**The Path to Deification in Fifth-Century Greece Handout[[1]](#footnote-1)**

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1. **Hom. *Il.* 5.436-443**: But when for the fourth time he rushed upon him *like a god*, then with a terrible cry spake to him Apollo that worketh afar: “Bethink thee, son of Tydeus, and give place, neither be thou minded *to be like of spirit with the gods*; seeing *in no wise of like sort is the race of immortal gods and that of men who walk upon the earth*.” (my italics)
2. **Hom. *Od.* 5.92, 135-136**: So saying, the goddess set before him a table laden with ambrosia (ἀμβροσίης)…Him (i.e. Odysseus) I welcomed kindly and gave him food, and said that I would make him *immortal and ageless all his days*. (my italics)
3. **Hom. *Od*. 11.298-304**: And I saw…Castor the tamer of horses, and the boxer Polydeuces. These two the earth, the giver of life, covers, albeit alive, and even in the world below they have *honor from Zeus*. One day they live in turn, and one day they are dead; and they have won *honor like unto that of the gods*. (my italics)
4. **Hom. *Od.* 5.333-335**: But the daughter of Cadmus, Ino of the fair ankles, saw him, even Leucothea, who of old was a mortal (βροτὸς) of human speech, but now in the deeps of the sea has won a share of *honor* (τιμῆς) *from the gods* (θεῶν). (my italics)
5. **Paus. 1.34.2**: The divinity of Amphiaraus was first established among the Oropians, from whom afterwards all the Greeks received the cult. I can enumerate other men also born at this time who are *worshipped among the Greeks as gods*. (my italics)
6. **Hdt. 8.121.1**: The Hellenes proved unable to take Andros, so they turned to Karystos and, after laying waste to its land, departed for Salamis. The first thing they did there was to set aside from their spoils *victory offerings for the gods*, of which the most significant were three Phoenician triremes. One of these they dedicated at the isthmus, and it was still there in my time; another they sent to Sounion, and the third they dedicated to Ajax right there on Salamis. (my italics)
7. **Hdt. 1.65.2, 1.66.2**: You have come, Lykourgos, to my rich temple, / You are dear to Zeus and to all on Olympus; / Do I speak to a god or a man? I know not, / Yet, I rather think to a god, Lykourgos…With these changes, they attained good government, and after Lykourgos died, *they built a shrine in his honor and worshiped him with great reverence*. (my italics)
8. **Pind. *Ol.* 7.77-80**: There it is that a sweet recompense for his pitiful misfortune is established for Tlepolemus, the first leader of the Tirynthians, *as for a god*: a procession of flocks for burnt sacrifice and the trial of contests. (my italics)
9. **Plut. *Thes.* 36**: They also honour him on the eighth day of the other months, either because he originally came to Athens from Troezen on the eighth day of the month Hecatombaeon, as Diodorus the Topographer has recorded, or else because they regard this number as being peculiarly his own, as a reputed son of Poseidon…The number eight is the first cube of an even number and also the double of the first square. It is therefore *an especially appropriate symbol for the immovable and abiding power of this god*, whom we call the stay and upholder of the earth. (my italics)
10. **Aesch. *Cho.* 106-107**: Leader: I revere your father’s death-mound like an altar.
11. **Dem. 19.280**: …a descendant of Harmodius and of the greatest of all your benefactors, the men to whom, in requital of their glorious deeds, you have allotted by statute *a share of your libations and drink-offerings in every temple and at every public service, whom, in hymns and in worship, you treat as the equals of gods and demigods*... (my italics)
12. **Paus. 3.15.7**: Near is a temple of Hipposthenes, who won so many victories in wrestling. They worship Hipposthenes in accordance with an oracle, *paying him honors as to Poseidon*. (my italics)
13. **Paus. 6.9.7-8**: At last, however, they broke open the boards of the chest, but found no Cleomedes, either alive or dead. So they sent envoys to Delphi to ask what had happened to Cleomedes. The response given by the Pythian priestess was, they say, as follows: - “Last of heroes is Cleomedes of Astypalaea; *honor him with sacrifices as being no longer a mortal*. (my italics)
14. **Thuc. 5.11.1**: After this all the allies attended in arms and buried Brasidas at the public expense in the city, in front of what is now the marketplace, and the Amphipolitans having enclosed his tomb, ever afterwards *sacrifice to him as a hero and have given to him the honor of games and annual offerings*. (my italics)
15. **Hyp. 6.35**: With us and all mankind, it is clear, in the light of these reflections, that their fame is now assured, but what of the lower world? Who, we may well ask ourselves, are waiting there to welcome the leader of these men? Are we not convinced that we should see, greeting Leosthenes with wonder, *those of the so-called demi-gods who sailed against Troy: heroes whom he so far excelled*… (my italics)
16. **Dem. 60.33-34**: They today receive high honor and inspire great emulation while they are accorded the *customary obsequies*…With excellent reason one might declare them to be now *seated beside the gods below*, possessing the same rank as the brave men who have preceded them in the islands of the blest. (my italics)
17. **Pl. *Resp.* 468e4-5, 469a1-5, a7-b2**: And if any of those who died while on campaign has had a particularly distinguished death, won’t we, in the first place, declare that he belongs to *the golden race*…And won’t we believe with Hesiod that, whenever any of that race die, they become “unsullied *daimons* living upon earth, noble beings, protectors against evil, *guardians of articulate mortals*?”… Won’t we ask the god, then, to tell us how and with what distinction these daimons, *these godlike people*, should be buried, and perform their burial in whatever way he prescribes…And for the remainder of time, won’t we *regard their graves as those of daimons*, and take care of them and *worship at them*? (my italics); cf. Hesiod 109-120
18. **Plut. *Lys.* 18**: Out of the plunder he had taken, Lysander set up bronze statues of himself and each of his two admirals at Delphi, and he also dedicated two golden stars representing Castor and Pollux, which vanished just before the battle of Leuctra…At any rate Lysander at this time wielded a greater power than any Greek had ever done before him, and he gave the impression that his ambition and sense of his own superiority even exceeded his power. *He was the first Greek, so Duris tells us, in whose honour Greek cities erected altars and offered sacrifices as though he were a god, or for whom songs of triumph were sung*…Besides this, the people of Samos *decreed that their festival in honour of Hera should be called Lysandreia*. (my italics)

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1. The purpose of this handout is neither to analyze in detail a few texts nor to provide an exhaustive list of the evidence presented in the paper. Rather, this handout includes what I take to be the best samples of the evidence so that you can see some of these passages in a larger context, get a sense of the theme as it runs through Greek literature, and have some possible points of entry to the subject if you choose to pursue it further. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. As you can tell, this bibliography includes more than works cited in the handout. I hope the bibliography will be helpful to anyone wondering where to start with this topic. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)