



# Η ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ

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## **A Personalized Festival Calendar**

by Oenochoe

*A*fter years of experimenting and researching and ritualizing, I have finally decided to set down a festival calendar for myself. Of course, I've been celebrating festivals up until now, but it was a somewhat haphazard process. I tried to follow the ancient Athenian calendar, but felt uninterested in many of the festivals, or some were timed completely wrong for the climate where I live. I performed some rituals with my partner, which were a blend of Hellenismos and Asatru, but didn't always know how to reconcile that with my strictly Hellenic practice. There were gods I wanted to do ritual for that had no extant festivals. And on top of all of that, I have a very personal spiritual life which includes a few guardian spirits, and I wanted to include them as well. So I am now at a point where I feel that I know enough about the ancient tradition to take it a step further and make a festival calendar relevant to my own life. I hope that discussing my process as an example will help other people who are interested in doing this for themselves.

I wanted to keep to the basic framework of the ancient calendar, so most of the dates are reckoned by the lunar system rather than our modern solar one, even those festivals that I have newly created. The exceptions to that rule are mostly for anniversaries of events that happened to me personally, and therefore fell on the modern calendar. I kept the names of the months as we know them from ancient Athens, but I occasionally moved a festival to make it relevant to the seasons around me.

First, I set down a pattern of monthly observances. In ancient Greece, certain days of the month were always set aside for certain gods (the days being counted from the first visible crescent after the dark moon). Following this tradition, I created some of my own holy days for the gods I worship most. So I kept the 4<sup>th</sup> for Hermes and the 7<sup>th</sup> for Apollon, and then I added the 9<sup>th</sup> for Dionysos (in this case because I found a reference to a Dionysian group in ancient times meeting on the ninth of each month). I decided upon the 27<sup>th</sup> for the nymphs, loosely based on a sacrifice from Erchia. I kept the 2<sup>nd</sup> for the agathos daimon, since that is how I relate to my primary spirit companion. I also added the 5<sup>th</sup> for my other spirit, partly because it was the fifth of a month when I first met him. I tried to make each innovation have at least some meaning behind it so it wasn't completely random.

I cannot possibly list all the festivals in my new personalized calendar here, because there are about forty-five of them. It's not necessary to have so many, but I love a good ritual, and this seemed like a reasonable amount to me. Enough to keep me busy, without being overwhelming. Enough to honor all the gods I hold most dear, in their many aspects, to note the changing of seasons, to commemorate important events in my spiritual life, etc. Anyway, I will choose several to discuss here that should give an idea of what the overall calendar is like.

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## Η ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ

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The Neokoroi are a group of Hellenic hard polytheists working to foster communities, festivals, and temples, to provide guidance and information on religious matters, and to ensure the strength and longevity of the worship of the Greek gods.

Η Επιστολή (a “message” or “letter”) is published four times a year. We offer articles, hymns, prayers, poetry, reviews, information, rituals, community notices, fiction, recipes, and anything else of interest to the Hellenic pagan community. We welcome feedback and submissions from guest writers.

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Our next issue will be coming out in March 2005. The deadline for submissions is February 15<sup>th</sup>. Advertising space is also available.

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## A Personalized Festival Calendar (continued from page one)

I'll begin with the winter solstice, since that is coming up soon. For a few years now, I have celebrated this holiday with a combination of Norse Yule traditions and elements from the Rural Dionysia, which go well together. I am now adding another (rather obscure) Dionysian festival to the day, called Turbe. We have no date for Turbe and all we know about it is that sacrifices were offered to Dionysos and Pan, and it had an ecstatic character. This seems to fit in well with the rest, and I figured that an offering of pine boughs (like the ubiquitous Christmas wreaths) would be appropriate for both gods.

Since I am foremost a maenad, many of my festivals are for Dionysos. Some are ancient, and some are from the collection of new festivals created by the Thiasos Dionysos in the past year. I've made my own modifications to both of these to make them entirely mine. So for instance, I'll be celebrating the ancient Oskhophoria, but moving it up a little so that it corresponds with the actual time of the grape harvest in my area. And I'm celebrating the new Meilikhia (feast of gentleness) but moving it to a warmer time of year to correspond with the atmosphere of the festival.

I had to create all the festivals for Hermes from scratch, since he is only mentioned once in the Athenian calendar, within the Dionysian festival of the Anthesteria. I created three days for Hermes scattered throughout the autumn and winter (on the fourth of various months), celebrating my favorite aspects of his: Enodios (on the road), Eriounios (luck bringer) and Psukhopompos (guide of the dead). I also created a couple of festivals for Apollon, in addition to his Athenian ones, that focus on his oracular role, since that is something I am involved in. I set one of them on the day that oracles traditionally began to be given each year at Delphi, and the other on the anniversary of the date on which I was initiated into his Mysteries, a couple of years ago. That way I have ties to both the past and my own personal history and experience.

Some of the new festivals are entirely personal. For instance, I am going to mark certain transformative spiritual experiences I've had in the past, and the initial meeting of my personal spirits, by doing rituals on the anniversaries of those dates. Others are actually ancient festivals with no known date, so I am combining them with other holidays, especially ones I celebrate with my partner. So, for instance, the Thalusia of Demeter and Dionysos will be held during my autumn equinox ritual. I have also incorporated a few festivals with pagan roots but entirely modern expressions – Mardi Gras becomes a Dionysian revel (of course) and Halloween becomes a day of the dead not unlike the day of Khutroi during the Anthesteria.

Finding activities to do during all of these festivals isn't very hard. In some cases, we even know what was done in ancient times. But when that's not an option, it just takes a little creativity to match the ritual to the spirit of the festival. For the Meilikhia, for instance, I do things that express the soothing aspect of Dionysos' nature – listen to beautiful music, eat grapes and figs, drink wine slowly throughout the day, have a long bath, etc. For the Hermaia Eriounia, I will celebrate Hermes' luck-bringing traits by doing a little gambling and praying for good luck in general. On the festivals for the nymphs (I've created four, each focusing on one group) I will go to the appropriate areas nearest my house and build and tend shrines for them. This is all, of course, in addition to the traditional prayers, sacrifices, etc.

I'll be trying out this new calendar for 2005 and then I'll be able to tweak it as needed – add, subtract or change things, find out what really works and what needs improvement. To me, this is Hellenismos at its best – a religious practice that has deep roots but can accommodate innovation. I see a time in the future where we will all have either individual or small group festival calendars, with common traits as well as many differences, meaningful to each of us. That is, after all, the way it really was in ancient Greece, and it makes even more sense today when we all live so spread out. And having myriad ways to worship and celebrate the gods can only be a good thing!

## Hellenic Reconstructionist-style Thank Offering Ritual to Aphrodite

by Caroline Tully, guest writer

On the 4th day after Noumenia, the New Moon, in May (the 4th day of each month is considered to be the "birthday" of Aphrodite along with several other gods), I did a pleasant votive/thank offering ritual to Aphrodite, Aphrodite Peitho and Aphrodite Ambologera.

Greek deities have epithets which describe aspects or functions of the deity which the supplicant wishes to specify. In this case "Peitho" is "Persuasion", who is a kind of goddess in herself found in the retinue of Aphrodite and "Ambologera" means "remover of old age" and is an epithet of Aphrodite.

I set up an outdoor altar with an image of Aphrodite, scallop shells, pictures of shells, two goat figurines (signifying Aphrodite Epitragidia / she who rides the buck goat), a lotus and a protea flower. Also 5 libation bowls: 4 for champagne, 1 for barley, a censer, charcoal block and frankincense incense, a bowl of khernips (lustral water for pre-ritual washing).

Then I dressed in sexy garb, processed, rather informally, to the site, washed my hands with khernips and sprinkled the altar and surrounds, strew the barley upon the altar, filled the 4 libation bowls with champagne, lit a Hestia (hearth) candle, and offered Hestia the first libation - Hestia is always honoured first in Olympian sacrifice.

Next I read the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite (there are two, I read both of them, the shorter one first - Homeric Hymns are considered offerings in themselves), then I poured "sponde" libations to Aphrodite, Peitho and Ambologera, sipping the remainder myself. I then lit the frankincense and offered thanks for past graces and prayed to Aphrodite Epitragidia (buck goat), Cyprian (from Cyprus), Philomeides (laughter-loving) and Eleemon (merciful) for future blessings, sat and contemplated for a while, listening for any communications from Deity. Then I poured a final libation to Hestia and finished up the rite.

I thought it went well - all things considered, seeing as we have \*very\* nosey neighbours who are liable to be puzzled by the wafting frankincense and peek over the fence and see me performing heathen rites in my negligee-like attire!!

I praise you, O Great Aphrodite!

### Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite

Of august, gold-wreathed and beautiful Aphrodite  
I shall sing, to whose domain belong the battlements  
of all sea-laved Cyprus where, blown by the moist breath of  
Zephyros,  
she was carried over the waves of the resounding sea  
in soft foam. The gold-filleted Horae  
happily welcomed her and clothed her with heavenly raiment.  
Then on her divine head they placed a well-wrought crown,  
beautiful and golden, and in her pierced ears  
flowers of brass and precious gold.  
Round her tender neck and silver-white breasts  
they decked her with golden necklaces such as the gold-  
filleted  
Horae themselves are adorned with whenever they go  
to lovely dances of the gods and to their father's house.  
And after the decked her body with every sort of jewel,  
they brought her to the immortals, who saw and welcomed  
her,  
giving her their hands, and each one wished  
that he might take her home as his wedded wife;  
for they marveled at the looks of violet-crowned Kythereia.  
Hail, honey-sweet goddess with the fluttering eyelids!

(from *The Homeric Hymns*, trans. by Apostolous N. Athanassakis. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.)

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## *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion*, a review

by Gitana

*Oxford Readings in Greek Religion* is a collection of 15 articles written by notable scholars. Various themes are covered, from general discussions to very specific topics. As with any collection, not every article will be of particular interest to the reader, but the high quality of the writings makes this book a "must-read."

As it would be impractical to discuss each of the articles, I will highlight only a few. The book opens with "What is *Polis* Religion?" by Christine Sourvinou-Inwood. She argues that it is the *polis*, and not the individual nor the family (*oikos*) that is the

basic structure of ancient Greek religious experience. She says, "The *polis* anchored, legitimated, and mediated all religious activity" (p.15). Each *polis* could decide when and how festivals were celebrated, they could determine their own pantheons, and they could send religious ambassadors (*theoroi*) to participate in the festivals of another *polis*.

She continues her argument in a second article, titled "Further Aspects of *Polis* Religion." In the second piece, she focuses on the role of the individual's worship. She writes, "The fact that the central focus, and the central mode of articulation, of Greek religion was ritual, and not the personal inner spiritual

## Book Review (continued from page three)

experience, and that much ritual activity took place in groups, must not be taken to entail that Greek religion is a 'group religion' in the sense that group worship was the norm and individual cultic acts somehow exceptional" (p.44). The individual could worship with or without a priest or with other members present. However, if one were to travel worship could only be performed in a temple as *xenos*, an outsider, which had certain regulations determined by that particular *polis*.

Susan Guettel Cole contributes a piece called "Demeter in the Ancient Greek City and its Countryside." She begins with the premise that "where and how a city placed its sanctuaries is significant" (p.135). The temples of Demeter were rarely in the center of the city because she was almost never the principle deity of that city.<sup>1</sup> Most often, one will find her sanctuaries near a stream, spring, or other source of water, or also on the side of a hill or near the city walls. Each of these positions was noteworthy. There was a need for water in the rituals enacted in Demeter's honor. Purity was of utmost importance, as it evidenced by the shower stalls at the entrance of the dining rooms in the Temple of Demeter in Corinth, and also by the countless votive offerings of water jugs. Also necessary was privacy, whether to enact the Mysteries or the Thesmophoria; thus the temples are found on the side of a hill.<sup>2</sup> Her temples were also found next to the city walls. It is possible that the temple had existed first, in the countryside, but as the city grew, and thus expanded its walls, the temple was incorporated into the city limits. On the other hand, the temple could have been deliberately built on the perimeter of the city, serving as a link between the city gods and festivals, and those of the countryside.

Readers will be pleased to find "Jason, Hypsipyle, and New Fire at Lemnos: A Study in Myth and Ritual" written by Walter Burkert. Insightful generalizations are made using the Lemnos New Fire ritual as an example. A conclusion he makes is the following: "Still more clear than the importance of ritual for the understanding of myth is the importance of myth for the history of religion, for the reconstruction and interpretation of ritual. Myth, being the 'plot,' may indicate connections between rites which are isolated in our tradition; it may provide supplements for the desperate lacunae in our knowledge; it may give decisive

hints for chronology" (p.246). Although the points made are not revolutionary in any sense, as previous myth and ritual specialists have made similar arguments, it is beneficial for us to see it in the context of traditional Greek myth and ritual.

"Women and Sacrifice in Classical Greece" is an excellent article contributed by Robin Osborne, in which several theories about the role of women are discussed. She refutes Detienne's theory that women, who wouldn't normally receive meat from the sacrifices, must have been vegetarians, as Greeks only ate meat that had first been sacrificed. Her argument is that women don't take part in the bloodshed of sacrifice because they themselves bleed (through menstruation). It is only older women (post-menopause) and young virgin girls (pre-menarche) that can participate in any official way.

Lastly, we come to "Greek Magic, Greek Religion" by Robert Fowler. He says that "almost everybody used it [magic], in every conceivable situation, and constantly, in such a way as would oppress and suffocate us could we go back in time and live in that environment" (p.321). In my opinion that is a very strong statement, but one that he justifiably makes based on his rather broad definition of magic. He does discuss the *defixio* (binding spell) as the most common type of spell used in ancient times. He also points out that the language of spells is almost identical to that of prayers. One can surmise his position nicely by a statement he makes in the article, that "one man's magic is another man's religion" (p.341).

You may agree or disagree, just as I have, with the different theories put forth in the articles. The usefulness of the book lies in the fact that these are articles written by contemporary authors, who look at the evidence from different perspectives, and give us an indication of the direction the study of ancient Greek religion will take in the near future.

<sup>1</sup> Thebes is the exception, as Demeter Thesmophoros' temple was in the center of the agora.

<sup>2</sup> Also of possible significance here is in the Orphic Hymn, Demeter places Persephone in a cave. Zeus, in the form of a snake, finds and impregnates her, and she then gives birth to Dionysos-Zagreus.



## Calendar of Upcoming Festivals

by Oenochoe

Late December: The Rural Dionysia (late Poseideon) – a rustic festival for Dionysos with dramatic performances and wine drinking. Could be celebrated on the winter solstice.

January 6<sup>th</sup>: Haloa (26 Poseidon) - originally a 'threshing floor' festival, this came to be a festival of fertility, honoring Dionysos and Demeter.

Cakes modeled in the shape of genitals can be eaten, and ribald songs and jokes shared.

January 22<sup>nd</sup>-25<sup>th</sup>: Lenaia (12-15 Gamelion) – one of the oldest festivals of Dionysos. Comedic plays were premiered during this festival, and there were lavish processions through the city.

February 5<sup>th</sup>: Gamelia (26 Gamelion) – the anniversary of the sacred marriage of Zeus and Hera. Weddings and love affairs were considered especially auspicious during this month. This is a good time to reaffirm your vows.

February 19<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup>: Anthesteria (11-13 Anthesterion) – the drinking festival of Dionysos Limnaios (in the marshes), also a feast for the dead. The first day, Pithoigia, is the Opening of the Jars, and the broaching of new wine. The second day, Khoes, is the Day of Cups. There are drinking contests, and an erotic atmosphere. The next evening a sacred marriage was performed between the queen and the god. The details of this ritual were secret. The last day, Khutroi, is the Day of Pots, devoted to the cult of the dead. Pots containing cooked vegetables and seeds were left out for the wandering spirits and for Hermes Psychopompos.

March 3<sup>rd</sup>: Diasia (23 Anthesterion) – the festival of Zeus Meilikhios (Kindly), the chthonic Zeus who appears as a snake. Offerings are made of cakes shaped like animals, grains, and other fertility foods. The whole offering was burnt, to propitiate him.

March 16<sup>th</sup>: Elaphebolia (6 Elaphebolion) – festival of Artemis, where she is offered cakes shaped like stags, made from dough, honey and sesame-seeds.

March 18<sup>th</sup>: Asklepieia (8 Elaphebolion) – festival of Asklepios, including a large sacrifice and common meal with the god.

March 19<sup>th</sup>-23<sup>rd</sup>: Greater Dionysia (9-13<sup>th</sup> Elaphebolion) – the largest of the Dionysian festivals, this was held in Athens, where Dionysos had a theatre and where dithyrambs and plays were performed.

Sweet on the mountain,  
When from the running thiasoi he falls to the earth,  
Wearing the sacred garment – skin of fawn.  
Blood-Slaughter of goats – the joy of eating raw!

Rushing to the mountains of Phrygia, to Lydia,  
The leader is Bromios, Euoi!  
The Earth flows with milk, it flows with wine, and the nectar of bees.  
Like the smoke of Syrian frankincense,  
Bacchus rushes,  
Holding up the blazing torch of the narthex like a fire-brand,  
Rousing the wanderers with running and dances,  
Urging them on with cries of joy.

- Euripides, *Bacchae*, lines 135-149

Translation by Karen McCollam

## Why Hellenic Polytheism Should be Back as a Religion

by Mona Lisa

The place of humans in Hellenic religion is not the same as in a monotheistic one. First comes destiny, or Fortuna. Men and Gods are ruled by it. So we have influence on the Gods because we are on the same level regarding Fortuna. In Christianity, God rules everything, even the Fortuna. But how can we explain the horrors that happen in this world, like wars or genocides? How could a “God of Love” who is powerful over everything let those things happen? With Hellenic religion, this paradox doesn’t exist. Fortuna rules everything. But that does not mean we cannot do anything. We can pray to Zeus for Justice. We humans are mortals, the Gods are immortals. Sometimes we can’t see Justice being set in our lifetime. But Justice will be set in the future, Zeus will do it. That is what Hellenic religion tells us. It tells us that Fortuna can be bad for people, even if there are powerful Gods. You can suffer from war even if you have done

nothing. But pray, pray to the Gods and you will find Justice, and hope that it will come in your lifetime.

As a woman, I see no place for us in monotheistic religion. We barely have the right to worship the god. Priests are men and they have the power. The only important woman is Mary who is supposed to be a Virgin. Wow... And so on for the father, the son and the holy spirit (maybe it is a female spirit?) The Hellenic pantheon has Goddesses. Gods and Goddesses fall in love, are angry and sometimes can be jealous. In that sense, they are closer to us than any other monotheistic god, who is supposed to have created us in his image.... They are different because they are Immortals and they can know everything in space and time. That makes them very powerful. And they like to be worshiped, like we humans like to be

## Why Hellenic Polytheism.... (continued from page five)

appreciated for our talents. We want to be kind to people who like our talents and personality; same for them!

Finally, I find Hellenic religion very respectful of other people's divinities. In my research of the Hellenic pantheon, I found that the worship of Dionysus was not tolerated in Greece for a time. There were maenads, or woman priestesses who were doing devotions to the God. But they had to do it in fear of repressions. Dionysus himself had to put things in right order. So the Greeks had to build him temples and worship him as you do for a God. I also found that they adopted divinities from other civilizations. The Greeks were conquerors, but when they saw the divine, they took the divinity from that pantheon. That is what polytheism is about, several Gods. If it is divine for your neighbours it probably is for you too. I am sure that if Hellenic religion was the main one, we would put Jesus in the Olympian family. A great guy like him is surely divine. We can find him a place in

our art with Apollo, Zeus and Aphrodite. These things are the principles that I read about in very serious books, after I was touched by the God Apollo. Those principles, written by very serious persons who study the ancient Greeks, just make sense for me. Hellenic religion is a religion for adults, a religion whose doctrines are hard, but for a hard living; no false hopes and no paradoxes. It gives place to women and for human feelings.

If any of you have the desire to read the book that gave me these principles, it is *Greek Gods, Human Lives* by Mary Lefkowitz. I can summarize by saying that the woman is an Hellenic pagan. She will explain the myths not like a fairy tale, but through the perspectives of the Gods. The myths are kind of a bible. They were created by poets, Hands of the Muses, Daughters of Zeus, who explained to people the Gods and why they should worship them. If I combine those principles and the blessing I received from Apollo, I cannot see why Hellenic religion cannot be a true one.

### Offering To Hypnos

by William J. Barth, guest poet

*A* breath of breeze where milkweed floats,

White wisps the tendrils curling,  
As from the brittle husk go twirling,  
Delicate armadas,

Gliding, trembling sprays of seed  
in each a swelling,  
of a hundred tender shoots unshelled  
from the life Indwelling,  
Whose secret blooms in the humid soil of night,  
Spring up as dreams.  
And mortal souls are cast adrift,  
Among the starry beams.

To you no brazier burning,  
no charred remains are blessed,  
But these simple blossoms turning,  
To thee for thy gift of Rest,  
Hither, where the Wind wills,  
Or yonder, where the seed spills,  
Soft as a pillow and slipping,  
Deep in a silken sleep.

An offering as befits a gentle god,  
One Who, content does seem,  
Not to see us die, or suffer,  
But to sleep, and dream.

## *Pinakes*: Ancient Votive Tablets

by Gitana

*Pinakes* are tablets made of wood, terracotta or stone that were placed in temples as votive offerings. The wooden tablets now appear to be “blank” but in ancient times these would have had beautifully painted scenes on them. Over time, the paint from the tablets has worn off. Terracotta and stone tablets were of course carved. Some *pinakes* use a combination of carving and painting; most votive reliefs from the 4<sup>th</sup> century have a carved architectural “frame” around the outer edge, with the interior now blank, where the painted image would have been.

Many of the votive offerings, including these *pinakes*, were buried just outside the temples. One might think this was “insulting” to bury the gifts to the gods, but for the ancients, this was a perfectly acceptable practice. Gifts to the gods were usually destroyed in some way; the burning of food sacrifices is another example. As Burkert explains, the gift becomes a sacrifice by being destroyed.<sup>1</sup> However, this also had a practical purpose. Burying the items made room in the sanctuaries for new offerings to be brought in. Also, burying them kept them safe from thieves. We are fortunate that the buried items have survived as archaeological evidence, as most of the temples, cult statues, furniture, and decorations have been destroyed.

The *pinakes* had various scenes on them. Some showed worshippers offering libations or other ritual scenes in the temples. Others depicted mythological scenes. Still others showed scenes from daily life, such as farming or household duties. Never have any been found to represent sacrifices or dancing.<sup>2</sup>

Most of the *pinakes* dedicated at the temples of the healing gods have images of body parts. For example, if one was suffering from some pain in the foot, a *pinax* with an image of a foot would be brought to the Temple of Asklepios. The worshipper would say a prayer to the god, asking for the foot to be healed, and offer the *pinax* as a gift. It is interesting to note that a similar practice still exists today among Greek Orthodox Christians. The images of body parts are made out of metal and called *tama* or *tamata*. They are dedicated to the saints in exchange for healing.

A large number of clay *pinakes* have been found at the Temple of Poseidon at Penteskouphia (near Corinth), dating from the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century. These were painted on *both* sides, suggesting that they would have been hung from tree branches, or otherwise

suspended so that both sides of the *pinax* would be visible.<sup>3</sup> One-sided *pinakes* were hung on a wall, or set up on a pedestal.

There have also been found large deposits of *pinakes* at Locri (in modern-day Italy) from the 6<sup>th</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> centuries. Most of the *pinakes* from this site are from the Sanctuary of Persephone, and naturally depict scenes from the mythological stories of the goddess’ abduction. Others show scenes of human marriages or family life. It has been suggested that Persephone is seen as a protectress of marriages at Locri,<sup>4</sup> and that young brides-to-be would dedicate these *pinakes* to Persephone in hopes of a fruitful marriage. However, this location is also reputed to be the center of the Orphic cult in which Persephone plays a prominent role. This may very well be the case, as evidenced by her sanctuary there, but the scenes on the *pinakes* quite often feature Hades, who is not part of Orphic mythology.

The *pinakes* from various locations also show individual worshippers approaching the deities or the cult statues in the shrines. The ones dedicated by women almost all show them accompanied by their families in the image, contrasted to the ones dedicated by men, in which the man might appear alone in the image.<sup>5</sup> This is not surprising, however, as a man in ancient times could be independent, whereas a woman could not.

This tradition of offering *pinakes* is one of faith and beauty. It is quite unfortunate that this practice has become extinct. Perhaps as our Hellenic religions grow, worshippers will once again dedicate these tablets in the sanctuaries of the gods.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1985, p.66.

<sup>2</sup> Folkert Van Straten, “Votives and Votaries in Greek Sanctuaries” in *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion*, ed. Richard Buxton, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000, p.223.

<sup>3</sup> Van Straten, p. 195.

<sup>4</sup> Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, “Persephone and Aphrodite at Locri: A Model for Personality Definitions in Greek Religions,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 98, 1978.

<sup>5</sup> Van Straten, p.217

*see back cover for an image of an ancient pinax*



*Pinax of Hades and Persephone*  
Locri (Italy) 480 BCE