

STUDIES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT AND ITS WORLD

THE RELIGIOUS  
CONTEXT OF EARLY  
CHRISTIANITY



A GUIDE TO GRAECO-ROMAN RELIGIONS

HANS-JOSEF KLAUCK

STUDIES OF THE  
NEW TESTAMENT  
AND ITS WORLD

# THE RELIGIOUS CONTEXT OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY

A GUIDE TO GRAECO-ROMAN RELIGIONS

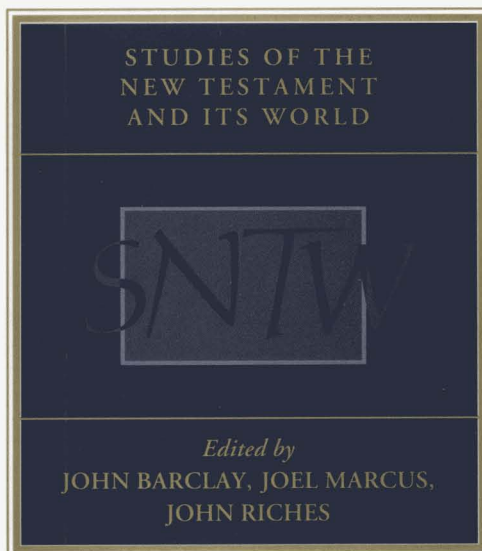
HANS-JOSEF KLAUCK

*Translated by Brian McNeil*

**T**his is a uniquely well-informed and comprehensive guide to the world of religion in the Graeco-Roman environment of early Christianity.

Drawing on the most up-to-date scholarship, the volume paints a carefully nuanced portrait of the Christians' religious context. Besides describing ordinary domestic and civic religion and popular belief (including astrology, divination and 'magic'), there is extended discussion of mystery cults, ruler and emperor cults, the religious dimensions of philosophy, and Gnosticism.

A valuable textbook for advanced students, as well as an authoritative reference work for scholars.



**Hans-Josef Klauck** is Professor of New Testament Exegesis, University of Munich, Germany.

**John Barclay** is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Biblical Studies, University of Glasgow.

**Joel Marcus** is Professor of New Testament at Boston University School of Theology.

**John Riches** is Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism, University of Glasgow.

**T&T CLARK**

59 GEORGE STREET EDINBURGH EH2 2LQ  
[www.tandtclark.co.uk](http://www.tandtclark.co.uk)

---

*Studies of the New Testament  
and Its World*

*Edited by*

JOHN BARCLAY

JOEL MARCUS

*and*

JOHN RICHES



---

## The Religious Context of Early Christianity



---

# The Religious Context of Early Christianity

A Guide to Graeco-Roman Religions

HANS-JOSEF KLAUCK

*Translated by*  
Brian McNeil

T&T CLARK  
EDINBURGH

---

T&T CLARK LTD  
59 GEORGE STREET  
EDINBURGH EH2 2LQ  
SCOTLAND

www.tandtclark.co.uk

Copyright © T&T Clark Ltd, 2000

First published in two volumes as: *Die religiöse Umwelt des Urchristentums*  
(Kohlhammer Studienbücher Theologie, Vols. 9, 1 and 9, 2)  
Stuttgart 1995 and 1996

The publishers gratefully acknowledge the support of Inter Nationes, Bonn, in the preparation of the English translation.

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

First published 2000

ISBN 0 567 08693 3

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data  
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Typeset by Fakenham Photosetting Limited, Fakenham, Norfolk  
Printed and bound in Great Britain by Bookcraft Ltd, Avon



---

# Contents

Preface	xiii
Abbreviations	xv
General Bibliography	xxi
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
1. The broader task	1
2. An earlier programme	2
3. Elements from social theory	7
4. Biblical paradigms	9
<b>I. Daily Life and Liminal Experiences: Civic and Domestic Religion</b>	<b>12</b>
A: <i>The sacrificial cult</i>	12
1. The sacrificial rite	13
2. Temples and altars	23
3. Gods and images of gods	25
4. Priests	30
5. Feasts	34
6. Theories of sacrifice	37
B: <i>The associations</i>	42
1. Outward manifestations and terminology	42
2. Individual examples	47
3. A view from the outside	53
C: <i>Religio domestica</i>	55
1. Preliminary questions of vocabulary and social history	55
2. The domestic practice of the cult	57
3. Private sanctuaries	63
D: <i>The cult of the dead</i>	68
1. The funeral ritual	70
	vii

2. The underworld	73
3. Giving the dead food and the meal celebrating the dead	75
4. Epigrams on graves	79
<b>II. The Fascination of the Mysterious: The Mystery Cults</b>	<b>81</b>
<i>A: Approaching the phenomenon</i>	81
1. The terminology	82
2. Phenomenology	85
3. History	89
<i>B: The mysteries of Eleusis</i>	90
1. The Homeric Hymn to Demeter	91
2. The Eleusinian <i>Synthēma</i>	94
3. The three stages of the initiation	98
4. The main feast	99
5. The contents and meaning of the mysteries	103
<i>C: The cult and mysteries of Dionysus</i>	106
1. The <i>Bacchae</i> of Euripides	107
2. The mystery cult	111
3. Orphism	117
<i>D: The cult of Attis</i>	120
1. The myth	121
2. The cult	122
3. Formulae and rites of the mysteries	124
4. The <i>taurobolium</i>	127
<i>E: The cult of Isis</i>	128
1. The myth	129
2. Cult and mysteries	131
3. Apuleius' book about Isis	134
4. Sarapis	138
<i>F: The mysteries of Mithras</i>	139
1. The question of origin	140
2. Grades and rites of initiation	142
3. Place of worship and cultic image	145
4. Spread and significance of the Mithras mysteries	147

G: <i>Evaluation</i>	149
<b>III. Popular Belief: A Panorama – Astrology, Soothsaying, Miracles, Magic</b>	153
A: <i>Miracles of healing</i>	154
1. A place of healing: Epidauros	154
2. A wonder worker: Apollonius of Tyana	168
B: <i>Foretelling the future and interpreting signs</i>	177
1. Clarification and general presentation of the concepts	177
2. Delphi: the site of an oracle	184
3. Further glimpses	192
4. Collections of oracles: the Sibyllines	200
5. Dreams and their interpretation	204
C: <i>Magic</i>	209
1. Outward manifestations	209
2. Problems of demarcation	215
3. Literary scenes involving magic	218
4. Magical texts	223
D: <i>Astrology</i>	231
1. Basic elements and history	231
2. Reflections in literature	239
3. Astrological handbooks	242
4. A look ahead	247
<b>IV. Divinised Human Beings: The Cult of Rulers and Emperors</b>	250
A: <i>The Hellenistic cult of rulers</i>	252
1. The beginnings	253
2. Alexander the Great	266
3. The period after Alexander	274
4. The integration of Roman power	282
B: <i>The Roman imperial cult: persons</i>	288
1. Julius Caesar	289
2. Augustus	294

3. The Julio-Claudian emperors	301
4. The Flavian emperors	307
5. Trajan	310
C: <i>The imperial cult: forms and diffusion</i>	313
1. Forms	313
2. Diffusion	323
D: <i>Concluding observations</i>	325
1. The imperial cult as 'institutional metaphor'	325
2. Points of contact with early Christianity	327
<b>V. In Search of Happiness: Philosophy and Religion</b>	331
A: <i>Introduction</i>	331
B: <i>Stoicism in the imperial period</i>	335
1. Overview	335
2. Seneca	338
3. Epictetus	346
4. Characteristics of the system	351
5. Individual topics	357
6. Cynicism and the Stoa	377
C: <i>Epicurus and his school</i>	385
1. Epicurus: personality and influence	385
2. Epicurus' letter to Menoikeus	390
3. The 'decisive propositions'	398
4. On the reception of Epicurus' thought	400
D: <i>A Middle Platonist: Plutarch of Chaironeia</i>	401
1. The context in the history of philosophy	401
2. Life and work	403
3. Individual topics	407
E: <i>Retrospective</i>	426
<b>VI. Return to the Divine Origin: The Gnostic Transformation</b>	429
A: <i>The question at issue</i>	430
1. On the relevance of this topic	430

---

CONTENTS

2. A description of the phenomenon	432
3. Relationship to the New Testament	433
<i>B: State of the sources and problems of origins</i>	436
1. The sources	437
2. Founders of the schools and teachers	448
3. On the subsequent history	454
4. The question of origins	455
<i>C: An outline of the doctrinal system</i>	461
1. Cosmology	462
2. Anthropology	467
3. Soteriology	470
4. Eschatology	478
5. Ecclesiology	483
6. Ethics	497
<i>D: Conclusion: The 'Song of the Pearl'</i>	499
1. The contents	501
2. On the interpretation	502
Index of selected biblical texts	505
Index of secondary literature	506



---

## Preface

Let us for a moment suppose that modern Europe were to witness the believers abandoning the Christian churches in order to venerate Allah or Brahma, to observe the commandments of Confucius or Buddha, to accept the fundamental principles of Shintoism; let us imagine a great congeries of all the races of the world, with Arabic mullahs, Chinese literary scholars, Japanese bonzes, Tibetan lamas, Hindu pandits preaching at one and the same time fatalism and predestination, the cult of ancestors and the adoration of the divinised ruler, pessimism and redemption through self-annihilation, while all these priests built temples in foreign styles in our cities and celebrated their various rites in them – this dream (which the future may perhaps one day see realised) would give us a rather accurate picture of the religious confusion which characterised the ancient world of Constantine.

(F. Cumont, *Die orientalischen Religionen im römischen Heidentum*, reprint Darmstadt 1975, 178f.)

It almost seems as if Franz Cumont, the great Belgian historian of Hellenistic-Roman religion, had developed prophetic gifts alongside all his other talents, when he wrote these lines at the beginning of our century. Now that we have reached the end of the century, we find ourselves confronted by the slogan of the 'multicultural' society, which will always be a multireligious society too. Against this background, it is even easier to draw the analogy which Cumont drew: early Christianity too sought its path in a multireligious world, and if we are to achieve a correct understanding of the literary bequest of early Christianity, it is absolutely necessary to know the outlines of that world.

The following presentation has a modest goal, namely to give students of theology the necessary information in this field. It concentrates on the Graeco-Roman sphere; it does not deal with Judaism, with which Christianity has a quite different (because much closer) relationship. The Introduction gives more detailed orientation about the goal, the criteria of selection and methodological questions. Here I should like only to observe that I have taken a conscious decision in favour of an illustrative style of work that is problem- and text-oriented. This means that in dubious cases, I have preferred not to discuss a possible theme, but rather to present and discuss in detail individual instructive texts. For this reason, I consistently refer to bilingual editions that are readily accessible, and to collections of texts and anthologies which provide the stimulus to the student's own further work along these paths.

One of my main problems has been how to deal with the voluminous secondary literature. My guiding principle has been to cite the older and important works, including many 'classics', and modern works which indicate the present state of scholarship. I myself am more painfully aware than anyone else of how fragmentary all this remains in the face of an immeasurable field of possibilities.

This book was written in German, when I was professor of New Testament exegesis at the University of Würzburg. It appeared in two volumes in 1995 and 1996 as part of a series of theological textbooks, and students and colleagues alike soon (to my surprise) acclaimed it as very helpful. In his kind review, Hans Dieter Betz wrote: 'Translated, revised and adapted for the English-speaking readership, this work would make an enormously valuable tool for all those who are fascinated by the study of early Christianity in the context of the Graeco-Roman culture but who presently lack a comprehensive and detailed summary of the current state of research' (*JBL* 116 [1997] 359). At that time, the planning of the English edition was already under way, but considerable time and effort were required before this could appear. The present book is in effect not only a translation, but a revised and updated edition of the original work.

The main bulk of the task was of course the translation itself (see below), but besides that, copious new references were added to editions of classical texts indicating translations into English, which it is hoped will considerably enhance the usefulness of the book to English-speaking readers. The secondary literature has been brought up to date, including new titles from 1995–8 and some from 1999. Mistakes noted by readers and reviewers of the German edition had to be corrected, and the original two volumes have been combined into a single volume, necessitating a reorganisation of the bibliographies and the index. Another factor was my own move from Würzburg to Munich, where I succeeded my teacher Joachim Gnllka as professor. Living for some time surrounded by boxes of books does not facilitate work like this!

I am grateful to all those who helped launch this work in the English language, above all to the editors of 'Studies of the New Testament and Its World' for accepting my book for their distinguished series. Especial thanks are due to John Barclay, who gave the decisive impetus and helped with the adaptation of the bibliography, and to the staff of the renowned Scottish publisher T&T Clark for taking the risk involved in the publication of a long academic book. But above all, my biggest thanks are due to my translator, Brian McNeil (who incidentally lives in the same German town as I do). He has done a marvellous job in putting into perfectly readable English a German text which is very compressed, and therefore sometimes complicated. Once again he has fulfilled the task of bridge-builder between the German-speaking and the English-speaking theological worlds.

*Munich, May 1999*

H.-J.K.



---

## Abbreviations

### 1. Primary Sources

Aeschylus,	<i>Ag.</i> <i>Prom.</i>	<i>Agamemnon</i> <i>Prometheus Bound</i>
Ambrosiaster,	<i>Quaest. VNT</i>	<i>Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti</i>
Apollodorus,	<i>Bibl.</i>	<i>Bibliotheca</i>
Appian,	<i>Bell. Civ.</i>	<i>Bellum Civile</i>
Apuleius,	<i>Apol.</i> <i>Flor.</i> <i>Met.</i>	<i>Apologia</i> <i>Florida</i> <i>Metamorphoses</i>
Aelius Aristides,	<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orationes</i>
Aristophanes,	<i>Ach.</i> <i>Pl.</i> <i>Ra.</i>	<i>Acharnians</i> <i>Plutus</i> <i>Ranae (Frogs)</i>
Aristotle,	<i>Eth. Nic.</i> <i>Pol.</i>	<i>Nicomachean Ethics</i> <i>Politics</i>
Arnobius,	<i>Adv. Nat.</i>	<i>Adversus Nationes</i>
Artemidorus,	<i>Oneirocr.</i>	<i>Oneirocriticon (Interpretation of Dreams)</i>
Athenaeus,	<i>Deipnosoph.</i>	<i>Deipnosophistae</i>
Catullus,	<i>Carm.</i>	<i>Carmina</i>
Cicero,	<i>Att.</i> <i>Divin.</i> <i>Dom.</i> <i>Fam.</i> <i>Nat. Deor.</i> <i>Phil.</i> <i>Quint. Fratr.</i> <i>Rep.</i> <i>Tusc.</i>	<i>Ad Atticum</i> <i>De Divinatione</i> <i>De Domo Sua</i> <i>Ad Familiares</i> <i>De Natura Deorum</i> <i>Philippics</i> <i>Ad Quintum Fratrem</i> <i>De Re Publica</i> <i>Tusculan Disputations</i>
Clement,	<i>Exc. Theod.</i>	<i>Excerpta ex Theodoto</i>

	<i>Protr.</i>	<i>Protrepticus</i>
Demosthenes,	<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orationes</i>
Dio Chrysostom,	<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orationes</i>
Diogenes Laertius,	<i>Vit. Phil.</i>	<i>Lives of the Philosophers</i>
Dionysius,	<i>Ant. Rom.</i>	<i>Antiquitates Romanae</i>
Epictetus,	<i>Diss.</i>	<i>Dissertationes</i>
	<i>Ench.</i>	<i>Encheiridion</i>
Euripides,	<i>Alc.</i>	<i>Alcestis</i>
	<i>Ba.</i>	<i>Bacchae</i>
	<i>Hel.</i>	<i>Helen</i>
	<i>Hipp.</i>	<i>Hippolytus</i>
	<i>Iph. Taur.</i>	<i>Iphigeneia in Tauris</i>
Eusebius,	<i>Hist. Eccl.</i>	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>
Firminus	<i>Err. Prof. Rel.</i>	<i>Errores Profanarum Religionum</i>
Maternus,		
Gen		Genesis
Herodotus,	<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Histories</i>
Hesiod,	<i>Op.</i>	<i>Opera et Dies</i>
	<i>Theog.</i>	<i>Theogonia</i>
Hippolytus,	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Refutation of All Heresies</i>
Homer,	<i>Il.</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
	<i>Od.</i>	<i>Odyssey</i>
Hom. Hymn Dem.		Homeric Hymn to Demeter
Horace,	<i>Ars Poet.</i>	<i>Ars Poetica</i>
	<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
	<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Satires</i>
Ignatius,	<i>Eph.</i>	<i>To the Ephesians</i>
Irenaeus,	<i>Adv. Haer.</i>	<i>Adversus Haereses</i>
Jerome,	<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
Josephus,	<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i>
	<i>Ap.</i>	<i>Contra Apionem</i>
	<i>Bell.</i>	<i>Bellum Judaicum</i>
	<i>Vit.</i>	<i>Vita</i>
Juvenal,	<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Satires</i>
Livy,	<i>Urb. Cond.</i>	<i>Ab Urbe Condita</i>
Lucian,	<i>Alex.</i>	<i>Alexander</i>
	<i>Philops.</i>	<i>Philopseudes (Lover of Lies)</i>
Lucretius,	<i>Rer. Nat.</i>	<i>De Rerum Natura</i>
Macc (1, 2, 3, 4)		Maccabees (1, 2, 3, 4)

---

ABBREVIATIONS

Origen,	<i>C. Cels.</i>	<i>Contra Celsum</i>
Ovid,	<i>Met.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses</i>
Pausanias,	<i>Graec. Descr.</i>	<i>Graeciae Descriptio</i>
Petronius,	<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Satyricon</i>
Philo,	<i>Abr.</i>	<i>De Abrahamo</i>
	<i>Decal.</i>	<i>De Decalogo</i>
	<i>Flacc.</i>	<i>In Flaccum</i>
	<i>Leg. Gai.</i>	<i>Legatio ad Gaium</i>
	<i>Spec. Leg.</i>	<i>De Specialibus Legibus</i>
Philostratus,	<i>Vit. Ap.</i>	<i>Vita Apollonii</i>
Pindar,	<i>Pyth.</i>	<i>Pythia</i>
Plato,	<i>Alcib.</i>	<i>Alcibiades</i>
	<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apologia</i>
	<i>Charmid.</i>	<i>Charmides</i>
	<i>Euthyphr.</i>	<i>Euthyphro</i>
	<i>Leg.</i>	<i>Leges</i>
	<i>Phaed.</i>	<i>Phaedo</i>
	<i>Phaedr.</i>	<i>Phaedrus</i>
	<i>Polit.</i>	<i>Politicus</i>
	<i>Resp.</i>	<i>Respublica (The Republic)</i>
	<i>Symp.</i>	<i>Symposion</i>
Pliny (elder),	<i>Hist. Nat.</i>	<i>Naturalis Historia</i>
Pliny (younger),	<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
Plotinus,	<i>Enn.</i>	<i>Enneads</i>
Plutarch,	<i>Alc.</i>	<i>Alcibiades</i>
	<i>Alex.</i>	<i>Alexander</i>
	<i>Amat.</i>	<i>Amatorius Liber</i>
	<i>Aristid.</i>	<i>Aristides</i>
	<i>Cons. Uxor.</i>	<i>Consolatio ad Uxorem</i>
	<i>Def. Orac.</i>	<i>De Defectu Oraculorum</i>
	<i>E ap. Delph.</i>	<i>De E apud Delphos</i>
	<i>Fac. Orb. Lun.</i>	<i>De Facie in Orbe Lunae</i>
	<i>Gen. Socr.</i>	<i>De Genio Socratis</i>
	<i>Is. et Os.</i>	<i>De Iside et Osiride</i>
	<i>Lys.</i>	<i>Lysias</i>
	<i>Pomp.</i>	<i>Pompeius</i>
	<i>Pyth. Or.</i>	<i>De Pythiae Oraculis</i>
	<i>Quaest. Conv.</i>	<i>Quaestiones Conviviales</i>
	<i>Sept. Sap. Conv.</i>	<i>Septem Sapientium Convivium</i>

	<i>Ser. Num. Vind.</i>	<i>De Sera Numinis Vindicta</i>
	<i>Suav. Viv. Epic.</i>	<i>Non Posse Suaviter Vivi secundum Epicurum</i>
	<i>Thes.</i>	<i>Theseus</i>
	<i>Tit.</i>	<i>Titus</i>
Porphry,	<i>Abst.</i>	<i>De Abstinencia</i>
	<i>Ant. Nymph.</i>	<i>De Antro Nympharum</i>
Ps		Psalm(s)
Ps.-Lucian	<i>Astrol.</i>	<i>De Astrologia</i>
Ps Sol		Psalms of Solomon
Seneca,	<i>Ben.</i>	<i>De Beneficiis</i>
	<i>Brev. Vit.</i>	<i>De Brevitate Vitae</i>
	<i>Cons. Marc.</i>	<i>Consolatio ad Marciam</i>
	<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
	<i>Oed.</i>	<i>Oedipus</i>
	<i>Tranq. An.</i>	<i>De Tranquillitate Animi</i>
	<i>Vit. Beat.</i>	<i>De Vita Beata</i>
Sib		Sibylline Oracles
Sir		(Jesus ben) Sirach
Stobaeus,	<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>Eclogae</i>
Suetonius,	<i>Aug.</i>	<i>Augustus</i>
	<i>Calig.</i>	<i>Caligula</i>
	<i>Claud.</i>	<i>Claudius</i>
	<i>Div. Jul.</i>	<i>Divus Julius</i>
	<i>Dom.</i>	<i>Domitian</i>
	<i>Tib.</i>	<i>Tiberius</i>
	<i>Vesp.</i>	<i>Vespasian</i>
	<i>Vitell.</i>	<i>Vitellius</i>
Tacitus,	<i>Ann.</i>	<i>Annales</i>
	<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Historiae</i>
Tertullian,	<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apologeticus</i>
	<i>Bapt.</i>	<i>De Baptismo</i>
	<i>Praesc. Haer.</i>	<i>De Praescriptione Haereticorum</i>
Ps.-Tertullian,	<i>Adv. Omn.</i>	<i>Adversus Omnes Haereses</i>
	<i>Haer.</i>	
Theophrastus,	<i>Char.</i>	<i>Characteres</i>
Tob		Tobit
Vergil,	<i>Aen.</i>	<i>Aeneid</i>
	<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>Eclogues</i>

	<i>Georg.</i>	<i>Georgics</i>
Wis		Wisdom of Solomon

For Abbreviations of Nag Hammadi texts see p. 446f.

## 2. Collections of Sources

BGU	Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin: Griechische Urkunden
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
CIMRM	M. J. Vermaseren, <i>Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis Mithriacae</i>
FGH	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i>
FVS	H. A. Diels, <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i>
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
IGRR	R. Cagnat et al., <i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas</i>
ILS	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i>
LSAM	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure</i>
LSCG	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i>
LSCS	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplément</i>
NHC	Nag Hammadi Codex
OGIS	W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i>
PGrM	K. Preisendanz, <i>Papyri Graecae Magicae</i>
POxy	Oxyrhynchus Papyri
PTebt	Tebtunis Papyri
RecUB	Reclams Universal-Bibliothek, Stuttgart
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
SIG	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
SVF	J. von Arnim, <i>Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta</i>

## 3. Periodicals, Series, Collective Works

These follow S. Schwertner, *Internationales Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Theologie und Grenzgebiete*, Berlin 2nd edn. 1992.



---

## General Bibliography

Secondary literature is cited in the text only with the name of the author (in unclear cases, also with a shortened form of the title). The reader should first consult the bibliographical list at the beginning of the section in question, where one will find either full details or else a reference back to a previous list (cited as L1 etc); the same method is used in the footnotes.

### *List 1. The study of religion*

- P. Antes, 'Religion in den Theorien der Religionswissenschaft', *HFTb* 1 (1985) 34–56.
- E. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life: A Study in Religious Sociology*, London and New York 1995; French original 1912.
- R. B. Gladigow and H. Kippenberg (eds.), *Neue Ansätze in der Religionswissenschaft* (FRW 4), Munich 1983.
- B. Grom, *Religionspsychologie*, Munich and Göttingen 1992.
- F. B. Jevons, *An Introduction to the History of Religion*, London 9th edn. 1927.
- G. Lanczowski (ed.), *Selbstverständnis und Wesen der Religionswissenschaft* (WdF 263), Darmstadt 1974.
- *Einführung in die Religionswissenschaft*, Darmstadt 2nd edn. 1991.
- G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*, 2 vols., Gloucester, Mass. 1967.
- U. Mann (ed.), *Theologie und Religionswissenschaft: Der gegenwärtige Stand ihrer Forschungsergebnisse und Aufgaben im Hinblick auf ihr gegenseitiges Verhältnis*, Darmstadt 1973.
- J. Z. Smith, *Map is not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions* (SJLA 23), Leiden 1978.
- F. Stolz, *Grundzüge der Religionswissenschaft* (KVR 1527), Göttingen 1988.
- G. Sundén, *Die Religion und die Rollen: Eine psychologische Untersuchung der Frömmigkeit*, Berlin 1966.

- A. Vergote, *Psychologie religieuse*, Brussels 1966.
- J. Waardenburg, *Religionen und Religion: Systematische Einführung in die Religionswissenschaft* (SG 2228), Berlin 1986.
- M. Weber, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*, vols. 1–3 (UTB 1488–90), Tübingen 7th–9th edns. 1988; the most relevant essays in vol. 1 have been translated as *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, London 1930, and *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, ed. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, 2nd edn. London 1991.
- *The Sociology of Religion*, London 1965.
- F. Whaling (ed.), *Contemporary Approaches to the Study of Religion*, vols. 1–2 (RaR 27–8), Berlin etc. 1984, 1985.
- G. Widengren, *Religionsphänomenologie* (GLB), Berlin 1969.

**List 2. History of Greek and Roman religion**

- F. Altheim, *A History of Roman Religion*, London 1938.
- M. Beard, J. North and S. Price, *Religions of Rome*, vol. 1: A History, Cambridge 1998.
- U. Bianchi and M. J. Vermaseren (eds.), *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'Impero Romano* (EPRO 92), Leiden 1982.
- F. Bömer, *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom*, vols. 1–4 (AAWLM.G), Mainz 1957–63; vol. 1 also Wiesbaden 2nd edn. 1981; vol. 3 also Stuttgart 2nd edn. 1990 (as FASK 14).
- J. N. Bremmer, *Götter, Mythen und Heiligtümer im antiken Griechenland*, Darmstadt 1996.
- R. van den Broeck and M. J. Vermaseren, *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions* (EPRO 91), Leiden 1981.
- L. Bruit Zeidman and P. Schmitt Pantel, *La Religion grecque*, Paris 2nd edn. 1991.
- W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*, Berkeley 1979.
- *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, Berkeley 1983.
- *Greek Religion*, Oxford and Cambridge, Mass. 1985.
- 'Griechische Religion', *TRE* 14 (1985) 235–53.
- F. Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, London 1911, reprint New York 1956.
- J. Dalfen, G. Petersmann and F. F. Schwarz (eds.), *Religio Graeco-Romana* (Festschrift W. Pötscher) (GrB.Suppl. 5), Graz and Horn 1993.



- [click Straits of Hell \(Destroyermen, Book 10\) pdf, azw \(kindle\)](#)
- [download The Chess Combat Simulator](#)
- [click International Relations: The Key Concepts \(Routledge Key Guides\)](#)
- [The Qur'an: A New Translation pdf](#)
  
- <http://www.shreesaiexport.com/library/Radical-Remission--Surviving-Cancer-Against-All-Odds.pdf>
- <http://www.mmastyles.com/books/Introducing-Lacan--A-Graphic-Guide.pdf>
- <http://creativebeard.ru/freebooks/International-Relations--The-Key-Concepts--Routledge-Key-Guides-.pdf>
- <http://www.gateaerospaceforum.com/?library/The-Last-Days--Peeps--Book-2-.pdf>