Through the Ancient Greek Religion with *Kernos* Guided by the Spirit of Marcel Detienne: Review of *Kernos* 32/2019, Revue international et pluridisciplinaire de religion grecque antique

Kernos is an annual scientific journal entirely devoted to the study of ancient Greek religion, with original peer-reviewed papers, as well as epigraphic, archaeological, and bibliographical chronicles. It is created in 1987 at Centre international d'etude de la religion grecque antique (CIERGA) and it is published by the Presses Universitaires de Liège, with Supplements to the annual issue since 1992.

Kernos 32/2019 is devoted to the memory of the prominent intellectual, scholar, and professor Marcel Detienne. His contribution to the European and world Humanities and historical and comparative anthropology is immense. Detienne's input towards a renewed history and non-idealized approach to Greek civilization, against the absolute rationality and against the nationalist and identity ideologies sought in the Greek models of autochthony is diligently built throughout all his books and throughout his efforts to establish the academic dialogue. Removing the dust off the Greek matters, he found something more thrilling – because it was more truthful – then the worn-out "Greek miracle".

After a welcoming editorial by Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge and André Motte that sets the mood, we are reading *Hommage à Marcel Detienne* written by Philippe Borgeaud. The author leads us through the main points of the academic life of the renowned scholar: his beginnings in classical philology, his discovery of the works of George Dumézil, Louis Gernet, and Claude Lévi-Strauss, the legendary encounter with Jean-Pierre Vernant and Pierre Vidal-Naquet with whom both he participated in the founding of the Center for Comparative Studies of Ancient Societies, the later famous "Center Louis Gernet" in Paris. This *Hommage* develops into a beautiful and minutely informing retrospection of Detienne's work. The survey of his books and fundamental articles illustrates Detienne's crucial role in the scholarly dialogue, his vast contribution to the study of ancient Greek religion, and the depth and the complexity of his stimulating ideas. Together with the author of the opening *Homage*, Detienne leads us through the domains of the religious and philosophical Greek thought interwoven, the area of philology, anthropology and socio-historical context, with the tools of structuralism at its best and a rarely met eruditism and inspiring intellectual freedom. And for all of us to follow, Detienne has set a high bar when it comes to the interdisciplinary approach and plural comparatism.

The short yet punchy contribution of Bartek Bednarek fits perfectly to this volume, given that it relies on the academic narratives of Orphism, dietary practices, and sacrificial rules – all of which became accessible narratives thanks to scholars such as Detienne. The paper *Orpheus in Aeschylus and the Thracian child-eater on a hydria from the British Museum* focuses on mid V century Attic hydria from London; its "ugly" decoration has a disturbing scene: a man in Thracian outfit eating a dead child, another man in Thracian outfit running away and Dionysus standing and making a gesture. Bednarek is critically reading the two former theses about this vase using the up-to-date academic attitudes on sacrificial rules. The author briefly considers the

mythical figure of Thracian king Lycurgus (who resisted Dionysos and in god-driven madness killed his own son causing a crisis in the kingdom), late Nonnus' note on an episode of frenzied Arabic shepherds killing and devouring children, few testimonies on Orpheus as a culture hero who brings agriculture to people to defeat savagery. The author then moves on to a speculation on the supposedly central role of the Orpheus myth in the lost Aeschylus' play *Lycurgeia*, where in a temporary crisis of civilization influenced by a divinity of Dionysos-type (similarly to the plot of Euripides' *Bacchae*) a cannibalism epidemic occurs, to be overcome with the lead of a culture hero like Orpheus. This all sums up to an admittedly tentative, but quite compelling proposal that London hydria alludes to the part of the *Lycurgeia* story in which Thracians are killing and eating their own children. There are some links missing and the author is fully aware of that; what might have proved useful for this witty article is a research of the category of pottery paintings influenced by theatre scenes in general.

In the next article, *Una menzione di Atena Archegetis in P.Hib. I 15. Note sull'epitteto e sul suo impiego ad Atene*, Claudio Biagetti uses one fragment to examine the obscure Athena's epithet ἀρχηγέτις, attested in the literary and epigraphic sources from the late 5th century BC to the Roman Imperial Age, with an increasing use of it in the official Athenian epigraphy of the 3rd century BC. The author establishes the date of the evidence to which this fragment P.Hib. I 15 by anonymous writter belongs – for the period around the death of Alexander the great (323 BC), finding thus the evidence for the epithet ἀρχηγέτις in the period in which there are no other preserved data. The fragment is then put against the background of other evidence throughout the said period, with the conclusion that the reference to divine ἀρχηγέτις mainly occurs in relation to political and/or cultic refoundation / reorganization, where the divine role is to guarantee and supervise the transition between before and after, between tradition/conservation and renewal/transformation. Therefore, what we are finding in the aforementioned fragment might be an allusion to a prior reorganization of the cult of Athena in Athens linked to the Panathenaic festival. This "trans-divine" appelation, the paper further argues, expresses the tutelary aspect of the divinity especially in its representation from within the community (Athenian or other) – as opossed to a more general and widespread equivalent Πολιάς. The author underlines well this identity charge of the epithet, the emic viewpoint, and the dialetics between inside and outside the specific ethnic, religious, political and social community. What I liked the most is the author's remarks on the "intrinsic semantic complexity" of the compound ἀρχηγέτις – in order to save its polisemy, the author choses to keep the original Greek word and not offer a translation, reminding us once again of the unexcelled beauty of the Greek language.

In the following paper, *L'olivier, identité et rempart d'Athènes: un épisème de la cité?*, Sonia Darthou examines the motif of olive tree/foliage, emerging from the famous myth of the foundation of the city of Athens. The first *elaia*, created by goddess Athena, symbolizes vitality, longevity and invincibility, cultivation and nourishment of the polis. Furthermore, the olive trees symbolically anchor the citizens' community to the ground, represent a sign of the citizen' identity (individual and collective), integrating each Athenian descendant into the line of the autochthonous legitimate inhabitants, starting with Erichthonious; the olive tree thus has its place in the civic ideology by multiplying and guaranteeing over and over the city's self-foundation. Darthou then takes a closer look onto the attic vases that represent warriors whose shields bear an olive foliage motif. The shield is both defensive and offensive element of the hoplite equipment:

being so, it is ornamented on both sides providing identity signs, visual games, apotropaic symbols, etc. In this context, the olive crown ornament enhances and doubles the circularity of the shield and adds to the shimmering and hypnotizing effect of the armor onto the spectator/enemy; combined in a system of signs around the central figure of armed goddess Athena, the olive motif can be part of the Glaukôpis/Promachos iconography designed to blind/scare the adversary. Such olive foliage crown is combined with the famous amulet *gorgoneion*, intensifying its petrifying visual impact. The iconography of Amazonomachy is quite interesting, being a recurrent mythical *topos* of barbarian invasion to the Athenian territory. It would have been nice to accompany this inspiring pottery introspection with some literary sources, especially since the paper is inspired by a quote from Sophocles. The careful identification of the olive leaves motif and its interpretation in the scenes on over twenty Attic vases is a worthy contribution to the line of work of Detienne, Frontisi-Ducroux, Leduc, and Lissarague.

In the paper *Mythical and ritual landscapes of Poseidon Hippios in Arcadia* Julie Balériaux presents us with the summaries of the two versions of Arcadian Poseidon myth and the archeological record of the cultic sites of the same god, led by Pausanias' account. Curiously enough, Poseidon from myth (but not worshipped on his own) and Poseidon from cult (but with no surviving mythical evidence) in Arcadia do not overlap, and the author shows that this division has to do with different types of landscape. Aetiological narratives and rationalizing discourses are then put together to grasp Poseidon Hippios' relationship with horses, spring water, earthquake, groundwater, and floods. In my opinion, the discussion is not extensive enough, and the paper could be a more stimulating read had it been written in a less descriptive manner. Admittedly, the lack of literary evidence limits this interesting topic down to Pausanias. Nevertheless, this paper contributes with its argument against the thesis of Poseidon Hippios being an anthropomorphized residual manifestation of an older horse-shaped god. Also, the landscape-oriented approach of this paper offers a new perspective on Greek religion, in so that a god acquires different aspects in different regions, depending on what is required of him.

Hedvig von Ehrenheim, in his article *Causal explanation of disease in the* iamata *of Epidaurus* is analyzing the *iamata* (i.e. cure stone inscriptions) from the famous temple of Asclepios in Epidaurus, dating from 450 to mostly 350 BC. What he finds is a plurality of explanations of disease coexisting. Therefore, this case study is an argue that perceptions of the cause of disease have been multi-explanatory throughout Greek history, as opposed to the hypotheses of rationalization (disease at first believed to be sent by gods, the belief in time evolving to a more rational approach that finds the cause of the illness to be natural) and internalization (the view that disease is sent by gods becomes internalized, i.e. one's own choices and actions are causing disease). Even though quite limited source when it comes to the number of examples or chronological and geocultural context, these *iamata* suggest that different aetiologies for the illness coexisted (mostly natural causality close to Hippocratic attitudes, but also divine/moral causality, when Asclepios would give back the disease to those who had not payed god's fee/disbelieved in god's powers). Pointing out the variety of aetiologies coexisting in the healing temple of Epidaurus, this paper is a valuable contribution (even if written somewhat too linear) in the studies of Greek medical pluralism (i.e. the use of several medical systems).

The next paper is Denis Hugues' *The Cult of Aratus at Sicyon* (*Plutarch,* Aratus*,* 53). What we have here is the finest classicist's reading of a passage of Plutarch's writing: *Aratus*, 53 tells of the transport of deceased Aratus to his native Sicyon in 213 BC, the intramural burial and the annual festival established in his honour. The author reads Plutarch minutely and analyses the text from the points of language, geographical context, epigraphic language norms, known facts about Plutarch, and whatnot – even pure common sense when needed. The author argues that Plutarch's account on the aforementioned events derives from an inscribed decree not seen by Plutarch himself but described in another written source (to which this paper suggests a possible identity); supplementary analysis of the surviving epigraphic parallels is used to construct a tentative reconstruction of the festival and its procession. This paper, whether you are interested in the topic or not, can teach you a lot when it comes to careful reading, research and academic writing. It seems to me that Denis Hugues would do a magnificent job with ever-needed critical editions of Greek texts.

Stefano Caneva follows with *Variations dans le paysage sacré de Pergame: l'Asklépieion et le temple de la terrasse du théâtre*. In this detailed analysis of archeological evidence, Caneva investigates diachronic evolution of the sacred paysage of Pergamon during the "long Hellenistic period" (late 4th BC to 3rd AD). After an informative introductory survey of the changes in political and social history of Pergamon of the given time span, several case studies follow. The paper presents the extra-urban sanctuary of Asclepios, one of the most famous sites of the cult of this god apart from Epidaurus, and one of the most successful sacral architectures of pre-imperial Pergamon. The author reexamines the possibility for a second temple of Asclepios in Pergamon, originally posed by German archeologists and recently revisited by Filippo Coarelli. The author then gives a careful consideration of the Ionic temple at the theater-terrasse, built under Attalids and reconstructed in the Roman period with uncertain date, attributed by the German archeological school to Dionysos Kathegemon under the Attalides (with later consecration to the imperial figures). While Caneva agrees with Coarelli that there is not enough conclusive evidence that this temple was consecrated to Dionysos, he also shows contra Coarelli that the evidence cannot provide with a proof for atttributing the temple to Asclepios in Hellenistic times. This whole paper is focused on dialogue with scholars, mainly Coarelli, whose thesis is carefully argued against. The detailed examination of the numismatic, sculptural and epigraphic documentation, taking into consideration all the fundamental and recent hypotheses, builds up to a study archeological to the core. What would perhaps have been helpful to readers is a review of the cultic activities, thus bringing more vividness to the analysis of the artefacts. Finally and skillfully, Caneva delivers two brief and decisive argumentations that there was but one Asclepieion in Pergamon of the Attalid, Republican, and Imperial period, illustrating (via cults of Asclepios and the emperors) the evolving dynamics of geopolitical engagement and self-promotion of Pergamon.

In the next article, *Des souris et des hommes. Une réinvention érudite du dulte d'Apollon Smintehus a l'époque hellenistique*, Alaya Palamidis is analysing the ancient sources on the cult epithet of Apollo Smintheus, mentioned in the first book of *Iliad* and later worshipped in the Troad. These say that the Apollo's epiclesis comes from the dialectal word σμίνθος, the mouse, while sacred mice were being bred in the sanctuary Smintheon. The association between mice and the god hasn't stop provoking ancient authors and modern scholars of which Alaya gives a detailed overview and critique. Starting with spacio-temporal locating of the cultic site of Smintheon, she passes onto

an analycal revision of literary and numismatic evidence. After astonishingly careful consideration of the two myths attesting the foundation of Smintheon, and the association of Apollo and mice, their variants, the genealogies and the evolution of the myths, the author of the paper manages to date them within the end of the 3rd and the mid of the 2nd century, convincingly showing that the association of Apollo and mice is a Hellenistic invention, characteristic for the Greek scholarship of the time. What follows is the examination of the cultic epithet itself: since the epiclesis Smintheus does not derive from the word for mouse nor from a toponym, the author proposes a new solution: the epithete is a poetic one, and losing its initial it can relate to the word that signifies mint, with the radical –μινθ, referring to both pleasant smell and ironically/comically (via enantiosemy) to a bad odour. With this hypothesis in mind, the author revisits the Homeric passage (*Iliad*, I, 37sqq) putting the word in the context: the poetic epithet relates to the pleasant perfume, a common quality of the divinities, which alludes to the physical manifestation of the god as in the case of the scented oils used on the statues in temples. This exhaustive study can be a bit of an exhausting read – one can easily get lost in numerous analyses. Nonetheless, it is a remarkable job done interpreting evidence of a wide thematic span from aetiological discourses to cultic practices.

Denis Rousset writes *Géographie, paléographie et philologie. Note sur un lieu de culte de Demeter*. This short note is a critical comment to a recently proposed emendation to the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* v. 491. Based on the philological ground and using paleographic, metrical and syntactic terms, the paper argues against the proposed emendation which is based on archeological finds and tendencies. This short note written in the spirit of academic dialogue is a good reminder of the much-needed synergy of various fields of study.

The next article is *Naming the gods of the others in the Septuagint: lexical analysis and historical-religious implications* by Anna Angelini. This paper focuses on the connotative vocabulary used for the foreign gods in the Septuagint, namely, the words δαιμόνιον and εἴδωλον – it turns out that the Greek translation of Hebrew Bible played a crucial role in the semantic evolution of both notions. The word δαιμόνιον (the neutral substantive deriving from the noun δαίμων and inheriting its semantic ambiguity) is being analysed via revisiting the similarities in Plato's *Apology of Socrates* (in both sources the word represents new divine entitites that are not part of the legitimate religion and are therefore dangerous) and also against the background of the Hellenistic sources. The author points out that in the biblical discourse the Greek δαιμόνιον is unmistakebly used in a strong emphatic context for the polemic against gods of "others" in order to shape "our" own identity – its semantic ambiguity escapes from a quite plain modern word such as "demon". The other analysed notion, εἴδωλον, is characterized by polysemic density (that started building up from Homeric times as the "image, phantom, vision", etc., towards the pejorative meaning of the word present in Platonic writings denoting "false" and "deceptive"). This polysemic density is well-known to the Septuagint translators who were, it seems, mainly focused on the aspect of "vacuity/vanity". Actually, this paper shows that δαιμόνιον and ἐίδωλον come to be two close concepts related to unsubstantial entities. This contribution to the Biblical studies illustrates the semantic *richesse* and subtlties of the Hebrew and Greek languages. Also, it offers Septuagint as a source for a better understanding of the Hellenistic religious world. Last but not least, it continues a fine line of French texts on image and imitation

by F. Frontisi-Ducroux and mostly J. P. Vernant, and the early article on deamons in Pythagoreanism of young M. Detienne.

Sylvain Lebreton and Corinne Bonnet kept something really promising for the end, in their *Mettre les polythéismes en formules? À propos de la Base de Données* Mapping Ancient Polytheism. This is a presentation of a new, exciting project: a database called Mapping Ancient Polytheisms (MAP), covering Greek and West Semitic worlds from 1000 BC to 400 CE through "divine onomastic attributes", i.e. names, epithets, verbal forms, and other designations. The project will grant us all with its open access, and it will be bilingual (in English and French). The "big data" approach sets the team off to a challenge of registering all the data in the available sources. The statistic and cartographic treatment of the various data will be acquired by means of webmapping and socal network analysis. This five year French project formally ending in autumn 2022 (and hopefully only starting to live) is designed to enlist and systematically treat the available data belonging to the major geocultural Mediterranean area of Greek and Levant worlds. With a strategy that seems to me very smart and pragmatic, the team is planning to become public with the first stage of work done: when a significant ammount of epigraphic material coming from the regions rich with Greek and Semit inscriptions is processed. The epigraphic material will be processed together with coins, gems and papyri; the analysis of the data from the literary sources, at this point, is included in the qualitative analysis but still needs to be developed. Paying tribute to the MAP predecents, the authors of this presentation give us a decent insight into the work done in this field in the past few centuries, also allowing us to see the importance and the novelties of this vast work. The team found that the notions such as "theonyme", "epithet" or "epiclesis" related to the composite appelations are too rigid, schematic, and in other ways inadequate. Instead, the team is proposing the alternative: "onomastic sequence/formula", where each element constitutes "onomastic atribute". This proposed categorization seems to be a more flexible and more encompassing tool for both creators and future users. Therefore, there are three levels of the data categorization: 1) a source (with detailed info), containing one or more 2) testimonies, i.e. onomastic chains, each of those composed by a number of 3) onomastic elements. The structure branches into tables and fields forming a bilingual data dictionary. Having developped the method of mathematical beauty, the team is translating each onomastic sequence into a formula that reflects its architecture, i.e. the relationship between elements. Such serial empiric methodology allows the informatical treatment of the data, otherwise imposible in the individual manual work. This big data project makes their creators dream big of a huge contribution to the study of ancient religions with its social pracices. Hopefully, the project will give us a valuable asset to take analyses by god, element, region, site, language, period, agent, semantic category, related practice, etc., with possibility to intersect these fields. This astonishing possibility almost promises that new scholarly questions will arise. The project might grow into a bigger international collaboration covering other geocultural areas. What is hinted at the end of this exciting article and what would be particularly exciting for me is the possibility of bringing the exquisite source of iconography into the process.

The announcement of the MAP project at the end of the volume of Kernos dedicated to the memory of Marcel Detienne is a worthy tribute to the expert in Greek polytheism who liked the ambiance of transdisciplinary collaboration. This issue of *Kernos*, after original studies in finest French, English and Italian, closes with pages dedicated to chronicle of scientific activities and reviews of books. Kernos 32/2019 encourages us,

together with the spirit of late Marcel Detienne, to explore the world of Greek polytheism – and any other topic for that matter – with excitement, thought-provoking questions, and with scholarly playfulness hand in hand with academic responsibility.

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