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2. Comptes rendus et notices bibliographiques

Daniel OGDEN (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Religion*, Oxford, Blackwell, 2007. 1 vol. 18 × 25 cm, 497 p. (*Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World*). ISBN : 978-1-4051-2054-8.

Recent scholarship in the field of Classics is definitely dominated by companions, introductions, as well as *Einführungen* to literally almost everything, and it is legitimate to ask how necessary they really are, whether they add new insights to our knowledge, or do they simply represent the product of a new scholarly fast-food-era? It should be stressed from the very beginning that this new companion certainly does not belong to the last category, for the sheer “collection” of renowned contributors guarantees the highest standards. Nevertheless, already in his introductory note, the editor reveals the book’s most important weakness: although we may or may not agree – and I definitely disagree – upon the chronological framework (776-30 BCE), the idea of a companion conceived not based on the topic itself, but rather on “subjects and issues generally held to be of importance and interest by contemporary international experts in the field of Greek religion” seems quite paradoxical; after all, this is meant to be a companion to Greek religion, and not a companion to the contemporary *Forschungsgeschichte* of Greek religion. Notwithstanding this perhaps all too critical remark, every single contributor delivers what his/her reputation promises: cogitative, although not always new, appetizers for students of Greek religion to further continue their exploration of this fascinating field.

S.B. Noegel’s *Greek Religion and the Ancient Near East* constitutes an example for the possibilities and practical limitations of a companion: Noegel addresses fundamental questions about (Greek) religion such as the interrelationship between myth and ritual, the notion of cultural/religious influence and interchange between the Near East and Greece, especially during the Bronze Age, or the alleged opposition between monotheistic and polytheistic religious systems. The answers are of course all too short, but nevertheless extremely rich and dense: the perfect starting point for further research. There are only minor points of possible criticism.¹ Since we are not in the position to study the Minoan and Mycenaean mythology based on emic textual evidence, the establishment of a model of religious influence from the Near East towards Greece based exclusively on the comparison between Bronze Age texts from the Near East and the Homeric or Hesiodic texts should remain highly hypothetical. In this respect, Noegel rightly stresses the use of the term “interchange” instead of “influence”.

K. Dowden begins his contribution on *Olympian Gods, Olympian Pantheon* with a brief but invaluable distinction among the different semantic levels of cult, mythology, and thought / “theology”. The A. stresses the important difference between “pantheon” and the notion of “twelveness” in Greek religion, although he does not adequately emphasises the importance of local traditions. The example of the six double altars at Olympia is not only an illuminating case for the notion of twelve gods, as noted by Dowden, but also an important piece of evidence for the existence of local concepts of the twelve gods. Dowden chooses to exemplify his views about Greek gods by using Apollon and Artemis as cases in point. The

¹ For example, the Babylonian (and not Assyrian) votive bronze figurines of a prayer with a dog found on Samos as evidence for a possible interconnection between the Babylonian Gula and the Greek Hera have been challenged, see E.A. BRAUN-HOLZINGER, “Bronze Objects from Babylonia”, in J. CURTIS (ed.), *Bronzeworking Centres of Western Asia c. 1000-539 B.C.*, London, 1988, p. 127 f. and *ead.* – E. REHM, *Orientalischer Import in Griechenland im frühen 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, Münster, 2005, p. 87-89.

Letoids are indeed two of the most interesting and puzzling divine figures, but a brief explanation of the reasons for this seemingly arbitrary choice would certainly have been very useful.

In her *A Land Full of Gods: Nature Deities in Greek Religion*, J. Larson presents no panorama of such divinities closely connected with nature. Instead she concentrates on the Nymphs, Pan, the river gods, Gaia, Helios, Poseidon and his *thiasos* – in this context, Larson's assumption that Amphitrite was venerated together with Poseidon at Penteskouphia appears too confident, since Athena too appears on the votive *pinakes* from the site, – as well as the Winds. One may ask why Demeter is so prominently absent from Larson's account, but her contribution is nevertheless very well structured and informative, especially in the part dedicated to the Nymphs.

After stressing the important methodological problem of distinguishing between personifications as invented literary personae and such that play a role in cult activity, E. Stafford concentrates in her *Personifications in Greek Religious Thought and Practice* on those personifications that can be securely identified thanks to literary and epigraphic sources as figures of cult. Her contribution is chronologically structured and demonstrates in a very clear manner the developments in the cult of personified concepts. Besides prominent examples as Themis, Nemesis, Hygieia, or Eirene, Stafford illuminates several other cults of personifications like Peitho, Eukleia, Phobos, or Hebe. Noticeably, in the case of the so-called Tyche of Antiocheia, one should take into consideration M. Meyer's recent reinforcement of an older idea that the famous statue was originally conceived as a personification of the city Antiocheia.² From the guide to further reading, I do miss B. Borg's highly sophisticated book on allegories and personifications.³

In *The Dead*, D. Felton offers an appealing insight in both ancient Greek ritual practices connected with and the mythology of death. The author briefly summarises festivals related to the dead such as the Genesia and the Anthesteria, the nature of deities and mythological figures traditionally associated with death (Hades, Persephone, Thanatos, Charon, Hermes Psychopompos), heroic *katabaseis*, the ritual practice of necromancy, and stories about ghosts. Minor problems concern exclusively the archaeological data used: lamentation scenes occur on Athenian Geometric vases of the eighth and not of the ninth century BCE, while the cemetery in the Athenian Agora was abandoned after the enlargement of the latter, thus, the Agora was not *simultaneously* used as a meeting place and a cemetery as stated by Felton.

Making ample use of the literary and especially of the epigraphic evidence, G. Ekroth offers in her *Heroes and Hero-Cults* a sophisticated overview on Greek hero-cults, the importance of heroes and heroines in the *panthea* of Greek cities, the enormous formal variability of their respective cult places, and the sacrificial rituals related to them. The author explicitly refers to the ambiguous, and thus problematic Greek terminology for addressing heroic figures and the rituals connected with them. One could disagree with the interpretation of the so-called Polis cave on Ithaca as a *heroon* of Odysseus or with Ekroth's positive evaluation of the inflated use of the term *hero* on Hellenistic tombstones, but these admittedly are negligible points of criticism.

In his *Prayers and Hymns*, W.D. Furley discusses the ritual frame and the rhetoric of prayers and hymns, before addressing their different types. He underlines that singing and further musical features are indeed formal attributes that distinguish the more performative hymns from prayers. Furley rightly stresses that the elaborate naming in the beginning of

² M. MEYER, *Die Personifikation der Stadt Antiocheia. Ein neues Bild für eine Gottheit*, Berlin, 2006.

³ B. BORG, *Der Logos des Mythos. Allegorien und Personifikationen in der frühen griechischen Kunst*, Munich, 2002.

prayers and hymns is not only aiming at the greater glory of the gods, as noticed by S. Pulleyn, but serves also the identification of the right gods as addressees of the respective prayers and hymns.

In his *Greek Normative Animal Sacrifice*, J.N. Bremmer offers an account of the typical Greek blood sacrifice and its different parts: the choice of the correct animal, the treatment of the sacrificial victim, the procession, the ritual acts immediately before the killing, and the actual killing of the animal. Unfortunately, Bremmer decides to consider the sacrificial meal in just four lines, thus, neglecting the importance of this last part of a Greek sacrifice. In two further sections, the author discusses briefly the emic and etic perspectives on sacrifice, concentrating mainly on the epic tradition and the scholarly works of K. Meuli, W. Burkert, and J.-P. Vernant respectively. It would have been probably more fascinating if Bremmer would have chosen to present some of the innumerable “exceptions” from his normative animal sacrifice: the *sphagion*, or the sacrifices of birds, dogs, and even horses.

P. Bonnechere in his *Divination* addresses three very important issues related to Greek divinatory practices, namely the ambiguity of oracles, the danger of charlatanism, and the forgery of oracular responses. Bonnechere further discusses different forms of divination either based on the interpretation of signs⁴ or delivered by prophets. The A. briefly presents some oracular sanctuaries⁵ such as Delphi, Dodona,⁶ Klaros, Didyma, and Lebadeia. Although I share Bonnechere’s scepticism about the historicity of most oracular responses related to important political events, nevertheless, this should not challenge the importance of oracles and oracular sites in antiquity and the very historicity of the questions.

B. Dignas intends in her *A Day in the Life of a Greek Sanctuary* to be “a fly on the wall” of a sacred precinct and describe the everyday life in a cult place. For this, Dignas chooses the Greek Asklepieia as an example, although there are numerous references to the cult of Amphiaraios as well. One could ask, why the author prefers to focus on the Asklepieion of Korinth and not on the Epidaurian sanctuary, but this is indeed a marginal criticism. Dignas is definitely right in challenging the traditional idea that sanctuaries were usually open only on special days.⁷ Admittedly, Dignas addresses several important issues, such as the notion of private and public, the cult personnel, the relationship between city and sanctuary, but due to lack of space her account remains superficial. The omission of Riethmüller’s monumental work on Asklepios is a serious drawback in Dignas’ contribution.⁸

A. Bendlin discusses in his *Purity and Pollution* one of the most important aspects of Greek religion and as a matter of fact of social life in general: the notion and concept of purity and its endangerment by death, childbirth, sexual intercourse and so on. Although Bendlin is absolutely right in stressing that the opposite of purity is certainly not pollution, I feel quite uncomfortable with his use of terms such as “normality” or “normal life” for describing the situation in-between. There are also brief, but quite informative references to religious authorities and purificatory ritual acts that could help in expelling pollution.

⁴ No reference to: H. POPP, *Die Einwirkung von Vorzeichen, Opfern und Festen auf die Kriegsführung der Griechen im 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Erlangen, 1959.

⁵ No reference to: V. ROSENBERGER, *Griechische Orakel. Eine Kulturgeschichte*, Darmstadt, 2001.

⁶ See now, J. MYLONOPOULOS, “Das Zeusheiligtum in Dodona: Zwischen Orakel und *venatio*”, in *id.* – H. ROEDER (eds.), *Archäologie und Ritual. Auf der Suche nach der rituellen Handlung in den antiken Kulturen Ägyptens und Griechenlands*, Vienna, 2006, p. 185-214, and E. LHÔTE, *Les lamelles oraculaires de Dodone*, Geneva, 2006.

⁷ On the accessibility of Greek sanctuaries and more specific of temples, see J. MYLONOPOULOS, “The function of barriers in Greek temples: practical needs, aesthetic enhancement, or religious necessity?”, in J. WALLENSTEN, M. HAYSOM (eds.), *Current Approaches to Religion in Ancient Greece*, forthcoming.

⁸ J. RIETHMÜLLER, *Asklepios. Heiligtümer und Kulte, Studien zu antiken Heiligtümern*, 2 vol., Heidelberg, 2005.

S. Scullion's contribution on *Festivals* is perhaps the perfect demonstration that the small number of pages has nothing to do with the quality and density of an analysis delivered. Instead of the impossible task of an overview, Scullion simply focuses on three festivals using them as examples that help understand the scarcity of our evidence (Diasia), the preconceptions of modern scholarship (Karneia), and the value of ancient sources in understanding structure and function of festivals (Oschophoria). In my view, the analysis of the Athenian Oschophoria constitutes a *tour de force* in cautious examination and evaluation of all relevant material for a plausible interpretation of a specific festival, even if I disagree with Scullion's outlook on the role of Dionysos in this festival. His guide of further reading is up to date and above all refreshing: Scullion refers not only to English but also to French and German publications that go beyond W. Burkert's and J.-P. Vernant's standard studies.

One needs more than skill in order to adequately deal with such a complicated topic like time, one needs charisma. Readers should, thus, thank the editor of the volume for entrusting *Time and Greek Religion* in J. Davidson's hands. Davidson offers an imaginative, well-structured, and intriguing account of the importance of time in and for Greek religion. He makes the apparently impossible possible, for he elegantly demonstrates that time is so much more than calendars and month names. He describes three types of time, which should not be conceived as distinct temporal entities, but as interwoven layers. For example, the yearly addition of ash on the altar of Zeus at Olympia creates a visual monument of the *accumulative* aspects of time, the entire ritual past of the sanctuary concentrated on its central altar. However, the ritual itself is a *repetitive* act with a *climactic* structure (collecting for a year the ashes, the bones, and the burnt offerings, mixing them at a specific temporal point with water from the Alpheios, and applying them to the great altar): a "continual movement while standing still".

Although Deacy's contribution bears the title "*Famous Athens, Divine Polis*": *The Religious System at Athens*, the A. almost exclusively focuses on Athena offering brief accounts of two of Athena's most important myths (Erichthonios' birth, the goddesses' quarrel with Poseidon over the Attic land), and the Panathenaea. In a separate section, Deacy discusses the return of Peisistratos to Athens as well as the mutilation of the herms and the profanation of the Eleusinian mysteries in 415 BCE.

In his well-structured account on *The Religious System at Sparta*, N. Richer offers a helpful synthesis of Spartan religion. Special attention is paid to the cults of Artemis Orthia, Apollon Amyklaios, and Helen because of their importance in the life of children and young males and females in their transition to adulthood. The cults of Apollon, Athena, and Zeus and in a lesser degree those of Aphrodite and Poseidon⁹ take also a central part in Richer's discussion. In separate sections, the author focuses on sacred space and its significance for Sparta and Lakonia in general, the eminent importance of religious festivals in Spartan everyday life, and the role of the dead (dead kings treated as heroes, significance of war dead, burials within the city) in the Spartan religious system.

After a brief consideration of the sources about religion in Alexandria, F. Dunand presents in her *The Religious System at Alexandria* concise separate accounts on divinities worshipped in one of the most important cities of the Hellenistic world: Demeter, Dionysos, Aphrodite, Isis, and Sarapis. She also discusses aspects of the dynastic cult and its religious significance. Most welcome, but unfortunately far too short is her presentation of the Jewish and Christian communities of Alexandria. However, despite the obvious profundity of the contribution, the fragmentation in the presentation of the evidence and

⁹ No reference to: V. PIRENNE-DELFORGE, *L'Aphrodite grecque*, Liège, 1994 (*Kernos*, suppl. 4) and J. MYLONOPOULOS, *Πελοπόννησος οὐρανόθεν Ποσειδῶνος. Heiligtümer und Kulte des Poseidon auf der Peloponnes*, Liège, 2003 (*Kernos*, suppl. 13).

the absence of a conclusive section hinder the development of a more synthetic view of the Alexandrine religious system.

Based on her own collection of the material regarding Arcadian sanctuaries and cults published in 1985,¹⁰ M. Jost offers in her *The Religious System in Arcadia* an invaluable overview of religious life, cults and myths in Arcadia. After stressing the importance of Pan and Zeus Lykaios for all Arcadians, Jost makes a strong case for the pan-Arcadian status of the sanctuary and cult of Despoina at Lykosoura. The A. argues for the reality of human sacrifices for Zeus on Mount Lykaion. While the historicity of this tradition should not be dismissed as a whole (as has been repeatedly done in recent scholarship), Jost's hypothesis that human sacrifices were practiced even in Pausanias' time seems rather unconvincing. There are also some unexpected misinterpretations of Pausanias' text: In his Mantineian account, Pausanias is indeed describing the sacrifice of horses at the spring Dine (VIII, 7, 2), but he is actually making an excursus explicitly mentioning that the Argives sacrificed horses there and not the Arcadians, as stated by Jost: Dine is located at the coast of the Argolid! In his Thelpousian account, Pausanias is referring to the presence of Poseidon Hippios in Arcadia in a very general and exegetic manner (VIII, 25, 7), without suggesting that a cult of Poseidon with such an epiclesis existed in this city.

After a general theoretical introduction to the interrelation between religion and society, Ch.W. Hendrick Jr. offers in his *Religion and Society in Classical Greece* an overview of the Athenian political organisation and concentrates on the bipolar system *polis/chora* that he characterises perhaps all too critically as "a threat to the unity of the state". Civic religion as manifested in festivals like the Panathenaea or the Thesmophoria and initiation rituals constitutes a further point of focus in Hendrick's account.

In her *Women, Religion, and the Home*, J. Morgan focuses on a crucial aspect of the polyvalent interconnections between religion and the female *Lebenswelt*: the religious activities tightly connected with the house. After a brief overview on the social status of women in Athens, Morgan analyses the real spaces of female religious action within the house such as the roof in the context of the Adonia or the hearth. She goes on to intriguingly address the female body both as creator of religious boundaries and medium for trespassing them. Under this topic, the A. also discusses the female presence in festivals for Demeter and Dionysos. Morgan's account is exceptionally compelling, for she goes far beyond the simple analysis of women's roles as priestesses, dedicators, or participants in cult activities.

In the beginning of her *Ta Aphrodisia and the Sacred V*, Pirenne-Delforge discusses the multilayer semantic interconnections between Aphrodite and figures of myth such as Pandora, Helena, Hippolytos, and the Danaids in texts like the Hesiodic *Theogony* or the tragedies. She demonstrates that the accounts in these texts subtly echo religious thinking related to the cultic activities honouring Aphrodite. In her consideration of the cults of Aphrodite, the A. concentrates on Athens, Kos, and Megara. Pirenne-Delforge convincingly opposes the persistent assumption that there existed sacred prostitution in Greece and especially in Korinth.¹¹ She also expresses her scepticism about the all too simplistic explanations of the goddess' origins from the Near East.

In her dense, but nevertheless extremely well structured account on *Finding Dionysus*, S.G. Cole manages to present an overview of Dionysiac myths and cults with a brief reference to the early presence of this god in the Linear B tablets from Pylos and Khania.¹²

¹⁰ M. JOST, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie*, Paris, 1985.

¹¹ See now also S.L. BUDIN, *The Myth of Sacred Prostitution in Antiquity*, New York, 2008.

¹² See now also C. ISLER-KERÉNYI, *Dionysos in Archaic Greece. An Understanding Through Images*, Leiden, 2007 (RGRW, 160).

A recurring feature, upon which Cole convincingly focuses is the ambivalence of Dionysos: the god can cause a positive ritual experience of identification with the divine and a frenzied behaviour, the consumption of wine can create pleasant and orderly conversation in the context of the symposion, but can also bring death as in the case of Ikaros. Dionysos is (re)presented in a sexually ambiguous manner, but he is at the same time surrounded by highly sexed creatures. Of special interest are Cole's brief discussion of female and male participation in the Dionysiac festivals, as well as her overview of Dionysos' presence in the gold tablets (note here the A.'s scepticism about the use of "Orphic" in order to categorise and characterise this material).

In his *The Mysteries of Demeter and Kore*, K. Clinton offers a summary of his innumerable authoritative publications on the mysteries of the Two Goddesses celebrated at Eleusis. Based primarily on his own interpretation of the iconographical evidence provided by the Lakrateides relief in Eleusis, the Ninnion tablet in Athens, and the so-called *regina vasorum* in St. Petersburg, Clinton reconstructs a possible outline of the mythological background as well as the ritual and performative aspects of the mysteries.

After rightly stressing the fact that a consideration of ancient magic should always be a part of a companion to Greek religion, M.W. Dickie discusses in his *Magic in Classical and Hellenistic Greece* the overwhelmingly negative image of magicians in literary sources. The treatise *On the sacred disease* is one of the main texts used by the A. In a further step, Dickie demonstrates that the principal activity of magicians was not just the casting of spells: magicians were involved in meteorological magic, in healing and prevention of sicknesses, in different forms of divination, and in performing various kinds of illusionist tricks. Dickie very briefly deals with the identity of the persons who performed magic and the ways they were treated by the law.

In his *Greek Religion and Literature*, Th. Harrison makes a strong case for the consideration of the entire Greek literary production in the study of religion and at the same time he intriguingly points at the various methodological problems connected with the different literary forms. While the A. is not denying the importance of ritual studies, he nevertheless stresses that literature offers an invaluable insight in religious thought that constitutes an important parameter in understanding human experience: Harrison demonstrates this by using as an example the belief in divine retribution recorded by several authors. It is worth noticing that the author insightfully argues against several axioms that dominate the study of Greek religion (ritual *vs.* dogma, the significance of the sacred texts' absence, the communal character of religion, and the usual interpretations of ancient criticism towards religion).

Notwithstanding brief references to the Presocratics and Aristoteles, F.-G. Herrmann exclusively discusses in his captivating paper on *Greek Religion and Philosophy: The God of the Philosopher* the Platonic "theology" as demonstrated in the *Dialogues*. Dualities and alleged antitheses such as pious-impious, bad-good, beautiful-ugly, and *archè-telos*, but also the teleological and demonological aspects of Plato's philosophy are seen in the more concrete framework of religious attitude and thought. The Platonic concept of "god" is also briefly considered in respect to its reception in and impact on Christian theology. The Platonic focus constitutes the only disadvantage of Herrmann's account, for the title promises a more general consideration of the interplay between religion and philosophy.

In *Greek Religion and Art*, T.H. Carpenter offers a useful overview of the interconnections between religion and figurative representations of rituals and gods in various artistic media. Geographically, Carpenter concentrates for obvious reasons on Athens, while the chronological focus lies on the second half of the fifth century BCE. The A. discusses images related to the Panathenaea (panathenaic amphorae), the iconography of Athena Promachos, and the statue of Athena Parthenos. I strongly disagree with the interpretation

of Athena Parthenos and the Parthenon as extravagant votive offerings and not as cult statue and temple respectively.¹³ In separate sections, Carpenter addresses the imagery of sacrificial rituals¹⁴ and the iconography of death as shown by white-ground lekythoi.

In the final paper under the title *Gods of the Silver Screen: Cinematic Representations of Myth and Divinity*, L. Llewellyn-Jones focuses on *Jason and the Argonauts* (released in 1963 and not in 1960 as stated by the author) and *Clash of the Titans* (released in 1981) and their perception, representation and re-interpretation of the Homeric pantheon. Several aspects of the divine such as anthropomorphism, moral ambiguity, or epiphanic communication with the human sphere are addressed both in respect to their cinematic and Homeric concepts. I think it is legitimate to ask why the perception of ancient Greek mythology had to be limited to cinematic representations. Other media like the tragedies of Jean Racine, the paintings of Pietro da Cortona, Giambattista Pittoni, or Giambattista Tiepolo, and operas by Claudio Monteverdi, Christoph Willibald Gluck, George Enescu, or Mikis Theodorakis would have been equally or even more interesting and fruitful.

D. Ogden's *Companion to Greek Religion* offers indeed a useful overview of what is happening scholarly in the study of Greek religion, but neglects, nevertheless, some aspects that ought to have been included. Contributions on topics such Greek religion under the Romans, the introduction or even creation of new gods, cult statues and their significance, religious authority and especially priests, or the so-called religious "outsiders" would have certainly enriched this otherwise excellent volume. The majority of the papers are of outstanding quality, but the bibliographical references tend to create the false impression that the study of Greek religion is about to become a monolingual discipline. Despite these points of criticism, this companion will certainly constitute a valuable instrument for both students and scholars of Greek religion.

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Pierre SINEUX, *Qu'est-ce qu'un dieu grec ?*, Paris, Klincksieck, 2006. 1 vol. 13, 5 × 21 cm, 190 p. (Collection *50 Questions*). ISBN : 2-252-03589-7.

Dans cet ouvrage, structuré en sept petits chapitres et cinquante questions, l'A. parcourt la bibliographie récente afin de permettre à son lecteur de mieux cerner cette composante essentielle du polythéisme grec qu'est un dieu. La question qui donne le titre à ce livre suscitera sans doute, par sa simplicité et sa généralité, le scepticisme de plusieurs spécialistes de la religion grecque, mais, pour les mêmes raisons, elle pourrait susciter aussi la curiosité de tous ceux qui sont assez distants de ce domaine pour en rechercher une vue d'ensemble.

Dans le premier chapitre, l'A. trace le cadre historique de son essai, à savoir la Grèce archaïque et classique, présente la typologie des sources, fait un premier point sur la question du « mythe » et du « rite » et conclut par un résumé de l'*Iliade*, puis de la *Théogonie* d'Hésiode. Ici, l'organisation en questions se plie à la présentation traditionnelle de toute synthèse sur le sujet. Il aborde ensuite, dans un chapitre intitulé « Pluriel », des questions fondamentales dans l'étude du polythéisme hellénique : la structure plurielle du monde divin, la nomination des dieux entre théonymes et épicleses, la notion de panthéon, les représentations des ensembles divins et leur lecture, le rapport complexe entre les Olym-

¹³ See for example G. NICK, *Die Athena Parthenos. Studien zum griechischen Kultbild und seiner Rezeption*, Mainz, 2002 (*MDAI(A)*, Suppl. 19), p. 158-176.

¹⁴ No reference to H. LAXANDER, *Individuum und Gemeinschaft im Fest: Untersuchungen zu attischen Darstellungen von Festgeschehen im 6. und frühen 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Münster, 2000 and J. GEBAUER, *Pompe und Thysia. Attische Tieropferdarstellungen auf schwarz- und rotfigurigen Vasen*, Münster, 2002.