Ralf von den Hoff und besonders Katja Sporn, die mir kollegial Einblick in ihren wertvollen Katalog hellenistischer Weihreliefs gewährte.

- 1 Satyrstatue in Pergamon: Müller (1989); Stähli (1999) 256–262. – Gepardenreiter auf Delos: Bruneau/Ducat (2005) 129, 294 Abb. 29. – Rhodischer Grabskyphos: Fraser (1977) 68–70 Abb. 115a–c. – Phallosprozession: Kallixenos apud Ath. 5, 201e (FGrH 627 F 2). – Flucht des Dionysos aus Alexandria: Plut. *Ant.* 75.
- 2 Konzise Darstellung bei Cain/Dräger (1994); Sinn (2000) 385–390; zur Definition von ‚neuattisch‘: Cain (1995); s. auch die folgenden Anmerkungen.

Mänaden tanzen durch die spätrepublikanische Villa in Fianello Sabino, auf der Gartenterrasse der Villa der Livia in Prima Porta prangt ein marmorner Volutenkrater mit der Darstellung des rasenden Lykurg, und in den Gärten des Maecenas auf dem Esquilin gewährt ein noch zu besprechendes Relief einen Blick in ein von mythischen Gestalten bevölkertes Dionysosheiligtum.<sup>3</sup>

Trotz dieser üppigen und zuweilen spektakulären Zeugnislage haben Dionysosbilder des Hellenismus an der Konjunktur des Gottes in der Altertumswissenschaft der letzten Jahrzehnte nur mäßigen Anteil gehabt. Der aufregende, postmoderne Dionysos unserer Tage ist, was seine visuelle Dimension betrifft, vor allem ein Gott der archaischen und klassischen Vasenmalerei.<sup>4</sup> Zum Teil liegt dies fraglos in der Fülle und Geschlossenheit dieses reichen Darstellungscorpus begründet, mit dessen Versiegen im späten 4. Jh. v. Chr. eine ikonographische Leitgattung verschwindet und gegen das sich selbst der reiche Denkmälerbestand des späten Hellenismus mit seiner weiten geographischen Streuung und noch immer diffusen Chronologie vergleichsweise erratisch ausnimmt. Hinzu kommt der disparate Charakter einer Überlieferung, die zwischen der italischen Halbinsel und dem östlichen Mittelmeerraum eklatante Diskrepanzen aufweist. Dies gilt, wie Christian Kunze kürzlich herausgestrichen hat, vor allem für die stark auseinanderklaffenden Verwendungsformen späthellenistischer Plastik.<sup>5</sup> Es zeigt sich nämlich, daß rundplastische oder reliefierte Bildwerke in den Villen und Gärten Italiens vornehmlich in dekorativen Ensembles präsentiert werden, um ihrem Aufstellungsort ein kohärentes Flair zu verleihen.<sup>6</sup> Mit diesem neuartigen Einsatz von Bildmedien, die in Griechenland und Kleinasien vor allem im Heiligtum ihren angestammten Platz haben, geht auch eine inhaltliche Akzentverschiebung einher: Darstellungen des Dionysos und seines Kreises laden die dem

3 Fianello Sabino: Vorster (1998). – Marmorkrater Prima Porta: Rom, Vatikan, Galleria dei Candelabri I 37; Inv. 2404; Helbig<sup>4</sup> I, 410 f. Nr. 518 (W. Fuchs); Grassinger (1991) 205 Textabb. 47–48 Abb. 91–94.

4 Siehe bes. die Arbeiten aus der ‚Pariser Schule‘ um Jean-Pierre Vernant und hier namentlich eine Serie von Aufsätzen aus der Feder François Lissarragues, v. a. Lissarrague (1990a) und (1990b); (1993); ferner Moraw (1998); Isler-Kerényi (2004a); s. auch Schlesier/Schwarzmaier (2008), wo gleichfalls ein Schwerpunkt auf der Vasenmalerei liegt. – Die an der klassischen Vasenmalerei gewonnenen Erkenntnisse werden ausgebaut und auf hellenistische und frühkaiserzeitliche Denkmäler angewandt bei: Stähli (1999); Schneider (2000); (2009) 560–574; Wyler (2004); (2006a); (2006b).

5 Kunze (2008).

6 Der Begriff des ‚Dekorativen‘ ist hinsichtlich der hier zu beobachtenden Ausstattungspraktiken freilich von seinen negativen Konnotationen zu befreien (s. dazu auch Cain [1995] 896) und gemäß antiker Konzepte der Angemessenheit, eben des *decorum*, neu fruchtbar zu machen; für Ansätze in diese Richtung s. Hölscher (2007) 128 f.; Kunze (2008) 107 f. Zur antiken Reflexion und Anwendung des *decorum* ist eine Monographie von Alessandra Bravi in Vorbereitung.

*otium* vorbehaltenen Lebenswelten atmosphärisch mit Vorstellungen von idyllischer Sakralität, kollektiver Festlichkeit sowie der Teilhabe an griechischer Kultur auf; *hortus* oder Peristyl werden zum ländlichen Dionysosheiligtum stilisiert.<sup>7</sup>

Demgegenüber scheinen in Griechenland und Kleinasien traditionelle Betrachtungsweisen von Skulptur länger fortbestanden zu haben, und auch ihre Aufstellung scheint weiterhin auf öffentliche und sakrale Räume fokussiert zu sein. In diesem Sinne ist die Statuette eines jugendlichen Dionysos mit Panther aus einem Privathaus in Priene wohl eher nicht repräsentativ; in der gut erschlossenen Skulpturenausstattung hellenistischer Wohnhäuser auf Delos sind dionysische Themen jedenfalls bemerkenswert schwach vertreten.<sup>8</sup> Die eklektisch arbeitenden Werkstätten, die dionysische Ausstattungskunst für den italischen Markt hervorbringen, dürften also weniger aus diesem Bereich als aus dem Bilderschatz zeitgenössischer Heiligtümer schöpfen, der freilich noch nicht zusammenhängend erkundet ist: So intensiv der dekorative Dionysos der spätrepublikanisch-frühkaiserzeitlichen Villenkultur untersucht worden ist, so bruchstückhaft sind bislang unsere Kenntnisse hinsichtlich der Denkmäler, von denen diese Bilderwelt ihren Ausgang nimmt. Im Folgenden soll der Versuch unternommen werden, diesen Kenntnissen ein weiteres Teilstück hinzuzufügen. Damit soll gewiß nicht den vermeintlich trivialen Thiasoi campanischer Luxusresidenzen der genuine Dionysos mutterländischer Heiligtümer entgegengestellt werden; Gegenstand der vorliegenden Untersuchung sind vielmehr gerade die semantischen und formalen Verbindungslinien, die sich von den griechischen und kleinasiatischen Bildwerken zu jenen des italischen Raums ziehen lassen. Im Zentrum der Argumentation stehen drei reliefgeschmückte Denkmäler, an denen die hier sich vollziehenden Transferprozesse exemplarisch aufzuzeigen sein werden.

7 Die Literatur zu diesem hier nur knapp umrissenen Themenkomplex ist überaus umfangreich. Für unseren Zusammenhang besonders relevant sind Cain (1985) 144–148; Neudecker (1988) 47–54; Grassinger (1991) 144–151; Dräger (1994) 140–153; Hölscher (1994) 881–884; Zanker (1998) 112–114; zuletzt: Grassinger (2008); Cima/Talamo (2008) 10–25. – Einen Spezialfall innerhalb der Überlieferung stellen nach Italien verbrachte griechische Weihreliefs bzw. ihnen nachempfundene römische Werke dar. Gegenüber anderen Zeugnisgruppen lange Zeit vernachlässigt, sind sie in den letzten anderthalb Jahrzehnten zu einem nachgerade modischen Forschungsgegenstand avanciert: Kunz (1994); Sinn (2000) bes. 390–394; Baumer (2001); Böhm (2004); Comella (2008a); (2008b).

8 Dionysos aus Priene: Wiegand/Schrader (1904) 368–370 Abb. 463 f. – Delos: Kreeb (1988) 59 f.; Kunze (2008) 90. Nur für eine der vier bei Kreeb aufgeführten fragmentarischen Satyrstatuetten ist die Herkunft aus einem Wohnhaus zweifelsfrei gesichert.

## Schädel und Maske: Die Ikonographie des Opfers auf einem Rundaltar in Athen

Im letzten Viertel des 2. Jh. v. Chr. weihten die Brüder Pistokrates und Apollodoros aus dem attischen Demos Auridai einen großen, aufwendig reliefierten Rundaltar in das Heiligtum des Dionysos Eleuthereus am Fuß der Athener Akropolis (Fig. 2 und 3). In der ausführlichen Weihinschrift vergaßen die Stifter nicht, den Anlaß seiner Aufstellung zu erwähnen: Gemeinsam hatten sie die Durchführung der großen Prozession an den Städtischen Dionysien organisiert und waren Archonten des *genos* der Bakchiadai geworden.<sup>9</sup> Das Engagement, das die beiden Brüder im städtischen Dionysoskult an den Tag legen, dürfte in der Familie gelegen haben; sowohl ihr Vater als auch ihr mutmaßlicher Großvater heißen ausgerechnet Satyros.<sup>10</sup> Dazu paßt der ungewöhnliche Dekor des Altars, den eine reiche Girlande schmückt, zwischen deren Efeu- und Weinranken neben Korymben und Trauben auch Pinienzapfen und Granatäpfel hervorscheinen. Im tief durchhängenden Schwung der Girlande sitzen konventionelle Rosetten, getragen aber wird sie von vier bärtigen, wechselweise kahlköpfigen und langmähnigen Satyrmasken mit breit lachenden oder wild die Zähne fletschenden Mündern.<sup>11</sup>

Typologisch entspricht der Altar einer Form, die sich in der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jh. v. Chr. vor allem in Westkleinasien und den vorgelagerten Inseln fest etabliert und bis in die Kaiserzeit Bestand hat.<sup>12</sup> Typischerweise wird die umlaufende Girlande dabei von den Köpfen von Opfertieren, zumeist Rinderköpfen, getragen, sei es als Bukranion, d. h. als entfleischter Schädel, oder als Bukephalion mit Haut und Haaren (Fig. 1).<sup>13</sup> In der Bildformel der aufgehängten Stierköpfe, über die eine Girlande gelegt ist, findet der enge Zusammenhang von Opfer und Festlichkeit einen sinnfälligen Ausdruck. Daß

9 Athen, Dionysostheater o. Inv.; der bei Schömer (2003) 239 Kat.-Nr. 54 Taf. 54.1 genannten Literatur ist Lambert (1998) hinzuzufügen, der auf Unsicherheiten in Freedens (1985) Datierung des Altars in die späten 120er Jahre hinweist und dessen Ansetzung ich hier folge. Die Weihinschrift (IG II<sup>2</sup> 2949) lautet: Πιστοκράτης καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος / Σατύρου Αὐρίδαι πομπροστολήσαντες / καὶ ἄρχοντες γενόμενοι τοῦ γένους / τοῦ Βακχιαδῶν <vvv> ἀνέθηκαν. Zur Tätigkeit der Brüder und der Rolle der Bakchiadai bei den städtischen Dionysien s. Lambert (1998) 396–398.

10 Der in IG II<sup>2</sup> 2332 col. I, 78 (183/2 v. Chr.) bezeugte Satyros aus Auridai ist wohl zu alt, um selbst der Vater der Altarstifter zu sein; s. auch Freedens (1985) 218 Anm. 19.

11 Zum Lachen der Satyrn s. zuletzt Schneider (2009) 560–574. Zwar zeigen Satyrn beim Lachen oft die Zähne und weisen eine heftige Stirnkontraktion auf; gleichwohl ist die Miene der langmähnigen Satyrn des Athener Altares (Fig. 2) wohl nicht als lachend zu verstehen, sondern dürfte eher die naturwüchsige Wildheit der Mischwesen zum Ausdruck bringen.

12 Fraser (1977) 25–33; Berges (1986); Rumscheid (1994) 126; Berges (1996).

13 Börker (1975); Berges (1986) 41–44.

dies grundsätzlich auch für den Dionysoskult gilt, bezeugt ein späthellenistischer Rundaltar mit Bukephalien-Girlandenfries im Theater von Erythrai, den ein lokaler Honoratior anlässlich seiner Agonothese dem Dionysos und dem Demos weihte und der damit eine treffende Parallele zur Weihung des Pistokrates und Apollodoros abgibt.<sup>14</sup>

Wenn auf dem Rundaltar der beiden Athener Brüder nun Satyrmasken unter die Girlande gesetzt sind, so entspricht dies zunächst einer im Hellenismus häufiger anzutreffenden Neigung zur Variation solcher Girlandenfriese. Während an den ägäisch-kleinasiatischen Rundaltären vor allem die Gattung des Opfertiers variiert,<sup>15</sup> stützen etwa auf einem frühhellenistischen Sarkophag aus Bubon emblematische Alabastra eine einfache Lorbeergirlande; an architektonischen Friesen sind Eroten, Dreifüße und andere Objekte belegt.<sup>16</sup> Die inhaltlichen Bezüge derartiger Umgestaltungen sind in der Regel vergleichsweise vordergründig: So tragen etwa am Fries vom Propylon der Athena Nikephoros in Pergamon Adler des Zeus die Girlanden, während Eulen der Athena in den Schwüngen umherflattern.<sup>17</sup> Verglichen mit diesen Beispielen weist der Athener Rundaltar eine ungewöhnlich beziehungsreiche Anverwandlung der gängigen Typologie auf: Allein schon aufgrund morphologischer Analogien nehmen die Satyrmasken direkt Bezug auf die sonst an dieser Stelle üblichen Tierschädel oder -köpfe. Wie sehr diese Entsprechung gesucht wird, ist auch aus dem Beiwerk ersichtlich; hellenistische Maskenfriese weisen nämlich in der Regel Efeugirlanden auf und entbehren der seitlich herunterhängenden Tänen,<sup>18</sup> wohingegen sich das Athener Exemplar in diesen Punkten ganz an den Rundaltären mit Opfertieren orientiert.

14 Berges (1986) Nr. 107 Abb. 141a–b; zur Inschrift s. Varnlıoğlu (1981) 47 f. Taf. 5.2.

15 Siehe die bei Berges (1996) 49 aufgeführten Rundaltäre mit Böcken, Widdern und Cerviden. Vgl. auch zwei pergamenische Beispiele: Winter (1908) 337 f. Nr. 418 f. Taf. 41; Fraser (1977) 112 Anm. 148 Abb. 71a.c, ferner den späthellenistischen Gebälkfries des Tempels der Artemis Leukophryene in Magnesia am Mäander, an dem Köpfe von Hirschkühen die Girlande tragen; Berges (1986) 49 f.; Rumscheid (1994) 212 f. Taf. 85.1; Webb (1996) 89 f. Abb. 52.

16 Sarkophag aus Bubon: Museum Burdur Inv. 6927; Strocka (1978) 890–893 Abb. 4–5. Zu anderen hellenistischen Girlandenstützen s. ebd. 893 f., 905, und Rumscheid (1994) 294 f.

17 Rumscheid (1994) 278 Taf. 112.2–3; 113,1; Webb (1996) 60 f. Abb. 21.

18 Rumscheid (1994) 281 f., 287, 294; s. auch de Chaisemartin (2006) 71–74. Einzig der Fries vom Proskenion des Theaters in Kos (Rumscheid [1994] Taf. 62.6 und 7) zeigt wie das Athener Stück eine Fruchtgirlande mit seitlich an den Masken herabhängenden Tänen. – Berges (1986) 48 f. mit Anm. 229 weist darauf hin, daß sich die Tänie zunächst nur an Grabdenkmälern findet und erst mit dem Athener Altar auch in nicht-sepulkrallen Kontexten auftritt. Etwa zeitgleich begegnet sie freilich auch im Unteren Gymnasium von Priene, s. Rumscheid (1994) 46 f. Taf. 168.1–3. Vielleicht noch in hochhellenistische Zeit gelangt man mit den Säulenreliefs des Apollon-Smintheus-

Indem der Reliefschmuck des Altares die formalen Analogien zu den sonst an dieser Stelle gängigen Tierköpfen unterstreicht, wird der Betrachter nachdrücklich auf den veränderten Sinngehalt hingewiesen, welcher sich der etablierten Bildsprache des Opfers bedient, von dessen Semantik aber gänzlich abstrahiert, sind doch die Satyrn bzw. ihre Masken durchaus nicht als Opfertiere zu verstehen. Verweist der übliche Schmuck solcher Rundaltäre auf die Festlichkeit des Schlachtopfers, so kündigt das Athener Exemplar von jener des Theaters; an die Stelle abgeschlagener Köpfe treten lachend und knurrend verzogene Fratzen, und statt der von den Rindern verheißenen Fleischmahlzeit suggerieren die Mischwesen zunächst den reichlichen Konsum von Wein. Besondere Suggestion dürfte der letztgenannte Bezug entfaltet haben, wenn der Altar mit dem Blut der Opfertiere bespritzt wurde, das dann von den aufgesperrten Satyrmündern troff.

Diese Abwandlungen sind um so bemerkenswerter, als die Stifter ja gerade nicht in einem dramatischen Agon gesiegt, sondern die *pompe* an den Städtischen Dionysien organisiert hatten. Diese mündet in hellenistischer Zeit ausgerechnet in ein Stieropfer, für das just der zu diesem Anlaß gestiftete Altar benutzt worden sein dürfte.<sup>19</sup> Gleichwohl zogen es die Stifter vor, die gängige Opferikonographie einer *interpretatio dionysiaca* zu unterziehen, die mit visuellen Mitteln ihre besonders engen Verbindungen zum städtischen Dionysoskult herausstrich. Die Archonten der Bakchiadai wußten, was sie sich und ihrem Vater Satyros schuldig waren.

Gegenüber dem beziehungsreichen Altar des Pistokrates und Apollodoros erweisen sich spätere Masken-Girlandenfrieze als zunehmend generischer. Auf architektonischen Friesen hellenistischer Zeit sind die Bezüge zur Ikonographie des Opfers weitaus lockerer und die Girlanden zumeist als Efeuranken interpretiert. Durchaus folgerichtig begegnen die Masken hier auch nicht mehr als Stützen im eigentlichen Sinne, sondern sind den Ranken vorgeblendet.<sup>20</sup> Doch während noch im späthellenistischen Pergamon ein solcher Fries zum Schmuck der neuerrichteten Nordparodos des Theaters verwendet und dem Dionysos Kathegemon geweiht wird,<sup>21</sup> zeigt sich im karischen Aphrodisias schon bald darauf die semantische Offenheit, die dem Thema

Tempels von Chryse, s. Bingöl (1990) 47 f. Abb. 2; Rumscheid (1995) 35 f. Taf. 3.2–4.

19 Pickard-Cambridge (1968<sup>2</sup>) 60 f.

20 Rumscheid (1994) 294. Ungewöhnlich ist ein frühkaiserzeitlicher Altar in Bodrum, auf dem eine Fruchtgirlande über winzige Masken gelegt ist: Berges (1986) 183 Nr. 110 Abb. 144.

21 Istanbul, Archäologisches Museum (vormals Bergama, Museum); Bohn (1896) 13 Abb.: 1; Rumscheid (1994) 282 Taf. 135.4; Webb (1996) 68 f.; Radt (1999) 261; de Chaisemartin (2006) 71–73 Abb. 16. Von einem Namensvetter des Athener Apollodoros gestiftet, verwendet der Fries die gleichen Maskentypen, die auf dessen Altar vorkommen.

mittlerweile eignet. Zahlreiche öffentliche Bauten iulisch-claudischer Zeit sind hier mit Friesen isolierter oder girlandentragender Masken versehen, ohne daß der inhaltliche Bezug zur Funktion des Gebäudes deutlich würde.<sup>22</sup>

Mit Dionysos hat dies alles nur mehr insofern zu tun, als Gestalten des Thiasos auch in den kaiserzeitlichen Maskenfriesen immer noch prominent figurieren. Die Doppelbödigkeit des Athener Rundaltars allerdings scheint an den Friesen von Aphrodisias einer ubiquitären Formel für Festlichkeit gewichen zu sein. Dies ist eine Entwicklung, wie sie Hans-Ulrich Cain ähnlich für die Gruppe der sogenannten Maskenreliefs ausgemacht hat, die sich vor allem in Italien von frühaugusteischer bis in flavische Zeit einer kontinuierlichen Popularität erfreuen. Auf diesen primär für den privaten Kontext geschaffenen Denkmälern lassen sich die zuweilen gänzlich isoliert präsentierten Masken (auch hier vornehmlich, aber nicht ausschließlich dionysische Figuren) gerade nicht auf das Bühnenwesen beziehen, sondern dienen als Abkürzung für Dionysosheiligtümer und die damit verbundenen Feste und Glücksvorstellungen.<sup>23</sup> Damit zielen sie auf einen vergleichbaren Vorstellungshorizont wie der Athener Rundaltar, auf dem die Satyrmasken ja ebenfalls auf ein Opferfest verweisen und nicht etwa auf einen Sieg im dramatischen Agon zu beziehen sind. Freilich erfährt der Sinngehalt der Darstellung, die am Altar konkret in die tatsächliche Festpraxis eingebunden ist, auf den Maskenreliefs eine Verallgemeinerung und Abstraktion, die sich *mutatis mutandis* auch an den kleinasiatischen Friesen beobachten läßt. Statt in den Bereich der anspruchsvollen Villen, die im Osten kaum anzutreffen sind, wird die festliche Chiffre

22 a) Masken-Girlandenfries der sog. Tiberiusportikus: Jacopi (1939) bes. 163–168, 180–189; einige der ‚Masken‘ zitieren klassische Werke der Idealplastik: de Chaisemartin (1990). Die Bestimmung weiterer Köpfe als Porträts hellenistischer Herrscher durch de Chaisemartin/Lemaire (1996) 161–164 Abb. 12–15 (s. auch die bei Queyrel [2003] 137 Anm. 246 genannten Arbeiten) erscheint hingegen mehr als fraglich; vgl. die zurückhaltenden Bemerkungen bei Ratté (2002) 16; Queyrel (2003) 137 f. – b) Propylon des Sebasteions (mittleres 1. Jh. n. Chr.): Ratté (2002) 19; Jory (2002); de Chaisemartin (2006). Während Jory die Masken als solche der Pantomime und mithin als Indikator für eine frühe und dezidierte Anlehnung der Bauherren an kulturelle Traditionen Roms deutet, impliziert de Chaisemartin einen Zusammenhang mit den letzten Worten des Augustus und philosophischen Vorstellungen vom menschlichen Leben als Bühnenspiel. Keine der beiden Deutungen ist geeignet, den semantischen Zusammenhang zwischen Masken und Kaiserkult zu erläutern. – c) Einen besonderen Fall, dessen inhaltliche Implikationen mit imperialer Ideologie in diesem Rahmen nicht ausgeführt werden können, stellen hingegen die Masken-Girlanden-Arrangements an den Sockeln besiegtter Völkerschaften in der Nordportikus des Sebasteions dar; s. dazu R.R. Smith (1990) 92–94 Abb. 5–6; de Chaisemartin (2006) 76 Abb. 20. – Zu weiteren Maskenfriesen an öffentlichen Bauten in Aphrodisias s. Ratté (2002) 16; de Chaisemartin (2006) 77–79 Abb. 21–23.

23 Cain (1988) 160–175. Grob mißverstanden bei de Chaisemartin (2006) 81 f., derzufolge Cain die Masken als Zeichen von Triumph und Sieghaftigkeit deutete.



der Maske dort bezeichnenderweise in den nicht minder repräsentativen Raum der öffentlichen Platzanlagen transponiert.<sup>24</sup>

### Den Gott bewirten: Ein aktualisiertes Aition auf zwei hellenistischen Weihreliefs

Ein wohl bald nach der Mitte des 2. Jh. v. Chr. entstandenes Relief im Vatikan zeigt einen gelagerten Mann und eine Frau in einer geläufigen Komposition, die sich von den sogenannten ‚Totenmahlreliefs‘ herleitet (Fig. 4).<sup>25</sup> Die typologischen Traditionen lassen sich bis in einzelne Züge der Darstellung hinein verfolgen, so etwa der erhobene Arm des Mannes oder die Handlung der Frau, die Weihrauch in ein kleines Thymiaterion auf dem Tisch füllt (vgl. das Totenmahlrelief in Fig. 5). Auch der in variierender Form hinzugefügte Mundschenk ist ein wiederkehrendes Element dieser Reliefs, von deren seit dem 4. Jh. v. Chr. fest etablierten Konventionen das Stück im Vatikan jedoch in zweierlei Hinsicht abweicht: Zum einen fehlen die zumeist am linken Bildrand stehenden Adorantenfiguren; zum anderen nähert sich von rechts eine Gestalt, die zwar verloren ist, anhand des im Vordergrund niederknien- den kleinen Satyrs jedoch fraglos als Dionysos verstanden werden kann. Das Motiv des eintreffenden Gottes, der einen Fuß anhebt, um sich von einem dienstfertigen Satyrknaben die Sandale lösen zu lassen, kehrt in späteren Fassungen der Szene auf einer reliefverzierten Basis, auf tönernen Schmuckplatten und bei der kaiserzeitlichen Serie der sogenannten ‚Ikariosreliefs‘ (vgl. Fig. 7) regelmäßig wieder.<sup>26</sup>

In unserem Zusammenhang ist zunächst der Umstand von Bedeutung, daß das vatikanische Relief als griechisches Original anzusehen ist, das zwar nach Italien verbracht, aber ursprünglich für einen Votivkontext in Griechenland gefertigt wurde. In der Tat hat es einen unmittelbaren Vorläufer in einem im Athener Stadtgebiet gefundenen Relief, welches gleichfalls in der Tradition der Totenmahlreliefs steht (Fig. 6).<sup>27</sup> Hier begegnet noch die zur Hand des Gelagerten emporzüngelnde Schlange, und auch die Bewegungsrichtung von

24 Siehe Kunze (2008) 94 Anm. 85 zur im kaiserzeitlichen Osten nur sehr langsam Fuß fassenden Villenkultur.

25 Museo Gregoriano Profano Inv. 1346; zum Folgenden s. die ausführliche Untersuchung bei Sinn (2000) 394–403 und Sinn (2006) 65–72, die mir erlaubt, hier knapp zu bleiben. Zur Serie der Totenmahlreliefs s. für die klassische Zeit Thönges-Stringaris (1965) und Dentzer (1982) 301–390, für die hellenistische Epoche Fabricius (1999).

26 Zu diesen Traditionslinien: Borbein (1968) 183–186; Hesberg (1980) 272–276; Polito (1994) 76–80 (mit exzellenten Abbildungen); Sinn (2000) 394–398; weitere Literatur zu den Ikariosreliefs bei Sinn (2006) 70 Anm. 7.

27 Paris, Louvre MA 741; Literatur bei Sinn (2006) 71 Anm. 26 (dort auch zum Fundort).

links ist beibehalten. Anhand der Porträtzüge ist der efeubekränzte Gelagerte hier unzweideutig als Stifter des Reliefs zu erkennen, das auch aufgrund seines Fundortes im Stadtgebiet – eventuell an der Tripodenstraße – kein Grabrelief sein kann.

Bemerkenswert ist in beiden Reliefs die Umkehrung der mit dem Bildtypus verbundenen Rollen: Während die Totenmahlreliefs üblicherweise einen Heros bzw. den oder die Verstorbenen beim glückseligen Mahl auf der Kline zeigen, ist die Hauptfigur hier in der Gestalt des gerade erst eintreffenden Gottes zu erkennen. Entsprechend tritt der Stifter nicht als kleiner und distanzierter Adorant am Bildrand hinzu, sondern ist es selbst, der auf der Kline liegt und von Dionysos besucht wird, der ihm hier auf Augenhöhe gegenübertritt. Die tradierte Ausdrucksform eines bestimmten Relieftyps wird also umfunktionierte, um eine Situation auszudrücken, die für sich genommen nicht neu ist: die *xenia* oder gastliche Aufnahme und Bewirtung des Gottes. Erzählungen von Besuchen des Dionysos bei Sterblichen reichen weit zurück und kreisen immer wieder um die Frage seines Empfangs:<sup>28</sup> Verkennen des göttlichen Ankömmlings und Widerstand gegen seine Präsenz werden im Mythos drastisch bestraft, wohingegen seine gastliche Aufnahme mit der Gabe des Weins oder dem Wissen um dessen richtige Anwendung entlohnt wird. Die Gastlichkeit der Sterblichen und das Geschenk des Gottes, welches ja einen konstitutiven Bestandteil gemeinschaftlichen Feierns darstellt, stehen mithin in einer eigentümlichen zirkulären Verschränkung.

Vor diesem Vorstellungshorizont ist das Bestreben der Stifter dieser Weihreliefs zu sehen, sich als bereit und imstande darzustellen, den Gott angemessen zu bewillkommen. Die Handlung des Mundschenks wie auch die Entzündung des Thymiaterions sind hier auf das Eintreffen des Gottes und im Unterschied zu den Totenmahlreliefs nicht mehr allein auf den Gelagerten beziehbar. Auch der Umstand, daß dieser kein Trinkgefäß in der Hand hält, erweist sich als bezeichnende Abweichung von der Darstellungstradition: Der Stifter ist eben noch nicht beim Zechen, sondern erst als empfangender Gastgeber dargestellt; die Bedingungen für das gemeinsame Feiern entstehen erst durch den *deus praesentissimus*. Die beiden Reliefs in Rom und Paris aktualisieren mithin aitiologische Mytheme zur Gabe des Weins und Aufnahme des Gottes in der Form repräsentativer Weihungen, in denen die Stifter ihr Verhältnis zur Gottheit vermittels der Adaption eines tradierten Bildtypus

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28 Die literarischen Zeugnisse zu diesem Themenkomplex sammelt Flückiger-Guggenheim (1984) 101–119; s. dazu auch Massenzio (1970); Dowden (1989); ferner Peirce (1998) 80.

veranschaulichen.<sup>29</sup> Verwiesen sei nochmals auf die konkretisierende Wirkung der Porträtzüge, welche die Szene unmittelbar in die Gegenwart des Betrachters einbinden: Ἔτι καὶ νῦν, auch heute noch kommt Dionysos zu Besuch zu Sterblichen und wie νέοι ἱκάριοι verstehen die Stifter, den Gott gastlich zu empfangen.

Anschließend an Reliefs wie die hier besprochenen wird im späten 2. Jahrhundert ein Szenentypus geprägt, für den sich die Bezeichnung als ‚Ikariosreliefs‘ eingebürgert hat, ohne daß ein spezifischer Bezug zu diesem Mythos heute noch aufrechterhalten würde. In augusteischer Zeit erfährt der Typus eine Überarbeitung – so wird eine architektonische Szenerie im Hintergrund hinzugefügt – und erweist sich in der neuen Fassung als außerordentlich erfolgreich, wie Kopien bis in antoninische Zeit bezeugen (vgl. Fig. 7). Doch während die über zwei Jahrhunderte anhaltende Diskussion um diese Reliefsriehe eine schlüssige Rekonstruktion ihres komplexen Tradierungsprozesses gezeitigt hat, ist die Interpretation der Szene bis in die jüngsten Untersuchungen umstritten. Der lange gehegten Annahme, es müsse sich beim Gastgeber des Gottes um eine konkret benennbare mythische Gestalt handeln, stehen einige rezente Plädoyers für eine eher generische Valenz der Figur gegenüber, denen zufolge der Dionysosbesuch hier im allgemeinen Sinne einer wiederholbaren menschlichen Glückserfahrung thematisiert würde. Die dritte Möglichkeit, in dem Gelagerten eine historische Persönlichkeit zu erkennen, ist aufgrund der fehlenden Porträtzüge auszuschließen.<sup>30</sup>

Gegenüber den *Xenia*-Reliefs ist in der hier besprochenen Replik (Fig. 7) die sittsame Gefährtin des Gelagerten der Figur eines locker hingestreckten Mädchens gewichen; die im Hintergrund hinzugefügten Baukörper geben sich als Hausarchitektur zu erkennen,<sup>31</sup> und das am linken Bildrand auf einer

29 Ähnlich Sinn (2000) 399 f., die beide Reliefs allerdings eher als „Repräsentationsbilder“ verstanden wissen möchte, welche die Zugehörigkeit der Stifter zu dionysischen Vereinen unterstrichen hätten.

30 Die älteren Deutungen faßt Pochmarski (1990) 97 zusammen, der selbst einer Deutung der Serie als „rein dekorative Kopien“ eines Weihreliefs eines dramatischen Dichters zuzuneigen scheint. Für ein generisches Verständnis der Szene sprechen sich mit Nachdruck Cain (1988) 174 („anonymer Zecher“) und Sinn (2000) 400–403 (bes. 402: „Schaubild bacchischer Glückseligkeit in einem idealen Raum“) aus. Dagegen wendet sich zuletzt Polito (1994) 82, der im Gelagerten eher „un poeta o un attore mitico delle origini“ erkennen möchte – der dann freilich ohne individualisierende Porträtzüge dargestellt wäre. Für die Interpretation wohl von nachrangiger Bedeutung sind die in einigen Repliken begehenden Theatermasken: s. Sinn (2000) 401 f.

31 Hesberg (1986) 14; Zanker (1998) 19. Sinn (2000) 401 deutet die Architektur als Heiligtum, doch liefern der geschlossene Baukörper mit schlichten Fenstern, sein mit einem Pultdach versehener Anbau, das Fehlen jeglichen Bauschmucks, im Mittelgrund die einfach gehaltene Mauer mit schlichtem Eingang, das Fehlen von Votiven *innerhalb*

Säule plazierte Gefäß – meist als Wasserbecken gedeutet – fügt der symposialen Szenerie ein wichtiges Element hinzu, entspricht doch die offene Schüsselform mit Griffhenkeln und abgesetztem Fuß einem hellenistischen Kratertypus, von dem unterschiedliche keramische Varianten im 3. und 2. Jahrhundert geläufig sind, der hier aber sicher als metallene zu denken ist. Die Gefäßform begegnet auch auf samischen Totenmahreliefs des 2. Jh. v. Chr., von denen eines zeigt, wie eine solche Schüssel aus einer Amphora befüllt wird und mithin die Funktion als Krater sichert.<sup>32</sup> Daß Dionysos auch zu diesem Gelage gastlich empfangen wird, ist nicht zu bezweifeln: Eine zweite Kline mit zugehörigem Fußschemel steht bereit, und auf dem Tisch bezeugt ein Kantharos die dem Gott gewogene Einstellung des Gastgebers.

Mit der Schilderung einer Ankunft des Dionysos am Wohnhaus eines gastfreundlichen Mannes mit idealen Zügen entsprechen die ‚Ikariosreliefs‘ allen Anforderungen, die an eine mythische Interpretation der Szene zu richten wären; gleiches gilt aber eben auch für eine Deutung als idealtypisches Bild dionysischen Wohllebens, die freilich nur schwer zu falsifizieren ist. Parallelen für eine so ausgefeilte und zugleich gänzlich generische Darstellungsweise sind bislang nicht angeführt worden. Für den Besuch bei Ikarios gibt es hingegen eine (späte) bildliche Tradition, und auch andere mythische Gastgeber des Gottes sind Gegenstand der Bildkunst: So beschreibt Pausanias in einem Dionysos-Temenos nahe der Athener Agora eine Statuengruppe aus Terrakotta, die den attischen König Amphiktyon bei der Bewirtung des Dionysos und anderer Gottheiten zeigt.<sup>33</sup> Hingewiesen sei ferner auf eine unterlebensgroße, rundplastische Variante des eintreffenden Dionysos der ‚Ikariosreliefs‘, von der allerdings nicht zu klären ist, ob sie zu einer statuarischen Gruppe ergänzt werden kann. Jedenfalls wäre eine solche rundplastische Gruppe in der mutmaßlichen Entstehungszeit des Szenentyps nicht gänzlich

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der Mauern dafür keinen Anhaltspunkt. Eine in zahlreichen Punkten abweichende Replik in London (British Museum, Townley Collection Inv. 2190) führt vor Augen, welche Möglichkeiten für die Darstellung eines Heiligtums zur Verfügung gestanden hätten, aber auf der Mehrzahl der Reliefs nicht genutzt wurden; s. Polito (1994) 83 f. Abb. 5. Mit ihrer Bezugnahme auf die Bildsprache augusteischer Denkmäler nach dem Sieg bei Actium stellt die Replik eine hochspezifische Umdeutung der Szene innerhalb der ansonsten vergleichsweise homogenen Überlieferung dar. Isoliert steht auch die Replik in Athen, Nationalmuseum Λ 5147, abgebildet bei Bieber (1961<sup>3</sup>) Abb. 657, die das Gebäude mit einem Triglyphon und einer Lesenengliederung versieht.

32 Hellenistische Kratertypen: Rotroff (1996) 12 Abb. 9, 17. – Samische Reliefs: s. Fabricius (1999) Taf. 5a, 6a,b, und besonders das Relief Samos, Museum Inv. 217; Pfuhl-Möbius (1979) 372 f. Nr. 1511 Taf. 218; Fabricius (1999) Taf. 2b.

33 Ikarios: LIMC V 645–647 s.v. Ikarios 1 (D. Gondicas). Amphiktyon: Paus. 1.2.5; s. dazu Musti/Beschi (1982) 265 ad loc.

ohne Parallelen, wie die in Zeitstellung, Format und Erzählweise vergleichbare Herakles-Prometheus-Gruppe aus Pergamon zeigt.<sup>34</sup>

Zumindest in einem Fall läßt sich allerdings wahrscheinlich machen, daß die in den ‚Ikariosreliefs‘ geschilderte Szene auf einen Mythos bezogen wurde. Eine Replik in Izmir – die einzige der gesamten Serie, deren Anbringungskontext bekannt ist<sup>35</sup> – war im Kaisersaal des Vedius-Gymnasiums in Ephesos in die Wand eingelassen und dort mit einem weiteren Relief kombiniert, das die Entgegennahme des Dionysoskindes durch die Nymphen von Nysa zeigte.<sup>36</sup> Zwar stammen die beiden Reliefs aus gänzlich unterschiedlichen Traditionen und dürften wohl auch nur für die Ausstattung dieses Gebäudes zusammengestellt worden sein, der identischen Rahmenleiste zufolge waren sie für diesen Zweck aber offenkundig als Pendants angefertigt. Damit ist ein starkes Argument gegen die generische Lesart gewonnen, ist es doch wenig plausibel, daß man hier einem „anonymen Stimmungsbild, das die Freuden dionysischer Lebensgenüsse verherrlicht“,<sup>37</sup> ein konkretes Ereignis aus der Biographie des Gottes entgegengestellt hätte. Vielmehr ist anzunehmen, daß der Betrachter die beiden Reliefs als Bilder unterschiedlicher Episoden im wechselvollen Leben des Dionysos aufeinander beziehen konnte, zumal sie beide das zentrale Thema der Aufnahme des Gottes behandelten: Dem von den Nymphen aufgezogenen Kleinkind war der reife, bärtige Gott gegenübergestellt, der mit seinem Thiasos nun bei einem Sterblichen Einzug hielt.

Damit ist zumindest für die ephesische Replik eine konkret mythologische Lesart überaus wahrscheinlich. Hinweise auf die spezifische Identität des Gastgebers fehlen weiterhin; allein im attischen Raum stehen Ikarios, Amphiktyon sowie der weniger prominente Semachos zur Auswahl.<sup>38</sup> Unab-

34 Rom, Museo Nazionale Romano Inv. 39531; Helbig<sup>4</sup> III.148 f. Nr. 2239 (H. von Steuben); Giuliano (1979) 115 f. (O. Vasori); Hesberg (1980) 273 Taf. 87.2; Polito (1994) 77 Abb. 9. Für eine rundplastische Darstellung würde man allerdings doch eine konkrete Benennbarkeit der Dargestellten erwarten. – Pergamenische Gruppe: Heilmeyer (1997) 76–79 mit Abb.

35 Die von Pochmarski (1990) 301 Nr. 32, Häuber (1991) 255 Nr. 107 und Sinn (2000) 401 f. Anm. 120 u. 130 aufgeführte Replik aus dem Auditorium des Maecenas beruht wohl auf einer Verwechslung. Otto Benndorf – zitiert von Reisch (1890) 28 Anm. 2 – glaubte, das Relief 1885 im Auditorium gesehen zu haben, doch dürfte es sich dabei um das ähnliche, in der Tat 1876 in den *horti Maecenatis* gefundene und zunächst im Auditorium ausgestellte Relieffragment gehandelt haben, das heute im Museo Nuovo Capitolino unter der Inventarnummer 1426 verwahrt wird: Hundsalz (1987) 207 Nr. 110; Polito (1994) 76 Abb. 4; s. unten Anm. 39 zu Nr. 1.

36 Keil (1929) 41 Nr. 11 u. 12 Abb. 28 u. 29.

37 Sinn (2000) 402.

38 Gegen eine mythische Interpretation und namentlich die Identifikation des Gelagerten als Ikarios wurde zuletzt vor allem die erotisierende Darstellung der Frau zu seinen Füßen ins Feld geführt, die dann als dessen Tochter Erigone zu deuten sei, s. Polito (1994) 81 („difficilmente si tratterà della figlia“); vgl. Sinn (2000) 400. Immerhin weiß

hängig von der Benennung ist im Zusammenhang mit der Frage nach den Transformationen späthellenistischer Dionysosbilder der hier zu beobachtende Prozeß der Remythologisierung bemerkenswert: Aktualisierten die griechischen Weihreliefs das Erzählmotiv von der Dionysos-Einkehr dergestalt, daß ihre Stifter sich nachgerade als neue Ikarioi präsentierten, projiziert der im italischen Raum so erfolgreiche und eklektisch aufpolierte Typus der Ikariosreliefs das Bildgeschehen wieder in einen nicht näher spezifizierbaren idealen Bildraum, der – zumindest in einem Fall – als Mythenbild gelesen werden konnte. Damit verlagert sich der Fokus der Darstellungen von einer gegenwartsbezogenen Begegnung mit dem Gott hin zu einer antiquarisch distanzierenden Betrachtungsweise.

### Unter der Platane: Die sogenannten Satyrspielreliefs

Weniger prominent als die Ikariosreliefs, aber ebenfalls mehrfach kopiert ist ein Relieftypus, der Szenen aus einem Dionysosheiligtum zeigt (Fig. 8 und 9). Zwar stammen sechs der bislang bekannt gewordenen sieben Repliken aus Italien, in Aufbau und Formensprache aber geben sie sich als Kopien nach einem hellenistischen Weihrelief zu erkennen, das in der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jh. v. Chr. entstanden sein dürfte.<sup>39</sup> Die qualitativste, wenn auch nicht in

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aber Ovid (*Met.* 6.125; s. dazu Burkert [1972] 268 f.) von einer Tradition, in der Dionysos Erigone verführte. Vor allem aber leuchtet nicht ein, weshalb die hetärenhafte Gestalt an der Seite einer mythischen Figur Anstoß erregen sollte, nicht aber an der Seite eines generischen Jedermann, mit dem sich (ausgerechnet!) der augusteische Betrachter identifizieren sollte. – Zur Ikarios-Mythologie vgl. Borgeaud in diesem Band.

39) Drei Repliken waren bereits von Schreiber (1984) Taf. 46–48 zusammengestellt worden; Schreiber (1909) lieferte dann die erste zusammenhängende Behandlung der Serie und prägte ihre Bezeichnung als ‚Satyrspielbilder‘; s. außerdem Petersen (1910); Bulle (1937) 93–102; Turcan (1984); Hundsatz (1987) 54–62; Cain (1988) 166 f., 177.

1) Rom, Kapitolinische Museen, Konservatorenpalast Inv. 2011 (hier Fig. 8); Schreiber (1909) 761 f. Nr. A Taf. 1; Bulle (1937) Taf. 6 u. Abb. 1 (mit falscher Ergänzung der Platane); Helbig<sup>4</sup> II.331 Nr. 1517 (H. von Steuben) mit weiterer Literatur; Turcan (1984) Taf. 98.1; Hundsatz (1987) 185 f. Nr. 82 mit Abb.; Zanker (1998) 46 f. Abb. 24; Cima/Talamo (2008) 14 Abb. 5; aus den *horti Maecenatis* in Rom, wo es zusammen mit einem weiteren Relief mit Heiligtumsdarstellung (s. oben Anm. 35) gefunden wurde, Schreiber (1909) 762 zufolge in Zweitverwendung.

2) Rom, Kapitolinische Museen Inv. 622, vormals Slg. Albani (hier Fig. 9); Schreiber (1909) 763 Nr. C Taf. 3; Helbig<sup>4</sup> II.185 Nr. 1379 (H. von Steuben); Turcan (1984) Taf. 98.2; Hundsatz (1987) 187 Nr. 85; aus Cori.

3) Neapel, Nationalmuseum Inv. 27711, vormals Slg. Farnese inv.; Schreiber (1909) 762 f. Nr. B Taf. 2; Turcan (1984) Taf. 99.1; Hundsatz (1987) 186 f. Nr. 84; de Caro (2000) 74 f. Abb. S. 80.

allen Punkten präziseste Replik (Fig. 8), heute im Konservatorenpalast, stammt aus den Gärten des Maecenas und weist am rechten Rand eine Aussparung auf, die zur Pfeilerordnung eines rahmenden Naiskos gehört haben dürfte, wie er für Weihreliefs attischer Tradition typisch ist. Gerade dieses Detail spricht freilich gegen die Interpretation des Stücks als griechisches Original, an dem eine getrennte Herstellung von Naiskos und Relief sehr ungewöhnlich wäre; eher ist anzunehmen – und dafür spricht auch die nicht geglättete Bodenleiste –, daß das Relief für die Einlassung in eine Wandfläche gearbeitet war, wo es von einem gesonderten Rahmen eingefäßt wurde.<sup>40</sup>

Die Darstellung ist durch Relieflinien in zwei Register aufgeteilt. Im unteren sind drei nach links gerichtete knabenhafte Figuren zu erkennen; zwei stehen gesammelt und mit verschränkten Händen da und beobachten eine dritte Gestalt, die sich in einer tänzelnden Schrittbewegung und mit erhobenerm rechten Arm nach links bewegt. Die Schwänzchen und spitzen Ohren kennzeichnen alle drei als Satyrn, die Proportionen, rundlichen Gliedmaßen

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4) Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico; Schreiber (1909) 764 Nr. D Abb. 1; Turcan (1984) Taf. 99.2; Hundsalz (1987) 189 Nr. 87; Morigi Govi/Vitali (1988) 159.

5) Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico; Schreiber (1909) 764 f. Nr. E Abb. 2; Turcan (1984) Taf. 99.3; Hundsalz (1987) 186 Nr. 83; Morigi Govi/Vitali (1988) 159.

6) vormalig Slg. Bausch, zuletzt in Tübinger Privatbesitz (?); Schreiber (1909) 765 f. Nr. F Abb. 3.; FR III.357 Anm. 7 (C. Watzinger); Hundsalz (1987) 188 Nr. 86; wahrscheinlich aus Rom.

7) Sparta, Archäologisches Museum Inv. 6187; Hundsalz (1987) 188 Nr. 86a mit Abb.; von der Akropolis in Sparta.

Turcan (1984) 666 f. nimmt an, daß die qualitätvolle Replik aus den Maecenasgärten (1; hier Fig. 8) mit ihrem fraglos prominenten Standort die Vorlage für die anderen in Italien gefundenen Kopien lieferte; ähnlich äußerte sich schon Bulle (1937) 102. Dagegen spricht freilich, daß ausgerechnet diese Replik die Statuen- und Reliefsokkel im oberen Register vereinfacht darstellt (s. unten Anm. 49), wohingegen alle anderen Repliken, die dieses Detail überliefern (2–5), in der Wiedergabe zweier getrennter Sockel untereinander übereinstimmen. Auch die Krone der Platane reicht auf dem Relief im Konservatorenpalast weiter nach rechts als auf den anderen Repliken.

40 Zur Einlassung von Reliefs in Wände s. Cic. *Att.* 1.10.3 und dazu Kunz (1994) 893 f.; Sinn (2000) 390. Eine ähnliche Abarbeitung weist ein Weihrelief aus Pompeii auf, das im Garten eines Hauses an eine Wand gelehnt aufgefunden wurde: Böhm (2004) 18 Abb. 7; Strocka (2007) 545 (der das Relief als klassizistische Schöpfung einstuft); Comella (2008a) 54 Abb. 2. Anhand der Abbildung nicht zu beurteilen ist die ähnliche Aussparung auf einem Neufund aus Herculaneum bei Böhm (2008) 172 f. Abb. 1. Zu römischen Kopien (oder Abwandlungen) klassischer Weihreliefs, die auch deren Naiskosrahmung übernehmen, s. Sinn (2000) 403 f. Abb. 12–13. Gesondert gearbeitet ist die (relativ derbe) Rahmung eines Totenmahreliefs, das in Hanghaus 2 in Ephesos in die Wand eines mutmaßlichen Kultraumes eingelassen wurde: Thüri (2005) 41 Taf. 7.3. Zu den unterschiedlichen technischen Verfahren für die Einlassung von Reliefs s. Pfanner (1989) 183–190, bes. 185 Anm. 28 mit Abb. 8; Seiler (1992) 122 f.



und Pagenfrisuren zeigen ihr knabenhaftes Alter an.<sup>41</sup> Am rechten Bildrand steht eine mit einem breiten Tuch umwickelte Cista, hinter der ein Thyrsos lehnt, außerdem eine nach rechts gewandte ithyphallische Herme. Im höher liegenden Geländeteil des oberen Registers sitzt auf einem profilierten Block oder Altar eine junge Frau mit um die Hüften geschlungenem Mantel und nacktem Oberkörper und betrachtet eine auf den Knien gehaltene Silensmaske. Vor ihr ist ein niedriger Schrein oder eine Truhe erkennbar; dahinter steht, eine Doppelflöte in den Händen, ein Satyrknabe, der aus dem Relief heraus- und den Betrachter anblickt. Rechts, im Rücken der Sitzenden, steht auf hohem Pfeiler ein Weihrelief, hinter dem sich ein weiterer Satyr und eine Frau küssen. Die gesamte Szenerie wird überragt von der Krone einer knorrig aufwachsenden Platane; der linke Bildrand ist in keiner Replik erhalten.

Aufgrund der Hinweise auf Tanz und Theater werden die Repliken dieses Szenentypus seit ihrer ersten Zusammenstellung durch Theodor Schreiber als ‚Satyrspielreliefs‘ angesprochen, eine mißverständliche Bezeichnung, die eine Reihe von Bildelementen unberücksichtigt läßt und nicht zuletzt den Umstand verdunkelt, daß alle Teile der Darstellung dazu beitragen, den Schauplatz, ein ländliches Heiligtum des Dionysos, näher zu charakterisieren.<sup>42</sup> An erster Stelle ist hier die Platane zu nennen, die seit Platon eng mit Vorstellungen von idyllischer Heiligtumslandschaft verbunden ist. In Magnesia am Mäander war ein Mänadenverein nach einer Platane oder einem Platanenhain benannt, und das Kultbild des Dionysos Dendrites war in einer Platane aufgefunden worden. Doch begegnet der Baum auch in anderen sakralen Kontexten; insbesondere Nymphen und Musen werden häufig mit Platanen in Verbindung gebracht, und in diesem Sinne ist auch die Frau mit der Maske gedeutet worden.<sup>43</sup> Da ihre partielle Nacktheit allerdings schwer mit der überlieferten Musenikonographie in Einklang zu bringen ist, dürfte sie am

41 Auf der Replik ex Albani (2; hier Abb. 9) sind die beiden Stehenden auch durch den auf dem Haupt aufliegenden gerollten Schopf als Knaben ausgewiesen; zur Beliebtheit dieses Trachtelements im Späthellenismus s. Kell (1988) 112; Kunze (2002) 153 Anm. 851.

42 Schreiber (1909). Schreibers Deutung ist nicht unwidersprochen geblieben, s. die polemische Entgegnung bei Petersen (1910). Die Interpretation der Szene als bacchische Initiation durch Turcan (1984) entbehrt konkreter Anhaltspunkte im Bild. De Caro (2000) 74 f. deutet die Neapler Replik (3) allegorisch, mißverstet allerdings das stehende Satyrpaar im unteren Register als keusches Ehepaar.

43 Zu den sakralen Konnotaten der Platane s. Hardie (1997) 27–30; Simon (2002) 86–89. Magnesia: Henrichs (1978a) 132 f. – Zur Beliebtheit der Platane in Darstellungen von Heiligtümern und idyllischer Natur vgl. etwa das sogenannte Münchner Weihrelief (München, Glyptothek, Inv. 206; Hausmann [1960] 89–96 Abb. 55 u. 56), außerdem die Platten 4, 11 und 12 des Telephosfrieses: Heilmeyer (1997) Abb. 2.37 Taf. zu Kat.-Nr. 21; s. auch Hundsalz (1987) 73–80.



ehesten als Nymphe im Umfeld des Dionysos zu verstehen sein.<sup>44</sup> Ungewöhnlich ist auch ihre spezifische Befäßtheit mit der Maske, die weder deiktisch hochgehalten noch beiläufig mitgeführt wird; vielmehr hält sie das Satyrgeſicht, deſſen Bart auf ihren Knien aufliegt, mit den Fingerspitzen in einer labilen Neigung, die ein konzentriertes Betrachten ermöglicht. Sonst eher aus Darſtellungen dramatiſcher Dichter vertraut, gewinnt die dialogiſche Verſenkung ihren ſpezifischen Reiz aus der geläufigen Rollenkonſtellation von geilten Satyrn, welche die Nymphen im Gefolge des Dionysos bedrängen.<sup>45</sup> Die Entblößung der Frau betont emphatiſch dieſe erotiſche Spannung, die allerdings dadurch entſchärft iſt, daß der Satyr eben nur in Geſtalt einer Bühnenmaſke zugegen iſt. Dem Blick dieſes Satyrs braucht ſich die Nymphe nicht zu entziehen und kann ſich ihm mit all der Entſpanntheit auſetzen, die der läſſig auf den linken Arm geſtützte Oberkörper ſuggeriert.

Das Geſchehen im Rücken der Sitzenden greift dieſes Thema auf und verbindet es mit dem alten Motiv der Dionysosfeier als Ort klandestiner erotiſcher Begegnungen.<sup>46</sup> Hinter einem Weihrelief und ſeinem Pfeiler erkennt der Betrachter die Körperumriſſe einer Frau und eines auf die Zehenspitzen erhobenen Satyrs, deren Häupter gerade oberhalb des Reliefs beim Kuß ſichtbar werden. Eine Reihe von Indizien ſpricht dafür, die beiden freilich nicht als handelnde Figuren, ſondern als Statuen zu verſtehen: Dazu gehört zum einen die oft hervorgehobene motiviſche Nähe zur ſtatuarischen Gruppe von Eros und Psyche beim Kuß.<sup>47</sup> Allein angeſichts der Häufigkeit, mit der Motive und Typen der Großplastik in ſpätklassiſche und helleniſtiſche Weihreliefs eingefügt werden, wäre dieſer Umſtand für ſich genommen nicht

44 Vgl. Petersen (1910) 787: „Nymphe“; Turcan (1984) 665: „une thiasote“; Cain (1988) 166: „Mänade oder Bacchantin“. Zur Annäherung der helleniſtiſchen Nymphenikonographie an Aphroditetypen ſ. Prittwitz (1988) 118–124. Andere Benennungen der Figur ſind weitaus ſchillernder, wenn auch kaum zu begründen: Schreiber (1909) 770: „Muse des Satyrdramas“; Bulle (1937) 95: „das Mädchen Skene, die Verkörperung der Inſzenierungskunſt“; Hundſalz (1987) 55–57: „Telete“.

45 Zum Motiv der Maſkenbetrachtung ſ. Hundſalz (1987) 54–57 und vor allem Cain (1988) 166 f., 173.

46 *Locus classicus* iſt Euripides' Tragödie *Ion*. Vgl. dazu die Kontroverſe um die Exiſtenz männlicher Teilnehmer bei Mänadenfeiern, gegen die Henrichs (1978a) 133 f. und vor allem Henrichs (1984a) gute Argumente anführt, ſ. auch die zuſtimmenden Bemerkungen bei Gould (2001) 270. Im mythiſchen Handlungsraum, in dem unſer Relief angeſiedelt iſt, ſind derlei Begegnungen aber offenbar durchaus vorſtellbar, ſ. Vernſel (1990) 119 f. Anm. 94; Schleſier (1993b) 17–20; Scullion (2007) 253–258; zu *Ion* 550–554: Schleſier (2010a) 216 f.

47 Zur Motivgeſchichte ſ. Aspris (1996) 132–142, der (ebd. 137) auch auf unſere Relieferie hinweiſt; ſ. außerdem Zanker (1998) 65–67; de Caro (2000) 75 ſpricht das Paar auf der Neapler Replik (3) ſogar als Amor und Psyche an; tatsächlich fehlen dem Küſſenden dort eindeutig ſatyreſke Züge – allerdings auch Flügel.

weiter überraschend.<sup>48</sup> Im vorliegenden Fall kommt zum anderen der im Verhältnis zur Maskenhalterin deutlich verkleinerte Maßstab der Küssenden hinzu, der sich gut zum unterlebensgroßen Format hellenistischer Genregruppen fügt; als perspektivische Entfernungsgröße eines weit im Hintergrund stehenden Paares wird man ihn jedenfalls kaum verstehen wollen. Vor allem aber stehen die Figuren auf einem quaderhaften Sockel, was einer Statuengruppe dann doch angemessener ist als einem tatsächlichen Liebespaar beim verstoßenen Kuß.<sup>49</sup>

Als Bild im Bilde entfaltet die Gruppe der Küssenden ihre Wirkung auf zweierlei Ebenen. Innerhalb des Bildraums suggeriert die Statuengruppe dem Besucher des Heiligtums, ein junges Liebespaar aufgestöbert zu haben, das im Überschwang des Kultgeschehens zueinander gefunden hat und sich, zwischen Votivgaben verborgen, unter der Platane zum Kuß vereinigt. Eine solche augenblicksbezogene, lebenschte Inszenierung, die atmosphärisch unmittelbar auf den Betrachtungskontext bezogen ist, entspricht präzise den in der Rundplastik hellenistischer Zeit angestrebten Effekten.<sup>50</sup> Zugleich wird dem Betrachter des Reliefs, der von außerhalb in das Heiligtum blickt, das Paar als Statuengruppe kenntlich, und so erfährt die Darstellung eine zusätzliche Brechung: Kein tatsächliches Schäferstündchen im Heiligtum ist hier wiedergegeben, sondern die Suggestion desselben durch ein Stück Heiligtumsausstattung.

Mit der Verlebendigung des dinglichen Inventars des Heiligtums nimmt das Original der ‚Satyrspielreliefs‘ die stark bewegten Hermen oder die wie im Gespräch beieinander liegenden Masken der frühkaiserzeitlichen Ausstattungskunst vorweg. Im vorliegenden Fall sind die Objekte allerdings in ausgeprägt spezifische Handlungsabläufe eingebunden. Sie blicken lüstern, sie küssen und verbergen sich und thematisieren mithin in spielerischer Brechung die innerhalb des Thiasos wirkenden Begehrlichkeiten.

Die meisten Interpreten gingen bislang davon aus, daß die Reliefs unweit des Bruches am linken Rand abschlossen, doch spricht eine Reihe von Gesichtspunkten gegen diese Annahme. Zunächst ist der durchgehende Bruch

48 Vgl. etwa die Figur im Typus des Dornausziehers auf einem oft mit den ‚Satyrspielreliefs‘ verglichenen Relief in Liverpool, Merseyside Museum: Himmelmann (1975) 27–29 Abb. 14 u. 15a.

49 Auf den Repliken ex Albani (2; hier Fig. 9) und Bologna (5) ist am rechten Bildrand die senkrechte Kante dieses Sockels deutlich angegeben, der also nicht als Geländelinie gedeutet werden kann. Die Replik im Konservatorenpalast (1; hier Fig. 8) verschmilzt ihn mit der Basis des Weihreliefpfeilers.

50 Siehe Kunze (2002) passim, bes. 46 f., 150–153, 232 f. sowie Stähli (1999) 88 f. Gerade die Reduktion des Liebespaares auf eine expressive und formelhafte Pose entspricht den von Kunze (2002) 239 f. spezifisch für den Späthellenismus ausgemachten Tendenzen.

einer Reliefplatte längs ihres Randes aus technischen Gründen vergleichsweise unwahrscheinlich. Auch ist ein hochrechteckiges Format für die Gattung des Weihreliefs durchaus ungewöhnlich. In der Tat hatte Eugen Petersen schon 1910 vorgeschlagen, die linke Hälfte des unteren Registers mit Hilfe eines Fragments in der Sammlung Hartwig zu rekonstruieren.<sup>51</sup> Zwar bereitet diese Ergänzung größere Schwierigkeiten, doch hatte Petersen grundsätzlich richtig gesehen, daß die einheitliche Ausrichtung der Figuren im erhaltenen Teil des Reliefs ein Gegengewicht in dessen linkem Teil nahelegt. In der Tat überliefert eine seitdem bekannt gewordene Replik in Sparta im unteren Register einige bislang vernachlässigte Details für die Fortsetzung der Szene nach links: Jenseits der wellig abfallenden Geländelinie wächst unterhalb der Platane ein weiterer Pflanzenstamm (oder eine Geländelinie?) schmal und biegsam nach links hin hoch. Außerdem ist am unteren Bildrand noch der Fuß einer offenbar etwas größeren Figur zu erkennen, der nach dem erhaltenen Rest zu schließen leicht vorgesetzt war, wie dies bei einer sitzenden Gestalt zu erwarten wäre. Die Gegenwart von Satyrn, der Thyrsos und die Maske im oberen Register sprechen dafür, hier als Herrn des Heiligtums einen thronenden Dionysos anzunehmen, während der mutmaßliche Pflanzenrest zu einer der dem Gott eigenen Rankenpflanzen, Weinrebe oder Efeu, gehört haben könnte.<sup>52</sup>

Der Nachweis einer weiteren Figur im unteren Register erlaubt – unabhängig von der Frage nach ihrer Identität – ein neues Verständnis der Komposition. Um einen Sitzenden ergänzt, auf den die Satyrn bezogen sind, entspricht die Darstellung nun der konventionellen Anordnung spätklassischer und hellenistischer Weihreliefs, die Adoranten vor einer Gottheit zeigen. Typischerweise stehen in diesen Bildern einige Mitglieder der Stiftergemeinschaft parataktisch im Hintergrund, während eine oder mehrere weiter vorn stehende Figuren konkreter auf die Gottheit ausgerichtet sind. Statt freilich gemessenen Schrittes und mit andachtsvoll erhobener Hand vor die Gottheit zu treten, macht der vorderste Satyr einen federnden Satz nach vorn

51 Petersen (1910) 787 f. – Das Fragment befindet sich heute im Nationalmuseum Budapest: Hekler (1929) 107 Abb. 96 und Bulle (1937) 105 f. Taf. 7b. Vor felsigem Hintergrund sind ein Lyraspieler mit thrakischer Fuchsfellmütze und ein sitzender alter Satyr mit singend geöffnetem Mund zu erkennen, der am Kopf von einem rechten Arm berührt (oder bekränzt?) wird, wie er in ähnlicher Haltung beim tanzenden Satyr der Satyrspielreliefs begegnet. Zwar sprechen der römische Fundort und der sehr ähnliche Maßstab des Budapester Reliefs durchaus für Petersens These; nach Ausweis der verfügbaren Fotografien dürfte es jedoch an keines der bekannten Satyrspielreliefs direkt anpassen. Überdies zeigen die Repliken ex Bausch (6) und Sparta (7), auf denen die Figur des Tänzers am vollständigsten überliefert ist, daß links von ihm mehr leere Fläche vorhanden war, als das Stück in Budapest zuläßt.

52 Vgl. die Weinrebe auf einem bescheidenen hellenistischen Dionysosaltar im Museum von Theben: Zagdoun (1989) 254 Nr. 453 Abb. 215.

und streckt den rechten Arm in einer emphatischen Geste weit vor; die Körpersprache der Adoration ist hier in die bewegteren Formen des Tanzes übertragen.<sup>53</sup> Der Kopf allerdings ist nicht in ekstatischer Loslösung in den Nacken geworfen, sondern ehrfurchtsvoll gesenkt. Eine ähnliche Adaption ist an dem dahinter stehenden Satyrpaar zu beobachten: Ruhig dastehend verschränken sie die Hände vor dem Geschlecht, eine Geste der sitzamen Zurückhaltung, die offenbar als Entsprechung zur engen Einhüllung in den eigenen Mantel zu verstehen ist, welche sonst bei Adoranten begegnet (vgl. Fig. 5). Auf das ikonographische Vokabular des Weihreliefs verweist in unserer Reliefsriehe auch die im Hintergrund abgestellte Cista, die ein wiederkehrendes Element spätklassischer Adorantenszenen ist, während der dahinter lehrende Thyrsos die Satyrn offenkundig als Mitglieder des dionysischen Thiasos auszeichnet. An der ithyphallischen Herme am rechten Bildrand ist die Abwendung von der Bildmitte zunächst überraschend. In ihrer Funktion als Marker von Schwellen und Heiligtumseingängen begriffen, leuchtet ihre Ausrichtung jedoch unmittelbar ein: Indem sie sich nach außen wendet, kennzeichnet die Herme den in ihrem Rücken liegenden Bereich als heiligen Bezirk, von dem die Welt jenseits des Bildrands abgegrenzt wird.

Der fragmentarische Zustand der Repliken läßt kein abschließendes Urteil zu, doch lassen sich die bis hierher gemachten Beobachtungen wie folgt zusammenfassen: Das in den ‚Satyrspielreliefs‘ überlieferte hellenistische Weihrelief bietet einen aus mehreren Einzelszenen zusammengesetzten Blick in ein idyllisches, von Mitgliedern des Thiasos bevölkertes Dionysosheiligtum. Dieses wird im oberen Register als Schauplatz erotischer Begegnungen geschildert, die aber teilweise in der Dingwelt der Masken und Statuen aufgehoben sind. Der oder die Stifter waren gar nicht oder nur in marginaler Position dargestellt; statt einer Gemeinschaft von Sterblichen treten – in einer Abwandlung konventioneller Bildformeln – drei junge Satyrn dem Gott entgegen. Daß Dionysos nicht nur Sterbliche, sondern auch sein mythisches Gefolge in seinen kultischen Dienst einbindet, ist ein bis in die archaische Zeit zurückzuverfolgendes Phänomen. Auf einem Weihrelief ist die hier zu beobachtende Fokussierung auf die mythische Sphäre gleichwohl überraschend, wenn auch nicht ohne zeitnahe Parallelen.<sup>54</sup> Statt auf die konkrete Ausmalung

53 Vgl. etwa das Gegenüber von sitzender Gottheit und Adorant auf einem spätklassischen (?) Relief für Zeus Meilichios auf Korfu: Hausmann (1960) 91 Abb. 57.

54 In der Konzeption vergleichbar ist das (ebenfalls in Italien gefundene) Relief des Archelaos von Priene, das unter einer von mythischen Gestalten bewohnten Landschaft eine vor felsigem Hintergrund angelegte Adorations- bzw. Opferszene zeigt, deren Gemeinde gleichfalls in verhalten zurückstehende und stärker hervortretende Mitglieder geschieden ist. Anstelle des Stifters, der weiter oben in Form seiner eigenen Ehrenstatue begegnet, treten hier Personifikationen in Erscheinung, welche die Szene mit einem allegorischen Grundtenor versehen; s. dazu Pinkwart (1965) Taf. 1,

seiner Nahbeziehung zu Dionysos wie in den zuvor besprochenen Fällen zielt der Stifter also vornehmlich auf die stimmungshafte Schilderung einer mythisch entrückten dionysischen Welt.

Soweit wir wissen, hat der Typus der ‚Satyrspielreliefs‘ keine spätere Überarbeitung erfahren, wie sie sich für die hellenistischen Theoxenie-Reliefs nachvollziehen läßt. Er ist allerdings vielfach kopiert worden; gerade in der Wiedergabe eines dionysischen Sakralidylls in seiner Eigenweltlichkeit war das Bild für das italische Publikum offenbar attraktiv. Es dürfte denn auch kein Zufall sein, daß eine Replik aus den *horti Maecenatis* auf dem Esquilin stammt: In der prächtigen Gartenanlage, deren reiche Ausstattung derjenigen eines griechischen Heiligtums nachempfunden ist, entfaltet das Weihrelief mit seinen Thiasosgestalten, die Dionysos entgegentanzeln und sich unter der Platane ein Stelldichein geben, sein volles atmosphärisches Potential im Sinne des *decorum*.<sup>55</sup>

### Eine dionysische Bildsprache des Votivs

Die drei hier als Fallstudien behandelten griechischen Denkmäler – ein Altar, zwei originale Weihreliefs und ein weiteres, nur in Kopien überliefertes Weihrelief – sprechen ein bemerkenswert breites Spektrum von Themen und Vorstellungskomplexen an, schließen sich aber in ihrer Anverwandlung darstellerischer Traditionen eng zusammen. Die konventionellen Bildformeln, mit denen das Opferfest ausgedrückt, der selige Zustand feiernder Heroen vorgestellt oder das Verhältnis Sterblicher zur Gottheit ins Bild gesetzt wird, erfahren eine pointierte Neuformulierung: An einem Altar des Dionysos stehen Satyrmasken für die üblichen Stierköpfe ein (Fig. 2 und 3); augenscheinliche Totenmahreliefs erweisen sich als überaus diesseitige *xenia* des gegenwärtigen Gottes, der jene, die ihn zu empfangen wissen, noch immer mit seinem Besuch beehrt (Fig. 4 und 6); ein Weihrelief projiziert das geläufige Bild der vor die Gottheit tretenden Kultgemeinschaft in eine von Nymphen und Satyrn bevölkerte Welt, in der auch der Adorationsgestus zum Tanzschritt wird (Fig. 8 und 9).

Die hier erkennbar werdende Tendenz zur Adaption bestehender Ausdrucksformen ist Teil eines Gestaltungsmodus, der für Dionysos spezifisch zu sein scheint, wenngleich er sich durchaus unterschiedlich artikuliert. In der

bes. 20–22 zur Adorationsszene; s. oben Anm. 42 zu einer allegorischen Deutung unserer Reliefs. – Thematisch unseren Reliefs vergleichbar ist ferner das bereits erwähnte Liverpools Relief (oben Anm. 48). Das Relieffragment in Budapest, das Hekler (1929) 96 Nr. 87 mit Abb. mit den Satyrspielreliefs vergleicht, hat jenseits der zweiregistrigen Anlage wenig mit diesen gemein.

55 Zur Ausstattung der *horti Maecenatis* s. Häuber (1991); Baumer (2001) 87 mit weiterer Literatur; zuletzt Cima/Talamo (2008) bes. 74–81.

attischen Vasenmalerei des 5. Jh. v. Chr. sind es nicht ikonographische Typen, sondern soziale Rollenmuster, die entsprechend überformt werden, etwa wenn Satyrn als mythische Helden, Krieger, Jäger, Handwerker usw. wiedergegeben werden und den mit diesen Figuren verbundenen Vorstellungen eine bezeichnende Pointe verleihen. Ein oft zitiertes und anschauliches Beispiel für diese oft parodistisch wirkenden Bilder liefert eine Choenkanne, auf der ein Satyr in der Rolle des Herakles an einen Baum herantritt, der sich wie jener der Hesperiden ausnimmt, dessen Äste für den Satyr aber voller Choenkannen hängen.<sup>56</sup> Die zeitgleiche attische Tragödie bietet zahlreiche Beispiele für eine andere Form der Adaption: Im rituellen Handlungsrahmen der Dionysien sind es Rituale selbst, ihre Handlungsmuster und ihr technisches Vokabular, die für die metaphorische Vermittlung von Aussagen fruchtbar gemacht werden. Weibliches, ja auch männliches Handeln in Extremsituationen wird nach dem „tragic model“ der Mänade angelegt, die Tötung Unschuldiger wird als pervertiertes Schlachtopfer stilisiert.<sup>57</sup>

Damit sollen die Unterschiede zwischen den ironischen Rollenspielen der Vasenbilder und den düsteren Bildern des Dramas nicht nivelliert werden; gleichwohl tritt in diesen darstellerischen Praktiken ein wiederkehrendes Muster hervor, das hier als Gestaltungsmodus der Anverwandlung beschrieben worden ist. Objekte, Gestalten und Erzählmuster aus der Welt des Dionysos werden über tradierte Sinnzusammenhänge gelegt und bewirken eine charakteristische Verschiebung des Sinngehalts, an welcher die Eigenart des Gottes offenbar wird. Bei den hier besprochenen Relieftdenkmälern des späten Hellenismus trägt dieses Verfahren dazu bei, eine spezifische Bildsprache der Weihung an Dionysos zu entwickeln. Bezeichnend für diese Darstellungen ist die Ambivalenz, die sich aus der Überlagerung neuartiger Motive und tradierter Bildtypen ergibt: Hinter den Satyrmasken werden eben auch die ursprünglichen Stierköpfe des Schlachtopfers konnotiert, der sterbliche Gastgeber des Dionysos erhält in der Wiedergabe als Feiernder auf der Kline zugleich heroische Züge, und in der Adoration der Satyrn wird der fromme Akt des Reliefstifters sichtbar.

Diese Sinnbezüge erfüllen ihre repräsentative Funktion im sozialen Kontext der Weihung und entfallen mit der Übertragung der Bilder in ein neues Umfeld und eine veränderte Zweckbestimmung. Zwar verwendet man für den Dekor italischer Villen und Gartenanlagen auch originale griechische

56 London, British Museum E 539; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 776,2; *BAPD* 209570. Zu diesen satyresken Rollenspielen s. Lissarrague (1990b); Steinhart (2004) 101–127; Heinemann (demnächst).

57 Mänaden: Schlesier (1993a). – Opfer: Henrichs (2000) mit weiterer Literatur.

Weihreliefs; aber ausgerechnet Dionysos ist dort kaum vertreten.<sup>58</sup> Ein Grund dafür dürfte paradoxerweise gerade in der Bedeutung liegen, die der Gott für die Hausherren entwickelte. Die spezifischen Anforderungen an die Bilder des Dionysos und seines Kreises, die schon zu einem frühen Zeitpunkt konstitutiv für die Inszenierung eines unbeschwerten *otium* waren, ließen sich mit der vergleichsweise zufälligen Überlieferung originaler Weihreliefs offenbar nicht angemessen befriedigen. Statt dessen wird auf der Grundlage einer hier nur an Beispielen skizzierten Überlieferung eine Bildwelt geschaffen, die sich in ihrer primären Bestimmung für den Ausstattungsmarkt als durchaus warenförmig erweist und deren Inhalte entsprechend generisch und verfügbar gehalten sind. Als Sinnentleerung wäre der hier sich vollziehende Prozeß freilich unzureichend beschrieben, erklärt er sich doch nicht zuletzt aus veränderten Anforderungen. Nicht mehr auf die Person eines Stifters und seine spezifische Beziehung zur Gottheit sind die Inhalte der Bilder bezogen, sondern zunächst auf den Ort ihrer Aufstellung und dessen atmosphärische Valenzen.

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58 Vgl. den Überblick über das Themenspektrum originaler griechischer Weihreliefs aus Italien bei Kunz (1994) 889.

# Integrierte Andersartigkeit: Die Rolle der dionysischen Vereine

*Anne-Françoise Jaccottet*

Ist Dionysos anders? Wie diese Frage in der heutigen Forschung auch immer beantwortet wird,<sup>1</sup> es muß zugestanden werden, daß Dionysos in der Antike offensichtlich mit Andersartigkeit in Verbindung gebracht wurde. Diese antike Inszenierung des Gottes als Figur der Andersartigkeit drückt sich in erster Linie in den Imaginationswelten aus, die mit diesem Gott verbunden werden, wie der Wein, das Theater, die Frauen: Bereiche, die potentiell gefährlich sind, weil sie etwas Wildes in sich tragen, weil sie den Menschen mit einem Anderssein in Kontakt bringen.<sup>2</sup> Die kultischen Bedingungen dieser Gottheit erscheinen infolgedessen im Einklang mit dieser Vorstellung: Dionysos begnügt sich nicht mit einem Tempel und einem Altar, an dem Menschen regelmäßig Opfer darbringen. Die Einführungs- oder Ankunftsmythen des Dionysos spiegeln sehr klar die besonderen Bedürfnisse des Gottes wider: Um als wirkliche Gottheit von der menschlichen Gemeinschaft anerkannt zu werden, und damit eine durch ihn ausgelöste Vernichtung der Gemeinschaft vermieden werden kann, gibt sich Dionysos nicht mit einem ‚einfachen‘ Opfer-Darbringen am städtischen Altar zufrieden; er verlangt zudem, daß die Frauen aus der Stadt herauskommen (d. h. daß die Gemeinschaft, oder anders gesagt: die Männer, ihre Frauen oder Töchter aus der Stadt herausgehen lassen), daß diese Frauen ihn in der wilden Natur feiern, und zwar durch ein Tranceritual, das eben kein ‚normales‘ Ritual ist.<sup>3</sup> Um diese antike Vorstellung

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1 Für eine Synthese sei hier auf Leege (2008) 133–141 verwiesen.

2 Kürzlich hat Albert Henrichs auf diese Imaginationswelten nochmals klar und zusammenfassend hingewiesen: Henrichs (2008) 19–27; auch die besonderen Beziehungen zwischen den Menschen und diesem Gott – nämlich seine unmittelbare Nähe zu den Menschen – können (ja müssen sogar) als Zeichen der Andersartigkeit des Dionysos gedeutet werden (ebd. 19); diese grundlegende Andersartigkeit des Dionysos im Verhältnis zur menschlichen Kultgemeinschaft hat dazu beigetragen, daß dieser Gott von den ersten Christen als ‚feindlicher Bruder‘ des Christus betrachtet und (besonders in der Ikonographie) mit Hilfe einer Umdeutung integriert wurde, s. Jaccottet (2009) und (im Druck 2011).

3 Zuletzt Schlesier (2008a). Zur ‚Mechanik‘ des Empfangs des Dionysos in den Ankunftsmythen und im kultischen Alltag, s. Jaccottet (2003b) 122–125. Eine reiche Bibliographie zu diesen Einführungsmythen findet sich z. B. bei Casadio (1994) 51–122.



mit dem Thema des ‚differenten Gottes‘ in Übereinstimmung zu bringen, kann man hervorheben, daß Dionysos das Praktizieren der Andersartigkeit verlangt, und zwar einer Andersartigkeit, die sich durch die Frauen,<sup>4</sup> die Außenwelt, die wilde Natur und ein spezielles (wildes) Ritual ausdrückt. Ein Bild soll hier als Zusammenfassung dieser antiken Vorstellung von Dionysos und dessen kultischen Bedürfnissen dienen (Fig. 1).

Auf diesem rotfigurigen Schalenmedaillon des Dokimasia-Malers werden sehr deutlich die konventionellen Merkmale einer Andersartigkeit der dionysischen Welt dargestellt: Auf der linken Seite wird durch einen wellenartigen Streif auf einen Felsen, vielleicht auf eine Höhle, hingewiesen; die wilde Natur dient in dieser Bildinszenierung als Rahmen für eine Frau, die sich durch ihre Tracht und ihr offenes Haar, das im Einklang mit ihrem stürmischen Tanz steht, von einer braven selbstbeherrschten Hausfrau unverkennbar unterscheidet; die Frau ‚verwildert‘ im engeren Sinne bei der Berührung mit der dionysischen Sphäre und den Bedürfnissen des dionysischen Kultes. Die momentane Wildheit der Frauen ist aber für die Gemeinschaft ganz wesentlich in dem Sinne, daß dieses ‚Hinausgehen ins Wilde‘ der Frauen die offizielle Aufnahme des Dionysos in die Gemeinschaft manifestiert – die ‚weiße‘ *mania* –, und daher die Gefahr einer Vernichtung der Gemeinschaft durch eine ‚schwarze‘ *mania* – eine Strafraserei der Frauen – rituell vermeidet.<sup>5</sup> Die Verbildlichung der Andersartigkeit, die dieses Schalenmedaillon darbietet, ist daher als eine Art Manifest der Annahme des Dionysos, durch die Anerkennung seiner Andersartigkeit, zu verstehen.<sup>6</sup>

Daß sich diese Vorstellung des Dionysoskultes nicht nur auf die Imaginationswelt beschränkt hat, sondern daß sie als eine Übersetzung der wirklichen kultischen Praxis zu verstehen ist, kann zwar anhand der Quellen nicht eindeutig bewiesen werden, ist aber meiner Meinung nach höchst wahrscheinlich.<sup>7</sup> Die Diskrepanz der besonderen Bedürfnisse des dionysischen Kultes gegenüber den üblichen kultischen Bräuchen ist jedoch durchaus hypothetisch als regelmäßiges praktisches Experiment mit einer gewissen An-

4 Daß die effektiv praktizierten Rituale auch Männer und nicht nur Frauen eingeschlossen haben, kann aus einer sorgfältigen Lektüre der antiken Dokumente rekonstruiert werden: siehe Jaccottet (1998); (2003a) I.65–100 und (2003b) sowie Isler-Kerényi (1991); vgl. Schlesier (1993b).

5 Zur wesentlichen Unterscheidung zwischen der weißen und der schwarzen *mania*, s. Vernant (1983/84) 484 und 496–497, Cazanove (1983), besonders 87, Bourlet (1983).

6 S. oben Anm. 3.

7 Als erster hatte Rapp (1872) die kultische Realität des ‚Mänadismus‘ erkannt. Eine weitere wichtige Forschungsposition innerhalb der Historiographie des realen Mänadismus hat Jeanmaire (1951) 124–131 und 157–219 mit Hilfe der ethnographischen Parallelen der Zar- und Bori-Erfahrungen ausgearbeitet. Für die Entwicklungen in der jüngsten Forschung sei hier auf Schlesier/Schwarzmaier (2008) verwiesen.

dersartigkeit zu betrachten. Ich möchte hier dieses Bedürfnis nach einem Außen, nach einem Kontakt mit der Natur, im dionysischen Kult fokussieren, ein Bedürfnis, das wir mit der Formel *eis oros* („in die Berge“) zusammenfassen können. Wie entwickelt sich im Laufe der Zeit diese Dialektik zwischen Außen und Innen, zwischen *physis* und *polis*, Natur und Stadt, zwischen wildem und zivilisiertem Raum, die die Mythen inszenieren und die zu den Imaginationswelten sowie zur kultischen Praxis gehört? Was passiert im praktischen kultischen Alltag mit diesem Bedürfnis nach der freien Natur, wenn die Städte immer größer werden und die menschliche Gemeinschaft immer mehr eine rein städtische wird? Wie drückt sich dann diese Andersartigkeit des Dionysos und seines Kultes im städtischen Kontext aus?

Diese Fragen kann man durch das Beispiel der Vereine, im vorliegenden Fall natürlich der dionysischen Vereine, versuchen zu beantworten. Die Vereine im allgemeinen sind sicherlich ein gesellschaftliches, städtisches Phänomen. Seit der hellenistischen Periode, in der sie für uns faßbar werden, haben die Vereine eine wesentliche Rolle innerhalb der Entwicklung der antiken Gesellschaft gespielt, eine soziale Rolle, eine ökonomische Rolle, sogar manchmal eine politische Rolle, neben der religiösen Rolle, auf die sich die moderne Forschung vielleicht zu stark konzentriert hat.<sup>8</sup> Durch alle diese Dimensionen sind in der Tat die Vereine tief in der Gesellschaft und infolgedessen im städtischen Kontext verankert.

Diese städtische Vernetzung gilt auch für die dionysischen Vereine und wird sehr klar durch die Einrichtung der Vereinssitze ausgedrückt. Wie die anderen Vereine wählen die dionysischen eine physische Verankerung in der Stadt, indem sie ihre Versammlungs- und Kulträume ins städtische Netz integrieren.<sup>9</sup> Wir kennen leider nur wenige eindeutig als bakchisch identifizierte Vereinssitze, und diese stammen ausschließlich – was nicht überrascht – von den hervorragenden Vereinen.<sup>10</sup> Eine Generalisierung anhand der wenigen gesicherten Fälle wäre daher heikel und unwissenschaftlich. Immerhin weisen aber die Beispiele, die vorhanden und archäologisch nachweisbar sind und die hier als Basis der folgenden Analyse dienen werden, eindeutig auf die Suche nach einer tiefergehenden städtischen Vernetzung hin. Das Beispiel der pergamenischen *boukoloï*, das wir jetzt dank der Veröffentlichung des sogenannten

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8 Diese gesellschaftliche Dimension der Vereine wird besonders von den neueren Forschungen unterstrichen: siehe z.B. Bendlin (2002), Harland (2003) und Hirschmann (2006). Den historiographischen Hintergrund gibt zusammenfassend Schmeller (2006) wieder.

9 Für eine generelle Übersicht der Verankerung dieser Vereine im städtischen Netz, s. z.B. Bollmann (1998) und Egelhaaf-Gaiser (2002) im römischen Kontext; für die hellenistische Welt, s. Schwarzer (2002).

10 Bielfeldt (2007) 357–359; der vorstädtische Liber-Tempel in Pompeii (Sant’Abbondio) bildet vielleicht eine Ausnahme.

Podiensaalgebäudes von Holger Schwarzer genauer fassen können, ist dafür besonders aufschlußreich.<sup>11</sup>

Der Verein hat seit dem 2. Jh. v. Chr.<sup>12</sup> seinen Sitz in einem prächtigen Stadtviertel am Südabhang der Akropolis (Fig. 2) und ist sehr günstig mit dem Zentrum vernetzt: Durch die Mittelgasse kommt man zur nach Süden verlaufenden Hauptstraße: „Der Vereinssitz zeichnete sich somit durch einen verkehrsgünstigen Standort innerhalb des Stadtviertels aus“.<sup>13</sup> Eine ähnliche zentrale Lage hat auch der Vereinssitz der dionysischen Mysteren von Melos im 2. Jh. n. Chr. auf dem nordwestlichen Abhang der Akropolis, sowie der der Iobakchen in Athen ebenfalls aus dem 2. Jh. n. Chr., zwischen Westabhang der Akropolis und dem Areopagos-Hügel (Fig. 3).<sup>14</sup>

Wie schon betont, haben wir zu wenige sicher identifizierte Beispiele, um statistische Schlußfolgerungen zu ziehen. Es ist dennoch wahrscheinlich, daß die Mehrheit der dionysischen Vereine ihren Sitz mitten in der Stadt gehabt hat, was mit der Struktur und dem sozial-gesellschaftlichen Funktionieren der Vereine zusammenhängt.<sup>15</sup>

Was an den vorhandenen Beispielen für unsere Überlegungen hier entscheidend ist, ist der Beweis, daß der dionysische Kult durch diese städtische Vernetzung der Vereinssitze auch verstädtert und vermauert wird. Wie drückt sich dann der wesentliche Kontakt mit der Natur in diesem städtischen, verbauten, geschlossenen und wie versteinerten Kontext aus? Die lange Inschrift der athenischen Iobakchen, die im Vereinslokal gefunden wurde, gestattet uns in außerordentlicher Weise, die Zusammenhänge zwischen den Kultbedürf-

11 Schwarzer (2008), besonders 87–92; in einer früheren Synthese (Schwarzer 2006) hatte dieser Forscher die Hauptergebnisse veröffentlicht, die in die Problematik dieses pergamenischen Vereins einführen.

12 Die ältesten epigraphischen Zeugnisse dieses Vereins bilden die beiden Altäre (Radt [1989]; Jaccottet [2003a] II, no. 92–93; Schwarzer [2008] 18–19), die aus dem Podiensaal stammen und den Augustus in Zusammenhang mit Dionysos Kathegemon ehren; in der hellenistischen Zeit hat der Saal höchstwahrscheinlich als Sitz eines dynastischen Kultes gedient: Radt (1989) 204–205; Schwarzer (1999). Nur bleibt unsicher, ob die im 2. Jh. v. Chr. aktiven *bakchoi*, die in einer nicht weit vom Podiensaal gefundenen Inschrift Eumenes II. ehren, ihren Sitz bereits in diesem Vereinslokal hatten: vgl. Jaccottet (2003a) II.174 f. und no. 91; Schwarzer (2008) 92–97.

13 Schwarzer (2006) 153.

14 Zuletzt Schäfer (2002) 181–184 (Melos) und 173–188 (Iobakchoi) mit Bibliographie; Jaccottet (2003a) I.175–182 (Melos), II.27–35, no. 4 (Iobakchoi); Bielfeldt (2007) 358–359.

15 Die Inschriften der Vereine wurden fast ausschließlich in einem antiken städtischen Kontext gefunden, was zwar keinen unbestreitbaren Beweis für einen städtischen Vereinssitz bildet, aber dazu beiträgt, diese Vereine mit der Stadt physisch zu verbinden. Man kann aber auch eine topographische Hierarchie der Vereine annehmen und hypothetisch rekonstruieren, da die prächtigsten von ihnen mit den ganz zentralen Stadtvierteln vernetzt waren.

nissen, darunter dem Kontakt mit der freien Natur, und der gebauten städtischen Räumlichkeit des Vereins genauer zu untersuchen.

In den Statuten der Iobakchen taucht siebenmal das Wort *stibas* auf. Eine *stibas* besteht aus hingestreuten Blättern oder Blumen. Dies weist auf die Sitte hin, in der freien Natur die Götter durch festliche Mahlzeiten zu verehren, bei denen die Menschen auf Liegen ruhen, die sich aus frisch gepflückten pflanzlichen Elementen zusammensetzen, eben *stibades*. Ob als Bett des Armen, des Betenden, des Soldaten oder sogar des Toten, als Speisebett oder einfaches Bett:<sup>16</sup> in allen Kontexten ist die *stibas* durch ihre Blätter- oder Blumenkomposition und durch die starke naturalistische Symbolik gekennzeichnet, die der Begriff impliziert und in der sich die *stibas* als einheitliches Konzept manifestiert. Die enge Beziehung der *stibas* zur religiösen Sphäre, zur Vorstellung des Goldenen Zeitalters sowie zu einer symbolischen Konzeption der Beziehung mit der Natur hat Jean-Marie Verpoorten überzeugend zusammengefaßt:

La *stibas* tend à symboliser la nature entière avec ses vertus de fécondité et ses forces d'exaltation religieuse. La jonchée ramasse en elle-même le sens d'un séjour dans le monde extérieur au village, lorsque hommes et dieux se retrouvent à des moments privilégiés. En même temps qu'elle est geste matériel, la jonchée est une représentation, un symbole de la nature sauvage, séjour et lieu d'apparition des divinités, telle que la pensent des milieux très archaïques d'une civilisation agricole.<sup>17</sup>

Was soll dann eine *stibas* in einem geschlossenen Vereinslokal mitten in einer Stadt im 2. Jh. n. Chr. bedeuten? Anhand der sieben Textstellen der Inschrift, durch die wir den Sinn von *stibas* in diesem Kontext fassen können, ist es möglich, eine ziemlich präzise Vorstellung dieser kultischen Praxis bei den Iobakchen zu entwickeln. Eine detaillierte Exegese der entsprechenden Stellen der Inschrift ist unten als Exkurs beigefügt (siehe auch den griechischen Text im Anhang). Hier sei nur auf die Schlußfolgerungen, die man daraus ziehen kann, hingewiesen. Die *stibas* ist bei den Iobakchen zugleich der Name des größten Festes des Vereins. Dies ist ein Fest, an dem die Iobakchen nur teilnehmen dürfen, wenn sie alle ihre anderen Verpflichtungen gegenüber dem Verein regelmäßig und ordnungsgemäß während des vorausgegangenen

16 Die verschiedenen Bedeutungen und Anwendungen von *stibas* werden z.B. von Poland (1929), Verpoorten (1962) und Gernet (1968) zusammenfassend analysiert.

17 Verpoorten (1962) 151; cf. Jeanmaire (1951) 127; Pippidi (1972); Bérard (1974) 58–59; Lavagne (1988) 111; Kron (1988) 138 ff. und (1992) 622–623; Malek (2002) passim. In der hier von mir vorgelegten Analyse wird nicht auf die sogenannten *Stibadeia/stibadia* oder auf die Sigma-Symposien hingewiesen, die eine weitere kulturelle und architektonische Entwicklung der originalen *stibas* bilden: s. Picard (1944); Elia (1962) und contra: Lavagne (1988) 111–116, dem ich mich anschließe; Dunbabin (1991); Morvillez (1996); Krause (2000).

Jahres erfüllt haben; ein Fest, das den Höhepunkt des liturgischen Jahres des Vereins bildet, das eine Art religiöses Drama inszeniert, wo verschiedene Gottheiten oder Dämonen auftauchen, deren Rollen unter den Iobakchen per Los verteilt werden; ein Fest, das am 10. Elaphebolion gefeiert wird, also während der Großen Dionysien in Athen. Die *stibas*, der Begriff für die speziellen, aus hingestreuten Blättern und Blumen gemachten Liegen, ist zum Namen des Festes geworden, in dem diese Liegen benutzt werden. *Stibas* ist aber außerdem auch in der Inschrift der Name des Raumes, der anlässlich dieses Festes speziell geschmückt wird: Ausdrücke wie εἰσέρχασθαι ἰς τὴν στιβάδα (Z. 70: „in die *stibas* eintreten“) weisen eindeutig auf diesen topographischen Sinn des Wortes. *Stibas* ist also die spezielle Liege, das Fest und der Raum, in dem es gefeiert wird.

Daß sich dieses Wort – *stibas* – und das rituelle Konzept, das ihm zugrunde liegt, zu einer fest im städtischen Netz verankerten und gebauten Räumlichkeit entwickelt haben, ist der Kernpunkt unserer Überlegungen. Wie kann die *stibas*, die einen direkten Kontakt mit dem natürlichen Element voraussetzt, innerhalb von vier Mauern weiterexistieren? Das Naturelement, das die Basis dieses Festes darstellt, wird von den Iobakchen nicht in der natürlichen Umwelt aufgesucht, sondern von außen in den Vereinssaal importiert. Anstatt draußen, außerhalb der Stadt, *extra muros* zu feiern, um den Kontakt mit der Natur herzustellen, der für die auf der *stibas* Liegenden wesentlich ist, importieren die Iobakchen das natürliche Element in die Stadt, in ihren städtischen gebauten Vereinssitz. Wie dies praktisch funktioniert hat, kann man nur vermuten. Vielleicht haben die Iobakchen einfach auf ‚echten‘ *stibades* gelegen, die direkt am Boden arrangiert waren. Wahrscheinlicher ist aber, daß die Iobakchen wegen ihres hohen sozialen Status auf ordentlichen Klinen lagen, die anlässlich dieses Festes einfach mit frisch gepflückten Pflanzen wie zum Beispiel Efeu oder Blumen geschmückt waren.

Daß der Kontakt mit der freien Natur zu einer Abstraktion geworden ist, ist immerhin unbestreitbar; nur der Grad dieser Abstraktion kann aufgrund unserer heutigen Kenntnis nicht genau eingeschätzt werden. Sogar für eine *stibas* gehen die Iobakchen also nicht aus der Stadt heraus, sondern feiern die Natur innerhalb von vier Mauern, im Zentrum der Stadt. Diese in einem geschlossenen Raum mitten in der Stadt gefeierte *stibas* steht im völligen Gegensatz zu einer *oreibasia*: Bei den Iobakchen finden wir kein Hinausgehen der Menschen in die Natur, kein *eis oros*, „in die Berge“. Ganz im Gegenteil wird die Natur in die Stadt, in ein gebautes Lokal, importiert. Der Kontakt mit der Natur bleibt zwar zentral, seine Herstellung erfolgt aber in umgekehrter Weise: Das Hinausgehen der Menschen in die Natur wird durch ein Importieren der Natur in die Stadt ersetzt. Der Kontakt mit der freien Natur, der

einer der Hauptaspekte der Andersartigkeit des Dionysos ist, wird in die Stadt, in das städtische Netz integriert.<sup>18</sup>

Sind die Iobakchen eine Ausnahme? Die anderen vorhandenen Beispiele weisen eher auf das Gegenteil hin. Bei den Boukoloi aus Pergamon erfahren wir durch die uns erhaltenen epigraphischen Dokumente aber leider wenig über ihre kultischen Experimente. Haben sie eine ähnliche Beziehung mit dem ‚Wilden‘ gepflegt wie die Iobakchen? Das können wir nicht beweisen.

Die Entwicklung des Vereinssitzes der Boukoloi im Laufe der Zeit, vom 2. Jh. v. Chr. bis zum 4. Jh. n. Chr., wurde in sieben Phasen eingeteilt, die in der kürzlich erschienenen Publikation des Gesamtgebäudes ganz präzise beschrieben und erklärt werden;<sup>19</sup> hier sei nur darauf hingewiesen, daß der sogenannte Podiensaal (Fig. 4a und 4b) durch die Jahrhunderte hindurch immer als Zentrum der kultischen sowie anderer gemeinschaftlicher Aktivitäten des Vereins betrachtet und benutzt wurde. Die Anlage des ganzen Gebäudes weist in der Tat klar auf ein innen, im ‚Podiensaal‘ (einem Speise- und Kultaal), konzentriertes Ritual mit Liegen und einem Altar.

Es ist aber zu unterstreichen, daß bereits der Name der Vereinsmitglieder – *boukoloi*, Rinderhirten – auf eine marginale Natur, am Rande der Zivilisation, hinweist; eine wilde Natur, die man nur außerhalb der Stadt, jenseits der kultivierten Felder findet und die eben nur von Rinderhirten, oder auch von Mänaden und Bakchoi, besucht wird.<sup>20</sup> Eine wilde Welt, die schon durch die hellenistische Bukolik in einem raffinierten Zusammenspiel von *physis* und *techné* in die Welt der Kultur integriert wird, und in welchem das Wichtigste nicht darin besteht, daß diese Rinderhirten etwas Reales sind, sondern daß man sie zu künstlerischen und künstlichen Darstellungsformen der wilden Natur macht. Die Boukoloi drücken durch ihren Namen und dessen kulturellen Hintergrund diesen künstlichen und künstlerischen Kontakt zur Natur aus.<sup>21</sup>

18 Andere dionysische Vereine begeben sich noch im 2. Jh. n. Chr. real auf den Berg, „*eis oros*“, wie etwa ein Thiasos aus Physkos: Jaccottet (2003a) II.255–257, no. 153; dieser Thiasos scheint aber im wesentlichen eher auf einer Reaktivierung literarischer Topoi als auf ritueller Grundlage zu beruhen: Jaccottet (2003a) I.138–139.

19 Schwarzer (2008) mit Zusammenfassung der Bauphasen 87–92.

20 Zur Teilnahme der männlichen *bakchoi* an diesen Oreibasien, s. oben Anm. 4.

21 Zum kulturellen und historischen Hintergrund der Boukoloi, s. Jaccottet (2003a) I.101–110; zur Entwicklung der Bukolik und deren kultureller Verankerung: siehe z. B. Effe (1977), E.A. Schmidt (1987) und besonders Himmelmann (1974) und (1980). „Was immer wieder als Theokrits Realismus verstanden wird, ist als Kunstmittel zu erkennen und zu deuten, einer reinen Kunstwelt den Schein von Wirklichkeit zu verleihen“, E.A. Schmidt (1987) 22. Der *boukolos* ist an sich bereits eine Art von Bindestrich zwischen künstlerischer bzw. künstlicher Natur und städtischem Leben: „La fonction même de la poésie consiste désormais à insérer en milieu urbain le domaine intermédiaire des pasteurs musiciens“, Calame (1992) 85.

Es ist auch kein Zufall, daß der Schmuck des Kult- und Speisesaales (Fig. 5a und 5b) so sehr mit dem natürlichen Element spielt, mit Girlanden, Satyrn, Silenen usw. Sogar die Liegepodien sind mit Pflanzenschmuck verziert, was sie fast zu steinernen *stibades* werden läßt. Die Imaginationswelt dieser bakchischen Natur wird auch in Pergamon in die Stadt importiert.

Das gleiche gilt auch noch für den Vereinssitz von Melos (Fig. 6). Die Mosaiken, die den Kultsaal der melischen Mysten schmückten (Fig. 7), weisen direkt und intensiv auf die natürliche Welt hin, sei es durch das fischreiche Meer oder den üppigen Weingarten. Diese beiden Mosaikbilder inszenieren aber vor allem eine ertragreiche Natur, die eher als Verbildlichung der *tryphe*, des üppigen Wohllebens in einem fruchtbaren *paradeisos*, denn als das Bild einer wilden Natur zu verstehen ist.<sup>22</sup> Von *oreibasias* oder *stibas* gibt es hier keine direkten Spuren. Allerdings wird die Natur als Zentrum der bakchischen Imaginationswelt stark betont, wobei diese Bilder wohl als symbolische Botschaft von der Allmacht des Dionysos zu deuten sind. Für unsere Überlegungen bleibt zu bemerken, wie sich auch hier die Natur als Abstraktion in einem geschlossenen Raum bildlich entwickeln kann. Der Vereinskult der melischen Mystai hatte trotz des städtischen Sitzes – und durch eine andere Art von Import der Außenwelt in die Stadt – einen deutlichen ‚natürlichen‘ Hintergrund.

Die Umstände sind noch klarer bei einem Verein aus Thasos. Über archäologische Zeugnisse für den Vereinssitz dieser Mysten, seine Lage und seine Bauten verfügen wir leider nicht. Die Weihung der verschiedenen kultischen Anlagen durch einen Wohltäter, die wir dank einer Inschrift aus dem 1. Jh. n. Chr. kennen, gestattet aber, sich eine ziemlich genaue Vorstellung dieses Heiligtums zu machen:<sup>23</sup>

Pour toi, un temple à ciel ouvert, enfermant un autel et son berceau de pampres, ô prince des Ménades, un bel antre toujours vert, voici Dionysos Bakkheus, ce qu'a fondé Timokleidès, fils de Diphilos: et pour les initiés, un *oikos* vénérable où chanter évohé, et les ondes des Nymphes Naïades, à l'éclat pur, voici ce qu'avec ta grâce, voulant mêler le nectar si doux qui suspend les soucis des hommes, a consacré ton ministre, ô bienheureux; et toi, à ton tour, conserve un médecin à Thasos sa patrie, garde-le sain et sauf, toi qui reviens toujours jeune d'année en année.

Timokleides weiht, wie es scheint, ein Vereinsheiligtum in einem Garten. Die zwei Hauptanlagen sind erstens ein *antron*, eine kultische Höhle, die wie eine Art Laube mit einem ‚natürlichem‘ Überbau aus Weinranken aussehen soll:

22 Siehe Bosanquet (1898); zuletzt Jaccottet (2003a) I.175–182; Schäfer (2002) 181–184; für die *tryphe*-Deutung der Mosaiken s. Geyer (1977) 140–141.

23 Übers.: J. Pouilloux, in: Salviat (1967) 172. Siehe Jaccottet (2003a) II.69, no. 31. Es ist jedoch zu bedauern, daß der griechische Originaltext immer noch nicht publiziert ist, obwohl eine französische Übersetzung 1967 im *Guide de Thasos* veröffentlicht wurde.



eine immergrüne Höhle, wodurch das natürliche Element eine symbolische Kraft entfaltet;<sup>24</sup> zweitens ein *oikos*, ein Banketthaus, wie das Gebäude der Iobakchoi oder der Hauptsaal der Boukoloï von Pergamon oder der Mystai von Melos, vielleicht in kleineren Dimensionen. Wir befinden uns also in einem Garten, in dem die Natur von Menschenhand mit ‚Gebäuden‘ ausgestattet wird. Noch interessanter ist die Nennung des Rituals, das in diesem Rahmen gefeiert wird: Die Inschrift erwähnt nämlich ein „*Euoi*-Singen“, das uns mit dem Terminus *euoi*, dem von den Mänaden ausgestoßenen wilden rituellen Schrei, wieder zur *oreibasia* zurückführt, zu der dieser Schrei gehört. Die ‚*oreibasia*‘ der thasischen Mystai findet aber nicht in der wilden Natur statt, sondern in einem *oikos*, in einem geschlossenen Saal, obwohl sich das Heiligtum in einem Garten befindet. Das Ritual der *oreibasia* scheint hier wiederum mit umgekehrter Orientierung gefeiert zu werden: Statt eines realen „*eis oros*“ der Mysten sind die Merkmale dieses normalerweise nach außen gerichteten Rituals im Inneren, in einem gebauten Lokal konzentriert.

Wir finden hier das gleiche Paradox wie bei den Iobakchen. Der von diesem athenischen Verein gewählte Name ‚*ἰὸ Βακχοῖ*‘ verweist direkt auf das Ritual der *oreibasia*: „*ἰὸ Βακχαι*“ ist auch ein kultischer Schrei, der eng mit dem Tranceritual in den Bergen verbunden ist. Der Name Iobakchoi impliziert also diesen wesentlichen Zusammenhang zwischen Ritual und wilder Natur, der der *oreibasia* zugrunde liegt.<sup>25</sup> Nur feiern die Iobakchoi im 2. Jh. n. Chr. eine *stibas* in ihrem geschlossenen städtischen Gebäude, so wie die Mystai von Thasos *euoi* in einem *oikos* singen.

Die Beziehung zur Natur hat sich dabei grundlegend verändert. Die Natur wurde in die Stadt integriert. Man geht nicht mehr zur Natur, zum Wilden, man läßt die Natur, die kulturell kontrollierte Natur, in die Stadt eintreten. Die Natur wird kulturell integriert und symbolisiert. Aus einer konkreten Beziehung zum natürlichen, wilden Element wird das Ritual in eine abstrakte Beziehung zu einer symbolisierten Natur transformiert.<sup>26</sup>

24 Detaillierte Analyse und Entwicklung der Thematik des dionysischen *antron* in Jaccottet (2003a) I.150–162 mit Hinweis auf die weitere Bibliographie.

25 Zur Herkunft dieses Namens s. Jaccottet (2003a) I.83 n. 7; zur falschen Verbindung (Dörpfeld [1895] und [1921]) des Iobakchoi-Versammlungslokals mit dem dionysischen Heiligtum des Dionysos *en Limnais* in Athen, die auf der Verknüpfung dieses Vereins mit der *iobakcheia* der 14 Gerarai beruht, s. Jaccottet (2003a) II.34–35.

26 Dieser Prozeß zeigt sich auch deutlich in der kulturellen Integration der Höhle, die aus einer „habitation inhabitable“ zu einem *locus amoenus* geworden ist: Lavagne (1988) 31–32 und passim; Siebert (1996) 47–57; die Ptolemäer (Philadelphos und Philopator) haben in diesem Prozeß gewiß eine zentrale Rolle gespielt, v.a. mit der großartigen Inszenierung des *antron* bei den öffentlichen Festlichkeiten sowie im ‚privaten‘ Decorum: Lavagne (1988) 91–126. Das bakchische *antron* zeichnet sich aber immer durch den ganz zentralen Platz aus, den das grüne, wild gewachsene natürliche



Sollen wir diese kultische und kulturelle Entwicklung bedauern? Sollen wir glauben, daß mit dieser Verwandlung der echte Dionysoskult tot ist? Im Hinblick auf unser Thema ist nur der Ausdruck der Andersartigkeit wichtig. Die *oreibasia* ist in mehrfacher Hinsicht der Ausdruck der Andersartigkeit, sei es durch den Ort des Rituals, am Rande der Zivilisation und der Wildnis, durch das Hinausgehen der Frauen aus der Stadt, mehr noch durch das praktizierte Ritual, das die Menschen bis an die Grenze zwischen Menschheit und Gottheit, zwischen Leben und Tod führt. Die *oreibasia*, oder mindestens ihre symbolisierte rituelle Kraft, wird aber im Laufe der Zeit in die Stadt integriert, durch eine umgekehrte Bewegung, eine symbolische Umwandlung. Die Andersartigkeit wird anders ausgedrückt.<sup>27</sup>

Sind die Vereine für diese Umwandlung verantwortlich? Haben die Vereine Dionysos zu einem normalen Gott werden lassen, indem sie einen der Hauptzüge der dionysischen Andersartigkeit verwandelt haben? Ja und nein.

Ja, insofern als die Vereine – die dionysischen wie die anderen – diese Verankerung in der Stadt, in der Gesellschaft herstellen. Bereits physisch, durch ihre städtischen Lokale, haben die Vereine das Dionysische materiell in die Stadt eingefügt. Durch die soziale, ökonomische und gesellschaftliche Struktur der Vereine hat sicher der Dionysoskult eine weitere ‚normale‘ Dimension erhalten. Und diese Integration des dionysischen Elements in die Stadt, mitten in der Gesellschaft, vermittelt durch die Vereinsstruktur, geht Hand in Hand mit der effektiven Teilnahme der Eliten am dionysischen Vereinsleben. Durch die Vereine tritt Dionysos in die Elitenkreise der Städte ein; diese Vereine sind voll von bedeutenden Repräsentanten der Aristokratie in den verschiedenen Städten, wenn nicht sogar von eigentlichen Herrschern.<sup>28</sup> Es bleibt aber schwer zu entscheiden, was Ursache und was Folge ist. Immerhin hat der dionysische Kult durch die Vereine und die Teilnahme der Eliten eine neue gesellschaftliche Dimension gewonnen. In diesem Sinn haben die Vereine dazu beigetragen, daß Dionysos besser und leichter in die Ge-

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Element in der Höhle einnimmt: Lavagne (1988) 182; Jaccottet (2003a) I.159–160 mit weiteren Beispielen.

27 Die Interaktion und Auseinandersetzung zwischen Natur und Architektur im Rahmen des dionysischen Kultes werde ich in einer weiteren Publikation eingehender behandeln (*Dionysion II. Images et imaginaire du sanctuaire bachique*, erscheint 2011, Kap. 2: „Du lierre à la pierre, le sanctuaire bachique entre nature et architecture“).

28 Diese soziale Integration des Dionysischen durch die Vereine wurde kürzlich von Hirschmann (2006) unterstrichen; s. auch z.B. Schwarzer (2008) 93–94 und 101–102, Dunand (1986), Musti (1986). Die Iobakchoi sind mit Herodes Atticus fast zu einem Schulbeispiel geworden; vgl. Moretti (1986) 254–255. Die dionysischen Techniten haben ebenfalls bei dieser Verknüpfung des Dionysos mit den Eliten bzw. mit den Herrschern – trotz des vermeintlich mißachteten Status der ‚Künstler‘ – eine zentrale Rolle gespielt: Le Guen (2001) 88–90 sowie Aneziri (2003) 264–265 und 303–304.

sellschaft integriert werden konnte und daß sich der dionysische Kult stets der Gesellschaft und deren Bedürfnissen anpaßte. Das hat sicher zur harmonischen Entwicklung des dionysischen Kultes und von dessen Kraft bis in die Spätantike beigetragen.<sup>29</sup>

Es darf aber nicht vergessen werden, daß Dionysos durch die gesamte Antike hindurch als Gott der Andersartigkeit und von deren Integration begriffen und gestaltet wurde. Dieser Gott wird häufig als *xenos*, also als ‚Fremder‘ dargestellt, aber als Fremder, den man empfängt – bereitwillig oder gezwungenermaßen – im doppelten Sinn von *xenos*, das auch ‚Gast‘ bedeutet. Dieser *Xenos*-Gott, diese Vergöttlichung der Andersartigkeit ist und bleibt eine Inszenierung des Empfangs der Andersartigkeit in der eigenen Gesellschaft.<sup>30</sup>

Mit Hilfe von Dionysos inszeniert die antike Gesellschaft Andersartigkeit und deren Integration. Man sollte also die Aufnahme des Dionysischen in die antike Gesellschaft nicht als eine reale diachronische Entwicklung verstehen. Seit der Entzifferung von Linear B in den 50er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts wissen wir, daß die Einführungsmythen des Dionysos nicht als Hinweis auf eine historisch späte Einführung des Gottes aus einem fremden Land zu lesen sind, sondern eher als ein Manifest der wesentlichen Andersartigkeit des Dionysos.

### Exkurs: Der Begriff ‚stibas‘ in der Inschrift der Iobakchen aus Athen

In den Statuten der Iobakchen, die uns durch eine ausführliche, berühmte Inschrift bekannt geworden sind, spielt der Begriff *stibas* eine so große Rolle, daß die verschiedenen Kommentatoren ihn zu einem der Hauptschlüssel für das Verständnis dieses Vereins gemacht haben. Welcher Sinn aber kann diesem Wort jeweils an den sieben Stellen, an denen es auftaucht (siehe die Textauszüge im Anhang), gegeben werden? Nach der am meisten verbreiteten Auffassung sollten dem Wort drei unterschiedliche Bedeutungen, je nach Kontext, in der Inschrift zugewiesen werden.<sup>31</sup> Als Name eines Festes würde

29 Jaccottet (2003a) I.202–204.

30 Detienne (1986c) 59–62. Die Analyse der archaischen Bildzeugnisse des Dionysos führte Isler-Kenényi zu denselben Schlußfolgerungen: Dionysos zeigt sich als Gott der Polis, als der Mediator par excellence, als eine zentrale Integrationsfigur der griechischen archaischen Gesellschaft besonders hinsichtlich des Verhältnisses zwischen wilder Natur und Zivilisation (Isler-Kerényi [2007] v. a. 231–233, Kap. 3–5).

31 Diese dreifache Bedeutungszuschreibung findet man z. B. bei Buresch (1898) 61, Kroll (1916), Poland (1929), Dittenberger (*Syll<sup>3</sup>* 1109 n. 36, 41, 52), Verpoorten (1962), usw.; kleine Unterschiede: Dittenberger (*Syll<sup>3</sup>* 1109 n. 41) gibt der *stibas* in Zeile 63 eher den Sinn von Verein als von Vereinsraum, während Wide (1894) 272 die fol-

das Wort in den Zeilen 112 und 152, vielleicht auch in Zeile 114, benutzt. Die Bedeutung als Vereinsaal würde zweimal (Z. 63 und 70) durch *stibas* als Synonym von *bakcheion* oder *hestiatoreion* angedeutet. *Stibas* würde aber auch mit der generellen Bedeutung von Verein als ganzem (Z. 48 und 52) sowie ein weiteres Mal als Synonym von *bakcheion* verwendet. Dieser Meinung folgend wäre dann anzunehmen, daß sich der Sinn von *stibas*, welcher ursprünglich eine Liege aus Blättern oder Blumen bezeichnet, auf das damit verbundene Fest ausgeweitet und schließlich die ganz generelle und abgeschwächte Bedeutung von Vereinssitz und sogar Verein im allgemeinen angenommen habe.

Die detaillierte Analyse der verschiedenen Passagen der Inschrift, in denen das Wort *stibas* gebraucht wird, erlaubt, so glaube ich, eine andere Deutungsmöglichkeit, die ein besseres Verständnis der Organisation der Statuten sowie des Funktionierens des Vereins ermöglicht. Ich gehe dabei davon aus, daß der Begriff *stibas* immer spezifisch religiös konnotiert bleibt. Meine Hypothese lautet, daß *stibas* mit der festlichen Errichtung der konkreten, aus Blättern bzw. Blumen gemachten Liegen verbunden bleibt und nie als abgeschwächter Begriff, als Synonym von Vereinssitz oder Verein im allgemeinen auftaucht.<sup>32</sup> Diese *lectio difficilior* der Inschrift postuliert also als Basis der Analyse einen engen Zusammenhang des Wortes *stibas* mit der Zelebration eines bestimmten Festes, in dessen Zentrum die *stibades*-Liegen angesiedelt sind. Eine Abschwächung des Begriffs, die zur Generalisierung und damit zu Bedeutungen wie ‚Vereinssitz‘ oder ‚Verein im allgemeinen‘ führt, wäre damit ausgeschlossen.

Die Deutung des Begriffs ist an zwei Stellen so offensichtlich, daß die gesamte moderne Forschung in ihrer Interpretation übereinstimmt: Durch die Nennung von *stibas* innerhalb einer Reihe von verschiedenen Festen (Z. 150–155: Textauszug IV) bzw. durch die Gegenüberstellung mit einem anderen klar definierten Fest (Z. 111–113: Textauszug III, erster Teil), wird an diesen beiden Stellen dem Wort *stibas* ohne Zweifel die Bedeutung eines bestimmten Festes zugewiesen, das neben anderen Festen von den Iobakchen während des liturgischen Jahrs gefeiert wird.<sup>33</sup>

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gende Aufteilung angibt: Z. 70: Vereinsraum; Z. 112 und 152: Fest; Z. 48 und 52: Fest oder Raum, beides aufeinander bezogen.

32 Bereits bei Ziehen findet sich, als Grundlage seiner Analyse, eine ähnliche These, die leider von anderen Kommentatoren nicht übernommen worden ist: Ziehen/von Prott (1906) 139. Maass (1895) 25, 27, 31 hatte ebenfalls versucht, jede Verwendung von *stibas* (außer Z. 152) in einem einzigen Sinn – und zwar Kultraum – zu verstehen und entsprechend zu übersetzen, was aber nicht überzeugen kann (z.B. Z. 48–49: εἰργέσθω τῆς σπιβάδος).

33 Aus der Lesung dieser Stellen im Zusammenhang mit den Zeilen 42–44, die ebenfalls einen Katalog der Versammlungsgelegenheiten der Iobakchen bieten, als Parallelstellen wird gewöhnlich deduziert, die *stibas* als Fest sei ein anderer Name für *bakcheia*, da die beiden Wörter an diesen beiden Stellen ähnlich gebraucht scheinen. Die hier vorge-

Die fünf weiteren Stellen, in denen *stibas* auftaucht, sind leider viel schwerer zu interpretieren. In den Zeilen 48–49 (Textauszug I, erster Teil) begegnet das Wort *stibas* in einer Verbotsformel: εἰργέσθω τῆς στιβάδος. Dieses Verbot betrifft denjenigen, der die in den Statuten knapp aufgezählten Bedingungen und Pflichten (regelmäßige und aktive Teilnahme an den Versammlungen, die Bezahlung der Weingebühr) nicht erfüllt. Der Ausschluß, den das Verbum εἰργεσθαι im Sprachgebrauch konnotiert, wird für Zeremonien oder Versammlungen angewendet, die ein breites Publikum betreffen: Mit diesem Verbum deutet z.B. Isokrates den Ausschluß von Kulthandlungen und Lysias das Fernhalten von der Agora an.<sup>34</sup> Dasselbe Verbum finden wir in der Iobakchen-Inschrift noch einmal in der Formel εἰργέσθω τῆς ἐστιάσεως (Z. 105), die klar auf einen Ausschluß aus einem festlichen Ereignis hinweist. Wenn man diese Ausschlußformel analog zu εἰργέσθω τῆς στιβάδος (Z. 48–49) zu deuten versucht, so ergibt sich für die Übersetzung von *stibas* an dieser Stelle die Bedeutung als Fest. Die statt dessen meist vorgenommene Deutung von *stibas* in dieser Ausschlußformel im Sinne von ‚Verein‘ scheint mit dem sprachlichen wie logischen Gesamtkontext des Dokuments nicht übereinzustimmen. Der Kohärenz der Statuten, die später noch anhand weiterer Beispiele aufgezeigt werden soll, entspricht es übrigens viel eher, hier von einem vorübergehenden Ausschluß aus einem bestimmten Fest für den Fall eines Nachlassens der Pflichten dem Verein gegenüber auszugehen, als von einem endgültigen Ausschluß aus dem Verein. Auf diese Kohärenzproblematik werde ich in der Zusammenfassung zurückkommen.

Im selben auf einen zeitweiligen Ausschluß bezogenen Kontext wird das Wort *stibas* noch ein zweites Mal verwendet (Z. 52–53), und zwar im Zusammenhang mit Ausnahmeregelungen (Textauszug I, zweiter Teil): „Derjenige, der (seinen Verpflichtungen) nicht nachkommt, soll aus der *stibas* ausgeschlossen werden (εἰργέσθω τῆς στιβάδος) [...], außer im Falle von Reise, Trauer, Krankheit oder falls derjenige, der zur *stibas* zugelassen werden wird (ὁ προσδεχθῆσόμενος ἰς τὴν στιβάδα), ganz und gar unentbehrlich ist.“ Das Verbum προσδέχομαι wird üblicherweise für die Aufnahme in eine soziale Gruppe (Bürger, φράτρες, ἔφηβοι) verwendet;<sup>35</sup> nach diesem Modell wäre hier *stibas* als Verein zu verstehen, wie bisher meistens angenommen wird. Eine solche Deutung ergibt aber einen offensichtlichen Widersinn. In den

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legte Analyse soll dagegen zu zeigen versuchen, daß der generelle Sinn von *bakcheia*, der in der Tat auf verschiedene dionysische Festlichkeiten hinweisen kann, weit entfernt von der präziseren Bedeutung von *stibas* ist, die, so meine ich, nur mit demjenigen Fest in Beziehung steht, zu deren Inszenierung die *stibades*-Liegen gehören und das diese zum Zentrum hat.

34 Εἰργεσθαι ἱερῶν: Isocr. 4.157; Lys. 6.24

35 Siehe z.B. Pl. *Leg.* 708a; Aesch. *Eum.* 656; zu einer Urkunde aus Alexandria (2. Jh. n. Chr.) vgl. Bilabel et al. (1931) 7333, 40.

Sonderfällen (höhere Gewalt), die den Ausschluß aus der *stibas* (sei sie Verein oder Fest) für diejenigen bedingen, die ihren Verpflichtungen dem Verein gegenüber nicht nachgekommen sind, kann jedenfalls keineswegs auf die kommende Aufnahme eines Mitglieds in den Verein hingewiesen werden. Das Futur des Partizips, das in der Formel verwendet wird, unterstreicht die Unmöglichkeit, das Wort *stibas* hier im Sinne von Verein zu verstehen. Um innerhalb dieses Abschnitts eine minimale Kohärenz zu bewahren, genügt es, *stibas* beide Male als ein besonderes Fest des Vereins zu deuten, an dem nur diejenigen Mitglieder teilnehmen dürfen, die sich bei allen anderen Gelegenheiten bereits als perfekte Iobakchoi erwiesen haben<sup>36</sup>. Die *stibas* ist in diesem Fall das Hauptfest des Vereins, das als Höhepunkt des liturgischen Jahres durch eine Kontrolle des übrigen Benehmens und Partizipierens der jeweiligen Mitglieder wie durch eine Art Zugangsprüfung geregelt wird.

Weiter (Z. 63) wird *stibas* in einer modalen Formel verwendet (ἐν στίβοδι), die die Ordnungs- und Disziplinvorschriften einführt (Textauszug II). Ἐν + Dativ kann zwar temporal benutzt werden,<sup>37</sup> was hier nochmals eine Übersetzung von *stibas* als Fest gestatten würde. Da aber dieser Gebrauch eher selten bezeugt ist und zudem etwas bemüht klingt, scheint es sinnvoller, sich hier mit der ganz üblichen lokalen Bestimmung zu begnügen. „In der *stibas*“ hieße dann: im Raum, der den Namen *stibas* trägt oder tragen kann. Was soll aber mit diesem *Stibas*-Raum gemeint sein? Sollen wir das so verstehen, daß *stibas* einfach als Synonym von *bakcheion* oder *hestiatureion* generell auf den Hauptsaal des Vereins hinweist? Die meisten Kommentatoren stützen sich auf die Ordnungsvorschriften, die an dieser Stelle in direktem Bezug auf die *stibas* eingefügt werden (wobei auch ein Eukosmos und seine „Pferde“ erwähnt werden, die für Ruhe und Ordnung sorgen müssen), um *stibas* im ganz allgemeinen Sinne von ‚Vereinsraum‘ zu deuten, in dem alle Festlichkeiten der Iobakchen gefeiert werden, wobei dann davon ausgegangen wird, daß bei allen Versammlungen der Mitglieder die gleichen Ordnungsvorschriften zu gelten hätten. *Stibas* wäre also eine bloße sprachliche Variante, neben *bakcheion* oder *hestiatureion*, die auf den normalen, üblichen Versammlungsraum des Vereins hinweisen würde.

Die andere Deutungsmöglichkeit wäre, *stibas* zwar hier im Sinne von Versammlungsraum, analog zum *bakcheion*, zu interpretieren, aber als (zeitweilige) Funktionsbestimmung eines bestimmten Raumes, der für das *Stibas*-Fest speziell geschmückt und vorbereitet wird;<sup>38</sup> die Unterscheidung zwischen

36 Der Sinn des Verbs προσδέχομαι bleibt in beiden Fällen derselbe: Die Zulassung zu einem Fest wie die Aufnahme in eine Gruppe beruhen in der Tat auf der Überprüfung der Konformität des Kandidaten mit den je nach Fall geregelten Bedingungen.

37 Andoc. *Myst.* 35: ἐν ἑμῶ λόγῳ, „während meiner Redezeit“ (vgl. Dem. *De cor.* 139).

38 So schon Ziehen/von Prott (1906) 139.

*bakcheion* und *stibas* (beide im Sinne von Vereinsraum) wäre also tatsächlich nicht eine zwischen zwei Räumen, da beide Ausdrücke auf dasselbe materielle Gebäude verweisen, bezöge sich jedoch auf verschiedene zeit- und umstandsgebundene Faktoren. Der Ausdruck „in der *stibas*“ wäre dann als „in dem zum *Stibas*-Fest besonders geschmückten und vorbereiteten Versammlungsraum“ zu verstehen, genauso wie derselbe Saal auch *hestiatoreion* heißen kann, wenn er zum Speisen benutzt wird.<sup>39</sup>

Warum ist aber eine solche *lectio difficilior* hier notwendig? Wird *stibas* generell als normaler Versammlungsraum gedeutet, dann wären die Vorschriften der *stibas*, die in Zeile 63–67 (Textauszug II, erster Teil) erscheinen, für jede Versammlung des Vereins gültig, und die Iobakchen würden dabei immer ihre Rollen ganz diszipliniert aufsagen und vorführen. Daß ein solches Rollenspiel bei jedem Treffen der Mitglieder im Versammlungssaal stattfindet, ist aber eher unwahrscheinlich. Die Zeilen 118–127, die uns darüber viel präziser informieren, scheinen im Gegenteil diesen Ritus speziell und exklusiv mit dem *Stibas*-Fest zu verbinden. Hier wird in der Tat angegeben, daß der *archibakchos* das Opfer und die Weinspende am 10. Elaphebolion übernehmen muß. Unmittelbar nach diesen Angaben folgen diejenigen über die Verteilung der Opferanteile und der Rollen zum sogenannten heiligen Drama. Daß diese beiden Opferangaben so nahe beieinander erwähnt werden, und daß sie die einzigen in der ganzen Inschrift sind, führt zur plausiblen Hypothese, daß der *Archibakchos* für das Opfer zuständig ist, das kurz vor der Rollenverteilung stattfindet, und zwar am 10. Elaphebolion (Z. 120–121). Dieses präzise Datum wird hier sicher nicht zufällig erwähnt: Bei dieser Gelegenheit feiern in der Tat jedes Jahr die Athener mit großem Prunk den zweiten Tag der Großen Dionysien. Wäre es zu kühn, die oben zitierte Stelle (Z. 63–67, Textauszug II, erster Teil), in der das Rollenspiel mit der *stibas* in Zusammenhang steht, ebenfalls auf den 10. Elaphebolion zu beziehen?

Eine letzte Bemerkung sei hier zur Unterstützung dieser Hypothese hinzugefügt: Durch die Zeilen 111–113 (Textauszug III, erster Teil) erfahren wir, daß sich der Priester mit den Kulthandlungen der *stibas* und des Jahresjubiläums (*Amphiterides*) zu beschäftigen hatte. Wir haben eben gesehen, daß der *Archibakchos* das Opfer und die Weinspende am 10. Elaphebolion übernehmen mußte. Nun wird in Zeile 63–67 (Textauszug II, erster Teil) vorgeschrieben, daß der Priester oder der *Archibakchos* mit der Leitung des disziplinierten Rollen-Rezitierens betraut werden soll. Daß die beiden höheren Würdenträger des Vereins hier als einziges Mal gemeinsam und im

39 Die Ausgrabungen im Hof des Hauptlokals haben tatsächlich keine Spur von einem Gebäude ans Licht gebracht, das groß genug gewesen wäre, um die ganze Gemeinschaft aufzunehmen: Dörpfeld (1895). Offensichtlich hat also das Hauptgebäude auch als Speisesaal gedient: siehe z.B. Schäfer (2002), 184–185.

Zusammenhang mit derselben Aufgabe an einer Stelle der Statuten auftauchen, an der es sich um das Rollenspiel und die *stibas* handelt, würde sehr gut zu der Hypothese passen, daß die *stibas* (unter der Leitung des Priesters) und die Festlichkeiten am 10. Elaphebolion (unter der Leitung des Archibakchos) ein und dieselbe Veranstaltung sind, nämlich das Hauptfest der Iobakchen. Die *stibas*, in Zeile 63, wäre also der Raum, der speziell zu dieser Festlichkeit geschmückt wird, und nicht ein bloßes Synonym von Versammlungsraum in einem ganz generellen Sinn. Die Problematik der Stelle ist damit zwar noch nicht vollständig erledigt; die Kohärenz der Statuten scheint aber durch diese ‚engere‘ Deutung klarer zu werden.

Das weitere Auftauchen von *stibas* in den Statuten (Z. 70, Textauszug II, zweiter Teil) liefert im übrigen für den hier vorgelegten Versuch, eine kohärente inhaltliche Lesart der Statuten vorzustellen, zusätzliche Argumente. Die Verbindung des Wortes mit dem Verbum εἰσέρχεσθαι und dem Akkusativ verlangt die lokale Deutung von *stibas* im Sinne von Raum.<sup>40</sup> Die Problematik ist also nochmals dieselbe: Wird hier durch einen solchen Gebrauch von *stibas* auf den extra für das gleichnamige Fest vorgesehenen Raum oder auf den generell multifunktionellen Versammlungsraum hingewiesen? Meine Interpretation und mein Versuch einer Beweisführung beruhen auf den bereits oben vorgestellten Überlegungen: Aus einer engeren Verbindung zwischen *stibas* als Fest und als dazu geschmückter Raum ergibt sich ein viel besseres Verständnis der inneren Funktionsweisen des Vereins. Die Aufnahme in die *stibas* kann nur demjenigen gestattet werden, der seinen Verpflichtungen bei den monatlichen Versammlungen sowie bei dem Jahresjubiläum nachgekommen ist; andernfalls sollen die Priester beschließen, ob das Vereinsmitglied, das dies unterlassen hat, eine Geldstrafe zu bezahlen hat und ob es trotzdem in die *stibas* aufgenommen werden kann.

Diese Vorschrift ähnelt sehr derjenigen in den oben analysierten Zeilen 42–53 (Textauszug I). Die *stibas* hier als üblichen Vereinsraum zu interpretieren, hätte zur Folge, daß ein einfaches Nachlassen der regelmäßigen Teilnahme an den Versammlungen den generellen Ausschluß aus dem Vereinsraum und damit aus den Versammlungen der Iobakchen überhaupt bedingen würde. Dieser endgültige Ausschluß aus den Veranstaltungen wird nun tatsächlich in den Statuten vorgesehen, und zwar für den Fall, daß ein Iobakchos ein anderes Mitglied beleidigt, beschimpft oder einen Kampf anfängt und die Geldstrafe nicht bezahlt (Z. 73–83). Die generelle Ausschlußformel (aus den

40 Das Verb εἰσέρχεσθαι kann auch eine abstrakte modale Bestimmung haben, wie zum Beispiel bei Thukydides (5.36) ἐξ σπονδᾶς ἐσελθεῖν. Die Formel ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, die wir mit demselben Verb bei Xenophon (*An.* 7.3.21) finden, entspricht noch genauer der hier analysierten Stelle. Es wäre also möglich, *stibas* auch an dieser Stelle als Fest zu verstehen.



Versammlungen überhaupt) wird in dieser Stelle ganz klar ausgedrückt: μή συνίτωσαν ἰς τοὺς ἰοβάκχους.<sup>41</sup> Wenn man also den Ausschluß aus der *stibas* in den Zeilen 67–72 (Textauszug II, zweiter Teil) als einen generellen Ausschluß aus den Versammlungen deutet, nimmt man implizit an, daß derjenige, der ‚einfach‘ nicht regelmäßig an den Versammlungen teilgenommen hat, und derjenige, der ein anderes Mitglied beleidigt oder geschlagen hat, dieselbe Strafe erhalten. Die Deutung von *stibas* als der mit dem gleichnamigen Fest verbundene Raum gestattet dagegen eine gewisse logische Hierarchie der Strafen. Der ‚faule‘ Iobakchos würde nur aus dem Hauptfest des Vereins ausgeschlossen, während der generelle Ausschluß aus allen Versammlungen, der durch die klare Formel μή συνίτωσαν ἰς τοὺς ἰοβάκχους ausgedrückt wird, nur denjenigen treffen würde, der sich eines mündlichen oder physischen Angriffs schuldig gemacht hatte. Durch die engere Bedeutung von *stibas* (in direktem Zusammenhang mit dem gleichnamigen Fest) wäre also die Kohärenz der Statuten erneut hervorgehoben.

Die letzte noch nicht behandelte Erwähnung von *stibas* (Z. 114–115, Textauszug III, zweiter Teil) enthält verschiedene Interpretationsprobleme, die manche Kommentatoren dazu geführt haben, vorsichtig auf jede Stellungnahme zu verzichten. Ich werde hier der Interpretation von Dittenberger folgen, nach der σπιβάδι ein temporaler Dativ ist, sowie σπιβάδος und ἀμφιετηρίδος zwei Zeilen weiter oben (Z. 112–113, Textauszug III, erster Teil) temporale Genitive.<sup>42</sup> Die Bedeutung von *stibas* kann hier nur ‚Fest‘ sein. Das Verständnis der Stelle ist trotzdem nicht klar. Diese dunkle Stelle der Inschrift hat ihre Lösung noch nicht gefunden.

Nach dieser Analyse der sieben Verwendungen von *stibas* in der ausführlichen Inschrift der Iobakchoi können wir feststellen, daß eine partikuläre Lesart dieses Begriffs – als ein spezielles Fest oder als das zu diesem Fest geschmückte Versammlungslokal – nicht nur grammatisch möglich ist, sondern offensichtlich dazu beiträgt, die Statuten im allgemeinen logisch und inhaltlich besser zu verstehen. Die Kohärenz der Statuten, die durch das bisherige vieldeutige Verständnis des Wortes fast zunichte gemacht wurde, wird im Gegenteil durch die vorgeschlagene eindeutige Lesart verstärkt. *Stibas* ist also nicht nur ein Fest der Iobakchen unter anderen, sondern das Hauptfest dieses Vereins, zu dessen Teilnahme nur diejenigen Mitglieder zugelassen werden, die ihren Verpflichtungen dem Verein gegenüber während des ganzen Jahres tadellos nachgekommen sind. Dieses Fest fand am 10. Elaph-

41 Derselbe Ausschluß (noch dazu mit einer Geldstrafe) betrifft denjenigen, der einen offiziellen Strafantrag außerhalb des privaten Vereinsrahmens stellt, und auch den Eukosmos, falls er zur Aufrechterhaltung der Ordnung im Verein nicht genügend beigetragen hat (Z. 84–95).

42 *Syll*<sup>3</sup> 1109, 52.



ebolion, am zweiten Tag der Großen Dionysien, in Athen statt, und umfaßte ein Rollenspiel oder eine Art von heiligem Drama mit Götter- bzw. Dämonenfiguren, deren Rollen unter den Iobakchen per Los verteilt wurden, was natürlich im Einklang mit den großen theatralischen Aufführungen der Stadt zu verstehen ist.

Eine Anekdote, die bei Philostratos zu finden ist, erläutert den Zusammenhang der *stibas* der Iobakchen mit den Großen Dionysien noch genauer und trägt als letzter Mosaikstein dazu bei, die Hypothese der wesentlichen Verknüpfung zwischen *stibas*, Rollenspiel und 10. Elaphebolion in den Iobakchen-Statuten zu verstärken.<sup>43</sup> Bei den Großen Dionysien soll Atticus<sup>44</sup> alle Bürger sowie auch die Fremden in Athen zu einem riesigen Symposion im Kerameikos eingeladen haben, wobei alle Teilnehmer ausdrücklich auf aus Efeu hergestellten *stibades* gelegen hatten. Die Übereinstimmung der Schlüsselbegriffe ist hier verblüffend. Durch diese Anekdote wird nicht nur die effektive Verknüpfung von einem echten *Stibas*-Fest mit den Großen Dionysien bestätigt, wie sie anhand der Iobakchen-Inschrift herausgearbeitet wurde, sondern wir sehen ein Mitglied der prächtigen Familie der Attici hier die Rolle des großzügigen Stifters dieser Veranstaltung übernehmen. Es darf auch nicht vergessen werden, daß die Iobakchen-Statuten auch die Übergabe des Priestertums – die amtliche Hauptfunktion des Vereins – an ein Mitglied der Attici-Familie, wahrscheinlich nach den chronologischen Umständen<sup>45</sup> an Herodes Atticus, erwähnen.

Das Indizienbündel scheint daher ausreichend zu sein, um die vorgeschlagene Hypothese zu stützen: Die *stibas* ist bei den Iobakchen das Hauptfest des Vereins, und als solches eine Veranstaltung, die nur den zuverlässigen Mitgliedern zugänglich war, ein Fest, das auf *stibades* (bzw. auf mit Blättern bzw. Blumen verzierten Klinen) innerhalb des großen Gebäudes des Vereins jedes Jahr als Höhepunkt des liturgischen Jahres während der Großen Dionysien in Athen gefeiert wurde.

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43 Philostr. *V. S.* 2.3.

44 Die Kommentatoren sind sich, was die Hauptfigur dieser Episode betrifft, nicht einig. Ist es Atticus, der Vater, wie Ameling (1983) 34 und Maass (1895) 36 behaupten, oder Herodes Atticus der Sohn, so Gernet (1968) 24 und Lavagne (1988) 113? Ich folge hier der Meinung von Ameling, einem Spezialisten der Biographie des Herodes Atticus.

45 Bei der Erstveröffentlichung der Inschrift hatte Wide das Dokument in die Mitte des 3. Jh. n. Chr. datiert. Die frühere Datierung ins 2. Jh. n. Chr. wird jetzt generell akzeptiert: s. Moretti (1986) 252 und n. 14; Ameling (1985), der sich auf neue und, wie es scheint, zuverlässigere epigraphische Daten beruft, schlägt als genaues Datum 164/65 n. Chr. vor und bestreitet bei dieser Gelegenheit die spätere Datierung (195–200 n. Chr.), die von Kapetanopoulos (1984) vorgeschlagen worden ist.

## Anhang: Auszüge aus der Iobakchen-Inschrift (analysierte Textstellen)

### I: Z. 42–53

Συνίτωσαν δὲ οἱ Ἰοβάκχοι τὰς τε ἐνά-  
 τας καὶ τὰς ἀμφιετηρίδας καὶ Βακχεΐ-  
 α καὶ εἴ τις πρόσκαιρος ἑορτὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ,  
 ἕκαστος ἢ λέγων ἢ ποιῶν ἢ φιλοτει-  
 μούμενος, καταβάλλων μηνιαίαν  
 τὴν ὀρισθεΐσαν εἰς τὸν οἶνον φόραν·  
 ἐὰν δὲ μὴ πληροῖ, εἰργέσθω τῆς **στιβά-**  
**δος**, καὶ εὐτονεΐτωσαν οἱ τῶ ψηφίσμα-  
 τι ἐνγεγραμμένοι, χωρὶς ἢ ἀποδημίας  
 ἢ πένθους ἢ νόσου ἢ (εἰ) σφόδρα ἀναγκαῖός  
 τις ᾗν ὁ προσδεχθῆσόμενος ἰς τὴν **στιβά-**  
**δα**, κρεινάντων τῶν ἱερέων·

### II: Z. 63–72

Οὐδενὶ δὲ ἐξέσται ἐν τῇ **στιβάδι** οὔτε ἄσαι  
 οὔτε θορυβῆσαι οὔτε κροτῆσαι, μετὰ δὲ  
 πάσης εὐκοσμίας καὶ ἡσυχίας τοὺς μερισ-  
 μοὺς λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν, προστάσσοντος  
 τοῦ ἱερέως ἢ τοῦ ἀρχιβάκχου. Μηδενὶ  
 ἐξέστω τῶν Ἰοβάκχων τῶν μὴ συντελε-  
 σάντων εἰς τε τὰς ἐνάτας καὶ ἀμφιετηρί-  
 δας εἰσέρχεσθαι ἰς τὴν **στιβάδα** μέχρις ἂν  
 ἐπικριθῇ αὐτῶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων ἢ ἀπο-  
 δοῦναι αὐτὸν ἢ ἰσέρχεσθαι.

### III: Z. 111–117

Ὁ ἱερεὺς δὲ ἐπιτελείτω τὰς ἐθίμους  
 λειτουργίας **στιβάδος** καὶ ἀμφιετη-  
 ρίδος εὐπρεπῶς καὶ τιθέτω τὴν  
 τῶν Καταγωγίων σπονδὴν **στι-**  
**βάδι** μίαν καὶ θεολογίαν ἣν ἤρ-  
 ξατο ἐκ φιλοτειμίας ποιεῖν ὁ ἱε-  
 ρασάμενος Νεικόμαχος.

### IV: Z. 150–155

(ὁ ταμίας) παρεχέτω  
 δὲ οἴκοθεν τὸ θερμόλυχνον τὰς τε ἐ-  
 νάτας καὶ ἀμφιετηρίδα καὶ **στιβάδα**,  
 καὶ ὅσαι ἑθιμοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμέραι, καὶ  
 τὰς ἀπὸ κλήρων ἢ τειμῶν ἢ τάξε-  
 ων ἡμέρας.



# Dionysos in Pergamon. Ein polytheistisches Phänomen

*Cornelia Isler-Kerényi*

## Einleitung: Dionysos am Pergamonaltar

Dionysos war in Pergamon spätestens seit der zweiten Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. eine der prominentesten Gottheiten, die durch das von weither sichtbare Theater und andere unübersehbare Bauten auch das Stadtbild prägte.<sup>1</sup> Am Pergamonaltar kommt er sowohl in der Gigantomachie, die den Altarsockel schmückt, wie im Telephosfries auf der Rückwand der den eigentlichen Altar umgebenden Säulenhalle vor (Fig. 1). In der Gigantomachie ist ihm der Abschnitt unmittelbar rechts der Monumentaltreppe zugewiesen, die auf der Altar-Westseite zur höher gelegenen Altar-Plattform führt. Seine Erscheinungsform ist hier jene des siegreich Kämpfenden, des Triumphierenden (*Thriambos*) (Fig. 2). Verschiedene Indizien – die Komposition der Szene, die Wahl der ihn begleitenden und unterstützenden Figuren, allen voran seiner Mutter Semele, die Platzierung am südlichen Risalit – lassen den Schluß zu, daß es sich bei diesem Dionysos um den für Pergamon besonders wichtigen Mysteriengott Dionysos *Kathegemon* – den Anführenden – handelt. Auf Semele und auf die Frage, was Mysterien konkret bedeuten konnten,<sup>2</sup> werden wir zurückkommen.

Im Telephosfries hatte Dionysos anscheinend dieselbe Gestalt des Triumphierenden (Fig. 3). Sein Auftreten stellt hier den Höhepunkt im Drama von Telephos' Lebensgeschichte dar: Er ist es, der Telephos während des Zweikampfes mit Achilleus in der Kaikos-Ebene zum Straucheln bringt, damit zuerst seine Verwundung und später die mit der Aufdeckung seiner wahren Identität verbundene Heilung bewirkt. Im gleichen Moment verwandelt er durch das wundersame Aufsprießen des Rebstocks zwischen den Kämpfenden das Land Mysien vom Barbaren- in ein Kulturland. In keiner anderen Figur außer jener des Herakles kommt am Pergamonaltar die konzeptionelle Verbindung zwischen Gigantomachie und Telephie so explizit zum Ausdruck. Ohne Herakles, der neben Hera in der Mitte des Ostfrieses dargestellt war,

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1 Ohlemutz (1968) 90–122; Radt (1999) 188–196; 257–262.

2 Jaccottet (2006) 227: „Le problème des mystères dionysiaques n'est pas un problème antique mais bien une problématique engendrée par l'emploi moderne du terme de mystères.“ Vgl. Burkert (2002) 17.

hätten die olympischen Götter ebensowenig siegen können wie später die Griechen ohne die Hilfe des Herakles-Sohnes Telephos im Kampf gegen die Trojaner.<sup>3</sup> Dionysos aber ist nicht nur der einzige Gott, der in beiden Kontexten aktiv auftritt und an der glücklichen Lösung mitwirkt, sondern auch jener Gott, der am engsten mit pergamenischem Land und Boden verbunden ist.<sup>4</sup>

Um dies wahrzunehmen, mußte der Betrachter natürlich beide Friese in Augenschein nehmen. Wer von der Gigantomachie zur Telephie die Treppe hochstieg, machte sich bewußt, daß er in eine etwas jüngere Zeit geführt wurde. Wenn die Götter ohne Herakles nicht hätten siegen können, bedeutet das, daß man sich den Gigantenkampf nicht in der grauen Vorzeit der ersten Göttergenerationen vorstellte, sondern relativ spät in der Zeit der Heroen,<sup>5</sup> die dem Krieg um Troja vorausgegangen war. Wenig später muß Telephos geboren worden sein, dessen Geschichte ein unmittelbares Vorspiel zu jenem Krieg war. Die im Telephos-Südfries postulierte, neugegründete Stadt konnte allerdings noch nicht Pergamon heißen. Der Heros Pergamos, von dem die Stadt den Namen bekam, war ja – allerdings erst durch kaiserzeitliche Quellen belegt – der jüngste Sohn des Achilleus-Sohnes Neoptolemos und der Trojanerin Andromache.<sup>6</sup> Die Benennung muß demnach, in mythischen Kategorien gedacht, nach dem Fall von Troja erfolgt sein: Die Figur des Telephos verbindet also die Gigantomachie der Götter mit dem trojanischem Krieg, der für die Griechen am Anfang ihrer Geschichte stand. Der Mythologie ist außerdem entweder eine Gründung Pergamons in zwei Phasen oder die Existenz verschiedener Traditionen über seine Ursprünge zu entnehmen. Auf jeden Fall wird aber eine Relation zwischen der Stadt des Telephos und Troja hergestellt.

### Der Mythos und die Geschichte

Daß in einem polytheistischen Denksystem mehrere mythologische Traditionen nebeneinander bestehen können, ist nicht überraschend. Denn: „Die Hauptfunktion des Mythos ist, wie wir heute alle wissen, ursprünglich die, daß er die Wirklichkeit und die menschlichen Einrichtungen begründen soll.“ Deshalb: „Auch um die Verschiedenheit der bestehenden Dinge zu ‚begründen‘, muß man sie auf verschiedene Schöpfungs- oder Gründungsakte

3 Bauchhenss-Thüriedl (1971) 9.

4 Detaillierte ikonographische Analyse in Isler-Kerényi (2010).

5 Zum Begriff s. Brelich (1985) 71 f.

6 Vollkommer (1994) 320 f.; Scheer (1993) 124; Pellizer (1998) 46.

und eventuell auf Handlungen verschiedener Gestalten zurückführen.“<sup>7</sup> In diesen Worten äußert sich eine Einschätzung der mythologischen Erzählung, die jener im 19. Jahrhundert vorherrschenden und oft heute noch, wenn auch unausgesprochen, mitschwingenden entgegengesetzt ist.

Der Mythos behauptet, uraltes Wissen über ursprüngliche Zustände zu vermitteln.<sup>8</sup> Dies hat man wörtlich verstanden und in der mythologischen Erzählung die Erinnerung an vorgeschichtliche bzw. vorschriftliche Zeiten gesucht.<sup>9</sup> Deshalb sind wir gewohnt, die ältesten schriftlich belegten Überlieferungen etwa in den homerischen Epen oder bei Hesiod für die am ehesten glaubwürdigen zu halten. Dies gilt im Prinzip auch für die Telephos-Geschichten: Daraus, daß er bzw. sein Sohn Eurypylos bei Homer und in den Epen des Kyklos immerhin kurz erwähnt wurden, ergab sich seine Würde als zur ursprünglichen, ‚unverfälschten‘ Mythologie der Griechen gehörende Herosfigur.<sup>10</sup> Für Brelich besteht hingegen die Rolle der mythologischen Erzählung darin, historisch entstandene Situationen in ein bestehendes mentales System einzupassen und damit zu legitimieren. Dieses mentale System ist von göttlichen Figuren getragen und gehört demzufolge zur Religion. Da es aber zugleich in den geschichtlichen Prozeß eingebunden ist, entfällt die oben genannte Hierarchie der Mythen von alt – gleich genuin, gleich glaubwürdig – zu historisch jünger – gleich sekundär, gleich willkürlich bzw. propagandistisch. Alle Mythen, auch die relativ späteren, sind gleichwertig. Es gilt demnach nicht mehr, innerhalb eines mythologischen Ensembles nur nach den ältesten, den postulierten Ursprüngen am nächsten kommenden Überlieferungen zu suchen. Es macht vielmehr Sinn, die einzelnen Mythen, soweit sie auf uns gekommen sind, mit ihren Bestandteilen kritisch zu sichten und in eine historisch plausible Abfolge zu stellen. Damit bleiben zwar vor- oder frühgeschichtliche Zustände im Dunkeln, doch ergibt sich dafür ein Einblick in das kulturelle Klima bestimmter historischer Schauplätze und in das Selbstverständnis ihrer Akteure. Was die Telephos-Mythologie betrifft, so sind wir in

7 Brelich (1960) 130 f. Ausführlicher und grundlegend zum Phänomen des Polytheismus: Brelich (2007). Zum Polytheismus der Griechen siehe auch Vernant (1995) 9–14; Detienne (1997); Pironti/Mazzadri (2009) 290–296.

8 Scheer (1993) 53 f.

9 Vgl. im Fall des Telephos die Überlegungen zur möglichen Relation mit dem hethitischen Telepinu: Stewart (1996) 112 f. (Telepinu = sowohl Telephos als auch Dionysos) und Tassignon 2001 (Télibinu = Dionysos). Dazu Scheer (1993) 146: „Die Kontinuität eines hethitischen Telipinus am Ort bis in die hellenistische Zeit [...] ist denkbar unwahrscheinlich.“

10 Scheer (1993) 71–74. Vgl. etwa Stewart (1996) 114: „nothing incompatible with that myth’s basic meaning and function can be added to it within the context of the culture that created it.“ So bestand für ihn auch beim Telephosmythos ein „original plot“, allerdings mit „extraordinary flexibility“ versehen (ebd. 118).

der glücklichen Lage, uns auf eine in diesem Sinn durchgeführte Studie stützen zu können.<sup>11</sup>

### Telephos-Mythologie im Wandel

Bei Homer und in den Epen des Kyklos werden einerseits die Beteiligung des Telephossohnes Eurypylos am Trojanischen Krieg und sein Tod durch Neoptolemos erwähnt, andererseits der erfolgreiche Kampf des Mysierkönigs Telephos gegen die vor dem Trojanischen Krieg in sein Land eingefallenen Griechen, seine Verwundung und die Reise nach Argos, während die Kindheits- und Jugendabenteuer völlig fehlen.<sup>12</sup> Im 5. Jahrhundert zeigt sich in den Werken des Pindar, Akusilaos und Hekataios von Milet die Tendenz zur Systematisierung des Stoffes durch explizite Genealogien und geographische Zuordnung. Nach Pausanias<sup>13</sup> wurden in der Geschichte der Auge, der Mutter des Telephos, bereits durch Hekataios die Schauplätze Mysien und Arkadien miteinander verknüpft.<sup>14</sup>

Telephos gehörte dann, nach der Aussage des Aristoteles, zu den meist-behandelten und auch am besten geeigneten Gegenständen aller dramatischen Gattungen.<sup>15</sup> Da aber keines der Telephos-Dramen erhalten geblieben ist, lassen sich jeweils aus Fragmenten bestenfalls die Handlungsschwerpunkte bestimmen. In den Aischylos-Tragödien *Mysoi* und *Telephos* ging es um den Kampf des mysischen Königs Telephos gegen die einfallenden Griechen bzw. um seine Reise nach Argos. In den *Aleadaï* behandelte Sophokles die Zeugung, Geburt und Jugend des Telephos in Arkadien. Wie sich das Orakel erfüllte, Telephos also zum Mörder seiner Onkel wurde, wissen wir nicht. In den Sophokleischen *Mysoi* suchte und fand er seine Mutter in Mysien. Sophokles ging in zwei weiteren Stücken, *Achaion Syllogos* und *Eurypylos*, auf die Telephie ein. In der *Auge* des Euripides stand das Schicksal von Telephos' Mutter im Mittelpunkt. Am besten bekannt ist aber sein im Jahr 438 v. Chr. uraufgeführter *Telephos*, eine Tragödie, die in der Auseinandersetzung um die Heilung der Wunde zu gipfeln scheint.<sup>16</sup> Die genauere Betrachtung der auf uns gekommenen Fragmente der frühen literarischen Tradition ergibt zwei ursprünglich voneinander unabhängige Stränge: Im ersten ging es um den

11 Scheer (1993) 71–152. Vgl., ähnlich, Stewart (1996) 109–112 und, wenig überzeugend, Zagdoun (2008).

12 Scheer (1993) 74.

13 Paus. 8.4.8 f.

14 Strauss (1990) 90 und 92; Scheer (1993) 77; Stewart (1996) 110; Preiser (2000) 50 und 61.

15 Scheer (1993) 78; Stewart (1996) 111.

16 Scheer (1993) 82. So auch Preiser (2000) 71–97 und Jouan/van Looy (2002) 96–111.

Kampf des mysischen Königs Telephos, der im 5. Jahrhundert zum Heraklessohn wurde, gegen die einfallenden Griechen. Im zweiten war die arkadische Prinzessin Auge die Protagonistin. Die Verknüpfung beider Stränge findet sich erstmals bei Sophokles, der sie möglicherweise älteren genealogischen Vorlagen entnommen hatte.<sup>17</sup> Die Akzentsetzungen der athenischen Dramatiker haben jedenfalls den weiteren Verlauf der Telephos-Mythologie geprägt.<sup>18</sup>

Dafür spricht auch der Verlauf der Telephos-Bildgeschichte. Da der mittelkorinthische Aryballos mit der nachträglich eingeritzten Namensbezeichnung entfällt,<sup>19</sup> die Schale in London völlig isoliert und fragwürdig<sup>20</sup> wie auch der Phintias-Krater in St. Petersburg problematisch<sup>21</sup> bleibt, setzt sie in der Vasenmalerei mit Sicherheit erst im zweiten Viertel des 5. Jahrhunderts mit der Schale in Boston<sup>22</sup> und der Pelike in London<sup>23</sup> ein. Daß beide Vasen in die Zeit der Aischylos-Tragödien gehören, ist wohl kein Zufall: Dabei ist bemerkenswert, daß der an seinem Bein leidende Schutzfliehende auf dem Altar sitzt, aber ohne das Kind Orestes. Außerhalb Athens zirkulierten bereits im 5. Jahrhundert ostionische Gemmen mit dem wohl als Glücksbringer eingesetzten Bild des von der Hindin genährten Telephoskindes.<sup>24</sup> Zu den frühesten Zeugnissen und in den oben erwähnten Auge-Strang der mythologischen Überlieferung gehört auch das argivisch-korinthische Bronzeblech der Jahre 470–460 mit der Darstellung des Herakles zwischen Auge mit dem Kind Telephos und Athena, das einen politischen Sinn haben könnte.<sup>25</sup> Erst von 400 v. Chr. an wird unter dem Einfluß der Euripideischen Tragödie der auf dem Altar kniende Telephos mit dem Kind Orestes sowohl in der attischen wie vor allem in der unteritalischen Vasenmalerei zu einer populären Figur.<sup>26</sup>

17 Scheer (1993) 86.

18 Scheer (1993) 78.

19 Scheer (1993) 87 f.

20 Strauss (1994) Telephos 45.

21 Strauss (1994) Telephos 48. Siehe unten Anm. 49.

22 Strauss (1994) Telephos 51. Hier kommt die Deutung auf Telephos aber nur der auf dem Altar sitzenden Figur der Seite A zu, jedoch nicht dem Reisenden im Innenbild, wie auch Scheer (1993) 88 f. zu Recht meint.

23 Strauss (1994) Telephos 52.

24 Strauss (1994) Telephos 6, 7 und 11.

25 Strauss (1994) Telephos 2; Strauss (1990). Eine Aktualisierung des Mythos anlässlich der Kontroversen um Demaratos, den spartanischen Führer, der sich nach 479 v. Chr. im persisch dominierten Mysien festsetzte, ist plausibel: Strauss (1990) 98 f.; so auch Preiser (2000) 48 mit Anm. 24. Vgl. Stewart (1996) 111.

26 Strauss (1994) 866 Telephos 52–66; so auch Scheer (1993) 89 f. Vgl. Lesky (1957/58) 403: „Besonderes Aufsehen hat [...] der *Telephos* erregt.“



Sonst hat die Telephos-Mythologie nach dem 5. Jahrhundert in Griechenland kaum ikonographische Spuren hinterlassen.<sup>27</sup> Daß sie im Bewußtsein geblieben ist und in Arkadien durchaus eine begründende Funktion ausübte, beweisen Münzen von Tegea des 4. Jahrhunderts mit dem ausgesetzten Kind Telephos<sup>28</sup> und dann vor allem die durch den berühmten Künstler Skopas realisierte Skulpturendekoration im Westgiebel des Athena-Alea-Tempels mit der ersten gesicherten Darstellung des Kampfes am Kaikos:<sup>29</sup> Darauf werden wir zurückkommen. Was die Zeit danach betrifft, so ist sicher, „daß sich die kleinasiatischen Teile der Telephossage an Teuthrania und nicht an Pergamon knüpfen“.<sup>30</sup> Verschiedene Indizien lassen jedenfalls den Schluß zu, daß Telephos erst unter Attalos I., also in der zweiten Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts, vielleicht anläßlich der Annahme des Königstitels, zum Dynastiegründer der pergamenischen Monarchie gemacht worden ist.<sup>31</sup> Dieser Anspruch ist vom Nachfolger Eumenes II. (197–159 v. Chr.) gerade auch am Pergamonaltar unterstrichen worden.

### Telephos und Pergamos

Daß die Wahl auf Telephos fiel, hat mehrere Gründe. Er galt seit dem Epos und dann bei Pindar und den attischen Tragikern als mit dem Land Mysien eng verbundener Heros. Als Sohn des Herakles hatte er den Vorzug, ein echter Grieche zu sein. Die wichtige Rolle seines Vaters im Gigantenkampf machte es zudem möglich, den Telephos mit einer Grundvoraussetzung der Jetzt-Welt zu verknüpfen. Als Herrscher über das Land Mysien wurde er andererseits seit alters her auch mit Priamos, dem trojanischen König, verbunden.<sup>32</sup>

Als diese Wahl vollzogen wurde, bestand die Stadt Pergamon samt ihrem Namen bereits seit langem.<sup>33</sup> Ob der eponyme Heros Pergamos schon vor Attalos I. zum Eponymos Pergamons gemacht oder gleichzeitig mit der Adoption des Telephos zum Dynastievorvater eingeführt wurde,<sup>34</sup> ist weniger wichtig als der Umstand, daß auch ihm, wie dem Telephossohn Eurypylos, eine Trojanerin, nämlich Hektors Witwe Andromache, zur Mutter gegeben

27 Sie war aber in Italien offenbar beliebt, wie vor allem die etruskischen Spiegel und die Volterranner Urnen bezeugen: Domenici (2009).

28 Strauss (1994) Telephos 8.

29 Delivorrias (1973); Strauss (1994) 866 Telephos 49; Stewart (1996) 111.

30 Scheer (1993) 100.

31 Scheer (1993) 123 und 128.

32 Bauchhenss-Thüriedl (1971) 11 und 99 Anm. 115; Scheer (1993) 73.

33 Der Stadtname bedeutet in der vorgriechischen Ortssprache „Burg“: Scheer (1993) 100; Radt (1999) 23.

34 Da der Mythos von Pausanias (1.11.2) referiert wird, darf man ihn wohl spätestens der hellenistischen, nicht erst der kaiserzeitlichen Tradition zuschreiben.

wurde. Den Attaliden lag offenbar viel daran, Pergamons Beziehung zu Troja, die durch die geographische Nähe vorgegeben war, explizit zu machen; zumal auch die zur Großmacht aufsteigende Verbündete Rom genealogische Verbindungen zu Troja und zu Telephos reklamierte.<sup>35</sup> Die Figur des Pergamos hatte noch weitere Vorteile. Als Sohn des Pyrrhos-Neoptolemos und Enkel des Achilleus ergab sich durch ihn eine verwandtschaftliche Verbindung zum molossischen Königshaus und damit zu Olympias, der Mutter des Alexander.<sup>36</sup> Eine konkrete Verbindung der Polis Pergamon zu Alexander war bereits dadurch entstanden, daß dieser seine Geliebte Barsine, eine persische Prinzessin, mit dem 327 v. Chr. geborenen gemeinsamen Sohn Herakles in der dortigen Burg in Sicherheit brachte und das Kind dort aufwachsen ließ.<sup>37</sup> Alexander hielt sich bekanntlich ebenfalls – wie die Attaliden über Telephos – für einen Nachfahren des Herakles.<sup>38</sup>

Die mythologische Doppelkonstruktion – Telephos als Vorvater der Attaliden, Pergamos als Eponymos von Pergamon – machte es jedenfalls möglich, die eigentümliche Doppelheit Pergamons, das eine Polis und zugleich eine Monarchie war,<sup>39</sup> mythologisch zu begründen. Die Abstammung der beiden Gründerheroen von Herakles bzw. von Achilleus verankerte die Stadt fest in der Heroen-Vorzeit. Diese Konstruktion sollte sich längerfristig als nützlich erweisen, als vor allem unter Eumenes II. der Anspruch immer deutlicher wurde, Pergamon zum neuen Athen zu machen.<sup>40</sup> Athen galt ja als Vorbild aller demokratischer Poleis. So präsentierte sich Philetairos anlässlich seiner Weihungen in den großen Heiligtümern Griechenlands noch als erster Bürger Pergamons.<sup>41</sup> Die Abstammung von einem Heraklessohn kam der Legitimierung der Königswürde gleich und verdrängte jede Assoziation mit der Tyrannis. Uns fehlen allerdings die genealogischen Zwischenglieder zwischen Philetairos und den Nachkommen des Telephos, von dessen Sohn Eurypylos Grynos, der König von Gryneion in der Kaikos-Ebene, abstammte.<sup>42</sup> Auf diesen wurde später zurückgeführt, daß Pergamos der Stadt den

35 Scheer (1993) 148 mit Anm. 453; Pellizer (1998) 46 mit Anm. 13. Zur Rezeption des Telephosmythos in Etrurien seit der Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.: Domenici (2009).

36 Paus. 1.11.1; Scheer (1993) 124.

37 Scheer (1993) 111; Radt (1999) 25. Der junge Herakles wurde 309 v. Chr. während den Auseinandersetzungen um Alexanders Nachfolge umgebracht: Badian (1998) 394.

38 Darauf spielen Münzen Pergamons der zwanziger Jahre des 4. Jahrhunderts wohl an: Scheer (1993) 111.

39 Allen (1983) 159; Massa-Pairault (2007) 1.

40 Virgilio (1993) 40–42; Scheer (1993) 128 f.; Radt (1999) 159 f. und 277.

41 Scheer (1993) 117.

42 Kein Stammvater der Attaliden war hingegen Dionysos: Scheer (1993) 131 mit Anm. 359. Die Bezeichnung von Attalos I. als Sohn des göttlichen Stieres, vgl. Musti

Namen geben durfte, obwohl es sein Vater Neoptolemos gewesen war, der Eurypylos auf dem trojanischen Schlachtfeld getötet hatte.<sup>43</sup>

## Dionysos

Den Dionysos in die Telephosgeschichte einwirken sehen wir erstmals am Pergamonaltar. Es ist jedoch anzunehmen, daß er auch in der vorattalidischen mythologischen Tradition zumindest verdeckt anwesend war. Bereits für Pindar ist der Schauplatz des Zweikampfes zwischen Telephos und Achilleus die rebenreiche (*ampeloen*) Ebene Mysiens.<sup>44</sup> Die Aussage des Sophokles, wonach Herakles Auge im Rausch vergewaltigt habe,<sup>45</sup> könnte ebenfalls ein Fingerzeig sein auf die entscheidende Rolle, die Dionysos im Leben des Telephos gespielt hatte. Daß Astyoche, die trojanische Gattin des Telephos, ausgerechnet mit einem goldenen Weinstock bestochen worden war, damit sie den eigenen Sohn in die Schlacht und in den Tod schicken sollte, ist auch anderen aufgefallen.<sup>46</sup> In der Perspektive Pergamons kann diese Begebenheit übrigens die Strafe dafür gewesen sein, daß Eurypylos vor Troja den Machaon, den Sohn des Asklepios, getötet hatte: Angeblich deshalb durfte sein Name im dortigen Asklepieion nicht fallen, während alle Hymnen mit dem Lob des Telephos begannen.<sup>47</sup>

Die Indizien für die Anwesenheit des Dionysos in der Telephos-Mythologie sind in der bildenden Kunst vor dem Telephosfries noch schwächer. Ein immer wieder zitiertes Beispiel sind die Fragmente eines frührotfigurigen, dem Phintias zugeschriebenen Kraters in St. Petersburg:<sup>48</sup> Dort war bei einer Kampfszene mit den inschriftlich genannten Patroklos und Diomedes ursprünglich auch der Name Dionysos gelesen und diese deshalb als die sonst nirgends in der Vasenmalerei bezeugte Episode von Telephos' Verwundung interpretiert worden.<sup>49</sup> Auf dieses doch sehr schwache Zeugnis stützt sich im

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(1986) 110 f., ist im Kontext der Mysterien metaphorisch zu verstehen, vgl. Vernant (1988a) 358 f.

43 Scheer (1993) 124; Virgilio (1993) 22 Anm. 35; Pellizer (1998) 46.

44 Pindar, *Isthm.* 8.54: Bauchhenss-Thüriedl (1971) 3; Scheer (1993) 75 Anm. 16; Stewart (1996) 111. Ein Archilochos-Fragment erwähnt wohl im selben Zusammenhang das kornreiche Mysien: Obbink (2006) 8.

45 Scheer (1993) 79.

46 Scheer (1993) 132.

47 Paus. 3.26.9; Scheer (1993) 135; Virgilio (1993) 22 Anm. 35; Zagdoun (2008) 199.

48 S. oben Anm. 21. Beazley (1963) 23.5: Bauchhenss-Thüriedl (1971) 17 f.; Scheer (1993) 87 Anm. 79; Preiser (2000) 49; Stewart (1996) 110.

49 Peredolskaja (1967) 31–33 mit den Tafeln 159.1 und 168.2–4 (Marek Palaczyk, Archäologisches Institut der Universität Zürich, sei für die Hilfe bei der Lektüre des russischen Textes herzlich gedankt). In dieser maßgeblichen Publikation wird allerdings

Westgiebel des Athenatempels in Tegea die Rekonstruktion des Kampfes zwischen Achilleus und Telephos in Gegenwart unter anderen des Dionysos.<sup>50</sup> Daß es für das Auftreten des Dionysos im Telephosfries des Pergamonaltars beim verhängnisvollen Duell gar keine Tradition gegeben hat, ist trotzdem wenig wahrscheinlich: Für eine Dramenhandlung, wie etwa jene der Aischyleischen *Mysoi*, scheint es ja geradezu wie geschaffen.<sup>51</sup> Wahrscheinlicher ist, daß die Rolle des in Pergamon so populären Gottes in der Geschichte des Telephos für Attalos ein weiterer Grund war, im arkadischen Heros den Dynastiegründer zu erkennen.

Die ikonographische Gestalt des Dionysos am Pergamonaltar war durch die Gigantomachie-Metope am Parthenon vorgegeben: Er trägt wie dort den kurzen Chiton und darüber das Tierfell und wird vom Panther, dem asiatischen Raubtier, begleitet und unterstützt.<sup>52</sup> So wird der Gott im 4. Jahrhundert vielfach in Bildern des Gigantenkampfes,<sup>53</sup> aber auch auf Weihreliefs dargestellt, die möglicherweise eine Kultstatue in Athen wiedergeben.<sup>54</sup> Gemeint ist, wie Cain gezeigt hat, der siegreiche, der triumphierende Dionysos Thriambos, der vom gezähmten Panther begleitet auch auf einigen kaiserzeitlichen Münzprägungen Pergamons wiederkehrt.<sup>55</sup>

Das Bild, das man sich im 4. Jahrhundert von Dionysos machte, war allerdings nicht nur von den Parthenonskulpturen und von seinen Kultstatuen bestimmt, sondern mindestens ebensostark von seinem Auftreten in den frühestens 405 v. Chr. erstmals aufgeführten *Bakchen* des Euripides. Fragt man sich, wie Dionysos dort in Erscheinung getreten war, so muß die Wahl wohl auf diesen schönen, kämpferischen, exotisch auftretenden Jüngling fallen: Die beiden anderen Erscheinungsformen des stehenden Dionysos im 4. Jahrhundert, der fast oder ganz nackte Praxitelische Ephebe und der würdige, bärtige sogenannte Sardanapal, kommen ja nicht in Frage.<sup>56</sup> Die starken Verbindun-

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weder der Name Dionysos noch der angebliche Thyrsosumriß im oberen Ornamentrahmen erwähnt, ebensowenig ist die fragliche Inschrift reproduziert. Ohne persönlichen Augenschein läßt sich also nicht entscheiden, wie es sich nach den letzten Restaurierungen mit der Dionysos-Inschrift verhält. Deshalb entfällt vorläufig diese Vase auch als Beleg für die frühe Rezeption des Telephosmythos in Etrurien: Domenici (2009) 159.

50 Delivorrias (1973) 112 Anm. 4, 115 f. und 119; Heres (1996) 96.

51 Die erhaltenen Fragmente geben keinen Aufschluß, vgl. Brizi (1928) 95–100.

52 Isler-Kerényi (2009a) 113 f. Zum Panther in der dionysischen Ikonographie: Isler-Kerényi (2009b).

53 Korinthische Klappspiegel: Gasparri (1986) Dionysos 633; Vian (1988) Gigantes 76; Apulische Vasenbilder: Gasparri (1986) Dionysos 641; Berlin, Antikensammlung Staatliche Museen Inv. 1984.44: Isler-Kerényi (2010) Taf. 13.1.

54 Cain (1997a) 30.

55 Ohlemutz (1968) 119 f. Siehe besonders Fritze (1910) Taf. IV.22; V.3 und 6.

56 Cain (1997); Gasparri (1986) 511. Ebensowenig in Frage kommt der Dionysos Musagetes vom Westgiebel des Apollontempels in Delphi: Croissant (2003).

gen zwischen dem Euripideischen und dem pergamenischen Dionysos hat Musti überzeugend herausgearbeitet.<sup>57</sup> Sie passen zur oben bereits angesprochenen Ausrichtung der Attaliden nach dem klassischen Athen. Die Ähnlichkeit des Dionysos am Pergamonaltar zu jenem der Euripideischen *Bakchen* wird auch dadurch plausibel, daß beide Mysteriengötter sind. In der genannten Tragödie tritt der Gott als Eingeweihter, eigentlich als Einweihender auf; vom pergamenischen Dionysos Kathegemon ist bekannt, daß er auch in Form von Mysterien verehrt wurde.<sup>58</sup>

### Der Mysteriengott Dionysos in Pergamon

An dieser Stelle muß man sich allerdings bewußt machen, was man sich heute unter Dionysos-Mysterien vorzustellen hat. Die von Jaccottet anhand der epigraphischen Zeugnisse vorgelegte Argumentation führt zum Schluß, daß die dionysischen Mysterien an jedem Ort in anderen rituellen Formen begangen wurden: Unterschiedlich waren der bauliche Rahmen, die Titulatur der Teilnehmer, die Art des Anlasses (z. B. Nachspiel der Kindheit des Dionysos, prunkvolle Prozession, usw.).<sup>59</sup> Diese Diversität ist verständlich, wenn man bedenkt, daß die Dionysos-Mysterien im Unterschied etwa zu jenen der Demeter und Kore in Eleusis über kein Zentrum und keine institutionalisierte Priesterschaft verfügten, ja sogar im häuslichen Rahmen oder in freier Natur begangen werden konnten.<sup>60</sup> Im Fall von Pergamon, wo mehrere, allerdings fast ausschließlich kaiserzeitliche Inschriften zu den Mysterien für Dionysos Kathegemon gefunden worden sind, trugen die Teilnehmer den Titel „Rinderhirten“ (*boukoloî*) und scheinen vor allem im Vortrag von pantomimischen Tänzen spezialisiert gewesen zu sein.<sup>61</sup> Jaccottet nimmt an, daß es bei diesen Vorstellungen um die Evokation eines goldenen Zeitalters in einer bukolischen Welt ging.<sup>62</sup> In der Blütezeit Pergamons war offenbar jeweils auch der König aktiv involviert, wie die einzige Inschrift hellenistischer Zeit, eine Ehrung von Eumenes II., vermuten läßt.<sup>63</sup> Schauplatz des alle zwei Jahre begangenen Festes war das Theater mit den unmittelbar benachbarten Kultbauten: dem Dionysostempel am Nordende der Theaterterrasse und dem Attaleion an der Südseite der Theatermuschel, dem Vereinslokal der für die

57 Musti (1986). Der Dionysos der *Bakchen* als Vorbote des Hellenismus: Versnel (1990) 189–205.

58 Müller (1989) 545 f.; vgl. auch Radt (1999) 196.

59 Jaccottet (2006) 225 f.

60 Schlesier (1997) 656; Seaford (2006a) 50; Isler-Kerényi (2009c) 78 f.

61 Jaccottet (2003a) I.171–192 Nr. 91–102; II.108–110.

62 Jaccottet (2003a) I.107.

63 Jaccottet (2003a) II.171 f.

Organisation des Anlasses zuständigen Spezialisten.<sup>64</sup> Ein Versammlungsort der Boukoloi war wohl der sogenannte Podiensaal in der am Südhang unterhalb der Akropolis gelegenen Wohnstadt.<sup>65</sup>

Wenn dionysische Mysterien auch in unterschiedlichen lokalen Formen begangen wurden und die Boukoloi-Feste für Pergamon typisch waren,<sup>66</sup> so stellt sich angesichts der oben festgestellten ikonographischen Verbindung des triumphierenden Dionysos am Pergamonaltar zum Dionysos der Euripideischen *Bakchen* trotzdem die Frage, welche die übergreifenden Gemeinsamkeiten waren. Diese müssen auf einer tieferen psychischen Ebene liegen, die von Schrift- und Bildzeugnissen bestenfalls angedeutet, kaum aber explizit beschrieben werden konnten oder durften. Für Mysterien allgemein, nicht nur jene des Dionysos, gilt, daß sie, mit Burkerts Worten, eine „verwandelnde Erfahrung“ darstellten, nämlich die zugleich traumatisierende und erlösende Erfahrung von Tod und Wiedergeburt vermittelten.<sup>67</sup> Bei den dionysischen oder bakchischen Mysterien ging es wohl außerdem um individuelle oder auch gesellschaftliche Identität: Die jeweils eigene Identität gewinnt man, indem man aufhört, etwas zu sein (zum Beispiel ein Kind) – also metaphorisch stirbt – und dann als etwas Neues (zum Beispiel ein Ephebe) wiederersteht.<sup>68</sup> Symbol dieser zu jedem Menschenleben gehörenden Erfahrung war in der Antike der Wein, der aus dem Tod der Traube hervorgeht und der selber Verwandlungen verursachen kann.<sup>69</sup> Identität ist bekanntlich auch das Grundthema der antiken Tragödie, der dionysischen Gattung par excellence (weshalb sich übrigens Telephos' Geschichte besonders gut dafür eignete). Im Theater von Pergamon sollte wohl durch den Wechsel in die Hirtenrolle die Erfahrung einer längst vergangenen oder auch ersehnten utopischen Welt vermittelt werden. Analog dazu präsentiert sich der Dionysos der *Bakchen* als siegreicher Rückkehrer aus dem in Frieden, Harmonie und Prosperität lebenden Orient.<sup>70</sup> Gerade die pergamenischen Mysterien zeigen also, daß solche antiken Anlässe in der Regel nicht den exklusiven Geheimriten für

64 Radt (1999) 188–196.

65 Radt (1999) 196–199. Siehe auch den Beitrag von Jaccottet in diesem Band.

66 Sie sind allerdings auch in einem weiten Umkreis bezeugt: Jaccottet (2003a) I.110–112.

67 Burkert (1990) 83. Für die bakchischen Mysterien: Schlesier (1997) 656; Versnel (1990) 150–155.

68 Vgl. Seaford (2006a) 74: „the bodily fragmentation of Dionysos (and his restoration to wholeness) was a model for the *psychic* fragmentation (and restoration to wholeness) of the initiand.“

69 Isler-Kerényi (2007) 233; Isler-Kerényi (2009c) 79.

70 Eur. *Bach.* 13–19.

Auserwählte von modernen Sekten glichen, sondern durchaus auch im Rahmen offizieller und öffentlicher Feste begangen wurden.<sup>71</sup>

Zurück zu Dionysos am Pergamonaltar. Im Telephosfries ist er jener, der die Verwundung des Telephos provoziert und ihn dadurch zwingt, nach Griechenland zurückzukehren und dort seine wahre Identität als Sohn des Herakles und als Grieche aufzudecken. Vergleichbar könnte der Sinn von Dionysos' Auftreten am Westgiebel von Tegea gewesen sein.<sup>72</sup> In der Gigantomachie kämpft er – was bezeichnenderweise nur hier vorkommt – zusammen mit seiner Mutter Semele. Semele, die vom Blitz des Zeus getroffen und im Tod zur Mutter geworden war, diente als mythisches Vorbild für alle, die sich in Mysterien einweihen ließen und dadurch den Tod und dann die Wiedergeburt in einer neuen Identität erfuhren.<sup>73</sup> Semeles Statuswechsel drückte sich auch darin aus, daß sie einen neuen Namen, *Thyone*, erhielt: Als Sohn der Thyone, also als Gott der Mysterien, ist Dionysos auf einer der wichtigsten pergamenischen Inschriften angerufen worden.<sup>74</sup> Daraus hat sich die gut begründete Hypothese ergeben, daß „Hadesfahrt und Vergottung der Mutter seit früher Zeit (also nicht erst in der Kaiserzeit) zu den konstitutiven Wesensmerkmalen des Dionysos Kathegemon in seiner pergamenischen Heimat gehörten“.<sup>75</sup>

In dieser Perspektive der besonderen Stellung von Dionysos' Mutter in Pergamon bekommt die immer wieder beobachtete spezielle Verehrung einer Mutter – zuerst der Apollonis, Gattin des Attalos I. sowie Mutter von Eumenes II. und Attalos II., in der nächsten Generation der Stratonike, Gattin des Eumenes II. und Mutter von Attalos III. – durch die pergamenischen Könige einen tieferen Sinn. Dies gilt auch für Boa, die Mutter des Dynastiegründers Philetairos, der zu Ehren ihre Söhne Philetairos und Eumenes ein in monumentalen Formen renoviertes Demeter-Heiligtum auf der Akropolis gestiftet haben.<sup>76</sup>

Die herausgehobene Stellung der Mutterfiguren erstreckt sich für die Pergamener auf die Welt der Götter: Erinnerung sei nur daran, daß in der Mitte

71 Jaccottet (2003a) II.186. Vgl. Seaford (2006a) 71: „A feature of Dionysiac cult [...] is the celebration of secret cult within a public festival of the whole community“.

72 Delivorrias (1973) 117: „le thème de la blessure [...] devient l'élément qui permet l'apparition divine“.

73 Darauf spielt bereits die Dekoration einer einmalig kostbaren attischen Schale der Jahre um 540 v. Chr. an, die aus einem Grab bei Capua stammt: Isler-Kerényi (2007) 165–161.

74 Müller (1989) 505 und 543–546; Kerkhecker (1991) 27.

75 Müller (1989) 547.

76 Hepding (1910) 437 f.; Radt (1999) 181: Die Figur der Boa geriet im späteren 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr. in tendenziöser Weise ins Zwielicht: Virgilio (1993) 13 f. und 45.



des Gigantomachie-Ostfrieses nicht Zeus, sondern Hera stand, und die Zeus-Mutter Meter-Rhea, die berühmte kleinasiatische Mysteriengöttin, als Löwenreiterin neben Dionysos und Semele breiten Raum am Altar-Südrisalit bekommen hat. Sie repräsentiert an dieser Stelle das Land, den Boden Kleinasiens, auf dem Pergamon steht (parallel zum Nordrisalit, der die Ägäis evoziert). Auch im Telephosfries beherrscht eine in der Landschaft sitzende mütterliche Göttin das Umfeld des von der Löwin ernährten kleinen Telephos.<sup>77</sup> Dies führt uns zurück zur Gattin des Telephos und Mutter des Eurypylos – Astyoche, Tochter oder Schwester des Priamos<sup>78</sup> – und zur Mutter des Pergamos, der Trojanerin Andromache. Offenbar sollten durch die einheimischen Mütter beide griechische Gründerheroen im anatolischen Land verwurzelt werden.

Daraus ergab sich die Botschaft, die Eumenes II. mit seinem Altar verkünden wollte. Nicht nur sollte das Monument ihn als Sieger über die barbarischen Galater und Begründer einer neuen Ära der Zeus-Herrschaft verewigen, sondern auch als König einer Polis Pergamon, die in Asien zwar in die Nachfolge Trojas trat, aber anstelle eines Gegensatzes den neuen Frieden zwischen West und Ost verkörperte.<sup>79</sup> In diesem Sinn sollten seine Könige in die Nachfolge vordergründig des Alexander, in Wirklichkeit des Euripideischen Dionysos treten; ihnen folgten in dieser Rolle manche hellenistische Führerfiguren bis hin zu Marcus Antonius und zu römischen Kaisern.<sup>80</sup>

Pergamon stellt sich als wichtigste Station in jenem Prozeß heraus, der Dionysos vom Poligott<sup>81</sup> in jenen Gott verwandelt, mit dem sich von da an und bis in die späte Kaiserzeit die Herrscher identifizieren konnten:<sup>82</sup> in unseren Augen vielleicht eine Paradoxie, die bei oberflächlicher Betrachtung als Propaganda erscheinen kann.<sup>83</sup> Die Paradoxie löst sich auf, wenn man Dionysos in seinen wechselnden Erscheinungsformen zum konkreten, sich stetig

77 Queyrel (2004) 97 und 107.

78 Bauchhenss-Thüriedl (1971) 11 und 99 Anm. 115; Scheer (1993) 148; Zagdoun (1988) 109.

79 Die Utopie einer Befriedung und Versöhnung zwischen Griechenland und Asien war im 4. Jahrhundert bereits im Umlauf: Pouzadoux/Prioux (2008) 482–484. Stewarts mit ganz anderen Argumenten ermittelter Schluß (1996) 118, daß die Intervention des Dionysos während der Schlacht am Kaikos der Erfüllung von Achilleus' Schicksal gedient hatte, steht dazu nicht im Widerspruch.

80 Jaccottet (2008) 202.

81 Poligott in einem besonderen Sinn: Versnel (1990) 150; Vernant (1995) 86–93; Seaford (2006a) 27–36; Isler-Kerényi (2007) 88.

82 Musti (1986) 116–118. Dazu Seaford (2006a) 38: „The attraction of Dionysos to these monarchs consisted not just in the revelry [...] associated with the god, but primarily in the idea of Dionysos as the victor [...] who unites the whole community under the rule of the monarch.“

83 Vgl. Pellizer (1998) 52 ff.; Zagdoun (2008) *passim*.



wandelnden historischen Rahmen in Beziehung setzt und ihn als das versteht, was er, wie auch die anderen Götter, war: eine lebendige Manifestation des antiken Polytheismus, jener Denkform, die bis zum Ende der Antike imstande war, sowohl in den Künstlern als auch in den politischen Führern jene kreativen Kräfte zu wecken, die zur überzeugenden Umgestaltung des Mythos und damit zur Bewältigung der sich immer neu und verschieden präsentierenden Realität benötigt wurden.<sup>84</sup>

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84 Brelich (2007) 108–110.

# „Das hat nichts mit Osiris zu tun“. Zur Verweigerung des Dionysos/Osiris-Synkretismus bei Pausanias

*Christa Frateantonio*

## 1. Antiker Polytheismus und Synkretismus

In meinem Beitrag werde ich ein für die Kaiserzeit und auch für die griechische literarische Tradition auffälliges Phänomen in der Periegesis des Pausanias thematisieren, und zwar seine dezidierte Weigerung, diese beiden Gottheiten ‚synkretistisch‘ gleichzusetzen. Pausanias befindet sich mit dieser Haltung anscheinend jenseits eines in der römischen Kaiserzeit geltenden ‚Mainstream‘, wie ihm ja auch in der Forschung auf anderen Gebieten in der Auswahl seiner beschriebenen Monumente und ihrer Beurteilung vielfach ein anachronistischer Archaismus bescheinigt wurde.<sup>1</sup> Für die Diskussion des antiken Polytheismus als System, aber auch für die neuerdings in der Religionswissenschaft wiederbelebte Synkretismus-Debatte, ist dieses Beispiel gut geeignet,<sup>2</sup> methodologische Probleme der Generalisierung theologischer Konzepte in literarischen Texten für eine Epoche oder aber eine ganze Kultur – hier die Antike – vorzuführen.

Bereits Brelich hatte kritisch auf das lange in der religionshistorischen Forschung geltende Schema evolutionistischer Gottesvorstellungen verwiesen, dem die polytheistischen Religionen als dem Monotheismus vorgängig eingeordnet wurden. Er stellte dem u. a. die programmatische Forderung nach Klärung der unterschiedlichen Gottesvorstellungen in polytheistischen Religionsformen gegenüber, wobei auch zu untersuchen sei, welches Verhältnis die Götter zueinander hätten. Grundsätzlich hat er festgestellt, daß es sich sowohl bei monotheistischen als auch bei polytheistischen Systemen um ‚theistische‘ Systeme handelt, also Systeme, in denen jeweils Gott respektive Götter im Mittelpunkt der Handlungspraxis und theologischen Reflexion

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1 Vgl. dazu die Übersicht bei Frateantonio (2009) 15 f.

2 Leopold/Jensen (2006) 77 stellten als aktuelle Beispiele die derzeit sich in Amerika und Europa ausbreitende afro-kubanische Religion der Santería in den Mittelpunkt; zu deren Analyse wird wiederum das Synkretismus-Konzept herangezogen, um damit einen bestimmten Aspekt religiösen Wandels zu bezeichnen, und zwar dann, wenn alten Traditionen neue Bedeutungen unterlegt werden (hier: katholischen Heiligen afrikanische Orixas).

stehen.<sup>3</sup> Dieser Sichtweise möchte ich mich anschließen und spreche daher auch bei polytheistischen Gottesvorstellungen von theologischen Konzepten. Ähnlich wie Brelich argumentierte neuerdings wieder Gladigow. Seiner Auffassung nach ist die Forschungsgeschichte des Polytheismus bis in die Gegenwart hinein Teil der europäischen Religionsgeschichte selbst und insoweit vor allem durch eine Verteidigung des Singulars charakterisiert. Mit der christlich-theologischen Option sei der religionsgeschichtliche Normalfall Polytheismus zum Sonderfall geworden; die spezifischen Leistungen polytheistischer Religionen in komplexen Kulturen verschwänden so hinter monistischen Präferenzen.<sup>4</sup> Erst seit wenigen Jahrzehnten gewinnt eine historische Forschung Profil, die die besondere Stellung des Polytheismus in der Geschichte der Kulturen und Religionen näher bestimmt: seine grundsätzliche Regionalisierung, die Tendenz zu Pantheon- oder Systembildungen und seine spezifische Integrationsleistung für die jeweiligen Kulturen.<sup>5</sup>

In diesem Kontext wird traditionell die Angleichung, Gleichsetzung und Ausdifferenzierung einzelner Götter unter dem Begriff Synkretismus verhandelt. Zur in der Religionswissenschaft in jüngster Zeit neu belebten Synkretismus-Debatte haben zuletzt Anita Leopold und Jeppe Jensen einen Band herausgegeben. Für die Antike verweisen sie besonders darauf, daß ‚hellenistisch‘ bzw. ‚Hellenismus‘ (nach Alexander dem Großen) sich nach Droysen als exemplarischer Epochenbegriff für eine bestimmte transitorische und transformatorische historische Phase etablierte; ‚hellenistisch‘ wurde dann, bezogen auf die antiken Religionen, zu einem Synonym für ‚synkretistisch‘ im Sinne der Verschmelzung unterschiedlicher Götter oder der ihnen zugeschriebenen Eigenschaften.<sup>6</sup> Selten war mit dem Begriff eine dynamische Komponente der polytheistischen Religionen angesprochen, und zwar die des selbstverständlichen Wandels von Gottesauffassungen. In der älteren Forschung zum antiken Polytheismus galt dies hauptsächlich als Verfall oder Verunklärung ehemals klar konturierter Gottesbegriffe.<sup>7</sup>

Ich werde im Folgenden besonders anhand von Pausanias sowie außerdem von weiteren griechischen Autoren einige spezielle Funktionen und Per-

3 Brelich (1960) bes. 124 f.

4 Noch in der 2003 erschienenen zweisprachigen Ausgabe (griech.-dt.) von Plutarchs Schrift *Über Isis und Osiris* (zusammen mit zwei anderen religionsphilosophischen Schriften Plutarchs) wird in diesem Sinne in der Einführung (348) festgestellt, daß Plutarch hier zu „keinem konsequenten Monotheismus gelangt“. – Im Folgenden stammen die Plutarch-Zitate aus dieser Ausgabe (Übers.: H. Görgemanns).

5 Gladigow (1997).

6 Leopold/Jensen (2006) 21.

7 Exemplarisch hierfür ist etwa Grant (1953), der die Religionsgeschichte von 200 v. Chr. – 200 n. Chr. in diesem Sinne unter dem Begriff des Synkretismus subsumierte; ähnlich wieder Fauth (1995).

spektiven polytheistischer Theologie, hier besonders der Bildung sogenannter Synkretismen, aufzeigen: Erstens läßt sich konstatieren, daß polytheistische theologische Auffassungen von einzelnen Göttern weder in sich homogen noch zwangsläufig kongruent zu lokalen religiösen Praktiken sind; zweitens möchte ich deutlich machen, daß der konkreten Gleichsetzung von Dionysos und Osiris – im Falle des Pausanias auch der expliziten Negierung dieser Gleichsetzung – jeweils unterschiedliche Motive seitens der Autoren zugrunde liegen. Daher kann man kaum von einer annähernd zielgerichteten Evolution polytheistischer theologischer Konzepte in ‚der Antike‘ ausgehen, damit aber auch nicht von einem entsprechenden Niedergang oder aber einer zunehmenden allgemein-gesellschaftlichen Diffusion von Gottesvorstellungen in Kaiserzeit und Spätantike. Vielmehr scheinen unterschiedliche auktoriale Interessen einerseits und lokale, städtische Interessen an bestimmten mythohistorischen Konstruktionen andererseits die Motoren theologischer Spekulationen gewesen zu sein.

## 2. Die Negation des Synkretismus Osiris/Dionysos im 10. Buch der Periegesis

Zu den von Pausanias verwendeten chronologisch-topographischen Rastern in seiner Beschreibung Griechenlands gehört sein Rekurs auf den zeitgenössischen Diskurs über Ägypten im 2. Jh. n. Chr. Ganz dezidiert anders als Herodot und Autoren der Kaiserzeit, auf die ich unten noch näher eingehe, für die dieses Land die Wiege menschlicher Weisheit und Kultur ist, läßt Pausanias an keiner Stelle der Periegesis eine Gelegenheit aus, um darauf hinzuweisen, daß er die Ägypter zu den barbarischen Völkern rechnet. Dies läßt sich u. a. konkret an dem Verhältnis von Dionysos und Osiris in der Periegesis zeigen, außerdem im Vergleich mit anderen griechischen Autoren. Anhand dieser beiden Götter wird schlaglichtartig sichtbar, daß Pausanias dezidierte auktoriale Interessen hatte, die im Kontext religiöser, von den kulturellen nicht zu trennenden Debatten standen. Darüber hinaus wird zugleich deutlich, daß es lokale städtische Interessen in diesem Feld gab, und zwar auch solche, die nicht mit Pausanias' Darstellung konform gingen und umgekehrt. Zur Veranschaulichung sind hier die Kultur bringenden und auch auf Mysterien bezogenen Götter par excellence, der griechische Dionysos und der ägyptische Osiris, besonders geeignet. Ich möchte damit eine ergänzende Perspektive für die religionshistorische Synkretismus-Debatte aufzeigen und vorschlagen, die Funktion bzw. den Nutzen der Bildung von sogenannten Synkretismen für Distinktionsgewinne in den Blick zu nehmen. Hierbei ist

zwischen individuell-auktorialen Interessen im Rahmen eines elitären Diskurses über Religion und handfesten lokalen Interessen zu differenzieren.

Sowohl uns zumeist nicht konkret bekannte Ägypter als auch Griechen versuchten wechselseitig, Prestige über die Vereinnahmung der jeweils anderen Kultur im Medium der Religion zu gewinnen, dies besonders in der Kaiserzeit. Pausanias macht es umgekehrt: Der Raum und damit die Gewichtung der beiden Götter Osiris und Dionysos in der Periegesis könnte kaum unterschiedlicher sein: Während Pausanias Dionysos in allen zehn Büchern seiner Führung durch Griechenland gleichsam aus fast jeder denkbaren, in der griechischen Tradition geläufigen Perspektive beleuchtet – als Weingott, als Kulturbringer, als Mysteriengott, als Orakelgeber und Heilgott,<sup>8</sup> erwähnt er Osiris nur einmal explizit, ein weiteres Mal spielt er auf ihn an, beide Male im zehnten und letzten Buch der Periegesis. Es mag bei einer Beschreibung Griechenlands nicht unbedingt überraschend erscheinen, einen Gott ägyptischer Provenienz *nicht* zu beachten. Allein der Befund bei vor, zeitgleich und nach Pausanias schreibenden griechischen Autoren, die die offenbar in Ägypten zuerst propagierte Gleichsetzung von Osiris und Dionysos ohne weiteres nicht nur akzeptierten, sondern auch vorantrieben und weiter ausdeuteten, legt indes die Vermutung nahe, daß Pausanias Osiris ‚prominent ignoriert‘ hat.

Osiris wird bei Pausanias zuerst an einer Stelle des 10. Buches (Phokis) nur implizit erwähnt, und zwar in einer Bemerkung, die klar zu erkennen gibt, daß er gleichwohl genauestens über die anderweitig übliche Gleichsetzung Bescheid weiß (10.29.4):

Die Ariadne raubte dem Theseus, sei es, daß er zufällig dazukam oder ihr absichtlich auflauerte, Dionysos, der mit einer größeren Flotte heranfuhr, kein anderer nach meiner Meinung, sondern derjenige, der *zuerst mit einem Heere nach Indien zog und zuerst den Euphrat überbrückte*; und Zeugma wurde eine Stadt genannt an der Stelle des Landes, wo der Euphrat überbrückt wurde, und hier ist zu meiner Zeit *noch das Seil vorhanden, mit dem er den Fluß überbrückte, aus Wein- und Efeuranken geflochten*. Über Dionysos wird ja sowohl von den Griechen wie von den Ägyptern viel erzählt.

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8 Pausanias erwähnt in der Periegesis nicht nur zahlreiche Kultbilder des Dionysos, sondern vielfach auch entsprechende Kultverläufe unterschiedlichen Charakters in den griechischen Städten. Hier kommen also gerade lokal unterschiedliche Aspekte des Gottes zur Geltung, so daß es schwierig erscheint, ein kohärentes Konzept des Dionysos aus der Periegesis abzuleiten, das man dem anderer griechischer Götter gegenüberstellen könnte. – Im Folgenden stammen alle Periegesis-Zitate aus der 1986–1989 zuerst veröffentlichten, von Felix Eckstein und Peter C. Bol herausgegebenen dreibändigen deutschen Ausgabe: Pausanias, *Reisen in Griechenland*; Kursivierungen stammen von der Verfasserin und dienen der Hervorhebung einzelner Formulierungen.

Wenn die Ägypter nun aber über Dionysos sprechen, dann meinen sie ihre eigene Gleichsetzung von Dionysos mit Osiris; das weiß der Leser der Periege, das weiß Pausanias, und er weiß, daß es seine Leser wissen. Der unmittelbare Referenzhorizont ist hier die bei Diodorus Siculus (1.19.6–8) wiedergegebene ägyptische Vereinnahmung des Zuges des Dionysos nach Osten als Kulturbringer durch Osiris: Diodorus Siculus referiert die ägyptische Variante des Zuges des Osiris – formal in allem an den Zug des Dionysos angelehnt – nach Arabien und Indien. Er gründete, so gibt Diodorus Siculus die ägyptische Auffassung wieder, dabei in Indien u. a. die Stadt Nysa zur Erinnerung an das ägyptische Nysa und pflanzte dort auch den Efeu, wo zum Beweis allein in ganz Indien und den umliegenden Ländern sich diese Pflanze gehalten habe. Darüber hinaus habe er „viele weitere Zeichen seines Aufenthaltes dort hinterlassen“. Es ist also unschwer zu erkennen, daß Pausanias genau diese Auffassung nicht teilt, von keiner Wesensgleichheit spricht, Dionysos zeitlich *vor* Osiris ansetzt und von der Gründung Zeugmas am Euphrat, nicht Nysas in Indien spricht. Nun könnte man diese auf den ersten Blick vielleicht eher unspektakulär anmutenden Differenzen von Wesen und Leistung dieser beiden Götter bei Pausanias und Diodorus Siculus als sich widersprechende Varianten der Überlieferungstraditionen von Gottesvorstellungen respektive von deren Verunklärung fassen. Meines Erachtens liegen aber jedenfalls bei Pausanias andere, durchaus systematische Strategien seiner Darstellung zugrunde, und damit handelte es sich dann hier um eine bewußte Synkretismus-Verweigerung. Diese läßt sich wiederum, bezogen auf das gesamte Werk der Periege, als Teil seiner anti-ägyptischen, genauer gesagt anti-ptolemäischen und anti-makedonischen Polemik gegen Ägypter und Makedonen als Griechen zweiter Klasse verstehen.

Dies kann man neben den positiv distinktiven Funktionen der Gleichsetzung von Osiris und Dionysos bei Herodot und Diodorus Siculus, auf deren Funktion als Folie ich weiter unten eingehe, anhand einer Reihe von Beispielen aus der Periege zeigen. Pausanias verfährt nämlich, im Vergleich zu Herodot und Diodorus Siculus, systematisch umgekehrt; anders als diese beiden Autoren will Pausanias den ägyptischen Göttern und damit Ägypten selbst den Rang als älteste Kultur absprechen. Die Erwähnungen von Dionysos und Osiris bzw. Osiris/Sarapis in der Periege berühren sich an keiner Stelle, sondern werden sorgfältig voneinander getrennt. Dazu kommt ein weiterer Aspekt, den man als Aus- oder Überblendung bezeichnen kann. Es handelt sich dabei um die griechischen Städte, die nach dem Zeugnis des Plutarch, aber auch anderer Autoren sowie materieller Hinterlassenschaften ganz explizit in der Kaiserzeit das eigene Alter und damit die Ehrwürdigkeit ihrer Herkunft auf eine mytho-historische Verknüpfung mit Ägypten gründeten. Exempli causa für Dionysos nenne ich hier die Stellen bzw. Städte der Periege, die auch Plutarch nennt – Delphi, Elis und Argos –, wobei jedoch die Verweise

auf lokal hergestellte Bezüge zwischen den Göttern Dionysos und Osiris bei Pausanias nicht erscheinen. Nach der Reihenfolge der Periegesis kommt zuerst Argos.

In der Beschreibung von Argos wird Dionysos insgesamt fünfmal erwähnt, Osiris, Sarapis oder Isis überhaupt nicht. Allein drei der Erwähnungen stehen in Verbindung mit Dionysos' vorgeblichen Zug nach Argos: In 2.20.4 erwähnt Pausanias das Grabmal der Mänade Choreia, die unter anderen Frauen mit Dionysos nach Argos gezogen sein soll; in 2.22.1 berichtet er von dem Grab für die Frauen, die in einer Schlacht gegen die Argiver und Perseus, als sie von den Inseln im Ägäischen Meer her mit Dionysos zu Felde zogen, fielen; in 2.23.1 erwähnt er den Tempel des Dionysos am sogenannten Hohlen Weg, mit einem Kultbild, das aus Euböa stammen soll, zu dessen Auffindung und Verehrung durch die Argiver Pausanias das Aition erzählt. In 2.23.7–8 wird ein weiterer Tempel des Dionysos genannt, und zwar mit dem Beinamen Kresios. Und schließlich erwähnt Pausanias noch ein Fest in 2.24.6:

Da, wo der Erasinus aus dem Berg hervorbricht, opfern sie dem Dionysos und dem Pan. Dem Dionysos feiern sie auch ein Fest, Tyrbé genannt.

Ob die Argiver außerdem synkretistische Konstruktionen zwischen Dionysos und Osiris favorisierten, bleibt in diesem Zusammenhang unerwähnt, bzw. falls dies so war, wäre Pausanias dafür aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach keine zuverlässige Quelle. Denn wie archäologische Ausgrabungen zeigen, haben die Argiver, beginnend offenbar im Hellenismus, eine Reihe von Bauten und Markierungen in der Landschaft geschaffen, durch die das hohe Alter der Stadt vorzugsweise durch diverse Bezugnahmen auf Ägypten dokumentiert werden sollte. Der französische Archäologe Aupert hat versucht, diejenigen Reste von Tempeln und anderen Monumenten zu identifizieren, die mit der ägyptischen Tradition in Argos im Zusammenhang standen. Er nennt als erstes einen Tempel, der in der Kaiserzeit Serapis geweiht war und wahrscheinlich bereits in hellenistischer Zeit gebaut wurde. Wann genau die Transformation von einem vormaligen Asklepieion in ein Serapeion erfolgte, ist jedoch unklar.<sup>9</sup> Weiter nennt Aupert den ägyptischen Tempel an der Agora bei einem Ort namens Delta mit dem Grab des mythischen Königs Danaos aus dem 1. Jh. n. Chr. Auf dem Argos benachbarten Berg Pontinos befand sich überdies ein Heiligtum der Athena Saitis, das Aupert zufolge einen Bezug zu dem Platz Delta in der Stadt herstellte.<sup>10</sup> Daß Pausanias von diesen mythisch-chronologischen Bezügen nicht überzeugt ist, zeigt sich darin, daß er die Monumente entweder überhaupt nicht erwähnt oder, wie in 2.21.1, explizit als Auslassung in seinen Erläuterungen argivischer Sehenswürdigkeiten markiert:

<sup>9</sup> Aupert (2001) 444 f.: Tempel A neben dem Theater mit Einzelfunden.

<sup>10</sup> Aupert (2001) 453.

Hier [scil. beim Heiligtum der Artemis] steht auch eine Bronzestatue des Aineias, und ein Platz namens Delta ist da; weshalb er so heißt, übergehe ich absichtlich, da mir die Angaben darüber nicht zusagten.

Im 2. Jh. n. Chr. (Hadrianische Zeit) erscheinen auch die ägyptischen Götter Isis und Horus auf argivischen Münzen.<sup>11</sup> Daß die Argiver sich damit durchaus erfolgreich in der Außenwirkung als sehr alte Stadt und Kultur präsentierten, belegen wohl besonders auch spätantike Schriftzeugnisse, die das hohe Alter von Argos thematisieren, wie dies der christliche Schriftsteller Eusebios eigens unter Bezugnahme auf die mytho-historischen Verbindungen zu Ägypten tat (*Praeparatio Evangelica* 2.1):

Auch Perseus wurde, wie gesagt wird, in Ägypten geboren, und die Geburtsstätte der Isis wird von den Griechen nach Argos verlegt, während sie in ihrer Mythologie sagen, daß sie Io war, die, die in eine Kuh verwandelt wurde: andere wieder meinen, daß dieselbe Göttin Isis war [...].

Sowenig Pausanias die von Argos selbst gesuchten Bezüge zu Ägypten und ägyptischer Religion beschreibt, sowenig setzt er Ähnlichkeiten im argivischen Dionysos-Kult zu dem des Osiris in Szene. Einen parallelen Befund gibt es für Elis; auch hier berichtet Pausanias (6.26.1) nichts von der bei Plutarch erwähnten Wesensgleichheit:

Von den Göttern verehren die Eleer Dionysos besonders und sagen, der Gott besuche sie am Fest der Thyien. Der Platz, wo sie das Thyia genannte Fest feiern, ist gegen acht Stadien von der Stadt entfernt.

Eine Verbindung zu Osiris oder Osiris/Sarapis wird hier nicht hergestellt, ebensowenig wie bei den zahlreichen Nennungen der Thyiaden im 10. Buch in Delphi. Handelt es sich hier um Zufallsbefunde oder um System? Ich möchte für letzteres plädieren, also für bewußt konzipierte ‚Parallelwelten‘ der ägyptischen Götter einerseits und Dionysos andererseits in der Periegesis. Denn Pausanias nennt zwar während der gesamten Periegesis eine stattliche Anzahl von Heiligtümern ägyptischer Gottheiten, genaugenommen diejenigen von Isis und Sarapis, jedoch berühren sich diese nirgends mit Nennungen des Dionysos. Dies mag nicht zuletzt damit zusammenhängen, daß Pausanias die ägyptischen Isis-Mysterien in Griechenland ganz aus seiner Darstellung ausgespart hat. Das älteste Sarapisheiligtum von Ägypten in Memphis und das hochberühmte Ritual der Bestattung des Apistieres wird im 1. Buch (1.18.4) zwar genannt, aber nur im Rahmen eines kurzen Ausblicks. Denkt man an die zahlreichen anderweitigen sogenannten Exkurse, die sich in der Periegesis finden, hätte Pausanias durchaus die Möglichkeit einer solchen Einblendung und Fokussierung gehabt.

11 Aupert (2001) 454.



Alle übrigen Nennungen von ägyptischen Kulturen in der Periegesis nehmen sich wie ein eigentümliches Inventar oder eine Auflistung aus.<sup>12</sup> Ich möchte in diesem Zusammenhang auch noch einmal darauf hinweisen, daß kein einziges Isis- oder Sarapisheiligtum in Argos von Pausanias genannt wird. Darauf, daß es sich hier um eine bewußte Auslassung handelt, weist er selber hin, wie weiter oben bereits vermerkt. Insofern kann man meines Erachtens mit Fug und Recht davon sprechen, daß die prominenteste markierte Auslassung diejenige ist, an der Pausanias im 10. Buch (10.29.4) scheinbar ganz unvermittelt sagt: „Über Dionysos wird ja sowohl von den Griechen wie von den Ägyptern viel erzählt“. Daß er hiermit einerseits zwar auf die Gleichsetzung Dionysos-Osiris anspielt, ohne sie jedoch eigens zu nennen, wird unterstützt durch die nur wenige Abschnitte später im selben Buch erfolgende Beschreibung des Isisheiligtums und -kultes von Tithorea, in dem Osiris dann zum einzigen Mal im gesamten Werk beim Namen genannt ist (10.32.13 ff.).

Ich beschränke mich im Folgenden auf Hinweise zu textimmanenten Besonderheiten seiner Darstellung. Soweit als möglich ist die Schilderung von Kult und Festverlauf durch Pausanias grundsätzlich von allen Elementen, die auf die ägyptische Herkunft oder die Isis-Mysterien selbst verweisen, bereinigt. Wie man unter anderem dem Roman des Apuleius *Der goldene Esel* entnehmen kann, rief die Göttin diejenigen, die in ihre Mysterien eingeweiht werden konnten, durch ein Traumgesicht zu sich. Pausanias nimmt dieses Element auf, doch wird es von ihm mit unterirdischen Göttern am Mäander in Zusammenhang gebracht. Man erfährt keinen ägyptischen Namen der zweimal im Jahr in Tithorea gefeierten Feste, sondern lediglich, daß die Herrichtung der Opfertiere ägyptisch sei. Die Heiligkeit des Kultortes in Tithorea belegt Pausanias im letzten Teil seiner Schilderung mit zwei strukturell parallelen Episoden, dem Eindringen von Uneingeweihten in ein Heiligtum, was in seiner Schilderung schließlich nur das Wort Homers belegt, daß Menschen Götter nicht direkt ansehen sollen. Während die erste dieser Episoden in Tithorea spielt, ereignet sich die zweite ausgerechnet und kaum zufällig in Ägypten, im Heiligtum der Isis in Koptos, was für Pausanias jedoch nur Anlaß ist, in einer kurzen Abschweifung vom ägyptischen Kult zu berichten (Trauer der Isis um Osiris und das Ereignis der Nilschwelle), aber ohne dies in einen ersichtlichen Zusammenhang mit dem Kultgeschehen in Tithorea zu bringen (10.32.18):

Etwas Ähnliches hörte ich von einem Phöniker, daß die Ägypter der Isis das Fest feiern, wenn sie sagen, daß sie um Osiris traure; dann beginnt auch der Nil bei ihnen zu steigen, und viele Einheimische behaupten, daß es die Tränen der Isis sind, die den Fluß anschwellen und die Fluren bewässern lassen.

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12 Übersicht bei Frateantonio (2009) 109 ff.

Pausanias erwähnt Osiris nur dieses eine Mal im gesamten Werk namentlich und kennt nach eigener Aussage sowohl die von ihm berichtete Episode als auch das ägyptische Ritual überhaupt nur durch Erzählungen; man hat darin das Gegenteil einer markierten Autopsie als Wissen aus erster Hand, nämlich markiertes Hörensagen als Wissen aus zweiter Hand zu sehen.<sup>13</sup> Pausanias schafft dadurch für den Leser eine Distanz zu dem eigentlichen Herkunftsland der Göttin in Ägypten und stellt den Isiskult in Tithorea in den Mittelpunkt, d. h. ein hier zu erwartender Hinweis auf Alter und Ehrwürdigkeit des Kultes unterbleibt, ja Ägypten als Herkunftsland des Isiskultes und der Mysterien wird in der betreffenden Passage nicht einmal angedeutet.<sup>14</sup>

Aus den Zeugnissen wird deutlich, daß Pausanias eine Gleichsetzung von Dionysos und Osiris definitiv nicht favorisiert. An den anderen Stellen der Periegeese übergeht er insgesamt die Verbindung der Göttin Isis mit Osiris im Kontext ihrer Mysterien; die sonstigen griechischen Heiligtümer für Isis mit Sarapis nennt Pausanias wohl in einer inventarartigen Übersicht, geht aber nirgends auf eine wie auch immer geartete Beziehung zu Ägypten ein. Daß es sich dabei keineswegs nur um eine Frage von Selektionskriterien, also etwa um Platzersparnis für ‚das Wichtigste‘, sondern um ein systematisches Kriterium handelt, zeigt sich noch deutlicher, wenn man Pausanias' Aussagen über Religion in Ägypten in einen Kontext mit seinen historisch und ethnologisch relevanten Bemerkungen über die Ägypter und speziell die Alexandriner (Makedonen und Ptolemäer) stellt. Hier gibt es zunächst den Aspekt der fremden, barbarischen Religion, und zwar in Verbindung mit Zauberei. So nimmt Pausanias diesen Topos im 6. Buch (Elis II) beispielsweise in der Person eines Ägypters auf, dessen unwahrscheinliche Erklärungen zum Taraxippos er wiedergibt.<sup>15</sup> Man fühlt sich etwa an die Schilderungen Lukians im *Lügenfreund*

13 Daß er hier ausgerechnet einen Phöniker als Gewährsmann heranzieht, verstärkt die implizite Kennzeichnung der Information als dubios und unglaubwürdig, da Pausanias Personen dieser Herkunft in der Periegeese regelmäßig in diesem Sinne bewertet, so 7.23.7, wo die theologischen Erklärungen eines Sidoniers von ihm als kindisch abgetan werden. Zur Stelle: Frateantonio (2009) 153.

14 Für die detaillierte Analyse dieser Stelle im Kontext der Forschungen zum Isiskult in der Kaiserzeit verweise ich auf die Publikation von Egelhaaf-Gaiser (2005) 273 f., die herausgearbeitet hat, daß in Pausanias' Beschreibung des Isiskultes in Tithorea die Aegyptiaca auf ein Minimum reduziert sind; Pausanias führt – anders als Apuleius, der in den *Metamorphosen* die „spektakuläre Fremdartigkeit des Isiskultes in einer schillernden Festbeschreibung“ darstellt – den „Schauwert der Exotik gerade nicht am Standardbeispiel vor, sondern an griechischen Kulte“. Dies macht sie unter anderem an der Kompositionstechnik und an Motivparallelen fest, durch die Pausanias die Wechselbeziehungen zu Asklepios und Demeter herausgestellt hat und eben nicht zum ägyptischen Herkunftsland.

15 (6.20.18): „Ein Ägypter sagte, Pelops habe von dem thebanischen Amphion etwas erhalten und an der Stelle vergraben, die man Taraxippos nennt. Von diesem Ver-

erinnert, in der die ägyptische Religion als eine lächerliche Zauberkunst dargestellt ist.<sup>16</sup>

Auf der Folie der in der Periegesis immer wieder als ‚barbarisch‘ bezeichneten Ägypter entwickelt Pausanias eine Perspektive kultureller und ethnischer Inferiorität, in der auch die Ptolemäer zu zweitklassigen Griechen werden.<sup>17</sup> Über die konkreten Gründe dieser Disqualifizierung insgesamt und im besonderen der Alexandriner äußert sich Pausanias nicht explizit, und sie können jenseits eines in dieser Hinsicht für das Werk konsistenten Befundes nicht zweifelsfrei rekonstruiert werden.<sup>18</sup> Für den hier interessierenden Kontext seiner Weigerung, Osiris und Dionysos gleichzusetzen und damit die Superiorität des Ägyptischen vor dem Griechischen anzuerkennen, mögen die angeführten Belege dezidiert auktorialer Interessen einstweilen genügen.

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grabenen seien damals dem Oinomaos die Pferde scheu geworden und so auch allen, die später an dieser Stelle vorbeikamen. *Der gleiche Ägypter behauptete auch, Amphion und der Thraker Orpheus seien große Zauberer gewesen, und wenn sie ihre Zaubergesänge vorgetragen hätten, seien dem Orpheus die wilden Tiere, dem Amphion die Steine zum Mauerbau herbeigekommen. Die mir wahrscheinlichste Sage* gibt an, daß Taraxippos ein Beiname des Poseidon Hippios gewesen sei“.

- 16 Lukian, *Philops.* 31: „Ich aber, als ich das hörte [scil. von einem männlichen Gespenst in einem verfallenden Haus, C. F.], nahm meine Bücher – *ich habe nämlich zu diesem Thema ungeheuer viele ägyptische Bücher* – und kam in das Haus um die Zeit des ersten Schlafes. [...] Nachdem er herangetreten war, nahm er den Kampf mit mir auf, indem er mich von allen Seiten anfiel, ob er mich von irgendwo überwältigen könnte, und wurde bald ein Hund, ein Stier oder ein Löwe. *Ich aber nahm die schauerlichste Beschwörungsformel zur Hand – ich redete in ägyptischer Sprache – und trieb ihn unter Zaubersformeln in eine Ecke des finsternen Zimmers.* Nachdem ich gesehen hatte, wohin er untergetaucht war, hatte ich für den Rest der Nacht Ruhe“.
- 17 Einen längeren Abschnitt widmet Pausanias im 5. Buch (Elis I) anlässlich der Beschreibung Olympias den diversen charakterlichen Verfehlungen alexandrinischer Athleten, nicht etwa ihren Siegen (5.21.12–18). Hier erfolgt eine regelrechte Parade ausführlich geschilderter Verfehlungen von Personen bzw. ‚Ägyptern‘, die aus dieser Stadt stammen: Bestechung, Bestechlichkeit, Verlogenheit, Feigheit. Daß dies das eigentliche Thema ist, das Pausanias darstellen möchte, kann man daraus schließen, daß es die alexandrinischen Verfehlungen sind, die die Auswahl der Statuen bestimmen, nicht etwa eine chronologische Abfolge bzw., wie er vorgibt, der neuzeitliche Stil der Statuen.
- 18 Zu den systematischen Implikationen des dezidiert barbarisch konnotierten Ägyptenbildes in der Periegesis, das auf die Ptolemäer und Makedonen projiziert wird, s. Frateantonio (2009) 96 ff. und 115 ff.

### 3. Synkretismus und kulturelle Distinktion: Dionysos und Osiris bei Herodot, Plutarch und im städtischen Kontext

Im Anschluß an die Beobachtung auktorialer Interessen des Pausanias möchte ich nun in einem nächsten Schritt diejenigen Traditionsstränge in den Blick nehmen, gegen die sich Pausanias offenkundig absetzte, und worin ihm zumindest schon Plutarch vorausgegangen war, wie man sehen wird. Das älteste uns überlieferte Zeugnis eines griechischen Autors dafür, daß Dionysos mit Osiris gleichgesetzt wurde, findet sich bekanntermaßen bei Herodot, der in seinen Historien über die unterschiedlichen Kultformen der Götter in Ägypten u. a. vermerkte (Hdt. 1.42):

Denn die Ägypter verehren nicht überall dieselben Götter in gleicher Weise außer Isis und Osiris. Von Osiris behaupten sie, er sei unser Dionysos.

Wenig später (1.47) erwähnt Herodot eine weitere Besonderheit des ägyptischen Kultes, und zwar die Sitte, den Göttern keine Schweine, in den Augen der Ägypter unreine Tiere, zu opfern. Eine Ausnahme gäbe es nur für Selene und Dionysos. Bei dieser Gelegenheit berichtet Herodot von dem Fest, welches die Ägypter für „Dionysos“ begehen:

Jeder schlachtet dem Dionysos am Vorabend des Festes ein Ferkel vor seiner Tür und gibt es darauf dem Schweinehirten, der es ihm verkauft hat, wieder zurück. Im übrigen wird das Dionysosfest in Ägypten fast ebenso in Griechenland gefeiert mit Ausnahme der Tänze.

Herodot fährt fort, nun zunächst Einzelheiten des weiteren Festverlaufes zu schildern und dabei einige Elemente zu nennen, die auch im griechischen Kult vorkommen. Hierzu gehören neben dem Herumtragen des Phallos vor allem die begleitenden Flötenspieler. Von besonderer Relevanz für die bis in die Kaiserzeit anhaltenden Vergleiche zwischen Dionysos und Osiris, die in der Forschung unter dem Konzept Synkretismus verhandelt werden, sind die Überlegungen Herodots zu der Frage, wie denn die Ähnlichkeiten zwischen dem griechischen und dem ägyptischen Kult respektive dem griechischen und dem ägyptischen Gott erklärbar seien. Nach seiner Auffassung stammen Gott und Fest ursprünglich aus Ägypten, von wo sie durch die Vermittlung des Sehers Melampus nach Griechenland gelangt seien.<sup>19</sup> Die Auffassung, und

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19 Bereits Zabkar (1963) interpretierte Herodots Darstellung der ägyptischen Religion als Beleg für seine Akzeptanz einer Suprematie Ägyptens vor Griechenland, kristallisiert in den beiden Gottheiten Osiris und Dionysos. Gödde (2007) 57 ff. und 63 f. hat herausgearbeitet, wie Herodot die mysterienartige Heiligkeit ägyptischer Kulthandlungen literarisch evoziert, obwohl es zur Zeit Herodots überhaupt noch keine den griechischen Mysterien vergleichbare Einweihungen gab, allenfalls vor der Öffentlichkeit verborgene Kulthandlungen.

zwar nicht nur hinsichtlich der Götter Osiris und Dionysos, sondern auch im Hinblick darauf, daß insgesamt die ägyptische eine ältere Kultur als die griechische sei, wird seit Herodot zwar immer wieder vertreten, erlangte aber keinen ‚kanonischen‘ Charakter. Falls jedoch ein Autor dieser Sichtweise folgt, ist mit dieser Auffassung auch die Ansicht verbunden, daß aufgrund des ‚Altersunterschiedes‘ auch eine Reihe von kulturellen Errungenschaften ursprünglich in Ägypten erfunden wurden, bevor die Griechen sie dann nach Griechenland importierten.

Unter diesem Gesichtspunkt kann also von Distinktionsgewinn gesprochen werden, wenn ein Autor nachweist und akzeptiert, daß die eigene – griechische – Kultur mittelbar oder unmittelbar auf die ägyptische zurückgeführt werden kann, oder umgekehrt argumentiert. Im Hinblick auf die Gleichsetzung bzw. den sogenannten Synkretismus von Dionysos mit Osiris liegt auf der theologischen Ebene das analoge Phänomen vor. In den erhaltenen Schriften griechischer Autoren vertreten eine ganz ähnliche Auffassung wie Herodot – hinsichtlich des Verhältnisses von griechischer zu ägyptischer Kultur und damit unter anderem auch des Verhältnisses von Osiris zu Dionysos – Diodorus Siculus sowie später Autoren in der Kaiserzeit (siehe unten). Diodorus Siculus gibt, wie Herodot vor ihm und u. a. Plutarch nach ihm, die Ägypter selbst als Urheber dieser kulturellen wie theologischen Primatsprüche an, die im Gott Osiris geradezu verschmelzen. Wie genau solche Kulturkontakte zwischen Griechenland und Ägypten zustande kamen und wer die Protagonisten von ägyptischer Seite waren, ist in der Forschung bislang wenig diskutiert worden.<sup>20</sup> Im ersten Buch seiner im 1. Jh. v. Chr. geschriebenen *Bibliothek* berichtet Diodorus Siculus ausführlich von den kulturellen, nicht eben wenigen Errungenschaften, die Osiris der Menschheit gebracht habe (Diod. Sic. 1.13 ff.):

Als erstes habe er dem Menschengeschlecht den Kannibalismus abgewöhnt, nachdem Isis die Früchte des Weizens und der Gerste gefunden hatte, die bis dahin zusammen mit den anderen Pflanzen wild wuchsen, den Menschen unbekannt. Osiris indes dachte sich eine Art und Weise des Fruchtanbaus aus; so änderten sie alle gerne ihre Lebensweise, denn die neue Speise bekam ihnen gut und es schien ihnen von Vorteil, mit der Grausamkeit gegeneinander aufhören zu können.

Diodorus Siculus nennt als weitere Kulturstiftungen des Osiris/Dionysos auf seinem Zug durch andere Länder vor allem die Einführung des Städtebaus, die

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20 Macfarquhar (1966) stellte einen Überblick der Belege von Herodot bis Dion von Prusa zusammen, in denen Priester als Informanten in Ägypten angegeben sind. Für die frühe Zeit werden als Orte dieser Kulturkontakte Naukratis, Sais und Memphis in Erwägung gezogen. Wie Richter (2001) vermerkt, waren jedoch weder Herodot noch ihm nachfolgende griechische Muttersprachler in der Lage, Hieroglyphen zu lesen. Als Voraussetzung der Rezeption ägyptischer Synkretismus-Konzepte sei somit anzunehmen, daß die Ägypter das Griechische beherrschten.

Einrichtung des ersten Tempels und Götterkultes sowie die Erfindung des Weinbaus. Verglichen mit dem Bericht Herodots haben die Ägypter – möglicherweise handelt es sich um alexandrinische Sarapis-Theologen als Urheber, wie Reinhold Merkelbach vermutet,<sup>21</sup> – erheblich nachgelegt hinsichtlich der Zuschreibung nunmehr *aller* elementaren Kulturstiftungen an den Gott Osiris/Dionysos. Mir erscheint es darüber hinaus durchaus beachtlich, daß die Ägypter (oder Alexandriner) es also gleichwohl auch für nötig befanden, sich ihrerseits den griechischen Gott Dionysos gleichsam über Osiris anzueignen. Das Bestreben, sich auf kulturelle und religiöse Errungenschaften der Ägypter zu beziehen, ist in der Kaiserzeit, besonders in den Kreisen, die man der sogenannten Zweiten Sophistik zurechnet, besonders ausgeprägt und keinesfalls nur auf die Götter Dionysos und Osiris begrenzt. Bei den Schriftstellern, die die Suprematie der ägyptischen Kultur beglaubigten, gehört es zu den *Topoi*, sich als religiös besonders kompetent und gebildet auszuweisen, die religiöse Expertise durch Ägyptenbesuche zu dokumentieren und etwa einen eigenen ägyptischen Priesterlehrer zu haben.<sup>22</sup>

Aber nicht alle griechischen Autoren folgen dem Beispiel Herodots; in der Diskussion um die Frage der kulturellen Suprematie, sofern sie besonders im religiösen Kontext respektive im Zusammenhang mit dem Alter mytho-historischer Überlieferung und kultischer Einrichtungen greifbar ist, sind auch andere Stimmen vernehmbar. So etwa in der *Apollonios-Vita* des Philostrat. Philostrat greift zwar das Motiv auf, daß theologische und philosophische Spezialkenntnisse bei den Ägyptern erworben werden, um es dann jedoch zu überbieten: Apollonios erhält einen Teil seiner Bildung und theologischen Expertise in Ägypten, kehrt aber nach weiteren Stationen schließlich erneut nach Ägypten zurück und belehrt nun seinerseits die Ägypter (V A 5.5; 5.25; 6.19). In der *Pythagoras-Vita* des Iamblich (4.18 f.) werden hingegen die

21 Merkelbach (1995) 73 f. Die Frage, welches konkrete Interesse besonders alexandrinische Priester am Synkretismus von Osiris mit Dionysos hatten, bedürfte einer näheren Untersuchung. Dies gilt in gleicher Weise für die konstruierten Ägyptenaufenthalte der griechischen Philosophen, auf die Merkelbach ebenfalls verweist. Einen Überblick der verifizierbaren prominenten griechischen Ägypten-Besucher von Herodot bis Iamblich gibt Nimis (2004).

22 So etwa der bei Plutarch genannte Kleombrotos von Sparta (*Peri ton Ekleloipoton Chresterion*, *Mor.* 410a), der anschließend eine Abhandlung mit dem Titel ‚Theologie‘ verfassen wollte. In einem parodistischen Kontext bei Lukian (*Philops.* 34), dessen Protagonist seinem zukünftigen Lehrer begegnet, heißt es: „Bei der Fahrt stromaufwärts fuhr zufällig ein Mann aus Memphis mit uns, einer von den Tempel-Schriftgelehrten, bewundernswert wegen seiner Weisheit und bewandert in der gesamten ägyptischen Bildung. Man sagt, er habe 23 Jahre in unzugänglichen Kammern gewohnt, wobei er von Isis in der Magie unterwiesen worden sei“. Vergleichbare Positionen weiterer Autoren bei Frateantonio (2009) 101 ff.

Lehren der Ägypter als Basis der pythagoreischen geschildert, wodurch deren religiöse Autorität überhaupt erst begründet ist.

Dieser Topos wird von Pausanias aufgegriffen, aber ausgerichtet auf die griechische Philosophie und Kultur: Er war in Ägypten, so betont er, doch verschlüsselter Weisheit begegnet er in Griechenland, nicht bei den Ägyptern (8.8.3). Namentlich in der Kaiserzeit finden sich indessen viele Zeugnisse dafür, daß die Gleichsetzung von Osiris mit Dionysos, und zwar sowohl als Kulturbringer wie als Gott der Mysterien, Anlaß zu theologischen Spekulationen wurde. Aber auch einzelne griechische Städte suchten aus der Gleichsetzung von Dionysos und Osiris Prestige hinsichtlich des Alters ihrer eigenen religiösen Einrichtungen zu gewinnen; das ist besonders für Argos bekannt (siehe oben).

Beide Aspekte sind in der zu Anfang des 2. Jh. n. Chr. geschriebenen Schrift *Über Isis und Osiris* des Plutarch reflektiert. Plutarch schreibt dem Osiris zwar ebenfalls einen Teil der bei Diodorus Siculus genannten Kulturstiftungen zu, arbeitet aber darüber hinaus eine Osiris/Dionysos-Theologie aus, innerhalb derer beide Gottheiten für wesensgleich erklärt werden. In gewisser Weise erfolgt damit ein Re-Transfer von religiösem Prestige. Die Mysterien des Dionysos und des Osiris werden als strukturell gleichartig vorgestellt. In diesem Kontext nennt Plutarch Delphi, Elis und Argos als Orte, in denen man um die Wesensgleichheit beider Götter offenbar wußte und diese auch rituell inszenierte (*Über Isis und Osiris* 35):

Daß Osiris kein anderer ist als Dionysos, wer sollte das besser wissen als du, Klea, da du Leiterin der Thyiaden in Delphi bist und dem heiligen Dienst des Osiris von Vater und Mutter her geweiht? Wenn es aber gilt, um anderer Leser willen Zeugnisse anzuführen, so wollen wir die geheimen Dinge an ihrem Platz ruhen lassen; aber was die Priester bei der Bestattung des Apis in aller Öffentlichkeit tun, wenn sie den Leichnam auf einem Schiffswagen zum Grabe geleiten, das bleibt nicht hinter einer Bakchos-Feier zurück: Sie hängen sich Felle von Rehkitzen um, tragen Thyrsen, verfallen in Schreie und Gesten ähnlich wie Menschen, die im Banne der orgiastischen Dionysos-Riten stehen. So werden auch bei vielen hellenischen Stämmen Kultbilder des Dionysos in Stiergestalt hergestellt; die Frauen von Elis rufen sogar den Gott im Gebet an, ‚mit dem Fuße des Stieres‘ zu ihnen zu kommen. In Argos trägt Dionysos den Beinamen ‚stiergeboren‘; sie rufen ihn unter Trompetenschall aus dem Wasser herauf, während sie ein Lamm in die Tiefe stürzen für den ‚Torhüter‘ [...]. Ferner stimmen die Titanengeschichten und die Nachtfeste des Dionysos überein mit der Überlieferung von der Zerreißung des Osiris, seiner Wiederbelebung und Neugeburt. Ebenso auch die Berichte über sein Grab: Die Ägypter zeigen, wie gesagt, vielerorts Grabstätten des Osiris, und in Delphi glaubt man, daß die Überreste des Dionysos dort beim Orakelheiligtum aufbewahrt sind, und die ‚Frommen‘ bringen ein geheimes Opfer im Apollontempel dar, wenn die Thyiaden den ‚Gott der Getreideschwinge‘ erwecken.

Nach solchen theologischen Spekulationen über eine Wesensgleichheit von Osiris und Dionysos sucht man jedoch in der Periegesis bei Pausanias aus den



oben genannten Gründen vergeblich, auch nach der Konstruktion, Osiris sei Sarapis, wie sie ebenfalls von Plutarch thematisiert wird (*Über Isis und Osiris* 28):

Richtiger [scil. als Dionysos und Hades gleichzusetzen, C. F.] ist es, Osiris mit Dionysos in eins zu setzen und Sarapis mit Osiris, insofern er diese Benennung erhielt, als er seine Natur wandelte. So ist denn Sarapis allen gemeinsam, wie es ja auch Osiris ist, wie diejenigen wissen, die an dem Kult teilhaben.

Anders als Plutarch berichtet Pausanias auch nichts von Bezugnahmen der Delpher, Eleer und Argiver auf eine Wesensähnlichkeit von Dionysos und Osiris. Im Fall der Stadt Argos werden alle dort real hergestellten Bezüge zu Ägypten sogar explizit von ihm ignoriert, wie oben dargelegt wurde.

Führt man den auktorialen Vergleich zu Plutarch in der anderen Richtung, und zwar im Hinblick auf Herodot, durch, so sind die Differenzen wiederum anders akzentuiert: Daniel Richter hat darauf hingewiesen, daß Plutarch in seiner Schrift *De Malignitate Herodoti* unter anderem kritisierte, daß Herodot eine barbarophile Haltung eingenommen habe, insbesondere, indem er den Erzählungen der Ägypter Glauben schenkte, als sie behaupteten, griechische Götter und ihr Kult seien ägyptischer Herkunft.<sup>23</sup> In der Schrift *Über Isis und Osiris* vertritt Plutarch dezidiert und noch ausführlicher – diesmal ohne expliziten Rekurs auf Herodot – die Ansicht, daß die theologischen Auffassungen der Ägypter aus griechischer Perspektive als barbarisch und fehlgeleitet anzusehen seien. Nur durch platonische Exegese und das griechische Paradigma könne der heilige Charakter der ägyptischen Kulthandlungen überhaupt erst enthüllt werden.<sup>24</sup> Es geht hier in dem Synkretismus Osiris/Dionysos also wiederum ganz eminent um die Etablierung von und die Argumentation zugunsten einer kulturellen Hierarchie.<sup>25</sup>

Abschließend möchte ich auf die Ebene städtischer und dynastischer Bezugnahmen sowie auf das Alter der ägyptischen Einrichtungen eingehen und damit auch auf die Frage des Stellenwertes unterschiedlicher Quellen für die Bildung polytheistischer Synkretismen. Merkelbach verweist in diesem Zu-

23 Richter (2001) 210.

24 Vgl. dazu auch Richter (2001) 212.

25 Insofern mag auch das Synkretismus-Konzept von Pettazzoni (1959) durchaus noch als relevant angesehen werden. Er hatte als geläufiges polytheistisches Phänomen der Antike die sogenannte *interpretatio graeca* bzw. *interpretatio romana* als Form der Aneignung respektive Vereinnahmung fremder Kulturen im Medium der Götter thematisiert. Hierbei sind natürlich immer unterschiedliche Stoßrichtungen und Deutungsinteressen sichtbar, wie das oben besprochene Beispiel Herodot vs. Plutarch zeigt. Merkelbach (1995) 71 f. widmete einen kurzen Abschnitt seines Buches der Gleichsetzung Osiris-Dionysos, dies vor allem auf der Basis der entsprechenden Passagen bei Herodot und Diodor; dagegen habe unter anderem Plutarch Einwände vorgebracht. Merkelbach vertiefte diesen Aspekt jedoch nicht.



sammenhang auf das wohl grundlegende Problem der beiden unterschiedlichen Ebenen gelehrter Diskurse einerseits und lokaler religiöser Praktiken andererseits. Bemerkenswert scheint mir zunächst sein Hinweis darauf, daß das Alter ägyptischer religiöser Konzepte in zwei weiteren mythischen Bearbeitungen funktionalisiert wurde: zum einen im Io-Mythos, d.h. der Gleichsetzung von Io mit Isis. Hier war der Aspekt entfaltet worden, daß die Brüder Aigyptos und Danaos von Io abstammen. Danaos war Ahnherr der Griechen in der Peloponnes, was insbesondere die Argiver, als deren mythischer Stammherr Danaos galt, sich für ihre eigene Altehrwürdigkeit zunutze zu machen suchten.<sup>26</sup> Zum anderen verweist Merkelbach auf die makedonische Konstruktion (überliefert bei Diodor 1.20.3), wonach Maron, General und Begleiter des Osiris, seinen Sohn Makedon als König des Landes einsetzte, das dann nach ihm Makedonien hieß. Wenn also das makedonische Geschlecht der Ptolemäer über Ägypten herrschte, so war dies keine Fremdherrschaft; vielmehr waren die Ptolemäer nur in dasjenige Land zurückgekehrt, welches ihre Urheimat gewesen war. Überdies konnten sie sich auf diese Weise in der Hierarchie der mytho-historischen Tradition gleichsam an die Spitze der Griechen setzen.<sup>27</sup> Daß Pausanias die argivische Selbstkonstruktion nicht übernommen hat und sie demnach auch in der Periegeese nicht adäquat – aus Sicht der beschriebenen Stadt – wiedergegeben ist, wurde schon gesagt. Im Hinblick auf die makedonische Selbstkonstruktion nun findet sich im gesamten Werk nicht einmal eine Andeutung.

Die gleiche oder eine ähnliche Problematik stellt sich freilich auch bei anderen Autoren bzw. Überlieferungssträngen: So hatte Middelton in einem archäologischen Grabungsbericht aufgrund von Plutarchs Äußerungen in der oben zitierten Stelle seiner Schrift *Über Isis und Osiris* (35) einen Zusammenhang hergestellt zwischen dem Grab des Dionysos im Adyton des delphischen Tempels und der Rezeption eines Teils des Osiris-Mythos aus Ägypten, hier der Erzählung, daß Dionysos nach seiner Tötung durch die Titanen in den Hades gesandt wurde.<sup>28</sup> Ob es sich hier darüber hinaus um eine konkrete Bezugnahme auf die Eleer handelt, muß jedoch wohl als fraglich gelten, denn hierauf bezieht sich ganz explizit nur Plutarch. So bleibt erst noch zu klären, wie diese Konstruktion zu interpretieren ist: als Zeugnis einer – irgendwann tatsächlich eingeführten – kultischen Praxis und von deren theologischer Begründung oder als eine von solchen kultischen Praktiken losgelöste theologische Deutung des delphischen Priesters Plutarch?

Sieht man von den literarischen Zeugnissen einmal ganz ab, lassen sich nach den bisherigen archäologischen Funden meines Wissens überhaupt keine

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26 Merkelbach (1995) 67.

27 Merkelbach (1995) 71.

28 Middelton (1888) 302.

Hinweise auf synkretistische Konstruktionen Osiris-Dionysos im städtischen Bereich in Griechenland finden. Wie besonders die Übersicht von Clerc/Leclant zeigt, gab es auf der ikonographischen Ebene keine systematischen Gleichsetzungen zwischen Dionysos und Osiris, wie überdies Osiris in kaum nennenswerter Weise im Kult außerhalb Ägyptens präsent ist. Der am häufigsten dargestellte Typus ist der sogenannte Osiris Kanopos, von dem einige Funde aus Italien im Kontext von Isis-Heiligtümern erhalten sind; ein Bezug zu Dionysos ist hier nicht vorhanden.<sup>29</sup> Ein vereinzelt Zeugnis ist der Fund eines Fragmentes des Osiris Hydrios in Korinth; der „synkretistische Druck“, den Bookidis in diesem Zusammenhang vermutet, und der dazu geführt habe, daß ägyptische Elemente Eingang in Kulte griechischer Götter (hier: Demeter-Kore) fanden,<sup>30</sup> kann sich demnach wohl nur auf Korinth selbst beziehen, wo vier Isis-Sarapis-Heiligtümer sowie ein weiteres für Sarapis allein existierten.

Ein weiterer Einzelfund kam bei einer tschechoslowakischen Grabungskampagne in Kyme (Aiolis) ans Licht. Auf der Akropolis wurde ein wohl aus dem 4. Jh. v. Chr. stammender ionischer Tempel einer Fruchtbarkeitsgöttin lokalisiert. Dieser Kult wurde im Laufe des 2. Jh. v. Chr. offenbar durch Riten für Isis und Osiris entweder ersetzt oder ergänzt, wie man aus einer Inschrift mit einem Gebet an die beiden Gottheiten schloß.<sup>31</sup> Auch hier findet sich kein Bezug zu Dionysos.

#### 4. Ausblick

In meinem Beitrag habe ich einige methodologische Probleme aufgezeigt, die sich aus der Generalisierung theologischer Konzepte für eine Epoche oder aber eine ganze Kultur – hier die Antike – ergeben. In das Zentrum meiner Untersuchung habe ich einen Synkretismus, also eine für den antiken Polytheismus vorgeblich typische Wesensangleichung respektive Wesensverunklärung und theologisch vereinheitlichende Systematisierung unterschiedlicher Götter gestellt. An dem gewählten Beispiel der Götter Dionysos und Osiris ließ sich zeigen, daß man es nicht mit einem mehr oder minder homogenen Diskurs zu tun hat, der dann, wie immer wieder besonders in der älteren Forschung vermutet wurde, etwa zu einer Auflösung ehemals klar konturierter Gottesbegriffe führte. Vielmehr hat man es mit einer Polyphonie ganz unterschiedlicher theologischer Interessen und Ambitionen zu tun.<sup>32</sup>

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29 Clerc/Leclant (1994) 116 f.

30 Bookidis (2003) 258.

31 Woodward (1926) 249.

32 Dies in Erweiterung der Vorgehensweise von Casadio (1996) 203, der sich in seiner Untersuchung zum Synkretismus von Osiris mit Dionysos zunächst darauf konzentriert

Hierbei lassen sich zwei unterschiedliche Kreise von Protagonisten ausmachen, und zwar auf der einen Seite Autoren mit individuellen schriftstellerischen Intentionen und auf der anderen Seite einzelne griechische Städte. Die Probleme, aber auch zugleich Perspektiven, die sich hinsichtlich polytheistischer theologischer Konzepte hieraus ergeben, sind zunächst quellenkritischer Art. Dies gilt in besonderer Weise für Pausanias, hinter dessen Synkretismus-Verweigerung für Osiris-Dionysos eine systematische ‚anti-ägyptische‘ Position ausgemacht werden konnte, die ihrerseits wiederum Teil einer Debatte um kulturelle Suprematie (Griechenland vs. Ägypten) war. Als ihr Archeget kann wohl Herodot angesehen werden, hierin gefolgt von Diodorus Siculus, aber kritisiert von Plutarch. Ob und in welcher Weise die im Rahmen der Debatte vollzogenen Gleichsetzungen lokale Realitäten widerspiegeln, muß zumindest als fraglich gelten. Gerade Pausanias' Periegesis erweist sich hier als ein durchaus problematisches Zeugnis, da sie etwa die hauptsächlich von archäologischer Seite ermittelten Bezüge der Stadt Argos auf Ägypten und das Alter seiner religiösen und kulturellen Errungenschaften nicht widerspiegelt.

Gleichwohl ist die antike Synkretismus-Diskussion um Osiris und Dionysos instruktiv für den spezifisch religiös-kulturellen Status, den der Gott Dionysos für die Griechen als Gott der Mysterien und Kulturbringer par excellence über Jahrhunderte besaß: Sei es, daß man ihn um des Ansehens willen in die ägyptische Tradition einschrieb, oder sei es, daß er vehement gegen eine solche ägyptische Vereinnahmung verteidigt wurde.

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hat zu zeigen, wie Herodot Dionysos ‚osirisiert‘ hat. Er beschreibt dann, dies im Sinne Brelich und Gladigows, die Identifizierungen von Dionysos und Osiris bei Herodot, Diodor und Plutarch unter systematischen Gesichtspunkten: Was wird im einzelnen von den griechisch schreibenden Autoren miteinander identifiziert, d.h. welche Mythen und Eigenschaften? Wie wird die Topographie mythischer Geschehnisse (Grab usw.) in den Blick genommen?



## Modern Reflections



# Dionysos in Nineteenth-Century Scholarship

*Michael Konaris*

## Introduction

The subject of the interpretation of Dionysos in nineteenth-century scholarship has tended to be dominated by an interest in the towering figure of Nietzsche, in the origins of his conception of Dionysos and its influence on later scholarship – and understandably so. As Henrichs has emphasized, *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872) ushered in the modern study of Dionysos. Prominent themes in the discussion of Dionysos in the twentieth century and beyond, including the notion of contradiction, the dissolution of individuality, and violence can be attributed to its impact.<sup>1</sup>

Nietzsche notoriously claimed that he was the first to perceive the significance of the Dionysiac phenomenon. Scholars such as Vogel, Henrichs and Baeumer, however, have drawn attention to the portrayal of Dionysos in earlier German ‘romantic’ scholarship, in the poetry of Hölderlin and Novalis and in the philosophy of Schelling, or to “the mighty epiphany of Dionysos in early German romanticism”.<sup>2</sup> In particular, as far as the area of scholarship is concerned, Baeumer has underscored that key aspects of Nietzsche’s account of Dionysos like the dissolution of individuality or the opposition between, and ultimate reconciliation of, Dionysos and Apollo can be encountered in the work of earlier ‘romantic’ scholars like J.J. Görres (1776–1848), G.F. Creuzer (1771–1858), K.O. Müller (1797–1840) or J.J. Bachofen (1815–1887).<sup>3</sup>

Important as it has been, the focus of attention on those strands in nineteenth-century scholarship that were of influence on, or bore similarities to, Nietzsche’s account of Dionysos, on the writings of Nietzsche himself and on their impact on scholars like Rohde or Harrison, has obscured how rich the history of the interpretation of Dionysos in the nineteenth century is. This chapter lays no claim to providing a comprehensive examination of this ‘other’

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1 Henrichs (1993) 23, Henrichs (1984b) 206, 223, Seaford (2006a) 6.

2 Vogel (1966) 95 and passim. Cf. Henrichs (1984b) 220, Baeumer (2006) 207 ff., Baeumer (1976) 166.

3 Baeumer (2006) 314 ff., Baeumer (1977) 139 ff.

Dionysiac history.<sup>4</sup> It concentrates on three major traditions of interpretation in the second half of the nineteenth century mainly in German and British scholarship: Indo-European Comparative Mythology, the historical-critical approach, and anthropology.<sup>5</sup> Almost at the same time that, as Henrichs notes, Nietzsche was transforming Dionysos into a metaphysical concept that could reinvigorate modern culture,<sup>6</sup> for advocates of these three traditions, Dionysos remained a god, and one invested with paradigmatic methodological value. The interest that their views holds goes beyond that of providing a background to Nietzsche by indicating how his portrayal of Dionysos, if it bore the influence of earlier ‘romantic’ scholarship, stood in stark contrast to some of the major mainstream paradigms of its times. The competing accounts of Dionysos advanced by advocates of Indo-European Comparative Mythology, the historical-critical approach and anthropology are of interest in themselves not least as documents of nineteenth-century cultural and religious history.

By way of background I start with a brief overview of the position of Dionysos in earlier scholarship. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Dionysos enjoyed a remarkable degree of prominence which went hand-in-hand with a fascination with ancient mysteries. Creuzer’s *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker* (1810/12), greatly expanded in its second edition (1819/23), arguably provides the most famous example. According to Creuzer, the worship of Dionysos originated in Indian sun- and fire-worship and Dionysos was identifiable with the phallic Schiwa Dewaincha;<sup>7</sup> priests transmitted the orgies of Schiwa from India to Greece via Egypt; in the Dionysiac mysteries the priests preserved doctrines of *Urweisheit* and Dionysos acquired a higher significance as god of all gods and lord of the universe.<sup>8</sup>

Initially enjoying an enthusiastic reception, the *Symbolik* was eventually discredited owing to the criticism of ‘rationalist’ scholars such as J.H. Voss (1751–1826), G. Hermann (1772–1848) and C.A. Lobeck (1781–1860). As Baeumer observes, Voss, the most ferocious of Creuzer’s adversaries, focused his criticism largely on the portrayal of Dionysos.<sup>9</sup> In his *Antisymbolik* (1824) he launched an acerbic attack against “Creuzers Lehre von bacchischer Religion” protesting that Dionysos, “der den schweifenden Urmenschen durch Anpflanzung menschliche Sitte gab, den entstellt dieser mischma-

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4 One of the aspects of the interpretation of Dionysos in nineteenth-century scholarship that is not examined here but will be the object of a future study is the interest in Dionysos as a democratic god: e.g. Welcker (1826) 252. See Baeumer (1977) 152.

5 For the study of the Greek gods in late nineteenth-century German and British scholarship see Konaris (2010).

6 Henrichs (1993) 23.

7 Creuzer (1812/1821) 119 ff.

8 Ibid. 137–138.

9 Baeumer (2006) 311 ff., Baeumer (1977) 144–145.

schende Symboliker gleich nach der Geburt zum feurigen Fallogott, zum meertauchenden Sonnenstier aus Aegypten und Indien".<sup>10</sup>

It is notable that Voss' opposition to Creuzer's interpretation of Dionysos as a solar deity had a contemporary religious side. Voss presented himself as a champion of rational Protestantism against Catholic mysticism.<sup>11</sup> In his eyes, the notion of a solar Dionysos whose worship was propagated from the east through the agency of priests appeared imbued with Catholic connotations, evoking the rise of "[eurer] römischen Christussonne".<sup>12</sup>

Although the solar interpretation of Dionysos as such survived, the devastating criticism that Creuzer's *Symbolik* was subjected to – especially the suspicions of Catholicism and mysticism that came to surround it – appears to have turned Dionysos and the mysteries into potentially difficult subjects. From the 1820's onwards, two other gods would claim the primary attention and favours of mainstream scholarship, K.O. Müller's Dorian Apollo and F.G. Welcker's Zeus Kronion.

In *Die Dorier* (1824) K.O. Müller argued that Apollo had by origin been a Dorian god and depicted his worship as epitomizing the noblest Dorian qualities, tranquillity, harmony and clarity.<sup>13</sup> Emotional excess and orgasm, he stressed, were alien to the worship of Apollo. By contrast, they were typical of the worship of Dionysos which he regarded as being of Thracian origin.<sup>14</sup> In this context, one notes the reversal in the role that the theme of the alleged foreign origins of Dionysos came to play. For Creuzer, Dionysos' Indian origins had designated him as the bearer of the ancient wisdom of the east to the younger civilization of Greece. For K.O. Müller, his Thracian origins provided a means of accounting for his startling worship which appeared to ill-cohere with his conception of the ethos of Greek culture.<sup>15</sup> The view of Dionysos as a foreign intruder from Thrace would be influential in scholarship to the time of Nilsson.<sup>16</sup>

10 Voss (1824) 79. Cf. Baeumer (2006) 313.

11 Voss (1824) 383.

12 Ibid. 277–278. Compare *ibid.* 87: "Da habt ihr die Beweise aus griechischen Denkmälern für den urältesten Dionysos, den Sonnenstier, der sechs Jahrtausende vor Alexander aus Indien durch Vorderasien und Aegypten zu den Orfikern der Pelasger zog, um endlich im Roms gothischen Domen als jesuitisches Sonnensymbol zu walten." For the religious aspect of Voss' and K.O. Müller's opposition to the interpretation of Apollo as a solar god, see Konaris (2011) 16–17.

13 K.O. Müller (1824) 199–201, 341, 343. For K.O. Müller's portrayal of Apollo see Konaris (2011).

14 K.O. Müller (1824) 290.

15 For K.O. Müller's (varied) attitude to Dionysos see Schlesier (1998b). On the attempt to 'save the face' of the Greeks by portraying Dionysos as a foreign god see Baeumer (2006) 20, Henrichs (1984b) 225.

16 Henrichs (1984b) 225.



In his famous *Griechische Geschichte* (1857/67), E. Curtius (1814–1896), a student and successor of K.O. Müller at Göttingen, further celebrated Apollo as god of moderation and harmony.<sup>17</sup> K.O. Müller's and Curtius' Apollo reproduced the Winckelmannian conception of Greek culture and resonated with the values of *Moralprotestantismus*. Their Apollo can be seen as emblematic of the period's broader image of Greece. It should be noted that the emphasis on Apollo would eventually provoke a reaction in favour of Dionysos in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In a letter to Nietzsche of 1871 Rohde would express his frustration at the "enlightened Apollo of Göttingen", as he referred to Curtius' Apollo. In his eyes, it exemplified a superficial understanding of the Greeks which failed to do justice to the importance of Dionysos.<sup>18</sup>

In addition, emphasis during this period was placed on Zeus in the context of (*ur-*)monotheistic interpretations of Greek religion. The most forceful portrayal of Zeus as a supreme *Urgott* was put forward by F.G. Welcker (1784–1868). In his study of Aeschylus (1824) and at greater length in his *Griechische Götterlehre* (1857/63) Welcker portrayed Zeus Kronion in heavily christianizing terms as a transcendental, ever-existing god.<sup>19</sup> Welcker's account of Zeus was central to discussions on Greek (*Ur-*)*Monotheismus* to the end of the nineteenth century.

By no means do I wish to imply that Dionysos was overlooked in works on Greek religion that appeared in the middle of the nineteenth century like L. Preller's *Griechische Mythologie* (1854), E. Gerhard's *Griechische Mythologie* (1854) or Welcker's *Griechische Götterlehre* itself.<sup>20</sup> However, in a reflection of a change of climate, in contrast to the early years of the nineteenth century, the primary interest in mainstream scholarship shifted towards Apollo conceived as an embodiment of clarity and harmony and Zeus as supreme God.

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17 Curtius (1858) 48, 400–401.

18 Crusius (1902) 55. Cf. Silk/Stern (1981) 218, Vogel (1966) 167.

19 Welcker (1857) 129–32, 142. For Welcker's christianizing interpretation of Zeus see Henrichs (1986) 203–209.

20 In these works Dionysos tended to be portrayed as an elemental god: as a god of earth-life by Preller (1854) 412, as a light- and earth-god by Gerhard (1854) 485, as a sun-god by Welcker (1857) 429 ff. It should be observed that the interpretation of Dionysos as a sun-god did not necessarily have for Welcker the negative Catholic connotations it had for Voss. Arguably the most interesting aspect of these elemental interpretations of Dionysos is the notion that as *Naturgott* Dionysos united opposite sides, see e.g. Preller (1854) 412, Gerhard (1854) 489–490.

## I. Dionysos and Indo-European Comparative Mythology

Against this background, I would like to suggest that in the course of the third quarter of the nineteenth century the rising Indo-European Comparative Mythology played a key role in drawing fresh attention to the case of Dionysos and in fashioning a new image of him.

In France scholars such as S.-A. Langlois (1788–1854) and A. Maury (1817–1892) and in Germany scholars such as A. Kuhn (1812–1881) and W. Schwartz (1821–1899) argued for parallels between Dionysos and the vedic deity Soma. Just as Dionysos could be identified with wine, Soma appeared in the Rig-Veda both as a god and as a celestial drink with the power to bestow immortality on gods and humans alike, the model for the homonymous earthly drink that was offered to the gods in sacrifice. Just as Dionysos was placed in the thigh of Zeus, Soma was placed in the thigh of Indra. Both gods could be represented in bull-form; and, although the name ‘Dionysos’ resisted attempts by scholars in the tradition of Indo-European Comparative Mythology to discover a credible Sanskrit counterpart as in the case of their most famous comparison, that of Zeus and Dyaus, Kuhn suggested that ‘*oinos*’ was connected to ‘*venas*’ = dear, which was used of Soma.<sup>21</sup>

The comparison to Soma appeared to shed new light on the question of the origins of Dionysos, pointing to Aryan<sup>22</sup> ancestry. In contrast to symbolist theories of the early nineteenth century about an Indian Dionysos, the new comparative method was claiming scientific results. Soma was seen as the ‘prototype’ of Dionysos and it was, accordingly, suggested that before becoming god of wine Dionysos had been the god of a divine drink similar to the Soma-drink.<sup>23</sup>

Furthermore, the comparison to Soma reinforced the elemental interpretation of Dionysos – as a solar deity for Schwartz, as a deity with lunar associations for Kuhn and Maury.<sup>24</sup> To take the case of Schwartz as an example, in his view, it had been the image of sunlight ‘flowing’ through the sky that had given rise to the notion of a divine drink in Indo-European

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21 Langlois (1853) 341 ff., Maury (1857) 118–122, Kuhn (1852) 191–192, Kuhn (1859) 166–167, Schwartz (1864) 40 ff.

22 On the scholarly invention of the ‘Aryans’, cf. Olender (1989).

23 Langlois (1853) 343, Maury (1857) 507, Duncker (1881) 131.

24 Kuhn (1852) 191–192, Maury (1857) 506 ff. For the broader reinforcement of the elemental interpretation of the Greek gods through comparison with Vedic deities see Bremmer (2005b) 25. The disagreements amongst scholars in the tradition of Indo-European Comparative Mythology over which elemental phenomenon was represented by each god would be derided by critics like Andrew Lang: Lang (1887) II.242 ff.

imagination.<sup>25</sup> For Schwartz as for Welcker, the solar interpretation of Dionysos does not appear to have had the connotations of Catholicism and mysticism it had for Voss. Rather, we should note its nature-romantic overtones. In his revealingly entitled work, *Die poetischen Naturanschauungen der Griechen, Römer und Deutschen in ihrer Beziehung zur Mythologie* (1864), Schwartz maintained that to those endowed with a poetic disposition sunlight still appeared to be ‘flowing’ through the sky. Indeed, he suggested that, in the portrayal of sunlight as a drink poured onto heaven in the poetry of Hölderlin or Rückert, one could discern the origins of the Soma-drink and of nectar.<sup>26</sup>

The elemental interpretation of Dionysos was reinforced further through comparisons with Germanic mythology. Thus Schwartz held that the birth of Dionysos Zagreus from Zeus and Persephone stood for the birth of the sun-god from the union of the god of the sky with a sun-goddess on the analogy of the union of ‘Odhin’ with ‘Gunlöd’.<sup>27</sup> One may compare his view of Athena as a valkyre-like sky-goddess.<sup>28</sup>

In an example of the tendency of scholars in the tradition of Indo-European Comparative Mythology to find in natural phenomena a virtually all-explaining key, Schwartz suggested that the myth of the dismemberment of Zagreus by the Titans was a reflection of the tearing apart of the sun- and cloud-god by storm-demons; that the surviving heart of Zagreus was the *Sonnenherz*, the thyrsos the thunder and so forth.<sup>29</sup>

Indo-European Comparative Mythology effected a transformation of the perception of Dionysos which facilitated his accommodation within the predominant idealising conception of Greece, especially in Germany, and which had broader implications for one’s view of Greek religion. Through the comparisons with Soma and Odin, the focus shifted from the theme of the ‘foreignness’ of Dionysos to his supposed Aryan connections. Thus the god who had been negatively portrayed in earlier scholarship as a Thracian intruder, came to be seen as one of the prime examples of the Indo-European roots of Greek religion. Through the elemental interpretation of Dionysos, in particular, which, although not original to Indo-European Comparative Mythology, was corroborated by the new ‘scientific’ method, Dionysiac myths, and not least ‘crude’ stories such as Zagreus’ dismemberment, were

25 Schwartz (1864) 33–34.

26 Ibid. 29, 33. On the resonance of the elemental interpretation of the Greek gods in nineteenth-century scholarship with romantic *Naturgefühl* see Konaris (2010) 487.

27 Schwartz (1864) 18. Kuhn also compared the birth of Dionysos Zagreus to Odin’s acquisition of ‘Odthroerir’. In his view, the myth was suggestive of the creation of rain from the union of thunder with clouds: Kuhn (1859) 166.

28 Schwartz (1864) xv. For the comparison of Athena to Valkyries see also Roscher (1883) 93.

29 Schwartz (1864) 18, 40.

portrayed as originating in a profound feeling for nature which was considered a common Indo-European attribute and which resonated with contemporary romantic *Naturgefühl*. Thus the elemental Dionysos of Indo-European Comparative Mythology became part of the broader romantic conception of the religions of the Indo-European peoples and, ultimately, as with the valkyre-like Athena, reinforced the sense of kinship between Greece and Germany.

From the perspective of the modern study of Dionysos, the comparison with Soma would seem primarily to serve to highlight the contrast in the role of the two gods.<sup>30</sup> For in the Vedas, the power of the gods depended on the drinking of Soma and thus Soma came to be raised above all other deities. In the context of Greek religion, however, neither Dionysos nor nectar or ambrosia were elevated into a position of such prominence.

## II. Dionysos and the Historical-Critical Approach

The elemental interpretation of Dionysos was rivalled by the interpretation of Dionysos as a universal god by E. Curtius.<sup>31</sup> Curtius was critical of scholars in the tradition of Indo-European Comparative Mythology for overly focusing on the alleged Aryan origins of Greek religion at the expense of its subsequent development.<sup>32</sup> Like his teacher K.O. Müller and like H.D. Müller (1819–1893), Curtius was an advocate of the historical-critical approach, which was based on the principle that “Das Götterwesen der Alten ist [...] eben so gut wie ihr Staat und ihre Kunst ein geschichtlich Gewordenes und lässt sich nur als ein Werdendes begreifen”.<sup>33</sup> In particular, for the advocates of the historical-critical approach, Greek polytheism of historical times was to be understood as the outcome of the gradual unification of various tribal worships.<sup>34</sup>

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30 It is notable that in his commentary on the *Bacchae* Dodds used the comparison between Dionysos and Soma against Harrison's reconstruction of early Greek society. Citing Kuhn, he called attention to the parallel between the birth of Dionysos from the thigh of Zeus and the placing of Soma in the thigh of Indra and suggested that “it looks from this as if the tale in any case belonged to the common stock of Indo-European myths” and that therefore, Harrison was wrong in using it to draw “inferences about early Greek society”, Dodds (1944) 75. See also *ibid.* 100–101.

31 For the rivalry between advocates of elemental and universal gods in nineteenth-century scholarship see Konaris (2010) 487–488.

32 Curtius (1875) 52.

33 Curtius (1875) 50.

34 H.D. Müller (1848) 23.

In his *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie* (1825) K.O. Müller had put forward the hypothesis that the early Greek tribal worships had not been directed to elemental gods but had rather expressed the religious sentiment “in einer gewissen Allgemeinheit”.<sup>35</sup> Drawing on K.O. Müller, H.D. Müller argued in his *Mythologie der Griechischen Stämme* (1861) that the Greek tribes had originally tended to worship gods invested with universal powers.<sup>36</sup> The implication was that each Greek tribe originally had essentially no need but of a single, universal god. It thus amounted to a special form of *Urmonotheismus*,<sup>37</sup> the view favoured in christianizing historiography.

Curtius reiterated H.D. Müller’s thesis with greater force. In his eyes, the theory that the Greek gods had been gods of the various natural elements did not do justice to the true nature of godhead which he regarded as involving limitless power. Thus in “Die griechische Götterlehre vom geschichtlichen Standpunkt” (1875) and at greater length in the *Studien zur Geschichte des Griechischen Olympos* (1890) he asserted that “jeder Olympier ist ursprünglich ein ganzer Gott, ein voller Gott, so wie ihn das Gemüth des Menschen verlangt, der im Gefühl der Unzulänglichkeit seiner Kräfte eines überweltlichen Wesens bedarf, das ihm in allen Lebenslagen helfen kann”.<sup>38</sup>

According to Curtius, “auch Dionysos ist ein universaler Gott”. In his view, the broad scope of Dionysos’ *Segenskraft* was suggested by the egg which appeared in Dionysiac representations.<sup>39</sup> It is notable that in an earlier article Curtius referred to the egg as “das heilige Symbol allverjüngender Kraft” in Orphic teachings and cited Bachofen’s discussion of its symbolical significance in Bacchic contexts in the *Versuch über die Gräbersymbolik der Alten* (1859).<sup>40</sup> At this point, attention should be drawn to Curtius’ attitude towards the issue of the symbolical interpretation of ancient monuments. On the one hand, Curtius was critical of the exaggerations of symbolical interpretations. On the other hand, he also argued against the adoption of overly rationalistic approaches which threatened “die Kunstwerke [zu] entwerthen und ihrer Weihe [zu] berauben”.<sup>41</sup> If, to this extent, he was on common ground with symbolist scholars, he was, as mentioned, strongly opposed to the elemental interpretation of the Greek gods which they tended to advocate.

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35 K.O. Müller (1825) 243.

36 H.D. Müller (1861) 190, 210–216.

37 Ibid. 213–214.

38 Curtius (1875) 67, 69. Cf. Curtius (1890) 11. The claim that a feeling of the inadequacy of human powers gave rise to the conception of universal gods arguably suggests the influence of Schleiermacher insofar as it recalls his account of piety as based on a feeling of absolute dependence on God: Lange (1985) 97.

39 Curtius (1890) 10.

40 Curtius (1869) 14.

41 Ibid. 17.

Evoking Pergamon's Zeus Bacchus, Curtius further held that Dionysos should be recognized as having been a god on a par with Zeus and argued that in early representations, he was, in fact, depicted ahead of his father.<sup>42</sup> One may contrast Curtius' use of evidence from art to support the view of Dionysos as a universal god to the literary-orientated approach of Indo-European Comparative Mythology.

A further contrast may be drawn between Curtius' and Wilamowitz's view of Dionysos. I do not know if he had Curtius in mind, but in *Der Glaube der Hellenen* Wilamowitz called attention to Dionysos' lack of universal powers.<sup>43</sup> In addition, whereas Curtius' portrayal of both the Olympians and Dionysos as universal gods tended to collapse their differences, Wilamowitz celebrated the difference of Dionysos: "nicht was er mit den anderen Göttern gemein hat macht seine Grösse", he asserted, "sondern was ihn unterscheidet".<sup>44</sup>

For all their differences, Indo-European Comparative Mythology and the historical-critical approach both accommodated Dionysos within their general interpretative paradigms rather than treating his case as an exception. Furthermore, they both provided images of Dionysos in which the focus was largely turned away from themes like ecstasy and mysticism. Thus the tendency to emphasize the 'romantic' antecedents of Nietzsche's account of Dionysos runs the risk of neglecting how radical it appears in the context of some of the major approaches in contemporary and near-contemporary scholarship.

### III. Dionysos and Anthropology

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the Dionysos of Indo-European Comparative Mythology and of the historical-critical approach would be superseded by a darker view of Dionysos produced by anthropology, not least due to the writings of A. Lang (1844–1912).

In the course of the 1880's Lang mounted a fierce attack on Indo-European Comparative Mythology and, conversely, became a chief proponent of Tylorian anthropology. His opposition to Indo-European Comparative Mythology and his advocacy of the emerging anthropological approach suggest a sense of rivalry between British and German scholarship.<sup>45</sup> Dionysos

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42 Curtius (1890) 10: Dionysos as "Zeus ebenbürtig und auf alten Bildern ihm voranschreitend (*Monum.* IX, 17)".

43 Wilamowitz (1931–1932) II.156.

44 *Ibid.*

45 In this respect one may compare Lang to Farnell, see Konaris (2010) 496. For Lang's campaign against Indo-European Comparative Mythology and advocacy of anthropology, see Dorson (1986) 166 ff.

was one of the gods who lay at the foreground of this competition. Lang decried the tendency of scholars in the tradition of Indo-European Comparative Mythology to advance elemental interpretations of ancient myths. Following Tylor, he took the view that “in Greek and Sanskrit, the myths are relics (whether borrowed or inherited) of the savage mental status”.<sup>46</sup> Thus he dismissed attempts like Kuhn’s to account for the myth of the birth of Dionysos in elemental terms, proclaiming that “the imaginations in which the tale of the double birth of Dionysos arose were so unlike the imagination of an erudite modern German that these guesses are absolutely baseless”.<sup>47</sup>

The contrast between the elemental and the anthropological paradigm is perhaps most clearly visible in the myth of the death of Zagreus. As seen, for Schwartz the myth was a reflection of the ‘death’ of the sun- and cloud-god amidst the storms. For Lang, the myth was to be understood as deriving from a ‘savage’ stage of religion as indicated by the many parallels which, he argued, the myth had among ‘savage’ peoples.<sup>48</sup> In addition, drawing on Robertson Smith’s thesis about the primacy of ritual, Lang asserted that “the germ of the myth is merely the sacrifice itself, the barbaric and cruel dismembering of an animal victim”.<sup>49</sup> One may draw a further contrast with Nietzsche’s account of the death of Zagreus in terms of the suffering associated with individuation to highlight the range of different explanations the myth elicited in the period.<sup>50</sup>

To return to Lang, he further called attention to the peculiar character of the bull sacrifices to Dionysos, arguing that “here, more commonly than in other Hellenic cults, the god and the victim are recognised as essentially the same”.<sup>51</sup> In this context, one notes how the emphasis on ritual reinforced the notion of the difference of Dionysos.<sup>52</sup> According to Lang, the bull sacrifices to Dionysos were to be seen as sacramental.<sup>53</sup> As he observed himself, the sacramental interpretation was not original to anthropological writers.<sup>54</sup>

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46 Lang (1887) I.162.

47 Lang (1887) II.223.

48 Ibid. 225–229.

49 Ibid. 231. On the history of this ritualistic position (priority of ritual over myth), cf. Schlesier (1994), esp. 149 ff.

50 Nietzsche (1872) 72 ff. Henrichs (1984b) 221–222.

51 Lang (1887) II.231.

52 Compare Farnell (1909) 150: “The previous sketch has not clearly revealed any salient difference between Dionysos and the other high divinities of Hellas. It is rather through the minute study of the ritual that the distinctive and characteristic features of this religion emerge.”

53 Lang (1887) II.231–232. Compare Robertson Smith (1886) 137–138.

54 Lang (1887) II.232, cited Decharme (1879) 438: “comme le taureau est une des formes de Dionysos, c’était le corps du dieu dont se repaissaient symboliquement les initiés, c’était son sang dont ils s’abreuyaient dans ce banquet mystique.”



However, in his writings it acquired a new significance as providing evidence of totemism: “where Dionysus was adored with this sacrament of bull’s flesh”, Lang argued, “he had either been developed out of, or had succeeded to, the worship of a bull-totem and had inherited his characteristic ritual”.<sup>55</sup>

Thus whereas the elemental Dionysos of Indo-European Comparative Mythology offered evidence of the affinity of Greek religion with the other Indo-European religions, the quasi-totemistic Dionysos of Lang became one of the emblems of the new anthropological vision of Greece according to which “all Greek life below the surface was rich with institutions now found among the most barbaric peoples”.<sup>56</sup> And whereas the universal Dionysos of Curtius was indicative of a pious viewpoint, the anthropological Dionysos had potentially subversive religious implications as the sacramental interpretation of his sacrifices could invite comparison with the Eucharist.

Lang was instrumental in discrediting the elemental interpretations of Indo-European Comparative Mythology and in applying to Dionysos novel insights from anthropology and the work of Robertson Smith. This new view of Dionysos that he helped establish would prove highly influential. Frazer would reiterate the sacramental interpretation of Dionysiac bull sacrifice in *The Golden Bough*.<sup>57</sup> However, contesting the hypothesis of a stage of totemism in Greece, he would argue against Lang that the bull form of Dionysos was to be understood as a manifestation of his character as a god of vegetation rather than as a totemistic survival.<sup>58</sup> The view of Dionysos as god of vegetation would, in turn, be of influence on Farnell and Nilsson.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, the theory that the Dionysiac bull sacrifice was sacramental and that it preserved evidence of totemism would be of major significance for Harrison’s account of Dionysos in *Themis* while the sacramental character of Dionysiac omophagy would also be advocated by Dodds.<sup>60</sup>

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55 Lang (1887) II.232. Compare, in his footsteps, Salomon Reinach (1858–1932) in contemporary France: Schlesier (2008c).

56 Lang (1887) I.288.

57 Frazer (1890) I.326, II.89–90.

58 Frazer (1890) II.37–38.

59 Farnell (1909) 125, Nilsson (1955) 582 ff., Seaford (2006a) 8.

60 Harrison (1912) 118 ff., Dodds (1951) 277–278. Cf. Henrichs (1984b) 229, Henrichs (1982) 159, 218 n. 51. For an examination of the history of the sacramental interpretation to the present day see Obbink (1993).



## Conclusion

To conclude, in this paper I have sought to call attention to the breadth of the interpretation of Dionysos in nineteenth-century scholarship beyond Nietzsche and his 'romantic' predecessors, taking some less well-known scholars into consideration. The competing interpretations of Indo-European Comparative Mythology, of the historical-critical approach and of anthropology bear witness to the widely different ways in which Dionysos engaged the imagination of nineteenth-century scholars and the key role that Dionysos played in the construction of rival images of Greek religion, even of Greek culture as a whole. From the many strands of this rich Dionysiac inheritance that the nineteenth century bequeathed to the twentieth, ultimately only those represented by Nietzsche and anthropology would be influential. That this came to pass attests not only to their insightfulness but also to our own preferences. Through their impact, Dionysos would, eventually, replace his father and brother as the 'favourite' god of modern scholarship.<sup>61</sup>

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61 Henrichs (1984b) 240.

# Der ‚wiedergeborene‘ Gott. Dionysos im modernen Griechenland

*Oliver Leege*

Im Jahr 1830 wird am Südostrand Europas, auf dem Boden des Osmanischen Reiches, der Nationalstaat Griechenland gegründet. Die ehemaligen osmanischen Untertanen dieses Gebietes nennen sich Griechen/Hellenen, ihr Staat wird von ihnen – unter dem vehementen Einfluß des europäischen Philhellenismus sowie der Großmächte Großbritannien, Frankreich und Russland, deren entscheidender Intervention das Land seine Gründung überhaupt zu verdanken hat – zum ‚wiedergeborenen‘ Griechenland/Hellas stilisiert.<sup>1</sup> Es ist nicht zuletzt dieser Staatsname, der es der vorwiegend griechischsprachigen Bevölkerung des jungen Landes erlaubt, sich selbstbewußt als Nachkommen der alten Hellenen zu begreifen und daher als einzige legitime Erben der in Westeuropa idealisierten griechischen Antike betrachten zu können.<sup>2</sup>

Seitdem sind die Geschichte und Kultur der griechischen Antike nahezu untrennbar mit der seitens griechischer Intellektueller immer wieder gestellten

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1 Siehe z. B. Clogg (2003), Heydenreuter (1993) und Papoulia (1990). Für den Aspekt der ‚Wiedergeburt‘ ist charakteristisch, daß das Symbol der ersten griechischen Republik (1828–1831) unter dem Gouverneur Ioannis Kapodistrias (1776–1831) der Phoenix war. Den Namen des mythischen Vogels, der aus seiner eigenen Asche wiedergeboren wird, trugen auch die ersten Münzen, die Kapodistrias prägen ließ. Die Drachme (die mit antikem Namen versehene neue Währung) wurde erst 1832 – nach der Ermordung von Kapodistrias und der Einführung der Monarchie – von König Otto und seinem bayerischen Regentschaftsrat eingeführt. Der Phoenix wurde für kurze Zeit auch in den dreißiger und siebziger Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts auf Münzen abgebildet und schmückte das Emblem der Militärdiktatur in den Jahren 1967–1974; zum Umgang mit der antiken griechischen Tradition auf griechischen Banknoten, Münzen und Briefmarken siehe Gounaris (2003).

2 Die Möglichkeit der biologischen Abstammung der modernen Griechen von den alten Hellenen stellte der österreichische Orientalist und Politiker Jacob Philipp Fallmerayer (1790–1861) im Gründungsjahr des Nationalstaates radikal in Frage: siehe Fallmerayer (1830/1836). Die Widerlegung von Fallmerayers provokanter Grundthese, „das Geschlecht der Hellenen ist in Europa ausgerottet“, da „auch nicht ein Tropfen ächten und ungemischten Hellenenblutes in den Adern der christlichen Bevölkerung des heutigen Griechenlands [fließt]“ (ebd. I.iii-iv), wurde zu einer der Hauptaufgaben der Historiographie, Laographie und klassischen Philologie in Griechenland erhoben: siehe dazu Veloudis (1970). Bezeichnenderweise wurde der erste Band des in Griechenland dämonisierten Buches *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea* (1830), in dem Fallmerayer die obige These formulierte, erst im Jahr 2002 ins Griechische übersetzt.

Frage nach der modern-griechischen kollektiven Identität verbunden, auf deren Basis die Vision einer schöpferischen wie fruchtbaren Gestaltung der Gegenwart und Zukunft dieses Landes begründet wurde und wird. Die Möglichkeit, vor diesem Hintergrund den griechischen Göttern – einem essentiellen Aspekt antiker Kultur – kultische Verehrung zurückzuerleihen, schien (und scheint nach wie vor) angesichts der mächtigen christlich-orthodoxen Tradition keine ernstzunehmende Option zu sein.<sup>3</sup> Allerdings gab es bedeutende, das populäre Griechenlandbild nachhaltig prägende griechische Schriftsteller und Forscher, die sich in ihren Werken – nicht zuletzt unter dem Einfluß der von diesen Figuren ausgehenden europäischen Faszination – insbesondere auf den altgriechischen Gott Dionysos beriefen. Dabei nahmen sie ihn auf jeweils unterschiedliche Art und Weise in ihre Konzeptionen griechischer Identität auf, die das Nationalbewußtsein stärken sowie den Auftakt zur einer auch kulturellen ‚Wiedergeburt‘ Griechenlands bilden sollten.<sup>4</sup>

Im Folgenden sollen vor den jeweils herrschenden historisch-politischen und soziokulturellen Hintergründen die prominentesten Umgangsweisen mit dem Gott Dionysos im modernen Griechenland präsentiert und analysiert werden. Der Beitrag schließt mit der kurzen Darstellung des 1971 publizierten Dionysos-Buches von Panagis Lekatsas. Hierbei handelt es sich um die wohl bis heute einzige wissenschaftliche Monographie zu diesem Gott, die in griechischer Sprache verfaßt wurde und nicht zuletzt aus genau diesem Grund in internationalen Fachkreisen weitgehend unbekannt geblieben ist: ‚(*neo*) *graeca sunt, non leguntur.*‘

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3 Zu bemerken ist dennoch, daß die Anzahl diverser Gruppierungen in Griechenland, die für die Restauration der sogenannten griechischen Nationalreligion (Ελληνική Έθνική Θρησκεία) bzw. der zwölf olympischen Götter (Δωδεκαθεϊσμός) plädieren, in den letzten Jahrzehnten rasant zu steigen scheint; zum Verhältnis der Orthodoxie zum griechischen Nationalismus sowie zur griechischen Identitätsbildung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert siehe Gazi (2009), Livianos (2008), Tziouvas (2008), Voutsaki (2003) und Gourgouris (1996). Zur griechischen Identitätsproblematik siehe Beaton/Ricks (2009), Zacharia (2008). Daß das Thema der „griechischen Identität(en)“ bis heute in Fachkreisen diskutiert wird, zeigt der im September 2010 in Granada stattgefundene vierte Kongreß (<http://www.eens.org/archiv/Kongress/2010/Granada2010.pdf>) der Europäischen Gesellschaft für Neogräzistik „Identities in the Greek World (from 1204 to the present day)“.

4 Zur Geschichte der Antike-Rezeption in der neugriechischen Literatur siehe Niehoff-Panagiotidis (2001); zu den im 19. Jahrhundert angestellten Versuchen, auf der Basis des Mythos von der ‚Wahlverwandtschaft‘ der Deutschen und der (antiken) Griechen ein ‚neues Hellas‘ in Deutschland zu begründen, siehe Landfester (1996).

## Von Alexandros Rizos Rangavis zu Katerina Kakouri

In Athen, welches erst 1834 unter dem ersten König Griechenlands, Otto von Wittelsbach (1815–1867), und der bayerischen Regentschaft zur Hauptstadt des Landes erhoben wurde, fanden seit 1851 jährlich die Dichterwettkämpfe der Athener Universität statt.<sup>5</sup> Ausgezeichnet wurden dort vor allem Gedichte mit patriotischem Inhalt, in denen insbesondere die vermeintlich innige Verbindung der zeitgenössischen Griechen mit ihren antiken Vorfahren zur Geltung gebracht wurde. Das zum Programm erhobene Deklarieren dieser Verbindung spiegelte sich zum einen bereits in der bewußten Wiederherstellung der antiken Tradition der Dichterwettkämpfe wider, zum anderen aber auch darin, daß sich die Dichter einer archaisierenden, von türkischen oder etwa slawischen Wörtern weitgehend ‚bereinigten‘ griechischen Sprache (‚Katharevousa‘) bedienten, die mit der Staatsgründung als offizielle Amtssprache durchgesetzt wurde.<sup>6</sup> Als einer der Gutachter bei diesen Wettbewerben fungierte der Phanariot Alexandros Rizos RANGAVIS (1809–1892), der als Professor für Archäologie an der Universität Athen, Diplomat und Schriftsteller zu den führenden Gelehrtenpersönlichkeiten des jungen Staates zählte.<sup>7</sup>

Rangavis’ Werk ist heute eher von kultur- und literaturgeschichtlicher Bedeutung und wird außerhalb von Universitäten kaum rezipiert, was nicht zuletzt auch mit der für zeitgenössische Laien nur schwer – wenn überhaupt –

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5 Otto (Regierungszeit: 1832–1862) war zur Zeit seiner Ankunft in der damaligen Hauptstadt Griechenlands Nafplion auf der Peloponnes erst siebzehn Jahre alt, weshalb ihm bis zu seiner Volljährigkeit, 1835, ein Regentschaftsrat zur Seite gestellt wurde. Er verlegte nicht nur 1834 die Hauptstadt nach Athen, sondern gründete 1835 ebenfalls das neuzeitliche Sparta, welches – genauso wie Athen – auf den Ruinen der antiken Stadt wiederaufgebaut wurde.

6 Zu den Auseinandersetzungen über die Durchsetzung der Katharevousa bzw. später der Volkssprache (Dimotiki) siehe Hering (1987) und Mackridge (2009); zu den Folgen dieser Auseinandersetzungen für die Institutionalisierung der Fächer Neogräzistik sowie Byzantinistik siehe Kambas/Mitsou (2009).

7 Rangavis wurde in Konstantinopel geboren. Er wuchs in Bukarest – im Palast des mit ihm verwandten Fürsten der Walachei Alexandros N. Soutsos (1758–1821) – sowie in Braşov und Odessa auf. Er studierte an der Bayerischen Kriegsakademie in München, diente später in Griechenland in verschiedenen Regierungspositionen und war seit 1867 griechischer Botschafter in Washington, Konstantinopel, Paris und schließlich in Berlin, wo er u. a. im literarischen Salon Elisavinda von Hohenhausen (1812–1899) verkehrte; Phanarioten waren Abkömmlinge einer aus Phanar, einem Stadtteil Konstantinopels, stammenden wohlhabenden und hochgebildeten griechischsprachigen Oberschicht. Im Osmanischen Reich galten sie der ‚Hohen Pforte‘ als besonders loyal und hatten daher auch politische Macht inne. In dem kulturell nach Orientierung suchenden griechischen Staat setzten sie sich später am engagiertesten für die Wiederbelebung der antiken (vor allem klassischen) Tradition ein.

verständlichen Katharevousa zusammenhängt. Eines seiner Werke, das bis heute in sämtlichen Nachschlagewerken über neugriechische Literatur besonders hervorgehoben wird, ist das 1864 – im Jahr der ersten territorialen Expansion Griechenlands durch die Angliederung der Ionischen Inseln – publizierte Gedicht „Die Seefahrt des Dionysos“ (Διονύσου πλοῦς).<sup>8</sup> Dieses Gedicht, welches anlässlich der oben genannten Wettkämpfe verfaßt wurde, ist nicht einfach nur allgemein von der antiken griechischen Literatur, sondern vornehmlich von einem bestimmten antiken Monument, dem Lysikrates-Denkmal, im klassizistisch wiederaufgebauten Athen inspiriert.<sup>9</sup>

Auf dem Relief, das den Fries dieses Monumentes schmückt, wird Dionysos dargestellt, der dabei zuschaut, wie Seeräuber an der Meeresküste von Satyrn vertrieben werden und sich schließlich im Meer in Delphine verwandeln. Für sein langes Gedicht<sup>10</sup> zieht Rangavis die u. a. im siebten Homerischen Hymnos (an Dionysos) sowie bei Ovid (*Met.* 3.582–691) und Philostratos (*Imag.* 1.19) überlieferte Erzählung heran, in der Dionysos von tyrrenischen Seeräubern entführt wird, um sich anschließend durch eine Reihe von Wundern und Verwandlungen als Gott erkennen zu geben. Durch eine Kombination der in diesen literarischen Texten sowie auf dem Lysikrates-Denkmal vorkommenden Elemente versucht er, diese Erzählung zu rekonstruieren und dichterisch neu zu präsentieren: So findet zum Beispiel das Geschehen sowohl auf einem Schiff – wie in der antiken Literatur überliefert – als auch an Land – wie auf dem Monument abgebildet – statt. Die Darstellung ist sporadisch überraschenderweise von einer Kombination der Katharevousa – die ihr Vokabular weitgehend direkt aus der antiken Überlieferung schöpft – mit der Volkssprache (‚Dimotiki‘) gekennzeichnet.<sup>11</sup> Ferner hindert die pagane Thematik Rangavis nicht daran, durch den geschickten Einsatz bestimmter Wörter und Wortwendungen dezidiert christliche Assoziationen hervorzu-rufen.<sup>12</sup>

8 Rangavis (1874) 149–172; vgl. zu diesem Gedicht jetzt Giannakopoulou (2007) 56–69. – Im Folgenden stammen sämtliche Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen, falls nicht anders angezeigt, vom Verfasser dieses Aufsatzes. – Nach der Vertreibung Ottos aus dem Land durch einen unblutigen Aufstand 1862 erhielt Griechenland von Großbritannien sowohl einen neuen König aus dem dänischen Königshaus der Glücksburger, Georg I. (Regierungszeit: 1863–1913), als auch die Ionischen Inseln.

9 Das Denkmal wurde zum Gedenken an den Sieg des Choregen Lysikrates bei den im Dionysostheater stattfindenden Agonen im Jahr 335/334 v. Chr. aufgestellt. Es ist das einzige Monument dieser Art, welches in Athen noch erhalten ist.

10 Kurioserweise trägt es den Untertitel „Erzählung“ (Διήγημα).

11 Auf das Vorhandensein von Elementen der Dimotiki in Rangavis' Gedicht machte Ricks (1987) aufmerksam.

12 Siehe z. B. ψαλμοί („Psalmen“: Rangavis [1874] 154, V. 94), ἔψαλλον („sang Psalmen“: ebd. 171, V. 498), κολάσεις („Höllen“: ebd. 171, V. 500) sowie χαρὰ ἢ φύσις ὄλη (ebd. 162, V. 295), was eine Variante des Verses χαίρει ἢ φύσις ὄλη („es freuet sich die

Die wichtigste Transformation des antiken Stoffes besteht jedoch in der Verwandlung in eine Liebesgeschichte. Aus der Verknüpfung von zwei Philostratos-Stellen (*Imag.* 1.15 und 1.19) schließt nämlich Rangavis – so in einer Notiz, die er seinem Gedicht nachstellt –, daß Dionysos seine Geliebte Ariadne auf der nahe bei Kreta gelegenen Insel Dia getroffen und sie dann auf seinem Schiff nach Naxos, seinem eigentlichen Ziel, mitgenommen habe. Auf dem Weg nach Naxos sollen nun beide von Seeräubern überfallen worden sein.<sup>13</sup> In der Überzeugung, eine einst existierende Urversion dieser Erzählung durch seine (pseudo-)gelehrte Rekonstruktion zu vervollständigen, wird somit Ariadne als zweite Hauptfigur ins Geschehen eingeführt und in den Mittelpunkt gerückt. Erst als die Seeräuber in Rangavis' Gedicht ankündigen, Ariadne ihrer Schönheit und ihres wertvollen Schmuckes wegen entführen zu wollen, beginnt der bis dahin auf dem Schiff ruhig verweilende Dionysos seine göttliche Macht durch Wunder und Verwandlungen zur Schau zu stellen. Durch das Hinzufügen von Ariadne wird dem Dionysos ein konkretes Motiv, nämlich Liebe,<sup>14</sup> für seine Aktionen gegen die Seeräuber zugeschrieben. Nachdem letztere in Delphine verwandelt worden sind, läßt schließlich der als „fremder Jüngling“ (ξένος νεανίας)<sup>15</sup> porträtierte Gott seine Geliebte durch einen romantischen, schwindelerregenden und ihr zugleich den Tod bringenden Kuß zu einer auf dem Olymp thronenden „neuen Göttin“ (νέα Θεά)<sup>16</sup> werden. Das Gedicht endet mit einem moralisierenden Verweis auf den Kontrast zwischen Dionysos' Gaben und seiner destruktiven Macht: „*Euan eui!* Derart (sind) der göttliche Lohn / und der Götter Strafen.“<sup>17</sup>

Rangavis' Dionysos-Gedicht ist ein repräsentatives Beispiel für den insbesondere von Athener Dichterkreisen dieser Zeit – der sogenannten Ersten Athener Schule – und vielen Phanarioten unternommenen Versuch, nach der Gründung des Nationalstaates, in radikaler Abkehr von der jüngsten multi-kulturellen osmanischen Vergangenheit, eine (bereits von der bayerischen

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gesamte Natur“) über Christi Geburt aus einem der populärsten griechischen Weihnachtslieder ist.

13 Rangavis (1874) 172.

14 Vgl. Philostratos, *Imag.* I.15 (allerdings bezogen auf die Begegnung des Dionysos mit Ariadne auf Naxos); Rangavis ([1874] 169, V. 466–470) läßt sogar den hoffnungslos verliebten Dionysos folgende dramatische Worte an Ariadne aussprechen: Τί πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ οἱ Θεοὶ / καὶ ἡ ἄθανασία; / Ἀθανασία μου σὺ εἶ. / Μακρὰν σου ἢ μακρὰ ζωὴ / μακρὰ ἀπελπισία. („Was kümmern selbst die Götter mich / und die Unsterblichkeit? / Meine Unsterblichkeit bist du. / Fern von dir das lange Leben / ausgedehnte Verzweiflung.“)

15 Rangavis (1874) 158, V. 187.

16 Ebd. 170, V. 494 f. – Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte der Ariadnefigur bis in die Moderne vgl. Schlesier (2008b).

17 Ebd. 171, V. 498–500: Εὐὸν εὐοῖ! / Τοιαύτ' ἢ θεῖα ἀμοιβὴ / κ' αἱ τῶν Θεῶν κολάσεις!

Regentschaft und König Otto geforderte)<sup>18</sup> antikisierende Regräzisierung Griechenlands auf christlichem Fundament zu lancieren.

Der wohl erste Prosatext in Griechenland, bei dem die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Dionysoskult im Titel explizit angegeben wird, stammt aus der Feder des Schriftstellers und Gelehrten Georgios VIZYINOS (1849–1896).<sup>19</sup> In seinem Aufsatz „Die *Kalogeroi* und der Kult des Dionysos in Thrakien“ (Οἱ Καλόγεροι καὶ ἡ λατρεία τοῦ Διούσου ἐν Θράκῃ) behandelt dieser allerdings nicht den antiken, sondern bezeichnenderweise den angeblichen modernen Kult dieses Gottes. Im Fokus stehen feierliche Rituale, die zu Beginn der letzten Woche der Karnevalszeit, am Käsemontag (Δευτέρα τῆς Τυρινῆς), in der Gegend um seinen ostthrakischen Geburtsort Vizye stattfinden. Vizyinos' Text, der ursprünglich 1888 in einer griechischen Wochenzeitung in vier Fortsetzungen publiziert wurde, hat eine bemerkenswerte Rezeptionsgeschichte, die an dieser Stelle kurz erwähnt werden muß: Primär als eine literarische Erzählung konzipiert, in der Vizyinos mit einem meisterhaften, bewußt eingesetzten pseudogelehrten Gestus auftritt, um somit auf dezidierte Art und Weise Wissenschafts- und Gesellschaftskritik zu üben, erschien sie nach dem Tod des Schriftstellers, 1897, in einer (ebenfalls griechischen) Zeitschrift in radikal gekürzter Form.

Der durch die zahlreichen Auslassungen literarischer Elemente in eine genuin folkloristische Studie transformierte Text zog schließlich die Aufmerksamkeit des Archäologen und Direktors der British School in Athen, Richard M. Dawkins (1871–1955), auf sich. Dawkins berichtete 1906 im *Journal of Hellenic Studies* euphorisch über Vizyinos' ‚Studie‘ in einem eigenen Aufsatz,<sup>20</sup> der anschließend einen entscheidenden Anstoß für eine Reihe von vorwiegend britischen ethnologischen Forschungsarbeiten gab, in denen

18 Siehe z. B. Baumstark (1999), Seidl (1981) und Maurer (1835/1968). Georg Ludwig von Maurer (1790–1872) war eines der Mitglieder des bayerischen Regentschaftsrates, der 1833 die Gründung der griechischen Nationalkirche durchsetzte.

19 Vizyinos stammte – wie der Name bereits andeutet – aus der ostthrakischen Stadt Vizye im damaligen Osmanischen Reich, dem heutige Vize in der Türkei, und wuchs in Konstantinopel auf. Nach dem Beginn eines Studiums an der Theologenschule von Chalki auf den im Marmarameer liegenden Prinzeninseln und einer Zwischenstation auf Zypern sowie an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Athen reiste er nach Göttingen, wo er 1878 das Studium der Philosophie und Philologie abschloß. 1881 promovierte er dort mit einer Dissertationsschrift über *Das Kinderspiel in Bezug auf Psychologie und Pädagogik* (Leipzig 1881), und 1885 habilitierte er sich in Athen mit einer Arbeit über Plotins Philosophie. Einen Lehrstuhl erhielt er jedoch nie, sondern arbeitete als Gymnasiallehrer in Athen. Er publizierte Gedichte bzw. Gedichtsammlungen, die in Athener Dichterwettbewerben prämiert wurden, sowie zahlreiche Erzählungen.

20 Dawkins (1906).



vermeintliche Spuren dionysischer Riten nicht nur in Thrakien, sondern auch auf den ägäischen Inseln, in Thessalien, Epiros und Makedonien untersucht wurden.<sup>21</sup> Viziynos' (von sämtlichen Forschern über ein Jahrhundert lang ignorierte) ursprüngliche Textversion wurde erst zu Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts vom österreichischen Theaterwissenschaftler Walter Puchner rekonstruiert und publiziert.<sup>22</sup>

Nachdem Dionysos in der europäischen Literatur von Heinrich Heine und Walter Pater in fiktiven Erzählungen bereits als Mönch dargestellt wurde,<sup>23</sup> liefert Viziynos mit seinem Text, der zwischen Wissenschaft und Literatur oszilliert, einen Bericht über ein reales Fest im Dorf Hagios Georgios, das um die Figur des *Kalogeros* – im konventionellen neugriechischen Sprachgebrauch: des Mönchs – kreist und von ihm als die Fortsetzung des antiken Dionysoskultes im zeitgenössischen osmanischen Thrakien interpretiert wird. Auch wenn es sich hierbei nicht um tatsächliche Mönche handelt, sondern um zwei von der Dorfgemeinde ausgewählte Personen, die den Titel des *Kalogeros*<sup>24</sup> nur an diesem einen Tag tragen dürfen, spielt Viziynos mit der Doppeldeutigkeit dieser Bezeichnung, um auf die vermeintlich tief-religiöse Bedeutung des Festes hinzuweisen, welches in seinen Augen die scharfen Grenzen zwischen antikem Kult und Christentum demonstrativ sprengt:

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- 21 Die Jagd auf Spuren antiker Gebräuche – die sogenannten ‚survivals‘ – war in Griechenland, im südlichen Balkan und der Türkei bereits im 19. Jahrhundert im Gange; dazu, sowie über die Arbeiten, die Dawkins' Aufsatz folgten, siehe Puchner (2002) 109–166 und (2009) 177–192 („Altthrakische Karnevalsspiele und ihre wissenschaftliche Verwertung. ‚Dionysos‘ im Länderdreieck Bulgarien – Griechenland – Türkei“) (beides mit zahlreichen bibliographischen Angaben); zu den ideologischen Hintergründen dieses Forschungszweiges in Griechenland sowie zu einer Kritik des viktorianischen Begriffs ‚survival‘ siehe Danforth (1984), Gregory (1986); vgl. Herzfeld (1982).
- 22 Puchner (2002) 197–251. Im Folgenden zitiere ich größtenteils aus der gekürzten Version von 1954, die – mit leichten Korrekturen – ein Wiederabdruck des Textes von 1897 ist, da sich diese als die wirkungsmächtigste erwiesen hat. Die vollständige Fassung ist zwar überaus bedeutend für das Gesamtbild und die Interpretation der Schrift; dies ändert aber nichts an der Tatsache, daß der darin eingebettete (und in der gekürzten Version isolierte) Bericht über den vermeintlich lebendigen, modernen Dionysoskult in Thrakien von Viziynos ganz ernst gemeint ist; vgl. dazu ebd. (2002) 101. Wichtige Passagen, die im Text von 1897 bzw. 1954 ausgelassen wurden, obwohl sie wichtiger Teil der Beschreibung der Bräuche sind, zitiere ich aus Puchners Ausgabe.
- 23 Heine (1987); Pater (1910a). Heine zählte zu Viziynos' Lieblingsautoren. Einzelne Passagen des vollständigen Textes von Viziynos erscheinen auf den ersten Blick – eine eingehende Arbeit dazu gibt es, soweit ich sehe, noch nicht – als Kommentar zu Heines Erzählung „Die Götter im Exil“ von 1853 (vgl. dazu Schlesier [2001b]).
- 24 Über die Herkunft des Wortes läßt sich trotz zahlreicher Vorschläge nichts Sicheres sagen: vgl. Puchner (2002) 115 f. Wörtlich bedeutet es im Griechischen ‚der gute Greis‘.



Auch wenn Griechenland christianisiert wurde, wenn die feinen Mäntel und die durchsichtigen kurzen Chitone [...] von den aus (Ziegen-)Haaren geflochtenen Beuteln und den bis zu den Füßen reichenden Kutten abgelöst worden sind, gibt es dennoch *Kalogeroi*, die, mit dem Hirschkalbfell um die Schultern, auf dem Markt und den Marktplätzen für Dionysos satyrhaft tanzen, öffentlich Phalloi tragen und mit Flöten und Trommeln laut schreien und jauchzen, toben und Reigen aufführen.<sup>25</sup>

In seiner lebhaften, aus der Perspektive eines teilnehmenden Beobachters geschilderten Darstellung der Ereignisse dieses Festtages zieht Vizyinos nicht lediglich Parallelen zum antiken Dionysoskult.<sup>26</sup> Vizyinos' Bericht soll gerade nicht zu einem besseren Verständnis der griechischen Vergangenheit beitragen, sondern vielmehr den unerschütterlichen Beweis für die Kontinuität des griechischen Volkes in Thrakien deutlich zum Vorschein bringen. Zu diesem Zweck werden die von ihm beschriebenen Handlungen sowie die in das Geschehen involvierten Personen mit denjenigen der antiken Überlieferung direkt in Verbindung gesetzt. So wird der Zug aus maskierten und mit Tierfellen bekleideten Teilnehmern, welcher bei Sonnenaufgang seinen Auftritt mit lärmenden Paukenschlägen, Tierglocken und Schreien ankündigt, unmittelbar als ein dionysischer Thiasos apostrophiert. Figuren wie die „Zigeuner“ (Κατσιβέλοι) und die „Polizisten“ (Ζαπτιέδες oder Κουρουτζήδες), die bei ihrem Zug durch die Straßen alles einsammeln, was frei herumliegt, werden zu „Soldaten des Bakchos“ (στρατιῶται τοῦ Βάκχου) erklärt.<sup>27</sup> Ein in einem Korb plzierter, in Lumpen gehüllter Gegenstand, der von einer weiblichen Figur namens Babo (Βάβω) getragen wird und ihr neugeborenes, siebenmonatiges Kind repräsentieren soll, wird von Vizyinos sogleich als der frühzeitig geborene Gott in der Wiege, als Dionysos Liknites, identifiziert. Im Laufe des Tages soll schließlich der erste *Kalogeros* – der Archikalogeros – den erwachsenen Dionysos verkörpern. Dieser wird im zweiten Hauptteil des Festes rituell getraut, getötet, beklagt und zu neuem Leben erweckt, um letztlich gemeinsam mit dem zweiten *Kalogeros* vor den Pflug gespannt zu

25 Vizyinos (1954) 310: Ἐὰν ἡ Ἑλλάς ἐξεχριστιανίσθη, ἐὰν τὰ λεπτὰ χλανίδια καὶ τοὺς διαφανεῖς χιτωνίσκους [...] διεδέχθησαν οἱ τρίχινοι σάκκοι καὶ τὰ ποδήρη ράσα, ὑπάρχουσιν ὁμως καὶ καλόγεροι μὲ τὴν νευρίδα περὶ τοὺς ὤμους, ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ταῖς πλατείαις σικιννίζοντες τῷ Διούσω, ἀναφανδὸν φαλλοφοροῦντες καὶ μετ' αὐλῶν καὶ τυμπάνων ἰϋζοντες καὶ ἰακχάζοντες, σκιρτῶντες καὶ ὀρχοῦμενοι.

26 Die Parallelen zum antiken Kult wurden später von Altertumswissenschaftlern zwar mit gezügelter, aber dennoch unverkennbarer Begeisterung zur Kenntnis genommen: vgl. z. B. Farnell (1909) 107 f., Dodds (1951) 275, oder Nilsson (1911/1951) 116–142, hier 141: „Wenn wir jene alten δρώμενα des Dionysoskultes uns veranschaulichen wollen, so wird der ländliche Karneval von Vizye ein der allgemeinen Erscheinung und Stimmung [...] viel getreueres Bild geben als das von Kunst und Dichtung verklärte Mänadentum.“

27 Vizyinos (1954) 315.

werden. Sobald beide in diesem letzten, äußerst emotional beschriebenen Ritual den Pflug hinter sich herziehen, während die Bevölkerung Bittgebete für eine ertragreiche Ernte an Gott richtet, wird vom Dorfvorsteher die neue Saat gelegt. Die Frage, an welchen Gott diese Bittgebete gerichtet werden, bleibt vorerst offen. Für Vizyinos besteht jedoch kein Zweifel, daß an diesem Tag „die Hauptszenen des Lebens, der Leiden und der Lehre des Dionysos“ (αἱ κυριώτεραι σκηναὶ τῆς ζωῆς, τῶν παθημάτων καὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας τοῦ Διονύσου)<sup>28</sup> wie in einem Theaterstück dargestellt und gefeiert werden. Antike pagane Vergangenheit und christliche Gegenwart scheinen für ihn im andächtigen Moment der Bittgebete miteinander zu verschmelzen: „Derjenige, der dem Volk beim Ausführen des Rituals zuhört, [...] ist wahrlich nicht in der Lage zu erkennen, ob jene Bitten an den heutigen oder an den *einzigsten* Gott des Dorfes adressiert sind.“<sup>29</sup>

Doch Vizyinos' Intention beschränkt sich nicht nur darauf, ein sensationelles Zeugnis für einen in Thrakien noch lebendigen Kult des Dionysos liefern zu wollen. Nicht zufällig wählt er das abgelegene, nur von Griechen bewohnte Dorf Hagios Georgios und eben nicht das Zentrum dieser Gegend, seinen Geburtsort Vizye, in dem ebenfalls ähnliche Rituale – jedoch nicht ausschließlich von einer griechischen Bevölkerung – vollzogen werden, für seinen Bericht aus. Denn zum Kriterium für eine möglichst adäquate Darstellung des zeitgenössischen, angeblich direkt aus der Antike stammenden Dionysoskultes wird die unvermischte Gräzität erklärt, welche im osmanischen Thrakien vom Schwinden bedroht sei.<sup>30</sup> Da die antiken Thraker von Vizyinos vorwiegend für Griechen gehalten werden, die den ebenfalls griechischen Gott Dionysos verehrt haben,<sup>31</sup> wird aus seinem Bericht ein indirekter Appell an das griechische Mutterland, den dort seit der Antike ansäs-

28 Ebd. 317.

29 Das Zitat nach Puchner (2002) 241: Ὁ ἀκούων τὸν παρακολουθοῦντα λαὸν [...] δὲν δύναται, μὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, νὰ διακρίνη ἂν αἱ εὐχαὶ ἐκεῖνα ἀποτείνωνται πρὸς τὸν νῦν ἢ πρὸς τὸν ἄλλοτε θεὸν τοῦ χωριοῦ. Vizyinos sieht im *Kalogeros*-Fest einen Anlaß, an dem Darstellungen von „dionysischen Erinnerungen“ (Διονυσιακὰς ἀναμνήσεις, ebd. 235) zelebriert werden, und behauptet, daß die Bevölkerung das Fest mit derselben religiösen Ehrfurcht begeht wie die üblichen christlichen Feiern; zum Thema der Erinnerung, das in antiken Tragödien mit Aspekten der Dionysos-Sphäre assoziiert wird, siehe Schlesier (2010a).

30 Vgl. Vizyinos (1954) 311: Ὅπωςδὴποτε ἡμεῖς θὰ περιγράψωμεν τὰς τελετὰς [...] ὅπως ἢ ἐν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ παντὸς ἀλλοφύλλου στοιχείου ἀναπνεύουσα ἐλευθερία τῆς τε καρδίας καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος διέσωσεν αὐτὰς [...]. („Auf jeden Fall werden wir die Rituale so beschreiben, wie sie, bei Abwesenheit jeglichen fremdstämmigen Elementes, die atmende Freiheit des Herzens und des Geistes errettet haben“.)

31 Vgl. ebd. 311. Im Einklang mit der damals herrschenden wissenschaftlichen communis opinio ist für Vizyinos der antike Dionysos ein ursprünglich thrakischer Gott, ja die in Thrakien verehrte Gottheit par excellence.

sigen, unter osmanischer Herrschaft lebenden Griechen und ihrer genuin griechischen Kultur zu Hilfe zu kommen: „Die Augen der Greise sowie die meinen füllen sich mit Tränen. Wer weiß, ob wir jemals dieses urarchaische heilige Schauspiel wiedersehen werden!“<sup>32</sup>

Zu Vizyinos' Zeit herrscht in Griechenland die Politik der sogenannten ‚Großen Idee‘ (Μεγάλη Ίδέα)<sup>33</sup>, welche die Integration sämtlicher ehemals oströmischer bzw. byzantinischer und noch von Griechen bevölkerter Gebiete in einen griechischen Großstaat mit Konstantinopel als Hauptstadt vorsieht. Vor diesem historisch-politischen Hintergrund verfolgt Vizyinos' Darstellung des modernen Dionysos-Kultes in Thrakien ein doppeltes Ziel: Als unerschütterliches Zeugnis der historischen und kulturellen Kontinuität der Griechen soll sie zum einen das auf die Antike gegründete zeitgenössische Nationalbewußtsein stärken und zum anderen den expansionshungrigen Blick des griechischen Staates auf eine zukünftige Integration Thrakiens lenken.<sup>34</sup> Dionysos und sein Kult erfüllen so die Funktion eines Tonikums für den griechischen Irredentismus dieser Zeit.

Das durch die schrittweise erreichte territoriale Expansion Griechenlands<sup>35</sup> gewachsene nationale Selbstbewußtsein wurde 1897 durch eine für das Land erniedrigende Niederlage in einem Krieg gegen die Türken erschüttert. Im Vorfeld der Balkankriege (1912/13) ließen dann einerseits die traumatische Erfahrung dieser Niederlage sowie andererseits die faktische Möglichkeit einer baldigen Aufteilung des Osmanischen Reiches – und damit die Hoffnung auf die Verwirklichung der ‚Großen Idee‘ – drastische Konzepte griechischer Identität zu. So publizierte der Essayist, Dichter, Dandy und prominente Vertreter des griechischen Nationalismus Periklis GIANNOPOULOS (1869–1910) unmittelbar nach der Jahrhundertwende eine Reihe von Schriften und Manifesten, in denen er für ein ‚echtes‘, d. h. ursprüngliches sowie von fremden (vor allem deutschen) Gelehrtenmeinungen befreites Selbstverständnis „des griechischen Menschen“<sup>36</sup> plädierte. Als Schlüssel zu diesem

32 Ebd. 321: Τίς οἶδεν, ἐὰν θὰ ἐπανίδωμεν ἔτι ἅπαξ τὸ ἀρχαϊκώτατον τοῦτο ἱερὸν δράμα!

33 Siehe dazu z. B. Zelepos (2002).

34 Über Vizyinos' Korrespondenz mit dem griechischen Außenministerium 1885, in der er hinsichtlich der Expansionspolitik Griechenlands den historischen Vorrang Thrakiens gegenüber (den ebenfalls noch osmanischen Gebieten von) Makedonien und Epiros betont, siehe Puchner (2002) 20 mit Anm. 11.

35 1864: Ionische Inseln; 1881: Thessalien.

36 Giannopoulos (1988) 87 (*Zur griechischen Wiedergeburt* [Πρὸς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Ἀναγέννησιν, 1903]). Giannopoulos' Manifeste tragen Titel wie *Neuer Geist* (Νέον Πνεῦμα [1906], ebd. 173–221) und *Appell an das Panhellenische Publikum* (Ἑκκλησις πρὸς τὸ Πανελλήνιον Κοινόν [1907], ebd. 222–319). Giannopoulos wurde in Patras geboren, studierte zwei Jahre Medizin in Paris – ein Studium, das er später abbrach –

Selbstverständnis erachtete Giannopoulos, neben der unabdingbaren Berücksichtigung der jahrtausendelangen, vermeintlich bruchlosen griechischen Geschichte, insbesondere die Betrachtung, ja sogar ästhetische Verehrung der griechischen, genauer: attischen Natur.<sup>37</sup> Diese faßte er nämlich nicht nur als die einzige Voraussetzung für die antiken architektonischen und geistigen Errungenschaften auf, sondern er sah in ihr auch die Möglichkeit der zeitgenössischen sinnlichen Verbindung zur griechischen Antike begründet, welche letztlich zu einer Wiederherstellung der alten Kulturblüte führen sollte.

In seiner 1903 erschienenen Schrift *Griechische Linie* (*Ἑλληνική Γραμμὴ*) führt Giannopoulos seine Leser gedanklich auf einen Athener Hügel und fragt, was von dort aus zu sehen sei. Die daraufhin ausführlich beschriebene Landschaft wird schließlich mit derjenigen von westeuropäischen Städten kontrastiert. So herrsche in Griechenland im Gegensatz zum restlichen Europa z. B. „nirgendwo Dunkelheit“, „Haß“, „Pessimismus“, „Theomanie“ oder etwa „Grübeln“, sondern

[ü]berall Licht, überall Tag, überall Behaglichkeit, überall Bescheidenheit, Bequemlichkeit, Lockerheit; überall gute Ordnung, Symmetrie, Eurhythmie; überall Sanftmut, Anmut, Heiterkeit; überall das Spiel griechischer Weisheit, frohsinnige Stimmung, sokratische Ironie; überall Philanthropie, Sympathie, Liebe; überall Liebesehnsucht, Begehren nach einem Lied, nach einem Kuß; überall Begehren nach Stoff, Stoff, Stoff; überall Lust des Dionysos, Begehren nach Lichttrunkenheit, Durst nach Schönheit, Sich-Wiegen in Seligkeit; überall das Vorbeiziehen kriegerischen Windes, wuchtvollen Windes, tapferen, kräftigen Windes und zugleich überall das Vorbeiziehen eines Windes der Melancholie einer Schönheit, der Traurigkeit einer Schönheit, des Wehklagens für den sterbenden Adonis. Und überall der Wind des strahlenden Kriegsliedes, der die Glieder zusammenbindet, und zugleich der Wind der Flöte, der die Glieder mit Lüsterheit löst. Und überall das Vorbeiziehen des Windes, der das Jammergeschrei der Aphrodite und zugleich starke satyrische Säure mit sich bringt.<sup>38</sup>

und verbrachte mehrere Monate in London, wo er sich u. a. mit der englischen Literatur auseinandersetzte.

37 Giannopoulos (1988) 93 (*Griechische Linie* [*Ἑλληνική Γραμμὴ*, 1903]): Τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν μας Φύσιν ἔχοντες ὀδηγόν, ὡς θεότητα λατρεύοντες Αὐτήν, πιστεύοντες εἰς Αὐτήν καί εἰς τὴν φύσιν ἡμῶν [...], ἐκφράζομεν [...] εἰς τὴν Ἀνθρωπότητα τὴν τελείαν ὤραιότητα καὶ Εὐγένειαν τοῦ εἶδους ἡμῶν. („Indem wir unsere griechische Natur zum Wegweiser nehmen, sie als Gottheit verehren, an sie und an unsere eigene Natur glauben [...], bringen wir [...] in der Menschheit die vollkommene Schönheit und den Adel unserer Art zum Ausdruck.“)

38 Giannopoulos (1988) 99 f.: Παντοῦ φῶς, παντοῦ ἡμέρα, παντοῦ τερπνότης, παντοῦ ὀλιγότης, ἄνεσις, ἀραιότης· παντοῦ εὐταξία, συμμετρία, εὐρυθμία· παντοῦ ἡμερότης, χάρις, ἰλαρότης· παντοῦ παίγιον ἑλληνικῆς σοφίας, διάφεις γελαστική, εἰρωνία Σωκρατική· παντοῦ φιλανθρωπία, συμπάθεια, ἀγάπη· παντοῦ ἴμερος, πόθος ἄσματος, φιλήματος· παντοῦ πόθος ὕλης, ὕλης, ὕλης· παντοῦ ἡδονὴ Διονύσου, πόθος φωτομέθης, δίψα ὀραιότητος, λίκνισμα μακαριότητος· παντοῦ πέρασμα ἀέρος Θουρίου, ἀέρος ὀρμῆς, ἀέρος ἀλκμότητος, σφριγηλότητος καὶ παντοῦ μαζύ πέρασμα ἀέρος μελαγχολίας καλλονῆς, λύπης καλλονῆς, θρήνου θνήσκοντος Ἀδώνιδος. Καί παντοῦ ἀήρ

Die aneinandergereihten metaphorischen Bilder in diesen nahezu halluzinatorischen Formulierungen – die im übrigen Giannopoulos' Gesamtwerk kennzeichnen – erfüllen, nicht zuletzt durch die monotone Repetition des Wortes ‚überall‘, die Funktion einer Beschwörungsformel. Sie dienen der sprachlichen Herstellung einer Jetztzeit auf der Folie der zuvor beschriebenen Landschaft. Auf diese Weise soll eine spezifisch griechische Realität evoziert werden, welche sich auf der Oberfläche der „griechischen Erde“<sup>39</sup> abspiele, durch das überwältigende Sonnenlicht zum Vorschein komme und dort durch alle Zeiten hindurch herrsche. Giannopoulos' Forderung, den Blick auf die Oberfläche Griechenlands zu richten, um die eigene urgriechische Identität und ‚naturgemäße‘ Lebenseinstellung wiederzuentdecken und zurückzuerlangen, scheint implizit auf Friedrich Nietzsches Vorstellung von „tapfer auf der Oberfläche“ verweilenden Griechen zu rekurrieren, die das Leben in vollen Zügen zu würdigen gewußt haben sollen.<sup>40</sup> Ganz im Duktus des deutschen Philosophen geht schließlich die in seinen späteren Schriften propagierte nationale „geistige Revolution“<sup>41</sup> mit einer scharfen Kultur-, Gesellschafts- und Religionskritik einher.<sup>42</sup>

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φωτεινοῦ θουρίου δένων τὰ μέλη καὶ μαζί ἀήρ φλογέρας λύων τὰ μέλη μέ ἡδυσπάθειαν. Καὶ παντοῦ πέρασμα ἀέρος φέρον ὄλοφυρμοῦς Ἄφροδίτης καὶ μαζί δυνατὸν Σατυρικὸν ὄξύ.

39 Ebd. 227 (*Appell an das Panhellenische Publikum*).

40 Siehe Nietzsche (1980) Bd. 3, 352 (*Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft*) = Bd. 6, 439 (*Nietzsche contra Wagner*): „Oh diese Griechen! Sie verstanden sich darauf, zu leben! Dazu thut noth, tapfer bei der Oberfläche, der Falte, der Haut stehn zu bleiben, den Schein anzubeten, an Formen, an Töne, an Worte, an den ganzen Olymp des Scheins zu glauben! Diese Griechen waren oberflächlich – aus Tiefe ...“. – Das neugriechische Wort für ‚Oberfläche‘ (ἐπιφάνεια) kann – wie im Altgriechischen – auch ‚Epiphanie‘, die plötzliche Erscheinung eines Gottes bzw. des Göttlichen, bedeuten. Wenn Giannopoulos Griechenlands Oberfläche – d. h. ihre Landschaft – ausführlich beschreibt, schwingt diese zweite Wortbedeutung unmißverständlich mit, was durch den exzessiven Gebrauch des Verbs φαίνομαι (‚erscheinen‘) unterstrichen wird: vgl. dazu Georgiadis (2003).

41 Giannopoulos (1988) 122 (*Neuer Geist*).

42 Auch wenn Nietzsche von Giannopoulos nirgendwo namentlich genannt wird, ist sein Echo in dessen Schriften unüberhörbar. Während es z. B. in Nietzsches *Götzen-Dämmerung* ([1980] Bd. 6, 161) heißt: „der Hammer redet“, schreibt Giannopoulos in seinem *Appell an das Panhellenische Publikum* (Giannopoulos [1988] 227): „Die griechische Erde redet.“ Für die Popularität des deutschen Philosophen in Griechenland ist es bezeichnend, daß in der Zeitschrift *Noumas* (1903–1931), in der Giannopoulos viele seiner Schriften erscheinen ließ, kurze Nietzsche-Zitate in der Rubrik „Wahrheiten“ (Ἀλήθειαι) publiziert wurden. Giannopoulos wendet sich vor allem gegen die Nachahmung des westeuropäischen Lebensstils seitens des aufkommenden griechischen Bürgertums: vgl. ebd. 80–84 (*Xenomanie* [Ξενομανία, 1903]). Außerdem macht er das Christentum bzw. das griechisch-orthodoxe Priestertum für die vierhundert Jahre osmanischer Herrschaft mitverantwortlich, da es entschieden zu der Verbreitung eines

Dionysos mag in Giannopoulos' kompositorisch detailliert durchdachte griechischer Vision explizit nur einmal vorkommen, dennoch ist sie insgesamt dionysisch aufgeladen, da der zur epiphanischen Gottheit erklärten griechischen Landschaft dionysische Attribute zugeschrieben werden. Nach einer dreifachen Wortwiederholung, die im Stil einer Zauberformel den „Stoff“ (ὕλη) – aus dem diese Landschaft bestünde – und die von ihm ausgehende geistige Kraft heraufbeschwört, werden folgende Attribute aufgezählt: die Lust, die durch Sonnenlicht – und nicht etwa durch Wein – erzeugte Trunkenheit, der (mit ihr verbundene) Durst nach Schönheit und schließlich der Zustand der Seligkeit, der durch das Substantiv λίκνισμα („Sich-Wiegen“) auf Dionysos Liknites hindeutet. Außerdem kommen in der zitierten Textpassage mehrere Verweise auf die Dionysos-Sphäre vor, wie etwa die Flöte – allerdings im neugriechischen Wortgebrauch ‚φλογέρα‘ und nicht ‚αὐλός‘ –, die mit Lüsternheit gelösten Glieder oder die in der Antike mit Dionysos assoziierte Göttin Aphrodite<sup>43</sup> sowie die Satyrn, deren „Jammerschrei“ respektive „starke Säure“ die gesamte Szenerie unüberhörbar sexuell konnotieren. So wird Dionysos, der epiphanische Gott par excellence, und seine Sphäre in eine enge, fast metonymische Beziehung zur griechischen Landschaft und der in ihr herrschenden Ordnung gesetzt, die das geistige Leben Griechenlands schöpferisch gestaltet.

Bei Giannopoulos' Text handelt es sich um eine eigentümliche Bearbeitung und daraus resultierende, groteske Transformation spätromantischer Dionysos-Konzepte, namentlich derjenigen von Walter Pater und Nietzsche.<sup>44</sup> So ist die mit der Nennung dieses Gottes eingeleitete zweite Hälfte des Textausschnittes von einer Ambivalenz der Gefühle gekennzeichnet, die durch die Konstruktion von Gegensatzpaaren erzeugt wird („Seligkeit“ – „Wehklagen“, „Melancholie“ – „Lüsternheit“). Diese werden aber als gleichzeitig vorhanden konzipiert und sollen somit auf der Basis einer nietzscheanisch verstandenen Antike die dionysische Intensität des authentischen griechischen Lebens zum Ausdruck bringen. Im Rahmen des Entwurfs einer spezifisch griechischen Natur- und Landschaftsästhetik, so kann man abschließend konstatieren, wird Dionysos in den Dienst eines chauvinistischen kulturnationalistischen Programms gestellt.

Giannopoulos, einer der Väter der bis heute in Griechenland weitverbreiteten hellenozentrischen Weltansicht, ritt 1910 weißgekleidet und bekränzt hinaus zur Küste von Skaramaga bei Eleusis. Im Meer, auf seinem Pferd sitzend, schoß er sich eine Kugel in den Kopf. Sein Freitod – fulminantes

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Untertanengeistes beigetragen habe: vgl. ebd. 269 f. (*Appell an das Panhellenische Publikum*).

43 Zur Figur der Aphrodite in der neugriechischen Dichtung siehe Beaton (1996).

44 Zu den Dionysos-Konzeptionen von Pater (1910b) und Nietzsche siehe Henrichs (1984b) 237–240.

Beispiel für die ‚Tyranny of Greece over Greece‘, wie man anknüpfend an Eliza M. Butlers berühmte Studie über Deutschland formulieren könnte –<sup>45</sup> war als Vereinigung mit der griechischen Landschaft und dem ihr innewohnenden Geist der antiken Vorfahren inszeniert.<sup>46</sup>

Ein weiterer Dichter, der sich zwar dem damaligen Athener Literaturbetrieb sowie den politischen und gesellschaftlichen Entwicklungen Griechenlands konsequent entzog, an dieser Stelle jedoch nicht unerwähnt bleiben darf, ist Konstantinos P. KAVAFIS (1863–1933). Bei dem weltweit wohl bekanntesten auf Griechisch publizierenden Dichter der Neuzeit handelt es sich – wie bereits bei Rangavis – um einen Abkömmling einer phanariotischen Familie, der allerdings den größten Teil seines Lebens in Alexandria verbrachte. In seiner Dichtung überwiegt zwar thematisch die Antike, anders aber als bei den meisten seiner Kollegen in Griechenland fungiert diese nicht als Kulisse für Ahnenschwärmerei und Heimatverherrlichung und soll auch keineswegs revanchistische bzw. expansionistische Tendenzen im Zeichen der ‚Großen Idee‘ forcieren. Kavafis bedient sich einer Sprache, welche die Extreme sowohl einer Katharevousa als auch einer programmatischen Dimotiki vermeidet, und zeichnet vor der Kulisse seiner Heimatstadt Alexandria in der hellenistischen Zeit den modernen Menschen als ein angesichts der Anonymität der Großstadt vereinsamendes Individuum. Von den meisten in Griechenland wirkenden Dichtern lange ignoriert oder sogar abgelehnt, verfaßt er 1886 das frühe Gedicht „Bakchikon“ (Βακχικόν), welches er allerdings später aus dem Kanon seines Werkes verbannt:

Erschöpft vom Getümmel dieser unsteten Welt der Täuschung,  
Finde ich meine Ruhe im Glas.  
In ihm schließe ich Leben, Hoffnung und Sehnsucht ein;  
Gebt mir zu trinken.<sup>47</sup>

Im Gedicht „Das Gefolge des Dionysos“ (Ἡ συνοδεία τοῦ Διονύσου) von 1907 wird beschrieben, wie ein (fiktiver) antiker peloponnesischer Künstler namens Damon im Auftrag des (ebenfalls fiktiven) Königs von Syrakus ein Marmorwerk schafft. Darauf sind der Gott und sein Zug abgebildet, der aus Personifikationen wie z. B. der „Trunkenheit“ (Μέθη), dem „Süßwein“ (Ἡδύοινος),

45 Siehe Butler (1935); vgl. dazu auch Coulmas (2006) 86 und Güthenke (2009) 148 (bezogen auf die klassische Philologie in Griechenland).

46 Siehe auch Coulmas (2006) 86: „Seinen Freunden soll er [Giannopoulos] am Vorabend [seines Freitodes] Abbildungen eines altgriechischen Reliefs geschenkt haben mit der Darstellung eines reitenden Jünglings.“

47 Kavafis (1997) 451 [Übersetzung von Robert Elsie]: Ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου κεκμηκῶς τὴν πλάνον ἀστασίαν, / ἐντὸς τοῦ ποτηρίου μου εὔρον τὴν ἡσυχίαν: / ζωὴν κ' ἐλπίδα ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ πόθους ἐσωκλείω: / δότε νὰ πῶ. (Ebd. 450). In Elsies Übersetzung trägt das Gedicht den Titel „Bacchantisch“.



dem „Schwarmzug“ (Κῶμος) oder der „Mysterienfeier“ (Τελετή) besteht, die in griechischen wie römischen literarischen Texten und Inschriften als spezifisch dionysisch bezeugt sind. Kavafis läßt am Ende seines Gedichtes den Künstler sich nach der hohen Belohnung sehnen, die ihn nach der Abgabe des Auftragswerkes erwartet:

Kommt das [d.h. die Belohnung] zu seinem anderen Geld, wird  
er fortan ganz im Gewichte seines Wohlstands leben,  
wird teilnehmen an der Politik – oh Freude! –  
mit Sitz im Rat auch er, auch er dann auf der Agora.<sup>48</sup>

Kavafis liefert somit einen Kommentar zu einer Thematik, der sich Richard Seaford ein knappes Jahrhundert später in seiner religionshistorischen Darstellung des Dionysos auf ganz andere Weise widmen und der er eine zentrale Bedeutung zuschreiben wird: dem vermeintlich engen und spannungsvollen Verhältnis des Dionysos-Kultes zum Geld.<sup>49</sup> Ein weiteres Gedicht von 1911, „...der Gott verlasse Antonius...“ (Ἀπολείπειν ὁ θεὸς Ἀντωνίων), in dem Dionysos – wenn auch in anonymisierter Form – vorkommt, trägt als Titel ein direktes Plutarch-Zitat (*Ant.* 75.6). Kavafis verwendet dafür als Vorlage die bei Plutarch überlieferte Legende von dem Auszug des Gottes und seines Thiasos aus Alexandria am Vorabend von Marcus Antonius' letzter Niederlage gegen Octavian und konzipiert sein Gedicht als Ode an das unwiderruflich vorbeiziehende Leben, für welches letztlich der Gott Dionysos steht.<sup>50</sup>

Zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts wurde innerhalb von exklusiven Künstler- und Intellektuellengruppen – wie den Münchener Kosmikern und dem George-Kreis in Deutschland oder etwa auf dem Monte Verità bei Ascona in der Schweiz – der Versuch unternommen, in Anlehnung an das, was jeweils als antike Lebensart erachtet wurde, die Antike ‚wiederzubeleben‘ bzw. eine Alternativ- und Gegenbewegung zur zeitgenössischen bürgerlichen Gesellschaft zu schaffen. So verbrachte auch der auf der ionischen Insel Lefkada geborene griechische Dichter Angelos SIKELIANOS (1884–1951) in ähnlicher Absicht einige Zeit am Fuße des attischen Hymettos-Gebirges, im Haus der berühmten Tänzerin Isadora Duncan. Gemeinsam mit seiner Frau, der vermögenden Amerikanerin Eva Palmer, seiner Schwester Penelope, die Duncans

48 Kavafis (2003) 79 [Übersetzung von Jörg Schäfer]: Μὲ τ' ἄλλα του τὰ χρήματα κι αὐτὰ μαζὺ / σὰν μποῦν, ὡς εὐπορος σπουδαῖα πιά θὰ ζεῖ, / καὶ θὰ μπορεῖ νὰ πολιτεῦται – χαρά! – / κι αὐτὸς μὲς στὴν βουλή, κι αὐτὸς στὴν ἀγορά. (Ebd. 78). In Schäfers Ausgabe trägt das Gedicht den Titel „Des Dionysos Geleite“. Zu diesem Gedicht siehe auch Giannakopoulou (2007) 117–126.

49 Siehe Seaford (2006a) bes. 146–151 („Dionysos and Money, Then and Now“).

50 Zu diesem Gedicht s. jetzt Henrichs (2010c). – Als weitere Vorlage diente Kavafis William Shakespeares Stück *Antony and Cleopatra*, das auf Plutarchs Berichten basiert: vgl. Kavafis (2004) 129 f.



Bruder Raymond heiratete, sowie weiteren ausländischen und griechischen Freunden rezitierte er dort in altgriechischer Kleidung antike Lyrik und trug byzantinische Kirchengesänge vor.<sup>51</sup> In den zwanziger Jahren arbeiteten Sikelianos und Eva Palmer daran, in der antiken Orakelstätte von Delphi einen spirituellen Versammlungsort für Vertreter aus allen Ländern zum Zweck der Völkerverständigung und des Weltfriedens zu begründen. Ihre Bestrebungen fanden 1927 und 1930 mit der Inauguration der „Delphischen Festspiele“ und der Aufführung von Aischylos' Tragödien *Prometheus* und *Hiketiden* ihren Höhepunkt.<sup>52</sup> Doch führten diese lebensreformerischen Bestrebungen, die antike Tradition unter humanistischen Zeichen an ihrem Geburtsort erneut ins Leben zu rufen – trotz des großen Erfolges der Festspiele – den Dichter und seine Frau in den finanziellen Ruin und konnten deshalb keine Fortsetzung finden.

Seine ersten Gedichte veröffentlichte Sikelianos 1902 in der kurzlebigen Zeitschrift *Dionysos* (1901–1902), welche u. a. durch zahlreiche Übersetzungen von Werken aus der zeitgenössischen europäischen Literatur zur künstlerisch schöpferischen Gestaltung der griechischen literarischen Produktion beitragen sollte. Nicht zuletzt stellte diese europaweit wohl erste Kunst- und Literaturzeitschrift, die den Namen des antiken Gottes als Titel trug, entscheidende Weichen für die Verbreitung der Schriften Nietzsches sowie für die Popularisierung des Umgangs des deutschen Philosophen mit der Figur des Dionysos in Griechenland.<sup>53</sup> Für den in der Pose eines *poeta vates* auftretenden

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- 51 Sikelianos lernte Isadora Duncan während ihres ersten Griechenlandaufenthaltes im Herbst 1903 kennen. Ende desselben Jahres kam seine Schwester Penelope mit Isadoras Bruder Raymond zusammen. Die beiden führten ein bukolisches Leben und trugen – wie Isadora – selbstgefertigte altgriechische Kleider. Dieser Kleidungsstil erhielt von der davon verblüfften griechischen Bevölkerung die Bezeichnung „à la Duncan“. Schließlich folgte Penelope Raymond in die USA und nach Europa, wo sie griechische Volkslieder und byzantinische Kirchenmusik bei diversen Aufführungen vortrug; Angelos Sikelianos lernte Eva Palmer (1874–1952) 1906 in Isadoras Haus am Hymettos kennen und heiratete sie ein Jahr später; siehe dazu die autobiographischen Berichte von Palmer-Sikelianos (1993) und Duncan (1927) 116–135.
- 52 Aischylos' *Prometheus* wurde 1927 sowie erneut 1930 (gemeinsam mit den *Hiketiden*) aufgeführt. Während der Vorbereitungen der ersten Festspiele, 1926, war der Komponist Richard Strauss (1864–1949) Sikelianos' Gast in Delphi. Für die Festspiele von 1929 – die nicht stattfanden – plante der Dichter eine Aufführung der *Bakchen* des Euripides; zu den Festspielen siehe Flashar (1991/2009) 156–158 sowie Palmer-Sikelianos (1993) 103–120, 129–142.
- 53 Übersetzt wurden in der Zeitschrift *Dionysos* u. a. Ausschnitte aus der *Geburt der Tragödie*, der *Fröhlichen Wissenschaft*, der *Götzen-Dämmerung* und aus *Also sprach Zarathustra*. Eine weitere Zeitschrift namens *Dionysos* (1919–1920), die alle zwei Monate erschien, wurde später von Griechen in Konstantinopel herausgegeben. In Deutschland dagegen erscheint erst 1925 (im Berliner Dionysos-Verlag) die monatliche Zeitschrift *Dionysos. Schöpferisches Menschentum in Philosophie, Literatur, Musik, Theater*. Zur zeitgenössischen

Sikelianos wurde schließlich dieser Gott zum Emblem seiner Poetik, durch welche er sowohl die neugriechische Dichtung als auch das nationale religiöse Bewußtsein mittels lebensphilosophischer Anschauung zu erneuern strebte. Insbesondere in der überlieferten Figur des von den Titanen zerstückelten und von Zeus wieder ins Leben gerufenen Dionysos-Zagreus sah er ein universales Symbol für die verborgene und mit poetischen Mitteln zu propagierende Einheit des mannigfaltigen Lebens: „Oh, du Logos-Dionysos! / [...] / Universale Symphonie! Meine heilige, ekstatische Raserei! / Göttliche Einheit tief in mir.“<sup>54</sup>

1915 publizierte Sikelianos den ersten Band seiner Gedichtsammlung *Prolog zum Leben* (*Πρόλογος στη Ζωή*) mit dem stark an Giannopoulos' Lieblingsthematik erinnernden Titel „Das Bewußtsein meiner Erde“ (*Ἡ Συνείδηση τῆς Γῆς μου*).<sup>55</sup> Der *Prolog zum Leben* wurde erst 1946 abgeschlossen und beginnt mit dem Gedicht „Ich reise mit Dionysos“ (*Ταξιδεύω με τὸν Διόνυσσο*), in dem der Dichter selbst als Ruderer im Schiff des Gottes auftritt. Gleich im ersten Vers wird Dionysos als „aufrecht stehender Wächter der Natur“ (*Ὁρθιέ Σκοπέ τῆς Φύσης*) angerufen. Da das Substantiv *σκοπός* nicht allein ‚Wächter‘, sondern auch ‚Melodie‘ und ‚Ziel‘ bedeutet, wird der Gott vom Dichter zugleich als „Melodie“ und „Ziel“ der Natur bestimmt. Auch Sikelianos – wie bereits Rangavis, von dem er wiederum lyrische Elemente einbaut oder adaptiert und einige Verse paraphrasiert – greift auf die überlieferten Erzählungen im siebten Homerischen Hymnos, bei Ovid und Ps.-Apollodor (*Bibl.* 3.5.3) zurück.<sup>56</sup> Dionysos ist bei Sikelianos jedoch nicht lediglich der Verursacher miraculöser Verwandlungen, die zugleich selbstreferenziell auf das Potential der eigenen Dichtung verweisen. Vielmehr wird

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Prominenz von Nietzsches Begriff des Dionysischen, am Beispiel von Benn: Schlesier (1993b).

- 54 Sikelianos (1965–1969) III, 234 („Apollon Dionysodotos“ [*Ἀπόλλων Διονυσόδοτος*, 1946]): ὦ Λόγε–Διόνυσε! / [...] / Συμφωνία συμπαντική! / Ἱερό ἐκστατικό μου μένος / Θεία ἐνόητα βραδιά μου. Zur zentralen Stellung des Dionysos-Zagreus in Sikelianos' Prosa siehe Vogiatzoglou (1995) 96.
- 55 Sikelianos hegte für Giannopoulos eine große Bewunderung. Fünf Tage nach dessen Freitod widmete er ihm ein Gedicht in der Athener Zeitung *Akropolis* mit dem Titel „Apollinisches Klagelied“ (*Ἀπολλώνιος θρήνος*), das in Sikelianos (1965–1969) II, 63–67 („Periklis Giannopoulos“) wiederabgedruckt wurde; siehe auch den Giannopoulos gewidmeten, gleichnamigen Aufsatz von 1919, in Sikelianos (1978–1985) I, 65–78; die anderen Bände des *Prologs zum Leben* sind: *Das Bewußtsein meines Volkes* (*Ἡ Συνείδηση τῆς Φυλῆς μου*, 1915), *Das Bewußtsein der Frau* (*Ἡ Συνείδηση τῆς Γυναίκας*, 1916), *Das Bewußtsein des Glaubens* (*Ἡ Συνείδηση τῆς Πίστης*, 1917) und *Das Bewußtsein der persönlichen Schöpfung* (*Ἡ Συνείδηση τῆς Προσωπικῆς Δημιουργίας*, 1946).
- 56 Zum Verhältnis zwischen Rangavis' und Sikelianos' Dionysos-Gedichten siehe Fylaktou (2003) 123–126, 423; zu weiteren antiken Quellen, die Sikelianos hinsichtlich der Dionysos-Thematik verwendet, siehe ebd. 94–142, 419–427.

Dionysos mittels Appropriation christlich-liturgischer Sprache<sup>57</sup> vom Dichter selbst in eine synkretistische Erlöserfigur verwandelt, welche die (von ihm privilegierte) pagane Vergangenheit und die christlich-orthodoxe Tradition, als homogenes Erbe begriffen, programmatisch in sich vereint. So kann der Gott in weiteren Gedichten etwa als „Dionysos-Jesus“ vorkommen oder als „gekreuzigter Bakchos“ apostrophiert werden,<sup>58</sup> was eine Paganisierung des konsequent mit Dionysos identifizierten Jesus Christus und – umgekehrt – eine Christianisierung des antiken Gottes zur Folge hat. Daraus resultiert schließlich Sikelianos' Konstruktion eines universalgültigen neugriechischen Gottes.

Griechenland durchläuft in den dreißiger Jahren, nach dem verlorenen Krieg von 1922 gegen die Türken und dem anschließenden Flüchtlingsstrom der aus Kleinasien vertriebenen christlichen (aber nicht ausschließlich griechischsprachigen) Bevölkerung, drastische demographische Veränderungen.<sup>59</sup> Auf das endgültige Scheitern der ‚Großen Idee‘ und einen daraufhin einsetzenden Pessimismus, der sich literarisch vor allem in der Dichtung und im Freitod von Kostas Karyotakis (1896–1928)<sup>60</sup> versinnbildlicht, reagiert der spätere Litera-

57 Siehe dazu Hirst (2004) 141–280, bes. 255–280 („Christ and Dionysus“).

58 Sikelianos (1965–1969) III, 203–224 („Dionysos-Jesus“ [Διόνυσος-Ἰησοῦς, 1917]); ebd. III, 248 („Der verwirklichte Körper“ [Τὸ κατορθωμένο Σῶμα, 1946]).

59 Der Bevölkerungsaustausch, der 1923 zwischen Griechenland und der Türkei stattfand, wurde auf der Basis der Religionszugehörigkeit entschieden. Über eine Million Griechisch-Orthodoxe kamen nach Griechenland, während fast vierhunderttausend Moslems in die Türkei vertrieben wurden. Konstantinopel/Istanbul, die Inseln Imbros und Tenedos sowie die griechischen Gebiete in Thrakien waren vom Austausch ausgenommen.

60 Karyotakis ist die Oper *Die Metamorphosen des Dionysos* (*Οἱ Μεταμορφώσεις τοῦ Διονύσου*) des Komponisten Mikis Theodorakis (geb. 1925) von 1985 gewidmet. In diese Oper, die nicht zuletzt eine Kritik an den politischen Machtverhältnissen im Land sowie einen Kommentar zum Verhältnis von Kunst und Politik bietet, ist die Vertonung mehrerer Gedichte von Karyotakis einbezogen. Die Oper beginnt und endet mit dem Freitod des Dichters, der zu den Hauptfiguren gehört. Dionysos, die zentrale Figur der Oper, führt das Publikum durch wichtige historisch-politische Stationen des modernen griechischen Staates, wie die der bayerischen Monarchie, des Widerstandskampfes im Zweiten Weltkrieg und des anschließenden Bürgerkriegs (1946–1949) sowie der Militärdiktatur: siehe Theodorakis (1995). – Aus demselben Jahr, 1985, stammt auch der Film *Mania* des Regisseurs Giorgos Panousopoulos (geb. 1942), der von einer erfolgreichen Geschäftsfrau handelt, die auf einem sommerlichen Spaziergang durch den Athener Nationalpark gemeinsam mit Böcken und Satyrn zu rasen beginnt. – Der Wettkampf zwischen Mikis Theodorakis und einem weiteren bedeutenden griechischen Komponisten des 20. Jahrhunderts, Manos Chatzidakis (1925–1994), steht implizit im Zentrum einer Adaption der Aristophanes-Komödie *Die Frösche* im äußerst populären griechischen Schattenspiel ‚Karakiozis‘. Diese wurde 1978, einige Jahre nach der Wiederherstellung der Demokratie in Griechenland,

turnobelpreisträger Odysseas ELYTIS (1911–1996)<sup>61</sup> in seinem Werk. Der auf Kreta geborene Dichter veröffentlicht 1936 drei Gedichte unter dem programmatischen Titel *Orientierungen* (*Προσανατολισμοί*). Erneut handelt es sich hierbei um den seitens eines Dichters unternommenen Versuch, im Gegenzug zu westeuropäischen Griechenland-Bildern das ‚wahre Gesicht‘ des Landes zu entdecken und diesem durch neue literarisch-künstlerische Mittel Ausdruck zu verleihen.<sup>62</sup> Die *Orientierungen* schließen mit dem Gedicht „Dionysos“, in dessen Zentrum ein Aufruf zum nationalen Zusammenschluß in Erwartung einer neuen Zeit steht:

Mit rituellen Schritten in geschmeidigen März-Begrüßungen die  
Stunden kommen, die unsere Stunden liebten!

[...]

Und morgen ist Tagesanbruch – doch heute werden wir  
unsere Stunden als Zündung dem entschlossenen Vorstoß anbieten

[...].

Das Pflügen der Tapferkeit ist für Kriegslieder grünen Laubes  
gebogen mit Wind und Wort!<sup>63</sup>

Unter dem Eindruck des französischen Surrealismus, den er einige Jahre zuvor durch den Dichter Andreas Empeirikos (1901–1975) kennenlernte, wendet

aufgeführt. Dionysos wird in diesem Stück als griechischer Kulturminister dargestellt, der gemeinsam mit dem Lumpen tragenden und ewig hungernden Helden dieses Schattenspiels, Karagiozis, in die Unterwelt zieht, um die Zukunft der griechischen Musik und Kultur zu retten. So wie in Aristophanes' Komödie die Tragödiendichter Aischylos und Euripides mit ihren Versen gegeneinander antreten, kämpfen hier die Figuren des Aischylakis (Theodorakis) und Euripidakis (Chatzidakis) mit ihrer Musik um den Sieg. Schließlich verleiht der Kulturminister Dionysos den Sieg an Aischylakis, da seine Musik als pompöser und daher für eine drastische Überwindung der in Griechenland herrschenden Kulturkrise als angemessener empfunden wird.

- 61 Elytis erhielt den Nobelpreis 1979. Der erste griechische Dichter, dem diese Auszeichnung verliehen wurde, war Georgios Seferis (1900–1971) im Jahre 1963. Sikelianos wurde zwar 1946 für den Nobelpreis nominiert, in diesem Jahr ging der Preis jedoch an Hermann Hesse.
- 62 Vgl. Elytis (1975) 631. Der Titel „Orientierungen“ weist auf den Sonnenaufgang (gr. ἡ ἀνατολή τοῦ ἡλίου) bzw. auf die Sonne hin, die in Elytis späterer Dichtung zu einem der mächtigsten, angeblich spezifisch griechischen Symbole erhoben wird. (Die geographische Bezeichnung ‚Anatolien‘ verweist im übrigen im Griechischen ebenfalls auf den Sonnenaufgang, und damit auf den ‚Orient‘.) – Es ist kein Zufall, daß das in Liedern besungene Emblem der Panhellenischen Sozialistischen Bewegung (Pa.So.K), einer Partei, die 1981 die erste sozialistische Regierung in der Geschichte Griechenlands stellte und seitdem – mit einigen Pausen – das Land regiert, die aufgehende Sonne ist.
- 63 Elytis (1936) 623, 627: Μὲ βῆμα τελετουργικὸ σὲ λυγερὴ προὔπαντησῃ μαρτίων οἱ / ὥρες ἔρχονται ποῦ ἀγάπησαν τὶς ὥρες μας! [...] Κι αὔριο εἶναι πρῶτὶ – μὰ ἐμεῖς σήμερα θὰ προσφέρουμε / τὶς ὥρες μας προσάναμμα στὴν ἀποφασισμένη προέλαση / [...] / Τὰ ὄργωματα τῆς λεβεντιάς εἶναι γιὰ θούρια πρασινάδας / λυγισμένης μὲ ἄνεμο καὶ λόγο!; eine englische Übersetzung des Gedichts: Elytis (1997) 20–22.

Elytis in diesem Gedicht ein Verfahren der Verbindung und verdichtenden Gruppierung von Sinnelementen sowie eine stark erotisierte Sprache an, um die Intensität dieser Erwartung sprachlich zu evozieren. Fokussiert wird dabei – genau wie bei Giannopoulos – auf die Natur und ihre Metamorphosen, die anders als bei Sikelianos ohne (zumindest ohne deutlich erkennbare) Anspielungen auf die antike Überlieferungstradition dionysisch aufgeladen werden. Dionysos, der abgesehen vom Titel nicht namentlich vorkommt, steht als Chiffre für eine gemeinschaftsstiftende Aufbruchsstimmung, deren Ausgang vorläufig offen bleibt. In der Realität jedoch sah sich die griechische Gesellschaft einige Wochen nach der Veröffentlichung dieses Gedichtes, am 4. August 1936, mit der Etablierung der faschistoiden Diktatur von Ioannis Metaxas konfrontiert.<sup>64</sup>

Fünf Jahre nach Elytis' *Orientierungen*, 1941, befindet sich Griechenland unter einer dreifachen Besatzung, nämlich durch die Deutschen, die Italiener und die Bulgaren. Sikelianos läßt im Mai 1942 die Gedichtsammlung *Akritika*, welche sich durch diesen Titel in die Tradition der gleichnamigen byzantinischen Volksliedsammlungen über die legendären Grenzwächter – die heldenhaften *Akrites*<sup>65</sup> – stellte, in wenigen handschriftlichen Exemplaren klandestin zirkulieren.<sup>66</sup> Eines der darin enthaltenen Gedichte trägt den Titel „Dionysos in der Wiege“ (Διόνυσος ἐπὶ λίκνῳ), das zu Weihnachten 1941 geschrieben wurde. In diesem allegorischen Gedicht wird die bereits angebrochene Besatzungszeit als „Mutter-Nacht“ angesprochen, die einen göttlichen Säugling gebiert. Sikelianos greift auf die orthodoxe Kirchenmusik zurück und paraphrasiert den letzten Vers des Weihnachts-Kontakion mit „Ein Kind wird diese Nacht geboren, wahrlich, jung, der seit Ewigkeiten Gott“<sup>67</sup>, um schließlich Dionysos-Christus anzurufen: „Mein lieblicher Säugling, mein Dionysos und Christus“.<sup>68</sup> Wenn der Dichter und seine Landsleute diesen

64 Der General und Politiker Ioannis Metaxas (1871–1941) war der Urheber des Ideologems von der „Dritten Griechischen Kultur“ (Τρίτος Ἑλληνικός Πολιτισμός), welche der antiken und byzantinischen Kultur folgen solle. Zum antiken Vorbild wurde – wie im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland – Sparta erhoben: siehe dazu Carabott (2003) und Hamilakis (2007) 169–204 („Spartan Visions: Antiquity and the Metaxas Dictatorship“).

65 Siehe dazu F. Moore (2010).

66 Die fünf Gedichte der *Akritika*-Sammlung wurden 1944 unter dem Titel *Serment sur le Styx* ins Französische übersetzt: siehe Sikélianos (1944).

67 Sikelianos (1965–1969) V, 152: Παιδι γεννιέται ἀπόψε, ἀλήθεια, νέο, / ὁ ἀπ' αἰώνων θεός [...]. Im Weihnachts-Kontakion heißt es: Δι' ἡμας γὰρ ἐγγενήθη, παιδίον νέον, ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων θεός. („Denn für uns ist geboren als junges Kindlein, der vor Ewigkeiten Gott.“); vgl. dazu auch Hirst (2004) 256 f. – ‚Kontakion‘ ist die Bezeichnung für eine frühe Form der byzantinischen Hymnendichtung.

68 Sikelianos (1965–1969) V, 153: Γλυκό μου βρέφος, Διόνυσέ μου καὶ Χριστέ μου. Im letzten Vers (ebd. 154) heißt es dann: Γλυκό μας βρέφος, Διόνυσέ μας καὶ Χριστέ μας!

Säugling vor den „Wölfen“, d. h. den Besitzern, die ihn während der langen, finsternen Nacht der Okkupation bedrohen, beschützen – so heißt es im Gedicht weiter –, werde das Tageslicht der Freiheit zurückkehren, und die Gefallenen würden im Kampf für das Vaterland durch die triumphierende Stimme des Gottes wiederauferstehen.

Als ultimatives Symbol des Widerstandskampfes, der Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit von fremder Herrschaft sowie als nationaler Patron fungiert Dionysos schließlich in einem weiteren patriotischen Gedicht von 1945, in dem die Befreiung der Dodekanes von den Italienern als apokalyptische Vision besungen wird.<sup>69</sup> Der hier beschriebene „alte“ (ἀρχαίος) und „ewige Gott“ (αἰώνιος θεός) Dionysos erscheint in seinem Schiff auf der „heiligen Ägäis“.<sup>70</sup> Nachdem er die tyrrhenischen Seeräuber, welche hier die Fremdherrscher symbolisieren, ins Meer vertrieben hat, fordert er gemeinsam mit Johannes von (der nun befreiten Insel) Patmos die Menschheit auf, die Ausrufe „Halleluja“ sowie „*Euoï* und *Euan*“ gleichzeitig ertönen zu lassen.<sup>71</sup>

Sikelianos verband eine enge Freundschaft mit dem kretischen Schriftsteller Nikos KAZANTZAKIS (1883–1957).<sup>72</sup> 1914 verbrachten beide auf der Suche

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(„Unser lieblicher Säugling, unser Dionysos und Christus!“). In diese Tradition läßt sich die 1972 während der Militärdiktatur erschienene Schallplatte des Komponisten Stavros Xarchakos (geb. 1939) *Dionysos, unser Sommer* (Διώνυσε, καλοκαίρι μας) einfügen. In dem gleichnamigen Lied wird der Gott als „unser Mitstreiter im Krieg“ (συμπολεμιστή μας) angerufen, d. h. als Mitstreiter im Kampf gegen das im Land herrschende Junta-Regime. – Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte des Dionysos in Deutschland und England als ‚god of liberty‘ in soziopolitischer Hinsicht vgl. Benne (2010).

69 Sikelianos (1965–1969) V, 166–169 („Freie Dodekanes“ [Ἐλεύτερα Δωδεκάνησα, 1945]). Die Angliederung der Dodekanes an Griechenland erfolgte zwei Jahre später, 1947. Dies war die bis heute letzte territoriale Expansion des Landes. Die in den fünfziger Jahren (vor allem seitens griechisch-zypriotischer militärischer Organisationen) angestellten Versuche, Zypern Griechenland anzugliedern, scheiterten 1960 mit der Gründung des unabhängigen Staates Zypern und schließlich mit der türkischen Invasion und Besetzung des Nordteils der Insel im Jahre 1974, die zur Inselteilung führten.

70 Ebd. V, 167 f.

71 Ebd. V, 168.

72 Kazantzakis wuchs auf Kreta auf, das damals noch zum Osmanischen Reich gehörte. Er studierte in Athen und Paris, wo er u. a. Henri Bergsons Vorlesungen besuchte. Bergson wird er später gemeinsam mit Homer und Dante zu seinen größten Lehrern zählen. 1909 promovierte er an der Universität von Athen mit einer Schrift über Nietzsche. Später übersetzte er dessen Werke *Die Geburt der Tragödie* und *Also sprach Zarathustra* ins Griechische. In seiner Berliner Wohnung – in der Nähe des heutigen Campus der Freien Universität – entstanden 1923 die ersten Entwürfe seines Werkes *Ἀσκητική. Salvatores Dei* (1927) – ins Deutsche als *Rettet Gott* übersetzt –, das stark von seiner Schopenhauer- und Nietzsche-Lektüre beeinflusst ist und sein persönliches Credo enthält; zu Kazantzakis als „Nietzsches Fortsetzung in Griechenland“ siehe den Aufsatz des Altertumswissenschaftlers und Dionysosforschers Karl Kerényi (1897–



nach griechischer religiöser und spiritueller Tradition einen Monat in den Klöstern des Athos-Berges und unternahmen auch später zahlreiche gemeinsame Reisen in Griechenland, auf denen sie historische und mythische Stätten besuchten. Stark geprägt von der Lebensphilosophie Henri Bergsons, aber auch durch Marxismus und Buddhismus, vor allem jedoch durch Nietzsche, schuf Kazantzakis in seinem Spätwerk das Bild einer Lebenseinstellung, die sich erstaunlicherweise außerhalb Griechenlands als ‚typisch neugriechisch‘ etablieren sollte.

In seinem weltweit bekannten Roman *Leben und Werk des Alexis Zorbas* (*Βίος και Πολιτεία τοῦ Ἀλέξη Ζορμπᾶ*)<sup>73</sup> von 1946 – der spätestens seit der äußerst erfolgreichen Verfilmung durch den zypriotischen Regisseur Michalis Kakogiannis (1922–2011) von 1964 das populäre Griechenland-Bild im Ausland beharrlich bestimmt – ist die Figur des Lebenskünstlers Zorbas insgesamt dionysisch, d. h. hier: vitalistisch aufgeladen, und auf Dionysos selbst wird sogar an zwei Stellen angespielt, ja in einem Fall wird er direkt erwähnt. Bereits zu Beginn des zweiten Kapitels liefert der Erzähler eine schwärmerische Beschreibung des ägäischen Meeres, die noch immer zahlreiche Touristen dazu bewegt, mit Kazantzakis’ Buch im Gepäck – Altertumsforschern gleich, die mit Pausanias’ *Beschreibung Griechenlands* in der Hand das südliche Festland bereisen – das Land und seine Inseln zu erkunden:

Meer, herbstliche Lieblichkeit, lichtgebadete Inseln, ein feiner durchsichtiger Regenschleier, der die unsterbliche Nacktheit Griechenlands bedeckte. Glückliche sei der Mensch, denke ich, der sich würdig erwiesen hat, vor seinem Tod die Ägäis zu befahren. [...] Nirgendwo anders wird man so friedlich und behaglich aus der Wirklichkeit in den Traum versetzt; die Grenzen verschwimmen, und die Masten selbst des altersschwächsten Schiffes treiben Knospen und Weintrauben. Wahrlich, hier in Griechenland ist das Wunder die gesicherte Blüte der Notwendigkeit.<sup>74</sup>

Mehrere Kapitel später wird von einem Kirchenbesuch auf Kreta Folgendes berichtet:

Eine Ikone des heiligen Bakchos, die ich in der Kirche sah, hatte mein Herz von Glückseligkeit überströmen lassen. Alles, was mich innerlich zutiefst bewegt: die

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1973): Kerényi (1960). Zu Kerényis wissenschafts- und kulturhistorischer Stellung siehe Schlesier/Sanchiño Martínez (2006).

73 Der deutsche bzw. französische Buchtitel lautet schlicht *Alexis Zorbas* (bzw. *Sorbas*). Die englische Ausgabe trägt den Titel *Zorba the Greek*.

74 Kazantzakis (1946/1968) 30: Θάλασσα, χινοπωριάτικη γλύκα, φωτολουσμένα νησιά, διάφανο πέπλο ἀπὸ φιλή βροχούλα που ἔντυε τὴν ἀθάνατη γύμνια τῆς Ἑλλάδας. Χαρὰ στὸν ἄνθρωπο, συλλογίζομαι, ποὺ ἀξιώθηκε, προτοῦ πεθάνει ν’ ἀρμενίσει τὸ Αἰγαῖο. [...]. Πουθενὰ ἀλλοῦ δὲ μετατοπίζεσαι τόσο γαληνὰ καὶ πιὸ ἄνετα ἀπὸ τὴν ἀλήθεια στ’ ὄνειρο· τὰ σύνορα ἀραιώνουν καὶ τὰ κατάρτια καὶ τοῦ πιὸ σαράβαλου καραβιοῦ πετοῦν βλαστοὺς καὶ σταφύλλια. Ἀλήθεια, ἐδῶ στὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸ θάμα εἶναι ὁ σίγουρος ἀνθὸς τῆς ἀνάγκης.

Einheit, die Fortsetzung der Bemühung, der Hergang der seelischen Unruhe und des glühenden Verlangens, offenbarte sich erneut vor mir; gesegnet sei diese zierliche Ikone des christlichen Heiligen mit den Jünglingslocken, die ihm wie schwarze Trauben über die Stirn hängen! Der Grieche Dionysos und der heilige Bakchos vereinigten sich, sie hatten dasselbe Gesicht; unter dem Weinlaub sowie unter der Kutte wogte derselbe begehrenswerte, von Sonne durchglühte Körper – Griechenland.<sup>75</sup>

Während in der ersten Passage die Erfahrung einer Überfahrt auf dem ägäischen Meer – wiederum in Form einer unverkennbaren Anspielung auf den siebten Homerischen Hymnos – mit einer Epiphanie des (hier anonymisierten) Dionysos gleichgesetzt wird,<sup>76</sup> macht Kazantzakis in der zweiten Passage einen weiteren, entscheidenden Schritt. Durch die pathetische Beschreibung der Heiligen-Ikone soll nämlich ein scheinbar offenkundiger Beweis für die Einheit, Kontinuität und Beständigkeit der gesamten griechischen Tradition erbracht werden. Der christliche Heilige verfügt nicht nur über die gleichen physischen Merkmale und denselben Namen – „Dionysos“ und „Bakchos“ werden im Griechischen immer synonym verwendet – wie der pagane Gott. Beide verschmelzen in Kazantzakis’ Imagination vielmehr in einer weiteren Figur, welche die pagane Vergangenheit und die christliche Gegenwart in sich harmonisch vereint, zu einer personalen Gottheit stilisiert wird und letztlich das ‚Land der Griechen‘ selbst ist. Dionysos – pagan („Grieche“) und christlich zugleich – verleiht dieser Gottheit ein Gesicht (πρόσωπο). Kazantzakis’ ewiges, verehrtes Griechenland trägt die Maske (gr. προσωπεῖον) des Dionysos.

In den bisher dargestellten literarisch-politischen Zusammenhang gehört auch das 1965 publizierte Werk *Dionysiaka: Aspects of the Popular Thracian Religion of To-Day* (gr. Originaltitel: *Διονυσιακά: ἔκ τῆς λαϊκῆς λατρείας τῶν Θρακῶν*, 1963)<sup>77</sup> der Ethnologin und Theaterwissenschaftlerin Katerina I. KAKOURI

75 Kazantzakis (1946/1968) 239: “Ἐνα κόνισμα τοῦ ἀγίου Βάκχου, πού ’χα δεῖ μέσα στήν ἐκκλησία, εἶχε ξεχειλίσει τήν καρδιά μου εὐδαιμονία. Ὁ, τι βαθύτατα μέ συγκινεῖ: ἡ ἐνόητα, ἡ συνέχεια τῆς προσπάθειας, ὁ εἰρμός τῆς λαχτάρης, ξεσκεπάστηκε πάλι μπροστά μου· ὅς εἶναι καλά τὸ μικρὸ ἐτούτο χαριτωμένο κόνισμα τοῦ χριστιανοῦ ἀγίου μέ τὰ ἐφηβικά σγουρά μαλλιά, πού κρέμονται γύρω ἀπὸ τὸ μέτωπό του σὰ μαῦρα τσαμπιά. Ἐλλήνας Διόνυσος κι ἅγιος Βάκχος ἔσμιγαν, εἶχαν τὸ ἴδιο πρόσωπο· κάτω ἀπὸ τ’ ἀμπελόφυλλα καὶ τὰ ράσα τρικύμιζε τὸ ἴδιο λαχταριστὸ ἠλιοκαμένο κορμί – ἡ Ἑλλάδα.

76 In gewisser Weise antizipiert Kazantzakis mit dieser Beschreibung Motti späterer Kampagnen des griechischen Tourismusministeriums – z.B. „Live your Myth in Greece“ –, die Griechenland zu einem Traumland stilisieren, in dem der Mythos zur Realität erwachen kann.

77 Die englische Übersetzung von 1965 – aus der im Folgenden zitiert wird – ist eine zusammenfassende Version der zweibändigen griechischen Ausgabe und wurde von Kakouri selbst erstellt.



(geb. 1912), die während einer frühen kurzen Karriere als Schauspielerin bei den von Sikelianos und seiner Frau Eva organisierten „Delphischen Festspielen“ in den Aufführungen von Aischylos' *Prometheus* mitgewirkt hatte.<sup>78</sup> Bereits der Titel dieser Studie, der dem gleichnamigen Epos des spätantiken Schriftstellers Nonnos entlehnt ist, kündigt an: hier hat alles mit Dionysos zu tun. Kakouri setzt Viziynos' Arbeit im großen Stil fort, indem sie mit dem von Martin P. Nilsson (1874–1967) geprägten Begriff der „popular“ bzw. „folk religion“<sup>79</sup> operiert. Sie beschreibt und interpretiert moderne Feste, die auf dem griechischen Gebiet Makedoniens von Abkömmlingen thrakischer Flüchtlinge begangen werden. Neben dem oben genannten *Kalogeros*-Fest wird ein weiteres, damit in enge Verbindung gesetztes Fest namens *Anastenaria* behandelt, das am 21. Mai – am Tag der Heiligen Konstantin und seiner Mutter Helena – stattfindet und von der exklusiven Eingeweihtengruppe der *Anastenarides* inszeniert wird. Elemente des *Anastenaria*-Festes wie etwa die rituelle Tieropferung, das ekstatische Tanzen über glühenden Kohlen oder das Bergsteigen (ὄρειβασία), bei dem die Heiligen-Ikonen umhergetragen werden, aber auch die Struktur der *Anastenarides*-Gruppe selbst, die einem dionysischen Thiasos ähneln soll, stehen im Zentrum von Kakouris Darstellung.<sup>80</sup> In ihrer Studie, die durch selbstaufgenommenes Bildmaterial angereichert ist, werden alle vollzogenen Riten der beschriebenen Feste in tiefster Überzeugung als „relics of the Thracian worship of Dionysus which are still full of life“<sup>81</sup> interpretiert. *Dionysiaka* – eine Dissertationsschrift – wird bis heute oft rezipiert, wenn es um Aspekte des neugriechischen Volksglaubens geht, die in die pagane Vergangenheit zurückreichen und somit die nahezu zum Dogma er-

78 Kakouri ist in Ypati, einem kleinen Ort auf dem südlichen griechischen Festland, geboren. Sie ist Mitte der neunziger Jahre in Athen gestorben – das genaue Jahr konnte ich nicht ermitteln. Sie publizierte folkloristische Studien wie *Death and Resurrection: Concerning dramatized ceremonies of the Greek popular worship* (Athen 1965) – dieses Buch wird im übrigen in Kerényis *Dionysos*-Studie von 1976 zitiert: Kerényi (1976/1994) 244 – und Schriften zur *Vorgeschichte des Theaters* (Athen 1974). In Aischylos' *Prometheus* spielte sie die Rolle der Io.

79 Siehe Nilsson (1940).

80 Vgl. Kakouri (1965) 2 und 9–11. Das *Anastenaria*-Fest verfolgte Kakouri selbst in Hagia Heleni, in der Nähe von Serres. Kakouri ist nicht die erste, die dieses Fest dokumentierte. Bereits 1873 publizierte Anastasios Chourmouziadis die Schrift *Über die Anastenaria und einige andere Bräuche und Aberglauben (Περὶ τῶν Ἀνασταναρῶν καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ἐθίμων καὶ προλήψεων*, Konstantinopel 1873); zur Rezeption des Festes sowie zu weiterer Bibliographie siehe Danforth (1984) und Puchner (2009) 193–212 („*Anastenaria/nestinari* – Ekstatischer Feuerlauf im Hinterland des Schwarzmeeres und der nördlichen Ägäis. Anmerkungen zu Rezeption und Geschichte eines Ikonenritus“); vgl. auch den affirmativen Umgang des Dionysosforschers Henri Jeanmaire (1884–1960) mit den (griechischen) Berichten über dieses Fest: Jeanmaire (1951) 183–185.

81 Kakouri (1965) 6; siehe dagegen Danforth (1984) 74–79.

starrte These von der bruchlosen Kontinuität wissenschaftlich belegen sollen.<sup>82</sup> Nicht zuletzt hat Kakouri mit ihrem Werk zur populären (und von den griechischen Medien weiterhin gepflegten) Vorstellung beigetragen, viele der insbesondere nordgriechischen Karnevalsfeite seien die direkte moderne Fortsetzung der antiken Dionysosfeite.<sup>83</sup>



Alle hier behandelten Schriftsteller und Dichter gehören insofern zu den bedeutendsten Intellektuellen in der Geschichte des griechischen Nationalstaates, als sie jeweils einen entscheidenden Beitrag zur Herausbildung des moderngriechischen Nationalbewußtseins sowie einer kollektiven Identität geleistet haben. Ihre Gegenwartsentwürfe und Zukunftsvisionen beruhen jedoch auf dem gemeinsamen Nenner des bis heute für politische Zwecke verwendeten und weitverbreiteten hellenozentrischen Kontinuitätstheorems. So mag es nicht verwundern, daß sowohl die zum Teil eng befreundeten, zugleich aber auch stark untereinander konkurrierenden griechischen Lyriker des 20. Jahrhunderts, welche in der breiten Bevölkerung eine außergewöhnliche Popularität – vor allem durch Vertonungen ihrer Gedichte – genießen, als auch eine radikale Persönlichkeit wie der Essayist Giannopoulos – der im übrigen Sikelianos und Elytis zutiefst beeinflusste – von Vertretern diametral entgegengesetzter politischer Richtungen rezipiert werden.<sup>84</sup>

Die hier präsentierten Werke mögen größtenteils epigonal und kitschig wirken, ja sogar vormodern anmuten. Der darin verarbeitete, weitergesponnene und schließlich auf das moderne Griechenland projizierte Mythos von

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82 Ein prominentes Beispiel für solche Studien ist die zuerst auf Deutsch publizierte Arbeit des klassischen Philologen Ioannis Th. Kakridis (1901–1992) *Die alten Hellenen im neugriechischen Volksglauben* (München 1966; griechische Übersetzung: Athen 1978), das in der Tradition von Wachsmuth (1864), Hesseling (1897) oder etwa Lawson (1910) steht. Gemeinsam mit Kazantzakis lieferte Kakridis 1955 eine Übertragung von Homers *Ilias* in die Dimotiki (die sog. Volkssprache, die 1976 als offizielle griechische Amtssprache durchgesetzt wurde). Auf Grundlage dieser Übertragung wird dieses Epos seit Anfang der achtziger Jahre und bis heute in griechischen Gymnasien gelehrt.

83 Ähnliches gilt auch für das Nachbarland Bulgarien: In der südlich von Sofia liegenden Stadt Pernik wird seit 1966 Ende Januar ein folkloristisches Maskenfestival veranstaltet (<http://www.surva.org/>). Die dort im Zentrum stehende Figur des *Kuker* ist das bulgarische Pendant zum nordgriechischen *Kalogeros*: siehe dazu Puchner (2009) 287. Auf einigen Internet-Seiten, die für dieses (seit 1985 unter internationaler Beteiligung stattfindende) Maskenfestival werben, wird über das prominente Brauchzeremoniell um den *Kuker* behauptet, es sei bei den Einheimischen bis heute unter der Bezeichnung „Spiele des Dionysos“ bekannt: vgl. z. B. <http://carnaval.com/bulgaria/pernik-carnival.html>. Nach dem Vorbild antiker Dionysosfeite wurden die Maskenspiele in Pernik in den Jahren 1996–2008 sogar trieterisch – d. h. alle zwei Jahre – gefeiert.

84 Vgl. dazu Gourgouris (1996) 271, Anm. 4.

der universellen Einzigartigkeit antiker griechischer Geschichte und Kultur – der vom Klassizismus und Philhellenismus dankbar übernommen wurde – trägt dennoch in einem rückständigen Balkanland, das seit seiner Gründung in einem äußerst zwiespältigen Verhältnis zu dem ‚fortgeschrittenen‘ europäischen Westen steht, sehr erfolgreich zur nationalen Selbstgefälligkeit und Ablenkung von den chronischen politischen, gesellschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Problemen bei. Dionysos – ein auf den ersten Blick unscheinbarer Teil des von Griechen oft ausschließlich für sich selbst beanspruchten antiken Erbes – entpuppt sich dabei als der emblematische Gott modern-griechischer Identitätskonzeptionen. Ob als Liknites, Reisender in seinem Schiff über die Ägäis, nationaler Schutzpatron oder gar als eine in nordgriechischen Karnevalsfesten verehrte Gottheit dargestellt, wird er in den Werken griechischer Schriftsteller, Künstler und Gelehrter in erster Linie als typisch für die (antike sowie moderne) griechische Kultur modelliert, als einstiger und aktueller Gott zugleich, ja als heimliches nationales Symbol, das über alle Jahrhunderte hinweg für die Differenz ‚der Griechen‘<sup>85</sup> steht. Durch seine Nähe zu Jesus Christus scheint er schließlich besser als alle anderen Figuren der altgriechischen Kult- und Mythentradition dafür geeignet zu sein, den eng mit dem griechisch-orthodoxen Glauben einhergehenden Patriotismus zu fördern und – dazu haben griechische ‚Dichter und Denker‘ entscheidend beigetragen – eine (vorwiegend) christliche, jedoch äußerst heterogene Bevölkerung in einem nationalen Kollektiv zu vereinen.

### Panagis Lekatsas und seine Gesamtdarstellung des Dionysos

Der Inhalt von wissenschaftlichen Monographien, die nicht in einer westeuropäischen Sprache verfaßt oder zumindest in eine davon übersetzt werden, ist beinahe dazu verurteilt, von der internationalen Forschung gnadenlos ignoriert zu werden. Eines der prominentesten Beispiele hierfür ist Vjačeslav I. Ivanovs (1866–1949) bedeutende Studie *Dionysos und die vordionysischen Kulte* von 1923, die erst über sechzig Jahre nach dem Tod des russischen Dichters und Philologen ins Deutsche übersetzt und somit westlichen Dionysos-Forschern leichter zugänglich gemacht wurde.<sup>86</sup> Anders aber als Ivanov, der seit 1937 und bis ans Ende seines Lebens selbst an einer deutschen Übersetzung seines Buches arbeitete, verfolgte der auf der Insel Ithaka geborene griechische Intellektuelle Panagis Lekatsas (1911–1970) mit seinem eigenen Werk *Dionysos. Ursprung und Entwicklung der Dionysischen Religion (Διόνυσος. Καταγωγή και*

85 Siehe dazu Mackridge (2008).

86 Siehe Ivanov (2011); zu Ivanovs Dionysos-Darstellung siehe auch Murašov (1999) sowie Westbrook (2006) und (2009).

ἐξέλιξη τῆς Διονυσιακῆς Θρησκείας) nicht primär die Intention, sich in die zeitgenössischen internationalen Forschungsdebatten der Religionshistoriker einzumischen. Seine knapp zweihundertfünfzig Seiten starke Monographie, welche einige Tage vor seinem Tod, inmitten der Zeit der Militärdiktatur (1967–1974) vollendet und ein knappes Jahr nach seinem Tod, 1971, posthum publiziert wurde, richtete sich vielmehr an ein möglichst breites, griechisches Leserpublikum.<sup>87</sup>

Lekatsas, der in den dreißiger Jahren sein Jura-Studium in Athen abgebrochen hatte, um sich der antiken griechischen Literatur zu widmen, und später durch das Publizieren vorwiegend ethnologischer sowie religionswissenschaftlicher Studien bekannt wurde, ist einer der beachtlichsten außerakademischen Exponenten der modernen Geistesstradition Griechenlands. Er gehört zu den prominentesten Vertretern einer sich (vor allem) nach dem griechischen Bürgerkrieg herauskristallisierenden, marxistisch geprägten intellektuellen Gegenbewegung zu der in Griechenland institutionalisierten, politisch konservativ orientierten und klassizistisch ausgerichteten Altphilologie.<sup>88</sup> Als Kenner der gesamten englisch-, deutsch- und französischsprachigen Forschungsliteratur seiner Zeit setzte er sich zum Ziel, eine wissenschaftliche Auffassung von Religion und religiösen Vorstellungen in einem Land zu präsentieren und zu popularisieren, in welchem weder Religionswissenschaft systematisch betrieben wurde noch ausreichende Übersetzungen ausländischer Forschungsliteratur zu dieser Thematik vorlagen. Dabei fügte er sich bewußt und explizit in eine Forschungstradition ein, die für eine kulturanthropologische Interpretation der (vor allem griechischen) Religion die Ergebnisse der vergleichenden Ethnologie heranzog. Die Werke von Johann J. Bachofen (1815–1887), Lewis H. Morgan (1818–1881), James G. Frazer (1854–1941), Jane E. Harrison (1850–1928) und den sogenannten *Cambridge Ritualisten*,

87 Vgl. Lekatsas (1971/1999) 17: Δυὸ σημεῖα ποὺ πρέπει ἐξαρχῆς νὰ τονίσω εἶναι ὅτι τὸ βιβλίο εἶναι τὸ πρῶτο στὸν τόπο μας πάνω σὲ σύνθετα θέματα τῆς ἐλληνικῆς Θρησκείας, καὶ ὅτι εἶναι γραμμένο γιὰ τὸν Ἕλληνα ἀναγνώστη. („Zwei Punkte, die ich von Anfang an betonen muß, sind, daß dieses Buch das erste ist, welches komplexe Themen der griechischen Religion in unserem Land behandelt, und daß es für den griechischen Leser geschrieben ist.“) Lekatsas setzt dennoch eine gebildete Leserschaft voraus, da er altgriechische und lateinische Zitate sowie ein deutsches (ebd. 46) ohne Übersetzung im Text stehen läßt; eine kritische Besprechung des Werkes lieferte bisher lediglich Andreadis (1987).

88 Einer der bedeutendsten Vertreter dieser Gegenbewegung war Lekatsas' Mentor und späterer Erzrivale Giannis Kordatos (1891–1961). Auf der Basis des historischen Materialismus verfaßte er zahlreiche Aufsehen erregende Werke über die moderne Geschichte Griechenlands oder auch über die Geschichte des Christentums; zur klassischen Philologie des 20. Jahrhunderts in Griechenland siehe Güthenke (2009) und (2010).

sowie von Robert Briffault (1876–1948) und schließlich George D. Thomson (1903–1987) haben Lekatsas maßgeblich beeinflusst.<sup>89</sup>

Als ein Pionier der ethnologischen sowie religionshistorischen Forschung in seinem Land strebte er eifrig danach, die Thesen ihrer prominentesten Vertreter bekannt zu machen, und wurde dadurch zu deren bedeutendstem Vermittler in Griechenland. Über nahezu vier Jahrzehnte fungierte er außerdem als Übersetzer von u. a. Hesiod, Sappho, Pindar und Euripides, verfaßte unzählige Beiträge zu religionshistorischen Begriffen für Lexika und Enzyklopädien – deren Übersetzung ins Griechische zu seinen größten Verdiensten gehört – und publizierte eine lange Reihe von Aufsätzen in Zeitschriften und Zeitungen. Sein Hauptwerk *Psyche* (*Ἡ Ψυχή*) von 1957 zählt allerdings zu seinen wohl am wenigsten gelesenen Büchern, nicht zuletzt wegen der gewaltigen Materialsammlung, die dem Buch eher den Charakter eines Nachschlagewerkes verleiht. Anders nämlich als im berühmten und Lekatsas als Vorbild dienenden, gleichnamigen Werk Erwin Rohdes (1845–1898) von 1890/1894, das sich auf die alten Griechen konzentriert,<sup>90</sup> widmete sich Lekatsas in seinem voluminösen, dicht geschriebenen Buch der Darstellung von Seelen- und Unsterblichkeitsvorstellungen sowie Todesbräuchen auf universaler Ebene. Ferner publizierte er Bücher, deren Titel sowohl seine thematische Schwerpunktsetzung als auch seinen theoretischen und methodologischen Hintergrund verrieten, in den schließlich auch die Theorien von Marx und Engels einbezogen waren.<sup>91</sup> Seine (größtenteils posthum erschienenen) kleinen religionshistorischen Abhandlungen, wie etwa *Das Matriarchat* (*Ἡ Μητριαρχία*, 1970), *Das Labyrinth* (*Ὁ Λαβύρινθος*, 1973), *Das göttliche Schauspiel* (*Τὸ Θεῖον Δράμα*, 1976) oder *Der göttliche Säugling* (*Τὸ Θεῖον Βρέφος*, 1996), aber auch sein Gesamtwerk rückten in den letzten Jahrzehnten immer wieder in den Fokus von (teils hagiographischen, teils kritischen) Einzelstudien.<sup>92</sup>

89 Siehe vor allem Bachofen (1861/1948), Morgan (1877), Frazer (1994), Harrison (1903) und (1912/1927), Briffault (1927) sowie Thomson (1941) und (1949). Speziell zu Harrison und den ‚Cambridge Ritualists‘ vgl. Schlesier (1994).

90 Siehe Rohde (1890–94/1898).

91 Siehe z. B. *Der Sonnenstaat. Die gütergemeinschaftliche Revolution der Sklaven und Proletarier Kleinasiens (133–128 v. Chr.)* (*Ἡ πολιτεία τοῦ ἡλίου. Ἡ κοινοχτημονική ἐπανάσταση τῶν Δούλων καὶ τῶν Προλεταρίων τῆς Μικρασίας [133–128 π.Χ.]*, 1946) oder *Der Ursprung der Institutionen, der Bräuche und der Glaubensanschauungen. Kapitel der sozialen Geschichte der Griechen und der anderen Völker* (*Ἡ καταγωγή τῶν θεσμῶν, τῶν ἐθίμων καὶ τῶν δοξασιῶν. Κεφάλαια τῆς κοινωνικῆς ἱστορίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λαῶν*, 1951).

92 Siehe dazu vor allem die Aufsatzsammlungen in den Zeitschriften *Διαβάζω* (166 [1987] 8–59), *Ὀυτοπία* (20 [1996]) und *Νέα Κοινωνιολογία* (37 [2003] 24–58). – Zu Lekatsas als Verbreiter der Bachofenschen Theorie vom ‚Mutterrecht‘ in Griechenland vgl. Georgoudi (1993) 508.

Lekatsas' wichtigste Vorarbeit zu seinem *Dionysos*-Buch ist die Studie *Eros. Interpretation einer Form der prähistorischen und orphisch-dionysischen Religion* (Ἔρως. Ἑρμηνεία μιᾶς Μορφῆς τῆς Προϊστορικῆς καὶ Ὀρφικοδιονυσιακῆς Θρησκείας) von 1963, in der Eros als ein Mondgott bzw. kosmischer Gott der vorgriechischen Religion interpretiert wird, dessen Verehrungsformen Parallelen zum Dionysoskult aufweisen. Anders als in dieser Studie – die sogar einen übersetzten, längeren Auszug aus Briffaults dreibändigem Werk *The Mothers* (1927) enthält –<sup>93</sup> verzichtet Lekatsas in *Dionysos* programmatisch auf Anmerkungen.<sup>94</sup> In sieben großen Kapiteln (und etlichen Unterkapiteln) verfolgt er das aufklärerische Ziel, dem Laien eine ultimative kultur- und religionshistorische Theorie zu präsentieren, in welcher der Fokus viel mehr auf das Anthropologische als auf das spezifisch Griechische gerichtet wird.

So beginnt das erste Kapitel mit der allgemeinen Behandlung des Verzehrs von rohem Fleisch, der Omophagie (ὠμοφαγία), als der „zentralen Einweihungshandlung“<sup>95</sup> – mit einer Interpretation also, die auf William Robertson Smiths (1846–1894) Theorien über den Totemismus und das Sakramentalopfer rekurriert.<sup>96</sup> In ähnlicher Weise behandelt Lekatsas im zweiten Kapitel den (nicht nur auf den Dionysoskult bezogenen) Wahnsinn (μωρία) ganz allgemein als ein psychopathologisches Symptom, das vermeintlich auf den Aberglauben und das mangelnde Erkenntnisvermögen des ‚primitiven‘ Menschen zurückzuführen sei. Dabei werden zahlreiche ethnologische Beispiele aus aller Welt sowie antike Zitate aus den zeitlich unterschiedlichsten Quellen angeführt, die den Rahmen für seine vermeintlich universalgültige Entwicklungstheorie bilden, in die Dionysos und sein Kult eingebettet werden.

Ab dem dritten Kapitel verschiebt sich dann der Fokus auf den Gott selbst. In der Tradition Frazers wird Dionysos als ein Vegetationsgott und damit als

93 Der von Lekatsas übersetzte Auszug stammt aus Briffault (1927) II.583–592 („The Moon Regarded as the Cause of Conception and Generation“).

94 Das Quellenmaterial, auf das sich Lekatsas' Dionysos-Darstellung stützt, ist größtenteils in seinem Werk *Eros* zu finden: siehe Lekatsas (1963) 107–168; erste Versionen des *Dionysos*-Buches, an dem Lekatsas jahrzehntelang arbeitete, enthielten – ebenso wie seine vorherigen Werke – zahlreiche Anmerkungen, die aber schließlich ausgelassen wurden: vgl. Lekatsas (1971/1999) 12. Dieses formale Charakteristikum erinnert an Walter F. Ottos (1874–1958) *Dionysos*-Buch von 1933, in dem der Verzicht auf Fußnoten ebenfalls dem Zweck der Popularisierung diente: siehe dazu Cancik (1986) und Leege (2008) 137–140. Lekatsas fügte jedoch ein ausführliches Literaturverzeichnis hinzu – worauf Otto ebenfalls verzichtete –, das nicht zuletzt seine allumfassenden Kenntnisse der Thematik demonstrieren sollte. Ein Stellen- und Namensverzeichnis wurde später von seinem engen Freund, dem Philologen Andreas Lentakis, für die Publikation erstellt; auf Anmerkungen verzichtete in seiner Studie über den antiken Gott auch Jeanmaire (1951).

95 Lekatsas (1971/1999) 57.

96 Siehe Robertson Smith (1889).

ein sterbender (θνήσκων) und leidender (πάσχων) Gott betrachtet. Gleich zu Beginn betont Lekatsas – noch bevor 1976 Karl Kerényis Studie posthum erscheint –<sup>97</sup> die enge Verbindung des Dionysoskultes mit Kreta und hebt seinen erotischen und sexuellen Aspekt emphatisch hervor.<sup>98</sup> Der ‚phallische Dionysos‘ wird sogar in einem Unterkapitel ausführlich besprochen, während an einer weiteren Stelle die Praxis der (gelegentlichen) sexuellen Vereinigung zwischen Mitgliedern von weiblichen und männlichen dionysischen Thiasoi u. a. anhand von Euripides’ Tragödie *Ion* entschieden beachtet wird.<sup>99</sup>

Im vierten Kapitel „Vom prähistorischen zum hellenistischen Dionysos“ wird die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Kultes dargestellt. Lekatsas operiert mit den Begriffen „Schauspiel der Jahreszeiten“ (Ἐποχικὸ Δράμα), „göttliches Schauspiel“ (Θεῖο Δράμα) und „dionysisches Schauspiel“ (Διονυσιακὸ Δράμα), die auf ein religionshistorisches Abfolgeschema rekurren, aus dem der Dionysoskult entsprungen sein soll. Aus dem Mysterienkult und dem öffentlichen Kult dieses Gottes sei dann das attische Drama entstanden, welches Elemente dieser Entwicklungsstufen aufweise.<sup>100</sup> Dionysos selbst ist für Lekatsas eine Gottheit, welche die griechischen Stämme von den eroberten vorgriechischen Einwohnern – und nicht etwa wie bei Herodot (*Hist.* 2.49) aus Ägypten – zwischen 1600 und 1200 v. Chr. allmählich übernahmen und später transformierten. In Einklang mit Bachofens Lehren gibt Lekatsas folgende Erklärung dafür, warum Dionysos in den ersten griechischen literarischen Quellen explizit nicht oft vorkommt: „als weibischer und friedlicher Gott“ sei er zwar von den vorgriechischen, matriarchalischen Stämmen verehrt worden, habe jedoch dann „nicht das Ideal eines patriarchalischen, kriegerischen und aristokratischen Elementes [der griechischen Stämme]“ verkörpern können.<sup>101</sup> Den Hauptfaktor für die Wiederbelebung des Kultes stellt für Lekatsas eine Frauenbewegung dar, die auf die drastische Veränderung der soziokulturellen Verhältnisse vehement reagiert habe: „Die gewaltige Welle des Mänadismus in den archaischen Jahrhunderten erscheint als eine ihrem Charakter nach religiöse und ihrem Wesen nach soziale Meuterei der

97 Siehe Kerényi (1976/1994).

98 Siehe Lekatsas (1971/1999) 69–86. Dionysos sei „die Zusammenfassung des kretischen Zeus und des Zagreus“ (ἀνακεφαλαιώση τοῦ κρητικοῦ Δία καὶ τοῦ Ζαγρέα, ebd. 80); siehe dazu auch Lekatsas (1963) 107–114; vgl. Kerényi (1976/1994) 48–88, 248–260 („Der kretische Kern des Dionysosmythos“) und 177 f., 291 (zur sexuellen Sphäre). Zu Kerényis Dionysos vgl. Seaford (2006b).

99 Siehe Lekatsas (1971/1999) 26 und 96–99. Zum phallischen Aspekt siehe auch Lekatsas (1963) 138–168; zur sexuellen Vereinigung von männlichen und weiblichen Thiasos-Mitgliedern siehe Schlesier (1993b).

100 Lekatsas (1971/1999) 132. Zu diesem (zu Lekatsas’ Zeit bereits obsoleten) religionshistorischen Abfolgeschema und seinem Verhältnis zum Dionysoskult und zum attischen Drama siehe z. B. Bather (1894), Cornford (1914) und G. Murray (1927).

101 Lekatsas (1971/1999) 134.



Frauen, die [...] unter den Bedingungen der patriarchalischen Gesellschaft verwahrlosten.“<sup>102</sup> Als ein Gott der agrarischen Gesellschaftsschichten betrachtet, soll Dionysos in der klassischen Zeit außerdem zum „Schutzherren der laokratischen Ideologie“ (προστάτης τῆς λαοκρατικῆς ἰδεολογίας), zum „Gott der langersehnten Egalität“ (θεὸς τῆς πολυπόθητης ἰσότητος) erhoben worden sein.<sup>103</sup> Im Gegensatz zu Jeanmaire, der in seinem 1951 publizierten *Dionysos*-Buch den politischen Aspekt des Gottes abwies, wird der Gott in Lekatsas' bezeichnendem Unterkapitel „Der politische Dionysos“ als „derjenige, der dem Volk in seinen Kämpfen [gemeint sind soziale, O. L.] Beistand leistet“ (συμπαραστάτης τοῦ λαϊκοῦ στοιχείου στους ἀγῶνες του), charakterisiert und als „der politische Gott der Laokratie“ gefeiert.<sup>104</sup> In der hellenistischen Zeit sei er schließlich als Träger zweier Ideale zu betrachten: des Hedonismus im öffentlichen Kult und der Erlösung (σωτηρία) in den exklusiven dionysischen Thiasoi.

In den nächsten beiden Kapiteln bietet Lekatsas einen Überblick über das Verhältnis des Dionysos zu anderen (griechischen sowie nicht-griechischen) Gottheiten – was in keiner vorangegangenen oder späteren Dionysos-Monographie bisher in dieser Form thematisiert wird – und einen weiteren über die Struktur hellenistischer Thiasoi. Das siebte Kapitel trägt schließlich den an Walter F. Otto erinnernden Titel „Der Kommende“ (Ὁ Ἐρχόμενος). Anders aber als in Ottos berühmtem *Dionysos*-Buch von 1933 bezieht sich diese Überschrift nicht auf Dionysos, sondern auf den christlichen „kommenden Gott“ Jesus Christus.<sup>105</sup> In melancholischem Ton schließt das Buch mit der Beschreibung des Untergangs des Kultes in der Spätantike durch den Siegeszug des Christentums.

In diesem seinem letzten Werk nimmt sich Lekatsas vor, die gesamte Bandbreite seines Wissens zu demonstrieren und entwirft, in betonter Konkurrenz zu anderen führenden griechischen Intellektuellen dieser Zeit, eine Monographie, die hinsichtlich der Materialfülle nichts zu wünschen übrig läßt. Das Fehlen jeglicher Anmerkungen erschwert jedoch wesentlich das Nachvollziehen seiner Argumentation. In dieser fungieren die *Bakchen* des Euripides – nicht anders als bei vielen früheren und heutigen Dionysosforschern – als Hauptquelle für zahlreiche Aspekte des Dionysoskultes, da Lekatsas diese

102 Ebd. 136: Τὸ μέγα στους ἀρχαίους αἰῶνες κύμα τοῦ Μαιναδισμού παρουσιάζεται σὰ θρησκευτικὴ στὸν χαρακτήρα τῆς καὶ κοινωνικῆ στήν οὐσία τῆς ἀνταρσία τῶν γυναικῶν ποῦ [...] ξεπέφτουν στους ὄρους τῆς πατριαρχικῆς κοινωνίας.

103 Ebd. 137.

104 Lekatsas (1971/1999) 149; siehe dagegen Jeanmaire (1951) 8: „le moins ‚politique‘ des dieux grecs“.

105 Lekatsas' Überschrift ist ein Bibel-Zitat (PS 118, 26; Mt 21, 9; 23, 39; Mk 11, 9; Lk 13, 35; 19, 38; J 12, 13). „Der kommende Gott“ – ein Hölderlin-Zitat – ist der Titel eines Kapitels in Otto (1933) 75–81.



Tragödie für „das Evangelium der dionysischen Religion“ hält.<sup>106</sup> Die Betonung des politischen Aspektes des Kultes – einer der Höhepunkte des Buches – geht zugleich mit einer Kritik des von der Staatspolizei als Marxist verfolgten Privatgelehrten Lekatsas an dem zeitgenössischen kapitalistischen Gesellschaftssystem einher. So vertritt er z. B. die Position, daß die Einweihung in die Mysterien des Dionysos als Gegengewicht zur „Vernichtung des Individuums in der Konkurrenzgesellschaft“ gewirkt und zur Entstehung eines überlebenswichtigen Gemeinschaftsgefühls entschieden beigetragen habe, womit er eine der Hauptthesen der zuletzt erschienenen Studie über diesen Gott von Richard Seaford vorwegnimmt.<sup>107</sup> Dionysos selbst wird als Protagonist einer Lebensbeschreibung porträtiert. Die Annäherung an die jahrtausendelange Geschichte des Gottes erfolgt durch die auf ihn bezogene Verwendung des Possessivpronomens „unser“, die in Sikelianos' Tradition steht, sowie durch die lebhafteste, aus der Innenperspektive geschilderte und im Präsens formulierte Darstellung antiker Realitäten, die vor allem von Rohde adaptiert wird.<sup>108</sup> Der moderne Bezug wird von Lekatsas dann herangezogen, wenn es um griechische Ortsbezeichnungen geht, die scheinbar die Erinnerung an antike Begebenheiten beibehalten.<sup>109</sup> Dem ‚Zauber‘ des Kontinuitätsgedankens konnte schließlich auch er sich nicht entziehen.

Die Rezeption von Lekatsas' Werk *Dionysos* ist in Anbetracht der bis heute erreichten vier Auflagen sowie der Verbreitung, die es vor allem in außeruniversitären Kreisen weiterhin erfährt, als eine Erfolgsgeschichte zu be-

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106 Lekatsas (1971/1999) 99; die wissenschaftshistorische Bedeutung der *Bakchen* hob z. B. Seaford (2006a) 41 besonders hervor.

107 Lekatsas (1971/1999) 32 (ἐκμηδένιση τοῦ ἀτόμου μέσα στὴν ἀνταγωνιστικὴ κοινωνία). Vgl. Seaford (2006a) 26–38 („Communality“). Lekatsas wurde bereits kurz nach dem griechischen Bürgerkrieg von der Polizei überwacht. 1949 wurde sogar seine gesamte Privatbibliothek beschlagnahmt: vgl. Vlachos (1986) 326 (diesen Hinweis verdanke ich Michael Kardamitsis). Die Nähe zwischen den Thesen von Lekatsas und Seaford erklärt sich dadurch, daß beide durch die Thesen Harrisons und der Cambridger Ritualisten stark beeinflusst wurden, vor allem aber durch die von beiden geteilte Bewunderung für die Werke George Thomsons: vgl. Alexiou (1999) 25–54 (mit Auszügen aus einem unveröffentlichten Vortrag Seafords über Thomson im Jahr 1988). Siehe dazu auch Thomsons eigenen Vortrag anlässlich seiner Ernennung zum Honorarprofessor an der Aristoteles-Universität Thessaloniki 1979, in dem die beiden Dionysosforscher Lekatsas und Seaford von ihm anerkennend erwähnt werden: Thomson (1979).

108 Vgl. z. B. die Passage in Lekatsas (1971/1999) 43: „In der Ekstase löst sich die Ordnung der Welt. Die Minyas-Töchter gehorchen nicht dem Ruf des Gottes und siehe da, unsichtbare Trommeln, Zimbeln und Flöten erschrecken sie [...]“. (Μέσα στὴν ἔκσταση λύνεται ἡ τάξη τοῦ κόσμου. Οἱ κόρες τοῦ Μινύα δὲν ὑπακούνε στὸ κάλεσμα τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ νά, ἀνόρατα τύμπανα, κύμβαλα κι αὐλοὶ τῆς τρομάζουσε [...]). Die Formulierung „unser Gott“ kommt im Buch viermal vor (ebd. 11 f., 133, 149).

109 Siehe ebd. 139; vgl. auch Seaford (2006a) 28.

trachten.<sup>110</sup> Obwohl es auf bereits zu seiner Zeit überholten oder zumindest in den Hintergrund gerückten religionshistorischen Thesen basiert und damit als ein herausragendes Dokument für die Ungleichzeitigkeiten der europäischen antiklassizistischen Antike-Rezeption<sup>111</sup> fungiert, ist es für heutige Dionysos-Forscher hinsichtlich seiner einzigartigen Gliederung, der darin unternommenen Materialsynthese sowie seines Verhältnisses zu anderen europäischen Dionysos-Darstellungen – zumindest wissenschaftsgeschichtlich – von nicht geringer Bedeutung. Zudem werden darin sowohl die Lage der klassischen Philologie und ethnologischen Forschung in Griechenland als auch die dort Ende der sechziger Jahre herrschenden politischen, soziokulturellen und religiösen Verhältnisse auf direkte wie indirekte Art und Weise oft auch kritisch reflektiert. So erweist sich Lekatsas’ Studie zugleich als ein wichtiger Gegenstand griechischer und somit europäischer Kultur-, Geistes- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte, was bezeichnenderweise für zahlreiche religionshistorische Darstellungen dieses Gottes – von Friedrich Nietzsches *Geburt der Tragödie* bis zu Richard Seafords *Dionysos* – ebenfalls gilt.

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110 Zweite Aufl.: 1985; dritte Aufl.: 1989; vierte Auflage: 1999. Bemerkenswerterweise ist dagegen die griechische Übersetzung des Buches der französisch publizierenden, griechischen Forscherin Maria Daraki *Dionysos et la déesse Terre* (Paris 1985; gr. Übersetzung: Athen 1997) – von der im übrigen Lekatsas nicht erwähnt wird – heute restlos vergriffen, ohne daß meines Wissens eine Neuauflage geplant wird.

111 Siehe dazu Aurnhammer/Pittrof (2002).



# Dionysos – eine Chiffre der ästhetischen Moderne

*Roberto Sanchiño Martínez*

Wer sich literarischen und künstlerischen Gestaltungen sowie Modellierungen des Dionysos und der dionysischen Sphäre in der Moderne widmet, kann tatsächlich den Eindruck gewinnen, daß Dionysos, wie der Germanist Jochen Schmidt festgestellt hat, seit der Romantik als „eine Schlüsselfigur geistig-kulturellen Selbstverständnisses in der Moderne“ bestimmt werden kann.<sup>1</sup> Mein Beitrag geht jedoch von der spezifischeren Vermutung aus, daß es sich darüber hinaus bei Dionysos und den traditionell mit ihm verbundenen Bereichen (zu denen weitere Figuren wie Mänaden und Satyrn, Zustände und Konzepte wie der Rausch oder der Orgasmus usw. gehören) zugleich um eine interdiskursive Selbstbespiegelungsfigur und felderübergreifende<sup>2</sup> Reflexionsfigur handelt, die kulturpoetologische Dimensionen aufweist, sowie um eine im engeren Sinne poetologische Chiffre moderner Dichtung.

Denn mit jeder Gestaltung wird nicht nur ein bestimmtes Bild des Dionysos und der Antike aufgerufen, entworfen und imaginiert, sondern zugleich ein Kommentar zur eigenen modernen Zeit geliefert, und zwar auch dort, wo es gar nicht intendiert wird. Vielfach geschieht dies unbewußt und nebenbei. Doch damit ist nicht gemeint, daß Texte – seien sie nun fiktional oder nicht, Kunstwerke oder Aussagen im allgemeinen – die Zeit und die Kultur, aus der sie hervorgegangen sind, nur widerspiegeln. Sie alle sind Bestandteil einer Kultur, ihrer ökonomischen und symbolischen Ordnungen, verschieben einzelne ihrer Elemente und re-interpretieren sie als Dichtung, als Gemälde oder als religionsgeschichtliche Studie und re-definieren sie dadurch, haben also auf symbolischer Ebene eine kulturpoetologische Dimension: Sie bringen das Weltverständnis, das Bedingung ihrer Möglichkeit ist, in Umlauf und transformieren es. In diesem Sinne tragen Kunstwerke, philosophische Abhandlungen sowie wissenschaftliche Studien und Theorien dazu bei, die Kultur, die sie hervorgebracht hat, wiederum selbst zu gestalten. Auch die interdiskursive Selbstbespiegelungsfigur und felderübergreifende Reflexionsfigur Dionysos hat an diesem kulturpoetologischen Prozeß teil, an der die Religionen, die Künste, die Philosophie sowie die Human-, Sozial- und

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1 J. Schmidt (2008) 40.

2 Der Begriff des Feldes wird hier und im Folgenden in Anlehnung an Pierre Bourdieu Feldbegriff verwendet. Er ist dem Diskurs-Begriff übergeordnet. Vgl. dazu grundsätzlich Bourdieu (1993).

Naturwissenschaften partizipierten und bis heute partizipieren. Dabei widmen sie sich oft implizit oder unbewußt der Frage, wie sollen, können und wollen wir unsere (moderne) Kultur und uns als (moderne) Menschen verstehen, auch und gerade in Abgrenzung zu dem, was man als antik, mittelalterlich, neuzeitlich usw. versteht oder verstehen möchte. Daher läßt sich die (moderne) Bedeutung von Dionysos und seiner Sphäre nicht auf die Literatur oder die Künste der Moderne beschränken. Das kulturelle Feld, das man in der Moderne mit Dionysos und seiner Sphäre abstecken kann, läßt sich auf die Gebiete der Religionsgeschichte, der Philosophie, der Psychologie, der Anthropologie und anderer Wissenschaften ausweiten. Diese Gebiete sind zwar bis zu einem gewissen Grade ausdifferenziert und autonom, bilden eigene Diskurse und Felder, doch durchdringen sie sich vielfach. Es finden Transfers und Transpositionen von einem Feld ins andere statt.

Vor diesem Hintergrund stellen künstlerische Entwürfe einer *dionysischen Antike* immer auch *moderne* dionysische Entwürfe einer Antike dar: Sie sind Bestandteil einer dionysischen Imaginationswelt und eines semantischen Feldes in der Moderne. Die kulturpoetologische Dimension von modernen literarischen Gestaltungen des Dionysos und der dionysischen Sphäre zeigt sich zudem darin, daß in ihnen oft kulturelle, soziale, historische und politische Energien artikuliert und zugleich ästhetisch analysiert werden. Daher werden im Folgenden schlaglichtartig und keineswegs erschöpfend ausgewählte thematische Felder, die mit Dionysos in der modernen Literatur und Kultur in Verbindung stehen, einer Betrachtung unterzogen. Zum einen sollen auf diese Weise einige, zumeist weniger bekannte, literarische und künstlerische Aneignungen des antiken Gottes vorgestellt werden, um seine massive Präsenz in der Moderne beispielhaft zu umreißen. In diesem Zusammenhang sollen seine möglichen kulturpoetologischen Funktionen, seine zivilisationskritischen Dimensionen und einige Erklärungs- oder Deutungsversuche für die moderne Faszination durch Dionysos präsentiert und diskutiert werden. Zum anderen soll der Frage nachgegangen werden, ob und inwieweit die Qualität der Differenz oder des Differenten Dionysos in der Moderne zugeschrieben worden ist und werden kann, um dann schließlich die im engeren Sinne poetologische Dimension, die Dionysos in der modernen Dichtung zugewiesen worden ist, zu skizzieren.

## 1. Dionysos als Faszinationsobjekt

„Dionysos...“, berichtet Julien Green in *Jeunesse*, dem zweiten Teil seiner Autobiographie, die den Jahren 1919 bis 1930 gewidmet ist, „Dionysos... Diesen Namen schrieb ich manchmal oben auf ein Blatt und betrachtete ihn. Er übte eine seltsame Wirkung auf mich aus. Er schien mich fortzutragen, weit

fort von der Rue Cortambert und viel weiter fort in der Zeit.“<sup>3</sup> Julien Green, dieser Kartograph seelischer Abgründe, ist nicht der einzige moderne Schriftsteller oder Künstler, auf den bereits der Name Dionysos eine faszinierende Wirkung ausübte und bei dem Dionysos eine Raum und Zeit transzendierende Qualität aufweist. Auch bei zahlreichen anderen zur ästhetischen Moderne zu zählenden Literaten wurden Phantasie und Imagination durch den Namen und die Sphäre des antiken Gottes angeregt, was sie dazu drängte, dieser Faszination eine literarische oder künstlerische Gestalt zu geben.<sup>4</sup>

Dionysos gehört zweifellos zu den beliebtesten aus der Antike stammenden Figuren und Stoffen.<sup>5</sup> Kaum ein anderer antiker Gott hat eine so breite literarische und künstlerische Rezeption und Interpretation in der Moderne erfahren, kein anderer antiker Gott – und dies ist ein wichtiges Differenzkriterium gegenüber allen anderen aus der Antike stammenden Figuren – ist in modernen poetologischen, kunst- und kulturphilosophischen sowie psychologischen und anthropologischen Überlegungen prominenter vertreten. So feierte etwa Gustav Mahler in seiner *Dritten Symphonie* und in seinem „Lied von der Erde“ die rauschhafte, sich stets erneuernde, pantheistisch aufgeladene Natur und Vegetation unter dionysischen, geradezu berauschten Vorzeichen und entwarf damit ein zeitgenössisches Bild einer dionysischen Musik und Natur.<sup>6</sup> Auch Ezra Pound greift – wohl vermittelt über die Schriften von James George Frazer und Jane Ellen Harrison – die Vorstellung von Dionysos als Natur- und Vegetationsgottheit auf und verbindet sie mit seinem Entwurf einer modernistisch-epiphanischen Poetik, die sich bis ins Druckbild hinein manifestiert. In seinem Gedicht *Cantus Planus* aus dem Jahre 1918, das eine ganz außergewöhnliche Retardierung und Beschleunigung der Prosodie aufweist und das thematisch das Dionysos-Zagreus-Mythologem sowie das Kommen des Frühlings aufgreift, um es mit dem Bild eines passiven oder trägen Panthers ineinandergleiten zu lassen, heißt es:

The black panther lies under his rose tree  
 And the fawns come to sniff at his sides:  
 Evoe, Evoe, Evoe Baccho, O  
 ZAGREUS, *Zagreus*, Zagreus,

3 Green (1989) 296.

4 Julien Green verfaßte 1922 ein knapp hundert Seiten langes Prosagedicht mit dem Titel *Dionysos ou la chasse aventureuse*.

5 Renate Schlesier und Agnes Schwarzmaier schreiben in ihrer Einleitung zum Ausstellungskatalog *Dionysos – Verwandlung und Ekstase* (Schlesier/Schwarzmaier [2008] 13): „Dionysos war einer der beliebtesten und rätselhaftesten Götter der Griechen, und auch die Moderne hat er mehr fasziniert als jeder andere antike Gott“.

6 Vgl. dazu Schumann (1982) 53–55.

The black panther lies under his rose tree.  
 || Hesper adest. Hesper || adest.  
 Hesper || adest. ||<sup>7</sup>

Darüber hinaus eigneten sich Künstler wie Pablo Picasso, André Masson, Joseph Beuys, Jackson Pollock oder Henri Matisse, um nur einige wenige zu nennen, die dionysische Sphäre an, um neue Ausdrucksmittel und -formen auszuprobieren oder in Szene zu setzen und schufen damit eine moderne piktoral-selbstreflexive dionysische Imaginationswelt.<sup>8</sup> Matisse's berühmtes Bild *La Danse* von 1910 veranschaulicht dies auf paradigmatische Weise: Es präsentiert dem Betrachter – im Rekurs auf die Ikonographie antiker Mänaden – nackte, ekstatische Tänzerinnen in einer abstrakten und farbkontrastreichen Landschaft,<sup>9</sup> fast so, als wären sie dem drei Jahre später uraufgeführten und ebenfalls dionysisch inspirierten, ekstatischen Ballett *Le Sacre du Printemps* von Igor Strawinsky entsprungen.<sup>10</sup> Die graduelle Entgegenständlichung der Figuren in Verbindung mit dem referentiellen Bezug zur Mänaden-Ikonographie wird auf diese Weise zu einem programmatischen Versuch, in der Malerei eine moderne dionysische Ausdrucksweise zu schaffen.

Auch in der modernen Literatur und im modernen Theater gibt es weitere zahlreiche explizite Bezugnahmen auf den antiken Gott, die sich mit gattungstheoretischen und poetologischen Überlegungen verschränken. Die Beispiele reichen von der Lyrik Friedrich Hölderlins, Gottfried Benns und William Butler Yeats' über Gerhart Hauptmanns und D.H. Lawrence's Erzählungen, Romane und Reiseberichte bis hin zu Richard Schechners *Dionysus in 69* und Raoul Schrotts *Bakchen. Nach Euripides* oder Luca di Fulvio's

7 Pound (1992) 349.

8 Vgl. dazu Moffitt (2005) 183–356; zur Bedeutung des Dionysos und des Dionysischen in der modernen Malerei und kunsthistorischen Theoriebildung vgl. Wyss (1996).

9 Vgl. zum dionysischen Hintergrund von Matisse's Bild *La Danse*: Clarke (1956) und Moffitt (2005) 251–254.

10 Frederick Brown kommentiert das legendäre ‚Ballet Russe‘, das *Le Sacre du Printemps* in Paris uraufführte, unter Berufung auf seinen Mitbegründer Alexandre Benois folgendermaßen (Brown [1989] 79 f.): „Das Russische Ballett zeigte – obwohl noch versteckt und kontrolliert – die elementaren Ursprünge des Tanzes und schuf dadurch eine neue Kunst. Das Theater ging auf den Tanz zurück, und der Tanz auf das Fest des Dionysos. Benois drückte das Geheimnis dieser neuen, alten Kunst so aus: ‚Der Erfolg der Ballette beruht auf der Tatsache, daß Russen noch fähig sind, an ihre Kreationen zu glauben, daß sie sich genügend Spontaneität bewahrt haben, um vollkommen gefesselt zu werden – wie Kinder, die ganz in ihrem Spiel aufgehen – von dem göttlichen Spiel, das die Kunst nun einmal ist. Auf den Bühnen des Westens hat man dieses Geheimnis verloren, hier ist alles Technik, Bewußtheit, Künstlichkeit, hier ist der mystische Reiz der Selbstaufgabe, der große dionysische Rausch, die ursprüngliche Antriebskraft der Kunst, allmählich verschwunden.“

Thriller *Die Rache des Dionysos*.<sup>11</sup> Darüber hinaus sind unzählige Beispiele in der erzählenden und lyrischen Literatur der Moderne zu finden, in denen Dionysos und seine Sphäre den antiken oder mythologischen Kontexten völlig entkleidet und in anonymisierter, ängstlicher und chiffrierter Form in andere Kontexte eingebettet sind, sogar in zeitgenössische Alltagssituationen, oder auch in Form von zeitübergreifenden Chiffren wie einem Panther, einem Pinienzapfen, einem Stier, einer Rebe, der roten Furche eines Ackers, einem Feigenbaum oder einem Ruf wie ‚Evoe‘, wie dies etwa in Julio Cortázar's Roman *Rayuela* oder in Andrej Belys Roman *Petersburg* der Fall ist. Mit ein wenig Phantasie läßt sich daher sagen, daß in der modernen Literatur gewissermaßen eine dionysische Hintergrundstrahlung existiert, die sich sowohl auf motivischer als auch auf poetologischer Ebene ausmachen läßt.

Dionysos ist aber nicht nur ein beliebter Gegenstand der modernen Literatur und Kunst, sondern auch der modernen Philosophie und Humanwissenschaft. So wirkt das zwar nicht von Nietzsche erfundene, aber doch in seiner philosophischen Erstlingsschrift *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik* (1872) popularisierte Begriffspaar des Dionysischen und Apollinischen bis in die heutige Kunstproduktion und ästhetische Theoriebildung, Kulturphilosophie, Psychologie und Soziologie hinein.<sup>12</sup> Dionysos kann als eine Schnittstelle unterschiedlicher wissenschaftlicher, philosophischer und ästhetischer Diskurse in der Moderne verstanden werden, die zugleich ein spezifisches kulturelles Feld umreißen. Dieses Feld wird nicht zuletzt durch die Frage strukturiert, was die Moderne in gesellschaftlicher und ästhetischer Hinsicht ist oder sein sollte.<sup>13</sup> Woher resultiert aber diese überproportionale

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11 Vgl. zu Hölderlin: Behre (1987); zu Benn: Schlesier (1993c); zu Pound: Pesaresi (2002); zu Hauptmann: Sprengel (2002); zu Lawrence: Benne (2010). – Es lassen sich viele weitere Beispiele für die Adaptionen und Transformationen des antiken Gottes und seiner Sphäre anführen, die seine Popularität und die Faszination, die von ihm und seiner Sphäre ausgeht, belegen. Stoff-, motiv- und ideengeschichtlich orientierte Studien haben dies, vor allem für den deutschsprachigen Raum im Kontext des allgemeinen Phänomens der Antike-Rezeption, bereits gezeigt: vgl. z.B. Günther (2008), Baeumer (2006), Maurach (1993), Frank (1982). Vor allem als Gott des Weins, der Ekstase, des Wahnsinns, der Verwandlung, als Theater-, Masken- und als besonders epiphanischer Gott sowie über Konzepte wie das des Mänadismus ist Dionysos Gegenstand der modernen Imagination, wie es sich nicht zuletzt immer wieder an der Aneignung und Transformation der *Bakchen* des Euripides zeigt, gewesen, und er ist es bis zum heutigen Tag.

12 Zur Bedeutung der *Geburt der Tragödie* für die zeitlich nachfolgenden Kunstphilosophien und ästhetischen Theorien vgl. Baeumer (2006) 350–378; zur Bedeutung von Dionysos für die Soziologie vgl. Maffesoli (1985); zu Freuds Dionysos: Schlesier (2002c).

13 S. oben, Anm. 2.



Faszination, die dem antiken Gott in der Moderne entgegengebracht worden ist und bis heute entgegengebracht wird?

## 2. Zivilisationskritik im Zeichen des Dionysos

Um die Tatsache der außerordentlichen Popularität des Dionysos – und von dieser Figur abgeleitet: des Dionysischen – in der modernen Literatur und Kultur zu erklären, ist immer wieder angeführt worden, daß die thematischen Felder des Irrationalen, des Rausches, des Wahnsinns, des Nächtlichen, des Dämonischen, der Lebenssteigerung, des Ich-Verlustes und der Desintegration des rationalistisch-aufgeklärten Subjekts seit der deutschen und angelsächsischen Romantik eine besondere Faszination auf moderne Künstler, Denker und Forscher ausübten. Vor diesem Hintergrund mußte es demnach zwangsläufig zu einem gesteigerten Interesse an Dionysos und seiner Sphäre in der Moderne kommen.<sup>14</sup> Anders gesagt und in eine kulturpoetologische Überlegung übersetzt: Dionysos und seine Sphäre trafen auf eine kulturelle, gesellschaftliche und psychische Disposition, die sich im Laufe der Moderne ausgebildet hatte, so daß die dionysische Sphäre gewissermaßen homolog zum ‚Anderen der Vernunft‘, zu einer vitalistischen Zivilisationskritik, zum Alteritäts- und Differenzdenken<sup>15</sup> selbst werden konnte. Im Zeichen des Dionysos konnte sich daher eine spezifische interdiskursive Figuration und Formation ausbilden. Bereits 1936 hat C. G. Jung, der in seiner psychologischen *Typenlehre* von 1921 Dionysos und das Dionysische als Repräsentanten eines extrovertierten, sich ästhetisch, intuitiv, affektiv-gewaltsam und triebhaft ä-

14 So Günther (2008) und J. Schmidt (2008).

15 Es geht dabei um die erkenntnistheoretische, psychologische, soziale und ästhetische Selbstbestimmung des postaufklärerischen Subjekts, das sich der repräsentativen Definition zu entziehen versucht. Diese postkantianische philosophische Reflexion, die sicherlich in Friedrich Nietzsche ihren bekanntesten Repräsentanten gefunden hat, besteht zu großen Teilen aus einer Auseinandersetzung mit den Kategorien Identität und Differenz, wobei die Erkenntnisgrenzen des rationalistisch-aufgeklärten Subjekts und der reinen Vernunft transzendiert werden sollen. Dies kulminiert gewissermaßen in Gilles Deleuzes 1968 erschienener materialistischer und transzendentalphilosophischer Studie *Differenz und Wiederholung*. Dort schreibt Deleuze ([1997] 329 f.): „Es geht darum, die Repräsentation bis hin zum Größten und Kleinsten der Differenz auszu dehnen; der Repräsentation eine ungeahnte Perspektive zu verleihen, d.h. theologische, wissenschaftliche, ästhetische Techniken zu erfinden, die es ihr ermöglichen, die Tiefe der Differenz an sich zu integrieren; zu bewerkstelligen, daß die Repräsentation das Dunkle erobert; daß sie den Schwund der allzu kleinen und das Auseinanderreißen der allzu großen Differenz erfaßt; daß sie die Macht des Taumels, der Trunkenheit, der Grausamkeit und gar des Todes einfängt. Kurz, es geht darum, ein klein wenig Blut des Dionysos in den organischen Adern Apollons fließen zu lassen.“

bernden allgemeinen Charakter-Typs gedeutet hatte, dies ausschließlich auf Nietzsche zurückgeführt, wie es bis heute allgemein üblich geblieben ist:<sup>16</sup>

Im Gefolge Nietzsches (1844–1900) wurde der dionysische Aspekt des Lebens im Unterschied und Gegensatz zum apollinischen betont. Seit der *Geburt der Tragödie* (1872) hat die dunkle, erdhaft, weibliche Seite mit ihren mantischen und orgiastischen Wesenszügen die Phantasie von Denkern und Dichtern in Besitz genommen. Irrationalität wurde allmählich als das Ideal angesehen; [...]. Bei diesen Schriftstellern erleben wir die Anfänge einer stufenweisen Verwerfung der Wirklichkeit und einer Ablehnung des Lebens, so wie es ist. Dies führt schließlich zu einem Kult der Ekstase, der in der Selbstauflösung des Bewußtseins gipfelt, welcher ihnen die Überwindung materieller Begrenzungen bedeutet.<sup>17</sup>

Die Bedeutung und Relevanz des Dionysos auf dem Gebiet der Literatur und der Künste, der Philosophie und der Wissenschaften läßt sich jedoch bei genauerer Betrachtung nicht nur, wie dies C. G. Jung suggeriert, auf ein weitverbreitetes vitalistisches Interesse und eine wirkungsmächtige Nietzsche-Rezeption zurückführen.<sup>18</sup> Ebensowenig läßt sich die Relevanz des Dionysos in den modernen Künsten nur auf die stoffliche oder thematische Ebene der Ekstase, des Orgasmus, der Selbstauflösung, des Irrationalismus usw. beschränken, auch wenn diese Aspekte ohne Zweifel wichtige Elemente der Faszination darstellen, die von dem antiken Gott für die Moderne ausgeht. Sicherlich ist – allgemein gesagt – in der modernen Kultur immer wieder, und sei es nur in der Imagination, ein gesteigertes Bedürfnis nach der Sprengung des Normaldaseins zu beobachten, ein Bedürfnis nach Rausch, Entgrenzung

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16 Vgl. Jung (1921/1971) 144–155.

17 Jung (1936/1981) 205.

18 C. G. Jung ist ein gutes Beispiel für die weitverbreitete Tendenz, viele Bearbeitungen des Dionysos nach der Publikation von Nietzsches *Geburt der Tragödie* vornehmlich als Phänomen einer Nietzsche-Rezeption zu verstehen (vgl. auch z. B. Spears [1970] oder Riedel [2001]). Die richtungweisende Bedeutung einzelner Autoren für Rezeptionsprozesse soll hier nicht bezweifelt werden; doch sobald man den Bereich einzelner Nationalliteraturen verläßt, lassen sich selbstverständlich auch ganz andere und alternative Rezeptionsgeschichten erzählen, andere Narrative bilden, in denen Autoren wie John Keats, Walter Pater, Rubén Darío oder auch Guillaume Apollinaire die Rolle Nietzsches einnehmen können, so daß es äußerst schwierig ist, eine homogene und stringente Rezeptionsgeschichte von ‚Homer bis heute‘ (vgl. Maurach [1993]) zu rekonstruieren. Darüber hinaus verschleiert eine primär vitalistische Lektüre der *Geburt der Tragödie* den modernitätstheoretischen Kern der Schrift, mit dem sich Nietzsche selbst im kulturellen, akademischen und philosophischen Feld positionierte. Sein Entwurf des Begriffspaares des Dionysischen und Apollinischen reagiert nicht zuletzt in ästhetischer und kulturpolitischer Hinsicht auch auf die revolutionären Massenbewegungen während der Erhebung und Niederschlagung der Pariser Commune, die z. B. Rimbaud in seinen Gedichten *Le Cœur volé*, *L'Orgie parisienne ou Paris se repeuple* oder *Le Bateau ivre* mit einem bacchisch-dionysischen Vokabular gestaltet hat.

und Revolte,<sup>19</sup> eine Lust am Perversen, Obszönen und Devianten, die sich dann in Dionysos und in dionysischen Imaginationswelten spiegelt, in denen auf paradigmatische Weise die Grenzen zwischen Mensch und Gott, Mensch und Tier, Mann und Frau, Individuum und Kollektiv, Zivilisation und Natur verwischt und überschritten werden.<sup>20</sup> Ein besonders eindrucksvolles Beispiel dafür stellt Thomas Manns Erzählung oder Novelle *Der Tod in Venedig* von 1913 dar. Hier entwirft Thomas Mann eine dionysische Imaginationswelt, die zwischen Traum und Wachen, zwischen dem Lust- und dem Realitätsprinzip hin und her schwankt. Dabei verarbeitet er vielfältige ästhetikgeschichtliche, psychologische und religionshistorische Überlegungen und Spekulationen, die bereits zuvor an Dionysos und seiner Sphäre festgemacht worden sind. In der Schilderung eines Traums des Protagonisten, Gustav Aschenbach, beispielsweise greift der Erzähler unter anderem auf die Überlegungen zum „thrakischen Dionysosdienst“ in Erwin Rohdes *Psyche* (1894) zurück:

Angst war der Anfang, Angst und Lust und eine entsetzliche Neugier nach dem, was kommen wollte. Nacht herrschte, und seine Sinne lauschten; denn von weither näherte sich Getümmel, Getöse, ein Gemisch von Lärm: Rasseln, Schmetterern und dumpfes Donnern, schrilles Jauchzen dazu und ein bestimmtes Geheul im gezogenen u-Laut, – alles durchsetzt und grauenhaft süß übertönt von tief girrendem, ruchlos beharrlichem Flötenspiel, welches auf schamlos zudringende Art die Eingeweide bezauberte. Aber er wußte ein Wort, dunkel, doch das benennend, was kam: „*Der fremde Gott!*“ [...] Und die Begeisterten heulten den Ruf aus weichen Mitlauten und gezogenem u-Ruf am Ende, süß und wild zugleich wie kein jemals erhörter [...]. Mit den Paukenschlägen dröhnte sein Herz, sein Gehirn kreiste, Wut ergriff ihn, Verblendung, betäubende Wollust, und seine Seele beehrte sich anzuschließen dem Reigen des Gottes. Das obszöne Symbol, riesig, aus Holz, ward enthüllt und erhöht: da heulten sie zügelloser die Losung. Schaum vor den Lippen tobten sie, reizten einander mit geilen Gebärden und buhlenden Händen, lachend und ächzend, stießen die Stachelstäbe einander ins Fleisch und leckten das Blut von den Gliedern. [...] Ja, sie waren er selbst, als sie reißend und mordend sich auf die Tiere hinwarfen und dampfende Fetzen verschlangen, als auf zerwühltem Moosgrund grenzenlose Vermischung begann, dem Gotte zum Opfer.<sup>21</sup>

Thomas Manns kurz vor dem 1. Weltkrieg entstandene Erzählung *Der Tod in Venedig* präsentiert Dionysos in kulturkritischer Manier als eine mächtige, in den Tiefen der Psyche und der abendländischen Kultur wirkende fremde

19 Vgl. dazu allgemein Kupfer (2006), vor allem 87–219 und 387–478.

20 Vgl. Steiner (1993). – Auch Albert Henrichs betont (Henrichs [1993] 14 f.): „Dionysus and his followers can be seen as abandoning, shifting, or transcending the limits of everyday experience through their association with exalted or anomalous conditions such as intoxication, masquerade, illusion, trance, or madness.“

21 Mann (1963) 410 f. – Zur Bedeutung von Dionysos für das Verständnis von *Der Tod in Venedig* sowie von Manns Einarbeitung religionshistorischer Quellen vgl. Sandberg (1991) und Berger (1971).

Kraft, die den homosexuell veranlagten Protagonisten und Bildungsbürger Aschenbach in eine selbstimaginierte Welt und dann in den Untergang führen wird. Walter F. Otto und Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff werden rund zwanzig Jahre nach Thomas Mann die Formel vom ‚fremden Gott‘ aufgreifen und in der Religionsgeschichte popularisieren, so daß Dionysos auch noch für Marcel Detienne der „befremdliche Fremde“ par excellence ist.<sup>22</sup> Vor diesem Hintergrund erscheint Dionysos als der radikal Fremde, der stets anders und nicht greifbar ist, der wie kein anderer als Figur die Konzepte der Differenz und der Pluralität in religiöser, sozialer und ästhetischer Hinsicht verkörpert.

In Julien Greens 1921/22 entstandenem Prosagedicht *Dionysos ou la chasse aventureuse* erscheint Dionysos zunächst ebenfalls als ein fremder Gott, doch seine Fremdheit wird insofern relativiert, als daß sich am Ende des Textes der jüdisch-christliche Gott in seiner Inkarnation als Jesus Christus als der wahrhaft fremde Gott herausstellt:

Tu as vu quelque dieu étranger, reprit Dionysos. La mort sera le fruit de ton désir, car c'est un dieu sinistre qui s'est emparé de toi et tu ne te plairas que dans l'amertume de la solitude. Mes tigres mêmes auraient peur de tes caresses et mes guerriers craindraient la forme de tes baisers. Le vent parlera au sable, mais ta voix montera dans le silence. Adieu. Tu ne peux être à moi, ma beauté appartient à ceux qui ne rêvent pas.

Et le dieu s'éloigna. Il n'y avait pas de bacchantes auprès de lui, pas de bacchantes, mais de beaux jeunes soldats tachés par le sang du vin.<sup>23</sup>

Unter kultursoziologischen und sozialgeschichtlichen Gesichtspunkten geht die Faszination für Dionysos im Feld der Literatur und Kulturphilosophie also vielfach einher mit einem zivilisationskritischen Impuls, genauer gesagt, mit einem starkem Unbehagen über – bzw. mit einer tiefen Feindseligkeit gegen – die sich entwickelnde oder bereits voll entwickelte kommerzielle, industrielle und kapitalistisch-bürgerliche Gesellschaft, die zu einer Entzweiung von Mensch und Natur und zu einer Entfremdung der Menschen voneinander geführt haben soll. Dies läßt sich sowohl bei Schriftstellern und Denkern beobachten, die unter politischen Gesichtspunkten tendenziell eher dem linken Spektrum,<sup>24</sup> als auch bei Schriftstellern und Denkern, die eher dem

22 Vgl. Detienne (1995) 24–32. Die Formel vom ‚fremden Gott‘ geht allerdings auch direkt auf die Antike zurück: z. B. in Euripides' *Bakchen* (V. 233 passim) wird Dionysos als „der Fremde“ (gr. *xenos*) bezeichnet.

23 Green (1994) 101.

24 Exemplarisch dafür kann die von Georges Bataille gemeinsam mit Pierre Klossowski und André Masson gegründete Geheimgesellschaft und Zeitschrift *Acéphale* (wörtlich: ‚kopflös‘) gelten, in der auf programmatische Art und Weise Literatur, Religion, Philosophie und Soziologie zusammengeführt werden sollten; das 1937 erschienene Heft ist ausschließlich Dionysos gewidmet. Die Autoren und Herausgeber hofften damit – gerade auch im Rekurs auf Walter F. Ottos Buch von 1933 –, Dionysos dem

rechten Spektrum zugerechnet werden können. Das Motiv der dionysischen Zivilisationskritik ist bis in die angelsächsische Frühromantik zurückzufolgen. Vor dem Hintergrund einer klassizistischen und romantischen Kunstauffassung, welche die Darstellung des Allgemeingültigen und die Vermittlung normativer Werte propagiert, überrascht es nicht, daß im Zeichen des Dionysos/Bacchus eine Aufhebung der Entfremdung zwischen Mensch und Natur und zwischen den Menschen untereinander vollzogen werden sollte, um statt dessen eine Versöhnung und Harmonisierung zu propagieren.

Ein besonders markantes, frühes Beispiel hierfür bildet das Versepos *Endymion* (1818) des englischen Romantikers John Keats. Keats war, etwas verkürzt gesagt, ein ästhetischer Sensualist, der den Weg zur Wahrheit und Schönheit durch Instinkt und Intuition suchte. Er suchte nach der Idee, nach der Transzendenz oder nach dem Idealischen hinter der Wirklichkeit, die sich für ihn in einer zeitlosen, stillen und jenseitigen Schönheit, Wahrheit und Liebe offenbaren, um auf diese Weise die Entfremdung des modernen Menschen von der Natur, die sich durch die Industrialisierung und Urbanisierung der modernen Gesellschaft vollzieht, zu überwinden. Seine Suche beruht auf der Grundlage einer sinnlich-imaginativen Annäherung an die Wirklichkeit. Endymion, der sterbliche und melancholische Held von Keats' gleichnamiger poetischen und pastoralen Romanze in vier Büchern, sucht daher die ideale vergeistigte Liebe und jagt ihr im unsterblichen und vollkommenen Bild der Diana, der Cynthia und der Phoebe nach. Die Melancholie, Einsamkeit und Verzweiflung, die Endymion während seiner Wanderschaft erfährt, soll offenbar den Zustand des modernen Menschen widerspiegeln und wird vorübergehend in der dionysischen Gemeinschaft aufgehoben, als Bacchus mit seinem Gefolge erscheint und Endymion sich ihnen anschließt:

And as I sat, over the light blue hills  
 There came a noise of revellers: the rills  
 Into the wide stream came of purple hue –  
 'Twas Bacchus and his crew!  
 The earnest trumpet spake, and silver thrills  
 From kissing cymbals made a merry din –  
 'Twas Bacchus and his kin!  
 Like to a moving vintage down they came,  
 Crow'd with green leaves, and faces all on flame;  
 All madly dancing through the pleasant valley,  
 To scare thee, Melancholy!  
 O then, O then, thou wast a simple name!  
 And I forgot thee, as the berried holly

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Faschismus und Nationalsozialismus als massenbegeisternde soziale und historische Kraft zu entreißen.

By shepherds is forgotten, when, in June,  
Tall chestnuts keep away the sun and moon: –  
I rush'd into the folly!<sup>25</sup>

Die Suche nach dem Vergeistigten und Idealen wird also bei Keats suspendiert, so daß der Held paradoxerweise seine zwischenzeitliche Erfüllung in der Fülle und Üppigkeit der bacchantischen Sinnenwelt, in der dionysischen Gemeinschaft, im Wein und im Rausch findet:

For wine, for wine we left our kernel tree;  
For wine we left our heath, and yellow brooms,  
And cold mushrooms;  
For wine we follow Bacchus through the earth;  
Great god of breathless cups and chirping mirth!<sup>26</sup>

Keats harmonisierender Umgang mit Dionysos, der sich in einer Versöhnung des Menschen mit der Natur vollzieht, seine romantisch und antikapitalistisch fundierte Zivilisationskritik werden sich im Laufe des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts bei anderen Autoren radikalieren, so daß irrationalistische und vitalistische Überlegungen die Oberhand gewinnen. Eine symbolische Zivilisationskritik im Zeichen des Dionysos und des Rausches ist jedoch bereits bei ihm deutlich formuliert. Die dionysische Gemeinschaft und Welt, die der Dichter imaginiert, steht in klarer Opposition zur Realität, die ihn umgibt. Dies wird auch deutlich, wenn er in seinen Briefen von einer „wilden Ekstase“ oder einem „wunderbaren Exzeß“ spricht,<sup>27</sup> die zum einen die dionysische Voraussetzung für die poetische Imagination sind, zum anderen als Wirkung beim Leser hervorgerufen werden sollen.

Mit Bezug auf die genannten Beispiele ließe sich sagen, daß sich das moderne literarische und künstlerische Interesse an Dionysos aus zwei Quellen speist: einerseits aus einem Interesse am überlieferten Gegenstand selbst, dem antiken Gott und den mit ihm verbundenen Mythen und Kulte, antiken literarischen Zeugnissen usw., denen man eine Aktualität und Relevanz für die Moderne oder moderne Poetik zuschreibt – ein Beispiel dafür wäre etwa in jüngerer Zeit das Stück *Bakchen. Nach Euripides* von Raoul Schrott –;<sup>28</sup> andererseits aus einem dem Gegenstand äußerlichen Interesse, das mit dem

25 Keats (1951) 50, V. 193–208.

26 Ebd., V. 232–236.

27 Vgl. Gittings (1966) 69.

28 In Raoul Schrotts *Bakchen. Nach Euripides* (1999) betritt zu Beginn des Stückes Dionysos in einem „Aufgesang“ die Bühne. Dieser Aufgesang ist dem traditionellen Prolog, wie er von Euripides überliefert ist, vorangestellt. Am Ende des Stückes wird dieser „Aufgesang“ als „Abgesang“ wiederholt. Damit betont Schrott die selbstreflexive und metatheatrale Struktur des Stückes, die bereits bei Euripides angelegt ist und sich auf einer religiös-kultischen, sozialpolitischen und ästhetisch-performativen Ebene des Dramas entfaltet.

Rekurs auf die antike Tradition ausschließlich der Selbstverständigung dient. In diesem letzteren Fall wird Dionysos zu einem enthistorisierten Namen, der funktionalisiert und einer Aktualisierung unterzogen wird, um genuin moderne Phänomene und Probleme im Rückgriff auf die Antike auszudrücken und zu reflektieren – ein weiteres Beispiel dafür wäre der Roman *Der Tod in den Anden* (1993) von Mario Vargas Llosa, in dem Aspekte des Dionysos-Mythologems mit der politischen Situation im Peru der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts, nämlich mit der revolutionären Bewegung um den ‚Leuchtenden Pfad‘, verbunden werden.

### 3. Dionysos als Symbol

An das skizzierte Bedürfnis nach Rausch und Entgrenzung, das sich mit Dionysos verbinden läßt, mag auch der Wunsch nach einer Präsenzkultur, nach ekstatischer Unmittelbarkeit und nach reflexionsfreien Erlebnissen gebunden sein, wie sie sich in Entgrenzungs- und Transgressionsvorstellungen manifestieren, welche die französischen Sakralsoziologen um Georges Bataille und Roger Caillois symbolanalytisch untersuchten und auch im Zeichen des Dionysos propagierten.<sup>29</sup> Hier erscheint Dionysos als göttliches Symbol des individuellen, gemeinschaftlichen und kosmischen Rausches und vor allem des Sexus, worauf jegliches Leben, jegliche Sozietät und jegliche Geschichte beruhe, eine Vorstellung, der man auch im literarischen Werk von D.H. Lawrence immer wieder begegnet. In einem seiner letzten Gedichte greift Lawrence diesen Gedanken auf und schreibt:

THEY say the sea is loveless, that in the sea  
love cannot live, but only bare, salt splinters  
of loveless life.  
But from the sea

29 Vgl. Caillois (1937); Bataille (1957) 31–41; Maffesoli (1985). – Auch und gerade den *Bakchen* des Euripides wird in diesem Zusammenhang eine besondere Aktualität und Sprengkraft zugeschrieben. So betont z.B. Charles Segal ([1982/1997] 392 f.): „The triangular relations between Dionysus as god of wine, festivity, and ecstatic ritual within the polis, Dionysus as god of emotional release and possible madness, and Dionysus as god of the mask and dramatic illusion give the *Bacchae* a unique power and complexity. All three aspects of Dionysus are still powerful forces among us, and the balance between them can never be sure or stable. [...] Particularly if we extend the realm of Dionysus to include the contemporary reaches of his power – drugs, the exhilaration of rock music and its derivatives, the hypnotic effect of film and television, and the powerful effect of mimetic violence on sociopathic or antisocial individuals – then the *Bacchae* and its god will continue to have a life of their own into the new millennium, and the play will continue to enthrall, horrify, and divide its readers and viewers as energetically as it has done in the past.“



the dolphins leap round Dionysos' ship  
 whose masts have purple vines,  
 and up they come with the purple dark of rainbows  
 and flip! they go! with the nose-dive of sheer delight:  
 and the sea is making love to Dionysos  
 in the bouncing of these small happy whales.<sup>30</sup>

Auch für Ernst Jünger, einen langlebigeren Zeitgenossen dieser Autoren, ist Dionysos ein „Symbol“, eine „elementare Macht“. Im Gegensatz zu Lawrence oder Bataille wird aber im Zusammenhang mit Dionysos bei ihm nicht der Sexus emphatisiert, sondern der Rausch, denn für Jünger sind Rauschmittel die primären Zeichen des Dionysos. Der antike Gott ist für Jünger ein Ausdruck der „Elementarwelt“, welche der modernen bürgerlichen Welt, die unter einem „Symbolschwund“ leide,<sup>31</sup> antithetisch gegenübersteht.<sup>32</sup> Durch Dionysos entstehe eine Spannung zwischen der archaischen, urzeitlichen Elementarwelt und der modernen bürgerlichen Zivilisation, ja, diese antike Figur erhält bei Jünger eine dezidiert modernitätskritische Dimension. Dionysos ist für Jünger nicht Teil der historischen Welt, er unterliegt auch nicht der physikalischen und chronologischen Zeit, und dennoch greift er in die historische Wirklichkeit ein. „Alexander mußte aus Indien weichen“, schreibt Jünger 1970, „während Dionysos noch heute als namenloser Festherr regiert. Der Wein hat Europa stärker verändert als das Schwert. Immer noch gilt er als Medium kultischer Wandlungen.“<sup>33</sup> Im Zeichen des Dionysos sucht Jünger nach wahren, quasi-mystischen, elementaren, ganzheitlichen und gemeinschaftlichen Erfahrungen und Symbolen mitten im Zerfall der Bilderwelt der Moderne. Darin spiegelt sich nicht zuletzt eine Ablehnung gegenüber den bürgerlich-liberalen Vorstellungen von Individualität und kritischer Rationalität.<sup>34</sup>

Dionysos und seine Sphäre werden in solchen Zusammenhängen – und nicht nur von Jünger, sondern auch von Autoren wie Ludwig Klages, Stefan

30 D.H. Lawrence (1986) 236. – Wie viele andere moderne Autoren spielt Lawrence hier u. a. auf den 7. Homerischen Hymnos (auf Dionysos) an. Vgl. dazu auch Leege (in diesem Band).

31 Jünger (1970/2008) 24. – Jünger führt (ebd.) weiter aus: „Dem muß die Kunst Rechnung tragen, und sie tut es – zunächst *ex negativo*, doch mit tastenden Fühlhörnern. Entwertung der klassischen Symbole kennzeichnet jeden Stilwechsel. In einem großen Übergang indessen geht es nicht mehr um vereinzelte Symbole, sondern um die Symbolwelt überhaupt. Hier sei noch einmal erinnert an das, was in der *Zeitmauer* über die ‚Weißung‘ gesagt wurde. Sie ist letztthin nicht als nihilistischer Akt zu begreifen, sondern als *retour offensif*. Das Weiß ist nicht farblos, sondern die Zuflucht der farbigen Welt.“

32 Ebd. 29.

33 Ebd.

34 Vgl. Lebovic (2006).



George und bis zu einem gewissen Grade auch von D.H. Lawrence oder Ezra Pound – für ein reaktives Weltbild in Anspruch genommen, das sich primär durch das auszeichnet, zu dem es in Opposition steht: nämlich als Gegensatz zu den modernen Phänomenen der Industrialisierung, der Urbanisierung, der repräsentativen Demokratie, zur Entstehung der technisierten und sogenannten atomisierten Gesellschaft, zur instrumentellen Vernunft und wissenschaftlichen Rationalität und zum rationalistischen Erkenntnisobjekt. Dionysos wird zu einem zivilisationskritischen und vitalistisch aufgeladenem Symbol, das jenseits von Gut und Böse angesiedelt ist. Er fungiert als ein Gegenbild zu einem Begriff von Individualität, der durch Innerlichkeit, Expressivität und durch das liberale und aufklärerische Ideal gekennzeichnet ist, daß jedes Individuum anders und etwas Besonderes ist, daß es durch seine Originalität und Moralität selbstverantwortlich und selbstbestimmt festlegt, wie es in einer Gemeinschaft oder Gesellschaft in Freiheit und Würde leben will und soll. Diese Vorstellung wird als illusionär und repressiv gebrandmarkt. Dionysos als Symbol hingegen verspricht eine in kosmischer, psychischer und physischer Hinsicht ‚authentischere‘ Freiheit, die sich in der (vorübergehenden) Auslöschung der Ich-Grenzen ausdrückt, die als Bedingung kollektiver, gesellschaftlicher, individueller, künstlerischer und intellektueller Erneuerung angesehen wird.

#### 4. Der Gott der Dichter

Dionysos ist, wenn man den Bereich der kulturphilosophisch fundierten Zivilisationskritik verläßt, aber auch und gerade für das elitäre Selbstverständnis des modernen Dichters und Schriftstellers von Bedeutung. Rudolf Kassner hat 1937 – von Euripides, Horaz, Nonnos und Hölderlin her bekannte Motive aufgreifend – in seinem literarischen Essay *Der Weg. Dionysos und Christus* festgehalten,<sup>35</sup> daß Dionysos durch seine besondere Verbindung zu den Menschen, durch sein „Gottmenschentum“, durch „seine Verbindung mit den Tragödien, mit der Dichtung und den Dichtern [...] zuletzt der Gott der

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35 Die Amalgamierung von Dionysos und Christus, wie sie durch romantische Autoren wie Hölderlin, Novalis oder Schelling propagiert worden ist, wird von Manfred Frank auf eine postaufklärerische Sinnkrise zurückgeführt und in den geschichtsphilosophischen Kontext einer ‚Neuen Mythologie‘ gestellt. So schreibt er (Frank [1989] 117): „Die Renaissance des Dionysos-Christus als Gegenstand einer Neuen Mythologie hat ihr treibendes Motiv in der Hoffnung, das Andenken dieses Gottes sei wie kein anderes berufen, in Zeiten der Sinn-Krise, da der analytische Geist die religiöse Rechtfertigung in ihrer Substanz zu zerstören droht, eben diese Substanz – unter Verzicht auf ihre tradierte Form – späteren Geschlechtern zu retten. So jedenfalls stellt sich für Hölderlin, Creuzer und Schelling der Zusammenhang der Epoche des Sophokles/Euripides mit der eigenen dar.“

Dichter wurde“.<sup>36</sup> Als enthusiasmierender Gott des Weines, des Rausches, der Sexualität, der Maske und der künstlerischen Inspiration drängt er sich als ästhetisch-literarische Selbstbespiegelungsfigur für Dichter, Schriftsteller und Künstler auch in der Moderne geradezu auf. Darüber hinaus eignet sich Dionysos als poetologische und ästhetische Selbstverständigungsfigur durch seine besonders epiphanische Natur, die dann verbunden werden kann mit der modernen Vorstellung vom epiphanischen Charakter der Kunst, vom Kunstwerk als Ort einer Epiphanie,<sup>37</sup> die sich in den spezifischen Zeitmodi der ‚Plötzlichkeit‘ oder des ‚absoluten Präsens‘ vollziehen.<sup>38</sup> Dionysos und seine Sphäre bieten sich also an, um Ekstasen der Zeit, aber auch des Raumes in Szene zu setzen, wie man sie unter anderem bei Julien Green oder Ezra Pound antreffen kann. So überblendet Pound in seinem *Canto XVII* den Anblick des zeitgenössischen Venedig mit einer poetischen Evokation von Dionysos Zagreus; Raum und Zeit verschwimmen und werden auf diese Weise zum poetologischen Ausgangspunkt der Rede des lyrischen Ichs, der lyrischen *persona*:

So that the vines burst from my fingers  
And the bees weighted with pollen  
Move heavily in the vine shoots:  
Chirr – chirr – chir-rikk – a purring sound,

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36 Kassner (1937/1965) 148. – Wie eng die Verbindung zwischen Dionysos und den Menschen auch in der Moderne aufgefaßt wurde und bis heute wird, zeigt auch die Tatsache, daß ihm 2003 der Linguist und Historiker Andrew Dalby auf der Grundlage der antiken Überlieferung von Homer bis Nonnos sowie der religionshistorischen und altertumswissenschaftlichen Forschung sogar eine literarische Biographie gewidmet hat, die den Lebensweg des antiken Gottes von seiner Zeugung bis zum Aufstieg zum Olymp nachzeichnet, so als ob es sich bei Dionysos um eine Person handelt, die tatsächlich gelebt hat. „Dionysos selbst“, schreibt Dalby ([2005] 142), zusammenfassend und den Differenzcharakter des Dionysos gegenüber den anderen Göttern des griechischen Pantheons hervorhebend, „war kein typisches Mitglied des griechischen Pantheons“, denn er „repräsentierte keine menschliche Fähigkeit, sei es nun Liebe, Hass, Zorn oder Verzeihen; er stand für keine Naturkraft, Wind, Erdbeben oder Blitzschlag. Er vertrat eine Kraft, die sich der menschlichen Kontrolle entzieht, die wir aber nie gänzlich aussperren können: die Kraft, die sich unserer Sinne bemächtigt oder uns ‚außer uns‘ sein läßt, in ‚Ek-stase‘“.

37 Die Logik der Epiphanie kann die Struktur einer ‚Epiphanie des Seins‘ oder einer ‚Rahmen-Epiphanie‘ aufweisen. Letztere wäre als eine Weiterentwicklung der ersteren zu verstehen, und man könnte sie auch mit den Begriffen der ‚Plötzlichkeit‘, des ‚absoluten Präsens‘ oder der ‚Ekstase der Zeit‘ charakterisieren, die sich durch die Projektion eines Rahmens auf die dargestellte Wirklichkeit und durch ein Verfahren, das der modernistischen Poetik der Juxtaposition entspricht, ergeben. Vgl. dazu grundsätzlich das Kapitel „Epiphanien der Moderne“ in C. Taylor (1996) 789–854. Siehe auch die folgende Anm.

38 Die Begriffsprägungen ‚Plötzlichkeit‘ und ‚absolutes Präsens‘ stammen von Bohrer (1981) und (1994).

And the birds sleepy in the branches.  
     ZAGREUS! IO ZAGREUS!  
 With the first pale-clear of the heaven  
 And the cities set in their hills,  
 [...]
 And thence down to the creek's mouth, until evening,  
 Flat water before me,  
     and the trees growing in water,  
 Marble trunks out of stillness,  
 On past the palazzi,  
     in the stillness,  
 The light now, not of the sun.  
     Chrysoprase,  
 And the water green clear, and blue clear;  
 On, to the great cliffs of amber.<sup>39</sup>

Wie man an diesem Beispiel sehen kann, bildet Dionysos nicht nur eine aus der Tradition bekannte motivische Referenz, sondern weist in der modernen Dichtung formalästhetische und ästhetiktheoretische Charakteristika auf, die eher Fragen des künstlerischen Ausdrucks als stoff- und motivgeschichtliche Fragen betreffen.<sup>40</sup> Gerade auf dem Feld der Dichtung ist zu beobachten, daß Dionysos immer mehr in die Sprache, in das gestaltete poetische Sprachmaterial und in die Sprachreflexion selbst verlegt worden ist, wie der zitierte Ausschnitt von Ezra Pounds *Canto XVII* zeigt.

Ebenso hat Saint-John Perse in seinem 1950 veröffentlichten Langgedicht *Amers* diesem poetologischen und geradezu sprachtheoretischen Aspekt Ausdruck verliehen: In der „Invocation“ des Langgedichtes beschwört das lyrische Ich, das sich als ein Dichter zu erkennen gibt, das Meer und eine dionysisch-ekstatische Sprache, so daß sich eine Sprachbewegung ergibt, die sich als „Récitation en marche vers l'Auteur et vers la bouche peinte de son masque“ manifestiert.<sup>41</sup> Die referentielle Bezugnahme auf Dionysos und die dionysische Sphäre wird zu einem analytischen und poetologischen Unternehmen, das sich aber nicht so sehr in stoff- und motivgeschichtlicher Hinsicht vollzieht; vielmehr geraten die Sprache und das jeweilige poetische Idiom ins Zentrum des Interesses. Im Mittelpunkt stehen daher Fragen nach der Syntax, der Prosodie und dem Vokabular, die in erster Linie die Stratifikation des Versbaus

39 Pound (1964) 42.

40 So betont der Kunstphilosoph Abraham Kaplan für die modernen Künste nicht zu Unrecht, daß „Referenz, wo sie in den Künsten auftritt, auch tatsächlich wesentlich ist, aber nicht als Referenz, sondern als etwas, das zum Ausdruck beiträgt“, Kaplan (1992) 492. Dies scheint im besonderen Maße für die Verwendung von Dionysos durch die moderne Dichtung zuzutreffen.

41 Saint-John Perse (1987) 68. Der Dichter versteht *Amers* auf poetologischer Ebene als eine Umschreibung der antiken Tragödienform. Vgl. zur Bedeutung des Dionysos für *Amers*: Py (1976).

und die metaphorische Bilderproduktion betreffen. Es wäre jedoch ein Mißverständnis, wenn man diese Tatsache als rein formalistische Spielerei verstünde, denn in diesen formalen Aspekten zeigt sich auch eine existentielle Befragung dichterischer Selbstbestimmung und Selbstreflexion.

## 5. Kritisch-existentielle dionysische Poetiken

Es ist also evident, daß Dionysos nicht nur im Kontext des antiken griechischen Polytheismus und innerhalb der Geschichte der modernen Antiken-Rezeption und -Transformation eine besondere Stellung einnimmt, sondern auch in der Geschichte der modernen Selbstreflexion und in der Geschichte der ästhetischen Moderne.<sup>42</sup> So reflektiert William Butler Yeats, der ebenfalls einige Gedichte zu Dionysos verfaßt hat,<sup>43</sup> die dionysische Sphäre evozierend, in seiner Autobiographie, nachdem er von seinen Erlebnissen im Jahr 1896 während der Tumulte bei der Uraufführung von Alfred Jarrys *Ubu Roi* im Pariser *Théâtre de L'Œuvre* berichtet hat, über die entstehende modernistische und avantgardistische Literatur und Kunst:

Nach Stéphane Mallarmé, nach Paul Verlaine, nach Gustave Moreau, nach Puviv de Chavannes, nach unsren eigenen Gedichten, nach all unseren subtilen Farben und feinnervigen Rhythmen, nach den zarten Mischtönen von Conder, was kann noch kommen? Nach uns der wüste Gott.<sup>44</sup>

Des wüsten, wilden Charakters des Dionysos und der mit ihm verbundenen Poetiken, Ästhetiken und Lebensauffassungen haben sich auch Autoren wie Thomas Mann, Cesare Pavese oder Federico García Lorca angenommen und sie einer nachdenklichen Analyse unterzogen. In *Der Tod in Venedig*, in den *Dialoghi con Leuco*, in *Il diavolo sulle colline* oder in den *Canciones* läßt sich nicht allein eine kultur- und lebensphilosophisch fundierte, mythisierende und ar-

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42 Die Ausdrücke ‚modern‘/ ‚Moderne‘ sollen hier sowohl als Epochenbezeichnungen als auch als spezifische ästhetische Kategorien verstanden werden, welche die Kunst oder das Kunstwerk in Beziehung setzen zu den Konzepten der Autonomie, Authentizität und Alterität (wobei Autonomie hier in einem dreifachen Sinne verstanden werden muß: auf der Ebene des Produzenten, des Werks und des Rezipienten), den drei theoretischen Eckpfeilern der ästhetischen Moderne also, deren erster bedeutender Repräsentant in der Literatur Charles Baudelaire war. Dabei ist erneut festzuhalten, daß die historischen Wurzeln der Moderne in der deutschen und angelsächsischen Romantik liegen. Ihren Höhepunkt und auch ihr Ende bilden jedoch die einzelnen Avantgarden innerhalb des Hochmodernismus, die Octavio Paz als die „Tradition des Bruchs“ bezeichnet hat, die nicht nur „die Negation der Tradition, sondern auch des Bruchs“ selbst impliziere. Vgl. Paz (1989) 11.

43 Vgl. etwa seine *Two Songs for a Play* aus seinem Drama *The Resurrection* von 1931.

44 Yeats (1973) 335.

chaisierende Perspektive der Geschichte, Kultur und menschlichen Existenz im Zeichen des Dionysos beobachten (die Cesare Pavese in einer Tagebuchnotiz mit den Worten „Sexualität, Alkohol, Blut. Die drei dionysischen Momente des menschlichen Lebens: man entgeht ihnen nicht, entweder das eine oder das andere“ pointiert zum Ausdruck brachte<sup>45</sup>). Vor allem läßt sich anhand dieser (aber auch anderer) poetischer Werke eine ästhetische Reflexion über die Möglichkeiten, Grenzen und Gefahren einer dionysischen Kunst-, Literatur- und Lebensauffassung rekonstruieren. In seinem 1927 veröffentlichten metapoetischen Gedicht *Verlaine/Baco* aus dem Zyklus *Tres retratos con sombra (Drei Portraits mit Schatten)*, das im Zusammenhang von García Lorcás Auseinandersetzung mit der Poetik Paul Verlaines und derjenigen Rubén Daríos, der ein glühender Verehrer Verlaines, des Gottes Dionysos und nicht zuletzt der Begründer des *modernismo* war, entstanden ist, evoziert der granadinische Dichter Dionysos als den Gott des Feigenbaumes, Dionysos Sykites. In einem sexualisierten Bild verschränkt García Lorca poetologische, existentielle und kulturphilosophische Elemente, um die Gefahr einer dionysisch verstandenen Existenz sowie die Grenzen eines symbolistisch-modernistischen Idiolekts lyrisch zu veranschaulichen und zu analysieren:

*Verlaine*

La canción,  
que nunca diré,  
se ha dormido en mis labios.  
La canción,  
que nunca diré.

Sobre las madre selvas  
había una luciérnaga,  
y la luna picaba  
con un rayo en el agua.

Entonces yo soñé,  
la canción,  
que nunca diré.

Canción llena de labios  
y de cauces lejanos.

Canción llena de horas  
perdidas en la sombra.

Canción de estrella viva  
sobre un perpetuo día.

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45 Pavese (1990) 345.

*Baco*

Verde rumor intacto.  
La higuera me tiende sus brazos.

Como una pantera, su sombra,  
acecha mi lírica sombra.

La luna cuenta los perros.  
Se equivoca y empieza de nuevo.

Ayer, mañana, negro y verde,  
rondas mi cerco de laureles.

¿Quién te querría como yo,  
si me cambiaras el corazón?

... Y la higuera me grita y avanza  
terrible y multiplicada.<sup>46</sup>

In *Drei Portraits mit Schatten* besteht jede poetische Huldigung aus zwei Gedichten, die in einen Dialog treten. Auf der einen Seite stehen Verse, die in einem nachahmenden und dadurch analysierenden – und keineswegs apologetischen – Gestus geschrieben sind; auf der anderen Seite steht eine mythische Figur, welche die Grenzen der jeweiligen Poetik oder Ästhetik aufzeigt. Lorca bewundert die Feinheit, Subtilität und Musikalität der Verlaineschen Verse, doch zugleich deutet der Schatten (Bacchus) auf die tödliche Bedrohung des poetischen Vermögens durch eine Poetik des Rausches und der Wollust hin („verde rumor intacto“). Es ist ganz offensichtlich, daß Lorca im *Verlaine*-Teil den französischen Dichter nachahmt, indem er etwa, wie beim Refrain eines Liedes, die beiden Verse „la canción / que nunca diré“ wiederholt. Diese beiden Verse lassen sich durchaus als Echo auf Verlaines Zyklus *Romances sans paroles* (1874) verstehen, in denen eine Bevorzugung des klanglichen und dionysischen Ausdrucks gegenüber der Semantik der einzelnen Wörter formuliert wird. Das Gedicht evoziert auch eine typische Landschaft Verlainescher Prägung, eine im Mondschein liegende Landschaft,

46 García Lorca (1957) 311 f. – „*Verlaine* / Das Lied, das ich niemals singen werde, ist auf meinen Lippen eingeschlafen. Das Lied, das ich niemals singen werde. / Auf Geißblättern befand sich ein Glühwürmchen, und der Mond stach mit einem Strahl ins Wasser. / Damals träumte ich das Lied, das ich niemals singen werde. / Lied voller Lippen und ferner Flußbetten. / Lied voller im Schatten verlorener Stunden. / Lied vom lebenden Stern über einem ewigen Tag. // *Bacchus* / Grünes unberührtes Rauschen. / Der Feigenbaum streckt mir die Arme entgegen. // Wie ein Panther stellt sein Schatten / meinem lyrischen Schatten nach. // Der Mond zählt die Hunde. / Er irrt sich und beginnt von neuem. // Gestern, morgen, schwarz und grün / umkreist du meinen Reif aus Lorbeeren. // Wer liebte dich so wie ich, / wenn du mir das Herz austauschen solltest? // ... Und der Feigenbaum schreit mich an und schreit / furchterregend und vervielfältigt voran.“ (Interlinear-Übersetzung: R.S.M.).

bei der es sich möglicherweise um einen Park mit einem Teich handelt, wie etwa in Verlaines Gedicht „La lune blanche“ aus *La bonne chanson*. Lorca fügt nun in diese Szenerie mit der „madreselva“ (Geißblatt) nicht nur ein wildes, bedrohliches und todbringendes Element ein, sondern auch ein kreationistisches Bild, das eine gewaltsame Penetration – mit vertauschten Geschlechterrollen – anschaulich macht: „y la luna picaba / con un rayo en el agua“ (und der Mond stach mit einem Strahl ins Wasser). Das nichtgesungene und niemals zu singende Lied Verlaines ist das Lied des lebenden Sterns, der sich über die Vorstellung eines ewigen Tages erhebt.

Der *Bacchus*-Teil ist ein besonders explizites Schatten-Gedicht und stellt den Rausch und die Sexualität als Bedrohung für das dichterische Vermögen des lyrischen Ichs dar, dessen Haupt mit einem Reif oder Metallring aus (apollinischem!) Lorbeer bekränzt ist. Der dionysisch und biblisch aufgeladene Feigenbaum öffnet in bedrohlicher Art und Weise seine Arme. Sein Schatten, der im Grunde genommen ein Schatten des Schattens ist, stellt wie ein Panther dem Schatten des lyrischen Ichs nach, wobei das Bild des Liedes voller im Schatten verlorener Stunden aus dem *Verlaine*-Teil (Vers 15–16) hiermit aufgegriffen wird. Der Panther-Vergleich führt ebenfalls in die dionysisch-bakchische, weiblich-raubtierhafte, für die modernistische Ästhetik charakteristische Sphäre, die hier die apollinisch nobilitierte Dichter-*persona* bedroht. Was Lorca damit erreicht, ist eine kritische und poetologische Zergliederung der dionysisch aufgeladenen Sprache symbolistisch-modernistischer Provenienz. Auch hier läßt sich die bereits im Zusammenhang mit Ezra Pound und Saint-John Perse erwähnte Verlagerung der dionysischen Sphäre in das Sprachmaterial beobachten.

Zusammenfassend läßt sich sagen, daß Dionysos und die dionysische Sphäre eine außergewöhnliche und oft ambivalente Faszination in motivischer, thematischer, poetologischer und ästhetischer Hinsicht auf moderne Künstler, Dichter und Denker ausgeübt haben. Diese Faszination ist primär durch Attraktion, aber auch durch Abstoßung gekennzeichnet, und ebenso durch häufige Versuche, die Anstößigkeit des so faszinierenden antiken Gottes durch seine Überblendung mit Christus zu mildern. Besonders auffällig ist, daß Dionysos immer wieder in einen Zusammenhang mit kulturphilosophischen und zivilisationskritischen Überlegungen gestellt wurde, so daß er quasi zu einem modernitätskritischen Symbol avancieren konnte. Darüber hinaus wird er von modernen Dichtern und Schriftstellern zu einer privilegierten dichterischen Selbstbespiegelungsfigur gemacht. Diese Bedeutung beschränkt sich aber nicht allein auf das dichterische Selbstverständnis, sondern hinterläßt ihre Spuren in poetologischen und sprachtheoretischen Reflexionen sowie in der poetischen Praxis, wenn es darum geht, ein modernes oder modernistisches poetisches Idiom zu schaffen oder analytisch zu transformieren. Vor diesem

Hintergrund erscheint Dionysos tatsächlich als eine Chiffre der ästhetischen Moderne.





## Re-Reading Dionysos in the Theater

*Froma I. Zeitlin*

Here I am once again. Now for those of you who believe what I just told you, that I am a god, you are going to have a terrific evening. The rest of you are in trouble. It's going to be an hour and a half of being up against the wall. Those of you who do believe can join us in what we do next. It's a celebration, a ritual, an ordeal, an ecstasy. An ordeal is something you go through. An ecstasy is what happens to you when you get there.

William Finley as Dionysos in *Dionysus in 1969*

Richard Schechner's innovative, even shocking, production of Euripides' *Bacchae*, in 1969, aptly titled *Dionysus in 69*, played for a year and half in a theater in New York's Soho called The Performing Garage. As one who was present at one of the crowded performances can attest, the passionate, often controversial, interest in the play showed that it was nothing if not a child of its time: in fact, until the 1960's, the drama had never been performed in any version on a commercial stage in the United States during the earlier twentieth century. But this was the time of radical social transition, "reflected in diverging social values between old and young, rich and poor, whites and blacks, male and female sexual roles, and above all, between advocates and opponents of war in Vietnam."<sup>1</sup> It was a time too when drugs in the search for ecstasy and relaxation of inhibitions took over. The insistence on self-expression was often combined, paradoxically, with a quest for community outside the ordinary social rules and institutional conventions.<sup>2</sup> The themes of the *Bacchae* – violence, madness, ecstasy, release of libidinal energy, relations between extremes of group and individual, challenges to authority, transgressions of taboos, sexual expression, and freedom of moral choice – are

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1 Shephard (1991) 238–239. As Hartigan (1995) 67 puts it, "protests against this conflict escalated to protests by the young against all authority figures; freedom of expression carried over to the realm of sex as well as speech."

2 Hartigan (1995) 67. Quotation and paraphrase. 1968 was also the year that the famed rock musical, *Hair*, which opened in 1967, moved to Broadway. In its celebration of "the dawning of the Age of Aquarius", this tribal love rock musical is described in terms similar to *Dionysus in 69*. It touched on the "drug culture, hippies, the new sexual morality, the generation gap, and most enduringly, peace demonstrations and a strong anti-war message." Clasz (1991) 13, 15.

precisely those which found quite uncanny analogues in the cultural conflicts of the day. It seemed in truth like a Dionysiac age in more ways than one: the long hair, androgynous dress, rock concerts, communes, and ‘dropping out’ of the bourgeois culture. It was a time of an exaltation of life on the margins. At the same time, experiments with different life styles and attitudes went hand in hand with artistic experimentation in theater, which challenged both actors and audience in new and unsettling ways. With all its faults, all its lapses in taste, its experimental risks (and there were many), including nudity on stage, *Dionysus in 69* as a socially, politically and above all theatrically radical interpretation of Euripides’ *Bacchae*, remains a landmark in the history of the reception of Greek theater in the modern era.

This judgment is due not least in its insistence on the suggestive, even evocative use of invented ritual as a shaping force of the drama. One of the most striking effects, in fact, in Schechner’s reworking of the *Bacchae* was its evocation of ritual by the introduction of the so-called “birth ritual” just after the formal opening of the play. This ritual followed the entrance of Dionysos, when he introduced himself to the audience and announced he was about to be born (fig. 1).

The very same ritual, but in reverse, was matched at the end of the play as a “death ritual” for Pentheus (fig. 2).

Now, instead of facing away from Pentheus, the women faced toward him; instead of helping him through, they raised their bloody hands over their heads. Front and back were reversed in this formation in a perfect symmetrical counterpoint with its opposite, and taken together, these two rituals served as unifying elements of the entire play.<sup>3</sup>

If anything, the success of *Dionysus in 69* demonstrates the degree to which each era chooses, not just the interpretations that match up to its own preoccupations, but even regulates the choice of a particular drama itself,<sup>4</sup> and the trend continues.<sup>5</sup>

Corresponding perhaps to this Zeitgeist has been the intense academic interest over these years that has focused on the *Bacchae*, the myths and cults of Dionysos embedded in the theater, and Greek tragedy itself as an integral element of state-sponsored institutions over which the god, who lent his name

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3 Schechner in *Dionysus in 69* (1970) n.p. The “death ritual” took the place of the reported *sparagmos* in Euripides.

4 “More Greek tragedy has been performed in the last thirty years than at any point in history since Greco-Roman antiquity. Translated, adapted, staged, sung, danced, parodied, filmed, *enacted*, Greek tragedy has proven magnetic to writers and directors searching for new ways in which to pose questions to contemporary society and to push back the boundaries of theater.” Hall (2004) 2.

5 See Appendix (with fig. 3–12) for images of recent productions of the play in addition to other adaptations.

to the festival, is thought to have presided.<sup>6</sup> Whether “nothing to do with Dionysos”, as the saying went, or “everything to do with Dionysos”, or somewhere in between, no scholarly consensus has emerged, certainly not for the *Bacchae*, which has remained a hotbed of conflicting interpretations. The range of recent scholarly work, which has proliferated in recent years, has not resulted in any solid consensus, despite genuine advances in our understanding of the play. Is the message of the *Bacchae*, for example, deeply conservative, even misogynistic, or is it, on the contrary, subversive, in challenging normative restrictions of law and order? Is the outcome positive in the triumph of divinity over authoritarian resistance? Or, is it negative, in that the price to be paid in the eradication of three generations of the royal family in Thebes is too high? Few today would subscribe to such extremes of position at either end. Rather, we are attuned to Euripides’ deeper irony that the Dionysos of the play, as Dionysos himself more generally, finally eludes strict definition, as though once again he eludes his would-be captor.<sup>7</sup>

For whatever the differences of opinion, whatever the difference in methodological approaches (anthropological, literary, philosophical, and psychological) or whatever the engagement in newer theoretical positions (such as structuralism, narratology, post-structuralism, semiotics, performance theory, gender criticism, etc.), whatever the differences in emphasis – religious, civic, theatrical – a careful attunement to the specifics of Greek, that is, Athenian, culture in context have expanded our own horizons of understanding. This holds true not just for the *Bacchae*, but for the pervasive effects of the Dionysiac (whatever we take this term to signify) that saturate the genre of drama, both tragedy and comedy. No one could deny finally that, as Chris Faraone puts it, “Dionysos is the most complex and multifaceted of all the Greek gods”, who embodies a resistance to stable oppositions, crossing the boundary between outside and inside, far and near, nature and culture, male and female, god and mortal.<sup>8</sup> Hence our endless fascination and that of Schechner’s too. Hence too our indebtedness to those other toilers in that same vineyard: Albert Henrichs, Charles Segal, Richard Seaford, Helene Foley, Renate Schlesier, Henk Versnel, Jean-Pierre Vernant, and Tony Bierl,

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6 For the most recent survey and discussion of the critical literature, see Segal (1982/1997) 349–393, with bibliographies, 405–411. In addition, there has been a remarkable number of translations of the play in the last decade or more alone. There are ten of them, some by distinguished poets. No other Greek tragedy has fared this well.

7 The previous discussion of *Dionysus in 69* is mostly drawn from Zeitlin (2004) passim. I have abbreviated the footnotes to that essay in the current context.

8 Faraone (1993) 1.

to name only a few of the most enduring voices, who have grappled with the variegated manifestations of this enigmatic deity in the theater.<sup>9</sup>

I began this talk with a backward look at the revolutionary *Dionysus in 69* as a point of departure for my own engagement with Dionysos and the theater, a topic which has pervaded virtually all my work on Greek drama, ever since I embarked on my own career at just about that time. When Renate Schlesier invited me to this conference – a favorite colleague to one of my favorite cities on a topic so dear to my heart, in the context of this remarkable exhibition, and in such distinguished company – I professed my profound interest but also confessed that I was not certain that I had something really new to say on the topic of Dionysos and theater. She suggested at once that a retrospective overview of my thinking about the topic and that excerpts from previous texts would be more than welcome, and I agreed, although, I admit, with some trepidation.

This effort, however, has been an enlightening and even an exhilarating experience. When I took a brief inventory, I realized the extent to which the figure of Dionysos had appeared in so many guises, in so many contexts, wherever I seemed to go – in cultic and ritual formations, in questions of form and genre, paradigms and plot patterns, in person and in metaphor, and more generally, in the anatomy of literary, especially, theatrical texts, both comic and tragic. For me, all these elements tended to come together through an overarching sense of their interlinking at different levels of discourse, representation, and performance that was often, but not exclusively, organized around the category of gender and the dynamics of its manifold and varying uses as an essential structuring element of Greek literature and, more generally, of the social and cultural imagination.<sup>10</sup>

Before continuing, however, let me offer a few general perceptions of what I see as the pervasive influence of the god in theatrical, religious, and socio-political terms. I understand the workings of Dionysos in such theatrical conventions as those fatal doublings and reversals in the mechanics of *anagnorisis* and *peripeteia*, together with the inevitable ambiguities of identity and the fatal blurring of all the boundaries that are designed to maintain a system of defined polarities.<sup>11</sup> With regard to ritual and religious elements of the drama, I look to the god's effects, starting from the confusion between

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9 E.g., Bierl (1991), Foley (1985), Henrichs, esp. (1994/95); Seaford (1981, 1993, 1994, 2006a), Segal (1982/1997), Schlesier (1985, 1988, 1993a, 2007b), Vernant (1988c), and Versnel (1990). Scullion (2002) is the most vociferous adversary of a ritualistic view of tragedy, based on Dionysos, and concomitantly, of the value of Dionysiac references or allusions in the plays themselves.

10 Zeitlin (1982), Zeitlin (1982/1996), Zeitlin (1986/1990), Zeitlin (1989/1996), Zeitlin (1991/1996), Zeitlin (1996), Zeitlin (2002), Zeitlin (2004), Zeitlin (2008).

11 Foley (1980) and (1985), Segal (1982/1997), Vernant (1990).

mortals and immortals (that can be referred to the anomalous status of the god whose identity requires recognition) and extending to the shape of tragic and inverted sacrifice that crosses the lines between animal and human categories.<sup>12</sup> Additionally, I ascribe the uses of maenadism and madness, and the transformation of life-giving Dionysiac ecstasy and revelry into the madness of passion, vengeance, and bloodshed.<sup>13</sup> But ritual too meets up with theater in its enactments on stage.<sup>14</sup> Pentheus in the *Bacchae* serves us well as an exemplar: the robing of the king of Thebes as a would-be maenad, suggests a wider and more emblematic set of significations beyond its context in the play. These refer both to the conditions of Dionysiac ritual itself as a deadly version of initiation into the mysteries of the god's worship, and to the conditions of the theater of Dionysos and the conventions of its artistic representations.<sup>15</sup> For the first, Pentheus must be dressed as a woman for consecration to the god as the surrogate beast-victim he will become in the ritual on the mountain; for the second, the costuming of Pentheus reminds us that the theater requires mimetic disguise by which it creates and maintains its status as dramatic representation.<sup>16</sup> Through this scene we arrive at the dynamic basis of Greek drama, catching a momentary glimpse of the secrets of its ritual prehistory as it merges with and is imitated by the techniques of the theater. Finally, Pentheus and his unfortunate encounter with the god can also serve us well from a socio-political viewpoint.<sup>17</sup> Here we discern the god's function when it comes to questions of change and cultural innovation which are associated with the advent of the god and which especially involve categories of both 'otherness' and the status of the 'other' in respect to the self, the family, and the community as a whole.<sup>18</sup>

These generalities are far too general for an essay of this kind. I turn instead to two of my favorite themes: the first is the contrast between Thebes and Athens in the theater, in this instance with regard to Dionysos and the representation of his differing role in each city.<sup>19</sup> The second involves the god's unusual biography as a model or potential model in the construction of tragic plots, as exemplified, in this instance, in the *Ion*, that most Athenian of all plays, in its search for and final success in acquiring a male heir to assure the

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12 On tragic sacrifice and Dionysos, see Burkert (1966), Guépin (1968), Detienne (1979), Segal (1982/1997).

13 Guépin (1968), Seaford (1981), Schlesier (1985) and (1993a).

14 The foregoing remarks on Dionysos are adapted from Zeitlin (1993).

15 For the fullest account of this hypothesis, see Seaford (1981).

16 For the metatheatrical aspects of this scene in particular (and the play as a whole), see Foley (1980), (1985) 205–258, and Segal (1982) 215–271.

17 The remarks on Pentheus are adapted from Zeitlin (1985/1996).

18 This last sentence is quoted from Zeitlin (1993).

19 See the full discussion in Zeitlin (1993).

dynastic future of the ruling family in Athens. This *dénouement* does not take place, however, before almost reenacting what I suggested is a Theban scenario of a tragic Dionysos.

### Dionysos between Thebes and Athens

In previous work I proposed that Thebes in the theater was configured in the negative as the “anti-city” to Athens’ manifest image of itself with regard to the proper management of the polis in social, political, and religious affairs.<sup>20</sup> I argued that this ‘Thebes’, unlike ‘Athens’, consistently sets the stage for a drama that can furnish no enduring way of escaping the tragic through the provision of a familial or civic future beyond the world of the play. In Thebes, we cannot look forward to the continuation of lineage or the assurance of legitimate rule, nor do we hear prophecies that forecast alliances with other parties or promote institutional foundations, such as the establishment of law courts and the beneficial inauguration of commemorative cult.<sup>21</sup> This general rule seems to prevail, whatever the cast of characters and whatever the different myths deployed that share a common terrain in – Kadmos and the Sown Men, the house of Laios, including Oedipus and his progeny, even Herakles with his Theban provenance as in Euripides’ tragedy of the same name, and, of course, the god Dionysos himself, whose claim to divinity disrupts the maintenance of order in the entire city, with dire results.

By contrast to the closed system that is Thebes, Athens is the city that is depicted as admitting outsiders into its community: Euripides’ Herakles is led away by Theseus to sanctuary in Athens, and both heroes (Herakles and Oedipus) repay their common benefactor with profitable cults for the city on Attic territory. Admission into Athens in certain circumstances appears to be the only alternative to the typical finale at home, which ends with the destruction of the ruling family or the unhappy dispersal of its remaining members.<sup>22</sup>

In this context, I take Thebes and Athens, as the two endpoints of a theatrical spectrum that respectively define a negative and positive pole of Dionysiac action in the city. The key factor is the outcome of the scenario and

20 Zeitlin (1986/1990). See also Sabbatucci (1978) and Vidal-Naquet (1990).

21 See also Sabbatucci (1978) 117–141, whose argument, although cogent and daring in many respects, is everywhere ruled by an a priori opposition between *genos* vs. *polis*.

22 In Aeschylus’ *Septem*, the enemy brothers self-destruct in mutual fratricide. In Sophocles’ *Oedipus Tyrannus*, the king, now blind, his right to rule exposed as a crime, begs for exile. At the end of the *Antigone*, no one is left but the failed ruler, Kreon; in the *Phoenissae* Oedipus and his daughter are exiled; the *Bacchae* is even more extreme in the fates of Pentheus, Kadmos, and Agave.

the extent to which a given drama succeeds in ‘stabilizing’ Dionysos, the very figure of instability, and in converting his energies into progressive (non-tragic) results. The key to this process is to establish the nature of the god’s power in relation to the different company he keeps (notably, Ares and Aphrodite at Thebes, Athena and Demeter at Athens). Positioning the god between the two antithetical forces of an Ares and an Aphrodite seemed to typify the workings of Dionysos in the tragic theater of Thebes, by which the powers of passion and madness he inspires oscillate between the spheres of war and love. All three divine figures can be invoked as protective gods of the city in the roles they played in its foundation. Kadmos, we may recall, was given Harmonia, the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, for his wife. Her name logically signifies the result of a union between the two antithetical principles of Ares and Aphrodite and it represents too the idealized emblem of the marriage act, whose function it is to conjoin the opposite sexes. But in Thebes, Harmonia is finally only an unhappy delusion. How can it be otherwise in a place where both War (Ares) and Love (Aphrodite) stand for illegal impulses in both the city and the family, where their union leads not to domestic or political tranquility, but, as in the house of Laios, to incestuous mixtures (Oedipus and Iokasta) and internal strife (the battle between their two sons)?<sup>23</sup>

The *Antigone* is an excellent case in point where it can be shown how Dionysos is progressively drawn into the destructive orbit of both Aphrodite and Ares (think, Haimon and Kreon),<sup>24</sup> but for constraints of space, I will refer here only to the *Bacchae* and the way in which the play frames Dionysos between these same two divinities, but in a different key, this time with Ares, as it were, enlisted to fight against Aphrodite. Pentheus’ intention is to go forth from the city as a warrior, leading an army against Dionysos and his female followers (e. g., *Bacch.* 50–54, 780–785) because he imagines that the Theban women in the mountains are engaged not in the god’s mysteries, as he is told, but in unholy unions of Aphrodite (221–225; cf. 459). The benign Aphrodite is indeed elsewhere, and the chorus of Lydian Bacchants, in their longing for escape from the oppressive confines of Thebes, indeed envisage the goddess of love far away on her sacred island of Cyprus, the romantic site of “heart-melting Erotes and the profusion of river’s streams that make the earth fertile” (402–408). Dionysos himself is poised between his role as the seductive stranger (“he has the charms of Aphrodite in his eyes”, says Pentheus at 236) and a stated affinity with Ares (302), and, like Pentheus, Dionysos is ready to

23 See Ramnoux (1968), who, starting from Lévi-Strauss’ famous structuralist analysis of the Oedipus myth, revises his terms in the light of both Theban myth and Presocratic thought (Empedocles), each organized around the antithetical principles of War and Love, Conjunction and Disjunction.

24 For discussion of the *Antigone*, see Zeitlin (1993) 154–58.



engage his troop of Lydian maenads in battle against the army of the king (50–52).<sup>25</sup> As it turns out in the *Bacchae*, Dionysos does not choose the way of Ares to demonstrate his power and destroy his earth-born adversary. Instead he arouses the king's voyeuristic desire (*eis erota* [...] *megan*, 813) to bring him to the mountain.

This is one instance of a recurrent situation on the territory of Thebes, where Dionysos, as I am suggesting in one way or another, is drawn into the circle of Ares and Aphrodite, both protectors and destroyers of the family and the polis. By contrast in Athens, it is Demeter and Athena, futilely invoked in a Theban context (as in Euripides' *Phoenissae*),<sup>26</sup> who between them can be said to anchor Dionysos and to divert his potentially negative effects or to capture his creative powers for the benefit of the city. Athena is, of course, the poliadic goddess who rules over the city, while Demeter's influence is more complex, and this for two reasons: in the first place, it is shared between her Thesmophoric and Eleusinian functions in the promotion of Athens, and in the second, the fact of Kore's descent into the underworld is itself susceptible of a double and antithetical meaning. Taken in its entirety, that myth follows the trajectory from sorrow and loss to recovery and joy and thus provides the regenerative patterns we may sometimes find in the theater. This is the case especially in Athens, as we are about to see in the *Ion*, but never in Thebes, where, for example, in both the *Antigone* and the *Phoenissae* the emphasis falls instead on the deathly union of Persephone and Hades (*Ant.* 810–816; cf. 654) in the first instance and the tragedy of a mother's sorrow in the second (*Phoen.* 1259–1263, 1280–1283, 1454–1459).

### Biography of Dionysos and the *Ion*

Turning now to the *Ion*, let me first outline in advance the elements of a Dionysiac biography that will aid us in assessing the relevance of the god's story to Euripides' drama.

PARENTAGE: Child of a mortal mother and an immortal father (Semele, Zeus). Who am I? Where do I belong?

25 Note that Teiresias reduces the link between Dionysos and Aphrodite which has a powerful hold over the mind of Pentheus ("the god neither compels a woman to be chaste with regard to Kypris nor will he corrupt her", *Bacch.* 314–318; cf. 686–688, 940), but confirms those between Dionysos and Ares ("he shares in a certain portion of Ares' domain", in his capacity to induce panic and madness in the troops, 302–304), even though Dionysos and Ares are never associated in cult. On Ares and Dionysos in Theban dramas, see Longo (1986) and also Lonnoy (1985).

26 Demeter: *Phoen.* 676–689; Athena: *Phoen.* 1060–1066.

GESTATION & BIRTH: “Twice-born”. Snatched prematurely from his mother’s womb, his father continues the child’s gestation, so that he is born twice – once from his mother and again from his father. He may therefore be said to “have died, but did not die”. Hence resurrectional motifs.

EARLY NURTURE: The motherless child is brought up by nurses, (e.g., Tithenai, Nymphs, Ino, Thetis). He remains, for the most part, in a feminine milieu (nurses and maenads), oscillating in status between child and adult. Hence he is a god of cyclical alternation. It is as though Dionysos had never overcome his initial deprivation in being born too soon at the cost of his mother’s life. But this situation also expands intimate relations beyond the nuclear family. (Note also his affinity for transvestism.)

TENSION BETWEEN ‘BAD’ MOTHER (Hera, who persecutes him) AND ‘GOOD’ BIRTH MOTHER, whose honor he strives to vindicate. Subsequently, he will descend into the underworld to rescue her, so that she may be elevated at last to immortal status. Does this solution resolve the initial problem?

IDENTITY AND STATUS: Adolescent to adult: his career consists for the most part in proving his divinity, which is problematic for others, both male and female, by reason of his mixed pedigree. A further paradox is that he is both native-born (Theban) and a stranger who comes from afar.

PARADOXES: mortal/immortal; life/death; maternal/paternal; masculine/feminine; child/adult; insider/outsider.<sup>27</sup>

Now let us look at the *Ion*.<sup>28</sup> The play is pervaded by the presence and power of Dionysos in both literal and figurative ways, and the play demonstrates in fullest fashion how Athena and Demeter may be said to deflect the scenario of a destructive Dionysiac action that more properly belongs in Thebes than in Athens. Displaced in locale from Athens to Delphi, the play belongs officially not to Dionysos but rather to Apollo; Ion is Apollo’s child, born from his violent union with the Erechtheid daughter, Kreousa, and it is around the god’s sacred shrine-oracle and not on the mountains of Parnassus that the play is spatially organized, with its parade of comings and goings and its developing themes of secrecy and revelation.

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27 Note that the relationship of Dionysos and Ariadne, so prominent in vase-painting and elsewhere, does not occur in tragedy. On the other hand, as I have suggested in Zeitlin (1993), adult sons’ rescue of their mother, as happens, for example, in Euripides’ *Hypsipyle* and *Antiope*, may provide another Dionysiac plot pattern in the god’s rescue of his mother, Semele, from the underworld, but is not relevant for the *Ion*.

28 The rest of this essay on Euripides’ *Ion* will be mostly based on Zeitlin (1989/1996) as well as Zeitlin (1993). For an exploration of Dionysos’ biography in relation to that of Apollo, see Zeitlin (2002). For the more general significance of children in relation to Dionysus’ birth and childhood in Euripides’ theater, see Zeitlin (2008).

Kreousa has come to Delphi to inquire about her present childlessness, with secret hopes of discovering the fate of the child she had exposed long ago, who, as it turns out, was mysteriously rescued through Apollo's agency and was brought up as a temple servant in the holy precinct. The oracle, however, gives Ion to Kreousa's husband Xouthos as his son, and the complications begin when Kreousa acts to prevent this bastard scion (or so she thinks) from leaving Delphi for Athens and contaminating the pure blood of her autochthonous lineage. Her instrument is the baneful drop of the Gorgon's blood, given by Athena to Kreousa's ancestor Erichthonios; her agent, the old servant of the house who defends the rights of the Erechtheids, and the occasion of a festive banquet organized by Ion and Xouthos. Ion would have died of the poison that was mixed in with his wine were it not for an ill-omened utterance that prompted him to order all the cups to be poured on the ground and for a subsequent influx of birds that swooped down to dip their beaks into the spilled libations. Ion's bird is the only one to die, and die she does in the spasms of what is configured as a miniature Bacchic seizure (*Ion* 1203–1205).

This crisis motivates the events of the rest of the play: Ion pursues his unknown mother, who has taken refuge at Apollo's altar; the Pythia reveals the basket with its tokens, which she had kept all these years in the hidden recesses of the shrine; mother and child unite in a joyful reunion; and finally, Athena appears at the end to resolve Ion's doubts about his paternity, sending him home and arranging all good things for the future of Athens and Ion's line.

Here now is a brief summary of the pertinent Dionysiac elements that give the cue to the god's significance throughout the play.<sup>29</sup> Dionysos appears first on the sculptured façade of Apollo's temple, in company with Athena and in a scene from the Gigantomachy, which the chorus of Athenian women describes in the *parodos* (216–218). In subsequent odes, the women invoke the god twice more in his ritual, especially his mystic aspects, the first pertaining to Thyiadic rites at Delphi on Mount Parnassus (714–717), the other to those at Eleusis where Iakchos-Dionysos leads the preliminary procession of initiates along the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis (1074–1086). Xouthos is not present at Ion's banquet, because he has gone to make blood sacrifices to Dionysos on Mount Parnassus as a belated thanks offering for Ion's birth (653, 1130), thinking that he must have sired the boy at Delphi during a nocturnal Dionysiac festival, when he was enjoying "the pleasures of Bacchus" (553). Finally, Ion's banquet itself is a Dionysiac scene at which a convivial celebration is almost transformed into a fatal merger of blood and wine (1231–1235) and where the bird, in its death throes, imitates sacred madness.

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29 See Zeitlin (1989/1996) for the relevant documentation.

With regard to Ion himself, as Nicole Loraux has persuasively shown, his story in the first instance seems to follow the pattern of the first Athenian autochthon child, Erichthonios. Once discovered in his true identity as Kreousa's son, he is also entitled to be represented as an Erechtheus *redivivus*, who has regained his youth: light shines once again in the royal house of Athens (1465–1467).<sup>30</sup> But the action of the play suggests that the hidden pattern that governs the construction of Ion's identity conforms far better to the story of Dionysos himself.

Ion, like Dionysos, was born of a union between a god and a mortal and like Dionysos, can be said to be twice born. Ion was separated at birth from a mother he presumes may have died, and he, for his part, was transferred to his father's domain (by the same Hermes who brought Dionysos to Nysa) to remain among the living. The circumstances of Dionysos' double birth further strengthen the analogy, for the secret of Ion's birth (the basket and its tokens) was hidden in the inmost shrine of Apollo. This space, as we are reminded several times, contained an *omphalos* in the form of a sacred stone (5, 223) but was expressly forbidden to all women (222–232) – except the Pythia – and, as such, bears a suspicious resemblance to that 'male womb' from which Dionysos issued forth as the son of Zeus. Additionally, when the basket is brought out for the recognition scene, the ensuing reunion evokes Kreousa's exultant cry "he died but did not die":

Ιων. ὦ φιλότατη μοι μήτηρ, ἄσμενός σ' ἰδὼν  
 πρὸς ἀσμένως πέπτωκα σὰς παρηίδας.  
 Κρ. ὦ τέκνον, ὦ φῶς μητρὶ κρείσσον ἡλίου  
 (συγγνώσεται γὰρ ὁ θεός), ἐν χεροῖν σ' ἔχω,  
 ἀεπττον εὐρημ', ὄν κατὰ γᾶς ἐνέρων  
 χθονίων μέτα Περσεφόνως τ' ἐδόκου ναιεῖν.  
 Ιων. ἀλλ', ὦ φίλη μοι μήτηρ, ἐν χεροῖν σέθεν  
 ὁ κατθανὼν τε κοῦ θανὼν φαντάζομαι. (*Ion* 1440–1444)

ION: O my dearest mother! I see you with joy, I am held to your joyful face.

KREOUSA: O child, o light dearer to your mother than the sun – the god will forgive me – I hold you in my arms, unexpectedly found, when I thought you lived in the world below, with the dead and Persephone.

ION: But, my dear mother, in your arms I seem to be *both one who has died and one who is not dead*.

Ion's wicker basket itself also has significant resonance. We are told explicitly that the placement of Ion in his basket imitates the family custom that began with Erichthonios (19–21), but Erichthonios too may be said to follow the earlier pattern of the baby Dionysos Liknites, in honor of whom Thyiadic rites

30 Loraux (1981/1993).

were enacted on Mount Parnassus in the very nocturnal mysteries to which the chorus had earlier referred (711–721). But Erichthonios, in turn, follows the pattern of Dionysos Liknites, who himself, as an infant, was placed in a basket (or winnowing fan, *liknon*), and each was given over to female nurses for fosterage: Athena for Erichthonios and various nurses for Dionysos. Ion's story follows the same pattern; in his case it is the person of the Pythia, who discovered him at the Delphic shrine and raised him from infancy. Moreover, the ritual of Dionysos Liknites took place on the heights of Mount Parnassus at Delphi during the trieteric festival, the very same occasion at which Xouthos was supposed to have engendered his child from the unknown maenad when the women were dancing on the mountain. Our knowledge about this ritual is scanty and the sources are late. Some have argued, in fact, that the rite was only added during the Hellenistic era.<sup>31</sup> But I believe that our text alludes indirectly to the activity surrounding Dionysos Liknites, when the Thyiades on the mountain would have wakened the infant Dionysos (probably in the Corycian cave) with a mystic torchlit ceremony<sup>32</sup> that may have celebrated the god's "death and disappearance, revival and rebirth".<sup>33</sup>

ἰὼ δειράδες Παρνασοῦ πέτρας  
 ἔχουσαι σκόπελον οὐράνιον θ' ἔδραν,  
 ἵνα Βάκχιος ἀμφιπύρους ἀνέχων πεύκας  
 λαίψηρὰ πηδᾷ νυκτιπόλοις ἅμα σὺν Βάκχαις.  
 μή <τί> ποτ' εἰς ἐμὴν πόλιν ἴκοιθ' ὁ παῖς,  
 νεὴν δ' ἀμέραν ἀπολιπὼν θάνοι. (*Ion* 715–720)

O ridges of Parnassus,  
 holding the high rock and seat of heaven,  
 where Bakchios with flaming torches  
 leaps lightly with the bacchantes that roam by night –  
 may the boy never come to my city,  
 may he leave his young life and die!

The Dionysiac model holds true for the subsequent phase of Ion's development as well. Ion, like Dionysos, was born of a god and a mortal, destined to return home to claim his rightful place and identity. He too meets with resistance from those, his kin, who resent his intrusion and, as in the *Bacchae*,

31 For evidence and discussion, see Zeitlin (1989/1996) 302, n. 43.

32 Waken the infant: Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris* 35 = *Moralia* 365a; cf. *Orphica* fr. 214 Kern. Torchlit mystic ceremony: schol. ad Lycophron *Alexandra* 212.

33 φθοράς τινας καὶ ἀφανισμοὺς εἶτα δ' ἀναβιώσεις καὶ παλιγγενεσίας, Plutarch, *De E apud Delphos*, 389a. Burnett (1970) 3–5, notes the parallels between Dionysos Liknites and Ion, but pushes the analogy too far in comparing Kreousa to Ino or Semele and Xouthos to Silenos (as though this were a satyr play).

do not believe his father was a god. Moreover, he also embodies the paradox of being both a stranger, *xenos*, and native born.

Despite these doublet relations, let us note, Ion and Dionysos are also antitheses of one another. As an immortal's offspring, Dionysos comes to claim his divinity, while Ion leaves his pedigree behind as the child of the god in order to take up an all too mortal status in the city. As the child of Kreousa, who will become her heir, however, mortal status includes autochthony, and as the plot unfolds, he is aligned with that other autochthon, Pentheus, who in the *Bacchae* is Dionysos' adversary, so that Ion too risks becoming the doomed Dionysiac child in the near-tragic scenario by which he almost plays Pentheus to his mother's Agave.<sup>34</sup>

Indeed, we might almost be back in Thebes again. No wonder perhaps, since Athens in this play comes closest to Theban categories with respect to the problems of autochthony as the basis of membership in the city and the difficulties of incorporating an 'Other', a stranger, into one's midst. Ion's first hesitation in going to Athens as Xouthos' son is predicated precisely on his knowledge that this Athens – unlike the city we know elsewhere in tragedy, which prides itself on supporting suppliants and rescuing fallen heroes – is one that resists the advent of outsiders and jealously guards the privileges of citizenship for its own (*Ion* 585–647). The cherished Athenian belief that autochthony validates a collective civic identity is countered by the destructive valence of the earthborn with its monstrous and violent associations. The ambiguity is perfectly exemplified in the two drops of the blood of the Gorgon, who only in this play is said to have been born from the earth (989). It is this two-sided legacy that accounts for the curious but somehow logical fact that one drop will provide good nourishment and the other a deadly poison (1003–1005), and as the possession of Kreousa, attests to the merging of the typical opposition between good mother and bad mother that is exemplified in Dionysos' story and those of many other divine and heroic figures. The images on the façade of the temple already recall the Gigantomachy, and although Athena and Dionysos are depicted as winning their victory over these earthborn rebels, the events of the play suggest the possibility of another, more Theban, outcome in the matter of the earthborn.

What assures the good news in Ion's story is finally the alliance, not only between Athena and Dionysos, but also between Dionysos and Demeter. The

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34 Note, however, that this relation is reversed, since Pentheus owes his autochthonous status to his father Echion, whereas Ion derives his from his mother, who gave the old servant the poisoned drop of the earthborn Gorgon's blood to use in the wine at the Dionysiac banquet in the tent. The two elements intermingle quite literally, in fact, when the chorus sings of "the libation of (from) Dionysos, the mixture of the grape with the murderous venom of the Gorgon" (*Ion* 1231–1235).

pattern of the ‘twice-born’ joins up with the other motif of the ‘lost one safely found’, so as to fulfill a soteriological promise of joy and brilliant light after a long period of darkness and sorrow. The Eleusinian ode is placed at the turning point of the play when the Paidagogos has gone on his lethal Dionysiac errand to Ion’s tent, while the entire recognition scene that follows between mother and child, arranged by the hieratic Pythia who controls the mysteries of Ion’s identity in the secrets the basket contains, is constructed as a quasi-mystic revelation reserved only for those who are meant to know. Moreover, the mythic patterns of the Eleusinian story can also serve as the model for Kreousa, who is *both* the Kore, raped while picking flowers in the meadow, *and* now the grieving Demeter, searching for her lost child. In the present situation, Ion, whom Kreousa had thought was “dwelling with Persephone beneath the earth” (1440–1444), may be said to play the mythic role of Kore to Kreousa’s Demeter, but in a ritual setting, he can equally represent the mystic child of Eleusis, whom some authorities have even identified as Iakchos himself.<sup>35</sup>

In Ion’s present situation, however, it is Dionysos’ affiliation with the youthful Iakchos of the sacred procession (to which the choral ode refers) that directly links the god to the boy and, despite the choral objection to this so-called intruder at this point in the play, the allusion will offer a joyous alternative to a tragic Dionysiac ending (*Ion* 1074–1089):

αἰσχύνομαι τὸν πολὺ-  
 μνον θεόν, εἰ παρὰ Καλλιχόροισι παγαῖς  
 λαμπάδα θεωρὸς εἰκάδων  
 ἐννύχιον ἄυπνος ὄψεται,  
 ὅτε καὶ Διὸς ἄστερωπὸς  
 ἀνεχόρευσεν αἰθήρ,  
 χορεύει δὲ σελάνα  
 καὶ πεντήκοντα κόραι  
 †Νηρέος αἰ κατὰ πόντον  
 ἀεναῶν τε ποταμῶν†  
 δῖνας χορευόμεναι  
 τὰν χρυσοστέφανον κόραν  
 καὶ ματέρα σεμνάν·  
 ἴν’ ἐλπίζει βασιλεύ-  
 σειν ἄλλων πόνον ἐσπεσῶν  
 <ὁ> Φοῖβειος ἀλάτας.

I am ashamed before the god  
 of many hymns, [Iakchos] if

35 On the birth of a mystic child at Eleusis, see, for example, Burkert (1983) 288–289 and Lénéque (1982) 188–190. The identity of the child is disputed (he is called Brimos in mystic terminology) and may refer to Ploutos, Iakchos/Dionysos, as well as to other candidates. For the best discussion, see Richardson (1974) 316–321.

beside the springs with lovely dances  
 he, the sleepless night watcher,  
 shall see the torch procession on the twentieth day,  
 when the starry sky of Zeus also  
 joins in the dance, and the moon dances,  
 and the fifty daughters  
 of Nereus, in the sea  
 and the swirls of ever-flowing rivers, celebrating in their dance  
 the maiden with golden crown  
 and her revered mother;  
 where this vagabond of Phoibos  
 hopes to rule, entering upon the labor of others.

Dionysos-Iakchos may be seen therefore as the figure of transition, whose ritual passage to Eleusis will be matched in the political return of the 'twice-born' to Athens where he can receive the status due to him in the city to which he belongs.<sup>36</sup> In this sense, Dionysos, screened by Athena on one side and Demeter on the other, deflects the plot from the kind of tragic closure that in Thebes cancels dynastic continuity, negates the idea of civic harmony, and proves unable to create new institutions, whether ritual, familial, or political, for the salutary future of the polis. Instead, a Dionysiac Ion seems to resolve the problems that plague the irregular and even traumatic biography of the god: he is restored to a mother, whose loss he had felt so keenly; and is acknowledged as the son of a father who is a god. His identity crisis is resolved. At the same time, relations with non-kin are validated by the positive nurture that the orphaned child received from his foster-mother, the Pythia, and the quandary of Ion as an heir to the autochthonous Erechtheid throne expands to include recognition of an outsider's rights, especially in another instance of fosterage, namely adoption. Adoption is an institution, by which one can make another one's own, even though Xouthos is never to know that Ion is not really his biological, even 'Dionysiac' son, since he thought the site of his engendering was a festival of Dionysos at Delphi. Ion goes off to Athens, secure in his mother's lineage, destined to play his political and genealogical role in the history of the city. Having 'constructed' his true identity and aligned with the mystic figures of Athenian and Delphic cult, Ion's public self is also a 'false' one, as we know, by which claims of social status take partial precedence over ties of blood. The native-born child is to be in name the stranger's offspring. The mother's line may secure the privileges of

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36 This ode works through a number of ironic reversals that, along with textual problems, are discussed in Zeitlin (1989/1996) 310–312. The text is difficult here. Some have thought that the viewer is Iakchos himself (or even Apollo) rather than Ion. The syntactical ambiguity may well be significant, as implying a reciprocal relation between Ion and Iakchos.



autochthony, but the system, it seems, also tolerates the role of the outsider in validating alliances among non-kin and accepts the expedient of a legal fiction. Parentage itself may be a fictive category, an 'as if', and ties of blood, although essential to one's genetic identity, are not the only relations that count. Finally, while Dionysos continually meets with resistance in spreading his cult and claims to his divinity, Ion's heirs, the sons of his sons, are destined to export Athenian ancestry far and wide to Europe and Asia, the islands and the mainland. Thus he is made to account in advance for the Ionians-to-be, in his person he will consolidate the organization of the polis in that his four-fold progeny from a 'single root' will comprise the Athenian people (*laos*: *Ion* 1575–1578). Ion of course is not Dionysos; but in the theater of Euripides, he makes good, as it were, even to the extent of reversing the psychological dilemmas of that elusive god and validating finally Dionysos' essential and positive role in expanding even our own limited horizons.

Let us now review the biography of Dionysos in light of the significant parallels I have suggested between Ion and the god:

**PARENTAGE:** Child of a mortal mother and an immortal father (Semele, Zeus). Who am I? Where do I belong? *ION*: *son of Kreousa and Apollon*.

**GESTATION & BIRTH:** "Twice-born". Snatched prematurely from his mother's womb, his father continues the child's gestation, so that he is born twice – once from his mother and again from his father. He may therefore be said to "have died, but did not die". Hence resurrectional motifs. *ION*: *exposed by mother birth and left to die, but rescued by father surrogate and brought to Delphi*.

**EARLY NURTURE:** The motherless child is brought up by nurses (e.g., Tithenai, Nymphs, Ino, Thetis). He remains, for the most part, in a feminine milieu (nurses and maenads), oscillating in status between child and adult. Hence he is a god of cyclical alternation. It is as though Dionysos had never overcome his initial deprivation in being born too soon at the cost of his mother's life. But his story also expands intimate relations beyond the nuclear family. *ION*: *raised by Pythia at Delphi but longs always for his lost mother*.

**TENSION BETWEEN 'BAD' MOTHER (Hera, who persecutes him) AND 'GOOD' BIRTH MOTHER,** whose honor he strives to vindicate. *ION*: *Kreousa embodies both aspects: 'bad': exposes own child and now ready to turn against another child in grief at her own childlessness and anger against her husband's supposed perfidy; 'good': remorseful at the loss of her child and searching for him, always hoping he is alive*.

**IDENTITY AND STATUS:** Adolescent to adult: his career consists for the most part in proving his divinity, which is problematic for others, both male and female, by reason of his mixed pedigree. A further paradox is that he is both native-born (Theban) and a stranger who comes from afar. *ION*: *starts with nothing; needs an identity: name, family and parentage, place of origin, and social status. Eventually, although knowing the truth, he accedes to 'fictive' status as Xouthos'*

*son to accommodate political realities. Dionysus founds cults; Ion founds Ionian genealogy and exports Athenian ancestry.*

This brief survey can hardly do justice to the manifold roles of Dionysos in the theater. The twin themes, however, of the god Dionysos and his differential roles in Thebes and Athens, on the one hand, and the paradigmatic value of Dionysos' unusual biography from conception to adulthood as a model for an Athenian hero, on the other, demonstrate, it is hoped, something of the rich possibilities of the social, psychological, and dramatic complexities that the figure of the god affords on stage.

### Appendix: Contemporary Images of the *Bacchae* and Related Productions

All these images (fig. 1–12), whether representing or advertising contemporary productions of the *Bacchae* in the US or the UK, highlight in one way or another the transgressive nature of Dionysiac energy and its threat to conventional social norms. The body is a special locus of interest, site of both nature and culture. It may be stark naked (*Dionysus in 69*) or outrageously clothed in a gold lamé kilt (*Scottish National Theater*); it may even be written upon as a playbill for the performance (*Celebration*). Mouths are wide open, heads thrown back, whether in ecstasy or pain. Colors are strong and intensify the emotional effects – red especially, like the letters of the play scrawled across the front of a girl's low cut t-shirt, as though in blood (*New Hazlitt Theater*). This one is my favorite: it is understated but insolent; it taunts the viewer with the possibility of a crime scene; it makes you laugh; it makes you think.



# Appendix



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## General Abbreviations

## English and Latin

ad loc.	ad locum	h.	height
B.C.	before Christian era	ibid.	ibidem
ca.	circa	i.e.	id est
C.E.	Christian era	n.	note
cent.	century	no.	number
cf.	confer	n.p.	no pagination
Ch.	chapter	pl.	plate
ed.	edited / editor	rev.	revised
eds.	editors	scil.	scilicet
e.g.	exempli gratia	s.v.	sub verbo
esp.	especially	test.	testimonium
et al.	et alia / alii	viz.	videre licet
fig.	figure	vs.	versus
fr.	fragment	vol.	volume

## German

Abb.	Abbildung	o.	ohne
Anm.	Anmerkung	o.ä.	oder ähnlich(e)
bes.	besonders	s.	siehe
bzw.	beziehungsweise	Slg.	Sammlung
ebd.	ebenda	Taf.	Tafel
d.h.	das heißt	u.	und
fr.	Fragment	u.a.	unter anderem
Inv.	Inventar(nummer)	usw.	und so weiter
Jh.	Jahrhundert(s)	V.	Vers
Kap.	Kapitel	v.a.	vor allem
Kat.	Katalog	v.Chr.	vor Christus
n.Chr.	nach Christus	vgl.	vergleiche
Nr.	Nummer	z.B.	zum Beispiel

## Bibliographical Abbreviations

(for other bibliographical abbreviations see: *OCD*<sup>3</sup> and the Sigla list of the journal *L'Année philologique*)

<i>AvP</i>	<i>Altertümer von Pergamon</i> (Berlin 1912)
<i>BAPD</i>	<i>Beazley Archive Pottery Database</i> (URL: <a href="http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/xdb/ASP/default.asp">http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/xdb/ASP/default.asp</a> )
<i>BE</i>	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i> (annually in: <i>Revue des Études Grecques</i> )
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> (Berlin 1825–1877)
<i>DK</i>	Hermann Diels / Walther Kranz, <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> [1903] (Dublin/Zürich <sup>14</sup> 1969 ff.)
<i>DNP</i>	<i>Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike</i> , ed. by Hubert Cancik et al. (Stuttgart/Weimar 1996–2003)
<i>ER</i>	<i>The Encyclopedia of Religion</i> , ed. by Mircea Eliade (New York 1987)
<i>FR</i>	Adolf Furtwängler / Karl Reichhold et al., <i>Griechische Vasenmalerei. Auswahl hervorragender Vasenbilder</i> (München 1904–1932)
<i>GJ</i>	Fritz Graf / Sarah Iles Johnston, <i>Ritual Texts for the Afterlife. Orpheus and the Bacchic Gold Leaves</i> (London/New York 2007)
Helbig <sup>4</sup>	Wolfgang Helbig et al., <i>Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom</i> (Tübingen/Berlin <sup>4</sup> 1963–1972)
<i>I. Alexandria Troas</i>	Marijana Riel, <i>The Inscriptions of Alexandria Troas</i> [= <i>IGSK</i> 53] (Bonn 1997)
<i>I. Beroia</i>	Lucretia Gounaropoulou / Miltiades Hatzopoulos, <i>Inscriptiones Macedoniae inferioris. Inter Bermium montem et Axium flumen repertae 1: Inscriptiones Beroeae</i> (Athens 1998)
<i>I. Ephesos</i>	Reinhold Merkelbach et al., <i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> [= <i>IGSK</i> 11–17] (Bonn 1979–1984)
<i>I. Erythrai</i>	Helmut Engelmann / Reinhold Merkelbach, <i>Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai</i> [= <i>IGSK</i> 1–2] (Bonn 1972–1973)
<i>I. Iasos</i>	Wolfgang Blümel, <i>Die Inschriften von Iasos</i> [= <i>IGSK</i> 28] (Bonn 1985)
<i>I. Ilion</i>	Peter Frisch, <i>Die Inschriften von Ilion</i> [= <i>IGSK</i> 3] (Bonn 1975)
<i>I. Knidos</i>	Wolfgang Blümel, <i>Die Inschriften von Knidos</i> [= <i>IGSK</i> 41–42] (Bonn 1992/2010)
<i>I. Kos</i>	Mario Segre, <i>Iscrizioni di Cos</i> , vol. I (Roma 1993)
<i>I. Magnesia</i>	Otto Kern, <i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Mäander</i> (Berlin 1900)
<i>I. Milet I–III</i>	Peter Herrmann et al., <i>Inschriften von Milet</i> (Berlin 1997–2006)
<i>I. Pergamon I–II</i>	Max Fränkel et al., <i>Inschriften von Pergamon</i> (Berlin 1890–1895)
<i>I. Pergamon III</i>	Christian Habicht, <i>Inschriften von Pergamon</i> (Berlin 1969)
<i>I. Priene</i>	Friedrich Hiller von Gaertringen, <i>Inschriften von Priene</i> (Berlin 1906)
<i>I. Smyrna</i>	Georg Petzl, <i>Die Inschriften von Smyrna</i> [= <i>IGSK</i> 23–24] (Bonn 1982–1990)
<i>IGLS</i>	Louis Jalabert et al., <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de Syrie</i> (Paris 1929–)
<i>IGSK</i>	<i>Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i>



<i>IScM</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Scythiae Minores Graecae et Latinae</i> , ser. 2 (Bukarest 1980–1999)
Jaccottet	Anne-Françoise Jaccottet, <i>Choisir Dionysos. Les associations dionysiaques ou la face cachée du dionysisme</i> , vol. II: <i>Documents</i> (Zürich 2003)
<i>MAMA</i>	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i> , vol. I–X (London 1928–1993)
<i>OCD</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third Edition</i> , ed. by Simon Hornblower / Antony Spawforth (Oxford 1996; revised: 2003)
<i>OF</i>	Alberto Bernabé, <i>Poetae Epici Graeci</i> [= <i>PEG</i> ]. <i>Testimonia et fragmenta</i> . Pars II. Fasc. 1–3: <i>Orphicorum et Orphicis similia testimonia et fragmenta</i> (München et al. 2004–2007)
<i>RVAp</i>	Arthur D. Trendall / Alexander Cambitoglou, <i>The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia</i> (Oxford 1978/1982)
<i>RVSIS</i>	Arthur D. Trendall, <i>Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily</i> (London 1989)
<i>TER UNUS</i>	= Versnel (1990) [see bibliography]

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# Indices



# I. Names

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Fig. 1. Attic white-ground calyx krater (ca. 440 B.C.). Hermes delivering infant Dionysos to Silenos. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 16586





Fig. 2. Silver skyphos (1st cent. C.E.), from Pompeii, House of Menander. Dionysos' bath



Fig. 3. Sarcophagus (1st cent. C.E.). Dionysos' bath. Rome, Capitoline Museum



Fig. 4. Sarcophagus (late 1st–2nd cent. C.E.). Dionysos' bath. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen



Fig. 5. Scaenae frons (2nd cent. C.E.). Dionysos' bath. Theatre, Perge



Fig. 6. Scaenae frons (2nd cent. C.E.). Dionysos' bath. Theatre, Nysa



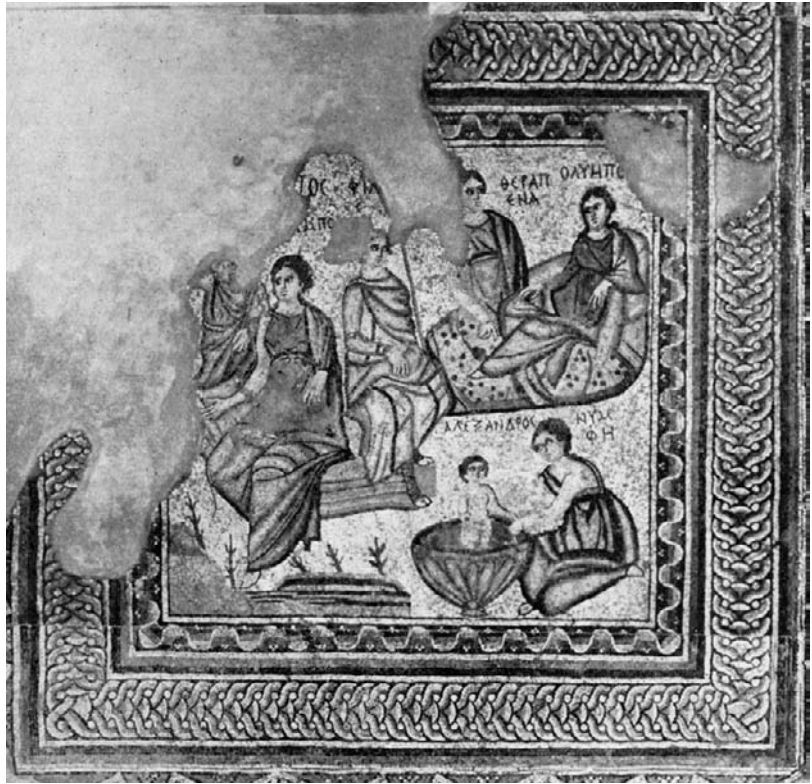


Fig. 7. Alexander mosaic (late 4th cent. C.E.), from Suweidiye, Lebanon. Alexander's bath. Beirut, National Museum



Fig. 8. Mosaic, House of Aion, New Paphos (4th cent. C.E.). Hermes with Dionysos



Fig. 9. Mosaic carpet in supposed House of the Patriarch (3rd cent. C.E.), from Sepphoris



Fig. 10. Side panel from Sepphoris mosaic (3rd cent. C.E.), with Dionysos' bath





Fig. 11. Kaiseraugst silver dish (4th cent. C.E.). Achilles' bath. Augst, Römermuseum

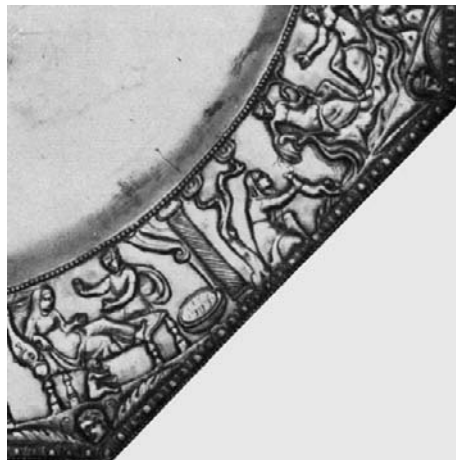


Fig. 12. Kaiseraugst silver dish, detail



Fig. 13. Sevso silver dish (4th cent. C.E.). Achilles' bath



Fig. 14. Sevso silver dish, detail





Fig. 15. Mosaic, House of Theseus, New Paphos (4th cent. C.E.). Achilles' bath



Fig. 16. Ivory plaque (mid-4th cent. C.E.), from Eleutherna, Crete. Achilles' bath



Fig. 17. Inscription with hymn to Achilles (late 1st–early 2nd cent. C.E.), from Berezan



Fig. 18. Textile from Antinoë, Egypt (late antiquity). Infant Dionysos' bath. Paris, Louvre



Fig. 19. Bath of infant Jesus from Oratory of John VII (early 8th cent. C.E.)



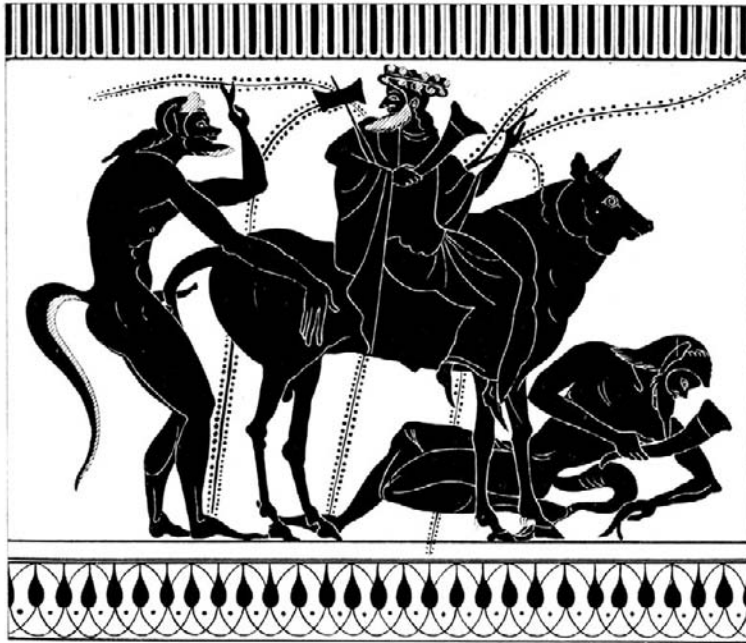


Fig. 1. Attic black-figured amphora (late 6th cent. B.C.). Dionysos with a rhyton and a double axe, in company of two satyrs. Napoli, Museo Nazionale 86322



Fig. 2. Red-figured cup from Vulci. Ambrosios Painter (late 6th cent. B.C.). A god (Dionysos?) seated on a winged and wheeled seat, with kantharos and a double axe. Once in Berlin, SMPK F 2273

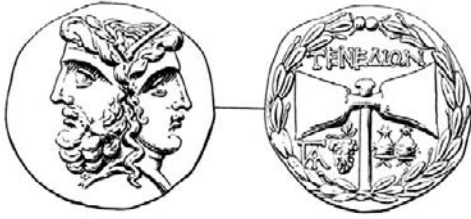


Fig. 3. Coin of Tenedos (2nd cent. B.C.). Obv. Janiform head. Rev. Double axe, grapes, caps of Dioskouroi, name of Tenedians. London, British Museum

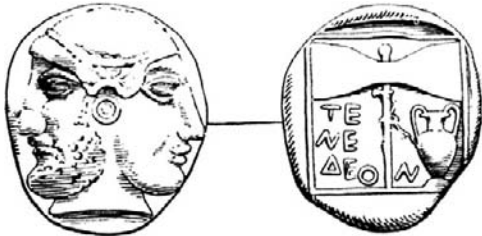


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Fig. 5. Lead weight (hemimnaion) of Tenedos (late 5th cent. B.C.). Double axe, grapes, name of Tenedians. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale



Fig. 6. Bronze tablet from Olympia (ca. 300-250 B.C.). Decree in honor of the Tenedian wrestler Damokrates, decorated with grapes and two double axes. Athens, National Museum



Fig. 1a. Attische rotfigurige Spitzamphora. Kleophrades-Maler (um 490 v.Chr.). Seite A: Dionysos und sein Thiasos von Mänaden und Satyrn. München, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2344





Fig. 1b. Attische rotfigurige Spitzamphora. Kleophrades-Maler (um 490 v.Chr.). Seite B: Detail. Ekstatisch tanzende Mänade zwischen zwei Satyrn. München, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2344



Fig. 2. Attische rotfigurige Trinkschale. Maler: Makron. Innenbild (um 480 v.Chr.).  
Aulosspielender Satyr vor Dionysos. Berlin, Antikensammlung SMB, F 2290



Fig. 1. Attic red-figure cup. Kodros Painter (ca. 430-420 B.C.). Face A. Amphitrite and Poseidon, Hera and Zeus. London, British Museum E 82



Fig. 2. Attic red-figure cup. Kodros Painter (ca. 430-420 B.C.). Face B. Aphrodite and Ares, Ariadne and Dionysos. London, British Museum E 82





Fig. 3. Attic red-figure cup. Kodros Painter (ca. 430–420 B.C.). Tondo. Persephone and Plouton. London, British Museum E 82



Fig. 4. Attic black-figure hydria (520-510 B.C.). Dionysos and a woman on a chariot. Rome, Vatican Museum 423



Fig. 5. Attic red-figure neck amphora (490-480 B.C.). Dionysos 'pursuing' a woman. University of Mississippi, University Museum 1977.3.87



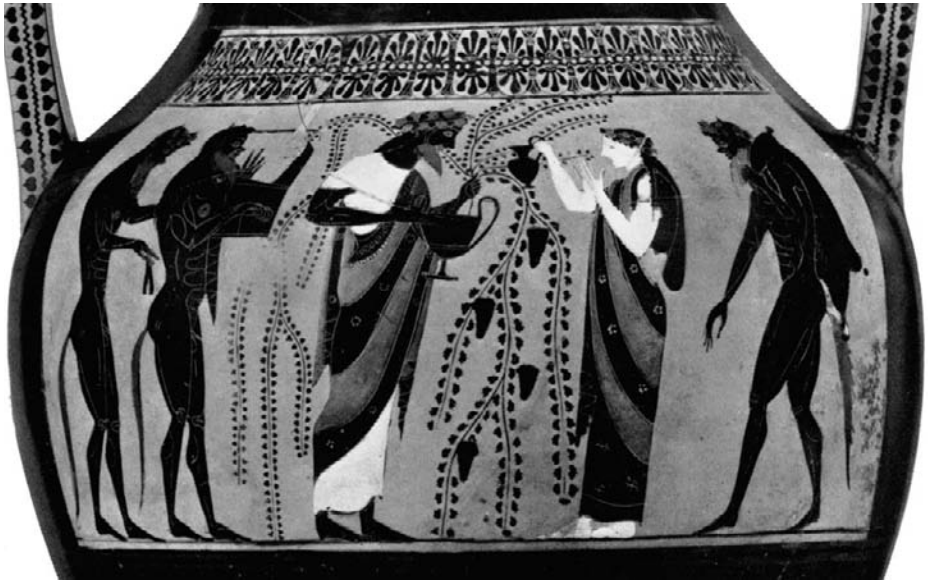


Fig. 6. Attic black-figure amphora. Lysippides Painter (530-520 B.C.). Dionysos, woman, three satyrs. Paris, Musée du Louvre F 204



Fig. 7. Attic black-figure amphora (3rd quarter of 6th century B.C.). Dionysos, woman with veil, three dancing satyrs. Paris, Musée du Louvre F 32.

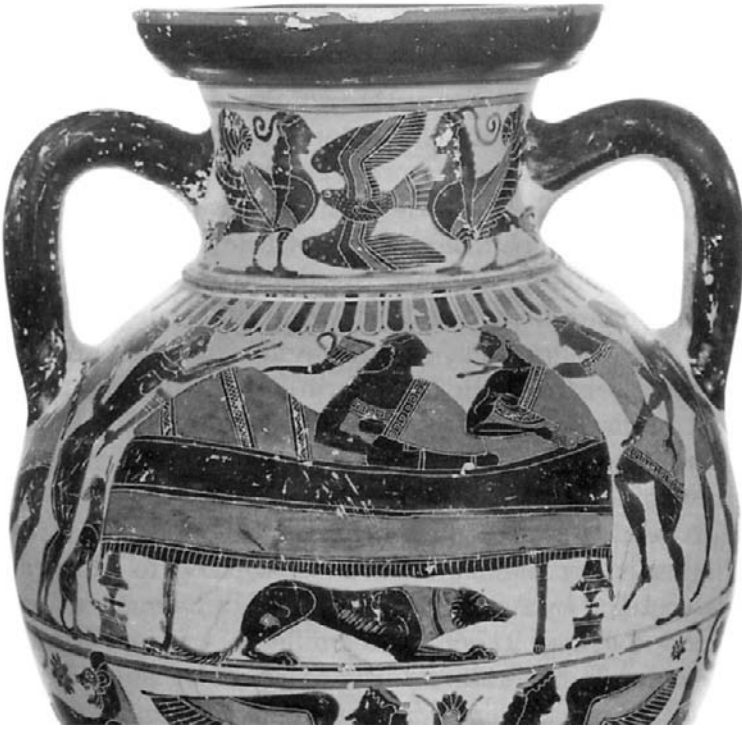


Fig. 8. Attic black-figure amphora (560-550 B.C.). Dionysos (?) and woman on a kline. Florence, Museo Archeologico 70995



Fig. 9. Attic black-figure amphora (530-520 B.C.). Dionysos reclining on a kline next to seated woman. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8052

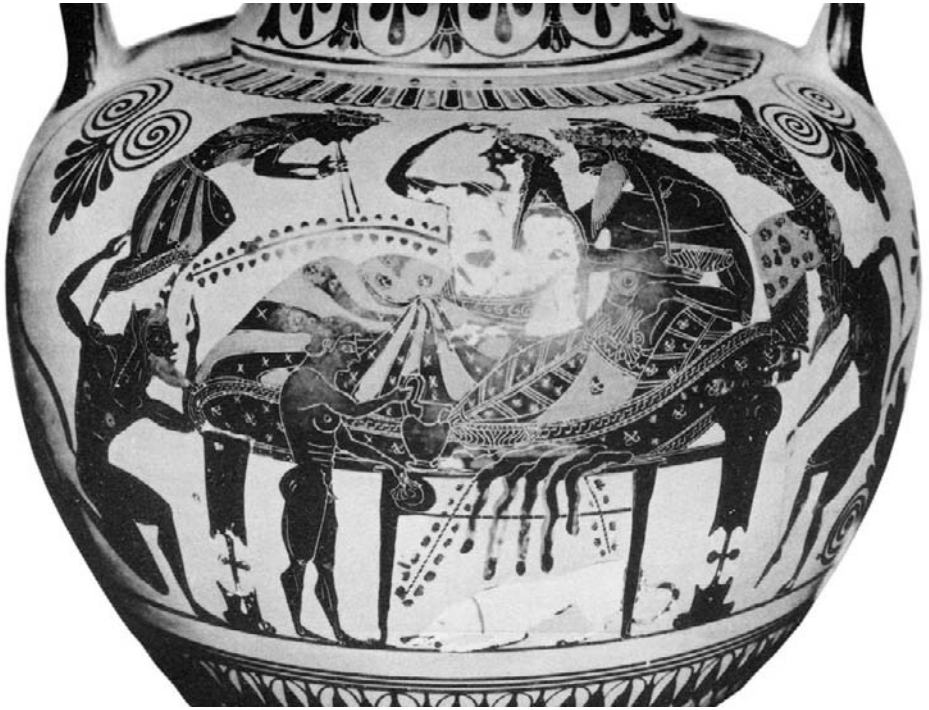


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Fig. 1. Attic red-figure krater by the Dinos Painter (ca. 420-405 B.C.). Side A. Dionysiac hierogamy. Athens, Benaki Museum 43847





Fig. 2. Attic red-figure krater by the Dinos Painter (ca. 420-405 B.C.). Side B. Dionysiac thiasos. Athens, Benaki Museum 43847





Fig. 3. Attic red-figure krater by the Dinos Painter (ca. 420-405 B.C.). Handle side A of the krater. Altar. Athens, Benaki Museum 43847



Fig. 4. Attic red-figure krater by the Dinos Painter (ca. 420-405 B.C.). Handle side B of the krater. Door. Athens, Benaki Museum 43847



Fig. 5. Attic red-figure krater by the Dinos Painter (ca. 420-405 B.C.). Detail of side A (Dionysiac hierogamy). Athens, Benaki Museum 43847

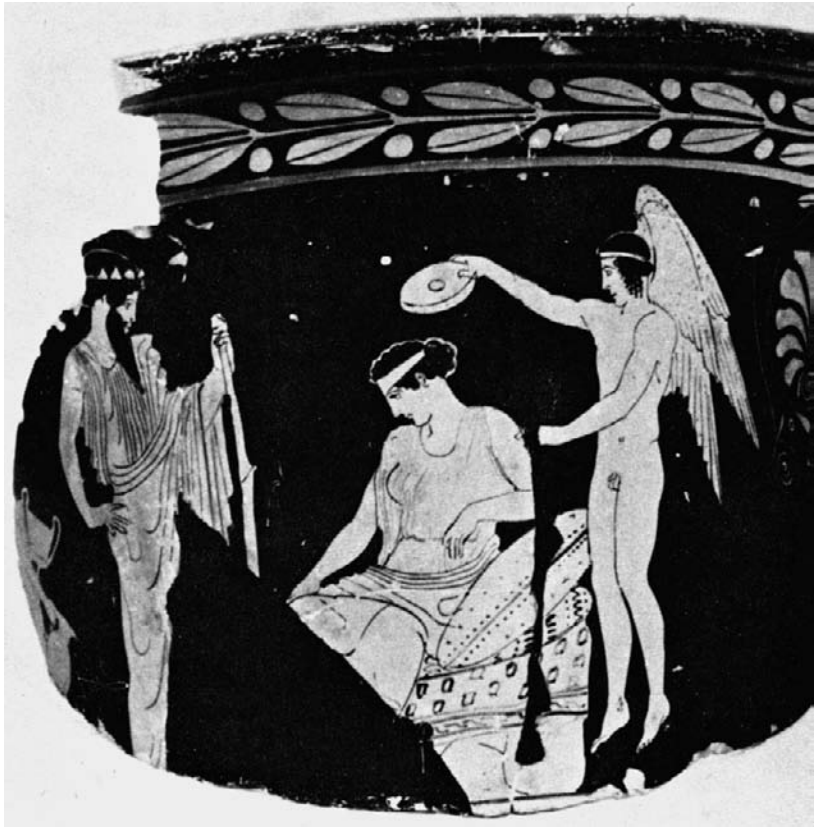


Fig. 6. Attic red-figure krater (frag.), Polygnotan Group (mid-5th cent. B.C.).  
Dionysos encountering Ariadne who sits on her bed; satyr-boy holding kantharos and  
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Fig. 7. Attic black-figure amphora by Lydos (560–550 B.C.). The Dionysiac couple reclining on  
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Fig. 8. "Actors Relief" (ca. 400 B.C.). Dionysos seated on a kline with a woman. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1500



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Fig. 13. Attic red-figure krater by the Dinos Painter (ca. 420–405 B.C.). Detail of handle side B of the krater. Door. Athens, Benaki Museum 43847



Fig. 14. Attic red-figure krater by the Dinos Painter (ca. 420–405 B.C.). Detail of handle side A of the krater. Altar. Athens, Benaki Museum 43847





Fig. 15. Attic red-figure krater by the Dinos Painter (ca. 420–405 B.C.). Detail of side A. Food-bearing maiden clad in ependytes. Athens, Benaki Museum 43847



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Fig. 17. Attic red-figure calyx krater by the Painter of Vienna 1089 (ca. 400-390 B.C.). Side A. Dionysiac hierogamy scene. Athens, Benaki Museum 43846



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Fig. 20. Red-figure calyx krater (fig.) by the L.C. Group (350 B.C.). Satyr and 'maenad'. Thebes Museum 37258





Fig. 21. Red-figure calyx krater by the L.C. Group (350 B.C.). Eros and woman. Athens, Benaki Museum 38368



Fig. 22. Attic red-figure krater by the Dinos Painter (ca. 420-405 B.C.). Detail of side A. Oinochoe. Athens, Benaki Museum 43847



Fig. 1. Attic black-figure plate (ca. 550 B.C.). Dionysos facing an woman who holds a flower in her hand. Berlin, Antikensammlung SMB, F 1809



Fig. 2. Attic red-figure hydria (480/470 B.C.). Dionysos and Ariadne (on the right), while Athena is sending away Theseus. Berlin, Antikensammlung SMB, F 2179





Fig. 3. Attic red-figure cup by Makron (ca. 480 B.C.). Maenads dancing ecstatically. Berlin, Antikensammlung SMB, F 2290



Fig. 4. Attic black-figure amphora (ca. 510 B.C.). Dionysos and thiasos. Berlin, Antikensammlung SMB, F 1827



Fig. 5. Attic black-figure hydria (520/510 B.C.). Dionysos and Semele. Berlin, Antikensammlung SMB, F 1904



Fig. 6. Attic black-figure lekythos (500/490 B.C.). Two masks of Dionysos suspended on a pillar, surrounded by women. Berlin, Antikensammlung SMB, V.I. 3356

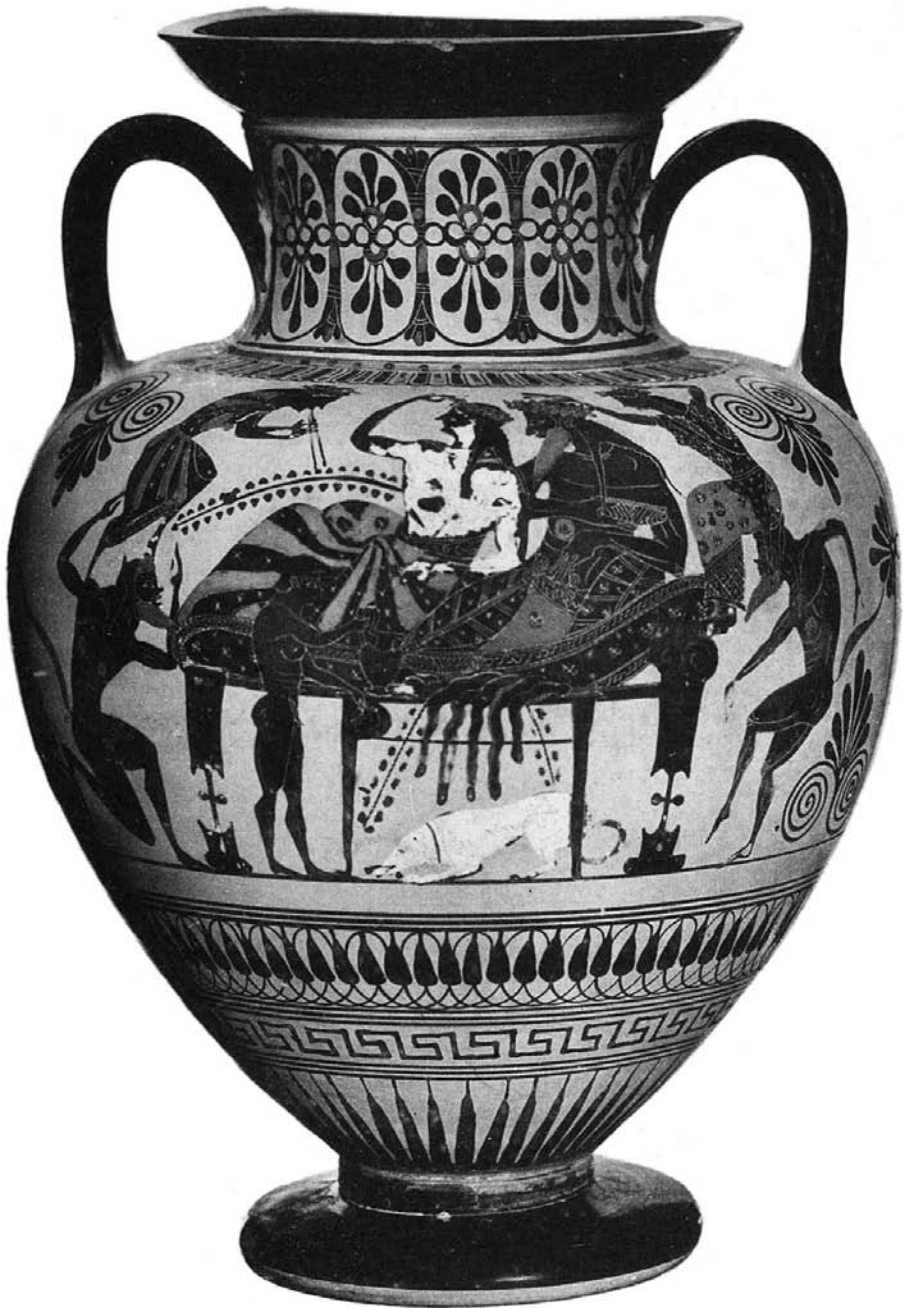


Fig. 7. Attic black-figure neck-amphora (ca. 530 B.C.). Dionysos and half-naked woman reclining. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR 27.1864.48



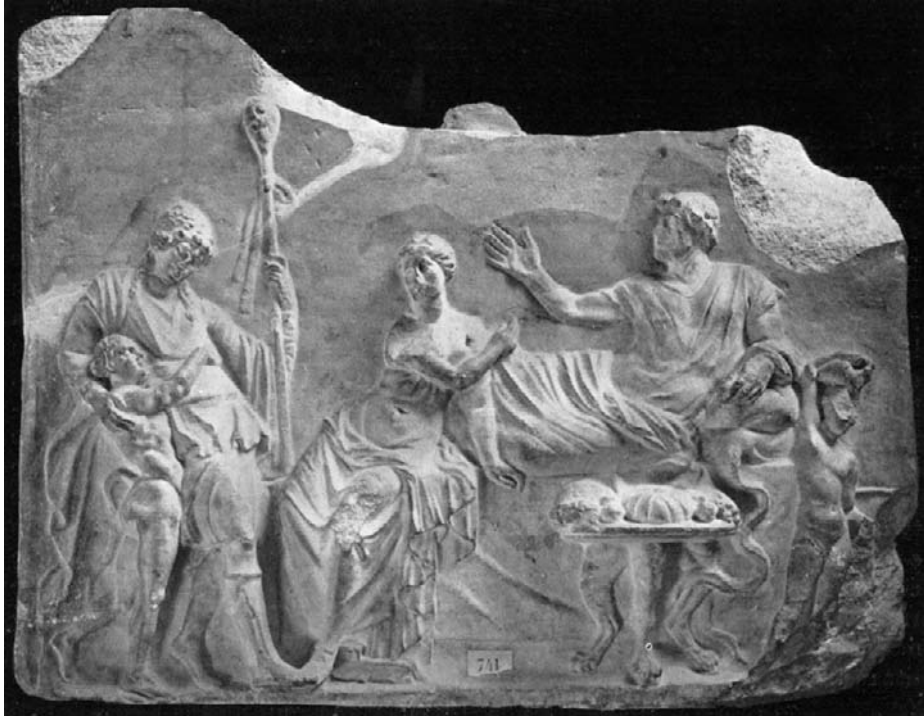


Fig. 8. Votive relief (late 3rd century B.C.). Man and woman on a couch, Dionysos approaching from the left. Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 741



Fig. 9. Votive relief (ca. 400 B.C.). Asklepios and Hygieia approaching a sick woman on a couch, while the woman's family is watching. Athens, Piraeus Museum 405



Fig. 10. Panels 44–46 from the Telephos frieze (2nd century B.C.). Sanctuary of Dionysos, populated by nude satyrs and decently dressed women. Berlin, Pergamonmuseum



Fig. 11a. Panels from the monumental frieze of the Great Altar (2nd century B.C.). Zeus fighting Giants. Berlin, Pergamonmuseum



Fig. 11b. Panels from the monumental frieze of the Great Altar (2nd century B.C.). Herakles (lost) and Athena fighting Giants. Berlin, Pergamonmuseum





Fig. 12. Panel 20 from the Telephos frieze (2nd century B.C.). Teuthras and Auge, with archaic cult image of Athena on a pillar in the background. Berlin, Pergamon-museum

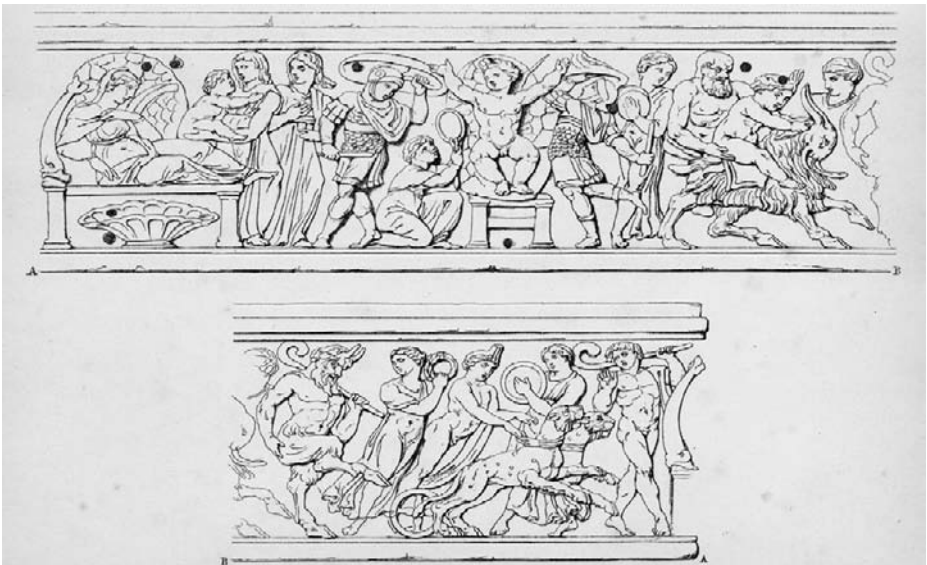


Fig. 13. Drawing of ivory pyxis (5th century C.E.). Childhood and youth of Dionysos. Bologna, Museo Civico

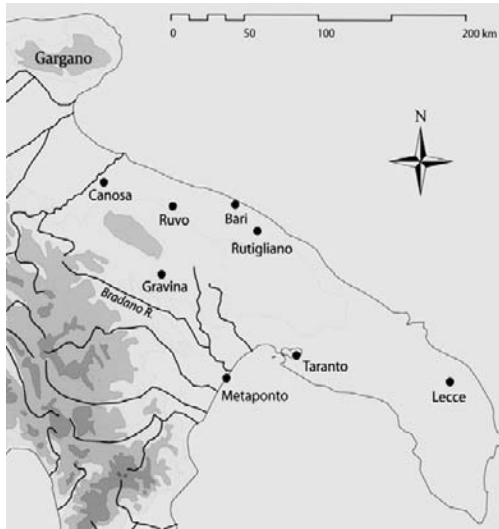


Fig. 1. Map of Apulia (L.C. Lancaster)



Fig. 2. Attic red-figure volute krater (late 5th cent. B.C.). Dionysos with satyrs and maenads. Ruvo, Museo Nazionale Jatta 1501



Fig. 3. Attic red-figure hydria (late 5th cent. B.C.). Dionysos with satyrs and maenads. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 259



Fig. 4. Apulian red-figure bell krater (end of 5th cent. B.C.). Dionysos, satyr and maenad. Cleveland Museum of Art 89.73 B





Fig. 5. Apulian red-figure volute krater (ca. 400 B.C.). Side A. Apotheosis of Herakles. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire A 1018



Fig. 6. Apulian red-figure volute krater (ca. 400 B.C.). Side B. Amazonomachy. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire A 1018



Fig. 7. Apulian red-figure volute krater (ca. 390 B.C.). Dionysiac symposium. Edinburgh, National Museum of Scotland 1873.21.1



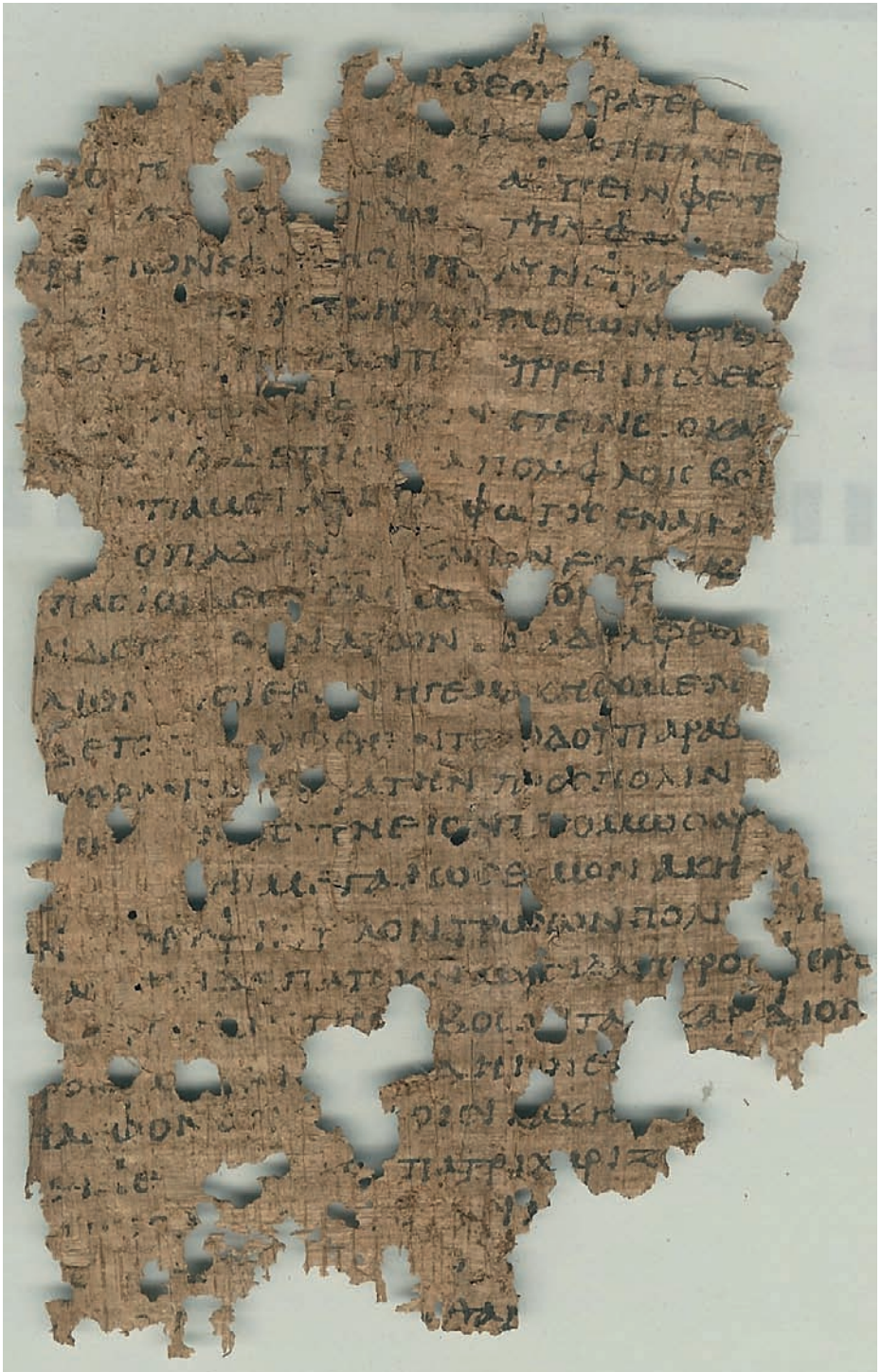


Fig. 1. Oxyrhynchus papyrus 4708, Elegy on Telephos





Fig. 2. Roman throne from Herculaneum.  
Dionysos



Fig. 3. Dionysiac relief from Herculaneum

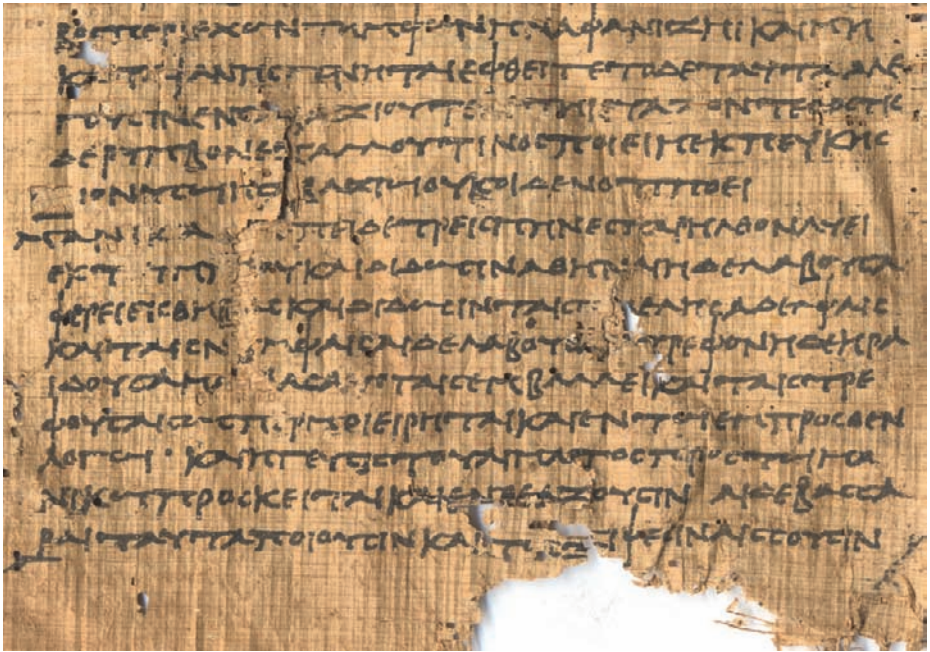


Fig. 4. Green Collection papyrus on Dionysiaca



Fig. 1. Grabaltar (späthellenistisch). Efeu-Fruchtgirlande mit Bukephalien. Knidos, Nekropole



Fig. 2. Rundaltar des Pistokrates und Apollodoros  
(letztes Viertel des 2. Jh. v.Chr.). Efeu-Fruchtgirlande  
mit Satyrmasken und eingestellten Rosetten. Athen,  
Temenos des Dionysos Eleuthereus



Fig. 3. Rundaltar des Pistokrates und Apollodoros  
(letztes Viertel des 2. Jh. v.Chr.). Efeu-Fruchtgirlande  
mit Satyrmasken und eingestellten Rosetten. Athen,  
Temenos des Dionysos Eleuthereus





Fig. 4. Weihrelief (2. Hälfte des 2. Jh. v.Chr.). Mann und Frau beim Gelage mit Mundschenk und Satyrknabe. Vatikan, Museo Gregoriano Profano Inv. 1346



Fig. 5. Heroenrelief aus dem Piräus (4. Jh. v.Chr.). Gelagerter Heros mit Gefährtin, Mundschenk und Adoranten. Paris, Louvre MA 747

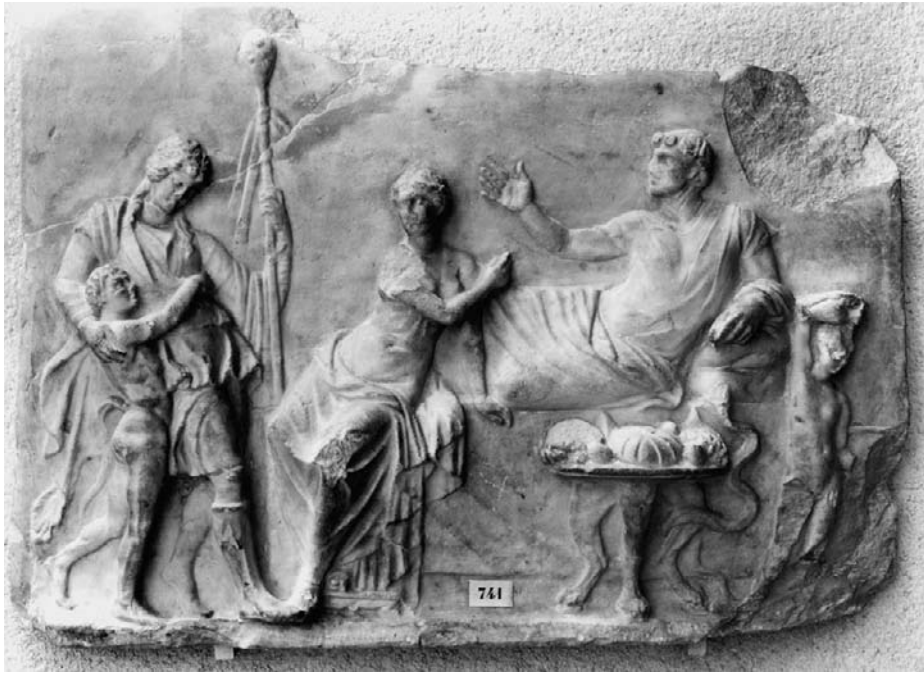


Fig. 6. Weihrelief aus dem Athener Stadtgebiet (2. Hälfte des 2. Jh. v.Chr.). Gelagerter und Frau empfangen Dionysos. Paris, Louvre MA 741

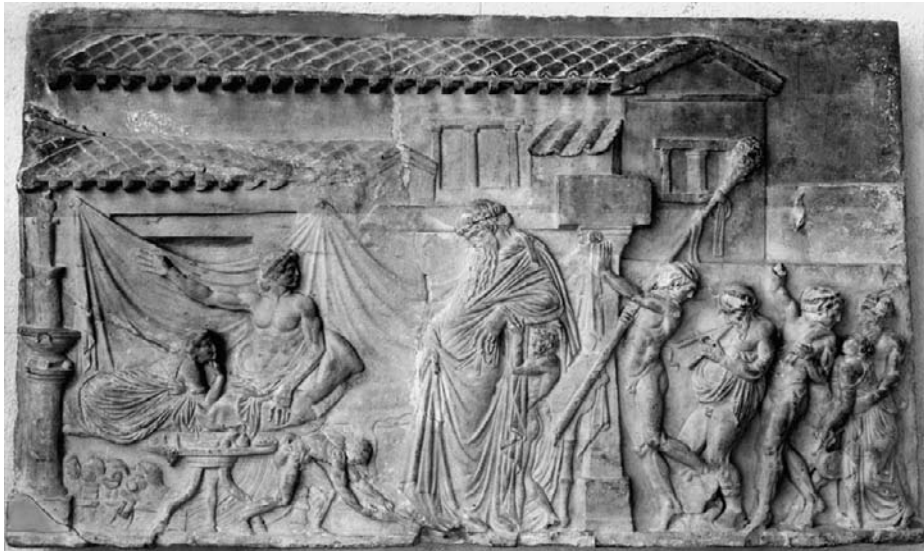


Fig. 7. Schmuckrelief aus der Serie der sog. Ikariosreliefs (kaiserzeitlich). Gelagerter und Frau empfangen Dionysos und seinen Thiasos. Paris, Louvre MA 1606



Fig. 8. Kopie nach einem hellenistischen Weihrelief, sog. Satyrspielrelief (frühkaiserzeitlich). Satyrn und Nymphen in einem ländlichen Heiligtum. Rom, Konservatorenpalast Inv. 2011



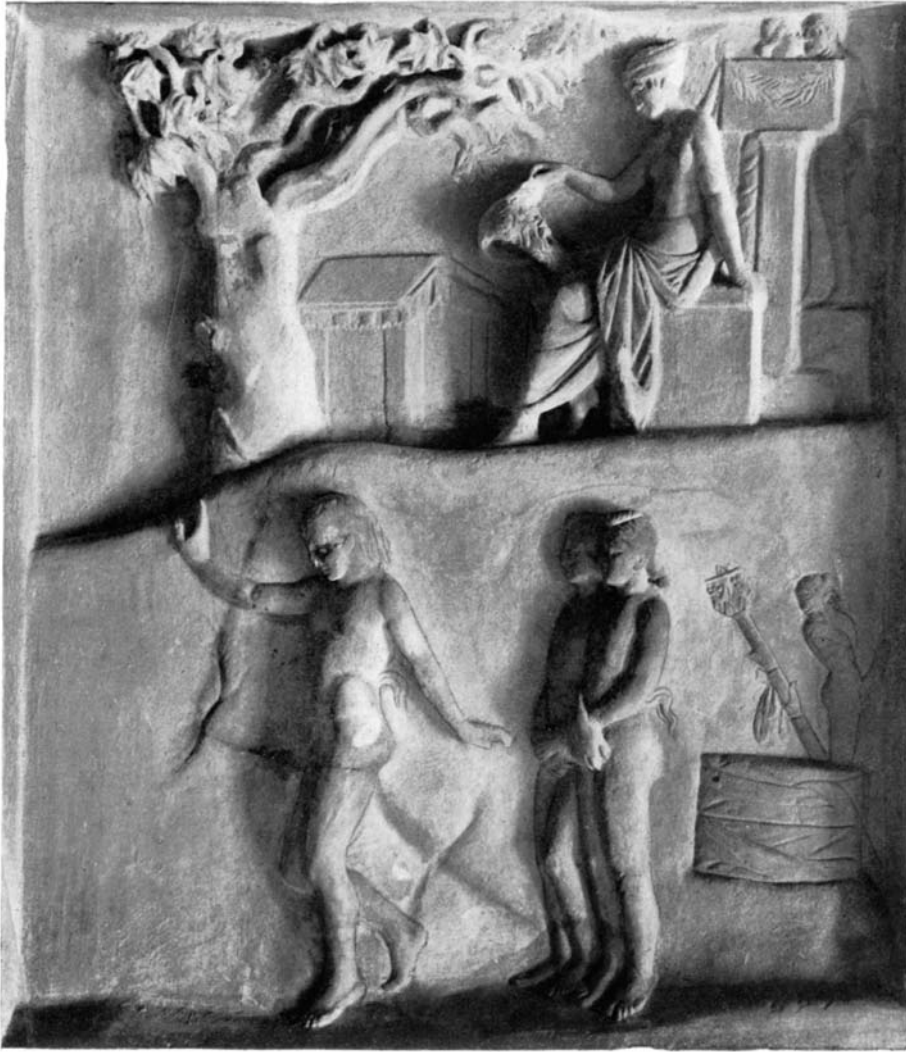


Fig. 9. Kopie nach einem hellenistischen Weihrelief, sog. Satyrspielrelief (kaiserzeitlich). Satyrn und Nymphen in einem ländlichen Heiligtum. Rom, Kapitolinische Museen (vormals Slg. Albani) Inv. 622





Fig. 1. Rotfigurige attische Schale des Dokimasia-Malers (frühes 5. Jh. v.Chr.). Innenmedaillon. Rasende Frau. Paris, Musée du Louvre G 159



Fig. 2. Plan von Pergamon (2. Jh. v.Chr.). Südabhang der Akropolis

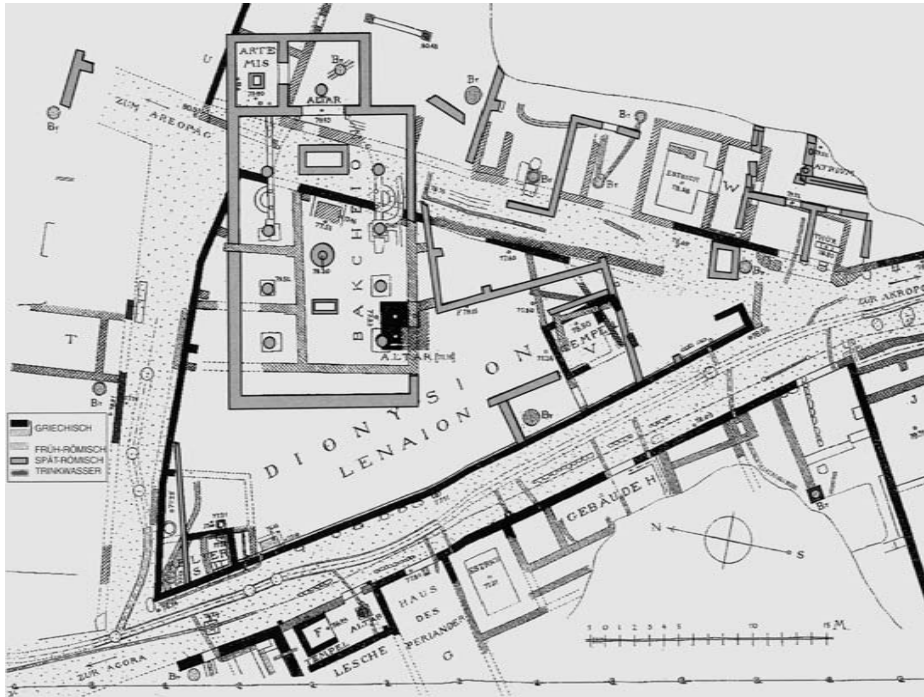


Fig. 3. Athen, Plan des Bakcheion der Iobakchen (2. Jh. n.Chr.). Zwischenbereich Westabhang der Akropolis/Areopag

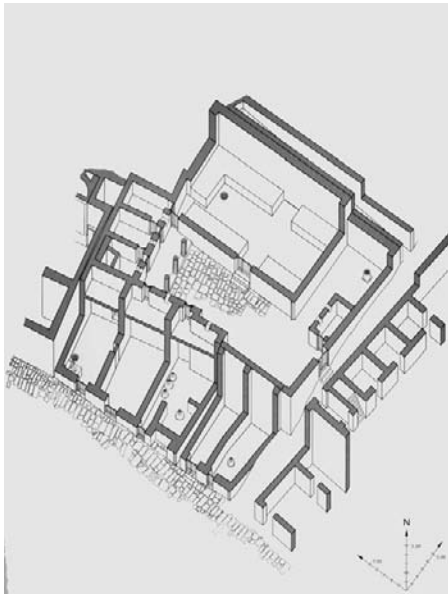


Fig. 4a. Pergamon, Podiensaalgebäude. Isometrie, 4. Bauphase (Hadrianische Zeit)

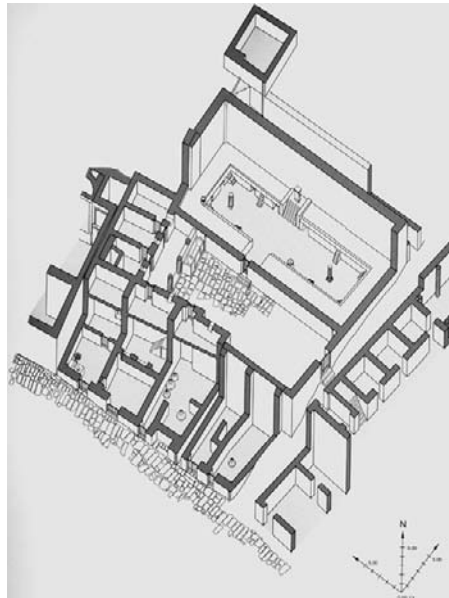


Fig. 4b. Pergamon, Podiensaalgebäude. Isometrie, 7. Bauphase (Ende 3./Anfang 4. Jh. n.Chr.)

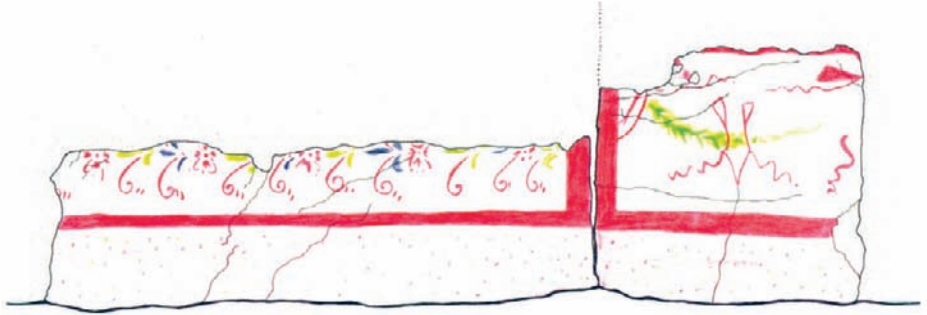


Fig. 5a. Pergamon, Podiensaalgebäude. Schmuck des Kulssaales der Boukoloi. Putz der 5. Bauphase (West- und Nordwand der größeren Kultnische). Blattstab und Girlande

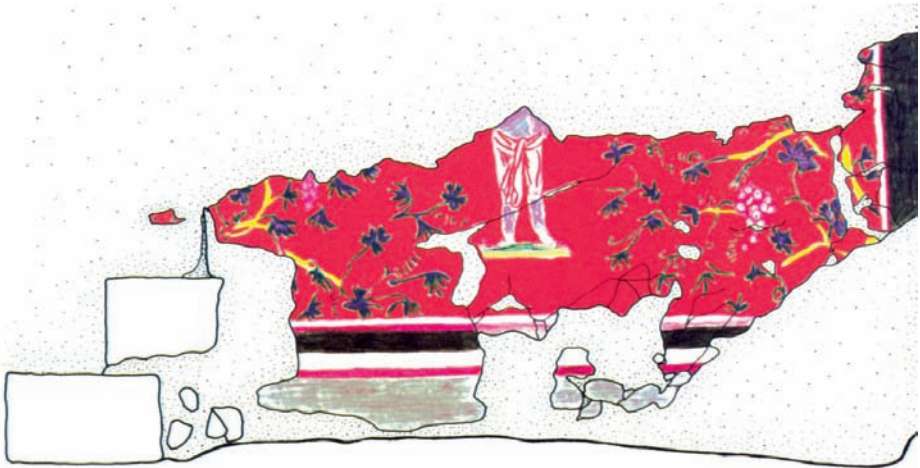


Fig. 5b. Pergamon, Podiensaalgebäude. Schmuck des Kulssaales der Boukoloi. Putz der 6. Bauphase (West- und Nordwand der verkleinerten Kultnische). Weinlaubdekor mit 'Silen'



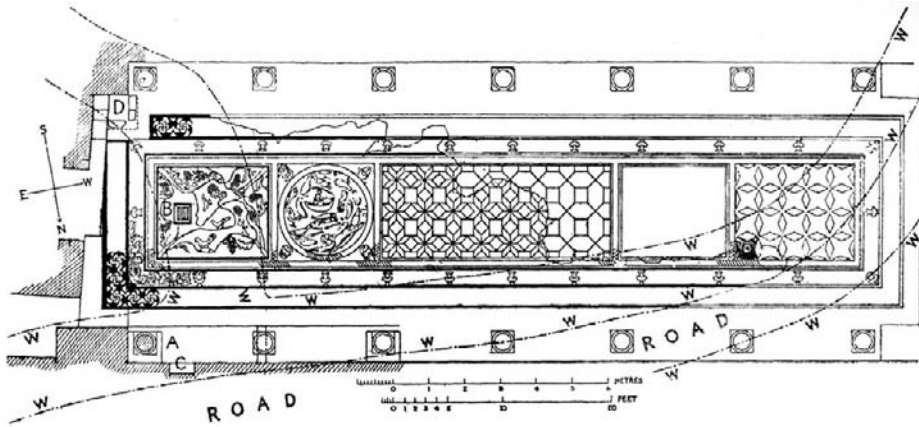


Fig. 6. Melos, Plan des Vereinslokals der Mystai (2. Jh. n. Chr.). Nordwestabhang der Akropolis



Fig. 7. Melos, Vereinslokal der Mystai (2. Jh. n. Chr.). Mosaiken aus dem Hauptsaal

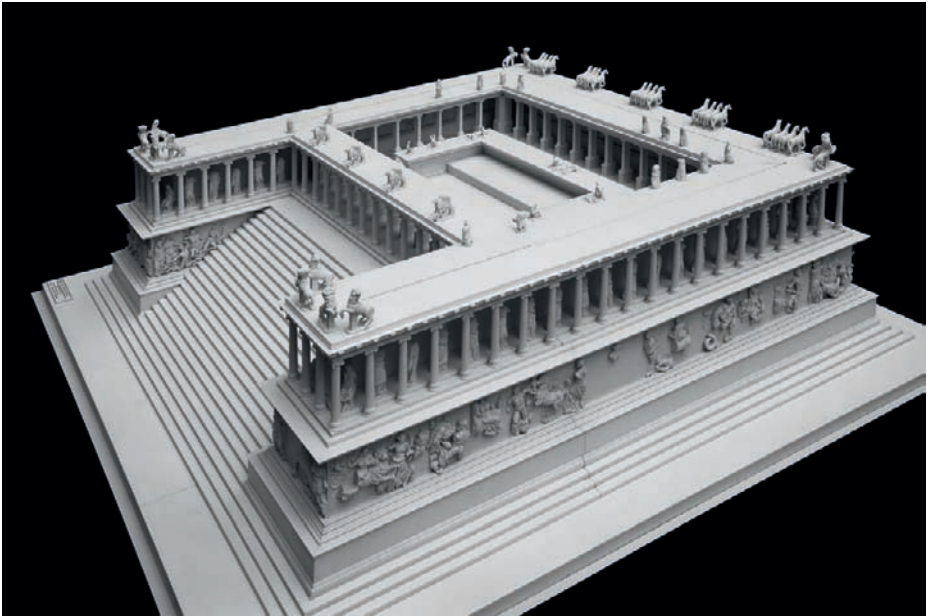


Fig. 1. Modell des Pergamonaltars (nach W. Hoepfner). Berlin, Pergamonmuseum



Fig. 2. Pergamonaltar. Westseite des Südrisalits. Dionysos und Semele im Gigantenkampf. Berlin, Pergamonmuseum



Fig. 3. Pergamonaltar. Telephosfries, Platte 31. Epiphanie des Dionysos.  
Berlin, Pergamonmuseum





Fig. 1. *Dionysus in 69*. Birth Ritual



Fig. 2. *Dionysus in 69*. Death Ritual

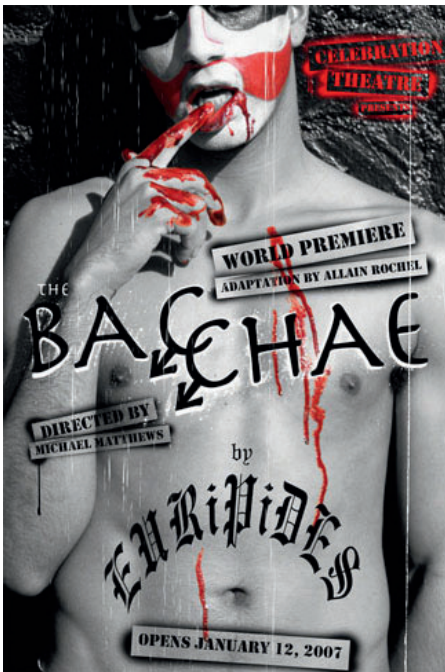


Fig. 3. *Bacchae*. Celebration Theater (Los Angeles, 2007)



Fig. 4. *Bacchae*. New Hazlett Theater (Pittsburgh, 2007)



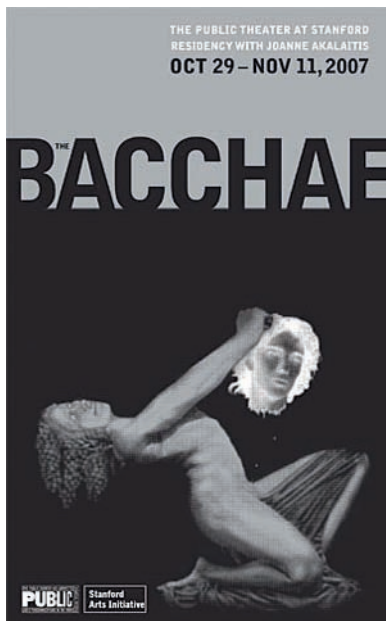


Fig. 5. *Bacchae* (Stanford University, 2007)



Fig. 6. Alan Cumming in *The Bacchae* (National Theatre of Scotland, 2007)



Fig. 7. Death of Pentheus in Brad Mays' production of the *Bacchae* (Los Angeles, 1997)

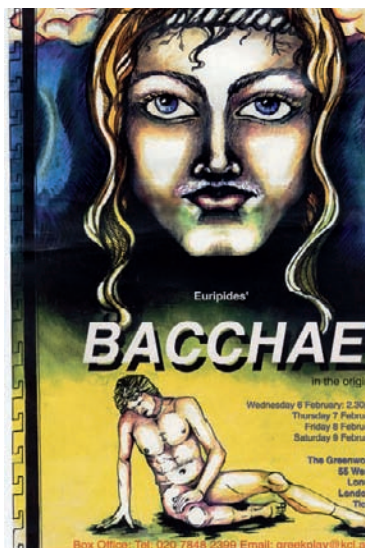


Fig. 8. *The Bacchae* (King's College London, 2002)



Fig. 9. *Bacchae*. Female-fronted Garage Band (Leeds, 2008)

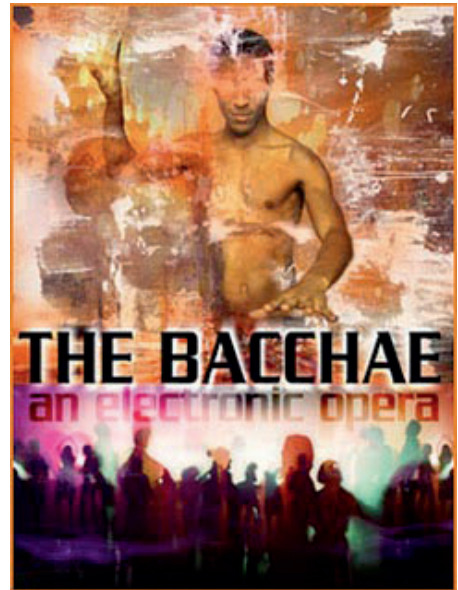


Fig. 10. *The Bacchae: An Electronic Opera*. Screaming Weenie Productions (Vancouver/British Columbia, 2005)

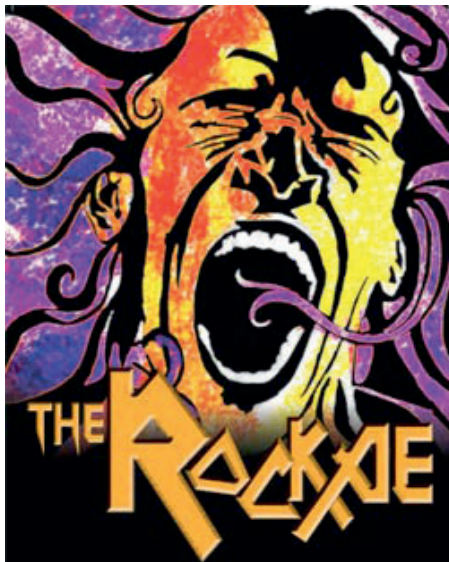


Fig. 11. *The Rockae*: rock musical adaptation of the *Bacchae* (Indiana University, 2010)



Fig. 12. *Dionysian Dream: The Greek Drama Game*: role-playing adventure game, based on the *Bacchae* (Phantom Compass, release in 2010)