

Brill's Companion to Aphrodite

Edited by

Amy C. Smith and Sadie Pickup



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2010

On the cover: An Attic black-figure amphora, featuring Aphrodite and Poseidon, ca. 520 BC. London, British Museum B254. Drawing after Lenormant, de Witte, Élite des monuments céramographiques. Matériaux pour l'histoire des religions et des moeurs de l'antiquité (Paris, 1844–1861), 3, pl. 15.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Brill's companion to aphrodite / edited by Amy C. Smith & Sadie Pickup.
p. cm.

Emerged from a conference at the University of Reading, May 8-10, 2008.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-90-04-18003-1 (hardback : alk. paper)

I. Aphrodite (Greek deity)—Congresses. I. Smith, Amy Claire, 1966- II. Title.

BL820.V5B74 2010

292.2'114—dc22

2009052569

ISSN 1872-3357

ISBN 978 9004 18003 1

Copyright 2010 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Hotei Publishing,
IDC Publishers, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Brill has made all reasonable efforts to trace all right holders to any copyrighted material used in this work. In cases where these efforts have not been successful the publisher welcomes communications from copyright holders, so that the appropriate acknowledgements can be made in future editions, and to settle other permission matters.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	IX
Abbreviations	XI
List of illustrations	XIII

INTRODUCTION

Chapter One Flourishing Aphrodite: An Overview	3
<i>Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge (University of Liège)</i>	
Chapter Two Budding Aphrodite: Into the Future	17
<i>Sadie Pickup (University of Oxford) and Amy C. Smith (University of Reading)</i>	

PART ONE

APHRODITE'S IDENTITY

Chapter Three Aphrodite: The Goddess of Appearances	29
<i>Vered Lev Kenaan (University of Haifa)</i>	
Chapter Four <i>O quam te memorem, virgo?</i> Interpreting Venus in <i>Aeneid</i> 1.314–417	51
<i>James Burbidge (University of Oxford)</i>	
Chapter Five Aphrodite <i>Enoplion</i>	79
<i>Stephanie L. Budin (Rutgers University)</i>	
Chapter Six Rethinking Aphrodite as a Goddess at Work	113
<i>Gabriella Pironti (University of Naples)</i>	

PART TWO

APHRODITE'S COMPANIONS AND RELATIONS

- Chapter Seven The Song of Ares and Aphrodite: Ašertu on Skheria 133
Annette Teffeteller (Concordia University, Montreal)
- Chapter Eight Father-Daughter Dynamics in the *Iliad*: The Role of Aphrodite in Defining Zeus' Regime 151
Kassandra Jackson (University of Chicago)

PART THREE

THE SPREAD OF APHRODITE'S CULTS

- Chapter Nine Images of Cypriot Aphrodite in her Sanctuaries during the Age of the City-Kingdoms 167
Anja Ulbrich (University of Oxford)
- Chapter Ten Aphrodite on the Akropolis: Evidence from Attic Pottery 195
Elisabetta Pala (University of Cagliari)
- Chapter Eleven Aphrodite and the Fleet in Classical Athens 217
Chryssanthi Papadopoulou (King's College, University of London)
- Chapter Twelve Encountering the World of Aphrodite on the Western Greek Mainland 235
Alexander Nagel (University of Michigan)
- Chapter Thirteen The Architectural Setting of the Knidian Aphrodite 251
Sophie Montel (University of Paris Ouest Nanterre—La Défense)
- Chapter Fourteen Interactive Aphrodite: Greek Responses to the Idea of Aphrodite as Ancestress of the Romans 269
Jenny Wallensten (Swedish Institute, Athens)

PART FOUR

THE RECEPTION OF THE GODDESS

Chapter Fifteen	Augustan Aphrodites: The Allure of Greek Art in Roman Visual Culture	287
	<i>Rachel Kousser (City University of New York, Brooklyn)</i>	
Chapter Sixteen	Aphrodite and the Spectacle of the Amphitheatre in Roman Africa	307
	<i>Margherita Carucci (Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies)</i>	
Chapter Seventeen	Aphrodite in Late Antique and Medieval Byzantium	321
	<i>Anthousa Papagiannaki (University of Oxford)</i>	
Chapter Eighteen	Aphrodite Deconstructed: Botticelli's <i>Venus and Mars</i> in the National Gallery, London	347
	<i>David Bellingham (Sotheby's Institute of Art, London)</i>	
Chapter Nineteen	Reflections in a Mirror: Bonnard's Aphrodite ..	375
	<i>Anna Gruetzner Robins (University of Reading)</i>	
Bibliography		387
Periodization of Antiquity		421
General Index		423
Geographic Index		433
Index of Personal Names		437
Monumenta		443
Testimonia		449

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
ABV	Beazley, John D., <i>Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters</i> (Oxford, 1956)
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AM	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung</i>
ARV ²	Beazley, John D., <i>Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters</i> , 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1963)
BAPD	Beazley Archive Pottery Database, Oxford University (www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/databases/pottery.htm)
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique</i>
BSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
CHD	Güterbock, Hans G., Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., and Theo P.J. van den Hout, eds., <i>The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> (Chicago, 1980–)
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> (1825–1860)
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CVA	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i>
FHG	Müller, C., <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> (1841–1870)
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (1873–)
IGRom.	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes</i> (1906–)
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> (Zurich, 1981–)
OCD	Hornblower, Simon, and Anthony Spawforth, eds., <i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1996)
RDAC	<i>Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus</i>
SEG	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum</i> (Amsterdam, 1923–)
TAPA	<i>Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association</i>

Abbreviations of primary sources follow those given in *OCD*.

CHAPTER ONE

FLOURISHING APHRODITE: AN OVERVIEW

VINCIANE PIRENNE-DELFORGE

Over the last three decades, interest in the goddess Aphrodite has increased considerably. She has become a very popular subject amongst the Greek gods. Since 1978, more than ten monographs have been devoted to her, as have numerous articles. Conferences were not so frequent, however: I only know of two, and the mention of Aphrodite in a title does not necessarily imply that the conference addressed this issue.¹

The editors of the present volume, Amy Smith and Sadie Pickup, kindly invited me to deliver a keynote speech at the opening of the conference they organized in May 2008. This was a good occasion to examine the reasons for this scholarly and editorial phenomenon, to which I contributed myself by publishing my PhD thesis on this subject in 1994.² I would like to present here the results of this bibliographical investigation, and to suggest also, along the way, some methodological issues at stake in this Aphrodite dossier. I want to make it clear that my overview attempts to be neither an exhaustive examination nor a clinical assessment of all that has been written about Aphrodite, more or less recently. For this reason, I have deliberately maintained the personal tone adopted in the original lecture.

I have started with the year 1978. I could have chosen the year 1974 and referred also to Deborah Boedeker, who, in her monograph on

¹ For example, *Engendering Aphrodite*, a conference published by Diane Bolger and Nancy Serwint, American Schools of Oriental Research, Archaeological Reports 7, Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute Monographs 3 (2002), has the subtitle *Women and Society in Ancient Cyprus*, but that collection of essays is more interested in gendered approaches than Greek gods. A more focused conference was published in 2005, by Göta Johansson, *The Making of a Goddess: Aphrodite in History, Art and Literature* (Lund, 2005). This anthology of texts, some previously published, presents the “influential and versatile goddess” and her development from Inanna / Ishtar through to the twentieth century AD.

² Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge, *L'Aphrodite grecque. Contribution à l'étude de ses cultes et de sa personnalité dans le panthéon archaïque et classique*. Kernos Supplement 4 (Liege, 1994).

pantheon in all its complexity, on the other. Sourvinou-Inwood distinguished two levels for the representation of Greek gods: the local, *polis* level, and the Panhellenic level. Today, such a distinction is well known and has been infused into scholarship about Greek religion, as was not the case thirty years ago, especially with regard to Aphrodite. I believe it is not mere chance that Sourvinou-Inwood chose a case study of a goddess whose figure had been previously studied only from a literary point of view, and had therefore become disassociated from cultic realities.

Before beginning to work on the subject myself, I was conscious that two principal trends of investigation had been privileged to encapsulate Aphrodite's profile: first, the study of texts celebrating this so-called goddess of love, sex, and beauty; second, those looking for her origins (I will return in due course to the second issue). My own response was against both of these trends: I wanted to put aside the literary persona of Aphrodite and the question of her origins. Fortunately a third path of investigation was at hand, in Lewis Farnell's monumental *Cults of the Greek States*,⁸ written at the end of the nineteenth century. Farnell's ideas were reinvigorated, on a stricter methodological basis, in Sourvinou-Inwood's article. She scrutinized local cults in their own Greek context without any bias inspired by literature or interpretation through a Near Eastern or Indo-European frame. My leaning towards this approach was, in part, rooted first in the consciousness that I was not competent enough to address the multicultural and multilinguistic evidence of the many places in which Aphrodite was thought to have originated. Second, my education in ancient history was fed by French-speaking scholars, such as Jean-Pierre Vernant and Jean Rudhardt, who made a strong case for an interpretation of the Greek religious system in the Greek language.⁹ Walter Burkert's books were, of course, also present on my desk, and very helpful, particularly his monumental *Greek Religion*. Despite Burkert's useful investigations into the oriental background and some cultural issues,¹⁰ I thought the question of the origins of Greek gods should now take a backseat. More urgent was the need to understand Aphrodite's cults in the Greek cities.

⁸ Lewis Richard Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1896–1909).

⁹ For example, Jean-Pierre Vernant, "La société des dieux," in *Mythe et société en Grèce ancienne* (Paris, 1974), pp. 104–105; Jean Rudhardt, *Notions fondamentales de la pensée religieuse et actes constitutifs du culte en Grèce classique*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1992), p. 4.

¹⁰ Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical*, trans. John Raffan (Cambridge, Mass., 1985). On the oriental background, for example: Walter Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Culture in the Early Archaic Age*, trans.

Writing such a monograph on a Greek goddess in the late 1980s and early 1990s was not, however, fashionable, despite its subject being Aphrodite. The contemporary trends in scholarship on Greek gods were geared towards regional studies, such as Fritz Graf's work on northern Ionian cults, Philippe Bruneau's analysis of the cults on the island of Delos, or Madeleine Jost's investigation into the religious life of Arcadia.¹¹ The local level of Greek religion, just as Sourvinou-Inwood had defined it, increasingly necessitated regional investigations, which took into account the nexus of the complex relation among the deities of a local pantheon. Robert Parker has also taken this approach in his second book devoted to Athenian religion.¹²

The study of a single deity does, however, risk being a deity-centered analysis that does not place the god or goddess in a plural context. Returning to this choice with a critical gaze, today, I do not regret having taken this option many years ago. First, regional works and deity-centered monographs are complementary tools that are necessary for the interpretation of Greek polytheism, even though (and here I quote Parker) "Greek polytheism is indescribable."¹³ Second, I realized, while working on this keynote address, that my work had perhaps modestly contributed to the flourishing interest in the cultic dimension of Aphrodite. Even though I had had to limit the scope of my research, the book put at everyone's disposal, albeit in French, the material necessary to tackle different problems concerning this goddess. Given these sources, one might either agree or disagree with my hypotheses: scientific controversy is the most efficient fuel for scholarship!

Let us now turn to the main trends of this recent scholarship, in which I discern three tendencies: a focalization on regional contexts, a study of

Margaret E. Pinder and Walter Burkert (Cambridge, Mass., 1992); *Da Omero ai Magi. La tradizione orientale nella cultura greca* (Venice, 1999). Several papers have been gathered recently in *Kleine Schriften 2: Orientalia*, ed. M. Laura Gemelli Marciano (Göttingen, 2003).

¹¹ Fritz Graf, *Nordionische Kulte. Religionsgeschichtliche und epigraphische Untersuchungen zu den Kulturen von Chios, Erythrai, Klazomenai und Phokaia*, *Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana* 21 (Rome, 1985); Philippe Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale*, *Bibliothèque des Écoles française d'Athènes et de Rome* 218 (Paris, 1970); Madeleine Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie*, *Études péloponnésiques* 9 (Paris, 1985).

¹² The first was *Athenian Religion: A History* (Oxford, 1996), and the second, *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (Oxford, 2005).

¹³ Parker, *Polytheism and Society*, p. 387.

the presence of Aphrodite inside the political and military arena of many cities, and the continuing question of her origins.

Regional Contexts

In 1999, Yulia Ustinova published a book on *The Supreme Gods of the Bosporan Kingdom: Celestial Aphrodite and the Most High God*.¹⁴ The author's command of Russian enabled her to gather the results of excavations and other archaeological research in the Black Sea region. From the available evidence, she produced a balanced evaluation of the rich interactions between Greek colonists, among whom Milesians were the most active, and their indigenous neighbors. She showed the evolution of Aphrodite's cult, and how the goddess became, during the Hellenistic period, the tutelary goddess of the Bosporan Kingdom. The leading position of the goddess in the Greek cities of this region (well studied in all its implications by Ustinova) has also been shown through the impressive results of the excavations conducted in Miletos, mother city of many colonies on the coast of the Black Sea.¹⁵ On the modern site of Zeytintepe, an extra-urban sanctuary of Aphrodite provides a large amount of Archaic material, which, when published, will probably change our minds about the role and profile of Aphrodite in the Archaic period. This excavation is one of the most promising and exciting in the Archaic "Aphrodisian" domain.¹⁶ Another site where Aphrodite predominates, albeit with a different chronological scope, is at Aphrodisias. Lisa Brody has presented the importance of interpreting the complex and fascinating image of the goddess Aphrodite in such a multicultural place during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.¹⁷ Still in the archaeological domain, results from the old excavations conducted by the French School

¹⁴ Yulia Ustinova, *The Supreme Gods of the Bosporan Kingdom: Celestial Aphrodite and the Most High God*, Religions of the Graeco-Roman World 135 (Leiden, 1999).

¹⁵ See Alan M. Greaves, "The Cult of Aphrodite in Miletos and Its Colonies," *Anatolian Studies* 54 (2004), 27–33.

¹⁶ Conducted by Volkmar von Graeve. Since 1989, when the sanctuary was discovered, only preliminary reports have been published in successive issues of *AA*. Cf. Reinhard Senff, "Das Aphroditeheiligtum von Milet," in *Neue Forschungen zur Religionsgeschichte Kleinasiens*, ed. Gudrun Heedemann, Asia Minor Studien 49 (Berlin, 2003), pp. 11–25, and <http://www.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/milet/in/aphrodite.htm> (consulted on 23 January 2009).

¹⁷ See Lisa R. Brody, "The Cult of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias in Caria," *Kernos* 14 (2001), 93–109.

of Athens on the site of the Argive Aphrodision are now at hand.¹⁸ Regional characteristics are also present in Rachel Rosenzweig's 2004 monograph, which redisplayes the Athenian evidence for studying the worship of Aphrodite and emphasizes the available archaeological and visual testimonies.¹⁹

Political and Martial Aphrodite(s)

The second trend concerns the apparently paradoxical implications of Aphrodite in the context of the political and martial enterprises of the Greek cities. Aphrodite's role as protectress of Greek magistrates was a surprising discovery in the twentieth century, reflected in an excellent corpus of epigraphic evidence coming from the whole Greek world, produced by Louis Robert, Francis Croissant, François Salviat, and Franciszek Sokolowski.²⁰ This corpus still generates interest, as shown by Jenny Wallensten's recent study of the material.²¹ For the martial dimension of Aphrodite, we rely on some statues of Aphrodite and the implications of some of her epithets. This evidence was not really a new puzzle; ancient authors had already played on the image of Aphrodite using Ares' warlike equipment, as Gabriella Pironti and Stephanie Budin argue in divergent ways in subsequent pages.²² The iconography of the armed Aphrodite was presented in 1991 by Johan Flemberg, who was looking for an explanation of this pictorial type in the royal prerogatives of a Mycenaean proto-Aphrodite.²³ In a more recent work, published in Spanish, Miriam Valdés has also tried to address the puzzling problem of a god-

¹⁸ Francis Croissant, "Identification d'une déesse. Questions sur l'Aphrodite argienne," in *Le donateur, l'offrande et la déesse. Systèmes votifs dans les sanctuaires des déesses du monde grec*, ed. Clarisse Prêtre and Stéphanie Huysecom-Haxhi. Kernos Supplement 23.

¹⁹ Rachel Rosenzweig, *Worshipping Aphrodite: Art and Cult in Classical Athens* (Ann Arbor, 2004).

²⁰ Louis Robert, "Notes d'épigraphie hellénistiques. XXXI. Inscription de Cyzique," *BCH* 52 (1928), pp. 434–438; Francis Croissant and François Salviat, "Aphrodite gardienne des magistrats. Gynéconomes de Thasos et polémarques de Thèbes," *BCH* 90 (1960), pp. 460–471; Franciszek Sokolowski, "Aphrodite as Guardian of Greek Magistrates," *Harvard Theological Review* 57 (1964), pp. 1–8.

²¹ Jenny Wallensten, "ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΑΡΕΑΣ: A Study of Dedications to Aphrodite from Greek Magistrates" (PhD diss., Lund University, 2003).

²² Chapters 5 and 6.

²³ Johann Flemberg, *Venus Armata. Studien zur bewaffneten Aphrodite in der griechisch-römischen Kunst*. Acta Atheniensis 8, 10 (Stockholm, 1991).

dess involved in fields as different as politics, war, marriage, and initiation.²⁴ Much space and time would be necessary to examine all aspects of this rich book, which speculatively traces the history of Aphrodite's cults from the arrival of the goddess in Greece until her complete integration into its cities at the end of the Archaic period. One important feature of its approach, however, needs to be underlined, as it leads us to the third trend in Aphrodite studies analyzed here: the problem of Aphrodite's origin. In Miriam Valdés' book, Greek Aphrodite is a warlike goddess because she comes from the East, where the divine "Queens of Heaven," from whom Aphrodite derives, are warlike deities. These characteristics would have been well received by the aristocratic warriors, founders of the early Greek cities. Valdés supposes that later on Aphrodite's martial connotations would have lost their significance, only remaining as strange relics in some regions of the Greek world, and in the rhetorical and literary games of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. According to this argument, the figure of Aphrodite would have arrived in Athens between the years 1075 and 1025 BC.²⁵ This chronological hypothesis does not, however, convince me to give up my earlier opinion regarding the difficulty of reconstructing the origin of a Greek god.

Aphrodite's Origins

The Origin of Aphrodite is the title of a book written by Stephanie Budin, who courageously addressed this old issue in 2003, by gathering much evidence from many different cultures and fields of research.²⁶ This study did not change my mind about the traps in this quest for the origins of a god. "Origin," as well as the all-embracing and too-feeble concepts of "influence" or "assimilation," are vague notions that do not do justice to the complexities of historical processes. Even though we are not able to define these processes we use them to explain what we do not understand immediately when we use the canonical vision constructed by two centuries of Classical scholarship. I shall return to this point, but for the moment, one controversial issue, among many others, will clearly show our differences. This also concerns the last book written by

²⁴ Miriam Valdés, *El papel de Afrodita en el alto arcaísmo griego. Política, guerra, matrimonio e iniciación*. Polifemo suplemento 2 (Messina, 2005).

²⁵ Valdés, *El papel de Afrodita*, p. 25.

²⁶ Stephanie L. Budin, *The Origin of Aphrodite* (Bethesda, 2003).

Jacqueline Karageorghis, in 2005, on Cypriot Aphrodite.²⁷ Like Budin, she puts Cyprus at the core of her reconstruction of Aphrodite's travels, and she addresses the ancient evidence in the same associative manner. There are several aspects of divergence between us.²⁸ The Greek *Kypris*, the "Cypriot" Aphrodite, emerged from a Greek representation of Cyprus, culturally determined by a deep ambiguity: Cyprus was both Greek *and* Eastern, inside *and* outside the Greek world. Literary evidence reflects this ambiguity, which is closely related to the construction of Greekness by means of a series of polarized oppositions of the Greeks themselves. As Cypriot literary evidence is nonexistent, analysis and interpretation rest on a culturally determined representation of Cyprus by others. The oriental origin of Aphrodite, as Herodotos and Pausanias saw it,²⁹ is as dependent on the imaginative register as on a hypothetical historical process of cultural borrowing, which is almost impossible to reconstruct with any certainty. Accordingly, we may subscribe to the very general idea that a goddess who was named Aphrodite by the Greeks had crystallized somewhere in the east of the Mediterranean in the early first millennium BC. This process encompassed elements from different places, such as Greece, Cyprus, and the Levantine coast. Although the more precise process will remain forever beyond our scope, I am still convinced, fourteen years after my PhD, that the oriental perspective adopted by the Greek authors speaking of Aphrodite's arrival in Greece tells us more about their vision of the Greek Aphrodite and her skills and competences than about her origin, whatever it may be.

A brief comparison with the alphabet, the most important borrowing of the Greeks from their eastern neighbors, will provide a useful analogy.³⁰ Around the middle of the eighth century BC, writing in a Greek alphabet begins to occur on pottery. Literacy is marked by local variations in letter forms, but it clearly adopts and adapts the forms and names from the scripts used by the Phoenicians. The Greek alphabet therefore functions differently from the Phoenician alphabet, yet Greek communities quickly adapted this wonderful tool to their own particular needs, for which its "origin" did not matter. Greek gods are cultural conglomerates that are more complicated than the alphabet, and, accordingly, caution

²⁷ Jacqueline Karageorghis, *The Aphrodite of Cyprus: Ancient Sources and Archaeological Evidence* (Nicosia, 2005).

²⁸ Already presented in a review published in collaboration with Corinne Bonnet in *Gnomon* 80 (2008), pp. 664–667.

²⁹ Hdt. 1.105; Paus. 1.14.7.

³⁰ Robin Osborne, *Greece in the Making 1200–479 BC* (London, 1996), pp. 107–112.

is needed in the assessment that a deity was introduced from the Near East, which does not say anything of such complexity. Such an assessment gives the comfortable yet false impression that the very identity of a god has been established. When Jacqueline Karageorghis writes that “the Ancient Greeks saw Aphrodite as a great and powerful goddess, whose strength derived from her identity as a fertility goddess, and whose strangeness lay in her Oriental roots,”³¹ for example, we might think that the Greeks associated Aphrodite with an oriental origin to justify her disturbing and potentially violent profile, connected with the violence of the sexual instinct more than with a generic concept of fertility.

In this respect, Pironti’s work, published in 2007, addresses the potential violence of Aphrodite and her relationships with the world of the warriors seen from a Greek perspective, setting aside the question of the origins.³² Her paper, published in this companion, is a summary of her thesis, so it would not be useful to repeat the points she herself forcefully defends. I only want to underline that this book is the first comprehensive attempt to understand both the concrete ritual manifestations of Aphrodite in the historical Greek cities and the wealthy literary persona of the goddess, in all their respective complexities. For my part, I had chosen to set aside literature in order to have a fresh look at Aphrodite’s cults. Now Pironti’s study of these cults opens the door for a new reading of literary texts.

Another book published in 2007, by Barbara Breitenberger, has the same aim of confronting cults and myths to grasp the goddess’ complexity, considering that these two types of evidence were not separate, incompatible units.³³ The aims and methods of Pironti and Breitenberger, however, diverge. The latter attempts to analyze the interactions between Aphrodite and her train of erotic personifications, particularly Eros, considering “the relationship between myth and cult and how poets combined these in creating their mythological figures,”³⁴ especially in the Archaic period. Searching for the origins and nature of the goddess and

³¹ Karageorghis, *Kypris*, p. 7.

³² Gabriella Pironti, *Entre ciel et guerre. Figures d’Aphrodite en Grèce ancienne*. Kernos Supplement 18 (Liège, 2007).

³³ Barbara M. Breitenberger, *Aphrodite and Eros: The Development of Erotic Mythology in Early Greek Poetry and Cult* (London, 2007).

³⁴ Breitenberger, *Aphrodite and Eros*, pp. 2–3. In a more traditional perspective, the literary study of Aphrodite and Eros by Ursula Bittrich has to be mentioned: *Aphrodite und Eros in der antiken Tragödie. Mit Ausblicken auf motivgeschichtlich verwandte Dichtungen* (Berlin, 2005).

her companions is seen, therefore, as the way of detecting the poetic elaboration of these figures. Accordingly, Aphrodite's oriental origins are repeatedly called to mind, but her cults and myths are finally disconnected, since "myth ... features her adventurous sex-life and cult ... is concerned with more serious issues such as marriage and civic harmony."³⁵ The differences between Eros and the other personifications in the circle of Aphrodite (Peitho and the Charites, for example) are allegedly the absence of ancient cults for the former and the cultic contexts of the latter. For this reason, the creation of Eros' personality is seen as a poetic innovation, closely related to the phenomenon of Greek homosexuality, a male "love god" being the necessary counterpart of a "love goddess." Aphrodite therefore remains a generic "goddess of love," and the powerful Eros, already present in Hesiod's *Theogony*, vanishes.³⁶ This study, whatever its qualities, raises a fundamental methodological problem: looking for a god's origin and nature is conceived as a premise for evaluating the myth and cult interaction without any consciousness that defining this "nature," if ever possible, should be the purpose of such an investigation, rather than its starting point.

Why Such Success?

Aphrodite is a flourishing topic, and the excavations at Miletos and Aphrodisias indicate that this trend will not decrease. Some hypotheses can be offered to understand this success. A first explanation may be the fact that the evidence for other goddesses—Hera, Demeter, Artemis, and Athena—is far more abundant. The evidence for Aphrodite seems, therefore, to be more easily grasped than that for other goddesses. Some PhD projects on Artemis or Demeter, for example, have been swallowed up by the huge amount of evidence necessary for a monographic perspective. Perhaps the fascination with Aphrodite's origins is more compelling

³⁵ Breitenberger, *Aphrodite and Eros*, p. 196.

³⁶ Jean Rudhardt, *Le rôle d'Éros et d'Aphrodite dans les cosmogonies grecques* (Paris, 1986), is mentioned in the final bibliography but not used, in fact. The same problem arises with Claude Calame's study, *L'Éros dans la Grèce antique* (Paris, 1996). Calame does not, actually, address the problem of the "origin" of Eros, but scrutinizes his role within Archaic Greek society, on not only a mythic level but also a cultic level. Stating that "Claude Calame's monograph focuses on the literary features of Eros" (p. 3) is a reductive summary of such a fine work. The first chapter of Breitenberger's book addresses the question of the origin of Aphrodite without being conscious that Budin published a whole book on the subject four years before.

than other gods. To some, Aphrodite seems to offer more certainties than do other gods. We were also quite “certain” about Dionysos, before we discovered his name in the Linear B corpus.³⁷ Just like Aphrodite, Dionysos was considered by the Greeks themselves as having come from elsewhere.³⁸ Traditionally his origin was thought to have been in Thrace or in Anatolia, but there is now general agreement that the representation of Dionysos is closely connected to his divine personality: I am talking about the “epidemic” nature of this god.³⁹ Aphrodite has not been found in the Linear B corpus, so scholarship has not changed in her case, although she is equally problematic.

A third consideration is the ambiguity of a deity whose canonical figure of tenderness, beauty, and love does not seem to fit with other aspects of her personality. In this respect Aphrodite is not more complex than other Greek gods; all of them are complex entities, who often defy description and understanding. How should we interpret the appeal of the subject? Could it be that Aphrodite aroused erotic desire and sexual union, which seem to be so constitutive of humanity, in ancient Greece as in modern times? Have we been completely captivated and charmed by the presumed archetypal manifestation of the seductive female? I fear that the answer to both of these questions could be positive. For instance, in *A Companion to Greek Religion*, published in 2007, a first proposal included a chapter entitled “Religion, sex, and love”; Aphrodite was, of course, the best candidate for this topic.⁴⁰ This section has been amended, but it is significant that the only gods who are explicitly mentioned in the chapter titles of that *Companion* are Aphrodite, on the one hand, and Dionysos and Demeter (regarding their connection with mystery cults), on the other.

Be that fascination as it may, the profile of Aphrodite is an efficient touchstone for addressing fundamental questions on Greek polytheism and facing its “indescribability.” This point will be the last part of my reflection.

³⁷ On this discovery, see Louis Godart and Yannis Tzedakis, “Les nouveaux textes en Linéaire B de la Canée,” *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 119 (1991), 129–150; Louis Godart, “Dionysos e la Creta micenea,” *Rendiconti dell’Accademia dei Lincei* 9, no. 2 (1991), 7–9. Cf. Richard Seaford, *Dionysos* (London, 2006), pp. 15–16.

³⁸ Euripides, in the *Bacchae*, describes him as a foreign god dressed in Eastern or Thracian garb. This dramatization of the mythical arrival of the stranger god Dionysos in Thebes was very influential in antiquity as well as in modern scholarship.

³⁹ See Marcel Detienne, *Dionysos at Large* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), pp. 3–26.

⁴⁰ Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge, “Something to Do with Aphrodite: *Ta aphrodisia* and

Searching for Polytheism: Aphrodite at Work

In my PhD I chose to follow Pausanias. As this tireless traveler did not say anything about possible visits to the islands of the Aegean or to the north of Greece, I had cast aside information on these places, preferring other pieces of evidence in producing a final synthesis. On the island of Kos, a large amount of epigraphic evidence has shed a new light on the religious life of the inhabitants. Aphrodite's cults are well attested. Two sequential inscriptions, from the beginning and the end of the second century BC, stipulate the rights and obligations of a priesthood of Aphrodite in the context of its sale. One of these inscriptions was already known by Mario Segre, and the other has been carefully edited, with commentary by Dirk Obbink and Robert Parker. The latter has also published a paper on this cult in a collection of essays offered to Henk Versnel in 2002.⁴¹ The unique priesthood, to which these inscriptions appear to refer, presides over two cults: Aphrodite *Pandamos* ('Of all the people') and Aphrodite *Pontia* ('Of the sea'), both probably worshipped on the seashore, in a unique enclosure that included twin temples and two altars.⁴² Aphrodite *Pandamos* seems to have been worshipped by all the demes of Kos on the same day in the month of Panamos, perhaps in connection with the synoecism (or coming together of the island's populace) that had taken place on the island in the year 366/365 BC.⁴³ Furthermore, Aphrodite received post-nuptial sacrifices from wives, regardless of their social status, in the year following their marriage.⁴⁴ Finally, sailors who served on warships sacrificed to Aphrodite *Pontia* at the end of their expedition.⁴⁵ This double cult concentrates in one location all the complexities of Aphrodite's pro-

the Sacred," in *A Companion to Greek Religion*, ed. Daniel Ogden (London, 2007), pp. 311–323.

⁴¹ Robert Parker and Dirk Obbink, "Aus der Arbeit der 'Inscriptiones Graecae' VI. Sales of Priesthoods on Cos I," *Chiron* 30 (2000), 419–429; Robert Parker, "The Cult of Aphrodite Pandamos and Pontia at Cos," in *Kykeon: Studies in Honour of H.S. Versnel*, ed. H.F.J. Horstmanshoff et al. (Leiden, 2002), pp. 143–160, with the English translation of the second inscription, published in the posthumous volume of Mario Segre, *Iscrizioni di Cos* (Rome, 1993), ED 178 (A). I already tackled this issue in another overview in English from which I partially borrow this part about Kos: Pirenne-Delforge, "Something to Do with Aphrodite."

⁴² Parker, "The Cult of Aphrodite Pandamos," pp. 143–144, and note 4 with the references of the archaeological reports.

⁴³ See Parker, "The Cult of Aphrodite Pandamos," p. 153. Cf. Franciszek Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (Paris, 1969), no. 172, commentary.

⁴⁴ Segre, *Iscrizioni di Cos*, lines 15–19.

⁴⁵ Parker and Obbink, "Aus der Arbeit," pp. 416–417, lines 5–9.

file, which is otherwise generally split elsewhere. In the city of Kos, Zeus seems to have held the role of poliadic deity (or city god).⁴⁶ Accordingly, Aphrodite does not play the same role as Athena in Athens, whose multiple functions and prerogatives might be explained by her poliadic status in that city. The probable link of Aphrodite with synoecism might imply such a position, but does not explain the complex network of her cult(s) on the seashore. Here Aphrodite displays all her potentialities.

This is a striking illustration of the complexity of divine figures in a polytheistic context. No simple, mechanical explanation can account for it, but we cannot escape the question of what unifies the activities attributed to major gods by their worshippers. As far as Aphrodite's cult is concerned, we may note that Pandamos seems to amalgamate at once a political dimension (synoecism, as at Athens) and a matrimonial one. These spheres are not conflicting.⁴⁷ An explanation can be found in a mode of intervention unique to the goddess: her powerful ability to arouse the vital impulse, unite beings, and join their bodies, as Pironti explains. At Naukratis, where Aphrodite *Pandemos* is attested from the end of the Archaic period, for example, we see that the integrative significance of the epithet *Pandemos* has a validity that goes beyond a strictly civil context. In the case of an emporion, or trading center, this power to integrate is larger than the coalescence of people in one civic body.⁴⁸

On the island of Kos, the marine dimension of Aphrodite is conveyed by the epithet *Pontia*. She is also *Euploia* ('Of fair sailing') or *Limenia* ('Of the harbor') elsewhere or in other contexts.⁴⁹ Prominent on seafronts, she responds, with other gods, such as Poseidon or the Dioscuri, to the anxiety of sailors to reach a good port. This dimension is already present in the Hesiodic account of Aphrodite's birth, which makes her a daughter of the foam (*aphros*) of the castrated sky god and of the sea. Furthermore, in crossing from Kythera to Cyprus, the new-born Aphrodite immediately embarks upon a Mediterranean voyage.⁵⁰ These images offer an "emic" explanation of the powers of the goddess over the waves, that is, an explanation provided by the Greeks themselves. Aphrodite is daughter of the

⁴⁶ A brief look at the inscription no. 151 published in Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées*, supports such an assessment.

⁴⁷ See Breitenberger, *Aphrodite and Eros*, p. 37; Pironti, *Entre ciel et guerre*, pp. 201–202.

⁴⁸ Andrew Scholtz, "Aphrodite Pandemos at Naukratis," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 43 (2003), 231–242.

⁴⁹ See Pirenne-Delforge, *L'Aphrodite grecque*, pp. 433–439.

⁵⁰ In the well-known passage of Hesiod's *Theogony* (188–206).

sky and the sea, and therefore she is worshipped by humans as overseer of their maritime enterprises. But the myth also speaks of sexual union. Assuming that the polytheist system is coherent,⁵¹ therefore, we may conjecture that the image of the calmness of the sky and the sea derives from the same representational complex that constructs, from sexual union, a metaphor for the harmony of the body politic. As we saw earlier, one of the inscriptions from Kos specifies that it is the crews of warships that worship Aphrodite *Pontia* at the conclusion of their expeditions. The marine dimension is accordingly coupled with a martial dimension, which echoes what I have presented above.

All these recent advances towards a better understanding of polytheism in general, and of Aphrodite's works in particular, allow us to hope that the study of the goddess' cults in regions as yet little investigated, such as Thessaly, will produce new material with which to evaluate the efficacy of these interpretative tools. In the city of Metropolis, for example, Aphrodite seems to have assumed a poliadic function. The city had already experienced a synoecism process, to which Aphrodite's principal position must be connected.⁵² A deeper investigation into this issue is likely to be fruitful.

Aphrodite was not honored in a Panhellenic sanctuary of her own, but Greek poets have sung masterpieces in her honor, Greek craftsmen and sculptors have celebrated her beauty and potency in their works, and, for decades, she has been scrutinized, as reflected in this huge bibliography. I am conscious that my own interests in "gods at work," to quote Parker once more,⁵³ give this introduction a peculiar flavor, as I prioritize cults and myths in context above art, literature, or symbolic issues. The following collection of essays will go some way to supplement my overview of scholarship, with other perspectives on the fascinating figure of Aphrodite.

⁵¹ A postulate lucidly addressed and cleverly discussed by Parker, *Polytheism and Society*, pp. 387–395.

⁵² Strabo 9.5.17 (C437); *IG* 9² 1.271 (a dedication to Aphrodite, dated to the early fifth century BC and found in one of the settlements involved in the synoecism); *IG* 9² 1.231 (a proxeny decree between Phalanna and Metropolis, dated to the second century BC: a copy must be displayed in the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Metropolis). See also the coins of Metropolis with the head of the goddess: Aliki Moustaka, *Kult und Mythen auf thessalischen Münzen* (Würzburg, 1983), pp. 39–40, and plate 6 on p. 115.

⁵³ In Parker, *Polytheism and Society*, pp. 387–451.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, James N., *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (London, 1982).
- Adriani, Achille, et al., *Himera 1: Campagne di Scavo 1963–1965* (Rome, 1970).
- Albright, William F., *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore, 1946).
- Alexander, Margaret, et al., *Corpus des Mosaïques de Tunisie 2, 4. Thuburbo Majus. Les mosaïques de la région est. Mise à jour du catalogue de Thuburbo Majus et les environs. Les mosaïques de Ain Mziger, Bir Chana, Draa Ben Jouder et Zaghouan* (Tunis, 1994).
- Alföldi, Andreas, *Die trojanischen Urahnen der Römer* (Basel, 1957).
- Alföldi-Rosenbaum, Elisabeth, et al., *Der spätrömische Silberschatz von Kaiser-augst* (Derendinger, 1984).
- Alroth, Brita, *Greek Gods and Figurines: Aspects of the Anthropomorphic Dedications* (Uppsala, 1989).
- Alvis, John, *Divine Purpose and Heroic Response in Homer and Virgil* (Lanham, 1995).
- Amadasi, Maria Giulia Guzzo, and Vassos Karageorghis, *Fouilles de Kition 3. Inscriptions phéniciennes* (Nicosia, 1977).
- Amandry, Pierre, “Monuments chorégiques d’Athènes,” *BCH* 121 (1997), 445–487.
- Amit, M., *Athens and the Sea: A Study in Athenian Sea-Power* (Brussels, 1965).
- Anderson, Warren D., “Venus and Aeneas: The Difficulties of Filial Pietas,” *Classical Journal* 50 (1955), 233–238.
- Andreae, Bernard, “Die Aphrodite von Melos,” in *Meisterwerke. Internationales Symposium anlässlich des 150. Geburtstages von Adolf Furtwängler. Freiburg i. Breisgau, 30 Juni–3. Juli 2003*, ed. Volker Michael Strocka (Munich, 2005), 193–201.
- Andreou, Ioanna, “Πολεοδόμικα της αρχαίας Λευκάδος,” *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 53 (1998), 147–186.
- Andronikos, Manolis, *Vergina 2: The “Tomb of Persephone”* (Athens, 1994).
- Anthonioz, Michel, ed. and trans., *Verve: The Ultimate Review of Art and Literature (1937–1960)* (New York, 1988).
- Antliff, Mark, *Inventing Bergson: Cultural Politics and the Parisian Avant-Garde* (Princeton, 1993).
- Antliff, Mark, *Avant-Garde Fascism: The Mobilization of Myth, Art, and Culture in France, 1909–1939* (Durham, 2007).
- Antonetti, Claudia, *Les étoliens. Image et religion* (Paris, 1990).
- Apollodoros, *Library*, ed. James George Frazer (London, 1961).
- Appadurai, Arjun, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, Eng., 1986).
- Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Arthur Hanson (Cambridge, Mass., 1989).
- Archi, Alfonso, “L’humanité des Hittites,” in *Florilegium Anatolicum. Mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche*, ed. Emilia Masson (Paris, 1979), 37–48.

- Armstrong, Rebecca, "The *Aeneid*: Inheritance and Empire," in *Epic interactions*, ed. Michael J. Clarke, Bruno G.F. Currie, and R.O.A.M. Lyne (Oxford, 2006).
- Arnold, Bill T., *Genesis* (Cambridge, Eng., 2009).
- Arcscott, Caroline, and Katie Scott, ed., *Manifestations of Venus: Art and Sexuality* (Manchester, 2000).
- Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists*, trans. Charles Burton Gulik (London, 1959).
- Austin, Roland G., *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Primus* (Oxford, 1971).
- Avery, Amos G., *Blakeslee: The Genus Datura* (New York, 1959).
- Bakola, Emmanuela, "Cratinus and the Art of Comedy" (PhD diss., University of London, 2006).
- Bakalakis, Giorgios, *Ἀνασκαφή στὸ λόφο Γιόρτζους βὰ τῆς Ἀθηναίου, Κύπρος* (Athens, 1988).
- Baldassari, Paola, *Sebastoi Sotiri. Edilizia monumentale ad Atene durante il Saeculum Augustum* (Rome, 1998).
- Balsdon, J.P.V.D., "Sulla Felix," *Journal of Roman Studies* 41 (1951), 1–10.
- Bankel, Hansgeorg, "Knidos. Der hellenistische Rundtempel und sein Altar. Vorbericht," *AA* (1997), 51–71.
- Barbantani, Silvia, "Goddess of Love and Mistress of the Sea: Notes on a Hellenistic Hymn to Arsinoe-Aphrodite (P.Lit.Goodsp. 2, I–IV)," *Ancient Society* 35 (2005), 135–165.
- Barchiesi, Alessandro, "Rappresentazioni del dolore e interpretazione nell'Eneide," *Antike und Abendland* 40 (1994), 109–124.
- Barchiesi, Alessandro, "Venus' masterplot: Ovid and the Homeric Hymns," in *Ovidian Transformations: Essays on the Metamorphoses and Its Reception*, ed. Philip R. Hardie, Alessandro Barchiesi, and Stephen Hinds (Cambridge, Eng., 1999), 112–126.
- Baring, Anne, and Jules Cashford, *The Myth of the Goddess: Evolution of an Image* (Harmondsworth, 1991).
- Baron, Wendy, *Sickert: Paintings and Drawings* (New Haven, 2006).
- Barton, Carlin A., *The Sorrows of the Ancient Romans: The Gladiator and the Monster* (Princeton, 1993).
- Bassett, Sarah, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge, Eng., 2004).
- Bate, David, *Photography and Surrealism: Sexuality, Colonialism and Social Dissent* (London, 2004).
- Batino, Sabrina, "Lo *skyphos* attico. Dall'iconografia alla funzione," *Quaderni di Ostraka* 4 (2002), 1–494.
- Baudy, Gerhard, in *Der Neue Pauly*, ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider (2009), s.v. "Adonis." Brill Online (<http://www.brillonline.nl>).
- Bauer, Heinrich, "Lysikratesdenkmal, Baubestand und Reconstruction," *AM* 92 (1977), 197–227.
- Baxandall, Michael, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Oxford, 1972).
- Beard, Mary, John North, and Simon Price, ed., *Religions of Rome* (Cambridge, Eng., 1998).
- Beckwith, John, *The Veroli Casket* (London, 1962).

- Beer, Cecilia, "The Kourotophos Temenos at Idalion (Cyprus): New Evidence from the American Expedition 1971–1980," *Mélanges Olivier Masson*, Centre d'Études Chypriotes, Cahier 27 (1997), 47–58.
- Bender, K., *Identification of Artists, Types of Artworks and Lotka's Production Law in the Iconography of the Italian Venus from the Middle Ages to Modern Times* (www.lulu.com, 2008).
- Benndorf, Otto, "Bemerkungen zur griechischen Kunstgeschichte. Die Anadyomene des Apelles," *AM* 1 (1876), 50–66.
- Bennett, Florence M., "A Study of the Word ΞOANON ," *AJA* 21 (1917), 8–21.
- Béquignon, Yves, "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques dans l'Orient hellénique (1932)," *BCH* 57 (1933), 236–312.
- Bérard, Claude, "Modes de formation et modes de lecture des images divines. Aphrodite et Isis à la voile," in *Actes du Colloque sur les problèmes de l'image dans le monde méditerranéen classique. Château de Lourmarin en Provence, 2–3 Septembre 1982*, ed. Henri Metzger. *Archaeologica* 61 (Rome, 1985), 163–171.
- Bérard, Claude, "The Order of Women," in *A City of Images: Iconography and Society in Ancient Greece*, ed. Claude Bérard et. al. (Princeton, 1989).
- Berger, John, *Ways of Seeing* (London, 1972).
- Bergren, Ann, "The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite: Tradition and Rhetoric, Praise and Blame," *Classical Antiquity* 8 (1989), 1–41.
- Bergmann, Bettina, "Greek Masterpieces and Roman Recreative Fictions," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 97 (1995), 79–107.
- Bertaux, Émile, "Botticelli Costumier," *Revue de l'art Ancien et Moderne* 21 (1907) 269–286, 375–392.
- Bertelli, Carlo, *Piero della Francesca* (New Haven, 1982).
- Beschi, Luigi, "Contributi di topografia ateniese," *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene* 45–46 (1968–1969), 512–536.
- Bittrich, Ursula, *Aphrodite und Eros in der antiken Tragödie. Mit Ausblicken auf motivgeschichtlich verwandte Dichtungen* (Berlin, 2005).
- Blackman, David, "The Athenian Navy and Allied Naval Contributions in the Pentecontaetia," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 10 (1969), 179–216.
- Blavatskaja, Tatiana, *Die Sklaverei in hellenistischen Staaten im 3.–1. Jh. v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1972).
- Bloch, Raymond, in *LIMC* 2 (1984), 169–176, s.v. "Aphrodite/Turan."
- Blomberg, Peter E., *On Corinthian Iconography: The Bridled Winged Horse and the Helmeted Female Head in the Sixth Century BC* (Uppsala, 1996).
- Blümel, Wolfgang, *Die Inschriften von Mylasa*. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 34–35 (Bonn, 1987–1988).
- Blümel, Wolfgang, *Die Inschriften von Knidos* 1. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 41 (Bonn, 1992).
- Boedeker, Deborah Dickmann, *Aphrodite's Entry into Greek Epic*. Mnemosyne Supplement 32 (Leiden, 1974).
- Bode, Wilhelm Arnold von, *Botticelli* (Berlin, 1926).
- Bol, Peter, *Die Skulpturen des Schiffsfundes von Antikythera* (Berlin, 1972).
- Bolgar, R.R., *The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge, Eng., 1954).
- Bolger, Diane, and Nancy Serwint, *Engendering Aphrodite: Women and Society*

- in Ancient Cyprus*. American Schools of Oriental Research, Archaeological Reports 7, Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute Monographs 3 (2002).
- Bommelaer, Jean-François, and Didier Laroche, *Guide de Delphes. Le site. Sites et monuments* 7 (Athens, 1991).
- Bonnet, Corinne, *Astarté. Dossier documentaire et perspectives historiques* (Rome, 1996).
- Bonnet, Corinne, and Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge, "Deux déesses en interaction. Astarté et Aphrodite dans le monde égéen," in *Les syncrétismes religieux dans le monde méditerranéen antique. Actes du Colloque international en l'honneur de Fr. Cumont, Rome, 25-27 septembre 1997*, ed. Corinne Bonnet and André Motte (Brussels, 1999), 249-273.
- Börker, Christopher, and Reinhold Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos 2: Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 12 (Bonn, 1979).
- Börkler-Klähn, J., and Peter Calmeyer, in *Reallexikon de Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 4, ed. Dietz O. Edzard (Berlin 1972-1975), 148, s.v. "Hathorfrisur."
- Boube-Piccot, Christiane, *Les bronzes antiques du Maroc* 1. *La statuaire* (Rabat, 1969).
- Bourdieu, Pierre, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (London, 1984).
- Bousquet, Jean, "Le temple d'Aphrodite et Arès à Sta Lenikà," *BCH* 62 (1938), 386-408.
- Braemer, Francois, *L'art dans l'occident romain* (Paris, 1963).
- Bragantini, Irene, and Mariette de Vos, *Le Decorazioni della Villa Romana della Farnesina* 2, 1: *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le Pitture* (Rome, 1982).
- Breitenberger, Barbara M., *Aphrodite and Eros: The Development of Erotic Mythology in Early Greek Poetry and Cult* (London, 2007).
- Brinkerhoff, Dericksen M, "The Identification of the Venus Who Binds Her Sandal and Related Works of Hellenistic Sculpture," *AJA* 62 (1958), 222.
- Brody, Lisa R., "The Cult of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias in Caria," *Kernos* 14 (2001), 93-109.
- Broneer, Oscar, "Excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis," *Hesperia* 1 (1932), 31-55.
- Broneer, Oscar, "Excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis," *Hesperia* 2 (1933), 329-417.
- Broneer, Oscar, "Excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis 1933-1934," *Hesperia* 4 (1935), 109-133.
- Broneer, Oscar, "Excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis," *Hesperia* 7 (1938), 161-201.
- Brown, A.S., "Aphrodite and the Pandora Complex," *CQ* 47 (1997), 26-47.
- Brown, Norman O, "The Birth of Athena," *TAPA* 83 (1952), 130-143.
- Brown, Shelby, "Death as Decoration: Scenes from the Arena on Roman Domestic Mosaics," in *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*, ed. Amy Richlin (Oxford, 1992), 158-179.
- Browning, Robert, "Homer in Byzantium," *Viator* 6 (1975), 15-33.

- Brucker, Gene Adam, *Florence: 1138–1737* (London, 1983).
- Brulé, Pierre, *La fille d'Athènes. La religion des filles à Athènes à l'époque classique* (Paris, 1987).
- Bruneau, Philippe, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale*. Bibliothèque des Écoles française d'Athènes et de Rome 218 (Paris, 1970).
- Bryson, Norman, *Word and Image: French Painting of the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge, Eng., 1981).
- Buchli, Victor, "Interpreting Material Culture: The Trouble with Text," in *Interpreting Archaeology: Finding Meaning in the Past*, ed. Ian Hodder, Michael Shanks, et al., (London, 1995), 181–193.
- Buchholz, Hans-Günter, "Tamassos, Zypern, 1974–1976, 3. Bericht," *AA* (1978), 218.
- Buchholz, Hans-Günter, "Schriftzeugniss aus den Ausgrabungen in Tamassos," in *Res Mycenaee, Akten des VII. Internationalen Mykenologischen Colloquiums in Nürnberg 1981*, ed. Alfred Heubeck and Günter Neumann (Göttingen, 1982), 63–77.
- Buchholz, Hans-Günter, "Ägyptisierendes aus Tamassos," *RDAC* (1993), 195–206.
- Buckler, William Hepburn, and William Moir Calder, *Monuments and Documents from Phrygia and Caria*. Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua 6 (Manchester, 1939).
- Budin, Stephanie L., *The Origin of Aphrodite* (Bethesda, 2003).
- Budin, Stephanie L., "A Reconsideration of the Aphrodite-Astart Syncretism," *Numen* 51 (2004), 95–145.
- Budin, Stephanie, *The Myth of Sacred Prostitution in Antiquity* (Cambridge, Eng., 2008).
- Budin, Stephanie L., "Simonides' Corinthian Epigram," *Classical Philology* 103 (2008), 335–353.
- Buitron-Oliver, Diana, *The Sanctuary of Apollon Hylates at Kourion: Excavations in the Archaic Precinct*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 109 (Jonsered, 1996).
- Buono, Elisa, "From Goddess to Virgin: Transformations in the Eastern Empire," in *The Survival of the Gods: Classical Mythology in Medieval Art, An Exhibition by the Department of Art, Brown University Bell Gallery, Providence, Rhode Island, February 38–March 29, 1987* (Providence, 1987), 85–95.
- Burgin, Victor, "Perverse Space," in *Sexuality and Space*, ed. Beatriz Colomina (Princeton, 1992), 218–240.
- Burkert, Walter, "Das Lied von Ares und Aphrodite," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 103 (1960), 130–144.
- Burkert, Walter, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical*, trans. John Raffan (Cambridge, Mass., 1985).
- Burkert, Walter, *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*, trans. Margaret E. Pinder and Walter Burkert (Cambridge, Mass., 1992).
- Burkert, Walter, "From Epiphany to Cult Statue: Early Greek *Theos*," in *What is a God?* ed. Alan B. Lloyd (London, 1997).

- Burkert, Walter, *Da Omero ai Magi. La tradizione orientale nella cultura greca* (Venice, 1999).
- Burkert, Walter, *Kleine Schriften 2: Orientalia*, ed. M. Laura Gemelli Marciano (Göttingen, 2003).
- Burn, Lucilla, *The Meidias Painter* (Oxford, 1987).
- Cabanes, Pierre, *L'Épire de la mort de Pyrrhos à la conquête romaine (272-167 av. J.C.)*. Centre de recherches d'histoire ancienne 19 (Paris, 1976).
- Cabanes, Pierre, "Apollonie et Epidamne-Dyrrachion. Épigraphie et histoire," in *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'Antiquité 2: Actes du 2e colloque international de Clermont-Ferrand, 25-27 octobre 1990*, ed. Pierre Cabanes (Paris, 1993), 145-153.
- Calame, Claude, "Entre rapports de parenté et relations civiques. Aphrodite l'Hétaïre au banquet politique des *hetaïroi*," in *Aux sources de la puissance. Sociabilité et parenté*, ed. Françoise Thélamon (Rouen, 1989), 101-111.
- Calame, Claude, *L'Éros dans la Grèce antique* (Paris, 1996).
- Calhoun, George Miller, "Zeus the Father in Homer," *TAPA* 66 (1978), 1-17.
- Callimachus, *Hymn 5*, ed. Anthony W. Bulloch (Cambridge, Mass., 1985).
- Cameron, Alan, *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius* (Oxford, 1970).
- Cameron, Alan, "The Date and Owners of the Esquiline Treasure," *AJA* 89 (1985), 135-145.
- Cameron, Averil, and Judith Herrin, ed. and trans., *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* (Leiden, 1984).
- Campbell, Caroline, *Love and Marriage in Renaissance Florence: The Courtauld Wedding Chests* (London, 2009).
- Canciani, Fulvio, in *LIMC* 1 (1981), 381-396, s.v. "Aineias."
- Cantelupe, Eugene B., "The Anonymous Triumph of Venus in the Louvre: An Early Italian Renaissance Example of Mythological Disguise," *The Art Bulletin* 44 (1962), 238-242.
- Caputo, Giacomo, *Il Teatro di Sabratha e l'architettura teatrale Africana* (Rome, 1959).
- Carpenter, Thomas H., "Greek Religion and Art," in *A Companion*, ed. Ogden, 398-420.
- Carratelli, Giovanni Pugliese, "Supplemento Epigraphico di Iasos," *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene* 45-46 (1967-1968), 437-486.
- Carucci, Margherita, *The Romano-African Domus: Studies in Space, Decoration, and Function* (Oxford, 2007).
- Cassimatis, Hélène, "Quelques types de Calathoi sur des figurines provenant de Larnaca dans les Collections du Louvre," *RDAC* no. 2 (1988), 45-51.
- Casson, Stanley, *Second Report upon the Excavations Carried Out in and near the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1928 on Behalf of the British Academy* (London, 1929).
- Cassuto, Umberto, *The Goddess Anath: Canaanite Epics of the Patriarchal Age* (Jerusalem, 1951).
- Caubet, Annie, "Les sanctuaires de Kition à l'époque de la dynastie phénicienne," in *Religio Phoenicia, Studia Phoenicia*, 4, ed. Corinne Bonnet et al. (Nampur, 1986), 153-168.

- Cayla, Jean-Baptiste, "Livie, Aphrodite et une famille de prêtres du culte impérial à Paphos," in *L'Hellénisme d'époque romaine. Nouveaux documents, nouvelles approches (1er s. a. C.-IIIe s. p. C.)*. Actes du colloque international à la mémoire de Louis Robert, Paris, 7-8 juillet 2000, ed. Simone Follet et al. (Paris, 2004), 233-243.
- Cesnola, Louis Palma di, *Cyprus, Its Cities, Tombs and Temples* (New York, 1878; repr. Nicosia, 1991).
- Charlton, William, and Anthony Saville, "The Art of Apelles," *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society, London* 53 (1979), 167-206.
- Cheney, Liana, *Quattrocento Neoplatonism and Medici Humanism in Botticelli's Mythological Paintings* (New York, 1985).
- Choniates, Nicetas, *De Signis*, ed. Ottavio Morisani, Fernando Gagliuolo, and Alfonso de Franciscis (Naples, 1960).
- Clairmont, Christoph W., *Classical Attic Tombstones* (Kilchberg, 1993).
- Clark, David L., "Botticelli's Venus and Mars and Other Apotropaic Art for Tuscan Bedrooms," *Aurora: The Journal of the History of Art* 7 (2006), 1-18.
- Clark, Kenneth, *The Drawings by Sandro Botticelli for Dante's Divine Comedy* (London, 1976).
- Clark, T.J., *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers* (London, 1985).
- Clarke, John R., *Looking at Lovemaking: Constructions of Sexuality in Roman Art, 100 BC-AD 250* (Berkeley, 1998).
- Claudian*, trans. Maurice Platnauer (London, 1922).
- Clausen, Wendell, *A Commentary on Virgil, Eclogues* (Oxford, 1994).
- Clerc, Gisèle, in *LIMC* 4 (1988), 451-453, s.v. "Hathor."
- Codex Theodosianus. Novellae Constitutiones. Constitutiones Sirmondianae*, ed. and trans. Clyde Pharr (Princeton, 1952).
- Colivicchi, Fabio, "Statuetta di Afrodite armata," in *Gli Etruschi*, ed. Mario Torelli (Milan, 2000), 554.
- Conte, Gian Biagio, *The Rhetoric of Imitation: Genre and Poetic Memory in Virgil and Other Latin Poets*, ed. Charles Segal (Ithaca, 1986).
- Conti, Natale, *Mythologiae*, first published Venice 1551, facsimile of 1567 reprint (London, 1976).
- Cooper, Samuel, *A Dissertation on the Properties and Effects of the Datura Stramonium or Common Thorn-Apple and Its Use in Medicine* (Philadelphia, 1797).
- Corbett, Peter E., "Greek Temples and Greek Worshipers: The Literary and Archaeological Evidence," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London* 17 (1970), 149-158.
- Cormack, Robin, and Maria Vassilaki, ed., *Byzantium 330-1453* (London, 2008).
- Corso, Antonio, *Prassitele. Fonti epigraphiche e letterarie. Vita e opere*, 3 vols. Xenia, Quaderni 10 (Rome, 1988-1990).
- Corso, Antonio, *The Art of Praxiteles 2: The Mature Years* (Rome, 2007).
- Corsten, Thomas, "Der Hilferuf des Akarnanischen Bundes an Rom. Zum Beginn des römischen Eingreifens in Griechenland," *Zeitung für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 94 (1992), 195-210.
- Courtney, Edward, *The Fragmentary Latin Poets* (Oxford, 1993).

- Cowling, Elizabeth, "Introduction," in *On Classic Ground: Picasso, Léger, de Chirico and the New Classicism 1910-1930*, ed. Elizabeth Cowling and Jennifer Mundy (London, 1990).
- Crawford, Michael, *Roman Republican Coinage* (Cambridge, Eng., 1974).
- Croissant, Francis, "Identification d'une déesse. Questions sur l'Aphrodite argienne," in *Le donateur, l'offrande et la déesse. Système(s) votif(s) dans les sanctuaires de divinités féminines en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, ed. Clarisse Prêtre and Stéphanie Huysecom-Haxhi. *Kernos Supplement* 23 (forthcoming).
- Croissant, Francis, and François Salviat, "Aphrodite gardienne des magistrats. Gynéconomes de Thasos et polémarques de Thèbes," *BCH* 90 (1966), 460-471.
- Culican, William, "Dea Tyria Gravida," *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology* 1, no. 2 (1969), 35-50.
- Culley, Gerald Ray, "The Restoration of Sacred Monuments in Augustan Athens (IG II² 1035)" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina, 1973).
- Culley, Gerald Ray, "The Restoration of Sanctuaries in Attica: IG II², 1035," *Hesperia* 44 (1975), 207-223.
- Curtius, Ludwig, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis* (Leipzig, 1929).
- Cutler, Anthony, "The Mythological Bowl in the Treasury of San Marco at Venice," in *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History: Studies in Honour of George C. Miles*, ed. Dickran K. Kouymjian (Beirut, 1974), 235-254; repr. as Study IX in *Imagery and Ideology in Byzantine Art* (London, 1992).
- Cutler, Anthony, "On Byzantine Boxes," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 42, no. 3 (1984-1985), 32-47; repr. as Study XVI in *Late Antique and Byzantine Ivory Carving* (London, 1998).
- Dalley, Stephanie, *Myths from Mesopotamia, Creation, The Flood, Gilgamesh, and Others* (Oxford, 2000).
- Dalton, Ormonde M., *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities and Objects from the Christian East in the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography of the British Museum* (London, 1901).
- D'Ambra, Eve, "The Calculus of Venus: Nude Portraits of Roman Matrons," in *Sexuality in Ancient Art*, ed. Natalie Boymel Kampen (Cambridge, Eng., 1996), 219-232.
- Dante, *Divine Comedy: Purgatory*, Canto 32, trans. Allen Mandelbaum (Berkeley, 1980-1982).
- Daszewski, Wictor A., "Aphrodite Hoplismene from Nea Paphos," *RDAC* (1982), 195-201.
- Daux, Georges, "Chronique des Fouilles 1968," *BCH* 93 (1969), 955-1067.
- Day, John, "Asherah in the Hebrew Bible and Northwest Semitic Literature," *The Journal of Biblical Literature* 105 (1986), 385-408.
- De Caro, Stefano, "The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea at Oplontis: A Preliminary Report," in *Ancient Roman Villa Gardens*, ed. Elisabeth MacDougall (Washington, D.C., 1987), 79-133.
- Delcor, Mathias, in *LIMC* 3 (1986), 1077-1078, s.v. "Astarte."
- Delivorrias, Angelos, "Die Kultstatue der Aphrodite von Daphni," *Antike Plastik* 8 (1968), 19-31.

- Delivorrias, Angelos, "Der Statuarische Typus der sogenannten Hera Borghese," in *Polykletforschungen*, ed. Herbert Beck and Peter Bol (Berlin, 1993), 221–252.
- Delivorrias, Angelos, Gratia Berger-Doer, and Anneliese Kossatz-Deissmann, in *LIMC* 2 (1984), 2–151, s.v. "Aphrodite."
- Demargne, Pierre, in *LIMC* 2 (1984), 955–1044, s.v. "Athena."
- Dempsey, Charles, *Inventing the Renaissance Putto* (Chapel Hill, 2001).
- Dessau, Hermann, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (Berlin, 1892–1916).
- Detienne, Marcel, *Dionysos at Large* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989).
- Detienne, Marcel, "Expérimenter dans le champ des polythéismes," *Kernos* 10 (1997), 57–72.
- Detienne, Marcel, *Apollon le couteau à la main* (Paris, 1998).
- Dierichs, Angelika, "Auf den Spuren der Venus. Bilder der Liebesgötten aus Pompeji (Teil 1)," *Antike Welt* 29 (1998), 281–296.
- Dieten, Jan-Louis van, ed., *Nicetae Choniatae Historia* (Berlin, 1975).
- Dillon, Matthew P.J., "Post-nuptial Sacrifices on Kos (Segre ED 178) and Ancient Greek Marriage Rites," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 124 (1990), 63–80.
- Dinsmoor, William Bell, "The Monopteros in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 43 (1974), 412–427.
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 1: Books 1–2, trans. Earnest Cary (London, 1960).
- Doane, Mary Ann, *Femmes Fatales: Feminism, Film Theory, Psychoanalysis* (New York, 1991).
- Donohue, Alice A., *Xoana and the Origins of Greek Sculpture* (Atlanta, 1988).
- Dontas, Georgios, "Αρχαιότητες Αθηνών και Αττικής ερευνα νοτιώς της Ακροπόλεως κατά το 1960," *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 16 (1960), 14–15.
- Dontas, Georgios, "Ανασκαφή εις τους νοτιους πρόποδας της Ακροπόλεως και Σκέψεις τινες περί του Ιερού της Πανδήμου Αφροδίτης," in *Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας του Έτους 1960* (1966), 4–9.
- Dörpfeld, Wilhelm, and Friedrich Hiller von Gaertringen, "Ausgrabungen im Theater von Magnesia am Maiandros," *AM* 19 (1894), 46–47.
- Doublet, Georges, *Musée d'Alger* (Paris, 1890).
- Dowden, Ken, "Olympian gods, Olympian pantheon," in *A Companion*, ed. Ogden, 41–55.
- Downey, Glanville, "Constantine the Rhodian: His Life and Writings," in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of A.M. Friend, Jr.*, ed. Kurt Weitzmann (Princeton, 1955), 214–221.
- DuBois, Page, *Sowing the Body: Psychoanalysis and Ancient Representations of Women* (Chicago, 1988).
- Dunbabin, Katherine M.D., *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa: Studies in Iconography and Patronage* (Oxford, 1978).
- Dunbabin, Katherine M.D., "The Victorious Charioteer on Mosaics and Related Monuments," *AJA* 86 (1982), 65–89.
- Dunkel, George E., "Vater Himmels Gattin," *Die Sprache* 34 (1988–1990), 1–26.
- Durand, Jannic, et al., *Byzance, L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises, Musée du Louvre 3 novembre 1992–1 février 1993* (Paris, 1992).

- Eck, Werner, *The Age of Augustus* (Malden, 2004).
- Ellis, John, *Visible Fictions: Cinema: Television: Video* (New York, 1992).
- Elsner, Jaś, "Visualising Women in Late Antique Rome: The Projecta Casket," in *Through a Glass Brightly: Studies in Byzantine and Medieval Art and Archaeology Presented to David Buckton*, ed. Chris Entwistle (London, 2003), 22–36.
- Engelmann, Helmut, and Reinhold Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai 2* (Bonn, 1973).
- Erschine, Andrew, *Troy between Greece and Rome: Local Tradition and Imperial Power* (Oxford, 2001).
- Euripides, *Children of Heracles, Hippolytus, Andromache, Hecuba*, trans. David Kovacs (Cambridge, Mass., 1995).
- Eusebius of Caesarea, *Vita Constantini*, ed. Ivar A. Heikel (Leipzig, 1902–1926).
- Evans, Helen C., and William D. Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era AD 843–1261* (New York, 1997).
- Evans, Jane D., *The Art of Persuasion: Political Propaganda from Aeneas to Brutus* (Ann Arbor, 1992).
- Fantham, Elaine, "Maidens in Other-Land or Broads Abroad: Plautus' *Poenulae*," in *Studien zu Plautus' Poenulus*, ed. Thomas Baier (Tübingen, 2004), 235–251.
- Farnell, Lewis Richard, *Cults of the Greek States*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1896–1909).
- Fasce, Silvana, *Eros. La figura e il culto* (Genoa, 1977).
- Faulkner, Andrew, *The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite: Introduction, Text and Commentary* (Oxford, 2008).
- Feeney, Denis C., *The Gods in Epic: Poets and Critics of the Classical Tradition* (Oxford, 1991).
- Ferri, Silvio, "L'inno omerico a Afrodite e la tribù analotica degli Otrusi," *Studi in onore di Luigi Castiglioni* (Florence, 1960), 293–307.
- Ferruolo, Arnolfo, "Botticelli's Mythologies, Ficino's *De Amore*, Poliziano's *Stanze per la Giostra*: Their Circle of Love," *Art Bulletin* 37 (1955), 17–25.
- Ficino, Marcilio, *Commentary on Plato's Symposium on Love*, trans. Sears Jayne (Dallas, 1985).
- Finley, Moses I., *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece* (Middlesex, 1983).
- Flemberg, Johan, *Venus Armata. Studien zur bewaffneten Aphrodite in der griechisch-römischen Kunst*. *Acta Atheniensis* 8, 10 (Stockholm, 1991).
- Flemberg, Johann, "The Transformations of the Armed Aphrodite," in *Greece and Gender: Papers from the Norwegian Institute at Athens 2*, ed. Brit Berggreen and Nanno Marinatos (Bergen, 1995), 109–122.
- Flores, Enrico., "La composizione dell'inno a Venere di Lucrezio e gli inni omerici ad Afrodite," *Vichiana* 8 (1979), 237–251.
- Fontenrose, Joseph, *Python: A Study of Delphic Myth and Its Origins* (Berkeley, 1959).
- Foucart, Paul François, "Les fortifications du Pirée," *BCH* 11 (1887), 129–144.
- Fourrier, Sabine, *La coroplastie chypriote archaïque. Identités culturelles et politiques à l'époque de royaumes* (Lyon, 2007).
- Fourrier, Sabine, and Anne Queyrel, *L'Art des modeleurs d'Argile. Antiquités de Chypre coroplastique 2*, ed. Musée du Louvre, Département des antiquités orientales (Paris, 1998).

- Franke, Peter, *Die antiken Münzen von Epirus* (Wiesbaden, 1961).
- Frankel, Max, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon 2. Altertümer von Pergamon* 8, 1–2 (Berlin, 1890–1895).
- Fredrick, David, “Beyond the Atrium to Ariadne: Erotic Painting and Visual Pleasure in the Roman House,” *Classical Antiquity* 14 (1995), 266–287.
- Fredrick, David, ed., *The Roman Gaze: Vision, Power and the Body* (Baltimore, 2002).
- French, Alfred, *The Growth of the Athenian Economy* (London, 1964).
- Friedrich, Paul, *The Meaning of Aphrodite* (Chicago, 1978).
- Frings, Udo, *Claudius Claudianus. Epithalamium de nuptiis Honorii Augusti, Einleitung und Kommentar* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1975).
- Frisch, Peter, *Die Inschriften von Lampsakos. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 6 (Bonn, 1978).
- Frisk, Hjalmar, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1960–1972).
- Frohne, Dietrich, and Hans Jürgen Pfänder, ed., *Poisonous Plants: A Handbook for Doctors, Pharmacists, Toxicologists, Biologists and Veterinarians*, trans. Inge Alford, 2nd ed. (London, 2005).
- Funke, Peter, “Konons Rückkehr nach Athen im Spiegel epigraphischer Zeugnisse,” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 53 (1983), 149–189.
- Gaifman, Milette, “Beyond Mimesis in Greek Religious Art: Aniconism in the Archaic and Classical Periods” (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2005).
- Galatariotou, Catia, “Holy Women and Witches: Aspects of Byzantine Conceptions of Gender,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 9 (1984–1985), 55–94.
- Gale, Monica R., *Myth and Poetry in Lucretius* (Cambridge, Eng., 1994).
- Gambogi, Pamela, “Ancora su Eros e Anteros,” in *In memoria di Enrico Paribeni*, ed. Gabriella Capecci et al. *Archaeologica* 125 (Rome, 1998), 189–198.
- Ganzert, Joachim, and Valentin Kockel, “Augustusforum und Mars-Ulter-Tempel,” in *Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik* (Mainz, 1988), 149–199.
- Garland, Robert, *The Piraeus from the Fifth to the First Century BC*, 2nd ed. (London, 2001).
- Garnier, Bénédicte, “The Sculptor, the Collector and the Archaeologist: Auguste Rodin, Edward Perry Warren and John Marshall,” in Mitchell, *Rodin*, 121–133.
- Gersht, Rivka, “Aquatic Figure Types from Caesarea Maritima,” *Studies in Art History* 6, section B (2001), 63–90.
- Gide, André, “Promenade au Salon d’Automne,” *Gazette des beaux arts* 34 (December, 1905), 475–485.
- Gillies, Jean, “The Central Figure in Botticelli’s ‘Primavera,’” *Woman’s Art Journal* 2 (1981), 12–16.
- Glowacki, Kevin T., “Topics Concerning the North Slope of the Acropolis at Athens” (PhD diss., Bryn Mawr, 1991).
- Goceva, Zlatozara, “Le culte d’Arès et la religion de Thrace,” *Orpheus* 11–12 (2001–2002), 79–84.
- Graindor, Paul, “Inscriptions attiques d’époque romaine,” *BCH* 51 (1927), 245–328.

- Godart, Louis, "Dionysos e la Creta micenea," *Rendiconti dell'Accademia dei Lincei* 9, no. 2 (1991), 7–9.
- Godart, Louis, and Yannis Tzedakis, "Les nouveaux textes en Linéaire B de la Canée," *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 119 (1991), 129–150.
- Goette, Hans Rupprecht, *Ho axiologos demos Sounion, Landeskundliche Studien in Südost-Attika* (Rahden, 2000).
- Gombrich, Ernst H., "Botticelli's Mythologies: A Study in the Neoplatonic Symbolism of His Circle," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 8 (1945), 7–60.
- Gombrich, Ernst H., "Icones Symbolicae: The Visual Image in Neoplatonic Thought," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 11 (1948), 163–192.
- Gonosová, Anna, and Christine Kondoleon, *Art of Late Rome and Byzantium in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts* (Richmond, 1994).
- Gordon, Cyrus H., *Ugarit and Minoan Crete: The Bearing of Their Texts on the Origins of Western Culture* (New York, 1996).
- Graef, Botho, and Ernst Langlotz, *Die Antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1925–1933).
- Graf, Fritz, *Nordionische Kulte. Religionsgeschichtliche und epigraphische Untersuchungen zu den Kulturen von Chios, Erythrai, Klazomenai und Phokaia*. Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana 21 (Rome, 1985).
- Grant, Michael, *Roman Myths* (Harmondsworth, 1973).
- Grassigli, Gian Luca, "Belle come dee. L'immagine della donna nella *domus tardoantica*," in *L'immagine antichistica et son interpretation*, ed. Françoise Hélène Massa Pairault (Rome, 2006), 316–339.
- Greaves, Alan M., "The Cult of Aphrodite in Miletos and Its colonies," *Anatolian Studies* 54 (2004), 27–33.
- Greek Anthology*, trans., William Roger Paton (Cambridge, Mass., 1916–1918).
- Greene, Elizabeth S., "Revising Illegitimacy: The Use of Epithets in the Homeric Hymn to Hermes," *CQ* 55 (2005), 343–349.
- Greek Lyric* 1, ed. and trans. David A. Campbell (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).
- Griffin, Jasper, "The Divine Audience and the Religion of the Iliad," *CQ* 28 (1978), 1–22.
- Griffin, Jasper, *Homer on Life and Death* (Oxford, 1980).
- Griffin, Jasper, *Latin Poets and Roman Life* (London, 1985).
- Grube, George Maximilian Anthony, "The Gods of Homer," *Phoenix* 5 (1951), 62–78.
- Gruen, Erich S., *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy* (Leiden, 1990).
- Gruen, Erich S., *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome* (Ithaca, 1992).
- Gruetzner Robins, Anna, "Sickert and the Paris Art World," in *Degas, Sickert, Toulouse-Lautrec, London and Paris, 1870–1910*, ed. Gruetzner Robins and Thomson (London, 2005), 155–201.
- Gruetzner Robins, Anna, and Richard Thomson, *Degas, Sickert, Toulouse-Lautrec: London and Paris, 1870–1910* (London, 2005).
- Guarducci, Margherita, "Una Nuova Dea a Naxos in Sicilia e gli antichi legami fra la Naxos Siciliota e l'Omonima isola della Cicladi," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité* 97 (1985), 7–34.

- Güterbock, Hans Gustav, "The Hittite Version of the Hurrian Kumarbi Myths: Oriental Forerunners of Hesiod," *AJA* 52 (1948), 123–134.
- Güterbock, Hans Gustav, "Troy in Hittite Texts? Wilusa, Ahhiyawa, and Hittite History," in *Troy and the Trojan War: A Symposium Held at Bryn Mawr College, October 1984*, ed. Machteld Mellink (Bryn Mawr, 1986).
- Haake, M., L. Kolonas, and S. Scharff, "Fragment einer metrischen Strategenweiheung an Aphrodite Stratagis aus dem hellenistischen Thyreion," *Chiron* 37 (2007), 113–121.
- Hadjicosti, Maria, "The Kingdom of Idalion in the Light of New Evidence," *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 308 (1997), 49–63.
- Hadjioannou, Kyriakou, *Η αρχαία Κύπρος εν τὰς ελληνικὰς πέγας Β* (Nicosia, 1973).
- Hadjioannou, Kyriakou, "Aphrodite in Arms," *RDAC* (1981), 184–186.
- Hadjionnaou, Kyriakou, and Wictor A. Daszewski, "The ΕΓΧΕΙΟΣ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ Again," *RDAC* (1983), 281–282.
- Hadot, Pierre, *The Veil of Isis: An Essay on the History of the Idea of Nature* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006).
- Hadzisteliou Price, Theodora, *Cult and Representations of Greek Nursing Deities* (Leiden, 1978).
- Haeny, Gerhard, in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 2, ed. Wolfgang Helck and Wolfhart Westendorf (Wiesbaden, 1977), 1039–1041, s.v. "Hathorkapitell."
- Hahn, Ulrike, *Die Frauen des Römischen Kaiserhauses und ihre Ehrungen im griechischen Osten anhand epigraphischer und numismatischer Zeugnisse von Livia bis Sabina*. Saarbrückner Studein zur Archäologie und alten Geschichte 8 (Saarbrücken, 1994).
- Hainsworth, J.B., *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey 1: Books 5–8* (Oxford, 1988).
- Hallett, Christopher, "Emulation Versus Replication: Redefining Roman Copying," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 18, no. 2 (2005), 419–435.
- Hamilton, Naomi, et al., "Viewpoint: Can We Interpret Figurines?" *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 6, no. 2 (1996), 281–307.
- Hammarström, M., "Griechisch-etruskische Wortgleichungen," *Glotta* 11 (1921), 211–217.
- Hammond, N.G.L., *Epirus: The Geography, the Ancient Remains, the History and the Topography of Epirus and Adjacent Areas* (Oxford, 1967).
- Hansen, William, "Foam-Born Aphrodite and the Mythology of Transformation," *American Journal of Philology* 121 (2000), 1–19.
- Harmatta, János, "Zu den kleinasiatischen Beziehungen der griechischen Mythologie," *Acta Antiqua* 16 (1968), 57–64.
- Harrison, Edward L., "Why Did Venus Wear Boots? Some Reflections on *Aeneid* 1.314f.," *Proceedings of the Virgil Society* 12 (1972–1973), 10–25.
- Harrison, Evelyn B., "Alkamenēs' Sculptures for the Hephaisteion: Part II," *AJA* 81 (1977), 265–287.
- Harrison, Evelyn B., "A Pheidian Head of Aphrodite Ourania," *Hesperia* 53 (1984), 379–388.
- Harrison, Stephen J., "Sons, Mothers and Lovers in Thackeray and Virgil," *Notes and Queries* 245 [n.s. 47] (2000), 329–332.

- Harrison, Stephen J., *Generic Enrichment in Virgil and Horace* (Oxford, 2007).
- Harrison, Thomas, "Religion and the Rationality of the Greek City," in *Rethinking Revolutions through Ancient Greece*, ed. Simon Goldhill and Robin Osborne (Cambridge, Eng., 2006), 124–140.
- Harrison, Thomas, "Greek Religion and Literature," in Odgen, *A Companion*, 373–384.
- Hasenohr, Claire, "Les sanctuaires italiens sur l'agora des Compétaliastes à Délos," *Revue archéologique* (2000), 198–202.
- Havelock, Christine Mitchell, *The Aphrodite of Knidos and Her Successors: A Historical Review of the Female Nude in Greek Art* (Ann Arbor, 1995).
- Haynes, Sybil, *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History* (Los Angeles, 2000).
- Head, Barclay V., *Historia Numorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics* (Oxford, 1922).
- Heidegger, Martin, *Being and Time* (San Francisco, 1962).
- Heimberg, Ursula, *Das Bild des Poseidon in der griechischen Vasenmalerei* (Freiburg, 1968).
- Heinze, Richard, *Virgil's Epic Technique*, trans. Hazel Harvey, David Harvey, and Fred Robertson (Bristol, 1993).
- Helck, Wolfgang, and Wolffhart Westendorf, ed. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie 2* (Wiesbaden, 1977).
- Hellmann, Marie-Christine, and Antoine Hermary, "Inscriptions d'Amathonte III," *BCH* 104 (1980), 259–272.
- Henderson, Jeffrey, *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1991).
- Hendry, Michael, "A Coarse Pun in Homer? (*Il.* 15.467, 16.120)," *Mnemosyne* 50 (1977), 477–479.
- Herbert, James D., *Fauve Painting: The Making of Cultural Politics* (New Haven, 1992).
- Hermary, Antoine, *Amathonte 2: Testimonia 2, Les sculpture découvertes avant 1975* (Paris, 1981).
- Hermary, Antoine, "Divinités Chypriotes I," *RDAC* (1982), 164–173.
- Hermary, Antoine, "Un nouveau chapiteau Hathorique trouvé à Amathonte," *BCH* 109 (1985), 657–699.
- Hermary, Antoine, "Divinités chypriotes II," *RDAC* (1986), 164–172.
- Hermary, Antoine, *Catalogue des Antiquités de Chypre. Sculptures*, ed. Musée du Louvre, Département des antiquités orientales (Paris, 1989).
- Hermary, Antoine, *Amathonte 5: Les figurines en terre cuite archaïque et classiques. Les sculptures en pierres* (Athens, 2000).
- Hesberg, Henner von, "Archäologische Denkmäler zu den römischen Göttergestalten," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2, 17, 2 (1981), 1032–199.
- Hesberg, Henner von, "Les modèles des édifices funéraires en Italie. Leur message et leur réception," in *L'architecture funéraire monumentale. La Gaule dans l'Empire romain*, ed. Jean-Charles Moretti and Denis Tardy (Paris, 2006), 11–39.
- Hesiod: Theogony, Works and Days, Testimonia*, trans. Glenn Most (Cambridge, Mass., 2006).

- Hewitt, Joseph William, "The Major Restrictions on Access to Greek Temples," *TAPA* 40 (1909), 83–91.
- Heyne, Christian Gottlob, *Vergilii opéra*, rev. Georg P.E. Wagner, 4th ed. (Leipzig, 1830–1841).
- Hiller von Gaertringen, Friedrich, *Inschriften von Priene* (Berlin, 1906).
- Himmelmann, Nikolaus, *Reading Greek Art* (Princeton, 1998).
- Hinds, Stephen, *The Metamorphosis of Persephone: Ovid and the Self-conscious Muse* (Cambridge, Eng., 1987).
- Hodske, Jürgen, *Mythologische Bildthemen in den Häusern Pompejis* (Ruhpolding, 2007).
- Hoepfner, Wolfram, and Ernst-Ludwig Schwandner, "Kassope. Eine spätclassische Streifenstadt in Nordwestgriechenland," in *Geschichte des Wohnens 1: 5000 v. Chr.–500 nach Chr.*, ed. Wolfram Hoepfner et al. (Stuttgart, 1998), 368–383.
- Hölscher, Tonio, *Römische Bildsprache als semantisches System* (Heidelberg, 1987).
- Hölscher, Tonio, *Monumenti Statali e Pubblico*, trans. Lucia Scatozza Höricht and Franz Höricht (Rome, 1994).
- Hölscher, Tonio, *The Language of Images in Roman Art*, trans. Anthony Snodgrass and Annemarie Künzl-Snodgrass (Cambridge, Eng., 2004).
- Hoepfner, Wolfram, and Ernst-Ludwig Schwandner, "Kassope. Eine spätclassische Streifenstadt in Nordwestgriechenland," in *Geschichte des Wohnens 1: 5000 v. Chr.–500 nach Chr.*, ed. Wolfram Hoepfner et al. (Stuttgart, 1998), 368–383.
- Hoffner, Harry A., Jr., "The Elkunirsa Myth Reconsidered," *Revue hittite et asianique* 23 (1965), 5–16.
- Hoffner, Harry A., Jr., "Oil in Hittite Texts," *Biblical Archaeologist* 58 (1995), 108–114.
- Hoffner, Harry A., Jr., *Hittite Myths*, 2nd ed. (Atlanta, 1998).
- Hoffner, Harry A., Jr., and Irving L. Diamond, ed., *Perspectives on Hittite Civilization: Selected Writings of Hans Gustav Güterbock*. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago Assyriological Studies 26 (Chicago, 1997).
- Hoffner, Harry Angier, Jr., *The Laws of the Hittites: A Critical Edition* (Leiden, 1997).
- Holberton, Paul, "Botticelli's *Hypnerotomachia* in the National Gallery, London: A Problem of the Use of Classical Sources in Renaissance Art," *Illinois Classical Studies* 9 (1984), 149–182.
- Holleaux, Maurice, "Discours de Néron prononcé à Corinthe pour rendre aux grecs la liberté," *BCH* 12 (1888), 510–528.
- Homer, *Odyssey*, books 1–2, ed. and trans. A.T. Murray, rev. George E. Dimock (Cambridge, Mass., 1995).
- Homer, *Odyssey*, books 3–4, ed. and trans. A.T. Murray, rev. William F. Wyatt (Cambridge, Mass., 1999).
- Homer, *Odyssey*, books 1–13, comm. Alfred Heubeck, Stephanie West, and J.B. Hainsworth (Oxford, 1998).
- Homeric Hymns, Homeric Apocrypha, Lives of Homer*, ed. and trans. Martin L. West (Cambridge, Mass., 2003).

- Hornblower, Simon, *A Commentary on Thucydides*, vol. 1, books 1–3 (Oxford 1991).
- Horsfall, Nicholas, *Virgil, Aeneid 11: A Commentary* (Leiden, 2003).
- Hurschmann, Rolf, in *Brill's New Pauly: Antiquity*, ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmut Schneider (Leiden, 2009), s.v. "Kalathos." Brill Online (<http://www.brillonline.nl>).
- Hurschmann, Rolf, in *Brill's New Pauly: Antiquity*, ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmut Schneider (Leiden, 2009), s.v. "Polos." Brill Online (<http://www.brillonline.nl>).
- Hurwit, Jeffrey M., *The Athenian Acropolis: History, Mythology and Archaeology from the Neolithic Era to the Present* (Cambridge, Eng., 1999).
- Hyland, Drew A., *Plato and the Question of Beauty* (Indiana, 2008).
- Hyman, Timothy, *Bonnard* (London, 1998).
- Imhoof-Blumer, Friedrich, *Die Münzen Akarnaniens* (Vienna, 1878).
- Isager, Jacob, *Pliny on Art and Society, The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art* (London, 1991).
- Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, *Pompei, Pitture e mosaici*, 9 vols. (Rome, 1990–1999).
- Jaillard, Dominique, *Configurations d'Hermès. Une "théogonie hermaïque"*. *Kernos* Supplement 17 (Liege, 2007).
- James, Liz, *Women, Men and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium* (London, 1997).
- Janko, Richard, *The Iliad: A Commentary*, vol. 4, books 13–16 (Cambridge, Eng., 1992).
- Jentel, Marie-Odile, in *LIMC* 2 (1984), 154–170, s.v. "Aphrodite (in peripheria orientali)."
- Johansson, Göta, *The Making of a Goddess: Aphrodite in History, Art and Literature* (Lund, 2005).
- Jones, Christopher P., *Kinship Diplomacy in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999).
- Jost, Madeleine, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie. Études péloponnésienes* 9 (Paris, 1985).
- Jost, Madeleine, Jean Marcadé, et al., "Rites, cultes et religion. Le site de Lycosoura," *Ktèma* 33 (2008), 93–209.
- Judd, Eric, *What Aloe Is That?* (Cape Town, 1967).
- Judeich, Walther, *Topographie von Athen* (Munich, 1931).
- Jung, Helmut, *Thronende und sitzende Götter* (Bonn, 1982).
- Kadletz, Edward, "Pausanias 1.27.3 and the Route of the Arrephoroi," *AJA* 86 (1982), 445–446.
- Kaempf-Dimitriadou, Sophia, in *LIMC* 1 (1981), 724–735, s.v. "Amphitrite."
- Kahil, Lily, in *LIMC* 2 (1984), 618–753, s.v. "Artemis."
- Kalavrezou, Ioli, ed., *Byzantine Women and Their World* (New Haven, 2003).
- Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, Ioli, "The Cup of San Marco and the 'Classical' in Byzantium," in *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Kunst 800–1250. Festschrift für Florentine Mütterich zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Katharina Bierbrauer, Peter K. Klein, and Williband Sauerländer (Munich, 1985), 167–174.
- Kaplan, E. Ann, "Is the Gaze Male?" in *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*,

- ed. Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson (New York, 1983), 309–327.
- Karageorghis, Jacqueline, *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus 5: The Cypro-Archaic Period: Small Female Figurines B: Figurines moulées* (Nicosia, 1999).
- Karageorghis, Jacqueline, *Kypris: The Aphrodite of Cyprus: Ancient Sources and Archaeological Evidence* (Nicosia, 2005).
- Karageorghis, Vassos, *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus 2: Late Cypriote II–Cypro-Geometric III* (Nicosia, 1993).
- Karageorghis, Vassos, *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus 3: The Cypro-Archaic Period: Large and Medium Size Sculpture* (Nicosia, 1993).
- Karageorghis, Vassos, *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus 6: The Cypro-Archaic Period: Monsters, Animals and Miscellanea* (Nicosia, 1996).
- Karageorghis, Vassos, *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus 5: The Cypro-Archaic Period: Small Female Figurines A: Handmade / Wheelmade Figurines* (Nicosia, 1998).
- Karageorghis, Vassos, *Greek Gods and Heroes in Ancient Cyprus* (Athens, 1998).
- Karageorghis, Vassos, et al., *Ancient Art from Cyprus: The Cesnola Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 2000).
- Karageorghis, Vassos, et al., *Excavations at Kition 6: The Phoenician and Later Levels 2* (Nicosia, 2003).
- Karousou, Semni P., “Alkamenes und das Hephaisteion,” *AM* 69–70 (1954–1955), 67–94.
- Kassel, Rudolf, and Colin Austin, *Poetae Comici Graeci* 7 (Berlin, 1989).
- Katsikoudis, Nikolaos, “Die weibliche Statuette im archäologischen Museum von Arta Inv. 3086,” *AM* 120 (2005), 305–316.
- Kavvadias, Giorgos, *O ζωγράφος του Sabouroff* (Athens 2000).
- Kazhdan, Alexander, “Byzantine Hagiography and Sex in the Fifth to Twelfth Centuries,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990), 131–143.
- Kazhdan, Alexander P., and Ann Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley, 1985).
- Keaveney, Arthur, “Sulla and the Gods,” in *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History*, ed. Carl Deroux. Collection Latomus 180 (Brussels, 1983), 44–79.
- Keaveney, Arthur, *Sulla, the Last Republican* (London, 2005).
- Kedrenos, Georgios, *Historiarum Compendium* 1, ed. Immanuel Bekker (Bonn, 1838–1839).
- Keitz, Johann von, *De Aetolorum et Acarnanum sacris* (Halle, 1911).
- Kent, John P.C., and Kenneth S. Painter, ed., *Wealth of the Roman World: AD 300–700* (London, 1977).
- Kern, Otto, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Meander* (Berlin, 1900).
- Kirk, Geoffrey Stephen, *The Nature of Greek Myths* (Harmondsworth, 1974).
- Kirk, Geoffrey Stephen, *The Iliad: A Commentary* 2: Books 5–8 (Cambridge, Eng., 1990).
- Kirsten, Ernst, “Bericht über eine Reise in Aitolien und Akarnanien,” *AA* (Beiblatt) 56 (1941), 99–119.
- Kirsten, Ernst, in *Real-Encyclopädie des klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1, 39 (Stuttgart, 1941), 1297–1306, s.v. “Phystion (Nachtrag).”

- Klaffenbach, Günther, "Neue Inschriften aus Aitolien," *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin)* 27 (1936), 358–388.
- Kleiner, Diana E.E., and Susan B. Matheson, ed., *I, Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome* (New Haven, 1996).
- Knauer, Georg, *Die Aeneis und Homer* (Göttingen, 1964).
- Knigge, Ursula, "Ο αστήρ της Αφροδίτης," *AM* 97 (1982), 153–170.
- Kockel, Valentin, *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* 2, ed. Eva Margarete Steinby (Rome, 1995), 289–295, s.v. "Forum Augustum"
- Kolonas, Lazaros, "Επιφανειακή έρευνα στρατικής γης," *Αρχαιολογικον Δελτιον* 48 (1993 [1998]), 140–141.
- Kolonas, Lazaros, "Τα αγροτικά ιερά της Αιτωλοακαρνανίας," in *Β' Διεθνές Ιστορικό και Αρχαιολογικό Συνέδριο Αιτωλοακαρνανίας. Agrinio 29–31 March 2002*, vol. 1, ed. Athanasios Paliouras, Monika Diamanti, et al. (Agrinio 2004), 267–292.
- Koloski-Ostrow, Ann Olga, "Violent Stages in Two Pompeian Houses: Imperial Taste, Aristocratic Response, and Message of Male Control," in *Naked Truths*, ed. Koloski-Ostrow and Lyons, 243–266.
- Koloski-Ostrow, Ann Olga, and Claire L. Lyons, ed. *Naked Truths: Women, Sexuality and Gender in Classical Art and Archaeology* (London, 1997).
- Kondoleon, Christine, *Domestic and Divine: Roman Mosaics in the House of Dionysos* (Ithaca, 1994).
- Kondoleon Christine, "Timing Spectacles: Roman Domestic Art and Performance," in *The Art of Ancient Spectacle*, ed. Bettina Bergmann and Christine Kondoleon (Washington, D.C., 1999), 321–341.
- Körner, Hans, *Botticelli* (Cologne, 2006).
- Kosmopoulou, Angeliki, *The Iconography of Sculptured Statues Bases in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Madison, 2002).
- Kousser, Rachel, "The World of Aphrodite in Late Fifth Century Vase Painting," in *Greek Vases: Images, Contexts, and Controversies*, ed. Clemente Marconi. Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition (Leiden, 2004), 97–112.
- Kousser, Rachel, "Creating the Past: The Venus De Milo and the Hellenistic Reception of Classical Greece," *AJA* 109 (2005), 227–250.
- Kousser, Rachel, "Mythological Portraiture in Antonine Rome: The Performance of Myth," *AJA* 111 (2007), 673–691.
- Kousser, Rachel Meredith, *Hellenistic and Roman Ideal Sculpture: The Allure of the Classical* (Cambridge, Eng., 2008).
- Krauskopf, Ingrid, in *LIMC* 5 (1990), 796–799, s.v. "Ismene I."
- Kugener, Marc-Antoine, ed. and trans., *Vie de Sévère*. *Patrologia Orientalis* 2 (Paris, 1907).
- Künzl, Ernst, "Venus vor dem Bade, ein Neufund aus der Colonia Ulpia Traiana und Bemerkungen zum Typus der sandalenlösenden Venus," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 170 (1970), 102–162.
- Künzl, Ernst, "Aphrodite Untying Her Sandals: A Hellenistic Terracotta and a Roman Alabaster Statuette," *Sefunim* 8 (1994), 35–44.
- Kurke, Leslie, "Pindar and the Prostitutes, or Reading Ancient 'Pornography,'" in *Constructions of the Classical Body*, ed. James I. Porter (Ann Arbor, 1999 [2002]), 101–125.

- Kuttner, Ann, "Culture and History at Pompey's Museum," *TAPA* 129 (1999), 343–373.
- Kyriakidis, Evangelos, "In Search of Ritual' and 'Finding Ritual: Calibrating the Evidence," in *The Archaeology of Ritual*, ed. Evangelos Kyriakidis (Los Angeles, 2007), 1–22.
- Kyrieleis, Helmut, *Führer durch das Heraion von Samos* (Athens, 1981).
- Lafontaine-Dosogne, Jacqueline, ed., *The Survival of the Gods*, no. 37: *Splendeur de Byzance: 2 octobre–2 décembre 1982, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* (Bruxelles, 1982).
- Lambrechts-Noyen, Pierre, "Recherches sur la culte d'Atargatis dans le monde grec," *La Nouvelle Clío* 6 (1954), 258–277.
- Lanckoronski, Charles, *Städte Pamphylien und Pisidiens 2. Pisidien*, Prague, Vienne (Leipzig, 1892).
- Lapatin, Kenneth D.S., *Chryselephantine Statuary in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxford, 2001).
- La Rocca, Eugenio, "Il Programma Figurativo del Foro di Augusto," in *I Luoghi del Consenso Imperiale. Il Foro di Augusto, Il Foro di Traiano* 1, ed. Lucrezia Ungaro, Eugenio La Rocca, and Roberto Meneghini (Rome, 1995), 74–87.
- Laroche, E., *Catalogue des texts hittites* (Paris, 1971).
- Lauffer, Siegfried, ed., *Diokletians Preisedik* (Berlin, 1971).
- Lausberg, Marion, "Iliadisches im ersten Buch der *Aeneis*," *Gymnasium* 90 (1983), 203–239.
- Lefèvre, Eckard, *Plautus' Rudens* (Tübingen, 2006).
- Legrand, Émile, "Description des ouvres d'art et de l'église des Saints Apôtres de Constantinople, poème en vers iambiques par Constantine le Rhodien," *Revue des études grecques* 9 (1896), 32–65.
- Le Normand-Romain, Antoinette, "Rodin: 'The Lesson of Antiquity,'" in *Rodin*, ed. Mitchell, 145–159.
- Lenardon, Robert J., *The Saga of Themistocles* (London, 1978).
- Lenormant, Charles, and Jacques de Witte, *Élite des monuments céramographiques*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1844–1861).
- Lev Kenaan, Vered, *Pandora's Senses: The Feminine Character of the Ancient Text* (Madison, 2008).
- Levi, Doro, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1952).
- Lévy, Edmond, "Sondages à Lykosoura et date de Damophon," *BCH* 91 (1967), 518–545.
- Leyerle, Blake, *Theatrical Shows and Ascetic Lives: John Chrysostom's Attack on Spiritual Marriage* (Berkeley, 2001).
- Lezzi-Hafter, Adrienne, *Der Eretria-Maler. Werke und Weggefährten*. Kerameus 6 (Mainz, 1988).
- Liapis, Vayos, "Polyphemos' Throbbing πόδες: Theocritus *Idyll* 11.70–71," *Phoenix* 63 (2009), 156–170.
- The Life of Porphyry Bishop of Gaza by Mark the Deacon*, ed. and trans. G.F. Hill (Oxford, 1913).
- Lightbown, Ronald, *Sandro Botticelli: Life and Work* (London, 1989).
- Loeb, Ehud Herbert, *Die Geburt der Götter in der griechischen Kunst der klassischen Zeit* (Jerusalem, 1979).

- L'Orange, Hans Peter, "Le Statue di Marte e Venere nel Tempio di Marte Ultore sul Foro di Augusto," *Symbolae Osloenses* 11 (1932), 94–99.
- Loroux, Nicole, "Che cos'è una dea?" in *Storia delle donne in Occidente 1: L'Antichità*, ed. Pauline Schmitt-Pantel (Rome, 1989), 13–55.
- Loroux, Nicole, "What Is a Goddess?" in *A History of Women: From Ancient Goddesses to Christian Saints*, ed. Pauline Schmitt Pantel (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 11–44.
- Louden, Bruce, *The Iliad: Structure, Myth, and Meaning* (Baltimore, 2006).
- Love, Iris Cornelia, "A Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Knidos, 1970," *AJA* 76 (1972), 61–76.
- Love, Iris Cornelia, "A Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Knidos, 1972," *AJA* 77 (1973), 413–424.
- Loverdou-Tsigarida, Aikaterini, *Οστέινα Πλακίδια. Διακόσμηση ξύλινων Κιβωτιδίων από την Χριστιανική Αίγυπτο* (Athens, 2000).
- Lucian, "Herodotus or Aëtion," in *The Works of Lucian* 6, trans. K. Kilburn (London, 1959), 145–149.
- The Works of Lucian*, trans. and ed. Matthew Donald Macleod (London, 1961–1967).
- Lyne, R.O.A.M., *Further Voices in Vergil's Aeneid* (Oxford, 1987).
- Maass, Ernst, "Aphrodite und die heilige Pelagia," *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* 27 (1911), 457–468.
- Macdonald, William L., and John A. Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa and Its Legacy* (New Haven, 1995).
- Machaira, Vassiliki, *Les Groupes Statuaires d'Aphrodite et d'Eros* (Athens, 1993).
- McKinnon, James, "The Meaning of the Patristic Polemic against Musical Instruments," *Current Musicology* 1 (1965), 69–82.
- McPhee, Ian, and Elizabeth Pemberton, "Aphrodite on the Swan: A Red-Figured Vase in Avellino," in *Eumousia, Ceramic and Iconographic Studies in Honour of Alexander Cambitoglou*, ed. Jean-Paul Descoeudres. Mediterranean Archaeology Supplement 1 (Sydney, 1990), 25–29.
- Maiuri, Amedeo, *Nuova silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos* (Florence, 1925).
- Magoulias, Harry J., "Bathhouse, Inn, Tavern, Prostitution and the Stage as Seen in the Lives of the Saints of the Sixth and Seventh Centuries," *Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 38 (1971), 233–252.
- Maguire, Eunice Dauterman, and Henry Maguire, *Other Icons, Art and Power in Byzantine Secular Culture* (Princeton, 2007).
- Maguire, Henry, "The Art of Comparing in Byzantium," *Art Bulletin* 70 (1988), 88–103.
- Maguire, Henry, "Epigrams, Art, and the 'Macedonian Renaissance,'" *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 48 (1994), 105–115.
- Maguire, Henry, "Other Icons: The Classical Nude in Byzantine Bone and Ivory Carvings," *Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 62 (2004), 9–20.
- Maier, Franz G., and Vassos Karageorgis, *Paphos, History and Archeology* (Athens, 1984).
- Malalas, John, *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, ed. and trans. Elizabeth Jeffreys et al. *Byzantina Australiensia* 4 (Melbourne, 1986).

- Malkin, Irad, *The Returns of Odysseus: Colonization and Ethnicity* (Berkeley, 1998).
- Mango, Cyril, "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963), 55–75.
- Mango, Cyril, "Daily Life in Byzantium," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 31 (1981), 337–353.
- Mango, Cyril, "New Religion, Old Culture," in *The Oxford History of Byzantium*, ed. Cyril Mango (Oxford, 2002), 101–103.
- Mango, Cyril, Michael Vickers, and Eric D. Francis, "The Palace of Lausus at Constantinople and Its Collection of Ancient Statues," *Journal of the History of Collections* 4 (1992), 89–98.
- Mango, Marlia Mundell, *Silver from Early Byzantium: The Kaper Koraon and Related Treasures* (Baltimore, 1986).
- Marangou, Lila "Οστέινο ανάγλυφο Αφροδίτης από την Αίγυπτο," in *Κέρνος. Τιμητική προσφορά στον καθηγητή Γεώργιο Μπακαλάκη* (Thessaloniki, 1972), 84–95.
- Marangou, Lila, *Bone Carvings from Egypt 1: Graeco-Roman Period* (Tübingen, 1976).
- Marcadé, Jean, *Au Musée de Délos* (Paris, 1969).
- Marchetti, Patrick, and Kostas Kolokotsas, *Le nymphée de l'agora d'Argos. Fouille, étude architecturale et historique. Études péloponnésiennes* 11 (Paris, 1995).
- Marciano, M. Laura Gemelli, ed., *Kleine Schriften 2: Orientalia* (Göttingen, 2003).
- Marcovich, Miroslav, "From Ištar to Aphrodite," *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 30 (1996), 43–59.
- Marcus Diaconus, *Vita Porphyrii* 59–61, ed. Henri Grégoire and Marc-Antoine Kugener (Paris, 1930).
- Marrou, Henri I., *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1965).
- Martial, *Epigrams, Book 2*, ed. and trans. Craig A. Williams (Oxford, 2004).
- Martin, Hans Günter, "Die Tempelkultbilder," in *Kaiser Augustus Und Die Verlorene Republik* (Mainz, 1988), 251–263.
- Masson, Olivier, *Les Inscriptions Chypriques Syllabiques*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1983).
- Masson, Olivier, and Antoine Hermay, "Inscriptions d'Amathonte IV," *BCH* 106 (1982) 235–242.
- Medici, Lorenzo de', *Selected Poems and Prose*, trans. Jon Thiem et al. (University Park, 1991).
- Melville, Stephen, "The Temptation of New Perspectives," *October* 52 (1990), 3–15.
- Mercklin, Eugen von, *Antike Figuralkapitelle* (Berlin, 1962).
- Merkelbach, Reinhold, *Die Inschriften von Assos. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 4 (Bonn, 1976).
- Merker, Gloria, *Corinth* 8, 4: *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: Terracotta Figurines of the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods* (Princeton, 2000).
- Metzger, Henry, *Les représentations dans la céramique attique du IVe siècle* (Paris, 1951).
- Metzler, Dieter, "Mural Crowns in the Ancient Near East and Greece," in *An Obsession with Fortune: Tyche in Greek and Roman Art*, ed. Susan B. Math-

- eson, Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin 1994 (New Haven, 1994), 76–85.
- Michaelides, Demetrios, “A Decorated Mirror from Nea Paphos,” in *Engendering Aphrodite*, ed. Bolger and Serwint, 351–363.
- Miller, Jennifer Cinder Griffin, “Temple and statue: A Study of Practices in Ancient Greece” (PhD diss., Bryn Mawr, 1995).
- Miranda, E., “Osservazioni sul culto di euploia,” *Miscellanea Graeca et Romana* 14 (1989), 123–137.
- Mitchell, Claudine, “Rodin on Classical Art,” in *Rodin*, ed. Mitchell, 135–143.
- Mitchell, Claudine, ed., *Rodin: The Zola of Sculpture* (Aldershot, 2004).
- Mitchell, Lynette G., *Greeks Bearing Gifts: The Public Use of Private Relationships in the Greek World, 435–323 BC* (Cambridge, Eng., 1997).
- Mitford, Terence B., “Notes on Some Published Inscriptions from Roman Cyprus,” *BSA* 42 (1947), 201–230.
- Mitford, Terence B., “The Hellenistic Inscriptions of Old Paphos,” *BSA* 56 (1961), 1–41.
- Mollard-Besques, Simone, *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite grecs et romains 2: Myrina* (Paris, 1963).
- Möller, Astrid, *Naukratis: Trade in Archaic Greece* (Oxford, 2000).
- Momigliano, Arnaldo, “How to Reconcile Greeks and Trojans,” in *Settimo contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico*, ed. Arnaldo Momigliano (Rome, 1984), 437–462.
- Monloup, Thérèse, *Les terres cuites classiques. Un sanctuaire de la grande déesse. Salamine de Chypre* 14 (Paris, 1994).
- Montel, Sophie, “Recherches sur la présentation architecturale des groupes sculptés en Grèce ancienne” (PhD diss., University of Paris Ouest Nanterre – La Défense, Paris, 2008).
- Moor, Johannes C. de, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba‘lu*. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 16 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1971).
- Moore, Mary B., “Lydos and the Gigantomachy,” *AJA* 83 (1979), 79–99.
- Moore, Mary B., *Agora 30: Attic Red-Figured and White-Ground Pottery* (1997).
- Moreland, John, *Archaeology and Text* (London, 2001).
- Morselli, Chiara, in *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* 2, ed. Eva Margarete Steinby (Rome, 1995), 299–306, s.v. “Forum Iulium.”
- Mosser, Monique, Henri Lavagne, et al., ed., *Hadrien empereur et architecte. La Villa d’Hadrien, tradition et modernité d’un paysage culturel* (Geneva, 2002).
- Moustaka, Alikí, *Kult und Mythen auf thessalischen Münzen* (Würzburg, 1983).
- Muecke, Douglas C., *Irony and the Ironic* (London, 1982).
- Muecke, Frances, “Foreshadowing and Dramatic Irony in the Story of Dido,” *American Journal of Philology* 104 (1983), 134–155.
- Muller-Dufeu, Marion, *La Sculpture grecque. Sources littéraires et épigraphiques* (Paris, 2002).
- Mulvey, Laura, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” *Screen* 16.3 (1975), 6–18.
- Munro, J. Arthur R., “Excavations in Cyprus. Third Season’s work. Polis tes Chrysochou,” *JHS* 12 (1891), 298–333.
- Mylonopoulos, Joannis, *Πελοπόννησος οικήτηριον Ποσειδῶνος. Heiligtümer*

- und Kulte des Poseidon auf der Peloponnes*, Kernos Supplement 13 (Liege, 2003).
- Myres, John L., "The Black Stone on the Site of the Paphian Temple at Kouklia," *BSA* 41 (1946), 97–98.
- Nagel, Alexander, "Searching for the Gods at Ancient Akarnania: New Evidence from a Ritual Deposit near Stratos," *Anodos: Studies of the Ancient World* 6–7 (2006–2007 [2010]), 289–297.
- Nagel, Alexander, "Retrospectives and Perspectives: The Present State of Research on Terracotta Figurines from a Votive Bothros in Stratos, Greece," in *Figurines de terre cuite en Méditerranée orientale grecque et romaine. Production et Diffusion, Iconographie et Fonction. Colloque international, 2–6 juin 2007 Izmir, Turquie*, ed. Ergün Lafli and Arthur Muller (Athens, forthcoming [2010]).
- Nagel, Alexander, "This Cult Stops Here: Interpreting a Ritual Deposit from Ancient Stratos, Akarnania," in *Defining and Interpreting Ancient Greek Cult Deposits: Proceedings from an International Workshop Held at Ancient Olympia, October 24–27, 2008*, ed. Susanne Bocher, Petra Pakkanen, et al. (Athens, forthcoming [2010]).
- Nardini, L., and B.S. Buonaiuti, ed., *Risorgimento della Poesia Italiana dopo il Petrarca, ovvero Saggi di poesie toscane del secolo di Lorenzo dei Medici* (London, 1813).
- Neer, Richard, "The Athenian Treasury at Delphi and the Material of Politics," *Classical Antiquity* 23 (2004), 63–93.
- Neils, Jenifer, "A Greek Nativity by the Meidias Painter," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 70 (1983), 274–289.
- Nelis, Damien, *Virgil's Aeneid and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius* (Leeds, 2001).
- Neumer-Pfau, Wiltrud, *Studien zur Ikonographie und gesellschaftlichen Function Hellenistischer Aphrodite-Statuen* (Bonn, 1982).
- Newman, Sasha, ed., *Bonnard* (Washington, 1984).
- Nicol, Donald M., "The Oracle of Dodona," *Greece and Rome* 5 (1958), 128–143.
- Nicolaou, Ino, "Evidence for the Cult of Cybele in Cyprus," in *Studies Presented in Memory of Prophyrios Dikaïos*, ed. Vassos Karageorghis et al. (Nicosia, 1979), 169–177.
- Nochlin, Linda, *The Body in Pieces: The Fragment as a Metaphor of Modernity No* (London, 1994).
- Nochlin, Linda, *Bathers, Bodies, Beauty: The Visceral Eye* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006).
- Nock, A.D., "Notes on Ruler-Cult, I–IV," *JHS* 48 (1928), 21–43.
- Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, trans. William Henry Denham Rouse (Cambridge, Mass., 1962).
- Oakley, John, *Picturing Death in Classical Athens: The Evidence of the White Lekythoi* (Cambridge, Eng., 2004).
- Oberhummer, Eugen, *Akarnanien, Ambrakia. Amphilokia, Leukas im Altertum* (Munich, 1887).
- Ogden, Daniel, ed. *A Companion to Greek Religion* (Malden, 2007).

- Ögün, Baki, and Cengiz Işık, *Kaunos-Kbid: The Results of 35 Years of Research (1966–2001)* (Izmir, 2003).
- Ohnefalsch-Richter, Max, *Kypros, die Bibel und Homer* (Berlin, 1893).
- Ohnefalsch-Richter, Max H., *Kypros, the Bible and Homer: Oriental Civilization, Art and Religion in Ancient Times* (London, 1893).
- Olender, Maurice, "Aspects of Baubo: Ancient Texts and Contexts," in *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. David M. Halperin, John J. Winkler, and Froma I. Zeitlin (Princeton, 1991), 83–114.
- Olmos, Ricardo Romera, *Catálogo de los vasos griegos del Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes de La Habana* (Madrid, 1993).
- Olovsdotter, Cecilia, *The Consular Image: An Iconological Study of the Consular Diptychs*. BAR International Series 1376 (Oxford, 2005).
- Opper, Thorsten, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict* (Cambridge, Mass., 2008).
- Ortolani, Giorgio, *Il padiglione di Afrodite Cnidia a Villa Adriana: progetto e significato* (Rome, 1998).
- Osanna, Massimo, "Il problema topografico del santuario di Afrodite Urania nell'Agora di Atene," *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene* 66–67 (1988–1989), 73–95.
- Osborne, Robin, *Greece in the Making 1200–479 BC* (London, 1996).
- Otis, Brooks, *Virgil: A Study in Civilised Poetry* (Oxford, 1964).
- Otten, Heinrich, "Ein kanaanäischer Mythos aus Boğazköy," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientalforschung* 1 (1953), 125–150.
- Otten, Heinrich, "Kanaanäische Mythen aus Hattusa-Boğazköy," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft zu Berlin* 85 (1953), 27–38.
- Ousby, Ian, *The Cambridge Paperback Guide to Literature in English* (Cambridge, Eng., 1996).
- Ovid, *Amores*, ed. Grant Showerman (London, 1963).
- Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, trans. John. Henry Mozley (London, 1962).
- Ovid, *Fasti*, trans. James George Frazer (Cambridge, Mass., 1932).
- Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Frank J. Miller (Cambridge, Mass., 1956).
- Özgan, Ramazan, "1989 Knidos Kazisi," *Kazi Sonuclari Toplantasi* 12 (1990), 57–61.
- Özgan, Ramazan, "1990 Knidos Kazisi," *Kazi Sonuclari Toplantasi* 13 (1991), 171–177.
- Page, Denys L., *Further Greek Epigrams* (Cambridge, Eng., 1981).
- Papadopoulos, John, "Archaeology, Myth-History and the Tyranny of the Text: Chalkidike, Torone and Thucydides," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 18 (1999), 377–394.
- Papagiannaki, Anthousa, "The Production of Middle Byzantine Ivory, Bone, and Wooden Caskets with Secular Decoration," 3 vols. (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 2006).
- Parke, Herbert William, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London, 1977).
- Parker, Robert, "Myths of Early Athens," in *Interpretations of Greek Mythology*, ed. Jan Bremmer (London, 1987), 187–214.
- Parker, Robert, *Athenian Religion: A History* (Oxford, 1996).
- Parker, Robert, "Gods Cruel and Kind: Tragic and Civic Theology," in *Greek*

- Tragedy and the Historian*, ed. Christopher B.R. Pelling (Oxford, 1997), 143–160.
- Parker, Robert, “The Cult of Aphrodite Pandamos and Pontia at Cos,” in *Kykeon: Studies in Honour of H.S. Versnel*, ed. H.F.J. Horstmannshoff et al. (Leiden, 2002), 143–160.
- Parker, Robert, *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (Oxford, 2005).
- Parker, Robert, and Dirk Obbink, “Aus der Arbeit der ‘Inscriptiones Graecae’ VI. Sales of Priesthoods on Cos I,” *Chiron* 30 (2000), 419–429.
- Pasquier, Alain, and Jean-Luc Martinez, ed., *Praxitèle* (Paris, 2007).
- Patrologia Graeca*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris, 1844–1880).
- Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, trans. James George Frazer (London, 1913).
- Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, trans. W.H.S. Jones (London, 1969).
- Peek, W., “Attische Inschriften,” *AM* 67 (1942), 1–217.
- Pelagatti, Paola, “Naxos—Relazione Preliminare delle Campagne di Scavo 1961–1964,” *Bollettino d’Arte* 49 (1964), 149–165.
- Pelekanides, Stylianos, et al., *The Treasures of Mount Athos* 2 (Athens, 1975).
- Penglase, Charles, *Greek Myths and Mesopotamia: Parallels and Influence in the Homeric Hymns and Hesiod* (London, 1994).
- Peppas-Delmousou, Dina, “A Statue Base for Augustus, IG II² 3262 + IG II² 4725,” *American Journal of Philology* 100 (1979), 125–132.
- Perkell, Christine, “Aeneid 1: An Epic Programme,” in *Reading Vergil’s Aeneid: An Interpretive Guide*, ed. Christine Perkell (Norman, 1999), 29–49.
- Petrakos, Vasileios, *Ὁ Δῆμος τοῦ Ῥαμνοῦντος*, 2 vols. (Athens, 1999).
- Picard, Gilbert Charles, et al., *Recherches archéologiques franco-tunisiennes à Mactar, 1: La maison de Vénus 1: Statigraphie et étude des pavements* (Rome, 1977), 18–23.
- Pietrogrande, A.L., “Gruppo statuario cirenaico di Aphrodite con Tritone,” *Africa Italiana* 2 (1928–1929), 173–186.
- Pirenne-Delforge, Vinciane, *L’Aphrodite grecque. Contribution à l’étude de ses cultes et de sa personnalité dans le panthéon archaïque et classique*. Kernos Supplement 4 (Liege, 1994).
- Pirenne-Delforge, Vinciane, “Les Charites à Athènes et dans l’île de Cos,” *Kernos* 9 (1996), 195–214.
- Pirenne-Delforge, Vinciane, “La genèse de l’Aphrodite grecque. Le ‘dossier crétois,’” in *La questione delle influenze vicino-orientali sulla religione greca*, ed. Sergio Ribichini, Maria Rocchi, and Paolo Xella (Rome, 2001), 169–187.
- Pirenne-Delforge, Vinciane, “Qui est la Kourotrophos athénienne?” in *Naissance et petite enfance dans l’Antiquité. Actes du colloque de Fribourg, 28 novembre–1er décembre 2001*, ed. Véronique Dasen (Fribourg, 2004), 171–185.
- Pirenne-Delforge, Vinciane, “Des épiclèses exclusives dans la Grèce polythéiste? L’exemple d’Ourania,” in *Nommer les dieux. Théonymes, épithètes, épiclèses dans l’antiquité*, ed. Nicole Belayche et al. (Turnhout, 2005), 271–320.
- Pirenne-Delforge, Vinciane, “Something to Do with Aphrodite: *Ta aphrodisia* and the sacred,” in *A Companion*, ed. Ogden, 311–323.
- Pironti, Gabriella, “Aphrodite dans le domaine d’Arès,” *Kernos* 18 (2005), 167–184.
- Pironti, Gabriella, “Au nom d’Aphrodite: réflexions sur la figure et le nom de

- la déesse née de l'*aphros*," in *Nommer les dieux*, ed. Nicole Belayche et al. (Turnhout, 2005), 129–142.
- Pironti, Gabriella, *Entre ciel et guerre. Figures d'Aphrodite en Grèce ancienne*. Kernos Supplement 18 (Liège, 2007).
- Pironti, Gabriella, *Hésiode. Théogonie*. Classiques en poche 88 (Paris, 2008).
- Plato, *Symposium*, trans. Alexander Nehamas and Paul Woodruff (Indianapolis, 1989).
- Platt, Verity, "Viewing, Desiring, Believing: Confronting the Divine in a Pompeian House," *Art History* 25 (2002), 87–112.
- Plautus, *The Little Carthaginian*, trans. Paul Nixon (London, 1965).
- Pliny the Elder, *Natural History, Libri 3–7*, trans. and ed. Horace Rackham (London, 1961).
- Pliny the Elder, *Natural History, Libri 36–37*, trans. and ed. D.E. Eichholz (London, 1962).
- Pobjoy, Mark, "Dido on the Tragic Stage: An Invitation to the Theatre of Carthage," in *A Woman Scorn'd: Responses to the Dido Myth*, ed. Michael Burden (London, 1998), 41–64.
- Poliziano, Angelo, *The Stanze*, trans. David Quint (University Park, 1993).
- Pollitt, Jerome J., *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge, Eng., 1986).
- Pope, Marvin H., *El in the Ugaritic Texts* (Leiden, 1955).
- Pouilloux, Jean, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos 1: De la fondation de la cité à 196 avant J.-C. Études thasiennes 3* (Paris, 1954).
- Pouilloux, Jean, *Fouilles de Delphes 3, 4* (Paris, 1976).
- Preger, Theodor, ed., *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum* (Leipzig, 1901; repr. 1989).
- Preissel, Ulrike, *Brugmansia and Datura: Angel's Trumpets and Thorn Apples* (Willowdale, 2002).
- Pritchard, James B., ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 2nd ed. (Princeton, 1955).
- Prittwitz Gaffron, Hans, "Aphrodite von ihrer schönsten Seite," in *Mouseion. Beiträge zur antiken Plastik. Festschrift für Peter Cornelius Bol*, ed. Hans von Steuben, Götz Lahusen, and Haritini Kotsidou (Möhnesee, 2007), 255–260.
- Prittwitz und Gaffron, Hans-Hoyer von, *Der Wandel der Aphrodite. Archäologische Studien zu weiblichen halbbekleideten Statuetten des späten Hellenismus* (Bonn, 1988).
- Prittwitz und Gaffron, Hans-Hoyer von, *Das Wrack. Der antike Schiffsfund von Mahdia*, ed. Gisela Hellenkemper Salies (Cologne, 1994).
- Rabinowitz, Nancy Sorkin, and Amy Richlin, ed., *Feminist Theory and the Classics* (New York, 1993).
- Randall, Richard H., Jr., *Masterpieces of Ivory from the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1985).
- Ravel, Oscar, *The "Colts" of Ambrakia* (New York, 1928).
- Reckford, Kenneth, "Recognizing Venus (I): Aeneas Meets His Mother," *Arion* 3 (1995), 1–42.
- Redford, Donald B., "The Sea and the Goddess," in *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim 2*, ed. Sarah Israelit-Groll (Jerusalem, 1990), 824–835.

- Reed, Jane Davidson, *The Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts, 1300–1990s*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1993).
- Reinach, Salomon, “Courrier de l’art Antique,” *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 1 (1909), 183–203.
- Reynolds, Joyce, *Aphrodisias and Rome: Documents from the Excavation of the Theatre at Aphrodisias Conducted by Kenan T. Erim, together with Some Related Texts*. Journal of Roman Studies Monographs 1 (London, 1982).
- Reynolds, Joyce, “Further Information on Imperial Cult at Aphrodisias,” *Studii clasice. Societateade studii clasice din Republica Socialista România* 24 (1986), 109–117.
- Reynolds, Joyce M., “The Origins and Beginning of Imperial Cult at Aphrodisias,” *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 206 (1980), 70–84.
- Reynolds, Tom, ed., *Aloes: The Genus Aloe* (Boca Raton, 2004).
- Richlin, Amy, *The Garden of Priapus: Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor* (New York, 1992).
- Richter, Gisela M.A., *Engraved Gems of the Greeks and the Etruscans* (London, 1968–1971).
- Rives, James, “Venus Genetrix outside Rome,” *Phoenix* 48 (1994), 294–306.
- Robert, Louis, “Notes d’épigraphie hellénistiques. XXXI. Inscription de Cyzique,” *BCH* 52 (1928), 434–438.
- Robin, Diana, “Film Theory and Gendered Voice in Seneca,” in *Feminist Theory and the Classics*, ed. Rabinowitz and Richlin, 102–121.
- Rodin, Auguste, “The Lesson of Antiquity,” in *Rodin*, ed. Mitchell, 141–143.
- Rodziewicz, Elzbieta, *Bone and Ivory Carvings from Alexandria: French Excavations 1992–2004* (Cairo, 2007).
- Rolland, Henri, and Julien Bruchet, *Le Mausolée de Glanum (Saint-Rémy-de-Provence)*. Gallia Supplément 21 (Paris, 1969).
- Rosenzweig, Rachel, *Worshipping Aphrodite: Art and Cult in Classical Athens* (Ann Arbor, 2004).
- Ross, Marvin C., with an addendum by Susan A. Boyd, and Stephen R. Zwirn, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection 2: Jewelry, Enamels, and Art of the Migration Period* (Washington, D.C., 2005).
- Roux, Georges, *L’architecture de l’Argolide aux IV^e et III^e siècles av. J.-C.* (Paris, 1961).
- Rubin, Patricia, “The Seductions of Antiquity,” in *Manifestations of Venus: Art and Sexuality*, ed. Caroline Arscott and Katie Scott (Manchester, 2000), 24–38.
- Rudhardt, Jean, *Le rôle d’Éros et d’Aphrodite dans les cosmogonies grecque* (Paris, 1986).
- Rudhardt, Jean, *Notions fondamentales de la pensée religieuse et actes constitutifs du culte en Grèce classique*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1992).
- Rutherford, Ian, “The Song of the Sea (ŠA A.AB.BA ŠĪR): Thoughts on KUB 45.63,” in *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie, Würzburg, 4.–8. Oktober 1999*, ed. G. Wilhelm. Studien zu den Bogazkoy-Texten 45 (Wiesbaden, 2001), 598–609.

- Sainte-Beuve, Charles Augustin, *Etude sur Virgile* (Paris, 1857).
- Sale, William, "Aphrodite in the *Theogony*," *TAPA* 92 (1961), 508–521.
- Salomon, Nanette, "Making a World of Difference: Gender, Asymmetry, and the Greek Nude," in *Naked Truths*, ed. Koloski-Ostrow and Lyons, 197–219.
- Sandberg, Nils, *Euploia. Études épigraphiques*. Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis 60, 8 (Göteborg, 1954).
- Sanzi di Mino, Maria Rita, ed., *La Villa della Farnesina in Palazzo Massimo alle Terme* (Rome, 1998).
- Schefold, Karl, *Die Göttersage in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (Munich, 1981).
- Schilling, Robert, *La Religion Romaine de Vénus depuis les Origines jusqu'au Temps d'Auguste*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1982).
- Schindler, Rebecca, "The Archaeology of Aphrodite in the Greek West: Ca. 650–480 BC" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1998).
- Schleif, Hans, ed., *Das Philippeion. Das Nymphaeum des Herodes Attikos. Grossgriechische Daschterrakotten. Angriffswaffen. Eisengerät*. Olympische Forschungen 1 (Berlin, 1944).
- Schmidt, Evamaria, in *LIMC* 8 (1997), 192–230, s.v. "Venus."
- Scholtz, Andrew, "Aphrodite Pandemos at Naukratis," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 43 (2003), 231–242.
- Scranton, Robert L., *Corinth 1, 3: Monuments in the Lower Agora and North of the Archaic Temple* (Princeton, 1951).
- Seaford, Richard, *Dionysos* (London, 2006).
- Seaman, Kristen, "Retrieving the Original Aphrodite of Knidos," *Atti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 9 (2004), 531–594.
- Segal, Charles P., "Art and the Hero: Participation, Detachment and Narrative Point of View in the *Aeneid*," *Arethusa* 14 (1981), 67–83.
- Segal, Charles, "Philomela's Web and the Pleasures of the Text: Reader and Violence in the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid," in *Modern Critical Theory and Classical Literature*, ed. Irene J.F. DeJong and John Patrick Sullivan (Leiden, 1994), 258–280.
- Segal, Erich, ed., *Oxford Readings in Menander, Plautus, and Terence* (Oxford, 2006).
- Segre, Mario, *Iscrizioni di Cos* (Rome, 1993).
- Sellers, Eugenie, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art* (Chicago, 1976).
- Senff, Reinhard, "Das Aphroditeheiligtum von Milet," in *Neue Forschungen zur Religionsgeschichte Kleinasiens*, ed. Gudrun Heedemann. Asia Minor Studien 49 (Berlin, 2003), 11–25.
- Serwint, Nancy, "The Terracotta Sculpture from Marion," in *Cypriote Terracottas: Proceedings of the First International Conference of Cypriote Studies, Brussels-Liège-Amsterdam, 29 May–1 June 1989*, ed. Frieda Vandenabeele and Robert Laffineur (Brussels, 1991), 213–219.
- Serwint, Nancy, "An Aphrodite and Eros Statue from Ancient Marion," *RDAC* (1993), 207–217.

- Serwint, Nancy, "Aphrodite and Her Near Eastern Sisters: Spheres of Influence," in *Engendering Aphrodite*, ed. Bolger and Serwint, 325–350.
- Seyrig, Henri, "Inscriptions de Chypre," *BCH* 51 (1927), 151–153.
- Seyrig, Henri, "Un sanctuaire d'Atargatis dans les montagnes d'Étolie," *Syria* 13 (1932), 313–314.
- Shapiro, Harvey A., *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens* (Mainz, 1989).
- Sharrock, Allison R., "Looking at Looking: Can You Resist a Reading?" in *The Roman Gaze: Vision, Power and the Body*, ed. David Fredrick (Baltimore, 2002), 265–295.
- Shelton, Kathleen, *The Esquiline Treasure* (London, 1981).
- Simon, Erika, *Die Geburt der Aphrodite* (Berlin, 1959).
- Simon, Erika, "Nonnos und das Elfenbeinkästchen aus Veroli," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 79 (1964), 324–330.
- Simon, Erika, *Festivals of Attica; An Archaeological Commentary* (Madison, 1983).
- Simon, Erika, *Die Götter der Griechen*, 3rd ed. (Munich, 1985).
- Simon, Erika, in *LIMC* 7 (1994), 446–479, s.v. "Poseidon."
- Simon, Erika, "Theseus and Athenian festivals," in *Worshipping Athena, Panathenaia and Parthenon*, ed. Jenifer Neils (Madison, 1996), 9–26.
- Simon, Erika, in *LIMC* 8 (1997), 744–766, s.v. "Kybele."
- Singer, Itamar, "Oil in Anatolia according to Hittite Texts," in *Olive Oil in Antiquity: Israel and Neighboring Countries from Neolith to Early Arab Period*, ed. Michael Heltzer and David Eitam (Haifa, 1987), 183–186.
- Singer, Itamar, "The Origins of the 'Canaanite' Myth of Elkunirša and Ašertu Reconsidered," in *Tabularia Hethaeorum. Hethitologische Beiträge. Silvin Košak zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Detlev von Groddek and Marina Zorman (Wiesbaden, 2007), 631–642.
- Singer, Itamar, "Purple-Dyers in Lazpa," *Anatolian Interfaces: Hittites, Greeks and Their Neighbours: Proceedings of an International Conference on Cross-Cultural Interaction, September 17–19, 2004, Emory University, Atlanta, GA*, ed. Billie Jean Collins, Mary R. Bachvarova, and Ian C. Rutherford (Oxford, 2008), 21–43.
- Sissa, Giulia, and Marcel Detienne, *The Daily Life of the Greek Gods* (Stanford, 2000).
- Skutsch, Otto, *The Annals of Quintus Ennius* (Oxford, 1985).
- Smith, Amy C., "Political Personifications in Classical Athenian Art" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1997).
- Smith, Amy C., "The Politics of Weddings at Athens: An Iconographic Assessment," *Leeds International Classical Studies* 4, no. 1 (2005), 1–32 (online at <http://www.leeds.ac.uk/classics/lics/2005/200501.pdf>).
- Smith, Cecil, "The Exhibition of Greek Art at the Burlington Fine Arts Club," *The Burlington Magazine* 2 (1903), 236–255.
- Smith, Derek R., "New Evidence for the Identification of Aphrodite on Staters of Corinth," *Numismatic Chronicle* 165 (2005), 41–43.
- Sokolowski, Franciszek, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1955).
- Sokolowski, Franciszek, "Aphrodite as Guardian of Greek Magistrates," *Harvard Theological Review* 57 (1964), 1–8.

- Solima, Isabella, "Era, Artemide e Afrodite in Magna Grecia. Dee armate o dee belliche?" *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 110 (1998), 381–417.
- Sommer, Ferdinand, "Aḥḥijava und kein Ende?" *Indogermanische Forschungen* 55 (1937), 169–297.
- Sophocleous, Sophocles, *Atlas des représentations Chypro-Archaïque de divinités* (Göteborg, 1985).
- Sourvinou-Inwood, Christiane, "Persephone and Aphrodite at Locri: A Model for Personality Definitions in Greek Religion," *JHS* 98 (1978), 101–121 [= Sourvinou-Inwood (1991), 147–188].
- Sourvinou-Inwood, Christiane, "What Is Polis Religion?" in *The Greek City: From Homer to Alexander*, ed. Osywn Murray and Simon Price (Oxford, 1990), 295–322.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, Christiane, *"Reading" Greek Culture: Texts and Images, Rituals and Myths* (Oxford, 1991).
- Sourvinou-Inwood, Christiane, *Tragedy and Athenian Religion* (Lanham, 2003).
- Sowa, Cora A., *Traditional Themes and the Homeric Hymns* (Chicago, 1984).
- Sox, H. David, *Bachelors of Art: Edward Perry Warren and the Lewis House Bachelors* (London, 1991).
- Speidel, Michael, "Venus Victrix—Roman and Oriental," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2, 17, 4 (1984), 2225–2238.
- Spivey, Nigel, *Understanding Greek Sculpture: Ancient Meanings, Modern Readings* (London, 1997).
- Stanford, William B., *Ambiguity in Greek Literature* (Oxford, 1939).
- Stewart, Andrew, *Art, Desire and the Body in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, Eng., 1997).
- Steiner, Deborah Tarn, *Images in Mind: Statues in Archaic and Classical Greek Literature and Thought* (Princeton, 2001).
- Steinhauer, Georgios, "La restauration du monument funéraire de Kallithéa," in *Colloque International d'Archéologie Funéraire (2000)*, ed. Vasilica Lungu (Tulcea, 2006), 145–150.
- Stemp, Richard, *The Secret Language of the Renaissance* (London, 2006).
- Stewart, Andrew, *Faces of Power* (Berkeley, 1994).
- Stewart, Andrew, *Art, Desire and the Body in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, Eng., 1997).
- Strauss Clay, Jenny, *The Politics of Olympus: Form and Meaning in the Major Homeric Hymns* (Princeton, 2006).
- Suter, Ann, "Aphrodite/Paris/Helen: A Vedic Myth in the *Iliad*," *TAPA* 117 (1987), 51–58.
- Syme, Ronald, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford, 1960).
- Tanner, Jeremy, *The invention of Art History in Classical Greece: Religion, Society and Artistic Rationalisation* (Cambridge, Eng., 2006).
- Temelini, Mark A., "Pompey's Politics and the Presentation of His Theater-Temple Complex, 61–52 BCE," *Studia Humaniora Tartuensia* 7, section A, no. 4 (2006), 1–14.
- Terrasse, Antoine, *Bonnard Nus*. *Petite Encyclopédie de l'art* 97 (Paris, 1970).

- Themelis, Petros, "Damophon von Messene. Sein Werk im Lichte der Neuen Ausgrabungen," *Antike Kunst* 36 (1993), 24–50.
- Themelis, Petros, "Damophon of Messene: New Evidence," in *Archaeology in the Peloponnese: New Excavations and Research*, ed. Kenneth Sheedy (Athens, 1994), 1–38.
- Themelis, Petros, "Damophon," in *Personal Styles in Greek Sculpture*, ed. Olga Palagia and Jerome J. Pollitt (Cambridge, Eng., 1996), 154–185.
- Themelis, Petros, *Heroes at Ancient Messene* (Athens, 2003).
- Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants* 2, trans. Arthur Hort (Cambridge, Mass., 1980).
- Thompson, Dorothy Burr, "A Dove for Dione," in *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture and Topography Presented to Homer A. Thompson*. Hesperia Supplement 20 (Princeton, 1982), 155–219.
- Tinkle, Theresa, *Medieval Venuses and Cupids: Sexuality, Hermeneutics, and English Poetry* (Stanford, 1996).
- Tilley, Christopher, *Material Culture and Text: The Art of Ambiguity* (London, 1991).
- Toorn, Karel van der, ed., *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, 2nd rev. ed. (Leiden, 1999).
- Torelli, Mario, and Theodoros Mavrogiannis, *Grecia. Guide Archeologiche Mondadori* (Milan, 1997).
- Travlos, John, *Bidlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Attika* (Tübingen, 1988).
- Tsouvara-Souli, Chryseis, *Η λατρεία των γυναικείων θεοτήτων εις την αρχαίαν Ήπειρον* (Ioannina, 1979).
- Tsouvara-Souli, Chryseis, *Αμβρακία* (Arta, 1992).
- Tsouvara-Souli, Chryseis, "Common Cults in Epirus and Albania," in *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'Antiquité. Actes du IIe Colloque international de Clermont-Ferrand, 25–27 Octobre 1990*, ed. Pierre Cabanes (Paris, 1993), 69–76.
- Tsouvara-Souli, Chryseis, "Λατρείες στην Κασσώπη," in *Φηγος. Τμητικός Τόμος για τον καθηγητή Σοτήρη Δάκαρη*, ed. Sotiris Dakaris (Ioannina, 1994), 107–135.
- Tsouvara-Souli, Chryseis, "The Cults of Apollo in Northwestern Greece," in *Foundation and Destruction: Nikopolis and Northwestern Greece*, ed. Jacob Isager (Aarhus, 2001), 233–255.
- Ühlinger, Christoph, in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 9, ed. Dietz O. Edzard (Berlin, 2001), 53–64, s.v. "Nackte Göttin / Naked Goddess."
- Ulbrich, Anja, *Kypris. Heiligtümer und Kulte weibliche Gottheiten auf Zypern während der kyproarchaischen und kyproklassischen Epoche*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 44 (Münster, 2008).
- Ungersma, Joan, *Aesthete and Anarchist in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (New Haven, 1988).
- Ustinova, Yulia, "Aphrodite Ourania of the Bosphorus: The Great Goddess of a Frontier Pantheon," *Kernos* 11 (1998), 209–226.
- Ustinova, Yulia, *The Supreme Gods of the Bosphoran Kingdom: Celestial Aphrodite and the Most High God*. Religions of the Graeco-Roman World 135 (Leiden, 1999).

- Vahlen, Johannes, *Ennianae poesis reliquiae* (Leipzig, 1903).
- Valdés, Miriam, *El papel de Afrodita en el alto arcaísmo griego. Política, guerra, matrimonio e iniciación*. Polifemo suplemento 2 (Messina, 2005).
- Vasari, Giorgio, *Lives of the Artists*, trans. George Bull (Harmondsworth, 1965).
- Vernant, Jean-Pierre, *Problèmes de la guerre en Grèce ancienne* (Paris, 1968).
- Vernant, Jean-Pierre, *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs* (Paris, 1969).
- Vernant, Jean-Pierre, *Mythe et société en Grèce ancienne* (Paris, 1974).
- Vernant, Jean-Pierre, "One ... Two ... Three: Eros," in *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. Donald M. Halperin, John J. Winkler, and Froma I. Zeitlin (Princeton, 1990), 465–478.
- Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, trans. and ed. Frank Granger (Cambridge, Mass., 1962).
- Volbach, Wolfgang F., *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters* (Mainz, 1976).
- Von Eickstedt, Klaus Valtin, *Beiträge zur Topographie des antiken Piräus* (Athens, 1991).
- Voss, M. Heerma van, in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, ed. Karel van der Toorn, 2nd rev. ed. (Leiden, 1999), 385–386, s.v. "Hathor".
- Waelkens, Marc, and Jeroen Poblome, *Sagalassos 2: Report on the Third Excavation Campaign for 1992* (Leuven, 1993).
- Wagstaff, D. Jesse, *International Poisonous Plants Checklist: An Evidence-Based Reference* (Boca Raton, 2008).
- Walker, Henry J., *Theseus and Athens* (Oxford, 1995).
- Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew, "Rome's Cultural Revolution," *Journal of Roman Studies* 79 (1989), 157–164.
- Wallensten, Jenny, "ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΑΡΕΑΣ: A Study of Dedications to Aphrodite from Greek Magistrates" (PhD diss., Lund University, 2003).
- Walter, Hans, *Ägina. Die archäologische Geschichte einer griechischen Insel* (Munich, 1993).
- Warrior, Valerie M., *Roman Religion* (Cambridge, Eng., 2006).
- Watkins, Calvert, *How to Kill a Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics* (New York, 1995).
- Watson, Wilfred G.E., "The Goddesses of Ugarit: A Survey," *Studi epigrafici e linguistici* 10 (1993), 47–59.
- Watzinger, Carl, "Vasenfunde aus Athen," *AM* 26 (1901), 50–102.
- Webb, Ruth, "Salome's Sisters: The Rhetoric and Realities of Dance in Late Antiquity and Byzantium," in *Women, Men and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium*, ed. Liz James (London, 1997), 119–148.
- Weinstock, Stefan, *Divus Julius* (Oxford, 1971).
- Weitzmann, Kurt, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, 1951).
- Weitzmann, Kurt, "The Character and Intellectual Origins of the Macedonian Renaissance," in *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler (Chicago, 1971), 176–223.
- Weitzmann, Kurt, *Age of Spirituality, Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century* (New York, 1979).
- Wessely, Carl, *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri archeducis Austriae 1: Griechische Texte* (1895).

- West, Martin L., ed., *Iambi et Elegi Graeci* 1, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1989).
- West, Martin L., *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford, 1997).
- West, Martin L., *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford, 2007).
- Whitfield, Sarah, and John Elderfield, *Bonnard* (London, 1998).
- Wiegand, Theodore, *Sechster vorläufiger Bericht über die von den königlichen Museen in Miletos und Didyma unternommen Ausgrabungen* (Berlin, 1908).
- Wigodsky, Michael, *Vergil and Early Latin Poetry*. *Hermes Einzelschriften* 24 (Wiesbaden, 1972).
- Wilhelm, Gernot, "Die Keilschriftfunde der Kampagne 2001 in Kuşaklı," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft zu Berlin* 134 (2002), 342–351.
- Williams, Charles K., II, "Corinth and the Cult of Aphrodite," in *Corinthiaca: Studies in Honor of Darrell A. Amyx*, ed. Mario A. Del Chiaro and William R. Biers (Columbia, 1986), 12–24.
- Williams, Gordon, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford, 1968).
- Williamson, George, "Mucianus and a Touch of the Miraculous: Pilgrimage and Tourism in Roman Asia Minor," in *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity: Seeing the Gods*, ed. Jaś Elsner and Ian Rutherford (Oxford, 2005), 219–252.
- Wind, Edgar, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (London, 1958).
- Winter, Franz, *Typenkatalog der figürlichen Terrakotten* 2 (Berlin, 1903).
- Winter, Franz, and Jakob Schrammen, *Altertümer von Pergamon* 7. *Die Skulpturen von Pergamon* 2 (Berlin, 1908).
- Winter, Urs, *Frau und Göttin. Exegetische und ikonographische Studien zum weiblichen Gottesbild im Alten Israel und in dessen Umwelt*, 2nd ed. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 52 (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1987).
- Wise, Philip J., "A Roman Gold Signet-Ring from Curdworth, Warwickshire," *Britannia* 30 (1999), 315–318.
- Wiseman, T.P., *The Myths of Rome* (Exeter, 2008).
- Wistrand, Magnus, *Entertainment and Violence in Ancient Rome: The Attitudes of Roman Writers of the First Century A.D.* (Göteborg, 1992).
- Wittkower, Rudolf, "Transformations of Minerva in Renaissance Imagery," *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 2, no. 3 (1939), 194–205.
- Wlosok, Antonie, *Die Göttin Venus in Vergils Aeneis* (Heidelberg, 1967).
- Woodward, A.M., "Sparta: Votive Inscriptions from the Acropolis," *BSA* 30 (1928–1930), 252–253.
- Wright, Philip, "The Quality of Visitors' Experiences in Art Museums," in *The New Museology*, ed. Peter Vergo (London, 1989), 119–148.
- Wroth, Warwick, *A Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum: Pontus, Paphlagonia and Bithynia* (Bologna, 1963).
- Wyatt, Nick, in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, ed. Karel van der Toorn, 2nd rev. ed. (Leiden, 1999), 109–114, s.v. "Astarte."
- Wycheley, Richard E., *Agora 3: Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* (Princeton, 1957).
- Yon, Marguerite, *Un depot de sculpture archaïque, Salamine de Chypre* 5 (Paris, 1974).
- Yon, Maguerite, and Annie Caubet, "Un culte de la grande déesse à Lapithos," *RDAC* no. 2 (1988), 1–16.

- Zanker, Paul, *Forum Augustum. Das Bildprogramm* (Tübingen, 1968).
- Zanker, Paul, "Augustan Political Symbolism in the Private Sphere," in *Image and Mystery in the Roman World*, ed. Janet Huskinson, Mary Beard, and Joyce Reynolds (Gloucester, 1988), 1–13.
- Zanker, Paul, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. Alan Shapiro (Ann Arbor, 1988).
- Zonaras, Ioannes, *Epitome Historiarum* 3, ed. Theodorus Büttner-Wobst (Bonn, 1897).