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ZEUS

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

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1709. Pompeii. wall painting.

See page 34 ff.

ZEUS

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

BY

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK

FELLOW AND LECTURER OF QUEENS' COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE
READER IN CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY TO THE UNIVERSITY
OF CAMBRIDGE

VOLUME I

ZEUS GOD OF THE BRIGHT SKY

χὼ Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἴθριος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὕει

THEOKRITOS 4. 43

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1914

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1

Ζεῦς, ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν,—εἰ τόδ' ἀγ-
τῆ φίλον κεκλημένω,
τοῦτό νιν προσεννέπω—
οὔκ ἔχω προσεικᾶσαι
πάντ' ἐπισταθμώμενος
πλήν Διός, εἰ τὸ μάταν
ἀπὸ φροντίδος ἄχθος
χρὴ βαλεῖν ἐτητύως.

AISCHYLOS *Agamemnon* 160 ff.

TO
MY WIFE

PREFACE

MORE than eighty years have elapsed since the last comprehensive monograph on Zeus was written, a couple of octavo volumes by T. B. Éméric-David issued at Paris in 1833. In the interval much water has gone under the classical mill. Indeed the stream flows from remoter ranges and some of its springs rise from greater depths than our grandfathers guessed. Nowadays we dare not claim to understand the religions of Greece and Rome without an adequate knowledge of contiguous countries and at least an inkling of prehistoric antecedents. In both directions pioneer work of inestimable value has been accomplished. The discoveries of Rawlinson and Layard in Babylonia, of Lepsius and Mariette in Egypt, of Humann and Winckler in Asia Minor—to mention but a few of many honoured names—have enormously increased our area of interest. Again, Schliemann and Dr Dörpfeld, Prof. Halbherr and Sir Arthur Evans, Piette and the Abbé Breuil, have opened to us vista beyond vista into the long-forgotten past. We realise now that Mycenaean and 'Minoan' and even Magdalenian culture has many a lesson for the student of historical times. But above all a new spirit has little by little taken possession of archaeological research. Under the universal sway of modern science accuracy of observation and strictness of method are expected not only of the philological scholar but of any and every investigator in the classical field.

Changed conditions have brought with them a great influx of material, much of which bears directly on the main topic of this book. Important sites where Zeus was worshipped have been identified and examined. His caves on Mount Dikte and Mount Ide, his precinct on the summit of Mount Lykaion, his magnificent altar on the Pergamene Akropolis, his temples at Olympia and Athens and many another cult-centre, have been planned and published with the minutest care. Inscriptions too are discovered almost daily, and not a few of them commemorate local varieties of

the ubiquitous deity—now thirty or forty questions scratched on slips of lead and addressed to his oracle at Dodona, now a contract for the building of his temple at Lebadeia, now again a list of his priests at Korymbos, odd details of his rites at Iasos, a hymn sung in his service at Palakastro, and votive offerings to him from half the towns of Greece.—Such information, fresh and relevant, accumulates apace. Moreover, those who can neither dig nor travel carry on the quest at home. Year in, year out, the universities of Europe and America pour forth a never-ending flood of dissertations and programmes, pamphlets and articles, devoted to the solution of particular problems in ancient religion; and a large proportion of these is more or less intimately concerned with Zeus.

To cope with an output so vast and so varied would be beyond the strength of any man, were it not for the fact that intensive study follows hard upon the heels of discovery. On many aspects of what K. Schenkl called *die Zeusreligion* standard books have long since been penned by well-qualified hands. And more than one admirable summary of results is already before the public. Greek and Latin literature has been ransacked by writers galore, who have sketched the conceptions of Zeus to be found more especially in the poets and the philosophers; it would be tedious to enumerate names. Others again have dealt with the worship of Zeus as it affected a particular area: recent examples are Maybaum *Der Zeuscult in Boeotien* (Doberan 1901) and E. Neustadt *De Jove Cretico* (Berlin 1906). Yet others have written on some specialised form of Zeus: C. J. Schmitthenner *De Jove Hammone* (Weilburg 1890), H. D. Müller *Ueber den Zeus Lykaios* (Gottingen 1851), and A. H. Kan *De Jovis Policheni cultu* (Groningen 1901) will serve as specimens of the class. Notable attempts have been made to cover parts of the subject on more general lines. Inscriptions about Zeus are grouped together by W. Dittenberger *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum* (ed. 2 Leipzig 1898, 1900, 1901), C. Michel *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques* (Paris 1900, 1912), and H. Dessau *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae* (Berlin 1892, 1902, 1906, 1914). Descriptions of Zeus in Greek and Latin poetry are analysed by C. F. H. Bruchmann *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Graecos leguntur* (Leipzig 1893) and J. B. Carter *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Latinos leguntur* (Leipzig 1902). The festivals of Zeus in Athens and elsewhere are discussed by A. Mommsen *Feste der Stadt Athen* (Leipzig 1898) and, with greater circumspection, by M. P. Nilsson *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluss der attischen* (Leipzig 1906).

The monuments too have received their fair share of attention. Statues and statuettes, reliefs, vase-paintings, coins, and gems are collected and considered *in primis* by J. Overbeck *Griechische Kunstmythologie* (Besonderer Theil i. 1 Zeus Leipzig 1871 with Atlas 1872, 1873)—a book that is a model of archaeological erudition. Further, every worker on this or kindred themes must be indebted to the *Répertoires* of S. Reinach, whose labours have now reduced chaos to cosmos, not merely in the reproduction of previously known sculptures and vases, but also in the publication of much unpublished material. For surveys of the whole subject we turn to the handbooks. And here again good work has been done. C. Robert's revision of L. Preller *Griechische Mythologie* (Theogonie und Goetter Berlin 1894) deals with Zeus in a clear conspectus of 45 pages. O. Gruppe, the greatest mythologist of modern times, compresses the Father of gods and men into 22 of his well-packed pages (*Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* München 1897, 1906). Probably English readers will derive most benefit from the lucid chapters of Dr L. R. Farnell, who in his *Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford 1896, 1896, 1907, 1907, 1909) spends 144 pages in discussing 'Zeus,' 'The Cult-monuments of Zeus,' and 'The Ideal Type of Zeus' with a wealth of learning and aesthetic appreciation that leaves little to seek. Other treatments of the topic are no doubt already being designed for two at least of the three huge dictionaries now approaching completion. The *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines* edited by C. Daremberg and E. Saglio (Paris 1877-) has given some account of Zeus in its article on 'Jupiter' (vol. iii pp. 691—708 by E. P[ottier], pp. 708—713 by P. Perdrizet). But W. H. Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig 1884-), though it includes an excellent article on 'Iuppiter' by Aust (vol. ii pp. 618—762), is not likely to reach 'Zeus' for some years to come. And the great syndicate of scholars who are re-writing Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart 1894-) have not yet got as far as 'Iuppiter,' let alone 'Zeus.'

The present volume is the first of two in which I have (endeavoured to trace the development and influence of Zeus.) It would seem that the Greeks, starting from a sense of frank childish wonder, not unmixed with fear, at the sight of the animate sky, mounted by slow degrees of enlightenment to a recognition of the physical, intellectual, and moral supremacy of the sky-god. Dion

Chrysostomos in a memorable sentence declared Zeus to be 'the giver of all good things, the Father, the Saviour, the Keeper of mankind.' On the lower levels and slopes of this splendid spiritual ascent the Greeks found themselves at one with the beliefs of many surrounding peoples, so that a fusion of the Hellenic Zeus with this or that barbaric counterpart often came about. On the higher ground of philosophy and poetry they joined hands with a later age and pressed on towards our own conceptions of Deity. I have therefore felt bound to take into account not only the numerous adaptations of Levantine syncretism but also sundry points of contact between Hellenism and Christianity. It is obvious that the limits of such an enquiry are to a certain extent arbitrary. I shall expect to be told by some that I have gone too far afield, by others that I have failed to note many side-lights from adjacent regions. Very possibly both criticisms are true.

Indeed, given the subject, it is not altogether easy to determine the best method of handling it. As a matter of fact I have tried more ways than one. In the *Classical Review* for 1903 and 1904 I published a series of six papers on 'Zeus, Jupiter and the Oak,' which aimed at summarising the Greek and Roman evidence that might be adduced in support of Sir James G. Frazer's Arician hypothesis. Satisfied that the evidence was much stronger than I had at first supposed, I next attempted, rashly enough, to pursue the same theme into the Celtic, the Germanic, and the Letto-Slavonic areas. With that intent I wrote another series of eight articles on 'The European Sky-God,' which appeared in *Folk-Lore* between the years 1904 and 1907. Of these articles the first three restated, with some modifications, the results obtained on Graeco-Italic ground; and the remaining five were devoted to a survey of analogous phenomena among the Insular Celts. I had meant to go further along the same road. But at this point Dr Farnell in the friendliest fashion put a spoke in my wheel by convincing me that the unity of an ancient god consisted less in his nature than in his name. Thereupon I decided to abandon my search for 'The European Sky-God'; and I did so the more readily because I had felt with increasing pressure the difficulty of discussing customs and myths without a real knowledge of the languages in which they were recorded. After some hesitation I resolved to start afresh on narrower lines, restricting enquiry to the single case of Zeus and marking out my province as explained in the previous paragraph. Even so the subject has proved to be almost too wide.

I incline to think that a full treatment of any of the greater Greek divinities, such a treatment as must ultimately be accorded to them all, properly demands the co-ordinated efforts of several workers.

Be that as it may, in this instalment of my book I have traced the evolution of Zeus from Sky to Sky-god and have sought to determine the relations in which he stood to the solar, lunar, and stellar cults of the Mediterranean basin. I need not here anticipate my conclusions, since the volume opens with a Table of Contents and closes with a summary of results. But I would warn my readers that the story runs on from Volume I to Volume II, and that the second half of it is, for the history of religion in general, the more important. Zeus god of the Bright Sky is also Zeus god of the Dark Sky; and it is in this capacity, as lord of the drenching rain-storm, that he fertilises his consort the earth-goddess and becomes the Father of a divine Son, whose worship with its rites of regeneration and its promise of immortality taught that men might in mystic union be identified with their god, and thus in thousands of wistful hearts throughout the Hellenic world awakened longings that could be satisfied only by the coming of the very Christ.

To some it may be a surprise that I have not made more use of ethnology as a master-key wherewith to unlock the complex chambers of Greek religion. I am far from underestimating the value of that great science, and I can well imagine that the mythology of the future may be based on ethnological data. But, if so, it will be based on the data of future ethnology. For at present ethnologists are still at sixes and sevens with regard to the racial stratification of ancient Greece. Such a survey as K. Penka's *Die vorhellenische Bevölkerung Griechenlands* (Hildburghausen 1911) shows that progress is being made; but it also shows the danger of premature constructions. Hypotheses that stand to-day may be upset to-morrow; and to build an edifice on foundations so insecure would be seriously to imperil its stability. I shall therefore be content if certain ethnological conclusions can be drawn, as I believe they can, from the materials here collected, materials that have been arranged on other principles. Again, I may be taxed with an undue neglect of anthropological parallels. In defence I might plead both lack of knowledge and lack of space. But, to be honest, I am not always satisfied that similarity of performance implies similarity of purpose, and I hold that analogies taken from a contiguous area are much more likely to be helpful than analogies

gathered, sometimes on doubtful authority, from the ends of the habitable earth.

Mention must here be made of sundry minor points in method and arrangement. I have as far as possible refrained from mottling my text with Greek and Latin words, and have relegated the necessary quotations to foot-notes, which can be 'skipped' by the expeditious. The perennial problem of orthography I have solved along arbitrary, but I trust consistent, lines. My plan is to transliterate all Greek names (Aischylos, Phoinike, etc.) except those that have been so far Englished as to possess forms differing not only from the Greek but also from the Latin (Homer and Aristotle, the Achaeans and Thessaly). Greek words and phrases cited in the text are further italicised and accentuated. References in the foot-notes have the author's name transliterated, but the title of his work given in Latin to suit prevailing custom, unless that title includes the name of a Greek deity (*e.g.* Aisch. *P.v.*, Plout. *v. Aem. Paul.*, but Kallim. *h. Zeus*, Orph. *h. Dem. Eleus.*). To facilitate occasional usage I have provided two Indexes at the end of Volume I, the first dealing in detail with Persons, Places, and Festivals, the second more summarily with Subjects and Authorities. On the other hand, considerations of space have led me to reserve the Appendixes to the end of Volume II. I may add that the manuscript of that volume is already far advanced: its publication will not, I hope, be unduly delayed.

There remains the pleasant task of thanking those that have in a variety of ways helped towards the making of this book. It was Sir James G. Frazer who first advised me to put together in permanent form the materials that I had collected: he has seen about a third of the present volume, and, though well aware that I differ from him on certain vital issues, he has with characteristic generosity more than once encouraged me to persist in my undertaking. I am conscious that I owe much also, both directly and indirectly, to Dr O. Gruppe, who in his *Handbuch* and elsewhere has set up a standard of thoroughness that must for many a long day be kept in view by all writers on the subject of classical religion. Prof. G. Murray, with proofs of his own on hand, has yet given time to reading mine and has sent me a flight of pencilled *marginalia*, which I have been glad here and there to incorporate. Most of this book has been perused, either in manuscript or in slip, by Miss J. E. Harrison, to whose wide range and quick synthetic powers I am indebted for several valuable suggestions: I am the

more anxious to acknowledge this debt because on matters of the deepest import we do not see eye to eye. Other helpful criticisms have reached me from my friend Dr J. Rendel Harris, whose studies of 'Dioscurism' have obvious bearings on certain aspects of Zeus, and from Mr F. M. Cornford, especially in connexion with Dionysiac drama, a subject which he has made peculiarly his own.

Life in Cambridge has indeed afforded me, not merely ready access to a great Library, but—what is better still—ready access to many personal friends both able and willing to enlighten ignorance. On questions of etymology I, have time after time trespassed on the scanty leisure of Dr P. Giles, Master of Emmanuel College, or all too rarely had the benefit of a flying visit from the Rev. Dr J. H. Moulton, Greenwood Professor of Hellenistic Greek and Indo-European Philology in the Manchester University. Prof. E. J. Rapson has answered various queries with regard to Sanskrit myths and has furnished me with a detailed note on the Vedic Dyaus. One who deals with the syncretistic worships of the nearer East must perforce make excursions into the religions of Egypt, Babylonia, Syria and Asia Minor. In things Egyptian I have consulted Mr F. W. Green, Mr H. R. Hall, and Mrs C. H. W. Johns. For Mesopotamian cult and custom I have gone to my friend and former colleague Dr C. H. W. Johns, Master of St Catharine's College. Semitic puzzles have been made plain to me, partly in long-suffering talks and partly on learned post-cards (that boon of modern University life), by the Rev. Prof. R. H. Kennett of Queens' College, by Profs. A. A. Bevan and F. C. Burkitt of Trinity College, by Mr N. McLean of Christ's College, and by Mr S. A. Cook of Gonville and Caius College: to each and all of them I tender my cordial thanks.

In a book of this character, with its constant appeal to the monuments, textual illustration is not a luxury but a necessity. And here again many friends have laid me under lasting obligations. Photographs of unpublished scenes or objects have been sent to me by Mr K. Kourouniotes, Dr C. G. Seligmann, Mr E. M. W. Tillyard, Mr P. N. Ure, Mr A. J. B. Wace, and by my brother Dr A. R. Cook. Mr A. H. Smith, Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, has allowed me to have photographs and drawings made of numerous art-treasures in gold and silver, bronze, marble, and terra cotta: not a few of them are figured here for the first time. I am specially indebted to Mr H. B. Walters, Assistant-Keeper of the same collection, who

has compared the drawings of vases with the vases themselves, and to Miss P. B. Mudie Cooke, who has verified illustrations and references for me in the Reading Room. In the Department of Coins and Medals Mr G. F. Hill and the late Mr W. Wroth likewise gave me valuable help, partly by discussing various numismatic problems, and partly by supplying me with scores of casts taken from the coins under their charge. Mr F. H. Marshall, formerly of the British Museum, has sent me impressions of gems in the Gold Room, and Monsieur E. Babelon has furnished me with the cast of an unpublished coin in the Paris cabinet. Permission to have drawings made from objects in their possession was granted to me by Mr R. M. Dawkins, Mr F. W. Green, and Dr W. H. D. Rouse; permission to reproduce blocks, by Messrs F. Bruckmann and Co., Monsieur l'Abbé H. Breuil, and Sir William M. Ramsay. Mr J. R. McClean, who was always eager to put his magnificent collection of Greek coins at the service of classical scholarship, generously allowed me to anticipate his *Catalogue* by figuring several of his most interesting specimens, and but a few weeks before his death contributed a large sum towards the better illustration of this work. Another liberal donation to the same object, enhanced by a letter of rare kindness, has reached me from my friend and fellow-lecturer the Rev. Dr A. Wright, Vice-President of Queens' College.

Of the subjects represented in my first volume thirteen coins and one relief were drawn for me by the late Mr F. Anderson, official draughtsman to the British Museum. But the main bulk of the drawings has been made by an equally gifted artist, Miss E. N. Talbot of Saint Rhadegund's House, Cambridge. To her scrupulous exactitude and unremitting industry I am indebted for no fewer than three hundred and twenty-five of my cuts, including the two coloured designs and the restorations attempted in plates vi, xv, xxiii, and xl. Nor must I omit to thank another craftsman of first rate ability, Mr W. H. Hayles of the Cavendish Laboratory, who visited more than one museum on my behalf and, though working against time and not always in ideal conditions, produced a series of exceptionally good photographs.

The Syndics of the University Press by undertaking financial responsibility for the whole work have shouldered a heavy burden with little or no hope of ultimate remuneration. Apart from their timely assistance this book would have remained a pile of musty manuscript. Moreover, at every stage of its production I have

met with unwearied courtesy and consideration from the Manager and Staff of the Pitt Press. In particular I wish to express my obligation to Mr N. Mason, whose resourceful skill has frequently surmounted obstacles in the way of satisfactory illustration, and to Mr W. H. Swift, whose vigilance and accuracy in proof-reading have been to me a perpetual marvel.

Finally, my wife has devoted many hours to the monotonous work of Index-making. I am glad to think that in consequence of her labours this volume will be decidedly more useful than it could otherwise have been.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

19 CRANMER ROAD, CAMBRIDGE.

22 *July* 1914.

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ABBREVIATIONS

This List of Abbreviations has been drawn up in accordance with two principles. On the one hand, the names of Authors have not been shortened, save by the omission of their initials. On the other hand, the titles of Books and Periodicals have been cut down, but not—it is hoped—beyond the limits of recognizability.

The customary abbreviations of classical writers and their works (for which see *supra* p. xiv) are not here included.

- Abh. d. bayer. Akad. Philos.-philol. Classe* = *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Klasse der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften München* 1835—
- Abh. d. berl. Akad. Phil.-hist. Classe* = *Abhandlungen der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-historische Classe Berlin* 1804—
- Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* = *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen Historisch-philologische Klasse Göttingen* 1838—
- Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* = *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften Leipzig* 1850—
- Amelung-Sculpt. Vatic.* = W. Amelung *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* i ii Berlin 1903, 1908.
- Am. Journ. Arch.* = *American Journal of Archaeology* Baltimore 1885—, Second Series Norwood, Mass. 1897—
- Ann. Arch. Anthr.* = *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* Liverpool 1908—
- Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* = *The Annual of the British School at Athens* London 1894-5—
- Ann. d. Inst.* = *Annali dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* Roma 1829—1885.
- Anson Num. Gr.* = L. Anson *Numismata Graeca* Plates and Index London 1910, Text i—v London 1911—1914.
- Ant. Denkm.* = *Antike Denkmäler* herausgegeben vom Kaiserlich Deutschen Archaeologischen Institut Berlin 1886—
- Ant. du Bosph. Cimm.* = *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien conservées au Musée Impérial de l'Ermitage* i ii St.-Pétersbourg 1854 with Atlas of pls.
- Ant. Münz. Berlin* = *Königliche Museen zu Berlin: Beschreibung der antiken Münzen* i—iii Berlin 1888—1894.
- Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* = *Königliche Museen zu Berlin: Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen mit Ausschluss der pergamenischen Fundstücke* Berlin 1891.
- Arch. Anz.* See *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.*
- Arch.-ep. Mitth.* = *Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn* Wien 1877—1897 Register Wien 1902.
- Arch. Zeit.* = *Archäologische Zeitung* herausgegeben vom Archäologischen Institut des Deutschen Reichs Berlin 1843—1885.
- 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. See 'Εφ. 'Αρχ.
- Archiv f. Rel.* = *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* Leipzig 1898—
- Ath. Mitth.* = *Mittheilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archaeologischen Instituts: athenische Abtheilung* Athen 1876—

- Babelon *Cat. Camées de la Bibl. Nat.* = E. Babelon *Catalogue des Camées antiques et modernes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* Paris 1897.
- Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* = E. Babelon *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines* I Théorie et doctrine i Paris 1901, II Description historique i ii Paris 1907, 1910 with Atlas of pls.
- Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* = E. Babelon *Description historique et chronologique des monnaies de la république romaine vulgairement appelées monnaies consulaires* i ii Paris 1885, 1886.
- Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* = E. Babelon et J. A. Blanchet *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale* Paris 1895.
- Bartoli—Bellori *Admir. Rom. ant.* = *Admiranda Romanarum antiquitatum ac veteris sculpturae vestigia*, a Petro Sancti Bartolo delineata incisa. Notis Jo. Petri Bellorii illustrata. Romae 1693.
- Baumeister *Denkm.* = A. Baumeister *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums zur Erläuterung des Lebens der Griechen und Römer in Religion, Kunst und Sitte* i—iii München und Leipzig 1885—1888.
- Bekker *anecd.* = I. Bekker *Anecdota Graeca* i—iii Berolini 1814—1821.
- Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe = *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig* Philologisch-historische Classe Leipzig 1848—
- Berl. philol. Woch. = *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* Berlin 1885—
- Boetticher *Baumkultus* = C. Boetticher *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen nach den gottesdienstlichen Gebräuchen und den überlieferten Bildwerken dargestellt* Berlin 1856.
- Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* = É. Boisacq *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque étudiée dans ses rapports avec les autres langues indo-européennes* Heidelberg et Paris 1907—
- Boissonade *anecd.* = J. F. Boissonade *Anecdota Graeca* i—v Parisiis 1829—1833.
- Bonner Jahrbücher = *Bonner Jahrbücher* (Continuation of the *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande*) Bonn 1895—
- Brit. Mus. *Cat. Bronzes* = H. B. Walters *Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman, and Etruscan, in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* London 1899.
- Brit. Mus. *Cat. Byz. Coins* = W. Wroth *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum* i ii London 1908.
- Brit. Mus. *Cat. Coins* = *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum* London 1873—
Italy 1873 by R. S. Poole; *Sicily* 1876 by B. V. Head, P. Gardner, R. S. Poole; *The Tauric Chersonese, Sarmatia, Dacia, Moesia, Thrace, &c.* 1877 by B. V. Head, P. Gardner; *Seleucid Kings of Syria* 1878 by P. Gardner; *Macedonia, Etc.* 1879 by B. V. Head; *The Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt* 1883 by R. S. Poole; *Thessaly to Aetolia* 1883 by P. Gardner; *Central Greece* 1884 by B. V. Head; *Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India* 1886 by P. Gardner; *Crete and the Aegean Islands* 1886 by W. Wroth; *Peloponnesus* 1887 by P. Gardner; *Attica—Megaris—Aegina* 1888 by B. V. Head; *Corinth, Colonies of Corinth, Etc.* 1889 by B. V. Head; *Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and the Kingdom of Bosphorus* 1889 by W. Wroth; *Alexandria and the Nomes* 1892 by R. S. Poole; *Ionia* 1892 by B. V. Head; *Mysia* 1892 by W. Wroth; *Troas, Aeolis, and Lesbos* 1894 by W. Wroth; *Caria, Cos, Rhodes, &c.* 1897 by B. V. Head; *Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia* 1897 by G. F. Hill; *Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria* 1899 by W. Wroth; *Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia* 1900 by G. F. Hill; *Lydia* 1901 by B. V. Head; *Parthia* 1903 by W. Wroth; *Cyprus* 1904 by G. F. Hill; *Phrygia* 1906 by B. V. Head; *Phoenicia* 1910 by G. F. Hill; *Palestine* 1914 by G. F. Hill.
- Brit. Mus. *Cat. Gems* = A. H. Smith *A Catalogue of Engraved Gems in the British Museum (Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities.)* London 1888.

- Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery*=F. H. Marshall *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum* London 1911.
- Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions*=H. A. Grueber *Roman Medallions in the British Museum* London 1874.
- Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins*=H. A. Grueber *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* i—iii London 1910.
- Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture*=A. H. Smith *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* i—iii London 1892—1904.
- Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas*=H. B. Walters *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* London 1903.
- Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases*=*Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum* London 1893—
i. 2 *Cypriote, Italian, and Etruscan Pottery* 1912 by H. B. Walters; ii *Black-figured Vases* 1893 by H. B. Walters; iii *Vases of the Finest Period* 1896 by C. H. Smith; iv *Vases of the Latest Period* 1896 by H. B. Walters.
- Brit. Mus. Guide Gk. Rom. Life*=*British Museum. Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. A Guide to the Exhibition illustrating Greek and Roman Life.* London 1908.
- Brit. Mus. Marbles*=*A Description of the Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum; with engravings* Parts i—xi London 1812—1861.
- Bruchmann *Epith. deor.*=C. F. H. Bruchmann *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Graecos leguntur* Lipsiae 1893.
- Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.*=*Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur* unter Leitung von H. Brunn herausgegeben von F. Bruckmann 1. Serie (Tafeln 1—500) München 1888—1900; Brunn—Bruckmann's *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur* fortgeführt und mit erläuternden Texten versehen von P. Arndt i (Tafeln 501—550) München 1902, ii (Tafeln 551—600) München 1906, iii (Tafeln 601—650) München 1912, iv (Tafeln 651—) München —.
- Bull. Arch. Nap.*=*Bullettino archeologico Napoletano* i—vi Napoli 1843—1848, Nuova Serie i—viii Napoli 1853—1863.
- Bull. Comm. Arch. Commun. di Roma*=*Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Municipale Roma* 1872—1876 continued as *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* Roma 1877—
- Bull. Corr. Hell.*=*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* Paris 1877—
- Bull. d. Inst.*=*Bullettino dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* Roma 1829—1885.
- Carelli *Num. It. vet.*=Francisci Carellii *Numorum Italiae veteris tabulas CCII*, edidit Coelestinus Cavedonius. Accesserunt Francisci Carellii numorum quos ipse collegit descriptio F. M. Avellinii in eam adnotationes. Lipsiae 1850.
- Carter *Epith. deor.*=J. B. Carter *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Latinos leguntur* Lipsiae 1902.
- Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.*=*Musée de Sculpture antique et moderne* par le C^{te} F. de Clarac Texte i—vi Paris 1841—1853 Planches i—vi Paris 1826—1853.
- Class. Philol.*=*Classical Philology* Chicago 1906—
- Class. Quart.*=*The Classical Quarterly* London 1907—
- Class. Rev.*=*The Classical Review* London 1887—
- Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*²=H. Cohen *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain communément appelées médailles impériales* Deuxième édition i—viii Paris 1880—1892.
- Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.*=M. Collignon *Histoire de la sculpture grecque* i ii Paris 1892, 1897.
- Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d' Athènes*=M. Collignon et L. Couve *Catalogue des vases peints du Musée National d' Athènes* Paris 1902, Index 1903, Table de Concordance 1904, Planches 1904.
- Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.*=*Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inscripfien* von

- F. Bechtel, A. Bezzenberger, F. Blass, H. Collitz, W. Deecke, A. Fick, G. Hinrichs, R. Meister. Herausgegeben von H. Collitz. Göttingen 1884—
- Com. Rom. frag.* = *Comitorum Romanorum praeter Plantum et Syri quae feruntur sententias Fragmenta* tertius curis recognovit Otto Ribbeck Lipsiae 1898.
- Compte-rendu St. Pétr.* = *Compte-rendu de la commission impériale archéologique* avec un Atlas St. Pétersbourg 1859—1881.
- Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* = *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres. Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Année* Paris 1859—
- Corp. inscr. Att.* = *Corpus inscriptionum Atticarum*
- i Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno vetustiores ed. A. Kirchhoff [*Inscriptiones Graecae* i] Berolini 1873.
 - ii Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis quae est inter Euclidis annum et Augusti tempora ed. U. Koehler [*Inscriptiones Graecae* ii] 1—3 Berolini 1877, 1883, 1888 4 Indices comp. J. Kirchner Berolini 1893.
 - iii Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis Romanae ed. W. Dittenberger [*Inscriptiones Graecae* iii] 1—2 Berolini 1878, 1882.
 - iv. 1. 1—3 Supplementa voluminis primi comp. A. Kirchhoff [*Inscriptiones Graecae* i Supplementa] Berolini 1877, 1887, 1891.
 - iv. 2 Supplementa voluminis alterius comp. U. Koehler, Indices conf. J. Kirchner [*Inscriptiones Graecae* ii. 5] Berolini 1895.
- Appendix continens defixionum tabellas in Attica regione repertas, ed. R. Wuensch [*Inscriptiones Graecae* iii. 3] Berolini 1897.
- Corp. inscr. Gr.* = A. Boeckh *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum* i—iv Berolini 1828, 1843, 1853, 1856. Indices comp. H. Roehl Berolini 1877.
- Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* = *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum Graeciae septentrionalis*
- i Inscriptiones Megaridis et Boeotiae ed. W. Dittenberger [*Inscriptiones Graecae* vii] Berolini 1892.
 - iii. 1 Inscriptiones Phocidis, Locridis, Aetoliae, Acarnaniae, insularum maris Ionii ed. W. Dittenberger [*Inscriptiones Graecae* ix. 1] Berolini 1897.
- Corp. inscr. Lat.* = *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*
- i Inscriptiones Latinae antiquissimae ad C. Caesaris mortem, ed. Th. Mommsen Berolini 1863. Voluminis primi editio secunda: pars I cura Th. Mommsen, W. Henzen, C. Huelsen Berolini 1893. Tabulae lithographae, ed. F. Ritschelius Berolini 1862.
 - ii Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae, ed. Aem. Huebner Berolini 1869. Supplementum Berolini 1892.
 - iii Inscriptiones Asiae, provinciarum Europae Graecarum, Illyrici Latinae, ed. Th. Mommsen Berolini 1873. Supplementi fasc. 1—5 Berolini 1889, 1891, 1893, 1902.
 - iv Inscriptiones parietariae Pompeianae Herculaneses Stabianae, ed. C. Zangemeister Berolini 1871. Supplementi pars 1—2 Berolini 1898, 1909.
 - v. 1—2 Inscriptiones Galliae Cisalpiniae Latinae, ed. Th. Mommsen Berolini 1872, 1877.
 - vi. 1—5 Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae, coll. E. Bormann, G. Henzen, C. Huelsen, I. B. de Rossi Berolini 1876, 1882, 1886, 1894, 1902, 1885.
 - vii Inscriptiones Britanniae, ed. Aem. Huebner Berolini 1873.
 - viii Inscriptiones Africae Latinae, coll. G. Wilmanns Berolini 1881. Supplementi pars 1—3 Berolini 1891, 1894, 1904.
 - ix Inscriptiones Calabriae, Apuliae, Samnii, Sabinorum, Piceni Latinae, ed. Th. Mommsen Berolini 1883.
 - x Inscriptiones Bruttiorum, Lucaniae, Campaniae, Siciliae, Sardiniae Latinae, ed. Th. Mommsen Berolini 1883.
 - xi. 1—2. 1 Inscriptiones Aemiliae, Etruriae, Umbriae Latinae, ed. E. Bormann Berolini 1888, 1901.
 - xii Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis Latinae, ed. O. Hirschfeld Berolini 1888.

- xiii. 1. 1—2, 2. 1—2, 3. 1—2 *Inscriptiones trium Galliarum et Germaniarum Latinae*, ed. O. Hirschfeld, C. Zangemeister, Th. Mommsen, A. Domaszewski, O. Bohn, Aem. Espérandieu Berolini 1899, 1904, 1905, 1907, 1901, 1906.
- xiv *Inscriptiones Latii veteris Latinae*, ed. H. Dessau Berolini 1887.
- xv. 1—2. 1 *Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum*, ed. H. Dressel Berolini 1891, 1899.
- Corp. inscr. Sem.* = *Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum* ab Academia Inscriptionum et Litterarum Humaniorum conditum atque digestum. Pars I— Tom. i— Parisiis 1881—
- Couigny *Anth. Pal. Append.* = E. Couigny *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina cum Planudeis et Appendice Nova* iii Appendix Nova Parisiis 1890.
- Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* = J. A. Cramer *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis Bibliothecarum Oxoniensium* i—iv Oxonii 1835—1837.
- Cramer *anecd. Paris.* = J. A. Cramer *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis Bibliothecae Regiae Parisiensis* i—iv Oxonii 1839—1841.
- Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* = *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines* d'après les textes et les monuments...ouvrage rédigé par une société d'écrivains spéciaux, d'archéologues et de professeurs sous la direction de Mm. Ch. Daremberg et Edm. Saglio i— Paris 1877—
- Δελτ. Ἀρχ. = Δελτίον Ἀρχαιολογικὸν ἐκδιδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ γενικοῦ ἐφόρου Π. Καββαδία ἐν Ἀθήναις 1885—
- Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* = *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Philosophisch-historische Classe. Wien 1850—
- De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes de la coll. de Clercq* = *Collection de Clercq. Catalogue* publié par les soins de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres et sous la direction de Mm. de Vogüé, E. Babelon, E. Pottier. Tome iii *Les Bronzes* par A. de Ridder Paris 1905.
- De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* = *Catalogue des Vases Peints de la Bibliothèque Nationale* par A. de Ridder i ii Paris 1901, 1902.
- Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* = H. Dessau *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae* i, ii, 1, ii, 2, iii, 1 Berolini 1892, 1902, 1906, 1914.
- De Visser *De Gr. diis non ref. spec. hum.* = M. W. de Visser *De Graecorum diis non referentibus speciem humanam* Lugduni-Batavorum 1900.
- De Vit *Lat. Lex.* = *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon* opera et studio Aegidii Forcellini lucubraturum et in hac editione post tertiam auctam et emendatam a Josepho Furlanetto... novo ordine digestum amplissime auctum atque emendatum cura et studio Doct. Vincentii de-Vit... i—vi Prati 1858—1879.
- De Vit *Onomasticon* = *Totius Latinitatis Onomasticon* opera et studio Doct. Vincentii de-Vit lucubraturum i—iv Prati 1859—1887.
- Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* = *Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*. Supplementum Sylloges inscriptionum Graecarum, ed. Wilhelmus Dittenberger i ii Lipsiae 1903, 1905.
- Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² = *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum*, iterum ed. Guilelmus Dittenberger i—iii Lipsiae 1898, 1900, 1901.
- Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat.* = C. du Fresne *Glossarium medic et infimae Latinitatis*. Editio nova a Léopold Favre i—x Niort 1883—1887.
- Durm *Baukunst d. Etrusk.*² = *Handbuch der Architektur*. Unter Mitwirkung von J. Durm und H. Ende herausgegeben von E. Schmitt. Zweiter Teil: Die Baustile. 2 Band: *Die Baukunst der Etrusker*. Die Baukunst der Römer. Von J. Durm. Zweite Auflage. Stuttgart 1905.
- Durm *Baukunst d. Gr.*² ³ = *Handbuch der Architektur*. Unter Mitwirkung von Fachgenossen herausgegeben von J. Durm, H. Ende, E. Schmitt und H. Wagner. Zweiter Theil: Die Baustile. 1 Band: *Die Baukunst der Griechen*. Von J. Durm. Zweite Auflage. Darmstadt 1892, Dritte Auflage. Leipzig 1910.

- Durm *Baukunst d. Röm.*²=*Handbuch der Architektur*. Unter Mitwirkung von J. Durm und H. Ende herausgegeben von E. Schmitt. Zweiter Teil: Die Baustile. 2 Band: Die Baukunst der Etrusker. *Die Baukunst der Römer*. Von J. Durm. Zweite Auflage. Stuttgart 1905.
- Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*²=*Doctrina numorum veterum* conscripta a Iosepho Eckhel i Vindobonae 1792, ii—viii Editio secunda Vindobonae 1839, 1828, Addenda ad Eckhelii *Doctrinam numorum veterum* ex eiusdem autographo postumo Vindobonae 1826.
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- Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.* = *Religion und Kultus der Römer (Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-wissenschaft* herausgegeben von Dr. Iwan von Müller v. Band, 4. Abteilung) von Dr. Georg Wissowa...München 1902, *Zweite Auflage* München 1912.
- Zeitschr. f. Num.* = *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* Berlin 1874— .

CHAPTER I

ZEUS AS GOD OF THE BRIGHT SKY.

§ 1. *Zeus and the Daylight.*

(a) Zeus the Sky.

THE supreme deity of the ancient Greeks, during their historical period at least, was Zeus. His name, referable to a root that means 'to shine,' may be rendered 'the Bright One'. And, since a whole series of related words in the various languages of the Indo-Europæan family is used to denote 'day' or 'sky',² it can be safely inferred that Zeus was called 'the Bright One' as being the god of the bright or day-light sky.³ Indeed a presumption

¹ K. Brugmann *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*² Strassburg 1897 i. 204, 210, 263, 276 f., 307, 527, 797, 1906 ii. 1. 133 f., *id.* *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* Strassburg 1904 p. 312, Schrader *Reallex.* p. 670, H. Hirt *Die Indogermanen* Strassburg 1907 ii. 506. The Greek *Zeús* and the Old Indian *Dyaus* represent an Indo-Europæan **d̥i̯eu-s* from the root *d̥i̯*: *di̯*: *deja*, 'to shine.'

² This series as collected by Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* s.vv. *deus*, *dies*, and *Hirt op. cit.* ii. 734 f. includes the following forms: Greek *ἔνδιος* 'at mid-day,' *εὐδία* 'clear sky'; Latin *sub dīvo* 'under the open sky,' *dies* 'day'; Welsh *dīw dyw dydd* 'day,' Breton *dez* 'day,' Cornish *det* 'day,' Irish *indiu* 'to-day'; Gothic *sin-teins* 'daily'; Lithuanian *diēnà* 'day,' Slavonic *dini* 'day'; Albanian *dito* 'day'; Armenian *tiv* 'day'; Old Indian *divá* 'on the day,' *divám*, 'day, sky.'

³ Two misleading explanations may here be noted. (1) E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 182, 220 holds that *Zeús* denotes properly the 'hurler' or 'discharger' of rays (cp. H. Grassmann *Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda* Leipzig 1873—1875 p. 600 s.v. *div*.) and infers that he must have been the lightning-god, not as is commonly supposed the god of bright day-light. But the frequent use of the word *dyaus* in the *Rig-veda* for 'sky' or 'day' (A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 21, P. von Bradke *Dyaus Asura* Halle 1885 p. 110) and the existence of the forms recorded in the foregoing note are conclusive in favour of the common view.

(2) Frazer *Golden Bough*³ ii. 369, *ib.*² iii. 456 f., suggested that Zeus was named 'Bright' as being the oak-god, *i.e.* god of the tree whose wood was used in fire-making. Against this view I protested in the *Class. Rev.* 1902 xvi. 372, as did Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1100 n. 2. And Frazer *op. cit.*³ ii. 358 n. 1 admits that he 'was disposed to set aside much too summarily what may be called the meteorological side of Zeus and Jupiter,' though he still regards the oak-tree as the primary, not a secondary, element in their composite nature (*ib.* ii. 373 ff.). I now hold, and shall hope in vol. ii of the present work to show, that the oak was originally the tree of the earth-mother rather than the tree of the sky-father, and that the latter acquired it in the first instance through association with the former.

is raised that Zeus was at first conceived, not in anthropomorphic fashion as the bright sky-god, but simply as the bright sky itself. True, the Greeks at the time when their literature begins had advanced far beyond this primitive view. Zeus in the *Iliad* is already the potent, if not omnipotent, ruler of the gods, the description of whose nod is said to have inspired Pheidias' masterpiece at Olympia¹:

So spake the son of Kronos and thereto
Nodded with darkling brow²: the lordly locks,

¹ Strab. 354, Val. Max. 3. 7. *ext.* 4, Dion Chrys. *or.* 12 p. 383 Reiske, Macrobi. *Sat.* 5. 13. 23, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 145, 10 ff., cp. Polyb. 30. 10. 6, Plout. *v. Aem. Paul.* 28.

² *κνανέησιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσιν.* 'Blue' here implies 'black' (see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* s.vv. *κνάεος* and its compounds)—a confusion characteristic of early thought and as such well known to anthropologists. A seated figure of Zeus from a sixth-century *poros* pediment, now in the Akropolis Museum at Athens, has undeniably black hair, eyebrows, and beard (T. Wiegand *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen* Cassel and Leipzig 1904 p. 97 ff. pl. 8, 1—2).

It is probable that Pheidias' chryselephantine Zeus and its copies had hair and beard of gold; for Lucian makes Zeus complain that a couple of his curls, weighing six minas apiece, were cut off and stolen from Pisa by burglars (Loukian. *Iup. trag.* 25), and Pausanias states that Theokosmos of Megara, helped by Pheidias, made for the Megarian *Olympieion* a statue of Zeus, which had *πρόσωπον ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ* (Paus. 1. 40. 4). But it would be rash to infer from this that the god was essentially fair-haired. The Minoans of Knossos made ivory statuettes of athletes with hair of gilded bronze (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 72 f. pls. 2 f.). Were they blondes? Herodes Attikos erected a chryselephantine statue of Poseidon in the Isthmian temple (Paus. 2. 1. 7 f.). But Poseidon was not xanthotrichous.

A terra-cotta head of Zeus found at Olympia and dating from the first quarter of the fifth century B.C. bears traces of a blackish brown varnish on the hair, on the forehead, and round the eyes: this was either a protective coating (G. Treu in *Olympia* iii. 35 f. pl. 7, 4 and fig. 37), or more probably a lustre intended to imitate the effect of bronze (A. Furtwängler *Die Bronzefunde aus Olympia* Berlin 1879 p. 90, W. Deonna *Les statues de terre cuite dans l'antiquité: Sicile* etc. Paris 1908 p. 25 f.). The terra-cottas from Smyrna that show Zeus or Zeus Sarapis with gilded head and hair (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* C 445, cp. D 392, S. Reinach *Esquisses archéologiques* Paris 1888 p. 223 f.) may denote a similar attempt to copy gilt bronze. A terra-cotta head of Zeus, found by Lord Savile at Lanuvium and now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, came probably from a pediment of the third century B.C. (W. Deonna *op. cit.* p. 138): it shows traces of red in the hair and beard; but here we have to reckon with the conventional colouring of architecture (A. Furtwängler *Aegina* München 1906 i. 304 ff.).

Greek vase-painters, bound by their artistic traditions, commonly of course represent Zeus with black hair, but occasionally give him a grey beard or white hair (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 29).

Not till Roman times do we get a demonstrably light-haired Zeus. On wall-paintings from the Villa Farnesina (*Gaz. Arch.* 1883 viii. 99 f. pl. 15 Zeus with the attributes of Dionysos, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1884 lvi. 320, *Mon. d. Inst.* xii. pl. 7, 5, P. Girard *La Peinture Antique* Paris 1891 p. 309 fig. 188, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 246 no. 1083) and from Pompeii (listed in Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 30 ff., Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 19 ff., Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pls. 11, 46, 2, etc.) his hair varies from dark to light. A wall-painting of the Hadrianic age from Eleusis shows him enthroned with a Nike in his right hand, a sceptre in his left: his head is unfortunately mutilated, but

Ambrosial, on his immortal head
Shook—at their shaking all Olympos quaked¹.

Nevertheless, although Zeus as conceived by the Homeric minstrel is fully anthropomorphic, certain traces of the earlier conception persisted even into post-Homeric times². The evidence is linguistic rather than literary. I shall begin by passing it in review.

Closely akin to the substantive *Zeús* is the adjective *díos*, which denotes properly 'of' or 'belonging to Zeus³'. This meaning it actually bears in Attic drama⁴. But how comes it that in the much earlier Homeric poems it has the force of 'bright' or 'glorious' without any such restriction to the property of a personal Zeus⁵? Probably because the word was formed before Zeus became a personality, when as yet he was *the* Zeus, the radiant sky credited with an impersonal life of its own. *Díos* in fact meant at first 'of' or 'belonging to the bright sky'; and a vestige of its primary meaning is to be found in the frequent Homeric phrases 'the *bright* upper air⁶' and 'the *bright* dawn⁷'. The transition from brightness in this sense to glory or splendour in general is not hard to follow. Further, when Zeus came to be regarded as an individual sky-god, the way was open for *díos*, 'of the bright sky,' to take on the more personal meaning, 'of the

enough remains to prove that the beard, like the body, was red-brown in colour shaded with black ('Εφ. Ἄρχ. 1888 p. 77 ff. pl. 5).

¹ *Il.* i. 528 ff., cp. 8. 199 (of Hera). For a similar explanation of earthquakes in modern Greece see *infra* ch. ii. § 5.

² Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.* p. 100 contrasts Zeus the personal sky-god with Iupiter the actual sky (cp. W. Warde Fowler *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 pp. 128, 141). But the contrast was neither originally nor finally valid: at the first both Zeus and Iupiter were the sky; at the last both were the sky-god.

³ Brugmann *Grundriss* etc.² ii. 1. 187 ('himmlisch'), *id.* *Kurze vergl. Gram.* etc. pp. 99 ('himmlisch'), 360 ('göttlich'), L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iii. 175 f. ('von Zeus herrührend, Zeus angehörend,' dann allgemeiner 'himmlisch, göttlich, herrlich' oder ähnlich), Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 117 ('göttlich'), Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 189 f. ('divin'), treat *díos* as **ǵl̥ios* from *Διϝ-*, 'Zeus.'

⁴ E.g. Aisch. *P. v.* 619 βούλευμα μὲν τὸ Δίον, Ἡφαίστου δὲ χεῖρ, Eur. *Ion* 1144 ἀνάθημα Δίου παιδός.

⁵ According to H. Ebeling *Lexicon Homericum* Lipsiae 1885 i. 310 f. Homer has *díos* in the sense 'bright' or 'glorious' of goddesses (but not gods, though in *frag. h. Dion.* 2 *δίον γένος* is Dionysos son of Zeus, and in *Il.* 17. 582 Zenodotos wrote *díos Ἄρηι*), nymphs, men and women, peoples and places, divine horses, rivers and mountain-peaks, land and sea.

⁶ *Il.* 16. 365, *h. Dem.* 70 αἰθέρος ἐκ δίης, *Od.* 19. 540 ἐς αἰθέρα δῖαν, cp. Emped. *frag.* 109, 2 Diels αἰθέρα δῖον, Aisch. *P. v.* 88 ὦ δίος αἰθήρ, Orph. *frag.* 53, 1 Abel αἰθέρι δῖω, 167, 1 αἰθέρα δῖον.

⁷ *Il.* 24. 417 ἦώς ὅτε δῖα φανήη, *ib.* 9. 240, 662, 11. 723, 18. 255, *Od.* 9. 151, 306, 436, 11. 375, 12. 7, 16. 368, 19. 50, 342 ἦώ δῖαν.

god Zeus⁴. Thus, on the assumption that Zeus began life as *the* Zeus, both Homeric and Attic usages are satisfactorily explained¹. We note in passing that in north-eastern Phrygia Zeus was worshipped as Zeus *Dios*, a double appellation which recalls the *Dea Dia* of the Romans, and very possibly attests the survival among the Thracio-Phrygian folk of an early, not to say primitive, Zeus.

Another adjective *endios* occurs in epic verse with the meaning 'in broad day-light' or 'at mid-day'. For example, Nestor in the *Iliad* describes an expedition in which he had once taken part:

At mid-day (*endios*) came we to the sacred stream
Alpheios⁴.

Eidothea too in the *Odyssey* tells Menelaos the habits of her father Proteus:

What time the Sun bestrides mid heaven, there comes
Shoreward the unerring Ancient of the Sea⁵.

And fifty lines further on her word is made good:

At mid-day (*endios*) came the Ancient from the sea⁶.

¹ Another possible, but—as it seems to me—less probable, explanation would be to say that *Dios* meant originally 'of Zeus,' i.e. of the personal Zeus, and that its meaning had been widened and weakened by epic usage till *dios* came to signify merely 'divine,' while yet Attic poetry retained the primary force of the word *Dios*, 'of Zeus.' That different dialects should be at different stages in the evolution of the meaning of a given word, and even that the early poetry of one dialect should give only the later meaning while the later poetry of another dialect gave only the early meaning, is certainly thinkable. But the hypothesis set forth in the text involves fewer assumptions.

² A. Korte in the *Zeit. f. d. Altert.* 1897 clix. 409 f. publishes (after G. Radet 'En Phrygie' in the *Annales des Missions Scientifiques* Paris 1895 vi. 425—594) a name for Zeus at Eski-schehir in the Kütshük-Han inscribed 'Αγαθῆ τέχνη | Σόλων ἱερός κατὰ ἐπιταγήν Διὸς ἢ Διὸς ἑχέην. Ως κὲ ἐαντῶ ζῶν. On the upper part of the altar are two bunches of grapes: on the base, a plough of a kind still much used in Anatolia. Korte observes that the quantity of *ε* in *Διός* is doubtful, and suggests that we have here perhaps den unalten Himmelsgott *Dios* (an ancient nominative assumed by H. Usener *U. Paganorum* Bonn 1896 pp. 43, 70 f. to account for *Διόσθουος*, *Διός Κόρυθος*, *nu-dius* *Terminus*, *Diu* *Idibus*, *Διανος*). This, however, is highly precarious. I prefer to write *Διός* with Sir W. M. Ramsay *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire* Aberdeen 1906 p. 275, who notes that Solon, servitor of Zeus *Dios*, discharged a vow to his god and by the same act of devotion made a tomb for himself.

³ So Souda. *ε*. *ἐνδῖος*, Hesych. *ε*. *ἐνδία*, *ἐνδῖος*, *ἐνδῖος*, *et. mag.* p. 339, 1, *et. Gud.* p. 186, 39, Orion p. 60, 4, Apollon. *lex. Hom.* *ε*. *ἐνδῖος*, Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 200, 7 f.

⁴ *Il.* 11. 726 with Eustath. in *Il.* p. 881, 5 κατὰ μεσημβρίαν: schol. V. *ad loc.* says οὐδ' αἰέναν.

⁵ *Od.* 4. 400 f.

⁶ *Ib.* 450 with scholl. V. B. E. *ἐνδῖος*: μεσημβρινός.

Similarly Soudas cites the following couplet, perhaps by Kallimachos:

So, while mid-day (*éndios*) endured and earth grew hot,
More brilliant than crystal shone the sky¹.

From this adjective are derived verbs meaning 'to take a mid-day siesta', 'to live in the open air', 'to grow up into the air'.² But the adjective itself must have meant originally 'in the Zeus' or 'in the bright sky',³ thence passing into the sense 'in broad daylight', 'at mid-day'.⁴

Lastly, there is the adjective *eúdios* 'with a clear sky, tranquil',⁵ the substantive *eudía* 'a clear sky, calm weather',⁶ and the verbs *eudiân*, *eudiázesthai* 'to be serene'.⁷ These all spring from the same root as *díos*, *éndios*¹⁰, and alike bear witness to the fact that

¹ Soud. *s.v.* *éndios* = Kallim. *frag. an.* 24 Schneider. Hellenistic poets affected the word, e.g. Kallim. *h. Dem.* 39 *ποτὶ τῶνδιον* with schol. *περὶ τὸ μεσημβρινόν*, *id. frag.* 124 Schneider *ἴδεος ἔνδιου*, *id. Hekale frag.* pap. col. iv, 2 *ἀλλ' ἢ νύξ ἢ ἔνδιος ἢ ἔσσετ' ἡμᾶρ*, Ap. Rhod. 1. 603 *ἐς ἔνδιον* with schol. *μέχρι μεσημβρίας*, *id.* 4. 1310 *ἔνδιον ἡμᾶρ ἔην*, *περὶ δ' ὀξύταται θέρον αὐγαὶ | ἡελίου Λιβύην*, Theokr. 16. 95 *ποιμένας ἔνδιους* with schol. *vet. κατὰ τὴν μεσημβρίαν* and gloss M. *δειλιούς* (imitated by Antiphilos in *Anth. Pal.* 9. 71), Arat. *phaen.* 498 *πέντε μὲν ἔνδια στρέφεται καθ' ὑπέριερα γαίης* with schol. *τὸ δὲ ἔνδια ἡμερῶν, ὑψηλὰ ὑπὲρ γῆν, παρὰ τὸν ἔνδιον καιρὸν τὸν μεσημβρινόν*, *id.* 954 *ἢ καὶ βόες ἤδη τοὶ πάρος ὕδατος ἔνδιου | οὐρανὸν εἰσανιδόντες ἀπ' αἰθέρος ὠσφρήσαντο* with schol. *τὸ δὲ ὕδατος ἔνδιου ἤγουν μεσημβρινού καὶ οὐρανόυ*.

² *Ἐνδιάζειν*: Plout. *symf.* 8. 6. 5, *v. Rom.* 4, *v. Lucull.* 16. Cp. Hesych. *ἐνδιῶνται*· *μεσημβριάζουσιν*.

³ *Ἐνδιᾶν*: Theokr. 16. 38, 22. 44, *Anth. Pal.* 5. 291. 6 Agathias. The verb came to mean simply 'to dwell': *Anth. Pal.* 2. 122 Christodoros, *ib.* 4. 4. 10 Agathias, *ib.* 5. 269. 10 Paulus Silentiarius. The (Alexandrine?) author of the Homeric *h. Sel.* says of the full moon *ἢ ἀκτίνες δ' ἐνδιῶνται*, which E. E. Sikes *ad loc.* would render: 'are as bright as day.'

⁴ *Ἐνδιῶν*: Tab. Heracl. 1. 120 *f. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα (sc. τὰ δένδρα) πεφυτευμένα παρέξοντι καὶ ἐνδε|διωκότα*, which G. Kaibel in the *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* p. 174 renders 'arbores quae in aere succreant.'

⁵ *Ἐνδιος* is related to *ἐν Δι* as is *ἐννύχιος* to *ἐν νυκτι* or *ἐνάλιος* to *ἐν ἀλι*: see L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 423, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 142, Boisacq *Dict. Etym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 250.

⁶ W. Prellwitz *Eine griechische und eine lateinische Etymologie* Bartenstein 1895 p. 8 notes that *ἐνδιος* is for *ἐνδιλιος* and *ἐνδιός* for *ἐνδιλιός*, both being derived from *ἐν Δι*, 'im Zeus, im lichten Tage.'

⁷ Cp. *Od.* 8. 449 *αὐτόδιον*, 'straightway,' lit. 'on the self-same day' (so Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 66, Boisacq *op. cit.* p. 103, on the analogy of *αὐτήμαρ*).

⁸ E.g. Arat. *phaen.* 823 *εὐδιου... ἡματος*, *Georgon.* 18. 3. *ἢ ἡμέρας εὐδιου*, Orph. *h. Aith.* 5. 6 *Μηροῖα* *sc. (sc. Aither) κεκραμένον εὐδιον εἶναι*, *id. h. Hel.* 8. 13 *f. ἀθάνατε Ζεῦ*, | *εὐδιε, πασιφαές* of the sun, Arat. *phaen.* 784 *εὐδιός κ' εἴη* of the moon, *Anth. Pal.* 9. 806. 3 *παναιγλήεντα καὶ εὐδιον* of a space cleared for a sun-dial.

⁹ E.g. Pind. *Isthm.* 7 (6). 37 *f. εὐδιαν ὅπασσεν | ἐκ χειμῶνος*, Theophr. *caus. pl.* 3. 23. 5 *ἐὰν γὰρ εὐδίαὶ καὶ τὰ νότια ἐνισχύωσι*.

¹⁰ E.g. Arat. *phaen.* 899 *πάντη Διὸς εὐδιῶντος* with schol. *εὐδίας ὁσσης*, Plut. *Asiack.* 370 *D bios, ἀσαλεύτω ἡσυχία εὐδιάζομενος*.

¹¹ Prellwitz *op. cit.* p. 162, Boisacq *op. cit.* p. 293.

Zeus once signified the animate sky. It is interesting to observe that the tenth-century scholar, who compiled the great Greek lexikon known as the *Etymologicum Magnum*, seems to have had an inkling of the truth; for in discussing the words *cúdios* and *eudía* he suggests as a possible derivation—'or because *Zeús* denotes "the sky" also¹.

When the pre-anthropomorphic conception of Zeus had developed into the anthropomorphic, the natural tendency would be to forget the former in the latter. We can hardly expect, therefore, to find in extant Greek literature the name *Zeús* used as a simple equivalent of 'the sky.' Still, there are occasional passages of a more or less colloquial sort, in which the ancient usage may be detected. Thus Aristophanes in his comedy *Friends of the Frying-pan* makes one of the characters exclaim :

And how should Plouton bear the name he does bear,
Had he not got the best of it? I'll explain.
The things of earth surpass the things of Zeus.
When you are weighing, 'tis the laden pan
Seeks earth, the empty one goes up towards Zeus².

The remark gains in point, if we may suppose that 'towards Zeus' was a popular expression for 'sky-wards.'³ It certainly appears to be used in that sense by Euripides: he has in his *Kyklops* the following conversation between Polyphemos, who has returned home unexpectedly, and the Chorus of Satyrs, who are caught idling and so face their ferocious master with hanging heads :

Kyklops. Look up, not down.
Chorus. There! We are staring up towards Zeus himself:
I see the stars; I see Orion too⁴.

Plutarch, again, quotes a witty epigram on Lysippos' statue of Alexander the Great with its characteristic upturned gaze:

The man of bronze who looks to Zeus
Says (so I should opine)—

¹ *Et. mag.* p. 389, 35 ἢ ὅτι ὁ Ζεὺς σηματοῦναι καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν, cp. *ib.* p. 409, 6 (Ζεὺς σηματοῦναι) τὸν θεὸν ἢ τὸν οὐρανόν. So *Lyd. de mens.* 4. 176 p. 183, 9 ff. Wunsch Ζεὺς γὰρ ὁ ἀήρ... ὥστε διοσημεῖα τὸ τοῦ ἀέρος σημεῖον, ὥσπερ εὐδίων τὸ πρᾶον καὶ γαλητῶν τοῦ ἀέρος καλεῖται σχῆμα, *Eustath. in Il.* p. 881, 9 ἐνδιοιοι. ἴσως δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὸν ὑγρὸν Δία, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀέρα, *Tzetz. alleg. II.* 1. 375 καὶ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἠρέμησεν εὐδῖος σὺν αἰθέρι. On the equation of Zeus with ἀήρ see further *infra* p. 30.

² *Aristoph. Tegenistae frag.* 1. 1—5 *Meineke ap. Stob. flor.* 121. 18 (ed. Gaisford iii. 417): the last clause is ὅταν γὰρ ἰστᾶς, τοῦ ταλάντου τὸ βέπον | κάτω βαδίζει, τὸ δὲ κενὸν πρὸς τὸν Δία.

³ For a Latin parallel see *Ap. met.* 10. 21 (cod. Laur. 54. 24) dentes ad Iovem elevans (of an ass looking up).

⁴ *Eur. Cycl.* 211 ff. *KT.* βλέπετ' ἄνω καὶ μὴ κάτω. | ΧΟ. ἰδοῦ, πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Δί' ἀνακεκῦψαμεν, | καὶ τᾶστρα καὶ τὸν Ἄριωνα δέρκομαι.

'This earth I keep for my own use ;
The sky, Zeus, is for thine!'

With these passages of comedy and quasi-comedy should be compared certain others of more serious tone, in which the poet says 'the rays of Zeus' or 'the light of Zeus' where we should say 'the light of day.' The *Iliad* thus describes the crash of a battle between Argives and Trojans:

The din of both
Rose to the upper sky and the rays of Zeus².

Hekabe in the tragedy that Euripides named after her speaks of her dead son Polydoros as—

No longer in the light of Zeus³.

In the same poet's *Iphigenia at Aulis* the heroine, when she departs to her death, bids adieu to the day-light:

O lamp of day
And light of Zeus,
Another life,
Another lot
Henceforth be mine.
Loved light, farewell⁴.

In such passages it is difficult to determine whether Zeus is conceived as anthropomorphic, or not. Anthropomorphism is, however, apparent in the *Rhesos*, where Euripides writes not only 'the light of the god⁵' but also 'Zeus god of Light⁶.'

¹ Plout. *de Alex. magn.* 1. 9, 2. 2 (=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 3. 53) αὐδασοῦντι δ' ἔοικεν ὁ χάλκεος εἰς Δία λεύσσων· | 'γῶν ὑπ' ἐμοὶ τίθεμαι, Ζεῦ, σὺ δ' Ὀλυμπον ἔχε.'

² *Il.* 13. 837 ἡχῆ δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἕκετ' αἰθέρα καὶ Διὸς αὐγὰς. Schol. B. Διὸς γὰρ αὐγὰς λέγει τὸν οὐρανόν. Schol. V. τὸν οὐρανόν· δι' αἰθέρος οὐρανὸν ἦκεν (*Il.* 2. 458). So schol. T., adding οἱ δὲ "Διὸς" τοῦ ἡλίου, Πλατωνικῶς. Cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 962, 64 f. Διὸς αὐγὰς, ὃ ἐστὶν ἡλίου κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς and *et. mag.* p. 409, 9 which quotes the line as proof that Zeus sometimes means 'the sun.' Hesych. Διὸς αὐγὰς· τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ φῶς. τὸν αἰθέρα. The phrase recurs in a Greek metrical inscription found at Ostia (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 940 [ἐν αἰθέ]ρι καὶ Διὸς αὐγαῖς).

³ Eur. *Hec.* 707 οὐκέτ' ὄντα Διὸς ἐν φάει.

⁴ *Id.* *I.A.* 1505 ff. ἰὼ ἰώ, | λαμπαδοῦχος ἀμέρα | Διὸς τε φέγγος, κ.τ.λ.

⁵ *Id.* *Rhes.* 331 τοῦπιόν σέλας θεοῦ='to-morrow.'

⁶ *Id.* *ib.* 355 Ζεὺς ὁ Φαναῖος. Perhaps we should rather render 'He that Appareth'; cp. *ib.* 370 φάνηθι. The same title was borne by Apollon in Chios (Hesych. *s.v.* Φαναῖος), and is thus explained by Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 17. 34: Φαναῖον (MSS. Φανεόν) ἐπειδὴ φαίνεται νέος, quia sol cotidie renovat sese. Cornut. *theol.* 32 p. 67, 3 f. Lang has ('Ἀπόλλωνα) Φαναῖον ἀπὸ τοῦ δηλοῦσθαι δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄντα καὶ φωτίζεισθαι τὸν κόσμον. But, as applied to the Chian Apollon, and presumably also to Zeus, the epithet was at first a mere ἰθνηκόν, 'the god of Phanai'; for Strab. 645 in describing Chios mentions Φῆναι, λιμὴν βαθύς, καὶ νεὺς Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἄλσος φοινίκων, though Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Φῆναι says ἀκρωτήριον τῆς Χίου, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκείθεν ἀναφανῆναι τῇ Λητοῖ τὴν Δῆλον. οἱ οἰκῆτορες Φαναῖοι κ.τ.λ. The port and promontory are referred to by other writers (Aristoph. *av.* 1694 with schol.,

For fifteen hundred years and more, in fact till the decay of paganism, the anthropomorphic conception of Zeus held the field. Yet the older view was never very far below the surface, and from time to time, as we shall see, it cropped up in a variety of ways. Even in the extreme decadence of Greek letters there was a scholastic resuscitation of it. Thus, the original Zeus was simply the radiant day-light Sky. With the rise of anthropomorphism this belief was obscured and overlaid. The Zeus of Hesiodic mythology is described as grandson of an older god *Ouranós*, the starry midnight 'Sky'. In Hellenic times the two Spartan kings were respectively priests of Zeus *Lakedatmon* and Zeus *Ouranios* ('of the Sky'). In the Hellenistic age the latter title was much used by the poets³: it afforded a point of contact between the Greek Zeus and the Semitic *Ba'al-shamin*, 'Lord of Heaven'. Finally, Byzantine learning spoke of Zeus *ouranós*, Zeus the 'sky', a title which in letter, though not in spirit, recalled the primary idea of the animate Sky.

Thouk. 8. 24, Ptolem. 5. 2 p. 323, 19, Liv. 36. 43, 44. 28, 45. 10, Verg. *georg.* 2. 98 with Serv. *ad loc.*

Orphic writers occasionally gave the name Zeus to their first-born deity Φάνης (Damaskios *quaest. de primis principiis* p. 380 = Orph. *frag.* 48 Abel Πρωτόγονον ἀνυμεί και Δα καλεῖ πάντων διατάκτορα, Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 9. 1 f. = Stob. *ecl.* 1. 1. 23 = Orph. *frag.* 123 Abel Ζεὺς πῶτος γένητο κ.τ.λ.: see O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2260), whose own name was explained sometimes as referring to Light (Io. Malal. *chron.* 4 p. 74 Dindorf, Soud. *s.v.* Ὀρφεὺς 7 φῶς) or to Day (Theon Smyrn. *expos. rerum mathematic.* *ad legendum Platonem utilium* p. 105 = Orph. *frag.* 171 Abel Φανῆ τε μέγαν και νύκτα μέλαιναν), but usually as a description of the Sun (Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 18. 13, Diod. 1. 11, Iamb. *theol. arith.* p. 60: see E. Zeller *A History of Greek Philosophy* trans. S. F. Alleyne London 1881 i. 106 n. 4, O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2255 f.). On a relief at Modena representing Phanes with a thunderbolt in his right hand see R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 399 ff. fig. 47.

¹ The relation of Ouranos to Gaia, and of both to Zeus, will be considered later.

² Hdt. 6. 56. Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 3 cites *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1241, 8 ff. [ἀγώ]ροθέτης | [τῶν] μεγάλων Οὐρανίων, no. 1258, 6 ff. [ἱ]ερεὺς γε[νόμενος?] | Διὸς Οὐρανίου], no. 1276, 9 f. ἱερεὺς | Οὐρανίων, Lebas-Foucart *Peloponnèse* no. 179 2, 3 f. νεκρήσαντα τραγωδοῦς Οὐρανιάδα γ' (= *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1420, cp. nos. 1421, 11 f., 1429, 4 f., 1473, 1, 1719, 6), *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1424, 1 ff. τῶν μεγίστων Οὐρανίων | Σεβαστείων Νεροῦανιδέων.

³ Kallim. *h. Zeus* 55, *ep.* 52. 3 Wilamowitz, *Anth. Pal.* 9. 352. 4 (Leonidas Alex.), *Anth. Plan.* 293. 3, Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 618. 21, Eratosth. *epist. ad Ptolem.* 15 Hiller, Nonn. *Dion.* 21. 4, 24. 279, 25. 348, 27. 76, 31. 97, 43. 174 f., 47. 694 f. (cp. 46. 39 Ζηνὸς ἐπουρανίου)—collected by Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 136. So Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 25.

⁴ *Infra* ch. i § 6 (a). See also C. Clermont-Ganneau *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale* Paris 1903 v. 66 ff.

⁵ Tzetz. *antehom.* 208 Ζηνὸς φραδμοσύνησιν ἐν οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος, *Hom.* 171 f. Ζεὺς δὲ τῶτ' οὐρανὸς ἀργυφέας νεφέλας στυφελίζων | βρόντα χωόμενος, *alleg. Od.* 6. 198 ἐπεὶ και Ζεὺς ὁ οὐρανὸς και Ζεὺς αὐτὸς τυγχάνει, 9. 81 Διὸς ὄμβρος (leg. ὄμβρος) ἀέξει δε, τοῦ οὐρανοῦ νῦν λέγει, 12. 25 f. αἱ δὲ Πηλεΐδες σφῶν πατρὶ Δί, τῷ οὐρανῷ δε, | φέρουσι, 102 Ζεὺς ὤσεν ἄνεμον ζῶήν, ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐνθάδε, cp. 9. 78 Δί χεῖρας ἀνέσχομεν, τῷ οὐρανῷ ἔψει.

(b) The Transition from Sky to Sky-god.

The precise steps by which men advanced from a belief in Zeus the Sky to a belief in Zeus the Sky-god are hidden from us in the penumbra of a prehistoric past. The utmost that we can hope is to detect here and there survivals in language or custom or myth, which may enable us to divine as through gaps in a mist the track once travelled by early thought¹. In such circumstances to attempt anything like a detailed survey or reconstruction of the route would be manifestly impossible. Nevertheless the shift from Sky to Sky-god was a momentous fact, a fact which modified the whole course of Greek religion, and its ultimate consequence was nothing less than the rise of faith in a personal God, the Ruler and Father of all. In view of this great issue we may well strain our backward gaze beyond the point of clear vision and even acquiesce in sundry tentative hypotheses, if they help us to retrace in imagination the initial stages of the journey. I shall make bold, therefore, to surmise that in Greece, as elsewhere, religion effected its upward progress along the following lines.

When those who first used the word *Zeús* went out into the world and looked abroad, they found themselves over-arched by the blue and brilliant sky, a luminous Something fraught with incalculable possibilities of weal or woe. It cheered them with its steady sunshine. It scared them with its flickering fires. It fanned their cheeks with cool breezes, or set all knees a-tremble with reverberating thunder. It mystified them with its birds winging their way in ominous silence or talking secrets in an unknown tongue. It paraded before men's eyes a splendid succession of celestial phenomena, and underwent for all to see the daily miracle of darkness and dawn. Inevitably, perhaps instinctively, they would regard it with awe—that primitive blend of religious feelings²—and would go on to conciliate it by any means in their power. This is the stage of mental and moral development attributed by Herodotos to the ancient Persians. 'I am aware,' he says³, 'that the Persians practise the following customs. They

¹ The only writer, so far as I know, who has recognised and done justice to this blank stretch in our knowledge of Zeus is Gruppe in his masterly handbook (*Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 753 'die Entstehung der Vorstellung von den einzelnen Göttern das dunkelste Gebiet der gesamten griechischen Religionsgeschichte ist,' p. 1102 'Zwischen dem Urzeus und dem historischen Zeus liegen tiefe Klüfte, die wir in Gedanken zwar leicht überspringen können, aber nicht überspringen dürfen').

² R. R. Marett *The Threshold of Religion* London 1909 p. 13 (= 'Pre-Animistic Religion' in *Folk-Lore* 1900 xi. 168), W. Wundt *Völkerpsychologie* Leipzig 1906 ii. 2. 171 ff. 'Die präanimistische Hypothese.'

³ Hdt. i. 131. The passage is paraphrased also in Strab. 732.

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are not in the habit of erecting images, temples, or altars; indeed, they charge those who do so with folly, because—I suppose—they do not, like the Greeks, hold the gods to be of human shape. Their practice is to climb the highest mountains and sacrifice to Zeus, by which name they call the whole circle of the sky¹. They sacrifice also to the sun and moon, the earth, fire and water, and the winds. These, and these alone, are the original objects of their worship.' The same stage of belief has left many traces of itself in the Latin language and literature². To quote but a single example, a popular line of Ennius ran:

Look at yonder Brilliance o'er us, whom the world invokes as Jove³.

There can be little doubt that in this expressive sentence the poet has caught and fixed for us the religious thought of the

¹ Hdt. i. 131 οἱ δὲ νομίζουσι Διὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν οὐρέων ἀναβαίνοντες θυσίας ἔρδειν, τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντας.

My friend the Rev. Prof. J. H. Moulton, our greatest authority on early Persian beliefs, in a very striking paper 'Syncretism in Religion as illustrated in the History of Parsism' (*Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 89 ff.) observes à propos of this passage: "It is generally assumed that he [*i.e.* Herodotos] calls the supreme deity 'Zeus' merely from his Greek instinct. But it is at least possible that he heard in Persia a name for the sky-god which sounded so much like 'Zeus,' being in fact the same word, that he really believed they used the familiar name. (The suggestion occurred to me [J.H.M.] independently, but it was anticipated by Spiegel, *Eran. Alt.* ii. 190.) This incidentally explains why the name 'Ωρομάσδης (Auramazda) does not appear in Greek writers until another century has passed. In *Yz.* iii. 13 (a metrical passage, presumably ancient) we find *φαταὶ δυαός...Αυρὸ Μαινυῦς*, 'Angra fell from heaven': see Bartholomae, s.v. *δυαοῦ*. Since *Dyaus* survives in the Veda as a divine name as well as a common noun—just as *dies* and *Diespiter* in Latin—it is antecedently probable that the Iranians still worshipped the ancestral deity by his old name." Prof. Moulton further writes to me (June 23, 1911) that Herodotos 'is entirely right, as usual: his general picture of Persian religion agrees most subtly with what we should reconstruct on other evidence as the religion of the people before Zarathushtra's reform began to affect them. It is pure Aryan nature-worship—and probably pure Indogermanic ditto—, prior alike to the reform of Z. on the one side and the Babylonian contamination that produced Mithraism on the other.'

Auramazda appears in later Greek authors as *Zeus μέγιστος* (Xen. *Cyr.* 5. 1. 29, cp. pseudo-Kallisthen. 1. 40) or *Zeus βασιλεύς* (Xen. *Cyr.* 3. 3. 21, 7. 5. 57, *anab.* 3. 1. 12, 6. 1. 22, Arrian. 4. 20. 3 ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἀνατείναι Δαρείων ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ εὐχασθαι ὦδε· 'Ἄλλ' ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, ὅτ' ἐπιτέτραπται νέμειν τὰ βασιλέων πράγματα ἐν ἀνθρώποις, κ.τ.λ.=Soud. s.v. 'Ἀλέξανδρος) or *Zeus καὶ 'Ωρομάσδης* (Aristot. *frag.* 8 Rose *ap.* Diog. Laert. *prosm.* 8) or *Zeus 'Ωρομάσδης* (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 735=Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 383, 41 f. πρὸς οὐρανοῦς Διὸς | 'Ωρομάσδου θρόνου, 54 Διὸς τε 'Ωρομάσδου κ.τ.λ.). Cp. Agathias *hist.* 2. 24 τὸ μὲν γὰρ παλαιὸν Δία τε καὶ Κρόνον καὶ τοῖτους δὴ ἅπαντας τοὺς παρ' Ἑλλήσι θρυλλομένους ἐτίμων (*sc.* οἱ Πέρσαι) θεοὺς, πλὴν γε οὐτι δὴ αὐτοῖς ἢ προσηγορία οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐσώζετο, ἀλλὰ Βῆλον μὲν τὸν Δία τυχῶν Σάνδην τε τὸν 'Ηρακλέα καὶ 'Αναΐτιδα τὴν 'Αφροδίτην καὶ ἄλλως τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκάλουν.

² I have collected the evidence in *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 260 ff.

³ Ennius *ap.* Cic. *de nat. deor.* 2. 4 and 65 aspice hoc sublime candens, quem invocant omnes Iovem.

Italians in its transitional phase. Behind him is the divine Sky, in front the Sky-god Iupiter.

Now an animate Sky, even if credited with certain personal qualities, does not necessarily become an anthropomorphic Sky-god. It may even develop in the opposite direction. Xenophanes of Kolophon in the sixth century B.C. appears to have based his reformed theology directly on the ancient Greek conception of Zeus. As Aristotle puts it, he 'looked upon the whole sky and declared that the One exists, to wit God¹.' To this cosmic Unity 'equal on all sides²' Xenophanes, again in all probability following the lead of early religious thought, ascribed various personal powers:

As a whole he sees, as a whole he thinks, and as a whole he hears³.

But the poet explicitly repudiates anthropomorphism:

One God there is, greatest among gods and men,
Like to mortals neither in form nor yet in thought⁴.

We have therefore, it would seem, still to determine the circumstances that occasioned the rise of the anthropomorphic view. In plain words, we must answer the question: How came the Greeks in general to think of Zeus, not as the blue sky, but as a sceptred king dwelling in it?

To solve this problem we turn our attention once more to the primitive idea of a living Sky. One point about it, and that the most important of all for practical folk, we have thus far omitted to mention. Vegetable life, and therefore animal life, and therefore human life, plainly depends upon the weather, that is upon the condition of the Sky⁵. Hence unsophisticated man seeks to

¹ Aristot. *met.* 1. 5. 986 b 21 ff. *Ξενοφάνης δὲ...εἰς τὸν ὅλον οὐρανὸν ἀποβλέψας τὸ ὅν εἶναι φησὶ τὸν θεόν.* J. Burnet *Early Greek Philosophy* London and Edinburgh 1892 prefers to translate: 'Xenophanes...said, with reference to the whole universe, that the One was God.' But this, I believe, misses the point. Xenophanes, like Pythagoras and many another reformer, starts with a revival of half-forgotten beliefs.

² H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*² Berlin 1906 i. 41, 6 πανταχόθεν ὄμοιον.

³ Xenophan. *frag.* 24 Diels *ap.* Sext. *adv. math.* 9. 144 οὐλος ὄρα, οὐλος δὲ νοεῖ, οὐλος δὲ τ' ἀκούει, Diog. Laert. 9. 19. Cp. the Homeric εὐρύσπασ Ζεὺς and the Hesiodic πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντα νοήσας (o. d. 267).

⁴ Xenophan. *frag.* 23. Diels *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 399, 14 ff. Stählin, cp. *frag.* 10 ff. Diels.

⁵ The Greeks persistently attempted to connect Ζεὺς, Ζῆνα, etc. with ζῆν. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1101 n. justly remarks that their attempts, though etymologically mistaken, have a certain value as throwing light on their conception of the god. He distinguishes: (1) Zeus as the only living son of Kronos (*et. mag.* p. 408, 55 f., cp. *et. Gud.* p. 230, 16 f.); (2) Zeus as the world-soul (Cornut. *theol.* 2 p. 3, 3 ff. Lang, *et. mag.* p. 408, 52 f.); (3) Zeus as the cause of life to all that live (Aristot. *de mund.* 7. 401 a 13 ff. = Apul. *de mund.* 37, Chryssippos *infra* p. 29 n. 4, Cornut. *theol.* 2 p. 3, 6 Lang, Diog.

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control its sunshine, its winds, above all its fructifying showers by a sheer assertion of his own will-power expressed in the naïve arts of magic¹. Modern investigators have shown how great was the rôle of the magician, especially of the public magician, in early society. And not the least of Dr J. G. Frazer's services to anthropology has been his detailed proof 'that in many parts of the world the king is the lineal successor of the old magician or medicine-man².' 'For sorcerers,' he urges, 'are found in every savage tribe known to us; and among the lowest savages...they are the only professional class that exists. As time goes on, and the process of differentiation continues, the order of medicine-men is itself subdivided into such classes as the healers of disease, the makers of rain, and so forth; while the most powerful member of the order wins for himself a position as chief and gradually develops into a sacred king, his old magical functions falling more and more into the background and being exchanged for priestly or even divine duties, in proportion as magic is slowly ousted by religion³.' But if so, it becomes highly probable, nay practically certain, that the real prototype of the heavenly weather-king was the earthly weather-king, and that Zeus was represented with thunderbolt and sceptre just because these were the customary attributes of the magician and monarch.

So Zeus, in a sense, copied Salmoneus. But it remains to ask what led the community side by side with their Salmoneus to postulate a Salmoneus-like Zeus. I incline to the following explanation as possible and even probable. With the age-long growth of intelligence it gradually dawned upon men that the magician, when he caused a storm, did not actually make it himself by virtue of his own will-power but rather imitated it by his torches, rattling chariot, etc., and so coaxed it into coming

Laert. 7. 147, Aristeid. *or.* 1. 6 (i. 9 Dindorf), *et. mag.* p. 408, 54, *et. Gud.* p. 230, 18 f., *schol. II.* 15. 188 f., cp. Athen. 289 A, Eustath. *in II.* p. 436, 11 ff.); (4) Zeus as life-giving breath, *i.e.* $\xi\eta\nu$ + $\acute{\alpha}\omega$ (*et. mag.* p. 408, 57 f.).

¹ On 'will-power' as a rough equivalent of the *mana* of the Pacific and the *orenda* of the Iroquois see R. R. Marett *The Threshold of Religion* London 1909 p. 99, cp. pp. 115—141.

Even sophisticated man has his moments of *hyperboulia*. When I hit a ball too far at lawn-tennis, I ejaculate 'Don't go out!' and while speaking feel as if my voice actually controlled the ball's flight. Or again, I find myself rising on tip-toe to make a ball, already in mid air, clear the net. What is this but rudimentary magic?

In *Folk-Lore* 1903 xiv. 278 f. I attempted to show that magic, whether 'mimetic' or 'sympathetic,' ultimately depends upon a primitive conception of extended personality—a failure to distinguish aright the *I* from the *not-I*.

² Frazer *Golden Bough*³: *The Magic Art* i. 371, cp. i. 215, 245, and especially 332 ff.

³ *Id. ib.* i. 420 f.

about. If, then, the magician or king imitated a storm made by Zeus, how did Zeus make it? The spirit of enquiry was awake (with the Greeks it awoke early), and the obvious answer was that Zeus must be a Master-image, a King supreme, beyond the clouds. Doubtless, said nascent reflexion, Zeus makes his thunder in heaven much as our magician-king makes it upon earth, only on a grander, more sonorous scale. But observe: if this was indeed the sequence of thought, then the change from Sky to Sky-god was occasioned not by any despair of magic¹—for people might well come to believe that Zeus the Sky-god made thunderstorms and yet not cease believing that the magician-king could produce the like—but rather by the discovery that magic, whether effective or not, was a matter of imitation. In short, the transition from Sky to Sky-god was a result, perhaps the first result, of conscious reflexion upon the *modus operandi* of primitive magic.

On this showing the cult of an anthropomorphic Zeus was the outcome of a long evolution comprising three well-marked stages, in which the feelings, the will, and the intellect played successively the principal part. First in order of development came emotion—the awe felt by early man as he regarded the live azure above him, potent to bliss or blight. Feeling in turn called forth will, when the community was parched with drought and the magician by his own passionate self-projection made the rushing rain-storm to satisfy the thirst of man and beast. Later, much later, intellect was brought to bear upon the process, distinguishing the imitation from the thing imitated and expressing heaven in terms of earth.

¹ Dr Frazer in a memorable chapter (*op. cit.* i. 220—243) argues that, when little by little the essential futility of magic was discovered, the shrewder intelligences casting about for an explanation of its failures would ascribe them to the more powerful magic of great invisible beings—the gods—and thus would escape from the 'troubled sea of doubt and uncertainty' into the 'quiet haven' of religion. Magic, he conjectures, everywhere came first, religion second, the latter being directly due to the unmasking of the former.

The eloquence with which Dr Frazer has stated his case is only less admirable than his learning. But for all that I believe him to be wrong. The baffled magician would most plausibly account for his failure by attributing it to the counter-charms of some rival practitioner on earth, say a neighbouring chief, or else to the machinations of a ghost, say a dead ancestor of his own. Why should he—how could he—assume a sky-god, unless the sky was already regarded as a divine Potency? And, if this was the case, then religion was not subsequent to magic, but either prior to it or coeval with it. No doubt, as Dr Frazer himself remarks (*ib.* i. 223), much turns upon our exact definition of religion. But personally I should not refuse the term 'religious' to the attitude of reverential fear with which I suppose early man to have approached the animate Sky. Indeed, it would not be absurd to maintain that this pre-anthropomorphic conception was in some respects higher, because more true, than later anthropomorphism. After all, 'God is not a man,' and early thought could hardly be drawn nearer to the idea of the Infinite than by contemplating the endless blue of Heaven.

Thus a movement, which began on the plane of feeling, passed upwards through that of volition, and ended by evoking all the powers of the human soul.

Incidentally we have arrived at another conclusion, deserving of a moment's emphasis. We have, if I may use the phrase, ventured to analyse the divinity of Zeus. This analysis, tentative (be it remembered) and provisional in character, has detected two distinct elements, both of a primitive sort,—on the one hand the vast mysterious impersonal life of the blue sky, on the other the clear-cut form and fashion of the weather-ruling king. To speak with logical precision, though in such a matter logic was at best implicit, the primeval sanctity of the sky gave the content, the equipment of the magician-turned-king gave the form, of the resultant sky-god Zeus¹.

(c) Zeus Amários.

The transition from the day-light Sky to the day-light Sky-god is perhaps best exemplified by the Latin terms *dies*, 'day,' and *Diespiter*, 'Day-father.' The vocative case of *Diespiter* came to be used as a new nominative, the more familiar *Iupiter*².

¹ An objection must here be met. It may be argued that, if my view were true, the Homeric Zeus ought to be recognisable as a magician, whereas notoriously magic is scarce in Homer and never associated with the Homeric Zeus.

To this I should reply (1) that the Homeric poems as we have them bear ample traces of earlier expurgation affecting many savage practices (see the convincing chapter of Prof. G. Murray *The Rise of the Greek Epic*² Oxford 1911 pp. 141—166), and (2) that such expurgation has in point of fact failed precisely where failure might have been expected, *viz.* in eliminating the pre-Homeric 'fixed epithets' of Zeus. These are simply redolent of the magician. Zeus is often Κρόνου πάσι ἀγκυλομήτην, 'son of the wizard Kronos.' He is himself *μηρίατα*, a 'mage' rather than a 'sage.' The word *μηρίαται* is used thrice, in *h. Ap.* 344 and *h. Hest.* 5 of Zeus (so *Hes. o. d.* 51, *theog.* 457, *Moiro ap.* Athen. 491 B), in *Od.* 4. 227 of magic herbs prepared by the daughter of Zeus. Again, Zeus alone is ἀφθίτα μῆδεα εἰδώς (*Il.* 24. 88, *h. Aphr.* 43, *Hes. theog.* 545, 550, 561, *frag.* 35, 2 Flach), *cp.* the names of the sorceresses Medeia, Agamede, Perimede, Mestra. Thirty-six times in the *Il.* and *Od.* he is described as νεφεληγερέτα, a transparent synonym of 'rain-maker.' And what of his constant appellation αἰγλοχός? The αἰγίς, when shaken, produced a thunderstorm (*Il.* 17. 593 ff., *cp.* 4. 166 ff.), and Virgil at least seems to have regarded it as part of the rain-maker's paraphernalia (*Aen.* 8. 352 ff. *Arcades ipsum | credunt se vidisse Iovem, cum saepe nigrantem | aegida concuteret dextra nimbosque cieret, cp. Sil. It.* 12. 719 ff.). It was presumably as a magical means of securing fertility that at Athens the priestess brought the sacred αἰγίς to newly-wedded wives (Suid. *s.v.* αἰγίς). Further, Zeus causes an earthquake by nodding his head and shaking his hair (*supra* p. 2 f.)—a procedure that savours strongly of the magician's art. Lastly, the frequent mention of the βουλή or βουλαί of Zeus (from *Il.* 1. 5 Διὸς δ' ἐτελέετο βουλή onwards: see H. Ebeling *Lexicon Homericum* Lipsiae 1885 i. 236) gains fresh meaning, if seen to imply the will-power characteristic of the magician-king.

² F. Stolz *Historische Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache* Leipzig 1894 i. 1. 305,

But, confining our attention to the Greek area, we may further illustrate the same change.

Macrobius states that 'the Cretans call the day *Zeús*'¹—a startling, but by no means incredible, assertion. Unfortunately he does not go on to tell us whether this usage was restricted to any particular tribe or town in Crete. That island was a meeting-place of the nations. Already in Homeric times its population included Achaeans, Eteo-Cretans, Cydonians, Dorians and Pelasgians²; and to choose between these, and perhaps others, is a precarious undertaking. Nevertheless the dialect of Crete as a whole throughout the classical period was undoubtedly Doric, and we are therefore free to contend that in some variety of Cretan Doric the word *Zeús* had retained its primitive meaning.

This contention gains in probability from Prof. R. C. Bosanquet's discovery at Palaikastro in eastern Crete of a late Doric hymn to Zeus *Diktaios*³. The hymn appears to have been written down about the year 200 A.D.; but its wording is perhaps five centuries older⁴, and its refrain preserves what I venture to regard as a survival of the original conception of Zeus:—

Hail, greatest Lad of Kronos' line⁵,
Almighty Brilliance, who art here
 Leading thy followers divine:
 To Dikte come for the new year
 And dance with joy this dance of mine⁶.

W. M. Lindsay *The Latin Language* Oxford 1894 p. 389, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 313.

¹ Macrobi. *Sat.* i. 15. 14 Cretenses *Δια τὴν ἡμέραν* vocant.

² *Od.* 19. 175 ff.

³ *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1908—1909 xv. 339 ff.

⁴ G. Murray, *ib.* xv. 364 f.

⁵ With *κοῦρε*...*Κρόνιε* cp. Aisch. *P. v.* 577 f. ὦ Κρόνιε | παῖ, Pind. *Ol.* 2. 22 ὦ Κρόνιε παῖ Πέας. For *κοῦρος* = *παῖς* see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 1895 A.

⁶ ἰώ, | μέγιστε κοῦρε, χαῖρέ μοι, | Κρόνιε, παγκρατὲς γάνος, | βέβαιες | δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος· | Δικταν ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν ἔρ-|πε καὶ γέγαθι μολπῆ.

Two copies of the hymn are engraved on the back and face of the same stone. The back, which contains a text full of blunders, nowhere preserves the termination of the word *γάνος*. The face has in line 2 ΠΑΤΙΚΡΑΤΕΣ ΓΑΝΟC altered into ΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΕC ΓΑΝΟΥC, and in line 20 ΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΕC ΓΑΝΟΥC. This suggests an attempt to make sense of an old defective copy, and on reading it I conjectured (see *Trinity College Lecture Room* paper of Nov. 4, 1910) that the original phrase was *παγκρατὲς γάνος*, cp. Enn. *ap. Cic. de nat. deor.* 2. 4 *aspice hoc sublime candens, quem invocant omnes Iovem* (*Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 261). Prof. G. Murray printed *παγκρατὲς γάνους* in his restored text and translated it 'Lord of all that is wet and gleaming.' He now (Aug. 15, 1911) writes to me *à propos* of *γάνος*: 'I think it a very probable suggestion but do not on the whole think there is sufficient reason for altering the text.' He adds that in a letter to himself Prof. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf had independently made the same correction.

A possible but by no means certain parallel to this survival occurs in the *Tabula Edaliensis*, a Cypriote inscription, which thrice uses the word *zân* in the sense of 'time'. Dr Hoffmann suggests that this word is related to the Sanskrit *dyâus*, 'day,' and to the Latin *dies*, 'day,'—in fact is akin to the name *Zeûs*². Some such primitive usage, we may suppose, underlies and explains the Homeric and Hesiodic belief that 'days are from Zeus'³.

Far more advanced was the cult of Zeus *Amários*, whose name appears to denote Zeus 'of the Day-light' (*amára*)⁴. According to Strabon, the Achaeans of the northern Peloponnese, like the Ionians before them, were wont to assemble for deliberation and the transaction of common business at a place called the *Amárimon*⁵: this was a grove sacred to Zeus in the territory of Aigion⁶. Hence, when about the year 230 B.C. the town of Orchomenos in Arkadia joined the Achaean League, it was agreed that the Achaean magistrates at Aigion and the Orchomenian magistrates at Orchomenos should swear to the terms of a treaty by Zeus *Amários*, Athena *Amaría*, Aphrodite and all the gods⁷. And, when in 217 B.C. Aratos the Achaean general had settled certain serious disputes at Megalopolis, the terms of the settlement were engraved

¹ W. Deecke 'Die griechisch-kyprischen Inschriften' in Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 27 ff. no. 60, 10, 23, 28 *ὅφαις ζᾶν*.

² O. Hoffmann *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1891 i. 68 ff. no. 135, 10, 23, 28 *ὅφαις ζᾶν*. *Id. ib.* i. 71 f. rejects Meister's view that ζᾶν = epic δῆν and translates 'für alle Zeit,' taking *ὅφαις* = ἐπι αἰε (als accus. for *αἰς cp. Indian *dyus* 'life-time') and ζᾶν as akin to *djâus*, *dies*, *diu*. But all this is very doubtful, as Hoffmann himself (*ib.* p. 228) admits. C. D. Buck *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects* Boston etc. 1910 p. 182 n. says: 'ζᾶν is possibly connected with ζῆω and ζῶω, *live*, on the basis of a third by-form ζᾶ.'

³ *Od.* 14. 93 *νόκτες τε καὶ ἡμέραι ἐκ Διὸς εἰσιν*, Hes. *o. d.* 765 *ἡμεῖρα δ' ἐκ Διόθεν*, *ib.* 769 *αἶθε γὰρ ἡμέραι εἰσι Διὸς πᾶρα μητιέντος*. Cp. *Il.* 2. 134 *ἐννεῖα δὴ βεβᾶσαι Διὸς μεγάλου ἐνιαυτοί*. This last line supports the contention of W. Prellwitz *Eine griechische und eine lateinische Etymologie* Bartenstein 1895 p. 1 ff. that *ἐνιαυτός* is strictly the day on which the year starts again 'in the same' (*ἐνὶ αὐτῷ*) position as before, and that it was originally an appellation of Zeus = *diēs* (*ib.* p. 8).

⁴ P. Foucart 'Fragment inédit d'un décret de la ligue achéenne' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1876 N.S. xxxii. 2. 96—103 first propounded the explanation, now commonly accepted, of *Ἀμάριος* as 'le dieu de l'atmosphère lumineuse' (*ib.* p. 100). *Ἀμάρια* = *ἡμέρα* is found in Locrian inscriptions (Collitz-Bechtel *op. cit.* nos. 1478, 42, 1479, 5, cp. 1478, 33), and *πενταμαριτεῶν* in a Delphian inscription (*ib.* no. 2561, D 16, = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 438, 183). *Ἀμάριος* = *ἡμέριος* may well have been in use on the other side of the Corinthian Gulf also.

G. Kramer on Strab. 389 and F. Hultsch on Polyb. 2. 39. 6 (*praef.* p. lv) hold that the name was *Ἀμάριος* = *Ὀμάριος*, cp. *ἀμαρτῆ* = *ὀμαρτῆ*. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1116 n. 3, following Collitz and Schulze *Quaestiones epicae* p. 500 n. 1, takes *Ἀμάριος* = *Ὀμάριος*.

⁵ Strab. 385. MSS. *Αινάριον* or *Ἀρνάριον*. Koraes cj. *Ὀμάριον*, Kramer *Ἀμάριον*, Foucart *Ἀμάριον*.

⁶ Strab. 387. MSS. and cjj. as before.

⁷ Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 229 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 199.

on a tablet and set up beside an altar of Hestia in the *Amáριον*¹. This is in all probability the spot described by Pausanias in the following extract: 'Near the sea at Aigion is a sanctuary of Aphrodite, after that one of Poseidon, one of Kore Demeter's daughter, and in the fourth place one to Zeus *Homagýrios*. Here there are statues of Zeus, Aphrodite and Athena. Zeus was surnamed *Homagýrios*, "the Assembler," because on this spot Agamemnon gathered together the chief men of Hellas to consult how they should make war on the kingdom of Priam... Adjoining the sanctuary to Zeus *Homagýrios* is one of Demeter *Panachaiá*, "goddess of all the Achaeans²." Zeus *Amários* was on this showing one with Zeus *Homagýrios*; and it is possible that the former title was, owing to the influence of the latter, popularly changed into *Homários*, which might be understood as 'the Joiner-together³.' However that may be, it is clear that from Aigion the cult made its way to Magna Graecia, where Kroton, Sybaris and Kaulonia, in avowed imitation of the Achaeans, erected a common temple to Zeus *Amários*⁴.

How this Zeus 'of the Day-light' was conceived by his worshippers, can be inferred from representations of him on coins of the Achaean League. A unique silver *statér* of Aeginetic standard, probably struck at Aigion about 367—362 B.C., has for its reverse type an enthroned Zeus, who holds an eagle in his right hand and rests on a sceptre with his left (fig. 1)⁵. Bronze coins of the League, as reconstituted in 281 B.C., exhibit on the obverse side a standing figure of Zeus: he is naked and supports on his right hand a winged Nike, who offers him a wreath, while he leans

¹ Polyb. 5. 93. 10. MSS. 'Ομαρῶ. Foucart restored 'Αμαρῶ, cp. J. L. Strachan-Davidson *Selections from Polybius* Oxford 1888 p. 145. On the connexion of Hestia with Zeus, see *infra* ch. iii § 1 (a) ix (a).

² Paus. 7. 24. 2 f. O. Jessen in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1741 would distinguish between the 'Αμάριον and the precinct of Zeus 'Ομαγύριος; but Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 162 identifies them.

³ Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² p. 370 thinks that 'Ομαγύριος is a corruption of 'Αμάριος; but this is not necessary. 'Ομάριος (Polyb. 2. 39. 6 with *v.l.* ομαριου sic A. όμοριου C, 5. 93. 10) suggests comparison with Hesych. όμαρές όμοῦ συμφώνως. Those that take it to be the original form will quote Steph. Byz. 'Ομάριον πόλις Θεσσαλίας. Θεόπομπος Φιλίππικῶν εἰκοστῶ δευτέρῳ. ἐν ταύτῃ τιμᾶται Ζεὺς καὶ Ἀθηναίη. τὸ ἐθνικὸν 'Ομάριοι, 'Ομαρεῦς.

⁴ Polyb. 2. 39. 6. The MSS. vary: ομαριου sic A. όμοριου C. Foucart restored 'Αμαριου.

⁵ W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Fourth Series 1902 ii. 324 ff. pl. 16, 4, G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 73 ff. pl. 5, 38, *Head Hist. num.*³ p. 416 ('the reverse type of Zeus seems to have been suggested by the seated Zeus on the early Arcadian coins.' Cp. *infra* ch. i § 3 (b)). The coin is now in the British Museum.

with his left hand on a long sceptre (fig. 2)¹. The later silver coins, from some date earlier than 330 B.C., show a laureate head of Zeus as their obverse (fig. 3), a wreath of bay as their reverse design². Such representations drop no hint of Zeus as a day-light deity. The physical aspect of the god had long been forgotten, or at most survived in a cult-title of dubious significance.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

(d) Zeus *Panámaros*, *Panémeros*, *Panemérios*.

Near the Carian town of Stratonikeia was a village called Panamara, situated on the mountain now known as *Baiaca*. Here in 1886 MM. G. Deschamps and G. Cousin discovered the precinct of the Carian god Zeus *Panámaros* and over four hundred inscriptions relating to his cult³. It is probable that the name *Panámaros*, which appears more than once without that of Zeus⁴, was originally a local epithet denoting the deity who dwelt at Panamara⁵. If so, it is useless to speculate on the real meaning of the word. But when the district was subjected to Hellenic influence—Stratonikeia, we know, was a Macedonian colony⁶—the local divinity by an instructive series of changes became Zeus *Panámaros*⁷, Zeus

¹ Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 113, 162, 219, Münztaf. 2, 17 and 17 a, Müller-Wieseler-Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 94 pl. 9, 18, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 417 f., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 12 ff. pl. 2, 15—20, pl. 3, 1—14. I figure pl. 3, 7.

² Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 97 f., 105, Münztaf. 1, 29, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 1 ff. pl. 1, 1—23, pl. 2, 1—14, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 417, W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1908 xx. 286 f. pl. 14, 1.

³ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 373 ff., 1888 xii. 82 ff., 249 ff., 479 ff., 1891 xv. 169 ff., 1904 xxviii. 20 ff., 238 ff. See further the article by O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1491—1497, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* pp. 27—31.

⁴ *Πανάματος* without *Zeús* occurs in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 85 no. 9, 11, *ib.* p. 86 no. 10, 15, *ib.* p. 88 no. 11, 5. *Πανάματος* (*sic*) was one of the Carian Kouretes along with *Αάβρανδος* and *Πάλαξος* or *Σπάλαξος* (*et. mag.* p. 389, 55 ff.).

⁵ So Höfer *loc. cit.* 1492 f., Nilsson *op. cit.* p. 31 n. 6. On A. Dieterich's conjectural **Amaros ~ Amara* see Append. B Egypt.

⁶ Strab. 660, cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Στρατονικεία*.

⁷ *Zeús Πανάματος*, sometimes *Zeús ó Πανάματος* or *ó Zeús ó Πανάματος*, is the common form of his name in the inscriptions (Höfer *loc. cit.* 1492, 1 ff.).

*Panémeros*¹, Zeus *Panemérios*². The unintelligible Carian name was thus Hellenised into a cult-title that suited the Greek conception of Zeus. *Panámaros* to Greek ears would mean the god 'of the live-long Day' (*panámeros*, *panémeros*, *panemérios*)³.

Imperial coins of Stratonikeia, both in silver and in bronze (fig. 4), exhibit a bearded horseman, who carries a long sceptre over his left shoulder and apparently a *phidie* in his right hand⁴. On one specimen in the British Museum (fig. 5)⁵, probably struck in Hadrian's time, this equestrian figure is radiate. Dr B. V. Head



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.

conjectures that it is not the emperor, but Zeus *Panámaros* conceived as a solar deity⁶. The identification of the rider as Zeus might be supported by the fact that some imperial bronze coins of Stratonikeia have as their reverse type Zeus enthroned with a sceptre in one hand, a *phidie* in the other (fig. 6)⁷. And the radiate crown would be appropriate to Zeus 'of the live-long Day,' whether he was regarded as a sun-god or not.

The precinct found by MM. Deschamps and Cousin occupied the summit of a steep hill furrowed by ravines. It contained

¹ Ζεύς Πανήμερος is found in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 97 no. 12, *ib.* p. 98 no. 16, *ib.* p. 101 no. 21, *ib.* p. 487 nos. 63, 65, 66, *ib.* p. 488 nos. 72, 75, 78 ff.

² Ζεύς Πανημέριος or Ζεύς ὁ Πανημέριος or ὁ Ζεύς ὁ Πανημέριος, more rarely Πανημέριος Ζεύς, occurs in *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2715^a, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 29 no. 41, *ib.* p. 376, 1888 xii. 488 nos. 68, 69, 70, *ib.* p. 489 no. 101, *ib.* p. 490 nos. 105, 109, 1890 xiv. 371, Lebas-Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 518. Cp. Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 834. 1 Ἰηνη Πανημεριῶ.

³ Hesych. πανάμερος· δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας, Phot. *lex.* πανάμερον· δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας, Aisch. *P.v.* 1024 ἀκλήτος ἔρπων δαιτυλεὺς πανήμερος, *Il.* i. 472 οἱ δὲ πανημέριοι μολπῆ θεὸν Ἰλάσκοντο, *alib.* Not the god 'of the Day-light' (E. Meyer), nor the god 'of the luminous atmosphere' (P. Foucart), nor merely 'a divinity of the light' (L. R. Farnell): see Höfer *loc. cit.* 1493.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria* etc. pp. lxxi f. 151 pl. 24, 1, p. 153 pl. 24, 4, p. 154 pl. 24, 5, pp. 156, 158 pl. 24, 10. I figure a specimen in my collection.

⁵ *ib.* pp. lxxii, 153 pl. 24, 4.

⁶ *ib.* p. lxxii. Mr G. F. Hill kindly informs me (Aug. 11, 1910) that he too takes the rider to be Zeus.

⁷ Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 316 no. 87^a (Hadrian), *id. Gr. Münzen* p. 100 no. 625 (Hadrian), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria* etc. p. 159 pl. 24, 11 (Severus Alexandet).

three temples, that of Zeus *Panámaros*, that of Hera *Teleta*¹, and a building called the *Komyrion*, the name of which recalls the title of Zeus *Kómyros* at Halikarnassos². Corresponding with the two temples of Zeus and the one of Hera were three public festivals, the Panamareia, the Komyria, and the Heraia.

The principal festival of the place was the Panamareia, an annual affair, which at first lasted for ten days³ and later for a whole month⁴. It began with a procession from the precinct at Panamara to the council-chamber at Stratonikeia⁵. And, since the ten days of the festival were known as the 'Sojourn' (*epidemía*) of the god⁶, it has been concluded that the image of Zeus paid an actual visit to the neighbouring town. This visit appears to be identical with the 'Entry of the horse' mentioned in a local inscription⁷, so that Dr Höfer is doubtless right in regarding the rider on the coins of Stratonikeia as Zeus entering the town on horseback⁸. His entry was the signal for a great outburst of rejoicing. Citizens and strangers alike received at the hands of the priests *largesse* of oil for gymnastic contests and baths, besides perfume, corn, meat, and money. The merry-making was kept up day and night during the 'Sojourn' of the god⁹.

¹ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 389 no. 5, 1 f. Δι Παναμάρω και | "Hρα Τελετα, 1888 xii. 256 no. 36, 2 f. [Δι] Παναμάρω | [κ]αι "Hρα Τελετα (*sic*), 1891 xv. 426 no. 8 "Hρας Τε[λ]ιας (*sic*).

² Lyk. *Al.* 459 (Aias) καταλθων θέσθλα Κωμύρω with schol. *ad loc.* Κωμύρω τῷ Δι· Κώμυρος γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Ἀλικαρνήσῳ τιμᾶται. At Panamara Κομύριον, Κομύρια always have the *o* short. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 28 n. 1 cp. Zeus Κυμώριος at Bargylia in Karia (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1889 xiii. 39 no. 62).

³ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 380 no. 2, 12 f. τὰς τῆς ἐορτῆς τῶν Παναμαρείων [ἡ]μέρ[ω]ν δέκα, 385 no. 3, 12 f., 1891 xv. 192 no. 136, 6 f. Cp. 1891 xv. 198 no. 140, 14 f. ἀπὸ τῆ[ς] | εἰκάδος μέχρι τῆς τριακάδος.

⁴ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 204 no. 144, 16 ff. ἠῆξη[σ]αν πρῶτοι τὰς [τῶ]ν [Παν]αμα-
[ρίω]ν τῆς ἐ[ο]ρτῆς ἡμέρας [δέκα ἔως] τ[ρ]ιάκοντα (?), 191 no. 135, 5 f. τὰς τῆς ἱερομηνείας το[ῦ] θεοῦ ἡμέρας πάσας.

⁵ Here Zeus Πανάμαρος and other deities had statues (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 85 no. 9, 10 f. ἀγά[λ]ματα θεῶν Παναμάρου, Ἐκά[τ]ρης, Ἀρτέμιδος, Ἀσκληπιοῦ, Ὑγείας, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2715a 2 ff. [Διὸς τοῦ Π]ανημερίου καὶ Ἐκ[ά]της...καθίδρυνται δὲ ἐν τῷ σεβαστῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τῶν προειρημένω[ν θεῶν]). Stratonikeia was under the special protection of Zeus Πανάμαρος and Hekate (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1494 f.).

⁶ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 198 no. 140, 16 f. παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ἐπιδημίας | τοῦ θεοῦ, 1904 xxviii. 238 no. 42, 7 τῆς ἐπιδημίας οὐσης.

⁷ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 204 no. 144, 15 ff. ἐγυ[μνα]σιάρχησαν καὶ | ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἰππου εἰσό[δ]ω τὸ [β', καὶ] ἠῆξη[σ]αν πρῶτοι τὰς [τῶ]ν [Παν]αμα[ρίω]ν τῆς ἐ[ο]ρτῆς ἡμέρας κ.τ.λ. (*supra* p. 10^b n. 4).

⁸ O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1494.

⁹ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 376 no. 1, 24 ff., 380 no. 2, 12 ff., 385 no. 3, 12 ff., 1888 xii. 102 no. 22, 13 ff., 250 n. 2, 1891 xv. 186 no. 130 a, 25 ff., 188 no. 131, 8 ff., 198 no. 140, 12 ff.

The Komyria lasted for two days only¹ and involved certain mysteries². Since the inscriptions speak of the 'Ascent' (*ánodos* or *anábasis*) of the god in this connexion³, MM. Deschamps and Cousin infer that the Komyria was essentially the return-journey of Zeus from Stratonikeia to Panamara⁴. Mr M. P. Nilsson, however, points out that the 'Ascent' is said to take place *in* the sanctuary, not *to* it, and conjectures that Zeus then paid a visit to his wife⁵. Probably we should do well to combine these views and hold that the 'Ascent' of the god from Stratonikeia to Panamara culminated in the sanctuary on the mountain-top, where Zeus was annually married to his bride. On this occasion the men were entertained by the priest in the *Komyrion* and the women separately in the sanctuary⁶. Wine was served out in abundance—no distinction being made between citizens, Romans, foreigners, and slaves. Money-gifts and portions of sacrificial meat were likewise distributed with a lavish hand. Booths were erected for the accommodation of the celebrants. Sirup and wine were even provided by the road-side for old and young⁷. And the horse that had served the god, presumably in the procession, was duly dedicated to him⁸. In short, the whole account, so far as it can be reconstructed from the inscriptions, reads like that of a joyous wedding *cortège*.

The Heraia was another important festival involving a long programme of games⁹, religious shows¹⁰, and mystic rites¹¹. It seems to have been celebrated yearly and on a grander scale once every four years¹². The *rendez-vous* was the temple of Hera. The

¹ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 380 no. 2, 19 f., 385 no. 3, 34 f.

² *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 380 no. 2, 16 f., 385 no. 3, 26 f., cp. the *μυσταγωγός* mentioned in 1891 xv. 186 no. 130 B, 11 ff., 188 no. 131, 13.

³ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 384, 10 *τῆ ἀνόδῳ τοῦ θεοῦ*, 1891 xv. 186 no. 130 A, 15 f. *ἐν τῇ ἀνόδῳ τῇ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ*, 188 no. 131, 5 *[ἐν τῇ ἀν]όδῳ τῇ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ*, 203 no. 144, 10 *[ἐν] τῇ ἀναβάσει τ[οῦ θ]εοῦ*.

⁴ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 178. So O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1495.

⁵ Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 29.

⁶ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 385 no. 3, 28 ff., 1891 xv. 186 no. 130 A, 12 ff., 1904 xxviii. 24 no. 2, 6 ff.

⁷ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 380 no. 2, 17 ff., 385 no. 3, 30 ff., 1904 xxviii. 24 no. 2, 6 ff., 247 no. 57, 8 ff.

⁸ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 174 f.=1904 xxviii. 247 no. 57, 11 *ἀνέθηκαν δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον τῷ θεῷ τὸν ὑπηρετ[ικόν]*.

⁹ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 174 = 200 no. 141, 8 ff. *γ[υμνασιαρ]χ[ήσαντες καὶ] ἡμέρας κβ' ἐκ νυκτὸς ἰς νύκτ[α ἐν ἀμφοτέ]ροις τοῖς γυμνασίοις κ[αὶ] ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ περιπολίω*.

¹⁰ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 173 = 204 no. 145, 4 f. *θεω[ρ]ίας δὲ ποιήσας πολυτελεσ-τάτας | καὶ καλλίστας*.

¹¹ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 174 *ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις δὲ καὶ ἑορτῇ τῶν Ἡρέων*, cp. 1894 xxviii. 241 no. 48, 6 [...]*ου Μυωνίδου μυσταγωγ[όντος]*.

¹² This is deduced by M. P. Nilsson *op. cit.* p. 28 from the fact that the inscriptions employ two distinct *formulae*, viz. *ἱερεὺς (ἱερατεύσας, κ.τ.λ.) ἐν Ἡραίοις* and *ἱερεὺς (ἱερατεύσας, κ.τ.λ.) ἐν Ἡραίοις κατὰ πενταετηρίδα*.

22 Zeus *Panámaros*, *Panémeros*, *Panemérios*

priest and priestess invited all the women, whether bond or free, and gave them a banquet with plenty of wine and a present of money for each guest¹. They also furnished a repast for the men². It is at first sight puzzling to find this apparent duplication of the Komyria. But, if—as we shall later see reason to suppose³—Zeus was not originally the consort of Hera, it is likely enough that he had his own marriage-feast to attend and she hers⁴. At Panamara, even when Zeus was paired with Hera, the two celebrations were on the foregoing hypothesis kept up side by side. This bizarre arrangement had its practical advantages, and it obviously made a powerful appeal to the appetites of the mob.

The priest and priestess who presided over these wholesale entertainments were acting not merely as public host and hostess but as the visible representatives of the god and goddess. Their inauguration was a function lasting four days and involving gymnasiarchal duties, in particular the distribution of oil for the gymnasia and the baths⁵. It is called the 'reception of the crown'⁶ or 'reception of the god'⁷; and the officials themselves are described as 'receiving the crown of the god'⁸ or 'receiving the god'⁹. The termination of their office, the tenure of which was annual¹⁰, is correspondingly called the 'putting off of the crowns'¹¹. Not improbably these persons wore a golden crown decorated with a small image of their deity. Crowns of the sort are mentioned in literature¹² and figured both on coins of Tarsos¹³ and on portrait-heads from Ephesos¹⁴ and elsewhere¹⁵.

¹ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 376 no. 1, 32 ff., 1891 xv. 182 no. 123, 5 ff., 198 no. 140, 24 ff., 200 no. 141, 7 f., 204 no. 145, 3 ff., 1894 xxviii. 40 no. 23 B, 1 ff.

² *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 174 ἐστιάσαντες ἐν τοῖς Ἡραλοῖς πάντας βουλευτὰς καὶ πολίτας.

³ *Infra* ch. iii.

⁴ The evidence of the published inscriptions suggests, but does not prove, that the Heraia at Panamara was a marriage-feast. Such was in all probability the character of the Heraia at Argos (*infra* ch. iii).

⁵ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 377.

⁶ ἡ παράληψις τοῦ στεφάνου: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 173, 186 no. 130 A, 18 f., 198 no. 140, 11 f., 1904 xxviii. 37 no. 21, 8 f.

⁷ (ἦ) παράληψις τοῦ θεοῦ: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 173, 191 no. 135, 5, 192 no. 136, 7 f., 1904 xxviii. 243 no. 51, 6 f.

⁸ παραλαμβάνοντες...τὸν στέφανον τοῦ θεοῦ: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 375 no. 1, 9 ff., 384 no. 3, 7 f.

⁹ παραλαμβάνων τὸν θεόν: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 380 no. 2, 11.

¹⁰ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 169.

¹¹ ἡ ἀπόθεσις τῶν στεφάνων: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 102 no. 22, 15 f., 1891 xv. 173.

¹² Suet. *v. Domit.* 4, Tertull. *de cor. mil.* 13, Athen. 211 B.

¹³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia etc. pp. 198, 208 pl. 36, 11, p. 220 pl. 37, 8, F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 180 f. pl. 13, 21, G. F. Hill 'Priester-Diademe' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1899 ii. 247 f. fig. 135.

¹⁴ G. F. Hill *ib.* p. 245 ff. pl. 8.

¹⁵ Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1523 and 1525 fig. 1986 (a priest of Bellona);

One odd rite deserves to be noticed. Many of the inscriptions found at *Baïaca* record the dedication of human hair¹. The custom was for the dedicator to erect, either inside the temple of Zeus or outside it in the sacred precinct, a small *stéle* of stone containing the tress or tresses in a cavity sometimes closed by a thin marble lid (fig. 7)². Those that could not afford such a *stéle* would make a hole in the stone wall, or even in the corner of another man's slab, and inscribe their names beside it. MM. Deschamps and Cousin point out that the dedicants were invariably men—not a single woman's name occurs³; that the dedication was always made to Zeus, never to Hera; that the occasion is sometimes specified as the *Komyria* and the place once at least as the *Komyrion*—the *Heraia* and the *Heraion* are not mentioned at all; that slaves were allowed to participate in this act of devotion; and that the act itself might be repeatedly performed by the same person⁴. These scholars suggest that the votive hair may have been offered by those who were initiated into the mysteries of the *Komyria*⁵.



Fig. 7.

If we may judge from analogous customs existing here and there throughout the Greek world⁶, the rite was probably connected

Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* i. 151 f. no. 221 = A. J. B. Wace in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1905 xxv. 94 f. ('a priest of the cult of one of the later Diadochi') = Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* ii. 475 ff. no. 275 pl. 63; Helbig *op. cit.* i. 309 f. no. 425 (an *archigallus*); D. Simonsen *Skulpturer og Indskrifter fra Palmyra i Ny-Carlsberg Glyptothek* Kjøbenhavn 1889 p. 16 f. pl. 7 f.

¹ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 487 ff. nos. 60—120.

² *Ib.* p. 480.

³ The conjecture of Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 280 f. is, therefore, in part mistaken.

⁴ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 486.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 487.

⁶ *Ib.* pp. 481—484, Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1358, 1362, Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 534 f., iii. 279 ff., iv. 128, *Golden Bough*³: *The Magic Art* i. 28 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 913 f. The fullest collection of evidence from the Greek area is that of W. H. D. Rouse *Greek Votive Offerings* Cambridge 1902 pp. 240—245. See too G. A. Wilken 'Ueber das Haaropfer und einige andere Trauergebräuche bei den Völkern Indonesien's' in the *Revue Coloniale Internationale* 1886 iii. 225 ff., 1887 iv. 353 ff.

Dr Wilken explained the rite as a substitute for human sacrifice, the hair being deemed the seat of the soul. Dr Frazer suggests that the gift of hair was tantamount to a gift of virility or fertility. Dr Rouse regards hair-offering as a 'practice connected with puberty.' Dr Gruppe concludes that the rite was originally 'vorzugsweise eine Initiationszeremonie.'

I incline to think that we have in this custom the relics of a puberty-rite once

with marriage or with arrival at a marriageable age. As such it

widespread throughout Greece, and that further proof of the practice may be found in the terms *kópos*, *kóρη* for 'young man, young woman,' literally 'shaveling' (*κέρω*, 'I shave'). My friend Dr Giles kindly informs me that this derivation is quite possible, and that the words in question should be grouped as follows: *kópos*, Ionic *κούρος*, Doric *κώρος*, etc. <*κόρ-fo-s*; *κόρη*, Ionic *κούρη*, Doric *κώρα*, etc. <*κόρ-fa* (Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 143 no. 373 τὰ *Κόρφα*) and *κουρεύς* 'barber' <*κορσ-εύς* (Hesych. *s.v.*); *κουρά* 'hair-cutting' 'tress' <**κορσ-ά*. He refers me to F. Solmsen in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1888 xxix. 128 f., who conjectures that *κουρά* (*κέρω*) became *κουρά* by analogy with *κουρεύς* <*κορσεύς*. That this whole series of words was interrelated had already been guessed by the ancients: see *et. mag.* p. 534, 4 ff. *κουρά* ἀπὸ τοῦ *κέρω* κέκαρμαι *κουρά* καὶ *κουρά*. *κούρη*...ἢ παρὰ τὸ *κέρω*, τὸ *κουρεῖω*, *κόρη* καὶ *κούρη* κ.τ.λ., *ib.* p. 533, 57 f. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὁ ξυρῶν αὐτοῦ τὸ γένειον (sc. *κούρος*). So *ib.* p. 529, 36 f., *et. Gud.* pp. 338, 8 f., 341, 40 ff.

The foregoing derivation strongly supports Miss J. E. Harrison's contention that the *Κουρήτες* were the young initiates of the tribe (see her cogent article in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1908—1909 xv. 308—338). Archemachos of Euboea *frag.* 8 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 315 f. Müller) *ap.* Strab. 465 states that the Kouretes of Chalkis ὄπισθεν κομῶντας γενέσθαι, τὰ δ' ἔμπροσθεν κείρεσθαι, διὸ καὶ Κουρήτας ἀπὸ τῆς *κουράς* κληθῆναι. This may be a speculation based on the Ἄβαντες...ὄπισθεν κομῶντας (*Il.* 2. 542). But it was certainly believed in the fifth century B.C. that the *Κουρήτες* got their name from their peculiar *coiffure*: Aisch. *frag.* 313 Nauck² *χλιδῶν τε πλόκαμος ὥστε παρθένους ἀβραῖς* | ὄθεν καλεῖν *Κουρήτα* λαὸν ἦνεσαν, Agathon *Thyestes frag.* 3 Nauck² *κόμας ἐκεράμεσθα μάρτυρας τρυφῆς*, | ἢ που ποθεινὸν χρήμα παιζούση φρενί. | ἐπώνυμον γούιν εὐθὺς ἔσχομεν κλέος, | *Κούρητες* εἶναι, *κουρίμου χάριν τριχός*. Cp. *et. mag.* p. 534, 14 ff. *Κουρήτες*...ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς *κουράς*, παρὰ τὸ μὴ κείρεσθαι=*et. Gud.* p. 342, 1 ff., Hesych. *s.v.* *Κουρήτες*...διὰ τὸ *κουρικῶς ἀναδεδέσθαι τὰς κόμας*, Eudok. *viol.* 518 *εἰ δὲ τινες τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἦσαν κερηκομῶντες, παρεσημείωσατο αὐτοὺς ἢ ἱστορία, Κουρήτας αὐτοὺς ὀνομάζεσθαι λέγουσα κ.τ.λ.* = Eustath. *in Il.* p. 165, 8 ff.

At Athens the third day of the Apatouria was called *κουρεῶτις*—say the lexicographers—not merely because the *κούροι* and *κούραι* were then enrolled on their phratry-lists (Soud. *s.v.* Ἀπατούρια), but also because on that day children's hair was cut and dedicated to Artemis (Hesych. *s.v.* *κουρεῶτις*) or the *κούροι* had their hair cut and were enrolled in their phratries (Soud. *s.v.* *κουρεῶτις*). The sacrifice offered for those of full age (*εἰς ἡλικίαν προελθόντων*) was termed *κούρειον* in the case of the boys, *γαμηλία* in that of the girls (Poll. 8. 107). These terms point to an original puberty-rite of hair-clipping. Further, Miss Harrison notes that the Athenian *ἔφηβοι* presented Herakles with a big cup of wine (*ὀνιστήρια*) and then clipped their hair (Athen. 494 F, Hesych. *s.v.* *ὀνιστήρια*, Phot. *lex. s.v.* *ὀνι[α]στήρια*, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 907, 19, Favorin. *lex.* p. 469, 20 f.; cp. Poll. 3. 52, 6. 22, who connects the rite with the Apatouria).

The exact character of such tonsures can seldom be determined. Yet there is a certain amount of monumental evidence available. In Minoan art youthful figures, both male and female, often have a single curl hanging over the forehead (e.g. *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1900—1901 vii. 56 f. fig. 17, *Mou. d. Linc.* 1908 xix. 15 ff. pl. 1 f.): was this the *χλιδῶν πλόκαμος* of the Kouretes? The ὄπισθεν κομῶντες appear on an archaic sherd from Aigina, which shows a man's head beardless and bald on top, but with bushy hair behind tied in a bunch on the neck (F. Dümmler in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1887 ii. 20 f. pl. 2, 3), and also on certain oblong plates of gold found at Corinth, which represent Theseus slaying the Minotaur and Ariadne standing at his back, both figures being bald on top, but long-haired behind (A. Furtwängler in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1884 p. 106 ff. pl. 8, 2—7): this was known as the *Θησῆος κουρά*, since Theseus at Delphoi shaved the front of his head only (Plout. *v. Thes.* 5, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 165, 7 f.). The head of a Lapith from the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia has a smooth surface reserved in the hair above the middle of the forehead (*Olympia* iii. 83 fig. 136): G. Treu *ib.* assumes an

tends to confirm our conjecture that the *Komyria* was the marriage-feast of Zeus¹.

It is probable that the crowds which in Roman times thronged the precinct looked upon the *Komyria* as the 'Hair'-festival; for the published dedications, sixty or so in number, regularly describe the votive hair as *kóme* or *kómai*. This appears to be another case of an obvious Greek meaning thrust upon an unobvious Carian term. It is thus comparable with the name of Zeus *Panámaros* himself².

§ 2. *Zeus and the Burning Sky.*

(a) *Aithér* as the abode of Zeus.

As a bright sky-god Zeus lived in the *aithér* or 'burning sky'.³ Homer and Theognis speak of him as 'dwelling in *aithér*.' And a notable line in the *Iliad* says:

Zeus' portion was
Broad heaven in the *aithér* and the clouds⁵.

Hence, when he punished Hera, he hung her up 'in the *aithér* and

upright tongue attached to a fillet (cp. a *stèle* in the Naples collection figured by Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 256, the Lapiths on a vase published by H. Heydemann *Mittheilungen aus den Antikensammlungen in Ober- und Mittelitalien* Halle 1879 pl. 3, 1, etc.), but admits that there is no trace of the fillet. On the shaved moustache of the Spartans as a tribal mark see *infra* ch. i § 3 (f).

The relation of *Kaipós* to this group of words is dealt with in *Append. A*.

¹ In *Anth. Pal.* 6. 242 Krinagoras records the dedication of his brother's first beard *τελείω | Ζηνί καὶ ὠδίνων μείλιχῳ Ἀρτέμυδι*. Dr Rouse *op. cit.* p. 241 says: 'Agamemnon in perplexity tore out handfuls of hair as an offering to Zeus' (*Il.* 10. 15 f. *πολλὰς ἐκ κεφαλῆς προθελόμενος ἔλακτο χαιτράς | ὑψόθ' ἐόντι Δι*). But this strange couplet has been variously interpreted. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 786, 46 ff. presses the preceding metaphor to mean that, just as Zeus thundered, rained, and snowed, so Agamemnon groaned, shed tears, and scattered his hairs broadcast! Probably the whole passage is due to some bombastic rhapsode, who was trying to outdo the more commonplace phrase *Δι χείρας ἀνασχεῖν* (W. Leaf *ad loc.*).

² *Supra* p. 18. A puzzling epithet, perhaps another example of the same inter-linguistic phenomenon, is that given in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 186 no. 130 A, 1 [*Δι Π*] *ανημέρω Ἀργύρου καὶ Ἡ[ρα]*. MM. Deschamps and Cousin take 'Ἀργύρου' to be an indeclinable divine title, which has given rise to such personal names as *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 487 no. 60 (Panamara) *Ἐπαφῶ [κ]όμη Ἀργύρου*, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 12 no. 6, 5 f. (Lagina) *ἱέρεια ἡ γυνὴ αὐ[τ]οῦ | Ἀρτέμεις Ἀργύρου Κ(ωρα)ῖ(ς)*, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8753 (Pergamon) *Ἀργύρου*. But to Greek ears 'Ἀργύρου' spelled 'Silver,' and silver was the metal specially assigned to Zeus by the Byzantines (*infra* ch. i § 6 (g) on Iupiter *Dolichenus*).

³ L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* ii. 91, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 15, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 23.

⁴ *Il.* 2. 412, 4. 166, *Od.* 15. 523, Theogn. 757 *αἰθέρι ναίων*.

⁵ *Il.* 15. 192 *Ζεὺς δ' ἔλαχ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὸν ἐν αἰθέρι καὶ νεφέλῃσιν*. See *infra* ch. ii § 6.

the cloud'. On one occasion he sent a portent to the Achaeans 'out of *aithra*'; on another he helped Hektor 'from *aithér*'³; on another he came near to flinging Hypnos 'from *aithér*' into the sea'. Euripides in his *Melanippe the Wise* made one of the characters cry:

I swear by holy *aithra*, home of Zeus⁴.

Aristophanes after the manner of a caricaturist slightly distorts the phrase and ridicules the poet for saying '*aithér*, room of Zeus'⁵. Again in his *Chrysis* Euripides wrote an invocation of earth and sky beginning—

Highest Earth and *aithér* of Zeus⁷—

and in another fragment described Perseus as—

The Gorgon-slayer that winged his way to the holy *aithér* of Zeus⁸.

The Latin poets followed suit and used the borrowed word *aether* to denote the habitual abode of Jupiter⁹.

(b) Zeus *Aithérios*, Zeus *Aíthrios*.

Writers of both nationalities call Zeus (Jupiter) *aithérios* (*aetherius*), 'god of the burning sky'¹⁰—an epithet which gains importance from the fact that it was a cult-title possibly in Arkadia¹¹ and certainly in Lesbos. A decree found at *Chalakais*, on the site of the ancient town Hiera, records the sacred offices held by a certain Bresos, among them the priesthood of Zeus *Aithérios*¹². Aristotle in his treatise *On the Universe* links with *Aithérios* the epithet *Aíthrios*, 'god of the Bright Sky'¹³. This too

¹ *Il.* 15, 18 ff. ² *Il.* 11, 54. ³ *Il.* 15, 610 interpol. ⁴ *Il.* 14, 258.

Eur. *Melanippe the W.* 487 Nauck² ἠερὸν αἰθέρα, οἴκησαν Διός.

⁵ Aristoph. *the m.* 272 quotes the line correctly, but *ran.* 100 and 311 substitutes αἰθήρα, Διός ὄνοματιον, which reduces the sublime to the ridiculous.

⁷ Eur. *Chry.* *frag.* 839 Nauck², quoted *infra* ch. ii, § 9 (c) ii. For the combination cp. *frag.* 1023 Nauck² Αἰθήρα καὶ Γαίαν πάντων γινόμεσσαν ἀέθω.

⁸ Eur. *frag.* 985 Nauck².

⁹ *Luc.* *Veig.* *Ion.* 12, 140 ff., *Ov. fast.* 2, 131, *Val. Flacc.* 2, 117 ff., *Sil. It.* 15, 363 f., *Stat. Theb.* 5, 177 f.

¹⁰ *Anth. Pal.* 9, 453; 1 Meleagros, *Nonn. Dion.* 7, 267 (*ib.* 312 ἠέριος), 18, 263, *Montanis* 8, *Loukian. phalopsat.* 4, *Theod. Prodr. ep.* 2, 3 (not. et extr. viii. 2 p. 184), *Anon. Ambr.* 19 (*Schöl-Studienmund am.* I. i. 265), *Schol. B. L. Il.* 15, 610. Cp. *Niket. Eug.* 5, 108 *Boissonade* Ζεὺς αἰθερόματρον.

Ov. His. 476, *Lucan.* 5, 96, *Stat. silv.* 3, 1, 108, *Theb.* 1, 704, 11, 207, *Ach.* 2, 53, *Ilus Latina* 536 (*Babriens Poetae Latini minores* iii. 34), *Priscian.* 1, 126 (*Babriens op. cit.* v. 269).

¹¹ *Ampel.* 9 cited *infra* p. 27 n. 3.

¹² *Inscr. Gr.* iii. ii. no. 484, 9 f. ὄντα Διός | Αἰθερίω... (? εἶρεα), O. Hoffmann *Die Griech. his. hen. Dia'ekte* Göttingen 1893, ii. 119 f. no. 168.

¹³ *Aristot. de mund.* 7, 401 a. 17 καὶ αἰθριος καὶ αἰθέριος.

was a cult-title at Priene in Karia. A small marble altar found there and dating from the first century of our era or later is inscribed :

Διὸς	Of Zeus
Αιθρίου	<i>Atthrios</i> ¹ .

Another altar of similar *provenance*, period, and size is adorned with a bay-wreath, beneath which is the inscription :

Θεμιστοκλῆς	Themistokles
Μενάνδρου	son of Menandros
Διὶ Αιθρίῳ	to Zeus <i>Atthrios</i>
εὐχῆν	(in fulfilment of) a vow ² .

(c) Zeus identified with *Aithér* (sometimes with *Aér*)
in Philosophy and Poetry.

Lying at the back of such usages is the half-forgotten belief that *Aithér*, 'the Burning Sky,' itself is Zeus³. Zoïsm⁴ dies hard ; and this belief can be traced here and there throughout the whole range of Greek literature. In particular, it has left its impress on philosophy and poetry.

Pherekydes of Syros, one of the earliest writers of Greek prose, has preserved for us some exceedingly primitive notions with regard to Zeus, or *Zás* as he terms him. Of these I shall have more to say : for the moment we are concerned with the tradition that by Zeus Pherekydes understood *aithér*, 'the burning sky,' or *ignis*, 'fire⁵.' He may doubtless have given some such

¹ F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Inscriben von Priene* Berlin 1906 no. 184.

² *Id. ib.* no. 185.

³ As Zeus' Ἀμάριος presupposed ἀμάρια = Zeus, so Zeus Αἰθέριος presupposes αἰθήρ = Zeus. Hes. *theog.* 124 (Cornut. *theol.* 17 p. 28, 6 f. Lang) makes Aither the brother of Hemera, as does Hyg. *fab. praef.* p. 9, 2 Schmidt (Dies and Aether), cp. Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 44. Aither and Hemera appear fighting side by side on the frieze of the great Pergamene altar to Zeus: see *Die Skulpturen des Pergamon-Museums in Photographien* Berlin 1903 pl. 10, *Pergamon* iii. 2. 31 ff. Atlas pl. 6. In Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 53 f. Aether is father of an Arcadian Iupiter, cp. Ampel. 9 *Loves fuere tres. primus in Arcadia, Aetheris filius, cui etiam Aetherius cognomen fuit: hic primum Solem procreavit*, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 67 p. 121, 25 f. Wunsch ἐπὶ Ἡρακλεῖς γενέσθαι, πρῶτον Διὸς τοῦ Αἰθέρος, *ib.* 4. 71 p. 122, 22 ff. τρεῖς Δίας εἶναι βούλονται, ἓνα μὲν Αἰθέρος, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ. Pan was the son of Oinoë by Aither (Pind. *ap.* Maxim. Holobol. *in Syringem* p. 112 b 15 f. Dübner, *Araithos frag.* 5 *ap.* schol. Eur. *Rhes.* 36 = *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 319 Müller: cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1390 n. 5), or of Oineïs by Aither (schol. Theokr. 1. 121) or by Zeus (*Aristippos frag.* 2 *ap.* schol. Theokr. 1. 3 and Eudok. *viol.* 747 = *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 327 Müller).

⁴ By zoïsm I mean what Mr J. S. Stuart-Glennie means by 'zoönism' and Mr R. R. Marett by 'animatism'—the primitive view that things in general, including inanimates, possess a mysterious life of their own.

⁵ *Hermias irrisio gentilium philosophorum* 12 = H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini

interpretation of his own cosmological myth. But the tradition that he actually did so is late, and so mixed up with Stoic phraseology that it would be unsafe to build upon it¹.

Whatever Thales of Miletos meant by his statements that 'all things are full of gods²' and that even inanimates, to judge from the load-stone and amber, have life³, it is at least clear that his teaching was in a sense zoistic. It is therefore of interest to find that Herakleitos, the greatest of his followers, uses the expression '*Atthrios Zeus*' as a direct equivalent of 'the Bright Sky.' In a fragment preserved by Strabon he writes:

The limits of Morning and Evening are the Bear,
and over against the Bear is the boundary of *Atthrios Zeus*⁴.

Nay more, may we not venture to assert that Herakleitos' cardinal doctrine of the universe as an Ever-living Fire⁵ is but a refinement upon the primitive conception of Zeus the Burning Sky? For not only does the philosopher speak of his elemental Fire as *Keraunós*, 'the Thunderbolt⁶,' a word peculiarly appropriate to Zeus⁷, but he actually applies to it the name *Zén* or Zeus⁸. The author of the pseudo-Hippocratean work *On Diet* borrows both

1879 p. 654, 7 ff. Φερεκύδης μὲν ἀρχὰς εἶναι λέγων Ζῆνα καὶ Χθονίην καὶ Κρόνον· Ζῆνα μὲν τὸν αἰθέρα, Χθονίην δὲ τὴν γῆν, Κρόνον δὲ τὸν χρόνον· ὁ μὲν αἰθὴρ τὸ ποιοῦν, ἡ δὲ γῆ τὸ πάσχον, ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἐν ᾧ τὰ γινόμενα, Probus in Verg. *ecl.* 6. 31 p. 355 Lion Pherecydes... Ζῆνα, inquit, καὶ Χθόν <a> καὶ Κρόνον, ignem ac terram <ac> tempus significans; et esse aethera, qui regat terram, qua regatur tempus, in quo universa pars moderetur.

¹ This was seen by E. Zeller *op. cit.* i. 91 n. 3.

² Aristot. *de anima* i. 5. 411 a 8, Plat. *legg.* 899 B, Diog. Laert. i. 27, Aët. i. 7. 11.

³ Diog. Laert. i. 24, Aristot. *de anima* i. 2. 405 a 20 f.

⁴ Herakl. *ap.* Strab. 3 ἀντίον τῆς ἀρκτου οὐδος αἰθρίου Διός = frag. 30 Bywater, 120 Diels. On the interpretation of these words consult E. Zeller *A History of Greek Philosophy* trans. S. F. Alleyne London 1881 ii. 46 n. 1, who renders 'the sphere of bright Zeus,' and J. Burnet *Early Greek Philosophy* London and Edinburgh 1892 p. 136 n. 23, who says: 'It seems to me to be simply the clear noon-day sky, put for μεσημβρία.'

⁵ Πῦρ ἀείζων Herakl. *frag.* 20 Bywater, 30 Diels.

⁶ Herakl. *ap.* Hippolyt. *ref. haer.* 9. 10 πάντα οὐκίζει κεραυνός = frag. 28 Bywater, 64 Diels, cp. Kleanth. *h. Zeus* 10 πυρρόεντ' ἀείζωντα κεραυνόν, Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 6^a p. 70 Gomperz κεραυνός π <ἀντ' οὐρα> ἰζει.

⁷ *Infra* ch. ii § 3 (a) i.

⁸ Herakl. *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 404, 1 Stählin (Euseb. *praep. ev.* 13. 13. 42) ἐν τῷ σοφῶν μόνον λέγεσθαι οὐκ ἐθέλει καὶ ἐθέλει Ζηνὸς ὄνομα = frag. 65 Bywater, 32 Diels. Schuster punctuates after μόνον (*Rhein. Mus.* 1854 ix. 345), Cron after ἐθέλει (*Philologus* N.F. 1889 i. 208 ff.). Bernays transposes ἐθέλει καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλει (*Rhein. Mus.* 1854 ix. 256 f.). ὄνομα vulg. ὄνομα Bywater with Euseb. cod. D. οὐνόματι Mullach.

Probably Ζηνός, for Διός, in order to suggest a connexion with ζῆν, 'to live' (*supra* p. 11 n. 5).

That Herakleitos called his first principle Zeus, appears also from Chrysipp. *ap.* Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 14 p. 81 Gomperz τὸν Πόλεμον καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι, καθάπερ καὶ Ἡράκλειτον λέγει, Clem. Al. *paed.* 1. 5 p. 103, 6 Stählin τοιαύτην τινὰ παίξιν παιδίαν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Δία Ἡράκλειτος λέγει.

the style and the tenets of the enigmatic Herakleitos, when he declares:

All things are the same and not the same:
light is the same as Zen, darkness as Aïdes,
light is the same as Aïdes, darkness as Zen¹.

The Stoics, whose physical theories were profoundly influenced by those of Herakleitos, held that matter alone has real existence. But matter is not inert and dead. It can act as well as be acted upon, thanks to a certain tension or elasticity (*tónos*), which is found to a greater or less degree in all matter. This tension is described by a variety of names, among them those of Constructive Fire², *Aithér*³, and Zeus⁴. Krates, a distinguished Greek grammarian who was also a Stoic philosopher⁵, held that Aratos of Soloi, who began his astronomical poem the *Phaenomena* with a famous invocation of Zeus, was in reality invoking the sky⁶: he

¹ Hippokr. *de victu* i. 5 (vi. 476 Littré=i. 633 Kühn) πάντα ταῦτα καὶ οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ· φῶς Ζητή, σκότος Ἀΐδη, φῶς Ἀΐδη, σκότος Ζητή.

² Πῦρ τεχνικόν Stob. *eccl.* i. 25. 5 p. 213, 15 ff. Wachsmuth, *ib.* i. 26. 1^a p. 219, 12 f. Wachsmuth=Zenon *frag.* 71 Pearson; *ib.* i. 1. 29^b p. 37, 20 ff. Wachsmuth, Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14. p. 393, 1 ff. Stählin, Diog. Laert. 7. 156, Cic. *de nat. deor.* 2. 57 ignem... artificiosum, cp. *ib.* 3. 37 naturae...artificiose ambulantis, *Acad.* 1. 39 ignem, Tert. *ad nat.* 2. 2 cuius (ignis) instar vult esse naturam Zeno=Zenon *frag.* 46 Pearson.

Again, Zenon spoke of God as the Fiery Mind of the Universe (Stob. *eccl.* i. 1. 29^b p. 35, 9 Wachsmuth) or as Fire (August. *adv. Acad.* 3. 17. 38)=Zenon *frag.* 42 Pearson.

³ Cic. *de nat. deor.* 1. 36 Zeno...aethera deum dicit, *Acad.* 2. 126 Zenoni et reliquis fere Stoicis aether videtur summus deus, Minuc. Fel. 19. 10 Cleanthes...modo aethera... deum disseruit. Zenon...aethera interim...vult omnium esse principium, Tert. *adv. Marcion.* 1. 13 deos pronuntiaverunt...ut Zeno aerem et aetherem=Zenon *frag.* 41 Pearson; Cic. *de nat. deor.* 1. 37 Cleanthes...ardorem, qui aether nominatur, certissimum deum iudicat, Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 5 Cleanthes et Anaximenes aethera dicunt esse summum deum=Kleanthes *frag.* 15 Pearson; Chrysippos *ap.* Cic. *de nat. deor.* 1. 39 deum dicit esse...aethera. Cp. Stob. *eccl.* i. 1. 29^b p. 38, 2 f. Wachsmuth ἀνωτάτω δὲ πάντων νοῦν ἐναϊθέριον εἶναι θεόν.

⁴ Cic. *de nat. deor.* 1. 36 neque enim Iovem, neque Iunonem, neque Vestam, neque quemquam, qui ita appellatur, in deorum habet numero (*sc.* Zeno), sed rebus inanibus atque mutis per quamdam significationem haec docet tributa nomina=Zenon *frag.* 110 Pearson; Minuc. Fel. 19. 10 Zenon...interpretando Iunonem aëra, Iovem caelum, Neptunum mare, ignem esse Vulcanum et ceteros similiter deos elementa esse monstrando =Zenon *frag.* 111 Pearson; Chrysippos *ap.* Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 12=H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 546 b 24 f. Δία δὲ τὸν αἰθέρα; Diog. Laert. 7. 147 Δία μὲν γὰρ φασὶ δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα, Ζῆνα δὲ καλοῦσι παρ' ὅσον τοῦ ζῆν αἰτίος ἐστὶν ἢ διὰ τοῦ ζῆν κενώρηκεν, Ἀθηναῖν δὲ κατὰ τὴν εἰς αἰθέρα διάτασιν,...Ἦραν δὲ κατὰ τὴν εἰς ἀέρα, καὶ Ἦφαιστον κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ τεχνικὸν πῦρ, κ.τ.λ.; Chrysippos *ap.* Stob. *eccl.* i. 1. 26 p. 31, 11 ff. Wachsmuth Ζεὺς μὲν οὖν φαίνεται ὠνόμασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πᾶσι δεδωκέναι τὸ ζῆν. Δία δὲ αὐτὸν λέγουσιν, ὅτι πάντων ἐστὶν αἰτίος καὶ δι' αὐτὸν πάντα; Chrysippos *ap.* Cic. *de nat. deor.* 1. 40 aethera esse eum, quem homines Iovem appellarent, etc.

⁵ Soud. *s.v.* Κράτης ii. 395 a 14 ff. Bernhardt.

⁶ Krates *ap.* schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 379, 11 ff. Eyssenhardt. The same interpretation is put upon the phrase by Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 18. 15, *in somn. Scip.* 1. 17. 14.

added that it was reasonable to invoke the *aér* and *aithér*, since in them were the stars: Homer—he said—had called the sky Zeus¹, as had Aratos elsewhere²; Hesiod³ and Philemon⁴ had used the same word of the *aér*. Other rationalists propounded similar explanations⁵; for allegory is ever popular with those who have outgrown their creeds. Thus what had once been a piece of genuine folk-belief was first taken up into a philosophical system by Herakleitos, then pressed into the service of various Stoic speculations, and finally treated as a commonplace by allegorists and eclectics.

The comedians of course lost no opportunity of deriding such vagaries. Philemon, the first representative of the New Attic Comedy, is known to have penned a play called *The Philosophers* in which he made mock of Zenon the Stoic⁶. When, therefore, we find that the prologue to one of his other comedies was spoken by a personage named *Aér* and identified with Zeus, we may fairly suspect a travesty of Stoic teaching. The personage in question announces himself as follows:

One who knows everybody and everything
That every one did, does, or ever will do,
And yet no god, and yet no man, am I.
Air, if you please, or Zeus if you prefer it!
For, like a god, I'm everywhere at once,
I'm here in Athens, at Patras, in Sicily,
In every state and every house, indeed
In each man Jack of you. Air's everywhere
And, being everywhere, knows everything⁷!

¹ *Il.* 19. 357.

² Arat. *phaen.* 223 f. αὐτὰρ ὁ Ἴππος | ἐν Διὸς εἰλείται, 275 ἦτοι γὰρ καὶ Ζηνὶ παρατρέχει αἰόλος Ὀρνις with schol.

³ Hes. *o.d.* 267, cp. schol. Arat. *phaen.* 1 p. 49, 24 Bekker.

⁴ Philemon *frag. incert.* 2. 4 Meineke: *infra* p. 30.

⁵ *E.g.* schol. *Il.* 15. 21 A.D., 188 B. L., Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 22 p. 80, 15 ff. Wünsch, *ib.* 4. 34 p. 91, 18 ff., Serv. *in Verg. ecl.* 10. 27. Herakleitos, a late Stoic, in his *quaest. Hom.* pp. 23, 14 ff., 35, 11 ff., 37, 1 f., 38, 1, 52, 19 ff., 57, 16 ff., 60, 7 ff., 62, 3 ff., 64, 1 ff. Soc. Philol. Bonn. also equates Zeus with αἰθήρ.

A last echo of Herakleitos the Ionian is audible in Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 21 p. 80, 4 τὸν δὲ Δία τὸ πῦρ, Cornut. *theol.* 19 p. 33, 12 ff. Lang ὁ μὲν γὰρ αἰθήρ καὶ τὸ διαγενὲς καὶ καθαρὸν πῦρ Ζεὺς ἐστὶ κ.τ.λ., Tert. *adv. Marcion.* 1. 13 vulgaris superstitio...figurans Iovem in substantiam fervidam et Iunonem eius in aeriam, etc.

⁶ Diog. Laert. 7. 27, Clem. Al. *strom.* 2. 20 p. 179, 8 ff. Stählin, Soud. *s.v.* Ζήνων i. 76 a 10 Bernhardt = Philemon *Philosophi frag.* (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 29 f. Meineke).

⁷ Stob. *ecl.* 1. 1. 32 p. 39, 9 ff. Wachsmuth, *Vita Arati* ii. 438, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 380, 1 ff. Eyssenhardt, *et. mag.* p. 389, 38 ff. where Πλάτων is a mistake for Φιλήμων = Philemon *frag. incert.* 2 Meineke.

With this identification of Zeus and Ἄηρ cp. Krates *supra* p. 29, Chrysippos *ap.* Philodem. *περὶ εἰσεβείας* 13 = II. Diels *Doxogr.* p. 546 b 36 ff. Δία μὲν εἶναι τὸν περὶ τὴν γῆν ἀέρα, τὸν δὲ σκοτεινὸν Ἄϊδην, τὸν δὲ διὰ τῆς γῆς καὶ θαλάττης Ποσειδῶ, Lyd. *de mens.*

Another philosopher, who availed himself of the belief that the fiery sky is Zeus, was Empedokles of Agrigentum. This remarkable thinker recognised four elements or 'roots' of things, *viz.* Fire, Air, Earth, and Water, particles of which were combined and separated by the moving forces of Friendship and Enmity. In the extant fragments of his poem *On Evolution* he clothes his ideas in mythological language, speaking of the elements as Zeus, Here, Aidoneus, and Nestis respectively, and of the moving forces as Aphrodite (Kypris) and Ares (Eris). Thus he writes:

For first hear thou the four roots of all things:
Bright Zeus, life-bringing Here, Aidoneus,
And Nestis, whose tears flow as a fount for men¹.

The author of the compilation *On the Dogmas of the Philosophers*, a work wrongly ascribed to Plutarch², quotes the second line as commencing with the words 'Zeus *Aithér*' instead of 'Zeus *argés*,' *i.e.* 'Zeus the Burning Sky' instead of 'Zeus the Brilliant.' But that is perhaps an emendation on the part of a copyist familiar with Stoic phraseology and ignorant of the poet's vocabulary³. The word *argés* means 'bright' or 'brilliant' and is used by Homer five times of the thunderbolt hurled by Zeus⁴, once of the shining

4. 176 p. 183, 9 Wünsch *Zeus γὰρ ὁ ἀήρ κατὰ τοὺς φυσικοὺς λέγεται κ.τ.λ.*, *ib.* 1. 12 p. 6, 25 *Διὸς ἦτοι ἀέρος*.

Diogenes of Apollonia, a belated follower of Anaximenes, likewise equated Zeus with 'Aἴρ: Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 6^b=H. Diels *Doxogr.* p. 536 b 2 ff. *Διογένης ἐπαυεῖ τὸν Ὀμηρον, ὡς οὐ μυθικῶς ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ θείου διελεγμένον. τὸν ἀέρα γὰρ αὐτὸν Δία νομίζεν φησίν, ἐπειδὴ πᾶν ελδέναι τὸν Δία λέγει.*

The same equation is found many centuries later in Tzetz. *alleg. Od.* 6. 132 *πάντα τὰ δένδρα γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ἤγουν ἀήρ ἐκτρέφει, 8. 76 Ζεὺς δὲ ἀήρ τις κ.τ.λ.*

¹ Empedokl. *frag.* 6 Diels *τέσσαρα γὰρ πάντων ριζώματα πρώτων ἄκουε· | Ζεὺς ἀργῆς Ἡρῆ τε φερέσβιος ἢ δ' Ἀιδωνεύς | Νῆστις θ', ἣ δακρύους τέγγει κρούσιμα βρότειον.*

² See *e.g.* W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*⁵ München 1911 ii. 1. 391.

³ Plout. *de plac. phil.* 1. 3. 20 *Zeus αἰθήρ* MSS. The passage is cited from Plutarch by Euseb. *praep. ev.* 14. 6, where the MSS. have *ἀρης*. Herakleitos the Stoic in his exposition of the line (*quaest. Hom.* p. 38, 1 ff. Soc. Philol. Bonn.) says *Ζῆνα μὲν εἶπε τὸν αἰθέρα*. But there is no doubt that *ἀργῆς* is the true reading: see H. Diels *Poetarum philosophorum fragmenta* Berolini 1901 p. 108. With the pseudo-Plutarch's comment *Δία μὲν γὰρ λέγει τὴν ζέσιν καὶ τὸν αἰθέρα* cp. the erroneous derivation of *Zeus* from *ζέω* in *et. mag.* p. 409, 4 f., *et. Gud.* p. 230, 30, Clem. *Rom. hom.* 4. 24 (ii. 173 Migne), 6. 7 (ii. 201 Migne), Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 6 p. 7 Schwartz and 22 p. 26 Schwartz, *Prob. in Verg. ecl.* 6. 31 p. 351, interp. *Serv. in Verg. Aen.* 1. 47, cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 30 *flagrantem vi flammae atque ardoris inextinguibili vastitate*, Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 11 *a fervore caelestis ignis*, Myth. *Vat.* 1. 105 *Iovem...id est ignem; unde et Zeus (quod est vita sive calor) dicitur, ib.* 3. 3. 1 *Iovem...id est ignem...Graece Iuppiter Zeus dicitur, quod Latine calor sive vita interpretatur, quod videlicet hoc elementum caleat; et quod igni vitali, ut Heraclitus vult, omnia sint animata*. See also *supra* p. 30 n. 5.

⁴ *Il.* 8. 133, *Od.* 5. 128, 131, 7. 249, 12. 387. Cp. *ἀργικέραυνε* of Zeus in *Il.* 19. 121, 20. 16, 22. 178.

raiment worn by Helen¹, and twice in a slightly different form of white glistening fat². From the same root springs the word *argós*, 'bright, glittering, shimmering³,'—a fact which raises the question, In what relation did Zeus stand to the various mythical persons named *Árgos*? This complicated problem, which in one shape or another has exercised the minds of mythologists for the last seventy years⁴, has been recently attacked with the utmost care by Dr K. Wernicke⁵ and Dr O. Jessen⁷. They arrive at substantially identical results, *viz.* (1) that the numerous personages named *Árgos* are, for the purposes of serious investigation, reducible to two—the eponymous hero of the town Argos and the sleepless watcher of Io; (2) that these two were originally one and the same; and (3) that the ultimate *Árgos* was a sky-god, 'a sort of Zeus' says Dr Wernicke⁵, 'essentially similar to Zeus' as Dr Jessen puts it⁹. If this be so, it is permissible to regard *Árgos* 'the Glittering' as another name of *Zeús* 'the Bright One¹⁰,' and we obtain confirmation of our view that Empedokles, when he spoke of Fire as Zeus *argés*, Zeus 'the Brilliant,' was utilising a popular and originally zoistic conception of the bright sky-god.

Euripides sometimes identifies Zeus with the burning sky. He says, for example:

But *Aithér* is thy father, maid,
Whose name on earth is Zeus¹¹.

Or again:

Thou seest yon boundless *aithér* overhead
Clasping the earth in close and soft embrace?
That deem thou Zen, that reckon thou thy god¹².

¹ *Il.* 3. 419.

² *Il.* 11. 818, 21. 127.

³ Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 49 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 43 f.

⁴ Prob. in Verg. *ccl.* 6. 31 p. 351 Lion already connects Zeus *ἀργής* with Ἄργος. See further *infra* ch. i § 6 (g) ix.

⁵ T. Panofka *Argos Panoptes* Berlin 1838 pp. 1—47 (extr. from the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1837 Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 81—125) was the first to deal in detail with the subject.

⁶ In Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 790—798 (1896).

⁷ In Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1540—1550 (1902).

⁸ Wernicke *loc. cit.* p. 798, 24 f. 'eine Art von Zeus.'

⁹ Jessen *loc. cit.* p. 1549, 42 ff. 'ein Gott Argos Panoptes (*Maass, Götting. Gel. Anz.* 1889, 2, 808), dem Wesen nach nicht verschieden von Zeus Panoptes bzw. Helios Panoptes.'

¹⁰ I called attention to this equation in the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 82 n. 3, *cp. ib.* p. 75, and in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 265.

¹¹ Eur. *frag. incert.* 877 Nauck² ἀλλ' αἰθήρ τικτει σε, κόρα, | Ζεὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους ὀνομάζεται.

¹² Eur. *frag. incert.* 941 Nauck² ὄρα's τὸν ὑψὸς τόνδ' ἄπειρον αἰθέρα | καὶ γῆν περίξ' ἔχουθ' ὑγραῖς ἐν ἀγκάλαις; | τοῦτον νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τόνδ' ἠγοῦ θεόν. Cp. Euripides' prayer to αἰθήρ in Aristoph. *ran.* 892.

It is usual to suppose that in such passages Euripides was writing as a disciple of Anaxagoras. But, though Euripides was certainly influenced by Anaxagoras¹, and though Anaxagoras in his cosmogony derived the world from the reciprocal action of a rare warm bright dry principle termed *aithér* and a dense cold dark moist principle termed *aér*², yet inasmuch as the philosopher nowhere calls his *aithér* by the name of Zeus, his influence on the poet is not here to be traced. Nor yet can these Euripidean passages be ascribed to Orphic teaching. For the Orphic Zeus was pantheistic and only identified with *aithér* in the same sense as he is identified with all the other elements of Nature³. Thus Aischylos in his *Heliades* writes probably under Orphic influence:

Zeus is the *aithér*, Zeus the earth, and Zeus the sky,
Zeus the whole world and aught there is above it⁴.

Orphic poems describe *aithér* as the 'unerring kingly ear' of Zeus⁵, or as 'holding the ever tireless might of Zeus' high palace⁶; but a direct identification of Zeus with *aithér* is attributed to Orpheus only by Ioannes Diakonos, a late and untrustworthy author⁷. What then was the source of Euripides' teaching in the matter? Possibly Herakleitos' use of '*Aithrios* Zeus' for 'the Bright Sky'⁸; but possibly also the old zoïstic conception that lay at the base of all these philosophical superstructures.

(d) Zeus as god of the Blue Sky in Hellenistic Art.

Pompeian wall-paintings have preserved to us certain Hellenistic⁹ types of Zeus conceived as god of the blue sky. He is characterised as such by the simplest of means. Either he wears a blue *nimbus* round his head, or he has a blue globe at his feet, or he is wrapped about with a blue mantle.

¹ See P. Decharme 'Euripide et Anaxagore' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1889 ii. 234 ff.

² E. Zeller *A History of Greek Philosophy* trans. S. F. Alleyne London 1881 ii. 354 ff.

³ Orph. frag. 123, 10 ff. Abel πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα καὶ αἰθήρ, νύξ τε καὶ ἡμαρ, | ... πάντα γὰρ ἐν Ζηνὸς μεγάλῳ τάδε σώματι κεῖται.

⁴ Aisch. *Heliades* frag. 70 Nauck² Ζεὺς ἐστὶν αἰθήρ, Ζεὺς δὲ γῆ, Ζεὺς δ' οὐρανός, | Ζεὺς τοὺ τὰ πάντα χῶτι τῶνδ' ὑπέρερον.

⁵ Orph. frag. 123, 19 ff. Abel.

⁶ Orph. h. *Aith.* 5. 1 Abel.

⁷ Io. Diak. in Hes. *theog.* 950 = Orph. frag. 161 f. Abel.

⁸ *Supra* p. 28. For the influence of Herakleitos on Euripides see A. E. Haigh *The Tragic Drama of the Greeks* Oxford 1896 pp. 234, 272.

⁹ Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 190.

i. *The Blue Nimbus.*

In a painting from the *Casa del naviglio* (pl. i. and Frontispiece)¹, now unfortunately much faded, a fine triangular composition of Zeus enthroned is seen against a red background. The god's right hand, raised to his head, betokens thoughtful care. His left hand holds a long sceptre. His flowing locks are circled by a blue *nimbus*². Wrapped about his knees is a mantle, which varies in hue from light blue to light violet. His sandalled feet are placed on a footstool, beside which is perched his eagle, heedfully turning its head towards its master. The throne has for arm-rests two small eagles, and is covered with green drapery. Immediately behind it rises a pillar rectangular in section and yellowish grey in colour, the sacred stone of Zeus. We have thus in juxtaposition the earliest and the latest embodiment of the sky-god, the rude aniconic pillar of immemorial sanctity and the fully anthropomorphic figure of the Olympian ruler deep in the meditations of Providence³.

The same striking combination occurs on a well-mouth of Luna marble in the Naples Museum (pl. ii.)⁴. Here too we see Zeus seated in a pensive attitude, his right hand supporting his head, his left placed as though it held a sceptre. There is again a pillar

¹ Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 30 f. no. 101. Uncoloured drawings in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1830 vi pl. 52, W. Zahn *Die schönsten Ornamente und merkwürdigsten Gemälde aus Pompeji, Herkulanum und Stabiae* Berlin 1844 ii pl. 88. E. Braun *Vorschule der Kunstmythologie* Gotha 1854 pl. 11, Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 1, 39, Müller-Wieseler-Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 48 f. pl. 4, 11 (with the fullest bibliography), *alib.*

My pl. i is a reproduction of Zahn's drawing on a smaller scale. My Frontispiece is a restoration of the painting based, partly on the full notes as to colouring given by Zahn, partly on a study of the much better preserved paintings from the same atrium (Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 50 no. 175, p. 98 no. 392, cp. p. 47 no. 162), especially of the wonderful enthroned Dionysos (Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* col. pl. 1).

² L. Stephani *Nimbus und Strahlenkranz* St Petersburg 1859 p. 13 f. (extr. from the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg.* vi Série. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie. ix. 361 ff.).

³ Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 190 compares the thoughtful attitude of Zeus on the Naples well-mouth (*infra* n. 4) and on a medallion of Lucius Verus (*infra* ch. i § 5 (b)). Wernicke *op. cit.* i. 48 f. objects that in the Pompeian painting the arm of Zeus is not supported on the back of the throne, but raised to his head in a Roman gesture of 'meditative care' (*sinnende Fürsorge*) like that of Securitas on imperial coins (e.g. Müller-Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* i. 80 pl. 67, 362: list in Rasche *Lex. Num.* viii. 333—402, Stevenson-Smith-Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* pp. 726—728) or that of Minerva in the pediment of the Capitoline temple (Wernicke *op. cit.* i. 43, 52 pl. 5, 1, Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 3, 20, Durm *Baukunst d. Etrusk.*² p. 102 f. figs. 112 f.). For more pronounced, but less dignified, gestures of the sort see C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 p. 47 f.

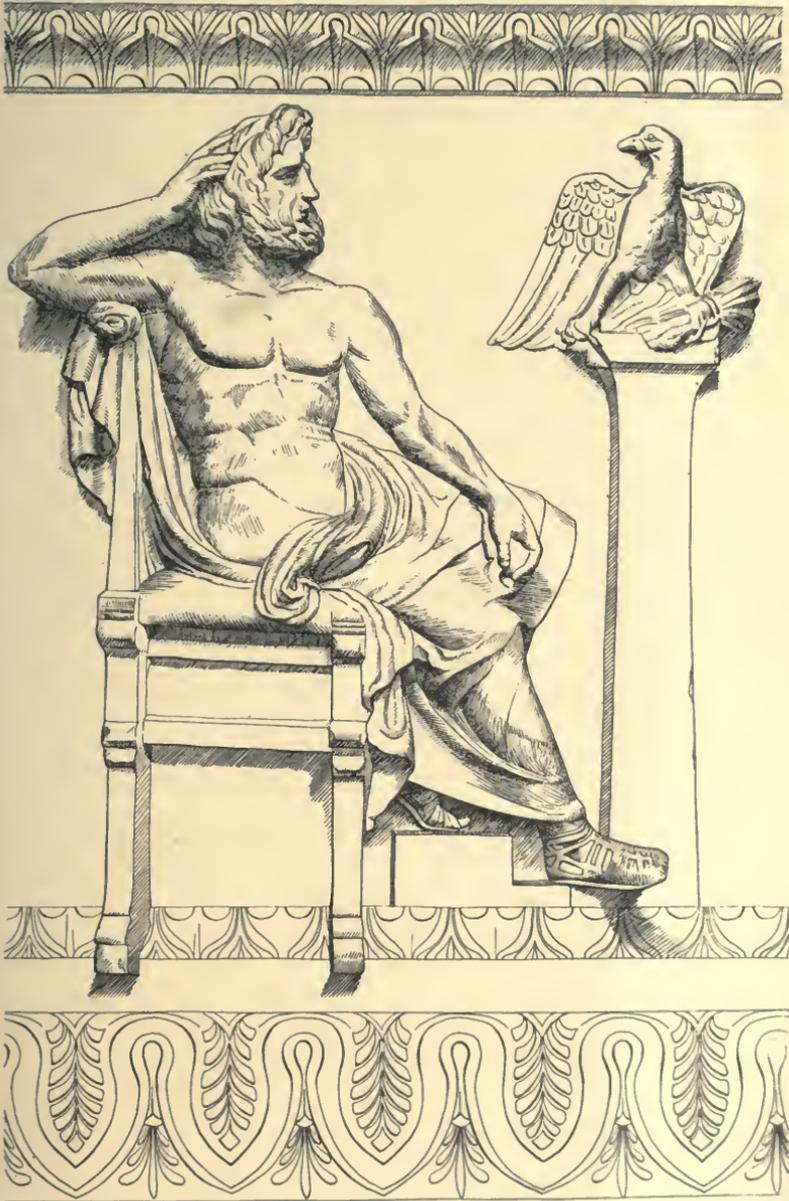
⁴ *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 94 f. no. 289, figured in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1824 i pl. 49, Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 3, 16. My pl. ii is a drawing from the cast at Cambridge.



Zeus in a wall-painting from the *Casa del Naviglio*.

See page 34 ff.

32 ✓



Zeus on a well-mouth at Naples.

See page 34 ff.

beside him: on it rests his eagle, the lightning-bearer, turning towards him and spreading its wings for instant flight.

Both designs are clearly variations (the one chromatic, the other plastic) of a common original by some sculptor of repute, who—to judge from the abundant but not as yet exaggerated locks of the god, his earnest deep-set eyes, his broad athletic shoulders, the naturalistic gesture of his right hand, and the multifacial character of the whole work—may well have been Lysippos. The Italian *provenance* of the wall-painting and the well-mouth suggest that this Lysippean masterpiece was executed for some city in Italy. Our only further clue is the presence of the pillar as an essential feature of the composition. Now pillar-cults of Zeus lasting on into the classical period are of extreme rarity. There was, however, one such cult, of which I shall have more to say¹, at Tarentum in south Italy. If it could be shown that Lysippos made an image of the Tarentine pillar-Zeus, it would be reasonable to regard that image as the prototype of our later figures. At this point Pliny may be brought forward as a witness. *A propos* of colossal statues he says: 'Yet another is that at Tarentum, made by Lysippos, forty cubits in height. It is noteworthy because the weight is so nicely balanced that, though it can be moved by the hand—so they state—, yet it is not overthrown by any gale. The artist himself is said to have provided against this by placing a pillar a little way off on the side where it was most necessary to break the violence of the wind².' Lucilius³ and Strabon⁴ mention that the statue in question represented Zeus and was set in a large open market-place. Whether it was seated we are not definitely told and cannot certainly infer⁵. On the one hand, its great height and carefully calculated balance suggest a standing figure (cp. fig. 8)⁶. On the other hand, Lysippos'



Fig. 8.

¹ *Infra* ch. ii § 3 (a) ii (δ).

² Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 40 talis et Tarenti factus a Lysippo, XL cubitorum. mirum in eo quod manu, ut ferunt, mobilis ea ratio libramenti est, ut nullis convellatur procellis. id quidem providisse et artifex dicitur modico intervallo, unde maxime flatum opus erat frangi, opposita columna.

³ Lucil. *frag.* 380 Baehrens *ap.* Non. Marc. *s.v.* 'cubitus' p. 296, 14 ff. Lindsay Lysippi Iuppiter ista | transibit quadraginta cubita altu' Tarento.

⁴ Strab. 278 *ἔχει δὲ* (sc. Tarentum) *γυμνάσιον τε κάλλιστον καὶ ἀγορὰν εὐμεγέθη, ἐν ἣ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Διὸς ἰδρυται κολοσσὸς χαλκοῦς, μέγιστος μετὰ τὸν Ῥοδίων.*

⁵ Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 57.

⁶ Müller-Wieseler-Wernicke *Aut. Denkm.* i. 58 pl. 5, 11, a brown paste of late Roman work at Berlin (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 122 no. 2642 pl. 24) shows Zeus leaning his left arm on a pillar and holding a *phiale* in his right hand. Upon

intention may well have been to eclipse the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias by a seated colossus of yet vaster bulk. Moreover, both Strabon¹ and Pliny² speak in the next breath of another colossal bronze made by Lysippos for the Tarentines: this represented Herakles without weapons, seated and resting his head on his left hand³—a fitting pendant to a Zeus in the Pompeian pose. Pliny's curious remark about the weight being moveable by hand might refer to some accessory such as the eagle of Zeus⁴; and his idea that the pillar set up beside the statue was intended to break the force of the wind is due to an obvious misunderstanding of the sacred stone. In short, the evidence that our painting and bas-relief presuppose Lysippos' famous work, though not conclusive, is fairly strong.

In this connexion it should be observed that Apulian vases—Tarentine vases, as Prof. Furtwängler called them on the ground that they were much used, if not manufactured, at Tarentum⁵,—more than once represent an ancient cult of Zeus by means of a simple pillar closely resembling that of the Pompeian painting or that of the Neapolitan relief. Thus a vase in the Louvre (fig. 9)⁶ depicts Hippodameia offering a *phiale* to her father Oinomaos, who is about to pour a libation over a primitive squared pillar before starting on the fateful race with Pelops. An *amphora* from Ruvo, now in the British Museum (pl. iii.)⁷, has the same scene with

the pillar is perched his eagle. In the field to right and left of his head are a star (sun?) and a crescent moon. The god is flanked by two smaller figures of the Dioskouroi, each with lance in hand and star on head. This design probably represents a definite cult-group e.g. at Tarentum, where the worship of the pillar-Zeus may have been combined with that of the Dioskouroi. If Lysippos' colossal Zeus (*supra* p. 35) was a standing, not a seated, figure, the Berlin paste perhaps gives us some idea of it.

¹ Strab. 278.

² Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 40.

³ Niketas Choniates *de signis Constantinopolitanis* 5 p. 859 f. Bekker. The type is reproduced on an ivory casket (s. ix—x): see A. Furtwängler in the *Sitzungsber. d. königl. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1902 pp. 435—442, O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 pp. 122, 216.

⁴ Cp. what he says about the stag of Kanachos' Apollon in *nat. hist.* 34. 75.

⁵ Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gr. Sculpt.* p. 109 f., Furtwängler-Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 47, ii. 107 (giving both appellations), 139 (reverting to the older nomenclature). See further H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 486.

⁶ *Arch. Zeit.* 1853 xi. 44 f. pl. 54, 2.

⁷ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 164 f. no. F 331, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1840 xii. 171 ff. pls. N, O, *Arch. Zeit.* 1853 xi. 42 ff. pl. 54, 1, *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 271 f. fig. 1. These illustrations being inexact, I have had a fresh drawing made. My friend Mr H. B. Walters in a letter dated May 15, 1911 writes—'The following parts of the principal subject are restored: *Oinomaos* from waist to knees and left side of chlamys. *Myrtilos* all except head and shoulders, right hand and part of left arm. *Aphrodite* lower part of right leg and knee with drapery. There are also bits of restored paint along the lines of fracture. All the rest is quite trustworthy, except that I am a little bit doubtful about the ΔΙΟΣ inscription. The Δ is certainly genuine, but the other letters look suspicious, especially the Σ.'

1
2



Pillar-cult of Zeus o



hora from Ruvo.

See page 36 ff.

further details and names. In the centre a four-sided pillar with splayed foot and moulded top bears the inscription *Dios*, '(the pillar) of Zeus¹.' It rises above, and probably out of, an altar,



Fig. 9.

over which Oinomaos, faced by Pelops, is in act to pour his libation. The king is flanked by Myrtilos, his faithless charioteer; the claimant, by Hippodameia, whom an older woman—possibly

¹ ΔΙΟΣ here is commonly supposed to mean '(the altar) of Zeus.' Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 5 f. fig. 1 objects that in this case the word would have been written on the blank side of the altar, and prefers to supply Διὸς (ἀγάλμα or ἕδος). If, however, the pillar actually rises out of the altar (as does the female herm on the Dareios-vase: Furtwängler-Reichhold *op. cit.* ii. 148 pl. 88), the distinction ceases to be important; the altar is virtually the base of the pillar.

An interesting parallel is furnished by a series of bronze weights found at Olympia—the very spot represented on the vase (*Olympia* v. 801—824). They are shaped like an altar of one, two, three, or four steps, and are regularly inscribed ΔΙΟΣ, sometimes ΔΙΟΣ ΙΕΡΩΝ, or with the addition of a cult-title ΔΙΟΡ ΟΛΤΜΠΩ, ΔΙΟΡ ΟΛΤΝΠΩ, ΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΛ(Λυλικού? Miss J. E. Harrison), ΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΛ(δέου? cp. Paus. 5. 10. 7. H. B. Walters in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 361 no. 3008, followed by E. Michon in *Daremberg-Saglio Dict. Ant.* iv. 552 n. 50, suggests Κλαριου). Some of them are further decorated with a thunderbolt, or with an eagle attacking a snake. If these weights really represent an altar and not merely—as is possible—a pile of smaller weights, that altar was presumably the great altar of Zeus, which is known to have been a stepped structure formed from the ashes of the thighs of the victims sacrificed to Zeus (Paus. 5. 13. 8 ff.). Fig. 10 is a specimen inscribed ΔΙΟΣ (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 49 no. 327).

Copper coins of Nikaia in Bithynia, struck under Domitian, show a flaming rectangular altar inscribed ΔΙΟC | ΑΓO|PAI|OY (Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 483 f.

her mother's head forward by the wrist. Aphrodite and Eros appropriately complete the group. On the wall in the background hangs a white *phlox* with a sword, and to either side of it two human heads— one that of a young man named *Pelag(ou)*² wearing a Phrygian cap with lappets, the other that of a youth called *Pelops*: these are the heads of former suitors vanquished and slain by Oinomaos.



Fig. 10.

Other vases, which repeat the scene with variations, show a more developed form of the pillar-Zeus. A *kratēr* with medallion handles from Apulia, likewise in the British Museum (pl. iv, 1)³, again illustrates the compact of Oinomaos with Pelops before the altar of Zeus. Here too the central figures are flanked by Myrtilos and Hippodameia⁴; the former bears armour, the latter a bridal torch. In pl. 21, 21, *op. cit.* ii, 302 iii, pl. 26, 26: Waddington-Babelon-Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Mus.* i, 406 pl. 67, 166. Others, struck under Trajan, have a large altar ready laid with wood; there is a bull in the front of the altar and beneath it the word ΔΙΟC (*Hunter Cat. Chic.* ii, 2473). Others again, under Antoninus Pius, have a flaming altar inscribed ΔΙΟC with ΑΙΤΑΙΟΥ in the exergue (Waddington-Babelon-Reinach *op. cit.* i, 407 pl. 68, 3).

Early altars were often inscribed with the name of the deity in the genitive case (E. Kersch in Pauly-Wissowa *Recl-Enc.* i, 1681).

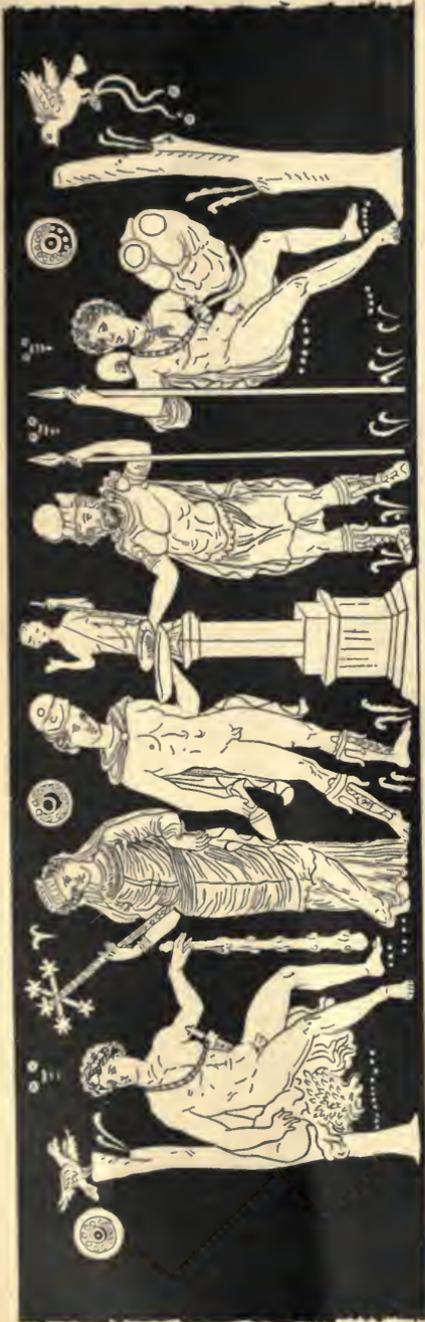
² Not Peitho, as I suggested in *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii, 272 (following P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii, 776), for she is white-haired. II. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vase* iv, 165 rightly says Sterope.

³ Paus. 6, 24, 11.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vase* iv, 132 ff. no. F 278, *Bull. Arch. Nap.* 1858 vi, 145 ff. 118, 8-10. *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii, 272 fig. 2. My pl. iv, 1 and 2, are from a fresh drawing of the vase.

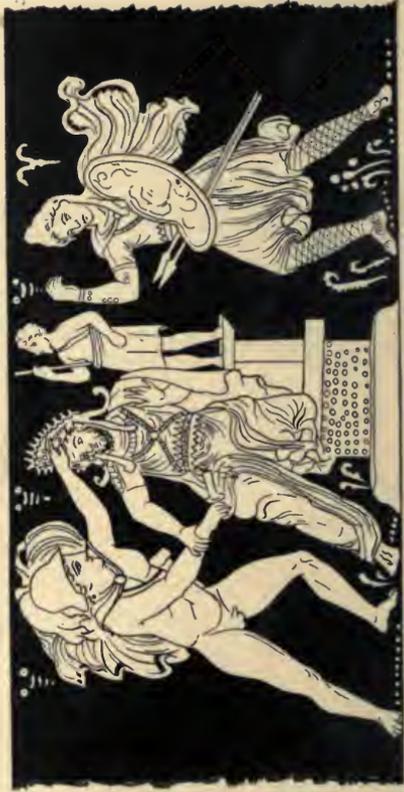
⁵ Not Aphrodite, as S. Reinach supposes (*Rev. Vases* i, 495).

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1. Pillar-cult of Zeus on a *krater* from Apulia (obverse).

See page 38 f.



2. Pillar-cult of Zeus on a *krater* from Apulia (reverse).

See page 39 n. 2.

38 ✓



Pillar-cult of Zeus on a *krater* from Lecce (the 'Cawdor vase').

See page 39.

Herakles is present as founder of the Olympic games. The *Áltis* or 'Grove' is indicated by a couple of tree-stumps to right and left, while the two doves hovering above them are probably the equivalent of Aphrodite and Eros in the last design¹. It will be noticed that the four-sided pillar with its altar-base is now topped by a statue of Zeus, who stands clad in *chitón* and *himátion*, his left hand leaning on a sceptre, his right raised as if to hurl a bolt². A second *kratér* of the same sort, found in 1790 near Lecce and known as the 'Cawdor vase' because purchased for a thousand guineas by Lord Cawdor, is now in the Soane Museum at 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields. It exhibits a somewhat later moment—the sacrifice by Oinomaos (pl. v)³. Pelops and Hippodameia have started. But the king still stands at the altar, holding a *phidle*, a wreath and a flower in his right hand, a spear in his left, while a youth (Myrtilos?) brings up a ram for the sacrifice. On the right of this group sits a retainer with armour; on the left a female figure wearing diadem, ear-ring, and necklace (Sterope?) approaches with a basket, a fillet, and three *epichýseis*. The altar is horned, and above it rises a pillar with moulded top, on which is placed a small undraped image of Zeus advancing with uplifted bolt. Between Zeus and Oinomaos a small prophylactic wheel is seen suspended⁴.

Similarly on a Campanian *amphora* from Capua, now at Dresden, Orestes stabs Aigisthos in the presence of Elektra (fig. 11)⁵. Aigisthos has apparently fled for refuge to an altar-base of Zeus⁶,

¹ In *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 272 I accepted Minervini's contention (*Bull. Arch. Nap.* 1858 vi. 148 f.) that these doves should be identified with those of the Dodonaean Zeus, who spoke his oracles *δισσῶν ἐκ πελειάδων* (Soph. *Trach.* 172 with schol. *ad loc.*). But, though Aphrodite's doves are ultimately comparable with those of Zeus, we must not suppose any such recondite significance here.

² The opposite side of the same vase, which depicts the capture of Troy, shows *inter alia* Neoptolemos stabbing Priamos as he clings to a very similar pillar-altar of Zeus (pl. iv, 2): *infra* n. 6.

³ J. B. Passeri *Picturae Etruscorum in Vasculis* Rome 1775 iii pl. 282 ff., H. Moses *A Collection of Vases...* London 1814 pl. 23, J. Britton *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting...* London 1827 p. 51 Title-page fig. 1, 6, *A general description of Sir John Soane's Museum* London 1876 p. 5 fig., T. Panofka in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1853 Phil.-hist. Classe pls. 1, 2 no. 5, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pétr.* 1863 p. 268 n. 1, 1868 p. 169, A. Conze in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1864 xxii Anz. p. 165^o, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 6, 208 f., 602, A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* Cambridge 1882 p. 481.

My illustration of the top register (7½ inches high) was drawn over photographic blue-prints taken by Mr W. E. Gray of Bayswater.

⁴ On these prophylactic wheels see *infra* ch. i § 6 (d) i (e).

⁵ G. Treu in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1890 v Arch. Anz. p. 90, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 969.

⁶ The scene as conceived by the vase-painter differs from the literary tradition (cp.

whose archaic statue holding thunderbolt and eagle surmounts a pillar on the right¹. Before it, upon the wall hangs a shield.



Fig. 11.

These vases prove that the pillar-cult of Zeus as conceived in south Italy passed from the aniconic to the iconic stage without discarding the primitive pillar. They thus afford a fair parallel to the painting from Pompeii, though there we have Zeus by the pillar and here Zeus on the pillar.

It remains to speak of the blue *nimbus*. Despite the express denial of L. Stephani², there is something to be urged for the view put forward by E. G. Schulz, that painters varied the colour of the *nimbus* in accordance with the character of the god they portrayed, and that a blue *nimbus* in particular suited Zeus as representative of the *aithér*³. It is—I would rather say—a naïve device for depicting Zeus as a dweller in the blue sky, and is therefore no less suitable to other denizens of Olympus⁴.

Christian art retained the symbol with a like significance. A fourth century painting from the top of an *arcosolium* in the Roman Catacombs shows Elias ascending to heaven in his chariot of fire. The saint

however Eur. *El.* 839 ff.): it was perhaps inspired by the death of Priamos at the altar of Zeus *Herkeios* (*supra* p. 39 n. 2).

¹ A milder type of pillar-Zeus, with *phidre* in right hand and sceptre in left, occurs on a *kratér* from Gnathia, now at Bonn (*infra* ch. i § 6 (d) i (f)).

² L. Stephani *Nimbus und Strahlenkranz* St Petersburg 1859 p. 96 (extr. from the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg.* vi Série. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie. ix. 456).

³ *Bull. d. Inst.* 1841 p. 103 'Tra le altre divinità è specialmente il Giove quasi sempre fregiato di quest' ornamento, al quale come ad una divinità universale e rappresentante l' etere viene per lo più attribuito il nimbo azzurro. Così lo vediamo tra altri esempj in un dipinto del Museo borbonico ed in un altro esistente nel cavedio della casa delle Baccanti,' with n. 'Mus. borb. vi, t. 52.'

On the meaning of gold, silver, red, green, and black *nimbi* in later art see Mrs H. Jenner *Christian Symbolism* London 1910 p. 91 f.

⁴ Blue *nimbi* are attached to the following deities: Aphrodite (Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* nos. 118?, 291, 317), Apollon (Helbig nos. 189?, 232, 4, Sogliano *Pitt. mur.*

has a blue *nimbus* about his beardless head and obviously perpetuates the type of Helios¹. An interesting miniature on linen of about the same date comes from a priestly mitre found at Panopolis (*Achmim*). On it we see Christ as a youthful brown-haired figure, standing in a blue robe trimmed with carmine and holding a cross in his right hand: he too has a blue *nimbus* round his head². A *clavus* of polychrome wool-work, found on the same site but in a Byzantine grave of the sixth century or thereabout, represents a white-robed saint between two trees: his left hand holds a staff, and his head is circled by a blue *nimbus*³. The magnificent mosaic on the triumphal arch of S. Paolo *fuori le mura* at Rome, which was designed in the middle of the fifth century but has undergone substantial restorations, culminates in the bust of Our Lord wearing a golden radiate *nimbus* rimmed with dark blue⁴.

ii. *The Blue Globe.*

The blue *nimbus* marked Zeus as a dweller in the blue sky. More intimate is the connexion denoted by another symbol in the repertory of the Pompeian artist, the blue *orbis*⁵ or globe.

Camp. no. 164?), Demeter (Helbig no. 176 'bläulich'), Dionysos (Helbig no. 388), Helios (Sogliano no. 164?), Hypnos (Helbig no. 974 'bläulich, zackig'), Kirke (Helbig no. 1329), Leda (Helbig no. 143), Selene (Sogliano no. 457 'azzurgnolo'), young god with white or golden star above him (Helbig nos. 964, 971), young radiate god (Helbig no. 969, Sogliano no. 458, cp. Helbig no. 965 youth with blue radiate crown and white star above), mountain-nymphs (Helbig no. 971), wood-nymph (Sogliano no. 119), radiate female figure with bat's wings (Sogliano no. 499) or bird's wings (Sogliano no. 500). See also Stephani *op. cit.* pp. 19, 22, 23, 47, 49, 65.

¹ J. Wilpert *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms* Freiburg 1903 pl. 160, 2, *infra* ch. i § 5 (f).

² Forrer *Reallex.* p. 485 fig. 401.

³ *Id. ib.* p. 939 pl. 292, 1.

⁴ G. B. de Rossi *Mosaici cristiani e saggi dei pavimenti delle chiese di Roma anteriori al secolo xv* Roma 1899 pl. 13, L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1909 ii. 328 pl. 3 (after de Rossi), W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archaeology* New York 1901 p. 311. On the blue *nimbus* in Christian art see further O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 p. 682.

⁵ The word is found in the description of a silver statue of Iupiter *Victor*, which stood on the Capitol of Circa: *Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii no. 6981 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4921^a (Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 2736) SYNOPSIS | IOVIS • VICTOR • ARGENTEVS | IN KAPITOLIO • HABENS • IN • CAPITE • CO|RONAM • ARGENTEM • QVERQVEAM | FOLIOR • XXV ◊ IN QVA • GLANDES • N̄ • XV • FE|RENS • IN MANV • DEXTRA • ORBEM • ARGEN|TEVM • ET VICTORIA • PALMAM • FERENTEM | [*spinar?*] • XX • ET CORONAM ◊ FOLIOR • XXXX • | [*in manu*] SINISTRA • HASTAM • ARG • TENENS.... Cp., however, Amm. Marc. 21. 14. 1 *sphaeram* quam ipse (*sc.* Constantius ii) dextera manu gestabat, 25. 10. 2 Maximiani statua Caesaris...amisit repente *sphaeram* aeream formatam in speciem poli quam gestabat. Soud. *s.v.* *Ἰουστινιανός* also uses the term *σφαῖρα* (*infra* p. 52 n. 4).

This occurs in a painting from the *Casa dei Dioscuri* (pl. vi)¹. Against a red ground we see Zeus seated on a throne, which is draped in shimmering blue. Its arm-rests, of which one is visible, are supported by carved eagles. A violet-blue mantle with gold-embroidered border covers the lower part of his figure. The right hand resting on his knee holds a thunderbolt; the left is raised and leans on a sceptre banded with gold. Before him is his eagle looking up to him in an attitude of attention. Behind hovers Nike in a light violet *chiton*, with a green veil over her left arm, placing a golden bay-wreath on the head of the god. Beside him is a blue globe on a square base.



Fig. 12.

An engraved chalcedony of imperial date, now in the Berlin collection (fig. 12)², repeats the *motif* with slight variations. The right foot, not the left, is advanced, and the globe is omitted, perhaps to leave room for the inscription.

With regard to this interesting composition two questions may be mooted. What were its antecedents? And what were its consequents?

The facing type is certainly suggestive of a cult-statue; and we observe, to begin with, that our figure bears a more than superficial resemblance to the Iupiter *Capitolinus* of Apollonios, a chryselephantine copy of Pheidias' Zeus made for the temple dedicated by Q. Lutatius Catulus in 69 B.C.³ The main features of Apollonios' Iupiter were recovered by A. Michaelis from a torso at Naples and from sundry early drawings by Heemskerck, Giuliano da Sangallo, and dal Pozzo⁴. The right hand probably held a sceptre, but not high enough for the upper arm to assume a horizontal position. The left hand was lowered and probably grasped a thunderbolt. The right foot was thrust forward till it projected horizontally beyond the footstool of the

¹ Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 31 no. 102, *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 346 no. 1461, W. Zahn *Die schönsten Ornamente* etc. iii pl. 14 (coloured, but including Zahn's restoration of the head and wings of Nike), V. Duruy *History of Rome* English ed. London 1884 ii pl. 10 (coloured). Uncoloured drawings in the *Real Museo Borbonico Napoli* 1835 xi pl. 39, E. Braun *Vorschule der Kunstmythologie* Gotha 1854 pl. 14, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus Atlas pl. 1, 40 (after Braun).

My pl. vi is a reduced copy of Zahn's colour-plate with a fresh restoration of Nike's head and wings.

² Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 108 f. no. 2306 pl. 21, Müller-Wieseler-Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 49 pl. 4, 12.

³ H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1885 i. 2. 25 n. 24, O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*² München 1901 p. 125, Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1534, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 61 f., *id. Gr. Plastik*² ii. 431.

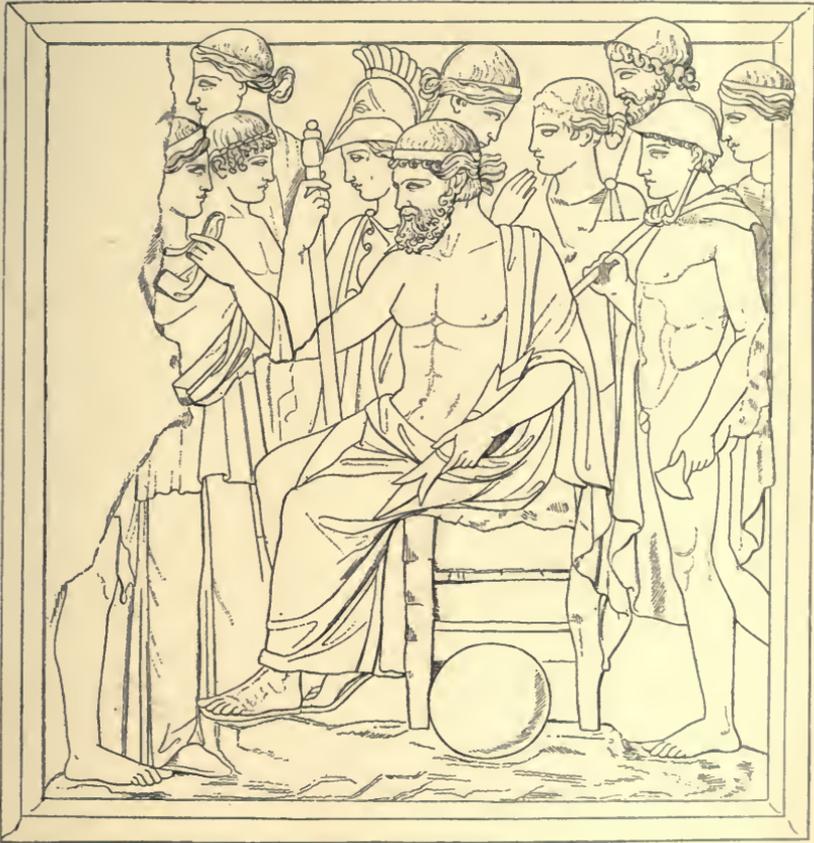
⁴ A. Michaelis in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1898 xiii. 192 ff.



Zeus in a wall-painting from the *Casa dei Dioscuri*.

See page 42 ff.

v2



Zeus enthroned on the *ara Capitolina*.

See page 43.

throne. The left foot was drawn back till it rested only on its toes. The *himátion* covered the top half of the god's left arm, and the end of it hung down between his knees. Now all, or almost all, these traits are to be found in an extant relief, the consideration of which would have materially strengthened Michaelis' case—I mean the principal face of the so-called *ara Capitolina*. This beautiful monument represents on its four sides scenes from the life of Zeus, and has by way of climax Zeus enthroned among the other denizens of Olympos (pl. vii)¹. The form of the god is precisely that described by Michaelis, except for the unimportant circumstance that the sculptor has here chosen to bring forward the left rather than the right foot. The comparatively low position of the arm holding the sceptre, the somewhat unusual arrangement of a thunderbolt grasped by the left hand, the feet thrust forward and drawn back respectively, the *himátion* swathing the whole of the upper arm—all these characteristics are present, together with a head of would-be fifth-century type admirably suited to a copy of the Olympian Zeus². I take it, therefore, that the seated Zeus of the *ara Capitolina* is on the whole our best evidence for the aspect of Apollonios' Iupiter *Capitolinus*³. If this be so, it becomes probable that the latter, like the former, had a large globe placed on the left hand side of his throne.

Next we have to compare the type of Zeus attested by the Pompeian wall-painting and the intaglio at Berlin with that of Iupiter *Capitolinus* thus determined. The two types have undoubtedly much in common. Both show a seated Zeus half-draped in a *himátion*, holding a sceptre in his raised, a thunderbolt in his lowered hand. The pose of the feet and legs is similar, not to say identical; and the Pompeian Zeus at least agrees with the

¹ Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* i. 379 f. no. 515, Friederichs-Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 815 f. no. 2142, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus* pp. 170, 175 ff., Hera pp. 129, 137 ff., Atlas pl. 1, 49 (Zeus only), E. Braun *Vorschule der Kunstmythologie* Gotha 1854 pl. 5, Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 2139 fig. 2397.

² The substitution of a fillet for a wreath is noteworthy, since Petillius Capitolinus was accused of carrying off the wreath of Iupiter *Capitolinus* (Acron and Porphyryon *ad Hor. sat.* 1. 4. 94). This accusation was a time-honoured joke (Plaut. *Men.* 941, *Trin.* 83 ff.).

³ The colossal statue of Nerva seated as Iupiter in the Rotunda of the Vatican (Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* i. 217 no. 303) looks like an adaptation of the same type, as Miss M. M. Hardie of Newnham College pointed out to me. But both arms with the mantle covering the left shoulder are restorations by Cavaceppi, and the lower half belongs to another seated male figure. A similar adaptation of the type may be seen in the Berlin 'Trajan' (*Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 144 no. 354), a seated emperor of the first century A.D. (head not belonging; arms, feet, etc. much restored). Cp. also the Augustus of Ankyra (*Gaz. Arch.* 1881—1882 vii. 73 ff. pl. 13).

Iupiter *Capitolinus* in the fall of its drapery between the knees as also in the presence of the big globe to the left of the throne. Nevertheless close inspection reveals important points of difference. The wall-painting and the intaglio give Zeus a fourth-century, not a fifth-century, head. They place the thunderbolt in his right hand, the sceptre in his left, not *vice versa*. They raise the hand leaning on the sceptre till the upper arm is horizontal. Consequently they dispense, either wholly or in part, with the covering of the arm. Lastly, they introduce an entirely new feature, Nike appearing behind the throne and wreathing the head of the god. These similarities and differences can be readily explained, if we suppose that the wall-painting and the intaglio have preserved to us a later modification of the type of Iupiter *Capitolinus*. We know that Catulus' temple was burnt by the Vitelliani or their opponents in the eventful year 69 A.D.¹ And we know that Pompeii was destroyed by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 A.D. It is reasonable to conjecture that the new statue of Iupiter *Capitolinus* necessitated by the disaster of 69 would be during the first decade of its existence a favourite theme with the painters of the day. On this showing we may well believe that the Pompeian painting represents the cult-statue of Iupiter *Capitolinus* in the temple which Vespasian began to build in 70 A.D.² Confirmation of the surmise is not far to seek. The



Fig. 13.

reverse of a copper coin struck by Vespasian shows the façade of the new building (fig. 13)³. Between its central columns is seen a statue of Iupiter seated in exactly the same pose and holding exactly the same attributes as in the Pompeian painting. The globe at the side and the Victory behind are omitted on account of the small scale of the design. But that they were present in the temple itself can hardly be doubted⁴.

¹ Tac. *hist.* 3. 71 f., Plout. *v. Public.* 15, Suet. *Vitell.* 15, Euseb. *chron. ann. Abr.* 2086, Aur. *Vict. de Caes.* 8. 5, 9. 7, Kedren. *hist. comp.* 217 A (i. 380 Bekker).

² Tac. *hist.* 4. 53, Plout. *v. Public.* 15, Suet. *Vesp.* 8, Dion Cass. 66. 10, Euseb. *chron. ann. Abr.* 2087, Aur. *Vict. de Caes.* 9. 7, Kedren. *hist. comp.* 217 A (i. 380 Bekker). Suetonius' expression *nolle deos mutari veterem formam* is satisfied by the general resemblance of the Vespasianic Iupiter to his predecessor.

³ Drawn from a specimen in my possession. See further T. L. Donaldson *Architectura Numismatica* London 1859 p. 6 ff. no. 3 (pl.), Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 314 pl. 13, 23, 375 f. pl. 10, 9, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² i. 405 f.

⁴ The Victory may have stood on a column behind the throne of Iupiter. Cp. *e.g.* copper coins of Ptolemais in Phoinike struck by Septimius Severus etc., which show Nike

Vespasian's building did not last for long. Another great conflagration occurred in 80 A.D. and burnt it to the ground¹. It was rebuilt by Titus and Domitian², and, thus restored, had a longer lease of life. Despite some damage done by lightning and fire in the reign of Commodus³, it remained substantially the same building till the fall of the western empire⁴. To determine the type of Domitian's Jupiter is not easy, since the silver coin that expressly commemorates the rebuilding is undecisive⁵, while the ordinary issues of this emperor in silver⁶ and copper⁷ may have been influenced by Vespasian's coin.

However, it is probable that succeeding centuries saw sundry minor changes introduced. Thus there is reason to think that the globe, originally at the left side of the throne, came to be held in the god's right hand. A coin of Neapolis in Samaria, struck by Caracalla, shows Jupiter *Capitolinus* on a throne facing us.



Fig. 14.

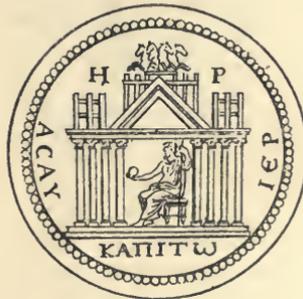


Fig. 15.

He holds a globe in his right hand, a long sceptre in his left, and is flanked by Iuno and Minerva (fig. 14)⁸. Similarly coins of Capitolias, a town near Gadara founded in the reign of Nerva or Trajan⁹, have the same deity enthroned in an octostyle temple,

on a column behind Tyche, crowning her with a wreath in a tetrastyle temple (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* p. 133 pl. 16, 15, p. 135 ff. pl. 17, 4, 9).

¹ Dion Cass. 66. 24 κατέκαυσεν.

² *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 2059, 11 ff. (= *acta Fratrum Arvalium* for Dec. 7, 80 A.D.), *Plout. v. Public.* 15, *Suet. Domit.* 5, *Eutrop.* 7. 23. 5, *Aur. Vict. de Caes.* 11. 4, *Chronogr. ann.* 354 p. 646 Mommsen (*Chron. min.* i. 117 Frick).

³ Euseb. *chron. ann. Abr.* 2201.

⁴ Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1533.

⁵ Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.* vi. 377 f., Stevenson-Smith-Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 170 fig.

⁶ Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 432 pl. 9, 1.

⁷ Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 455 pl. 14, 14 first brass; *id. ib.* ii. 467 pl. 17, 25 second brass.

⁸ F. De Saulcy *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 p. 257 pl. 13, 5.

⁹ Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1529.

the gable of which supports a solar chariot. Iupiter again holds a sceptre in his left hand, a globe in his right (fig. 15)¹. It seems likely that in the Capitoline temple at Rome Victory still held her wreath over the head of the god; for not only do coins of Antoninus Pius and others show the emperor seated on a curule chair with a globe in one hand and a sceptre in the other², but such coins sometimes add a Victory hovering behind him with a wreath in her outstretched hand (fig. 16)³. Gold coins of the later Roman emperors frequently exhibit a design of kindred origin. For example, Valentinianus i and his son sit side by side holding a starry globe between them, while Victory with spread wings is seen in the background behind their throne (fig. 17)⁴.



Fig. 16.



Fig. 17.

These representations imply on the one hand that the emperor has stepped into the shoes of Iupiter, on the other hand that his duties descend in unbroken succession from occupant to occupant of the imperial seat. Both conceptions could be further illustrated from Roman coinage. Frequently from the time of Commodus to that of Diocletian we find Iupiter delegating the globe to his human representative (fig. 18)⁵. Sometimes, as in the case of

¹ H. Norisius *Chronologica (Opera omnia: tomus secundus)* Veronae 1729 p. 338 fig., Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*² iii. 329, Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 341, Suppl. i. 1626. The specimen here figured after Norisius is a copper coin of Alexander Severus inscribed ΚΑΠΙΤΩ(λιέων) ΙΕΡ(ᾶς) ΑΣ(ύλου) ΑΥ(τοῦβμου) ΗΡ (= the date, reckoned from 97/98 A.D.). The British Museum possesses a very similar specimen, but in poor preservation.

² K. Sittl *Der Adler und die Weltkugel als Attribute des Zeus* (Besonderer Abdruck aus dem vierzehnten Supplementbande der Jahrbücher für classische Philologie) Leipzig 1884 p. 49.

³ Rasche *Lex. Num.* x. 1300. The illustration is from a first brass of Antoninus Pius in my collection. TR POT XV COS IIII and S C.

⁴ From a specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. See Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² viii. 93 no. 43, Stevenson-Smith-Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 867. VICTORIA AVGG and TR · OB ·

⁵ Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 1464, Sittl *op. cit.* p. 49. The illustration is from a coin of Probus in my collection. IOVI CONSERVAT(ori) and VXXT.

Trajan and Hadrian, it is the emperor who passes on the symbol to his successor (fig. 19)¹.



Fig. 18.



Fig. 19.

Yet another modification of the same cult-statue produced the type of Jupiter enthroned with his left foot planted on the globe. This may be seen from sundry late sarcophagus-reliefs supposed to portray the birth of Apollon². The best-preserved of them is that of a sarcophagus-lid in the Villa Borghese. The central scene (fig. 20)³, with which alone we are here concerned, shows Jupiter enthroned in heaven. Once more he sits facing us, with a sceptre in his raised left and a thunderbolt in his lowered right hand⁴. But this time the globe is transferred from his left side to a new position beneath his left foot. On either side of him are a boy and a girl interpreted as the youthful Apollon and Artemis⁵. They in turn are flanked by Iuno with her sceptre and Minerva with her helmet and spear. In short, we have before us the heavenly region represented by the three Capitoline deities and their new *protégés*.

That the Jupiter of this relief is in truth only a variation of the Vespasianic type, appears from a curious circumstance noted by

¹ Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 15, 1464, Sittl *op. cit.* p. 49. The illustration is from a coin of Hadrian in my collection. DAC · PARTHIC[O P · M · TR · P] · COS P P and S · C.

² Raoul Rochette *Monumens inédits d'antiquité figurée* Paris 1833 p. 401 ff. pl. 74, 1 and 2 (birth and death of an Eleusinian mystic), H. Heydemann in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1869 xxvii. 21 f. pl. 16, 1—4 (the story of Eros and Psyche), C. Robert in *Hermes* 1887 xxii. 460—464, *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1890 v. 220 n. 6, *id.* *Sark.-Kelfs.* iii. 1. 39 ff. pl. 6—7, 33, 33'a (scenes relating to the birth of Apollon). Robert's view is accepted by Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 145 f. no. 921 and, in part at least, by Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 368—370 Atlas pl. 3, 18, K. Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 108, B. Sauer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1975 f., H. Steuding *ib.* ii. 2091, 2118.

³ Redrawn from *Arch. Zeit.* 1869 xxvii pl. 16, 3 with the help of Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Atlas pl. 3, 18. The lines of restoration are taken from Eichler's drawing in C. Robert *Sark.-Kelfs.* iii. 1. 40 fig. 33.

⁴ The thunderbolt is due to the restorer (Robert *op. cit.* iii. 1. 41), but is probably correct.

⁵ Large parts of the Artemis are modern, *viz.* the head, the left fore-arm with its *pyxís*, the right fore-arm, the left leg, and the right foot.

Zoega. He states that on the background (between the head of the supposed Artemis and that of Iupiter) were still to be seen the



Fig. 20.

shoulder and bare right arm of some formerly existing figure¹. These were subsequently chipped away by the zealous restorer. But



Fig. 21.

very fortunately the missing figure can be determined by means of a *replica* in the Capitoline Museum (fig. 21)², which exhibits Victory

¹ Robert *op. cit.* iii. 1. 42.

² Raoul Rochette *op. cit.* p. 401 ff. pl. 74, 2, Overbeck *op. cit.* Zeus p. 172, Hera p. 131 Atlas pl. 10, 23. A drawing by Eichler is given in Robert *op. cit.* iii. 1. 42.

holding a shield above Iupiter and the globe—later transformed into a vase—resting on a high base to the left of Iuno¹. It would thus seem that the Iupiter *Capitolinus* of the Borghese relief presupposes a statue with Victory behind and a pedestalled globe at its side. That *Vorbild* can hardly have been other than the cult-image of Vespasian's temple.

The god enthroned with the globe as his footstool was a type readily adopted by Christian art. A gilded glass of the fourth century, found in one of the Roman catacombs (fig. 22)², shows a beardless figure of Our Lord (CRISTVS) seated with his foot on a



Fig. 22.

starry globe. He takes a scroll from its case at his side and instructs S. Stephen (ISTEFANVS). The Godhead with a *nimbus* in the background, who raises his hands to bless both Master and disciple, recalls the Victory appearing behind Valentinianus i and his son.

¹ Robert in *Hermes* 1887 xxii. 463 f. and in his *Sark.-Relfs.* iii. 1. 42 f. condemns the whole work as a forgery, arguing that it was made about 1615 A.D. in free imitation of the Borghese relief. But in view of what is said by Raoul Rochette *op. cit.* p. 401 f. further investigation seems desirable. In any case the Capitoline *replica* may fairly be used (Robert uses it so himself) as evidence of the original aspect of the Borghese composition.

² F. Buonarruoti *Osservazioni sopra alcuni frammenti di vasi antichi di vetro* Firenze 1716 p. 110 ff. pl. 17, 1. DIGNITAS AMICORVM VIVAS CVM TVIS FELICITER.

A somewhat similar type, that of the Father or the Son seated on a large globe, occurs in church-mosaics of the fourth, fifth



Fig. 23.

and sixth centuries¹. For example, the right lateral apse in the Mausoleo di S. Costanza near the Via Nomentana at Rome—a work



Fig. 24.

¹ J. Ciampinus *Vetera Monumenta Romæ* 1747 i. 271 ff. pl. 77 (S. Agatha in Subura = S. Agata dei Goti at Rome, 460—468 A.D.), ii. 72 f. pl. 19 (S. Vitalis = S. Vitale at

dated by de Rossi shortly after 360 A.D.—shows God the Father, not only with a blue *nimbus* and a blue robe, but also seated on a blue globe, as he presents the scroll of the law to Moses (fig. 23)¹. Similarly the apse of the church of S. Teodoro at the foot of the Palatine—*circ.* 600 A.D.—has God the Son seated on a blue globe spangled with gold stars between St Peter, who presents S. Teodoro, and St Paul presenting another saint hard to identify (fig. 24)². This type too in all probability derives from a pagan prototype³. Silver and copper coins of Ouranopolis, a town founded by Alexarchos, brother of Kassandros, on the peninsula of Akte, represent Aphrodite *Ourania* seated on a globe (fig. 25)⁴. On autonomous copper coins of Klazomenai the philosopher Anaxagoras is seen sitting on a globe (fig. 26)⁵: on an imperial copper of the same town he holds a small globe in his extended right hand, while he sets his left foot on a *cippus*⁶. A silver coin of Domitia Longina, wife of the emperor Domitian, shows a child seated on a globe and surrounded by seven stars (fig. 27)⁷. The child has been identified as the empress' son, who was born in 73 A.D. and died young⁸. He is here represented as the infant Zeus of Crete. A Cretan copper, struck under Trajan, has the



Fig. 25.



Fig. 26.

Ravenna, 547 A.D.), ii. 101 ff. pl. 28 (S. Laurentius in Agro Verano = S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, 578—590 A.D.).

On the relation of the globe to the rainbow in early mediaeval art see O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 p. 672.

¹ G. B. de Rossi *Mosaici cristiani e saggi dei pavimenti delle chiese di Roma anteriori al secolo xv* Roma 1899 pl. 3.

² *Id. ib.* pl. 17.

³ Demetrios Poliorketes was represented on the *proskénion* of the theatre at Athens ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὀχοῦμενος (Douris *frag.* 31 = *Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 477 Müller *op. Athen.* 536 A, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 570, 9 f.). This, however, does not imply that Demetrios was seated on a globe (Sittl *op. cit.* p. 44), but that he was upborne by an anthropomorphic figure of *Oikouménē*: cp. the relief by Archelaos (*infra* ch. i § 5 (b)), the *gemma Augustea* at Vienna (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 56, ii. 257), and above all the great Paris cameo (*Id. ib.* i pl. 60, ii. 269).

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedon etc. p. 133 f., Head *Hist. num.*² p. 206. I figure a specimen in my possession.

⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 28 pl. 7, 4, J. J. Bernoulli *Griechische Ikonographie* München 1901 i. 118 Münztaf. 2, 2.

⁶ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 33 pl. 7, 9, Bernoulli *op. cit.* i. 118 Münztaf. 2, 3.

⁷ Stevenson-Smith-Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 341. My illustration is from a cast of the specimen in the British Museum.

⁸ Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1513 f.

same *motif* (fig. 28)¹: Zeus as a child sits on the globe with a goat at his side and seven stars above his head. The idea was popularised by coins of Antoninus Pius (fig. 29)² and Commodus, on which occurs the fine figure of Italia enthroned on a starry globe as mistress of the world.

The symbol of the globe was still further Christianised, when Valentinianus I added a cross on the top of it³. In this form it occurs on the coins of many of the later Roman emperors⁴. An obvious exception is afforded by Julian the Apostate, who sub-



Fig. 27.



Fig. 28.



Fig. 29.

stituted a small figure of Victory for the cross⁵. The *globus cruciger*, or globe and cross, is again a constant emblem of Christian sovereignty on Byzantine coins⁶. As the 'orb' of mediaeval and modern *regalia* it has survived to our own times⁷.

We have now passed in review the different conditions under which the globe is associated with Zeus. It remains to ask what was the origin of the symbol, and what was its significance.

Its origin appears to have been twofold. On the one hand, the

¹ Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 330 Münztaf. 5, 2, J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 348 pl. 35, 1.

² Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 1002 f., Stevenson-Smith-Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 488 fig. The illustration is from a first brass of Antoninus Pius in my collection.

³ Sittl *op. cit.* p. 49 f. states that Constantine had already placed the Christian monogram upon the globe (but Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² vii. 231 no. 14 was struck after his death). On coins of Nepotianus (350 A.D.) etc. we see Roma enthroned holding a globe surmounted by the monogram (Cohen *op. cit.*² viii. 2 no. 2 fig., W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archaeology* New York 1901 p. 241 fig. 82, a, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 153).

⁴ A list is given by Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 1464. Cp. Souid. *s.v.* 'Ιουστινιανός'... καὶ ἔστησε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εἰκόνα ἐπὶ κίονος ἐφιππον· καὶ τῇ μὲν ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ φέρει σφαῖραν, ἐμπροσθεν σταυροῦ. ἐν αὐτῇ, ὑποσημαινοντος ὡς διὰ τῆς εἰς τὸν σταυρὸν πίστεως τῆς γῆς ἐγκρατῆς γέγονε. σφαῖρα μὲν γὰρ ἡ γῆ διὰ τὸ σφαιροειδὲς τοῦ αὐτῆς σχήματος, πίστις δὲ ὁ σταυρὸς διὰ τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ σαρκὶ προσηλωθέντα θεόν.

⁵ Rasche *loc. cit.*

⁶ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Byz. Coins* ii. 654 *s.v.* 'Globus.'

⁷ Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat.* ed. 1886 vi. 111 *s.v.* 'palla' cites from Gotefridus Viterbiensis the couplet—Aureus ille Globus Pomum vel Palla vocatur, | Quando coronatur, Palla ferenda datur.

type of the infant Zeus seated on a globe surrounded by stars is of Greek extraction. On the other hand, most of the representations considered above can be legitimately derived from the cult-statue of Iupiter *Capitolinus*, which had at its left side a ball resting on a pedestal or pillar. This was a definitely Roman adjunct: it had no counterpart in the temple of Zeus at Olympia.

Enquiry might be pushed further. The temple of Iupiter *Capitolinus* was, as is well known, essentially an Etruscan building. Now a ball resting on a pedestal or pillar occurs in Etruscan art sometimes as a grave-stèle¹, sometimes as a sacred land-mark or boundary-stone². Such monuments varied much in shape and size. A fine example from Orvieto, now in the Museum at Florence, consists of a rectangular moulded base topped by a spheroidal black stone (fig. 30)³. Another, in the Orvieto Museum, is a cone of tufa hollow inside, and bears an inscription (*Tinia Tinscvil*) which connects it with *Tinia*, the Etruscan Iupiter (fig. 31)⁴. Are we then to infer that in the *cella* of Iupiter *Capitolinus*, side by side with the most august statue in Rome, there was a grave-stèle or a boundary stone? The fact is luckily beyond question⁵. When the foundations of the temple were first laid by Tarquinius Priscus, the god Terminus—otherwise known as Iupiter *Terminus*—was already in possession of the site and resisted the process of exauguration. Hence the ancient boundary-stone that passed as his image was allowed to remain in close proximity⁶ to the statue of Iupiter *Capitolinus*. Moreover, a small opening was contrived in the roof above it, since sacrifices to Terminus had to take place in the open air. Lactantius asserts that the rude stone worshipped as Terminus

¹ Durm *Baukunst d. Etrusk.*² p. 128 fig. 141, Raoul Rochette *op. cit.* pp. 141 n. 5, 402, 405. These balls on pillars were originally *Grabphalli* (Forrer *Reallex.* p. 297): see A. Koerte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 6 ff. pl. 1, 1, A. Dieterich *Mutter Erde* Leipzig and Berlin 1905 p. 104 f.

² Raoul Rochette *op. cit.* p. 404 f. pl. 75 (a funeral urn in the museum at Volterra): G. Körte *I Rilievi delle Urne Etrusche* Berlino 1890 ii. 1. 97 pl. 38, 3 describes and figures the object on the pillar as 'un vaso tondo.' Cp. the stone balls on our lodges (see, however, S. Baring-Gould *Strange Survivals*³ London 1905 p. 53).

³ L. A. Milani in the *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche. Serie Quinta. Roma 1900 ix. 295 fig. 4, *Studi e materiali di archeologia e numismatica* Firenze 1902 i. 60 f. fig. 226.

A similar *Grabansatz* from Orvieto, now at Berlin, is an elliptical block of polished serpentine resting on a moulded base of trachyte (*Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 481 no. 1244 fig.).

⁴ Milani *loc. cit.* ix. 293 fig. 3 cp. *ib.* p. 294 'un cono tufaceo vuoto internamente,' i. 60 f. fig. 227. Cp. J. Six 'Der Agyieus des Mys' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 xix. 340 ff.

⁵ The evidence is collected by Preller-Jordan *Röm. Myth.*³ i. 255 f., Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.* p. 124 f., C. Hülsen in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1532.

⁶ Dion. Hal. 3. 69 *πλησίον τοῦ ἔδους*.

was that which Saturn was said to have swallowed in place of Jupiter¹. This confusion suggests that Terminus' stone had a round top to it²—as was in fact the case, if I am right in my conjecture with regard to the globe of Jupiter *Capitolinus*.



Fig. 30.

But, it will be asked, if this globe was originally the stone of Terminus, how came it to be regarded as a symbol of the sky? Partly, I suppose, because it was a round object standing under the clear sky; but partly also because a globe on a pillar was used by Greek astronomers as a model of the sky³. Thus imperial

¹ Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 20.

² In Roman art the stone of Kronos is figured as a half-egg on the top of a short pillar (*infra* ch. ii § 10 (d)).

³ See F. Hultsch in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1853 f.

copper coins of Samos figure Pythagoras seated or standing before a globe, which rests on a pillar, and pointing to it with a rod¹.

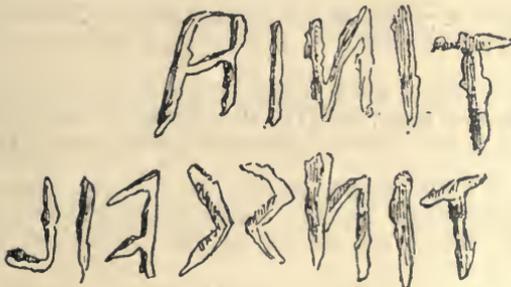
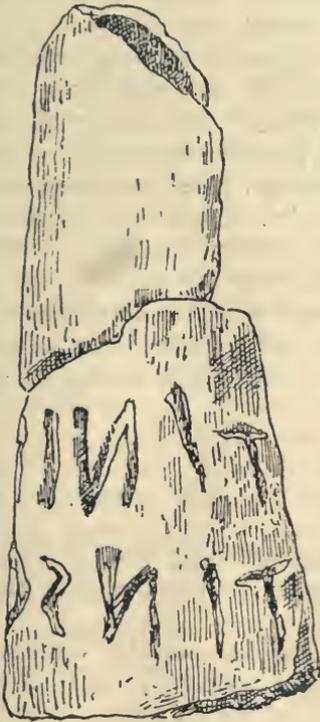


Fig. 31.

Enthroned as master in the realm of knowledge with a long sceptre in his left hand and a *himation* loosely wrapped about him

¹ L. Bürchner in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1882 ix. 121 ff., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ionia* pp. 373, 376, 381, 390, 392, pl. 37, 14, J. J. Bernoulli *Griechische Ikonographie* München 1901 i. 75 Münztaf. 1, 21 and 23.

with black ground from the *Casa dei bronzi* shows him clad in a sky-blue wrap and sitting on a seat which is draped in reddish brown¹. An important painting of the *hieròs gámos* from the *Casa del poeta tragico* represents Zeus seated on a rock with a light violet robe hanging like a veil over his hair and thrown loosely round his shoulders, back, and legs². Again, a picture of Zeus drawing lots has him enthroned with a peacock-blue *himátion* about his knees³. The splendid wall-painting of a youthful fair-haired Zeus found in the *Casa dei Vettii* similarly shows the god with a peacock-blue *himátion* round his legs⁴. Other Pompeian examples portray him seated, his legs wrapped in a red mantle with a blue⁵ or green⁶ border. A painting from Herculaneum gives him a whitish *nimbus* and drapes him from the waist downwards in a reddish *himátion*; but it is to be observed that here Zeus is represented as reclining among the clouds with a rainbow arched above him and a background of blue sky⁷. Finally, in a fresco of the Hadrianic age, found at Eleusis, he is once more seen on a throne, his legs swathed in a violet-blue *himátion* edged with green⁸.

It would seem, then, that Hellenistic art normally depicted Zeus as wearing a mantle of violet-blue. And this in all probability corresponded with cult-practice. Alexander the Great is known to have worn a purple cloak, when he masqueraded as Zeus *Ámmon*⁹. Anaxenor, a famous musician of Magnesia on the Maiandros in the days of M. Antonius the triumvir, was clad in purple by his fellow-countrymen as priest of Zeus *Sóstpolis*¹⁰. And

¹ So Zahn *Die schönsten Ornamente* etc. ii pl. 54 (coloured). According to Helbig *Wandgemälde* etc. p. 31 no. 103, his garment is reddish and his seat covered with a blue robe.

² Helbig *op. cit.* p. 33 f. no. 114, *infra* ch. iii § 1 (a) iii.

³ Sogliano *op. cit.* p. 19 f. no. 73, *Arch. Zeit.* 1868 xxvi. 35 pl. 4.

⁴ So A. Sogliano in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1898 viii. 263 f. fig. 11 ('le gambe coperte di mantello paonazzo'). A. Mau in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1896 xi. 23 had stated that the robe was red with a blue border ('in veste rossa con margine turchino'). A fine, though uncoloured, photographic reproduction is given by Herrmann *Denk. d. Malerei* pl. 46, 2. See further J. Six in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv. 155.

⁵ Sogliano *op. cit.* p. 21 no. 75.

⁶ *Id. ib.* p. 20 no. 74.

⁷ Helbig *op. cit.* p. 32 f. no. 113, H. Roux-M. L. Barré *Herculaneum et Pompéi* Paris 1870 ii. 184 f. pl. 54, *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 289 no. 1259.

⁸ 'Eφ. 'Αρχ. 1888 pl. 5, *supra* p. 2 n. 2, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 528 says: 'le bas du corps couvert d'un himation bleu.'

⁹ Ehippos *ap.* Athen. 537 E "Εφίππος δὲ φησὶν ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τὰς λεγὰς ἐσθθίτας ἐφόρει ἐν τοῖς δέλτοις, ὅτε μὲν τὴν τοῦ Ἀμμωνος πορφυρίδα καὶ περισχιδεῖς καὶ κέρατα καθάπερ ὁ θεός, ὅτε δὲ κ.τ.λ.

¹⁰ Strab. 648, *infra* p. 58 n. 6.

a Roman dedication to Iupiter *Purpurio* may be taken to imply that the god wore a purple garb¹.

The first and most obvious explanation of this conventional colouring is the fact that Zeus was king of all and, as such, would of course wear the purple or blue of royalty. If we pursue the enquiry and ask *why* royal robes were blue or purple, we enter the region of conjecture. In its origin perhaps the usage was prophylactic, red (*i.e.* blood-colour)² passing into purple, and purple into blue.

But, whatever the ultimate significance, it is probable that by Hellenistic times, if not earlier, a fresh meaning had been read into the ancient custom, the purple or blue robe of Zeus and of his earthly representative being interpreted as a symbol of the sky³. Hence in both cases it came to be spangled with golden stars. At Elis the god Sosipolis was painted as a boy clad in a starry *chlamys*⁴. His name recalls the Zeus *Sosipolis* of Magnesia on the Maiandros⁵, who is known to have had a sacred purple robe⁶. It is highly probable that these two divinities were alike related to the Cretan Zeus⁷. Again, Demetrios Poliorketes, who posed as Zeus⁸, had a dark-tinted *chlamys* inwoven with stars of gold and with the twelve signs of the zodiac⁹. Scipio, when he triumphed in 201 B.C., was 'dressed according to ancestral custom

¹ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 424 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3040 (found at Rome near the Monte Testaccio):

LICINIA	LICINIA	OCTAVIA
QVINTA	PVRPVRIS	SATVRNIN
(A thunderbolt)	(Three female figures standing)	(A <i>paterna</i>)
IOVI	• OPTIMO •	MAXIMO
PVRPVRIONI		

It is commonly assumed that Iupiter *Purpurio* took his name from one of the three dedicants, Licinia Purpuris (Preller-Jordan *Röm. Myth.*³ i. 208 n. 1): it should be further assumed that the god was clad in purple.

² See my note in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii p. xliv f., W. Headlam *ib.* 1906 xxvi. 268 ff., F. von Duhn 'Rot und Tot' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 1 ff.

³ This conception is illustrated with a wealth of examples from ancient, mediaeval, and modern life by Dr R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910, to whose diligent collection of materials I am much indebted, though I cannot always agree with his conclusions.

⁴ Paus. 6. 25. 4, cp. 6. 20. 2 ff.

⁵ Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 553, 48, 51 f., Head *Hist. num.*³ p. 892.

⁶ Anaxenor the *kithara*-player of Magnesia as a token of high honour was painted in the purple robe of Zeus *Σωσιπολις* (Strab. 648), *supra* p. 57.

⁷ See Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 142, p. 1526 n. 6.

⁸ Plout. *v. Demetr.* 10, 42, Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 54. 6 p. 42, 24 ff. Stählin. See *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 302 f.

⁹ Douris *frag.* 31 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 477) ap. Athen. 535 F, Plout. *v. Demetr.* 41.

in a purple garment with golden stars woven into it¹; and, as triumphing general, he would be clad in the *tunica palmata* and the *toga picta* of Iupiter². Nero after his Greek agonistic successes entered Rome in the triumphal car of Augustus, wearing a purple robe and a *chlamys* sprinkled with golden stars³. These are but a few out of many who in their day, as victorious kings or kingly victors, aped the style and claimed the honours of the sky-god. Martianus Capella in his high-flown way tells how Iupiter himself, when assuming his robes of state, 'over a garment of glittering white drew a glassy vesture, which, dotted here and there with starry eyes, shone with quick quivering fires'⁴.

In this connexion we may notice a representation of the sky, which appears repeatedly in Roman art⁵, but has been traced back to a Hellenistic source⁶. The half-length figure of a bearded man is seen holding a mantle arched above his head. E. Q. Visconti⁷ proposed to name him 'le Ciel,' *i.e.* *Caelus*, the Latin rendering of the Greek *Ouranós*; and this proposal has been universally adopted, for the mantle-bearer, though never accompanied by an inscription, clearly symbolises the sky. He is, as Prof. von Duhn observes, a Zeus-like figure⁸. Indeed, the Roman writers from Ennius downwards make *Caelus* first the grandfather and then the father of Iupiter⁹. Nay more, oriental, especially Syrian¹⁰, worshippers identified him with Iupiter himself¹¹. Hence his type affected that

¹ Appian. *Pun.* 66.

² Liv. 10. 7. 10, Suet. *Aug.* 94, Iuv. 10. 38 f., Ael. Lamprid. *Alexander Severus* 40. 8, Iul. Capitol. *Gordiani tres* 4. 4, Vopisc. *Probus* 7. 7. 4 f., Serv. in Verg. *eccl.* 10. 27. See further Frazer *Lect. Hist. Kingship* p. 197 ff.

³ Suet. *Ner.* 25. Dion Cass. 63. 20 calls it *ἀλουργίδα χρυσόπαστων*, which—as J. E. B. Mayor on Iuv. 10. 38 points out—is the phrase used by Plout. *v. Aem. Paul.* 34 of the triumphal robe.

⁴ Mart. Cap. 66 dehinc vesti admodum candidae obducit amictus hyalinos, quos stellantibus oculis interstinctos crebri vibratus ignium luminabant.

⁵ O. Jahn *Archäologische Beiträge* Berlin 1847 p. 85 n. 28 and in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* 1849 p. 63 ff., Matz-Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* ii. 185 no. 2711, 429 f. no. 3315 f., 445 ff. no. 3341, iii. 4 f. no. 3449, R. von Schneider in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1895 xviii. 185 f.

⁶ H. Dressel *Fünf Goldmedaillons aus dem Funde von Abukir* Berlin 1906 pp. 25—31 (extr. from the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1906) makes it highly probable that the superb portrait of Alexander the Great on the obverse of a gold medallion found in Egypt (*ib.* p. 9 f. pl. 2, C), though executed in the third century A.D., reproduces with fidelity a cameo of the Hellenistic age. If so, then, as Eisler *op. cit.* i. 65 points out, the sky-god in the centre of Alexander's shield is our earliest monumental evidence of the type.

⁷ Visconti *Mus. Pio-Clem.* iv. 159 f.

⁸ Matz-Duhn *op. cit.* iii. 5.

⁹ G. Wissowa in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1276 f.

¹⁰ F. Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 696 f.

¹¹ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 81 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3949 OPTVMVS • MAXIMVS • |

of Iupiter, who on the column of Trajan appears as a half-length figure with arched mantle launching a thunderbolt against the Dacians (fig. 34)¹—a design destined to influence both Raphael² and Michelangelo³.

By a curious duplication, not to say triplication, Caelus with his mantle spread above him is seen immediately beneath the throne of Iupiter on a sarcophagus at Amalfi (fig. 35)⁴ and on another in the Villa Medici at Rome⁵. This conception too was taken over by Christian art⁶. The famous sarcophagus of Iunius Bassus, a prefect of Rome who died in 359 A.D., shows the same



Fig. 34.

personification of the sky supporting, not Iupiter with a thunderbolt enthroned between Iuno and Minerva or between Sol and Luna, but Christ with a roll enthroned between Saint Peter and Saint Paul (fig. 36)⁷. Another fourth-century sarcophagus in the

CAELVS • AETERNVS • IVP[*pe*]TER • IVNONI • REGINAE • | MINERVAE • IVSSVS • LIBEN[s] | DEDIT • PRO • SALVTEM • SVAM | M • MODIVS • AGATHO • ET • PR[s] | FAVSTI • PATRONI • HOMINIS • [s]ET • HELPIDIS • SVAES • CVM • S[uis]. Dessau, however, reads *optumus maximus* .. | *Caelus aeternus, Iupp[er]ter*, and thinks that *optumus maximus* was a later addition intended to be taken with *Iuppiter*. He interprets [s] as [sancti?]. See further Cumont *Textes et mous. de Mithra* ii. 104, 233 ff.

¹ C. Cichorius *Die Reliefs der Traianssäule* Berlin 1896 ii. 116 f. pl. 19.

² A. P. Oppé *Raphael London 1909* pl. 174, 2 'The third day' and pl. 182, 1 'God appearing to Isaac' in the Loggia of the Vatican.

³ G. S. Davies *Michelangelo* London 1909 pl. 36 'The separation of land and sea' and pl. 37 'The creation of Adam' in the Sistine Chapel at Rome.

⁴ M. Camera *Istoria della città e costiera di Amalfi* Napoli 1836 p. 40 ff. pl. 3 (poor), E. Gerhard *Antike Bildwerke* München Stuttgart & Tübingen 1828—1844 p. 371 pl. 118 (Caelus with a rayed crown rises from the sea, adjoining which is the figure of Mother Earth.)

⁵ O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* 1849 Phil.-hist. Classe pl. 4, *Wien. Vorleagl.* A pl. 11, 3, Robert *Sark.-Relfs.* ii. 13 ff. pl. 5, 11 and 11', Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1625 f. figs. 10 and 10 a.

⁶ See O. Jahn *Archäologische Beiträge* Berlin 1847 p. 85 n. 28 and F. Piper *Mythologie der christlichen Kunst* Weimar 1851 ii. 44 ff.

⁷ The sarcophagus stands now in the crypt of the Vatican and in such a position that

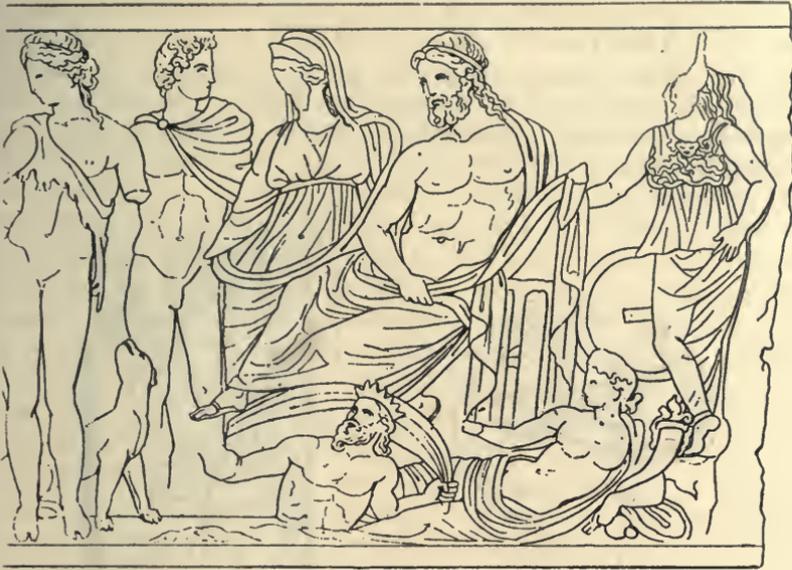


Fig. 35.



Fig. 36.

it cannot be well photographed. Illustrations of the whole front side are given e.g. by A. Bosio *Roma Sotterranea* Roma 1632 p. 45 (good), G. Bottari *Sculture e pitture sagre* Romæ 1737 i. 35 ff. pl. 15 (fair), E. Pistolesi *Il Vaticano descritto ed illustrato* Roma 1829—1838 ii pl. 19, E. Guhl und J. Caspar *Denkmäler der Kunst* etc. Stuttgart 1851 ii. 56 f. pl. 36, 8, W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archaeology* New York 1901 p. 262 fig. 100, K. Woermann *Geschichte der Kunst* Leipzig and Vienna 1905 ii. 58 pl. 10, and of the

Lateran Museum repeats the type¹, which was probably a stock-pattern. A last trace of it may be detected in a painting at Lucca by Fra Bartolommeo. God the Father, enthroned in heaven, uplifts his right hand in blessing and holds in his left an open book inscribed A ω . Beneath his feet is a small cherub over-arched by drapery².



Fig. 37.



Fig. 38.

That such drapery really represents the sky may be proved by the fact that on a coin commemorating the *consecratio* or apotheosis of the elder Faustina (fig. 37)³ the empress, carried up to heaven by the eagle of Jupiter, has the same wind-blown mantle spangled with stars. Again, the drapery held by Caelus in a relief at Berlin (fig. 38)⁴ is not merely an arc, but almost a complete circle enclosing other concentric circles—an obvious symbol of the sky.

central group in the upper register by F. Münter *Sinnbilder und Kunstvorstellungen der Alten Christen* Altona 1825 ii. 85, A. N. Didron *Iconographie chrétienne* Paris 1843 p. 256.

¹ W. Lowrie *op. cit.* p. 266 f. fig. 102.

² S. Reinach *Répertoire de peintures du moyen âge et de la renaissance* Paris 1905 i. 606, 1.

³ Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² ii. 427 no. 185 fig. My illustration is from a cast of a specimen in the British Museum.

⁴ *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 364 f. no. 900, a fragmentary relief of white Italian marble. The subject is uncertain: two female figures approach Iupiter, and one of them clasps his knees (in supplication?); the god is seated on the top of a square pillar, Caelus appearing below his footstool.

§ 3. Zeus Lŷkaios.

(a) Wolf-god or Light-god?

On the summit of Mount Lykaion in Arkadia was a far-famed cult of Zeus Lŷkaios. Tradition said that Lykáon, son of Pelasgos, had founded the town of Lykósoura high up on the slopes of the mountain, had given to Zeus the surname of Lŷkaios, and had instituted the festival called Lŷkaia¹. On the significance of this group of names scholars are by no means agreed. Some take them to be pre-Greek or non-Greek². Thus Fick maintains that they represent a Hittite tribe to be identified with the Lycaonians and Lycians of Asia Minor³, while Bérard argues for a Phoenician cult comparable with that of Baal⁴. Most critics, noting the essentially Greek aspect of the names in question, are content to seek an explanation in the language of Greece. But even here opinions are divided. Some, starting from the undeniable fact that the wolf (lŷkos) plays a part in the local myths⁵, hold that Zeus Lŷkaios was in some sense a 'Wolf-god.'⁶ This view, however, is open to a grave objection. The word Lŷkaios cannot

¹ Paus. 8. 2. 1, Aristot. *frag.* 594 Rose *ap.* schol. Aristeid. p. 323, 12 f. Dindorf, *schol. Eur. Or.* 1647, *marm. Par.* 'cp. 17 p. 8 Jacoby, *Plin. nat. hist.* 7. 205.

² P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2173.

³ A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 pp. 92, 132.

⁴ V. Bérard *De l'origine des cultes arcadiens* (*Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* Paris 1894 lxvii) pp. 48—93. Cp. also J. A. Hartung *Die Religion und Mythologie der Griechen* Leipzig 1865—1866 iii. 6, 26 ff., W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*² Berlin 1904—1905 ii. 342, 346.

⁵ *Infra* pp. 70 ff., 77 ff.

⁶ F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*³ Leipzig and Darmstadt 1841 iii. 76 f. Λύκαιος = Λυκόβρογος, Luperkus, 'Protector against the Wolf.' J. A. Hartung *op. cit.* iii. 6, 27 n. 45 Λυκαῖος, 'Wolf-god,' the wolf (λύκος connected with λύσσα) denoting fierceness. O. Jahn 'Über Lykoreus' in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* 1847 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 423 drew a parallel between Zeus Λύκαιος of Mt. Lykaion and Zeus Λυκόβρογος of Mt. Parnassos (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λυκόβρογος), pointing out that in the myths of both localities the 'wolf' symbolises the exiled founder of the cult. W. Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* i. 21 ff. and W. H. Roscher in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1892 xxxviii. 705 follow O. Jahn. O. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 805 likewise takes Zeus Λύκαιος to be Zeus god of 'wolves' *i.e.* exiles (*ib.* p. 918 n. 7). H. D. Müller *Ueber den Zeus Lykaios* Göttingen 1851 p. 13 ff. and in his *Mythologie der griechischen Stämme* Göttingen 1857—1861 ii. 78 ff. Λυκαῖος, 'Wolf-god,' the wolf being a symbol of his chthonian character (*ib.* p. 93 f.). V. Jurgiewicz *De Jove Lycæo* Odessæ 1859 pp. 1—32 reaches the same conclusions as H. D. Müller, adding Slavonic and Germanic parallels (*ib.* p. 19 ff.).

Others with more circumspection abandon the slippery path of symbolism. W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*² ii. 336 ff. explains the Λύκαια as a solstice-festival involving a procession of 'Harvest-wolves' (*cp.* the *Hirpi Sorani*). W. Robertson Smith in *The Encyclopædia Britannica*⁹ Edinburgh 1886 xxi. 136 *s.v.* 'Sacrifice,' *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*³ London 1907 p. 366 n. 5, regards Zeus Λύκαιος as the god

be derived from *lykos*: it must be an adjective formed from a substantive *lyke*¹. But there is in Greek no such word as **lyke*, 'wolf'; and, if there were, it would mean 'a she-wolf', whereas the myths of Mount Lykaion mention none but he-wolves. Far more probable is the theory of those who understand *Lykaios* as 'god of Light'. The word *lyke* is quoted by Macrobius as an old Greek word for 'day-break', and its compound *amphi-lyke* is used in the *Iliad* of 'twi-light'. They belong to a well-known family of words with

of a totemic Wolf-clan. L. R. Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 41 is disposed to accept his theory. J. G. Frazer on Paus. 8. 38. 7 (iv. 386) says: 'The connexion of Lycaean Zeus with wolves is too firmly established to allow us seriously to doubt that he is the wolf-god.' C. W. Vollgraff *De Ovidi mythopoeia* Berolini 1901 pp. 5—36 holds that the ritual of Zeus *Λύκαιος* and the myth of *Λυκάων* presuppose the Arcadian cult of a sacred wolf, to which human victims were offered.

¹ Adjectives in *-aios* naturally derive from *a-* stems. The only exceptions are words like *όδαίος*, *νησαίος*, *κηπαίος*, which have been formed on the analogy of *άγοραίος* etc. and so go back to locatives in *-ai* (K. Brugmann *Griechische Grammatik*³ München 1900 p. 181: see also F. Bechtel in Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 507 no. 5295 and O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen* Göttingen 1906 p. 173 f.). But *Λύκαιος*, even if we write it as *Λυκαίος*, can hardly be thus explained as a locative formation.

² 'A she-wolf' is regularly *λύκαινα* (cp. *κάπραινα*), never **λύκη*. See W. Pape *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache, zur Übersicht der Wortbildung nach den Endsyllben* Berlin 1836 p. 36. *Lyk. Al.* 481 *λυκαινομόρφων* *Νυκτίμου* *κρεανθώνων* is criticized as a gross blunder by Tzetzes *ad loc.* *ό πράγος* (*sic*) *κακώς* *έφη*: *λυκομόρφων* *γάρ* *άφειλεν* *είπειν*: *ού γάρ* *λύκαινας*, *άλλά* *λύκοι* *γεγύνασιν* *οι* *Λυκάωνος* *παίδες* *κατά* *τούτων*.

³ C. O. Müller *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race* trans. H. Tufnell and G. C. Lewis Oxford 1830 i. 326 ff., *id.* *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie* Göttingen 1825 p. 290 f., J. F. Lauer *System der griechischen Mythologie* Berlin 1853 p. 180 ff., Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* p. 161 f., K. Schwenck *Die Mythologie der Griechen* Frankfurt a/M. 1843 p. 19, *id.* in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1839 vi. 541 f., Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 210, L.-F. A. Maury *Histoire des Religions de la Grèce antique* Paris 1857—1859 i. 58 ff., L. Preller in Pauly *Real-Enc.* iv. 589, P. Welzel *De Iove et Pane dis Arcadicis* Vratislaviae 1879 pp. 4, 22 ('*luce enim clarius est Iovem* 'Αμάριον eundem esse ac Diespitrem et *Λυκαίον* eundem ac *Lucetium*') cp. Macrobi. *Sat.* i. 15. 14), Preller-Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 127. E. Meyer *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte* Halle 1892 i. 61 (followed by C. Albers *De diis in locis editis cultis apud Graecos* Zutphaniae 1901 p. 33 f.) argues that 'ein in Wolfsgestalt verehrter Gott zum Lichtgott Zeus geworden ist,' but that the names *Λύκαιος*, *Λυκάων*, etc. 'sind Ableitungen von dem verschollenen nomen *λυκα* (*λυκη*) "Licht (Tag?)," und haben mit *λυκο*-s...nichts zu thun.' The latest and most efficient champion of the 'light'-theory is H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 pp. 177—216, who holds that *Λύκος* was an ancient god of light replaced by Zeus *Λυκαίος* and Apollon *Λύκειος* or *Λύκος*.

⁴ Macrobi. *Sat.* i. 17. 37 ff. *prisci Graecorum primam lucem, quae praecedit solis exortum, λυκην appellaverunt από του λευκού. id temporis hodieque λυκόφως cognominant. Etc.*

⁵ *Il.* 7. 433 *ήμος δ' ούτ' άρ πω ήώς, έτι δ' άμφιλύκη νύξ* with schol. A. D. V. *τό καλούμενον λυκόφως, τό προς όρθρον. τουτέστιν ό βαθύς όρθρος, παρά την λυκην (λύγην D. V.), ό έστι σκοτιαν (σκιαν V.), οιοει λυκόφως τι όν, τό μη καθαρόν φώς άλλ' έτι σκοτώδες, schol. T. παρά την λύγην, ό έστι σκιαν. και λυκόφως τό μεταξύ σκότους και φωτός, and Eustath. *in Il.* p. 689, 15 ff. *τό παρ' ήμιν ιδιωτικώτερον λεγόμενον λυκόφως*, adding derivations from *λύγη* 'darkness' and *λυκή* 'a wolf-skin' as also *ib.* p. 809, 40 ff.*

numerous relatives in both Greek and Latin¹. Indeed, our word 'light' is of kindred origin.

But etymology, unless supported by ritual and myth, can afford no certain clue to the nature of an ancient deity. Fortunately in the present case that support is forthcoming. Zeus *Lýkaios* was sometimes at least conceived as a sky-god, for his priest acted as rain-maker to the district². Again, Achaïos the tragedian, a younger contemporary of Sophokles, appears to have spoken of Zeus *Lýkaios* as 'starry-eyed' (*astérōpos*)³. An epithet of similar formation and of the same meaning (*asterōpós*) is used by Euripides of the *aithér* or 'burning sky' in connexion with Zeus⁴. This suggests that Zeus *Lýkaios* was a god of the *aithér*. Indeed, Creuzer long since pointed out that Zeus *Lýkaios* is none other than the Arcadian Zeus⁵, whom Cicero and Ampelius describe as the son of *Aether*⁶. H. Usener further observes that, just as a Boeotian myth makes Lykos succeed his brother Nykteus on the throne⁷, so the Arcadian myth makes Lykaon succeeded by his son Nyktimos, the inference being that both pairs of names denote the alternation of 'daylight' (*lyk-*) and 'darkness' (*nykt-*)⁸. If Zeus *Lýkaios* was thus a god of daylight, certain statements made by Pausanias *à propos* of his cult gain a fresh significance. *Lykósoura* founded by *Lykáon* was 'the first city that ever the sun beheld.'⁹

¹ Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² pp. 266, 275 cites for the stronger form of the root the Latin *lūx, lūceo, lūna*, for the weaker the Greek ἀμφιλίκη, λυκάβας 'year' (lit. 'light-circuit': Fick in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1894 clvi. 240 cp. Hesych. ἄβα' τροχός), λυκανυγής 'twi-light,' λυκόφως 'twi-light,' λυχνος 'lamp,' etc. See further L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iv. 519 ff., who adds λυκοψία 'twi-light,' and Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb. s.v.* lūceo p. 349 f., who connects λυγδός 'white marble' with the same group of words.

² *Infra* p. 76.

³ Achaïos *Azanes frag.* 2 Nauck² *ap. schol. Eur. Or.* 383 τῆς ἀστερόπου (MSS. ἀστεροπού) Ζητὸς θυσίας, cp. F. G. Welcker *Die Griechischen Tragödien* Bonn 1841 iii. 963. Arcad. p. 67, 13 Barker vouches for the accent ἀστέρωπος: the analogy of χαρωπός, 'bright-eyed,' suggests ἀστεροπός, cp. ἀστερωπός.

W. H. Roscher in the *Jahrh. f. class. Philol.* 1892 xxxviii. 705 supposes that ἀστεροπος denotes 'the god of lightning' (ἀστραπή, ἀστεροπή).

⁴ Eur. *Ion* 1078 f. Διὸς ἀστερωπὸς | ἀνεχθρέυσεν αἰθέρη, cp. Kritias *Sisyphus frag.* 1, 33 Nauck² *ap. Plout. de plac. philos.* 1. 6 and Sext. *adv. math.* 9. 54 τὸ τ' ἀστερωπὸν οὐρανοῦ σέλας (so Plout., δέμας Sext.).

⁵ F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*³ Leipzig and Darmstadt 1841 iii. 74 f.

⁶ Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 53, Ampel. 9. Cp. *supra* p. 27 n. 3.

⁷ *Infra* ch. i § 7 (d).

⁸ H. Usener *Götternamen* p. 199. The myths are collected and analysed in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2169 ff., 2183 ff., iii. 492 ff., 498 f. W. H. Roscher *Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 140 ff. regards Nykteus and Lykos as personifications of the Evening- and the Morning-star: he is followed by Wörner in the *Lex. Myth.* iii. 496 f.

⁹ Paus. 8. 38. 1.

On the very top of Mount *Lykaion* was a mound of earth, known as the altar of Zeus *Lykaios*, from which the greater part of the Peloponnese was visible: before the altar stood two columns bearing gilded eagles and 'facing the sun-rise'. Finally, Pausanias says: 'Of the wonderful things to be seen on Mount *Lykaion* the most wonderful is this. There is a precinct of Zeus *Lykaios* on the mountain, and no man is allowed to enter it. Should any one disregard the rule and enter, he cannot possibly live longer than a year. It was said too that within the precinct all things, both beasts and men, alike cast no shadow. Consequently, when a beast takes refuge in the precinct, the hunter will not break in along with it, but waits outside and looking at the beast sees no shadow cast by it. Now at Syene on the frontier of Aithiopia, so long as the sun is in the sign of Cancer, shadows are cast neither by trees nor by animals; but in the precinct on Mount *Lykaion* there is the same lack of shadows at all times and seasons². This marvel, which is attested by other grave and respectable authors³, though sceptics were not wanting⁴, probably hangs together with the Pythagorean belief that 'the souls of the dead cast no shadow and do not wink⁵.' The shadowless creature would on this showing be the man or beast already devoted to death. Dr Frazer, commenting on the passage quoted above from Pausanias, writes: 'Untutored people often regard the shadow as a vital part of a man and its loss as fatal. This belief is still current in Greece. It is thought that to give stability to a new building the life of an animal or a man is necessary. Hence an animal is killed and its blood allowed to flow on the foundation stone, or the builder secretly measures a man's shadow and buries the measure under the foundation stone, or the foundation stone is laid upon a man's shadow. It is supposed that the man will die within a year—obviously because his shadow is believed to be buried under the

¹ Paus. 8. 38. 7, cp. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 152 ff. with schol. *ad loc.* and *ad Nem.* 10. 87, Polyb. 4. 33. 2, and *infra* p. 83 f. L.-F. A. Maury *Religions de la Grèce* i. 59, following K. O. Müller *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie* Göttingen 1825 p. 290 f. and W. Bäumlein in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft* 1839 vi. 1193, inferred that Zeus *Λυκαίος* was a solar god. But K. Schwenck in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1839 vi. 541 f. already urged that he was a light-god rather than a sun-god.

² Paus. 8. 38. 6.

³ Theopompus *ap.* Polyb. 16. 12. 7 quoted below, schol. Kallim. *h. Zeus* 13 πάντων ζώων εἰσὶν ἐκεῖ (sc. to the birth-place of Zeus on the mountain in Parrhasia) μεμολυσμένον ἄγονον ἐγγίγνεται καὶ σκιάν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ οὐκέτι ἐπολεῖ.

⁴ Polyb. 16. 12. 7, Plout. *quaest.* Gr. 39.

⁵ Plout. *ib.* On shadowless ghosts see J. von Negelein in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1902 v. 18 ff.

building'. Trespassers on the precinct of Zeus *Lýkaios* not only lost their shadows, but were actually put to death². Plutarch states that such persons were called 'deer' (*élaphoi*)³, that if they had entered the precinct voluntarily they were stoned to death, and that if they had entered it through ignorance they were sent away to Eleutherai⁴. But, if the ultimate explanation of the shadowless precinct on Mount *Lýkaion* lies in the connexion once thought to exist between shadow and soul, it by no means follows that this was the explanation given by Greeks of the classical period. They may well have forgotten the real meaning of a belief to which they still clung and have attributed it to some irrelevant cause. That is what in point of fact they did. Polybios the historian, who as a native of Megalopolis would take a personal interest in matters Arcadian, writes as follows anent certain Carian superstitions: 'It appears to me that such tales are only fit to amuse children, when they transgress not merely the limits of probability but those of possibility as well. For instance, to assert that some bodies when placed in light cast no shadow argues a state of extreme obtuseness. Yet Theopompus has done this; for he declares that those who enter the holy precinct of Zeus in Arkadia cast no shadow, which is on a par with the statements that I mentioned just now⁵'. Theopompus, then, the historian of Chios, explained the miracle of Mount *Lýkaion* by saying that beasts and men on the summit cast no shadow because they were there 'placed in light⁶'. This can only mean that a divine light encircled the mountain-top and made all shadows impossible. Mount *Lýkaion*, in fact, resembled

¹ J. G. Frazer on Paus. 8. 38. 6 (iv. 384), citing B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 196 f. See also *infra* ch. i § 6 (g) vi. The way for this explanation was prepared by Plout. *loc. cit.*, F. G. Welcker *Kleine Schriften* Bonn 1850 iii. 161, E. L. Rochholz *Deutscher Glaube und Brauch im Spiegel der heidnischen Vorzeit* Berlin 1867 i. 119, H. D. Müller *Mythologie der griechischen Stämme* Göttingen 1869 ii. 96 f. On the identification of soul with shadow see further E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture* London 1891 i. 430 f., cp. 85 f., W. Wundt *Völkerpsychologie* Leipzig 1906 ii. 2. 40 ff., 84 ff.

² Pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 1, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 91, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 381, 16 ff. Eyssenhardt, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 1, 2. 4.

³ They may have been dressed as deer before being chased or killed. To the examples of human *élaphoi* that I collected in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 133 ff. should be added the stag-mummers of Syracuse (schol. Theokr. π. τῆς εὐρέσεως τῶν βουκολικῶν p. 5, 7 ff. Ahrens) and the man disguised as a stag, slain and eaten, in an epic fragment dealing with Dionysos (F. G. Kenyon in H. van Herwerden's *Album Gratulatorium Trajecti ad Rhenum* 1902 p. 137 ff. and A. Ludwich in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Jan. 3, 1903 p. 27 ff.).

⁴ Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 39.

⁵ Polyb. 16. 12. 6 ff.

⁶ *Id.* 16. 12. 7 ἐν φωτὶ τιθέμενα.

Olympos as described in the *Odyssey*¹, and was itself called Olympos. Pausanias says; 'They speak of it also as Olympos, while others of the Arcadians name it the Sacred Peak².' This Olympic glory, though not, as Theopompos presumably held and as Roscher³ certainly holds, the true explanation of the shadowless precinct, would be in thorough keeping with the character of Zeus *Lýkaios* as a god of light.

(b) Peloponnesian coin-types of Zeus *Lýkaios*.

It is almost certainly Zeus *Lýkaios* whose figure appears on the federal silver coinage of Arkadia throughout the greater part of the fifth century B.C.⁴ These coins bear on their reverse side the legend *Arkadikón*, more or less abbreviated, and appear to have been struck by the Heraeans as presidents of the national Arcadian games held on Mount *Lýkaion*⁵. Early specimens show Zeus seated on a throne with a *himátion* wrapped about his waist: he holds a sceptre in one hand, and over the other flies an eagle (figs. 39, 40)⁶. On later specimens the back of the throne terminates in a swan's neck (figs. 41, 42)⁷, and the eagle occasionally flies *to-wards* Zeus (fig. 43)⁸. Sometimes a thunderbolt is held on the lap of the god (figs. 43, 44)⁹. Sometimes, but rarely, he is repre-

¹ *Od.* 6. 41 ff. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1550, 63 *αγλήεντα γὰρ τὰ ἐκεῖ καὶ μετὰ αἰθρῆς καὶ νεφέλαις ἀσκίαστα.*

² Paus. 8. 38. 2. An Arcadian Olympos is mentioned by schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 598, cp. Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 8. 352, Hyg. *fab.* 225 p. 132 f. Schmidt. Roscher (*Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1892 xxxviii. 706) and Mackrodt (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 848, 24 f.) understand Apollod. 2. 5. 8 τὸ λεγόμενον ὄρος Ὀλυμπον of Mount *Lýkaion*, cp. Peditas. 21.

³ W. H. Roscher 'Die Schattenlosigkeit des Zeus-abatons auf dem Lykaion' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1892 xxxviii. 701—709.

⁴ Head *Hist. num.*² p. 447 f., Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 843 ff. pl. 38, 8—18, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 169 ff. pl. 31, 11—24, pl. 32, 1—9, P. Gardner *Types of Gr. Coins* pl. 3, 15, 16, 43, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 26 f., 155, Münztaf. 2, 1—3. Cp. *infra* p. 90.

⁵ This was first shown by Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 196.

⁶ Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 843 ff. pl. 38, 8, 9, 12, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 169 f. pl. 31, 11—15, P. Gardner *Types of Gr. Coins* pl. 3, 43. I figure two specimens from my collection.

⁷ Fig. 41 is from a specimen in the British Museum, fig. 42 from another in my collection.

⁸ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 171 f. pl. 31, 23 (fig. 43), pl. 32, 3, Imhoof-Blumer *Choix de monn. gr.* (1871) pl. 2, 76, *id.* in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1876 iii. 291 pl. 7, 3 and 4, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus Münztaf. 2, 2 a.

⁹ Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 845 ff. pl. 38, 13 describes a specimen in the Laynes collection on which Zeus holds corn-ears (fig. 44). I take the object in his right hand to be a thunderbolt, as did F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1876 iii. 290 pl. 7, 2.

Peloponnesian coin-types of Zeus *Lýkaios* 69

sented as standing with *himétion*, sceptre and eagle (fig. 45)¹. After the victory of Epameinondas at Leuktra in 371 B.C. the Arcadian League was reconstituted and issued coins with the types of Zeus



Fig. 39.



Fig. 40.



Fig. 41.



Fig. 42.



Fig. 43.



Fig. 44.



Fig. 45.

Lýkaios and Pan *Lýkaios*². The obverse design of the silver *statér* (fig. 46) is a magnificent head of Zeus wearing a bay-wreath: the reverse (figs. 47, 48) is Pan seated on a rock, over which he has



Fig. 46.



Fig. 47.



Fig. 48.



Fig. 49.

spread his cloak; he is human except for his horns and holds in his right hand a throwing-stick (*lagobólton*), while a pipe (*sýrinx*) lies at his feet. The rock is inscribed *Oly-* (OΛY) or *Olym-* (OΛYM)³, and in one die (fig. 49) *Chari-* (XAPI)⁴. There can be no doubt that the laureate head is that of Zeus *Lýkaios*. It used to

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 169 pl. 31, 10 (fig. 45), Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 849 f. pl. 38, 18. F. Imhoof-Blumer publishes a similar specimen in his *Choix de monn. gr.* 1871 pl. 2, 79 and in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1876 iii. 292 pl. 7, 7.

² On Pan *Lýkaios* see Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2168, 20 ff., iii. 1350 f.

³ *Head Hist. num.*² pp. 444 f., 450, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* pp. lix, 173, pl. 32, 10, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* pl. 8, 32 and 37, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 93, 105 f., G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 72 f., pl. 5, 37. Figs. 46—47 and fig. 48 are drawn from two specimens in the British Museum.

⁴ F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, 1874 i. 128 n. 3, *ib.* 1876 iii. 288 f. pl. 7, 1 (in the Hague collection), *cp. ib.* 1875 ii. 6, 139 ff., 246 ff., and in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1884 xvi. 264 pl. 5, 7 (at Klagenfurt, from the same die). I figure the latter specimen.

be commonly supposed that the rock inscribed *Oly-* or *Olym-* was the Arcadian Olympos, *i.e.* Mount *Lýkaion*. Prof. Brunn alone maintained that the inscription was the signature of the die-engraver¹. Since the publication of the specimens reading *Chari-* Brunn's view has met with almost universal acceptance². Recently, however, Dr Head has suggested that *Olym-* and *Chari-* may be abbreviated names of festivals for which the coins were issued³. Still, the old view is not definitely disproved. It remains possible that the name of the mountain, placed on the coin for purposes of identification⁴, was afterwards replaced by the name of a self-satisfied engraver.

✱ (c) Human sacrifice to Zeus *Lýkaios*.

Across the brightness of Mount Lykaion we have already seen one cloudlet pass. Such was its awful sanctity that the wilful intruder upon the holy ground was doomed to die, while even the unintentional trespasser must needs be banished. But those who knew more intimately the ritual of the mountain-top were aware that a gloom far deeper than this habitually hung about it. There is indeed a persistent rumour of human sacrifice in connexion with the cult. For the said ghastly tradition Platon is at once our earliest and our most explicit authority. Sokrates in the *Republic* remarks that at the sanctuary of Zeus *Lýkaios* he who tasted the one human entrail, which was cut up and mixed with the entrails of other victims, was believed to become a wolf⁵. The author of the Platonic *Minos* implies that human sacrifice occurred on Mount Lykaion⁶; Theophrastos—as quoted by Porphyrios and Eusebios—states that it was offered at the festival of the Lykaia⁷. Pausanias

¹ H. Brunn *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler* Stuttgart 1859 ii. 437.

² *E.g.* F. Imhoof-Blumer *loc. cit.*, Head *Hist. num.*¹ p. 373.

³ Head *Hist. num.*² p. 445 *cp.* ΟΛΥΝΠΙΚΟΝ on coins of Elis, and suggests the 104th Olympiad celebrated by the Arcadians in 364 B.C. He interprets ΧΑΡΙ of the Charisia or Charitesia, festivals of the Charites, and notes that Charisios was the founder of Charisiai in Arkadia (Paus. 8. 3. 4).

⁴ *Cp.* ΠΕΙΩΝ on a coin of Ephesos figured *infra* ch. i § 5 (b). It should also be noticed that the reverse-type of a unique tetradrachm of Messana, now at Berlin, shows a similar figure of Pan, with his *lagobblon* and a hare (symbol of the city): the god is seated on a rock, over which he has thrown his fawn-skin, and by him is the inscription ΠΑΝ (G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 130 f. pl. 8, 15). If ΠΑΝ describes Pan, presumably ΟΛΥΜ may describe Olympos.

⁵ Plat. *rep.* 565 D, *cp.* Polyb. 7. 13. 7, Isid. *origg.* 8. 9. 5.

⁶ Plat. *Min.* 315 c.

⁷ Theophr. *ap.* Porphyr. *de abst.* 2. 27 and Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 16. 10. But see *infra* p. 76 n. 3.

veils the ugly fact by a decent circumlocution: 'On this altar they offer secret sacrifices to Lycaean Zeus, but I did not care to pry into the details of the sacrifice. Be it as it is and has been from the beginning¹.'

The concurrent testimony of these writers may be held to prove that Zeus *Lykaios* was indeed served with human flesh, but it hardly enables us to determine how long this hideous custom survived. Theophrastos, who succeeded Aristoteles as head of the Peripatetic school in 322 B.C., says—'up to the present time'; and he is in general a trustworthy witness. But whether we can infer from the guarded language of Pausanias that five centuries later, in the reign of the refined and philosophical Marcus Aurelius, the same gruesome rite was still kept up seems to me at least very questionable². It would of course be talked about for many generations after it had been as an actual practice mitigated, superseded, or simply discontinued.

We should like to know more of the cannibal who was turned into a wolf. And here fortunately further evidence is forthcoming. We have in fact three parallel accounts, which deserve to be studied side by side. They unfold a most remarkable sequel:

PLINY

nat. hist. 8. 81—82.

'Euanthes, who holds a high place among the authors of Greece, reports the following tradition as derived from Arcadian writings. A man belonging to a clan descended from a certain Anthos is chosen by lot and led to a particular pool in that locality. Here he hangs his clothes on an oak-tree, swims across, and goes off into desert places, where he is transformed into a wolf and for nine years associates with

SAINT AUGUSTINE

de civ. Dei 18. 17.

'To prove this, Varro narrates other equally incredible tales—that of the notorious magician Kirke, who likewise changed the comrades of Odysseus into animals, and that of the Arcadians, who were taken by lot, went across a particular pool, and there turning into wolves lived with beasts like themselves in the desert places of that locality. But, if they did not feed on human flesh, then

PAUSANIAS

6. 8. 2.

¹ Paus. 8. 38. 7 trans. J. G. Frazer.

² From Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 82 Scopas qui Olympionicas scripsit narrat Demaenetus Parrhasium in sacrificio, quod Arcades Iovi Lycaeo humana etiamtum hostia faciebant, immolati pueri exta degustasse etc. (*infra* p. 72 n. 3) E. Meyer *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte* Halle 1892 i. 53 n. 1 infers that the human sacrifice, still kept up in the days of Demainetos, had been already abandoned when the *Olympionicae* was written.

PLINY

nat. hist. 8. 81—82.

other wolves of the same sort. If during this time he has abstained from attacking men, he returns to the same pool and, having swum across it, gets back his shape looking nine years older than before. The story adds that he resumes the same clothing. The lengths to which Greek credulity will run are really amazing. Any falsehood, however outrageous, has its due attestation.

Again, Skopas, writer of a work on *Olympic Victors*, relates that Demainetos the Parrhasian at a human sacrifice, which the Arcadians were even in his day making to Zeus *Lýkaios*, tasted the entrails of the boy that had been immolated and thereupon turned into a wolf; but that in the tenth year he was restored to athletics, came back, and won a victory in the boxing-match at Olympia.¹

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after nine years had gone by they swam once more across the same pool and were transformed into men again.

In conclusion he has actually mentioned by name a certain Demainetos, asserting that he, having tasted the sacrifice of an immolated boy, which the Arcadians were wont to make to their god *Lýkaios*, was thereupon changed into a wolf; and that in the tenth year he was restored to his own form, practised boxing, and won in a match at Olympia.²

PAUSANIAS

6. 8. 2.

‘As to a certain boxer named Damarchos, a Parrhasian of Arkadia by race, I was not prepared to believe—with the exception of his victory at Olympia—the story told by sundry braggarts. For they say that he changed from a man into a wolf at the sacrifice of Zeus *Lýkaios*, and that in the tenth year afterwards he became a man again.’

Pliny and Saint Augustine are obviously drawing from the same well, *viz.* Varro¹. Only, whereas Pliny cites Varro’s sources without Varro’s name, Saint Augustine cites Varro’s name without Varro’s sources. The sources in question are both satisfactory for our purpose—the ascertaining of popular belief. Euanthes was an author of repute, and moreover bore a name which is known to have occurred in Arkadia²: he professedly follows Arcadian writers. Skopas³ was probably wrong about the victor’s name;

¹ Varro *de gente populi Romani frag.* 17 (*Hist. Rom. frag.* p. 233 f. Peter).

² Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 357 no. 1247 B 3 cp. 20.

C. Müller *Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 11 no. 33 would read *Neanthes* for *Euanthes*. But see Jacoby in *Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc.* vi. 846.

³ C. Müller *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 407 suggests that Pausanias derived the story of

for Pausanias read and copied the actual inscription on the man's statue-base¹. But whether the name was Demainetos or Damarchos makes no difference to us: the story told of him is identical.

Varro's statement, as evidenced by the foregoing extracts, is twofold. It contains on the one hand Euanthes' general account of the Arcadian custom, on the other Skopas' particular exemplification of it. Comparing the two, we at once detect a discrepancy. Both agree that a man became a wolf for a period of nine years, after which he returned to human shape. But, whereas Euanthes speaks of him as having been chosen by lot, Skopas describes him as having tasted the entrails of an immolated boy. This discrepancy would indeed vanish altogether, if we assumed that the method of selection indicated by Platon in a passage already quoted—'he who tasted the one human entrail,' etc.—might be viewed as a kind of cleromancy or sortition. But it is better to suppose that the casting of lots was a later and more civilised substitute for the arbitrament of the cannibal feast.

Be that as it may, Euanthes has preserved various details of primitive import. He tells us that those who thus cast lots among themselves (and therefore, presumably, those who at an earlier date gathered about the banquet of human flesh) belonged to a clan descended from a certain Anthos. Now H. W. Stoll² and J. Töpffer³ have pointed out that the names *Ánthos*, *Ánthas*, *Ánthes*, *Ántheus* were given in sundry parts of the Greek world to mythical figures of a common type—the handsome youth who comes early to a cruel death just because he personifies the short-lived vegetation of the year⁴. One of these 'Flower'-heroes, Anthas or

Damarchos from Euanoridas of Elis, whose *Ὀλυμπιονίκαι* he had just mentioned (Paus. 6. 8. 1). Müller further conjectures that in Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 82 we should read *itaque Euanoridas qui Olympionicas scripsit* (MSS. *item* or *ita* or *itaque copas*, whence Jan cj. *Scopas*, Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 896 *Harpocras*, Gelenius *Agriopas*). But again see Jacoby in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 845, and cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* index to 8 *Euanthe apoca* or *apocha* (so MSS.: *Scopa* Jan, *Agriopa* Gelenius, *Agrippa* vulg.) *qui Ὀλυμπιονίκας*. Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 13 f. pushes Müller's speculation one stage further and proposes to identify Euanthes with Euanoridas, whom he calls 'Euanoridas-Euagriopas-Euanthes Agrippa'!

¹ Paus. 6. 8. 2. Both *Δαμαλveros* (Collitz-Bechtel *op. cit.* i. 352 no. 1231 B 26, 38, C 42) and *Δάμαρχος* (*ib.* i. 341 no. 1189 A *minor* 15, 358 no. 1246 D 4) are Arcadian names.

² H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 369 f.

³ J. Töpffer in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2358.

⁴ Thus Anthos, son of Hippodameia and Autoonos the ruler of a neglected and therefore barren land, was attacked and eaten by his father's horses, which he had driven from their scanty pasture: he was transformed by Zeus and Apollon into the bird *ἀνθος*, and as such still retains his hostility to horses (Ant. Lib. 7: see also D'Arcy W.

Anthes, the son of Poseidon, was driven out of Troizen and founded Halikarnassos¹. His descendants the Antheadai² formed a priestly clan which, as we happen to know from an inscription found at Halikarnassos³, managed the cult of Poseidon in that city for over five hundred years. Poseidon was worshipped at the mother-city Troizen as Poseidon *Phytálmios*⁴, so that the functions of the Antheadai were almost certainly concerned with the propagation of vegetable life⁵. Arguing from analogy, I conclude that in Arkadia likewise the descendants of Anthos were a priestly clan charged with the upkeep of vegetation in connexion with the cult of Zeus *Lýkaios*⁶.

That the 'Flower'-hero might be associated with Zeus no less than with Poseidon we see from an inscription of Roman date found at Athens⁷. It is a list of persons combining to build a gymnasium 'for Zeus *Keraíōs* and Anthas.' Mr J. G. C. Anderson, who published this inscription with a careful commentary, remarked that many of the contributing members bore Boeotian names. He therefore proposed to identify Zeus *Keraíōs* with Zeus *Ámmon* of Thebes⁸ and to regard Anthas either as a separate personage, the

Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 33). Anthos, eponym of Anhedon or Anhedonia the old name of Kalaureia, was lost as a child but found again by his brother Hyperes acting as cup-bearer to Akastos or Adrastos at Pherai (Mnasigeiton *ap. Plout. quaest. Gr.* 19). Anthes, son of Poseidon and eponym of Anthana, was slain by Kleomenes, brother of Leonidas, who flayed him and wrote on his skin *τοὺς χρησμούς τηρεῖσθαι* (Philostephanos *frag.* 8 *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Ανθάνα: but see C. Müller's note in *Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 30). Antheias, son of Eumelos, was killed by falling from the car of Triptolemos (*infra* ch. i § 6 (d) i (β)). Antheus, son of Antenor, was a beautiful youth loved by Deiphobos and Alexandros, but accidentally struck and slain by the latter (Tzet. *in Lyk. Al.* 132). Antheus, a prince of Halikarnassos, served as a hostage under Phobios, ruler of Miletos: Kleoboia or Philaichme, wife of Phobios, loved him and, unable to compass her desires, asked him to recover a tame partridge or a golden trinket for her from a deep well, and while he was doing it dropped a heavy stone on the top of him (Parthen. *narr. am.* 14).

¹ Strab. 374, 656, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Αλικαρνασσός.

² Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Αθήναι.

³ *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2655, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 608, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 877.

⁴ Paus. 2. 32. 8, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 98 no. 18: see further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2490. The inscription from Halikarnassos records the priests *τοῦ Ποσειδῶν[ος τοῦ κατιδρυθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐκ] Τροι(ζ)ήνος ἀγαγόντων Ποσειδῶν καὶ Ἀπόλλ(ω)[νι]*.

⁵ See J. Töpffer in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2358 ff.

⁶ On Zeus *Lýkaios* with corn-ears see *supra* p. 68 n. 9.

⁷ *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1896—1897 iii. 106 ff. no. 1 *Συνθύται οἱ κατασκευάσαντες τὸ γυμνάσιον διὰ Κεραΐφ καὶ Ἀνθα' κ.τ.λ.*

⁸ Paus. 9. 16. 1, cp. Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 833. 1 "Ἄμμωνος κεραϊοῖο (Alexandreaia), no. 835. 5 "Ἄμμωνος κερασοῦ (Beirút), Phaistos *ap. schol. Pind. Pyth.* 4. 28 *Ζεὺς Λιβύης Ἀμμων κερατηφόρε.*

eponym of Anthedon in Boiotia¹, or more probably as a cult-title of Zeus comparable with that of Zeus *Anthaleús*, who is mentioned in a sacrificial calendar from the Epakria district². The cult would thus be one of a Zeus presiding over animal and vegetable fertility, a god presumably worshipped by a guild of farmers. Mr Anderson's conclusion is sound, though his premises are shaky. I doubt whether Zeus *Keraíōs* is a mere synonym of Zeus *Ammon*. His 'horns' may be those of a bull, not a ram. In that case he resembled Zeus *Ólbios*, a god of fertility who in northern Greece had bovine horns³, or Zeus *Xénios* (?) of Kypros, to whom the horned *Kerástai* were wont to sacrifice strangers till Aphrodite, offended at their savagery, changed them all into bullocks⁴. Again, O. Höfer objects that, if Anthas had been merely a cult-epithet, we should have expected a repetition of the name Zeus before it⁵. But this objection only brings into clearer light the indisputable fact that in Attiké the hero Anthas stood in intimate relation to Zeus. Anthos occupied a like position on Mount Lykaion.

Now Anthos, son of Autooos and Hippodameia, deprived his father's horses of their pasture and was therefore devoured by them⁶—a fate recalling that of Lykourgos, king of the Thracian Edonoi, who in order that his land might not remain barren was taken by his subjects to Mount Pangaion and there destroyed by horses⁷. That a similar end overtook Anthos on Mount Lykaion is at least a permissible conjecture; for the charred bones found nowadays on the summit of this mountain⁸ are said by the peasants to be 'the bones of men whom the ancients caused to be here trampled to death by horses, as corn is trodden by horses on a threshing-floor'⁹.

Conjecture apart, there is good reason to think that in time of

¹ He is called Anthas (Paus. 9. 22. 5, Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Ανθηδών), Anthios (schol. *Il.* 2. 508, Eustath. *in Il.* 271, 13 ff.), Anthedon (Steph. Byz. and Eustath. *loc. cit.*), and Anthes (Herakleid. *Pont. ap. Plout. de musica* 3); for all these local heroes are obviously one and the same.

² *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1895 x. 210, J. de Protz *Leges Graecorum sacrae Lipsiae* 1896 *Fasti sacri* p. 46 ff. no. 26, 47φ κριδς Δ†. Δ† 'Ανθαλεὺς οἷς Δ†, ιερῶσυνα †.

³ *Infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) ii (f).

⁴ *Ov. met.* 10. 220 ff., Lact. *Plac. narr. fab.* 10. 6, *infra loc. cit.*

⁵ O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2491.

⁶ *Supra* p. 73 n. 4.

⁷ Apollod. 3. 5. 1, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 312 f. Other examples of men done to death by horses with a like intent are cited in the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 82, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 388 n. 92. See further S. Reinach 'Hippolyte' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1907 x. 47—60=*id.* *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1908 iii. 54—67.

⁸ *Infra* p. 82.

⁹ J. G. Frazer on Paus. 8. 38. 2 (iv. 382).

drought Zeus *Lýkaios* was placated with the sacrifice of a boy. Theophrastos indeed is reported to have said that this took place 'at the Lykaia'¹—an expression which, strictly taken, denotes the regular festival celebrated probably at the beginning of May². But the context of that very passage implies that human sacrifice, at least as exemplified by the cults of the Arcadian Zeus and the Carthaginian Kronos, was not a rite recurring at stated intervals but the last resort of a starving populace, practised only when crops failed and famine was imminent³. Even then the responsible clan devolved its blood-guiltiness upon a single man, who expiated his crime by disappearing from the neighbourhood. He hung his clothes upon a certain oak, swam across an adjoining pool, and was lost to sight in the wilderness beyond. What happened to him there nobody knew. It was whispered that he became a were-wolf.

The same combination of drought, oak-tree, and water occurs again in Pausanias' account of rain-magic on Mount Lykaion. It appears that, when the ground was parched and the trees blasted by the heat, the priest of Zeus *Lýkaios* took the branch of an oak-tree, stirred with it the water of the spring Hagno, and so caused the long-desired shower to fall⁴. It can hardly be doubted that the oak-tree and the pool of the one case are the oak-tree and the spring of the other. If so, we have every right to say that

¹ *Supra* p. 70 n. 7.

² P. Welzel *De Iove et Pane dis Arcadicis* Vratislaviae 1879 p. 23 n. 5 on the strength of Xen. 1. 2. 10 ἐνταῦθ' (at Peltai) ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν αἷς Ξενίας ὁ Ἄρκας τὰ Λύκαια ἔθυσε καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε· τὰ δὲ ἄθλα ἦσαν στλεγγίδες χρυσαί· ἐθεώρει δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ Κύρος. See also Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 20 f.

³ Theophrast. *ap.* Porph. *de abst.* 2. 27 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μὲν γὰρ αἱ τῶν καρπῶν ἐγίνοντο τοῖς θεοῖς θυσίαι· χρόνῳ δὲ τῆς ὀσιότητος ἡμῶν ἐξαμελησάντων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν καρπῶν ἐσπάνισαν καὶ διὰ τὴν τῆς νομίμου τροφῆς ἐνδειαν εἰς τὸ σαρκοφαγεῖν ἀλλήλων ὤρμησαν, τότε μετὰ πολλῶν λιτῶν ἰκετεύοντες τὸ δαιμόνιον σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπήρξαντο τοῖς θεοῖς πρῶτον, οὐ μόνον ὅτι κάλλιστον ἐνῆν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς θεοῖς καθοσιοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πέρα τῶν καλλίστων προσεπιλαμβάνοντες τοῦ γένους· ἀφ' οὗ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν οὐκ ἐν Ἄρκαδιᾳ μόνον τοῖς Λυκαίοις οὐδ' ἐν Καρχηδῶνι τῷ Κρόνῳ κοινῇ πάντες ἀνθρωποθυτοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ περίοδον, τῆς τοῦ νομίμου χάριν μνήμης, ἐμφύλιον αἷμα βάλουσι πρὸς τοὺς βωμοὺς, καίπερ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁσίας ἐξειργασῆς τῶν ἱερῶν τοῖς περιρραντηρίοις <καλ> κηρύγματι, εἰ τις αἵματος ἀνθρωπεύου μεταίτιος. The excerpt in Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 16. 10 agrees with this *verbatim*, but is shorter, including only ἀφ' οὗ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν... πρὸς τοὺς βωμοὺς. The words τοῖς Λυκαίοις are, I think, either a loose expression for 'in the rites of Zeus *Lýkaios*' or—less probably—a blunder for τῷ Λυκαίῳ Δί, due to haste and inattention on the part of Porphyrios, who did not realise that τῷ Λυκαίῳ Δί is needed to balance τῷ Κρόνῳ and that both together are contrasted as extraordinary sacrifices with the ordinary ritual described in the words κατὰ περίοδον κ.τ.λ. On the other hand M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1503f. holds that the words κατὰ περίοδον are corrupt and have expelled the name of some locality.

⁴ *Infra* ch. ii § 9 (a) iii.

an oak-tree sacred to Zeus *Lykaios* grew beside the spring Hagno. The primitive cults of Greece, as of other lands, constantly associated a holy tree with a holy well.

The simple folk of Arkadia were acorn-eaters¹. Pelasgos, their first king,—says Pausanias²—‘introduced as food the fruit of oak-trees, not of all oaks, but only the acorns of the *phégós* oak. Since his time some of the people have adhered so closely to this diet that even the Pythian priestess, in forbidding the Lacedaemonians to touch the land of the Arcadians, spoke the following verses:—

There are many acorn-eating men in Arcadia
Who will prevent you; though I do not grudge it you.’

Plutarch goes further and declares that there was ‘a certain kinship’ between the Arcadians and the oak-tree: they believed that they were the first of men to spring from the ground, just as it was the first of trees³. But the relation of the oak to Zeus on the one hand and to his devotees on the other is a subject to which we shall have to return. For the present I pass on, noting merely that the existence of a clan whose business it was to promote vegetation at an ancient centre of oak-worship, if viewed in connexion with this alleged ‘kinship’ between the worshippers and the tree, is a phenomenon curiously suggestive of totemism.

A rite so unusual and impressive as the human sacrifice on Mount Lykaion had of course its explanatory myth. I quote again the garrulous but profoundly interesting Pausanias. From Pelasgos, introducer of the acorn-diet, he slips on to Pelasgos’ son Lykaon, who gave to Zeus the surname *Lykaios* and founded the Lycaean games. ‘In my opinion,’ he continues, ‘Lycaon was contemporary with Cecrops, king of Athens, but the two were not equally sage in the matter of religion. For Cecrops was the first who gave to Zeus the surname of Supreme, and he refused to sacrifice anything that had life; but he burned on the altar the

¹ Hdt. 1: 66, Paus. 8. 1. 6, 8. 42. 6, Ail. *var. hist.* 3. 39, Plout. *v. Coriol.* 3, Artemid. *oneirocr.* 2. 25 (citing Alkaios *frag.* 91 Bergk⁴ Ἀρκαῖες ἔσσαν βαλανηφάγοι), Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 8. 7 p. 320 Kayser, Nonn. *Dion.* 3. 287, Galen. *de alimentorum facultatibus* 2. 38 (vi. 621 Kühn), cp. *de probis pravisque alimentorum sucis* 4 (vi. 778 Kühn). See further P. Wagler *Die Eiche in alter und neuer Zeit* Wurzen 1891 i. 34 ff. Acorns figure frequently on coins of Mantinea (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 184 f. pl. 34, 19—22, 24—28).

² Paus. 8. 1. 6 trans. J. G. Frazer.

³ Plout. *quaest. Rom.* 92 ἢ παλαιὸν ἀπ’ Ἀρκάδων τὸ ἔθος, οἷς ἐστὶ τις συγγένεια πρὸς τὴν δρῦν; πρῶτοι γὰρ ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι δοκοῦσιν ἐκ γῆς, ὥσπερ ἡ δρῦς τῶν φυτῶν. That this ‘kinship’ with the oak was no mere metaphor appears from Lykophron’s mention of the Arcadians as ἐγγόνων δρυός (*Al.* 480: Tzetz. *ad loc.* has ἐκγόνων δρυός) and the myth of Arkas and the oak-nymph Chrysopeleia (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 185).

national cakes which the Athenians to this day call *pélanoi*. Whereas Lycaon brought a human babe to the altar of Lycaean Zeus, and sacrificed it, and poured out the blood on the altar; and they say that immediately after the sacrifice he was turned into a wolf. For my own part I believe the tale: it has been handed down among the Arcadians from antiquity, and probability is in its favour. For the men of that time, by reason of their righteousness and piety, were guests of the gods, and sat with them at table; the gods openly visited the good with honour, and the bad with their displeasure. Indeed men were raised to the rank of gods in those days, and are worshipped down to the present time....But in the present age, when wickedness is growing to such a height, and spreading over every land and every city, men are changed into gods no more, save in the hollow rhetoric which flattery addresses to power; and the wrath of the gods at the wicked is reserved for a distant future when they shall have gone hence. In the long course of the ages, many events in the past and not a few in the present have been brought into general discredit by persons who build a superstructure of falsehood on a foundation of truth. For example, they say that from the time of Lycaon downwards a man has always been turned into a wolf at the sacrifice of Lycaean Zeus, but that the transformation is not for life; for if, while he is a wolf, he abstains from human flesh, in the ninth year afterwards he changes back into a man, but if he has tasted human flesh he remains a beast for ever¹.

The myth of Lykaon has come down to us through various channels with a corresponding variety of detail. A useful conspectus is drawn up by O. Gruppe², from which it appears that the sacrifice was offered either by Lykaon himself (this was the common tale)³ or by his sons⁴ (a variant meant to save the face of Lykaon). The victim is described occasionally as a guest of Lykaon⁵, or a Molossian hostage⁶, more often as a child⁷ of the

¹ Paus. 8. 2. 2—6.

² Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 920 n. 4.

³ It went back to Hesiod (pseudo-Eratosth. *catást.* 8, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 27, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 302, 18 f. Cp. Hes. *frag.* 136 Flach).

⁴ Apollod. 3. 8. 1, Hyg. *fab.* 176, Nikolaos Damask. *frag.* 43 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 378 Müller), Soud. *s.v.* Λυκάων, schol. Lyk. *Al.* 481, pseudo-Hekat. *frag.* 375 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 31 Müller) *ap.* Natal. Com. 9. 9.

⁵ Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 1. 731, Myth. Vat. 2. 60.

⁶ *Ov. met.* 1. 226 f.

⁷ Paus. 8. 2. 3 βρέφος...ἀνθρώπου, Nikol. Dam. and Soud. *loc. cit.* θύσαντές τινα παῖδα.

neighbourhood¹, more often still as Lykaon's son² Nyktimos³ or grandson Arkas⁴. The child was according to one account sacrificed on the altar of Zeus⁵, but according to the usual version dished up for his consumption at table⁶. Punishment for this impious act fell on Lykaon, who was transformed into a wolf⁷, or struck by lightning⁸, or had his house struck by lightning while he himself became a wolf⁹. Some said that his sons suffered with him, all alike being killed by lightning¹⁰, or that they were killed by lightning and he changed into a wolf¹¹; some even said that the sons were punished as guilty and not the father¹². Many added that the flood followed in consequence of the crime¹³.

These rillets of tradition cross and recross one another with such complexity that it is difficult to map them or to make out which after all is the main stream. Nevertheless it seems certain that many, if not most, of them derive from distant sources of genuine folk-lore. Probably we shall not be far wrong, if—anticipating the results of a later section—we attempt to rewrite the story thus. Lykaon, king of the country and representative of Zeus *Lýkaios*, was as such held responsible for the weather and the crops¹⁴. If the land were distressed with drought, the king, in accordance with primitive custom¹⁵, must be put to death, passing on his divine rights and duties to a less impotent successor. In course of time this stern rule was modified¹⁶. The king might

¹ Apollod. 3. 8. 1 *ἐνα τῶν ἐπιχώριων παῖδα*, Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 481 *ἐπιχώριον παῖδα*, pseudo-Hekat. loc. cit. *ἐνα τῶν ἐγχωρίων παιδαρίων*.

² Interp. Serv. in Verg. *eccl.* 6. 41, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 24.

³ Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 36. 5 p. 27, 19 ff. Stählin, Nonn. *Dion.* 18. 20 ff., schol. Lyk. Al. 481.

⁴ Pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 8, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 4, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* 89.

⁵ Paus. 8. 2. 3.

⁶ Zeus had come in the guise of a working-man (Apollod. 3. 8. 1, Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 481, pseudo-Hekat. loc. cit.) or stranger (Nikol. Dam. and Souid. *loc. cit.*).

⁷ Paus. 8. 2. 3, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 1. 731, Myth. Vat. 1. 17, 2. 60.

⁸ Interp. Serv. in Verg. *eccl.* 6. 41.

⁹ Pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 8, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 4, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* 89, *Ov. met.* 1. 230 ff., Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Theb.* 11. 128.

¹⁰ Apollod. 3. 81, Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 481. The youngest, Nyktimos, escaped, for Ge held up her hands, clasped the right hand of Zeus, and assuaged his anger.

¹¹ Hyg. *fab.* 176.

¹² Nikol. Dam. and Souid. *loc. cit.*, schol. Lyk. Al. 481. A second version given by schol. Lyk. *ib.* states that Zeus destroyed the sons of Lykaon with lightning till Ge stretched forth her hand and interceded for them, and that he turned some of them into wolves (cp. pseudo-Hekat. loc. cit.).

¹³ Apollod. 3. 8. 2, Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 481, interp. Serv. in Verg. *eccl.* 6. 41, Myth. Vat. 1. 189.

¹⁴ Frazer *Golden Bough*² i. 154 ff., ³The Magic Art i. 396 ff.

¹⁵ *Id. ib.*² i. 158 f., ³The Magic Art i. 352 ff.

¹⁶ *Id. ib.*² ii. 55 f., ³The Dying God p. 160 ff. See also *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 392 ff.

sacrifice his son, or grandson, or the son of one of his subjects, or even, by a further relaxation, a stranger from afar in lieu of his own life. He thus discharged his original debt: but only to incur another of equal magnitude. For by slaying his son or grandson or subject he would render himself liable to the early law of bloodshed: If a man slew a member of an alien tribe or city, he must either be slain himself in return or else pay a sufficient blood price. But if he slew a member of his own tribe or city, no blood price was allowed: he must be put to death, or—it was the only possible alternative—flee into perpetual exile. The king, therefore, taken in this dilemma, sought to escape by the expedient of the common feast, which enabled him to share his guilt with others. The feasters in turn transferred it to a single member of the 'Flower'-clan. And he had forthwith to pay the penalty otherwise incumbent on the king; he had, that is, either to die the death or to flee the country.

It would seem, then, that the myth of Lykaon has in effect preserved the first stages of a custom whose final form is given in the statements of Skopas and Euanthes. Not often does an aetiological myth supply so satisfactory an *aition*. Viewing the story as a whole, we cannot but feel that the connexion of Zeus *Lýkaios* with the light sky is a more fundamental feature of it than the transformation of his worshippers into wolves. He as god of the light sky normally bestowed the sunshine and ripened the crops. They on certain rare and exceptional occasions incurred bloodguiltiness in his service and had to disappear. They might be killed, or they might be exiled. Some of our authorities declare that Zeus struck them with lightning—an appropriate end for worshippers of a sky-god². Others state that they became were-wolves—again an appropriate fate for exiles and vagabonds³. This belief in were-wolves, which has from time immemorial prevailed throughout Europe⁴ and is even now to be traced in

H. E. Seebohm *On the Structure of Greek Tribal Society* London 1895 p. 41 ff. ('The Liability for Bloodshed'). Moreover, 'the sanctity of the stranger-guest, who as early as Homer and probably much earlier was placed under the protection of Zeus, was almost as great as the sanctity of the kinsman's life, and to slay him was a religious sin, for which, according to one legend, Heracles was sold into slavery to Omphale' (Farnell *Cult. of Gr. Stat.* i. 73 with note d).

² *Étude-Lire* 1904 xv. 385 f., 1905 xvi. 324 f.

See the facts collected by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 918 n. 7.

Note also that, according to Maerzi *De valle Hadhramaut* Bonn 1866 p. 19 f. (quoted by W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*² London 1907 p. 88, R. Campbell Thompson *Semite Magic* London 1908 p. 57 n. 1), the Šei'ar in Hadramaut change to were-wolves in time of drought.

⁴ Recent monographs on the subject are S. Baring-Gould *The Book of Were-Wolves*

Arkadia¹, naturally attached itself to the rite of eating human flesh². And lycanthropy often involved metamorphosis for a given term of years, after which the were-wolf returned to human shape³. But nowhere else, so far as I am aware, did this superstition stand in any special relation to the cult of Zeus. I conclude, therefore, that Zeus *Lýkaios* was not essentially, but only as it were by accident, a 'Wolf'-god. His original character was that of a 'Light'-god controlling the sunshine, the rain, and the crops.

(d) The Precinct of Zeus *Lýkaios*.

In 1903 Mr K. Kourouniotes trenched the altar and laid bare the precinct of Zeus *Lýkaios*. I will here summarise the results of the excavation⁴.

The top of Mount Lykaion (fig. 50)⁵ has three crests—*Stepháni*, the highest point (about 4615 ft above sea-level); *Áe Liás*, somewhat lower (about 4550 ft); and *Diaphórti*, on which is a ruined tower, probably Turkish in origin. It is with *Áe Liás* that we are concerned. This summit takes its name from Saint Elias⁶, whose little chapel stands on the south-east edge of a small level space adjoining the crest on its south side. The level is known locally as *Tabérna* from a shop, which was once established here to supply necessaries for the saint's festival.

London 1865, W. Hertz *Der Werwolf* Stuttgart 1862, W. Fischer *Dämonische Wesen, Vampir u. Werwolf, in Geschichte und Sage (Aberglaube aller Zeiten iii)* Stuttgart 1906. See also R. Leubuscher *Dissertatio de Lycanthropia Medio aevo* Berlin 1850, F. G. Welcker 'Lycanthropie ein Aberglaube und eine Krankheit' in his *Kleine Schriften* Bonn 1850 iii. 157—184, W. H. Roscher 'Das von der "Kynanthropie", handelnde Fragment des Marcellus von Side' in the *Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1897 xvii. 3. 1—92.

¹ J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 240. On the were-wolf in modern Greece generally consult N. G. Polites *περὶ Λυκοκυνθάρων* in the journal *Πανδώρα* 1866 xvi. 453 f., *Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων* Athens 1871 i. 67 ff., and *Παραδόσεις* Athens 1904 ii. 1240 ff., where a full bibliography is given.

² Hertz *op. cit.* p. 39 (quoted by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 920 n. 3) adduces Indian and German examples of men transformed into beasts after tasting human flesh.

³ E.g. S. Baring-Gould *op. cit.* pp. 58 (Ireland: seven years), 59 ('Ossyrian' *sic*: seven years), P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1906 iii. 55 (Normandy: seven years, sometimes three).

⁴ K. Kourouniotes in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1904 pp. 153—214. See also F. H. Marshall in the *Class. Rev.* 1905 xix. 280f. Kourouniotes has further excavated the hippodrome etc. on Mt Lykaion (*Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐρ.* 1909 pp. 185—200 with figs., cp. *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1911 xv. 417).

⁵ From a photograph kindly sent to me by Mr Kourouniotes, through whose generosity I am enabled also to make use of the unpublished photograph (pl. viii) and the illustrations in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. loc. cit.*

⁶ Ἄη Λιᾶς = Ἄγιος Ἡλίας.

The altar of Zeus forms the apex of *Áe Liás*. It is circular in shape and flat like a threshing-floor, measuring 97 ft 6 ins. across. It is composed mainly of the remains of sacrifices, the rock being covered to a depth of 5 ft with a layer of ashes etc. In this layer are numerous bones, mostly those of small animals, but also of oxen and pigs: no human bones were recognised. All the bones had been burnt. Among the débris are large charred stones at



Fig. 50.

irregular intervals, lying singly or gathered together in small heaps. These served to prevent the ashes from being blown away from the exposed and wind-swept height¹. Small fragments of *phialai* and *skýphoi* dating from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. were found in the sacrificial stratum, also two small *kotyliskoi*, sundry portions of lamps, chips of roof-tiles—one inscribed $\begin{matrix} \text{AP} \\ \text{OEI} \end{matrix}$ in lettering of the

¹ Cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 240 in Laciniae Iunonis ara sub diu sita cinerem immobilem esse perflantibus undique procellis (quoted by Kourouniotes) and the evidence collected *infra* p. 103 nn. 1—4, with regard to the summits of Olympos, Kyllene, and Athos.

Proof of the sanctity attaching to ashes has come to light at Orchomenos in Boiotia. Inside the houses of the second pre-Mycenaean stratum H. Bulle found numerous $\beta\beta\theta\theta\theta$, carefully lined with yellow clay. These pits were circular in plan and U-shaped in vertical section. They were for the most part filled with ashes, which appear to have been kept for religious reasons (H. Bulle *Orchomenos* München 1907 i. 25 ff.).

82¹



The summit of Mount Lykaion. In the foreground are the bases of the two eagle-bearing columns of Zeus.
See page 83 f., ch. page 81 n. 5.

fourth century—and an almost shapeless terra cotta bird. The metal finds included a silver coin of Aigina (c. 500 B.C.), two small tripods of beaten bronze, and an iron knife—altogether a meagre and disappointing collection.

The precinct, which occupies the level called *Tabérna*, is approximately 180 ft broad by 400 ft long. It is marked out by a line of unworked stones, a boundary that men or beasts could easily cross¹. The earth here is blackish, but has no bones in it. Kourouniotes believes that the discoloration is due to the blood of animals slain as it were on the *próthysis* before they were burnt on the altar. Perhaps a geologist or an analytical chemist could supply a less gruesome explanation. In the soil of the precinct were found fragments of roof-tiles, part of an iron chain, a large key, a greave decorated with swans and serpents in relief and inscribed ΕΝΔΑΣΑΝΕ... ...ΔΙΑΘΑΝΑΙ², a bronze statuette-base, and two bronze statuettes. One of these was a beardless Hermes (c. 490—470 B.C.) in *chitoniskos*, *chlamýs*, *pilos*, and winged boots; the other a later figure, probably of the same god, with *chlamýs* and *pétasos*³.

A little lower down than the eastern limit of the precinct Kontopoulos had discovered in 1897 two large bases about 23 ft apart, undoubtedly those of the two eagle-bearing columns mentioned by Pausanias⁴. In a gully north-east of the summit he had found also one marble drum from a Doric column of twenty flutes, and had erected it on the southern base (pl. viii)⁵. Kourouniotes continued the search, and was rewarded for his pains. He obtained other blocks belonging to the bases, which were thus proved to have resembled the three-stepped statue-bases of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. The columns themselves were still standing in Pausanias' day, but the gilded eagles had gone⁶. Kourouniotes accounts for their disappearance as follows. He points out that in the market-place at Megalopolis Pausanias saw an enclosure of stones and a sanctuary of Zeus *Lýkaios* containing altars, two tables, and two eagles⁷; and he suggests that these

¹ 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1904 p. 159 f. fig. 1.

² Kourouniotes restores [Εὐτ]ελίδας ἀνε[θηκε τῷ Λυκαίῳ Διὶ καὶ τῷ Ἀθήνῃ.

³ 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1904 pls. 9—10.

⁴ *Supra* p. 66 n. 1.

⁵ 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1904 p. 173 f. fig. 7, cp. pl. 8, 1.

⁶ Paus. 8. 38. 7 πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βωμοῦ κίονες δύο ὡς ἐπὶ ἀνίσχοντα ἐστήκασιν ἥλιον, ἀετοὶ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπίχρσοι τὰ γε ἔτι παλαιότερα ἐπεποιήντο.

⁷ Paus. 8. 30. 2 περίβολος δὲ ἔστιν ἐν ταύτῃ λίθων καὶ ἱερῶν Λυκαίου Διός, ἔσδοδος δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ οὐκ ἔστι· τὰ γὰρ ἐντός ἐστι δὴ σύνοπτα, βωμοὶ τὲ εἰσι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τράπεζαι δύο καὶ ἀετοὶ ταῖς τραπέζαις ἴσοι.

eagles had been carried off from the precinct on Mount Lykaion. However that may be, digging close to the northern base on the mountain-side, Kourouniotes came upon an interesting series of bronze statuettes illustrative of the cult¹.

The earliest of them, which he refers to the seventh century B.C., is a clumsy figure of Zeus with short legs and long body. The god stands erect. His raised right hand grasps a thunderbolt, his outstretched left has an eagle perched upon it (fig. 51)².

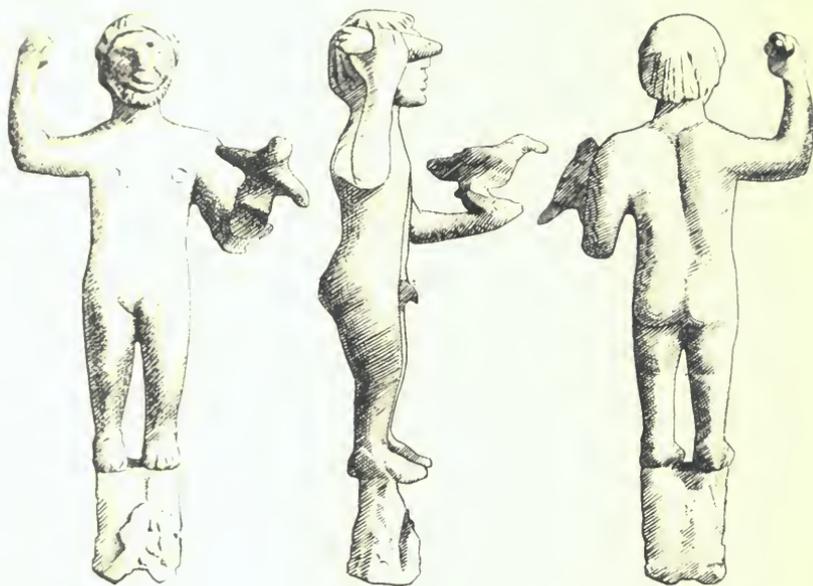


Fig. 51.

The second statuette shows Zeus striding forward with uplifted right hand and extended left. In the former there was once a bolt, in the latter perhaps an eagle (fig. 52)³. Similar statuettes, which

¹ In addition to the bronzes here described there were found two figures of Hermes, showing traces of Polykleitos' style ('*Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1904 p. 200 ff. figs. 20-22), another in the attitude of a runner (*ib.* p. 206 fig. 24), a coiled snake with two heads (*ib.* p. 211 fig. 27), and a votive *ἀσκός* (*ib.* p. 212 fig. 28). The fact that at least three, probably four, statuettes of Hermes were found in or near the precinct requires explanation. Was there a cult of Hermes on the spot? For the dedication of one deity in the temple of another see the careful collection of facts in W. H. D. Rouse *Greek Votive Offerings* Cambridge 1902 p. 391 ff. But, as Miss Harrison has pointed out to me, T. Zielinski in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 viii. 321 ff., ix. 25 ff. shows that the Hermes of the Hermetic Cosmogony came to Kyrene from Arkadia. The remaining finds included ten engraved rings, one of bronze, the rest of iron.

² *Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1904 p. 181 f. figs. 8-10.

³ *ib.* p. 185 fig. 11.

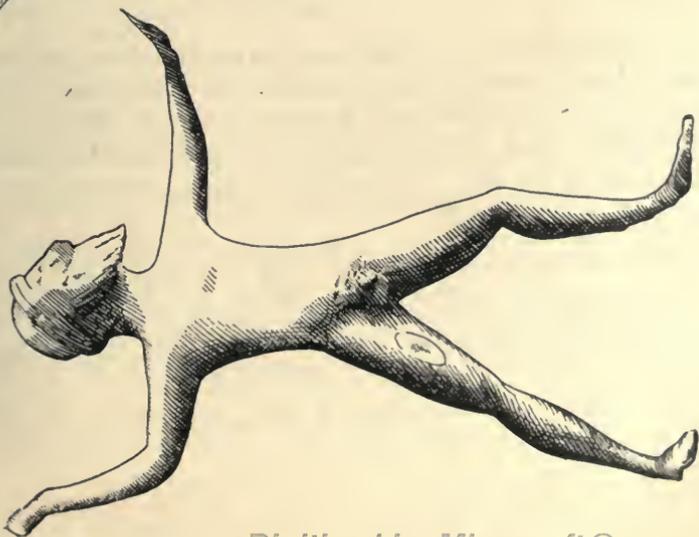
Fig. 54.



Fig. 53.



Fig. 52.



exemplify a type current about 480 B.C.¹, have been found at Olympia (fig. 53)² and at Dodona (fig. 54)³.

Thirdly (fig. 55)⁴ we have Zeus seated squarely on a throne, which is now lost. His hair is long and falls over his back; his beard is pointed; and his lips are drawn up in the usual archaic expression. He wears a *chiton* with short sleeves, and a *himation* draped under his right arm and over his left shoulder. His feet, which are bare, rest on a footstool. Both arms are bent at the elbow, and both hands hold attributes. In the left is the lower



Fig. 55.

half of a thunderbolt; in the right—not, as we should have expected, a sceptre—but a short rod with a knob at the bottom and a crook at the top closely resembling the Roman *lituus*, the direct ancestor of the pastoral staff still borne by our ecclesiastical hierarchy⁵.

¹ See the discussion by Miss C. A. Hutton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1896—1897 iii. 149—152 pl. 10, I.

² *Olympia* iv. 18 f. nos. 43—45 pl. 7, 43, 45, pl. 8, 44. See *infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) iv (a).

³ C. Carapanos *Dodone et ses ruines* Paris 1878 pl. 12, 4, *Stais Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*² p. 362 no. 31. The finest specimen of this type is at Berlin: R. Kekulé von Stradonitz and H. Winnefeld *Bronzen aus Dodona in den königlichen Museen zu Berlin* 1909 pl. 1, A. Frickenhaus in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1911 xxvi. 30.

⁴ *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1904 p. 187 f. figs. 12—14, A. de Ridder in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1906 xix. 170 f.

⁵ On the derivation of the pastoral staff from the *lituus* see the Rev. H. T. Armfield in Smith-Cheetham *Dict. Chr. Ant.* ii. 1565 ff.

Kourouniotes reminds us that, according to tradition¹, Euandros, son of Hermes, led a colony from Pallantion in Arkadia into Italy, where he built a town Pallantion on the Palatine, and introduced the cult of Pan *Lýkaios* and the festival of the Lykaia, later known as the Lupercalia. This tradition points to an early connexion between Arkadia and Italy; and it is open to us to believe that the use of the *lituos* came to the latter from the former. But what exactly was the *lituos*? In shape it differs but little from that of the ordinary crooked stick carried by old-fashioned Greeks². Monsieur H. Thédenat, after a review of the evidence, concludes—on the strength of a note by Servius³—that the augur's *lituos* may have been a royal sceptre⁴. This conclusion is borne out by the Hittite rock-carvings of Boghaz-Keui (c. 1271 B.C.), where the priestly king carries a large, reversed *lituos*⁵. I would venture one step further and suggest that the *lituos* is ultimately the conventionalised branch of a sacred tree⁶. If Zeus *Lýkaios* bears a *lituos*, it is because his sceptre, so to speak, was an oak-branch. His priest—we have seen—took an oak-branch in hand, when he acted as rain-maker on Mount Lykaion⁷. But, whether the *lituos* represents an original branch or not, it certainly serves as a quasi-sceptre. For this statuette (c. 550—500 B.C.) can hardly be dissociated from the fifth-century coinage of Arkadia, which—we have said⁸—shows Zeus *Lýkaios* seated on a throne with a sceptre in his hand. In all probability both the statuette and the coins represent the cult image of the god⁹.

¹ Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 839 ff.

² E. Saglio in Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 639 ff. A black-figured *amphora* shows Zeus enthroned with a crooked stick as sceptre (*Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii pl. 48, 2, 2 b).

³ Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 7. 187 *lituum*, id est regium baculum, in quo potestas esset dirimendarum litium.

⁴ H. Thédenat in Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1277 f. L. Siret in *L'Anthropologie* 1910 xxi. 303 would connect it with neolithic axe-handles: he sees in its form and theirs the arm of a cuttle-fish!

⁵ J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 pp. 217, 229 pls. 68, 71.

⁶ Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 345 derives *lituus*, Gothic *lipus*, Old High German *lîd*, 'limb,' from a root **lei-l-*, 'to crook or bend,' which with another determinative gives the Old Icelandic *limr*, 'limb,' *lim*, 'branch,' and the Anglo-Saxon *lim*, 'limb, branch.'

On the royal sceptre as a conventionalised tree see *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 370 ff.

⁷ *Supra* p. 65; *infra* ch. ii § 9 (a) iii.

⁸ *Supra* p. 68. Specimens were found by Kourouniotes on Mt Lykaion.

⁹ The *lituos* is not elsewhere known as an attribute of Zeus. A bronze statuette found at Olympia shows him holding in his left hand a broken object, which ends below in a stud or knob. This Furtwängler *Olympia* iv. 17 pl. 7, 40, 40 a took to be the handle of a sword: Kourouniotes would restore it as a *lituos* (so also Staïs *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*² p. 289 f. no. 6163).

A fourth figure, more clumsy in style, gives us Zeus standing on a square base. He is clothed in a long *himation*. In his clenched right hand he holds the remains of a thunderbolt; in his clenched left, no attribute at all (fig. 56)¹.



Fig. 56.

A few other fragments—a right hand grasping part of a bolt², the fore-part of a right foot³, and an eagle with spread wings (fig. 57 *a, b*)⁴—possibly belong to a larger statue, or statues, of Zeus, and may be assigned to the early fifth century⁵.

¹ *Εφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1904 p. 193 fig. 15.

³ *Ib.* p. 194 fig. 17.

² *Ib.* p. 194 fig. 16.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 195 f. figs. 18—19.

⁵ It may here be mentioned that the British Museum possesses a silver ingot, said to have been found in Sicily, which is inscribed ΔΙΟΣΛΥΚΑ on one side, ΤΡΥΓΟΝ on the other, and was doubtless dedicated to Zeus *Lýkaios* by one Trygon (*Brit. Mus. Guide Gk. Rom. I etc.* 1908 p. 37 f. no. 70, *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 597). The romance imagined by Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 523 is baseless.

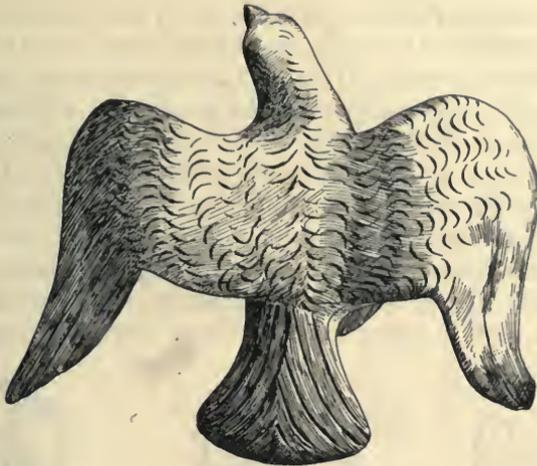


Fig. 57 a.

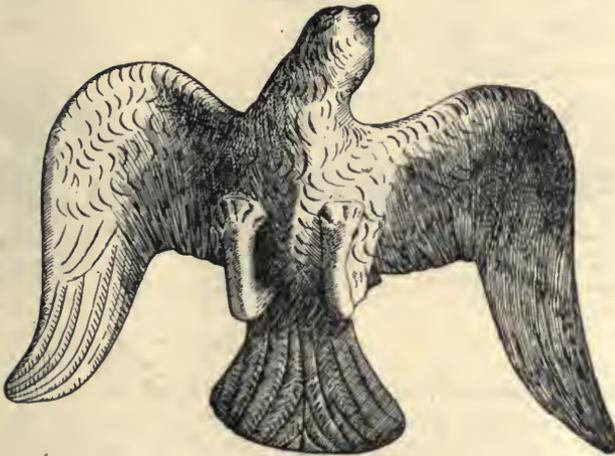


Fig. 57 b.

(e) The Cult of Zeus *Lýkaios* at Kyrene.

The cult of Zeus *Lýkaios* spread from Arkadia to Kyrene. There appears, indeed, to have been some ancestral link between these two places; for more than once Arcadians were called in to settle with authority political disputes that had arisen at Kyrene¹.

¹ Hdt. 4. 161 (Demonax of Mantinea, shortly after 550 B.C.), Polyb. 10. 22. 2 f. and Plout. v. *Philopim.* 1 (Ekdemos and Demophanes, or Megalophanes, of Megalopolis, in the third century B.C.). See also *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 42 n. 1.

Herodotos relates that the Persian army, on its return from the capture of Barke (512 B.C.), encamped upon the 'hill of Zeus *Lýkaios*' near Kyrene¹. This certainly implies a Cyrenaic cult of that deity. Moreover, Ludvig Müller pointed out that the figure of Zeus *Lýkaios* on the early silver coins of Arkadia (fig. 43)² is reproduced on a gold *statér* of Kyrene (fig. 58)³. Here too we see the god enthroned towards the left with a sceptre in his right hand, while an eagle flies directly towards him. Other specimens of the Cyrenaic *statér* vary, as did the Arcadian coins, only with more freedom, the position of the eagle, which sometimes flies before Zeus with a snake in its talons⁴, sometimes rests on the



Fig. 58.



Fig. 59.



Fig. 60.



Fig. 61.



Fig. 62.



Fig. 63.

right hand of the god⁵, sometimes perches behind him on a stem or branch curved like a *lituos* (figs. 59, 60)⁶, and sometimes is absent altogether⁷. The remarkable adjunct of the eagle on a *lituos*-shaped branch cannot, so far as I know, be precisely paralleled.

¹ Hdt. 4. 203.

² Cp. *supra* p. 68 f.

³ L. Müller *Numismatique de l'Ancienne Afrique* Copenhagen 1860 i. 48 no. 184 fig. 184, *ib.* p. 67.

⁴ *Id.* *ib.* i. 49 no. 188, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 568 (cp. *ib.* pl. 92, 2).

⁵ L. Müller *op. cit.* i. 49 no. 190, Supplément p. 9 pl. 1, 190, *Bunbury Sale Catalogue* 1896 ii. 95 no. 717, *Montagu Sale Catalogue* 1896 i. 104 no. 801 pl. 10.

⁶ L. Müller *op. cit.* i. 49 nos. 185—187 fig. 185 (my fig. 59). Fig. 60 is from a specimen in the British Museum.

In the *Montagu Sale Catalogue* 1896 i. 104 no. 799 pl. 10 the eagle appears to be seated on a rock. Cp. *O'Hagan Sale Catalogue* 1908 p. 79 no. 786 (?).

⁷ L. Müller *op. cit.* i. 49 no. 189 fig. 189.

An eagle above and in contact with a transverse *lituos* is said to occur on a late bronze coin of Panormos (fig. 61)¹. But a better analogy is afforded by the eagle on a pine-tree before the seated figure of Zeus *Aitnaïos*, which appears on a unique tetradrachm of Aitne (fig. 62)², or by the eagle on a crooked bough, probably representing the oaks of Zeus *Strátios*, which is found on imperial bronze coins of Amaseia (fig. 63)³. In view of the fact that the eagle and the *lituos* were both attributes of Zeus at the precinct on Mount Lykaion⁴ the combination of the two furnishes an additional reason for believing that the throned Zeus of Kyrene was indeed Zeus *Lýkaios*⁵.



Fig. 64.

In one detail the Zeus of these Cyrenaic coins differs from the Zeus of the Arcadian coins. His free arm is consistently shown resting on the low back of his seat in an attitude of easy indolence. Now this is a trait which is not seen in any other representation of Zeus on Greek coins. In fact, the only close parallel to it⁶ in the whole range of ancient Zeus-types is the careless and yet majestic

¹ P. Paruta *Sicilia Numismatica* Lugduni Batavorum 1723 pl. 3, 23.

² *Infra* Append. B Sicily.

³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus etc. 8 pl. 1, 15; 11 pl. 2, 7 (=my fig. 63) Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 35 pl. 5, 11; 40 pl. 6, 5. On the oaks of Zeus *Strátios* see *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 79 f., 372 fig. 5, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 296, 306 f.

⁴ *Supra* p. 83 ff.

⁵ Head *Hist. num.*¹ p. 729, *ib.*² p. 869 says 'Zeus Ammon'—a curious blunder.

⁶ Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 161.

pose of Zeus in the Parthenon frieze (fig. 64)¹. It is, therefore, highly probable that the cult-statue of Zeus *Lýkaios* existing at Kyrene in the period to which the gold coins belong was the work, if not of Pheidias himself, at least of some sculptor much under his influence. If further evidence be required, one may point to the fact that in a temple of Helios and Selene at Byzantion there was preserved as late as the eleventh century a white marble statue of Zeus ascribed to Pheidias, of which we are told that it 'seemed to be seated on a sofa'. Whether the product of Pheidias art or not, Zeus at Kyrene reclined on his throne in an attitude of unusual repose. This, if I am not mistaken, earned for him the curious *sobriquet* of *Elinýmenos*², Zeus 'Taking his *Siesta*'³.

(f) Zeus *Lýkaios* on a Spartan ('Cyrenaic') *Kýlix*.

F. Studniczka⁴ in dealing with the cults of Kyrene observed that a seated Zeus on a 'Cyrenaic' *kýlix* in the Louvre (fig. 65)⁵ bore a striking resemblance to the seated Zeus of the Arcadian coins, and proposed to identify the former with the latter as Zeus *Lýkaios*. And such he may well be. For the force of Studniczka's comparison is in no way weakened by Mr J. P. Droop's discovery that the original home of 'Cyrenaic' ware was not Kyrene but Sparta⁷. From Mount Lykaion to the Eurotas valley was no far

¹ A. H. Smith *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 pl. 34, M. Collignon *Le Parthénon* Paris 1909 pl. 127, 30. Cp. Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 29 pl. 10 no. 6 after Bartoli-Bellori *Admir. Rom. ant.* pl. 27.

² Kedren. *hist. comp.* 323 c (i. 567 Bekker) αὐτοῦ δὲ πρὸς γῆν ἣν βρέτας Διὸς ἐκ λευκοῦ λίθου, ἔργον Φειδίου, ἰζάνον τῷ δοκεῖν ἐπὶ κλίνης.

³ Hesych. Ἐλινώμενος· Ζεὺς ἐν Κυρήνῃ.

⁴ Hesych. ἐλινώων· ἀναπαύομενος. L. Müller *op. cit.* i. 67 f. regards the *litnos*-shaped branch of the Cyrenaic coins as a vine-shoot, and conjectures that Zeus Ἐλινώμενος meant not only 'le dieu qui repose' but also the god 'of the Vine-shoot' (*et. mag.* p. 330, 39 f. ἐλινώς... τὸν κλάδον τῆς ἀμπέλου). But the epithet is obviously a participle.

⁵ F. Studniczka *Kyrene* Leipzig 1890 p. 14 f.

⁶ Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* ii. 529, *Vases antiques du Louvre* 2^{me} Série Paris 1901 p. 63 no. E 668, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 p. 237 ff. pl. 12, 3.

⁷ *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1907—1908 xiv. 2, 44 ff. See also R. M. Dawkins in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1908 xxviii. 322 f. and in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1908 p. 17, A. J. B. Wace *ib.* 1909 p. 48 f. W. Klein *Euphronios*² Wien 1886 p. 77 had previously conjectured that the 'Cyrenaic' vases were made in Lakonike.

The subject cannot here be discussed in detail. But we must bear in mind that Sparta, as the mother of Thera, was the grandmother of Kyrene. It would not therefore be surprising to find that a ware originating in Sparta was made at Kyrene also. And this seems on the whole to be the simplest assumption in the case of the Arkesilas-*kýlix* (De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* i. 98 ff. no. 189). See J. R. Wheeler *A Handbook of Greek Archaeology* New York etc. 1909 p. 468 n. 1.

cry; and, if Alkman the great lyric poet of Sparta composed a hymn to Zeus *Lýkaios*¹, the Spartan potters very possibly represented the same deity on their cups. The Louvre *kylix* is on this showing the artistic counterpart of Alkman's poem. Zeus, wearing a *chiton* and tightly swathed in an ornamental *himation*, is seated on his altar—a large stepped structure of stone blocks²—, while his eagle wings its way directly towards him. The god's long hair hangs over his back, and his upper lip is shaved in genuine Spartan style³.



Fig. 65.

Another 'Cyrenaic' *kylix*, now in the Royal Museum at Cassel, shows a male figure enthroned in conversation with Hermes (fig. 66)⁴. It is at first sight tempting to regard this too as a representation of Zeus *Lýkaios*, in whose precinct sundry statuettes of Hermes were

¹ Alkman *frag.* 1 ff. Bergk⁴. Himer. *or.* 5. 3 (Alkman) *ἐτύρχαγε μὲν διὰ τῆς Σπάρτης εἰς Διὸς Λυκαίου κομίζων ἄσματα, κ.τ.λ.*

² See W. Reichel *Über vorhellenische Götterculte* Wien 1897 p. 40 f.

³ W. Ridgeway in *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* Oxford 1907 p. 305.

⁴ *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1898 xiii Arch. Anz. p. 189 f. figs. 2—3.



Fig. 66.



Fig. 67.

found¹. But the bird behind the throne is, as J. Boehlau remarked², merely put in to fill up the blank space and cannot pass muster as the eagle of Zeus. Moreover the vase is not to be dissociated from two others of the same sort. One of these, a *kýlix* in the Munich collection, again depicts a male figure on a lion-legged throne, conversing with similar gestures. His interlocutor is a female figure, conceived on a smaller scale and enthroned over against him. The supports of the larger throne are in the shapes of a tree and an animal—species difficult to determine (fig. 67)³. The second vase, a fragmentary *kýlix* in the British Museum, once more shows a man on a lion-footed throne. Before him stands a woman, who raises her left hand with a gesture of reverence and in her right hand presents a pomegranate (fig. 68)⁴. This last vase fortunately enables us to fix the character of the other two; for its resemblance to the contemporary funereal reliefs of Lakonike⁵ is quite unmistakable. Indeed, further inspection reveals numerous points of contact between all three vases and the reliefs in question. I conclude, therefore, that what the reliefs were in sculpture the vases were in ceramic art—a memorial of the divinised dead. This satisfactorily accounts for the enthronement



Fig. 68.

¹ *Supra* p. 83.

² *Jahrb. etc. loc. cit.*

³ Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 229 f. no. 737, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 xxxix pl. 13, 5, F. Studniczka *op. cit.* p. 8 fig. 3.

This vase is commonly thought to represent a *genre* scene—a man talking with a woman. But on 'Cyrenaic' ware religious or mythological types predominate (H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 341), and we may fairly suspect a deeper meaning. Studniczka *op. cit.* p. 23 suggests Apollon with the Hesperid Kyrene.

The animal supporting the throne has been variously interpreted as a hare (O. Jahn *loc. cit.*) or a dog (A. Dumont—E. Pottier *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre* Paris 1884 i. 302, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 434).

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 51 no. B 6 (Apollon? and Kyrene), Studniczka *op. cit.* p. 23 fig. 18 (Apollon or Aristaios? or Battos?? and Kyrene) and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1729 (Battos and Kyrene).

⁵ The best collection of facts concerning these reliefs is that given by M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 102 ff.

of the man and the woman, for the presence of Hermes the 'Conductor of Souls,' for the reverential attitude of the worshipper, and for her gift of a pomegranate. Finally, just as the funereal



Fig. 69.

reliefs tended towards simplification of type¹, so a 'Cyrenaic' *kylix* in the National Museum at Athens reduces the whole scene of the enthroned dead to a mere head and shoulders (fig. 69)².

(g) Zeus-like deities in wolf-skin garb.

A small bronze statuette, found in the Rhine-district and procured by F. G. Welcker for the Museum of National Antiquities at Bonn, was believed by J. Overbeck to represent Zeus *Lykaios*. The god stands erect holding a deep bowl or pot in his outstretched right hand and leaning with his raised left hand on some object now lost. He is clad over head, shoulders, and back in a wolf-skin; the fore-paws of which have been cut off, sewn on inside, and

¹ M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *op. cit.* p. 107 f.

² J. P. Droop in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1908 xxviii. 176 ff. figs. 1 b—4.



Fig. 70.



Fig. 71.



Fig. 72.



Fig. 73.

knotted round the wearer's neck (fig. 70)¹. It will not be denied that this interesting bronze shows a Zeus-like god wearing a wolf-skin. But we shall not venture to describe him as Zeus *Lýkaios*. For there is neither literary nor epigraphic evidence to prove that the Arcadian Zeus travelled as far north as he did south. And, even if that had been the case, his cult-type was widely different from this. Rather we shall agree with S. Reinach², who ranges the Bonn statuette³ along with a whole series of bronzes representing the Gallo-Roman *Dis pater*, the ancestor—Caesar tells us⁴—of all the Gauls. Such figures regularly hold a bowl in one hand and rest the other on a long-handled mallet. Many of them also wear a wolf-skin hood (fig. 71)⁵, though the nature of the skin is seldom so clearly marked as in this example. Reinach himself suggests that the Gaulish mallet-god may have got his wolf-skin from some Greek identification of him with the Arcadian Zeus *Lýkaios*⁶. But it must not be forgotten that in Etruscan tomb-paintings at Orvieto (fig. 72)⁷ and Corneto (fig. 73)⁸ Hades likewise is coifed in a wolf-skin⁹; and from the Etruscan Hades to the Gallo-Roman *Dis pater* there is but a short step.

¹ J. Overbeck in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1851 xvii. 69—74 pl. 2, *id. Katalog der königl. preuss. rhein. Mus. vaterländ. Alterthümer* Bonn 1851 p. 98 no. 5, *id. Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 266 f. Overbeck is followed by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1116 n. 8.

² Reinach *Bronzes Figurés* pp. 137—185.

³ *Id. ib.* p. 181.

⁴ Caes. *de bell. Gall.* 6. 18.

⁵ Drawn from a cast of the bronze found at Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux (Drôme) and now in the Museum at Avignon (Reinach *op. cit.* p. 141 no. 146, *Rép. Stat.* ii. 21 no. 8). Another fine specimen from Vienne (Isère) is in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 142 no. 788, *Gaz. Arch.* 1887 xii. 178 pl. 26).

⁶ Reinach *op. cit.* p. 141 n. 2, *cp.* p. 162 n. 8.

⁷ G. Conestabile *Pitture murali e suppellettili etrusche scoperte presso Orvieto nel 1863 da Domen. Golini* Firenze 1865 pl. 11, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1807 f.

⁸ *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pls. 15 and 15 a, W. Helbig in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1870 xlii. 27, C. Scherer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1805.

⁹ W. H. Roscher in the *Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1897 xvii. 3. 44 f., 60 f. compares Lykas the hero of Temesa, who was 'horribly black' and wore a wolf-skin (Paus. 6. 6. 11) and Lykos the hero of Athens, who had the form of a wolf (Eratosth. *ap. Harpokr. s.v. δεκάζων, alib.*), arguing that in Greece as elsewhere 'die Todtengerister Wolfsgestalt annehmen.' A gold pendant seal of the sixth century B.C. from Kypros shows a male figure with the head and tail of a wolf thrusting a sword through a panther or lion (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery* p. 167 no. 1599 fig. 49 pl. 26). Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 80 n. 1 recognises as Thanatos a winged youth with a wolf-skin or dog-skin cap, who carries off a girl on an Attic statuette-vase belonging to the end of the fifth century B.C. (*Ath. Mitth.* 1882 vii. 381 ff. pl. 12). A beardless head wearing a wolf-skin occurs on a copper coin of Sinope (H. Dressel in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1898 xxi. 218 pl. 5, 6, Waddington-Babelon-Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 196 pl. 26, 15); but this, to judge from a copper coin of Amisos (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus* etc. xvi, 20 pl. 4, 3, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 497 (Amazon Lykastia?), Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 46 pl. 3, 20), is probably female. Furtwängler *loc. cit.* interprets

§ 4. *Zeus and Olympos.*

(a) The cult of Zeus on Mount Olympos.

Olympos was an ancient, perhaps a pre-Greek¹, name for a whole series of mountains in Greece and Asia Minor. Of the Arcadian Olympos I have already spoken. Lakonike had its Olympos near the town of Sellasia². Pisa in Elis was situated between two mountains named Ossa and Olympos³, homonyms of the greater Ossa and Olympos in Thessaly and Makedonia. A mountain near Laurion in Attike is still called Olympos⁴, as is another and loftier height near Eretria in Euboa⁵, and a third in Skyros⁶. A mountain-village in Karpathos bears the same name⁷. The Mysian Olympos is a mountain-chain forming the boundary between Bithynia and Mysia. It was sometimes confused with Mount Ide: indeed four peaks of Mount Ide opposite to the town of Antandros bore the name Olympos⁸. There was another Olympos in Galatia⁹, unless we should identify it with the Mysian range, another in Lydia¹⁰, another in Lykia¹¹, yet another in Kilikia¹². Lesbos too had its Mount Olympos¹³, and Kypros had two heights that bore that name¹⁴. Finally Panchaia, the fabulous island of Euhemeros, had an Olympos of its own¹⁵.

the head on the Amisos coin as that of Perseus wearing the cap of Hades, and similarly explains the wolf-skin or dog-skin cap of Athena in the Villa Albani (Hielbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 46 no. 781, Brunn-Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 226) and on two Roman monuments found near Trèves (F. Hettner *Die römischen Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier* Trier 1893 p. 20 f. no. 27 d, p. 40 f. no. 55). Cp. also the antefixes from Ruvo (*Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 8, b, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1839 xi. 225 ff.) and Tarentum (British Museum, Terracotta Room, case 43—uncatalogued) showing the Gorgon's head in a skin cap. For a late (s. xii?) relief of a man with a wolf's or dog's head see O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 p. 160 fig. 92.

¹ A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 pp. 77, 127, 164 suggests that it may have been a Phrygian name. *Id. Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland* Göttingen 1909 prefers to regard it as 'Pelagian.'

² Polyb. 2. 65. 8 f., 66. 8 and 10, 69. 3, 5. 24. 9.

³ Strab. 356, Eustath. *in Dionys. per.* 409, schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 598.

⁴ K. Baedeker *Greece* Leipsic 1889 p. 131.

⁵ K. Baedeker *op. cit.* p. 202, J. Murray *Greece* London 1900 pp. 702, 734.

⁶ *General-Karte von Griechenland* Wien 1885 pl. 5.

⁷ R. M. Dawkins in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 188 ff.

⁸ Strab. 470, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 27, 44 f.

⁹ Polyb. 21. 37. 9, Liv. 38. 18 ff., Val. Max. 6. 1. 2 *ext.*, Flor. 1. 27. 5, Oros. 4. 20. 25, Amm. Marc. 26. 9. 2, Sex. Ruf. 11.

¹⁰ Athen. 38 F, Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 118, Val. Max. 1. 7. 4 *ext.*

¹¹ Strab. 666, Plin. *nat. hist.* 21. 31, Phot. *bibl.* p. 298 b 23 f. Bekker. See further De Vit *Onomasticon* iv. 796 f.

¹² Strab. 671, schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 598.

¹³ Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 140.

¹⁴ Strab. 682 f., Eustath. *in Il.* p. 27, 40 f.

¹⁵ Diod. 5. 44.

100

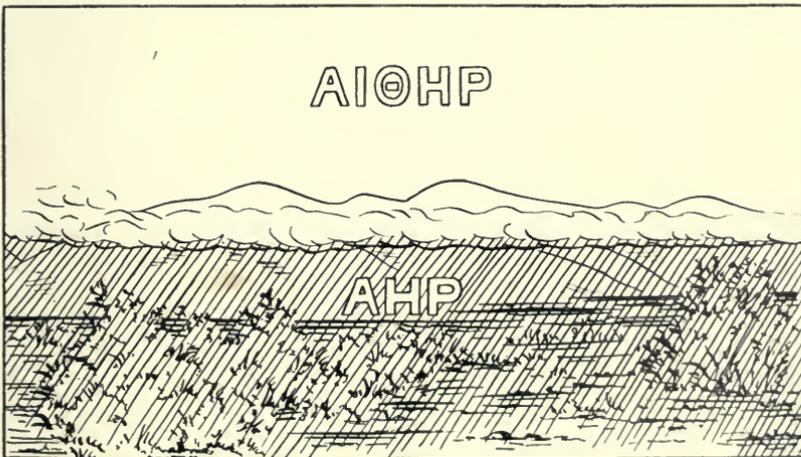


I

Mount Olympus (the Homeric *μακρὸς Ὀλυμπος*) from the port of Litokhoro.

[This photograph was taken by Mr A. J. B. Wace about 7.30 o'clock on an August morning, when there was still a little snow on the summit.]

See page 101.



2

Diagram showing Mount Olympus rising through the *air* into the *aithēr*.

See page 101, ff.

Of all these mountains the most important, from a religious and mythological point of view, is the great Macedonian ridge that culminates in a peak still known as *Élymbo*¹. Soaring to a height of 9,754 feet above sea-level, it affords a wide panorama: the eye travels south to Mount Parnassos, south-west to the range of Pindos, north to the confines of Makedonia, east to Mount Athos and the sea beyond². Equally striking is the view of the mountain from below³. Dr Holland, who saw it from *Litókhoros*, writes: 'We had not before been aware of the extreme vicinity of the town to the base of Olympus; but, when leaving it...and accidentally looking back, we saw through an opening in the fog, a faint outline of vast precipices, seeming almost to overhang the place; and so aerial in their aspect, that for a few minutes we doubted whether it might not be a delusion to the eye. The fog, however, dispersed yet more on this side, and partial openings were made; through which, as through arches, we saw the sunbeams resting on the snowy summits of Olympus⁴.' Dr Holland adds that these summits 'rose into a dark blue sky, far above the belt of clouds and mist that hung upon the sides of the mountain.'

The ancients were much impressed by the fact that Olympus rears its crest above the rain-clouds⁵. They fancied that birds could not fly over it⁶, and that at such an altitude the air was too thin to support human life⁷. In short, Olympus penetrated the *aér* or 'moist sky' and reached the *aithér* or 'burning sky' (pl. ix 1, 2)⁸. It was in the Greek sense of the term an 'aetherial'

¹ E. Dodwell *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece* London 1819 ii. 106, W. M. Leake *Travels in Northern Greece* London 1835 iii. 342, 349, 407, A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* p. 77.

The same form of the name *Élymbo* or *Élymbos* is given by the modern Greeks to the mountains in Attike and Euboia (*supra* p. 100 nn. 4, 5).

² L. Heuzey *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarmanie* Paris 1860 p. 135.

³ E. Dodwell *Views in Greece* London 1821 ii. 105 has a coloured plate of *Élymbo* as seen from the south between Larissa and Baba. The views given in most books of travel and topography are very inadequate. Heuzey devotes a large illustrated volume to the mountain, but provides no picture of it at all!

⁴ H. Holland *Travels in the Ionian Isles, Etc.* London 1815 p. 302.

⁵ Plout. *frag.* 96 Dübner *ap.* Philop. in Aristot. *met.* 1 p. 82, Lucan. 2. 271, Lact. *Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 3. 262, Claud. *de cons. Mall. Theod.* 206 ff., Vib. *Seq.* p. 31 Oberlin, Aug. *de Genesi ad litt. imperf.* 1. 14, *de Genesi ad litt.* 3. 2, *de civ. Dei* 15. 27.

⁶ Apul. *de deo Socr.* p. 138 Oudendorp, Aug. *de Genesi loc. citt.*, cp. Mart. Cap. 149.

⁷ Aug. *de Genesi ad litt.* 3. 2.

⁸ The schol. A. T. II. 8. 13 gives the diagram here reproduced (fig. 74).



Fig. 74.

height¹, and therefore formed a fitting abode for Zeus the 'aetherial' god². It is sometimes stated³ that the only evidence of a Zeus-cult on Mount Olympos is the name of the town *Díon*⁴ at its foot. But that is a mistake. Maximus Tyrius informs us that 'in primitive times men dedicated to Zeus likewise, in place of statues, the tops of mountains, Olympos and Ide and any other mountain that nears the sky⁵'. An anonymous Latin mythographer records an actual cult of Zeus on Mount Olympos⁶. And sundry details concerning it are mentioned by Solinus, Plutarch and Augustine. On the summit of the mountain there was an altar to Zeus, and it was believed that offerings left upon it would not be affected by

¹ Cp. *aetherius* used of *Olympus* by Verg. *Aen.* 8. 319, 10. 621, 11. 867, Mart. *ep.* 9. 3. 3.

² *Supra* p. 26.

³ Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 51.

⁴ At *Δίον* Archelaos king of Makedonia established a festival of Zeus *Ὀλύμπιος* (Diod. 17. 16, Arrian. 1. 11. 1, Ulp. *in Dem. de fals. leg.* p. 242, cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v. Δίον*, Dion Chrys. *or.* 2 p. 73 Reiske), which was celebrated also by Philippos ii (Dem. *de fals. leg.* 192, Diod. 16. 55, Dion Chrys. *or.* 2 p. 73 Reiske), and by Alexandros iii (Diod. 17. 16, cp. Arrian. 1. 11. 1), who intended to rebuild the temple there (Diod. 18. 4). The existing temple was pillaged by a band of Aetolians under Skopas in the reign of Philippos v (Polyb. 4. 62, 5. 9). In 169 B.C. the Romans under the consul Philippus treated the temple with greater respect (Liv. 44. 7). Later a Roman colony was founded at *Dium* (Ptolem. 3. 13. 15, Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 35); and coins struck there in imperial times show Zeus standing with *phidde*, sceptre, and eagle (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia* etc. p. 71, Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 349 f. cp. 351, Suppl. ii. 605 ff.), with a snake erect before him (fig. 84) or on either side of him (Rasche *op. cit.* iii. 350, Suppl. ii. 607), with thunderbolt and sceptre (*id. ib.* Suppl. ii. 606), standing in a distyle temple (*id. ib.* iii. 349 f., Suppl. ii. 606). The snakes occur also with the figure of Athena (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia* etc. p. 71, Rasche *op. cit.* iii. 350, Suppl. ii. 605 f., 608). L. Heuzey—H. Daumet *Mission Archéologique de Macédoine* Paris 1876 Texte p. 268 identify the site of the temple of Zeus at Dion with that of the church of *Haghia-Paraskévi*.

⁵ Max. Tyr. *diss.* 8. 1 Dübner *ἐπεφήμισαν δὲ καὶ Διὶ ἀγάλματα οἱ πρῶτοι ἄνθρωποι κορυφὰς ὄρων, Ὀλυμπον καὶ Ἴδην καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο ὄρος πλησιάζει τῷ οὐρανῷ*, cp. Loukian. *de sacr.* 10.

We must distinguish from this dedication of a mountain to a definite deity the old and originally zoistic belief that the mountain had a divine life of its own: Dion Chrys. *or.* 12 p. 405 f. Reiske *πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων πενία τε καὶ ἀπορία τέχνης ὄρη θεοὺς ἐπονομάζουσι*, Max. Tyr. *diss.* 8. 8 Dübner *ὄρος Καππαδόκiais καὶ θεὸς καὶ ὄρκος καὶ ἀγαλμα*, cp. the *ἀγαλμα* of Mount Argaios on coins of Kaisareia in Kappadokia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia* etc. p. xxxviii ff., G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 pp. 167 ff., 216). On the later personification of mountains in general see A. Gerber *Die Berge in der Poesie und Kunst der Alten* München 1882, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1059 n. 2, and on that of the Mysian Olympos in particular, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 859 f. Fig. 75 shows Mt Sipylos on a copper coin of Magnesia ad Sipylum in my collection (cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 141 f.): the type is probably derived from that of Zeus (see *ib.* p. 139 f. pl. 16, 2 f.).



Fig. 75.

⁶ Myth. Vat. 1. 192 Iovis Olympici, id est caelestis; qui dictus Olympicus ab Olympo monte, ubi colebatur, et poetae pro caelo ponere solent; est enim mirae altitudinis.

wind or weather, but would be found again after a year's interval precisely as they had been left¹. Every year victims were led in procession up the mountain-side, and those who led them, on reaching the top, found intact certain letters formed in the ashes on the occasion of their last visit². The same beliefs attached to Mount Kyllene in Arkadia³ and to Mount Athos in Chalkidike⁴. The Zeus-cult of Mount Olympos has even survived, in a modified form, to the present day. On the highest peak of the mountain is a small chapel of Saint Elias, built of rude stones collected on the spot. To it once a year go the monks from the monastery of Saint Dionysios in the ravine of *Litókhoros*. Their procession starts at night by torch-light, and they say a mass in the chapel on the summit⁵. Here, as elsewhere⁶, Zeus himself has been replaced by Saint Elias. But his eagle still haunts the height, at least in the popular imagination. A folk-song heard by Mr J. S. Stuart-Glennie, when ascending from the pass of Petra, makes Olympos exclaim:

¹ Solin. 8. 6 ara est in cacumine Iovi dicata, cuius altaribus si qua de extis inferuntur, nec difflantur ventosis spiritibus nec pluviis diluuntur, sed volvente anno cuiusmodi relicta fuerint eiusmodi reperiuntur: et omnibus tempestatibus a corruptelis aurarum vindicatur quidquid ibi semel est deo consecratum. After *consecratum* codd. A. P., two good manuscripts, insert *litterae in cinere scriptae usque ad (ad usque P.) alteram anni ceremoniam permanent*. Th. Mommsen does not admit this addition into his text (Berolini 1864); but at least it agrees with the authorities cited *infra* n. 2. See further *supra* p. 82 n. 1.

² Plout. *frag.* 96 Dübner *ap.* Philop. in Aristot. *met.* 1 p. 82 τὰ γὰρ ὑψηλότατα τῶν ὀρῶν ὑπερνεφῆ τέ ἐστι καὶ ὑπερήμεμα. τέφραν γὰρ ἐν τισὶ τοῦτων ἀποθέμενοί τινες ἢ καὶ ἐκ θυσῶν τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις γενομένων ἀπολειπόμενοι, μετὰ πλείστοις ἐνιαυτοῦ περιεργασάμενοι, κειμένην εὖρον αὐτὴν οὕτως ὡς ἔθεσαν. καὶ ἐν Κυλλήνῃ δέ φασιν ('Αρκαδίας δ' ὄρος) βληθεῖσαν, μήτε ὑπὸ πνευμάτων διεσκεδασμένην. Ἰστορεῖ δὲ Πλούταρχος καὶ γράμματα μείναι εἰς ἑτέραν τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνάβασιν ἐκ τῆς προτέρας ἐν τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ τῷ Μακεδονικῷ, Aug. *de Genesi ad litt. imperf.* 1. 14 in illo autem neque nubes concrescere asseruntur neque aliquid procellosum existere, quippe ubi ventus adeo nullus est, ut in vertice Olympi montis, qui spatia huius humidi aeris excedere dicitur, quaedam litterae in pulvere solere fieri perhibeantur et post annum integrae atque illaesae inveniri ab iis qui solemniter memoratum montem ascendebant.

Probably omens were drawn not only from the flame and the smoke of the sacrifice (L.-F. A. Maury *Religions de la Grèce* Paris 1857 ii. 444 ff.), but also from the accidental arrangement of the ashes on the altar. It was customary to leave these undisturbed from one sacrifice to the next (Pers. *sat.* 6. 44 l., Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 240).

³ Plout. *loc. cit.*, Gemin. *elem. astr.* 1. 14 (the thigh-pieces and ashes of the yearly sacrifice to Hermes on the top of Mount Kyllene are found undisturbed by those who take part in the next year's procession, because the summit is cloudless and windless).

⁴ Solin. 11. 33 (Mount Athos is believed to be too high for rain to fall on its summit, because the altars there have none of their ashes washed away and lose nothing of their bulk).

⁵ H. Holland *Travels in the Ionian Isles*, Etc. p. 303, L. Heuzey *Le Mont Olympe et*

⁶ *Acarmanie* pp. 135, 138.

infra ch. i § 5 (f).

I seventy mountain-summits have, and two-and-sixty fountains;
 To every bush an Armatole, to every branch a Klephtë.
 And perched upon my highest peak there sits a mighty eagle;
 A mirror, in his talon grasped, he holds on high exalted,
 And in it he his charms admires, and on his beauty gazes!¹

(b) Dionysiac traits in the cult of Zeus
 on Mount Olympos.

The Zeus of Olympos was associated with other mountain powers. Such were the Muses, whose name—as Prof. J. Wackernagel has shown—is most simply derived from *mont-* ‘mountain.’ According to the orthodox tradition, the Muses were daughters of Zeus³, the Zeus of Olympos⁴, by Mnemosyne⁵; but variants are not wanting⁶, and it is permissible to suppose that in the far past Zeus had as his consort the *Moüsa* or ‘Mountain’-mother, whose pipes and timbrels were borne by a band of inspired female followers. Zeus, says Ovid⁷, took the form of a shepherd when he met Mnemosyne—a tale which recalls that of Attis and Kybele; indeed hundreds of terra-cottas representing Attis as a shepherd

¹ L. M. J. Garnett—J. S. Stuart-Glennie *Greek Folk Poesy* London 1896 i. 51 f.

The mirror probably stands for the sun. The eagle’s test of its genuine offspring was that it should look straight at the sun (D’Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 6 collects the evidence, from Aristot. *hist. an.* 9. 34. 620 a 1 ff. onwards); and certain philosophers, very possibly following popular belief, conceived the sun to be a sort of mirror (so Philolaos the Pythagorean in Stob. *ecl. phys.* 1. 25. 3 d Wachsmuth and in Plout. *de plac. phil.* 2. 20 εσπτροειδής; Empedokles *frag.* 44 Diels *ap.* Plout. *de Pyth. or.* 12, cp. Plout. *de plac. phil.* 2. 20 and *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 8. 10).

² J. Wackernagel in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1895 xxxiii. 571—574, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 393.

This derivation (which occurred independently to Dr Giles, to myself, and doubtless to others also) is supported by the fact that all the most important cult-centres of the Muses were on mountains or hills. O. Bie in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3239 ff. shows that their worship originated on Olympos and spread thence to Helikon (Strab. 471, Paus. 9. 29. 1—4), Delphoi, Athens, etc. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1077 n., though not accepting the derivation from **μοντ-* ‘mountain,’ cites in its support Cornut. *theol.* 14 p. 17, 16 Lang *ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὄρεσι φασὶ χορεύειν, κ.τ.λ.* Cp. also Hes. *theog.* 54 *Μνημοσύνη γουνοῖσιν Ἐλευθῆρος μεδέουσα* with schol.

³ Already in the Homeric poems they are *κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο* (*Il.* 2. 598), *κοῦραι Κρονίδεω Διὸς* (*h. Sel.* 2), *κοῦραι Διὸς, ἀγλαὰ τέκνα* (Hom. *ep.* 4. 8), *Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο | θυγατέρες* (*Il.* 2. 491 f.), *Διὸς θυγάτηρ μέγαλοιο* (*h. met. th.* 2), *Διὸς πάρις* (*Od.* 8. 488).

⁴ *Ὀλυμπιάδες* (*Il.* 2. 491 and Zenodot. in *Il.* 2. 484), *Ὀλύμπια δώματ’ ἔχουσαι* (*Il.* 2. 484, 11. 218, 14. 508, 16. 112).

⁵ First in Hes. *theog.* 915 ff., *h. Herm.* 429 f., Eumelos *frag.* 16 Kinkel *Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἐνθά κοῦραι ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 6. 2 p. 430, 9 f. Stählin, *alib.*

⁶ See Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1075 n. 2.

⁷ It was as a shepherd that Zeus wooed Mnemosyne (Ov. *met.* 6. 114, Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 14 (ii. 184 Migne)), with whom he passed nine nights (Hes. *theog.* 56 f. with schol., Cornut. *theol.* 14 p. 17, 20 ff. Lang, Nonn. *Dion.* 31. 168 ff.).

were found by Monsieur P. Perdrizet at Amphipolis¹. Again, not only in the Muse-mother Mnemosyne, but also in the prominence originally accorded to *one* of the Muses, Kalliope² or Thaleia³, we may detect a trace of the ancient goddess, whose glory had paled before the rising light of Zeus. Kalliope was said by some to have borne children to Zeus⁴. And as to Thaleia we have evidence both monumental and literary. A red-figured vase-painting from Nola



Fig. 76.

¹ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 xix. 534, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2906 f.

² O. Bie in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3243 notes that in Hes. *theog.* 79 Kalliope is *πρόφερεστάτη... ἀπασέων*, and that on the François-vase (600—550 B.C.) she is distinguished from the other Muses by her full-face position and her *sphinx* (Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 5 pl. 1—2 ΚΑΛΙΟΠΕ). She is not named by Homer (*h. Hel.* 1 f. is late), though Eustath. in *Il.* pp. 10, 9 f. and 161, 32 ff. ep. *Il.* 1. 604 *ὄπι' καλῆ*.

³ *Infra* p. 105 f.

⁴ Strab. 472, *infra* p. 106.

formerly in the Hamilton collection (fig. 76)¹ shows Zeus as a mighty eagle in a blaze of celestial splendour carrying Thaleia from earth to heaven. The maiden has been playing at ball and picking flowers on a mountain-side. The mountain is indicated by the little Satyr on high ground. To the right are the ball and the basket of Thaleia; to the left, the flowers and the altar of Zeus, too near to which she had ventured. The myth, as preserved for us by Clement of Rome², Rufinus³, and Servius⁴, makes this Thaleia a nymph of Mount Aitne in Sicily, whom Zeus in the form of a vulture (or eagle?) wooed and won. He subsequently entrusted her to the earth-goddess, in whose domain she brought forth the twin Palikoi. In all probability Thaleia the mountain-nymph is only the romanticised Sicilian form of Thaleia the mountain-muse; and, if so, her story hints at a relationship between Zeus and the Muses other than that of the Homeric and Hesiodic tradition.

Thaleia the muse became by Apollon mother of the Korybantes⁵. Another account made their parents Zeus and Kalliope, and explained that the Korybantes were one with the mystic Kabeiroi⁶. Others declared that Korybas, eponym of the Korybantes, was a son of Iasion by Kybele⁷, the Asiatic mountain-goddess. Others again—for the theme had many variations⁸—spoke of the

¹ Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* i. 90 ff. pl. 26, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cév.* i. 31 ff. pl. 16, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 401 f., 418 f. Atlas pl. 6, 6, Müller-Wieseler-Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 64 f. pl. 6, 3.

² Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne) 'Ἐρσαίου νύμφη, γενόμενος γούψ, ἐξ ἧς οἱ ἐν Σικελίᾳ πάλαι σοφοί. 'Ἐρσαίου has been amended into Αἰτναία (Valckenaer) or Αἰττη (Migne) or 'Ηφαίστου (Bloch) or 'Ἐρσαία (Lévy); πάλαι σοφοί, into Παλικοί.

³ Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 22 Thaliā Aetnā nympham mutatus in vulturem, ex qua nascuntur apud Siciliam Palisci.

⁴ Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 9. 584 Aetnā nympham [vel ut quidam volunt Thaliā] Iuppiter cum vitiasset et fecisset gravidam, timens Iunonem, secundum alios ipsam puellam, Terrae commendavit, et illic enixa est. Etc. Interp. Serv. *ib.* alii dicunt Iovem hunc Palicum propter Iunonis iracundiam in aquilam commutasse. On the frequent confusion of eagles and vultures see D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 3 f.

For Zeus ~ Thaleia see further Aisch. *Aetnaeae frag.* 6 f. Nauck² *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 19. 17, 24, and Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Παλική; and for Zeus ~ Aitne, Lact. Plac. *in Stat. Theb.* 12. 156, Myth. Vat. 1. 190, 2. 45. The best account of the Palikoi is that by L. Bloch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1281—1295.

⁵ Apollod. 1. 3. 4, Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 78.

⁶ Strab. 472.

⁷ Diod. 5. 49, cp. interp. Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 3. 111.

⁸ The Korybantes were sons of Kronos and Rhea (Strab. 472 *ἔτι δὲ Κρόνον τινὲς <καὶ 'Ρέας>*: the last two words have been expelled by τοὺς Κορύβαντας repeated from the line below. Cp. schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 558 *ἦσαν δὲ τῆς 'Ρέας παῖδες*=Soud. *s.v.* Κορύβαντες), sons of Apollon and Rhytia (Pherekyd. *ap.* Strab. 472: see Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 127), sons of Helios and Athena (a Rhodian version *ap.* Strab. 472), sons of Sokos and Kombe (Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 135 ff.). Korybas was the son of Kore without a father (interp. Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 3. 111).

Korybantes as the first men, who had sprung from the ground in the shape of trees¹. It all comes to the same thing. The Korybantes were akin to the great mountain-goddess or earth-mother, whom they served with wild enthusiastic rites. Their name, if I am not mistaken, is derived from **korybé* the Macedonian form of *koryphé*, 'a mountain-peak,' and means the 'Peak'-men². In Roman times, if not earlier, the Korybantes were connected with Mount Olympos. According to Clement of Alexandria³, they were three brothers, two of whom slew the third, wrapped his head in a crimson cloak⁴, decked it with a wreath and buried it, bearing it on a bronze shield to the foot of Olympos. Bloodshed and burial were the essential features of their mysteries⁵. The priests of the mystics, who were known as *Anaktotelestai*⁶ or 'initiates of the Kings,' forbade wild celery (*sélinon*) with its roots to be placed on the table, believing it to be sprung from the blood of the slain Korybas⁷. Further, these Korybantes—says Clement—were called Kabeiroi; and the story told of them was that the two fratricides took up the basket containing the member of Dionysos and brought it to Etruria⁸, where they lived in exile teaching the Etruscans to worship the

¹ *Frag. adesp.* 84 Bergk⁴ (33 Hiller), 6 f. *ap.* Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 5. 7 p. 97 Miller ἡ Φρύγιοι Κορύβαντες, | οὗς Ἄλιος πρῶτους ἐπέιδεν δένδροφνεῖς ἀναβλαστύνας. Cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 14. 25 f. Γηγενέες Κορύβαντες ὀμήλυδες, ὧν ποτε Πείη | ἐκ χθονὸς αὐτοτέλεστος ἀνεβλάστησε γενέθλη.

² Dr Giles, whom I consulted on the matter, writes (July 15, 1911): Κορύβαντες 'might as you say be Macedonian. The formation is odd. It looks like a participle from κορυφάμι—not κορυφάω—if, as Hoffmann argues, Macedonian was a kind of Aeolic.'

A. F. Pott in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1858 vii. 241 ff. derived Κορύβαντες from κορυφή, 'crown of the head,' and rendered the word: 'im wirbel sich drehend,' 'taumelnd,' 'in orbem saltantes' (cp. Κύρβας, κύρβεις). He is followed by O. Immisch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1607. Gruppe too (*Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 257 n. 12, p. 899 n. 1) favours the connexion of Κορύβας with κορυφή, but appears to interpret the name of a 'peaked' head-dress. He compares the alternative form Κύρβας (Soph. *frag.* 778 Nauck², Kallim. *h. Zeus* 46, Lyk. *Al.* 78, Strab. 472, Orph. *h. Koryb.* 39. 2, Nonn. *Dion.* 14. 35, Soud. *s.v.* Κύρβας, Hesych. *s.v.* Κύρβαντες, *et. mag.* p. 547, 39 ff.) with κυρβάσια (used of a cock's crest, the upright tiara of the Persian king, the conical cap of the Sali, etc.: see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 2137 A—C).

³ Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 19. 1—4 p. 15, 1 ff. Stählin. Cp. the abbreviated accounts in Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 19, Firm. Mat. 11.

⁴ So the Korybantes found the infant Bacchos, left as a horned child among the rocks, πορφυρέω κεκαλυμμένον ὀνοπι πέπλω (Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 139).

⁵ Orph. *h. Koryb.* 39. 6 φοίνιον, αἰμαχθέντα κασιγνήτων ὑπὸ δισσωίν.

⁶ Hesych. ἀνακτοτελευταί (leg. ἀνακτοτελέσται) · οἱ τὰς τελευταῖς (leg. τελετὰς) ἐπιτελοῦντες τῶν ἱερῶν (? leg. τῶν Καβείρων οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν <ἀνάκτων>).

⁷ Orph. *h. Koryb.* 39. 1 βασιλῆα μέγιστον, 5 ἀνακτα. On the Ἄνακες, Ἄνακοί, Ἄνακτες see O. Jessen in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2033 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 718 F.

⁸ The wreath of σέλιων worn by the Nemean and Isthmian victors perhaps originally marked them out as re-incarnations of the dead—a point to which I must return.

⁹ See further Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1621 f.

basket and its contents¹. Note that the dead Kabeiros is here termed Dionysos and that a portion of him is kept in a basket to serve as a nucleus of fresh life.

Firmicus Maternus adds that the slain brother 'consecrated beneath the roots of Mount Olympos' was 'the Kabeiros to whom the inhabitants of Thessalonike used to make supplication with blood-stained mouth and blood-stained hands².' This Kabeiros is known to us from coins (figs. 77, 78)³ as a young man with a



Fig. 77.



Fig. 78.



Fig. 79.

large ring or rings round his throat, who holds a species of double-axe and a *rhytôn* or drinking-horn. The *rhytôn* ends in the forepart of a goat⁴—a fact which leads us to conjecture that it was a *cornu copiae*, like the horn of Amaltheia⁵. Indeed, a horn or horns must have been part of the ritual furniture of the cult; for some coins show the Kabeiros with a horn apparently planted in the ground beside him (fig. 79)⁶, others with a horn erect on a base to the right and a flaming altar to the left (fig. 80)⁷, others again with a pair of horns set in bases on either hand (fig. 81)⁸. The double-axe, the

¹ When the usurper Amphitres was besieging the sons of Leodamas at Assesos, ἀφικνούνται νεανίσκοι, Τόττης καὶ Ὀυνης, ἐκ Φρυγίας, λερὰ ἔχοντες Καβείρων ἐν κλισίῃ κεκαλυμμένα, taught the people their rites and helped them to rout the besiegers: see Nikol. Damask. frag. 54 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 388 f. Müller).

² Firm. Mat. 11.

³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia etc.* p. 113 fig., pp. 114, 121 ff., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 368 f., 373 ff., pl. 25, 5; Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2534 fig. 1, Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 770 fig. 911 (Nero as Kabeiros).

⁴ T. Panofka *Die griechischen Trinkhörner und ihre Verzierungen* Berlin 1851 p. 1 pl. 1, 2.

⁵ On the horn of plenty held, not only by Amaltheia, but also by Hades, Ge, the chthonian Hermes, the Horai, the Hesperides, the Naiades, river-gods, Eniautos, the Agathos Daimon, Tyche, Sospolis, etc., see K. Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1721 ff.

⁶ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia etc.* p. 114 no. 54. Cp. *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 375 Gordianus iii.

⁷ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia etc.* p. 123 Maximinus, p. 125 Gordianus iii, p. 129 Salonina, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 374 Maximus, *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Paonia etc. ii. 152 Maximinus fig., 154 Gordianus iii. I figure an uncatalogued specimen (Iulia Mamaea) in the British Museum.

⁸ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia etc.* p. 121 Caracalla, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 373 Elagabalus, *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Paonia etc. ii. 152 f. Maximinus.

horns, the goat, the feast of raw flesh, all suggest a religious context resembling that of the Cretan Kouretes.



Fig. 80.



Fig. 81.

Elsewhere too the Kabeiroi were marked by the same characteristics. One of Strabon's sources, after identifying the Korybantēs, children of Zeus by Kalliope, with the Kabeiroi, states that the latter departed to Samothrace, previously called Melite, and adds that their doings were of a mystical nature¹. The names borne by the Samothracian Kabeiroi—Axieros, Axiokersa, Axiokersos—are probably to be connected with a word for 'axe'². An amulet found at Vindonissa (*Windisch*) represents the head of a double-axe or hammer inscribed with these three names reduced in each case to the significant abbreviation AXI (fig. 82)³. The initiates wore purple waist-bands⁴ and rings of iron and gold⁵. Statius definitely compares the sacred dances of the Samothracians to those of the Kouretes⁶. A relief of imperial date from Hierapolis in Phrygia, now at Berlin (fig. 83)⁷, shows three youths advancing side by side: they have bushy hair, a thick ring round the neck, a loin-cloth about the waist, and a heavy double-axe or hammer resting on the right shoulder; part of a fourth youth is visible beside them. O. Kern

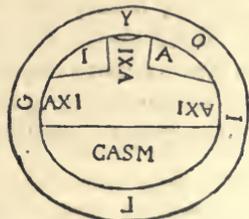


Fig. 82.

¹ Strab. 472. See further R. Pettazzoni 'Le origini dei Kabiri nelle isole del mar tracio' in the *Memorie della R. Accademia dei Lincei*. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche. Serie Quinta. Roma 1909 xii. 635 ff. summarised by R. Wünsch in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1911 xiv. 575 f.

² So at least I have argued in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 194, *infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) i (o).

³ Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 440, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 742, Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 759 fig. 900. Besides the threefold AXI (= *Axierus*, *Axiokersa*, *Axiokersos*) the amulet is inscribed CASM (= *Casmilus*) and, in scattered letters, ΓΡΙΕΙΑ (*Tyleia*). T. Mommsen in the *Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich* 1854 x. 115 no. 30 says: 'vide ne lusor magis quam fraus subsit huic Cabirorum enumerationi.'

⁴ Schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 917 cod. Paris.

⁵ Lucr. 6. 1044, Plin. *nat. hist.* 33. 23, Isid. *orig.* 19. 32. 5.

⁶ Stat. *Ach.* i. 831 f. (2. 157f.).

⁷ *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 386 f. no. 953, inscribeds Φιλοῦμενος and ἀππᾶς.

in 1900 recognised these youths as the Kabeiroi wearing their Samothracian rings: their loin-cloths too are clearly the Samothracian bands. Kern further adduced another relief, which he had



Fig. 83.

seen in 1893 at *Üzümlü*, a village near Magnesia on the Maiandros: this represented four nude males, each carrying a hammer on the right shoulder and moving to the left, led by a fifth, draped and hammerless¹. A. Conze² and O. Puchstein³ have made it probable that yet another Kabeiros swinging a double-axe or hammer is to be seen in the nude bearded god attacking a bovine giant on the southern frieze of the great Pergamene altar⁴. At Pergamon, as Puchstein observes, the Kabeiroi were said to have witnessed the birth of Zeus⁵. Their general resemblance to the Cretan Kouretes

is, in fact, beyond dispute; and we are free to contend that in the district of Olympos the Korybantēs and Kabeiroi were essentially Curetic.

Their cult was flourishing in the third Christian century. Cyprian, bishop of Antioch, was as a youth of fifteen initiated for forty days on Mount Olympos by seven hierophants into certain obscure mysteries⁶. In this home of the gods he was taught the meaning of musical notes and sounds. He had a vision of 'tree-trunks and' herbs of divine potency. He witnessed the

¹ O. Kern in the *Strena Helbigiana* Lipsiae 1900 p. 158f. He cp. the coins of Thessalonike, a bronze at Rumeli-Hissar, and the frieze of the Pergamene altar.

² A. Conze in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1881 p. 275.

³ O. Puchstein *ib.* 1889 p. 330f.

⁴ *Pergamon* iii. 2. 20 f. fig. 1, 148 f., pl. 3, *Die Skulpturen des Pergamon-Museums in Photographien* Berlin 1903 pl. 7, Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*⁴ ii. 277.

⁵ *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3538, 17 ff., *infra* Append. B Mysia.

⁶ *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Septembris vii. 222 ('Confessio S. Cypriani' 1—2) *ἐγενήθη* καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ ὄρει, τῶν θεῶν ὡς λέγουσιν οἰκητηρίῳ, καὶ ἐμνήθη ἤχους ὀμιλιῶν (leg. ὀμιλιῶν) καὶ ψόφων διήγησιν. εἶδον ἐκεῖ φαντάζοντα πρέμνα καὶ πῶας ἐνεργεῖν δοκούσας θεῶν ἐπισκοπαῖς. εἶδον ἐκεῖ ὠρῶν διαδοχάς, πνευμάτων ὑπαλλασσόντων, καὶ ἡμερῶν διαφορότητα ὑπὸ τινων ἐνεργειῶν ἐναντίων συνισταμένων. εἶδον ἐκεῖ χοροὺς δαιμόνων ὑμνούστων καὶ ἄλλων πολεμούντων καὶ ἐτέρων ἐνεδρευόντων, ἀπατώντων, συγχρονούντων, καὶ ἐκάστου θεοῦ καὶ θεᾶς ἐθεασάμην ἐκεῖ τὴν φάλαγγα, μείνας αὐτόθι ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα· ὁπόθεν ὡς ἐκ βασιλείων ἀποστέλλονται τὰ πνεύματα, ἐνεργεῖν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ γῆ καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι. καὶ εἰσιτούμην ἀκρόδρα μόνον μετὰ δύσιν ἡλίου, καὶ δὴ ὧν ἔτι ἑτῶν πεντεκαίδεκα ἐμνούμην τὴν ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἐνέργειαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ λεροφαντῶν· λλαν γὰρ οἱ ἐμοὶ γονεῖς ἔσπευδόν με ἐπιγνώσαι τὰ γῆς, ἀέρος καὶ θαλάσσης, οὐ μόνον τὰ κατὰ φύσιν φθορᾶς καὶ γενέσεως ποῶν καὶ πρέμων καὶ σωματῶν (leg. σωματῶν), ἀλλὰ καὶ <τὰς> ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ἐνεργείας, ἃς ὁ ἀρχῶν τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐνετύπωσεν, ἐναντιούμενος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διατύπωσιν.

succession of seasons and the difference of days, the changing spirits that caused the former and the opposing influences that determined the latter. He beheld choruses of *daímones* chanting, warring, lying in ambush, deceiving and confounding each other. He saw too the phalanx of each several god and goddess. After sundown he fed on fruits (not meat). And, generally speaking, he was initiated into the decay and birth of herbs, trees, and bodies. It is altogether a singular recital, but we can hardly be wrong in supposing that these were puberty-rites, Corybantic or Cabiric in character¹.

It would seem, then, that from first to last certain orgiastic quasi-Dionysiac elements appear in the cults of Olympos, and it is highly probable that throughout the worship of Zeus was affected by them. In early days the Muses were to Zeus what the mountain-roaming Maenads were to Dionysos. This explains Hesychios' statement that the Macedonians called the Muses *thoúrides*²—a name elsewhere given to the Maenads³. Eustathios' assertion that the Muses, like the Maenads, were nurses to Dionysos⁴ may be a Byzantine blunder⁵; but the very possibility of such blundering proves the similarity of Muse and Maenad. At Dodona⁶,

¹ L. Preller in *Philologus* 1846 i. 349 ff. argues that the reference is to Orphic rites in the neighbourhood of Olympos. Orphic admixture is indeed likely enough. Orpheus, himself the son of one of the Muses, played for them on Olympos (Eur. *Bacch.* 560 ff.), there taught Midas (Konon *narr.* 1), and there according to many met his death (Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 7) and was buried (*Anth. Pal.* 7. 9. 1 f. Damagetos, cp. Apollod. 1. 3. 2): see further O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1082 f. L. Heuzey—H. Daumet *Mission Archéologique de Macédoine* Paris 1876 Texte p. 270 f. identify Orpheus' tomb with a tumulus near the village of *Karítsa*.

² Hesych. *θοούριδες· νύμφαι· μούσαι· Μακεδόνες*.

³ O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen*, Göttingen 1906 p. 97 n. 132 argues that *θοούριδες* is a Thessalian or Macedonian form of *θεωρίδες* (Hesych. *θεωρίδες· αἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον βάρκλαι*, cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 9. 261 and probably Soph. *frag.* 698 Nauck² *ap.* Athen. 592 B).

⁴ Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1816, 4 ff. *λέγονται δέ, φασί, καὶ Μούσαι Διονύσου τροφῶν, νύμφαι τῶν οὔσων καὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ παρὰ Λυκίῳ εἴρηται*.

⁵ Yet Dionysos was often associated with the Muses: see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 76 n. 9, 213 f., 245 n. 6, 743 n. 3, 829 n. 3, 1427 n. 7, 1435 n. 1.

⁶ Six nymphs of Dodona, identified with the Hyades and named Kisseis, Nysa, Erato, Eriphia, Bromie, Polyhymno, or Arsinoe, Ambrosie, Bromie, Kisseis, Koronis, were by some apparently regarded as the nurses of Zeus (Hyg. *fab.* 182), though others explained that Zeus had given them Dionysos to tend (Pherekyd. *frag.* 46 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 84 Müller) *ap. schol. Il.* 18. 486, *Myth. Vat.* 1. 120, *alib.*). See Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 825 n. 4: 'Die Hyaden sind Erzieherinnen des Bakchos...; in verschollenen dodonäischen Legenden vielleicht auch des Zeus, wie ihre Gleichsetzung mit den Dodonides...und der N. der Hyade Dione nahelegen.'

Strab. 329 relates on the authority of Soudas the historian (= Kineas *frag.* 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 463 Müller)) that the cult of the Dodonaean Zeus came originally from the Pelasgian district about Skotoussa, that most of the women of Skotoussa followed along with it, and that the priestesses of Dodona were descended from them.

at Tegea¹, at Megalopolis², on Mount Ide near Gortyna³, on Mount Ide in Phrygia⁴, on Mount Arkton near Kyzikos⁵, Zeus had his troop of nursing nymphs. Why not on the slopes of Mount Olympos? In late times the Dionysiac connexion was intensified. Korybantēs and Kabeiroi came to the fore; and certain shrewd persons recorded their conviction that the original Kabeiroi had been two in number—Zeus the elder and Dionysos the younger⁶.

¹ The altar of Athena Ἀλέα at Tegea, made by Melampous, was decorated with figures of Rhea and the nymph Oinoe holding the infant Zeus, flanked by two groups—Glauke, Neda, Theisoa, Anthrakia on the one side; Ide, Hagno, Alkinoe, Pnixia on the other. Near it were statues of the Muses and Mnemosyne (Paus. 8. 47. 3).

² In the precinct of the Great Goddesses at Megalopolis on a table set before Herakles the Idaean Daktylos were represented not only two Horai, Pan, and Apollon, but also Neda holding the infant Zeus, Anthrakia another Arcadian nymph with a torch, Hagno with *hydria* and *phidde*, Anchiroe and Myrtoessa with *hydriai* from which water was flowing. Within the same precinct was a temple of Zeus *Philius*. The statue, by Polykleitos of Argos, represented Zeus in the guise of Dionysos: he was shod with buskins, and held a cup in one hand, a *thyrsos* with an eagle perched upon it in the other (Paus. 8. 31. 4).

³ *Et. mag.* p. 227, 39 f. Γεραισιτάδες· οὕτω νέμφαι καλοῦνται ἐν Γορτύνη τῆς Κρήτης, ὅτι τὸν Δία τρέφουσαι ἐγέραιρον. Cp. *ib.* p. 227, 44 f. Γεραισιτιον· χωρίον τῆς Ἀρκαδίας, παρὰ τὸ γέρας· ὅτι τίμιον ἔστι διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖ τὸν Δία σπαργανωθῆναι. An inscription found at Phaleron records a dedication Ἐστία, Κηφισίω, Ἀπόλλωνι | Πυθίω, Ἀθηαί, | Ἀρτέμιδι Λοχίω, Ἰλειθείω, Ἀχιελείω, Καλλιφύω, Γεραισιταῖς Νύμφαις γενεθλίαις, Ῥαψοί (B. Staes in the *Εφ.* Ἀρχ. 1909 p. 244 ff. fig. 1, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 493 ff. pls. 181 f.).

Helike and Kynosoura, two Cretan nymphs, nursed the infant Zeus. He, when pursued by Kronos, changed them into bears and himself into a snake. Hence the constellations Ursa Major, Ursa Minor, and Serpens (schol. Q. *Od.* 5. 272, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 46, *alib.*: see Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1985, ii. 1706). Arat. *phaen.* 26 ff. and Aglaosthenes *Naxiaca frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 293 Müller) *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 2, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 2, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 382, 9 ff. Eysenhardt connect both Helike and Kynosoura with the Cretan Ide.

Melisseus or Melissos, king of Crete, was father of the nymphs Adrasteia and Ide (Apollod. 1. 1. 6, Zenob. 2. 48, Orph. *frag.* 109 Abel *ap.* Herm. in Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 148, cp. Plout. *symp.* 3. 9. 2, and Hyg. *fab.* 182 Idothea Amalthea Adrastea), or Adrasteia and Kynosoura (schol. Eur. *Rhes.* 342), or Amalthea and Melissa (Didymos *ap.* Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 22), who reared the new-born Zeus on the milk of a goat accustomed to bearing twins (Parmeniskos *ap.* Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 13).

⁴ Charax *frag.* 2 f. (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 637 Müller) *ap.* Steph. Byz. s.vv. Ἀδράστεια and Ἰδή connects Melissos, Adrasteia and Ide with the Phrygian Mt Ide: cp. Ap. Rhod. 3. 133 ff., Diod. 17. 7, Plout. *de fluv.* 13. 3, and see further Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 104.

⁵ Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 936 (cp. 1. 941 cod. Paris.) Ἄρκτον (leg. Ἄρκτων ὄρος)... ἐπειδὴ φασι τὰς τροφούς τοῦ Διὸς ἐκεῖ διατριβοῦσας εἰς ἄρκτους μεταβληθῆναι.

F. W. Hasluck *Cyzicus* Cambridge 1910 p. 221 in this connexion remarks that both Adrasteia (Ap. Rhod. 1. 1116 πεδίων Νηπίων Ἀδρηστειῆς) and Kynosoura (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3679, 5 a society of Βάκχοι Κυνουσιρεῖται at Kyzikos) appear to have been local goddesses. See also Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 942 n. 8.

⁶ Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 917 cod. Paris. οἱ δὲ φασι δύο πρότερον εἶναι τοὺς Καβείρους, Δία τε πρεσβύτερον καὶ Διόνυσον νεότερον. So also *et. mag.* p. 482, 31 ff., *et. Gud.* p. 289, 25 ff. Cp. the notion that Dionysos, a king of Asia, was the son of Kabeiros (Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 58, Ampel. 9. 11, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 51 p. 107, 9 f. Wünsch). The Dionysiac character of the Kabeiros e.g. at Thebes is well attested (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2536 ff.).

If the Zeus worshipped at Dion was thus Dionysiac in character, akin to the Phrygian Zeus *Sabázios*¹, we can understand why he has the snake as his attribute (fig. 84)²: the slain Korybas became a snake³, and snakes were all-important in the mysteries of *Sabázios*⁴. Twelve miles south of Dion was a town, which the *Tabula Peutingeriana* calls *Sabatium*⁵, i.e. *Sabázion*, a cult-centre of *Sabázios*⁶. It may even be suggested that the monastery of Saint Dionysios, from which starts the modern counterpart of the ancient procession to the altar of Zeus⁷, has in the name of its patron saint preserved a last echo of the Dionysiac cult.



Fig. 84.

Whether these Dionysiac traits in the worship of Zeus were original and essential, or whether they are to be explained as merely the result of contamination with an alien cult, is a large problem that still awaits solution. It will be convenient to deal with it, not at the present stage of our argument, *à propos* of Olympos, but in a later chapter, when we shall be taking a more comprehensive survey of the relation of Zeus to Dionysos.

(c) Development in the meaning of *Ólympos*.
Zeus Ólympios.

In the Homeric, the Hesiodic, and the Orphic poems Olympos, the seat of the gods, is to be identified with the Macedonian mountain; and the same identification holds good for the Alexandrine epic of Apollonios Rhodios⁸. The poet of the *Odyssey* describes Olympos in a passage of surpassing beauty:

¹ Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 232 ff.

² Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 350 and Suppl. ii. 607 records a small copper of Gallienus with Zeus standing between two snakes. The specimen figured is in the Leake collection (W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 European Greece p. 46 Gallienus).

³ Orph. *h. Koryb.* 7 f. Δηοῦς δὲ γνώμησιν ἐνήλλαξας δέμας ἀγρόν, | θηρόντων θέμενος μορφήν ἀνοφεροῖο δράκοντος.

⁴ Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 252 ff.

⁵ F. C. de Scheyb *Tabula Itineraria Peutingeriana* Lipsiae 1824 segm. 7 b, K. Miller *Weltkarte des Castorius genannt die Peutinger'sche Tafel* Ravensburg 1888 segm. 8, 1.

⁶ L. Heuzey *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie* Paris 1860 p. 100. ⁷ *Supra* p. 103.

⁸ The evidence is collected and considered by Mackrodt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 849 ff. He holds that only in two Homeric passages (*Il.* 8. 18—27 and *Od.* 6. 41—46) does the later conception of *Óλυμπος* as 'heaven' or 'sky' occur. But, to my thinking, even in these passages the mountain is meant. In *Il.* 8. 18 ff. Zeus boasts that if he let down a golden rope from heaven and all the other gods and goddesses hung on to it, they could not pull him down from heaven to the plain, but he could pull them up, land and sea and all, bind the rope about a peak of Olympos and let them dangle there. Whatever

So spake bright-eyed Athena and withdrew
 To Olympos, where men say the gods' sure seat
 Stands firm for ever: neither wind can shake,
 Nor rain can wet, nor snow come nigh the same.
 Cloudless the brilliance that is there outspread
 And white the glitter that is over all.
 Therein blest gods have joyance all their days¹.

This is the literary echo of the folk-belief that attributed a windless, cloudless *aithér* to the mountain-top². Homeric and Hesiodic poetry spoke of 'the palace of Zeus,' sometimes 'the palace of Zeus with its floor of bronze,' as built by Hephaistos upon Olympos³. And here too we may detect the creed of the country-side. For L. Heuzey, writing in 1860 of the villagers from the neighbourhood of Olympos, says⁴: 'If you tell them that you have ascended the highest peaks, they always ask—"Well, what did you find there?"' Some of them described me a mysterious palace adorned with columns of white marble, adding that these had been seen long ago by a shepherd, but that they would not be seen now-a-days. Others spoke to me of a huge circus in which the ancients held their games. The Klephts too have always attributed marvellous virtues to the fresh air of Olympos, its snows, and its icy mountain-springs. It figures in their songs as a paradise, whither they go to recover from the contests of the plain below: here the body gets stronger, wounds heal themselves, and limbs grow lithe for fresh fighting. Throughout the rest of Greece a magic potency attaches to the following words:

From Olympos, the summit,
 From the three peaks of Heaven,
 Where are the Fates of Fates,
 May my own Fate
 Hearken and come!⁵

may be the precise picture here intended, the phrases *πεδώνδε* and *περὶ βίον Οὐλύμποι* surely prove that the poet is contrasting the gods on the plain with Zeus on the mountain. As to *Od.* 6. 41 ff., cited on p. 114, the absence of wind, rain, snow, and cloud, there described as characteristic of Olympos, agrees well with Greek beliefs about the mountain-top (*supra* p. 102 f.), while the presence of 'bright sky' and 'white glitter' is no less suitable; indeed *αἰγλη* recalls *αἰγλήεις*, which Mackrodt takes to be an epithet of the earthly mountain in *Il.* 1. 532, 13. 243, *Od.* 20. 103.

¹ *Od.* 6. 41 ff.

² *Supra* p. 101 ff.

³ *Il.* 1. 425 f., 531 ff., 566 ff., 11. 75 ff., 20. 4 ff., 21. 438, 505, Hes. *sc. Her.* 471.

⁴ L. Heuzey *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarmanie* Paris 1860 p. 138 f., N. G. Politis *Παραδόσεις* Athens 1904 i. 97 no. 173, ii. 777. My friend Mr A. J. B. Wace, when at Salonika, was told by a man from the neighbourhood of Olympos that somewhere on the mountain there are said to be the remains of a temple with columns.

⁵ 'Ἀπὸ τῶν Ὀλυμπων τὸν κόρυμβον, | τὰ τρία ἄκρα τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ, | ὅπου αἱ Μοῖραι τῶν Μοιρῶν, | καὶ ἡ ἐδική μου Μοῖρα | ὡς ἀκούσῃ καὶ ὡς ἐλθῇ! B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 219 n. 1 would read Πτὸν for Ἀπὸ τῶν, τ' οὐρανοῦ for τοῦ

Development in the meaning of *Ólympos* 115

By the fourth, and even by the fifth, century before our era the word *Ólympos* had acquired a further significance. It meant no longer the mere mountain, but the 'sky' above it. Thus Sophokles in his *Antigone* makes Kreon, when at Thebes, swear 'by yon Olympos', and Euripides in his *Andromeda* makes the heroine apostrophise Night as follows:

O holy Night,
How long the course thou drivest,
Charioting the starry ridges
Of holy *aithér*
Through dread Olympos².

Both poets contrast Olympos in the sense of 'sky' with 'earth'.³ The same usage is found in prose. The author of the Platonic *Epinomis* speaks of the visible heaven as 'the *kósmos* or Olympos or sky, whichever you choose to call it',⁴ while the author of the Aristotelian treatise *On the Universe* declares that God 'being pure has his station above in a pure place, even that which we truly name *ouranós*, since it is the "boundary" (*hóros*) of things "above" (*áno*), and *Ólympos* as "wholly-shining" (*holo-lampés*) and separate from all such darkness and disorderly movement as arises among us by means of storm and stress of winds'.⁵

The change in meaning from Olympos the 'mountain' to Olympos the 'sky' would readily follow from the belief that the mountain rose into the *aithér*. And for the prevalence of this belief there is abundant evidence⁶. It is even probable that in ancient days the inhabitants of the district actually spoke of the

Ούρανοῦ, Μοῖρα for Μοῖρα. N. G. Polites *Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων* Athens 1874 ii. 228 gives κ' ἢ for καὶ ἢ. J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 128 prints the third line as *θπου ἢ Μοῖραις τῶν Μοιρῶν*. He justly draws attention to the ancient word *κόρυμβον*, citing variants with *κόλυμβον* (a dialect form, or else a corruption due to assonance with *Ὀλυμπος*) and *Κόροιβον* (for which he proposes *κόρυβον*). The word *κόρυμβος* is akin to *κορυφή*, which was used of Olympos (e.g. *Il.* 1. 499, Aristoph. *nub.* 270) and gave rise to its *Κορύβαυτες* (*supra* p. 107).

¹ Soph. *Ant.* 758, cp. *Ai.* 1389.

² Eur. *Andromeda frag.* 114 Nauck².

³ Soph. *O. C.* 1653 ff., *Rhizotomi frag.* 492 Nauck²; Eur. *Phoen.* 1184.

⁴ Plat. *epinom.* 977 B.

⁵ Aristot. *de mundo* 6. 400a 6 ff. This impossible derivation of *Ὀλυμπος* from *ὄλο-λαμπής* is given also by Plout. *ap. Stob. ecl.* 1. 22. 2 p. 198, 11 f. Wachsmuth, *et. mag.* p. 623, 8 f., *et. Gud.* p. 426, 25 f., schol. D. *Il.* 1. 18, Eustath. *in Il.* pp. 38, 38, 694, 51 f., *in Od.* p. 1389, 57 f., Io. Diak. in Bandin. *anecd.* p. 155 and Psell. *opusc.* p. 171 (both cited by Boissonade in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 1902 c), Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 4. 268; from *ὄλο-λαμπος* by Eustath. *in Il.* p. 27, 34 ff., Tzetz. *exeg. in Il.* p. 81, 26 f. Hermann, Priscian. *part.* p. 507, 10 ff. Keil; from *ὄλος λαμπρός* by interp. Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 4. 268, 10. 1. It was revived by G. Curtius *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie*⁵ Leipzig 1875 p. 266.

⁶ *Supra* p. 101 f.

summit of Mount Olympos as 'heaven'.¹ Modern peasants call it 'the three peaks of Heaven'.² And a primitive notion that has left traces of itself in almost every country of Europe regards a mountain as the natural abode of souls.³

Mount Ide in the Troad, which also bore the name of Olympos,⁴ was likewise supposed to rise into the *aithér*. Aischylos in his *Niobe* mentions Tantalos and his family as—

near akin to gods
And nigh to Zen, men who on Ide's height
Have built an altar of Ancestral Zeus
In *aithér* and still vaunt the blood divine.⁵



Fig. 86.

Zeus was worshipped under the title *Ólympios* not only at the foot of the Macedonian Mount Olympos,⁶ at Pisa near the Elean Olympos⁷, and on the slopes of the Mysian Olympos⁸, but also far

¹ Solin. 8. 5 *primum excellenti vertice tantus attollitur, ut summa eius caelum accolae vocent*, Lact. Plac. *in Stat. Theb.* 3. 262 *Olympi ardua. quod caelum dixere ideo, quia apex eius omnibus invisibilis est*, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1550, 51 f. *οι δὲ παλαιοι φασὶ καὶ ἐπουράνιον καλεῖσθαι τὴν τοῦ Μακεδονικοῦ Ὀλύμπου κορυφὴν*. The combination of *οὐρανός* and *Ὀλυμπος* occurs in *Il.* 1. 497, 5. 750, 8. 394, 16. 364, 19. 128.



Fig. 85.

² *Supra* p. 114.
³ The latest (1912) article on the subject is E. Mogk 'Bergkult' in *Hoops Reallex.* p. 255 f.
⁴ *Supra* p. 100 n. 8. ⁵ Aisch. *Niobe frag.* 162 Nauck².
⁶ *Supra* p. 102 n. 4.
⁷ As lord of Olympia and patron of the famous Olympian games (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 844).

⁸ *Mnaseas frag.* 30 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 154 Müller) *ap. schol. Il.* 20. 234. A copper coin of Prousa ad Olympum (at Berlin), struck in the reign of Commodus, has for its reverse type a bearded god reclining on the Mysian Olympos (fig. 85). He has a mantle wrapped about his legs, and his left arm rests on the rock. Trees and a gorge with a

and wide throughout the Greek area (fig. 86)¹, even where there was no mountain with which his cult could be associated².

§ 5. *The Mountain-cults of Zeus.*

X (a) Chronological Development of the Mountain-cults.

The mountain-cults of Zeus may be grouped roughly in chronological order according as they centred round (1) a simple altar, (2) an altar with a statue of the god, (3) an altar with a statue enclosed in a temple³.

Examples of the earliest type occur in several Greek myths. Deukalion, for instance, according to one version of his legend, was borne safely over the waters of the flood to a mountain-height above Argos and in gratitude for his escape built upon it an altar to Zeus *Aphésios*⁴. Althaimenes, who fled from Crete to Rhodes lest he should unwittingly become the slayer of his father Katreus, put in to shore at a place which in memory of his former home he named Kretenia: on climbing Mount Atabyrion he got a distant view of Crete and, thinking still of Cretan cults, there set up an altar to Zeus *Atabýrios*⁵. Herakles, after sacking Oichalia and carrying off Iole the daughter of king Eurytos, went to Mount Kenaion the north-western promontory of Eubóia, and there dedicated altars and a leafy precinct to Zeus *Patrôios*⁶. On Mount Helikon, near the spring Hippokrene, Zeus *Helikónios* had an altar, round which the Muses were believed to dance⁷. On the peak of Mount Ide called Gargaros there was an altar and a precinct of Zeus *Idaios*, where Hektor was wont to sacrifice⁸. Mount Arachnaion in Argolis had altars of Zeus and Hera⁹. The singular ritual of Mount

river flowing to the right show the nature of the mountain-side. This god has been taken to be Zeus (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 155, 161, Münzf. 2, 16, Müller-Wieseler-Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 89 pl. 9, 5, *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 80). But Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 82 f. no. 144 pl. 6, 16 regards him as the mountain-god Olympos. *Infra* p. 124. Another coin of the same town has a seated Zeus inscribed ΠΡΟΥΣΑΕΙΣ ΔΙΑ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΝ (Head *Hist. num.*² p. 444).

¹ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1345 (a rock-cut inscription of the third century B.C. in the precinct of Artemidoros at Thera: see F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Die Insel Thera* Berlin 1904 iii. 89 ff.) Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου. | ἀετὸν ὑψιπετῆ Διὸς ἀγγελῶν Ἀρτεμίδωρος | ἀέναου πόλει εἶσε καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι. | ἀφθιτοί, ἀθάνατοι καὶ ἀγήραοι ἀεναὸί τε | βωμοί, ὅσοις ἱερῆς τέμενος κτίσεν Ἀρτεμίδωρος.

² See the list given in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 840—847, cp. Farnell *Cults of Gr. States* i. 155 f.

³ The evidence is collected in Append. B, where the arrangement of it is topographical.

⁴ *Ib.* Phlissia.

⁵ *Ib.* Rhodes.

⁶ *Ib.* Eubóia.

⁷ *Ib.* Boiotia.

⁸ *Ib.* Troas.

⁹ *Ib.* Argolis.

Kithairon, which will claim our attention later, involved the erection on the mountain-top of temporary wooden altars destined for the bonfires of Zeus *Kithairónios*¹. High up on the Cretan Mount Ide was a permanent rock-cut altar of Zeus *Idaios*². Thus with some variety of detail, according to local circumstances, the primitive cult of Zeus required an altar on the summit or as near it as might be.

Even where that cult was celebrated

On a tall mountain, cited to the top,
Crowded with culture!

hieratic conservatism was apt to maintain the open-air altar. A case in point is furnished by Pergamon. The Akropolis of that marvellous city crowns a hill that rises a thousand feet above sea-level and commands a view of unequalled beauty over the valleys of Teuthrania. Thanks to the excavations begun by A. Conze and K. Humann on behalf of the Prussian government in 1878, a fairly accurate picture may be drawn of Pergamon in its glory, as it was when Pliny called it 'by far the most famous town in the province of Asia'.³ The silhouette of the city seen from below against the sunrise (pl. x)⁴ shows the sky-line cut by two magnificent temples. In the centre rises the Doric fane of Athena *Poliás* or *Nikephóros*, a building of greyish trachyte, flanked on its northern and eastern sides by a two-storeyed *stoá* or 'colonnade.' Immediately behind the northern *stoá* are the halls in which the Pergamene Library was lodged. Further north, and therefore in our illustration more to the left, stands out the huge temple of the deified Trajan, a sumptuous Corinthian pile of white marble, surrounded on three sides by airy colonnades. Athena, then, had her temple, and Trajan had his. But Zeus⁵ was content with the altar that smokes

¹ Append. B Boiotia.

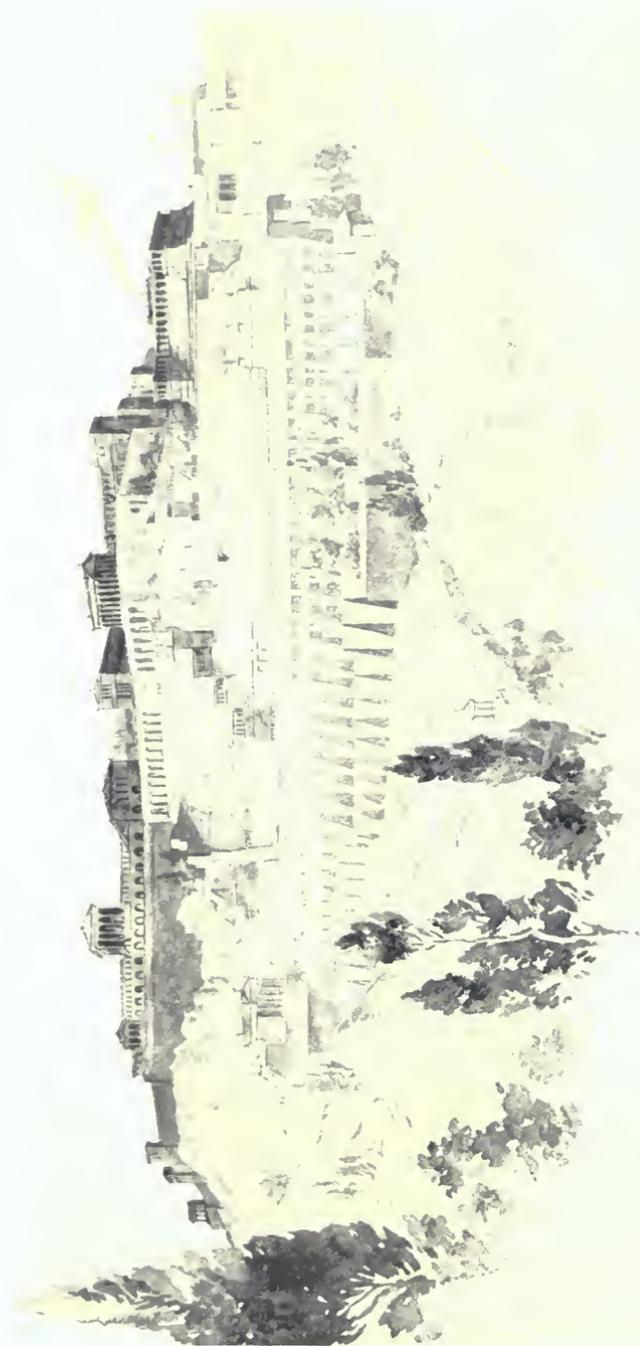
² *Ib.* Crete.

³ Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 126. The most convenient summary of what is known about Pergamon is still that contained in Baumeister *Denkm.* ii. 1206—1227 (history, topography, and architecture by E. Fabricius), *ib.* 1227—1287 (art by A. Trendelenburg). But the great Berlin publication (*Altertümer von Pergamon*, here cited as *Pergamon*) is slowly approaching completion: two volumes have already been devoted to the altar built by Eumenes ii (197—159 B.C.), viz. *Pergamon* iii. 1. 1—128 (*Der grosse Altar. Der obere Markt.* Berlin 1906) with an Atlas of 34 plates, by J. Schrammen; *Pergamon* iii. 2. 1—250 (*Die Frieze des grossen Altars* Berlin 1910) with an Atlas of 36 plates, by H. Winnefeld.

⁴ Based on the Berlin panorama by A. Kips and M. Koch (Baumeister *Denkm.* ii pl. 36), which in turn utilised the drawing by R. Bohn in *Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon* Berlin 1888 iii pl. 2. See also E. Pontremoli and M. Collignon *Pergame, restauration et description des monuments de l'acropole* Paris 1900.

⁵ J. Schrammen in *Pergamon* iii. 1. 82 points out that the name of the deity to whom

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Pergamon, showing the great altar of Zeus.

See page 118 ff.

on the terrace adjoining the Akropolis. True, it was an altar on a colossal scale (fig. 87)¹. A substructure, measuring about 100 feet



Fig. 87.

square by about 18 feet in height, was mounted by means of a broad staircase and adorned all round with a frieze, which represented in high relief the battle of the Gods and the Giants. The substructure was topped by an Ionic colonnade, the back wall of which was decorated with a smaller frieze depicting scenes from the mythical history of the town. Above all rose the actual altar of burnt offering, which, to judge from our only representation of it, a Pergamene coin struck by Septimius Severus (fig. 88)², was protected by a soaring baldachin; the adjoining colonnades were surmounted by statues of deities, and the flight of steps was



Fig. 88.

the great altar was dedicated is not attested by the extant blocks of the votive inscription. M. Fränkel in *Pergamon* viii no. 69 supposes that the altar was that of Zeus and Athena *Nikephoros*; A. Brückner in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1904 xix Arch. Anz. p. 218 ff., that it was dedicated to all the gods. But it is commonly regarded as the altar of Zeus alone.

¹ *Pergamon* iii. 1 pl. 19. Ground-plan *ib.* pl. 15. Elevation of west side *ib.* pl. 18.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 152 pl. 30, 7. That this coin shows the great altar was first recognised by A. Héron de Villefosse in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1901 p. 823 ff. figs. and in the *Rev. Num.* 1902 p. 234 ff. See also *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii Arch. Anz. p. 12 fig., *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1902 vi. 461, *Pergamon* iii. 1. 4 f. fig., 65 f., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 536.

flanked by two figures of humped bulls on large pedestals. The whole complex of marble was reckoned one of the wonders of the world¹. Built into and concealed by its foundations was a previously existing building with an apse at one end². It bears so close a resemblance to the apsidal Kabeirion of Samothrace³ that I would venture to see in it a shrine of the Kabeiroi, who appear on another coin of Pergamon⁴ and are said to have witnessed the birth of Zeus on this very hill⁵. But, if the site of the great altar was once occupied by a Kabeirion, where was the former altar of Zeus?

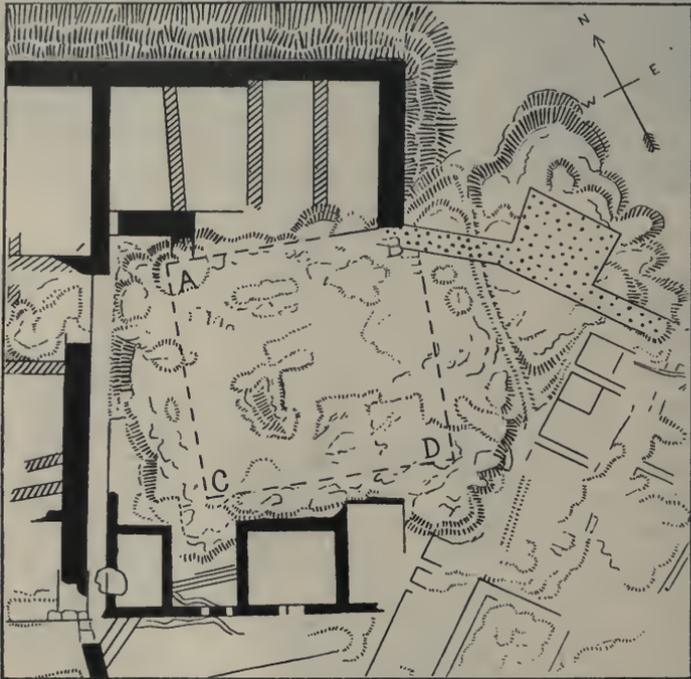


Fig. 89.

Just where we should have expected it to be—higher up, on the actual summit. J. Schrammen observes that the extreme point still shows traces of a square structure (fig. 89)⁶, and acutely

¹ Ampel. 8. 14.

² *Pergamon* iii. 1. 83 ff. figs. Atlas pl. 2.

³ A. Conze—A. Hauser—G. Niemann *Archaeologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake* Wien 1875 p. 45 ff. figs. 15—29 pls. 11—52, 69 f., A. Conze—A. Hauser—O. Benndorf *Neue archaeologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake* Wien 1880 p. 19 ff. figs. 4—8 pls. 2—16, *Durm Baukunst d. Gr.*² pp. 195, 231, *ib.*³ p. 424.

⁴ *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1901 xxiv. 120 f., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 536.

⁵ *Supra* p. 110 n. 5.

⁶ *Pergamon* iii. 1. 74 f. fig.

conjectures that the altar of Zeus mentioned by Pausanias was not the gorgeous monument of Eumenes ii but this more homely place of sacrifice¹. If so, it was impressive from its sheer simplicity. Like the altar of Zeus *Olympios* in the Altis at Olympia, it was a mere heap of ashes, consisting entirely of the calcined thighs of victims sacrificed to Zeus².

The dedication of an altar with neither temple nor statue of the god is characteristic of the early so-called aniconic stage of Greek religion. But it must not be supposed that the absence of a visible representation of Zeus was due merely to the backward state of sculptural art at the time when the cult in question was founded. Rather it must be traced back to the primitive conception of Zeus as the Bright Sky, alive and potent, but not as yet anthropomorphic³, and therefore not as yet represented by a statue.

With the change to anthropomorphism came the introduction of statues into the mountain-cults of Zeus. Where there had been an altar and nothing more, there was now, if the cult moved with the times, an altar and a statue of the god standing beside it. Thus on the top of Mount Hymettos there was an altar and statue of Zeus *Hymettios*⁴. On Mount Parnes Zeus was worshipped under several names: as *Ómbrios* and *Apémios* he received sacrifices on one altar, as *Semaléos* on another; and, apparently beside this latter, was a bronze statue of Zeus *Parnéthios*⁵. Mount Laphystion, near Orchomenos in Boiotia, had a precinct and a stone statue of Zeus *Laphýstios*: tradition told how king Athamas was here on the point of sacrificing his own son and daughter, Phrixos and Helle, when in the nick of time Zeus sent the ram with the golden fleece to aid their escape⁶. The summit of Mount Athos was sacred to Zeus *Athôios*, who had there one or more altars and a (bronze?) statue⁷. Doubtless too the statue of Zeus *Aitnaíos* on Mount Aitne⁸, that of the Chaeronean Zeus on the crag called Petrachos⁹, and that of Zeus *Anchésmios* on Mount Anchesmos near Athens¹⁰ had altars of their own.

A third and final stage in the evolution of the cult was reached, when the figure of the god came to be suitably housed in a temple. But this was an innovation not brought about all at once. Zeus *Ithomátas*, for example, was worshipped on the top of Mount Ithome

¹ *Id. ib.*

² Append. B Mysia. On altars made of ashes see E. Reisch in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1668 f., J. G. Frazer on Paus. 5. 13. 8 (iii. 556 f.).

³ *Supra* p. 1 ff.

⁴ Append. B Attike.

⁵ *Ib.*

⁶ *Ib.* Boiotia.

⁷ *Ib.* Makedonia.

⁸ *Ib.* Sicily.

⁹ *Ib.* Boiotia.

¹⁰ *Ib.* Attike.

in Messene; but the statue of the god, made by the famous Argive sculptor Hageladas, was kept in the house of a priest annually appointed for the purpose¹. At last Zeus was installed in a house of his own. And splendid indeed must have been the effect of a Greek temple with its ivory-white columns and its richly-coloured entablature seen against the dazzling blue of a southern sky. Hardly less beautiful would it appear when its marbles glimmering in the moonlight contrasted with the mysterious shadows of its colonnade². The first temple built upon a height for Zeus of which we have any record is the temple of Zeus *Polieus* constructed by Phalaris in the first half of the sixth century on the Akropolis of Akragas some 1200 feet above sea-level. Polyainos³ tells the following tale with regard to its foundation:

‘Phalaris was a contractor of Akragas. The citizens of that town desired to make a temple of Zeus *Polieus* at a cost of 200 talents on their Akropolis: the site was rocky, the foundation very solid, and moreover it would be the right thing to establish the god on the highest available point. So Phalaris tendered an offer that, if he were appointed as overseer of the work, he would use the best craftsmen, furnish materials without extravagance, and provide satisfactory sureties for the funds. The people, considering that his life as a contractor had given him experience in such matters, entrusted him with the task. On receipt of the public moneys, he hired many strangers, purchased many prisoners, and brought up to the Akropolis plenty of materials—stones, timber, and iron. While the foundations were being dug, however, he sent down a crier with this proclamation: “Whosoever will denounce those persons that have stolen stone and iron from the Akropolis shall receive such and such a reward.” The people were angered at the theft of the materials. “Well then,” said Phalaris, “suffer me to fence in the Akropolis.” The city granted him permission to fence it in and to raise a circuit-wall. Hereupon he freed the prisoners and armed them with his stones, axes, and double-axes. He made his attack during the festival of the Thesmophoria, slew most of the citizens, secured the women and children, and thus became tyrant of Akragas.’

Again, on the summit of the Larisa or Akropolis of Argos, a rocky cone rising abruptly from the plain to a height of 950 feet, there was a cult of Zeus *Larisatos*. Pausanias, who visited the spot

¹ Append. B Messene.

² Time has broken and defaced all existing Greek temples. Among the least imperfect are the ‘Theseum’ at Athens, a temple of unknown dedication at Segesta, the temple of ‘Concordia’ at Girgenti. But though these have preserved the form, they have lost the colour, of a Doric structure. Nor is there to be seen any really accurate model or even complete picture, say of the Parthenon, showing its shapes as they were, optical corrections and all, and its colouring as it probably was. Doubtless some details would be conjectural, but the facts are so far certain that an attempt at adequate representation might be, and ought to be, made.

³ Polyain. 5. 1. 1. See further Append. B Sicily. The site of the temple is shown in W. Wilkins *The Antiquities of Magna Graecia* Cambridge 1807 Agrigentum pl. 1 view, Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1189 f. plan.

in the second century of our era, says that the temple of Zeus *Larisaios* had no roof and that his statue, made of wood, was no longer standing on its base¹. This implies that the temple was then a ruin; but when it was first founded is not known. Mount *Sagmatas*, the ancient Mount Hypatos, is a bold, rocky eminence above Glisas in Boiotia, attaining a height of 2434 feet. 'From the summit,' says Dr Frazer, 'the view is extensive and fine, embracing the great expanse of the Copaic plain (a lake no longer), the dark blue water of the deep lake of Hylica environed by barren and rugged mountains, the Euboean sea, and on the horizon the peaks of Parnassus, Helicon, and Cithaeron².' Upon the flat top of this mountain Pausanias found a cult-statue and temple of Zeus *Hypatos*³; but again we cannot tell the date of its foundation. The same is true of the temple of Zeus *Akraios* on the Pindos range between Thessalia and Epeiros⁴, of the temple of Zeus *Kásios* built by the descendants of the Dioskouroi on Mount Kasion in Egypt⁵, and of the temple dedicated to Zeus *Kásios* at Kasiope in Korkyra⁶. Probably they were all comparatively recent. The temple of Zeus *Solymeús* on Mount Solymos in Pisidia does not appear to have been a very ancient structure⁷. And in several cases it is clear that the primitive altar of Zeus received the additional glory of a temple at a much later date. Althaimenes, we saw, set up a simple altar to Zeus *Atabýrios* on the Rhodian Mount Atabyrion: but Mr C. Torr notes that the temple-walls and precinct-wall of Zeus are still to be seen on the mountain 4070 feet above the sea⁸. Herakles, we said, dedicated altars and a leafy precinct to Zeus *Patrôios* on the headland of Mount Kenaion: but Seneca in his tragedy *Herakles on Oite* writes—

Here on a soaring rock no cloud may strike
Shines the old temple of Kenaian Zeus⁹.

The precinct of Zeus *Kýnthios* and Athena *Kynthía* on the top of Mount Kynthos in Delos included a small temple, the position of which can still be traced; but this is expressly said by M. Lebègue to be of late date¹⁰.

¹ Append. B Argolis.

³ Append. B Boiotia.

⁶ *Ib.* Korkyra.

⁹ *Ib.* Boiotia. Sen. *Herc. Oct.* 786f. hic rupe celsa nulla quam nubes ferit | annosa

² J. G. Frazer on Paus. 9. 19. 3 (v. 61 f.).

⁴ *Ib.* Thessalia.

⁷ *Ib.* Pisidia.

⁵ *Ib.* Aigyptos.

⁸ *Ib.* Rhodes.

fulgent templa Cenaei Iovis. Mr G. A. Papabasileiou, who most courteously travelled from Chalkis to the Kenaion promontory on my behalf, reports (Oct. 17, 1911) that at Dion in a spot named after a church of Saint Konstantinos he could trace the foundations of a temple and fair-sized precinct with a circular base of three steps at the east end. These remains he took to be those of a temple and altar of Zeus built in historic times on the site consecrated by Herakles.

¹⁰ Append. B Delos.

Dattendungen
OGIS 1

(b) The Mountain as the Throne of Zeus.

The mountain sacred to Zeus was sometimes regarded as his seat or throne. Coins of Gomphoi or Philippopolis from about 350 B.C. onwards show Zeus *Akraios* seated on a rock and holding a sceptre in his right hand (fig. 90)¹: in place of the rock, which must represent Mount Pindos, later specimens substitute a throne (figs. 91, 92)². Again, coins of Kyrrhos in Syria struck by Trajan and



Fig. 90.



Fig. 91.



Fig. 92.

other emperors have Zeus *Kataibates* sitting on a rock with thunderbolt, sceptre, and eagle³: the rock is presumably some neighbouring height. Similarly a coin of Ankyra in Galatia struck by Antoninus Pius represents Zeus, with a sceptre in his right hand and a Victory in his left, seated on a rock⁴: Ankyra too was situated in a mountainous district. We have already noted an imperial coin of Prousa in Bithynia, which shows Zeus or a Zeus-like mountain-god reclining on the summit of the Mysian Olympus (fig. 85)⁵.

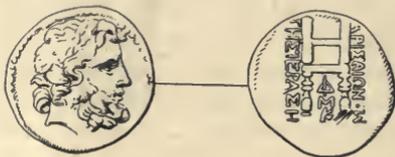


Fig. 93.

I add a few other numismatic examples, the interpretation of which is more doubtful. Copper coins of Larisa on the Orontes, struck in the first century B.C., have the head of Zeus as their obverse and the throne of Zeus as their reverse type (fig. 93)⁶. This perhaps implies that a neighbouring height was regarded as

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 19 pl. 3, 2, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 295. Append. B Thessalia.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 19 (I figure no. 3) pl. 3, 4, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 450, *Head loc. cit.* Fig. 92 is an unpublished variety (with the Thessalian form ΓΟΜΦΙΤΟΥΝ) in my collection.

³ *Infra* ch. ii § 3 (a) ii.

⁴ *Rasche Lex. Num.* Suppl. i. 663, iii. 252.

⁵ *Supra* p. 116 n. 8.

⁶ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia etc. p. 264 pl. 31, 8, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 782.

1241



Hydria from Ruvo : Zeus on the mountain-top witnesses the judgment of Paris.

See page 125 f.

[From Furtwängler-Reichhold *Griechische Vasenmalerei* pl. 30 by permission of Messrs F. Bruckmann A.-G., Munich.]

the god's seat. Similarly the throne and thunderbolt of Zeus on coppers of Olba in Kilikia, struck probably at the end of the first century B.C. (fig. 94)¹ and the beginning of the first century A.D. (fig. 95)², may mean that *Uzundja-Burdj*, 'Tall Castle' (3800 ft.



Fig. 94.



Fig. 95.

above sea-level), on which Zeus *Ólbios* had his *hierón*³, was conceived as his sacred seat, though here an allusion to an actual throne occupied by the priestly king⁴ is equally possible.

Vase-painters of the fourth century B.C. sometimes represent Zeus seated or reclining on a mountain in the upper register of their design. Thus a fine *hydria* from Ruvo, painted in the style of the potter Meidias⁵ and now preserved at Karlsruhe⁶, introduces the god as part of a Polygnotan background to a familiar scene—the judgment of Paris (pl. xi)⁷. In the midst sits Paris himself, here as often named Alexandros. As a Phrygian he wears a rich Oriental costume; but as a shepherd he carries a short thick staff and is accompanied by his dog. He turns to speak with Hermes, who has brought the three goddesses to Mount Ide. The laurels and the rocky ground mark the mountain-side. Aphrodite,

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia etc.* pp. lii f., 119 pl. 21, 7, *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1883 xii. 369 (from the same die), *Head Hist. num.*² p. 726.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia etc.* p. 124 pl. 22, 7, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 727, G. F. Hill in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1899 xix. 189 f. no. 3 γ (no. 3 β has throne turned to left), Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 137 f. nos. 1354 f. pl. 26. The legend of the specimen here figured is ΔΥΝΑΣΤΟ[Υ] ΟΛΒΕ[ΩΝ] ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΕΝΝΑΤ | ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΑ ΣΣΕΩΝ ←ΙΑ (= *érouv* α').

³ J. T. Bent in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1891 xii. 220 ff., R. Heberdey and A. Wilhelm 'Reisen in Kilikien' (cited *infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) ii (5)).

⁴ *Infra* ib.

⁵ G. Nicole *Meidias et le style fleuri dans la céramique attique* Geneva 1908 pp. 65—69 pl. 2, 2.

⁶ Winnefeld *Vasensamml. Karlsruhe* p. 63 ff. no. 259.

⁷ Furtwängler-Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 141 ff. pl. 30.

In sarcophagus-reliefs etc. representing the judgment of Paris this seated Zeus is sometimes transformed into a seated mountain-god: see Robert *Sark.-Relfs.* ii. 11 ff. pl. 4, 10, 10', 10" (Villa Pamfilii) = *Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 3, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1839 xi. 214 ff. pl. H, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* p. 240 f. pl. 11, 5, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1624 fig. 9, 9a; Robert *op. cit.* ii. 18 pl. 5, 12 (Palestrina); cp. Robert *op. cit.* ii. 17 fig. (Villa Ludovisi) = *Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 29, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1841 xiii. 84 ff., Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* p. 238 ff. pl. 11, 12.

confident of success, is seated quietly behind Hermes. She rests one hand on a sceptre, the other on a little Eros, whose brother she has already sent forward to whisper seductive words in the ear of the judge. Above her we see Eutychia, the goddess of good luck, and an attendant maiden preparing wreaths for the coming victory. In front of Paris, but wholly disregarded by him, stands Athena—a majestic figure closely resembling the Parthenos of Phcidias. Hardly less majestic, and not a whit more successful in attracting the notice of Paris, is Hera, who draws near on the left supported by her maid Klymene. In the background appears Eris, who first brought about the strife and now would watch its *dénouement*. On the right Helios drives up his four-horse chariot from behind the mountain, recalling an analogous figure in the eastern pediment of the Parthenon. On the left sits Zeus, leaning on the rocky slope. He wears a laurel-wreath in his hair and a *himátion* wrapped about his knees. His right hand holds a sceptre; his left, a winged thunderbolt. Helios and Zeus give the setting of the scene in time and place¹. For Ide is the home of Zeus *Idaios*². Moreover, it was in obedience to the bidding of Zeus that Hermes brought the goddesses before Paris³.

Equally essential is the relation of Zeus to the main design in the case of the Poniatowski vase—a great Apulian *kratér* with medallion handles, which was found near Bari and is now in the Vatican collection⁴. Its obverse (fig. 96) shows Triptolemos on his winged car drawn by two serpents. He is wreathed with myrtle, and holds in his left hand a sceptre and a bunch of corn. One of his serpents is feeding from a *phidie* held by a seated goddess, possibly one of the Horai. The other turns towards a standing goddess, almost certainly Demeter, who holds a wheel-torch under her left arm and is offering more corn to Triptolemos. Behind her at a lower level stands another goddess, probably Hekate, bearing a lighted torch. Above and beyond these figures rises a mountain, indicated by broken dotted lines, upon which we see two goddesses and higher up two gods. The goddesses cannot be identified with

¹ Cp. the vase at St Petersburg (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 339 ff. no. 1807) figured in the *Compte-rendu St. Pétr.* 1861 p. 33 ff. Atlas pl. 3 f., *Wien. Vorlegebl.* A pl. 11, 1.

² Append. B Troas.

³ *Kypria ap. Prokl. chrestom.* 1 (p. 17 Kinkel), Loukian. *dial. deor.* 20. 1, 7, 8, Kolouth. *rapt. Hel.* 69 ff., *Ov. her.* 16. 71, *Apul. met.* 10. 30 and 33.

⁴ A. L. Millin *Peintures de vases antiques* Paris 1810 ii pl. 31 f. = Reinach *Vases Ant.* p. 60 ff. pl. 31 f., Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* i. 22 ff. pl. 11 f., Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. céer.* iii. 177 ff. pl. 63, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Demeter—Kora p. 552 ff. Atlas pl. 16, 15, *infra* ch. i § 6 (d) i (β).

certainly, but are in all probability meant for Aphrodite and Peitho¹. The gods are Hermes and Zeus. Hermes has his usual attributes, and, with one foot raised on the rocky ground, balances the similarly posed figure of Peitho. Zeus, crowned with laurel, reclines on the mountain-top. He has a *himátion* folded about his legs, shoes on his feet, a bracelet on his left arm, and an eagle-sceptre in his left hand. The moment depicted seems to be this. Zeus has



Fig. 96.

sent Hermes to bring back Persephone from the Underworld². Demeter—her wrath thereby appeased—is instructing Triptolemos in the art of agriculture and sending him forth on his mission of

¹ The identification of the goddesses on this vase has been much canvassed: see Overbeck *op. cit.* pp. 552—562. I have relied on another Apulian vase, now at St Petersburg (*infra* ch. i § 6 (d) i (β)), which represents the same scene in a very similar fashion and fortunately supplies us with the inscribed names ΤΡΙΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΣ (in serpent-car), ΔΗΜΗΤΗΡ (on the left filling a *phiale* for him), ΞΩΡΑΙ (further to the left, one standing, the other seated), ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ (on the right at a higher level, seated), ΠΕΙΘΩ (further to the right, standing beside Aphrodite with knee raised on rock), ΝΕΙΛΟΣ (river at foot of main design).

² *H. Dem.* 334 ff., *alib.* (see R. Foerster *Der Raub und die Rückkehr der Persephone* Stuttgart 1874 pp. 29—98 'Der Mythos in der Dichtkunst').

civilisation. On this showing the mountain upon which Zeus reclines is the Macedonian Olympos¹.

An Apulian *pelike* from Ruvo, now at Naples², has on one side a design (pl. xii)³, the background of which somewhat closely resembles that of the vase just described. The scene is laid on a mountain near the Phrygian Kelainai, where Marsyas the flute-playing Silenos was defeated and flayed by Apollon⁴. In the centre of the composition sits Apollon, wreathed with laurel and wearing a *himation* drawn up over the back of his head. He is already victorious, and a winged Nike is presenting him with the victor's fillet, but his fingers still play with the four chords of his lyre. Below him on a spotted skin sits the defeated Silenos. His skin flute-case lies behind on the ground. He holds the flutes in his left hand and leans his head on his right in deep dejection. And no wonder. For of the three Muses, who are present as judges of his skill⁵, one, though she has flutes herself, stands spell-bound listening to Apollon's strains, another is seated harp in hand chanting the victor's praises to the delight of a pet-dog from Malta, while the third has risen from her judgment-seat and is reading out of a roll the fearful penalty prescribed for the vanquished. Behind her a girl is already bringing up a basket with flowers and a fillet, as though for a sacrifice. Marsyas himself will be the victim. On the mountain-top are three seated deities; but not one of them is likely to help. Zeus naturally sympathises with his son, Artemis with her brother. Aphrodite, who scoffed at the effects of flute-playing⁶, is unconcernedly holding a *phidie* to serve as a divining-glass for Eros⁷. Still less does the she-goat cropping its food in the corner take thought for Marsyas' fate. Confining our attention to Zeus, we note that his connexion with the tragedy is but slight. He is here mainly⁸ as the divine dweller on the

¹ *H. Dem.* 331, 341, 449, 484.

² Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 529 ff. no. 3231.

³ A. Michaelis *Die Verurtheilung des Marsyas auf einer Vase aus Ruvo* Greifswald 1864 pl. 2, 3, and more accurately in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1869 xxvii pl. 17, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 439 ff. Atlas pl. 25, 4.

⁴ O. Jessen in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2441 ff.

⁵ O. Jessen *ib.* ii. 2442.

⁶ *Hyg. fab.* 165.

⁷ A. Michaelis *Die Verurtheilung des Marsyas* etc. p. 13 f., *Arch. Zeit.* 1869 xxvii. 46, and Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 431, 442 argue that Aphrodite, in whose cult the flute was used, is present on the side of Marsyas. If so, she is strangely apathetic: cp. other vase-paintings of the same scene in Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. sér.* ii pl. 64, the *Arch. Zeit.* 1884 xlii pl. 5, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 433 no. 12 Atlas pl. 25, 3.

⁸ Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 441 holds that Zeus is present as witness of things in general and of his son's victory in particular.

1381



Pelike from Ruvo: Zeus on the mountain-top witnesses the defeat of Marsyas.

See page 128 f., cf. page 133.

1282



Relief signed by Archelaos of Priene.

heights above Kelainai, and he adopts the attitude now familiar to us as that of the mountain-god.

This type of Zeus reclining occurs again on a relief signed by Archelaos son of Apollonios, a native of Priene¹. That well-known work of art, referable to the end of the third century B.C., was found near Bovillae about 1650 A.D. and is now in the British Museum (pl. xiii)². Its subject is usually described as the apotheosis of Homer. Before us rises a steep mountain-side, at the foot of which *Hómēros* is seen enthroned. He holds a roll in his right hand, a sceptre in his left. His throne is supported by two kneeling female figures inscribed *Iliás* and *Odýsseia*: the former carries a sheathed sword, the latter holds up the stern-ornament of a ship. In front of Homer's footstool lies another roll with a mouse at one end of it, a frog (?) at the other, to indicate the *Battle of the Frogs and Mice*. Behind the poet stands a woman named *Oikouménē*, 'The World,' who is holding a wreath above his head, and a man, named *Chrónos*, 'Time,' who is uplifting a roll in either hand. Since in features and hair these two figures (fig. 97) resemble Ptolemy iv Philopator and his wife Arsinoe, it has been conjectured that we have here the king and queen of Alexandria portrayed as allegorical personages³. Before the poet is a lighted altar inscribed ΛΛ, behind which stands a humped bull. The sacrificial attendant with jug and bowl is *Mýthos*. *Historía* strews incense on the altar, *Pótesis* holds up two flaming torches, while *Tragodia*, *Komodía*, a smaller figure named *Phýsis*, 'Nature,' and a group of *Areté*, 'Virtue,' *Mnéme*, 'Memory,' *Pístis*, 'Faith,' and *Sophía*, 'Wisdom,'

¹ *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 1295.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 244 ff. no. 2191 fig. 30, Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 112 fig. 118, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 674 ff. fig. 354, Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*⁴ ii. 463 ff. fig. 226, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3266 ff. For further details and divergent theories see the monographs of G. Cuper *Apotheosis Homeri* Amsterdam 1683, Schott *Explication nouvelle de l'Apothéose d'Homère* etc. Amsterdam 1714, E. Braun *Apotheose des Homer* Leipsic 1848, A. Kortegarn *De tabula Archelai* Bonn 1862, C. Watzinger *Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene* (*Winckelmannsfest- Progr. Berlin* lxiii) Berlin 1903, and the other authorities cited by A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 253 f.

³ C. Watzinger *op. cit.* p. 17 ff. figs. 8—9, following and improving upon the identifications proposed by S. Sharpe, viz. Ptolemy vi Philometor and his-mother Kleopatra. Both E. Braun and Sir C. T. Newton remarked a family likeness between the head of *Xpónos* and those of the later Ptolemies. F. Hauser in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1905 viii. 85 f. fig. 28 (=Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* pl. II, 13, cp. *Num. Chron.* Fourth Series 1904 iv 307 ff. pl. 15, 11) proposes a fresh identification based on the coin-portraits of the Syrian king Alexandros i Balas and his wife Kleopatra. The alleged likeness is to me, I confess, hardly convincing. Mr A. H. Smith, however, whom I consulted by letter, kindly writes (Oct. 17, 1911): 'I think Hauser has a better case than Watzinger. His coin is surprisingly like. But I gather, from what Hauser says, that the other version of the coin rather shook his own faith.'

draw near with gestures of acclamation. The whole scene takes place in front of a curtained colonnade. Above it stands Apollon in a cave with a *kithára* in his hand and an *omphalós* at his feet: against the *omphalós* lean the bow and quiver of the god, and one of the Muses¹ raising a roll stands before him. To the right of the cave and immediately in front of a large tripod with domed cover is the statue of a man holding a roll, which statue—as Goethe was the first to suggest—probably represents a poet² who has won



Fig. 97.

a tripod in some poetical contest³ and has celebrated the event by dedicating this votive relief. To the left of the cave and above it, winding up the mountain-height, are the eight remaining Muses,

¹ This figure has often been called the Pythian priestess. Her true character was determined by S. Reinach, and replicas were cited by W. Amelung: see C. Watzinger *op. cit.* p. 6.

² Others have interpreted the figure as Homer, Hesiod, Orpheus. But, had a famous poet of ancient date been meant, his name—as in the case of ΟΜΗΡΟΣ—would have been inscribed below him. The existing head is a restoration.

³ C. Watzinger *op. cit.* p. 21 cp. Paus. 9. 31. 3. Brückner *ib.* cites a yet closer parallel, *viz.* an inscribed slab from Teos (middle of 2nd cent. B.C.), now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, which concludes a decree in honour of the flute-player Kraton thus: παραρθεσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς θέαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς παρὰ τὸν ἀνδριάντα τὸν Κράτωνος, τὸν ἐν τῇ θεάτρῳ τριπόδᾳ τε καὶ θυματήριον κ.τ.λ. (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3068, 22 ff.=Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1016, 22 ff.).

arranged in typical attitudes and furnished with conventional attributes. Higher still, and on a larger scale than the Muses, is their mother Mnemosyne¹. All these lead upwards to Zeus himself (fig. 98), who is seated or reclining on the mountain-top with a *himátion* wrapped about his legs, a sceptre in his right hand, and an eagle at his feet.

The significance of the whole design is tolerably clear. The ideal poet, inspired by Apollon and the Muses, ultimately derives his message from their omnipotent sire; he delivers to mankind the oracles of Zeus. Nay more, in a sense he *is* Zeus. Enthroned as a divine king on earth he is a human counterpart of the divine king enthroned in heaven², heaven being located on the summit of



Fig. 98.

the mountain. Nor was this a mere fancy-flight of Hellenistic imagination. It was, as we shall see in due course, a religious conviction inseparably bound up with immemorial Hellenic customs.

But the relief before us has a special as well as a general significance. C. Watzinger, who follows W. Amelung in ascribing the types of Apollon and the Muses to Philiskos of Rhodes³, and further attempts to explain the reclining Zeus as a Rhodian development of an originally Dionysiac *motif*⁴, suggests the following possibilities. Apollonios Rhodios, or some other epic poet

This identification, first proposed by G. Cuper in 1683, is now commonly accepted.

C. Watzinger *op. cit.* p. 17 justly says: 'In zeusähnlicher Haltung sitzt Homer,' and *ib.* p. 20 calls attention to the actual cult of Homer established at Alexandria by Ptolemy iv Philopator (*Ail. var. hist.* 13. 22) and existing also at Smyrna (*Strab.* 646).

³ C. Watzinger *op. cit.* p. 4 ff.

⁴ *Id. ib.* p. 14 ff.

of the Rhodian school, was successful in a poetical contest, held at Alexandria on behalf of Apollon and the Muses¹. He commemorated his victory by dedicating in a temple at Rhodes a votive relief made for him by Archelaos of Priene, a sculptor belonging to the Rhodian school of art. The locality of the contest thus accounts for the portraits of Ptolemy iv and Arsinoe, for the divine honours paid to Homer², and for the emphasis laid on Apollon and the Muses, while the nationality of the poet and the artistic traditions of the sculptor explain the adoption of Philiskos' types. Zeus, himself of a Rhodian type, is Zeus *Atabyrios* reclining on the highest peak of the island³. He was worshipped also on the akropolis of Rhodes, as was Apollon, in whose sanctuary Philiskos' group presumably stood.

Watzinger's reconstruction of the circumstances is attractive and hangs well together. But it is beset by uncertainties. We do not *know* that these types of Apollon and the Muses were those devised by Philiskos⁴, or that the *motif* of a reclining Zeus originated in Rhodes. The former is at most a probable guess; the latter is at most an improbable guess. Again, we do not *know* that Archelaos the sculptor belonged to the Rhodian school of sculpture, or that the supposed poet belonged to the Rhodian school of poetry, or that the contest took place at Alexandria, or that it had anything to do with the cult of Apollon and the Muses. In short, the whole explanation is hypothetical. And other hypotheses are equally possible. For example, it might be maintained that an epic poet of the Alexandrine school won a prize-tripod⁵ at the Panionia, the great festival of Poseidon *Helikónios* held in the territory of Priene⁶. He naturally got a local sculptor to carve his votive tablet. The sculptor of course introduced Homer as the prototype of all epic poets, paid the customary compliment to the king and queen of his patron's town, and—possibly prompted by the epithet *Helikónios*⁷—represented Mount Helikon with Zeus *Helikónios*⁷ on its summit and the Muses descending its side. The Muses suggested Apollon, and, at the expense of topographical accuracy, Mount Helikon is merged in another height of the same range and reveals Apollon, *omphalós* and all standing in his Delphic cave⁸.

¹ Vitruv. 7 *prof.* 4.

² *Supra* p. 131 n. 2.

³ Append. B Rhodes.

⁴ Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 34 f.

⁵ Bronze tripods were given as prizes at the games of Apollon *Τριπόπιος* (Hdt. 1. 144).

⁶ Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 74 ff.

⁷ Append. B Boiotia.

⁸ A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 248: 'It has been generally proposed that the rocky terraces on which the Muses appear in this relief represent

But guess-work is fatally facile. It will be more profitable to notice a point which, so far as I am aware, has escaped the observation of Watzinger and his predecessors—the extraordinary similarity of the Archelaos relief to the Marsyas vase from Ruvo. In both the artist has portrayed success in a contest of poetry or music. In both we see a mountain-side with Apollon half way up it playing the *kithára* or lyre. In both there are the Muses arranged at different levels on the slope—one holding two flutes, another seated to play the *kithára* or harp, a third standing with a roll in her hand. Lastly, in both the mountain is topped by a strikingly similar figure of Zeus. I would infer that Archelaos was indebted for his design, or at least for essential elements of his design,—not indeed to vase-painters of the fourth century B.C.—but to contemporary fresco-painters, who like their humbler brethren of the potter's trade were still at work under the far-reaching influence of Polygnotos¹.



Fig. 99.

There are extant two other representations of Zeus on the mountain to which allusion must here be made. A bronze medallion of Lucius Verus shows Zeus seated on a mountain, holding a thunderbolt peacefully on his knee with his left hand, while his right arm leaning on the mountain-top supports his head. The emperor in military costume and himself crowned by

Parnassus, and in this case the cave within which Apollo is standing would be the Corycian cave on that mountain.⁷ Not necessarily: it might be the actual *μαρτεῖον* at Delphoi, which is described as *ἄντρον* (Strab. 419, Eur. *Phoin.* 232 cp. *I.T.* 1245 ff.: A. P. Oppé in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1904 xxiv. 214 ff. has not said the last word on the subject).

¹ Thus in the case of the art-type of Zeus reclining on a mountain-top the vase-paintings appear to form a link between some lost fresco of Polygnotos in the fifth century B.C. and the relief of Archelaos in the third. Later (ch. iii § 1 (a) iii) we shall see, in the case of the art-type of Zeus seated on a rock with Hera standing before him, how the vase-paintings bridge the interval between a Selinuntine metope of the fifth century B.C. and a Pompeian fresco of the first century A.D.

an armed figure of Roma is offering to the god a small wreath-bearing Nike (fig. 99)¹. The inscriptions on this medallion² prove that it was struck in the year 167 A.D. and commemorates the victories won for Verus in the east by his stern lieutenant Avidius Cassius. Not improbably the artist hinted at the name of the actual victor by depicting the emperor making his presentation to the mountain-god Zeus *Kásios*³. Lastly, a bronze coin of Ephesos, struck under Antoninus Pius, represents Zeus seated on a throne, which is set upon the flat summit of a mountain. Beneath this mountain lies another mountain-god holding a horn of plenty and inscribed *Peion*. Over his head descends a shower from the raised right hand of Zeus, while the left hand of that deity supports a thunderbolt. At the foot of the mountain on which Zeus sits enthroned is a temple; at the back of the same mountain, a three-storeyed building; and in the distance, perched upon rocks, appear two similar buildings and a clump of cypress-trees between them (fig. 100)⁴. There can be no doubt that Zeus is here represented as



Fig. 100.

enthroned on Mount Koressos, a height which dominates the whole valley of Ephesos and looks down on its neighbour Mount Peion.

The foregoing examples of a mountain conceived as the throne of Zeus must not be attributed to any original effort of imagination on the part of the Hellenistic artist. Behind the die-sinker and the sculptor lay popular belief and long-standing ritual practice. Those who in

ancient days visited Argos to see the famous statue of Hera, made by Polykleitos of ivory and gold, found the goddess in her temple seated on her throne. In one hand she carried a pomegranate, in the other a sceptre; and about both of them stories were told. The story about the pomegranate was mystic in character and too sacred to be rashly bruited abroad. That about the sceptre aimed at explaining the odd fact that a cuckoo was perched on the tip of it, and was as follows. When Zeus was in love with the maiden Hera, he transformed himself into a cuckoo, was caught and petted

¹ Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 156, 161, 190 Münztaf. 2, 32, Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 90 fig., *supra* p. 34 n. 3.

² Obv. L VERVS AVG ARM PARTH MAX, Rev. TR · P · VII IMP IIII COS III (Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² iii. 197 no. 291). Cp. *Num. Chron.* Fourth Series 1906 vi. 101 no. 3 a tooled specimen in the Hunter collection.

³ Append. B Syria.

⁴ *Ib.* Lydia.

by her, and so gained his desires. The scene of this idyll was Mount *Kokkýgion*, or the 'Cuckoo' Mount, near Hermione, on the top of which there was a sanctuary of Zeus, while on the top of the neighbouring Mount Pron was a corresponding sanctuary of Hera. Now the older name of Mount Kokkýgion was *Thórnaξ* or *Thrónaξ*, which means the 'Throne'.¹ It seems, therefore, highly probable that this mountain was regarded by the Greeks as the throne of Zeus. Indeed, it is possible that an actual throne, reputed to be that of Zeus, was visible on the mountain. When Pythagoras made a pilgrimage to Crete, he entered the cave near the top of Mount Ide wearing black wool, stayed there according

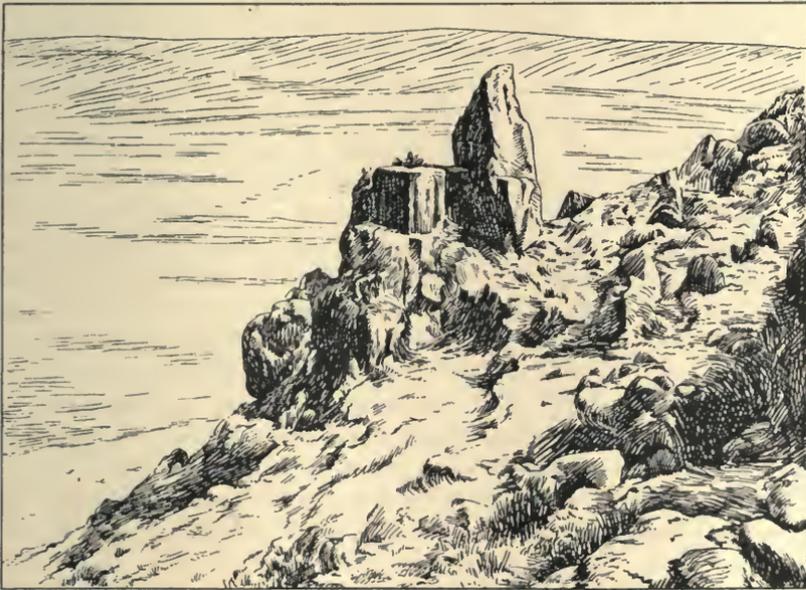


Fig. 101.

to custom thrice nine days and, among other ritual acts, inspected the throne which was strewn for Zeus once a year². It is noticeable, too, that Pergamon, whose altar to Zeus we have already considered, is described in *The Revelation of S. John the divine* as the place 'where Satan's throne is'.³

It is not, then, to be wondered at, if the Greeks brought into connexion with their Zeus a remarkable series of cult-monuments scattered up and down the mainland of Asia Minor, the islands of the Archipelago, and even Greece itself. Throughout these districts the tops of mountains and hills have been by some unknown people

¹ Append. B Argolis.

² *Ib.* Crete.

³ *Ib.* Mysia.

at some unknown date—possibly by the Hittites in the fourteenth and following centuries B.C.—adorned with thrones, large or small, cut out in the living rock. H. Gelzer records a ‘throne of Nahat’ on a mountain in Armenia¹. Near Ikonion in Lykaonia F. Sarre climbed an isolated rocky mound named *Tuzuk-Dagh*, some 150 feet above the level of the plain, and found on the summit a rock-cut seat or throne with traces of steps leading up to it². On the

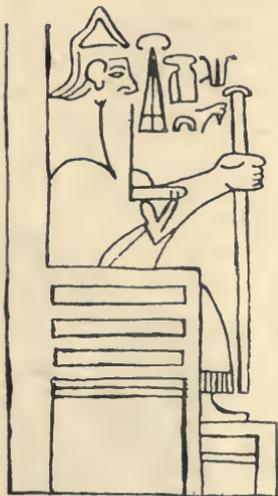


Fig. 102.

Kara-Dagh or ‘Black Mountain,’ an outlying ridge of Tauros, is an isolated hill the *Kizil-Dagh*, which rises sharply from the plain to a height of about 360 feet. Here in 1907 Prof. Sir W. M. Ramsay and Miss G. Bell found ‘a pinnacle of rock forty feet high, roughly carved into the shape of a seat or throne with high back’ (fig. 101)... ‘On the throne is incised a figure of the god, sitting, holding a sceptre in the left hand and a cup in the right’³. Prof. A. H. Sayce regards the seated figure as that of a king and interprets the Hittite inscription that accompanies it as the royal name Tarkyanas (fig. 102)⁴. Dr J. Garstang accepts this reading as against Prof. Ramsay’s Tarkuattes, but adds: ‘it is conceivable that we have here a representation of the deity called by a name which was that used also by the priest’⁵. The priestly king thus postulated was doubtless the dynast of Barata at the mountain-foot⁶. Rock-cut thrones have been repeatedly seen in Phrygia by A. Körte⁷. The rock-cut

¹ *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1896 xlviii. 115. Gelzer cites from the Armenian version of Faustus of Byzantium 5. 25 the following statement about the Greek anchorite Epiphanius: ‘Und er sass auf dem grossen Berge an der Stätte der Götzen, welche sie Thron der Nahat nennen.’

² *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1896 xix. 34.

³ W. M. Ramsay *Luke the Physician* London 1908 p. 160 pl. 16.

⁴ A. H. Sayce in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 1909 xxxi. 83 ff. pl. 7, 1.

⁵ J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 p. 176 ff.

⁶ A copper of Barata struck by Otacilia Severa shows Tyche with *kdlathos*, branch (?) and *cornu copiae* seated on a rock, a river-god at her feet (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia* etc. p. 2 pl. 1, 3). Another noteworthy coin-type of the same town is a standing Zeus, who rests on a sceptre and holds a *phidle* or globe, with an eagle beside him (*ib.* p. xix). Head *Hist. num.*² p. 713. Is Tyche enthroned on a rock the successor of a pre-Greek mountain-mother?

⁷ W. Reichel *Über vorhellenische Götterculte* Wien 1897 p. 31.

altars of Kybele discovered by Prof. Sir W. M. Ramsay on the plateau of *Dóghanlu*, the Phrygian town of Midas, resemble thrones at least as much as altars¹. The most striking example of these rock-cut thrones is, however, one on Mount Sipylus in Lydia. Pausanias, a native of the locality, calls it the 'throne of Pelops²'. And Dr Frazer in his commentary describes the scenery as follows³: 'On the south side of the fertile valley of the Hermus, Mount Sipylus (*Manissa-dagh*) towers up abruptly, like an immense wall of rock. Its sides are very precipitous, indeed almost perpendicular. The city of Magnesia, the modern *Manissa*, lies immediately at its foot. About four miles east of Magnesia the mountain wall of rock is cleft, right down to the level of the Hermus valley, by a narrow ravine or cañon, which pierces deep into the bowels of the mountain. It is called by the Turks the *Yarik Kaya* or "rifted rock." The cañon is only about 100 feet wide; its sides are sheer walls of rock, about 500 feet high; there is a magnificent echo in it. A small stream flows through the bottom; it is probably the Achelous of Homer (*Iliad*, xxiv. 616). It is plain that the ravine has been scooped out in the course of ages by the stream wearing away the limestone rock; but it would naturally be regarded by the ancients as the result of a great earthquake, such as are common in this district. On the western edge of the cañon, half-way up the mountain-wall of Sipylus, there shoots up a remarkable crag, which stands out by itself from the mountain-side. On one side it is possible from its summit to drop a stone 900 feet sheer into the cañon; on all other sides it rises with a perpendicular face 100 feet from the mountain. Even to reach the foot of this crag from the plain, stout limbs and a steady head are needful; for the ancient mule-path, partly hewn out of the rock, partly supported on walls on the edge of precipices, has mostly disappeared; and there is nothing for it but to cling as best you can to the bushes and the projections of the rock. In this way you at last reach the foot of the cliff, the sheer face of which seems to bar all further advance. However, on the western side of the crag there is a cleft or "chimney" (*cheminée*), as they would call it in Switzerland, which leads up to the top, otherwise quite unapproachable, of the crag. In antiquity there seems to have been a staircase in the "chimney." The first few steps of it may be seen under the bushes with which the rocky fissure is overgrown. The upper surface of the crag, reached

¹ Perrot-Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art v.* 148 ff. figs. 102—104, W. M. Ramsay in *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 13 f. figs. 4 f., 42 fig. 9, pl. 21 B. On the thrones of Kybele and the Korybantés see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1523 n. 4.

² Append. B Lydia.

³ J. G. Frazer on Paus. 5. 13. 7 (iii. 552 f.).

through this cleft, is nowhere level; on the contrary, it slopes like the roof of a house and is indeed so steep that to climb up it is difficult. There are, however, twenty or thirty foundations of houses cut in the rock and rising one above the other like the steps of an immense staircase. Also there are seven or eight bell-shaped cisterns.

The ancient settlement on the summit of this remarkable crag would seem to be that to which classical writers gave the name of Tantalus or the city of Tantalus. They affirmed, indeed, that the



Fig. 103.

city had disappeared into a chasm produced by an earthquake; but probably the immense ravine beneath suggested the idea of the earthquake, and popular mythology completed the legend by asserting that the old city had been hurled down into its depths. See Pausanias, vii. 24. 13; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 205, v. 117; Aristides, *Orat.* xv. vol. 1. p. 371 *sq.*, ed. Dindorf; cp. Strabo, i. p. 58.

On the very topmost pinnacle of the crag there is a square cutting in the rock, resembling the seat of a large armchair, with back and sides complete. It is about 5 feet wide, 3 feet from front to back, and 3 feet high at the back. The back of the seat (as it may be called) is simply the top of the precipice, which falls straight down into the ravine, a sheer drop of 900 feet. Across the ravine soars the arid rocky wall of Sipylus. On the other side the eye

ranges over the valley of the Hermus, stretched like a map at one's feet. There seems to be little doubt that this remarkable rock-cut seat, perched on the pinnacle of the dizzy crag, is no other than the "throne of Pelops" mentioned by Pausanias in the present passage. What the original intention of the cutting may have been, is a different question. Professor W. M. Ramsay thinks it was probably an altar on which offerings were laid.'

C. Humann, who discovered this throne in the year 1880, gives a most graphic account of his experiences in reaching it; and I am indebted to his article for the accompanying sketch (fig. 103)¹. W. Reichel adds the suggestion that the houses built on the upper part of the peak belonged in reality to a colony of priests, whose duty it was to serve the god represented by the throne above them. He also conjectures that this god was Apollon or some other form of the sun-god, if not *Hýpsistos* himself, and that the name of Pelops became attached to the throne as did that of Danaos to the throne of Apollon *Lýkios* at Argos, or that of Midas to the throne at Delphoi². Reichel holds that in all these cases the empty throne was by rights the throne of a god, which came to be regarded wrongly as the throne of a by-gone king. Its transference from a god to a king is—I would point out—much facilitated, if we may suppose that the king was viewed as the god incarnate. And in the case before us there are good reasons for suspecting that Pelops was regarded as in some sense a human Zeus³. Thus a rocky seat connected by the Greek inhabitants of Magnesia with Zeus, the chief Magnesian god⁴, would readily come to be called the 'throne of Pelops.' This does not of course preclude the possibility that the original possessor of the throne was neither Pelops, nor Zeus, but some other pre-Greek occupant such as Plastene, Mother of the Gods, whose primitive rock-cut image is still to be seen in its niche on the mountain-side 300 feet above the plain⁵.

¹ C. Humann 'Die Tantalosburg im Sipylos' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1888 xiii. 22—41. The measurements of the throne, as given by him, are: height above sea-level 350^m or 1120 feet, length 1.55^m, depth 1.30^m, height 1.20^m.

² W. Reichel *Über vorhellenische Götterculte* p. 32 f. For the throne of Danaos in the temple of Apollon *Lýkios* at Argos (Paus. 2. 19. 5) see *ib.* p. 18, and for that of Midas at Delphoi (Hdt. 1. 14) *ib.* p. 17.

³ *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 271 ff., *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 398 ff. See further an important chapter on the origin of the Olympic games by Mr F. M. Cornford in Miss J. E. Harrison's latest book *Themis* (ch. vii).

⁴ W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 56: 'on the autonomous coins of Magnesia Zeus is the most characteristic type.' Cp. Append. B Lydia.

⁵ W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 33 ff., C. Humann in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1888 xiii. 26 ff. with map and pl. 1, 2, J. G. Frazer on Paus. 5. 13. 7 (iii. 553 f.).

However that may be, the Greeks do seem to have associated these rock-cut thrones with Zeus. High up on the south-eastern slope of Mount Koressos at Ephesos is another example of them. At the top of a precipitous cliff two steps are hewn out, which give access to a large oblong seat with end-pieces or arms and a high vertical back. In the angle made by this seat and its back another

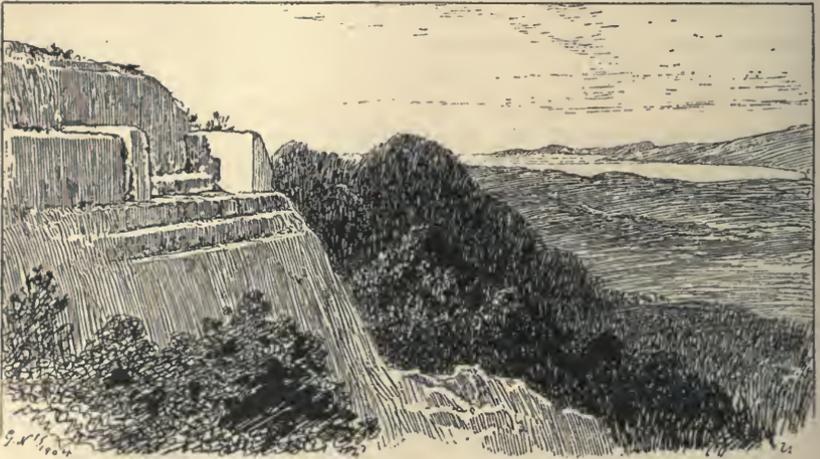


Fig. 104.

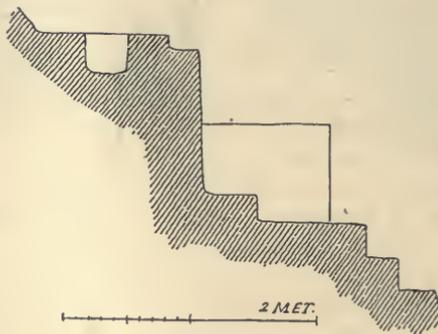


Fig. 105.

step is contrived, standing on which a man can easily reach a hole, presumably a receptacle for offerings, excavated behind the back in a second and higher horizontal surface. The whole arrangement is clearly seen in a sketch and section by Niemann (figs. 104—105)¹. There is no traditional name attached to this throne; nor is there

¹ From O. Benndorf *Forschungen in Ephesos* Wien 1906 p. 56 f. figs. 19, 20.

any inscription showing to what deity it was dedicated. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that the coin of Antoninus Pius cited above (fig. 100) actually represents Zeus enthroned upon Mount Koressos, it will hardly be denied that the Ephesians must have deemed this rock-cut seat the throne of Zeus. Whether the throne itself was the work of a Hellenic or of a pre-Hellenic population remains, as before, an open question. Possibly it had once belonged to the Amazonian mother-goddess, who continued to be worshipped at Ephesos as Artemis *Protothronie*, 'She of the First Throne!'

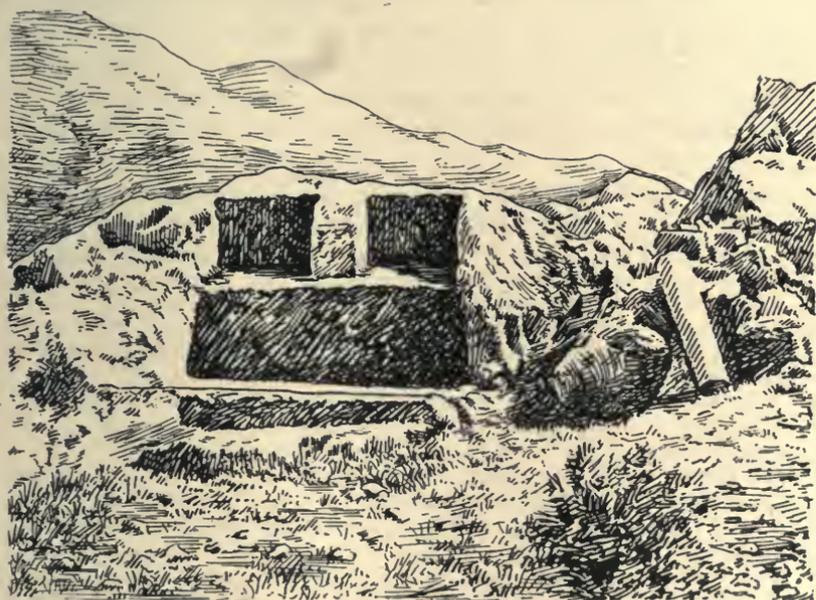


Fig. 106.

Sometimes the name of the god to whom the Greeks referred the throne is happily settled by means of an inscription. Off the west coast of Rhodes lies the little island Chalke, where on a hill-top are to be seen numerous traces of an ancient Greek Akropolis. Among these traces F. Hiller 'von Gaertringen noted a double rock-cut throne (fig. 106)². A single step leads up to two seats with a common arm between them. The seats exhibit a circular smoothing or polish; and on their front surface in late and rude characters is an inscription recording the names of Zeus and

¹ Paus. 10. 38. 6 ὑπὲρ τοῦ βωμοῦ τῆς Πρωτοθρονίης καλουμένης Ἀρτέμιδος, cp. Kallini. *h. Artem.* 228 πρωτόθρονη.

² *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1895 xviii. 3f. fig. 2. The dimensions are: width about 1.30^m, height 0.95^m (=back 0.40^m+seat 0.55^m), depth of seat 0.55^m, height of step 0.14^m.

Hekate¹. In Rhodes itself, not far from Lartos, there is a rock-cut throne some nine or ten feet above the road-way: over against this throne, on the opposite side of the road, is an inscription carved on the face of a steep rock, eighteen feet or so above the ground, in letters not later than the third century B.C.; the inscription is a votive couplet dedicating a tablet (now lost) to Hekate². Again it must be considered doubtful whether Zeus and Hekate were the original occupants of these thrones.

That doubt hardly arises in connexion with a remarkable series of rock-cuttings accompanied by inscriptions found at Thera in 1896³. At the south-eastern end of the ridge on which the town of Thera stood, and fully 1000 feet above sea-level, are the ruins of a very ancient building in polygonal masonry, possibly a *herôion* of the eponym Theras⁴. Below the floor of this building, and therefore older yet, is a group of inscriptions graven on the underlying rock⁵. Three of them give the name *Zeús*⁶, two *Kourés*⁷, one both *Zeús* and *Kourés*⁸, the rest *Apóllon*⁹, *Boreatós*¹⁰ i.e. Zeus *Boreatós*, *Deúteros*¹¹, *Dióskouroi*¹², *Khtron*¹³, *Lokhaía Damía*¹⁴, *Háidas* or *Potidás*¹⁵, *Pelórios*¹⁶ and *Polieús*¹⁷ i.e. Zeus (?) *Pelórios* and Zeus *Polieús*. Out-

¹ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 958 Διός. Ἐκάτη[s].

² *Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 914 Εὐξάμενος ἱερῶ Σωτεῖρα τόνδε ἀν[έθηκα] | τὸμ πίνακα Εὐ[ή]κηφ Φωσφόρω Ἐννοδ[ι]α. Wilamowitz cj. Ἐννοδῖος.

³ F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Die Insel Thera* Berlin 1899—1904 i. 283 ff., iii. 62 ff. with figs. and pls.

⁴ *Id. ib.* i. 284.

⁵ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii nos. 350—363, *ib.* iii Suppl. nos. 1307—1309, Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 167 ff. nos. 4407—4720.

⁶ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii nos. 351 *Zeús*, 352 *Zeú[s]*, 353 *Zeú[s]* = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* nos. 4708—4710.

⁷ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii nos. 354 *Κορές*, 355 *Κορές* = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* nos. 4711 f.

⁸ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 350 *Zeús τὸς με*—near the figure of a small ladder and *Κορές* by the rock-cutting = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* nos. 4707 a (where it is suggested that *τοσμε* . . probably belongs to a different inscription), 4707 b. Possibly we should read *Zeús τοῦ Σμε(ρ)[δίου]* or the like.

⁹ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 356 Ἀπόλων = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4713.

¹⁰ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 357 *Boreatós* (*sc. άνεμος*) = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4714 (*sc. βωμός*). I prefer to supply *Zeús*, since Zeus *Bóreios* occurs in Kilikia (*Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1896 vi Abh. p. 102 n. 182).

¹¹ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 358 and Suppl. *Δεύτερος* (by mistake for *Δεύτερος*) = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4715. On the significance of this name see *infra* p. 144 n. 9.

¹² *Inscr. Gr. ins.* no. 359 *Διόφοροι* = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4716.

¹³ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 360 *Κήρων* = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4717.

¹⁴ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 361 *Λοκαία Δαμία* = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4718.

¹⁵ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 362 -- δας (perhaps [Háí]δας or [Hoi]δās) = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4719.

¹⁶ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 366 and Suppl. no. 1309 (II)ε(λ)ώ(ρ)ιος = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4724.

¹⁷ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 363 and Suppl. *Πολι(ε)ús* (the first three letters alone certain) = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4720.

side the ancient building, but close to it, are other similar inscriptions naming a variety of gods—*Apollón*¹, *Ártamis*², *Athanata*³, *Béris*⁴, *Erinyés*⁵, *Ga*⁶, *Hermás*⁷, *Koutra*⁸, *Khárites*⁹, and perhaps *Théro*¹⁰. In this miscellaneous company Zeus or some epithet of Zeus is of frequent occurrence. We find *Zeús* in letters of the seventh century together with lines of uncertain meaning (fig. 107)¹¹, *Hikésios* i.e. *Zeus Hikésios* in sixth-century script¹², *Zeús* again from the beginning of the fifth century onwards¹³, perhaps *Zeús Polieús* or *Zeús Patrôios*¹⁴ and certainly *Stoichaíos* i.e. *Zeus Stoichaíos* in the fifth century¹⁵,



Fig. 107.

¹ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 372 'Από|λλ|ωνο|ς Μαλε|άτα Χαιριπ|πιδᾶν=Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4737.

² *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 373 'Αρτάμει|τος=Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4738.

³ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 364 'Αθανάτας=Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4721.

⁴ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 365 Βερί[ς]..=Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4722. For *Biris* cp. Paus. 3. 19. 3 and see Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 490.

⁵ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 367 'Ερ[ιν]ύες (so Kern, cp. Hdt. 4. 149)=Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4725.

⁶ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 374 Γᾶς | ιαρόν=Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4739.

⁷ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 370 Ηερμάς=Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4727.

⁸ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 371 and Suppl. no. 1311 Φόρας or Φούρας=Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4728.

⁹ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1312 Κάριτες=Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4728.

¹⁰ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 369 Φερετίμας and Θέρως (so Wilamowitz)=Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4726. *Θέρως*, gen. of *Θήρ*, would refer to the 'Beast' Chiron (*supra* p. 142 n. 13). But F. Hiller von Gaertringen *ad loc.* notes that in the reign of Pheretima a tribe of *Θηραίοι* was established at Kyrene (Hdt. 4. 161). This suggests that *Θέρως* may be *Θηρούς*, gen. of *Θηρώ*, an eponymous nymph (cp. Paus. 3. 19. 8, 9. 40. 5 f., and see L. Malten *Kyrene* Berlin 1911 p. 76).

¹¹ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1313, F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Die Insel Thera* iii. 63 f. fig. 45.

¹² *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii nos. 402 [Η]κέσιος, 403 Ηικέ[σιος], 404 Ηικέσ[ιος]=Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* nos. 4731—4733.

¹³ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii nos. 401 [Ζ]εὺς Τύχωνος and later 399 Ζεὺς | ['Α]γαστικεὺς, 400 Suppl. nos. 1315 'Εχεκράτ(ε)υ[ς] | Ζε[ύ]ς, 1317 Ζε[ύ]ς | τ[ῶ]ν περ[ὶ] Λ[α]κκίων, 1318 Ζεὺς | τῶν περ[ὶ] Ὀλ[υμ]πιόδωρον=Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* nos. 4730, 4753. Cp. *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 425 Ζεῦθ[ς]=Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4734.

¹⁴ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 375 Ζηνῶ[ς] | Η[ολιέος] or Η[ατρῶιου] (the initial Η alone was engraved and possibly represents the name of a dedicant)=Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4740 a.

¹⁵ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 376 Στοιχαίον=Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4740 b. Cp. Bekker *anecd.* ii. 790, 26 ff. Στεφάνου. Στοιχείον εἶρηται, ὡς μὲν Πίνδαρος ὁ γραμματικὸς, ἀπὸ Στοιχόν τῶος, ἐνὸς τῶν αὐτοχθόνων 'Αθηναίων· ὡς δὲ ἔτιοι, ἀπὸ τοῦ δι' αὐτῶν τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς τυποῦσθαι· στοιχος γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ὁ ἀριθμός. τοιγαροῦν Σικυωνίοι κατὰ φυλὰς ἑαυτοὺς τάξαντες καὶ ἀριθμήσαντες, Διὸς Στοιχέως ἱερὸν ἰδρύσαντο; Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* iv. 320, 28 reads Διὸς Στοιχαδέως and Villosion *anecd.* ii. 187, 11 Διὸς Στοιχείου.

lastly *Melchios* in the fourth¹ and *Zeùs Melchios* in the fourth or third century². Beside most of these inscriptions, both within and without the old building, certain small sinkings, round, square, or irregularly shaped, and hardly more than a foot in length and breadth, are made in the rock. These look as though they had been intended to receive altars or dedications of some sort, or perhaps, as F. Hiller von Gaertringen suggests, to serve instead of altars themselves³. P. Wolters, however, describes them as 'seat-shaped cuttings' (*sitzartigen Einarbeitungen*)⁴, and W. Reichel goes so far as to call them 'rock-thrones' (*Felsthronen*)⁵. The principal deities worshipped at an early date in this 'agorá of the gods'⁶ were clearly Zeus and Koures. Not improbably—as E. Maass has argued⁷—*Kourés* was a cult-epithet of Zeus himself⁸. If so, the Curetic cult of Thera was analogous to the Curetic cult of Crete⁹. In this connexion a dedication of hair to the Dymanian nymphs is noteworthy¹⁰. Moreover, it can hardly be accidental that the same site was later occupied by the Gymnasium of the *éphēboi*¹¹. It is likely too that the cult stood in some relation to the adjoining grotto, where warm currents of moist air issue from two holes in the rock-wall and an intermittent roar—perhaps that of the sea far below—can be faintly heard. The explorers' workmen would not risk sleeping in the cave. If it was to the Kouretes of Thera what the Dictæan and Idaean caves were to the Kouretes of Crete¹², we may legitimately suspect that it once contained a throne of Zeus.

¹ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 406 εὐστὰ | Μηλίχι[ος]=Collitz-Bechtel. *ib.* no. 4752. On εὐστρόν see L. Ziehen in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 267 ff.

² *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1316 Ζεὺς Μηλιχίος τῶν | περι Πολύ|ξενο|ν.

³ F. Hiller von Gaertringen on *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii nos. 350—363.

⁴ P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 xxi. 255.

⁵ W. Reichel *Über vorhellenische Götterculte* Wien 1897 p. 31.

⁶ On the deities named in the rock-inscriptions of Thera see F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Die archaische Kultur der Insel Thera* Berlin 1897 p. 17 ff. and *Die Insel Thera* i. 149 ff., iii. 63 f.

⁷ E. Maass in *Hermes* 1890 xxv. 406 n., taking *Kourḗs* to be for *Kouroptrófos* (which is improbable) and comparing Apollon *Kouréas* of Teos (*Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 445 Ἀπόλλωνος | Κουρέου | Πολλιδῶν | καὶ [Φ]αυαῖδων, cp. Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 807 = *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1880 iv. 168).

⁸ Cp. *supra* pp. 15, 104 ff.

⁹ H. Usener in F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Die Insel Thera* i. 149 n. 34 compared the *kourḗs* of Thera with the *πρωτοκούρης* of Ephesos and most ingeniously suggested that the enigmatic personage *Δεύτερος* may have been the 'second' in command of a band of human *kourḗtes*. I incline, however, to think that *Δεύτερος* means 're-born' (*δευτερό-ποτμος*) and is an epithet of *Kourḗs*, the youthful Zeus.

¹⁰ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 377 [Δ](ν)(μ)άν(ω)ν | [Νόμ]φαι | κό(μ)(α)μ...β' = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4741. See F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Die Insel Thera* i. 284.

¹¹ *Id. ib.* i. 33 f., 289 ff., iii. 115 ff.

¹² Append. B Crete.

Between Megara and Eleusis lies the mountain-range of Kerata. The highest of its four peaks (1527 ft)—as Prof. A. Milchhöfer first noted¹—is thought by the peasants of Megara to have been the spot whence Xerxes on his throne watched the battle of Salamis. Since the site agrees with Akestodoros' description², W. Reichel twice visited it in order to verify Milchhöfer's report. At the south-east corner of the little plateau that crowns the topmost peak he found an isolated rock partially hewn into the shape of a seat with rounded back and projecting footstool (fig. 108)³. The seat commands a wide view, but is so placed that one sitting on it would face north and look directly away from Salamis! Reichel concludes that it is a very ancient



Fig. 108.

mountain-throne, to which in popular belief the story of Xerxes has become attached⁴.

In an angle of the Mouseion Hill at Athens there are no less than seven such seats (figs. 109–110)⁵. Carefully cut in the rock along one side of a platform or terrace, with a single step in front of them, they give the impression of being a row of seats

¹ See W. Reichel *Über vorhellenische Götterculte* Wien 1897 p. 21.

² Akestodoros (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 464 Müller) *ap. Plout. v. Them.* 13 *ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς Μεγαρίδος ὑπὲρ τῶν καλουμένων Κεράτων.*

³ W. Reichel 'Ein angeblicher Thron des Xerxes' in the *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* Wien 1898 pp. 63–65 with fig. (sketched by E. Gilliéron from a photograph).

⁴ The actual throne was a golden chair (Akestodoros *loc. cit.*) with silver feet, preserved on the Akropolis at Athens (Dem. in *Timocr.* 129 with schol.) in the Parthenon (Ἱερὸν κρῆσιν ἀργυρόπους δίφρος).

⁵ E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert *Atlas von Athen* Berlin 1878 p. 19f. description, plan, and section; pl. 6, 4 view.



Fig. 109.

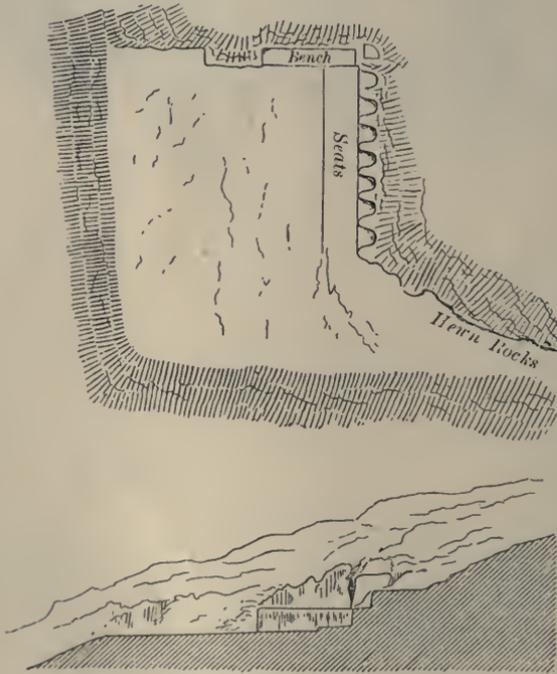


Fig. 110.

for judges or the like, forerunners perhaps of the Council on the Areiopagos. They are about two hundred yards from the rock-cut niche in the Pnyx where Zeus *Hypsistos* was worshipped¹. It seems possible, therefore, that we have here an open-air tribunal at which decisions were delivered under the inspiration of Zeus. In fact, I incline to identify the seven seats with the so-called 'Seats of Zeus,' the place at Athens where, according to old tradition, Athena when she contended with Poseidon for possession of the Akropolis, begged Zeus to give his vote for her, promising on her part to sacrifice the first victim on the altar of Zeus *Polieus*².



Fig. 111.

At Phalasarna in western Crete three sandstone thrones are hewn in the lower slopes of a coast-hill near the necropolis. The best-preserved of them was described by R. Pashley in 1837 as 'a great chair—cut out of the solid rock: the height of the arms above the seat is two feet eleven inches; and its other dimensions are in proportion³.' But the most interesting feature of this throne, the pillar carved on the inner surface of its back, was first observed and drawn by L. Savignoni and G. de Sanctis in 1901 (figs. 111,

¹ *Infra* Append. B.

² Hesych. *s.v.* Διὸς θᾶκοι καὶ πεσσοί, Soud. *s.v.* Διὸς ψῆφος, Kratin. *Archilochi frag.* 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 18 f. Meineke).

³ R. Pashley *Travels in Crete* Cambridge and London 1837 ii. 64 fig. Cp. T. A. B. Spratt *Travels and Researches in Crete* London 1865 ii. 234 f. fig. ('the monolith bema of Phalasarna'!).

112)¹. If we may press the analogy of other Cretan pillar-cults, the divine occupant of the throne was either Rhea² or Zeus³.

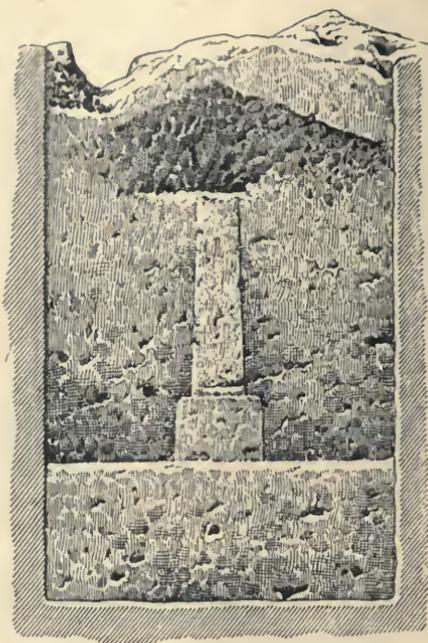


Fig. 112.

(c) The Mountain as the Birth-place of Zeus.

The Zeus-legends that clung about the mountain-tops related to the birth or infancy of the god, his marriage-unions, his sons, and his death.

¹ L. Savignoni and G. de Sanctis in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1901 xi. 363 ff. figs. 60—61; plan *ib.* p. 349 f. fig. 47. Cp. F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1911 xxvi. 85 fig. 20.

² A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 165 ff. L. Savignoni and G. de Sanctis *loc. cit.* p. 366 f. cite Paus. 2. 4. 7 (on the way up the Akrokorinthos) Μητρὸς θεῶν ναὸς ἐστὶ καὶ στήλη καὶ θρόνος· λίθων καὶ αὐτῆ καὶ ὁ θρόνος.

³ A. J. Evans *loc. cit.* pp. 163 ff., 170 ff. Cp. *infra* ch. ii § 3 (a) ii (δ) and, for the association of a pillar with the throne of Zeus, *supra* p. 34 f.

Recently A. Fick in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1911 xlv. 341 ff. has drawn attention to Hesych. Ἑλλά· καθέδρα. Ἰάκωνες. καὶ Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐν Δωδώνῃ. He points out that ἔλλα (for *ἔδλα, as *sella* for **sedla*) is 'ein uraltes Wort,' which survived in Laconian till late times, cp. Hesych. κασέ(λλ)α· καθέδρα, and suggests that Dodona was called Ἑλλά as being the 'Seat' or 'Throne' of Zeus. In support of this view he

Zeus *Kretagenēs*¹ (figs. 113, 114, 115) or *Kretogenēs*² was 'Born in Crete,' his birth being located first in a cave of Mount Dikte³ (on



Fig. 113.



Fig. 114.



Fig. 115.

might have cited Simmias Rhod. *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δωδώνη...Ζηνός εδος Κρονίδαο μάκαιρ' υπεδέξατο Δωδώ, Aisch. *P.v.* 830 f. τὴν αἰθνώπων τ' ἀμφὶ Δωδώνῃ, ἵνα | μαντεία θᾶκός τ' ἐστὶ Θεσπρωτοῦ Διός, cp. Hes. *frag.* 192 Flach *ap.* Strab. 327 Δωδώνῃ φηγόν τε, Πελασγῶν ἔδρανον, ἦεν, Ephoros *frag.* 54 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 247 f. Müller) *ap.* Strab. 327 Πελασγῶν ἴδρυμα, Skymn. *Chi. per.* 450 ἴδρυμ'...Πελασγικόν. But??

¹ J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 194 no. 45 pl. 18, 2 a copper of Hierapytna struck by Augustus (Gotha) with head of Zeus to right wearing fillet and legend ΤΑΝ ΚΡΗΤΑΓΕΝΗ ΣΙΕΡΑ (fig. 113), *ib.* i. 284 no. 52 pl. 26, 30 a copper of Polyrhénion struck by Augustus (Paris) with laureate head of Zeus to right, thunderbolt below, and legend ΤΑΝ Κ[ΡΗΤΑΓΕ]ΝΗΣ ΠΟΑΤΡ (fig. 114), *ib.* i. 342 no. 45 pl. 33, 10 a copper of Crete *in genere* struck by Titus (Paris and Vienna) with a nude Zeus erect, thunderbolt in raised right hand, *chlamys* round left arm, surrounded by seven stars and legend ΖΕΥΣ ΚΡΗ[ΤΑΓΕΝΗΣ] (fig. 115), *Head Hist. num.*² pp. 469, 475, 479, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 107, 216 Münztaf. I, 38, 3, 19, cp. Svoronos in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1893 p. 203 f. pl. 1, 8; Lebas-Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 394 (cp. no. 406) Mylasa = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 472, 10 *ιερεὺς Διὸς Κρηταγ[έ]νουσ καὶ Κουρήτων*, cp. W. Judeich in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1889 xiv. 395; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γάζα...ἐκλήθη δὲ καὶ Μίνωφ, ὅτι Μίνωσ σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς Αἰακῶ καὶ Ῥαδαμάνθῳ ἰὼν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ταύτην ἐκάλεσεν. ἐνθεν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κρηταίου Διὸς παρ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ὃν καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκάλουσ Μαρνᾶν, ἐρμηγευόμενον Κρηταγενῆ. τὰς παρθένους γὰρ οὕτω Κρήτες προσαγορεύουσι Μαρνᾶν (μαρνᾶνς cj. M. Schmidt in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1863 xii. 220), Marcus Diaconus *v. Porphyrii episcopi Gazensis* 64 (*Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1874 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 199, 22 ff.) ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ναοὶ εἰδώλων δημόσιοι ὀκτώ, τοῦ τε Ἥλιου καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῆς Κόρης καὶ τῆς Ἐκάτης καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ἱερῶτων καὶ τῆς (Ἡρῶν καὶ τὸ τῆς M. Haupt) Τύχης τῆς πόλεως, ὃ ἐκάλουσ τύχεον (Τυχαῖον M. Haupt), καὶ τὸ Μαρνέσιον, ὃ ἔλεγον εἶναι τοῦ κρίτα γένους. (Κρηταγενοῦς M. Haupt) Διός, ὃ ἐνόμιζον εἶναι ἐνδοξότερον πάντων τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ with a Latin version by Gentianus Hervetus in the *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. *Februarius* iii. 655 Erant autem in ciuitate simulacrorum publica templa octo : nempe Solis, et Veneris, et Apollinis, et Proserpinae, et Hecates, et quod dicebatur Hierion seu sacerdotum, et Fortunae ciuitatis, quod vocabant Tycheon, et Marnion, quod dicebant esse Critae generis (*Cretagenis* Henschen) Iouis : quod existimabant esse gloriosius omnibus templis, quae sunt vbiique. The context enables us to form some idea of the character, ritual, and temple of Marnas (*infra* ch. ii § 9 (g)). See further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1422, W. Drexler *ib.* ii. 2379, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1673 n. 1.

² *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2554, 176 ff. (oath between Latos and Olous) ὁμ[ύ]ω τὰν Ἐστίαν καὶ τὸν Ζῆρα τὸν Κρητογενία καὶ τὰν Ἥραν κ.τ.λ. = Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 333 ff. no. 5075, 73.

³ Append. B Crete.

which he is said to have built a city¹) and, later², in a cave high up on the side of Mount Ide³. Both districts had strange stories to tell of the way in which the divine child had been nurtured by doves



Fig. 116.



Fig. 117.

or bees, a goat or a pig, while Kouretes and Korybantēs clashed their weapons to drown his infant cries (figs. 116, 117)⁴. But Lydia

¹ Diod. 5. 70 ἀνδρωθέντα δ' αὐτὸν φασὶ πρῶτον πῶλον κτίσαι περὶ τὴν Δίκταν, ὅπου καὶ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι μυθολογοῦσιν· ἢς ἐκλειφθείσης ἐν τοῖς ὑστερον χρόνοις διαμένειν ἐτι καὶ νῦν ἔρματα τῶν θεμελιῶν. Sir Arthur Evans identifies this city with the extensive prehistoric ruins at Goulàs (see his 'Goulàs: The City of Zeus' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1895—1896 ii. 169 ff.; cp., however, the more thorough investigations of J. Demargne in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 222, 1901 xxv. 282 ff., 1903 xxvii. 206 ff., and of A. J. Reinach in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv Arch. Anz. p. 404 f.).

² There is evidence that the cult of the Dictæan cave was in time superseded by that of the Idaean cave. With very rare and sporadic exceptions, the Dictæan antiquities do not come down lower than the Geometric period, i.e., probably the opening of the eighth century B.C.' (D. G. Hogarth in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 115). Further, a treaty between Lyttos and Olous (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 549 b, 5 = Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 380 f. no. 5147 b, 5) makes the Lyttians swear by Τῆνα Βιδάταν, 'Zeus of Ide,' while another inscription (*ib.* iii. 2. 301 ff. no. 5024, 22 f.) mentions a temple of Zeus τῷ Βιδάρῳ on the frontier of Priansos: Lyttos and Priansos are so near to Mt Dikte that, had the Dictæan cult still been flourishing, Zeus would presumably have been invoked as Δικραῖος, not Βιδάρας (R. C. Bosanquet in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1908—1909 xv. 349).

³ Append. B Crete.

⁴ Von Rohden-Winnefeld *Ant. Terrakotten* iv. 1. 8 f., following E. Braun (*Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 17, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1840 xii. 141 ff. pl. K), distinguish two types of terra-cotta reliefs: (1) the Caeretan type shows the infant Zeus in the arms of a female seated on a throne with two Kouretes to right and left; the best example is in the Ny Carlsberg collection (*Ant. Terrakotten* pl. 10). (2) The Roman type, referable to the Augustan age, shows the infant Zeus seated on a rock and introduces a third Koures; the best

was prepared to dispute with Crete the honour of having been his birth-place¹: Mount Sipylus², Mount Tmolos (fig. 118)³, and Mount Messogis (figs. 119, 121)⁴ were in that respect rivals of Dikte



Fig. 118.



Fig. 119.



Fig. 120.



Fig. 121.



Fig. 122.

and Ide. It is probable that the legends of Zeus' birth and infancy were localised on the mountains of Phrygia also; for coins of Akmoneia (figs. 122, 123)⁵, Apameia (fig. 124)⁶, Laodikeia on the

example is in the British Museum (*Ant. Terrakotten* pl. 25, cp. pl. 135 a variant of the second century in the Louvre).

I figure two specimens of the second type: (a) fig. 116 (after O. Benndorf in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1902 v. 151 f. fig. 38) a fragment of terra-cotta, the design of which differs in some respects from that of the reliefs enumerated by Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 336 f. Atlas pl. 4, 4: the infant is named ΖΕΥC and is seated on a rock with a wingless thunderbolt behind him.—(b) Fig. 117 the corresponding part of the above-mentioned relief from Cervetri (?) acquired by the British Museum in 1891 (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 379 no. D 501 pl. 39, H. B. Walters *The Art of the Romans* London 1911 p. 136 pl. 58): the inscription is here ΖΕΥ[C].

¹ *Lyd. de mens.* 4. 71 p. 123, 12 ff. Wünsch.

² *Append. B Lydia.*

³ *Ib.*

⁴ *Ib.* The coin of Tralleis here figured for the first time (fig. 119) is at Paris (Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. vii. 471 no. 715): I am indebted to M. Babelon for the cast from which my illustration was made. ... ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΩΝ and ΔΙΟΓΡΩΝΑΙ.

⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* pp. xxiv, 20 pl. 4, 4 a copper struck by Trebonianus Gallus Α Κ Μ Ο ΝΕΩΝ, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 663 (fig. 122). F. Lenormant *Monnaies et médailles* Paris 1883 p. 181 fig., E. Babelon in the *Rev. Num.* 1891 ix. 38 f. pl. 4, 4 (fig. 123) a bronze medallion of Gordianus iii showing Rhea with her foot raised on a rock.

⁶ Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* iv. 238 no. 268 and 239 no. 270, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* p. xl, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 667, Müller-Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 16 f.

Lykos (fig. 120)³ and Symada (fig. 120)⁴, represent Zeus as a babe nursed by Rhea with the goat beside him and the Kouretes grouped around. To judge from a coin of Maionia (fig. 125)⁴, a similar



Fig. 120.



Fig. 124.

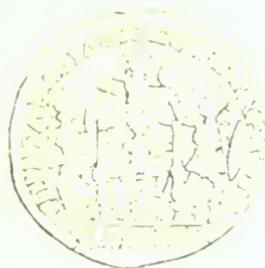


Fig. 125.



Fig. 126.



Fig. 127.

type, the gold of some mountain in the volcanic region known as Katalakumene. And an almost identical type occurring at

Maionia (Orosius *de Kosmetis*, Zeus p. 335 f. Münzf. 5, 6, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 475 ff., W. M. Lindsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1897 ii. 432 ff., 434 ff.; *Topographie*, Titinius Decius and Valerianus (Paris). In F. Wieseler's *Monnaies de l'Asie Mineure*, but borrowed from Roscher *loc. cit.*, the head and shield of the Kouretes, the *κρηνη* (fontaine) is inscribed above the child's nurse: ΠΑΡΑ · ΑΥΡ · ΕΡΩΝ ΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙΑΡΧΩΝ and ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ.

At Maionia (Orosius *de Kosmetis*, Zeus p. 330 ff., 781, 782, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 396 f., Lindsay *op. cit.* *Topog.* *de Kosmetis*, *deba.* deutsch. arch. Inst. 1888 iii. 290 pl. 9, 49, W. M. Lindsay *op. cit.* p. 432 ff., 434, 33; a copper struck by Caracalla (Venice, *alib.*) *op. cit.* p. 432 ff., 434, 33; an eagle above, the *genius* of the town with a cornucopia, and a *κρηνη* (fontaine) above, the Kouros and the Lykos.

At *Maionia* (Orosius *de Kosmetis*, Phrygia pp. c. 396 no. 25 drawn from a cast: CVNNA ΔΕΩΝ, *Maionia*, *deba.* deutsch. arch. Inst. 1888 iii. 290 pl. 57, 6, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 686.

At *Lykos* (Orosius *de Kosmetis*, Zeus p. 330 ff., 781, 782, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 396 f., Lindsay *op. cit.* *Topog.* *de Kosmetis*, *deba.* deutsch. arch. Inst. 1888 iii. 290 pl. 9, 49, W. M. Lindsay *op. cit.* p. 432 ff., 434, 33; a copper struck by Caracalla (in the Louvre cabinet at Paris): ΕΠΙΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥΒ · ΣΕΥΣΑΡΧΑΤΟΓΑ ΟΥΤΟΦ ΜΑΙΟΝΩΝ ἐπι Ηρακλεῶν β'. Ζεὺς, ἀρχ. α' τὸ γ' α' στεφ. Μαίωνων.

At *Maionia* (Orosius *de Kosmetis*, Phrygia pp. c. 396 no. 25 drawn from a cast: CVNNA ΔΕΩΝ, *Maionia*, *deba.* deutsch. arch. Inst. 1888 iii. 290 pl. 57, 6, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 686.

Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos (figs. 126¹, 127²) may have reference to the Corycian Cave in Mount Korykos³. It is not, however, certain that the child seated on a throne and surrounded by dancing Kouretes is Zeus, at least in the ordinary acceptation of that name. It may be that the Greeks would rather have termed him Dionysos; for a coin of the Ionian Magnesia (fig. 128)⁴ shows



Fig. 128.



Fig. 129.

the same childish figure seated in like manner on a princely seat with a covered basket and snake visible beneath it⁵. But we have not yet exhausted the list of mountains where Zeus was said to

¹ Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 484 no. 13 pl. 18, 21 a copper struck by Caracalla $\Sigma\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\omega\upsilon\kappa\alpha\iota\tau\omega\upsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda\upsilon\kappa\alpha\delta\alpha\delta\eta\omega\upsilon\kappa\alpha$.

² Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* v. 260 no. 911. A. von Rauch in the *Berliner Blätter für Müns-Siegel und Wappenkunde* 1870 v. 23 pl. 56, 31, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 337 a copper struck by Macrinus (von Rauch) $\Sigma\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\omega\upsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda\upsilon\kappa\alpha\delta\eta\omega\upsilon\kappa\alpha$. For other specimens see W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1895 xv. 103 no. 24 pl. 5, 16, G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 90 f. pl. 2, 18 and in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia etc. p. 134 pl. 24, 2, Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 484 n. 2 pl. 18, 22; and for a copper of similar design struck by Severus Alexander, E. Babelon *Inventaire de la collection Waddington* Paris 1898 no. 4467 pl. 11, 11.

³ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 327 f., 1393.

⁴ Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 121 no. 315 pl. 8, 33 a copper struck by Caracalla (Paris) with legend $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \Gamma\ \cdot\ M\ \cdot\ \text{AVP}\ \cdot\ \text{V}\Lambda\Lambda\text{OY}\ \cdot\ \epsilon\pi\iota\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \cdot\ \text{MAGNHTON}$.

⁵ Cp. Imhoof-Blumer *ib.* p. 120 ff. no. 314 pl. 8, 34, no. 316 pl. 8, 32, no. 317, no. 318 pl. 8, 31, no. 318a.

An ivory relief in the Milan Museum (*Arch. Zeit.* 1846 iv. 217 ff. pl. 38, *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1908—1909 xv. 320 fig. 5) shows the child Dionysos seated on a stool in front of a rocky cave flanked by Kouretes and Maenads.

Another relief (E. Gerhard *Antike Bildwerke München Stuttgart & Tübingen* 1828—1844 p. 348 pl. 104, 1), said to be in the Vatican (but see F. Matz in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1870 xlii. 100 n. 3), represents him seated on a shield, while Kouretes clash their weapons about him: to the right a snake crawls out of a half-open basket on the lid of which a goat-footed Pan is stamping; beyond Pan is a shaggy Silenos.

have been born. Pergamon¹ certainly, and possibly Mount Ide in the Troad², were of the number. Among the Greek islands Naxos had its own story of the birth of Zeus³, connected perhaps with Mount Drios⁴. Kronos was said to have swallowed the stone that Rhea gave him instead of Zeus at Chaironeia in Boiotia, on a rocky height called Petrachos⁵: Thebes too claimed to be the birth-place of Zeus⁶ and could point to a place that took its name from the event⁷. In Messenia local piety declared that Zeus had been, if not born, at least brought up by the nymphs upon the summit of Mount Ithome⁸. But of all the non-Cretan districts Arkadia had established the strongest claim to be considered the cradle of Zeus⁹: here on Mount Thaumasion Kronos had swallowed the stone¹⁰, and here on Mount Lykaion Zeus was born¹¹ and reared¹².

(d) The Mountain as the Marriage-place of Zeus.

The union of Zeus with Hera was likewise referred by the Greeks to a variety of mountain-tops. The *Iliad* in a passage of more than usual beauty describes how the two slept together on a peak of the Trojan Ide :

So Kronos' son, and clasped his bride to his breast.
Beneath them Earth divine made grass to grow
New-nurtured, and the dewy lotus-bloom,
Crocus and hyacinth, thick and soft withal,
Which raised them from the ground. Thereon they lay,
And o'er them spread a cloud magnificent
And golden : glittering dew-drops from it fell.
Thus slumbered still the Sire on Gargaros' height,
Vanquished by sleep and love, his wife in his arms¹³.

¹ Append. B Mysia.

² Prop. 3. 1. 27 *Idaeum Simoenta Iovis cunabula parvi*—if that is the right reading of the line, and if Propertius is not guilty of confusing Mt Ide in the Troad with Mt Ide in Crete.

³ Aglaosthenes *Naxiaca frags.* 1, 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 293 Müller).

⁴ *Infra* p. 163 ff., Append. B Naxos.

⁵ *Ib.* Boiotia.

⁶ Lyk. *Al.* 1194 with schol. and Tzetz. *ad loc.*

⁷ Aristodemos *ap. schol. Il.* 13. 1, cp. Paus. 9. 18. 5.

⁸ Append. B Messene.

⁹ See *e.g.* Clem. *Al. protr.* 2. 28. 1 p. 20, 30 ff. Stählin, *Cic. de nat. deor.* 3. 53, Ampel. 9. 1.

¹⁰ Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Θαυμάσιον, Paus. 8. 36. 2 f.

¹¹ Kallim. *h. Zeus* 4 ff., Strab. 348, Paus. 8. 36. 3. Zeus was washed at his birth in the cold waters of the river Lousios (Paus. 8. 28. 2), and swaddled at Geraistion (*et. mag.* p. 227, 44 f.).

¹² Paus. 8. 38. 2 f.

¹³ *Il.* 14. 346 ff., cp. Petron. *sat.* 127. 9.

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1



Mount Taygeton as seen from Sparta.

[Mount Talcion is the highest point towards the southern (left-hand) end of the range.]

See page 155 f.

Others named Mount Oche in Euboea, Mount Kithairon in Boiotia, Mount Kokkygion in Argolis, as the scene where Zeus took Hera for his bride¹. It was said too that Zeus met Semele on Mount Sipylus², that he consorted with Leto in a shady nook and natural bower on Mount Kithairon³, that he seduced Kallisto in the neighbourhood of Mount Lykaion⁴, that he carried off Europe to his cave in Mount Dikte⁵. He formed *liaisons*, moreover, with more than one mountain-goddess or mountain-nymph. Mount Agdos, a rocky summit of Galatia, bore to him a bisexual child Agdistis, about whom one of the wildest and most archaic of all Greek tales was told⁶. According to the Orphic cosmogony, the original rulers of 'snowy Olympos' were Ophion and the Oceanid Eurynome: the former gave place to Kronos, the latter to Rhea, who in their turn were eclipsed by Zeus⁷. But Eurynome became by Zeus the mother of the Charites⁸ and of Asopos the river-god⁹. Again, the ancient systematisers of mythology, who recognised five different Athenas, distinguished one as the daughter of Zeus and Koryphe, adding that this, the fourth, Athena was identical with the inventress of four-horse chariots, whom the Arcadians called Koría¹⁰. Pausanias speaks of the Arcadian temple of Athena Koría as standing on the *koryphé* or 'peak' of a mountain¹¹. It is, therefore, practically certain that in Arkadia Zeus was paired with a mountain-goddess or mountain-nymph named Koryphe. Another of his amours was with Taygete, Atlas' daughter¹², of whom was born Lakedaimon, the eponym of the Lacedaemonians¹³. But Taygete was herself the eponym of Mount Taygeton¹⁴, the fine range which stretches some seventy miles from Belbina to Tainaron and culminates in Mount Taleton (7902 feet) above Sparta (pl. xiv). Colonel Mure says of this majestic mountain-mass: 'Whether from

¹ Append. B Euboea, Boiotia, Argolis.

² *Ib.* Lydia.

³ Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 1. 3.

⁴ Pseudo-Eratosth. *cat. ast.* 1. 8, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 91.

⁵ Append. B Crete.

⁶ *Ib.* Galatia.

⁷ Ap. Rhod. 1. 503 ff., Tzet. *in Lyk. Al.* 1191 ff., schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 247.

⁸ Hes. *theog.* 907, Paus. 9. 35. 5, Orph. *h. Char.* 60. 1 ff.

⁹ Apollod. 3. 12. 6.

¹⁰ Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 59; cp. Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 28. 2 p. 21, 1 f. Stählin, who states that the fourth Athena was the daughter of Zeus and derived her Messenian title of Κορυφαία from her mother.

¹¹ Paus. 8. 21. 4.

¹² Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 3. 53.

¹³ Hellanikos *frag.* 56 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 52 Müller) *ap.* schol. *Il.* 18. 486, Apollod. 3. 10. 3, pseudo-Eratosth. *cat. ast.* 23, Paus. 3. 1. 2, Hyg. *fab.* 155, Myth. Vat. 1. 234.

¹⁴ Paus. 3. 1. 2.

its real height, from the grandeur of its outline, or the abruptness of its rise from the plain, (it) created in my mind a stronger impression of stupendous bulk and loftiness than any mountain I have seen in Greece, or perhaps in any other part of Europe.¹ Here surely was a mountain-bride worthy of Zeus himself. Pelasgos, the forefather of the Pelasgians, was, according to one account, the son of Zeus by Larissa², whose name repeatedly occurs as that of a Pelasgian burgh or rock-fortress³. And lastly a Sicilian myth told how Aitne, the name-sake of Mount Aitne, had been embraced by Zeus and then, through fear of Hera, hidden away in the Earth till she bore twin sons, the Palikoi, whose strange volcanic springs still interest travellers that visit the *Lago dei Palici* near the town of *Palagonia*⁴.

Mountain-eponyms were either female or male. Zeus not only consorted with the former, but also became the father of the latter. Thus Gargaros⁵, Geraistos⁶, Olympos (?), Solymos⁸, Tainaros⁹, were all regarded as his sons. Atlas, the supporter of the sky, who as early as the middle of the fifth century B.C. was identified with a great mountain in north-western Africa¹⁰, was, according to one genealogy, the son of Zeus¹¹. A daughter of Atlas¹² named Plouto¹³ bore to the same god Tantalos, whose name was given to

¹ W. Mure *Journal of a Tour in Greece* Edinburgh and London 1842 ii. 221.

² Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 1. 624: cp. Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 23, who makes Tityos the son of Zeus *ex Larisse...Orchomeni*, unless we should read *ex (E)lar[iss]e*, as O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 940 suggests on the strength of Pherekydes *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 71 Müller) *ap. schol. Ap. Rhod.* 1. 761 = Eudok. *viol.* 338 and Apollod. 1. 4. 1, Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1581, 56 ff.

³ A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 Index p. 165 *s.v.* Λάρισσα, Λαρισσαῖαι πέτραι.

⁴ Append. B Sicily.

⁵ *Ib.* Troas.

⁶ *Ib.* Euboia.

⁷ De-Vit *Onomasticon* iii. 729 without citing his source. If this was the epigram in Oros. 4. 1. 14 *pater optime Olympi*, it is far from convincing, since *Olympus* may be merely a poetic term for the gods collectively (see Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 857).

⁸ Append. B Pisidia.

⁹ *Ib.* Lakonike.

¹⁰ Hdt. 4. 184: see also Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2119.

¹¹ Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 23.

¹² Myth. Vat. 1. 204, cp. Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 21 and 23. In Hyg. *fab.* 155 Tantalus ex Plutone *Himantis* filia R. Unger cj. *Atlantis*, B. Stark *Mimantis*. The father of Plouto is Tmolos in schol. Eur. *Or.* 5, Tzet. *chil.* 5. 444 ff., *Mantiss. proverb.* 2. 94, Kronos in schol. Pind. *Ol.* 3. 41.

¹³ Asklepiades of Tragilos *frag.* 20 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 305 Müller) *ap. schol. Od.* 11. 582, Paus. 2. 22. 3, Ant. Lib. 36, Nonn. *Dion.* 1. 145 ff., 7. 119, 48. 729 ff., Apostol. 16. 16, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Ταντάλου τάλαντα, Soud. *s.v.* τὰ Ταντάλου ταλαντίσεται, schol. Eur. *Or.* 345, Hyg. *fab.* 82, 155. Her name is otherwise given as Plute (Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 23), Plota (Natalis Comes *mytholog.* 6. 8 p. 337, cp. 335, ed. Patav. 1616), Plutis (Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 21), or Plotis (Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Theb.* 2. 436).

a mountain in Lesbos¹ and whose town was situated on an almost inaccessible crag of Mount Sipylos².

The remarkable tradition, current in the vicinity of Mount Olympos, that heaven and earth once met upon the summit will be discussed in another connexion.

(e) The Mountain as the Burial-place of Zeus.

The Cretans declared that Zeus was a prince, who had been ripped up by a wild boar and buried in Crete,—an assertion which is supposed to have earned for them their traditional reputation as liars³. Numerous writers of Hellenistic and Byzantine times mention the tomb of Zeus as an object of interest in Crete⁴, though they do not agree as to its exact locality. Ennius⁵ places it at Knossos, Varro⁶ and Porphyrios⁷ on Mount Ide, Nonnos⁸ on the top of Mount Dikte. Conceivably more districts than one had a local legend of Zeus dead and buried on a mountain. His tomb

¹ Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τάνταλος, *cp. s.v.* Πόλιον.

² *Supra* p. 137 ff.

³ My friend Dr J. Rendel Harris 'The Cretans always Liars' in the *Expositor* 1906 pp. 305—317 cites from the *Gannat Busamé* or 'Garden of Delights' (a Nestorian commentary on Scripture full of extracts from Theodore of Mopsuestia etc.) the following note on Acts 17. 28: "In Him we live and move and have our being." The Cretans used to say of Zeus, that he was a prince and was ripped up by a wild boar, and he was buried: and lo! his grave is with us. Accordingly Minos, the son of Zeus, made over him a panegyric and in it he said: "A grave have fashioned for thee, O holy and high One, the lying Kretans, who are all the time liars, evil beasts, idle bellies; but thou diest not, for to eternity thou livest, and standest; for in thee we live and move and have our being."³ Dr Rendel Harris suggests that the panegyric in question may be the poem by Epimenides on Minos and Rhadamanthys (Diog. Laert. 1. 112) and *cp.* Kallim. *h. Zeus* 8f. Κρήτες ἀέλ ψεύσται· καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὃ ἄνα, σείο | Κρήτες ἐτεκτῆσαντο. σὺ δ' οὐ θάνα· ἔσσι γὰρ ἀέλ. Another explanation of the proverb is given in Athenodoros of Eretria *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 345 Müller): *cp.* also Io. Malal. *chron.* 4 p. 88 Dindorf.

⁴ Kallim. *h. Zeus* 8f. with schol., *Enn. sacr. hist. ap. Lact. div. inst.* 1. 11, *oracl. Sibyll. ib.*, *Varr. ap. Solin.* 11. 7, *Cic. de nat. deor.* 3. 53, *Diod.* 3. 61, *Anth. Pal.* 7. 275. 6 Gaetulicus, *Lucan.* 8. 872, *Mela* 2. 112, *Stat. Theb.* 1. 278f., *Tatian. or. adv. Graec.* 27, *Loukian. Iup. trag.* 45, *de sacrif.* 10, *philopatr.* 10, *philopseud.* 3, *Timon* 6, *Theophil. ad Autol.* 1. 10, 2. 3, *Clem. Al. protr.* 2. 37. 4 p. 28, 7 ff. Stählin, *Philostr. v. soph.* 2. 4 p. 74 *Kayser*, *Orig. c. Cels.* 3. 43, *Min. Fel. Oct.* 21. 8, *Cypr. de idol. van.* 1, *Porph. v. Pyth.* 17, *Arnob. adv. nat.* 4. 14, 4. 25, *Firm. Mat.* 7. 6, *Serv. in Verg. Aen.* 7. 180, *Epiphan. adv. haer.* 1. 3, *Rufin. recognit.* 10. 23, *Chrysost. in ep. Paul. ad Tit.* 3, *Paulin. Nol.* 19. 86 (lxi. 515 Migne), *Kyrrill. Al. c. Iulian.* 10. 342 (lxxvi. 1028 Migne), *Nonn. Dion.* 8. 114 ff., *Sedulius Scotus in ep. Paul. ad Tit.* 3, *Soud. s.v.* Πήκος, *Kedren. hist. comp.* 15 D (i. 29 Bekker).

⁵ *Enn. sacr. hist. ap. Lact. div. inst.* 1. 11.

⁶ *Varr. ap. Solin.* 11. 7.

⁷ *Porph. v. Pyth.* 17, *Kyrrill. Al. c. Iulian.* 10. 342.

⁸ *Nonn. Dion.* 8. 114 ff.

appears to have been marked by a stone¹, and to have borne an inscription, which is variously recorded². In the first century of our era Pomponius Mela says that the tomb with its inscribed name affords 'hardly a clear trace of Zeus who is there buried³.' But a thousand years later Michael Psellos notes the legend as still living, and relates that the Cretans show a hill or cairn above the grave of Zeus⁴. Buondelmonti, who visited Mount Juktas in 1415, speaks of a cave on the right hand side of a road leading thither and states that at the upper end of the cave is the tomb of Zeus bearing an illegible inscription⁵. Belon in 1555 reports that the sepulchre of Jupiter as described by the ancients is yet to be seen on the mountain of the Sphagiotes⁶. Modern travellers have the same tale to tell. When R. Pashley visited Crete in 1834, he stayed at Arkhanes on the eastern side of Mount Juktas. 'I was

¹ Loukian. *Iup. trag.* 45.

² Enn. *loc. cit.* ΖΑΝ ΚΡΟΝΟΥ, Chrysost. *loc. cit.* ἐν ταῦθα Ζᾶν κείται δν Δία κικλήσκουσι, Porph. *loc. cit.* ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΣ ΤΩ ΔΙΙ followed by an epigram beginning ὦδε θανῶν κείται Ζᾶν δν Δία κικλήσκουσιν (Kyrril. cites it with μέγας for θανῶν), schol. Kallim. *h. Zeus* 8 Μίνως τοῦ Διὸς τάφος with the first word obliterated through age, Kedren. *loc. cit.* ἐνθάδε κείται θανῶν Πίκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς (Soud. reads Πήκος).

³ Mel. 2. 112.

⁴ Psell. ἀναγωγή εἰς τὸν Τάνταλον cited by J. Meursius *Creta* p. 81 : τοῦ δὲ (*sc.* Διὸς) τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ δεικνύουσι κολωνόν. The passage is printed in Tzetzes' *Allegoriae Iliadis* etc. ed. J. F. Boissonade Lutetiae 1851 p. 348.

⁵ É. Legrand *Description des îles de l'Archipel par Christophe Buondelmonti* Paris 1897 i. 148 f. = Christophorus Bondelmontius *descriptio Cretae* : 'Versus autem trionem per tria miliaria iuxta viam euntem ad montem Jurte (*Iucte* Legrand) ad dexteram spileum in saxo parvo ore est, cuius longitudo XLII, latitudo vero IV passuum, in cuius capite sepulcrum Iovis maximi est cum litteris deletis. Haec autem spelunca in durissimo silice fabricata sine aliqua figura; super eundem tumulum, magna circum aedificia quasi per quartum in circuitu unius miliaris hodie per totum campum frumentum et prata crescunt. Post haec ecce ad meridiem viam capiendo ad montem hodie Jurtam (*Iuctam* Legrand) devenitur per periculosissimam viam. Hic mons a longe faciei effigiem habet, in cuius fronte templum Iovis usque ad fundamenta deletum invenitur; in naso tres ecclesiae sunt congestae, scilicet Salvatoris, Pandon Aghion, id est ecclesia *Omnium Sanctorum*, et Sancti Georgii. Versus austrum, prope Ideum montem, ubi est barba, sub monte atro, Tegrinum castrum inexpugnabile videtur, et prope ipsum est rus Sancti Blasii amplissimum. Ab alia parte, versus orientem, planus est bachi fertilissimus Archanes nomine, in quo plura et ampla rura manent. Versus trionem, in radicibus montis huius monasterium Dominarum existit.' *Id. ib.* i. 20 f. = Christophorus Bondelmontius *περὶ τῶν νήσων* 11 'Αποθανῶν δὲ (*sc.* ὁ Ζεὺς) τέθαιπται τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα ἐγγὺς τοῦ φρουρίου τοῦ καλουμένου Ἀθλακρα, εἰ καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ λέγεται αὐτὸ εἶναι ἀποθεωθέν. 'Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ καὶ ὄρος ἐστὶ τῷ Διὶ τούτῳ ὀμώνυμον, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πρόποδας αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἀρκτικώτερον, ὡς ὁ Πτολεμαῖος διαλαμβάνει, σπήλαιον χειρὶ κατεσκευασμένον εὐρίσκειται, λευκὸν διόλου, τεσσαράκοντα πήχων τὸ μήκος, καὶ τὸ πλάτος τεσσάρων, στόμα ἔχον στενόν. 'Ἐν γοῦν τῇ κεφαλῇ τούτου τάφον Διὸς τοῦ μεγάλου, ἀπὸ τίνος ἐγκεκολλημένου ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπιγράμματος, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἤδη ἐφθαρμένον, ἐγνωμεν εἶναι. 'Ἐκτὸς δὲ τοῦ σπηλαίου οἰκόμεθα τοῦ ἱεροῦ μέγιστα καταφαίνονται.

⁶ P. Belon *Observations sur Plusieurs Singularités* Paris 1555 i cap. 17 p. 31 cited by N. G. Politis *Παραδόσεις* Athens 1904 ii. 778.

of course anxious,' he says¹, 'to hear something of the sepulchre of Zeus; but it was in vain that I inquired of my host...for any cave on the mountain. He knew of nothing of the kind; and all that I could learn from him was that, about a mile off, there is a fountain with an inscription on it. When I had thus failed in obtaining any information about the cave, I said, rather meaning to tell him an old story, than supposing that I should learn any thing, that one Zeus, a god of the Hellenes, was said to have been buried there; and that it was his tomb that I wished to see². I had

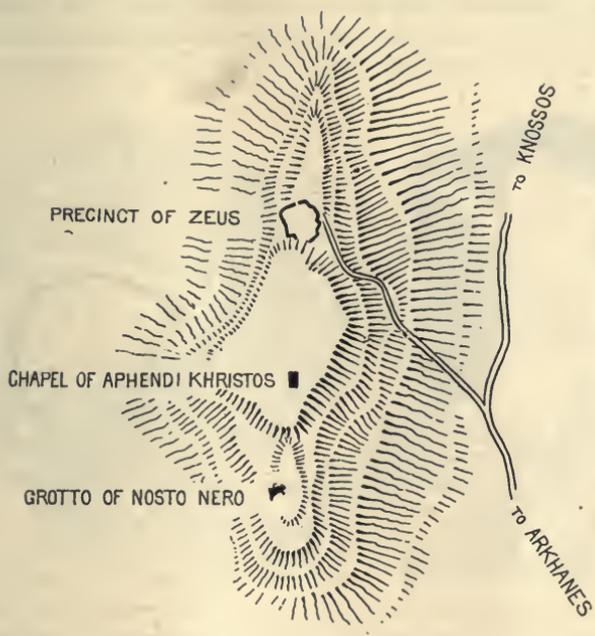


Fig. 130.

pronounced the very name by which a place on the summit of the mountain is known to all the people in the neighbourhood, although only a few shepherds have ever seen it. My host had never heard it called by any other name than the tomb of Zeus, and therefore had not understood me at first, when I inquired after a cave.... I found, as a guide up the mountain, a shepherd, who had become acquainted with the tomb of Zeus in tending his flock. A good hour was spent in reaching the summit, towards the northern

¹ R. Pashley *Travels in Crete* Cambridge 1837 i. 211 ff.

² *Id. ib.* i. 211 n. 2 says: 'Τοῦ Διὸς τὸ μνημεῖον, ἢ τοῦ Διὸς τὸ μνήμα, were my words.' N. G. Polites *Παραδόσεις* Athens 1904 i. 97 no. 174 gives the name in actual use as 'τὸ Δία τὸ μνήμα.

extremity of which I observed foundations of the massive walls of a building the length of which was about eighty feet. Within this space is an aperture in the ground, which may perhaps once have led into a moderate-sized cave; but, whatever may have been its former size, it is now so filled up, that a man cannot stand in it, and its diameter is not above eight or ten feet.'

In 1899 Mr A. Taramelli published a sketch-plan of Mount Juktas (fig. 130)¹, marking a grotto near its southern summit and the precinct-wall on its northern summit. The grotto is a natural cavern facing west and known as the *Nostò Nerò*. It is about six metres from front to back and has two small fissures running left and right into the rock (fig. 131)². The earth on the floor of the



Fig. 131.

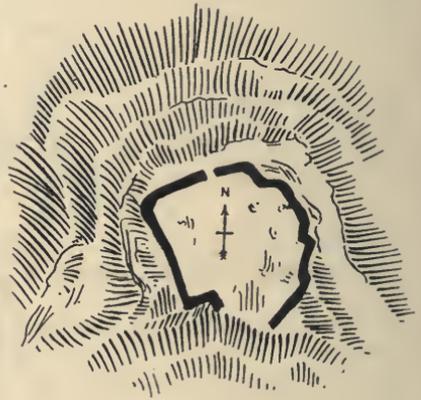


Fig. 132.

cavern, perhaps a metre in depth, has yielded terra cotta figures of animals and fragments of pottery³. The precinct-wall forms an irregular square of 'Cyclopean' masonry (fig. 132)⁴. On the north, where it rises to an average height of three metres and at a few points to five metres (fig. 133)⁵, there seems to have been a gateway.

¹ A. Taramelli in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1899 ix. 350 fig. 23.

² *Id. ib.* 1899 ix. 357 fig. 27.

³ My friend Prof. R. C. Bosanquet writes (June 9, 1911): 'There is a cave on Mt Juktas, a long narrow cleft, into which I have crawled and in which I have found Hellenic pottery. It is on the left of the present path from Arkhanais to the peak on which Evans has begun to explore a Minoan sanctuary. There was a monastery of some importance on the peak in Buondelmonti's time; he obtained a manuscript from it. See Legrand's edition of B. (preface, I think)' [É. Legrand *op. cit.* p. xxv *Anno Domini* M.CCCC.XV, v mensis septembris, ego presbyter Christoforus de Bondelmontibus de Florentia emi hunc librum in monte Iucta in monasterio S. Salvatoris insulae Creta, hyperperis XI.].

⁴ A. Taramelli in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1899 ix. 353 ff. fig. 25.

⁵ *Id. ib.* 1899 ix. 353 fig. 24.

To the south the wall abuts on a rocky elevation, which forms the highest peak of the mountain and shows clear traces of artificial cutting. Mr Taramelli, who notes 'scanty traces of a building in the middle of this precinct',¹ inclines to regard it as a stronghold. He found in it much broken pottery of various dates, including pieces of Minoan *pithoi*.

This account is confirmed by Sir Arthur Evans, who was told by Dr J. Hazzidakis, president of the Cretan Syllogos at Kandia and now ephor of antiquities, that the remains on the top of Mount Juktas are still known to the country folk as *Mnēma toû Ziá*, 'the Tomb of Zeus'.² Sir Arthur Evans himself explored the summit



Fig. 133.

twice, and says³: 'All that is not precipitous of the highest point of the ridge of Júktas is enclosed by a "Cyclopean" wall of large roughly oblong blocks, and within this enclosure, especially towards the summit, the ground is strewn with pottery dating from Mycenaean to Roman times, and including a large number of small cups of pale clay exactly resembling those which occur in votive deposits of Mycenaean date in the caves of Dikta and of Ida, also intimately connected with the cult of the Cretan Zeus. No remains of buildings are visible in this inner area, which tends to show that the

¹ *Id. ib.* 1899 ix. 355 'dalle scarse tracce di un edificio sorgente nel centro di questo recinto si può pensar ad un *temenos* fortificato, dove, in caso di pericolo, fosse possibile agli abitanti del piano di rifugiarsi e difendere le provviste ed i tesori del tempio,' etc.

² *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 121 n. 8.

³ *Ib.* 1901 xxi. 121 f.

primitive enclosure was the temenos of a sanctuary, rather than a walled city. On the uppermost platform of rock, however, are remains of a building constructed with large mortarless blocks of which the ground-plan of part of two small chambers can be roughly traced. A little further on the ridge is the small church of Aphendi Kristus [*sic*], or the Lord Christ, a name which in Crete clings in an especial way to the ancient sanctuaries of Zeus¹ and marks here in a conspicuous manner the diverted but abiding sanctity of the spot. Popular tradition, the existing cult, and the archaeological traces point alike to the fact that there was here a "holy sepulchre" of remote antiquity.

Mount Juktas is not the only Cretan locality that claims connexion with Zeus. A. Soutzo², writing in 1829, states that a village situated at the foot of Mount Ide is called *Zoúlakkon*³, 'the Valley of Zeus,' and records the local tradition that the god, when he came to visit the summits of Ide, used to descend here. Soutzo adds that the inhabitants of the country still invoke Zeus by using the ejaculation 'Hear me, god *Zónos*!' This is confirmed

¹ Sir Arthur Evans adds in a footnote: 'See *Academy*, June 20, 1896, p. 513. The eastern and western ranges of Dikta, the sites respectively of the Temple and Cave of Zeus, are known as the Aphendi Vouno, from *Ἀφέντης Χριστός*, or "Christ the Lord." A votive deposit, apparently connected with some Zeus cult, on a peak of Lasethi is also known as Aphendi Christos. It is, perhaps, worth noting in this connexion that at "Minóan" Gaza Zeus Krétagenés was known as Marnas, a form of the Syrian word for "Lord." B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 27 thinks it possible that *Ἐφέντη-βουνό*, the local name for a high peak in the easternmost part of Crete (eparchy Siteia), has reference to a former cult of Zeus, and *ib.* n. 4 cites *Ἀφέντης* as the name of a summit in the eparchy of Lasithi. These are the 'eastern and western ranges' mentioned by Sir Arthur Evans.

² A. Soutzo *Histoire de la révolution grecque* Paris 1829 p. 158 'D'après une tradition orale des Crétois, Jupiter avait coutume d'y descendre lorsqu'il venait visiter les sommets de l'Ida: c'est pour cette raison qu'on le nomme *Zoúlakkon*, "vallée de Jupiter," et, ce qui n'est pas moins curieux, les indigènes du pays conservent encore l'invocation suivante de leurs ancêtres, corrompue par le temps *Ἡκοῦτέ μου Ζῶνε θεέ!* "Exauce-moi Jupiter!" cited by N. G. Polites *Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βλοῦ τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων* Athens 1871 i. 41 n. 1, *Παραδόσεις* Athens 1904 ii. 778, B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 27, R. Rodd *The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece* London 1892 p. 132 n. 1, J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 74.

³ With *Zoúlakkon* B. Schmidt *op. cit.* i. 27 n. 5 compares *Zouvoláko* (another name of the same village in the eparchy Mylopotamo), *Zoú* (in Siteia), *Zήντα* (in Arkadia). The last of these has, he considers, most claim to be connected with Zeus.

I have failed to find either *Zoúlakkon* or *Zouvoláko* on the Admiralty Chart of western Crete. There is, however, a *Zutulana* in Mylopotamo, the position of which is approximately 24°. 50' E. by 35°. 18' N. Is this a third name of the same place? The German reduction of Capt. Spratt's map (*Die Insel Candia oder Creta*) marks *Zutulako* about 1½ miles S.W. of Axos.

On Mt Kentro in the eparchy Amario is a field called *Zoú κάμπος* (N. G. Polites *Παραδόσεις* Athens 1904 i. 98 no. 174).

⁴ With *Ἡκοῦτέ μου Ζῶνε θεέ* C. Wachsmuth cp. the Albanian oath *περ τένε ζῶνε*, 'By

by A. Papadakes, who in 1879 reports that at Anogeia¹ in Mylopotamo there is a place named *Zoh tò lakkò* after the tomb of Zeus. The dwellers in the district, if troubled or displeased at what they hear, will sometimes throw up their hands and cry 'Hear me, god *Zònos*!' or 'Hear me for the sake of God's seat!' or 'for the sake of God's throne²!' I. D. Kondylakes in 1896 gives their exclamation in the form 'God *Zànos*³!'.

If these names are indeed to be connected with that of Zeus, they must be regarded as masculine forms corresponding with the feminine *Díone*⁴. In that case we should obtain a Greek parallel to the Latin *Dianus*, *Diana*.

(f) Zeus as a Mountain-god superseded by Saint Elias.

Apart from the tomb of Zeus in Crete, the surviving traces of these mountain-cults in the place-names of modern Greece are few in number.

In the centre of Naxos rises a conical mountain, 3737 feet in height, from the summit of which it is possible to count some twenty-two islands and to see on the horizon the mountain-chains of Asia Minor⁵. This peak, known as *Drylos* in ancient times⁶, now bears the name *Zia*⁷ or *Dia*⁸—a name which connects it not only

our Lord,' or *περ τε ῥζόνε*, 'By the Lord, by God' (*Das alte Griechenland im neuen* Bonn 1864 p. 50, J. G. von Hahn *Albanesische Studien* Jena 1854 ii. 106, iii. 37).

The expressions *θεε τῆς Κρήτης* or *ὦ θεε τῆς Κρήτης* or *γιά τὸ θεὸ τῆς Κρήτης*, often used at Arachova on Mt Parnassos and elsewhere in the sense of 'Tell that to the marines!', are explained by B. Schmidt *op. cit.* i. 28 as a survival from the days when the Christians ridiculed the Cretan belief in a buried Zeus (Orig. *c. Cels.* 3. 43 *καταγελῶμεν τῶν προσκυνούντων τὸν Δία, ἐπεὶ τάφος αὐτοῦ ἐν Κρήτῃ δεικνυταί*).

¹ Prof. R. C. Bosanquet informs me that Anogeia 'is the nearest village to the Idaean Cave. It lies very high on Ida, and the natives, shepherds and snow-carriers, are different from their neighbours in dress, customs, etc.'

² 'Ἡκοῦτε μου, Ζῶνε θεε, or 'Ἡκοῦτε μου γιά τὰ θρόνια τοῦ θεοῦ or γιά τὸ θρόνος τοῦ θεοῦ (N. G. Polites *Παραδόσεις* Athens 1904 i. 97 f. no. 174, ii. 777 f.).

³ I. D. Kondylakes in the Athenian journal *Ἔστια* June 26, 1896, quoted by N. G. Polites *loc. cit.*

⁴ Zeus is paired with Dione at Dodona, and the oath *περ τένε ζόνε* is described as Albanian (*supra* p. 162 n. 4). The geographical coincidence is noteworthy.

My friend Mr R. M. Dawkins kindly tells me that *à priori* he would have expected the name *Zeús* to survive in modern Greek as *Διάς*. The acc. *Δία* would normally become *Δα* or *Διαν*, pronounced *Διά* or *Διάν*, whence a new nom. *Διάς* with gen. *Διά* would be formed.

⁵ Smith *Dict. Geogr.* ii. 406.

⁶ Diod. 5. 51. See further A. Meliarakes *Κυκλαδικά* Athens 1874 p. 18 n. 51.

⁷ Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 298.

⁸ *Ib.* v. 1709.

second was a revolution from beneath—the spiritual unrest and upheaval of the lower orders, which found expression in many an upward effort, the passionate cult of Dionysos with its rites of death and rebirth, the pure precepts of Orpheus bringing hopes of a bright hereafter, the Pythagorean *propaganda* eager to explain the true course of human life, the sacramental mysteries claiming to guard men's souls through the grave itself. Thirdly there was a revolution from without—the influx of foreign faiths from Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Persia, which in bewildering succession poured into the Mediterranean area till Mithraism, modified into the solar monotheism of Aurelian, seemed like to merge all other creeds in that of *Sol Invictus*, 'the Unconquered Sun.' These were indeed Titanic forces. But Zeus, who had vanquished the Titans, somehow still held his own. Philosophers, elaborating the presuppositions of popular belief, found it convenient to give the name of Zeus to their ultimate principle or at least to one of their cosmic elements¹. Again, points of contact between the Orphéo-Dionysiac rites and the religion of Zeus were not wanting. If Orpheus was priest of Dionysos, and if Dionysos was son of Zeus, a *modus vivendi* was after all not impossible². Further, the importers of strange cults from the east inevitably began by identifying their unfamiliar sanctities with the familiar gods and goddesses of Greece, and in an age of syncretism soon obtained recognition for various types of solar Zeus³. In short, the Hellenic sky-god, thanks to his own all-embracing character, was not readily submerged by the rising waters of rationalism, mysticism, and orientalism.

The revolution from above, the revolution from beneath, the revolution from without, had alike ended in something of a compromise. Then for the first time—and here I desert the lead of Dieterich⁴—came a revolution from within. It was in its essence a movement of great simplicity, nothing more than the response of human hearts to the call of Jesus Christ. Nothing more, but also nothing less. And that call, once heard, left no room for compromise. 'They forsook all,'—we read—'and followed him.'

Had they but continued as they began, the victory was already assured. There is a sound of coming triumph in the words

¹ *Supra* p. 27 ff.

² *Supra* pp. 104 ff., 153, *alib.*

³ *Infra* p. 186 ff.

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of Paul: 'The weapons of our warfare are not of the flesh, but mighty before God to the casting down of strong holds.' His converts should have gone on conquering and to conquer. But, alas for champions who knew not of what Spirit they were. Fain to reinforce that Spirit's sword, they turned aside to the old armoury of argument, altercation, and abuse. Pagan attacks were met by Christian counter-attacks, and the apologists with all their merits were in some cases men mainly remarkable for their erudition. As the new religion spread, matters were equalised externally and more than equalised: the persecuted became the persecutors. Gratian urged on by the influence of Ambrose began to plunder heathen temples for the benefit of Christian priests. Theodosios prohibited under the severest penalties the perpetuation of pagan worship. Justinian carried on and completed the outward victory. But meantime those who thus tried to secure an intellectual and temporal ascendancy were shrewd enough to perceive that the scathing periods of church-fathers¹ and even imperial mandates of extermination were powerless to suppress the long-standing rites of paganism. They concluded that definite substitutes must be found for the discredited objects of popular cult. And found they were. Indeed, it is not too much to say that in the fourth century of our era a momentous transformation was already in progress, by which Christian saints gradually usurped the position of pagan gods and demigods.

How far this process of substitution was due to deliberate policy and official action on the part of church or state, is a question hotly disputed, and in the comparative dearth of contemporary evidence² hard to decide. *A priori* arguments of course are not wanting. On the one hand the great majority of Christians then, as now, were 'corrupted from the simplicity and the purity that is toward Christ.' Such persons presumably followed the dictates of worldly wisdom³. On the other hand we have also to reckon with a cause less conspicuous than ecclesiastical interference, but

¹ The Christian apologists largely ignored the small fry of Greek mythology and saved their finest scorn for the inconsistencies and immoralities of Zeus: see e.g. Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 36. 5—2. 37. 4 p. 27, 19 ff. Stählin, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 20—23, Firm. Mat. 12. 1—9, Rufin. *recogn.* 10. 20—23, Aug. *epist.* 5, *de civ. Dei* 4. 25, *alib.*

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³ An instructive case is the proposed rebuilding of the Marneion at Gaza as a Christian church with the old pagan ground-plan: *συνεβούλευον οὖν τινες κτισθῆναι αὐτὴν κατὰ τὴν θέσιν τοῦ εἰδωλεῖον* (Marcus Diaconus v. *Porphyrii episcopi Gazensis* 75)—a course eventually disallowed (*infra* ch. ii § 9 (g)).

second was a revolution from beneath—the spiritual unrest and upheaval of the lower orders, which found expression in many an upward effort, the passionate cult of Dionysos with its rites of death and rebirth, the pure precepts of Orpheus bringing hopes of a bright hereafter, the Pythagorean *propaganda* eager to explain the true course of human life, the sacramental mysteries claiming to guard men's souls through the grave itself. Thirdly there was a revolution from without—the influx of foreign faiths from Egypt Syria, Asia Minor, Persia, which in bewildering succession poured into the Mediterranean area till Mithraism, modified into the solar monotheism of Aurelian, seemed like to merge all other creeds in that of *Sol Invictus*, 'the Unconquered Sun.' These were indeed Titanic forces. But Zeus, who had vanquished the Titans, somehow still held his own. Philosophers, elaborating the presuppositions of popular belief, found it convenient to give the name of Zeus to their ultimate principle or at least to one of their cosmic elements¹. Again, points of contact between the Orphéo-Dionysiac rites and the religion of Zeus were not wanting. If Orpheus was priest of Dionysos, and if Dionysos was son of Zeus, a *modus vivendi* was after all not impossible². Further, the importers of strange cults from the east inevitably began by identifying their unfamiliar sanctities with the familiar gods and goddesses of Greece, and in an age of syncretism soon obtained recognition for various types of solar Zeus³. In short, the Hellenic sky-god, thanks to his own all-embracing character, was not readily submerged by the rising waters of rationalism, mysticism, and orientalism.

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even more potent—the incalculable force of old associations. These affected at once places, circumstances, and names. Men would resort to the familiar cult-centre and expect the new occupant of the shrine to bestow the customary blessing. Again, folk-tales, even if raised to the rank of myths by the sanction of literature, would readily attach themselves afresh to new heroes, provided that these in their doings and sufferings bore some resemblance to the old. Especially would Christian saints whose names happened to be derived from those of heathen deities tend to acquire powers and prerogatives properly belonging to the said deities. In these and other such ways the old order changed; or rather, the old order did not change, but at most submitted to a new nomenclature. Causation apart, the practical result was this: the old gods and goddesses, the old heroes and heroines, often with their precincts, their temples, and their very statues¹, were re-christened and re-consecrated in the service of the new religion². For a second time and in a subtler sense *Græcica capta ferum victorem cepit*.

A few typical cases will be in point. At Byzantion the pagan twins Kastor and Polydeukes had been wont to cure the sick by means of incubation. The Christian twins Kosmas and Damianos followed suit, doing the same thing at the same place; indeed, unconverted Greeks are reported to have called them Kastor and Polydeukes and to have been solemnly rebuked by them for the very pardonable misnomer. These Christian Dioskouroi, like their pagan predecessors, appeared to persons imploring their aid as

¹ Examples are collected by L. Friedländer *Erinnerungen, Reden und Studien* Strassburg 1905 i. 370 ff., who *inter alia* cites from E. Müntz *Histoire de l'art pendant la renaissance* 1889 i. 21 a mediæval misinterpretation of Iupiter with his eagle as John the Evangelist.

² A general treatment of the subject will be found in F. Piper *Mythologie und Symbolik der christlichen Kunst* Weimar 1847—1851, V. Schultze *Geschichte des Untergangs der griechisch-römischen Heidentums* Jena 1887—1892, T. Trede *Das Heidentum in der römischen Kirche* Gotha 1889—1891, id. *Bilder aus dem religiösen und sittlichen Volksleben Substantions* Gotha 1909, F. v. Arneth *Das classische Heidentum und die christliche Religion* Wien 1895, E. Lucius *Die Anfänge des Heiligenkults in der christlichen Kirche* (a posthumous work ed. by G. Anrich) Tübingen 1904, W. Soltau *Das Fortleben des Heidentums in der altchristlichen Kirche* Berlin 1906, A. Dieterich *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 pp. 449—539 'Der Untergang der antiken Religion.' Recent French and English books bearing on the same theme are H. Delehaye *Les Légendes Hagiographiques* 2 Buxelles 1906, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires* Paris 1909, T. R. Glover *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*³ London 1910, J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910, Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saint and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910. A survey of articles etc. dealing with special points is given by Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 pp. 302—320 'Das Fortleben des Heidentums im Christentum.'

horsemen, and even as stars¹. Other cases are recorded by Ioannes Malalas². After telling how the Argonauts founded at Kyzikos a temple of Rhea Mother of the gods, which the emperor Zenon transformed into a church of Mary Mother of God, he continues: 'The Argonauts...were next attacked by Amykos, and fearing his might took refuge in a certain bay thickly covered with wildwood. Here they saw in a vision a man of dreadful aspect with wings as of an eagle on his shoulders, a spirit who came to them from the sky and announced that they should conquer Amykos. So they took heart and attacked him. Having conquered him they showed their gratitude by founding a sanctuary on the spot where they had beheld the vision and erecting there a statue of the spirit seen by them. They called the place or the sanctuary itself *Sosthènes*, because they had fled thither and been saved; and the place still bears the name. When Byzantion had become the seat of empire, Constantine the Great saw this sanctuary, in fact he left home in order to restore it. Being now a Christian, he observed the statue standing there on its pillar and remarked that from the Christian point of view it looked like an angel in the garb of a monk. Awed by the place and its fane, he went to sleep there after praying that he might learn what angelic spirit the statue represented. He was told in a vision the name of the spirit, offered prayer towards the east, and called the place of prayer, or the locality, by the name of the holy archangel Michael.' Again, one of the principal deities of Byzantion was, as we might have expected, Poseidon³. The emperor Justinian selected a spot on the Golden Horn and there built a church to Saint Priskos and Saint Nikolaos, laying the foundations of it actually in the water⁴. Similarly at the entrance to the harbour of Mykonos—another centre of Poseidon-worship⁵—stands a shrine of Saint Nikolaos, who calms the waves⁶. It may be supposed that in these and many other places the saint has succeeded to the god, but the continuity of the mariner's cult remains unbroken. 'There is no vessel, great or small, upon

¹ L. Deubner *De incubatione* Lipsiae 1900 pp. 68—79, J. Rendel Harris *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* Cambridge 1906 pp. 53 f., 100.

² Io. Malal. *chron.* 4 p. 78 f. Dindorf. E. Maass 'Boreas und Michael' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1910 xiii. 117 ff. argues that *Σωσθένης* was a cult-epithet of Boreas, denoting the 'Fresh' north wind.

³ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 138, 223, 1138 n. 2.

⁴ Procop. *de aedificiis* 1. 6 (iii. 193 Dindorf). The house of Basilides, a quaestor of Justinian, was also turned into a church of St Nikolaos (Codinus *de aedificiis Constantinopolitans* 62 B), who was in fact titular saint of four churches at Byzantion (C. d. F. Ducange *Constantinopolis Christiana* 4. 6. 67—70 p. 130 ed. Paris. 1680).

⁵ Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 615, 5 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 714, 5 ff.

⁶ N. G. Polites *Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων* Athens 1871 i. 58 n. 4.

Greek waters,'—says Mr G. F. Abbott—'which has not the saint's icon in its stern, with an ever-burning lamp in front of it, or a small silver-plated picture of the saint attached to its mast. In time of storm and stress it is the name of St Nicholas that instinctively rises to the lips of the Greek mariner, and to him candles are promised, and vows registered. He is to the modern sailor all that Poseidon was to his ancestors¹.'

As in cult, so in legend pagan elements are still to be traced. Saint Niketas has a cavern with a painted roof by way of a chapel near Cape Sudsuro in south-eastern Crete. Four or five centuries ago, says local tradition, a girl was carried off from the chapel by a Barbary corsair but miraculously restored on the anniversary of her captivity by Saint Niketas. He flies through the air on a white-winged horse, and marks on the rock still show where the horse alighted. Captain T. A. B. Spratt, who visited the chapel, mindful of Pegasos and Hippokrene, justly concludes that the saint is 'a sort of Bellerophon².' Again, many well-known figures in classical mythology are said to have been saved from the sea by riding on the back of a dolphin (Arion, Eikadios, Enalos, Koiranos, Phalanthos, Taras, Theseus, etc.): others had their corpses brought ashore by a dolphin, which itself expired on reaching land (so with minor variations in the case of Palaimon or Melikertes, Dionysios and Hermias of Iasos, Hesiod, and an anonymous boy at Naupaktos). Both incidents reappear in the records of the hagiographers. Saints Martinianos of Kaisareia, Kallistratos of Carthage, Basileios the younger of Constantinople, were each rescued from a watery grave by a couple of dolphins; and the corpse of Saint Loukianos of Antioch was brought ashore by a gigantic dolphin, which breathed its last on the sand³. Or again,—to take an example that will appeal to students of Homer—'Saint Elias had been a sailor, but left the sea repenting of the evil life he had led. Others say he left because of the hardships he had suffered. He determined to go where it was not known what the sea or boats were. Shouldering an oar, he went on asking people what it was. When he came to the top of a hill he was told it was wood. He saw that they

¹ G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 241. See also B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 37, N. G. Polites *op. cit.* i. 57 ff., D. H. Kerler *Die Patronate der Heiligen* Ulm 1905 p. 306.

² T. A. B. Spratt *Travels and Researches in Crete* London 1865 i. 343 ff., N. G. Polites *Παραδόσεις* Athens 1904 i. 111 f. no. 199, ii. 798 f., Miss M. Hamilton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 349 and in her *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 27 f.

³ The evidence is collected and discussed by K. Klement *Arion* Wien 1898 pp. 1—64 and H. Usener *Die Sintfluthsagen* Bonn 1899 pp. 138—180.

had never seen boats or the sea, and he stayed on the hilltops¹. Who fails to recognize Odysseus²?

Sometimes the shift from heathen deity to Christian saint is barely disguised by a slight deflection of the ancient name; sometimes it dispenses with any disguise at all. At Athens the Tritopatris were superseded by the Trinity³. Dionysos lives on in the person of Saint Dionysios, to whom his cult⁴ and myth⁵

¹ Miss M. Hamilton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 356 n. 1 after N. G. Polites *Ἰαπαδοῦς* Athens 1904 i. 116 no. 207, ii. 801f. My friend Dr W. H. D. Rouse in *The Cambridge Review* 1905—1906 xxvii. 414 tells how he heard the same tale from an old Coan skipper:—"Ah well," says Giorgis, "'tis a poor trade this, as the holy Elias found." "What was that?" I asked. "The prophet Elias," quoth he, "was a fisherman; he had bad weather, terrific storms, so that he became afraid of the sea. Well, so he left his nets and his boat on the shore, and put an oar over his shoulder, and took the hills. On the way, who should he see but a man. 'A good hour to you,' says he. 'Welcome,' says the man. 'What's this, can you tell me?' says St Elias. 'That?' says the man, 'Why that's an oar.' Eh, on he goes till he meets another man. 'A good hour to you,' says St Elias. 'You are welcome,' says the man. 'What's this?' says St Elias. 'Why, that's an oar, to be sure,' says the man. On he goes again, until he comes to the very top of the mountain, and there he sees another man. 'Can you tell me what this is?' asks St Elias. 'That?' says the man, 'Why, that's a stick.' 'Good!' says St Elias, 'this is the place for me, here I abide.' He plants his oar in the ground, and that is why his chapels are all built on the hill tops."

² *Od.* 11. 119ff., 23. 266ff. ³ A. Struck *Griechenland* Wien u. Leipzig 1911 i. 131f.

⁴ The ancient deme of Ikaria is habitually called by the peasants *Dionysos*—a clear trace of the god Dionysos. When Chandler visited the place in 1766, its church was sacred to St Dionysios, presumably Dionysios the Areopagite (C. D. Buck in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 1886—1890 v. 47ff.: see also Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 15f.).

Mr J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 43 says: 'It is perhaps noteworthy too that in Athens the road which skirts the south side of the Acropolis and the theatre of Dionysus is now called the street of S. Dionysius the Areopagite. I was once corrected by a Greek of average education for speaking of the theatre of Dionysus instead of ascribing it to his saintly namesake.'

⁵ Prof. C. Siegel of Hamburg at Kokkino in Boiotia in 1846 heard the following folk-tale:—"When Dionysios was still a child, he travelled through Hellas on his way to Naxia. But, since the road was long, he got tired and sat on a stone to rest. As he sat there looking in front of him, he saw a little plant spring from the ground at his feet, and thought it so pretty that he at once resolved to take it with him and plant it. He pulled it up and went off with it. But the sun was so hot that he feared it might wither before he reached Naxia. Thereupon he found a bird's leg, stuck the plant in it, and went on. However, in his holy hand the plant grew so fast that it soon came out at both ends of the bone. Again he feared it might wither, and thought what he could do to prevent it. He found a lion's leg, which was bigger than the bird's leg, and stuck the bird's leg with the plant into the lion's leg. But the plant soon grew out of the lion's leg also. Then he found an ass's leg, which was still bigger than the lion's leg, and stuck the plant with the bird's leg and the lion's leg into the ass's leg, and so came to Naxia. When he wanted to plant the plant, he found its roots twined fast about the bird's leg, the lion's leg, and the ass's leg. As he could not pull the roots out without hurting them, he planted the plant just as it was. It sprang up quickly and to his delight bore the finest of grapes. Of these he at once made wine for the first time and gave it to men to drink. But now what wonders followed! When men drank of it, at

have inevitably passed. Saint Merkourios, who nowadays cures ear-ache in Samos¹, is described by Malalas in terms of Mercurius

as a divine messenger commissioned to slay the emperor Julian². Another Latin deity first canonised in Italy and then naturalised in Greece is Venus, who is known as Saint Venere in western Albania and as the Holy Mother Venere among the Vlachs of Pindos. The myth of Hippolytos is told afresh of his Christian name sake³, while his consort the virgin goddess has handed over her festival to the Virgin of the victorious faith⁴. Even gender proved no bar to such reformations. Saint Artemidos in Keos is the protector of ailing children, being—as Mr J. T. Bent was the first to observe—credited with the attributes of Artemis⁵.

Just they sang like birds. When they drank deeper, they became strong as lions. When they drank deeper still, they resembled asses.' The tale is published in translation by J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 74 ff. 60, 76; N. G. Polites *Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων* Athens 1871 i. 43 f. H. Camoy in *La Tradition* 1887 i. 89. For parallels see O. Dähnhardt *Natursagen* Leipzig and Berlin 1907 i. 308 f. Cp. also C. Wachsmuth *Das alte Griechenland im neuen* Bonn 1894 p. 24 f. and Miss M. Hamilton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 350 ff. and in *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* p. 16 f., who concludes that the Dionysios in question was the monk of Meteora of the twelfth century because—according to N. G. Polites *Παραδόσεις* i. 98 f. no. 175, ii. 778 ff.—the saint was journeying to Naxos from Mt Olympos.

Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* p. 32, citing *Σαμακιά* p. 6 ff. 12.

1. E. Malal. *Chron.* 13 p. 333 f. Dindorf *ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ νυκτὶ εἶδεν ἐν ὄραματι καὶ Χριστιανὸς ἐπίσκοπος Βασιλείου ὁ Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἠνεωγμένους καὶ τὸν σωτήρα Χριστὸν ἐπι θρόνον καθήμενον καὶ εἰπόντα κραυγῇ, Μερκούριε, ἀπελθὼν φωνήεντος Ἰουλιανὸν τὸν βασιλέα τὸν κατὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν. ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Μερκούριος ἐστὼς ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ κυρίου ἐφόρει θώρακα σιδηροῦν ἀποστύλθοντα· καὶ ἀκούσας τὴν κέλευσιν ἀσπὸς ἐγένετο· καὶ πάλιν εἰρήνη ἐτῶς εὐπροσθεν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἔκραζεν, Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς σαργεὺς ἀπέθανον, ὡς ἐκέλευσας, κύριε. καὶ πτοηθεὶς ἐκ τῆς κραυγῆς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Βασιλείου διέπνευσεν τετρασημίσιος.*

² Miss M. Hamilton *loc. cit.* p. 33 f.

³ S. Renan *Culte des Mythés et Religions* Paris 1908 iii. 56 f., who gives references to earlier writers on the subject.

⁴ J. Rendel Harris *The Annotators of the Codex Bezae* London 1901 p. 102, *Class. Rev.* 1902 xvi. 268 f.

The ground-plan of the precinct at Lousoi in Arkadia published by W. Reichel and A. Wilhelm (*Fahrts- u. arch. arch. Inst.* 1901 iv. 26 f. fig. 16, cp. *ib.* p. 23 fig. 13 section and p. 32 fig. 19 view) shows in direct superposition: (1) the temple of Artemis *Παρθένω*, (2) a Byzantine church, (3) a chapel of the Panagia built c. 1850.

⁵ J. T. Bent *The Cyclades* London 1885 p. 457: 'In Keos St Artemidos is the patron of these weaklings, and the church dedicated to him is some little way from the town on the hill-slopes; thither a mother will take a child afflicted by any mysterious wasting, "struck by the Nereids," as they say. She then strips off its clothes and puts on new ones, blessed by the priest, leaving the old ones as a perquisite to the Church; and then if perchance the child grows strong she will thank St Artemidos for the blessing he has vouchsafed, unconscious that by so doing she is perpetuating the archaic worship of Artemis, to whom in classical times were attached the epithets *παιδοτρόφος*, *κουρότροφος*, *φιλομειράς* [*λεξι. παιδοτρόφος, κουροτρόφος, φιλομειράς*]; and now the Ionian idea of the

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Kistophoros from Eleusis, known as Saint Demetra.

See page 173 n. 1.

Similarly Demeter changed her sex, but retained her sanctity, in the cult of Saint Demetrios¹; Eileithyia in that of Saint

fructifying and nourishing properties of the Ephesian Artemis has been transferred to her Christian namesake. We found traces of the worship of Artemis having existed in Keos along with that of Apollo in ancient times, for Barba Manthos had a little image of the Ephesian Artemis in his collection, which he had found in a temple at Karthaia.' See further J. T. Bent in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 1885-6 xv. 392, J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* p. 44, Miss M. Hamilton *Incubation* London 1906 p. 174, in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906-1907 xiii. 352, and in *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* p. 17 f.

¹ At Eleusis the cult of Demeter was hard to kill, as will be admitted in view of the following facts. In the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge is the upper half of a colossal *κιστοφόρος* in Pentelic marble, referable to the fourth or third cent. B.C. (pl. xv). It was found at Eleusis in 1801 by E. D. Clarke and J. M. Cripps 'on the side of the road, immediately before entering the village, and in the midst of a heap of dung, buried as high as the neck, a little beyond the farther extremity of the pavement of the Temple. Yet even this degrading situation had not been assigned to it wholly independent of its ancient history. The inhabitants of the small village which is now situate among the ruins of *Eleusis* still regarded this *Statue* with a very high degree of superstitious veneration. They attributed to its presence the fertility of their land; and it was for this reason that they heaped around it the manure intended for their fields. They believed that the loss of it would be followed by no less a calamity than the failure of their annual harvests; and they pointed to the *cars of bearded wheat*, among the sculptured ornaments upon the head of the figure, as a never-failing indication of the produce of the soil' (E. D. Clarke *Travels in various countries of Europe Asia and Africa*⁴ London 1818 vi. 601). 'The Eleusinians, whose superstitions^b [^bIt was their custom to burn a lamp before it, upon festival days.] respecting it were so great that Dr. Chandler paid a large sum for permission to dig near it, relate, that as often as foreigners came to remove the statue, some disaster ensued. They believed that the arm of any person who offered to touch it with violence, would drop off; and said, that once being taken from her station by the French, she returned back in the night to her former situation' (E. D. Clarke *Greek Marbles brought from the shores of the Euxine, Archipelago, and Mediterranean*, etc. Cambridge 1809 p. 32 f.). On the evening preceding the removal of the statue an ox, loosed from its yoke, butted with its horns against the marble and then ran off, bellowing, into the plain of Eleusis. This roused all the terrors of the peasantry, whose scruples were not removed till the priest of Eleusis arrayed in his vestments struck the first blow with a pickaxe. Even then the people maintained that no ship would ever get safe to port with the statue on board. Curiously enough the *Princessie*, a merchantman conveying it home from Smyrna, was wrecked and lost near Beachy Head, though the statue itself was recovered. As to the notion that the absence of the statue would cause the crops to fail, E. D. Clarke adds: 'The first year after the departure of the Goddess, their corn proved very abundant, and they were in constant expectation that Ceres would return. The next year, however, was not so favourable; and they begin to fear she has deserted them.' He justly cp. Cic. in *Verr.* 2. 4. 114 *Ceres violata, omnes cultus fructusque Cereris in his locis interiisse arbitrantur* (*id. ib.* p. 35 ff.). The statue—on which see also A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 242 ff.—has been called successively Demeter, a *καρηφόρος*, a *καλαθηφόρος*, and more accurately a *κιστοφόρος*. Lenormant states that the inhabitants of Eleusis spoke of it as *Ἁγία Δήμητρα* and, in order to secure good harvests, used to present it with garlands of flowers (F. Lenormant *Monographie de la voie sacrée éleusinienne* Paris 1864 i. 398 n.). In 1860, when he undertook his excavations at Eleusis, he made careful enquiries concerning this *Ἁγία Δήμητρα*—a saint unknown to the calendar. An Albanian *papas* or priest, who was said to be

114 years old and was certainly a centenarian, told him the tale here summarised (*cf. l. c. p. 99 ff. n. 1*):

St. Dhimitra was a charitable old woman, who lived at Athens. She had a daughter of wondrous beauty: none so fair had been seen since mistress Aphrodite (Κίρα Φροῦς ἑρμ). One day as the girl was combing her hair, which was golden in colour and reached to the ground, a Turkish *aga* from the neighbourhood of Souli saw her and fell in love with her. He was a wicked man and a magician. When she rejected his advances, he resolved to carry her off to his *harem*. So one Christmas night, while Dhimitra was at church, the *aga* burst open the house-door, seized the maiden, and despite her cries of distress rode off with her on his horse. The horse was a marvellous creature: it was black with fiery nostrils, and could in a single bound spring from east to west. In a few moments it carried the ravisher and his victim into the mountains of Epeiros. Dhimitra on her return from church was broken-hearted at the loss of her daughter. She asked the neighbours, who, dreading Turkish vengeance, dared not tell what they knew. She questioned the Tree that grew in front of the house, but the Tree could give no information. She enquired of the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, but all in vain. At last the Stork that nested on the roof of her house said: "We have long been living side by side. You are as old as I am, and have always been kind to me. Once you helped me to drive off a bird of prey, which wanted to steal my little ones. So I will tell you what has happened. A Turk on a black horse has carried off your daughter towards the west. Come, I will help you look for her." They set out together over the snowy mountains. But those whom they met by the way either mocked at them or gave no answer to their questions. Dhimitra wept and wailed, and men—since they do not care for sorrow—closed their doors against her. On reaching Lepsina (Eleusis) she fell, overcome with fatigue; indeed she would have died, had not Marigo, wife of Nicolas the *khodja-bachi* or headman of the village, seen her by the road-side and taken her in. In return for the hospitality of Nicolas and Marigo, Dhimitra blessed their fields and made them fruitful. Nicolas' son, the smartest *pallikar* in the district, pursued the quest, on condition that he might wed the stolen girl. Accompanied by the faithful Stork, he walked for many days, and one night in the heart of the mountains found forty dragons watching a great cauldron, which was boiling on a fire. He lifted the cauldron with one hand, lighted a torch at the fire, and replaced the pot. The dragons, astonished at his strength, took him with them to help in getting possession of a maiden kept by a magician in a very high tower. Nicolas' son drove nails into the tower, climbed up withdrawing the nails after him lest the dragons should follow, and squeezed through a narrow window at the top. He then told the dragons to do the same. This gave him time to kill them one by one as they entered and to throw their bodies down on the other side of the tower, where there was a large court-yard and a magnificent garden and castle. He afterwards went down into the tower and found Dhimitra's daughter. While he was making love to her, the *aga* fell upon him, and they wrestled together. The *aga* transformed himself into a lion, a serpent, a bird of prey, a flame, and in these various disguises struggled for three days, till at last he slew and quartered the young *pallikar*. He then forced the daughter of Dhimitra to yield to his desires, though he had hitherto respected her virginity. But in the night the Stork flew off, fetched a magic herb, and rubbed it on the lips of the dead youth; whereupon he came to life again, and attacked the *aga* with greater fury than before. He invoked the aid of the Panaghia, vowing that, if successful, he would become a monk in the monastery of Phaneromeni (in Salamis). He thus prevailed and overthrew his adversary. The Stork pecked out the *aga's* eyes and also a white hair from his black top-knot—the hair on which the magician's life depended. The *pallikar* brought the girl back to Lepsina just at the beginning of spring, when the flowers first appear: he then became a monk in accordance with his vow. St. Dhimitra with her daughter quitted the place, and no one knows where they have gone; but ever since, thanks to her benediction, the fields of Lepsina have been fertile.'

Eleutherios¹. Sometimes the actual name of the deity was dropped, but the cult-title preserved and the distinctive characteristics that went with it assigned to the Christian homonym. Thus H. Usener has made it probable that behind Saint Pelagia lurks the goddess Aphrodite *Pelagia*², behind Saint Tychon the god Hermes *Týchon*

This folk-tale has been impugned by J. Psichari *Études de philologie néo-grecque* Paris 1892 p. lxxxix, but is justly vindicated by L. M. J. Garnett *Greek Folk Poesy* London 1896 ii. 171 ff., 451 ff. and J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 79 ff. N. G. Polites *Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων* Athens 1871 i. 46 ff. cites as partial parallels J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 33 ff. no. 68 and 112 ff. no. 97. It would seem, then, that the rape of Persephone by Hades (transformed under Ottoman misrule into a Turkish *aga*), the wanderings and woes of Demeter, the hospitality of Metaneira and Keleos (here Marigo and Nicolas: the latter name—as Lenormant remarks—has in Albanian the diminutive *Kolio*), and the travels of Keleos' son Triptolemos, all survive in the long-lived memory of the people.

Lenormant *op. cit.* i. 402 n. supposes that a shift of sex has taken place in the legend of St Demetrios, a young man who on account of his good looks was carried off by a *tehişlik-bachi* named *Kara-Scheitân* ('Black Devil') and done to death for refusing his infamous desires. The cult of this saint originated near Jannina. J. G. Frazer *Pausanias* v. 6 records G. B. Grundy's conjecture that the church of St Demetrios or Demetrios about a mile to the north of Kriekouki in Boiotia occupies the site of a sanctuary of Demeter mentioned by Hdt. 9. 57, 62, 65 and Plout. v. *Aristid.* 11. Miss M. Hamilton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 350 = *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* p. 13 f. writes: 'St Demetrios is the popular patron of Greek husbandmen and shepherds, and the protector of agriculture in general. The functions of the Earth-Mother are perpetuated in him, and his festival in October [Oct. 26], just before sowing-time, has great importance in the land of peasant-farmers. All over the country, at Eleusis as in every other district, his churches are found.' Miss Hamilton does not, however, consider it proved 'that St Demetrios was given to the new converts as representative of the banished Demeter.' But, whether this is a case of ecclesiastical policy or not, J. T. Bent is at least justified in asserting that 'the attributes of Demeter have been transferred to St Demetrios' (*The Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 1885—6 xv. 392). The same writer elsewhere observes: 'Demeter, in the present order of things, is also represented by a man, St Demetrios, who in certain places is the special protector of flocks, herds, and husbandmen, and in this capacity is called "of the dry land" (*Στεριανός*), as opposed to St Nicholas, the saint of the sea' (*The Cyclades* London 1885 p. 339): cp. J. C. Lawson *op. cit.* pp. 43 f., 79.

¹ The old metropolitan church of Athens is called not only after the Panagia Gorgoepekoos (*infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) ii (a)) but also after St Eleutherios, a saint invoked by women in childbirth (*ἐλευθερώει τὰς γυναῖκες*, they say). The church stands on ground once occupied by a cult of Eileithyia (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1586, cp. Paus. i. 18. 5). Popular etymology transformed *Εἰλεθῖα*, *'Ελεθῖα* into *'Ελευθῖα*, *'Ελευθῖα*, *'Ελευθῶ* etc. (Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2102 f.), whence the transition to *'Ελευθέριος* was simple: see B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 38 n. 7 and especially K. Michel and A. Struck in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 314 ff. In Crete too Eileithyia has been succeeded by St Eleutherios (E. Bybilakis *Neugriechisches Leben* Berlin 1840 p. 2). Indeed, the same thing has happened throughout the archipelago (J. T. Bent in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 1885—6 xv. 392). See further Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* p. 18 f.

² H. Usener *Legenden der heiligen Pelagia* Bonn 1879 p. iv ff. (supplemented by F. C. Burkitt in *The Journal of Theological Studies* 1910 xi. 61 ff. and E. Maas 'Aphrodite und die heilige Pelagia' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1910 xxv

or Aphroditos *Týchon*¹; and Dr J. Rendel Harris has shown some reason for believing that Saint George himself is but Zeus *Georgós* in a thin disguise².

457 ff.) argues that the cult of Aphrodite in the Levant produced a whole crop of saints. These include among others of like origin (1) Pelagia nicknamed Margarito, a dancer of Antioch, who being converted by Bishop Nonnos donned male attire and lived for three years on the Mount of Olives as the monk Pelagios. Festival Oct. 8. (2) Margarita, who fled from her bridal chamber in male costume to become the monk Pelagius. On account of her blameless conduct she was made prior of a nunnery; but, when the nuns' female porter was found to be with child, the prior was accused and driven out. She now retired to a cave and led the hard life of a hermit. Shortly before her death, however, she avowed her sex, thereby proving her innocence, and was thenceforth known as St Reparata. The legend probably belongs to the Maronite monastery of Kanobin on Mt Lebanon. On Oct. 8 the Romish church worships a St Reparata, a virgin of Kaisareia in Palestine, of whom it is said that, when she was beheaded by Decius, her soul flew up to heaven in the form of a white dove. (3) Porphyria, a prostitute of Tyre, who became the nun Pelagia. (4) Pelagia, a virgin of Antioch, who finding her house surrounded by troops dressed herself as a bride and committed suicide probably by leaping from the roof. Festival, according to the Roman calendar June 9; according to the Greek *synaxária* June 9, June 10, or more often Oct. 8. (5) Pelagia of Tarsos, who was betrothed to a son of Diocletian, but became a Christian and was baptised by Klinon. The news of her baptism caused the young man to kill himself; whereupon Pelagia, after refusing to marry his father, was done to death in the jaws of a red-hot bronze bull. Festival May 4, May 5, Oct. 7, or more commonly Oct. 8.

For *Πελαγία* as an epithet of Aphrodite see Artemid. *oneir.* 2. 37 'Αφροδίτη ἡ πελαγία, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 64 p. 117, 21 Wunsch *πελαγία δὲ ἡ 'Αφροδίτη*, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3066 (Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3179) Veneri Pelagiae. For *Porphyria*, *Anakr. frag.* 2, 3 Bergk⁴ *πορφύρεη τ' 'Αφροδίτη*, interp. Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 1. 720 Venus... dicitur...et Purpurissa. For *Μαργαριτώ*, *Margarita*, Plin. *nat. hist.* 9. 116 divus Iulius thoracem quem Veneri Genetrici in templo eius dicavit ex Britannicis margaritis factum voluerit intellegi (cp. *ib.* 37. 11). The shift from *Πελαγία* to *Πελάγιος* suggests the shift from 'Αφροδίτη to 'Αφρόδιτος and the cult of the masculine Venus, on whom see K. Tümpel in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2794 f. and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1359 n. 3.

¹ H. Usener *Der heilige Tychon* Leipzig and Berlin 1907. St Tychon was bishop of Amathous in Kypros. The central incident in his career is the following. He was present, when certain vine-dressers were pruning vines at a place called Ampelon. Taking one of the withered branches rejected by them, he prayed that it might have *ικμάδα ζωῆς, εὐφορίαν καρπῶν, σταφυλῆς ἡδύτητα καὶ πρῶμιον βλάστησιν*. He then planted it with his own hands and bade the vine-dressers witness the result. It sprang up to be a memorial of him; and on his festival, June 16, when grapes are not yet fit to eat, the vine of St Tychon bears clusters that are either ripe or rapidly ripening. Indeed, when laid on the holy table and distributed to the communicants, they at once become dark and sweet, though a moment before they may have been light and bitter.

Usener detects as the *heidnische Unterlage* of this saint the minor Dionysiac divinity *Tύχων*, sometimes identified with Hermes (O. Kern *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Mäander* Berlin 1900 p. 136 no. 203 'Ερμῆς εἰμὶ Τύχων κ.τ.λ., Clem. Al. *protr.* 10. 102. 1 p. 73, 17 Stählin τὸν Τύχωνα 'Ερμῆν—so Meursius for mss. τυφῶνα, cp. Theognostos in Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 33, 31 Τύχων Τύχωνος· ὁ 'Ερμῆς, Hesych. Τύχων· ἔνειο τὸν 'Ερμῆν, ἄλλοι δὲ τὸν περὶ τὴν 'Αφροδίτην), sometimes with Aphroditos (Papadopoulos-Keramevs *Lexicon Sabbaiticum* St Petersburg 1892 p. 3, 19 'Απολλοφάνης Κρησίν· 'Ασκληπιῶς Κόννειος, 'Αφρόδιτος Τύχων).

² Zeus *Γεωργός* was worshipped at Athens on Maimakterion 20 with bake-meats and a dish of mingled grain (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 77, 12 ff. *Μαιμακτηριῶνος Δαὶ Γεωργῶ κ' πόπανον | χοινικιαῖον ὀρθνῶφalon δωδεκῶφalon, | ναστὸν χοινικιαῖον ἐπιπεπλασμένον,*

Cases of this kind could be multiplied without much difficulty. But the facts are sufficiently notorious. Confining our attention to the mountain-cults of Zeus, we note that as a rule they were transferred to Saint Elias. The precise extent to which this was done on Greek soil will be seen from the map accompanying Appendix B. Inspection shows that Saint Elias has succeeded to

πανκαρπίαν νηφάλιον). His import was obviously agricultural, and his festival fell in the season of sowing: see Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 115.

St George too is an agricultural power. F. C. H. L. Pouqueville *Voyage de la Grèce*² Paris 1827 vi. 142 f. says: 'saint Georges protège les laboureurs et les moissons.' G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 44 quotes a folk-song from Sochos, in which St George carries 'wheat and barley, and grains of pearl,' and is asked to 'Give to the bride chestnuts and to the groom walnuts.' J. Rendel Harris *The Annotators of the Codex Bezae* London 1901 p. 83 shows that in south Italy St George 'is the protector of cattle' with an 'agricultural and pastoral value,' and *op. cit.* p. 100 f. cites from Frazer *Golden Bough*² i. 209 ff. [*ib.*³ The Magic Art ii. 75 f., cp. 79 for a Russian parallel] evidence that in Carinthia and among the gypsies of Transylvania and Roumania the chief figure on the festival of St George (April 23) is a 'Green George' clad in leaves and blossoms, who is carried in procession along with a tree, or officiates beside a young willow tree set up in the ground, and is finally ducked in person or in effigy with the express intention of securing rain and food for the cattle.

Dr Rendel Harris can therefore urge similarity of name and similarity of function in favour of his proposed identification. Yet we must not jump to hasty conclusions with Mr J. O'Neill, who in his book *The Night of the Gods* London 1893 i. 198 wrote: 'Of course we have...a supreme antique origin for St George's Day in the Athenian pagan calendar which put the feast of Zeus Geörgos [*sic*] in the month of Mémaktérion [*sic*] (Nov.-Dec.).' Dr Rendel Harris *op. cit.* p. 100 does not thus blink the difficulty: 'the confirmation is lacking of a connexion between Zeus Georgos and April 23rd, the inscription being incomplete, and we must leave this part of the problem unsolved, merely remarking that on the Latin side of the house the date in question is that of the Vinalia, which can be demonstrated to be sacred to Jupiter.'

Further evidence is, however, available. The chief centre of the cult of St George was Lydda or *Dibspolis*—the 'city of Zeus'—in Samaria. Here he was born; here, after his martyrdom at Nikomedeia, he was buried; and here a church was subsequently erected in his honour (E. Robinson *Biblical Researches in Palestine* etc. London 1841 iii. 51). The saint stood in some relation to a sacred pillar. According to the Greek *menata* as reported in the *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Aprilis iii. 142, when the church at Ramleh was being built, a pious widow wished to contribute a column. She had bought it and conveyed it as far as the coast, when the prefect or curator Palatinus refused her gift and would not transport it by sea with the other columns. Hereupon the widow besought St George, who appeared and, after writing on the marble with his finger 'Let this column of the widow occupy the second place on the right hand side of the church,' helped her to fling it into the sea. Next day it was found lying in the mouth of the harbour, having reached its destination before all the other columns, to the amazement of Palatinus, who acknowledged his error. Arculfus *de locis sanctis* 3. 4, a work written down by Adamnan c. 688 A.D. and translated by J. R. Macpherson (*Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society* London 1895 iii. 1 ff.), states that in a house at Diospolis there was a 'marble column of George the Confessor, to which, during a time of persecution, he was bound while he was scourged, and on which his likeness is impressed.' An unbeliever, mounted on horseback and instigated by the Devil, struck with his lance at the saint's likeness. The head of the lance penetrated the marble as if it were mere snow and could not be withdrawn; its shaft was broken against the outside. The horse too fell dead on the

Zeus at many, not to say most, of the important cult-centres both on the mainland (Mount Olympos, Mount Lykaion, Mount Arachnaion, Mount Taleton, etc.) and in the archipelago (Mount Kenaion, Mount Oche, Mount Kynados, etc.).

Mr N. G. Polites in a valuable monograph on the sun in modern Greek folk-tales has argued that Saint Elias represents, not only the mountain-Zeus, but Helios as well¹. There is, to

pavement, where the bloodmarks from its haunch were still to be seen. Its rider put out his hands to the marble column and his fingers stuck fast in it. He was released by prayer and penitence; but his finger-prints remained, and Arculfus had seen them. Again, a layman on horseback, before starting on an expedition, vowed that, if he returned in safety, he would present St George with his horse. He did return in safety, and tried to cheat the saint by depositing 20 *solidi* of gold as the price of his horse; but he found that the horse remained rooted to the spot. A second time he tried, depositing 30 *solidi*, with the same result. Four times he mounted and dismounted, till 60 *solidi* lay before the column. At last he offered the saint the 60 *solidi* and the horse; after which he departed with joy. It seems probable that the column represented St George as a horseman armed with a lance, and by no means impossible that it portrayed his triumph over the dragon; for as early as 346 A.D. an inscription from Ezr'a or Edhr'a in southern Syria speaks of him as τοῦ καλλιῶκου ἀγίου μάρτυρος Γεωργίου (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8627, 7), and, when the race of the Bagratides ascended the throne of Georgia towards the end of the sixth century, one of the devices that they emblazoned on their arms was that of St George slaying the dragon (*Rev. S. C. Malan A Short History of the Georgian Church* London 1866 p. 15 n. 10, p. 28 n. 19); see the *Rev. G. T. Stokes in Smith-Wace Dict. Chr. Biogr.* ii. 646. If the column at Diospolis was of this type, it must have resembled the 'Jupiter-columns' of Germany, Belgium and France, which are commonly surmounted by a sky-god, probably *Ziu*, conceived as a warlike Jupiter on horse-back spearing a serpent-legged giant (E. Wagner 'Neptun im Gigantenkampf auf römischen Monumenten' in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1882 i. 36 ff., F. Hettner 'Jupitersäulen' *ib.* 1885 iv. 365 ff., Haug 'Die Wochengöttersteine' *ib.* 1890 ix. 17 ff., *id.* 'Die Viergöttersteine' *ib.* 1891 x. 9 ff., 125 ff., 295 ff., A. Prost 'Les travaux consacrés au groupe de l'Anguipède et du Cavalier jusqu'en 1891' in the *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France* 1891 pp. 15—54, Friedhof *Die sogen. Gigantensäulen* (Beilage zum *Jahresbericht des Lyzeums Metz* 1892), G. A. Müller *Die Reitergruppe auf den römisch-germanischen Gigantensäulen* Strassburg and Bühl 1894, A. Riese 'Über die sogen. Jupitersäulen' in the *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für lothringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 1900 xii. 324 ff., Forrer *Reallex.* p. 389 f. *s.v.* 'Jupitersäulen,' and especially F. Hertlein *Die Jupitersgigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910). However that may be, the legend of St George and the dragon suggests comparison with that of Zeus and Typhoeus, and furnishes a fresh *point d'appui* for the conjecture that St George is a modification of Zeus *Georgós*.

I may here note one or two recent works bearing on the subject. The monograph by E. Siecke *Drachenkämpfe: Untersuchungen zur indogermanischen Sagenkunde* Leipzig 1907 must be used with the greatest caution (see R. Wünsch in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1911 xiv. 561 ff.). C. S. Hulst *St. George of Cappadocia in Legend and History* London 1909 is chiefly of value for its list of monuments (pp. 135—149) and bibliography (pp. 150—156). J. F. Campbell *The Celtic Dragon Myth* with additions by G. Henderson Edinburgh 1911 includes many Celtic folk-tales. The most important contribution of late years is that of Dr J. G. Frazer *Golden Bough*³: The Dying God pp. 105—112 'The Slaughter of the Dragon' (a suggested reconciliation of the totemic with the cosmological interpretation).

¹ N. G. Polites 'Ὁ "Ἡλιος κατὰ τοὺς δημῶδεις μύθους Athens 1882 p. 45 ff., cp. *Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βλου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων* Athens 1871 i. 19 ff. Others too have held that St Elias is the successor of Helios (*e.g.* T. Trede *Das Heidentum in der römischen Kirche*

begin with, the obvious fact that *Elias* or *Heltas* and *Hélios* sound much alike—a fact expressly noted by Sedulius, a Christian poet writing c. 430 A.D.¹ Again, Christian art in the fourth century



Fig. 134.

portrayed the translation of Saint Elias under the type of Helios driving his chariot up the sky (fig. 134)². When in the course of

Gotha 1889 i. 315, cp. ii. 143, G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 240 f., Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* p. 19 ff.), but without advancing any fresh arguments in support of that view.

¹ Sedul. *car. pasch.* i. 168 ff. (after describing the translation of Elijah) *quam bene fulminei praelucens semita caeli | convenit Heliae, merito qui et nomine fulgens | aethere dignus erat: nam, si sermonis Achivi | una per accentum mutetur litera, Sol est.* On the forms 'Hλias, 'Hλelas, 'Hλias, 'Hλelas see Grimm-Thayer *Gk-Eng. Lex. of the New Test.* s.v. 'Hλias.

² F. Piper *Mythologie und Symbolik der christlichen Kunst* Weimar 1847—1851 i. 1. 75 f. 2. 504 f. (a sarcophagus in St Peter's at Rome=G. Bottari *Sculture e pitture sagre estratte dai cimiteri di Roma* Rome 1737 i pl. 29; another in the Louvre at Paris=Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 227 fig. 356=my fig. 134, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 117; a third at Milan=G. Allegranza *Spiegazione e riflessioni...sopra alcuni sacri monumenti antichi di Milano* Milano 1757 pl. 5), G. Bottari *op. cit.* Rome 1746 ii pl. 52 (sarcophagus),

the same century Chrysostom declared that poets and painters had borrowed their conception of Helios' car from the scriptural account of the prophet Elias¹, his blunder was not unnatural. Finally, rites that are probably derived from a primitive sun-worship are still celebrated in honour of Saint Elias. On July 20—a day described in the Greek calendar as that of 'The fiery ascent to heaven of the holy and glorious prophet Helias the Thesbite²'—pious folk toil up to the topmost peak of Mount Taygeton, now known as *Hágios Ellas* or *Hagioliás*. Here, when it gets dusk, they kindle numerous bonfires and throw plenty of incense on to them as an offering to Saint Elias. The dwellers of the district, especially those inhabiting the village of Kardamyle, as soon as they see the blaze on the mountain-top, set light to heaps of hay and straw, and keep the day by dancing round or leaping over them. This custom takes the place of the midsummer fires kindled elsewhere in Greece, and indeed throughout Europe, on June 24, the festival of Saint John the Baptist³. Miss M. Hamilton notes 'that the ikon of St Elias in the shrine on the top of Taygetos bears the inscription, "The Prophet of the Sun⁴."'

The foregoing arguments may be held to prove that in the fourth century and later Saint Elias was sometimes viewed as the Christian counterpart of Helios. But they do not suffice to prove that Saint Elias is worshipped on mountain-tops in virtue of his equation with that deity. For of all the heights on which Saint Elias has a chapel, and they are very numerous, the only one possessing a definite tradition of Helios-cult is Mount Taleton in Lakonike, where horses used to be sacrificed to the sun⁵. On the

pl. 70 (wall-painting), W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archaeology* New York 1901 p. 258 fig. 97 (fourth century sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum at Rome), L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1906 i. 222 f. (wall-paintings of the fourth century=J. Wilpert *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms* Freiburg 1903 pl. 160, 2 and pl. 230, 2). Cp. a rough *εικών* in the little church of St Elias on the summit of the pass between Livadia and St Luke's monastery (Miss M. Hamilton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 354 and in *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* p. 21).

¹ Io. Chrys. *ὁμλ. γ' εἰς Ἡλ.* 27 cited by N. G. Polites. The statement of E. Burnouf *La science des religions* Paris 1872 p. 266 ff. that in early Christian art, e.g. in the sixth century mosaic of St Apollinaris at Ravenna, Elias and Moses flanking the cross represent the sun (*ἥλιος*) and the moon (*Σκτ μάς*), is rashly accepted by Polites, but must be regarded as quite chimerical.

² N. Nilles *Kalendarium manuale utriusque ecclesiae orientalis et occidentalis* Cnriponte 1896 i. 218 Ἡ πυρφόρος ἀνάβασις εἰς οὐρανοῦς τοῦ ἀγίου ἐνδόξου προφήτου Ἡλλίου τοῦ Θεοστου.

³ N. G. Polites Ὁ Ἡλιος κατὰ τοὺς δημώδεις μύθους Athens 1882 p. 45 f.

⁴ Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* p. 21 Ὁ προφήτης τοῦ Ἡλλίου (*sic*), citing Ἅγιος Θέρος, *Δημοτικὰ Τραγούδια*, p. 11.

⁵ Append. B Lakonike. A text which appears to have escaped notice in this connexion is Fest. p. 181 a 2 ff. Müller multis autem gentibus equum hostiarum numero haberi

other hand, a fair number of the heights in question, including Mount Taleton, were well known as centres of Zeus-worship. It appears, therefore, that on the mountains Saint Elias is the successor of Zeus rather than of Helios¹.

But we have yet to ask why the mountain-Zeus was replaced by this saint in particular². Probably, in the first instance, the memorable scene on Mount Carmel, where Elijah prevailed over the priests of Baal³, impressed the popular mind with a vivid picture of the prophet as a mountain-power. The still more majestic scene of Elijah on Mount Horeb⁴ doubtless deepened the same impression. And the final appearance of Elijah on the Mount of Transfiguration⁵ would give a Christian sanction to the Jewish tradition. Again, Elijah, like Zeus, controlled atmospheric

testimonio sunt Lacedaemoni, qui in monte Taygeto equum ventis imolant, ibidemque adolent, ut eorum flatu cinis eius per finis quam latissime differatur. et Sallentini, apud quos Menzanae Iovi dicatus vivos conicitur in ignem, et Rhodi, qui quod annis (*quotannis* Lindemann) quadrigas soli consecratas in mare iaciunt, quod is tali curriculo fertur circumvehi mundum. This passage not only gives us fresh and interesting information with regard to the burnt-sacrifice of a horse on Mt Taygeton, but also compares it with the burning of a live horse for Jupiter *Menzana* by the Sallentini. Now these Sallentini were Messapians (K. Penka *Die vorhellenische Bevölkerung Griechenlands* Hildburghausen 1911 p. 35) or, more exactly, a Cretan colony settled in south Italy by Idomeneus of Lyttos (Strab. 282, Varro *ap. Prob. in Verg. ecl. 6. 31 p. 352 f.* Lion and Fest. p. 329 a 32 ff. Müller, Paul. ex Fest. p. 328 Müller, Verg. *Aen. 3. 400 f.*). I should conjecture that their Jupiter *Menzana* (perhaps = *Montanus*, cp. *mentum*, *mentula*, etc. as related to *mons*) was a mountain-god closely akin to the Cretan Zeus, whose solar character is shown by his cult-title Ταλαίος, Ταλλαῖος (*infra* ch. i § 6 (h) v). On this showing the horse burnt on Mt Taygeton was originally a sacrifice to Zeus Ταλειττας (Append. B Lakonike), a Cretan solar Zeus. The Rhodians' annual rite of flinging a solar team into the sea can be paralleled from Illyricum: nonnulli Saturno, cum suos devoraret, pro Neptuno equum oblatum devorandum tradunt, unde Illyricos quotannis ritu sacrorum equum solere aquis immergere: hoc autem ideo, quod Saturnus humoris totius et frigoris deus sit (interp. Serv. *in Verg. georg. 1. 12*), vel quod equuleus, ut putant, loci eius suppositus Saturno fuerit, quem pro Neptuno devoraret;...cui ob hoc in Illyrico quoternos equos iaciebant nono quoque anno in mare (Paul. ex Fest. p. 101 Müller: see G. Wentzel in *Philologus* 1891 l. 389).

¹ Zeus was in Hellenistic times not infrequently identified with Helios, especially with the solar Sarapis and Mithras (*infra* p. 186 ff.). But it is reasonable to suppose that the early Christians would have based their substitution of St Elias for Zeus on some universally recognised characteristic rather than on some exceptional aspect of the latter. Besides, we have no cause to think that Zeus Helios was worshipped on mountains.

² We cannot here assume any verbal confusion. Of Zeus Ἐλειός nothing is known beyond Hesych. Ἐλειός Ζεὺς ἐν Θήβαις.

³ 1 Kings 18. 18—40. Mount Carmel 'became known as Mount St Elias, and behind the high altar in the chapel is shown the grotto in which St Elias is said to have dwelt. Pilgrimages to this place have always been made, and on return home pilgrims would in many cases piously erect a local Carmel, dedicating the chapel to the saint' (Miss M. Hamilton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1906—1907* xiii. 355).

⁴ 1 Kings 19. 8—18.

⁵ Matthew 17. 1 ff., Mark 9. 2 ff., Luke 9. 28 ff.

phenomena. 'He prayed fervently that it might not rain; and it rained not on the earth for three years and six months. And he prayed again; and the heaven gave rain, and the earth brought forth her fruit¹.' On the former occasion 'the heaven was shut up².' On the latter, as a Greek liturgy has it, 'Elias by his fasting opened the heavens³.' Carmel was connected with 'clouds and wind, and...a great rain⁴;' Horeb, with 'a great and strong wind⁵': even on the Mount of Transfiguration 'there came a cloud overshadowing them⁶.' During the time of drought Elijah was fed by ravens⁷, as Zeus was fed by doves⁸. Lastly, Elijah, like Zeus, was associated with various manifestations of celestial brightness. On Carmel 'the fire of the Lord fell⁹.' Horeb witnessed 'after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire: and after the fire a still small voice¹⁰.' Twice Elijah, from the hill-top on which he dwelt, called down fire from heaven and destroyed the troops of Ahaziah king of Israel¹¹. When the end came, 'there appeared a chariot of fire, and horses of fire,...and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven¹².' Such an one fitly shared in the glory of the Transfiguration. And such an one, we may add, was not unsuitably substituted by the Christian church for the Greek sky-god Zeus.

'This hilltop saint,' says Miss M. Hamilton¹³, 'is believed by the peasants to be lord of sunshine, rain, and thunder. In several ways these powers are indicated in his worship; the site of his chapels is the place where the sun shines longest from its rising to its setting, and where rain is first seen and felt...On the island of Kastellorizo¹⁴...the festival of St. Elias is celebrated by the

¹ James 5. 17 f., cp. 1 Kings 17. 1, 18. 1—46.

² Luke 4. 25.

³ N. Nilles *Kalendarium manuale utriusque ecclesiae orientalis et occidentalis* CENiponte 1881 ii. 105 'Ἠλίας νηστεύσας οὐρανοῦς ἀπέκλεισε.

⁴ 1 Kings 18. 45.

⁵ 1 Kings 19. 11.

⁶ Mark 9. 7.

⁷ 1 Kings 17. 3—6. St Elias has a raven as one of his attributes, and is invoked against drought (D. H. Kerler *Die Patronate der Heiligen* Ulm 1905 p. 71 f.).

⁸ *Od.* 12. 62 ff. with scholl. *ad loc.* and Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1712, 35 ff., Moiro *ap.* Athen. 491 B. See *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 185 f.

⁹ 1 Kings 18. 38.

¹⁰ 1 Kings 19. 12.

¹¹ 2 Kings 1. 9 ff., cp. Luke 9. 54.

¹² 2 Kings 2. 11. The attribute of St Elias at Naples, *viz.* a wheel (T. Trede *Das Heidentum in der römischen Kirche* Gotha 1890 ii. 143), presumably refers to the chariot of fire.

¹³ Miss M. Hamilton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 353 f.

¹⁴ *Ἔσρτα* 1889 p. 63 cited by Miss M. Hamilton *ib.*

performance of a rain-charm wrought through the imitative magic of vicarious drenching. In the morning all the children throw each other into the sea, and later on old men and young join with them, until no person clad in dry clothes can walk through the streets with impunity. Those who resist are dealt with by strong fishermen. This compulsory bathing continues till Vespers, and then the bells call the drenched multitudes to church. The town itself looks as if a heavy rain-storm had fallen. And then the dwellers on that island, where drought causes the greatest suffering, pray to St. Elias for a good wet season.'

At Constantinople and in its vicinity people think that thunder is caused by the prophet Elias speeding across the sky on his chariot—a relic of the belief, which in the middle ages was common throughout Greece, that thunder was due to God or Saint Elias pursuing a dragon in heaven. Another relic of the same belief is the frequent phrase: 'The lightning is chasing the snakes!.' A manuscript at the monastery of Leimon in Lesbos records the following conversation between Epiphanius and Andreas with regard to Byzantine notions on the subject:

Epiphanius. Do they speak truly who declare that the prophet Elias is in his chariot thundering and lightening among the clouds, and that he is pursuing a dragon?

Andreas. Far from it. To accept such a statement on mere hearsay is utter folly. Men bereft of sense have concocted the tale out of their own imagination, as also the story that Christ made sparrows out of clay in the sight of the Jews, threw them into the air, and away they flew, or that he turned snow into flour. Those stories are false, and so is this, and all the extravagant doctrines forged by heretics.... Elias, then, did not go up to heaven (far from it!), nor does he sit on a chariot; but he has power over the rain, and can ask God that in time of drought he will give rain to the earth.... As to the fact that lightning burns a dragon, I have no doubts. The thing is true. Only, the hurler of the lightning is not Saint Elias but the angel of the Lord appointed for the purpose. A dragon is produced thus: the Devil observes etc.²

Saint Elias has taken the place of the thunder-god not only in Greece but throughout a wide area of Europe and even of Asia. A folk-tale from Bukowina in Austria makes Saint Elias steal thunder and lightning from the Devil, who had misused them³. Another from the same place, current also in Hungary, tells how

¹ N. G. Polites *Δημώδεις μετεωρολογικοί μύθοι* (extract from *Παρνασσός*) Athens 1880 p. 4 ff., where further evidence bearing on the phrase *ἡ ἀστραπή κυνηγᾷ τὰ φίδια* is collected.

² *Id. ib.* p. 7 f. and earlier in his *Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων* Athens 1871 i. 23 f. (after D. A. M. Charikles in *Σμύρνη* Aug. 6, 1871), J. T. Bent *The Cyclades* London 1885 p. 87.

³ O. Dähnhardt *Natursagen* Leipzig and Berlin 1907 i. 139.

Elias drove all evil spirits out of heaven by causing thunder, lightning, and a torrent of rain for forty days and nights¹. In a Rumanian tale Judas steals the sun and moon from heaven, while Petrus is asleep: Elias offers to vanquish him, is armed with lightning and thunder, and succeeds in binding him to a column with iron fetters². In Servian songs Elias is expressly called *gromovnik Iliya*, the 'thunderer Elias': he controls lightning, thunder, and the clouds of heaven³. According to Mr W. R. S. Ralston, 'The Servians say that at the division of the world Ilya received the thunder and lightning as his share, and that the crash and blaze of the storm are signs of his contest with the devil. Wherefore the faithful ought not to cross themselves when the thunder peals, lest the evil one should take refuge from the heavenly weapons behind the protecting cross. The Bulgarians say that forked lightning is the lance of Ilya who is chasing the Lamia fiend: summer lightning is due to the sheen of that lance, or to the fire issuing from the nostrils of his celestial steeds. The white clouds of summer are named by them his heavenly sheep, and they say that he compels the spirits of dead Gypsies to form pellets of snow—by men styled hail—with which he scourges in summer the fields of sinners⁴.' Mr Ralston further shows that Elias has inherited the attributes of the old Slavonic thunder-god Perun. The Russians hold that 'the Prophet Ilya thunders across the sky in a flaming car, and smites the clouds with the darts of the lightning. In the Vladimir Government he is said "to destroy devils with stone arrows".... On his day the peasants everywhere expect thunder and rain, and in some places they set out rye and oats on their gates, and ask their clergy to laud the name of Ilya, that he may bless their cornfields with plenteousness. There are districts, also, in which the people go to church in a body on Ilya's day, and after the service is over they kill and roast a beast which has been purchased at the expense of the community. Its flesh is cut up into small pieces and sold, the money paid for it going to the church. To stay away from this ceremony, or not to purchase a piece of the meat, would be considered a great sin; to mow or make hay on that day would be to incur a terrible risk, for Ilya might smite the field with the thunder, or burn up the crop with the lightning. In the old Novgorod there used to be two churches, the one dedicated to "Ilya the Wet," the other to "Ilya the Dry."

¹ O. Dähnhardt *Natursagen* i. 133 f.

² *Id. ib.* i. 145.

³ J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 173.

⁴ W. R. S. Ralston *Russian Folk-tales* London 1873 p. 339.

To these a cross-bearing procession was made when a change in the weather was desired: to the former in times of drought, to the latter when injury was being done to the crops by rain. Diseases being considered to be evil spirits, invalids used to pray to the thunder-god for relief. And so, at the present day, a *zagovor* or spell against the Siberian cattle-plague entreats the "Holy Prophet of God Ilya" to send "thirty angels in golden array, with bows and with arrows" to destroy it!¹ Similarly J. Grimm argued that Saint Elias had stepped into the shoes, not only of the Slavonic



Fig. 135.

Perun, Perkun, but also of the Germanic thunder-god Thor or Donar. As Thor overcame the Midgardh-serpent and yet, touched by its venomous breath, sank dead upon the ground, so in the ninth-century Bavarian poem *Muspilli* Eliah does indeed destroy Antichrist, but in the act himself receives a deadly wound². 'The comparison,' says Grimm, 'becomes still more suggestive by the fact that even half-Christian races in the Caucasus worship *Elias*

¹ W. R. S. Ralston *Russian Folk-tales* London 1873 p. 337 ff., cp. his earlier work *The Songs of the Russian People*² London 1872 p. 246 f., where however the date of Ilya's festival should be given as July 20, not July 29.

² J. Grimm *op. cit.* i. 173 f., cp. *ib.* 810 ff., 1341, P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* trans. B. J. Vos Boston and London 1902 p. 130 f.

as a god of thunder. The Ossetes think a man lucky who is *struck by lightning*, they believe *Ilia* has taken him to himself; survivors raise a cry of joy, and sing and dance around the body, the people flock together, form a ring for dancing, and sing: *O Ellai, Ellai, eldaer tchoppei!* (O Elias, Elias, lord of the rocky summits). By the cairn over the grave they set up a long pole supporting the skin of a black he-goat, which is their usual manner of sacrificing to Elias...They implore Elias to make their fields fruitful, and keep the *hail* away from them¹. Olearius already had put it upon record, that the Circassians on the Caspian sacrificed a goat on *Elias's day*, and stretched the skin on a pole with prayers (fig. 135)². Even the Muhammadans, in praying that a thunder-storm may be averted, name the name of *Ilya*³.

In view of the wide popularity of Saint Elias both within and without the confines of Greece, it is not surprising that the very name of Zeus has been erased from the memory of the people or at most drags on a hole-and-corner existence in out-of-the-way islands.

§ 6. Zeus in relation to the Sun.

(a) Direct identifications of Zeus with the Sun.

That Zeus as god of the bright sky was essentially connected with the sun is *à priori* probable enough. But in the domain of religion *à priori* argumentation is apt to be misleading; and, owing to the notorious vagaries of solar mythology, it must be rigorously excluded from the present section of our subject.

Philosophical writers of Hellenistic and Byzantine times definitely identify Zeus with the sun. Thus Cornificius Longus, a grammarian of the Augustan age, said that, when Homer spoke of Zeus visiting the Aithiopes, he really meant the sun⁴. Diogenes Laertios about the year 200 A.D. commemorates the death of Thales in the following epigram:

Thales the sage once watched the racers' strife
When thou, O Zeus the Sun, didst snatch his life
Hence to the very heaven: I praise thee, for
Grown old on earth he saw the stars no more⁵.

¹ H. J. von Klaproth *Reise in den Kaukasus* etc. Halle und Berlin 1814 ii. 606, 601.

² G. A. Erman *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Kunde von Russland* Berlin 1841 p. 429. [Cp. *Voyages...faits en Muscovie, Tartarie et Perse Par le Sr. Adam Olearius traduits...et augmentez Par le Sr. De Wicquefort* Amsterdam 1727 i. 1083—1084, where an illustration of the 'Sacrifices des Tartares Circassiens' (my fig. 135) is given.]

³ A. Olearius *Reisebeschreibung* 1647 p. 522 f.

⁴ Cornific. *frag.* 6 Funaioli *ap.* Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 23. 1 f.

⁵ *Anth. Pal.* 7. 85. ἰ ἡλιε Ζεῦ, cp. Diog. Laert. 1. 39.

A century later Arnobius describes the identification of Zeus with the sun as a tenet of the philosophers¹. The emperor Julian, a neo-Platonist of the Syrian school, who wrote his remarkable oration in praise of *The Sovereign Sun* for the Saturnalia of 361 A.D., is a case in point². He notes that the Cypriote priests had common altars and common precincts for the Sun and for Zeus³; nay more, that Apollon himself had declared—

Zeus, Hades, Helios Sarapis—one⁴.

About 400 A.D. Macrobius, an equally enthusiastic advocate of solar cult, devotes a whole chapter to proving that Zeus must be the sun⁵. Ioannes Laurentius the Lydian in his work on the Roman calendar, which was written in the early part of the sixth century, repeatedly takes that view⁶. And Eustathios, archbishop of Thessalonike, who lived during the latter half of the twelfth century, does the same in his learned commentary on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*⁷. These authors and others like them attempt to justify their opinion by citing certain passages from Homer⁸, Hesiod⁹, Orpheus¹⁰, Pherekydes¹¹, Sophokles¹², and Platon¹³. But it is obvious that speculations of this sort, whether ancient or modern, deserve no credence whatever unless they are supported by evidence of actual cult.

¹ Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 30.

² See Ioul. *or.* 4. 136 A, 143 D, 144 C, 149 B and C.

³ *Id. ib.* 135 D, 143 D.

⁴ *Id. ib.* 135 D f. εἰς Ζεὺς, εἰς Ἀΐδης, εἰς Ἥλιός ἐστι Σάραπισ. Cp. the Orphic verse εἰς Ζεὺς, εἰς Ἀΐδης, εἰς Ἥλιος, εἰς Διόνυσος (*frag.* 7, 1 Abel *ap.* Ioustin. *cohort.* 15 and *frag.* 169 Abel *ap.* Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 18. 18).

⁵ Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 23. 1 ff.

⁶ Lyd. *de mens.* 3. 10 p. 45, 20 f. Wünsch, *ib.* p. 47, 8 and 10 f., 4. 3 p. 67, 3 f. and 10.

⁷ Eustath. *in Il.* pp. 40, 29, 128, 14 ff., 728, 16, *id. in Od.* pp. 1387, 26, 1713, 14 f., 1726, 61 f.

⁸ *Il.* 1. 423 ff. (the visit of Zeus, escorted by the other gods, to the Aithiopes) is interpreted in this sense by Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 23. 1 f., *somn. Scip.* 2. 10. 10 f., Eustath. *in Il.* p. 128, 14 ff. *Il.* 13. 837 ἵκετ' αἰθέρα καὶ Διὸς ἀγᾶς (on which see *supra* p. 7 n. 2) is similarly understood by *et. mag.* p. 409, 9: cp. *infra* ch. i § 6 (g) ix. *Il.* 2. 134 Διὸς μεγάλου ἐνιαυτοὶ has schol. B. L. Διὸς δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἢ τοῦ διερχομένου χρόνου, schol. T. τοῦ ἡλίου ἢ τοῦ χρόνου.

⁹ Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 23. 9 explains Hes. *o. d.* 267 πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντα νοήσας (*infra* p. 196 n. 6) by *Il.* 3. 277 Ἥελιός θ' ὅς πάντ' ἐφόρᾳς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις: cp. *infra* ch. i § 6 (g) ix.

¹⁰ Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 23. 22 cites Orph. *frag.* 235 Abel, of which the last couplet runs: ἀγλαὲ Ζεῦ Διόνυσε, πάτερ πόντου, πάτερ αἰθῆς, | Ἥλιε παργενέτορ, πανταίολε, χρυσοφεγγές. Cp. *infra* p. 197 n. 2 f.

¹¹ Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 3 p. 67, 3 f. Wünsch τῷ Δί—καὶ γὰρ Ἥλιος αὐτὸς κατὰ Φερεκύδην.

¹² Soph. *frag.* 1017 Nauck²: see *infra* ch. i § 6 (g) ix.

¹³ Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 30, Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 23. 5, Eustath. *in Od.* pp. 1713, 14 f., 1726, 61 f., schol. *Od.* 12. 62 cite Plat. *Phaedr.* 246 E ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγας ἡγεμὼν ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεὺς, ἐλαύνων πτηρὸν ἄρμα.

And, even if such evidence is forthcoming, we must not at once conclude that Zeus was a sun-god in his own right. It may be merely a case of international worship, the syncretistic identification of Zeus with a foreign solar deity.



Fig. 136.

For instance, among the religious phenomena of the Hellenistic age few are more remarkable than the vogue of Sarapis or Serapis. This deity, whatever his origin¹, was regarded by Egyptians of the Ptolemaic period as the Apis of Osiris (*Āsār-Hāpi*), a human mummy with a bull's head and the sun's disk between his horns². The Greeks conceived him as a chthonian Zeus³ (fig. 136)⁴ and indicated his solar powers by means of a rayed crown (fig. 137)⁵. All round

¹ In recent years there has been much discussion as to the origin of Sarapis (see e.g. the *résumés* of Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 611 ff. and of R. Wünsch in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1911 xiv. 579 n. 1). Three possible views have been mooted: (1) that Sarapis was from the first an Egyptian deity, who arose from the fusion of Osiris with the Apis of *Se-n-hapi*, the 'Place of Apis,' near Memphis. This is held to explain not merely the compound names 'Ὀσάραπισ, 'Ὀσέραπισ, 'Ὀσίραπισ, etc. (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1576 n. 1), but also the tradition that the statue of Sarapis was brought to Alexandria from Sinope (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 28 f., Tac. *hist.* 4. 83 f.), since *Se-n-hapi* was known to the Greeks as Σινώπιον (Dionys. *per.* 254 f. Μακηδόσιον προλιεθρον, | ένθα Σινωπίτραο Διός μεγάλιοι μελαθρον with Eustath. *ad loc.* Σινωπίτης δὲ Ζεὺς ἢ ὁ Μεμφίτης· Σινώπιον γὰρ ὄρος Μέμφιδος· ἢ ἀπὸ Σινώπης τῆς Ἰοντικῆς, κ.τ.λ.). So A. Bouché-Leclercq in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1902 xlvi. 1 ff., I. Lévy *ib.* 1909 lx. 285 ff., 1910 lxi. 162 ff., G. Lafaye in Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 1248 ff.

(2) That Sarapis was originally the Babylonian god Ea, whose cult-title *šar apsi*, 'King of the Ocean, King of the Deep Sea,' became by a series of normal changes *šar apsi*, **šar aps*, **šar apš*, **šar apis*. Sarapis is first mentioned in connexion with Babylon (Plout. *v. Alex.* 73, 76, Arrian. 7. 26. 2). His ancient cult at Sinope may go back to an early Assyrian occupation of the town. His worship was introduced into Egypt by Ptolemy i Soter, who deliberately identified him with Osiris-Apis. This arrangement of the facts explains *inter alia* the relation of Sarapis to Iao, whose name is the final form of the Babylonian Ea (*Eau* or *Eaú*, later *Iau* or *Iaú*). So C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 338—364, cp. A. Dieterich *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 159 ff.

(3) That Sarapis was a barbaric European deity known to the Macedonians and by them equated with the Babylonian god (evidence discussed in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 352 ff.).

² E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 ii. 195 ff. with figs., P. D. Scott-Moncrieff in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909 xxix. 87, C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 345 f., *infra* ch. i § 6 (g) i.

³ Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 28 τοῦ Ἰλιούρωος, Tac. *hist.* 4. 83 Iovis Ditis; Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4391 Lambaisa in Numidia (Iovis Plutonis Serapis sacer).

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 369 pl. 39, 4 a copper of imperial date struck at Tripolis in Lydia: ΣΕΥΚ ΑΡΑΤΤΙΟΝ wearing a *modius* on his head and extending his right hand over Kerberos at his feet. A similar figure and legend appear on coppers of Alexandria struck by Vespasian, both as a seated and as a standing type (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 31).

⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 173 no. 939. Height 2½ inches. Restored: left fore-

the Mediterranean are found frequent dedications to 'Zeus the Sun, the mighty Sarapis', or simply to 'Zeus the Sun, Sarapis?'



Fig. 137.

arm, right hand, sceptre, and chair. We may assume that the eagle at his left side was originally balanced by a Kerberos at his right side.

Examples of Sarapis with a rayed crown, including a marble bust, lamps, gems, coins, etc., are collected by L. Stephani *Nimbus und Strahlenkranz* St Petersburg 1859 p. 42 ff. (extr. from the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*. vi Série. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie. ix. 361 ff.).

¹ Δι' Ἡλίου μεγάλῳ Σαράπιδι *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii nos. 4683 Alexandria, 4713 Djebel-Dokhan, 4713 e Djebel-Fateereh, 4713 f (= Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 678) Djebel-Fateereh, *Inscr. Gr. ins.* ii no. 114 Mytilene, *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* nos. 914—916 Ostia, 1023—1024 Rome, 1030—1031 Rome, 1127 Praeneste, cp. 1084 Rome.

So Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4395 Lutri in Crete (Iovi Soli optimo maximo Sarapidi), 4396 Rome (I. o. m. Soli Sarapidi).

² Δι' Ἡλίου Σαράπιδι: *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2716 Stratonikeia (Ἡλίου Δι' Σαράπει), iii nos. 4042 Ankyra in Galatia (Δι' Ἡλίου Σαράπιδι), 4262 Sidyma in Lykia (Δι' Ἡλίου

A papyrus of the second century A.D. found at Oxyrhynchos preserves the following question addressed to his oracle:

To Zeus the Sun, the mighty Serapis, and to the gods that share his temple. Nike asks whether it is expedient for her to buy from Tasarapion her slave Sarapion also called Gaion. Grant me this¹.

The so-called Anastasy papyrus in the British Museum, a book of magical *formulae* written probably in the fourth century A.D.², equates Zeus the Sun not only with Sarapis but also with the ancient Indo-Iranian god Mithras³, who under Chaldean influence came to be regarded as the sun⁴, commencing one of its mystic sentences with the words:

I invoke thee, O Zeus the Sun, Mithras, Sarapis, the Unconquered, etc.⁵

Σεράπιδι), *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 2244 Auximum in Picenum (Iovi Soli Serapi Δι' Ἡλίῳ Σεράπιδι).

So Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4398 Apulum in Dacia (Sarapidi Iovi Soli), 4399 Rome (Sol. Serapi Iovi). Cp. *ib.* no. 4397 Sassoferatti in Umbria (Iovi Soli invicto Sarapidi).

¹ A. S. Hunt in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1911 viii. 250 no. 1149 Δι' Ἡλίῳ μεγάλῳ Σεράπιδι κ.τ.λ., cp. *ib.* viii. 249 f. no. 1148.

² F. G. Kenyon *The Palaeography of Greek Papyri* Oxford 1899 p. 116.

³ Dr J. H. Moulton *Early Religious Poetry of Persia* Cambridge 1911 p. 36 f. 'An extremely important Aryan god whose province came very near that of Dyaus was Mithra (Skt. *Mitra*, Av. *Mithra* etc.). He seems to have belonged to the upper air rather than to the sun. Prof. E. V. Arnold says there is little support in the Veda for the solar connexion, unless it be in hymns which compare Agni to Mitra. Nor is the Avestan *yazata* decisively sun-like. His name has no very convincing cognates in Indo-European languages, and we are rather tempted to speculate on a prehistoric link between the Aryans and Babylon, or some source influenced by Babylon. The "firmament" of the first chapter of Genesis was very prominent in early Semitic mythology; and it is remarkable that the Assyrian *meṭru*, "rain," comes so near to Mithra's name*. [*I owe this to my colleague Prof. H. W. Hogg. See further p. 47 below. J. H. M.] If this is his origin, we get a remarkable basis for the Avestan use of the word to denote a *contract*, as also for the fact that the deity is in the Avesta patron of Truth, and in the Veda of Friendship. He is "the Mediator" between heaven and earth, as the firmament was by its position, both in nature and in mythology: an easy corollary is his function of regulating the relations of man and man.'

F. Cumont *Die Mysterien des Mithra*² trans. G. Gehrich Leipzig 1911 p. 1 ff. is still content to regard Mithra as an Indo-Iranian god of light ('Beide Religionen erblicken in ihm eine Lichtgottheit, welche zugleich mit dem Himmel angerufen wird, der dort Varuna, hier Ahura heisst' etc.).

The now famous cuneiform records of Kappadokia show that Mitra, Varuna, Indra, and Nasatya were already worshipped by the Mitani, an Indo-Iranian people dwelling next to the Hittites in the north of Mesopotamia, as far back as c. the fourteenth century B.C. (E. Meyer 'Das erste Auftreten der Arier in der Geschichte' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1908 p. 14 ff. and in his *Geschichte des Altertums* Stuttgart 1907 i. 2. 579, 829, 837).

⁴ F. Cumont in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3056 ff. Dr J. H. Moulton *op. cit.* p. 35: 'Mithra...is sufficiently solar to give his name to the Sun in modern Persian (*Mihr*).'

⁵ C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus* Wien 1888 p. 103, 5f. επικαλουμαι σε ζευ • ηλιε • μθρα • σα'ραπι • ανικητε κ.τ.λ.

Cp. F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles

Philon of Byblos, who flourished *c.* 100 A.D., wrote what purported to be a translation of an ancient Phoenician history by a certain Sanchouniathon of Berytos¹. An extract from the translation preserved by Eusebios states :

The descendants of these men (Aion and Protogonos) were called Genos and Genea, and dwelt in Phoinike. When a drought befell, they stretched their hands to heaven towards the sun ; for he was the one god that they worshipped as lord of heaven, calling him *Beelsamen*, which signifies 'Lord of Heaven' among the Phoenicians or 'Zeus' among the Greeks².



Fig. 138.

Zeus is here the Greek equivalent of the Phoenician *Ba'al-samin*, 'Lord of Heaven,' who was honoured not only in Phoinike and its colonies but throughout the whole of Syria³, and was sometimes at least conceived as a sun-god⁴. It is he who appears on a fine bronze disk at Brussels published by Monsieur F. Cumont (fig. 138)⁵.

1896 ii. 134 no. 256 a Mithraic relief at Dorstadt (figured *ib.* ii. 307 f. no. 191) inscribed Io(vi) S(oli) invi(cto) | deo genitori | r(upe) n(ato) etc., *ib.* ii. 140 no. 319 Dalmatia? D(eo) S(oli) I(ovi)? o(ptimo)? m(aximo)? | aeterno | etc., *ib.* ii. 174 no. 556 Rome I(ovi)? S(oli)? I(nvicto)? P(raestantissimo)? d(eo)? M(agno)? | etc.

¹ Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 350—409, W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*³ München 1898 p. 764.

² Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 565 f. Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* i. 10. 7.

³ F. Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2839 f., W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 p. 26.

⁴ C. J. M. de Vogüé *Inscriptions sémitiques* Paris 1868 p. 19 no. 16 a bilingual inscription in Aramaic and Greek from Palmyra, [𐤁𐤌] [𐤀𐤋] being rendered by [Ἰου] [Ἡ]λου.

⁵ F. Cumont in the *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* Wien 1898 pp. 291—295.

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The mask of Zeus wearing an oak-wreath is seen between the spread wings of an eagle, which stoops its head and grips with its talons a snake coiled in a circle. The tail of the reptile, first seized by its jaws and then passed round its neck, symbolises both the universe and eternity¹, and attests the character of the Syrian Zeus.

At Tripolis in Phoinike the local *Baal* was Hellenised as a celestial and probably solar Zeus *Hágios*. Coins of imperial date show a square-topped and sometimes battlemented structure with a radiate bust of the god in a pediment and a lighted altar below



Fig. 139.



Fig. 140.

between figures representing the sun and moon (figs. 139, 140)². This is perhaps a great altar of semi-oriental form, comparable with the Persian fire-altars³.

¹ Horapoll. *hierogl.* 1. 1 αἰώνα...γράψαι βουλόμενοι ὄφιν ζωγραφοῦσιν ἔχοντα τὴν οὐρανὸν ὑπὸ τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα κρηπτομένην, *ib.* 1. 2 κόσμον βουλόμενοι γράψαι ὄφιν ζωγραφοῦσι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐσθλοντα οὐρανὸν, Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 9. 12 hinc et Phoenices in sacris imaginem eius experimentes draconem finxerunt in orbem redactum caudamque suam devorantem, ut appareat mundum et ex se ipso ali et in se revolvi, Lyd. *de mens.* 3. 4 p. 39, 1 ff. Wünsch ἐνιαυτός...κύκλος γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν εἰλούμενος...ὄθεν καὶ Αἰγύπτῳ καθ' ἱερὸν λόγον δράκοντα οὐρηβόρον ταῖς πυραμίσιν ἐγγλύφουσιν, Myth. Vat. 3. 1. 1 Saturnum...draconem etiam flammivomum, qui caudae suae ultima devorat, in dextra tenentem inducunt—collected by Cumont, who cites also a Mithraic relief showing a bearded serpent of this sort with rays on its head and a crescent on its tail (F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 ii. 208 no. 25 fig. 36). The same idea recurs in the magical papyri: G. Parthey *Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri* Berlin 1866



Fig. 141.

p. 124 pap. 1, 145 f. κύκλῳ δὲ αὐτοῦ δράκοντα | οὐρηβόρον in a charm πρὸς ἥλιον, C. Wessely *Neue griechische Zauberpapyri* Wien 1893 p. 39 pap. Lond. 121, 596 f. ο δράκων | ονοβορος = F. G. Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* London 1893 i. 102 f. no. 121, 586 f. in a charm πρὸς δαίμονας, πρὸς φαντάσματα, πρὸς πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πάθος, cp. *Corp. inscr. Att.* App. defix. p. xiii tab. Berol. 1 a 7 ἀκρουροβόρη with R. Wünsch's n. *ib.* p. xx b.

Many illustrations may be found in the Abraxas-gems published by Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 ii. 227 ff. pl. 48 ff., e.g. p. 230 pl. 50 no. 8 (my fig. 141) after Chifflet, obviously a solar talisman.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia pp. cxxii 214 ff. pls. 27, 14, 17, 28, 3, 4, 43, 11 (my fig. 140), 12 (my fig. 139), *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 262 pl. 76, 30.

³ Sir Cecil Smith *ib.* p. cxxii n. 2. See, however, G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 62 n. 28.

Again, a series of inscriptions from Trachonitis establishes the cult of a deity, whose full title was 'Zeus the unconquered Sun, the god Aumos'.¹ Thus a stone over the door of a cell in the monastery of *Deir el Leben* records the following act of piety:

Of Zeus the unconquered Sun, the god Aumos. The enclosure of the court was founded by Kassios Malichathos of the village of Reimea and by Paulos Maxininos of the village of Faithful Mardochoi².



Fig. 142.

Passing from Palestine to Asia Minor, we still find local sun-gods identified with Zeus. A sample will serve. A *stèle* from Maionia (*Menneh*) now at Koloë (*Koula*) associates the radiate bust of a Lydian sun-god, here called Zeus *Masphalatenós*, with that of the moon-god Men (fig. 142)³.

¹ Zeus ἀνίκητος Ἡλιος θεὸς Ἀῦμος Lebas-Waddington *Asie Mineure* etc. nos. 2392—2395 Deir-el-Lében, 2441 Aerita, 2455 Agraina, 2390? Merdocho.

² *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4590 Διὸς ἀνίκητου Ἡλίου θεοῦ Λυ[δί]ου, where for Λυ[δί]ου we must read Ἀῦμου (Lebas-Waddington *op. cit.* no. 2394, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2164).

³ Lebas-Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 117 f. pl. 136, 1. The inscription (cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3439) runs: κατὰ τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἐπιταγὴν ἱερὸς δοῦμος εὐχὴν | Διὶ Μασφαλατηνῷ καὶ Μηνί Τυάμου Μηνί Τυράννῳ | ἐκέλευσεν τηρεῖσθαι ἀπὸ ἡμερῶν θ. εἰ τις δὲ τούτων ἀπειθήσι, ἀναγνώσεται | τὰς δυνάμεις τοῦ Διός. ἐπιμελησαμένου Διονυσίου | Διοδώρου καὶ Ἑρμογένους Βαλερίου, ἔτους σνξ' | (μητρὸς) Δύστρου. Cp. Lebas-Reinach *id.* p. 118 pl. 136, 2.

At Baluklaou, a day's ride south from Lystra, W. M. Calder and Sir W. M. Ramsay found a dedication of the first century A.D., which associates Ἐρμῆν | Μέγιστον with Δι

Obviously these and other such identifications¹ do not suffice to

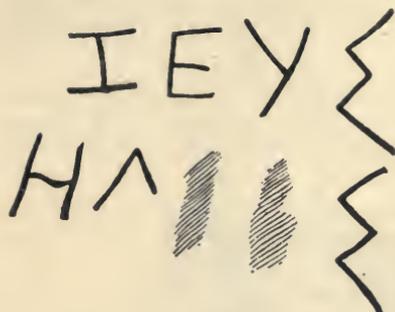


Fig. 143.

prove that Zeus himself, the Greek Zeus, was essentially solar in character. At most they show that his attributes permitted of his being identified roughly and for practical purposes with a variety of barbaric sun-gods. The only example of Zeus being worshipped as the Sun on Greek soil is to be found at *Kastri*, on the site of Arkesine, in Amorgos, where a very early rock-cut in-

scription reads (fig. 143):

Zeûs
Ἡ[Λ]ῶς

Zeus
the Sun².

If the second word has been rightly deciphered by Monsieur Dubois³, we are driven to conclude that at least as early as the fifth century B.C. the inhabitants of Amorgos recognised a solar Zeus. This isolated case must then be due, as Dr Farnell saw, to 'some peculiar

[ἩΛῶς] and so illustrates Acts 14. 12 Barnabas=Zeus, Paul=Hermes (*The Times* Nov. 11, 1909, *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1910 xiv. 102).

¹ Zeus *Ádadós* (Iupiter *Heliopolitanus*), Zeus *Dolichaíos* (Iupiter *Dolichenus*), Zeus *Talaíos*, *Tallaíos*, *Talettas*, Zeus *Ámmon*, Zeus *Askraíos*, etc. will be separately considered in later sections.

A seated Zeus radiate occurs on silver coins of Antialkidas (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Greek and Scythic Kings* p. 25 f. pl. 7, 9, 14) and Hermaios (*ib.* p. 62 pl. 15, 1, 2, 3, 5) and on copper coins of Manes (*ib.* p. 70 pl. 16, 9) and Spalirises (*ib.* p. 101 pl. 22, 2); a standing Zeus radiate on silver coins of Heliokles (*ib.* p. 21 pl. 7, 3; p. 23 pl. 7, 5 f.), Azes (*ib.* p. 73 pl. 17, 8—11), Spalahores with Vonones (*ib.* p. 98 pl. 21, 7 f.), Spalagadames with Vonones (*ib.* p. 99 pl. 21, 10), and Spalirises (*ib.* p. 100 pl. 22, 1). The majority of these are described as laureate, not radiate, by Prof. P. Gardner *loc. cit.*: he admits, however, that pl. 17, 8 Azes and pl. 22, 2 Spalirises are radiate, and such may well be the character of them all.

Iupiter Capitolinus has a rayed crown on a terra cotta lamp from Herculaneum now at Naples (*Antichità di Ercolano Napoli 1792* viii (Le Lucerne ed i Candelabri d'Ercolano) 1 f. pl.). Doubtful examples of a radiate Iupiter in wallpaintings are Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 22 no. 67 Atlas pl. 2=Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 189 μ Atlas pl. 1, 42, and E. Gerhard *Hyperboreisch-Römische Studien für Archäologie* Berlin 1833 p. 106=L. Stephani *Nimbus und Strahlenkranz* p. 14 no. 3. *Deuarii* of the gens *Egnatia* show a distyle temple in which are two standing deities, Iupiter with sceptre and radiate head, and Libertas; above the former is a thunderbolt, above the latter a Phrygian cap (so Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 474 f. fig. after Cavedoni, cp. H. A. Grueber in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 399 n. 3, 400 pl. 42, 16: on the temple of Iupiter Libertas see H. Jordan—C. Hülsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 167).

² H. Roehl *Imagines inscriptionum Græcarum antiquissimarum*² Berolini 1898 p. 55 no. 28, E. S. Roberts *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy* Cambridge 1887 i. 191 no. 160f.

³ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 191.

local syncretism or foreign influences¹. But unfortunately it is far from certain that Monsieur Dubois' restoration of the second line is sound. Monsieur Delamarre, who has recently edited the inscription for the Berlin *Corpus*, argues from the analogy of dedications in Thera that we need rather the name of the dedicator in the genitive case². And, if that be so, the inscription is no longer in point.

(b) Cult-epithets of Zeus that may be solar.

But, if it must be admitted that the Greeks did not directly identify Zeus their sky-god with the sun, it can hardly be denied that indirectly Zeus was connected with solar phenomena. Some of his cult-epithets are suggestive of such a connexion. Thus at Chios Zeus was entitled *Aithiops*, 'He of the Burning Face³,' a name elsewhere given to a son of Hephaistos, eponym of Aithiopia⁴, and to one of the horses of the Sun⁵. Conceivably, however, Zeus may have been termed *Aithiops* in his character of *Aithér*, 'the Burning Sky⁶,' rather than in any solar capacity. Again, at Thorikos on the south-east coast of Attike, an unworked block of stone has been found bearing the inscription⁷:

Ὁρός	Boundary
ἱεροῦ	of the precinct
Διὸς	of Zeus
Ἀθαντῆ-	<i>Auanté-</i>
ρος	<i>r.</i>

This Zeus *Auantér*, 'the Scorcher,' is explained by Mr N. G. Polites as the god of summer heat⁸—a conception which might refer to the glowing sky in general, but with more probability attaches to the sun in particular.

¹ Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 44.

² J. Delamarre in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* vii no. 87, citing *ib.* iii nos. 400 ff.

³ Tzetz. in Lyk. *Al.* 537, cp. Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1385, 62.

⁴ Plin. *nat. hist.* 6. 187.

⁵ Hyg. *fab.* 183 *Aethiops quasi flammeus est, concoquit fruges...huic rei auctor est Eumelus Corinthius.* M. Schmidt reads *Aethops*, a conjecture based on the fact that Eur. *frag.* 896 Nauck² *ap.* Athen. 465 B and *ap.* Eustath. in *Il.* p. 883, 62 called one of the Sun's horses *Αἴθωψ* in the lines *Βακχίου φιλανθέμον | Αἴθωπα πεπαλοντ' ὀρχάτους ὄπωρινούς, | ἐξ οὗ βροτοὶ καλοῦσιν οἶνον αἴθωπα.* Cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 29. 301 *αἴθωπος Ἡελίου μεσημβρίζουσαν ἰμάσθλην.*

⁶ *Supra* p. 27 ff.

⁷ Δελτ. Ἀρχ. 1890 p. 140 f. in letters of the fourth century B.C. *ΑΤΑΝΤΗΠΟΣ* is a blunder for *ΑΤΑΝΤΗΠΟΣ*.

⁸ N. G. Polites '*Zeus Ἀθαντῆρ*' in *Εστία* 1890 no. 41 (see *Ath. Mitt.* 1890 xv. 443, Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2264) derives *Ἀθαντῆρ* from the same root as *αἰθάλω*, 'I scorch' or 'parch,' cp. Aristoph. *ran.* 194 *τὸν Αἰθαίνου λίθου.*

(c) The Sun as the Eye of Zeus.

Fortunately evidence of a less equivocal nature is to hand. There is reason to think that the Greeks, like various other peoples¹, at one time regarded the sun and moon as the eyes of the animate sky². The sun especially was the eye of *Aithēr*, 'the Burning Sky'³, and might therefore be called the eye of Zeus. Euripides in his tragedy *The Mysians* spoke of Zeus as 'sun-eyed'⁴. A magical hymn preserved in a papyrus of the Berlin Museum addresses the sun-god thus:

Sun famed-for-steeds, Zeus' earth-embracing eye,
All-bright, high-travelling, fallen-from-Zeus, heaven-ranging⁵.

And Macrobius states that 'antiquity calls the sun the eye of Zeus⁶.' The phrase seems to have been current in the jargon of later oracles also—witness sundry responses of Apollon first published by N. Piccolos⁷. The god bade one Poplas attain his ends—

Praying the ageless eye of all-seeing Zeus⁸.

On another occasion he advised the same man to propitiate—

The brilliant eye of Zeus, giver of life⁹.

¹ See e.g. E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*³ London 1891 i. 350 ff., J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 702 f., 1888 iv. 1500, A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 pp. 7, 81, E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 298 f., H. Oldenberg *La religion du Veda* Paris 1903 pp. 40, 158.

² N. G. Polites 'Ο "Ἡλιος κατὰ τοὺς δημῶδεις μύθους Athens 1882 p. 33 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 380.

³ Aristoph. *nub.* 285 f. ὄμμα γὰρ αἰθέρος ἀκάματον σελαγιέται | μαρμαρέαις ἐν ἀνγαῖς with schol. *ad loc.* and Soud. *s.v.* ὄμμα γὰρ αἰθέρος. Cp. Soph. *Ant.* 102 f. χρυστάς | ἀμέρας βλέφαρον, 879 f. τόδε λαμπάδος ἱερὸν | ὄμμα, Eur. *I. T.* 194 f. ἱερὸν...ὄμμ' ἀνγᾶς | ἄλιος, *Ov. met.* 4. 228 mundi oculus, Mart. Cap. 185 mundanusque oculus, Georg. Pisid. *hexaemeron* 218 τὸ κοινὸν ὄμμα τὴν πανοπτρίαν κέρην.

⁴ Eur. *frag.* p. 531 Nauck² *ap.* Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 50 p. 22 Gomperz <Εὐριπί> *δης δ' ἐν Μυ <σοῖς καλ> τὸν Δία καὶ <οὐρανὸ> ν ἡλιωπὸν (sc. λέγει).*

⁵ *H. mag.* 2. 13 (Abel *Orphica* p. 288) ἥλιε κλυτόπωλε, Διὸς γαιήοχον (γαιήοχον cj. Schenk) ὄμμα.

⁶ Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 21. 12 solem Iovis oculum appellat antiquitas. Whether Hes. *o. d.* 267 πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντα νοήσας can be referred to the sun, is doubtful: cp. Soph. *O. C.* 704 f. ὁ γὰρ αἰὲν ὄρων κύκλος | λεύσσει νιν Μορίου Διὸς, *supra* p. 187 n. 9. To judge from Hesych. ὡσπερ οὐφθαλμὸς Διὸς· ὡς ἀστραπή, 'the eye of Zeus' was an expression used also of lightning; on which conception see *infra* ch. i § 6 (d) vi, (g) xx (γ), ch. ii § 1.

⁷ N. Piccolos *Supplément à l'Anthologie Grecque* Paris 1853 p. 183 ff.

⁸ Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 152. 2 λισσομένῳ Ζηνὸς πανδερκέος ἀφθιτον ὄμμα.

⁹ *Id. ib.* 6. 153. 1 ἰλάσκου Ζηνὸς βιοδώτορος ἀγλαδὸν ὄμμα.

And again he announced to a second worshipper, Stratónikos by name:

Thou still hast long to live; but reverence
The eye of life-giving Zeus with offerings meet¹.

An Orphic hymn, after identifying Zeus with various parts of the cosmic whole—the sun and moon included, goes on to say more expressly:

As eyes he has the sun and the shining moon².

Another Orphic hymn likewise describes the sun as at once the eye of the world and Zeus:

Immortal Zeus,
Clear-skied, all-radiant, circling eye of the world³.

In a somewhat similar vein Nonnos of Panopolis in Egypt, a poet who wrote about the year 400 A.D., makes Dionysos address to the sun-god of Tyre a remarkable hymn, in which that divinity is saluted not only as 'Sun' and 'all-bright eye of *Aiθēr*,' but also by a fusion of religious ideas as 'the Assyrian Zeus' and 'the cloudless Zeus of Egypt⁴.'

It may be added that the Greeks of the Peloponnese still speak of the sun as 'God's eye⁵,' and that the Albanians swear by the eye of the sun or of the star⁶.

(d) The Sun as a Wheel.

i. The Solar Wheel in Greece.

Another conception of the sun that has left its mark upon Greek mythology and religion is that of a revolving wheel⁷.

¹ Cougny *ib.* 6. 154. 1 f. ἀλλὰ σεβάξου | ζωοδότου Διὸς ὄμμα θνητοῖσι ἀγαρήϊον.

² Orph. *frag.* 123, 6 Abel Ζεὺς ἥλιος ἡδὲ σελήνη, *ib.* 18 δμματα δ' ἥλιος καὶ παμφανόσωσα σελήνη.

³ Orph. *h. Hel.* 8. 13 f. ἀθάνατε Ζεῦ, | εἶδιε, πασιφαῖς, κόσμον τὸ περιδρομον ὄμμα. Cp. *supra* p. 187 n. 10.

⁴ Nonn. *Dion.* 40. 370 Ἥλιε... 379 παμφαῖς αἰθέρος ὄμμα... 393 Ἀσσύριος Ζεὺς... 399 εἶτε Σάραπις ἔφως, Αἰγύπτιος ἀνέφελος Ζεὺς. Count de Marcellus *ad loc.* cp. Mart. Cap. 185 ff., where Philologia addresses the sun-god in an equally syncretistic strain.

⁵ N. G. Politis *op. cit.* p. 33.

⁶ J. G. von Hahn *Albanesische Studien* Jena 1854 ii. 106.

⁷ For this conception among other peoples see J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass ii. 701 f., iv. 1499 f., H. Gaidoz in the *Rev. Arch.* 1884 ii. 7 ff., 136 ff., 1885 i. 179 ff., 364 ff., ii. 16 ff., 167 ff., A. Bertrand *La religion des Gaulois* Paris 1897 p. 185 ff., J. Rhys *Hibbert Lectures 1886*³ London 1898 p. 450 ff., *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 58, W. Simpson *The Buddhist Praying-wheel* London 1896, G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*⁴ London 1901 p. 656 f.

Euripides the poet-philosopher is represented by Aristophanes as declaring that *Aithér* at the creation devised—

The eye to mimic the wheel of the sun¹.

Again, Aristophanes, who makes fun of everybody including himself, in his comedy *Daïdalos* seems to have shown the sun as a wheel spinning in the air, and puts into the mouth of one of his characters the illusion-destroying couplet:

Stage-carpenter, when you want to send the wheel
Spinning aloft, say, 'Hail, thou light of the sun²!

The conception of a solar wheel is, however, seldom expressed in extant Greek literature. For the most part it has been obscured by progressive civilisation and lies half-hidden beneath later accretions. For all that, it can be detected by patient search as the ultimate explanation of not a few myths, ritual objects, and divine *insignia*.

(a) Ixion.

I begin with the myths—and *in primis* that of Ixion, a personage of paramount importance for the proper understanding of early Greek beliefs. The orthodox tale with regard to him is told succinctly by the scholiast on Euripides: 'Ixion was a Lapith by race, and married Dia the daughter of Eïoneus. He plotted against his father-in-law, when he came to fetch the bridal gifts. He dug a pit in his house, filled it with fire, and flung Eïoneus into it. Wherefore he incurred the wrath of heaven. But Zeus took pity on Ixion and received him and let him be in his own holy place, giving him a share of immortality too. He in his wantonness saw Hera and was enamoured of her. She, not brooking his mad desires, told Zeus. Whereupon Zeus was wrathful and, wishing to learn whether the thing was true, made a cloud (*nephéle*) in the likeness of Hera. Ixion on seeing it thought it to be Hera and lay with it and begat a child of double nature, part man, part horse, wherefrom the rest of the Kentauroi are sprung. But Zeus in anger bound Ixion to a winged wheel and sent him spinning through the air. Ixion under the lash repeats the words: "We must honour our benefactors." Some say that Zeus hurled him into Tartaros. Others, again, that the wheel was made of fire³.'

¹ Aristoph. *thesm.* 17. In Soph. *Ant.* 1065 τροχούς ἀμλλητήρας ἡλίου all the mss. have τροχούς, 'wheels'; but Jebb rightly accepts Erfurdt's cj. τροχούς, 'courses.'

² Aristoph. *Daëdalos frag.* 234 Dindorf *ap.* Erotian. p. 42 Klein ὁ μηχανοποιός, ὅποτε βούλει τὸν τροχὸν | ἔαν (ἐλάν cj. Bergk, Ελκειν Cobet) ἀνεκάς, λέγε, χαίρε φέγγος ἡλίου.

³ Schol. A. C. M. Eur. *Phoen.* 1185. The ultimate source of the *scholion* appears to be Pherekydes *frag.* 103 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 96 f. Müller).

To Ixion and his offence we must return at a later stage of our argument: it is the peculiar character of his punishment that is here in point. Since Theodor Panofka first discussed the matter in 1853¹, it has been commonly agreed that Ixion bound to his blazing wheel and sent spinning through the upper air or under the nether gloom must be the sun-god and no other². Hence his constant association with fire: he was called the son of *Phlegyas*, the 'Flaming,' by Euripides³, the son of *Atthon*, the 'Glowing,' by Pherekydes⁴; and it was by means of a fiery pit thinly covered with logs and dust that he entrapped and slew Etoneus the father of Dia⁵.

Moreover, Ixion's wheel as represented in Greek, Etruscan, and Roman work is possibly solar. At least, its claims to be regarded as solar are deserving of further investigation. The extant representations include the following:

A brown chalcedony scarab from the Castellani collection, now in the British Museum, shows Ixion as a nude bearded figure, whose hands are bound to the rim of a large wheel. Between the spokes is the Etruscan inscription *Ichsiun*. This gem (fig. 144)⁶ may be assigned to the second half of the fifth century.

Contemporary with it, if not somewhat earlier (about 450—440 B.C.), is a red-figured *kántharos* of fine style, likewise in our national collection. Its reverse design (fig. 145)⁷ depicts the preparations for the punishment of Ixion. The culprit, held fast by Ares and Hermes, stands before the throne of Hera, while Athena⁸ brings up a four-spoked wheel fitted with a pair of wings.



Fig. 144.

¹ T. Panofka 'Zufluchtsgottheiten' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1853* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 285 ff.

² Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 770. L. Laistner *Das Rätsel der Sphinx* Berlin 1889 i. 299 ff. holds that the myth of Ixion is essentially akin to German folk-tales of elves appearing in the form of a fiery wheel, which creaks, pipes, screams etc. But such tales are themselves meteorological in origin (E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 62).

³ Eur. *Ixion frag.* 424 Nauck². Strab. 442 makes him the brother of Phlegyas.

⁴ Pherekyd. *loc. cit.* *Ατθωνος*, which Müller corrected into *Αθωνος*.

⁵ Pherekyd. *ib.*

⁶ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* pp. 22, 68 no. 334 pl. E, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 18, 10, ii. 87.

⁷ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 143 f. no. E 155. The most satisfactory interpretation of the vase as a whole is that propounded by Sir Cecil Smith in the *Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 277—280. I have borrowed his fig. *b*, which is more accurate than Raoul-Rochette *Monumens inédits d'antiquité figurée* Paris 1833 pl. 40, 1, being based on a tracing by Mr F. Anderson.

⁸ *Infra* p. 231 n. 8.

A great Apulian *amphora* with volute handles, found at Ruvo and now preserved in the Hermitage at St Petersburg, has for its obverse decoration a pair of contrasted scenes. The body of the vase shows Hades enthroned in his palace between Persephone and Hermes. Grouped near by are Apollon and Artemis on the one side, Aphrodite, Eros and Pan on the other. And below are six of the Danaïdes with their water-pots¹. The neck (fig. 146)² gives us the upper, not the under, world. Here in the centre we see Ixion, clothed indeed, but fast fettered to a triple wheel, from whose outer

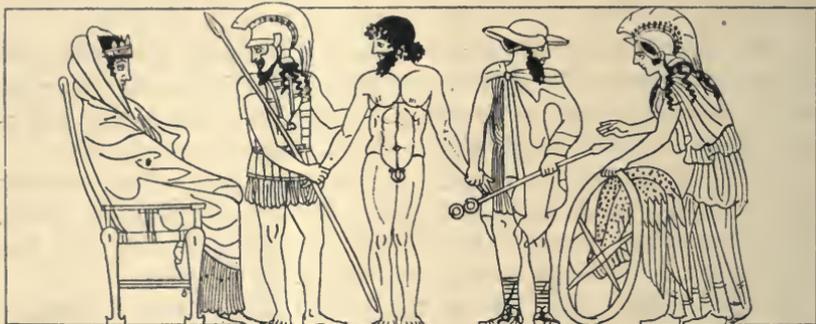


Fig. 145.

rim rays dart forth in all directions. On the right Hephaistos³ leans against a tree-trunk, still holding the hammer with which he has riveted the fetters. On the left a winged Erinys⁴ with snakes in her hair is engaged in turning the wheel. Two other figures complete the scene—Iris⁵ the counterpart of Hermes, and Zeus⁶ the counterpart of Hades. Iris with wings and a *caduceus* occupies the

¹ *Infra* ch. ii § 9 (d) ii (γ), where the bibliography of the vase is given.

² Raoul-Rochette *op. cit.* pl. 45.

³ 'Le Charon grec' (Raoul-Rochette *op. cit.* p. 179 n. 3), 'Éaque (?)' (Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 355)!

⁴ 'Iris (?) ou Érinys (?)' (Reinach *loc. cit.*)!

⁵ 'Érinys' (Reinach *ib.*)!

⁶ 'Aiacos' (Raoul-Rochette *loc. cit.*), 'Hadès (?)' (Reinach *loc. cit.*). But these suggestions miss the intended contrast between the Upper- and the Under-world. Apulian vases that have the Under-world on the body normally have the Upper-world on the neck, either on the obverse or on the reverse side. Thus Karlsruhe 388 (Reinach *op. cit.* i. 108) has obverse Helios in his *quadriga* (*ib.* i. 258). Munich 849 (*ib.* i. 258) has obverse Helios and Heos in *quadrigae* conducted across the sea by Phosphoros (Furtwängler-Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 51). Naples 3222 (Reinach *op. cit.* i. 167) has reverse Helios in his *quadriga*, Selene on horseback, and Eros between them, crossing the sea (*ib.* i. 312). St Petersburg 426 (*ib.* i. 479) has obverse Eros in a *quadriga*—presumably the sun's chariot (*ib.*). In fact, the only exception among the large-sized Under-world

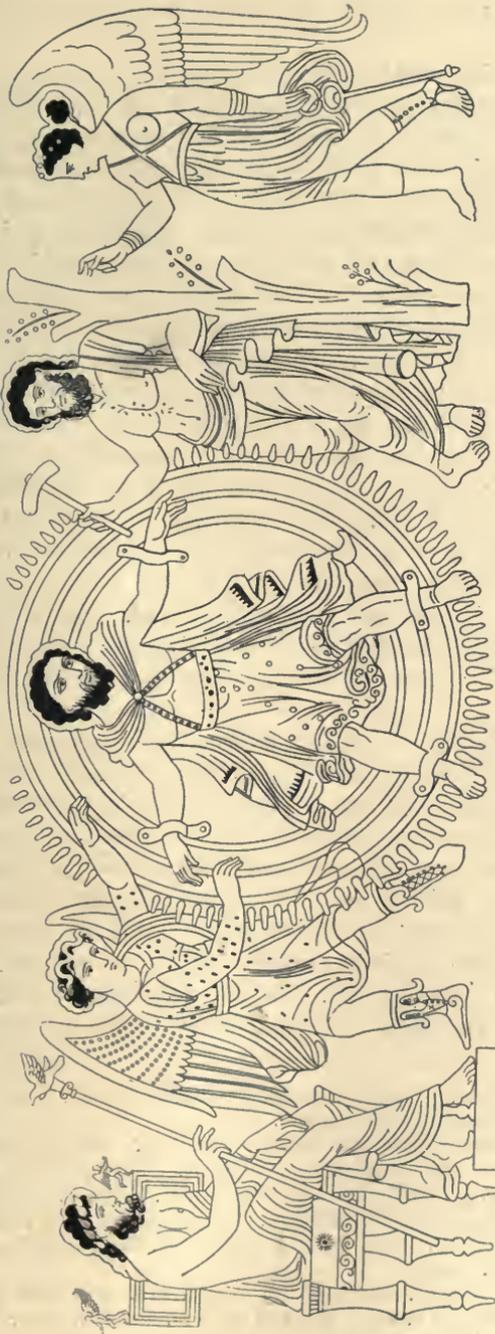


Fig. 146.

extreme right; Zeus enthroned and holding his eagle-sceptre, the extreme left.

A Campanian *amphora* from Cumae, now at Berlin, has another striking representation of the scene as its principal design (pl. xvi)¹. The figures composing it have been first drawn in accordance with the usual technique of the vase-painter and subsequently coloured in more or less natural tints—the result being a polychrome decoration suggestive of fresco-work. Raised aloft in mid air is Ixion. He is naked and bound, spread-eagle fashion, to the four spokes of a double wheel. His bonds are so many serpents; and two of them, twining about his legs and body, raise their heads to bite him on the shoulders. The rims of his wheel, which are painted a whitish yellow, a bright and a dark red, send forth red tongues of flame; these, however, do not radiate light outwards, but heat inwards, and so add to the anguish of the sufferer. Immediately beneath him a winged Erinys rises from the ground with snaky hair and uplifted torch. Ixion's wheel is turned by a couple of winged female figures, who have been interpreted as Nephelai². Hephaistos, having completed his ghastly work, stands back to survey it, cap on head and hammer in hand. He is balanced by a second spectator, Hermes, who turns his back upon the scene but, fascinated by it in spite of himself, glances upwards in the direction of Ixion.

A wall-painting, which still adorns a dining-room in the house of the Vettii at Pompeii, provides us with yet another type (fig. 147)³. The artist, realising that the agony of Ixion must be suggested to the mind rather than presented to the eye, has given us but a glimpse of the hero fastened face downwards on a mighty eight-spoked wheel. Behind him stands the grim figure of Hephaistos, who lays his left hand on the wheel and with his right is about to grasp a spoke and set it in motion. His anvil, hammer and pincers are near him on the ground. At this supreme moment, when the torture is on the point of commencing, Hermes the mandatory of

vases is Naples Santangelo 709 (*ib.* i. 455), which has obverse a female head in a floral device, reverse a horse attacked by griffins.

¹ Furtwängler *Vasensamm.* Berlin ii. 840 f. no. 3023. The best reproduction is that by A. Kluegmann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873 xlv. 93—98 pl. I—K (badly copied in Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 767 fig. 821 and Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 769 f.).

² Nephelai (Kluegmann after Helbig *loc. cit.*, Furtwängler *loc. cit.*, Baumeister *loc. cit.*, Wagner in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 182), Erinyses (P. Weizsäcker *ib.* ii. 771), Nikai (Reinach *op. cit.* i. 330).

³ Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 39 Text p. 49 ff. For other reproductions see A. Sogliano in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1898 viii. 296 ff. pl. 9 and G. Patroni in *Arte Italiana decorativa e industriale* ix. 24 pl. 13.

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Amphora from Cumae: Ixion on his wheel.

See page 202.

Zeus¹ arrests the wheel and looks round to see if there is any sign of relenting on the face of Hera. Hera, however, is already enjoying her anticipated triumph and, prompted by Iris² at her elbow, hardens her heart: the dread sentence will be duly carried out. In the foreground sits a swathed figure, who turns with an imploring look and gesture, not indeed towards Hera—that would be useless,



Fig. 147.

—but towards the more sympathetic Hermes. She has been justly regarded as Nephele³ interceding for her lover. The whole picture

¹ Hyg. *fab.* 62.

² Iris is neatly characterised by the *nimbus* round her head.

³ See Herrmann *loc. cit.*, who successfully disposes of the rival interpretations—Erinys or Nemesis (Herrlich), the mother of Ixion (Sogliano), 'a personification of the spirit of one who has died' (Mau). Wagner in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 182 argued that she must be Nephele on account of her swathed form.

is finely conceived and almost certainly repeats a Greek *motif*. Indeed, we have seen the same *dramatis personae* in the vase-paintings already reviewed—Hera seated on her throne, Iris standing with raised right hand, Hephaistos with his hammer beside the wheel, Hermes with his *caduceus* glancing round, and even Nephele, though here by a fine original touch she is represented as doing her best to avert, not to forward, the punishment of Ixion. It seems possible to go one step further and to determine the date of the Greek prototype. Here much help is afforded by the style of Hermes, its most prominent figure. He might well be a bronze statue by Lysippos. The proportions of head, trunk, and legs, the pose of the feet, the attitude of the head turned away from the leg that bears the weight, would all support this contention. And the resemblance of the whole figure to the Lansdowne Herakles, pointed out by G. Rodenwaldt¹, would go to confirm it, if—as Prof. P. Gardner has urged²—the Herakles is essentially Lysippian in character. On this showing we may conclude that the Pompeian picture had as its direct ancestor a Greek fresco dating from the age of Alexander the Great.

An Etruscan mirror recently acquired by the British Museum and hitherto unpublished³ (pl. xvii) figures Ixion bound to a great winged wheel in the early 'running' attitude⁴, which here denotes rapid revolution. He is nude except for the fillet about his hair and the bands that fasten him to the eight-spoked wheel. The flower twice introduced between adjacent spokes serves as a stop-gap and has no special significance. The mirror is referred by Mr H. B. Walters to the third or possibly to the fourth century B.C. The ivy-wreath and the rendering of hands, feet, etc. suffice to prove that it is archaistic, not archaic.

Finally, a Roman sarcophagus, found in a brick sepulchral monument behind the second mile-stone on the *Via Appia Nuova* and now in the *Galleria dei Candelabri* of the Vatican, has its right end decorated with reliefs symbolic of the Under-world (fig. 148)⁵.

¹ G. Rodenwaldt *Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wandgemälde* Berlin 1909 p. 178.

² P. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1903 xxiii. 128 ff., 1905 xxv. 240, 256. The attribution of this type to Lysippos was first suggested by A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 451. B. Graef in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1889 iv. 189 ff. referred it to Skopas; Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 296 ff., to Skopas in his first or Polyclitan period; A. Kalkmann *Die Proportionen des Gesichts in der griechischen Kunst* Berlin 1893 p. 60 n. 3, to Polykleitos himself.

³ Exhibited now in Case C of the Bronze Room at the British Museum.

⁴ See E. Schmidt 'Der Knielauf' in the *Münchener archäologische Studien* München 1909 pp. 249—398.

⁵ *Wien. Vorlegebl.* B pl. 11, 3 c, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* i. 282 ff. no. 399.

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Etruscan mirror: Ixion on his wheel.

See page 204.

Sisyphos raises the stone above his head. Tantalos lifts the water towards his mouth. And between them Ixion revolves on a strong seven-spoked wheel, his attitude recalling the earlier representation of him on the Etruscan mirror (pl. xvii).

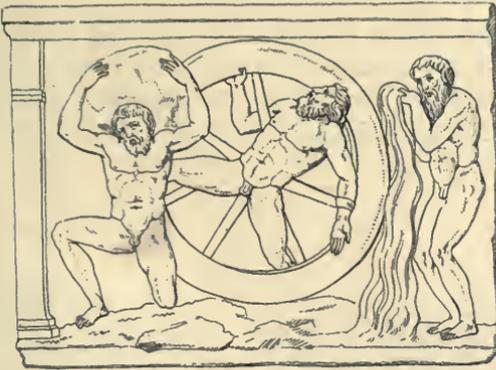


Fig. 148.

It remains to enquire how far the foregoing figures bear out the suggestion that Ixion's wheel was solar. A wheel, a winged wheel a wheel darting rays outward, a wheel flaming inwards and bound about with snakes—all these are beyond question conceivable ways

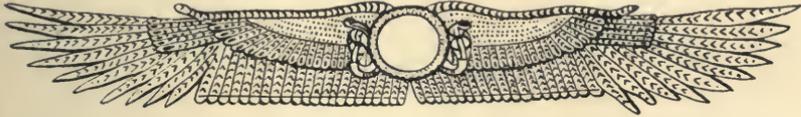


Fig. 149.

of depicting the sun. For example, the Egyptians used to place a winged solar disk flanked by two *uraeus*-snakes over the gateway of every temple-court (fig. 149)¹. This custom was explained by

¹ On the origin of the winged disk see S. Reinach 'Aetos Prométheus' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1907 ii. 59—81=*id.* *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1908 iii. 68—91, *infra* ch. i § 6 (d) i (e); and on its development Count Goblet d'Alviella *Recherches sur l'histoire du globe ailé hors de l'Égypte* Bruxelles 1888 (extr. from the *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* iii Série 1888 xvi. 623 ff. no. 12). Cp. also Stevenson 'The Feather and the Wing in Mythology' in *Oriental Studies* (Oriental Club of Philadelphia) Boston 1894 pp. 236—239. In Egypt the winged disk is found as early as the sixth dynasty, e.g. on a triumphal *stèle* of Pepi i in *Wadi-Maghara* (Sinai) published by J. de Morgan *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte* Paris 1896 i. 235 fig. 596. I figure a fine eighteenth-dynasty example from the door to the chapel of Thothmes i at *Deir el Bahri*, drawn by R. E. F. Paget for A. Wiedemann *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* London 1897 p. 75 fig. 14. The wings are probably those of the falcon (*falco peregrinus*), not the sparrow-hawk: see G. Bénédict in the *Mon. Piot* 1909 xvii. 5 ff.

means of the following myth¹. Heru-behūtet², the Horos of Edfū, when he fought the enemies of his father Râ, changed himself into a winged disk of many colours. As such he flew up to the sun, sighted his foes, and started in pursuit. He took with him Nekhebet the goddess of the South and Uatchit the goddess of the North in the form of two snakes that they might destroy the adversaries. Having gained the day, Heru-behūtet was thenceforward called 'the Darter of Rays who emergeth from the horizon'; and Râ ordained that the winged solar disk should be set over every sacred spot for the banishing of evil.

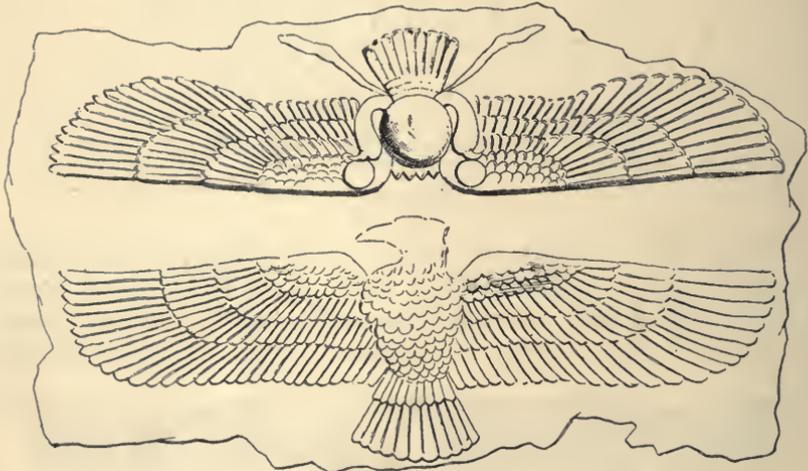


Fig. 150.

The winged disk is found also, with slight modifications, in Phoinike, where it was similarly used to consecrate the lintels of temple-buildings³. An interesting example, discovered by E. Renan⁴

¹ The text was published by É. Naville *Textes relatifs au mythe d'Horus dans le temple d'Edfou* Genève 1870 pls. 12—19. It is translated into German by H. Brugsch in the *Abh. d. gött. Akad. 1869* Phil.-hist. Classe xiv. 173—236, and into English by A. Wiedemann *op. cit.* p. 69 ff. Cp. also E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 483, A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 p. 10 fig. 8.

² The precise form and significance of the name borne by the solar disk is disputed: see A. Erman in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 1882 xx. 8, Le Page Renouf in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 1886 viii. 143, A. Wiedemann *ib.* 1895 xvii. 196 ff.

³ Count Goblet d'Alviella *op. cit.* p. 5 ff.

⁴ E. Renan *Mission de Phénicie* Paris 1864 p. 68 ff. Atlas pl. 9, V. Bérard *De l'origine des cultes arcadiens* (*Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* Paris 1894. lxxvii) p. 89, Miss J. E. Harrison in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 159 fig. 11.

at *Ain el-Hayât*, the 'Fountain of the Serpents,' is confronted by an eagle with spread pinions (fig. 150). This arrangement suggests that the solar disk was regarded as a sort of bird¹.

Without attempting to trace in detail the further fortunes of the winged disk—a task which has been undertaken by Count Goblet d'Alviella²—we may glance for a moment at its oriental analogue. The symbol has two main varieties in Mesopotamian art. One is a disk, sometimes transformed into a rosette or a wheel, with open wings and a fan-shaped tail: this disk is surmounted by a scroll resembling a pair of inverted volutes, from which depend two undulating streamers (fig. 151)³. The other shows a half-length human figure emerging from its centre: the



Fig. 151.



Fig. 152.

tail serves him for a kilt, and the scroll appears on either side of his head (fig. 152)⁴. This is the well-known sign of Ashur (Zeus *Assyrios*)⁵, patron god of the city Ashur and head of the Assyrian pantheon. On sculptured slabs and cylinders it is commonly seen hovering above the king or priest. And, mounted on a pole, it was actually borne as a sacred standard into battle⁶.

From Assyria both varieties of winged disk passed into Persia. The first lost its scroll, but retained its two undulating appendages.

¹ *Infra* ch. i § 6 (e).

² Count Goblet d'Alviella *op. cit.* p. 8 ff. I have followed this lucid and well-informed writer in the main lines of his classification.

³ A. H. Layard *The Monuments of Nineveh* First Series London 1849 pl. 6.

⁴ *Id. ib.* First Series pl. 13.

⁵ Nonn. *Dion.* 40. 393, *supra* p. 197 n. 4.

⁶ M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 194 n. 1 cites a description of this symbol given in a text of Sennacherib (Meissner—Rost *Bauinschriften Sannherib's* p. 94). While not committing himself to the view that Ashur was ever a nature-god, Dr Jastrow concludes (*op. cit.* p. 195 f.): 'it we are to assume that Ashur personified originally some natural power, the symbol of the winged disc lends a strong presumption in favor of supposing him to have been some phase of the sun.'

The second with equally little alteration served as the emblem of Auramazda (Zeus Oromasdes)¹. He appears in the reliefs of

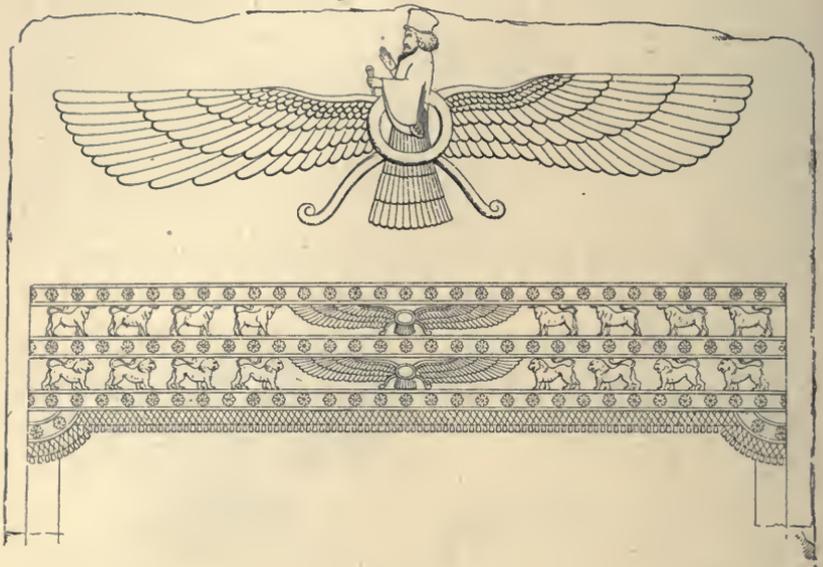


Fig. 153.

Persepolis encircled by the same solar² ring, which is winged and furnished with the like appendages: his royal robe (*kándys*), as before, passes into the tail-feathers³. A specimen figured by F. Lajard illustrates both types at once, the latter being superposed on the former (fig. 153)⁴. Cilician coins struck by the Persian satrap Tiri-bazos (386—380 B.C.) show the same deity Auramazda rising from a similar ring or wheel: he holds a wreath in one hand, a lotus-flower in the other (fig. 154)⁵.



Fig. 154.

¹ *Supra* p. 10 n. 1.

² Sepulchral reliefs from Persepolis give the symbol a lunar significance, the crescent moon being inscribed in the ring (see G. Hüsing 'Iranischer Mondkult' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1901 iv. 349—357).

³ G. Maspero *The Passing of the Empires* London 1900 p. 577, cp. 681.

⁴ F. Lajard *Recherches sur le culte, les symboles, les attributs, et les monuments figurés de Vénus* Paris 1837 pp. 156 f.

⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia etc. Issos p. 90 pl. 15, 3; Mallos p. cxxii (cp. *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 537 pl. 59, 15); Soloi p. 148 pl. 26, 2; Tarsos p. 164 pl. 29, 1. I have figured the coin of Tarsos. *Head Hist. num.*² pp. 722, 724, 728, 730.

Sir G. Rawlinson¹ and Monsieur J. Menant² have argued that the winged disk of Mesopotamia had its prototype in a sacred bird. And it is certainly possible to arrange an evolutionary series of extant forms, if we may assume the successive loss of head, legs, and tail (fig. 155)³. But it is doubtful whether such a series affords the best explanation of the scrolls and curvilinear appendages noticed above. These suggest rather a combination of snake-forms with bird-forms, as was demonstrably the case in Egyptian art.

However that may be, the various types of solar disk do make it possible to believe that Ixion's wheel stood for the sun. And this possibility is raised to a probability, when we take into account certain other features of his myth to be discussed later and certain other myths to be considered almost immediately.

Assuming, then, that Ixion's wheel in some sense stood for the sun, we have yet to explain the peculiar use that is made of it in the myth. A mortal man, raised to the abode of Zeus and gifted with immortality, aspires to the hand of Hera. He expiates his sacrilege by being bound to a solar wheel, on which he is both lashed with a whip and burnt with fire. Prof. G. Lafaye has recently argued that the punishment meted out to Ixion was but the mythological echo of a punishment actually inflicted on delinquents⁴. The culprit was stretched upon a wheel and, while it revolved, was flogged, burnt, and on occasion beheaded. This

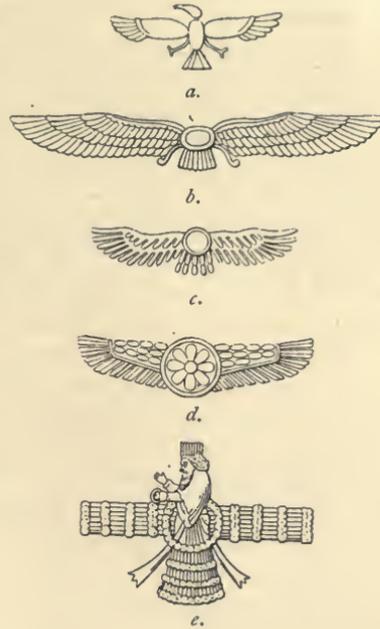


Fig. 155.

¹ Sir G. Rawlinson *The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World* London 1862—1867 ii. 235.

² J. Menant *Les pierres gravées de la Haute-Asie* Paris 1883—1886 ii. 17.

³ Fig. 155 contains five of the symbols collected by F. Lajard in the *Mon. d. Inst.* iv pl. 13, viz. (a)=no. 1 from the cylinder figured *ib.* no. 34, (b)=no. 8 from a relief at Persepolis (?) *supra* fig. 153, (c)=no. 2 from a cylinder (?), cp. *ib.* no. 26, (d)=no. 9 from a cylinder formerly owned by Lajard, (e)=no. 5 from a relief at *Naksh-i-Roustem*. See further *Ann. d. Inst.* 1845 xvii. 13 ff.

⁴ G. Lafaye in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 896 s.v. 'rota.'

mode of torture, which can be traced back to the fifth¹ and even to the sixth century B.C.², is often mentioned by Hellenic and Hellenistic writers. Aristophanes, for example, in his *Peace* makes the chorus curse any man that seeks war for his personal profit :

May he be stretched and flogged upon the wheel³.

Similarly in the romance of Achilleus Tatios the ill-starred Leukippe, brought to bay by her tyrannical master, defies him in the following terms: 'Order up your tortures. Bid him bring a wheel. Here are my hands; let him stretch them out. Bid him bring whips too. Here is my back; let him lay on. Bid him fetch fire. Here is my body, ready to be burnt. Bid him bring a sword as well. Here is my throat; let him cut it! Behold a novel sight—a single woman pitted against your whole array of tortures and triumphant over all!' Later, her lover Kleitophon finds himself in an equally sensational plight: 'I, as a condemned criminal, was to be tortured that they might discover whether Melitte had been privy to the murder. Already I was bound, stripped of my clothing, and hoisted up by nooses. Some were fetching whips, others fire and a wheel. Kleinias with a groan was calling upon the gods, when lo, the priest of Artemis, wreathed with bay, was seen approaching.' Etc.⁵ The verb commonly used of this torture, *trochizein*, 'to punish on the wheel,' is employed by the epigrammatist Asklepiades in an allusion to Ixion⁶; and the emperor Elagabalos, who bound parasites to a water-wheel, spoke of them as 'Ixions of the stream'.⁷ Torture by the wheel, regarded by the Romans as a specially Greek institution⁸, is well known in connexion with Christian martyrdoms and mediaeval punishments. The final relic of it—the 'Catharine wheel' of our November fireworks—by a curious reversion, or rather by an interesting survival, still brings before us, if we have eyes to see it, the blazing wheel of Ixion.

But, while fully admitting Prof. Lafaye's contention that the

¹ Antiph. *or.* 1. 20.

² Anakreon *frag.* 21, 9 Bergk⁴ *ap.* Athen. 534 A.

³ Aristoph. *pac* 452.

⁴ Ach. Tat. 6. 20.

⁵ *Id.* 7. 12, cp. Chariton *de Chaerea et Callirrhoe* 3. 4, 3. 9.

⁶ *Anth. Pal.* 5. 180. 3 f. οὐ τροχίει τις | τὸν Λαπιθῆν;

⁷ Ael. Lamprid. *Heliog.* 24. 5 Ixiones amnicos (so Hirschfeld for mss. Ixionios amicos).

⁸ Apul. *met.* 3. 9 nec mora cum ritu Graeciensi ignis et rota, tum omne flagrorum genus inferuntur, 10. 10 nec rota vel eculus more Graecorum tormentis eius apparatus iam deerant sed offirmatus mira praesumptione nullis verberibus ac ne ipso quidem succumbit igni. Plaut. *cist.* 206 ff. is probably based on a Greek original. And in Cic. *Tusc.* 5. 9. 24 *rotam* is glossed by the word *Graecos*.

wheel of the mythical Ixion was the torture-wheel of real life, I would urge that we have not thus got to the bottom of the matter. Why were men burnt upon a revolving wheel? Why on an engine of this particular shape? Why not tied to a stake, or cross-bar, or triangles, for instance? Because—I venture to reply—this form of punishment, like so many others (impaling, hanging, crucifixion, perhaps even ordinary flogging), originated in the service of religion, or at least in a definitely religious idea. And the idea in the present case was that the victim represented the sun. The mythical Ixion, if I am not mistaken, typifies a whole series of human Ixions, who in bygone ages were done to death as effete embodiments of the sun-god. Evidence in support of this view will be forthcoming in subsequent sections.

(β) Triptolemos.

Triptolemos is first mentioned in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, a poem referable to the seventh century B.C., as one of the 'kings' or chiefs at Eleusis, whom Demeter instructed in mystic rites for the fertility of the soil¹. Apart from the fact that his name thrice heads the list, there is nothing to distinguish him from the other chieftains of the place—Diokles or Dioklos, Dolichos, Eumolpos, Keleos, Polyxeinos. The position of divine nurseling and favourite is reserved for Demophon, son of Keleos and Metaneira. But in course of time Triptolemos appears to have usurped the place of Demophon. His story is thus told by Apollodoros²: 'Metaneira the wife of Keleos had a child, whom Demeter took and reared. Wishing to make the babe immortal, she put it down every night in fire and so took off its covering of mortal flesh. Demophon—for that was the child's name—grew so fast by day that Metaneira kept watch, found him plunged in fire, and shrieked aloud. Consequently the babe was destroyed by the fire³, and the goddess revealed herself. But for Triptolemos, the elder of Metaneira's children, she made a chariot-seat (*diphros*) of winged snakes. She gave him grain, and he, soaring aloft through the sky, sowed the whole world with it.' Others make Triptolemos the son of Eleusis⁴,

¹ *H. Dem.* 474 ff., cp. 153 ff.

² Apollod. 1. 5. 1—2.

³ In the *h. Dem.* 250 ff. (cp. *Ov. fast.* 4. 555 ff.) the child is not destroyed by the fire, but only robbed of immortality through his mother's interruption of the rite—a ceremony of purification (F. B. Jevons *An Introduction to the History of Religion* London 1896 p. 365, E. E. Sikes on *h. Dem.* 239) and initiation (W. R. Halliday in the *Class. Rev.* 1911 xxv. 8 ff.).

⁴ Panyasis *frag.* 24 Kinkel *ap.* Apollod. 1. 5. 2.

or of Eleusius by Hioma¹, or of Eleusinus by Cathonea² or Cyntania³—variants which attest his connexion with Eleusis. The hero Eleusis was said by some to be the son of Hermes by Daeira, daughter of Okeanos⁴; and it is noteworthy that another account represented Triptolemos as the child of Okeanos and Ge⁵. Verses ascribed to Orpheus asserted that Eubouleus and Triptolemos were sons of Dysaules, and that Demeter, as a reward for information given her about her daughter, entrusted them with grain to sow⁶. Dysaules, Triptolemos, and Eubouleus were reckoned by the Orphists among the 'earth-born' dwellers of Eleusis⁷. Choirilos, an early tragedian of Athens, took Triptolemos to be the son of Raros⁸. Others made him the son of Rar⁹, or the son of Keleos son of Raros¹⁰—names which point to the Rarian Plain near Eleusis. One late writer, doubtless by a mere confusion, has him as the son of Icarus (*sic*), eponym of the Attic deme Ikaria¹¹. But in the time of Pausanias there was only one real rival to the Athenian tradition, namely that of the Argives, who maintained that Trochilos, a priest of the mysteries, had fled from Argos to Attike and had become by an Eleusinian wife the father of two sons—Eubouleus and Triptolemos¹².

In this tangle of names Aristophanes found ample material for a parody of the divine pedigree¹³. But it will be observed that, so far as Triptolemos is concerned, all roads lead to Eleusis. His cult left traces of itself from Syracuse to Gordyene, from Scythia to Egypt; but all such traces are compatible with the belief that Eleusis was its prime centre¹⁴. It is, therefore, to Attic art that we naturally turn for further light on the wheeled seat of Triptolemos¹⁵.

¹ Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 2. 382.

² Hyg. fab. 147.

³ Interp. Serv. in Verg. georg. 1. 19.

⁴ Paus. 1. 38. 7.

⁵ Mousaios p. 222 Kinkel *ap.* Paus. 1. 14. 3, Pherekyd. frag. 12 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 72 Müller) *ap.* Apollod. 1. 5. 2.

⁶ Orph. frag. 217 Abel *ap.* Paus. 1. 14. 3.

⁷ Orph. frag. 215 Abel *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 20. 2 p. 15, 27 ff. Stählin.

⁸ Choirilos *Alope frag.* 1 Nauck² *ap.* Paus. 1. 14. 3, Hesych. *s.v.* 'Pāpos.

⁹ Phot. *lex. s.v.* 'Pāp.

¹⁰ Soud. *s.v.* 'Pāpās.

¹¹ Interp. Serv. in Verg. georg. 1. 19.

¹² Paus. 1. 14. 2.

¹³ Aristoph. *Ach.* 47 ff.

¹⁴ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1173 n. 5.

¹⁵ The vases, sculptures, wall-paintings, coins, and gems, illustrating the myth of Triptolemos have been collected and studied by Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* i. 217 ff. pls. 41—46, *id.* *Ueber den Bilderkreis von Eleusis* Berlin 1865 ii. Beilage A (*Gesammelte akademische Abhandlungen* Berlin 1868 ii. 370 ff., 415 ff.), Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. chr.* iii. 97 ff. pls. 46—48, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1859 p. 82 ff., 1862 pp. 32, 58, 1873 p. 115 n. 1, C. Strube *Studien über den Bilderkreis von Eleusis* Leipzig

Vase-illustrations of the sixth century differ in some respects from those of the fifth, and again from those of the fourth. Sixth century vases, of which some seven are known, show Triptolemos as a bearded man holding a bunch of corn and sitting on a wheeled seat. The seat is a more or less simple affair, and is arranged in profile towards the right. Hence one wheel only is visible. This



Fig. 156.

has four spokes and sometimes rests on the ground, sometimes rises into the air (fig. 156)¹. Wings and snakes are wholly absent².

1870, *id. Supplement zu den Studien über den Bilderkreis von Eleusis* Leipzig 1872, and above all by that master of detailed investigation Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Demeter—Kora pp. 530—589 Münztaf. 9, Gemmentaf. 4, Atlas pls. 14—16.

¹ Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* i pl. 44, Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* iii pl. 67, Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 15, 1, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 33, 7 f. This black-figured *amphora*, once in the Fontana collection at Trieste, is now at Berlin.

² A black-figured *kylix* from Boiotia now at Athens (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 308 no. 967) shows Triptolemos with a sceptre in a car winged and drawn by a snake. This vase is presumably a belated example of the black-figure technique like the pseudo-archaic Panathenaic prize-jars, on which the columns of Athena are sometimes surmounted by a small representation of Triptolemos holding corn-ears in

Further, there is a remarkable similarity between the equipment of Triptolemos and that of Dionysos. A small *amphora*, formerly in the collection of M. Lenormant, has Triptolemos with corn-ears and sceptre on its obverse, Dionysos with *kántharos* and vine-branches on its reverse, side. Both are seated in the same attitude on approximately similar thrones, and are obviously travelling across the world to dispense their respective bounties of corn and wine (fig. 157 *a* and *b*)¹. Another *amphora*, which passed from the

Fig. 157 *a*.Fig. 157 *b*.

collection of Viscount Beugnot into the Musée Vivienel at Compiègne, represents Triptolemos conducted by Hermes on one side, Dionysos conducted by Seilenos on the other. Triptolemos has corn-stalks; Dionysos, a *kántharos* and a vine with grape-branches. Their travelling seats are similar, but not identical; for that of Dionysos has old-fashioned spokes² and is fitted with wings

a winged car drawn by snakes (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 277 ff. nos. B 603, B 604, B 607, B 608).

¹ Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* iii pl. 49 A, Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 15, 5 *a* and 5 *b*. C. Strube *Studien über den Bilderkreis von Eleusis* Leipzig 1870 p. 8 takes the figure with the *kántharos* and vine-branches to be Ikarios, not Dionysos. The hero favoured by Dionysos would then balance the hero favoured by Demeter.

² On these see A. C. Haddon *The Study of Man* London and New York 1898 p. 161 ff. ('The Evolution of the Cart') and H. L. Lorimer 'The Country Cart of Ancient Greece' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1903 xxiii. 132 ff.



Fig. 158 a.



Fig. 158 b.

(fig. 158 *a* and *b*)¹. *A propos* of this resemblance between Triptolemos and Dionysos we must here notice a red-figured *kylix* from Vulci, now at Berlin (fig. 159)². Dionysos is again seen sitting on



Fig. 159.

a winged and wheeled seat. As on the Lenormant and Beugnot vases, he is wreathed, wears a *chiton* and a *himation*, and carries a *kantharos*. Only, in place of a vine he grasps a double axe, the 'ox-slaughtering servitor of king Dionysos,' as Simonides termed it³.

¹ Gerhard *op. cit.* i pl. 41, Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* iii pls. 48 f., Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 15, 4, Reinach *op. cit.* ii. 32, 4—6. For Strube's view see *supra* p. 214 n. 1.

² Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 548 no. 2273, Gerhard *op. cit.* i pl. 57, 1 f., Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* i pl. 38, Reinach *op. cit.* ii. 38, 8 f. The inscription according to Furtwängler, reads ΚΕΦΙ · ΤΟΣΚΑ · ΟΣ, i.e. perhaps Κηφί[σ]ιος κα[λ]ός, not—as had been previously supposed—Ἡφαιστος καλός. The god with a double axe on a mule escorted by a Satyr and two Maenads in Laborde *Vases Lamberg* i pl. 43 (=Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* iii pl. 263) is probably Hephaistos rather than Dionysos, cp. Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* iv pl. 38 (=Inghirami *op. cit.* iii pl. 265, Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* i pl. 43).

³ Simonid. *frag.* 172 Bergk⁴ *ap.* Athen. 84 c f. For further evidence connecting Dionysos with the double axe see *infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) i (o).

Furtwängler *loc. cit.* takes this axe-bearing figure to be Triptolemos, not Dionysos,—a most improbable view, though accepted by Reinach *op. cit.* ii. 38.

Triptolemos and Dionysos dispensing their several bounties of corn and wine from a two-wheeled throne suggest comparison with a spring custom observed at *Kostl* in northern Thrace. 'A man, called the *χάχωστος* or *κοικηρός*, dressed in sheep or goat

Passing from the sixth century to the fifth, or at least from black-figured to red-figured vases, we find Triptolemos invariably depicted as a beardless youth, not a bearded man. His seat is always winged and sometimes, especially on the later¹ vases, furnished with snakes. In the great majority of cases the scene represented is that of Triptolemos starting on his long journey. Demeter for



Fig. 161.

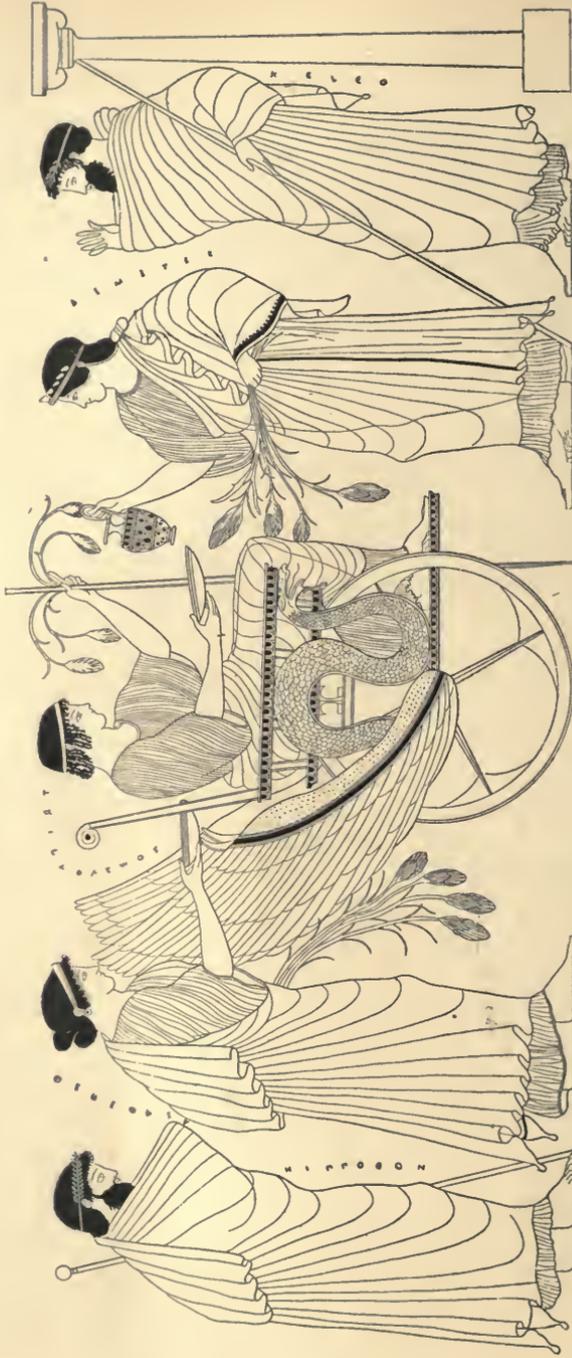
the most part fills him a *phiale*, that he may pour a libation before he goes. Two vases, out of many, will serve as illustrations. A

skins, wearing a mask and with bells round his neck, and in his hand a broom of the kind used for sweeping out ovens, goes round collecting food and presents. He is addressed as king and escorted with music. With him is a boy carrying a wooden bottle and a cup, who gives wine to each householder, receiving in return a gift. They are accompanied by boys dressed as girls. The king then mounts a two-wheeled cart and is drawn to the church. Here two bands are formed of married and unmarried men respectively, and each tries to make the king throw upon themselves the seed which he holds in his hands. This he finally casts on the ground in front of the church. He is then thrown into the river, stripped of his skin clothes (*διδύμοσ*), and then resumes his usual dress' (R. M. Dawkins in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1906 xxvi. 201 f.).

¹ Cp. an electrum *stater* of Kyzikos c. 450—400 B.C., which shows the hero with his corn-ears drawn by two winged snakes (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysie* p. 26 pl. 6, 9, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 1425 f. pl. 175, 1, W. Greenwell in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1887 vii. 53 f. no. 16 pl. 1, 17). I figure a specimen in the McClean collection, Cambridge (fig. 160).



Fig. 160.



Krater from Agrigentum: Triptolemos.

See page 218.

Fourth-century vase-paintings of Triptolemos may be subdivided into an earlier and a later group. The earlier group, comprising two specimens referable to the first half of the century,



Fig. 162.

represents the initiation of Herakles, or of Herakles and the Dioskouroi, either into the lesser mysteries at Agra¹ or Melite², or

Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 15, 21, Reinach *op. cit.* i. 398, 1 ff. Overbeck *ib.* p. 540 n. d. and p. 587 compares a late jasper at Berlin (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 131 f. no. 2913 pl. 25), on which Triptolemos appears in a chariot drawn by two winged snakes and surrounded by enormous grains of corn. For similar coin-types see Overbeck *ib.* p. 584 f. Münztaf. 9, 4—6, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* pp. 49, 71, 82, 120, 148, 163, 264 pl. 2, nos. 408, 582, 1332 (Alexandria), *ib.* Pontus etc. pp. 156, 158 pl. 32, 11 (Nikaia), *ib.* Lydia p. 260 pl. 27, 4 (Sardeis), *ib.* Lycaonia etc. p. 195 f. (Tarsos).

¹ Steph. Byz. *s.v.* "Αγρα καὶ Ἀγραί. The schol. Aristoph. *Plout.* 1013 states that the μικρὰ μυστήρια were devised by the Athenians in order to provide for the initiation of Herakles, who as a stranger could not otherwise have been initiated, but does not mention Agra.

² Schol. Aristoph. *ran.* 501.

(more probably) into the greater mysteries at Eleusis¹. A *pelike* from Kertsch, now at St Petersburg (fig. 163)², shows Demeter seated in the centre with Persephone standing beside her. The former has a high head-dress and a sceptre; the latter leans on a column and holds a long torch. Between them stands the youthful Ploutos with a horn of plenty. To the left we see Aphrodite, Eros, and a male figure holding two torches—probably Eumolpos rather than a mere *daidoúchos*; to the right, a seated female figure, whom we cannot identify with any assurance, and Dionysos



Fig. 163.

characterised by his ivy-wreath and his *thýrsos*. In the background, on the left, Herakles approaches. He carries his club in his right hand, but as an initiate wears a myrtle-wreath and holds in his left hand a *bácchos* or bundle of sacred boughs³. Above all—like the

¹ Apollod. 2. 5. 12, Diod. 4. 25, cp. Soranos *v. Hippocratis* (iii. 853 Kühn), *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 434, 7f. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 224, 7f. Xen. *Hell.* 6. 3. 6 λέγεται μὲν Τριπτόλεμος ὁ ἡμέτερος πρόγονος τὰ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἄρρητα ἱερὰ πρῶτους ξένους δείξει Ἡρακλεῖ τε τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ἀρχηγέτῃ καὶ Διοσκούροιον τοῖν ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν, καὶ τοῦ Δήμητρος δὲ καρποῦ εἰς πρῶτην τὴν Πελοπόννησον σπέρμα δωρήσασθαι is spoken by Kallias ὁ δαῖδοῦχος to the Spartans and probably refers to Eleusis. See further A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2185 f., Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 411 f., 415, and *infra* ch. i § 6 (f) ix.

² Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* p. 322 ff. no. 1792, *Compte-rendu St. Pé.* 1859 p. 73 ff. Atlas pl. 2, Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 18, 18.

³ Schol. Aristoph. *eg.* 408, Eudok. *viol.* 215, Soud. *s.v.* βákchos, Bekker *anecd.* i. 224, 32 f., *et. mag.* p. 185, 13 f., Hesych. *s.v.* βákchos, Favorin. *lex.* p. 349, 17 ff. The

sun-god in the sky—hovers Triptolemos on his winged car. A bell-*kratér* from Santa Agata de' Goti, now in the British Museum (fig. 164)¹, again depicts Demeter seated and Persephone standing beside her—the one with a sceptre, the other with a torch. Triptolemos on his wheeled seat, which is fitted with large wings and snakes, faces towards and converses with Demeter. To this Eleusinian company two *daidōhchoi* (perhaps we may venture to regard them as Eubouleus and Eumolpos) are about to introduce Herakles and the Dioskouroi. Herakles has his club;

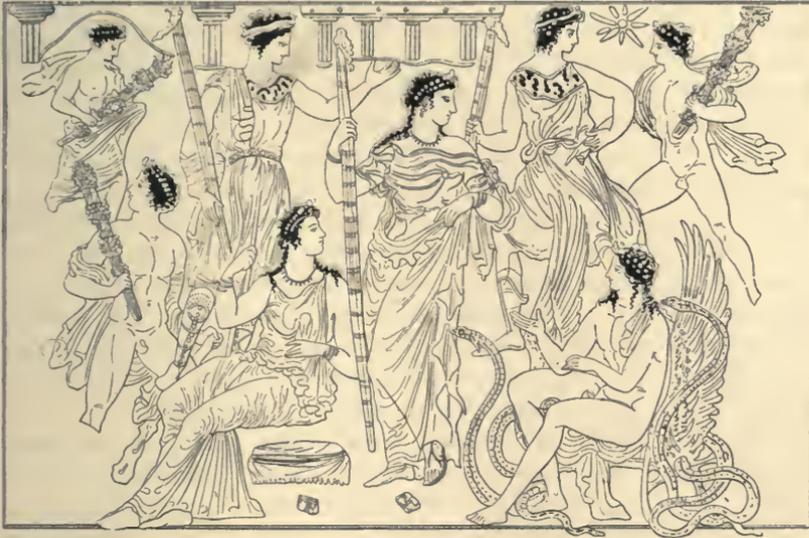


Fig. 164.

one of the Dioskouroi is accompanied by his star; all three wear wreaths and carry the mystic *bácchoi*. In the background, over a hill, appears a Doric building and two Doric columns: these may be taken to represent the *Telestérion*. In the foreground is set a stool (?), near which lie two uncertain objects of oblong shape, possibly tablets (?) required by the initiates.

The later group of fourth-century vases is decorated with a scene probably drawn from the theatre, not the *Telestérion*, though

βάκχος appears on silver (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica*, etc. p. 29 pl. 8, 3, p. 73 pl. 13, 6) and copper coins of Athens (*ib.* p. 23 pl. 6, 14 f., pp. 81, 91 pl. 15, 17), and on copper coins of Eleusis (*ib.* p. 112 ff. pl. 20, 1—4). It is also carved on the frieze of the small Propylaea (*Durm Baukunst d. Gr.*² p. 118 coloured plate) and on that of the great altar at Eleusis (*Daremborg-Saglio Dict. ant.* ii. 561 fig. 2633), as well as on that of the altar from the *Eleusinion* at Athens (*ib.* ii. 570 fig. 2638).

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 45 f. no. F 68, Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* iii. 180 f. pl. 63 A, E. Gerhard *Gesammelte akademische Abhandlungen* Berlin 1868 pl. 71, 1, Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 18, 19.

attempts to connect it with the *Triptolemos* of Sophokles have failed for lack of evidence¹. These vases, of which four are known², regularly exhibit the departure of Triptolemos, though with considerable variations and innovations as to the surrounding figures, landscape, etc. A common feature is their treatment of the hero's wheeled seat, which in three out of the four cases has become a chariot facing us full-front and drawn by two monstrous snakes. As the snakes increase in size, the wings diminish³ and on two of the vases are absent altogether. One of these, an Apulian *amphora* from the Pizzati collection now at St Petersburg, is here reproduced (pl. xix)⁴. It shows Demeter, as on the earlier red-figured vases, filling the *phidole* of Triptolemos, who richly clad in a stage costume stands erect in his chariot. A trait new to the vase-painters is that two ears of corn are visible in his hair, which is confined by a white band⁵. Close to Demeter and Triptolemos are two Horai appropriately holding corn-stalks. The background is occupied by figures frequent on Apulian vases and of no special significance here, *viz.* a group of Aphrodite, Eros, and Peitho on the right, and Pan with his *syrinx* leaning against a tree-trunk on the left. In the foreground flows a river inscribed *Néilos*, 'the Nile.' The locality is further indicated perhaps by the flora, certainly by the fauna. Lotiform plants are growing on the river-bank, and a lynx-cat with a bird in its mouth is decidedly reminiscent of Egypt⁶.

With the St Petersburg *amphora* F. Matz⁷ and O. Kern⁸ justly compare two other monuments that exhibit Triptolemos in an Egyptian setting—the *tazza Farnese* of the Naples Museum, a magnificent sardonix cup probably fashioned at Alexandria in the Ptolemaic period⁹, and the Petrossa cup of the Vienna collection, a gold *phidole* of later, clumsier workmanship found in 1837 by a

¹ See Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 552.

² (1) Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 557 f. no. 3245, Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 16, 16. (2) *Supra* p. 126 n. 4. (3) Heydemann *op. cit.* p. 19 ff. no. 690, C. Strube *Supplement zu den Studien über den Bilderkreis von Eleusis* Leipzig 1872 pl. 2, Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 16, 14 and pl. 13, 15. (4) Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* i. 162 ff. no. 350, *id.* *Compte-rendu St. Pé.* 1862 p. 54 ff. Atlas pl. 4 f., Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 551 f. Atlas pl. 16, 13, Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. liii fig. 10, *supra* p. 127 n. 1.

³ *Supra* p. 126 fig. 96.

⁴ *Supra* n. 2 no. (4).

⁵ Cp. the head of Triptolemos on an 'Underworld' vase at Munich (Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 273 ff. no. 849, Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 48 pl. 10).

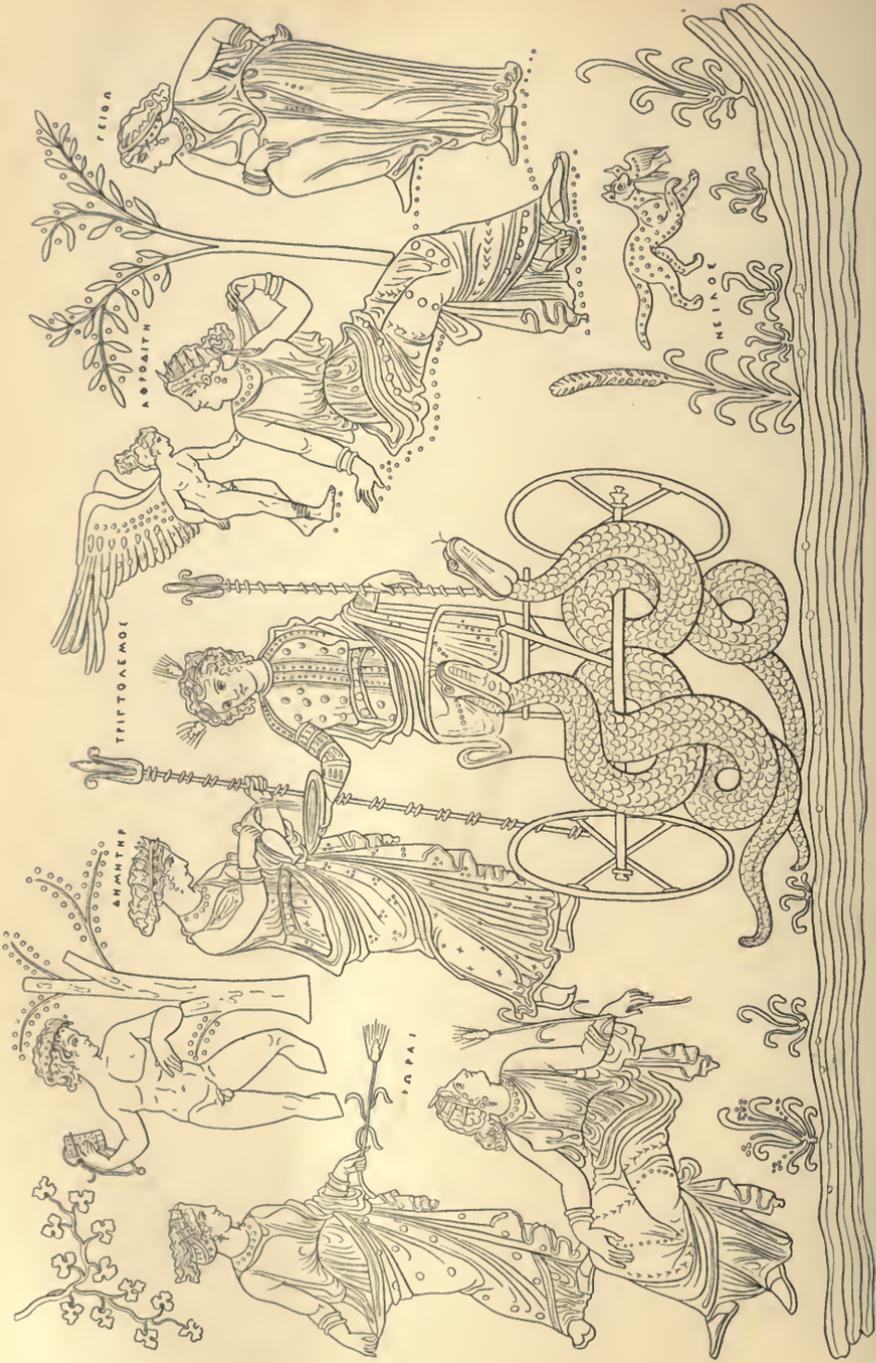
⁶ O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 p. 71 ff.

⁷ F. Matz 'Goldschale von Pietraossa' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1872 xxix. 136.

⁸ O. Kern 'De Triptolemo aratore' in the *Genethliacon Gotingense Halis Saxonum* 1888 p. 103 f.

⁹ Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pls. 54—55, ii. 253—256.

222



Amphora from Ruvo: Triptolemos.

See page 222, cp. page 127 n. 1.

2222



Kratir from Cumae: Triptolemos.

See page 223.

peasant between Jassy and Bucharest¹. Both these cups associate Triptolemos with Isis and the Nile-god, the inference being that on Egyptian soil the Greek agricultural hero was identified with Osiris.

On the *tazza Farnese* Triptolemos has not only a bag of seed on his left arm, but a plough-pole and yoke in one hand, a plough-share in the other. On the Petrossa *phiale* he holds a couple of ploughs. O. Kern² argues that all the evidence, whether literary³ or monumental⁴, connecting Triptolemos with the plough is comparatively late, in fact that he first became a ploughman in the Alexandrine age owing to his identification with Osiris, who was regarded by the Greeks and Romans as the inventor of the plough⁵. This view has, however, been successfully refuted by O. Rubensohn⁶, who points out that in genuinely Egyptian sources Osiris is never conceived as a ploughman, so that in Hellenistic times he must have got the plough from Triptolemos, rather than Triptolemos from him. Moreover, Rubensohn is able to adduce two vases of the pre-Hellenistic period, on which Triptolemos is definitely associated with a plough. One is a bell-*kratér* of Attic make, which may be dated about 450 B.C. It was found at Cumae and is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. On it we see (pl. xx)⁷ Triptolemos, who has had his lesson in ploughing from Demeter and is about to start on his tour of instruction. He is in the act of mounting his winged seat, the high back of which terminates in a griffin's head. He takes with him his sceptre and a bunch of corn, but turns for a final word of advice or farewell to Persephone, who carries two torches, and her mother, who still holds the plough⁸. The other vase cited by Rubensohn is a *skýphos*

¹ F. Matz *loc. cit.* pp. 135—137 pl. 52.

² O. Kern *loc. cit.* pp. 102—105.

³ Varro *fragg.* 77, 78 Funaioli *ap. interp. Serv. in Verg. georg.* 1. 19, *Ov. fast.* 4. 559 f., Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 199, *Anth. Pal.* 11. 59. 4 ff. (Makedonios), cp. Soud. *s.v.* Πάριος.

⁴ Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 588 f. Gemmentaf. 4, 15—16, 18 (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 316 no. 8630 pl. 61, p. 248 no. 6747 pl. 48), *id. ib.* p. 625 f. Atlas pl. 17, 24 (Mazzara sarcophagus).

⁵ Philostephanos *περὶ εὐρημάτων frag.* 28 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 32 f. Müller) *ap. interp. Serv. in Verg. georg.* 1. 19, *Serv. in Verg. georg.* 1. 147, *Prob. in Verg. georg.* 1. 19, *Myth. Vat.* 3. 7. 1, cp. what is said of Horos by Nigidius *ap. interp. Serv. in Verg. georg.* 1. 19.

⁶ O. Rubensohn 'Triptolemos als Pflüger' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 59—71.

⁷ De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* ii. 315 f. no. 424, Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* iii. 112 f., 183 f. pl. 64, Overbeck *op. cit.* pp. 518 ff., 538 f. Atlas pl. 15, 13.

⁸ So Gerhard, Lenormant and de Witte, Rubensohn, de Ridder. Overbeck thought that the holder of the torches was meant for Demeter, the holder of the plough for Persephone. But cp. Soud. *s.v.* Παριάς... ἡ Δημήτηρ τὸν ἀπύγονον Πάρου Τριπτόλεμον

of Boeotian fabric at Berlin, referable to the fifth century or at latest to the early decades of the fourth century B.C. Triptolemos here (fig. 165)¹ holds the plough himself, while Demeter presents him with the corn-stalks and Persephone, as before, carries a couple of torches². The *skýphos* thus forms a pendant to the *kratér*. On the *kratér* the goddess grasped the plough, her *protégé* the corn. On the *skýphos* their positions are precisely reversed. But it can hardly be doubted that both vases alike represent Triptolemos about to start on his mission. The winged car is absent from the *skýphos*, either because this vase depicts a slightly earlier moment



Fig. 165.

than the other, or perhaps merely by way of simplifying a somewhat ambitious design.

However that may be, it is plain that Triptolemos' association with the plough is not only Hellenistic, but Hellenic too. We need not, therefore, hesitate to accept the derivation of his name put forward by Agallis of Korkyra in the third century B.C.³ *Triptólemos* is indeed the hero of the 'thrice-ploughed' (*tripolos*) field⁴. And Dr P. Giles has argued from the form of his name

ἔδιδάξε τὴν τοῦ σίτου γεωργίαν· παρέσχε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄρμα πτηνῶν δρακόντων, εἰς δ' ἐποχούμενος ὁ Τριπτόλεμος περιήει πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, διδάσκων τὴν τοῦ σίτου γεωργίαν—a passage well illustrated by our vase.

¹ *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 67 ff. pl. 7.

² The mother is clearly distinguished from the daughter by her sceptre, her more imposing head-dress, her richer clothing, and her more maternal form.

³ Schol. *Il.* 18. 483 *τριπολον δὲ τὴν ἀρουράν φησιν ἐπεὶ Τριπτόλεμος πρῶτος ἔσπειρε σίτον, ὃν βασιλεῖα φησίν.* *Infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) ii (δ).

⁴ Cp. Plout. *coniug. praecipit.* 42 Ἀθηναῖοι τρεῖς ἀρότους ἱερῶς ἀγούσι· πρῶτον ἐπὶ

with its *-pt-*, not *-p-*, that his worship came to Eleusis along with improved methods of cultivation from the fertile plains of northern Greece¹.

If such be the name and nature of Triptolemos, what are we to make of his wheeled seat? I believe it to have been simply an early expression to denote the sun. Just as Herakles, when he crossed the sea, voyaged in the solar cup lent him by Okeanos or Nereus or Helios himself², so Triptolemos, when he crosses the earth, travels on the solar wheel received at the hand of Demeter. It will be observed that this explanation of the myth squares well with its progressive representation. The earliest vase-paintings showed Triptolemos sitting on a one-wheeled seat. This we naturally took to be a two-wheeled seat seen in profile³. But I now suggest that it arose from a yet earlier religious conception, that of the hero sitting on the single solar wheel. A possible survival of this conception occurs in the *Astronomica* of Hyginus, where we read that Triptolemos 'is said to have been the first of all to use a single wheel, that so he might avoid delay on his journey⁴.' It is noteworthy, too, that in the Argive tradition⁵ the father of Triptolemos was *Trochilos*, 'he of the Wheel' (*trochós*), the inventor—

Σκίρω τοῦ παλαιοτάτου τῶν σπόρων ὑπόμνημα· δεύτερον ἐν τῇ Ῥαρίᾳ· τρίτον ὑπὸ πῶδιν τὸν καλούμενον Βουξύγιον. τούτων δὲ πάντων ἱερώτατός ἐστιν ὁ γαμήλιος σπόρος καὶ ἄροτος ἐπὶ παλῶν τεκνώσει with the remarks of O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1215 ff. s.v. Ἄροτοι ἱεροί.

¹ P. Giles in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 1908 p. 16.

² Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 468 n. 6.

³ *Supra* p. 213.

⁴ Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 14 qui primus omnium una rota dicitur usus, ne cursu moraretur.

J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 416 n. 3 calls attention to a passage in the *Rig-veda* i. 164, 2, which describes the solar chariot 'of the single wheel' drawn by 'the single horse' of seven-fold name.

This raises a suspicion that more than one mythical charioteer, who lost a wheel and thereby came to grief, was originally a solar hero. Myrtilos, the charioteer of Oinomaos, who compassed his master's death by inserting a linch-pin of wax, or by not inserting a linch-pin at all, and was subsequently thrown out of Pelops' car into the sea near Geraistos, is a figure comparable with Phaethon; indeed, according to one version he was the son of the Danaïd Phaethousa (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 752, schol. Eur. *Or.* 998): on Apulian vases he often has as his attribute a wheel (Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 128, 3, 140, 2, 290) or a couple of wheels (*ib.* i. 167, Heydemann *Vasensamm. Neapel* p. 524 f. no. 3227). In a parallel myth (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 270 f.) from Thrace Dryas, like Oinomaos, is killed through the removal of his linch-pins (Parthen. *narr.* am. 6, cp. Konon *narr.* 10).

K. Tümpel in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3318, 3320, Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2261 has drawn up a list of handsome young charioteers, who came to an untimely end. He regards them all as various forms of the solar hero common to the coast-districts of the eastern Aegean. They include the following names—Apsyrtos, Atymnos, Killas, Malaos, Myrtilos, Phaethon, Tenages. To these we may add Sphairos, a suggestive name given by the Troezenians to Killas (Paus. 5. 10. 7), and the great Troezenian hero Hippolytos himself, not to mention his *alter ego* Virbius.

⁵ *Supra* p. 212.

some said—of the first chariot¹. But the word *trochilos* means also 'a wren.' And it can hardly be fortuitous that the Athenians made Triptolemos the son of *Keleós*, the 'Green Woodpecker,' while the Argives made him the son of *Trochilos*, the 'Wren.' Conceivably both birds were bound to a wheel, like the *ixyx*, and used as a solar charm². But, to return from fancy to fact, red-figured as distinct from black-figured vases added wings and snakes to



Fig. 166.

Triptolemos' seat³. In this again it followed the example of the solar vehicle; for a whole series of black-figured Attic vases at Cambridge⁴, Paris⁵, Berlin⁶, Vienna⁷, Athens⁸, Boston⁹, represents

¹ Tertull. *de spectac.* 9.

² The matter is discussed *infra* ch. i § 6 (d) i (ε).

³ *Supra* p. 217. The snakes themselves are not winged till the second century B.C. (Apollod. i. 5. 2 *δίφρον...πτηνῶν δρακόντων*). The earliest extant monuments that so represent them are of Roman date (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 554 Atlas pl. 16, 11, 12: *infra* p. 248 n. 7). See further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 807 n. 2.

⁴ E. A. Gardner *Cat. Vases Cambridge* p. 52 no. 100 fig. The reproduction in E. Gerhard *Über die Lichtgottheiten auf Kunstdenkmälern* Berlin 1840 pl. 1, 5 after Stackelberg *Gräber der Hellenen* pl. 15, 5, and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1995 from the same source, is inadequate. I figure the central portion of the scene *infra* ch. i § 6 (d) xii.

⁵ De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* i. 128 f. no. 220, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* ii. 386 f. pl. 115. This vase has four unwinged in place of two winged horses.

⁶ Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 421 no. 1983, unpublished.

⁷ Laborde *Vases Lamberg* ii Frontispiece, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* ii. 387 f. pl. 116, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 211, 1.

⁸ L. Savignoni in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 265 ff. pl. 9.

⁹ Robinson *Cat. Vases Boston* no. 335.

Helios rising as a draped male figure standing between (*i.e.* on a car drawn by) two winged horses, the solar disk being visible over his head. The Berlin vase joins to the disk a couple of serpentine-form appendages, thereby recalling the winged and snaky disks of Egyptian and Assyrian art¹. Indeed, a late bas-relief in black stone brought by E. Renan from Gharfin near Gábeil, the ancient Byblos, shows Triptolemos, who stands in a car drawn by two snakes and scatters grain, within a *naískos* actually decorated with the Egyptian disk (fig. 166)². This, however,—as F. Lenormant was careful to point out—may be a matter of mere decoration. The crescent moon associated with the hero suggests rather that Triptolemos was here identified with the Phrygian god Men³, as elsewhere with the Egyptian Osiris⁴, the Lydian Tylos⁵, and the Cilician *Ba'al-tarz*⁶. Finally, the corn-ears borne along on Triptolemos' wheeled seat are comparable with the corn-ears attached to the *triskellés* on the coins of Panormos, etc.⁷—a symbol which, as we shall see, was solar in origin and, moreover, equipped with both wings and snakes.

In the foregoing section we have traced the gradual development of Triptolemos' snake-drawn chariot from the simple solar wheel. This derivation is emphatically confirmed by the myth of Antheias, as told in Pausanias' account of Patrai:

'Those who relate the earliest traditions of Patrai declare that Eumelos, a native of the soil, was the first to dwell in the land as king over a few people. When Triptolemos came from Attike, Eumelos received cultivated crops and, being taught to build a city, named it Aroe after the tilling of the ground. They say that once, when Triptolemos had fallen asleep, Antheias the son of Eumelos was minded to yoke the snakes to the chariot of Triptolemos and to try his own hand at sowing. But fate overtook him and he fell out of the chariot. Thereupon Triptolemos and Eumelos founded a city in common and called it Antheia after the name of Eumelos' son⁸.'

Antheias falling off the car of Triptolemos is, as O. Gruppe

¹ *Supra* p. 205 ff.

² F. Lenormant 'Triptolème en Syrie' with fig. in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1878 iv. 97—100.

³ So O. Rubensohn in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 61 n. 1. Lenormant had thought of Amynos and Magos of *κατέδειξαν κόμης καὶ πόμους* (Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2. 11 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 567 Müller)).

⁴ *Supra* p. 222 f.

⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. cxiii, 260 pl. 27, 4, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 657, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 79 pl. 10, 114, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 585.

⁶ M. Mayer in the *Verhandlungen der XL Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner* Görlitz 1889 p. 338 cited by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1173 n. 5.

⁷ *Infra* ch. i § 6 (d) v.

⁸ Paus. 7. 18. 2—3.

observes¹, 'a genuine variant of the Phaethon legend,' and supports our contention that Triptolemos' car was of solar origin.

Triptolemos was said to have received his car from Demeter²—a statement which cannot be traced back beyond the second century B.C.³ It must, however, have been commonly accepted in Roman times, for a cameo at Paris (fig. 167)⁴ shows Claudius and Messalina in the guise of Triptolemos and Demeter; the former scatters the grain from his *paludamentum*, the latter leans forward with corn-ears and poppies in her left hand, a roll in her right.



Fig. 167.

Moreover, later literature makes Demeter travel in a snake-drawn chariot when in search of her daughter Persephone. In this way

¹ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 544 n. 5.

Possibly Demeter Ποτηριοφόρος of Antheia (Athen. 460D) was a figure analogous to the drink-bearing Demeter of the Triptolemos vases (*supra* p. 217 f.).

² Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 807 n. 2.

³ Apollod. 1. 5. 2 is our earliest authority.

⁴ Babelon *Cat. Camées de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 144 f. no. 276 Album pl. 30. Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* i. 92 f. pl. 69, 380 identify the divinised pair as Germanicus and Agrippina, arguing that Germanicus appears again as a Roman Triptolemos on the silver *patera* from Aquileia at Vienna (*Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 4, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1839 xi. 78—84). In the middle ages this cameo was thought to represent the triumph of Joseph in Egypt!

she approached Eleusis¹, and in this way she quitted it again². Art follows suit. Demeter in her snake-chariot appears first on Roman *denarii* of the moneyer M. Volteius about the year 88 B.C.³, then on those of C. Vibius Pansa in 43 B.C.⁴, and not infrequently on late Greek coins⁵. Occasionally she holds corn-ears and a sceptre⁶, or a poppy-head and a sceptre⁷, more often a couple of torches (fig. 168)⁸, rarely corn-ears and torches too⁹. The scene of her quest was common on *sarcophagi* of Roman date;



Fig. 168.

¹ *Ov. met.* 5. 642 ff., *fast.* 4. 497 f. In *Orph. h. Dem. Eleus.* 40. 14 f. Demeter Ἐλευσῶν has a snaky chariot.

² *Ov. fast.* 4. 561 f. In *Ov. met.* 8. 794 ff. Ceres sends an Oread in her snake-chariot to fetch Fames from Scythia. But the mode of conveyance may be a touch due to Ovid himself.

³ *Babelon Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 566 no. 3.

⁴ *Id. ib.* ii. 545 f. no. 17.

⁵ See Overbeck *op. cit.* pp. 502 f., 660 f. *Münztaf.* 8, 38—40, 9, 17—21.

⁶ So on late bronze coins of Athens (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica* etc. p. 90 pl. 15, 15, p. 91 pl. 15, 17, cp. p. 89). The earlier bronze coins of Eleusis, which are said to represent 'Demeter or Triptolemos seated l. in winged car drawn by two serpents, and holding in r. two ears of corn' (*ib.* Attica etc. p. 112 pl. 20, 1), show Triptolemos rather than Demeter (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 581 ff., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 391: yet see E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 289 ff.).

⁷ So on an imperial coin of Nikomedeia in Bithynia (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 81 no. 135).

⁸ So on imperial coins of Thessalonike (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia* etc. p. 117), Hadrianopolis in Thrace (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 661), Kretia-Flaviopolis (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus* etc. p. 137 pl. 29, 4, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 334 no. 8 pl. 54, 2, 338 no. 30), Nikaia in Bithynia (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 660), Erythrai in Ionia (*id. ib.*, Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 117 no. 296 pl. 13, 19), Magnesia ad Maeandrum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ionia* p. 165 pl. 19, 8), the Ionian League (*ib.* Ionia p. 16), Kyzikos (*ib.* Mysia p. 47 pl. 12, 12), Ankyra in Galatia (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 661 *Münztaf.* 9, 21), Amorion (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* p. 54), Brouzos (*ib.* Phrygia p. 114 pl. 14, 6, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 394 no. 69 = *Choix de monn. gr.* 1871 pl. 5, 187), Hierapolis in Phrygia (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 660), Pessinous (*id. ib.* *Münztaf.* 9, 20, Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 229 f. no. 762 = *id.* and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen* Leipzig 1889 p. 73 no. 31 pl. 12), Apollonis in Lydia (Head *Hist. num.*¹ p. 548), Gordus-Iulia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 96 pl. 10, 6), Magnesia ad Sipylum (*ib.* Lydia p. 152), Maionia (*ib.* Lydia p. 134 pl. 14, 8), Nysa (*ib.* Lydia p. 178, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 660 *Münztaf.* 9, 17), Sardeis (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 254), Stratonikeia (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 660), Kelenderis (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia* etc. p. 58 pl. 10, 14, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 351 no. 19), Korakesion (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia* etc. p. xxxv n. 6).

The goddess has one torch only on imperial coins of Kretia-Flaviopolis (Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *op. cit.* i. 337 no. 25 pl. 54, 10), Claudio-Seleucia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia* etc. p. 254).

⁹ So on imperial coins of Hyrkanis (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 125 pl. 13, 9), Sardeis (*ib.* Lydia p. 273).

and here she is seen holding a torch and drawn by two monstrous snakes usually winged near the chariot-wheels¹, or in more agitated guise holding two torches and drawn by snakes winged at the neck². *Sarcophagi* of the former type show the snake's tail twined about the hub of the wheel, which takes the form of a lion's head (fig. 169)³. This detail perhaps points to the solar character of the vehicle in question⁴. For Greeks and Romans alike, therein agreeing with the Egyptians⁵ and the nations of the



Fig. 169.

nearer east⁶, looked upon the lion as an animal full of inward fire and essentially akin to the sun⁷. The lion on Roman military

¹ Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 612 f. Atlas pl. 17, 1, 3=R. Foerster in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873 xlv. 72 ff. pl. EF 1, 2.

² Overbeck *op. cit.* pp. 624 f., 642 Atlas pl. 17, 7, 9, 22, 24, cp. *ib.* 20, 21.

³ Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 17, 3.

⁴ Against this explanation is the apparent presence of a leonine head on the hub of Hades' chariot-wheel (*Ann. d. Inst. loc. cit.* pl. EF 1—it is not clearly seen in Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 17, 1). Yet Hades too may well have been credited with a fiery, if not with a solar (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 176), car.

⁵ E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 ii. 14, 359 ff. See Plout. *symp.* 4. 5. 2, Ail. *de nat. an.* 5. 39, 12. 7, Horapoll. *hierogl.* 1. 17, Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 21. 16 f., Mart. Cap. 183.

⁶ F. X. Kortleitner *De polytheismo universo* Oeniponte 1908 pp. 201 f., 268, F. Cumont in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3041, A. Jeremias *ib.* iii. 255.

⁷ Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 7, Tertull. *adv. Marc.* 1. 13, Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 21. 16, Myth. Vat. 3. 8. 13.

standards was interpreted as a solar emblem¹. The Mithraic sun-god was figured with a lion's face². The sign Leo was called 'the house of the sun³,' and—be it noted—the sun was in Leo when Persephone was carried off⁴. What is perhaps more to the point, it was Helios that took pity on Demeter and told her where her daughter was to be sought⁵. Did he not also lend her his chariot for the search⁶?

Other deities too on occasion appear in a like conveyance. Dionysos, according to certain ceramic artists of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., roamed the world *à la* Triptolemos on a wheeled and winged seat⁷. And even Athena is represented, on a red-figured *pyxis* of fine style at Copenhagen, as drawn in a chariot by yoked snakes to the judgment of Paris⁸.

¹ Lyd. *de mens.* 1. 22 p. 12, 15 Wünsch.

² Lact. *Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 1. 720=Myth. *Vat.* 2. 19, Tertull. *adv. Marc.* 1. 13, Porph. *de abst.* 4. 16.

³ Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 7, Macrobr. *Sat.* 1. 21. 16, Serv. *in Verg. georg.* 1. 33.

⁴ Schol. *Arat. phaen.* 150. ⁵ *H. Dem.* 62 ff.

⁶ In *h. Dem. loc. cit.* 63, 88 Helios has a chariot drawn by horses. So has the questing Demeter on many *sarcophagi* (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 627 ff. Atlas pl. 17, 4, 8, 10, 11, 17, 18, 19, 23). But another line of tradition gave Helios a snake-drawn chariot: see *infra* ch. i § 6 (d) i (γ, δ).

Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 130, 538 n. 2, 546, 1138 n. 2, 1145, 1149, 1167 n. 1 suggests that Helios was often associated in cult with Demeter. But of this I find no convincing proof. ⁷ *Supra* p. 214 ff.

⁸ A. Conze *Heroen- und Göttergestalten der griechischen Kunst* pl. 102, 1, A. Dumont—J. Chaplain—E. Pottier *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre* Paris 1888 i. 368 f. pl. 10=Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1617 f. fig. 7. Hera's chariot on this vase is drawn by four horses; that of Aphrodite by two Erotes. Probably the artist gave Athena a team of snakes because the snake was associated with her on the Akropolis at Athens: cp. also the cults of Athene *Παπela* on the road from Sparta to Arkadia (Paus. 3. 20. 8), of Athene *Τρυαλα* at Acharnai (Paus. 1. 31. 6) and Athens (Paus. 1. 23. 4 with J. G. Frazer *ad loc.*), and the word *δρακίνα* used of Athene in Orph. *h. Ath.* 32. 11.

Athena is not normally connected with the solar wheel. In a vase-painting already described (*supra* p. 199) she brings up the winged wheel of Ixion and may perhaps be regarded as Athene *Ἐργάνη* later replaced by Hephaistos (*supra* p. 200 ff.). Certain small silver coins of Lampsakos (fig. 170) have as their reverse type a head of Athene, whose helmet is marked with a wheel (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 80 no. 21. The specimen figured is from my collection): cp. a silver obol of Massalia c. 500 B.C. with obv. archaic head wearing a helmet on which is a wheel, rev. a four-spoked wheel (E. Muret—M. A. Chabouillet *Catalogue des monnaies gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale* Paris 1889 p. 12, H. de la Tour *Atlas de monnaies gauloises* Paris 1892 no. 520 pl. 2, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 6), and a barbarised copy of it—both found at Morella in Spain (E. Muret—M. A. Chabouillet *loc. cit.*, H. de la Tour *op. cit.* no. 524 pl. 2, R. Forrer *Keltische Numismatik der Rhein- und Donaulande* Strassburg 1908 p. 81 figs. 154, 155 pl. 7). A. de Ridder *Collection de Clercy* Paris 1905 iii (Les Bronzes) 206 f. no. 296 pl. 48 publishes a bronze statuette of Athene holding lance and owl. The crest of her helmet is supported by 'une rouelle,' as on Panathenaic amphoras found in Kyrenaike (*ib.* p. 203; but see G. von Brauchitsch *Die panathenäischen Preisamphoren* Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 46 ff.).



Fig. 170.

In this connexion we must take account of a unique silver *drachmé* or quarter-shekel, which has been for many years in the British Museum¹ (pl. xxi and fig. 171 *a, b*)². It is struck on the Phoenician



Fig. 171.

standard³. The obverse shows a bearded head in three-quarter position (not double-struck) facing towards the right and wearing a crested Corinthian helmet with a bay-wreath upon it. The reverse has a square incuse surrounded by a spiral border, within which we see a bearded divinity enthroned. He wears a long garment, which covers his right arm and extends to his feet. He is seated on a winged and wheeled seat: the wing is archaic in type and rises high behind his back; the wheel has six spokes and an inner ring round its axle. The god has an eagle (or hawk?)⁴ on his outstretched left hand. Before him in the lower right hand corner of the square is an ugly bearded head. In the field above the seated deity are the Phoenician letters YHW , that is, *YHWH*⁵.

The credit of being the first to decipher and to interpret aright the inscription belongs to Monsieur C. Clermont-Ganneau. As far back as 1880 he suggested to Prof. P. Gardner and Dr B. V. Head that it was the trilateral form of the divine name Jehovah; and in

¹ Taylor Combe *Veterum populorum et regum numi qui in Museo Britannico adservantur* London 1814 p. 242 no. 5 pl. 13, 12, H. de Luynes *Essai sur la Numismatique des Satrapies et de la Phénicie sous les rois Achéménides* Paris 1846 p. 29 no. 1 pl. 4, C. D. Ginsburg in the *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1881* London p. 19 ('Jehu in his carriage...the name Jehu in the old Hebrew characters exactly resembling the letters on the Moabite stone, only in fact more perfectly written'), A. Neubauer in the *Revue des Études juives* 1881 ii. 290 cp. *ib.* 154, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* Paris 1893 p. lxxvi fig. 30, J. P. Six in the *Num. Chron. New Series* 1877 xvii. 229 no. 43, *ib.* 1878 xviii. 123 ff. no. 3 pl. 6, 8 (Obv. the Syrian god Hadran, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* p. 109 Mamertini no 2 $\Delta\Delta\text{PANOY}$ [and K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 405].^{*} Rev. *Jahu*=the Chaldaean god Iao, cp. Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 53 p. 111, 1 ff. Wiüsch), E. J. Pilcher in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 1908 xxx. 45 ff. pl. 1, 1, A. Blanchet in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1908 xii. 276 f., A. W. Hands in the *Num. Chron. Fourth Series* 1909 ix. 121 ff. fig. 1, G. Macdonald in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1909 p. 53, R. Weil in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1910 xxviii. 28—34 (the Hellenising of Semitic cults in Syria began before the expeditions of Alexander the Great), Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 655 f. pl. 124, 5.

² Pl. xxi is an enlarged photograph of a cast of the reverse.

³ It weighs 50.7 grains (3.3 grammes), and is therefore somewhat lighter than the average quarter-shekel. It is a well-preserved specimen.

⁴ The bird is described as a hawk by Taylor Combe, J. P. Six, and E. Babelon (with a query).

⁵ See e.g. the comparative tables of Phoenician, Egyptian Aramaic, Old Hebrew, etc., forms given by J. Euting *Tabula scripturae Hebraicae* Argentorati 1882, Forrer *Reallex.* p. 714 pl. 202.

232¹



Quarter-shekel of Gaza showing the Hebrew Godhead as a solar Zeus.

See page 232 ff.

1892, when lecturing at the *Collège de France* he treated it as such¹. Dr Ginsburg's rival attempt to read it as the name of Jehu, king of Israel, makes shipwreck—as A. Neubauer was prompt to point out—on the chronology, the coin being nearly five centuries later than Jehu's reign². There can, in fact, be little doubt that we have here a gentile representation of the Hebrew Godhead.

Now a bearded god enthroned with an eagle on his hand is a common art-type of Zeus. And it will be remembered that in 168 B.C. Antiochus iv Epiphanes transformed the temple at Jerusalem into a temple of Zeus *Olympios* and the temple on Mount Gerizim into a temple of Zeus *Xénios*³ or *Hellenios*⁴. Further, the winged wheel is, as we have seen, solar in its origin. It follows that the coin represents Jehovah under the guise of a solar Zeus⁵.

This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that *Iáo*—the form usually taken by Jehovah's name in magical texts of the Hellenistic age⁶—was equated sometimes with Zeus, sometimes with Helios. A papyrus at Berlin, acquired by Lepsius at Thebes in Egypt and published by Parthey in 1866, records an incantation, which begins by summoning Apollon in company with Paian to quit Parnassos and Pytho, and then continues in a quasi-Semitic strain :

Come, foremost angel of great Zeus *Iáo*,
And thou too, Michael, who holdest heaven,
And, Gabriel, thou the archangel, from Olympos⁷.

The Anastasy papyrus of the British Museum, published by Wessely in 1888, includes among other magical *formulae* the following prose invocation: 'I summon thee the ruler of the gods—Zeus, Zeus,

¹ In the Judæo-Aramaean *papyri* recently found at Elephantine (*Assuan*) the name of Jehovah is similarly trilateral (A. H. Sayce and A. E. Cowley *Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan* London 1906 p. 37 n. on pap. B, 4, E. Sachau *Aramäische Papyri und Ostraka aus... Elephantine* Leipzig 1911 p. 277 Index).

² C. D. Ginsburg and A. Neubauer *loc. cit.*

³ 2 Maccab. 6. 1 f., Euseb. *chron. ann. Abr.* 1850 (*v. l.* 1848) ii. 126 f. Schoene.

⁴ Ioseph. *ant. Jud.* 12. 5. 5, Zonar. 4. 19 (i. 317 Dindorf). See Append. B Samaria.

⁵ Mrs H. Jenner *Christian Symbolism* London 1910 p. 67 states that in the convent church of Kaisariani on Mt. Hymettos 'the winged fiery wheel is a throne for the Divine feet of Almighty God.'

⁶ W. W. Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1876 i. 179—254, G. A. Deissmann *Bibelstudien* Marburg 1895 pp. 1—20, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1603 n. 3 ff. This is not, of course, necessarily inconsistent with the view that Iao is the final form of the Babylonian god Ea (see C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 358 ff., *supra* p. 188 n. 1).

⁷ G. Parthey *Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri des Berliner Museums* Berlin 1866 p. 128. Pap. 1. 300 ἀγγελε πρωτεύων (so Kirchhoff for MS. πρωτεύουσι) Ζητὸς μεγάλιο Ἰάω· κ.τ.λ. Baudissin *op. cit.* i. 198 observes that ἀγγελε here refers to Apollon, the theme of the preceding lines. Zeus is identified with Jehovah, and Apollon his mouthpiece with the angel of Jehovah.

that thunderest on high, king Adonai, lord Iaoouee!'. Apollon *Klarios*, whose ancient oracle near Kolophon in Asia Minor enjoyed a new lease of life in Roman times², was once questioned concerning the nature of the dread mysterious Iao³. His answer has—thanks to Macrobius—been preserved:

They that know mysteries should conceal the same.
But, if thy sense be small and weak thy wit,
Mark as the greatest of all gods Iao—
In winter Hades, Zeus when spring begins,
Helios o' the summer, autumn's soft Iao⁴.

¹ C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 115 Brit. Mus. pap. 46. 483 ff. ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε τὸν δυνάστην τῶν θεῶν, ὑψιβρεμέτα Ζεῦ Ζεῦ, τύραννε Ἀδωνάι (so Buresch for MS. αδαίαι sic), κύριε Ἰαουουε (sic) = F. G. Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* London 1893 i. 80 no. 46, 469 ff.

² K. Buresch *Klaros* Leipzig 1889 p. 38 ff.

³ Hardly less remarkable was the response given by Apollon *Klarios* touching his own godhead (Cogny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 140, cp. the Tübingen Χρησμοὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν in Buresch *op. cit.* p. 97 f.; *Lact. div. inst.* 1. 7). The two oracles are confused in Kedren. *hist. comp.* 41 c f. (i. 73 f. Bekker).

⁴ *Orac.* (Cogny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 135) *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 18. 19 ff. Macrobius introduces the oracle as follows: *eis* Ζεὺς, *eis* Ἄιδης, *eis* Ἥλιος, *eis* Διώνυσος. huius versus auctoritas fundatur oraculo Apollinis Clarii, in quo aliud quoque nomen soli adicitur, qui in isdem sacris versibus inter cetera vocatur Ἰάω. Clearly, then, the autumn-god of the oracle must be some form of Dionysos. Hence for the concluding words ἀβρὸν Ἰάω C. A. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* p. 461 ingeniously conjectured ἀβρὸν Ἀδωνι and L. Jan *ad loc.* yet more ingeniously ἀβρὸν Ἰακχων. Baudissin *op. cit.* i. 215 quotes in support of Jan's emendation a gem inscribed ΙΑΩ ΙΑ Η ΑΒΡΑ ΙΑΧΗ ΙΩ ΦΩΞ ΑΩ, which he renders: 'Iao, Ia, der volle Jubelruf, Io, Licht, AO.' But Buresch *op. cit.* p. 52 f. surmises that the gem should be read ΙΑΩ ΙΑΗ ΑΒΡΑΣΞ ΗΙΩ etc.; in which case Baudissin's argument collapses. Indeed, Baudissin now (*Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 p. 124) supports Lobeck's conjecture. Buresch himself *op. cit.* p. 49 and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1603 n. 4 defend the text ἀβρὸν Ἰάω, on the ground that the epithet ἀβρὸν suffices to describe the Dionysiac character of the Jewish deity.

This identification of Jehovah with Dionysos is later than the identification with Zeus. In fact it seems possible to trace the steps by which the transition was effected. On the Phoenician coin under discussion Jehovah appears as a solar Zeus (*supra* p. 232 f.). To Antiochos Epiphanes he was Zeus *Olympios*, *Xénios*, *Hellenios* (*supra* p. 233). Varro, perhaps following Poseidonios, equated him with Iupiter *Capitolinus* (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1603 n. 4, quoting Reitzenstein *Zwei religionsgesch. Fr.* p. 78 n.). The first hint of the new comparison occurs in the age of Tiberius (Val. Max. 1. 3. 3 Cn. Cornelius Hispalus...Iudaeos, qui *Sabazi* Iovis cultu Romanos inficere mores conati erant, repetere domos suas coegit). After this we find successive identifications with Bacchos (Plout. *symph.* 4. 6. 2), Liber pater (Tac. *hist.* 5. 5), Dionysos (Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 53 p. 111, 7 ff. Wünsch).

The connexion of Jehovah with Helios may have been facilitated by the belief that *Iáo* meant 'Light' (Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 53 p. 110, 25 ff. Wünsch ó δὲ Ῥωμαῖος Βάρρων περὶ αὐτοῦ διαλαβὼν φησι παρὰ Χαλδαίους ἐν τοῖς μυστικοῖς αὐτὸν λέγεσθαι Ἰάω ἀντὶ τοῦ φῶς νοητὸν τῇ Φοινίκων γλώσσῃ, ὡς φησὶν Ἐρέννιος, Kedren. *hist. comp.* 169 A (i. 296 Bekker) ὅτι Ἡαὼ παρὰ Χαλδαίους ἐρμηνεύεται φῶς νοητὸν τῇ Φοινίκων γλώσσῃ where for *Haw* Baudissin rightly read Ἰάω). The gem cited above has φῶξ for φῶς, as another gem gives *Mίθραξ* for *Mίθρας* (Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* i. 215). The Anastasy papyrus invokes φωσφόρ' Ἰάω (C. Wessely *op. cit.* Brit. Mus. pap. 46).

Iao is here expressly identified with both Zeus and Helios. These identifications might be illustrated by some of the bizarre devices to be seen on Gnostic amulets. For example, an onyx published by Spon (fig. 172)¹ represents a youthful, beardless Zeus enthroned with sceptre, thunderbolt, and eagle, the legend on the back being *Iao Sabao(th)*².

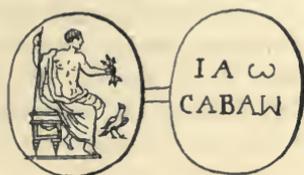


Fig. 172.

The Phœnician quarter-shekel—to judge from its weight, style, and fabric—was struck about 350 B.C., and therefore furnishes our earliest evidence of Jehovah conceived by the gentiles as Zeus. Unfortunately we do not know where the coin was issued. The eminent numismatist J. P. Six ascribed it, along with a series of somewhat similar pieces, to Gaza *Minóa* in southern Palestine³. If this attribution is sound—and it has been widely accepted⁴,—I would suggest that the helmeted head with a bay-wreath on the obverse is that of Minos the eponymous founder, who figures as a helmeted warrior holding the branch of a sacred bay-tree on later coins of the town (fig. 174)⁵. The grotesque face or mask on the

179 f. = F. G. Kenyon *op. cit.* i. 70 no. 46, 175 f.) and *δέσπορ* 'Ίάω φωσφόρε (Wessely *ib.* 46. 304 f. = Kenyon *ib.* i. 74 no. 46, 300 f.): see H. van Herwerden in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 1888 xvi. 323 f. Finally, in the Gnostic gospel *Pistis Sophia* 26, 34, 193, 322 we get *Ieīl* (who is distinguished from three several divine powers named *Iaō*: see Baudissin *op. cit.* i. 186) described as the 'ἐπισκοπος of Light,' cp. the prayers *ib.* 357 *ἀπέραντων* Light: *αεινωσ, ἰάω, αὐῶ, ῥῖα...Ιεου, Σαβαωθ, 375 ἀπέραντων* Light: *ἰάω ἰουω' ἰάω' αὐῶ' ῥῖα...ἰᾶ' ἰᾶ' ἰᾶ'.* The ultimate source of these conceptions is, doubtless, 'the glory of the LORD' familiar to us from the Old Testament (B. Stade *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments* Tübingen 1905 i. 94 f.).

¹ J. Spon *Miscellanea erudite antiquitatis* Lugduni 1685 p. 297 f. 'Amuleta' no. 14, Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 ii. 232 pl. 50, 34.

² Another gem given by Montfaucon *op. cit.* 1725 Suppl. i. 242 pl. 52, 4 = fig. 173 bears no inscription, but exhibits the same latter-day syncretism. It shows Zeus enthroned with a sceptre (?) in his hand amid a group of signs apparently representing the heavenly bodies—a winged globe, the moon, the evening star, the constellation Cancer, and other symbols of more doubtful meaning. For Babylonian and Greek ideas were freely blended in an omniscendulous age.

³ J. P. Six in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1877 xvii. 229 f., cp. *ib.* 1878 xviii. 125 'dans le sud de la cinquième satrapie.'

⁴ *E.g.* by Head *Hist. num.*² p. 805, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 655 f. pl. 124, 5.

⁵ Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*² iii. 449, 451, Rasche *Lex. Num.* Suppl. ii. 1196, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 805, inscr. **MEINΩ**. K. B. Stark *Gaza und die philistäische Küste* Jena 1852 p. 580 ff. regards the alleged connexion of Minos with Gaza as 'eine gelehrte Sagenbildung aus römischer Zeit'; but he is over-sceptical.



Fig. 173.

reverse is probably, as E. Babelon surmised, that of Bes¹; and the bust of Bes too is a known type on autonomous silver coins of Gaza². Further, there was at Gaza an image of Io the moon-goddess with a cow beside it³. And Iao, the supposed sun-god, was early represented as a golden calf⁴. Is it not permissible to think that the inhabitants of Gaza imported the cult of the Jewish deity as a pendant to that of their own Io? Certainly their Cretan ancestors had worshipped the sun and the moon as a bull and a cow respectively⁵. Nor need we be surprised at their



Fig. 174.



Fig. 175.



Fig. 176.



Fig. 177.

borrowing the type of Triptolemos' throne, wheeled and winged. Triptolemos, according to Argive tradition, was the son of *Trochilos*, the 'Wheel'-man⁶; and Trochilos in turn was the son of *Kallithéa*⁷, another name of Io⁸. Moreover, Triptolemos is said to have gone eastwards in quest of Io, taking with him a company of Argives, who founded Tarsos in Kilikia⁹, Ione¹⁰ or Iopolis on Mount Silpion

¹ E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* Paris 1893 p. lxxvi. E. J. Pilcher's contention (*supra* p. 232 n. 1) that this is the promontory near Tripolis called τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ πρόσωπον (Strab. 754, 755, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 914) or *Theuprosopon* (Mela 1. 67) is ingenious, but unconvincing.

² Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 657 ff. pl. 124, 8 f., 18 ff., Head *Hist. num.*² p. 805.

³ Steph. Byz. *s. vv.* Γάζα, Ἴόνιον, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 92. On imperial coins of Gaza representing ΕΙΩ (fig. 175) see Eckhel *op. cit.* iii. 449 ff., Rasche *op. cit.* iii. 1331 ff., Suppl. ii. 1198 ff., Head *Hist. num.*² p. 805, Stark *op. cit.* p. 585 ff. These coins (figs. 176, 177) often show the Tyche of Gaza with a bull or cow or cow's head at her feet (Eckhel *ib.* iii. 450, Rasche *ib.* iii. 1333 f., Suppl. ii. 1199 f., Head *ib.*, Stark *ib.* p. 585 f. pl. 1, 4)—a type inspired, as Eckhel pointed out, by the image of Io.

⁴ B. Stade *op. cit.* p. 120 f.

⁵ *Supra* pp. 212, 225 f.

⁶ *Infra* ch. i § 6 (g) viii.

⁷ *Infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xi.

⁸ Schol. Arat. *phaen.* 161.

⁹ Strab. 673, 750.

¹⁰ Liban. *or.* 11. 44 ff. (i. 451 ff. Foerster), cp. Steph. Byz. *s. vv.* Ἴώνη. Liban. *or.* ii. 51

in Syria¹—better known as Antiocheia on the Orontes²—, and even settled in Gordyene beyond the Tigris³. If Triptolemos followed Io thus far afield, he may well have pursued her to Gaza⁴.

(i. 453 Foerster) states that Triptolemos founded at Ione a sanctuary of Zeus Νέμειος, whom the inhabitants after learning agriculture called Zeus Ἐπικάρπιος.

¹ Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 28 ff. Dindorf, *Chron. Paschale* i. 74 ff. Dindorf, cp. Io. Antioch. *frag.* 6. 14 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 544 Müller), Kedren. *hist. comp.* 20 D ff. (i. 37 f. Bekker), Soud. *s.v.* Ἴώ, Exc. Salmasii in Cramer *anecd. Paris.* ii. 387, 22 ff. The narrative of Ioannes Malalas, our fullest source, is as follows:—In the days of Pikos Zeus a certain man named Inachos, of the tribe of Japheth, arose in the west. He was the first king over the land of Argos, where he founded a town and named it Iopolis; for he worshipped the moon, and *Íō* is a mystic name by which the Argives have known the moon from that day to this (*infra*, ch. i § 6 (g) viii). Inachos, then, built a temple to the moon with a bronze *stèle* inscribed Ἴώ μάκαιρα λαμπαδηφόρε. His wife Melia bore him two sons, Kasos and Belos, and a fair daughter called Io after the moon. Pikos Zeus, king of the west, sent and carried off Io, by whom he became the father of Libye. Io, in shame and anger, fled to Egypt and stayed there; but on learning that Hermes, son of Pikos Zeus, ruled over Egypt she was afraid and went on to Mt. Silpion in Syria, the site of the later town of Antiocheia. According to Theophilus, Io died in Syria; according to others, in Egypt. Inachos meantime sent her brothers and kinsfolk in search of her under the guidance of Triptolemos. The men from Iopolis in Argos heard that she had died in Syria. So they went and sojourned there awhile, knocking at the door of each house and saying Ψυχὴ Ἰοῦς σωζέσθω. But, when they had a vision of a heifer that spoke with human voice and said to them Ἐνταῦθά εἰμι ἐγὼ ἡ Ἴώ, they decided to stop where they were on Mt. Silpion, arguing that Io must be buried on that very mountain. They therefore founded a sanctuary for her there and a town for themselves, named Iopolis. They are in fact still called Ionitai by the Syrians of the district. And to this day the Syrians of Antiocheia, in memory of the search-party of Argives sent out to find Io, year by year at the self-same season knock on the doors of the Hellenes. The reason why these Argives took up their abode in Syria was because Inachos had bidden them either return with his daughter to Argos, or not return at all. So the Ionitai aforesaid founded a sanctuary of Kronos on Mt. Silpion. The sources other than Malalas give no important variants (*ἱερὸν Κρονίωτος* for *ἱερὸν Κρόνου Chron. Paschale*: *κρούοντες εἰς τὰς ἀλλήλων θύρας κατ' ἔτος ἔλεγον Ἴώ Ἴώ* Soud.).

In this, as in other Levantine stories of Io, we may suppose that the Argive heroine was but the Greek equivalent of a foreign deity. In Egypt she was identified with Isis, cow-goddess and moon-goddess (*infra* ch. i § 6 (g) viii); in Syria, with Astarte, whose art-type with bovine horns and lunar disk was determined by that of Isis (E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 652). Cp. Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2. 24 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 569 Müller) Ἀστάρτη δὲ ἡ μεγίστη καὶ Ζεὺς Δημαροῦς καὶ Ἄδωδος βασιλεὺς θεῶν ἐβασίλευον τῆς χώρας Κρόνου γνῶμη. ἡ δὲ Ἀστάρτη ἐπέθηκε τῇ ἰδίᾳ κεφαλῇ βασιλεῖας παράσημον κεφαλῆν ταύρου· περιουτούσα δὲ τὴν οἰκουμένην κ.τ.λ. (*infra* ch. ii § 10 (b)). The *θυροκοπία* of the Antiochenes probably implies a ritual search for Astarte as a goddess of fertility annually lost and found (cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 970 n. 8, *infra* ch. iii § 1 (a) i). The Babylonian form of this incident was the well-known 'descent of Ishtar,' daughter of the moon-god Sin, into the nether world (M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 563 ff.). ² Strab. 750.

³ Strab. 747, 750, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γορδυναία (from Gordys, son of Triptolemos). Cp. the supposed image of Io with budding horns at Nineveh (Philostr. *v. Apoll.* i. 19 p. 19 Kayser).

Others told how Inachos sent out Kyrnos (not Triptolemos), who founded Kyrnos in Karia (Diod. 5. 60), and Lyrkos, son of Phoroneus, who settled at Kaunos in Karia (Parthen. *narr. am.* i. 1 ff. = *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 313 f. Müller).

⁴ That the influence of Triptolemos was felt at Gaza might be inferred from the fact

(γ) Kirke.

Another mythological personage that travelled in the sun's wheeled chariot was Kirke, the first mistress of magic. In the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus she is carried off from Kolchis by a team of winged snakes¹, and Aphrodite, personating Kirke, is believed to have returned thither in the same equipage². O. Gruppe thinks that this trait was borrowed by the poet from the myth of Medeia³; and that is certainly a possibility to be reckoned with⁴. At the same time it must be remembered that Kirke was the daughter of Helios and as such might well claim to use the solar car. Apollonios of Rhodes had in fact described how Helios once took her in his own car from east to west, from Kolchis to Etruria⁵; and Apollonios, according to a Greek commentator, was but following the still earlier narrative of Hesiod⁶. So that, whether Valerius Flaccus was or was not the first to mention Kirke's team of snakes, Kirke riding in the solar chariot is a much older conception. Conformably with it the author of the Orphic *Argonautiká* invests her with a solar halo:

Straightway a maiden met them face to face,
The sister of Aietes great of soul,
Daughter of Helios—Kirke was the name
Asterope her mother and far-seen
Hyperion gave her. Swift to the ship she came,
And all men marvelled as they looked upon her;
For from her head floated the locks of hair
Like glittering sunbeams and her fair face shone,
Yea, gleamed as with a gust of flaming fire⁷.

In a Pompeian wall-painting Kirke's head is surrounded by a circular blue *nimbus*⁸. But a Roman lamp and a contorniate medal

that Dagon the chief god of the Philistines is described as Zeus *Arótrios* in Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2, 20 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 568 Müller) ὁ δὲ Δαγῶν, ἐπειδὴ εὖρε σίτον καὶ ἄροτρον, ἐκλήθη Ζεὺς Ἀρότριος, cp. *ib.* 14 (iii. 567) Δαγῶν, ὅς ἐστι Σίτων with F. Cumont's note in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1985 f.

¹ Val. Flacc. 7. 120 ut aligeri Circeu rapuere dracones.

² *Id.* 7. 217 ff. o tandem, vix tandem reddita Circe | dura tuis, quae te biugis serpentina egit | hinc fuga?

³ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 544 n. 5.

⁴ Cp. Val. Flacc. 1. 224 aligeris secat anguibus auras (5. 453) of Medeia. For the supposed influence of the Medeia-myth on the Kirke-myth see further K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1194, 38 ff., 1202, 51 ff.

⁵ Ap. Rhod. 3. 309 ff.

⁶ Schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 311 = Hes. *frag.* 195 Flach. K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1200 denies it.

⁷ Orph. *Arg.* 1214—1221. In Ap. Rhod. 4. 725 ff. Kirke recognizes Medeia by her possession of a similar halo: πᾶσα γὰρ Ἡελίου γενεῆ ἀρίδηςλος ἰδέσθαι | ἦεν, ἐπεὶ βλεφάρων ἀποτηλόθι μαρμαρυγῆσιν | οἶόν τε χρυσέην ἀντώπιον ἴεσαν ἀγλήην.

⁸ Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 293 no. 1329, F. Mazois *Les ruines de Pompéi* Paris

show her wearing a rayed crown¹, the proper attribute of a solar power, whose island-home is placed by Homer precisely at the sunrise².

That Kirke was in some sense solar is further shown by the parallels to her myth which can be adduced from various quarters. Thus in the Celtic area we have many accounts of the Otherworld-visit. These fall into two well-defined groups. On the one hand, in such tales as *The Voyage of Bran*, *The Adventures of Connla*, *Oisín*, *The Sick-bed of Cuchulain*, and *Laegaire mac Crimthainn* the hero crosses the sea to an Elysian island, where he mates with a divine queen and so becomes its king. On the other hand, in such tales as *The Adventures of Cormac*, *The Adventures of Tadg*, and *The Bailé an Scáil* he is entertained, but not married, by the queen, and receives at her hands a magic cup, after which he returns home in safety. Intermediate between the two groups is *The Voyage of Mael-Duin*, where we get at once the marriage, the entertainment, and the safe return. I have discussed these tales elsewhere³ and here would merely point out that the goddess-queen inhabiting with her maidens the Otherworld island is regularly solar⁴. Indeed, in the story of *Laegaire mac Crimthainn* she bears the appropriate name *Deorgreine*, 'Tear of the Sun.' J. G. von Hahn compared the Kirke-myth with a modern Greek folk-tale from Wilza in Çagori, in which a princess living with her maidens in an island mates with a prince described as 'sprung from the sun' and subsequently tries to kill him through the machinations of an iron dervish⁵. But the closest parallel⁶ to the Homeric story is cited by

1824 ii. 85 pl. 43, W. Zahn *Die schönsten Ornamente und merkwürdigsten Gemälde aus Pompeji, Herkulanum und Stabiae* Berlin 1859 iii pl. 44, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 784 Atlas pl. 32, 11, R. Engelmann *Bilder-Atlas zum Homer* Leipzig 1889 Od. pl. 9, 47.

¹ *Arch. Zeit.* 1865 xxiii pl. 194 figs. 4 and 3, J. E. Harrison *Myths of the Odyssey* London 1882 p. 77 f. pl. 24a, b, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1197—1199 figs. 3, 4.

² *Od.* 12. 3 f. *νῆσόν τ' Ἀλαῖαν, ἔθει τ' Ἡοῦς ἠριγενεῖης | οἰκία καὶ χοροὶ εἰσι καὶ ἀντοαὶ Ἥελιοιο.*

³ In *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 141—173. The latest writer on the Celtic island-Elysium is the Rev. J. A. MacCulloch *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* Edinburgh 1911 p. 385 ff.

⁴ *Folk-Lore* loc. cit. p. 156 ff. For a criticism of my view see G. L. Gomme *Folklore as an historical science* London 1908 p. 106 ff.

⁵ J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 79 ff. no. 4, ii. 186 ff. In another Greek folk-tale, translated by E. M. Geldart *Folk-Lore of Modern Greece* London 1884 p. 22 ff. 'My lady Sea' (Thera) from the original text in the journal *Παρνασσός*, the prince marries a beautiful maiden whose sire is the Sun and whose mother is the Sea. On children of the Sun in Greek folk-lore see N. G. Polites 'Ὁ Ἥλιος κατὰ τοὺς δημώδεις μύθους Athens 1882 p. 24 f.

⁶ For Indian parallels see G. Gerland *Allgriechische Märchen in der Odysee* Magdeburg 1869 p. 35 f., E. Rohde *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer* Leipzig 1876 p. 173 n. 2; for a Mongolian parallel, F. Bender *Die märchenhaften Bestandtheile der*

Miss J. E. Harrison¹ and K. Seeliger² from *The Thousand and One Nights*, viz. *The Tale of King Bedr Bâsim*³. I quote Miss Harrison's summary of it :

'King Bedr Bâsim, like Odysseus, is seeking to return to his kingdom. He is shipwrecked, and escapes on a plank to [a tongue of land jutting out into the deep, on which is a white city with high walls and towers]; he desires to go up to it. But as he tries to approach, "there came to him mules and asses and horses, numerous as the grains of sand, and they began to strike him and prevent him from going up from the sea to the land." Later on a sheykh, who plays the part of Hermes, tells him that this is the city of the Enchanters, wherein dwells Queen Lab, an enchantress, who is like to a she-devil. A curious, and, I think, significant fact is, that the [Old] Persian word "lab" means sun⁴. We remember that Circe was daughter of Helios. The conceptions of magic and sun-worship seem to have been closely interwoven, and this seems the more natural if the Greek myth were of Eastern origin. The sheykh tells Bedr Bâsim that the strange mules and horses and asses are the lovers of this wicked witch. With each of them she abides forty days, and after that enchants them into beast-shapes. Queen Lab sees Bedr Bâsim, and falls in love with him. He goes up to her castle, but after some suspicious experiences begins to fear that his appointed day is drawing nigh. [He has seen a white she-bird consorting with a black bird beneath a tree full of birds, and has learnt that this was Queen Lab with one of her many lovers.] His friend the sheykh gives him a magic "saweek." This "saweek," which he is to give to the queen in place of her own magic potion, is the meal of parched barley made into a sort of gruel—thick, but not too thick to drink—a curious parallel to the "mess of cheese and barley meal and yellow honey mixed with Pramnian wine." Queen Lab fares worse for her evil deeds than did Circe. Bedr Bâsim gives her the "saweek," and commands her to become a dappled mule. He then puts a bridle in her mouth and rides her forth from the city, and the sheykh thus addresses her :—"May God, whose name be exalted, abase thee by affliction."

The name *Kirke* denotes a 'Hawk' (*kirkos*)⁵. But this does not militate against our solar interpretation of the myth. For not only in Vedic mythology is Sūrya, the sun, sometimes conceived as a bird⁶, but Mithraic worshippers spoke of Helios as a hawk⁷. In

homer. Gedichte Darmstadt 1878 p. 22 ff.; on both, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 708 n. 2. Cp. also the tales noted by the Rev. J. A. MacCulloch *op. cit.* p. 385 f.

¹ J. E. Harrison *op. cit.* p. 86 f.

² K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1195 f.

³ Nights 751 ff. ed. Captain Sir R. F. Burton. The name *Badr Bâsim* means 'Full moon smiling.'

⁴ So Burton; but Profs. E. G. Browne, A. A. Bevan, and J. H. Moulton, to whom I have applied, all view the statement with the greatest suspicion. The last-named wittily declares that *lab* is 'moonshine'!

⁵ This rather obvious derivation has, I find, been anticipated by C. de Kay *Bird Gods* New York 1898 p. 164, of whose ornithological interpretations ('*Æetes*' = eagle, '*Oulixes*' = owl, etc.) the less said, the better.

⁶ A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 pp. 31, 152, E. W. Hopkins *The Religions of India* Boston etc. 1895 pp. 45, 49, 113, 123 f., 140, 164.

⁷ Porph. *de abst.* 4. 16 τὸν δὲ "Ἥλιον σαῦρον, λέοντα, δράκοντα, ἰέρακα with the preceding context.

Egypt too the hawk was sacred to the sun¹, or to Horos, Râ, Osiris, Seker, and other solar deities²: it was here regarded as the only bird that could look with unflinching gaze at the sun³, being itself filled with sunlight⁴ and essentially akin to fire⁵. These beliefs certainly found an echo in Greek literature⁶; and they may serve to explain the frequent association of the hawk with Apollon⁷. To Homer the hawk was the 'swift messenger of Apollon⁸', who himself on occasion took its form⁹. Aristophanes implies that Apollon was sometimes represented with a hawk on his head or on his hand¹⁰. The mythographers told how Apollon had transformed Daidalion son of the Morning Star into a hawk¹¹. And later writers agreed that the hawk was the sacred bird of Apollon¹² or of Helios Apollon¹³. All this goes to make it probable that *Kirke* was originally a solar power conceived as a 'Hawk.' A relic of her ornithomorphic state may perhaps be traced in the curious Homeric description of her as a 'dread goddess endowed with human speech¹⁴.' Had she been purely anthropomorphic, the phrase would have been superfluous, not to say impertinent. Given that her name betokened her nature, the explanation is not only pardonable, but necessary. Again, it might fairly be urged that the Italian myth of Kirke's love for Picus¹⁵ becomes more intelligible if the

¹ Porph. *de abst.* 4. 9, Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 12. 2.

² E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 ii. 372, A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 pp. 7, 10, 22, 187. See Ail. *de nat. an.* 7. 9, 10. 14, 12. 4 (Horos); Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 51 (Osiris); Philon *Bybl. frag.* 9 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 572 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 48 (Kneph).

³ Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 14.

⁴ Porph. *de abst.* 4. 9 ἐν οἷς τὸ ἡλιακὸν κατοικεῖν πεπιστεύκασι φῶς.

⁵ Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 24.

⁶ *Infra* ch. i § 6 (c).

⁷ Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 14 expressly equates Horos the hawk-god with Apollon.

⁸ *Od.* 15. 526 κίρκος, Ἀπόλλωνος ταχὺς ἄγγελος.

⁹ *Il.* 15. 237 Ἴρηκι ἐοικώς.

¹⁰ Aristoph. *av.* 516, schol. *ad loc.*

¹¹ *Ov. met.* 11. 339 ff., Hyg. *fab.* 200, *infra* ch. i § 6 (e).

¹² Porph. *de abst.* 3. 5, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1014, 22.

¹³ Eustath. *in Il.* p. 87, 6 ἰέραξ δὲ ἰέρωται Ἠλίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι κ.τ.λ.

¹⁴ *Od.* 10. 136, 11. 8, 12. 150 δεινὴ θεὸς αὐδήεσσα. The same expression is used of Kalypso (*Od.* 12. 449), who in various respects is the doublet of Kirke (O. Immisch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 940 ff.) and may well have borrowed an epithet belonging to her. Similarly of the horse Xanthos, gifted with human speech, we read: *Il.* 19. 407 αὐδήεντα δ' ἔθηκε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἴρη. Conversely Leukothea, ἡ πρὶν μὲν ἔην βροτὸς αὐδήεσσα (*Od.* 5. 334), dives into the sea αὐθιγὴ εἰκυῖα (*ib.* 353, cp. 337).

¹⁵ K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1202, 22 ff. collects the evidence. Πικόλοος, the giant who fled to Kirke's isle and was there slain by Helios—the plant μῶλν springing from his blood—(Alexandros of Paphos *ap.* Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1658, 49 ff.), is possibly related to the Lithuanian deity *Pikūlas* or *Pikullos* (H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 98).

former was, like the latter, a humanised bird. And the parallel of the 'Speaking Bird,' which in a Sicilian folk-tale turned men into statues¹, is at least worth noting.

The exact species of the *kirkos* cannot be determined from the casual notices of it found in ancient authors². But the same word is used by the modern Greeks³ of the gyr-falcon (*falco gyrfalco* Linnæus), a bird so called from its wheeling flight. Now there was another word *kirkos* in ancient Greek, which was akin to the Latin *circus*, *circulus*, and meant 'circle'⁴. It is, therefore, tempting to suppose with A. Kuhn⁵ that the bird *kirkos* derived its name from the circularity of its motion. Circular motion would make it all the more appropriate as a symbol of the sun. Still, in view of the enormous number of purely onomatopoeic bird-names, it is safer to assume⁶ that *kirkos* the 'hawk' was so called on account of the shrill cry *kirk! kirk!* with which it wheels its flight⁷. If so, any connexion with *kirkos* a 'circle' must be due to popular misconception⁸.

J. F. Cerquand long since surmised that Kirke's name was related to *circus*, a 'circle'; but he regarded Kirke as a moon-goddess and Odysseus as a sun-god⁹. Obviously, however, the connexion with *circus* would suit a sun-goddess as well as, if not

¹ Append. F.

² D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 83 f. *Ail. de nat. an.* 4, 5, 4, 58 distinguishes the *κίρκη* from the *κίρκος*, as does Eustath. in *Il.* p. 1262, 50 ff., *id. in Od.* p. 1613, 65 f. But one author is late, the other later.

³ N. Contopoulos *Greek-English Lexicon*⁵ Athens 1903 p. 320.

⁴ L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* ii. 409, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 224, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 458, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 122.

⁵ A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*² Gütersloh 1886 p. 144 n. 1. See also L. Hopf *Thierorakel und Orakelthiere in alter und neuer Zeit* Stuttgart 1888 p. 93.

⁶ So Boisacq *op. cit.* p. 458, cp. p. 440 f. s.v. *κέρκαξ*. See also Eustath. in *Il.* pp. 1126, 46 ff., 1262, 59 ff., in *Od.* p. 1734, 21 ff.

⁷ L. Hopf *op. cit.* p. 93.

⁸ Since this paragraph was written A. Fick has discussed the word *κίρκος* in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1911 xlv. 345 ff. He rejects the rendering 'der Kreisende' and inclines to the onomatopoeic explanation 'der Kreischer.' He adds, however, a third possibility, that the bird was so called from its 'crooked' claws, cp. Aristoph. *nub.* 337 *γαμψοῦς οἰωνοῦς* for *γαμψώνυχας*, Paul. ex Fest. p. 88 Müller *falcones...* a similitudine *falcis*, Hesych. *ἄρπη* εἶδος ὀρνέου. καὶ δρέπανον... ἢ ἰκτῖνον Κρήτες. After this he gives free rein to his fancies. *Κίρκη* *Alatῆ* is the goddess of the circular or rather semicircular path described by Eos and Helios in the course of the year. She is inconstant, because the point at which Eos rises is always shifting. As mistress of the zodiac she is surrounded by the lion (summer), the swine (winter: *ῦς* suggests *ῦει*), the wolf (*λύκος* plays on *λύκη*, *λυκάβας*). Her four maidens are the four Seasons. Etc. etc.

⁹ J. F. Cerquand *Études de Mythologie grecque. Ulysse et Circé. Les Sirènes.* Paris 1873 pp. 28 ff., 67 ff. So too R. Brown *The Myth of Kirke* (reviewed by H. Bradley in *The Academy* 1884 xxv. 40 f.). W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 pp. 15, 99, 144 likewise derives *Κίρκη* from *κίρκος* = the moon's disk.

better than, a moon-goddess¹. Moreover, it is easy to imagine more ways than one in which a circle might be fittingly attributed to a solar Kirke. She was a 'Hawk,' and the hawk may have been fastened *tynx*-like to a solar wheel². She was a magician, and magicians have always dealt in magic circles³. But above all she was a goddess comparable with the island-queen of Celtic myths⁴, and Celtic myths—especially in their Welsh form—spoke of the island-palace as the 'Revolving Castle'⁵. In that castle was a mystic vessel, the pagan original of the Holy Grail. And it is to be noticed that the heroes best qualified to seek the Grail on the one hand are the chief representatives of the 'Table Round,' and on the other stand in intimate relation to the hawk⁶. Thus Arthur's favourite knight was *Gwalchmei*, the 'Hawk of May,' whose brother, even stronger than himself, was *Gwalchaved*, the 'Hawk of Summer.' The latter is better known to us as Galahad; the former, as Gawain—a name which Sir John Rhŷs derives from *Gwalch-gwyn*, the 'White Hawk,' or *Gwalch-hevin*, the 'Summer Hawk'⁷. Now in the myth of Kirke it is easy to recognize the mystic vessel and the human Hawk. But can we also detect any trait to correspond with the 'Revolving Castle' or the 'Table Round'? In short, has the notion of circularity left any mark upon it? Not, I think, on Greek soil, real or imaginary. But it is to Italy rather than to Greece that we should look for correspondence with Celtic myth; and the Italian Kirke seems to have dwelt on a circular island. In the territory of the *Volsci*—whose name may be akin to that of the *Welsh*⁸

¹ Io. Antioch. *frag.* 24. 10 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 551 Müller) Καλυψὼ καὶ Κίρκη Ἥλιου καὶ Σελήνης ἦσαν ἰέρειαι is indecisive.

² *Supra* p. 226, *infra* p. 253 ff. Cp. Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 14 (the leg-bone of a hawk attracts gold) ἑγγυ ἀπορροήτω τιμι.

³ A wall-painting from the *Casa dei Dioscuri* at Pompeii shows a peasant consulting a sorceress, who is seated in the middle of a circular base, holding her wand and presenting him with a cup (Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 392 f. no. 1565, Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1500 fig. 4781). This sorceress has been sometimes identified with Kirke (*e.g.* Smith—Marindin *Class. Dict.* p. 233), but the identification is precarious.

Supra p. 239.

⁴ J. Rhŷs *Studies in the Arthurian Legend* Oxford 1891 pp. 116, 302 f., 325, 392, A. C. L. Brown 'Iwain' in *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* (Harvard University) 1903 viii. 53, 56, C. Squire *The Mythology of the British Islands* London 1905 pp. 319 n. 3, 366 ff., J. L. Weston *The Legend of Sir Perceval* London 1909 ii. 266 n. 1.

⁵ *Peredur Paladr-hir*, the 'Spearman of the Long Shaft' (Sir Percivale), is not so related to the hawk. But then Miss J. L. Weston *The Legend of Sir Perceval* London 1906 i. 171 f., 1909 ii. 301, 305 ff. proves that Perceval was not the original hero of the Grail.

⁶ J. Rhŷs *op. cit.* pp. 13 f., 166 ff., C. Squire *op. cit.* p. 369.

⁷ F. Kluge *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*⁶ Strassburg 1899 p. 420 compares *welsch* with the Celtic tribal name *Volcae*. So do W. W. Skeat *A concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* new ed. Oxford 1901 p. 599 s.v.

and consequently denote a 'Hawk' tribe¹—was the coast town of *Cercci*, later called *Circei* (the modern *Circelli*), at the foot of the *Cerceius* or *Circeius mons* (*Monte Circello*). This calcareous and cavernous mountain was originally an island; and here the myth of *Kirke*, the 'Hawk,' was localised², where her image was said to catch the first rays of the rising sun³. Nonnos makes her as the mother of the Italian Faunus inhabit—

Deep-shaded circles of a rocky home⁴.

He is presumably referring to *Monte Circello* and, if I mistake not, intentionally hinting at its circularity.

On the whole I am disposed to conclude that *Kirke* began life as a solar hawk, that originally and in Greece she had nothing to do with Revolving Castles or Tables Round, but that later and in Italy⁵, under the influence of folk-etymology, she may have been brought into connexion with Celtic ideas of the solar circle.

(δ) Medeia.

We come now to *Medeia*, the niece or, according to some, the sister of *Kirke*⁶. As grand-daughter of *Helios* she too could summon the solar chariot at need. *Diodoros*⁷ relates that *Medeia*, when she fled from *Kolchis* with the *Argonauts*, put in to *Iolkos* and there plotted the death of king *Pelias*. She made a hollow image of *Artemis*, stuffed it with all sorts of charms, and passed herself off as a priestess of the goddess. She declared that *Artemis* had come from the country of the *Hyperboreoi*, travelling through the air in a car drawn by serpents and seeking the world over for the most pious of kings, in order that she might establish her cult with him and bless him with renewed youth. As proof of her

¹ 'Walnut,' *J. Rhys op. cit.* p. 13 n. 1, and *A. Nutt in Folk-Lore* 1910 xxi. 233 n. 3. The *Volcae* were a tribe of southern Gaul (*Tolosa*, *Nemausus*, etc.). ? Cp. *Volci* in *Etruria* and *Volceii* in *Lucania*. On *Volsci* (for **Volc-sci*) corresponding with the Celtic *Volcae* see *H. Hirt Die Indogermanen Strassburg* 1905 i. 164, cp. *ib.* 127, 169.

² See *J. Rhys op. cit.* p. 13.

³ *K. Seeliger in Roscher Lex. Myth.* ii. 1201 f., *C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc.* iii. 2565 ff.

⁴ *Eustath. in Od.* p. 1705, 31 f. ἡψηλοῦ φασίν ὄντος τοῦ Κιρκαιου "Ἡλιος ἐκ νυκτὸς ἐπιλάμπει τὸ τῆς Κιρκῆς ξέανον.

⁵ *Nonn. Dion.* 13. 332 ὄκει πετραίαιο βαθύσκια κύκλα μελάθρον.

⁶ Near *Luna* in northern *Etruria* was an ἄκρον *Σελήνης* (*Ptol.* 3. 1. 4). *W. H. Roscher Über Selene und Verwandtes Leipzig* 1890 p. 15 identifies this with the *Σεληναῖον ὄρος*, on which were shown the mortars used by *Medeia* and *Kirke* for pounding their charms (*schol. Theokr.* 2. 15). This supports a lunar rather than a solar connexion.

⁷ *Roscher Lex. Myth.* ii. 2482.

⁸ *Diod.* 4. 51 f.

words, Medeia changed her own looks from those of an old woman to those of a maid, and further by means of her enchantments caused the alleged serpents to appear in visible form. The king, convinced of her powers, bade his daughters do whatever she commanded. Medeia came by night to the palace and ordered them to boil the body of their sleeping father in a caldron. When they demurred, she took an old ram, bred in the house, cut it limb from limb, boiled its body, and by her magic art produced out of the caldron the figure of a lamb. The maidens, thus persuaded, slew their father, whom Medeia cut up and boiled. She then sent them up to the palace-roof with torches, saying that she must offer a prayer to Selene. The torches served as a fire-signal to the Argonauts, who were lying in wait outside the city. They at once attacked it, overcame all resistance, and secured the palace. In this romantic narrative Diodoros is following the *Argonautai* or *Argonautika* of Dionysios Skytobrachion, an Alexandrine grammarian of the second century B.C.¹ The snaky chariot is here that of Artemis the moon-goddess, as on a copper coin of Aureliopolis in Lydia, struck under Commodus, which shows Artemis with a crescent moon on her head in a chariot drawn by two serpents². But Artemis, thinly disguised as Hekate³, is in this story made the mother of Medeia and daughter of Helios. The serpent-chariot, therefore, may have been either solar or lunar in its origin.

Ovid, after recounting the murder of Pelias, adds that Medeia would have had to pay the penalty of her crime, had she not forthwith mounted into the air on her winged snakes⁴ and made her way by a devious track to Corinth. His version of her escape seems modelled on the common account of her disappearance from Corinth, not without some admixture of Triptolemos' tour.

As to what happened at Corinth, various tales were told⁵. According to our oldest authority, Eumelos⁶, whose *Korinthiaka* was composed about 740 B.C., Helios had by Antiope two sons, Aloeus and Aietes: Helios gave Arkadia to the former, Corinth to

¹ Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 929 ff.

² Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 1350, viii. 713, *Head-Hist. num.*² p. 659.

³ Diod. 4. 45 Έκάτην...φιλολύνηγον...ἀνθρώπους ἀντὶ τῶν θηρίων κατατοξεύειν...ἐπειτ' Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἰδρυσασμένην καὶ τοὺς καταπλέοντας ξένους θύεσθαι τῇ θεῷ καταδείξασαν ἐπ' ὠμότητι διονομασθήναι. Medeia herself was said to have founded a sanctuary of Artemis on one of the islands in the Adriatic, whither Iason had sailed *viâ* the river Istros! (Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 105).

⁴ *Ov. met.* 7. 350 f. quod nisi pennatis serpentibus isset in auras | non exempla foret poenae. fugit alta etc.

⁵ These are collected and discussed by K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2492 ff.

⁶ Eumel. *frag.* 2, 3, 4 Kinkel.

the latter. But Aietes, dissatisfied with his portion, went off to Kolchis, leaving Bounos¹, a son of Hermes by Alkidameia, as regent on behalf of himself and his descendants. On the death of Bounos, Epopeus, son of Aloeus, succeeded to the throne. Marathon, son of Epopeus, fled to Attike to escape the lawless violence of his father, and, when Epopeus died, divided the kingdom between his own two sons, Sikyon and Korinthos. Korinthos leaving no issue,



Fig. 178.

the Corinthians sent to Iolkos for Medeia, daughter of Aietes, to come and reign over them. Iason was king in virtue of his wife's descent. The children born to them Medeia hid in the sanctuary of Hera, thinking to make them immortal. In this she failed. Iason detected her action and would not forgive it, but sailed away to Iolkos. So Medeia too took her departure and left the kingdom to Sisyphos.

¹ The eponymous founder of the sanctuary of Hera *Bouvala* (Paus. 2. 4. 7), 'of the Hill' (*Bouvbís*), = Hera *'Akapala* (Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1193).

This genealogy throws some light on early Corinthian religion; for it enables us to see that the kings of Corinth were regarded as near akin to Zeus, or perhaps even as successive incarnations of him. Korinthos, the eponym of the town,—who must be carefully distinguished from Korinthos, the personification of the town¹,—is represented on a bronze mirror, found at Corinth and now in the Louvre, as a majestic Zeus-like man seated on a throne and holding a sceptre. A *himátion* is wrapped about him, and Leukas the Corinthian colony is in the act of placing a wreath upon his head (fig. 178)². This Korinthos, according to Eumelos, was the son of Marathon. But Pausanias, who cites the Eumelian pedigree, begins by the following naïve admission: ‘That Korinthos was the son of Zeus has never yet, to my knowledge, been seriously asserted by anybody *except by most of the Corinthians themselves*’³. The claim of the Corinthians was indeed so well known to the Greeks in general that it passed into the proverb ‘Korinthos son of Zeus’ used in cases of wearisome iteration⁴. If then the Corinthian populace regarded Korinthos, son of Marathon, as the son of Zeus, it is not unlikely that Marathon was held to be an embodiment of Zeus. Indeed, a scholiast on Aristophanes—if the text of his *scholion* is sound—declares: ‘This “Korinthos son of Zeus” was the son of Zeus a king of Corinth’⁵. Again, Marathon in his turn was the son of Epopeus; and an epic poet, probably of the seventh century B.C., informs us that Epopeus had the same wife as Zeus⁶. It would seem then that, when Medeia came to Corinth, the kings of the town had for three successive generations (Epopeus, Marathon, Korinthos) stood in a relation of peculiar intimacy to Zeus. What

¹ The former is masculine (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1381 f.), the latter feminine (Athen. 201 D).

² A. Dumont in the *Monuments grecs publiés par l'Association pour l'encouragement des Études grecques en France* No. 2 1873 p. 23 ff. pl. 3, K. D. Mylonas in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1873 p. 440 ff. pl. 64, *id.* *Ἑλληνικὰ κάτοπτρα* Athens 1876 p. 17 ff. pl. A', 3, V. Duruy *History of Greece* English ed. London 1892 ii. 130 n. 1 fig.

³ Paus. 2. i. 1.

⁴ Pind. *Nem.* 7. 155 with schol., Aristoph. *ran.* 439 with schol., *ecc.* 828 with schol., *frag.* 434 Dindorf, Plat. *Euthyd.* 292 E with schol., Ephor. *frag.* 17 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 237 Müller), Liban. *ep.* 565, Theodoros Hyrtakenos in Boissonade *anecd.* ii. 433, 2 f., Zenob. 3. 21, Makar. 7. 46, Apostol. 6. 17, 12. 30, Hesych. *s.v.* Διὸς Κόρινθος, Phot. *lex. s.vv.* ὁ Διὸς Κόρινθος, Πυθῶδε ὁδός, ὑπέρου περιτροπή, Soud. *s.vv.* Διὸς Κόρινθος, ὁ Διὸς Κόρινθος, ὑπέρου περιτροπή. On the attempts made by the later grammarians to explain this proverb see Appendix C.

⁵ Schol. Aristoph. *ran.* 439 ὁ δὲ Διὸς Κόρινθος παῖς Διὸς βασιλέως Κορίνθου. Unfortunately the text is not free from suspicion. Cod. V omits the word βασιλέως; and F. H. M. Blaydes *ad loc.* would read βασιλεύς. Blaydes' emendation may be right, for another *scholion* on the same passage has ὁ δὲ Διὸς Κόρινθος παῖς Διὸς βασιλεύς Κορίνθου.

⁶ *Infra* ch. i. § 7 (d).

now of Medeia herself? 'Zeus,' says the old scholiast on Pindar, 'was enamoured of her there; but Medeia would not hearken to him, as she would fain avoid the wrath of Hera¹.' Curiously enough the love of Zeus for Medeia was balanced by the love of Hera for Iason². Analogous cases³, to be considered later, suggest that this reciprocity implies the Zeus-hood, so to speak, of Iason⁴ and the Hera-hood of Medeia.

Thus the myth of Medeia as told by Eumelos serves to connect the earliest dynasty of Corinth with Zeus; but it does not help us to decide whether the serpent-chariot was of solar or lunar origin. On this point Euripides is the first to satisfy our curiosity. His Medeia, when about to be banished from Corinth by king Kreon, makes her escape to Athens in the car of Helios—a device somewhat unfairly criticised by Aristotle⁵. Ere she goes, she flings the following defiance at her husband:

Cease this essay. If thou wouldst aught of me,
Say what thou wilt: thine hand shall touch me never.
Such chariot hath my father's sire, the Sun,
Given me, a defence from foeman's hand⁶.

Euripides does not, indeed, definitely state that the Sun's chariot was drawn by serpents. But later writers are unanimous. Medeia, say they, received from the Sun a chariot of winged snakes and on this fled through the air from Corinth to Athens⁷. That her

¹ Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 74 ἔκει δὲ αὐτῆς ὁ Ζεὺς ἠράσθη, οὐκ ἐπέειθετο δὲ ἡ Μήδεια τὸν τῆς Ἥρας ἐκκλινουσα χόλον· κ.τ.λ.

² *Od.* 12. 72 ἄλλ' Ἥρη παρέπεμψεν, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἦεν Ἰήσων, *Ap. Rhod.* 3. 66 ἔτι καὶ πρὶν ἐμοὶ (sc. Hera) μέγα φίλατ' Ἰήσων, schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 156 ὅστι δὲ εὐπρεπῆς ἦν ὁ Ἰάσων, δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ καὶ τὴν Ἥραν κατὰ τινὰς αὐτῷ ἐπιμανῆναι,—cited by K. Seeliger in *Roscher Lex. Myth.* ii. 68.

³ See *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 378.

⁴ For Διομήδης as the alleged older name of Iason see K. Seeliger *op. cit.* ii. 64 and C. von Holzinger on *Lyk. Al.* 632.

⁵ *Aristot. poet.* 15. 1454 b 1f, with the comment of A. E. Haigh *The Tragic Drama of the Greeks* Oxford 1896 p. 289. See, however, E. Bethe *Prolegomena zur Geschichte des Theaters im Alterthum* Leipzig 1896 p. 143 ff.

⁶ *Eur. Med.* 1319 ff. trans. A. S. Way.

⁷ *Dikaiarch. hyp. Eur. Med.* ἐπὶ ἄρματος δρακόντων περωτῶν, ὁ παρ' Ἡλίου εἰλαβεν, ἔποχος γενομένη κ.τ.λ., *Apollod.* 1. 9. 28 λαβοῦσα παρὰ Ἡλίου ἄρμα πτηνῶν δρακόντων ἐπὶ τοῦτου φεύγουσα κ.τ.λ., *Tzetz. in Lyk. Al.* 175 (p. 83 Scheer) ἐφ' ἄρματος δρακόντων περωτῶν [τῶν παρὰ Ἡλίου ληφθέντων ins. Müller, om. Scheer] εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀποδημί.

Cp. Ov. met. 7. 398f. hinc Titaniaci (=Solis) ablata draconibus intrat | Palladias arces, *Val. Flacc.* 5. 453 aligeris aut quae secat anguibus auras. *Hor. epod.* 3. 14 serpente fugit alite uses the singular, and is followed by *Myth. Vat.* 1. 25 and 2. 138 alato serpente aufugit. The schol. *Eur. Med.* 1320 says vaguely ὀχομένη δρακοντίνοις ἄρμασι.

In *Sen. Med.* 1031 ff. squamosa gemini colla serpentes iugo | submissa praebent. recipe iam gnatos parens. | ego inter auras aliti curru vehar we have a description of the older type of solar vehicle, in which the chariot is winged, not the snakes (*supra* p. 226 n. 3.)

peculiar conveyance was long felt to be of a specially fiery sort, may be gathered from a high-faluting description of it by Dracontius, who wrote at the close of the fifth century A.D.:

Then came the snakes
Raising their combs aloft and viperous throats
Scaly; and lo, their crested crowns shot flame.
The chariot was a torch, sulphur the yoke,
The pole bitumen; cypress was the wheel;
Yea, poison made that bridle-bit compact,
And lead that axle, stolen from five tombs¹.

In art, as in literature, Medeia escapes from Corinth on a serpent-chariot. Roman *sarcophagi*, which date from the second century of our era, represent her mounting a car drawn from left to right by two winged snakes of monstrous size². In her right hand she grasps a short sword. Over her left shoulder hangs the body of one of her children. The leg or legs of the other child are seen projecting from the car. Of this type there are two varieties. In the first, of which but a single specimen is known, Medeia has a comparatively quiet attitude³. In the second, of which there are seven examples, she adopts a more tragic and pathetic pose, raising her sword aloft and turning her head as if to mark Iason's futile pursuit (fig. 179)⁴. There can be little doubt that this sarcophagus-type was based on the tradition of earlier paintings. In fact, almost identical with it is the scene as shown on an *amphora* from Canosa now at



Fig. 179.

¹ Dracont. *carm. prof.* 10. 556 ff. (*Poet. Lat. Min.* v. 212 Baehrens).

² The *sarcophagi* are collected, figured, and discussed by Robert Sark.-Relfs ii. 205 ff. pls. 62—65. See also K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2508—2511.

³ Robert *op. cit.* ii. 205 pl. 62 no. 193, a fragment formerly at Florence in the Palazzo Martelli. Robert notes that the purse in Medeia's right hand is due to a mistake of the draughtsman or of the restorer—it should be a sword—, and that the scalloped side of the chariot probably implies a misunderstanding of the second dead child's leg. The attempt to distinguish the male snake (bearded and crested) from the female is likewise a suspicious trait.

⁴ *Id. ib.* ii. 213 f. pl. 64 no. 200, formerly at Rome in possession of an engineer named Cantoni; now in the Berlin Museum. This sarcophagus was found in 1887 near the Porta S. Lorenzo. See further the monograph by L. von Urlichs *Ein Medea-Sarkophag* Würzburg 1888 pp. 1—22 pl.

Naples (fig. 180)¹. Medeia on a car drawn by two snakes, which are not winged, holds the reins in her left hand and one end of a fluttering sail-like *himátion* in her right. She turns her face towards Jason, who pursues her hotly on horseback. He is accompanied by a couple of followers, probably the Dioskouroi, for one of them wears a *pilos* and above them we see two stars. Of the children, one lies dead upon the ground, fallen on his face beside the fatal sword; the other, dead also, is with Medeia in the car; the back of his head and one arm being visible beside her. In front of and facing Medeia stands Erinyes, a *nimbus* round her head; she holds a sword in one hand, a torch in the other. Lastly, on the extreme right Selene rides her horse: she too has her head circled with a *nimbus*, which is painted red-brown and yellow. She is present possibly as a goddess of magic, who might naturally be associated with Medeia², but more probably to furnish a variation on the hackneyed sun-and-moon theme, Selene on the lunar horse forming



Fig. 180.

a pendant to Medeia on the solar car. There is every reason to think with L. von Urlichs³ and C. Robert⁴ that the above-mentioned *sarcophagi*—and this *amphora* cannot be separated from them—present us with a scene ultimately derived from Euripides' play. Mr J. H. Huddilston⁵ says with justice: 'I know of no monuments of ancient art that grasp the spirit of a Greek tragedy more effectually than the Medeia sarcophagi. The strange and secret power of the sorceress hovers over and pervades the whole. The dreadful vengeance exacted by the slighted queen is shown in the most graphic manner. Standing before the Berlin replica, which is the best preserved and most beautiful of all the sculptures, one cannot

¹ Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 506 ff. no. 3221, O. Jahn in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1867 xxv. 62 ff. pl. 224, 1, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 402, 2.

² *Supra* p. 245.

³ L. von Urlichs *op. cit.* p. 13 ff.

⁴ Robert *op. cit.* ii. 205, cp. K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2511.

⁵ J. H. Huddilston *Greek Tragedy in the light of Vase Paintings* London 1898 p. 19.

but feel that he is face to face with a marvellous illustration of the great tragedy. The marble all but breathes; the dragons of Medeia's chariot may be heard to hiss.'

Euripides was not the last to compose a drama about Medeia; and it is in all probability a post-Euripidean play that is illustrated by another Apulian vase, the famous *Medeia-kratér* of Munich¹. This magnificent example of later ceramic art has for its principal theme a representation of the vengeance taken by Medeia on Iason, who in her despite contracted wedlock with king Kreon's daughter (pl. xxii)². In the centre of the scene rises the royal palace containing a throne surmounted by two eagles and a pair of circular shields slung from the roof. The king's daughter Kreonteia³ (*Kreonteia*) has just received from Medeia the fatal gift of a poisoned crown⁴. The casket in which it came stands open on the ground before her. But the poison is potent and is already doing its deadly work. The princess falls in her agony across the throne. Her father ([*Krélon*), dazed with grief, drops his eagle-tipped sceptre, and with one hand clutches at his grey locks, while he supports her prostrate form with the other. From right and left two figures hasten to the rescue. Kreon's son (*Hippotes*)⁵ is first to arrive and vainly attempts to pluck the crown from his sister's head. The queen too (*Merópe*)⁶ hurriedly approaches with gestures of grief and alarm. Behind her are an old *paidagogós* and a young handmaid; the former cautiously advancing, the latter disposed to pull him back. Behind Hippotes is an elderly veiled woman, evidently the princess's nurse, who hastens to escape from the horrible sight.

¹ C. Robert *Bild und Lied* Berlin 1881 p. 37 ff. and J. H. Huddilston *op. cit.* p. 145 ff. hold that this vase was intended to illustrate the *Medeia* of Euripides, and that the points in which its design differs from the subject as conceived by Euripides are to be regarded as natural and legitimate additions or subtractions on the part of the painter. A. Furtwängler in his *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 164 ff. refutes their view and concludes that the vase echoes the work of some unknown poet.

² Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 260 ff. no. 810, Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* ii. 161—166 pl. 90 (which supersedes all previous reproductions). The vase was found in a tomb near Canosa, Sept. 16, 1813.

³ *Kρεοντεία* is her name, not an abbreviation of *Κρεοντεία* (*παίς*), nor of *Κρεόντεία* (*ἀνάκτορα*), nor yet the title of a drama comparable with *Οἰδιπέδεια*, *Ὀρέστεια*, etc. Other sources name her *Γλαύκη* (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1676 no. 4) or *Κρέονσα* (*ib.* ii. 1426 f. no. 3). In Euripides she is nameless.

⁴ *Hyg. fab.* 25 coronam ex venenis fecit auream eamque muneri filios suos iussit novercae dare.

⁵ The name Hippotes is attested by Diod. 4. 55, schol. Eur. *Med.* 20, *Hyg. fab.* 27, though none of these authors describes him as playing the part here assigned to him.

⁶ The painter of this vase is our sole authority for Merope as the mother of Iason's bride, though elsewhere she is mentioned as the wife of Sisypheos or as the wife of Polybós (Roscher *Lex Myth.* ii. 2838 f.).

Meantime still greater horrors are in progress before the palace. Medeia (*Médeia*), wearing a Phrygian cap and an embroidered oriental costume, has grasped by the hair one of her two boys and is about to run him through with a sword, in spite of the fact that the little fellow has taken refuge on a square altar¹. He is making desperate efforts to reach his father (*Iáson*), who with spear and sword, followed by an armed retainer, is hurrying towards him—but just too late to prevent the murder. Another retainer behind Medeia's back safeguards the second boy, who otherwise would share his brother's fate². Between Iason and Medeia is the chariot drawn by two monstrous snakes, which will carry her beyond reach of his vengeance. In it stands her charioteer, a sinister-looking youth with snakes in his hair and torches in his hands. His name *Oíistros* shows that the artist, doubtless copying the dramatist³, conceived him as a personification of Medeia's frenzy, past, present, and future⁴. Standing on a rocky eminence at the extreme right and pointing with a significant gesture to the over-turned bridal bath⁵ and the whole tragic scene before him is a kingly figure draped in a costume resembling that of Medeia. The inscription *éidolon Aétou*, the 'ghost of Aetes,' suggests that in the play Medeia's father, who during his lifetime had done his best to thwart her marriage, appeared after his death to point the moral. If so, he probably spoke from the *theologeíon*, a raised platform here indicated by the rock. Finally, in the background by way of contrast with all the human action and passion we get the tranquil forms of the gods—Herakles and Athena on one side, the Dioskouroi on the other. Their domain is bounded by a pair of Corinthian columns supporting votive tripods, perhaps a hint that the whole painting was inspired by a successful play.

¹ J. H. Huddilston *op. cit.* p. 149 inclines to think that Medeia has lifted the boy on to the altar in order to slay him there. That is certainly a possible interpretation.

² Cp. Diod. 4. 54 *πλήν γὰρ ἐνὸς τοῦ διαφυγόντος τοῖς ἄλλοις υἱοῖς ἀποσφάζει*.

³ Poll. 4. 142 includes *Oíistros* among a list of *ἐσκενα πρόσωπα* (along with *Δίκη*, *Θάνατος*, *Ἐρινός*, *Λύσσα*, *Ἔβρις* etc.). See also E. Bethe *Prolegomena zur Geschichte des Theaters im Alterthum* Leipzig 1896 p. 147 ff.

⁴ This figure is usually taken to represent the mad rage that drove Medeia to commit the desperate deed. Furtwängler *op. cit.* ii 165 f. prefers to regard it as the embodiment of Medeia's remorse, at least of the torments that await her as a murderess of her own child. He holds that, whereas Euripides had allowed his Medeia to escape, exulting and unpunished, the later dramatist thus hinted at repentance to come. Furtwängler may well be right; but it must be remembered that, from a Greek point of view, the infatuation that instigates to the deed and the punishment that avenges it are one and the same. See e.g. K. Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1898 s.v. *Ate*, 'Personification der Unheil bringenden Verblendung, ebenso aber auch eines durch diese herbeigeführten Frevels und des ihm als Strafe folgenden Unheils.'

⁵ Furtwängler *op. cit.* ii. 163 n. 1.



Krater from Canosa : the vengeance of Medea.

See page 251 f.

From Furtwängler-Reichhold *Griechische Vasenmalerei* pl. 90 by permission of Messrs F. Bruckmann A.-G., Munich.]

(ε) Iynx.

When the Argonauts first came to Kolchis, Aphrodite helped Iason to win Medeia by means of an *iynx* or 'wry-neck' fastened to a magic wheel. Pindar describes the incident in a noteworthy passage:

Kyprogeneia, queen of the quick shaft,
 Down from Olympos brought
 The wriggling wry-neck bound beyond escape—
 The mad bird—to a wheel of four-spoked shape,
 And then first gave it unto men and taught
 The proper craft
 To the son of Aison, that he might be wise
 With all the wisdom of her sorceries
 And thereby steal Medeia's shame
 Of her own parents,—yea, the very name
 Of Hellas her desire
 With Peitho's whip should spin her heart on fire¹.

We are nowhere told that this *iynx*-wheel stood for the sun. But that it did, is—I think—a possible, even a probable, inference from the following facts. To begin with, the heroes had after a long series of adventures reached their goal—Aia, the land of the sunrise², ruled by Aietes the offspring of Helios,—and more than one event that befell them in this locality is susceptible of a solar interpretation. Again, Aphrodite is stated to have brought the *iynx*-wheel 'from Olympos,' an obvious source for celestial magic³. In his description of the bird on the wheel Pindar uses a peculiar, indeed barely logical, phrase, to which only one precise parallel

¹ Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 213 ff. It should be noticed that there is a certain parallelism between the beginning and the end of this extract. As Iason spins the magic *iynx*-wheel, so Peitho with her whip spins the heart of Medeia (ποθεινὰ δ' Ἑλλάς αὐτῶν | ἐν φρασὶ καιομέναν | δονέοι μαστιγι Πειθοῦς). One form of magic wheel is said to have resembled a whip-top (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1139 ῥόμβος δὲ ἐστὶ τροχίσκος ὃν στρέφουσι λιμᾶσι τύπτοντες, καὶ οὕτω κτύπον ἀποτελοῦσιν, *id. ib.* 4. 144 citing Eupolis *Baptae frag.* 15 Meineke ὦ ῥόμβοισι μαστίξας ἐμέ, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1387, 42 ff. τροχίσκον δηλοῖ τὸν καὶ ῥόμβον καλούμενον, ὃν τύπτοντες λιμᾶσι καὶ στρέφοντες ἐποιοῦν δινεῖσθαι καὶ ψόβον ἀποτελεῖν, *et. mag.* p. 706, 29 ff. ἐστὶ δὲ τροχίσκος, ὃν τύπτοντες λιμᾶσι καὶ στρέφοντες ποιοῦσι περιδονεῖσθαι καὶ ψόβον ἀποτελεῖν): see P. C. Lévesque in *Histoire et mémoires de l'institut royal de France, classe d'hist. et de litt. anc.* Paris 1818 iii. 5 ff., who argues that the ῥόμβος 'avait le plus souvent la forme du jouet nommé parmi nous *sabot* ou *toupié*,' and O. Jahn in the *Berichte sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1854 p. 257. A vase representing such a top is figured by G. Fougères in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1154 fig. 3087.

² See J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 919 f., 942 f.

³ Prof. J. B. Bury in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1886 vii. 157 ff. argues that the *Iynx* was originally a moon-charm or invocation of the moon-goddess 'Iō. But it is very doubtful whether Iō was *ab initio* a moon-goddess (*infra* ch. i § 6 (g) viii), and quite impossible to connect her name with *Iynx* (ἰύξω). See also the criticisms of D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 73.

could be quoted; and that occurs in the same poet's previous description of Ixion¹. But Ixion's four-spoked wheel, as I have already pointed out², probably represented the sun. It may, therefore, fairly be surmised that the four-spoked *inyx*-wheel also was a mimic sun. We have in fact definite evidence that on the shores of the Euxine Sea the sun was conceived as a four-spoked wheel. Coins of Mesembria in Thrace *c.* 450–350 B.C. have the name of the town (ΜΕΤΑ or ΜΕΣΣΑ) inscribed between the four spokes of a wheel, which is surrounded by rays diverging from its rim (fig. 181)³. This, as Dr B. V. Head observes, is the radiate wheel of the midday



Fig. 181.



Fig. 182.



Fig. 183.



Fig. 184.



Fig. 185.

(*mesembria*) sun⁴. Again, coins of Kalchedon in Bithynia *c.* 480–400 B.C. show a four-spoked radiate wheel (fig. 182)⁵, which on other specimens *c.* 400 loses its rays (fig. 183)⁶: this example is

¹ Cp. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 214 ποικίλαν ἰνυγα τετράκναμον (462 B.C.) with *Pyth.* 2. 40 τὸν δὲ τετράκναμον ἔπραξε δεσμὸν (475? B.C.). B. L. Gildersleeve's remark—'It was poetic justice to bind Ixion to his own inyx wheel'—is ingenious, but misleading.

² *Supra* p. 205 ff.

³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thrace etc.* p. 132, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 421 pl. 28, 8. I figure a specimen in my collection.

⁴ *Head Hist. num.*² p. 278, following P. Gardner in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1880.

⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus etc.* p. 124 pl. 27, 1 (my fig. 182), 2, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 290 pl. 45, 9–13, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 1493 ff. pl. 181, 7–9, 10?, 11, Anson *Num. Gr.* vi. pl. 20, 1114 f., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 511.

⁶ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus etc.* p. 124 pl. 27, 3 (my fig. 183), Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 290 f. pl. 45, 14, 15?, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 1495 f. pl. 181, 12, 13?, Anson *Num. Gr.* vi. pl. 20, 1116, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 511.

instructive for the light that it sheds on a numerous series of wheel-types in the coinage of Greece and Italy¹. The toothed or radiate wheel is found once more as a countermark on a coin of Populonia in Etruria (fig. 184)². It is also known as a *motif* on



Fig. 186.

'Dipylon' pottery (fig. 185)³, where again it may well have denoted the sun.

The magic wheel as seen on Greek vase-paintings (fig. 186)⁴ has

¹ See Appendix D.

² Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 55 pl. 74, 2.

³ F. Poulsen *Dipylongräber und Dipylonvasen* p. 117. I figure a sherd from Delos after F. Poulsen and C. Dugas in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1911 xxxv. 371 fig. 29.

⁴ (a) *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 136 ff. no. F 279 an Apulian *krater*. (b) *Ib.* iv. 186 f. no. F 399 an Apulian *lekythos*. (c) *Ib.* iv. 180 no. F 373 pl. 12, 1 an Apulian *prôchoos*, Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* iii pl. 1, J. Millingen *Ancient Unedited Monuments* London

likewise a jagged or more probably a pearly edge. This little object was strung on a double cord passing through its centre and was set spinning with a jerk¹; made of glittering bronze² and rotating rapidly on its axis, it would provide the magician with a very passable imitation of the sun (fig. 187).

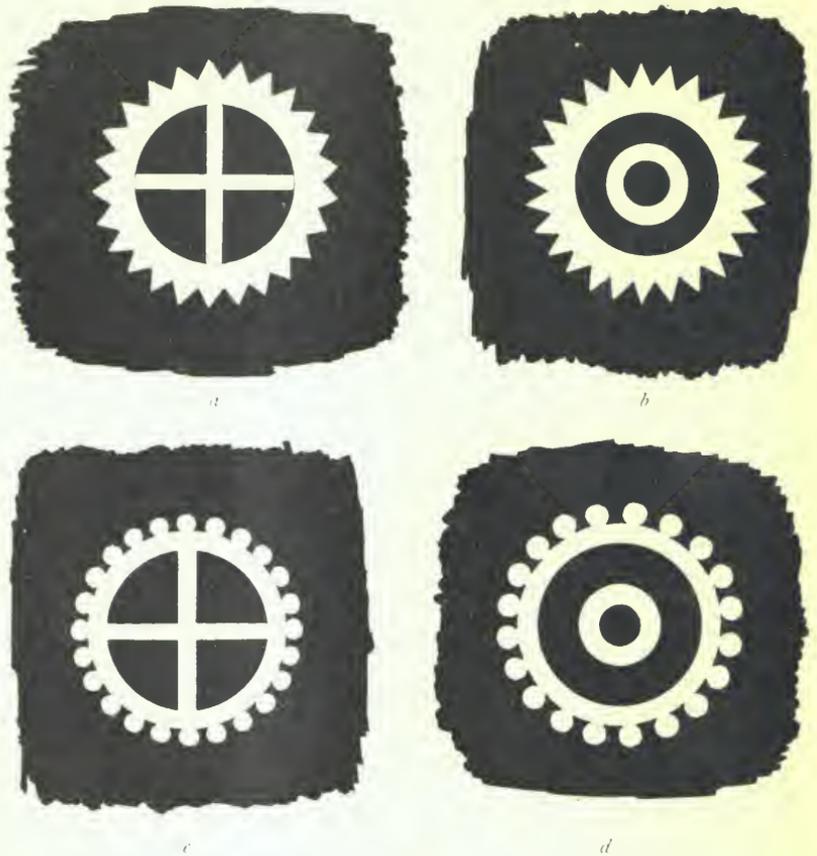


Fig. 187.

On this showing the magic wheel of the Greeks was the western analogue of the eastern 'praying-wheel,' whose essential relation to sun-worship has been satisfactorily established by W. Simpson³.

1822 i pl. 16. (b) J. V. Millingen *Peintures antiques et inédites de vases grecs* Rome 1813 pl. 47 an Apulian *kratér*.

For other varieties see *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 164 ff. no. F 331 = *Arch. Zeit.* 1853 xi. 42 f. pl. 54, f an Apulian *amphora*, *ib.* iv. 110 no. F 223 pl. 9, f a Campanian *hydria*.

¹ E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 863 f.

² Theokr. 2. 30.

³ W. Simpson *The Buddhist Praying-Wheel* London 1896 *passim*.

It remains to ask why a wry-neck was attached to the solar wheel. And here we are naturally reduced to mere conjecture. Two main reasons suggest themselves. On the one hand, the bird can and does twist its head round in a most surprising fashion: hence its names *wry-neck* or *writhe-neck* in our own country, *Drehhals* or *Wendehals* in Germany, *torcol*, *tourlicou*, *tourne tête*, etc., in France, *torcicollo* in Italy, *capu tortu* in Sicily¹. This odd faculty of rotary movement may well have been thought to quicken, or intensify the rotation of the (solar wheel). On the other hand, the wry-neck breeds in the hole of a tree and, if disturbed, utters a peculiar hissing noise calculated to make the observer believe that its hole is tenanted by a snake²: this reason, added to the mobility of its neck and tongue, has earned for it the sobriquet of *snake-bird* in Sussex, Hampshire, and Somerset, *Natterwendel* in Switzerland, *Nattervogel* in Germany, *cô de couleuvre* in the department of Meuse³. Now the solar wheel, as we have had occasion to note more than once⁴, tends to be represented with the wings of a bird and a couple of snakes. The wry-neck, combining as it did the qualities of both bird and snake, was a most desirable appendage.

Alexandrine wits were busied over the task of providing the wry-neck with a suitable myth. According to Zenodotos, Iynx was called by some Mintha, being a Naiad nymph whose mother was Peitho⁵. Kallimachos in his work *On Birds* made Iynx a daughter of Echo, who by her spells attracted Zeus to Io and suffered the feathery change at the hands of Hera⁶. Nikandros told how Pieros, king of Pieria, had nine daughters, who vied with the nine Muses in dance and song. A contest was arranged on

¹ C. Swainson *The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* London 1886 p. 103, E. Rolland *Faune populaire de la France* Paris 1879 ii. (Les oiseaux-sauvages) 66 f.

² J. L. Bonhote *Birds of Britain* London 1907 p. 178 pl. 53, W. P. Pycraft *A Book of Birds* London 1908 p. 109 pl. 23, 6. Cp. Aristot. *hist. an.* 2. 12. 504 a 12 ff. (ἡ ἰνγξ) ἔχει...τῆν γλῶτταν ὁμοίαν τοῖς ὄφασιν...ἔτι δὲ περιστρέφει τὸν τράχηλον εἰς τοῦπίσω τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος ἡμεροῦντος, καθάπερ οἱ ὄφεις, Plin. *nat. hist.* 11. 256 iynx...linguam serpentium similem in magnam longitudinem porrigit.

³ C. Swainson and E. Rolland *loc. cit.*

⁴ *Supra* pp. 205 ff., 227, 228 ff., 248 f.

⁵ Zenod. *ap. Phot. lex. s.v. μινθα*. Menthe or Minthe was beloved by Hades and, when maltreated by Persephone or Demeter, was changed by him into the herb 'mint' (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2801, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 852).

⁶ Kallim. *περὶ ὀρνέων frag.* 100^c, 8 Schneider *ap. schol. Theokr.* 2. 17, schol. Pind. *Nem.* 4. 56, Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 310, Nikephoros Gregoras *in Synes. περὶ ἐνυπνίων* p. 360 Petavius, Phot. *lex. s.v. ἰνγξ*, Soud. *lex. s.v. ἰνγξ*. In schol. Theokr. *loc. cit.* H. L. Ahrens restores *φαρμακεῖων δὲ τὸν Δία <ἐπὶ Ἰοῖ>*, ὅπως ἂν αὐτῇ μυχθῆ, O. Schneider *ὅπως ἂν αὐτῇ <Ἰοῖ> μυχθῆ*. In Phot. and Soud. *loc. cit.* we should probably read ἀπωρνωθῆ for ἀπελιθῆ (G. Bernhardtj *op. cit.*, cp. Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 310).

Mount Helikon. The mortals, vanquished by the immortals, were transformed into birds; and the *tynx* was one of these¹.

But the earlier unsophisticated view saw in the wry-neck merely a bird appropriate to the solar wheel, and useful therefore as a fertility-charm. This explains its connexion with Dionysos, who bore the titles *Iyngtes* and *Iýngyi*². Finally, the fertility-charm, as so often happens, dwindled into a love-charm, and the *tynx* or *tynx*-wheel was associated with the deities of soft emotion—Aphrodite and Eros, Himeros and Peitho³.

If the *tynx*-wheel was indeed a representation of the sun, we might reasonably expect to find it in the *entourage* of Apollon. For this god, though not himself primarily or originally solar, can be shown to have absorbed into his cult certain features of early sun-magic⁴. In point of fact there is some ground for thinking that the *tynx* was admitted into the Apolline cult at Delphoi. That past master in magic Apollonios of Tyana, when wishing to prove that the Delphic god did not disdain wealth and luxury, remarked that at Pytho Apollon had required temple after temple, each greater than its predecessor, and added that 'from one of them he is said to have hung golden *tynges* which echoed the persuasive notes of siren voices⁵.' This obscure passage has been brought into connexion with another equally obscure. Pausanias, *à propos* of the third or bronze temple at Delphoi, states: 'I do not believe that the temple was a work of Hephaestus, nor the story about the golden songstresses which the poet Pindar mentions in speaking of this particular temple:—

And from above the gable
Sang charmers all of gold.

Here, it seems to me, Pindar merely imitated the Sirens in Homer⁶.

¹ Nikandros *ap.* Ant. Lib. 9.

² Hesych. 'Ιυγγίης · ὁ Διόνυσος and 'Ιύγγυϊ· ὁ Διόνυσος. M. Schmidt suggests 'Ιυγκίης 'quasi ejaculator' in both cases.

The names *κίναϊδος* (schol. Theokr. 2. 17), *κινάλδιον* (schol. Plat. *Gorg.* 494 E, Phot. *lex. s.v.* 'Ιυγξ, Hesych. *s.v.* *τυγξ, κινάλδιον*, Soud. *s.v.* 'Ιυγξ), and *σεισπορυίς* (Soud. *s.v.* *τυγξ*, schol. Theokr. 2. 17, schol. Aristeid. iii. 307 Dindorf, Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 310, *et. Gud.* p. 285, 12, cp. p. 625, 53 f., Zonar. *lex. s.v.* *τυγξ*) imply that the wry-neck was confused with the wag-tail, but afford no proof of 'phallic symbolism' (D'Arcy W. Thompson *op. cit.* p. 71).

³ E. Saglio *op. cit.* iv. 864, R. Engelmann in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 772 f.

⁴ See the excellent discussion by Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 136 ff., especially pp. 143, 285.

⁵ Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 6. 11 p. 221, 32 ff. Kayser *ἐνὸς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ χρυσᾶς τυγγᾶς ἀνάψαι λέγεται Σειρήνων τινὰ ἐπεχούσας* (leg. *ἐπηχούσας*) *πειθῶ*.

Prof. G. Murray thinks that *ἐπεχούσας* might be rendered 'exerting a kind of Siren persuasion,' but himself suggests *ἐπιχεούσας*, 'shedding a kind of Siren spell.'

⁶ Paus. 10. 5. 12 trans. J. G. Frazer. The fragment of Pindar is here cited in the

Now Monsieur S. Reinach in an ingenious and penetrating article has argued that the early Greeks, conforming to a custom widespread throughout western Europe, sought to protect their temples against lightning by means of an eagle, the lightning-bird *par excellence*, bound and fastened to a post in either pediment: the pediment in fact thence derived its name *aetós, aétoma*¹. I would suggest that on or in both pediments of the primitive temple at Delphoi was another bird bound and fastened with like intent—the *íynx* on its wheel (later replaced by a simple *íynx*-wheel), which secured the protecting presence of the sun itself. This suggestion may be reinforced by two lines of argument. On the one hand, when we come to deal with the solar disk, we shall find that the pediment of a sacred edifice was the favourite place for that symbol². On the other hand, Apulian vases often depict a pair of four-spoked wheels hanging from the roof of a temple³ or palace⁴ or chieftain's hut⁵. These wheels are commonly supposed to be chariot wheels⁶. But, although in heroic days the wheels of a chariot when not in use might doubtless be taken off and kept separately⁷, we should hardly imagine that they were habitually

7
15
15

following form: χρύσεια δ' ἐξ ὑπερέτου (or ὑπαρέτου) ἀειδὼν κηλήμονες. But Galen. *in Hippocrat. de articulis* 3. 23 (xviii. 1. 519 Kühn) has καὶ ὁ Πινδαρός φησιν ἐν ταῖς Ἰλειαῖσιν (leg. τοῖς παισίν). χρύσεια δ' ὀξύπτερα αἰετοῦ ἀειδὼν κληθδόνες. Hence Schneidewin proposed ἐξ ὑπὲρ αἰετοῦ, Bergk ἐξ ὑπερθ' αἰετοῦ, Casaubon κηληθδόνες. Of recent editors C. A. M. Fennell *frag.* 30 prints Χρῦσαι δ' ἐξ ὑπερέτου | ἀειδὼν Κηληθδόνες, W. Christ *frag.* 53 Χρῦσαι δ' ἐξ ὑπερθ' αἰετοῦ | ἀειδὼν Κηληθδόνες, O. Schroeder *frag.* 53 χρῦσεια δ' ἐξ ὑπερθ' αἰετοῦ | ἀειδὼν κηληθδόνες. The fragment is referred to by Athen. 290 E τῶν παρὰ Πινδαρῶ Κηληθδόνων, αἱ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ταῖς Σειρήσι τοὺς ἀκρωμένους ἐποίουν ἐπιλανθανομένους τῶν τροφῶν διὰ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀφαναινεσθαι. The passage from Athenaeus in turn is alluded to by Eustath. *in Od.* pp. 1689, 33 f., 1709, 58 ff.

¹ S. Reinach 'Aetos Prométheus' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1907 ii. 59 ff. = *Cultes, mythes et religions* Paris 1908 iii. 68 ff., cp. J. E. Harrison 'Prométhée et le culte du pilier' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1907 ii. 429 ff. and 'Bird and Pillar Worship' in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 159.

² *Infra* p. 292 ff.

³ The temple of Apollon at Delphoi (O. Jahn *Vasenbilder* Hamburg 1839 p. 1 ff. pl. 1, K. Boetticher *Der Omphalos des Zeus zu Delphi* (Winckelmanns-fest-*Progr.* Berlin) Berlin 1859 pl. 1; and perhaps Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 351). The temple of Hera at Thebes (?) (*Id. ib. i.* 161, 4).

⁴ The palace of Hades (*Id. ib. i.* 258, 4 = *infra* ch. ii § 9 (d) ii (γ), i. 355 = *supra* p. 200, i. 455, 1). The palace of Lykourgos at Nemea (*Id. ib. i.* 235).

⁵ The hut of Achilles (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1908 xii. 406 ff. pl. 19).

⁶ Raoul-Rochette *Monumens inédits d'antiquité figurée* Paris 1831 p. 210 n. 2, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 805 n. 1. In the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 176 I adopted this explanation myself, but took the chariot in question to be that of the sun. I was, as I now see, half-wrong, half-right.

⁷ *Il.* 5. 722 f. "Ἡβη δ' ἀμφ' ὀχέεσσι θοῶς βάλε καμπύλα κίκλα, | χάλκεα ὀκτάκνημα, σιδηρέω ἄξονι ἀμφίς. The chariot itself, as distinct from the wheels, was put on a stand and carefully covered with a cloth (*Il.* 8. 441, cp. *ib.* 2. 777 f.). Before the wheels were removed the chariot might be set atilt against the front wall of the building (*Il.* 8. 435, *Od.* 4. 42).

hung from the ceiling of a palace, still less from that of a temple¹. And why—we may pertinently ask—is the rest of the supposed chariot never shown²? A wheel can perhaps serve on occasion as a tachygraphic sign for a chariot³. But the painters of these great Apulian vases would surely sometimes have represented the vehicle



Fig. 188.

as a whole had that been their meaning. It is therefore permissible to conclude that the wheels depending from the roof of temple and palace are rather to be interpreted as magic wheels of a

¹ Raoul-Rochette *loc. cit.* adduces Paus. 2. 14. 4 τοῦ δὲ Ἀνακτόρου καλουμένου πρὸς τῷ ὄρθῳ Πέλοπος ἄρμα λέγουσιν ἀνακείσθαι. But J. G. Frazer translates: 'On the roof of what is called the Anactorum stands a chariot which they say is the chariot of Pelops.' And, if the Ἀνάκτορον at Keleai resembled that at Eleusis (cp. Paus. 2. 14. 1), this may well be right.

² On an Apulian *amphora* from Ruvo at St. Petersburg (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburgi* i. 215 ff. no. 422 and in the *Compte-rendu St. Pétr.* 1863 p. 267 n. 4, *Mon. d. Inst.* v pl. 11 f., *Ann. d. Inst.* 1849 xxi. 240 ff., Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 472 ff. Atlas pl. 20, 4, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 138, 3, 139), which shows the ransoming of Hektor's body (*Ann. d. Inst.* 1866 xxxviii. 246), a chariot is apparently suspended in the background along with a pair of greaves, a shield, and a *phlos*; but, though the scene is probably laid before Achilles' hut, there is no indication of architecture.

³ *E.g.* the wheel of Myrtilos, on which however see *supra* p. 225 n. 4, or the wheel in the *exergue* of a Syracusan coin signed by Euainetos (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* pp. 166, 173, G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 63, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 175), or the wheel held by a reclining female figure named *Via Traiana* on coins of Trajan (Rasche *Lex. Num.* x. 1116, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 858 fig.), or that held by a figure commemorating the Circus-games of 121 A.D. on a medallion and coins of Hadrian (Gnechchi *Medagl. Rom.* iii. 16 no. 56 pl. 144, 5, Rasche *op. cit.* i. 648 ff. Suppl. i. 691 f., Stevenson—Smith—Madden *op. cit.* p. 46 f. fig.).

prophylactic sort, in a word as *tynges*. However that may be, the Delphic *tynx* is evidenced by other works of art. A series of Etruscan funerary reliefs at Florence, Volterra, etc., represents the death of Neoptolemos¹. A *cista* in the Museum at Volterra (fig. 188)² will serve as an example. The hero, suddenly attacked by Orestes, has fled for refuge to the altar in front of the Delphic temple³, and, in order to put himself still more effectually under the protection of the god, clasps with uplifted hand a six-spoked



Fig. 189.

wheel apparently conceived as hanging from the entablature. A priestess on the left would wrest the sacred wheel from his grasp. A priest on the right is horror-struck at the murder. And the scene is completed by the presence of a winged Fury. The wheel,

¹ A list of these reliefs is drawn up by Raoul-Rochette *op. cit.* p. 209, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* p. 746 f. pl. 30, 15, P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 176, and above all by Körte *Rilievi delle Urne Etrusche* 1890 ii. pl. 53 ff.

² Körte *op. cit.* ii pl. 54, 4.

³ Cp. the scene of the tragedy as depicted on an Apulian *amphora* in the Jatta collection (*Ann. d. Inst.* 1868 xl. 235 ff. pl. E=Baumeister *Denkm.* ii. 1009 fig. 1215= Roscher *Lex Myth.* iii. 175—176 fig. 5).

with which alone we are concerned, has been very variously interpreted¹. It is I submit none other than the Delphic *kylix*. That this symbol should be found so far west as Etruria need not surprise us. We have here again to reckon with the possibility of Celtic influence. A silver disk forming part of a hoard unearthed in 1836 at Notre-Dame d'Elmençon near Brissac (Maine-et-Loire) and later acquired by the Louvre brings the wheel—presumably the Gallic solar wheel²—into close relation with Apollon (fig. 189)³.

Philostratos, who in his *Life of Apollonios* spoke of the golden *kylixes* that hung from the Delphic temple as 'echoing the persuasive notes of siren voices!' records an interesting parallel from the far east. In describing the palace of the king of Babylon he mentions 'a hall, whose ceiling was vaulted like a sky and roofed with sapphire, a stone of the bluest and most heavenly colour. Images of the gods whom they worship are set up above, and appear as golden figures emerging from the upper air. Here the king passes judgment; and *kylixes* of gold are hung from the roof, four in number, assuring him of divine Necessity and bidding him not to be uplifted above mankind. These the Magians declare that they themselves attune, repairing to the palace, and they call them the voices of the gods.'⁴ We should, I think, attempt to elucidate Philostratos' account in the light of a stone tablet found by the veteran explorer Mr Hormuzd Rassam at Abû-Habbah, the site of the old Babylonian city Sippar (fig. 190)⁵. This monument, which is now in the British Museum, is officially described as follows:

¹ Korte *op. cit.* ii. 130 argues that the figure holding the wheel must be Myrtilos, not Neoptolemos at all, because in one example (pl. 56, 8) four horses are present. But the horses may quite well be those of Neoptolemos or Orestes, or may even represent the race-course at Delphoi, where Orestes according to the feigned tale (Soph. *El.* 681 ff.) was killed by his own restive team. The pillar in the background of our illustration is equally indecisive: it stands, I think, for the Delphic *omphalos*, though it might perhaps be explained as the goal-post of Oinomaos' race. Our real and conclusive reason for regarding the scene as the death of Neoptolemos, not Myrtilos, is that the former was notoriously slain at the altar of Apollon (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 172), while the latter was no less notoriously flung into the sea by Pelops (*ib.* ii. 3315 ff.).

² *Infra* p. 288 f.

³ E. Lajard *Recherches sur le culte du cyprès pyramidal* Paris 1854 pp. 107, 261 ff., 362 pl. 20, 5.

⁴ *Supra* p. 258 n. 5.

⁵ Philostr. *Life of Apoll.* i. 25 p. 29, 1 ff. Kayser...δικάζει μὲν δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνταῦθα, χρυσαῖ δὲ ἕνδεκα ἀποκρέμνεται τῶν ὀρόφων τέτταρες τῆν Ἀδράστειαν αὐτῷ παρεγγυῶσαι καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐπὲρ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἰσθῆσαι. ταῦτας οἱ μάγοι αὐτοὶ φασὶν ἀρμόττεσθαι φοιτῶντες ἐς τὰ βασίλεια, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὰς θεῶν γλώττας.

⁶ T. G. Pinches in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 1885 viii. 164 ff., C. J. Ball *Light from the East* London 1899 pp. 155—157, L. W. King *Babylonian Religion and Mythology* London 1899 p. 19, G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*⁴ London 1901 p. 657.

Tablet sculptured with a scene representing the worship of the Sun-god in the Temple of Sippar, and inscribed with a record of the restoration of the temple by *Nabu-pal-idinna*, king of Babylonia, about B.C. 870. In the upper part of the tablet the Sun-god is seen seated within a shrine upon a throne, the sides of which are sculptured with figures of mythical beings in relief; in his right hand he holds a disk and bar, which may be symbolic of the sun's orbit, or eternity. Above his head are the three symbols of the Moon and the Sun and the planet Venus. The roof of the shrine is supported by a column in the form of a palm-trunk. Before the shrine upon an altar or table stands the disk of the sun, which is held in position by means of ropes tightly drawn in the hands of two divine beings who form part of the celestial canopy. Approaching the disk are three human figures; the first of these is the high priest of the Sun-god, who is leading by the hand the king to do worship to the symbol of the solar

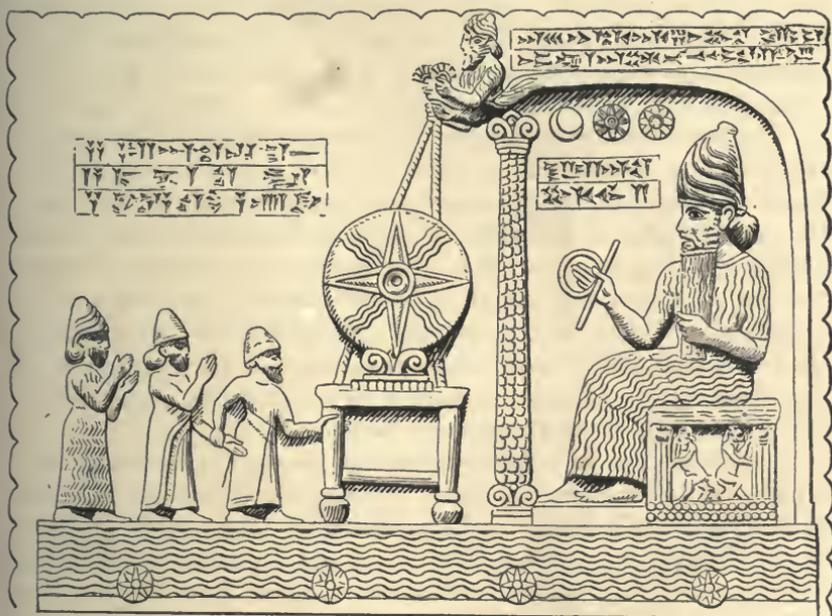


Fig. 190.

deity, and the last figure is either an attendant priest or a royal minister. The shrine of the god stands upon the Celestial Ocean, and the four small disks upon which it rests seem to indicate the four cardinal points. The text describes the restoration of the Temple of the Sun-god by two kings called *Simmash-Shikhu* (about B.C. 1050) and *E-ulbar-shakin-shum* (about B.C. 1020). It then goes on to say that Nabû-pal-idinna, king of Babylonia, found and restored the ancient image of the Sun-god and the sculptures of the temple, which had been overthrown by the enemies of the country....He also beautified the ancient figure of the Sun-god with gold and lapis-lazuli....This tablet was made by Nabû-pal-idinna in the ninth century before Christ, but he probably copied the sculptured scene at the top from a relief of a very much older period¹.

¹ E. A. Wallis Budge *British Museum. A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities* London 1900 p. 128 f. pl. 22 no. 91,000.

Comparing now the tablet with the words of Philostratos, we note that it exhibits a throne-room with a ceiling vaulted like the sky, from which emerge certain divine figures. It also mentions lapis-lazuli and gold, thereby recalling the sapphire vault and golden images of the Greek author. Above all, the solar disk suspended by cords and the emblems of sun, moon, and star seen beneath the ceiling are analogous to the four *tynges* said to have been hung from the roof. I shall venture to conclude that Philostratos was not talking at random, but was describing an actual chamber in the Babylonian palace, such as we know to have been constructed by various grandees from that day to this¹. Golden disks representing the principal heavenly bodies there dangled from a mimic sky. That of the sun, upheld by two genii of gold, announced by its mobility and resonance the divine will. Indeed, all alike were known as 'the voices of the gods.'

We have thus won our way to an explanation, which further clears up the only difficulty remaining with regard to the Delphic *tynges*. They—we argued—were wheels on or in the pediments of the early temple at Delphoi. Now if, as Philostratos says², these golden *tynges* 'echoed the persuasive notes of siren voices' (literally, 'echoed a certain persuasion of Sirens'), and if, as Pindar says³, 'from above the gable sang charmers all of gold,' we may suppose that the Delphic wheels were suspended from the hands of siren-like figures placed upon the roof much as we see the solar disk suspended on the Babylonian tablet.

That the *tynx* as a bird was sacred among the ancient Babylonians and Persians has been inferred by Dr L. Hopf⁴ and Prof. D'Arcy Thompson⁵. This inference, so far as it is based on the Philostratos-passage above discussed, is obviously precarious. Marinus, it is true, states that Proklos was familiar with Chaldean rites 'and by moving a certain *tynx* in the correct manner caused a rain-fall and freed Attike from a destructive drought⁶.' But that this charm was strictly Chaldean, may well be doubted. And, even if it was, the wheel rather than the bird is probably meant⁷. The

¹ See R. Eisler *Wellenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 614 n. 1.

² *Supra* p. 258 n. 5.

³ *Supra* p. 258 n. 6.

⁴ L. Hopf *Thierorakel und Orakelthiere in alten und neuer Zeit* Stuttgart 1888 p. 144.

⁵ D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 72.

⁶ Marin. v. *Procl.* 28 ὄμβρος τε ἐκίνησεν, ἰγγά τινα προσφόρος κινήσας, καὶ αὐχμῶν ξέαισι τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἠλευθέρωσεν. Cp. Proklos in Plat. *Crat.* p. 33, 14 f. Pasquali τοιοῦτον δὴ τι νοεῖν ἐμοίγε δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ διαπύρρμιον ὄνομα τῶν ἰγγῶν, ὃ πάσας ἀνέχειν λέγεται τὰς πηγὰς, and see further G. Kroll *De oraculis Chaldaicis* Vratislaviae 1894 pp. 39—44.

⁷ Yet L. Hopf *loc. cit.* notes that near Radolfszell on the Bodensee wry-necks are called 'Rain-birds' (*Regenvögele*).

same consideration disposes of an allusion to the *tynx* in a supposititious fragment of Zoroastres¹. The Rev. W. Houghton, who has minutely studied the birds of the Assyrian monuments and records, discusses no fewer than fifty-seven species; but the wry-neck is not among them². Clearly, then, we cannot without further proof assert that the wry-neck was a sacred bird in Babylonia and Persia. At most we might maintain that the bird-like solar wheel or disk or ring of Assyrian and Persian art³ originated in the custom of binding a bird, some bird, not necessarily the wry-neck, upon a revolving wheel to serve as an imitative sun-charm.

(ζ) Isis, Nemesis, Tyche, Fortuna.

The *tynx*-wheels suspended at Delphoi suggest comparison with other temple-wheels. Aristotle in his treatise on *Mechanics* alludes to certain revolving wheels of bronze and iron as dedicated in sanctuaries⁴. Dionysios the Thracian (c. 170-90 B.C.) wrote a book on the symbolism of wheels; and Clement of Alexandria cites from it a passage in which mention is made of 'the wheel that turns in the precincts of the gods, being derived from the Egyptians⁵.' Plutarch too has a reference to these Egyptian wheels. By way of explaining Numa's precept that men should turn round when they pay adoration to the gods, he remarks: 'The turning round of the worshippers is said to be an imitation of the rotatory movement of the world. But the meaning would rather seem to be as follows. Since temples face the east, the worshipper has his back to the sun-rise. He here changes his position and turns round towards the (sun-) god, completing the circle, and with it his prayer, by means of both deities (*i.e.* by turning from the sun-god to the god of the temple again). Unless indeed the Egyptian wheels have a hidden significance and this change of position in like manner teaches us that, inasmuch as no mortal matter stands still, it is right to accept with contentment whatever turns and twists God gives our life⁶.' Still more explicit is Heron, an Alexandrine mathematician of the third century B.C., who twice describes the wheels in question. 'In the sanctuaries of the Egyptians,' he says,

¹ Pseudo-Zoroastres *frag.* 54 $\text{C}\alpha\text{O}\text{I}\text{Y}^2$ νοούμεναι ἰνγγες πατρόθεν νοέουσι καὶ αὐταί· | βουλαῖς ἀφθέγκτοισι κινούμεναι ὥστε νοῆσαι.

² W. Houghton in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 1885 viii. 42-142.

³ *Supra* p. 207 ff.

⁴ Aristot. *mech.* 1. 848 a 24 f.

⁵ Dion. Thrax *ap.* Clem. Al. *str.* 5. 45. 4 p. 356, 9 ff. Stählin.

⁶ Plout. *v. Num.* 14.

'by the door-posts are bronze wheels that can be made to revolve, so that those who enter may turn them about, because bronze is believed to exercise a purificatory influence. There are sprinklers too so that those who enter may sprinkle themselves.' Heron proposes to make a wheel, which, if turned round, shall emit water for the sprinkling¹. Again, another of his problems is the 'construction of a treasury provided with a revolving wheel of bronze, termed a purifier; for this those who come into the sanctuaries are accustomed to turn round.' Heron's idea is to decorate the treasury with a bird, which, as often as the wheel is turned, shall turn itself about and whistle². The first of these passages is accompanied by

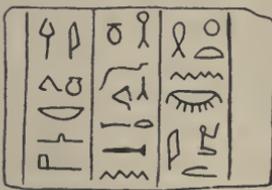
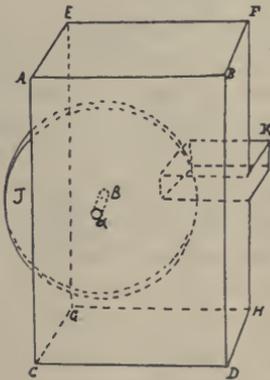


Fig. 191.

a diagram of the wheel, or rather disk, which is thin, solid, and vertical. In the second the wheel is thin and vertical, with six spokes.

In 1900 Prof. A. Erman drew the attention of Egyptologists to these alleged Egyptian wheels³, and with excellent result; for the next year Prof. F. W. von Bissing published a wheel of the sort that he had procured at Thebes (fig. 191)⁴. It is a copper disk revolving on an iron pin in such a way as to project from a copper box once sunk in a wall or gate-post. The box bears an inscription hard to decipher, but apparently referring to the wheel as a 'golden ring (or disk)': hence the discoverer infers that the wheel was formerly gilded.

Whether these wheels were Egyptian in origin or imported into Egypt from some foreign religious system, is a further question. Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie surmised that Buddhist missionaries in the time of Asoka must have found their way to the valley of the Nile; and Mr W. Simpson, who has done so much for the

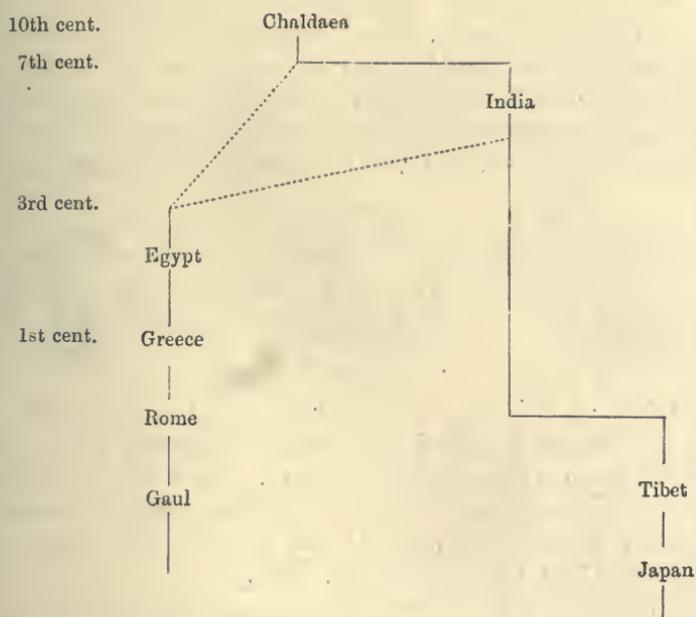
¹ Heron *Al. pneumatica* 1. 32 p. 148 Schmidt. On the purificatory powers of bronze see the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 14 ff.

² *Id. ib.* 2. 32 p. 298 Schmidt.

³ A. Erman 'Kupferringe an Tempelthoren' in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 1900 xxxviii. 53 f.

⁴ F. W. v. Bissing 'Zu Ermans Aufsatz "Kupferringe an Tempelthoren"' *ib.* 1901 xxxix. 144 f. with fig.

elucidation of ritual wheels, inclines to accept that view¹. Count Goblet d'Alviella suggests the following lines of transmission²:



None of these authors call in question Plutarch's statement that the Greeks derived their temple-wheels from Egypt. J. Capart, however, thinks that the current may have set the other way, the custom being introduced into Egypt by the Greeks³. Decisive considerations are not as yet to hand. But, whatever the precise lineage of these Graeco-Egyptian temple-wheels may have been, it can hardly be doubted that they were akin to the 'wheel of Fortune'—a common sight in mediaeval churches, where it was made of wood, hung up to the roof, worked with a rope, and regarded as an infallible oracle⁴. Indeed, it seems probable that the automatic gypsy-wheel of our railway platforms is a degenerate descendant of the same respectable stock.

¹ W. Simpson 'The Buddhist Praying Wheel' in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1898 pp. 873—875.

² Goblet d'Alviella 'Un curieux problème de transmission symbolique.—Les roues liturgiques de l'ancienne Égypte' in the *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* iii Série 1898 xxvi. 439—462 and in his *Croyances, Rites, Institutions* Paris 1911 i. 25—40.

³ J. Capart in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Allertumskunde* 1901 xxxix. 145 f.

⁴ H. Gaidoz in the *Rev. Arch.* 1884 ii. 142 ff. Such wheels are still, or at least were recently, to be found in some continental churches (W. Simpson *The Buddhist Praying-Wheel* London 1896 p. 229 n. 1).

The wheel as a cult-utensil gave rise to the wheel as a divine attribute. Fortune's wheel is often mentioned in Latin literature from the time of Cicero onwards¹, but is comparatively seldom seen on the monuments². An example or two from imperial coin-types will serve to illustrate the conception³. Thus a coin of Elagabalos shows Fortuna with a rudder in her right hand, a *cornu copiae* in her left, seated on a throne beneath which is a four-spoked wheel (fig. 192)⁴. On another of Gordianus Pius the



Fig. 192.



Fig. 193.



Fig. 194.

throne has almost vanished and we have Fortuna *Redux* seated apparently upon a mere wheel (fig. 193)⁵. On a third of Gallienus her attributes have passed by a somewhat cynical transition to Indulgentia Augusti, who stands leaning on a short column and holding a rod in her right hand (fig. 194)⁶.

¹ Cic. *in Pis.* 22, Tib. 1. 5. 70, Tac. *dial. de or.* 23, Fronto *de orat.* p. 157 Naber, Amm. Marc. 26. 8. 13, 31. 1. 1, Boeth. *de cons. phil.* 2 *pr.* 1, 2 *pr.* 2, cp. Sen. *Agam.* 71 f. So Hor. *od.* 3. 10. 10 ne currente retro funis eat rota, according to Acron and Comm. Cruq. *ad loc.*; but see W. Hirschfelder's note on the passage. Later references are collected by J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass ii. 866 ff., iv. 1567 f.

² Fortuna standing—a bronze statuette (K. Friederichs *Berlins antike Bildwerke* Düsseldorf 1871 ii. 424 no. 1978 cited in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1506). Fortuna, with rudder in right hand and *cornu copiae* in left, seated over a wheel—a brown paste at Berlin (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 87 no. 1510 pl. 16; *id. Ant. Gemmen* i. pl. 27, 61, ii. 137). Fortuna standing with rudder and *cornu copiae* in her hands and a wheel at her feet—two gems (Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 197 pl. 89 nos. 16, 17 after A. Gorlay. Modern work?). Cp. Fatum personified as a female standing with left foot raised on a six-spoked wheel and body inclined in the act of writing (*Fata Scribunda*)—a grave-relief (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1445 after Zoega *Bassirilievi* i pl. 15).

³ The coin-types of Fortuna are most fully listed by Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 1135—1179, Suppl. ii. 1089—1110. I figure three specimens from the Cambridge collection.

⁴ Cohen *Mon. emp. rom.* 2 iv. 338 no. 147. A similar design is found on the reverse of a bronze medallion of Albinus (W. Kubitschek *Ausgewählte römische Medaillons der kaiserlichen Münzensammlung in Wien* Wien 1909 p. 8 no. 71 pl. 5, Gneocchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 73 nos. 1, 2 pl. 92, 1—3).

⁵ Cohen *op. cit.* 2 v. 31 no. 98. *Id. ib.* no. 96 (the same type in gold) is well figured in the Sale Catalogue of M. le Vicomte de Ponton d'Amécourt *Monnaies d'or romaines et byzantines* Paris 1887 p. 71 no. 481 pl. 18. Mr F. W. Lincoln has a fine specimen of it. A very similar reverse occurs on coppers of the same emperor (Cohen *ib.* nos. 99, 100).

⁶ Cohen *op. cit.* 2 v. 337 no. 331. On a bronze medallion of Gallienus Fortuna *Redux* is standing with a rudder in her right hand, a *cornu copiae* in her left, and a wheel at her feet (Gneocchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 107 no. 8 pl. 113, 9).

The wheel of Nemesis, on the other hand, though rarely alluded to in literature¹, is common enough in art². A marble relief, found in the Peiraieus and now in the Louvre (fig. 195)³, represents the goddess as winged and standing on the back of a naked man. In her left hand she holds a measuring rod; beneath her right is a large four-spoked wheel. Beside her a bearded snake raises its head. This sinister figure occupies the interior of a little chapel and is accompanied by the following epigram:

I am—you see—the Nemesis of men,
Well-winged, immortal, dwelling in
the sky.
I flit throughout the world exult-
ingly
And have all mortal tribes within my
ken.
Artemidoros, proud and wise—I
trow—,
Wrought me in stone and duly paid
his vow.



Fig. 195.

¹ Mesomedes *h. Nemes.* 1 ff. Νέμεσι πτερόεσσα... | ...ὑπὸ σὸν τροχὸν ἀστατον, ἀστιβῆ | χαροπὰ μερόπων στρέφεται τύχα, Nonn. *Dion.* 48. 375 ff. Νέμεσιν δὲ μετήϊεν... | καὶ τροχὸς ἀτοκῦλιστος ἔην παρὰ πῶσιν ἀνάσσης, | σημαίνων ὅτι πάντα ἀγήνορας εἰς πέδον ἔλκει | ὑψόθεν εὐλυφώσα δίκης ποιήτορι κύκλω, | δαίμων πανδαμίαιρα, βλοῦ στροφώουσα πορείην, Amm. Marc. 14. 11. 25 f. Adrastia...quam vocabulo duplici etiam Nemesin adpellamus: ius quoddam sublime numinis efficacis, humanarum mentium opinione lunari circulo superpositum...pinnas autem ideo illi fabulosa vetustas aptavit, ut adesse velocitate volucris cunctis existimetur, et praetendere gubernaculum dedit, eique subdidit rotam, ut universitatem regere per elementa discurrens omnia non ignoret, Claud. *de bello Getico* 631 f. sed dea, quae nimis obstat Rhamnusia votis, | ingemuit flexitque rotam.

² O. Rossbach in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 144 f., 156 ff., and in greater detail H. Posnansky *Nemesin und Adrasteia (Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen v. 2)* Breslau 1890 pp. 109 ff.

³ P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xxii. 600 pl. 15, J. Delamarre in the *Rev. Philol.* N.S. 1894 xviii. 266—270. Cp. the coins of Alexandria and the statuettes from Memphis(?) and Sebennytos(?) discussed by P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1912 xxxvi. 248—274 pl. 1 f.

A limestone relief in the museum at Gizeh (fig. 196)¹ shows Nemesis in the act of flitting through the world. The sculptor has made a clumsy attempt to combine three different modes of progression—wings spread for flight, limbs in the attitude of running,



Fig. 196.

and a wheel as a vehicle. Beside the goddess is her familiar animal, the griffin, one of its forepaws likewise resting on a wheel. Griffin and wheel are frequently associated with Nemesis on coins and gems². An interesting development of the type occurs at



Fig. 197.

Smyrna, where there was an ancient cult of two wingless Nemeses³. On the reverse of a coin struck by Commodus (fig. 197)⁴ we have a corresponding duplication of attributes; the two Nemeses are drawn by a pair of griffins in a two-wheeled car. The wheel has become a chariot. The same thing has happened on a red jasper in the British Museum (fig. 198)⁵. A winged

Nemesis holding her robe with her right hand and an apple-branch in her left is standing in a car drawn by a large snake. The transformation of the wheel into a chariot

¹ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xxii. 601 pl. 16, 1.

² H. Posnansky *op. cit.* p. 131 ff. pl. 1.

³ Paus. i. 33. 7, 7. 5. 1 ff., 9. 35. 6, A. Boeckh on *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii nos. 2663, 3148, 3163, 3193, H. Posnansky *op. cit.* pp. 61—67, O. Rossbach in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 121 f.

⁴ H. Posnansky *op. cit.* p. 136 pl. 1, 2.

⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 138 no. 1141, H. Posnansky *op. cit.* p. 166 pl. 1, 40. Posnansky would here recognize 'eine Verschmelzung der Nemesis mit Hygieia.' This is hardly necessary. Nemesis had a bearded snake on the Peiraieus relief (*supra* p. 269); and Zeus, according to one version, wooed her in the form of a snake (schol. Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 37. 2 p. 308, 13 Stählin cited *infra* p. 279 n. 4).

even led to the total disappearance of the former. On a small prase at Berlin the goddess with a wreath or branch in her left hand and a measuring-rod in her right is drawn by a couple of snakes in a car, the wheels of which are not visible at all¹.

Isis too was occasionally represented with a wheel². A billon statuette found in France and formerly in the Charvet collection³ shows the goddess fairly laden with attributes. On her wings are the busts of Sun and Moon. In her left hand she holds a twofold *cornu copiae*; in her right a rudder, corn-ears, fruit, and a purse. Round her right arm coils a snake; and at her feet is a wheel with projecting hub. Again, on an engraved cornelian⁴ she is recognisable by her characteristic head-dress. A snake in her right hand is feeding out of a *phiale* in her left; and at her feet, as before, is the wheel.



Fig. 198.

It is supposed that Isis borrowed her wheel from Nemesis⁵, and that Nemesis in turn borrowed it from Fortuna⁶. These borrowings would be facilitated by the general resemblance subsisting between the deities in question.

Fortuna is commonly regarded as the goddess of luck or destiny⁷, and such she undoubtedly became. But that this was her original character can be maintained only by those who are prepared to leave many features of her cult unexplained. Mr Warde Fowler in his admirable book on *The Roman Festivals* hinted that Fortuna might be ranked among 'deities of the earth, or vegetation, or generation⁸,' being 'perhaps not only a prophetess as regards the children, but also of the good luck of the mother in

¹ Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 115 no. 2451 pl. 22, O. Rossbach in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 164. Furtwängler, however, regarded this gem as figuring Nike with wreath and staff standing behind a round altar on the forepart of a ship (?).

² Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1551, ii. 544, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1040 n. 6.

³ *Catalogue de la vente Charvet* Paris 1883 p. 171 f. no. 1831, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 263 no. 7, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1551, ii. 546.

⁴ A. L. Millin *Galerie Mythologique* Paris 1811 i. 88 no. 350 pl. 79. The bibliography of this gem is given by W. Drexler in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1887 xiv. 127 f.

⁵ For **Némeis* see Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 544 f., iii. 140 f., H. Posnansky *op. cit.* pp. 57, 123, 167. We have also to reckon with an **Isis Týχη*, *Isis Tyche* or *Isityche* (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1530 ff., 1549 ff., ii. 545 f.). Cp. P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1912 xxxvi. 256 ff.

⁶ For *Némeis* in relation to *Týχη* or *Fortuna* see Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 135 ff., H. Posnansky *op. cit.* pp. 38 n. 1, 52 ff., 166.

⁷ Preller—Jordan *Röm. Myth.*³ ii. 179 ff., R. Peter in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1503 ff., Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.* p. 206 ff.

⁸ W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 67, cp. *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 pp. 235, 245. n. 30.

childbirth¹. This suggestion was published in 1899; and in 1900 Prof. J. B. Carter considered the problem of Fortuna's origin 'unsolved as yet²'. Nevertheless in 1905 I felt justified in urging that she was at the first no mere personification of luck, but rather a great goddess of fertility³. And that is still my conviction, based on a variety of accepted facts—the derivation of her name from the root of *ferre*, 'to bear', the agricultural and horticultural character of her reduplicated self Fors Fortuna⁴, her own intimate association with the Mater Matuta⁵, her worship by women under the titles *Virgo* or *Virginalis*⁷, *Muliebris*⁸, *Virilis*⁹, *Mammosa*¹⁰, by man as *Barbata*¹¹, her cult at Praeneste as *Primigenia*¹², at Rome as *Viscata*¹³, her tutelage of latrines¹⁴, her attributes the *cornu copiae*¹⁵, the *modius* or grain-measure¹⁶, and the ears of wheat¹⁷. The transition of meaning from fertility to luck, and from luck to destiny, is not hard to follow.

Némesis is popularly conceived as an embodiment of divine indignation or vengeance, her name being explained as the verbal substantive from *némo*, 'I impute¹⁸.' H. Usener regarded her as

¹ W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* p. 167, cp. *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* pp. 297, 310 n. 15.

² J. B. Carter 'The Cognomina of the Goddess "Fortuna"' in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 1900 xxxi. 60.

³ *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 285 n. 4.

⁴ Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 239 s.vv. 'fors,' 'fortūna,' etc.

⁵ Wissowa *op. cit.* p. 206 f.

⁶ *Id. ib.* p. 207.

⁷ Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1519.

⁸ *Ib.* 1519 f., W. Otto in *Philologus* 1905 lxiv. 193 ff.

⁹ Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1518 f.

¹⁰ *Ib.* 1520. J. B. Carter *op. cit.* p. 62 n. 1 suggests that this epithet 'was probably merely the popular name for a statue with many breasts, very likely a statue of the Ephesian Diana.' But??

¹¹ Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1519. J. B. Carter *op. cit.* p. 66: 'Whether the cognomen arose out of a popular epithet applied to a bearded statue of an effeminate god or hero (possibly Dionysius [sic] or Sardanapalus), which, by a mistake in the gender, was called 'Fortuna with a beard,' we cannot decide.' Again??

¹² Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1541 ff., cp. 1516 f., J. B. Carter *op. cit.* p. 66 ff., *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 420 f., 1904 xviii. 362, *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 280 f., 296 f.

¹³ Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1515, *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 421, *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 285.

¹⁴ Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 51. 1 p. 39, 15 ff. Stählin. D. Vaglieri has recently found in the barracks of the *vigiles* at Ostia a well-preserved latrine with two dedications to Fortuna *Sancta* (T. Ashby in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1911 p. 11): see *Not. Scavi* 1911 p. 209 ff.

¹⁵ Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1503 ff.

¹⁶ *Ib.* 1506.

¹⁷ *Ib.* 1506.

¹⁸ H. Posnansky *op. cit.* p. 1 ff., O. Rossbach in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 117 ff., Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.* p. 315 f.

the personification of distributive rather than retributive fate, connecting the name with *némo*, 'I assign'.¹ In so doing he revived an etymology already current in Graeco-Roman times². There are, however, grave objections to any such abstract interpretation. The cult of abstractions was comparatively late. The cult of Nemesis was comparatively early. Thus at Rhamnous it was flourishing in the fifth century B.C.³, and at Smyrna in the sixth⁴. Moreover, the attributes of the goddess at Rhamnous and her twin statues at Smyrna do not suggest a transparent personification of the sort required by these hypotheses. There is more to be said for O. Gruppe's view that Nemesis was an earth-goddess, essentially 'wroth' (*nemestzomai*) with those who annually oppressed her, but willing at the same time to give them oracles⁵. Nevertheless this explanation too has its weak spot. We must not derive *Némesis* from *nemestzomai*, but *nemestzomai* from *némesis*. Thus *Némesis* will not mean 'wroth,' but 'wrath.' In short, we are once more involved in the difficulty of supposing that Nemesis was a personification.

In seeking an escape from this *impasse* we should, I think, start from the analogy of Lachesis. As *Láchesis* was a goddess of the lot (*lacheîn*, 'to get by lot,' *láchos*, 'lot'), so *Némesis* was a goddess of the greenwood (*némo*, 'I pasture,' *némos*, 'glade')—a patroness of animal and vegetable life. As such she would correspond with *Nemetona*, a Diana-like deity of the Celts (Celtic *nemeton*, 'sacred wood')⁶. Indeed, she would be the Greek counterpart of the Italian Diana *Nemorensis* (*Nemus*, 'the Glade'). This is no merely speculative philological equation, but a fact borne out by a comparison of cult with cult. Diana *Nemorensis* as a woodland goddess had

¹ H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 371.

² Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401b 12 f. *Nέμεισιν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκάστῳ διανεμήσεως*, Cornut. *theol.* 13 p. 13, 17 f. Lang *Nέμεισι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νεμήσεως προσηγύρευται—διαίρει γὰρ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστῳ*.

³ Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 124 ff.

⁴ *Ib.* iii. 121 ff.

⁵ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 45 n. 8, 1086 n. 2, cp. 45 n. 9.

⁶ On *Nemetona* see M. Ihm in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 166 f., A. Holder *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* Leipzig 1904 ii. 713. She is compared with Diana by A. Bacmeister *Keltische Briefe* ed. O. Keller Strassburg 1874 p. 47.

The word *nemeton* appears in place-names such as *Augustonemetum*, *Δρννέμετον*, *Medionemetum*, etc. See Holder *op. cit.* ii. 712, who cites also from the *Cartulaire de Quimperlé* a. 1031 *silva quae vocatur Nemet*. Hence the Old Irish *nemed*, 'sacred grove, sanctuary,' the Old Frankish *nimid*, 'sacred place in the wood,' and other related words (Holder *loc. cit.*, L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iv. 275 ff., Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 309, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 409 f., M. Schönfeld *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen* Heidelberg 1911 p. 171 s.vv. 'Nemetes,' 'Nemetiales').

both beasts and trees in her charge. On the one hand, many bronze statuettes from her precinct at Nemi represent her as a huntress¹, and two bronze figures of hinds were found at the entrance of her temple. On the other hand, Grattius in his poem on hunting describes as follows the huntsman's festival: 'In the glades beneath the sky we fashion cross-road altars: we set up split torches at Diana's woodland rite; the puppies are wreathed with their wonted adornment; and in the midmost part of the glade men lay their very weapons upon flowers, weapons that are idle during these rites and the festal time of peace. Then comes the cask: the cakes that smoke on their green tray are brought forward, the kid with horns just budding from his gentle brow, and the apples still hanging on their boughs, after the manner of the lustral rite, whereby our whole company purifies itself for the goddess and praises her for the year's capture².' It is a legitimate inference



Fig. 199.

from this passage that apple-branches played an important part in the ritual of Diana *Nemorensis*³. A. Furtwängler has acutely recognised the goddess on a whole series of Italian gems and pastes⁴. The specimen here figured exhibits her as a draped female standing by a wreathed altar with a stag at her side; she holds an apple-branch in her right hand, a bowl of apples in her left (fig. 199)⁵. Furtwängler was at first disposed to identify the goddess on this and other examples of the type with Nemesis—an identification justified in one case at least, where she is lifting her hand towards her chin in the regular Nemesis-attitude (fig. 200)⁶. This raises the question whether we have here Nemesis contaminated with Diana *Nemorensis*, or whether Nemesis in her own right could have apple-branch and stag. Pausanias'

¹ G. H. Wallis *Illustrated Catalogue of Classical Antiquities from the site of the Temple of Diana, Nemi, Italy* Nottingham 1893 p. 34 f. nos. 614, 616—632.

² *Id. ib.* p. 35 nos. 633, 634.

³ Gratt. *cyneg.* 483 ff.

⁴ I have discussed the matter further in *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 445 f. Note that a votive offering in the form of an apple made of terra cotta was found by Lord Savile in Diana's precinct at Nemi (G. H. Wallis *op. cit.* p. 15 no. 69).

⁵ Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i. pls. 20, 66; 22, 18, 26, 30, 32, ii. 101, 108 f., iii. 231, *id. Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 37 no. 379 pl. 7, p. 59 f. nos. 856—861 pl. 11.

⁶ Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 22, 18, ii. 108, *id. Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 37 no. 379 pl. 7. The gem is a cornelian scarab of the later elongated shape.

⁷ Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 59 f. no. 858 pl. 11. This is a green paste banded with blue and white.

274¹



1



1^a



1^b



2^a



2^b

rod:

ron; rev. Nemesis standing.

See pages 275, 281.

account of Nemesis at Rhamnous enables us to decide in favour of the latter alternative: 'On the head of the goddess is a crown decorated with stags and small figures of Victory; in her left hand she carries an apple-branch, and in her right a bowl, on which are wrought Aithiopes (pl. xxiii, 1)¹.' Thus Nemesis at Rhamnous had the same insignia as Diana at Nemi, to wit, an apple-branch² and stags; and presumably for the same reason, because the Greek, like the Italian, goddess was a woodland³ power controlling both vegetable and animal life. After this we are not surprised



Fig. 200.

to find that Nemesis was in Roman times identified with Artemis or Diana⁴. Of their identification we have both literary and monumental evidence. A metrical inscription found in 1607 on the Appian Road and commemorating the munificence of Herodes Attikos invokes Nemesis in the following hexameter line;

Thou too that watchest the works of men, Rhamnusian *Oûpis*⁵.

Oûpis, as Dr Farnell remarks⁶, 'was an ancient and half-forgotten name of Artemis...resuscitated by later poetry' and interpreted by the Greeks as the 'Watcher' (*optizesthai*). The cult-image at Rhamnous is described by Pomponius Mela as 'Pheidias' *Nemesis*⁷ and by Julius Solinus as 'Pheidias' statue of *Diana*⁸! Adjoining the amphitheatre at Aquincum (*Alt-Ofen*) in Lower Pannonia was a chapel to Nemesis. Here a dedication 'To the

¹ Paus. i. 33. 3. Pl. xxiii, 1 is a restoration of the statue based on the extant fragment of the head (1^a and 1^b, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 264 f. no. 460) and on the coin described *infra* p. 281. See further O. Rossbach in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 147—155 with fig. 2.

² Nemesis lifting her drapery in one hand and holding an apple-branch in the other occurs on Graeco-Roman gems (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 138 nos. 1140—1142, H. Posnansky *op. cit.* p. 161 f., 166 pl. 1 figs. 23, 24, 27, 40). Quasi-autonomous bronze coins of Smyrna show a somewhat similar figure lifting her drapery in one hand and holding a filleted branch in the other: she is recognized as Nemesis by H. Posnansky *op. cit.* p. 133 pl. 1 fig. 21, but is called Demeter (?) by B. V. Head *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 249 pl. 26, 6.

Mr F. M. Cornford points out to me (May 10, 1911) that, according to Hes. *o. d.* 223 cp. 215 f., Nemesis was of the same family as the apple-guarding Hesperides.

³ Diana was often paired with Silvanus (e.g. Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 3266—3268: see further A. v. Premerstein in *Philologus* 1894 liiii. 409). So on occasion was Nemesis (Dessau *op. cit.* no. 3747^a, b).

⁴ See A. v. Premerstein *loc. cit.* p. 407 ff., who has collected most of the relevant facts.

⁵ *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 1389 ii 2 = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 263. 2 ἡ τ' ἐπιέπρυα

ἑπορώων ὀπάδας, 'Ραμνουσιὰς Οὐπίαι.

⁶ Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 488.

⁷ Mel. 2. 3. 46 Rhamnus parva, inlustris tamen, quod in ea fanum est Amphiarai et Pheidsiacae Nemesis.

⁸ Solin. 7. 26 Ramne quoque, in qua Amphiarai fanum et Pheidsiacae signum Dianae.

goddess 'Diana Nemesis Augusta' came to light, dated in the year 259 A.D.¹ Similarly at Carnuntum (*Petronell*) in Upper Pannonia the amphitheatre had attached to it a sanctuary of Nemesis, the excavation of which in modern times has led to some remarkable finds². In the apse of the building, on an inscribed base, stood the statue of Nemesis herself (fig. 203)³. The goddess conforms to the late Roman type of Artemis or Diana. She is dressed in a short *chiton*, which leaves the right breast bare, and an outer garment worn like a girdle round the upper part of her figure and falling over her left arm. On her head is a crescent moon with a small disk above it. On her feet are high hunting-boots. She has a winged griffin on one side, a wheel on the other. Her right hand holds both a rudder and a whip; her left hand, a sheathed sword⁴. Close to her and sheltered by the same apse stood a second statue, that of Commodus, on a base which was inscribed in the year 184 A.D. but was subsequently, owing to the official condemnation of the emperor's memory, turned with its face to the wall. The statue seems to have represented Commodus as Jupiter with an eagle at his feet⁵. If he was king, Nemesis was queen; for a neighbouring altar erected in 199 A.D., was inscribed as 'Sacred to Nemesis the

¹ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 10440=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3742.

² *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1897 xx. 205 ff. (C. Tragau), 228 ff. (J. Zingerle), 236 ff. (E. Bormann).

³ *Ib.* p. 210 fig. 19.

⁴ The nearest parallel to this statue with its complex symbolism is a relief dedicated to Nemesis *Regina* found at Andautonia in Upper Pannonia and now in the Agram Museum (*ib.* p. 229 f. fig. 35 a). Cp. also a sarcophagus from Teurnia in Noricum (*Philologus* 1894 liii. 408).

⁵ *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1897 xx. 211, 237 ff., 243 f. Coins of Commodus show not only IVPITER CONSERVATOR protecting the emperor (fig. 201), but also the emperor himself



Fig. 201.



Fig. 202.

as Jupiter standing with thunderbolt in right hand, spear in left, and eagle at his feet (fig. 202) inscribed IOVI IUVENI etc. (*Rasche Lex. Num.* iv. 885 f., cp. *Gnecchi Medagl. Rom.* ii. 56 no. 43 pl. 81, 3), or advancing with thunderbolt in right hand and spear in left, surrounded by seven stars (*Rasche ib.* iv. 878 f. IOVI DEFENSORI etc.), or seated with branch in right hand, spear in left, or again with *patera* in right hand and eagle at his feet (*id. ib.* iv. 882 f. IOVI EXSVP or EXSVPER etc. See *Dion Cass.* 18. 15, *Lamprid. v. Commod.* 11. 8).

Queen and Diana¹. It thus appears that at Carnuntum the consort of this Diana-like Nemesis was a human Jupiter—a fact to be borne in mind when we are comparing the cult of Nemesis with that of Diana *Nemorensis*. It may be objected that the cult of Nemesis at Carnuntum was late, that emperor-worship was ubiquitous, and that therefore the combination of the former with the latter was accidental and of no special significance. But the



Fig. 204.

same combination occurs elsewhere and has antecedents that deserve investigation. A copper coin of Akmonia in Phrygia (fig. 204)² shows the emperor Septimius Severus galloping towards a mountain. He holds a whip in his right hand, and before him flies an eagle apparently grasping a thunderbolt. On the mountain are two female figures in the attitude of Nemesis; at its base is a recumbent youth, naked to the waist, who is probably meant for the local river-god. The interpretation of this scene is difficult and in some points doubtful; but at least it is clear that the emperor, regarded as Zeus, was at Akmonia brought into connexion with the Nemeseis. Confirmation is afforded by a somewhat analogous coin-type of Smyrna. Pausanias *à propos* of the Smyrnaeans writes³: 'The present city was founded by Alexander, son of Philip, in consequence of a vision which he had in a dream. They say he had been hunting on Mount Pagus, and when the chase was over he came to a sanctuary of the Nemeses, and there he lighted on a spring and a plane-tree before the sanctuary, the tree overhanging the water. As he slept under the plane-tree the Nemeses, they say, appeared to him, and bade him found a city there and transfer to it the Smyrnaeans from the old town. So the Smyrnaeans sent envoys to Clarus to inquire about the matter, and the god answered them:—

Thrice blest, yea four times, shall they be
Who shall inhabit Pagus beyond the sacred Meles.

So they willingly removed, and they now believe in two Nemeses instead of one.' Copper coins of Smyrna struck by Marcus Aurelius⁴ and Philippus Senior (fig. 205)⁵ represent this vision of

¹ *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1897 xx. 241 f. *Nemesei Reg(inae) et Dean(a)e sacrum*) etc.

² Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 391 f. no. 50 pl. G, 24 (Vienna). Cp. similar coins, but without the eagle, struck under Volusianus (Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 392 no. 51 pl. G, 25, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* p. 21 pl. 4, 6).

³ Paus. 7. 5. 1 ff. trans. J. G. Frazer.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ionia* p. 279.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 296 pl. 29, 16, G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 171 f. pl. 6, 14.

Alexander. The king, a recumbent youth naked to the waist, is sleeping beneath a plane-tree, at the foot of which is a *bucranium*. Beside him lie his shield, spear, and greave. Beyond him stand the two Nemeseis holding a bridle and a cubit-rule respectively, and making their customary gesture. The significance of this gesture has been much discussed¹. I take it to have been originally that of a bride, comparable with Hera's handling of her veil². The goddess, in short, needed a partner; and Alexander, whom Apelles painted at Ephesos with a thunderbolt in his hand³, may have passed muster as her divine consort. This is of course mere surmise. But, if we follow the figure of Nemesis back into the past as far as we are able, we still find her paired with Zeus, not to say with a human Zeus. For the *Kypria*, an early epic of uncertain authorship, told how 'Zeus king of the gods' became by her the father of the Dioskouroi and of Helene⁴. Moreover, since the Dioskouroi and



Fig. 205.

¹ C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 pp. 120, 301, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 146.

² *Infra* ch. iii.

³ Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 92, cp. *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 404 n. 1.

⁴ *Cypria frag.* 5 Kinkel *ap. Clem. Al. protr.* 2. 30. 5 p. 22, 22 ff. Stählin and *frag.* 6 Kinkel *ap. Athen.* 334 B—D. According to *frag.* 6, Nemesis, when pursued by Zeus, fled across sea and land transforming herself into a fish and other animals to escape his embraces. Cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1321, 38 f. λέγων διὰ τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὰ Κύπρια ὅτι Διοσκούρους καὶ Ἑλένην ἡ Νέμεσις ἔτεκεν, ἡ διωκομένη, φησὶν, ὑπὸ Διὸς μετεμορφουτο. O. Rossbach in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 119 thinks that the end of the story as told in the *Cypria* is preserved for us by Apollod. 3. 10. 7 λέγουσι δὲ ἔνιοι Νεμέσεως Ἑλένην εἶναι καὶ Διὸς. ταύτην γὰρ τὴν Διὸς φεύγουσαν συνούσαν εἰς χῆνα τὴν μορφὴν μεταβαλεῖν, ὁμοιωθέντα δὲ καὶ Δία κύκνῳ συνελθεῖν· τὴν δὲ ὦδν ἐκ τῆς συνούσιας ἀποτεκεῖν, τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἄλσεσιν (ἄλσεσιν *excerpt. Sabb.*, ἔλεσιw cj. Preller cp. Ptol. *Heph. ap. Phot. bibl.* p. 149 b 5, Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 88, δάσεσιν cj. Bekker) εὐρόντα τιὰ ποιμένα Λήδα κομισάντα δοῦναι, τὴν δὲ καταθεμένην εἰς λάρνακα φυλάσσειν, καὶ χρόνῳ καθήκοντι γεννηθεῖσαν Ἑλένην ὡς ἐξ αὐτῆς θυγατέρα τρέφειν. If so, the myth was not yet localised: ἄλσεσιν (= νέμεσιν) may have been suggested by Νέμεσις, as ἔλεσιw by Ἑλένη. Others (U. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorf in *Hermes* 1883 xviii. 262 n. 1, R. Kekulé *Festschrift zur Feier des fünfzigjährigen Bestehens des archäolog. Instituts zu Rom* Bonn 1879 p. 9, H. Posnansky *op. cit.* p. 17) suppose that the final scene of the *Cypria* was laid at Rhamnous.

The love of Zeus for Nemesis is variously told. Almost all accounts agree that Zeus took the form of a swan (Clem. *Rom. hom.* 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne), however, has Νεμέσει τῇ τοῦ Θεστίου, τῇ καὶ Λήδα νομισθείσῃ, κύκνος ἢ χῆν γενόμενος κ.τ.λ. = *infra* ch. i § 8 (d) and schol. Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 37. 2 p. 308, 13 Stählin says δράκων· ἐπὶ Νεμέσιν = *supra* p. 270 n. 5). Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 8 adds that Zeus as a swan was fleeing from Aphrodite as an eagle. Nemesis was secured in the form of a goose (Apollod. 3. 10. 7, Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 88) or of a woman (Isokrat. 10 *Helene* 59, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 8).

A red-figured *kratēr* from Gnathia, now at Bonn (fig. 206), shows the egg deposited on an altar in the precinct of a pillar-Zeus (*supra* p. 40 n. 1), where Leda—originally a

Helene are elsewhere termed the children of Tyndareos¹, it seems reasonable to conjecture that the original consort of Nemesis was a king who bore the part of Zeus. Be that as it may, Nemesis was already associated with Zeus in epic times². The myth was localised at Rhamnous by the comedian Kratinos in his *Nemesis*³; and it is a curious coincidence, if no more, that the same poet in



Fig. 206.

the same play spoke of Perikles as a human Zeus⁴. The fact that this myth first emerges in the *Kypria* recalls a famous *statér* of doublet of Nemesis—discovers it with a gesture of surprise. To the right stand the Dioskouroi, brothers of the unborn Helene; to the left, Tyndareos, reputed father of all three. See further R. Kekulé *Ueber ein griechisches Vasengemälde im akademischen Kunstmuseum zu Bonn* Bonn 1879 pp. 1—26 with figs. and pl.

¹ Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1158 ff.

² Were Zeus *Némeios* and *Νεμεία* (*infra* ch. i § 6 (g) viii) originally an analogous pair of woodland deities?

³ Kratinos *ap. pseudo-Eratosth. catast.* 25 and schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 405, 9 ff. Eyssenhardt, cp. schol. Kallim. *h. Artem.* 232: see A. Meineke *Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 81, H. Posnansky *op. cit.* p. 16 ff.

⁴ Kratinos *Nemesis frag.* 10 *ap. Plout. v. Per.* 3 μὲν, ὃ Ζεῦ ξένιε καὶ μακάριε (*v.l.* κάρτε, Meineke cj. καραίε, Sintenis cj. Καραίε: Append. B).

Kypros (pl. xxiii, 2)¹, which has Zeus enthroned as its obverse, Nemesis standing as its reverse type. In the former J. P. Six detected a modification of the masterpiece at Olympia; in the latter, a copy of the cult-statue at Rhamnous. The god has a *phiale* (?) in his right hand, a sceptre in his left. The goddess is wearing a head-dress, which may no doubt be a mere wreath but is possibly² the Rhamnusan crown of stags and small Victories. The *fibula* on her right shoulder is decorated with the head of a griffin, her favourite animal. In her lowered left hand she holds the apple-branch³; in her extended right, a *phiale* with a *thymiatérion* beneath it.

The final proof that Nemesis was near akin to Diana *Nemorensis* may be found in a consideration of the term *Nemesiaci*. Commodianus, a Christian poet of the fifth⁴ century, describes the devotees of Diana as *Nemesiaci*⁵ or 'followers of Nemesis'—a

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus pp. lxxiv f. 43 pl. 8, 7, J. P. Six 'Aphrodité-Némésis' in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1882 ii. 89—102 pl. 5 (enlarged photograph), *id.* in the *Rev. Num.* iii Série 1883 i. 287 ff. no. 24 pl. 6, 13, *id.* in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1887 xiv. 144 n. 1, *id.* in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1888 viii. 130, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 170 pl. 10, 27, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 741. Besides the specimen in the British Museum, there is said to be one in the collection of the late W. H. Waddington at Paris (J. P. Six in *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1883 i. 288). The legend on the reverse was read by J. P. Six (*Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1886 xiv. 144 and *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1888 viii. 130) βασιλέφος Τιμοχάρμης. G. F. Hill (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus p. lxxiv f.) prefers Τι·μο·χα·ρη·φο·σε (cp. βασιλήφος etc.) and dates the coin c. 385 B.C. (*ib.* p. 43 Paphos no. 45).

² G. F. Hill *ib.* p. lxxv.

³ G. F. Hill *ib.* p. 43 'a branch (of apple).' J. P. Six in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1882 ii. 90 n. 3 says: 'Sur le statère les feuilles et les fleurs font penser à ceux du grenadier.' For μήλον = 'pomegranate' see *infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) ii (λ).

⁴ See the *Class. Quart.* 1911 v. 268.

⁵ *Commod. instructiones* 1. 19 an acrostic NEMESIACIS VANIS—

N on ignominium est uirum seduci prudentem
 Et colere tale(a)m aut Dianam dicere lignum?
 M ane ebrio, crudo, perituro creditis uno,
 E x arte qui fincte loquitur quod illi uidetur;
 S euere (diuinum) dum agit, sibi uiscera pascit.
 I ncopriat ciues unus detestabilis omnes
 A dplicuitque sibi similis collegio facto,
 C um quibus historiam fingit, ut deum adornet.
 I pse sibi nescit diuinare, ceteris audet.
 S uccollat, quando libet, eum, et quando, deponit;
 V ertitur a se(se) rotans cum ligno bifurci,
 A c si putes illum adflatum numine ligni.
 N on deos uos colitis, quos isti false prophetaunt:
 I psos sacerdotes colitis in uano timentes.
 S ed si corde uiges, fuge iam sacraria mortis.

I print the poem as it stands in the latest edition, that of B. Dombart (*Corpus scriptorum*

metathesis of names intelligible on the assumption that the Diana in question was *Diana Nemorensis*. That assumption is borne out by the wording of the poem:

Is it not intamous that a prudent man
Should be seduced to worship a cut branch¹
Or call a log- Diana? Ye believe
One drunk at dawn, full-fed, and doomed to die²,
Who speaks just what he thinks with feigned art
And, whilst he plays the god³ full solemnly,
Feeds his own entrails⁴. Thus abominable,
He fouls his fellow-citizens wholesale,
Gathers a brotherhood akin to himself
And with them feigns a tale to adorn the god.
He knows not how his own fate to foretell⁵,
Yet dares to do the like for other folk,—
Shoulders the god at times, at times just drops him.
He turns himself about revolving still
With a two-pronged stick, till you might think he were
Inspired by the godhead of the same⁷.

ca. 1a-tarorum Latinorum xv Vindobonae 1887 p. 24 f. The chief variants are mentioned in the following notes.

¹ The manuscript reading in the first line is *uirum* C. A. edd. antt., *uirium* B. A. *marz.*, and in the second line *talem* C. B. A. edd. antt. Two brilliant emendations have been proposed. E. Ludwig in the Teubner text (1878) adopts his own *ej.* *Non ignominium est Virbium seduci prudentem | et colere talem aut Dianam dicere lignum?* and comments (p. xxxiv): *hoc l. nomen proprium desiderari ex uerbis hisce 'colere talem aut Dianam dicere lignum' adparet; neque uero deae nemoris numen quodlibet coniungi potest, sed solus deus nemoris ac uenationis Dianae similis uel eiusdem deae sacerdos, quem esse Virbium, antiquissimum Regem Nemorensium ac sacerdotem Dianae in nemore Aricensi cultae, codicum scriptura probatur.* B. Dombart keeps *uirum*, which has the support of C. (cod. Cheltenhamensis, s. xi) our best MSS., and very ingeniously *ej. taleam*, 'a cut bough' or 'branch.' In favour of retaining *talem* is C. *mod. instr.* 1. 14. 6 *non te pudet, stulte, tales adorare tabellas?* 1. 17. 12 *sed stipem ut tollant ingenia talia quaerunt.* 1. 18. 18 *gestabant enim, et aruit tale sigillum,* 2. 17. 1 ff. *CHRISTIANVM TALEM ESSE.* The word is, in fact, something of a mannerism in this poet.

² B. Dombart *ep. Arnob. adv. nat.* 6. 11 *coluisse...lignum †Carios †* (so MSS., but the text has been corrected to *tearios* by the aid of Clem. Al. *prot.* 4. 46. 3 p. 35, 17 f. Stahlin and Strub, 639) *pro Diana indolatam.*

³ Dombart *ad l. 1.*: *'p. riturus* ideo dicitur sacerdos Dianae Aricinae, quia cogebatur cum eo certamen singulare inire, qui locum eius petebat.'

⁴ E. Oehler (ed. 1847), content to follow the MSS. (*diu* C. *dum* B. A. edd. antt.), prints: *Seuere dum agit.* E. Ludwig *ej.* *Seuere deum agit.* B. Dombart, after Hanssen's *ej. diuinum*, reads: *Seuere (diuinum) dum agit.* We are not elsewhere definitely told that the priest of Diana acted the part of a god; but *ep.* 14 *ipso sacerdotem colitis.*

⁵ The MSS. have *facit* (so C. A.; *facit* B.) which gives a possible sense—'begs entrails for himself.' But all the editors adopt the reading *facit*: this probably means 'feeds his own entrails, gorges himself' (*ep.* 3 *crudo*).

⁶ Since every moment he is liable to be attacked by his would-be successor (*ep.* 3 *perituro*).

⁷ The poet appears to mean that the priest of Diana held a forked stick, like a dowser's divining-rod, and spun himself round as though inspired by the movement of

These are no gods ye worship : false the claim
 Their priests put forward. 'Tis the priests themselves
 Ye worship with vain fears. Nay, if thou art wise,
 Flee even now the sanctuaries of death¹.

A decree of Honorius and Theodosius, dated 412 A.D., after providing for the recall of runaway slaves, deals with several societies and sects among which runaway slaves might be sought. One such sect is that of the *Nemesiaci* or fanatic followers of Nemesis². They are mentioned again, and for the last time, about the middle of the fifth century by Maximus, bishop of Turin, who in one of his sermons gives an interesting account of their rustic cult and crazy priest (*Dianaticus*)³.

Dr Farnell has argued that Nemesis was from the first no

his stick. 'Nearly all dowzers assert that when the rod moves in their hands...they experience a peculiar sensation, which some describe as felt in the limbs like the tingling of an electric shock, others as a shivering or trembling, and others as an unpleasant sensation in the epigastric region. With all there is more or less of a convulsive spasm, sometimes of a violent character' (Sir W. F. Barrett in the *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research* xv. 299 cited by F. W. H. Myers *Human Personality* London 1904 i. 481). This seems to be the first explicit mention of the dowser's rod. But I have elsewhere suggested that it was the origin of the Pythagorean γ (*Class. Rev.* 1902 xvi. 375 f.).

For similar *θεοφοροῦμενοι* see J. E. B. Mayor on *Juv.* 4. 123.

¹ The phrase *sacraria mortis* would be especially appropriate to such a cult as that of Diana Nemorensis, whose priest was ever the murderer of his predecessor.

² *Cod. Theod.* 14. 7. 2 collegiatos et vitutarios et Nemesiacos signiferos cantabrorios et singularum urbium corporatos simili forma praecipimus revocari. quibus etiam supplicandi inhibendam facultatem esse censuimus, ne originem (quod fieri non potest) commutare ulla iussio videatur; ac si forte per sacram auctoritatem cognoscitur aliqui liberatus, cessante beneficio ad originem revertatur. dat. vi kalend. Decemb. Rav. Honor. ix et Theod. v AA. Coss.

It will be remembered that the *rex Nemorensis* was regularly a runaway slave (Frazer *Lect. Hist. Kingship* p. 16).

³ Maximus Taurinensis *serm.* 101 (lvii. 734 Migne) nihil ibi liberum est a scelere, ubi totum versatur in scelere. cum cellam ingressus fueris, reperies in ea pallentes cespites mortuosque carbones, dignum sacrificium daemonis, cum mortuo numini rebus mortuis supplicatur. et si ad agrum processeris, cernis aras ligneas et simulacra lapidea, congruens ministerium, ubi diis insensibilibus aris putrescentibus ministratur. cum maturius vigilaveris et videris saucium vino rusticum, scire debes quoniam, sicut dicunt, aut Dianaticus aut aruspex est; insanum enim numen amentem solet habere pontificem; talis enim sacerdos parat se vino ad plagas deae suae, ut dum est ebrius poenam suam ipse non sentiat. hoc autem non solum de temperantia, sed et de arte faciunt, ut minus vulneca sua doleant, dum vini ebrietate iactantur. vanus plane vates est, qui putat crudelitate astruere pietatem. quam misericors in alienos deos ille qui in suos est pontifices tam cruentus! nam ut paulisper describamus habitum vatis huiusce: est ei adulterinis crinibus hirsutum caput, nuda habens pectora, pallio crura semicincta, et more gladiatorum paratus ad pugnam ferum gestat in manibus, nisi quod gladiatore peior est, quia ille adversus alterum dimicare cogitur, iste contra se pugnare compellitur. ille aliena petit viscera, iste propria membra dilaniat, et, si dici potest, ad crudelitatem illum lanista, istum numen hortatur.

vague personification of a moralising sort, but a definite figure of ancient religion. Her name—he thinks—was a title given at Rhamnous to a goddess of birth and death resembling Artemis, and at Smyrna to two goddesses (originally to one goddess) of vegetation resembling Aphrodite. He holds that the appellative, if Homeric or post-Homeric in date, marked 'the goddess who feels righteous indignation at evil acts and evil words,' if pre-Homeric, 'denoted distribution of any lot, the lot of life to which



Fig 207.

each is born!'. I agree with this able scholar in thinking that Nemesis was a substantial deity of early date akin to Artemis, if not also to Aphrodite; but for that very reason I cannot be content to saddle her with a cult-title denoting either 'indignation' or 'distribution.' The cult of -ations and -utions is late, not early. I incline to believe that *Némesis*, a concrete 'goddess of the

¹ Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 487—498.

Greenwood' (*némos*), became a goddess of vengeance simply through an illogical but almost inevitable confusion with the abstract substantive *némesis* meaning 'righteous wrath.' *Némesis* and *némos*, so far as etymology is concerned, were doubtless sprung from the same parent stem, but in point of usage they belonged to widely divergent branches of it. In the apple-bough held by Nemesis at Rhamnous, perhaps too in the plane-tree before the sanctuary of the Nemeseis at Smyrna, we may detect a last trace of the original character of the woodland goddess.

Returning now to the main topic of the present section—the ritual wheels of Isis, Nemesis, Tyche, and Fortuna—we have yet to notice one extant specimen of a different but analogous sort. It is a wheel of cast lead from the Millingen collection in the British Museum (fig. 207), which was in all probability used for purposes of divination. It revolves upon a central pin, and has four spokes radiating from the angles of an inner square. Between every pair of adjacent spokes is a standing male figure, who holds a wreath in his right hand, a spear or sceptre in his left¹. Round the rim are Roman numerals (VI VII etc.) and groups of letters. Some of these are to me illegible; but over the figure uppermost in my illustration can be clearly seen PREPE, presumably the Greek *prépei*, 'it is fitting,'—a word appropriate to the diviner's art².

It is probable, though not quite certain³, that all such wheels of Fortune were once intended to figure forth the sun. For—apart from the fact that the sun was sometimes, as we have seen, conceived as a wheel by the Greeks—there is the noteworthy circumstance that the dedication-day of the temple of Fors Fortuna was June 24⁴, the summer solstice⁵. Moreover, on the third Sunday in June, which would correspond approximately with Midsummer Day, at Douai a large wheel called the *roue de fortune* used to be carried in procession before a wicker-work giant known

¹ Mr F. H. Marshall in a note dated May 4, 1911 compares the magical disk published by R. Wünsch *Antikes Zaubergerät aus Pergamon* (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. Ergänzungsheft* vi) Berlin 1905 p. 45 ff. pl. 2, figs. 8 f.—a convex plate of bronze fitted with a swing handle and engraved with concentric circles and two series of *radii*, between which are numerous Greek and Egyptian characters and cabalistic signs. 'The figure with parted arms on the Pergamon disk recalls,' says Mr Marshall, 'those on the lead disk.'

² M. Bréal in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1908 xxi. 113 ff. argues that the use of *prépei*, 'il convient,' explains the second element in *θεοπρόπιον*, 'oracle' (yet see Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 182, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 339).

³ W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 pp. 161, 169 f. adopts an attitude of cautious reserve.

⁴ R. Peter in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1501.

⁵ H. Gaidoz justly emphasised this fact: see W. Warde Fowler *op. cit.* p. 169 f.

as *le grand Gayant* and other figures termed *les enfants de Gayant*¹. This enables us to bring the wheel of Fortune into connexion with a whole series of customs observed by the peasants of central Europe. Dr Frazer has shown that at Midsummer a blazing wheel is trundled down hill²; burning disks or wheels are flung into the air³; a tar-barrel is kindled and swung round a pole⁴; and fresh fire is made by rotating a wheel on a wooden axle⁵. A clue to the meaning of these rites is furnished by G. Durandus in his account of the feast of Saint John the Baptist (Midsummer Day)⁶:

'At this festival three special rites are performed. For in some districts on the eve of the feast men and boys, in accordance with ancient custom, collect bones and certain other unclean things, and burn them together, so that a smoke rises from them into the air. Moreover, they bring brands or torches, and with them go the round of the fields. There is a third rite too; for they roll a wheel. Those who burn the unclean things and make the smoke rise aloft derive this practice from the heathen. For in ancient days dragons, stirred to lust at this time of year on account of the heat, used to fly through the air and often let fall their seed into wells and springs. Thus the waters were infected; and the year was then deadly by reason of the corruption of the air and the waters, for whosoever drank of them died or suffered some grave disorder. Philosophers, remarking this, bade fire be made frequently and everywhere round wells and springs, and any unclean things likely to cause an unclean smoke be burnt there; for they were aware that dragons could be put to flight by a smoke of that sort. And, since such things took place especially at this time of year, the custom is still kept up by some. For dragons are actual animals, as it says in the psalm "Praise the Lord from the earth, Ye dragons," not *thracones*, that is passages of the earth, as some have asserted. These animals fly in the air, swim in the waters, and walk through the earth. They cannot abide anything unclean and flee before a stinking smoke, like elephants before the grunting of swine. There is another reason why the bones of animals are burnt, to wit in memory of the fact that the bones of John the Baptist were burnt by the heathen in the city of Sebaste. Or this may refer to the New Testament; for the boys cast away and burn what is old to signify that, when the new law comes, the Old Testament must cease; for it is said "Ye shall not eat the oldest of the old, and when the new comes in ye shall cast out the old." Brands too or blazing torches are brought and fires are made, which signify Saint John, who "was a burning and a shining light," the forerunner who came before "the true light, even the light which lighteth every man that cometh into

¹ H. Gaidoz in the *Rev. Arch.* 1884 ii. 32 ff. These wicker giants may be descended from the Druid divinities, whose colossal images of wicker-work are described by Caesar *de bell. Gall.* 6. 16.

² Frazer *Golden Bough*² iii. 268 f., 271, 273.

³ *Id. ib.* iii. 270 f., 273, 278.

⁴ *Id. ib.* iii. 272.

⁵ *Id. ib.* iii. 276 f.

⁶ G. Durandus *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* Lugduni 1612 lib. 7 cap. 14 no. 10 ff. This important book was first printed at Mentz in 1459.

the world." As it is said in John vi, He is a burning light, shining before the Lord, who hath prepared a way for the Lord in the wilderness. In some places a wheel is rolled, to signify that just as the sun comes to the highest parts of its circle and can get no higher but then descends in the circle, so too the glory of John, who was thought to be the Christ, descends, according to the witness that he himself bore when he said "He must increase, but I must decrease." And some say that this was said because the days then begin to decrease and at the nativity of Christ to increase. But as to their decreasing before the feast of Saint John and increasing before the birthday of Our Lord, this we must understand of their nativity in the mother, that is to say, of the time when each was conceived; because John was conceived when the days were decreasing, as in September, Christ when they were increasing, as in April. Or take it of the death of each; for the body of Christ was uplifted on the cross, whereas the body of John was cut short by being beheaded.'

From this singular medley of superstition and piety, which agrees with the accounts given by other mediaeval Latinists and can be traced back to the twelfth century¹, one fact stands out clearly. The Midsummer wheel represented the sun. Dr Frazer, after recording in detail a large number of examples, concludes as follows²: 'The best general explanation of these European fire-festivals seems to be the one given by Mannhardt, namely, that they are sun-charms or magical ceremonies intended to ensure a proper supply of sunshine for men, animals, and plants... This view of the festivals is supported by various arguments drawn partly from the rites themselves, partly from the influence which they are believed to exert upon the weather and on vegetation. For example, the custom of rolling a burning wheel down a hill-side, which is often observed at these times, seems a very natural imitation of the sun's course in the sky, and the imitation is especially appropriate on Midsummer Day when the sun's annual declension begins. Not less graphic is the mimicry of his apparent revolution by swinging a burning tar-barrel round a pole. The custom of throwing blazing discs, shaped like suns, into the air is probably also a piece of imitative magic. In these, as in so many cases, the magic force is supposed to take effect through mimicry or sympathy; by imitating the desired result you actually

¹ John Beleth, a Parisian divine, who wrote his *Summa de divinis officiis* about 1162 A.D., appears to have been the immediate source of G. Durandus; for the extract, which J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass ii. 620 f. gives from Beleth *Summa* Dillingen 1572 cap. 137 fol. 256, agrees substantially, in part even verbally, with the corresponding sections of Durandus *Rationale*, which was written in 1286 A.D. Very similar again is cod. Harleian. 2345 art. 100 cited by J. Brand *Popular Antiquities* rev. Sir H. Ellis London 1849 i. 298 n. 1 and more fully by J. M. Kemble *The Saxons in England*² London 1876 i. 361 f. See further E. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks* Gütersloh 1886 p. 47 ff., W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*³ Berlin 1904 i. 309, Frazer *Golden Bough*² iii. 267.

² Frazer *Golden Bough*² iii. 300 f.

produce it; by counterfeiting the sun's progress through the heavens you really help the luminary to pursue his celestial journey with punctuality and despatch. The name "fire of heaven," by which the midsummer fire is sometimes popularly known¹, clearly indicates a consciousness of the connection between the earthly and the heavenly flame.'

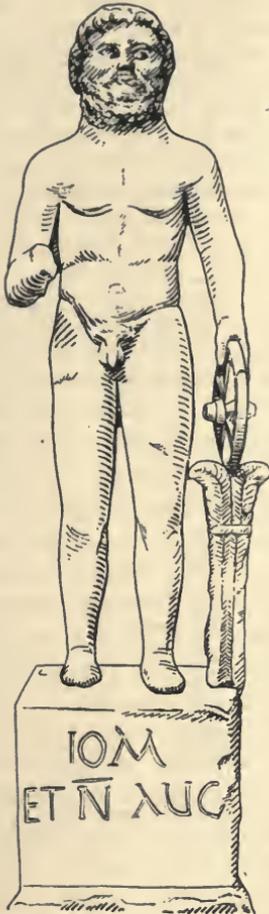


Fig. 208.

ii. Zeus and the Solar Wheel.

But—it may be objected—although it is certain, or almost certain, that the wheel in such ceremonies stands for the sun, what reason is there to suppose that the solar wheel was in any special way connected with Zeus? That is a question to which a full and complete answer can be returned only when we shall have discussed further the relation of Ixion to Zeus. Meantime it may be shown that Iupiter on Celtic soil and Zeus among the Greeks were somehow associated with the wheel.

A Celtic god, whose solar character was determined by Monsieur H. Gaidoz, is represented as holding a wheel on his shoulder². He is sometimes equated with the Roman Iupiter, and then holds the wheel either on a support beside him (fig. 208)³ or on the ground at his feet

¹ A. Birlinger *Volksthümliches aus Schwaben* Freiburg im Breisgau 1861 ii. 57, 97, W. Mannhardt *op. cit.* i. 510, cp. F. Panzer *Beitrag zur deutschen Mythologie* München 1855 ii. 240—cited by Dr Frazer.

² H. Gaidoz in the *Rev. Arch.* 1884 ii. 7 ff. figs. 1—5.

³ A bronze statuette (height .227 m.) originally silvered over. It was found in 1872 at Landouzy-la-Ville (Aisne) and is now in the Musée de Saint-Germain. The god, whose head and neck resemble Hercules rather than Iupiter, held in his right hand some attribute now lost: this may have been a thunderbolt (so A. Héron de Villefosse, comparing fig. 209) or some object with a long staff-like handle (so S. Reinach, noting a possible trace of it on the upper surface of the base). The left hand holds a six-spoked wheel resting on the capital of a pilaster. The base is inscribed IOM | ET N AVG (*Iovis Optimo Maximo | et n(umini) Aug(usti)*). See further A. Héron de Villefosse in the *Rev. Arch.* 1881 i. 1 ff. fig. 1 pl. 1, Reinach *Bronzes Figurés* p. 31 ff. no. 4.

(fig. 209)¹. Altars dedicated to Iupiter and marked with one or more wheels, a wheel and a thunderbolt, a wheel between two thunderbolts, etc., are not uncommon in the Celtic area² and attest the widespread worship of the same solar deity.

In Greece the evidence is literary, not monumental. Lykophron the pedant, who c. 274 B.C. composed his outrageously obscure tragedy the *Alexandra*, included in it the following comparatively lucid lines :

Howbeit one there is, who past all hope
 Helpeth us friendly, he the Oak-tree-god
Promantheüs Aithiops Gyraßios called³.

A colossal stone statue found in 1876 at Séguret (Vaucluse) and now in the Museum at Avignon shows Iupiter in Roman military costume. His lowered right hand grasps a ten-spoked wheel resting on a support. Beside his left foot is his eagle, behind which a snake issues from a tree-trunk (*Rev. Arch.* 1884 ii. 11 f. pl. 1).

¹ A bronze statuette (height 14 m.) found in 1774 at Le Château near Saint-Dizier (Haute-Marne) and now in the Musée de Saint-Germain. The god holds a thunderbolt in his raised right hand, a six-spoked wheel in his lowered left.

On a brass hoop, which passes over his right shoulder and through a handle affixed to his back, are slung nine S-shaped pendants of bronze. See further A. Héron de Villefosse *loc. cit.* i. 3 ff. fig. 2, Reinach *op. cit.* p. 33 ff. no. 5, J. Déchelette *Manuel d'Archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 466 fig. 196.

An altar from Vaison shows Iuno with *patera* and peacock, Iupiter in military costume with a thunderbolt in his right hand, a wheel in his left, and an eagle at his feet (*Rev. Arch.* 1881 i. 5 f., 1884 ii. 12).

On an altar from Theley in the Museum at Trèves a youthful deity with cloak and crown held an object now lost in his right hand, and raises a six-spoked wheel like a shield in his left hand: a smallish bird is perched at his feet (*Rev. Arch.* 1884 ii. 10 f. fig. 7 after F. Hettner 'Juppiter mit dem Rad' in the *Westdeutsche Monatschrift* 1884 iii. 27—30).

With the foregoing monuments Reinach *op. cit.* p. 35 compares two others not definitely identified with Iupiter: (1) A bronze statuette found at Hartsbourg, formerly Saturbourgh, shows the Germanic god Chrodo (? cp. M. Schönfeld *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen* Heidelberg 1911 p. 142 s.v. 'Chrodebertus') standing on a fish: he holds a six-spoked wheel in his uplifted left hand, a basket of fruit and flowers in his lowered right (Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 ii. 261 pl. 56, 3 after H. C. Henninius, cp. M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1481). (2) On the marvellous silver bowl found at Gundestrup in Jutland a bearded and partly bald or tonsured god raises both hands and thereby eclipses half of a many-spoked wheel, which is apparently turned by a beardless male figure in a horned helmet (S. Müller 'Det store solukar fra Gundestrup i Jylland' in the *Nordiske Fortidsminder* 1892 pl. 5, A. Bertrand *La Religion des Gaulois* Paris 1897 p. 368 f. fig. 58).

² To the lists in the *Rev. Arch.* 1881 i. 5 ff., *ib.* 1884 ii. 13 f., Reinach *op. cit.* p. 35, J. Déchelette *op. cit.* ii. 1. 467 f. add now J. Curle *A Roman Frontier Post and its People* Glasgow 1911 p. 334 f. fig. 49 an earthenware mould showing Iupiter with helmet, shield, club, and eight-spoked wheel.

³ Lyk. *Al.* 535 ff. ἀλλ' ἔστι γὰρ τις, ἔστι καὶ παρ' ἑλλίδα | ἡμῖν ἀρωγὸς πνευμένης ὁ Δρύμνιος | δαίμων Προμανθεὺς Αἰθιοψ Γυράσιος.



Fig. 209.

Isaac Tzetzes in his twelfth-century commentary on Lykophron's work informs us that the deity here in question was Zeus, and adds that he was named 'the Oak-tree-god' in Pamphylia, *Promantheús* at Thourioi, *Aithtops* and *Gyrápsios* in Chios¹. Not much is known about the Zeus-cults of Chios²; but there are traces of solar deities in the myths of the island³, and the name *Aithiops* or *Aíthops*, 'He of the Burning Face,' is applied elsewhere to one of the sun-god's horses⁴. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that *Aithtops* *Gyrápsios* denoted Zeus in his solar aspect. But *Gyrápsios* means

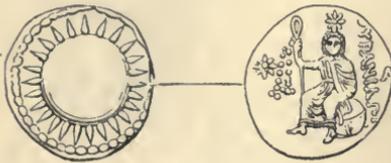


Fig. 210.

'He of the Round Wheel', so that the Chian Zeus is here described as 'He of the Burning Face, He of the Round Wheel'—a combination of epithets that may fairly be referred to the conception of the sun as a glowing wheel. Nevertheless it would be unwise to infer from this passage an early cult of a solar Zeus in Chios. Lykophron, writing in the third century B.C., not improbably found the local worship influenced by that of some Asiatic sun-god. After all, it is but a few miles from Chios to the coast of Asia Minor, where Zeus-cults in general tended to take on a solar character⁶. And the title *Gyrápsios* has the air of being a late and erudite compound rather than an early and popular formation.

¹ Tzetz. *ad loc.* Δρύμιος ὁ Ζεὺς ἦτοι δαίμων οὕτω παρὰ Παμφυλίοις, Προμανθεὺς δὲ παρὰ Θουρίοις, Αἰθίοψ δὲ καὶ Γυράψιος παρὰ Χίοις.

² Zeus Ἐφιππος (Hesych. *s.v.* Ἐφιππος) has been regarded as a god who presided over ovens (*ἰπνός*): see O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2853, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 932 n. 3, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 379 f. There were also cults of Zeus Μειλίχιος (*Ath. Mitth.* 1888 xiii. 223) and Zeus Πατρῶος (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 571, 35); and Zeus Πεlinnaίος was worshipped on Mt. Pelinnaion (Append. B Chios).

³ According to Ion of Chios *ap.* Paus. 7. 4. 8, Oinopion came from Crete to Chios with his sons, including Τάλος (cp. Τάλως *infra* ch. i § 6 (h)). Orion, when blinded by Oinopion, recovered his eyesight by walking eastwards through the sea in such a way as to face the rays of the rising sun (Pherekyd. *ap.* Apollod. 1. 4. 3; Hes. *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catást.* 32, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 34, schol. Nik. *ther.* 15, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* 331; Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 10. 763).

⁴ *Supra* p. 195 n. 5, *infra* p. 337 n. 3.

⁵ J. Potter on Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 536 'qui formae est orbicularis, et circularem motum circa terram nostram quolibet die et anno peragit.' The epithet is compounded of γυρός, 'round,' and ἀψίς, 'the felloe of a wheel,' which (as I pointed out in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 419) is used of the wheel of the Sun's chariot (Eur. *Phaethon frag.* 779, 2 f. Nauck² ἀψίδα σὴν | κάτω διήσει, *Ion* 87 f. τὴν ἡμερῖαν | ἀψίδα) or of the curved course described by the Sun (Archestratos *frag.* 33 Brandt *ap.* Athen. 326 B ὅταν Φαέθων πυμάτην ἀψίδα διφρέη).

⁶ *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 273 f.

iii. Zeus and the Solar Disk.

Closely akin to the wheel is its genetic precursor¹ the disk. 'The Paiones,' says Maximus Tyrius, 'worship Helios, and the Paenonian image of Helios is a small disk on the top of a long pole².' With this ritual object I have elsewhere³ compared the sceptre surmounted by a circle held by Aphrodite *Ourania* on coins of Ouranopolis in Makedonia⁴ (fig. 210) and the *kopô* or olive-wood staff topped by a bronze ball representing the sun in the Boeotian *Daphnephoria*⁵. But indeed the same conception could be traced much further afield: it accounts satisfactorily, as I shall hope to show on another occasion, for the various forms taken by May-poles and 'Celtic' crosses throughout Europe.

Confining our attention to Greece, we note that a revolving disk of bronze, originally mounted on a long columnar handle, was



Fig. 211.

¹ On the evolution of the wheel from the disk see A. C. Haddon *The Study of Man* London 1898 p. 168 ff., cp. Schrader *Reallex.* p. 929 ff., H. Hirt *Die Indo-germanen* Strassburg 1905 i. 354 f., M. Hoernes *Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen* Vienna and Leipzig 1909 ii. 475 ff. N. Gordon Munro in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 1911 xxviii. 3. 37 f. rightly assumes the sequence $\bigcirc \bigcirc \oplus$ i.e. the pictograph of the sun, the solar disk, the solar wheel.

² Max. Tyr. *diss.* 8. 8 Dübner Παιῶνες σέβουσι μὲν Ἡλίον, ἀγαλμα δὲ Ἡλίου Παιονικὸν δίσκος βραχὺς ὑπὲρ μακροῦ ξύλου.

³ *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 410 n. 221.

⁴ Anson *Num. Gr.* vi pl. 1, 102, pl. 2, 122 f., 126, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia* etc. p. 133 f., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 206. I figure a fine specimen in the McClean collection at Cambridge.

⁵ Prokl. *chrestomath.* 25 p. 352 f. Gaisford *ap. Phot. bibl.* p. 321 a 34 ff., schol. Clem. Al. *protr.* p. 298, 29 ff. Stählin, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 409 ff.

found at Corinth and is now in the Berlin Museum. It is decorated on both sides with a love-scene in relief (fig. 211)¹. A very similar disk, likewise found at Corinth, is in the Louvre². Almost the only difference between the two is that on the Paris specimen the young man and the maiden have each a *thyrsos* in hand. The fact that both disks hail from Corinth, where Helios and Aphrodite held the citadel in succession³ and were worshipped in the same temple⁴, is suggestive of solar magic. Nor need the intrusion of a Dionysiac *motif* make difficulties. A well-known Orphic verse identified Dionysos with Helios⁵. However, the exact purpose to which these implements were put, and indeed the precise name by which they were called, escapes us.

Sometimes the solar disk was affixed to buildings by way of prophylaxis⁶. O. Benndorf has shown that the earliest Greek *akrotéria* were developments from the ornamented end of the ridge-pole and consequently were circular or nearly circular in form⁷. He further observes that they were patterned in a variety of ways. The oldest example known to us, that of the Heraion at Olympia (c. 700—650 B.C.), is a great disk of terra cotta measuring some seven and a half feet in diameter. Its interior is strengthened with spoke-shaped ribs. Its exterior is painted with concentric zones and has a radiate rim⁸. Another *akrotérion* from the same precinct was the golden *phiale* with a relief of Medousa, which the Lacedaemonians and their allies set up over the temple of Zeus after the battle of Tanagra (457 B.C.)⁹. In other cases too the disk of terra cotta or marble bore an apotropaic face¹⁰. Thus an Apulian *kratér* in the Louvre shows both gables of a richly decorated

¹ A. Furtwangler in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1894 ix Arch. Anz. p. 119 f. no. 17, *id. Ant. Gemmen* ii. 122.

² *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1900 xv Arch. Anz. p. 157 no. 111, E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 864 fig. 5942.

³ Paus. 2. 4. 6.

⁴ *Id.* 2. 5. 1. See also Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 132 f.

⁵ *Supra* p. 187 n. 4.

⁶ Northern parallels are not wanting: see S. Baring-Gould *Strange Survivals* London 1905 pp. 36—61 'On Gables' with frontisp. and figs. 2—13.

⁷ O. Benndorf 'Über den Ursprung der Giebelakroterien' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1899 ii. 1—51, *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1899 iii. 602 f.

⁸ A. Boetticher *Olympia: das Fest und seine Stätte*² Berlin 1886 p. 201 ff. fig. 44 and pl. 4. R. Bormann in *Olympia* ii. 190 ff. col. pl. 115, cp. *ib.* pls. 84 f. and 129, A. Marcquand *Greek Architecture* New York 1909 p. 238 ff.

⁹ *Olympia* v. 370 ff. no. 253, Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 125 f. no. 93. Paus. 5. 10. 4 cites the inscription *παῖς μὲν φιάλαν χρυσέαν ἔχει κ.τ.λ.* but describes it as being *ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι*. Benndorf *loc. cit.* p. 8 cp. Paus. 6. 19. 13 *ἀσπίς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀετοῦ* of the Megarian treasury at Olympia.

¹⁰ Benndorf *loc. cit.* p. 10 f. cp. *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 5. 7 f. pls. 53, 53 A (antefixes from Thermos).

building surmounted by a round *Gorgóneion* (fig. 212)¹. Finally, two Doric temples of a late date near the monastery of *Kourno* on the Taygeton promontory have *akrotéria* shaped like a ring with an inner wheel or rosette². Now all these forms are intelligible as variations of the solar disk; and that they really symbolised the sun may be inferred from the fact that in Roman times they were often replaced by the four-horse chariot of the sun-god himself³.

Again, when we remember the Egyptian custom of putting the solar disk with its *uraeus*-snakes over every sacred doorway⁴, we



Fig. 212.

shall be emboldened to assign a solar origin to the *phidole* or circular shield so frequently found in representations of classical pediments. This *phidole* or shield is at first flanked by a couple of snakes (fig. 213)⁵. But the snakes gradually degenerate into

¹ O. Jahn in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1848 xx. 212 f. pl. I, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 74 f. pl. 30, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* iii. 189 f. pl. 71.

² Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 139 f. pls. ii—2, ii—5, 3, ii—7, ii—11, 5.

³ Prop. 2. 31. 11, Plin. *nat. hist.* 28. 16, 35. 157, Plout. *v. Poplic.* 13, Fest. p. 274 b 9 ff. Müller. Cp. T. L. Donaldson *Architectura Numismatica* London 1859 p. 6 ff. no. 3, p. 12 ff. no. 4, p. 35 ff. no. 8, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 170 f., Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 45 fig. 82, Durm *Baukunst d. Röm.*² p. 102 ff. figs. 112—115, *supra* p. 45 fig. 15.

Occasionally the *quadriga* of the sun-god occupies the pediment: so on a bronze-relief of Zeus *Sabázios* in his shrine (*infra* p. 392 n. 1).

⁴ *Supra* p. 205 f.

⁵ Roulez *Vases de Leide* p. 79 ff. pl. 19. Cp. an Apulian *amphora* at Naples, on which the pediment of Hades' palace has a *Gorgóneion* between two fish-tailed monsters (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 510 ff. no. 3222, *Mon. d. Inst.* viii pl. 9, Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 1927 fig. 2042 A).

Early Greek architects commonly filled the angles of their pediments with the tails of snaky or fishy figures, and their example was followed far and wide (see e.g. A. Foucher

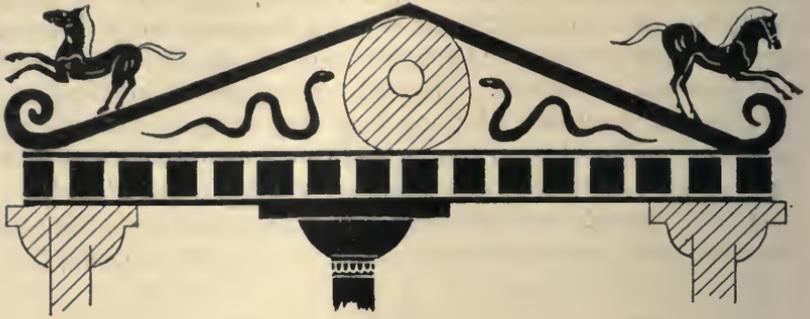


Fig. 213.



Fig. 214.



Fig. 215.



Fig. 216.



Fig. 217.

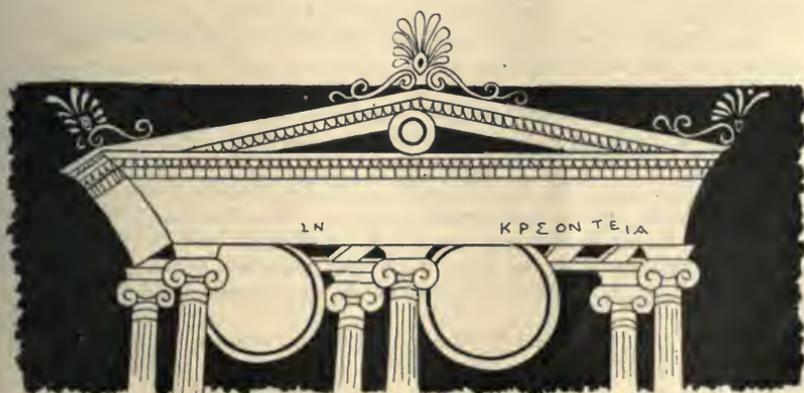


Fig. 218.

a mere pattern (figs. 214—217)¹, and end by vanishing altogether (fig. 218)².

Whether the disks or shields suspended in temples³ and palaces⁴ were ever regarded as *apotrópaia*, we do not know. But at least they afford a close parallel to the wheels hung in like positions, which we took to be *lynges*⁵.



Fig. 219.

On an early silver coin of the Thraco-Macedonian region a disk is borne through the sky by a winged and long-haired figure in the attitude of *Knielauf*⁶ or speedy flight (fig. 219)⁷. This figure is best interpreted as that of the local sun-god⁸. Its nearest

L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra Paris 1905 p. 241 ff. figs. 119—123, 125). I surmise that this practice originated in the representation of a solar disk with a snake on either side of it. Artistic convenience may have dictated that the snakes should turn towards the disk, not away from it. But the device was from the first intended to serve a practical purpose, that of safe-guarding the edifice.

¹ Fig. 214 is from an Apulian *pélisse* at Naples, which depicts the rape of the *Palládion* from the temple of Athena (Heydemann *op. cit.* p. 529 ff. no. 3231, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1858 xxx. 246 ff. pl. M).

Fig. 215 is from an Apulian *kratér* in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 142 f. no. F 284, Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* i. 41 ff. pls. 19, 20).

Fig. 216 is from an Apulian *kálpis* at Cambridge (E. A. Gardner *Cat. Vases Cambridge* p. 83 no. 247 pl. 39).

Fig. 217 is from another Apulian *kratér* in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 143 f. no. F 286 unpublished: cp. an Apulian *hydria* *ib.* iv. 174 no. F 351 unpublished).

² Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 161 ff. pl. 90 the *Medeia-vase* at Munich, on which see *supra* p. 251 f. Many other examples could be cited, e.g. Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* i pl. 10, *Mon. d. Inst.* x pl. 27, *Bullettino Italiano* 1862 i pl. 7, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. céer.* iv pl. 27.

In numismatic art too a similar sequence of types could be made out: a good collection of materials is in Anson *Num. Gr.* v pls. 4—13, cp. Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* pp. 128, 458, 485, 526f., etc.

The pediment of the Ionic *própylon* at Magnesia was ornamented with a round shield (*Magnesia am Maeander* p. 133 with p. 127 fig. 133).

³ E.g. *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1863 p. 251 ff. Atlas pl. 6, 5 (temple of Apollon at Delphoi), *supra* p. 40 fig. 11 (precinct of Zeus at Mykenai).

⁴ E.g. Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* ii pl. 90 (palace of Krcon at Corinth), *Mon. d. Inst.* viii pl. 9 (palace of Hades).

⁵ *Supra* p. 259 ff.

⁶ E. Schmidt 'Der Knielauf und die Darstellung des Laufens und Fliegens in der älteren griechischen Kunst' in the *Münchener archäologische Studien* München 1909 pp. 249—397.

⁷ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia etc. p. 136 fig., *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1257 f. pl. 59, 6. B. V. Head's suggestion (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia etc. pp. xix f., xxv ff.; but see *Hist. num.*² p. 203) that the object carried by the running figure may be ☉, the initial of the town Therma, is most improbable (Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 106 ff.). E. Babelon *loc. cit.* describes it as 'une couronne': but this is ruled out by the central dot.

A silver coin at Paris nearly related to the foregoing shows a similar figure clad in a long *chiton* (Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 1. 1255 ff. pl. 59, 5).

⁸ So P. Gardner in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1880 xx. 58.

analogue occurs on silver coins of Mallos in Kilikia c. 425—385 B.C. (fig. 220)¹. Here we see a beardless god, draped from the waist downwards, winging his way in hot haste and holding in both hands a disk, on which is an eight-rayed star. Two details deserve attention. The spiral on the top of the god's head recalls the similar adornment of other winged figures² and is suggestive of a feather head-dress³: as such it would point us towards Crete and north Africa. The god's skirt too might be compared with those of the young men on the Haghia Triada sarcophagus⁴. Now Talos the sun-god appears on coins of Phaistos as a beardless youth, winged and hastening along with a round stone in either hand⁵. And the Minotaur, another solar personage, is a very similar figure on coins of Knossos⁶. I should conjecture, therefore, that the disk-bearing god on the coins of Mallos is a solar deity akin to the Cretan Talos or Minotaur. Fortunately it seems possible to trace his type back to earlier forms. A *statér* at Berlin shows him with Janiform



Fig. 220.

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia etc.* pp. cxx, 97 f. pl. 16, 8—13, Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 467 pl. 18, 2, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 873 ff. pls. 137, 21—23, 138, 1 f., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 723.

² Cp. the *coiffure* of the winged goddess on certain silver pieces originally attributed by Imhoof-Blumer to Mallos (*Monn. gr.* p. 356 f.), but now to Aphrodisias in Kilikia (*Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 435 f., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 717), though Babelon adheres to the former attribution (*op. cit.* ii. 1. 557 f. pl. 25, 7, 9); that of the Sphinx on 'Minoan' ivories etc. (Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 833 f. figs. 416—418, E. Pernice in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1895 xx. 119 f.), a gold plate from Kypros (*Rev. Arch.* 1897 ii. 333), electrum coins of Chios (Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 1. 189 ff. pl. 8, 6), and certain early vase-fabrics ((1) Rhodian *ptnakes*—De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* i. 30 no. 73 pl. 2, *id. ib.* i. 30 f. no. 74, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 xix. 75 fig. 2, *Arch. Zeit.* 1872 xxx. 38 fig., Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 413, 1: (2) 'Cyrenaic' *kylīx*—Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* ii. 528 no. E 664, *id. Vases antiques du Louvre* 2^{me} Série Paris 1901 p. 62, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 xxxix pl. 12, 4 and pl. 13, 6, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 435, 4 and 12: (3) the 'François'-vase—Furtwängler-Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 59 pl. 13); that of the Seiren (H. Thiersch "Tyrrhenische" *Amphoren* Leipzig 1899 p. 97, G. Weicker *Der Seelenvogel* Leipzig 1902 p. 107 ff. figs. 38 f., p. 124 fig. 49, p. 145 ff. figs. 69 f., *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 623 f. figs. 16 f.) and Griffin (A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1751, 1752 fig., 1753, 1761 fig., 1767, Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 7 pl. 3, 1) in archaic art. On 'Cyrenaic' *kylīkes* not only Nike (?) but also the cavalier, whom she attends, is similarly plumed (Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* ii. 528 f. no. E 665, *id. Vases antiques du Louvre* 2^{me} Série p. 62 f., *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 xxxix pl. 13, 3, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 435, 9; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 49 no. B 1, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 xxxix. 217 pl. 13, 2).

³ See G. Weicker *Der Seelenvogel* Leipzig 1902 p. 76 and the reff. cited *ib.* n. 1, to which add O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 385, H. R. Hall in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 119—123.

⁴ *Infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) i (β).

⁵ *Infra* ch. i § 6 (h).

⁶ *Infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xv.

head, holding a disk which is not stellate¹. A *statér* in the Hunter collection gives him four wings and a plain disk (fig. 221)². Another in the same cabinet makes him both Janiform and four-winged, placing beneath him the front part of a man-headed bull (fig. 222)³. Yet another from the same collection adds a bull's head facing us upon the disk (fig. 223)⁴. It may fairly be claimed that these coins



Fig. 221.



Fig. 222.



Fig. 223.

go some way towards connecting the Cilician god with the Minotaur. F. Imhoof-Blumer would see in him Kronos⁵, whose head he identified on a later silver coin of Mallos⁶. And certainly this explanation suits the bull's head borne by the Janiform figure; for Kronos appears elsewhere with that attribute⁷. But we need not therefore disallow the comparison with Talos and the Minotaur. Kronos is essentially connected with both⁸. Perhaps we may venture to regard the older disk-bearer as a solar Kronos, the younger as a solar Zeus. Further, it has been argued by J. N. Svoronos⁹ that Mallos in Kilikia was a colony of Malla in Crete, where the principal cult was that of Zeus *Monnitios*¹⁰. If Svoronos is right, we are justified in pressing the analogy of the Cretan solar deities.

¹ Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 467 no. 2 pl. 18, 3, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* i. 2. 871 f. no. 1391 fig.

² *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 536 pl. 59, 13, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 873 f. pl. 137, 20 cp. 19.

³ *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 536 pl. 59, 11, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 872.

⁴ *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 536 pl. 59, 12, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 869 ff. pl. 137, 16 f. See also E. Gerhard *Über die Kunst der Phöniciër* Berlin 1848 p. 31 pl. 3, 23.

⁵ Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 467.

⁶ F. Imhoof-Blumer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1572 cp. 1553 figs. 4 f., *id. Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 468 f. pl. 18, 6.

⁷ On an octagonal altar found at Havange in 1825 and now in the museum at Metz (P. C. Robert *Épigraphie gallo-romaine de la Moselle* Paris 1873—1888 p. 37 ff. pls. 2, 2; 3, 4 10, Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 172 fig. 2403).

⁸ M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1505 f., *infra* ch. i §6 (h) ii.

⁹ J. N. Svoronos 'Die Münztypen der Stadt Mallos in Kilikien' in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1888 xvi. 219 ff., *id. Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 241.

¹⁰ Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 350 ff. no. 5100, 18 f. *οἱ μὲν Ἀστρα[ο]ὶ ἐν Μάλλαι ἐπὶ Μοννιτίω, ib.* iii. 2. 413 no. 5184, 14 *ἀναθήσομεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῷ Ἰηπὸς τῷ Μοννιτίω*. Coins of Malla in the third or second century B.C. have obv. head of Zeus bearded and laureate, rev. eagle, thunderbolt (Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 240 f., Head *Hist. num.* 2 p. 472).

Hellenistic literature once or twice connects Zeus with the solar disk. Lykophron describes how the body of Aias, cast up on the beach, will be parched by 'the ray of Seirios' and hidden in the sea-weed by Thetis—

Helper of *Diskos*, mightiest power, *Kynaitheús*¹.

The scholiast states that the word *Seirios*, which properly denotes the Dog-star, is here used improperly of the sun; that *Diskos* means Zeus, who was so called in memory of the *diskos* or stone swallowed in his stead by Kronos; and that *Kynaitheús* was a cult-title of Zeus in Arkadia². The scholiast's comment is repeated by Tzetzes³ and apparently postulates a solar Zeus known as *Diskos*. This squares with Nonnos' hymn to the sun, in which the poet invokes that luminary not only as the Assyrian and Egyptian 'Zeus', but also as—

Driving around all heaven with fiery disk⁵.

Finally, it may be suspected that, when Mithraic (?) sun-worshippers spoke of the *Diskos* as 'Father' and 'god', they were not independent of the same religious conception.

iv. The Lycian Symbol.

Lycian coins of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. are characterised by a symbol, which might be called indifferently a wheel or a disk. It consists of a central ring or circle, from which radiates a

¹ Lyk. *Al.* 397 ἀκτὶς Σεiriα, 400 Δίσκου μεγίστου τάρροθος Κυναιθέως.

² Schol. Lyk. *Al.* 397 ff. *Seirios* is used of the sun by Archil. *frag.* 58 Hiller *ap.* Plout. *symf.* 3. 10. 2 and *ap.* Hesych. *s.v.* Σεiriου κυνὸς δίκην, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* σεiriος· ὁ ἥλιος. καὶ ὁ τοῦ κυνὸς ἀστήρ, Orph. *Arg.* 120 f. σεiriος... ἥλιος, Soud. *s.v.* σεiri, σεiriός· ὁ ἥλιος and Σεiriον· τὸν Κύνα· ὅτε δὲ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον. See further L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iv. 49 f., Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 407. Κυναιθέως is understood by Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 197 as an epithet of Zeus in the Dog-days, cp. C. von Holzinger on Lyk. *Al.* 400. Paus. 5. 22. 1, 8. 19. 1 describes a statue of Zeus dedicated at Olympia by the Κυναιθαεῖς of Arkadia as holding a thunderbolt in either hand—which hardly supports the connexion with the Dog-star (see, however, Paus. 8. 19. 2 f.).

³ Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 397, 400.

⁴ *Supra* p. 197.

⁵ Nonn. *Dion.* 40. 371 ἰππεύων ἐλικηδὸν ἔλον πόλον αἰθοπι δίσκῳ.

⁶ A. Dieterich *Eine Mithrasliturgie*² Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 6, 9 ff. ὄψει γὰρ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς ὥρας θείαν θέσιν, τοὺς πολεόντας ἀναβαίνοντας εἰς οὐρανὸν θεοῦ, ἄλλους δὲ καταβαίνοντας, ἣ δὲ πορεία τῶν ὀρωμένων θεῶν διὰ τοῦ δίσκου, πατρός μου, θεοῦ, φανήσεται· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ καλούμενος αὐλός, ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ λειτουργοῦντος ἀνέμου· ὄψει γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ δίσκου ὡς αὐλὸν κρεμάμενον, κ.τ.λ., *ib.* p. 8, 9 ff. σύρισον δὲ καὶ πόππισσον δὲ καὶ εὐθέως ὄψει ἀπὸ τοῦ δίσκου ἀστέρας προσερχομένους πενταδακτυλίου πλείστους καὶ πεπλῶντας ἔλον τὸν ἀέρα· σὺ δὲ πάλιν λέγε· σιγῆ· σιγῆ· καὶ τοῦ δίσκου ἀνοιγέντος ὄψει ἀπειρον κύκλωμα καὶ θύρας πυρίνας ἀποκεκλεισμένας.

variable number of lines curving either to the left or to the right, but never straight. Of these lines there are usually three¹ (fig. 224), sometimes four² (fig. 225), occasionally two³ (fig. 226), and in a single exceptional case but one⁴ (fig. 227). The symbol in question



Fig. 224.



Fig. 225.



Fig. 226.



Fig. 227.

is now and again subjected to further complications. An example in the Paris collection⁵ (fig. 228) has the ring with three radiating lines mounted on a round shield or disk from behind which appear four similar lines curving alternately to left and right. Or, again,



Fig. 228.



Fig. 229.



Fig. 230.

animal forms are introduced. One branch may end in the head of a monster⁶ (fig. 229), or snake⁷ (fig. 230); or all the branches may be furnished with the heads of cocks⁸ (fig. 231), or of swans or

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc.* pp. xxvii f. 6 ff. pls. 2 ff., Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 493 ff., 509 ff., pls. 21, 20 ff., 22, 1 ff., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 688 ff.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc.* p. 18 ff. pl. 5, 4 ff., p. 25 pl. 6, 13.

³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc.* p. 23 pl. 6, 7, p. 24 pl. 6, 8, 9, 11, p. 26 pl. 6, 16, p. 28 pl. 7, 10, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 225 f. pl. 95, 12 ff., 303 f. pl. 101, 18. Sometimes this type appears as S with an appendage like a handle affixed to its centre (*id. ib.* ii. 2. 201 f. pl. 93, 13 f.).

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc.* p. 25 pl. 6, 13. The supposed hook ($\alpha\rho\eta\eta$) on a silver coin of Arpi in Apulia (Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 112 pl. 93, 8, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy* p. 130, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 44, Anson *Num. Gr.* vi pl. 13, 759) closely resembles this form of the Lycian symbol.

⁵ Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 501 ff. pl. 22, 17.

⁶ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc.* p. 12 pl. 3, 14, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 233 f. pl. 96, 1, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 690.

⁷ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc.* p. 18 pl. 5, 3, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 690 ('serpent').

⁸ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc.* p. 9 pl. 3, 1—4, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 497 ff., pl. 22, 8—10, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 689 f.

ducks¹ (fig. 232). On occasion an owl occupies the central ring² (fig. 233). But on the Lycian series the radiating lines are never modified into human legs. The significance of this symbol has been frequently debated. Monsieur Babelon, after passing in



Fig. 231.



Fig. 232.



Fig. 233.

review the various hypotheses that have been put forward, concludes in favour of the solar explanation advanced by L. Müller and Mr E. Thomas³. L. Müller, comparing analogous symbols throughout the west of Europe⁴, and Mr Thomas, doing the same for India and the east⁵, arrived independently at substantially similar results. Both regard the Lycian sign and its parallels as representations of the sun. Mr Thomas sums up in the following sentence: 'As far as I have been able to trace or connect the various manifestations of this emblem, they one and all resolve themselves into the primitive conception of solar motion, which was intuitively associated with the rolling or wheel-like projection of the sun through the upper or visible arc of the heavens, as understood and accepted in the crude astronomy of the ancients⁶.' This verdict, for Lykia at least, is confirmed by the fact that on Lycian coinage after the time of Alexander the Great the radiate head of Helios is a constant type⁷. But, when we seek to define the deity to whom the Lycian wheel originally belonged, we are deserted by the evidence. The conjecture of C. von Paucker⁸ and E. Curtius⁹, that it marked the worship of a three-fold Zeus, is disposed of by the examples with one, two, and four branches.

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc.* pl. 44, 5, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* Paris 1893 nos. 476, 532, pls. 12, 11, 15, 5, *id.* *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 227 f. pl. 95, 16, 235 ff. pl. 96, 5, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 690 ('cygnets').

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc.* p. 23 pl. 6, 6, pl. 44, 9, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 510, ii. 2. 275 ff. pl. 99, 24 ff., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 691.

³ E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. xc f.

⁴ L. Müller *La croix gammée* Copenhagen 1877.

⁵ E. Thomas 'The Indian Swastika and its western Counterparts' in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1880 xx. 18—48. See also P. Gardner 'Ares as a Sun-god' *ib.* 1880 xx. 49—61.

⁶ E. Thomas *ib.* 1880 xx. 19.

⁷ Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 482.

⁸ *Arch. Zeit.* 1851 ix. 380.

⁹ *Ib.* 1855 xiii. 11, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 510 f.

There is more to be said for Monsieur Babelon's view that it was the symbol of a national god of light, who perhaps originated in Crete, perhaps came from the east¹, but in any case at a later date entered the Greek pantheon and was assimilated to Apollon, being famed throughout the classical world as Apollon *Lykios*².

v. The Lycian Symbol and the Kyklops.

This, however, is to leave unsolved the problem—who or what was the national light-god before the advent of the Greek Apollon? I am disposed to think that he was, or became, the monstrous form known to the Greeks as the Kyklops³. Objections will at once occur to readers familiar with the *Odyssey* and its myth of Polyphemos. How is the plural Kyklopes to be reduced to a singular Kyklops? What had the Kyklopes who kept sheep on the mountains of Sicily, or for that matter the Kyklopes who worked at the underground smithy of Hephaistos, to do with a sun-god? How are we to bridge the distance from Magna Graecia in the west to Lykia in the east? And by what process did a solar wheel develop into a ferocious giant? These are questions that must be answered, if my hypothesis is to be regarded as tenable at all.

To begin with, then, Hellanikos asserts that 'the Kyklopes derived their name from one Kyklops, son of Ouranos⁴.' It follows that his readers in the fifth century B.C. knew of certain Kyklopes, different from the Kyklopes of the Homeric tradition, inasmuch as they were named after a single Kyklops, who passed as being the son of 'the Sky.' This sky-connexion is elsewhere insisted on. The scholiast on Aristeides the rhetorician writes: 'They say that there are three kinds of Kyklopes, those in the *Odyssey*, who are Sicilian; the Cheirogastores; and the so-called Sky-dwellers⁵.'

¹ N. Gordon Munro in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 1911 xxxviii. 3. 52 ff. supposes that this symbol, as emblem of the solar god Sandas, Sandes, Sandon, travelled across Asia from the west to the farthest east. But he adduces no valid evidence of its connexion with Sandas.

² Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 1. 482, 509.

³ *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 326 f.

⁴ Hellanik. *frag.* 176 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 69 Müller) *ap. schol. Hes. theog.* 139 'Ελληνικὸς δὲ τοὺς Κύκλωπας ὀνομάζεσθαι ἀπὸ Κύκλωπος υἱοῦ Οὐρανοῦ, οὐ περὶ τῶν παρ' Ὀμήρῳ Κυκλώπων λέγει.

⁵ Schol. Aristeid. p. 408, 26 ff. Dindorf *τρία γὰρ γένη φασὶν εἶναι Κυκλώπων, τοὺς κατὰ τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα, Σικελοῦς ὄντας, καὶ τοὺς Χειρογάστορας, καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Οὐρανοῦς.* M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 110 f. thinks that the scholiast drew his information from Hellanikos, because the schol. *Hes. theog.* 139 after the passage quoted in n. 3 immediately continues *Κυκλώπων γὰρ γένη τρία. Κύκλωπες οἱ τὴν Μυκλήν, τειχίσαντες, καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Πολύφημον, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ θεοί.* But it is far from clear that this last sentence was taken from Hellanikos: C. Müller *Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 69 does not include it in the excerpt.

Nor can we dismiss this as the figment of a late grammarian; for Hesiod¹, perhaps a thousand years earlier, had spoken of the Kyklopes as *Ouranidai*, 'sons of the Sky,' and Zenon the Stoic c. 300 B.C. gave a physical explanation of the name².

Again, there is reason to connect the Kyklopes with Lykia. The seven Kyklopes, who built the great walls of Tiryns for king Proitos, were brought over for the purpose from Lykia³. Thus, whereas Theophrastos declared that towers were invented by the Tirynthians, Aristotle referred their invention to the Kyklopes⁴. Towers to the modern ear are not suggestive of a sky-god; but we must bear in mind Pindar's mysterious statement that the souls of the righteous—

travel the road of Zeus to Kronos' tower⁵,

and also the names applied by the Pythagoreans to the central fire of the universe, *viz.* 'the tower of Zan,' 'the watch-tower of Zan,' 'the house of Zeus⁶.' A revolving tower, as we have seen⁷, was a Celtic conception of the Otherworld. Some such belief may underlie the reputation, which the Kyklopes enjoyed in ancient times⁸, of being master-builders. We still speak of 'Cyclopean' masonry.

Next we have to consider the possibility of deriving the one-eyed giant of Sicily from the solar wheel of Lycia in point of actual shape. The Lycian symbol appears to have developed in two very different directions. On the one hand, by the beginning of the fourth century B.C. it had become reduced to a simpler combination of lines⁹. The central circle had dwindled to a dot, from which

¹ Hes. *theog.* 502 Οὐρανίδας.

² Zen. *frag.* 116 Pearson *ap.* schol. Hes. *theog.* 139 παῖδας δὲ φησιν αὐτοὺς τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ ἐπειδὴ πάντα ταῦτα τὰ πάθη περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν εἰσι. The reference is to the names Βρόντης, Σπερὸπης, Ἀργης, which Zenon may have found in Hes. *theog.* 140.

³ Apollod. 2. 2. 1, Strab. 372 (cited also by Eustath. *in Il.* p. 286, 30f., *in Od.* p. 1622, 53f.). Cp. schol. Eur. *Or.* 965.

⁴ Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 195.

⁵ Pind. *Ol.* 2. 70 ἐτεῖλαν Διὸς ὄδον παρὰ Κρόνου τύρῳν. The context is Pythagorean (schol. vet. Pind. *Ol.* 2. 104, 106, 123).

⁶ Aristot. *de caelo* 2. 13. 293 b 3 f. δ Διὸς φυλακὴν ὀνομάζουσι, τὸ ταύτην ἔχον τὴν χώραν πῦρ, Simplic. *ad loc.* = Aristot. *frag.* 199 Rose οἱ μὲν Ζανὸς (Ζηνὸς Diels) πύργον αὐτὸ καλοῦσιν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς Πυθαγορικοῖς ἰστόρησεν, οἱ δὲ Διὸς φυλακὴν, ὡς ἐν τούτοις, οἱ δὲ Διὸς θρόνον, ὡς ἄλλοι φασίν, Prokl. *in Plat. Tim.* ii. 106, 21 ff. Diehl (cp. i. 199, 2 ff.) καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι δὲ Ζανὸς πύργον ἢ Ζανὸς φυλακὴν ἀπεκάλουν τὸ μέσον, Philolaos *ap.* Stob. *eccl.* 1. 22. 1^d p. 196, 18 ff. Wachsmuth Φιλόλαος πῦρ ἐν μέσῳ περὶ τὸ κέντρον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν τοῦ παντὸς καλεῖ καὶ Διὸς οἶκον καὶ μητέρα θεῶν, βωμῶν τε καὶ συνοχὴν καὶ μέτρον φύσεως.

⁷ *Supra* p. 243.

⁸ Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1687 ff. Note Sen. *Thy.* 407 f. Cyclopus sacras | turres.

⁹ The change is already noticeable on a coin of the Lycian dynast *Thiōd.* (Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 211 f. pl. 94, 12).

radiated three curved lines or crescents. This form occurs at Olba in Kilikia¹ (fig. 234); at Thebe in Mysia²; at Abydos³, Birytos⁴, and Rhoiteion⁵ in the Troad; in Makedonia⁶; at Argos⁷; and at Megara⁸. On the other hand, the tendency towards theriomorphism and anthropomorphism was also at work.



Fig. 234.

The addition, already observed, of animal heads to the component members of the symbol⁹ was but the commencement of changes, which were carried further in neighbouring lands. Thus the silver coins of Aspendos in Pamphylia from about 500 B.C. onwards are characterised by three human legs, turned either to the right or to the left, but radiating from a common centre and so constituting a genuine *triskelés*¹⁰. Sometimes this *triskelés* is centred about a small four-spoked wheel¹¹ (fig. 235). Occasionally it is superposed on a lion¹² (fig. 236) or an eagle¹³ (fig. 237). But usually it consists of three human legs

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia etc. pp. liii, 119 pl. 21, 8 f., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 727, on bronze coins of Aias, son of Teukros, high-priest of Zeus Ὀλβιος, c. 10—14 A.D.; and *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* *ib.* p. 124 pl. 22, 7, *Head loc. cit.*, on bronze coins of M. Antonius Polemo, high-priest, c. 17—36 A.D. G. F. Hill in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* *ib.* p. liii notes 'that the triskeles occurs as a rock-cut symbol at various places in this district.' See further *infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) ii (f).

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 179, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 538 ('three crescents united') on a bronze coin of the fourth century B.C.

³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas etc. p. 2 pl. 1, 8 on a silver coin c. 411—387 B.C.: the three curves radiating from a common centre are inscribed in a circle.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas etc. pp. xlv, 41 pl. 8, 5, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 542, on a bronze coin c. 300 B.C.: the three curves are enclosed by a circle.

⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas etc. p. xxxi f., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 548, on a unique silver coin c. 350—300 B.C.

⁶ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia etc. p. 9 f., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 234 ('crescent-rayed star'), on silver coins c. 185—168 B.C.: in the centre of a round Macedonian shield is a wheel-like ornament of six or four crescents radiating from a central dot and enclosed by a circle. See P. Gardner 'Ares as a Sun-god' in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1880 xx. 49 ff.

⁷ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 140 on a silver coin of the fourth century B.C.

⁸ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica p. 118 pl. 21, 2 f., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 393, on silver coins of the fourth century B.C.: five or three crescents radiating from a central dot and enclosed by a circle.

⁹ *Supra* p. 300 f.

¹⁰ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia etc. pp. lxxii f., 93 ff. pl. 19 ff., *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 524 ff. pl. 23, 11—21, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 699 f.

¹¹ *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 525 ff. pl. 23, 12; 527 f. pl. 23, 16.

¹² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia etc. p. 94 pl. 19, 6, *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 529 ff. pl. 23, 20 f., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 699.

¹³ *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 507 pl. 58, 1, *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 529 f. no. 868. On the three-legged crow of Chinese legend and the eight-handed (=many-handed) crow of

and nothing more. The same design recurs at Selge¹, Etenna², and Adada³ in Pisidia; at Hierapytna⁴ in Crete; in Melos⁵, at Athens⁶,



Fig. 235.



Fig. 236.



Fig. 237.

in Aigina⁷, at Phlious⁸; at Syracuse⁹; at Kaulonia¹⁰ and Terina¹¹ in Bruttium; at Suessa Aurunca¹² in Latium; and probably elsewhere too¹³ (fig. 238). Some of these examples exhibit a well-marked central disk; for instance, a recently discovered silver coin of Melos¹⁴ c. 500—450 B.C. (fig. 239), a *unicum* of Aigina c. 480 B.C.¹⁵, or certain

Kojiki and Nihongi tradition see N. Gordon Munro in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 1911 xxxviii. 51 fig. 40, 63.

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc.* pp. cxv f. 258 f. pl. 39, 10—13, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 711.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc.* p. cxix, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 708.

³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc.* p. cxvii pl. 30, 2 f., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 705.

⁴ J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 188 pl. 17, 6, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 468.

⁵ *Infra* n. 14.

⁶ Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 717 f. pl. 33, 10 ff. notes other examples of the *triskelēs* occurring at Athens, on lead tokens and small bronze counters. On the pre-Solonian silver coinage it is inscribed in a circle.

⁷ *Infra* n. 15.

⁸ Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 718, 811 ff. pl. 33, 12, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 408.

⁹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* p. 191 ff., *ib.* Corinth etc. p. 98 f. pl. 25, 5—9, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 180 f. G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 152 f. suggests that the *triskelēs*, which appears first on the coins of Agathokles, from 317 B.C. onwards, was originally his private signet, adopted at a later date, perhaps by the Romans, as the emblem of all Sicily. Cp. Hill *ib.* p. 152 ff. fig. 44 pl. 11, 8, 9 and 14, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 191, 351 f., 401 ff., 414, 427, ii. 7 (no. 175), 66, 277 f., 499, 539. A. Allienus, proconsul in Sicily in 48 B.C., struck a *denarius*, which shows Trinacrus, son of Neptunus, holding the *triskelēs* in his hand: see Hill *op. cit.* p. 224 f. pl. 15, 5, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 137 f., ii. 13.

¹⁰ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy* p. 336, Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 157 pl. 111, 30.

¹¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy* p. 393, Carelli *Num. It. vet.* p. 99 pl. 179, 35 f. (symbol).

¹² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy* p. 123, Carelli *Num. It. vet.* p. 17 pl. 64, 7 (symbol).

¹³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy* p. 57 *aes grave* of uncertain provenience, Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 23 pl. 45, 4.

¹⁴ From the specimen in the McClean collection at Cambridge: obv. pomegranate; rev. *triskelēs* with central disk in dotted circle $\text{WVA}\Delta\text{I}[\dots]$. See R. Jameson in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1909 xii. 192 ff. pl. 5, 11 and pl. 6, 25, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 892.

¹⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc.* p. 136 pl. 24, 8, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 657 ff., 813 ff. pl. 30, 20, *Head Hist. num.*² pp. 397, 408. Babelon and Head following J. P. Six in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1888 viii. 97 regard the coin as proof of an alliance between Aigina and Phlious.

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scarce specimens of pre-Solonian coinage at Athens¹. The Thraco-Macedonian tribe of Derrones added palmettes between the legs² (fig. 240). The Pisidians of Selge³ (fig. 241) and the Lucanians of

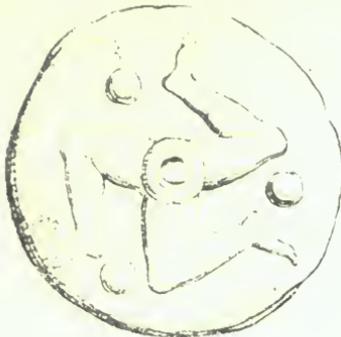


Fig. 238.



Fig. 239.



Fig. 240.

Velia⁴ fitted the ankles with wings. Elsewhere the humanising tendency transformed the central disk into a face⁵. That was the case in Sicily⁶. Silver and copper coins of Agathokles, issued



Fig. 241.



Fig. 242.



Fig. 243.



Fig. 244.

between 317 and 310 B.C., have for their reverse type a *triskelês* with wings attached to the feet and a Gorgon's head in the middle⁷

¹ *Supt.* p. 305 n. 6.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia etc.* p. 150, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1039 ff. pl. 44. 6-9. *Head Hist. num.*² p. 202. I figure the specimen in the McClean collection at Cambridge.

³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia etc.* pp. lxxiii, 263 pl. 40, 12.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy* p. 314 f., Carelli *Num. It. vet.* p. 74 pl. 139, 42 (symbol).

⁵ At Istros in Lower Moesia occurs the strange type of two young male heads in juxtaposition, one of the two being upside down (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thrace etc.* p. 25 f., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 274). *Head ib.*¹ p. 235 held that this design 'probably refers to the cult of the Dioskuri, which was very prevalent on the coasts of the Euxine,' but *ib.*² p. 274 suggests that it 'may be meant for the rising and the setting sun-god' and compares 'the rayless Helios on the early coins of Rhodes.' Since other coins of Istros show a four-spoked wheel (Append. D), I would rather conjecture that the two heads in question are a naive attempt to represent the face of the sun-god in actual rotation.

⁶ Babelon *Monn. v. p. rom.* i. 192 a bronze coin of M. Antonius showing as symbol a *triskelês*, the central dot of which is marked like a face: the coin is of Sicilian mintage.

⁷ G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* p. 155 pl. 11, 10 (my fig. 242), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* p. 193.

(fig. 242). On an *aureus* struck by the Roman moneyer L. Aquillius Florus in 20 B.C. to commemorate the Sicilian exploits of M'. Aquillius eighty years earlier there is a similar device, but the winged *Gorgoneion* is larger¹ (fig. 243). Bronze coins of Panormos from 254 B.C. onwards adopted the same combination of *triskelés* and *aigls*: moreover, they complicated it still further by the introduction of three ears of barley between the revolving legs² (fig. 244). The design recurs on late copper coins of Iaita³; and on the *denarii* struck in Sicily by L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus and C. Claudius Marcellus, the consuls of 49 B.C., who fled from Rome at the approach of Caesar⁴ (fig. 245). From a numismatic point of view, therefore, Mr G. F. Hill is justified in describing this 'contamination' of the *triskelés* with the *Gorgoneion* as 'of Agathoclean origin⁵'. But it would be interesting to know whether the combined device was invented by Agathokles himself, or borrowed from elsewhere. It may be surmised that Agathokles, who was a soldier rather than an artist, saw it first on the shields of some of his numerous foreign mercenaries. For, not only was the simple *triskelés* a frequent emblem on shields⁶, but Dioskourides, an Alexandrine epigrammatist of the third century B.C., represents a Cretan warrior as dedicating a shield that was adorned with precisely this combination of *triskelés* and *Gorgoneion*:



Fig. 245.

Not vain, methinks, the blazon that Polylos' son doth please,
 Hyllus, who bears his buckler as a mighty man from Crete.
 The Gorgon that turns men to stone and eke the triple knees
 He bade them paint: you'll find them there, saying to all they meet—
 'Look not thou down on me, my foe; that look of thine will freeze'
 Or 'Flee the man who runs apace with these his threefold feet?'

However that may be, it is practically certain that the central face was originally not that of the winged and snaky-tressed Gorgon, but that of the sun-god pure and simple—witness a Punic *stèle*, dating from about the time of Iuba, which was found in 1823 near

¹ Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 214, 218, ii. 71.

² G. F. Hill *op. cit.* p. 207 ff., pl. 14, 17, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* pp. 122, 125, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 163. Cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* p. 128. *Supra* p. 227.

³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* p. 85, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 191 pl. 14, 5, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 148.

⁴ G. F. Hill *op. cit.* p. 224 pl. 15, 4, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 350, 425.

⁵ G. F. Hill *op. cit.* p. 208.

⁶ P. Hartwig in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1891 xii. 341 n. 1 writes: 'The triskeles is very often used as the device on shields on black-figured vases (cf. [K. W. Goettling *Commentatio de cruce albo in clipeis vasorum Graecorum* Jenae 1855]); more rarely on red-figured (cf. *Él. Céram.* i. 9, where it is painted black, as here).' See further H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 198 f.

⁷ *Anth. Pal.* 6. 126.

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Vacca (*Bedja*) or Sicca Venerea (*Kef*) in Tunis and is now in the museum at Lyon. This stone was erected as a votive offering to *Ba'al-hammân*, the principal Punic deity of north Africa, who, though the word *hammân* probably does not mean 'Fiery',¹ appears to have been a sky-god or sun-god of some sort². W. Gesenius³ translated the accompanying inscription as follows :

To Lord Baal the Sun-god, king eternal,
who hath heard the words of Hicmath-
o and of thy servant Hicembal the governor...

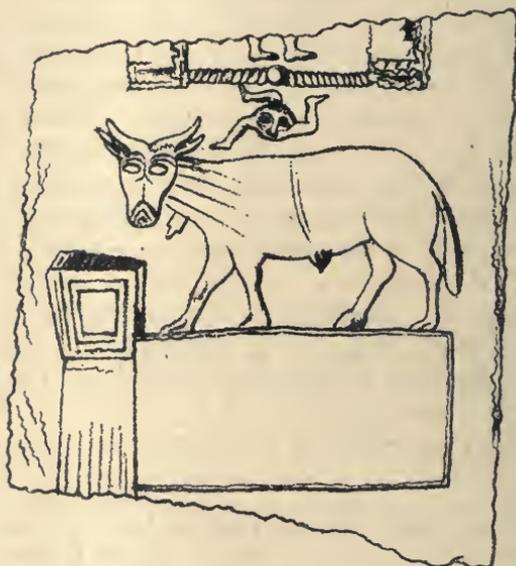


Fig. 246.

Baal had blessed the cattle of this Hiempsal (so his name should be written), governor of a Numidian province. Hiempsal, therefore, by way of a thank-offering caused a representation of himself to be carved (fig. 246) with a cow standing beneath it. The intervening symbol, which for us has the main interest, Gesenius does not attempt to elucidate. But it may fairly be regarded as a sign and token of Baal himself, the sky-god or sun-god, and cited in support of the contention that the *triskelés* had a solar significance. The same explanation probably applies to a very similar *triskelés*

¹ *Infra* ch. i § 6 (f) i (γ).

² Cp. G. Maspero *The Struggle of the Nations* London 1896 p. 155. E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 291 'einer Form des Sonnenba'als,' *id. ib.* i. 2869 ff.

³ W. Gesenius *Scripturae linguaeque Phoeniciae monumenta* Lipsiae 1837 p. 204 ff., pl. 23.

found on copper coins of Eborā Cerialis, one of the chief towns of the Turduli in Hispania Baetica¹ (figs. 247—248); for the district,



Fig. 247.



Fig. 248.

according to M. Agrippa and M. Varro², was over-run by Carthaginians, who would presumably bring the cult of their Punic Baal with them.

vi. The Kyklops of the East and the Kyklops of the West.

Taking into account these zoöomorphic transformations of the solar wheel, I shall venture to propound a fresh classification of the Kyklopes in Greek mythology. Let us distinguish the Kyklopes of the eastern Mediterranean (including the Aegæan) from those of the western Mediterranean (especially Sicily). What is common to the two groups, what in fact enables them to be considered species of a single genus, is the central disk representing the actual orb of the sun: hence the appropriate name for both was *Kyklops*, 'the Round One,' or more exactly, 'He of the Round Aspect.'

The eastern Kyklopes were called also *Cheirogástores*³ or *Gasterócheires*⁴, that is, 'Arm-bellies' or 'Belly-arms,' in connexion with Lykia and Tiryns; *Encheirogástores* or *Engastrócheires*⁵, that

¹ A. Heiss *Description générale des monnaies antiques de l'Espagne* Paris 1870 p. 322 ff. pl. 47 Turduli 3, 4, 5, 10. I reproduce no. 3 with a Celtiberian legend to be transliterated IBOVRI-R (genitive of *Eborā*) and no. 10 with a Latin legend read by Heiss (EB)ORENTI(N)orum. See also G. D. de Lorichs *Recherches numismatiques concernant principalement les médailles celtibériennes* Paris 1852 pl. 76, 12.

² *Ap. Plin. nat. hist.* 3. 8.

³ Eustath. *in Il.* p. 286, 30 f., apparently quoting Strabon either from memory or in a text different from ours. A comparison of schol. Aristeid. with schol. Hes. (*supra* p. 302 n. 4) shows that the Kyklopes who built Mykenai were sometimes at least known as *Cheirogástores*.

⁴ Strab. 372 and *ap. Eustath. in Od.* p. 1622, 53 f.

⁵ Deiochos *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 17 f. Müller) *ap. schol. Ap. Rhod.* i. 989 mentions certain Thessalian ἐγχειρογástορας (vulg.) or ἐγγαστρούχειρας (cod. Paris.). The scholiast identifies them with the Ἰγγυεῖες of Ap. Rhod. *loc. cit.*, monstrous forms with six arms,

is, 'Bellies-in-arms' or 'Arms-in-bellies,' in connexion with Thessaly, Kyzikos, Thrace, Euboa, and Mykenai. Such names would be not unsuitably given to giants, who represented in anthropomorphic guise the solar symbol with its central ring and radiating members.

A distant echo of this mythopoeic stage may be heard in Platon's *Symposium*¹, where Aristophanes, as usual half in jest and half in earnest, makes a speech in praise of Love and in the course of it describes humanity as it was in the remote past :

'Our nature long ago was not what it is now, but otherwise. In the first place, mankind was divided into three sexes. It comprised not only the present two, male and female, but a third as well, which was a compound of them both. The name of this third sex still survives, though it has itself become extinct. In those early times the androgynous was at once a name and a species, being a blend of male and female in one common nature; whereas now-a-days it is merely a name given by way of reproach. Then again, every man's shape was rounded throughout, his back and sides being in the form of a circle². He had four arms, and as many legs as arms, and two faces on a round neck, resembling each other in every respect. On his two faces, which looked opposite ways, he had a single head with four ears. Moreover, he had two sets of generative organs, and everything else to match. He walked upright, as he does still, in whichever of the two directions he pleased. When he started to run fast, he looked like tumblers who bring their legs round so as to point upwards and tumble along in a circle: just in the same way did the men of those days move rapidly along in a circle, resting their weight on their limbs, which were eight in number. The reason why the sexes numbered three may be put thus. The male was originally the offspring of the sun; the female, of the earth; the common sex, of the moon, for the moon too shares the nature of both. They and their mode of progression were alike circular because they resembled their parents. So it came to pass that in point of power and strength

two attached to their shoulders and four to their ribs (*ib.* 944 ff.), who dwelt about the "Αρκτων ὄρος, a mountainous island in the Propontis, and, coming from their mountain, essayed to block the Χυτὸς λιμὴν at Kyzikos with rocks and so secure the Argonauts. The scholiast adds that Polygnostos (vulg.) or Polygnotos (cod. Paris.) in his work *On Kyzikos* rationalised them into pirates, but that tradition made them the offspring of the Nemean lion. According to the latter part of schol. Eur. *Or.* 965 the walls of Mykenai were built by Kyklopes called ἐγχειρογαστορες, who were said to have made the thunderbolt for Zeus. Other *scholia* on the same verse derive the Kyklopes, who came to aid Proitos, from Kouretis (= Euboa) and ultimately from Thrace, where there was a tribe of Kyklopes with an eponymous king Kyklops. See further G. Knaack 'Encheirogastores' in *Hermes* 1902 xxxvii. 292 ff., Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 441 f.

¹ Plat. *symp.* 189 D—190 C.

² *Id. ib.* 189 E ὄλον ἦν ἐκάστου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ εἶδος στρογγύλον, νῶτον καὶ πλευρὰς κύκλω ἔχον. That is, every man had the shape of two men joined back to back, so that his body was cylindrical, being circular in horizontal section. The words can hardly be taken to mean that his body was a sphere or disk. Cp. *Tim.* 44 D—E, 73 C—D, where he contrasts the globular (περιφερής) brain in its spherical (σφαιροειδής) cranium with the cylindrical (στρογγύλος καὶ προμήκης) spinal marrow in its vertebral column, and my comment in *The Metaphysical Basis of Plato's Ethics* Cambridge 1895 p. 138 f.

they were terrible ; and in their pride they attacked the gods. Indeed, what Homer says of Ephialtes and Otos refers in reality to these ; I mean, that they attempted to scale the sky, intending to make an assault upon the gods.'

Aristophanes goes on to tell how Zeus frustrated their efforts and punished their pride by cutting them in halves like so many eggs. Ever since that fell catastrophe man has gone about the world in search of his other half. And, if Zeus hears much more of his insolence, he will cut him in halves again, so that in future he will go hopping on a single leg ! This interesting recital, despite the humorous turn given to its *dénouement*, is evidently based on the serious beliefs of the past. When Platon speaks of a third sex compounded of the other two, he has in mind the 'whole-natured types' of Empedokles¹, that is to say, types neither male nor female, but both. And, when Platon relates his human Catherine-wheels to the sun, the earth, and the moon, he recalls the same philosopher-poet's expression 'the swift limbs of the Sun.'² But he is also throughout thinking of Pherekydes' twin Moliones³ and of the Orphic Phanes, first-born of the gods, a strange bi-sexual being⁴, perhaps two-bodied⁵, certainly four-eyed⁶, and commonly identified with the sun⁷. According to one account, Phanes had the heads of rams, bulls, a snake, and a lion⁸, together with golden wings⁹: according to another, golden wings on his shoulders, heads of bulls attached to his sides, and on his head a monstrous snake resembling all manner of wild beasts¹⁰. This composite conception suggests comparison with the various theriomorphic and anthropomorphic modifications of the Lycian solar wheel¹¹.

In the western Mediterranean anthropomorphism went a step further. We hear of no *Cheirogástores* with multiple limbs. The

¹ Emped. frag. 62, 4 Diels οὐλοφνεῖς...τύποι.

² Id. frag. 27, 1 Diels Ἡελιο...ώκτα γυῖα.

³ Append. F (i).

⁴ Orph. frag. 62 Abel ap. Prokl. in Plat. Tim. i. 429, 28 ff. Diehl (cp. ib. i. 450, 22 ff.) and Lact. div. inst. 4. 8, Rufin. recognit. 10. 30. With Plat. symp. 191 B cp. the Orphic texts cited by Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 491 f.

⁵ In Orph. frag. 36 Abel ap. Damask. quaest. de primis principiis p. 387 θεὸς ἀσώματος was corrected to θεὸς διασώματος by Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 486 n.: see further O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2251 f.

⁶ Orph. frag. 64 Abel ap. Herm. in Plat. Phaedr. p. 135 τετρασύν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὀρώμενος ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα. Lobeck op. cit. i. 491 remarks that the same verse was used to describe Argos by the author of the *Aigimios* (schol. Eur. Phoen. 1116). Is it accidental that Φάνης and Ἄργος are names of similar meaning? See further *infra* ch. i § 6 (g) ix.

⁷ *Supra* p. 7 n. 6.

⁸ Orph. frag. 63 Abel.

⁹ Orph. frag. 65 Abel.

¹⁰ Orph. frag. 36 Abel.

¹¹ *Supra* pp. 299 ff., 304 ff.

Kyklopes of Sicily and Italy had originally one large circular eye in the middle of the forehead¹ (fig. 249)². This is throughout the prevailing type of the Kyklops in Greek and Latin literature. But with vase-paintings, wall-paintings, engraved gems, bas-reliefs and sculpture in the round the case was different. Here a growing sense of artistic fitness prescribed, first that the Kyklops should have his normal eyes, whether shut or open, as well as his abnormal eye³, and last that his abnormal eye should dwindle away into nothing, leaving him two-eyed like other folk⁴. Thus it comes about that Servius in the fourth century A.D. can write: 'Many say that Polyphemos had one eye, others that he had two, others



Fig. 249.

again that he had three; but the whole tale is a make-belief⁵. Virgil, in the passage on which Servius was commenting, adheres to the original conception of the western Kyklops and speaks of his eye as—

¹ In the case of Polyphemos this is implied by *Od.* 9. 333, 383, 387, 394, 397, 453, 503, 516, 525, and stated in Kratin. *Odysses frag.* 14 Meineke, Eur. *Cycl.* 77, Lyk. *Al.* 659 f. with Tzetz. *ad loc.*, Theokr. 6. 22, 36, 11. 33, 53, Philostr. *mai. imagg.* 2. 18. 2, *Anth. Pal.* 14. 132. 2, 7, Ov. *met.* 13. 772 f. The Homeric Kyklopes in general had one eye, according to Strab. 21. The Kyklopes of Aitne are one-eyed in Eur. *Cycl.* 21 f.; those of Lipara in Kallim. *h. Artem.* 52 f.; Brontes, Steropes, and Argos in Hes. *theog.* 144 f. Eustath. *in Od.* pp. 1392, 36 ff., 1622, 39 ff. inclines to regard Polyphemos as *ἐτερόφθαλμον*, not *μονόφθαλμον*; cp. Guido de Columna (1287 A.D.), who in his account of the Trojan war gives Polyphemos two eyes and makes Odysseus pluck out one of them (W. Grimm in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1857 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 27).

² *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 15, 7, W. Helbig in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1870 xlii. 41 f., 74 a wall-painting in an Etruscan tomb at Corneto.

³ Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1588, ii. 1685, iii. 2703 ff., 2711 f.

⁴ Roscher *ib.* ii. 1685, Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1695.

⁵ Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 3. 636, *Myth. Vat.* 2. 174.

Huge, lurking there alone 'neath his fell brow,
Like to some Argive shield or torch Phoebean¹.

This last line draws from Servius the just remark that the one simile refers to the size (and shape), the other to the glow, of Polyphemos' eye: the 'Argive shield' was circular, and the 'torch Phoebean' must be either the moon or the sun². Parmenides in one of his fragments mentions 'the round-eyed (literally *kýklops*) moon³.' But it is more probable that Virgil is comparing the eye of the Kyklops with the sun. Ovid does so expressly in the *Metamorphoses*, where Polyphemos defends his claim to good looks in the following lines:

One only eye my midmost forehead bears,
But like a mighty shield. Yea, all these things
Yon sun beholds, and with one only orb⁴.

Of course no simile or collection of similes can prove that the Kyklops' eye stands for the sun in heaven. But we have seen that according to one version, which can be traced back to Hesiod, the Kyklopes were known as 'children of the Sky⁵'; that, in the words of Hellanikos, they 'derived their name from one Kyklops, whose father was the Sky⁶'; and that the Greeks regarded the sun as the eye of the animate sky⁷. A presumption is thus raised that we are on the right track in investigating the story of the Kyklops as though it were a nature-myth and in identifying the round eye, from which he took his name, with the shining orb of the sun⁸.

The distinction that I have drawn between the many-armed Kyklopes of the east and the one-eyed Kyklopes of the west

¹ Verg. *Aen.* 3. 636 f.

² Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 637.

³ Parm. *frag.* 10, 4 Diels *εργα τε κύκλωπος πέυση περίφοιτα σελήνης.*

⁴ Ov. *met.* 13. 851 ff.

⁵ *Supra* p. 303.

⁶ *Supra* p. 302.

⁷ *Supra* p. 196 f.

⁸ L. Frobenius *Das Zeitalter des Sonnengottes* Berlin 1904 i. 367—412, after a wide survey of analogous myths all the world over, comes to the conclusion that the man-eating ogre (or ogress), who lives in a cave and is a famous builder, must be regarded as a star if he has one eye, as a constellation if he has many heads and arms: he is attacked by the solar hero or sun-god, who wrests from him the means of making fire. On this showing Odysseus would be the sun-god and Polyphemos a star! W. Schwartz *Indogermanischer Volksglaube* Berlin 1885 p. 169 ff. argues that one-eyed beings such as the Kyklopes are storm-powers, their fiery eye denoting the lightning (see *infra* ch. ii § 3 (b)). W. H. Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1689, 59 ff. suggests that the one eye of the Kyklops refers to the crater of Mt. Aitne, and V. Bérard *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssee* Paris 1903 ii. 130 has given a similar volcanic explanation: cp. R. Browning *Paracelsus* sc. 5 'groups | Of young volcanos come up, cyclops-like, | Staring together with their eyes on flame.' I follow W. Grimm 'Die Sage von Polyphem' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1857 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 27 and A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*² Gittersloh 1886 p. 63.

corresponds fairly well with a difference indicated in Hesiod's *Theogony*. The poet, enumerating the children of Earth (*Gaia*) and Sky (*Ouranós*), writes :

She brought forth too Kyklopes proud of heart,
Brontes and Steropes and strong-souled Arges,
Who gave the thunder and wrought the bolt of Zeus.
They verily in all else were like the gods,
But had one eye amid their forehead set.

[Kyklopes were they named by reason of
A round eye, one, upon their forehead set.]

Power, violence, and guile were in their deeds.

Others again from Earth and Sky were sprung,
Three sons of size and strength, not to be named,
Kottos, Briareos, Gyes, prideful brood.

A hundred arms were waving from their shoulders,
All unapproachable, and fifty heads

Grew from the shoulders on each stalwart neck.

Monstrous their power, strong to match their size¹.

The one-eyed Kyklopes are here mentioned side by side with certain many-armed giants of the self-same parentage. If we may regard these *Hekatóncheires*² as analogous to the *Cheirogástores*, Hesiod's division is just that between the Kyklopes of west and east.

Nor need we be surprised to find the sun conceived in two forms so widely different by people residing within the same area of civilisation. A useful parallel is afforded by the religion of ancient Egypt. The oldest group of Egyptian deities was headed by a divine pair named Nu and Nut, god and goddess respectively of the watery mass of the sky. The pyramid text of Pepi i addresses 'Nut, in whose head appear two eyes'³—presumably the sun and moon. Similarly a late papyrus in the British Museum⁴ makes Nu speak of his Eye in terms which can only refer to the sun⁵. Again, when the attributes of Nu were transferred to the god Rā⁶, the Eye of Rā was identified with a variety of solar

¹ Hes. *theog.* 139 ff.

² Ἑκατόνχειρες Apollod. 1. 1. 1, Palaiph. 19 (20), Eudok. *viol.* 221, *et. mag.* p. 213, 14 f., *ib.* p. 327, 41, Plout. *de amic. mult.* 1. cp. v. Marcell. 17. Briareos is ἑκατόνχειρος in *Il.* 1. 402, Eustath. in *Il.* p. 123, 42. Gyas is *centimanus* in Hor. *od.* 2. 17. 14, 3. 4. 69, Ov. *am.* 2. 1. 12, *trist.* 4. 7. 18, as is Typhoeus in Ov. *met.* 3. 303: cp. Boeth. *de inst. arithmet.* 1. 19 p. 40, 26 Friedlein, and Pompon. *digest.* 1. 2. 2. 36 (*Centemmanus* as nick-name of Appius Claudius Caecus).

³ Pap. 10, 188, written for Nes-Åmsu, or Nes-Min, priest of Panopolis, c. 312 B.C.

⁴ E. A. Wallis Budge *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection* London 1911 i. 156.

⁵ E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 298 f., 306.

⁶ E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* i. 135. According to G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*⁴ London 1901 p. 88 n. 1 the name Rā 'means the sun, and nothing more.'

powers¹. Rā himself was fused with the Theban deity Āmen, and a hymn written in the time of the twentieth or twenty-first dynasty for the great resultant god Āmen-Rā says :

‘Thou art the beautiful Prince, who risest like the sun with the White Crown, and thou art the lord of radiant light and the creator of brilliant rays.... Thy flame maketh thine enemies to fall, and thine Eye overthroweth the *Sebāu* fiends².’

Rā was likewise fused with Tem the local sun-god of Ānnu, that is On or Heliopolis, thus forming the double god Rā-Tem³ : accordingly we hear of the Eye of Tem as another designation of the sun⁴. Lastly, Rā was fused with Horos⁵ (*Heru*), who was regarded as the Face (*Her* or *Hrā*) of heaven, and said to have two eyes, the sun being the right eye, and the moon the left⁶. But these numerous descriptions of the sun as the eye of this, that, or the other deity by no means prevented the Egyptians from depicting it in curiously incongruous ways. For example, Āmen-ḥetep iv or Amenophis iv, the *Hōros* of Manethon, about the year 1430 B.C., despite the first element in his own name, cut himself off from the old capital Thebes and the Theban cult of Āmen. He adopted a new name, Khut-en-Āten, and founded a new capital, Khut-Āten, some two hundred miles south of Cairo on the east bank of the Nile : the site of his foundation is now marked by the Arab villages of Haggi Ḳandīl and Tell el-‘Amarna. Khut-en-Āten means the ‘Spirit’ or ‘Glory of Āten’ ; and Khut-Āten, the ‘Horizon of Āten.’ This Āten was a very old Egyptian deity, whose original home was near Ānnu or Heliopolis. ‘Āten,’ says Dr Wallis Budge, ‘was the physical body of the Sun⁷.’ And monuments of Khut-en-Āten often show the king, with or without his family, illuminated by the sun’s rays⁸. In these representations the rays

¹ E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* i. 422 f. Meh-urt, *ib.* i. 365 Hathor, *ib.* i. 446 Bast, *ib.* i. 517 Sekhet. *Id. Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection* i. 144, 346, ii. 172, 203, 277, 328.

² E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* ii. 8.

³ E. A. Wallis Budge *ib.* i. 330, ii. 87.

⁴ E. A. Wallis Budge *ib.* i. 158, 305, 446 identified with Bast.

⁵ G. Maspero *op. cit.* pp. 100, 137.

⁶ E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* i. 467, *cp. ib.* i. 109, 165, 202, 248, 363, 457. *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection* ii. 386 Index *s.v.* ‘Eye of Horus,’ G. Maspero *op. cit.* pp. 88, 92.

⁷ E. A. Wallis Budge *A History of Egypt* London 1902 iv. 119, *The Gods of the Egyptians* ii. 73.

⁸ E. A. Wallis Budge *A History of Egypt* iv. 120, 127, 133, *The Gods of the Egyptians* ii. 70, 73, 74, 77.

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of Āten are made to terminate in human hands (fig. 250)¹, which sometimes hold emblems of life and sovereignty in their grasp².

Such solar symbols are, indeed, deep-seated in human nature, and, like many other natural phenomena, contrive to coexist in spite of obvious inconsistencies. A Greek of the classical period at least might speak of the sun as a revolving wheel and yet credit tales of the *Kýklopes* and the *Cheirogástores*, though logically the former should have forced him to identify the disk with the eye of a giant and the latter should have called up the image of a monster's circling hands. Of course, the further we are removed



Fig. 250.

from the exclusiveness of primitive religion, the easier it is to hold simultaneously ideas that in their origin were incompatible. For, as belief wanes, convictions become views, and views pass into a

¹ E. A. Wallis Budge *A History of Egypt* iv. 133 Khut-en-Āten on a portable throne, fanned by attendants, beneath the rays of Āten, *The Gods of the Egyptians* ii. 74.

² E. A. Wallis Budge *A History of Egypt* iv. 121, 123, *The Gods of the Egyptians* ii. 81, A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith p. 63, G. Maspero *The Struggle of the Nations* London 1896 pp. 322, 328.

An Assyrian obelisk shows two hands issuing from a solar disk, the right hand open, the left holding a bow (Count Goblet d'Alviella *The Migration of Symbols* London 1894 p. 26, after G. Rawlinson *The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*² London 1879 ii. 233).

mere succession of pictures or metaphors. A *fin-de-siècle* poet opens his *Sunset in the City* with the lines—

Above the town a monstrous wheel is turning,
With glowing spokes of red,
Low in the west its fiery axle burning¹—

but at a distance of half a dozen pages changes the scene—

The sun has shut his golden eye
And gone to sleep beneath the sky²—

while elsewhere in the same little volume he prefers to speak of the sunbeams as—

the curious fingers of the day³.

vii. The Kyklops and Zeus.

But, to return to the Greeks, we have next to enquire in what relation the Kyklopes, whether eastern or western, stood towards Zeus. So far as the eastern Kyklopes are concerned, the evidence is of the scantiest. The scholiast on Euripides, probably confusing the many-armed with the one-eyed Kyklopes, states that the former, the *Encheirogástores*, fashioned the thunderbolt for Zeus⁴. And the Platonic Aristophanes in his whimsical narrative tells how certain wheel-shaped and quasi-human beings, who might have been, but are not, called *Cheirogástores*, made an attack upon Zeus and the other gods⁵. Clearly no conclusion can be based on such premises. At most it may be said in quite general terms that the *Cheirogástores* belong to the same category as the *Titánes*. They are, that is, elder and unsuccessful rivals of Zeus.

In dealing with their western compeers, the Kyklopes *par excellence*, we are on firmer ground. Hesiod speaks of the Kyklopes that made the thunder and the thunder-bolt for Zeus as 'like the gods⁶'. And the names that he gives them⁷—*Bróntes*, *Sterópes*, *Árges*—are all but identical with sundry titles of Zeus, namely

¹ R. Le Gallienne *English Poems*⁴ London 1895 p. 89.

² *Id. ib.* p. 83.

³ *Id. ib.* p. 18. Mr Owen Seaman in *The Battle of the Bays* London 1896 p. 39 has an altogether delightful parody entitled 'An Ode to Spring in the Metropolis. (After R. Le G.),' in which occurs the following allusion to our metaphor: 'And O the sun! | See, see, he shakes | His big red hands at me in wanton fun! | A glorious image that! it might be Blake's, | Or even Crackanthurpe's!'

⁴ Schol. Eur. *Or.* 965, *supra* p. 309 n. 5.

⁵ *Supra* p. 310 f.

⁶ *Supra* p. 314.

⁷ *Ibid.*

Brontôn, 'the Thundering'¹, *steropegérta*, 'the lightning-gatherer'², *argés*, 'the brilliant'³. Again, the Kyklopes not only made the thunder and lightning of Zeus, but could on occasion wield his weapons on their own behalf. The late epic of Nonnos describes in bombastic style how *Arglîpos*, *Sterôpes*, and *Brôntes* fought on the side of the gods against the Indians :

The stout Kyklopes circled round the foe,
 Helpers of Zeus. Above that murky throng
 Argilipos was flashing as he swung
 A radiant brand and, armed with cthonian bolt
 Fire-tipped, took torches for the fray. Thereat
 Quaked the dark Indians, mazed at such a flame
 That matchèd the fiery whirl-wind from the sky.
 He, blazing, led the way: 'gainst hostile heads
 Sparks from his earth-born thunderbolt were shot.
 Ash spears he beat and many a blade, that Kyklops,
 Swaying his hot shafts and his burning pike,
 A brand his dart, and, man on man destroying,
 Still scorched the Indians with his archer flame.
 [Not one Salmoneus only he convicted
 Of bastard bolts, not one god's-enemy
 Alone he slew, nor only one Euadne
 Made moan for Kapaneus extinguished there.]

Steropes next had armed him and was wielding
 A mimic blaze, a gleam that echoed back
 The lightning of the sky, both flash and fade,
 Sprung into being from the western flame,
 Seed of Sicilian fire and glowing hearth.
 A cloud-like robe he wore, within whose fold
 He hid his sheen and then the same revealed
 With double quivering, like the light of heaven;
 For lightning's gleam now goes, now comes again.

Then Brontes went a-warring and beat out
 A song sonorous, while he bellowed back
 The clappings of the thunder and with spray
 Unwonted, made of earth-born snow, shed water
 False-fashioned, little-lasting, from the sky—
 He and his drops, a bastard, cloudless Zeus.

But Zeus the Father marked the Kyklops aping
 His own fell din and laughed amid his clouds⁴.

On terra-cotta brasiers of Hellenistic date there is often stamped a grotesque bearded head, sometimes wearing a pointed cap and

¹ *Infra* ch. ii § 4 (d).

² *Infra* ch. ii § 3.

³ *Supra* p. 31.

⁴ Nonn. *Dion.* 28. 172—201, cp. *ib.* 14. 52—60 where *Brôntes*, *Sterôpes*, and *Arges* are named among other Kyklopes opposed to the Indians. For the Kyklops' imitation of Zeus' thunder see Eur. *Cycl.* 327 f.

accompanied by a thunderbolt or thunderbolts¹ (figs. 251—253). W. H. Roscher² follows A. Furtwängler in regarding this type as that of the Kyklops. If they are right—and Furtwängler's arguments are plausible³—, we have here monumental evidence of the Kyklops conceived as the owner of the thunderbolt.

Again, a connexion of some sort between the Kyklops and Zeus is implied by the myth of Geraistos. Minos, after the death of Androgeos went to war with Athens, the direct or indirect cause of his bereavement. When the war dragged on and he failed to capture the town, he prayed to Zeus that he might be avenged on the Athenians. Thereupon famine and pestilence befell them, and, at the advice of an ancient oracle, they first slew the daughters of the Lacedaemonian Hyakinthos on the tomb of Geraistos the

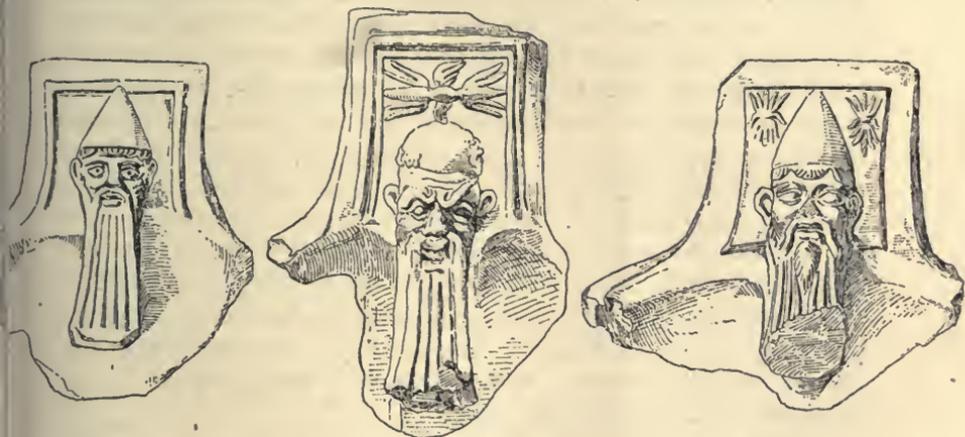


Fig. 251.

Fig. 252.

Fig. 253.

Kyklops (or the son of the Kyklops). This proved unavailing; and they had in the end to listen to Minos' demand of seven youths and seven maidens as food for the Minotaur⁴. But Geraistos, the eponym of the village and promontory in Euboea⁵, who is presumably to be identified with the Geraistos of the Athenian myth, is said to have been the son of Zeus⁶. Thus either Geraistos the

¹ A. Conze 'Griechische Kohlenbecken' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1890 v. 118 ff., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* pp. xix. 68 no. A 448.

² Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1681, 1685.

³ A. Furtwängler 'Die Köpfe der griechischen Kohlenbecken' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1891 vi. 110 ff.

⁴ Apollod. 3. 15. 8 ἐπὶ τὸν Γεραίστου τοῦ Κύκλωπος τάφον κατέσφαξαν, cp. Steph. Byz. s.v. Λουσία, Harpokr. and Soud. s.v. Ἰακινθίδες, Hyg. fab. 238.

⁵ *Supra* p. 156 n. 6, Append. B Euboeia.

⁶ Steph. Byz. s.v. Γεραίστος, Ταίναρος.

Kyklops was the son of Zeus; or Geraistos was, according to some, the son of the Kyklops, according to others, the son of Zeus. Both inferences presuppose that the Kyklops was somehow related to Zeus.

Lastly, T. Panofka¹ and W. Grimm² long since pointed out that the three-eyed Kyklops of Sicily bears a striking resemblance to an extremely archaic statue of Zeus with three eyes seen by Pausanias on the Argive Larisa³. M. Mayer⁴ arrived independently at a similar conclusion. He holds that the original Kyklops was one with the three-eyed Zeus of Argos, who in turn is strictly comparable with other three-eyed figures in Greek mythology in particular with the three-eyed Argos *Panóptes*⁵, with the three-eyed guide of the Herakleidai⁶, and with the various heroes named Triops or Triopas⁷. On this showing, then, the three-eyed Kyklops is but another form of the three-eyed Zeus. When, however, M. Mayer over the section of his work devoted to this question prints the words 'Zeus Kyklops⁸', he is going too far. Polyphemos, it is true, boasts that the Kyklopes care nothing for Zeus, deeming themselves superior to the gods, and that he, the speaker, would not refrain from laying hands on Odysseus through any fear of incurring Zeus' enmity⁹. But nowhere in Greek literature do we get a definite identification of the Kyklops with Zeus. The nearest approach to it is Nonnos' description of the Kyklops Brontes as 'a bastard Zeus¹⁰.' Rather, we must suppose that the Kyklops was originally a sky-god like Zeus, his round eye being the sun and his weapon the thunderbolt. He was, in fact, analogous to, but not identical with, the Hellenic god.

It is not at present possible to determine the race to which this

¹ T. Panofka *Archäologischer Commentar zu Pausanias Buch II. Kap. 24* p. 30 f.

² W. Grimm 'Die Sage von Polyphem' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1857* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 28.

³ *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 75 f., 325, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 288 f., Append. B Argolis.

⁴ M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen in der antiken Sage und Kunst* Berlin 1887 p. 110 ff.

⁵ *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 75, 325, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 287.

⁶ *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 87, 325, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 289 f.

⁷ *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 75 ff., 325, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 288 f.

⁸ M. Mayer *op. cit.* pp. 113, 115.

⁹ *Od.* 9. 275 ff. Dr W. W. Merry *ad loc.*, taking a hint from the scholiast, observes: 'This is inconsistent with what the Cyclopes acknowledged about the power of Zeus, inf. 410; and with Polyphemus' boast that Poseidon was his father.' D. Muelder 'Das Kyklopedgedicht der Odyssee' in *Hermes* 1903 xxxviii. 431 ff. draws attention to the similar inconsistencies of *Od.* 9. 107, 111, 358. *Eur. Cycl.* 320 f. *Ζηνὸς δ' ἐγὼ κεραυνὸν οὐ φέρσω, ξέμε, | οὐδ' οἶδ' ὅ τι Ζεὺς ἐστ' ἐμοῦ κρείσσων θεός* is following the Homeric passage.

¹⁰ *Supra* p. 318.

one-eyed sun-god properly belonged¹. Precisely similar figures are to be met with in Celtic² and Germanic³ mythology—a fact which is suggestive of a remote origin in the past. Moreover, in the Celtic area at least the one-eyed giant is regularly black-skinned⁴. Does this point to his connexion with a melanochrous race?

viii. The Blinding of the Kyklops' Eye.

Polyphemos' claim that the Kyklopes were 'much superior' to the gods has in one respect been substantiated. For Zeus, as we have seen, lives no longer in the mind of the modern peasant, whereas far and wide through southern and central Europe folk-tales still tell the old story of the Kyklops and his lawless deeds. In Appendix E I have collected a number of such tales, and shall here say something by way of comment upon them.

A constant feature of the Kyklops-*Märchen* is the boring out of the giant's eye by means of a red-hot stake. This incident is repeated in a variety of slightly differing forms: we hear of a sharp

¹ According to the schol. Eur. *Or.* 965 the Kyklopes, a Thracian tribe (cp. Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 121) named after its king Kyklops, were driven from their land by war and settled in various parts, most of them in Kouretis: from Kouretis they came to help Proitos and built the walls of Tiryns for him, those of Argos for Akrisios. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1132 note d identified this Kouretis with Euboia, where there are other traces of the Kyklopes (*supra* p. 319 f., Istros *ap.* schol. *Il.* 10. 439). Maass in *Hermes* 1889 xxiv. 644 f. thinks that colonists from Chalkis in Euboia brought the Kyklops-myth to Chalkidike, arguing that the mother of Polyphemos, *vis.* Thoösa daughter of Phorkys (*Od.* 1. 71 f.), who according to one account seems to have lived on the coast of Euboia (Lyk. *Al.* 376 Φόρκυνος οικητήριον), was a nymph of Mt. Athos (Θόωσα from *Θόωσ = 'Athōs). W. H. Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1689, 47 ff. further observes that the Sicilian Kyklopes are located in the Chalcidian colonies Naxos and Leontinoi (Strab. 20, Eustath. *in Od.* pp. 1618, 2, 1644, 42). But these combinations, however ingenious, are altogether too speculative.

Timaios *frag.* 37 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 200 Müller) *ap. et. mag.* p. 220, 5 f. states that Galatia took its name from Galates, son of Kyklops and Galatia. Appian. *Ilyr.* 1 says that Polyphemos the Kyklops had by Galateia three sons, Keltos, Illyrios, and Galas, who ruled over the Keltai, Illyrioi and Galatai respectively.

Io. Malal. *chron.* 5 p. 114 Dindorf asserts that Sikanos, king of Sicily, had three sons, Kyklops, Antiphantes (*sic*), and Polyphemos, who divided the land between them.

² E.g. Balor (H. D'Arbois de Jubainville *Le cycle mythologique irlandais et la mythologie celtique* Paris 1884 p. 208 ff., J. Curtin *Hero-Tales of Ireland* Boston 1894 p. 283 ff., C. Squire *The Mythology of the British Islands* London, Glasgow and Dublin 1905 pp. 48 f., 112 f., 238 f., J. A. MacCulloch *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* Edinburgh 1911 pp. 59, 89), Searbhan Lochlannach (*Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 438 ff.), or the giants and ogres of France (P. Sébillot *Le Folk-Lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 37, 272, 295, 434 f., 1903 ii. 125).

³ E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 Index p. 312 *s.v.* Einäugigkeit, J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1888 iv. 1440.

⁴ Append. E. J. Grimm *op. cit.* ii. 516 n. 2 speaks of 'sooty Cyclops' on the strength of Kallim. *h. Artem.* 66 ff.

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red-hot pole (Athens), of a sharp piece of wood (Servia), of red-hot spits (France, Abruzzo, Zakynthos, Kappodokia, Kypros, Sindbad), of a red-hot iron (Harz Mountains, Finland), of a red-hot poker (Érice), of a red-hot knife (Oghuzians), of a stabbing in the eye (Carelia, Yorkshire), or of a molten mass poured in the eyes (Dolopathos, Roumania, Esthonia).

The oldest obtainable version of the story is of course the Kyklops-myth of the *Odyssey*, which in its present shape must be placed at least as early as the year 800 B.C.¹ and in its original form goes back doubtless some centuries further. D. Muelder, after a minute and painstaking criticism of the myth, sets aside all later accretions and interpolations and prints what he conceives to have been the primitive Kyklops-poem². In this the episode of the red-hot stake is of fundamental importance. The passage, as reconstituted by Muelder, runs thus:

This to my thinking seemed the best advice.
Beside the fold the Kyklops' great club lay
Of olive-wood yet green, which he had felled
To bear when dry. We, looking on the same,
Likened its size to the mast of a black ship,
Some merchantman broad-beamed and twenty-oared
That gets to harbour far across the main,
So huge its length, so huge its girth to view.
Therefrom I, standing close, cut off a fathom,
Gave to my men, and bade them fine it down.
They smoothed it: I stood by and pointed it,
And took and turned it in the blazing fire.
Then 'neath the heap of embers I thrust in
The bar to heat it; and my comrades all
I heartened, lest in terror they should fail me.
But, when the olive-bar was like to catch,
Green as it was, and glowed with dreadful light,
I fetched it from the fire, while they stood round.
And some god breathed great courage into us.
They took the olive-bar, so sharp at the point,
And full in his eyeball plunged it. I uplifted
Twirled it above, as a man drills with a drill
A timber for ship-building, while below
His fellows spin their strap and hold amain
Its either end, and still the drill runs on.
Just so we took the fiery-pointed bar,
And twirled it in his eye: the blood flowed round
Its hot end, and the blast singed all about
His lids and eyebrows, as the ball was burnt

¹ A. and M. Croiset *Histoire de la littérature grecque*² Paris 1896 i. 402, W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*³ München 1908 i. 62.

² D. Muelder 'Das Kyklopengedicht der Odyssee' in *Hermes* 1903 xxxviii. 414—455.

Till even its roots were crackling in the fire.
 And, as a man that is a coppersmith
 Dips a great axe or adze all hissing hot .
 In water cold to temper it, for this
 Is the strength of steel, so hissed the Kyklops' eye
 About that bar of olive; and he groaned
 A ghastly groan—yea, round us rang the rock—
 And we in a panic fled, while he from his eye
 Plucked out the bar bedabbled with much blood¹.

Now, if we have been right in supposing, with W. Grimm and A. Kuhn², that the single eye of the Kyklops was an early representation of the sun in the sky, it remains to enquire what was the original significance of this rather gruesome scene? Why should the hero thrust a sharp stake into the solar eye? And why is that stake regularly described as being red-hot?

ix. Prometheus' Theft of Fire.

An answer to these questions would hardly have been forthcoming—since even in the *Odyssey* the incident has been already worked over and incorporated into a wonder-voyage—had it not been for the fortunate preservation of a more or less parallel myth, that of Prometheus. He is said to have stolen fire from Zeus 'in a hollow fennel-stalk³'—an expression cleared up by J. T. Bent, who, writing of the Greek islands, says: 'One can understand the idea well: a peasant to-day who wishes to carry a light from one house to another will put it into one of these reeds to prevent its being blown out⁴.' As to the manner in which Prometheus obtained the

¹ *Od.* 9. 318—328, 375—397.

² *Supra* pp. 313 n. 8, 320, *infra* ch. i § 6 (h) i.

³ *Hes. theog.* 565 ff., *o. d.* 50 ff. ἐν κοίλῳ νάρθηκι, *Plin. nat. hist.* 7. 178 ignem...adserve ferula Prometheus, *Hyg. poet. astr.* 2. 15 devenit ad Iovis ignem; quo deminuto et in ferulam coniecto, etc., *fab.* 144 Prometheus in ferula detulit in terras, *interp. Serv. in Verg. ecl.* 6. 42 ferula ignem de caelo subripuisse, *Acron in Hor. od.* 2. 13. 37 raptor per ferulam ignis divini.

⁴ J. T. Bent *The Cyclades* London 1885 p. 365. *Id. ib.*: 'In Lesbos this reed is still called νάρθηκα (νάρθηξ).' *Id.* in the *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* 1885—6 xv. 401 (in Karpathos) 'If a woman wishes to carry a light from one house to the other she puts it into a reed, which here alone have I heard termed νάρθηκα or νάρθηξ, the same word and the same use for the reed which mythology teaches us Prometheus employed when he brought down fire from heaven.' The same custom is found in Kypros, according to Sittl on *Hes. theog.* 567, cited by E. E. Sikes in his ed. of *Aisch. P. v.* p. xvii n. 1, where a further reference is given to Miss M. H. Kingsley *Travels in West Africa* London 1897 p. 600: 'In most domesticated tribes, like the Effiks or the Igalwa, if they are going out to their plantation, they will enclose a live stick in a hollow piece of a certain sort of wood, which has a lining of its interior pith left in it, and they will carry this "fire box" with them.' The schol. *Hes. theog.* 565 and Proklos in *Hes. o. d.* 52 observe that the νάρθηξ, having a soft pith, will keep a fire smouldering within it; and *Plin. nat. hist.* 13. 126 says that

stolen fire, different accounts were current in antiquity. Aischylos possibly, and Accius certainly, represented the fire as stolen from Mount Mosychloś, a wooded volcano in Lemnos now submerged by the sea¹. Platon supposes that Prometheus stole it from 'the common abode of Athena and Hephaistos²', in fact from the celestial Erechtheion, where presumably, as in its terrestrial counterpart, a perpetual fire was kept burning. Platon, however, is philosophising, and an obviously older explanation is given by Servius³:

'It is said that Prometheus, when he had made mankind, ascended by the help of Minerva into the sky, and, applying a small torch to the wheel of the sun, stole fire, which he showed to men.'

An anonymous mythographer of the ninth or tenth century, plausibly identified by Angelo Mai with a certain Leontius mentioned in J. Brassicanus' commentary on Petronius⁴, expands this meagre statement:

'Prometheus was helped by Minerva; and about him the following tale is composed. Prometheus made man out of clay, and moulded him without life or feelings. Minerva, admiring Prometheus' handywork, promised him whatever heavenly gift he would to help him with his work. He said that he did not know at all what good things there were in heaven, but asked whether it was possible for the goddess to raise him to the gods above, in order that he might see with his own eyes and choose what suited his work. So Minerva placed him on her shield and took him to the sky. When he saw there the heavenly bodies animated and invigorated by their flaming heat, he secretly applied a reed to the wheel of Phoebus and stole the fire, which he applied to the breast of man, thereby making his body alive⁵.'

Egyptian *ferulae* are best for the purpose. See further Frazer *Golden Bough*³: The Magic Art ii. 260, who notes that Bent is mistaken in calling the *νάρθηξ* or 'giant fennel' a reed.

¹ Aisch. *frag.* 193 Nauck² and Acc. 532 ff. Ribbeck³ p. 237 *ap.* Cic. *Tusc.* 2. 23. Cp. Hellanikos *frag.* 112 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 60 Müller) *ap.* Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 227. On the submerged volcano see R. C. Jebb's ed.² of Soph. *Phil.* p. 243 ff.

² Plat. *Prot.* 321 D—E. Hephaistos in Loukian. *Prom.* 5 says to Prometheus: τὸ πῦρ ὑφελόμενος ψυχρὰν μοι τὴν κάμινον ἀπολέλοιπας. Cp. Ibyk. *frag.* 25 Bergk⁴, Soph. *frag.* 335 Nauck², etc. *ap.* Ail. *de nat. an.* 6. 51 prefaced by τὸν Πρωμηθεῖα κλέψαι τὸ πῦρ Ἠφαίστῳ κ.τ.λ.

³ Serv. *in Verg. ecl.* 6. 42 Prometheus, [Iapeti et Clymenes filius,] post factos a se homines dicitur auxilio Minervae caelum ascendisse: et adhibita facula ad rotam Solis ignem furatus, quem hominibus indicavit. The same statement in almost the same words occurs in Myth. Vat. 2. 64, and is quoted from Servius in Myth. Vat. 3. 10. 10.

⁴ See G. H. Bode *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini tres Romae nuper reperti* Cellis 1834 pp. x f., xx f.

⁵ Myth. Vat. 3. 10. 9 clanculum ferulam rotae Phoebi applicans, but later *ib.* a sole faculam accendit. This version of the myth, which occurs with some slight variations also in Myth. Vat. 2. 63 Phoebiacis rotis applicans faculam, can be traced back to Fulgent. 2. 9 clam ferulam Phoebiacis adplicans rotis, *i.e.* to a date c. 480—550 A.D. For the reed cp. a Zakynthian tale *infra* ch. ii. § 3 (c).

x. The Fire-drill in relation to Prometheus,
the Kyklops, and Zeus.

A. Kuhn in his remarkable study on *The Descent of Fire* has made it probable, not to say certain, that this myth of Prometheus thrusting a torch into the solar wheel rests upon the actual custom of obtaining fire by the use of a fire-drill¹. If so, Diodoros was not far wrong when he wrote:

'Prometheus son of Iapetos is said by some mythographers to have stolen fire from the gods and given it to men; but in truth he was the inventor of the fire-sticks, from which fire is kindled².'

The fire-drill, an instrument employed by primitive or backward tribes all the world over³, consists essentially of two sticks, the one vertical, the other horizontal. The former is commonly made of harder wood and regarded as male, the latter of softer wood and regarded as female, the production of fire between them being spoken of as a sexual act. The Rev. J. G. Wood states that the fire-drill may be seen any day in South Africa:

'The operator lays one stick on the ground, and holds it down with his feet, while he places the pointed end of the other stick upon it. This second stick is mostly of harder wood than the first. He then twirls the upright stick between his palms, pressing it slightly downwards, and in a short time he works a small conical hole. Presently, the sides of the hole begin to darken, and a quantity of fine dust falls into it. By the continuous friction so much heat is evolved that the sides of the hole become black, the dust becomes red hot, and, when blown upon, bursts into an evanescent flame. A little fine and very dry grass is then carefully laid upon it, and the blowing continued until the grass takes fire. It is then covered with small dry sticks, and those again with larger, until a good fire is made⁴.'

My illustration (fig. 254) shows a couple of fire-sticks of this sort obtained for me from a Mutoro of Central Africa by my brother-in-law the Rev. H. E. Maddox: three holes have already been drilled in the under stick and a fourth has been commenced. Sometimes the

¹ A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*² Gütersloh 1886 pp. 18 ff., 35.

² Diod. 5. 67.

³ On the fire-drill see E. B. Tylor *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization*³ London 1878 p. 238 ff. More recent literature on the subject is cited by Frazer *Golden Bough*³: The Magic Art ii. 207 ff. (ch. xv 'The Fire-Drill'). Add the illustrated chapters of N. Joly *Man before Metals*³ London 1883 p. 188 ff., J. G. Wood *Man and his Handiwork* London 1886 p. 415 ff., M. Hoernes *Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen* Wien und Leipzig 1909 ii. 1 ff. and the monographs of M. Planck *Die Feuerzeuge der Griechen und Römer* Stuttgart 1884, G. Sarauw *Le feu et son emploi dans le Nord de l'Europe aux temps préhistoriques et protohistoriques* Gent 1907 (extr. from the Annales du xx. Congrès archéol. et histor. de Belgique i. 196—226).

⁴ Rev. J. G. Wood *op. cit.* p. 415.

upper stick is made to rotate by means of a cord or strap. Thus the Rev. J. Stevenson describes the Brahman's method of getting fire from wood:

'It consists in drilling one piece of arafi-wood into another by pulling a string tied to it with a jerk with the one hand, while the other is slackened, and so on alternately till the wood takes fire. The fire is received on cotton or flax held in the hand of an assistant Brahman¹.'

This type of fire-drill has survived as a toy among the Swiss in the canton of Neuchatel², and as an implement of every-day use among the Eskimo and the inhabitants of the Aleutian Isles (fig. 255)³. Further modifications are occasionally introduced, such as the employment of a bow instead of a strap, or the weighting of the

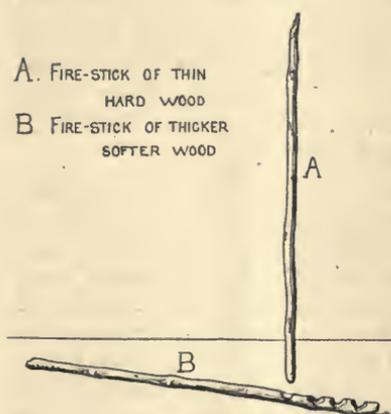


Fig. 254.

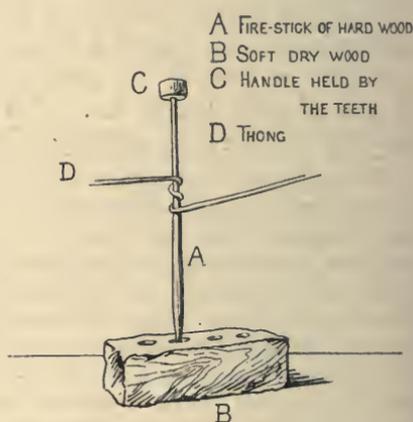


Fig. 255.

spindle with a heavy disk: the former may be seen in a Dacotah fire-drill (fig. 256)⁴, the latter in an ingenious self-winding apparatus used by the Iroquois Indians (fig. 257)⁵. This Iroquois drill bears some resemblance to an eye pierced with a stake. And primitive folk are quick to catch at quasi-human features. Thus Dr Frazer reports that the fire-boards of the Chuckchees in the north-east extremity of Asia

¹ J. Stevenson *Translation of the Sanhitā of the Sāma Veda* London 1842 p. vii f. Cp. W. Crooke *Things Indian* London 1906 p. 209 on the fire-drill as used by the Brahman fire-priests or *Agnihotri*. A full account of their procedure is given by Frazer *Golden Bough*³: The Magic Art ii. 248 ff.

² J. Romilly Allen 'Need-Fire' in *The Illustrated Archaeologist* 1894—1895 ii. 77 f. figs. 1, 2.

³ E. B. Tylor *op. cit.*³ p. 242 fig. 25 from an example in the Edinburgh Industrial Museum, N. Joly *op. cit.*³ p. 193 fig. 69.

⁴ J. G. Wood *op. cit.* p. 419, cp. E. B. Tylor *op. cit.*³ p. 243.

⁵ J. G. Wood *op. cit.* pp. 420, 422, cp. E. B. Tylor *op. cit.*³ p. 244 f.

'are roughly carved in human form and personified, almost deified, as the supernatural guardians of the reindeer. The holes made by drilling in the board are deemed the eyes of the figure and the squeaking noise produced by the friction of the fire-drill in the hole is thought to be its voice. At every sacrifice the mouth of the figure is greased with tallow or with the marrow of bones¹.'

Now, if uncivilised people can regard the fire-stick in its hole as turned about in the eye of a voracious and supernatural herdsman, who squeaks at the process, it becomes—I think—credible that the myth of Odysseus plunging his heated bar into the *Kyklops*' eye originated in a primitive story concerning the discovery of the same simple utensil. Is it a mere coincidence that the Homeric episode culminates in a simile drawn from a strap-drill²?

On this showing the hero of the *Kyklops*-adventure must have been originally a divine or semi-divine figure comparable with that

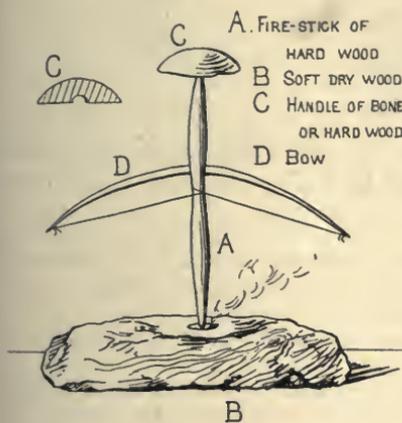


Fig. 256.

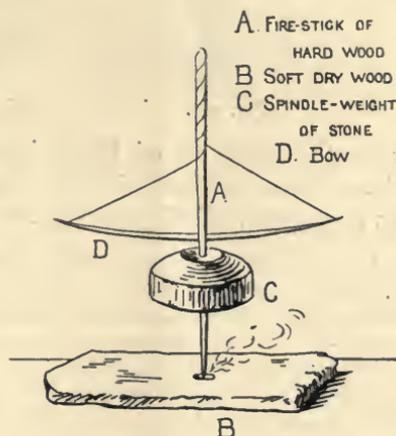


Fig. 257.

of Prometheus. Recently K. Bapp has sought to prove that *Prometheüs* was an appellative or cult-title of the Titan whose true name was Ithas or Ithax³. He relies on two glosses of Hesychios. One of these informs us that Ithas or Ithax was Prometheus the herald of the Titans⁴. The other enables us to connect the name with a verb meaning 'to be heated' (*ithatnesthai*)⁵. The root of this verb is *idh-*, the weak grade of *aidh-* from which *attho*, 'I burn,'

¹ Frazer *Golden Bough*³: The Magic Art ii. 225.

² *Supra* p. 322. Nonnos unconsciously hit the mark, when he described the *Kyklops*' blaze as 'Seed of Sicilian fire and glowing hearth' (*supra* p. 318).

³ K. Bapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3034.

⁴ Hesych. s.v. 'Ιθάς· ὁ τῶν Τιτάνων κήρυξ Προμηθεύς. τινὲς Ἰθάξ.

⁵ Hesych. s.v. Ἰθαίεσθαι· θερμαίεσθαι, cp. s.v. Ἰθαίνεω· εὐφρονεῖν and Ἰθαρός, 'pure, clear.'

aithér, 'the burning sky,' etc. are formed¹. It thus appears that Prometheus was essentially a 'Fire'-god—a conclusion that suits well his relations to Hephaistos and the Kabeiroi². But his name Ithax can hardly be dissociated from Ithake³, the home of Odysseus *Ithakisios* or *Ithakos*⁴. In short, I suspect that behind Odysseus the hero stands an older and more divine personage akin to Prometheus the fire-god. It is surely significant that Odysseus, when pressed by Penelope on his return to declare his lineage, gives himself out as the grandson of the Cretan Minos and says *totidem verbis*:

My famous name is Aithon⁵.

Further, I would suggest that this is the reason why the art-type of Odysseus, e.g. on coppers of Ithake (fig. 258)⁶, is indistinguishable



Fig. 258.



Fig. 259.



Fig. 260.

from the art-type of Hephaistos, e.g. on coppers of Methana (fig. 259)⁷, and virtually identical with that of the bearded Kabeiros⁸, e.g. on coppers of Birytos (fig. 260)⁹.

¹ On this point our philological authorities are unanimous; see L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* ii. 47 and Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 194 s.v. *ἰθαρός*, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 23 s.v. *αἰθήρ, αἴθω*.

² Hyg. *fab.* 31 gives the name of Prometheus' eagle as Aithon (cp. *Il.* 15. 690).

³ Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3040 f.

⁴ Akousileos *frag.* 30 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 103 Müller) ap. schol. *Od.* 17. 207 states that Ithake was named after Ithakos—*Ἰπερελάου παῖδες Ἰθακος καὶ Χήριτος, ἀπὸ Διὸς ἔχοντες τὸ γένος, φέρον τὴν Κεφαλληνίαν. κ.τ.λ.* Cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 307, 8, *in Od.* p. 1815, 44 ff., Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἰθάκη, et. mag.* p. 470, 7 f.

⁵ Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἰθάκη*... *Ἰθακος Ὀδυσσεύς ὁμοφώνως τῷ οἰκιστῇ*, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 307, 9 f. So Eur. *Cycl.* 103 *Ἰθακος Ὀδυσσεύς*, cp. Aristoph. *vesp.* 185 *Ἰθακος Ἀποδρασιππίδου*.

⁶ *Od.* 19. 183 *ἐμοὶ δ' ὄνομα κλυτὸν Αἴθων*, cp. Lyk. *Al.* 432 with Tzet. *ad loc.*, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1861, 36 ff. F. F. Zielinski in *Philologus* 1891 l. 146 ff. argues that Odysseus assumed the name *Αἴθων* because his mother Antikleia, daughter of Autolykos and Mestra (Ov. *met.* 8. 738), was granddaughter of Mestra's father Aithon (Nik. *ap. Ant. Lib.* 17) son of Helios (Soud. s.v. *Αἴθων*): see Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1106. It has been conjectured that Achaïos' satyric drama *Aithon* (*Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 747 ff. Nauck²) had reference to Odysseus: but?

⁷ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 105 f. pl. 21, 8, 9, 11, 13 (my fig. 258), *Head Hist. num.*² p. 428.

⁸ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 163 pl. 30, 10, 11 (my fig. 259), *Head Hist. num.*² p. 442.

⁹ A votive vase from the Theban Kabeirion is inscribed *Ὀλυσσειδᾶς Καβίροι* (*Ath. Mitt.* 1890 xv. 399).

¹⁰ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Troas etc.* p. 40 f. pl. 8. 4 f., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 542. I figure a specimen in my collection. See also Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 680.

Other points of resemblance between the hero of the Kyklops-tale, Prometheus, and

The Sanskrit word for 'fire-drill' is *pramantha*, and persistent attempts have been made to bring the name *Prometheus* into connexion with it¹. Strictly speaking, however, we cannot regard *Prometheus* as the phonetic equivalent of *pramantha*²; and it is only by invoking the uncertain aid of popular etymology that we are enabled to set the two side by side³. On the other hand, it is highly probable⁴ that *pramantha* the 'fire-drill' does explain

the Kabeiros are not lacking. Several versions of the Kyklops-tale make the giant give the hero a ring that binds him to the spot etc. (Append. E Abruzzo, Dolopathos, Oghuzians, Roumania). Zeus, when he fastened Prometheus to Mt. Kaukasos, swore never to release him from his chains; but, on being warned by Prometheus not to marry Tethys, lest he should beget a son to dethrone him as he had himself dethroned Kronos, he did out of gratitude release Prometheus, and, to keep his oath, gave him a ring to wear fashioned out of his chains, in which was set a stone from Mt. Kaukasos (interp. Serv. in Verg. ecl. 6. 42, cp. Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 15, Plin. nat. hist. 37. 2, Isidor. orig. 19. 32. 1). Aisch. frags. 202, 235 Nauck² ap. Athen. 674 D appears to have given Prometheus a garland instead of a ring. An Etruscan mirror shows him wearing a willow(?)-wreath and presented by Herakles and Kastor with two rings (Gerhard Etr. Spiegel iii. 131 pl. 138, Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 3094 f. fig. 5 b). On the rings of the Kabeiroi see *supra* p. 108 f.

Again, Prometheus, like the Kabeiros (*supra* p. 108 ff.), was an axe-bearer (*infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) ii (η)); and K. Bapp in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 3041 acutely compares Axiothea the name of his wife (Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 1283) with the Cabiric names Axieros, Axiokersa, Axiokersos (*supra* p. 109). Odysseus' wife too is famous for her ordeal of the 'axes' (*Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 194, *infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) i (χ)).

¹ A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*¹ Gütersloh 1858 p. 17, *ib.*² Gütersloh 1886 p. 18, A. F. Pott in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1860 ix. 189 f., cp. *ib.* 1857 vi. 104, A. Kaegi *The Rigveda* trans. R. Arrowsmith Boston 1886 p. 132 n. 121, E. W. Hopkins *The Religions of India* Boston etc. 1895 pp. 107, 168.

Miss J. E. Harrison has kindly drawn my attention to W. Schultz 'Das Hakenkreuz als Grundzeichen des westsemitischen Alphabets' in *Memnon* 1909 iii. 175 ff. This ingenious, but over-venturesome, writer attempts to connect Prometheus as inventor of the fire-drill with Prometheus as inventor of the alphabet, the link being the *swastika*.

² J. Schmidt *Zur Geschichte des indogermanischen Vocalismus* Weimar 1871 i. 118, A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 91.

³ *E.g.* by assuming that Prometheus' name was originally Προμανθεός or *Προμηθεός, 'He of the fire-drill,' and that it was distorted into Προμηθεός to suit the supposed connexion with προμήθεια, 'fore-thought.'

⁴ *Pramantha*, the 'fire-drill,' can hardly be separated from *Pramanthu*, the younger brother of *Manthu* and son of *Vira-vrata*, the son of *Madhu* and *Sumanas* (Sir M. Monier-Williams *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* new ed. Oxford 1899 pp. 685, 1006), who is mentioned in the *Bhāgavata Purāna*. My friend Prof. E. J. Rapson writes to me: 'The names Manthu and Pramanthu occur in a long genealogy of one Priyavrata, a kingly sage, but none of their achievements are recorded. It is quite possible that they may occur elsewhere in the Purānas, but at present I have failed to find them mentioned anywhere else. They belong to a class not of deities, but of mighty men of old who as kings and priests became almost gods on earth.' It is certainly tempting to suppose that the brothers *Pramanthu* and *Manthu* correspond with the brothers *Prometheus* and *Epimetheus*; but evidence is lacking.

Promantheús, a title under which Zeus was worshipped at Thourioi¹. Lykophron mentions him in juxtaposition with Zeus *Aithlops Gyrapios* of Chios²—a combination that strengthens his claim to be considered a god 'of the Fire-drill.' Dr Frazer has cited examples from south-west Africa (the Herero) and north-east Asia (the Koryaks and Chuckchees) of the male fire-stick or fire-board being identified with an ancestor, addressed as 'Father,' and venerated as the supernatural guardian of the hearth and home³. He has further suggested a like origin for the association of Iupiter with Vesta in Italian religion⁴. It is not, therefore, difficult to believe that at Thourioi, a Greek colony in south Italy, analogous ideas expressed themselves in a cult of Zeus⁵.

xi. The Solar Wheel combined with Animals.

From the vantage-ground gained in preceding sections we can explain a whole series of bronzes found by Messrs Saltzmann and Biliotti at Kameiros and now in the British Museum. The graves

¹ *Supra* p. 289 f. A. F. Pott in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1857 vi. 103 connected Προμανθεús with μανθάνω and A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*¹ Gütersloh 1858 p. 17, *ib.*² Gütersloh 1886 p. 18, associated both words with *pramantha*.

K. Bapp in *Roscher Lex. Myth.* iii. 3034 f., following Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* p. 97, would read Προμηθεús for Προμανθεús in Lyk. *Al.* 537 and recognise a Zeus Προμηθεús at Thourioi. But the 'early variant' on which he relies is merely a bad reading in Tzetzes' note *ad loc.* (προμαθεús: ed. Müller i. 97 f., 674 'fors. rectius'), not even recorded by E. Scheer (ii. 191).

² *Supra* p. 289 f.

³ Frazer *Golden Bough*³: The Magic Art ii. 222 ff.

⁴ *Id. ib.* ii. 227 ff. On the similar coupling of Zeus ~ Hestia see *infra* ch. iii § 1 (a) ix (a). Note also the Pythagorean identification of the ἐστία τοῦ παντός with the Διὸς οἶκος (*supra* p. 303 n. 6).

⁵ The name Προμανθεús recalls 'Ραδάμανθος (Aeolic Βραδάμανθος for Φραδάμανθος), which might be explained as the 'Rod-twirler,' a compound of the digammated root of ῥάδαμος, ῥάδιξ, ῥάδιος, ῥάδιξ (L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 563, iv. 471 ff., Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 393 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 513 f.) and of the root that appears in Sanskrit as *math* or *manth*, 'to stir or whirl about' (Sir M. Monier-Williams *op. cit.* p. 777). A. Kuhn in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1855 iv. 90, 123 f. long since anticipated this derivation, but took the Rod-twirler ('*Gertenschwinger*') to be Rhadamanthys as judge of the dead. Certainly in that capacity he had a ῥάβδος (Plat. *Gorg.* 526 c) or σκήπτρον (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 1389 i 47); and Miss J. E. Harrison reminds me of Pind. *Ol.* 9. 33 οὐδ' Ἄϊδας ἀκινήταν ἔχε ῥάβδον (see her *Proleg. Gr. Rel.*² p. 45). Yet the second element in Rhadamanthys' name suits my interpretation better. If he was thus connected with the fire-drill, we can understand his genealogy as set forth by Kinaithon *frag.* 1 Kinkel *ap.* Paus. 8. 53-5 <ὤς> 'Ραδάμανθος μὲν Ἡφαίστου, Ἡφαιστος δὲ ἐπὶ Τάλω, Τάλων δὲ εἶναι Κρητὸς παῖδα. But further evidence *deest*.

from which these little objects came contained geometric pottery of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. The bronzes themselves are in the form of a wheel with four, six, seven, eight, or nine spokes, from the centre of which rises a shaft supporting either a duck (fig. 263)¹ or the heads of two animals *adossés*. The animals thus combined are mostly goats (figs. 261, 262)², but cows³, rams⁴, and asses (?)⁵ also occur. In one case (fig. 261)⁶ the wheel has become a square base, but remains four-spoked. In another the central shaft terminates in a mere loop, no animals being added to it⁷. In yet another we have a rude human figure winged and mounted on



Fig. 261.

Fig. 262.

Fig. 263.

a similar wheel⁸. Since the principal cult of the early Rhodians was that of Helios⁹, it can hardly be doubted that the wheel represents the sun. And it is reasonable to conjecture that the

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 12 nos. 158—160, cp. p. 13 no. 174 and *Olympia* iv. 36 no. 210b pl. 13 (bird on wheel-base), *ib.* p. 61 no. 420 pl. 24 (cock on wheel-base).

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 12 f. nos. 161—166, cp. *Olympia* iv. 36 no. 206 pl. 13 (stag on wheel-base).

³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 13 nos. 168 f.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 13 no. 170, cp. *Olympia* iv. 66 no. 477 pl. 25 (two rams back-to-back).

⁵ *Ib.* p. 13 no. 167.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 12 no. 161.

⁷ *Ib.* p. 13 no. 175.

⁸ *Ib.* p. 11 no. 136.

⁹ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 265 ff.

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animals placed upon the solar wheel are in some sense devoted to Helios¹. If so, the absence of horses is noteworthy².



Fig. 264.

An early colony of the Rhodians was Rhode, the modern *Rosas*, in the north-east corner of Spain. It was founded, according to

¹ J. Déchelette 'Le culte du soleil aux temps préhistoriques' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1909 i. 305 ff., ii. 94 ff. and *Manuel d'archéologie* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 413 ff. claims to have discovered dozens of swans or ducks associated with the solar wheel in the art of the bronze age throughout Europe.

² *Supra* p. 180 n. 5.

Strabon¹, many years before the establishment of the Olympic festival (776 B.C.). In its neighbourhood therefore we might look to find a parallel for the Rhodian bronzes. In point of fact it was near Calaceite in the province of Teruel that a farm-labourer in 1903 discovered, along with a bronze cuirass and two iron swords, the remarkable bronze here shown (fig. 264)². It is a horse which stands on a wheel and bears on its back a column topped by a similar wheel, the whole being some 20 cm. in height. Column and wheels alike are decorated with *guilloche*-patterns. The former has a bell-shaped capital and base; the latter have smaller wheels serving as spokes. The body of the horse is connected with the wheel-base by means of a stay or support with spreading foot. This Iberian bronze may be referred to the 'Dipylon' or 'Villanova' period of the Early Iron Age, *i.e.* approximately to the same date as the Rhodian bronzes. Like them it represents an animal on the solar wheel, or rather in between a pair of solar wheels. We are well on the road towards the conception of the solar chariot.

xii. The Solar Chariot.

The transition from solar wheel to solar chariot was perhaps facilitated by a half-forgotten belief that the sun itself was a horse. That belief meets us in the mythologies of various Indo-European peoples³ and very possibly underlies the Greek practice of offering horses to Helios⁴. When the growth of anthromorphism made men no longer content to regard the sun either as a wheel or as a horse, it needed no great effort of imagination to combine both ideas and henceforward to believe in the driver of a celestial chariot⁵.

¹ Strab. 654.

² J. Cabré 'Objetos ibéricos de Calaceite' in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 1908 p. 400 pl., *Rev. Arch.* 1909 i. 320 f. fig. 10, *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv Arch. Anz. p. 294 f. fig. 7 (from a photograph of the bronze as pieced together in the Louvre. Its discoverer, believing it to be of gold, had broken it into fragments; but fortunately J. Cabré had seen it while yet entire).

³ A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*² Gütersloh 1886 p. 51 ff., A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1998 f., A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 31, H. Oldenberg *La religion du Vêda* Paris 1903 pp. 38, 64 ff., 300, E. W. Hopkins *The Religions of India* Boston etc. 1895 p. 41, W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*² Berlin 1905 ii. 203, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 59, 94, 293, R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 105.

⁴ *Supra* p. 180 n. 5.

⁵ A. Kuhn *op. cit.*² p. 51 ff., A. Rapp *loc. cit.*, J. Déchelette in the *Rev. Arch.* 1909 i. 307 ff. and *Manuel d'archéologie* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 413 ff.

The conception of Helios as a rider on horse-back is not Greek (*pace* Rapp *loc. cit.* p. 1999), but hails from Asia Minor (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 381 n. 13 and p. 1532

Evidence of the combination has been found here and there in Greek art. A silver band from a prehistoric grave at *Chalandriani*¹



Fig. 265.

in Syros (*Syra*) shows a horse with a collar, a solar disk, and a bird-like human figure (?) side by side (fig. 265)². Monsieur J. Déchelette claims that this is the pre-Mycenaean prototype of

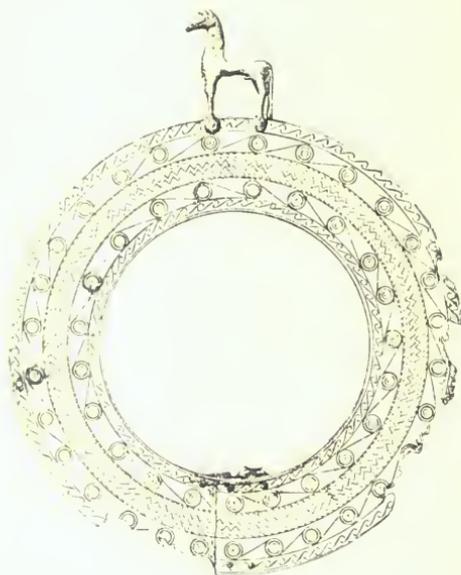


Fig. 266.

the solar equipage³. Again, bronze tripods of geometric style from Olympia have two large ring-shaped handles, on which is set a

n. 4 quotes Dittenberger *Syll. inser. Gr.*² no. 754, 3 "Ἰλιον ἐφ' ἕπιπρω at Pergamon and the numerous representations of a solar rider whose type is discussed by R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 369 ff.).

¹ Ch. Tsountas in the *Εφ. Αρχ.* 1899 p. 123 f. pl. 10. 1.

² J. Déchelette *loc. cit.*, comparing the famous Trundholm chariot (S. Müller *Urgeschichte Europas* Strassburg 1905 col. pl. 2, M. Hoernes *Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen* Wien und Leipzig 1909 ii. 476 f. fig. 206) and its Irish counterparts (R. A. Smith in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* 1903 6—13 figs. 5—7).

horse (fig. 266)¹, more rarely a bird² or bull's head³ or lion⁴. Since the Delphic tripod is sometimes treated as a winged vehicle bearing Apollon across the sea⁵, it is conceivable that tripod-handles were assimilated to the sun. But neither of the band from Syros nor of the handles from Olympia can we say that they *must* be solar; they may be merely decorative. More to the point is the earliest type of Helios as a charioteer on Attic black-figured vases⁶ (figs. 267, 268)⁷. The god emerges from the sea with a team of two or four horses. But the only wheel visible is the disk above his head; and his horses turned inwards or outwards, as the



Fig. 267.



Fig. 268.

case may be, recall in effect the back-to-back arrangement of the Rhodian bronzes (figs. 261, 262)⁸.

¹ A. Furtwängler in *Olympia* iv. 72 ff. e.g. no. 574 pl. 30, no. 607 pl. 33, no. 624 pl. 30, no. 640 pl. 30, and the restorations pl. 34, c, d, e. I figure pl. 33, a.

² *Id. ib.* p. 73 no. 539 pl. 27, p. 79 no. 573 pl. 28 (two birds), p. 93 no. 638 pl. 29, and the restoration pl. 34, b.

³ *Id. ib.* p. 79 no. 572 pl. 29, cp. no. 576 fig.

⁴ *Id. ib.* p. 93 no. 641 pl. 30.

⁵ On a red-figured *hydra* in the Vatican (*Mon. d. Inst.* i pl. 46, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1832 iv. 333 ff., Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. chr.* ii. 20 ff. pl. 6, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 63, 360 Atlas pl. 20, 12, Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 315 fig. 370, Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 102 fig. 108, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1235 n. 2). Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* ii. 20 n. 10 cite a winged tripod from a coin of Agrigentum (G. L. Castelli Prince of Torremuzza *Siciliæ populorum et urbium, regum quoque et tyrannorum veteres nummi* Palermo 1781 pl. 7, 17).

⁶ *Supra* p. 226 f.

⁷ Fig. 104 = *supra* p. 226 n. 4: fig. 105 = *ib.* n. 5.

⁸ Doubtless the grouping of the horses is primarily due to the fact that the artist could not as yet correctly foreshorten his chariot: cp. the metopes from temple C at Selinous (Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* viii. 483 ff. fig. 245, Brunn—Brackmann *Denkm. der gr. und*

Later this type of Helios and his chariot came to be enclosed in the solar disk. A fine example is furnished by a silver-gilt plaque found in a tomb at Elis and acquired in 1906 by the British Museum (pl. xxiv, 1)¹. Its embossed design shows Helios with radiate head driving his horses up from the sea. His cloak is fastened with a big circular stud. A curved exergual line represents the horizon, and two plunging dolphins the sea. Nothing of the chariot is visible. But the whole disk with its shining concave surface and its divergent lines suggests the on-coming sun in a marvellously successful manner. A crescent of bronze (pl. xxiv, 2)² likewise embossed with acanthus-leaves, lotus-work, and two large lilies, equally well suggests the quiet moon. This latter plaque was found in another tomb at Elis along with a whole series of *phálara* or 'horse-trappings'; and such no doubt was the character of our solar disk also. Mr F. H. Marshall dates them all *c.* 300 B.C. These *phálara*, as L. Stephani pointed out, had an apotropæic value³. Indeed, they have it still. My brother-in-law Mr C. H. C. Visick, who owns a good collection of modern horse-amulets ('horses' money'), informs me that most of them are demonstrably derivatives of the sun or moon.

On a red-figured *kratér* from Apulia now at Vienna (fig. 269)⁴ the complete chariot appears surrounded by a rayed disk. The oval shape of this disk was determined by the turn of the horses to right and left, and can hardly have been meant to reproduce the optical illusion of the sun's orb flattened on the horizon. An interesting reminiscence of the solar wheel is the *swastika* on the

röm. Sculpt. pl. 287 a); many black-figured vases (Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* i pls. 1; 2, 62, 2, 106, 6, P. Gardner *Cat. Vases Oxford* p. 6, no. 190 pl. 1, E. A. Gardner *Cat. Vases Cambridge* p. 28 no. 53 pl. 15, Masner *Samml. ant. Vasen u. Terracotten Wien* p. 23 f. no. 220 fig. 14, p. 25 no. 223, p. 29 f. no. 235, p. 30 f. no. 237 pl. 4, Nicole *Cat. Vases d' Athènes Suppl.* p. 167 f. no. 889 pl. 8, *alib.*); bronze plates from Athens (A. G. Bather in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1892—3 xiii. 257 f. pl. 8), Eleutherai (*id. ib.* p. 255 pl. 9, 2), Dodona (C. Carapanos *Dodone et ses ruines* Paris 1878 p. 36 pl. 19, 1, 2, 4), Olympia (A. Furtwängler in *Olympia* iv. 104 f. no. 706 pl. 39). But the Rhodian bronzes too were presumably meant to represent a pair of animals apiece.

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery* p. 239 no. 2108 pl. 40, F. H. Marshall in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909 xxix. 160 fig. 13. Diameter 6.2 cm. Mr Marshall remarks that an exactly similar disk was published by L. Pollak *Klassisch-antike Goldschmiedearbeiten in Besitze Sr. Excellenz A. J. von Nelidow* Leipzig 1903 no. 533 pl. 20.

² F. H. Marshall in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909 xxix. 159 fig. 12. Width 11.5 cm.

³ L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pétr.* 1865 p. 164 ff. Atlas pl. 5, 2—6, 8. Cp. O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1855 p. 42 n. 48.

⁴ T. Panofka 'Helios Atabyrios' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1848 ii. 305 ff. pl. 20, 1, 2, F. G. Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iii. 66 ('Helios steigt während eines Gewitters, das durch den Blitz angedeutet ist, empor'), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 368, 3, A. Bertrand *La religion des Gaulois* Paris 1897 p. 171 f. fig. 28.

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1



2

Phálara from tombs at Elis:

1. Helios rising, on a silver-gilt disk.
2. Lily-work etc., on a bronze crescent.

driver's breast¹. The addition of a thunderbolt to the left of the disk requires explanation². At first sight it is tempting to interpret the scene as that of Phaethon in his father's chariot struck by the bolt of Zeus. But, as T. Panofka long ago observed, this would ill suit the peaceful pose of the charioteer, who extends his hand in



Fig. 269.

greeting, not in terror. Rather we should recollect that two of the sun's steeds, according to the oldest tradition, were named *Bronté* and *Steropé*, 'Thunder' and 'Lightning'³. The sun-god has much in common with the thunder-god.

¹ On the derivation of the *swastika* from the solar wheel see T. Wilson *The Swastika* Washington 1896 *passim* (bibliography pp. 984—996) and recently J. Déchelette in the *Rev. Arch.* 1909 i. 314 ff. and *Manuel d'archéologie* Paris 1910 ii. i. 453 ff.

Miss J. E. Harrison kindly sends me the following criticism: 'I am open to conviction, but I cannot help thinking that the *swastika* precedes the solar wheel and simply represents the four points of the compass in motion. The four points seem to influence tribal arrangements among very primitive people at early stages—see Durkheim et Mauss *Année Sociologique* 1902 p. 1 and 34.'

² Panofka *loc. cit.* p. 305 f. cp. a vase from Apulia of like design and style then in the Betti collection at Naples.

³ The sun's horses bear the following names:

Eumelos <i>ap. Hyg. fab.</i> 183.....	Eous	Aethops	Bronte	Sterope
Schol. Eur. <i>Phoen.</i> 3 a.....	Χρόνος	Αιθώ	'Αστραπή	Βρονή
Schol. Eur. <i>Phoen.</i> 3 b.....	Λάμπων	Φαέθων		
Schol. Soph. <i>El.</i> 825	Φαέθων			
<i>Ov. met.</i> 2. 153 f., cp. <i>Hyg. fab.</i> 183...	Pyrois	Eous	Aethon	Phlegon
<i>Mart. ep.</i> 8. 21. 7, cp. 3. 67. 5	Xanthus	Aethon		
Fulgent. <i>myth.</i> 1. 11	Erythraeus	Actaeon	Lamos	Philogaeus
Homerus (!) <i>ap. Hyg. fab.</i> 183	Abraxas	Soter	Bel	Iao

C.

Zeus too was sometimes conceived as driving a chariot¹. But his chariot, in the Greek area at least², is regularly connected with storm³, not sunshine⁴. It cannot, therefore, be maintained that Zeus the charioteer was directly identified with the sun.

xiii. The Solar Wreath.

The first of May is kept as a day of jest and jollity by the modern Greeks. Parties go to picnic in plains and meadows, returning with sprays of the fragrant *protomaïd*. The young folk make wreaths of flowers and corn. These must be left hanging over the door of the house till May-day comes round again. They are then replaced by next year's garlands, and the withered relics are burnt⁵. I figure (pl. xxv) a wreath of the sort, which I obtained in 1901 at Eleusis, where it was hanging over the door of an inn. The inn-keeper told me that such wreaths are thrown on to the bonfire of Saint John the Baptist (June 24), and that the master of the house is expected to jump over the flames⁶. We have already

¹ First in *Il.* 8. 438 ff. *Zeus δὲ πατὴρ Ἴδθηεν ἐύτροχον ἄρμα καὶ ἵππων | Ὀδλυμπον δ' ἐδίωκε κ.τ.λ.*, cp. *Tib.* 4. 1. 130 f. This conception is utilised by *Plat. Phaedr.* 246 E ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγας ἡγεμῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ *Zeus* ἐλαύνων πτηνὸν ἄρμα πρῶτος πορεύεται διακοσμῶν πάντα καὶ ἐπιμελούμενος κ.τ.λ.

² The Persians, who called the whole circle of the sky 'Zeus' (*supra* p. 10 n. 1), had a chariot sacred to him. When Xerxes' army was on the march, this chariot went immediately in front of Xerxes himself (cp. *Longin. de sublim.* 3. 2 τὰ τοῦ Λεοντίου Γοργίου γελᾶται γράφοντος *Ξέρξης ὁ τῶν Περσῶν Ζεὺς*); it was drawn by eight white horses, and their driver followed them on foot, since no man might ascend the chariot-throne (*Hdt.* 7. 40, cp. 7. 55, 8. 115). When Kyros the elder went in procession from his palace, first came four fine bulls for sacrifice to Zeus etc.; then horses for sacrifice to the Sun; next a white chariot with a golden yoke, adorned with garlands, sacred to Zeus; after that the white chariot of the Sun similarly adorned; then a third chariot, the horses of which were spread with scarlet cloths; behind it a fire on a great hearth or portable altar; and lastly Kyros himself in his chariot (*Xen. Cyr.* 8. 3. 11 ff.). In the time of Alexander the Great it was the custom of the Persian kings to set out in procession at sunrise: first went the sacred eternal fire borne on silver altars; then the Magi chanting; after them 365 youths in scarlet cloaks; next a chariot sacred to Zeus, drawn by white horses and followed by a magnificent horse called the horse of the Sun—the leading horses being decked with gold rods and white cloths (*Curt.* 3. 3. 9 ff.). The sumptuous chariot of Darius iii is well shown in the great mosaic from Pompeii (*F. Winter Das Alexandermosaik aus Pompeji* Strassburg 1909 col. pl. 1, *J. Overbeck—A. Mau Pompeji*⁴ Leipzig 1884 p. 613 ff. with col. pl.). Note that the chariot of Zeus is throughout distinguished from the chariot of the Sun.

³ *Infra* ch. ii § 4 (c).

⁴ A copper coin of Alexandria struck by Trajan has for reverse type Zeus *Ammon* in a chariot drawn by two rams (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* pp. xl, 49 no. 405, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 862). This may be solar (*infra* ch. i § 6 (f) i).

⁵ G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 46, *J. C. Lawson Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 35, *Miss M. Hamilton Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 163 ff.

⁶ See further *Miss M. Hamilton op. cit.* p. 157 ff.

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May-garland of flowers and corn from Eleusis.

See page 338.

seen that Saint John's bonfire was in all probability a sun-charm¹. If so, the wreath burnt upon it may well have represented the sun itself—another case of the solar *apotrópaion* being fixed above the lintel².

Analogous customs are, of course, common throughout Europe. Here in Cambridge the children are out early on the first of May begging all and sundry to 'Remember the May Lady.' They carry garlands, which vary much in shape. The most complete form that I have come across consisted in two hoops set at right angles to each other and decorated with a branch of may: from the point of intersection dangled a doll (fig. 270, *a*). Other forms in use are a single hoop of flowers or coloured tags with crossed strings and a doll in the centre (fig. 270, *b*), a hoop without the cross and doll (fig. 270, *c*), a cross and doll without the hoop (fig. 270, *d*), a mere cross without hoop or doll (fig. 270, *e*). All alike are dubbed 'the May Lady.' The several shapes attest a progressive degradation (globe, wheel, hoop) and ultimate confusion with a different type (cross). Is it rash to conjecture that the May-garland once stood for the sun³, the doll in the flowery hoop being an effigy of the earth-goddess⁴ blossoming beneath his rays?

The wreath of *protomaîd* hung over the doorway in modern Greece had its ancient counterpart in the *eiresíone*. This is commonly described as a branch of olive (or bay) twined with wool and decked with fruits etc., which was paraded from house to house, hung over the lintel for a twelvemonth, and ultimately burnt⁵. But it is noticeable that the same name was given to 'a wreath of flowers'⁶—a May-garland rather than a May-pole. The festivals with which the *eiresíone* was connected are the Panathenaia, the Pyanepsia and the Thargelia, *i.e.* festivals of the greater city deities. But E. Pfuhl⁷ and A. Dieterich⁸ have shown that the private rite attracted to and absorbed by these public festivals was performed—as the scholiast on Aristophanes affirms—for

¹ *Supra* p. 286 ff.

² *Supra* pp. 205 ff., 292 ff.

³ The first of the shapes here shown (fig. 270, *a*) can hardly be separated from that of the intersecting hoops which topped the May-pole, and these appear to have represented the sun (*supra* p. 291).

⁴ Cp. *infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xviii (the garland of *Hellotis*).

⁵ Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 393—397, S. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 497 f. fig. 2616, O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2135 f.

⁶ Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 1054 ἐλαίων κλάδων ἢ στέφανον ἐξ ἀνθῶν ἢ κλάδων πεπλησμένων (cod. Θ.), στέφανον, κλάδων ἐλαιῶν (cod. Dorv.), Alkiph. *ep.* 3. 37 εἰρεσιώνην ἐξ ἀνθῶν πλέσσα κ.τ.λ., cp. Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 316. 9 f. καὶ γὰρ μ' Ἐὐμ[όλοιο] θυηπόλοι, εἰρεσιώνην | [τε]ύξαντες, [μεγάλην ὤπ]ασαν εὐκλέτην.

⁷ E. Pfuhl *De Atheniensium pompis sacris* Berolini 1900 pp. 86—88.

⁸ A. Dieterich *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 338 n. 2.



a



b



c



d



e

Fig. 270.

Helios and the Horai¹. It is, therefore, open to us to maintain that of old, as to-day, the worthy Greek householder hung over his doorway a solar wreath destined to be burnt as a sun-charm on the midsummer fire.

(e) The Sun as the Bird of Zeus.

In Egypt the sky-god Horos was early confused with the sun-god Râ². 'One by one all the functions of Râ,' says Prof. Maspero, 'had been usurped by Horus, and all the designations of Horus had been appropriated by Râ³.' Thus the sparrow-hawk,—or, as Monsieur G. Bénédite has recently contended⁴, the falcon—which was originally conceived as the embodiment of Horos⁵, came to be regarded as the symbol of Râ⁶, or in other words was transferred from the sky to the sun⁷, and was further developed into the phoenix⁸, whose solar connexions are notorious⁹. Moreover, the Horos of Edfû (Ḥeru-beḥuṭet) was known far and wide as the winged solar disk¹⁰. Now Aischylos in his *Suppliants*, a play dealing with a Graeco-Libyan myth¹¹, makes Danaos, the twin-brother of Aigyptos, say to his daughters—

Call now likewise on yonder bird of Zeus.

¹ Schol. Aristoph. *eq.* 729, *Piut.* 1054, Soud. *s.v.* εἰσεσιώνη, cp. Theophrast. *ap. Porph. de abst.* 2. 7.

² E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 146, K. Sethe *Zur altägyptischen Sage vom Sonnenauge* Leipzig 1912 p. 5 f.

³ G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*⁴ London 1901 p. 100.

⁴ G. Bénédite in the *Mon. Piot.* 1909 xvii. 5 ff.

⁵ G. Maspero *op. cit.*⁴ p. 86, E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* i. 466.

⁶ G. Maspero *op. cit.*⁴ p. 100, E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* i. 322, A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 p. 22.

⁷ So in the *Veda* the eagle is connected primarily with Indra the thunder-god (A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 152), but secondarily with Sūrya the sun, which is not only compared with a flying eagle, but directly called an eagle (*id. ib.* p. 31).

⁸ G. Maspero *op. cit.*⁴ p. 136 n. 5, cp. Hdt. 2. 73 (of the phoenix) τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ χρυσοκόμα τῶν περῶν τὰ δὲ ἐρυθρὰ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἰαίειν περιήγησιν ὁμοιοτάτος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος, Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 3 aequilae narratur magnitudine, auri fulgore circa colla, cetero purpureus, caeruleam roseis caudam pinnis distinguentibus, cristis fauces caputque plumae apice honestari, Solin. 33. 11 (copies Pliny). Others (H. Brugsch *Nouvelles recherches sur la division de l'année* p. 49 f., A. Wiedemann 'Die Phönixsage im alten Ägypten' in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 1878 xvi. 89—106, *id. Herodots zweites Buch* p. 314 ff., A. Erman *op. cit.* p. 23) derive the phoenix from the heron (*bennu*) of Heliopolis. As represented in Egyptian (Lanzone *Dizionario di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 198 ff. pl. 70, 1—3), classical and post-classical art (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3465 ff.), the phoenix is more like a heron than a sparrow-hawk, but does not closely resemble either. Türk in Roscher *loc. cit.* p. 3450 is content to describe it as 'ein Wundervogel.'

⁹ D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 182 ff.

¹⁰ *Supra* p. 205 ff.

¹¹ *Infra* ch. ii § 9 (d) ii (a).

The Danaïdes do so in the words—

Lo, thus we call on the saving rays of the sun¹.

This invocation of the sun as the 'bird of Zeus' is probably a deliberate Egyptism on Aischylos' part, and must not in itself be taken to prove that the Greeks entertained the same idea. There are, however, certain beliefs and practices current in ancient Greece which become more intelligible on the assumption that the sun was once viewed as a bird.

The Orphists, jealous guardians of antiquated ideas, opened their *Rhapsodic Theogony* with a somewhat similar invocation:

Sun that soarest aloft on golden wings².

The solar wheel upon which Ixion was bound is not unfrequently figured with wings³; and the solar chariot that took Triptolemos across the world is winged likewise⁴. A bird was on occasion affixed to the *tynx*-wheel⁵. The Lycian symbol is sometimes furnished with bird-heads⁶. The *triskelés* is superposed on a bird⁷, or itself fitted with wings⁸. And the Greeks were familiar with a variety of winged solar deities⁹.

Apart from these examples of the winged sun, several myths merit attention. That of Kirke, as we have seen, presupposes the belief in a solar hawk¹⁰. Ovid tells how Daidalion, grieving for the death of his daughter Chione, flung himself from the summit of Parnassos and, as he fell, was transformed by Apollon into a hawk¹¹. Hyginus adds that *daedalio* means 'a hawk¹².' More probably the name is a mere patronymic, the 'son of Daidalos¹³'; for parallels occur in various versions of the Daidalos-myth. According to Athenian tradition, Talos son of Daidalos' sister was hurled from the Akropolis and in mid air changed by Athena into a partridge¹⁴. But Talos is definitely identified by Hesychios with the sun¹⁵. It would seem, then, that behind the stories of Daidalion

¹ Aisch. *suppl.* 212 f. ΔΑ. καὶ Ζητὸς ὄρνιν τόνδε νῦν κικλήσκει. | ΧΟ. καλοῦμεν αὐτὰς ἡλίου σωτηρίους. The cj. *ἴνιν* for *ὄρνιν* is improbable.

² Orph. *frag.* 49, 3 Abel *ap.* Io. Malal. *chron.* 4 p. 72 f. Dindorf = Kedren. *hist. comp.* 57 A—B (i. 101 f. Bekker) Ἡέλιε, χρυσέησιν ἀειρόμενε πτερύγεσσι. Cp. Orph. *frag.* 65 Abel (of Phanes) χρυσταίαις πτερύγεσσι φορέυμενος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.

³ *Supra* p. 198 ff.

⁴ *Supra* pp. 213 n. 2, 217 ff.

⁵ *Supra* pp. 253, 257.

⁶ *Supra* p. 300 f.

⁷ *Supra* p. 304.

⁸ *Supra* p. 306 f.

⁹ *Supra* p. 296 ff.

¹⁰ *Supra* p. 240 ff.

¹¹ Ov. *met.* 11. 291 ff., cp. Hyg. *fab.* 200, Paus. 8. 4. 6. *Supra* p. 241.

¹² Hyg. *loc. cit.*

¹³ Ov. *met.* 11. 271 ff., 294 ff. makes Daidalion son of the Morning Star (*Lucifer*).

¹⁴ *Infra* ch. i § 6 (h) iv.

¹⁵ *Infra* ch. i § 6 (h) i.

turned into a hawk and of Daidalos' nephew Talos turned into a partridge lay the old conception of the solar bird. Again, in another version, which has been traced back to the *Cretans* of Euripides¹, Daidalos imprisoned in the Labyrinth made wings for himself and his son Ikaros: Daidalos got safely away, but Ikaros soaring too high had his wings melted off by the sun and fell into the sea. Many mythologists, arguing from the analogy of Phaethon etc., have concluded that Ikaros was the sun conceived as falling from the height of heaven². If this conclusion, which squares well with the foregoing account of Talos, is valid, we have once more the sun represented by a bird-like figure. A folk-tale from Zakynthos, in which B. Schmidt recognised certain traits of the Ikaros-myth³, is here to the point:

'In the time of the Hellenes there once lived a king, who was the strongest man of his day; and the three hairs on his breast were so long that you could take them and twist them twice round your hand⁴. Another king once declared war against him, and on a certain month the fighting began. At first the other king was victorious; but afterwards the strong king with his army beat the enemy and pursued them to their town. He would there and then have destroyed them all, had they not given 400,000 dollars to his wife, who betrayed him and cut off his three hairs. This made him the weakest of all men. The enemy then took him prisoner, bound him, shut him up in a fortress, and gave him only an ounce of bread and an ounce of water a day. However, his hairs soon began to grow again. So Captain Thirteen—that was his name—and thirteen of his companions were flung by the enemy into a pit. As he was the last to be flung in, he fell on the top of his companions and escaped death. But his enemies then covered the pit with a mountain. On the second day

¹ C. Robert in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2001, G. Knaack in *Hermes* 1902 xxxvii. 598 ff., Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 525 f.

² E.g. Gilbert *Gr. Götterl.* p. 180 and the author of the latest monograph on the subject R. Holland *Die Sage von Daidalos und Ikaros* (Abh. zu dem Ber. der Thomaschule) Leipzig 1902—both cited and criticised by Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 523 f., who adheres to his opinion that 'Ikaros...ist der im Laufe des April und im Anfang Mai in der Sonnennähe verschwindende Orion' (*Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 946) or perhaps, like Phaethon (*ib.* pp. 42, 336, 960), the Morning Star (*ib.* pp. 960, 1310). But the analogy of Talos, whom Gruppe admits to have been the sun (*ib.* p. 1310 'Ein Helios war ursprünglich der kretische Talos'), makes strongly for the solar view.

³ B. Schmidt *Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder* Leipzig 1877 p. 91 ff. Märchen no. 11 'Ο καπιτάνος Δεκαπείς with nn. *ib.* p. 229, J. G. Frazer on Paus. 9. 11. 4 (v. 47, where for 'a sea-devil clawed him with a thirteen-pronged fork' read 'the god of the sea struck him with a three-pronged fork'), J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 75 f.

⁴ B. Schmidt *op. cit.* p. 229 and *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 206 n. 2 cp. a tale from Syra in J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 279 ff. and another from Kypros in A. A. Sakellarios *Τὰ Κυπριακά* Athens 1855 no. 8, in both of which the hero's strength is vested in three golden hairs on the top of his head. So in a tale from Epeiros (J. G. von Hahn *op. cit.* i. 215 ff.). See further Frazer *Golden Bough*² iii. 358 f., 390 f., *ib.*³ Taboo p. 253 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 882, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3262 f.

after he was thrown into the pit he found a dead bird somewhere. He stuck its wings on to his hands and flew up. He knocked his head on the mountain and sent it spinning up to the sun. He then flew further afield and soared high into the air. But a rain-storm came on and softened the clay, with which he had stuck the feathers on. So Captain Thirteen fell into the sea. Out came the sea-god¹ and with his three-pronged fork gave him such a blow that the sea turned red with his blood, and changed him into a big fish, a dolphin. He told him too that he could never change back again till he found a girl willing to marry him. Now the sea in which the dolphin lived was of such a sort that no ship entering it could get out again. It so happened that a king and his daughter came that way. They got in easily enough but couldn't get out again; and so fearful a storm overtook them that their ship broke up. Nobody was saved but the princess and the king; for the dolphin took them both on his back to a small island, and then set them ashore on the coast they had come from. The princess resolved to wed the dolphin, and, to get him up to her castle, had a big canal dug from the sea to it. When all was ready for the wedding, the dolphin shook off his skin and changed into a young man of gigantic strength and great beauty. He married the princess, and they lived happily ever after—but we here more happily still.'

This tale combines the characteristics of Ikaros with those of Pterelaos, the Taphian hero whose life depended on a golden hair. Amphitryon and his allies could not capture Taphos till Komaitho the daughter of Pterelaos, in love with the hostile chief, plucked or cut the fateful hair from her father's head². O. Gruppe³ infers from the name *Pterélaos* that a bird played an important part in the Taphian legend⁴, and justly compares the Megarian myth of Nisos and Skylla, which not only contained the same episode of the purple or golden life-lock but also involved the metamorphosis of the father into a sea-eagle and of the faithless daughter into a heron⁵.

Ikaros' tomb was shown on a headland of Ikaria, the island west of Samos⁶. Daidalion and Talos were both precipitated from a rocky eminence. And the story of Skylla was associated with the point Skyllaion near Hermione⁷. This recurrence of a headland suggests comparison with the ritual of the Leucadian promontory. The 'White Rock,' as Homer calls it⁸, is a cliff that

¹ ὁ δαίμονας τῆς θάλασσης.

² Apollod. 2. 4. 7, Tzet. ἰη Lyk. *Al.* 932, Dion Chrys. *or.* 64 p. 341 Reiske, *Ov. ibis* 361 f.

³ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1412 n. 6.

⁴ O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3266 conjectures that Pterelaos was changed into a κρέξ, Komaitho into an αἰθνια (so M. Mayer in *Hermes* 1892 xxvii. 489), its natural enemy (*Ail. de nat. an.* 4. 5). But this is hardly to be got out of Soud. *s.v.* κρέκα: τὴν τρίχα. πορφύρεην ἤμησε κρέκα, which may refer to Nisos and Skylla.

⁵ Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 425 ff.

⁶ Paus. 9. 11. 5.

⁷ Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 426.

⁸ *Od.* 24. 11 Λευκάδα πέτρην.

rises on one side perpendicularly from the sea to a height of at least 200 ft and has on its summit remains of the temple of Apollon *Leukatas*. Once a year at the festival of Apollon the Leucadians, to avert evil, flung a criminal from the top of their cliff. Wings of all sorts and birds were attached to him in order to lighten his 'leap'; and many persons in small boats waited down below to pick him up and, if possible, get him in safety beyond the boundary¹. Dr Frazer regards 'these humane precautions' as probably 'a mitigation of an earlier custom of flinging the scapegoat into the sea to drown²'. But this hardly explains the peculiar feather-garb, which surely implies that the victim was a quasi-bird like Ikaros. It is significant that the eponym Leukadios was the son of Ikarios³. Further, the Leucadian 'leap' was persistently connected with Sappho's love for Phaon⁴, the favourite of Aphrodite, who was said to have founded a temple for his goddess on the Leucadian rock⁵. But *Phaon*, as K. O. Müller pointed out⁶, is simply a doublet of *Phaethon*, 'the Shining One.' There is, therefore, much to be said for the view recently advanced by A. Fick⁷ that the Leucadian 'leap' was the ritual of a solar festival⁸, that

¹ Strab. 452. Cp. Phot. *lex. s.v.* Λευκάτης· σκόπελος τῆς Ἡπείρου, ἀφ' οὗ ῥίπτονται αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ πέλαγος οἱ λεπεῖς (so MS., Schleusner cj. ἐρασταί)· κ.τ.λ.

² Frazer *Golden Bough*² iii. 126 and on Paus. 10. 32. 6 (v. 401). Cp. C. O. Müller *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race* Oxford 1830 i. 260 f.

³ *Alcmaeonis frag.* 5 Kinkel and Ephoros *frag.* 57 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 248 Müller) *ap.* Strab. 452, cp. *ib.* 461, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1964, 52. This Ikarios is called Ikaros by Eustath. *in Il.* p. 293, 12 f., schol. B. L. *Il.* 2. 581, schol. Eur. *Or.* 457.

⁴ Menand. *Leucadia frag.* 1 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 158 f. Meineke) *ap.* Strab. 452 and Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 3. 279, Turpilius (*Com. Rom. frag.* p. 113 ff. Ribbeck) *ap.* Serv. *loc. cit.*, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Λευκάτης. See further J. Ilberg in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2272 ff.

Others declared that the 'leap' had first been taken by Kephalos son of Deïoneus out of love for Pterelas (Strab. 452, cp. *ib.* 461), or by Leukates to escape the love of Apollon (Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 3. 279).

Ptol. Hephaist. *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 153 a 7 ff. Bekker gives a long list of lovers who had leapt from the rock, commencing with Aphrodite herself. She thereby got rid of her love for Adonis: ζητούσης δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν λέγεται τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, ὡς μάντις ὦν ἐγνώκει διότι ὁ θεὸς αἰετῶν ἦρας ἐρχόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ ἐκαθέζετο καὶ ἀνεπαύετο τοῦ ἔρωτος!

⁵ Serv. *loc. cit.*

⁶ K. O. Müller *Dorier*² i. 233, *id.* *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*⁴ i. 292 f. On φαῖν, φαέθω see L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iii. 348 ff., Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 482.

⁷ A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 137 ff., *id.* *Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland* Göttingen 1909 p. 43. Fick ascribes this cult of the sun-bird to the Leleges. His notion that 'Πτερέλας ist der "auf Flügeln Daherfahrende," von πτέρω [sic] und ελα treiben, fahren gebildet' (*Vorgr. Ortsn.* p. 138) ignores the forms Πτερέλαος, Πτερέλεως: the second element in the word is certainly λαός, λεώς (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3264).

⁸ On a copper of Nikopolis in Epeiros (?), struck by Trajan, Apollon *Leukates* (ΙΩΛΟΠΑ.ΛΕΥΚΑΤΗΣ) is shown, a nude figure on a pedestal with volutes: he

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Ikaros, Nisos, Pterelaos are so many mythical expressions of one belief, and that all alike imply the primitive conception of the sun as a bird.

(f) The Sun and the Ram.

i. The Ram and the Sun in Egypt. Zeus *Ammon*.

(a) Khnemu and Amen.

Another animal that came to be associated with the sun in Egypt was the ram. Khnemu, the great god of Elephantine¹, was represented originally as a ram², but in historical times generally as a ram-headed human figure. From the beginning of the New Kingdom (s. xvi B.C.) onwards he was fused with the sun-god Râ and worshipped throughout southern Egypt as Khnemu-Râ, a ram-headed deity often depicted as wearing the solar disk³. Râ himself was on occasion addressed as a ram, to judge from one of *The Seventy-five Praises of Râ* found at Thebes on the walls of royal tombs of the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties:

‘Praise be to thee, o Râ, exalted power. Thou raisest thy head, and thou makest bold thy brow, thou ram, mightiest of created things⁴.’

At Herakleoupolis (*Henen-su*) Khnemu was equated with the local solar god Her-shef, who not only receives many of the titles of Râ but is also represented with a ram’s head⁵. At Mendes too Khnemu

has a quiver and holds a bow in his lowered left hand, a torch in his extended right (J. Friedländer in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1869 xxvii. 103 pl. 23, 21, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 141, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 321). The torch suggests that the cult was solar.

¹ Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 956 ff. pl. 336 f., W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1250 ff., K. Sethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2349 ff.

² This is inferred from the hieroglyphic form of his name (Sethe *loc. cit.* p. 2350).

³ A. Wiedemann *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* London 1897 p. 128, E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 ii. 51 ff., Drexler *loc. cit.* p. 1252 f., Sethe *loc. cit.* p. 2351.

A coin of the Hypselite nome, struck under Hadrian, shows Isis holding in her hand a ram with a disk on its head (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 363), i.e. Khnemu-Râ in the form of a ram (cp. Sethe *ib.*).

⁴ E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* i. 342.

⁵ *Id. ib.* ii. 58 ff., Drexler *loc. cit.* i. 1848 ff. and ii. 1252, R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1271 f. Cp. Ariston *Alex. frag.* 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 324 f. Müller) ap. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 37 Ἀρίστων τοίνυν ὁ γεγραφῶς Ἀθηναίων ἀποικίαν ἐπιστολῆ ται Ἀλεξάρχου περιέπεσεν, ἐν ἣ Διὸς ἱστορεῖται καὶ Ἰσιδος υἱὸς ὦν ὁ Διδόνυσος ὑπὸ Ἀγυπτίων, οὐκ Ὅσιρις, ἀλλὰ Ἀρσαφῆς (ἐν τῷ ἄλφα γράμματι) λέγεσθαι, δηλοῦντος τὸ ἀνδρείον τοῦ ὀνόματος. ἐμφαίνει δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Ὁρμαῖος, ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ Περὶ τῶν Ἀγυπτίων Ὁμβριμον γὰρ φησι μεθερμηνεύμενον εἶναι τὸν Ὅσιρον (Hermaios in *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 427 Müller).

A magnificent gold statuette of Her-shef with a ram’s head was found by Prof. Flinders Petrie at Herakleoupolis: it dates from the twenty-fifth dynasty, s. viii B.C. (*Man* 1904

was identified with another local form of Râ, namely *Ba-neb-Ṭettu*, 'the Ram, lord of *Ṭettu*'.

Amen, the provincial god of Thebes², who rose with the rise of Theban power till as Amen-Râ he became 'King of the Gods' of all Egypt³, was another ram-divinity. He was figured sometimes as a ram, more often as a ram-headed or ram-horned god wearing the solar disk. But, whereas the ram of Khnemu belonged to a very ancient Libyan species with goat-like horns projecting horizontally from its head, the ram of Amen, like the rams of 'Minoan' art, had horns curving sharply downwards⁴—a fact of which we are reminded by the 'ammonites' of our geologists. In the time of the eighteenth dynasty (s. xvi B.C.) Khnemu acquired the horns of Amen in addition to his own⁵, while *en revanche* Amen acquired those of Khnemu and was even represented as a ram of the Khnemu-species⁶.

(β) Amen and Zeus *Thebaieús*.

Herodotos, who speaks of Amen-Râ more than once as the Theban Zeus⁷, reports a remarkable myth concerning him:

'All who have a temple of Zeus *Thebaieús* or belong to the Theban nome abstain from sheep and sacrifice goats...But those who possess a temple of Mendes or belong to the Mendesian nome abstain from goats⁸ and sacrifice sheep. The Thebans, then, and those who on their account abstain from sheep explain that this custom of theirs arose in the following way. Herakles was very eager to set eyes on Zeus, and Zeus did not wish to be seen by him. At

p. 113 ff. pl. H. W. M. Flinders Petrie *The Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt* Edinburgh & London 1909 p. 94 fig. 107).

¹ E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* ii. 64 ff., 353 f., A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 p. 205 f.

² Lanzone *Dision. di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 29 ff. pl. 18 ff., E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 283 ff., R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1853 ff.

³ R. Pietschmann *ib.* i. 1874 s.v. 'Amonrasonthor.'

⁴ O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 p. 309 ff., who holds that the tradition of Herakles importing sheep from north Africa into Greece (Palaiph. 18 (19), Varr. *rer. rust.* 2. 1. 6) corresponds with a cultural fact.

⁵ K. Sethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2350. Cp. Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 12. 1 κατά δὲ τὴν Ἐλεφαντίνην πόλιν τετιμῆται ἄγαλμα, πεπλασμένον μὲν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρείκελον καὶ καθήμενον, κυναῶν τε τὴν χροιάν, κεφαλὴν δὲ κριοῦ κεκτημένον, καὶ βασιλείον, κέρατα τράγεια ἔχον, οἷς ἔπεισι κύκλος διακοσιδύς. κάθηται δὲ παρακειμένου κεραμέου ἀγγελίου, ἐφ' οὗ ἀνθρώπων ἀναπλάσσειν (see Lanzone *op. cit.* pl. 336, 3). δηλοῖ δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ κριοῦ πρόσωπον ἔχειν καὶ αἰγὸς κέρατα τὴν ἐν κριῶ σύνοδον ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης· τὸ δὲ ἐκ κυναῶ χρώμα, ὅτι ὕδραγωγὸς ἐν συνόδῳ ἢ σελήνῃ.

⁶ R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1855, A. Wiedemann *op. cit.* p. 118 f.

⁷ Hdt. 1. 182, 2. 42, 2. 54, 4. 181, cp. Eudok. *viol.* 75 τοῦ Θεβαίου Διός.

⁸ On the goat-cult of Mendes see Pind. *frag.* 201 Christ with n., Hdt. 2. 46, Plout. *Gryll.* 5, Soud. s.v. Μένδην.

last, when Herakles was importunate, Zeus thought of this device. He flayed a ram, cut off its head, donned the skin, held the head in front of him, and so showed himself to Herakles. From this circumstance the Egyptians make the statue of Zeus ram-faced; and the Ammonians have got it from the Egyptians, since they are settlers of the Egyptians and Ethiopians and speak a *patois* of both languages. In my opinion, the Ammonians took their name too from the same event, *Amoûn* being the Egyptian term for Zeus. The Thebans for the reason I have stated do not sacrifice rams but treat them as sacred. However, once a year, on the festival of Zeus, they, like their god, cut up and flay a ram: they thus clothe the statue of Zeus and then bring before it another statue, that of Herakles. When they have so done, all who are round about the temple beat themselves in mourning for the ram and then bury it in a sacred sarcophagus¹.

The rite implied by this myth has not hitherto been found represented on the monuments². But it is by no means improbable that *Âmen-Râ* (Zeus *Thebaïeus*) was annually confronted with Shu (Herakles), who is often called 'the son of Râ³' and as god of the atmosphere 'draws the air before Râ⁴', 'brings the sweet breath of life to the nose of Osiris⁵', etc. The great hymn to *Âmen-Râ* in the Oasis of El-Charge even identifies that god with 'the soul of Shu⁶'.

(γ) *Âmen* and Zeus *Âmmon*.

Herodotos, therefore, did not hesitate to identify the Greek Zeus with *Âmen-Râ*, the Theban ram-god and sun-god. Doubtless, when Lucian in the second century of our era makes *Mômos*, the

¹ Hdt. 2. 42, cp. 4. 181. Zeus *Θηβαιεύς* had a human consort, who slept in his temple (Hdt. 1. 182): she was a woman chosen for good looks and good birth; and she gave her favours to whom she would till she was past the age for child-bearing, when lamentation was made for her and she was bestowed upon a husband (Strab. 816). The journey of Zeus to Aithiopia (*Il.* 1. 423 f.) and his union with Hera (*supra* p. 154 ff.) were localised at Thebes. Every year the shrine of Zeus was taken across the river into Libye, returning after certain days, as though the god had come from Aithiopia; and on the occasion of great public festivals two shrines, presumably for Zeus and Hera, were carried up a mountain, which was strown by the priests with all kinds of flowers (Diod. 1. 97, schol. *Il.* 1. 425). Thebes had a temple dedicated to the parents of Zeus and Hera; and two golden shrines of Zeus, the larger of which belonged to Zeus the sky-god, the smaller to *Âmmon* the former king and father of the people (Diod. 1. 15). On account of this popular cult Thebes came to be called *Διόσπολις* or *Διόσπολις μεγάλη* (Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1144 f.).

On the connexion between *Âmmon* and Herakles see Arrian. 3. 3. 1, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 11, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 4. 196, Vopisc. *Aur.* 22 ff. (the name *Heraclammon*), and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1506 n. 1.

² H. Brugsch cited by H. Stein on Hdt. 2. 42.

³ Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 1163 f.

⁴ E. Naville *Book of the Dead*. ch. 55 and 38 B, 1. For these and the following references I am indebted to Roeder in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 571.

⁵ Pap. Salt. 825, Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 1167 pl. 386, 4.

⁶ H. Brugsch *Reise nach der grossen Oase El Khargeh in der Libyschen Wüste* Leipzig 1878, pl. 15, 5.

god of 'Mockery,' ask Zeus how he can permit ram's horns to be affixed to him and makes Zeus apologise for the disgrace¹, Greek refinement had come to despise these barbaric identifications. But in earlier days and with simpler folk it was not so. The Greeks in general delighted to trace an analogy, sometimes quite unessential, not to say far-fetched, between their own deities and those of the foreigners among whom they were sojourning. It was a cheer to meet a familiar face in a strange country, even if the garb was outlandish and some of the accessories novel. If the Egyptian Amen



Fig. 271.

was 'King of the Gods,' pious Greeks would regard him as their own Zeus and would readily discover further points of resemblance². In fact, they would be glad to worship him under his new-found

¹ Loukian. *deor. concil.* 10 f.

² A. Wiedemann *op. cit.* p. 118 remarks that Amen-Râ 'was sometimes coloured blue, probably because that was the colour of the heavens in which he ruled as Sun god' (*ib.* n. 3 'Amen is coloured green in the tomb of Seti I'). If so, we may cp. the blue *nimbus*, globe, and mantle of Zeus (*supra* p. 33 ff.). But Khnemu was coloured blue as a water-god or Nile-god (*supra* p. 347 n. 5, K. Sethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2351). The two alleged reasons are not necessarily incompatible: Homer speaks of the Nile as *διπετέος ποταμοῖο* (*Od.* 4. 477 with schol.).

aspect as Zeus *Ammon*¹. They did not indeed represent him as a ram or even give him a ram's head; for the whole trend of Greek religious art was away from theriomorphism. But they hinted at the animal-conception by adding to the divine head ram's ears and downward-curving horns. The Naples bust (fig. 271)², which goes back to a fifth-century original of quasi-Pheidiac type³ perhaps existent once at Kyrene⁴, shows how far they succeeded in combining the infra-human with the supra-human, the ram with Zeus.

So Zeus through contact with *Āmen* became Zeus *Āmmon*. Where the change first took place, we cannot with certainty determine. It may have been at Thebes, the original *nidus* of the *Āmen*-cult; for Herodotos definitely states that the Ammonians got their worship from that of Zeus *Thebaieus*⁵. On the other hand, the fact that he calls the Theban god Zeus *Thebaieus* rather than Zeus *Āmmon* makes it more probable that we should look away from Thebes to the *Ammonéion*—the remote Oasis of Siwah, where the Theban Pharaohs planted their favourite religion⁶ in a spot destined to become famous throughout the ancient world. Hence the cult radiated, perhaps southwards to Meroë, where the oracular *Āmmon* is known to have been worshipped⁷, certainly northwards to Kyrene, where Zeus was honoured under a variety of titles⁸ and *Āmmon* came to be reckoned as a patron-god⁹.

There is, further, some little uncertainty as to the date at which

¹ On the various forms of this name see R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1853 f.

² *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 84 no. 267, E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1848 xx. 193 pl. H, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 278 Atlas pl. 3, 3, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 37 pl. 3, 9 a herm of Greek marble—height 0.43^m.

³ A. Furtwängler 'Ueber Statuenkopieen im Alterthum' in the *Abh. d. bayer. Akad.* 1897 Philos.-philol. Classe xx. 563—565.

⁴ F. Studniczka *Kyrene* Leipzig 1890 p. 83.

⁵ Hdt. 4. 181.

⁶ G. Maspero *The Passing of the Empires* London 1900 p. 552.

⁷ *Infra* p. 376 n. 3. Cp. Metrod. *Perieget. ap. Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 3. 479 (text reconstituted by E. Maass in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1902 v. 213 f.) *Ammonis templum Iovis inter Aethiopes Endios (ἐνδιούς, 'southern')—sunt enim et qui Pseudoaethiopiae vocantur—et Libyas ultimos.*

⁸ Zeus *Ἐλινώμενος* (*supra* p. 92), *Δύκαιος* (*supra* p. 89 ff.), *Σωτήρ* (R. Murdoch Smith—E. A. Porcher *History of the Recent Discoveries at Cyrene* London 1864 p. 113 inscr. no. 11). Euphemos too, a figure intimately connected with Kyrene, recalls the Zeus *Ἐσφῆμος* of Lesbos (Hesych. *Ἐσφῆμος· ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Λέσβῳ*, cp. *Ἐσφάμιος· ὁ Ζεὺς*) and the Zeus *Φῆμος* of Erythrai (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 600, 26 f. *Ζηνὸς | [Φη]μίου καὶ Ἀθηναῖς Φημίας*).

⁹ In Plat. *polit.* 257 B Theodoros of Kyrene (*id. Theaet.* 143 C—D) says εὐ γε νῆ τὸν ἡμέτερον θεόν, ὃ Σώκρατες, τὸν Ἀμμῶνα. See L. Malten *Kyrene* Berlin 1911 p. 118 n. 6. R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1856 cp. Synes. 4. 167, where Kyrenaïke is called ἡ Ἀμμωνος γῆ.

this Egyptising Zeus arose. At Kyrene his head first appears on silver coins about the year 500 B.C.¹ The cult seems to have spread as early as the sixth century to Lakonike². A herm of bluish marble found beneath the mediaeval fortress *Passava*, the ancient Las, near Gythion shows a pillar surmounted by a simple ram's head (fig. 272)³. Whether this is, as Miss Harrison has suggested to me, an indigenous ram-god⁴, or whether it should rather be classed as a theriomorphic *Ammon*, we have at present no means of deciding. At Gythion itself Pausanias found a sanctuary of *Ammon* along with Apollon *Kárneios*, a bronze statue of Asklepios, a spring of the same god, a holy sanctuary of Demeter, and a statue of Poseidon *Gaiábchos*⁵. *Ammon* was here in excellent company, Apollon *Kárneios*, Demeter, and Poseidon *Gaiábchos* being old and honoured deities of the land⁶; besides, he was appropriately placed, next to Apollon *Kárneios*, whose cult-title marks him as an ancient ram-god⁷, and to Asklepios, who stood beside him at



Fig. 272.

¹ Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1359 ff. pl. 64, 16 f., 20—23, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 567 pl. 92, 1, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 866 ff.

² Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 264 'nicht vor 600 v. Chr.,' Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1558 'vielleicht schon im vi. Jahrhundert.'

³ B. Schröder in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1904 xxix. 21—24 fig. 1. Height .57 m. The pillar ends below in a tenon. The shaft is square in section, slightly tapering, and somewhat rounded in front. About 18.5 cm. below the chin is a shallow hole perhaps meant for an inset *phallós*, unless this was the navel and the *phallós* was added lower down.

⁴ See S. Eitrem *Beiträge zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte* i. Der vor-dorische Widdergott Christiania 1910.

⁵ Paus. 3. 21. 8.

⁶ Wide *op. cit.* p. 263.

⁷ S. Wide in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 961 ff. and O. Höfer *ib.* 964 ff. Hesych. s.vv. *κάρ...* *πρόβατον*, *κάρα*: "...Ἰωνες τὰ πρόβατα, Καρνεῖος ἐπιθετον Ἀπόλλωνος ἰσως ἀπὸ Κάρνου τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Ἐυρώπης, κάρνος...βόσκημα; πρόβατον, καρνοστάσιον ἔπου ἦδ κάρνον ἴσταται. The whole group of words is ultimately connected with *κέρας*, 'horn,' the *κάρνος* being the 'horned' sheep (L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* ii. 361, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. Gr. Spr.*² p. 216 f., Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* pp. 414, 437 ff., 498 f.): *κρίος*, 'ram,' is referable to the same root (L. Meyer *op. cit.* ii. 408 f., Prellwitz *op. cit.* p. 245, Boisacq *op. cit.* p. 519). At Sparta *Karneios* surnamed *Oikéttas* (cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1446) was worshipped before the return of the Herakleidai, having a shrine in the house of Krios, son of Theokles, a sooth-sayer (Paus. 3. 13. 3). Apollon *Karneios* was worshipped by all the Dorians from the time of Karnos an Akarnanian, who was inspired with the gift of sooth-saying by Apollon (*id.* 3. 13. 4, schol. vet. Theokr. 5. 83). A countryman, who claims to be beloved by Apollon, is feeding a fine ram for him against

Kyrene also¹. At Sparta there was another sanctuary of *Ammon*, concerning which Pausanias remarks:

From the earliest times the oracle in Libye is known to have been consulted by the Lacedaemonians more frequently than by the rest of the Hellenes. It is said that when Lysandros was besieging Aphytis in Pallene, *Ammon* appeared to him by night and foretold that it would be better for him and for Lakedaimon to desist from the war with the Aphytaeans. So Lysandros raised the siege and induced the Lacedaemonians to revere the god more than ever: and the Aphytaeans are not a whit behind the Ammonian Libyans in their respect for *Ammon*.²

Certainly Aphytis possessed an oracle of *Ammon*³, whose head appears as the principal type on its coinage from 424 B.C. onwards⁴. Lysandros himself had a brother named Libys after a Libyan king, who was a friend of the family⁵. And, when Lysandros found it expedient to be absent awhile from Sparta, he obtained permission to go on a pilgrimage to Libye⁶. He even attempted to bribe the oracle of *Ammon* in the Oasis, hoping to obtain its support for certain revolutionary measures that he was contemplating; but the god sent emissaries to accuse him before the Spartans. On his acquittal the Libyans withdrew, protesting that, when, in accordance with an ancient oracle, Lacedaemonians came to settle in Libye, Libyan justice would be found superior to that of Sparta⁷. The Spartans, apparently, were in the habit of consulting various oracles, that of *Ammon* among them, on matters of importance⁸; and it was said that the oracle of *Ammon* preferred the laconic brevity of the Spartans to the elaborate ritual of the other Greeks⁹. Another town that had established relations with the Oasis as early as the first half of the fifth century was Thebes. Pausanias speaks of a temple of *Ammon* as built there, and adds:

The image was dedicated by Pindar: it is a work of Kalamis. Pindar also sent a hymn in honour of *Ammon* to the Ammonians in Libye. This hymn was still to be seen in my time on a triangular slab beside the altar which Ptolemaios, son of Lagos, dedicated to *Ammon*¹⁰.

the festival of the Karneia (Theokr. 7, 83). Altogether, the ram-connexion is well-established.

See further S. Littren *Beitrag zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte* i. Der vor-dorische Wildergott Christiania 1910 pp. 1—24.

¹ Gruppe *Gr. Myt. II.*, p. 1578 n. 5, citing J. Zingerle in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 xxi. 79.

² Paus. 3, 18, 3, cp. Plout. 7, *Lys.*, 20.

³ Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀφύτις ἢ Ἀφίτις.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia etc. p. 61, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 209 f.

⁵ Diod. 14, 13.

⁶ Plout. 7, *Lys.*, 20.

⁷ Plout. 7, *Lys.*, 25 (after Ephoros), Diod. 14, 13, cp. Cic. *de div.* 1, 96.

⁸ Cic. *de div.* 1, 95.

⁹ Plat. *Alcib.* ii. 149 B.

¹⁰ Paus. 9, 16, 1.

A brief fragment of it containing the invocation—

Ammon, lord of Olympos,—

is quoted by a Greek commentator on the Pythian odes¹. Perhaps, as O. Gruppe supposes², a belief that Thebes in Boiotia was connected with Thebes in Egypt may have led the inhabitants of the one to honour with a temple the chief divinity of the other.

Having thus secured a firm footing on Greek soil, the cult of Zeus *Ammon* continued for some centuries to flourish³, though it never spread much further afield⁴. Its most brilliant episode was undoubtedly the visit of Alexander the Great to the Oasis, when the victor was recognised by the god as his very son. This was indeed a memorable moment. No other mortal could claim the allegiance of Europe, Asia, and Africa. No other god united in himself the ideals of the same three continents. The former did well to seek the sanction of the latter when inaugurating for the first time in history a world-wide empire. But the climax marked by Alexander's visit was followed by a decline protracted throughout the Graeco-Roman age⁵. Strabon in the time of Augustus already speaks of the oracle as fallen into much contempt and in fact as well nigh forgotten⁶.

(δ) Ba'al-ḥammân and Zeus *Ammon*.

In the last paragraph I described Zeus *Ammon* as at once European, Asiatic, and African. The description stands in need of further proof; for hitherto we have considered the god only as a blend of the Greek Zeus with the Egyptian *Amén*. It is, however, certain that his cult was not altogether free from Semitic influence.

This appears *in primis* from the fact that, whereas Greek writers invariably call him Zeus *Ammon*, Latin authorities commonly speak of Iupiter *Hammon*. The aspirate has come to him through confusion with Ba'al-ḥammân, a Phoenician deity greatly

¹ Pind. *frag.* 36 Schröder "Ἀμμων Ὀλύμπιον θέσπορα *ap. schol.* Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 89. On another possible fragment of the hymn see *infra* p. 366 f.

² Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1559.

³ See the list of cult-centres in G. Parthey 'Das Orakel und die Oase des Ammon' in *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1862* Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 154—156, and coins in Head *Hist. num.*² p. 963 Index.

⁴ Latin inscriptions rarely mention the god: Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel. nos.* 4424 (from a quarry near Syene) I. o. m. Hammoni Chnubidi, | Iunoni Reginae, quor. sub | tutela hic nons est, etc., 4425 (Carnuntum) I. o. m. | Ammoni etc., 4426 (Rome) Iovi | Hammoni | et Silvano | etc., 4427 (Carthage) Iovi Hammoni | barbaro Silvano | etc.

⁵ See Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1560 n. 1.

⁶ Strab. 813.

venerated along the north coast of Africa¹. The meaning of *Ba'al-ḥammân* is disputed: some Semitic scholars translate 'Fiery Lord'² or 'Lord of Heat'³; but the more probable rendering is 'Lord of the Stone Pillars'⁴. In any case the name not unnaturally modified that of *Āmen* or *Zeus Ammon*. Nor was the borrowing all on one side. If *Ba'al-ḥammân* lent his initial *H* to *Zeus Ammon*, *Zeus Ammon* lent his horns to *Ba'al-ḥammân*. In 1879 Prof. Berger published a short series of monuments which represent *Ba'al-ḥammân* with undeniable ram's-horns⁵. A Cypriote terra cotta formerly in the Albert Barre collection portrays him enthroned, his hands resting on a couple of rams (pl. xxvi, 1)⁶. A leaden plate found in the Baths of Iuba ii at Caesarea Iol (*Cherchel*) in Mauretania shows his head four times repeated (pl. xxvi, 2)⁷. At Carthage, where the ram is his constant attribute⁸, he was associated with *Tanit*⁹, a north-African form of the great Phoenician mother-goddess *Astarte*¹⁰. As chief god and goddess of the district they are the central ornament of a silver band, probably once a priestly diadem, found in a tomb near Batna in Algeria (pl. xxvi, 3)¹¹. The bust of *Tanit* with a mural crown and that of *Ba'al-ḥammân* with ram's-horns are placed on either side of a star (sun?) and flanked by the serpents of *Esmun* twisted round a pair of pillars to right and left: beyond these are the figures of a goat and a ram ridden by two *Erotes*, and a further succession of religious symbols with which we are not here concerned. Again, Count Baudissin¹² cites an inscription from Mauretania Caesariensis, in which *Tanit*, there called *Panthea*, is invoked as 'partner in the rites of the horned

¹ E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 291, R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1856.

² So E. Meyer *loc. cit.* (but see *infra* n. 4), F. Baethgen *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* Berlin 1888 p. 27 f., Wolf—Baudissin in J. J. Herzog *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*³ Leipzig 1897 ii. 331.

³ So H. R. Hall *The Oldest Civilization of Greece* London 1901 p. 230 n. 3.

⁴ So P. Berger in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1879 v. 140, E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2869 f., R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1856 and in his *Geschichte der Phönizier* Berlin 1889 p. 212 f.

⁵ P. Berger 'La Trinité Carthaginoise' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1879 v. 133 ff., 222 ff., 1880 vi. 18 ff., 164 ff.

⁶ *Id. ib.* 1879 v. 138 f. fig.

⁷ *Id. ib.* 1879 v. 137 f. fig.

⁸ *Id. ib.* 1879 v. 222 ff.

⁹ E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 291 and 2871.

¹⁰ On *Tanit* and *Astarte* see W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 pp. 18, 267 ff.

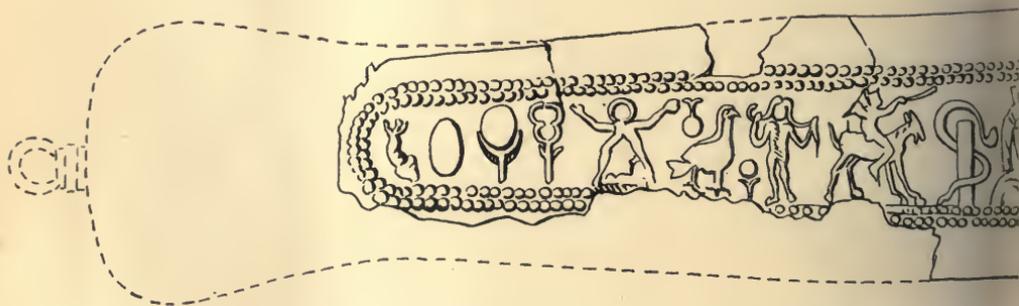
¹¹ P. Berger *loc. cit.* 1879 v. 133 ff. pl. 21 (opposite to p. 222), W. W. Baudissin *op. cit.* pp. 269, 285 pl. 6.

¹² *Id. ib.* p. 273.

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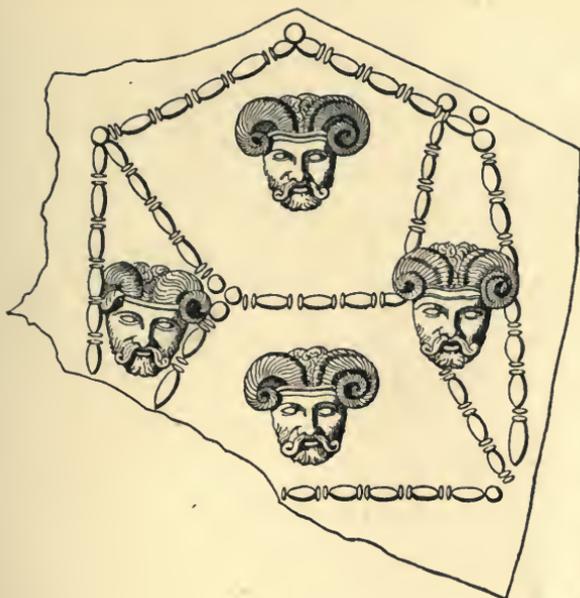


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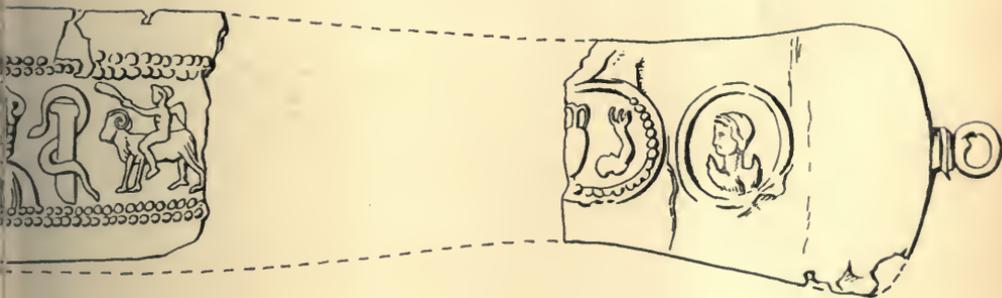


1. Ba'al-hammân enthroned, a terra cot
2. Heads of Ba'al-hammân (Iupiter Ha
3. A silver diadem from Batna in Alge

35-42



2



os.
leaden plate from Caesarea Iol.
Sa'al-hammân, Tanit, etc.

See page 354.

Thunderer...Iuppiter Hammon!¹ Ba'al-ḥammân was in fact completely assimilated to Zeus *Ammon*.

Semitic influence penetrated to the *Ammôneion* itself. Of its ritual in the fourth century B.C. a twofold account has come down to us:

DIODOROS 17. 50.

'The image of the god is surrounded with emeralds and certain other objects, and has a method of divination quite peculiar to itself. It is taken round on a golden boat by eighty priests. They carry the god on their shoulders, proceeding mechanically in whatever direction the will of the god leads their steps. Together with them follows a crowd of girls and women, singing paeans all along the road and chanting traditional hymns to the god.²

CURTIUS 4. 7. 23 f.

'That which is worshipped as a god has not the same shape as artists have commonly given to deities. It looks most like an *omphalos* set with emerald and gems. When a response is desired, the priests bear this deity on a golden boat, many silver saucers hanging on either side of the boat. Women and girls follow them, raising an artless chant in accordance with traditional custom, whereby they think that Zeus will be propitiated and deliver a true oracle.³

Both of these statements were doubtless drawn from the lost work of Kallisthenes, Aristotle's kinsman, who himself took part in Alexander's expedition. H. Meltzer⁴ by a detailed study of discrepancies has made it probable that the Roman writer is more accurate than the Greek: thus, whereas Diodoros uses the vague term 'image' (*χόανον*), Curtius describes the cult-object as most nearly resembling an *omphalos*. Meltzer would see in it the *baitylos* or *baitylion* of Ba'al-ḥammân, a sacred stone, half-fetich,

¹ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii no. 9018 = F. Bücheler *Carmina Latina epigraphica* Lipsiae 1895 i. 121 no. 253 [Pan]thea cornigeri sacris adiuncta Tonantis, | [q]uae Libycis Maurisque simul venerabilis oris | [his] etiam colitur te[r]ris, quam Iuppiter Hammon | [inter] utrumque lat[us] m[e]diam cum Dite severo | [dext]er sede tegit: etc. Tanit as Virgo Caelestis is at once Iuno and Ceres, and so is placed between Iupiter and Dis. See Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.* p. 314 n. 8.

² Diod. 17. 50 τὸ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ζόανον ἐκ σμαράγδων καὶ τιῶν ἄλλων περιέχεται καὶ τὴν μαντεῖαν ἰδιόζουσαν παντελῶς ποιεῖται. ἐπὶ νεῶς γὰρ περιφέρεται χρυσοῦς ὑπὸ ἱερέων ὀδοσκόκοντα· οὗτοι δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων φέροντες τὸν θεὸν προάγουσιν αὐτομάτως, ὅπου ποτ' ἂν ἄγγ (sic codd. F. L., ceteri ἀγοί) τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ νεῦμα τὴν πορῆαν. συνακολουθεῖ δὲ πλῆθος παρθένων καὶ γυναικῶν παιάνας ᾄδόντων (sic libri: Wesseling cj. ᾄδουσῶν, L. Dindorf ᾄδον?) κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ πατρίῳ καθυμνοῦντων (sic libri: Wesseling cj. καθυμνοσῶν, L. Dindorf καθυμνοῦν?) ᾗδῃ τὸν θεόν.

³ Curt. 4. 7. 23 f. id quod pro deo colitur non eandem effigiem habet quam vulgo diis artifices accomodaverunt: umbilico maxime similis est habitus, smaragdo et gemmis coagmentatus. hunc, quum responsum petitur, navigio aurato gestant sacerdotes, multis argenteis pateris ab utroque navigii latere pendentibus. sequuntur matronae virginesque patrio more inconditum quoddam carmen canentes, quo propitiari Iovem credunt ut certum edat oraculum.

⁴ H. Meltzer 'Der Fetisch im Heiligtum des Zeus Ammon' in *Philologus* 1904 lxiii. 186—223.

half-idol, mid-way between the aniconic block and the anthropomorphic statue. He reminds us that Ba'al-ḥammân appears to have taken his name from such sacred stones, and notes that the Cypriote Aphrodite was likewise 'worshipped in the form of an *omphalós*'¹.

I am disposed to accept Meltzer's conclusion and to support it by two further considerations. In the first place, Ba'al-ḥammân was akin to the Baal of Tyre, better known as Melqarth or the Tyrian Herakles². If, therefore, the Tyrian Herakles can be shown to have had a cult-object similar to the emerald-set *omphalós* of Zeus *Ammon*, it will—in view of the rarity of such objects—become highly probable that the example in the Oasis belonged by rights to Ba'al-ḥammân and that its usage attests his influence on the cult of Zeus *Ammon*. Now Theophrastos à propos of emeralds has the following paragraph:

'This stone is scarce and of no great size,—unless we are to believe the records concerning the kings of Egypt. Certain writers declare that the king of Babylon once sent to Egypt as a gift an emerald four cubits in length and three in breadth, and that in the sanctuary of Zeus too there were dedicated four obelisks of emerald forty cubits long and from four to two cubits broad. This is what the writers in question assert. Of the so-called Bactrian emeralds the one at Tyre is the largest. It is a good-sized *stèle* in the sanctuary of Herakles,—unless indeed it is of pseudo-emerald, for that species too is to be found.' Etc. etc.³

This passage proves that the Tyrian Herakles had an *agalma* of emerald. It is, I suspect, represented on imperial coins of Tyre, which show a portable shrine containing a sacred stone shaped much like an *omphalós* (fig. 273)⁴. However that may be, our passage further indicates that such emerald-blocks had reached Egypt and that obelisks⁵ of the sort were to be seen there in a precinct of Zeus, *i.e.* of Amen-Râ. Since



Fig. 273.

¹ Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 1. 720 apud Cyprios Venus in modum umbilici vel, ut quidam volunt, metae colitur.

² Ba'al-ḥammân is himself called Herakles in Polyb. 7. 9. 2 (W. W. Baudissin *op. cit.* p. 285). A bronze statuette at Vienna shows Zeus *Ammon* holding the club of Herakles (Von Sacken *Ant. Bronzen Wien* ii no. 7, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 12 no. 4): see also *supra* p. 348 n. 1.

³ Theophr. *lap.* 24 f., cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 74 f.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* p. 283 no. 435 Gordianus iii, p. 290 nos. 471 f. Valerianus Senior pl. 34, 14. Mr G. F. Hill *ib.* p. cxl suggests that the type 'may perhaps...be connected with Astarte.'

⁵ Theophr. *lap.* 24 ἀνακεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς ὀβελισκοῦ σμαράγδου τέτταρας, μήκος μὲν τετταράκοντα πηχῶν, εὖρος δὲ τῆ μὲν τέτταρας, τῆ δὲ δύο. But

Ámen-Râ in the tomb of Seti i was himself coloured green¹, it is clear that the choice of emeralds was deliberate. Certain magical virtues belonging to this stone² were connected by Theophrastos with the fact that it is coloured like water³; and it was probably this resemblance to the watery sky that made it appropriate to the service of Zeus *Ámmon*⁴. Perhaps it was as the son of *Ámmon* that Alexander the Great had his portrait engraved by Pyrgoteles on an emerald⁵.

In the second place, the method of divination practised at the *Ámmôneion* was not, as Diodoros and Curtius thought, unique. At Ba'albek the image of Zeus *Ádados*⁶ and at Bambyke that of a Zeus-like Apollon⁷ indicated the divine will in the selfsame manner. Both these cults were Syrian, and we may fairly infer that the usage of the Oasis was Semitic too.

Yet, while admitting H. Meltzer's contention that the *omphalós* of Zeus *Ámmon* was Semitic, I would point out that the golden boat on which it journeyed is hardly to be explained by oriental

Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 74 et fuisse apud eos in Iovis delubro *obeliscum e quattuor smaragdís* quadráginta cubitorum longitudine, latitudine vero in parte quattuor, in parte duorum is much more credible.

¹ *Supra* p. 132 n. 2.

² The term *σμάραγδος*, strictly used, denotes a crystalline green quartz: it was, however, loosely applied to other green stones (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 394, cp. 388).

³ Theophr. *lap.* 4 and 23, cp. Timoth. *Pers.* 32 f., Nonn. *Dion.* 5. 178 ff.

⁴ Similarly the non-crystalline green quartz (*ὁ χλωρὸς λάσπις*) known to us as 'plasma' or 'plasma di smeraldo' would conciliate the gods and secure a plenteous rain-fall (Orph. *lith.* 267 ff.). It was credited also with medicinal powers, especially if engraved with the Khnemu-snake (Galen. *de simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus* 9. 2. 19 (xii. 207 Kühn)): many 'Gnostic' examples are extant (Furtwängler *op. cit.* iii. 388, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1258).

'Plasma' was occasionally used for the figure of Zeus enthroned (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 111 no. 2355 pl. 22, p. 266 no. 7134) or for that of Asklepios enthroned as Zeus (*id. ib.* p. 111 no. 2356, T. Panofka in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1845 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 289 pl. 1, 10). I append a laureate head of Zeus carved in high relief out of 'plasma,' from a ring in my possession (fig. 274, enlarged $\frac{1}{2}$):



Fig. 274.

the stone is good work of Roman date.

Plat. *Phaed.* 110 D describes *σάρδια τε καὶ λάσπιδας καὶ σμαράγδους καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα* as fragments of the earth's true surface, which have slipped from the *aithér* into the *atr*—a notion probably based upon folk-belief. Cp. Ex. 24. 10, Ezek. 1. 26, 10. 1, Rev. 4. 3.

⁵ Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 8.

⁶ *Infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xx (a).

⁷ *Infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xx (δ).

ideas of a cosmic ship¹, but is simply the Egyptian solar barque. *Ammon* was identified with 'the setting sun of Libya'²; and the Egyptians believed that the sun-god, after travelling all day in his morning barque, at night-fall reached the Mountains of the West, where he was received by the goddess of the West and entered his evening barque to begin his nightly voyage through the Underworld³. Sesoosis, *i.e.* Sesostris (Rameses II), is even said to have dedicated in the temple of Amen-Râ at Thebes a boat of cedar wood, 280 cubits in length, gilded without and silvered within⁴. If, then, we assume a combination of the Semitic *omphalós* with the Egyptian boat, the whole ritual becomes intelligible⁵.

(c) Zeus *Ammon* and the Snake.

Ammon was said to have transformed himself into a snake in order to win his bride⁶; and snakes at Kyrene were called by the

¹ See R. Eisler *Weltonmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 576 n. 4, 622, 725 ff.

² Macrob. *Sat.* i. 21. 19 Ammonem, quem deum solem occidentem Libyæ existimant.

³ A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 p. 11; cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 34.

There are but few certain traces of the solar barque in Greek literature or art. The Pythagorean *ólakós* was cosmic, not solar (Philolaos *frag.* 12 Diels). Herakleitos described sun and moon as *σκαφοειδείς... τοῖς σχήμασι* (Aët. 2. 22. 2, 24. 3, 27. 2, 28. 6, 29. 3=H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*² Berlin 1906 i. 59, 4 ff.). An Apulian *kratér* from Basilicata, now in the Louvre, shows Helios and Selene in a four-horse chariot, which rises out of a boat: on the left Phosphoros (?) acts as leader; on the right a Koures brandishes his sword (E. Gerhard *Über die Lichtgottheiten auf Kunstdenkmälern* Berlin 1840 p. 8 f. pl. 3, 3 (extr. from the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1838 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 383 ff.), Welcker *All. Denkm.* iii. 67—71 pl. 10, 1, A. M. Migliarini in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1852 xxiv. 97 ff. pl. F, 3, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. égr.* ii. 384 ff. pl. 114, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 291, 1, Miss J. E. Harrison in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1908—1909 xv. 335 fig. 8).

The solar cup in which Herakles crossed Okeanos (Athen. 469 C—470 D): a black-figured vase in the *Rom. Mith.* 1902 xviii. 107 ff. pl. 5; the red-figured Vatican *kýlix* in E. Gerhard *op. cit.* p. 9 pl. 1, 4 and *Ausert. Vasenb.* ii. 84 ff. pl. 109, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 59, 6) is, however, comparable with the cup-shaped boats of Assyrian art (Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 435 n. 4).

⁴ Diod. 1. 57.

⁵ Monsieur E. Naville, the distinguished Egyptologist, has recently ('Le dieu de Poasis de Jupiter Ammon' in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1906 pp. 25—32) suggested that the schist palettes referred by him to the first three dynasties, which are often shaped like shields and have on one side a nearly central circular sinking, were intended to serve as base for a precious stone or perhaps a piece of metal or wood representing the *omphalós* or boss of the shield and worshipped as 'le dieu ombilic.' This somewhat *bizarre* view must be left for other Egyptologists to criticise. But it can hardly claim the support of Curt. 4. 7. 23 umbilico maxime similis; for Curtius' *umbilicus* is presumably a translation of Kallisthenes' *ὀμφαλός*, and *ὀμφαλός* would not convey to any classical reader the idea of 'shield-boss' unless there were an express allusion to a shield in the immediate context (see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 2002 C—D).

⁶ *Anth. Pal.* 9. 241. 1 ff. (Antipatros of Thessalonike) *βουκόλος ἔπλεο, Φοῖβε,*

name of *Ammon*¹. The association of the god with this reptile was probably due not so much to Semitic as to Egyptian influences.



Fig. 275.

Ποσειδάων δὲ καβάλλης, | κύκνος Ζεὺς, Ἄμμων δ' ὠμφιβόητος ὄφης — | χοί μὲν ἐπ' ἠιθέας, σὺ δὲ παιδικός — ἔφρα λάθοιτε· κ.τ.λ. This has been explained as a reference to the story of Alexander's parentage (Plout. *v. Alex.* 2 f. ὤφθη δὲ ποτε καὶ δράκων κοιμωμένης [τῆς] Ὀλυμπιάδος παρεκτεταμένος τῷ σώματι· κ.τ.λ., Apollin. *Sid. carm.* 2. 80 draconigenae... hosti, and especially Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 217. 27 f. οὐδ' αὖ Μακεδῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος | ὄν τικτεν Ἄμμων θέμενος εἰς ὄφιν μορφὴν); see H. Stadtmüller *ad loc.*

¹ Hesych. Ἄμμων (Ἀμμώνια cj. Boeckh)· ἐορτὴ Ἀθήνησιν ἀγομένη. καὶ ὄφεις. Κυρηναῖοι.

True, we have already seen the snakes of Esmun, the Punic Asklepios¹, brought into connexion with the horned Ba'al-ḥammān²; we cannot, therefore, exclude the possibility that the snake of Zeus Ammon owed something to the Semites.

But snakes undoubtedly played a large part in Egyptian religion³. Of the *viperā cerastes*, which has been found at Thebes in mummified form⁴, Herodotos writes:

'In the neighbourhood of Thebes there are sacred snakes, which do no harm to man. They are small of size and have two horns springing from the top of the head. When they die, they are buried in the sanctuary of Zeus; for they are deemed sacred to this god⁵.'

It is very possible, then, that the snake of Amen, the Theban Zeus, was transferred to Zeus Ammon⁶.

Again, Isis and Sarapis were often represented as a pair of human-headed *uraeus*-snakes or asps⁷. Sarapis alone appears in the same shape on imperial coins of Alexandria⁸. A handsome bronze formerly in the Demetriou collection and now at Athens (fig. 275)⁹ shows a Sarapis of this sort equipped with the horns of Ammon¹⁰. The god raises himself from an oblong base perhaps meant for his *kiste* or sacred 'chest¹¹'. On his head are traces of the usual *kálathos* or *modius*. Over his shoulders is a cape incised with a net-work pattern, probably a form of *agrenón*. Round his neck hangs an amulet shaped like a small shrine. The arms are missing. The body is that of a scaly asp, adorned in front with

¹ At Kyrene (*supra* p. 351 f.) and at Gythion (*supra* p. 351) Ammon was linked with Asklepios: see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1558 n. 5. Cp. the pantheistic type figured *infra* p. 361.

² *Supra* p. 354.

³ E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 ii. 376 f.

⁴ H. Brugsch cited by H. Stein on *Hdt.* 2. 74.

⁵ *Hdt.* 2. 74.

⁶ Ptolemaios *ap.* Arrian. 3. 3. 5 states that two snakes guided the army of Alexander the Great across the desert towards the *Ammonéion*.

⁷ W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 536 ff. fig., H. P. Weitz *ib.* iv. 378 fig. 10.

⁸ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 88 no. 745 Hadrian pl. 14, p. 130 no. 1103 f. Antoninus Pius, cp. no. 1105 pl. 14, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 472 no. 489 Antoninus Pius pl. 88, 13.

⁹ P. Kabbadias in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1893 p. 187 ff. pl. 12, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 21 no. 1.

¹⁰ P. Kabbadias and S. Reinach *loc. cit.* prefer to describe him as Zeus Ammon.

¹¹ Cp. fig. 276 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 81 no. 677 Hadrian pl. 1 (bust of Zeus Ammon with a solar disk on his head, the whole set on an oblong base or box dotted to indicate an inscription).



Fig. 276.

four inlaid eyes and ending in a bearded snake's-head. The aesthetic effect of this complex whole is surprisingly good. If man and beast are to be blended at all, the Greek method of representing a snake's body with a human head was infinitely preferable to the Egyptian method of representing a snake's head with a human body.

But syncretism went further even than this. The pantheistic type of Sarapis, as it is commonly called¹, or the pantheistic type of *Ammon*, as P. Kabbadias would term it², appears on gems³ and coins of imperial date. For example, a coin of Alexandria struck by Hadrian (fig. 277)⁴ represents Zeus with the rays of Helios, the *modius* of Sarapis (Zeus Helios Sarapis⁵), the horizontal ram's-horns of Khnemu, the spiral ram's-horn of *Ammon*, the *cornu copiae* of Neilos, and the trident of Poseidon combined with the serpent-staff of Asklepios⁶.



Fig. 277.

(ζ) Zeus of the Oasis a Graeco-Libyan god.

Stripping off these later accretions and subtracting also the earlier Semitic traits, we are left with the Greek Zeus and the Egyptian Amen-Râ, who at some period prior to the fifth century B.C. and probably in the Oasis of Siwah coalesced into the sun-god Zeus *Ammon*. But we have yet to ask how Zeus found his way into the Oasis, and what was the original aspect of his worship in that isolated spot.

Here we must take account of a startling hypothesis put forward in 1871 by J. Overbeck⁷. That admirable scholar argues at length⁸

¹ H. P. Weitz in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 379 ff.

² P. Kabbadias in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1893 p. 189.

³ List by L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Plt.* 1866 p. 94 n. 9. Add *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 144 no. 1212, Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 122 nos. 2630—2636 pl. 24, 2639 f. pl. 24.

⁴ Fig. 4 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 88 no. 744 pl. 15, cp. *ib.* p. 130 no. 1102 Antoninus Pius pl. 15, p. 168 no. 1362 Lucius Verus pl. 15, p. 251 no. 1945 Philippus i pl. 15.

⁵ *Supra* p. 188 ff.

⁶ Cp. the cult of Zeus Ἥλιος Σωτήρ (G. Plaumann *Ptolemais in Oberägypten* (Leipzig hist. Abh. xviii) Leipzig 1910 p. 89, R. Wünsch in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1911 xiv. 581).

⁷ On the controversy, to which this hypothesis gave rise, see H. Meltzer in *Philologus* 1904 lxiii. 213 f.

⁸ Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 273 ff.

in support of the view that Zeus *Ammon* was essentially a Greek god¹, whose cult had spread from Europe to Africa, not *vice versa*. His conclusion rests largely on the alleged fact that *Āmen* was never represented by the Egyptians as ram-headed. But that fact we now know to be no fact. Overbeck was misled by G. Parthey²; and Lepsius was able to prove that such representations occur as far back as the reign of Seti i (c. 1300 B.C.)³. This blunder has unfortunately blinded the eyes of subsequent critics to the force of other arguments adduced by Overbeck. He justly lays stress on the early appearance of Zeus *Ammon* among the accepted gods of Greece and on the wide popularity that in course of time he achieved. Of what really barbaric god could it be shown, for example, that he was portrayed for cult-purposes by Kalamis⁴ and other fifth-century artists⁵, or that he was honoured with public rites at Athens in 333 B.C.⁶? In view of these circumstances it is worth while to enquire whether after all there was not some long-standing affinity between the Zeus of the Oasis and the Zeus of continental Greece.

Now it is a well-established fact that during the nineteenth dynasty Egypt was twice attacked by a combination of northern tribes. Rameses ii c. 1300 B.C. had to fight the Hittites (*Kheta*) and their allies, who included Lycians (*Luka*), Dardanians (*Dardenui*), Mysians (*Masa*), Maeonians? (*Maunna*?), or Ionians? (*Yaunna*?), Padasians (*Pidasa*), and Cilicians (*Qalagīša*)⁷. Again, in the reign of Merenptah c. 1250 B.C. Egypt was invaded by Achaeans (*Āqaiwaaša*), Tyrsenians (*Thuirša*), Sardinians? or Sardians? (*Šardina*), Sagalassians (*Šakalaša*), and Libyans (*Labū*)⁸. Similarly during the twentieth dynasty Rameses iii between 1200

¹ In Soud. s.v. Ἄμμων ὄνομα θεοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Küster would read Λιβυκοῦ (cp. Dionys. per. 212 with Eustath. ad loc. τέμενος Λιβυκοῦ θεοῦ, Nonn. Dion. 40. 392 Λίβυς κεκλημένους Ἄμμων, Eudok. viol. 75 Ἄμμων Λιβυκός ἐστὶ θεὸς κ.τ.λ., Prop. 4. 1. 103, Ov. ibis 313), or else understand Ἑλληνικοῦ as ἐθνικοῦ, 'gentile': see G. Bernhardt ad loc. The latter is the right alternative.

² G. Parthey 'Das Orakel und die Oase des Ammon' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1862* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 137 f.

³ C. R. Lepsius in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 1877 xv. 8 ff.

⁴ Paus. 9. 16. 1 (at Thebes in Boiotia) οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἐστὶ ναὸς Ἄμμωνος, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀνέθηκε μὲν Πινδαρος, Καλάμιδος δὲ ἐστὶν ἔργον.

⁵ A. Furtwängler in the *Abh. d. bayer. Akad. 1897* Philos.-philol. Classe xx. 563—565.

⁶ Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 580, 14 ff., 27 ff., no. 606, 19, no. 620, 32 f.

⁷ See H. R. Hall *The Oldest Civilization of Greece* London 1901 p. 171 f., G. Maspero *The Struggle of the Nations* London 1896 p. 389 ff., E. A. Wallis Budge *A History of Egypt* London 1902 vi. 33 ff., J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 p. 343 ff., W. W. How and J. Wells *A Commentary on Herodotus* Oxford 1912 i. 420 f.

⁸ H. R. Hall *op. cit.* p. 172 ff., G. Maspero *op. cit.* p. 430 ff., E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* vi. 36 f.

and 1150 B.C. witnessed yet another attempted invasion by northerners, among whom were Philistines (*Pulusatha*), Siculo-Pelasgians? (*Zakkala*), Oaxians? (*Waašaša*), Teucrians (*Tákarai*), and Danaans (*Daànau, Danauna*)¹. Several of these identifications are doubtful; but that Egypt was thus repeatedly exposed to a general movement of Mediterranean peoples, many of whom were forefathers of the historical Greeks, is fortunately beyond all question. Prof. Flinders Petrie would even carry back the said Graeco-Libyan league well into the third millennium B.C.² This extreme view must be left for Egyptologists to criticise. But on the strength of the ascertained facts I have elsewhere suggested that the invaders may have planted in the Oasis a cult of their sky-god Zeus, who at some later date was fused firstly with the Theban *Ámen-Râ* and secondly with the Punic *Ba'al-ḥammân*³. If so, we should expect to find that the cult of Zeus in the *Anmónieion* resembled the most archaic cults of the same god on Greek soil, e.g. that of Zeus *Náios* at Dodona. Was this actually the case?

The Zeus of the Oasis is by Nonnos termed Zeus *Asbýstes* after the Asbystai, a Libyan tribe occupying the *Hinterland* of Kyrene, and under that denomination is compared with the Zeus of Dodona:

Lo, Zeus *Asbystes*' new-found answering voice
The thirsty sands oracular sent forth
To the Chaonian dove⁴.

The same comparison of the Libyan with the Dodonaean Zeus was made some 850 years earlier by Herodotos, who not only declares that—

‘The oracular usage of Thebes in Egypt and the oracular usage of Dodona in point of fact resemble one another⁵’

—but also reports at first hand with every appearance of fidelity the local myths of both cult-centres:

‘This is the tale that the Egyptians tell concerning the oracles of Hellas and Libye. The priests of Zeus *Thebaieús* stated that two priestesses were

¹ H. R. Hall *op. cit.* p. 175 ff., G. Maspero *op. cit.* p. 459 ff., E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* vi. 37 f.

² W. M. Flinders Petrie in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1890 xi. 271—277. The sherds of Middle ‘Minoan’ and Late ‘Minoan’ ware found by him in the Fayum (*ib. pl.* 14) are not necessarily the deposit of hostile invasions; they may surely be due to peaceful trading.

³ *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 403 f., cp. *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 295.

⁴ Nonn. *Dion.* 3. 292 ff. καὶ Διὸς Ἀσβύστια νέην ἀντίρροπον ὀμφήν | Χαοινή βοῶσι πελειάδι διψάδες ἄμμοι | μαντιπόλοι (v.l. μαντιπόλφ), cp. 13. 370 ff. καὶ Διὸς Ἀσβύστια μεσημβρίζοντα ἐναίλους, | μαντιπόλου κερέντος, ὅπη ποτὲ πολλάκις Ἄμμων | ἀρνεῖοι τρέλικτον ἐχων ἰθαλμα κεραίης | ὀμφαίοις στομάτεσσιν ἐθέσπισεν Ἑσπέριος Ζεὺς.

⁵ Hdt. 2. 58.

carried off from Thebes by Phoenicians, that one of them—so they had heard—was sold into Libye, the other into Hellas, and that these women were the original founders of the oracles among the aforesaid peoples. When I asked them of the evidence on which this definite statement was based, they said in reply that a great hue and cry had been made by them for these women, and that they had been unable to find them, but that they had subsequently learnt about them just what they told me. The foregoing account, then, I heard from the priests at Thebes. The following is the statement made by the prophetesses at Dodona. Two black doves started to fly from Thebes in Egypt. One came to Libye, the other to Dodona, where it settled on an oak and announced with human voice that on that very spot must be established an oracle of Zeus. Deeming this a divine injunction, they had acted accordingly. They say that the dove which went to Libye bade the Libyans make an oracle of *Ammon*; and that too belongs to Zeus. This was the tale told by the priestesses of Dodona, the eldest of whom was named Promencia, the next Timarete, the youngest Nikandra; and the other Dodonaean dwelling about the sanctuary agreed with them¹.

Herodotos, who—if any man—was acquainted with the facts, clearly believed that the cult of the Oasis and the cult of Dodona were akin. Two priestesses according to the Egyptian version, two doves according to the Greek version, had simultaneously founded the twin oracles of Zeus. This testimony on the part of one who had himself visited both Thebes and Dodona is not lightly to be set aside or explained away as a case of Aigypto-mania.

The same story with some interesting differences of detail occurs in later writers. Thus Silius Italicus in the first century of our era relates that Hannibal after the capture of Saguntum sent Bostar to enquire of *Ammon* what the issue of the war would be, and that Bostar on reaching the Oasis was welcomed by the Libyan Arisbas:

• These shady woods and tree-tops heaven-high,
Groves trodden by the foot of Jupiter,
Worship with prayer, friend Bostar. All the world
Knows of his bounty, how he sent twin doves
To settle in mid Thebes. Whereof the one
That winged her way to the Chaonian coasts
Fills with her fateful coo Dodona's oak.
The other, wafted o'er Carpathian waves,
With the same snowy pinions crossed to Libye
And founded this our fane—Cythereia's bird,
Here, where ye see an altar and dense groves,
She chose a ram (I tell the miracle)
And perched betwixt the horns of his fleecy head
Chanted her answers to Marmaric tribes.
Then on a sudden sprang to sight a wood,

¹ Hdt. 2. 54—55.

A grove of ancient timber, and the oaks
That now touch stars came from that primal day.
Hence our forefathers feared; for lo, the tree
Hath deity and is served with altar-flames¹.

It will be noticed that Silius is not simply paraphrasing Herodotos. He makes the doves start from Thebes in Greece, not from Thebes in Egypt, as is clear from his reference to the Carpathian sea, and he adds the episode of the dove settling on the ram. The latter feature, if not the former, reappears in the learned *scholia* on Servius² and points to the existence of a non-Herodotean tradition³. Silius' statement about the ancient grove and the oak-tree with altars burning before it is of considerable moment, because—if true—it goes far towards proving the essential similarity of the Dodonaean and the Libyan cults. We cannot, I think, reject the statement on the ground of botanical improbability. Authorities both ancient and modern mention several species of oak as growing in north Africa⁴; and Pliny even states that in the neighbourhood of Thebes at a distance of 300 stades from the Nile was a wooded tract with springs of its own (an oasis?) producing oaks, olives, etc.⁵ Again, *Ammon* appears to have had a sacred grove on the shores of the Syrtis⁶; and various writers attest the existence in

¹ Sil. It. 3. 675—691. The concluding lines (688 ff.) run: *mox subitum nemus atque annoso robore lucus | exiluit, qualesque premunt nunc sidera quercus | a prima venere die: prisco inde pavore | arbor numen habet coliturque tepentibus aris*. Cp. *ib.* 10 f. *corniger Hammon | fatidico pandit venientia saecula luco, 666 f. lucos nemorosaque regna | cornigeri Iovis*.

² Interp. Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 466 Iuppiter quondam Hebae (*leg.* Thebae) filiae tribuit duas columbas humanam vocem edentes, quarum altera provolavit in Dodonae glandiferam silvam Epiri, ibique consedit in arbore altissima, praecepitque ei qui tum eam succidebat, ut ab sacrata quercu ferrum sacrilegum submoveret: ibi oraculum Iovis constitutum est, in quo sunt vasa aenea, quae uno tactu universa solebant sonare. altera autem columba pervenit in Libyam, et ibi consedit super caput arietis, praecepitque ut Iovis Ammonis oraculum constitueretur.

³ L. Beger *Thesaurus Brandenburgicus selectus Coloniae Marchicae 1696* iii. 221 (Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 28 f. pl. 10 no. 4, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 771, 8) published a bronze at Berlin, which according to him represents the dove on the head of the Ammonian ram. More probably it is a variation of the type of an eagle on a ram's head (Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 494 no. 1252 fig., Reinach *op. cit.* ii. 771, 7).

⁴ Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 32 (*parva aquifolia ilex = quercus coccifera* Linn.); *La Grande Encyclopédie* x. 1065 b, 1066 a, b (*qu. ballota* Desf., *qu. suber* Linn., *qu. Mirbeckii* Durieu).

⁵ Plin. *nat. hist.* 13. 63 circa Thebas haec, ubi et quercus et persea et oliva, CCC a Nilo stadiis, silvestri tractu et suis fontibus riguo.

⁶ Skyl. *per.* 109 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 85 Müller) *ἐν δὲ τῷ κοιλοτάτῳ τῆς Σύρτιδος (ἐν τῷ μυχῷ) Φιλαίνου βοιωτοῦ, ἐπὶ νίον ἄμμονες ἀλοῦς (leg. ἐπὶ νεῖον, Ἄμμωνος ἄλσος) τῆς Σύρτιδος*. The great *Ammonéion* is loosely connected with the Syrtis by Lucan. 4. 673, 10. 38, Prudent. *apoth.* 443.

the *Ammóneion* of an oracular grove without specifying oak-trees¹. Finally, Clement of Alexandria and Eusebios allude to an ancient oracular oak as worshipped amid the desert sands². This can be none other than the oak of *Ámmon*³. I conclude, therefore, that Šilius' statement is not to be dismissed as a mere poetic fiction, but to be accepted as a fact.⁴

If Zeus had an oak-cult of immemorial antiquity in the *Ammóneion*, we might reasonably expect that it would figure in the earliest traditions of the Libyan tribes. Now the Oases of the eastern Sahara were occupied in classical times by the Garamantes⁴, whose eponym was Garamas—also called Amphithemis—the son of Apollon by Akakallis daughter of Minos⁵. Of the Garamantes in general it is recorded that they were pious folk, who had a temple or temples established in their midst⁶; but of Garamas in particular we fortunately possess an older and more definite account. A lyrical fragment⁷ attributed by Schneidewin to Pindar and recognised by Bergk as coming from the *Hymn to Zeus Ámmon*⁸ declares that in the beginning men sprang from Mother

¹ Curt. 4. 7. 20 incolae nemoris, quos Hammonios vocant, dispersis tuguriis habitant: medium nemus pro arce habent, etc., *ib.* 22 est et aliud Hammonis nemus: etc., Lucan. 9. 522 ff. esse locis superos testatur silva per omnem | sola virens Libyen...solus nemus abstulit Hammon. | silvarum fons causa loco, etc., Sil. It. 1. 414 tu quoque fatidicis Garamanticus accola lucis | etc., Stat. *Theb.* 8. 201 quin et cornigeri vatis nemus atque Molossi | quercus anhele Iovis, Avien. *descr. orb. terr.* 317 mugit arenosis nemus illic denique lucis.

² Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 11. 1 p. 10, 22 ff. Στάηλιν γεράνδρον δὲ ψάμμοις ἐρήμιας τετιμημένον (τετηρημένον cj. Mayor) καὶ τὸ αὐτόθι μαντεῖον αὐτῇ δρυὶ μεμαρασμένον μύθοις γεγρακόσι καταλείψατε = Euseb. *praef. ev.* 2. 3. 1.

On a double bust of Zeus *Ámmon* and Sarapis (?) with oak-wreath and *kálathos* see Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* pl. 320, 3, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 289.

³ This important piece of evidence was clearly pointed out by E. H. Toelken in his notes to H. von Minutoli *Reise zum Tempel des Jupiter Ammon* Berlin 1824 p. 377, by C. J. Schmitthenner *De Jove Hammone* Weilburgi 1840 p. 30 n. 2, and independently of them by me in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 403 and in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 295; but it appears to have escaped the notice of all recent writers on the cult of *Ámmon*.

⁴ H. Dessau in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 751 f. They hold the oracle of Zeus *Ámmon* in Lucan. 9. 511 ff., Sil. It. 1. 414, 3. 10, 14. 440, Aug. *de civ. Dei* 21. 5.

⁵ Ap. Rhod. 4. 1483 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*, Eustath. in Dionys. *per.* 209, Hyg. *fab.* 14 p. 48, 21 ff. Schmidt, interp. Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 4. 198. Cp. Agroitais *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 294 Müller) *ap.* Herodian. *περὶ μιν.* λέξ. p. 11, 19 ff. Dindorf.

⁶ Agroitais *frag.* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 295 Müller) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1492 (ἔστι δὲ καὶ ναὸς παρ' αὐτοῖς scholia vulgata, καὶ ναοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἴδρυνται cod. Paris.).

⁷ *Frag. adesp.* 84 Bergk⁴ (33 Hiller), 12 f. *ap.* Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 5. 7 p. 97 Miller φαντὶ δὲ πρωτόγονον Γαράμαντα | Λίβες αὐχμηρῶν πεδίω ἀναδύοντα γλυκελάς Διὸς ἀπάρξασθαι βαλάνου. This is Bergk's restoration of the MS. Λίβες δὲ Τάρβαντα φασὶ πρωτόγονον αὐχμηρῶν ἀναδύοντα πεδίω, γλυκελάς ἀπάρξασθαι Διὸς βαλάνου. Hiller reverts to Schneidewin's cj. Ἰάρβαντα. But T. Zielinski in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 42 n. 1 gives reasons for preferring Bergk's emendation.

⁸ *Supra* p. 352 f.

Earth, though it is hard to discover who was the first of her sons. After naming in true Pindaric fashion various possible claimants our fragment proceeds:

The Libyans say that first-born Garamas
Rose from parched plains and made his offering
Of Zeus' sweet acorn.

May we not venture to see in these lines another confirmation of Silius' statements concerning the oaks of the Oasis?

Again, the fauna as well as the flora of the two oracular centres was alike. Birds, according to Aristophanes, were an essential feature of both¹. The doves of Dodona are sufficiently notorious². But, as we have already seen, the sister oracle in the Oasis was likewise founded by a dove from Thebes. Moreover, Semiramis is said to have learnt her destiny from *Ammon*³ and to have fulfilled it by becoming a dove⁴. Finally, small wild doves are numerous in the Oasis nowadays⁵.

The institution of both oracles was also connected with a shepherd. Proxenos, a contemporary of king Pyrrhos, in his *History of Epeiros* wrote⁶:

'A shepherd feeding his sheep in the marshes of Dodona stole the finest of his neighbour's flocks and kept it penned in his own fold. The story goes that the owner sought among the shepherds for the stolen sheep, and, when he could not find them, asked the god who the thief was. They say that the oak then for the first time uttered a voice and said—"The youngest of thy followers." He put the oracle to the proof, and found them with the shepherd who had but recently begun to feed his flock in that district. Shepherds go by the name of followers. The thief was called Mandylas⁷. It is said that he, angered against the oak, wished to cut it down by night; but that a dove showed itself from the trunk and bade him desist from so doing. He in fear gave up the attempt and no longer laid hands on this sacred tree. The Epeirotes, however, were wroth with him for his rash deed.' Etc.⁸

Similarly with regard to the Oasis Leon of Pella, a contemporary

¹ Aristoph. *av.* 716 ἐσμέν δ' ὑμῖν Ἀμμων... Δωδώνη. Alexander the Great was guided to the oracle of *Ammon* by two or more ravens (Aristoboulos *ap.* Arrian. 3. 3. 6; Kallisthenes *ap.* Plout. *v. Alex.* 27, Strab. 814; Diod. 17. 49, Curt. 4. 7. 15, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 211).

² *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 185 f.

³ Diod. 2. 14.

⁴ *Id.* 2. 20.

⁵ G. Rohlfs *Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien*² Bremen 1882 ii. 115 ff., 121 mentions that the Fountain of the Sun is known locally as *Ain el hammam*, which he renders 'the Doves' Bath.' But this appears to be a mistranslation: *infra* p. 382.

⁶ Proxenos *Epirotica frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 462 Müller) *ap.* schol. *Od.* 14. 327.

⁷ Μανδύλας Q. Μαρδύλας V. Μανδρεύλας cj. C. Müller.

⁸ The concluding sentence ὅθεν καὶ λαβόντας δίκην ταύτην εἰσπράξασθαι τῆς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὑπομονῆς (ἐπιμονῆς cod. Barnes.) τὸν μάντιν προάγει stands in need of emendation.

of Alexander the Great, in his treatise *On the gods of Egypt* observed¹:

'When Dionysos ruled over Egypt and all its borders and was said to have been the original inventor of everything, a certain Hammon came from Africa and brought him a vast flock of sheep, partly to secure his favour and partly to win the credit of having invented something himself. In return for this present Dionysos is said to have granted him a domain over against the Egyptian Thebes; and those who make effigies of Hammon furnish him with a horned head in order that men may remember how he was the first to discover sheep.'²

It was probably this Hellenistic romance which led Pausanias to remark: 'Ammon derived his name from the shepherd who founded the sanctuary.'³ Nor must we forget the tradition noticed above which makes the foundress dove settle on the head of a ram⁴.

Both sites possessed a miraculous spring. Pliny observes:

'At Dodona the spring of Zeus is cold and puts out torches that are plunged in it, but kindles such as are put out and brought near to it. It always fails at midday, wherefore they call it the Resting Water; but it soon increases till it is full at midnight, from which time onwards it again gradually fails¹....The pool of Zeus *Hammon*, cold by day, is hot by night².'

Many other writers from Herodotos to Eustathios describe this pool as 'the Fountain of the Sun' and assert that throughout the morning it grows cooler and cooler till at midday it is quite cold, but that as the day declines it gains in warmth becoming tepid at sundown and fairly bubbling with heat at midnight³. The current explanation of the phenomenon was that by night the sun went below the earth and there boiled the water—a view which Lucretius is at pains to disprove⁴.

¹ Leon *περὶ τῶν κατ' Αἰγυπτίον θεῶν frag. 6 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 332 Müller) ap. Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 20.* The sequel is quoted *infra* p. 373 n. 9.

² Paus. 4. 23. 10. So in Byzantine times Eudok. *viol.* 75, Eustath. *in Dionys. per.* 211.

³ Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* p. 166 f. suggested rather vaguely that the ram-symbolism properly belonging to some old Greek cult led to the confusion of a Greek with an Egyptian ram-god. It is by no means unlikely that the ram was sacred to a Graeco-Libyan Zeus before this god came to be identified with Amen-Râ. But the indications recorded in the text do not suffice to prove it.

⁴ So Mela 2. 43, Solin. 7. 2, Aug. *de civ. Dei* 21. 5, Methodios *ap. et. mag.* p. 98, 22 ff. Cp. Ov. *met.* 15. 311 f. The interp. Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 3. 466 states that the spring flowed from the roots of a huge oak and itself gave oracles by means of its murmuring sound.

⁵ Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 228, cp. 5. 31.

⁶ Hyd. 4. 181, Lucr. 6. 848 ff., Ov. *met.* 15. 308 ff., Diod. 17. 50, Val. Max. 8. 15. 3 *ext.*, Curt. 4. 7. 22, Mela 1. 39, Sil. It. 3. 669 ff., Arrian. 3. 4. 2, Solin. 27. 45, Aug. *de civ. Dei* 21. 5, Eustath. *in Dionys. per.* 211. Cp. Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 4. 196 *locum quendam in quo aries terram pede suo scalpsit, e quo loco fons manavit.*

⁷ Lucr. *loc. cit.*

In short, it appears that the whole apparatus of the oracle at Dodona—its grove, its oak of special sanctity, its doves, its holy well—was to be matched in the Oasis of *Ammon*. Strabon adds that both oracles gave their responses in the self-same manner, 'not by means of words, but by certain tokens' such as the flight of doves¹.

Nor was the character of Zeus himself different at the two cult-centres. Zeus *Náios* of Dodona was essentially a god 'of Streaming Water²': the oracular spring—we are told—burst from the very roots of his famous oak³. So with Zeus *Ammon*. The close connexion between his cult and water comes out clearly in Diodoros' description of the Oasis⁴:

'The Ammonians dwell in villages, but have in the midst of their territory an *akrópolis* secured by a threefold wall. Its first rampart encloses a palace of the ancient rulers; the second, the 'womens' court, the apartments of the children, wives, and kinsfolk⁵, together with guard-houses, and besides the precinct of the god and the sacred spring, which is used to purify all that is offered to him; the third includes the quarters of the king's body-guard and their guard-houses. Outside the *akrópolis* at no great distance is built a second temple of *Ammon* shaded by many large trees. Near this temple is a fountain, which on account of its peculiar character is called the Fountain of the Sun.' Etc.

The same association of the desert-god with water occurs in a tale for which our earliest authority is Hermippos the pupil of Kallimachos (c. 250 B.C.)⁶. When Dionysos in the course of his

¹ Strab. 329 frag. 1. οὐ διὰ λόγων, ἀλλὰ διὰ τινων συμβόλων, cp. 814 οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ Βραγχιδαῖς τὰς ἀποθεσιπίσεις διὰ λόγων, ἀλλὰ νεύμασι καὶ συμβόλοις τὸ πλεόν, ὅς καὶ παρ' Ὀμήρω· ἦ καὶ κτανέησιν ἐπ' ὄφρῦσι νεύσε Κροτῶν. To the same effect Eudok. *itol.* 75 οὐ τινος αἰ μαντεῖαι διὰ συμβόλων γίνονται, ἦτοι διὰ σχημάτων τινῶν καὶ κατανεύσεων καὶ ἀνανεύσεων = Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 211. See also Hdt. 2. 58 cited *supra* p. 363.

Yet Zeus *Náios* and Zeus *Ammon* both gave oracles in verse. For those of the former see Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 175 f.; for those of the latter, Cougny *ib.* 6. 179 and J. Parthey 'Das Orakel und die Oase des Ammon' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1862 phil.-hist. Classe p. 143.

² Schol. *Il.* 16. 233 ὁ δὲ Δωδωναῖος καὶ Νάιος· ὑδρηλὰ γὰρ τὰ ἐκεῖ χωρία. Cp. *Nata* spring at Teuthrone in Lakonike (Paus. 3. 25. 4). Other cognates are *náw*, *váma*, *ασμός*, *ναρός*, *Νηρέος*, *Νηιάς*, etc. (L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iv. 230 f., Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 306 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 415). See further *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 178 f. and O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2 f.

³ *Supra* p. 368 n. 4.

⁴ Diod. 17. 50. This and the parallel passage in Curt. 4. 7. 20—22 are derived from the same source, presumably Kallisthenes.

⁵ Diod. *loc. cit. συγγενῶν*: Curt. *loc. cit.* pellicibus. Curtius has again (*supra* p. 355) reserved a detail dropped by Diodoros.

⁶ Hermippos *ap. Hyg. poet. astr.* 2. 20, Nigidius *ap. schol. Caes. Germ. Aratea* 401, 6 ff. Eyssenhardt, *Amp.* 2, Lact. Plac. *in Stat. Theb.* 3. 476, Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 196, schol. Lucan. 4. 672.

triumphal progress came into Africa, he was overtaken by thirst in the desert and like to perish with all his host. A ram appeared to them in their extremity and having led them safely to a plentiful pool in the Oasis there vanished¹. Dionysos founded on the spot a temple of Zeus *Ammon*, and set the helpful ram among the stars, ordaining that when the sun was in Aries all things should revive with the fresh life of spring. In this connexion it should be observed that from Berytos in the east to Pompeii in the west *Ammon*-masks were used as fountain-mouths².

Finally, as Zeus *Náios* was paired with Dione, so Zeus *Ammon* had a female partner worshipped at Olympia as Hera *Ammonia*³ and associated with him on certain extant gems (fig. 278)⁴. Or, if



Fig. 278.



Fig. 279.

it be urged that the original consort of Zeus at Dodona was Ge rather than Dione⁵, I would point to the fact that in the Libyan Oasis too we have found a tradition of Mother Earth⁶—a tradition the more noteworthy because in purely Egyptian religion the earth-deity was not a goddess, but a god.

The conclusion to which the evidence here adduced appears to

¹ The ram was presumably Zeus himself in animal form. Another late aetiological tale told how the gods, when attacked by Typhoeus, fled in a panic to Egypt and disguised themselves as animals, Zeus becoming a ram, etc. (Ov. *met.* 5. 327 f., Lact. *Plac. narr. fab.* 5. 5, Myth. *Vat.* 1. 86, cp. Apollod. 1. 6. 3, Diod. 1. 86, Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 72, Loukian. *de sacrif.* 14, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 28).

² *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4535 (Berytos)=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 317, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 277, 285.

³ Paus. 5. 15. 11 with J. G. Frazer's n. *ad loc.* (iii. 584). On the association of Zeus with Hera at Thebes in Egypt see *supra* p. 348 n. 1.

⁴ I figure a garnet in the Berlin collection: the original is inscribed $\Lambda\text{I}\Sigma\Lambda$ in careless lettering (Furtwängler *Geschmitt. Steine Berlin* p. 73 no. 1121 pl. 14, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 40 pl. 5, 65 omitting inscr., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 301 Gemmentaf. 4, 13). Cp. also a prase at Florence (fig. 279), on which the female head has no *stephane* and is rather Dionysiac in character (Overbeck *op. cit.* Zeus p. 301 Gemmentaf. 4, 11). The existence of double busts representing Zeus *Ammon* and Hera *Ammonia* is more problematic (*id. ib.* p. 288 f.).

⁵ *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 179 f.

⁶ *Supra* p. 366 f.

point is that the cult of Zeus in the Oasis was, as Herodotos declared, really akin to the cult of Zeus at Dodona. I submit that it was a relic of an early Graeco-Libyan occupation of north Africa¹.

(η) The youthful *Ámmon*.

On gold, silver (figs. 280—283), and copper coins of Kyrene struck c. 431—285 B.C. we have not only a bearded but also a beardless



Fig. 280.



Fig. 281.



Fig. 282.



Fig. 283.



Fig. 284.



Fig. 285.

type of *Ammon*². The same mature and youthful heads with a downward-curving ram's-horn appear on electrum *héktaí* of Lesbos c. 440—350 B.C.³, on coppers of Aphytis c. 424—358 B.C.⁴, on silver

¹ The myth of Danaos and the Danaïdes belongs to the same Graeco-Libyan *stratum* (*infra* ch. ii § 9 (d) ii (a)). Diod. 17. 50 states that the precinct of Zeus *Ámmon* was founded by Danaos (τὸ μὲν οὖν τέμενος φασὶν ἰδρύσασθαι Δαναὸν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον).

² Bearded: Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 53 pl. 26, 44 (= my fig. 280), *id. Hist. num.*² pp. 865, 869 ff., *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 570 pl. 92, 7 f., 572, 574 pl. 92, 16. Fig. 281 is from a specimen in the McClean collection, fig. 282 from another in the Leake collection, at Cambridge (W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 African Greece p. 2).

Beardless: Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 69 pl. 35, 40 (= my fig. 283), *id. Hist. num.*² pp. 865, 869, 871 fig. 388, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii 569 ff. pl. 92, 6, 10—12.

³ Bearded: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas etc. p. 161 pl. 32, 26, *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 1219 f. pl. 160, 15.

Beardless: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas etc. p. 167 pl. 34, 21 f., *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 1227 f. pl. 161, 30 f., Head *Hist. num.*² pp. 210, 559.

All these heads have in front a curious set of upstanding curls (?), perhaps derived from an Egyptian head-dress misunderstood (cp. the coin of Kyrene discussed by J. Müller *Numismatique de l'Antienne Afrique* Copenhagen 1860 i. 85, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 295 Münztaf. 4, 16).

⁴ Bearded: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia etc. p. 61, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 297 Münztaf. 4, 20 f.

Beardless: Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. iii. 47 no. 319, Head *Hist. num.*² i. 210.

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(figs. 284, 285) and copper coins of Tenos from the fourth to the second century B.C.¹, and on coppers of Mytilene in the second and first centuries B.C.² Similarly in the west on silver coins of Metapontum *c.* 400—350 B.C. both types occur (fig. 286)³, and on silver coins of Nuceria Alfaterna after *c.* 308 B.C. the younger without the older head⁴.



Fig. 286.

The identification of this youthful figure is a matter of some difficulty. The general trend of fourth-century religious art is doubtless towards juvenile forms. But the usual succession of bearded and beardless types hardly accounts for the simultaneous recognition of a senior with a junior *Ammon*. The latter must be either a different god from the former, or at least a distinct phase of his personality. Among names suggested are Aristaïos⁵ and Apollon *Karneïos*⁶. Aristaïos was worshipped as Zeus in Arkadia⁷ and bears a name which appears to have been a cult-title of Zeus⁸; he was also an important figure in the mythological history of Kyrene⁹, and he not improbably passed for a shepherd-god¹⁰. But we have not the least

¹ Bearded: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. pp. 127, 129, 131 pl. 28, 10—15, 29, 2 f., 11, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 297 Münztaf. 4, 22, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 492 f.

Beardless: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 128 ff. pl. 28, 16—20, 29, 1, 8 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 212 f. pl. 44, 4 f., Head *Hist. num.*² p. 493.

² Bearded: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas etc. p. 194 ff. pl. 38, 14, 16, 18, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 317, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 562.

Beardless: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas etc. p. 193 f. pl. 38, 9—12, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 316, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 562.

³ Bearded: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 258, Carelli *Num. It. vet.* p. 81 pl. 153, 96—98, Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 138 pl. 104, 24.

Beardless: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 258, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 91, Carelli *op. cit.* p. 81 pl. 153, 99—103, Garrucci *op. cit.* p. 138 pl. 104, 13, 25—27. The specimen illustrated (fig. 286) is in the British Museum and shows a ram's ear as well as a ram's horn.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 121, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 45 pl. 3, 15, Carelli *op. cit.* p. 31 f. pl. 86, 1—5, Garrucci p. 97 pl. 90, 1—3.

⁵ Head *Hist. num.*² p. 865 Kyrene ('perhaps...Aristaeos').

⁶ Head *Hist. num.*² p. 77 Metapontum ('possibly Apollo Karneios').

⁷ *Interp. Serv. in Verg. georg.* 1. 14 huic opinioni Pindarus [*frag.* 251 (*Poet. lyr. Gr.* i. 461 Bergk⁴)] refragatur, qui eum ait de Caea insula in Arcadiam migrasse, ibique vitam coluisse. nam apud Arcadas pro Iove colitur, quod primus ostenderit, qualiter apes debeant reparari. See further Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 251 ff.

⁸ Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 112 ff. Ζῆνα καὶ ἄγρον Ἀπόλλων' | ἀνδράσι χάσμα φίλοις, ἄγχιστον ὀπάνα μῆλων, | Ἀγρέα καὶ Νόμιον, | τοῖς δ' Ἀρισταίων καλεῖν with schol. *ad loc.* ἰστέον ὅτι τὸν Ἀρισταίων διὰ τὸ τὴν κτηνοτροφίαν καὶ κνηγεσίαν εἰρηκέναι Ἀγρέα καὶ Νόμιον, Δία καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα προσηγόρευον. F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 856 says: 'Die Wortstellung ist chiasmisch. Ἀγρεύς und Νόμιος sind Beinamen des Apollon...A[ristaïos] des Zeus.'

⁹ L. Malten *Kyrene* Berlin 1911 *passim*.

¹⁰ *Supra* n. 8 ὀπάνα μῆλων. F. Studniczka *Kyrene* Leipzig 1890 p. 105 f. translates

reason to suppose that he was himself ever regarded as a ram or represented with ram's horns. There is more to be said for the proposed identification of the youthful horned head with that of Apollon *Karneios*. This deity too was worshipped as Zeus at Argos¹; moreover, he was essentially a ram-god², and one who, as we have already seen³, was associated at Gythion with Zeus *Ammon*. Nevertheless a comparison of the towns issuing coins of the youthful *Ammon* type⁴ with the known cult-centres of Apollon *Karneios*⁵ is disappointing. Kyrene is the only name common to the two lists.

L. Müller in his great work on the coinage of north Africa was the first to set this question on a more satisfactory basis by adducing the available literary evidence⁶. He pointed out that Zeus *Ammon* was connected with Dionysos, partly by certain tales recorded above—how the former brought sheep to the latter⁷, how the latter founded the temple of the former⁸—but partly also by the definite belief that Dionysos was the son of *Ammon* and horned like his father⁹. Hence L. Müller¹⁰ and subsequently L. Stephani¹¹ did not hesitate to identify the youthful *Ammon* of the coins with the Libyan Dionysos¹². By way of confirmation they note that on the coins of Aphytis, Ténos, and Mytilene the reverse type is

the *δοσπόλος δαλμῶν* of Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 49 f. as 'a sheep-pasturing god' and identifies him with Aristaios. Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 489 cites from J. R. Pacho *Relation d'un Voyage dans la Marmarique, la Cyrénaïque*, etc. Paris 1827—1829 pl. 51 a Cyrenaic tomb-painting, which shows Aristaios with a ram on his back, a *pedum* in his hand, surrounded by sheep and encircled by fish.

¹ Theopomp. *frag.* 171 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 307) *ap. schol. vet. Theokr.* 5. 83 *ὅτι τὸν αὐτὸν (sc. Κάρνειον Ἀπόλλωνα) καὶ Δία καὶ Ἡγήτορα καλοῦσιν Ἀργεῖοι, διὰ τὸ κάκεινον ἡγήσασθαι τοῦ στρατοῦ*. Perhaps, however, Theopompus merely meant that at Argos Apollon bore the title Ἀγήτωρ (Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 41) as Zeus did at Sparta (Wide *Lakon. Kulte* pp. 1, 13).

² *Supra* p. 351 n. 7.

³ *Supra* p. 371 f.

⁴ K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 55 f.

⁵ L. Müller *Numismatique de l'Ancienne Afrique* Copenhagen 1860 i. 101 ff.

⁶ *Supra* p. 367 f.

⁷ *Supra* p. 369 f.

⁸ Diod. 3. 73 *εἰσι δ' οἱ μυθολογοῦντες αὐτῷ (sc. τῷ Ἀμμωνί) πρὸς ἀλήθειαν γενέσθαι καθ' ἑκάτερον μέρος τῶν κροτάφων κεράτια· διὸ καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον, υἱὸν αὐτοῦ γεγονότα, τὴν ὁμοίαν ἔχειν πρόσωπον, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγυομένοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων παραδεδοῦσθαι τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον γεγονότα κερατῖαν*. Cp. Leon *περὶ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον θεῶν frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 332 Müller) *ap. Hyg. poet. astr.* 2. 20 *qui autem Libero factum voluerunt adsignare, quod non petierit ab Hammone, sed ultro ad eum sit adductum, simulacra illa cornuta faciunt et arietem memoriae causa inter sidera fixum dicunt*. The context is given *supra* p. 368.

⁹ L. Müller *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1862 p. 76 ff.

¹¹ The first to suggest Dionysos was Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*² iv. 118; and his suggestion has been widely accepted (see L. Müller *op. cit.* i. 102 f.).

commonly Dionysiac—a *kántharos*, a bunch of grapes, a herm of Dionysos. But this is an argument on which it is easy to lay too much stress.

Stephani further drew attention to a series of double busts which combine the head of *Ammon* with that of a more or less certain Dionysos¹. Sometimes a bearded head with ram's horns is joined to a bearded and hornless head². Where the latter is wreathed with vine-leaves³ or ivy-leaves⁴, it undoubtedly represents Dionysos. Where the wreath is absent⁵, we cannot feel the same assurance. Again, a bearded head with ram's horns is joined to a beardless head with short bovine horns⁶. Here opinion is divided, some supposing that *Ammon* is combined with a semi-bovine Dionysos⁷, others that he is linked to a second water-god, the Libyan Triton⁸. Exceptional is a double bust in the Vatican, which yokes two youthful heads, one having ram's horns and a slight beard, the other small bovine horns⁹. Stephani concludes that the artist wished to unite the Libyan with, the Greek Dionysos¹⁰; Overbeck, that the head with ram's horns is more probably a portrait in the guise of *Ammon*¹¹. Another isolated example is a double herm of *Ammon* and a satyr at Berlin, surmounted by a capital in the form of a *kálathos*¹². On the whole, a survey of these double busts makes it clear that *Ammon* stood in close relation to the Dionysiac circle.

Finally, Stephani published an Apulian bell-*kratér* at Saint

¹ L. Stephani *loc. cit.* p. 77 f.

² (1) Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* i. 657 no. 523 pl. 70. (2) *Mon. d. Inst.* iv pl. 49, E. Braun in *Ann. d. Inst.* 1848 xx. 186 ff. pl. I, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 285 f. Atlas pl. 3, 11. (3) S. Maffei *Museum Veronense* Verona 1749 p. 93 no. 3. (4) *Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1792 viii. (Le Lucerne ed i Candelabri d' Ercolano) 313 pl. 70, Roux-Barré *Herc. et Pomp.* vii Bronzes 3^e Série p. 4 f. pl. 3.

³ Amelung *loc. cit.*

⁴ Maffei *loc. cit.*

⁵ *Mon. d. Inst.*, *Ann. d. Inst.*, Overbeck *loc. cit.* In *Antichità di Ercolano*, Roux-Barré *loc. cit.* the head of *Ammon* has a wreath of ivy and flowers, the other head a diadem.

⁶ (1) Visconti *Mus. Pic-Clém.* v pl. A, 3. (2) Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 287 f. no. 37. (3) *Id. ib.* p. 288 no. 38 Atlas pl. 3, 12. (4) *Id. ib.* p. 288 no. 39. (5) *Id. ib.* p. 288 no. 40.

⁷ So e.g. J. de Witte in *Ann. d. Inst.* 1858 xxx. 82, L. Stephani *loc. cit.* p. 78.

⁸ So e.g. K. Bötticher *Nachtrag zum Verzeichniss der Bildhauerwerke in Berlin* 1867 no. 985 ff., especially no. 988.

⁹ E. Pistolesi—C. Guerra *Il Vaticano descritto ed illustrato* Roma 1829—1838 vi pl. 103, E. Platner—C. Bunsen—E. Gerhard—W. Röstell *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom* Stuttgart und Tübingen 1834 ii. 2. 281 no. 33, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 289 f.

¹⁰ L. Stephani *loc. cit.* p. 77 f.

¹¹ Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 289 f., quoting Pistolesi's interpretation 'Lisimaco.'

¹² Overbeck *ib.* p. 288.

Petersburg, on which is a scene of considerable interest (fig. 287)¹. A youthful god with ram's horns stands leaning on a pillar, a bay-branch in his left hand. He is conversing with a matronly female figure seated before him. Behind him Pan with goat's horns holds a larger branch of bay with leaves and berries. He is balanced by a second female figure raising a *phiale*. The sanctity of the place is shown by the *bucranium* and fillet hung in the background, by the incense-burner visible between the two principal persons, and perhaps by the sprigs of bay etc. in the foreground. Stephani, followed by S. Reinach, suggests that we have here the horned Dionysos of Libye² promising pardon



Fig. 287.

¹ Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* i. 380 ff. no. 880, *Compte-rendu St. Pétr.* 1862 p. 79 ff. Atlas pl. 5, 2 and 3, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 13, 1 f.

² This identification is confirmed by an unpublished Apulian jug at St Petersburg (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 28 f. no. 1119, though F. Wieseler in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1892 p. 226 f. says Apollon *Karneios*), which represents a definitely Dionysiac scene. In the centre sits a young man (Dionysos) with ram's horns, originally painted yellow, on his head: he wears an upper garment, which has slipped on to his lap, and yellow shoes. In his right hand he holds a cup, in his left a lyre, both partly yellow. Before him stands a woman (Ariadne?) in *chiton* and *himation*, who offers him a bunch of grapes with her left hand, a white wreath with her right: her arm-bands and necklaces are yellow. Behind Dionysos stands a second woman leaning on a pillar, which is yellow in part. She wears a *chiton*, a small fluttering garment, shoes, arm-bands and necklaces, and holds in her right hand an *aldabstron* (?). At her back is a fillet; and in the field are four partly yellow rosettes.

to Rhea¹. If so, the scene is presumably laid in the *Ammonéion*. The bay-branches suggest that the Apulian artist based his conception of this far off spot on the more familiar oracle of the Delphic Apollon. But it may be remarked that the elder *Ammon* wears a bay-wreath on coins of Kyrene, Tenos, and Metapontum, as does his younger counterpart on coins of Metapontum and Tenos. We are not, therefore, forced to assume a confusion or contamination of cults.

In view of the foregoing evidence it would, I think, be unsafe to conclude that the connexion between Zeus *Ammon* and Dionysos was essentially late. Herodotos² states that at Meroë, where Zeus (*Ammon*) had an oracle, the only gods worshipped were Zeus and Dionysos. And the coins at least suffice to prove the existence of a youthful *Ammon* as early as the fifth century B.C.

(θ) The Oasis of Siwah.

The last glimpse that we get of the *Ammonéion* in classical times is a sad one. Athanasios states that in 356 A.D. many elderly bishops of the Egyptian church were driven out by Georgios the Arian persecutor; those from Libye were banished to the Great Oasis, those from the Thebaïd to the Ammonian district³. After this, darkness descends and shuts out the view.

From the fourth to the eighteenth century we know nothing of the *Ammonéion* beyond a few casual and partly fantastic references

¹ According to the romantic version of Diod. 3. 71—73, Rhea and Kronos took with them the Titans and attacked *Ammon*, who thereupon fled to Crete and, having married Krete the daughter of one of the reigning Kouretes, became lord of the district. Meantime Kronos and Rhea had usurped the realm of *Ammon*. But Dionysos, helped by the Amazons and Athena, vanquished the Titans and reinstated his father. He took the usurpers captive, but promised them forgiveness and exhorted them to be reconciled with him. Rhea loyally accepted his overtures: Kronos was insincere. After this, Dionysos founded the oracle of *Ammon*, and made the child Zeus king of Egypt. Etc., etc.

² Hdt. 2. 29. We must, however, remember that Dionysos may mean Osiris (*id.* 2. 42, 144).

³ Cp. Hdt. 2. 42 'Αμοῦν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέονσι τὸν Δία, Plin. *nat. hist.* 6. 186 (of Meroe) delubrum Hammonis et ibi religiosum et toto tractu sacella.

⁴ Athanas. *ad imp. Const. apol.* 32 (i. 316 f. ed. Bened.) οἱ δὲ θαυμαστοὶ πλέον τι τῆς σῆς προσταξίως τοδιωτίως ὑπὲρ τριῶν ἐπαρχίας εἰς ἐρήμους καὶ ἀήθεις καὶ φοβεροὺς τόπους ἐξώρισαν γερωντας ἀνθρώπων καὶ πολυετείς ἐπισκόπους. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Λιβύης εἰς τὴν μεγάλην Ὅασιν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Θεβαΐδος εἰς τὴν Ἀμμωνιακὴν τῆς Λιβύης ἀπεστάλησαν, *hist. Arian. ad Monachos* 72 (i. 387 ed. Bened.) καὶ ἐξώρισαν μὲν ἐπισκόπους γηράσαντας ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ καὶ πολυετείς ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὄντας τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, Ἀμμώνιον μὲν καὶ Ἐρωῖν καὶ Ἀνάγαμφον καὶ Μάρκον εἰς τὴν ἄνω Ὅασιν, Μοῦιν δὲ καὶ Ψενόσιριν καὶ Νελάμιωνα καὶ Ἠλλήνην καὶ Μάρκον καὶ Ἀθηνόδορον εἰς τὴν Ἀμμωνιακὴν, δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ ἵνα διὰ τῶν ἐρήμων διερχόμενοι τελευτήσωσι, cp. *apol. de fuga sua* 6 f., Sokr. *hist. eccl.* 2. 28, Theodoret. *eccl. hist.* 2. 14.

in Arabic geographers¹. The Arabs obtained possession of Egypt and presumably of the Oases also in the seventh century. A certain king Kofthim—we are told—built two towns in remote Oases and equipped them with palaces, fountains, pools, brazen pillars and magic idols: the traveller who set eyes upon the idols stood rooted to the spot until he died, unless one of the natives released him by blowing in his face². Another king Ssa, son of Assad, established a town in a distant Oasis (probably that of *Ammon*), which was attacked in 708 A.D. by Musa, son of Nosseir. Musa marched his troops for seven days through the desert, but found the town protected by walls and gates of brass. He made a futile attempt to take it, and was forced to retire with heavy losses³. In 943—944 A.D. the king of the Oases was Abdemelik Ben Meruan, of the Lewatah tribe, who had several thousand riders under his command. Seven years later the king of the Nubians came, explored the Oases, and carried off many prisoners. The devastation must have been great; for Edrisi, the *Geographus Nubiensis*, says that in his day (*s. xii*) the small Oases had no inhabitants, though water, trees, and ruined buildings were still to be seen⁴. It was otherwise with the Oasis of Santariah or Siwah, which in Edrisi's time was occupied by Mohammedans with a resident *Imam*⁵. Abulfeda (1273—1331 A.D.) describes the Oases with their palm-groves and springs as islands in the sand⁶. Makrisi (1364—1441 A.D.) has more to say:

'The town Santariah forms part of the Oases and was built by Minakiush, one of the old Coptic Kings, founder of the town Achmîm.... He built it (Santariah) in the form of a square of white stone. In each wall there was a gate, from which a street led to the opposite wall. Each of these streets had gates right and left, leading to streets that traversed the town. In the middle of the town was a circus surrounded by seven rows of steps and crowned by a cupola of laquered wood resting on costly marble columns. In the middle of the circus rose a marble tower supporting a statue of black granite, which every day turned on its axis, following precisely the course of the sun. Under the dome on every side figures were suspended, which whistled and spoke in diverse languages. On the highest step of the circus the king took his place, and beside him his sons, his kinsfolk, and the princes. On the second step sat the high priests and the viziers; on the third, the commanders of the army; on

¹ These were collected by Langlès 'Mémoire sur les oases d'après les auteurs arabes' in F. C. Hornemann *Voyages dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique* Paris 1802 Appendice no. 2, and are conveniently summarised by G. Parthey 'Das Orakel und die Oase des Ammon' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1862 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 172 f.

² Langlès *op. cit.* ii. 364, Parthey *op. cit.* p. 172.

³ Langlès *op. cit.* ii. 368, Parthey *op. cit.* p. 172.

⁴ Langlès *op. cit.* ii. 350, Parthey *op. cit.* p. 172.

⁵ Langlès *op. cit.* ii. 398, Parthey *op. cit.* p. 172.

⁶ Abulfeda *descr. Aeg.* p. 4 Michaelis, Parthey *op. cit.* p. 172.

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the fourth, philosophers, astronomers, physicians, and masters of learning ; on the fifth, builders ; on the sixth, foremen of guilds ; and lastly on the seventh, the bulk of the commoners. Each class was bidden "to look upon those only that were below it, not those that were above it, for they would never be on an equality with their betters." This rule was an education in itself. The wife of Minakiush slew him with a knife : so he died after a reign of sixty years¹.

Makrisi further tells at third hand how the officer of a certain *Emir* saw in the country of the Oases an orange-tree, which every year bore 14,000 ripe fruit². The Oasis of Santariah or Siwah was in his own day inhabited by 600 Berbers, who spoke a dialect akin to Zialah or Zenatah and suffered much from fevers and evil spirits³. Leo Africanus (c. 1517 A.D.) speaks of the Oases as a district situated to the west of Egypt in the Libyan desert. The district comprised three fortresses, numerous houses, fruitful fields and dates in great abundance. Its inhabitants were almost wholly black, very rich, and remarkably avaricious⁴.

The first European to reach the Oasis of Siwah in modern times and to recognise in it the long-lost *Ammôneion* was the English traveller W. G. Browne, who left Alexandria with a caravan of Arab traders on February 24, 1792, and, following much the same route as Alexander the Great, entered Siwah on March 9. Here he stayed four days, making geographical, ethnographical, and archaeological notes⁵. A few years later came the German F. C. Hornemann, who, obtaining a permit from General Bonaparte then in Egypt, joined a large company of pilgrims returning from Mecca *viâ* Cairo to the west of Africa and spent eight days in Siwah, September 22—29, 1798. His observations confirmed those of Browne⁶. The French were next in the field. The incautious and ill-starred engineer Boutin or Butin towards the middle of 1819⁷, and the more careful and successful traveller Cailliaud at

¹ G. Steindorff *Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amonsoase* Bielefeld und Leipzig 1904 p. 79 f. ² Langlès *op. cit.* ii. 390, Parthey *op. cit.* p. 173.

³ Langlès *op. cit.* ii. 384, Parthey *op. cit.* p. 173.

⁴ Langlès *op. cit.* ii. 354, Parthey *op. cit.* p. 173. Wansleben, who visited Egypt in 1664, 1672, and 1673 A.D., praised the dates of Siba as the best (S. Ideler in the *Fundgruben des Orients* Wien 1814 iv. 401, Parthey *op. cit.* p. 173).

⁵ W. G. Browne *Travels in Africa, Egypt and Syria, from the year 1792 to 1798* London 1799. There is also a German translation (Leipzig und Gera 1800).

⁶ *Fr. Hornemanns Tagebuch seiner Reise von Cairo nach Murzuck, der Hauptstadt des Königreichs Fessan in Afrika in den Jahren 1797 und 1798*, aus der deutschen Handschrift desselben herausgegeben von Carl König, Weimar 1802. Hornemann himself, having been commissioned to explore north Africa by the London Association for promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa, continued his route westwards from Siwah and never returned home. But his letters were forwarded to England by Bonaparte. The minute-book of the African Association containing an account of them formed part of the Leake collection and is now preserved at Cambridge.

⁷ Parthey *op. cit.* p. 177. Boutin took with him a portable boat, in which to navigate

its close', both reached their distant goal. Others followed suit, among whom may be specially mentioned the Prussian general H. von Minutoli and his party (1820)², the Englishmen G. A. Hoskins (1835)³ and Bayle St John (1847)⁴, the Scot J. Hamilton (1853)⁵, and the German G. Rohlfs (1869, 1874)⁶. But the journey even now-a-days is seldom undertaken: the desert is a serious deterrent⁸, and the inhabitants have no great love for strangers⁹.

the mysterious Lake Arashieh; but the inhabitants of Siwah burnt his boat, and did their best to rob and murder the explorer—a fate that ultimately overtook him in the mountains of Syria.

¹ F. Cailliaud *Voyage à Méroé, au Fleuve Blanc, au-delà de Fâzoql dans le midi du Royaume de Sennâr, à Syouah et dans cinq autres Oasis, fait dans les années 1819, 1820, 1821 et 1822* Paris 1826 i. 86—122. Cp. Jomard *Voyage à l'Oasis du Syouah, d'après les matériaux recueillis par M. le chevalier Drovetti et par M. Frédéric Cailliaud, pendant leurs voyages dans cette Oasis, en 1819 et en 1821* Paris 1823.

² H. von Minutoli *Reise zum Tempel des Jupiter Ammon in der libyschen Wüste und nach Ober-Aegypten in den Jahren 1820 und 1821*, herausgegeben von Dr E. H. Toelken, Berlin 1824, with an Atlas of 38 plates and a map.

³ G. A. Hoskins *Visit to the Great Oasis of the Libyan Desert* London 1837.

⁴ Bayle St. John *Adventures in the Libyan Desert and the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon* London 1849.

⁵ J. Hamilton *Wanderings in North-Africa* London 1856.

⁶ G. Rohlfs *Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien*¹ Bremen 1871 ²Bremen 1882 ³Norden 1885 in two vols., *id. Drei Monate in der libyschen Wüste* Cassel 1875, W. Jordan *Physische Geographie und Meteorologie der libyschen Wüste, nach Beobachtungen, ausgeführt im Winter 1873-74 auf der Rohlfs'schen Expedition*, Cassel 1876.

⁷ L. Robecchi-Bricchetti (1886) 'Notizie sull' oasi di Siwah' in the *Archivio per Antropologia e la Etnologia* 1887 xvii, *id.* 'Un' Escursione attraverso il deserto Libico all' Oasi di Siuva 1886' in the *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* 3. Série. 2. 1889 pp. 388—399, 468—488 (cp. *Bulletin de la Société Khédiviale de Géographie* 3. Série. 1888—89 pp. 83—118), *id.* *All' oasi di Giove Ammon, viaggio* Milan 1900.

H. Burchardt (1893) 'Über den Besuch der Oase Siwah im Februar d. J.' in the *Verhandl. der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* xx. 387 f.

W. Jennings-Bramley (1896) 'A Journey to Siwa in September and October 1896' in the *Geographical Journal* London 1897 x. 597—608.

C. von Grünau (1898) 'Bericht über meine Reise nach Siwah' in the *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 1899 xxxiv. 271—280. Cp. the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1899 iii. 515.

A. Silva White (1898) *From Sphinx to Oracle. Through the Libyan Desert to the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon* London 1899.

G. Steindorff (1899—1900) 'Vorläufiger Bericht über seine im Winter 1899/1900 nach der Oase Siwe und nach Nubien unternommenen Reisen' in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1900 pp. 209—239, *id.* 'Eine archäologische Reise durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amonsoase Siwe' in *Petermanns Geogr. Mitteilungen* 1904 Heft viii with a map by Dr B. Hassenstein, *id.* *Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amonsoase Bielefeld* und Leipzig 1904 (with full bibliography *ib.* p. 156 f.).

⁸ Archonides or Andron of Argos, a man who all his life ate plenty of dry salt food without feeling thirsty or drinking, travelled twice to the Oasis of Ammon on a diet of dry meal; and Magon of Carthage did so thrice (Aristot. *frag.* 99 Rose 1494 a 7 ff.). Their 'record' remains unbroken!

⁹ A certain Mr Blunt, who came to Siwah disguised as an Arab, was detected and

white salt: it was dug up in large crystals, packed in palm-baskets, and taken by certain priests of *Ammon* to Egypt as a gift for the Persian king or other favoured individual, being in request for sacrificial purposes¹. It is still an article of export. As to the shells mentioned by Eratosthenes, G. Rohlfs found and figured a variety of fossils, including astroite, ostracite, etc.² He also obtained from a running ditch near Siwah a number of small fish, which K. A. Zittel identifies with the *Cyprinodon dispar* discovered by Desor in the artesian wells of Algeria and regards as a relic of the primeval Sahara-lake³.



Fig. 289.

Despite the saline character of its soil, the Oasis can boast more than thirty springs of fresh water. Of these the most famous, though no longer the most copious, is *Ain el hammam* (fig. 289)⁴

¹ Arrian 3. 4. 5 f., *itin. Alex.* 52 p. 160 Müller, Deinon *Persica frag.* 15 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 92 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 67 A—B, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1500, 2. On *sal Hammoniacus* see further Plin. *nat. hist.* 31. 78 f., *Ov. medic. fac. fem.* 94, Colum. 6. 17. 7, Cels. *de med.* 6. 6. 39. The name has passed into the modern pharmacopœia as 'sal ammoniac,' 'Salmiak,' etc. G. Rohlfs *Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien*² ii. 121 pl. 4, 2 describes and illustrates a salt-crystal from the Oasis.

² *Id. ib.* pls. 3 f.

³ G. Rohlfs *Drei Monate in der libyschen Wüste* p. 187 n. 1.

⁴ G. Steindorff *Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amonsoase* pp. 58 fig. 43, 62, 101 f.

traditionally identified with the Fountain of the Sun¹. It measures about 110 paces in circumference, and is enclosed by an early wall still in excellent repair². The ancients believed that its temperature varied inversely with the height of the sun³—an error refuted by modern thermometers⁴ and due to the fact that the observers were themselves warmer by day than by night. G. Rohlfs took *Ain el hammam* to mean 'the Fountain of the Doves'; but G. Steindorff points out that it is rather 'the Fountain of the Bath'—he himself saw women and children bathing in it. I may add that *hammam*, 'bath,' is in reality the same word as that which forms the second element of *Ba'al-hammam*, so that the name of Zeus *Ammon* still haunts the Oasis at least in this modified and unrecognised shape.

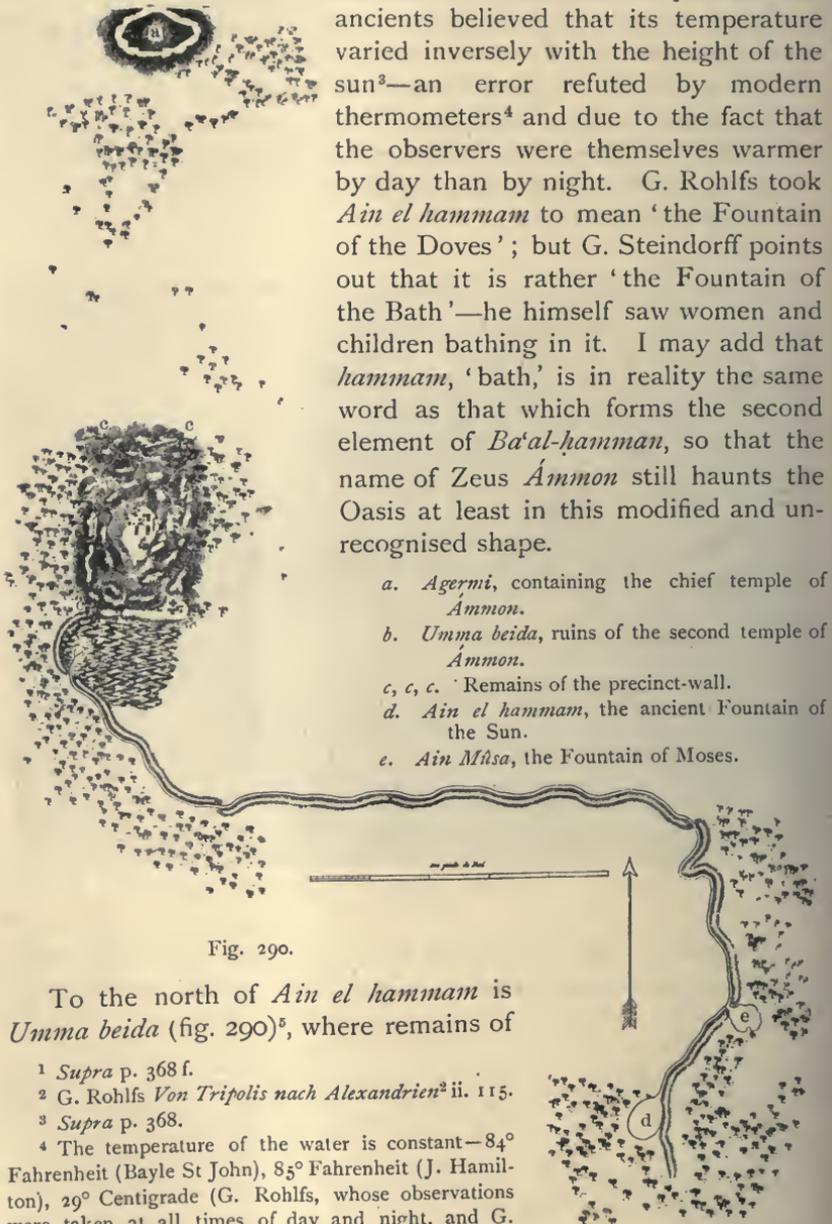


Fig. 290.

To the north of *Ain el hammam* is *Umma beida* (fig. 290)⁵, where remains of

¹ *Supra* p. 368 f.

² G. Rohlfs *Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien*² ii. 115.

³ *Supra* p. 368.

⁴ The temperature of the water is constant—84° Fahrenheit (Bayle St John), 85° Fahrenheit (J. Hamilton), 29° Centigrade (G. Rohlfs, whose observations were taken at all times of day and night, and G. Steindorff, who made repeated experiments always with the same result).

⁵ H. von Minutoli *Reise* etc. p. 372 Atlas pl. 6, 1: a = the village *Agermi*, b = the

the second or smaller temple of *Ammon*¹ are still to be seen. It is, however, falling more and more into decay. W. G. Browne (1792) saw five of its roofing stones yet in position and one on the ground. He gives the inside dimensions of the building as 32 ft long by 15 ft broad. F. C. Hornemann (1798) estimates the length roughly at 10 to 12 paces, the whole breadth at about 24 ft. But it is to H. von Minutoli (1820) that we owe the first detailed description of the temple². It appears from his account that the precinct, 70 paces long by 66 wide, was surrounded by a wall, of which the great corner-stones were *in situ*. Within this wall were traces of other walls—direction and purpose



Fig. 291.

uncertain. In the middle of the precinct rose a mass of limestone rock, artificially shaped to serve as a platform or stylobate some 8 ft high. The temple itself was built of limestone blocks, large and small, bonded with mortar. Orientated north and south, it comprised two parts—a *pronaos* and a *naos*. On the north the extant portion of the *pronaos*-wall was not quite $9\frac{1}{2}$ ft in length, and the larger of its side-walls was of about the same size. The temple-doorway was still standing. Minutoli sketched it from the

ruins *Umma beida*, *c* = remains of the precinct-wall, *d* = the Fountain of the Sun, *e* = another spring connected with it and forming a marsh to the south of the ruins.

¹ *Supra* p. 369.

² H. von Minutoli *op. cit.* p. 95 ff.

north-east (fig. 201)¹ and from the south with the village *Agermi* in the distance (fig. 202): he also had copies made of its reliefs, which represent *Ammon* in Egyptian form (fig. 293)². In addition to this main doorway the *pronaos*, to judge from the gaps in its walls, had two side-entrances opposite to each other. The walls of the *naos* to east and west were still $15\frac{1}{2}$ ft long, $4\frac{2}{3}$ ft thick, and over 10 ft high³. The south wall had completely disappeared, so that the original length of the structure could not be determined. Three of the huge roofing stones, 5 ft broad by 3 ft thick, still spanned the entire breadth of the building ($24\frac{1}{3}$ ft): of

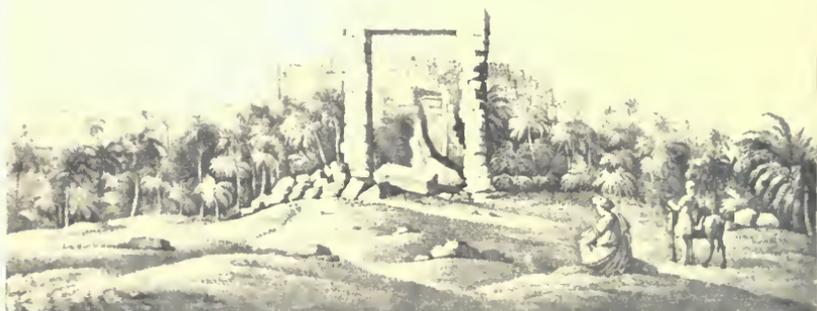


Fig. 292.

the five seen by Browne two had been overthrown through an earthquake in 1808⁴. The whole temple was covered, inside and outside, with reliefs and hieroglyphs. On the exterior and on the larger figures of the interior all traces of colour had vanished. Elsewhere the prevailing green and blue was fairly well preserved. Near the main entry was a ruined vault, which, Minutoli thought, might perhaps have belonged to a secret passage giving access to

¹ H. von Minutoli *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 7, 1.

² *Id. ib.* Atlas pl. 7, 2—taken from the hill *Gebel Drara-Enbrik*, where the quarries are situated.

³ *Id. ib.* Atlas pl. 10, 2—designs on the left of the main entry (pl. 7, 1).

⁴ Hornemann put the height at 27 ft: probably, as E. H. Toelken suggests, this included the stylobate of rock.

⁵ Cailliaud dates the earthquake in 1811.

the inner shrine. His guides spoke of an underground way from the temple to a hill full of catacombs just beyond the Fountain of the Sun. But the vault could not be explored without pumping apparatus.

G. Rohlfs¹ in 1869 found nothing of the precinct-wall left save the huge blocks forming its south-east angle. He reports that 'the upper part of the limestone rock, either by art or by nature, exhibits great blocks of alabaster, in which are curiously crystalized rosettes in many cases a foot in diameter.' The precise orientation of the temple was 348° with a deviation of 15° . No

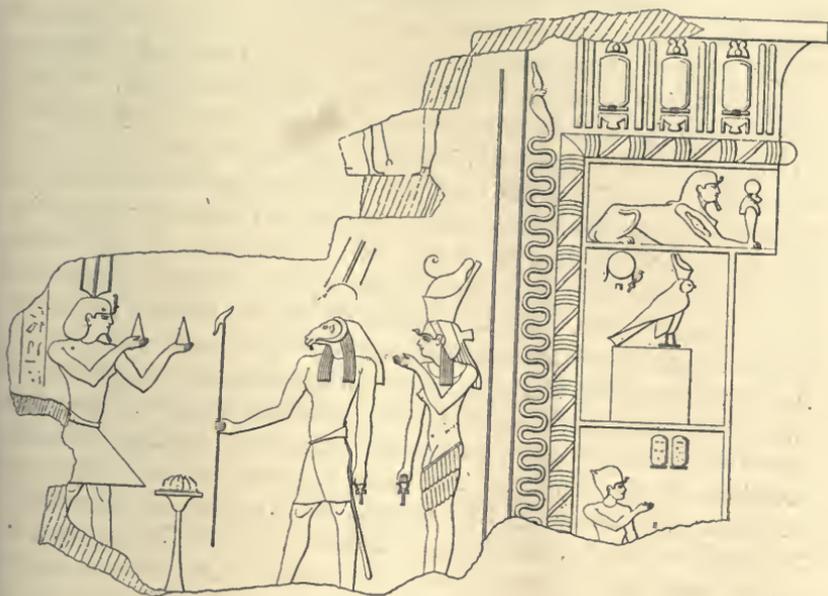


Fig. 293.

subterranean corridors are now to be seen, though the people talk of secret passages to Agermi and Siwah. Rohlfs further notes that the doorway seen by H. von Minutoli (1820) and by Bayle St John (1847), and with it the whole *prónaos*, have gone. He found, however, the side-walls of the *naós* standing to a height of about 25 ft and separated by a space of 16 ft. The extant walls were 14 and 10 ft long respectively, and were roofed in by three colossal monoliths, which on their under surface showed well-preserved eagles (*sic*) with outspread wings. Two roof-stones lay on the ground and fragments of perhaps two others. The outside of the *naós* appeared never to have had any hieroglyphs on it; and

¹ G. Rohlfs *Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien*² ii. 128 ff.

its reliefs were wholly weather-worn. But the inside still exhibited on the east wall 53 columns of hieroglyphs, of which the middle 47 were complete, and on the west wall 52, with 49 complete. The small blocks of the lower courses and the large blocks of the upper courses were alike covered with them. Below and above them were symbolic designs, between which in many places the original colouring, especially green and blue, could be seen. The best-preserved figure was that of the horned *Ámmon* seated at the south end of the temple to receive the homage of human figures with the heads of jackal and sparrow-hawk. Within the temple was a great block of marble, which on all four sides showed a large human head with ram's horns: this may have been the base on which stood the statue of Zeus *Ámmon*. The head, a hideous fright of twice life-size, doubtless had reference to him¹. Rohlfs was told by the natives that the temple had been built by *Iskender* (Alexander), the founder of *Skendria* (Alexandria)².

Thirty years later (1899) G. Steindorff³ was still able to do good service by making an accurate survey of the rapidly dwindling ruin and a transcript of its hieroglyphs. The west side-wall of the inner chamber has now collapsed, and with it the last of the roof-blocks have fallen. These blocks, of which several strew the ground, were decorated on their under surface with two rows of *uraeus*-snakes and vultures, representing Uatchit the goddess of the North and Nekhebet the goddess of the South⁴: the reliefs were enclosed by three bands of inscriptions dealing with the erection of the temple. The east side-wall, though damaged at the top, is standing to a height of 6.12 m. It consists of 26 limestone blocks, which attain a maximum length of 7 m. Its upper part had originally an ornamental frieze, sparrow-hawks sheltering the king's name with their wings, and below a series of sacrificial scenes in which the ruler of the Oasis also took part. Beneath these comes a lengthy ritual text in 51 columns. It speaks of the princely builder of the temple as 'the chief of the foreigners, Un-Amon, the blessed, the son of Nefret-ronpet.' Under the ritual text are reliefs in three registers. The highest tier shows a ram-headed Egyptian deity enthroned beneath a canopy. He has the horns of both Khnemu and Ámen⁵, the double plumes, the

¹ G. Rohlfs *ib.*² ii. 105 f. R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1858 points out that *Ámmon* is often figured in Egyptian art with four ram's heads.

² *Id.* *ib.*² ii. 107.

³ G. Steindorff *Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amonsoase* pp. 60, 62, 118, 119—121 with figs. 69, 70, 71, 72.

⁴ Cp. *supra* p. 206.

⁵ *Supra* p. 347.

solar disk and *uraeus* on his head. In his right hand he holds a sceptre, in his left the symbol of life, which he extends to a man kneeling before him. The deity is 'Amen-Râ, the lord of the councillors¹, the great god, who dwells in the Oasis.' His suppliant, Un-Amon, has an ostrich-feather upright on his brow, therein resembling the Timihû or Libyans as depicted in Egyptian art². Behind Amen-Râ stands his wife Mut, the 'Mother'-goddess, wearing the united crowns of the South and the North. Behind Un-Amon are seen several other deities including the human-headed Amen-Râ of Thebes (*Zeus Thebaïcus*)³ and his consort Mut. The next tier of reliefs shows a god with the head of a sparrow-hawk, Shu (Herakles)⁴ representing the dry atmosphere and his wife the lion-headed Tefnut representing the moisture of the sky, Set (Typhon), the earth-god Seb with his wife the sky-goddess Nut, and another goddess whose name is lost. The lowest tier figures Horos with the head of a sparrow-hawk, Uatchit and Nekhebet, and the ram-headed Khnemu of Elephantine. Steindorff notes that Un-Amon appears to have built this temple in the reign of Nehtarheb (Nektanebes), a king of the thirtieth dynasty, who reigned 378—361 B.C., and points out that it was therefore standing in all its glory at the time of Alexander's visit.

The chief temple of *Ammon* was however that situated on the Akropolis of the Ammonians, now known as *Agermi*⁵. This limestone hill has on its summit an open *piazza* surrounded by houses, in one of which lives the *sheikh*, the richest man of the whole Oasis. H. von Minutoli caught a glimpse of the temple wall, which crowns the precipitous northern side of the hill, but was prevented from entering the place and did not discover its true character. J. Hamilton made his way into the building, and was the first to report that it is an Egyptian temple with *pronaos* and *naos* complete. He also found near by an ancient well some 50 ft deep. A more detailed account of this temple was given by G. Rohlfs, who recognised in it the great temple of Ammon. He had many obstacles to overcome. Grime, smoke and darkness combined to make investigation difficult. And, worse still, the temple had been largely filled in and blocked by the houses of a crowded modern population. Nevertheless this indefatigable explorer contrived to make out the main outlines of the ancient structure. Its

¹ This title marks Amen-Râ as a giver of oracles.

² C. R. Lepsius *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopen* Berlin 1846—1856 vi pl. 136.

G. Maspero *The Struggle of the Nations* London 1896 pp. 220 fig. (cp. *ib.* p. 430), 767 fig.

³ *Supra* p. 347 f.

⁴ *Supra* p. 348.

⁵ This identification was first made by the French consul-general Drovetty in 1820.

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prónaos, now roofless, is a chamber 15 ft long by 10 ft broad, with a single great doorway as the main entry on the south side (fig. 294). No hieroglyphs were here to be seen. On the north two large doors of Egyptian design 18 ft high lead into the *naós*. This measures 24 ft long by 18 ft broad and is 18 ft in height. In



Fig. 294.

it Rohlfs found numerous hieroglyphs and reliefs. With the help of several candles he copied some of them and in due time submitted them to the Egyptologist H. Brugsch. Brugsch reported 'that the texts are written in old Egyptian script, that they refer to a series of male deities which, to judge from their extant crowns,

represent Ammon and the ram-headed Harschaf the Arsaphes of the Greeks, and lastly that the texts contained speeches of those deities addressing a god named Urtestu that is Lord of the nations. This appellative proves that the king was not a native but must have belonged to a foreign dynasty.' Here again more exact results were obtained by Steindorff¹. The reliefs are accompanied by inscriptions of the fourth century B.C. On one side of the *naôb* stands Set-erdaïs, 'chief of the foreigners, the son of the chief of the foreigners, Retneb,' and pays homage to a row of deities with Amen himself at their head. The chief, whose figure is much damaged, wears the costume of an Egyptian king but, like the light-skinned Libyans mentioned above, has an ostrich-plume in his hair. On the other side of the *naôb* a similar scene shows the real Pharaoh making an offering to the gods. He wears the crown of Lower Egypt; and the name inscribed in his cartouche may be completed as *Khnenma-Re*, the first name of Akoris or Hakoris, a king of the twenty-ninth dynasty, who reigned at Mendes 396—383 B.C. and succeeded in freeing his realm from the Persian yoke. Whether he actually built this temple or merely redecorated it, can hardly be decided.

Rohlfs also discovered in the thickness of the inner long wall on the east side a secret passage 2 ft broad leading to a great spring on the south side of the *piazza*. This spring filled a deep and roomy cutting in the rock. Looking down into it, he could see just above the level of the water a small platform on which the priests' passage ended. To the south of the temple he found a great wall of colossal blocks, but was unable to trace it far. Outside *Agermi* on the south-west are other remains of walls, perhaps those of an outer precinct. The net result of these discoveries was fully to confirm the accuracy of the description cited above from Diodoros².

About a furlong to the south of *Agermi* Rohlfs detected the ruins of a Greek temple lying east and west. Its outline could be made out by means of blocks projecting from the soil; but of the upper part of the structure nothing was to be seen beyond the shafts of two fluted columns. The *débris* formed a mound 18 paces long by 14 broad.

Some twelve kilometers to the east of *Agermi* Steindorff³ found the remains of another building known as *Qasr el-Ghashashâm*.

¹ G. Steindorff *Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amonsoase* pp. 60, 118 with figs. 67, 68 (here reproduced as fig. 294).

² *Supra* p. 369.

³ G. Steindorff *Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amonsoase* p. 125 f. with fig. 78.

A single wall faced with limestone blocks is *in situ*. But a lintel decorated with the winged solar disk and a few lengths of dentils suffice to prove that here stood a Graeco-Egyptian temple. An adjacent mound yielded Greek sherds and copper coins, while away to the east stretch the relics of a once flourishing Greek community.

Lastly¹, at a distance of 1½ hours to the south-west of Siwah, on the edge of the oasis and the sand dunes, Rohlfs discovered a mound 12 ft square on which are sundry limestone blocks. The name *Bab el medina*, 'the Town-gate,' suggests that here once stood a triumphal arch. A marble ram (fig. 295)² obtained from

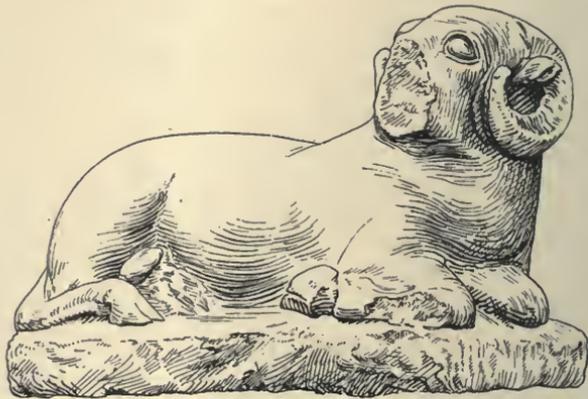


Fig. 295.

this remote spot was brought back in triumph to the Berlin Museum.

ii. The Ram and the Sun in Phrygia. Zeus *Sabázios*.

Another cult in which the ram played an important part was that of the Phrygian Zeus *Sabázios*.

The extant representations of this deity have been carefully collected and discussed first by C. Blinkenberg and subsequently by Eisele. The latter concludes that, though they may all belong to the Roman imperial age, yet in most cases they imply an older Phrygian type, probably that of some famous cult-image³. The

¹ The ruins of *Bled el rum* in the extreme west of the oasis, regarded by W. G. Browne as a Doric temple (!) and first recognised by Bayle St John as a copy of the temple at *Umma beida*, are described by G. Rohlfs *Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien*² ii. 92 f. and by G. Steindorff *Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amonsoase* p. 126 f. with figs. 79, 80, 81.

² G. Rohlfs *Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien*² i. Frontisp. and ii. 137, cp. 106.

³ Eisele in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 242 ff.

series includes bronze votive hands, which sometimes bear the name of *Sabázios*¹ or Zeus *Sabázios*², and sometimes represent him seated or standing with his feet on a ram's head (fig. 296)³; a few bronze statuettes, which portray him in similar attitudes on the same support (fig. 297)⁴; and a couple of bronze reliefs,



Fig. 296.



Fig. 297.

possibly breastplates worn by priests of *Sabázios*⁵, which figure him standing amid a crowd of attributes with his right foot

¹ *E.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 159 f. no. 874 CABAZI[Ω] on a specimen from Lord Londesborough's collection.

² *E.g. ib.* p. 377 no. 3216 ΔICABAZIΩ on a specimen from Asia Minor.

³ *Antichità di Ercolano Napoli* 1767 v (Bronzi i) p. xxxvii, *Real Museo Borbonico Napoli* 1868 xvi pl. 9, 1, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 477 no. 2, an example from Resina. The god wears a Phrygian cap and raises both hands in the attitude of the *benedictio Latina*. For other examples see Eisele *loc. cit.* p. 246 ff.

⁴ Eisele *loc. cit.* p. 248 (especially the bronze from Amiens published in the *Rev. Arch.* 1894 ii. 373 f., Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 478 no. 3, and its fellow in Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 289 no. 674 fig. = my fig. 297).

⁵ Eisele *loc. cit.* p. 248.

on the ram's head (pl. xxvii)¹. The persistence of the ram as a footstool is most noteworthy. In the art of the Babylonians, Hittites, etc., a god standing on an animal is commonly explained as a superposition of the later on the earlier form of the same divine being. Similarly I should conjecture that the Phrygian *Sabazios* was originally conceived as a ram and remained essentially a ram-god.

But, just as the Egyptian ram-god *Immon* had sacred snakes, and was said to have become a snake to win his bride², so the Phrygian ram-god *Sabazios* had sacred puff adders³ and was himself said to have taken their form for the like purpose. Both animals figure in his myth, which has come down to us with some rhetorical embellishment in the pages of Clement and other apologists⁴. Their accounts, printed in full below, may be thus

¹ Cf. Blinkenberg *Die Kerkelzische Studien* Copenhagen and Leipzig 1904 p. 90 ff. pl. 2 (on a scale of 2) in the Nationalmuseet at Copenhagen. In the centre stands *Sabazios* wearing Phrygian costume. His right hand holds a pine-cone; his left, a sceptre tipped with a votive hand. His right foot rests on a ram's head. Round him are numerous attributes etc., including the thunderbolt and eagle of Zeus. All these are placed in a distyle temple, the pediment of which contains the sun-god's chariot between two stars. The upper angles of the plate are occupied by the Dioskouroi with their horses.

² See H. Prinz in the *Atth. Mitth.* 1910 xxxv. 167 f.

³ *Suzerri* p. 358 n. 6.

⁴ Clem. *Strom.* 259 f. ἀνήρ δὲ γινόμενος (sc. Aischines) τῇ μητρὶ τελοῦση τὰς βίβλους ἀνεγερῶσθαι καὶ τάλλα συνσκευωροῦ, τὴν μὲν νύκτα νεβρίζων καὶ κρατηρίζων, καὶ καθάρων τοὺς τελομένους κάποιματων τῷ πηλῷ καὶ τοῖς πιτύροις, καὶ ἀνίστας ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαρῶ καὶ λέγων λέγειν “ἐφίγηον κακόν, εἶθρον αἰεῖνον,” ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα πώποτε τηλικούτ’ ὀλοῦσαι συνινόμενος... ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῖς καλοῖς θιάσους ἄγων διὰ τῶν ὀδῶν, τοὺς ἐπιφανωμένους τῷ μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ λεύκῃ, τοὺς ὄφεις τοῖς παρεῖας θλίβων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς αἰώρων, καὶ βίων εἰσὶ σαβοῖ, καὶ ἐπορχοίμενος ὑῆς ἄττης ἄττης ὑῆς, ἔξαρχος καὶ προσηγμένων καὶ κιστοφόρος (κιστοφόρος, a variant in Harpokr. s.v. κιστοφόρος and in schol. Patm., is adopted by Dindorf and others) καὶ λικνοφόρος καὶ τοιαῦθ’ ὑπὸ τῶν γραδίων προσαγορευόμενος, μισθὸν λαμβάνων τούτων ἐνθροῦντα καὶ στρεπτοῖς καὶ νεήλατα, ἐφ’ οἷς τίς οὐκ ἂν ὡς ἀληθῶς αὐτὸν εἰδομῶσθεε καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τύχην; On this passage see Eisele *loc. cit.* p. 251 f. and for the adlers cp. Theophr. *char.* 16 καὶ εἰς ἰδὴ ὄφιν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, εἰς παρίαν. Σαζάκιον καλεῖται, εἰς δὲ ἱερὸν, ἐν ταῦτα ἠρῶν ἐνθὺς ἰδρῶσασθαι, Artemid. *Smith.* 2. 13 καὶ τοῖς πάντας (sc. δράκων ὀρώμενος σημαίνει), οἷς ἐστὶν ἱερὸς. εἰς δὲ οἶδε· Ζεὺς Σαζάκιος, Πιλιος, Δημήτηρ καὶ Κόρη, Ἐκάτη, Ἀσκληπιός, Ἴφρες, ... ὄφιναι δὲ καὶ παρμαί καὶ φρίσαισι ποτηροὶ πάντες (*ib.* 4. 56).

⁵ Clem. *Al. prot.* 2. 15. 1 ff. p. 13. 2 ff. Stählin Δηοὺς δὲ μυστήρια [καὶ] Διὸς πρὸς μητέρα Δημήτρα ἀφροδίσιτι στυπλοκαὶ καὶ μῆνις (οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅ τι φῶ λοιπὸν, μητρὸς ἢ γυναικὸς) τῆς Δηοῦς, ἧς ὅη χάριν Βριμῶ προσαγορευθῆναι λέγεται, <καὶ> ἰκετηρία Διὸς καὶ πόμα χολῆς καὶ καρδιοχλίας καὶ ἀρηγορηγίας· ταῦτά οἱ Φρύγες τελέσκουσιν Ἄττιδι καὶ Κιβέλλῃ καὶ Κορύθασιν· τιθρηλῆκασιν δὲ ὡς ἄρα ἀποσπάσας ὁ Ζεὺς τοῦ κριοῦ τοὺς διδόμεους φέρων ἐν μύθοις ἐπιπέσει τοὺς κόλποις τῆς Δηοῦς, τιμωρίαν ψευδῆ τῆς βιαίας συμπλοκῆς ἐκτινύων, ὡς αὐτὸν ὄφιν ἐκτινύων. τὰ σύμβολα τῆς μύθου ταύτης ἐκ περιουσίας παρατεθέντα οἶδ’ ὅτι κινήσει γέλωτα καὶ μὴ γέλασιονσαν ἡμῖν διὰ τοῦς ἐλέγχους· “ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον” ἐκ κριβάλου ἔπιον· ἐκενοφόρησα ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυν· ταῦτα οὐχ ὕβρις τὰ σύμβολα; οἱ χελεύη τὰ μυστήρια; τί δ’ εἰ καὶ τα ἐπίλοιπα προσθέτην; κενὴ μὲν ἡ Δημήτηρ, ἀνατρέφεται δὲ ἡ Κόρη, μίγνεται δ’ αἰθεὶς ὁ γυνήσας οὐτοσί Ζεὺς τῇ Φερεφάττῃ, τῇ ἰδίᾳ θυγατρὶ, μετὰ τὴν

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Zeus *Sabazios* on a bronze relief at Copenhagen.

See page 392 n. 1.

summarised :—Zeus, desiring to consort with his own mother Deo or Demeter, turned himself into a bull and so compassed his end.

μητέρα τὴν Δηώ, ἐκλαθόμενος τοῦ προτέρου μύσου [πατὴρ καὶ φθορεὺς κόρης ὁ Ζεὺς] καὶ μίγνυται δράκων γενόμενος, ὅς ἦν, ἐλεγχεῖς. Σαβαζίων γοῦν μυστηρίων σύμβολον τοῖς μνουμένοις ὁ διὰ κόλπου θεός· δράκων δέ ἐστιν οὗτος, διεκλόμενος τοῦ κόλπου τῶν τελουμένων, ἔλεγχος ἀκρασίας Διός. κενεὶ καὶ ἡ Φερέφαττα παῖδα ταυρόμορφον· ἀμέλει, φησί τις ποιητῆς εἰδωλικός,

ταῦρος δράκοντος καὶ πατὴρ ταύρου δράκων.

ἐν ὄρει τὸ κρῆφιον, βουκόλος, τὸ κέντρον (κέντριον? Dieterich),

βουκολικόν, οἶμαι, κέντρον τὸν νάρθηκα ἐπικαλῶν, ὃν δὴ ἀναστέφουσιν οἱ βᾶκχοι.

Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 20 f. erat nobis consilium praeterire, praetervehi illa etiam mysteria, quibus Phrygia initiatur atque omnis gens illa, nisi nomen interpositum his Iovis prohiberet nos strictim iniurias eius ignominiasque transire... quomdam Diespiter, inquit, cum in Cererem (*inicare* codd.: *inire* Scaliger) suam matrem libidinibus improbis atque inconcessis cupiditatibus aestuaret, (nam genetrix haec Iovis regionis eius ab accolis traditur) neque tamen auderet id quod procaci adpetitione conceperat apertissima vi petere, ingeniosas comminiscitur captiones, quibus nihil tale metuentem castitate imminueret genetricem: fit ex deo taurus et sub pecoris specie subessoris animum atque audaciam celans in securam et nesciam repentina immittitur vi furens, agit incestius (v. l. *incestus*) res suas et prodita per libidinem fraude intellectus et cognitus evolat: ardescit furii atque indignationibus mater, spumat; anhelat, exaestuatur, nec fremitu continere tempestatemque irarum valens ex continua passione Brimo (*primo* codd.) deinceps ut appellaretur adsumpsit, neque alia cordi est res ei, quam ut (*quin* codd.) audaciam filii poenis quibus potis est persequatur. Iuppiter satagit fractus metu nec quibus remediis leniat violatae animos reperit. fundit preces et supplicat: obstructae sunt dolentes (v. l. *dolentis*) aures. adlegatur deorum universus ordo: nullius auctoritas tanta est ut audiatur; ad postremum filius vias satisfactionis inquirens comminiscitur remedium tale. arietem nobilem bene grandibus cum testiculis deligit, exsecat hos ipse et lanato exiit ex folliculi tegmine. accedens maerens et summissus ad matrem et, tamquam ipse sententia condemnasset se sua, in gremium proicit et facit (*iacit* codd.) hos eius. virilitate pignoris visa sumit animum mitiorem et concepti fetus revocatur ad curam: parit mensem post decimum luculenti filiam corporis, quam aetas mortalium consequens modo Liberam, modo Proserpinam nuncupavit. quam cum verveceus (*virviriceus* codd.) Iuppiter bene validam, floridam et suci esse conspiceret plenioris, oblitus paulo ante quid malorum et sceleris esset adgressus et temeritatis quantum, redit ad priores actus, et quia nefarium videbatur satis patrem cum filia comminus uxoria coniugatione misceri, in draconis terribilem formam migrat, ingentibus spiris pavefactam colligat virginem et sub obtentu fero mollissimis ludit atque adulatur amplexibus. fit ut ipsa de semine fortissimi compleatur Iovis, sed non eadem condicione qua mater: nam illa filiam reddidit liniamentis descriptam suis, at ex partu virginis tauri species (*specie* codd.) fusa, Iovialis monumenta pellaciae. auctorem aliquis desiderabit rei: tum illum citabimus Tarentinum notumque senarium, quem antiquitas canit dicens: *taurus draconem genuit, et taurum draco.* ipsa novissime sacra et ritus initiationis ipsius, quibus Sebadii nomen est, testimonio esse poterunt veritati, in quibus aureus coluber in sinum demittitur (*dimittitur* codd.) consecratis et eximitur rursus ab inferioribus partibus atque imis. *Id. ib.* 5. 37 Iuppiter, inquit, in taurum versus concubitum matris suae Cereris adpetivit: ut expositum supra est, nominibus his tellus et labens pluvia nuncupatur. legem allegoricam video tenebrosis ambiguitatibus explicatam. irata Ceres est et exarsit et arietis proles pro poena atque ultione suscepit. hoc iterum video communibus in proloquiis promptum; nam et ira et testes, satisfactio, suis in moribus et condicionibus dicta sunt. quid ergo hic accidit, ut ab Iove, qui pluvia, et ab Cerere, quae appellata est terra, res transiret ad verum Iovem atque ad rerum simplicissimam dictionem?

Firm. Mat. 10 Sebazium colentes Iovem anguem, cum initiant (v. l. *initiantur*), per

Deo in fierce anger took the title *Brimó*, 'the Wrathful,' and would not be appeased till Zeus came before her in a mood of mock-repentance, pretended to have made a eunuch of himself, and in proof of his words flung the severed parts into her lap. In reality they were those of a fine ram, which he had gelded. The issue of his union with Deo was Kore or Pherephatta, with whom he again had intercourse under the form of a monstrous snake. This time the offspring was shaped like a bull. Hence the well-known line:

Bull begat Snake, Snake begat Bull.

Hence too the practice of those who were initiated into the rites of Zeus *Sabázios* by passing a golden adder through their bosoms and out below.

In this crude, not to say repulsive, tale we have beyond a doubt the aetiological myth of the *Sabázios*-cult. The devotees of the great mother-goddess sacrificed to her their own virility or, failing that, the virility of a ram¹. Why they did so, we do not know for certain. Dr Farnell² suggests that they wished to assimilate themselves to her and took this desperate way of becoming feminine, or at least non-masculine. But this explanation hardly fits all the facts³. More probably the worshippers sought to increase the

sinum ducunt, *id.* 26. 1 sequitur adhuc aliud symbolum, quod pro magno miserorum hominum credulis auribus traditur: ταύρος δράκοντος καὶ ταύρου δράκων (δράκων ταύρου Wower) πατήρ.

¹ H. Hepding *Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult* Gieszen 1903 p. 192: 'Diese Erzählung sieht aus wie das *atvion* für Ablösung der Selbstentmannung durch ein Widderopfer (*criobolium*?).' So too Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Adonis Attis Osiris² p. 224 n. 1.

² Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 300 f. (of the Γάλλοι): 'Even the self-mutilation necessary for the attainment of the status of the eunuch-priest may have arisen from the ecstatic craving to assimilate oneself to the goddess and to charge oneself with her power, the female dress being thereupon assumed to complete the transformation.' Cp. also W. Leonhard *Hettiter und Amazonen* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 131 ff.

Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1545 n. 5 is content to explain the rite as primarily 'eine Poenitz' and cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 7 *mammās sibi demetit Galli filia pellicis, ib.* 5. 13 *quid admiserat Gallus, quid pellicis filia, ut ille se viro, haec manmarum honestate privaret?* But this aetiological tale is equally intelligible on Farnell's showing (assimilation to the Amazonian goddess). Nor can we lay stress on the view of the Naassenes (Ophites) that the emasculated Attis symbolises the soul freed from sensuality (Hippolyt. *ref. haeres.* 5. 7 p. 99 Miller). Other practices of the Γάλλοι Gruppe regards as vices arising 'aus den niedrigsten Motiven.' Yet even these might be covered by Farnell's charitable hypothesis.

E.g. the deposition of the *genitalia* in the 'chambers' of Rhea *Lobrine* (schol. Nik. *alex.* 8 Λοβρίνης θαλάμαι (θαλάμοι *codd.*)· τόποι ἱεροὶ ὑπὸ γείῳ, ἀνακειμένοι τῇ 'Ρέα, ὅπου ἐκτεμνόμενοι τὰ μῆδεα κατετίθεντο οἱ τῶν Ἄττει καὶ τῇ 'Ρέα λατρεύοντες. εἰσι δὲ τὰ Λόβρινα ὄρη Φρυγίας ἢ τόπος Κυζίκου· κ.τ.λ.). On Mt. Lobrinon see F. W. Hasluck *Cyzicus* Cambridge 1910 p. 219. Apparently the relics were buried in the ground and *stélai*,

fertilising powers of their goddess by thus thrusting upon her their own fertility. As Dr Frazer¹ has argued *à propos* of eunuch priests in the service of Asiatic goddesses generally,—‘These feminine deities required to receive from their male ministers, who personated the divine lovers, the means of discharging their beneficent functions: they had themselves to be impregnated by the life-giving energy before they could transmit it to the world.’ Further reflexion will, I think, show that herein lies the true explanation of the Phrygian rite. *Sabázios*-mystics referred their action to the example of the god—‘this wether-sheep Zeus’ (*verveceus Iuppiter*), as Arnobius contemptuously calls him². Nay more, they were believed to have borrowed his name and to have been dubbed *Saboi* because he was *Sabós*³. It is therefore hard to resist the

possibly of phallic form, erected over them: this I infer from Hesych. θαλάμια· στήλαι ἐπικείμεναι τοῖς αἰδοίοις τῶν ἀποκόπων. See further the passages quoted by Hepding *op. cit.* p. 164. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1545 f. justly observes that such practices attest ‘die alte Vorstellung von der Ehe mit der Göttin.’

¹ Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Adonis Attis Osiris² p. 224.

² Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 21 cited *supra* p. 392 n. 5 *med.*

A. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology* London 1872 i. 414 gives an interesting parallel from the legend of Alfalyâ in the *Râmâyana*: ‘It is said in this passage that the god Indras was one day condemned to lose his testicles by the malediction of the fishis Gâutamas, with whose wife, Ahalyâ, he had committed adultery. The gods, moved to pity, took the testicles of a ram and gave them to Indras, who was therefore called Meshâṅḍas; on this account, says the Râmâyana, the Pitaras feed on wethers, and not on rams, in funeral oblations.’ Indras is himself called a ram in a Vedic hymn (*Rig-veda* I. 51. 1 cited *ib.* i. 403).

³ Phot. *lex. s.v.* Σαβούς καὶ Σαβάς καὶ Σαβαζίου· τοὺς βακχεύοντας τῷ Σαβαζίῳ· τὸ γὰρ σαβάζειν τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο· ὑπὸ δὲ τινῶν ὁ Διόνυσος Σαβός καλεῖται, Harpokr. *s.v.* Σαβοί· Δημοσθένης ὑπὲρ Κτησιφώντος (Dem. *de cor.* 260 εὐοῖ σαβοῖ). οἱ μὲν Σαβούς λεγέσθαι τοὺς τελουμένους τῷ Σαβαζίῳ, τοῦτέστι τῷ Διονύσῳ, καθάπερ τοὺς τῷ Βάκχῳ Βάκχους. τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι Σαβάζιον καὶ Διόνυσον φασὶν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀμφίθεος δευτέρῳ περὶ Ἡρακλείας (*Nymphis frag.* 11 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 14 Müller)). οὕτω δὲ φασὶ καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας τινες τοὺς Βάκχους Σαβούς καλεῖν. Μνασέας δὲ ὁ Παταρεὺς υἱὸν εἶναι φησὶ τοῦ Διονύσου Σαβάζιον (*frag.* 36 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 155 Müller)), Soud. *s.v.* Σαβαζίου· ὁ αὐτός ἐστι τῷ Διονύσῳ. ἔτυχε δὲ τῆς προσηγορίας ταύτης παρὰ τὸν γινόμενον περὶ αὐτὸν θειασμῶν. τὸ γὰρ εὐάζειν οἱ βάρβαροι σαβάζειν φασίν. ὅθεν καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ἀκολουθοῦντες τὸν εὐασμὸν σαβασμὸν λέγουσιν· ἔνθεν Σαβάζιος ὁ Διόνυσος. Σάβουοι ἔλεγον καὶ τοὺς ἀφιερωμένους αὐτῷ τόποις καὶ τοὺς Βάκχους αὐτοῦ (*cp. et. mag.* p. 707, 14 ff., schol. Aristoph. *av.* 874 and *vesp.* 9), Hesych. *s.v.* Σαβαζίου· ἐπώνυμον Διονύσου. οἱ δὲ υἱὸν Διονύσου· καὶ Σάβουοι ἐπίθετον αὐτοῦ. Φρῦξ δὲ ὁ Σαβάζιος, *id. s.v.* σάβος· βακχέλια, *id. s.v.* εὐασμα...καὶ σαβαῖοι (σάβα· οἱ Voss) βακχεύοντες, Orph. *h. Hēr.* 1 f. Ἴππων κικλήσκω, Βάκχου τροφόν, εὐάδα κόρη, | μυστιπόλον, τελετήσιν ἀγαλλομένην Σάβου ἀγροῦ, Plout. *sym.* 4. 6. 2 οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν Σαββάτων ἑορτὴν μὴ παντάπασιν ἀπροσδιόνυσον εἶναι. Σάβουοι γὰρ καὶ νῦν ἐτι πολλοὶ τοὺς Βάκχους καλοῦσι καὶ ταύτην ἀφίαισι τὴν φωνὴν ὅταν ὀργιάζωσι τῷ θεῷ, Eustath. *in Oid.* p. 1431, 45 f. ἡ Πέα. ἧ φασὶν ὁ κατεχόμενος ἢ καὶ ἄλλῳ δαίμονι καταχρηστικῶς, κύβητος ἐλέγετο. ὁ καὶ σάβος καὶ σαβάζιος καὶ βάκχος καὶ βαβάκτης καὶ βάβαξ κ. τ. λ.

It is obvious that such passages would lend themselves indifferently to two opposite views: (a) that the *Saboi* were called after *Sabós*, (b) that *Sabós* was called after the

conviction that the initiate actually posed as the divine consort of the mother-goddess. Nevertheless, as A. Dieterich has pointed out¹, the culminating rite of *Sabázios* was a sacred marriage in which the god, represented by the golden adder, was drawn through the bosom of his worshipper; and here the worshipper, whether man or woman, is conceived as female, being none other than the bride of the god. We have, then, in this difficult and complex cult to reckon with the amazing fact that the mystic was identified first with the god, and then with the goddess! Two ways of escape from this improbable situation present themselves. Either we must fall back after all on Dr Farnell's explanation; or—and this I should prefer—we must assume that in course of time, perhaps with the shift from mother-kin to father-kin, the ritual had altered. The old rite, in which the initiate played the part of the god, was indeed retained, at least in a mitigated form; but its meaning was forgotten², and it was supplemented by a new rite, in which the initiate played the part of the goddess.

That development of some sort had taken place within the cult seems clear. Originally, as we have said, *Sabázios* appears to have been a ram-god. But in later times it was the snake not the ram that characterised him in the eyes of the multitude. Agreeably with this, the ram figures in the relations of Zeus *Sabázios* to the older goddess Deo or Demeter, the snake in his relations to the younger goddess Kore or Pherephatta. Behind both goddesses looms the venerable form of the earth-mother, from whom they were alike differentiated. For most scholars will certainly accept the well-considered verdict of Dr Farnell, who insists that in Demeter and Kore 'the single personality of the earth-goddess is dualized into

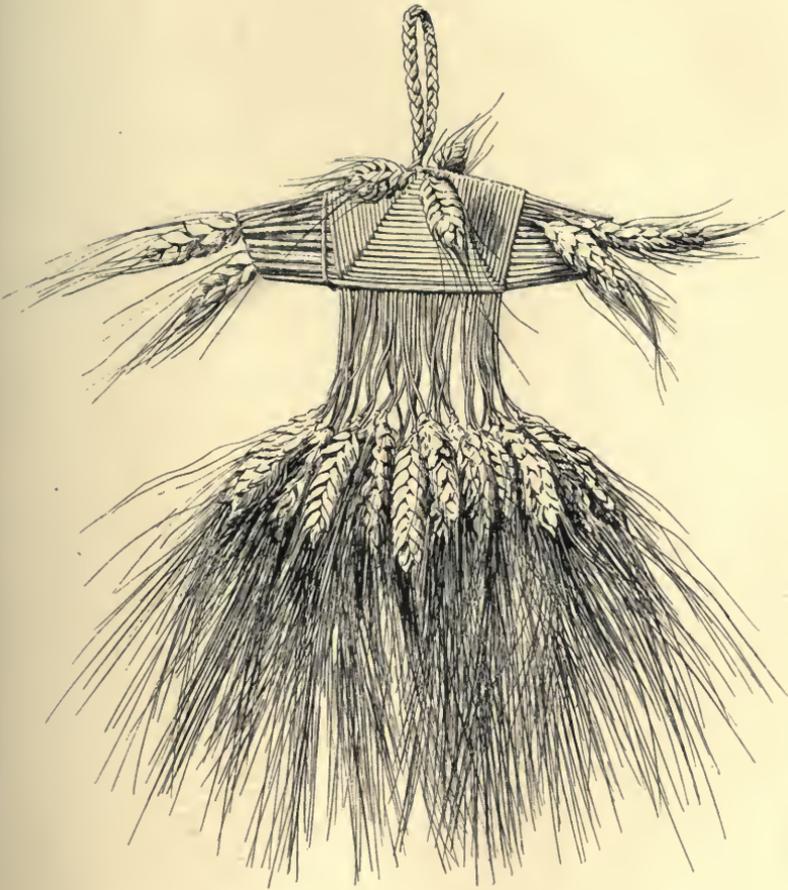
Saboi. Broadly speaking, we may say that the former is the ancient and the latter the modern interpretation.

¹ A. Dieterich *de hymnis Orphicis Marpurgi Cattorum* 1891 p. 38 f. (= *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 98 f.), *id. Mutter Erde* Leipzig and Berlin 1905 p. 110 ff., *id. Eine Mithrasliturgie*² Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 123 ff.: 'Der Ritus der durch den Schoss des Mysten gezogenen Schlange kann gar nichts anderes bedeuten sollen als die geschlechtliche Vereinigung des Gottes mit dem Einzuweihenden. Dem Sinne des rituellen Symbols ist es kein Anstoss, dass das Bild real unvorstellbar wird, wenn der Myste ein Mann ist. Dem Gotte gegenüber sind sie weiblich, wie das bei analogen Bräuchen gerade auch in jener späten Zeit die Gnostiker deutlich aussprechen. Der Gott ist immer das Männliche gegenüber dem Menschen, der sich ihm leiblich eint, mag man nun die $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ als weiblich in Auffassung und Deutung des Rituals ausdrücklich gemeint haben oder nicht.'

On the snake as phallic see F. L. W. Schwartz *Die altgriechische Schlangengottheiten*² Berlin 1897 p. 31, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 866 n. 1, R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 i. 123 n. 4. J. Maehly *Die Schlange im Mythos und Cultus der classischen Völker* Basel 1867 p. 26 misses the point.

² See Varro *ap. Aug. de civ. Dei* 7. 24, Lucr. 2. 614 ff.

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A Corn-maiden from Lesbos.

See page 397 n. 4.

two distinct and clearly correlated personalities¹, 'pre-Homeric offshoots of Gaia².' He further notes the significant fact that Demeter was often worshipped without her daughter, Kore rarely without her mother³. It is therefore permissible to suggest that there was a time when the Phrygian cult recognised one goddess not two, the earth-mother rather than the corn-mother and corn-daughter. Whatever the origin of the corn-daughter⁴, she may well have been later than the earliest form of the said cult.

I am therefore emboldened to hazard the provisional guess that *ab initio* the Phrygians worshipped a fertilising sky-father and a fertilised earth-mother; that originally and for long the goddess was of more importance than the god, being duplicated for the sake of fuller recognition; but that ultimately their positions came

¹ Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 114.

² *Id. ib.* iii. 119.

³ *Id. ib.* iii. 117.

⁴ Dr F. B. Jevons in his able book *An Introduction to the History of Religion* London 1896 p. 364 f. suggested that in the primitive rites of Eleusis a sheaf of ripe corn was dressed up as an old woman (cp. *h. Dem.* 101 γρητ̄ παλαιγενεί̄ ἐναλίγκιος of Demeter) and preserved from harvest to seed-time as the Corn-mother, and that the green blade or young plant when it appeared above ground was known as the Corn-maiden. He argued *ib.* p. 239 that rites appropriate to Kore were celebrated in the spring, rites appropriate to Demeter later in the year. Dr J. G. Frazer *Golden Bough*² ii. 216 f. advocates a similar view: 'It is probable, therefore, that Demeter and Proserpine, those stately and beautiful figures of Greek mythology, grew out of the same simple beliefs and practices which still prevail among our modern peasantry, and that they were represented by rude dolls made out of the yellow sheaves on many a harvest-field long before their breathing images were wrought in bronze and marble by the master hands of Phidias and Praxiteles. A reminiscence of that olden time—a scent, so to say, of the harvest-field—lingered to the last in the title of the Maiden (*Kore*) by which Proserpine was commonly known. Thus if the prototype of Demeter is the Corn-mother of Germany, the prototype of Proserpine is the harvest-Maiden, which, autumn after autumn, is still made from the last sheaf on the Braes of Balquhiddy. Indeed if we knew more about the peasant-farmers of ancient Greece we should probably find that even in classical times they continued annually to fashion their Corn-mothers (Demeters) and Maidens (Proserpines) out of the ripe corn on the harvest-fields.'

These opinions gain much in probability from a discovery made by my friend Dr W. H. D. Rouse, who obtained in Lesbos an actual Corn-maiden of strikingly human shape. By his kind permission I have had a drawing (pl. xxviii) made from the original, now deposited by the Folk-Lore Society in the ethnographical collection at Cambridge. Dr Rouse in *Folk-Lore* 1896 vii. 147 pl. 1 writes: 'The *first ears* are plaited into a curious shape; they call it ψάθα, or "mat," and no one could (or would) tell me any more about it. But its shape strikes me as very odd, and it bears no small resemblance to a human figure in a cloak, with arms outstretched....In some of them the neck is adorned with a necklace of beads. I saw these in all parts of Lesbos, always with the same shape; and also on the mainland of Greece, where they called it στράπι ("corn"). Is it fanciful to imagine that this is really a corn-baby? It ought, however, to be made of the last sheaf, not the first.' The scruple here expressed by Dr Rouse is surely of little import. If Kore was the *young* corn as distinguished from the old corn, her puppet might well be made of the first ears.

to be equalised or even reversed. Certain wiseacres in antiquity, venturing to expound the true inwards of the *Sabázios*-mysteries, asserted that Zeus was the rain and Demeter the earth¹. Arnobius takes them to task; but perhaps they were not after all so utterly misguided. Whether the bull-shaped offspring of the sky-father and the earth-mother was from the first a sharer in their cult is a question that may for the moment be postponed. There is no *à priori* reason to doubt it.

The Sabazian myth has much in common with Orphic tradition. For Orpheus too represented Zeus as united successively with his mother Rhea or Demeter and his daughter Phersephone or Kore. Rhea, to avoid him, turned into a snake. Thereupon he became another snake, and twined about her with the so-called Heracleian knot, which is symbolised by the *caduceus* of Hermes. Rhea bore to him Phersephone, a horned child with four eyes, two in their normal position, two on the forehead, and an extra face on the back of her neck. Zeus, again taking the form of a snake, consorted with his own monstrous progeny. The child born of this second union was Dionysos², *i.e.* the chthonian Dionysos or Zagreus³. Nonnos in Orphic vein describes him as a horned infant, who mounted the throne of Zeus himself and sat there grasping the thunderbolt in his tiny hand. But Hera soon roused the Titans to smear their faces with gypsum and to attack him as he was looking in a mirror. In his efforts to escape he took the forms of a youthful Zeus brandishing the *aigis*, an aged Kronos dropping rain, a babe of shifting shape, a wildly excited youth (*koûros*), a lion, a horse, a horned snake, a tiger, and a bull; in which final disguise he was cut to pieces by the knives of the Titans⁴. Elsewhere the same poet makes Dionysos himself recall his former exaltation:

‘Grant to my love one grace, o Phrygian Zeus.
Rhea my nurse told me while yet a child
How Zagreus—Dionysos long ago—
Once lisped thy name, and lo, thou gavest him

¹ *Supra* p. 392 n. 5 *sub fin.*

² Orph. *frag.* 41 Abel *ap.* Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 20 p. 22 f. Schwartz, *cp.* Orph. *frag.* 47 Abel *ap.* Athenag. *op. cit.* 32 p. 42 Schwartz and Tatian. *or. adv. Graec.* 6.

³ Hesych. *s.v.* Ζαγρεύς, *et. mag.* p. 406, 46 f. For a full collection of authorities see Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 547 ff.

⁴ Nonn. *Dion.* 6. 155 ff. Orphic influence again underlies Nonnos's statement (*Dion.* 7. 309 ff.) that Zeus, when he wooed and won Semele at Thebes, became successively a human form with bull's horns, a lion, a leopard, and a snake. The *ménagerie* was simultaneous, not successive, in the case of the Orphic Phanes, who combined in his own person the heads of rams, bulls, a snake and a lion (*supra* p. 92).

The lightning, thine own fiery shaft, and with it
 The roaring thunder and the rushing drops.
 So, still a babe, he was a second Zeus
 And sent the rain-storm!¹

With the details of this myth and their ritual implications we are not here concerned. But in passing we note one point of importance: Dionysos was conceived as in some sense Zeus reborn². This squares with the *Sabázios*-myth, in which the tauriform offspring of Kore duplicated the tauriform Zeus.

It would seem, then, that the myth of the Phrygian Zeus *Sabázios* and the myth of the Orphic Zeus were closely related but not identical. Reciprocal influence between the kindred cults is probable enough; and a certain assimilation to that of Attis will not be denied³. But, broadly speaking, we may claim that the parallelism of the Phrygian and Orphic traditions is best explained on the assumption that both alike were rooted in the religion of the old Thracο-Phrygian stock. Nor need we hesitate to describe the early Thracο-Phrygian god as Zeus, provided that we recognise once more the Dionysiac character of his cult. For we have already found evidence in north-eastern Phrygia of a very primitive

¹ *Id. ib.* 10. 292 ff., cp. 39. 71 ff.

² This made it easy for the systematisers to identify Dionysos, son of Zeus by Persephone, with *Sabázios*: Diod. 4. 4 μυθολογοῦσι δὲ τινες καὶ ἕτερον Διόνυσον γεγενῆσθαι πολὺ τοῖς χρόνοις προτεροῦντα τούτου. φασὶ γὰρ ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Φερσεφῶνης Διόνυσον γενέσθαι τὸν ὑπὸ τινῶν Σαβάζιον ὀνομαζόμενον, οὗ τὴν τε γένεσιν καὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τιμὰς νυκτερινὰς καὶ κρυφίους παρεισάγουσι διὰ τὴν ἀσχύνην τὴν ἐκ τῆς συνοσίας ἐπακολουθοῦσαν. λέγουσι δ' αὐτὸν ἀγγλισιὰ δινεγκεῖν, καὶ πρῶτον ἐπιχειρήσαι βοῦς ἐνγυρίου καὶ διὰ τούτων τὸν σπόρον τῶν καρπῶν ἐπιτελεῖν· ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ κερατῶν αὐτὸν παρεισάγουσι, cp. *Lyd. de mens.* 4. 51 p. 106, 21 ff. Wünsch.

³ Farnell *Cults of Gk States* v. 185, Eisele in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 261 f.

Attis is identified with the Phrygian Zeus by Psell. *περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν δικῶν* p. 109 Boissonade *ἔστι γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἄτις* (*Dem. de cor.* 260) *τῇ φρυγίᾳ γλώσση ὁ Ζεὺς, τὸ δὲ οὖς εὐκτικὸν ἔστι, τὸ δὲ σάβα ἔθνικόν· ὡς τὴν ἑλλην. εὐχὴν τοιαύτην εἶναι· “ὄϊς ὦ ζεῦ σαβάζε οὖϊς.”* Similarly Arrian. *frag.* 30 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 592 Müller) *αφ.* Eustath. *in II.* p. 565, 4 ff. *ἐν ταῦθα δὲ χρῆσιμον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀρριανοῦ εἰπόντος ἐν Βιθυνιακοῖς ὅτι ἀνιόντες εἰς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὄρων Βιθυνοὶ ἐκάλεον Πάπαν τὸν Δία καὶ Ἄττιν τὸν αὐτόν.* The statement that Attis was called Πάπας is borne out by Diod. 3. 58 *τὸν προσαγορευόμενον μὲν Ἄττιν ὑπερον δ' ἐπικληθέντα Πάπαν*, Hippolyt. *ref. haeres.* 5. 9 p. 118 f., Miller *Ἄττι· σὲ καλοῦσι ... | οἱ Φρύγες ἄλλοτε μὲν Πάπαν κ.τ.λ., Corp. inscr. Lat.* v no. 766 (Aquilicia) *Attē Papa* etc.: see F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2180, H. Hepding *Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult* Gieszen 1903 p. 112 n. 5. That the Phrygian Zeus too was Πάπας appears from inscriptions: *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1884 v. 260 no. 12 near Nakoleia Δι Πάπᾱ | εὐχὴν, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 3817 Παπία Δι Σωτήρι εὐχὴν καὶ | Ἰρακλῆ Ἀνικῆτ[ω].

In the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 79 I drew attention to these equations, and suggested that Ἄττις and Πάπας alike meant ‘Fathér,’ the one being related to ἄττα, the other to πάππα. The Phrygian Zeus *Brontῶν* was entitled Πατήρ (*Jour. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 123 f., *infra* ch. ii § 4 (d)). See further Hepding *op. cit.* p. 187 f.

Zeus, whose Dionysiac nature was clear from his altar adorned with two grape-bunches and a plough¹. Moreover, the name *Sabázios* is, as all admit, a mere ethnic². The *Sáboi* are called by Eustathios Thracians³, by Stephanos Phrygians⁴. Their god *Sábos* or *Sabázios* was a Thraco-Phrygian Zeus, whose *avatar* was a Thraco-Phrygian Dionysos.

Finally Zeus *Sabázios* came to be identified with the sun⁵. An inscription from Nikopolis in Moesia records a dedication to 'Zeus Helios the Mighty Lord, the Holy Sebazios⁶.' And in Thrace on the hill Zilmissos there was a circular hypaethral temple of *Sol Liber Sebadius*, the Dionysiac form of the same deity⁷.

¹ *Supra* p. 4. Note also Hesych. s.v. Βαγαῖος... ἡ Ζεὺς Φρύγιος. P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 81 'von *baga, gr. φᾶγος' showed that this epithet implied an early 'Oak'-god: cp. *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 79.

² A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 65 f. 'Σάος oder Σάον Berg auf Samothrake, Σάος und Σαδώνησος die Insel selbst. Der thrakisch-phrygische Gott, der von den Griechen meist Σάβος, Σαβάζιος genannt wurde, hiess eigentlich Σάφος Σαφάδιος, was aus der phrygischen Inschrift von Blaundos Δι Σααζίω [Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 236, 243 fig. 2] und σανάδα, σαδοῖ Hesych, wie nach Amerias die Silenen bei den Makedonen hießen, zweifellos, erwiesen wird. Σάβοι, richtiger demnach σάφοι "hiessen auch seine (des Gottes) Heiligthümer und die Geweihten" [Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* ii. 701 n. 1]. Damit ist der Sinn der Namen Σάος, Σαδ-ωνησος völlig aufgehellt; auch die thrakischen Σάιοι, mit denen Archilochos zu kämpfen hatte, mögen nach dem Gotte Σάφος benannt sein; *id. Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland* Göttingen 1909 p. 46 f. 'Auf die thrakische Herkunft des Dionysos-Dienstes weisen Namen und Beinamen des Gottes. Διώνησος ist bloss gräzisiert, die richtige Form ist Δευ-Δεο-. Diese finden wir in Δενάδαι· οἱ Σάιοι ὑπ' Ἰλλυρίων Hesych... die Δενάδαι, Verehrer des Gottes Δευ-, hießen bei den Illyriern die thrakischen Diener des Gottes Σανος. Von den Thrakern überkamen zunächst die Makedonen den Dienst des Σανος, *Savadios*; darauf zielt die Glosse Hesychs σανάδα, σαδοῖ· Ἀμερίας τοὺς σειλείνους οὕτω καλεῖσθαι φησιν ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων. Die richtige Form wird wohl σανάδοι sein.' O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 6 (cp. p. 97 f.): 'Die Σανάδαι lassen sich nicht trennen von dem Namen des thrakisch-phrygischen Gottes Σανάζιος (inschriftlich), Σαβάζιος, *Sabadios*, der als Vegetationsgott dem Dionysos am nächsten stand und gleich diesem durch orgiastische Feste gefeiert wurde (Strabo x 471).'

³ Eustath. *in Dionys. per.* 1069 ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἔθνος Θρακικὸν Σάβοι, ὅπερ τοὺς Βάκχους ὀηλοῖ Φρυγία διαλέκτω.

⁴ Steph. Byz. s.v. Σάβοι· ἔθνος Φρυγίας. λέγονται καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ Βάκχου παρὰ Φρυγί.

⁵ P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 101 holds that *Sabázios* as a sun-god was the Phrygian counterpart of Men the moon-god, with whom he was certainly brought into connexion (see Eisele in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 262 and especially Prokl. *in Plat. Tim.* iii. 41, 10 f. Διὸς παρελήφραμεν καὶ παρὰ Φρυγί Μῆνα Σαβάζιον ὑμνούμενον [καὶ] ἐν μέσαις ταῖς τοῦ Σαβαζίου τελεταῖς). But Eisele *loc. cit.* p. 255 views the solar aspect of *Sabázios* as due to Orphic influence in the case of the Thracian cult and perhaps to late solar monotheism in the case of the Moesian inscription.

⁶ *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1886 x. 241 no. 6 an altar from Nikopolis (*Jeni-Nikup*) inscribed [ὐλφ θεᾶς] Ἰδέας μεγάλης [μητρ]ῶ[ς] Διὶ Ἡλίω μεγάλ[ω κυρ]ίω Σεβαζίω ἀγ[ί]ω. For the cult-title Ἀγίω cp. the solar Zeus Ἄγιος at Tripolis (*supra* p. 192).

⁷ Macrob. *Sat.* i. 18. 1 item in Thracia eundem haberi solem atque Libetium accipimus, quem illi Sebadium nuncupantes magna religione celebrant, ut Alexander

If the foregoing considerations are well founded, it follows that there was no small resemblance between Zeus *Ámmon* and Zeus *Sabázios*. In both cases a ram-god developed into a sun-god. In both the deity became a snake. The Libyan Zeus had his sacred oak¹: the Phrygian Zeus as *Bagaios* was an oak-god². Zeus *Ámmon* had a goddess to wife, possibly Mother Earth herself³, and begat a youthful *Ámmon* most probably identified with the Libyan Dionysos⁴. Zeus *Sabázios* consorted with Demeter and Kore, perhaps before them with the earth-mother, and likewise begat a Phrygian Dionysos.

Now there are strong reasons for believing that the Graeco-Libyans were near akin to the Thraco-Phrygians, and that both sets of tribes had relatives among the early Cretans⁵. It is therefore of interest to find in Crete, the half-way house between them, sundry traces of the same worship. We do not, it is true, get here any 'Minoan' evidence of Zeus as a ram-god, unless indeed we may see with Sir Arthur Evans in a clay sealing from the palace at Knossos (fig.

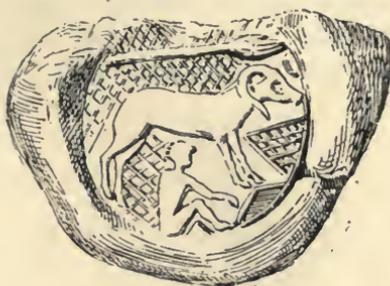


Fig. 298.

298)⁶ the infant Zeus nursed by a horned sheep. But observe that in Crete the ram gave place to other animals of a like significance, especially to the *agrimi* or wild-goat and to the bull⁷.

scribit : eique deo in colle Zilmissos aedes dicata est specie rotunda, cuius medium interpatet tectum. rotunditas aedis monstrat huiusce sideris speciem : summoque tecto lumen admittitur, ut appareat solem cuncta vertice summo lustrare lucis inmissu, et quia oriente eo universa patefiunt. Perhaps we may compare the story of Perdikkas in Hdt. 8. 137 f. W. Tomaschek in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1868 lx. 358 derived *Zilmissos* from ζῆλα, 'wine' (Hesych. s.v. ζῆλαι · ὁ οἶνος παρὰ Θραξί with M. Schmidt's note *ad loc.*).

¹ *Supra* p. 364 ff.

² *Supra* p. 400 n. 1.

³ *Supra* p. 370.

⁴ *Supra* p. 371 ff.

⁵ The evidence is persuasively marshalled by Sir Arthur Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 372 ff. ('Crete the Meeting-point of Thraco-Phrygian and Libyan Elements'). For a review of recent research in the same direction see K. Penka *Die vorhellenische Bevölkerung Griechenlands* Hildburghausen 1911.

⁶ A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 129 fig. 17 and in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 88 fig. 60. The sealing is enlarged (½).

⁷ *Infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xvi.

At Gortyna there appears to have been an annual festival (Τῆστροι), in which Zeus as a Satyr (Τῆστρος) consorted with the earth-goddess Europe (*infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xviii). Now, according to Serv. in Verg. *aecl.* 1 prooem., Laconum lingua Tityrus dicitur aries

The well-known fragment of Euripides' *Cretans*¹ suffices to prove that the mysteries of Zeus *Idaios*, the mountain-mother, and Zagreus were already connected with that island in the fifth century B.C. Not improbably they had been celebrated there from time immemorial. Silver coins of Priansos in Crete from c. 430 B.C. onwards represent a goddess enthroned beneath a palm-tree, who caresses with her hand the head of a great snake (fig. 299)². F. Lenormant³, Prof. P. Gardner⁴ and Mr W. Wroth⁵ have made out a strong case for regarding this goddess as Persephone the mother of Zagreus. J. N. Svoronos would see in her Hygieia⁶. Dr B. V. Head cautiously observes: 'The goddess fondling the serpent may be Persephone approached by Zeus in the likeness of a serpent..., or possibly Hygieia⁷.' Whatever her name, she could doubtless claim kinship with the snake-goddess of Knossos, Gournia, and Palaikastro⁸. Other silver coins, probably struck at



Fig. 299.



Fig. 300.



Fig. 301.

Gortyna between 66 and 31 B.C., belong to the large series of *kistophóroi*. This quasi-federal currency had on its obverse side

maior qui gregem anteire consuevit: sicut etiam in comoediis invenitur. And Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1388 n. 8 thinks that this use of *τρύπος* came to Sparta from Crete. It is therefore just possible that at Gortyna Zeus was originally a ram-god. But?

The head of Zeus *Ammou*, both bearded and beardless, occurs on coins of the Cretan towns Arkadia c. 300 B.C. (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 26 f. pl. 2, 16—21, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete* etc. p. 12 pl. 3, 7 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 170, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 458) and Knossos c. 200—100 B.C. (Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 78 f. pl. 6, 24, 26, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete* etc. p. 23 pl. 6, 9, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 176 pl. 41, 4, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 462).

¹ Eur. *Cretes frag.* 472 Nauck².

² J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 295 f. pl. 28, 21—23, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete* etc. p. 73 pl. 18, 6 (=my fig. 299), 7, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 476.

³ F. Lenormant in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1879 v. 24.

⁴ P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 162 pl. 9, 5.

⁵ W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete* etc. p. xxxii f., cp. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1884 v. 87 f.

⁶ J. N. Svoronos *loc. cit.*

⁷ *Head loc. cit.*

⁸ The examples of a 'Minoan' snake-goddess are listed by H. Prinz in the *Ath. Mith.* 1910 xxxv. 157 f.

an ivy-wreath enclosing a *kiste* with half-open lid, from which a snake creeps out, and on its reverse two snakes twisted together with a bow-case between them. The Cretan modification of the latter type introduces Zeus with thunderbolt and eagle in place of the bow-case (fig. 300)¹.

The early Cretans are known to have carried their civilisation westwards as far as Sicily and south Italy. They took with them their cult of a god identified with Zeus². For this among other reasons³ we may accept Eckhel's⁴ interpretation of a type occurring on certain small fifth-century silver coins of Selinous (fig. 301)⁵: Persephone seated on a rock, as befits the daughter of a mountain-mother, coquets with Zeus, who approaches her as a bearded snake. The same type is found on a small silver coin of Segesta⁶. No wonder Orphic and Pythagorean doctrines received so ready a welcome in Magna Graecia. It was their old, though not their oldest, home.

iii. The Golden or Purple Ram of the Etruscans and Italians.

Etruscan books declared that a ram born of a remarkable or unusual colour portended universal prosperity to the emperor⁷. Tarquitius, who translated into Latin an Etruscan collection of omens, wrote: 'If a sheep or ram be sprinkled with purple or golden colour, it increases plenty and great prosperity for the prince of the order and clan; the clan continues to have illustrious descendants and becomes more flourishing in them⁸.' Hence

¹ J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* p. 334 pl. 32, 1 (Naples), *Head Hist. num.*² pp. 479, 535.

² *Infra* ch. ii § 3 (a) ii (δ).

³ See Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Demeter-Kora p. 668 f. Münztaf. 9, 27 a, b.

⁴ Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*² i. 240 f.

⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* p. 142, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 218 pl. 16, 2, G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 86 pl. 6, 5, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 169. I figure a specimen in my collection.

⁶ *Head Hist. num.*² p. 166, citing G. Tropea *Numismatica Siciliota del Mus. Mandralisca in Cefalù* 1901 p. 29 no. 5. Eisele in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 260 notes a similar type at Gela; but his reference to Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* i. 236 is mistaken. Cp. also *denarii* of C. Memmius c. 60 B.C., on which Ceres appears enthroned with three corn-ears in her right hand, a torch in her left, and a snake at her feet (*Babelon Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 218 fig.)—a type revived in imperial times (Rasche *Lex. Num.* viii. 696).

⁷ *Serv. in Verg. ecl.* 4. 43, Macrobian *Sat.* 3. 7. 2.

⁸ Macrobian *loc. cit.* Rheginos *ap. Tzetz. chil.* 1. 468 f. cites from Isigonos (*frag.* 5 Westermann) the statement that sheep have wool of a golden colour.

Virgil in his famous fourth *Eclogue*, anticipating the dawn of a brighter age, says:

Nor wool shall learn its parti-coloured lies;
But in the meadows of himself the ram
Shall change his fleece for sweetly-blushing purple
Or saffron stain, and of its own accord
Scarlet shall clothe the lambs what time they graze¹.

One of the omens portending the accession of Diadumenus was that twelve purple sheep, one of them parti-coloured, were born on his father's estate².

In the folk-tale of *Cupid and Psyche* the second task imposed on the unhappy Psyche is thus described by Apuleius³:

'Just as Aurora drove up, Venus called Psyche, and began: "Do you see that wood, all along the banks of the river that flows past, with its lower waters falling into the fountain close by us? There are sheep there with gleaming fleeces that grow with the colour of gold, grazing and wandering about, with no one looking after them. Seek out one tuft from all that growth of costly fleece, any way you like, and bring it to me: that is my command." Psyche went off with a will, not however with the intention of doing as she was bid, but to seek rest in her misfortunes by hurling herself from the cliff over the stream. But the green reed by the river, the nursling of soft music, was divinely inspired by the gentle rustling of the balmy breeze, and gave its oracle forth. "O Psyche, exercised by great and numerous woes, pollute not my sacred waters by thy most wretched death, nor yet approach the formidable sheep on yonder bank. For they are wont to become heated from the raging sunshine and rush about madly and savagely, bringing death to mortals in their fury, with their sharp horns and stony foreheads and, sometimes too, envenomed teeth. But when midday has assuaged the heat of the sun, and the cattle have settled down to rest in the cool that comes up from the river, thou canst hide thyself secretly beneath that giant plane-tree, which drinks from the same current as myself: and then, when the sheep have passed from their first fury and are relieved of mental tension, strike the foliage of the neighbouring wood: there thou shalt find the golden wool, which is everywhere clinging and cleaving to the undergrowth." So spake the reed, so frankly and humanely, and taught poor Psyche the way of health, though her sickness was unto death. She did not fail to put in practice the instruction she had received through her hearing, and of which she had no cause to repent. She was careful in everything, and, by an easy exercise of petty theft, she filled her bosom with the soft yellow gold, and brought it back to Venus.'

Fulgentius, writing about the year 500 A.D., describes these sheep with golden fleece as 'the flocks of the Sun⁴.' And he is probably right; for their fury varied, as Apuleius says, with the heat of that luminary. Psyche finding the fleece of gold adhering

¹ Verg. *eccl.* 4. 42 ff.

² Ael. Lampr. *Ant. Diadum.* 4. 5, cp. *ib.* 3. 3 quasi sidereus et caelestis emicuit.

³ Apul. *met.* 6. 11—13 trans. F. D. Byrne.

⁴ Fulgent. *myth.* 3. 6 p. 718 van Staveren.

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to the tree-stems near the big plane-tree will—I suspect—prove to be a doublet of Iason finding the fleece of gold hung on an oak-tree in the grove of Ares¹.

iv. The Golden or Purple Lamb of Atreus.

Analogous beliefs in Greece appear to connect the purple or golden ram not only with the prosperity of the ruler but also with the sun. A Greek commentator on the *Iliad* tells the following tale:

'Atreus, son of Pelops and king of the Peloponnese, once vowed that he would sacrifice to Artemis the fairest offspring of his flocks. But, when a golden lamb was born to him, he repented of his vow and kept the lamb shut up in a chest. Proud of his treasure he used boastful language in the market-place. Thyestes, vexed at this, made love to Aërope and induced her to give him the treasure. Having secured it he told his brother that he had no right to boast in that way, and asserted in the hearing of the multitude that the man who had the golden lamb ought to have the kingdom. When Atreus had agreed to this, Zeus sent Hermes and bade him make a compact about the kingdom, informing him that he was about to cause the sun to travel backwards. Atreus made the compact, and the sun set in the east. Wherefore, inasmuch as heaven had borne witness to the avarice of Thyestes, Atreus received the kingdom and drove Thyestes into banishment².'

This tale was celebrated in antiquity. It can be traced back to the *Alkmaionis*³, an Argive epic probably written in the sixth century B.C. And Euripides, who took a special interest in primitive religious ideas, has repeated allusions to it⁴. The myth has come down to us with the usual number of slight variations⁵,

¹ Apollod. i. 9. 6.

² Schol. *Il.* 2. 106 (codd. A. D.), cp. schol. Eur. *Or.* 812 (codd. A. C. Fl. 33).

³ *Alcmaeon. frag.* 6 Kinkel *ap.* schol. Eur. *Or.* 997: see T. Voigt *De Atr. et Thyest. fab.* p. 26 ff.

⁴ Eur. *I. T.* 811 ff., *Or.* 995 ff., *El.* 700 ff.

⁵ The lamb was brought to Argos by Ant[ops?] (*Alcmaeon. frag.* 6) or Hermes (Eur. *Or.* 995 ff.) or Pan (Eur. *El.* 700 ff.); or was found in the flocks of Atreus through the wrath of Hermes, who wished to avenge the murder of his son Myrtilos (schol. Eur. *Or.* 812 Gu. I., *ib.* 990 A. B. I. C., *ib.* 995 A. B. M. I., *ib.* 998 A. B. M. I., Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 433 ff.), or through the wrath of Artemis (Pherekydes *ap.* schol. Eur. *Or.* 997 A. B. I.); or was simply born in the flocks of Atreus (schol. Eur. *Or.* 812 Fl. 33. A, schol. *Il.* 2. 106 A. D.). The sun and the Pleiads reversed their usual course for a single day (schol. Eur. *Or.* 812 Gu. I., *ib.* 998 A. B. M. I., Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 444 ff.) or permanently (Plat. *politic.* 268 E—269 A). The myth is sometimes combined with that of Thyestes' feast (Eur. *Or.* 1007 f., schol. Eur. *Or.* 812 Gu. I., Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 447 ff.), sometimes not (Eur. *I. T.* 811 ff., *El.* 700 ff., schol. Eur. *Or.* 812 Fl. 33, *ib.* 990, 995, 997, 998, schol. *Il.* 2. 106). One account makes Atreus strangle the golden lamb that appeared and then keep it in a box (Apollod. *epit.* 2. 10 f., Apollonios *ap.* Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 436 ff.); another makes him sacrifice to Artemis the flesh of the golden lamb born in his flocks, but save its fleece (schol. Eur. *Or.* 812 C.; cp. *ib.* Fl. 33).

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among which the most interesting are perhaps Simonides' statement that Atreus' golden lamb was purple¹, and Seneca's mention of a ram, not a lamb:

Pelops' high steading hath a noble beast,
A magic ram, leader of that rich flock.
Over and o'er its body hangs the hair,
One wave of gold; and from its back new kings
Tantalean their golden sceptres bear.
Its owner reigns—the whole line's fortune follows it.
Safely it grazes in a place apart,
A thing of sanctity shut in by stone².

Atreus' golden lamb was regarded by some ancient writers as a silver bowl or cup enriched with a gold lamb in the centre of it³.



Fig. 302.

Others perhaps identified it with the sceptre 'which Hephaistos made for Zeus, and Zeus gave to Hermes, and Hermes to Pelops, and Pelops bequeathed to Atreus, and Atreus to Thyestes, and Thyestes passed on to Agamemnon⁴.' For an *olpé* by the painter Amasis (550—530 B.C.) shows Herakles holding bow and arrow in his left hand and extending his right towards a king, whose

¹ Simonid. *frag.* 200 A Bergk⁴ *ap.* Tzetz. *chil.* i. 430 f. Bergk *ad loc.* cites Schneidewin's opinion that Tzetzes is importing into the story of Atreus a statement that Simonides really made about the Colchian fleece (see *infra* p. 419 n. 4).

² Sen. *Thyest.* 225 ff.

³ Herodoros of Herakleia *frag.* 61 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 41 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 231 C *φιάλη*, Eustath. in *Il.* p. 868, 49 f. *φιάλιον*, *ib.* p. 1319, 47 f. *ποτήριον*. For royal gold cups adorned with special animal forms see *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 168 n. 3.

⁴ Paus. 9. 40. 11, on which see *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 371.

sceptre ends in a ram's head (fig. 302)¹. This may be interpreted as Herakles with Eurystheus, whose successor was Atreus of the golden lamb.

But such *regalia* cannot explain the myth; at most they presuppose it. It seems certain that the golden lamb (or ram) belongs to a very ancient *stratum* of Greek religion. And in view of the ram-Zeus, whom we have found among the Graeco-Libyans and Thraco-Phrygians, I shall venture to suggest that the golden lamb was a theriomorphic epiphany of Zeus, the forefather of the Pelopidai. This might account for the repeated mention of a ram in connexion with the family. Pausanias, when describing the route from Mykenai to Argos, says:

'We come to the grave of Thyestes on the right. Over the grave is the stone figure of a ram, because Thyestes obtained the golden lamb, after he had committed adultery with his brother's wife².'

A little further on he speaks of Thyestes' tomb as 'the Rams'³ in the plural. At Olympia the annual magistrates used to slay a victim into a pit for Pelops, the father of Atreus and Thyestes, and the victim was a black ram, the neck of which was given to the 'woodman' of Zeus⁴. Pelops himself had won the kingdom from Oinomaos, king of Pisa, whose practice it was to sacrifice a ram to Zeus before starting on the chariot-race with the competitor for the hand of his daughter Hippodameia⁵. The scene is

¹ *Wien. Vorlegebl.* 1889 pl. 4.

Note that a ram's head was a frequent design on thrones, e.g. that of Zeus on the *krater* of the Villa Papa Giulio and on the Madrid *puteal* (*infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) ii (η)), or that of Damasistrate on her *stèle* (Stais *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*² p. 124 f. no. 743; Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 401 no. 3).

² Paus. 2. 18. 1. On ancient Phrygian and modern Armcnian tombs marked by stone rams see J. G. Frazer *ad loc.*

³ Paus. 2. 18. 3.

⁴ Paus. 5. 13. 2 f.

Cp. the black sheep, male and female, slain into a pit by Odysseus for Teiresias etc. (*Od.* 10. 516 ff., 11. 23 ff.): Polynotos in the Cnidian *Lésche* at Delphi represented the victims as black rams (Paus. 10. 29. 1); a vase at Paris shows a black-striped sheep and a ram's head by the mouth of the pit (Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 300 pl. 60, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 126, 1 f., Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 671 f. fig. 10). So at Lebadeia a ram was sacrificed over a pit for Agamedes (Paus. 9. 39. 6). Those who consulted the oracle of Kalchas on a hill called Drion in Daunia sacrificed to him a black ram and slept on its skin (Strab. 284). Near the foot of the same hill was a sanctuary of Podaleirios (Strab. *ib.*) and his tomb: Daunians who slept there on sheep-skins received oracles in dreams (Lyk. *Al.* 1050 ff., Timaios *frag.* 15 *ap.* Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 1050). At the sanctuary of Amphiarao near Oropos enquirers slew a ram and likewise slept on its skin (Paus. 1. 34. 5). The nymph Albunea had a dream-oracle near Tibur: those who consulted it slept on the skins of slain sheep (Verg. *Aen.* 7. 81 ff.). See further Loukian. *de dea Syr.* 55 on a similar practice at Hierapolis, and Hieron. *comm. in* *Ies.* 65 (xxiv. 657 Migne) on incubation in the cult of Aesculapius.

⁵ Diod. 4. 73.

represented on a vase from Ruvo (fig. 303)¹. Pelops in Phrygian attire clasps the hand of Hippodameia over a flaming altar. By the bride stands her father Oinomaos in full armour. Behind him a wreathed attendant, perhaps Myrtilos, brings the ram for the sacrifice: the wheel at his feet is a short-hand indication of the approaching chariot-race. The Fury on the right and Aphrodite with Eros on the left suggest the two alternatives of death or victory. A fine polychrome vase from S. Agata de' Goti, now in the Naples collection, depicts the scene as viewed a few moments later (fig. 304)². Pelops and Hippodameia, already mounted on the four-horse car, are glancing backwards at Oinomaos, who,

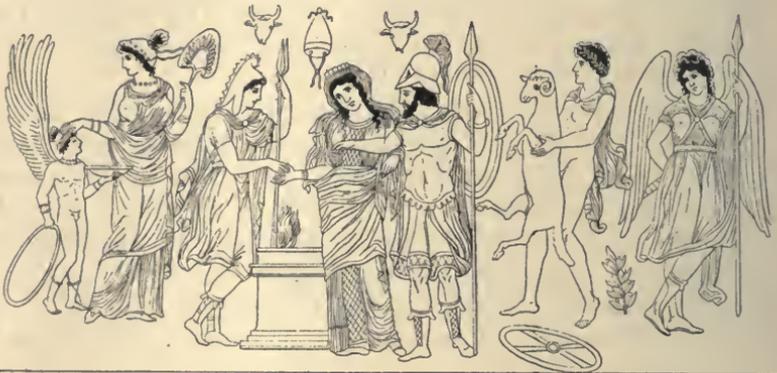


Fig. 303.

helped by a couple of wreathed attendants, is about to sacrifice the ram at an altar burning before a high pedestalled statue of Artemis. The goddess carries in either hand a bow and a *phiale*; her head-dress is topped by three letters, which yield no intelligible sense. Behind the ram is a youthful, but unnamed, spectator with two spears and a shield; he too is wreathed and sits upon his *chlamys*. In the upper register Myrtilos, wearing a wreath and the long *chiton* of a charioteer, brings up the four-horse car of Oinomaos. The statue of Artemis is flanked by the figures of Poseidon and Athena, the remaining corner being filled in by a group of Zeus with the boy Ganymedes, hoop and hoop-stick in hand, and a daintily-dressed Aphrodite. P. Weizsäcker suggests that the attitude of Zeus, who turns his back upon the sacrifice, is

¹ *Ann. d. Inst.* 1851 xxiii. 298 ff. pl. Q—R. See also Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 290, 3, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 777 f. fig. 4.

² *Arch. Zeit.* 1853 xi. 49 ff. pl. 55. See also Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 379, 1, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 779 f. fig. 5.

meant to imply that the god will not hear the prayer of Oinomaos¹. If so, the artist is guilty of some confusion; for the statue before which the offering is about to be made is certainly not a Zeus, but an archaic Artemis. However, other representations of the same scene—and they are fairly common—consistently show the pillar or statue in the central position to be that of Zeus²; and this agrees with the literary tradition³.

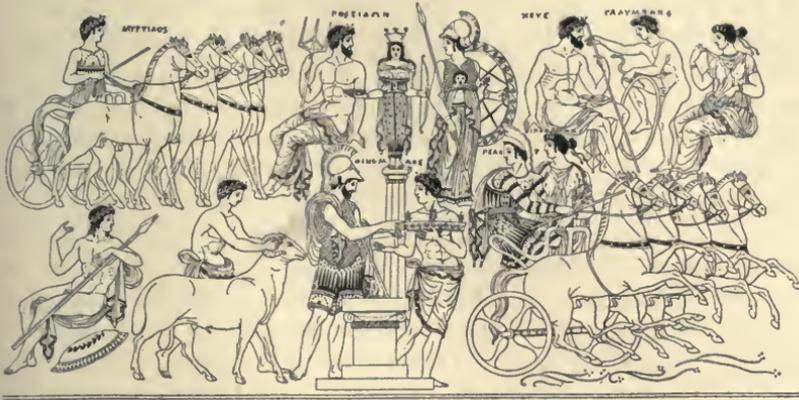


Fig. 304.

In the myth of Atreus possession of the golden lamb and control of the sun's course were alike accepted as proofs of fitness to reign. Hence I formerly conjectured that the golden lamb symbolised the sun itself⁴. This, however, is an ill-supported guess: solar symbolism was at best a secondary development of the myth, not its primary meaning.

v. The Cattle of the Sun.

In Homeric times the Sun-god was looked upon as the owner of cattle both great and small. He had seven herds of oxen and seven fair flocks of sheep in the island of Thrinakie. In each herd

¹ P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 777.

² *Supra* p. 36 ff. pls. iii, iv, I, v.

³ Diod. 4. 73. On the Argive identification of Apollon *Kárneios* with Zeus see *supra* p. 373 n. I.

⁴ *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 184, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 271.

Later rationalists explained away the golden lamb and the reversal of the sun's course by saying that Thyestes discovered the constellation of Aries and that Atreus pointed out the difference between the real and apparent motions of the heavenly bodies: see *Eur. frag.* 861 Nauck² *ap.* Achill. Stat. *isag. in Arat. phaen.* 123 E, Polyb. *ap.* Strab. 23, Loukian. *de astrolog.* 12. Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 470 takes Hermes to be the planet Mercury and Artemis to be the moon.

or flock were fifty oxen or sheep, as the case might be. They were not subject to birth or death; and they were tended by Phaethousa and Lampetie, two nymphs, whom Neaira bore to the Sun-god himself¹. Apollonios Rhodios describes Phaethousa as shepherding the sheep with a silver staff in her hand, while Lampetie kept the oxen with a crook of shining mountain-bronze: the oxen themselves were milk-white with golden horns². Aristotle gave what the Greeks called a 'physical' explanation of this myth, referring the 350 (= 7 × 50) oxen to the days of the lunar year³: the scholiast on the *Odyssey* grasps at the clue and surmises that the 350 (= 7 × 50) sheep in like manner denote the corresponding nights⁴. F. G. Welcker half a century since defended and reinforced this view⁵. But are we prepared to interpret in the same way the oxen of the Sun-god, which the giant Alkyoneus drove from Erytheia⁶ and kept at Phlegrai on the Thracian Isthmos⁷? And what of the cattle lifted by Hermes, which, according to one account, belonged to the Sun⁸? It is surely of more moment to observe that, even in historical times, actual flocks and herds were kept for the Sun-god in various parts of Greece. There were cattle of the Sun at Gortyna in Crete⁹. The Homeric hymn to the Pythian Apollon, which cannot be later than the year 586 B.C. and may be much older¹⁰, relates that certain Cretans—

Passing Lakonis reached the sea-girt town
And fields of the Sun that brings delight to men,
Even Tainaron, where the deep-fleeced sheep are fed
Of the kingly Sun and range a lovely land¹¹.

Lastly, at Apollonia in Illyria the Sun-god had flocks about which we are better informed. Herodotos¹² in one of his delightful digressions gives us the following narrative:

¹ *Od.* 12. 127 ff., 261 ff.

² *Ap. Rhod.* 4. 962 ff.

³ *Aristot. frag.* 167 *Rose ap. schol. Od.* 12. 129, *Eustath. in Od.* p. 1717, 32 ff. So too Loukian. *de astrolog.* 22.

⁴ *Schol. Od.* 12. 129.

⁵ *Welcker Gr. Götterl.* i. 405 f.

⁶ *Apollod.* 1. 6. 1.

⁷ *Pind. Isth.* 5 (6). 32 f., *schol. ad loc.* On the myth of Alkyoneus with the cattle of Helios as a parallel to that of Herakles with the cattle of Geryoneus see C. Robert in *Hermes* xix. 473 ff., M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 172 ff., K. Wernicke in *Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc.* i. 1581 f.

⁸ *Schol. Dionys. Thrac. gramm.* 2 in *Bekker anecd.* ii. 752, 12 ff.

⁹ *Serv. in Verg. ecl.* 6. 60.

¹⁰ T. W. Allen and E. E. Sikes *The Homeric Hymns* London 1904 p. 67.

¹¹ *H. Ap.* 232 ff.

¹² *Hdt.* 9. 93 f. and *ap. Eustath. in Od.* p. 1717, 45 f. Konon the mythographer, who

'At this same Apollonia are sheep sacred to the sun. By day they feed beside a river, which flows from Mount Lakmon through the district of Apollonia and enters the sea near the harbour of Orikos. But by night they are guarded by certain chosen men, the richest and noblest of the citizens, each guardian keeping watch for a twelvemonth. For the Apollonians set great store by these sheep in consequence of an oracle. And the flock is folded in a cave at a distance from the town. Here then on the occasion of which I speak this man Euenios, chosen for the post, was mounting guard. One night he fell asleep while on duty; and wolves, creeping past into the cave, destroyed some sixty of the sheep. He, when he saw what had happened, kept his counsel and told no man, intending to buy other sheep and substitute them. However, the Apollonians discovered the facts, and, on ascertaining what had occurred, brought him before a tribunal and condemned him to forfeit his eyesight, since he had slept at his post. But, as soon as they had blinded Euenios, their sheep ceased to have lambs and their land no longer bore crops as before. Responses were given them both at Dodona and at Delphoi, when they enquired of the priests the reason of their present misfortune, to the effect that they had sinned in depriving of his eyesight Euenios, the guardian of the sacred sheep, for that they (the gods) had sent the wolves, and now would not desist from avenging him till the citizens had paid for their misdeeds whatever penalty he himself chose and deemed right; but that, if this were duly done, the gods on their part would bestow upon Euenios a gift that would make many a man call him blessed. These were the oracles delivered to the Apollonians. They kept strict silence about the matter, and entrusted the management of it to certain citizens, who acted in the following way. When Euenios was sitting on his seat, they came and sat beside him. They began to talk of one thing and another, and at last fell to sympathising with his calamity. Thus taking him in, they asked what penalty he would choose, supposing the Apollonians were minded to promise reparation for their misdeeds. He, not having heard the terms of the oracle, made the following choice: if they would give him fields that belonged to such and such citizens—and here he named those whom he thought to possess the two finest plots in Apollonia—and in addition a house, which he knew to be the best in the town, why, once possessed of those, he said, he would have no grievance left and would be well content with that as a penalty. So he said his say, and the men sitting beside him replied: "Euenios the Apollonians hereby pay you this as a penalty for the blinding of your eyes, in accordance with oracles that they have received." At this he was much put out, realising the whole plot, and how he had been deceived: but they bought the property from its owners and gave him what he had chosen. And from that time onwards he had prophetic powers implanted in him, so that his fame spread far and wide¹.

The story of Euenios, who kept the sheep of the Sun-god in a cave and was blinded for losing them by sleeping at his post, bears a superficial resemblance to the myth of Polyphemos. But

lived in the time of Julius Caesar and dedicated his work to Archelaos, king of Kappadokia, told the same story, except that he spoke of *Εὐήσιος* as *Πειθήσιος* (Konon *narr.* 30 *ap. Phot. bibl.* p. 136 a 6 ff. Bekker).

¹ Hdt. 9. 95 states that Deiphonos, the son of this Euenios, was seer of the Greek fleet before the battle of Mykale (479 B.C.), but adds, on hear-say, that the former was a pretender who travelled through Greece usurping the name and fame of the latter.

the inference that I wish to draw from it is this. If, about the year 500 B.C., the inhabitants of Apollonia jealously guarded a flock of sheep under the belief that they belonged to the Sun-god and ensured the fertility of their own flocks and fields, it seems highly probable that the myth of the golden lamb presupposes a similar custom in the heroic age. The luck of the Pelopidai depended on the safe-guarding of a particular sheep, believed to be—if I am right in my surmise—not merely the property, but the visible embodiment, of Zeus.

vi. The Golden Lamb in a folk-tale from Epeiros.

This connexion between the golden lamb and Zeus goes far towards explaining a remarkable folk-tale heard by Dr J. G. von Hahn at Kapéssovo, a village in the district of Zagóri to the north-east of Jánnina in Epeiros¹ :—

‘There was once a king, who had three sons and great riches; and, before he died, he divided his substance among his sons. The two elder sons lived a merry life, year in year out, squandering and scattering their father’s treasures till there was nothing left and they were reduced to poverty. The youngest on the other hand kept house with his share, took a wife, and had by her a most beautiful daughter. When she grew up, he built for her a big underground palace, and killed the architect who had built it. Then he shut up his daughter in it, and sent heralds throughout the world to announce that, who-soever could succeed in finding the king’s daughter, should have her to wife; but that, if he failed to find her, he must be put to death. So many young men came to essay the adventure. But all their efforts were in vain: they could not find the princess, and they lost their heads.

After many had already met their deaths, there came one young man, as clever as he was handsome, bent on pursuing the quest. He went therefore to a herdsman and begged him to hide him in a sheep-skin with a golden fleece and to bring him in this disguise before the king. The shepherd agreed to do so, took a sheep-skin which had a golden fleece, sewed up the fellow inside it, gave him also food and drink and sheep’s-droppings, and so brought him before the king. The king, on seeing the golden lamb, asked the herdsman: “Have you got that lamb for sale?” But the herdsman rejoined: “No, sire, not for sale; but, if it takes your fancy, I will gladly do you a service and lend it you without pay for three days. But you must then give it back to me.”

The king promised to do so, and repaired with the lamb to his daughter. Having led it into his castle and through many chambers, he came to a door and cried: “Open, Tartara Martara of the earth²!” Thereupon the door flew

¹ The modern Greek text is printed from J. G. von Hahn’s manuscripts by J. Pio ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ ΠΑΡΑΜΥΘΙΑ *Contes populaires grecs* Copenhague 1879 p. 52 ff. There is a German translation by J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 124 ff.

² Ἀνοίξετε τάρταρα μάρταρα τῆς γῆς! For the phrase *τάρταρα τῆς γῆς* cp. A. Passow

open of itself; and, after they had gone through many more chambers, they came to a second door. Here the king again cried: "Open, Tartara Martara of the earth!" Then the door flew open of itself; and they came to the room, where the princess lived. Its floor, walls, and ceiling were of solid silver. The king, when he had greeted the princess, gave her the lamb. She was delighted with it: she stroked it and fondled it and played with it. But when, shortly afterwards, the lamb eased itself, the princess said to the king: "Father, the lamb has eased itself!" And he replied: "It is just a lamb, why should it not?" Then he left the lamb with the princess and went his way.

During the night the young fellow drew off the skin. And the princess, seeing that he was so handsome, fell in love with him and asked: "Why did you hide in the skin and come here?" He replied: "When I saw that so many failed to find you and lost their lives, I contrived this trick and came to you." Then the princess exclaimed: "Ah, you have done well! But you must know that, even if you have found me here, your wager is not yet won. For then my father changes me and my maidens into ducks and asks you: 'Which of these ducks is the princess?' But I will turn my head round and plume my feathers with my beak, so that you can recognise me."

When they had prattled away for three days together, the herdsman came back to the king and demanded his lamb. And the king went to his daughter to fetch it. She was woe-begone at her sporting with the lamb being so soon over. But the king said: "I cannot leave it with you, for it is only lent." He took it away and returned it to the herdsman.

The young fellow now pulled off the skin, went to the king and said: "Sire, I can find your daughter." The king, seeing the handsome lad, answered him: "I'm sorry for your youth, my boy. This adventure has already cost so many their lives, and it will be the death of you too." "I stand by my word, sir king; I will either find her or lose my head." So saying, he went in front of the king, and the king followed him till they came to the great door. Then said the young man to the king: "Speak three words, and it opens." And the king made answer: "What words are they? Shall I say: Lock, Lock, Lock?" "No," cried he, "say: Open, Tartara Martara of the earth!" The king did so, and the door opened. They went in, and the king bit his moustache for anger. Then they came to the second door, where the same thing happened over again. They entered, and found the princess.

Next the king said: "Well done, you have found the princess. But now I am going to turn her and her maidens into ducks; and, if you can guess which of them all is my daughter, then you shall have her to wife." And without more ado the king changed all the maidens into ducks, brought them before the young man, and said to him: "Now show me, which is my daughter." Then the princess, as she had agreed to do, plumed her wings with her beak; and the young man answered: "The one yonder, pluming her wings, is the princess." There was then no help for it; the king had to give her to him for a wife, and he lived with her in grandeur and in happiness.

Popularia carmina Græciæ recentioris Lipsiæ 1860 no. 368. Ἰ Κάτω στὰ Τάρταρα τῆς γῆς, κάτω στὸν κάτω κόσμος, J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 98. The same word Τάρταρα survives in Rhodes as a name for the deepest part of Hades (B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* i. 235 citing Benetoklis in the *Ἐφημερίς τῶν Φιλομαθῶν* 1860 p. 1257). Μάρταρα is a meaningless jingle formed on the analogy of Τάρταρα (J. Pio *op. cit.* p. 238).

414 The Golden or Purple Ram of Phrixos

Dr J. G. von Hahn points out—and indeed it is sufficiently obvious—that the folk-tale recalls the myth of Danaë¹. It is instructive to summarise the two in parallel columns:—

The myth of Danaë.

Akrisios, king of Argos, kept his daughter Danaë shut up in an underground chamber of bronze.

Despite the king's precautions, Zeus visited her in a shower of gold, and became by her the father of Perseus.

The king enclosed Danaë and Perseus in a chest, and flung them into the sea.

The folk-tale from Epeiros.

A certain king kept his daughter shut up in an underground chamber of silver.

Despite the king's precautions, a young man visited her in the fleece of a golden lamb, and won her for his wife.

A comparison of the myth, localised at Argos, dated in the reign of king Akrisios, and throughout marked by definite names, with the folk-tale, which, like so many *Märchen*, is placeless, timeless, nameless, shows at once that the former is more developed than the latter. In particular, the whole episode of Danaë and Perseus in the chest, which forms so striking a feature of the myth, is a sequel added to the original tale. It re-appears in quite a different connexion in another folk-tale from the same village of Kapéssovo². But the first part of the Danaë-myth is strictly parallel to the first folk-tale, and the gold-showering Zeus of the one is comparable with the golden lamb of the other. This variation is intelligible, if, as I have supposed, the golden lamb of Atreus and Thyestes was the epiphany of Zeus himself.

vii. The Golden or Purple Ram of Phrixos.

The golden lamb of the Pelopidai, with its relations to Zeus on the one hand and to the sun on the other, can hardly be discussed without reference to the golden ram of Phrixos and Helle. The myth in question has come down to us through a large number of channels, good, bad, and indifferent³. The oldest version

¹ J. G. von Hahn *op. cit.* ii. 206. Other resemblances to the Danaë-myth are noted *ib.* ii. 201, 310 f.

² 'Ο μισὸς ἄδρωπος, 'The Half-man': text in J. Pio ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ ΠΑΡΑΜΥΘΙΑ p. 21 ff., German translation in J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* i. 102 ff. The princess, her child, and the Half-man, who is suspected of being its father, are enclosed together in an iron vessel with a lid and sent adrift on the sea, but are rescued by magic means. The situation is that described by von Hahn as the 'Danaë-formula' and illustrated by him from Walachian and Italian tales (see J. G. von Hahn *op. cit.* i. 49).

³ The evidence, literary and monumental, is put together by J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1929—1933, K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 669—675, 2028—2029, Türk *ib.* iii. 2458—2467.

accessible in its entirety is that of Sophokles, who told the tale in the following form¹. Athamas had two children, Phrixos and Helle, by the goddess Nephele. Afterwards he deserted her and took to him a mortal woman in her stead. Nephele out of jealousy flew up to the sky, and punished him by sending a drought upon his realm. Envoys dispatched to consult the Pythian Apollon were bribed by the step-mother to bring back word that the drought could be stayed only if Athamas sacrificed Phrixos and Helle. Athamas, on hearing this, sent to fetch his children from the flocks, when a ram speaking with human voice warned them of their danger. They fled with the ram. Helle, in crossing the strait at Abydos, fell from the ram and was drowned in the sea, called after her *Helléspontos*, 'Helle's sea.' But Phrixos, riding on the ram, got safely to the country of the Kolchoi. Here he sacrificed the ram, which by the agency of the gods had become golden-fleeced, to Ares or to Hermes. Phrixos settled in these parts, which in memory of him were named *Phrygia*, 'Phrixos' land.' Meantime Nephele proceeded to avenge her children. Athamas in his turn, garlanded like a victim, was led out to be sacrificed at the altar of Zeus. But in the nick of time Herakles appeared and rescued him.

In Sophokles' version the step-mother is anonymous. But names were easy to supply. Pindar called her Demodike, Hippias Gorgopis, and Pherekydes of Leros Themisto². More popular, however, than any of these was Ino, the daughter of Kadmos and Harmonia, king and queen of Thebes. Her story was linked with that of Athamas at least as early as the fifth century B.C.³ The resultant myth is thus set out by Apollodoros⁴:

'Of the sons of Aiolos Athamas, ruler of Boiotia, became by Nephele the father of two children, Phrixos a boy and Helle a girl. Again he married Ino, of whom were born to him Learchos and Melikertes. Ino, plotting against the

¹ Schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 257, Apostol. 11. 58, Eudok. *viol.* 28, cp. schol. Aisch. *Pers.* 70.

² Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 288. For the MSS. *Δημοτικὴν* (*Δημοτικὴν* Gott.) A. Boeckh *ad loc.* (=Pind. *frag.* 49 Christ, 49 Schroeder) restores *Δημοδικὴν*, cp. Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 20 *Crethea autem habuisse Demodicen uxorem, quam alii Biadicen dixerunt.* On the name *Ποργώπις* (Hippias *frag.* 12 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 62 Müller)) see E. Wilisch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* 1. 1727 f. *Θεμιστώ* (Pherekyd. *frag.* 52 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 86 Müller)) occurs in several versions of the myth (as first wife in Herodorus *ap. schol. Ap. Rhod.* 2. 1144, Athen. 560 D, as second wife in Eur. *ap. Hyg. fab.* 4, *Hyg. fab.* 1, as third wife in Apollod. 1. 9. 2, Nonn. *Dion.* 9. 302 ff.).

³ Hdt. 7. 197, Eur. *ap. Hyg. fab.* 4, Eur. (?) *frag.* 399 Nauck² *ap. Plout. de sera num. vind.* 11.

⁴ Apollod. 1. 9. 1 f. An almost identical account is given by Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 22, Zenob. 4. 38, Eudok. *viol.* 342, 478, *Hyg. fab.* 2 f. *Ap. Rhod.* 2. 654 ff., 1143 ff. utilises the same version. Eudok. *viol.* 954 blends this with the Sophoclean form of the myth.

children of Nephele, persuaded the women to parch the wheat. They took it without the knowledge of the men and did so. The earth receiving wheat that was parched failed to give her yearly crops. Consequently Athamas sent to Delphoi to ask how he could be rid of this barrenness. But Ino induced the messengers whom he had sent to declare that, according to the oracle, the curse upon the crops would be removed, if Phrixos were sacrificed to Zeus. Athamas, hearing this, was compelled by the inhabitants of the land to obey, and set Phrixos beside the altar. But Nephele caught him up along with her daughter, and, having obtained from Hermes a ram with a golden fleece, gave it to them. Carried by the ram through the sky, they traversed land and sea. But, when they were over the sea that lies between Sigeion and the Cherronesos, Helle slipped off into the deep; and, as she perished there, the sea was called Hellespontos after her.¹ Phrixos came to the Kolchoi, whose king was Aietes, son of the Sun-god and of Perseis, and brother of Kirke and Pasiphaë the wife of Minos. Aietes welcomed him and gave him Chalkiope, one of his daughters. Phrixos slew the ram with the golden fleece as a sacrifice to Zeus *Phýxios* and gave its skin to Aietes: he nailed it round an oak-tree in a grove of Ares. Phrixos moreover had by Chalkiope the following children, Argos, Melas, Phrontis, and Kytisoros. At a later date Athamas, owing to the wrath of Hera, was deprived of his children by Ino also. For he himself went mad and shot Learchos, while Ino flung herself and Melikertes with her into the sea. Driven out of Boiotia, Athamas enquired of the god where he should dwell. The oracle replied that he should dwell wherever he was entertained as a guest by wild beasts. So he travelled through much country, till he fell in with wolves dividing sheep among themselves: they, when they caught sight of him, left their shares and fled. Athamas settled there, called the land Athamantia after his own name, married Themisto, the daughter of Hypseus, and begat Leukon, Erythrios, Schoineus, and Ptoös.²

The myth of the golden ram was connected with two cult-centres of Zeus *Laphýsios*, one at Halos in Thessaly³, the other near Orchomenos in Boiotia⁴. In both localities there was an Athamantine Plain⁵; and it is reasonable to assume that a Thessalian tribe, of whom Athamas was the eponymous king, had migrated into Boiotia⁶, and that there the story of Athamas had been blended with that of the Boeotian heroine Ino. Another cult-centre brought into connexion with the same myth was in the territory of the Moschoi, at the eastern end of the Black Sea, where Strabon records a sanctuary of Leukothea (that is, Ino) founded by Phrixos and possessing an oracle once wealthy but plundered by Pharnakes and Mithridates: there, he says, no ram is offered in sacrifice⁷. Tacitus adds that the neighbouring tribes

¹ Append. B Thessalia.

² Append. B Boiotia.

³ Ap. Rhod. 2. 516 *ἀμ πεδίον Φθίης Ἀθαμάντιον* with schol. *ad loc. ἐν Ἄλφ* and *et. mag.* p. 24, 10 ff.: Paus. 9. 24. 1 *ἐξ Ἀκραϊφνίου δὲ ἴοντι εὐθείαν ἐπὶ λίμνην τὴν Κηφισίδα... πεδίον καλούμενον ἔστιν Ἀθαμάντιον.*

⁴ Cp. Paus. 9. 34. 6 f.

⁵ Strab. 498.

of Hiberi and Albani regarded themselves as descended from Iason and his Thessalians¹.

But, without attempting to determine the ethnology of this myth, for which task the data available are hardly sufficient, we may at least note that the golden ram has something to do with Zeus. Athamas is about to sacrifice Phrixos to Zeus, when the ram appears and carries him in safety through the air to a land in the far north-east². Much the same thing happened to Iphigeneia, when she was on the point of being sacrificed to Artemis at Aulis³: the goddess suddenly substituted for her a stag, according to the usual tradition, or a bear⁴, or a bull⁵, or an old woman⁶, and carried off the intended victim in a cloud to be her own priestess among the Tauroi. Now these animals, the stag, the bear, the bull, are precisely those that were regarded as most sacred to Artemis herself⁷. It is therefore highly probable that the golden ram was the sacred animal—whatever that implies—of Zeus *Laphystios*. This accounts for the belief, current in the vicinity of the Boeotian Mount Laphystion, that it was Zeus who sent the ram with the golden fleece⁸. The commonly received version of the myth makes Phrixos sacrifice the ram that has saved him to Zeus *Phyxios*, 'the god of escape⁹.' Hyginus says simply 'to Zeus,' and adds that the hero 'fastened the skin in the temple¹⁰,' that is, in the temple of Zeus¹¹. The Latin commentary on the *Aratea* of Germanicus Caesar states that Phrixos 'sacrificed the ram, and dedicated its golden fleece to Zeus¹².' Finally, we are told by Apollonios that Aietes would not have received Phrixos in his halls, had not Zeus himself sent Hermes from heaven to prepare the way before him¹³. Clearly Zeus had his share in the action throughout¹⁴.

¹ Tac. *ann.* 6. 34. Iust. 42. 2. 12.

² *Supra* p. 415 f.

³ Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 298 ff.

⁴ Tzet. *in Lyk. Al.* 183, cp. schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 645.

⁵ Tzet. *in Lyk. Al.* 183, Ant. Lib. 27.

⁶ Tzet. *in Lyk. Al.* 183, 194.

⁷ Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1436 f. *Hirschkuh*, 1434 Bärin, 1399 f. *Ταυροπόδος*, Ταυρώ.

⁸ Paus. 9. 34. 5, cp. Myth. Vat. 3. 15. 1.

⁹ Apollod. 1. 9. 1, Tzet. *in Lyk. Al.* 22, Ap. Rhod. 2. 1150 with schol., 4. 119, Eudok. *viol.* 342, 478, 954, schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 428, Eratosth. *ap.* schol. Arat. *phaen.* 225.

¹⁰ Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 20.

¹¹ Türk in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2462.

¹² Schol. Caes. *Aratea* p. 401, 1 ff. Eyssenhardt. ¹³ Ap. Rhod. 3. 584 ff.

¹⁴ Other deities involved are Ares, Hermes, and Poseidon. The fleece was hung on an oak in the grove of Ares (Apollod. 1. 9. 1, Tzet. *in Lyk. Al.* 22, Val. Flacc. 5. 228 ff., cp. 1. 528 f., Ap. Rhod. 2. 1147 f., Hyg. *fab.* 188) or in the temple of Ares (Hyg. *fab.* 3, Myth. Vat. 1. 23, 2. 134). Hermes supplied the ram (Apollod. 1. 9. 1, Tzet. *in Lyk. Al.* 22), or gilded its fleece (Ap. Rhod. 2. 1146 f. with schol.): it was sacrificed to Zeus

418 The Golden or Purple Ram of Phrixos

But, while recognising that the golden ram was intimately related to Zeus, we have yet to ask—what was the significance of the ram itself? In ancient times this question called forth an amazing crop of rationalistic replies, stupid, stupider, and stupidest¹. The only one worth weighing at all is that put forward by Strabon, who, in his account of Kolchis, writes as follows of the Soanes, a tribe inhabiting the heights of Mount Kaukasos above Dioskourias :

'In their country, so it is said, the torrents bring down gold, which is caught by the barbarians in vats pierced with holes and on fleecy skins; from which practice arose the myth of the golden fleece².'

But religion in general, and mythology in particular, has suffered much at the hands of would-be rationalists. The only really reasonable method of solving such problems is to abjure ingenious guesses, get back to the earliest ascertainable form of the myth and seek to understand it in comparison with other analogous myths. Now the earliest ascertainable form of the myth in question is that utilised by Sophokles. In his version Phrixos and Helle were with the flocks of Athamas, when they were warned

Φύξιος at his bidding (Ap. Rhod. 4. 119 ff.), or to Ares or Hermes (Sophoclean version: *supra* p. 156, cp. Eudok. *viol.* 954): Phrixos was brought home to Athamas by Hermes (Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 20). The ram was the offspring of Poseidon and Theophane (Hyg. *fab.* 3, 188), daughter of Bisaltis; when she was besieged by a multitude of suitors, he carried her off to the island of Crumissa, changed her into a sheep, himself into a ram (cp. Ov. *met.* 6. 117, Paus. 8. 8. 2, and see further: Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Poseidon pp. 344—347), the inhabitants of Crumissa into flocks, the suitors into wolves, and consorted with her in animal form (Hyg. *fab.* 188): he also rescued and had intercourse with Helle (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2028).

¹ Dionysios of Mytilene, an Alexandrine grammarian of the second century B.C., in his mythological novel *The Argonauts* represented the 'Ram' as a *paidagogós* named *Krios*, who warned Phrixos of Ino's plot (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 256, 2. 1144, 4. 177, Eudok. *viol.* 262, cp. Palaiph. 30, Apostol. 11. 58, Eudok. *viol.* 342, 954). When Phrixos was captured by the Kolchoi, Krios was sacrificed to the gods, and his skin, in accordance with an old custom, was nailed to the temple: Aietes, being warned by an oracle that he would perish as soon as strangers landed and carried off the skin of Krios, built a wall about the precinct, established a guard there, and covered the skin with gold to make it seem worth guarding (Diod. 4. 47). Others preferred to suppose that the ram was the figure-head of Phrixos' ship, and that Helle, while suffering from sea-sickness, leaned overboard and fell into the sea! (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 256, Diod. 4. 47, Eudok. *viol.* 954). This must surely have been the theme of some farcical performance such as the *Athamas*, a satyric play by Xenokles (Ail. *var. hist.* 2. 8), or the pantomimes written about the flight of Phrixos and Helle etc. (Loukian. *de saltat.* 42, 67). Further choice samples may be found in Eudok. *viol.* 262: the golden fleece was a treatise on alchemy written on skins, or, according to Charax of Pergamon *frag.* 14 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 639 Müller), a hand-book on the art of writing with gold ink bound in parchment (cp. Eustath. *in Dionys. per.* 689). See further Soud. *s.v.* δέρας, anon. *de incredib.* 3 p. 321 f. Westermann, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1877, 5 f.

² Strab. 499, cited by Eustath. *in Dionys. per.* 689. My friend and colleague Prof. W. Ridgeway *The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards* Cambridge 1892 p. 70 finds this explanation 'extremely plausible.' 'Plausible,' yes; probable, no.

and rescued by the miraculous ram¹. In fact, the golden, or subsequently gilded, ram was found among the flocks of Athamas, just as the golden lamb was found among the flocks of Atreus². Another point of resemblance between the two is that Simonides, who spoke of Atreus' golden lamb as purple³, spoke also of Athamas' golden ram as white, and again as purple⁴. I am therefore disposed to see in the golden ram of Athamas, as in the golden lamb of Atreus, a theriomorphic epiphany of Zeus. This, in fact, is definitely stated by the first Vatican mythographer, who says that Pelias sent Iason to Kolchis 'in order that he might fetch thence the golden fleece *in which Zeus climbed the sky*'⁵. The words that I have italicised are indeed, as G. H. Bode observes, foreign to the usual tradition⁶; but they are not on that account open to suspicion, and they must be accepted as a record of the belief that the golden ram, when he ascended the sky, was none other than Zeus in animal form.

Again we may suspect a solar interpretation as a secondary development of the myth. Thus the analogy between Helle, who fell from the golden ram into the Hellespont, and Phaethon, who fell from the sun's chariot into the river Eridanos⁷, becomes intelligible. And the elevation of the ram to a position among the signs of the zodiac⁸ is seen to be appropriate. It is noticeable that the constellation of Aries 'rules the season of the year when wheat is sown' or 'when all things are born anew⁹'. Medeia the grand-daughter of the Sun-god, naturally chose a ram for her experiment in rejuvenation¹⁰.

¹ *Supra* p. 415.

² *Supra* p. 405 n. 5.

³ *Supra* p. 406.

⁴ Simonid. *frag.* 21 Bergk *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 177, cp. schol. Eur. *Med.* 5 πάγχρυσον δέρας· τὸ δέρμα. τοῦτο οἱ μὲν δλόχρυσον εἶναι φασιν, οἱ δὲ πορφυροῦν. καὶ Σίμωνιδης δὲ ἐν τῷ εἰς τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ὕμνῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ πορφυρῶν κεχρῶσθαι αὐτὸ λέγει, Eudok. *viol.* 262.

⁵ Myth. Vat. 1. 24 ob hanc causam eum Colchos misit, ut inde detulisset pellem auream, in qua Iuppiter in caelum ascendit.

⁶ G. H. Bode *Scriptores rerum mythicarum* etc. Cellis 1834 ii. 12 *ad loc.*

⁷ Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2175 ff.

⁸ Hes. and Pherekyd. *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *cat. astr.* 19, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 20, cp. schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 400, 16 ff. Eyssenhardt.

⁹ Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 20 arietis ipsius effigiem ab Nube (*ab Iove* Scheffer) inter sidera constitutam habere tempus anni quo frumentum seritur, ideo quod hortum (*quod id Ino tostum* Muncker) severit ante, quae maxime fugae fuit causa.

According to Hermippos *ap.* Hyg. *loc. cit.*, the constellation is the ram that once led the army of Liber, when perishing of thirst in Africa, to the spring of Jupiter Hammon. Liber 'arietem inter sidera figuravit ita ut, cum sol in eius foret signo, omnia nascentia recrearentur, quae veris tempore confiunt, hac re maxime quod illius fuga Liberi recreavit exercitum.'

¹⁰ *Supra* p. 245. In *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 325 n. 1 I have compared this incident with the boiling of Pelops in a caldron. Again, ἡ Θέτις εἰς λέβητα ὕδατος ζέοντα ἐνέβαλε τοὺς

viii. Zeus *Aktaïos* or *Akraïos* and his Fleeces.

But, if the myth of the golden lamb and that of the golden ram imply animal epiphanies of Zeus, we are encouraged to look round for further evidence of him as a ram-god in the actual rites of the Greek area.

And here we must first turn our attention to Mount Pelion in Magnesia. On the summit of this mountain there was a sanctuary of Zeus *Aktaïos*, to which once a year a peculiar procession wended its way. When the dog-star rose and the heat was at its greatest, the priest of Zeus chose out the chief men of the district, being careful to select only those that were in the prime of life. They proceeded to make the ascent of the mountain, clad in fleeces that were thick and fresh¹. Why they did so, they probably could not have explained. *Dikaiarchos*, the disciple of Aristotle, thought that they wore the skins as a protection against catching cold on the mountain heights². But it is certain that the details of the rite were determined by religious, not hygienic, considerations. I would suggest that those who took part in the procession were originally endeavouring to assimilate themselves to Zeus the ram-god³. Zeus scaled the sky as a ram with a golden fleece, and his worshippers put on thick new fleeces when they mounted to his abode. If I am

ἐκ Πηλῆως γενομένους αὐτῇ παῖδας, βουλομένη εἰδέναι, εἰ θνητοὶ εἰσι (Aegim. frag. 2 Kinkel ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 816). Lastly, a dedication found at *El-Burdj* below *Kala'at-Jendal* on the east slope of Mt Hermon runs: ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτοκράτορος | Τραϊανοῦ Νέρωνα Σεβαστοῦ | υἱὸς Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ | Δακικὸς Μεννέας Βεελιάβου | τοῦ Βεελιάβου πατρὸς Νε|τρίρου, τοῦ ἀποθεωθέντος | ἐν τῷ λέβητι δι' οὗ αἱ ὄραται ἄγων|ται, ἐπίσκοπος πάντων τῶν ἐν|θάδε γεγοῶτων ἔργων κατ' εὐ|σεβείας ἀνέθηκεν θεᾷ Λευκο|θέα Σεγελῶν ☽ (C. Clermont-Ganneau *Recueil d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1898 ii. 74 f., 1901 iv. 250 sees in this a survival of human sacrifice: C. Fossey in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 xix. 303—306 thinks that ἀποθεοῦν means merely 'enterrer' and that the ashes of Neteiras were 'déposées dans un vase sacré': Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 611 follows Fossey, but refers δι' οὗ κ.τ.λ. to the man, not to the caldron). These passages might be used to support the conclusions of Mr F. M. Cornford, who detects in the Pelops-myth the ritual of a New Birth (J. E. Harrison *Themis* Cambridge 1912 p. 243 ff.).

¹ Append. B. A possible parallel to this rite in the Naxian cult of Zeus *Μηλώσιος* ('Clad in a sheep-skin'?) has been already noted (*supra* p. 164 f.). Mr A. J. B. Wace in his interesting account of 'The Mayday Festival on Pelion' (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1909—1910 xvi. 244—249) observes that the γέρος or 'old man,' who is killed and brought to life again, wears a black sheep-skin mask. Mr Wace (*ib.* p. 251) holds that this character 'is in all probability the representative of Dionysos, of whose worship...these festivals are to be regarded as a survival.'

² *Dikaiarch.* 2. 8 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 107 Müller).

³ Gilbert *Gr. Götterl.* p. 148 thinks that the fleeces were worn on the mountain in order to imitate, and thus produce, the fleecy rain-clouds for which the country-side was thirsting. If so, cp. the means by which the rain-maker elsewhere assimilates himself to rain (Frazer *Golden Bough*³: The Magic Art i. 260 f., 269 f.) and the use of a fleece in the modified rain-charm (?) of Judges 6. 36—40. But Gilbert's whole explanation of the rite is precarious.

right in holding further that the golden ram came to symbolise the sun, it is easy to see why the procession made the ascent of the mountain at the hottest season of the year.

The Zeus of Mount Pelion was honoured, not only as *Aktaïos* 'He of the Point,' but also as *Akraïos*, 'He of the Summit.' It appears from an inscription that white victims without blemish were sacrificed to him as *Akraïos*, and further that their skins were sold on the sixteenth day of the month Artemision by sundry important officials including his priest¹. The sixteenth of Artemision, according to the Attic calendar, would be the sixteenth of Mounichion². Hence we might look to find fresh light on the cult of Zeus *Akraïos* from ceremonies observed in Attike on Mounichion the sixteenth. It is therefore of interest to remark that the day was considered as in some respects critical for the sun and moon. Cakes called *amphiphôntes* were then brought to the sanctuary of Artemis *Mounichia*³ and to the shrines of Hekate at the cross-roads⁴. They were called '*amphiphôntes*, 'shining on both sides,' because they were made when the sun and moon were both shining in the morning⁵, moon-set being, so to speak, caught up by sun-rise and the sky lit with a two-fold illumination⁶. Apollodoros preferred to derive the name from the fact that the cakes, which were made of cheese⁷, had small torches stuck in them round about and kindled for the occasion⁸—a custom surviving still in the be-candled loaves of the Greek Church⁹. The festival of Artemis *Mounichia* was so far analogous to that of Artemis *Brauronta* that A. Mommsen treats the two as one and the same¹⁰. It is, then, noteworthy that at the Brauronian celebration girls between

¹ Append. B.

² H. van Herwerden *Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum* Lugduni Batavorum 1902 p. 114 s.v. 'Αρτεμισίων.

³ Soud. s.v. ἀνάστατοι, Poll. 6. 75.

⁴ Philochoros *ap.* Athen. 645 A, Methodios *ap. et. mag.* p. 95, 1 ff. The last-named authority states that they were sent to Hekate when the moon was full, cp. Plout. *de glor. Ath.* 7 τὴν δὲ ἕκτην ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Μουνυχίωνος Ἀρτέμιδι καθιέρωσαν, ἐν ᾗ τοῖς Ἑλλησι περὶ Σαλαμίνα νικῶσιν ἐπέλαμψεν ἢ θεὸς πανσέληνος.

⁵ Soud. s.v. ἀμφιφώντες, ἀνάστατοι, Pausanias *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1165, 12.

⁶ Philochoros *ap.* Athen. 645 A.

⁷ Pausanias *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1165, 14.

⁸ Soud. s.v. ἀμφιφώντες, ἀνάστατοι, cp. Pausanias *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1165, 12 ff., Hesych. s.v. ἀμφιφών, *et. mag.* p. 95, 1, Poll. 6. 75.

⁹ Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1062, citing Goetz *de Pistrin. Vet.* p. 317. S. Xanthoudides in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1905—1906 xii. 20 ff. fig. 6 describes and illustrates the loaves decked with seven lighted candles (and sometimes, like the ancient κέρνος or κέρνος, furnished with receptacles for corn, wine, and oil), which are blessed by the priest as first-fruits of the earth in the Ἀποκλασία of the Orthodox Greek Church.

¹⁰ Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 453 ff.

the ages of five and ten, selected for the purpose, acted as bears before the goddess and in that capacity wore saffron robes¹. For we are thus enabled to complete the correspondence of the Attic with the Thessalian cults. The parallel traits are as follows:—

THESSALY	ATTIKE
<i>Ram-cult.</i>	<i>Bear-cult.</i>
Zeus, once regarded as himself a ram, wears the golden fleece belonging to the ram.	Artemis, once regarded as herself a bear ² , is called <i>Chitónē</i> or 'She who wears the <i>chitón</i> ³ .'
Men clad in new fleeces honour Zeus with a procession. The skins of white victims (rams?) slain for Zeus are sold on Artemision the sixteenth.	Girls clad in saffron robes honour Artemis with a mimicry of bears. The festival takes place apparently on Mounichion the sixteenth.
Solar significance probable.	Lunar significance probable.

On this showing the saffron robes of Artemis' devotees would hold to the cult of the moon-goddess the same relation that the new fleeces of Zeus' worshippers held to the cult of the sun-god. It seems possible that in both cases the colour of the ritual-garb was determined by the colour of the celestial body. However, other views are tenable⁴, and the point cannot be pressed.

ix. Zeus *Meilíchiος*, Zeus *Ktésios*, and the Fleece of Zeus.

The skin of a victim sacrificed to Zeus was used by the Greeks in various purificatory rites. Individuals, who wished to be purified, stood upon it supporting themselves on their left foot only⁵. When a multitude or a locality was to be cleansed, it is more probable that the skin was carried round in procession⁶. This was done towards the close of the month Maimakterion, the victim having been slain for Zeus *Meilíchiος*⁷. Further, the skins of

¹ Aristoph. *Lys.* 645 with schol., Soud. *s.v.* ἀρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίως.

² Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 402 ff., Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 284, iv. 224, and especially Farnell *Cults of Gr. States* ii. 434 ff. See also Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 942 n. 8 *sub fin.*

³ Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1401 f., Farnell *op. cit.* ii. 444, 568.

⁴ See e.g. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 44 n. 4.

⁵ Hesych. *s.v.* Διὸς κώδιον, cp. Bekker *anecd.* i. 7, 18 f., Soud. *s.v.* Διὸς κώδιον.

⁶ So P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1084 (relying on Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1935, 8 ff.), E. Pfuhl *de Atheniensium pompis sacris* Berolini 1900 p. 93 n. 7.

⁷ Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1935, 8 ff. καὶ οἱ τὸ διοπομπεῖν δὲ ἐρμηνεύοντές φασιν ὅτι διὸν ἐκάλουν κώδιον ἱερίου τιθέντος (leg. τυθέντος) Διὶ Μελιχίῳ ἐν τοῖς καθαρμοῖς φθίνοντος Μαιμακτηριῶνος μηνός, ὅτε ἤγοντο τὰ πομπαῖα. καὶ καθαρμῶν ἐκβολὰ εἰς τὰς τριόδους ἐγίνοντο. εἶχον δὲ μετὰ χεῖρας πομπόν· ὅπερ ἦν, φασί, κηρύκιον, σέβας Ἐρμοῦ. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτου πομποῦ καὶ τοῦ ρήθεντος διου τὸ διοπομπεῖν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὕτως ἐξ ἱστορίας. ἄλλως δὲ κοινότερον διοπομπεῖν καὶ ἀποδιοπομπεῖν ἐφάβητο τὸ Διὸς Ἀλεξικάκου ἐπικλήσει ἐκπέμειν τὰ φάβλα.

animals sacrificed to Zeus *Meilichios* and to Zeus *Ktésios* were kept and used by those who marshalled the procession of the Skirophoria, by the torch-bearer at Eleusis, and by others who directed rites of purification¹. It follows that this purificatory skin, though used in a variety of ceremonies, was in every case the skin of a victim sacrificed to Zeus². Moreover, it was regularly called the 'fleece of Zeus' or the 'Zeus-fleece'³. These names may be taken to imply that Zeus was originally believed to be, not merely the god to whom as to an owner the fleece belonged, but the very animal from which the fleece was stripped. Hence to stand upon the fleece, or to have the fleece carried round one, was to claim identification with the deity and consequent freedom from guilt. The same idea may underlie the old Roman custom that a man who had unwittingly perpetrated a homicide must take his stand upon a ram⁴. The Romans themselves derived their custom from that of the Athenians⁵.

A few representations of the 'fleece of Zeus' have come down to us in Greek vase-paintings and Roman reliefs. A red-figured *hydria* in the Lambert collection (fig. 305)⁶ shows a scene of initiation, probably at Eleusis. In the centre a nude youth crouches beside a large shallow bowl with his left foot on a spotted object. This object is plausibly regarded by F. Lenormant⁷ and J. de Witte⁸

¹ Soud. s.v. Διὸς κώδιον. οὐ τὸ ἱερεῖον Διὶ τέθνται· θύουσι τε τῷ τε Μειλιχίῳ καὶ τῷ Κτησίῳ Διὶ. τὰ δὲ κώδια τοῦτων φυλάσσουνσι, Δία (δία J. E. Harrison, Διὸς T. Gaisford) προσαγορεύοντες. χρώνται δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ τε Σκιροφορίων τὴν πομπὴν στέλλοντες καὶ ὁ δαδούχος ἐν Ἐλευσίνι καὶ ἄλλοι τινες ὑποστορνύντες αὐτὰ τοῖς ποσὶ τῶν ἐναγῶν.

² I cannot, therefore, but regard as somewhat misleading Miss J. E. Harrison's statement (*Proleg. Gk. Rel.* 2 p. 24): 'this fleece was by no means confined to the ritual of Zeus.' Indeed, I dissent wholly from her view (*ib.* p. 23) that the Διῶσια of Zeus Μειλίχιος and the Δίων or Διὸς κώδιον of Zeus Μειλίχιος and Zeus Κτησίος had originally nothing whatever to do with Zeus, but are rather to be referred to the root that appears in Latin as *dīro-* (Greek *δῖρο- δῖο-) and denote consequently a 'festival of curses' with its associated 'rites of placation and purification.' True, we cannot derive Διῶσια from Δῖος; but we can and ought to derive it from Δῖος, the adjective meaning 'of' or 'belonging to Zeus' (*supra* p. 3 n. 3). I would explain in the same way the Δία of Teos (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1318, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 33) and the Πάνδια of Athens (Phot. *lex. s.v.* Πάνδια, Bekker *anecd.* i. 292, 10 f., Harpokr. s.v. Πάνδια, Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 432 f.). The termination of the word Διῶ-σια may be due, as my friend Dr P. Giles suggests, to the analogy of Διονύσια, Γενέσια, Νεκύσια, Νεμέσια, etc.

³ Διὸς κώδιον or Δίων κώδιον. The latter phrase gave rise to the verbs *διοπομπεῖν*, *ἀποδιοπομπεῖν* (*supra* p. 422 n. 7), 'to send away evil by means of the Zeus-fleece': see Stephanus *Theor. Gr. Ling.* ii. 1528 D—1529 A, i. 2. 1420 D—1421 C.

⁴ Cic. *top.* 64, Serv. in Verg. *eccl.* 4. 43, *georg.* 3. 387.

⁵ Cincius *ap.* Fest. p. 347 b 2 ff. Müller, cp. *ib.* p. 351 a 8 ff.

⁶ Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 265 fig. 2450 (E. Pottier).

⁷ F. Lenormant in the *Contemporary Review* 1880 ii. 137.

⁸ J. de Witte *Description des collections d'antiquités conservées à l'Hôtel Lambert* Paris 1886 p. 68 pl. 22.

as the skin of the sacrificed ram. Behind the youth are three women holding torches and a *plemochœ* (a top-shaped vase used for libations in the Eleusinian ritual¹); before him are two others



Fig. 305.

with uncertain objects in their hands, a pot on a brazier and a pitcher in a high receptacle. Another red-figured vase formerly in the Hamilton collection (fig. 306)² has a somewhat similar



Fig. 306.

design. A nude youth, wearing a string of amulets, kneels upon his right knee and seems about to catch a mouse in the presence of two women. Monsieur S. Reinach³ has suggested that we have here a fragmentary scene resembling that of the Lambert *hydria*, i.e. the purification of an *éphēbos* before the Eleusinia by means of the 'fleece of Zeus.' Since, however, the mouse figured among

¹ C. Michel in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 509 f. fig. 5708.

² Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* ii. 42 ff. pl. 17, Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* iv. 117 pl. 387, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. chr.* ii. 353 ff. pl. 107 (=my fig. 306).

³ Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 297, 2.

the attributes of Zeus *Sabázios*¹, I would rather suppose the scene taken from the mysteries of that god². Nor do I feel at all confident that the line upon which the youth kneels is meant for the contour of a fleece³.

The Roman evidence is less shaky. Terra-cotta reliefs of the Augustan age exhibit the initiation of Herakles into the Eleusinian



Fig. 307.

mysteries as a pair of pendant panels⁴. In one we have the assembled deities. Demeter is seated on a *kíste*, which is covered with a fleece⁵: round the goddess and her seat twines the sacred snake. Behind her stands Kore; before her, Iakchos⁶ in fringed *chiton* and *nebris*, leaning upon his leafy *bacchos*⁷ and caressing the snake (fig. 307)⁸. In the other panel we have the purification of Herakles.

¹ *Supra* p. 391 f. pl. xxvii.

² *Sabázios* was sometimes confused with the *κύριος Σαβαώθ* (*supra* p. 234 n. 4: see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 231 and especially Eisele *ib.* iv. 263 f.): hence presumably the cult-title *μεγά[λω κυρ]ῶ Σεβαζίῳ ἀγ[λω]* (*supra* p. 400 n. 6).

My friend and colleague Prof. R. H. Kennett *The Composition of the Book of Isaiah* (The Schweich Lectures 1909) London 1910 p. 61 suggests that ritual mouse-eating (Isa. 66. 17) was a heathen practice introduced into Jewish worship, in the days of Menelaus, perhaps from the Greek area. Possibly it was derived from the *Sabázios*-mysteries of Asia Minor.

³ I have reproduced the line as it appears in Lenormant—de Witte *loc. cit.*; but Tischbein and Inghirami *loc. citt.* show a mere ground-line.

⁴ Von Rohden—Winefeld *Ant. Terrakotten* iv. 1. 7 f., 261 f. pls. 45 f.

⁵ F. Hauser in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1910 xxv. 288 n. 1 cp. *h. Dem.* 195 f. *πρὸν γ' ὅτε δὴ οἱ ἐθήκεν Ἰάμβη κέδν' εἰδυῖα | πηκτὸν ἔδος, καθύπερθε δ' ἐπ' ἀργύφρον βάλε κῶας.*

⁶ So Hauser *ib.* p. 289.

⁷ *Supra* p. 220 n. 3.

⁸ I figure the example in the Louvre no. 4154 after G. P. Campana *Antiche opere in*

He sits on a stone seat spread with a skin, which in the most authoritative examples of the type appears as a lion-skin¹. At his feet is a ram's head, representing—as F. Hauser has pointed out—the 'fleece of Zeus²,' and recalling—as we may add—the Sabazian foot-stool³. The hero holds a torch in his left hand. Above his bowed and veiled head—a priestess raises the *liknon*. A priest bears



Fig. 308.

poppy-capsules in a *phiale* and pours a libation over a pig held by an attendant. Later variants in marble modify the figures to right and left (figs. 308⁴, 309). They also combine the two panels in a

plastica Roma 1842 p. 70 ff. pl. 17, reversing his design in accordance with the photograph published by Von Rohden—Winnefeld *op. cit.* iv. 1. 8 fig. 9. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Demeter-Kora pp. 510, 564, 579 Atlas pl. 16, 10 and F. Lenormant in Darenberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1070 fig. 1311 perpetuate Campana's error. The lower part of Kore belongs to another relief of the same type; and the middle part of her is a faulty modern restoration. The best specimen, that in the *Museo delle Terme* at Rome no. 4358 (Von Rohden—Winnefeld *op. cit.* pl. 45), is unfortunately defective as regards Demeter's seat.

¹ G. E. Rizzo in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1910 xxv. 121 ff. claims this skin as the Διὸς κώδιον. But see F. Hauser *ib.* p. 287 f.

² *Id. ib.* p. 288, cp. Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 547.

³ *Supra* p. 391 f.

⁴ Here again the best specimen in terra-cotta, that of the *Museo delle Terme* no. 4357 (Von Rohden—Winnefeld *op. cit.* pl. 46), fails us at the critical point—the ram's head. Indeed, all terra-cotta examples are fragmentary. I have therefore figured a marble relief at Naples (*Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 167 no. 568), of post-Augustan date, perhaps part of a sarcophagus-front, which was published in reverse by G. Winckelmann *Monumenti antichi inediti* Roma 1821 ii pl. 104 and with extensive modern restorations in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1829 v pl. 23, *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1879 pl. 4—5, 2 (see Von Rohden—Winnefeld *op. cit.* iv. 1. 8 n. 1 bis, G. E. Rizzo in the

single frieze of ample dimensions. This is the case with an urn of Greek marble found in 1878 near the Porta Maggiore at Rome and perhaps derived from the *columbarium* of the *gens Statilia*¹. But the finest example of the frieze is the front of a splendid sarcophagus of Pentelic marble found in 1903 at Torre Nova on the *via Labicana* (fig. 309)². With regard to the prototype of the whole series, H. von Rohden and H. Winnefeld assume a date not earlier than the second century B.C.³, while Schreiber⁴, Pringsheim⁵ and others argue that it represented the Alexandrine rather than the Attic Eleusinia⁶. Recently, however, J. N. Svoronos has made a most ingenious attempt to prove that the Torre Nova sarcophagus



Fig. 309.

together with certain Athenian reliefs, coins, etc. preserves the types of the Eleusinian triad (Demeter, Kore, Iakchos) designed by Praxiteles for the *Iakcheion* at Athens⁷.

Röm. Mitth. 1910 xxv. 103 ff. figs. 5 f., and J. N. Svoronos in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1911 p. 44 fig. 2).

¹ Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 261 ff. no. 1108, first published by Countess E. Caetani-Lovatelli in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Commun. di Roma* 1879 vii. 5 ff. = *ead. Antichi monumenti illustrati* Roma 1889 p. 23 ff. See also G. E. Rizzo in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1910 xxv. 106, 130 fig. 9, pl. 7, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 546 ff. figs. 153—155, J. N. Svoronos in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1911 p. 44 fig. 3.

² G. E. Rizzo in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1910 xxv. 89—167 pls. 2—5, F. Hauser *ib.* pp. 273—292, J. N. Svoronos in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1911 p. 42 ff. fig. 1.

³ Von Rohden—Winnefeld *op. cit.* iv. 1. 8.

⁴ Schreiber in the *Verh. d. 40. Philologenversamml. in Görlitz* 1889 p. 310.

⁵ Pringsheim *Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des eleusinischen Cults* p. 9 ff. The vertical plume of wheat-ears worn by Demeter resembles the head-dress of Isis; and the flowery fillet of the priest is quasi-Egyptian: etc.

⁶ See, however, G. E. Rizzo *loc. cit.* p. 140 ff.

⁷ J. N. Svoronos in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1911 pp. 39—52.

Analogous customs are still observed here and there on Greek soil. Sir Arthur Evans in his remarkable account of a pillar-shrine at Tekekiöi, a Turkish village between Skopia and Istib in Macedonia, says: 'The floor is strewn with the fleeces of sacrificed rams'.¹ And Dr W. H. D. Rouse, describing another Moslem shrine on the highest point of the citadel at Mytilene, notes: 'They keep *sheepskins* here, and the worshippers *wrap themselves in these* when they pray'.² He justly suggests comparison with the 'fleece of Zeus.'

It will be seen that these scattered indications of a divine ram in the cults of Zeus *Meilichios*, Zeus *Ktésios*, etc. fit on to and corroborate the evidence already adduced of a Graeco-Libyan³ and Thraco-Phrygian Zeus⁴, who appeared sometimes as a ram, sometimes as a snake. For both Zeus *Meilichios* and Zeus *Ktésios* were likewise anguiform, as we shall have occasion to note when we come to discuss their cults. Moreover, just as Zeus *Ammon*⁵ and Zeus *Sabázios*⁶ had a secondary Dionysiac form, so Zeus *Meilichios* was replaced in Naxos by Dionysos *Meilichios*.⁷

x. The Significance of the Ram in the cults of Zeus.

We have now passed in review the various cults in which Zeus appears as a ram-god, and it is time to draw conclusions. From the welter of detail and local divergence two or three facts of constant import emerge. In the first place it is clear that over a wide area of the ancient world, from Meroe in the south to Moesia in the north, Zeus was intimately associated with the ram: the Graeco-Libyan Zeus *Ammon*, the Thraco-Phrygian Zeus *Sabázios*, the Thessalian Zeus *Laphýstios*, the Zeus *Aktaïos* or *Akraïos* of Mount Pelion, the Zeus *Meilichios* and the Zeus *Ktésios* of Athens, are cases in point. Secondly, it would seem that in the long run most of these cults took on a solar character; but that

¹ A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 200—204 figs. 69 f.

² W. H. D. Rouse in *Folk-Lore* 1896 vii. 151.

³ *Supra* p. 358 ff.

⁴ *Supra* p. 390 ff.

⁵ *Supra* p. 371 ff.

⁶ *Supra* p. 395 n. 3, p. 398 ff.

⁷ *Andriskos frag.* 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 304 Müller) and *Aglaosthenes frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 294 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 78 c, *Plout. v. Ant.* 24, *de esu carn.* 1. 2, *quaest. conviv.* 1. 1. 3, *non posse suav. vivi. sec. Epic.* 22, *Eustath. in Od.* p. 1964, 18 f., *F. Creuzer Meletemata e disciplina antiquitatis Lipsiae* 1817 p. 22, *Schöll—Studemund anecd.* i. 268, 276, 282.

this aspect of them was usually late¹, seldom early², and never original. Thirdly, it will not be denied that there was a well-marked tendency for the ram-Zeus to mate with the earth-mother and to beget a son in his own likeness—a god commonly known as Dionysos.

These are the broad facts; and they do not countenance the idea that the ram was a solar animal³ and on that account associated with Zeus. Rather it was the principal beast of a pastoral population, an obvious embodiment of procreative power⁴, and as such

¹ E.g. the cult of Zeus Helios *Sebázios* belongs to Roman times (*supra* pp. 390, 400).

² Zeus was already identified with Amen-Râ in the sixth century B.C. (*supra* p. 350f.).

³ K. Schwenck *Etymologische mythologische Andeutungen* Elberfeld 1823 p. 41, A. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology* London 1872 i. 400 ff.

The curious statement that the ram sleeps on its left side from the autumnal to the vernal equinox, but on its right side during the other half of the year (Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 18, Macrobian *Sat.* 1. 21. 18, Myth. Vat. 3. 15. 1, cp. Plout. *terrestr. an aquat. anim. sint callidiora* 21), at most proves that a bond of sympathy was believed to unite the earthly ram with its heavenly counterpart, the constellation Aries.

⁴ To the Greeks, as to others, the ram was *von Haus aus* a fertilising force. On the amatory propensities of the creature see Aristot. *hist. an.* 6. 19. 573b 17 ff., Varr. *rer. rust.* 2. 1. 17, 2. 2. 13f., Colum. *de re rust.* 7. 3, Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 188. A strip of ram's skin was used in a love charm (Plin. *nat. hist.* 30. 141); ram's wool, as an aid in child-birth (*id. ib.* 20. 6) and female disorders (*id. ib.* 29. 32). A ram was said to have been enamoured of Glauke a Chian citharist (Theophr. *ap. schol. Theokr.* 4. 31, Ail. *de nat. an.* 1. 6, 5. 29, 8. 11, *var. hist.* 9. 39, Plout. *terrestr. an aquat. anim. sint callidiora* 18, Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 51). The tomb of Laïs at Corinth was surmounted by a lioness standing over a prostrate ram (Paus. 2. 2. 4, cp. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 19 pl. E, 73—76, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Corinth, etc. p. 92 pl. 23, 11, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 405). The same idea probably underlies the wide-spread use of the ram as a decoration of tombs in general (Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 187). Its employment for fountain-jets etc. (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1862 p. 138, cp. *supra* p. 370) is of like significance: the spring at the monastery of Kaisariani on Mt Hymettos, which has been identified with the *Κυλλοῦ Πήρα* of the ancients (Soud. *s.v.* *Κυλλός*, *Κυλλοῦ Πήραν*, Hesych. *s.v.* *Κίλλεια*, *κύλλου πήρα*; Phot. *lex. s.v.* *Κύλλεια*, *Κύλλου πήραν*, Makar. 5. 41, Append. prov. 3. 52, Ov. *ars am.* 3. 687 ff.), still gushes out through an old ram's head of marble and as of yore is believed to aid conception, pregnancy, and delivery (L. Röss *Archäologische Aufsätze* Leipzig 1855 i. 220—222, Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 151 f.).

Hence the ram was associated with the deities of generation, Hermes, Aphrodite, Dionysos, Attis, etc. The evidence, literary and monumental, has been collected by E. Gerhard 'Widdergotheiten' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1850 viii. 149—160 pl. 15, 1—7, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1869 pp. 18—139 Atlas pl. 1, 13, 15, S. Eitrem *Beiträge zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte* i. Der vor-dorische Widdergott Christiania 1910 pp. 1—24.

Conclusive is the fact that the *phallós* itself is sometimes made to terminate in a ram's head. So with a bronze pendant representing Hermes found at Herculaneum (*Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1771 vi (De' Bronzi di Ercolano ii) p. 389 ff. pl. 96, Roux—Barré *Herc. et Pomp.* viii Musée Secret p. 197 ff. pl. 46) and a bronze statuette of the pantheistic Khnemu at Marseilles (G. Maspero *Catalogue du musée égyptien de Marseille* p. 131 no. 562, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1257).

This combination of ram with snake in the cults of Zeus (*supra* pp. 358 ff., 390 ff.,

associated both with the fertilising sky-god¹ and with the all-generating sun². The ram thus supplied the *tertium comparationis*, which on occasion served to bring together the Hellenic Zeus and the barbaric sun-god.

Nor need we hesitate to admit that the Greeks themselves, quite apart from foreign influence, regarded the ram as a possible manifestation of Zeus. Theriomorphic epiphanies of this god are of frequent occurrence in mythology. And the myths, though manipulated as so much artistic material by the poets of a literary age, indubitably attest the serious beliefs of the past. We are therefore well within our rights in maintaining that the golden lamb of Atreus and the golden ram of Phrixos were but animal forms of Zeus.

(g) The Sun and the Bull.

i. The Bull and the Sun in Egypt.

As Zeus was related to the ram, so or nearly so was he related to the bull. There is indeed a curious parallelism between the two animal-cults, which must have existed side by side from a remote Indo-European past³. Shepherds and neatherds expressed their religious beliefs in closely analogous forms, of which many similar traces have survived in ancient literature and art. It is therefore both desirable and possible in dealing with Zeus and the bull to adhere to the same lines that we followed in dealing with Zeus and the ram. As before, we shall begin by noticing certain Egyptian, and therefore non-Indo-European, cults, which were at an early

428) is likewise appropriate to a fertilising god (*supra* p. 396 n. 1). S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1899 ii. 210 ff. and in his *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1906 ii. 58 ff. regards Zagreus as a horned serpent and compares him with the horned serpent that occurs repeatedly on monuments of the continental Celts (*id. Bronzes Figurés* p. 195 ff.). The Celtic serpent is regularly ram-headed. Hence a more certain classical parallel is a broken limestone pillar, found at the village of ἐς τὰ Φίχθια near Mykenai, round which twines a raised band, probably meant for a serpent, ending in a ram's head: a mutilated inscription of the fourth century B.C. mentions Ἐκάρη and Φερσεφόνη (*Ath. Myth.* 1883 viii. 141 ff.; Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 187 wrongly speaks of two ram's-heads). F. Baumgarten, who first published the pillar, cp. a bronze *caduceus* with ram's-heads instead of snake's-heads (Müller-Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 255 pl. 30, 337 c).

¹ *Infra* ch. ii § 8 and § 9.

² Bruchmann *Epith. acor.* p. 144 ff. γενετήρ, γενέτης, γενέτωρ, γεννητής, γενών, γονόεις, ζωογόνοος, παργενέτωρ, πατήρ, προπάτωρ, τεκνοποιός, τοκέις, τρέφων, τροφέις, φρέσθιος, κ.τ.λ.

³ O. Schrader *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples* trans. F. B. Jevons London 1890 p. 358, *id. Reallex.* pp. 708, 917, H. Hirt *Die Indogermanen* Strassburg 1905—1907 i. 283 ff., ii. 646 f., S. Müller *Urgeschichte Europas* Strassburg 1905 pp. 24, 102, M. Hoernes *Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen* Wien u. Leipzig 1909 i. 565 ff.

date more or less assimilated by the Greeks. As before, we shall end by showing that the Greeks themselves had inherited from their own Indo-European ancestors ideas so similar that they were readily fused with those of surrounding foreigners.

We begin, then, with Egypt. Here from a remote past bulls and cows had been regarded as objects of peculiar veneration. Evidence of their divinity is forthcoming even in the predynastic age¹. The two most famous bulls of Egypt were *Ur-mer* at Heliopolis and *Hâp* at Memphis. The Greeks, who transliterated these names as *Mnevis* and *Âpis* respectively, describe the former as sacred to the Sun, the latter as sacred to the Moon². Mnevis was the biggest of bulls: he was jet-black, for exposure to the sun blackens the body: the hairs of his tail and of his whole body stood erect, unlike those of other bulls, just as the sun runs counter to the sky: his testicles were very large, since desire is aroused by heat, and the sun is said to engender nature³. His cult was established by king Kaiechos of the second dynasty, according to Manethon⁴, and lasted on into Ptolemaic times, as appears from the Rosetta stone⁵. After death he was identified with Osiris as *Osiri-Ur-mer*, the Greek *Osorómnnevis* or *Osórnnevis*⁶. Egyptian monuments represent him as a bull with the solar disk and the *uraeus* between his horns⁷, or as a human figure with a bull's head⁸. Of myths connected with him we know little. Indeed, Ammianus Marcellinus remarks that 'nothing worth mentioning is said of him⁹.' Aelian, however, relates that a certain Bokchoris, king of Lower Egypt, who had a reputation for justice and piety that he did not deserve, being minded to annoy the Egyptians, brought in a wild bull to fight with Mnevis. Both bellowed, and the wild bull charged, but, missing his aim, struck his horn into the trunk of a *persea*-tree, where Mnevis gored him to death. Bokchoris

¹ E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 24 f., *A History of Egypt* London 1902 i. 84 no. 32124 flint cow's head, *ib.* i. 185, 187 Hathor-heads on green slate relief, *Man* 1902 p. 17 pl. B, 8—16 bull-heads as amulets.

² *Ail. de nat. an.* 11. 11, Porphyrios *ap. Eus. praep. ev.* 3. 13. 1 f., Soud. *s.v.* "Απίδες, *Amm. Marc.* 22. 14. 7.

³ Porphyrios *ap. Eus. praep. ev.* 3. 13. 1, Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 33.

⁴ Maneth. *frag.* 8, cp. 9 f. (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 542 ff. Müller).

⁵ *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4697, 31 f. = Dittenberger *Oriental. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 90, 31 f. *Corp. Dittenberger ib.* 56, 9.

⁶ *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii. 304. See further W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3081 f. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 33 describes Mnevis as 'sacred to Osiris.'

⁷ Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* pl. 55, 2.

⁸ *Id. ib.* pl. 55, 3. On Greek and Roman representations of Mnevis see W. Drexler *loc. cit.*

⁹ *Amm. Marc.* 22. 14. 7.

thereupon did reverence to the victor, but he had earned for himself the hatred of the Egyptians. And—to conclude in the words of Aelian—‘if any one thinks it a scandal to drop from a zoölogical discussion into an occasional folk-tale, he is a fool!’

Apis too (fig. 310)² had to be black beyond other bulls³. He was moreover distinguished by as many as twenty-nine bodily marks⁴, of which a few are reported by classical authors. Thus Herodotos⁵ states that Apis had a white triangle on his forehead, a beetle under his tongue⁷, an eagle on his back, and double hairs in his tail⁸. Various marks brought him into connexion with the sun and moon. Since he was sacred to the moon rather than the sun⁹, this twofold characterisation might have been thought superfluous. But some persons regarded Mnevis as the father of Apis¹⁰. And Porphyrios explains that, as the moon gets her light from the sun, so Apis must needs have the tokens of both luminaries: the sun, he adds, is evidenced by the blackness of the bull’s body and by the beetle under his tongue, the moon by the halved and



Fig. 310.

the gibbous signs¹¹. Others say that the most important mark of all

¹ Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 11. *Id. ib.* 12. 3 (cp. Maneth. *frag.* 65 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 592 f. Müller) and G. Maspero *The Passing of the Empires* London 1900 p. 246 n. 5) states that in the reign of this Bokchoris a monstrous lamb with two heads, four horns, eight legs and two tails spoke in human speech and predicted that Upper and Lower Egypt would be disgraced by the rule of a stranger.

² Drawn from a bronze statuette in the possession of Mr F. W. Green. Total height 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

³ Porphyrios *ap. Eus. praep. ev.* 3. 13. 2, cp. Hdt. 3. 28, Strab. 807.

⁴ Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 10.

⁵ Hdt. 3. 28.

⁶ For λευκὸν τετράγωνον of the MSS. we should read, with Stein, λευκὸν τι τρίγωνον. The description of the historian is thus brought into agreement with extant figures of Apis: see Stein *ad loc.* Strab. 807 says merely διάλευκος τὸ μέτωπον.

⁷ For ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ γλώσσῃ κάρθαρον of the MSS. we should read, with Jablonski and Stein, ὑπὸ δὲ κ.τ.λ.: cp. Porphyrios *ap. Eus. praep. ev.* 3. 13. 2 ὁ ὑπὸ τὴν γλῶτταν κάρθαρος, Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 184 nodus sub lingua quem cantharum appellat.

⁸ Mela 1. 9 cauda linguaque dissimilis aliorum, Soud. *s.v.* Ἀπίδες...σημείον ἔχοντες περὶ τὴν οὐρὰν καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν. Larcher cites from schol. Ptolem. *tetrabibl.* p. 2 the statement that a cow’s tail waxes and wanes with the moon: cp. *supra* p. 429 n. 3 of the ram.

⁹ Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 21. 20 bos Apis in civitate Memphi solis instar excipitur is a partial and misleading assertion. See *supra* p. 431 n. 2. But cp. *infra* p. 435 f. Kyrillos in *Oseam* 5. 8 f. (cp. 10. 5) states that the Egyptians regarded Apis as σελήνης μὲν τέκνον, ἡλίου δὲ ἐκγονον.

¹⁰ Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 33.

¹¹ Porphyrios *ap. Eus. praep. ev.* 3. 13. 2, Kyrillos in *Oseam* 5. 8 f.

was a white crescent on his right side, which denoted the moon¹. Apis was the calf of a cow not suffered again to conceive offspring². It was believed that this cow had been impregnated by a ray of light from heaven³, or, according to some, from the moon⁴. When a new Apis was discovered, the Egyptians put on their best clothes and fell to feasting⁵; for his appearance portended good crops and other blessings⁶. Aelian states that honours were heaped upon the lucky man in whose herd he had been born. Sacred scribes with hereditary knowledge of the requisite signs came to test his credentials. A special house was built for him in accordance with the most ancient prescriptions of Hermes (that is, Thoth), a house facing the sun-rise and large enough to contain stores of milk, on which for four months he was reared. After that time, he was, during the rise of a new moon, taken by the sacred scribes and prophets, in a barge yearly adorned for this purpose, to Memphis⁷. Diodoros gives a somewhat different account of what took place. According to him, the Apis-calf was first brought to Neiloupolis, where he was kept for forty days. During this period, but never afterwards, women came into his presence and exposed their persons before him. Then he was put on board a barge with a gilded cabin and conveyed as a god to the precinct of Hephaistos (that is, Ptah) at Memphis⁸. Once at Memphis, he was maintained in the lap of luxury⁹. His stall had a window in it, through which strangers could see him. But, since they desired a better view, the Egyptians had arranged an adjoining court-yard, into which he was driven on stated occasions. The court-yard contained another stall for his mother. The shrine of Apis stood beside the large and wealthy temple of Hephaistos (Ptah). The latter had a *drómos* or 'approach,' in which stood a colossus made of a single block of stone. Here bulls, bred for the purpose, were pitted against each other, a prize being awarded to the victorious bull¹⁰. Apis had his own well and spring of drinking water, for

¹ Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 10, Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 184, Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 7, Solin. 32. 17, Myth. Val. 1. 79, cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 43 τοῖς τῆς σελήνης σχήμασιν ἔοικε πολλὰ τοῦ Ἀπίδος, περιμελαινομένου τὰ λαμπρὰ τοῖς σκιεροῖς.

² Hdt. 3. 28.

³ Hdt. 3. 28, Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 10, Mela 1. 9.

⁴ Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 43, Soud. *s.v.* Ἀπίδες.

⁵ Hdt. 3. 27, cp. Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 10.

⁶ Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 6.

⁷ Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 10.

⁸ Diod. 1. 85 ὁρῶσιν αὐτὸν αἱ γυναῖκες κατὰ πρόσωπον ἰστάμεναι καὶ δεικνύουσιν ἀνασπράμεναι τὰ ἐαυτῶν γεννητικὰ μόρια. The passage is quoted by Eus. *praef. ev.* 2. 1. 50.

⁹ Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 10, Diod. 1. 84.

¹⁰ Strab. 807. A description of the court-yard built for Apis by Psammetichos is given in Hdt. 2. 153.

attendants and priests declared that Nile-water was too fattening. He had also a seraglio of fine cows¹. Once a year a cow, distinguished by a special set of signs, was exhibited before him: tradition said that she was always found and destroyed on the self-same day². During one week in the year Apis' birthday was celebrated: a gold and a silver bowl were sunk in the Nile at a place in Memphis called from its configuration *Phiata*, 'the Saucer'; and the crocodiles of the river harmed no one till noon on the day following the birthday week³. The *stile* of Palermo records the first celebration of another festival, the 'Running round of Apis,' but gives us no indication as to its character⁴. Omens and oracles were drawn from the bodily movements of Apis⁵. When he licked the *limation* of Eudoxos the Cnidian, the priests averred that the astronomer would be famous but short-lived⁶. When he turned away from Germanicus Caesar, who was offering him food, that meant that Germanicus was a doomed man⁷. Apis had two chapels called bridal-chambers: if he entered the one, it was a good sign; if the other, mischief was brewing⁸. He was attended by choirs of boys, who sang his praises and then, suddenly becoming possessed, would burst out into predictions of the future⁹. Omens were also drawn from the first words heard on quitting his sanctuary¹⁰. Thus Apis lived for the mystic number of five times five years¹¹. After his allotted span, the priests drowned him in their sacred spring, and mourned with shorn heads till they found his successor¹². Large sums of money were spent on his obsequies¹³; his burial place was kept a profound secret¹⁴; and all Egypt lamented his

¹ Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 10. Diod. 1. 84.

² Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 186, Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 7, Solin. 32. 20.

³ Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 186, Solin. 32. 21, Amm. Marc. 22. 15. 17. According to Timaios the mathematician *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 55, *Phiata* was the source of the Nile.

⁴ E. A. Wallis Budge *O iris and the Egyptian Resurrection* London and New York 1911 i. 398.

⁵ Lact. Plac. *in Stat. Theb.* 3. 478 motu corporis sui, *cp.* Claud. *de quart. cons. Hon.* 576 submissis admugit cornibus Apis.

⁶ Favorinus *Arelatensis frag.* 16 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 579 Müller) *ap.* Diog. Laert. 8. 90.

⁷ Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 185, Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 8, Solin. 32. 19.

⁸ Plin. *loc. cit.*, Amm. Marc. *loc. cit.*, Solin. *loc. cit.*

⁹ Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 10. Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 185, Solin. 32. 20, Myth. Vat. 1. 79.

¹⁰ Paus. 7. 22. 31.

¹¹ Pflout. *de I. et O.* 56. See, however, R. Pietschmann in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* 1. 2808.

¹² Plin. *nat. hi t.* 8. 184, Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 7, Solin. 32. 18, Myth. Vat. 1. 79.

¹³ Diod. 1. 84 f.

¹⁴ Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 6; but see Aug. *de civ. Dei* 18. 5. Hdt. 3. 29 λάθρη Καμβύσεω is indecisive. On the Apis-tombs of the Σαράπιον (Strab. 807) of Şakḳāra see A. Mariette *Le Sérapéum de Memphis* Paris 1857 rev. by G. Maspero 1882 or the brief accounts in

death¹. So the cult of Apis went on from the days of Menes (*Mênê*)², the first king of the first dynasty, to the downfall of paganism³. Apis was commonly⁴ identified with Osiris⁵. Most of the priests taught that the former must be regarded as a comely image of the soul of the latter⁶. More exactly, on the death of Osiris his soul passed into Apis and was re-incarnated in the succession of bulls that bore that name. Others said that, when Osiris was slain by Typhon, Isis gathered up his remains and deposited them in a wooden cow (*boûs*) wrapped about with fine linen (*býssos*), from which fact the town of *Boûsirîs* was supposed to have drawn its name⁷. Osiris-Apis (*Âsar-Hâpi*) under the name of Sarapis was worshipped far and wide throughout the countries bordering on the Mediterranean during the Hellenistic age⁸, till Tertullian exclaimed indignantly: 'It is not Egypt nowadays, no, nor Greece, but the whole world that swears by this African!'⁹ He was regarded as lord of the underworld, an Egyptian Hades¹⁰. But his powers were not merely chthonian, as appears from the fact that he was frequently identified with Zeus and with Helios¹¹. This last identification squares with the opinion of those who assert that Apis, if we could but recover the Egyptian conception of him and get rid of the comparatively recent classical tradition, would prove to have been a solar before he became a lunar deity. That is the view of O. Gruppe¹², of E. Meyer, and of W. H. Roscher¹³, who all lay stress on the disk

G. Maspero *The Passing of the Empires* London 1910 p. 501 ff., E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 ii. 350 f.

¹ Diod. i. 85, Loukian. *de sacrif.* 15, *de dea Syr.* 6, Tib. i. 7. 28, Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 7, Solin. 32. 18, Myth. Vat. i. 79.

² Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 10. The Ail-cult, like the Mnevis-cult, was founded by king Kaiechos of the second dynasty, according to Manethon (*supra* p. 431 n. 4).

³ E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* ii. 351.

⁴ Apis was also compared with Horos, whom the Egyptians deemed the cause of good crops and prosperous seasons; and the diverse colouring of Apis was taken to symbolise the diverse crops (Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 10).

⁵ Strab. 807.

⁶ Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 29, cp. *ib.* 20, 43. At Memphis Apis was regarded as the 'second life of Ptah' (E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* ii. 350).

⁷ Diod. i. 85.

⁸ *Supra* p. 188 ff.

⁹ Tertull. *ad nat.* 2. 8.

¹⁰ C. Scherer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1803 f.

¹¹ *Supra* p. 188 ff.

¹² Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1572 n. 9: 'Nun ist dies allerdings eine Neuerung; der altägyptische Apis trägt zwischen den Hörnern die Sonne und scheint dieser geweiht gewesen zu sein.'

¹³ E. Meyer and W. H. Roscher in *Lex. Myth.* i. 420: 'Daher hat auch Apis (wie übrigens alle Stiergottheiten Ägyptens) eine solare Natur; als Symbol wird ihm der Sonnendiskus zwischen die Hörner gesetzt. [Die Scheibe zwischen zwei Hörnern ist in Ägypten immer die Sonne, nie der Mond.]'

436 The Bull and the Sun in Egypt

that is seen between the horns of Apis in extant Egyptian representations¹ as symbolising the sun, not the moon. The matter is one for Egyptologists to decide.

At Hermonthis, eight miles to the south-west of Thebes, Strabon records a cult of Apollon and of Zeus, adding: 'Here too an ox is kept².' Macrobius, after mentioning Mnevis and Apis as proofs that in Egypt the sun was represented by a bull, continues: 'At the town of Hermunthis they worship a bull, which is consecrated to the sun in the magnificent temple of Apollo. They call it Bacis (*v.l.* Bacchis). It is distinguished by certain miraculous signs which suit its solar character. For it changes its colour every hour, so they declare; and the hairs, they say, with which it is covered, grow the opposite way to those of all other beasts, so that it is regarded as

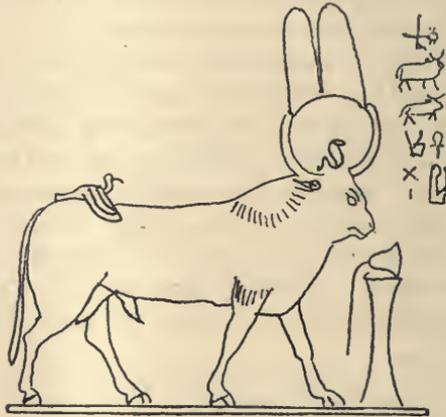


Fig. 311.

an image of the sun opposing the movement of the universe³. E. A. Wallis Budge⁴ comments as follows: 'The Egyptian equivalent of the name Bacis, or Bacchis, is ΒΑΚΗΑ, ...and this bull is

¹ A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 p. 23 fig. 31, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 420 fig., H. Stein on Hdt. 3. 28 fig.

² Strab. 817.

³ Macrobius *Sat.* 1. 21. 20 f. (*Bacin* most MSS. *bachin* cod. A. *Bacchin* cod. 'Angl.'). The expression (*ib.* 21) *imago solis in adversam mundi partem nitentis* is rightly explained by L. Jan *ad loc.* with the help of Macrobius *comm. in somn. Scip.* 18 as an allusion to the difference between the real and the apparent movement of the heavenly bodies. E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* ii. 352 says: 'an image of the sun *shining* on the other side of the world, i.e., the Underworld.' But *nitentis* is the participle of *niti*, not *nitere*.

⁴ E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* ii. 352 f. W. Spiegelberg, however, in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* 1901 i. 339 ff. infers from the names Περεβοῦχ(ις), Παβοῦχ(ις) (Πεβοῦχ(ις), Πιβόχ(ις)), Πιβόκ(ις), Πετοσορβοῦχ(ις) that there was a god Βοῦχ(ις), and publishes a mummy-ticket (*s.* i or ii A.D.), now at Strassburg, which directs that the body of one Thaeis be sent to Hermonthis and there deposited *eis τὸ Βοῦχ(ις) (= Βουχέϊον) | Ψενουήρι παστοφάρου | τοῦ θεοῦ ζῶου Βοῦχ(ις) (sic)*. Hence in Macrobius *loc. cit.* he cj. *Bucin*.

styled the "living soul of Rā,"...and the "bull of the Mountain of the Sunrise (Bakhau), and the lion of the Mountain of the Sunset." He wears between his horns a disk, from which rise plumes, and a uraeus; on his forequarters is a peculiar growth of hair, and 'over his hindquarters...a vulture with outspread wings (fig. 311)¹.'

The Egyptians worshipped a black bull called *Ónouphis* at a place whose name was too awkward for Aelian² to transliterate. He tells us, however, that this bull was the largest of bulls, that its peculiarity was the unique direction taken by its hairs, and that it was fed on Median grass. E. A. Wallis Budge identifies it with the bull of Hermonthis, and thinks that *Ónouphis* 'is probably a corruption of some Egyptian name of Osiris Un-nefer³.'

At Momemphis, in the Delta, there was a cult of Aphrodite (*Hathor*) and a sacred cow⁴. Aphroditopolis, in the Heptanomis, on the east side of the Nile, was originally called *Depêhet*, that is, the 'Cow's head⁵': its inhabitants kept a sacred white cow⁶. Many other Egyptian towns, both in the Delta and outside it, kept a sacred bull or cow, as the case might be⁷.

ii. Zeus, Io, and Epaphos.

Now the Greeks at an early date came into contact with all this Egyptian zoölatry and were much impressed by the cattle sacred to the sun and moon.

Herodotos, the first student of comparative religion, boldly identifies Dionysos with Osiris⁸ and asserts that the so-called Orphic and Bacchic rites were in reality Egyptian and Pythagorean⁹. Whatever the precise value of such generalisations may be, we can at least infer that there were substantial points of agreement between the Dionysiac religion and its Egyptian counterpart¹⁰. Among these would be (as the whole of the present section attests) the worship of a great fertilising bull, which tended to

¹ Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 201 f. pl. 70, 4, cp. K. Sethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2802 f. Coins of the Hermonthite nome show the bull Bakis butting; or, a bearded god with *himdtion* and sceptre, who holds on his extended left hand a small figure of the bull Bakis butting (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 363).

² Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 11.

³ E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* ii. 352.

⁴ Strab. 803.

⁵ R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2793.

⁶ Strab. 809.

⁷ Strab. 803.

⁸ *Supra* p. 376 n. 2.

⁹ *Ildt.* 2. 81 τούσι Ὀρφικοίσι καλεομένοισι καὶ Βακχικοίσι, εἴοσι δὲ Ἀγυπτιοῖσι καὶ Ἰνδογαροῖσι.

¹⁰ See e.g. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 35 with the judicious remarks of P. D. Scott-Moncrieff in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909 xxix. 87 f. and the more hazardous speculations of Miss G. Davis in *The Classical Association of Ireland: Proceedings for 1911-12* p. 13 ff.

acquire solar powers. It is, therefore, allowable to conjecture that the obscure and presumably non-Greek¹ name *Bákchos* was in fact borrowed² from that of the Egyptian bull *Bakha*³. The name thus taken over, say by the Libyo-Greeks, appears to have passed into Crete⁴ and Asia Minor⁵, thence finding its way into European Greece⁶. Hesychios' statement that *bákchos* was a Phoenician word for 'lamentation' is hardly more than an etymological guess⁷.

Less problematic is another and a better-known case—that of Apis. The Greeks named him *Épaphos*⁸ and brought him into connexion with their own mythology⁹, declaring that he was the son of Io by Zeus, who impregnated her by a touch¹⁰ at Kanobos. The story is summarised by Aischylos in the earliest of his extant plays, the *Suppliants*, where the fifty daughters of Danaos fleeing from the fifty sons of Aígyptos seek the protection of Pelasgos, king of Argos, on the ground of kinship. The passage was thus rendered by Prof. L. Campbell :

- Chorus.* 'Tis said that in this Argive land erewhile
Io was doorkeeper of Hera's Fane.
King. Certes she was ; strong Rumour makes us know.
Is't said that Zeus to mortal maid came near?
Cho. Yea, and that Hera knew, and would prevent.
King. How ended such a high-enkindled feud?
Cho. Your goddess turned the woman to a cow.
King. But was the hornèd heifer safe from Zeus?
Cho. He took the likeness of a leaping bull.
King. What then contrived the mighty Queen of Heaven?

¹ L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iii. 78 'Etymologisch nicht verständlich.' See further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1417 f.

² The loan would be facilitated not only by the bovine form of the god and his fertilising function, but also by his snake and his sacred mountain.

³ My suggestion has, I find, been anticipated by F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*³ Leipzig and Darmstadt 1840 ii. 203 ('*Bacis*, worin vielleicht bedeutende Spuren liegen des Einflusses Aegyptischer Vorstellungen auf die Bacchische Religion der Griechen,' *op. ib.* 1842 iii. 641 n. 2).

⁴ Eur. *Crete frag.* 472, 14 f. Nauck² *κουρήτων* | *βάκχος* ἐκλήθην ὄσιωθεῖς.

⁵ Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 300 n. 73.

⁶ Cp. Gruppe *loc. cit.*

⁷ Hesych. *βάκχων* κλαυθμών. *Φολνικες*. Cp. the Hebrew *bāk(h)a*, 'he wept.' But it seems more probable that the name *Bákchos* hails from north Africa like *Bókchoris* = *Bukunirínif* king of Lower Egypt (*supra* p. 431), *Bókchos* or *Bocchus* king of Mauretania (*infra* p. 502), etc.

⁸ Hdt. 2. 38, 2. 153, 3. 28.

⁹ See J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2708 f.

¹⁰ Aisch. *P.v.* 849 *ἐπαφῶν ἀταρβεῖ χειρὶ καὶ θιγῶν μόνον*, *suppl.* 18 f. *ἐξ ἐπαφῆς καὶ ἐπιπνοίας* | *Διός*, 45 f. *ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας* | *Ζηνὸς ἔφαψιν*, 1066 *χειρὶ παιωνία κατασχεθῶν*, *Apollod.* 2. 1. 3 *ἀφάμενος*, Nonn. *Dion.* 3. 284 ff. *ἀκρασιῶν ὅτι κόλπων* | *Ἰναχίης δαμάλης ἐπαφήσατο θεῖος ἀκοίτης* | *χερσὶν ἐρωμανέεσσι*, schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 678 *ὁ Ἰεὺς ἐπαφησάμενος τῆς Ἰοῦς* (B.C.M. 1.), *ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς ἐπαφῆς πρὸς Ἴω Ἐπαφος ἐγένετο* (Gu.), Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 630 *ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς ἐπαφῆς*.

- Cho.* She set a sleepless watch, with myriad eyes.
King. What all-seeing herdman of one heifer? Say.
Cho. Argus, the child of Earth,—whom Hermes slew.
King. What framed she more for the poor cow's annoy?
Cho. A goading gad-fly, giving her no rest.
King. 'Tis called the "breese" by neighbours of the Nile.
Cho. This drove her, banished, on a distant course.
King. Your tale fits smoothly with the truths I know.
Cho. Canopus and then Memphis saw her come.
 * * * * *
- Cho.* Zeus with a finger-touch begat a child.
King. How then was named the heifer's birth divine?
Cho. Named from the touch that gat him, Epaphus.
 * * * * *
- Cho.* Libya that holds a wide extent of earth.
King. What other child of hers hast thou in mind?
Cho. Bel, with two sons, sire of my father here.
King. Of thrilling moment is this name. Declare it.
Cho. Danaüs, whose brother fifty sons begat.
King. His name, too, let thy liberal words reveal.
Cho. Ægyptus. Now thou knowest my primal race.
 Act therefore as toward Argive visitants.
King. In truth ye seem to me to be of kin
 Ancestrally to Argos¹.

(This version of the myth involves a sort of thrust and parry between Zeus and Hera, which appealed to the dramatic instinct of Aischylos and is well expressed in the rapid exchange of his short, sharp, single lines. Zeus deals the first blow by falling in love with Hera's priestess, Io. Hera thwarts Zeus by changing Io into a cow. Zeus outwits Hera, becoming a bull to prosecute his amour. Hera, not yet vanquished, sets Argos *Panóptes*, the 'All-seeing,' to guard the cow. Hermes, presumably at Zeus' bidding, slays Argos. Hera, as a last resource, drives the cow by means of a gad-fly to the furthest limits of the world. Even at the furthest limits of the world Zeus touches her and gains his end.) Thus the omnipotence of Zeus is vindicated: play-wright, performers, and audience return home well-content.

Not so we. Aischylos' plot is obviously put together out of old, indeed primitive, materials. And we are, for the moment, mainly interested in recovering the original form of the story. This may be, probably is, a task beyond our powers. Nevertheless it will not do to neglect divergent accounts that have reached us from other sources. They may at least help towards the reconstruction of an earlier version.

¹ Aisch. *suppl.* 291—325 trans. L. Campbell, cp. *P.v.* 846 ff., Bakchyl. 18 *Io*, Eur. *Phoen.* 676 ff., Apollod. 2. 1. 3 f., Hyg. *fab.* 145, 149, 155, 275, Ov. *met.* 1. 748 ff., *alib.*

More than one writer, for example, assumes that Io was changed into a cow by Zeus, not by Hera. According to Apollodoros¹, who in his great 'Library' of Greek myths has preserved, so to speak, a *variorum* edition of this tale, Zeus attempted to divert Hera's suspicions from his own intrigue with Io by transforming the latter into a white² cow and swearing that he had never had intercourse with her³. Hera thereupon asked Zeus to make her a present of the cow and stationed Argos Panóptes as its guardian. Argos bound the cow to the olive-tree⁴ that was in the sacred grove of the Mycenaeans⁵. Zeus bade Hermes steal the cow. *Hiera*⁶, the 'Hawk,' revealed the design⁷. And Hermes,

¹ Apollod. 2. 1. 3.

² Cp. *Ov. met.* 1. 610 f. inque nitentem | Inachidos vultus mutaverat ille iuvencam, *Iuv.* 6. 526 si candida iusserit Io, Val. Flacc. 4. 380 verbere candentes quotiens exhorruit amos.

³ Hence the belief that lovers might perjure themselves with impunity (*Hes. frag.* 5 *Flach ap.* Apollod. 2. 1. 3, schol. *Plat. symp.* 183 B, *Hesych. s.v.* 'Ἀφροδίσιος ὄρκος, cp. *Kallim. ep.* 27. 3 f. *Wilamowitz=Stob. flor.* 28. 3 (ed. Gaisford i. 383)).

⁴ *Plin. nat. hist.* 16. 239 Argis olea etiamnum durare dicitur, ad quam Io in tauram mutata Argus alligaverit. This olive-tree is shown on a black-figured *amphora* at Munich (Sieveking—Hackl *Vasensamml. München* i. 58 ff. no. 585 fig. 69 pl. 21, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 474, T. Panofka 'Argos Panoptes' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1837 Phil.-hist. Classe pl. 5), a red-figured *amphora* of the Coghill collection (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 466 f., Panofka *op. cit.* pl. 4, 1), a *stamnos* from Caere now at Vienna (*Masner Samml. ant. Vasen u. Terracotten Wien* p. 52 no. 338, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 477 f., *Ann. d. Inst.* 1865 pl. 1—K, *Reinach Rép. Vases* i. 314, *Roscher Lex. Myth.* ii. 279 f.), a green jasper of which a replica in paste was in the Stosch collection (fig. 312, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 483 f., Panofka *op. cit.* pl. 3, 1), a wall-painting from the *Casa di Meleagro* at Pompeii (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 470 f., Panofka *op. cit.* pl. 1, 6).



Fig. 312.

⁵ *Soph. El.* 4 f. τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν Ἄργος οὐπέθει τόδε, | τῆς οἰστροπλήγος ἄλσος Ἰνάχου κόρης.

⁶ Cp. *Poll.* 4. 78 Ἱεράκιον δὲ (μέλος) τὸ Ἀργολικόν, δὲ ταῖς ἀνθεσφόροις ἐν Ἥρας ἐπηλόου.

⁷ Two other birds were brought into connexion with the myth. (1) *Iynx* the 'wry-neck,' daughter of Echo or Peitho, sacred to Nike and Aphrodite, by magic means inspired Zeus with love for Io, and was punished by Hera, who transformed her into a stone (*Phot. lex. s.v.* Ἴυνξ) or into a wry-neck (*Kallim. frag.* 100^c. 8 *Schneider ap. schol. Theokr.* 2. 17, cp. *schol. Pind. Nem.* 4. 56). (2) When Argos was slain, Hera transformed him into a peacock (*schol. Aristoph. av.* 102, anon. *miscell.* 6 in *Myth. Graec.* ed. Westermann p. 347, *Nonn. Dion.* 12. 70 f., *Mart.* 14. 85. 1 f., *Myth. Vat.* 1. 18, 2. 5, 2. 89) or decorated the tail of her peacock with his eyes (*Ov. met.* 1. 722 f.), or the peacock sprang from his blood (*Mosch.* 2. 58 ff.) or was sent up by the Earth where he fell (*Opp. de auc.* 1. 24). The peacock appears on the gem mentioned above (n. 4), cp. *Boetticher Baumkultus* fig. 35 and the peacocks kept in the temple of Hera at Samos (*Antiphanes Homopatrii ap. Athen.* 655 B, *Eustath. in Il.* p. 1035, 47 f., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ionia* pp. 369—372, 386, 390 f. pl. 36, 11, 13, 37, 15, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 606). At the Argive Heraion Hadrian dedicated a peacock of gold and shining stones (*Paus.* 2.

when he could not be hidden, slew Argos with a stone¹. Hera then sent the gad-fly to drive the cow far away. The cow, after traversing the Ionian Gulf, Illyria, Mount Haimos, the Bosporos, Skythia, Kimmeria etc., at length reached Egypt, where it recovered human form and gave birth to Epaphos on the banks of the Nile.

Again, opinions differed as to the colour of the cow. Soudidas identifies Isis with 'Io, whom Zeus carried off from (the town of) Argos and, fearing Hera, changed now into a white, now into a black, and now into a violet cow².' Moschos, a bucolic poet of the third century B.C., adorns the golden basket of his Europe with a device representing Io as a golden cow³. And Virgil arms Turnus, king of the Rutuli, with a shield on which was a golden cow likewise denoting Io⁴.

iii. Priests and Priestesses with Animal Names.

But, whether Io was transformed into a cow by Hera or by Zeus, and whether the colour of the said cow was white or black or violet or golden, are, after all, questions of minor importance. What we want to know is the original relation subsisting between the principal figures of the myth, Zeus, Hera, Argos, Io, and the significance of the bull and the cow in regard to each.

Io, the *kleidoûchos* or 'key-keeper' of Hera, was changed by her goddess into a cow. This, the Aeschylean form of the myth, suggests, if I am not mistaken, that the priestesses of the Argive Hera were known as 'cows.' Examples of priests and priestesses bearing animal titles are fairly frequent. Dionysos often had a bovine character, and Dionysiac mysteries were celebrated by a class of priests called 'cow-herds⁵.' Their name presupposes that

17. 6, *infra* ch. iii § 1 (a) viii (β and γ)) and an antefix of terra-cotta found by Finlay was painted to imitate the tail of a peacock (Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 169). Sir Charles Waldstein *The Argive Heraeum* Boston and New York 1902—1905 i. 24, 64 f., states that General Gordon of Cairness in 1831 found there the tail of a peacock in white marble. *Id. ib.* ii. 205 f. pl. 77, 46—48 publishes some votive bronze cocks (? peacocks) that he discovered on the same site.

¹ So *et. mag.* p. 136, 52. According to the usual version, Hermes approached Argos as a herdsman playing on his pan-pipes, charmed him to sleep with music and his magic wand (*Ov. met.* i. 671 ff., Val. Flacc. 4. 384 ff.), and then slew him by cutting his throat with the *hârpe* (*Ov. met.* i. 717 f., Lucan. 9. 663 f., Val. Flacc. 4. 390), or by putting out his eyes with it (*Myth. Vat.* 3. 9. 3) or with his wand (*Nonn. Dion.* 13. 25 ff.).

² Soudid. *s.v.* 'Ισις'... ποτὲ μὲν εἰς λευκὴν βοῦν, ποτὲ δὲ εἰς μέλαιναν, ποτὲ δὲ ἰάζουσαν (probably to suit the name 'Ιώ).

³ Mosch. 2. 44 f.

⁴ Verg. *Aen.* 7. 789 ff.

⁵ The evidence is cited by Rohde *Psyche*² p. 15 n. 3 and more fully by O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1013—1017. The latter concludes: 'Βουκόλοι are sacred officials in the service of Dionysos. Their name refers to the bovine form under which

442 Priests and Priestesses with Animal Names

the god, or his worshippers¹, or both, were 'cows.' Similarly Poseidon was sometimes a bull-god, and the young men who served as his cup-bearers at an Ephesian feast were 'bulls.'² A sanctuary of Artemis *Poló*, 'the Colt,' constructed c. 200—150 B.C., has recently come to light in Thasos³. A Laconian inscription commemorates an 'Aurelia Epaphro, who was colt of the two most holy deities, Demeter and Kore⁴.' In a rite at some unspecified place, probably in Lakonike or Messene, two girls were called 'the colts of the Leukippides⁵.' And the term 'sacred colt' was applied to a priest or priestess in Ptolemaic Egypt⁶. Among the Iobacchoi of Athens officials appointed by the priests to act as 'chuckers-out' were named 'horses.'⁷ At the Peiraieus one Chryseros, a man of humble estate, was 'horse' for the *orgeónai* or 'worshippers' of Euporia *Beléla, Orata*, Aphrodite, and the Syrian goddess⁸. The girls who, clad in saffron robes, joined in the ritual of Artemis *Brauronia* were 'bears⁹.' Those

their god was originally worshipped. They are found occasionally in other cults too, e.g. in Crete in the cult of the chthonian Zagreus and the Kouretes and in the service of Hekate. An ἀρχιβουκόλος of Apollon *Sminthios* in mythical times is mentioned by Polemon frag. 31 Preller.⁷

¹ *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3605, 32 f. Bunarbashi τὰς τε βοῦς καὶ | τοὺς βουκόλους was thus interpreted by R. Schöll *Satura philologa in hon. H. Saupprii* p. 177 and A. Dieterich *De hymnis Orphicis* Marburg 1891 p. 5 (= *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 71 f.). They were probably mistaken: see M. Fränkel *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* Berlin 1895 ii. 485. O. Kern, however, in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1014 infers the existence of human βόες from that of the priestly βουκόλοι. See also *infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xx (ξ) on children called βόες at Hierapolis Bambyke.

² Amerias *ap.* Athen. 425 c ταῦροι. Cp. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 129 f.

³ T. Macridy 'Un hieron d'Artemis Πωλό à Thasos' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1912 xxvii. 1—19 pls. 1—4 with inscr. no. 2 Φίλων Φανόλεω | τὴν ἐαυτοῦ γυναῖκα | Κόδιν Διονυσόδωρου | Ἀρτέμιδι Πωλοῖ and no. 3 Ἀντιφῶν Εὐρυμενίδου | τὴν αὐτοῦ μητέρα | Ἀρὴν Νέωνος Ἀρτέμιδι Πωλοῖ | Φίλσκοσ Πολυχάρμου | Ῥόδιος ἐποίησεν.

⁴ *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1449. Wide *Lakon. Kulte* pp. 79 n. 1, 179, 331 regards this πῶλος as a priestess or attendant of the goddesses.

⁵ Hesych. s.v. πῶλια· χαλκοῦν πῆγμα τι. φέρε δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τὰς τῶν Λευκιππίδων πῶλους. δύο δὲ εἶναι παρθένους φασίν. The first part of this notice remains enigmatic. Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 331 f. conjectures that the Leukippides themselves were once conceived as πῶλοι, and compares the description of the Dioskouroi at the close of Eur. *Antiope* (*Hermathena* 1891 p. 47, *Hermes* 1891 xxvi. 242): λευκῶ δὲ πῶλω τῷ Διὸς κεκλημένοι | τιμὰς μεγίστας ἔξερ' ἐν Κάδμου πόλει. Cp. also Hesych. s.v. πῶλος· ἐταῖρα. πῶλους γὰρ αὐτὰς ἔλεγον, ὡς Ἀφροδίτης. πῶλους τοὺς νέους, καὶ τὰς νέας, καὶ παρθένους with J. Alberti *ad loc.*

⁶ See G. A. Gerhard in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1904 vii. 520—523.

⁷ Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 737, 144 f. ἵπποι, J. v. Protz and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii. no. 46, 144 f. The inscription is referred by E. Maass and W. Dittenberger to a date shortly before 178 A.D.

⁸ Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 739, 17 f. ἵππος, who dates the inscription between 200 and 211 A.D.

⁹ *Supra* p. 421 f.

who were initiated into the *leontiká* or 'leonine' mysteries of Mithras adopted a variety of animal disguises and animal names. The men were called 'lions,' the women 'lionesses,' the attendants 'ravens.' The fathers were 'eagles' and 'hawks'.¹ The 'doves' at Dodona were by many of the ancients held to be priestesses². The *histiátōres* or 'entertainers' of Artemis *Ephesia*, who observed rules of ceremonial purity for a year, were called by the citizens *essénes*³, a title that properly denotes 'king bees'.⁴ Aischylos in his *Priestesses* spoke of the 'bee-keepers,' who opened the temple-gates of Artemis⁵. The priestesses of Demeter were known as 'bees'.⁶ So too were women initiated into her mysteries⁷. Pindar

¹ Porph. *de abst.* 4. 16 ὡς τοὺς μὲν μετέχοντας τῶν αὐτῶν ὀργίων μύστας λέοντας καλεῖν, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας λέωνας (Felicianus cj. *lealinas*), τοὺς δὲ ὑπηρετούντας κόρακας. ἐπὶ τε τῶν πατέρων...ἀετοὶ γὰρ καὶ λέ/ακες οὗτοι προσαγορεύονται. ὃ τε τὰ λεοντικά παραλαμβάνων περιτίθεται παντοδαπὰς ζῴων μορφάς. See further *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 117 f., and especially F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1899 i. 314 ff., 1896 ii. 535 Index, *Die Mysterien des Mithra*² trans. G. Gehrich Leipzig 1911 p. 138 ff., and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3062, who cites much additional evidence from inscriptions etc. and arranges the initiates from lowest to highest in the following order: *corax*, *gryphus*, *miles*; *leo*, *Perses*, *heliodromus*; *pater*; *pater patrum* or *pater patratus*. A relief from Konjica in Bosnia shows a Mithraic communion attended by a *corax*, a *Perses*, a *miles*, and a *leo*: the first and the last of these wear masks representing a raven's head and a lion's head (F. Cumont *Die Mysterien des Mithra*² p. 139, pl. 3, 7, Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1949 fig. 5087).

² Hdt. 2. 55—57, Strab. 7 *frag.* 1 p. 73 Kramer, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1760, 43 f., Paus. 10. 12. 10, schol. Soph. *Trach.* 172. But the evidence is far from conclusive. Herodotus offers it only as his personal opinion that the *πελειάδες* were barbarian women who chattered like doves; Strabon remarks that in the language of the Molottians and Thesprotians old women were called *πέλαια*, old men *πέλιοι*, and surmises that the *πελειάδες* were three old women; Eustathios quotes Strabon's view; Pausanias has τὰς Πελειάδας...λέγουσι...ᾄσαι γυναικῶν πρῶτας κ.τ.λ.; and the scholiast on Sophokles prefixes a vague οἱ δὲ οὕτω.

³ Paus. 8. 13. 1, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 175, 6 f. [θῦεν δὲ καὶ | εὐ|αγγελία τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τοὺς ἐσσηνας κ.τ.λ., no. 548, 8 f. ἐπικληῶσαι δὲ | αὐτὸν τοὺς ἐσσηνας εἰς φυλήν καὶ χιλιαστὴν κ.τ.λ., J. T. Wood *Discoveries at Ephesus* London 1877 Append. 4. 2 ἐσσηνεύσας ἀγῶως καὶ εὐσεβῶς, cp. E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* iii. 2. 85 Oxford 1890 nos. 447, 448, 451, 457, 467, 578 c.

⁴ Souid. *s.v.* ἐσσην, *et. mag.* p. 383, 30 ff., *et. Gud.* p. 213, 6 ff.

⁵ Aisch. *hiereae frag.* 87 Nauck² εὐφαιμέτε μελισσονόμοι δόμον Ἀρτέμιδος πέλας ὀγειν. See *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 12.

⁶ Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 106 c μελισσας δὲ τὰς ἱερέας, κυρίως μὲν τὰς τῆς Δήμητρος, καταχρηστικῶς δὲ καὶ τὰς πάσας, διὰ τὸ τοῦ ζῴου καθαρῶν, Porph. *de antr. nymphe.* 18 καὶ τὰς Δήμητρος ἱερέας ὡς τῆς χθονίας θεᾶς μύστιδας μελισσας οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐκάλλον αὐτὴν τε τὴν Κόρην μελιτώδη, Theokr. 15. 94 μελιτώδες with schol. *ad loc.* μελιτώδη δὲ τὴν Περσεφόνην φησὶ κατ' ἀντίφρασιν, ὡς καὶ Κόρην. <ῆ> διὰ τὸ τὰς ἱερέας αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος μελισσας λέγεσθαι.

⁷ Hesych. *s.v.* μελισσαι· αἱ τῆς Δήμητρος μύστιδες, Kallim. *h. Ap.* 110 f. Διοὶ δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδους φορέουσι μελισσαι, | ἀλλ' ἦτις καθαρὴ τε καὶ ἀχράαντος ἀνέρπει κ.τ.λ., Pind. *frag.* 158 Christ (158 Schroeder) *ap. schol.* Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 106 a τὰς περὶ τὰ θεῖα καὶ μυστικά μελισσας καὶ ἐτέρωθι· ταῖς ἱεραῖς μελισσαις τέρπεται.

alludes to the Pythian priestess as a 'Delphic bee'.¹ And, lastly, the chief-priestesses of the Great Mother (Kybele) were still being called 'bees' at the commencement of our era². Such titles imply that the deity worshipped was originally believed to appear in animal form, and that the worshipper, from motives that cannot readily be proved and must not hastily be assumed, pretends to be the animal in question.

iv. Hera and the Cow.

Now Hera had much to do with cows. The word *βοῶπις*, which strictly signifies 'cow-eyed, cow-faced, of cowlike aspect,' had already in Homeric days come to be used as a complimentary epithet meaning 'large-eyed, fine-eyed' applicable to nymphs³ and even to mortal women⁴. But it is noticeable that fourteen times in the *Iliad*—for the word is never found in the *Odyssey*—occurs the phrase 'cow-eyed lady Hera⁵.' This stereotyped description always occupies the second half of the hexameter line, and is in fact a tag from a pre-Homeric system of versification, in which it formed a complete dactylic line⁶. It is, therefore, a reasonable conjecture that *βοῶπις* as an epithet of Hera had come down to the epic minstrel from a distant past, when it was used in the sense of 'cow-eyed' or 'cow-faced' and presupposed the primitive conception of Hera as a cow⁷.

Traces of the same conception appear at the principal cult-centres of the goddess. Thus at Samos her image, to judge from coin-types of imperial date (figs. 313⁸, 314⁹), was a dressed up wooden

¹ Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 105 f. χρῆσιμος ἄρθωσεν μελισσας | Δελφίδος αὐτομάτῳ κελάδῳ with schol. *ad loc.* See further *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 4 f.

² Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 22 Melissam vero a patre primam sacerdotem Matri Magnae constitutam, unde adhuc eiusdem Matris antistites Melissae nuncupantur. Lactantius is quoting from a commentary on Pindar written by Didymos, who lived in the second half of the first century B.C. and in the beginning of the first century A.D. (Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 445). See further *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 3, W. Robert-Tornow *De apium mellisque apud veteres significatione* Berolini 1893 p. 91 f.

³ *Il.* 18. 40 Ἀλιη τε βοῶπις the Nereid. In the late Homeric hymn 31. 2 the mother of Helios is Εὐρυφάεσσα βοῶπις.

⁴ *Il.* 3. 144 Klymene, 7. 10 Phylomedousa. On βοῶπις, in the sense of 'large-eyed' see a recent article by A. Reichel in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv. 9—12.

⁵ *Il.* 1. 551, 568, 4. 50, 8. 471, 14. 159, 222, 263, 15. 34, 49, 16. 439, 18. 239, 357, 360, 20. 309 βοῶπις πόρνια Ἥρη.

⁶ W. Christ *Metrik der Griechen und Römer*² Leipzig 1879 p. 158, O. Riemann and M. Dufour *Traité de Rythmique et de Métrique grecques* Paris 1893 p. 34 ff.

⁷ For the analogous case of θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη see *infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) ii (λ).

⁸ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 393 no. 375 Gallienus (wrongly described—'serpent? coiled round modius of Hera').

⁹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 381 pl. 37, 6 Gordianus Pius (wrongly described—

post with a pair of cow's horns attached near the top of it. Hera, in fact, bore some resemblance to the horned Astarte of the Semites¹. And her originally bovine character doubtless facilitated the later identification of her with Isis²—witness the Ovidian story that, when the gods fled before Typhoeus into Egypt³, Hera became a snow-white cow⁴. Again, the great Argive Heraion was situated at the foot of a mountain (1744 ft in height), which in ancient times was called *Eúboia* and is still known as *Evvia*⁵. Pausanias was told that the neighbouring river Asterion had three daughters *Eúboia*, *Prósymna*, and *Akrata*, that they were the nurses of Hera⁶, and that the ground about the Heraion, the district below it, and the mountain opposite to it were named after them⁷. Dr Farnell, however, points out⁸ that *Prósymna*, 'She to



Fig. 313.



Fig. 314.

whom the hymn is raised⁹, and *Akrata*, 'She who is worshipped on the summit¹⁰, were two cult-titles of Hera in the Argolid, and

'modius, round which serpent twines'). The notion that Hera's head is surmounted by a snake seems to be based on a few examples (e.g. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ionia* p. 380 pl. 37, 5, *Iulia Mamaea*), which show one horn pointing up and the other down—as on coins of Lappa (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 211 f. pl. 19, 28—36). It must, however, be admitted that the head-gear of the Samian Hera is very variously represented on the coins (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 15 Münztaf. 1, a—g).

¹ W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*² London 1907 p. 310, S. R. Driver *Modern Research as illustrating the Bible* (The Schweich Lectures 1908) London 1909 p. 58 fig.

² W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 513 ff.

³ *Supra* p. 370 n. 1.

⁴ *Ov. met.* 5. 330 nivea Saturnia vacca (latuit).

⁵ Paus. 2. 17. 1 with J. G. Frazer *ad loc.*

⁶ Plout. *symp.* 3. 9. 2 makes *Eúboia* the sole nurse of Hera, cp. *et. mag.* p. 388, 54 ff.

⁷ Paus. 2. 17. 1. On Prosymna see further A. Frickenhaus in *Tiryrs* i. 118—120.

⁸ Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 182.

⁹ Strab. 373 τῆς αὐτῆς δ' ὄμορος Πρῶσυ <μῶν ἔστι, > καὶ αὐτῆ ἱερὸν ἔχουσα Ἥρας, Plout. *de fluu.* 18. 3 κείνται δὲ πολλοὶ (sc. stones like beryls, which turn black when the man holding them is about to forswear himself) ἐν τῷ πετρῷ τῆς Προσυμναίας Ἥρας, καθὼς ἱστορεῖ Τιμόθεος ἐν τοῖς Ἀργολικοῖς (*Frag. hist. gr.* iv. 522 Müller), Stat. *Theb.* 1. 383 celsae Iunonia tetra Prosymnae with Lact. Plac. *ad loc.* Prosymna civitas est, ubi colitur Iuno.

¹⁰ Paus. 2. 24. 1 states that on the way up to the akropolis of Argos there was a

suggests that *Eúboia*, 'She who is rich in oxen,' was a third. *Neméa*, a few miles away from the Heraion, was said by some to have taken its name from the cattle sacred to Hera, which were there 'herded' by Argos¹. The first systematic exploration of Tiryns and Mykenai yielded an extraordinary number of small terra-cotta cows, as many as 700 being found on the akropolis of the latter town alone². These Schliemann took to be figurines of Hera herself in the form of a cow, Hera *boôpis*³; but more critical investigators regard them as votive substitutes for actual cattle⁴. Sir Charles Waldstein, on the site of the Heraion, discovered some interesting examples of bronze cows, one of which, as Mr D. G. Hogarth observed, shows markings indicative of a sacrificial fillet⁵. In Seneca's *Agamemnon*⁶ the chorus, consisting of Mycenaean women, chant to their goddess Hera:

At thy fane the bull's white wife
Falls, who never in her life
Knew the plough nor on her neck
Bore the yoke that leaves the fleck.

At Argos the festival of Hera was known as the *Héraia* or *Hekatómbaia* or as 'The Shield from Argos'⁷. The first name explains itself. The last refers to the fact that, at the accompanying athletic contest, the prize was a bronze shield⁸. The festival was

sanctuary of Hera *Ἀκράτα*, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* *Ἀκράτα*. On the cult of Hera *Ἀκράτα* at and near Corinth, and also on the Bosporos, see G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1193. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 128 n. 8, 183 n. 7, thinks that the Corinthian cult was modelled on the Argive.

¹ Schol. Pind. *Nem.* argum. 3 p. 425 Böckh, cp. *et. mag.* p. 176, 35 ff., Loukian. *dial. deor.* 3.

² H. Schliemann *Mycene* London 1878 p. 73 f.

³ *Id. ib.* p. 19 ff.

⁴ Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 819.

⁵ C. Waldstein *The Argive Heraeum* Boston and New York 1905 ii. 201 ff. pl. 75, 23—27.

⁶ Sen. *Ag.* 364 ff. In Kos a choice heifer was sacrificed to Hera *Ἀργεία*, *Ἐλέα*, *Βασίλεια* (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 617, 5 f.).

⁷ Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 42 ff.

⁸ Pind. *Ol.* 7. 83 ὁ τ' ἐν Ἀργεὶ χαλκὸς ἔργων υἱν. The schol. vet. *ad loc.* 152 a explains that the prizes were not bronze in the mass, but tripods, cauldrons, shields, and bowls. *Id. ib.* 152 b says simply: 'the bronze that is given at Argos as a prize to the victor.' *Id. ib.* 152 c: 'The prize was a bronze shield, and the wreaths were of myrtle.' *Id. ib.* 152 d: 'Bronze is given as the prize, because Archinos king of Argos, who first established a contest, being appointed to look after the supply of arms, made the award of armour from his store.' Polyain. 3. 8 states that Archinos was put over the armoury at a time when the Argives were arming: he offered a fresh weapon to each citizen, receiving in exchange the old weapons, so as to dedicate them to the gods; but, having collected all the old without supplying the new, he armed a mob of mercenaries, aliens, etc. and so became tyrant of Argos. If this is rightly referred (Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 541) to the period of the Chremonidean War (266—263 B.C.), it is clear that the scholiast on

called *Hekatombaia* because it included a great procession headed by a hundred oxen, which were killed, cut up, and distributed to all the citizens¹. Was it as devotees of Hera *Argeta* that the Coan women, when Herakles left Kos, 'wore horns'²?

v. Kleobis and Biton.

Further details concerning the Argive cult may be gathered from Herodotos' tale of Kleobis and Biton³. These were two Argive youths of exceptional strength. When Hera's festival came on, their mother had to be drawn in a car to the temple. But the oxen did not arrive in time from the field. So the young men harnessed themselves to the car and drew their mother five and forty furlongs to the temple. The Argives stood round about and congratulated them of their strength, the women complimenting the mother on her sons. She, over-joyed, stood before the statue of the goddess and prayed her to grant the lads, who had shown her such honour, that which was best for man to obtain. After this prayer, when they had sacrificed and feasted, the young men were put to sleep in the temple itself and never woke again. The Argives had statues of them made and dedicated at Delphoi on account of their valour⁴.

Herodotos' account is supplemented in some points by that of others, for the story was a favourite one with ancient writers. Thus we learn that the mother's name was Kydippe⁵ or Theano⁶; that she was priestess of the Argive Hera⁷; that it was not lawful

Pindar is guilty of an anachronism. See further Pind. *Nem.* 10. 40 f. ἀγών τοι χάλκεος | δᾶμον δ'τρύνει ποτὶ βουθυσίαν Ἥρας ἀέθλων τε κρίσιν with schol. vet. *ad loc.* χάλκεον δέ φησι τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἥτοι ὅτι ἰσχυρὸς ἐστίν, ἢ ὅτι χαλκοῦν ὄπλον τὸ ἐπαθλον and the passages cited *infra* ch. iii § 1 (a) viii (γ).

¹ Schol. vet. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 152 d. M. P. Nilsson *cp.* Parthen. *narr. am.* 13. 3 (the story of Harpalyke). The festival is called Ἐκατόμβαια in the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1715, 4, Ἐκατομβοῖα in the *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1367, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1515 b 8 (*ib.* a 9 Ἐκοτονβοῖα *sic*).

² *Ov. met.* 7. 363 f.

³ *Hdt.* 1. 31.

⁴ The French excavators of Delphoi found to the west of the Athenian Treasury two nude male figures which, as Homolle at once conjectured (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 445—462 pls. 18—21, *cp.* *Fouilles de Delphes* iv. 1. 5—18 pls. 1 f.) and as A. von Premerstein subsequently proved (*Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1910 xiii. 41—49 ff.), are the very statues mentioned by Herodotos. On them see further Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* viii. 452 ff. pls. 9 f. fig. 226.

⁵ *Anth. Pal.* 3. 18. 2 with arg., *Soud.* *s.v.* Κροῖσος, *Philarg. in Verg. georg.* 3. 532 (*v.l.* Chryside).

⁶ *Soud.* *s.v.* Κροῖσος.

⁷ *Plout. consol. ad Apoll.* 14, *Loukian. Charon* 10, arg. *Anth. Pal.* 3. 18, *Palaiph.* 50 (51), *Eudok. viol.* 435^c, *Soud.* *s.v.* Κροῖσος, *Cic. Tusc.* 1. 113, *Serv. and Philarg. in Verg. georg.* 3. 532, *Myth. Vat.* 1. 29, 2. 66.

for her to go to the temple except on an ox-car¹ drawn by white oxen²; that, if she had not performed the rite to time, she would have been put to death³. Kleobis and Biton, otherwise called Kleops and Bitias⁴, when no oxen could be had because a plague had killed them all⁵, are said to have stripped off their clothes, anointed themselves with oil, and stooped their necks to the yoke⁶. After sacrificing at the temple they drank⁷ and feasted with their mother⁸ before going to sleep. In another version they bring the car and their mother safely home, and then worn out with fatigue succumb to their fatal sleep, while Kydippe, having learnt wisdom from their example, puts herself to death⁹.

A second tale of Biton's prowess was told in verse by Lykeas, an antiquary of Argos¹⁰. It was to the effect that once, when the Argives were driving certain beasts to Nemea in order to sacrifice to Zeus, Biton full of vigour and strength caught up a bull and carried it himself. A statue of him bearing the bull was set up at



Fig. 315.



Fig. 316.

Argos in the sanctuary of Apollon *Lykios*¹¹. Biton's exploit has commonly been regarded as a mere athletic feat; but, as we shall see later¹², it is highly probable that a definite ritual practice lay behind it.

Returning to the joint performance of the two brothers, we note that at Argos opposite the sanctuary of Zeus *Nemeios* there was a stone relief of Kleobis and Biton in the act of drawing their mother to the Heraion¹³. An imperial Argive coin, now in the Berlin collection (fig. 315)¹⁴, shows the scene and may perhaps be

¹ Philarg. *in Verg. georg.* 3. 532, cp. Serv. *in Verg. georg.* 3. 532, Myth. Vat. 1. 29, 2. 66.

² Palaiph. 50 (51), Endok. *viol.* 435^c. Plout. *consol. ad Apoll.* 14 wrongly says 'mules.'

³ Hyg. *fab.* 254. Cp. Tert. *ad nat.* 2. 9 ne in sacris piaculum committeret.

⁴ Hyg. *fab.* 254.

⁵ Serv. and Philarg. *in Verg. georg.* 3. 532, Myth. Vat. 1. 29, 2. 66.

⁶ Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 113.

⁷ Plout. *v. Sol.* 27.

⁸ Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 113.

⁹ Hyg. *fab.* 254.

¹⁰ Paus. 1. 13. 8 f.

¹¹ Paus. 2. 19. 5.

¹² *Infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xvi.

¹³ Paus. 2. 20. 3.

¹⁴ *Arch. Zeit.* 1869 xxvii. 98 pl. 23.

considered a copy of this relief¹. An ancient glass-paste, however, also at Berlin (fig. 316)², differs from it in several points. The eighteenth column of the temple erected at Kyzikos to Apollonis, wife of Attalos I and mother of four sons distinguished for their filial affection³, was adorned with reliefs of Kleobis and Biton⁴; but how the subject was treated we do not know. The only representation of importance that has survived to modern times is carved on a sarcophagus in the library of S. Marco at Venice (fig. 317)⁵. The scene, enclosed by a grove of oak-trees, falls into four divisions. On the left Kydippe, erect in her car, is apparently drawn by two diminutive oxen, while Kleobis and Biton grasp the pole. The moment depicted is that of their arrival at the Heraion, as is clear from the rising rocky ground and the position of the



Fig. 317.

human and animal figures. In the centre stands the temple with four Corinthian columns spirally fluted: the pediment is decorated with a basket of fruit and a couple of snakes. Before the temple Kydippe raises two torches in an attitude of prayer. In front of her, face downwards on the ground, lie the two boys asleep, if not already dead. The third division represents a goddess, probably Selene, whose two-horse chariot is escorted, not as usual by Hesperos or the Dioskouroi, but by Kleobis and Biton. This implies that the Argive Hera was conceived by the artist of the sarcophagus as a moon-goddess, who took with her through the midnight sky the

¹ Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 37 pl. K, 34, Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 193 fig. 32, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 440.

² *Arch. Zeit.* 1869 xxvii. 98 pl. 23, 9.

³ Polyb. 22. 20. 1 ff.

⁴ *Anth. Pal.* 3. 18.

⁵ H. Dütschke 'Kleobis und Biton' in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1883 vii. 153-167 pl. 2.

souls of the two lads. On the right we see them reunited to their mother in heaven¹.

vi. Trophonios and Agamedes.

Another celebrated example of euthanasia, coupled with this by the author of the Platonic *Axiochos*², by Plutarch³, and by Cicero⁴, was that of Trophonios and Agamedes. The Platonist tells us that, after building the precinct of the god at Pytho, they went to sleep and never rose again. Plutarch, or rather Pindar⁵ from whom Plutarch got his information, states that Agamedes and Trophonios, having built the temple at Delphoi, asked Apollon for their reward. He promised to give it to them on the seventh, or, as Cicero has it, on the third day from that time. Meanwhile he bade them feast. They did his bidding, and on the fateful night went to sleep, but woke no more. Philosophers and moralists of course made capital of such stories. But to the dry critic there is something decidedly sinister about the plot. The heroes are first feasted, not to say fattened, in a temple, afterwards put to sleep there, and then—found dead next morning. The Homeric *Hymn to Apollon*, our earliest⁶ source for the tradition, asserts that Phoibos Apollon himself laid the foundations of his Pythian fane both broad and long; that on these Trophonios and Agamedes, the sons of Erginos, loved by the deathless gods, placed a threshold of stone; and that the building was finished by throngs of men with wrought stones to be a minstrels' theme for ever⁷. Taken in connexion with the Platonic and Pindaric story, this narrative has to my ear very much the sound of a foundation-sacrifice, such as are still in a modified form practised by Greek builders⁸. True,

¹ This relief was correctly interpreted by Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 36 pl. 13 nos. 22—24 (after Beger *Spicilegium ant.* p. 146, 149), though I do not know whether he had any ground for saying: 'Other Authors relate the Story, that the two Brothers finding the Oxen did not draw the Chariot fast enough, placed themselves in the Yoke, and drew their Mother.'

² Plat. *Axioch.* 367 c.

³ Plout. *consol. ad Apoll.* 14.

⁴ Cic. *Tusc.* I. 114.

⁵ Pind. *frag.* 3 Christ (3 Schroeder), cp. *frag.* 2 ap. schol. Loukian. *dial. mort.* 10 p. 255, 23 ff. Rabe.

⁶ Unless priority can be claimed for the *Telegonia* of Eugammon (*Epic. Gr. frag.* i. 57 Kinkel), which does not, however, appear to have dealt with the Delphic myth (O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 720).

⁷ *H. Ap.* 294—299. See further Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δελφοί, Paus. 9, 37. 5, 10. 5. 13.

⁸ B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 195 ff., G. Georgeakis and L. Pineau *Le Folk-Lore de Lesbos* (Littératures populaires de toutes les nations. xxxi) Paris 1894 p. 346 f., Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Taboo p. 89, L. M. J. Garnett—J. S. Stuart-Glennie *Greek Folk Poesy* London 1896 i. 70 ff., 390 f., J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 264 ff., *supra* p. 66 f.

Agamedes and Trophonios are described by the Homeric poet as 'loved by the deathless gods.' But we do not forget Menander's significant line:

Whom the gods love, dies young¹.

The same euphemistic meaning probably attaches to the peaceful end of Kleobis and Biton. But we need not pursue the subject further, as we are at present concerned to show that Hera was essentially connected with cows. Her Homeric epithet 'cow-eyed²,' her legendary transformation into a snow-white cow³, her image with cow's horns at Samos⁴, her probable cult-title 'She who is rich in oxen⁵,' her sacred herd at Nemea⁶, her numerous votive cattle⁷, the white cow⁸ or the choice heifer offered to her in sacrifice⁹, the Argive festival of the hundred oxen¹⁰, the white steers that drew her priestess to the Heraion¹¹, amount to a conclusive proof that Hera had much to do with cattle, and furnish some support for my conjecture¹² that in Io, the priestess changed by the goddess into a cow, we should recognise an attendant of the animal deity called by her animal name¹³.

vii. The Proitides.

Confirmation of this view may be sought in the myth of the Proitides or daughters of Proitos, king of Tiryns and the surrounding district. A. Rapp in a careful discussion of their myth has shown that the troubles which befell them were, in different versions, ascribed to Dionysos, to Aphrodite, and to Hera¹⁴. Confining our attention to the Argive goddess, we find that Akousilaos, the logographer of Argos in Boiotia, who lived in the second half of the sixth century B.C. and provided a mythological quarry for Pindar¹⁵, associated the Proitides with Hera. They went mad, he

¹ Menand. *dis exapaton frag.* 4 (*Frag. con. Gr.* iv. 105 Meineke).

² *Supra* p. 444.

³ *Supra* p. 445.

⁴ *Supra* p. 444 f.

⁵ *Supra* p. 445 f.

⁶ *Supra* p. 446.

⁷ *Supra* p. 446.

⁸ *Supra* p. 446.

⁹ *Supra* p. 446 n. 6.

¹⁰ *Supra* p. 446 ff.

¹¹ *Supra* p. 447 f.

¹² *Supra* p. 441 ff.

¹³ Is this the ultimate significance of Kleobis and Biton acting as oxen to draw the car of the priestess? The schol. Bernens. in Verg. *georg.* 3. 532, who drew from the stores of the fifth-century writers Titus Gallus, Gaudentius, and Junius Philargyrius (M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*² München 1899 ii. 1. 91), says: Sacerdotes Junonis id est Cleobis et Biton currus sollempnibus sacris deducere solebant, verum deficientibus bobus etiam collo sacra portasse dicuntur. Junonis sacris animalia defecerunt, id est, aut Romanorum expleta sunt funera quos illa persecuta est, aut restituta sunt sacra, quae infesta Junone defecerant. It would perhaps be rash to infer from this muddle-headed notice that Kleobis and Biton were themselves priests or priestly attendants.

¹⁴ A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3001 ff.

¹⁵ A. and M. Croiset *Histoire de la littérature grecque* Paris 1890 ii. 539 f.

said, 'because they made light of Hera's wooden statue!'. Pherekydes of Leros, another logographer, who *c.* 450 B.C. wrote a work on mythology resembling that of Akousilaos but ampler in scope², agreed in this matter with his predecessor³:

'Melampous, the son of Amythaon, effected many miracles by means of his seer-craft, but his most famous exploit was this. Lysippe and Iphianassa, the daughters of Proitos, king of Argos, had owing to youthful imprudence⁴ sinned against Hera. They had gone into the temple of the goddess and derided it, saying that their father's house was a wealthier place. For this they were driven mad⁵. But Melampous came and promised to cure them completely, if he received a reward worthy of his cure. For the disease had now lasted ten years and brought pain not only upon the maidens themselves, but also upon their parents. Proitos offered Melampous a share of his kingdom and whichever of the daughters he desired to wed. So Melampous, by means of supplications and sacrifices, appeased the wrath of Hera and healed their disease. He received in marriage Iphianassa, obtaining her as the reward⁶ of his cure.'

We hear no more of the Proitides and Hera till Roman times. Then, fortunately for our understanding of the myth, Virgil had occasion to compare Pasiphae with the Proitides:

Ah, luckless maid, what madness seized thee? Once
 Did Proitos' daughters fill with lowings false
 The fields; yet none pursued so base a love
 For cattle, though she had feared for her neck the plough
 And oft-times sought on her smooth brow the horns⁷.

The Latin commentators explain that the daughters of Proitos had boasted themselves to be more beautiful than Hera⁸, or had entered her temple in a solemn service and preferred themselves to her⁹, or, being her priestesses, had stolen gold from her raiment and used it for their own purposes¹⁰. In consequence of this

¹ Akousilaos *frag.* 19 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 102 Müller) *ap.* Apollod. 2. 2. 2.

² A. and M. Croiset *op. cit.* ii. 548 f.

³ Pherekyd. *frag.* 24 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 74 f. Müller) *ap.* schol. *Od.* 15. 225. Cp. Bakchyl. 10. 43 ff.

⁴ διὰ τὴν ἐκ νεότητος (διὰ τὴν ἀκμαϊότητος cod. V.) ἀνεπιλογιστίαν. Müller *ad loc.* thinks that the Proitides contrasted their own beauty with the ugliness of Hera's *xéanon*.

⁵ For the manuscript reading *καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάντις ὦν παραγενόμενος ὁ Μελάμπος κ.τ.λ.* I have, with W. Dindorf, accepted P. Buttmann's brilliant emendation *μανεῖσθων*.

⁶ ἔδνον αὐτὴν τῶν λατρείων καρπωσάμενος. If the text is sound, *ἔδνον* is used incorrectly for *μισθόν*.

⁷ Verg. *ecl.* 6. 47—51.

⁸ Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 6. 48, *Myth. Vat.* 1. 85.

⁹ Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 3. 453 *hae enim feruntur sollemniter templum Iunonis intrasse et se praetulisse deae.* This is repeated almost word for word in *Myth. Vat.* 2. 68.

¹⁰ Interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 6. 48 vel, ut quidam volunt, cum essent antistites, ausae sunt vesti eius aurum detractum in usum suum convertere.

offence Hera¹ sent upon them the delusion that they were cows: they dashed off into the woods and even bellowed aloud², till Melampous cured them and married one of them, receiving along with her part of king Proitos' domains³.

Here, then, is a further trace of the attendants or priestesses of the Argive Hera being called 'cows.' In 1894 I ventured on the general statement that within the bounds of Hellenic mythology animal-metamorphosis commonly points to a preceding animal-cult⁴. I am now disposed to add the surmise that in some cases at least, those of Io and the Proitides among them, animal-metamorphosis implies an animal-priesthood, in which the priest or priestess is supposed to be the animal specially connected with his or her divinity⁵.

viii. Hera and Io.

It is usually assumed without any attempt at proof that Io was a hypostasis or by-form of Hera⁶. This somewhat vague and shadowy conception may pass muster, if by it we mean that the priestess of Hera was originally regarded as Hera incarnate. Io *Kallithyessa*, to give her the full title recorded by Hesychios⁷, of which sundry variants are extant elsewhere⁸, is consistently

¹ Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 2. 220 says: furore immisso a Venere.

² Cp. Bakchyl. 10. 56 *σμερδαλέαν φωνὰν ἰείσαι.*

³ Serv. in Verg. ecl. 6. 48, Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 2. 220, 3. 453, Myth. Vat. 1. 85, 2. 68. Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 3. 453 speaks of actual metamorphosis: Iuno in iuvenca vertit puellas.

⁴ Journ. Hell. Stud. 1894 xiv. 160.

⁵ P. Friedländer *Argolica* Berlin 1905 p. 36 has already conjectured that Tirynthian girls were the βῆες of Hera just as Athenian girls were the ἀρκτοί of Artemis.

⁶ So Miss J. E. Harrison in the *Class. Rev.* 1893 vii. 76, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 182, 200, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 797, E. E. Sikes on Aisch. *P.v.* 561, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 183, 460, 466, 469, 505 n. 2, 1127, 1325 n. 4.

⁷ Hesych. s.v. Ἰὼ καλλιθύεσσα· καλλιθύεσσα ἐκαλείτο ἢ πρώτη ἱέρεια τῆς Ἀθηναίας. J. Scaliger's correction of the last word to Ἥρας (ἐν Ἀργεῖ Ἥρας Knaack) has won universal acceptance, cp. Aisch. *suppl.* 291 f., Apollod. 2. 1. 3, anon. *de incredib.* 15 p. 324 Westermann.

⁸ Καλλιθῆ (Phoronis frag. 4 Kinkel ap. Clem. Al. *strom.* 1. 164. 2 p. 102, 23 ff. Stählin Καλλιθῆ κλειδοῦχος Ὀλυμπιάδος βασιλείης, | Ἥρας Ἀργείης, ἢ στέμμασι καὶ θυσάνοισι | πρώτη ἐκόσμησε <ν> περὶ κλονα μακρὸν ἀνάσσης, cp. Hyg. *fab.* 145 *Callirhoe* for which Knaack cj. *Callithoe*, Καλλιθῆα (Plout. *ap.* Eus. *praef. ev.* 3. 8. 1 λέγεται δὲ Πέλαρα ὁ πρῶτος Ἀργολίδος Ἥρας ἱερὸν εἰσάμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα Καλλιθῆαν ἱέρειαν καταστήσας, ἐκ τῶν περὶ Τίρυνθα δένδρων ὄγκηνην τεμὼν εὐκτέανον (so the MSS.: εὐκτέανον cj. Kaibel) Ἥρας ἀγαλμα μορφώσαι κ.τ.λ., with which cp. Paus. 2. 17. 5 παρὰ δὲ αὐτῆν ἔστιν ἐπὶ κλονος ἀγαλμα Ἥρας ἀρχαῖον. τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖότατον πεποιεῖται μὲν ἐξ ἀχράδος, ἀνετέθη δὲ ἐς Τίρυνθα ὑπὸ Πειράσον τοῦ Ἀργου, Τίρυνθα δὲ ἀνελόντες Ἀργεῖοι κομίζουσιν ἐς τὸ Πραῖον·

described in all our sources as the priestess of Hera, never as a goddess in her own right. Still, that she was in some sense divine, appears from several considerations. Her second name *Kallithjessa* has the ring of a genuine cult-title. The learned Lykophron calls her *βοῶπις*, as though she were Hera¹. And she was in Alexandrine times commonly identified with Isis², the Egyptian cow-goddess³. She was thus at once a priestess and a goddess, human yet divine, a state of affairs best explained on the assumption that the deity was embodied in the ministrant.

The equation of Io with Isis, originally suggested by the cow-form common to them both⁴, and doubtless helped by the jingle of their names, seems to have led to a further identification of Io with the moon. For Isis, as queen of heaven and wife of the Hellenistic divinity Zeus the Sun, Sarapis⁵, was by the later Greeks regarded as the Egyptian counterpart of Hera⁶, Zeus and Isis being sun-god and moon-goddess respectively⁷. Hence Io, once identified with Isis, must be the moon as well. Indeed, Greek and Byzantine writers from the second century of our era onwards assert that *Ιῶ* in the Argive dialect denoted the 'moon'⁸—an assertion of very doubtful validity.

δ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶδον, καθήμενον ἄγαλμα οὐ μέγα and Plout. *quaest. Gr.* 51 Βαλλαχράδας ἑαυτοῖς Ἀργείων παῖδες ἐν ἑορτῇ τιμὴν παίζοντες ἀποκαλοῦσιν κ.τ.λ. The same form of the name appears also in Synkell. *chron.* 149 D (i. 283 Dindorf), Hieron. *chron. ann. Abr.* 376), Καλλιθῦια (Aristeid. *περὶ ῥητορικῆς* 6 Canter (ii. 3 Dindorf) with schol. Aristeid. p. 361 Dindorf), Καλλιθέα (schol. Arat. *phaen.* 161).

A. Frickenhaus in *Tiryms* i. 19 ff. follows Wilamowitz in restoring Καλλιθύη as the original name. Combining the fragment of Plutarch with that of the *Phoronis*, he argues that Kallithya was priestess of Hera at Tiryns (where he has identified her primitive temple and even the precise site of her 'long column' and 'seated image' on the floor-level of the ancient *mégaron*), but that Io was priestess of Hera *Προσυμαία* at Argos. This distinction is more ingenious than convincing. It assumes that, when Καλλιθῦια (Synkell. *loc. cit.*) or Καλλιθέα (schol. Arat. *loc. cit.*) is described as priestess ἐν Ἀργεῖ, the reference is to Tiryns, and that the epic fragment Ἴὼ καλλιθύεσσα (adj.) rests on a mere confusion.

¹ Lyk. *Al.* 1292. Yet see *supra* p. 444 n. 3 and n. 4.

² Apollod. 2. 1. 3, Diod. 1. 24, *et. mag.* p. 476, 50 ff., Soud. *s.v.* Ἴσις, *Myth. Vat.* 1. 18, *alib.* See W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 439 ff., *supra* p. 237 n. 1 (where the identification of Io with Astarte also is noted).

³ W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 362 f.

⁴ The comparison is at least as old as Hdt. 2. 41.

⁵ *Supra* p. 189.

⁶ *Supra* p. 445 n. 2.

⁷ On the Hellenistic Zeus Ἥλιος see *supra* p. 186 ff. Isis was to the Greeks, though probably not to the Egyptians, a moon-goddess identified with Σελήνη: see W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 437 ff.

⁸ Herodian. *περὶ καθολικῆς προσώδιας* 12 (i. 347, 30 f. Lentz) Ἴὼ ἦτοι σελήνη. ἰὼ γὰρ ἡ σελήνη κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων διάλεκτον, Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 28 Dindorf οἱ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι μυστικῶς τὸ ὄνομα τῆς σελήνης τὸ ἀπόκρυφον Ἴὼ λέγουσιν ἕως ἄρτι. The same

In modern times various arguments have been adduced to connect both Io and Hera with the moon. L. Ross pointed to a Coptic word *ioh* meaning 'moon,' and thought that Io was a moon-goddess corresponding with Ioh a moon-god¹. W. H. Roscher believes that Hera was essentially a lunar divinity, and rests his belief on three main grounds—the similarity subsisting between Hera and Iuno, whom he views as a moon-goddess; the fact that Hera was a patron of women, marriage, child-birth, etc.; and analogies that can be made out between Hera and other lunar deities such as Artemis, Hekate, Selene². O. Gruppe³ holds that in the seventh century B.C. oriental influence transformed the Argive cow-goddess, whom he calls Hera-Io, into a moon-goddess. The result, he supposes, was twofold. On the one hand, the wanderings of Io were perhaps compared with the apparently erratic course of the lunar goddess⁴, the horns of the cow being identified with the horns of the moon⁵. On the other hand, the moon-goddess came to be described as *βοόπις*⁶, like the Argive Hera, and was sometimes represented as actually bovine⁷, or horned⁸,

statement is made by Io. Antioch. *frag.* 6. 14 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 544 Müller), Eustath. in Dionys. *per.* 92, *Chron. Paschale* i. 74 Dindorf, Kedren. *hist. comp.* (i. 37 Bekker), Soud. s.v. 'Ιώ, Exc. Salmasii in Cramer *anecd. Paris.* ii. 387, 22 ff., *supra* p. 237 n. 1.

¹ L. Ross *Italiker und Gräken* p. 84, cited by R. Engelmann in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 269.

² W. H. Roscher *Iuno und Hera* (Studien zur vergleichende Mythologie der Griechen und Römer ii) Leipzig 1875, and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2075, 2087 ff. The unsatisfactory nature of these arguments is pointed out by Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 180 f.

³ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 184.

⁴ E.g. Gruppe quotes Verg. *Aen.* i. 742 *errantem lunam*.

⁵ Lact. *div. inst.* i. 21 *Lunae taurus mactatur, quia similiter habet cornua*.

⁶ Nonn. *Dion.* 17. 240, 32. 95 *βοώπιδος...Σελήνης*, 11. 185 *ταυρώπιδι Μήνη*, 44. 217 *ταυρώπις...Μήνη*, Lyd. *de mens.* 3. 10 p. 44, 9 Wünsch, where *Σελήνη* is described in an oracle (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 193) as *ταυρώπις*, = Porphyg. *περι τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας ἀρ.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 23. 7, *h. mag. in Sel.* 16 Abel *ταυρώπι...ταυροκάραιε*, 17 *ἄμμα δέ τοι ταυρωπὶν ἔχεις*, 32 *ταυρώπις, κερέσσσα*, Synes. *hymn.* 5. 22 *ἄ ταυρώπις μήνη*, Maximus *περὶ καταρχῶν 50 κεραῆς ταυρώπιδος* and 509 *ταυρώπις ἄνασσα* of the moon. Hera is *ταυρώπις* in Nonn. *Dion.* 47. 711 (so Hecker for *γλαυκώπιδος*), *Anth. Pal.* 9. 189. 1; Io in Nonn. *Dion.* 32. 69.

⁷ Porphyg. *de antr. nymph.* 18 *ταῦρος μὲν σελήνη καὶ ψῶμα σελήνης ὁ ταῦρος*, Lact. *Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 1. 720 *Luna vero, quia propius taurum coerct adducitque, ideo vacca [luna] figurata est*, Nonn. *Dion.* 23. 309 *ταυροφῆς κερέσσσα βοῶν ἐλάτεια Σελήνη*. In Loukian. *philops.* 14 the moon brought down by magic appears first in the form of a woman, then in that of a fine cow (*βοῦς ἐγένετο πάγκαλος*), and lastly in that of a puppy.

⁸ Paus. 6. 24. 6 saw in the market-place of Elis stone statues of Helios and Selene, the former with rays on his head, the latter with horns. Selene in the poets is *ἀμφίκερως*, *δίκερως*, *ἐνκέραος*, *ἡύκερως*, *κεραή*, *κερασφόρος*, *κερατώπις*, *κεραώψ*, *κερέσσσα*, *ταυρόκερως*, *ὑψίκερως*, *χρυσόκερως*, as Luna is *dicornis*: see Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 204 ff., Carter *Epith. deor.* p. 62.

or riding on a steer¹, or at least drawn in a chariot by white steers or cows².

Whether Io or Hera had anything to do with the moon before this oriental influence began to operate, is a difficult question. E. Siecke has attempted to bring the story of Io into line with sundry other moon-myths, which he refers to a common Indo-European stock³. But, if we abandon the argument from analogy, and confine ourselves to definite literary tradition relating to Argos and the Argive cult, we cannot satisfactorily prove either that Io or that Hera was originally connected with the moon. At most we can put together the following indications. The Argives in historical times associated the cult of Hera with that of Zeus *Némeios*⁴. Nemea, however, was not, as we should have expected, the daughter of Zeus and Hera, but the daughter of Selene and Zeus⁵. Again, whereas Hesiod spoke of the famous Nemean lion—

Whom Hera reared, the noble wife of Zeus,
And placed on Nemea's knees, a bane to men⁶,—

Hyginus says 'the Nemean lion, whom the Moon had reared'⁷. Epimenides, in a passage quoted by Aelian, wrote :

For I too am a child of the fair-tressed Moon,
Who with dread shudder cast the monstrous lion
At Nemea, bearing him for lady Hera⁸.

¹ Ach. Tat. i. 4 εἶδον ἐγὼ ποτ' ἐπὶ ταύρω γεγραμμένην Σελήνην, Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. i. 720 mire autem cornua posuit, ut Lunam manifestius posset exprimere, non animal (sc. taurum), quo illa vehi figuratur. Cp. W. H. Roscher in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3137 with figs. 9 and 11.

² For evidence, literary and monumental, see W. H. Roscher *ib.* ii. 3137.

³ E. Siecke *Beiträge zur genaueren Erkenntnis der Mondgottheit bei den Griechen* Berlin 1885 p. 4 ff., *Die Liebesgeschichte des Himmels* Strassburg 1892 pp. 83, 104, 118. So too F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 p. 189 f., though he subsequently modified his opinion in his *Indogermanischer Volksglaube* Berlin 1885 p. 209 n. 3. Cp. also A. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology* London 1872 i. 264.

⁴ Paus. 2. 24. 2, 4. 27. 6, cp. 2. 20. 3, schol. Soph. *El.* 6, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 291, 13 ἡ πόλις ἡ Ἀργείων | χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ | καὶ θεω(ρ)οδοκίᾳ τοῦ | Διὸς τοῦ Νεμείου καὶ | τῆς Ἥρας τῆς Ἀργείας = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1312, Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 1730 a, *supra* p. 236 n. 10.

⁵ Schol. Pind. *Nem.* p. 425 Boeckh. Zeus and Nemea appear together on the Archemoros-vase (Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* iv pl. 371). See further Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 115 f.

⁶ Hes. *theog.* 328 f. γουρούσιω κατένασσε Νεμείης, πῆμ' ἀνθρώποις. The line was perhaps applied to Alkibiades, whom Aristophanes (*ran.* 1431 ff.) calls a lion, after his Nemean victory (Paus. 1. 22. 6 f.); for Aglaophon (Plout. v. *Alcib.* 16 says Aristophon) painted a picture in which Νεμέα ἦν καθημένη καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν γονάτων αὐτῆς Ἀλκιβιάδης (Athen. 534 D).

⁷ Hyg. *fab.* 30 leonem Nemeum, quem Luna nutrierat.

⁸ Epimen. *frag.* 5 Kern *ap.* Ail. *de nat. au.* 12. 7.

Anaxagoras told the same tale¹, and others followed suit², so that the lion came to be called the offspring of the Moon³. These references certainly lead us to suppose that from the time of Epimenides, that is to say from about 625 B.C.⁴, the Argive Hera was closely connected, if not identified, with the Moon. More than that it would be unsafe to maintain.

ix. Zeus and Argos.

It may next be shown that, what Io was to Hera, Argos was to Zeus.

The ancient systematisers of mythology recognized a variety of Dionysoi. One of these is described by Diodoros as having been the son of Zeus by Io, as having reigned over Egypt, and as having discovered the mysteries⁵. Now in the Dionysiac mysteries, as celebrated in Asia Minor, Crete, Thebes, etc., certain priests were termed *boukóloi* or 'cow-herds,' presumably because they tended their god conceived as in bovine form or ministered to the worshippers who adopted his animal name⁶. The important inscription, which has preserved for us the regulations of the *ióbakchoi*, an Athenian sect worshipping the Dionysiac divinity *Ióbakchos*⁷,

¹ Anaxag. *ap. schol. Ap. Rhod.* i. 498.

² Herodor. *frag.* 9 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 30 Müller) *ap. Tatian. ap. Iust. Mart.* p. 267, Plout. *de facie in orbe lunae* 24, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Απέσας, Nigidius *ap. schol. Caes. Germ. Aratea* p. 393, 20 ff. Eyssenhardt.

³ Euphorion *frag.* 47 Meineke *ap. Plout. symp.* 5. 3. 3 Μήνης παῖδα χάριον, interp. Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 8. 295 Luna filius et invulnerabilis dictus est, cp. Sen. *Herc. fur.* 83 sublimis alias Luna concipiat feras, Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Theb.* 2. 58 leonem de his polis ortum etc. According to Demodokos *ap. Plout. de fluxu.* 18. 4 Mt Apaisanton (in Argolis) used to be called Mt Selenaiion. For Hera, wishing to punish Herakles, got Selene to help her. Selene, using magic spells, filled a basket with foam, out of which a huge lion was born. Iris bound him with her own girdles and brought him down to Mt Ophelion. He tore and slew a shepherd of the district named Apaisantos. Hence Providence ordained that the place should be called Apaisantos after his victim.

⁴ H. Demoulin *Épiménide de Crète Bruxelles* 1901 p. 136.

⁵ Diod. 3. 74. In Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 58 (Dionysum) quartum Iove et Luna, cui sacra Orphica putantur confici we should perhaps read *Semela* for *Luna* and, with Moser *ad loc.*, suppose a confusion between Semele and Selene: cp. Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 51 p. 107, 10 f. Wunsch (*Διώνυσος*) τέταρτος ὁ Διὸς καὶ Σεμέλης κ.τ.λ., Ampel. 9. 11 (Liber) quartus ex Saturnio et Semela. In Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 13. 18 τίς γὰρ ἡ τοῦτον (sc. Διώνυσον) γεννήσασα, εἶτε Σελήνη τις λέγοιτο εἶτε Περσεφόνη; G. Dindorf prints Σεμέλη, the emendation of Cuperus *Nuimism.* p. 255, but Lobeck *Aglaophantus* ii. 1133 defends Σελήνη, comparing Ulpian. in *Mid.* p. 174 ἐνιοι δὲ παῖδα Σελήνης τὸν Διώνυσον. Plout. *de Is. et Osir.* 37 cites a letter of Alexarchos ἐν ᾗ Διὸς ἱστορεῖται καὶ Ἰσιδος υἱὸς ὦν ὁ Διώνυσος κ.τ.λ.

⁶ *Supra* p. 441 f.

⁷ Hesych. *s.v.* Ἰόβακχος· ὁ Διώνυσος, ἀπὸ τῆς βακχέας, Maximus *περὶ καταρχῶν* 496 σφαλλόμενοι δῦροισι χορομανέος Ἰοβάκχου. That the *ióbakchoi* acted the part of Ἰόβακχος, appears probable from *Anth. Plan.* 4. 289. 1 ff. αὐτὸν ὄραν Ἰόβακχον ἐδόξαμεν, ἦνικα κ.τ.λ....φεῦ θελεις ἀνδρὸς ὑποκριτῆς.

mentions a priestly personage called the *boukolikós*¹. His name is placed next to that of Dionysos, whose connexion with the bull is indicated by the bull's head carved above the Dionysiac symbols at the top of the inscribed column². The derivation of the name *Ióbakchos* is unknown³. But Diodoros' statement that Io was the mother of Dionysos makes it probable that some ancient mythologists, no doubt wrongly, deduced it from Io and Bakchos. However that may be, we are, I think, justified in inferring, from the analogy of the Dionysiac *boukólos* tending the Dionysiac bull, that Argos, who as *boukólos* tended the 'cow' Io, was but the mythical prototype of a priest tending an actual or nominal cow.

But, if Argos was human, he was also divine. We have already seen that his name *Argos* 'the Glittering' is comparable with that of *Zeús* 'the Bright One' and marks him as 'a sort of Zeus'⁴. A mortal Zeus, however; for his grave was shown at Argos⁵, where he had a precinct and a sacred wood impiously burnt by Kleomenes⁶. He resembled Zeus in nature as well as in name. Zeus, says Aischylos, became a bull to consort with Io⁷. Argos too was not only regarded as a fertilising power⁸, but also connected by his exploits with cattle. Being of exceptional strength, he slew a bull that was laying waste Arkadia and himself put on its hide; he withstood and killed a Satyr, who was oppressing the Arcadians and taking away their herds; he managed to destroy Echidna, child of Tartaros and Ge, who seized passers by and carried them off, by waiting till she fell asleep; and, lastly, he avenged the murder of Apis by doing to death those who were guilty of it⁹. If

¹ Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 737, 123 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1564, 123 = Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 239 no. 91, 123.

² See S. Wide in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 xix. 249, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 234, J. E. Harrison *Primitive Athens* Cambridge 1906 p. 90 fig.

³ Bentley on *Hor. sat.* 1. 3. 7 *Io Bacche*, cp. *Eur. Bacch.* 576 ff. ΔΙ. *λω*, | *κλύερ'* *έμῆς κλύερ'* *αὐδᾶς*, | *λω Βάκχαι*, *λω Βάκχαι*, derives the name from the initial exclamation. And there is much to be said in favour of this view. But was *λω* merely an exclamation, or rather the broken down form of some old cult-title?

⁴ *Supra* p. 32.

⁵ Paus. 2. 22. 5.

⁶ Hdt. 6. 78 ff., Paus. 2. 20. 7, 3. 4. 1.

⁷ *Supra* p. 438 f.

⁸ Argos introduced agriculture into the Argive land: he sent for wheat from Libye and founded a sanctuary of Demeter *Αἰβωσσα* at a spot called Charadra in Argos (Polemon *frag.* 12 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 119 Müller) *ap. schol. Aristeid.* p. 321 f. Dindorf). Kekrops, or some one else, sent Argos to Libye and Sicily for the wheat that grew there unrecognised, after which Triptolemos was the first to plough and sow (*Tzet. in Hes. o.d.* 32). Apis removed from Argos to Egypt, sent cattle to the king in Argos, and taught him how to sow: he, having yoked (*τεύξας*) the cows for that purpose, dedicated a sanctuary to Hera (*sc. Ζευξιδία*), and, when the corn shot up and flourished (*ἀνθείν*), called it the flowers (*ἀνθεα*) of Hera (*et. mag.* p. 409, 28 ff.). In the reign of Argos, son of Apis, Greece imported seeds and began to till the fields and raise crops (*Aug. de civ. Dei* 18. 6).

⁹ Apollod. 2. 1. 2.

Argos was not, like Zeus, a bull, at least he wore a bull's hide. And this was no unimportant detail of his myth: Apollonios Rhodios in his account of the Argonauts tells how—

Argos, Arestor's son, from foot to shoulder
Had girt a bull's hide black, with shaggy hair¹.

And Hyginus describes the same hero as 'an Argive clad in a hairy bull's hide².' On the strength of this hide Miss Harrison, following an acute conjecture of H. D. Müller, suggested 'that Argos Panoptes is the real husband of Io, Argos who wore the bull-skin..., who when he joins the Argonautic expedition still trails it behind him..., who is the bull-god³.' But we are never told by any ancient authority that Argos was either a bull or a god⁴. It seems wiser, therefore, to suppose that he wore the bull-skin in order to assimilate himself to the Argive bull-god Zeus⁵. On this showing Argos was to Zeus very much what Io was to Hera.

Again, as Io bore the further title *Kallithýessa*, so Argos was also *Panóptes*. *Kallithýessa*, 'She of the fair sacrifices,' was probably a cult-title of Hera⁶. *Panóptes*, 'He who sees all,' occurs repeatedly in the poets as a title of Zeus⁷, a fact which supports

¹ Ap. Rhod. i. 324 f.

² Hyg. *fab.* 14 p. 48, 4 Schmidt. Cp. Aristoph. *eccl.* 79 f. *νῆ τὸν Δία τὸν σωτήρ' ἐπιτήδεός γ' ἂν ᾖν | τὴν τοῦ Πανόπτου διφθέραν ἐνημμένος*, Dionysios (Skytobrachion) *ap. schol. Eur. Phoen.* 1116 *βύρσαν αὐτὸν ἠμφέσθαι φησί*.

³ Miss J. E. Harrison in the *Class. Rev.* 1893 vii. 76, after H. D. Müller *Mythologie der griechischen Stämme*, Göttingen 1861 ii. 273 ff. Miss Harrison has recently somewhat shifted her view-point and writes to me as follows (June 14, 1912): 'I now absolutely hold your position that Argos was a celebrant—only I go much further in thinking, not that Argos was the god, but that the god Argos arose out of the worshipper.'

⁴ Aug. *de civ. Dei* 18. 6 states that Argos after his death began to be regarded as a god, being honoured with a temple and sacrifices: while he was reigning (as king at Argos), these divine honours were paid to a certain private man named Homogyros, who had first yoked oxen to the plough, and had been struck by lightning.

⁵ Cp. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 120 f. On a *kratér* from Ruvo, belonging to the Jatta collection, Argos is clad in a bull's hide (fig. 318 from *Mon. d. Inst.* ii pl. 59, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. céer.* iii pl. 101, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 274, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 111, 4); but Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 593 n. 189 points out that on other vases he wears other hides, the artistic being less conservative than the literary tradition.

The Jatta *kratér* shows a well-marked tendency to duplicate its figures. In the lower register the Satyr on the left is balanced by the Satyr on the right. In the upper register Eros and Aphrodite on the left are mirrored by almost identical forms (Peitho? and Pothos? according to S. Reinach) on the right. Zeus seated on the mountain next to Hera similarly corresponds with Argos seated on the mountain near to Io. The latter couple is the bovine counterpart of the former—witness the bull's hide of Argos, the cow's horns and cow's ear of Io.

⁶ *Supra* p. 453 f.

⁷ Aisch. *Eum.* 1045 *Ζεὺς ὁ πανόπτας* (so Musgrave for MSS. *Ζεὺς παντόπτας*), Orph.

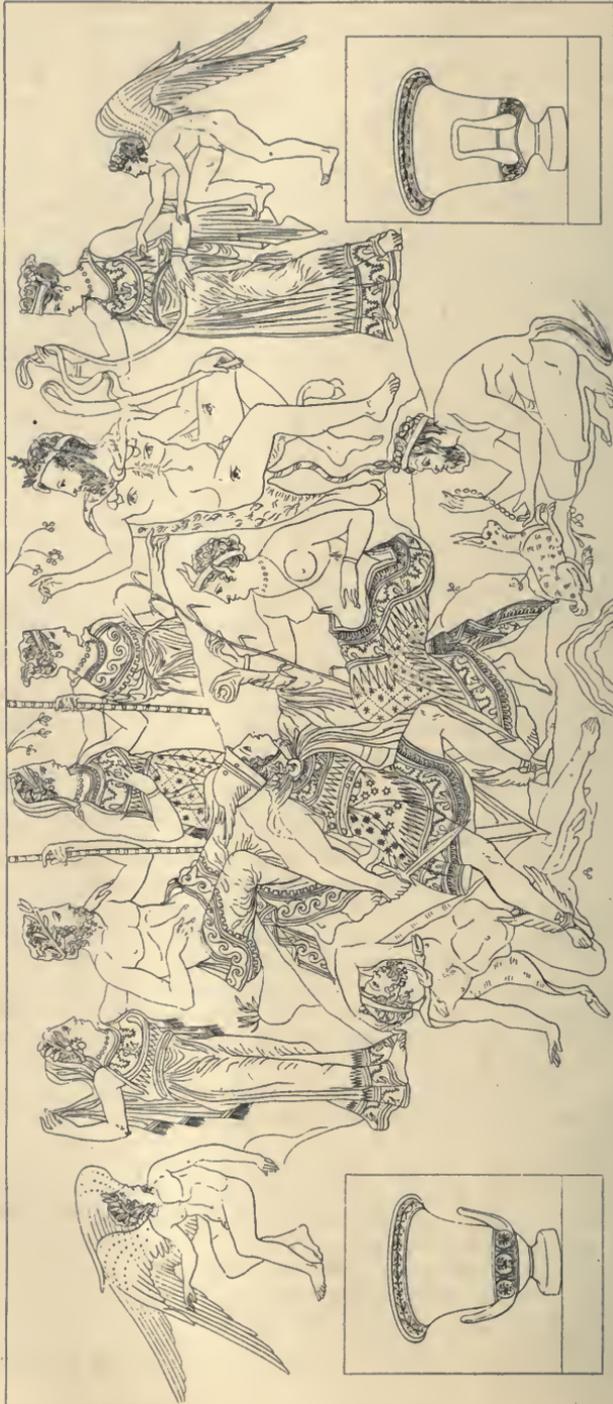


Fig. 318.

my contention that Argos was akin to Zeus. Hesychios, in one of his brief but illuminating glosses, observes: '*Panóptes*, "many-eyed," Zeus, the Achaeans.' This I take to mean that the Achaeans (and the ruling house at Argos in heroic days was Achaean) recognised a Zeus *Panóptes*, whom they identified with the many-eyed Argos. A remarkable confirmation of Hesychios' words has recently come to light. Built into a Byzantine wall below the terrace of Apollon *Pýthios* at Argos, W. Vollgraff has found a small altar of greyish limestone inscribed in lettering of the third century— $\Delta \text{Ι} \text{Φ} \text{Ο} \Sigma \Gamma \text{Α} \text{Ν} \text{Ο} \Pi \text{Τ} \text{Α}$, 'Of Zeus the All-seeing²'

The title *Panóptes* is also used of the sun. Aischylos makes his Prometheus, bound fast to the mountain-peak and left alone, exclaim:

On the all-seeing (*panópten*) circle of the sun
I call³.

And Byzantine writers more than once apply the same epithet to the sun⁴. Hence it might appear that both Argos *Panóptes* and Zeus *Panóptes* had or came to have a solar character. An anonymous commentator on the *Phainomena* of Aratos remarks that the poet wrote—

And all the roads are full of Zeus⁵—

'because even the poets call Zeus all-seeing (*panópten*) everywhere: "O Zeus all-seeing (*panópta*)" and "Sun, who observest all things⁶."' Since the commentator in question has just been discoursing on the view of those who identify Zeus with the sun⁷, it is obvious

frag. 71 Abel *Zeús* ó πανόπτης, cp. Aisch. *suppl.* 139 πατήρ ó παντόπτας, Soph. *O.C.* 1085 f. παντόπτα Ζεῦ, schol. Aristoph. *Ach.* 435 καὶ ó Ζεὺς δὲ παντεπέπτης λέγεται.

¹ Hesych. *s.v.* πανόπτης· πολυόφθαλμος. Ζεὺς. Ἀχαιοί. Urlichs' cj. Ἀχαιοὺς (*Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 758 Nauck²) and Nauck's cj. Αισχύλος (*ib.*) are unconvincing. Cp. Phot. *lex. s.v.* πανόπτης Ζεὺς· πολυόφθαλμος with S. A. Naber *ad loc.*, Soud. *s.v.* πανόπτης· πολυόφθαλμος.

² W. Vollgraff in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1909 xxxiii. 445 f.

³ Aisch. *P.v.* 91 καὶ τὸν πανόπτην κύκλον ἡλίου καλῶ. Cp. Aisch. *Προμ.* λυόμ. *frag.* 192 Nauck² *ap.* Strab. 33 ó παντόπτας Ἥλιος.

⁴ Tzetz. *alleg. Od.* 1. 306 γῆν, οὐρανὸν μαρτύρομαι, καὶ ἥλιον πανόπτην, Manuel Philes *vatic.* 33. 1 τοῦ πανόπτου φωσφόρου.

⁵ Arat. *phaen.* 2.

⁶ D. Petavius *Uranologion* Paris 1630 p. 275 c ὅτι καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ πανόπτην καλοῦσι πανταχοῦ. ὦ Ζεὺς (*sic*) πανόπτα. καὶ ἥλιος, ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς. A. Meineke *Vind. Aristoph.* Lipsiae 1865 p. 8 would read πανόπτην καλοῦσιν· ὦ Ζεῦ πανόπτα καὶ κατόπτα πανταχοῦ· καὶ ἥλιος ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς, supposing that the first quotation is the Euripidean tag parodied in Aristoph. *Ach.* 435 ὦ Ζεῦ διόπτα καὶ κατόπτα πανταχοῦ. See *Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 847 Nauck².

⁷ D. Petavius *op. cit.* p. 274 A—B οἱ δὲ Δία τὸν ἥλιον νοήσαντες, λέγουσιν, ὅτι καὶ Σοφοκλῆς Δία τὸν ἥλιον καλεῖ λέγων·—ἡελίοιο κτεῖρει ἐμέ· | Οἱ σοφοὶ λέγουσι γεννητὴν θεῶν, | Πατέρα πάντων (Nauck *op. cit.*² p. 355 f. reads "Ἥλι', οἰκτίροις ἐμέ, | <ὄν> οἱ

that he interprets the title of Zeus *Panóptes* in a solar sense. Again, according to Pherekydes, Hera gave Argos an extra eye in the back of his head¹. And the ancient statue of Zeus on the Argive Larisa was likewise three-eyed, having the third eye on its forehead². Argos *Panóptes* and the Argive Zeus were on this account compared by M. Mayer³ with the three-eyed *Kyklops*, whose abnormal eye not improbably denoted the sun⁴. In this connexion, however, it must be borne in mind that Empedokles speaks of Zeus *argés*, 'the brilliant⁵'; that Hesiod names one of the *Kyklopes* *Árges*⁶; and that the same *Kyklops* is sometimes called, not *Árges*, but *Árgos*⁷. These titles, no doubt, ultimately refer to the brilliant sky-god, but as manifested in the burning *aithér* or the blazing thunderbolt rather than in the shining sun.

The author of the Hesiodic poem *Aigimios* associated the story of Argos and Io with Euboia, and derived the name of the island from the cow into which the latter was transformed⁸. He represented Argos as four-eyed in a line borrowed by an Orphic writer to describe Phanes⁹. Strabon too mentions a cavern called The Cow's Crib on the east shore of Euboia, adding that Io was said to have given birth to Epaphos there and that the island drew its name from the fact¹⁰. The *Etymologicum Magnum* states that Euboia was so called 'because, when Isis was turned into a cow, Earth sent up much grass thitherwards...or because Io became a right beautiful cow and lived there¹¹'. If Zeus changed Io into a white cow¹², it was perhaps because 'in Euboia almost all the cattle are born white, so much so indeed that the poets used to call Euboia *argíboios*¹³, "the land of white cattle." *Árgoura* in Euboia, where Hermes was believed to have killed *Panóptes*¹⁴, was doubtless connected by the populace with *Árgos* the 'watcher' (*oílros*). These witnesses suffice to prove that Euboia had an Io-myth analogous to that of the Argolid¹⁵.

σοφοί λέγουσι γεννητὴν θεῶν | <καί> πατέρα πάντων). καὶ ἔννοιαν τῆς δόξης ταύτης φαῖν ἔχειν τὸν ποιητὴν, ὅταν λέγῃ· Ἠχὴ δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἕκετ' αἰθέρα, καὶ Διὸς αὐγὰς· καὶ τὸ, Ἡελίος θ', ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς, καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις.

¹ Pherekyd. *frag.* 22 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 74 Müller) *ap. schol. Eur. Phoen.* 1123.

² Paus. 2. 24. 3.

³ M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 110 ff. *Supra* p. 320.

⁴ *Supra* pp. 313, 323.

⁵ *Supra* p. 31 f.

⁶ *Supra* p. 317.

⁷ Schol. Aisch. *P.v.* 351, schol. Eur. *Alc.* 5. *Supra* p. 32 n. 4.

⁸ *Aigim. frag.* 3 Kinkel *ap. Steph. Byz. s.v.* Ἀβαντίς, cp. Herodian. i. 104 Lentz.

⁹ *Supra* p. 311 n. 6.

¹⁰ Strab. 445 Βοῖς αὐλή.

¹¹ *Et. mag.* p. 389, 2 ff.

¹² Apollod. 2. 1. 3. *Supra* p. 440 n. 2.

¹³ Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 36.

¹⁴ Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀργούρα.

¹⁵ On the relation of the Euboean to the Argive myth see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1130 n. 9, cp. 968 n. 2.

Coins of Euboia from the earliest times exhibit a variety of bovine types¹, the interpretation of which is doubtful². None of them can be proved to have any connexion with the cult of Zeus or Argos, Hera or Io. Still, the ox-head bound with a fillet, which appears at Eretria (?) (fig. 319)³, Hestiaia⁴, and Karystos⁵, is best explained as a religious type; and it is not unreasonable to conjecture that the allusion is to the cult of Hera⁶, who perhaps, as at Argos⁷, bore the title *Eúboia*⁸. The head of Hera, likewise bound with a fillet and often mounted on the capital of an Ionic column, is found on coppers of Chalkis from c. 369 B.C. onwards⁹, and an inscribed figure of the goddess sitting on a conical stone with *phidie* and filleted sceptre occurs on a copper of the same town struck by Septimius Severus¹⁰. At Hestiaia 'rich in grape-clusters'¹¹



Fig. 319.



Fig. 320.

the bull stands before a vine (fig. 320)¹², and we legitimately suspect a Dionysiac meaning.

From Euboia it is but a step to Thespiæ, where a boundary-

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece* p. 94 ff. pl. 17 ff., *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 42 ff. pl. 33, *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 677 f., 685 ff. pl. 31 f., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 355 ff.

² Prof. W. Ridgeway *The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards* Cambridge 1892 pp. 5, 313, 322 holds that the bovine types of Euboia point to the ox as the original monetary unit. This view, which has been severely criticised by Mr G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 23 ff., does not to my thinking necessarily conflict with the religious interpretation put upon the same types by Dr B. V. *Head Hist. num.*² pp. 357, 361 and others: cp. *infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) i (o).

³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece* p. 95 f. pl. 17, 5—8, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 42.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece* p. 128 pl. 24, 8, p. 135 pl. 24, 15, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 48 f. pl. 33, 13, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 364.

⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece* p. 102 f. pl. 18, 13, 19, 3.

⁶ *Head Hist. num.*² p. 357: 'The Bull or Cow is possibly connected with the cult of Hera,' etc.

⁷ *Supra* p. 445 f.

⁸ See Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 417 n. 3.

⁹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece* pp. lx f., 112 f. pl. 20, 15, p. 115 f. pl. 21, 5 f., cp. p. 117 pl. 21, 9—11, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 45 f., cp. p. 46 pl. 33, 8, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 359.

¹⁰ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece* p. 118 pl. 21, 12, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 360.

¹¹ *Il.* 2. 537 πολυστάφυλον θ' Ἰστιαίων.

¹² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece* p. 125 f. pl. 24, 1, 2, 5, *Hunter Cat. Coins* p. 48 ff. pl. 33, 14, 16, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 364.

stone (fig. 321)¹ has come to light inscribed in late characters—



Fig. 321.

ΘΕΟΥ | ΤΑΥΡΟΥ, 'Of the god Bull?' It has been conjectured that this god was the bovine Dionysos³, but definite proof is lacking.

x. The Myth of Pasiphae.

Turning next to Crete, we may find the counterpart of Io and Epaphos in Pasiphae and the Minotaur.

Two principal versions of their story are extant. Apollodoros⁴, after telling how Zeus for love of Europe became a bull and carried her off across the sea to Crete, how there she bore him three sons, Minos, Sarpedon, and Rhadamanthys, how Asterion, ruler of Crete,

reared the lads, how they, when they were full-grown, quarrelled and scattered, Sarpedon to Lykia, Rhadamanthys to Boiotia, while Minos, staying in Crete, married Pasiphae, daughter of Helios by Perseis, continues his narrative as follows :

'Now Asterion died childless, and Minos desired to become king of Crete, but was prevented. However, he asserted that he had received the kingdom from the gods, and by way of proof declared that whatever he prayed for would be vouchsafed to him. So he sacrificed to Poseidon and prayed that a bull might be sent up from the deep, promising that he would offer it in sacrifice when it appeared. Thereupon Poseidon heard him and sent up a magnificent bull ; and Minos received the kingdom. But the bull he dispatched to join his herds and sacrificed another. He was the first to establish maritime sway and became lord of well nigh all the islands. But Poseidon, wroth with him because he had not slain the bull, maddened it and caused Pasiphae to hanker after it. She, being enamoured of the bull, asked help of Daidalos, a master-craftsman who had fled from Athens by reason of a manslaughter. He made a wooden cow on wheels, hollowed it out inside, flayed a cow, sewed the hide round about his handiwork, placed it in the meadow where the bull was wont to pasture, and put Pasiphae within it (fig. 322)⁵. The bull came and consorted

¹ Drawn from a photograph of the stone kindly taken for me in the Museum at Thebes by Mr P. N. Ure.

² *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 1787.

³ *Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 76 n. 8, p. 1425 n. 4.

⁴ Apollod. 3. 1. 1 ff., cp. Diod. 4. 77, *Tzetz. chil.* 1. 473 ff.

⁵ A wall-painting in a room of the *Casa dei Vettii* at Pompeii (Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 38 Text p. 47 f. fig. 11), forming part of the same mural decoration with

with it as though it were a real cow. Pasiphae then bore Asterios, who is called *Minótauros* (fig. 323)¹. His face was the face of a bull (*táuros*), but



Fig. 322.

the painting of Ixion already figured (*supra* p. 203). The scene is laid in Daidalos' workshop, where an assistant is busy at the carpenter's bench. Daidalos lifts the lid from his wooden cow and explains its mechanism to Pasiphae, who holds two golden rings—perhaps the price of his handiwork. Behind Pasiphae stand an old nurse and a younger maid. The painting is further discussed by A. Mau in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1896 xi. 49 ff., A. Sogliano in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1898 viii. 293 ff., and P. Herrmann *loc. cit.*

¹ A late red-figured *kýlix* at Paris (De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* ii. 623 f. no. 1066) published by F. Lenormant in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1879 v. 33—37 pls. 3—5 as having (a) an inner design of Persephone with Zagreus on her knee, (b) two outer designs of omophagy—a Maenad holding a severed human leg between two Satyrs, and a Maenad with a severed human arm similarly placed. Lenormant's interpretation of (a), though accepted at least in part by De Ridder *loc. cit.*, must rest upon the assumed connexion

the remaining parts were those of a man. Minos in accordance with certain oracles shut him up in the Labyrinth and guarded him there. The Labyrinth



Fig. 323.

between (a) and (b). But Sir Cecil Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1890 xi. 349 justly objects that 'in late r. f. kylikes such a relation of subject between the exterior and interior is rare; the usual practice being to have in the interior a definite subject, and to leave the exterior for meaningless athlete subjects or Bacchic subjects, as here; if these exterior scenes have any mythical significance, it is to the Pentheus rather than to the Zagreus legend. In any case the epithets *ταυρόκερως*, &c., applied to Dionysos are not sufficient to warrant us in identifying a definite Minotaur type with Zagreus; especially as on the one other distinct Zagreus scene (Müller—Wieseler, *Denkm.* ii. No. 413; see Heydemann, *Dionysos-Geburt*, p. 55) [cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 188 no. E 246 the *hydria* under discussion] he is represented as an ordinary human child.' In common, therefore, with Sir Cecil Smith and others (T. Panofka in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1837 Anz. p. 22*, E. Braun in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1847 p. 121, J. de Witte in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1850 Anz. p. 213*, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 148) I take the scene here figured to be Pasiphae with the infant Minotaur. The basket and goose merely indicate the *gynaikonitis*.

was the one made by Daidalos, a building which by means of intricate windings led astray those that would escape from it.'

The other version of the myth connects the bull with Zeus, not Poseidon. The first Vatican mythographer tells it thus¹:

'Minos, the son of Zeus and Europe, once drew near to the altars to sacrifice to his father, and prayed the godhead to furnish him with a victim worthy of his own altars. Then on a sudden appeared a bull of dazzling whiteness (*nimio candore perfusus*). Minos, lost in admiration of it, forgot his vow and chose rather to take it as chief of his herd. The story goes that Pasiphae was fired with actual love for it. Zeus, therefore, being scorned by his son, and indignant at such treatment, drove the bull mad. It proceeded to lay waste, not only the fields, but even the walls of the Cretans. Herakles, sent by Eurystheus, proved to be more than a match for it and brought it vanquished to Argos. There it was dedicated by Eurystheus to Hera. But Hera, loathing the gift because it redounded to the glory of Herakles, drove the bull into Attike, where it was called the bull of Marathon and subsequently slain by Theseus, son of Aigeus (fig. 324)².



Fig. 324.

Both Apollodoros and the Vatican mythographer are evidently concerned to present the reader with a consecutive and consistent story. The myth, as they relate it, is composite. I do not propose to discuss in detail its several parts, but rather to call attention to the fact that, taken as a whole, it bears a strong resemblance to two types of Greek tales, represented respectively by the golden lamb or ram and by the white cow that we have already considered.

xi. The Bull and the Sun in Crete.

The golden lamb found among the flocks of Atreus and the golden ram found among the flocks of Athamas we regarded as a divine beast, the animal form of Zeus, which by a secondary development came to symbolise the sun³. The lamb of Atreus was for Simonides purple, the ram of Athamas purple or white⁴.

¹ Myth. Vat. 1. 47. The same version is found in Myth. Vat. 2. 120, Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 5. 431.

² Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica p. 106, E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 398 f. fig., Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 145 f. pl. DD, 7 f., Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 522 fig. 79. The coin has been thought to represent a dedication by the township of Marathon on the *akropolis* at Athens (Paus. 1. 27. 10 with J. G. Frazer *ad loc.*): but this notion is disproved by the extant fragment of the group (O. Benndorf 'Stiertorso der Akropolis' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1898 i. 191 ff.), which agrees with the scene on a red-figured *kýlix* at Florence (L. A. Milani in the *Museo italiano di antichità classica* iii. 239 pl. 3, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 529).

³ *Supra* pp. 405, 409, 419 f.

⁴ *Supra* pp. 406, 419.

I would venture to offer the same explanation of the dazzling white bull that shone conspicuous in the herd of Minos¹. Ovid, thinking perhaps of the marks that characterised the Apis-bull², says of it:

Beneath the shady vales of wooded Ide
Was once a white bull, glory of the herd,
Signed with a line of black between the horns:
That its one fleck; the rest was milk to see³.

As in Egypt⁴, so in Crete, the fertilising bull was in the long run identified with the sun. Apollodoros states that *Tálos* or *Talós*, the man of bronze, about whom we shall have more to say⁵, was by some called *Taúros*⁶. But *Tálos* or *Talós* means 'the sun', and *Taúros* means 'a bull.' It follows that some who wrote on Cretan mythology spoke of the Sun as the 'Bull.' Presumably, therefore, the Cretans, or at least certain Cretans, conceived him to be a bull. But, more than this, another lexicographer expressly asserts that the Cretans called the sun the 'Adiounian bull' on the ground that, when he changed the site of his city, he led the way in the likeness of a bull⁸.

A similar story is told of Ilos, son of Tros, who came to Phrygia, won a wrestling-match arranged by the king, and received as his prize fifty boys and fifty girls. The king, in accordance with an oracle, gave him also a dappled or variegated cow with instructions that wherever it lay down he should found a city. The cow went before him to the hill of the Phrygian Ate and there lay down. So Ilos founded his city and called it Ilion⁹. Or, as another authority told the tale, when Ilos (whose name appeared to mean 'Cow-herd'¹⁰) was feeding his cattle in Mysia, Apollon gave him an oracle to the effect that he should found a city wherever he saw one of his cows fall: one of them leapt away, and

¹ *Supra* p. 467.

² *Supra* p. 432 f.

³ *Ov. ars am.* i. 280 ff.

⁴ *Supra* p. 430 ff.

⁵ *Infra* ch. i § 6 (h).

⁶ Apollod. i. 9. 26. The editors print *ὁ Τάλως*, but the name was also accented *Ταλῶς*: see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 1794 D.

⁷ Hesych. s.v. *ταλῶς*. ὁ ἥλιος. So M. Schmidt: J. Alberti prints *Τάλως*.

⁸ *Συναγωγὴ λέξεων χρησίμων κ.τ.λ.* in Bekker *anecd.* i. 344, 10 ff. 'Ἀδιούνιος ταύρος' ὁ ἥλιος ὑπὸ τῶν Κρητῶν οὕτω λέγεται. φασὶ γὰρ τὴν πύλον μετακίζοντα ταύρω προσεικασθέντα προσηγείσθαι. H. van Herwerden *Lexicon Graecum supplementum et dialecticum* Lugduni Batavorum 1902 p. 18 s.v. *ἀδιούνιος ταύρος* says: 'Adiectivum non expedio.' But may it not be a dialect-form from 'Ἄδωνις, whose name often appears on Etruscan mirrors as *Atunis* (e.g. Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii pls. 111, 114—116, v pls. 24—28) or *Atuns* (*ib.* v pl. 23)? On the Cretan Zeus as a sort of Adonis see *supra* p. 157 n. 3.

⁹ Apollod. 3. 12. 3, Tzetz. in Lyk. *Al.* 29.

¹⁰ The real origin of the name is uncertain; but the Greeks probably connected it with *ἑλη*, 'herd' (see Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 121).

he followed it till it bent its legs and fell down on the site of Ilion¹. This cow was probably divine; for in Phrygia², as elsewhere in ancient times³, to kill a plough-ox was a capital offence⁴. A third story of like character tells how Kadmos, in obedience to a Delphic oracle, followed a cow belonging to Pelagon, son of Amphidamas, and on the spot where it lay down founded the city of Thebes; but of this I must speak more in detail in a later section⁵.

xii. The Cow and the Moon in Crete.

If the brilliant bull in the herd of king Minos had thus come to symbolise the sun, we can discover a meaning in another story told of the same monarch. Apollodoros⁶ says of Glaukos, son of Minos:

‘Glaukos, while still an infant, was pursuing a mouse⁷ when he fell into a jar of honey and was drowned. After his disappearance Minos had search made for him everywhere and consulted the oracles about the right way to find him.

¹ Λήσσης ὁ Λαψακηνός *ap. schol. vet. and ap. Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 29* Ἄτης ἀπ’ ἄκρων βουπλανοκτίστων λόφω.

² Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 34 Φρύγες δὲ ἐὰν παρ’ αὐτοῖς τις ἀροτήρα ἀποκτείνῃ βουῶν, ἢ ζῆμια θάνατος αὐτῷ, Nikol. Damask. *frag.* 128 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 461 Müller) ἐὰν δὲ τις παρ’ αὐτοῖς (the Phrygians) γεωργικὸν βουῶν ἀποκτείνῃ ἢ σκευὸς τῶν περὶ γεωργίαν κλέψῃ, θανάτῳ ζημιούσι.

³ Varr. *rer. rust.* 2. 5. 4 ab hoc (*sc. bove*) antiqui manus ita abstineri voluerunt, ut capite sanxerint, siquis occidisset. qua in re testis Attice, testis Peloponnesos. nam ab hoc pecore Athenis Buzuges nobilitatus, Argis Homogyros (*supra* p. 459 n. 4), Colum. *de rust.* 6 *praef.* cuius (*sc. bovis*) tanta fuit apud antiquos veneratio ut tam capitale esset bovem necasse quam civem.

⁴ Cp. the βουφόνια at Athens (*infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) ii), the sacrifice of a calf dressed in buskins to Dionysos Ἐνθροπωπαλάστης in Tenedos (Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 34), and analogous rites (W. Robertson Smith: *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*² London 1907 p. 304 ff., Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 4 ff., W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 327 ff.). Prometheus was said to have been the first to kill an ox (Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 209): see Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3055.

⁵ *Infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xviii.

⁶ Apollod. 3. 3. 1, cp. Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 811, Aristeid. *or.* 46. 307 (ii. 398 Dindorf) with schol. Aristeid. p. 728, 29 ff. Dindorf.

⁷ For μῦν, which is supported by Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 811, A. Westermann, after Commelin, reads μύλαν, ‘a fly,’ cp. *Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 152 Müller μύλαν.

The first part of the story implies the custom of preserving the dead in honey (W. Robert-Tornow *De apium mellisque apud veteres significatione* Berolini 1893 p. 128 ff.) and burying him in a *pithos* (cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 816 n. 5). Glaukos’ pursuit of the ‘fly’ may be based on the art-type of Hermes evoking the dead from a burial-jar, while a soul in the form of a bee (Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 801 n. 6) hovers above it: the type is best represented by gems (figs. 325, 326 = Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 252 f. pl. 30, 333, 332, cp. *ib.* 332^a). See further Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 43 f.



Fig. 325.



Fig. 326.

The Kouretes told him that he had in his herds a three-coloured cow¹, and that the man who could offer the best similitude for the colour of this cow would also give him back his son alive. So the seers were called together, and Polyidos, son of Koiranos, likened the colour of the cow to the fruit of a bramble. He was therefore compelled to search for the boy, and by some prophetic art he found him.

With the rest of the story we are not here concerned. It is, however, worth while to compare the opening of the tale as told by Hyginus²:

‘Glaukos, son of Minos and Pasiphae, while playing at ball, fell into a big jar full of honey. His parents sought him and enquired of Apollon about the boy. To them Apollon made answer: “A portent has been born to you, and whoever can explain it will restore to you your boy.” Minos, having listened to the oracle, began to enquire of his people what this portent might be. They said that a calf had been born, which thrice in the day, once every four hours, changed its colour, being first white, then ruddy, and lastly black. Minos, therefore, called his augurs together to explain the portent. When they were at a loss to do so, Polyidos, son of Koiranos, showed³ that it was like a mulberry-tree; for the mulberry is first white, then red, and, when fully ripe, black. Then said Minos to him: “The answer of Apollon requires that you should restore to me my boy.”’

It will be observed that, according to Apollodoros (and Tzetzes bears him out⁴), the task set to test the powers of the seer was, not to explain the significance of the three-coloured cow, but to find a suitable comparison for its colours. The cow did not signify a bramble-bush or a mulberry-tree, but in aspect or colour they might be taken to resemble it. Now a common folk-lore explanation of the moon’s spots is that they are a thorn-bush carried by the man-in-the-moon⁵. It might therefore be maintained that the bramble-bush or mulberry-tree was a possible description of the moon. And, if so, then the three-coloured cow, or calf that changed its colour three times a day, was merely another way of describing the moon. I am the more disposed to advance this view because Io, who was so often identified with the moon⁶, became according to one account now a white cow, now a black, now a violet⁷, and because Bacis or Bacchis the sacred bull at

¹ Apollod. 3. 3. 1 *τριχρώματων...βοῦν*, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 811 ἡ *τριχρῶμος τοῦ Μίνως βοῦς ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς*, schol. Aristeid. p. 728, 31 Dindorf *βοῦν τριχρῶνον (τριχρῶμον Οχον.)*.

² Hyg. *fab.* 136.

³ The text is uncertain. M. Schmidt prints: qui cum non invenirent, Polyidos Coerani filius †Bizanti monstrum demonstravit, eum †arbori moro similem esse; nam etc. T. Muncker cj. *rubi moro*, M. Schmidt cj. *colore moro*.

⁴ Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 811 *ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀναστήσειν αὐτὸν ὅς ἐστιν τῆσι ὀμοία ἐστὶν ἡ τριχρῶμος τοῦ Μίνως βοῦς κ.τ.λ.*

⁵ See e.g. J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 717 ff., P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 11 ff.

⁶ *Supra* p. 454 ff.

⁷ *Supra* p. 441.

Hermonthis, which is known to have been consecrated to the sun, was said to change its colour every hour¹.

A 'Caeretan' *hydria* in the Louvre (fig. 327)² represents Zeus as a three-coloured bull bearing Europe across the sea to Minos'



Fig. 327.

isle; but the coloration is here a matter of Ionian technique, not of Cretan mythology.

xiii. The Sacred Cattle of Gortyna.

Further evidence of the Cretan cult of a solar bull and a lunar cow is forthcoming at Gortyna and at Knossos. A Cretan name for the Gortynians was *Kartemnides*³, which in all probability means 'Cow-men' or 'Cow-herds,' since the Cretans said *kárten* for 'cow' and Gortynians *kartaĩpos* for 'ox' or 'bull'⁴. Special

¹ *Supra* p. 436.

² Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* ii. 535 f. no. E 696, *id. Vases antiques du Louvre* 2^{me} Série Paris 1901 p. 65, *id. in the Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1892 xvi. 254, *Mon. d. Inst.* vi—vii pl. 77, W. Helbig in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1863 xxxv. 210 ff., Reinach *Rép. vases* i. 162, 1 f.

³ Hesych. s.v. Καρτεμνίδες· οἱ Γορτύνιοι. Κρήτες.

⁴ Hesych. s.v. κάρτην· τὴν βοῦν Κρήτες. καὶ τὸν οἰκέτην οἱ αὐτοί. M. Schmidt *ad loc.* hazards the suggestion that we should read *οἰκιστὴν* and explain it of an eponymous founder *Κάρτην* = *Γόρτην*. I. Voss *Catull.* p. 203 would correct *Κρημνία* in Steph. Byz. s.v. *Γόρτην* to *Καρτεμνία*: he cites Strab. 478 to prove that Gortyna lay 'in a plain' and could not therefore be called 'Precipitous.' J. Alberti on Hesych. *loc. cit.* quotes from Soping a comparison with the first element in *Carthago* and the story of the bull's hide (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1013, Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 426): this of course assumes a folk-etymology for *Carthago* as well as for the *Byrsa*.

I would rather suppose a connexion with τὰ καρταίποδα, which occurs in the laws of Gortyna to denote 'oxen' (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1333 iv. 35 f. = Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 265 no. 4991 iv. 35 f. τὰ πρόβατα καὶ καρταί[π]οδα, cp. *ib.* iii. 2. 282 no. 4998 i. 12 ff. αὐ δὲ κα σὺς καρταίπος παρῶσει ἢ κατασκένῃ, τὸν τε σὺν ἐπὶ τῷ πάσση ἤμην ὦ κ' ἢ τὸ καρταίπος κ.τ.λ.) and, in an all but identical form, was used by Pindar of 'a bull' (Pind. *Ol.* 13. 81 καρταίποδ' with schol. *ad loc.* καρταίποδα τὸν ταῦρον. οὕτω Δελφοὶ ἰδίως ἐκάλουν). Dedications to the Kouretes as guardians of kine (Κῶρησι τοῖς πρὸ καρταίπόδων) have been found by Prof. De Sanctis at *Hagia Barbara* (G. De Sanctis in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1907 xviii. 346 f.) and at Pluti near Gortyna (R. C. Bosanquet in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1908—1909 xv. 353).

herds of cattle belonging to the sun used to be kept at Gortyna¹; and Virgil represents Pasiphae's bull, whose solar character we have already considered², as lying beneath an evergreen oak or following the Gortynian cows³. Bronze coins of Gortyna show Zeus as a bull galloping across the sea, which is suggested by a couple of dolphins⁴, or carrying Europe on his back (fig. 328)⁵: in both cases a surrounding circle of rays stamps him as a god of light.



Fig. 328.

xiv. The Labyrinth at Knossos.

At Knossos⁶ was the Labyrinth built by Daidalos for the safe-keeping of the Minotaur⁷. Diodoros⁸ and Pliny⁹ state that it was an imitation of the yet more famous Egyptian Labyrinth. Mr H. R. Hall describes the latter building as follows: 'It was a great temple, with magnificent pillared halls, side-chambers, and out-buildings, erected by the greatest pharaoh of the Twelfth Dynasty, Amenemhat III (circa 2200 B.C.), immediately in front of his pyramid at Hawara: there is no doubt that it was the funerary temple of the pyramid, erected by the king for the due performance of the funeral rites after his death¹⁰.' Classical writers had a more or less confused idea of the purpose served by the building.

¹ *Supra* p. 410 n. 9.

² *Supra* p. 467 f.

³ Verg. *eccl.* 6. 53 ff.

⁴ J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 174 f. pl. 16, 4 and 5, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 45 pl. 11, 14.

⁵ J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 173 pl. 15, 26, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 45, pl. 11, 11, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 462 Münztaf. 6, 11. I figure from my collection a similar coin of Knossos, struck in alliance with Gortyna (cp. J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 81 pl. 7, 11—14, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 22 pl. 6, 2 f.).

⁶ Some late writers (Claud. *de sext. cons. Hon. Aug.* 634, Kedren. *hist. comp.* 122 C (i. 215 Bekker)) place the Cretan Labyrinth at Gortyna.

⁷ Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1778 ff.

⁸ Diod. i. 61 and 97.

⁹ Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 84 ff.

¹⁰ H. R. Hall 'The Two Labyrinths' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1905 xxv. 328. Prof. Flinders Petrie investigated the site of the Egyptian Labyrinth in 1888 with meagre results (W. M. Flinders Petrie *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe* London 1889 pp. 4—8 pl. 25 map of neighbourhood with conjectural ground-plan). In 1911 he was more successful, and at a depth of from 20 to 25 feet recovered the upper parts of half a dozen statues of the gods of the twelfth dynasty, especially of Sebek the crocodile-god, who seems to have been the principal deity of the precinct; he also found in the *débris* of the brick core of the pyramid traces of the 21 chapels for the Egyptian nomes, e.g. two large shrines of red granite each containing two life-size figures of Amenemhat iii, besides many fragmentary wall-sculptures, including one which shows the king seated between goddesses holding fish, and another in which he is kneeling in a boat and opening the shrine of a holy tree (W. M. Flinders Petrie in *Records of the Past* 1911 x. 303—315 with figs., *id.*—G. A. Wainwright—E. Mackay *The Labyrinth Gerzeh and Mazghuneh* London 1912 pp. 28—35 with restored plan of western half of Labyrinth and pls. 23—32). Prof. J. L. Myres in *Ann. Arch.* 1910 iii. 134—136 has a restoration of the Labyrinth based on the description of Herodotos.

Herodotos speaks of its twelve courts as a memorial of the dodecarchy¹. Strabon calls it 'a vast palace composed of as many palaces as there were formerly nomes,' and states that the nomes were accustomed to assemble in their respective courts 'with their own priests and priestesses for sacrifice, oblation, and judicial award on matters of importance².' Diodoros thinks it the 'tomb' of the king who built it³, as does Manethon⁴. Pliny says: 'Different



Fig. 329.

interpretations are put upon the construction of this edifice. Demoteles takes it to have been the palace of Moteris; Lykeas, the tomb of Moiris. Most authorities suppose that it was reared as a building sacred to the Sun, and such is the common belief⁵.

With regard to the Cretan Labyrinth too very various opinions have been advanced⁶. Nowadays most scholars hold that Sir

¹ Hdt. 2. 148.

² Strab. 811.

³ Dioid. 1. 61.

⁴ Maneth. frags. 34—36 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 560 Müller).

⁵ Demoteles frag. I (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 386 Müller) and Lykeas Naukratites frag. 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 441 Müller) *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 84.

⁶ See Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1778—1783.

Arthur Evans was justified in identifying it with the complex palace that he excavated at Knossos. And this view can certainly claim the support not only of such writers as Diodoros and Pliny, who suppose a Cretan imitation of an Egyptian building¹, but also of the Attic painters of red-figured vases, who represent Theseus as dragging the Minotaur forth from an edifice with a *façade* of Doric (fig. 329)² or Ionic columns³. Nevertheless, to admit that Attic painters *c.* 450—430 B.C. regarded the Labyrinth as a sort of palace is not necessarily to assert that such was its original character. The red-figured vases in every case show to the right



Fig. 330.

of the colonnade a broad band decorated with *swastika*-patterns checker-work; and it is from behind this band that the body of

¹ Diod. i. 61, i. 97, Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 84—86. The earliest writer that speaks of it as a building is Apollod. 3. i. 4 (ὄκημα καμπαῖς πολυπλόκοις πλανῶν τὴν ἔξοδον). But Pherekydes *frag.* 106 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 97 Müller) appears to have mentioned the lintel of its door (τὸν ζυγὸν τῆς (τὸν?) ἀνω θύρας).

² (1) *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 111 f. no. E 84 a *kylix* from Vulci, of which the interior is reproduced in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1881 ii. 57 pl. 10, Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. cxv fig. 25, Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 49 ff. fig. 22, and the central scene in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 883 fig. 4315.

(2) C. Torr *Harrow School Museum. Catalogue of the classical antiquities from the collection of the late Sir Gardner Wilkinson Harrow 1887* p. 18 no. 52 a *kylix* from Nola, of which a small illustration is given by E. Strong in the *Burlington Fine Arts Club. Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art, 1903* London 1904 p. 114 no. I 60 pl. 97, and two photographs of the interior and exterior by P. Wolters in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1907* p. 118 f. pl. i.

³ *Vasos griegos Madrid* pp. 76 f., 119 no. 11, 265 pl. 33, Leroux *Cat. Vasos de Madrid* p. 110 ff. no. 196 pls. 25—28 a *kylix* signed by the artist Aison, first published by E. Bethe in the *Ant. Denkm.* ii pl. 1, cp. Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 48 fig. 21, 50 and *Einzeltaufnahmen* no. 1730 (central scene).

the Minotaur emerges. E. Braun long ago suggested that the patterned space stands for the Labyrinth¹. And P. Wolters has recently proved that the further back we trace the whole design, the more important becomes this particular feature of it². On a black-figured *lékythos* from Vari (fig. 330)³ the Minotaur, grasping a couple of stones, is haled out from behind a *stéle* or broad column covered with maeanders etc. The Labyrinth is here no palace;



Fig. 331.

it can hardly be termed a building at all. On a black-figured *skyphos* from the akropolis at Athens (fig. 331)⁴ the resemblance

¹ E. Braun in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1846 p. 106. G. W. Elderkin 'Maeander or Labyrinth' in the *Journ. Am. Arch.* 1910 xiv. 185—190 still thinks that the band is the *anta* of a wall and that its patterns are mere filling, though he admits that 'An exact parallel to the vertical stripe...is not at hand.' His notion that Aison on the Madrid *kylix* was copying the north porch of the Erechtheion with its *βωμὸς τοῦ θνηχοῦ* is surely far-fetched. A better copy of the Erechtheion, olive-tree and all, is Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. chr.* i. 223 ff. pl. 67.

² P. Wolters *loc. cit.* pp. 113—132 'Darstellungen des Labyrinths.'

³ Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 283 f. no. 878, P. Wolters *loc. cit.* p. 122 f. pl. 2.

⁴ Graef *Ant. Vasen Athen* p. 142 f. no. 1280 pl. 73, A, P. Wolters *loc. cit.* p. 123 pl. 3, a fragmentary *skyphos* from the Persian *débris* showing Theseus beside the Labyrinth, greeted by Athena in the presence of three other figures: the inscription is meaningless.

With this vase cp. Graef *op. cit.* p. 147 no. 1314 pl. 76, P. Wolters *loc. cit.* p. 124,

to a stone structure is still more remote¹, the Labyrinth appearing merely as a patterned oblong side by side with the *dramatis personae*. Wolters concludes that the black-figured vases presuppose a primitive composition, in which the action portrayed was accompanied by a ground-plan of the scene. He finds a parallel in the Etruscan *oinochôe* from Tragliatella (fig. 332)², on which

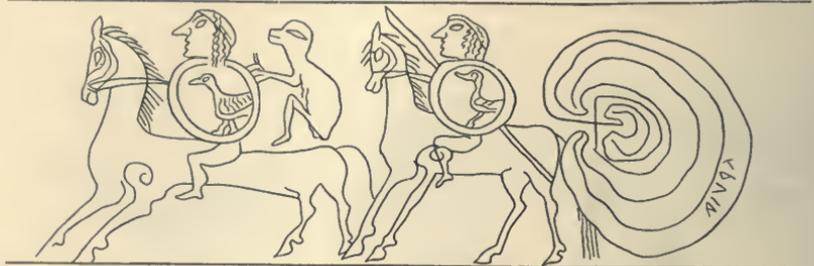


Fig. 332.

O. Benndorf³ recognised soldiers engaged in the game of 'Troy' (*Truia*). It would seem, then, that Attic tradition points backwards to a time when the Labyrinth was depicted, not as a palace, but as a maeander or *swastika*-pattern.



Fig. 333.

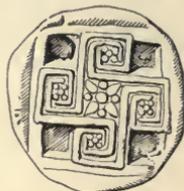


Fig. 334.

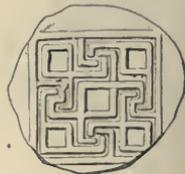


Fig. 335.

The same result is reached on Cretan soil. Coins of Knossos from *c.* 500 B.C. onwards represent the Labyrinth by a *swastika* or by some derivative of the *swastika*⁴. The pattern develops in two directions. On the one hand, the *swastika* together with its four

two fragments of a *skyphos* showing (obverse) Theseus beside the Labyrinth and another figure; (reverse) perhaps the same design. The Labyrinth, to judge from Graef's plate, tapers towards the top like an *omphalôs* (?).

¹ B. Graef *Ant. Vasen Athen* p. 143 contends that the black-figured vases aim at representing 'ein turmartiges Bauwerk' with a labyrinthine ground-plan, and ingeniously compares the *thôlos* at Epidaurus.

² W. Deecke in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1881 liiii. 160—168 pl. L—M, W. Helbig in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1881 p. 65 ff., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vii. 118 fig. 15, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 345.

³ O. Benndorf in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1890 cxiii. 3. Helbig *loc. cit.* p. 67 had already thought of the same explanation.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete* p. 18 ff. pls. 4 ff., *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 173 ff. pl. 40, 20—24, 41, 2, 3, 5, *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1331 ff. pl. 62, 21 f., J. N. Svoronos

incuse corners (figs. 333, 334) passes into a framework enclosing a square (fig. 335), and its central star (sun?) is replaced by a human (fig. 336) or bovine head (fig. 337) or whole figure (fig. 338)¹. On



Fig. 336.



Fig. 337.



Fig. 338.

the other hand, the *swastika* apart from its incuse corners (figs. 339, 340, 341) becomes a maze, which is first square (fig. 342) and then circular (fig. 343) but retains at least a trace of its original form to



Fig. 339.



Fig. 340.

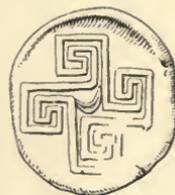


Fig. 341.



Fig. 342.



Fig. 343.

the last. Thanks to Sir Arthur Evans, we now know that this Labyrinth-design was already familiar to the Cnossians of the Bronze Age. In one of the corridors of the second palace at Knossos 'the fallen plaster...showed the remains of an elaborate series of mazes², based on the *motif* of the *swastika*³.

Numismatique de la Crète ancienne Macon 1890 i. 65 ff. pls. 4 ff. and in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1889 p. 199 ff. nos. 13—21, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 460 ff., *Anson Num. Gr.* vi pl. 13, 764—771, 14, 773—806.

¹ Cp. Roman mosaics, which represent the slaying of the Minotaur within a large framework of maeander-pattern (see Welcker *All. Denkm.* ii. 303 f. and for further bibliography P. Gauckler in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 2101 notes 17 and 18 fig. 5240).

² A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 103.

³ *Id. ib.* viii. 104 fig. 62. Cp. *ib.* p. 103 f.: 'A simple key or maeander pattern

The *swastika* as a representation of the Labyrinth can perhaps be traced further afield. At Gaza the god Marnas, otherwise called Zeus *Kretagenés*¹, had a circular temple surrounded by concentric colonnades, which appears to have borne some resemblance to the Cretan Labyrinth². If so, it becomes possible that the Phoenician letter *mem* on autonomous coppers of Gaza (fig. 344)³ was not merely the initial of Marnas⁴, but also a quasi-*swastika* like the Labyrinth-devices on coins of Knossos⁵.

However that may be, it seems certain that both Attic and Cretan art presuppose the *swastika* as the earliest ascertainable form of the Labyrinth. That much-disputed symbol has a voluminous literature of its own⁶, and critics are not yet unanimous as to its ultimate significance. But among recent investigators there



Fig. 344.

is something like a *consensus* in favour of the view that it was a stylised representation of the revolving sun⁷. On this showing,

appears on some of the sealings found by Mr. Hogarth at Zakro [*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 88 no. 133 pl. 10]. A still earlier example of the same class occurred in a magazine of the Earlier Palace together with fine "Middle Minoan" pottery on the East slope.⁸

¹ *Supra* p. 149. See now G. F. Hill *Some Palestinian Cults in the Graeco-Roman Age* London 1912 p. 14 ff. (extr. from the *Proc. Brit. Acad.* v).

² *Infra* ch. ii § 9 (g). The old ground-plan came near to being retained, when the edifice was rebuilt as a Christian church (*supra* p. 167 n. 3). Mazes still survive in the flooring of continental churches (*infra* p. 485 f.).

F. De Sauley *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 p. 210 pl. 11, 2: cp. *supra* p. 236 figs. 175—177.

⁴ F. De Sauley *op. cit.* p. 210, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 805. Cp. Damaskios *dubit. et solut.* 262 (p. 127 f. Ruelle) ὡς παρὰ μὲν Ἀγυπτιοῖς τὸ τὲρ ὀνομαζόμενον, ὃ ἐστὶν εὐθεία ὀρθὴ μία καὶ τρεῖς πλάγιοι ἐπ' αὐτῆς, ἢ τε κορυφαία καὶ δύο μετ' αὐτήν, καὶ ἔτι παρὰ Ἑλλιοπολίταις ἄλλο τι, καὶ παρὰ Γαζαίοις ἄλλο τοῦ Διὸς—which shows that this symbol was deemed sacred to Zeus.

⁵ This suggestion was first made by Sir Arthur Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 88 f.

⁶ To the bibliography of the *swastika* given by T. Wilson (*supra* p. 337 n. 1) add Z. Nuttall *The Fundamental Principles of Old and New World Civilizations* Cambridge Mass. 1901 (Archaeological and Ethnological Papers of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, vol. ii) pp. 1—602.

⁷ So e.g. Count Goblet d'Alviella *The Migration of Symbols* p. 50, A. C. Haddon *Evolution in Art* London 1895 p. 282 ff., A. Bertrand *La Religion des Gaulois* Paris 1897 p. 140 ff. J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 453 ff. Cp. *supra* pp. 301, 336 f.

the original Cnossian Labyrinth was not the great palace unearthed by Sir Arthur Evans, at least was not the whole of that palace, but was a structure which somehow lent itself to an imitation of the sun's movements in the sky.

But how are we to conceive of such a structure? Probably it was an *orchéstra* or 'arena' intended for the performance of a mimetic dance. Perhaps even it was marked out with mazy lines to aid the intricate evolutions of the dancers—a practice undoubtedly known to the later Greeks¹. If, therefore, we are to identify the Labyrinth with any structure so far found, I should suppose that it was the paved rectangular space near the north-west corner of the Cnossian palace. This space, discovered by Sir Arthur Evans² in 1901 and by him dubbed 'the Theatral Area,' is an

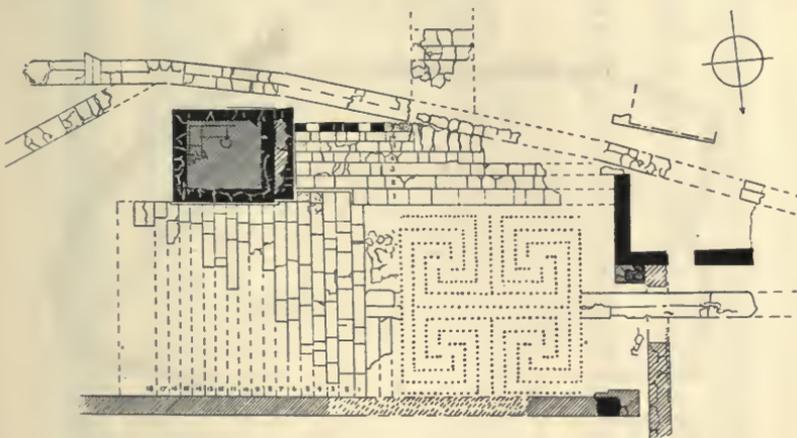


Fig. 345.

east-and-west oblong of 12·94 by 9·89 metres enclosed by two flights of steps or seats (18 on the east, 6 decreasing to 3 on the south side) with a square bastion at their common angle. Its rough paving was probably once covered with coloured cement or hard plaster, on which we may believe the labyrinthine lines to have been set out more or less as in the foregoing ground-plan³.

¹ Hesych. *γραμμαλ' ἐν τῇ ὀρχήστρῃ ἦσαν, ὡς τὸν χορὸν ἐν στοίχῳ ἰσταςθαι*. See A. E. Haigh *The Attic Theatre*² Oxford 1898 p. 137.

² A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 99—112 fig. 68 plan and section, fig. 69 view.

³ I have here combined a plan of the 'Theatral Area' (based on that of A. J. Evans *loc. cit.* p. 103 fig. 68) with the labyrinth-pattern of the wall-painting (*supra* p. 477 n. 2 f.). But, of course, other arrangements are equally possible.

A. Mosso *The Palaces of Crete and their Builders* London 1907 p. 313 notes 'a square figure with nine small holes incised on a step of the theatre.' He suggests that it was 'a Mycenaean game' and compares 'similar figures cut by idle people on the pavements of the basilicas in the Roman Forum.'

The Cnossian *orchestra* bears no slight resemblance to the oblong theatre at Thorikos (fig. 346)¹. Since Thorikos was once a flourishing 'Minoan' settlement, it might be suggested that the peculiar form of its theatre was a heritage from early times. Perhaps we may venture even a step further and recognise certain analogies between the Cretan Labyrinth and the ordinary Attic theatre. If the former was occupied by dancers arranged as a *svastika*, the latter had regularly its 'square chorus'². If a 'clew' was needed in the one³, a rope-dance (*kórdax*) was executed in the other⁴. Ariadne, as the mythographers put it, when deserted by Theseus was taken up by Dionysos. Prof. R. C. Bosanquet points out to me that even in Roman times the *orchestra* of the theatre at Athens was laid out as a *svastika*-mosaic (pl. xxix)⁵. There was in

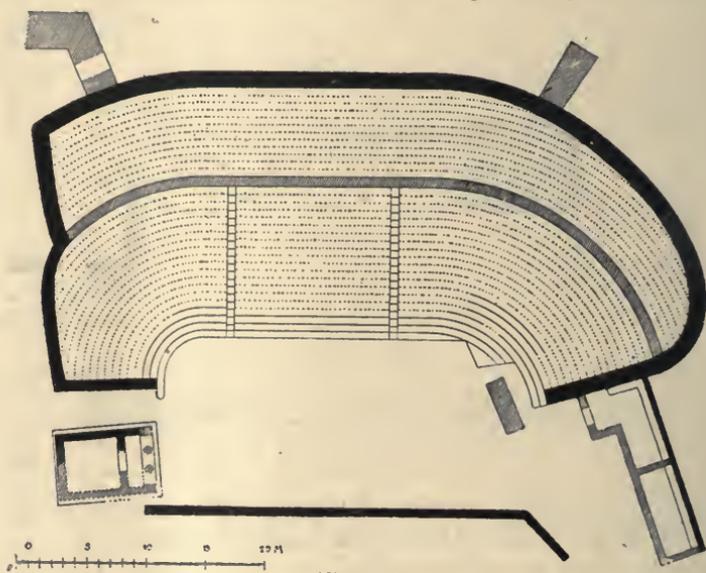


Fig. 346.

fact some excuse for Conrad von Querfurt, who, writing from Sicily in 1194 A.D., tells his old friend the prior of Hildesheim how

¹ W. Miller in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 1885—1886 iv. 1—34, W. Doerpfeld and E. Reisch *Das griechische Theater* Athens 1896 p. 110 fig. 43, A. Marquand *Greek Architecture* New York 1909 p. 338 fig. 372, Durm *Baukunst d. Gr.*³ p. 465 fig. 419, A. Struck *Griechenland* Wien u. Leipzig 1911 i. 194 fig. 221.

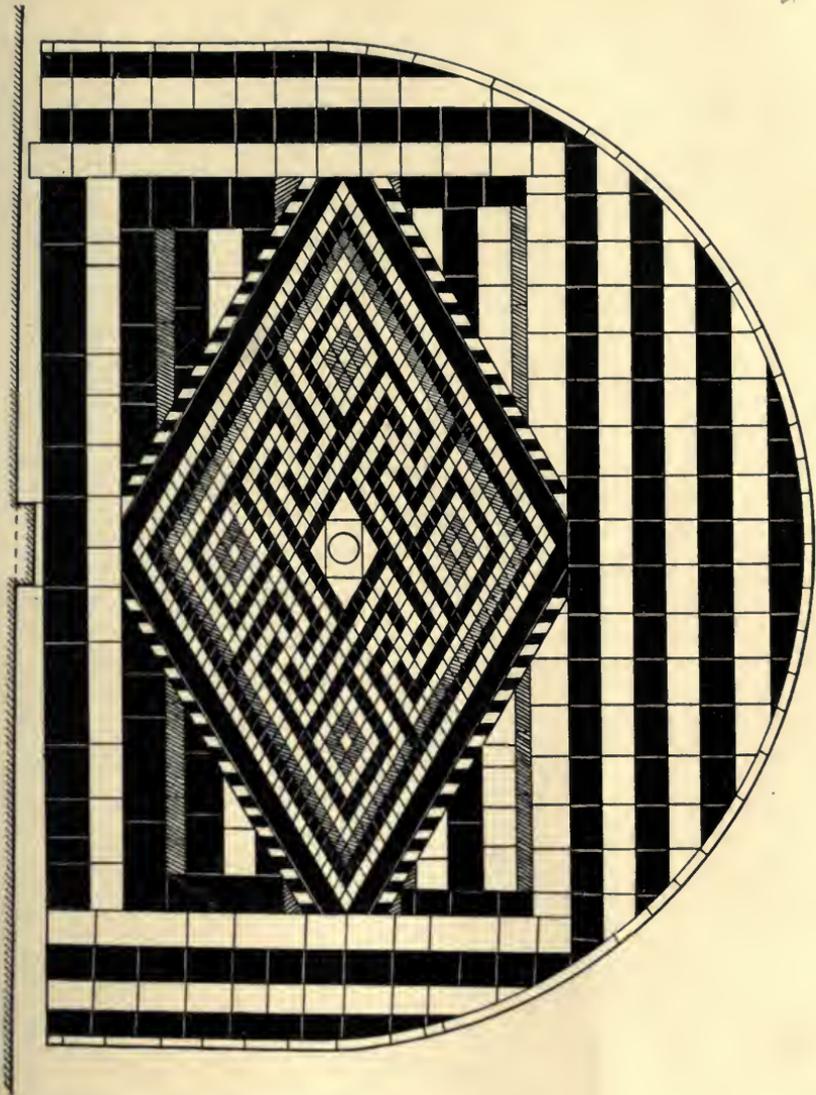
² On the *τετραγωνος χορος* of tragic, comic, and satyric plays, and its relation to the *κύκλιος χορος* of dithyramb, see *Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 376.

³ Diels in Pallat *De fabula Ariadnaea* Berolini 1891 interprets the clew as a rope-dance (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 254, 603 n. 7).

⁴ I have discussed a 'Minoan' precursor of the *kórdax* in *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 101 f.

⁵ The plan here given (very slightly restored) is based on Mr A. M. Poynter's careful survey of the existing remains (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1896—1897 iii. 176—179 pl. 15).

480¹



The *swastika*-mosaic in the theatre at Athens.

See page 480.

charmed he had been to find at Taormina the Labyrinth of the Minotaur!¹

The solution of the Labyrinth-problem² here advanced is borne out by a thrice-familiar passage in the *Iliad*. Daidalos, we read,

once wrought in Knosos broad
A dancing-ground for fair-haired Ariadne³.

The scholiast explains that Theseus, having escaped from the Labyrinth by means of Ariadne's clew, with the youths and maidens whom he had rescued 'wove a circling dance for the gods that resembled his own entrance into and exit from the Labyrinth, Daidalos showing them how to dance it⁴. Eustathios⁵ adds that this was the first occasion on which men and women danced together, that Sophokles had alluded to 'the dances of Knossos⁶,' and that old-fashioned folk in his own day, sailors especially, danced a certain dance with many twists and turns in it meant to recall the windings of the Labyrinth. Lucian too specifies as Cretan dance-themes 'Europe, Pasiphae, both the Bulls, the Labyrinth, Ariadne, Phaidra, Androgeos, Daidalos, Ikaros, Glaukos, the seer-craft of Polyeidos, and Talos the bronze sentinel of Crete⁷.'

The Labyrinth-dance was not confined to Crete. Plutarch in his *Life of Theseus*⁸ writes:

'Sailing away from Crete, he put in at Delos. Here he sacrificed to the god, dedicated the image of Aphrodite that he had received from Ariadne, and in company with the young men danced a dance, which, they say, is still kept up by the Delians. It imitates the circuits and exits of the Labyrinth by means of a certain measure that involves turnings and re-turnings. This type of dance, as Dikaiarchos shows, is called the Crane by the Delians⁹. Theseus danced it

¹ D. Comparetti *Vergil in the Middle Ages* trans. E. F. M. Benecke London 1895 p. 257 f.

² Sir Arthur Evans *loc. cit.* p. 111 concludes 'that this first of theatres, the Stepped Area with its dancing ground, supplies a material foundation for the Homeric tradition of the famous "choros" [*Il.* 18. 591 ff.].' But he does not expressly identify the said 'Area' with the Labyrinth of mythology. Indeed, he cannot, because he regards the whole palace as the Labyrinth (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 33). To me it seems more probable that the Labyrinth proper was the dancing-ground made by Daidalos, and that the close relation of this dancing-ground to the palace at Knossos led the Greeks as early as the fifth century B.C., if not much earlier, to view the Labyrinth erroneously as a palace.

³ *Il.* 18. 591 f.

⁴ Schol. A.B. *Il.* 18. 590.

⁵ Eustath. in *Il.* p. 1166, 17 ff.

⁶ *Soph. Ai.* 700.

⁷ Loukian. *de salt.* 49.

⁸ Plout. *v. Thes.* 21.

⁹ The γέρανος (Loukian. *de salt.* 34) is described by Poll. 4. 101 τὴν δὲ γέρανον κατὰ πλῆθος ὠρχοῦντο, ἕκαστος ὑφ' ἐκάστῳ κατὰ στοῖχον, τὰ ἄκρα ἐκατέρωθεν τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐχόντων κ.τ.λ. and in more general terms by Kallim. *h. Del.* 312 f. πότνια, σὸν περὶ βῶμων ἐγειρομένον κίθαρισμοῦ | κλέκλον ὠρχήσαντο κ.τ.λ. On the *kratér* of Klitias and

round the *keratôn*¹ altar, so named because it consists of horns (*kérata*) all taken from the left side. They state also that he instituted a contest in Delos and therein was the first to award a palm to the victors.²

Again, the game of 'Troy³,' which the Etruscan potter repre-

Entotimos, Attic work of c. 600—550 B.C., Theseus, lyre in hand, is leading the dance, which consists of seven youths and seven maidens: they have just landed from their ship (Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmaleri* i. 60 f. pl. 13).

I have elsewhere (*Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 186 f.) pointed out that this curious combination of bull and crane recurs in the Celtic area. On an altar found at Paris in 1710, beneath the apse of Notre-Dame, four sculptured panels show (a) Jupiter (IOVIS) with sceptre and eagle, (b) Vulcanus (VOLCANVS) with tongs, (c) a bearded god (ESVS) felling a willow-tree with uplifted axe, (d) a great bull wearing a long saddle-cloth or *dorsuale*. On his head and back are three cranes visible against the foliage of the willow. The inscription above is TARVOS · TRIGARANVS, 'the Bull with the Three Cranes' (see A. Bertrand *La Religion des Gaulois* Paris 1897 p. 351 f. fig. 50 and especially S. Reinach *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1905 i. 233 ff. figs. 1—4). On another altar found near Trèves in 1895 the three sculptured faces show (a) Mercurius with *caduceus*, purse, etc. and his consort (Rosmerta?) standing on either side of an altar. A small animal (goat? ram?) is between the feet of Mercurius. Beneath runs the incomplete inscription NDVS MEDIOM · MERCVRIO V · VS (b) the lower portion of a small draped female figure, (c) a beardless (?) wood-cutter cleaving or splitting a tree, probably meant for a willow. High up on the tree are a bull's head to the left and three large birds with long beaks to the right (Bertrand *op. cit.* p. 352 f. fig. 51, Reinach *op. cit.* i. 234 ff. figs. 5 f.). H. Steuding in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1603 cp. the stout shepherd Garanus (Verrius Flaccus *ap. Serv. in Verg. Aen.* 8. 203) or Recaranus (Aur. Vict. *orig. gent. Rom.* 8, where Steuding ingeniously cj. *Trigaranus*), who slew Cacus the thief of Geryones' oxen.

It may also be remarked that a Japanese crest has three storks or cranes grouped together on the solar disk (N. Gordon Munro in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 1911 xxxviii. 3. 64 pl. 20, 22, cp. 21).

¹ The form *κερατών* is found also in a Delian inscription (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 588, 172). Plout. *terr. an aquat. anim. sint callidiora* 35 regards the *κεράτῳς βοῦβός* of Delos as one of the seven wonders of the world (so anon. *de incred.* 2, Mart. *lib. spec.* 1. 4) and states that it was made of right horns only, without glue or bonding of any sort. Anon. *de incred.* 2 says that it was composed of the right horns of victims offered to the god on a single day. Kallim. *h. Ap.* 61 ff. asserts that the four-year-old Apollon built it with the horns of goats shot by Artemis on Mt Kynthos. It is also mentioned by Ov. *her.* 21. 99. The existing remains are described by T. Homolle 'L'autel des cornes à Délos' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1884 viii. 417 ff. pls. 17 ff., Durn *Bankunst d. Gr.*² p. 230 figs. 152 f., L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2468. They include a long narrow temple measuring 67·20 by 8·86 metres. This is divided into three parts. First comes a *πρόναος* with four Doric columns. Then, an elongated *ναός*, the centre of which forms a sunk oblong space. This is separated from the third and innermost portion of the edifice by two pairs of Doric half-columns forming three intercolumniations: the middle opening has on either side of it a pilaster, the capital of which is the forepart of a kneeling bull. Lastly, there is an inner *ναός*, oblong in shape, where once stood the famous horn-altar. It is noteworthy also that a colonnade 125 metres in length, which runs along the northern side of the precinct, has its triglyphs decorated with bulls' heads. Examples of the forepart of a bull used as an architectural member are collected by A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* ii. 263 f.

² G. E. Marindin in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 899 f. Cp. also Hesych. *s.v.* Μαλαβόπος...καὶ εἶδος ἱππασίας παρὰ ἱπποδαμίστρας.

sented as a maze¹ and Virgil expressly compares with the Cretan Labyrinth², was said to have been first introduced into Latium by Ascanius and his Trojans³. This tradition, if sound, points to the former existence of a labyrinthine dance in Asia Minor. It may, therefore, be worth while to suggest that the Labyrinth-pattern, which occurs on coins of Priene⁴, Magnesia on the Maiandros⁵, Tripolis⁶, and Apameia⁷, was not originally a graphic sign for the 'meandering' river, but an ancient religious symbol akin to, if not identical with, that which represented the Labyrinth at Knossos. Thus the humped bull within the Labyrinth on coins of the Cretan colony⁸ Magnesia, c. 350—190 B.C. (fig. 347)⁹, would be comparable with the Minotaur¹⁰, while the *swastika* beneath the feet of Apollon on the later tetradrachms (fig. 348)¹¹ suggests a solar interpretation. If we were better acquainted with the history of 'Minoan' migrations, it might be possible to trace the route by which the Labyrinth-dance and the Labyrinth-pattern passed from east to west¹².



Fig. 347.

Miss Harrison in a letter to me dated June 14, 1912 makes the interesting suggestion that the *Τρωικὸν πῆδημα* of Neoptolemos at Delphoi (Eur. *Andr.* 1139) may stand in some relation to the game of 'Troy.' This strikes me as not impossible, since we have already found Neoptolemos grasping the solar wheel in the same sanctuary (*supra* p. 261). Yet I should hardly agree with Miss Harrison that 'the usual aetiology is sheer nonsense': cp. schol. Eur. *Andr.* 1139 τὸ Τρωικὸν πῆδημα· ὁποῖον ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ ἐπῆδησεν ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς. οἱ γὰρ συννεταχότες τὰ Τρωικὰ φασὶν ὡς τόπος ἐστὶν ἐν Τροίᾳ καλούμενος Ἀχιλλεύς πῆδημα, ὅπερ ἀπὸ τῆς νεὺς ἐπῆδησεν. οὕτως δὲ φασὶ βία ἤλατο ὡς καὶ ὕδωρ ἀναδοθῆναι. Here at least is a *bona fide* piece of folk-lore.

¹ *Supra* p. 476 fig. 332.

² Verg. *Aen.* 5. 588 ff.

³ *Id. ib.* 5. 596 ff.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 229 ff. pl. 24, 3—6, 9, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 358, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 590 f.

⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 158 ff. pl. 18, 1—11, 19, 2, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 346 f. pl. 51, 3 f., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 582 fig. 296.

⁶ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 364 pl. 38, 6, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 661.

⁷ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. 74 f., 85, 92 f. pl. 10, 2—5, 8—10, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 478 f. pl. 56, 13, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 666.

⁸ Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 584: see Roscher *Lex Myth.* ii. 1997 f.

⁹ I figure a copper in my collection.

¹⁰ The Cretan bull, *ab initio* a fertilising agent, would readily become a bovine river-god, his *swastika* being re-interpreted as the sinuous line of the river.

¹¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 162 pl. 18, 9 (=my fig. 348), 10, 11.

Prof. R. C. Bosanquet draws my attention to the fact that in the temple of Apollon at Didyma the marble roof of a stair-case known as the *Λαβύρινθος* (B. Haussoullier in the *Rev. Philol.* N. S. 1905 xxix. 264 ff.) had a carved and painted *swastika*-pattern (T. Wiegand 'Sechster vorläufiger Bericht über Ausgrabungen in Milet und Didyma' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1908 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 35, 'Siebenter...Bericht' *ib.* 1911 p. 49 f. fig. 16).

¹² The Labyrinths of the *Kyklopes* in the caves near Nauplia (Strab. 369 *ἐφεξῆς δὲ τῇ Ναυπλίᾳ τὰ σπήλαια καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτοῖς οἰκοδομητοὶ λαβύρινθοι, Κυκλώπεια δ' ὀνομάζουσιν*), the Labyrinth in Samos made by Theodoros (Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 83), the Labyrinth in

In Italy they gained a firm footing, as we may infer not only from the literary allusions to the game of 'Troy¹,' but also from the many Roman mosaics that represent Theseus and his foe in a labyrinthine frame².



Fig. 348.

Finally the Labyrinth was taken over from paganism by Christianity. At Orléansville in Algeria the Christian *basilica*, founded in 324 A.D., had among other mosaics a Labyrinth, the centre of which was occupied by the words SANCTA ECCLESIA repeated in a complicated form³.

One of the state robes of the Christian emperors prior to the ninth



Fig. 349.

century was coloured a fiery red and adorned with a Labyrinth of gold and pearls, in which was a Mirtotaur of emerald holding a finger to his lips⁴. A picture by Bartolommeo Veneto (1502—1530),

Lennos (?) with its 150 columns attributed to Smilis Rhoikos and Theodoros (*id. ib.* 36. 90, where Hirt's *ej. Samius* for *codd. Lemnius* certainly suits the clause: *architecti fecere Zmilis et Rhoecus et Theodorus indigenae*), the amazing Labyrinth at Clusium constructed as a tomb for himself by Porsenna (*id. ib.* 36. 91—93 citing Varro, *cp. Isid. orig.* 15. 2. 36: see Durm *Baukunst d. Etrusk.*² p. 140 ff.), were all buildings and merely attest the fact that the name attached itself to any complicated structure.

¹ *Supra* p. 476.

² *Supra* p. 477 n. 1.

³ F. Prévost in the *Rev. Arch.* 1847—1848 ii. 664, 800 ff. pl. 78.

⁴ A. F. Ozanam *Documents inédits pour servir à l'Histoire Littéraire de l'Italie* Paris 1850 pp. 92, 178 citing the *Graphia aureae urbis Romae* (cod. Laurent. plut. lxxxix infer. no. 41): *De diarodino imperatoris et laberintho aureo facto in eo. Unde diarodino utitur ad imitandum divini ignis effigiem, qui semper ad alta extollitur, et quia per sanguinem*

now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, represents an unknown man wearing a Labyrinth of the sort on his breast¹. A small Labyrinth (19½ inches across) still exists incised upon a porch pier of Lucca cathedral (fig. 349)². The central group of Theseus and the Minotaur has all but vanished under the pressure of countless tracing fingers, but the adjoining inscription attests the designer's meaning. Similar examples are, or were, in the church of S. Michele at Pavia (*s. xi*), at Aix in Provence, on the walls of Poitiers cathedral. Labyrinths of larger size are not very



Fig. 350.

uncommon in continental churches³. A fine specimen, composed of grey and white marble, decorates the middle of the nave in Romani subjugaverunt orbem terrarum. Habeat et in diarodino laberinthum fabrefactum ex auro et margaritis, in quo sit Minotaurus digitum ad os tenens ex smaragdo factus, quia sicut non valet quis laberinthum scrutare, ita non debet consilium dominatoris propalare. I am indebted for this and for several of the following references to a valuable article by the Rev. E. Trollope on 'Notices of Ancient and Medieval Labyrinths' in *The Archaeological Journal* 1858 xv. 216—235.

¹ F. R. Earp *A descriptive Catalogue of the Pictures in the Fitzwilliam Museum* Cambridge 1902 p. 14 f. no. 133 fig. Mr A. S. F. Gow, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, kindly drew my attention to this interesting picture.

² J. Durand in Didron *Annales Archéologiques* Paris 1857 xvii. 124 f. with pl. The inscription runs: hic quem Creticus edit Dedalus est laberinthus, | de quo nullus vadere quivit qui fuit intus, | ni Theseus gratis Adriane (*sic*) stamine intus. The *façade* of the cathedral dates from 1204.

³ W. Meyer 'Ein Labyrinth mit Versen' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1882 ii. 267—300 enumerates nine examples (*ib.* p. 283 ff. Chartres, Poitiers, St Quentin, Amiens 1288 A.D., Arras, St Omer, Sens, Reims c. 1300 A.D., Bayeux in *s. xiv*) and brings them into connexion with Labyrinths drawn in mediæval manuscripts. E. Krause *Die Trojaburgen Nordeuropas* Glogau 1893 p. 88 ff. ('Kirchen-Labyrinthe') figures four (Sens, St Omer, St Quentin, Bayeux) after E. Bosc *Dictionnaire raisonné d'Architecture* Paris 1879.

Chartres cathedral (fig. 350)¹. It measures 30 feet in diameter, and its winding path is 668 feet long. The centre was formerly adorned with a representation of Theseus and the Minotaur. Such a maze was called in the middle ages *domus Dedali* or *maison Dedalu* or even, as in the inscription at Amiens, *Maison de Dalus*. But new uses were found for the old design. Towards the close of the Crusades men who had broken vows of pilgrimage to the Holy Land did penance by treading these tortuous *chemins de Jerusalem* until they reached the central space, often termed *le ciel*. Later the same Labyrinths were used as a means of penance for sins of omission and commission in general.

In Great Britain mosaic mazes are exceptional and late², but turf-cut mazes fairly common and early³. They are mostly



Fig. 351.

situated close to a church or chapel, so that not impossibly they served a penitential purpose. One at Alkborough in Lincolnshire, 44 feet across, even resembles in design (fig. 351)⁴ the Labyrinth of Lucca cathedral. After the Reformation ecclesiastical mazes were converted into pleasure-grounds. Aubrey states that before

¹ E. Trollope *loc. cit.* p. 221 fig. 3 (from E. Wallet *Description d'une Crypte et d'un Pavé mosaïque de l'ancienne église de St. Bertin à Saint-Omer* Douai 1843 p. 97).

² *E.g.* there is one inside the west door of Ely cathedral; but it is of quite recent date (1870).

³ The best collection of facts is contained in a paper by the Rev. F. G. Walker on 'Comberton Maze and the origin of Mazes' (read before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, February 8, 1909, but as yet unprinted). Mr Walker *op. cit.* p. 17 ff. notes the proximity of many English mazes to Roman remains and argues that some of them may have been originally cut in Roman times.

⁴ E. Trollope *loc. cit.* p. 224 f. fig. 5.

the civil wars there were many mazes in England, and that the young people used on festivals to dance upon them, or, as the term was, to tread them¹. Stukeley in 1724 writes:

'The lovers of antiquity, especially of the inferior class, always speak of 'em with great pleasure, and as if there were something extraordinary in the thing, tho' they cannot tell what.... what generally appears at present is no more than a circular work made of banks of earth in the fashion of a maze or labyrinth, and the boys to this day divert themselves with running in it one after another, which leads them by many windings quite thro' and back again².'

A century later T. Wright observes:

'At the maze (called there *mazles*) at Comberton, in Cambridgeshire, it has been a custom, from time immemorial, among the villagers, to hold a feast every three years about the time of Easter³.'

This maze, which has recently been restored by the Rev. F.G. Walker, was almost identical in type with one at Wing in Rutlandshire⁴. When transformed into the play-ground of the village school, it



Fig. 352.

was in danger of extinction; but I have repeatedly seen the school-children in single file tread the nearly obliterated windings. Antiquarians, monkish or otherwise, appear to have assumed the

¹ J. Aubrey *Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey* v. 80, cp. *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme* 1686—87 (London 1881) p. 71.

² W. Stukeley *Itinerarium Curiosum* London 1724 p. 91 ff.

³ T. Wright *The History and Topography of the County of Essex* London 1835 ii. 124 n. The Rev. F. G. Walker *op. cit.* p. 20 says of the Comberton Maze: 'It used, in bygone days, to be recut every three years at Easter time, when the men who cut it had a feast.'

⁴ E. Trollope *loc. cit.* p. 232.

Roman lineage of these turf-mazes; for in England they are commonly called 'Troy-town' and in Wales *Caerdroia*, 'Troy-walls'.¹ Another name for them is 'Julian's Bowers,' or in northern dialect 'Jullinbores'.² Stukeley³ even proposed to connect this name with that of Iulus⁴!

Similar mazes are reported from various parts of northern Europe. In Norway and Sweden they are constructed of stones and known as *Trojin*, *Trojeborg*, *Trojenborg*, *Tröborg*.⁵ A maze some 18 metres wide at Wisby on the island of Gothland (fig. 352)⁶ is, as Dr E. Krause points out, curiously like the circular Labyrinth

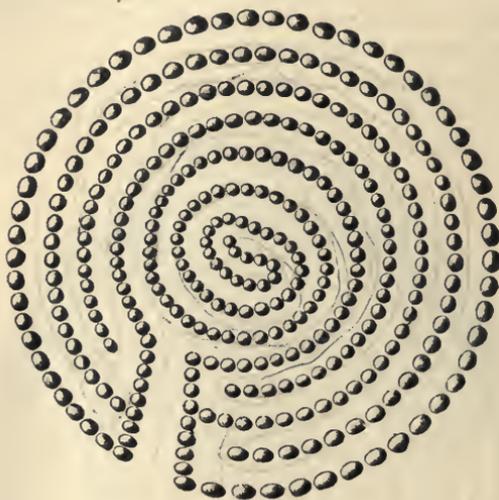


Fig. 353.

on a coin of Knossos (*supra* p. 477 fig. 343)⁷. In Finland and Lapland the same custom obtains, though here the name most in

¹ E. Trollope *loc. cit.* p. 222 ff. Welsh shepherds, in commemoration of their Trojan descent (!), used often to cut a labyrinthine figure called the *Caerdroia* on the turf, as the herdsmen upon the grassy plains of Burgh and Rockliff Marshes near the Solway Sands in Cumberland still cut a labyrinthine figure termed the 'Walls of Troy' (W. H. M. in *Notes and Queries* Second Series v. 211 ff.). In Scotland too the 'Walls of Troy' are popular with children, who trace them on the sea-sand or scribble them on their slates (E. Trollope *loc. cit.* p. 233).

² A. H. Allcroft *Earthwork of England* London 1908 p. 602 n. 2. On the variants 'Gelyan-bower,' 'Gillimber,' 'Jilling-bo'or,' 'Jul-Laber' see J. Wright *The English Dialect Dictionary* London 1902 iii. 389.

³ W. Stukeley *loc. cit.*

⁴ *Supra* p. 483.

⁵ On Hallands Väderö, an island in the Kattegat, a maze of stones is called *Trelleborg* (*i.e.* *Trolleborg*, the 'Giants' Castle').

⁶ E. Krause *Die Trojaburgen Nordeuropas* Glogau 1893 p. 4 fig. 1, p. 184 fig. 23.

⁷ It is, I suppose, possible that a Cnossian tetradrachm might find its way northwards along a trade-route (cp. the map in R. Forrer *Keltische Numismatik der Rhein- und Donaulande* Strassburg 1908 pl. 1) and so furnish the prototype of this design.

use is *Babylon*¹. I append an example about 12 ft across observed and drawn by E. von Baer in 1838, when he was weather-bound at Vier, a small uninhabited island in the Gulf of Finland (fig. 353)². Iceland too has analogous Labyrinths made of stones or earth, the native name for which is *Völundarhús*, 'Weland's House.'

It would seem then that in Great Britain, Scandinavia, the north-east of Russia, and Iceland rough mazes of unknown antiquity exist, which conform to the same general pattern as that of the Cretan Labyrinth. The first to grasp the full significance of this curious fact was Dr E. Krause. In a very noteworthy monograph devoted to the subject and in a subsequent appendix to the same³ he endeavoured to show that the maze of the countryside was no imitation of the classical Labyrinth, but that rather the classical Labyrinth was an imitation of it. Maze and Labyrinth alike were survivals of a remote past and were originally used for the purposes of a mimetic solar rite⁴. Pliny believed that the Cretan Labyrinth was a copy of the Egyptian, and contrasted the intricate handiwork

¹ Dr J. R. Aspelin of Helsingfors (quoted by E. Krause *op. cit.* p. 19) notes other names: 'In den Kirchspielen Kemi und Jio, unweit von Torneo, werden die Steinsetzungen *Jatulintarha* (Riesenhage) genannt, von Jio bis Alt-Karleby *Pietar-inleikki* (St. Peterspiel). Die schwedischen Bauern zwischen Alt-Karleby und Christianstadt nennen sie *Jungfrudans* (Jungferntanz). Zwischen Christianstadt und Abo werden sie *Nunnantarha* (Nonnenhage) genannt, in dem schwedischen Archipel von Abo und am Aland *Trojenborg* und *Rundborg*, in der schwedischen Gegend von Helsingfors wieder *Jungfrudans* und ausserdem Zerstörung Jerusalems, Stadt Ninive, Jericho u. s. w. Mehr östlich bis in die Gegend von Wiborg findet man die Benennungen *Jätinkatu* (Riesenstrasse), *Kivitarha* (Steinhage) und Lissabon.'

² E. Krause *op. cit.* p. 13 ff. fig. 2.

³ E. Krause *Die Trojaburgen Nordeuropas* Glogau 1893 pp. 1—300, *id. Die nordische Herkunft der Trojasage bezeugt durch den Krug von Tragliatella (Nachtrag zu den Trojaburgen Nordeuropas)* Glogau 1893 pp. 1—48.

⁴ Thus far at least we may frankly accept Dr Krause's results, without necessarily endorsing his conclusions as to the precise character of the rite involved. He holds that the original Labyrinth-dance represented the rescue of the sun-goddess from the castle of a wintry demon. Corresponding with this northern spring-rite was a northern spring-myth, in which the solar heroine (Freya, Brunhild, etc.) was freed from the prison of a superhuman builder or smith. Among Indians, Persians, and Southern Slavs the baleful power was a three-headed monster named *Druho*, *Druja* or *Draogha*, *Trojanu*. Dr Krause argues (*Die Trojaburgen Nordeuropas* pp. ix f., 109 ff., 277 ff., *Nachtrag* p. 41 ff.) that the whole story of the Trojan War presupposes this northern myth, with Helene for solar heroine. He thinks (*Die Trojaburgen Nordeuropas* p. 10 ff.) that the names of Troy-town, *Trojaburg*, etc., are not due to a diffused tradition of the Homeric Troy, but to the existence of a Germanic word *Troie*, 'fortress, doublet, dance' (root-meaning: 'Umwallung, Umhüllung, Umkreisung'). And he attempts (*ib.* p. 48 ff., *Nachtrag* p. 46 ff.) to connect the Labyrinth-design with the cup-marks and concentric circles of the neolithic age.

These speculations, which are set forth with much learning and ingenuity, are for the most part well worth weighing; but I confess that, with sundry notable exceptions, they impress me as being more plausible than convincing.

of Daidalos with the paltry representations of it to be seen in mosaic-floors 'or' (he added contemptuously) 'with the games of children in the country, which enclose a walk of several thousand paces within a narrow strip'.¹ How little he realised that the country maze was the original, of which Daidalos' masterpiece was but an artistic elaboration!

Another point to be noticed is this. In Italy and France, where ecclesiastical Labyrinths abound, no rustic mazes are now to be seen. Conversely in Great Britain, Scandinavia, Finland, Lapland, Iceland, where rustic mazes are numerous, no ecclesiastical Labyrinths occur. Hence we infer that in southern Europe the rustic maze was pressed into the service of the church, while in western and north-western Europe it remained as a relic of paganism.

Further, it can hardly be accidental that the distribution of mazes and Labyrinths corresponds so closely with that of the megalithic monuments of Europe². This suggests that the original maze-makers were akin to, or even identical with, the unknown builders of cromlechs, menhirs, and avenues.

In conclusion, it is clear that the Labyrinth, once the *orchestra* of a solar dance, has throughout mediaeval and modern times been subjected to a slow process of degradation. The final stage was reached, when the maze of the village-green was superseded by the 'Labyrinth,' the 'Dædal,' and the 'Wilderness'—topiary puzzles of a purely secular sort.

From Knossos to Hampton Court may be a far cry; but it will be admitted that in the chain connecting them hardly a link is missing.

xv. The Minotaur.

Our enquiries into Cretan religion have hitherto led us towards two conclusions. On the one hand, in Cretan myth the sun was conceived as a bull³. On the other hand, in Cretan ritual the Labyrinth was an *orchestra* of solar pattern presumably made for a mimetic dance⁴.

In view of these results it would seem highly probable that the

¹ Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 85 hinc (*sc.* from the Egyptian Labyrinth) utique sumpsisse Daedalum exemplar eius labyrinthi, quem fecit in Creta, non est dubium, sed centesimam tantum portionem eius imitatum, quae itinerum ambages occursusque ac recursus inexplicabiles continet, non—ut in pavimentis *puerorumve ludicris campestribus videmus—brevis lacinia milia passuum plura ambulationis continentem*, sed crebris foribus inditis ad fallendos occursus redeundumque in errores eosdem.

² J. Fergusson *Rude Stone Monuments* London 1872 pl. 1 publishes a useful 'Map, designed to illustrate the distribution of Dolmens, and probable lines of the migrations of the Dolmen builders.'

³ *Supra* p. 467 ff.

⁴ *Supra* p. 472 ff.

dancer imitating the sun masqueraded in the Labyrinth as a bull. That, if I mistake not, is the true explanation of Pasiphae's child, the Minotaur. He was the crown-prince of Knossos in ritual attire, and his bull-mask proclaimed his solar character¹. Why the crown-prince rather than the king should have discharged this duty², and why every ninth year he required a tale of human victims³, are points for later consideration. Here I am concerned to note merely his probable relation to the sun and to the dance.

Dr J. G. Frazer⁴, after discussing the dance of the youths and maidens at Knossos in connexion with Labyrinths old and new, pens the following paragraph, with which I find myself largely in agreement⁵:

'A dance or game which has thus spread over Europe and survived in a fashion to modern times must have been very popular, and bearing in mind how often with the decay of old faiths the serious rites and pageants of grown people have degenerated into the sports of children, we may reasonably ask whether Ariadne's Dance or the Game of Troy may not have had its origin in religious ritual. The ancients connected it with Cnossus and the Minotaur. Now we have seen reason to hold, with many other scholars, that Cnossus was the seat of a great worship of the sun, and that the Minotaur was a representation or embodiment of the sun-god. May not, then, Ariadne's dance have been an imitation of the sun's course in the sky? and may not its intention have been, by means of sympathetic magic, to aid the great luminary to run his race on high? We have seen that during an eclipse of the sun the Chilcotin Indians walk in a circle, leaning on staves, apparently to assist the labouring orb. In Egypt also the king, who embodied the sun-god, seems to have solemnly walked round the walls of a temple for the sake of helping the sun on his way. If there is any truth in this conjecture, it would seem to follow that the sinuous lines of the Labyrinth which the dancers followed in their evolutions may have represented the ecliptic, the sun's apparent annual path in the sky. It is some confirmation of this view that on coins of Cnossus the sun or a star appears in

¹ In 1890 Miss J. E. Harrison wrote: 'It seems possible that the man-bull form of the Minotaur may have been suggested by the necessities of a mimetic dance, the part of Minotaur being taken by a man with a bull-head mask' (*Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. cxxvii). This view I supported and sought to strengthen in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 124 n. 247. In the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 410 f. I went further and conjectured that, since the Cretans conceived of the sun as a bull, Minos as sun-king wore a bull-mask, and that this ritual costume gave rise to the legend of the Minotaur. In *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 272 I shifted my ground and, for reasons which will subsequently appear, contended that the Minotaur was, not Minos himself, but Minos' son in the ritual disguise of the solar bull. See also G. Murray *The Rise of the Greek Epic*² Oxford 1911 pp. 156—158.

² *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 392 f.

³ *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 411, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 394 ff.

⁴ Frazer *Golden Bough*³: The Dying God p. 77, cp. *ib.*⁵ The Magic Art i. 312.

⁵ I had almost completed my own account of the Labyrinth before reading Dr Frazer's important and helpful chapter. We have approached the matter from different angles, he dealing with the octennial tenure of the kingship, I with the solar bull; but at this point our results approximate.

the middle of the Labyrinth, the place which on other coins is occupied by the Minotaur.'

From the concluding sentences of this paragraph I should dissent. The fact that the earliest known form of the Labyrinth is a derivative of the *swastika* leads us to believe that the dance represented the revolving sun rather than the ecliptic. But that the Minotaur, like the Chilcotin Indians walking in a circle and leaning on their staves, was engaged in a piece of mimetic ritual seems to me highly probable. I would interpret in this sense an unpublished *statér* of Knossos in the McClean collection at Cambridge (fig. 354). This interesting coin has for its reverse design a Labyrinth clearly based on the *swastika*-pattern, and for its obverse a Minotaur of unique type. He has a bull's head and tail; but from under his mask—for such it must be—hang two unmistakable tresses of human hair, and as he hastens along he leans upon a staff. A figure better adapted to express the solar dance it would be hard to imagine.

Such a dance doubtless served to promote the year's vegetation; and it has been argued with much probability by E. Neustadt¹ that the crown of Theseus or Ariadne was originally a flowery crown comparable with the May-garland. Bakchylides speaks of the

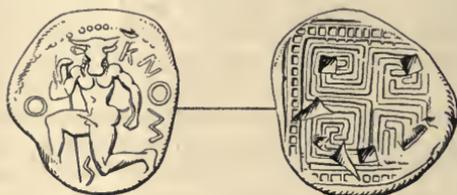


Fig. 354.

former as 'dark with roses²'; Timachidas, of the latter as made from the 'Theseus-flower³.' The wreath in question, whether his or hers, was transformed into a constellation at a later date when magic had yielded to science. Yet even then tradition did not forget that a shining crown of some sort was connected with the Labyrinth. According to Epimenides, Theseus after slaying the Minotaur escaped from the Labyrinth by virtue of a glittering crown, which Dionysos had given to Ariadne. This crown, formed by Hephaistos of fiery gold and Indian gems, made light for the hero in the dark maze: it was afterwards placed by Dionysos among the stars⁴.

¹ E. Neustadt *De Jove Cretico* Berolini 1906 p. 29 ff.

² Bakchyl. 16. 116.

³ Timachidas *ap.* Athen. 684 F.

⁴ Epimenides *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *cat.* 5 and Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 5, cp. Paus. 5. 19. 1. See further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 603 n. 3 and n. 6.

Again, the Minotaur was also called *Astérios*¹ or *Asterion*², 'the Starry.' A red-figured *amphora* from Nola, now in the Vatican collection³, shows Theseus slaying him in the presence of Ariadne, who holds a crown, and Minos, who holds a sceptre: the Minotaur's body is bespangled with many stars, and in this some have seen an allusion to his name⁴. But that is improbable; for on other



Fig. 355.

vases he is flecked or patched with queer-looking marks merely to denote that he has a bull's pelt (fig. 355)⁵. A red-figured *kýlix* by

¹ Apollod. 3. 1. 4, Tzetz. in Lyk. *Al.* 653, 1299, 1301, cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 222 ff., 546 ff., 40. 284 ff. (Asterios, son of Minos by Androgeia).

² Paus. 2. 31. 1. Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 21 makes Asterion the son of Iupiter by Idea (= Idaia), wife of Minos.

³ Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* iii. 36 f. pl. 160, *Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii pl. 57, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 307 no. 80, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 81, 10.

⁴ So Schirmer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 657, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1785, J. N. Svoronos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 115.

⁵ L. Stephani *Der Kampf zwischen Theseus und Minotauros* Leipzig 1842 p. 82 pl. 3 (black-figured Minotaur flecked with white), p. 83 pl. 8 (black-figured Minotaur with spots, mostly T-shaped, of white), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 105 no. B 148 (black-figured Minotaur stippled with hair), etc.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 111 f. no. E 84 (red-figured Minotaur, covered with brown

Douris, found at Vulci and now in the British Museum, sprinkles him with eyes like those of Argos, another bovine personage (fig. 356)¹. More to the point, perhaps, are the silver coins of Knossos



Fig. 356.

from c. 500 B.C. onwards: these represent him surrounded with a row of dots, which may or may not be meant for stars². Clearer, though still not quite convincing, is a Corinthian *pinax* of

strokes to indicate hair), Collignon—Coue *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 367 f. no. 1173 (red-figured Minotaur 'tacheté de points'), etc.

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 73 f. no. E 48, Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* iii. 153 pl. 234, Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 1789 fig. 1873, A. S. Murray *Designs from Greek Vases in the British Museum* London 1894 p. 24 no. 29 pl. 8, E. Pottier *Douris* Paris 1905 p. 75 ff. fig. 11, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 118, W. Klein *Die griechischen Vasen mit Meistersignaturen*² Wien 1887 p. 158 no. 16, C. Robert in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1859. Mr H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 73 notes: 'the mask of the Minotaur is edged with a triple wavy black line at the neck, and shaded with light brown strokes.... His body and limbs are thickly overspread with dotted circles, like the eyes of Argus. The division between this skin and the surface of the hands and feet is marked by fine brown lines.'

² J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 65 f. pl. 4, 23 ff.,

the early sixth century B.C., which was found at Pente Skouphia in 1879 and is now in the Berlin Museum (fig. 357)¹: on this he appears in the centre of four unmistakable stars, which are hardly to be regarded as mere filling. It would, however, be hasty to conclude that the Minotaur was a nocturnal rather than a diurnal power. The terms *astér* and *ástron* were applicable to the sun² and moon³ as well as to the stars, so that we should be justified in explaining the title *Astérios*, *Asterion* as 'god of all the Celestial Lights.'



Fig. 357.

As to the Minotaur-dance, we have already seen that Cretan dance-themes included 'Europe, Pasiphae, both the Bulls, the Labyrinth, Ariadne,' etc.⁴ These, doubtless, were late pantomimic

Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1331 ff. pl. 62, 21 ff., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 18 pl. 4, 7 f., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 460.

J. N. Svoronos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 115 connects the star, often found as a monetary type at Knossos (e.g. figs. 358, 359 from small silver and copper coins in my collection), with the Minotaur's name *Ἀστέρων*.



Fig. 358.

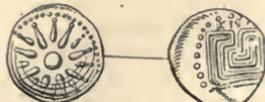


Fig. 359.

¹ *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 6 pl. 29, 14 (= Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 75 no. 663+i. 77 no. 730), E. Pernice in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1897 xii. 29 fig. 21.

² Pind. *Ol.* 1. 5 f. *μηκέτ' ἀέλου σκόπει | ἄλλο θαλπνότερον ἐν ἀμέρᾳ φαεννὸν ἄστρον κ.τ.λ.*, *frag. paeon.* 9. 1 ff. Schroeder (*frag.* 107. 1 f. Christ) *ἀκτῖς ἀέλου... | ἄστρον ὑπέριτατον | ἐν ἀμέρᾳ | κλεπτόμενον*. The schol. vet. Pind. *Ol.* 1. 6 says: *κακῶς εἶπεν ἄστρον... ὁ δὲ ἥλιος ἀστήρ*.

³ Aisch. *s. c. Th.* 390 *πρέσβιστον ἀστρων, νυκτὸς ὀφθαλμὸς, πρέπει*, *frag.* 170. 2 Nauck² *οὐτ' ἀστερωπὸν ὄμμα (codd. ἀστέρων στόμα, corr. Bentley) Λητώας κόρης*.

⁴ *Supra* p. 481.

performances, but it is likely enough that their *motifs* were traditional. A black-figured *hydria* in the British Museum, on which are seen three Minotaurs running towards the right with arms akimbo (pl. xxx)¹, has possibly preserved a reminiscence of such dances. It is also noteworthy that a black-figured *lékythos* at Athens, which represents Theseus slaying the Minotaur in the presence of two females, gives the monster a bull's tail but a human head².

My notion that the Minotaur was a Cnossian prince masquerading as a bull receives no slight support from Diodoros³. After speaking of the Egyptian Labyrinth built by king Mendes or Marros and its Cretan copy made by Daidalos for Minos, the historian goes on to remark that five generations later there came to the throne of Egypt a certain Keten, identified by the Greeks with Proteus⁴, a contemporary of the Trojan War. This Keten was said to have been a shape-shifter, who took the form now of an animal, now of a tree, now again of fire or the like. The priests declared that he was enabled to do so by his knowledge of astrology, and that the practice having become traditional with Egyptian kings gave rise to Greek tales of shape-shifting. 'For,' continues Diodoros, 'it was customary with the rulers of Egypt to put about their heads the foreparts of lions, bulls, and snakes, as tokens of their rule. They had upon their heads now trees, now fire, and sometimes many fragrant odours; by which means they both arrayed themselves in fine style and struck superstitious terror into others.' The researches of Messieurs Maspero and Moret have proved that the Egyptian king and queen did actually figure as god and goddess in certain solemn rites, when masked men and women played the parts of animal-headed deities⁵. I suggest that the Cnossian prince did much the same.

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 179 no. B 308. Cp. the impression of an Elamite cylinder figured by M. J. Lagrange *La Crète ancienne* Paris 1908 p. 84 f. fig. 66 a after F. V. Scheil in the *Mémoires de la délégation en Perse* viii. 10 f. fig. 21.

² *Nicole Cat. Vases d'Athènes Suppl.* p. 189 no. 949. W. Meyer in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1882 ii. 281 notes that in the middle ages the Minotaur was commonly represented as 'oben Mensch, unten Stier.'

³ *Diod.* i. 61 f. My attention was first directed to this important passage by Dr J. G. Frazer (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 410 n. 3). Mr A. Lang in *Folk-Lore* 1910 xxi. 145 dismisses it as 'a mere aetiological myth to explain the Odyssean story of Proteus.'

⁴ Cp. *Hdt.* 2. 112 ff. Keten appears to have been the first king of the twentieth dynasty, Set-nekht or Nekht-Set, the father of Rameses iii.

⁵ See Frazer *Lect. Hist. Kingship* p. 172 ff., *Golden Bough*³: The Magic Art ii. 133 f., *ib.*³ The Dying God p. 70 ff.

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Hydría in the British Museum : Minotaur-dance (?).

See page 496.

xvi. ‘Minoan’ Bull-fights.

Few features of the ‘Minoan’ civilisation are more striking than its devotion to the bull-ring. Statuettes, reliefs, paintings, and seal-stones make it abundantly clear that toreadors, male and female, played an important part in the life of their people. The evidence, which comes to us from Crete, Mykenai, Tiryns, Vaphio, Orchomenos, Athens, etc., has been recently classified and discussed by A. Reichel¹. This careful investigator thinks that the sport originated in Crete, and distinguishes three stages in its evolution. Its earliest form was the capture of a bull by one or more unarmed men, who clung tenaciously to its horns². Out of this developed the favourite ‘Minoan’ display, an acrobatic performance calling for the utmost nerve and dexterity. It comprised various feats, of which the most popular was the following. The athlete rushed towards the charging bull, grasped it by the horns, turned a somersault over its head, and letting go with his hands was shot over its back into safety³. Many centuries later a less hazardous form of bull-baiting is found in the Thessalian *taurokathápsia*⁴. The toreador on horseback pursued the bull till it was exhausted, and

¹ A. Reichel ‘Die Stierspiele in der kretisch-mykenischen Cultur’ in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1909 xxxiv. 85—99 with figs. and pl.

² Two terra-cotta figures of the ‘Early Minoan’ period found by Xanthoudides at Koumasa near Gortyna (A. Mosso *The Palaces of Crete and Their Builders* London 1907 p. 219 fig. 99, A. Reichel *loc. cit.* p. 93 nos. 18 and 19 = fig. 11).

With these may be compared the capture of the big bull by a posse of men in Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* pl. 206.

³ A. Reichel *loc. cit.* pp. 85—88 nos. 1—6.

⁴ The literary and monumental evidence of the *ταυροκαθάψια* is collected by J. Baunack in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1883 xxxviii. 297 ff., M. Mayer in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1892 vii. 72—81 (cp. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 127 ff.), M. N. Tod in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1904 xxix. 50—56, and É. Cahen in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant. v.* 50—52.

Fifth-century coins of Larissa have obv. a Thessalian youth, who grasps a plunging bull by the horns, and rev. a bridled and galloping horse (fig. 360 from a specimen in my collection, cp. Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1013 ff. pl. 43, 8—12, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins*

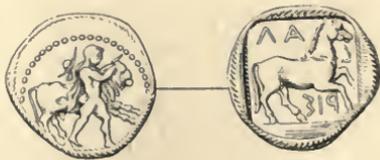


Fig. 360.

Thessaly etc. p. 25 ff. pls. 4, 12 f., 5, 1—4). Since a fourth-century drachm of the same town shows obv. a mounted Thessalian galloping, and rev. a bull in full flight (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 29 pl. 5, 13), it seems probable that on all these coins of Larissa we should combine the two types and recognise scenes from the *ταυροκαθάψια* (G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 99 pl. 3, 10, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 298 f.). Similar scenes occur on coins of Krannon, the Perrhaiboi, Pharkadon, Pherai, Skoutoussa, and Trikke (see Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 1. 1021 f. pl. 43, 16; 1023 ff. pl. 43, 17—20; 1029 ff. pl. 43, 25; 1031 f. pl. 43, 29; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 16 pl. 2, 11 f.; p. 39 pl. 8, 7; p. 42 pl. 9, 1 f.; p. 46 pl. 10, 1—3; p. 51 f. pl. 11, 5—7 and 12).

then leaping upon it twisted its horns and broke its neck. Clearly the Thessalian sport, in which the hunter is mounted and the bull is killed, cannot be identified with the Cretan sport, in which the athlete is on foot and the bull is not killed. If the two are related at all, the one must be viewed as a modification of the other. The *taurokathápsia*, introduced into Italy by Iulius Caesar, appealed to the sensation-loving Romans, and ultimately gave rise to the bull-fights of Spain and France.

Reichel further suggests that in 'Minoan' times this bull-grappling had some religious significance; but he does not venture to determine the cult with which it was connected or the meaning that attached to it.

As to the *taurokathápsia*, it has been commonly—though not universally¹—regarded as a rite in the cult of Poseidon². But so far as Thessaly is concerned there is not a particle of evidence³, and in the case of other districts the attribution is at best conjectural⁴. Even if definite proof were forthcoming that in the Roman period this Thessalian sport was held to be an appanage of Poseidon, we could not with any assurance argue back from Thessaly to Crete across a gap of fifteen hundred years. It is surely safer to assume that the Cretan bull-sports stood in some relation to the Cretan bull-god, who at Knossos was represented by the

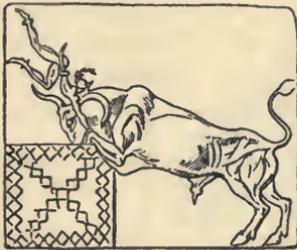


Fig. 361.

Minotaur. On this showing we might look to find the bull-grappling feat associated with the Labyrinth. In point of fact, we do so

¹ F. Bechtel in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Classe* 1890 p. 34 ff. views the *taurokathápsia* as a rite properly belonging to the cult of Zeus *Ἰολαίος*. F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*³ Leipzig and Darmstadt 1842 iv. 326 referred it 'auf die solarischen und Cerealischen Religionen.'

In an inscription from Larissa (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 528) a bull-fight takes place for Zeus *Ἐλευθέριος*; but É. Cahen justly remarks that it is only one item of an extensive programme (Daremberg—*Saglio Dict. Ant.* v. 52).

² Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 675, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 570 f., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 25. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 80: 'Es ist einleuchtend, dass die eventuelle Verbindung mit dem Kult des Stier-Poseidon erst sekundär sein kann; für diesen Gott passten sie aber vor anderen.'

³ Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 80 f. Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 25: 'We have the evidence of Artemidorus that the *ταυροκαθάψια*...was consecrated to the festival of Poseidon at Larissa,...at Eleusis,...and at Ephesos' is inexact, as a reference to the citation (*ib.* iv. 95) of Artemid. *oneir.* i. 8 will show. Artemidoros does not mention Poseidon at all.

Note, however, that on the coins of Krannon mentioned *supra* p. 497 n. 4 the fore-part of the horse or the butting bull is accompanied by a trident.

⁴ Nilsson *loc. cit.*, P. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 108.

find it. A banded agate in Sir Arthur Evans' collection (fig. 361)¹ represents an athlete in the act of turning his somersault over the horns of a mighty bull, which partly conceals and partly is concealed by a patterned square. This square bears to the whole design the same relation as the patterned oblong to the slaughter of the Minotaur on the vases already discussed (figs. 329—331). In short, it depicts the Labyrinth as the scene of the action².

The essential feature of the ‘Minoan’ sport appears to have been the grasping of the bull's horn or horns. Now the same trait is found in the oldest art-types of one Thessalian and three Cretan myths, that of Jason grappling the Colchian bulls³, that of Herakles capturing the Cretan bull⁴, that of Theseus slaying the Minotaur (cp. figs. 329, 330)⁵, and that of Europe borne off by the bovine Zeus (cp. pl. xxxii, fig. 411)⁶. It is perhaps permissible to suggest that behind these art-types lurks a traditional pose of the bull-grasper. Jason and Herakles seizing the bull by the horn or twisting a rope about its hind legs vividly recall the bull-captors of the Vaphio cups. Theseus gripping the Minotaur by the horn or locked with him in a deadly wrestling-bout is a figure curiously reminiscent of the ‘Minoan’ cow-boy. Europe, who on the later monuments slips off the bull's back and hovers or floats beside him still clinging to his horn (cp. fig. 414), in effect reverts to the airy performance of the ‘Minoan’ cow-girl. Such resemblances may of course be fortuitous; but, given the Thessalian and Cretan connexion, they may be vestigial.

In any case it seems probable that the religious value of the original bull-sports lay in the athlete's contact with the horn of a sacred bull. A clue to the meaning of such contact is,

¹ Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 6, 9, ii. 26 figured to a scale of $\frac{2}{3}$, A. Reichel *loc. cit.* p. 87 f. fig. 4. Reichel points out that Furtwängler erroneously described the man as about to cut the throat of the bull. But Reichel himself apparently shares Furtwängler's view that the bull is drinking out of a big trough!

² It may be objected that the Labyrinth at Knossos was ill-adapted for a bull-ring (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 110). But Sir Arthur Evans' intaglio is said to have come from Priene, where we have already found the Labyrinth-pattern occurring as a coin-type (*supra* p. 483). Possibly the allusion is to some Labyrinth other than that of Knossos.

³ K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 79 ff., H. Heydemann *Jason in Kolchis (Winkelmanns-fest-Progr. Halle 1886)*.

⁴ A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2201. Cp. Theseus and the Marathonian bull on a red-figured *kylix* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 123 no. E 105), which shows the hero holding a club in his right hand and grasping the bull's horn with his left.

⁵ A. Furtwängler in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1884 xlii. 106 ff. pl. 8, 3 (= *Kleine Schriften* München 1912 i. 463 f. pl. 15, 3), Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3007 fig. 2.

⁶ J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1296 f. Literary references to Europe as holding the horn are collected by L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pétr.* 1866 p. 124 n. 11.

I think, afforded by a lenticular sardonix found at Orvieto (fig. 362)¹, which represents a man grasping by the horn a couple of bulls or bull-like figures.



Fig. 362.

The vessels carried in the hands of these quasi-bulls and the trees (palms?) between which they are standing justify the conjecture that they are engaged in some fertility-rite. The bull—let us suppose—is a beast pre-eminently charged with fertilising force². Its force is gathered up and culminates in its horn³, bovine horns being sometimes a synonym of strength⁴. Any one who grasps the bull's

horn *ipso facto* obtains a share in its peculiar power.

At Laussel near Marquay (Dordogne) Dr Lalanne has recently discovered what we may venture to regard as a prehistoric prototype of such rites⁵. On limestone blocks inside a rock-shelter a man of slender waist and three steatopygous women are carved with all the marvellous realism of palaeolithic art⁶. The man is an archer in the act of drawing his bow. Of the women one places her left hand on the lower portion of her body and holds a bison's horn in her right (fig. 363). This may of course be a graphic hint of the eating and drinking that resulted from a successful chase. But it is highly probable that the use of a drinking-horn presupposes the magical efficacy of the horn as such⁷. And it is at least possible that we have here part of the cave-dwellers' ritual—the right hand raised to grasp the fertilising horn, the left lowered in a gesture familiar to us from representations of the oriental mother-goddess.

This explanation throws light on sundry other obscure points in Cretan mythology and ritual. To begin with, Monsieur R. Dussaud rightly insists that the bull was not the only animal

¹ *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 120 fig. 14 after O. Rossbach in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1885 lvii. 195 ff. pl. G-H, 8.

² *Infra* p. 514 ff.

³ Cp. Eur. *Bacch.* 743 ταῦροι δ' ὑβρισται κέρας θυμούμενοι with Sir John Sandys' n. *ad loc.*, Oppian. *cyneg.* 4. 33 οὐκ ἔλαφος κέρασσι θρασύς, κέρασσι δὲ ταῦρος, Ail. *de nat. an.* 4. 48 ὑπὸ θυμοῦ τεθηγμένον ταῦρον καὶ ὑβρίζοντα ἐς κέρας.

⁴ B. Stade *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments* Tübingen 1905 i. 121 (citing Num. 23. 22, 24. 8), G. B. Gray *A critical and exegetical Commentary on Numbers* Edinburgh 1903 p. 354 f., and especially I. Scheffelowitz 'Das Hörermotiv in den Religionen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 451 ff.

⁵ G. Lalanne in *L'Anthropologie* 1912 xxiii. 129 ff. figs. 1 ff., *The Illustrated London News* July 13, 1912 cxli. 56 with 3 figs., H. G. Spearing *The Childhood of Art* London 1912 p. 505 f. I am indebted to Miss Harrison for calling my attention to this interesting discovery and for suggesting that it may furnish a prototype of the rites in question.

⁶ The figures are c. 18 inches high, and the relief c. 2 inches deep. That of the woman here shown is polished, except the head, and there are traces of red paint.

⁷ See the facts collected by I. Scheffelowitz in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 483 ff.

used in these ceremonial games¹. ‘Minoan’ seal-stones show gymnasts treating the *agrimi* or Cretan wild-goat in the self-same manner²; and Sir Arthur Evans has suggested ‘that this animal was sacred to the indigenous “Zeus” at an earlier period than the bull³.’ If goat and bull were thus alternatives, the fertilising force which resided in the horn of the latter should be found in the horn of the former also. And it is. Few symbols of ancient religion have lasted longer or been more widely accepted than the horn of Amaltheia, the *cornu copiae* from which all good things flow. This is usually described in literature as the horn of the goat, which

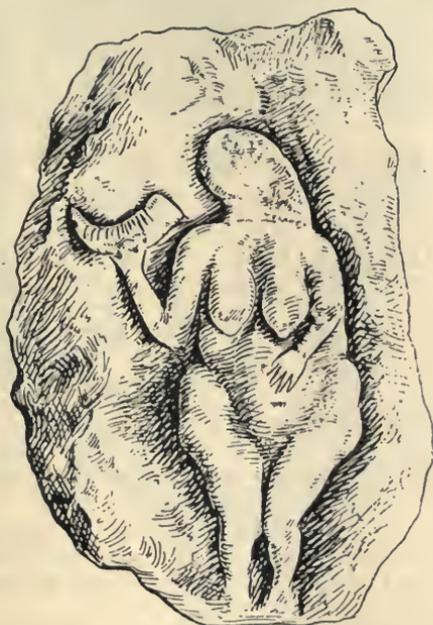


Fig. 363.

nourished Zeus as an infant in Crete, Amaltheia being either the nymph owning the goat or the goat itself⁴. But in art, as Philemon remarks, it is ‘a cow’s horn⁵.’ Of countless illustrations I figure (pl. xxxi) one—an Athenian bell-*kratér* in the Hope collection at Deepdene⁶, which represents Herakles in Olympos feasting on the

¹ R. Dussaud *Les civilisations préhelléniques dans le bassin de la Mer Égée* Paris 1910 p. 255 figs. 185 f.

² Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l’Art* vi. 843 fig. 426, 5 and 13, 848, 852.

³ *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 182.

⁴ See K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1721.

⁵ Philem. *pterygium frag.* 1, 1 f. (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 20 Meineke) τὸ τῆς Ἀμαλθείας δοκεῖς εἶναι κέρας | ὅλον γράφουσιν οἱ γραφεῖς κέρας βοός;

⁶ The vase will be included in the forthcoming *Catalogue* by my friend Mr E. M. W. Tillyard, to whose kindness I am indebted for the photograph here redrawn. Previous

dainties contained in the *cornu copiae* of Zeus. Pherekydes, the earliest writer to give us an explicit account of this horn, says :

'Amaltheia was a daughter of Haimonios and had a bull's horn. This had the power of providing whatever one liked to eat or drink without stint or effort¹.'

The name Haimonios takes us to Thessaly², where the 'Minoan' bull-sports were modified into the *taurokathapsia*. If my explanation is sound, the said sports from first to last were designed to promote fertility by bringing the youthful gymnasts into direct contact with the horns of the fertilising bull³.

The same religious idea finds expression in the cult of Dionysos. This deity at an early stage of his development was identified with both bull⁴ and goat⁵, and, even when he had become fully anthropomorphic, he was apt to maintain a close connexion with the sacred animal⁶. Thus on coins of Mauretania struck at Siga by Bocchus iii (50 ?—33 B.C.) we see Dionysos with a *thyrsos* in his right hand and a bunch of grapes beside it : he is holding by one horn a diminutive bull (fig. 364)⁷. Here and there his worshippers put themselves



Fig. 364.

publications (Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* iv pl. 25, A. L. Millin *Galerie mythologique* Paris 1811 pl. 125, 467, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii, 327, 2) are inadequate. Behind the throne of Zeus stands Hera (Reinach *loc. cit.* suggests 'Hébé (?)': Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iii. 305 f. had thought of Persephone behind a seated Plouton).

With the whole scene cp. a *kálpis* from Ruvo at Naples (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 280 f. no. 2408, A. Michaelis in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869 p. 201 ff. pl. GH, Reinach *op. cit.* i. 323, 1), which shows Herakles holding the *cornu copiae* and seated before a standing Zeus (Michaelis *loc. cit.* suggests Plouton?).

¹ Pherekyd. *frag.* 37 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 82 Müller) *ap. schol. Soph. Trach.* arg. 'Αμάλθεια ἦν Αἰμονίου θυγάτηρ· ἡ κέρασ εἶχε ταύρου. τοῦτο δέ, ὡς Φερεκίδης φησί, δύναμιν εἶχε τοιαύτην ὥστε βρωτὸν ἢ ποτὸν ὅπερ ἂν εἴποιτο τις παρέχειν ἀφθονόν τε καὶ ἅπασαν after Apollod. 2. 7. 5 (see Jebb's ed. of *Soph. Trach.* p. 3).

A later version made the horn of plenty that which Herakles broke off from the tauriform Acheloius (Ov. *met.* 9. 85 ff., Hyg. *fab.* 31, Philostr. *min. imagg.* 4. 3). Various harmonists stated that Acheloius' horn was the horn of Amaltheia (Diod. 4. 35, Strab. 458, Dion. Chrys. *or.* 63 p. 327 Reiske), or that Acheloius had presented Herakles with Amaltheia's horn as ransom for his own (Zenob. 2. 48, schol. *Il.* 21. 194, Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 50).

² O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2220, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 341 n. 3.

³ For the transference of quality from the horns to that which touches them cp. the belief that seed-corn, if it fell on the horns of ploughing oxen, would produce hard (*i.e.* horny) grain (Theophr. *de caus. plant.* 4. 12, 13, Plout. *symp.* 7. 2. 1, *Geopon.* 2. 19. 4).

⁴ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1425 n. 4 collects the evidence and adds a brief bibliography. See also Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 126.

⁵ Gruppe *op. cit.* pp. 822 n. 3 ff., 1428 n. 9 ff., Farnell *op. cit.* v. 127, 165 f.

⁶ Mithras in the great Mithraic myth rides the bull, grasping it by the horns, to which he clings even when thrown off the creature's back (F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 i. 169 f., 305, *id.* *Die Mysterien des Mithra*² trans. G. Gehrich Leipzig 1911 p. 120 f. pl. 3, 6).

⁷ L. Müller *Numismatique de l'Antienne Afrique* Copenhagen 1862 iii. 97 ff. no. 9

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Bell-*krater* at Deepdene: Herakles in Olympos taking fruit from the *cornu copiae* of Zeus.

See page 501 f.

in contact with the bull by methods resembling those of the ‘Minoan’ athletes. Of Kynaitha in Arkadia Pausanias writes :

‘There is here a sanctuary of Dionysos, and in winter a festival is held, at which men anoint themselves with oil, pick out a bull from a herd of cattle—whichever bull the god puts it into their head to take,—lift it up and carry it to the sanctuary. Such is their mode of sacrifice!’

Again, near Nysa in Lydia was a village called Acharaka, which had a grove and temple of Plouton and Kore. Above the grove was Charon’s Cave, where cures were wrought by incubation etc.² The god is represented on imperial copper coins as Zeus *Ploutodótes* (fig. 365)³, ‘Giver of Wealth’⁴; and it will be observed that this title, of which *Plouton*⁵ is but a shorter



Fig. 365.

fig. 9, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 888. The obverse of this coin has a bearded male head, which, according to Müller, represents a personification of the people. Perhaps we may conclude that Dionysos and his bull were vitally connected with the full-grown manhood of the people as a whole.

Dionysos holds up a spirally twisted horn, probably meant for a *cornu copiae*, on a black-figured *pinax* from Marathon (*Ath. Mith.* 1882 vii. 400 pl. 3f., Farnell *op. cit.* v. 245 pl. 35), with which cp. a black-figured *kylix* by Nikosthenes (*Arch. Zeit.* 1885 xliiii. 251 pl. 16, 1 f., Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 462, 1 f.: Dionysos seated to right holding horn with dancing Maenad and Silenos on either hand), a black-figured *psyktér* at Deepdene (Dionysos seated to right holding horn between two dancing Maenads), and another black-figured vase formerly in the Hamilton collection (*Tischbein Hamilton Vases* v pl. 22, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 340, 1): see further L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pl.* 1867 p. 180 f. Coins of Nysa in Lydia show a *cornu copiae* filled with corn-ears, poppy, and grape-bunches: a child, seated on it, raises one of the bunches and is commonly regarded as Dionysos (F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmünzen* Geneva and Leipzig 1897 p. 108 f., Head *Hist. num.*¹ p. 552; but in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 179 pl. 20, 8 Dr B. V. Head identifies the child as Ploutos).

¹ Paus. 8. 19. 2. P. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 108 f. compares this lifting of the live bull *en route* for sacrifice with the exploit of Biton (Paus. 2. 19. 5, *supra* p. 448) and the order of Menelaos (*Eur. Hel.* 1559 ff.), but distinguishes it from the raising of oxen already struck that their blood might flow over the altar etc. (*ἀρροσθαί τοὺς βοῦς*): the former was an exceptional, the latter a normal usage.

² Strab. 649, cp. 579, Eustath. *in Dionys. per.* 1153. A. Bouché-Leclercq *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* Paris 1880 ii. 373 n. 1: ‘Arundell et Pococke ont retrouvé le souvenir vague d’une grotte insondable et quelques vestiges de l’oracle près d’Akkeuy ou Akchay, nom dans lequel on reconnaît encore celui d’Acharaka.’

³ Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 178 no. 2 pl. 6, 9 (Domitian), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia pp. lxxxiii, 175 pl. 20, 1 (Nero), Head *Hist. num.*² p. 654: ΠΛΟΥΤΟ-ΔΟΤΗΣ ΝΥΧΑΕΩΝ.

⁴ Other examples of the title are collected by O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2567 f. Cp. also Men Πλουτοδότης (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1899 xxiii. 389 pl 1) and Apollon πλουτοδοτήρ (*Anth. Pal.* 9. 525. 17).

⁵ Cp. Loukian. *Τίμων* 21 ὁ Πλούτων... ἅτε πλουτοδότης καὶ μεγαλόδωρος καὶ αὐτὸς ὦν· δηλοῖ γούνη καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι, Orph. *h. Plout.* 18. 4 f. Πλούτων... | πλουτοδοτῶν γενεὴν βροτέην καρποῖς ἐνιαυτῶν.

equivalent¹, was common to Zeus² and to Dionysos³. Strabon ends his account of the cult as follows:

'A yearly festival is held at Acharaka...on which occasion about the hour of noon the young men from the gymnasium, stripped and anointed with oil, take up a bull and carry it with speed to the Cave. When they let it go, it advances a little way, falls over, and dies⁴.'

This strange procession is illustrated (fig. 366)⁵ by a copper coin of Nysa struck by Maximus. Six naked youths carry on their shoulders a humped bull of gigantic size. In front of them marches a naked flute-player, who (so far as I can judge from a careful inspection of the original) is linked to the bull's horn by means of a wavy line perhaps representing a fillet. Thus all who took part in the rite were brought into immediate contact with the sacred animal.



Fig. 366.

The festival (*panegyris*) was doubtless shared by other cities in the valley of the Maiandros⁶. I am therefore inclined to surmise that a second illustration of it is to be found on a copper of Magnesia struck under Caracalla (fig. 367)⁷. A young man is seen holding by the halter a humped bull, which goes before him but collapses at the entrance of a cavern. These two remarkable coin-types in fact give the beginning and the end of the procession described by Strabon.



Fig. 367.

Somewhat similar to the Arcadian and Lydian rites is the scene depicted on a red-figured vase formerly in the Hamilton

¹ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1066 n. 15.

In art Plouton often bears the *cornu copiae*: see C. Scherer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1787, 1800 ff., Farnell *Cults of Grk. States* iii. 286 pl. 32, a.

² Orph. *h. daem.* 73. 3 f. *Ζῆνα μέγαν...* | *πλουτοδότην*, Loukian. *Cronosol.* 14 *Διῖ Πλουτοδότη κ.τ.λ.* See O. Höfer in the *Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.* 1894 cxlix. 262 and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1579, iii. 2567, who notes that Nysa was a colony of Sparta (Strab. 650), where there was a temple of Zeus *Πλοῦσιος* (Paus. 3. 19. 7).

³ *Carm. pop.* 4. 2 Hiller *Σεμελί' Ἰαχκε πλουτοδότα.*

⁴ Strab. 650.

⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* pp. lxxxiii, 181 pl. 20, 10, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 654.

⁶ So Dr B. V. *Head in Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. lxxxiii.

⁷ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ionia* p. 166 pl. 19, 10. *Head Hist. num.*² p. 583 describes the type as 'Herdsman (Eurytion?) driving bull into cavern'—a very improbable suggestion.

collection (fig. 368)¹. Three young athletes, having deposited their clothing on a pillar in the gymnasium, are about to hoist the bull

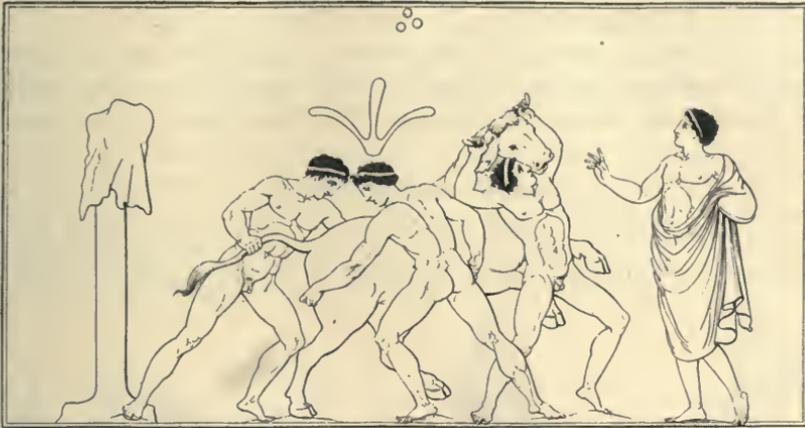


Fig. 368.

on to their backs in the presence of an official. We cannot of course determine either the locality or the cult; but the Greeks



Fig. 369.

¹ Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* ii. 18 ff. pl. 3, Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* i. 49 pl. 24, Lenormant — de Witte *Él. mon. chr.* iii. 187 pl. 69, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 293, 4.

would probably have called the men *keratesséis* or *keraelkéis*¹. They are in any case the successors of the 'Minoan' bull-grapplers.

I end with an amusing, if not instructive, example of type-fusion. A red-figured vase at Saint Petersburg (fig. 369)² shows not only Europe on the bull escorted by two Erotes, but also three *kôuroi*—perhaps we should say *kourêtes*,—who with unmistakable gestures beckon her on towards their home in Crete.

xvii. Ritual Horns.

Sir Arthur Evans in his pioneer-work (1901) on the 'Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult'³ was the first to discuss comprehensively

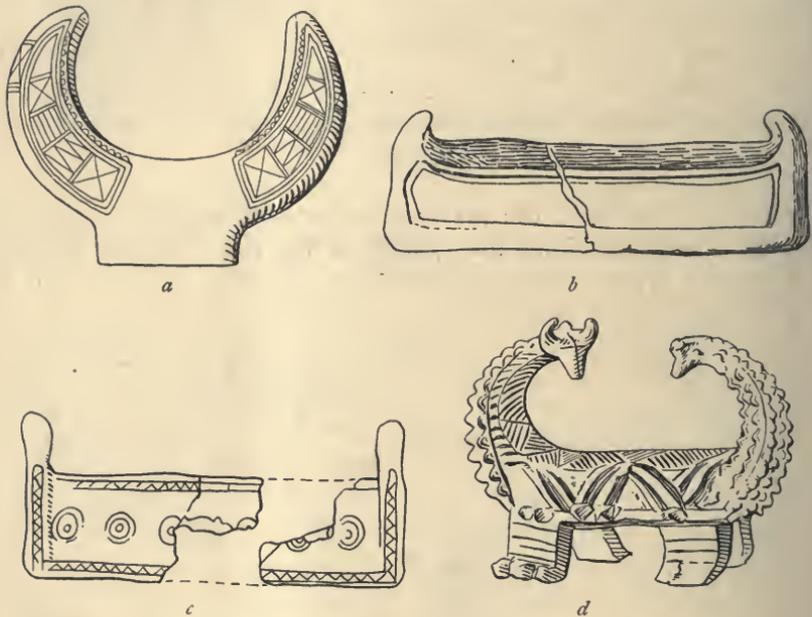


Fig. 370.

the ritual horns, which in 'Minoan' cult-scenes are set in various positions of importance—at the foot of a sacred tree, on the top of an altar, as the socket of a double axe, at the base of a column, along a precinct-wall, etc. He regarded them as 'a more or less

¹ Hesych. *κερατεσσείς*: οἱ τοὺς ταύρους ἐλκοντες ἀπὸ τῶν κεράτων. καλοῦνται δὲ καὶ *κεραελκέις*. Cp. *Il.* 20. 403 f. ὡς δτε ταῦρος | ἤρυγεν ἐλκόμενος Ἑλικώνιον ἀμφὶ ἀνακτα, | κούρων ἐλκόντων· γάνυται δὲ τε τοῖς ἐνοσίχθων.

² Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* i. 385 f. no. 884 and in the *Compte-rendu St. Pétr.* 1866 p. 149 ff. Atlas pl. 5, 4 f., Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 24, 1 f. The bull is here painted white, like the flesh of Europe. For a Dionysiac variation of the scene see Reinach *Vases Ant.* p. 50 pl. 12.

³ A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 135 ff.

conventionalised article of ritual furniture derived from the actual horns of the sacrificial oxen' and strictly comparable with the Semitic 'horns of the altar'.

During the last decade other archaeologists have accepted and extended this comparison. R. Paribeni, for instance, has proved (1904) that the 'Minoan' horns present a striking analogy to the terra-cotta or stone crescents (*Mondsichel, Mondbilder, croissants*) of the late bronze age and early iron age found in the pile-dwellings of Switzerland, Savoy, Lower Austria, Hungary, and Italy². These vary in shape according to their antiquity. At first they have a heavy altar-like base; but in process of time they develop four feet and then tend to become theriomorphic, the tips of the horns

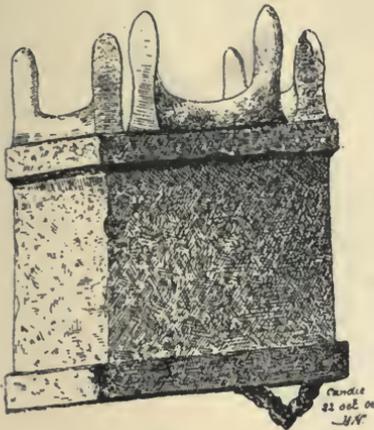


Fig. 371.

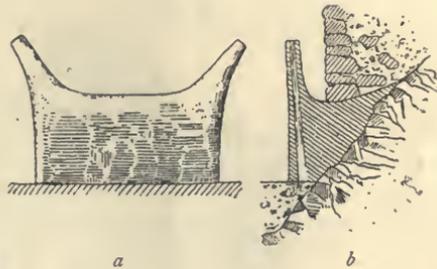


Fig. 372.

being themselves decorated with the heads of horned beasts—bulls, rams, and stags (figs. 370, *a—d*)³.

Recently (1910) Monsieur J. Déchelette has further compared

¹ *Id. ib.* 1901 xxi. 137 f.

² R. Paribeni 'Corni di consecrazione nella prima età del ferro europea' in the *Bullettino di paleontologia italiana* Third Series 1904 xxx. 304—310 figs. 1—7.

³ M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa* Wien 1898 p. 503 ff. pl. 16, 1—6, *id. Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen* Wien und Leipzig 1909 ii. 564, 568 fig. 252, Forrer *Reallex.* p. 488 s.vv. 'Mond und Mondbilder' figs. 405—408, J. Schlemm *Wörterbuch zur Vorgeschichte* Berlin 1908 pp. 354—357 figs. a—h, J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 472—479 fig. 199, 1—3, A. Mosso *The Dawn of Mediterranean civilisation* London 1910 pp. 343—345.

Fig. 370, *a* is a crescent of red sandstone (in part restored) from a station on the Ebersberg, now in the Zürich Museum; fig. 370, *b*, from the lake-dwelling at Le Saut in Savoy; fig. 370, *c*, from the nekropolis of Golasecca in north Italy; fig. 370, *d*, a terra-cotta from a *tumulus* of the early iron age at Oedenburg in Hungary. W. M. Flinders Petrie—G. A. Wainwright—E. Mackay *The Labyrinth Gerzeh and Mazghuneh* London 1912 p. 23 pl. 7, 13 publish a black pottery cow's horn tipped with a cow's head from a pre-dynastic grave at *El Gerzeh*.

the Cretan type of horned altar (fig. 371)¹ with one found at Oficio near Almeria in the south of Spain. Here Monsieur L. Siret in a deposit dating from the beginning of the bronze age came upon an altar-shaped structure of earth built against a wall and surmounted by ritual horns (fig. 372, *a*, *b*)².

It appears, then, that ritual horns were used at an early date, not only in Crete, but also in various countries to the east, north, and west of the Mediterranean basin. If, however, we would ascertain the original significance of the custom, we must, I think, turn our attention towards the south; for here only can we hope to



Fig. 373.

find outlying regions that have not been repeatedly swept by the ebb and flow of advanced civilisations.

My brother Dr A. R. Cook, on returning from a visit (1905—1906) to the Dinka tribes of the White Nile, informed me that the boys there make small models of cows out of mud. He brought back a specimen (fig. 373), which though only three inches in length shows well the humped back, large horns, and slit ears characteristic of the native cattle. He also reported that outside the hut of every chief is a big heap of mud roughly shaped like a bull and known

¹ M. J. Lagrange *La Crète ancienne* Paris 1908 p. 83 fig. 62 (about $\frac{1}{3}$) a votive altar in red baked clay with horns painted white and remains of a metal tenon beneath, found at Knossos in the treasury of the serpent-goddess and now preserved in the Museum at Kandia.

² J. Déchelette *op. cit.* ii. 1. 80 f. fig. 25.

as such. These heaps have a pair of bullock's horns stuck into them and a cattle rope attached to them. I figure one that my brother photographed at Sheik Agoit's, not far from Bor, which has bullock's horns at one end, goat's horns at the other, and consequently a pair of ropes (fig. 374).



Fig. 374.

Dr C. G. Seligmann in letters dated March 15 and March 22, 1911, very kindly supplies me with further information about these singular structures and allows me to publish two examples that he photographed in the Tain villages near Bor (figs. 375, 376). The



Fig. 375.

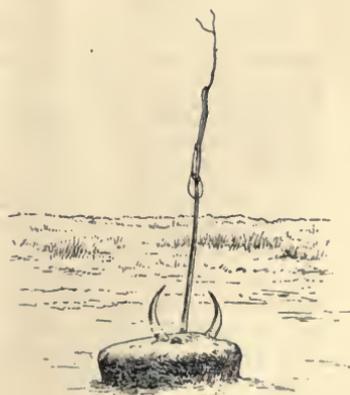


Fig. 376.

erection is, he says, a form of shrine known as *bñor* made for the spirit (*atiep*) of an ancestor to inhabit. I quote from Dr Seligmann's note-book¹:

¹ See now his article in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1911 iv. 710.

'Several generations ago one Nyet founded a village which, as is usual with the Dinka, is called after him; his companions, who were for the most part his relatives and descendants, used his name as their clan name, *i.e.* they call themselves *golonyet*, "(men of the) Clan Nyet." At the present day men of this clan inhabit the villages of Arck and Meden. Der the late head of Arck village moved to this site some forty years ago soon after the death of Anet, who with his followers lived near the Alliab boundary at a place called Unedol.

Directly the houses were built Der erected a shrine for the *atiep* of Anet to live in "just as a house"; for the spirit knows of the wanderings of its people and moves with them. This was done at the instance of a *tiet*, who said that, if this were not done, Der and his children would sicken and perhaps die. The shrine itself consists of a mound of mud at one end of which are fixed the horns of a bullock. In front of this end of the mound there is one of the pickets to which cattle are commonly tethered*. [*In shape the whole thing presents a certain resemblance to a bullock sunk in the earth so that only its back projects; but I could not learn that this resemblance was intentional, though a Dinka whom I met at Omdurman, where he had lived for a long time, told me that in his country mud representations of cattle were erected over the graves of powerful men.] The bullock providing the horns was sacrificed by Der who explained aloud that he was making a place for the *atiep* of his father Anet. The bullock was killed by plunging a spear into its heart.

Concerning this sacrifice Mr Shaw states that the eldest son should give the first thrust and that altogether five thrusts are given by the sons. If there be only one son of the dead man, paternal first cousins would give the additional thrusts. As the bullock lies moribund on the ground, its throat is cut and the blood collected in a pot, cooked over the fire, poured into gourds and eaten by the clansmen among whom the meat is distributed. Small pieces of all the organs and parts of the animal are reserved and scattered on the ground for the spirits of the dead.

At every new moon some *dura*¹, a few drops of new milk, and a little butter are placed upon the shrine at sunset. The shrine is repaired whenever necessary without sacrifice or any ceremony.

Shrines of this kind (*büor*) are found in all the Tain and at least in some of the Bor villages; but usually these do not resemble the back of a bullock, the mud being built into a more or less circular mound flattened above. A stick or young sapling 6 or 8 feet tall is thrust into the ground near the horns and a cattle rope is hung to this. Among the Tain Dinka the sons of a dead man will procure a bullock and build a *büor* whenever possible; the widow makes the mud mound, and into this the sons stick the horns of the bullock. This is done not only to propitiate the spirit of the deceased, but, as Mr Shaw informs me, as a resting-place for his spirit (*atiep*); and in one case he has seen a mat spread over the *büor* during the heat of the day in order to provide shade for the *atiep*.

The evidence here cited points to the following conclusion. Among the Dinka a shrine originally representing a mud bullock and viewed as the abode of a paternal spirit has developed into a horned altar, on which food etc. is placed. I suggest that a similar evolution lies behind the use of horned altars in the Mediterranean

¹ [*Dhurra*, 'millet.' A.R.C.]

area. Of course in classical times, though the term 'horned altar' survived¹, its origin had been long forgotten. The object itself had commonly passed into alien and almost unrecognisable forms.

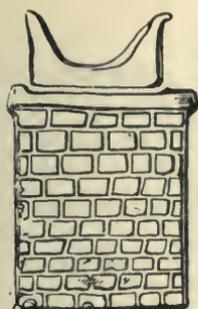


Fig. 377.

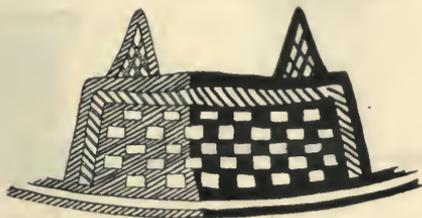


Fig. 378.



Fig. 379.

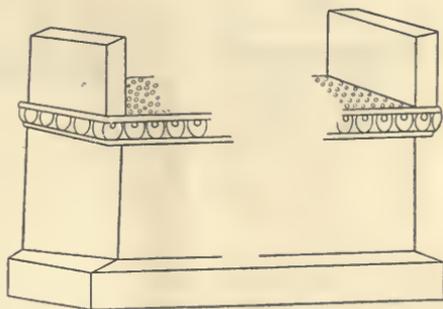


Fig. 380.

Thus the ritual horns of 'Minoan' art (fig. 377)² were stylised into mere cones by the 'Dipylon' painter (fig. 378)³ and finally

¹ *Anth. Pal.* 6. 10. 3 (Antipatros on an altar dedicated to Athena by Seleukos) βωμόν τοι κεραούχον ἐδέματο τόνδε Σέλευκος. There may be a special point in the epithet κεραούχον; for Seleukos himself was horned, cp. Appian. *Syr.* 57 καὶ τὸ σῶμα ὄντι ἐνρώστω τε καὶ μεγάλῳ καὶ ταύρον ἀγριον ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρον θυσία ποτὲ ἐκθορόντα τῶν δεσμῶν ὑποστάντι μόνῳ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ μόναις κατευργασμένῳ προστιθέασιν ἐς τοὺς ἀνδριάντας ἐπὶ τᾶδε κέρατα. Coins give him the horn of a bull (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 3 pl. 1, 6, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 11 pl. 63, 20), or add the horn and ear of a bull to his helmet (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 4 pl. 1, 11 ff.), or even make his horses and elephants horned (*ib.* p. 3 ff. pl. 1, 6 ff., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 756 ff.). E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 351 n. 65 cites also Nonn. *Dion.* 44. 97 ff. εὐκέρῳ παρὰ βωμῷ | θῆλιν ὄν κερδεντι συνέμπορον ἄρσενι ταύρω, | ἦχι Διὸς πέλεν ἄλσος ὀρειάδος ἐμπλεον ὕλης, | Ζηνὶ καὶ Ἀδρυάδεσσι μιαν ξύνωσε θηλήν | Κάδμος Ἀγηρορίδης. Cp. the *Thes. Ling. Lat.* iv. 971, 7 ff.

² Part of relief on a steatite *pyxis* from Knossos (A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 101 ff. fig. 2).

³ Detail of 'Dipylon' vase from the site of the Kynosarges gymnasium at Athens (J. P. Droop in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1905—1906 xii. 81 ff. fig. 2 b). Mr Droop

transformed into spit-rests (*kratentaí*)¹, andirons, or altar-fenders by successive generations of practical folk (figs. 379², 380³).

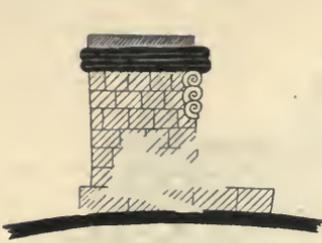


Fig. 381.



Fig. 382.

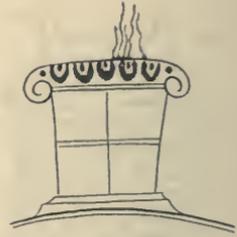


Fig. 383.



Fig. 384.

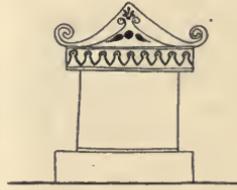


Fig. 385.



Fig. 386.

writes: 'The temptation is strong to see in the table and triangle a horned altar, but the hatched triangle is frequently used to fill vacant spaces, and appears for that purpose on this very vase, while the band of chequers lower down, makes it doubtful if the table had any more significance.' Miss Harrison *Themis* p. 76 ff. fig. 10 b has, however, gone far towards proving that the scene represented two rain-makers working their rattles before a sacred shield placed on an altar. If so, the interpretation of the triangles as horns becomes highly probable.

¹ Terra-cotta spit-rests from Thessaly of neolithic date have been described and figured by Ch. Tsountas *Αἱ προϊστορικὰ ἀκροπόλεις Διμηλίου καὶ Σέσκλου* Athens 1908 p. 222 ff. fig. 120 f. pl. 30, 1, 2; p. 345 f. figs. 276 f., A. J. B. Wace—M. S. Thompson *Prehistoric Thessaly* Cambridge 1912 p. 43 fig. 19; pp. 60 f., 73; p. 85. For bronze examples of the Hallstatt period, decorated with horned ox-heads etc. at either end, see M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa* Wien 1898 p. 443 fig. 137, p. 501 f. fig. 165.

² Detail of black-figured *pyxis*-lid or *kýlix*-lid found at Cuma in 1908 (E. Gabrici in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1912 xxvii. 124 ff. pl. 5), to which Miss Harrison kindly drew my attention.

³ Detail of an Apulian *amphora* from Ruvo (Heydemann *Vasensamm. Neapel* p. 517 f. no. 3223, *Mon. d. Inst.* ii pl. 43, E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1837 ix. 198 ff., O. Jahn *ib.* 1848 xx. 204 ff., Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 735 f. Atlas pl. 30, 4, J. H. Huddilston *Greek Tragedy in the light of Vase Paintings* London 1898 p. 127 ff. fig. 18). Archaic altars of this type have been found in south Italy and Sicily, e.g. the great ash-altar of Demeter at Selinous (R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein *Die griechischen Tempeln in Unteritalien und Sicilien* Berlin 1899 p. 84, F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1911 xxvi. 94 f. fig. 30).

Similarly ram's horns affixed to an altar (fig. 381)¹ became volutes curving either downwards (figs. 382², 383³, 384⁴) or upwards (fig. 385)⁵; and these volutes in turn were combined with a simple (fig. 385) or more elaborate pediment (fig. 386)⁶ and treated as architectural *akrotéria*. The climax of magnificence is reached in the Ludovisi altar, which has both sculptured fenders and upturned decorative volutes⁷. The fenders, as viewed from the side, still bear some faint resemblance to the 'Minoan' altar-horns.

Here and there religious conservatism retained clearer traces of the old usage. The *keratón* at Delos was, according to Kallimachos, constructed by Apollon from the horns of the goats shot by Artemis on Mount Kynthos⁸; according to Plutarch, from left horns⁹ or from right horns only¹⁰. Again, the Kabeiros of Thessalonike had a horn, which was either planted in the ground beside him¹¹ or fixed on a base resembling an altar¹².

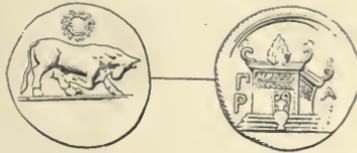


Fig. 387.

¹ From a 'Caeretan' *hydria* at Vienna (Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 255 ff. pl. 51). Cp. W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*² London 1907 p. 478 on the horns of sheep figured upon the *cippi* of Tanit.

² From a late black-figured *amphora* at Berlin (Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* iv. 5 f. pl. 241, 3 f.).

³ From a red-figured *kántharos* by Nikosthenes at Boston (*Wien. Vorlegebl.* 1890—1891 pl. 7, 2).

⁴ From a red-figured *kýlix* by Hieron at Heidelberg (*Wien. Vorlegebl.* C pl. 2).

⁵ From a red-figured *kálpis* formerly in the Canino collection (Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* i. 96 ff. pl. 28).

Cp. the great altar of Demeter at Pergamon (W. Dörpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1910 xxv. 374 ff. fig. 7 and pl. 18) with its finely carved upstanding 'horn' (F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1911 xxvi. 71 fig. 14), and the still greater altar built by Hermokreon at Parion in Mysia (Strab. 487, 588, Eustath. in *Il.* p. 355, 15 f.) which appears on coppers of the town c. 350—300 B.C. or later (fig. 113: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 97 ff. pl. 21, 10—13, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 250 nos. 114—116, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 531).

⁶ From a red-figured *kýlix* by Hieron at Berlin (*Wien. Vorlegebl.* A pl. 4).

⁷ F. Studniczka *loc. cit.* p. 76 f. figs. 16—17.

⁸ Kallim. *h. Ap.* 60 ff.

⁹ Plout. *v. Thes.* 21.

¹⁰ Plout. *de sollert. an.* 35.

¹¹ *Supra* p. 108 fig. 79.

¹² *Supra* p. 108 f. figs. 80, 81.

Cp. the single horns of stone found in a neolithic pillar-precinct at Terlizzi in Apulia (A. Mosso and F. Samarelli in the *Not. Scavi* 1910 p. 116 ff.), the single horns of earthenware found in several Sicilian burying-grounds or settlements—Castelluccio, Monteracello, etc.—of the chalcolithic age (Orsi 'Necropoli e Stazioni Sicule di transizione' in the *Bullettino di paleontologia italiana* Third Series 1907 xxxiii. 92 ff.), and the single horns of earthenware found in a bronze-age sanctuary of the early Siculans at Cannatello near Girgenti (A. Mosso in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1907 xviii. 573 ff., T. E. Peet *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily* Oxford 1909 p. 451 ff. fig. 250).

The closest parallel to the Dinka bull-shrine is, however, to be sought, not in any artistic modification of the horned altar, but in an artless custom of the country-side. Antigonos of Karystos, c. 250 B.C. writes :

'In Egypt if you bury the ox in certain places, so that only its horns project above the ground, and then saw these off, they say that bees fly out ; for the ox putrefies and is resolved into bees!'

This curious method of obtaining a swarm is often mentioned by classical authors, and lingered on through mediæval times well into the sixteenth century². The fullest account of it is given by Florentinus³, who begins by naming his authorities :

'Tobas king of the Libyans states that bees must be made in a wooden coffer ; Demokritos and Varro in the Roman tongue state that they should be made in a house, which is even better.'

Then follows the *recipe* for making them. A fat bullock, thirty months old, is confined in a narrow chamber measuring ten cubits every way and pierced by a door and four windows. He is then beaten till bones and flesh alike are crushed, though blood must not be drawn. Next, every aperture in his body is stuffed up with pitched rags, and he is laid on a heap of thyme. The door and windows are plastered up with mud so as to exclude light and air. After three weeks the chamber is thrown open, but care must be taken not to admit a strong wind. When aired enough, the relics are fastened up as before and left for ten days longer. On the eleventh day clusters of bees will be found, while of the bullock nothing remains but horns, bones, and hair. 'King' bees come from the spinal marrow, or better still from the brain ; ordinary bees from the flesh. The main idea of this singular superstition is that the life of the bull passed into that of the bees⁴. As Ovid puts it,—

One life thus slain begat a thousand lives⁵.

The buried bull or bull-shrine, if we may so describe it, was in fact the centre of a vital force, which radiated outwards especially through the head and horns. If, as I am contending, some such custom is really presupposed by the horned altar of the Mediterranean peoples, we can understand why the suppliant clung to its horns⁶

¹ Antig. *hist. mir.* 19.

² W. Robert-Tornow *De apium mellisque apud veteres significatione et symbolica et mythologica* Berolini 1893 pp. 19—28, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 8—10.

³ *Geopon.* 15, 2. 21 ff.

⁴ *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 9 f.

⁵ *Ov. fast.* 1. 380 mille animas una necata dedit.

⁶ 1 Kings 1. 50, 51, 2. 28.

or offered sacrifice¹ and prayer² holding it as by a handle. He was thereby himself filled with the life of the divine beast. Moreover, the frequent practice of affixing a *bucranium* to the altar or carving *bucrania* upon it³ is seen to be highly appropriate, if not actually reminiscent of its origin.

The foregoing method of procuring bees from a bull was believed by the ancients to have come from Egypt or Libye. We may therefore venture to compare with it a remarkable scene depicted in the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* (fig. 388)⁴. According to Dr Budge, Hathor the cow-goddess of the Underworld looks out through a clump of papyrus-plants from the funeral mountain, at the foot of which is the tomb. Now it is highly probable that such vignettes were originally inspired by actual custom. And Mr F. W. Green kindly informs me that at *Deir el Bahri* the relative positions of Hathor-shrine, mountain, and tombs agree well with those here represented⁵. The divine cow buried in the earth, but yet looking forth upon the world and by her own peculiar virtue causing fresh vegetation to spring up, thus furnishes an exalted parallel to the humbler rite of the buried bull and its resultant swarms.



Fig. 388.

¹ Varr. *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 3. 2. 8 inde Varro Divinarum libro quinto dicit aras primum asas dictas, quod esset necessarium a sacrificantibus eas teneri: ansis autem teneri solere vasa quis dubitet? Cp. interp. Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 4. 219. Varro's etymology is of course faulty, but his facts are sound.

² Verg. *Aen.* 6. 124 talibus orabat dictis arasque tenebat (cp. 4. 219, 12. 201) with Serv. *ad loc.* rogabant enim deos ararum ansas tenentes. For other examples see the *Thes. Ling. Lat.* ii. 386, 7 ff. ³ E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 351.

⁴ E. A. Wallis Budge *Facsimile of the Papyrus of Ani*² London 1894 pl. 37, *id.* *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 430 pl. 18, cp. Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* pp. 896, 898 f. pls. 321, 1, 323.

⁵ Mr H. R. Hall points out to me that Mr Somers Clarke (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 1905 xxvii. 179) has explained the pyramidal tomb-chapel in the vignette as copied from a pyramid at *Deir el Bahri*, which was especially connected with Hathor-worship, and the hills as being the cliffs of the same locality.

To the same cycle of ideas belongs the Mithraic sacrifice of a bull (fig. 389, 390)¹. Mithras—whose myth has been largely



Fig. 389.

¹ Figs. 389 and 390 are the front and back of a Mithraic altar-piece found in 1826 in the Heidenfeld near Hedderheim and now preserved in the Museum at Wiesbaden (F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 ii. 362 ff. fig. 248 pls. 7 f., *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3050 ff. figs. 6 f., *id.* in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1950 fig. 5088, *id.* *Die Mysterien des Mithra*² trans. G. Gehrich Leipzig 1911 pl. 3, 1).

Fig. 389 = *Front.* (a) In a recess representing the cave Mithras slays the bull, accompanied by dog with collar and crow perched on fluttering mantle. A scorpion nips the testicles of the bull. A snake would drink from a *kratér* placed below the bull's belly and guarded by a lion. To right and left are Cautes and Cautopates with raised and lowered torches—a duplication of Mithras himself (Dionys. Areop. *epist.* 7 τοῦ τριπλασίου Μίθρου). Behind Cautes is a tree with a snake coiled round it. (b) Above the cave are the twelve signs of the zodiac, from Aries to Pisces. (c) In the spandrels Mithras in oriental dress and Phrygian cap shoots an arrow towards another personage



Fig. 390.

wearing Phrygian cap and kneeling in front of rock. (*d*) Higher up an oblong space shows four scenes separated by three cypresses: Mithras appearing out of the foliage of a tree (cypress?); Mithras dragging the bull by its hind legs, while a snake threatens its muzzle; Mithras extending his hand towards the radiate crown on the head of Sol (hands broken); Sol with radiate *nimbus* (traces visible) kneeling before Mithras (body restored). (*e*) The top member of the frame has three cypresses enclosing two scenes: Sol standing in his chariot (horses and rocks restored) extends his hand to Mithras, who is about to mount the chariot; Luna reclining in her chariot is drawn by two horses down a rocky slope. (*f*) The angles of the frame contain medallions of four wind-gods—winged heads, of which three at least are bearded and one, if not more, ejects a cone of wind from his lips. (*g*) Below the upper and above the lower medallions are the four seasons: on the left above, Spring with rose-wreaths in hair and round neck; on the right above, Summer with band round brow; on the right below, Autumn with wreath of corn (?) and flowers and fruit in bosom (?); on the left below, Winter with covered head. (*h*) Between Winter and Spring are two scenes: below, a bearded figure resting on rocks (Oceanus?); above, a bearded figure with *chlamys* on left arm and elongated object (stick? sword? thunderbolt?) in right hand advancing towards rock or shapeless person (Iupiter and Giant?). Between Summer and Autumn are two more scenes:

reconstructed from his monuments¹—was bidden by the raven, messenger of the Sun, to slay the great bull that had escaped from his cave. Reluctantly he went in pursuit and caught the bull just as it re-entered the cave. Closing its nostrils with his left hand, with his right he plunged a knife deep into its flank. Thereupon wonders ensued. Fresh forms of life sprang from the body of the dying beast. Corn arose from its spinal marrow—witness the bunch of corn-ears at the end of its tail. A vine grew from its blood. The one plant furnished the mystics with bread, the other with wine. In vain did the emissaries of darkness, the scorpion, the ant, and the snake, attack the moribund monster, fastening on its genitals or seeking to drain its blood. The seed of the bull, collected and purified by the Moon, begat all manner of serviceable creatures; and its soul, guarded by Mithras' faithful hound, ascended to heaven, where under the name of Silvanus it became the protector of all flocks and herds. In short, the death of the bull meant new life to the world at large².

Before passing from the present section we must face one outstanding difficulty. We have been maintaining that the horned altar of the Mediterranean originated as the shrine of a buried beast. It may be objected that, on this showing, the altar—hardly to be distinguished from the divinity dwelling in it—was at one time the actual object of cult.

That is a conclusion from which in fact we must not shrink.

above, Mithras as a child emerging from rock (hands lost); below, Mithras as a youth advancing to seize the branches of a bush, of which the lower part is seen.

Fig. 390 = *Back*. (a) In the recess representing the cave the bull lies dead. Behind it stand two figures—on the left Mithras in oriental dress and Phrygian cap holding a horn, on the right Sol with long hair, *chlamys*, belt, etc. carrying a whip. Sol holds out a big bunch of grapes to Mithras, who raises his hand in admiration. Between them a Phrygian cap, surrounded by a circlet with seven rays (in part restored), rests on a pole. To right and left of the bull are two children in oriental dress and Phrygian caps bearing baskets of fruit (the child on the left almost entirely modern). (b) Above the cave is a scene now much damaged. In the centre a male figure, probably Silvanus, stands erect (lower half can be traced); and about him are grouped, from left to right, various animals—boar, hound, horse (hoof and part of leg visible), sheep (?), hound, hound, bull.

This relief was originally so mounted as to turn about in its three-sided frame on two iron pivots. Hence the absence of decoration on the back of the frame.

¹ F. Cumont *Textes et monuments* etc. i. 159 ff., in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3050 ff., in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1953, *Die Mysterien des Mithra*² p. 118 ff.

² Cp. Porph. *de antr. nymph.* 18 *σελήνην τε οὖσαν γενέσεως προστάτιδα μέλισσαν ἐκάλουν ἄλλως τε < καλ > ἐπεὶ ταῦρος μὲν σελήνη καὶ ὕψωμα σελήνης ὁ ταῦρος, βουγενεὶς δ' αἱ μέλισσαι. καὶ ψυχὰς δ' εἰς γένεσιν λούσαι βουγενεὶς, καὶ βουκλόπος θεὸς ὁ τὴν γένεσιν λεληθότως ἀκούων*. The parallelism between the procreation of bees from a bull and the Mithraic myth is here distinctly recognised.

W. Robertson Smith¹ long since pointed out that in the Semitic area 'the sacred stone is altar and idol in one,' citing *inter alia* Porphyrios' strange account of the worship at Dumat:

'The Dumatenes in Arabia used every year to sacrifice a boy and to bury him beneath an altar, which they treat as an image².'

Even more explicit is the divinity of the altar in the cult of certain Syrian gods. A long day's march west of Aleppo rises a bare and almost conical mountain known to the Greeks as Koryphe³ and to the modern inhabitants as *Djebel Shékh Berekât*. On the summit is a levelled precinct *c.* 68 metres square, enclosing the tomb of the Mohammedan saint who has dispossessed the former occupants of the site. The walls of the precinct bear on their outer surface dedicatory inscriptions, nine of which, ranging in date from *c.* 70 to *c.* 120 A.D., were copied by an American archaeological expedition in 1899—1900⁴. The votive formula is:

'To Zeus *Mádbachos* and to Selamanes, gods of the country⁵.'

Already in 1897 Prof. C. Clermont-Ganneau⁶, though hampered by inexact transcripts, had with the utmost acumen divined the true meaning of both names. He compared Selamanes with the Assyrian god Šalmānu and the Phoenician Šlmn, the 'Peaceful or Peace-bringing One.'⁷ And he suggested that *Mádbachos*, if that were the right spelling, might be connected with the Aramaic *mabbah*, 'altar⁸.' He even ventured to add that, if so, Zeus *Mádbachos* would be the Syrian equivalent of a Greek Zeus *Bomós*, a god identified with his own altar. Three years later this hypothetical deity was actually found. A day's journey south of

¹ W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*² London 1907 p. 205.

² Porph. *de abst.* 2. 56 καὶ Δουματηνοὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίας κατ' ἑτος ἕκαστον ἔθνον παῖδα, ὃν ὑπὸ βωμῶν ἔθαπτον, ᾧ χρώνται ὡς ξοάνῳ. Perhaps we may cp. Paus. 2. 32. 7 (between Troizen and Hermione) πέτρα Θησέως ὀνομαζομένη, μεταβαλοῦσα καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ ὄνομα ἀνελομένου Θησέως ὑπ' αὐτῇ κρηπίδας τὰς Αἰγέως καὶ ξίφος· πρότερον δὲ βωμὸς ἐκαλεῖτο Σθενίου Διός.

³ Theodoret. *relig. hist.* 4 (lxxxii. 1340 Migne).

⁴ H. C. Butler in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1900 iv. 434 f., W. K. Prentice *ib.* 1902 vi. 27 f. and more fully in *Hermes* 1902 xxxvii. 91—120 with ground-plan, figs., etc.

⁵ Διὶ Μαδβάχῳ καὶ Σελαμάνει, πατρώοις θεοῖς (so inscr. nos. 1, 2: nos. 5, 7, 8 have θεοῖς πατρώοις: nos. 3, 4? omit θεοῖς: no. 9 omits both θεοῖς and πατρώοις).

⁶ C. Clermont-Ganneau *Études d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1897 ii. 35—54 especially p. 49 n. 2, *id.* *Recueil d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1901 iv. 164 f.

⁷ So too G. Hoffmann in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* xi. 246, E. Littmann *ap.* W. K. Prentice in *Hermes* 1902 xxxvii. 117 f., O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 641.

⁸ So too E. Littmann *ap.* W. K. Prentice *loc. cit.* p. 118, M. Lidzbarski in the *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* 1908 ii. 81, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 639, L. R. Farnell in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1909 p. 61; R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 723 n. 7.

Djebel Shèkh Berckât is a place called *Bardj Bâkirhâ*, situated at the northern end of *Djebel Barîsha*. Here was once a fine Roman temple, built in the time of the Antonines; and a few paces to the east of it are the foundations of a very ancient altar. Temple and altar were enclosed by a precinct wall, now almost wholly destroyed. On the lintel of the precinct-door Dr E. Littmann deciphered a dedication to Zeus *Bomês*¹, the god whose existence was postulated by Prof. Clermont-Ganneau.

Zeus *Bomês*, no doubt, was the Grecised form of a Syrian god. But the Hellenic Zeus too was here and there believed to inhabit a hewn slab or pillar of stone, e.g. at Sikyon, in Arkadia, at Tarentum². The Frontispiece of this volume will serve to show

¹ Διὶ Βωμᾶ ἡεγάλω ἐπηκόῳ Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ Ἀπολλοφάνης καὶ Χαλβίων οἱ Μαρβῶνος τὸν πῖλωνα ἀεστήσαν ἔτους ἀπὸ ἐπικιόν μύθων ἔτους ἡσ', Γορφαίων (W. K. Prentice in *Hesperia*, 1902 XXXVII, 118).

² In dealing with aniconic representations of Zeus as a stone we must carefully distinguish artificial from natural forms. This distinction is not well observed by Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 3 ff. or even by Farnell *Cults of Gr. States* i. 102 ff., though it is rightly emphasised by W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*² London 1907 p. 206 f.

The statement of Maximus Tyrius that the earliest men dedicated mountain-tops—Olympus, Ide, etc. —as ἀγάλιαστα to Zeus (*supra* p. 102 n. 5) may be an erroneous inference from the fact that Zeus was worshipped on such high-places, or a generalisation from the case of Mt. Argaios (*ib.*). There is, however, good evidence for the identification of natural stones, probably meteorites, with Zeus: e.g. the stone near Gythion called Zeus-Καππώτας (*infra* ch. ii § 10 (f)); the stone at Delphoi said to have been swallowed by Kronos in place of Zeus (*infra* ch. ii § 10 (d)); the stone of Elagabalos, the god of Emesa in Syria, who was regarded as a solar Zeus or Jupiter (*infra* ch. ii § 10 (c)).

Among artificially-shaped stones we may notice several types—the pillar, the pyramid, the pyramid on a pillar, the *omphalos*.

Zeus is represented on Apulian vases by a pillar pure and simple (*supra* p. 36 fig. 9), or by a pillar inscribed ΔΙΟΣ (*supra* p. 36 ff. pl. iii). This presumably had behind it long-standing local tradition; for it is known that Zeus Καταϊβάτης had a pillar-cult at Tarentum in very early times (*infra* ch. ii § 3 (a) ii (δ)). Cp. also an Apulian bell-krater (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 42 no. F 62) on which is a stepped *stèle* bearing the inscription ΤΕΡΜΩΝ, i.e. Zeus Τέρμων as the equivalent of Jupiter *Terminus* (Plout. z. *Nouv.* 16 with Plat. *Leg.* 842 E f., Dem. *de Halonnes.* 39 f. = *Anth. Pal.* 9. 786).

Zeus Μειλίχιος at Sikyon was a mere pyramid (Paus. 2. 9. 6 ἔστι δὲ τοῦ Ζεὺς Μειλίχιος καὶ Ἀρτέμις ὀνομαζομένη Πατρῶα, σὺν τέχωνη πεποιημένα οὐδεμιᾶ· πυραμίδι δὲ ὁ Μειλίχιος, ἢ δε κίων ἔσταν ἰκασμένη); cp. the conical stone inscribed ΔΙΟΣ | ΜΗΛΩΣΙΟΥ at Korkyra (*supra* p. 164 n. 5) and the bronze pyramids of Jupiter *Dolichenus* (*infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xx (θ)).

Zeus Σορπάος (A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1906 p. 63 f. figs., K. A. Rhomaios *ib.* 1911 p. 150 fig. 1, *infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) iv (ε)), Zeus Πάσιος (K. A. Rhomaios *loc. cit.* p. 152 fig. 7), and Zeus Πατρώος (*id. ib.* p. 153 fig. 9) were, like other Arcadian deities, represented at Tegea by small pyramids surmounting four-sided pillars of Doliana marble: these pillars are inscribed ΔΙΟΣ ΣΤ | ΟΡΠΑΟΣ, ΔΙΟΣ ΠΑ | ΣΙΟ, and ANTIO | ΧΟΣΚΑ ΔΑΜΟ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ | ΔΙΗΠΑ ΤΡΩ ΙΩ

how such beliefs lingered on into our own era. Behind the god as portrayed by latter-day Pompeian art still stands the squared block from which in a sense he has emerged. That block was once his vehicle, his seat, his abode, for all practical purposes his embodiment. As time went on, the sacred stone was differentiated into a variety of distinct forms, to each of which was assigned its separate use. It did duty as the god's altar¹. It was modified into his throne². It survived as a perch for his eagle³, or as a pedestal for his statue⁴. But from first to last it was, strictly interpreted, the place where Zeus was to be found rather than the very Zeus himself. The distinction might indeed be overlooked by the vulgar; but it was vital to the progress of religion.

xviii. The Marriage of the Sun and the Moon in Crète.

If the bull that consorted with Pasiphae stood for the sun, Pasiphae herself, concealed in her wooden cow⁵, stood for the moon. Plutarch⁶ informs us that at Thalamai—a frontier town between Messene and Lakonike—there was a sanctuary and oracle of in lettering of the fifth century B.C., of the third or perhaps late fourth century B.C., and of the end of the second century A.D., respectively. A triple iconic herm at Tegea is inscribed ΖΕΥΣ || ΠΟΣΕΙ | ΔΑΝ || ΔΑΜ[Α] ΤΗΡ in lettering of the first century A.D. (*id. ib.* p. 156 f. fig. 12). The pyramid-on-pillar is obviously tantamount to the iconic herm.

In the east we find omphaloid stones regarded as Zeus: e.g. the *omphalos* of Zeus Κάσιος at Seleukeia Pieria (Append. B Syria); that of Zeus (?) at Chalkis sub Libano (Append. B Syria); that of Zeus Ἄμμων, the Semitic character of which has been already discussed (*supra* p. 355 ff.).

It would seem, then, that the genuinely Greek forms of aniconic Zeus included (a) natural stones such as meteorites, and (b) artificially-shaped stones of certain definite types—the pillar, the pyramid, and a combination of the two.

¹ E. Reisch in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1642. An instructive case is that of Zeus Καραβάρης at Tarentum (*infra* ch. ii § 3 (a) ii (δ)).

² See W. Reichel *Über vorhellenische Götterculte* Wien 1897 pp. 38—50 ('Altäre als Throne'). Cp. Iupiter seated on a pillar (*supra* p. 62 fig. 38) and Zeus Λύκαιος seated on his altar (*supra* p. 93 fig. 65). A comic scene depicted on a bell-krater from Apulia (L. Stephani *Parerga archaeologica* St Petersburg 1851—1876 no. 18, F. Wieseler in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1859 xxxi. 379 ff. pl. N, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 302, 2, W. Reichel *op. cit.* p. 42 fig. 12) shows Zeus sitting on his altar and threatening with uplifted bolt Herakles, who stands before him greedily eating the fruit that he ought to be presenting—a painful contrast to the pious personage, who is pouring a libation on the altar to the right.

³ *Supra* p. 34 f. pl. ii (well-mouth at Naples), p. 35 n. 6 fig. 8 (paste at Berlin), pp. 66, 83 pl. viii (pillars on Mt Lykaion).

⁴ E.g. *supra* p. 38 f. pl. iv, 1, p. 39 n. 2 pl. iv, 2 (Apulian vase in British Museum), p. 39 pl. v (Apulian vase in Soane Museum), p. 39 f. fig. 11 (Campanian vase at Dresden), p. 279 n. 4 fig. 206 (red-figured vase at Bonn).

⁵ *Supra* p. 464 f.

⁶ Plout. *v. Agid.* 9.

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Pasiphaa, whom some took to be a daughter of Atlas and mother by Zeus of Ammon, while others identified her with Kasandra the daughter of Priam who had died there and been called *Pasipháa*, 'She that gives light to all,' because she gave to all her oracular responses¹. Plutarch adds that, according to Phylarchos², Daphne the daughter of Amyklas when fleeing from the embraces of Apollon was changed into a laurel (*dáphne*) and received the gift of prophecy: it is implied, though not stated, that *Pasipháa* was an epithet of the illuminating Daphne. Pausanias still further complicates the case by speaking of the oracle as that of Ino³. It seems clear that the Laconian Pasiphaa was an ancient oracular goddess, whose nature had been so far forgotten that it had become possible to identify her with a variety of better-known mythological characters. Fortunately for our understanding of the facts Pausanias, an honest eye-witness, goes on to describe the sacred precinct:

'Two bronze statues stand there in the open air, one of them a statue of Pasiphae⁴, the other of Helios: the statue in the temple itself could not be seen clearly owing to its wreaths, but this too is said to be of bronze. There is also a sacred spring of water that is sweet to drink. Pasiphae is not a local deity of Thalamai but an epithet of Selene⁵.'

This is in all probability the truth of the matter. The statues of Pasiphae and Helios were statues of the moon-goddess and the sun-god⁶. When, therefore, in the Cretan myth, the 'bull of dazzling whiteness⁷' approached Pasiphae in her cow, we are justified in supposing a union between the sun and the moon.

Behind the myth, as is so often the case, we may detect a ritual performance, in which the Cnossian queen actually placed within a wooden cow was symbolically married to a bull representing the sun-god⁸. We know, at least, that in the territory of the Cnossians,

¹ By means of incubation (Plout. *v. Cleom.* 7, Cic. *de divin.* 1. 96). See further Tert. *de anim.* 46, Aristox. Tarent. *frag.* 76 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 288 Müller) *ap.* Apollon. Dysk. *hist. mir.* 49.

² Phylarch. *frag.* 33 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 342 Müller), *cp.* Parthen. *narr. am.* 15 lemma.

³ Paus. 3. 26. 1, where for 'Ιουός Wolff *de novissima oraculorum aetate* p. 31 ff. would read 'Ιούς.

⁴ The manuscript reading Παφίης...Παφίη was corrected by Camerarius to Πασιφάης...Πασιφάη. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 156 n. 6 defends the old reading on the ground that Pasiphae of Thalamai was a lunar Aphrodite, *cp.* Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 64 p. 117, 12 f. Wunsch *καλεῖται δὲ (ἡ Ἀφροδίτη) πολλαχού καὶ Πασιφάη, ἡ πᾶσιν ἐπαφείσα τὴν ἡδονήν*, Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 133 *Κυθήρα Πασιφαέσση κ.τ.λ.*

⁵ Paus. 3. 26. 1.

⁶ *Cp.* Maximus *περὶ καταρχῶν* 146 *πασιφαῖς...πανδία Σελήνη*, Orph. *h. Hel.* 8. 14 (Ἡλιε) *εἶδτε, πασιφαές, κόσμον τὸ περιδρομον ὄμμα*. See H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 57 f.

⁷ *Supra* p. 467.

⁸ This view, which I put forward in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 412, was adopted in 1905 by Dr J. G. Frazer (*Lect. Hist. Kingship* p. 175). In 1911, however, Dr Frazer

near the river Theren, there was in historical times a sanctuary, at which once a year the people of the district assembled to offer a solemn sacrifice and to celebrate with ancient mimetic rites the marriage of two divinities then described as Zeus and Hera¹. I would suggest that the later union of Zeus with Hera² had here taken the place of an earlier ceremony, the ritual pairing of the solar bull with the lunar cow.

That a queen should submit to being enclosed in a wooden cow will not surprise those who are familiar with primitive religious rites. In view of the similarity existing between Cretan and Egyptian bull-worship it is to be noted that the queens of Egypt were sometimes buried in cow-shaped sarcophagi, being thus made one with Hathor the cow-goddess³. Herodotus⁴, for example, describes how Mykerinos (*Men-kau-Rá*), a king of the fourth dynasty, when his daughter, an only child, died, buried her in a hollow wooden cow. This cow stood, or rather knelt, in a decorated chamber of the royal palace at Sais, its head and neck thickly plated with gold, and the rest of its body covered with a scarlet cloak. Between its horns was a golden disk to imitate the sun; and once a year, when the Egyptians made mourning for a certain god, presumably Osiris, the cow was brought out into the light, for the princess on her death-bed had besought her father that once a year she might look upon the sun. Whether the 'Minoans' ever assimilated their dead rulers to bulls and cows we do not know, though it has been conjectured by Mr B. Staes that the splendid silver cow's head with golden horns and a gold-plated rosette between them, found in the fourth shaft-grave at Mykenai, was originally affixed to the exterior surface of a wooden coffin⁵.

In various parts of the world it has been held that the stars are the children of the sun and moon⁶. This view perhaps obtained in

improved upon it by pointing out that Pasiphae was not, as I had described her, the representative of 'a sky-goddess or sun-goddess,' but rather, as others had seen, the representative of the moon (*Golden Bough*³: The Dying God p. 71 n. 2).

¹ Diod. 5. 72.

² *Infra* ch. iii § 1.

³ Cp. R. Lepsius *Die Chronologie der Ägypter* Berlin 1849 i. 309 n. 3.

⁴ Hdt. 2. 129 ff.

⁵ B. Staes *Περὶ τῆς χρήσεως Μυκηναϊκῶν τιμῶν κοσμημάτων* in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1907 pp. 31—60 fig. 12.

⁶ E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*² London 1891 i. 356 (the Mintira of the Malay Peninsula, the Ho of Chota-Nagpore in north east India), P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 10 (Tréguier). My friend the Rev. J. Roscoe informs me that a similar belief occurs among the Baganda of central Africa. W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3198 cites further parallels from A. Schleicher in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien Phil.-hist. Classe* 1853 xi. 99, T. Waitz—G. Gerland *Anthropologie der Naturvölker* Leipzig 1872 vi. 266, W. Mannhardt in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1875 vii. 303.

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Crete; for the Minotaur, offspring of the solar bull and the lunar cow, was—as we have said¹—named *Astérios* or *Asterion*, ‘the Starry.’

Dr J. G. Frazer, following K. Hoeck² and W. H. Roscher³, holds that the same custom of sun-and-moon marriage is attested on the one hand by the myth of Zeus and Europe, on the other by that of Minos and Britomartis or Diktyнна :

‘The moon rising from the sea was the fair maiden Europa coming across the heaving billows from the far eastern land of Phoenicia, borne or pursued by her suitor the solar bull. The moon setting in the western waves was the coy Britomartis or Dictynna, who plunged into the sea to escape the warm embrace of her lover Minos, himself the sun. The story how the drowning maiden was drawn up in a fisherman’s net may well be, as some have thought, the explanation given by a simple seafaring folk of the moon’s reappearance from the sea in the east after she had sunk into it in the west⁴.’

But here, as it seems to me, more caution is needed. I do not deny that ultimately both Europe and Diktyнна came to be regarded as moon-goddesses—the former through the influence of Phoenician religion, the latter by assimilation to the lunar aspect of Artemis. But I do deny that originally and essentially either Europe or Diktyнна stood for the moon. The matter is one that in this connexion must be further investigated.

Europe bore to Zeus a son Dodon⁵ or Dodonos⁶, the eponym of Dodona. This implies that there was a recognised similarity between the cults of Crete and Epeiros, Zeus and Europe being the Cretan equivalents of Zeus *Ndios* and his Dodonaean partner⁷. If so, Europe was at first a great earth-mother, who sent up vegetation from her home in the ground⁸. Strong support for this view is to be found in the fact that at Lebadeia in Boiotia those who went down into the oracular cave sacrificed not only to Trophonios and his sons, but also to Apollon, Kronos, Zeus

¹ *Supra* p. 493 ff.

² K. Hoeck *Kreta* Göttingen 1823 i. 90 ff., *ib.* 1828 ii. 170.

³ W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* (Studien zur griechischen Mythologie und Kulturgeschichte vom vergleichenden Standpunkte iv), Leipzig 1890 pp. 45 f., 116 ff., 128 ff.

⁴ Frazer *Golden Bough*³: The Dying God p. 73.

⁵ Akestodoros (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 463 f. Müller) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δωδώνη.

⁶ Schol. T. V. II. 16. 233.

⁷ This was seen by J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1287 f.; but this scholar went off on a wrong track, when he detected at Dodona the cult of a divine pair *Eúrōpa* and *Eúrōπη*.

⁸ Paus. 10. 12. 10 (in the chant of the Dodonaean priestesses) *Γὰ καρπὸς ἀντεῖ, διὰ κλήζερε ματέρα Γαῖαν*, *cp. Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 179 f.

Dr L. R. Farnell likewise concludes that Europe was ‘the Cretan earth-goddess’ (*Cults of Gk. States* ii. 479), ‘the Eteocretan earth-goddess’ (*ib.* ii. 632), later assimilated to Astarte.

Basileús, Hera *Henióche*, 'and to Demeter, whom they surname *Európe*, declaring that she is the nurse of Trophonios¹.'

Moreover, the little that we know of Europe's own cult fully bears out her chthonian and vegetative character. She had a festival in Crete, the Hellotia, at which a garland of myrtle, twenty cubits in circumference, was carried in procession. It was said to contain the bones of Europe, and like Europe herself was called *Hellotis*². This enormous wreath was clearly some sort of May-garland, probably, as Dr M. P. Nilsson conjectures, with a puppet inside it³. Now we have already seen that in Greece such garlands are burnt on the Midsummer bonfire⁴. It is therefore noteworthy that at Corinth, where the same festival was attached to the cult of Athena, tradition tells of a fire on to which a certain Hellotis flung herself and her little sister Chryse⁵.

¹ Paus. 9. 39. 5 *Δήμητρι ἢν ἐπονομάζοντες Εὐρώπην τοῦ Τροφώνιου φασὶν εἶναι τροφόν.*

² Athen. 678 A—B *Σέλευκος δὲ ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις ἐλλωτίδα καλεῖσθαι φησι τὸν ἐκ μυρρίνης πλεκόμενον στέφανον, ὄντα τὴν περίμετρον πηχῶν ἑκοσι, πομπεύειν τε ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἑλλωτίων ἑορτῇ. φασὶ δ' ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ὅσα κομίζεσθαι, ἢν ἐκάλλον Ἑλλωτίδα. ἀγεσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ τὰ Ἑλλώτια. Cp. Hesych. s.vv. Ἑλλώτια, ἐλλωτίς.*

³ Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 96 remarks that this can hardly be a case of actual bones carried in procession, and suggests that originally a puppet or *xóanon* called Hellotis was concealed in the wreath, which was later regarded as the relic of a dead heroine.

Farnell *Cults of Gr. States* ii. 479 'as the Cretan god dies, so his spouse, the earth-goddess, dies, for we hear of the funeral rites of Europa in the Corinthian festival of Ἑλλώτια.' More exactly, 'in the Cretan festival of Ἑλλώτια, which was celebrated also at Corinth.'

F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1971 'In Gortyn feierte man unter dem Namen Hellotia der Europe ein Totenfest.' This unduly emphasises the funereal character of the rite, which in all probability involved not merely the death but also the rebirth of the vegetation-goddess, laughter as well as tears.

The only other references to a definite cult of Europe in Crete are Dictys Cretensis i. 2 ad eos re cognita omnes ex origine Europae, quae in ea insula summa religione colitur, confluent benigneque salutas in templum deducunt. ibi multarum hostiarum more patris immolatione celebrata exhibitisque epulis large magnificeque eos habuere. itemque insecutis diebus reges Graeciae, et si ea quae exhibebantur magnifice cum laetitia suscipiebant tamen multo magis templi eius magnifica pulchritudine pretiosaque extractione operum afficiebantur, insipientibus repetentesque memoria singula quae ex Sidone a Phoenice patre eius atque nobilibus matronis transmissa magno tum decori erant, Solin. 11. 9 Gortynam amnis Leneaue praeterfluit, quo Europam tauri dorso Gortynii ferunt vectitatum. iidem Gortynii et Adymnum colunt Europae fratrem: ita enim memorant. videtur hic et occurrit, sed die iam vesperato augustiore se facie visendum offerens (see K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2261).

⁴ *Supra* p. 338 ff.

⁵ The schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 56 gives various *αἰτια* for the Hellotia of Athena *Hellotis*. Of these the oldest and most reliable (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 96) is the following: *Τιμάνδρου θυγατέρες τέσσαρες Κορίνθιαι*. Ἑλλωτίς, Εὐρυτιώνη, Χρυσή, Κοτυτώ. ἀλούσης τῆς πόλεως τὴν νέαν τὴν Χρυσὴν ἢ Ἑλλωτίς ἀρπάσσασα εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐνθα περκατάληπτος γενομένη ἐρριψεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὸ πῦρ. καθάρσια οὖν ἀγεται τῇ θεῷ, ἅτινα ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀλήθρου <...?...> Ἑλλώτια καλοῦσιν. Cp. *et. mag.* p. 332, 43 ff.

Nilsson *op. cit.* p. 95 infers that a large puppet called Hellotis was burnt (or two large puppets, Hellotis and Eurytione) together with a small puppet called Chryse, and points

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Europe, then, was a Cretan earth-goddess responsible for the vegetation of the year. Viewing her as such, we begin to understand better both her monuments and her myth. Artists innumerable represented her (pl. xxxii)¹ as she rode upon the divine bull, clinging with one hand to his fertilising horn and holding in the other a flower, symbol of her own fertility. Theophrastos and later writers averred² that Zeus took her to wife on or under an evergreen plane-tree near Gortyna³; the exceptional foliage of the tree was attributed to the fecundity of the goddess.

For the resemblance of the rite to the Boeotian Daïfala. He also notes the addition of Korymbos, a Thracian Artemis (A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1399 f.), in whose cult there is evidence of a May-pole (Nilsson *loc. cit.* n. 2).

The cult of Athena Έλλάωρίς at Marathon, mentioned by the schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13, 26 a. d. and *et. mag.* p. 332, 48 l. is attested by the calendar of the Attic Tetrapolis (J. de Prot *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 *Fasti sacri* p. 49 no. 26 b. 34 ff., 41 f., 100 p. 53).

¹ Of many possible illustrations (listed by L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pé.* 1866 p. 79 ff. Atlas pl. 3. 1870—1871 p. 181 ff. Atlas pl. 5, O. Jahn *Die Entführung der Europa auf antiken Kunstwerken* with 10 plates Wien 1870, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pl. 420—465 Münztaf. 6. 1—11, Gemmentaf. 5. 6—8, Atlas pl. 6. 7—22, pl. 7. 4—26, 22 f., J. Escher-Bärkli in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1296—1298) I figure but one, the Europe-kylix at Munich (Jahn *Vasensamm.* München p. 63 no. 208). This masterpiece, painted by an Attic artist c. 470 B.C., was found in 1811 A.D. still lying on a stone table in the *opisthodomos* of the temple of Aphaia in Aigina. Here, as A. Furtwängler remarks, it may have been used for pouring a libation when Pindar's ode to the goddess (Paus. 2. 30. 3) was performed. O. Jahn published it in colour (*Die Entführung der Europa* p. 44 f. pl. 7, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 428 ff. Atlas pl. 6. 19). Since his day the vase has suffered some farther damage: the bracelet on Europe's right arm has disappeared; her golden flower is hardly to be traced; her right foot has gone; so have her golden earring and the golden balls hanging from her hair; the inscription ΞΕΥΣ is reduced to I. What is left has been carefully redrawn by K. Reichhold for A. Furtwängler (*Aigina* München 1906 Text p. 498 f. fig. 406, F. Hauser in *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 283 ff. pl. 114, 1). I have had Jahn's colour-plate copied with the insertion of various details—the inner markings of the bull, etc.—first brought to light by Furtwängler and Reichhold.

The bull is black for aesthetic rather than religious reasons, and I doubt whether any mythological meaning attaches to the golden birds with which Europe's *peplos* is adorned. The sea is simply omitted (contrast *infra* figs. 405, 414).

² H. Prinz in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1910 xxv. 169 n. 2 hints that the key to the myth of Europe is furnished by certain Hittite cylinders, on which we see e.g. (a) a nude goddess holding a festoon as she stands on a recumbent bull with birds, hares, and a lion grouped around and a worshipper kneeling on either side of her (W. H. Ward in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1899 iii. 27 fig. 34); (b) a nude goddess holding a festoon as she stands on a recumbent bull, the halter of which is in the hands of a god grasping a club and a crook and treading upon mountain-tops (W. H. Ward *Cylinders and other ancient seals in the library of J. Pierpont Morgan* New York 1909 pl. 31, 237). The latter design suggests that the bull belonged to the god, not to the goddess.

³ Prof. R. C. Bosanquet tells me, on the authority of F. Halbherr, that a single specimen of the evergreen plane is still growing in a village near Gortyna.

⁴ Theophr. *hist. pl.* 1. 9. 5 *ἐν Κρήτῃ δὲ λέγεται πλάτανόν τινα εἶναι ἐν τῇ Γορτυναίᾳ πρὸς πηγῇ τινα, ἣ οὐ φελλοβολαῖ. μυθολογοῦσι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ (sic codd., ὑπὸ εἰ. Hemsterhuis) ταύτῃ ἐμίγη τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ὁ Ζεὺς· τὰς δὲ πηλοῖον πάσας φελλοβολαῖν...λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐν*

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Zeus and Europe
on a white-ground *kylix* at Munich.

See page 526 n. 1.

Coins of Gortyna from c. 430 B.C. onwards show a goddess seated in a tree, one of the most charmingly picturesque figures to be found in the whole field of ancient numismatics. Most scholars have concluded, and concluded rightly, that this can be none other than Europe, the bride of Zeus¹. She is, however, seated not

Κύπρω πλατάνος εἶναι τοιαύτη, Varr. *rer. rust.* 1. 7. 6 itaque Cretae ad Cortyniam dicitur platanus esse, quae folia hieme non amittat, itemque in Cypro, ut Theophrastus ait, una, Plin. *nat. hist.* 12. 11 est Gortynae in insula Creta iuxta fontem platanus una insignis utriusque linguae monumentis, numquam folia dimittens, statimque ei Graeciae fabulositas superfuit Iovem sub ea cum Europa concubuisse, ceu vero non alia eiusdem generis esset in Cypro. This last passage is quite misconceived by J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1290: 'Auf Kypros endlich war die Vermählung des Zeus mit E. lokalisiert (Plin. n. h. XII 11), und führte Zeus den Beinamen Ελληνι (= 'Ελληνίως? Hesych.).' As to Hesych. Ελληνι· Ζεὺς ἐν Κύπρῳ, Favorin. *lex.* p. 574, 48 f. Ελληνίως Ζεὺς, ἐν Κύπρῳ, *quot capita tot sententiae*: see J. Alberti and M. Schmidt on the Hesychian gloss, also O. Hoffmann *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1891 i. 112.

Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne) Εὐρώπη τῇ Φοίνικος διὰ ταύρου συνήλθεν (*sc.* ὁ Ζεὺς) stands alone. Whether it preserves an older form of the myth, or is due to the analogy of the Pasiphae-story, can hardly be determined.

¹ So e.g. W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. pp. xxxiv, 37 ff., P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 165, G. Macdonald in the *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 184 ff. (Europa?), Head *Hist. num.*² p. 466 f. Mr G. F. Hill *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* London 1899 p. 163 says cautiously 'the Cretan goddess seated in her tree.'

The chief dissentient is Mr J. N. Svoronos, who in the *Rev. Belge de Num.* 1894 p. 113 ff. argues that the coins in question illustrate a myth preserved by Kallim. *h. Artem.* 189 ff. Britomartis, a Gortynian nymph in the train of Artemis, was loved by Minos, and, being pursued by her lover, took refuge *λασίγαιον ὑπὸ δρυσί*. When after a nine months' chase he was about to seize her, she plunged from a height into the sea; and, being caught by the nets of the fishermen, was thenceforward called Diktyna, while the height was named Mt Dikte. The latter part of this tale is aetiological and late. Mr Svoronos thinks that the earlier version of it can be restored from the coin-types: Minos, taking upon him the form of an eagle, wooed and won his oak-nymph in a Cretan oak. This reconstruction is supported by two main considerations. On the one hand, Mr Svoronos regards Minos as a hypostasis of the Cretan Zeus, citing Echemenes *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 403 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 601 E 'Εχμενῆς γοῦν ἐν τοῖς Κρητικοῖς οὐ τὸν Δία φησὶν ἀρπάσαι τὸν Γανυμήδην ἀλλὰ Μίνωα. On the other hand, Mr Svoronos believes that the tree on the coins is an oak; and here he is able to adduce the opinion not only of numismatists such as Prof. P. Gardner (*Types of Gk. Coins* p. 166 'serrated leaves as of oak') and Messrs F. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller (*Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 63 'Der Baum sieht mehr einer Eiche als einer Platane ähnlich'), but also of Mr Spyridion Miliarakis, Professor of Botany at Athens, who states that 'les feuilles des arbres...qui sont les mieux représentées de toutes, ainsi que tout le reste, laissent reconnaître facilement à toute personne qui connaît les arbres de la Grèce, que ce n'est pas un platane, mais bien un chêne (δρῦς).'

Mr Svoronos' view is attractive. In the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 404 f. I accepted it and argued further in its support. But I now believe that I was mistaken: (a) It is more likely that the coins of Gortyna would represent the famous union of Zeus with Europe, which took place under a neighbouring plane-tree, than the comparatively obscure pursuit of Britomartis by Minos, which—so far as our literary evidence goes—was connected with places remote from Gortyna and was never consummated in a marriage-union at all. (b) The supposed metamorphosis of Minos into an eagle is a matter of pure conjecture,

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in a plane-tree, but on the crown of a pollard willow. The long serrated leaves (fig. 393), the small burgeoning catkins (fig. 396), the well-marked hollow in the bole (figs. 391 ff.), above all the



Fig. 391.



Fig. 392.



Fig. 393.



Fig. 394.



Fig. 395.



Fig. 396.



shock-head of slender shoots (fig. 394), which in some cases have obviously been lopped (figs. 397, 398), all go to confirm this identification¹.

being nowhere mentioned by any classical author. (c) Well-preserved specimens of the coin, e.g. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete* etc. p. 38 pl. 9, 5 (my fig. 393), certainly show serrated leaves; but serrated leaves need not be oak-leaves.

¹ Since this paragraph was written, Mr E. J. Seltman informs me that he has always regarded the tree as an ancient willow. In such a matter the opinion of an experienced numismatist is worth more than that of a botanist. A botanical friend, whom I consulted, declared that the tree most nearly resembled a tree-fern!



Fig. 397.

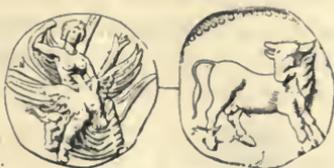


Fig. 398.



Fig. 399.



Fig. 400.

Doubtless the local die-sinker knew what he was about, and gave Europe the willow that belonged to her. Yet we need not tax Theophrastos, who spoke of a plane, with blundering. Both trees grow in damp marshy soil¹ and probably flourished side by side at Gortyna. A similar variation occurs in the case of another Cretan Zeus-cult; for, whereas Theophrastos mentions a fruitful poplar growing in the mouth of the Idaean Cave², Pliny apparently regards it as a willow³. There was in fact special cause to connect Zeus with the willow in the neighbourhood of Gortyna. On Mount Ide he had been nursed by Helike⁴, whose name denoted

¹ Theophr. *hist. pl.* 1. 4. 2, cp. 3. 13. 7.

² Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 3. 4, cp. 2. 2. 10, Append. B Crete.

³ Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 110, Append. B Crete.

⁴ *Supra* p. 112 n. 3. Another account stated that Zeus was reared by the daughters of Olenos, two nymphs called Aiga and Helike; and that these persons respectively gave their names to Olenos in Aulis, Aiga in Haimonia, and Helike in the Peloponnese (Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 13: see B. Bunte *ad loc.*). E. Neustadt *De Jove Cretico* Berolini 1906 p. 21 f. holds that this Helike was in Arkadia. But more probably Olenos, Aiga, and Helike were the eponyms of Olenos or Olene, Aiga or Aigai, and Helike in Achaia. An autonomous copper struck at Aigion in the same district shows (fig. 401) Zeus as an infant suckled by the she-goat Amaltheia between two trees with an eagle above him (Overbeck *Gr. Kunst-myth.* Zeus p. 327 f. Münztaf. 5, 1, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 85 f. pl. R, 14, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 58 f. pl. 5, 12, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 413): cp. Strab. 387 ἡ δ' Αἰγά (καὶ γὰρ οὕτω λέγουσι τὰς Αἰγάς) νῦν μὲν οὐκ οἰκεῖται, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἔχουσιν Αἰγαίς. Αἰγιον δὲ ἰκανῶς οἰκεῖται· Ἰστροῦσι δ' ἐνταῦθα τὸν Δία ὑπ' αἰγῶν ἀνατραφῆναι, καθάπερ φησὶ καὶ Ἄρατος· αἰεὶ ἱερῆ, τὴν μὲν τε λόγος Διὸς μαζῶν ἐπισηχεῖν· ἐπιλέγει δὲ καὶ ὄτι



Fig. 401.

'Willow!' And a nurseling of the willow might naturally be mated with a willow-bride. If Europe was indeed a willow-goddess, she probably patronised basket-work; and the flower-basket that she herself bears is a significant attribute². The Greek painter is

Ἐλευθέρη δὲ μὲν αἶγα Διὸς καλεῖσά' ὑποφῆται· δηλῶν τὸν τόπον, διότι πλῆσιον Ἐλευθέρη. abridged by Eustath. *in Il.* p. 292, 10 ff.

According to Hyg. *fab.* 139, Amaltheia as nurse of the infant Zeus in Crete hung his cradle on a tree, in order that he might not be found in heaven or on earth or in the sea, and, to prevent his cries from being heard, bade the young Kouretes clash their small bronze shields and spears round the tree. Unfortunately we are not told whether the tree in question was a willow. In a Czech tale the nymph of a willow-tree married a mortal and bore him children. One day the willow was cut down and the nymph died. But a cradle fashioned out of its wood had the power of lulling her babe to sleep (W. R. S. Ralston in the *Contemporary Review* 1878 i. 525, Mrs. J. H. Philpot *The Sacred Tree* London 1897 p. 62). A Japanese tale likewise tells how Higo, the nymph of a willow-tree, weds Heitaro, a young farmer, and bears him a child Chiyodō, but vanishes when her tree is cut down (R. Gordon Smith *Ancient Tales and Folklore of Japan* London 1908 p. 12 ff., F. Hadland Davis *Myths & Legends of Japan* London 1912 p. 177 ff.).

¹ Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 13. 7 καλοῦσι δὲ οἱ περὶ Ἀρκαδίαν οὐκ ἰτέαν ἀλλὰ ελικῆν τὸ δένδρον· οἰοῦνται δὲ, ὡς περ' Ἐλέχθη, καὶ καρπὸν ἔχειν αὐτὴν ῥόμιμον.

² O. Jahn *Die Entführung der Europa auf antiken Kunstwerken* Wien 1870 p. 23

acutely surmised that Europe's basket was not a mere piece of prettiness but 'vielmehr ein Attribut von tieferer Bedeutung.' In addition to the *amphora* at St Petersburg and the passage from Moschos, he was able to cite from the Waldeck collection at Arolsen a copper of Tyre struck by Gallienus, on the reverse of which appears Europe with her basket (fig. 402). He noted also that a copper struck by Valerian with the same type had been sold at Berlin in 1845. An example of this latter coin now in the British Museum is, however, thus described by Mr G. F. Hill: 'Europa, wearing long chiton and himation, standing to front, holding

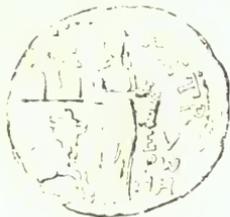


Fig. 402.

in l. a vase, r. hand on breast; on l., approaching her out of the water, forepart of a bull; above it, the Ambrosial Rocks with olive-tree between them; below, murex-shell; in field r., ΕΥΡΩΠΗ; inser. COL TV RO MET' (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* pp. cxlii, 290 pl. 34, 13).

Possibly the flower-basket of Europe was derived from a custom akin to the 'gardens of Adonis.' Mosch. i. 37 (cp. i. 61) speaks of the former as χρύσειον τάλαρον; Theokr. 15. 113 f., of the latter as ἀπαλοὶ κᾶποι πεφιδλαγμένοι ἐν ταλαρίσκοις | ἀργυρούς. The Cretan Zeus was akin to Adonis (*supra* p. 157 n. 3, *infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xxi).

The wicker basket on coins of Kibyra in Phrygia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* pp. xlviii, 135 ff. pls. 16, 9, 17, 5-7, 18, 1 f., 4, 8 f., 51, 3 f.) may have the same significance. I figure two specimens from my collection, a quasi-autonomous copper from the time of M. Aurelius (fig. 403) and a copper struck by Trajan Decius (fig. 404).



Fig. 403.



Fig. 404.

Certain silver coins of Gortyna c. 200-67 B.C. have obv. head of Zeus, rev. Athena holding Nike etc. or Apollon seated on a rock. Both these reverse types are inscribed ΓΟΥΤΤΥΝΙΩΝ ΘΙΒΟΣ. The word ΘΙΒΟΣ has been taken for a dialect form of τόπος (B. V. Head in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1873 xiii. 117, cp. *Zeitsch. f. Num.* 1874 i. 381), or for a magistrate's name (J. N. Svoronos

careful to put it in her hand even when she is crossing the sea on the bull's back (fig. 405)¹. The Hellenistic poet devotes twenty-six lines to an elaborate description of it². Is it over-rash to



Fig. 405.

conjecture that the very name *Európe* or *Európeia* was a cult-title rightly or wrongly taken to mean the goddess 'of Flourishing Willow-withies'?

Numismatique de la Crète ancienne Macon 1890 i. 177 pl. 16, 14 f., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 467). But the name occurs nowhere else, and no other magistrate ever inscribed his name on coins of Gortyna. Hence it is tempting to regard ΘΙΒΟΣ as a term connected with some religious festival. If so, Europe's basket may give us the clue: cp. Hesych. *s.v.* θίβη· πλεκτὸν τι κιβωτοειδές, ὡς γλωσσοκομείον, θιβωνος· κιβωτός. Κύπριοι. On this group of words see H. van Herwerden *Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum* Lugduni Batavorum 1902 p. 370 Append. 1904 p. 102.

¹ A red-figured *amphora* of archaizing style from the Campana collection, now at St Petersburg (Stephani *Vasensamm.* St. Petersburg ii. 241 f. no. 1637 and in the *Compte-rendu St. Pétr.* 1866 pp. 107, 118 f., Atlas pl. 5, 1—3, O. Jahn *op. cit.* p. 22 f.).

² Mosch. 2. 37—62.

³ The name *Εὐρώπη* has been regarded by recent writers (1) as Pelasgian and therefore un-Greek (A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 21): (2) as Phoenician and akin to the Semitic *ereb*, 'western' (H. van Herwerden *Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum* Lugduni Batavorum 1902 p. 950), cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Εὐρώπη· χώρα τῆς δύσεως. ἡ σκοτεινὴ and *εὐρωπὸν· σκοτεινόν. πλατύ* and see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 252 Europa, die 'finstere,' 867 von Europa, wahrscheinlich der 'Verfinsterten': (3), as a Greek compound of *εὐρύς* and *οπ*, 'eye,' equivalent in meaning to *Εὐρώπη* (J. Escher-Bürkli in Páuly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1287).

None of these solutions is altogether satisfactory. I assume that *Εὐρώπη*, whatever its real origin, was at one time understood or misunderstood by the Greeks as the feminine of *εὐ-ρωπος*, a compound of *εὐ* and *ῥώπες*, 'willow-withies,' cp. *εὐ-ρωπος* from *εὐ* + *ῥήκη*.

deb. ereth

However that may be, it seems clear that the Gortynian coins represent Europe as a willow goddess. At first she sits pensively in her bare tree, leaning her head on one hand (figs. 391, 392)¹. Then, as the branches begin to leaf, by a subtle change of gesture she raises her head and fingers her fine-spun *chiton* (figs. 393², 394³). Next a strange thing happens. The lines of the tree-trunk shape themselves afresh, and there comes into sight the head of a mighty eagle, betokening the presence of Zeus (fig. 395)⁴. At his advent the tree bursts into bloom. He is on the branch now, an eagle still, but small enough not to scare Europe, who is once more sunk in a reverie heedless of his approach (fig. 396)⁵. A moment later, and the great bird with a glorious spread of wings is in full possession of his lover. With one hand she clasps him to her; with the other she raises her drapery to form a bridal veil (figs. 397⁶, 398⁷). As the consort of Zeus she is henceforward a second Hera. Enthroned on the tree-trunk with the eagle at her side, she borrows the *stephane* and the cuckoo-sceptre of the Argive goddess (fig. 399)⁸. Hera herself did not disdain the title *Europa*⁹.

Sundry details of this remarkable series have yet to be explained. The reverse of every coin shows the divine bull now moving across a grassy plain (fig. 393), now treading on rough ground (fig. 394), now again accompanied by a fly (figs. 392, 397, 399). The fly is hardly to be viewed as a meaningless adjunct. Remembering the gad-fly that pursued the heifer Io¹⁰ and the bees that were believed to issue from the buried bull¹¹, we might even suppose that the fly was an emanation of Zeus himself¹².

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc.* p. 39 pl. 10, 4 (my fig. 391), J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 161 pl. 13, 4 (Paris), 5 (Munich). Fig. 392 is from a specimen in my collection.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc.* p. 38 pl. 9, 5, Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 162 pl. 13, 9, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 165 pl. 9, 20, *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 405 fig. 1.

³ In my collection. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 164 pl. 14, 3 (Loebbecke) is from the same dies.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc.* p. 38 pl. 9, 9, O. Jahn *Die Entführung der Europa auf antiken Kunstwerken* Wien 1870 p. 26 pl. 9, f, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* i. 32 pl. 41, 186.

⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc.* p. 39 pl. 10, 5, Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 166 pl. 14, 16, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 165 pl. 9, 19.

⁶ From a specimen in the McClean collection at Cambridge.

⁷ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc.* p. 40 pl. 10, 8, Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 168 pl. 15, 7.

⁸ Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 166 pl. 14, 17 (Imhoof-Blumer), *cp. ib.* pl. 14, 18, *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 405 fig. 2 (British Museum), P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 165 pl. 9, 18 (Paris).

⁹ Hesych. *Εὐρωπία*: ἡ Ἥρα.

¹⁰ *Supra* p. 439 ff. If Zeus accompanied Io on her wanderings (Soudi. *s.v.* *Ιως), it may be conjectured that the famous *olorpos* (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 266) was but Zeus in the shape of a gad-fly. Another possible case of the soul as a fly is noted *supra* p. 469 n. 7.

¹¹ *Supra* p. 514.

¹² Ants, bees, butterflies etc. were often regarded as the soul in insect form (Gruppe

The coins that represent the eagle in Europe's lap often add a bull's head apparently affixed to the trunk of the willow (figs. 397, 398). An interesting parallel is here provided by the Trèves altar, which likewise seems to portray a bull's head high up on a willow-tree¹. Probably the head of the fertilising bull was hung on the trunk to ensure its continued fertility, just as the whole bull was suspended and slain on Athena's olive at Ilion (fig. 406)². An odd custom perhaps susceptible of the same explanation is mentioned by Apollonios of Rhodes, who tells how the Argonauts landed on the Circean Plain :



Fig. 406.

And here there grew
 Many wild oaks and willows in a row
 On whose high tops were corpses hung by ropes
 Fast-bound. For still the Colchians may not burn
 Dead men with fire, nor lay them in the ground
 And pile a mound above them, but must wrap
 In untanned ox-hides and without their town
 Hang them on trees. Howbeit earth obtains
 An equal share with sky, for in the earth
 Their women-folk they bury. Such their rule³.

Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 800 ff.). If Zeus became an ant in Thessaly (Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 39. 6 p. 30, 1 ff. Stählin *τί δὲ πάλιν Θετταλοί; μύρμηκας ιστοροῦνται σέβειν, ἐπεὶ τὸν Δία μεταθήκασιν ὁμοιωθέντα μύρμηκι τῇ Κλήτορος θυγατρὶ Εὐρυμεδοῦση μὴ γῆραι καὶ Μυρμιδὸνα γενεῆσαι* with schol. *ad loc.*, Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne) *Εὐρυμεδοῦση τῇ Ἀχελφού, μύρμηξ γενόμενος, ἐξ ἧς Μυρμιδῶν*, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 26 versus...in formiculam parvulam, ut Clitoris videlicet filiam Myrmidonos redderet apud Thessalos matrem, Isid. *orig.* 9. 2. 75 Eratosthenes autem dicit Myrmidonas a Myrmidone duce Iovis et Eurymedusae filio, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 2. 7 Eratosthenes dicit Myrmidonos dictos a rege Myrmidono (*leg.* Myrmidone) Iovis et Eurymedonae (*leg.* Eurymedusae) filio, interp. Serv. *ib.* a rege Myrmidono (*leg.* Myrmidone) Iovis et Eurimedontis (*leg.* Eurymedusae) filio, he may have become a fly in Crete. He would thus have been the Cretan (? cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 21. 79) equivalent of the Philistine god worshipped at Ekron as *Ba'al Zebub*, a name translated by the LXX *Βάαλ Μυῖα θεός* and best understood of a zoomorphic deity (S. Bochart *Hierozoicon* ed. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1796 iii. 346 f., W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3301 ff.). On Zeus *Ἀπόμυιος* see *infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) iv (β).

¹ *Supra* p. 481 n. 9.

² H. von Fritze in W. Dörpfeld *Troja und Ilion* Athens 1902 ii. 491 pl. 63, 68 f., 514—516, A. Brückner *ib.* ii. 563—566, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 235, P. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 124 f., J. E. Harrison *Themis* Cambridge 1912 p. 164 f. I figure a specimen in my collection.

H. von Fritze *op. cit.* ii. 514 holds that, since inscriptions of Ilion mention *ἡ βοῦς*, the animal hung in the tree must be a cow. But on the coins it is a bull, and it is rightly so described by W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Troas* etc. pp. 64, 66 ff. pls. 12, 10, 13, 5.

³ Ap. Rhod. 3. 200—209 *ἔνθα δὲ πολλὰ | ἐξέτης πρόμαλοι τε καὶ λῆαι ἐκπεφύασιν, | τῶν καὶ ἐπ' ἀκροτάτων νέκυες σειρήσι κρέμανται | δάσμοι. εἰσέτι νῦν γὰρ ἄγος Κόλχοισιν ὄρωρε | ἀνέρας οἰχομένους πυρὶ καίμεν· οὐ δ' ἐνὶ γαίῃ | ἔστι θέμις στείλαντας ὑπερθ' ἐπὶ*

Was the intention here to communicate the life of the dead to the tree, or the life of the tree to the dead?

The oldest specimens of the Gortynian coins (figs. 391, 392) bear the enigmatic legend *Tityroi* (ΖΟΨΜΣΤ) partly on, partly off the tree. The word appears to be a dialect form of *Tityroi*; and it has been suggested that Tityros was the name of a Cretan township¹. But our evidence for such a town is of the flimsiest². Besides, in Greek numismatics the name of the issuing state is regularly expressed in the genitive, not the nominative, case³. I would therefore submit that *Tityroi* here, as elsewhere, denotes 'Satyrs⁴.' The earliest mention of these woodland spirits makes them akin to the Kouretes⁵—a point insisted on by Strabon⁶; and it is on record that the Kouretes clashed their weapons round the tree in which the cradle of Zeus was hung⁷. Not improbably, then, the *Tityroi* or 'Satyrs' danced round the tree in which Zeus met Europe. Indeed, I would venture to explain the coin-legend by assuming that at Gortyna a yearly festival known as the *Tityroi* was held⁸, at which a Satyric

σῆμα χέσθαι· | ἀλλ' ἐν ἀδειψήτοισι κατελύσαντε βοείαις | δενδρέων ἐξάπτειν ἐκὰς ἀσπεος.
 ἡέρι δ' ἴσσην | καὶ χθῶν ἐμμορον αἰσαν, ἐπεὶ χθονὶ ταρχύουσιν | θηλυτέρας· ἢ γὰρ τε δίκη
 θεσμοῖο τέτυκται. On this see Nymphodoros *frag.* 17 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 380 Müller)
ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 202 τὰ τῶν ἀρσένων σώματα οὐ θέμις Κόλχους οὔτε καλεῖν οὔτε
 θάπτειν· βυρσαῖς δὲ νεαραῖς εἰλοῦντες ἐκρέμων τῶν ἀρσένων τὰ σώματα, τὰ δὲ θήλεα τῇ
 γῆ ἐδίδοσαν, ὡς φησι Νυμφόδωρος, ᾧ ἠκολούθησε (ᾧ δοκεῖ οὗτος ἠκολουθηκέναι *cod. Paris.*).
 σέβονται δὲ μάλιστα οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν.

¹ Head *Hist. num.*² p. 466.

² Schol. Theokr. 3. 2 ὄνομα κύριον ὁ Τίτυρος, τινὲς [δὲ] φασίν, ὡς τὸ Σιληνὸς ὁ Σικελιώτης. ἄλλοι δὲ τοὺς τράγους· ἕτεροι τοὺς Σατύρους· ἐνιοὶ ὄνομα πόλεως Κρήτης· ἄλλοι δὲ τοὺς προσπόλους τῶν θεῶν· τινὲς δὲ καὶ κάλαμον. οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ἄλλο ἢ ὄνομα αἰπόλου τινός. There was a Mt. Tityros near Kydonia (Strab. 479 τῆς μέντοι Κυθωνίας ὄρος ἐστὶ Τίτυρος, ἐν ᾧ ἱερὸν ἐστίν, οὐ Δικταῖον, ἀλλὰ Δικτύνωνιον, Phrantzes *chron.* i. 34 p. 102 Bekker τὰ δὲ ὄρη τὰ ἐγγύς αὐτῆς (*sc.* Κυθωνίας) τὰ ὑψηλὰ Τίτυρος καλοῦνται).

³ Mr G. F. Hill *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* London 1899 p. 181 puts the matter thus: 'In addition to the use of the genitive and the adjective, there is a rare use of the nominative case. Most of the names in the nominative found on pre-imperial coins seem to be descriptive of types; but such an inscription as ΑΘΕ Ο ΔΕΜΟΣ ('Αθηναίων ὁ δῆμος) is an undoubted instance of the use of the nominative in place of the ordinary genitive.' He does not cite any example strictly parallel to Τίτυροι.

⁴ Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 462 f., cp. I. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* ii. 746 f.

According to F. Solmsen in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1912 xxx. 31 ff., Σά-τυροι and Τί-τυροι are genuine Greek words from the root τῦ, 'to swell,' seen in τίλος, τύμβος, τυρός, ταῦρος, etc. The first element in Σάτυρος reappears in σάθη, σάβυρος, σάραβος, etc. and may be an old word for *phallós*. Τίτυρος shows intensive reduplication (cp. Τίτυός) with poetic lengthening.

⁵ Hes. *frag.* 129 Flach *ap.* Strab. 471. See also Prokl. in Hes. *o. d.* 89.

⁶ Strab. 466.

⁷ *Supra* p. 529 n. 4.

⁸ Mr W. Wroth, with whom I once had the advantage of discussing these coins, approved of my suggestion. For the form of the festival-name cp. the Κισσορῆοι at Phlius (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 39 f.) or such expressions as τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς (Dem. *de cor.*

drama set forth the union of the sky-god Zeus with the earth-goddess Europe. The part of Zeus would be played by one of the Satyrs—if, at least, we may argue from the analogous myth of Antiope, who was wooed by Zeus in the form of a Satyr¹.

The purpose of this mimetic rite would presumably be to promote fertility. The marriage of the earth-goddess in her willow would entail a prosperous year for the whole neighbourhood. Somewhat analogous in its conception is a marble relief of the first century A.D. found at Loukou near Astros in Thyreatis and now at Athens (fig. 407)². A matronly figure sits on a throne, which is adorned with a Sphinx and bears the inscription *Eptktesis*, 'Increase.' Before her on a base is a statue of *Euthentia*, 'Fertility³,' holding a basket of fruit. Behind this goddess rises a smooth Doric pillar, on the top of which stands another goddess in the guise of Artemis *Agrotéra*⁴, who uplifts her hand⁵ close to the branch of a leafy tree. The tree is insufficiently characterised: E. Gerhard took it to be a plane⁶, J. N. Svoronos an olive⁷; most critics are content to call it a tree. Its stem is hidden by the pillar. A fillet hangs from one of its boughs. A snake too, now barely discernible, winds from behind the base of *Euthentia* over the tree-trunk down towards the *phidle* resting on the lap of *Eptktesis*. In the field beside the tree, and in all probability referring to the goddess on the pillar, is the inscription *Teleté*, 'Initiation.' It is,

116), gladiatoribus (Cic. *Phil.* 1. 36). Numismatic parallels are ΔΙΟC ΓΟΝΑΙ (*supra* p. 151 fig. 119) and ΕΙΟΥC ΓΑΜΟΙ (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia pp. cxlvi, 348 pl. 36, 8) at Tralleis attached to 'scenes in certain religious mysteries connected with the Io legend' (B. V. Head *ib.* p. cxlvi), perhaps also ΟΡΤΥΓΟΘΗΡΑ at Tarsos (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. pp. lxxxvi f., 182 f. pl. 33, 7) as the name of a 'quail-hunt' in the cult of Sandas or Herakles (see Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Adonis Attis Osiris² pp. 85, 99 n. 2).

¹ *Infra* ch. i § 7 (d). Another version made Zeus consort with Antiope in the form of a bull (*ib.*).

² E. Gerhard in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1829 i. 132—134 pl. C, Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 98, 542 fig. 48, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 725 no. 1847, H. von Protz in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1902 xxvii. 265 f., H. Schrader in the *Winkelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* lx. 5, 33 n. 7, Staïs *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*² p. 239 n. 1390, Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1498, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pp. 336—340 pl. 55.

³ Poll. 1. 240 εἰ δὲ δένδρον... εὐθηνοῦν, ... καὶ δένδρον... εὐθηλια.

⁴ Cretan coins struck by Domitian show not only a *caduceus* between two *cornua copiae* inscribed ΕΥΘΗΝΙΑ | ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 343 pl. 33, 15 f.), but also ΔΙΚΤΥΝΝΑ | ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ (*infra* p. 542 n. 1): see F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1908 xi. 143 f.

⁵ The gesture of the goddess is similar to that of the tree-nymph in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1839 xii pl. 8, Boetticher *Baumkultus* fig. 33.

⁶ E. Gerhard *loc. cit.* p. 133 'forse un platano.'

⁷ Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 337 'wahrscheinlich ein Ölbaum.'

I think, the inscription that affords the best clue to the meaning of the whole scene. Dionysos had by the Naiad Nikaia a son Satyros¹ and a daughter Telete². If the former represents the male, the latter stands for the female element in the cult—a *kouire* of

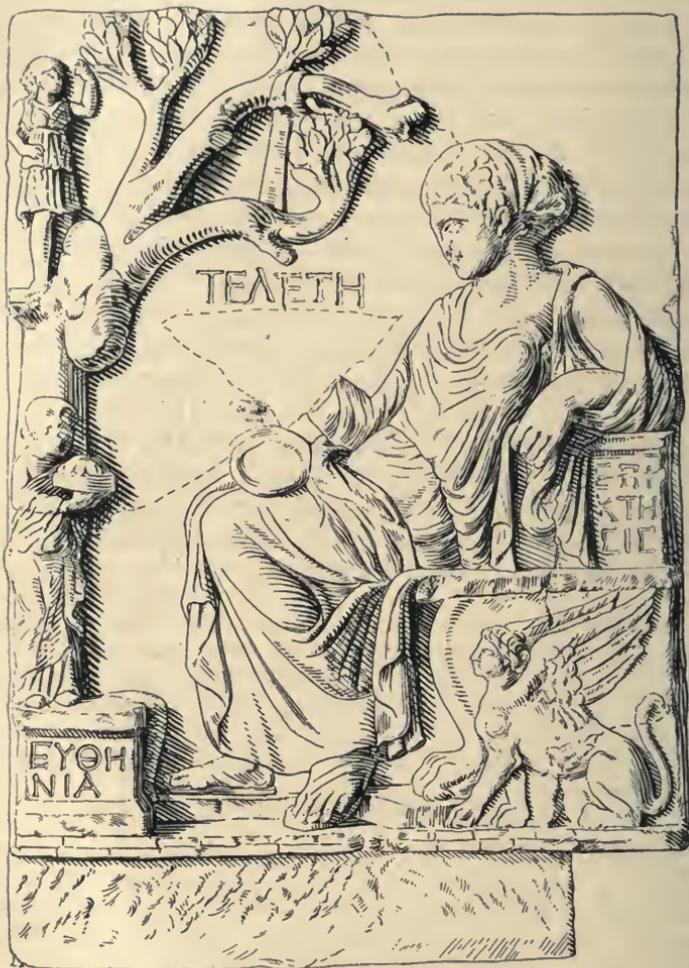


Fig. 407.

Dionysos' train³. As a personification of the initiatory rite she is closely associated with Orpheus. On Helikon, the 'Mount of

¹ Memnon 41. 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 547 Müller).

² Nonn. *Dion.* 16. 399 ff. ἐκ δὲ γάμου Βρομλοιο θεόσαυτος ἦνθ' ἔε κούρη, | ἦν Τελετήν
ὄνόμενεν αἰὲ χαίρουσαν ἑορταῖς, | κούρην νυκτιχόρευτον, ἔφροσπομένην Διούσῳ, | περπομένην
κροτάλοισι καὶ ἀμφιπλήγι βοείῳ.

³ *Id. ib.*

Willows¹(?), Pausanias saw a statue of Orpheus with Telete at his side². And in Polygnotos' great fresco of the Underworld at Delphoi Orpheus was painted leaning against a willow and touching its branches with his hand³, just as Telete in this relief stands beside the tree close up against its foliage. Both he and she derived fertility from contact with the sacred tree. The relief from Loukou was probably set up over the grave of an Orphic votary. The Sphinx spells Chios; and J. N. Svoronos cites an example of the rare name Epiktesis from a Chian inscription⁴. We may therefore unreservedly accept the view propounded by this acute scholar, that the dead woman, thanks to her well-omened name, was conceived henceforward as a new heroine of 'Increase' to be revered along with the older goddess of 'Fertility'⁵.

Details apart, it is abundantly clear that Europe was at first an earth-goddess worshipped at Gortyna in a sacred tree. For all that, there is good reason to think that she ultimately came to be regarded as the moon. Her mother was *Teléphassa*⁶, the 'Far-shining,' or, according to another and probably older account, *Argiôpe*⁷, the 'Bright-eyed,' both names being possible appellations of a moon-goddess. *Eurôpe* herself bore an equivocal title, which to ancient⁸, as to modern⁹, speculation would readily suggest the 'Broad-eyed' moon. W. H. Roscher compares it with that of *Eurypháessa*, the 'Broad-shining' mother of Selene¹⁰. He also points out that Europe riding a white bull¹¹ resembles Selene riding

¹ Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 243 (after A. Fick and F. Solmsen) cp. *Viminalis*. But see now Bölte in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1.

² Paus. 9. 30. 4.

³ Paus. 10. 30. 6.

⁴ G. I. Zolotas in *Ἀθηνᾶ* xx. 353 ΕΠΙΚΤΗΣΙΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΑΥ[ΤΗΣ] ΥΙΟΙΣ κ.τ.λ.

⁵ Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 339 f.

⁶ *Τηλεφάσσα* (Mosch. 2. 40 ff.), *Τηλέφασσα* (Apollod. 3. 1. 1, 3. 4. 1, Steph. Byz. s.v. Θάσος), *Τηλεφάνη* (schol. Eur. *Rhes.* 28, Steph. Byz. s.v. Δάρδανος), *Τηλέφη* (schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 5).

⁷ Pherekyd. *frag.* 40 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 83 Müller) ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 1185, Hyg. *fab.* 6, 178, 179, cp. Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Theb.* 2. 289 where L. reads *Agriôpes*.

⁸ Eustath. in *Il.* p. 141, 25 ff. cp. *εὐρύσπα Ζεὺς* with *Ἥρα βοῶπις* and with *Εὐρώπη*, but offers as alternative renderings 'large-eyed' and 'loud-voiced.' *Id. ib.* p. 955, 19 f. cp. *Ἐριώπις* with *βοῶπις* and with *Εὐρώπη*.

⁹ *Supra* p. 531 n. 3.

¹⁰ W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 pp. 95, 128 f. and in the *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3192. Euryphaessa was, however, the mother of Helios, not of Selene (*h. Hel.* 2).

¹¹ Phrynichos *frag.* 16 Nauck² ap. Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1430, 63 f. καὶ ταῦρος ἀργιμήτης ἦγον λευκός, φασί, παρὰ Φρυνίχῳ ὁ διακομίσας τὴν Εὐρώπην, Hesych. ἀργιμήτας ταῦρος ταχύμητις. ἢ λευκός παραγωγός. λέγεται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ διακομίσαντος τὴν Εὐρώπην. A. Nauck cj. ἀργιμέτωπος, cp. Mosch. 2. 85 κύκλος δ' ἀργύφειος μέσσω μάρμαραι μετώπῳ, Ach. Tat. 2. 15 εἰ δ' ὁ μῦθος Εὐρώπης ἀληθής, Αἰγύπτιον βουὸν ὁ Ζεὺς ἐμμήσατο.

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on a bull or drawn in a chariot by white bulls or cows¹, and that Europe², like Selene³, was regarded as a huntress. His argument will appeal to the eye, if we compare the common Greek type of Europe with certain Roman types of Selene (fig. 408)⁴, of Artemis *Tauropólos* (fig. 409)⁵, and of Nike riding on the lunar Apis (fig. 410)⁶.



Fig. 408.



Fig. 409.



Fig. 410.

Europe, however, does not become demonstrably lunar till she reaches Phoinike⁷ and is identified with Astarte. The most important piece of evidence is a passage in the treatise *On the Syrian Goddess*:

There is another large temple in Phoinike, at Sidon. The Sidonians call it the temple of Astarte, and Astarte I take to be Selenaiā. But, as one of the priests informed me, it is the temple of Europe the sister of Kadmos. She was the daughter of king Agenor, and after her disappearance the Phoenicians honoured her with the temple and told a pious tale about her to the effect that Zeus, desirous of her beauty, took the form of a bull and carried her off, bearing

¹ *Supra* p. 476.

² Pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 33, Poll. 5, 39, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2, 35, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 414, 5 ff. Eysenhardt.

³ W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 92 ff., *id. Nachträge zu meiner Schrift über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1895 p. 32 f., and in the *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3168 f.

⁴ From a *denarius* of L. Valerius Acisculus (46—45 B.C.) in my collection: obv. ACISCVLVS Filleted head of Apollo as Sol with star above it and hatchet behind it in border of dots; rev. [L. VALERIVS] Luna with crescent-shaped veil riding ox towards the right. The types are so interpreted by W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 pp. 169—171, pl. 3, 6, *id. Nachträge zu meiner Schrift über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1895 p. 42 with fig. on p. 37, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3137 with fig. Other explanations in Babelon *Mon. rép. rom.* ii. 515, 519 figs. and *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins*, Rep. i. 534 f. n. 2 pl. 53, 1—3.

⁵ Cp. Ach. Tat. 1. 4. τριαύτην εἶδον ἐγὼ ποτ' ἐπὶ ταύρω γεγραμμὴν Σελήνην.

⁶ From a copper of Amphipolis, struck by Tiberius, in my collection: ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ, cp. Morell. *Theo. Num. Imp. Rom.* i. 615 pl. 11, 22—23, Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 545, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia, etc. pp. 50, 52 ff., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 278 ff., Head *Hist. num.*² p. 216 f. See further K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1399 f.

⁷ From a gem in P. D. Lippert *Daktyl. Scrin.* 3 no. 61 (Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 125 pl. 16, 176a).

⁸ On Europe in Phoinike see J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1291, who rejects the combinations of Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 251 ff.

her to Crete. The rest of the Phoenicians gave me the same story—and indeed the coinage in use at Sidon shows Europe seated on the bull Zeus,—but they do not allow that the temple is that of Europe¹.

Coppers of Sidon from c. 174 B.C. onwards exhibit the type in question (fig. 411)², but in no way confirm the identification of Europe with the moon³. A later rationalising account in Ioannes Malalas states that at Tyre the rape of Europe was commemorated in the evening, which would at least suit a lunar connexion:

‘Tauros king of Crete attacked the city of Tyre and, after winning a sea-fight, captured it in the evening. He spoiled the place and took many prisoners, among them Europe, daughter of the king Agenor. Agenor and his sons were away on the frontier fighting; wherefore Tauros king of Crete made a sudden attack by sea. To this day the Tyrians commemorate that evening calling it *Kakè Opsinè*, “Evil Gloaming.” Tauros carried off Europe to his own country, and, since she was a virgin and comely withal, took her to wife. Moreover, he called those parts Europe after her⁴.’



Fig. 411.

Again, Phoenician and lunar elements are discernible in the myth that associates Europe with the founding of Thebes⁵. The scholiast on the *Iliad*⁶, who cites as his sources the *Boiotiaka* of Hellanikos⁷ and the *Bibliothèque* of Apollodoros⁸, tells the tale as follows:

‘Boiotia used to be called Aonia from the Aones, who dwelt there. Its name was changed to Boiotia, according to some, by reason of Boiotos the son of Poseidon and Arne, according to others, by reason of the cow driven by Kadmos at the bidding of the Pythian oracle. For, when Europe, the daughter of Phoinix, was carried off from Sidon by Zeus, Kadmos her brother was sent by her father in quest of her. Having failed to find her, he repaired to Delphoi to consult the god. The god bade him trouble no more about Europe but take as

¹ Loukian. *de dea Syr.* 4.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* p. cvii f. and p. 316 Index. I figure the reverse of a copper, struck by Elagabalos, in my collection: A P | SI DON | COLMET = *Aurelia Pia* | Sidon | Colonia Metropolis. This coin ingeniously suggests that the bull is about to cross the sea by putting a short ground-line beneath his hind-legs.

³ K. Hoeck *Kreta* Göttingen 1823 i. 93, 96 interprets the crescent-shaped veil of Europe as a lunar trait. But see L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pt.* 1866 p. 125 f. *Id. ib.* p. 105 notes also that the comparison of the bull’s horns with the horns of the moon, though emphasised in literature (Mosch. 2. 87 f., Ach. Tat. 2. 15), is never brought out in art.

⁴ Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 30 f. Dindorf.

⁵ On the connexion of Europe with Kadmos see O. Crusius in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 824 ff., C. W. Vollgraff *De Ovidi mythopoeia* Berolini 1901 pp. 61—80, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 537 f.

⁶ Schol. *Il.* 2. 494.

⁷ Hellanik. *frag.* 8 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 46 f. Müller).

⁸ Apollod. 3. 4. 1 f.

his guide a cow and found a city wherever this cow, tired with the way, lay on its right side. On receipt of this oracle he pursued his course through Phokis. He next fell in with a cow among the herds of Pelagon and followed after her as she went. She, passing throughout Boiotia, tired and lay down on the spot where Thebes is now. Kadmos, wishing to sacrifice the cow to Athena, sent some of his men to fetch lustral water from the spring of Ares. But the snake that guarded the spring and was said to be the child of Ares slew most of those whom he sent. Kadmos in anger killed the snake and, at Athena's suggestion, sowed its teeth. From them sprang the earth-born ones. Ares was enraged at this and about to destroy Kadmos, when Zeus prevented him. Zeus gave him to wife Harmonia, the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, but first bade him in return for having destroyed the snake serve for a year¹; the Muses were to sing at his wedding, and each of the gods to bestow a gift upon Harmonia.²

The whole story gains immensely in coherence and significance, if we assume that the guiding cow was none other than Europe in animal form. The lost sister is thus recovered at the last, and the Pythian oracle is vindicated from the charge of irrelevance. Besides, it was, to say the least of it, appropriate that Zeus as a bull should mate with Europe as a cow. If that be so, some further details of the story are of interest. Pausanias, reporting the local Theban tradition, states 'that this cow was purchased from the cowherds of Pelagon, and that on each of the cow's flanks was a white mark like the circle of the moon, when it is full².' Pausanias adds that the place, where the cow sank down exhausted, was still shown, that there was an open-air altar on the spot and an image of Athena dedicated by Kadmos, and that this Athena bore the Phoenician title *Ónga*³. A scholiast on Euripides⁴ gives what purports to be the actual oracle delivered to Kadmos⁵:

Kadmos, Agenor's son, mark well my word.
At daybreak rise, quit Pytho the divine,
And clad as thou art wont, with oaken spear
In hand, fare forth through Phlegyai and Phokis
Until thou reach the cowherd and the cows
Of Pelagon Fate's nurseling. Then draw nigh,
And take the lowing cow whose either flank

¹ Cp. Apollod. 3. 4. 2 *Κάδμος δὲ ἀνθ' ὧν ἔκτεινεν ἄλδιον* ("Apeos υἱὸν Hercher, ἀνδρῶν Sevinus) *ἐνιαυτὸν ἐθήτευσεν* "Apei" ἦν δὲ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς τότε ὀκτῶ ἔτη.

² Paus. 9. 12. 1. Two Egyptising altars of Roman date, formerly in the Towneley collection and now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Marbles* x pls. 51, 52, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 390 ff. nos. 2494, 2495, Reinach *Rég. Reliefs* ii. 482 nos. 1—4, 5—8), represent a bull with a six-rayed star and another with a crescent moon on his flank. A relief in a tomb of the Roman period at *Kom el Chougafa* shows the Pharaoh offering incense (?) to a statue of Apis, who has a crescent on his side (F. W. von Bissing *Les Bas-reliefs de Kom el Chougafa* Munich 1901 pl. 9 Text p. 7).

³ Paus. 9. 12. 2. On the site and significance of this cult see Frazer *Pausanias* v. 48 f.

⁴ Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 638.

⁵ Nonn. *Dion.* 4. 293 ff. is another attempt to hitch the supposed oracle into verse.

Hath a white mark round as the rounded moon :
 Follow her guidance on thy trodden track.
 Yea, and a token plain will I declare
 Such as thou canst not miss. When first the horn
 Of the ranging cow is lowered and her knee
 Sinks on the grassy plain, then do thou straightway
 Offer her with pure hand and heart to Earth
 The dark-leaved and, thine offering complete,
 Upon the hill-top build a broad-wayed town,
 Sending the War-god's guardian fierce to Hades.
 And famous among men shall be thy name,
 Blest Kadmos, who hast won a deathless bride.

This cow, which was believed to have given its name to Boiotia¹ and to the Boeotian mountain Thourion², is connected by Prof. von Baudissin with the Phoenician moon-goddess on account of its moon-like marks³. The connexion is probable enough, and, if (as I have suggested) the cow was Europe, my original contention that Europe became a moon-goddess owing to Phoenician influence is established.

Dr Frazer's other example of sun-and-moon marriage was that of Minos with Britomartis or Diktyнна⁴. But again I must insist that neither Diktyнна nor Britomartis was originally lunar. Diktyнна was a Cretan form of the mountain-mother⁵, whose name probably hangs together with that of Mount Dikte or Dikton⁶. Coins of the province struck by Trajan represent her seated on her rocks between a couple of Kouretes as nurse of the infant Zeus (fig. 412)⁷. Here, as



Fig. 412.

¹ *Supra* p. 539, schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 638.

² Plout. *v. Sull.* 17 ὅρ γάρ οἱ Φοίνικες τὴν βοῦν καλοῦσι. This is much nearer the mark than the statement of schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 638 ἠκοδόμησε τὰς Θήβας· θήβα γὰρ Συριστὶ λέγεται ἡ βοῦς, cp. *et. mag.* p. 450, 41 f. A 'cow' is in Syriac *tôrêthâ*, Aramaic *îôr*, Hebrew *îor*, which point to an original Semitic form *šauru*: the word appears to have been borrowed by the Semites from the Indo-European area, rather than *vice versa* (Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 616 f.: but see H. Möller *Vergleichendes indogermanisch-semitisches Wörterbuch* Göttingen 1911 p. 255 f.).

³ W. W. Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1876 i. 273.

⁴ *Supra* p. 524.

⁵ Eur. *I. T.* 126 Δικτυννῶν ὄρηλα. Cult on Mt Tityros or Diktyннаion (Strab. 479 cited *supra* p. 534 n. 2, cp. Hdt. 3. 59, Ptol. 3. 15. 5 with C. Müller *ad loc.*, Dionys. *per.* 118 ff., *Anth. Plan.* 258. 1 ff., Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 8. 30 p. 342 Kayser, Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 59, Mela 2. 113, Solin. 11. 6, Mart. Cap. 659, Anon. Ravennas 5. 21 p. 398, 3 Pinder—Parthey).

⁶ See K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1371, O. Jessen *ib.* v. 587. H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 41 f. observes that Δικτυнна is the feminine form of Δικτυς, as Δικτυη of *Δικτυς. In Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 3. 171 the eponymous nymph of Mt Dikte is named *Dicte*; but the interp. Serv. *ib.* tells of her. the tale that is elsewhere told of Britomartis.

⁷ J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i pl. 33, 23 (iny

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elsewhere¹, she is assimilated to the huntress Artemis—an assimilation which in literature can be traced back to the time of Euripides². Britomartis too, a goddess closely related to Diktynna³, was readily equated with Artemis⁴. A silver coin of Chersonesos to the north of the Dikte range has for its obverse a noble head of Zeus wearing a bay-wreath and for its reverse a goddess sitting on a decorated throne with a hind erect upon her outstretched palm (fig. 413)⁵. There can be little doubt that the die-sinker has

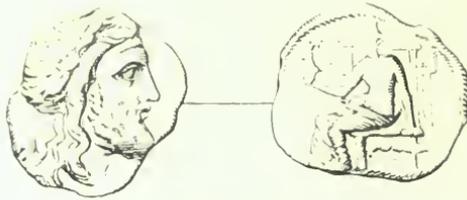


Fig. 413.

copied the actual cult-statue of Britomartis, who is known to have had a temple at Chersonesos⁶. Nor is the combination of Zeus with Britomartis meaningless: the two were linked

(fig. 412) and 24, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc.* p. 3 pl. 1, 9, *Head Hist. num.*¹ p. 384, F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1908 xi. 142 ff. pl. 9, 8.

¹ A copper of Domitian shows ΔΙΚΤΥΝΝΑ | ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ as Artemis the huntress with bow and bound (Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 343 pl. 33, 17, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 479).

² Eur. *I. T.* 126 ὦ παῖ τὰς Λατοῦς, Δίκτυνν' οὐρέϊα, Aristoph. *ran.* 1359 f. ἀμα δὲ Δίκτυννα παῖς Ἄρτεμις καλὰ | τὰς κινύσκας ἔχουσα ἐλθέτω κ.τ.λ.

³ K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1370 ff., K. Tümpel *ib.* iii. 880 f., 929, O. Jessen *ib.* v. 585 ff., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 476, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 254 f.

If we may trust Solin. 11. 8 Cretes Dianam religiosissime venerantur, Britomartem gentiliter nominantes, quod sermone nostro sonat virginem dulcem (cp. Hesych. βριτύ· γλυκύ· Κρήτες repeated in Favorin. *lex.* p. 391, 11; Steph. Byz. s.v. Γάζα...τὰς παρθένους γὰρ οὕτω Κρήτες προσαγορεύονσι μαρβάνς, *infra* p. 149 n. 1), Βριτόμαρτις was probably a cult-epithet of Diktynna.

⁴ Schol. Kallim. *h. Artem.* 190 Βριτόμαρτις ὄνομα κύριον τῆς νύμφης, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ ἡ Ἄρτεμις ἐν Κρήτῃ Βριτόμαρτις τιμᾶται, ὡς Διογενιανός, Hesych. Βριτόμαρτις· ἐν Κρήτῃ ἡ Ἄρτεμις. In Delos the festival of Britomartis followed immediately upon that of Artemis (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 209 citing *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 23 line 186 Ἄρτεμισίους Βριταμαρτίους).

⁵ Drawn from a specimen in my collection. The only other specimen of this fine coin known to me is that in the British Museum, which owing to its poor state of preservation was wrongly described by W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1895 xv. 96 f. pl. 5, 11. Mr E. J. Seltman, from whom I procured my coin, points out that 'The seated Artemis with the deer on her hand forms an interesting pendant to the standing Apollo with the deer by Canachus' (Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 75, *alib.*; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ionia* p. 197 ff. pl. 22, 9 f.).

⁶ Strab. 479 Λύττον δέ...ἐπίκεινόν ἐστιν ἡ λεγομένη Χερρόνησος, ἐν ᾗ τὸ τῆς Βριτομάρτιος ἱερόν. According to Solin. 11, 8 aedem numinis (sc. Britomartis) praeterquam nudus vestigia nullus licito ingreditur. ea aedes ostentat manus Daedali.

together at least in one remarkable tradition¹. When Artemis came to be regarded as a moon-goddess², the way was open for Diktyнна on the one hand³, Britomartis on the other⁴, to be identified with the moon⁵. But it must be observed that this identification was not made till Roman times; and even then no hint is dropped that the consort of Diktyнна or Britomartis was solar. It is, therefore, highly precarious to quote the myth of Minos and Britomartis or Diktyнна as a case of sun-and-moon marriage.

xix. Zeus and the Bovine Figures of Cretan Mythology.

In the last section we considered the myth of Pasiphae at Knossos and the myth of Europe at Gortyna. Both were found to involve the agency of a great fertilising bull. But here their resemblance ended; for, whereas the story of the bull and Pasiphae pointed to the annual celebration of a sun-and-moon marriage at Knossos, the story of the bull and Europe pointed rather to the annual celebration of a sky-and-earth marriage at Gortyna. It remains to ask what was the relation of Zeus to the bovine figures of both myths.

The Cnossian myth dealt with a solar bull, a lunar cow, and their offspring the semi-bovine Minotaur, whose astral character was indicated by his name *Astérios* or *Asterion*. We have here evidence of a religious complex, forming an independent whole and apparently of great antiquity. Aegean place-names suggest that this cult of sun, moon, and stars was not confined to Crete, but extended to other islands⁶. Its connexion with Zeus, however, is

¹ Neanthes of Kyzikos *frag.* 23 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 8 Müller) *ap.* Favorin. *lex.* p. 391, 7 ff. and *et. mag.* p. 214, 26 ff. Νεάνθης ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ τελετῶν φησι χρησμὸν Διὸς δοθῆναι, ὅτι ὁ ἐκ τῆς μήτρας τῆς Ἑκάτης γενησόμενος μεταστήσει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτὸν· γεννώσης δὲ τῆς Ἑκάτης, τὰς συμπαρούσας κόρας τῇ λεχοῖ ἀναβοῆσαι βριττον, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀγαθόν· παρὰ τοῦτο δὲ ἐπίφθεγμα ὠνομάσθαι τὴν θεόν. Zeus is here apparently the father of Britomartis by Hekate.

² Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 457—461, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1354, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1297 n. 2.

³ Cornut. *theol.* 34 p. 71, 5 ff. Lang ἡ δ' Ἄρτεμις φωσφόρος μὲν ἐπωνομάσθη διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτὴ σέλας βάλλειν καὶ φωτίζειν ποσῶς τὸ περιέχον, ὅπταν μάλιστα πανσέληνος ἦ, δίκτυννα δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βάλλειν τὰς ἀκτίνας—δικεῖν γὰρ τὸ βάλλειν—κ.τ.λ., Verg. *Ciris* 305 Dictynnam dixere tuo (*sc.* ο Britomarti) de nomine lunam, Paul. ex Fest. p. 72 Müller Dictynna Diana, quam esse lunam putabant, dicta, quod fulgore suo noctu omnia ostendat (*cp.* H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1868 xxiii. 342 and in his *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 42).

⁴ Verg. *Ciris* 305 cited *supra* n. 3.

⁵ W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 116 ff.

⁶ (1) Hesych. Ἄστερη· ἡ Κρήτη καὶ ἡ Δήλος οὕτως ἐκαλοῦντο. (2) Asteria as a former name of Delos (Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1780 f.: add schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.

late and superficial. Pasiphae's bull according to certain Roman mythographers was sent by Zeus¹, according to Christian writers of the fourth and subsequent centuries was Zeus himself². But no ancient authority, either classical or post-classical, can be cited in support of the view that the Minotaur was Zeus incarnate³.

On the other hand, from Hesiodic⁴ and even Homeric⁵ times onward Zeus figured as the partner of Europe. The bull that bore her from Phoinike to Crete, though sometimes said to have been sent by Zeus⁶, is usually described as the god himself in animal shape⁷. In short, Zeus as a bull is an integral part of the Europe-myth. But here the moon was a much later accretion⁸, and the sun a mere afterthought, perhaps not even that⁹.

307, Verg. *culex* 15, Solin. 11. 19) was derived from the Titaness Asteria or Asterie, whose tale was variously told. To escape wedlock with Zeus, she flung herself into the sea like a star (Kallim. *h. Del.* 36 ff.) or a quail (Apollod. 1. 4. 1). She scorned the advances of Zeus, and he, to punish her, changed her into a quail and cast her into the sea, where she became *Ortygia*, the 'Quail'-island, later called Delos (Hyg. *fab.* 53, Lact. *Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 4. 796, cp. schol. Lyk. *Al.* 401, Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 3. 73, Myth. Vat. 1. 37, 2. 17, 3. 8. 3). She was ravished by Zeus, who took the form of an eagle (Ov. *met.* 6. 108). She was wooed by Poseidon, not Zeus (Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 124 f., 33. 336 ff., 42. 410). Zeus became a quail to consort with her sister Leto (schol. Pind. *Pyth. arg.* p. 297 Boeckh) or changed Leto into a quail (Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 3. 72). Asteria bore to Zeus Hekate (Mousaios *ap. schol. Ap. Rhod.* 3. 467, Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 46) and the Phoenician Herakles (Eudoxos of Knidos *ap. Athen.* 392 D, Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 42). Others connected the name Asteria with the cult of Apollon (Solin. 11. 19). (3) Asteria was an old name of Rhodes (Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 132). (4) The *Ἀστέρειον νῆσος* off Lade contained a tomb of Asterios, son of Anax son of Ge, with a corpse ten cubits long (Paus. 1. 35. 6). (5) Hesych. *Ἀστέρειον*: οἱ πρῶτοι τὴν Τένεδον κατοικήσαντες. (6) *Ἀστέρεις*, the island near Ithake, was later known as *Ἀστέρεια* (Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1787).

¹ *Supra* p. 467.

² Epiphanius *ancoratus* 105, Nonn. *narr. ad Gregorii invec.* 1. 91 p. 158 = A. Westermann *Scriptores poeticae historiae Graeci* Brunsvigae 1843 p. 369, 1, schol. Clem. *Al. protr.* 4. 49. 3 p. 312, 15 Stählin. Cp. the statements that Pasiphaa, daughter of Atlas, bore Ammon to Zeus (*supra* p. 521 f.) and that Idaia, wife of Minos, bore Asterion to the same god (*supra* p. 493 n. 2).

³ This view I rashly advanced in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 410, cp. *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 272. It is, I now think, untenable.

⁴ Hes. *frag.* 209 Flach and Bakchyl. *frag.* 47 Jebb *ap. schol. Il.* 12. 292.

⁵ *Il.* 14. 321 f.

⁶ Akousilaos *frag.* 20 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 102 Müller) *ap. Apollod.* 2. 5. 7, cp. schol. Caes. *Gern. Aratea* p. 395, 24 ff. Eyssenhardt. See further L. Stephani in the *Compendu St. Pét.* 1866 p. 87 f.

⁷ Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1410 ff., Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1295 f.

⁸ *Supra* p. 537 ff.

⁹ The circle of rays surrounding the bull (*supra* p. 472 fig. 328) and Europe (*supra* p. 529 fig. 400) on coppers of Gortyna is possibly solar (cp. J. N. Svoronos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 118); but, since it occurs also on other coins of the same town with types of an eagle grasping a snake (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 174 pl. 16, 3, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 44 pl. 11, 10) or a naked male figure with shield and spear (Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 175 f. pl. 16, 8, 9, 10,

The conclusion to which these facts point is tolerably clear. At Knossos, where sun, moon and stars were essential, Zeus was not. At Gortyna, where Zeus was essential, sun, moon and stars were not. It follows that at Knossos and Gortyna Zeus had originally nothing to do with sun, moon and stars. Those writers that distinguish a Cretan solar Zeus from the ordinary Hellenic sky-god¹ must look elsewhere for arguments. The Gortynian Zeus was indeed, like Apollon at Athens, called *Hekatómbaios*; but he shared that title with the Arcadian Zeus². And the oxen slain on his altar need not imply that he was solar. They would be equally appropriate to any fertilising god³.

It remains, of course, both possible and probable that sooner or later the Zeus of Gortyna took on a solar complexion. If Europe under Phoenician influence became the moon⁴, there was every inducement for Zeus to become the sun. Now Byzantine scholars actually mention a Gortynian cult of Zeus *Astérios*⁵. There is therefore much to be said for Dr Farnell's conjecture that Zeus

12, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete* etc. p. 44 pl. 11, 9), I should prefer to regard it as a glory suitable to any divine personage. It is hardly to be classed as a 'purely decorative border' (G. F. Hill *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* London 1899 p. 158).

¹ E.g. Gilbert *Gr. Götterl.* p. 459: 'die Zeusmythologie von zwei völlig verschiedenen Ausgangspunkten sich entwickelt hat, indem der kretische Zeus, Zeus Kronion, ein durchaus anderer ist als der Zeus Pelasgikos der Achaeer: ist jener ein Sonnengott, so ist dieser ein Himmelsgott,' cp. *ib.* 293 'Die Geburt des Zeus auf Kreta ist ein feststehendes Dogma des hellenischen Glaubens und der hier geborene Sonnen-Zeus ist ein völlig anderer als der hellenische Himmelszeus,' *alib.*

² Hesych. 'Εκατόμβαιος · ὁ Ἀπόλλων παρὰ Ἀθηναίους · καὶ Ζεὺς ἐν Γορτύνη καὶ παρ' Ἀρκάσι καὶ Κρησίν.

³ That Zeus at Gortyna was a rain-god appears from Kallim. *frag.* 100^f no. 37 = Antig. *hist. mir.* 163 καὶ περὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην ὑδατίου, οὗ οἱ ὑπερκαθίζοντες, δταν ὑετός ἦ, διατελοῦσιν ἄβροχοι, παραδεδοσθαι δὲ τοῖς Κρησίν, ἀπ' ἐκείνου λούσασθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς μίξεως, Sotion *frag.* 4 p. 183 Westermann ἐν Κρήτῃ ὄχετός ὑδατός ἐστιν, ὃν οἱ διαβαίνοντες θοντος τοῦ Διὸς ἄβροχοι διαβαίνουσιν ἐφ' ὅσον ἐν τῷ ὄχετῳ εἰσιν.

⁴ *Supra* pp. 524 ff., 537 ff.

⁵ Kedren. *hist. comp.* 124 A (i. 217 Bekker) αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Μενέλαος ἅμα τοῖς συγγενέσιν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Κρήτην ἀπέπλει ὡς Ἀστερίῳ Διὶ ἐν Γορτύνη πόλει θυσιάσων, Io. Malal. *chron.* 5 p. 94 Dindorf ἐν τῷ δὲ διάγειν τὸν Μενέλαον ἐπὶ τὴν Κρήτην θυσιάζοντα Διὶ Ἀστερίῳ καὶ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἐν τῇ Γορτύνη πόλει συνέβη κ.τ.λ.; Tzetz. *antehom.* 99 ff. ὁ Μενέλαος τοῦτο δεδεγμένος ἀγλαὰ ὄδωρα | ἐπλεεν ἐς Κρήτην, Διὶ εἰο προπάτορι βέξων | Ἀστερίῳ, βασιλῆϊ Κρητῶν περ ἐόντι. | οἱ πρὶν γάρ τε Δίας πάντας κάλεον βασιλῆας, | οὐνεκά μιν καλὸς Διὸς ἀστήρ σκήπτρον ὀπάξει, | ἔξοχα δ' αὐ μοίρησι παρὰ Νεμέιοι λέοντος, | ἐν πέμπτῃ δὲ μάλιστα · τὸ γὰρ βασιλεύτατον ἄλλων, | ἠελίοιο Ἰῆνα παρ' ἀκτινεσσι φαίειν, *chil.* 1. 473 ff. Μίνως ὁ Κρῆς ὑπῆρχε παῖς Διὸς τοῦ Ἀστερίου · | τοῖς βασιλεῖς δ' ἀνάκαθε Δίας ἐκάλουν πάντας, | ὡς τοῦ ἀστέρος τοῦ Διὸς, ἐν λεονταίαις μοῖραις | ὠροδρομοῦντος καὶ καλῶς κειμένου γενεθλοῦς, | ἐργαζομένου βασιλεῖς καὶ στεμματῆφοροῦντας. | τοῦ Ἀστερίου τοιγαροῦν Διὸς θανόντος τοῦδε, | ὁ Μίνως κ.τ.λ., in Lyk. *Al.* 1301 οὗτος δὲ ὁ Λυκόφρων τὸν Ἀστέριον λέγει Δία πατέρα εἶναι τοῦ Σαρπηδόου, Μίνως καὶ Ῥαδαμάνθου.

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Astérios was a sun-god of Phoenician character¹. Only, we must suppose that this solarisation of the Gortynian Zeus took place at a comparatively early date. The relevant facts are these. The Cnossian Minotaur, who in some sense represented the sun-god², was called *Astérios* or *Asterion*³. At Gortyna too the sun-god must have been worshipped; for here he had herds of cattle⁴.



Fig. 414.

Hesiod, Bakchylides and others state that Zeus, having consorted with Europe, bestowed her upon the Cretan king *Asterion*⁵ or

¹ Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 44, citing the opinion of W. Robertson Smith (*Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*² London 1907 p. 292) that Zeus' *Ἀστῆριος* was the male counterpart of Astarte.

² *Supra* p. 490 ff.

³ *Supra* pp. 492, 495.

⁴ *Supra* pp. 410 n. 9, 471 n. 4.

⁵ Hes. *frag.* 209 Flach and Bakchyl. *frag.* 47 Jebb *ap. schol. Il.* 12. 292, Apollod. 3. 1. 2 (*supra* p. 464), Nonn. *Dion.* 1. 353 ff., 2. 693 ff., *et. mag.* p. 588, 24 ff.

*Astérios*¹ or *Asteros*², who married her and, being childless himself, reared the children that she bore to Zeus. Finally, Tzetzes asserts that Sarpedon, Minos, and Rhadamanthys, these very fosterlings, were the sons of Zeus *Astérios*³. It looks as though the contamination of the Gortynian Zeus with the solar cycle had begun as early as c. 700 B.C. At what date king *Asterion* or *Astérios* developed into Zeus *Astérios*, it is hard to say. A red-figured *amphora* and red-figured fish-plates at Saint Petersburg show Europe on the bull approaching Crete, where she is met by a Zeus-like king, presumably *Asterion* or *Astérios*. He advances to greet her sceptre in hand (fig. 405)⁴, or awaits on his throne the arrival of her *cortège*, the coming marriage being indicated by the presence of two Erotes (fig. 414)⁵. Perhaps the shift from king *Astérios* to Zeus *Astérios* was the work of the Hellenistic age—an age notoriously marked by recrudescence of the early belief in the essential divinity of kings⁶.

But by Hellenistic times *Astérios* had ceased to connote 'Solar.' To the average understanding the word now meant 'Starry' and nothing else. Hence Zeus was brought into more definite relation to the starry sky. Silver coins of Crete struck by Nero show Zeus with a thunderbolt in one hand, a sceptre in the other, surrounded by seven stars (fig. 415)⁷. A copper struck by Titus represents Zeus *Kretagenés* amid the same group of stars in the act of hurling his bolt (fig. 115)⁸. On another copper struck by Trajan the infant Zeus is seated on a globe with a goat beside him and the stars above (fig. 28)⁹. Nor was the connexion between the god and the king forgotten. We have already compared the last-named coin-type with that on which Domitian's infant son appears sitting on a globe and flanked by the stars (fig. 27)¹⁰. Similarly silver coins of

¹ Diod. 4. 60, Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 222 ff., 35. 384 ff., 37. 46 ff., 81 ff., 724 ff., 40. 284 ff., Hieron. *chron. ann. Abr.* 570, cp. *ib.* 572.

² Lyk. *Al.* 1301 Ἀστέρη (Herwerden cj. Ἀστρελή, Wilamowitz cj. Ἀστέρι; but see C. von Holzinger *ad loc.*). Cp. Aug. *de civ. Dei* 18. 12, who calls him Xanthus.

³ Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 473, in Lyk. *Al.* 1301 (*supra* p. 545 n. 5).

⁴ *Supra* p. 531.

⁵ A fish-plate found at Elteghen in 1879 (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pétr.* 1880 p. 105 ff. with fig.). Cp. three very similar plates from Great Blisniza previously published (*id. ib.* 1866 p. 79 ff. pl. 3, 1 and 2, *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 379 f. no. 1915, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 365 Atlas pl. 6, 20 a, b, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 21, 22, 5, 6).

⁶ *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 278, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 303.

⁷ Hunter *Cat. Coins* ii. 165 pl. 40, 2, J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 340 no. 34 (Vienna) pl. 32, 22 (= my fig. 415), cp. *ib.* no. 35 pl. 32, 21 on which Zeus wears a *himdtion* and an eagle is added in the field.

⁸ *Supra* p. 149.

⁹ *Supra* p. 52.

¹⁰ *Supra* p. 51 f.

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Crete struck under Caligula and Claudius have a head of Augustus with radiate crown (fig. 416)¹, or Augustus radiate with sceptre and *phidie* sitting on a curule chair (fig. 417)² or on a car drawn by four elephants (fig. 418)³, in each case encircled by the same seven stars. The emperor poses as the Cretan Zeus⁴.



Fig. 415.



Fig. 416.

What was this group of seven stars? Dr B. V. Head, who formerly⁵ left them nameless, now⁶ follows J. N. Svoronos⁷ in identifying them with the *septem triones*⁸, the 'seven stars' *par excellence*, best known to us as the Great Bear. They are in fact sometimes (fig. 418) grouped about the divinised emperor in ap-



Fig. 417.



Fig. 418.

proximately the same position as on a modern star-map, four of them forming an irregular square and three a broken line. This constellation was called *Heltke* and connected with the Cretan nurse of Zeus⁹. Popular fancy may have traced in it some

¹ Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 335 pl. 32, 4, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc.* p. 1 pl. 1, 2, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 164 pl. 40, 1.

² Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 334 pl. 32, 2, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc.* p. 1 pl. 1, 1, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 479.

³ Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 335 f. pl. 32, 3 and 8, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc.* p. 1 pl. 1, 3, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 164, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 479.

⁴ *Head Hist. num.*¹ p. 384 'perhaps in the character of Zeus Kretagenes.'

⁵ *Id. ib.*¹ p. 384.

⁶ *Id. ib.*² p. 479.

⁷ J. N. Svoronos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 115 f.

⁸ So already Rasche *Lex. Num.* viii. 629, ix. 78 f., x. 48.

⁹ Gundel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2858 ff., who attributes the connexion to Epimenides.

resemblance to a 'Willow' or a 'Willow'-leaf¹. If so, the sacred tree of Europe attained a scientific euthanasia in the text-books of Hellenistic astronomy, as did the bull of Zeus, which was likewise placed among the stars to be the constellation Taurus².

xx. The Bull and the Sun in Syria.

(a) Zeus *Ádados* and Iupiter *Heliopolitanus*.

The bull appears as a sacred animal in connexion with the sky-gods of Syria also. And here again the cults in question took on a solar character and were ultimately fused with that of Zeus or Iupiter.

This was the case with Adad or Hadad, 'king of the gods' and consort of Atargatis. Since a common designation of Adad describes him as a deity of the west or Amurru⁴, it has been conjectured that he was originally a god of the Amorites, imported into the Euphrates-valley by an Amoritish wave of migration. However that may be, his worship, widely spread in Palestine and Syria⁵, had reached Greece before the close of the second century B.C.—witness a series of inscriptions found by the French in Delos⁶. From these it appears that a certain Achaïos son of Apollonios, a native of Hieropolis resident among the Delians, dedicated a temple etc. 'to Adatos and Atargatis the gods of his fatherland' and was elected, presumably by his fellow-countrymen, to serve as priest thereof for the year 137–136 B.C.⁷. Repairs of the sanctuary

¹ The Chinese regard as a Willow-leaf the stars $\delta, \epsilon, \xi, \omega, \theta, \rho, \eta, \varsigma$ of the constellation Hydra (G. Schlegel *Uranographie chinoise* The Hague 1875 cited by A. de Gubernatis *La Mythologie des Plantes* Paris 1882 ii. 337–340).

² Eur. *Phrixus frag.* 820 Nauck² *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 14, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 21, cp. Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 31 Dindorf, Nonn. *Dion.* 33. 287, German. *Arat.* 536 ff. Others took the constellation to be Pasiphae's bull or the Marathonian bull (schol. *Arat. phaen.* 167), or Io the cow (Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 21). It is probable too, though not certain, that the same constellation was sometimes regarded as the bull-form of Dionysos (A. W. Curtius *Das Stiersymbol des Dionysos* Köln 1892 p. 6 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 825 n. 3 and p. 943 n. 2).

³ Philon Bybl. *frag.* 24 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 569 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 31 $\text{Ἄδωδος βασιλεὺς θεῶν}$.

⁴ *Mar-Tu*, the ideographic form of *Amurru*. See further A. T. Clay *Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites* Philadelphia 1909 p. 77 ff.

⁵ W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1987 ff., ii. 1179 ff., A. Jeremias *ib.* iv. 19 ff., R. Dussaud in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2157 ff., M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 156 ff., *id.* *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 p. 117 ff.

⁶ A. Hauvette-Besnault in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882. vi. 479 ff., G. Doublet *ib.* 1892 xvi. 161.

⁷ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 495 f. no. 12, 5 f. $\text{Ἄδατῶι καὶ Ἀταργάτῶι θεοῖς πατρίοις}$.

were carried out in the priesthood of Seleukos son of Zenodoros, another Hieropolitan¹. A third priest, the son of one Apollonides, hailed from the same town². But after a time the little Syrian community had perforce to content itself with Athenian priests³, and was so far Hellenised as to acquiesce in a dedication 'to Zeus *Adados*'. The cult was now strengthened by the addition of the ever-popular Asklepios⁴ and the identification of Atargatis with Aphrodite *Hagne*⁵, who however seems gradually to have ousted Adad from his place of honour⁷.

The worship of Adad continued to spread westward, but from a second centre of diffusion and with a slightly different complexion. At *Baalbek*, an old town⁸ between the ranges of Libanos and Antilibanos, the Syrian god was so far solar that, when in the age of the Diadochoi Greek settlers occupied the site, they identified him with their own Helios and named the town Heliopolis. This name, which survived an influx of Roman colonists probably in the time of Augustus⁹, enabled the priests of the Egyptian Heliopolis to claim that the Syrian cult was a mere off-shoot of their own¹⁰. But there is no doubt that they were wrong: the Heliopolitan god was essentially a Grecised form of the Syrian Adad. If colonists

¹ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 496 no. 13.

² *Ib.* 1882 vi. 497 no. 14.

³ *Ib.* 1882 vi. 497 no. 15, 498 nos. 16 and 17.

⁴ *Ib.* 1892 xvi. 161 [ὁ δεῖνα] | [Ἀπολλ]ωνίου(?) | Δι' Ἀδάδω | [χαρ]ιστήριον, cp. *ib.* 1882 vi. 502 f. no. 25, 2 ff. Δι' τῶι πάντων κρατοῦντι | καὶ Μητρὶ Μεγάλῃ τῆι πάντων | κρατούσῃ.

⁵ *Ib.* 1882 vi. 498 no. 16, 5 f. Ἀδάδω καὶ Ἀταργάτει καὶ Ἀσκληπιῶ.

⁶ *Ib.* 1882 vi. 497 no. 15, 3 f. Ἀγνῆ Ἀφροδίτῃ Ἀταργάτει καὶ Ἀδάδου, 498 f. no. 18, 1 f. Ἀταργάτει | [Ἀγ]νῆ θεῶ, 499 no. 19. 1 Ἀγνῆ θεῶ Ἀταργάτει, 500 ff. no. 24, 3 τῶ Ἡλίω καὶ τῆ Ἀγνῆ θεῶ, 9 τῆ Ἀγνῆ θεῶ (where Adad is assimilated to Helios).

⁷ A. Hauvette-Besnault in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 487.

⁸ The name *Baalbek* means 'Lord of the Beka,' i.e. of the fertile valley between Libanos and Antilibanos. My friend Prof. F. C. Burkitt kindly informs me that the word *Beka* itself is of unknown significance. He adds that the name *Baalbek* occurs c. 400 A.D. in the 'Exploits of Mar Rabbūla' p. 196, last line (*infra* p. 555), and even before 340 A.D. in Eusebios *Theophania* 2. 14—a work extant only in the ancient Syriac translation (Brit. Mus. Add. 12150: the MS. is dated 411 A.D.). The passage in question, containing the earliest mention of *Baalbek*, is thus translated by S. Lee (*Eusebius Bishop of Caesarea on the Theophania* Cambridge 1843 p. 74): 'And, that such were the things which they did, when assimilating themselves to their Deities, we can readily shew from this, that the Phenicians our neighbours, as we ourselves have seen, are busied with these things, even now, in Baalbeck: the ancient injurious excesses and corrupting paths of vice, being persevered in there, even to this time; so, that the women there enter not into the bands of lawful marriage, until they have been first corrupted in a way contrary to law, and have been made to partake in the lawless services of the mysteries of Venus.' Cp. *infra* p. 554 n. 4.

⁹ O. Puchstein *Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 4, cp. Kornemann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 552.

¹⁰ *Infra* pp. 552, 572 ff.

came from Rome to *Ba'albek*, Adad found his way from *Ba'albek* to Rome. In the grove of Furrina on the east side of the Ianiculum several foreign deities were worshipped. Here an altar has recently come to light bearing the three-fold inscription 'to the god *Adados*,' 'to the god *Adados* of Libanos,' and 'to the god *Adados* of the Mountain-top'.¹ These titles perhaps indicate the growing tendency to equate Adad with Zeus the mountain-god rather than with Helios. Indeed, the Romans in general spoke of him as Iupiter *Heliopolitanus*. Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.) began² and his successors down to Caracalla (211-217 A.D.) helped to complete on the akropolis of *Ba'albek* a sumptuous complex of buildings, which included temples of Iupiter and Bacchus. Of these we shall have more to say. For the moment we are concerned to note that, starting from this great cult-centre, the worship of Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* travelled far afield. He is mentioned, for example, in inscriptions from Athens³, from Aquincum⁴ Carnuntum⁵ and Siscia⁷ in Pannonia, from the Latovici on the borders of Venetia⁸, from Puteoli⁹, the Portus Romanus¹⁰ and Rome itself¹¹, from

¹ A Phoenician dedication 'to the Baal of Libanon, his Lord' has been found in Kypros (*Corp. inscr. Sem.* no. 5, W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 pp. 37, 66).

² P. Gauckler in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1907 p. 144 ff., C. Clermont-Ganneau *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale* Paris 1907 viii. 51, R. Dussaud in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2161, 2163. The altar is of white marble, 0.55 m. high: the inscription on its front is unfinished—ΘΕΩ ΑΔΑΔΩ ΑΝΕΘΗ (*sic*); that on the right reads ΘΕΩ ΑΔΑΔΩ | (a carved *patera*) | ΛΙΒΑΝΕΩΤΗ; that on the left ΘΕΩ ΑΔΑΔΩ | (a carved ewer) | ΑΚΡΟΠΕΙΤΗ.

³ Io. Malal. *chron.* 11 p. 280 Dindorf 'Ἡλιος Ἀντωνίνος Πίος... ὅστις ἐκτίσεν ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει τῆς Φοινίκης τοῦ Λιβάνου ναὸν τῷ Διὶ μέγαν, ἕνα καὶ αὐτὸν ὄντα τῶν θεαμάτων.

⁴ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 7280 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4284 [I. o.] m. et Veneri et | Mercurio | Heliopoli[t]anis.

⁵ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3462 (cp. iii Suppl. no. 13366) = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4297 I. o. m. | Dulceno | Heliopolitan.

⁶ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. nos. 11139, 11138 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4285 [I.] o. m. H., | Veneri | Victrici, 4286 I. o. m. | Heliopoli[tano].

⁷ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3955 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4293 I. o. m. | Heliopoli[tano].

⁸ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3908 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4296 I. o. m. D. | et I. o. m. H.

⁹ *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1898 ii. 374 no. 2 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4289 [ex] iusso I. o. m. Heliopolitan[i], *Corp. inscr. Lat.* x no. 1578 (*cp. ib.* no. 1579) = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4290 ex iusso I. o. m. He[l]iopolitani (*cp. ib.* no. 4291).

¹⁰ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv no. 24 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4294 I. o. m. | Angelo | Heliop. See *infra* p. 567 n. 5.

¹¹ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi nos. 420, 423, 422, 421 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 398 I. o. m. | Heliopoli[tano] | Κομμόδω | ἀνδρὶ βα[σι]λικ[ω]ράτῳ | ἀσπιστῆ [τῆς] | οἰκουμ[ένης]. | Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Commodus | Antonino Pio [Felici Aug.] | Sarm. Germanic[o], 4287 (altar shewing relief of a goddess with mural crown, who holds rudder

Massilia¹ and Nemausus² in Gaul, even from Magna in Britain (*i.e.* Carvoran on the wall built by Hadrian)³.

As to the character and ritual of the cult thus propagated an interesting account is given by Macrobius⁴ (*c.* 400 A.D.):

'The Assyrians too worship the sun under the name of Jupiter, Zeus *Helioupolltes* as they call him, with important rites in the city of Heliopolis. The image of the god was taken from a town in Egypt⁵, which is likewise named Heliopolis, in the days of Senemuris or Senepos king of the Egyptians, and was conveyed to its destination first by Opias, legate of Deleboris king of the Assyrians, and by Egyptian priests, the chief of whom was Partemetis. After being kept for long by the Assyrians, it subsequently reached Heliopolis. Why this was done, and how, starting from Egypt, it came to be where it now is, an object worshipped with Assyrian rather than Egyptian rites, I refrain from saying, since it has nothing to do with the matter in hand. But that this divinity is at once Jupiter and the sun is manifest both from the nature of its ritual and from its outward appearance. It is in fact a golden statue of beardless aspect, standing like a charioteer with a whip in its raised right hand, a thunderbolt and corn-ears in its left—attributes which all indicate the combined power of Jupiter and the sun.

'In the cult attaching to this temple divination is a strong point; and divination is regarded as the prerogative of Apollon, who is to be identified with the sun. The image of the god of Heliopolis is carried on a litter resembling those used for the images of the gods at the procession of the Circus Games. It is usually borne by the chief men of the district. They shave their heads, purify themselves by a prolonged period of chastity, and are moved by the divine spirit, carrying the litter not according to their own inclination but where the god impels them to go⁶; just as at Antium we see the images of the *Fortunae* move forwards to deliver their responses. Persons at a distance also consult this god, sending documents folded and sealed: he replies in order to the contents about which they express a wish to consult him. Thus, when the emperor Trajan was going to lead an army from that district into Parthia, certain friends of his, devout men whose faith in this deity was based on convincing proofs, advised him to consult the oracle about the issue of his enterprise. Acting with Roman prudence, he first tested its trustworthiness, to make sure that human guile had no hand in the matter. He began by sending a sealed letter, to which he desired a written reply. The god bade paper be brought,

in right hand, *cornu copiae* in left, and stands between two lions) I. o. m. H. | conservatori | imperii | d. n. Gordiani | Pii fel. invicti Aug., 4292 I. o. m. H. Aug. | sacr., Genio Forinarum | et cultoribus huius | loci, 2546 I. o. m. Heliopolitano. Of these inscriptions the first three probably came from the sanctuary on the Ianiculum (*supra* p. 551).

¹ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xii no. 404 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4295 Iovi o. m. H. prop. (*Propitio?* Froehner, *Propitio?* vel *Propagatori?* Hirschfeld).

² *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xii no. 3072 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4288 I. o. m. Heliopolitan. | et Nemauso (on the left of this stone is the relief described and figured *infra* p. 569 f.; on the right a shield and a dagger? are carved; on the base is a sacred *cista*).

³ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 752 I. o. m. | Heliopol[i]?, cp. *ib.* no. 753 I. o. m. [D.] H.

⁴ Macrobius, *Sat.* I. 23. 10—20.

⁵ Cp. Loukian. *de dea Syr.* 5.

⁶ Cp. *supra* p. 357.

sealed, and sent off, with nothing written on it. The priests, ignorant of the real circumstances of the correspondence, were fairly amazed at this action. Trajan, on receiving his answer, was deeply impressed; for he himself had sent a blank sheet to the god. He then wrote and sealed another letter, in which he asked whether he would return to Rome when the war was over. The god thereupon ordered that a centurion's vine-staff, one of the offerings dedicated in his temple, should be brought, broken into bits, wrapped in a handkerchief, and taken to him forthwith. The issue of the thing became clear when Trajan died and his bones were brought back to Rome. For the appearance of his remains was indicated by the broken pieces, and the time of his approaching death by the fact that it was a vine¹.

'To prevent my argument from ranging through a whole list of divinities, I will explain what the Assyrians believe concerning the power of the sun. They have given the name *Adad* to the god² whom they venerate as highest and greatest. The name is interpreted to mean "One One³." Him therefore they adore as a god mighty above all others. But with him they associate a goddess called *Adargatis*⁴. To these two they ascribe all power over the universe, understanding them to be the sun and the earth. They do not mark the subdivision of their power into this, that, and the other sphere by means of numerous names, but prefer to show forth the manifold glory of the double deity by the attributes with which they are adorned. These attributes of themselves proclaim a solar character. The image of *Adad* is seen conspicuous with rays slanting downwards, which shows that the force of the sky consists in the sunbeams sent down to the earth. The image of *Adargatis* is conspicuous with rays turned upwards, to show that whatever the earth produces springs from the force of the beams sent up on high⁵. Beneath this same image are the forms of lions, showing that it stands for the earth; just as the Phrygians represent the Mother of the gods, that is the earth, carried by lions.'

It might be inferred from Macrobius' account that the deities worshipped at *Baalbek* were *Adad* and *Atargatis*. It is, however,

¹ That is, the centurion's vine showed that Trajan would die in the course of the campaign (117 A.D.), it being a mark of military authority.

² Clearly Zeus *Heliopolites* is meant: see W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1987, 41 ff.

³ Opinions are divided as to the value of this interpretation (W. Drexler *ib.* i. 1987 f., E. Meyer *ib.* i. 2900 f.). My friend, the Rev. Dr C. H. W. Johns, Master of St Catharine's College, Cambridge, informs me that Macrobius, who is taking *Adad* to be a reduplicated form of *edu*, the Assyrian, Syriac, and Hebrew word for 'one,' is certainly wrong. The name must be connected with the verb *adadu*, which had two distinct meanings, *viz.* (1) 'to be sharp, keen, pointed,' and (2) 'to love.' If we associate *Adad* with the first *adadu*, the reference may be to his piercing weapon, the thunderbolt; if with the second *adadu*, we may compare the forms *addu*, *daddu*, and such names as David and Dido, which properly denote 'the Beloved One.' R. Dussaud in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2157 says: 'Der Charakter des Gottes berechtigt die Annäherung mit dem arabischen *hadda*, "zerbrechen, krachen."' See further A. Jeremias in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 23.

⁴ On *Atargatis* see F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1896, E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 650 ff.

⁵ Bundles of rays resembling wings start from the shoulders of various Assyrian deities, e.g. Šamaš the sun-god (Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* p. 181 f. pl. 84, 3—7, G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*⁴ London 1901 p. 656, M. Jastrow *Bildermappe zur Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Giessen 1912 p. 100 pl. 48 ff. nos. 170 ff.).

probable that another Syrian god, Seimios by name, received joint honours with them; for inscriptions attest a Heliopolitan triad Latinised as Iupiter, Venus, and Mercurius¹.

Ba'albek, the seat of this remarkable cult, has seen many changes. Of its Syrian, Greek, and Roman phases we have already spoken. It remains to sketch its subsequent history and to indicate the present condition of its ruins.

Heliopolis was for long a battle-ground of paganism and Christianity. Of this great struggle we get but intermittent glimpses. In 297 A.D. Gelasinos the mime² was suddenly converted while in the very act of parodying the Christian rite of baptism: he at once made a profession of his faith, and was thereupon dragged out of the theatre by the enraged audience and stoned to death³. Later, Constantine the Great (306–337 A.D.) destroyed the temple of Aphrodite, instituted a Christian church in its stead, and abolished by law the ancient local custom of prostitution before and even after wedlock⁴. The pagans were furious and retaliated by prostituting the Christian virgins and heaping upon them the most infamous tortures⁵. About the same time the people seized the deacon Kyrillos, who had defaced many of their idols, did him to death and—if we may believe Theodoret—ripped him up and got their teeth into his liver⁶.

¹ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 7280 (Athens) = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4284 [I. o.] m. et Vejneri et | Mercurio | Heliopoli|[t]anis Q. Te[dius] Maxi[mus] v. l. a. (*sic*), A. von Domaszewski in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1897 xvi Korrespondenzblatt p. 172 (near Seligenstadt) I. [o.] m. | Heliop[olita]no, V[e]neri f[elici], Mercurio [A]ug., M. | Iulius Marci | fil. Fa[bi]a Ruf[us] Papinianus | Sentius Gemell[us] do[m]o Beryt. | praef. coh....A[q]uit. | castris E..id. Em[jili]an[o] n̄ et Aqu[jili]n[o] cos.] (= 249 A.D.) v. s. s. l. m., P. Perdrizet in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1901 p. 131 (cp. P. Ronzevale *ib.* 1900 p. 255) I. o. m. H. | Veneri Me[rcurio] | M. Sentius Em[....] | M. Sentis ex [respon]so divi M. B. (= *Megrin Balmarcodis*), *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 11139 [I.] o. m. H., | Veneri | Victrici, | M. Titius | Heliodorus | Aug. col. | Kar. (= *augustalis* or *augur coloniae Karnunti*), v. s. | sacerdotib. Vibio | Crescente et Heren. | Nigriniano, *ib.* iii Suppl. no. 11140 [Iovi optimo maximo Heliopolitano et Vene]ri victrici sacr. | [pro salute imp. Caesaris M. Aureli Antonini Com]modi Augusti |sac[er]dotibus..... See now R. Dussaud in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 54.

² On the ugly connotation of the words *μῦθος*, *μῦθός* in the Hellenistic east see I. Bloch *Die Prostitution* Berlin 1912 i 597.

³ *Chron. Pasch.* p. 513 Dindorf. See further the Rev. G. T. Stokes in Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* ii. 617.

⁴ Euseb. v. *Constantin.* 3. 58 (cp. *supra* p. 550 n. 8), Sokr. *hist. eccl.* 1. 18. On this custom consult E. S. Hartland 'Concerning the rite at the temple of Mylitta' in the *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* Oxford 1907 pp. 189—202, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 366 n. 2, Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Adonis Attis Osiris² p. 32 f.

⁵ Sozom. *hist. eccl.* 5. 10, cp. Greg. Naz. *invektiva adv. Iulian.* 1. 86 f. (Migne xxxv. 616), Nikephor. 10. 9 (Migne cxlvi. 464 f.), Abulpharag. *hist. comp. dynast.* p. 75.

⁶ Theodoret. *eccl. hist.* 3. 7.

Heathenism was for a while triumphant¹. But in 379 A.D. Theodosios finally demolished² the great temple of Zeus and built a Christian church upon its site³. Even so religious rioting was not ended. About 400 A.D. Rabbûla, the future bishop of Edessa, went with his friend Eusebios to *Ba'albek* 'in order to obtain the crown of martyrdom by raising a disturbance in the great Temple—somewhat after the fashion of the late Mr Kensit. But the crown of martyrdom was not destined for Rabbûla, and the two enthusiasts only succeeded in getting themselves thrown down the temple steps⁴.' According to Michael the Syrian, the 'great and famous idol' of *Ba'albek* was still to be seen in the time of Justin ii (565–578 A.D.)⁵.

Ba'albek passed into Mohammedan hands in 634 A.D., and was subject to Arab rule till 1517, when the Turks gained possession of Syria. The akropolis with its ruined temples was early transformed into a strong citadel, the *Kala'a*, which still stands much as it stood at the close of the thirteenth century with walls and towers, ports and loop-holes, in a wonderful state of preservation⁶.

'No ruins of antiquity,' says Mr W. B. Donne, 'have attracted more attention than those of Heliopolis, or been more frequently or accurately measured and described. They were visited by

¹ *Id. ib.* 4. 22.

² It had been already overthrown by earthquakes (O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1901 xvi. 138, *id. Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 5).

³ Io. Malal. *chron.* 13 p. 344 Dindorf τὸν δὲ ναὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων πάντας κατέστρεψεν ἕως ἐδάφους ὁ αὐτὸς Θεοδόσιος βασιλεὺς. κατέλυσε δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Ἡλιοπέδωτος τὸ μέγα καὶ περιβόητον τὸ λεγόμενον τριλιθον, καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸ ἐκκλησίαν Χριστιανῶν, *Chron. Pasch.* p. 561 Dindorf Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ δολιδμος βασιλεύσας τὰ ἱερὰ μόνον ἔκλεισεν καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων· οὗτος Θεοδόσιος καὶ κατέλυσεν, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Ἡλιοπέδωτος τὸ τοῦ Βαλανίου τὸ μέγα καὶ περιβόητον [καὶ] τὸ τριλιθον (*infra* p. 562 f.), καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸ ἐκκλησίαν Χριστιανῶν.

Various attempts have been made to connect the word Βαλανίου with the name *Ba'al* (see the note by J. Markland in Dindorf's ed. of the *Chronicon Paschale* ii. 394 ff., M. A. Levy *Phönizische Studien* Breslau 1856 i. 32 n. 1, and F. X. Kortleitner *De polytheismo universo* Oeniponte 1908 p. 203). But Prof. F. C. Burkitt and Mr N. McLean both assure me that they are highly improbable, and independently suggest that we have here the Greek βαλανείον, which appears in Syriac as *balānā* (cp. S. A. Cook *A Glossary of the Aramaic Inscriptions* Cambridge 1898 p. 30). This is the more likely because in Christian times one of the lustration-basins in the precinct at *Ba'albek* was actually transformed into a swimming-bath (*infra* p. 559 n. 3).

⁴ F. C. Burkitt *Early Eastern Christianity* London 1904 p. 50, citing J. J. Overbeck *S. Ephraemi Syri, Rabulae Episcopi Edesseni, Balaci aliorumque opera selecta* Oxford 1865 p. 196 'Exploits of Mar Rabbûla.'

⁵ Michael the Syrian trans. J. B. Chabot ii. 262 f., cited by R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 Add. and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 51.

⁶ For further details of successive changes made in mediaeval times see O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii. 99–101, *id. Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 5 f.

Thevet. in. 1550; by Pococke in 1739-40; by Maundrell in 1745; by Wood and Dawkins in 1751; by Volney in 1785; and by many subsequent travellers, including the Duke of Ragusa, in 1834¹. Nevertheless, despite the good work done by these explorers², several problems still awaited solution. Fortunately a visit of the German emperor and empress on Nov. 1, 1898, led to a further and in many respects final exploration of the site (1900-1904) by O. Puchstein and a band of able associates. The results obtained by them³ may be here summarised.

The *Propylæion*⁴ in accordance with an ancient oriental scheme consisted of two towers united by a colonnade, and was approached by a broad flight of steps. The steps have disappeared; but much of the two-storeyed towers and at least the bases of the twelve columns remain, three of these bearing Latin inscriptions, which tell how Longinus, a life-guard of the first Parthian legion, and Septimius, an imperial freedman, in gratitude for the safety of Caracalla adorned their capitals with a sheathing of gilded bronze⁵.

Immediately behind the *Propylæion* lies a hexagonal court, once surrounded by columns, of which scanty traces are left⁶. The

¹ W. B. Donne in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* i. 1037.

² See especially R. Pococke *A description of the East, and some other countries* London 1743 ii. 106-113, R. Wood *The ruins of Balbec, otherwise Heliopolis in Coelosyria* London 1757 with 46 pls., C. F. Volney *Travels through Syria and Egypt, in the years 1783, 1784, and 1785* (English ed.) London 1787 ii. 232-248 with a plan and view, L. F. Cassas *Voyage pittoresque de la Syrie, de la Phœnicie, de la Palestine, et de la basse Egypte* Paris 1799 (an 7) ii pls. 1, 3, 4, 15, 16, 17, 27, 28, 29, 30, 34, 47, 54, 56, 57, H. Frauberger *Die Akropolis von Baalbek* Frankfurt a. M. 1892 with 10 figs., 20 photographic pls., a plan, and a restoration.

³ O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1901 xvi. 133-160 with figs. 1-9 and pls. 4-7, *id. ib.* 1902 xvii. 87-124 with 3 figs. and pls. 4-9, *id. Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 pp. 1-40 with figs. 1-12, *id. Guide de Ba'albek* Berlin 1906 with figs. and plans, O. Puchstein & T. von Lüpke *Ba'albek: 30 Ansichten der deutschen Ausgrabungen* Berlin 1910.

⁴ O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii. 88 f., *id. Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 8 ff., O. Puchstein & T. von Lüpke *Ba'albek* Berlin 1910 pls. 3, 4, 5.

⁵ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 138 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4283 [I. o.] m. diis Heliopol. pro sal. | [et] victoriis d. n. Antonini Pii fel. Aug. et Juliae Aug. matris d. n. cast. senat. patr., Aur. Ant. Longinus specul. leg. i | [Ant]oninianae capita columnarum dua aerea auro inluminata sua pecunia ex voto l. a. s. On these two inscriptions see O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1901 xvi. 154 n. 11. *Id. ib.* 1902 xvii. 89 publishes the third inscription: [I. o.] m. pro sal[ute] d. [n.] imp. Antonin[i] Pii Felicis... | [...Sep]tim[i]us.]bas Aug. lib. caput columnae aeneum auro inluminat]um votum sua pecunia l. [a. s.]

⁶ O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1901 xvi. 139 f., *id. Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 11 ff., O. Puchstein & T. von Lüpke *Ba'albek* Berlin 1910 pls. 6, 7.

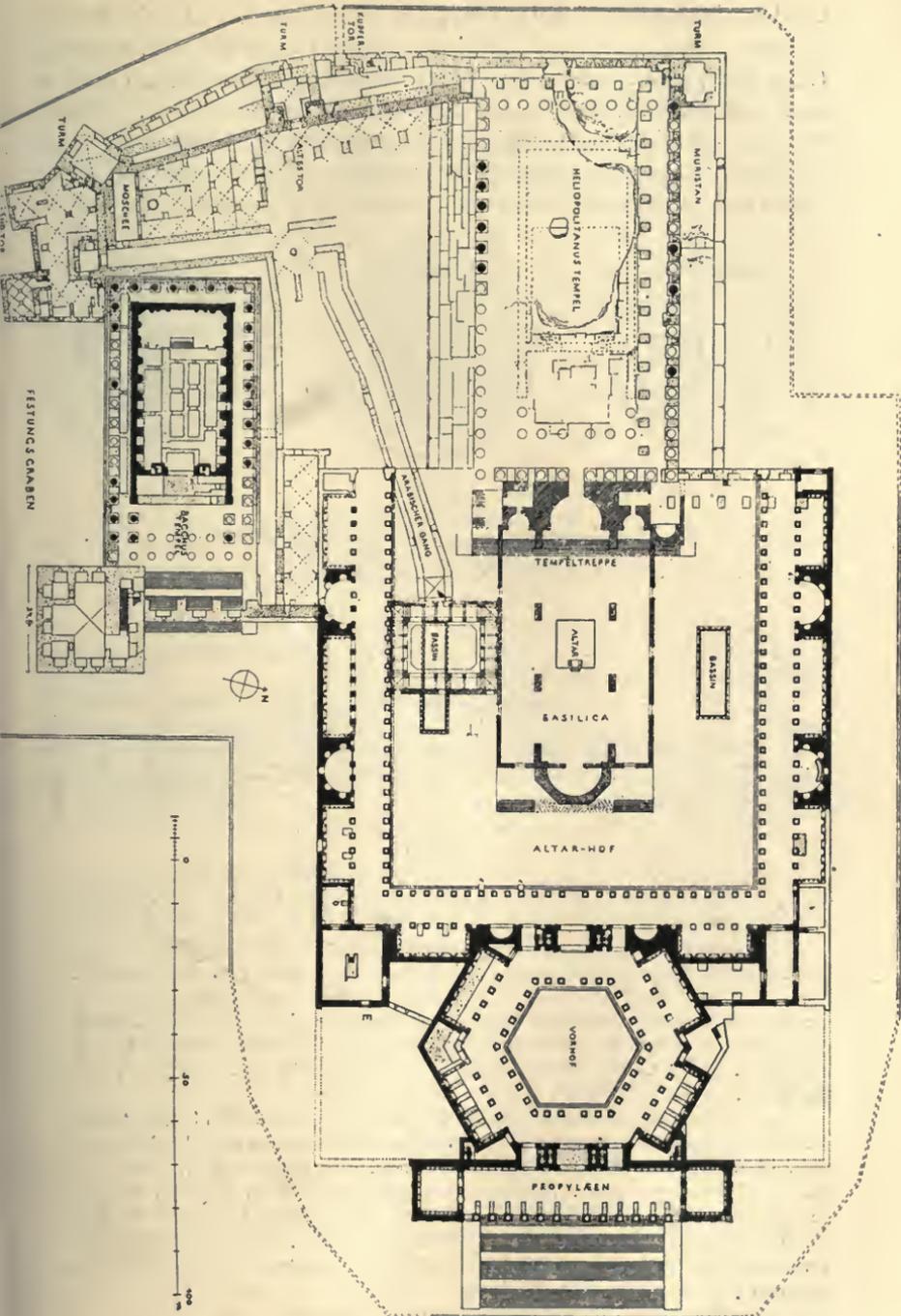


Fig. 419.

original intention of this court¹ is not known. Certain Heliopolitan coins struck by Philippus Senior and his wife Otacilia (figs. 420², 421³, 422⁴) have been thought to represent a cypress-tree seen through the central gate-way of the *Propylaion*⁵. If that were so, we might reasonably conjecture that the hexagonal court enclosed a sacred cypress-tree or cypress-grove. But the best-preserved specimens of these coins fully confirm the view⁶



Fig. 420.



Fig. 421.



Fig. 422.

advocated by Monsieur R. Dussaud⁷ that we have here a corn-ear (cp. *infra* fig. 427) rather than a cypress-tree. The god within held

¹ It was, perhaps in the fourth century A.D., transformed into a Christian church and roofed over for the purpose, its walls being then first pierced with windows (O. Puchstein *Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 12).

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. pp. lxxvii, 292 pl. 36, 6 Philippus Senior, with legend COLIVLAUGFE | IO MH | COL HEL, *Coloniae Iuliae Augustae Felicis (Iovi Optimo Maximo Heliopolitano) Coloniae Heliopoleos*. *Ib.* p. 293 Otacilia, with the same legend. Cp. F. De Saulcy *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 pp. 12 f., 403 Philippus Senior, 14 Otacilia.

³ F. De Saulcy *op. cit.* p. 12 f. pl. 1, 5 Philippus Senior, with legend COLHEL | IO MH. *Ib.* p. 14 Otacilia, with the same legend.

⁴ F. Lajard *Recherches sur le culte du cyprès pyramidal* Paris 1854 pp. 97 ff., 360 pl. 6, 5 Philippus Senior (Paris), with legend COLHEL | IO MH. Cp. *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 221 no. 6 Philippus Senior.

⁵ The tree is described as a cypress by Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 93, Suppl. ii. 1344 f., Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*² iii. 335, F. Lajard *op. cit.* p. 97 ff., F. De Saulcy *op. cit.* pp. 12 ff., 403. Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* v. 302 no. 123 wrongly took it to be a cedar. A cypress is the central object on other coppers of Heliopolis, which show two naked athletes seated on rocks and supporting an agonistic urn above it (F. Lajard *op. cit.* p. 100 Valerian, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. p. 295 pl. 36, 12 Gallienus).

Cypress-trees are not often associated with Zeus. But the temple of Zeus *Némeios* at Nemea stood in a cypress-grove (Paus. 2. 15. 2) and the shrines used by the mystics of Zeus *Idaios* in Crete were roofed with cypress-wood (Eur. *Crete frag.* 472 Nauck²): cp. the coin of Ephesos (*supra* p. 134 fig. 100) and Hermippos *frag.* 24 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 42 Müller) *ap. Diog. Laert.* 8. 10 ἀπέχοντο δὲ (sc. οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι) καὶ σοροῦ κυπαρισσῶν διὰ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς σκήπτρον ἐνεῦθεν πεποιήσθαι, Iambl. v. *Pyth.* 155 κυπαρισσῶν δὲ μὴ δεῖν κατασκευάζεσθαι σωρὸν (leg. σορὸν) ὑπαγορεύει διὰ τὸ κυπαρισσῶν γεγενῆαι τοῦ Διὸς σκήπτρον ἢ δι' ἄλλον τινὰ μυστικὸν λόγον.

⁶ T. L. Donaldson *Architectura numismatica* London 1859 p. 123 fig. 34.

⁷ R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 92 ff.

corn-ears in his hand. Is it possible that his fore-court contained a patch of sacred corn¹?

Beyond the hexagon was a large square court² with Corinthian porticoes on three sides of it, but never finished on the fourth. The bases and capitals of the columns were of limestone; their shafts of red Egyptian granite—monoliths 7·08 metres in height and finely polished. Numerous fragments of the richly decorated entablature still strew the ground. This court was flanked by apsidal niches and rectangular recesses; and beneath the floor was a vaulted *southern*. In the middle of the court was the great altar of burnt offering, now sunk in the floor of the later Christian *basilica*³. To right and left of the altar was an oblong reservoir for lustration-water, adorned with a mosaic floor, above which rose a circular baldachin presumably covering a fountain-statue. The whole court,

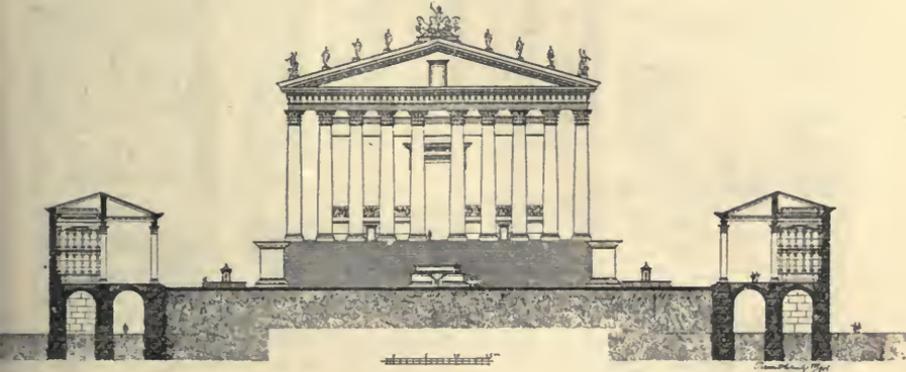


Fig. 423.

as inscriptions attest, was set out with bronze portraits of the imperial family (Sabina the daughter of Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus, Gordian, etc.) and of other prominent persons (such as the officer Velius Rufus), all dedicated by colonists in Heliopolis.

¹ Cp. the rites of Adonis as described by the schol. Theokr. 15. 112 *εὐώθασι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Ἀδωνίους πυροῦς καὶ κριθᾶς σπείρειν ἐν τισὶ προαστείοις* (προαστρίοις G. Hermann, γαστρίοις Bast) *καὶ τοὺς φυτευθέντας κήπους Ἀδωνέλου προσαγορεύειν*. The Ἀγροῦχος ἢ Ἀγρότης of Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 567 Müller) appears to be Adad viewed as an agricultural god (R. Dussaud in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 56).

² O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1901 xvi. 135 ff., 140 ff., *id. Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 14 ff., O. Puchstein & T. von Lüpke *Ba'albek* Berlin 1910 pls. 8—13, 14a, 15.

³ The *basilica* was in all probability the church built by Theodosios (*supra* p. 555). It was originally entered at the eastern end, therein resembling the temple of Zeus, which it was designed to supersede. At some later date its entrance was shifted to the western end, that it might conform to the usual arrangement of a Christian church, while the southern lustration-reservoir was modified into a *piscina* or swimming-bath connected with it (*supra* p. 555 n. 3).

At the western end of the altar-court rose the temple of Zeus¹ (fig. 423). An imposing stylobate, some 7 metres higher than the level of the court, was mounted by means of a broad flight of steps. The temple-platform, exclusive of the steps, measured 47·70 metres

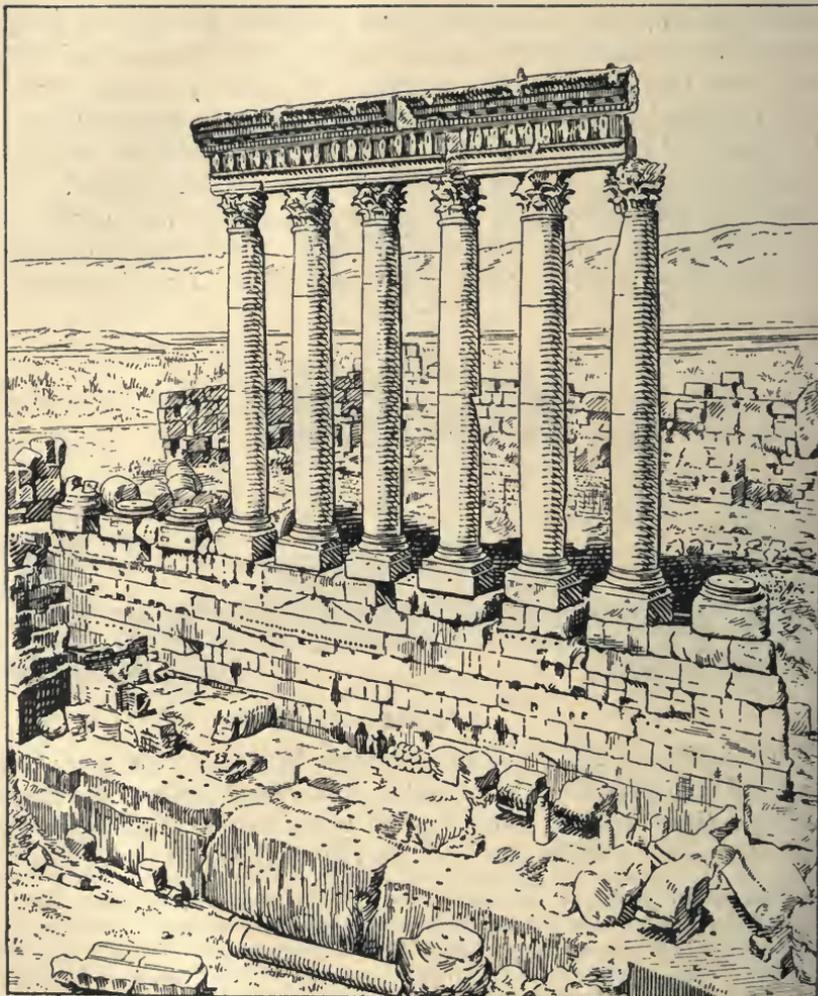


Fig. 424.

in width by 87·75 metres in length. Round it stood a single row of unfluted Corinthian columns. Ten of these were visible at either end and nineteen down each of the long sides. Six of them on the

¹ O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii. 91 ff., *id. Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 21 f., O. Puchstein & T. von Lüpke *Ba'albek* Berlin 1910 pls. 14b, 16, 17.

south still carry their entablature (fig. 424)¹. The *naós* itself, except for sundry patches of a cement-paving, has entirely disappeared. And its foundation-walls are so imperfectly preserved that at present



Fig. 425.

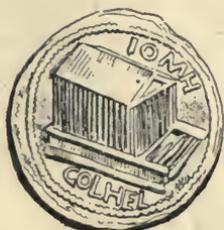


Fig. 426.



Fig. 427.

it has not been found possible to reconstruct the complete ground-plan with certainty. It is, however, clear that the temple was pseudodipteral, *i.e.* that in lieu of an inner row of columns it had

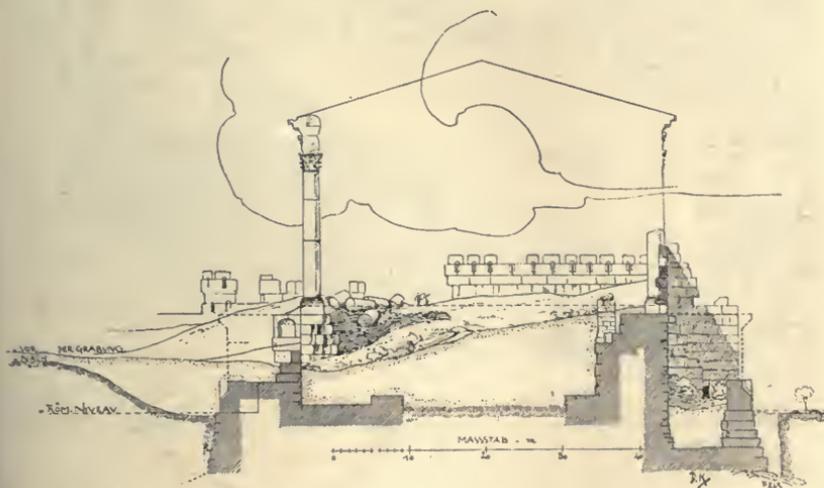


Fig. 428.

a very broad *pterón* or ambulatory. The whole building is shown in perspective on coins of Septimius Severus, his wife Iulia Domna, Caracalla, Philippus Senior, and Otacilia (figs. 425², 426³, 427⁴). It

¹ O. Puchstein & T. von Lüpke *op. cit.* pl. 17. In the background appears the snow-capped range of Libanos; in the foreground, the lowest course of the temple-terrace—gigantic blocks 4·12^m high, 3·12^m thick, and 9·50^m long.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. pp. lxxvii, 290 pl. 36, 2 Septimius Severus, with legend IOMH | COLHEL, *Iovi Optimo Maximo Heliopolitano | Coloniae Heliopoleos.* *Ib.* p. 291 Iulia Domna, 293. Philippus Senior, with the same legend.

³ F. De Saulcy *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 p. 8 f. pl. 1, 3 Septimius Severus, p. 9 Iulia Domna, p. 10 Caracalla, p. 14 Otacilia, all with the same legend.

⁴ R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 94 f. fig. 23.

was supported on three sides—north, west, and south—by a terrace¹ consisting of a huge outer wall and a filling of massive stones. The construction of this outer wall was no light task, even for the all-daring engineers of Rome. A strong foundation of headers and stretchers was topped by a *podium* of colossal blocks. The lowest visible course was designed to exhibit a moulded base, though the

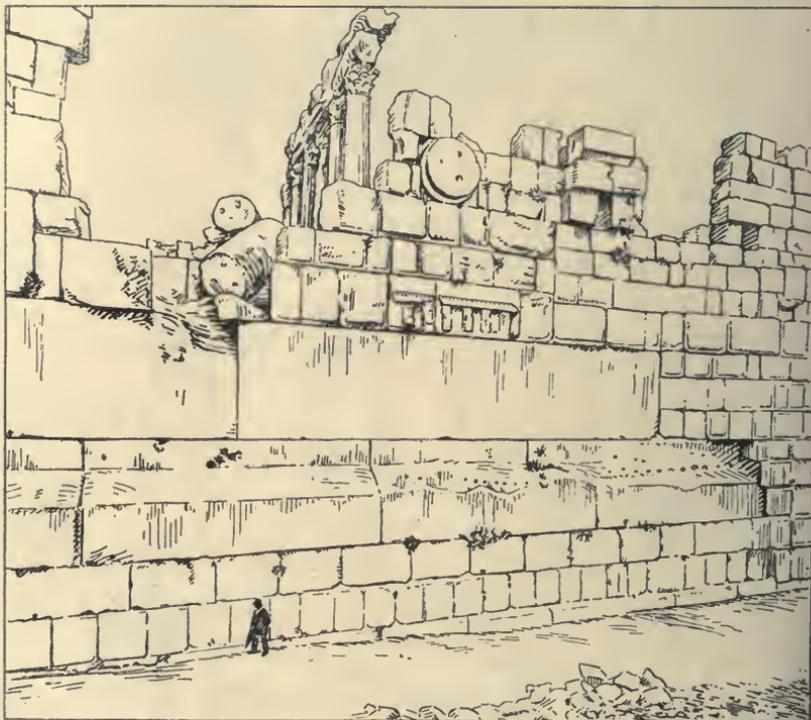


Fig. 429.

moulding was never completed. On this rested the main face of the *podium* (fig. 428)². At the western end it was formed by three gigantic monoliths, each 4.34 metres high by 3.65 metres deep, and respectively 19.10, 19.20, and 19.56 metres long³. These enormous

¹ O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii. 91 ff., *id. Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 pp. 23 f., 34 f., O. Puchstein & T. von Lüpke *Ba'albek* Berlin 1910 pls. 17, 27, 28.

² Fig. 428 is reproduced from a drawing by D. Krencker in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii. 93. It shows a section through the temple of Zeus from north to south. The extant portions of the terrace-wall to right (N.) and left (S.) of the temple are hatched; the original profile of the terrace is indicated by a dotted line.

³ The dimensions are given by Durm *Baukunst d. Röm.*² p. 9 as 4^m high and 19.45^m, 19.21^m, 19.52^m long.

blocks were fitted together with astonishing precision (fig. 429)¹, and, as R. Wood pointed out², earned for the temple that towered above them the popular name of the *Trilithon*³. The unknown architect dreamed of employing an even vaster block; for in the neighbouring quarry lies half-finished a stone, which measures at one end some 4'30, at the other some 5'30, metres square and

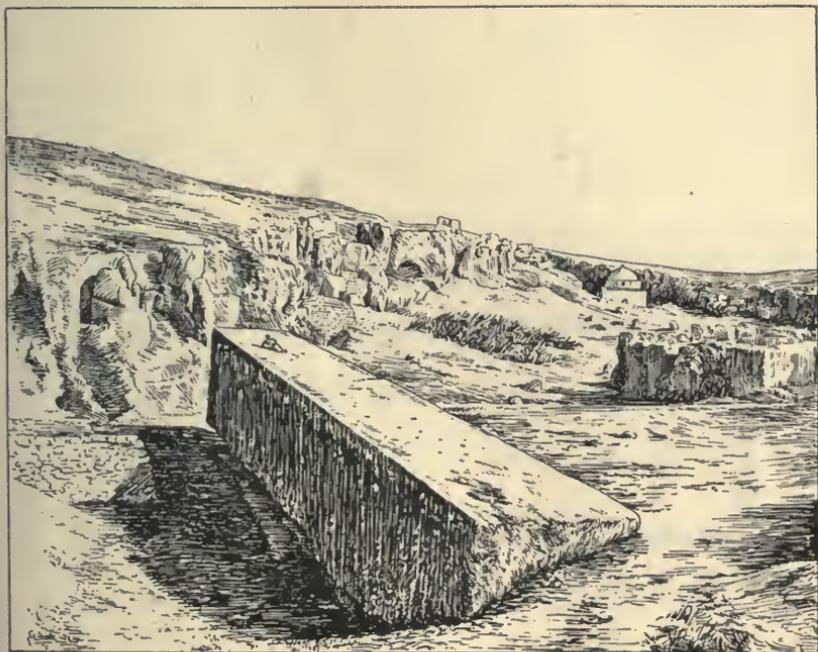


Fig. 430.

attains a length of 21'72 metres (fig. 430)⁴. Greeks and Romans alike seem to have argued that, the greater the god, the more grandiose must be his dwelling place⁵. And Zeus as lord of all

¹ O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii pl. 6.

² R. Wood *The ruins of Balbec, otherwise Heliopolis in Coelosyria* London 1757 p. 12.

³ *Supra* p. 555 n. 3. A parallel is furnished by the fourth temple of Apollon at Delphoi, that built by Trophonios and Agamedes (Paus. 10. 5. 13), which was called τὸ ἄδυστον ἐκ πέντε λίθων (Steph. Byz. s.v. Δελφοί). It was the temple of epic times, the *λάϊνος οὐδὸς* (*Il.* 9. 404 f., *Od.* 8. 79 ff.), and its foundations are expressly said to have been 'broad and very long' (*h. Ap.* 294 ff.).

⁴ O. Puchstein & T. von Lüpke *Ba'albek* Berlin 1910 pl. 28. Durm *Baukunst d. Röm.*² p. 9 f. figs. 4 f. states that it measures 21'35^m in length, 4'33^m and 4'40^m in height and breadth, and gives details as to the method of quarrying. The big stone, which would have weighed over 1200 tons, is locally known as the *Ḥadšar el ḥibla* (O. Puchstein *Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 6 f.).

⁵ On colossal statues etc. as a means of literally 'magnifying' the god see *Folk-Lore* 1903 xiv. 270 f.

demanded a supreme effort. But here, as in the case of the abandoned temple at Agrigentum¹, men were attempting

‘The high that proved too high, the heroic for earth too hard.’

Adjoining the great temple of Zeus was a second sacred edifice (fig. 431)², smaller indeed but throughout more richly decorated and now standing in a far better state of preservation. Approached by a fine flight of 33 steps and raised on a stylobate 4.75 metres high, it is a peripteral temple with eight Corinthian columns on the short and fifteen on the long sides. These columns are unfluted, but those of the *prónaos* and the engaged columns of the interior are fluted. The roof of the *pterón*, the door-way of the *nabs*, the inner surface of the walls, are all exquisite examples of Roman architecture. But perhaps the most interesting feature is an *adyton*

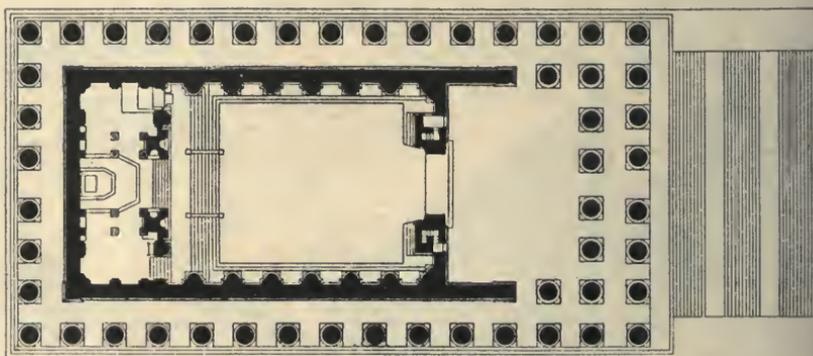


Fig. 431.

at the west end of the building. Nine steps led up to the chancel, which was divided by half-columns into a central sanctuary and two wings. On the right a door gave access to a crypt, consisting of two vaulted chambers, below the *adyton*-floor. On the left seven stairs led up to a side-chamber, in which stood a table for offerings. In the middle, between the half-columns, a broader flight of seven steps formed the approach to an elaborate baldachin, beneath which, protected by screens, stood the actual cult-image. But of what deity? Since the door-way has on the under surface of its lintel an eagle grasping a winged *caduceus* between garland-bearing Erotes (fig. 432)³, it used to be assumed that this was the temple of Zeus,

¹ Durm *Baukunst d. Gr.*³ p. 401 ff. figs. 369—372.

² O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii. 94 ff., *id. Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 29 ff., O. Puchstein & T. von Lüpke *Ba'albek* Berlin 1910 pls. 18—26.

³ R. Wood *The ruins of Balbek, otherwise Heliopolis in Coelosyria* London 1757 pl. 34, E, H. Frauberger *Die Akropolis von Baalbek* Frankfurt a. M. 1892 pl. 16.

the larger building being then regarded as that of Helios. But the coins figured above¹ make it certain that the larger building was the temple of Zeus; and the relief of the eagle carrying a *caduceus*, which occurs on other Syrian lintels, *viz.* on two of the precinct-gates of Baitokaike (*Hösn. Suleimán*)², is in all probability an apotropaic sign combining the solar eagle³ with the *caduceus* of Hermes the gate-keeper. Better evidence is to be found in other parts of the temple-sculpture. The door-frame is embellished with bunches of corn and poppies and a string of vine-leaves and ivy. Low down on the left may be seen the infant Dionysos suckled by a nymph, with Pan, Satyrs, and Bacchantes arranged above him; on the right, Erotes hard at work vintaging. The *pronaos* has also



Fig. 432.

an unfinished frieze, which represents a procession of twelve persons, headed by Nike, leading an ox and a fat-tailed sheep to sacrifice at an altar: of these persons one carries a roll of carpet, another a basket, a third a *ktste*. More convincing still is the adornment of the *adyton*. One of the landings leading up to it is decorated with three dancing Bacchantes. The baldachin on either side of the steps had reliefs, which can still be in part at least made out. On

¹ *Supra* p. 561 figs. 425—427.

² R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1897 i. 328, P. Perdrizet in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1901 p. 132 = *Revue des études anciennes* (Annales de la Faculté des lettres de Bordeaux) 1901 iii. 258 ff.,—cited by O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii. 98 n. 4.

Zeus Βαιτοκαϊκης (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4474, 20 Διὸς Βαιτοκαϊκης) or Βαιτοκαϊκεὺς (*ib.* no. 4475, 1 θεῶ Βαιτοχειχει) was the Grecised form of the Baal worshipped at Baitokaike near Apameia on the Orontes. The property and privileges granted to his temple by one of the kings named Antiochos were increased by Augustus and confirmed (between 253 and 259 A.D.) by Valerian, his son Gallienus, and his grandson Saloninus (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4474 = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 184 and p. 972, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 262). The inhabitants of Baitokaike described themselves as οἱ κάτοχοι ('tenants?') ἀγίου Οὐρανίου Διὸς (*ib.*). See further F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2779.

³ Cp. for a Phoenician example *supra* p. 206 fig. 150.

the left Dionysos leans against a vine with Ariadne beside him and his *thiasos* grouped around. On the right the same deity as a child is seated on a pantheress, danced about by Bacchantes and Maenads. It can hardly be doubted that the temple as a whole was that of Dionysos, who at Heliopolis as elsewhere was worshipped side by side with Zeus.

We have yet to notice a remarkable and much-canvassed coin-type of Philippus Senior (figs. 433¹, 434²). On a rocky eminence covered with shrubs rises a large temple with a flight of many steps leading up to it, and what looks like a terrace-wall beside it. Between the steps and the temple is an altar, and near by stands a vase. The precinct-wall encloses a considerable space to the left of the temple; and in the field beyond this space is a *caduceus*. Now the Germans have shown that the temple of Dionysos was later than the temple of Zeus and belonged to the same period



Fig. 433.



Fig. 434.

as the *Propylaion*, which they hold to have been constructed c. 200 A.D.³ Since, however, the capitals of the *Propylaion* were still being decorated in the reign of Caracalla (211–217 A.D.)⁴, it is very possible that the new buildings were not finished till the time of Philippus Senior (244–249 A.D.). If so, it is open to us to suppose that certain coins issued by this emperor—himself an Arab of Trachonitis⁵—represented the akropolis as it looked before the recent building-operations⁶, whilst others struck in the names of the emperor and his wife displayed the new *Propylaion* in all its

¹ F. De Saulcy *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 p. 13 pl. 1, 4, with legend COLIVLAVG | FELHEL (cp. *supra* p. 558 n. 2).

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. p. 293 no. 18 (vase in precinct, *caduceus* in field) pl. 36, 7, cp. p. 293 no. 19 (vase in field, *caduceus* in precinct).

³ O. Puchstein *Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 33.

⁴ *Supra* p. 556.

⁵ *Aur. Vict. de Caes.* 28. 1 Arabs Thraconites, cp. Zonar. *epit. hist.* 12. 19 ὠμῆτο δ' ἐκ Βόστρον.

⁶ Another possible explanation of the type would be to say that the die-sinker, in order to simplify his design, bodily omitted the *Propylaion* and the temple of Dionysos.

Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* and the Bull 567

glory¹. On this showing the temple here figured is that of Zeus². To him belong the altar and the vase of purification, which were perpetuated on a grander scale by the altar of burnt offering and the lustration-basins of the later court³. The *caduceus* is the symbol of Hermes, who watched over the portals of the precinct⁴ and was closely associated in worship with Zeus himself⁵.

(β) Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* and the Bull.

Thus far we have not found the Heliopolitan god associated with bulls. But copies of his cult-image, recognised in recent years, make it certain that he stood with a bull on either hand⁶. Of these copies the more important may be passed in review⁷.

A *stèle* of local limestone, discovered in 1900 at *Deir el-Qala'a* by Prof. S. Ronzevalle of Beirut University, has a countersunk relief representing a god erect between two bulls (fig. 435)⁸. The dedication [I] O M H fixes the type as that of Iupiter *Heliopolitanus*⁹. Moreover, the figure, though defaced, bears out in the main the description cited from Macrobius¹⁰. It is, in fact, a beardless

¹ *Supra* p. 558 figs. 420—422.

² Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 93 (cp. Suppl. ii. 1345) assumes that it is a temple of Hermes. T. L. Donaldson *Architectura numismatica* London 1859 p. 126 ff. fig. 35 contends that it is the smaller temple, *i.e.* that which we now know to have been the temple of Dionysos. O. Puchstein *Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 3 describes it as an unknown temple, possibly situated on the neighbouring height of Sheik Abdallah.

W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* p. 293 is content to regard it as the temple of Zeus. To this identification it might be objected that the akropolis is not really so high as the coin suggests. But the patriotic artist would tend to exaggerate its height, just as the patriotic poet calls the 'waterless' Anapos *μέγαν ῥόον* (Theokr. 1. 68 with schol. *ad loc.* "Ἄναπος δὲ εἰρηται ὁ ἄνευ πόσεως ὦν καὶ βληχρὸν ἔχων ὕδωρ!"). Besides, Adad was a mountain-god (*supra* p. 551).

³ *Supra* p. 559.

⁴ Cp. *supra* p. 565.

⁵ *Supra* p. 554. This association perhaps has some bearing on the remarkable title *Angelus* given to Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* (*supra* p. 551 n. 10). The remarks of G. Henzen in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1866 xxxviii. 134 ff., of G. Wolff in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1867 xxv. 55, and of E. Aust in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2189, are hardly adequate.

⁶ Cp. the great altar of Zeus at Pergamon (*supra* p. 119 f. fig. 88).

⁷ For a full list see R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 347 ff., ii. 91 ff., 1905 i. 161 ff. = *id.* *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903—1905 pp. 29 ff., 67 ff., 117 ff.

⁸ Height 0'93^m. S. Ronzevalle 'Notice sur un bas-relief représentant le simulacre du Jupiter Heliopolitanus' in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1901 pp. 437—482, R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 348, 355 f. fig. 14 (an independent sketch marking the disk on the god's chest, etc.) = *id.* *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 pp. 30, 38 f. fig. 14. The inscription in letters of the third century runs: [I.]o.m. H. | M. Pultius Felicianus | et? | M. Pultius Ti[be]rinus | fili[us]. The *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 14392a reads *Pullius* for *Pultius*.

⁹ Cp. *supra* p. 561 figs. 425—427.

¹⁰ *Supra* p. 552.

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charioteer with a whip in his raised right hand. He wears, however, a *kálathos* or 'basket' on his head, adorned with two tiers of ovate-lanceolate leaves. Two long tresses of hair fall over his shoulders.



Fig. 435.

Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* and the Bull . 569

A disk is suspended round his neck. The upper part of his body appears to be covered with scales. The lower part is encased in a sheath, which is carved with panels containing flowers of three or four petals apiece¹.

Another limestone *stèle*, found in 1752 in the basin of the famous fountain at Nîmes and now preserved in the *Maison-Carrée*, bears in front a joint-dedication to Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* and Nemausus². The latter god is symbolised on the right side of the stone by an oval shield and a *carnix* or Gallic trumpet. The former is represented on the left by his cult-image (fig. 436)³. On his head, which is beardless and faces the spectator, rests the *kálathos*, decorated with leaves and a string of jewels (?)⁴. His right hand clasps a whip, his left a bunch of corn. A collar of some sort hangs about his neck, and there are traces of two busts below it. The compartments of the sheath are filled with flowers of four and six petals each: one of these flowers is seen in profile



Fig. 436.

¹ Another limestone *stèle* from the same district repeats this design (S. Ronzevalle *loc. cit.* p. 454, R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 348, 356, 359 = *id.* *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 pp. 30, 39, 42). It is badly preserved, but retains in the left hand a fragment of the bunch of corn, and perhaps of the thunderbolt too, mentioned by Macrobius (so Dussaud *loc. cit.*: Ronzevalle saw in it a fir-cone partially sunk in an oval support).

² *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xii no. 3072 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4288 I. o. m. Héliopolitán. | et Nemauso | C. Iulius Tib. fil. Fab. | Tiberinus p. p., domo | Beryto, vótum solvit (*supra* p. 552 n. 2) in letters belonging to the end of the second century. Cp. the inscription on the *stèle* from Beirut (*supra* p. 567 n. 8). The dedicators of the two monuments were obviously related to one another.

³ Height of *stèle* 0.90^m. F. Lenormant in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1876 ii. 78 ff. pl. 21 published the left-hand relief, but made serious mistakes about it, supposing that the god was bearded, that his head was in profile to the right, that he was accompanied by one lion instead of two bulls, etc. These blunders were suspected by Ronzevalle *loc. cit.* p. 444 f. and F. Studniczka in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1884 viii. 61. But for the first really accurate description of the *stèle* we are indebted to R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 347, 353—355 fig. 13 = *id.* *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 pp. 30, 36—38 fig. 13.

⁴ Pliny in his list of precious stones includes 'Adad's kidney,' 'Adad's eye,' and

on its stalk. On the sides of the case are two thunderbolts. And to right and left of the god are the remains of his bulls.

A third *stèle*, found at 'Ain-Djouch, a well-pool to the east of Ba'albek and published by O. Puchstein in 1902 (fig. 437)¹, again shows the god standing with uplifted lash between two bulls, Immediately in front of him is a herm, attesting his intimate connexion with Hermes². To right and left of the monument is a bull with a winged thunderbolt above it. Adad³, Zeus, and Iupiter could alike claim to be storm-gods.



Fig. 437.

Somewhat more elaborate is a *stèle* of white marble, which came to light at Marseille in 1838 and is now in the Musée Calvet at Avignon (pl. xxxiii)⁴. Round the neck of the god is a pendant

'Adad's finger' (*nat. hist.* 37. 186 Adadu nephros sive renes, eiusdem oculus, digitus; deus et hic colitur a Syris).

¹ O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii. 102 f. fig., *id.* *Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 12 f. fig. 4.

² Several little lead figures found by the peasants in this locality likewise represent the Heliopolitan Zeus with Hermes, also Dionysos, and Helios or his Syrian counterpart (O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii. 102).

³ *Supra* p. 553 n. 3, *infra* p. 576 ff.

⁴ Height 0'55^m. H. Bazin in the *Rev. Arch.* 1886 ii. 257 ff. pl. 26 published this relief as a Roman copy of Artemis *Diktynna*. P. Wolters in the *Ann. Journ. Arch.* 1890 vi. 65 ff. fig. 14 was the first to detect in it Zeus *Ἡλιουπόλιτης*. But R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 347, 350—353 fig. 11 = *id.* *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 pp. 30, 33—36 has contributed most to our understanding of its details. He points out that the neck-ornament is not composed of two dolphins (so Bondurand in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1901 p. 863), but of the solar disk with its *uraeus*-snakes; that the herm does not rest on the lion's head and cannot therefore be the female consort of the god (so W. Gurlitt in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1891 xiv. 123), but is rather to be identified with some such god as *Ba'al-Marqod*, 'Lord of the Dance'

1
570



Jupiter *Heliopolitanus* on a marble *stèle* from Marseille.

See page 570 ff.

composed of the solar disk with two *uraeus*-snakes. In the centre of his body-sheath appears a beardless herm wearing a *kálathos*; and below, a lion's head representing the *djinn*¹, who bore the Grecised name *Gennaíos*². Of the six busts visible on either side of the herm, the upper two are Helios with a *nimbus* and Selene with a crescent, then a deity with a *kálathos* and a nude Hermes (?),

(*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4536 = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 835 Βαλμαρκῶθ, κοίρανε κῶμων, cp. Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* i. 317a), Latinised as Jupiter *Balmarcodes* (Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4327 Iovi Balmarcodi, 4328 I. o. m. Balmarcodi), who is known to have been called Κύριος Γενναίος, *Gennaeus Dominus* (F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2834 f., vii. 1174, *infra* n. 2); and that the lower part of the relief closely resembles the base of a marble statuette from Byblos, now in the American College at Beirut, which shows the two bulls, the lion's head, and three busts above it (Herakles?; a goddess? with veil; a goddess?).

¹ On *djinn* > Γενναίος see R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 374 n. 4, 381 n. 2 = *id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 p. 57 n. 4, p. 64 n. 2, cp. *ib.* 1905 p. 85 f.

² There was a lion-shaped image of Γενναίος in the temple of Zeus at Heliopolis (Damaskios v. *Isidor. ap. Phot. bibl.* p. 348 b 4 f. Bekker τὸν δὲ Γενναίον Ἡλιοπολίται τιμῶσιν ἐν Δίδι ἰδρυσάμενοι μορφήν τινα λέοντος. *Infra* ch. ii § 10 (a)). *Ba'al-Marqod* at *Deir el-Qala'a* was entitled Κύριος Γενναίος (Dittenberger *Oriental. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 589 [Κυ]ρίω [Γ]εν[ν]αίω Βαλ[μα]ρκῶδι | τῷ καὶ Μη[γ]ρίν, κα[τ]ὰ | κελουσι[ν] | θεοῦ Ἀ[ρε]μθη[νοῦ] Μάξιμος | εὐχαριστῶν ἀνέθηκα) or *Gennaeus Dominus* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 6673 Gen(naeo) Dom[ino] | Balmarc[odi] | C. Vinni[.]). A Palmyrene god, presumably Malakbel (R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 374 = *id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 p. 57), is called Θεὸς Γεννέας (Dittenberger *Oriental. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 637 Θεω Γεννέα Πατρῶψ Μαζαββάνας | καὶ Μάρκος υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀνέθηκαν | ἔτους ζψ', μηνὸς Δύστρον i.e. in March 196 A.D.). At *K'efr-Nebo*, twelve or thirteen hours' ride from Aleppo, is a dedication of an oil-mill etc. to a triad of gods including one simply described as Λέων (V. Chapot in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902 xxvi. 181 ff. no. 26 Σεμῶψ καὶ Συμβετόλψ καὶ Λέοντι θεοῖς πατρίοις τὸ | ἐλαιο[τ]ρόπιον σὺν κατασκευῇ πάσῃ κ.τ.λ.—dated in the year 223 A.D.) and an inscription at Ny-Carlsberg of uncertain provenance (Leontopolis? cp. Strab. 812, *Ail. de nat. an.* 12. 7; or Heliopolis??) mentions the sanctuary of a god bearing the same name (Dittenberger *Oriental. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 732 Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίω | θεῷ Ἐπιφανεῖ καὶ Εὐχαρίστω καὶ βασιλίσση Κλεοπάτραι Ἀπολλωνίως Ἀντιπάτρου, γραμματεῦς | Ὁρνημένους, ὁ καὶ τὸ ἕρπον τοῦ Λέοντος καὶ | τᾶλλα τὰ προσκύροντα | τῷ ἱερῷ ἰδρυμένος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν—to be dated after 193/2 B.C. but before 187/6 B.C.).

These leonine gods were solar (R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 pp. 85 f., 91 f.), and G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 59 pl. 3, 8 has recognised as Γενναίος the lion that appears on coins of Berytos with a radiate head under Valerian (Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 1514, iv. 1570, cp. 1580) and with a globe on his head under Gallienus (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* pp. xlvi f., lix, 92 pl. 11, 6 = my fig. 438). A similar significance probably attached to the lion's head with a ball, often radiate, emerging from its brow on early electrum coins struck in the time of Alyattes?, 610—561 B.C. (D. G. Hogarth *Excavations at Ephesus* London 1908 pp. 82 ff., 90 ff. pls. 1, 32—51, 2, 52—73, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* pp. xix, 1—4 pl. 1, 1—10, *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 35 ff., 50 f. pl. 2, 4—16, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 644 f.): fig. 439 is from a specimen in my collection.



Fig. 438.



Fig. 439.

lastly a helmeted figure (Ares?) and a bearded god (Herakles?). The sides of the sheath are adorned with disks.

Minor works of art repeat the type with variations¹. The bronze statuettes in particular add Egyptising details, which recall the belief that the cult-image at Heliopolis came from Egypt².



Fig. 440.

A bronze in the Joanneum at Graz (fig. 440)³ has the *kálathos* ornamented with a globe and corn-ears. The wig and the small false beard beneath the chin⁴ are decidedly Egyptian in character.



Fig. 441.

¹ For the coins (Neapolis in Samaria, Eleutheropolis and Nikopolis in Iudaea, Dion in Dekapolis) and gems see R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 349, ii. 91 n. 4 = *id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903—1905 pp. 32, 67 n. 4. Of the coins listed by him the most interesting is that of Dion figured *infra* p. 590. Among the gems note a red jasper from the Montlezun collection at Paris, published by F. Lajard *Recherches sur le culte, les symboles, les attributs, et les monuments figurés de Vénus* Paris 1849 pl. 14 G, 5 (fig. 441: enlarged $\frac{1}{2}$), which surrounds the god's head with a radiate nimbus.

² *Supra* p. 550 n. 10 P. Perdrizet in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 ii. 399—401 'Sur l'origine égyptienne de Jupiter Héliopolitain' argues in favour of accepting Macrobius' assertion. S. Reinach *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1912 iv. 402—420 discusses the statue of an empress (?) as Isis or Isis Tyche found at Ba'albek.

³ W. Gurlitt in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1891 xiv. 120 ff., from whose article I have taken the cuts representing the front, side, and back of the statuette; Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iii. 8 nos. 4, 5.

⁴ R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 356 ff. fig. 15 = *id. Notes de mythologie*

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The sheath is figured in front with three busts, Kronos¹ above, Helios and Selene beneath; at the back with an eagle holding a wreath in its beak. Below the busts and the eagle are rosettes



Fig. 442 a.



Fig. 442 b.

of six or seven petals apiece. And on either side of the sheath is a thunderbolt.

syrienne Paris 1903 p. 39 ff. fig. 15 raises needless doubts (P. Perdrizet in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 ii. 401).

¹ So R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 358 = *id.* *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 p. 41. W. Gurlitt *loc. cit.* p. 124 had suggested *Caelus*.

A bronze from the Hamilton collection, now in the British Museum (fig. 442 *a, b*)¹, has again an Egyptian-looking wig, and a lotos-flower on the *kálathos*. Besides the usual busts etc. there is an eagle with spread wings on the back and a thunderbolt below each arm.

The finest examples of this type are two bronzes in the de Clercq collection at Paris, both obtained at Tortosa in 1868. One (fig. 443 *a, b*)² shows the god wearing not only an Egyptian wig but

Fig. 443 *a.*Fig. 443 *b.*

also a rudimentary *pschent* like that often worn by Horos. Beneath his chin is a short tenon for the attachment of a false beard. The

¹ Published as 'The Ephesian Artemis' in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 183 no. 1010 pl. 27, but correctly labelled in the show-case. Cp. P. Perdrizet in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 ii. 399—401 fig. 1.

² De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes de la coll. de Clercq* p. 143 ff. no. 218 pls. 35, 1, 36, 2 f. R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 127 fig. 32.

Very similar is a bronze statuette from *Kefr Djezzin* near Byblos, which formerly belonged to J. Loeytved of Beirut and is now in the Berlin collection (C. Clermont-Ganneau *Recueil d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1905 vi. 78—81, 118 f. pl. 1, R. Dussaud *op. cit.* p. 125 ff. fig. 31 = my fig. 444). This too has Egyptising hair, a *pschent*, a small false beard, and numerous busts. J. Rouvier detected traces of gilding upon it.

whole *coiffure* is, in fact, Egyptian. The busts etc. on the sheath are exceptionally well preserved. In front at the top are Helios (?) and Selene, the former without rays round his head, the latter with a crescent between her breasts. Next come Kronos with his bill-hook and Zeus with his sceptre (?), Ares with helmet and lance, Aphrodite with sceptre and four-rayed star. Then follows a central panel showing Hermes in his winged *pétasos*. To right and left of him is a star with eight rays; and below him are two lion-heads. The sides of the figure are occupied by a couple of large winged thunderbolts. At the back between the shoulders is an eagle with spread wings grasping another bolt. Below this, two winged snakes knotted together and supporting or surrounding the solar disk. Finally, a series of five more busts—Poseidon with a trident; Demeter veiled and



Fig. 444.



Fig. 445 a.



Fig. 445 b.

sceptred; Athena with *aigis*, helmet, and lance; Artemis with quiver; Herakles with lion-skin and club.

The second statuette is simpler (fig. 445 *a, b*)¹. The beardless head wears a bay-wreath and is surmounted by a *kálathos*, on which are leaves or possibly rays in low relief. The breast has a single bust, that of a rayed Helios; the back, an eagle with spread wings holding a bolt. Beneath the arms are two wingless bolts. The rest of the sheathing is covered with disks that have a central boss. The bronze is broken off below.

It is noticeable that no bulls are figured on any of these statuettes. But it has been conjectured that bulls were originally associated with them²; and the conjecture is confirmed by the fact that together with each of the Tortosa figures was found a bronze bull³.

(γ) Adad or Ramman and the Bull.

Adad was connected with the bull long before he became known throughout the Greek and Roman world as the Zeus or Jupiter of Heliopolis. In the Babylonian and Assyrian religion Adad was also called *Ramman*⁴, an epithet which, being the participial of the verb *ramanu*, 'to bellow or roar,' denotes properly 'the Bellowing or Roaring One.' Now Ramman is commonly represented on the cylinders as standing on the back of a bull (fig. 446)⁵ or as planting one foot on a bull. It may,

¹ De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes de la coll. de Clercq* p. 145 f. no. 219 pls. 35, 2, 36, 4, R. Dussaud *op. cit.* p. 128 fig. 33.

² This was the view of W. Gurlitt *loc. cit.* p. 125 n. 9 and of F. Studniczka in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1884 viii. 61.

³ De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes de la coll. de Clercq* p. 252 f. no. 363 (found with statuette no. 218: head turned slightly to right), *id. ib.* p. 252 no. 362 (found with statuette no. 219: head turned slightly to left, and tufts of hair between the horns forming a sort of rosette).

⁴ On the admitted identity of Adad and Ramman see e.g. A. Jeremias in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 19 ff., R. Dussaud in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2157 ff., M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 156 f., *id.* *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Giessen 1905 i. 146 ff., *id.* *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 p. 117 ff., G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*⁴ London 1901 p. 658 n. 5.

It remains, however, possible that Adad and Ramman were at first locally distinct forms of the sky-god, Adad hailing from the west-country *Anurri* (*supra* p. 549 n. 4) and Ramman perhaps from Arabia (A. Jeremias *loc. cit.* p. 25). But?

⁵ The bull is sometimes winged, as in the rock-cut relief at Maltai (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 48 fig. 5), sometimes unwinged, as on the *stèle* of Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.) from Sinjerli in north-west Syria now at Berlin (von Luschan *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* Berlin 1893 i. 11-43 pl. 1).

I figure a cylinder of sapphire chalcedony from the ruins of Babylon, now in the

therefore¹, fairly be inferred that Adad, otherwise styled Ramman, —the Rimmon² or Hadadrimmon³ of the Old Testament,—was essentially related to the bull⁴. And, since a Susian deity obviously akin to Ramman is represented with bovine horns projecting from his head (fig. 447)⁵, it is probable that Adad or Ramman himself was sometimes at least conceived as a bull⁶.

But why was Adad regarded as a bull? The answer to this question depends of course upon the functions ascribed to the god. That he was a sky-god of some sort is certain. He was often associated with the great astrological triad Sin, Šamaš, and Ištar.



Fig. 446.

Sin was undeniably a moon-god and Šamaš a sun-god, while Ištar had come to be identified with the planet Venus. Adad—to judge from his names *Ramman*, ‘the Bellowing,’ *Birku*, ‘the Lightning,’ and from his attribute the thunderbolt—was most unmistakably a storm-god. He is, however, constantly coupled with

Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (F. Lajard *Recherches sur le culte, les symboles, les attributs, et les monuments figurés de Vénus* Paris 1849 pl. 4, 11, W. H. Ward in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1899 iii. 8 fig. 6), on which Ramman has a horned head-dress and stands upon a reclining bull with Ištar before him and a worshipper between them.

¹ *Supra* p. 392.

² 2 Kings 5. 18.

³ Zech. 12. 11.

⁴ My friend the Rev. Dr C. H. W. Johns kindly tells me that the association of *Ramman* with the bull may involve a word-play, since *rīmu*, ‘a bull,’ was popularly taken to mean ‘the bellowing, the roarer.’

⁵ A. H. Layard *The Monuments of Nineveh* First Series London 1849 pl. 65.

⁶ I. Scheftelowitz ‘Das Hörnermotiv in den Religionen’ in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 456 ff.

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Šamaš¹, and Macrobius unhesitatingly identifies him with the sun². Probably, then, Adad or Ramman was a storm-god, who in process of time was associated with Šamaš and ultimately viewed as himself also a sun-god. This aspect of his nature came more and more into prominence, till in the Graeco-Roman period he was worshipped throughout the Mediterranean fringe as the solar Zeus or Iupiter of Heliopolis. These two conceptions of storm-god and sun-god, which to our way of thinking seem so diametrically opposed, are



Fig. 447.

in point of fact by no means incompatible³. 'In many mythologies,' says Dr Jastrow, 'the sun and lightning are regarded as correlated forces. At all events, the frequent association of Shamash and

¹ M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 157 f., *id.* *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Giessen 1905 i. 137, 148, *id.* *Aspects of Religion. Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 p. 83.

² *Supra* p. 552 f. It is noticeable that Delian inscriptions associate Helios (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 501 no. 24, 3) as well as Zeus "Αδαδος (*supra* p. 549 f.) with Atargatis.

³ *Supra* pp. 196 n. 6, 313 n. 8. Empedokles held that lightning consisted of solar rays caught in the clouds (Aristot. *meteor.* 2. 9. 369 b 12 f.): see E. Zeller *A History of Greek Philosophy* trans. S. F. Alleyne London 1881 ii. 158 n. 4, O. Gilbert *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* Leipzig 1907 p. 621 f.

Ramman cannot have been accidental. This double nature of Ramman—as a solar deity representing some particular phase of the sun that escapes us and as a storm-god—still peers through the inscription...from the Cassite period where Ramman is called “the lord of justice,”—an attribute peculiar to the sun-god; but in Assyria his rôle as the thunder- and storm-god overshadows any other attributes that he may have had¹. Such being the character of Adad or Ramman, it may be conjectured that the bull was considered a fitting vehicle for him, partly perhaps because its bellowing resembled the sound of thunder, but mainly because its generative powers recalled the fertilising effects of rain and sun.

Nor is this conjecture wholly unsupported by evidence. ‘Ramman,’ according to G. Maspero, ‘embraced within him the elements of many very ancient genii, all of whom had been set over the atmosphere, and the phenomena which are daily displayed in it—wind, rain, and thunder. These genii...are usually represented as enormous birds flocking on their swift wings from below the horizon, and breathing flame or torrents of water upon the countries over which they hovered. The most terrible of them was Zu, who presided over tempests: he gathered the clouds together, causing them to burst in torrents of rain or hail; he let loose the winds and lightnings, and nothing remained standing where he had passed...Zu had as son a vigorous bull, which, pasturing in the meadows, scattered abundance and fertility around him².’ Monsieur Maspero is here paraphrasing a Babylonian litany, which prescribes certain rites to be performed with an actual bull taken to represent a divine bull ‘child of the god Zû³.’ This divine bull is described in the text as follows: ‘The great bull, the noble bull that wanders over shining pasture-ground has come to the fields bringing abundance. O planter of the corn, who dost bless the land with richest plenty, my pure hands have made their offering before thee⁴.’ Prof. Jensen connects this bull with the constellation Taurus⁵. But in any case it is invoked as a bringer of fertility.

The same group of ideas—storm-god, sun-god, fertilising bull—

¹ M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 160, *id.* *Die Religion Babylonien und Assyriens* Giessen 1905 i. 150.

² G. Maspero *op. cit.* p. 658f.

³ E. T. Harper ‘Die babylonischen Legenden von Etana, Zu, Adapa und Dibbarra’ in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* Leipzig 1894 ii. 416f. See also A. Jeremias *Die babylonisch-assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode* Leipzig 1897 p. 73f, P. Jensen *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier* Strassburg 1890 p. 91 ff. The text is IV R 23, no. 1.

⁴ E. T. Harper *loc. cit.* p. 417.

⁵ P. Jensen *op. cit.* p. 93.

gathers about another Mesopotamian deity. En-lil¹ or Ellil, the Sumerian god of Nippur, bore a name which meant 'Lord of the Storm.' He was also addressed as the 'Great Mountain.' His temple at Nippur was known as E-Kur, the 'Mountain-House'—a term which became the general name for a sanctuary. And his consort Nin-lil, 'Lady of the Storm,' was described as Nin-khar-sag, 'Lady of the High Mountain.' Hence it has been inferred that he came into the Euphrates valley from the mountainous region lying to the east or north-east (Elam). On entering the fertile plain, where agriculture owed so much to the sweeping rain-storm, he readily acquired the character of a god who fostered vegetation :

O Enlil, Councillor, who can grasp thy power?
 Endowed with strength, lord of the harvest lands!
 Created in the mountains, lord of the grain fields!
 Ruler of great strength, father Enlil!
 The powerful chief of the gods art thou,
 The great creator and sustainer of life²!

Ninib, the ancient sun-god of Nippur, was affiliated to En-lil, and the two exercised a reciprocal influence over each other. Thus Ninib took on the traits of the storm-god, and En-lil became solar. In this double capacity En-lil was conceived as a mighty ox or bull with glittering horns. 'An entire series of hymns and lamentations,' writes Dr Jastrow³, 'is recognised as addressed to Enlil from the opening words "the Bull to his sanctuary," where the bull designates Enlil⁴. In a fragment of a hymn, Enlil is described as

Crouching in the lands like a sturdy mountain bull,
 Whose horns shine like the brilliance of the sun,
 Full of splendour like Venus of the heavens⁵.

In another composition the refrain reads, "A sturdy bull art thou." When we see votive offerings with the figure of a bull, or representations of a crouching bull with a human face⁶, we are tempted to assert that they are symbols of Enlil; and if this be so, further

¹ On En-lil see M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 52 ff., *id.* *Die Religion Babylonien und Assyriens* Giessen 1905 i. 52 ff., and especially *id.* *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 pp. 18 ff., 67 ff. (after A. T. Clay 'Ellil, the god of Nippur' in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* xxiii. 269—279).

² *Cuneiform Texts* xv pl. 11 trans. M. Jastrow.

³ M. Jastrow *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 p. 74 f.

⁴ Langdon *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms* no. 10, cp. pp. 85, 127, 277, etc.

⁵ H. C. Rawlinson *A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Western Asia* London 1891 iv² pl. 27, no. 2, Langdon *op. cit.* no. 18.

⁶ See L. Heuzey *Catalogue des Antiquités Chaldéennes* p. 269.

traces of the association between the god and the animal may be seen both in the colossal bulls which form a feature of Assyrian art and were placed at the entrance to temples and palaces, and in the bull as the decoration of columns in the architecture of the Persian period¹.

With the bulls of En-lil Dr Jastrow further compares the golden calf made by Aaron at the foot of Mount Sinai² and the golden calves set up at Bethel and at Dan by Jeroboam³. The use of gold for these images was perhaps symbolic of the fiery deity whom they represented⁴. A magnificent thunderbolt of wood thickly overlaid with pure gold, and manifestly broken off from a cult-statue of Adad, has been found near his temple at Ashur⁵. And on the Berlin bronze of the Heliopolitan god⁶ J. Rouvier detected traces of gilding⁷.

The foregoing facts may serve to throw light on a dark passage in the magical papyrus at Paris:

'Zeus went up into the mountain with a golden calf and a silver knife. To all he gave a share. To Amara alone he gave none, but said: "Let go that which thou hast, and then thou shalt receive—*psinother nopsither thernopsi* 8."⁸

A. Dieterich⁹ supposed that this ascent of the mountain was a ceremony in the cult of Zeus *Panámaros*¹⁰, whose consort might have borne the uncompounded name *Amára*. E. Riess¹¹ suggests that Amara was an otherwise unknown Egyptian deity¹². I would rather infer from the mention of the golden calf and the mountain

¹ E.g. Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* ii. 280 f., 334 ff.; v. 486 ff.

² Ex. 32. 1 ff.

³ 1 Kings 12. 28 ff. See further the learned dissertation of S. Bochart *Hierozoicon* rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1793 i. 339—375 ('De aureis Aaronis et Ieroboami Vitulis').

⁴ Cf. *infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xx (θ), ch. ii § 3 (c) iii, ch. ii § 3 (c) iv (ε).

⁵ W. Andrae *Der Anu-Adad-Tempel in Assur* Leipzig 1909 p. 77 f. pl. 34.

⁶ *Supra* p. 574 n. 2.

⁷ R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 125.

⁸ C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 41 pap. Par. 825 ff. ἀνέβη Ζεὺς εἰς ἔρος (= ὄρος) χρυσοῦν μόσχον ἔχων | καὶ μάχαϊραν ἀργυρέαν· πᾶσαν μέρος ἐπέδωκεν· Ἀμάρᾳ μόνον οὐκ ἔδωκεν, εἶπεν | δὲ "ἐξάφες δ' ἔχεις, καὶ τότε λήψει ψωθερ | νωψθερ θερνωψι." The cabalistic formula with which this extract ends is found again in the Gnostic *Pistis Sophia* p. 375 Schwartz *ψινωθερ θερωψιν ωψιθερ* spoken by Jesus to His Father (F. Granger in the *Class. Rev.* 1912 xxvi. 191).

⁹ A. Dieterich *Eine Mithrasliturgie*² Leipzig and Berlin 1910 pp. 20 f., 220 f., *id.* *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 501.

¹⁰ *Supra* p. 21.

¹¹ E. Riess in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1726.

¹² *Id. ib.* cites *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4908 (Philai) Ἀμαρίων | μίμος. For a gilded cow in an Egyptian rite see Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 39 οἱ ἱερεῖς ἄλλα τε δρωσὶ σκυθρωπὰ καὶ θοῦν διάχρυσον ἱματίῳ μέλανι βυσσίνῳ περιβάλλοντες ἐπὶ πένθει τῆς θεοῦ δεικνύουσι (βοῦν γὰρ Ἰσιδος εἰκόνα καὶ γῆν νομίζουσιν) ἐπὶ τέτταρας ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐβδόμης ἐπὶ δέκα ἐξῆς.

that we have here to do with a Grecised form of Adad, god of the Amorites. It may even be that the mysterious Amara was their mountain-goddess¹.

(δ) Zeus (Adad) and Hera (Atargatis) at Hierapolis.

From Heliopolis in Koile Syria we pass northwards to Hierapolis in Kyrrestike. This was an ancient Syrian town, originally called Mabog², but better known as Bambyke. Its name was changed to Hierapolis by Seleukos Nikator, the founder of the Syrian dynasty³. The town was celebrated for its cult of the Syrian goddess Atargatis⁴ or Derketo⁵, whom the Greeks identified with Rhea⁶ or Aphrodite⁷ or the Assyrian Hera⁸.

A valuable account of her temple and cult is given by the pseudo-Lucian in an Ionic treatise *On the Syrian goddess*. The temple stood on a hill in the middle of the town, surrounded by two walls, one old, one recent. The *Propylaia*, or gateways of the precinct, faced the north and were some two hundred yards in length⁹. The temple itself was an Ionic building raised twelve feet above the ground and so turned as to look towards the sunrise. The golden doors of its *pronaos* gave access to a *naos* gilded throughout and fragrant with the perfumes of Arabia. Within this nave a short flight of steps led up to a *thalamos* or inner chamber, which was not closed by doors but visible to all, though only certain priests might enter it¹⁰. Our author describes its contents in detail¹¹:

‘Here are seated the cult-statues, to wit Hera and Zeus, whom they call by a different name. Both are of gold, and both are seated; but Hera is carried

¹ Mr S. A. Cook, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and Lecturer in Hebrew and Syriac, in a letter to me dated Nov. 21, 1911, hit upon the same solution, but only to reject it: ‘Then the idea of the mountain-god suggested the Amurru, lord of the mountain, who is a storm- and thunder-god of the Ramman type. But his wife would be Ashirta, an Astarte figure, and it is a wild guess that a feminine of Amurru has been artificially formed here!’

² Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 81.

³ Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 2.

⁴ Strab. 748.

⁵ Loukian. *de dea Syr.* 14, Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 81. *Derketo* is the Syrian *Tar'atā*, an abbreviation of *Atargatis*, the Syrian *'Atar'ata* (F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 240).

⁶ Loukian. *op. cit.* 15, cp. 32, Cornut. *theol.* 6 p. 6, 11 ff. Lang.

⁷ Plout. *v. Crass.* 17, *supra* p. 550.

⁸ Loukian. *op. cit.* 1. The author of the *de dea Syria* throughout speaks of the goddess as Hera. Cp. Plout. *v. Crass.* 17.

⁹ Loukian. *ib.* 28 *μέγας ὄσον τε ἑκατὸν ὀργυίων*. Presumably *μέγας* here means *μῆκος*, though the editors of Lucian take it to mean *ὑψος*, and certainly *ib.* 30 it bears the latter sense.

¹⁰ Cp. the internal arrangement of the temple of Dionysos at *Ba'albek* (*supra* p. 564).

¹¹ Loukian. *ib.* 31 ff.

by lions, while her partner is sitting upon bulls. Indeed, the statue of Zeus looks like Zeus in every respect, head, clothing, and throne: you could not, even perversely, compare him to another. But Hera, when you come to look at her, will be found to exhibit a variety of forms. The general effect is certainly that of Hera; but she has borrowed particular traits from a variety of goddesses—Athena, Aphrodite, Selene, Rhea, Artemis, Nemesis, and the Moirai. In one hand she holds a sceptre, in the other a spindle; on her head she wears rays and a tower; and < she has too >¹ a decorated band (*kestós*), with which they adorn none save the goddess of Heaven. Without she is covered with more gold and precious stones of very great value, some of which are white, others watery, many the colour of wine, many the colour of fire. Besides, there are many sardonyxes, jacinths, and emeralds², brought by men of Egypt, India, Aithiopia, Media, Armenia, and Babylonia. But a point more worthy of attention is this: on her head she wears a stone called *lychnis*, which derives its name (the "lamp"-stone) from its nature³. By night there shines from it a broad beam of light, and beneath it the whole nave is lit up as it were with lamps. By day its radiance is feeble, but it has a very fiery appearance. There is another remarkable thing about this image (*xóanon*): if you stand opposite and look at it, it looks at you; as you shift your ground, its look follows you; and, if another looks at it from a different position, it has the same effect upon him as well. Between these two figures stands another golden image (*xóanon*) in no way resembling the rest. It has no shape of its own, but bears the forms of the other deities. The Assyrians themselves call it a sign: they have given it no special name, indeed they do not even speak of its origin and form. Some ascribe it to Dionysos, others to Deukalion, others again to Semiramis; for on the top of it there is perched a golden dove, upon account of which they say that it is the sign of Semiramis⁴.

¹ Loukian. *ib.* 32 καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀκτίνας τε φορεῖ καὶ πύργον, καὶ <ἐχει καὶ> κεστόν τῷ μόνῃ τῆν Οὐρανίην κοσμέουσι. So I would restore the passage, which, as printed by Dindorf and others, would imply that she wore the *kestós* on her head.

² Not, of course, the true emerald, which is found only in America, but the green quartz known as the peridot or false emerald (E. Babelon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1467 f., *supra* p. 357 n. 2).

³ On this stone see further E. Babelon *loc. cit.* p. 1465. It was found in the Indian river Hydaspes to the sound of flutes while the moon was waxing (Plout. *de fluv.* 1. 2). The chalcedony, which resembled it, came from the land of the Libyan Nasamones, where it was said to spring from a divine shower and was found by the reflected light of the full moon (Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 104, Isid. *orig.* 16. 14. 5, cp. Strab. 830, 835).

⁴ The story of the mythical, as distinct from the historical, Semiramis is first found in Ktesias:—Near Askalon was a large lake full of fish, by the side of which Derketo had a precinct. She was represented with the face of a woman and the body of a fish. The tale told to explain her double form was as follows. She had fallen in love with a handsome Syrian youth who sacrificed to her. She bore him a daughter, and then, out of shame, made away with her lover, exposed the child in a rocky desert, and flung herself into the lake. The babe, nurtured by doves on milk and cheese, was discovered by the herdsmen and brought up by Simmas, a man set over the royal herds, who called her *Semiramis* after the Syrian word for 'doves' (Ktesias *ap.* Diod. 2. 4, Tzetz. *chil.* 9. 502 ff., Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 30 p. 40 Schwartz, Loukian. *de dea Syr.* 14, Hesych. *s.v.* Σεμίραμις). At the close of her life Semiramis changed herself into a dove and flew off with a number of other birds (Ktesias *ap.* Diod. 2. 20, Loukian. *loc. cit.*, Ov. *met.* 4. 47 f., *supra* p. 367). Both accounts add that the Syrians or Assyrians pay divine honours to doves (cp. Xen. *an.* 1. 4. 9, Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 39. 9 p. 30, 11 ff. Stählin,

Twice every year it journeys to the sea to get the water that I mentioned!'

It appears, then, that the *thálamos* at Hierapolis contained a statue of Atargatis carried by lions², a statue of her partner (resembling Zeus) seated on bulls³, and between them an aniconic 'sign' surmounted by a dove⁴. It can hardly be doubted that here, as at Heliopolis⁵, the partner of Atargatis was Adad identified with Zeus. The similarity of the two cult-centres, which may well presuppose—as J. Garstang holds—a common Hittite nucleus⁶, comes out clearly in connexion with their oracular practices. The

Comut. *Geol.* 6 p. 6, 11 ff. Lang, *Plülon ap. Euseb. praep. ev.* 8, 14, 64 with *Head Hist. num.*² p. 804, Tib. 1, 7, 17 f.).

A related myth is the following. Certain fish found a great egg in the river Euphrates. They rolled it ashore. A dove, or doves, sat on it and hatched out Venus the Syrian goddess. She besought Jupiter to put the fish among the signs of the zodiac. And the Syrians still abstain from eating these fish, and regard doves as divine (Nigidius *ap. schol. Caes. Germ. Aratua* p. 402, 12 ff. Eysenhardt, *Hyg. fab.* 197, Ampel. 2, 12). The fish in question were really Venus and Cupido, who, scared by the sudden appearance of Typho, had flung themselves into the Euphrates and taken the form of fish (Diognetos of Erythrai *ap. Hyg. poet. astr.* 2, 30, ep. *Myth. Vat.* 1, 86).

According to R. Azarias *Moor Enajim* 21 and R. David Ganz *Chronologia* ann. 1958, Semiramis and all the kings of Assyria had the dove as their military standard—a doubtful assertion (S. Bochart *Hierozoïcon* rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1794 ii. 528—533).

C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 694 conjectures that doves were associated with Semiramis for two reasons. On the one hand, Semiramis was assimilated to Istar, and the dove was sacred to that goddess. On the other hand, the Assyrian word for dove (*šammatu*) was not very unlike the Assyrian name of Semiramis (*šammuramat*).

¹ This refers to a myth and a rite described by the pseudo-Lucian *ib.* 12 f. Beneath the temple at Hierapolis was a small hole, through which the flood had run off. Hence Deukalion built altars and a temple of Hera over it, and introduced a custom kept up in memory of the event. Twice a year water was brought from the sea by the priests and a multitude of people from Syria, Arabia, and the region beyond the Euphrates. The water was poured out in the temple and ran off through the small hole beneath it. See further *intro* p. 591 n. 3.

² Imperial bronze coins of Hierapolis show Atargatis in three attitudes: (1) wearing a turreted head-dress, *chiton*, and *peplos*; holding two ears of corn in her left hand, a *tympanon* in her right; and seated on a throne with a lion couching at either side of it (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coin* Galatia, etc. p. 144 pl. 17, 14); (2) in the same pose, but holding a *tympanon* in her left hand and resting her right elbow on the throne (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coin* Galatia, etc. p. 145 pl. 17, 17, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 138 f. pl. 71, 22, ep. *ib.* iii. 139 pl. 71, 24); (3) with turreted head-dress, *chiton*, and *peplos*, holding a sceptre in her right hand, a *tympanon* in her left, and seated on the back of a lion (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coin* Galatia, etc. p. 144 pl. 17, 15, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 139 pl. 71, 25, ep. *ib.* iii. 140). Cf. J. Garstang *The Syrian Goddess* London 1913 p. 20 ff. with Frontisp. figs. 1—8.

³ S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1902 i. 31 argues that we must not press the text of Eusebian, *de deo Syr.* 31 ἀμφω ἕζονται· ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν Ἥρην λέοντες φορέουσι, ὁ δὲ παύροις ἐπέθεται to mean that Zeus and Hera were literally seated on their sacred beasts: rather they were flanked by them. So also R. Dussaud *ib.* 1904 ii. 242 n. 1 = *id. Notes de voyage en Syrie* (Paris 1905 p. 98 n. 1.

⁴ Cf. *intro* p. 586 f.

⁵ *Supra* p. 553.

⁶ This is the thesis of J. Garstang *op. cit.* pp. viii, 11 f., 17 n. 49, 27, 70 n. 43.

pseudo-Lucian, having described the statues of the inner shrine, goes on to say that in the main body of the temple, on the left hand side, there was set a vacant throne of the Sun and next to it a clothed and bearded image (*xōanon*) of Apollon. *À propos* of this last divinity he continues¹:

'When he is minded to deliver an oracle, he first stirs in his seat, and the priests at once lift him up. If they do not, he sweats and stirs again more decidedly. When they stoop and carry him, he drives them on, whirling them round in every direction and leaping from one to another. At last the chief-priest meets him and asks him questions concerning all things. He, if he refuses to do aught, retreats backwards, if he approves of aught, drives his bearers forwards like a charioteer. So they gather their oracles and do nothing either of religious or of private import without him.'

This image of Apollon in the nave must be carefully distinguished from the image of Zeus seated on bulls in the inner place. Macrobius² describes the former in terms that preclude identification with the latter:

'The natives of Hieropolis, Assyrians by race, comprise all the powers and virtues of the sun under the form of a single bearded image, which they call Apollo. His face is represented as having a pointed beard; and a basket (*calathus*) projects above his head. His image is adorned with a breast-plate. The right hand holds erect a spear, and on it stands a small statuette of Victory. The left stretches out a flower. A Gorgon-headed *aegis* fringed with snakes passes over his shoulders and clothes his shoulder-blades. The eagles beside him look as if they were flying. Before his feet is a female form, to right and left of which are statues of women: these are surrounded by the twisted coil of a snake. The beard below his chin signifies that rays are shot downwards on to the earth. The golden basket rising aloft indicates the apex of the upper air, from which the sun is supposed to derive its substance. The representation of a spear and a breast-plate adds a resemblance to Mars, whom I shall subsequently prove to be one with the sun. The Victory testifies that all things are subject to the power of this luminary. The flower bears witness to the bloom of those things that are sown, generated, cherished, nurtured, and matured by the said deity. The female form stands for the earth, on which the sun is shining from above: the other two statues of women enclosed in their circle signify matter and nature regarded as fellow-servants. The snake shows the sinuous course of the luminary. The eagles, whose swift flight is high over all else, point to the altitude of the sun. A Gorgon-vest is added because Minerva, whom tradition takes to be the rightful owner of this garb, is the virtue of the sun. Porphyrius too asserts that Minerva is the sun's virtue, which furnishes the minds of men with wisdom. Indeed that is why this goddess is said to have sprung from the head of Jupiter, in other words, to have arisen in the topmost portion of the upper air, where the sun originated.'

But, though we cannot equate the male statue of the inner sanctum with that of the nave, it is possible that after all they were effigies of the same god. When the pseudo-Lucian, who identified the inner statue with Zeus, says that 'you could not, even

¹ Loukian. *de dea Syr.* 36, cp. *ib.* 10.

² Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 17. 66 ff.

perversely, compare him to another¹, he is perhaps combating the opinion of some one who identified him as a solar power with Apollon². And, when Macrobius describes the statue that he terms Apollon, it must be admitted that the details (the *kálathos*, the Victory, the *aigís*, the eagles) are suggestive rather of Zeus. Besides, the mode of divination attributed by the pseudo-Lucian to this Apollon appears to be identical with that attributed by Macrobius to the Zeus of Heliopolis³.



Fig. 448.



Fig. 449.

But, whatever may be thought of the statue that both the pseudo-Lucian and Macrobius call Apollon, it seems clear enough that the principal deities at Hierapolis were Atargatis (Hera) and Adad (Zeus) with the 'sign' surmounted by a dove between them. This arrangement is confirmed by the coin-types of Hierapolis. A silver coin of Caracalla shows a god with *kálathos* and sceptre seated on or between two bulls and a goddess with the same attributes and a spindle (?) seated on or between two lions. The two deities are grouped on either side of a small gabled structure, in which is an object resembling a military standard and on which rests a dove (?). Beneath all is an eagle (fig. 448)⁴. The same design occurs on a bronze coin of Severus Alexander with the legend 'gods of Syria' and a lion in place of the eagle (fig. 449)⁵, a variation repeated on a bronze coin of Iulia Mamaea⁶. These remarkable coins represent, unless I am mistaken, the cult-objects of the inner sanctuary at Hierapolis. We see before us not only Atargatis with her lions and her partner with his bulls, but also between them the mysterious 'sign' described by the

¹ *Supra* p. 583.

² On coins of Tarsos from Hadrian to Gallienus appears a cult-image of Apollon holding two wolves by the fore-legs and standing on an *omphalós*, which is sometimes flanked by two recumbent bulls (F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 171—174 pl. 13, 4—7, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 202, p. 203 pl. 36, 4, p. 208, p. 224, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 551 pl. 60, 15, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 733)—a trait that he has in common with the Zeus of Heliopolis and the Zeus of Hierapolis.

³ *Supra* p. 552.

⁴ J. Pellerin *Mélange de diverses médailles pour servir de supplément aux recueils des médailles de rois et de villes, qui ont été imprimés en 1762 et 1763* Paris 1765 i. 189 pl. 8, 12, *Eckhel Doctr. num. vet.*² iii. 296, Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 759 no. 772.

⁵ F. Neumann *Populorum et regum nummi veteres inediti* Vienna 1783 ii. 74 ff. pl. 3, 2, *Rasche Lex. Num.* iv. 284 ff., Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 759 nos. 773 f. pl. 14, 7, J. Garstang *The Syrian Goddess* London 1913 pp. 22 ff., 70 f. Frontisp. fig. 1 and p. 70 fig. 7.

⁶ Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 759 f. no. 775.

pseudo-Lucian. We can now for the first time realise how accurate and trustworthy his description is. 'It has no shape of its own, but bears the forms of the other deities¹.' This sceptre or standard is neither anthropomorphic nor theriomorphic, but the four medallions, if such they are, that are hung upon it may well have borne the effigies of the temple-deities. Again, 'on the top of it there is perched a golden dove².' The word used here for the 'top' (*koryphé*) is the word applied in late Greek to the apex of a triangle³. Hence the coin, which shows a bird sitting on the pediment of the *aedicula*, aptly illustrates the text. On the whole it seems probable that a royal sceptre or standard, enclosed in a shrine of its own, was the central object of worship⁴. In which connexion it must be observed that a series of silver coins, bearing in Aramaic letters the name *Abd-Hadad* and representations of Atargatis, has been ascribed to a sacerdotal dynasty at Hierapolis c. 332 B.C.⁵. This attribution squares with my contention that Atargatis at Hierapolis was associated with Adad, and that the sceptre or standard of a divine king figured prominently in the same cult. A further allusion to the cult may be detected in two small bronze coins of the town, which exhibit respectively a humped bull with a crescent above it⁶ and a lion in a laurel-wreath inscribed 'of the Syrian goddess⁷.'

In Roman times her temple was plundered by Crassus, who spent many days making an inventory of its treasures 'with scales and balances⁸.' But with regard to the decline and fall of the cult no details are on record.

The old name of the town, Mabog or Mambog⁹, which had

¹ *Supra* p. 583. The exact words are: τὸ δὲ μορφήν μὲν ἰδίην οὐκ ἔχει, φορέει δὲ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν εἶδεα. ² *Supra* p. 583: ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ αὐτοῦ περιστερὴ χρυσῆ ἐπέστηκε.

³ *E.g.* Polyb. I. 42, 3, 2. 14, 8.

⁴ See now J. Garstang *The Syrian Goddess* London 1913 pp. 23 ff., 73 n. 45, who cj. that this cult-object was originally a pillar-altar with a pigeon or dove upon it (like those represented in the Hittite sculptures of Fraktin and Yarre: *ib.* fig. 4, *id.* *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 p. 150 pl. 47; J. W. Crowfoot in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 40 ff. fig. 4), later conventionalised into a Roman standard in an *aedicula* (σημῆιον = *signum*, as Prof. R. C. Bosanquet suggested).

⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. liii.

⁶ *ib.* pp. liv, 138 pl. 17, 8 (struck in the time of Antoninus Pius).

⁷ *ib.* pp. liv, 142 pl. 17, 11, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 138, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 138 pl. 17, 7 (a silver coin of Hierapolis c. 331 B.C. inscribed in Aramaic letters with the name of Alexander: the reverse type is a lion walking towards a bird perched on a flower).

⁸ Plout. v. *Crass.* 17. ⁹ V. W. Yorke in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 316 no. 22 publishes an inscription found by him at Perre (*Perrin*), which speaks of a certain Μαμ|βογέω. He suggests that Mabog or Mambog became in Greek Βαμβόκη. D. G. Hogarth in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1907—1908 xiv. 196 likewise posits Mambog as the original form.

doubtless always been current among the native Syrians, reasserted itself in post-classical days¹, and the place is still called Mumbij². Its ruins were discovered in 1699 by the Rev. H. Maundrell, who writes as follows of 'Bambych'³:

'This place has no remnants of its ancient greatness but its walls, which may be traced all round, and cannot be less than three miles in compass. Several fragments of them remain on the east side, especially at the east gate; and another piece of eighty yards long, with towers of large square stone extremely well built. On the north side I found a stone with the busts of a man and woman, large as the life; and, under, two eagles carved on it. Not far from it, on the side of a large well, was fixed a stone with three figures carved on it, in basso relievo. They were two syrens, which, twining their fishy tails together, made a seat, on which was placed, sitting, a naked woman, her arms, and the syrens' on each side mutually entwined. On the west side is a deep pit of about one hundred yards diameter. It was low, and had no water in it, and seemed to have had great buildings all round it, with the pillars and ruins of which it is now in part filled up, but not so much but that there was still water in it. Here are a multitude of subterraneous aqueducts brought to this city, the people attested no fewer than fifty. You can ride nowhere about the city without seeing them.'

R. Pococke in 1745 gives a more detailed account of his visit to 'Bambouch⁴'. After describing the walls, gates, water-channel, etc. he continues:

'At the west part of the town there is a dry bason, which seemed to have been triangular; it is close to the town wall: At one corner of it there is a ruined building, which seems to have extended into the bason, and probably was designed in order to behold with greater conveniency some religious ceremonies or public sports. This may be the lake where they had sacred fishes that were tame. About two hundred paces within the east gate there is a raised ground, on which probably stood the temple of the Syrian goddess Atargatis.... I conjectured it to be about two hundred feet in front. It is probable that this is the high ground from which they threw people headlong in their religious ceremonies, and sometimes even their own children, though they must inevitably perish. I observed a low wall running from it to the gate, so that probably it had such a grand avenue as the temple at Gerrhæ; and the enclosure of the city is irregular in this part, as if some ground had been taken in after the building of the walls to make that grand entrance; it is probable that all the space north of the temple belonged to it. A court is mentioned to the north of the temple, and a tower likewise before the temple, which was built on a terrace twelve feet high. If this tower was on the high ground I mentioned, the temple must have been west of it, of which I could see no remains; it possibly might

¹ The mediaeval variants are collected by E. B. James in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* i. 1064.

² D. G. Hogarth *loc. cit.* p. 183 ff.

³ *Early Travels in Palestine* ed. by T. Wright London 1848 p. 507.

⁴ R. Pococke *A Description of the East, and Some other Countries* London 1745 ii. 1. 166 f. He notes 'that Hierapolis in Asia minor has much the same name, being called Pambouk Calasi [The cotton castle].' See further D. G. Hogarth *loc. cit.* p. 196.

have been where there are now some ruins of a large building, which seems to have been a church with a tower; to the west of which there are some ruinous arches, which might be part of a portico.¹

In 1850 Lieut.-Col. Chesney¹ included 'Munbedj or Bambuche' in the report of his great expedition: within the city he noticed—

'four large cisterns, a fine sarcophagus, and, among other ancient remains, the scattered ruins of an acropolis, and those of two temples. Of the smaller, the enclosure and portions of seven columns remain; but it seems to possess little interest, compared with the larger, which may have been that of...the Syrian Atargatis....Amongst the remains of the latter are some fragments of massive architecture, not unlike the Egyptian, and 11 arches form one side of a square paved court, over which are scattered the shafts of columns and capitals displaying the lotus.'

Nowadays even these scanty relics of the great temple have disappeared. Dr D. G. Hogarth and Mr R. Norton in 1908 were unable to locate it. Dr Hogarth says²:

'As a result of the Circassian occupation almost all the standing remains of antiquity, noticed by travellers from Maundrell to Chesney, have disappeared. I failed to find any traces of the Theatre, the Stadium, or the two Temples. Indeed the only obvious pre-Islamic structures *in situ* are firstly, the walls of the outer *enceinte*, evidently of late construction, to judge by tombstones used therein and lately extracted by the Circassians...: these walls are banked up with silt and overgrown with grass. Secondly, scanty remains of a stepped quay-wall or revetment, with water-stairs at intervals, which surrounds a large pool, some three acres in area, in the centre of the western half of the site³.... These remains extend all along the western bank and are visible also on the southern, but are obliterated elsewhere. The pool is said to be perennial and of some depth in the centre, and it can hardly be other than the [sacred lake mentioned by the pseudo-Lucian]. I cannot say if its depth be really above 200 cubits, as the treatise alleges; but the altar in the middle, to which the votaries used to swim, has disappeared....Just before the [modern town] is reached, the ground rises abruptly to a plateau, and probably here was an inner wall, making a smaller and earlier *enceinte* round the great Temple and its immediate precinct. The position of the Temple may have been more or less where the large mosque, built about thirty years ago, now stands; but no confirmatory indications are visible. The whole eastern half of the site right up to the eastern wall, which has been greatly quarried of late, is occupied by the houses, courtyards, and gardens of modern Mumbij. In the east centre the ground rises to a low hill on which some of the better Circassian houses are built. If this were not the site of the Temple, it was probably an Acropolis. It is 'not quite so near the Sacred Lake as the mosque site'⁴.

¹ Lieut.-Colonel Chesney *The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris* London 1850 i. 420 f.

² D. G. Hogarth *loc. cit.* pp. 187, 189.

³ *Id. ib.* p. 188 fig. 1.

⁴ Dr Hogarth notes further a much defaced limestone lion near the south-east angle of the wall (*ib.* p. 188 fig. 2); four terra-cotta heads of a goddess who, to judge from the most complete specimen, was represented as clasping her breasts (*ib.* p. 190 fig. 3); sixteen inscriptions; etc.

(ε) Zeus (Adad) at Dion, Rhosos, etc.

Heliopolis and Hierapolis were not the only towns in which the Syrian Zeus was worshipped as a bull-god¹. To Dion, near Pella in Koile Syria, belongs a copper coin of Geta, showing a god who stands erect with a couple of humped bulls recumbent at his feet. He wears a *chiton* and a *himation*. On his head, which is horned, is a *kálathos*. His right hand grasps a sceptre tipped by an eagle: on his left rests a Victory holding a wreath (fig. 450)². A copper of Rhosos on the Gulf of Issos likewise represents a horned deity, who stands on a base between two reclining bulls: from his head rises a *crux ansata*; his right hand grasps a thunderbolt, his left an ear of corn (?); and on either side of him are the caps of the *Dióskouroi* (fig. 451)³. Gabala, a Syrian coast-town between Laodikeia and Paltos, worshipped a similar deity⁴. And a unique



Fig. 450.



Fig. 451.



Fig. 452.

silver tetradrachm of Antiochos xii, now in the Dresden cabinet, attests the same cult. It has for a reverse type a bearded god standing on a base of two steps between a couple of recumbent bulls. He wears a pointed head-dress, a long *chiton* with a broad knotted belt, and a *himation* buckled round his neck. Both hands are extended, and the left holds a two-leaved ear of corn (fig. 452)⁵.

¹ The deity represented on coins of Neapolis in Samaria (F. de Saulcy *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 p. 250 f. nos. 5—7 and perhaps p. 255 f. nos. 1—3, F. Lajard *Recherches sur le culte, les symboles, les attributs, et les monuments figurés de Vénus* Paris 1837 pl. 3 B, 3 and 4), Eleutheropolis (*id. ib.* p. 243 no. 2) and Nikopolis in Iudaea (F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1901 p. 13 f.) is the Zeus of Heliopolis (*supra* p. 572 n. 1).

² F. de Saulcy *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 p. 383 pl. 19, 9 ΔΕΙΗΝ|ΩΝ | CΞΗ (in the year 268 of the Pompeian era = 204 A.D.), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. pp. lxxxv, 303 pl. 38, 4, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 787.

³ Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 440 no. 8, *Choix de monn. gr.*^{1,2} pl. 7, 223, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 782.

⁴ F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 170 n. 9, citing A. L. Millin *Nouv. gall. myth.* p. 89 pl. 14 no. 16 and F. Lajard *Recherches sur le culte, les symboles, les attributs, et les monuments figurés de Vénus* Paris 1837 pl. 5, 5 (where, however, the bulls appear as horses).

⁵ Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 437 no. 121 pl. H, 15, E. Babelon *Les rois de Syrie* Paris 1890 p. clxxiii fig. 39, W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1890 x. 327 f., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 772.

(5) Characteristics of the Syrian Zeus (Adad).

As at Heliopolis¹, so at Hierapolis and elsewhere the bulls associated with Adad (Zeus) marked him as a god of thunder and fertility. The Rhosian coin, which represents him with a thunderbolt and a *crux ansata*, indicates both aspects of his being. At Hierapolis the latter was the more prominent, to judge from the local myth² and ritual³. He was here a fitting partner of Atargatis (Hera), a

¹ *Supra* p. 576 ff.

² According to Loukian. *de dea Syr.* 17 ff., the temple at Hierapolis was rebuilt by Stratonike [the second wife of Seleukos i Nikator], who was afterwards married to her step-son [Antiochos i Soter]. Stratonike was bidden by Hera in a dream to raise to her the temple at Hierapolis. The king [Seleukos] sent her thither under the charge of his friend Kombabos, a very handsome youth. Kombabos, fearing the result of this commission, mutilated himself, put his *αἰδοῖα* in a small jar along with myrrh, honey, and other perfumes, sealed it and gave it to the king as a priceless treasure to be kept against his return. The king set another seal upon it and entrusted it to his stewards. When Stratonike had been three years building the temple, Hera, angry at the delay, struck her with a passion for Kombabos. At first she concealed her feelings; but at last she made herself drunk and confessed her love. Kombabos rejected her overtures. She then threatened to lay violent hands upon herself. Whereupon he told her of his mutilation and so cured her madness. But she still loved him and enjoyed his company. Meantime the king sent for Kombabos. (Some say falsely that Stratonike accused Kombabos to him of attempting her honour: cp. the tales of Sthenoboa and Phaidra.) Kombabos was imprisoned, arraigned, and condemned to death. He then called for his treasure, broke the seal, and proved his innocence by exhibiting the contents. The king, convinced, promised to put his accusers to death, to bestow upon him much gold and silver, Assyrian raiment, and royal horses, and to grant him the right to approach himself unannounced 'even'—said he—'ἤν γυναικὶ ἅμα εὐνάξωμαι.' Kombabos finished the temple and in future dwelt there. A bronze statue of him by Hermokles of Rhodes, which stands in the temple, shows a feminine form in masculine attire; for such was his aspect. But a stranger woman, who once came to a festival, fell in love with him and, on discovering his condition, slew herself; so he, discouraged at it, changed his practice and put on a woman's dress. His friends showed their sympathy with him by mutilating themselves and sharing his mode of life. (Others tell a sacred tale to the effect that Hera loved Kombabos and, to prevent him from being lonely, sent upon his friends this desire for self-mutilation.)

In this myth Kombabos is obviously a Syrian parallel to Attis, who, according to one version (Prudent. *peristeph.* 10. 196 ff.), unmanned himself to escape the embraces of Kybebe: cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1542 n. 3. Hera, *i.e.* Atargatis, here corresponds with Kybebe. The transference of the tale from the goddess Hera to the mortal Stratonike perhaps implies that the Syrian queen played the part of the goddess. Those who identified Atargatis with Rhea ascribed the foundation of her temple and cult to Attis (Loukian. *de dea Syr.* 15).

³ The statements of the pseudo-Lucian with regard to the ritual at Hierapolis may here be summarised:

In this *Propylaia* stand two *φαλλοί*, dedicated by Dionysos to his step-mother Hera, and reaching to a height of thirty fathoms. Twice a year a man climbs up one of them and spends seven days on the top. Most persons say that he associates up there with the gods, invoking their blessing upon the whole of Syria, and that the gods, since he is near them, hear his prayers. Others connect the custom with Deukalion's flood, when men, to escape the water, climbed mountains and high trees [cp. *supra* p. 584 n. 1]. Lucian compares rather the *νευρόσπαστα* of the Greeks, small wooden men with large *αἰδοῖα*

goddess whom the Greeks described as 'Nature or the Cause that made out of moisture the first principles and seeds of

seated on the *φαλλοί* raised for Dionysos, and notes that on the right of the temple at Hierapolis is seated a small bronze figure of a man with a large *αἰδοῖον*. However that may be, the Syrian climbs his *φαλλός*, as an Arab or an Egyptian climbs a date-palm. On the top he erects a hut and receives offerings. A man standing below shouts up the name of each donor. He, up aloft, invokes a blessing upon the latter and, during his prayer, beats a vessel of bronze, which makes a great clanging reverberation. He keeps a sleepless vigil; for, should he sleep, a scorpion would climb up and attack him (*ib.* 16 and 28 f.). [In the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1912 xxvii Arch. Anz. pp. 13—16 R. Hartmann attempts to show that a bronze statuette at Stuttgart represents this *φαλλοβάτης*—an improbable view. The *νευρόσπαστα* in question may, I think, be illustrated from a black-figured *kýlix* at Florence published by H. Heydemann *Mitteilungen aus den Antikensammlungen in Ober- und Mittelitalien* Halle 1879 p. 95 no. 50 (Preuss in the *Archiv für Anthropologie* N.F. 1903 i. 129 ff. figs., A. Dieterich *Mutter Erde* Leipzig and Berlin 1905 p. 107 ff. figs.) and Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1902 ii. 78 ff. figs. 262 a, 262 b: cp. *Hdt.* 2. 48, *Plout. de Is. et Os.* 12, 36. F. Cumont —E. Cumont *Voyage d'exploration archéologique dans le Pont et la petite Arménie* ii. 337 figure cylinders of enamelled terra cotta, c. 50^m high, found at Erzincgân and thought by the Turks to be *φαλλοί* used in the cult of the Syrian goddess. On the beaten gong see the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 5—28.]

Outside the temple is a large bronze altar and countless bronze statues of kings and priests, including Semiramis, who claimed divine honours, Helene, Hekabe, Andromache, Paris, Hektor, Achilles, Nireus son of Aglaïa, Philomele and Prokne as women, Tereus as a bird, Semiramis again, Kombabos, Stratonike, Alexander, Sardanapallos. In the courtyard great bulls, horses, eagles, bears, and lions roam about: they are all sacred and harm no man (*ib.* 39—41).

Numerous priests slay victims, or bear libations, or are 'fire-bearers,' or wait beside the altar: more than 300 of them come to the sacrifice. All wear white garments and a felt cap, except the chief priest, who alone wears a purple robe and a golden tiara. Besides, there are other sacred persons—flute-players, pipers, eunuchs and frenzied women (who dote upon them: *ib.* 22). All come to the sacrifice, which takes place twice a day. During the sacrifice to Zeus they keep silence; during that to Hera they sing, play the flute, and shake rattles (*ib.* 42—44).

Near the temple is a lake containing sacred fish of various kinds. The large ones have separate names and come when called. One of them is decked with gold, having a golden object attached to his fin. The lake is said to be over 200 fathoms in depth. In the midst of it is a stone altar, thought by many to be floating on the water. It is always wreathed and perfumed: many persons under a vow swim to it daily and bring the wreaths. Important festivals are held here, known as 'Descents to the Lake,' because all the deities come down to the lake. Hera arrives first to save the fish; for, if Zeus saw them before her, they would all perish. He too comes to look at them; but she blocks the way and implores him to depart. On the occasion of their greatest festivals [cp. *supra* p. 584 n. 1] they go down to the sea. Each man returns bearing a vessel of water sealed with wax. A sacred 'cock,' living on the lake, receives the vessels, inspects their seals, and earns many *mnai* for himself by unfastening them. The men then take the vessels to the temple, pour their libations, offer sacrifices, and so return home (*ib.* 45—48).

The greatest festival known to the writer is, however, celebrated at the beginning of spring and named the 'Pyre' or the 'Torch.' They cut down great trees and erect them in the courtyard. On these they hang live goats, sheep, etc. together with birds, garments, and objects in gold or silver. When all is ready, they bear the deities round the trees, which they fire and consume on the spot. This festival is attended by a multitude from Syria and the surrounding districts: all who come bring with them their own deities and images of the same. On certain specified days the crowd assembles in the

all things' and again as 'her who gave mankind their earliest knowledge of all that is good for them'.

(7) *Ba'al-tars and Zeus Térésios.*

Akin to the Syrian Adad, though not identical with him, was a god worshipped since Hittite times in Kilikia and the

precinct, but outside the temple: here many eunuchs and sacred men perform their orgies, cutting their fore-arms and striking each other on the back. Many, standing by, play the flute; many beat drums; others sing inspired and holy songs. On these days too, while the eunuchs are raising their din, madness falls on many a young man, who flings aside his garments and with a great cry rushes into the midst of them. He seizes a sword; for there are swords in plenty placed there on purpose. With this he mutilates himself and runs through the town holding in his hands the parts that he has cut off. When he has flung them away into a house, he receives from that house feminine attire and a woman's ornaments (*ib.* 49—51).

A dead eunuch is buried in a peculiar fashion. His comrades carry him out to the suburbs, set him down on the bier, cast stones over him, and return. They may not enter the temple-precinct for the next seven days. If any of them sees a corpse, he does not enter the precinct that day, but purifies himself on the morrow and enters it. If one of their own household has died, they wait thirty days, shave their heads, and then enter. The beasts that they sacrifice are oxen both male and female, goats, and sheep. Swine only they deem unclean and neither sacrifice nor eat: others, however, deem them not unclean but sacred. They regard the dove as an object of the greatest sanctity: they will not even touch it; or, if they do so by accident, they are unclean throughout that day. Hence doves dwell with them, enter their houses, and feed for the most part on the ground (*ib.* 52—54).

When a man goes to Hierapolis to attend a festival, on first entering the town he shaves his head and eyebrows and then sacrifices a sheep. Most of it he cuts up and eats, but the fleece he lays on the ground. Kneeling upon it, he draws the feet and head of the beast over his own head; and at the same time offering prayer he asks the deity to accept his present sacrifice and promises a greater one in future. After that he wreathes his own head and the heads of all those that have come on the same errand with him. From the moment when he quits his own country for the journey he must use cold water both for bathing and for drinking and must always sleep on the ground, it being forbidden to mount upon a bed till he has reached his home again. In Hierapolis he is received by a host whom he does not know. Certain hosts are there assigned to each town, the office being hereditary. Those that discharge it are called by the Assyrians 'teachers,' since they explain the rites to their guests. They do not offer sacrifice in the sanctuary itself; but, having brought the victim to the altar and poured a libation over it, they lead it home alive, and, on reaching every man his own dwelling, sacrifice it and pray. Another sacrifice is performed thus: they wreath the victims and cast them alive from the *Propylæa*, the victims being killed by the fall. Some even cast their own children down hence, but not as they do the beasts: they put them in a sack and lower them by hand, jeering at them the while and declaring that they are not children, but oxen [cp. *supra* p. 442 nn. 1, 2]. They are all tattooed, some on the wrist, others on the neck. Just as at Troizen lads and lasses must not wed till they have shorn their hair for Hippolytos, so at Hierapolis young men offer the first hairs of their beards, while girls leave a sacred tress uncut from their birth onwards. On reaching the sanctuary they cut the hair and, placing it in vessels of silver or often of gold, nail it to the temple-wall and inscribe it with their names [cp. *supra* p. 23 ff.] (*ib.* 55—60).

¹ Plout. v. *Crass.* 17.

neighbouring districts. His rock-cut effigy (fig. 453)¹ is still to be



Fig. 453.

¹ L. Messerschmidt *Corpus inscriptionum Hettitarum* Berlin 1900 p. 30 f. pl. 34, *id. ib.* Berlin 1906 pp. 4—7 (cp. a second relief near Ibriz, which appears to be an exact duplicate of the first: *id. ib.* Berlin 1906 p. 19 f.), E. J. Davis 'On a New Hamathite Inscription at Ibrez' in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 1876 iv. 336—346, *id.* *Life in Asiatic Turkey* London 1879 pp. 245—260, W. M. Ramsay 'Basrelief of Ibriz' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1885 xliii. 203—208 pl. 13, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 723—729 fig. 354, W. M. Ramsay—D. G. Hogarth 'Prehellenic Monuments of Cappadocia' in the *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes* 1903 xiv. 77 ff., 85 f. pls. 3, 4, A. H. Sayce in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 1906 xxviii. 133 f. with pl., W. M. Ramsay *Pauline and other Studies* London 1906 p. 172 f., *id.* *Luke the Physician* London 1908 pp. 171—179 pl. 21, Frazer *Golden Bough*²: Adonis Attis Osiris² pp. 93—

seen at Ivriž, where a singularly fertile glen runs far into the northern flank of Mount Tauros. Prof. J. Garstang describes the scene in graphic language:

'At the foot of the rock a stream of water, clear and cool, bursts out in tremendous volume, and, supplemented by other similar sources, becomes in a hundred yards a raging and impassable torrent, roaring with a wonderful noise as it foams and leaps over the rocks in its course. Before joining the main stream of the valley it washes at a bend the foot of a bare rock, upon which from the opposite side there may be seen the famous sculptures, the most striking of all known Hittite works, and one of the most imposing monuments of the ancient East.

The treatment of these sculptures is all in relief. In composition there are two persons represented: the Peasant-god, a gigantic figure fourteen feet in height, distinguished by the bunches of grapes and bearded wheat which he holds, and the King-priest, an heroic figure eight feet in height, facing towards the god, with clasped hands raised in adoration or thanksgiving for his bounty.

The god is clad in the short tunic, short-sleeved vest, pointed cap, and shoes with turned-up toes, characteristic of the godlike figures on all Hittite sculptures. But here the sculptor has elaborated his theme, and has worked into it ideas or conceptions which we may reasonably suspect were derived ultimately from the East through the intermediary of Cilicia. The figure is squat and stolid, and the face almost Semitic....Perhaps the most peculiar and Oriental detail is to be found in the horns which decorate the helmet, of which four pairs are visible. In front of the right foot is the suggestion of a bolted implement, possibly a plough....

There are three short inscriptions accompanying these figures. In that which is carved before the face of the god, Professors Sayce and Jensen both find the name of Sandes in the first line (the W-like sign below the divided oval that signifies divinity). In the next line, as in the overlap of the first and second lines of inscription behind the king, we find the same name (read Ayminyas) as ...in the inscriptions of Bor and of Bulghar-Madên. This point is of importance in considering the history of the Hittite peoples when, as it seems, the central authority was no longer at Boghaz-Keui. For the date of these sculptures, if only from their close analogy in treatment to those of Sakje-Geuzi, may be put down to the tenth or ninth century B.C. It would seem indeed that we are here drawn into relation with the kingdom of (Greater) Cilicia, which, with Tyana probably as capital, took the place of the Hatti-state within the Halys, as the dominant Hittite state at the beginning of the first millennium B.C.'

Sandas was clearly a god of fertility¹. The bovine horns on his tiara, the grape-bunches and corn-ears in his hands, the plough(?) at his feet, all point in that direction. At Tarsos in the fourth century B.C., while retaining his old attributes the grapes and the corn, he acquired the characteristics of Zeus. On silver coins

97, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 330 f. fig. 2, J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 pp. 191—195 pl. 57 (from a cast at Berlin).

¹ So e.g. J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.*, E. Meyer *Geschichte des Alterthums* Stuttgart 1909 i. 2². 641 ff.

struck in Kilikia by the satrap Datamés, 378—374 B.C. (figs. 454, 455)¹, he appears under the name *Ba'al-tars* enthroned with an eagle-sceptre in his right hand, a corn-ear and a bunch of grapes in his left: beside him is an incense-burner, and beneath his throne a variable symbol—a pomegranate-flower, a bull's head, the fore-



Fig. 454.



Fig. 455.



part of a humped bull, the entire bull crouching, a knuckle-bone, a lion, a bird. The whole design is surrounded by a circle with projections like battlements, probably meant for the town-wall. Silver coins issued by Mazaios² as satrap of Kilikia, 361—334 B.C.³, and Trans-Euphratesia, 351—334 B.C. (figs. 456, 457)⁴, together with



Fig. 456.



Fig. 457.



others issued by Arsames as satrap of Kilikia, 334—331 B.C.⁵, show the same deity enthroned with a lotos-sceptre and grouped in various ways with one or more of his attributes—an ear of corn, a bunch of grapes, and an eagle. On coins struck by Mazaios as general of Dareios in Syria and at Babylon, 334—331 B.C.⁶, and as governor

¹ *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 409 ff. pl. 109, 4—10, 12—15, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 167 f. pl. 29, 11—15, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 547, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 730 f. fig. 322. Fig. 454 is from a specimen in my collection; fig. 455 = *Babelon op. cit.* ii. 2. 413 f. pl. 109, 14.

² For the coinage of Mazaios etc. I follow the classification recently proposed by *Babelon op. cit.* ii. 2. 443 ff.

³ *Id. ib.* ii. 2. 445 ff. pl. 111, 14—20, pl. 112, 1—8.

⁴ *Id. ib.* ii. 2. 451 ff. pl. 112, 12—20, 22, pl. 113, 1 f., 5—11. I figure two specimens in my collection.

⁵ *Id. ib.* ii. 2. 461 ff. pl. 113, 13—18, pl. 114, 1—3.

⁶ *Id. ib.* ii. 2. 471 ff. pl. 114, 15—20.

of Babylon under Alexander the Great, 331—328 B.C.¹, *Ba'al-tars* loses his distinctive attributes altogether. And on later pieces struck by the generals of Alexander, *e.g.* by Seleukos in 321—316 and 312—306 B.C. (fig. 458)², he drops not only his attributes but

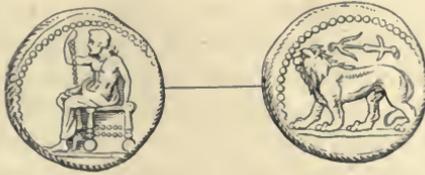


Fig. 458.

also his title *Ba'al-tars* and appears as a purely Hellenic Zeus. In the third century B.C. he was known at Tarsos as Zeus *Térsios*³.

The identification of Sandas with Zeus was due partly to the fact that Sandas was the chief god of the district⁴ and partly to the

¹ *Id. ib.* ii. 2. 475 ff. pl. 114, 21 f.

² *Id. ib.* ii. 2. 481 ff. pl. 115, 3—5, 7 f., 10 f., 14—17, 21—25. I figure a specimen in my collection.

³ Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 867 Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ φησι τὴν κλήσιν τῇ πόλει εἶναι ἀπὸ Διὸς Τερσίον τοῖς ἐκεῖ καλουμένοι. οἱ δὲ φασὶ Τερσὸν ταπρῶτα διὰ τοῦ εἰ στοιχείου ὀνομασθῆναι τὴν πόλιν, διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐκεῖ πρῶτους συναγαγόντας καρπὸν χλωρὸν τερσῆναι, ὃ ἔστι ξηρᾶναι, καὶ εἰς χειμῶνος ἀποθέσθαι τροφήν. Cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ταρσός.

Among the commonest types of the later copper coins of Tarsos is that of Zeus enthroned (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. pp. 177, 181 ff., 190, 192 pls. 32, 12, 33, 4—9, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 548 f. pl. 60, 12, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 732 f.).

⁴ Another Cilician god, Olymbros, who passed as being the brother of Sandas (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἄδανα... ἔστι δὲ ὁ Ἄδανος Γῆς καὶ Οὐρανοῦ παῖς, καὶ Ὅστασος καὶ Σάνδης καὶ Κρόνος καὶ Ῥέα καὶ Ἰαπετός καὶ Ὀλυμβρος), was worshipped by natives of Anazarbos as Zeus Ὀλύβριος or Ὀλύβρις (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 991 a small marble *stèle* found on the Esquiline Διὶ Ὀλυβρί(ω) or Ὀλύβρι τοῦ Κιλικῶν | ἔθνους τῆς | λαμπροτάτης | μητροπόλεως Ἄναζαρ|βέων Ἀυρ(ήλιος) | Μάρκος σάτωρ | εὐχῆς χάριν). High up in an almost inaccessible cave on the mountain behind Anazarbos (*Anazarza*) is another dedication to Zeus (E. L. Hicks in the *Jour. Hell. Stud.* 1890 xi. 238 no. 4 Διὶ καὶ Ἡρᾷ Γαμηλίᾳ καὶ Ἄρει θεοῖς πολιούχοις | Ῥηγείνα Ἀσκληπιάδου | σκηπητροφοροῦσα ἱερὰ ὑπὲρ | τῆς πόλεως [τε] καὶ τῆς | βουλῆς, ἐπὶ



Fig. 459.

ἱερέως θεῶν | Ἀγρέων Σείτου Ταυρίσκου· | ἔτους βορ = 153 A.D. or possibly 192 A.D.). And the θεὸς Καταιβάτης is coupled with Persephone in an inscription on the 'tomb of the eunuch' (R. Heberdey and A. Wilhelm *Reisen in Kilikien* Wien 1896 p. 38 no. 94 D). An imperial copper of Anazarbos struck by Claudius (?) has a bust of Zeus, laureate, placed in front of a rock crowned with a fortress (fig. 459 = Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 349 no. 10 pl. F, 20: on this fortress see V. Langlois 'Anazarbe et ses environs' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1856 xiii. 361—370 pl. 290 f.). Other Zeus-types occur on the coinage of the town (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. pp. cvī, 31, 34 pls. 5, 10, 6, 4, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 527, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 716 f. I figure an unpublished specimen

fact that Zeus too was a giver of fertility¹. But this identification² though favoured by the satraps and generals, did not adequately express the popular conception of Sandas, whose prototype in the Hittite religion appears to have been the son-god rather than the father-god³. Hence side by side with Zeus, the supreme dispenser of all things good, the Tarsians worshipped Herakles, the more human and approachable averter of all things evil. The coins struck by Datames, which represented *Ba'al-tars* as a Zeus-like deity seated on a throne, supplement this obverse type by a reverse of exceptional interest (figs. 454, 455). Within a square frame surmounted by antefixes etc. and probably intended for a sacred edifice are two male figures with an incense-burner between them.

in my collection (fig. 460): obv. [ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ Ϝ?] | ΑΝΑΖΑΡΒΩ head of Zeus, laureate, to right; rev. ΕΤΟΥΣ | ΒΑΡ (=132=113/114 A.D.) head of Tyche, veiled and turreted); and it would seem reasonable to conclude that on the akropolis



Fig. 460.

of Anazarbos there was an important cult of Zeus, who had here dispossessed Olymbros. See further A. von Domaszewski 'Zeus Ὀλύβριος' in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1911 pp. 10—12.

¹ A coin of Titiopolis in Kilikia, struck by Hadrian, shows Zeus with sceptre and *cornu copiae* (fig. 461 = W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1900 xx. 293 no. 29



Fig. 461.

pl. 14, 10, Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 494, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 734)—an attribute which he there shares with the local Tyche (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 231 pl. 38, 7): cp. *supra* p. 501 f. pl. xxxi, Zeus on a copper of the Italian Lokroi enthroned with a sceptre in his left hand and a *cornu copiae* behind him (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 369, Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 161 pl. 113, 13), an archaistic Jupiter bearing a *patera* in his right hand, a *cornu copiae* in his left, on a base at Berlin which probably dates from the reign of Commodus and is inscribed I. o. m. | summo | exsuper[an]tissim[o] (R. Kekulé von Stradonitz 'Über das Relief mit der Inschrift C. I. L. vi. 426' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1901 p. 387 ff., F. Cumont in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 323 ff., A. v. Domaszewski *ib.* 1911 xiv. 313, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 32 no. 2), another archaising Jupiter, with *kálathos* on head, *patera* in left hand, over which hovers a butterfly, and *cornu copiae* in right, on an engraved gem at St Petersburg (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pé.* 1873 p. 150, *ib.* 1877, p. 100, Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 134 no. 3 pl. 123, cp. *ib.* p. 124 no. 3 pl. 120); and a stone statuette from Frangissa in Kypros showing *Ba'al-hammân* between two rams with a *cornu copiae* in his left hand (Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* p. 474 pl. 191, 4, cp. *supra* p. 354 pl. xxvi, 1).

² If Sandas at Ivrtz had corn-ears, grapes and a plough (*supra* p. 594 f.), Zeus had corn-ears at Heliopolis (*supra* pp. 552, 558 f., 569, 572), grapes and a plough in Phrygia (*supra* pp. 4 n. 2, 399 f.).

³ J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 pp. 195, 238, 240, 378 f.

On the right stands Datames himself in *chiton* and *himation* raising his hand with a gesture of adoration. On the left is the nude form of Herakles with arm outstretched towards the satrap. Before Datames is his name in Aramaic lettering—*Tddmw*¹. Behind Herakles on certain specimens (fig. 455) room is found for a second Aramaic word—*ana*². Now it has been universally supposed that *Ana* must be the name of the naked god, and attempts have been made to connect him with the Assyrian *Anu*³. But I am informed by my friends Prof. R. H. Kennett, Prof. F. C. Burkitt, and Mr N. McLean, that *ana* is ordinary Aramaic for 'I (am),' and that 'I am Datames' would have been the normal commencement of a royal or quasi-royal proclamation. I would therefore suggest that this much-disputed⁴ type simply represents Datames announcing himself as a worshipper of Herakles (Sandas).

Sandas as figured on coins of Tarsos from about 164 B.C.



Fig. 462.



Fig. 463.



Fig. 464.

onwards (figs. 462—468)⁵ bears a much closer resemblance to the ancient Hittite son-god⁶. He stands on the back of a lion, which

¹ I have to thank my friend Mr N. McLean, Lecturer in Aramaic to the University of Cambridge, for examining a number of these coins and deciphering their legend. Mr McLean tells me that it might possibly be read as *Tdnmu*, but that there is in Aramaic no such use of a sonant *n* as would justify the transcription *Tadymu* (Head *Hist. num.*² p. 731).

² This word is placed either in the narrow space at the back of Herakles' knee (Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 413 f. pl. 109, 13 and 15) or outside the frame behind Herakles (*id. ib.* pl. 109, 14=my fig. 455).

³ E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* Paris 1893 pp. clvi—clix, *id. Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 413 ff., G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. lxxx, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 731.

⁴ P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 171 pl. 10, 29 regards as plausible an interpretation put forward by Honoré d'Albert, duc de Luynes *Numismatique des satrapies et de la Phénicie* Paris 1846 p. 20, *viz.* that Sardanapalos represented by the Greek artist as an effeminate Zeus or Dionysos is here snapping his fingers (Athen. 530 A ff.) at Herakles, who exhorts him to better things! But such moralising is, as Prof. Gardner admits, 'a rare or unprecedented occurrence among Greek coins.' Frankly, it is unthinkable.

⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. pp. 178 f., 186, 206 pls. 32, 13—16, 33, 1, 34, 2, 36, 9, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 548 pl. 60, 11, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 732 f., P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 206 pl. 13, 20.

⁶ In the rock-carvings of Iasily Kaya near Boghaz-Keui the Hittite son-god stands on the back of a lioness (or panther—if the animal is really turned as in Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 637 fig. 313; for the panther, as opposed to the lion, in early art is

is both winged and horned. He is draped and wears a tall head-dress. He carries bow-case and sword, and grasps a double-axe in his left hand. Occasionally also, as befits a god of fertility, he holds a branch¹ or flower (fig. 463)² or wreath (fig. 464)³. He thus differs widely from the Grecised representation of him as Herakles. Indeed, we should not know him for the same deity, were it not that he is sometimes nude (fig. 463)⁴ and always stretches forth his right hand in what is clearly a characteristic gesture⁵.

Certain coins struck at Tarsos by the Seleucid kings of Syria from Alexandros i Balas (150—146 B.C.) to Antiochos ix Kyzikenos (113—95 B.C.) show Sandas between two small cones or altars on



Fig. 465.



Fig. 466.

a pyramidal structure topped by an eagle with spread wings (figs. 465, 466)⁶. This erection has been thought to represent the 'Pyre' made for Herakles (Sandas) at the Tarsian festival of *Pyrdi*.

normally represented with his head full-face, not in profile: see E. Pottier 'Histoire d'une bête' in the *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne* 1910 p. 419, H. G. Spearing *The Childhood of Art* London 1912 p. 138 ff.). He wears a short tunic, shoes with upturned toes, and a conical fluted hat. He grasps a staff in his outstretched right hand and a double-axe in his left, while a short dagger hangs by his belt (J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 p. 222 f. pl. 65, cp. p. 228 f. pl. 71; bibliography *ib.* p. 396).

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 179 pl. 32, 16.

² *Ib.* p. 179 pl. 33, 1 (flower with three petals), Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 70 pl. 12, 7 (= my fig. 463).

³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 178 pl. 32, 14, p. 186 pl. 34, 2, p. 206 pl. 36, 9, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 548 pl. 60, 11, Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *op. cit.* p. 70 f. pl. 12, 8, 9.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 179 pl. 33, 1, Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *op. cit.* p. 70 pl. 12, 7.

⁵ I take this gesture to be expressive of power. In the Old Testament a 'stretched out arm' is constantly found with that connotation (Ex. 6. 6, Deut. 4. 34, 5. 15, 7. 19, 9. 29, 11. 2, 1 Kings 8. 42, 2 Kings 17. 36, *alib.*).

⁶ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 180 f. pl. 33, 2, 3, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 548, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 72 pl. 28, 8, p. 78 pl. 21, 6, p. 89 pl. 24, 3, p. 112, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 732 f., P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 206 pl. 14, 17, Anson *Num. Gr.* v pl. 2, 50 f., 53—55.

⁷ So e.g. P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 206, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 733 ('probably the pyre' etc.). Mr G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc.

Dion Chrysostomos, the only author who mentions this pyre, does so in an address to the inhabitants of Tarsos¹:

'What think you? If, as we may well suppose and as men declare, founders—be they heroes or gods—often visit the states that they have founded, though none can see them, at sacrifices and certain public festivals; if, then, your own first founder Herakles were to come here, say during the Pyre, which you make for him so handsomely,—think you he would be best pleased at hearing that the city has got this reputation?'

Dr Frazer has conjectured that 'at this festival, as at the festival of Melcarth, the god was burned in effigy on his own pyre².' That may have been so: but no ancient writer actually states that a god was burnt in effigy at Melqart's festival³, and as to Tarsos—



Fig. 467.



Fig. 468.

Dion's words rather imply that the deity was not visible at all. In any case the erection of the Tarsian coins can hardly be identified with the pyre of Herakles. To begin with, specimens struck by Marcus Aurelius (fig. 467)⁴, Tranquillina (fig. 468)⁵, etc.⁶ show the supposed pyre covered by an elaborate baldachin as if it were a permanent structure.

p. lxxxvi speaks with more reserve ('either a permanent monument, or the pyre' etc.). Mr G. Macdonald in the *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 548 apparently rejects the identification with Herakles' pyre ('Monument...surmounted by pyramidal structure,' etc.).

¹ Dion. Chrys. *or.* 33 p. 23 f. Reiske *τί ἂν οἴεσθε, εἰ καθάπερ εἰκὸς ἐστί καὶ φασὶ τοὺς οἰκιστὰς ἤρωας ἢ θεοὺς πολλάκις ἐπιστρέφουσθαι τὰς αὐτῶν πόλεις τοῖς ἄλλοις ὄντας ἀφανεῖς ἐν τε θυσίαις καὶ τισιν ἑορταῖς δημοτελέειν, ἐπεὶ ὁ ἀρχηγὸς ὑμῶν Ἡρακλῆς παραγένειτο ἦτοι Πυρᾶς οὐραίας ἢ πάντων καλῆν αὐτῷ ποιεῖτε <ἤ.....>, σφόδρα γε ἂν αὐτὸν ἠσθῆναι τοιαύτης ἀκούσαντα φωνῆς; Reiske prefers to eject ἦτοι as an intrusion from some *scholion*.*

² Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Adonis Attis Osiris² p. 99.

³ *Id. ib.* pp. 84—90 'raises a strong presumption, though it cannot be said to amount to a proof, that a practice of burning a deity, and especially Melcarth, in effigy or in the person of a human representative, was observed at an annual festival in Tyre and its colonies.'

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 190 pl. 34, 10.

⁵ *Id. ib.* p. 221 pl. 37, 9, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 555 pl. 60, 18. I figure a specimen in the McClean collection.

⁶ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 224 no. 305 Trajan Decius, p. 225 no. 310 Herennius Etruscus.

Again, the eagle on its apex resembles the eagle on the pyramidal roof above the stone of Zeus *Kásios* at Seleukeia Pieria¹. Finally, the whole Tarsian structure is quite unlike any other pyres figured on Greek or Roman money², but both in form and in decoration so strikingly similar to the pyramids of Jupiter *Dolichenus*³ that we are fully justified in explaining it by the help of their analogy.

If Sandas at Tarsos had among his attributes both grape-bunches and a pyramid topped by an eagle, we may perhaps venture to connect his name with another Cilician coin-type (figs. 469—474)⁴, in which appears a pyramid flanked by two birds or



Fig. 469.



Fig. 470.



Fig. 471.



Fig. 472.



Fig. 473.



Fig. 474.

by two grape-bunches⁵. Certain examples of this coinage (fig. 472) exhibit on the pyramid a symbol resembling the three-petalled flower sometimes held by Sandas⁶.

¹ Append. B Syria.

² For the pyre of Zeus *Strátios* as shown on coins of Amaseia see the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 79 f., *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 296, 306 f. (add now Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* pp. 27, 32, 35 f., 38 ff. pls. 4, 22, 5, 12—14, 26, 6, 1—4, 7—10, 12 f.): the only hint of a pyramidal top is on a specimen struck by Caracalla (*ib.* p. 39 pl. 6, 3, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus*, etc. p. 11 pl. 2, 4). Roman CONSECRATIO-pyres (listed by Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 806—809, vii. 1067 f., Suppl. ii. 17 f.) are regularly staged towers, not pyramids.

³ *Infra* p. 615 ff.

⁴ Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 869 f. pl. 137, 12—14, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia*, etc. pp. cxvii ff., 96 pl. 16, 1—4, *Anson Num. Gr.* v pl. 4, 120—123, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 717. The attribution of these anepigraphic coins is doubtful. Most numismatists now assign them to Mallos, but on inadequate grounds—see Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 435 f., who proposes Aphrodisias and is followed by *Head loc. cit.*

⁵ On the evolution of these birds and grape-bunches from mere granulated patches see the careful note of Mr G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia*, etc. p. cxix.

⁶ Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 869 f. pl. 137, 14, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia*, etc. p. 96 pl. 16, 3, *Anson Num. Gr.* v pl. 4, 122, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 717. Cp. the plant-sign discussed by Sir Arthur Evans *Scripta Minoa* Oxford 1909 i. 215 f. ('Catalogue of Hieroglyphic Signs' no. 92).

The significance of the pyramid as a cult-object is uncertain. I am disposed to think that, like the Babylonian *zikkurat* or 'high'-place¹, it was the conventionalised form of a mountain², originally viewed as the dwelling-place of the deity. Sandas' prototype, the son-god of Boghaz-keui, stands on the back of a lioness, which itself is standing on a mountain-range³. Sandas' own effigy is carved on the rock-walls of Ivriz at the foot of Mount Tauros⁴. Such a god might be suitably represented in relief on a stone pyramid at Tarsos.



Fig. 475.

It is possible, though not certain, that Sandas was sometimes called Di-Sandas⁵, the prefix serving to emphasise his relation to Zeus. If so, a parallel might be sought among such compound names of deities as Dio-Pan⁶, Zeno-Poseidon⁷, etc.⁸

¹ M. Jastrow *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, New York and London 1911 p. 282 ff.

² A coin of Kaisareia in Kappadokia, struck in 113 A.D., shows a pyramid (*Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 581 no. 3), which is perhaps equivalent to the type of Mount Argaios on other coins of the same town (*ib.* ii. 581 ff. pl. 62, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. pp. xxxvii ff., 45 ff. pl. 8 ff.).

³ *Infra* p. 604 f.

⁴ *Supra* p. 594 f.

⁵ Hieron. *chron. ann. Abr.* 509 Hercules cognomento Desanaus in Phoenice clarus habetur, unde ad nostram usque memoriam a Cappadocibus et Heliensibus (*v. H.* Helinensibus, Aliensibus) Desanaus (Wernicke cj. Desandus) dicitur, Synkell. *chron.* 153 D (i. 290 Dindorf) Ἡρακλέα τινὲς φασιν ἐν Φοινίκη γνωρίζεσθαι Δισανδᾶν ἐπιλεγόμενον, ὡς καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὑπὸ Καππαδοκῶν καὶ Ἰλιῶν (Movers cj. Λυδῶν, Ahrens Κιλικῶν), Euseb. *chron.* vers. Armen. (ii. 28 Schöne) Hercules in Phoenice cognoscebatur Desandas appellatus: quique hactenus quidem a Cappadocibus et Heliensibus (ita) nuncupatur.

F. C. Movers *Die Phönizier* Berlin 1841 i. 460 suggested that in Synkell. *loc. cit.* Δισανδᾶν was a false reading for Σανδᾶν due to dittography (ΔΙ=the ΑΙ of γνωρίζεσθαι). But his suggestion is unconvincing.

⁶ *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4538 (a rock-cut inscription from the grotto of Pan at Βάνιαι, the ancient Kaisareia Paneas)=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* i. 343 τήνδε θεᾶν (perhaps Echo) ἀνέθηκε φιλενήχῃ Διόπανι | Οὐκτωρ ἀρητήρ Λυσιμάχοιο γόνου.

⁷ *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 278, and especially W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1224—1230.

⁸ H. Euser in the *Strena Helbigiana Lipsiae* 1900 p. 315 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1093.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that Sandas, though essentially a god of fertility, was also in Hellenistic times connected with the sun¹. The eagle on his pyramid was presumably solar, for, as Monsieur R. Dussaud has proved, the king of birds had constantly this significance in Levantine art of the Graeco-Roman age². To cite but one example: a bronze brought from Nizib by Monsieur L. de Contenson (fig. 475)³ shows a splendid eagle on a discoid base, which bears the name *Hélios* and probably represents a sacred stone, perhaps that of Emesa⁴. Again, the eight-rayed star that appears on the coins besides the flower-holding Sandas⁵ may also fairly be reckoned as a solar symbol.

(θ) Zeus *Dolichaîos* and Iupiter *Dolichenus*.

Zeus *Dolichaîos*⁶ or *Dolochenós*⁷, better known as Iupiter *Dolichenus*⁸, furnishes another example of a Hittite god surviving into the Graeco-Roman age. He seems to have been originally akin to, or even one with, the Hittite father-god⁹, though—as we shall see—he bears some resemblance to the Hittite son-god also. In the central scene of the rock-carvings near Boghaz-keui (fig. 476)¹⁰

¹ Various scholars from F. Creuzer (*Symbolik und Mythologie*³ Leipzig and Darmstadt 1840 ii. 490, 634) to W. Wright (*The Empire of the Hittites*² London 1886 pp. 181, 186 n. 1) have held that Sandas was from the first a sun-god (see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 330).

² R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 134 ff. = *id.* *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 pp. 15—23 ('L'aigle symbole du dieu solaire'), *supra* pp. 191 fig. 138, 206 fig. 150, 305 fig. 237, 341 n. 7, p. 565 fig. 432.

³ R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 141 f. fig. 9 = *id.* *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 p. 22 f. fig. 9. The bronze, inclusive of the base, is 0.10^m high.

⁴ *Id. ib.* Additions et Corrections p. (67).

⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 179 pl. 33, 1, Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen* Leipzig 1889 p. 70 pl. 12, 7 (= my fig. 463).

⁶ Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δολιχῆ.

⁷ *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1891 xiv. 37.

⁸ The most complete monograph on Iupiter *Dolichenus* is A. H. Kan *De Iovis Dolicheni cultu* Groningae 1901 pp. 1—109. See also Custos Seidl 'Über den Dolichenus-Cult' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1854 xii. 4—90 pls. 1—6, *id. ib.* xiii. 233—260 pls. 1 f., suppl. pl. 1 f., E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1191 ff., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 271 f., S. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 329—332, F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1276—1281, and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1583 n. 3.

⁹ Kan *op. cit.* p. 2 ff. 'Iupiter autem Dolichenus idem est ac deus summus Hittitarum.' Etc.

¹⁰ L. Messerschmidt *Corpus inscriptionum Hettiticarum* Berlin 1900 p. 21 ff. pl. 27, B, pl. 29, 9—11, J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 p. 214 pl. 65 f. with bibliography *ib.* p. 396. The central scene appears to represent the union of the Hittite father-god at the head of the left-hand procession with the Hittite mother-god and her son at the head of the right-hand procession. The father-god, who stands on the bowed heads of two attendants, wears a high head-dress, a short tunic, and shoes with upturned toes. He carries a mace in his right hand and an emblem of uncertain significance

the father-deity has at his side a bull¹, which as his *alter ego* wears



Fig. 476.

the same high head-dress as he does. On a Hittite cylinder at Berlin² the same god wears a horned cap and holds his bull by

(supposed to be a combination of the split oval or sign of divinity with the trident-fork that symbolises lightning) in his left. The handle of a short sword is seen at his waist; and beside him appears the fore-part of a bull wearing a high head-dress like his own.

¹ J. Garstang *op. cit.* p. 215 and in *The Syrian Goddess* London 1913 p. 10 n. 30 takes this animal to be a goat. But??

² F. Lajard *Introduction à l'étude du culte public et des mystères de Mithra en orient et en occident* Paris 1847 pl. 35, 2, H. Winckler in the *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 1896 iv. 18 f. (who reads the Babylonian inscription on this Hittite seal as 'Ach-li-ib-sar, servant of the god Tishub'), W. H. Ward in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1899 iii. 18 f. fig. 20, A. Jeremias in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 53 f. fig. 15. The king

a leash. On another cylinder in the collection of J. Pierpont Morgan (fig. 503)¹ he again holds the crouched bull by a leash, and on it stands a nude festoon-bearing goddess, the prototype of Europe². Finally, on another Hittite cylinder in the British Museum (fig. 477)³ the god is seen standing, like Ramman⁴, on the bull's back.

In classical times this long-lived deity drew his cult-epithet from Doliche, a little town⁵ in the Syrian district of Kommagene, on the road from Germanikeia to Zeugma. The rocky hill, on which his temple once stood, is still called Tell Dülük and is now crowned by the small chapel of a Mohammedan saint, the successor of *Dolichenus* himself⁶. Strangely enough the monuments illus-



Fig. 477.

trative of the ancient cult have, with a single exception, been found outside the limits of Asia. The said exception (fig. 478)⁷ is a limestone *stèle* discovered in or near Mar'ash, hardly a day's journey from Doliche, and probably dating from the first century B.C. It represents in an architectural frame-work the god standing upright on a small bull, which appears to be moving from left to right. He is a bearded figure, whose raised right hand held some attribute now broken off, in all probability a double axe, and whose left hand grasps a thunderbolt. He is clad in Persian costume,

accompanied by the divine attendant (*sukallu*) stands before the god, who carries a bundle of weapons. In the field is a star (or sun) and the Egyptian *crux ansata*.

¹ W. H. Ward in M. Jastrow *Bildermappe zur Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Giessen 1912 p. 103 pl. 51, no. 186, *infra* p. 644.

² So H. Prinz in the *Abh. Mitth.* 1910 xxxv. 169 n. 2 (*supra* p. 526 n. 2).

³ Published by W. H. Ward in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1899 iii. 21 fig. 23.

⁴ *Supra* p. 577 fig. 446.

⁵ Theodoret, *hist. eccl.* 5. 4.

⁶ K. Humann and O. Puchstein *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien* Berlin 1890 p. 400.

⁷ *Id. ib.* p. 399 fig. 58, Kan *op. cit.* p. 35 no. 1.

wearing boots, hose, a short *chiton* with a broad belt, and a *kandys* or cloak, which is fastened round his neck and is blown back by the wind.

Syrian troops—and, to a less extent, Syrian merchants, slaves and freedmen—carried the cult of this obscure divinity far and wide through the Roman world¹. It is attested by a numerous series of inscriptions² dating from *c.* 130 to *c.* 265 A.D., that is, from the time of Hadrian to the time of Gallienus³. They are most in evidence during the reigns of Commodus (180—192 A.D.), Septimius



Fig. 478.

Severus (193—211 A.D.), Caracalla (211—217 A.D.), and Alexander Severus (222—235 A.D.)⁴. Commodus was an enthusiastic votary of such deities as Isis and Mithras⁵. Septimius Severus was much under the influence of Iulia Domna, his Syrian wife. Caracalla, their son, himself visited Syria in 215 A.D. Alexander Severus had spent his childhood in Syria as priest of the sun-god Elagabalos⁶, and was, owing to the designs of Artaxerxes king of Persia,

¹ Kan *op. cit.* p. 11 ff., F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1276 f.

² They are collected and arranged in geographical order by Kan *op. cit.* pp. 34—109. A good selection of them is given by Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4296—4324.

³ Kan *op. cit.* pp. 16—19, F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1276—1278.

⁴ Kan *op. cit.* p. 17 f., F. Cumont *loc. cit.* pp. 1276, 1278.

⁵ Lamprid. *v. Commod.* 9. 4 and 6.

⁶ Herodian. 5. 3. 3 f.

forced to watch the province with anxious interest¹. No wonder that under these emperors with their Syrian connexion the cult of Jupiter *Dolichenus* became popular.

At Rome he had two sanctuaries, one on the Esquiline, the other on the Aventine. A couple of marble tablets, found in 1734 on the Esquiline near the Tropaea Marii, record that in the reign of Commodus the chapel of Jupiter *Dolichenus* was, at the bidding of the god, enlarged by a certain D. Iunius Pacatus and his son Alexander, and further that on August 1, 191 A.D. soldiers belonging to the second cohort of the Guards presented the god with a tetrastyle dining-room (*tetrastylum*), a fountain (*nymphaeum*), a bowl with a small column, an altar with a small marble column, another small column, a little wheel (*orbiculus*) with a small column, and decorated the whole chapel². On the Aventine too there was a *Dolocenum*, which was still standing in the fourth century³, though no dedications to the god of so late a date are recorded. It adjoined the sites of S. Alessio and S. Sabina, as is clear from several inscriptions found there⁴. One of these throws some light on the nature of the cult. It runs as follows⁵:

*Good Luck*⁶.

In accordance with a behest of Iupiter Dolichenus, Best and Greatest, the Eternal, to him who is the Preserver of the Whole Sky, a Godhead Pre-eminent, a Provider Invincible⁷, L. Tettius Hermes, a Roman knight, a candidate⁸ and patron of this place, to secure the safety of himself, of Aurelia Restituta his wife,

¹ Dion Cass. 80. 4. 1 f.

² *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 414a, 414b = Kan *op. cit.* p. 65 f. no. 64a, 64b = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4315^a, 4315^b, H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 356 f. Other inscriptions which may be referred to this cult-centre are listed by Kan *op. cit.* p. 66 ff. nos. 65—74.

³ The *Notitia regionum urbis xiv* (written between 334 and 357 A.D.) and the *Curiosum urbis regionum xiv* (written between 357 and 403? A.D.) both say: Regio xiii Aventinus continet...Dolocenum (H. Jordan *op. cit.* Berlin 1871 ii. 561 f.). Their archetype was written between 312 and 315 A.D. (*id. ib.* ii. 540).

⁴ Kan *op. cit.* p. 70 ff. nos. 75—81, H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *op. cit.* i. 3. 167 f. n. 43.

⁵ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi nos. 406, 30758 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 70 f. no. 75 = Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 92, 3 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4316.

⁶ Cp. W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1907 i. 436 ff. The Latin B·F (*bona fortuna*) corresponds with the Greek ἀγαθὴ τύχη as a preliminary formula for the sake of an auspicious beginning: see Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 467, 4316.

⁷ b. f. | ex praecepto I. o. m. D. aeterni, conservatori totius poli et numini praestantissimo (*sic*) exhibitori invicto, etc. On the epithet *aeterni* see F. Cumont in the *Rev. Philol.* N.S. 1902 xxvi. 8.

⁸ The term *kandidatus* here and in similar inscriptions (Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1466 f.) implies, not merely the ritual use of white clothing (T. Mommsen on *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi nos. 406—413 and in the *Ephem. epigr.* iv. 532), but also that a complete analogy existed between the election of public priests and that of magistrates (F. Cumont *loc. cit.* p. 10 f.).

of *Tettia Pannuchia* his daughter, of his household, of *Aurelius Lampadius* his well-loved brother, and the safety of the priests, the candidates, and the worshippers of this place, presented and dedicated the marble tablet with the *proscænium*¹ and columns.

Those, whom Iupiter *Dolichenus*, Best and Greatest, has chosen to serve him: *M. Aurelius Ocnopio Onesimus* (by the sign of *Acacius*) notary, and *Septimius Antonius* (by the sign of *Olympius*) father², candidates, patrons, well-loved brothers and most honoured colleagues; *Aurelius Magnesius*, *Aurelius Serapiacus*, *Antonius Marianus*, *M. Iulius Florentinus*, chief persons³ of this place; and *Aurelius Severus* the veteran, curator of the temple; and *Aurelius Antiochus*, priest; *Geminus Felix* and *Vibius Eutychianus*, litter-bearers of the god⁴; Co centianus

From this it appears that at Rome Iupiter *Dolichenus* was regarded as a sky-god ('Preserver of the Whole Sky'), whose principal priests—like the high officials of the Eleusinian mysteries⁵—exchanged their old names for new and sacred titles. The title 'Provider Invincible' suggests that he was, on the one hand, a god who fertilised the earth for the benefit of men, on the other hand, a being comparable with various semi-barbaric deities described by the Greeks as 'Zeus the Unconquered Sun⁶.' It was probably as a solar power that he ordered the erection of a statue of Apollo in his precinct⁷; for two inscriptions found at Rome link his name in close and yet closer connexion with that of the sun-god. One⁸ is a dedication—

To Iupiter *Dolichenus*, Best and Greatest, the Eternal, and to the Sun, the Worthy, the Pre-eminent—

the other⁹ a similar dedication—

To Iupiter *Dolichenus*, the Best, the Sun Pre-eminent, and to Iuno the Holy Mistress, the Castors and Apóllo, the Preservers.

¹ The word *proscænium* is used of a façade or porch in front of the temple (De Vit Lat. Lex. s.v. 'proscænium' § 3).

² An inscription on a statue of Apollo, now at Charlottenhof near Potsdam but doubtless derived from the precinct of Iupiter *Dolichenus* on the Aventine, mentions the same two persons by their ritual names only: ex præcepto | I. o. m. D. | per | Acacijum | notarij | et | Olympijum | patrem, | Antonii Mariani pater et filius | simulacrum Apollinis | statuerunt (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi nos. 408, 30759 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 72 no. 78 = Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 92, 1 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4318). The title *pater* in both inscriptions means *pater sacerdotum*.

³ princeps(s) | huius loci. Cp. the *principes sacerdotum* of the Jews (De Vit Lat. Lex. s.v. 'princeps' § 22).

⁴ lecticari dei. This implies that the image of the god was sometimes paraded in a litter or *ferculum* (Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 824).

⁵ Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Taboo p. 382 f.

⁶ *Supra* pp. 190, 193.

⁷ *Supra* n. 2.

⁸ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 412 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 69 no. 72 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4319: I. o. m. a. D. et | Soli digno pres., | etc. This should be read *Iovi optimo maximo aeterno* (rather than *Augusto Dolicheno et Soli digno prestantissimo*, etc. Cp. Kan *op. cit.* p. 76 no. 88 I. o. m. D. | et Soli | sacrum.

⁹ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 413 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 68 f. no. 71 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.*

The first inscription couples, the second to all appearance identifies, Iupiter *Dolichenus* with the Sun. If he, like other Syrian gods¹, was regarded by the Romans as a solar power², we can understand a curious third-century relief found at Rome near the *Scala santa* in 1885 (fig. 479)³. It was dedicated by M. Ulpius Chresimus, priest of Iupiter *Dolichenus*, not, as we should have expected, to *Dolichenus* himself, but 'to the Invincible Sun' etc.⁴; and it represents the old priest beside the young sun-god with the moon and two stars in the background.



Fig. 479.

One of the inscriptions cited above associates Iupiter *Dolichenus* with a partner-goddess called 'Iuno the Holy Mistress,' and another, probably from the same Esquiline precinct, entitles her 'Iuno the Holy⁵.' A pair of dedications from the Aventine speaks of 'Iupiter no. 4320 (dated 244 A.D.): I. o. S. p. D. | et Iunoni sanctae | herae, Castorib. | et Apollini conservato|ribus, etc. This should be read *Iovi optimo Soli* (rather than *sancto*) *praestantissimo Dolicheno* (rather than *digno*) *et Iunoni sanctae hērae* (rather than *Hērae*), etc. Probably Dessau no. 4320, like Dessau no. 4319, came from the *Dolocenum* on the Aventine; for the former mentions the same priest, C. Fabius Germanus, as the latter and likewise refers to the *candidatis huius loci* (cp. *supra* p. 608 n. 8).

¹ F. Cumont in the *Rev. Philol.* N.S. 1902 xxvi. 8 n. 5 remarks: 'Le syncrétisme impérial a considéré tous les Baals syriens comme des dieux solaires.'

² This is needlessly doubted by Kan *op. cit.* p. 4 f.

³ O. Marucchi in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1886 p. 136 ff. pl. 5, A. von Domaszewski *Die Religion des römischen Heeres* Trier 1895 p. 64 no. 134 pl. 3, 5, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 230 no. 1.

⁴ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 31181 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 74 no. 82: *Soli invicto | pro salute imp[er]atorum | et genio n[um]eri | eq[ui]t[um] sing[ular]ium eorum M. Ulp[ius] | Chresimus sace[r]d[os] | Iovis Dolich[eni] | v. s. l. l. [m.]*. The inscription was found in the *Castra equitum singularium* (H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*² Berolini 1912 p. 66).

⁵ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 367 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 69 f. no. 74 (dated 218 A.D.) *Iunoni sanctae | iusso Iovis | Dolychen(i) | etc.*

Dolichenus, Best and Greatest,' and of 'Iuno the Queen' respectively¹. Two more, from Caerleon-on-Usk in Monmouthshire² and from Netherby in Cumberland³, again link this Iupiter with his Iuno.

The solar aspect of Iupiter *Dolichenus* and his association with a female partner are alike supported by the extant monuments of his cult. These are fairly numerous and for the most part represent the god as a Roman soldier in full armour. He commonly, however, wears a Phrygian cap instead of a helmet. His raised right hand holds a double axe, his left hand grasps a thunderbolt. By a device already familiar to us⁴ he is shown standing on the back of his sacred animal, the bull, which always appears to move from left to right.

This type occurs sometimes in the round⁵. For example, about the year 1648 A.D. a marble statuette, now preserved at Stuttgart, was found in the harbour of Marseille, where it had sunk in some Roman shipwreck. It portrays the god as a beardless warrior erect on the bull's back. His usual attributes are missing; but an eagle is perched on the ground beneath the bull, and a conical pillar rises from the ground behind the warrior's back. The base is inscribed *To the Dolichenian god* (fig. 480)⁶. Again, a marble statuette found at Szalan-kemen, probably the site of Acumincum a Roman station in Lower Pannonia, and purchased for the Vienna collection in 1851, repeats the theme with some variations. The god is here bearded and wears a Phrygian cap. His breast-plate is decorated with an eagle. Another eagle is perched between the

¹ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 366=Kan *op. cit.* p. 73 f. no. 81=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4321: Iovi optimo | maximo Dolichen. | Paezon Aquiliaes | Bassillaes actor | cum Paezusa filia sua | d. d.

Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 365=Kan *op. cit.* p. 73 f. no. 81=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4321^a: Iunoni | reginae | Paezon | Aquiliaes | Bassillaes | actor cum Paezusa | filia sua d. d. Since Iuno *Regina* had a temple of her own on the Aventine (H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 165 ff., H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*² Berolini 1912 p. 18), it seems probable that the new-comer Iupiter *Dolichenus* here claimed to be the consort of this ancient goddess, whose temple had been dedicated by the dictator Camillus.

² *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 98=Kan *op. cit.* p. 90 no. 112 (on an altar found in 1653 A.D., but now lost) Iovi o. m. Dolichu[no et] | I[un]oni [C(ornelius)?] Aemilianus Calpurnius | Rufilianus [v(ir) c(larissimus), l]eg(atus) | Augustorum, | monitu.

³ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 956 (on a small altar): I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) | D(olicheno), Iu[n(oni) r(eginae)?, M]er(curio) sanct[o, F]ortuna[e v(otum)] m(erito)? or else Fortunatus v. s. l. m.?

⁴ *Supra* p. 606 f. fig. 478.

⁵ Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 21 nos. 2—5, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 6 f. no. 1532 fig. 3.

⁶ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xii no. 403=Kan *op. cit.* p. 98 no. 132: deo Dolichenio | Oct(avius) Paternus ex iussu eius pro salute | sua et suorum. On this statuette see further Custos Seidl *loc. cit.* xii. 35 f. pl. 2, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 271 f.

horns of the bull. A third is indicated in relief on a short column, which serves as a support to the bull's body. The right fore-foot of the beast is raised and rests upon a ram's head¹. The base, as before, bears an inscription *To Iupiter Dolichenus, Best and Greatest* (fig. 481)².



Fig. 480.



Fig. 481.

How such statuettes were erected and what was the general aspect of a *Dolichenus*-shrine, may be inferred from the finds made in 1891 by J. Dell at Petronell, the ancient Carnuntum in Upper Pannonia³. The shrine was a small but strongly-walled chamber approximately square in plan and entered through a doorway on the east (fig. 482)⁴. In the middle rose a rectangular pillar, built, like the walls, of rag-stone with inserted tiles. This pillar had

¹ *Supra* pp. 391 f., 425 ff.

² *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3253 = *Kan op. cit.* p. 42 no. 26: I. o. m. Dol. | Aurelii Sabinianus et Maximus et Apollinarius sac. | vot. l. l. pos. Aurelius Apollinarius is presumably the M. Aur. Apollinarius, a *decurio* of Mursella, who dedicated two altars, likewise found at Szalan-kemen, to I. o. m. D. et deo paterno | Com(a)geno (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 10243 = *Kan op. cit.* p. 42 f. no. 27). On the statuette here reproduced see further Custos Seidl *loc. cit.* xii. 34 f. pl. 1, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 271 f.

³ J. Dell in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1893 xvi. 176—187 with figs. 14—24 and pl. 1.

⁴ *Id. ib.* p. 177 fig. 14 = *Kan op. cit.* p. 47 f. fig.

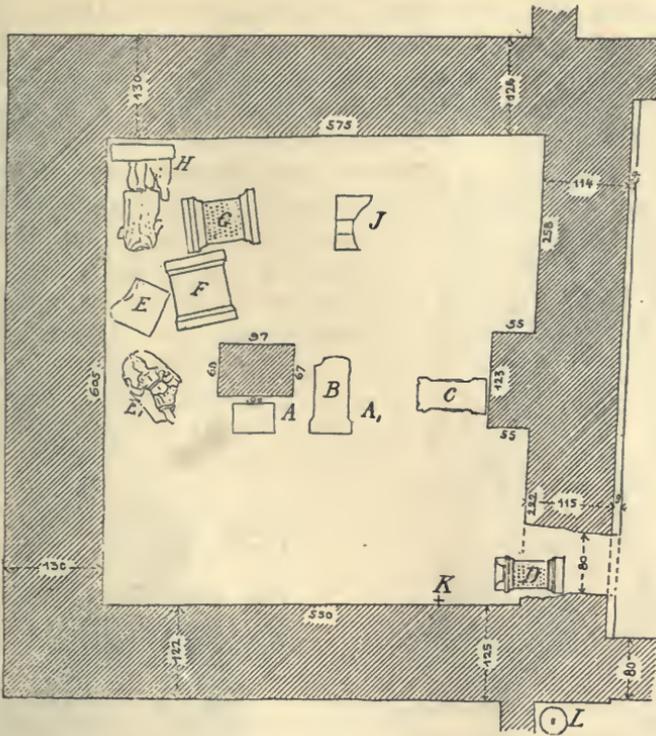


Fig. 482.



Fig. 483.

once held up a vaulted roof, above which there had been a second room with a tiled mosaic flooring. The walls of the lower chamber were plastered and showed traces of paint. Its floor was laid with big square tiles. Three overturned altars (*B, C, D* in fig. 482) bore

inscriptions *To Iupiter Dolichenus, Best and Greatest*¹: the most perfect of them (*C*) is here represented (fig. 483)². Beside these altars the shrine contained a limestone relief, a marble statue, and a bronze statuette, all representing the god. The relief (*E, E*₁) is a tapering slab with rounded top, set on a moulded base (*F*): its background is painted blue and inscribed in red letters with a dedication to



Fig. 484.



Fig. 485.

Iupiter, who stands as usual on his bull (fig. 484)³. The statue (*H*), broken but still well-preserved, shows him erect on the ground:

¹ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. nos. 11131, 11132, 11133, J. Dell *loc. cit.* p. 178 ff. figs. 16, 17, 18, E. Bormann *ib.* pp. 210 ff., 215 f., Kan *op. cit.* p. 50 f. nos. 42, 43, 44.

² *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 11132, J. Dell *loc. cit.* p. 180 f. fig. 17, E. Bormann *ib.* p. 215 f., Kan *op. cit.* p. 51 no. 43: I. o. m. D. | C. Secun|dius sacer(dos) | v. s. l. l. m.

³ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 11129, J. Dell *loc. cit.* p. 182 f. fig. 20, E. Bormann

his right hand uplifts a double-axe; his left holds the remains of a thunderbolt and rests upon a rock (fig. 485)¹. Of the statuette (*K*) all that remains is a raised left arm wearing a tight sleeve and grasping a winged bolt: the sleeve was once silvered, and the spikes of the bolt have thin silver-foil twisted round them (fig. 486)².

But the most complete and interesting monuments relating to the cult of this god are certain triangular plates of bronze, about



Fig. 486.

a foot from base to apex, which have here and there come to light. The national museum at Pesth possesses a pair, which either formed back and front of the same dedication, or less probably were combined with a third, now missing, to make a pyramid. They were discovered at Kömlöd in Hungary, a place which has been

ib. p. 213 ff., Kan *op. cit.* p. 50 no. 41. The inscription runs: I. o. m. | Doliceno | Atilius | Primus | > leg. | XIII | G(eminae) | ex evo|cato leg. | x G(eminae) P(iae) F(idelis) | ex viso | pro salute | sua et suorum | v. s. l. l. m. | do ^{Sergia} mo (domo _{Marsis} Sergia Marsis, *i.e.* Marruvio, cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* ix p. 349).

¹ J. Dell *loc. cit.* pp. 182, 184 fig. 22, Kan *op. cit.* p. 49 no. 39.

² J. Dell *loc. cit.* p. 181 f. fig. 19, Kan *op. cit.* p. 49 f. no. 40.

identified with Lussonium in Lower Pannonia. The reliefs on these plates appear to have been partially gilded and silvered. The first plate (fig. 487)¹ represents a bearded Iupiter *Dolichenus* in his accustomed attitude. Close to his head is a star (possibly the planet Iupiter). A Victory with wreath and palm approaches him. Before him burns a small altar. His bull stands on a base inscribed *To Iupiter Dulchenus*² and flanked by busts of Hercules with his club and Minerva with her helmet and lance. Above the main design are two panels of diminishing size: the lower one contains busts of the Sun and Moon; the upper one, a lily-plant. The



Fig. 487.



Fig. 488.

second plate (fig. 488)³ is divided into five registers. Highest up is the same lily. Then comes an eagle with spread wings. Next

¹ Kan *op. cit.* p. 43 f. no. 28, *a*. The best publication of this plate is that of Desjardins and F. Rómer *A. N. Muzeum római feliratos emlékei. Monuments épigr. du Mus. National.* Budapest 1873 p. 11 f. pl. 5, whence it is reproduced by A. von Domaszewski in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1895 xiv. 59 f. pl. 4, 1^a. See also Custos Seidl *loc. cit.* xii. 36 f. pl. 3, 1, E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1193 f. fig., S. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 331 fig. 2489, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 271 f.

² *Corp. inser. Lat.* iii no. 3316 Iovi Dulcheno P. A. El. (*i.e.* P. Ael.) | Lucilius ☉ coh. I. A. peq. (*i.e.* c(enturio) coh(ortis) I Alp(inorum) eq(uitatae)).

³ Kan *op. cit.* p. 43 f. no. 28, *b*. Desjardins and Rómer *op. cit.* pl. 6 is reproduced by Domaszewski *loc. cit.* pl. 4, 1^b. See also Custos Seidl *loc. cit.* xii. 36 f. pl. 3, 2, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Deukm.* ii. 1. 56 f. pl. 5, 8, A. Jeremias in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 53 ff. fig. 17, S. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 332 fig. 2490, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 271 f.

to it, in a separate panel as before, are busts of the Sun with a whip (?) and the Moon with a torch. The compartment below shows in the centre an altar burning, above which a large but indistinct object (possibly a bunch of grapes with two fluttering *lemnisci*) appears in the air. To the left of the altar stands Iupiter *Dolichenus* on his bull: his right hand is raised and holds an uncertain attribute (? double-axe badly rendered); his left grasps a thunderbolt. To the right of the altar stands a goddess, presumably Iuno, on an *ibex*. The lowest and largest division represents Iupiter uplifting his right hand and holding a thunderbolt in his left over a lighted altar. He stands in a small distyle temple, to either side of which is a legionary standard surmounted by its eagle. These standards in turn are flanked by two deities, probably intended for forms of Iupiter *Heliopolitanus*¹. Each of them has corn-ears or perhaps a spiky thunderbolt in his left hand: one uplifts his right hand; the other holds in it a flower-shaped (? solar) disk. Both are standing behind the foreparts of two bulls conjoined by means of similar flower-shaped disks. The two bronze plates are bounded along their common sides by a leaf-pattern. It has been stated that their apex was formerly adorned with a small winged Victory standing on a globe and holding a palm-branch in her left hand. But the statement appears to be a mere conjecture: in any case the little figure has vanished.

In the Archaeological Institute at Vienna is a pair of similar, but fragmentary, plates, found at Traizmauer, the ancient Trigrisamum in Noricum. The front (fig. 489)², which still shows traces of silvering, presents in high relief a bearded Iupiter *Dolichenus* with axe and bolt. Above him is an eagle with folded wings. At his right side, on a smaller scale, is a god, like himself bearded and wearing a Phrygian cap, who holds a spear in his right hand, a quartered globe or disk in his left. This god stood originally behind the foreparts of two bulls, the horn of one being visible under his arm³. Other fragments belonging to the same plate show parts of the bulls behind which a corresponding god stood on the left of Iupiter, and in a lower register beneath this figure a goddess more

¹ *Supra* p. 567 ff.

² Kan *op. cit.* p. 55 ff. no. 58, a, A. von Domaszewski *loc. cit.* p. 60 pl. 4, 2^a, 2^b, G. Loeschke 'Bemerkungen zu den Weihgeschenken an Juppiter Dolichenus' in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1901 cvii. 69, R. Münsterberg 'Bronzereliefs vom Limes' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1908 xi. 229 ff. figs. 99, 100, 101.

³ R. Münsterberg *loc. cit.* p. 230 f. fig. 102 well compares a small bronze statuette of unknown origin now at Vienna, which shows a bearded god wearing a *kálathos* and uplifting a double-axe and a three-petalled flower between two bulls emergent from either side of him.

like Venus than Juno. Lowest of all came a handled label, probably bearing an inscription. The back-plate (fig. 490)¹, which, when found, was fitted into a groove formed by bending round the

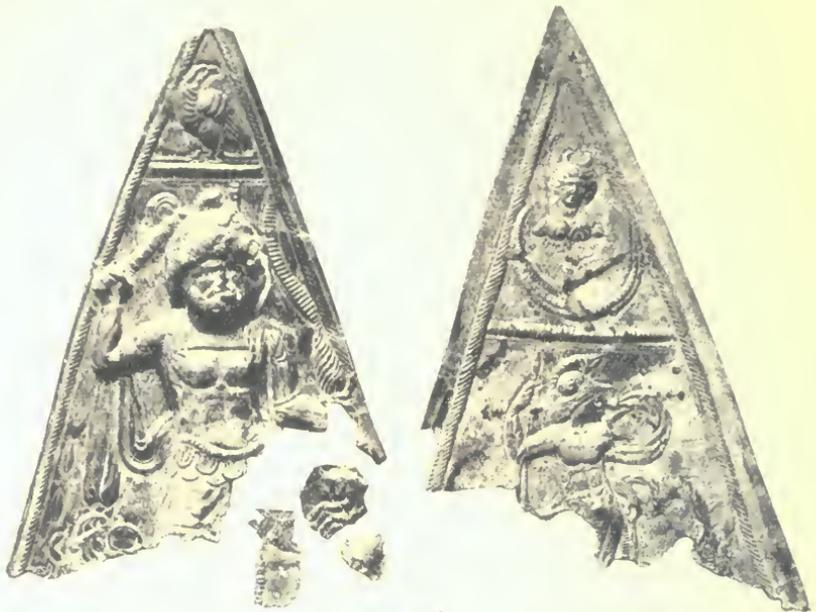


Fig. 490.



Fig. 489.

edges of the front-plate², exhibits a crescent, containing a horned bust of the Moon. Below it stands Mars with helmet, spear, and

¹ Kan *op. cit.* p. 55 ff. no. 58, *b.* A. von Domaszewski *loc. cit.* p. 60 pl. 4, 2^b, R. Münsterberg *loc. cit.* p. 231 f. pl. 7 (the best publication).

² G. Loeschke *loc. cit.* p. 69, R. Münsterberg *loc. cit.* p. 229.

shield, and beside him his northern attribute—a goose with outstretched neck.

A fragment of another bronze plate, similar in character to the foregoing, was found in 1895 on the Roman frontier at Aalen in Württemberg (perhaps to be identified with Aquileia in Upper Germania) and is now at Stuttgart¹. It was originally triangular in shape, gilded, and adorned with analogous designs. In the middle is a tree with leaves and fruit. To the left of it stands *Dolichenus* on his bull; to the right, his consort on her cow. Below him was a helmeted god, probably Mars; below her, Minerva, beside whom appears part of the god flanked by two bulls.

At Hedderheim in Hesse-Nassau two triangular plates of cast bronze were found in 1841 and 1826, respectively, during the excavation of a Roman settlement on the Heidenfeld: they are preserved in the Museum for Nassau Antiquities at Wiesbaden². One of these plates is fortunately complete. Its front (pl. xxxiv)³ contains four rows of figures. Uppermost is a rayed bust of the Sun. Below that, a Victory with palm-branch and wreath hovers over the head of Iupiter *Dolichenus*. He is represented as a bearded god with a Phrygian cap and a Roman breast-plate. At his side hangs his sword in its scabbard. His right hand brandishes a double-axe; his left grasps a thunderbolt consisting of six spirally-twisted tines, each of which is tipped with an arrow-head. The bull that supports the god has a rosette on its forehead between the eyes⁴. The lowest register is filled with a motley assemblage of

¹ Kan *op. cit.* p. 58 f. no. 63, F. Haug and G. Sixt *Die römischen Inschriften und Bildwerke Württembergs* Stuttgart 1900 i. 43 ff. no. 57 fig. 23.

² A. von Cohausen *Führer durch das Altertumsmuseum zu Wiesbaden* p. 236.

³ Kan *op. cit.* p. 103 f. no. 145, b, Custos Seidl *loc. cit.* xii. 39 pl. 3, 3, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 271 f., Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *op. cit.* ii. 1. 54 f. pl. 5, 6. Seidl's illustration being inexact (Wernicke *loc. cit.* p. 54 n.), I have reproduced the excellent plate given by G. Loeschcke in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1901 cvii pl. 8. The bronze triangle is 0.47^m high and 0.195^m broad at the base. It was found in the *débris* of an ancient building along with ashes, charcoal, broken pottery and bricks.

⁴ A slate palette from a pre-dynastic grave at *El Gerzeh* shows a cow's head with five-pointed stars on the tips of its horns and ears and a six-pointed star above its forehead between the horns (W. M. Flinders Petrie—G. A. Wainwright—E. Mackay *The Labyrinth Gerzeh and Mazghuneh* London 1912 p. 22 pl. 6, 7). On a relief from the neighbourhood of Tyre the bulls of the sun-god and the moon-goddess enclose with their tails a rosette and a disk with curved rays respectively (R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1904 ii. 233 fig. 21 = *id.* *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 89 fig. 21, E. Pottier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1907 xxxi. 241 n. 7). A copper of Lappa in Crete shows a bull's head facing with a rosette on the forehead (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 212 pl. 19, 36 and in the *Bull. Corr.* Hell. 1894 xviii. 118). The magnificent silver cow's head found in the fourth shaft-grave at Mykenai has its horns made of gold and a large rosette between them plated with gold (Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 820 ff. fig. 398). A 'Minoan' *kratér* from Arpera in Kypros belonging

eastern and southern deities. In the midst is Isis on a hind (?). She bears a sceptre in one hand, a *sistrum* in the other; and on her head is an Isiac head-dress, composed apparently of a solar disk between two feathers¹. To right and left of Isis is a couple of half-figures rising from two heaps of stones. They, like Jupiter *Dolichenus*, are armed with breast-plates; but they seem to have helmets, not Phrygian caps, on their heads. Their upraised hands grasp four flowers with a central spike, probably lilies. And on their helmets rest busts of the Moon and the Sun: the former wears a crescent; the latter, a rayed *nimbus*. The upper portion of the plate was originally intended to have been shaped like an arrow-head, as may be seen from the incised lines still traceable on it. The resemblance to a weapon² is strengthened by a raised rib, triangular in section, which bisects the back of the plate³. With this monument also, as with that from Lussonium, a small statuette of Victory is said to have been recovered⁴. But that such a figure once stood on the apex is again only an improbable conjecture.

The other plate found at Heddernheim is fragmentary. Its front (fig. 491)⁵ has preserved the reliefs from the top two registers of a like monument. The upper division contains a bust of Sarapis; the lower, busts of the Sun and the Moon. The Sun has the horns of a bull; the Moon, a rayed *nimbus*: both bear whips. Over their heads are two stars: beneath them is a third, which may have stood in relation to a figure of Jupiter *Dolichenus*, now lost⁶. The back of this plate too is decorated with a raised rib⁷.

Prof. G. Loeschke has put forward the reasonable conjecture that these triangular plates of bronze were intended to represent, by their very shape, the thunderbolt of Jupiter *Dolichenus*⁸. It is

to the Louvre, shows a bull, whose flank is adorned with a large rayed rosette: this, however, may be merely decorative (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1907 xxxi. 229 fig. 5, 241, Morin-Jean *Le dessin des Animaux en Grèce* Paris 1911 p. 23 fig. 12). Bronze coins of Neapolis in Campania have for their reverse type the forepart of a man-headed bull, on the shoulder of which is a star of four or eight rays (Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 86 pl. 86, 1, cp. *ib.* p. 72 f. pl. 82, 14, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy* p. 108 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 39, J. N. Svoronos in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 113 figs. 33—35).

¹ Cp. Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 341 no. 3, 422 nos. 4, 5, *alib.*

² Cp. e.g. the many varieties of Bronze-Age daggers, swords, spear-heads etc. (J. Evans *The Ancient Bronze Implements of Great Britain and Ireland* London 1881 pp. 222—342, O. Montelius *Die älteren Kulturperioden im Orient und in Europa* i Die Methode, Stockholm 1903, pp. 32—43).

³ G. Loeschke *op. cit.* 1901 cvii pl. 7, 3.

⁴ Kan *op. cit.* p. 103 f. no. 145, c.

⁵ Kan *op. cit.* p. 103 no. 145, a, Custos Seidl *loc. cit.* xiii. 244 f. with fig.

⁶ *Supra* p. 616.

⁷ G. Loeschke *loc. cit.* p. 71.

⁸ *Id. ib.* p. 72.

620'



Jupiter *Dolichenus* on a bronze plate from Heddernheim.

See page 619 f.

indeed possible that they were sometimes regarded as his weapon: the half-worked barbs of the first Heddernheim plate, the raised rib on the back of it and of its fellow, the spear-like aspect of a third plate from the same locality¹, all support that view. Nevertheless, since Iupiter *Dolichenus* never brandishes a weapon of this form but always² a double-axe and a thunderbolt of normal shape, it is safer to conclude that the bronze triangular plates were originally substitutes for bronze pyramids or stone pyramids



Fig. 491.

sheathed with bronze. And we have already surmised that the pyramid as a ritual object points to the cult of a mountain-deity³. The god of thunder and lightning naturally dwells on a mountain-top.

The lily-plants of the Kömlöd dedication⁴ and the lily-flowers

¹ *Infra* p. 627 f. fig. 493.

² Occasionally the god is so far Romanised that he stands, like an ordinary Iupiter, in his temple with a thunderbolt in one hand, a sceptre or lance in the other (*infra* p. 627 f.).

³ *Supra* p. 603.

⁴ *Supra* p. 616.

of the Heddernheim plate¹ raise a further question. What have lilies to do with a god who stands on a bull grasping a double-axe and a thunderbolt? To modern ears this sounds a strange combination of frailty with force. We note, however, that the lilies—‘mountain-ranging lilies²,’ as Meleagros termed them—are somehow related to the mountain³. On the Kömlöd dedication they spring from the apex of a plate, which, if we are on the right track, originally symbolised a mountain. On the Heddernheim plate they were held up by deities emergent from heaps of stones. On other plates, to be considered later⁴, the whole pyramid is surrounded and topped by a growth of lilies. We are reminded of the Egyptian vignette in which the divine cow looks out from the mountain-side and thereby causes vegetation to flourish⁵. Now the storm-god on his bull was essentially a fertilising power. It may therefore be supposed that the lilies appear on his mountain as a sign and symbol of fertility⁶.

This belief, probably indigenous in the Mediterranean area, underlay the decorative use of the flower from ‘Minoan’⁷ to mediaeval times⁸. Lilies were wrought by Pheidias on the golden robe of his great chryselephantine Zeus⁹. Another statue of Zeus at Olympia, turned towards the rising sun, held an eagle in one hand, a thunderbolt in the other, and on its head wore a wreath of lilies: it was an offering of the Metapontines and the work of Aristonous, an Aeginetan sculptor¹⁰. Yet another Zeus at Olympia, made by Askaros the Theban, a pupil of Kanachos (?), and dedicated by the Thessalians, represented the god bearing a thunderbolt in his right hand and ‘crowned as it were with flowers’¹¹. On an Etruscan mirror figuring the birth of Dionysos

¹ *Supra* p. 620.

² *Anth. Pal.* 5. 143. 2 (Meleagros) θάλλει δ' οὐρεσίφοιτα κρίνα.

³ The Muses, mountain-deities (*supra* p. 104 n. 2), are κρυσστέφανοι (Auson. *epist.* 12. 14): see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 297 n. 1.

⁴ *Infra* p. 627 ff.

⁵ *Supra* p. 515.

⁶ *Plin. nat. hist.* 21. 24 alba lilia... nihilque est fecundius una radice quinquagenos saepe emittente bulbos.

⁷ Perrot *Chypiez. Hist. de l'Art* vi: 783 pl. 19, 5, Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1900—1901 vii. 15 ff. fig. 6. E. Reisinger *Kretische Vasenmalerei vom Kamareos- bis zum Palaststil* Leipzig and Berlin 1912 p. 45.

⁸ A. de Gubernatis *La mythologie des plantes* Paris 1882 ii. 200 ff.

⁹ *Paus.* 5. 11. 1 τῶ δὲ ἱματίῳ ῥῥοδία τε καὶ τῶν ἀνθῶν τὰ κρίνα ἔστιν ἐμπεποιημένα.

¹⁰ *Paus.* 5. 22. 5. The manuscripts in general read ἐπίκειται δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανος, ἀνθη τὰ ἡρινά, which is kept by F. Spiro (1903). But cod. Lb. has ἡρίνα. And Palmer's *cj. κρίνα* is accepted by Schubart and Walz (1838—1839, 1847), L. Dindorf (1845), J. G. Frazer (1898), and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner (1901).

¹¹ *Paus.* 5. 24. 1 f. ἔστεφανωμένον δὲ οἷα δὴ ἀνθεσι, κ. τ. λ.

The Duc de Laines in the *Nouv. Ann.* 1836 i. 391 compared the Talleyrand Zeus of

Zeus (*Timia*) has an eagle-sceptre in his right hand, a winged thunderbolt in his left, and a wreath of lilies on his head¹. The storm-god as fertilising agent was appropriately decked with the most fertile of flowers.

In Hellenistic times the same conception made its way into mythology both poetic and popular. Nikandros tells how Aphrodite, jealous of the lily's spotless purity, placed in its centre the *phallós* of an ass². And a lily-flower growing in north Africa was known to all and sundry as the 'seed of *Ammon*'³.

The lily as a symbol of fertility probably belonged to an earth-goddess before it was associated with a sky-god. On a gold ring found by Messrs Drosinos and Stamatakis in a complex of buildings to the south of the grave-precinct at Mykenai a goddess seated on a pile of stones beneath a tree wears a lily in her hair and her attendant handmaidens are similarly adorned⁴. Coins of Biannos in Crete have as reverse type a lily, as obverse a female head⁵—presumably that of Bianna, who appears to have been an earth-power of some sort⁶. Hera too, who by many enquirers from

the Louvre (*Arch. Zeit.* 1875 xxxii pl. 9), whose diadem is composed of palmettes alternating with half-open lotus-buds. In view of the fact that the lily was the Greek equivalent of the lotus his comparison was just.

¹ Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 84 ff. pl. 82, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 187 f. Atlas pl. 1, 37. Gerhard (*op. cit.* iii. 85 n. 108) thinks that the wreath consists of pomegranate-flowers: but cp. the lily-wreath and lily-sceptre of Zeus on another Etruscan mirror published by the same scholar a few years later (*ib.* iv. 10 pl. 281).

² Nik. *alex.* 406 ff. with schol. and Eutekn. *ad loc.*, Nik. *georg. frag.* 2, 28 ff. Lehrs.

³ C. Leemans *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii Publici Lugduni-Batavi* Leyden 1885 ii. 41 pap. 5 col. 14^a, 26 γρόνος 'Αμμωνος, κρινάνθεμον, R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1857.

⁴ C. Schuchhardt *Schliemann's Excavations* trans. E. Sellers London 1891 p. 276 ff. fig. 281, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 840 ff. fig. 425, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 2, 20, ii. 9 f., Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 107 f. fig. 4 (enlarged ?) and in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1900—1901 vii. 15.

⁵ J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 43 pl. 3, 15 (flower), Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 63 (lily), Head *Hist. num.*² p. 459 (rose).

⁶ Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Βιέννος· πόλις Κρήτης. οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Βιέννου τοῦ τῶν Κουρήτων ἐνός· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἀρη γενομένης βλας, ἣν ἐνταυθα φασὶν ἀπὸ τ' Ἰουου καὶ Ἐφιάλτου τῶν παίδων Πυσειδῶνος, καὶ μέχρι καὶ νῦν τὰ καλούμενα ἑκατομόφνια θύεται τῷ Ἄρει. ὁ πολίτης Βιέννιος. οἱ δὲ τιμὰς ἀποπέμπει τῷ Τεμλίῳ Διὶ καὶ Βιεννίῳ. ἔστι καὶ ἑτέρα πόλις ἐν Γαλλίᾳ. αὐχμοῦ γάρ ποτε σύμπασαν Κρήτην κατασχόντος, εἰς ἑτέρους τόπους ἀπικίζοντο, οἰκῆσαι δὲ τινας Ἰθρόοντα τῆς Ἰταλίας, οὕτω πεπολισμένον. χρῆσμοῦ δ' αὐτοῖς δοθέντος, ὅπου ἐλωδέσσαντο τόπον θεάσονται, κατοικήσαι· ἐλθόντες οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥόδανον ποταμὸν τῆς Γαλλίας, ἐλώδη ὄντα, οἰκῆσαι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὕτως ὀνομάσαι, ἐπειδὴ μὴ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς παρθένων Βιάννα καλουμένη, χορεύουσα, ὑπὸ τινος χάσματος ἐλήφθη.

Another Cretan virgin that suddenly vanished was Britomartis, who escaped the pursuit of Minos by disappearing in a grove at Aigina and was thenceforth worshipped as the goddess Aphaia (*Ant. Lib.* 40). The story of Persephone, carried off by Plouton while she watched the Nymphs dancing and plucked the lilies of Enna (*Colum. de re rust.*

Empedokles downwards has been regarded as an earth-goddess¹, was said to delight in the lily². Her head on silver coins of Elis (c. 421—365 B.C.) wears a *stepháne*, which is decorated at first with lilies³, later with a variety of floral patterns⁴. A story told of this goddess in the *Geoponika*⁵ is here in point. Zeus, desiring to make Herakles, his son by Alkmene, immortal, put the babe to the breast of Hera as she lay asleep. When the babe was sated, the milk of the goddess still flowing caused the Milky Way to cross the sky and, dropping to earth, made the milk-white lily to spring up⁶.

The belief that the lily was somehow connected with Zeus lingered on into post-classical times. Byzantine writers regarded

10. 269 ff.; but see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1185 n. 3 for variants), suggests that both Bianna and Aphaia were borne off to become queen of an underground king.

¹ For a critical review of the evidence see e.g. Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 181 ff., Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 1125 n. 3, S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 398 ff.

² Clem. Al. *paed.* 2. 8. 72. 4 p. 201, 24 Stählin κλίωθ δὲ ἠδρασθαι τῆν Ἡραν φασίν.

³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 64 f. pl. 12, 11, 12, 14, 16, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 135 no. 4, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 137 f. pl. 8, 15, *Bunbury Sale Catalogue* 1896 i. 133 no. 1090 pl. 7, *O'Hagan Sale Catalogue* 1908 p. 48 no. 459 pl. 8, *Benson Sale Catalogue* 1909 p. 79 no. 569 pl. 18, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 422 fig. 231, G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 52 ff. pl. 3, 28.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* pp. 65 f., 68 ff. pl. 12, 13, 15, pl. 13, 13, pl. 14, 1—3, 13, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 159 pl. 8, 39, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 423.

The coins of Elis mentioned in notes ³ and ⁴ must be studied in connexion with the simultaneous issues of Argos, on which the head of Hera was probably inspired by the famous master-piece of Polykleitos (see Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera pp. 41 ff., 101 ff. Münztaf. 2, 6 ff. and 14 ff., *id. Gr. Plastik*⁴ i. 509 ff., P. Gardner in the *Num. Chron.* 1879 xix. 238 ff., *id. Types of Gk. Coins* pp. 137 f., 159 pl. 8, 13—15, 39 f., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 213 ff., 232 ff. coin-pl. A, 17 and 18, A. Lambropoulos in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1895 xix. 224 ff., Sir C. Waldstein in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 30—44 with figs. 1—3 and pls. 2 f.). In the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 409 f. I conjectured that the plant *ἀστρέπλων*, which grew on the banks of the river Asterion near the Argive Heraion and was offered to Hera, its leaves being twined into wreaths for her (Paus. 2. 17. 2), was a species of lily. This, however, is very doubtful. A. Frickenhaus in *Tiryns* i. 121—125 argues well in support of the view that the *ἀστρέπλων* was, like the *ἀστέριον* of Kratenas, 'eine violette Nelke': he might have strengthened his case yet further, had he noticed that hemiobols of Argos struck before 421 B.C. exhibit as their obverse type a star-shaped flower (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 138 pl. 27, 8, Anson *Num. Gr.* ii. 71 no. 766 pl. 14, iii. 134 no. 1405).

⁵ *Geopon.* 11. 19. Cp. pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 44, Lyk. *Al.* 1327 f. with Tzet. *ad loc.*, Paus. 9. 25. 2, Diod. 4. 9. See also the painting by Jacopo Robusti il Tintoretto (1518—1594 A.D.) now in the National Gallery (no. 1313: S. Reinach *Rép. Peintures* ii. 730, 2), and that by Peter Paul Rubens designed in 1637 for the Torre de la Parada at Madrid (E. Dillon *Rubens* London 1909 pp. 178, 198 pl. 432) and now in the Prado. On the folk-lore of the Milky Way see further *Mélysine* 1884—85 ii. 151 ff. 'La Voie Lactée,' P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 34 f.

⁶ The Corinthians called the lily ἀμβροσία (Nik. *linguae ap.* Athen. 681 B, cp. Nik. *georg. frag.* 2, 28 *ap.* Athen. 683 D); and this flower grew from the head of a statue of Alexander the Great in Kos (Nik. *ap.* Athen. 684 E)—doubtless an allusion to his apotheosis (Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 128 n. ^b, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1123 n. 3, *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 377).

it as the flower of the planet Zeus. For example, Konstantinos Manasses, who in the middle of the twelfth century composed a universal history in 'political' verse, thus describes the creation of the stars :

Then first the sky beheld the mighty stars,
 Fair spheres that vied one with another and decked
 Its surface, as do flowers in the fields¹.
 Kronos was somewhat dark and leaden of hue;
 Zeus shone like silver²; Ares glowed like fire;
 Helios beamed bright as thrice-refined gold;
 The globe of Aphrodite had the glint
 Of tin; like bronze the red-rayed Hermes flared;
 Clear as a crystal was Selene's light.
 Thus many-coloured was the sky's robe seen.
 Kronos was blue as is the hyacinth;
 Zeus like a lily shone; a violet, Ares;
 The golden Helios was a crimson rose³;
 The morning star, a white-flowered pimpernel;
 Hermes shot rays, a blossom steeped in red;
 Selene, a narcissus with fair petals.
 Such was the flower-bed that adorned the sky;
 Yea, such a pleasance, diverse, gracious, gleaming,
 Was planted there upon the face of heaven,
 And made a star-set garden of the sky
 With God for gardener, and for plants and herbs
 And flowers pied the flashing of the stars⁴.

Another Byzantine scholar drew up in prose a list of the seven planets, to each of which he assigned its appropriate metal and plant: a later hand added a series of corresponding animals⁵.

¹ I do not remember to have met with this conceit in classical literature. It occurs, of course, in modern poetry, e.g. H. W. Longfellow *Evangeline* l. 3 'Silently one by one, in the infinite meadows of heaven, | Blossomed the lovely stars, the forget-me-nots of the angels.'

² For Zeus 'Αργύρου see *supra* p. 25 n. 2.

³ J. Millingen *Ancient Unedited Monuments* Series ii London 1826 p. 36 pl. 19, 2 figured a terra-cotta disk, which represents the head of Helios emerging from the petals of a rose—a type probably based on coins of Rhodes (e.g. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 250 pl. 39, 16 the sun rising out of a rose, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 441 no. 38).

⁴ Konst. Manass. *comp. chron.* 113—134 Bekker.

⁵ Piccolomini in the *Rivista di Filologia* ii. 159 published the following among other Planudean excerpts: τῶν ἐπτά πλανήτων τὰ χρώματα τῶν τε μετάλλων καὶ τινῶν ἀνθέων
 ἀναλογουσι τοῖς χρώμασι· Κρόνος μὲν μολύβδῳ καὶ ὑακίνθῳ, Ζεὺς δὲ ἀργύρῳ καὶ κρίνῳ,
 Λύκος ἄνωγος
 Ἄρης σιδήρῳ καὶ ἴψ, Ἡλῖος χρυσίῳ καὶ πορφυρῷ ῥόδῳ, Ἀφροδίτῃ κασσιτέρῳ καὶ ἀναγαλλίδι,
 δράκων ἠ ἀνεμώνῃ βοῦς
 Ἑρμῆς χάλκῳ καὶ ἐρυθροδάνῳ, Σελήνῃ δὲ ὑάλῳ καὶ ναρκίσσῳ. The interlinear glosses are by the hand of a corrector. J. Bernays in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1875 xxxii. 99 cites Lobeck *Aglaophamus* p. 936 and Brandis in *Hermes* 1867 ii. 266, where passages are collected bearing on the attribution of different metals to different planets. Lists varied. Thus

Thus the completed list embraces the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms:—

<i>Kronos</i>	Lead	.....Hyacinth	.....Ass
<i>Zeus</i>	Silver	.....Lily	.....Eagle
<i>Ares</i>	Iron	.....Violet	.....Wolf
<i>Helios</i>	Gold	.....Rose	.....Lion
<i>Aphrodite</i>	Tin	.....Pimpernel	.....Dove
<i>Hermes</i>	Bronze	...Madder, or Anemone	...Snake
<i>Selene</i>	Crystal	...Narcissus	.....Cow

These Byzantine attributions were not mere fancy-flights of late and irresponsible authors, but a systematised selection from the customs and cults of the Roman Empire. In particular, there is reason to think that silver as well as the lily was associated with Jupiter *Dolichenus*. The bronze statuette of the god at Carnuntum was silvered, the points of its thunderbolt being wound round with silver-foil (*supra* fig. 486). The triangular bronze plates from Kömlöd were partially gilded and silvered¹; those from Traizmauer were silvered²; that from Aalen was gilded³. Five silver plates dedicated to Iupiter *Dolichenus*, and probably all derived from his temple at Heddernheim, have been published by

Cramer *anecd. Paris.* iii. 113, 4 ff. (cited by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1491 n. 4) *τούτων τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀστέρων ἐν ἑκάστῳ ἐκεῖνο καὶ ὕλαι. τῷ Κρόνῳ ὁ χαλκός, τῷ Διὶ ὁ χρυσοῦς, τῷ Ἀρεῖ ὁ σίδηρος, τῷ Ἥλιῳ ὁ ἤλεκτρος, τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ κασσίτερος, τῷ Ἑρμῇ ὁ μόλιβδος, τῇ Σελήνῃ ὁ ἄργυρος* (cp. Pind. *frag.* 222 Schroeder Διὸς παῖς ὁ χρυσοῦς κ.τ.λ.). *ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ οἰωνοί. ἡ κορώνη τῷ Κρόνῳ, ὁ ἀέτωδ τῷ Διὶ ὡς βασιλεῖ, τὸ τῶν ζῶων βασιλικώτερον, ὁ κολοῖδ τῷ Ἀρει διὰ τὸ παραχῶδες, τῷ Ἥλιῳ ἦγον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ὁ κίρκος, ὃ ἐστὶ γένος ἱεράκων ταχύτατον, τῷ Ἑρμῇ ὁ κύκνος, ὡς μουσικός, τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἡ περιστερά, ὡς ποικτικῆ, but schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 4 (5). 2 ἑκάστῳ δὲ τῶν ἀστέρων ὕλη τις ἀνάγεται· καὶ Ἥλιῳ μὲν ὁ χρυσοῦς, Σελήνῃ δὲ ὁ ἄργυρος, Ἀρεῖ σίδηρος, Κρόνῳ μόλιβδος, Διὶ ἤλεκτρος, Ἑρμῇ κασσίτερος, Ἀφροδίτῃ χαλκός* (cp. Prokl. *in Plat. Tim.* i. 43, 5 ff. Diehl with schol. *ad loc.* i. 460, 22 ff. Diehl, Olympiod. *in Aristot. meteor.* 3 p. 59 f.) and Orig. *c. Cels.* 6. 22 ἡ πρώτη τῶν πλῶν μόλιβδος, ἡ δευτέρα κασσίτερον, ἡ τρίτη χαλκοῦ, ἡ τετάρτη σιδήρου, ἡ πέμπτη κεραστοῦ νομισματος, ἡ ἕκτη ἀργύρου, χρυσοῦ δ' ἡ ἑβδόμη. τὴν πρώτην τίθενται Κρόνον, τῷ μόλιβδῳ τεκμηριούμενοι τὴν βραδύτητα τοῦ ἀστέρος· τὴν δευτέραν Ἀφροδίτης, παραβάλλοντες αὐτῇ τὸ φαῖδρον τε καὶ μαλακὸν τοῦ κασσίτερου· τὴν τρίτην τοῦ Διὸς τὴν χαλκοβάτην καὶ στερρὰν· τὴν τετάρτην Ἑρμοῦ, πλήμονα γὰρ ἔργων ἀπάντων καὶ χρηματιστὴν καὶ πολύκμητον εἶναι τὸν τε σίδηρον καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν· τὴν πέμπτην Ἀρεὸς τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κράματος ἀνώμαλόν τε καὶ ποικίλην· ἕκτην Σελήνης τὴν ἀργυρὰν· ἑβδόμην Ἥλιον τὴν χρυσοῦν, μιμούμενοι τὰς χροῶς αὐτῶν (cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 25, 2 ff., p. 1154, 48 ff.). A. Ludwich as an appendix to his edition (Lipsiae 1877) of Maximus and Ammon prints certain *anecdota astrologica*, of which section 6 τί σημαίνει ἕκαστον τῶν ζῴων καὶ τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τῶν πλῶν ἀεσπόζουσαν includes the vegetables, minerals, and animals appropriate to the seven planets. Of Zeus we read: p. 120, 19 f. Διὸς σῖτος, κριθή, ὄρυζα, ὄλυρα καὶ τὰ σπόφοντα τῆς ὀπίρας, p. 121, 8 f. Διὸς κασσίτερος, βήρυλλος καὶ πᾶς λίθος λευκός, σανδαράχη, θεῖον καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, p. 122, 1 Ζεὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ λέοντας καὶ τὰ καθαρά ὄρνεα.

¹ *Supra* p. 616.

² *Supra* p. 617.

³ *Supra* p. 619.

K. Zangemeister and E. Gerhard. Of these, three are in the Gold Room at the British Museum. One (fig. 492)¹ represents the god as standing in a distyle building, the gable of which contains a wreath. He holds a thunderbolt in his right hand, a sceptre or lance in his left. On the ground at his feet is an eagle. Beneath the building is the votive inscription²; above it, a big lily, each petal of which terminates in a similar but smaller lily, the central one supporting at its apex a floral crescent. All three petals are marked with a medial pattern closely resembling that on certain



Fig. 492.

plates already described³. The same design comes out yet more clearly on the second specimen (fig. 493)⁴, which above and below its inscription⁵ has a spear-head enclosed in a frame of lily-work.

¹ K. Zangemeister in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1901 cvii. 61 f. pl. 6, 1.

² I. o. m. Dolicheno ubi ferrum nascitur Flavius Fidelis | et Q. Inlius Posstimus ex imperio ipsius pro se et suos.

³ *Supra* p. 620 f.

⁴ K. Zangemeister *loc. cit.* 1901 cvii. 63 pl. 6, 2 and 3.

⁵ I. o. m. Dollicheno | Domitius | Germanus | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito).

The third silver plate (fig. 494)¹ shows a distyle temple, in the gable of which are a crescent moon and two stars. The architrave is arched in the centre so as to leave room for the inscription². Below is an altar. To the left of it stands Iupiter *Dolichenus* on his bull with double-axe, thunderbolt, and coat of mail. It is noticeable that the arrow-shaped points of the thunderbolt have



Fig. 493.

raised central ribs. To the right of the altar stands a female(?) figure, probably on an animal now broken away, holding a *patera* in one hand, a sceptre in the other. A Victory, hovering in the air, presents a wreath to Iupiter. The whole design was enclosed in lily-work, which is much crumpled and mutilated. The remaining two silver plates are in the Berlin Museum. One of them so nearly resembles the first of the London plates that a separate description of it is unnecessary³. The other⁴ represents the god standing in a distyle temple, the capitals and *akrotéria* of which are of the lily-pattern. He holds a six-pronged thunderbolt in his right hand, a sceptre or lance in his left, and wears a simple cloke hanging from his left shoulder. At his feet is an eagle perched on a globe and supporting a wreath in his beak. The field of the design is embellished with four

medallions depicting Cupid with a round shield and a lance: of these medallions the upper two are connected with the temple.

¹ K. Zangemeister *op. cit.* cvii. 63 pl. 7, 1. Fig. 494 is from a photograph taken for me by Mr W. H. Hayles.

² I · O · M | DOLI · | NVTI · · · · · | T · · · · · So A. S. Murray. But, on examining the plate with the help of Mr F. H. Marshall, I made out a few more letters, *viz.* (a) on the left of the break I · O · [M] | DO(LI)[CHE]N (O?) · (T)IB · [... | T · DAM[. and (b) on the right of the break (A?) > (O?).

³ E. Gerhard 'Juppiter Dolichenus' in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1863 xxxv. 31 ff. pl. 1, 1, A. H. Kan *De Iovis Dolicheni cultu Groningae* 1901 p. 105 f. no. 150, K. Zangemeister *loc. cit.* 1901 cvii. 64 pl. 7, 2. It is inscribed: I. o. m. Dolicheno An[tonius Pro]clus > (=centuria) Ger[mani v]otum s[olvit] | l[ibens] l[aetus] m[erito].

⁴ E. Gerhard *loc. cit.* 1863 xxxv. 31 ff. pl. 1, 2, Kan *op. cit.* p. 106 no. 151.

Iupiter *Dolichenus* was in some sense, then, a god of precious metals—a fact which leads us to remark on the frequency of the



Fig. 494.

name Aurelius in his votive inscriptions¹. Doubtless the imperial Aurelii with their numerous freedmen spread the name far and

¹ Kan *op. cit.* p. 17.

wide through Romanised lands. Still, something more than this seems needed to account for the constant association of an Aurelius or an Aurelia with Iupiter *Dolichenus*. Thus H. Dessau prints thirty-two Latin inscriptions bearing on this divinity¹. They include two emperors (M. Aurelius Antoninus and L. Aurelius Commodus)² and no less than sixteen other persons of the same gentile name: three out of the sixteen are expressly described as priests of the god³, one as the curator of his temple⁴, and three others as holding various offices connected with his cult⁵. It seems probable therefore that the Aurelii, whose name pointed at once to the sun-god⁶ and to gold⁷, considered themselves bound by special ties of connexion with Iupiter *Dolichenus*.

Several dedications append to the name of this deity the curious title 'where iron is born'⁸; one inscription speaks of him as himself 'born where iron arises'⁹. These expressions have been usually interpreted of iron-mines in the neighbourhood of Doliche. But A. H. Kan justly objects that there is not a particle of evidence to show that such mines were ever to be found in that locality¹⁰. His own notion, however, that 'iron' means 'iron-water'

¹ Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4296—4324.

² Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4312, 4310.

³ Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4299, 4305, 4316.

⁴ Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4316.

⁵ Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4316.

⁶ Paul. ex Fest. p. 23, 16 f. Müller, p. 22, 5 ff. Lindsay *Aureliam* familiam ex Sabinis oriundam a Sole dictam putant, quod ei publice a populo Romano datus sit locus, in quo sacra faceret Soli, qui ex hoc *Auseli* dicebantur, ut Valesii, Papisii pro eo, quod est Valerii, Papiirii. Quint. *inst. or.* 11. 2. 31 also alludes to the origin of the name. *Ausilius* > *Aurelius* is in fact derived from the same root as *aurora* (Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 57).

⁷ Paul. ex Fest. p. 9, 2 f. Müller, p. 8, 14 Lindsay (*aurum*) alii a Sabinis translatum putant, quod illi *ausum* dicebant. Vaniček and other philologists have referred *aurum* (Ital. **ausom*) to the root **aues-*, 'to shine,' seen in *aurora* etc. (Walde *op. cit.* p. 57).

⁸ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 423* = *ib.* vi no. 30947 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4302 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 82 no. 92 (from the Carrafa vineyard on the Quirinal at Rome) Iovi optimo maximo | Dolicheno ubi ferrum nascitur | C. Sempronius Rectus | cent(urio) > (=centurio) frumentar(ius) d. d.

Corp. inscr. Lat. iii Suppl. no. 11927 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4301 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 57 no. 60 (Pflinz: a bronze tablet found near the camp of the first cohort of the Breuci) I. o. m. | Duliceno | ubi ferum (*sic*) | [nascit]ur || T E (according to Mommsen, these are the initials of the dedicator; according to Kan, they may be read as I E = i(ussu) E(sculapii)).

See also the inscription cited *supra* p. 627 n. 2.

⁹ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 1128 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4303 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 26 ff. (found in 1840 A.D. at Apulum in Dacia) numini et virtutib[us] Iovis optimi maximi Dolicheni], | nato ubi ferrum exor[itur] | naturae boni even[tus] et numini imp. Caes. T. Aeli Hadri]ani Antonini Au[g. Pii] | Terentiu[s]

¹⁰ Kan *op. cit.* p. 26.

and implies chalybeate springs is insufficiently supported by the analogy of the word *Staal* for *Staalwater*¹ and the discovery of an effigy of the god in the baths at Carnuntum². F. Cumont is content to surmise that the phrases in question correspond with some Semitic epithet and imply a Commagenian myth now lost³.

But this after all is only to explain *ignotum per ignotius*. A clue to the meaning of the words is, I venture to think, furnished by the fact that the same description is elsewhere given of the Chalybes. Greek lexicographers describe them as 'a Scythian tribe, where iron is born'⁴. These iron-working Chalybes are located by different authorities at various points along the southern shore of the Black Sea⁵. Strabon, who places them near Pharnakia, states that in his time they were called Chaldaioi and that in former days they worked silver as well as iron⁶. Whether he was justified in thus identifying the Chalybes with the Chaldaioi, whom others termed Chaldoi⁷, may well be doubted. But his assertion that they formerly worked silver is of interest, since the Homeric *Catalogue* describes the Halizones (after the Paphlagonians and before the Mysians) as coming—

From far-off Alybe, where silver's born⁸.

Timotheos too at the court of Archelaos sang of 'earth-born silver'⁹. On the whole it seems clear that in Pontos, where, as Strabon says, the great mountain-ranges are 'full of mines'¹⁰, iron and silver were regarded as the offspring of Mother Earth. This belief, natural enough in itself, had very possibly come down from the days of the Hittites, who worshipped a great mountain-mother. But Iupiter *Dolichenus* was near akin to this same mother. For, if his bull is that of the Hittite father-god¹¹, his double-axe is that

¹ *Id. ib.* p. 26 n. 2.

² *Id. ib.* pp. 28, 47 no. 38.

³ F. Cumont in the *Rev. Philol.* N.S. 1902 xxvi. 7 and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1279.

⁴ *Et. mag.* p. 805, 22 f. *Χάλυβες ἔθνος εἰσι Σκυθικὸν ἔνθα ὁ σίδηρος τικτεται*, Soud. s.v. *Χάλυβες· ἔθνος Σκυθίας ἐνθεν ὁ σίδηρος τικτεται*, cp. schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1323 cod. Paris. *ἔθνος δὲ οἱ Χάλυβες Σκυθικὸν ὄππου ὁ σίδηρος γίνεταί.*

⁵ W. Ruge in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2099 f.

⁶ Strab. 549:

⁷ Steph. Byz. s.v. *Χαλδαία*, Eustath. in Dionys. *per.* 767. See further Baumstark in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2061 f.

⁸ *Il.* 2. 856 f. *αὐτὰρ Ἀλιζώνων Ὀδῖος καὶ Ἐπίστροφος ἦρχον | τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀλύβης, ὅθεν ἀργύρου ἐστὶ γενέθλη.* On the ancient variants ἐξ Ἀλόπης, ἐξ Ἀλόβης, ἐξ Ἀλύβων, ἐκ Χαλύβης, ἐκ Χαλύβων see Strab. 549 f., Steph. Byz. s.vv. Ἀλόπη, Ἀλόβη, Χάλυβες, Eustath. in *Il.* p. 363, 12 ff., and A. Ludwig *ad loc.*

⁹ Timoth. *frag.* 14 Bergk⁴ *σὺ δὲ τὸν γηγενέταν ἀργυρον αἰνεῖς.*

¹⁰ Strab. 549.

¹¹ *Supra* p. 604 ff.

of the Hittite son-god¹. Hence I conclude that the title 'where iron is born' properly belongs to *Dolichenus* as successor of the Hittite son-god. It may even be that this strange appellation points backwards to a time when the god was identified with his own double-axe² and the making of the latter implied the birth of the former: he was 'born where iron arises³'.

In any case the same geographical clue will enable us to trace the connexion of Jupiter *Dolichenus* with the precious metals. The Chalybes, according to Strabon, were originally workers in silver⁴. They also collected gold in a small island lying off their coast⁵. The *Dolichenus*-plates were of silver gilt.

Finally, to return to our point of departure, we have seen that Jupiter *Dolichenus*, like the Jupiter *Heliopolitanus* with whom he is

¹ *Supra* pp. 599 f., 604 f.

² For 'Minoan' parallels see *infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) i.

³ Terrestrial iron perhaps stood in some relation to celestial iron. H. R. Hall *The Oldest Civilization of Greece* London 1901 p. 200 n. 1, à propos of the Sumerian name for iron, which was expressed ideographically by means of the signs *An-Bar*, observes: 'The Sumerians may have first used meteoric iron at a very early period, like the Egyptians, since *AN. BAR* means practically the same thing as the Egyptian *Ba-n-pet*, "Heavenly Metal."' My friend the Rev. Dr C. H. W. Johns, however, kindly informs me that the meaning of *An-Bar*, which is taken to denote 'Divine Weight,' cannot be considered certain. And L. de Launay in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1076 gives good reasons for doubting the supposed use of meteoric iron. It is ignored by Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie *The Arts & Crafts of Ancient Egypt* Edinburgh & London 1909 p. 104 ff. and J. H. Breasted *A History of Egypt* New York 1911 p. 136 when mentioning the rare examples of iron in early Egypt and the possible sources of supply.

On the other hand, the Egyptians believed that the tops of some mountains touched the floor of heaven, which was formed by a vast rectangular plate of iron (E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 167, 491, ii. 241). It is interesting to observe that the *Iliad* always speaks of the sky as made of bronze, whereas the *Odyssey* usually describes it as made of iron: cp. *Il.* 17. 425 χάλκεον οὐρανόν (so Pind. *Pyth.* 10. 27, *Nem.* 6. 3 f.), Pind. *Isthm.* 7 (6). 44 χαλκόπεδον θεῶν ἔδραν, *Il.* 1. 426 Διὸς ποτὶ χαλκοβατὲς δῶ (*Il.* 21. 438, 505; *Il.* 14. 173, *Od.* 8. 321), *Il.* 5. 504 οὐρανὸν ἐς πολύχαλκον, Eur. *Ion* 1 Ἄτλας ὁ χαλκίοισι νότοις οὐρανὸν κ.τ.λ.; but *Od.* 15. 329 and 17. 565 σιδήρεον οὐρανὸν with Eustath. in *Il.* p. 576, 33 ff., in *Od.* p. 1783, 18 ff.

⁴ *Supra* p. 631.

⁵ Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 26. The Chalybes seem to be connected with gold as well as with iron by the story of the metal-eating mice. Aristotle stated that in the island of Gyaros mice ate iron ore; Amyntas, that at Teredon in Babylonia they had the same peculiarity (*Ail. de nat. an.* 5. 14). Theophrastus 'goes one better': in Gyaros, he says, mice drove out the inhabitants and were then reduced to eating iron; they do the same by nature in the iron-workings of the Chalybes; and in gold mines they are so fond of making away with the precious metal that they are regularly ripped up to recover it (*Theophr. ap. Plin. nat. hist.* 8. 222, cp. 104, and *ap. Phot. bibl.* p. 528a 33 ff. Bekker). See further Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 25 f., Antig. *hist. mir.* 18 and *ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Γάρος*, Herond. 3. 75 f., Sen. *apocol.* 7. 1. Since there is no iron ore in Gyaros (Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1954), it is possible that we should assume another island of the same name off the coast of the Chalybes.

sometimes coupled¹ or identified², was essentially a thunder-god with solar powers—‘the Preserver of the Whole Sky,...a Provider Invincible³.’ The bull, therefore, on which he stands is comparable with the bulls of other Anatolian deities already considered and marks him as a god of fertilising sunshine and storm.

xxi. The Significance of the Bull in the cults of Zeus.

(a) The Bull as a Fertilising Power.

Those who have had the patience to accompany me through the last twenty sections of our subject will be glad to rest awhile

And let the accumulated gain
Assort itself upon the brain.

We have gone the round of the Levant together, visiting successively Egypt, Crete, Syria, and Asia Minor. Everywhere we have found traces of the same religious history—a local worship of the bull, which drew its sanctity from immemorial usage and was associated in a variety of ways first with the principal god of the district and then with the Greek Zeus or the Roman Iupiter. In Egypt, for example, the bull Apis came to be viewed as the *avatar* of Osiris⁴ or the ‘second life of Ptah⁵’, but under the name *Épaphos* was affiliated to Zeus⁶. In Crete the bull was identified with the sun-god⁷ and worshipped with mimetic rites⁸; but the sun-god was later ousted by⁹, or fused with¹⁰, the Hellenic Zeus. In Assyria

¹ *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3908=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4296=Kan *op. cit.* p. 46 no. 33 (Laibach) I. o. m. D. | et I. o. m. H(eliopolitano), cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 11131=Kan *op. cit.* p. 50 f. no. 42 (Carnuntum) I. o. m. | Dol. et rel(igioni?) | pro sa[l(ute)] Aug(usti), where Kubitschek cj. that *rel* was a stone-cutter’s error for *Hel(iopolitano)*—a cult-title known to occur at Carnuntum (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. nos. 11137, 11138, 11139).

² *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3462=*ib.* iii Suppl. no. 13366=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4297=Kan *op. cit.* p. 45 no 31 (Aquincum) I. o. m. | Dulceno | Heliopolitan(o). An altar from Carvoran (*supra* p. 552 n. 3), used as a trough in a stable at Thirlwall, perhaps commemorates the same identified cult (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 753=Kan *op. cit.* p. 92 f. no. 119 I. o. m. D(salicheno) | H(eliopolitano) ? cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 752)).

³ *Supra* p. 608 f.

⁴ *Supra* p. 435.

⁵ *Supra* p. 435 n. 6. A bronze statuette of Apis from a Greek site in the Delta is inscribed in letters of the fifth century B.C. ΤΟΙΓΑΝΕΠΙΜΑΝΕΣΤΑΣΕΞΟΨΥΛΗΣ = τῷ Πάπτι(?) μ’ ἀέστασε Σωκίδης. Mr H. B. Walters suggests that the deity may be *Ba-en-ptah* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 376 no. 3208).

⁶ *Supra* p. 438 ff.

⁷ *Supra* p. 467 ff.

⁸ *Supra* p. 490 ff.

⁹ *Supra* p. 522 f.

¹⁰ *Talās*, ‘the Sun’ (*supra* p. 468 n. 7), becomes Zeus *Talaiós* or *Tallatos* (*infra* ch. i § 6 (h) v).

the bull was attached to the storm-god Adad or Ramman¹; but it was as Zeus *Ádados* or Jupiter *Heliopolitanus* that he reached his apogee². At Boghaz-Keui³ and Malatia⁴ the bull appears as a supporter of the Hittite father-god; but this deity, still mounted on a bull, made his triumphal progress through Europe under the title of Jupiter *Dolichenus*⁵. Thus from start to finish, through two or more millenniums and across three continents, the bull retained its hold upon popular reverence.

What gave the creature this claim to universal respect? What is his significance in ancient religion? Prof. Gilbert Murray in a recent lecture has told us⁶: 'we modern town-dwellers,' he says, 'have almost forgotten what a real bull is like. For so many centuries we have tamed him and penned him in, and utterly deposed him from his place as lord of the forest. The bull was the chief of magic or sacred animals in Greece, chief because of his enormous strength, his rage, in fine his *mana*, as anthropologists call it.' Perhaps we may venture to narrow down this answer without loss of probability. Beyond other beasts the bull was charged with *Zeugungskraft*, gendering power and fertilising force⁷. That, I take it, is the ultimate reason of his prestige among the cattle-breeding peoples of the Mediterranean area.

¹ *Supra* p. 576 ff.

² *Supra* p. 549 ff.

³ *Supra* p. 604 f.

⁴ *Infra* p. 640 fig. 500.

⁵ *Supra* p. 604 ff.

⁶ G. Murray *Four Stages of Greek Religion* New York 1912 p. 33. Cp. Harrison *Themis* p. 156 f. and p. 548 Index *s.v.* 'Bull.' Prof. Murray's statement strikes me as more just and true to nature than, say, the eloquent sermon preached by Dion Chrysostom (*or.* 2 p. 69 ff. Reiske) on the Homeric text *Il.* 2. 480—483.

⁷ See e.g. Aristot. *hist. an.* 5. 2. 540a 6 f. (bulls), 6. 21. 575a 13 ff. (bulls), 6. 18. 572a 8 ff. and 31 ff. (cows), Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 27 (cows), Horapoll. *hierogl.* 1. 46 (bulls). Very significant is the use of ταῦρος = τὸ αἰδοῖον τοῦ ἀνδρός (Soud. *s.v.* ταῦρος, schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 217) or τὸ γυναικεῖον αἰδοῖον (Phot. *lex. s.v.* σάραβον, ταῦρον, Soud. *s.v.* σάραβον, Hesych. *s.v.* ταῦρος) or ὄρος etc. (Poll. 2. 173, Galen. *introductio seu medicus* 10 (xiv. 706 Kühn), Eustath. *in Il.* pp. 259, 3 f., 527, 43 ff., 906, 60, *id. in Od.* p. 1871, 43 f., *et. mag.* p. 747, 40 ff.) or παιδεραιότης (Hesych. *s.v.* ταῦρος), and the word ἀταύρωτος (Aisch. *Ag.* 244, Aristoph. *Lys.* 217 f., *alib.*), if not also λάστανρος (on which, however, see L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iv. 580, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 581 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 326 *s.v.* 'lascivus').

Amulets combine the bull's head with the *phallós* in several ways (O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1855 p. 58 n. 116 pl. 5, 4 and 5, E. Labatut in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 257 figs. 308, 309, I. Scheffelowitz in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 469 n. 3).

W. Schmitz *Das Stiersymbol des Dionysos* Köln 1892 p. 1 f.: 'Der Stier scheint bei den Griechen ursprünglich das Symbol der Fruchtbarkeit gewesen zu sein. Die Fruchtbarkeit in der Natur wird nun aber nach griechischer Anschauung hervorgebracht entweder durch den Erdboden, oder durch die Feuchtigkeit des Wassers, oder durch die hauptsächlich von der Sonne ausgehende Wärme. Wenn also die Griechen in ihrer Mythologie und Kunst einzelnen Gottheiten das Symbol des Stieres beilegen, so bedeutet dieses Bild bald die Fruchtbarkeit des Erdbodens, bald die des gedeihenspendenden

The bull as an embodiment of procreative power was naturally brought into connexion with the great fertilising agencies of sunshine and storm¹. In Egypt it is of course the solar aspect of the beast that is emphasised: Mnevis² and Apis³ and Bouchis⁴ all have a disk between their horns. In Crete too the solar character of the bull was well-marked and of early date—witness Talos otherwise called *Talros*⁵, Helios transformed into the ‘Adiounian bull’⁶, the Minotaur in his Labyrinth at Knossos⁷, the cattle of the Sun at Gortyna⁸. Yet the ‘Minoan’ combination of bovine horns with the double-axe⁹ shows that the bull had been related to the storm-god also. Among the Hittites the god that bears the lightning stands either upon¹⁰ or beside¹¹ the bull. Nevertheless this deity was likewise regarded as a sun-god; for c. 1271 B.C. Hattusil ii, king of the Hatti, made a treaty with Osymandyas, i.e. User-Maât-Râ (Rameses ii)¹², in which the Hittite deities were enumerated with ‘the Sun-god, Lord of Heaven’ at their head¹³. In Babylonia and Assyria the bull is *in primis* an attribute of the storm-god En-lil¹⁴ or Ramman or Adad¹⁵, though the names Heliopolis, Zeus *Helioupolites*, Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* imply that in the Graeco-Roman age Adad at least was equated with Helios¹⁶.

(β) The Influence of Apis.

Given this essential similarity of cult to cult, it was only to be expected that religious influences, affecting both thought and expression, would radiate far and wide from the chief centres of civilisation. We shall glance at three such cases of diffusion through contiguous areas.

Wassers, bald das Feuer, das Licht und die Wärme, ohne die in der ganzen Natur kein Leben sein kann.’ Cp. Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 713 f.

¹ So with the ram (*supra* p. 429 f.).

² *Supra* pp. 432—436.

⁵ *Supra* p. 468, *infra* ch. i § 6 (h) i.

⁷ *Supra* pp. 472 ff., 490 ff.

⁹ *Infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) i (δ).

¹¹ *Supra* p. 605 fig. 476.

¹² W. Max Müller ‘Der Bündnisvertrag Ramses’ II. und des Chetiterkönigs’ in the *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 1902 vii. 5. 17 ff., 38 ff., G. Maspero *The Struggle of the Nations* London 1896 p. 401 ff., E. A. Wallis Budge *A History of Egypt* London 1902 v. 48 ff., J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 p. 347 ff., cp. p. 322, J. H. Breasted *A History of Egypt*² New York 1911 p. 437 ff., H. R. Hall *The Ancient History of the Near East* London 1913 p. 363 ff., cp. p. 333.

¹³ Then follow ‘the Sun-god of the city Arinna; the Thunder-god, Lord of Heaven; the Thunder-god of the Hatti; the Thunder-god of the city Arinna’; etc.—these thunder-gods being presumably Sandas and various localised forms of him.

¹⁴ *Supra* p. 579 ff.

¹⁵ *Supra* p. 576 ff.

¹⁶ *Supra* p. 550 ff.

The Apis-worship of the Egyptians impressed the early Greeks¹. Probably it impressed other nations also who came much into contact with Egypt—for instance, the Hittites. At Eyuk, some twenty miles north of Boghaz-Keui, the gateway of a Hittite



Fig. 495.

palace built *c.* 1360 B.C. was flanked by an outer and an inner pair of bull-sphinxes, which may fairly be regarded as a blend of the Assyrian bull with the Egyptian sphinx². The frontage-walls exhibit two series of reliefs. On the left is shown the cult of a sacred bull; on the right, that of an enthroned goddess. The cornerstones on either side are occupied by the bull and the goddess respectively. It is therefore clear that the bull (fig. 495)³ here stands for the Hittite father-god, who elsewhere appears with this animal beneath⁴ or beside⁵ him. But it is also clear that Egyptian influence has again been at work. For, Apis-like⁶, this bull has a variety of body-marks, a crooked stick—probably meant for a kingly sceptre⁷—and two disks on his side, the remains of a trilobed or trifoliate design on his haunch⁸. In Roman times Apis travelled yet further afield.

¹ *Supra* p. 437 ff.

² G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie* etc. Paris 1872 i. 359 f., ii pl. 54 f., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 656 ff. figs. 323—327, G. Maspero *The Struggle of the Nations* London 1896 p. 647 ff. figs., J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 pp. 242 ff., 397 (bibliography), with plan on p. 247 and pl. 72, H. R. Hall *The Ancient History of the Near East* London 1913 p. 329 n. 5 pl. 22, 1 (who notes that the Hittite sculptor has given his sphinxes Hathor-heads such as sphinxes in Egypt never have).

³ G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet *op. cit.* i. 360 pl. 56, 3, Perrot—Chipiez *op. cit.* iv. 668 f. fig. 329, J. Garstang *op. cit.* p. 255 ff., *id.* *The Syrian Goddess* London 1913 p. 9 ff. fig. 3.

⁴ *Infra* p. 640 fig. 500.

⁵ *Supra* p. 605 fig. 476.

⁶ *Supra* pp. 432 f., 468, 540 n. 2.

⁷ *Supra* p. 87.

⁸ Cp. two blocks from the right-hand series of reliefs: (1) a bull about to toss, with a trace of the curved stick on his shoulder and one disk on his side (G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet *op. cit.* i. 361 pl. 57, 3, Perrot—Chipiez *op. cit.* iv. 678 f. fig. 639, J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 p. 263); (2) a lion holding down a ram, the ram showing the same curved stick and disk on his side and the same trifoliate design on his haunch (G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet *op. cit.* i. 361 pl. 57, 1 f., Perrot—Chipiez *op. cit.* iv. 680 f. figs. 340 f., J. Garstang *op. cit.* p. 263 f.).

His effigy is found *e.g.* on coins of Amastris¹ and Germanikopolis² in Paphlagonia, of Nikaia³ and Nikomedeia⁴ in Bithynia, of Hadriano-thera⁵ in Mysia, of Mytilene⁶ in Lesbos, and was adopted by Julian the Apostate as the very sign and symbol of paganism (fig. 496)⁷. The far-reaching influence of the Egyptian bull seems even to have touched the remotest confines of the ancient world. Certain square silver pieces struck by Apollodotos I show Nandi, Çiva's bull, with a simplified form of the *Nandi-pada* or 'footprint of Nandi' on his hump (fig. 497)⁸. Copper coins of Spain often denote the



Fig. 496.



Fig. 497.



Fig. 498.

sanctity of a bull by placing between his horns a triangular erection like a pediment, sometimes with a pellet or disk in it (fig. 498)⁹. Such devices may or may not imply assimilation to

¹ Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 139 pl. 18, 27 (?), i. 150 pl. 20, 35, i. 152 pl. 20, 40, i. 154 pl. 21, 11, 13 (ATTIC), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus*, etc. p. 85 pl. 20, 1 (?), p. 87 pl. 20, 9 (?), *Head Hist. num.*² p. 506 (ATTIC).

² Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 164 pl. 22, 16 (?), i. 165 pl. 22, 27 (?), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus*, etc. p. 92 pl. 21, 6 (?), *Head Hist. num.*² p. 506.

³ Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 413 pl. 69, 18 (crescent over head), 19, i. 423 pl. 71, 24, i. 442 pl. 76, 6 (?), i. 458 pl. 79, 17 (disk between horns), *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 249 pl. 46, 14.

⁴ Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 522 pl. 90, 5 f. (?), i. 547 pl. 94, 26, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus*, etc. p. 180 (?).

⁵ Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 930, iv. 27 (crescent moon on side), *Suppl.* i. 894 (moon on side), *Suppl.* ii. 1326 (moon on side).

⁶ Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 511 f. no. 1 pl. 20, 8 (crescent moon on side). *Id. ib.* p. 512 n. 4 cp. *Rev. Belge de Num.* 1863 pl. 3, 11, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Troas*, etc. p. 206 no. 199.

⁷ Rasche *op. cit.* i. 930 (two stars over horns and neck), ix. 75, 665.

⁸ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Greek and Scythic Kings* p. 34 nos. 10 f. I figure a specimen in my collection. My friend Prof. E. J. Rapson kindly refers me to his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty* etc. London 1908 p. clxxv for an account of the *Nandi-pada*. He adds (Feb. 11, 1913): 'My impression is that the sign is fairly early in India. I think the great time for foreign influence of the kind suggested was the first century A.D. Sarapis, for instance, occurs on coins then. But there can be no doubt that the Persian Empire was a means of communication between Europe and Egypt on the one hand and India on the other.'

⁹ A. Heiss *Description générale des monnaies antiques de l'Espagne* Paris 1870 p. 169

the type of Apis. More certainly affected by it is a bronze bull of the Hallstatt period from the famous Býčískála Cave in Moravia (fig. 499 *a*, *b*)¹. This remarkable little image was discovered in 1869 at the entry of the cave by a couple of students—Dr Felkel and his cousin—then on a holiday ramble. It lay in a terra-cotta bowl surrounded by millet, which had apparently been baked along with it; and it was attached to a plate of white metal, subsequently lost. It is a statuette of cast bronze about 100 millimeters in height. The eye-holes show traces of having been filled with an iridescent glass-paste. The three lines round the muzzle represent



Fig. 499.

a bridle, as in the case of Egyptian bulls. Small triangular plates of iron² are inlaid on its forehead and shoulders, and a narrow

pl. 17, 6, 8 Cascantum, p. 175 pl. 18, 1 Graccurris, p. 201 ff. pl. 24, 19, 21, pl. 25, 37, 39, 40, pl. 26, 43 (= my fig. 498) Caesar Augusta, p. 341 pl. 50, 3 Bailo.

¹ H. Wankel *Der Bronze-Stier aus der Býčískála-Höhle* Wien 1877 pp. 1—32 with col. Frontisp. (= *id.* in the *Mittheilungen der Anthropol. Gesellschaft in Wien* 1877 p. 125 ff.), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 732, 5, Forrer *Reallex.* pp. 33, 130.

² So Wankel *op. cit.* p. 5 'die künstlich und mühevoll eingesetzten Eisenplättchen': Forrer *op. cit.* p. 33 says 'mit eingelegtem kupfernem Dreieck auf der Stirn, die schon von Woldrich mit Apis in Zusammenhang gebracht worden ist,' *ib.* p. 130, 'welche auf der Stirne mit rotem Kupfer ausgelegt war und derart an den roten Stirnleck des Apisstieres erinnert.'

Reinach *Bronzes Figurés* p. 278 n. 4 scouts the idea that the iron triangular plates are due to any imitation of Apis. He cites a bronze cow found at Hallstatt, which served as the handle of a bowl: its eyes are iron nails, and its forehead is inlaid with a

strip along its backbone from head to tail, while there are signs of another triangular patch having concealed the casting-hole on its belly. We cannot of course suppose any direct contact between Moravia in the early iron age and Egypt. But it is possible that Egyptian *objets d'art* might find their way northwards from tribe to tribe and be copied by barbaric craftsmen. If so, we may have here the Egyptising form of a local bull-god comparable with the bronze bull by which the Cimbri swore¹ or the three-horned bulls of bronze and stone found mostly in eastern Gaul².

(γ) Spread of the Hittite Bull-cult.

A second case of diffusion is furnished by the Hittite bull-cult. The marked bull of Eyuk (fig. 495) was the animal form of the lightning-god and sun-god, who in one or more of the Hittite states was named *Tišub*, *Tišub*, or *Tesub*³. It has been plausibly suggested by A. Fick⁴ that we should recognise the same name in *Sisyphos* or *Sésyphos*⁵, the faded sun-god of Corinth⁶. If so, it will hardly be accidental that Sisyphos is by tradition the owner of marked oxen. Autolykos stole his cattle and tried to conceal the theft; but Sisyphos recognised them by means of the monograms or marks upon their hoofs⁷ and became by Antikleia, daughter of

triangular plate of bone (E. von Sacken *Das Grabfeld von Hallstatt* Wien 1868 p. 155 pl. 23, 6 and 6^a).

¹ Plout. *v. Mar.* 23 ὁμόσαντες τὸν χαλκοῦν ταύρον, δὴ ὑπερον ἀλόντα μετὰ τὴν μάχην εἰς τὴν Κάρλου φασὶν οἰκίαν ὥσπερ ἀκροθίνιον τῆς νίκης κομισθῆναι.

² Reinach *Bronzes Figurés* p. 278 n. 1 draws up a list of twenty-four examples. See further Reinach *op. cit.* p. 275 ff. nos. 285, 288, 292, 293, 294, *id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1905 i. 66, 243 ff., and on the Celtic cult of bulls in general G. Dottin *Manuel pour servir à l'étude de l'Antiquité Celtique* Paris 1906 pp. 93, 235 ff., 240, 248 f., 274, H. d'Arbois de Jubainville *Les Druides et les dieux celtiques à forme d'animaux* Paris 1906 pp. 153 ff., 164 ff., 188 ff., the Rev. J. A. MacCulloch *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* Edinburgh 1911 pp. 38, 137 ff., 189, 208 f., 243 f., *supra* p. 481 n. 9.

³ A. Jeremias in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 53 f., J. Garstang *op. cit.* p. 291 pl. 77, 1, *supra* p. 605 n. 2.

⁴ A. Fick *Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland* Göttingen 1909 p. 43 f.

⁵ The form is preserved in Hesych. *σέσυφος· παρούργος*. The common view that *Σίσυφος, σέσυφος* arose from a reduplication of *σοφός* (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 970) is untenable.

⁶ That Sisyphos pushing his stone up the hill is a genuine solar myth was already seen by V. Henry in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1892 v. 289 ff. Other views in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 967 ff.

⁷ Hyg. *fab.* 201 in pecorum unguis notam imposuit, schol. Soph. *Ai.* 190 = Soud. *s.v.* Σίσυφος: ...ἔστις ὑπὸ τοῖς ὄνυχας καὶ τὰς ὀπλὰς τῶν ζῴων ἑαυτοῦ μονογράμματα ἐγραψεν ὄνυχια...ἐπέγνω γὰρ αὐτὰ διὰ τῶν μονογραμμάτων, Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 344 = Eudok. *vioi.* 863 Σίσυφος δὲ μονογράμμω τυπώματι τὸ τοῦτου ὄνομα ἐγχαράττων ταῖς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ (αὐτοῦ) Tzetz. ed. Scheer) ζῴων ὀπλαῖς καὶ χηλαῖς ἐπεγίνωσκεν, Polyain. 6. 52 Σίσυφος, Αὐτολόκου

Autolykos, the father of Odysseus. Odysseus too, or rather his companions, stole the cattle of the sun-god¹. Indeed, the lifting of them is a commonplace in Greek mythology². For instance, Alkyoneus driving off the oxen of Helios from the Akrokorinthos³ appears to be a doublet of Autolykos driving off the oxen of Sisyphos from the same mountain-fastness. But whether *Tešub*



Fig. 500.

is to be identified with *Sisyphos* or not, it is certain that he was a sky-god who had the bull as his sacred beast (fig. 500)⁴. A small

τὰς βόας αὐτοῦ κλέπτοντος πολλάκις, ταῖς χηλαῖς τῶν βοῶν ἐνέτηξε μύλιβον, ᾧ χαρακτῆρα ἐνήρμοσε γράμματα ἐκτυπῶντα 'Αὐτόλυκος ἐκλεψεν.' ὁ μὲν δὴ Αὐτόλυκος νύκτωρ ἀπήλασε τὰς βόας, ὁ δὲ Σίσυφος μεθ' ἡμέραν τοῖς γείτοσι γεωργοῖς εἶδει τὰ ἰχνη τῶν βοῶν κατηγοροῦντα τὴν Αὐτολύκων κλοπήν.

A relief-vase by the potter Dionysios, found at Anthedon and now at Berlin, illustrates this tale (C. Robert in the *Winkelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* l. 90 ff. with figs.). Cp. also a red-figured Attic *amphora* from Ruvo now at Munich (Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 254 ff. no. 805, T. Panofka in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1848 xx. 162 ff. pl. G, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 277, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 137, 264), which according to the most probable interpretation (L. D. Barnett in *Hermes* 1898 xxxiii. 640 ff.) represents the subsequent marriage of Antikleia with Laertes.

¹ O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 83 f.

² See W. H. Roscher *Hermes der Windgott* Leipzig 1878 p. 42 n. 164 and especially Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1914 Index s.v. 'Rinderraub.'

³ K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1581, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 134. The original version of the myth was reconstructed by C. Robert in *Hermes* 1884 xix. 473 ff. from schol. Pind. *Nem.* 4. 43, schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 6 (5). 47, Apollod. i. 6. 1.

⁴ Relief on building-stone at Malatia, near the confluence of the Tochma Su with the Euphrates (J. Garstang in the *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 1908 i. 3 f. pl. 4 f., *id.* *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 pp. 138 f., 399 pl. 44, *id.* *The Syrian Goddess* London 1913 p. 5 f. fig. 1, with the original aspect of the bull's horns and the libation-vase restored by means of dotted lines, D. G. Hogarth in the *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 1909 ii. 180 f. pl. 41, 4). Prof. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* p. 138 writes: 'a deity, wearing a conical head-dress decorated with rings, stands upon the back of a horned bull. His left leg is forward..., and on his feet are tip-tilted shoes. In his right hand, which is drawn

bronze bull, acquired by Monsieur Sorlin-Dorigny somewhere in the interior of Asia Minor and by him presented to the Louvre, is regarded by Monsieur Perrot as of Hittite manufacture¹. It has markings on its haunch which recall those of Tešub's bull at Eyuk. Probably we should be right in assuming at various Hittite centres the cult of a life-sized bronze bull, of which copies on a smaller scale were multiplied. This assumption would at least square with some further facts. W. Leonhard² compares with the Louvre statuette a small bronze bull of crude style seen by Prof. Cumont near Neokaisareia (*Niksar*) in Pontos. The find-spot was one of considerable interest³:

'You reach a mountain-top, which commands a view southwards over a vast stretch of country—*Niksar* itself, the Lykos-valley fading away into the distant haze, the wooded ranges of Lithros and Ophlimos forming the boundary of Phanaroia, and beyond with its white peaks the high mountain-chain of Asia Minor. Pines are growing on this height that no man would venture to cut, and all around are to be seen traces of a circular precinct-wall. This summit, like many others, is under the protection of Elias, and every year on the twentieth of June, the day consecrated to this prophet by the orthodox church, the villagers celebrate a 'liturgy' here. They slaughter sheep and poultry, roast them, and then fall to eating, drinking, and dancing merrily. The nature of the spot and the details of the feast are so similar to those that we have already noted near *Ebimi* at the sanctuary of Zeus *Stratios* and elsewhere too⁴ that we can safely infer the existence of a pagan cult on this mountain-top. The 'liturgy' of Elias has taken the place of a festival held at the summer solstice. More than that, we were assured that ancient idols are unearthed on the mountain, and by way of proof we were shown a small bronze bull of very rude make and a bull's head that we were able to acquire⁵.... The neck is a hollow socket, and two holes pierced in the metal show that this head must have been fixed on a wooden stem. The eye-holes are empty and were doubtless inlaid with enamel. The tongue, which hung out of the half-opened mouth, is now broken. A ring under the jaw probably served for the attachment of a

back, there is a triangular bow, and in his outstretched left hand he seems to hold up a forked emblem, like the lightning trident, and to grasp at the same time a cord which is attached to the nose of the bull. His dress is a short bordered tunic. Facing him is a long-robed personage, in whom we recognise the king-priest, distinguished by his close-fitting cap and the characteristic large curl of hair behind the neck. In his left hand he holds a reversed lituus; his right is partly extended and seems to be pouring out some fluid which falls in a wavy stream. He is followed by a small person who leads up...a goat clearly intended for an offering. Some hieroglyphs complete the picture.'

¹ Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 763 fig. 369: 'Ce taureau peut avoir été une idole, celle même que nous voyons dressée sur l'autel dans un des bas-reliefs d'Euiuk' [*supra* p. 636 fig. 495].

² W. Leonhard *Hettiter und Amazonen* Leipzig—Berlin 1911 p. 230.

³ F. Cumont—E. Cumont *Voyage d'exploration archéologique dans le Pont et la Petite Arménie* (*Studia Pontica* ii) Bruxelles 1906 p. 270 ff.

⁴ *Eid. ib.* pp. 129 f., 172 ff., 233.

⁵ *Eid. ib.* p. 271 fig. The original, 0.06^m in length, is now in the *Musée du Cinquantenaire* (inventory no. A, 963).

small bell. When we remember that the bull was the sacred animal of the god Men, who is often represented with his foot set on a mere bull's head and a pine-cone in his hand¹, we may conclude with some assurance that this great Anatolian deity was once worshipped on the height where these bronzes were found. Further, it is à propos of Kabeira that Strabon² mentions the small town of Ameria, where there was the temple of Men *Pharnákou*, lord of an extensive domain and a numerous retinue of *hieródouloi*. He adds that the kings of Pontos had so profound a veneration for this god that they used to swear by the king's Tyche and by Men *Pharnákou*³.

Prof. Cumont's conclusion that the bulls found on this Pontic mountain imply a cult of Men is not necessarily inconsistent with the view that the Hittite bull-god was there first. Men in turn was at Maionia (*Menneh*) in Lydia brought into connexion with Zeus⁴, the two deities being sometimes at least paired off as moon-god with sun-god (*supra* p. 193 fig. 142). Elsewhere Zeus appears to have inherited the bronze bulls of the Hittite god with no intermediary. Prof. Fick in his study of pre-Greek place-names⁵

¹ P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 102 f. fig. 7, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2759 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1533 n. 1. Men appears standing with a bull beside him on a coin of Sagalassos in Pisidia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia*, etc. p. 242 no. 12 Hadrian, W. H. Roscher in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1891 p. 143 pl. 1^a, 16 Hadrian), with a bull's head beside him over which he pours a libation on coins of Nysa in Lydia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 181 no. 58 Gordianus Pius, p. 184 no. 67 Valerian, W. H. Roscher *loc. cit.* p. 143 pl. 1^a, 14 Gordianus Pius), and drawn in a car by two bulls on coins of Temenothyrai in Phrygia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* p. 412 pl. 48, 1 Commodus, Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 202 f. no. 640 Commodus, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 687, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2718 f. fig. 7 Commodus). He treads upon a prostrate bull in a relief from Maionia (*infra* n. 4) and in another of unknown provenance at the Mount Ephraim Hotel, Tunbridge Wells (Sir Cecil Smith in *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 1884 xl. 114 f. with pl., W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2714 fig. 6). But his usual attitude is that of setting one foot on a simple bull's head (see e.g. W. H. Roscher *loc. cit.* p. 142 ff. pl. 1^a, 12, 13, 15, pl. 1^b, 3 (?)) : cp. *Sabázios* with one foot on the ram's head (*supra* p. 391 f. pl. xxvii, p. 426). I figure a copper of Antiocheia in Pisidia, struck by



Fig. 501.

Septimius Severus, from my collection (fig. 501, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia*, etc. pp. cxii f., 179 f. pl. 31, 6).

² Strab. 557.

³ On this title see F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 i. 233 n. 1, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2690, 2752, O. Höfer *ib.* iii. 2285, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1534 n. 2 med.

⁴ Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 118 pl. 136, 2, W. H. Roscher *loc. cit.* p. 125 pl. 2, 1, *infra* ch. i § 7 (a). Beneath the relief is the inscription: *ἱερὰ συνβίωσης καὶ νεωτέρα κατ' ἐπιταγήν τοῦ Κοιρίου τυράννου | Διδὸς Μασφαλαιτηνοῦ καὶ Μηρὶ Τιάμου εὐχὴν κ.τ.λ.* (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3438, Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* etc. no. 667).

⁵ A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 48.

argues that Mount *Atabyron* or *Atabyris* in Rhodes and Mount *Tabbôr* in Galilee, which Iosephos calls *Itabyrion*¹ and Polybios *Atabyrion*², bore the same Hittite name³. We are therefore free to surmise that the bronze cattle on Mount Atabyron, which bellowed ominously when any evil was about to befall Rhodes⁴, the Sun-god's island, were of Hittite origin⁵. The small bronze bulls found now-a-days on the mountain (fig. 502)⁶ are of later



Fig. 502.

style and must be regarded as votive offerings to the Hellenic Zeus *Atabyrios*⁷. The cult of this deity spread from Rhodes to the Rhodian colony Agrigentum; and we may reasonably conjecture that the notorious bull of bronze made by Perillos for Phalaris the Agrigentine tyrant⁸ was a late but lineal descendant

¹ Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 5. 1. 22, 5. 5. 3, 8. 2. 3, 13. 15. 4, *de bell. Iud.* 1. 8. 7, 2. 20. 6, 4. 1. 8, *v. Fl. Ioseph.* 37. So also in the LXX. version of Hos. 5. 1.

² Polyb. 5. 70. 6. Cp. Hesych. Ἰταβύριον ὄρος, ἔχον πηγὴν μίαν ὅθεν τὰ θηρία πίνει. ἔστι δὲ εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ with Hesych. Ἀταβύριον ἔνθα [ὄρος] θηρία συνάγονται. See further I. Benzinger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1888.

³ G. Beloch in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1894 xlix. 130 had taken Ἀταβύριον to be a Carian name derived from τᾶβα, 'rock' (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τάβα).

⁴ Append. B Rhodes.

⁵ Yet the myth of Katrens, Althaimenes, and Apemosyne, in which ox-hides and ox-herds play their part (Append. B Rhodes), points rather to a connexion with Crete. The story of Apemosyne slipping on the freshly-flayed hides strewn by Hermes in the road reads like a piece of aetiology. Sir Arthur Evans *Scripta Minoa* Oxford 1909 i. 281 guesses that the ox-hide symbols on the disk found at Phaistos 'have an ideographic meaning and represent the skins of sacrificed beeves': he argues (*ib.* p. 285 ff.) that the disk came from the south-west coastlands of Asia Minor—'This would not exclude an insular area, such as the once Carian Rhodes, in close mainland contact.'

⁶ C. Torr *Rhodes in Ancient Times* Cambridge 1885 p. 76 pl. 4.

⁷ Append. B Rhodes.

⁸ Append. B Sicily.

of the Hittite breed. Finally, H. Prinz holds that the myth of Zeus and Europe is to be explained from Hittite sources¹. The Hittite goddess Chipa standing on the bull held by Tešub, while she supports in either hand a flowery kirtle (fig. 503)², certainly

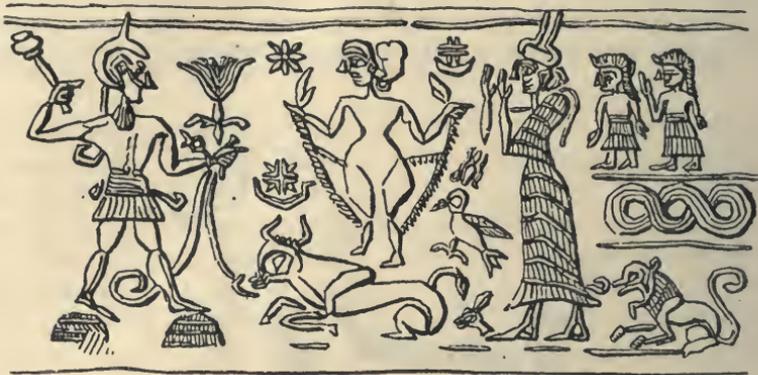


Fig. 503.

suggests that the art-type of Europe on the bull owed something to Hittite influence. And Chipa beneath her winged arch (fig. 504)³ may be compared with *Hellotis* in her big wreath⁴.

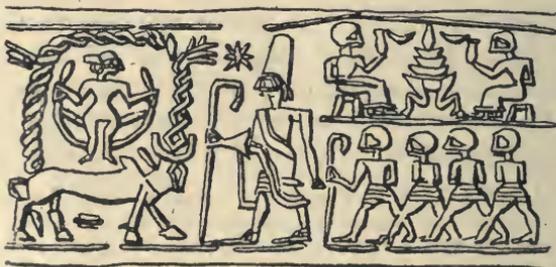


Fig. 504.

(δ) The Cretan Zeus and Zagreus.

Our third example of a transmitted religious *motif* is at once more certain and more interesting. The art of Mesopotamia carried westward by the Phoenicians has left its impress upon

¹ *Supra* p. 526 n. 2.

² W. H. Ward in M. Jastrow *Bildermappe zur Religion Babylonien und Assyriens* Giessen 1912 p. 103 pl. 51, no. 186.

³ W. H. Ward in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1899 iii. 26 fig. 33 and in M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 103 pl. 51, no. 187.

⁴ *Supra* p. 525.

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Zeus and the Kouretes on a bronze 'shield' found
in the Idaean Cavé.

See page 645 ff.

[That this 'shield' is in reality a Curetic *týmpanon* has recently been recognised by H. Thiersch in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1913 xxviii Arch. Anz. pp. 47—53.]

early cult-objects in Crete¹. Conspicuous among these is a bronze shield of the ninth², or possibly of the eighth³, century B.C. found in the Idaean Cave (pl. xxxv)⁴. Round its rim are lotos-buds and a debased 'tree-of-life.' In the centre stands an athletic god who, like Rammân⁵, rests one foot upon a bull and, like Gilgameš⁶, lifts a lion high above his head. To either side is a winged attendant. All this is frankly Assyrian; and the youthful god with his curled hair and false beard might well be mistaken for Gilgameš portrayed as triumphing over the divine bull Alû⁷ and the lion⁸. But the fact that his attendants are each beating a pair of drums undeceives us. This is none other than the youthful Zeus of Mount Ide flanked by the Kouretes. And we observe two things: first, that we have here the earliest certain representation of Zeus; and second, that despite his Kouretes he is conceived not as an infant but as a young man in the prime of life, the 'greatest Lad of Kronos' line⁹.

Now the Cretans, as Dr Rendel Harris discovered¹⁰, held that Zeus was a prince ripped up by a wild boar and buried in their midst. The manner of his death gives us good reason to suspect that he was related to the great mother-goddess of Crete as was Adonis to Aphrodite or Tammuz to Ištar. The manner of his burial confirms our suspicion; for his tomb on Mount Juktas was in the *témenos* of a primitive sanctuary¹¹, apparently a sanctuary of the mountain-mother¹², where in 'Middle Minoan' times votive

¹ F. Poulsen *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst* Leipzig—Berlin 1912 p. 77 ff.

² A. L. Frothingham in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1888 iv. 434 ff. ('the period between 850 and 725 B.C.'). cp. R. Dussaud *Les civilisations préhelléniques dans le bassin de la mer Égée* Paris 1910 p. 196 ('ne remonte pas au-delà du neuvième siècle avant notre ère').

³ F. Poulsen *op. cit.* p. 80, cp. Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vii. 131 ('que l'on attribue à la fin du viii^e ou au commencement du vii^e siècle').

⁴ F. Halbherr—P. Orsi *Antichità dell' Antro di Zeus Ideo in Creta* (= *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica* ii) pl. 1, A. L. Frothingham *loc. cit.* p. 437 ff. pl. 16, *Milani Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1899—1901 i. 1 ff. pl. 1, 1.

⁵ *Supra* p. 576.

⁶ A. L. Frothingham *loc. cit.* p. 438 fig. 13, *Milani Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1899—1901 i. 4 n. 11 fig. 3.

⁷ M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 483 ff., W. H. Ward in M. Jastrow *Bildermappe zur Religion Babylonien und Assyriens* Giessen 1912 p. 96 pl. 45, nos. 146—150, A. Jeremias in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 791 f.

⁸ M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 488, A. Jeremias in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 786, 793, 822.

⁹ *Supra* p. 15 n. 5.

¹⁰ *Supra* p. 157 n. 3.

¹¹ *Supra* p. 161 f.

¹² Sir Arthur Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1912 xxxii. 279 f.: 'Some of the most characteristic religious scenes on-Minoan signets are most intelligible in the light supplied by cults that survived to historic times in the lands East of the Aegean. Throughout these regions we are confronted by a perpetually recurrent figure of a Goddess and her

limbs were dedicated for health restored¹. If this was the character of the Cretan Zeus, it becomes highly probable that his death and resurrection were annually celebrated as a magical means of reviving the life of all that lives². Of such rites sundry traces are extant in Greek literature. We must consider their bearing on the monument before us.

Porphyrios in his *Life of Pythagoras* says of the philosopher that,

'when he landed in Crete, he betook himself to the mystics of Morges, one of the Idaean Daktyloi, by whom he was purified with the thunder-stone, at daybreak lying prone beside the sea and at night beside a river, his head wrapped in the fleece of a black ram. Moreover he went down into the Idaean Cave, as it is called, wearing black wool, passed thrice nine days there in accordance with custom, offered a funeral sacrifice to Zeus, beheld the throne that is strown for him every year, and engraved on the tomb an epigram entitled "Pythagoras to Zeus," which begins—

"Here lieth dead Zan, whom men name as Zeus³."

The essential points are that Pythagoras sacrificed as to a dead Zeus, and saw the throne that was annually spread for him. For whom? Presumably for the dead Zeus come to life again. It will be remembered that various coins of Asia Minor showed the

youthful satellite—son or paramour, martial or effeminate by turns, but always mortal, and mourned in various forms. Attis, Adonis or Thammuz, we may add the Ilian Anchises..., all had tombs within her temple walls. Not least, the Cretan Zeus himself knew death, and the fabled site of his monument on Mount Juktas proves to coincide with a votive shrine over which the Goddess rather than the God originally presided. So too, on the Minoan and Mycenaean signets we see the warrior youth before the seated Goddess, and in one case actually seem to have a glimpse of the "tomb" within its temenos. Beside it is hung up the little body-shield, a mourning votary is bowed towards it, the sacred tree and pillar shrine of the Goddess are hard by [*id. ib.* 1901 xxi. 177 fig. 53]. In another parallel scene the female mourner lies prone above the shield itself, the divine connexion of which is shown by the sacred emblems seen above, which combine the double axe and life symbol [*id. ib.* 1901 xxi. 176 fig. 52].'

¹ G. Karo in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 260: 'Auf dem Gipfel des Juktas, südlich von Knossos, wo man später das Grab des Zeus zeigte, hat Evans Reste eines mittelminoischen Heiligtums aufgedeckt, darunter auch ein paar geweihte menschliche Gliedmassen aus Ton, wie die aus dem Heiligtum einer Heilgöttheit von Petsofa im Osten der Insel (Brit. School Annual IX Taf. 12). Man darf daraus schliessen, dass der Himmelsgott im minoischen Kreta zugleich Heilgott, also der Ahnherr des Zeus Hypsistos und des Asklepios war.'

² See in *primis* Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Adonis Attis Osiris² p. 3 ff.

³ Porph. *v. Pyth.* 17 Κρήτης δ' ἐπιβάς τοῖς Μόργου μύσταις προσήει, ἐνὸς τῶν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων, ὑφ' ᾧν καὶ ἐκαθάρθη τῇ κεραυνία λίθῳ, ἔωθεν μὲν παρὰ θαλάττῃ πρηγῆς ἐκταθείς, νύκτωρ δὲ παρὰ ποταμῷ, ἀρνειοῦ μέλανος μαλλοῖς ἐστεφανωμένος. εἰς δὲ τὸ Ἰδαῖον καλούμενον ἄντρον καταβάς, ἔρια ἔχων μέλανα τὰς νενομισμένας τριττὰς ἐννέα ἡμέρας ἐκεῖ διέτριψε καὶ καθήγησε τῷ Δίῳ, τὸν τε στορνύμενον αὐτῷ κατ' ἔτος θρόνον ἐθεάσατο, ἐπίγραμμα τ' ἐνεχάραξεν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ, ἐπιγράψας ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΣ ΤΩΙ ΔΙΙ, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή,—ὧδε θανὼν κείται Ζᾶν, ὃν Δία κκλησκουσιν.

infant Zeus or Dionysos seated on a throne with Kouretes grouped about him¹. Moreover, we have learnt from Orphic sources² that the chthonian Dionysos or Zagreus mounted the throne of Zeus³ and sat there grasping the thunderbolt, that in his efforts to escape the attacking Titans he ran through a whole series of changes, and that finally he was cut to pieces in the form of a bull. We concluded in fact that Dionysos or Zagreus was in some sense Zeus reborn⁴. That is why the earliest mention of Zagreus (*s. vi* B.C.) links his name with a phrase specially appropriate to Zeus⁵, and Nonnos (*s. v* A.D.) speaks of him explicitly as 'a second Zeus⁶.' The series of changes that he runs through perhaps reflects the rapidity of his growth. Kallimachos lays stress on the phenomenal adolescence of the infant Zeus⁷. And Aratos states that his nurses—

hid the babe

On fragrant Dikton, near the Idaean Mount,

Within a cave, and reared him for a year⁸.

A god who has to grow to maturity in a single year must be quick about it. Of his death in the form of a bull we shall have more to say.

But if the Cretan Zeus came to life again as Zagreus, that

¹ *Supra* p. 152 f. figs. 125—128.

² Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 552 ff.

³ Hence Orig. *c. Cels.* 3. 23 ἄρα δὲ οὐ πολλῶ ταῦτα (the resurrection of Christ) σεμνότερα φανεῖται Διονύσου ὑπὸ Τιτάνων ἀπατωμένον καὶ ἐκπίπτοντος ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς θρόνου καὶ σπαρασσομένου ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν συντιθεμένου καὶ οἰνεὶ ἀναβιώσκοντος καὶ ἀναβαλόντος εἰς οὐρανόν; Prokl. *in Plat. Crat.* p. 55, 5 ff. Pasquali καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος < ὁ > τελευταῖος θεῶν βασιλεὺς παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς· ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ ἰδρύει τε αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ θρόνῳ καὶ ἐγχειρίζει τὸ σκῆπτρον καὶ βασιλέα ποιεῖ τῶν ἐγκοσμίων ἀπάντων θεῶν· “κλύτε, θεοί· τόνδ' ἕμμιν ἐγὼ βασιλῆα τίθημι” [Orph. *frag.* 190 Abel] λέγει πρὸς τοὺς νέους θεοὺς ὁ Ζεὺς, *id. in Plat. Tim.* iii. 310, 32 ff. Diehl ὁ γὰρ Ζεὺς βασιλέα τίθησιν αὐτὸν ἀπάντων τῶν ἐγκοσμίων θεῶν καὶ πρωτίστως αὐτῷ νέμει τιμὰς, “καίπερ ἔδοντι νέω καὶ νηπιῷ εἰλαπιναστῆ” [Orph. *frag.* 191 Abel], *cp. id. in Plat. Parm.* p. 91 Cousin καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον παῖδας καὶ νέους ἡ θεολογία καλεῖ· “καίπερ ὄντε νέω,” φησὶν Ὀρφεύς (which Lobeck *op. cit.* i. 553 justly regards as a misreading of the previous fragment), *id. in Plat. Alcib.* p. 83 Ὀρφεύς ἐφίστησι τῷ βασιλεὶ Διονύσῳ τὴν μονάδα τὴν Ἀπολλωνιακὴν ἀποτρέπουσαν αὐτὸν τῆς εἰς τὸ Τιτανικὸν πληθὸς προσόδου καὶ τῆς ἐξαναστάσεως τοῦ βασιλείου θρόνου.

⁴ *Supra* p. 398 f.

⁵ *Alcmaeonis frag.* 3 Kinkel *ap. et. Gud.* p. 227, 37 ff. and Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 443, 8 ff. πότνια Γῆ Ζαγρεῦ τε θεῶν πανκέρτατε πάντων. On the *Alcmaeonis* see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*^b München 1908 i. 124 ('nicht vor dem Schluss des 7. Jahrhunderts'), *supra* p. 405.

⁶ Nonn. *Dion.* 10. 298 καὶ πέλε δεύτερος ἄλλος ἐτι βρέφος ἕτιος Ζεὺς, *supra* p. 398 f.

⁷ Kallim. *h. Zeus* 55 ff. καλὰ μὲν ἤεξεν, καλὰ δ' ἔτραφες, οὐράνιε Ζεῦ. | ὄξυ δ' ἀνήβησας, ταχνοὶ δέ τοι ἦλθον ἰουλοὶ | ἄλλ' ἐτι παιδὸς ἔων ἐφράσσαο πάντα τέλεια.

⁸ Arat. *phaen.* 32 ff. ὁ μιν τότε κουρίζοντα | Δίκτῳ ἐν εὐώδει, ὄρεος σχεδὸν Ἰδαίου (*v. l. in schol. Αἰγυαίου*), | ἀντρῶ ἐγκατέθετο καὶ ἔτραφον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν, | Δικταῖοι Κούρητες ὄτε Κρόνον ἐψεύδοτο.

looks as though the Anatolian cult of mother and son had developed along Orphic lines. Was this actually the case? Have we a right to use the term Zagreus of Zeus *redivivus* in Crete? And, if so, what exactly do we mean by it?

In the fifth century B.C., and perhaps much earlier, Zagreus with his thunders played an essential part in the rites of Zeus *Idaios*. So much at least we learn from an all-important fragment of Euripides' *Cretans*¹. The Chorus of 'prophets' address Minos as follows:

King of Crete with its towns five-score,
Whom Phoinix' seed Europe bore
To Zeus omnipotent evermore.

Lo, I am here in thy behoof
Quitting the holy fanes, whose roof
Of cypress-wood is weather-proof

Thanks to the home-grown timber hacked
By Chalyb axe and then compact
With bull-bound glue in its joints exact.

Pure is my life and of spotless fame
Since that moment when I became
A mystic in Zeus of Ide's name,—

Darkling Zagreus' thunders made,
The raw-fed feasters' feast essayed,
And the mountain-mother's torches swayed.

Thus amid the Curetic band,
Hallowed alike in heart and hand,
A very Bacchos at length I stand.

White is the raiment that now I wear,
In birth and burial have no share,
Nor eat of food, if the life be there.

The mystics of Zeus *Idaios* here tell us how their temple was made, and how they themselves were initiated into the rites of their god. The temple was roofed with beams of cypress, a tree

¹ Porph. *de abst.* 4. 19 μικροῦ με παρῆλθε καὶ τὸ Εὐριπίδειον παραθέσθαι, ὃς τοὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ τοῦ Διὸς προφήτας ἀπέχεσθαι φησὶ διὰ τούτων· λέγουσι δ' οἱ κατὰ τὸν χορὸν πρὸς τὸν Μίνω [Eur. *Cretes frag.* 472 Nauck²]. Φοινικογενοῦς [παῖ τῆς Τυρίας οἰμ. Bothe] τέκνον Εὐρώπας | καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Ζανός, ἀνάσσω | Κρήτης ἑκατομπολιέθρου· ἦκω ζαθέου ναοῦς προλιπῶν, | οὗς αὐθιγενῆς τμηθεῖσα δοκὸς | στεγανοῦς παρέχει Χαλύβω πελέκει | καὶ ταυροδέτῳ κόλλῃ κραθεῖσ' | ἀτρεκεῖς ἄρμους κυπαρίσσου. || ἄγγον δὲ βίον τελων ἐξ οὗ | Διὸς Ἰδαίου μύστης γενόμεν, | καὶ νυκτιπόλου Ζαγρέως βροντὰς | τὰς τ' ὠμοφάγους δαΐτας τελέσας | μητρὶ τ' ὀρεῖν δῶδας ἀνασχῶν | καὶ Κουρήτων | Βάκχος ἐκλήθην ὀσιωθείς. | πάλλευκα δ' ἔχων εἴματα φεύγω | γένεσίν τε βροτῶν καὶ νεκροθήκης | οὐ χριμπτόμενος τήν τ' ἐμψύχων | βρῶσιν ἐδεστῶν πεφύλαγμα. I follow the text as given by Nauck, except that in line 1 I print Εὐρώπας (so most MSS., Εὐρώπης Nauck with cod. Mon. 461), in line 2 Ζανός (ζανός codd., Ζηνός Nauck after Bentley), and in line 12 τὰς τ' (so codd., τοὺς Nauck after Bergk) and δαΐτας (so Hesych. s.v. ὠμοφάγους δαΐτας, δαΐτας Nauck with codd., cp. Hesych. s.v. δαΐτας).

sacred to Rhea¹ rather than to Zeus². The requisite timber was grown on the spot. Probably it formed part of a grove belonging to the goddess³ and was felled with the double-axe, to which even in the iron age a certain sanctity still attached. The planks so hewn were fitted together with no iron nails or clamps (that would have been an impious innovation)⁴, but with glue made of bull's hide⁵ (for the bull was an animal form of the deity himself⁶). The initiates evidently sought to become one with the re-born god, the youthful partner of their goddess. Beginning as Kouretes, they ended as Bacchoi. Three rites are touched upon⁷, the making

¹ See F. Lajard *Recherches sur le culte du cyprès pyramidal* Paris 1854 p. 216 and *passim*, Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 486—494, Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* p. 456 pls. 153, 154, and Index *s.v.* 'Cypress,' and F. Olck in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1915—1938.

² *Supra* p. 558 n. 5.

³ At Knossos were shown the foundations of Rhea's house and a cypress-grove of ancient sanctity (Diod. 5. 66 *μυθολογοῦσι γὰρ οἱ Κρήτες γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν τῶν Κουρήτων ἡλικίαν τοῦς καλουμένους Τιτᾶνας. τοῦτους δὲ τῆς Κνωσίας χώρας ἔχειν τὴν ὄκησον, ὄπου περ ἐτι καὶ νῦν δέκνυνται θεμέλια ῥέας οἰκόπεδα καὶ κυπαρίττων ἄλσος ἐκ παλαιοῦ χρόνου ἀνεμμένον*).

At Ortygia near Ephesos was a grove mainly composed of cypress-trees: here Leto had brought forth her twins, while the Kouretes, standing close by on Mt Solmissos, had scared away Hera with the clash of their weapons (Strab. 639 f.).

On a lenticular gem of rock crystal actually found in the Idaean Cave 'a female votary is seen blowing a conch-shell or triton before an altar of the usual Mycenaean shape. Above the altar is seen a group of three trees apparently cypresses, and immediately in front of them the "horns of consecration." To the right of the altar is a rayed symbol, to the left is apparently another altar base, with a conical excrescence, and behind the votary another tree' (Sir Arthur Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 141 f. fig. 25).

⁴ The best collection of relevant facts is in Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Taboo pp. 225—236 ('Iron tabooed'), especially *ib.* p. 230 ('Iron not used in building sacred edifices'). Dr Frazer cites *inter alia* Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 100 Cyzici et buleuterium vocant aedificium amplum, sine ferreo clavo ita disposita contignatione, ut eximantur trabes sine fulturis ac reponantur.

⁵ Miss Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 481 writes: 'The shrine of Idaean Zeus... was cemented with bulls' blood. Possibly this may mean that at its foundation a sacred bull was slain and his blood mixed with the mortar; anyhow it indicates connection with bull-worship.' The suggestion of bull's blood is over-fanciful. Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 1876 B translated *ταυρόδετος* correctly enough by 'Glutine taurino compacta'; for *ταυροκόλλα*, as my colleague Mr D. S. Robertson points out to me, was simply glue, best made from the hides (Dioscor. 3. 91 (101) p. 441 Sprengel, cp. Aristot. *hist. an.* 3. 11. 517 b 28 ff., *alib.*) or from the ears and genitals of bulls (Plin. *nat. hist.* 28. 235 f.). Nevertheless such a substance may well have had a religious value in a shrine where the bull was of primary importance.

⁶ *Infra* p. 650 and ch. i § 6 (g) xxi (ξ, κ).

⁷ Miss Harrison has discussed the Zagreus-rites with much insight and with a most helpful accumulation of anthropological parallels in her *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 478 ff., *Themis* pp. 14 ff., 51 ff., 56 ff., 156 f., cp. Mr F. M. Cornford in *Themis* p. 247 f. and Prof. G. Murray *ib.* p. 345. These scholars have not, however, seen or at least expressed what I believe to have been an essential element, perhaps originally the

of thunder, the banquet of raw flesh, and the roaming with torches over the mountain-side. It seems probable that the purpose of all these ritual actions was to identify the worshippers as far as possible with Zagreus, and so to bring them into the most intimate relation to the goddess. If Zagreus sat on the throne of Zeus grasping the thunderbolt, the mystics could at least produce mock thunder¹ by beating drums made from the hide of the sacred bull²: on the shield from the Idaean Cave we see them doing it. If he was slain in the form of a bull, they could devour a bull's flesh raw and thereby assimilate the very life-blood of the god. If he consorted by night with his mother, the mountain-goddess, they too full-charged with his sanctity might go in quest of her their mother³ and fructify her by their torches⁴. Thenceforward as

essential element, of the performance, *viz.* that the initiate by identifying himself with the god re-born became the male consort of the goddess. The great mother-goddess, let us say, was responsible for the fertility of all living things. To keep up her powers, she must needs be impregnated by an unending succession of youthful lovers. Hence the young men of the community, in whom Miss Harrison has rightly recognised the true Kouretes (*supra* p. 23 n. 6), on entering upon manhood pose as the divine consorts of the mother-goddess. The mystics of Zeus *Idaios* in Crete thus fall into line with the mystics of Zeus *Sabázios* in Phrygia (*supra* p. 395 f.). And this may be ultimately the meaning of the phrase *θαλάμειμα Κουρήτων* used by Euripides (*infra* n. 2), of the formula *ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυν* in the mysteries of Deo (Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 15. 3 p. 13, 13 Stählin = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 2. 3. 18 cited *supra* p. 392 n. 5, cp. schol. Plat. *Gorg.* 497 C) and of the verse *Δεσποίνης δὲ ὑπὸ κλάπων ἔδυν χθονίας βασιλείας* on an Orphic gold tablet found near Naples (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 641 i, 7, G. Murray in Miss Harrison's *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 667 ff.).

¹ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 820 n. 5, cp. *ib.* p. 819 n. 4, conjectured that the Kouretes clashing their weapons were the mythical counterpart of earthly priests imitating a storm by way of rain-magic. Miss Harrison *Themis* p. 61 f. thinks that the mimic thunder was produced by means of a *ρόμβος* or 'bull-roarer,' which we know to have been among the toys of Zagreus (Orph. *frag.* 196 Abel = Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 17. 2 p. 14, 12 Stählin with schol. *ad loc.* p. 302, 28 ff. Stählin, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 19). But the 'bull-roarer' is to my ear—and I have heard Mr Cornford swing it in the darkness with great effect—suggestive of a rising storm-wind rather than of rumbling thunder; cp. Frazer *Golden Bough*³: The Magic Art i. 324 'In some islands of Torres Straits the wizard made wind by whirling a bull-roarer.' A passage quoted by Miss Harrison herself from Aisch. *Edoni frag.* 57, 8 ff. Nauck² (rites of Kotys or Kotyto) *ταυρόφθογοι δ' ὑπομυκῶνται | ποθεν ἐξ ἀφανοῦς φοβεροὶ μῖμοι, | τυπάνου δ' εἰκὼν ὥσθ' ὑπογαίου | βροντῆς φέρεται βαρυταρβῆς* strongly supports the view advanced in the text—that the sound of thunder was made by beating drums of bull's hide.

² Cp. the preceding note and Eur. *Bacch.* 120 ff. *ᾧ θαλάμειμα Κουρή|των ζάθεοι τε Κρήτας | Διογενέτορες ἔναυλοι, | ἐνθα τρικύρυνες ἀντροῖς | βυρόστονον κύκλωμα | τόδε μοι Κορύβαντες ἤηρον · | κ.τ.λ.,* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 771, 54 ff., Hesych. and Zonar. *lex. s.v.* *βυρόστονος*.

³ On the Kouretes as sons of Rhea see O. Immisch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1597 f., where variants are cited.

⁴ Frazer *Golden Bough*² iii. 240 ff., 313 f., *Golden Bough*³: Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 57 n. 2, shows that torches were carried about the fields with the intention of fertilising them, and *Golden Bough*³: The Magic Art ii. 195 ff., 230 ff. collects examples of the

veritable embodiments of the god they must lead a life of ceremonial purity, being so far as men might be husbands of the goddess.

It remains to ask, Whence came the name *Zagrēus*? and What was its significance? The word appears to be an ethnic properly denoting the god (Gilgameš?) of Mount *Zágrōs* or *Zágron*, the great mountain-range that parts Assyria from Media¹. This name, we may suppose, travelled from Mesopotamia *viâ* Phoinike to Crete at about the same time and along much the same route as the Assyrian influences manifest in our shield. From Crete it would readily pass to Argos², and so northwards to the rest of Greece. On reaching Greek soil it was naturally misinterpreted as the 'Mighty Hunter³', a title applicable enough to a prince ripped up by a wild boar⁴. The Cretan god, in fact, so closely resembled his oriental counterpart that he borrowed both his name and his art-type. On the Idaean shield we see Zeus *redivivus*, already perhaps known as Zagreus, in the guise of Gilgameš, the Biblical Nimrod, 'a mighty hunter before the LORD⁵'.

(e) The Cretan Zeus and Human Omophagy.

Dr Frazer after examining the traces of Adonis-worship in Syria, Kypros, etc. reaches the conclusion⁶

'that among Semitic peoples in early times, Adonis, the divine lord of the city, was often personated by priestly kings or other members of the royal family, and that these his human representatives were of old put to death, whether periodically or occasionally, in their divine character....As time went on, the cruel custom was apparently mitigated in various ways, for example, by substituting an effigy or an animal for the man, or by allowing the destined victim to escape with a merely make-believe sacrifice.'

belief in impregnation by means of fire. The use of torches in bridal processions may have been magical as well as utilitarian.

¹ This rather obvious derivation was first, I think, noted by Miss G. Davis in *The Classical Association of Ireland: Proceedings for 1911—1912* p. 23 f. ('Is it too much to see in Zagreus a cult-name of Dionysos or Soma as "the God of Zagros"?').

² At Argos there was a temple of Dionysos *Κρήσιος*, containing a *κεραμέα σορός* of Ariadne (Paus. 2. 23. 7 f.); and it was to the cycle of Argive myth that the *Alkmaionis* belonged.

³ *Et. mag.* p. 406, 46 ff. *Ζαγρεύς...παρὰ τὸ ζα, ἔν' ἧ ὁ πᾶν ἀγρεύων, et. Gud.* p. 227, 37 and Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 443, 8 *Ζάγρευς· ὁ μεγάλως ἀγρεύων.*

⁴ Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 129 n. ^b says: 'The explanation of the word as "the mighty hunter"—which Euripides may have had in mind in his phrase in the *Bakchai* [1192], ὁ γὰρ ἀναξ ἀγρεύς—is not plausible on religious grounds.' But Dr Farnell has apparently not noticed Dr Rendel Harris' discovery of an Adonis-like Zeus in Crete.

⁵ Gen. 10. 9.

⁶ Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Adonis Attis Osiris² p. 182.

Was there anything analogous to this in the cult of the Cretan Zeus? If I have not misconstrued the evidence, both the human victim and his animal substitute can be detected even in our fragmentary records.

Zeus the princely hunter was slain by a wild boar. The myth was probably localised at Lyttos near Mount Dikte. For not only had Dikte, an older cult-centre than Ide¹, the statue of a beardless Zeus², but silver coins of Lyttos from c. 450 B.C. onwards have on their obverse side an eagle flying, or more rarely standing, on their reverse the head and sometimes the forefoot of a wild boar (fig. 505)³.

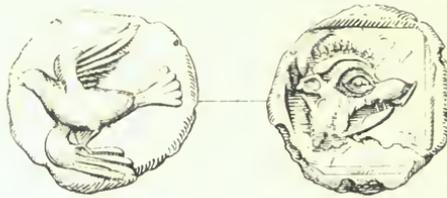


Fig. 505.

The former type obviously alludes to Zeus, the latter to his enemy, the terror and pride of the district. Now Antikleides, a historian of the third century B.C.⁴, stated that the Lyttians sacrificed men to Zeus⁵. The statement was made in his *Nostoi* and, I should conjecture, had reference to the return of Idomeneus king of Lyttos⁶ from the Trojan War. In that war he had played the hero's part, 'equal to a boar in bravery'⁷; and the *Odyssey* brought him home in safety to Crete⁸. But Servius knew of an ugly incident

¹ *Supra* p. 150 n. 2.

² *Et. mag.*, p. 276, 12 ff. Δίκη... ἐνταῦθα δὲ Διὸς ἄγαλμα ἀγέριον ἕστατο (I owe this reference to the friendly vigilance of Miss Harrison), *Zonar. lex. s.v. Δίκη... ἐνθεν (sic) καὶ Διὸς ἄγαλμα ἕστατο ἀγέριον.*

³ J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 230 ff. pl. 21, 1—31, pl. 22, 1 f., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 55 ff. pl. 13, 12—15, pl. 14, 1—3, 5, cp. 6, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 190 f. pl. 42, 10 f., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 471. I figure an unpublished variety in my collection (fig. 505): the legend is ΝΟΣΤ[ΑΥΛΛ]?

⁴ E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2425 f.

⁵ Clem. Al. *protr.* 3, 42, 5 p. 32, 3 ff. Stählin=Euseb. *praef. ev.* 4, 16, 12 Λυκτίους γάρ Κρητῶν δὲ ἔθνος εἰσὶν οὗτοι—'Αντικλείδης ἐν Νόστοις ἀποφαίνεται ἀνθρώπους ἀποσφάττειν τῷ Δί.

⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 3, 401 Lyctius Idomeneus. Diod. 5, 79 makes him a Cossian (*infra* n. 8).

⁷ *Il.* 4, 253 'Ἰδομεύεις... σὶτ' εἴκελος ἀλκήν.

⁸ *Od.* 3, 191 f. Cp. Diod. 5, 79 (Idomeneus and Meriones) διασωθέντας εἰς τὴν πατρίδα τελευτῆσαι καὶ ταφῆς ἐπιφανοῦς ἀξιοθῆναι καὶ τιμῶν ἀπανάτων. καὶ τὸν τάφον αἰτῶν ἐν τῇ Κνωσῷ δευκύνουσιν, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα τοιάνδε.—Κνωσίου 'Ἰδομεύης ὄρα τάφον. αἶταρ ἐγὼ τοι | πλησίον ἴδρμαι Μηριόνης ὁ Μόλον. τοῦτους μὲν οἶν ὡς ἥρωας ἐπιφανεῖς τιμῶσιν οἱ Κρήτες διαφερόντως. θύοντες καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κυδίνους ἐπικαλούμενοι Δοητοῖς.

connected with his home-coming. Idomeneus, caught in a storm, had vowed that he would offer to the gods whatever met him first on his return. The first to meet him was his own son, whom according to some he sacrificed as a victim to Zeus, according to others he threatened to sacrifice. On account of this cruelty, or because a pestilence broke out, he was driven from his kingdom by the citizens¹. This tale was very possibly derived from Antikleides' *Nostoi*. In any case it chimes with the statement already quoted from that work, *viz.* that at Lyttos men were sacrificed to Zeus. A further allusion to the same grim custom may lie behind some guarded words of Agathokles, a fifth-century historian², whom Athenaios cites to the following effect³:

'Concerning the sanctity of swine among the Cretans Agathokles the Babylonian in his first book *On Kyzikos* remarks—"It is fabled that the birth of Zeus happened in Crete on Mount Dikte, where also a sacrifice that must not be mentioned takes place. The story goes that a sow suckled Zeus and, grunting as it trotted round the babe, made his whimpers inaudible to those who passed by. Hence all regard this animal as very-holy, and" (says he) "would not eat of its flesh. The Praisians actually make offerings to a pig, and this is their regular sacrifice before marriage." Neanthes of Kyzikos in his second book *On Ritual* gives much the same account.'

¹ Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 121 Idomeneus [de semine Deucalionis natus,] Cretensium rex, cum post eversam Troiam reverteretur, in tempestate devovit diis sacrificaturum se de re, quae ei primum occurrisset. contigit, ut filius eius primus occurreret: quem cum, ut alii dicunt, immolasset: ut alii [vero], immolare voluisset: [et post orta esset pestilentia,] a civibus pulsus [est] regno, etc., *id. in Verg. Aen.* 11. 264 Idomeneus rex Cretensium fuit: qui cum tempestate laboraret, vovit, se sacrificaturum [Neptuno] de re quae ei primum occurrisset (si reversus fuisset; sed) cum casu ei primum filius occurrisset, quem (mox Iovi) cum, ut alii dicunt, immolasset: ut alii, immolare voluisset, ob crudelitatem regno a civibus expulsus est, Myth. Vat. 2. 210 Idomeneus, Cretensium rex, quum post eversam Troiam reverteretur, devovit propter sedandam tempestatem, sacrificium se dare de hac re, quae ei reverso primum occurreret. contigit igitur, ut filius ei occurreret. quem quum immolasset vel, ut alii dicunt, immolare vellet, a civibus pulsus regno, etc., cp. Myth. Vat. 1. 195 Idomeneus, rex Cretensium, quum post eversam Troiam reverteretur, in tempestate devovit, se sacrificaturum de re, quae ei primum occurrisset. contigit igitur, ut prima filia ei occurreret. quam quum, ut alii dicunt, immolasset; ut alii, immolare voluisset; a civibus pulsus regno, etc. The last of the writers here cited was obviously thinking of Jephthah's vow (Judges 11. 30 ff.).

² E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 758 f. ('Aus diesem Grunde ist er ins 5., spätestens in den Anfang des 4. Jhdts. zu setzen').

³ Athen. 375 F—376 A περί δὲ ὕων, ὅτι ἱερὸν ἐστὶ τὸ ζῶον παρὰ Κρησίην, Ἀγαθοκλῆς ὁ Βαβυλωνίος ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ Κυζίκου [*Agathokles frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 289 Müller)] φησὶν οὕτως· "μυθεοῦσιν ἐν Κρήτῃ γενέσθαι τὴν Διὸς τέκνωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς Δίκτης, ἐν ἣ καὶ ἀπόρρητος γίνεταί θυσία. λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἄρα Διὶ θηλὴν ὑπέσχεον ὄν, καὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ γρυσμῶ ἀποριχρῆσθα τὸν κνυσηθμόν τοῦ βρέφους ἀνεπάσιον τοῖς παριοῦσιν ἐλίθει. διὸ πάντες τὸ ζῶον τοῦτο περισεπτον ἡγοῦνται, καὶ οὐ (φησὶ) τῶν κρεῶν <ἀν> δαίσαυντο. Πραῖσιοι δὲ καὶ ἱερὰ βέβουσιν ὑί, καὶ αὕτη προτελής αὐτοῖς ἡ θυσία νεύμισται." τὰ παραπλήσια ἱστορεῖ καὶ Νεάνθης ὁ Κυζικηρὸς ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ τελετῆς [*Neanthes frag.* 25 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 8 Müller)], Eustath. *in Il.* p. 773, 14 ff. ἡ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς ὕς ἄλλοίως ἔχει... τερατεύεται γὰρ εἰς ὁμοίον τι πρὸς τὴν αἰγα τὴν θρεψαμένην τὸν Δία, ὡς δηλοῖ ὁ γραφάας ὅτι Διὸς ἐν Κρήτῃ

Agathokles uses of the sacrifice on Mount Dikte practically the same expression as Pausanias uses of the human sacrifice on Mount Lykaion¹.

On Mount Lykaion the human victim was not only killed, but in part eaten at a common feast². Are we to suppose that in Crete the same ghastly rule obtained? And, if it did, what was its purpose? Direct evidence is wanting. But, since the cult of Zeus *Idaios* as early as the fifth century B.C. exhibited Orphic traits³, we may venture to press the analogy of Orphism in Thrace⁴. A red-figured *hydria* from Kameiros, now in the British Museum (pl. xxxvi)⁵, shows Zagreus devoured by the Titans in the presence of Dionysos. The vase is of Athenian fabric and dates probably from the early part of the fourth century B.C. The grotesque style (found also in the slightly earlier vases from the Theban Kabeirion⁶) suggests that the artist has drawn his subject from Dionysiac drama. Sir Cecil Smith describes the scene as follows⁷:

'We see a group of three principal figures. The central one is a bearded man who faces the spectator, dressed in a short chiton girt at the waist; over this is a long cloak decorated with horizontal patterns, including a double band of ivy or vine leaves, and fastened by two flaps knotted on the chest; on his head is a cap which hangs down the back and has a separate flap on each shoulder. With his right hand he raises to his mouth—obviously with the intention of eating—the limb of a dead boy which he has torn from the body that he holds on his left arm. The dead child is quite naked, and its long hair hangs down from the head which falls loosely backward; the lifeless character of the figure is well brought out, in spite of the general sketchiness of the drawing.

τεκνουμένου θηλὴν αὐτῷ ὑπέσχεον ὄς, καὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ γρυσμῷ περιοιχνεύσα τὸν κρυσηθμόν τοῦ βρέφους ἀνεπάϊστον, ἦγον ἀγνωστον, τοῖς παριοῦσιν ἐτίθει. κ.τ.λ.

¹ Cp. Paus. 8. 38. 7 (*supra* p. 70 ff.) ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ βωμοῦ τῷ Λυκαίῳ Διὶ θύουσιν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ with Agathokles *loc. cit.* (*supra* p. 653 n. 3) ἐπὶ τῆς Δικτης, ἐν ἣ καὶ ἀπόρρητος γίνεται θυσία.

² *Supra* p. 70 ff.

³ *Supra* p. 647 f.

⁴ The same significance should perhaps be attached to the Cypriote cult of Zeus *Eilapinastés*, the 'Feaster,' and *Splanchnotómos*, the 'Entrail-cutter' (Hegesandros of Delphoi *frag.* 30 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 419 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 174 A κὰν Κύπρῳ δὲ φησι τιμᾶσθαι Ἡγήσανδρος ὁ Δελφὸς Δία Εἰλαπιναστὴν τε καὶ Σπλαγχνοτόμον, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1413, 24 καὶ ἐν Κύπρῳ, Δία Εἰλαπιναστὴν καὶ Σπλαγχνοτόμον). A. Bouché-Leclercq *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* Paris 1879 i. 170 explained the title Σπλαγχνοτόμος of the diviner's art; but W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 p. 188 n. 1 rightly points out that Athenaios says nothing here about divination.

⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 188 no. E 246, Sir Cecil Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1890 xi. 343—351 with two figs.

⁶ H. Winnefeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1888 xiii. 81, 412 ff., H. B. Walters in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1892—3 xiii. 77 ff., *id.* *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 52 f., 391 f., ii. 159 f., *Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 372 ff., 1907 xxi. 169 f., cp. L. Couve in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xxii. 289 ff.

⁷ Sir Cecil Smith *loc. cit.* p. 344.

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Zagreus devoured by the Titans

652²



figured hydria from Kameiros.

See page 654 ff.

On the left advances a figure who is also bearded, and who expresses his surprise at the sight of the central scene by the gesture of his left hand; his long wavy hair, wreathed with vine or ivy, and the thyrsos in his right hand mark him at once as Dionysos. He wears a succinct talaric chiton decorated with vertical stripes.

On the right a bearded personage, attired in the same way as the central figure, runs away to the right, looking back, and extending his left arm as if in surprise. In his right hand he carries a long staff. Part of this figure has been broken away in the only damage which the vase has undergone, but fortunately no important part seems to be wanting.

The dress which distinguishes the two right-hand figures is that which in Greek art is invariably used to characterise the inhabitants of Thrace¹.

But how comes it that the Titans are represented as natives of Thrace? These are not the great divine figures of the Greek Titanomachy, but ordinary human beings—Thracian chieftains or the like. The fact is that the word *Títán*, as F. Solmsen in one of his latest papers points out², meant 'King' and nothing more. It

¹ K. Dilthey in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1867 xxxix. 179 n. 1 cited Hdt. 7. 75 Θρήϊκες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῆσι κεφαλῆσι ἀλωπεκέας ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας, ἐπὶ δὲ ζειρὰς περιβεβλημένοι ποικίλας, Xen. an. 7. 4. 4 καὶ τότε δῆλον ἐγένετο οὐ ἕνεκα οἱ Θρήϊκες τὰς ἀλωπεκάς ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς φοροῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὤσι, καὶ χιτῶνας οὐ μόνον περὶ τοῖς στέρνοις ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῖς μηροῖς, καὶ ζειρὰς μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ χλαμύδας.

² F. Solmsen in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1912 xxx. 35 n. 1 *med.*: 'Títán ion. Títḥn...schliesst sich zusammen mit dem Namen des attischen Demos Τίτακίδαι, für den Länge der ersten Silbe durch die Schreibung Τίτακίδαι I G. III 1121 iii 9 (neben Τίττακίδης 2039. 2040) erwiesen wird und den wir trotz des Widerspruchs der antiken Etymologen von dem des attischen Autochthonen Τίτακός Hdt. 9, 73 ableiten dürfen (Töpffer Att. Gen. 289 ff.). Eine Nebenform des letzteren, τίταξ, besser τίταξ, erklärt Hesyeh. durch ἐντίμος ἢ δυνάστης: οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς; zu ihr steht Τίτων, wie ein 459/8 gefallener Athener Ἐρεχθίδος I G. I 433 iii 53 heisst, in demselben Verhältnis wie Σίλλων zu Σίλλαξ o. S. 8 Anm. 3. Mit der Glossierung von τίταξ vergleicht sich aufs nächste die von τιτῆναι: βασιλίδες, das von dem Lexikographen aus des Aischylos "Ἐκτορος Λύτρα (Fgm. 272 Nck.²) angeführt wird. Aus all dem zusammengenommen ergibt sich für Τίτάν als die richtige Deutung die schon von Preller (Myth.⁴ I, 44 f. Anm. 3) befürwortete: es ist samt den anderen Nomina Weiterbildung von τίτος (πολύ-τίτος Epigramm bei Hdt. 5, 92) 'geehrt, gescheut,' dem Partizip zu τίω τίσω ἐτίσω τετίμενος τίμη (zu ai. cāyati 'scheut, ehrt' cāyáts 'Ehrfurcht bezeugend' W. Schulze Quaest. ep. 355). Der Name hat grade so allgemeinen, farblosen Sinn wie zahlreiche andere Götterbezeichnungen der 'mykenischen' Zeit (Beitr. z. griech. Wortf. I. Teil S. 81 f.).'

I was formerly (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 177) inclined to accept the conjecture of M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 81 ff. that Τίτάν is a reduplicated form of *Tán, 'Zeus' (Cretan Tāna, Tāvós, etc.). But the reduplication Τί- is insufficiently supported by the alleged parallels (Σίσυφος, κύκνος, πῖψαβσκω).

A. Dieterich in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1893 xlviii. 280 and Miss Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 493 f., *Themis* p. 15 have independently suggested that Orphic worshippers, about to tear the sacred bull, daubed themselves with white clay (τίτᾶνος) and were therefore known as *Títānoi, 'White-clay-men,' the name Títāves, 'Titans,' being due to mere confusion on the part of Onomakritos (Paus. 8. 37. 5). It is indeed probable enough that Orphic worshippers smeared themselves with gypsum. But—apart from the fact

was therefore an appropriate appellation of the deities belonging to a bygone age. But it could also be used, as by Aischylos¹, of royalty in general. It would seem, then, that the Titans who devoured Zagreus were simply Thracian dynasts or kings. And we may fairly conjecture that behind the myth as it meets us in literature and art lies a cannibal custom, in accordance with which the chieftains of Thrace actually devoured, in part or in whole, a dismembered child and thereby assimilated the virtue of the newborn god².

If the rite thus evidenced for Thrace once existed in Crete also, we might look to find traces of it at various intermediate points in the Greek archipelago. Nor should we look in vain. Stepping-stones between Thrace and Crete are the islands Tenedos, Lesbos, and Chios. All three had their tradition of men slain, if not actually eaten, in the service of Dionysos. Porphyrios, who draws up a long list of human sacrifices, writes: 'In Chios too they used to rend a man in pieces, sacrificing him to Dionysos *Omádios* ("the god of Raw Flesh"), as they did also in Tenedos, according to Eueipis the Carystian.³ Clement of Alexandria, after recording the Lyttian custom of slaying men for Zeus, continues immediately: 'And Dosidas states that the Lesbians bring the like sacrifice to Dionysos⁴. Euphrantides the seer, who before the battle of Salamis

that the Orphic Titans are never called **Τῑτᾶνοι* or the like—the word used of this action is regularly *γύψος*, not *τίτανος* (see the passages cited by Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 653 ff., L. Weniger in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 241 ff.). No ancient author connects *Τῑτᾶνες* with *τίτᾶνος* till we come to Eustath. *in Il.* p. 332, 23 ff., who states—not that the Titans got their name from *τίτᾶνος*—but that *τίτᾶνος* got its name from the Titans reduced to dust and ashes by the thunderbolts of Zeus. In any case there can be no etymological connexion between the two words.

¹ Hesych. *s.v.* *τιτῆναι* βασιλίδες. < *Δισχύλος Φρυξίν* ins. Soping > ἢ "Ἐκτορος Λύτροις. So also Hesych. *s.vv.* *τιτῆνη* (*τιτῆνη* corr. M. Schmidt) ἢ βασιλισσα and *τίταξ*· ἔντιμος. ἢ *δυνάστης*. οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς.

² Cp. *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 324 f.: 'Livy [i. 16. 4], after giving the usual tradition that Romulus disappeared in a thunderstorm, mentions the "very obscure tale" that he was torn to pieces by the hands of the fathers. Plutarch [*v. Rom.* 27] too, though persuaded that Romulus was caught up to heaven, records the belief that the senators had fallen upon him in the temple of Vulcan and divided his body between them, every man carrying away a portion of it in his robe. Dionysius [*ant. Rom.* 2. 56] says much the same, though he makes the senate-house the scene of the murder, and adds that those who carried away the king's flesh in their garments buried every man his fragment in the earth.'

³ Porph. *de abst.* 2. 55 = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 16. 5 *ἔθνον δὲ καὶ ἐν Χίῳ τῷ Ὀμαδίῳ Διονύσῳ ἀνθρώπων διασπῶντες, καὶ ἐν Τενέδῳ, ὡς φησὶν Εὐελπίς ὁ Καρύστιος* (Eueipis *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 408 Müller)), cp. Euseb. *de laud. Const.* 646 c *ἐν Χίῳ δὲ τῷ Ὀμαδίῳ Διονύσῳ, ἀνθρώπων διασπῶντες, ἔθνον*. So Orph. *h. Dion.* 30. 5 *ὠμάδιον, τριετῆ, κ.τ.λ., id. h. trieter.* 52. 7 *ὠμάδιε, σκηπτούχε, κ.τ.λ.*, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 268 *ἐπιθετα Διονύσου*...42 *Ὀμαδίου*, i. 276 *Ὀμαδίος*, i. 282 *Ὀμαδίος*.

⁴ Clem. Al. *protr.* 3. 42. 5 p. 32, 5 f. Stählin = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 16. 12 *καὶ Λεσβίου*

bade Themistokles sacrifice three noble Persians to Dionysos *Omestés* ("the Eater of Raw Flesh")¹, had these and perhaps other such cases in mind.

On the whole it seems likely enough that in Crete the part of Zagreus was originally played by a human victim, who was not only killed but eaten by the local king or kings. A remarkable passage in the *Odyssey* describes Minos as a sort of ogre². Commentators usually explain that he acquired this evil name on account of the cruel tribute exacted by him from the Athenians.

τὴν ὁμοίαν προσάγειν θυσίαν Δωσίδας λέγει (Dosiades frag. 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 400 Müller)).

¹ Plout. *v. Them.* 13 Θεμιστοκλεῖ δὲ παρὰ τὴν ναυαρχίδα τριήρη σφαγιαζομένην τρεῖς προσήθησαν αἰχμάλωτοι, κάλλιστοι μὲν ιδέσθαι τὴν ὄψιν, ἐσθῆσι δὲ καὶ χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένοι διαπρεπῶς. ἐλέγοντο δὲ Σανδαύκης παῖδες εἶναι τῆς βασιλέως ἀδελφῆς καὶ Ἀρταύκτου. τούτους ἰδὼν Εὐφραντίδης ὁ μάντις, ὡς ἅμα μὲν ἀνέλαμψεν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν μέγα καὶ περιφανὲς πῦρ, ἅμα δὲ πταρμὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐσήμνηε, τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα δεξιωσάμενος ἐκέλευσε τῶν νεανίσκων κατάρξασθαι καὶ καθιερεῖσθαι πάντας Ὀμηστῆ Διονύσῳ προσευξάμενον· οὕτω γὰρ ἅμα σωτηρίαν τε καὶ νίκην ἔσεσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν. ἐκπλαγέντος δὲ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ὡς μέγα τὸ μάντευμα καὶ δευρὸν, ὅσον εἴθην ἐν μεγάλοις ἀγῶσι καὶ πράγμασι χαλεποῖς, μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν παραλόγων ἢ τῶν εὐλόγων τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐλπίζοντες οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν θεὸν ἅμα κοινῇ κατακαλοῦντο φωνῇ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῷ βωμῷ προσαγαγόντες ἠνάγκασαν, ὡς ὁ μάντις ἐκέλευσε, τὴν θυσίαν συντελεσθῆναι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος καὶ γραμμάτων οὐκ ἄπειρος ἱστορικῶν Φανίας ὁ Λέσβιος εἶρηκε (*Phanias frag.* 8 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 295 Müller)), Plout. *v. Pelop.* 21 ἔτι δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους σφαγιασθέντας Ὀμηστῆ Διονύσῳ πρὸ τῆς ἐν Σαλαμίῳ ναυμαχίας, Plout. *v. Arist.* 9 ἐν δὲ τούτοις (Persians captured on Psyttaleia by Aristides) ἦσαν ἀδελφῆς βασιλέως ὀνομα Σανδαύκης τρεῖς παῖδες, οὓς εὐθὺς ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα· καὶ λέγονται κατὰ τὴν λόγιον, τοῦ μάντεως Εὐφραντίδου κελεύσαντος, Ὀμηστῆ Διονύσῳ καθιερευθῆναι, Tzetz. *exeg. II.* p. 109, 1 ff. Hermann (printed at the end of Draco Stratonicensis *liber de metris poeticis* ed. G. Hermann Lipsiae 1812) τοιαύτας ἦν θυσίας ἐπιτελῶν ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ξέρξου Εὐφραντίδης μάντις τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ Μεγιστίας ὁ Ἀκαρνάν· καὶ Πλούταρχος μὲννηται ποῦ τοιαύτην θυσίαν ποιῆσαι Τίτον καὶ Οὐαλλέριον, τοὺς Βρούτου υἱοὺς καὶ τοὺς Κολλατίου ἀνεψιούς, ἀνθρώπων ἀποσφάζαντας καὶ τῶν ἐγκάτων αὐτοῦ γευσαμένους· καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἦν ἡ παλαιὰ ἱερατικῆ. Phanias of Eresos was a pupil of Aristotle and a painstaking historian (*W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*⁵ München 1911 ii. 1. 59 f.), and such sacrifices in time of war were not unknown (see the context in Plout. *v. Pelop.* 21). It is only too probable that the Persian youths met their fate as described by Plutarch.

Cp. also Plout. *v. Ant.* 24 εἰς γούν Ἐφεσον εἰσόντος αὐτοῦ γυναῖκες μὲν εἰς Βάκχας, ἄνδρες δὲ καὶ παῖδες εἰς Σατύρους καὶ Πάνας ἠγούντο διεσκευασμένοι, κητῶ δὲ καὶ θύρῳν καὶ ψαλτηρίων καὶ συρίγγων καὶ αὐλῶν ἢ πόλεις ἦν πλέα, Διόνυσον αὐτὸν ἀνακαλουμένων Χαριδότην καὶ Μειλίχιον. ἦν γὰρ ἀμέλει τοιοῦτος ἐνίοις, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς Ὀμηστῆς καὶ Ἀργιῶνιος. ἀφηρέϊτο γὰρ εὐγενεῖς ἀνθρώπους τὰ ὄντα μαστιγίαις καὶ κόλαξι χαριζόμενος. κ.τ.λ., Plout. *de coh. id.* ita 13 ὁ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ νάρθηξ ἱκανὸς κολαστῆς τοῦ μεθύοντος, ἀν μὴ προσγενόμενος ὁ θυμὸς Ὀμηστῆν καὶ Μαινόλην ἀντὶ Λυαίων καὶ Χορείου ποίσησιν τὸν ἄκρατον, Apostol. 18. 59 Ὀμηστῆς (Ὀμηστῆς Pantinus, Walz) Διόνυσος· ἐπὶ τῶν ὠμύτατα καὶ ἀπανθρωπώτατα πραττόντων· τούτῳ γὰρ ζῶντας ἀνθρώπους ἔθουσι οἱ πάλα, *Anth. Pal.* 9. 524. 25 ὄριον, ὠμηστῆν, κ.τ.λ. (*anon. h. Dion.*), Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 268 ἐπίθετα Διονύσου...43 Ὀμηστῶ.

² *Od.* 11. 322 Μίνως ὀλοόφρωνος. The scholiasts *ad loc.* are puzzled: schol. Q. καὶ πῶς "Μίνωα εἶδον Διὸς ἀγλαῶν υἱόν"; schol. T. πῶς οὖν θεμιστεύει ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς ὀλοόφρων ὢν;

But in the Berlin fragment of Euripides' *Cretans* Pasiphae says to him :

Wherefore if in the deep
Thou art fain to fling me, fling : full well thou knowest
The shambles and the murdering of men.
Or if thou longest to eat this flesh of mine
Raw, thou mayest eat : feast on and take thy fill¹.

These words can hardly refer to the Minotaur and his victims. Or, if they do, what after all is implied by the tradition that the



Fig. 506.

Minotaur devoured youths and maidens? We have taken him to be the Cnossian crown-prince masquerading in a solar dance². He too, like the Thracian chieftains, may have renewed his magic powers by tasting of human flesh³.

The memory of such enormities is slow to fade. A sarco-

¹ *Berliner Klassikertexte* Berlin 1907 v. 2. 75 no. 217, 35 ff. πρὸς τὰδ' εἶπε ποικίαν
ρίπτειν δοκεῖ σοι, ῥίπτ'· ἐπίστασαι δέ τοι | μαιφον' ἔργα καὶ σφαγὰς ἀνδροκτόνους· | εἶτ'
ὤμοσίτου τῆς ἐμῆς ἐρᾶς φαγεῖν | σαρκός, πάρεστι, μὴ λήψης θοινώμενος.

² *Supra* p. 490 ff.

³ It may be that the ferocious language of *Il.* 4. 35 f. (Zeus to Hera) ὦ μὲν βεβρώθεις
Πηλαῖον Πριάμοιό τε παῖδας | ἄλλους τε Τρῶας, τότε κεν χόλον ἐξακέσαιο, cp. 22. 346 f.,
24. 212 ff., *Xen. an.* 4. 8. 14, *Hell.* 3. 3. 6, *Philostr. v. Apoll.* 4. 36 p. 154 Kayser, took
its rise in a grim reality and then, as civilisation increased, passed through the successive
stages of tragic grandiloquence and comic bombast.

phagus(?)-relief in the Villa Albani (fig. 506)¹ shows portions of two scenes from Cretan legend. On the right is one of the Kourétes guarding the infant god. On the left three Titans make their murderous attack on Zagreus².

(ζ) The Cretan Zeus and Bovine Omophagy.

But to the Greek or Roman of classical times human sacrifice in general and cannibalistic omophagy in particular was a half-forgotten piece of barbarism³. A possible substitute for the victim was an ox⁴. A case in point is the curious sacrifice of a bull-calf at Tenedos, concerning which Aelian⁵ writes:

'The Tenedians keep a pregnant cow for Dionysos *Anthroporhatstes*, "Smiter of Men," and, when it has brought forth, they tend it like a woman in child-bed. But the new-born young they sacrifice, after binding buskins upon its feet. The man who strikes it with the axe, however, is pelted with stones by the populace and runs away till he reaches the sea.'

In this singular rite the calf dressed in buskins was obviously the surrogate for a human victim in Dionysiac attire. We must suppose that originally a child, not a calf, was struck by the axe. And this raises the question whether the axe that struck him was not the very embodiment of the god, Dionysos 'Smiter of men⁶.'

¹ G. Zoega *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma 1808, ii. 170 ff. pl. 81, F. Lenormant in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1879 v. 28 f. fig., Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 136 no. 3.

² Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 90 no. 854 takes them to be 'rustics with beards, whipping a naked boy'! But why three of them (of the third the left foot only is seen)? And why such a frantic attitude on his part? Very different is the young Satyr lashed by Silenos on a sarcophagus representing the education of Dionysos (Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome* p. 117 ff. no. 46 a pl. 24). Even if it could be proved that we have in the Albani relief merely a *genre-scene*, it would still remain probable that the type was based on a mythological *Vorbild*.

³ See e.g. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 922 ff. and Index s.v. 'Menschenopfer' for the Greek evidence, Prof. J. S. Reid 'Human Sacrifices at Rome and other notes on Roman Religion' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1912 i. 34 ff. for the Roman.

⁴ Porph. *de abst.* 2. 54 f. = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 16. 2 f. (of the man sacrificed at Salamis in Kypros to Agraulos 'or Diomedes) τούτων δὲ τὸν θεομὸν Δίφιλος ὁ τῆς Κύπρου βασιλεὺς κατέλυσε, κατὰ τοὺς Σελεύκου χρόνους τοῦ θεολόγου γενόμενος, τὸ ἔθος εἰς βουθησίαν μεταστήσας. προσήκατο δ' ὁ δαίμων ἀντὶ ἀνθρώπου τὸν βοῦν· οὕτως ἰσάζειν ἔστιν τὸ δρῶμενον, *supra* p. 417 n. 5.

⁵ Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 34 Τενέδιοι δὲ τῷ Ἀνθρωπορραστῆ Διονύσῳ τρέφουσι κύουσαν βοῦν, τεκοῖσαν δὲ ἄρα αὐτὴν οἷα δήπου λεχῶ θεραπεύουσι. τὸ δὲ ἀριγενὲς βρέφος καταθύουσι ὑποδήσαντες κοθρόνους. ὃ γὰρ μὴν πατάξας αὐτὸ τῷ πελέκει λίθους βάλλεται δημοσίᾳ, καὶ ἔσπε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν φέυγει.

Strattis the comedian wrote a play entitled Ἀνθρωπορραστῆς, of which two fragments are extant (*Frag. com. Gr.* i. 224, ii. 763 f. Meineke).

⁶ Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 164 f. says: 'the cult-term ἀνθρωπορραστῆς... must be interpreted as the "render of men."' But this is a somewhat inexact translation apparently based on the ritual of Dionysos Ὠμάδιος in the same island (*supra* p. 656). The verb

Later¹ we shall find reason to conclude that such was indeed the case, and that in Tenedos Dionysos was worshipped in the form of a double-axe. Moreover we shall have occasion to note the close resemblance of the Tenedian axe-cult to the axe-cults of 'Minoan' Crete.

Comparing, now, these ritual facts with the Orphic myth of Dionysos or Zagreus done to death in bovine shape, we can hardly doubt that in Crete too anthropophagy was early commuted into some less horrible rite, say the rending and eating of a bull. There was indeed much to connect the Cretan Zeus with this beast. At Praisos, an Eteo-Cretan town with a temple of Zeus *Diktaios*², silver coins were struck *c.* 450—400 B.C. with the obverse type of a cow suckling an infant, who has been commonly and rightly identified as Zeus³ (figs. 507⁴, 508⁵). At Phaistos a *statér* of



Fig. 507.



Fig. 508.

highly picturesque style, which may be dated *c.* 430 B.C., shows Europe sitting on a rock and greeting the bull-Zeus with uplifted

βαλ is 'to strike' rather than 'to rend,' cp. *βαιστήρ*, 'a hammer,' and the compounds *θυμοραϊστής*, *Ἰλιορραστής*, *κυνοραϊστής* or *κυνορραστής*, *μητρορραστής*, etc. quoted by Meineke *op. cit.* i. 224.

¹ *Infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) i (o).

² *Staphylos frag.* 12 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 507 Müller) *ap.* Strab. 476 *τούτων φησι Στάφυλος τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἔω Δωριεῖς κατέχειν, τὸ δὲ δυσμικὸν Κύδωνας, τὸ δὲ νότιον Ἐτεέκρητας, ὧν εἶναι πολυχρῖον Ἰρᾶσον, ὅπου τὸ τοῦ Δικταίου Διὸς ἱερόν.* See R. S. Conway in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 125 ff., R. C. Bosanquet *ib.* 231 ff., E. S. Forster *ib.* 271 ff., R. S. Conway *ib.* 1903—1904 x. 115 ff., R. M. Dawkins *ib.* 222 f., R. C. Bosanquet *ib.* 1904—1905 xi. 304 f., R. M. Burrows *The Discoveries in Crete* London 1907 p. 151 ff. and p. 240 *Index s.v.* 'Praisos,' Sir Arthur Evans *Scripta Minoa* Oxford 1909 i. 105.

³ Zeus enthroned with sceptre and eagle appears on the obverse of silver coins of Praisos from *c.* 400 B.C. onwards: he is often accompanied by a bull on the reverse, and is described by Mr W. Wroth and Dr B. V. Head as Zeus *Diktaios* (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 288 f. pl. 27, 21—28, 28, 1, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 70 f. pl. 17, 8 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 196 pl. 42, 19, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 476).

⁴ E. Babelon in the *Rev. Num.* iii Série 1885 iii. 161 pl. 8, 8 (Paris), J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 286 pl. 27, 2, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 475.

⁵ H. Weber in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1896 xvi. 18 f. pl. 2, 10, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 475.

hand (fig. 509)¹. At Gortyna coins of about the same period and of even greater artistic merit represent their union as consummated in the sacred tree². Not unnaturally, therefore, when in the service of Zeus a substitute was required for the human Zagreus, the animal chosen was a bull. The resultant rites are described by Firmicus Maternus in a passage of great and even painful interest,

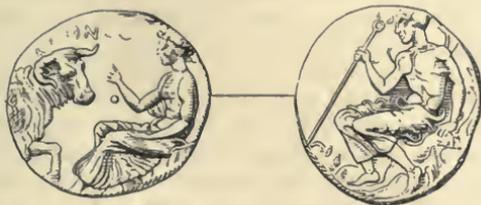


Fig. 509.

though written of course from the view-point of a Christian Euhemerist. Firmicus, dilating *On the Error of Profane Religions* for the benefit of the emperors Constantius and Constans (between 343 and 350 A.D.), expresses himself as follows³:

'There are yet other superstitions, the secrets of which must be set forth—to wit, those of Liber and Libera. And here I must convey to your sacred senses a systematic account with full details, that you may realise how in these profane religions too sanctity attaches to the death of men. Liber, then, was the son of Jupiter a Cretan king. Though born of an adulterous mother, he was reared by his father with more care than he deserved. The wife of Jupiter, Iuno by name, fired with the feelings of a step-mother, tried all manner of tricks to kill the child. The father on going abroad, well aware of his wife's smouldering rage and anxious to avoid guile on the part of the angry woman, entrusted his son to suitable guardians, as he supposed. Iuno, judging this a fitting opportunity for her designs and being more than ever incensed because the father on setting out had left both throne and sceptre to the boy, first bribed his guardians with royal rewards and gifts, and next stationed her minions called Titans in the heart of the palace and, by dint of rattles and a cleverly made mirror, so beguiled the fancy of the child that he left his kingly seat and, thanks to his childish desire, was led on to their place of ambush. Here he was caught and butchered; and, that no vestige of the murder should be found, the band of minions cut up his limbs joint by joint and divided them among themselves.

¹ J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 254 f. pl. 22, 35—37, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc.* p. 61 pl. 14, 16, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 473. The reverse represents Hermes seated on a tree-stump (?) with a *caduceus* in his right hand and a *pétasos* hanging from his shoulders. I figure a specimen in the McClean collection.

Other silver coins of the same town show obv. forepart of bull, rev. head of Europe (J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 255 pl. 23, 1, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc.* p. 41 pl. 10, 9 attributed wrongly to Gortyna), or obv. head of Europe, rev. forepart of bull kneeling (J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 255 pl. 23, 4, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 192 pl. 42, 12, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 473).

² *Supra* p. 527 ff. figs. 391 ff.

³ Firm. Mat. 6. 1—5.

Then, to add crime to crime, since they were much afraid of the tyrant's cruelty, they boiled the boy's limbs with various ingredients and devoured them. Thus they actually fed upon a human corpse—a repast never heard of till that day. His sister, Minerva by name, who had herself been party to the deed, kept his heart as her share, that she might have clear proof of her story and something to mollify her father's wrath. So, when Jupiter came back, his daughter told him the tale of crime from beginning to end. Thereupon her father, exasperated by the disastrous murder of the boy and by his own bitter grief, slew the Titans after torturing them in various ways. Indeed, to avenge his son, he had recourse to every form of torment or punishment. He ran riot in exacting all kinds of penalty by way of vengeance for the death of a son, who was none too good. The father's affection and the tyrant's power were here combined. Then, because he could no longer bear the tortures of grief and because the pain of his bereavement could not be assuaged or comforted, he made an image of his son moulded in gypsum, and placed the boy's heart, by means of which on the sister's information the crime had been detected, in that part of the figure where the contour of the chest was to be seen. After this he built a temple in front of the tomb and appointed as priest the boy's tutor: Silenus was his name. The Cretans, to soothe the fierce mood of the angry tyrant, instituted certain days as a funeral feast and coupled a yearly rite with a celebration on alternate years, performing in order due all that the boy had done or suffered at his death. They tore a live bull with their teeth, recalling the savage banquet by a yearly commemoration of it. They penetrated the solitudes of the forest uttering discordant cries and so feigning madness, that the crime might be set down to lunacy, not to guile. Before them was carried the basket in which the sister had concealed and hidden the heart. With the music of pipes and the clash of cymbals they got up a make-belief of the rattles by which the boy had been deluded. And so a servile people paying court to a tyrant made his son a god, though a god could never have had a tomb.⁷

The Euhemerism of this passage will be readily discounted. We are indeed likely to underestimate rather than to overestimate its importance. After all Euhemerus, to judge from the extant fragments of his famous work, seems to have based his theory of apotheosised kings in no small measure upon Cretan tradition¹. The priests of his island utopia claim descent from Crete and appeal for proof to their Cretan dialect². His Zeus *Triphýlios* has a couch, on which is set no effigy of the god, but a great golden pillar covered with records in a script resembling Egyptian hieroglyphs³. One may well suppose that Euhemerus had at least an inkling of the old-time glories of 'Minoan' Crete—its pillar-thrones, its aniconic cults, its linear pictographs. And, if he said that Zeus was a Cretan king when he ought to have said that Cretan kings played the part of Zeus, we can easily make allowance for the error.

¹ In the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 406 and in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 304 I suggested that the Euhemeristic belief in Zeus as a former king of Crete was based on the divine kingship of Minos.

² Diod. 5. 46.

³ Diod. 5. 46, 6. 1.

Euhemerism apart, we note three points in Firmicus' account of the Cretan ritual¹. It was dramatic; it was sacramental; and it was, to his thinking at least, self-contradictory. It was dramatic; for every year one might see the Cretans 'performing in order due all that the boy had done or suffered at his death.' It was sacramental; for they tore the live bull with their teeth in memory of the Titans feasting upon his flesh. And it was self-contradictory; for the boy, though dead and buried, was yet living and a god to boot. The closing sentence of Firmicus recalls the panegyric of Zeus attributed to Minos:

'A grave have fashioned for thee, O holy and high One, the lying Kretans, who are all the time liars, evil beasts, idle bellies; but thou diest not, for to eternity thou livest, and standest; for in thee we live and move, and have our being².'

¹ Firm. Mat. 6. 5 Cretenses, ut furentis tyranni saevitiam mitigarent, festos funeris dies statuunt et annum sacrum trieterica consecratione componunt, omnia per ordinem facientes quae puer moriens aut fecit aut passus est. vivum laniant dentibus taurum, crudeles epulas annuis commemorationibus excitantes, et per secreta silvarum clamoribus dissonis eiulantes fingunt animi furentis insaniam, ut illud facinus non per fraudem factum sed per insaniam crederetur: praefertur cista, in qua cor soror latenter absconderat, tiliarum cantu et cymbalorum tinnitu crepundia quibus puer deceptus fuerat mentiuntur. sic in honorem tyranni a serviente plebe deus factus est qui habere non potuit sepulturam.

² *Supra* p. 157 n. 3. In the *Expositor* 1912 pp. 348—353 Dr J. Rendel Harris publishes a fuller version of the Theodorean matter, which he had previously cited from the *Gannat Busamé*. The new extract is found in the commentary of Isho'dad, the Nestorian church-father, upon the *Acts of the Apostles* and is rendered: "The Interpreter [*i.e.* Theodore of Mopsuestia] says that the Athenians were once upon a time at war with their enemies, and the Athenians retreated from them in defeat; then a certain Daimon appeared and said unto them, I have never been honoured by you as I ought; and because I am angry with you, therefore you have a defeat from your enemies. Then the Athenians were afraid, and raised up to him the well-known altar; and because they dreaded lest this very thing should have happened to them, that they had secretly neglected one who was unknown to them, they erected this altar and also wrote upon it, *Of the Unknown and Hidden God*: wishing, in fact, to say this, that though there is a God in whom we do not believe, we raise this altar to His honour that He may be reconciled to us, although He is not honoured as a known deity: therefore Paul did well to take a reason from this and to say before them, *This hidden God, to whom ye have raised an altar without knowing Him, I have come to declare unto you*. There is no God whom ye know not, except the true God, who hath appointed the times by His command, and hath put bounds, etc." [*He hath determined the times*, that is to say, the variations of summer and winter, spring and autumn.]

"*In Him we live and move and have our being*: and, as certain also of your own sages have said, *We are his offspring*." Paul takes both of these quotations from certain heathen poets.

Now about this passage, "*In Him we live and move and have our being*": the Cretans said about Zeus, as if it were true, that he was a prince, and was lacerated by a wild boar, and was buried; and behold! his grave is known amongst us; so Minos, the son of Zeus, made a panegyric over his father, and in it he said:

The Cretans have fashioned a tomb for thee, O Holy and High!
Liars, evil beasts, idle bellies;
For thou diest not; for ever thou livest and standest;
For in thee we live and move and have our being.

These lines, quoted from a lost hexameter poem by Epimenides (?), seem at first sight to be a flat negation of the Cretan faith, opposing to it a later and nobler conception of the deity. But, as spoken by Minos, they more probably preserve to us the view taken by the genuine mystic of Idaean Zeus. If so, we may be very sure that they contain no vague transcendental philosophy, but the main point and purpose of the Cretan cult. In early days the child that represented the god re-born, in later times the bull that served as his surrogate, was essentially a focus of divine force. Those who tasted of the sacred flesh and blood thereby renewed their life, their movement, their very being; for they became one with the god whom they worshipped. Such a belief, though primitive in its inception, was obviously capable of further development. Paul, when preaching at Athens, quoted the words of Minos and attached to them in perpetuity a significance at once deeper and higher. He must have been aware that the fine concluding phrase referred originally to the Cretan Zeus; for elsewhere² he cites Minos' description of the Cretans as given in the same context. Nay more, with the next breath³ he adduces from Aratos a line in which

So the blessed Paul took this sentence from Minos; and he took the quotation,

"We are the offspring of God."

from Aratus, a poet who wrote about God, and about the seven [planets] and the twelve [signs]: saying, "From God we begin, from the Lord of heaven, that is Zeus: for all markets, and seas, and havens are filled with His name: and also in every place, all men are in want of Him, because we are His offspring; and He out of His goodness giveth good signs to us and to all men. He moves us to come forward to work; and He ordains all that is visible and invisible: and because of this we all worship Him, and say, 'Hail to thee, our Father, wonderful and great!'"

"Plato also and others say that souls are by nature from God."⁴

¹ Dr Rendel Harris refers them to the poem of 4000 lines written by Epimenides *πρὸς Μῖνον καὶ Ραδαμάνθου* (Diog. Laert. 1. 112). H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*² Berlin 1912 ii. 188 f. conjectures that the line *Κρήτες αἰὶ ψεύσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί*, cited by Paul in Tit. 1. 12, came from the *proimion* of Epimenides' *Τὴν οὐρανὸν* (Diog. Laert. 1. 111 *ἐποίησε δὲ Κορήτων καὶ Κορυβάντων γένησιν καὶ θεογονίαν, ἐπιη πεντακισχίλια*): and O. Kern in Pauly *Real-Enc.* vi. 176 agrees with him. But Dr Rendel Harris in the *Expositor* 1907 p. 336 f. acutely conjectures that the early Cretans ate their deity sacramentally under the form of a pig: and...that, as in so many similar cults, they ate the animal raw. This would at once explain why Epimenides called them not only liars, but also beasts and gluttons.

Putting together Callim. *h. Zeus* 8 f., Acts 17. 28, and Tit. 1. 12, we may venture to restore the original text in some such form as the following: *σοὶ μὲν ἐτεκτήναντο τάφον, πανίπερτατε δόσιμον. | Κρήτες αἰὶ ψεύσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί: | ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ σὺ θῆρες. ζῶεις δὲ καὶ ἴστασαι αἰεὶ. | ἐν σοὶ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεσθα καὶ εἰμέν. Dr Rendel Harris in the *Expositor* 1907 p. 337 f. (cp. *ib.* 1912 p. 350) restores: *τύμβιον ἐτεκτήναντο πῶλον, κίδιστε, μέγιστε. | Κρήτες, αἰὶ ψευδεῖς, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί. | ἀλλὰ σὺ γ' οὐ θηρικός. ἴστηκας γὰρ ζῶς αἰεὶ. | ἐν γὰρ σοὶ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθ' ἤδη καὶ ἐσμέν.**

² Tit. 1. 12.

³ Acts 17. 28 *ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν, ὡς καὶ τινες τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς*

that Tarsian poet, speaking on behalf of the whole human race, claims kinship with Zeus—Zeus that made the stars, Zeus that was born as a babe in Crete.

(η) The Origin of Tragedy.

The cult of Zeus annually reborn as Dionysos spread, with some variety of circumstance, throughout a large area of ancient Greece. Side by side with the bull it utilised other animals, especially the goat¹. The Praesian tradition that the infant Zeus was suckled by a cow² was overshadowed by the common belief that his nurse had been a goat³. The Bacchantes are said to have torn asunder oxen and devoured their flesh raw⁴, but sometimes also to have treated goats in like manner⁵. And such was the type of Maenad idealised

ποιητῶν εἰρήκασιν τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν. There may be a side glance at Kleantes. *h. Zeus* (*frag.* 48 Pearson) 4 ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμέν. But it is clear that the main reference is to the apostle's fellow-citizen Arat. *phaen.* 4 f. πάντη δὲ Διὸς κεχρημέθα πάντες· τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος εἰμέν. Note also, that Aratos introduces Zeus as Lord of the Stars, thereby recalling the Cretan Zeus *Astérios* (*supra* p. 545 ff.), and that he actually goes on to describe the birth and rearing of Zeus in Crete.

¹ *Supra* p. 500 ff.

² *Supra* p. 660.

³ *Supra* pp. 112 n. 3, 150, 529 n. 4. See further G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1130, K. Wernicke *ib.* i. 1720 ff.

⁴ Schol. Aristoph. *ran.* 357 οἱ δὲ οὕτως. μηδὲ Κρατῖνον βακχεῖα ἐτελέσθη, ἃ ἐστὶ τοῦ ταυροφάγου Διονύσου, ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβαινόντος ταῖς βάκχαις. διέσπων γὰρ βοῦς καὶ ἡσθιον ὠμὰ κρέα, Eur. *Bacch.* 734 ff. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν φεύγοντες ἐξηλύξαμεν | Βακχῶν παραγμῶν, αἱ δὲ νεμομένας χλόην | μύσχοις ἐπήλθον χειρὸς ἀσιδήρου μέτα. | καὶ τὴν μὲν ἂν προσεῖδες εὖσθλον πόνρι | μυκωμένην ἔχουσαν ἐν χερσὶν δίχα, | ἄλλαι δὲ δαμάλας διεφόρουσιν παραγμῶν. | εἶδες δ' ἂν ἢ πλευρῆ | ἢ δίχθλον ἐμβασίον | ῥιπτόμεν' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω· κρεμαστὰ δὲ | ἔσταζ' ὑπ' ἐλάταις ἀναπεφυρμέν' αἵματι. | ταῦροι δ' ὕβριστοὶ καὶ κέρας θυμοῦμοιο | τὸ πρόσθεν, ἐσφάλλοντο πρὸς γαῖαν δέμας, | μυριάσι χειρῶν ἀγόμενοι νεανίδων. | θάσσον δὲ διεφοροῦντο σαρκὸς ἐνδύτῃ | ἢ δὲ ξυνάψαι βλέφαρα βασιλείου κόραις, Nonn. *Dion.* 14. 377 ff. ἄλλη δ' ἔχνος ἀγούσα βοστροφῶν εἰς ῥάχιν ὕλης | ἀσχετα μαινομένην δορῆς ἐδράξατο ταύρου, | καὶ βλοσυροῖς ὀνύχασσι χαρασσομένης ἀπὸ δειρῆς | ταυρεῖην ἀτόρητον ἀπεφλοῖωσε καλύπτρην· κ.τ.λ., 43. 40 ff. καὶ τινα βοσκομένην μελανόχροον ἐγγύθι πόντου | εἰς βοεῖν ἀγέλην Ἰοσιδήιον αἵματι λάβρω | θινιάδες ἐρρώνοντο· τανυγλήνιο δὲ ταύρου | ἢ μὲν ἐφαπτομένη ῥάχιν ἐσχισεν, ἢ δὲ μετώπου | διχθαδῆς ἀτίνακτα διέθλασεν ἄκρα κεραῖης· | καὶ τις ἀλοιητῆρι διέτμαγε γαστέρα θύρωφ· | ἄλλη πλευρῶν ἔτεμεν ἔλον βοῦς· ἡμθανῆς δὲ | ὕπτιος αὐτοκύλιστος ἐπὶ ὠκλασε ταῦρος ἀρούρη· | καὶ βοῦς ἀρτιτόμιο κυλινδομένιο κονίη | ἢ μὲν ὀπισθιδίου πῶδας ἐσπασεν, ἢ δὲ λαβοῦσα | προσθιδίου ἐρύεσκε, πολυστροφάλιγγε δὲ ῥιπῆ | ὄρθιον ἐσφαίρωσεν ἐς ἥερα δίξυγα χηλῆν, *Anth. Pal.* 6. 74. 1 f. (Agathias) Βασσαρίς Εὐρυνόμη σκοπελοδρόμος. ἢ ποτε ταύρων | πολλὰ τανυκράϊων στέρνα χαραξαμένη, κ.τ.λ., *Cat.* 64. 257 pars e divolso iactabant membra iuveno, *Pers.* 1. 100 f. et raptum vitulo caput ablatura superbo | Bassaris.

⁵ Aisch. *Edoni frag.* 64 Nauck² *ap.* Hesych. *s.v.* αἰγίξεν· διασπᾶν. ἐκ μεταφορᾶς παρ' ὃ καὶ τὸ αἰγίξασθαι, ἀπὸ τῶν καταιγίδων. Αἰσχύλος. ὃ δ' αὐτὸς ἐν Ἡδωνοῖς καὶ τὰς νεβρίδας οὕτω λέγει, cp. Soud. *s.v.* αἰγίξεν, Ἡδωνῆς, Zonar. *lex. s.v.* αἰγίξεν. The same custom is probably implied by Hesych. *s.v.* τραγήφοροι· αἱ κόραι Διονύσου ὀργιάζουσαι τραγῆν περιήπτοντο and perhaps also by the cult-legend of Paus. 2. 23. 1. But the most definite statement is that of Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 19 Bacchanalia etiam praeter-

by Skopas¹. The variation, which implies that the worshippers lived among neat-herds and goat-herds respectively, is of importance, because it enables us to gain some insight into that vexed question, the origin of Greek tragedy.

The two Athenian festivals prominently connected with tragedy were the Lenaia in Gamelion (January to February) and the City Dionysia in Elaphebolion (March to April). The one, being held in winter when the sea was dangerous for voyagers, was a domestic celebration, confined to the Athenians themselves. The other, being held in spring when visitors from all parts of Greece came crowding into Athens, was a much more splendid affair². It is, however, to the Lenaia rather than to the City Dionysia that we must look for the first beginnings of tragedy. For the former was throughout of a more primitive character than the latter. Dr Farnell³ justly lays stress on the fact that, whereas the City Dionysia was under the control of the *Archon*, the Lenaia was managed by the *Basileus*. He also points out that the winter-month corresponding with Gamelion in the calendar of all the other Ionic states was Lenaion, and infers that the Lenaia was already a conspicuous festival in the period preceding the Ionic migration. Finally he observes that the Lenaia was virtually the Rural Dionysia of Athens⁴; for the Lenaia is not known to have been held in the demes or country-districts and *en revanche* the Rural Dionysia was not held under that name at Athens.

The exact site of the *Lenaion* is still uncertain, and will be settled only by future excavation⁵. But this we know, that the

mittemus immania (*inania* codd.) quibus nomen Omophagiis Graecum est, in quibus furore mentito et sequestrata pectoris sanitate circumplicatis vos anguibus, atque ut vos plenos dei numine ac maiestate doceatis, caprorum reclamantium viscera cruentatis oribus dissipatis. See further F. Lenormant in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1879 v. 35 ff., F. A. Voigt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1037 ff., A. Rapp *ib.* ii. 2250 f., A. Legrand in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1485, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 731 n. 3, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 165 ff., 303.

¹ Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 223 ff. no. 1162, G. Treu in the *Mélanges Perrot* Paris 1902 pp. 317—324 with pl. 5 and figs. 1—6.

² A. E. Haigh *The Attic Theatre*² Oxford 1898 p. 38.

³ Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 212 ff.

⁴ This is the fact which (*pace* Prof. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in *Hermes* 1886 xxi. 615 n. 1) underlies the statements of Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λήναιος ἀγών Διονύσου ἐν ἀγροῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ληνού· Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τρίτῳ Χρονικῶν (Apollod. *frag.* 58 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 437 Müller)), schol. Aristoph. *Ach.* 202 ἀξω <τὰ> κατ' ἀγροῦς· τὰ Λήναια λεγόμενα. εὐθεν τὰ Λήναια καὶ ὁ ἐπιλήναιος ἀγὼν τελεῖται τῷ Διονύσῳ. Λήναιον γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐν ἀγροῖς ἱερὸν τοῦ Διονύσου, κ.τ.λ., 503 τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἐν ἀγροῖς, ὁ ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ λεγόμενος, κ.τ.λ.: see A. Frickenhaus in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1912 xxvii. 82 f.

⁵ On this complicated problem read by all means the lucid accounts of W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 263 n. 10 (who inclines to place the *Lenaion*

Lénaion itself was a large precinct containing a sanctuary of Dionysos *Lénaios*, where contests were held before the Athenian theatre was built¹. The said contests doubtless took place in the 'Lenaean theatre'² and were transferred at a later date, which however cannot be precisely determined, to the theatre on the southern slope of the Akropolis.

Recent discussion has made it clear that the names *Lénaion*, *Lénaia*, *Lénaios* are derived—as Ribbeck suggested³—from *lénai*, the 'wild women' or Maenads of Dionysos⁴. The supposed con-

somewhere in the valley between the Areios Pagos and the Pnyx, near to the spot where in Roman times stood the hall of the Iobakchoi) and of A. W. Pickard-Cambridge in A. E. Haigh *The Attic Theatre*³ Oxford 1907 pp. 368—378 (who concludes (a) 'that the old Lenaia performances took place in a temporary wooden theatre in (or by) the market-place—wherever this was,' and (b) that 'it is still possible that the Lenaean was once outside the walls, and afterwards came to be included in their circuit'). A. Frickenhaus, however, in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1912 xxvii. 80 ff. and in his *Winckelmanns-fest- Progr. Berlin* lxxii. 29 ff. has lately advanced cogent arguments for locating the *Lénaion* outside the Themistoclean wall close to the Dipylon Gate.

¹ Hesych. s.v. ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίων ἀγῶν, Phot. lex. s.v. Ἀθηναίων, Bekker *anecd.* i. 278, 8 f., *et. mag.* p. 361, 39 ff., Soud. s.v. ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίων.

² Poll. 4. 121.

³ O. Ribbeck *Anfänge und Entwicklung des Dionysoscultus in Attika* Kiel 1869 p. 13 ff., E. Maass *De Lenaeo et Delphinio* Greifswald 1891 p. x, 5, H. von Prott in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1898 xxiii. 226, L. R. Farnell in the *Class. Rev.* 1900 xiv. 375 f. and in his *Cults of Gk. States* v. 176, 208, M. P. Nilsson *Studia de Dionysiis Atticis* Lund 1900 p. 109 ff. and in his *Gr. Feste* p. 275 f.

⁴ Hesych. s.v. ληναί (λήναι M. Schmidt)· βάκχαι. Ἄρκάδες, Herakl. *ap. Clem. Al. prototr.* 2. 22. 2 p. 16, 24 ff. Stählin (Euseb. *praep. ev.* 2. 3. 37) τίσι δὴ μαντεύεται Ἡράκλειτος ὁ Ἐφέσιος; "νυκτιπόλοις, μάγοις, βάκχοις, λήναις, μύσταις," τοῦτοις ἀπειλεῖ τὰ μετὰ θάνατον, τοῦτοις μαντεύεται τὸ πῦρ. "τὰ γὰρ νομιζόμενα κατὰ ἀνθρώπου μυστήρια ἀνερωστὶ μωῶνται" = *frag.* 124 f. Bywater, 14 Diels, Herakl. *ap. Clem. Al. prototr.* 2. 34-5 p. 26, 6 ff. Stählin "εἰ μὴ γὰρ Διονύσω πομπὴν ἐποιούοντο καὶ ὕμνεον ἄσματα αἰδολοῖσιν ἀναιδέστατα, ἐργασταί," φησὶν Ἡράκλειτος, "ὠτὸς δὲ Ἄιδης καὶ Διόνυσος, ὅτε μαινοῦνται καὶ ληναῖζουσιν" = *frag.* 127 Bywater, 15 Diels (reading αἰδολοῖσιν, ἀναιδέστατα ἐργαστ' ἄν. ὠτὸς δὲ Ἄιδης), Strab. 468 Διονύσου δὲ Σειληνοῦ τε καὶ Σάτυροι, καὶ Τίτυροι προσγορευόμενοι, καὶ Βάκχαι, Ἄθηναί τε καὶ Θυῖαι καὶ Μιμαλλόνες καὶ Ναιδες καὶ Νύμφαι (on the text see G. Kramer *ad loc.*) Dionys. *per.* 700 ff. καὶ Καμαριτῶν φύλον μέγα, τοὶ ποτε Βάκχον | Ἰνδῶν ἐκ πολέμοιο δεδεγμένοι ἐξείλισσαν, | καὶ μετὰ Ἀθηναίων ἱερὸν χωρὸν ἐστήσαντο, κ.τ.λ., 1152 ff. ἔστι δὲ τις θηητὸς ἐυρητηνὴ παρὰ Γάγγην | χῶρος τιμῆς τε καὶ ἱερῶς, ἐν ποτε Βάκχος | θυμαίων ἐπάτησεν, ὅτ' ἠλάσσοντο μὲν ἄβρα | Ἀθηναίων νεβρίδες ἐς ἀσπίδας, κ.τ.λ., G. Hirschfeld *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* iv. 1. 78 f. Oxford 1893 no. 902, 1 [σοὶ τό]θε ἀναξ [ἀγάθ]υρσε, θεῶν ληναγέτα Βακχῶν, κ.τ.λ. on a small limestone altar (s. iii B.C.) from Halikarnassos. Theokr. 26 is entitled Ἄθηνα ἢ Βάκχαι. Ἄθηνα is found twice as a woman's name on early funeral *stelai* in the Corinthian colony Ambrakia (U. Köhler in *Hermes* 1891 xxvi. 148 f. nos. 4 Ἄθηνα | Ἀπολλοδώρου, 5 Ἄθηνα | Δαμοφίλου, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 1. 82 no. 3183 n.). Other related names are Ἀθηναῖς (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 1253 a, 1 on a marble *stèle* from Phalanna, *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 1091, 38, no. 1138, 39, iii. 2 no. 2175, 1, *Inscr. Gr. Sic. II.* no. 2414, 39 on a *lessera* in the British Museum, no. 2447 on a marble *stèle* from Marseille), Ἀθηναῖος or Ἀθηναῖς (E. Sittig *De Graecorum nominibus theophroris* Halis Saxonum 1911 p. 90 f. cites numerous examples from many parts of the Greek world),

nexion with *lenós*, a 'wine-press,' defies both philology and common sense¹. At most we can admit that the jingle between *lénai* and *lenós* led the populace in ancient times, as it has led the learned in modern times, to confuse two words which in their origin and usage were entirely distinct².

An examination of the evidence for *lénai* and its derivatives proves that the word was used by Arcadians, Ionians, and Dorians alike. It is obviously a very old term for the female devotees of Dionysos. With their ritual we are imperfectly acquainted. The festival-calendar from Mykonos says³:

‘ON THE TENTH OF LENAION a hymn must be sung on behalf of the crops while a pregnant sow that has not previously had a litter is sacrificed to Demeter, an ungelded boar to Kore, a young pig to Zeus *Bouleús*. The *hieropoiói* are to provide these victims from the sacred fund, and with them wood and barley-meal. The magistrates and priests shall see to it that the victims are satisfactory. If there is any need of a second and satisfactory sacrifice, the *hieropoiói* are to provide it. Any woman of Mykonos that wishes it shall come to the festival and any women dwelling in Mykonos that have been initiated into the rites of Demeter. ON THE ELEVENTH a yearling is brought to Totaplethos(?) for Semele. This is divided into nine portions (of which one is burnt for Semele and the other eight are eaten by the worshippers). ON THE TWELFTH a yearling is sacrificed to Dionysos *Leneús*. On behalf of the crops black yearlings stripped of their skins are sacrificed to Zeus *Chthónios* and Ge *Chthonía*. No stranger may perform the sacrifice. The participants are to eat it on the spot.’

Ἐπιλήναιος (W. Judeich in the *Altertümer von Hierapolis* (Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. Ergänzungsheft iv) Berlin 1898 p. 89 no. 46, 1), and Ἀθηαγόρας (*Anth. Pal.* 6. 56. 2 (Makedonios)).

Cp. Hesych. s.v. ληνέουσι· βακχεύουσιν, Soud. s.v. ληνίς, ληνίδος· ἡ βάκχη, et. mag. p. 564, 4 and et. Gud. p. 368, 12 ληνίς, σημαίνει τὴν βάκχην· κ.τ.λ., Eustath. in *Il.* p. 629, 31 αἱ δὲ ῥηθείσαι (sc. Βάκχαι) καὶ Ληνίδες λέγονται κ.τ.λ. (but Zonar. lex. s.v. ληνίς· ἡ μέθη).

¹ Dr Farnell in the *Class. Rev.* 1900 xiv. 375 rightly insisted that Ἀήναιος must be derived from a stem in *a* (λῆναι), not in *o* (ληνός). And all the writers cited *supra* p. 667 n. 3 have been struck by the absurdity of a 'wine-press' festival in mid-winter!

² M. P. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 275 (after H. von Prott in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1898 xxiii. 226) shows that λῆναι, which occurs outside the Ionic area without change of vowel, had an original *ē*, but that ληνός, which occurs in Doric as λανός, had an original *ā*.

³ J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 *Fasti sacri* p. 13 ff. no. 4, 15 ff., Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 714, 15 ff., Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 615, 15 ff. Ἀθηαίῳ δεκάτη | ἐπὶ αἰδέῃ ὑπὲρ καρποῦ Δήμητρι ὕν ἐνκύμονα πρωτοτόκον, | Κόρη κάπρον τέλεον, Διὶ Βουλεῖ χοῖρον. ταῦτα δίδόντων ἱεροποιοὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀργυρίου, καὶ ξύλα δίδόντων καὶ ὄλας. | ἐπιμελέσθων δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ὅπως καλὰ ἦ ἀρχοντες καὶ ἱερεῖς. ἐὰν δέ τι δέη καλλιερῆν, ἱεροποιοὶ δίδόν[τ]ων· εἰς δὲ | τὴν ἑορτὴν [πελ](αῖ)έτω Μυκονιάδων ἡ βουλο[μ]έ[ν]η κ]αὶ τῶν οἰκουσῶν ἐμ Μυκό[ν]ω ὄσαι ἐπὶ Δήμητρι τετέλ[η]νται.—ἐν δε[κ]α(ά)τη ἐπὶ Τοταπλήθος (so de Prott and Michel, after Kumanudis ἐπι ΤΟΤΑΓΛΗ?θος: Dittenberger reads ἐπὶ τὸ τα..ληθος, after Latyschew ΕΠΙΤΟΤ . . ΛΗΘΟΣ) Σεμέλη ἐτήσιον· τοῦτο ἑνα τεύεται.—[δ]ιωδεκάτει Διονύσωι Ληνεῖ ἐτήσιον· ὑπ(ἐ)[ρ] | κα(ρ)πῶν Δι Χθονίωι, Γῆι Χθονίηι δερτὰ μέλανα ἐτήσι(α)· | ξένωι οὐ θέμις· δαινύσθων αὐτοῦ.

At Mykonos, then, in the first century B.C. the full Lenaeon festival included the worship of the following deities:

Lenaion 10—Demeter, Kore, Zeus *Bouleüs*.

Lenaion 11—Semele.

Lenaion 12—Dionysos *Leneüs*, Zeus *Chthónios*, Ge *Chthonía*.

J. von Protz¹ points out that the deities of Lenaion 10 are the Ionian triad Demeter, Kore, and Zeus *Eubouleüs*², who correspond with the Peloponnesian triad Demeter, Kore (Persephone), and Plouton (Klymenos, Hades). He adds that at Athens the Lenaia was preceded by a sacrifice to the same triad Demeter, Kore, and Plouton³. It follows that the ritual of Lenaion 10 was a prelude of the Lenaia, not the Lenaia itself. This occupied the last two days, on which Semele, Dionysos *Leneüs*, Zeus *Chthónios*, and Ge *Chthonía* are the deities recognised—a group of chthonian and agricultural import. Yet here again we must distinguish the Lenaia itself from its concomitants. Since Zeus *Chthónios* is named after Dionysos *Leneüs*, while Ge *Chthonía* duplicates the earth-goddess Semele, we may conclude that Zeus and Ge were due to a later amplification. The preliminary hymn for the crops was balanced by a concluding sacrifice for the crops. Subtracting both prelude and sequel, we have left as the original recipients of the cult Semele and Dionysos *Leneüs*. Provokingly little is told us about their actual rites. The yearling eaten by the worshippers recalls the omophagy of the Cretan cult⁴. And the black fleeces were perhaps worn by them as by Pythagoras in the Idaean Cave⁵. But beyond this we are reduced to conjecture⁶.

It is by no accident that the same Thracio-Phrygian pair, Semele and Dionysos, figure in the Athenian Lenaia. The old scholiast on Aristophanes states that

'at the Lenaeon contests of Dionysos the *daidoúchos* holding a torch says

¹ J. de Protz *op. cit.* p. 16 f.

² *Inscr. Gr. ins.* vii no. 76 (Arkesine in Amorgos, s. iv B.C.) Δήμητρι Κόρη | Δι Εύβουλει | Δημοδίκη | Σίμωνος ἀνέθηκεν, 77 (Arkesine, s. iii B.C.) [..μη.....] ο.. | Δήμητρι και Κούρη [κ]α[ι] Εύβουλει, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 590 f. no. 5441 (Paros, c. s. i B.C.) = *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 227 Ἐρασίππη Θράσωνος Ἡ<ι>ρη(ι), | Δήμητρι Θεσμοφόρω και Κόρη και Δι Εύβουλει και Βαυβοί, *Inscr. Gr. Deli* ii no. 287 A 69 (accounts of *hieropoioi* for 250 B.C.) ὅς ἐγκύμων εἰς θυσίαν τῆι Δήμητρι ΔΓΓ· και ὥστε τῆι Κόρηι ἱερεῖον ΔΔΓΓΓ· και Δι Εύβουλει ἱερεῖον ΔΓΓ, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1890 xiv. 505 n. 4 (accounts of Delian *hieropoioi* for 246 B.C., line 22) τῆι Δήμητρι ὅς ἐγκύμων ΔΔ· δελφάκιον καθαρὸν ΔΓΓΓΓ· ἄλλο δελφάκιον τῶι Δι τῶι Εύβουλει ΓΓΓΓΓ.

³ *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2. Add. no. 834 b ii 46 (Eleusis, 329—328 B.C.) ἐπαρχῆ Δήμητρι και Κόρη και Πλούτωνι ΓΓ· ἐπιστάταις Ἐπιλήτεια εἰς Διονύσια θύσαι ΔΔ.

⁴ *Supra* pp. 648, 650, 662 f., 664 n. 1.

⁵ *Supra* p. 646.

⁶ Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 277 ff.

"Call ye the god," and his hearers shout "Iakchos, Semele's child, Giver of Wealth¹."

What happened in answer to this evocation, we are not told. But it is permissible to suppose that a figure representing Semele with the infant Dionysos in her arms issued from a cave or artificial grotto. The *cornu copiae* carried by the babe would mark him as the 'Giver of Wealth.' Kephisodotos' statue of Eirene holding the infant Ploutos was very possibly inspired by the Lenaeon representation of Semele²: on late coppers of Athens that show the group the child has a *cornu copiae* in his left hand³. How the cave or grotto would be managed, we can infer from the well-known vases illustrating the ascent of the earth-goddess. Miss Harrison in her study of these at first conjectured 'some reminiscence of Semele⁴,' and later wrote: 'We have before us unquestionably the "Bringing up of Semele⁵."' I understand her to suggest in the same context that the type as seen in the Attic vase-paintings was definitely based on the initial rite of the Lenaea. With that I should agree⁶. Hermes too was, not improbably, present at the ritual evocation⁷, and to him Semele may have handed the new-born babe. If Kephisodotos' statue of Eirene with Ploutos was inspired by the ritual figure of Semele with Dionysos, the same sculptor's statue of Hermes nursing the infant Dionysos⁸ may have been based yet more closely on the succeeding scene at the Lenaea. And to the Hermes of Kephisodotos the Hermes of Praxiteles was near akin.

¹ Schol. Rav. Aristoph. *ran.* 479 κἀλει θεόν: ...ἐν τοῖς Ληναϊκοῖς ἀγῶσιν τοῦ Διονύσου ὁ δαδούχος κατέχων λαμπάδα λέγει "καλεῖτε θεόν," καὶ οἱ ὑπακούοντες βοῶσιν "Σεμελήμη Ἴακχε πλουτοδότρα" (*carmina popularia* 5 Bergk⁴, *versus et cantilenae populares* 4 Hiller—Crusius).

² Cp. O. Jessen in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 668: 'näher liegt die Annahme, die *βοτρυδῶρος* [Aristoph. *rax* 520], *πλουτοδότειρα* [*frag. mel. adesp.* 39 Hiller—Crusius] Eirene habe einst in Athen als Mutter des Dionysos gegolten; denn sie erscheint wie andere frühere Mütter (Dione, Thyone) später auf Vasenbildern als Bakchantin im Gefolge des Gottes [L. von Sybel in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1222].'

³ Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 147 pl. DD, 9 f., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica* etc. p. 109 pl. 19, 5, Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*⁴ ii. 8 ff. fig. 134 a.

⁴ Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 278 f. fig. 68.

⁵ Harrison *Themis* p. 418 ff. fig. 124.

⁶ But I completely disagree with Miss Harrison's description of the grotto on the Berlin *kratér* (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 756 no. 2646, *Mon. d. Inst.* xii pl. 4). She says (*Themis* p. 418 f.): 'We have a great mound of earth artificially covered in with a thick coat of white. On it are painted a tree, leaf-sprays and a tortoise. From the top of the mound rises a tree....It is a grave-mound, an omphalos-sanctuary,' etc. I see no tortoise or grave-mound or *omphalos*, nothing in fact but a would-be cavern.

⁷ He awaits the *anodos* of Pherophatta on a *kratér* at Dresden (P. Herrmann in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1892 vii Arch. Anz. p. 166 f., Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 277 fig. 67).

⁸ Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 87.

It would seem, in fact, that the Lenaeon festival made important contributions, not only to Greek literature, but also to Greek art.

A. Frickenhaus has recently attempted to prove that a whole series of Athenian vases extending throughout the fifth century B.C. represents scenes from the Lenaia¹. Late black-figured vases, mostly *lékythoi*, show a wooden pillar decked with a bearded Dionysiac mask and sprigs of ivy: sometimes the mask is duplicated, and drapery added beneath it, or a flat-cake above it. As a rule, four Maenads are grouped about the *ágalma*². Red-figured vases, usually *stámnoi*, complicate the scene. The god is more elaborately dressed, though he never acquires arms. Before him is a table, on which offerings of wine etc. are placed. The *entourage* still consists of Maenads³. In one case the pillar is not decked at all, but a Maenad on the left is carrying the infant god⁴. Various scholars from G. Minervini (1850)⁵ onwards have interpreted the masked pillar as the Theban Dionysos *Perikiónios*. M. Mayer (1892)⁶ suggested Dionysos *Orthós*, whom C. Robert (1899)⁷ identified with Dionýsos *Lenaíos*. Combining these hints, Frickenhaus argues that at some date later than the ninth and earlier than the sixth century B.C. the cult of the Theban Dionysos came to the Lenaion, which he locates outside the Dipylon gate. Here year by year the birth of Semele's son was celebrated, his pillar decked, and his table spread⁸. In the absence of a definite inscription certainty is unattainable. But it will probably be conceded that the vases in question do illustrate the ritual of an Attic festival of Dionysos, and that this festival may well be the Lenaia⁹. If so, these vases strengthen our contention that the

¹ A. Frickenhaus *Lenäenwasen (Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin lxxii)* Berlin 1912 pp. 1—40 with figs. in text and 5 pls.

² *Id. ib.* pp. 4—6, 33 f. (nos. 1—10).

³ *Id. ib.* pp. 6—16, 34—39 (nos. 11—27 and 29).

⁴ *Id. ib.* p. 20 f., 39 (no. 28).

⁵ G. Minervini *Monumenti antichi inediti posseduti da Raffaele Barone* Naples 1850 i. 34 ff.

⁶ M. Mayer in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1892 xvii. 265—270 and 446 f.

⁷ C. Robert *Der wilde Silen (Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle 1899)* p. 11.

⁸ A. Frickenhaus *op. cit.* pp. 27—32.

⁹ The rites of the Rural Dionysia are so imperfectly known that we cannot rule them out as confidently as does Frickenhaus *op. cit.* p. 26: 'Auch die ländlichen Dionysien, wie sie Aristophanes in den Acharnern schildert, können nichts mit unseren Vasen zu tun haben.' It must not be forgotten that precisely at Acharnai there was a cult of Dionysos *Kíssós* (Paus. i. 31. 6 with J. G. Frazer *ad loc.*), who was near akin to Dionysos *Perikiónios* (O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1016). Moreover, the Rural Dionysia was but the country counterpart of the Athenian Lenaia (*supra* p. 666, *infra* pp. 673, 688).

Within the last few months E. Petersen 'Lenäen oder Anthesterien' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1913 lxxviii. 239—250 has attempted to prove that the vases discussed by Frickenhaus

infant god was exhibited at the Athenian Lenaia¹. And I have long since maintained that in the table, which on the same vases is set before the dressed up post, we should recognise the prototype of the dramatic stage².

Beside the ritual directions of Mykonos and Athens we have a rhetorical passage in which Clement of Alexandria³ contrasts the frenzy of Lenaean fiction with the calm of Christian truth :

‘So Kithairon and Helikon and the mountains of the Odrysians and Thracians, where men are initiated into error, have by reason of their mysteries been divinised and hitched into hymns. For my part, fiction though they be, I can ill brook all these disasters turned into tragedy; but you have made the very recital of your woes into plays, and you deem those that act them a delightful sight. Nay, nay, let us take these dramas and Lenaean poets,—for the cup of their folly is full,—let us wreath them of course with ivy⁴, while they babble beyond measure in their Bacchic rite, and along with their Satyrs, their mad followers, and the whole chorus of demons to boot, let us relegate them to a superannuated Helikon and Kithairon. But for ourselves, let us summon from the heavens above Truth with luminous wisdom⁵ and the holy chorus of prophets to come to the holy mountain of God.’

The scholiast, commenting on Clement’s ‘Lenaean poets,’ lets fall a brief but valuable hint :

‘A rustic ode, sung over the wine-press, which ode itself included the rending of Dionysos⁶.’

refer, not to the Lenaia at all, but to the secret rites of Anthesterion 12, when—as he supposes—the *Basílinna* attended by her *Gerairai* was married to Dionysos, *i.e.* to a dressed-up pillar in the old Dionysion *én Álμvais*. But the arguments adduced in support of his view by this learned and ingenious scholar strike me as being far from cogent. It is, *e.g.*, the merest assumption that the ritual marriage of the *Basílinna* took place on Anthesterion 12 (*infra* p. 686). And to argue that the vases cannot represent the Lenaia, because the Lenaia had no room for ‘eine exklusive Frauenfeier,’ is to forget that *Lenaia* means ‘the festival of the *lénai*’ (*supra* p. 667 f.).

¹ *Supra* p. 670, *infra* pp. 695, 699, 707.

² *Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 370 ff., *cp. ib.* 1907 xxi. 169 f.

³ *Clem. Al. protr.* i. 2. 1 f. p. 3, 26 ff. Stählin.

⁴ *Cp. Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 77, 21 (Athens, s. i. A.D.), J. de Prottr *op. cit.* p. 7 ff. no. 3, 21, Michel *Recueil d’Inscr. gr.* no. 692, 21 Γαμηλιῶνος κιττώσεις Διονύσου θι, on which see Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 374 n. 7.

⁵ Clement is, I think, pointedly contrasting the Lenaean rite as described by the scholiast on Aristophanes (*supra* p. 669) with Christian procedure. The former called up Iakchos from below: the latter calls down Truth from above. The former relied for its illumination on the torch of the *daidoúchos*: the latter has all the brilliance of celestial wisdom. The former involved a revel-rout ranging an earthly mountain: the latter witnesses inspired prophets pressing on towards Mt Zion.

⁶ Schol. *Clem. Al. protr.* p. 297, 4 ff. Stählin ληναϊζοντας· ἀγροικὴ ᾠδὴ ἐπὶ τῷ ληνῷ ᾄδομένη, ἣ καὶ αὐτὴ περιεῖχεν τὸν Διονύσου σπαραγμὸν. πάντῃ δὲ εὐφῶς καὶ χάριτος ἐμπλέως τὸ “κιττῷ ἀναδήσαντες” τέθεικεν, ὁμοῦ μὲν τὸ ὅτι Διονύσῳ τὰ Λήναια ἀνάκειται ἐνδειξάμενος, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ ὡς παροινία ταῦτα καὶ παροινούσων ἀνθρώποις καὶ μεθύουσιν συγκεκρότηται.

A. Mommsen thinks that this note alludes to the Rural Dionysia¹. Dr Farnell is more disposed to interpret it of the Lenaia². And that is certainly right; for, not only was Clement throughout describing the Lenaeon celebrations, but the scholiast is actually annotating the verb *lenáizontas* and in his very next sentence mentions the Lenaia by name. Yet after all it matters little whether the scholiast is speaking of the Rural Dionysia or of the Lenaia; for we have already observed that the latter was only the Athenian variety of the former³. What does matter is that here, and here only, we learn the contents of the Lenaeon chant. It dealt, as we might have surmised, with the rending of Dionysos. And the whole context in Clement leads us to conclude that this was the proper theme of Lenaeon tragedy.

We are now in a position to review the facts and to estimate probabilities. In Crete⁴ the ritual of Dionysos, the re-born Zeus, included a yearly drama, at which the worshippers performed all that the boy had done or suffered at his death. The Titans' cannibal feast was represented by a bovine omophagy; and those who took part in this sacrament thereby renewed their own vitality. For *ipso facto* they became one with their god, and he with them. The true mystic was *éntheos* in a twofold sense: he was in the god, and the god was in him⁵. On the one hand, the celebrant was not only a worshipper of Bacchos but also the Bacchos whom he worshipped⁶. On the other hand, Dionysos was at once the god of the mysteries and the 'Mystic' (*Mýstes*)⁷, the bull eaten and the 'Bull-eater' (*Taurophágos*)⁸. I submit that in early days the Lenaia essentially resembled the Cretan rite, the only notable difference being that here the god was embodied in a goat, not a bull.

¹ Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 356, 379 n. 1.

² Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 176.

³ *Supra* p. 666.

⁴ *Supra* p. 662 f.

⁵ *Entheos*—if we may judge from the analogy of other adjectives compounded with *én*—could bear either interpretation: cp. *ἐναθλος*, *ἐναλος*, *ἐνάμιλλος*, *ἐνάριθμος*, κ.τ.λ., as against *ἐναίμιος*, *ἐναίμιος*, *ἐνοικος*, *ἐνορχος*, κ.τ.λ.

⁶ *Supra* p. 648 ff.

⁷ Paus. 8. 54. 5 a sanctuary of Dionysos *Μύστης* in the oak-clad district of Korytheis near Tegea. Cp. J. G. Frazer *ad loc.* and C. Robert in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1888 iii. 90, 104.

⁸ Aristoph. *ran.* 357 *μηδὲ Κρατίνου τοῦ ταυροφάγου γλώττης βακχεῖ' ἐτελέσθη*, schol. *ad loc.* *εἴρηται δὲ παρὰ τὸ Σοφοκλέους ἐκ Τυροῦς "Διονύσου τοῦ ταυροφάγου"* [*frag.* 607 Nauck²]...(*οἱ δὲ ἐτι περιεργότερον ὄλον τὸν λόγον ἀποιδόασι. μήτε Κρατίνου βακχεῖ' ἐτελέσθη, ἃ ἐστὶ τοῦ μοσχοφάγου Διονύσου*), Soud. *s.v.* *ταυροφάγον*, Phot. *lex. s.v.* *ταυροφάγον*, *et. mag.* p. 747, 49 ff., Hesych. *s.v.* *ταυροφάγος*.

See further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 731 n. 3 and Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 22 f.

The connexion of Dionysos with the goat has recently been questioned by Prof. Ridgeway¹. But he ignores the express statement of Hesychios that in Lakonike Dionysos was worshipped as *Ériphos*, the 'Kid²,' and the definite mention by Apollodoros of a cult of Dionysos *Eriphios*, the 'Kid-god,' at Metapontum³. It is the existence of these cults that gives significance to certain myths recorded by Apollodoros and by Ovid. Apollodoros relates that Zeus gave the new-born Dionysos to Hermes, who carried the babe to Ino and Athamas, that they might rear it as a girl. Hera in anger sent madness upon them. Athamas hunted his elder son Learchos like a stag and slew him. Ino cast the younger son Melikertes into a caldron that was on the fire, and then taking the dead boy sprang into the sea. She is now worshipped by sea-farers as Leukothea, and he as Palaimon. Finally, Zeus transformed Dionysos into a kid (*ériphos*) and so saved him from the wrath of Hera⁴. Prof. Ridgeway makes light of the tale as coming from a late writer. But it is never safe to pooh-pooh the evidence of Apollodoros. And this tale in particular, though not written down till the second century B.C., obviously contains ritual elements of extreme antiquity. We have already noted that in the service of Dionysos a man was literally disguised as a stag, slain and eaten⁵. We have also remarked that in the cult of Dionysos' nurse⁶, this

¹ W. Ridgeway *The Origin of Tragedy* Cambridge 1910 p. 79 ff.

² Hesych. s.v. *Ειραφιώτης*· ὁ Διόνυσος, παρὰ τὸ ἐρράφθαι ἐν τῷ μηρῷ τοῦ Διός. καὶ Ἐριφος, παρὰ Λάκωσιν, id. s.v. Ἐριφος (Ἐρίφιος cj. Faber)· ὁ Διόνυσος.

³ Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀκρωρεία, ἄκρον ὄρους. ἐν ᾧ οἱ οἰκοῦντες Ἀκρωρείται. οὕτω δὲ παρὰ Σικυωνίους ἐπιμάτο <ὁ Διόνυσος>. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ παρὰ μὲν Σικυωνίους Ἀκρωρείτης, παρὰ δὲ Μεταποντινίους Ἐρίφιος. Ἀπολλόδωρός φησιν. The insertion of ὁ Διόνυσος is rendered practically certain by Paus. 2. 7. 5: J. G. Frazer *ad loc.* points out that the temple of Dionysos at Sikyon stood on the plateau, which was the akropolis of the old, and the site of the new, city. Not improbably kids were killed in the cult of the Sicyonian Dionysos; for a copper coin of the town, struck by Iulia Domna, shows a raving Bacchant with a knife in her right hand and a kid (?) in her left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 55 pl. 9, 19, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 29 pl. H, 6 and 7).

⁴ Apollod. 3. 4. 3, schol. Pind. *Isthm.* argum. 1 and 3, Tzetz. in Lyk. *Al.* 229. Cp. throughout Nonn. *Dion.* 10. 45 ff., where however (as in schol. Pind. *Isthm.* argum. 4) Athamas drops Melikertes into the caldron of boiling water and Ino pulls him out half-boiled.

⁵ *Supra* p. 67 n. 3.

⁶ At Brasiai in the territory of the Eleutherolakones Ino nursed Dionysos in a cave (Paus. 3. 24. 4, cp. Douris *frag.* 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 470 Müller) *ap.* Tzetz. in Lyk. *Al.* 104). In a pentameter of Kallimachos (?) cited by the *et. mag.* p. 372, 4 f. the nurse of Dionysos is Ἐρίφη (cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 21. 81 and Arkad. *de accent.* p. 115, 18 Barker); on the authorship of the line see O. Schneider *Kallimachea Lipsiae* 1873 ii. 722. Lastly, Nonn. *Dion.* 10. 1 ff. makes Athamas in his madness bind and flog a she-goat, which he takes to be Ino.

same Leukothea, a caldron was used to effect a ritual divinisation¹. It might also be observed that at Tenedos infants were sacrificed to her son Palaimon². Supported by the evidence of actual cult and embedded in this context of archaic rites, the statement of Apollodoros that Dionysos himself became a kid is not to be laughed out of court. Again, Ovid says that, when the gods fled into Egypt to escape Typhoeus, the son of Semele was turned into a goat³. And even Ovid, facile though he was and frivolous though he may have been, did not invent his *Metamorphoses* wholesale. Recent research is in fact tending towards the conclusion that he did not invent them at all⁴. And we have twice had occasion to accept as based on definite cult-practice transformations presupposed by this very Ovidian narrative⁵.

In the tale told by Apollodoros we detected certain remnants of Dionysiac ritual—the caldron of apotheosis and the young god transformed into a kid. I should conjecture that there was a version of the Dionysos-myth, in which the god boiled in a caldron and subsequently devoured was done to death not as a bull, but as a kid. I am further inclined to think that his worshippers, by way of identifying themselves with him, took the name of ‘kids’ and actually pretended to be seethed like him in a caldron. This may seem a rash guess. But it is not entirely unsupported by evidence. Hesychios informs us that a man who performed the rites of Adonis was known as a ‘kid⁶.’ And we have seen that the Cretan Zeus, whose death and resurrection were annually enacted, was at the first hard to distinguish from Adonis⁷. Possibly, therefore, Kuster was not mistaken when he interpreted this strange gloss of some Dionysiac rite⁸. Again, if Dionysos was worshipped as *Eriphios*, the ‘Kid-god,’ at Metapontum, we might look to find some trace of the fact in Orphic formularies. Now A. Dieterich⁹ with his habitual acumen pointed out that the lines engraved on

¹ *Supra* p. 419 n. 10.

² Lyk. *Al.* 229 ff. καὶ δὴ Παλαίμων δέρκεται βρεφοκτόνος | ζέουσιν αἰθυλαίσι πλεκτανόστολοις | γράϊαν ζέοντων Ὠγένου Τιτηνίδα (the wording is curiously reminiscent of the Titanic caldron!) with schol. *ad loc.* Παλαίμων ὁ Μελικέρτης, ὁ τῆς Ἴνους υἱός. οὗτος σφόδρα ἐτιμᾶτο ἐν τῇ Τενέδῳ, ἐνθα καὶ βρέφη αὐτῷ ἐθυσίαζον.

³ *Ov. met.* 5. 329 proles Semeleia capro.

⁴ See the careful and critical summary in Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 pp. 171—185.

⁵ *Supra* p. 370 n. 1 (Zeus=ram), p. 445 (Hera=cow).

⁶ Hesych. *s.v.* Ἀδωνιστής. ἐριφος.

⁷ *Supra* p. 157 n. 3, p. 530 n. 2, p. 645.

⁸ See J. Alberti's n. on Hesych. *loc. cit.*

⁹ A. Dieterich *de hymnis Orphicis* Marburgi Cattorum 1891 p. 30 ff. (= *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 91 ff.), *id.* *Eine Mithrasliturgie*² Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 214.

the gold tablets from Corigliano constitute a hymn of eleven hexameters, in which the Orphic votary claims a happy entrance into the future life and receives the assurance:

‘Happy and blessed one, thou shalt be a god instead of a mortal.’

Dieterich further remarked that immediately after this hymn comes a twelfth line containing the prose *formula*:

‘I have fallen as a kid into milk!’

This enigmatic phrase he referred to the cult of Dionysos *Ériphos* or *Eriphios* and explained as a solemn pass-word, in which the mystic asserted that he too as an *eriphos* had now returned to his mother’s breast and, thus raised to the rank of a god, had entered upon the land flowing with milk and honey. Dieterich’s elucidation of the final *formula* is, however, incomplete; for it does not really justify the expression ‘I have fallen’ or adequately account for the ritual bath of milk. We must, I think, start from the fact, first noted by Dr Frazer², that semi-civilised folk relish meat boiled in milk, but often abstain from the luxury because they fancy that the boiling would injure the cow from which the milk has been drawn. Among the Baganda, for example, ‘it is recognized that flesh boiled in milk is a great dainty, and naughty boys and other unprincipled persons, who think more of their own pleasure than of the welfare of the herds, will gratify their sinful lusts by eating meat boiled in milk, whenever they can do so on the sly³.’ Moreover, tribes that commonly refuse to boil milk will not hesitate to do so on certain solemn and specified occasions: the Bahima cowmen are a case in point⁴. It is therefore possible that the original Thracio-Phrygian ceremony involved a ritual boiling of milk. At the Athenian festival of the Galaxia a mess of barley was actually boiled in milk for the Phrygian mother-goddess⁵. And Sallustius,

In or. Gr. Sic. It. no. 641, 1. 14 ff. ὄλβιε καὶ μακαρίστε, θεὸς δ’ ἔσμι ἀντὶ βροτοῖα.
Κρατος ἐς γὰρ Ἐπιτονον, no. 642, 4 ff. θεὸς ἐ(γ) ἔνου ἐξ ἀνθρώπου, ἔριφος ἐς γάλα | ἔπετες.

² J. G. Frazer in *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* Oxford 1907 p. 171 ff., discussing the ancient ritual law ‘Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother’s milk’ (Ex. 23, 19, 34, 26, Deut. 14, 21), argues (a) that among pastoral tribes in Africa there is a widely spread and deeply rooted aversion to boil the milk of their cattle, the aversion being based on an idea that a cow whose milk has been boiled will yield no more milk; (b) that, notwithstanding this belief, the Baganda boys do boil their meat in milk whenever they can; and (c) that the scriptural precept may have been directed against miscreants of this sort, whose surreptitious joys were condemned by public opinion as striking a fatal blow at the staple food of the community.

³ J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 176.

⁴ See the interesting account given by my friend the Rev. J. Roscoe *The Baganda* London 1911 p. 418.

⁵ Bekker *anecd.* i. 229, 25 ff. Γαλαξία (Γαλάξια A. Mommsen)· ἐορτὴ Ἀθήνησι μητρὶ

who allegorises her rites¹, speaks of 'the feeding on milk, as though we were being born again; after which come rejoicings and garlands and, as it were, a return up to the Gods².' Let us suppose, then, that the early Thraco-Phrygian 'kings,' the *Titánes* of the myth³, after killing Dionysos as a kid, pitched him into their caldron and boiled him in milk with a view to his being born again. The mystic who aspired to be one with his god underwent, or at least claimed to have undergone, a like ordeal. He had fallen as a slain kid into the milky caldron: henceforward he was 'a god instead of a mortal⁴.'

θεῶν ἀγομένη, ἐν ἣ ἔψουσι (ἔψουσι A. Mommsen) τὴν γαλαξίαν. ἔστι δὲ πόλτος κριθίνος ἐκ γάλακτος (ἐν γάλακτι A. Mommsen), Hesych. s.v. Γαλάξια (γαλεξία cod., γαλαξία Musurus, γαλάξια Ruhnken)· ἑορτή, ἐν ἣ ἔψουσι γαλαξίαν. ἔστι δὲ πόλτος κριθίνος ἐν γάλακτι. Cp. *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 470, 13 (of the *έρηβοί*), ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Γαλαξί[ο]ις τ[ῆ] μ[η]τ[ρ]οῦ τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἀνέθηκαν φιάλην ἀπὸ δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν κ.τ.λ. Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 449 refers the Γαλάξια to Elaphebolion on the ground that in the Delian calendar Elaphebolion was called Γαλάξιος (leg. Γαλαξιών). See further P. Stengel and Bischoff in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 559 f. and 571.

¹ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1541 n. 7.

² Sallustius *περὶ θεῶν καὶ κόσμου* 4 ἐπὶ τούτοις γάλακτος τροφή, ὥσπερ ἀναγεννωμένων, ἔφ' οἷς ἰλαρείαι καὶ στέφανοι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς οἶον ἐπάνοδος trans. G. Murray.

³ *Supra* p. 655 f.

⁴ A somewhat similar belief may lie at the back of the Roman Lupercalia; for here too human 'goats' underwent rites, which are best explained (W. Mannhardt *Mythologische Forschungen* Strassburg 1884 p. 99 f.) as a mimic death and resurrection by means of milk. The relevant facts are the following. On Feb. 15 the celebrants met at the Lupercal, a cave in the Palatine Hill, and sacrificed goats (Plout. *v. Rom.* 21, *Ov. fast.* 2. 445 cp. 441, Val. Max. 2. 2. 9, Quint. *inst. or.* 1. 5. 66, Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 8. 343 and interp. *ad loc.*) and a dog (Plout. *v. Rom.* 21, *quaest. Rom.* 68, 111). In the Lupercal was an image of the god whom Justin calls Lupercus, nude but girt with a goat-skin (Iust. 43. 1. 7). The *luperci* too were nude and wore about their loins the pelts of the newly-sacrificed animals (Q. Aelius Tubero (*Hist. Rom. frag.* p. 200 f. Peter) *ap. Dion. Hal. ant. Rom.* 1. 80). They ran round the base of the Palatine striking those whom they met with strips or thongs cut from the goat-skins (Plout. *v. Rom.* 21, *Ov. fast.* 2. 445 f., Val. Max. 2. 2. 9, interp. Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 8. 343, Nikol. Damask. *frag.* 101, 21 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 441 Müller)). These *luperci* are described not merely as 'human flocks' (Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 6. 34 *lupercis nudis lustratur oppidum Palatinum gregibus humanis cinctum*), but actually as *erepi* (Paul. ex Fest. p. 57 Müller, p. 49 Lindsay), *i.e.* 'goats' (Paul. ex Fest. p. 48 Müller, p. 42 Lindsay, *Isid. orig.* 12. 1. 15: see S. Bugge in the *Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.* 1872 cv. 92 f., Preller—Jordan *Röm. Myth.*³ i. 389, W. M. Lindsay *The Latin Language* Oxford 1894 p. 98). Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*² p. 209 n. 8 says: 'man kann die *τράγοι-σάτυροι* des griechischen Dionysos-dienstes zum Vergleiche heranziehen'—an analogy noted by W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkult.*² Berlin 1905 ii. 200. The ritual of the *luperci* is given with most detail by Plout. *v. Rom.* 21: 'They sacrifice goats. Then two young men of high rank are brought to them; whereupon some touch the forehead of the young men with a bloody knife, and others promptly wipe off the blood, applying wool steeped in milk. After this wiping the young men are obliged to laugh. Next they cut up the skins of the goats and run round naked except for their girdles, striking with the whips any one who encounters them. Young women do not avoid this whipping, because they deem it a help towards easy labour and conception. It is a peculiarity of the festival that the *luperci* sacrifice a dog likewise.' See

To modern ears this rite may sound not only disgusting but incredible. Yet a partial parallel can be found for it, and nearer home than we might have imagined. Giraldus Cambrensis¹ tells us how kings used to be inaugurated in Tirconnell, now the county of Donegal:

'There are some things which shame would prevent my relating, unless the course of my subject required it. For a filthy story seems to reflect a stain on the author, although it may display his skill. But the severity of history does not allow us either to sacrifice truth or affect modesty; and what is shameful in itself may be related by pure lips in decent words. There is, then, in the northern and most remote part of Ulster, namely, at Kenel Cunil, a nation which practises a most barbarous and abominable rite in creating their king. The whole people of that country being gathered in one place, a white mare is led into the midst of them, and he who is to be inaugurated, not as a prince but as a brute, not as a king but as an outlaw, comes before the people on all fours, confessing himself a beast with no less impudence than imprudence. The mare being immediately killed, and cut in pieces and boiled, a bath is prepared for him from the broth. Sitting in this, he eats of the flesh which is brought to him, the people standing round and partaking of it also. He is also required to drink of the broth in which he is bathed, not drawing it in any vessel, nor even in his hand, but lapping it with his mouth. These unrighteous rites being duly accomplished, his royal authority and dominion are ratified.'

It remains to ask—what is the bearing of all this on the origin of Greek tragedy? To put the matter briefly, it seems probable that at the winter festival of the Lenaia as originally celebrated by the Athenians a song was sung commemorating the passion of Dionysos², and that this song was accompanied by a mimetic performance, a passion-play³, which ultimately developed into Attic tragedy. It is, I think, significant that Thespis came from the deme Ikaria, where it was an ancient custom to dance round a he-goat (*trágos*)⁴, that for the purpose of his tragedies he first smeared the faces of the performers with white lead⁵, as if they

further W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 310 ff., *id. The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 p. 478 ff., J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1398 ff., L. Deubner in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1910 xiii. 481 ff. (whose attempt to show that the *Wiedergeburtseremonie* was a Greek cathartic rite added by Augustus is ingenious but hardly convincing).

¹ Giraldus Cambrensis *The Topography of Ireland* dist. 3 chap. 25 trans. T. Forester revised by T. Wright (ed. London 1905 p. 138).

² *Supra* p. 672 f.

³ *Supra* p. 673 ff.

⁴ Eratosthenes *ap. Hyg. poet. astr.* 2. 4 'Ἰκάρῳ ποσὶ πρῶτα περὶ τράγον ἄρχήσαντο. Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 234, 315 reads 'Ἰκάρῳ (but B. Bunte *ad loc.* suggests that the line was preceded by ἔνθα ἑταίροι or the like), and justly infers 'that there was there some primitive mimetic service of the goat-god.'

⁵ Soud. *s.v.* Θέσπις: ...καὶ πρῶτων μὲν χρίσας τὸ πρόσωπον ψιμυθίῳ ἐτραγῶδησεν, εἶτα ἀνδράχην ἐσκέπασεν ἐν τῷ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσήνεγκε καὶ τὴν τῶν προσώπων χρῆσιν ἐν μόνῃ ὀθῶνῃ κατασκευάσας = Eudok. *viol.* 471.

were so many Titans¹ smeared with gypsum, and finally that the titles of the plays rightly or wrongly ascribed to him by Soudas are the *Prizes of Pelias* or the *Phorbas*, the *Priests*, the *Young Men*, and the *Pentheus*². The last-named tragedy certainly had reference to the rending of Dionysos; for Pentheus, a Theban embodiment of the god³, was torn asunder, if not also devoured⁴, by the *lênai* themselves. Aischylos too wrote a *Pentheus*⁵ and dealt with the same theme in his *Xantriai*⁶, as did Euripides in his *Bakchai*, Iophon in his *Bakchai* or *Pentheus*⁷, Chairemon in his *Dionysos*⁸, Lykophron in his *Pentheus*⁹. The extant Euripidean play was neither the first nor the last dramatic presentation of the subject. Further, we can well understand how the incidents of the passion would be told of others beside Pentheus, who in this or that part of Greece had died the Dionysiac death. Pelias was cut to pieces by his daughters and boiled in a caldron in order that he might recover his youth¹⁰. Apart from the play attributed to Thespis, Sophokles composed a *Pelias*¹¹ and Euripides a *Peliades*¹². The myth of Pelias and that of Pelops¹³ have been shrewdly and, I believe, rightly interpreted by Mr F. M. Cornford as presupposing a ritual of regeneration or new birth¹⁴. It is therefore noteworthy that the boiling and eating of Pelops were for centuries regarded as among the most popular of all tragic themes¹⁵. Moreover, Palaimon, once boiled in a caldron by Leukothea and later worshipped as a god¹⁶, was a stock character in the dramatic rites of the Iobakchoi¹⁷. From such personages the transition would be

¹ On Titan-dances see Loukian. *de salt.* 79 ἡ μὲν γε Βακχικὴ ὄρχησις ἐν Ἴωνίᾳ μάλιστα καὶ ἐν Πόντῳ σπουδαζομένη, καίτοι Σατυρική οὖσα, οὗτοι κεχειρωταὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐκεῖ ὥστε κατὰ τὸν τεταγμένον ἕκαστοι καιρὸν ἀπάντων ἐπιλαθόμενοι τῶν ἄλλων κἀθηνται δι' ἡμέρας Τιτᾶνας (Sommerbrodt cj. Πᾶνας) καὶ Κορύβαντας καὶ Σατύρους καὶ Βουκόλους ὀρώντες. καὶ ὀρχοῦνται γε ταῦτα οἱ εὐγενέστατοι καὶ πρωτεύοντες ἐν ἑκάστῃ τῶν πόλεων οὐχ ὅπως αἰδοῦμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέγα φρονούντες ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι μᾶλλον ἢ περ' εὐγενείας καὶ λειτουργίας καὶ ἀξιώμασι προγονικοῖς.

² Soud. *s.v.* Θέσπις...μημονεῖται δὲ τῶν δραμάτων αὐτοῦ Ἔθλα Πελίου ἢ Φόρβας, Ἱερεῖς, Ἡίθεοι, Πενθεύς (cp. Poll. 7. 45) = Eudok. *viol.* 471.

³ A. G. Bather 'The Problem of the *Bacchae*' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 244 ff., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 167 f.

⁴ Oppian. *cyneq.* 4. 304 ff.

⁵ *Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 60 f. Nauck².

⁶ *Ib.* p. 55 f.

⁷ *Ib.* p. 761.

⁸ *Ib.* p. 783 f.

⁹ Soud. *s.v.* Λυκόφρων.

¹⁰ *Supra* p. 244 f.

¹¹ *Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 238 Nauck².

¹² *Ib.* p. 550 ff.

¹³ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 145 regards Πελίας as merely a hypocoristic form of Ηέλοψ.

¹⁴ F. M. Cornford in J. E. Harrison *Themis* Cambridge 1912 p. 243 ff.

¹⁵ Loukian. *de salt.* 54.

¹⁶ *Supra* p. 675.

¹⁷ S. Wide in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 xix. 148, 254 f. = 260 (line 120 ff. μερῶν δὲ γενομέ-| νων αἰρέτω ἱερεῦς, ἀνθιερεῦς, | ἀρχίβακχος, ταμίης, βουκολικός, | Διόνυσος, Κόρη, Παλαίμων, Ἐφροδέιτη, Πρωτεύριθμος—τὰ δὲ δνόματα αὐτῶν συνκληρούσθω | πάσι), 276 f.

easy to suffering heroes in general—Hippolytos dragged to death by his horses but brought to life again by Asklepios, Orestes reported as dead but returning to wreak vengeance on his foes, Apsyrtos murdered and dismembered by Medeia, Neoptolemos mangled beside the altar at Pytho, and many another who, as old-fashioned folk were apt to complain, had ‘nothing to do with Dionysos’¹.

(θ) The Attic Festivals of Dionysos.

Prof. G. Murray pursuing a different route has arrived at a similar, or at least analogous, conclusion. In a lucid and closely-reasoned note² he shows that Greek tragedies, so far as they are extant and so far as they can be reconstructed from extant fragments, normally contain a sequence of six parts—an *agón* or ‘contest’; a *páthos*, generally a ritual or sacrificial death; an *angelía* or ‘messenger’s speech’ announcing the death; a *thrénos* or ‘lamentation,’ often involving a clash of contrary emotions; an *anagnórisis* or ‘recognition’ of the slain and mutilated body; a *theopháneia* or ‘epiphany in glory.’ Following a clue put into his hands by Dieterich³, Prof. Murray makes the really important discovery that Greek tragedy fills out the ritual forms of an old *sacer ludus*. This is what he is chiefly concerned to prove; and this, I think, he has succeeded in proving.

When, however, Prof. Murray assumes that the *sacer ludus* in question was the dithyramb or spring *drómenon* of Dionysos regarded as an ‘Eniautos-Daimon’ or ‘Year Spirit,’ I demur to his nomenclature⁴ and I disagree with his presuppositions. Had he

¹ Phot. *lex. s.v.* οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον = Suid. *s.v.* οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον = Apostol. 13. 42, Zenob. 5. 40, Diogeneian. 7. 18, Append. Prov. 4. 82; Strab. 381, Plout. *symp.* 1. 1. 5, Loukian. *Bacch.* 5, Liban. *epíst.* 881, Heliod. *Aeth.* 2. 24, schol. Loukian. *Alex.* 53 p. 185, 9 f. Rabe, schol. Loukian. *de salt.* 80 p. 189, 29 ff. Rabe. Cp. the word ἀπροσδιόνυσος (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* i. 2. 1820 D).

² Printed as an excursus in Miss Harrison’s *Themis* Cambridge 1912 pp. 341—363.

³ A. Dieterich ‘Die Entstehung der Tragödie’ in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1908 xi. 163—196.

⁴ Prof. Murray writes to me (July 6, 1913): ‘I want to put in a word of explanation about the Daimon, where I am not sure that you have taken my point. I could, of course, call him simply Dionysus, as the ancient authorities do. Only then there would have to be explanations for each separate play. Hippolytus is not Dionysus; it is a strain even to call him a Dionysiac hero. The same with Orestes, Oedipus, Actaeon, Pentheus even. It seemed to me simpler, as a matter of nomenclature, to say: “Dionysus, though of course a complex figure, belongs so far as tragedy is concerned to a special class of beings called Vegetation Spirits or Year-Daemons. Tragedy, while in official cult specially belonging to Dionysus, readily accepts as its heroes all sorts of other people who are, in their various degrees, Daemons of the same class, and have the same set of Pathea.” Thus in each case I can speak simply of “the Daimon.”’

been content to speak, as the Greeks spoke, of Dionysos with no new-fangled appellation, and had he cited the Lenaia rather than the dithyramb as providing the germ or ritual outline of tragedy, I should have found myself in complete accordance with his view.

This expression of partial dissent from the opinion of so high an authority as Prof. Murray makes it necessary for me to add a word as to the relation that I conceive to have subsisted between the dithyramb and the Lenaean rite. The dithyrambic contest was essentially the opening ceremony of the City Dionysia¹, which began on Elaphebolion 9 and in the fifth century was over by Elaphebolion 14². Now the Lenaia began on Gamelion 12³. The interval between the City Dionysia and the Lenaia was therefore just ten lunar months. My suggestion is that Dionysos was conceived at the City Dionysia and born at the Lenaia. The former festival was the Lady Day, the latter was the Christmas, of the Attic year. I take it that the dithyramb was properly the song commemorating the union of Zeus⁴ with Semele and the begetting

¹ J. Girard in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 243, O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1024 and O. Crusius *ib.* v. 1207.

² Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 430 ff.

³ *Id. ib.* p. 375.

⁴ *Διθύραμβος* has a suffix found in other words denoting dance and song—*ταμβος*, *θρηταμβος*, cp. *ιθυμβος*. Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 363 f. regards *ταμβος* as probably a Thracio-Phrygian word. I would support his contention by pointing out that *Iambe* was a Thracian (Nik. *alex.* 132 *Θρητίσσης*...*Ίάμβης* with scholl. *ad loc.* *Θρᾷσσα δὲ τὸ γένος* and *τῆς Θρακικῆς Ίάμβης*, cp. Proklos in R. Westphal *Metrici scriptores Graeci Lipsiae* 1866 i. 242) and that *διθύραμβος*, *θρηταμβος*, *ιθυμβος* are all Dionysiac terms, the first two being cult-titles of Dionysos himself (Athen. 30 B, 465 A, Diod. 4, 5, *et. mag.* p. 274, 45 ff., schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1131, *alib.*), the last the name of a dance used in his service (Poll. 4. 104).

The first element in the compound is *Δι-* for *Δι-* as in *Διφίλος* > *Δίφίλος*, *Διπολεια* > *Διπολεια*, *Διπόλεια* > *Διπόλεια*, *Διπόλεια* > *Διπόλεια*, *Διωστήρια* > *Διωστήρια*.

The second element in the compound and the *crux* for its interpreters is the syllable *-θυρ-*, which cannot be satisfactorily connected with *θύρα*. I have suggested (in Miss Harrison's *Themis* Cambridge 1912 p. 204) that *-θυρ-* is a northern form of *-θορ-* (on *o* becoming *u* see O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 242, K. Brugmann *Griechische Grammatik*⁴ München 1913 p. 36), and have compared Hesych. *Δειπάτυρος*· *θεὸς παρὰ Στυμφαλοῖς*—a name which not only illustrates both the phonetic changes postulated by my explanation of *διθύραμβος*, but also provides a parallel for the meaning that I would attach to it. If on the confines of Makedonia, Epeiros, and Thessaly *Δειπάτυρος* denoted 'Zeus the Father,' it is allowable to suppose that in the same region **Δείθυρος* denoted 'Zeus the Begetter' (*θορός*, *θορή*, *θόρνημαι*, *θρόσκω*, etc.). Thus *διθύραμβος* could mean what in substance I believe it to have been 'the song of Zeus the Begetter.' In favour of this etymology is the fact that Apollon, who often has the same cult-titles as Zeus, was worshipped in Boiotia (?) as *Θοραῖος* (Lyk. *Al.* 352 with Tzetz. *ad loc.* *Θοραῖον τὸν σπερμογόνον καὶ γεννητικόν*) and in Lakonia as *Θοράτης* (Hesych. *Θοράτης*· *Ἀπόλλων παρὰ Λάκωνας*). Again, Aisch. *surrl.* 301 does not hesitate to describe Zeus as consorting with *Ἰο πρέποντα βουθόρυψ ταύρω δέμας*. And in the Dictaeon hymn six times over comes the impressive cry of the Chorus

of their child Dionysos¹. His life-history, in which I would recognise the prototype of tragedy, was the theme of the Lenaean performance.

On this showing tragedy belonged by rights to the Lenaia and was only later attached to the City Dionysia². Conversely it might be maintained that comedy belonged by rights to the City Dionysia and was only later attached to the Lenaia. For the great god of the City Dionysia was Dionysos *Eleuthereús*, whose cult was introduced by Pegasus from Eleutheraí³. It is said that the Athenians at first thought scorn of the god, and that thereupon they were visited by a phallic disorder, which could not be cured till, both privately and publicly, they made *phalloí* in his honour⁴. Certainly such *phalloí* played their part in the City festival⁵; and Aristotle believed that comedy took its rise from

addressed to Zeus himself *θόρε...θόρε...θόρε...θόρε...θόρε...θόρε...* (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1908—1909 xv. 358 line 27 ff.).

Finally, I should surmise that in *θρίαμβος* we have the weakest grade of the same root (cp. *θρώσκω*). Hence the association of *θρίαμβος* with *διθύραμβος* (*Pratinas frag.* 1, 16 Hiller—Crusius *ap.* Athen. 617 F *θριαμβοδοιθύραμβε*).

¹ The exquisite dithyramb written by Pindar for the Athenians deals expressly with Zeus, Semele, and Dionysos: Pind. *frag.* 75 Christ (75 Schroeder) *ap.* Dion. Hal. *de comp. verb.* 22 Δίδθεν τέ με σὺν ἀγλαΐᾳ | ἴδετε πορευθέντ' αἰοιδᾶν δεύτερον | ἐπὶ κισσοδαῆ θεόν, | Βρόμιον ὄν τ' Ἐριβόαν τε βροτοὶ καλέομεν, | γόνον ὑπάτων μὲν πατέρων μελπόμεν | γυναικῶν τε Καδμεΐαν [Σμελ(η)ν]. κ.τ.λ. Cp. Plat. *legg.* 700 B καὶ ἄλλο (*sc.* εἶδος φῶδης) Διονύσου γένεσις, οἶμαι, διθύραμβος λεγόμενος, where *γένεσις* includes *γέννησις*.

Further evidence tending to show that the City Dionysia culminated in the union of Zeus with Semele and the conception of Dionysos will be adduced, when we come to consider the festival of the Pandia (*infra* p. 733).

² Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 379 says 'Zur Zeit des Thespis und der älteren Dramatiker, im VI. Jahrh. und wohl noch im Anfang des V., hatten die Städter keine anderen Schauspieltage als die der Lenäen, denen mithin sämtliche in Athen zur Aufführung kommende Stücke zuzuweisen waren. Das wurde anders, als man, verm. im V. Jahrh., die städtischen Dionysien stiftete.' This agrees with the results obtained by W. Vollgraff 'Dionysos Eleuthereus' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1907 xxxii. 567 ff., viz. that Eleutheraí was not incorporated with Athens till shortly before the peace of Nikias (421 B.C.) and that a temple was built for the *xánon* of Dionysos *Eleuthereús* in the theatre-precinct probably by Nikias himself (c. 420 B.C.). But, in reply to Vollgraff, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 227 ff. has made it probable that the introduction of Dionysos *Eleuthereús* and the constitution (? re-constitution: *infra* p. 692 n. 4) of the City Dionysia as his festival took place in the sixth century and were the work of Peisistratos.

³ Paus. 1. 2. 5.

⁴ Schol. Aristoph. *Ach.* 243, who describes the *φαλλός* as ξύλον ἐπίμηκες, ἔχον ἐν τῷ ἄκρῳ σκῦτων αἰδοῖον ἐξηρηγμένον.

⁵ Schol. Aristoph. *loc. cit.* πεισθέντες οὖν τοῖς ἠγγελέμοις οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φαλλοὺς ἴδια τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ κατεσκεύασαν, καὶ τούτοις ἐγέραιον τὸν θεόν, κ.τ.λ., cp. *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 31 A 11 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 19 a 11 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 72 A 11 ff. (in a decree concerning the colony of Brea, not much earlier than 443/2 B.C.) βούν δὲ καὶ [πρόβατα] | [δόσ] ἀπά]γεν ἐς Παναθέναια τὰ μεγάλ[α καὶ ἐς Δ] | [ιονύσι]α φαλλόν,

this form of worship¹, which was obviously appropriate to the season when Dionysos was begotten. Confirmation of the view that tragedy originated at the Lenaia, comedy at the City Dionysia, may be found in a curious but little-noticed fact². At the Lenaia tragedy took precedence of comedy: at the City Dionysia comedy took precedence of tragedy³.

There are, however, traces of a different and probably older arrangement of the Dionysiac year. It can hardly be accidental that of the two remaining Attic festivals of the god one was held just a month before the City Dionysia and the other a month before the Lenaia. The Anthesteria took place on Anthesterion 11—13⁴; the Rural Dionysia, shortly before Poseideon 19⁵. Here, then, we have again the same interval of ten lunar months. And we may legitimately suspect the same cause—a conception at the

Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 1 no. 321 b, 7 (in a decree of 278/7 B.C., which apparently refers to the inscription passing through the Dipylon Gate) -- *ς τῆς φαλλαγ[ωγίας]*.

¹ Aristot. *poet.* 4. 1449 a 9 ff.

² Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 441 n. 2 remarks that at the City Dionysia first came lyrics, then comedy, then tragedy, and justly infers 'dass der Agon ursprünglich nur aus erster Lyrik und heiterer Dramatik bestand, und keine Tragödien vorkamen.'

³ See the law of Euegoros cited by Dem. in *Mid.* 10 *Εὐήγορος εἶπεν*: ὅταν ἡ πομπὴ ἢ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἐν Πειραιεὶ καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοὶ, καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίῳ πομπὴ καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοὶ, καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἄστει Διονυσίοις ἡ πομπὴ καὶ οἱ παῖδες καὶ ὁ κῶμος καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοὶ, κ.τ.λ. Comedies precede tragedies also in the official lists of the contests at the City Dionysia (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 971, iv. 2 no. 971).

A. E. Haigh *The Attic Theatre*³ rev. by A. W. Pickard-Cambridge Oxford 1907 p. 23 n. 2 makes light of this evidence 'as there is nothing to show that the contests are being spoken of in order of performance, rather than in order of relative importance.' But since Euegoros arranges the same items in a different order, according as they occur at the Lenaia or at the City Dionysia, it is probable that he is giving the official programme. This probability is raised to a certainty by the fact that his order agrees with that of the inscribed records, in which e.g. the name of Magnes precedes the name of Aischylos on a list of victors at the City Dionysia c. 469 B.C.

A. E. Haigh *op. cit.*² Oxford 1898 p. 35, *op. cit.*³ Oxford 1907 p. 23 f. quotes Aristoph. *av.* 785 ff. οὐδὲν ἐστ' ἀμεινὸν οὐδ' ἡδίων ἢ φύσαι πτερά. | ἀντίχ' ἰμῶν τῶν θεατῶν εἰ τις ἦν ὑπόπτερος, | εἶτα πεινῶν τοῖς χοροῖσι τῶν τραγῳδῶν ἤχθετο, | ἐκπτόμενος ἂν οὗτος ἠρίστησεν ἐλθὼν οἴκαδε, | κᾶτ' ἂν ἐμπλησθεὶς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐθὺς αὐ κατέπτετο and infers 'that the comedies were performed after the tragedies.' But, noting that this passage stands near the end of a chorus of 125 lines, I would rather interpret as follows. Aristophanes, joking at his own expense, imagines a bored and hungry spectator suddenly equipped with wings and therefore able to fly off home, get his bit of dinner, and be back in time for the next scene on the stage. That is surely the point of ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐθὺς αὐ κατέπτετο. If so, there is no allusion to tragedies at all, and we ought to accept the old emendation *τραγῳδῶν*, which was certain to be corrupted into *τραγῳδῶν*. The passage thus emended squares with the very weighty evidence of Euegoros' law and the official inscriptions.

⁴ Mommsen *op. cit.* p. 384 ff.

⁵ Mommsen *op. cit.* p. 351, on the strength of *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 578, 36 f. (a decree of Myrrhinous c. 340 B.C.) τῇ δὲ ἐνάτει ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Ποσειδεῶν[ος] μ(η)ν[ος] (ἡ)ν[ος] (ἡ)ρηματί[ς] [ε]μ[μ] π[ε]ρ[ὶ] Διωνυσίων, cp. *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 2 nos. 623 d and 623 e (records of the Dionysiaiata, who met Ποσειδεῶνος ἀγορᾶ κυρία).

Anthesteria, a birth at the Rural Dionysia. Thoukydides speaks of the Anthesteria as 'the older Dionysia¹,' presumably in comparison with 'the Dionysia²,' i.e. the City Dionysia, in the following month. The ritual of the Anthesteria with its *Pithoigia*, its *Chôes*, and its *Chytroi* is fairly well known. It culminated on Anthesterion 12³, the one day in the year on which 'the oldest and holiest sanctuary of Dionysos in the Marshes' was thrown open⁴. For what purpose this temple was opened, while all others were religiously kept shut⁵, we are not told. But we have at least materials for forming a reasonable guess. Beside the altar in the sanctuary stood a marble *stèle*, on which was inscribed a law relating to the *status* and chastity of the *Baslinna*⁶, i.e. the wife of the *Basileús* who had presided over the drinking-competition of the *Chôes*⁷. Now it was the duty of the *Baslinna* to administer an oath of ritual purity to fourteen sacred women chosen by the *Basileús* and named *Gerairat*⁸, who took it standing at the above-mentioned altar and laying their hands upon certain baskets before they ventured to touch 'the holy things⁹.' In view of the ascertained character of Dionysos *Eleuthereús*¹⁰ I should conjecture with some confidence that these baskets contained *phalloi* covered with seed or the like, and that the temple was opened once a year for the performance of a phallic rite¹¹. This conjecture is in general agreement with the wording of the oath taken by the *Gerairat*:

¹ Thouk. 2. 15.

² Thouk. 5. 23, cp. 5. 20.

³ This is the day mentioned by Thouk. 2. 15 as a Dionysiac festival common to the Athenians and their Ionian descendants.

⁴ Dem. c. *Neaer*. 76. The temple in question was probably identical with the small pre-Persic building beside the theatre; for this is expressly described by Paus. 1. 20. 3 as 'the oldest sanctuary of Dionysos,' and its situation immediately south of the Akropolis accords well with the account given by Thouk. 2. 15 of the temple in the Marshes. It seems to have contained the ancient wooden image of the god, brought to Athens from Eleutherai (Paus. 1. 38. 8) by Pegasus (Paus. 1. 2. 5).

⁵ So Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 391 and Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 216 f. relying on Phanodemos *frag.* 13 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 368 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 437 B—D.

⁶ Dem. c. *Neaer*. 75 f.

⁷ Aristoph. *Ach.* 1224 f. with schol. *ad loc.*

⁸ The evidence is collected by P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1232 f.

⁹ Dem. c. *Neaer*. 73 and 78 f. A. Frickenhaus *Leuënwäsen (Winckelmannsfest- Progr. Berlin lxxii)* Berlin 1912 p. 25 n. 17 understands ἀπρεσθαι τῶν λεπῶν of the *cista mystica* (cp. *id.* in the *Alh. Mith.* 1908 xxxiii. 29 f. and 173). E. Petersen in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1913 lxxviii. 241 argues that the reference is, not to 'Kultgegenstände,' but to 'Kulthandlungen.'

¹⁰ *Supra* p. 682.

¹¹ A red-figured *pelike* in the British Museum (fig. 510), belonging to a late stage of the fine period (c. 440—400 B.C.), is thus described in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 387 no. E 819: '(a) A girl, with long sleeved chiton, himation knotted around her waist, and hair looped up with fillet, leans forward to r., holding in her l. a rectangular box; with her r. she sprinkles with seed (?) four objects in the form of phalli set upright in the ground, around which are leaves (?) springing up. Above her on l. hangs a sash, on r. a looped fillet....(b) An ephebos in himation and fillet moving to r. with arm extended, as if



b



a .

Fig. 510.

signing to the figure in (a).’ Sir Cecil Smith suggests that the scene may have reference to one of the mystic ceremonies of Athenian women, such as the Thesmophoria. If so, it might convey to us some hint of the *πολλὰ καὶ ἅγια καὶ ἀπόρρητα* performed by the *Bastlinna* (Dem. c. *Neaer.* 73).

'I am holy, pure, and clean from all impurities, especially from intercourse with man; and I perform in Dionysos' honour the *Theōgnia* and the *Iobākheia* according to ancestral custom and at the times appointed!'

The *Theōgnia* were presumably rites connected with the birth of the god, very possibly the ceremonial of his conception². The *Iobākheia* may have been some service associated with the *Theōgnia* in Anthesterion, since at Astypalaia this month was called Iobakchios³, or else an equivalent of the *Theōgnia* in Elaphebolion, since the Athenian Iobakchoi are known to have been active at the time of the City Dionysia⁴. Here, however, a difficulty arises. Modern scholars commonly assure us that on Anthesterion 12 the wife of the *Basilēus* was married to Dionysos⁵. If so, my notion that the god was conceived on this day falls to the ground. But inspection shows that, although the ritual marriage is a well-attested fact, no ancient author early or late connects it with the Anthesteria at all. When it took place, we do not know. Perhaps it synchronised with the Lenaia⁶. In any case we are left with the curious problem that the Anthesteria was a Dionysiac festival at which Dionysos himself played no obvious part. The problem is solved, if I am

¹ Dem. c. *Naxer.* 78 Ἄγιστέω καὶ εἰμὶ καθαρά καὶ ἀγνή ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἄλλων τῶν οὐ καθαρευόντων καὶ ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν συνοσίας, καὶ τὰ Θεόγνια (so coll. S. F. Q. θεοῖνια vulg.) καὶ τὰ Ἰοβάκχεια γερμαίρω (Dobree cj. γερμαῶ) τῷ Διονύσῳ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ ἐν τοῖς καθήκονσι χρόνοις.

² F. Blass (ed. 1891) prints the inferior reading *θεοῖνια*, which has rightly been rejected by A. Mommsen *Heortologie* Leipzig 1864 p. 359 n. 2 and by E. Petersen in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1913 lxxvii. 248. The *θεοῖνια* was a name given to the demotic Dionysia as a festival of Dionysos *Θείνου* (Harpokr. s.v. *Θεοῖνου*). If that reading were sound, we should have an additional reason for linking the Anthesteria with the Rural Dionysia.

³ H. van Herwerden *Lexicon Graecum supplementum et dialecticum*² Lugduni Bataavorum 1910 i. 707.

⁴ S. Wide in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 six. 248 ff., especially p. 280.

⁵ E. g. F. A. Voigt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1073, L. C. Purser in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* i. 639, J. Girard in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 238, F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2373 f., Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 392 ff., Farnell *Cults of Grk. States* v. 217 f., A. Frickenhaus in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deut. Ak. Arch. Inst.* 1912 xxvii. 69, G. Murray *Four Stages of Greek Religion* New York 1912 p. 31 f.

⁶ A. Frickenhaus *loc. cit.* p. 80 ff. has adduced strong reasons for thinking that the *phoboi eōphorontes...των Διονύσου ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας εἰς τὸ θέατρον μετὰ φωτός* (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 471, 12 f., cp. *ib.* nos. 469, 14 f., 470, 11 f.) at the festival of the Lenaia. It is possible that this torch-light procession stood in some relation to the marriage of Dionysos.

Mr D. S. Robertson, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, kindly draws my attention to the fact that Frazer *Golden Bough*³: The Magic Art ii. 137 has called in question the date usually assigned to the marriage, and has even (*ib.* n. 1) been tempted to conjecture that it took place in Gamelion. If so, it may well have happened at the Lenaia. In any case Mommsen's attempt (*Heortologie* p. 357 ff., *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 392 ff.) to connect it with Anthesterion 12 remains conjectural and unconvincing.

right in my contention that Dionysos as yet was not. Let us suppose that the *Anthestéria* was originally a day or days set apart for magic rites intended 'to make things bloom', and that, when Dionysos first came to be worshipped at Athens, this season was chosen as the fittest time for his conception. The view here advanced is not inconsistent with the Athenian belief that at the Anthesteria souls came up from the Underworld². It is likely enough that the yearly renewal of vegetation was attributed to the agency, perhaps even to the actual re-embodiment³, of the nameless and numberless dead. If Dionysos too was to be re-born, this surely was the moment for the procreative rite. The *panspermia* boiled in a pot (*chýtros*), which gave its name to the last day of the festival⁴, was a piece of primitive magic applicable at once to vegetation and the vegetative god. But, if the Anthesteria resembled the City Dionysia in celebrating the conception of Dionysos, did it also resemble the City Dionysia in providing the germ of comedy? Aristophanes in a familiar chorus tells how at the precinct in the Marshes on the day of the *Chýtroi* a scarcely-sobered *kómos* sang of Dionysos son of Zeus⁵. From such a *kómos*-song comedy, the *kómos*-song *par excellence*⁶, might well have arisen; and the more so, since we hear of definite contests as held on that concluding day⁷. The contests in question were

¹ See the simple and satisfactory remarks of Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 222.

² Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 390 n. 3, Farnell *op. cit.* v. 215 ff., and especially Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 32 ff.

³ Boetticher *Baumkultus* p. 254 ff. ('Bezug der Bäume auf Grab, Tod und Apotheose des Menschen') gives a good collection of relevant facts. Note also Emped. *frag.* 117 Diels *ap. Diog. Laert.* 8. 77 καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν παντοῖα εἶδη ζῳῶν καὶ φυτῶν ἐνδύεσθαι· φησὶ γοῦν· "Ἦδη γάρ ποτ' ἐγὼ γενέμην κοῦρός τε κόρη τε | θάμνος τ' οἰωνός τε καὶ ἐξ ἄλλος ἔμπυρος ἰχθύς, Emped. *frag.* 127 Diels *ap. Ail. de nat. an.* 12. 7 λέγει δὲ καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὴν ἀρίστην εἶναι μετοίκησεν τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, εἰ μὲν ἐς ζῳῶν ἢ λήξῃς αὐτὸν μεταγάγοι, λέοντα γίνεσθαι· εἰ δὲ ἐς φυτὸν, δάφνην. ἃ δὲ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς λέγει, ταῦτά ἐστιν· Ἐν θήρεσσι λέοντες ὀρειλεχέες χαμαιεῖναι | γίνονται, δάφναι δ' ἐνὶ δένδρεσιν ἠγκόμοισιν. It seems probable that trees were planted on or around graves, not, originally at least, as a mere plesance (Rohde *Psyche*² i. 230), but rather as a vehicle for the soul of the deceased. See further A. Dieterich *Mutter Erde*² Leipzig and Berlin 1913 p. 49.

⁴ Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 397 ff.

⁵ Aristoph. *ran.* 211 ff. λιμναῖα κρηνῶν τέκνα, | ξύναυλον ὕμνων βοᾶν, | φθεγζώμεθ', εὐγερην ἐμὰν ἀοιδάν, | κοᾶς κοᾶς, | ἂν ἀμφὶ Νυσηῖον | Διὸς Διώνυσσον ἐν | Λίμναισι ἀχῆσαμεν | ἀνίχ' ὁ κραιπαλόκωμος | τοῖς ἱεροῖσι Χύτροισι | χωρεῖ κατ' ἑμὸν τέμενος λαῶν ὄχλος.

⁶ The word κωμῳδία means properly 'the performance of the κωμῳδοί'; and the κωμῳδοί are 'those who sing in the κῶμος' (L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* ii. 345, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 544). The connexion with κῶμη, 'village,' is quite fallacious.

⁷ Philochoros *frag.* 137 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 407 Müller) *ap. schol. Aristoph. ran.* 218 ἤγοντο δὲ ἀγῶνες αὐτόθι οἱ Χύτροι καλούμενοι, καθὰ φησι Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ τῶν Ἀθίδων, cp. Favorin. *lex.* p. 1880, 44 f.

an obsolete custom revived by the orator Lykourgos (c. 396—323 B.C.), who passed a law to the effect that comedians should compete in the theatre on the day of the *Chytroi* and that the successful competitor should enter for the more important contest of the City Dionysia¹. This points to a comic contest as a time-honoured institution at the *Chytroi*, later superseded by the more brilliant shows of the City Dionysia, but restored in the fourth century B.C. as a first heat or preliminary competition. Theatrical displays of a quasi-comic character were certainly given at the Anthesteria during the first or second century of our era²; for Philostratos³ says of Apollonios:

‘The story goes that he rebuked the Athenians for the way in which they kept the Dionysiac festival in the month of Anthesterion. He supposed that they were flocking to the theatre in order to hear solos and songs, choruses and music, such as you get in comedy and tragedy. But, when he heard that, as soon as the flute gave the signal, they danced with all sorts of contortions and performed the epic and theological poems of Orpheus, playing the parts of Horai or Nymphs or Bacchants, he broke out into open censure of their conduct.’

Ten months later came the Rural Dionysia, a festival which we have already taken to be the equivalent of the Lenaia⁴. As such it would involve that ‘rustic ode’ which set forth the rending of Dionysos and so furnished the original core of tragedy. In short, the Anthesteria was an early festival of reproduction, at which the begetting of Dionysos was celebrated with rites that led on towards comedy; the Rural Dionysia was another early festival, at which the life-history of Dionysos was represented with rites that developed into tragedy. It will doubtless be objected⁵ that Dikaiopolis, who in Aristophanes’ *Acharnians* conducts a private celebration of the Rural Dionysia⁶, equips his daughter with a basket, his slave Xanthias with a *phallós*, and himself sings a phallic song⁷,—a performance more comic than tragic. To

¹ A. Westermann *Biographi minores* Brunswick 1845 p. 272, 39 ff.

² Hence perhaps the curious and misleading statement of Diog. Laert. 3. 56 *ὡς ἔκεινοι* (the Attic tragedians) *τέτρασι δράμασιν ἠγωνίζοντο, Διονυσίοις, Ληναίοις, Παναθηναίοις, Χύτροις, ὧν τὸ τέταρτον ἦν Σατυρικόν. τὰ δὲ τέτταρα δράματα ἐκαλεῖτο τετραλογία.*

³ Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 4. 21 p. 140 Kayser.

⁴ *Supra* pp. 666, 673.

⁵ The objection was at once pointed out to me by Mr F. M. Cornford.

⁶ Aristoph. *Ach.* 195 ff.

⁷ Cp. Plout. *de cupid. divit.* 8 ἡ πάτριος τῶν Διονυσίων ἑορτὴ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐπέμπετο δημοτικῶς καὶ ἰλαρῶς, ἀμφορεύς οἴνου καὶ κληματίς, εἶτα τράγον τις εἰλκεν, ἄλλος ἰσχάδων ἄρριχον ἠκολούθει κομίζων, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ὁ φαλλός. ἀλλὰ νῦν ταῦτα παρορῶται καὶ ἠφάνισται, χρυσιμάτων περιφερομένων καὶ ἱματίων πολυτελῶν καὶ ζευγῶν ἐλαυνομένων καὶ προσωπείων. There is here, however, no definite indication of season, place, or date.

this objection I would reply, first, that when Aristophanes penned his play in 425 B.C. comedy had already invaded not only the Lenaia (at which the *Acharnians* was produced) but also its provincial counterpart the Rural Dionysia¹. Authors and inscriptions alike attest both comedies and, more often, tragedies as held at this festival². Secondly, I would point out that in Aristophanes' play the procession marshalled by Dikaiopolis leads up to a climax in which he is murderously assaulted by the Chorus. They spring upon him from an ambush, crying 'Pelt him! Pelt him!'³ and declaring that they hate him more than Kleon, whom they mean to cut into pieces⁴. Now we lose half the fun of the situation, if we fail to realise that this is a travesty of the *sparagmós* or 'rending' of Dionysos by the Titans. It is, of course, always difficult to know when one has got to the bottom of an Aristophanic jest. It may even be that in *Xanthias* attacked by the Acharnians, the 'Fair'-man by the charcoal-burners, we should recognise a tragedy-turned-comedy resembling our own rough-and-tumble between the miller and the sweep⁵.

¹ The 'Ἀσκολιασμός, in which the competitors balanced themselves on an inflated goat-skin, standing the while upon one leg (Sir W. Smith in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* i. 209 f., E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 472 f., E. Reisch in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1698 ff.), recalls the use of the Διὸς κώδιον, upon which persons stood to be purified supporting themselves on their left foot alone (*supra* p. 422 ff.). Perhaps the 'Ἀσκολιασμός too originated as a serious rite, designed to bring the celebrants one by one into contact with the skin of the sacred beast. According to Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 4, Icarus (*sic*) slew the he-goat that had cropped his vine-leaves, inflated its skin, and made his comrades dance round it—whence the line of Eratosthenes Ἰκαρίου ποσὶ πρώτῳ περὶ τράγον ὠρχήσαντο (*supra* p. 678 n. 4).

² Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 355.

³ Possibly the pelting received by Aischines as an actor (Dem. *de cor.* 262) is to be connected with his performance at the Rural Dionysia (*ib.* 180, 242).

⁴ Aristoph. *Ach.* 280 ff.

⁵ Dr L. R. Farnell in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909 xxix p. xlvii and in his *Cults of Gk. States* v. 130 f., 234 ff., continuing Usener's fruitful investigation of the Macedonian festival τὰ Ξανθικά, i.e. Ξανθικά (*Archiv f. Rel.* 1904 vii. 301 ff. = H. Usener *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1913 iv. 438 ff.), has argued that the tale of the Boeotian Xanthos slain by the Neleid Melanthos with the aid of Dionysos Μελάναγρις (schol. Aristoph. *Ach.* 146; cp. schol. Plat. *Symp.* 208 D, who calls the Boeotian Xanthios and does not mention Dionysos) presupposes 'an old Thrako-Greek mummers' play in which a divine figure in a black goat-skin kills another divine figure who is the fair or bright god.' Dr Farnell holds that this play was properly a vegetation-masque performed in the winter, which, attached to the goat-god *qua* vegetation-god in his own northern home, was carried through Greece by the Minyans (Melanthos as a Neleid was a Minyan, as were the Φολβείαι and Ὀλεΐαι of Orchomenos in Boiotia (Plout. *quaest.* Gr. 38)), acquired variety of *motif* as it spread from village to village, reached Athens *via* Eleutherai, and ultimately became the parent of Greek tragedy. This important contention cannot be discussed in a foot-note. It certainly contains large elements of truth, and has not, in my opinion, been materially shaken by Prof. Ridgeway's criticism (W. Ridgeway *The Origin of Tragedy* Cambridge 1910 p. 73 ff.). But here it is in point only to quote

The relation of the four Dionysiac festivals as here determined may be conveniently set forth in tabular form. It appears that the Anthesteria and the Rural Dionysia were duplicated after a month's interval by the City Dionysia and the Lenaia respectively¹. How is this duplication to be explained? According to the Greek and Roman chronologists, the earliest attempt to correct the lunar by the solar year was the adoption of a *trieteris* or two-year cycle, wherein the years consisted alternately of twelve and thirteen months². We are expressly told that this cycle was used for the mysteries of Dionysos³, who in many places had trieteric rites⁴. Further, we have learnt that in Crete at least these rites were performed side by side with an annual celebration⁵ and represented

Dr Farnell's words: 'The black man could easily degenerate into comedy; the soot-covered figure in the phallophoria [Athen. 622 D] appears to have been comic, and this is the case now with our May-day sweep.'

¹ On the attempt of O. Gilbert *Die Festzeit der Attischen Dionysien* Göttingen 1872 to prove that 'die Lenaeen und Anthesterien sind identisch und gehören zu den ländlichen Dionysien' see O. Kern in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1021 f.

² Gemin. *elem. astr.* 8. 26, Censorin. *de die nat.* 18. 2. So T. Mommsen *Die römische Chronologie bis auf Caesar* Berlin 1859 p. 224 ff. and A. S. Wilkins in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* i. 337: see, however, F. K. Ginzel *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* Das Zeitrechnungswesen der Völker Leipzig 1911 ii. 366 ff.

³ Censorin. *de die nat.* 18. 2.

⁴ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 956, W. Quandt *De Baccho ab Alexandri aetate in Asia Minore culto* Halis Saxonum 1913 p. 279 Index s.v. Τριητηρίδες.

Dr Farnell in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 139 f. and in his *Cults of Gk. States* v. 177 ff. rejects the calendrical explanation of the Dionysiac τριητηρίδες on grounds that to me seem unsatisfactory: (a) 'we know that the Greeks corrected their calendar every eight years' (Macr. *Sat.* 1, 13). But there is nothing to suggest that they ever did this every other year.' This ignores the definite statements of Gemin. *elem. astr.* 8. 26 and Censorin. *de die nat.* 18. 2, who both assert that the most ancient form of the luni-solar year was the *trieteris* of 12 + 13 months. (b) 'And it is not with Greeks but with uncultured Thracians that we are here concerned.... But the barbarous tribes of Thrace were scarcely capable of such accurate solar observations as would compel them to correct their lunar calendar every other year.' If it comes to *à priori* argumentation, surely the very rough approximation of the *trieteris* is much more suitable to a barbaric tribe than the comparatively exact eight-year cycle.

But Dr Farnell is constructive as well as destructive: 'I venture to suggest, as a new hypothesis, that the "trieterica" are to be associated with the original shifting of land-cultivation which is frequent in early society owing to the backwardness of the agricultural processes^d (Vide Hansen, *Agrarhistorische Abhandlungen*, i, pp. 125—126.); and which would certainly be consecrated by a special ritual attached to the god of the soil.' The weak point in this ingenious view is that it does not account for the trieteric rites in other cults, of which Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 956 n. 4 gives a formidable list. Dr Farnell attributes these to 'casual local convenience or exigencies of finance.' It is, I think, safer to postulate the two-year cycle as a *vera causa* of all trieteric rites.

⁵ I cannot share the odd view advanced by A. Fick *Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland* Göttingen 1909 p. 47: 'Das ξρος der Trieteris bestand aus 12 Halbmonaten, wie auch die 13 Monate des Mythos von Ares' Fesselung durch die Aloaden *E* 385 ff.

THE ATTIC FESTIVALS
OF DIONYSOS



Fig. 511.

als Halbmonate zu verstehen sind: in jedem Monate ($\mu\eta\upsilon\sigma$) durchläuft der Mond ja zweimal alle Lichtphasen, wenn auch in verschiedener Richtung. In Wahrheit wurde die Trieteris in jedem Mittwinter gefeiert, beim Beginne eines dritten Halbjahres.'

the passion of the god¹. Presumably, then, in Attike, where the intercalary month was always a second Poseideon, the *trieteris* involved a ritual representation of Dionysos' death in the month following the first Poseideon. But the *trieteris* was at a very early date, probably in 'Minoan' times², found to be inadequate. For, given alternate years of 354 and 384 days, every two years the error would amount to about $7\frac{1}{2}$ days, and every eight years to about 30 days, in fact to a whole month. Hence, says Geminos, the first attempt to rectify the error took the form of an *oktaeteris*, in which three (not four) months were intercalated in the third, fifth, and eighth years of the cycle³. This arrangement brought the lunar year into approximate accordance with the solar year. But it laboured under a serious disadvantage. Once in every period of eight years the intercalary month was dropped, and with it would go the trieteric rites of Dionysos. Perhaps it was to guard against this disaster, perhaps also to avoid the confusion arising from the performance of trieteric rites every third, fifth, and eighth years, that the Athenians made the rites annual and assigned them to Gamelion, the month following Poseideon. We can thus account for the celebration of the Rural Dionysia (*i.e.* the old annual festival) and the Lenaia (*i.e.* the old trieteric rites) in successive months. The date of the City Dionysia would be fixed by that of the Lenaia, the significant interval of ten lunar months being carefully observed⁴.

In sundry other festivals of the Attic year, all of them mystic in character and all belonging by rights to Demeter and Kore, Dionysos as a god of kindred function played a subordinate part. He appears to have gained some footing at Agra or Agrai, for the Lesser Mysteries there are described by a late author as 'a representation of Dionysos' story⁵. He certainly intruded, under the name of Iakchos, into the Greater Mysteries at Eleusis⁶. And

¹ *Supra* p. 662 f.

² See Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 957 n. 1. The evidence is discussed more fully by Dr Frazer in his *Golden Bough*³: The Dying God pp. 58—92 and by me in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 411 and in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 394—412.

³ Gemin. *elem. astr.* 8. 27 ff.

⁴ Dr Farnell's contention (*supra* p. 682 n. 2), that it was Peisistratos who introduced the cult of Dionysos *Eleutheréis* and organised the City Dionysia as his festival, allows us to suppose that Peisistratos only re-organised a previously existing Dionysiac celebration. I incline to think that this was the case and that the essential feature of the pre-Peisistratic *fête* was the performance of the dithyramb (*supra* p. 681 f.).

⁵ Steph. Byz. *s.vv.* "Αγρα καὶ Ἀγραί, χωρίον... ἐν ᾧ τὰ μικρὰ μυστήρια ἐπιτελεῖται, μίμημα τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον.

⁶ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 54 n. 11 ff., p. 1167 f., p. 1435 n. 2, E. Pottier in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 369 ff., and especially Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 146—153.

he was recognised at least as an adventitious deity in the mystic rites of the Haloia¹. These festivals fell in Anthesterion, Boedromion, and Poseideon. It is therefore tempting to see in them some traces of a Dionysiac cycle. Accordingly A. Mommsen has surmised that at the Lesser Mysteries on or about Anthesterion 20 Zeus begat Iakchos by Semele; that Semele bore Iakchos as a seven-months' child, who at the Greater Mysteries on Boedromion 20 was taken to Eleusis and there incorporated with Zeus; and finally that at the Haloia in Poseideon Zeus himself gave birth to Dionysos². But this reconstruction is a mere fancy-flight, which goes far beyond ascertained facts and may be safely relegated to the limbo of improbable conjectures³.

The arrangement of the Dionysiac year that I have been advocating might be supported by a consideration of analogous festivals in Italy⁴. But it will be more in point to observe that

¹ Schol. Loukian. *dial. mer.* 7. 4 p. 279, 24 ff. Rabe, Bekker *anecd.* i. 384, 31 ff.

² Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 23 f.

³ Mommsen *loc. cit.* even attempts to combine all the Attic festivals of Dionysos, with the solitary exception of the City Dionysia (which he believes to have been originally Apolline!), in a consistent Dionysiac *Jahreskreis*. It is a pity that a scholar who has done such good service in the collection of materials should waste his time by building them into a fantastic whole.

⁴ We must not here be drawn into a discussion of the Roman calendar. But in passing we may note that the Liberalia of March 17 and the Saturnalia of December 17, separated by the same interval of nine solar or ten lunar months, appear to be the old Italian equivalents of the Greek festivals examined above.

Of the Liberalia little is known (W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 54 ff.). The aged priestesses of Liber crowned with ivy, who sat about the streets with cakes and a brazier sacrificing on behalf of their customers (Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 6. 14, Ov. *fast.* 3. 725 ff.), recall the *Geraiat* of the Anthesteria (*supra* p. 684); and in many parts of Italy, including Rome, Liber was served with phallic rites *pro eventibus seminum* (Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 21, cp. 4. 11, 6. 9, 7. 2, 7. 3, 7. 16: see further G. Wissowa in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2021 ff. and in his *Rel. Kult. Röm.*² pp. 120, 298 f., who regards Liber as a creative or procreative god developed out of Iupiter Liber and later identified with the Greek Dionysos). T. Mommsen *Römische Geschichte*⁷ Berlin 1881 i. 162 took the Liberalia to be 'das Fest des Kindersegens.'

The Saturnalia too stood in obvious relation to *semina*. In view of the fact that our own Christmas has been to a large extent grafted upon this festival (see e.g. C. A. Miles *Christmas in Ritual and Tradition Christian and Pagan* London 1912 pp. 20 ff., 113, 165 ff., 180, 359), we may reasonably conjecture that it once involved a ritual birth. Dr Frazer (*Golden Bough*³: The Magic Art ii. 311) has also detected in it traces of a ritual marriage and (*ib.* p. 310 ff.) of a ritual death. The human victim originally slain at the Saturnalia (to Dr Frazer's evidence we may perhaps add Plaut. *Amph.* 4. 2. 15 ff. *AM. Tun' me mactes, carnufex? nisi formam dii hodie meam perduint, | Faxo, ut bubulis coriis onustus sis Saturni hostia. | Ita ego te certè cruce et cruciatu mactabo. exi foras | Mastigia*). The passage is, owing to the loss of a quaternion, absent from our MSS. It is usually supposed that the gap was filled up by Hermolaus Barbarus in the fifteenth century: see J. L. Ussing *ad loc.* But the sentences quoted, which describe the victim of Saturn as scourged and crucified, involve a very curious anticipation of modern discoveries, and even if written by Hermolaus Barbarus may well have been drawn from

the suggested origin of tragedy in the Lenaeon rite¹ is borne out by the modern carnival-plays of northern Greece. These plays, which have been carefully described of late by Messrs G. F. Abbott², R. M. Dawkins³, J. C. Lawson⁴, and A. J. B. Wace⁵, mostly occur in the winter at Epiphany or the New Year or both, though in the Pelion district they are performed on May-day. Mr Wace⁶ summarises what is known of them :

'It seems clear on comparing the accounts of the different festivals that though they are celebrated over a wide area, and at different seasons of the year, the same idea is present in all. In every instance there is a death and resurrection. In nearly all cases one of the two principal characters is disguised in skins, or at least a skin mask. In the songs sung at Epiphany in Thessaly, and those sung on Mayday there are several common elements. Also the mere fact that licensed chicken stealing is a feature of the festival in Thrace and Thessaly seems to point to a similar tradition. Is it then possible out of the different versions to reconstruct the main plot of the drama?.....we may imagine the full original of the drama to have been somewhat as follows. The old woman first appears nursing her baby in her arms (*Viza* and *Léchovo*), and this child is, in some way or other, peculiar (*Viza*). He grows up quickly and demands a bride (*Viza*, and on Pelion the old man is sometimes called the old woman's son). A bride is found for him, and the wedding is celebrated (at *Lechovo* a priest is one of the characters), but during the wedding festivities he quarrels with one of his companions who attempts to molest the bride, and is killed. He is then lamented by his bride, and miraculously restored to life. The interrupted festivities are resumed, and the marriage is consummated. It is worth noting for those who seek for the origins of Greek tragedy that this simple drama recounting, like an ancient trilogy, the life history of its hero ends with a satyric display that could be paralleled by the satyric drama that followed a trilogy. Also, in view of the survivals of Dionysos worship seen in these festivals, it should be noted that they seem to occur only in North Greece (Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, and Thrace), which was, after all, the reputed home of Dionysos worship.'

some source inaccessible to us) was on this showing the Italian counterpart of the child dismembered and eaten by the Thracian chiefs (*supra* p. 654 ff.). A Roman parallel to that gruesome rite has been already cited (*supra* p. 656 n. 2), viz. the *sparagmós* of Romulus whose fragments were buried by the senators (to fertilise the soil?); and Frazer *op. cit.* ii. 313 remarks that July 7, the day on which Romulus disappeared, was a festival, the *Nonae Caprotinae*, somewhat resembling the *Saturnalia*.

¹ *Supra* p. 678 ff.

² G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 pp. 80 ff., 88 ff.

³ R. M. Dawkins 'The modern Carnival in Thrace and the Cult of Dionysus' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1906 xxvi. 191—206.

⁴ J. C. Lawson 'A Beast-dance in Scyros' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 125—127 (cp. R. M. Dawkins *ib.* 1904—1905 xi. 72—74) and in his *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 223 ff.

⁵ A. J. B. Wace 'North Greek Festivals and the Worship of Dionysos' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1909—1910 xvi. 232—253 and in W. Ridgeway *The Origin of Tragedy* Cambridge 1910 pp. 20—23.

⁶ A. J. B. Wace in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1909—1910 xvi. 250 f.

A divine babe who grows up with phenomenal speed and seeks a divine consort, a murderous attack made upon him by others who would occupy his place and win his bride, a miraculous restoration of the dead to a new life—these are precisely the elements that we detected in the Zagreus-cult of the Cretans¹, in the Orphic mystery of the Thracians², and in the Lenaeian rite of the Athenians³. We cannot doubt that in Crete and Thrace and Athens alike we have to do with variations on a common theme, the annual birth, death, and resurrection of Dionysos, the son of the sky-father by the earth-mother.

The name of the mother and the treatment of the child varies from place to place. In Crete, where this religion appears as a development of the old Anatolian worship, the parent remains Rhea and the babe acquires the name Zagreus⁴. In Thracophrygian belief, as represented by Sabazian and Orphic myths, the earth-goddess was dualised into Demeter and Kore, by whom Zeus begat the horned infant Dionysos⁵. At Athens the mother keeps her northern name of Semele, and her child is Iakchos or Dionysos⁶. Again, among the Thracians, the originators and rightful owners of this cult, the part of Dionysos was played by a child actually dismembered and eaten⁷. In Crete the human victim was replaced by a bull, the cannibal feast by a bovine omophagy⁸. At Athens civilisation would not permit even this attenuated orgy: the slaughter became dramatic make-belief, and the omophagy a banquet for the successful poet and his *troupe*⁹. The Athenians of the fourth century, sitting on cushions in their theatre to witness a triumph of the tragedian's art, had travelled far indeed from the primitive simplicity of that *mimesis*, in which the celebrants had identified themselves with the god to become the consorts of the goddess and so share in her all-pervading life.

(ι) The Satyric Drama.

Yet even in the fourth century one touch of primitive life remained in piquant contrast with surrounding refinement. I refer to the Satyric drama. Here Prof. G. Murray has made a very interesting suggestion, which it concerns us either to accept or

¹ *Supra* p. 647.

² *Supra* p. 654 ff.

³ *Supra* p. 669 ff.

⁴ *Supra* p. 644 ff.

⁵ *Supra* p. 390 ff.

⁶ *Supra* p. 669 ff.

⁷ *Supra* p. 654 ff.

⁸ At the trieteric rites of Dionysos Semele had εὐλερόν τε τράπεζαν ἰδὲ μυστήριά θ' ἀγνά (Orph. *h. Sem.* 44. 9). In Hesych. Σεμέλη· τράπεζα. παρὰ δὲ Φρυγίων ἑορτή O. Jessen would read Σεμέλης τράπεζα· παρὰ Φρυγίων ἑορτή (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 668).

to reject. 'The Satyr-play,' he says¹, 'coming at the end of the tetralogy, represented the joyous arrival of the Reliving Dionysus and his rout of attendant daimones at the end of the Sacer Ludus.'

The question of the Satyr-play is so bound up with that of the Satyrs themselves that one is practically forced to begin by asking—Who were the Satyrs? Were they the horse-like or the goat-like creatures of the Attic vase-painters? After a full and, I hope, impartial survey of the facts² I am of opinion that by rights the horse-creatures were *Silenoí* and the goat-creatures *Sátyroi*, but that as early as the middle of the fifth century, and perhaps earlier, the goat-type proper to the *Sátyroi* had been, at least for dramatic purposes, more or less contaminated with the horse-type proper to the *Silenoí*³.

On the *kratér* of Klitias and Ergotimos (c. 600—550 B.C.) three ithyphallic creatures with equine legs, tails, and ears are inscribed *Silenoí*⁴. On a *kylix* signed by the same Ergotimos, now at Berlin, an ithyphallic being with human legs and feet, but equine tail and ear, is again inscribed *Silénos*⁵. On a fragmentary black-figured *kylix* from the Persic *débris* at Athens are the remains of a shaggy personage inscribed *Silénos*, but whether he is equine or otherwise does not appear⁶. Red-figured vases tell the same story. A *kylix* at Munich shows an ithyphallic figure with equine tail named *Silénos*⁷. A gilded *aryballos* at Berlin calls another

¹ G. Murray in Harrison *Themis* p. 343.

² For a fair summary of the evidence, both literary and monumental, see E. Kuhnert's article in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 444—531. The learned author reaches, as I hold, the wrong conclusion, but he is scrupulously just to his opponents.

³ S. Reinach in an able essay on 'Marsyas' in his *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1912 iv. 29—44 argues that the *Silenoí* were originally asses, and that their type became equine in Greece through confusion with that of the Centaurs. Miss Harrison, who first drew my attention to Reinach's view, adds (May 22, 1913): 'I suspect that the mules and asses turned into horses in horse-bearing Thessaly.'

Reinach may well be right in supposing that the *Silenoí* were asinine before they became equine. But on the Attic vases, with which we are here concerned, the transformation was already complete: the *Silenoí* are regularly depicted with the traits, not of asses, nor even of mules, but of horses pure and simple.

⁴ Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 58 pl. 11—12.

⁵ Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenh.* iii. 160 ff. pl. 238, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 120, 3—6, *Wien. Vorlegebl.* 1888 pl. 2.

⁶ P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vasenschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 233, C. Fränkel *Satyr- und Bakchennamen auf Vasenbildern* Halle a. S. 1912 pp. 20, 84 f.

⁷ Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 97 f. no. 331 ($\Sigma\text{ILAN}\text{O}\Sigma\text{T}\text{E}\Delta\text{P}\text{O}\text{N}$), Kretschmer *op. cit.* p. 132 ($\Sigma\text{ILEN}\text{O}\Sigma$), W. Klein *Die griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften*² Leipzig 1898 p. 65 ($\Sigma\text{ILEN}\text{O}\Sigma\text{T}\text{E}\Delta\text{P}\text{O}\text{N}$).

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Satyric mask of terra cotta from Anthedon.

See page 697 n. 5.

nude figure with equine tail and pointed ear *Silenós*¹. A *stamnos* in the British Museum (c. 440—400 B.C.) gives the name *Silenós* to a nude figure with pointed ear: in this case the horse-tail is absent, because Silenos has his hands bound behind him and the hanging cords produce the effect of a tail; other exactly similar figures on the same vase are tailed like a horse². An *amphora* with volutes in the Jatta collection has again a figure with equine tail and ear inscribed *Silenós*³. In view of these vases we may safely conclude that the type of *Silenoi* known to Attic painters in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. was equine, not hircine⁴.

But beside these horse-creatures Attic vases of the fifth century represent goat-creatures, who are in no case inscribed. The most obvious name to give them is *Sátýroi*, because the Satyrs of the Hellenistic and Roman age had undoubtedly the horns, ears, tail, and tufted hair of goats⁵. In the absence, however, of a definite inscription, an argument can be drawn from the nature of the scenes in which these goatish beings appear. P. Hartwig⁶ and K. Wernicke⁷ have between them made out a list of fifteen

¹ Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 690 ff. no. 2471, *id. Samml. Saboureff Vasen* p. 4 ff. pl. 55, Kretschmer *op. cit.* p. 132, C. Fränkel *op. cit.* pp. 72, 98 f., A. Legrand in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1489 fig. 4772.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 274 f. no. E 447 (ΣΙΛΕΝΟΣ), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 122, E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1844 xvi. 200 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* iv pl. 10, Kretschmer *op. cit.* p. 132 (ΣΙΛΕΝΟΣ).

³ H. Heydemann *Satyr- und Bakchennamen (Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle 1880)* p. 3 ff. with pl., L. Deubner in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2117 f. fig. 8, F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 328 f. fig. 107, C. Fränkel *op. cit.* pp. 72, 98 f. (ΣΙΛΗΝΟΣ).

⁴ Miss Harrison has pointed out to me an interesting possibility. O. Lagercrantz 'Zur Herkunft des Wortes Silen' in the *Sertum Philologicum Carolo Ferdinando Johansson oblatum* Göteborg 1910 pp. 117—121 refers *σιλανός*, *σιληνός* to a root *σῖλ-* (Indo-Europæan **h₂l-*), whence Thraco-Phrygian **σίλα*, 'Brunst, Geile, Mutwille der Hengste,' and **σίλανος*. He finds a nearly related word in *κῆλων*, 'a stallion' (used of horses, of asses, and of Pan: see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 1516 B—C), and further *επικρύβος* (for **κηλυβος*: Boisacq *Dict. Étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 451 'ingénieux, mais douteux'), *κίλας* (better *κηλας*), *σιλαπορῶσαι*, *σιληπορῶειν*, modern Greek *τσιλιπορῶ*, *τσιλιπούρδισμα*. But P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1910 ii. 398, *ib.* 1913 iv. 351 ff. prefers to derive *Σιληνός* from the Thracian *ζῖλα*, 'wine.' *Viderint philologi.*

⁵ E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 488 ff., 516 ff.

I take this opportunity of publishing (pl. xxxvii) a fine votive mask of terra cotta, said to have been found near a spring at Anhedon and now in my possession. It measures 8½ inches in height, and has three holes for suspension. The eyes and nostrils are pierced; but the mouth is not. The face has the snub nose, the ears, the horns, and even the *noncolae* of a goat. It is wearing both a head-band and an ivy-wreath. In short, it has all the characteristics of a Satyric *choreutês*. Mr H. B. Walters, on grounds of style, refers it to the Hellenistic period.

⁶ P. Hartwig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 89 ff.

⁷ K. Wernicke in *Hermes* 1897 xxxii. 290 ff. and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1410 f.

fifth-century vases on which goat-figures occur¹. They are seen

¹ (1) Red-figured *guttus* from Nola (J. de Witte *Description des antiquités et objets d'art qui composent le cabinet de feu M. le chevalier E. Durand* Paris 1836 no. 142) =goat-headed figure skipping on all fours.

(2) Red-figured *guttus* from Nola (J. J. Dubois *Description des antiqués faisant partie des collections de M. le comte de Pourtalès-Gorgier* Paris 1841 no. 384, *Catalogue des objets d'art...qui composent la collection de feu M. le comte de Pourtalès-Gorgier* Paris 1865 no. 399)=goat-headed figure skipping on all fours.

(3) Late black-figured *oinochôe* with white ground at Munich (Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 214 no. 682 wrongly described)=goat with bearded human head skipping on all fours: with him dances a bearded Silenos.

(4) Red-figured *skyphos* of c. 440 B.C. from Certosa at Bologna (Pellegrini *Cat. vas. gr. dipint. Bologna* p. 216 no. 491, E. Brizio in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1872 p. 112 no. 86, H. Heydemann *Winckelmannsfest- Progr. Halle* 1879 p. 63 no. 150, P. Hartwig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 92 f. fig. 2)=obv. human figure with goat's head, tail, and legs dancing with a goat that stands on its hind legs; rev. goat with human arms and hands skipping on all fours to compete with an actual goat. The design has been much restored.

(5) Fragment of a red-figured *skyphos* of c. 450 B.C. now in the possession of F. Hauser at Stuttgart (P. Hartwig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 91 fig. 1)=human figure with goat's head and tail dancing.

(6) Red-figured *askôs* of c. 450 B.C. in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 358 no. E 735)=obv. human figure with goat's horns and tail misusing a dog; rev. Silenos reclining.

(7) Red-figured jug of c. 450 B.C. now in the possession of Commendatore Galeozzo at Santa Maria di Capua (P. Hartwig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 92)=human figure with goat's feet and beast's ears striding forwards, his hands crossed at his back; round his head is twisted a curious skin, and behind him is a basket.

(8) Red-figured *kratêr* of c. 440 B.C. in the Albertinum at Dresden (P. Herrmann in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1892 vii Arch. Anz. p. 166 f., P. Hartwig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 92, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 2. 226 f. pl. 19, 1, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel. 2 p. 277 f. fig. 67)=obv. three human figures ($\zeta\iota\text{M}\text{O}\zeta$, $\Pi\text{AN}\Delta\text{R}\text{?}$, and $\dots\text{O}\zeta$) with goat's horns, tail, and feet capering round Hermes ($\epsilon\rho\mu\epsilon\zeta$), who holds a forked stick, and Pherephatta ($\phi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\phi\alpha\tau\tau\alpha$), who rises from a grotto; rev. three draped figures.*

(9) Red-figured *skyphos* of c. 440 B.C. in the Albertinum at Dresden (P. Hartwig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 93 n. 1, K. Wernicke in *Hermes* 1897 xxxii. 298)=similar goat-figure on either side of the vase, one with equine tail.

(10) Red-figured *skyphos* of c. 450 B.C. from Vico Equense in the Bourguignon collection at Naples (W. Fröhner in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1884 lvi. 205 ff. pl. M, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 348, 1 f., C. Robert *Archaeologische Maerchen aus alter und neuer Zeit* Berlin 1886 p. 194 f. fig., P. Hartwig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 91 f.)=obv. two human figures with goat's head and tail capering, while between them a goddess rises from the ground; rev. two Silenoi with horse's ears and tail dancing on either side of a Maenad.

(11) Red-figured *kratêr* of c. 450 B.C. from Falerii, now at Berlin (L. Bloch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1378, P. Hartwig in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 xxi. 384 n. 2 and in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 89 ff. pl. 4—5)=obv. (a) a goddess with diadem and *himétion* rising from the ground, surrounded by four dancing figures with the horns, ears, and tails of goats, (b) a lion and a bull; rev. (a) Hermes erect, *caduceus* in hand surrounded by four dancing goat-figures of the same sort.

(12) Red-figured *kratêr* of c. 450 B.C. from Altemura in the British Museum (pl. xxxviii, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 285 f. no. E 467, A. H. Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1890 xi. 278 ff. pls. 11 f., P. Hartwig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 92)=obv.

capering or dancing, for the most part alone¹, but sometimes paired with a goat² or with a horse-tailed *Silenós*³. Twice they dance round *Hermes*⁴; once, round a goddess rising from the ground⁵. Twice they cut their capers about a pair of deities—*Hermes*, who holds a forked stick or a *caduceus*, and *Pherephatta*, who emerges from a grotto or more simply from the ground⁶. Now these situations recall certain scenes in the carnival-plays of modern Greece, which we have already compared with the Lenaeon performance⁷. In fact, it is possible to interpret the vases with reference to that performance. We might, for example, suppose some such sequence as the following:—

Scene i: *Hermes*, lyre in hand, sits on a rock awaiting the *ánodos* of the earth-goddess.

Scene ii: the earth-goddess rises from an artificial cavern.

Scene iii: she hands over her child to *Hermes*, who acts as its foster-father.

Further, if the Lenaeon drama was, as we have contended, the true parent of Attic tragedy, it was presumably followed by a Satyric display⁸. And it may therefore fairly be argued that

(a) the decking of Pandora, (b) four human figures dancing round a flute-player; each dancer wears a snub-nosed mask (?) with goat's horns and ears, a black waist-band to which is attached an erect *phallós* and a goat's tail, and shoes (?) in the form of goat's feet; rev. (a) girls dancing round a flute-player in the presence of a *choregós*, (b) a group of four horse-tailed *Silenoi*, *Maenad*, etc. playing at ball. Height of vase 1 ft 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ ins.

(13) Red-figured *kratér* of late Attic style, c. end of fifth century B.C., now at Gotha (*Mon. d. Inst.* iv pl. 34, E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1846 xviii. 238 ff., Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* ii. 156, iii. 255 f. pl. 90, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 129, 2, P. Hartwig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 93)=obv. *Hermes* (ΕΡΜΗΣ) seated on a rock with an ivy-wreath on his head and a lyre in his hand: round him dance three human figures wearing head-bands and ivy-wreaths; they have the horns, ears, tails, shaggy thighs, and feet of goats; rev. three draped figures.

(14) Red-figured *kratér* found at Chiusi in 1854 (*Arch. Zeit.* 1855 xiii. Anz. p. 6*) = *Hermes* surrounded by goat-footed figures with inscriptions.

(15) Black-figured *kýlix* from Tanagra, not earlier than c. 450 B.C., now in the collection of Kyros Simos at Thebes (G. Körte in E. Bethe *Prolegomena zur Geschichte des Theaters im Alterthum* Leipzig 1896 p. 339, P. Hartwig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 91)=ithyphallic dancer with the horns and face of a goat, but the tail of a horse, holding an *amphora*.

Nos. (1), (2), and (14) of this list are known only from the records here cited.

¹ *Supra* p. 698 n. 1 nos. (1), (2), (5), (7), (9), (15).

² *Supra* p. 698 n. 1 no. (4).

³ *Supra* p. 698 n. 1 no. (3): cp. the reverse of nos. (10) and (12).

⁴ *Supra* p. 698 n. 1 nos. (13) and (14).

⁵ *Supra* p. 698 n. 1 no. (10).

⁶ *Supra* p. 698 n. 1 nos. (8) and (11).

⁷ *Supra* p. 694 f.

⁸ This is not definitely recorded (A. E. Haigh *The Attic Theatre*³ rev. by A. W. Pickard-Cambridge Oxford 1907 p. 25); but our records are very incomplete.

in the goatish figures of the vases we should recognise the Satyrs of the primitive Satyr-play.

This conclusion is not at variance with fifth-century representations of more advanced Satyric plays. Of such the earliest specimen (c. 450 B.C.) is perhaps the *kratér* from Altemura, now in the British Museum (pl. xxxviii)¹, which shows a goat-chorus dancing round a flute-player². It is by no accident that in juxtaposition with the goat-dancers the vase-painter has placed the decking of Pandora, herself but another form of the earth-goddess, 'Giver of All³.' Of the same date, or but little later, is a group of vases including a *kratér* at Deepdene (pl. xxxix, 1)⁴, a *dinos* at Athens⁵, and sundry fragments at Bonn⁶, which presuppose a larger and better original, possibly a fresco by Polygnotos,

¹ *Supra* p. 698 n. 1 no. (12).

² Pratinas of Phlious, who *πρῶτος ἔγραψε Σατύρους* (Soud. s.v. Πρατίνας), in a scathing lyrical fragment (1 Bergk⁴, 1 Hiller) *ap.* Athen. 617 B—F derides the introduction of flute-music into the rites of Dionysos.

³ See e.g. P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1520 ff.

⁴ I am indebted to my friend Mr E. M. W. Tillyard, Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, for the photograph of this vase, hitherto unpublished, and for the following description of it:

⁵ *Attic Bell-Krater*. Height 27^m. The preservation is perfect except for two small chips in the rim. The shape is early, the body being broad and heavy, the base tapering little and the foot being a plain disc. Above, on a higher plane than the body of the vase, is a myrtle-wreath pattern; below, is a band of double maeanders in threes, divided by saltire-squares. At the handle-bases are egg-and-dot patterns.

On the obverse is a dramatic scene with three figures. On the right is a small stool-like platform on which stands a silen in the attitude known as the *oklasma*. He seems to wear a black loin-cloth, of which only part is visible and above it a band with a mock erect *phallos* and a large horse's tail. This, of course, shows that he is represented as an actor, but the face, beard, pointed ears and hair seem to be natural and not, as one would expect, to form a mask. This confusion of mimic and real silen is probably a mere slip on the artist's part. On the left stands Dionysus [or, more probably, a *choregós* A. B. C.] dressed in a long, sleeved chiton and himation above. He is bearded, wears a fillet in his hair and holds a small-headed thyrsus in his right hand. In the middle stands a bearded man fronting us and with his head turned towards Dionysus. He wears a short, girded chiton. In his right hand he holds a small,



-shaped object [perhaps a double flute with *phorbeid* attached. A. B. C.].

The reverse shows three *Manteljünglinge*, one of whom holds a strigil.

The vase, now in the Hope Collection and hitherto unpublished, would date from about the middle of the fifth century. The composition is very harmonious and the style, though not strong, is skilful and easy.'

⁵ Nicole *Cat. Vases d'Athènes Suppl.* p. 226 f. no. 1055 pl. 17 ('Répétition d'un drame satyrique?'), M. Bieber in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1911 xxxvi. 269 ff. pls. 13, 1 f., 14, 4 f.

⁶ M. Bieber in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1911 xxxvi. 272 ff. pls. 13, 3, 14, 1—3.



representing preparations for a Satyr-play¹. In this group the Satyrs, both on and off the stage, have equine tails like the *Silenois*², but hairy loin-cloths which may be meant for stylised goat-skins³. Later again, but descended from the same original, are a famous *kratér* at Naples painted c. 400 B.C.⁴ and a contemporary *kratér* at Deepdene (pl. xxxix, 2)⁵. Here too the

¹ M. Bieber *loc. cit.* was the first to detect that the vase at Athens and its replicas at Bonn are but 'ein ziemlich gedankenloses Excerpt aus einer grösseren und besseren Vorlage.' We may venture, on the strength of the Naples *kratér* (*infra* n. 4), to conjecture that this original was a fresco by Polygnotos, whose fondness for figures arranged at different levels is notorious (see e.g. H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 441 ff.).

² *Supra* p. 696 f. A. Furtwängler *Winckelmannsfest- Progr. Berlin* xl. 25 (= *Kleine Schriften* München 1912 i. 207) cites Ktesias *frag.* 57 (p. 86 f. Müller) *ap. Phot. bibl.* p. 45 a 20 ff. cod. Mon. 287 ἐν δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ Ἰνδικῇ εἰς τὸν μυχὸν τῆς πελαίας (πελαγίας Hoeschel) νῆσον φασὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας κακεῖ οὐρὰς ἔχειν μεγίστας, ὅποιας διαγράφουσι τῶν Σατύρων, cp. *Ptol.* 8. 3 ταύτας οἱ κατέχοντες οὐρὰς ἔχειν λέγονται, ὅποιας διαγράφουσι τὰς τῶν Σατύρων.

³ The 'Radornament' (Bieber) on the loin-cloth is perhaps a conventional rendering of a patchy skin.

⁴ Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 546 ff. no. 3240, J. de Witté in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1841 xiii. 303 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 31, B. Arnold in Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 385, 388 ff. pl. 5 fig. 422, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 114, E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 496 ff. fig. 13.

⁵ Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* i. 122 f. pl. 39, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 288, 5. I have again to thank Mr E. M. W. Tillyard for the accompanying photograph and notes:

'*Lucanian Bell-Krater.* Height 325^m. Well-preserved except that the varnish is beginning slightly to flake off. The clay is of a rich, salmon-pink colour and the varnish deep black and rather metallic in appearance. The shape shows the middle development of the bell-krater, being neither broad nor elongated. Above is a laurel-wreath pattern of the usual type with small and carefully drawn leaves. Below is a band of double meanders in pairs divided by saltire-squares. At each handle-base is a reserved band with black tongues painted on it.

The obverse shows three young comic actors. They all wear close-fitting leathern loin-cloths, into which are fixed large *phalloi*. The actor on the right being in profile, it is possible to see that he also wears a small tail, whether of a horse or a goat it is a little difficult to say. On the side of each loin-cloth is a little ornament like a four-spoked wheel. All three actors have masks. The one on the right wears his, and, with his hands clapped to the small of his back and his right leg kicked back, strikes a comic attitude. The other two stand in easy attitudes, holding their masks in their hand. On the right, on the ground, is a tympanum, seen obliquely. On the reverse are three *Manteljünglinge*.

The vase is of Lucanian fabric and dates from about the end of the fifth century. In style it is considerably under Attic influence and is descended directly from the class of early South Italian vases which Furtwängler thought might have come from the Attic colonies in Italy and which Hauser later proved to be connected with Heraclea¹. The drawing is very easy and careful.

The vase belonged to the second Hamilton Collection and has been already published by Tischbein². The present reproduction is from a new photograph. The vase is now in the Hope Collection.

¹ FRH II. p. 264.

² I. pl. 39. Reproduced on a small scale in Wieseler *Theatergebäude* pl. VI. 3.

Satyrs have shortish horse-tails. But those on the Naples vase are in most cases wearing a shaggy skin, presumably a goat-skin, round their loins; and those on the Deepdene vase have their waist-bands patterned in such a way as to suggest a fringed or shaggy edge.

In short, the evidence of the vases—agreeing, as it does, with one or two literary allusions¹—leads me to follow in the steps of Furtwängler², Körte³, Hartwig⁴, Wernicke⁵, and to conclude that the *Satýroi* before contamination with the *Silenoí* were conceived at Athens as goat-like dancers⁶, who greeted the uprising of the chthonian goddess, mother of Dionysos.

¹ Aisch. *Prometheus Pyrkaeus frag.* 207 Nauck² *ap.* Plout. *de utilit. ex inimic. ferrip.* 2 τοῦ δὲ Σατύρου τὸ πῦρ, ὡς πρῶτον ὤφθη, βουλομένου φιλήσαι καὶ περιβαλεῖν, ὁ Προμηθεύς "τράγος γένειον ἄρα πευθήσεις σύ γε," Eustath. *in Il.* p. 415, 6 ff. καὶ τὸ "τράγος γένειον ἄρα (*λεγ.* ἄρα) πευθήσεις σύ γε" ἀντί τοῦ· ὦ τράγε, πᾶν στερήσῃ γενείου, εἰ τὴν φλόγα φιλήσεις, Eriphian. *ancor.* 106 (i. 208, 29 ff. Dindorf) ἄλλος δὲ (*sc.* Ζεὺς) ὁ τραγῳδός, ὁ καὶ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ καίσας· τάχα δὲ θεὸς ὦν ἐπελάθετο ὅτι δάκνει τὸ πῦρ καὶ οὐκ εἶχε τὴν πρόρρωσιν τοῦ λέγοντος τράγω τῷ Σατύρω, εἰρόντι πρότερον (ὀρῶντι πρῶτον Meineke) τὸ πῦρ καὶ προσελθόντι φιλήσαι, "μὴ ἄψῃ, τράγε" ἀψάμενος γάρ μου ἐμπρήσεις τὰ γένεια."

Soph. *Ichnetai* col. xiv, 15 f. (*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1912 ix. 59 no. 1174) νέος γὰρ ὦν ἀνὴρ, π[ώγ]ωνι θάλλων ὡς τράγος κν<ή>κω χλιδῶς.

Eur. *Cycl.* 76 ff. XO. (of Satyrs)...ἐγὼ δ' ὁ σὸς πρόπολος θητεύω | ... | δοῦλος ἀλαίνων ξῖν τᾷδε τράγον | χλαῖνα μελέα.

None of these passages affords conclusive proof that the Satyrs were hircine, since the first might be explained as a case of abbreviated comparison (see P. Shorey in *Class. Philol.* 1909 iv. 433 ff.), the second is a simile, and the third implies that the goat-skin was a cheap country garb (see W. Ridgeway *The Origin of Tragedy* Cambridge 1910 p. 87). But all alike gain considerably in point, if we may assume that the Satyrs were essentially goat-like.

² A. Furtwängler *Winkelmannsfest- Progr.* Berlin xl. 22 ff. (= *Kleine Schriften* München 1912 i. 204 ff.).

³ G. Körte in E. Bethe *Prolegomena zur Geschichte des Theaters im Alterthum* Leipzig 1896 p. 339 ff.

⁴ P. Hartwig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 89 ff.

⁵ K. Wernicke in *Hermes* 1897 xxxii. 290 ff. and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1409 ff.

⁶ E. Reisch 'Zur Vorgeschichte der attischen Tragödie' in the *Festschrift Theodor Gomperz* Wien 1902 p. 451 ff. and E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 524 ff. have attempted to show that these goat-creatures were *Pānes*, not *Satýroi*. In answer to their arguments I would reply: (a) We have no reason to think that the Athenians of the fifth century believed in a plurality of *Pānes* and personated them in public religious dances. Aisch. *Glaucus frag.* 35 Nauck² *ap.* schol. Eur. *Rhes.* 36 Αἰσχύλος δὲ δύο Πᾶνας τὸν μὲν Διὸς ὄν καὶ (Διὸς Ἀρκάδος Vater, οὐ εἶναι Ἀρκάδα Nauck) δίδυμον, τὸν δὲ Κρόνου and schol. Theokr. 4. 62 τοὺς Σατύρους πλείους φησίν, ὡς καὶ τοὺς Σιληνοὺς καὶ Πᾶνας, ὡς Αἰσχύλος μὲν ἐν Γλαύκῳ, Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ἐν Ἀνδρομέδῃ proves that Aischylos recognised two *Pānes*. Soph. *Andromeda frag.* 132 Nauck² *ap.* schol. Theokr. *loc. cit.* merely proves that Sophokles mentioned two or more *Silenoí*. Other passages, e.g. Aristoph. *ecl.* 1069, Plat. *legg.* 815 c, are of later date than the fifth century. (b) If the goat-figures on the vases listed *supra* p. 698 n. 1 were *Pānes*, they would rather have been associated with Nymphs (Plat. *legg.* 815 c, Paus. 8. 37. 2) and equipped with the *syrix* (e.g. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 180f. no. E 228 pl. 9, Heydemann *Vasensamm.* Neapel p. 19 ff. no. 690. p. 495 ff. no. 3218, cp. H. Schrader in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 xxi. 275 ff.).

702 1



I



2

1. Attic bell-krater at Deepdene: preparations for a Satyr-play. See page 700 f.

2. Lucanian bell-krater at Deepdene: preparations for a Satyr-play. See page 701 f.

At the same time it remains possible, indeed probable, that these goat-dances were not *ab origine* connected with Dionysos, but had existed from time immemorial as a popular custom in south Europe. On August 12, 1908, Monsieur P. Bourrinet found in the Abri Mège, a Magdalenian rock-shelter at Teyjat (Dordogne)¹, a well-preserved 'bâton de commandement' of stag's-horn, on which were engraved various animal forms—the head of a hind, three snakes, a large horse followed by the forepart of a little horse, three swans, and lastly three 'diablotins' (fig. 512)². These remarkable figures represent men disguised

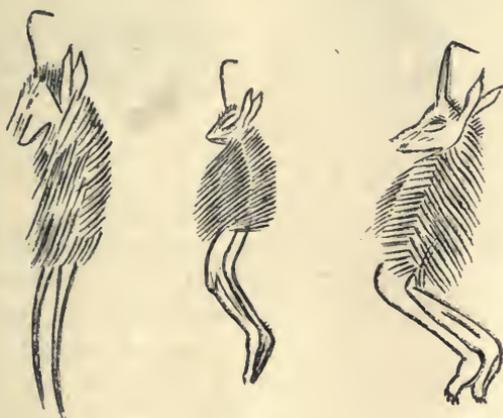


Fig. 512.

as goats—chamois, to judge from their horns,—and engaged in jumping or dancing, probably with the intention of multiplying the supply of actual goats by means of magic mimicry³.

Nineteen years ago I figured two 'island stones' from Crete and one from Athens, on which human beings are seen dressed in the skins of goats (figs. 513, 515, 516)⁴. I pointed out then

¹ L. Capitan, H. Breuil, P. Bourrinet, and D. Peyrony 'L'abri Mège' in the *Revue de l'École d'Anthropologie de Paris* 1906 xvi. 196—212 with 9 figs.

² L. Capitan, H. Breuil, P. Bourrinet, and D. Peyrony 'Observations sur un bâton de commandement' etc. in the *Revue de l'École d'Anthropologie de Paris* 1909 xix. 62—79 with 15 figs. and 1 photographic plate. I reproduce fig. 11 by kind permission of the Abbé Breuil. See also H. Obermaier *Der Mensch aller Zeiten* i (Der Mensch der Vorzeit) Berlin etc. 1912 p. 427 fig. 252.

³ For parallels see *in primis* É. Cartailhac et l'abbé H. Breuil *La Caverne d'Altamira à Santillane près Santander (Espagne)* Monaco 1906 p. 164 ff. fig. 127 pls. 32, 33. S. Reinach *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1912 iv. 361 ff., *id. Rép. Art Quat.* p. 181 nos. 2—5, explains otherwise ('ratapas' or embryonic souls).

⁴ See the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 150 ff.

Fig. 513 is a lenticular seal of serpentine from Crete in the Pauvert de la Chapelle collection (O. Rossbach in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1885 lvii. 193 pl. GH, 6, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 57 fig. 34, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 150 fig. 20, Furtwängler *Ant.*

that, according to Hesychios¹, the Bacchantes wore goat-skins, and I suggested that the ritual thus found in the cult of Dionysos was very possibly a relic of a more wide-spread practice. Today I can add another (fig. 514)² to the series of seal-stones portraying human goats and venture on a closer determination of their meaning. I suppose them to show 'Minoan' dances, the object of which was to promote fertility—originally the fertility of the local fauna—by means of imitative magic and so to safeguard the food-supply of the population.



Fig. 513.



Fig. 514.



Fig. 515.



Fig. 516.

Given the existence of such old-world dances within the Greek area, it is reasonable to surmise that they might attach themselves to the cult of any fertility-power—Hermes, Demeter, Dionysos, or the like³. Further, if in a certain district the said power was

Gemmen i pl. 2, 40, ii. 12f.)=a man wearing the *protomé* of a wild goat with three pellets in the field, one of which is rayed like a star.

Fig. 515 is a lenticular seal of cornelian, found at Athens in 1884 and now in the collection of Sir Arthur Evans (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 116 fig. 11)=two human figures, one wearing the forepart of a goat, the other that of a lion.

Fig. 516 is a lenticular seal of green porphyry from Crete now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 44 no. 76 pl. A, A. Milchhöfer *Die Anfänge der Kunst* Leipzig 1883 p. 78 fig. 50, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 57 fig. 36, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 850, 859 fig. 432, 15, Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen* Leipzig 1889 p. 161 pl. 26, 57, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 120 f. fig. 15, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 2, 41, ii. 13)=the legs of a man combined with the forepart of a goat and the forepart of a bull; two pellets in the field.

¹ Hesych. *s.v.* τραγηφόροι· αἱ κόραι Διονύσω δρυγιάζουσαι τραγῆν περιήπτουτο.

² Fig. 514 is a lenticular seal of green porphyry in the Story Maskelyne collection (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 6, 6, ii. 26, Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1902 ii. 69 fig. 193)=a human goat with a hound running beside him and three linear signs in the field, viz. Ψ on the left, Σ on the right, and Δ beneath.

³ Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* iii. 1. 220 figs. 1 (=my fig. 517), 2, 3, 4, 7 (=my fig. 519), 9 (=my fig. 518) has classified under six types a number of archaic terra-cotta statuettes, mostly found in central Greece (the Theban Kabeirion, Tanagra, Halai, etc.), which represent an ithyphallic goat-man with hircine or human legs and a *cornu copiae* in his hand. P. Baur, who in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1905 ix. 157—165 pl. 5 (=my fig. 520) adds yet another type to the series, proposes the name of Tityros for them all. But O. Kern in *Hermes* 1913 xlviii. 318 f. distinguishes Τίτυροι as 'Schafbocksdämonen' from Σάρυροι as 'Ziegenbocksdämonen,' citing Serv. in Verg. *ecl.* 1 prooem. (*supra* p. 401 n. 7), schol. Bernens. *ecl.* 1. 1 p. 749 Hagen tityrus lingua Laconica villosus aries appellatur, Prob. in Verg. *ecl.* p. 349 Lion hircus Libyca (*leg.* Laconica) lingua tityrus appellatur, and a small bronze group of ram-headed male dancers from Methydrion now in the National

believed to take shape as a goat, his cult would almost inevitably be amalgamated with the aboriginal goat-dances. Now we have in point of fact found the Satyrs or goatish dancers of the fifth-century vases sometimes cutting capers by themselves, but sometimes also associated with Hermes, Pherephatta, and the equine followers of Dionysos¹, in short with a whole posse of fertility-powers. Moreover, we have seen Dionysos himself worshipped as *Ériphos* in Lakonike², as *Eriphios* at Metapontum³; and we have had reason to conjecture that his Thraco-Phrygian devotees identified themselves with him and hence took the name of *eriphoi*⁴. Finally, we have observed that Thespis the reputed founder of Greek 'tragedy' came from Ikaria, where men danced round a *trágos*⁵. These facts suggest that the tragic chorus in pre-literary days consisted of men dressed as *trágoi* in order to personate a goat-Dionysos. They must have sung then, as in northern Greece they still sing⁶, of an annual birth, death, and resurrection. It is not therefore to be wondered at, if such a performance attracted to itself and absorbed into itself those primitive goat-dances that had subsisted in south Europe from palaeolithic times. The tragic chorus thereby acquired a Satyric supplement. Tragedy led up to the Satyr-play. And the revelrout may well have served, as Prof. Murray acutely divined⁷, to represent the joyous arrival of the re-born god.

Museum at Athens (F. Hiller von Gaertringen and H. Lattermann in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1911 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 41 pl. 13, 3 a, b). Probably in Boiotia the goat-dances were absorbed into the cult of the Kabeiros just as at Athens they were absorbed into that of Dionysos.



Fig. 517.



Fig. 518.



Fig. 519.



Fig. 520.

¹ *Supra* p. 698 f.⁴ *Supra* p. 675 ff.⁷ *Supra* p. 695 f.² *Supra* p. 674 n. 2.⁵ *Supra* p. 678.³ *Supra* p. 674 n. 3.⁶ *Supra* p. 694 f.

(κ) Zeus, Dionysos, and the Goat.

The Attic festivals with their amazing output of tragedy and comedy tended to obscure the early Thraco-Phrygian relations of Zeus, Dionysos, and the goat. But it would be a mistake to suppose that those relations were wholly forgotten. For example, at the Phrygian Laodikeia, a town once called Diospolis¹,



Fig. 521.

Fig. 522.

quasi-autonomous coppers were issued with a bust of Zeus *Asets*² on the obverse and sometimes a goat on the reverse side (fig. 521)³, or again with a youthful head of Demos on the obverse and Zeus *Asets* carrying the infant Dionysos with a goat beside him on the reverse (fig. 522)⁴.

A fragmentary *kýlix* of red-figured technique, painted in the style of Hieron and found on the Akropolis at Athens (fig. 523)⁵,

¹ Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 105.

² This cult-title has been usually identified with the name of the Syrian and Arabian god Azizos (O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1531, Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1895 i. 33), who along with Monimos was worshipped at Edessa as a supporter of Helios (Ioul. *or.* 4. 150 C, 154 A), the pair being probably conceived as morning- and evening-star (F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2644, H. Steuding in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 743, W. Drexler *ib.* ii. 3202, R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 128—133, 1904 i. 208 n. 3 = *id.* *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 pp. 9—14, 1905 p. 75 n. 3). If so, the epithet is Semitic ('*aziz*, 'the Strong'). But P. Carolidis *Bemerkungen zu den alten kleinasiatischen Sprachen und Mythen* Strassburg 1913 p. 32 f. proposes to refer it to an Armenian *as*, 'Luft, dann Geist, Dämon und Gott.' Both explanations are highly precarious.

³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* pp. lxxxii, 300 pl. 36, 11 ΣΕΥC ACΕIC and ΛΑΟΔΙ [Κ]ΕΩΝ, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 407 no. 128, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 679.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* pp. lxxxii, 298 pl. 36, 5 ΔΗΜΟC and Λ ΑΟΔΙ Κ ΕΩΝ, Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*² iii. 158 f., Rasche *Lex. num.* Suppl. iii. 263, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 407 no. 129 pl. G, 30. The same reverse is found on a coin struck by Iulia Domna (*id. ib.* p. 407 no. 131), and, with the head of Zeus turned to the left, on a coin of Otacilia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* p. 323 no. 258, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 407 no. 132 pl. G, 31). Cp. also a coin of L. Aelius Caesar with reverse showing Zeus *Asets*, who stands to the left and extends his right hand over the head of a goat (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* p. 311 no. 201 ACΕIC ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 407 no. 130).

⁵ First published in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1891 vi. 43 pl. 1 by

represents a procession of deities conducted by Hermes towards an altar, beside which stand two women, one with an *oinochôe* and a flower, the other with a basket. Beyond the altar are trees, denoting a sacred grove. Foremost in the procession marches



Fig. 523.

Zeus carrying the child Dionysos; and we notice that the pediment of the altar is occupied by figures of a goat and two kids. A. Frickenhaus argues that this vase must be brought into connexion with others, which, as he endeavours to prove, illustrate the ritual of the *Lenaia*¹. Be that as it may², we have here clearly the old association of Zeus, Dionysos, and the goat³.

But it is to the theatre itself that we naturally turn for the last traces of this lingering connexion. Nor are we disappointed.

B. Graef, who after adding further fragments allowed A. Frickenhaus *Lenäenvasen* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin lxxii*) Berlin 1912 p. 21 f. with fig. (=my fig. 523) to publish the principal group in its reconstituted form and so to anticipate the final publication in Graef *Ant. Vasen Athen*.

¹ *Supra* p. 671 f.

² A *hydria* of severe style at Paris (*De Ridder Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* ii. 331 f. no. 440, Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* iv. 115 pl. 384, Luynes *Descr. de vases peints* p. 16 f. pl. 28 = my fig. 524, F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*³ Leipzig and Darmstadt 1842 iv. 218 pl. 2, B. Graef in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1891 vi. 46 f. with fig., F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 603 fig. 680, Overbeck *Gr. Kunst-myth.* Zeus Atlas pl. 1, 19, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 260, 1) again shows Zeus (ΖΕΥΣ ?) bearing the child Dionysos (ΔΙΟΝ[Υ]ΣΟΣ) towards two women. The first sits on a folding-stool beside a pillar, with a spray of ivy in her left hand, a *stephane* on her head, and above her perhaps the word *καλός* (certainly not *Tades*). The second stands with a sceptre in her right hand and an ivy-wreath on her head. It is open to us to see in these two women the Maenads of Frickenhaus' 'Lenaean' vases, and to suppose that the cult-pillar and its table-altar have been modified into the pillar and stool of a *gynaikonitis*.

³ It was Miss Harrison who, with her customary kindness, pointed out to me the importance of this vase as a link in my argument.

The stage of Phaidros (*s.* iii or iv A.D.) is still decorated with four marble reliefs, which came from an earlier stage (probably of Neronian date) and illustrated appropriately enough the life-history of Dionysos. Existing publications of them¹ are so inadequate that I have had fresh drawings made from photographs, and have ventured to add on a transparent overleaf a restoration of the missing parts in accordance with what I hold to have been the sculptor's design (see pocket at end of vol. i).



Fig. 524.

The first slab (pl. xl, 1) shows Zeus seated on a rock, as befits a sky-god² the consort of an earth-goddess³. He has a *himátion* wrapped about his knees, and his right hand doubtless held a sceptre⁴. Before him stands Hermes carrying the new-born

¹ F. Matz in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1870 xlii. 97—106, *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 16 (careless), L. Julius in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 1878 xiii. 236 ff., J. R. Wheeler in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 1882—1883 i. 136—142 with a heliotype pl., Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 281 ff. figs. 22—25, Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 222 f., 226 f., v. 505 f., E. A. Gardner *Ancient Athens* London 1902 p. 450 f. with fig. on p. 453, M. L. D'Ooge *The Acropolis of Athens* New York 1908 p. 240 ff. fig. 106, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pp. 232—236 pls. 61—64, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 44 f.

² *Supra* p. 124 ff.

³ Cp. the type of the *hierôs gámos* on Mt. Ide (*infra* ch. iii § 1 (a) iii).

⁴ So *e.g.* on two reliefs in the Louvre ((1) Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 200 fig. 26, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 88 no. 3, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 390 Atlas pl. 16, 12, *id.* *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 171, 176 ff. Atlas pl. 3, 15, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 743 f. no. 1875; (2) T. Panofka in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1829 i. 298 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* i.

Dionysos. And the scene is enclosed by two Kouretes ready to clash their shields and so avert mischief from the babe.

The second slab (pl. xl, 2) commemorates the god's entrance into Attike. He stands, a comely youth dressed in *chiton*, panther-skin, *himation*, and *kóthoroi*, beside his own altar beneath a spreading vine. His left hand held a *thýrsos*, his right hand probably a *phiale*. Approaching the altar is Ikarios, who drags a goat for sacrifice with one hand and dangles a grape-bunch in the other. The old Attic hero is attended by his hound Maira and followed by his daughter Erigone, who carries a tray of cakes and fruit. Her figure is balanced by that of a Satyr with panther-skin and crook, standing on tip-toe in the pose known as *aposkopeton*.

On the third slab (pl. xl, 3) we have, if I am not mistaken¹, a scene of great interest—the marriage of Dionysos and the *Baslinna* or 'Queen' of Athens². A young man of large but somewhat soft and effeminate build, easily characterised as Dionysos by means of attributes, stands beside a young woman draped in a Doric *péplos*, who pulls forward an ample veil with a gesture familiar to us as that of a bride. To the right of the youthful pair is a broad matronal figure, who bears a *cornu copiae* in her left hand and most likely held a sceptre in her right. She

pl. 12, 1, Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 123 fig. 104, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 22 no. 2, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 171, 177 f., 576 f.).

¹ F. Matz *loc. cit.*, followed in the main by J. R. Wheeler *loc. cit.*, held that the third slab represents, from left to right, Hestia, Theseus, Eirene; the fourth slab, Eirene, Theseus, Hestia, Dionysos. Eirene and Hestia stood together in the Prytaneion (Paus. i. 18. 3), and might perhaps have symbolised the public and private happiness of the citizens; but the Greeks never hit upon a distinctive art-type for Hestia (A. Preuner in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2653), and the younger goddess of the third slab is obviously conceived as a bride.

J. N. Svoronos *loc. cit.* thinks that the two slabs show Ptolemy Philometor Soter ii and his family paying homage to Dionysos, and that the figures, from right to left, should be identified as follows: (1) his mother Kleopatra ii with sceptre; (2) Ptolemy Philometor Soter ii with club; (3) his wife, name unknown, with sceptre and *cornu copiae*; (4) his favourite daughter Berenike iii with sceptre and *cornu copiae*; (5) his young son Ptolemy king of Kypros; (6) his other daughter Kleopatra Tryphaina; (7) his youngest son Ptolemy Auletes, whose figure may have been cut away either on political grounds or because he had irreverently assumed the title Dionysos (Loukian. *de calumn.* 16). This very ingenious hypothesis rests on the assumption that the reliefs came from a *thymèle* erected in the *orchestra* of the theatre, for the performance of such competitions as had been previously held in the Oideion burnt by Aristion (85 B.C.), at the expense of Ptolemy Philometor Soter ii—a king who is known to have conferred many benefits upon the Athenians (Paus. i. 8. 6 ff.). But the existence of such a *thymèle*, in spite of Svoronos' long and learned advocacy, is still highly problematic.

² *Supra* p. 686. An Attic *oinochóe* of fifth-century style, now in the British Museum, has another rendering of the same scene (Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 260).

has long since been recognised as Tyche¹, that late successor of the old-world mother-goddess². To the left a whole figure has been carefully chiselled away from the background. Since that part of the base on which it stood has been removed along with it, we may surmise that it was carried off as being a piece of exceptional beauty, to be set up again in some rich man's house. And since the marks on the back-wall indicate a slender male figure with something raised on the spectator's left, I have restored it as Eros with wings³. Tyche carrying the horn of Amaltheia was paired with a winged Eros at Aigeira⁴; and coins of the town struck by Plautilla prove that the former stood grasping a sceptre in her right hand, while the latter with crossed legs held a long torch or staff pointing upwards in both hands⁵. Together they would be appropriate witnesses of the ritual marriage.

Not less interesting is the fourth slab (pl. xl, 4), on which we see Dionysos finally installed in his own theatre. He sits in an attitude of easy dignity on a gorgeous marble throne, recalling that of the priest who personated him in the front row of the *auditorium*. The background shows the broken surface of the Akropolis-rock, and above its edge rise the eight columns of the Parthenon's *façade*. It is probable that a *thýrsos* or sceptre once rested against the god's left shoulder. Of the three figures before him two are already known to us. His bride, the 'Queen,' still fingering her veil, perhaps held out a wreath towards him. Tyche is present, as before, with *cornu copiae* and sceptre. And between them stands a short but sturdy figure with *himation* and club—Theseus, the embodiment of the Athenian people assembled in the theatre to pay homage to Dionysos on his throne.

The Greek genius even in its decline knew how to build old materials into new and significant shapes. This series of reliefs ostensibly illustrates the infancy, the advent, the marriage, and the installation of Dionysos. But the art-types employed are redolent of old associations. Thus the Kouretes take our thoughts

¹ J. R. Wheeler *loc. cit.* p. 141.

² *Supra* p. 136 n. 6, cp. p. 597 n. 4, *infra* ch. i § 8 (a).

³ It is tempting to conjecture that this was the very statue to which a famous but of course apocryphal story attached: Athen. 591 A και Πραξιτέλης δὲ ὁ ἀγαματοποιὸς ἔρων αὐτῆς (sc. Phryne) τὴν Κνιδίαν Ἀφροδίτην ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐπλάσαστο, καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἐρωτος βάσει τῇ ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ θεάτρου ἐπέγραψε· Πραξιτέλης ὃν ἔπασχε διηκριβῶσεν ἔρωτα, | ἐξ ἰδίης ἔλκων ἀρχέτυπον κραδίης, | Φρόνῃ μισθὸν ἐμεῖο διδοὺς ἐμέ. φίλτρα δὲ βάλλω | οὐκέτ' οὐστεύων, ἀλλ' ἀπενιζόμενος (cp. *Anth. Plan.* 204 Simonides!). See, however, W. Klein *Praxiteles* Leipzig 1898 p. 219 ff.

⁴ Paus. 7. 26. 8. See further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1086 n. 3 *med.*

⁵ Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 91 pl. S, 8 f., Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 179 fig. 24.

back to Crete and remind us that Dionysos himself was but a rebirth of Zeus¹. Ikarios' goat recalls the ancient custom of dancing round a he-goat at Ikaria²; and the presence of the Satyr suggests the aboriginal goat-dances of south Europe³. Similarly the marriage⁴ and the enthronement⁵ of the young god are reminiscent of half-forgotten sanctities. In short, the whole frieze might serve as an epitome of the development that we have been studying throughout the last seven sections.

We cannot here pursue Roman parallels. But a passing allusion must be made to the cult of Vediovis, the youthful Iupiter⁶. Among the few things known for certain about this god is the statement of Gellius⁷ that in his temple between the Arx and the Capitolium the cult-statue held arrows and in consequence was often dubbed Apollo; further, that the ritual involved the sacrifice of a she-goat as if it were a human being⁸; and lastly, that the effigy of this animal stood beside that of the god. All this suggests comparison with Dionysos, e.g. with the Tenedian Dionysos *Anthroporrhaites*, to whom a calf dressed in buskins was sacrificed, presumably in lieu of a human victim⁹. The Dionysiac character of Vediovis seems to have struck the Romans themselves, if we may argue from certain republican coins, which

¹ *Supra* pp. 398 f., 647. ² *Supra* pp. 678, 689 n. 1, 705. ³ *Supra* p. 703 ff.

⁴ *Supra* pp. 649 n. 7, 650, 686, 694 f. ⁵ *Supra* pp. 153, 398, 646 f., 650, 661.

⁶ *Ov. fast.* 3. 437 Iuppiter est iuvenis: iuvenalis aspice voltus, 445 ff. nunc vocor ad nomen: vegrandia farra colonae | quae male creverunt, vescaque parva vocant; | vis ea si verbi est, cur non ego Vediovis aedem | aedem non magni suspicer esse Iovis? Paul. ex *Fest.* p. 379 Müller, p. 519 Lindsay *vesculi* male curati et graciles homines. *ve* enim syllabam rei parvae praeponabant, unde *Vediovem* parvam Iovem et *vegrandem* fabam minutam dicebant.

⁷ Gell. 5. 12. 11 f. simulacrum igitur dei Vediovis, quod est in aede, de qua supra (5. 12. 2) dixi, sagittas tenet, quae sunt videlicet partae ad nocendum. quapropter eum deum plerumque Apollinem esse dixerunt; immolaturaque ritu humano capra, eiusque animalis figmentum iuxta simulacrum stat. Cp. *Ov. fast.* 3. 438 ff. aspice deinde, manu fulmina nulla tenet. | fulmina post ausos caelum adfectare Gigantes | sumpta Iovi. primo tempore inermis erat (this is, I think, compatible with the supposition that the statue really held a thunderbolt, which was mistaken for a mere bundle of arrows—harmless, of course, without their bow)...stat quoque capra simul: Nymphae pavisse feruntur | Cretides; infanti lac dedit illa Iovi.

⁸ The expression *ritu humano* (*supra* n. 7) is thus understood by Frazer *Golden Bough*² ii. 168, *ib.*³: Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 33—rightly, as I conceive.

⁹ *Supra* p. 659 f. Cp. also the case of Embaros, who, after promising to sacrifice his daughter to Artemis on condition that his family should become hereditary priests of the goddess, concealed the maiden in the temple and sacrificed a she-goat dressed in her garments instead (Pausanias the lexicographer *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 331, 25 ff., *Append. prov.* 2. 54, Soud. s.v. *Ἐμβάρως ἐλευ*: see further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3226 f., J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2482, and on the substitution of goats for human victims Frazer *Golden Bough*³: The Dying God p. 166 n. 1, *ib.*³: Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 249).

are commonly believed to represent that deity¹. *Denarii* issued by L. Caesius *c.* 91 B.C. have as their obverse type the head and shoulders of a young god, who is brandishing a thunderbolt of three tines (fig. 525)². A bolt of this form might be popularly viewed as a bundle of arrows; and a youthful archer would inevitably be taken for Apollo³. *Denarii* of C. Licinius Macer *c.* 85 B.C. repeat the type⁴. About the same date other



Fig. 525.

and more obviously Apolline renderings of the head are found on coins of M'. Fonteius (figs. 526⁵, 527⁶). That this too was



Fig. 526.



Fig. 527.

intended for a young head of Jupiter is clear from the thunderbolt added beneath it. But the god wears a bay-wreath, not a mere fillet; and that trait, if original, would give a further reason for the confusion of Vediovis with Apollo⁷. We cannot,

¹ This is the opinion expressed by E. Babelon, P. Gardner, H. Grueber, and numismatists in general. It is called in question by H. Jordan in the *Commentationes philologicae in honorem Theodori Mommseni* Berolini 1877 p. 365, Preller—Jordan *Röm. Myth.*³ i. 264 n. 3, H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1885 i. 2. 116 n. 118, A. Klügmann in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1878 xxxvi. 106 f.

² Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 281 f. fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 290 pl. 94, 10, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 200 Münzt. 3, 4. I figure a specimen in my collection. The reverse has the two Lares *Praestites* seated on a rock with a dog between them (P. Gardner in W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 351 f., cp. p. 101 n. 1).

³ The monogram is not, however, a ligature of ΔP for Apollo (T. Mommsen *Histoire de la monnaie romaine* Paris 1870 ii. 370, Babelon *loc. cit.*), but a compendium of the word Roma (G. B. Zannoni *Reale Galleria di Firenze illustrata* Florence 1817 iv. 3. 176, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 200, A. Klügmann *loc. cit.*, H. Montagu in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1895 xv. 162, P. Gardner *loc. cit.*, H. Grueber in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 322 n. 2).

⁴ Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 132 f. fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 320 pl. 38, 8. The reverse has Minerva in a galloping quadriga.

⁵ Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 505 ff. no. 11 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 323 pl. 38, 13, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 200 Münzt. 3, 5—6. I illustrate a specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

⁶ Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 505 ff. nos. 9 f. figs., cp. nos. 12 f. figs., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 322 f. pl. 38, 11 f., cp. p. 323 pl. 38, 14 and fig. I illustrate a specimen in my collection.

⁷ Yet another reason for the mistake was the goat at Vediovis' side. On the relations of the animal to the Greek Apollon see L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1869

however, put much faith in the accuracy of the die-sinker; for he varies loose locks (fig. 526) with archaistic ringlets (fig. 527). The reverse of Fönteius' coins shows Cupid riding on a goat¹. This subject, which is fairly frequent in Hellenistic art², seems to have arisen within the Dionysiac circle³. The *thyrsos* beneath the goat likewise confirms our impression that the Romans, under the all-pervading influence of Greece, had come to regard Vediovis as a sort of Dionysos. The former was to Iupiter what the latter was to Zeus.

Indeed few facts in the religious history of the Mediterranean peoples are more striking than the vitality displayed by this belief in the re-born Zeus or Dionysos. A bronze medallion of Antoninus Pius (fig. 528)⁴ has the infant god riding his goat to an altar, which stands beneath a tree and is adorned with festoons and an eagle in relief. A coin of Gallienus in base silver⁵ and coins of his son Saloninus in



Fig. 528.

p. 100 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 833 n. 1, p. 1243 n. 2, p. 1246 n. 5, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 254 f., 309.

I take this opportunity of figuring a well-preserved specimen, now in my collection, of the Laconian tetradrachm with obv. head of King Areus? (309—265 B.C.), rev. the cult-stature of Apollon at Amyklai (fig. 529): cp. *Head Coins of the Ancients* p. 79 pl. 43, 27, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Nom. Comm. Paus.* ii. 59 pl. N, 16, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 121 pl. 24, 1, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 178 pl. 15, 28, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 6—8 *Münztaf.* 1, 14—16, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 43, *Montagu Sale Catalogue* 1896 i. 55 no. 414 pl. 6 = 1897 ii. 30 no. 215 pl. 3, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 434 fig. 238.



Fig. 529.

¹ Not 'Le Génie ailé d'Apollon Vejovis' (Babelon), nor 'der Genius des Vejovis' (Overbeck), nor even 'Infant winged Genius' (Grueber), but just a commonplace Cupid.

² To the examples collected by L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1863 p. 155 n. 3, *ib.* 1869 p. 88 n. 6, cp. *ib.* 1873 p. 84 n. 1, add a second relief in the Louvre (Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 192 fig. 162 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 80 no. 1) and a wall-painting in the house of the Vettii at Pompeii (Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 35 Text p. 46 Eroses fighting on goat-back).

³ See e.g. L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 pp. 20, 26 n. 4, *ib.* 1863 p. 154 f., *ib.* 1869 p. 55 ff.

⁴ Gnechci *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 16 nos. 60 f. pl. 50, 4, Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 68 fig., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² ii. 379 f. no. 1132 fig.

⁵ Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 876, Suppl. iii. 154, Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*² vii. 120, 398, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² v. 381 n. 380. Other coins of Gallienus in base silver show an infant suckled by a goat (Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 1325, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² v. 416 no. 781 PIET·SAECVLI; Rasche *ib.* PIETAS SAECVLI). A medallion of Gallienus and Salonina struck in gold (Gnechci *Medagl. Rom.* i. 8 no. 1 pl. 3, 7) and silver (*ib.*

gold¹ and base silver (fig. 530)², to be dated not long after the year 253 A.D. when the former assumed the title of Augustus and the latter that of Caesar, show the same infant with the legend *Iovi crescenti*, 'to the growing Jupiter.' A bronze medallion of Saloninus (fig. 531)³ has a similar design inscribed *Iovi exorienti*,



Fig. 530.



Fig. 531.

'to the rising Jupiter,'—an inscription which suggests that the young prince was viewed as a sun-god. The general significance of these designs, a fond hope that the prince in question would inaugurate a new and brighter age, is illustrated by a relief near the hippodrome on the Appian road⁴. The child seated on the goat is flanked by two standing figures—Sol with torches and Mercurius with a horn of plenty. The monument is dedicated 'to the Good Hope of Augustus⁵'.

Sometimes the babe on whom such hopes centred⁶ is definitely characterised as Dionysos. Small bronze coins bearing a

i. 54 no. 1 pl. 27, 8, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² v. 492 no. 9) or billon (Kubitschek *Röm. Medaillons Wien* p. 18 no. 162 pl. 10) has an infant suckled by a goat, while a second infant (who?) is seen between the forelegs of the same goat: in front, an eagle; above, a tree and the legend PIETAS FALERI (= *valeri* for *Valeriana*); beneath in the exergue, a thunderbolt.

¹ Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 876 f., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² v. 519 no. 25.

² Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 877, Suppl. iii. 154, Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*² vii. 422, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 200 f. Münztaf. 3, 7, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² v. 520 nos. 26—28, 29 fig., 30—32. I figure a specimen in my collection.

³ Gneocchi *Medagl. Rom.* iii. 61 no. 4, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 201 Münztaf. 3, 8, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² v. 520 f. no. 33 fig.

⁴ Gruter *Inscr. ant. tot. orb. Rom.* iii. 1075 no. 1 with pl. after Boissard *Antiqq.* iv. 138 ('in via Appia, non procul ab Hippodromo castrensi') BONAE·SPEI | AVG·VOT | PP TR, Preller—Jordan *Röm. Myth.*³ ii. 254 n. 2, cp. Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*² p. 330 n. 1. I have not reproduced the plate, as Boissard's illustrations are notoriously unreliable.

⁵ Cp. also a coin of Gallienus in base silver, which shows the infant seated on a goat with the legend LAETIT·TEMP (Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² v. 384 no. 421).

⁶ The case is somewhat different with Hadrian's favourite Antinoos, who was represented most frequently as a Dionysos (see e.g. C. v. Levezow *Ueber den Antinoos dargestellt in den Kunstdenkmälern des Alterthums* Berlin 1808 pls. 7, 8, 9, 10 and the list of statues, busts, and coins by K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2441).

child's head wreathed in vine-leaves and grapes (fig. 532) are referred by H. Cohen¹ to M. Annii Verus, the infant son of M. Aurelius and the younger Faustina². This little fellow died in 169 A.D. after an operation at Praeneste, when only seven years of age. His death occurred during the celebration of the games of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The emperor would not interrupt them, but had statues decreed to the boy, a golden bust of him carried in procession at the *ludi CIRCENSES*, and his name inserted in the chant of the Salii³. With him, or with some other young hopeful of the imperial house, we may connect a remarkable bust of *rosso antico*, now at Berlin (fig. 533, 1—3)⁴. It is the portrait of a child represented as the young Dionysos wearing a garland of ivy and ivy-berries blended with vine-leaves and grapes. Attached to the child's occiput there is the head of a calf—an interesting reminder that, despite all the associations of Greek tragedy⁵, Dionysos was still regarded from time to time as no goat but a bull⁶.



Fig. 532.

¹ Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² viii. 270 no. 31 'Buste d'un enfant à droite, couronné de pampre et les épaules couvertes de raisins. (Annius Vérus?),' cp. *ib.* no. 30 'Buste d'enfant à droite voilé et couronné de roseaux. (Annius Vérus?).' I figure a specimen in my collection.

² On other coins of M. Annii Verus see Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*² vii. 82—87. The brothers Commodus and Verus were identified with the Kabeiros of Syros, and their heads appear on coins inscribed *KABIPΩN · CYPIΩN* (*id. ib.*, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc.* p. 125 f. pl. 28, 7 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 211, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 492).

³ *Iul. Capit. v. M. Ant. philos.* 21. 3—5.

⁴ *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 61 no. 134 fig., E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1851 ix. 371—373 pl. 33, Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* v. 39, E. Thraemer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1151, A. W. Curtius *Das Stiersymbol des Dionysos* Köln 1892 p. 18 fig. 16.

Height 0·26^m. Restored: neck and chest, nose, chin, both lips, large parts of the ears, grapes over the right cheek, two leafy sprays over the brow; also the muzzle and right eye of the calf. The red marble was doubtless chosen as appropriate to the god of wine.

⁵ *Supra* p. 665 ff.

⁶ The bull-connexion had in fact never been wholly dropped (F. T. Welcker in the *Mon. d. Inst.* vi—vii pl. 6, 1—3, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1857 xxix. 153—160, *id. Alt. Denkm.* v. 36—39 pl. 2, E. Thraemer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1149—1151, A. W. Curtius *op. cit. passim*). Even at Athens the bull figured in the festivals of the god. At the City Dionysia in 334/3 B.C. oxen were sacrificed and their hides sold (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 741 A, a 16 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 620 a 16 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 824 i 16 f.); later a bull was taken in procession by the *épheboi* and sacrificed *év τῷ λεπῷ* (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 471, 13 c. 112/1? B.C.; *ib.* no. 469, 15 110/9? B.C.; *ib.* no. 466, 14 c. 100? B.C.; *ib.* no. 467, 17 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 521, 17 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 610, 17 f. 100/99 B.C.; *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 468, 11 f. 94/93 B.C.). At the Dionysia in the Peiraieus too in 334/3 B.C. oxen were sacrificed and their hides sold (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 741 A, a 6 f., Dittenberger



Fig. 533.

xxii. Animals sacrificed to Zeus.

'Down to the close of Greek religion,' says Dr Farnell¹, 'the animal-sacrifices were the chief part of the ritual of Zeus.' And

*Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 620 a 6 f., Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 824 i 6 f.); and later a bull was paraded by the *éphēboi* and sacrificed to Dionysos (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 469, 13 f. 110/9? B.C.; *ib.* no. 467, 16 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 521, 16 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 610, 16 f. 100/99 B.C.; *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 468, 10 f. 94/3 B.C.).

¹ Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 101.

the victims slain for him were, as a rule, either rams¹ or more often oxen². We are not here concerned to detail the sacrificial rites, but merely to ask why these beasts rather than others³ were chosen for the sacrifice. It is of course easy to reply that rams and oxen were the costliest victims that a pastoral or cattle-breeding people could offer. No doubt that was a consideration which, at least in classical times, partly determined the choice⁴. Nevertheless our prolonged investigation into the ram-cults and bull-cults of antiquity has led us to conclude that the ultimate reason why both ram and bull were associated with sky-gods in general and with Zeus in particular lay in the fact that these animals possessed to an exceptional degree *Zeugungskraft* or fertilising force⁵. It would therefore probably be truer to say that bulls and rams were sacrificed to Zeus because, according to the belief of early days, the gift of so much virility increased his power to fertilise and bless. If so, it would appear that the

¹ *Supra* pp. 39, 348, 407 ff., 416 f., 420 ff., 422 ff., Aristoph. *av.* 568.

² *Il.* 2. 402 ff., 7. 314 ff., 8. 236 ff., 11. 772 ff., 15. 372 ff., 22. 170 ff., *Od.* 13. 24 ff., 22. 334 ff., Hes. *theog.* 535 ff., Dem. *in Mid.* 53, Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 214, 12 ff., *alib.* Cp. the Διὸς βοῦς at Miletos (*infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) i), the oxen sacrificed to Zeus Πολιεὺς and to Zeus Μάχανεύς in Kos (*ib.*), the βοῦφόνια at Athens (*infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) ii), and the epithet of Zeus *Hekatómbaios* (*supra* p. 545 n. 2).

Both a bull and a ram figured in the rites of Zeus *Sostopolis* at Magnesia on the Maiandros (O. Kern *Inscripfen von Magnesia am Mäander* Berlin 1900 p. 82 no. 98, *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1894 ix Arch. Anz. p. 78 ff., Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* 2 no. 553, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 23 ff.). Cp. also the *taurobolium* and *criobolium* of Kybele and Attis (G. E. Marindin in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 762 f., E. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1718 f., H. Hepding *Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult* Gieszen 1903 p. 199 ff.), who was identified with the Phrygian Zeus (*supra* p. 399 n. 3). In view of my subsequent contention that Poseidon was originally a specialised form of Zeus, it is to be noticed that his favourite victims were 'bulls and rams' (*Od.* 1. 25, cp. *Il.* 2. 550 of Erechtheus) or 'a ram and a bull and a boar that mates with swine' (*Od.* 11. 131, 23. 278).

³ A goat was sacrificed to Zeus *Askratos* at Halikarnassos (*infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) i) and probably at Pedasa (*ib.*). The same sacrifice is presumably implied by the cult-title of Zeus *Aigophagos* (*et. mag.* p. 27, 51 f. Αἰγοφάγος· ὁ Ζεὺς, ὡς παρὰ Νικάνδρῳ ἐν Θηρακοῖς (Meineke cj. Θηβαῖκοῖς)), as L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pétr.* 1869 p. 116 surmised, if not also by the myth of Amaltheia. A she-goat was slain for Vediovis (*supra* p. 711). But the *flamen Dialis* might not touch nor even mention a she-goat (Gell. 10. 15. 12). And in general cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 7. 21 si caper caedatur Iovi, quem patri solemne est Libero Mercurioque mactari, ...quid facinoris in hoc erit?...ego...audire desidero...quid applicitum Iuppiter ad tauri habeat sanguinem, ut ei debeat immolari, non debeat Mercurio, Libero? aut natura quae capri est, ut his rursus adcommoda, Iovialibus conveniens sacrificiis non sit?

A young pig was sacrificed to Zeus *Bouleus* at Mykonos (*supra* p. 668), a porker to Zeus *Eubouleus* at Delos (*supra* p. 669 n. 2).

On the sacrifice of horses to Iupiter *Menzana* see *supra* p. 180 n. 5.

⁴ See e.g. Alkiphr. *ep.* 3. 35 cited *infra* ch. ii § 9 (h).

⁵ *Supra* pp. 429 f., 634 f.

primitive conception of the Hellenic Zeus was closely analogous to that of the Vedic Dyaus¹.

¹ A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 22 says of Dyaus: "The only essential feature of the personification in the RV. is in fact his paternity. In a few passages Dyaus is called a bull (1, 160²; 5, 36⁵) that bellows (5, 58⁶). Here we have a touch of theriomorphism inasmuch as he is conceived as a roaring animal that fertilizes the earth." My friend Prof. E. J. Rapson has most kindly supplied me (October 12, 1907) with the following translation of, and commentary on, the passages in question:—

"Rig-Veda 1. 160. 3. "To Heaven and Earth."

*Sa vahnih pitrah pitroh pavitravan
punati dhīro bhuvanāni māyavā:
dhenum ca pṛṣṇim vṛṣabham suretasam
vīśvāhā śukraṃ payo asya duḥṣata.*

"The swift-comer, the son of these two parents, the purifier,
the wise one, purifieth (or enlighteneth) the worlds through his power;
From the speckled cow and from the bull rich in seed
he milketh ever his gleaming fluid."

Dyaus, the Heaven, is the bull rich in seed: and Pṛthivī, the Earth, is the speckled cow. The son of Heaven and Earth is the Sun-god. The gleaming fluid is the rain. R.V. v. 36. 5. "To Indra."

*Vṛṣā tvā vṛṣaṇam vardhatu Dyaus:
vṛṣā vṛṣābhyaṃ vahase haribhyaṃ.
Sa no vṛṣā vṛṣarathah susīpra
vṛṣakrato vṛṣā vajrin bhare dhah.*

"May the bull, the Heaven, cherish thee, the bull:
As a bull thou drivest with thy two mighty (bull-like) horses.
Do thou the bull, with bulls in thy chariot, O fair-lipped one,
O thou who hast the strength of a bull, do thou, O god of the thunderbolt, as a bull
give us (booty) in the battle."

There is a constant play here on the two meanings of *vṛṣan* = (1) a mighty one, (2) a bull; and it is difficult to know which meaning to select in each case. I have translated it by "bull" in every case, except in reference to the two horses, where it must mean "mighty" or "like a bull."

R V. v. 58. 6. "To the Maruts."

*Yat prāyāsiṣṭa pṛṣatībhīr aśvair
vīḷupavubhīr, Maruto, rathebhīh,
kṣodhanta āpo, vipate tvānāny.
Avosriyo vṛṣabhah krandatu Dyauch.*

"When ye go forth with speckled deer for your steeds,
in chariots with strong wheels, O ye Maruts,
the waters raise themselves, and the floods well forth;
Then let the Heaven, the tawny bull, thunder."

The words for "bull," viz. *vṛṣan* and *vṛṣabha*, are probably derived from the root *vṛ* = "to water," from which the ordinary word for "rain" *varṣā* comes. A secondary meaning is "to impregnate," and this is the meaning which underlies that of *vṛṣan*, which always has the idea of "male." The word is so constantly used when the idea of masculine strength is intended, that it is not easy to know when, as applied to deities, it has or has not the further specific idea of "bull." It is applied to gods, in this general sense, almost indiscriminately—to Agni, Indra, the Maruts and to Soma for instance.

I should scarcely have thought that Dyaus was ever conceived by the Vedic poets as

(h) The Sun as a Bronze Man.

i. Talos in Crete.

We pass next from the theriomorphic to the anthropomorphic conception of the sun. The transition is best seen in the case of the Cretan Talos. His name, according to Hesychios, denoted 'the Sun'¹; and he was commonly described as a bronze man². Apollodoros, however, to whom we owe the most detailed account of him, writes: 'He was a man of bronze, but others describe him as a bull.'³ Talos, therefore, 'the Sun,' being regarded sometimes as a bull, more often as a man, fittingly illustrates the aforesaid transition of ideas.

Talos belonged to the bronze generation⁴, or was given by Hephaistos to Minos⁵, or was made by Hephaistos and given by Zeus to Europe⁶. He had a single vein extending from his neck to his ankles: the vein was closed at its end by a bronze nail thrust through it⁷. Thrice a day this bronze man ran round the island of Crete as its guardian⁸. When the Argonauts wished to put in there, Talos observed them and flung stones at them⁹. But he was slain by the guile of Medeia, who drove him mad, some said, by her potions, while others maintained that she promised to make him immortal and then pulled out his nail so that all the ichor flowed forth from him and he died. A

a bull. All that these passages seem to indicate is that the Heaven impregnates the earth with its rain like a bull, and that it thunders like a bull roaring.

I cannot find any other passages in which Dyaus is likened to a bull. I should have thought that the simile was applied much more often to many other deities.

So far as I know, neither Dyaus nor any other Vedic divinity is ever represented as a ram.'

[E. J. R.]

¹ Hesych. Ταλῶς· ὁ ἥλιος.

² Spenser in *The Faery Queen* naturally makes Sir Artegall's Talus an 'iron man' armed with an 'iron flail.'

³ Apollod. 1. 9. 26 δὲ ἦν χαλκοῦς ἀνὴρ, οἱ δὲ ταῦρον αὐτὸν λέγουσιν. So R. Wagner prints the passage: A. Westermann and the older editors prefer Ταῦρον as a proper name.

⁴ Apollod. 1. 9. 26, Ap. Rhod. 4. 1639 f. with schol. *ad loc.*, Zenob. 5. 85.

⁵ Apollod. 1. 9. 26, Simonid. *ap.* schol. Plat. *rep.* 337 A, Zenob. 5. 85.

⁶ Schol. *Od.* 20. 302, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1893, 9, Ap. Rhod. 4. 1641.

⁷ Apollod. 1. 9. 26, Zenob. 5. 85. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1643 ff. makes it an artery (σύριγξ αἱματόεσσα) closed by a fine skin or membrane (ὕμην).

⁸ Apollod. 1. 9. 26, Zenob. 5. 85. Plat. *Minos* 320 c, in a rationalising passage, makes Talos go the round of the Cretan villages thrice a year with Minos' laws inscribed on tablets of bronze.

⁹ Apollod. 1. 9. 26 (τοῖς λίθοις), Ap. Rhod. 4. 1637 (πέτρας), 1656 (πετράων), 1675 f. (βαρείας...λάγγας).

third version said that he was shot in the ankle by Poias and thus came by his death¹.

Silver coins of Phaistos, struck in the fourth century B.C., exhibit Talos as a youthful winged figure striding towards the left; he hurls one stone with his right hand and holds another ready in his left: the reverse type is that of a charging bull (fig. 534)². Third-century bronze coins of the same town show Talos in a similar attitude hurrying to the right (fig. 535)³: the reverse here has a hound on the scent, probably the golden hound of Crete⁴. The resemblance of the stone-throwing Talos on coins



Fig. 534.



Fig. 535.



Fig. 536.

of Phaistos to the stone-throwing Minotaur on coins of Knossos (fig. 536)⁵ is noticeable: the stones in either case may represent

¹ Apollod. i. 9. 26, Zenob. 5. 85. According to Ap. Rhod. 4. 1651 ff., Medeia fixed her evil glance on Talos, who in trying to raise his heavy stones struck his ankle with a projecting fragment of rock. Thereupon his ichor ran out like so much molten lead, and he fell. Cp. Agatharchid. *de mari Erythr.* i. 7 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 115 Müller) *ap. Phot. bibl.* p. 443 b 24 f. τὴν δὲ ζωὴν μόνον τῶν ἐμφύχων τοῦτον ἐν τῷ σφυρῷ κεκτῆσθαι.

² J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 264 pl. 24, 24, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete* etc. p. 64 pl. 15, 11, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 194 pl. 42, 15, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 163 f. pl. 9, 9, *Head Coins of the Ancients* p. 47 pl. 23, 40. The legend at the feet of Talos in the specimen figured is Τ Α Λ Ω (N). The Hunterian specimen extends the left hand without a stone, and reads Ν Ω Λ Α Τ.

³ J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 264 f. pl. 24, 25 f., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete* etc. p. 64 pl. 16, 6, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 194. Fig. 535 is from a specimen in my collection.

⁴ A golden hound was set by Rhea to guard the goat that nurtured the infant Zeus in Crete. Zeus afterwards made the goat immortal, and its image is still to be seen among the stars. The hound he caused to guard the holy place (τὸ ἱερόν) in Crete. Pandareos, son of Merope, stole it, brought it to Sipylos, and gave it to Tantalos, son of Zeus and Pluto, to keep. After a time Pandareos returned to Sipylos and claimed the hound; but Tantalos denied that he had received it. Zeus punished Pandareos for his theft by turning him into a stone where he stood, Tantalos for his perjury by hurling him down and placing Sipylos above his head (*Ant. Lib.* 36). Variants are collected and discussed by W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1502 ff. See also P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1899 xxiii. 584 ff. and Miss J. E. Harrison in her *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 299 f., who illustrate the myth from a black-figured *pyxis* at Athens. Probably the golden hound was a theriomorphic epiphany akin to the golden lamb of Atreus (*supra* p. 405 ff.), the golden ram of Athamas (*supra* p. 414 ff.), the dazzling bull of Minos (*supra* p. 467 ff.).

⁵ J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 65 ff. pl. 4, 23—32, *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1331 ff. pl. 62, 21—23, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete* etc. p. 18 pl. 4, 7—9, *Head Coins of the Ancients* p. 11 pl. 6, 32.

720



Kratér from Ruvo

720²



of Talos.

See page 721.

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suns, or stars¹, and such may have been the original significance of the stone-throwing *Kyklops* of the eastern² and western islands³, though other interpretations are equally possible and perhaps more probable.

A magnificent *kratér* with volute-handles, found in the nekropolis of Ruvo and now in the Jatta collection, represents the death of Talos (pl. xli)⁴. This vase is of special interest to the mythologist, because it appears to depict a form of the story not otherwise preserved to us⁵. The Argonauts have reached the Cretan coast. Zetes and Kalais are seen still on board their vessel. But a landing-ladder is put out from her stern across the water, which is suggested by a dolphin. A young hero, shrinking back in alarm from the central scene, springs up the ladder. On shore Kastor and Polydeukes with their horses have already pursued and caught Talos⁶. Polydeukes grasps him, still attempting to run, within the circle of Medeia's magic spells. Medeia herself stands by, fixing her victim with her evil eye, while she holds a basket full of potent herbs and mutters her fatal formula. Talos, overcome despite himself, falls backwards in a swoon. The nymph Krete flees in terror at the death of her watcher. Above her, in the background, appear Poseidon and Amphitrite as patrons of Argonautic prowess.

ii. Talos in Sardinia.

Two different versions of the Talos-myth are attributed to Simonides. On the one hand, he is said to have stated that Talos before coming to Crete had dwelt in Sardinia, where he had destroyed many persons, that they grinned when they died, and that this was the origin of the expression a 'sardonic smile.'⁷ On the other hand, Simonides is reported to have affirmed that, when the Sardinians tried to cross the sea to Minos, Talos, being wrought of bronze by Hephaistos, sprang into a fire, clasped them to his breast, and slew them gaping⁸. Both versions agree in connecting Talos with the Sardinians.

The matter was sufficiently sensational to appeal to the imagination of the later Greeks, and further information is forthcoming.

¹ See W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2751 n., and cp. *supra* pp. 493 ff., 524.

² *Supra* p. 309 n. 5.

³ *Supra* pp. 313 n. 8, 320, 323.

⁴ Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 196—203 pls. 38—39.

⁵ See O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 784.

⁶ Talos, unlike the other figures in this exceedingly skilful composition, is painted white, the modelling of his body being indicated in a thin brown varnish. The artist has thus sought to mark him out from the rest as the man of bronze.

⁷ Zenob. 5. 85.

⁸ Soud. *s.v.* Σαρδάνιος γέλως, cp. schol. Plat. *rep.* 337 A.

Demon the antiquarian *c.* 300 B.C. stated in a work *On Proverbs* that the Sardinians, being settlers from Carthage, on certain days sacrificed to Kronos not only the handsomest of their captives but also such of their own elders as were above seventy years of age, and that the victims were expected to welcome their fate and even to laugh, tears being regarded as base and cowardly¹. Timaios the Sicilian historian, a contemporary of Demon, informs us that the Sardinians, when their parents grow old, bring them to the burial-ground, seat them on the edge of pits dug for the purpose, and push them over, every man beating his own father with a stick of cleft wood; further, that the old folk went to their death with cheerfulness and laughter—a fact which occasioned the Greek *dictum*². Lastly, Kleitarchos, who is probably to be identified with Kleitarchos of Aigina, author of a famous geographical Lexicon (first century A.D. or earlier)³, has yet another explanation of the proverb to offer. He states that the Phoenicians in general and the Carthaginians in particular worshipped Kronos. If they desired to obtain of him some great favour, they vowed to present him with one of their children. A bronze statue of the god stood with its hands held out over a bronze furnace. In the embrace of this statue the child perished miserably. The flame licked its body, shrivelled its limbs, and distorted its mouth into a ghastly semblance of a smile⁴.

The foregoing accounts show that the Cretan sun-god Talos was by some authorities at least identified with the Phoenician Kronos⁵, a form of the Semitic deity El⁶. The identification was perhaps facilitated by another point of resemblance. Talos was sometimes regarded as a bull⁷; and his likeness to the Minotaur⁸ suggests that in process of time he had become bull-headed, a god half theriomorphic, half anthropomorphic. But the

¹ Demon *frag.* 11 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 380 Müller) *ap. schol. Od.* 20. 302 and *ap. Zenob.* 5. 85 (see O. Crusius *Anal. critic. ad paroemiogr. Gr.* p. 148, *Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 125 f. Nauck²), Soud. *s.v.* Σαρδάνιος γέλωσ, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Σαρδόνιος γέλωσ.

² Timaios *frag.* 28 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 199 Müller) *ap. Tzetz. ad Lyk. Al.* 796 and *schol. Loukian. asin.* 24. Also Timaios *frag.* 29 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 199 Müller) *ap. Soud.* *s.v.* Σαρδάνιος γέλωσ, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Σαρδόνιος γέλωσ, *schol. Od.* 20. 302, *Eustath. in Od.* p. 1893, 15 ff., *Zenob.* 5. 85, *schol. Plat. rep.* 337 A, *cp. Tzetz. ad Hes. o.d.* 59 (Io. Tzetzes here states that the parents were killed with clubs and stones, and then flung from a rocky height).

³ W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*³ München 1898 p. 801.

⁴ Kleitarchos *ap. schol. Plat. rep.* 337 A, Soud. *s.v.* Σαρδάνιος γέλωσ, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Σαρδόνιος γέλωσ. *Cp. Plat. Minos* 315 B—C, *Diod.* 13. 86, 20. 14, *Plout. de superst.* 13, *Iust.* 18. 6. 11 f. *Diod.* 20. 14 says that the hands of the bronze statue sloped downwards so that the child placed upon them rolled off into a chasm full of fire.

⁵ M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1504 f.

⁶ E. Meyer *ib.* i. 1228.

⁷ *Supra* p. 719.

⁸ *Supra* p. 720.

Talos and the Bronze-founder's Art 723

Phoenician deity too, according to Rabbinic authors¹, had a bovine head². Identification was almost inevitable. Indeed, the two gods may have been strictly analogous.

Excavations now in progress beneath the ancient church of Santa Anastasia in southern Sardinia are said to have disclosed a large subterranean temple with a spring locally known as the 'Fount of Pains,' sacred images, and mural decorations. 'These indicate the worship of an earth goddess, and the prevalence of bull worship, as there is a ponderous statue in basalt of a male divinity with a bull head³.' Was this the Sardinian Talos?

iii. Talos and the Bronze-founder's Art.

It is tempting to explain certain traits in the myth of Talos along rationalistic lines. The single vein running from his neck to his ankles and closed by a bronze nail thrust through it⁴ vividly recalls the *cire perdue* method of hollow-casting in bronze, a process which was invented at a remote period and lasted throughout the whole history of Greek art⁵. A rough model in clay or plaster,

¹ M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1505 f. draws attention to the old Rabbinic descriptions of Moloch, adduced by J. Selden *De dis Syris syntagmata* ii Londini 1617 p. 78 ff. and T. Godwin *Moses and Aaron*: etc.⁹ London 1667 p. 144 ff., e.g. Selden *op. cit.* p. 78 f. 'Doctissimi Pauli Fagij verba de Moloch, in Chaldaem paraphrasin Leuitici scripta, & ex Ebraeorum etiam monumentis sumpta, adiungam. Fuit autem Moloch Imago concaua habens septem conclauia. vuum aperiebatur simile offerendae: aliud Turturibus: tertium Oui: Quartum Arieti: Quintum Vitulo: Sextum Boui: Qui verd volebat offerre filium huic aperiebatur septimum cubiculum, et facies huius idoli erat vt facies vituli. Manus planè dispositae ad recipiendum ab astantibus. et saltabant interim quo pueri (leg. puer) in idolo successo igne cremabatur, percutientes tympana ne pueri eiulatus audiretur. Habuit hæc ille ex libro Ialkut cuius autor R. Simeon. Sed ex ære conflata imaginem esse ait R. Salomon ad Ieremiæ VII.''

F. X. Kortleitner *De polytheismo universo* Oeniponte 1908 p. 221 n. 3 quotes from the Midrash Echa rabbathi on *Lam.* i. 9: 'Molochi imago non constituta erat intra urbem Hierosolymorum, quemadmodum idola alia, sed extra urbem. Imago fuit in intimo septem cavearum; facies eius fuit instar vituli et manus protensae, quemadmodum qui aliquid accepturus est palmam protendit. Incendebant eam; sacerdotes (כַּמְרִין) infantem sumebant et manibus Molochi imponebant, ubi animam efflabat.' *Id. ib.* p. 222 n. 3, p. 225 e, p. 227 f β compares similar descriptions from other Rabbinic sources.

² Cp. Cypriote statuettes with bovine heads (L. P. di Cesnola *Cyprus: its ancient cities, tombs, and temples* London 1877 p. 51 fig., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iii. 606 fig. 414 = Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* pp. 243, 423 pl. 94, 22).

³ So the correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle* for Sept. 10, 1913, writing from Milan on Sept. 9. He also mentions 'the uncovering at Ortu Commidu, alongside some ancient copper mines, of a great prehistoric foundry with all the furnaces for smelting, and moulds for casting, just as they were abandoned...in the transition period between the ages of stone and of bronze.' I am indebted for this newspaper-cutting to the kind offices of Mr F. M. Cornford and Miss Harrison.

⁴ *Supra* p. 719.

⁵ H. Blümner *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* Leipzig 1887 iv. 285 ff., 325 ff., *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 607 ff.,

carefully coated with wax, was worked over by the sculptor till it satisfied him in every detail. The whole was next covered with a thin slip of finely powdered pottery. This was followed by other layers of increasing thickness and coarseness, which together formed the outer mould. The shapeless mass was then exposed to a furnace or lowered into a pit with a fire at the bottom. The wax, thus melted, ran out through triangular holes left in the exterior. Bronze rods half an inch square in section had been stuck through the wax into the core and allowed to project like pins in a pin-cushion. These now held the outer and inner moulds apart. Into the intervening space molten bronze was poured through a hole in each foot of the statue, thereby taking the place of the wax driven out by the heat. Ultimately, when the figure had cooled, the outer mould was chipped away, the ends of the bronze rods cut smooth, the core extracted through the soles of the feet, and the whole surface touched up with minute accuracy. In this technical process the hollow from head to heel, pierced with its bronze pins, was—one may suspect—the fact underlying the fiction of Talos' vein¹. Perhaps, too, the fiery pit into which the mould was lowered explains Simonides' statement that Talos sprang into a fire².

iv. Talos at Athens.

The Athenian myth of Talos likewise connected him with various advances in the mechanical arts. It was he who invented the compasses³ and the potter's wheel⁴. And we may note in

Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1019 n. 17, Forrer *Reallex.* p. 115, H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. xxxi ff.

¹ For an example of nail-driving as an artistic, if not a mythological, *motif* cp. a Graeco-Phoenician *stámmos* from Tamassos (c. s. ix B.C.) in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* i. 2. 140 f. no. C 736 pl. 5), which at the time of its discovery in 1885 showed more completely than it does now a scene that has been interpreted as Perseus slaying the Gorgon (H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases loc. cit.* after S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1887 i. 76 ff. with figs., ii. 89 ff.=*Chroniques d'Orient* i. 294 ff., 360 ff., cp. C. Clermont-Ganneau *Recueil d'Archéologie orientale* Paris 1888 i. 172—175 'Pégase et ΠΗΓΝΥΜΙ') or less probably as Herakles and Iolaos killing the Hydra (Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* pp. 36 f., 62 ff., 445 figs. 37 f., 71, 75 pl. 137, 6).

² *Supra* p. 721.

³ Diod. 4. 76, Ov. *met.* 8. 247 ff., Hyg. *fab.* 274, Serv. in Verg. *georg.* 1. 143, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 6. 14, Sidon. *epist.* 4. 3. 5.

⁴ Diod. 4. 76. Kritias *ap.* Athen. 28 c states that Athens first discovered pottery, 'the offspring of wheel and earth and oven.' Others ascribed the invention of the wheel to Hyperbios of Corinth (Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 198, schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 27) or Anacharsis the Scythian (Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 198, Diog. Laert. 1. 105, Soud. s.v. 'Ανάχαρσις). The potter's wheel had reached Crete by the 'Early Minoan ii' period (see e.g. E. Reisinger *Kretische Vasenmalerei vom Kamares-bis zum Palast-stil* Leipzig—Berlin 1912 p. 2 f.). It is mentioned first in *Il.* 18. 600 f.

passing that a contrivance for describing a circle or a machine consisting in a rotatory disk was naturally attributed to one who, as the Sun¹, was himself at once circular and discoidal. Indeed, if we may trust an obscure passage in Servius, Talos was actually called by some *Circinus* or 'Compass².' Less obvious is his recorded discovery of the saw. Latin authors state that he copied the back-bone of a fish³. But the Greeks declared that he got the idea from the jaw of a snake⁴. Be that as it may, the Athenian Talos stood in some relation to the snake. For Daidalos, his mother's brother, jealous of a younger rival, pushed him over the edge of the Akropolis, and later, when asked whom he was burying, replied 'A snake⁵.' Possibly, too, though this is the merest conjecture, his relation to the snake is responsible for the fact that he was often called *Kálos*, not *Tálos*⁶. The change,

¹ *Supra* p. 719.

² Interp. Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 6. 14 ab illo et usum serrae de osse interiore piscis et circinum propter nomen suum <inventum>. nam aliquibus Circinus putatus est appellatus, vel ut quidam organum inventum tradunt. We have already compared Talos son of Daidalos' sister with Daidalion the 'hawk' (*supra* p. 342 f.). I would suggest that Talos too according to one version of his story was transformed into a hawk (*κίρκος*, cp. modern Greek *κιρκινέζι* 'kestrel') and that this was the reason why certain persons attributed to him the invention of the compasses (*circinus*). As to the saw, ancient Babylonian art likewise shows the sun-god with saw in hand (I. Löw in *Or. Lit.* 1912 xv. 305 f., *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1913 xvii. 534).

³ *Ov. met.* 8. 244 ff., *Hyg. fab.* 274, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 6. 14, *Isid. orig.* 19. 19. 9.

⁴ *Apollod.* 3. 15. 9, *Diod.* 4. 76, *Tzetz. chil.* 1. 494 ff.

⁵ *Diod.* 4. 76 ἔφησεν ὄφιν καταχωννύειν. The words involve a joke: *καταχωννύω* is 'I bury beneath a mound of earth,' but *καταχωνεύω* is 'I pour molten metal into a mould,' a phrase appropriate to the *cire perdue* process described above; hence Daidalos' remark would suggest, not only 'I am burying a snake,' but also 'I am hollow-casting a snake,' 'I am applying to Talos the treatment that is peculiarly his own.' *Diod. ib.* says τὸν παῖδα ἐδολοφόνησε, cp. *Hellanic. frag.* 82 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 56 Müller) *ap. schol. Eur. Or.* 1648 ἀδελφιδούν τὸν Τάλων ἀποκτείναντος δολέοντι θανάτῳ. *Apollod.* 3. 15. 9 ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως βαλὼν τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς [Πέρδικος] υἱὸν Τάλω (so *Tzetz. chil.* 1. 492 f., *Ov. met.* 8. 250 f., Serv. in Verg. *georg.* 1. 143) is more precise. *Hyg. fab.* 39 *summo tecto deiecit* is not incompatible with the usual account. *Schol. Galean. Ov. Ibis* 498 (R. Ellis P. *Ovidii Nasonis Ibis* Oxford 1881 p. 86) *praecipitavit in mari* is a more substantial variant, cp. the death of Aigeus (K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 954 and D. G. Roberts in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1912 xxxii. 105 ff.).

The supposed representation of Daidalos and the dead Talos in a Pompeian wall-painting (Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 359 f. no. 1480, E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1850 viii. 177 ff. pl. 17, 1) is explained away by C. Robert in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2006.

⁶ *Schol. Soph. O. C.* 1320 τὸν Ταλαοῦ ὃν ἔνοιον διὰ τοῦ κ Καλαῶν προσαγορεύουσι καθάπερ Ἀριστάρχος ὁ Τεγεάτης καὶ Φιλοκλῆς ἱστοροῦσι, συγγραφέων δὲ Ἐκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος (*Aristarch. frag.* 5 Nauck², *Philokl. frag.* 3 Nauck², *Hekal. frag.* 361^a (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 627 Müller)). The form *Kálos* is used by Paus. 1. 21. 4, 1. 26. 4, *Soud. s.v.* Πέρδικος ἱερὸν, *Phot. lex. s.v.* Πέρδικος ἱερὸν (MS. Καλός), *Apostol.* 14. 17 (MSS. Κάλλως), perhaps also by *Hellanic. frag.* 82 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 375 Müller) *ap. schol. Eur. Or.* 1648, where the reading of *codd.* A. M. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Δαιδάλου δίκην καλοσοφίας (*T: κάλλος σοφίας*) περιαιγομένου ἀδελφιδούου ἀποκτείναντος was corrected by R. Holland

which is contrary to the known laws of phonetics, must be due to folk-etymology of some sort. Now in northern India a snake is, for superstitious reasons, habitually called a 'string' or a 'rope': for example, if a snake bites you, you should not mention its name, but remark 'A rope has touched me'!¹ If, therefore, Talos was in any sense a snake, he might be euphemistically called *kálos*, a 'rope.'

Latin authors narrate that, when Daidalos flung his nephew to the ground, the youth was in mid air changed by Athena into a partridge². In fact, they commonly call him *Perdix*, or 'Partridge,' not Talos³. The name was applied to him by the Greeks as early as the fifth century B.C.; for it occurs in a play of Sophokles⁴. According to a version preserved by the Greek lexicographers, Perdix was the mother of Talos or Kalos, who, when he was killed, hanged herself and was honoured at Athens with a sanctuary beside the Akropolis⁵. Since the grave of Talos⁶ or Kalos was on the way from the theatre to the Akropolis⁷, it is likely that the sanctuary and the grave were close together⁸. The myth of Talos transformed by Athena into a partridge was probably popular in Periclean Athens. For a curious historical echo of it has been detected by L. Mercklin⁹.

Die Sage von Daidalos und Ikaros (Abh. zu dem Ber. der Thomas-schule) Leipzig 1902 p. 21 into *Κάλω σοφίας περί αγωνιζόμενον* and* by O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1947 into *Κάλω σοφία περιγινόμενον*. Cp. Lact. Plac. *narr. fab.* 8. 3 Perdix Calai filius Atheniensis.

¹ Frazer *Golden Bough*² i. 456 f., *ib.*³ Taboo p. 401 f., cp. pp. 399 (Cherokee Indians), 400 (Arabs), 401 (Herero), 408 (Malays), 411 (Javanese).

² Ov. *met.* 8. 251 ff., Lact. Plac. *narr. fab.* 8. 3.

³ So Hyg. *fab.* 39, 244, 274, Serv. *in Verg. georg.* 1. 143, Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 6. 14, Sidon. *epist.* 4. 3. 5, Isid. *orig.* 19. 19. 9, Schol. Galean. and Phil. *in Ov. Ibis* 498, Lact. Plac. *narr. fab.* 8. 3, cp. Ov. *met.* 8. 237, 255. Fulgent. *myth.* 3. 2, Myth. Vat. 1. 232, 2. 130, 3. 7. 3 call him Perdica, Perdiccas, Perdicca, Perdix (?). The mother of Talos is Perdix in Apollod. 3. 15. 9 (R. Wagner, after Heyne, brackets the name as a gloss), Perdika in Apollod. *epit.* 3. 15. 9 and in Tzet. *chil.* 1. 493. The mother of Kalos is Perdix in Soud. *s.v.* Πέρδικος ἱερόν, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Πέρδικος ἱερόν, Apostol. 14. 17 (*supra* p. 725 n. 6).

⁴ Soph. *Camici frag.* 300 Nauck² *ap.* Athen. 388 F Σοφοκλῆς Καμικοῖς ὄρνιθος ἤλθ' ἐπώνυμος | πέρδικος ἐν κλεινοῖς Ἀθηναίων πάγοις, cp. Soud. and Phot. *lex.* and Apostol. *loc. cit. s.v.* Πέρδικος ἱερόν... Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ἐν Καμικοῖς (κωμικοῖς MSS.) τὸν ὑπὸ Δαιδάλου ἀναιρεθέντα Πέρδικα εἶναι τοῦνομα. In the Sophoclean verse S. Mekler *cj.* κλεινοῖσι Θησιδῶν, A. Nauck κλεινοῖσι Κερκσιδῶν.

⁵ Soud. and Phot. *lex. s.v.* Πέρδικος ἱερόν, cp. Apostol. 14. 17.

⁶ Loukian. *rise.* 42. The schol. *ad loc.* says: ὁ μὲν Τάλως ἦρος παλαιὸς ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει τεθαμμένος. ⁷ Paus. 1. 21. 4.

⁸ See O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1950, W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 282.

⁹ L. Mercklin 'Die Talos-Sage und das sardonische Lachen' in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences de St. Pétersbourg, Mémoires des savants étrangers* 1854 vii. 74 f.

During the erection of the Propylaea on the Akropolis the best of the workmen missed his footing and fell. When Perikles was discouraged by this accident, Athena appeared to him in a dream and prescribed a remedy, by means of which Perikles speedily cured the man. He commemorated the event by erecting on the Akropolis a bronze statue of *Hygieia* Athena, or 'Health' Athena, by the side of an already existing altar. So much we learn from Plutarch¹. Pliny completes the story, though with material differences throughout. A favourite slave of Perikles—he says—was building a temple on the Akropolis, when he fell from the top of the pediment. Athena showed herself to Perikles in a dream and prescribed the herb *perdicium*, the 'partridge-plant,' which in honour of herself was thenceforward known as *parthenium*, the 'Virgin's-plant.' Pliny adds that the portrait of this same slave was cast in bronze and served for the famous statue of the *splanchnóptes* or 'entrail-roaster².' Whatever the details of the occurrence may have been, it seems clear that the prescription of the 'partridge-plant' was due to a reminiscence of Talos' transformation into a partridge³.

But why this connection between Talos and a partridge? On bird-metamorphoses in general I have elsewhere said my say⁴. Here it must suffice to observe that the partridge in particular was notorious for its generative propensities⁵. Hence it was regarded as sacred to Aphrodite⁶. And the same reason will

¹ Plout. *v. Per.* 13. This statue can hardly be identified with that by the Athenian sculptor Pyrrhos, the base of which with its inscription (*Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 335 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 585) is still to be seen on the Akropolis immediately adjoining the S.E. angle-column of the Propylaea: see Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 277 ff., W. Judeich *op. cit.* p. 220 ff.

² Plin. *nat. hist.* 22. 43 f. The statue of the *splanchnóptes* was by Styppax of Kypros (Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 81): on existing copies see M. Mayer in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1893 viii. 218 ff. figs. 1—3 and pl. 4, and A. von Salis in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 352 ff. pl. 22.

³ Ov. *met.* 8. 236 ff. states that as a partridge he watched from a branching oak-tree Daidalos burying his son Ikaros. In 237 *garrula ramosa prospexit ab ilice perdix* (so the mss.) editors have taken offence at the notion of a partridge up a tree. An anonymous grammarian of the seventh century A.D. or later quotes the line thus: *garrula limoso prospicit elice perdix* (H. Keil *Grammatici Latini Lipsiae* 1868 v. 587). Hence R. Merkel prints *limoso...elice*, A. E. Housman *ej. lamoso...elice*. But see P. Burmann *ad loc.*

⁴ *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 385 ff.

⁵ Aristot. in the passages cited by H. Bonitz *Index Aristotelicus Berolini* 1870 p. 578 a, b *s.v.* *πέρδιξ*, Ail. *de nat. an.* 3. 5, 3. 16, 4. 1, 7. 19, 17. 15, Antigon. *hist. mir.* 81, Athen. 389 a ff., Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 101.

⁶ Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 64 p. 117, 20 ff. Wünsch. Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 35 *ἄθυμα δὲ ὁ πέρδιξ τῆς Διὸς καὶ Ἀθηναίης ὡς ἔστιν ἄλλοι λέγουσιν* would make it sacred to Artemis (or Selene: see W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 97 ff. and in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3171).

account for its association with Talos, who, as being the Sun¹, was essentially a fertilising power.

A remarkable variant of the Perdix story is preserved by the Latin mythographers². Perdix, the inventor of the saw, fell in love with his own mother Polykaste and pined away because of her. Fenestella, who wrote his *Annals* in the reign of Tiberius, commented on this myth³. According to him, Perdix was a hunter, who tired of the chase, especially as he observed that his young comrades Aktaion, Adonis, and Hippolytos all came to a bad end. He therefore abandoned his life as a hunter and devoted himself to agriculture. Hence he was said to have loved his mother, *i.e.* Mother Earth, and to have pined away, *i.e.* to have worn himself thin over her. Her name *Polykaste* might be spelled *Polykarpe* and rendered the 'Very Fruitful One.' As for the saw, that denoted the harsh tongue with which he abused his former occupation. Fenestella's rationalism is of course absurd. Nevertheless his account appears to contain elements that are far older than the rise of rationalism. Perdix, who loved Polykaste, variously identified with Mother Earth⁴ or the Mother of the gods⁵ or Diana⁶—Perdix, who is expressly compared with Aktaion, Adonis, and Hippolytos, an ill-fated trio—Perdix, who dreaded the dangers of a woodland life, is a figure ominously like the human favourite or partner of more than one ancient goddess. His love for Polykaste was, as Claudian says, inspired by herself⁷. And there is perhaps a special significance in the fact that her lover bore the name of a bird, of that bird which was 'the plaything of the daughter of Zeus and Leto⁸'.

v. Talos identified with Zeus.

Talos the 'Sun'⁹ was in Crete identified with Zeus. A Hesychian gloss explains the epithet *Talaiós* to mean 'Zeus

¹ *Supra* p. 719.

² Fulgent. *myth.* 3. 2, Myth. Vat. 1. 232, 2. 130, 3. 7. 3.

³ Fulgent. *myth.* 3. 2 Fenestella in *Archaicis* and Myth. Vat. 2. 130 Fenestella *Martialis* should, I think, be corrected into Fenestella in *Annalibus*. On Fenestella see M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*² München 1901 ii. 2. 201 ff. and G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 2177 ff.

⁴ Fulgent. *myth.* 3. 2, Myth. Vat. 1. 232, 2. 130, 3. 7. 3. Cp. the joint-cult of the earth-mother and Talos (?) in Sardinia (*supra* p. 723).

⁵ Myth. Vat. 2. 130.

⁶ Myth. Vat. 3. 7. 3 Perdicem quoque primo Dianae, deinde incesto matris suae amore dicunt intabuisse.

⁷ Claud. *epigr.* 19 *de Polykaste et Perdice* 3 f. pectore dum niveo puerum tenet anxia nutrix, | illicitos ignes iam fovet ipsa parens.

⁸ *Supra* p. 727 n. 6.

⁹ *Supra* p. 719.

in Crete¹. And that this gloss is trustworthy appears from more than one Cretan inscription. The inhabitants of Dreros in eastern Crete swore by a series of deities including Zeus *Tallaíos* and Helios to oppose the inhabitants of Lyttos². At Olous too, a town close to Dreros, there was a sanctuary of Zeus *Tallaíos*, where a decree inviting Knossos to arbitrate between Lato and Olous was set up³, as was also a decree in honour of a certain physician from the island of Kasos, who had helped the Olontians in time of plague⁴. Coins of Olous, struck in the latter part of



Fig. 537.

the fourth century B.C., have as their obverse type a head of Britomartis with fillet, bay-wreath, necklace and quiver, and as their reverse Zeus enthroned with an eagle on his right hand, a sceptre in his left (fig. 537)⁵. Perhaps the same deity was worshipped on Mount Ide; for a versified inscription, found near Retímo at the foot of the mountain, records a dedication to

¹ Hesych. Ταλαιός· ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ.

² Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 463, 14 ff. ὁμνῶ | τὴν Ἐστίαν τὴν | ἐμ πρυτανείῳ | καὶ τὸν Δῆνα τὸν | Ἀγοραῖον καὶ τὸν Δῆνα τὸν Ταλλαῖον | καὶ τὸν Ἀπέλλων(α) | τὸν Δελφίνιον καὶ | τὴν Ἀθαναίαν τὴν | Πηλιοῦχον καὶ τὸν Ἀπέλλωνα τὸμ Πόλιον | καὶ τὴν Λατοῦν καὶ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν καὶ τὸν Ἄρεα | καὶ τὴν Ἀφορ(δ)ίταν καὶ | τὸν Ἐρμῆν καὶ τὸν Ἄλιον | καὶ τὴν Βριτόμαρ(τι)ν | καὶ τὸμ Φοῖνικα καὶ τὴν Ἀμφι[ώ]ναν καὶ τὰ γ Γᾶν | καὶ τὸν Οὐρανὸν καὶ | ἦρωας καὶ ἦρώσσας | καὶ κράνας καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ θεοὺς πάντας | καὶ πάσας κ.τ.λ.=Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 23 A 14 ff.=Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 239 ff. no. 4952 A 14 ff. The inscription was found in 1854 on a hill called Xῶρες near the church of St Antonios. It appears to date from a period shortly before 220 B.C. (L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1699).

³ Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 514, 14 ἐν δὲ Ὀλόντι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ Ζηνὸς τῷ Ταλλαίω=Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 28, 14. The inscription, which belongs to the second half of the second century B.C., was found at Delos (T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 290 ff. pl. 6 bis).

⁴ J. Demargne in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 227 no. 1 C 57 ff. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸδε | τὸ ψάφισμα ἐς τὸ | ἱερὸν τοῦ Σηνὸς (sic) | τοῦ Ταλλαίου κα[ι] | ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀσκλη[πι]οῦ. The inscription was found in 1898 on the site of a Byzantine church at Olous, and this portion of it dates perhaps from s. ii B.C.

⁵ J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 249 pl. 22, 23 (cp. *ib.* 250 pl. 22, 27), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete* etc. p. 60 pl. 14, 12, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 192, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 472.

Hermes 'established on the Tallaian heights¹, and we know that the mountain as a whole was famous for its cult of Zeus².

As in Crete, so in Lakonia, Talos the sun-god came to be identified with Zeus. Mount *Taletón*, the culminating peak of Mount Taygeton³, was sacred to the Sun, and amongst the sacrifices there offered to him were horses⁴. It would appear, therefore, that the Laconians too had a sun-god akin to Talos. But Zeus, whose worship spread by degrees over most of the mountain-tops of Greece⁵, naturally usurped the position of this ancient deity. A Spartan inscription links together Zeus *Taletitas* with Auxesia and Damoia⁶. These were goddesses of fertility⁷, and Zeus *Taletitas* was presumably coupled with them as being himself a fertilising force⁸.

§ 7. Zeus in relation to the Moon.

(a) Direct identifications of Zeus with the Moon.

We have next to enquire whether Zeus as god of the bright sky stood in any special relation to the second of the celestial luminaries. Direct identification, indeed, of Zeus with the moon is hardly to be looked for on Greek soil; for the Greeks, at least in historical times⁹, consistently regarded the moon as feminine. It is only in quasi-Greek districts that Zeus appears as a

¹ *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2569 = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* i. 237 οὔρεσι Ταλλαίοισιν (Ταλλείοισιν Gruter) ἰδρυμένε κ.τ.λ.

² *Append. B Crete.*

³ *Supra* p. 155 f.

⁴ Paus. 3. 20. 4, *supra* p. 180 f.

⁵ *Append. B.*

⁶ Lebas-Foucart *Peloponnèse* no. 162 k add. ...Δι Ταλετίτα [καὶ Αὐξή]σια καὶ Δαμοία κ.τ.λ. = *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 363, 1 f. See *Append. B Lakonike.*

⁷ F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2616 ff.

⁸ *Supra* p. 291. H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 130f. regarded Zeus Ταλλαῖος, Ταλετίτας, as gods corresponding with the goddesses Θαλλώ, Θαλα, and ingeniously compared the Zeus Θαλῆς of Aquileia (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 2337 an altar found at Aquileia in 1830 Δι Θαλῆ | Τι Ἰούλιος | Μαμερτίνοσ | ἀνέθηκεν). For the interchange of T and Θ he referred to H. L. Ahrens *De dialecto Dorica* Gottingae 1843 p. 83 (Hesych. τρίσιος· θέρουσ. Κρήτες) and quoted Πύτιος, Πότιος, for Πύθιος (E. Boisacq *Les dialectes doriens* Paris 1891 p. 92, who adds ἀῖτω for αῖθις in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 261 ff. no. 4991 iv 3 f.).

⁹ H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 36 conjectures that the Greeks originally regarded the moon as masculine, not feminine, as Μῆν, not Μῆνη, and that the early conception survived in the Phrygian moon-god Μῆν (on whom see W. Drexler's exhaustive article in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2687—2770). This, in view of the fact that the moon is masculine in the Celtic, Germanic, Slavonic, Old Indian, and Zend languages, appears to me not improbable.

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moon-god¹. Thus silver tetradrachms of Antiochos viii Grypos, king of Syria, struck between 121 and 96 B.C., have as their reverse



Fig. 538.



Fig. 539.

type Zeus standing erect within a laurel-wreath: he holds a long sceptre in his left hand, an eight-rayed star, possibly meant for the planet Jupiter, in his right; and on or over his head is the crescent moon (figs. 538, 539)².



Fig. 540.

¹ E. Siecke *Drachenkämpfe* Leipzig 1907 pp. 28—42 attempts to show that Zeus was originally a moon-god: but his arguments (the birth of Zeus on various mountains; his grave in Crete; his epithets Πανόπτης, Ἀστέριος, Χρυσάωρ, Ἐπόπιος, Λύκαιος; his connexion with the double-axe, 'horns of consecration,' eagle, goat, ram; his fight with the Titans; his temporary defeat by Typhoeus, etc.) are far from convincing.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 88f. pl. 24, 1, *Hunter Cat.*

When Zeus appears in conjunction with the god Men, as in a relief from Maionia (fig. 540)¹, he is to be regarded as a solar rather than a lunar deity².

(b) Zeus paired with Selene (*Pandîa* ?).

Again, Zeus was paired with Selene, the Greek moon-goddess, as the father of Nemea³, while Dionysos, according to some authorities, was an offspring of the same union⁴. As early as the seventh century B.C. Alkman described certain flowers or plants,

Which the Dew, daughter of Zeus
And of Selana nutureth⁵.

A late Homeric hymn to Selene tells how—

With her once Kronos' son in love lay locked,
And she conceiving bare the maid Pandeie
Of form conspicuous mid the immortal gods⁶.

Hyginus too records the same genealogy⁷; and Photios states that the Attic festival Pandia derived its name either from Pandia the daughter of Selene or from Pandion the eponym of the tribe Pandionis, adding that it was held for Zeus⁸. It seems probable that, as W. H. Roscher conjectured⁹, Pandia was originally an epithet of Selene rather than her daughter¹⁰; but that the festival Pandia was *ab initio* connected with this Selene *Pandîa* is far from clear.

Coins iii. 99 f. pl. 69, 18 f., Head *Hist. num.*² p. 770. Fig. 538 is from a specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum, fig. 539 from one in my collection.

¹ *Supra* p. 642 n. 2 and n. 4.

² *Supra* p. 193 fig. 142.

³ *Supra* p. 456 n. 5.

⁴ *Supra* p. 457 n. 5.

⁵ Alkm. *frag.* 48 Bergk⁴ οἷα Διὸς θυγάτηρ | ἔρσα τρέφει καὶ Σελάνας [δίας] ἀρ. Plout. *symp.* 3. 10. 3, *quaest. nat.* 24, *de fac. in orb. lun.* 25, cp. Macrob. *Sat.* 7. 16. 31, Natalis Comes *mytholog.* 3. 17 p. 131 ed. Patav. quidam tradiderunt Lunam fuisse uxorem Aeris, e quo Korem filium conceperit ac genuerit, ut ait Alkman melicus in eo carmine: ἀγρωστῶν δρόσος ἀΐξει μὲν μήνης τε καὶ ἀέρος υἱός. Natalis appears to be quoting, not Alkm. *frag.* 48, but a corrupt hexameter passage, which I would restore as follows: ἀγρωστῶν | ἀΐξει μὲν Μήνης τε καὶ Ἀέρος υἱός (glossed by δρόσος).

⁶ *H. Sel.* 14 ff.

⁷ *Hyg. fab. praef.* p. 12, 9 Schmidt ex Iove et Luna Pandia (pandion cod. F, corr. Schmidt).

⁸ Phot. *lex. s.v.* Πάνδια. So et. *mag.* p. 651, 21 f., Bekker *anecd.* i. 292, 10 f.

⁹ W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 100 and in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3172.

¹⁰ Ulpian *in Dem. in Mid.* 8 Πάνδια δὲ οἱ μὲν Διὸς ἑορτὴν ἐνόμισαν· οἱ δὲ Πανδίαν τὴν Σελήνην νομίζουσιν κ.τ.λ., schol. Dem. *in Mid.* 8 Πάνδια καὶ Πάντια, ἢ Σελήνη, κ.τ.λ. Maximus *περὶ καταρχῶν* 22, 146, 208, 281 uses the expression πανδία Σελήνη, *ib.* 463 πανδία Σεληναίη, and *ib.* 123, 294, 327, 393 even πανδία alone of the moon. Orph. *frag.* 11, 8 Abel has πανδία Σεληναίη.

The festival itself was held on or about Elaphebolion 14, and appears to have formed the concluding act of the City Dionysia¹. Its name is an extension of *Dîa*² comparable, as Pollux saw, with *Panathénaia*, *Paniónia*, *Panaitólia*, *Pamboiótia*³. Mommsen⁴ and Gruppe⁵ suppose with much probability that the Pandia was celebrated at the time of the full moon. Now this was the time when, according to Greek belief, dew fell thickest; and dew, as we shall prove further on, was one means by which the sky-father impregnated the earth-mother⁶. Hence I venture to infer that the Pandia stood for the union of Zeus with Semele, whose name gave rise to frequent confusion with Selene⁷. On this showing the City Dionysia began with dithyramb, which commemorated the union of Zeus with Semele⁸, and ended with the Pandia, which brought that union to effect. Ten lunar months later, at the Lenaia, Dionysos son of Zeus by Semele was born⁹.

(c) Zeus paired with Io, Pasiphae, Europe.

When Zeus came to be paired with Selene, we may fairly assume that it was as a sun-god with a moon-goddess¹⁰. The same conception has been thought to underlie several of the love-tales told about him and already in part discussed by us. Scholars ancient and modern have regarded Io as the moon¹¹. And, if so, her lover might well be the sun. Pasiphae and her bull almost certainly represented moon and sun in some sense¹². Europe, borne off from Phoinike to Crete by Zeus, apparently by Zeus *Astérios*¹³, is another case in point. For Zeus *Astérios* seems

¹ Dem. in *Mid.* 8 f., Harpokr. and Soud. s.v. *Πάνθεια*. See further Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 432 f., 441, 445, 448, G. E. Marindin in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 333, E. Cahen in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 313.

² E. Cahen *loc. cit.* Another extension of *Δία* is to be seen in *Δάδια*: the simple form occurs as the name of a festival in Teos (*supra* p. 423 n. 2).

³ Poll. 6. 163. We need not suppose with E. Pfuhl *De Atheniensium pompis sacris* Berolini 1900 p. 30 n. 188 (after U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf *Aus Kydathen* Berlin 1880 p. 133) that the *Pándia* implies an early unification of several Zeus-cults. The prefix may be due to false analogy, *Pándia* signifying no more than a glorified *Dia*.

⁴ Mommsen *op. cit.* p. 432 n. 4, p. 441.

⁵ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 938 n. 1.

⁶ *Infra* ch. ii § 8 (a). Note that at Miletos on Artemision 14 (= Elaphebolion 14) an offering was made *Δι Νούτω*, i.e. *Norw*, cp. Zeus *'Térios* (A. Rehm in *Milet* iii. 162 ff., 400 f.).

⁷ *Supra* p. 457 n. 5.

⁸ *Supra* p. 681 f.

⁹ *Supra* p. 669 ff.

¹⁰ M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 79 ff., W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 pp. 8 f., 100 f. and in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3172 f.

¹¹ *Supra* p. 454 ff.

¹² *Supra* pp. 521 ff., 543 ff.

¹³ *Supra* p. 545 ff.

to have been—as C. Robert¹, M. Mayer², and W. H. Roscher³ surmised—not merely a star-god but also a sun-god⁴.

I must, however, insist even at the risk of some repetition that not one of these myths affords any valid proof that Zeus was *ab origine* a sun-god, consort of a moon-goddess. We cannot assert that Io was from the outset lunar⁵. Pasiphae may have been⁶: but it is probable that her bull, though solar, was not originally Zeus⁷. Finally, Europe as the moon⁸ and Zeus *Astérios* as the sun⁹ were Phoenician rather than Hellenic divinities.

(d) Zeus paired with Antiope.

In the Homeric *Nekyia*¹⁰ Odysseus interviews the shades of fourteen famous heroines, the list being probably the work of an interpolator who belonged to the Hesiodic school¹¹. We are concerned with but one of his characters—

Antiope,
Asopos' daughter, who in truth did boast
That she had lain even in the arms of Zeus.
Two sons she bare him, Zethos and Amphion,
Who founded first Thebes of the seven gates
And walled the same, since not without a wall
Could they, though stout of heart, hold wide-wayed Thebes¹².

In Euripides' *Antiope* Amphion says to his mother :

Nay, I cannot think
That Zeus in secret copying the shape
Of an evil-doer so drew nigh thy couch
As might a man¹³.

¹ Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 136.

² M. Mayer *op. cit.* p. 80.

³ W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 pp. 132, 138 f. and in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3193.

⁴ *Supra* pp. 493 ff., 545 ff.

⁵ *Supra* p. 454 ff.

⁶ *Supra* p. 521 ff.

⁷ *Supra* pp. 522 f., 543 ff.

⁸ *Supra* pp. 524, 538 ff.

⁹ *Supra* p. 545 f.

¹⁰ *Od.* 11. 225 ff.

¹¹ G. C. W. Warr *The Greek Epic* London 1895 p. 194 n., M. Croiset *Histoire de la littérature grecque*² Paris 1896 i. 279 f., W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*⁵ München 1908 i. 56.

¹² *Od.* 11. 260 ff. The passage is paraphrased and expanded in Ap. Rhod. 1. 735—741.

¹³ Eur. *Antiope* frag. 210 Nauck² *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 401, 5 ff. Stählin (= Euseb. *praep. ev.* 13. 13. 38) οὐκ οὐκ ἐτι κατὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑποληπτέον. οὐδὲ γὰρ λάθρα δοκῶ | φωτὸς (θηρὸς cj. F. W. Schmidt) κακούργου σχήματ' ἐκμμούμενον | σοὶ Ζῆν' (cj. Valckenaer, τήνδε codd., τήνδ' Euseb.) ἐς εὐνήν ὡς περ ἀνθρώπων μολεῖν, Ἀμφίων λέγει τῆ' Ἀντιόπη.

But Hermes as *deus ex machina* declares :

Thou who didst tell her that it was a man,
Not Zeus, who wooed and won her—howsoe'er
She might deny it—what couldst thou have said
More hateful to the heart of Zeus himself,
Dishonouring thus the very bride of Zeus?¹

The story was localised in Boiotia² and took on a Dionysiac colouring, Antiope being represented as a Maenad³ and Zeus as a Satyr⁴. It is not, however, till Roman times that Zeus is



Fig. 541.

¹ Eur. *Antiope frag. ultimum* 44 ff. (H. v. Arnim *Supplementum Euripideum* Bonn 1913 p. 21) καὶ πρ[ω]τα μὲν σφ[ι] δὴ λέγων ἀνθρώπος [ὡς] | οὐ Ζεὺς ἐμείχθη, [κἀν ἀ]παρνήσαι τάδε— | τί δῆτ' ἂν εἶπες, Ζεὺς δ' μᾶλλον ἤχθετο, | Ἰηνὸς μολοῦσα <ν> λέ[κτρον ὦδ'] ἀ[τι]μάσας;

² Antiope was born at Hyria (Hes. *frag.* 78 Flach *ap. schol. Il.* 2. 496, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 265, 5, Herodian. i. 300 Lentz, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ὑρία). Her father Nykteus founded Hysia (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ὑσία, Eur. *Antiope frag.* 180 Nauck² *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* Ὑσία, cp. Herodian. i. 300 Lentz, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ὑρία).

³ On Antiope as a Maenad in literature (Paus. 9. 17. 6) and art (O. Jahn in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1853 xi. 65—105 pl. 56 f.) consult L. Weniger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2411 f. She is described as a daughter of Lykourgos in the *Kypria ap. Prokl. chrestom.* 1 (p. 18 Kinkel) τὴν Λυκούργου (Λύκου c. Heyne) θυγατέρα. See further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 67 f., who remarks (p. 68 n. 1) that late writers regard Lykourgos, the persecutor of Dionysos' nurses (*Il.* 6. 130 ff.), as a Boeotian (Firm. Mat. 6. 6 ff., Kephallion *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 628 Müller) *ap.* Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 42 ff. Dindorf, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 21).

⁴ Rufin. *recogn.* 10. 22, Dracont. 2. 24 (*Poet. Lat. min.* v. 129 Baehrens), Nonn. *Dion.* 7. 123, 16. 242 f., Myth. Vat. i. 204, Lact. Plac. *in Stat. Theb.* 9. 423, schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1090. K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2497 holds that of the various monuments, which have been supposed to represent Zeus as a Satyr with Antiope, two only have been rightly so interpreted, *viz.* an Etruscan mirror of late style in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 116 no. 697 = Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 83 f. pl. 81, 2) and a scene from the great mosaic on the Piazza della Vittoria at Palermo

actually said to have played the Satyr. The language of Euripides suggests rather that he courted Antiope in the shape of an ordinary man. A variant tradition, which emphasises the analogy between Europe and Antiope, makes the latter, like the former, wooed by Zeus in the form of a bull¹. The bull-connexion reappears in a curious local custom recorded by Pausanias². When the sun was in the sign of Taurus, the Thebans used to mount guard over the tomb of Zethos and Amphion; for if the men of Tithorea in Phokis could at that time steal some of the earth from the said tomb and place it on the tomb of Antiope, then the district of Tithorea would be fertile, that of Thebes barren. The belief was based on the following passage in the oracles of Bakis:

But whensoever to Zethos and Amphion
One of Tithorea's men upon the ground
Shall pour a soothing gift of drink and prayer,
What time the Bull is warmed by the great sun's might,
Then verily beware of no small bane
That comes upon the city; for the fruits
Dwindle within it, when men take of the earth
And to the tomb of Phokos bear the same.

The tomb of Phokos comes in as something of a surprise. We are expecting the tomb of Antiope. So Pausanias hastens to explain:

'The wife of Lykos (Dirke) honoured Dionysos above all the gods. Therefore, when she suffered what tradition says she suffered (being bound to a bull by Zethos and Amphion and thus dragged to death), Dionysos was wroth with Antiope. Are not the gods jealous of excessive vengeance? Antiope, men say, went mad and bereft of her wits wandered through Hellas till Phokos, son of Ornytion, son of Sisypchos, fell in with her, healed and married her. Hence Antiope and Phokos share the same grave³.'

(J. Overbeck in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1873 pp. 98, 105 pl. 2). But the Etruscan mirror is, both by H. B. Walters and by E. Gerhard (*loc. cit.*), interpreted of Zeus with Semele: it represents Zeus with a crown of lilies (*supra* p. 622 f.) on his head and a thunderbolt in his left hand embracing a winged female figure in the presence of a tailed Satyr with two flutes. The mosaic, which may be dated c. 100 A.D., shows (fig. 541) Antiope as a Bacchant with *thyrsos* and timbrel advancing towards the left, while Zeus as an ithyphallic Satyr with *lagobólón* and fawn-skin (?) follows her from the right. Finally it may be noted that a painting by Correggio in the Louvre (no. 1118) gives Zeus as a young Satyr discovering Antiope asleep with Eros beside her (H. Schulze *Das weibliche Schönheitsideal in der Malerei* Jena 1912 p. 243 fig. 108, Reinach *Rép. Peintures* iii. 754).

¹ Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Theb.* 7. 189 (Antiope) a Lyco expulsa per Dircen a Iove in taurum verso compressa est, unde Zethus et Amphion feruntur progeniti.

² Paus. 9. 17. 4 ff., cp. Steph. Byz. s.v. *Tithopala*, who wrongly places the grave of Zethos and Amphion at Tithorea: on its real position see Frazer *Pausanias* v. 57.

³ Paus. 9. 17. 6. At a place in Daulis called Tronis there was a shrine of the hero

Note that the constellation Taurus is here connected with Antiope as it was connected with Europe¹. Moreover, the analogy subsisting between Europe and Antiope is strengthened rather than weakened by the marriage of the heroine with the local chief: Phokos, the eponym of Phokis, is to Antiope what Asterion, the Cretan king, was to Europe².

At Sikyon the story of Antiope was told in a different way³. Antiope, daughter of Nykteus the regent of Thebes, or, as rumour had it, daughter of the river Asopos, was famous for her beauty. Epopeus, son of Aloeus and grandson of Helios⁴, who had come from Thessaly and succeeded Korax as king of Aigialeia (later called Sikyon), was enamoured of Antiope and carried her off. Thereupon the Thebans sallied out to fight him. In the fight both Nykteus and Epopeus were wounded, but Epopeus won. Nykteus was carried back to Thebes, and on his death-bed entrusted the regency to his brother Lykos. Epopeus also died of his hurt, and was succeeded by Lamedon, who surrendered Antiope. As she went to Thebes by way of Eleutherai, she gave birth by the road-side—an incident commemorated by the old epic poet Asios:

Antiope the daughter of Asopos,
Deep-eddying stream, bare Zethos and Amphion
The god-like, having met in wedlock's bond
Zeus and Epopeus shepherd of the folk⁵.

The statement that Epopeus, king of Sikyon, and Zeus had the same wife is very noteworthy and, when compared with similar cases, points to the belief that the king was an embodiment of Zeus⁶. If so, his name was appropriate. *Ερροπεύς*, 'He who sees all,' is but another form⁷ of the cult-titles *Ερρόπτες*⁸, *Ερρόσιος*⁹, *Ερροπεύς*¹⁰ borne by Zeus.

Founder (*ἡρώων ἦρω Ἀρχηγέτου*), who was variously identified with Xanthippos, a famous warrior, and with Phokos, son of Ornytion, son of Sisyphos. The Phokians daily honoured him: they brought victims, poured the blood through a hole into the grave, and consumed the flesh on the spot (Paus. 10. 4. 10).

¹ *Supra* p. 549.

² *Supra* p. 546 f.

³ Paus. 2. 6. 1 ff. Variants in Apollod. 3. 5. 5, schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1090, Hyg. *fab.* 8, Myth. Vat. 1. 204; Hyg. *fab.* 7; Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Theb.* 4. 570, schol. Pers. *sat.* 1. 77, Myth. Vat. 1. 97, 2. 74 Antiope...ab *Εραρφο*...stuprata; *Κύπρια ap.* Prokl. *chrestom.* 1 (p. 18 Kinkel); Soud. *s.v.* Ἀντιόπη.

⁴ Paus. 2. 1. 1.

⁵ Asios *frag.* 1 Kinkel *ap.* Paus. 2. 6. 4.

⁶ Cp. *supra* p. 247 f.

⁷ J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 245.

⁸ Hesych. Ἐρρόπτης· Ζεὺς· ἡ θεατῆς, Corn. *theol.* 9 p. 9, 20 Lang, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 f. Διὸς...ἐφόρον, ἐπόπτου, ἐπηκόου.

⁹ Hesych. Ἐρρόσιος· Ζεὺς· καὶ Ἀπόλλων, Kallim. *h. Zeus* 82, Ap. Rhod. 2. 1125 Ζηρὸς Ἐρροσίου, 1135, Orph. *Arg.* 1035.

¹⁰ Hesych. Ἐρροπεύης· Ζεὺς παρὰ Ἀθηναίους.

Antiope's tomb at Tithorea was honoured when the sun was in the sign of Taurus¹. Her partner at Sikyon was Epopeus, grandson of Helios². Late authorities made her a priestess of Helios; Antiope, therefore, stood in some relation to the sun. At Corinth that relation was much more clearly recognised. For Eumelos in his *Korinthiaka* (c. 740 B.C.) represented Antiope, not as wife of Helios' grandson, but as wife of Helios himself and by him mother of Aloclus and Aietes³. Diophanes too, better known as Diophantos, in his *Pontic History* (s. iii B.C.)⁴ made Antiope the mother of Aietes⁵, and therefore presumably the wife of Helios. Now if Antiope as early as the eighth century B.C. was the wife of the Sun, it is reasonable to conjecture that she was a moon-goddess. *Antiope*, as O. Gruppe observes⁷, is 'a highly suitable appellation for the full moon, which at its rising exactly faces the sun.' For *Antiope* means 'She who looks over against, or faces' another; and Nonnos, for example, speaks of—

Phaethon balancing the full-faced (*antôpis*) Moon⁸.

W. H. Roscher⁹, who regards Antiope as a 'moon-heroine' or 'hypostasis of the moon-goddess,' draws attention to her rape by Epopeus¹⁰, to her vaunted beauty¹¹, to the names of her father *Nykteus*, the 'Nocturnal,' and his brother *Lykos*, the 'Light'¹², to

¹ *Supra* p. 736 f.

² *Supra* p. 737.

³ Kephallion *frag.*, 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 628 Müller) *ap.* Io, MalaL *chron.* 2 p. 45 Dindorf.

⁴ Eumel. *frag.*, 2 Kinkel *ap.* schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 74, Tzetzi. in Lyk. *Al.* 174, schol. Eur. *Med. arg.* 3 (iv. 4 Dindorf).

⁵ E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1051.

⁶ Diophantos *frag.*, 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 397 Müller) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 242, Eudok. *viol.* 37. In both sources the MSS. read *Διοφάνης*, not *Διόφαντος*.

⁷ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 938 n. 2.

⁸ Nonn. *Dion.* 6. 76 και φαέθων ισόμορος ἔην ἀντῶπιδι Μήνη.

⁹ W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 140 ff. and in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3197 ff.

¹⁰ Paus. 2. 6. 2 ἀρπάξει. *Kypria* *ap.* Prokl. *chrestom.* 1 (p. 18 Kinkel) φθείρας, etc. On the rape of the moon-goddess see W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 78 and in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3159.

¹¹ Ap. Rhod. 4. 1088 εὐώπιδα (cp. Pind. *Ol.* 10. 90 f. εὐώπιδος [Σελάνας, etc.]), Paus. 2. 6. 1, Prop. 1. 4. 5, Hyg. *fab.* 8. On the beauty of the moon-goddess see W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 22 f., *id.* *Nachträge zu meiner Schrift über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1895 p. 21, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3131 f. or, better still, see herself.

¹² *Supra* p. 65. S. Eitrem 'Die göttlichen Zwillinge bei den Griechen' in the *Skrifter udgivet af Videnskabselskabet i Christiania* 1902 ii Historisk-filosofisk Klasse Christiania 1903 no. 2 argues that in the original form of the myth the twins Amphion and Zethos carried off Antiope and her sister Dirke from a second pair of twins, Lykos (Lykourgos, Epopeus) and Nykteus. The myth would thus be parallel to that of the rape

her connexion with Orion¹, and to her sons Amphion and Zethos, the Theban Dioskouroi, whom he believes to be the morning-star and the evening-star respectively². This last point is of very doubtful validity³. Nevertheless the analogy of Kastor and Polydeukes⁴ predisposes us to think that Amphion and Zethos may have stood in some relation to stars. And, if so, we obtain another illustration of the old-world idea that the stars are the offspring of a union between the sun and the moon⁵.

(e) Zeus and his Lunar Consorts.

On a review of the foregoing evidence it appears that Zeus, who consorted with Selene at Nemea, was elsewhere paired with a variety of heroines—Antiope, Europe, Io—who sooner or later acquired lunar characteristics. That the moon should be called by half a dozen different names in Greece, is by no means surprising—witness its numerous appellations among the peasants of modern France⁶ and Germany⁷. Observe, too, that the Greek names for the moon—Pasiphae, Pandia (?), and the like—were of local, not universal, significance. Athens spoke of Pandia; Argos and Euboia, of Io; Knossos and Thalamai, of Pasiphae. Nor was there, except perhaps with Antiope and Europe in Phokis and Boiotia, any overlapping of lunar names:

What has been said will suffice to establish a further and a more important contention. The combination of a solar Zeus with a lunar consort is restricted to certain well-defined areas. It occurs in Crete and in the eastern half of central Greece, but hardly anywhere in the rest of the Greek area. This may be taken to show that Zeus was not essentially the husband of a lunar bride. His association with her savours rather of non-Hellenic influence.

One other feature of these myths deserves to be mentioned. There is in them a decided tendency towards representing Zeus as a bull and his partner as a cow. The bull Zeus mates with the cow Io⁸. Poseidon or Zeus sent, or, as later writers put it,

of the Leukippides by the sons of Aphareus and the Dioskouroi (Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 394 f.).

¹ Pind. *frag.* 73 Christ *ap.* Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 34, Strab. 404.

² Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 614 f.

³ *Infra* p. 771.

⁴ *Infra* p. 760 ff.

⁵ *Supra* p. 523 n. 6.

⁶ P. Sébillot *Le Folk-Lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 37 ff.

⁷ J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 701.

⁸ *Supra* p. 438 ff.

Zeus *was* the bull that had connexion with Pasiphae in her cow¹. Zeus sent, or, according to the usual version, Zeus *was* the bull that bore Europe away to Crete²; and she in her turn appears at Thebes as a cow marked on either flank with a white full moon³. Lastly, Antiope is said by the scholiast on Statius to have been driven out by Lykos owing to the designs of Dirke, and then to have been won by Zeus, who had transformed himself into a bull for the occasion⁴: there was thus a certain poetic justice about the vengeance that Antiope's sons wreaked upon Dirke, when they bound her to a bull⁵. It can hardly be doubted that these bull-and-cow myths hang together with the conception of the sun as a bull and the horned moon as a cow.

§ 8. Zeus in relation to the Stars.

Zeus as god of the bright sky was brought into various relations with the stars also, though these minor manifestations of his brightness did not often find definite expression in cult, literature, or art.

(a) Zeus *Astérios*, Zeus *Seirén*, Zeus *Oromásdes*.

Late authors attest the Gortynian cult of Zeus *Astérios*⁶, whose title may have meant originally 'god of all the Celestial Lights'⁷ but in the Hellenistic age would doubtless be understood as 'god of the Stars' only⁸, perhaps with special reference to the constellation Helike⁹.

Other indications connect Zeus with Seirios. Once, when the dog-star was scorching the island of Keos, Aristaios is said to have made a great altar for Zeus *Ikmaïos* and to have sacrificed on the mountains to Seirios and to Zeus¹⁰. The combination perhaps gave rise to a separate conception. Antimachos of Kolophon (c. 400 B.C.) 'called Zeus *Seirén* on account of the star¹¹.'

¹ *Supra* pp. 464 ff., 544.

² *Supra* pp. 524 ff., 544.

³ If I am right in my surmise *supra* p. 539 ff.

⁴ *Supra* p. 736 n. 1.

⁵ *Supra* p. 736. The tauriform Zeus perhaps acted as his own executioner.

⁶ *Supra* p. 545 ff. K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1786 argues from the existence of the hypostases Asterion and Asterios that the cult of Zeus *Astérios* was early. But see *supra* p. 547.

⁷ *Supra* p. 495.

⁸ *Supra* p. 547.

⁹ *Supra* p. 547 ff.

¹⁰ Ap. Rhod. 2. 516 ff. See further *infra* ch. ii § 8 (c).

¹¹ Antim. *frag.* 94 Kinkel *ap. et. mag.* p. 710, 30 f. ὁ δὲ Ἀντιμάχου σείρινα (Σειρήνα c).

Small copper coins of Kypros dating from the Ptolemaic period have as their obverse type a laureate head of Zeus, as their reverse Zeus standing with corn-ears in his right hand, a sceptre in his left, and a large star above his head (fig. 542)¹. In view of other Cypriote coppers, which connect the star with Aphrodite and her dove², we may venture to identify it with the planet Venus rather than with the planet Jupiter³.



Fig. 542.

Finally, stars played an important part in the cult of Zeus Oromásdes, the Hellenised Auramazda⁴, who was represented, like Men⁵

vir doctus in *Classical Journal* vii. 234, Σελπιον cj. Schellenberg) τὸν Δία ἐφη διὰ τὸ ἄστρον, cp. Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1709, 55 f. ἐν δὲ ἠητορικῶ λέξικῶ εἴρηται καὶ ταῦτα· Σελπίηδες, τὰ ἄστρον. See also U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff *Timotheos die Perser* Leipzig 1903 p. 44 and D. Mülder in *Philologus* 1906 lxxv. 217 f. cited by O. Höfer in *Roscher Lex. Myth.* iv. 601. *Supra* p. 299 n. 2.

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus p. lxxxi. I figure a specimen in my collection.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus p. lxxviii pl. 22, 8 and pl. 24, 16.

³ In the case of tetradrachms struck by Antiochos viii Grypos (*supra* p. 731 figs. 538, 539) I interpreted the star held by the god as the planet Jupiter. But the moon is so constantly associated with the evening-star in oriental art that it is at least equally possible to regard the star in question as the planet Venus.

⁴ *Supra* p. 10 n. 1. As to the name Auramazda my friend the Rev. Prof. J. H. Moulton in his *Early Religious Poetry of Persia* Cambridge 1911 p. 73 n. writes: 'Hommel's discovery of the name *Assara Mazas* in an Assyrian record of the middle of the second millennium B.C. takes the divine name back to the Aryan period, or to Iranian antiquity prior to the change of *s* to *h*....The Boghazkeui *Indra* and *Násatia* might be Indó-Aryan, but *Mazas* cannot. It seems probable therefore that *Mazdâh* was a cult epithet of a great *Ahura*—some would say the Vedic *Varuṇa*—long before Zarathushtra.' *Id. ib.* p. 56:...'Having thus discarded conceptions of Deity which failed to satisfy his spiritual sense, Zarathushtra proclaimed his own conceptions in their stead. One inherited name for God was good enough for him. *Ahura* in the Gâthâs already means "Lord," its etymological meaning "spiritual" having apparently died out before the division of the Aryans. Who or what was "the Lord"? His relation to Nature is wholly in accord with the Bible itself. "Who covereth Himself with light as with a garment" is almost a quotation from the Gâthâs. But his own nature is something higher yet. He is "the Wise" (*Mazdâh*), which seems specially to denote the "knowledge of good and evil," the unerring instinct that can distinguish between Truth and Falsehood, which for the Prophet were the most vital aspects of good and evil.' *Id. ib.* p. 57 f.: 'The elements of the combination *Ahura Mazdâh* in the Gâthâs are declined as separate words, arranged indifferently, and either word may be used alone. "The Wise Lord" will probably represent it to us better than "Ahura Mazdâh." It soon became fixed as a proper name. By the time of the great Darius, the first Zarathushtrian King of Persia (it would seem), the name has become a single word, Auramazda, with flexion only at the end.' See further J. H. Moulton *Early Zoroastrianism* London 1913 pp. 30 ff., 61, 90 ff., 106 ff., 422 ff., *alib.*

It is reasonable to suppose that the Hesychian gloss Μαζεύς· ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Φρυγίᾳ preserves in a Grecised form the cult-title *Mazdâh*.

⁵ A. M. Migliarini in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1843 xv. 392 f. pl. O, p 2, Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 135 no. 20 pl. 123, Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 141 nos. 3177 f. pl. 26, p. 197 nos. 4914—4917 pl. 35, W. Drexler in *Roscher Lex. Myth.* ii. 2692, 2745.

or Attis¹ or Mithras(?)², wearing a stellate tiara. We are unusually well informed about this deity, thanks to the systematic exploration of the Nemroud Dagh, an outlying spur of Mount Tauros in the region of the upper Euphrates. Here in 1881 the engineer K. Sester discovered a remarkable tumulus, which in 1882 and 1883 was investigated by two expeditionary parties, that of the Germans (O. Puchstein, K. Humann, F. von Luschan)³ and that of the Turks (Hamdy Bey, Osgan Effendi)⁴. Their results may be briefly resumed.

Antiochos i of Kommagene (69—38 B.C. or later), who in his inscriptions announces himself as 'The great King Antiochos, the Just God Made Manifest, Friend of the Romans and Friend of the Greeks', resolved to be buried on the highest mountain-peak of his domain. On the summit of the Nemroud Dagh, at an altitude

¹ Ioul. or. 5. 165 Β τὴν δὲ (sc. Μητέρα τῶν θεῶν) τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα ἐπιτρέψαι αὐτῷ (sc. τῷ Ἀττίδι) καὶ τὸν ἀστερωτὸν ἐπιθέειναι πῖλον, *ib.* 170 D f. ὁ γὰρ Ἄττις οὗτος ἔχων τὴν κατάστικτον τοῖς ἀστροῖς τιάραν εὐδῆλον ὅτι τὰς πάντων τῶν θεῶν εἰς τὸν ἐμφανῆ κόσμον ὀρωμένης λήξει ἀρχὰς ἐποιήσατο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείας, Sallustius περὶ θεῶν καὶ κόσμου 4 ἐρᾷ μὲν ἢ Μητῆρ τοῦ Ἄττεως καὶ οὐρανίου αὐτῷ διδῶσιν δυνάμεις· τοῦτο γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ πῖλος.

Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 226 no. 746 pl. 13, 6, cp. no. 747 (Ankyra in Galatia); *ib.* p. 226 f. nos. 748—750 pl. 13, 7—9, cp. no. 751 (Pessinous), R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 i. 63 f. fig. 11; E. Pernice—F. Winter *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund* Berlin 1901 pl. 5, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 159, 2, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2741.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. 84 pl. 19, 3 f., Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 227 pl. E, 16, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 136 pl. 18, 5 f., Head *Hist. num.*² p. 505 fig. 264.

³ K. Humann and O. Puchstein *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien* Berlin 1890 p. 97 ff. with figs. in text and Atlas of 3 maps and 53 pls.

⁴ O. Hamdy Bey and Osgan Effendi *Le Tumulus du Nemroud-dagh* (Voyage, Description, Inscriptions avec Plans et Photographies). Constantinople 1883 with Frontisp., 33 pls., and 2 plans.

⁵ Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 272 i a 1 ff. (=Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 383, 1 ff.), p. 325 1 ff., p. 320 f. 1 ff., p. 327 1 ff., p. 319 1 ff., p. 303 1 ff., p. 302 1 ff., p. 304 1 ff., p. 304 f. 1 ff., p. 283 1 ff., p. 306 f. 1 ff., p. 285 1 ff., p. 307 f. 1 ff., p. 287 1 ff., p. 313 1 ff., p. 311 f. 1 ff., p. 356 1 ff. (=Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* nos. 383, 1 ff., 384, 1 ff., 385, 1 ff., 386, 1 ff., 387, 1 ff., 388, 1 ff., 389, 1 ff., 390, 1 ff., 391, 1 ff., 392, 1 ff., 393, 1 ff., 394, 1 ff., 395, 1 ff., 396, 1 ff., 397, 1 ff., 401, 1 ff., 402, 1 ff.), V. W. Yorke in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 312 f. no. 14, 1 ff. Samosata (=Dittenberger *op. cit.* no. 404, 1 ff.): Βασιλεὺς μέγας Ἀντίοχος Θεὸς Δίκαιος Ἐπιφανὴς Φιλορωμαῖος καὶ Φιλέλλην, cp. Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* iii no. 136 d, 1 ff. Ephesos (=Dittenberger *op. cit.* no. 405, 1 ff.) Βασιλέα Ἀντίοχον Θεὸν Δίκαιον Ἐπιφανῆ Φιλορωμαίων | καὶ Φιλέλληνα, and the slight variant in Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 311 1 ff. (=Dittenberger *op. cit.* no. 400, 1 ff.) [Βασίλ]εὺς μέγ[ας] | [Ἀντίο]χος Θεὸς Δ[ίκαιος] | [Ἐπιφ]ανῆς Φι[λέλλη]ν | [καὶ Φιλορωμαῖος].

Since a dedication Θεῷ Δικαίῳ Μίθρα has come to light at *Kilissé Hissar*, i.e. Tyana in Kappadokia (J. H. Mordmann in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1885 x. 12 citing Rizo Καππαδοκικά 113), O. Puchstein in Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 341 f. suggests that the divine titles of Antiochos were a popular designation of Mithras. But F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 564 shows that the cult-epithets "Ὅσιος καὶ Δίκαιος," "Ὅσιος Δίκαιος," or "Ὅσιος



Fig. 543.

alone, were used throughout Asia Minor etc. of a variety of gods and goddesses. And, as we shall see, Antiochos claimed to be a human counterpart of Zeus *Oromásdes* rather than of Mithras.

of between 6800 and 7100 ft¹, a prodigious cairn of stones was piled containing *c.* 264,750 cubic metres of material (fig. 543). Various attempts to penetrate the vast mass and rifle the dead king's chamber have been made in modern times and have failed². Antiochos set forth his intentions in a pompous inscription :

'When I had determined to construct the foundations of this sacred monument beyond the reach of time's wasting hand, hard by the heavenly throne, to the end that here the body of my outward form, having lived till old age in felicity and sent forth a soul beloved of the gods to the heavenly throne of Zeus *Oromásdes*, might sleep for endless ages, then of a truth I chose to make this spot the sacred seat of all gods in common, that so not only this heroic company of mine ancestors which thou seest might be established by my care, but also the divine shapes of manifest deities sanctified on a holy summit, and that they might have this place as a witness by no means bereft of my piety. Wherefore, as thou seest, I have established these godlike effigies of Zeus *Oromásdes* and Apollon Mithras Helios Hermes and Artagnes Herakles Ares and mine all-nurturing country Kommagene. Moreover, made of the self-same stone-work with gods that answer prayer and throned together with them, I have set up the fashion of mine own form, and have caused the ancient honour of great deities to become coeval with a new Tyche, thereby preserving a just representation of the immortal mind which has many a time been seen to manifest itself in my support and to lend me friendly help in the carrying out of my royal projects³. Etc., etc.

The concluding sentences of this passage refer to the fact that east and west of the cairn were two terraces, each of which had a similar series of five seated statues—ungainly colossal figures, built up of limestone blocks to a height of some 26 ft. Hamdy Bey, who saw the tumulus half-covered with snow, compares its clumsy guardians with a set of snow-men⁴. The central statue, somewhat larger than its neighbours, was that of *Zeus Oromásdes* in Commagenian costume with a short bundle of rods, the Persian *baresman*

¹ Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 236.

² *Eid. ib.* p. 240 f.

³ Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 272 f. i b 13 ff. (= Dittenberger *Oriental. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 383, 36 ff.) *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἱεροθεσιον τοῦδε κρη|πεῖδα ἀπόρθητον χρόνου λύμαις | οὐρανίων ἀγχιστα θρόνων κατασ|τήσασθαι προενοήθην, ἐν ᾧ μα|καριστὸν ἄχρι [γ]ήρας ὑπέξαν σῶμα | μορφῆς ἐμῆς πρὸς οὐρανίου Διὸς | Ὠρομάσδου θρόνου θεοφιλεῖ ψυχῆν | προπέμψαν εἰς τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα κοιμήσεται· τότε δὴ καὶ τόνδε | χῶρον | ἱερὸν ἀπάντων κοινὸν ἀναδείξει | θεῶν ἐνθρόνισμα προειλάμην, ὅπως | μὴ μόνον ἐμῶν προγόνου οὗτος ἐν ὄρεσ ἡρώ(ο)ς λόχος ἐμαῖς ἐπιμελείαις ὑπάρ|χη καθιδρυμένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ | δαιμόνων ἐπιφανῶν θεῶς τύπος ἐν | ἀγίοις λόφοις καθοσιωθείς, μηδὲ τόν|δε τὸν τόπον ὄρφανὸν ἐ|μῆς εὐσεβείας ἔχη μ|ά|ρτυρα· διόπερ | ὡς ὄρεσ Διὸς τε Ὠρομάσδου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Μίθρου Ἥλιου Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀρτά|γνου Ἡρακλέους Ἄρεως ἐμῆς τε πατρίδος | παντρόφου Κομμαγενῆς θεοπρε|πή ταῦτα ἀγάλματα καθιδρυσάμην | ἀπὸ τε λιθείας μᾶς δαίμοσιν ἐπηκόοις | σύνθρονον χαρακτηῖρα μορφῆς ἐμῆς | συνανέθηκα καὶ Τύχης νέας ἡλικιώ|τιν ἀρχαίων θεῶν μεγάλων τιμῆς ἐποιήσάμην, μίμημα δίκαιον φυλάσ|σων ἀθανάτων φροντίδος, ἣ πολλάκις ἐμοὶ παραστάτις ἐπιφανῆς εἰς βοήθειαν ἀγώνων βασιλικῶν εὐμενῆς | ἐωράτο.* κ.τ.λ. J. H. Moulton *Early Zoroastrianism* London 1913 p. 107 f. detects in these last clauses a clear reference to the Fravashi or 'double' of Persian belief.

⁴ Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* pp. 252—259, 293—298 pls. 23—31, Hamdy Bey—Osgan Effendi *op. cit.* pp. 15—19 pls. 12, 12¹, 14—19, 19¹, 20—22.

or *barsom*¹, in his left hand and a high tiara on his head: this tiara in front and behind had a vertical stripe on which round disks were worked in low relief, while about its edge was a diadem adorned with a row of upright winged thunderbolts (fig. 544)². On the right of Zeus sat Kommagene, conceived as a Tyche with a *kálathos* and a corn-wreath on her head, a horn of plenty in her left hand, and a bunch of corn-ears, grapes, pomegranates and a pear-shaped fruit in her right³. On the left of Zeus was



Fig. 544.

¹ J. H. Moulton *Early Religious Poetry of Persia* Cambridge 1911 p. 127: 'The barsom (*baresman*) is a Magian ritual instrument, a bundle of twigs held before the face: cf. Ezekiel viii. 17. It adapts the name of an Aryan institution of a very different kind, the Indian *barhis*, or carpet of grass on which the sacrifice was laid.' *Id. Early Zoroastrianism* London 1913 pp. 68 f., 189 ff., 198 f., 408 f. See further O. M. Dalton *The Treasure of the Oxus* etc. London 1905 p. 46 f.: 'the *baresman* or *barsom*, a small bundle of rods supposed to be composed of branches of the date, pomegranate, and tamarisk, the gathering of which Ormuzd describes to Zarathustra in the nineteenth chapter of the Vendidad³.

(³[A.] Hovelacque, [*L'Avesta, Zoroastre et le Mazdéisme* Paris 1880], p. 425; M. Dieulafoy, [*L'Acropole de Suse* [Paris 1893], p. 393 n. 4; see also note to no. 48.) It was the constant accompaniment of almost every ritual act, and in his daily prayers before the sacred fire, as Strabo noted of the Magi in Cappadocia, the priest always held it in his hand⁴. (⁴Ῥάβδων μυρικίων λεπτῶν δέσμην κατέχοντες, Strabo, xv. 733; [J. G.] Rhode, [*Die heilige Sage und das gesammte Religions-System der alten Baktrer, Meder, Perser* etc. Frankfurt 1820], p. 509.) The texts do not seem to imply that the rods were used for purposes of divination, but there is some authority for believing that this was at one time the case...The bundle of rods seems to be shown in the hands of the two statuettes nos. 1 and 2 [p. 75 f. pls. 2 and 12], the second of which may well represent a magus of high rank; a number of the figures upon the gold plaques (see plates xiii and xiv) also hold it, and attention may be called to the fact that the object held by the deity in the Sassanian rock sculpture, fig. 42, has some resemblance to a bundle of rods.' A Graeco-Persian relief of c. 425—400 B.C., found near Daskyleion, shows two priests in Persian dress with covered mouth and nose and uplifted *barsom* (?), offering a ram's head and a bull's head on a pyre (?) of slender sticks (T. Macridy in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1913 xxxvii. 348 ff. fig. 4 pl. 8).

² Fig. 544 shows the seated Zeus of the east terrace (Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 255 f. pls. 25—27 and 29, 5 f., Hamdy Bey—Osgan Effendi *op. cit.* p. 15 f. pls. 12 and 15) completed with the help of the head from its counterpart of the west terrace (Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 296 f. pl. 31, 3, Hamdy Bey—Osgan Effendi *op. cit.* p. 19 pl. 19).

³ Kommagene is the one figure whose head, though not quite in the original position, still rests upon its shoulders. She, in common with many another Asiatic Tyche (*supra* p. 136 n. 6, cp. p. 597 n. 4 and p. 710), may be regarded as a late modification of the ancient mountain-mother, who after all had the longest, if not the best, claim to be honoured on such a site. Hence Antiochos (*supra* p. 744) was careful to describe himself

a beardless effigy of Antiochos, in pose and costume closely resembling Zeus, except that the diadem round his tiara was decorated with alternate disks and lozenges in relief. Beyond Kommagene was Apollon Mithras Helios Hermes¹; beyond Antiochos was Artagnes Herakles Ares². Both these deities bore a general likeness to Zeus; but, whereas Apollon held the bundle of rods, Artagnes carried a short club leaning against his shoulder. The series was terminated at either end by statues of an eagle and a lion standing on a common base. On the backs of the thrones was the long inscription, part of which has been cited above, including a preamble to explain the purpose of the whole precinct and a law to regulate its cult³.

Over against the statues of the east terrace were the remains of a large rectangular altar, once decorated with sculpture, and two long bases or walls, north and south of the terrace, in which *stélai*

as the new Tyche, whose cult was thenceforth to be associated with that of the older divinities (see Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 339 n. 1).

¹ Apollon Mithras Helios is presumably a solar deity. His further identification with Hermes may be attributed to the fact that the planet Mercury was connected by the Persians with Mithras, by the Greeks either with Apollon or with Hermes (Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 335 n. 4). Note also that the rôle of *ψυχοποιός* was played alike by Mithras and by Hermes (F. Cumont in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3055, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 383 n. 20).

² Artagnes is the Avestan *Verethraghna*, the genius of 'Victory' (on whose name see J. H. Moulton *Early Religious Poetry of Persia* Cambridge 1911 pp. 39 f., 146), as was observed by P. de Lagarde in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1886 p. 148 ff. (Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 282 n. 1). The identification with Herakles and Ares may be due to the fact that the planet Mars, which the Persians connect with the god *Bahrām* (=the earlier *Verethraghna*), was by the Greeks assigned sometimes to Herakles, sometimes to Ares (Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 335 n. 4, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 383 n. 21). Further, Artagnes was perhaps represented as Herakles in Mithraic art (F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 i. 143 and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. i. 144) and on coins of Hooerkes (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 138 pl. 27, 15 ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩ, p. 154 pl. 29, 1 ΗΡΑΚΛΑΟ (?), Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 282 n. 1), and as Ares by Strab. 727 ἔθρον 'τε θύουσι (sc. οἱ Καρμάνιοι) τῷ Ἄρει, ὅνπερ σέβονται θεῶν μόνον, καὶ εἰσι πολεμισταί.

³ Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 259 ff., Hamdy Bey—Osgan Effendi *op. cit.* p. i ff., Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 383. The principal enactments are that the birthday of Antiochos, viz. the 16th of Audnaios (a Macedonian month answering to the Athenian Poseideon), and his coronation day, viz. the 10th of Loïos (the Macedonian equivalent of the Athenian Hekatombaion), are to be observed throughout the kingdom as festivals in honour of his divine guardians; that the corresponding days, viz. the 16th and the 10th, of each month shall be honoured by the priests; that on all these occasions the priest of the gods and heroes is to wear Persian attire, to crown all (sc. the gods and heroes) with golden crowns, and to offer on the altar of the latter frankincense and perfumes, while he honours the former with rich sacrifices; that, moreover, he is to furnish the holy tables with fitting viands and jars of wine, and so to entertain citizens and strangers alike, reserving a special portion for himself and allowing every guest to take his share and consume it where he will. Etc., etc.



Fig. 545.

representing the ancestors of Antiochos had been set up, each with its own small altar before it¹.

The west terrace also had two base-walls for the erection of similar *stélai*. These were placed along its western and southern sides². The line of the seated statues was here continued northwards by means of a third base-wall, the reliefs of which were fairly preserved. They represented, from left to right, the following figures—Antiochos receiving a bunch of grapes, apples, corn etc. from Kommagene, Antiochos greeted by Apollon Mithras Helios Hermes, Antiochos greeted by Zeus *Oromásdes*, Antiochos greeted by Artagnes Herakles Ares, the horoscope of Antiochos in the form of a star-spangled lion. Of these five reliefs the first four bore dedicatory inscriptions on their backs, the last was inscribed in front. The whole series was flanked by an eagle and a lion at either end, arranged as in the case of the seated *colossi*³.

The central and largest relief (fig. 545)⁴ portrays Zeus *Oromásdes* in Commagenian dress giving the right hand of fellowship to Antiochos, who is similarly attired. The god sits on a gorgeous throne, decorated above with a pair of eagles, on either side with oak-leaves and acorns, below with Chimaira-heads and leonine claws. He holds a sceptre in his left hand. His tiara has a beaded edge and a diadem with upright winged thunderbolts on it: it is

¹ Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* pp. 245—250, Hamdy Bey—Osgan Effendi *op. cit.* pp. 11—15.

² Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* pp. 292 f., 298 ff., Hamdy Bey—Osgan Effendi *op. cit.* pp. 19 f., 24—28.

³ Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* pp. 317—336, Hamdy Bey—Osgan Effendi *op. cit.* pp. 20—24.

⁴ Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* pp. 324—327 pl. 39, 1 and 1a (= my figs. 545, 546), Hamdy Bey—Osgan Effendi *op. cit.* p. 23 f. pl. 27 f., F. Cumont *Textes et monuments nusurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 ii. 187 f. fig. 11 and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1054 f. fig. 2, R. Eisler *Weltentmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 i. 64 fig. 12, Reinach *Rep. Reliefs* i. 195, 5. The slab has a maximum height of 3.04^m, and is 2.17^m broad and 0.28^m thick (exclusive of the relief). When first discovered by



Fig. 546.

O. Puchstein, it was lying on its face with stones heaped upon it. He copied the inscription on its back and replaced the stones. Hamdy Bey dug it up again and, since it lay with the foot-end still resting on the base-wall, tilted it over on its head. The result is that it now lies upside down exposed to the weather. Worse than that, the lower part of the relief has broken off, and the two parts do not accurately fit together. A fragment (fig. 546) found by a Turk in 1884 and brought by him to F. von Luschan is now at Berlin: it shows part of the diadem together with the left brow of Zeus; height 0.22^m. The inscription chiselled on the back of the slab is: Βασιλεύς ἑγὼς Ἀντίοχος Ὀρὸς Δίκαιος Ἐπιφ[α]νής [Φ]ιλορωμαῖος καὶ Φιλέλληγ. | ὁ ἐγὼ βασιλεύ[ω]ς Μισσαδῶτων Καλλιόνων καὶ βασιλέ[ω]σσης Λαοδίκης Ουἱᾶς Φιλαδέλφου. | Δία Ὀρομάσδη (Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 325, Dittenberger *Oriental. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 384).

also plentifully sprinkled with six-rayed stars, among which is visible another winged bolt. His foot-gear, leg-coverings, etc. show the oak-pattern. Altogether he is a skilful blend of the



Fig. 547.

Commagenian and the Greek. Puchstein rightly observes that Antiochos is decked, wherever possible, with the symbols of Zeus. His crown-topped tiara¹ displays a large winged bolt between

¹ Cp. the head-dress of Antiochos i of Kommagene on bronze coins struck by him (fig. 550, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. pp. xlv f., 105 pl. 14, 8, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 120, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 775) with that of Tigranes, king of Armenia, on his silver and copper moneys (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 103 ff.



Fig. 548.



Fig. 549.



Fig. 550.

pl. 27, 5 ff. (fig. 548=pl. 27, 6), *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 1 ff. pl. 63, 1 ff., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 772 f. fig. 342, G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 163 ff., pl. 13, 96). Figs. 549, 550 are from specimens in the Leake collection = W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 Kings and Dynasts p. 38.

oak-leaves. His diadem, the upper edge of his coat-of-mail, his shoulder-clasps, all have the same design of thunderbolts. Tiara-flaps, girdle, dagger-sheath, and shoes are embellished with oak-leaves and acorns. Lastly the short-sleeved jerkin is covered with stars set in a kind of network or trellis. Clearly the king wished to be regarded as the human embodiment of Zeus *Oromásdes*, 'the Just God Made Manifest.'

Antiochos' horoscope (fig. 547)¹ shows a lion with the crescent moon beneath his neck and nineteen stars so disposed about him as to correspond closely with the pseudo-Eratosthenes' account of the constellation Leo². These stars have eight rays apiece. Distinct from them are three larger stars above the lion's back, which are sixteen-rayed and inscribed 'the Fiery Star of Herakles,' 'the Gleaming Star of Apollon,' 'the Brilliant Star of Zeus.' The whole slab, therefore, indicates a conjunction of the planets Mars, Mercury, and Jupiter in the sign of the Lion. Now apart from Kommagene, who on this site probably represents the ancient mountain-mother³, Zeus, Apollon, and Herakles are the only deities recognised by Antiochos. It is therefore practically certain either that the king's choice of gods was determined by his own horoscope or that the king's horoscope was cast in accordance with his choice of gods. The former hypothesis is at least as likely as the latter. Prof. Tietjen of Berlin had elaborate calculations made by P. Lehmann, which pointed to July 17, 98 B.C., as the day most in accordance with the astronomical data⁴. Since the king's birthday was on Audnaios 16, *i.e.* in December or January, Puchstein concludes that the horoscope was cast for the conception, not for the nativity of Antiochos, whom he takes to have been a seven months' child born at the beginning of the year 97 B.C.⁵ U. Wilcken suggests that the horoscope had reference rather to the king's accession on Loios 10, which may well be equated with July 17, 98 B.C.⁶

¹ Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* pp. 329—336 pl. 40 (=my fig. 547), Hamdy Bey—Osgan Effendi *op. cit.* p. 21 f. pl. 24, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 196. The slab measures 1·75^m in height, 2·40^m in breadth, 0·47^m in thickness. It is inscribed: *Ἱερβεῖς Ἡρακλέους, Στῆλων Ἀπόλλωνος, Φαέθων Διός* (Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 329).

² Pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 12 ἔχει δὲ ἀστέρας ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς γ', ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους <α', ὑπὸ τὸ στήθος> β', ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ ποδὸς λαμπρὸν α', ἐπὶ μέσης <τῆς κοιλίας> α', ὑπὸ τὴν κοιλίαν α', ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰσχίου α', ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀπισθοῦ γόνατος α', ἐπὶ ποδὸς ἄκρου λαμπρὸν α', ἐπὶ τοῦ τραχήλου β', ἐπὶ τῆς ῥάχews γ', ἐπὶ μέσης τῆς κέρκου α', ἐπ' ἄκρας λαμπρὸν α', [ἐπὶ τῆς κοιλίας α']: <τοὺς πάντας ἰθ'>. I follow the text of A. Olivieri (1897).

³ *Supra* p. 745 n. 3.

⁴ Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* pp. 331—333. Serious difficulties have, however, been pointed out by A. Bouché-Leclercq *L'astrologie grecque* Paris 1899 pp. 373, 439 fig. 41 (Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 196).

⁵ Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 333 f.

⁶ U. Wilcken in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2487 f.

In any case it is obvious that astrology played no small part in the Commagenian cult of Zeus *Oromásdes*.

(b) Zeus as god of the Starry Sky.

Zeus is occasionally, but not often, brought into connexion with the stars in ancient literature and art.

He is more than once conceived by Euripides as dwelling in the starry sky. The Satyrs associate him with the stars and Orion¹. Menoikeus swears 'by Zeus and all his stars'²—a phrase that impressed Plutarch³. Kreousa's handmaidens sing of the night-procession from Athens to Eleusis on Boedromion 20—

What time the star-eyed sky of Zeus himself
Joins in the dance⁴.

Achaios went one step further, perhaps we should say one step further back, and spoke of 'Zeus the starry-eyed'⁵. Finally, Nonnos tells how Zeus stooped from heaven to earth for the sake of Semele:

Then Zeus of the air quitted his starry home
For Semele's side⁶.

But it will be observed that these are all poetic fancies with little or no support in actual cult.

When Propertius describes the temple of Zeus at Olympia as 'imitating the sky'⁷, he is in all probability alluding to a coffered ceiling⁸ with gilt stars on a blue ground⁹—a device common to

¹ Eur. *Cycl.* 211 ff. (*supra* p. 6 n. 4).

² Eur. *Phoen.* 1006 μὰ τὸν μετ' ἀστρῶν Ζῆν' Ἄρη τε φοίνιον, κ.τ.λ. The schol. *ad loc.* takes Ζῆνα here to be the sun (schol. A.B.M.I. τὸν ἥλιόν φησι καὶ τὸν Ἄρη τὸν τοῦ ἔμοῦ φόνου αἰτίον. κ.τ.λ., schol. C.M. τὸν ἥλιόν φασὶ δεσπότην τῶν ἀστρῶν, τὸν ὄντα ἐν τοῖς ἀστροῖς θεόν, τὸν αἰτίον τοῦ ἔμοῦ φόνου). But he is certainly wrong (cp. *supra* p. 187).

³ Plout. *de aud. poet.* 6.

⁴ Eur. *Iou* 1078 f. (*supra* p. 65 n. 4).

⁵ Achaios *Azanes frag.* 2 Nauck² (*supra* p. 65 n. 3).

⁶ Nonn. *Dion.* 7. 312 f. ἀστερόεν τότε δῶμα παρέστιχεν ἡέριος Ζεὺς | εἰς Σεμέλης ὑμέναιον, cp. 7. 359 τί πλέον ἤθελες ἄλλο μετ' αἰθέρα καὶ πόλον ἀστρῶν ;

⁷ Prop. 3. 2. 18 nec Iovis Elei caelum imitata domus.

⁸ Cp. Manil. 5. 288 f. sculptentem faciet sanctis laquearia templis | condentemque novum caelum per tecta Tonantis (with 1. 532 f.), Stat. *silv.* 4. 2. 30f. (on Domitian's palace) fessis vix culmina prendas | visibus auratique putes laquearia caeli, Mart. *ep.* 7. 56. 1 ff. astra polumque pia cepisti mente, Rabiri (Domitian's architect), | Parrhasiam mira qui struis arte domum. | Phidiaco si digna Iovi dare templa parabit, | has petat a nostro Pisa Tonante manus.

With regard to the inner ceiling in the temple of Zeus at Olympia W. Dörpfeld in *Olympia* ii. 11 writes: 'Wie die aus Holz bestehende Decke im Einzelnen gebildet war, lässt sich nicht bestimmen; in den Ergänzungen [pls. 11, 2, 12] sind deshalb einfache Balken und eine glatte Verschalung angenommen.'

⁹ H. Thédénat in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 903, A. Marquand *Greek Architecture* New York 1909 p. 236 ('The recessed cofferings were ornamented in various

Greek with Egyptian art¹. If so, we may suppose that the decoration of the roof was deliberately chosen to mark the celestial character of the god.

A notable coin-type of imperial date shows Zeus as cosmic lord surrounded by the signs of the zodiac. Several varieties of the type are found. Thus a magnificent copper coin of Nikaia in Bithynia, struck by Antoninus Pius and now in the Paris cabinet, has (fig. 551)² Zeus enthroned with sceptre and thunderbolt between



Fig. 551.



Fig. 552.

the chariots of the Sun and, of the Moon; at his feet on either side are two reclining figures, Gaia with corn-ears and a horn of plenty, Thalassa with a stern-ornament and a rudder: round the whole is the zodiac, its twelve signs all clearly expressed. Even more ambitious is a copper coin of Perinthos in Thrace, struck by Severus Alexander and now in the British Museum (fig. 552)³. Within a dotted circle sits Zeus with sceptre, *phiale*, and eagle. In the field above him Helios drives a team of four horses, Selene a team of two bulls, the former accompanied by the crescent of the latter, the latter by the star of the former. Beneath Zeus are Gaia

ways. The Theseion affords a simple example. The soffits of the coffer each present a single star, painted probably in gold against a blue ground, and hence called *ὄψαυός*, or *ὄψαυόσκος*....The Parthenon and the Propylaia show doubly recessed coffer....Some of the plates of cofferings from the Propylaia still show stars' etc.), A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* ii. 84 ('When found the lower side of the lacunar stone [of the Mausoleum] was painted bright blue.' Cp. Durm *Baukunst d. Gr.*³ p. 330 fig. 316). The coffering of the Erechtheion is restored in gold and colours by Durm *ib.*² p. 261 pl. opposite p. 252 (*ib.*³ p. 341 pl. opposite p. 316 worse).

¹ See J. Pennethorne *The Geometry and Optics of Ancient Architecture* London and Edinburgh 1878 p. 173 f. pt. 5 pl. 3 (a comparative series of Egyptian tomb-ceilings from Thebes and of Greek temple-ceilings from the 'Theseum' and Erechtheion, fully coloured and gilded).

² Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 155, 160 f. Münztaf. 2, 13, Waddington — Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 407 pl. 68, 2, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 517.

³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thrace etc. p. 157 fig. (= my fig. 552), J. N. Svoronos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 104 fig. 3, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 271.

and Thalassa recumbent: Gaia holds a *cornu copiae*; Thalassa wears a head-dress of crab's-claws and is equipped with a rudder and a prow. The whole design is enclosed by the zodiac, as before. An autonomous bronze coin of Sardeis, described by Eckhel¹, had Zeus with Nike in his hand enthroned amid the signs of the zodiac. An imperial coin of Tios or Tion in Bithynia, mentioned by B. V. Head², again shows Zeus with the zodiac. On a bronze coin of Amastris in Paphlagonia, struck by Iulia Maesa, Zeus and Hera, both holding sceptres, stand facing each other within the same border (fig. 553)³. Two bronze coins of Alexandria, struck by Antoninus Pius in 145 A.D.⁴, play further variations on the same theme: one of them duplicates the zodiacal belt and places in the centre jugate busts of Sarapis wearing his *kálathos* and Isis wearing her disk and horns⁵; the other substitutes for the inner zodiac a circular band adorned with busts of Kronos, Helios, Selene, Ares, Hermes, Zeus, Aphrodite—the deities representing the days of the week—and gives as the central figure Sarapis wearing his *kálathos*⁶. It will be observed that all the coins on



Fig. 553.

¹ Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*² iii. 115, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 161 n. a.

² Head *Hist. num.*² p. 518. Cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τίος... Δημοσθένης δ' ἐν Βιθωνιακοῖς (the fragment should be added to the *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 384 f. Müller) φησι κτιστὴν τῆς πόλεως γενέσθαι Πάταρον (Arrian. *frag.* 37 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 593 Müller) *ap.* Eustath. in Dionys. *per.* 322), ἐλόντα Παφλαγονίαν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τιμᾶν τὸν Δία Τίον προσαγορεύουσα. The great cult of the place, to judge from its coin-types, was that of Zeus Συργάστης or Συργαστήϊος (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus*, etc. p. 203 ff. pl. 36, 5 and 10, Rasché *Lex. Num.* ix. 1367 ff., Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 64 f., Head *Hist. num.*² p. 518). The meaning of the title is unknown (see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* viii. 1502 B—C and M. Schmidt on Hesych. Συργάστωρ· σοφοφόρος· καὶ ὄνομα βαρβαρικόν). But the cult appears to have travelled westwards; for at *Adzilaré* near Philippopolis a certain Thracian proved his gratitude to a god called Σουρεγέθης (*Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1895 xviii. 112 Ἀγαθῆι τύχηι· θεῷ Σουρεγέθῃ ἐπηκώ Κό[τυς] Ῥοιμηζεύος εὐχαριστήριον cited by Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4078), and at *Renzano* on the Lacus Benacus a Greek paid a vow to Sargasteus and Patrus, *i.e.* to the chief deity and the founder of Tios (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* v no. 4206 = Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5915 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4078 dis paternis | Surgasteo | magno | Patro, | Q. M. Tryphon | v. s. l. m.).

³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus*, etc. p. 89 pl. 20, 13, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 155 pl. 21, 15, Anson *Num. Gr.* vi pl. 2, 127, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 506.

⁴ See G. Dattari in the *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* 1901 xiv. 157—183.

⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 126 no. 1078 pl. 12, Anson *Num. Gr.* vi pl. 2, 130, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 863 (who cites as another astronomical type at Alexandria: 'Zodiac in circle round busts of Helios and Selene').

⁶ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 127 no. 1079 pl. 12, J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1899 ii. 84 pl. Z', 1, Anson *Num. Gr.* vi pl. 2, 129, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 863.

which Zeus is ringed with the zodiac belong to the period 138—235 A.D. and to towns that fall within, or border on, the north-west corner of Asia Minor. Hence we may ascribe them to the far-reaching influence of Mithraism, which constantly employed the zodiac as the framework of its ritual reliefs¹. Oromasdes, as F. Cumont points out², travelled in connexion with the Mithraic mysteries from east to west, and is seen on Mithraic monuments as a Roman Iupiter with thunderbolt, sceptre, and eagle. Not improbably the coins in question intercept his progress and give us a glimpse of him as a Greek Zeus. After all, Zeus, Iupiter, and Oromasdes were essentially kindred figures, whose art-types were readily blended.

(c) Zeus in Astronomy and Astrology.

Astrology has been defined by A. Bouché-Leclercq as a method of divination using astronomy as its means³. Accepting this definition, we may agree with E. Riess that the Greeks were first definitely influenced by Babylonian and Egyptian astrology towards the end of the fourth century B.C.⁴, though O. Gruppe has rightly insisted that astrological notions of a sort are to be found in Greece long before the age of Alexander the Great—astro-meteorology already bulks big in Hesiod, and even astrology in the strict sense of the term is presupposed by Greek mystic teaching of the sixth century B.C. and by sundry passages of Herakleitos, Euripides, and Herodotos⁵.

In the course of the third and following centuries B.C. the Greeks partly borrowed and partly developed a very complete series of constellations. Each of these had its own myth or myths and was, more often than not, said to have been placed in the sky by Zeus. Thus the *Katasterismoi* ascribed to Eratosthenes of Alexandria (c. 275—195 B.C.) enumerates some thirty-three

¹ F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 i. 109 ff., *id.* *Die Mysterien des Mithra*² trans. G. Gehrich Leipzig 1911 p. 110, *id.* in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1952. *Supra* p. 516 fig. 389.

² F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 i. 88 ff., 137 ff., *id.* *Die Mysterien des Mithra*² trans. G. Gehrich Leipzig 1911 p. 99 f., *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1055, *id.* in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1951.

F. Cumont in the *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* Wien 1898 p. 294 n. 5 cites for 'Jupiter—Caelus' a gem representing Iupiter with a sceptre seated to the right on an eagle, his head surrounded by a large *nimbus*, or [more probably an overarching] mantle, within which are seven stars (C. Lenormant *Nouvelle galerie mythologique* (Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique) Paris 1850 p. 86 no. 14 pl. 13).

³ A. Bouché-Leclercq *L'astrologie grecque* Paris 1899 p. 70.

⁴ E. Riess in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1810f.

⁵ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1588 ff., *id.* *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 211.

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constellations as the work of particular Greek deities: of this number Poseidon made one¹, Apollon² Artemis³ Dionysos⁴ and Hermes⁵ two apiece, Hera two⁶ and the Milky Way⁷, Athena four⁸; but no less than seventeen are said to have been created by Zeus⁹, who was further intimately connected with the myths of at least seven others¹⁰.

If it be asked why Zeus rather than any other deity arranged the constellations, we must again take into account oriental leading. Babylonian astrology assigned the several planets to different divinities thus¹¹:

<i>Planet.</i>	<i>Divinity.</i>
Iupiter.	Marduk.
Venus.	Ištar.
Mercury.	Nabu.
Saturn.	Ninib.
Mars.	Nergal.

The Greeks of the fourth century followed suit and exchanged their old descriptive names of the planets for those of various gods corresponding more or less closely with the Babylonian series.

¹ Delphin.

² Sagitta, Hydra with its Corvus and Crater.

³ Ursa Minor (pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 2), Equos (*id. ib.* 18, but Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 18 refers it to Iupiter).

⁴ Corona, Asini.

⁵ Deltoton, Lepus.

⁶ Serpens (pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 3, but Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 3 refers it also to Minerva), Cancer. Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 16 refers Aquila (=the Coan king Merops) to Iuno.

⁷ *Supra* p. 624.

⁸ Cepheus, Andromeda, Perseus, Argo.

⁹ Ursa Maior, Engonasin, Ophiuchus, Scorpius, Arctophylax or Bootes, Gemini, Leo, Heniochus or Auriga, Capra, Taurus, Lyra (pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 24, but Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 7 says *a Musis*), Cygnus or Olor, Capricornus, Sagittarius, Orion (pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 32, but Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 34 refers to Diana), Canis, Centaurus.

¹⁰ Ursa Minor (= Phoinike, a companion of Artemis loved by Zeus; or Kynosoura, an Idaean nymph, nurse of Zeus; or Helike, a Cretan nurse of Zeus), Virgo (= Dike, daughter of Zeus and Themis; or Demeter, or Isis, or Atargatis, or Tyche), Deltoton (= Δ the initial of Διός), Pliades (of whom Elektra, Maia, and Taygete were loved by Zeus: according to Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 21, Iupiter placed them all among the stars), Aquarius (= Ganymedes, the cup-bearer of Zeus), Aquila (the sacred bird of Zeus: according to Aglaosthenes *Naxiaca frag.* 2 (*supra* p. 164 n. 4), Zeus placed it among the stars), Ara (the altar at which the gods took their oath, when Zeus attacked Kronos).

¹¹ P. Jensen *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier* Strassburg 1890 p. 134 ff., A. Bouché-Leclercq *L'astrologie grecque* Paris 1899 p. 40 ff., M. Jastrow *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 p. 217 ff., *id. Die Religion Babylonien und Assyrien* Giessen 1912 ii. 1. 444 ff. and the literature cited *ib.* i. 1. 426 n. 2 f., 427 n. 1 f., especially F. X. Kugler *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel* i (Entwicklung der Babylonischen Planetenkunde von ihren Anfängen bis auf Christus) Münster in Westfalen 1907.

The earlier Babylonian order is Iupiter, Venus, Saturn, Mercury, Mars: the later (c. 400 B.C.) is Iupiter, Venus, Mercury, Saturn, Mars (Kugler *op. cit.* i. 13).

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Aristotle in his work *On the Universe* draws up a list, which gives both the earlier and the later names arranged in the Greek order¹:

Planet.	Earlier name.	Later name.
Saturn.	<i>Phainon</i> (the 'Shining').	Kronos.
Jupiter.	<i>Phaëthon</i> (the 'Brilliant').	Zeus.
Mars.	<i>Pyrroëis</i> (the 'Fiery').	Herakles or Ares.
Mercury.	<i>Stilbon</i> (the 'Gleaming').	Hermes or Apollon.
Venus.	<i>Phosphóros</i> (the 'Light-bringer').	Aphrodite or Hera.

The Babylonians assigned Jupiter to their chief deity Marduk, not because Jupiter appeared to them as the largest of the planets² (that would rather have been Saturn), but because his bright golden disk shone so steadily and was visible for so long in the sky³. The fifth tablet of the creation-epic represents Marduk, under the name of Nibiru, as exercising a control over all the stars and especially as ordering the constellations:

'He established the stations for the great gods.
The stars, their likeness, he set up as constellations.'

Further, Marduk as the paramount god of the Babylonian pantheon had taken over from Enlil of Nippur the title *Bél* or 'Lord'⁴. Hence the Greeks, equating him with their own supreme deity, spoke of him as Zeus *Bélos*⁵. And the Romans attributed the

¹ Aristot. *de mundo* 2. 392 a 23 ff.

² M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 459.

³ M. Jastrow *Die Religion Babylonien und Assyrien* Giessen 1912 ii. 1. 444 after Kugler *op. cit.* i. 8 and 14.

⁴ M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 pp. 434, 459.

⁵ *Id. ib.* p. 117 f., *id. Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 pp. 19, 38, 100, *id. Die Religion Babylonien und Assyrien* Giessen 1912 ii. 2. 1081 Index s.v. 'Marduk,' A. Jeremias in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2341 f., 2372.

⁶ *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4482, 10 (Palmyra) τὸν ναὸν τὸν [τοῦ] Διὸς [Βῆλου ἐ]ν τῷ τ[.....], no. 4485, 14 ff. (Palmyra) καὶ νυνεὶ λαμπρῶς συμποσίαρχον τῶν τοῦ Διὸς Βῆλου ἰε[|ρ]ῶν [γενόμενον?], Dion Cass. 78. 8 ὡς περ καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Βῆλος ὀνομαζόμενος καὶ ἐν τῇ ('Απαμεία τῆς Συρίας τιμώμενος, Hdt. 1. 181 (at Babylon) Διὸς Βῆλου ἱερὸν χαλκῶς πύλον κ.τ.λ., Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 1005 Βῆλος δὲ ἦν βασιλεὺς Βαβυλωνίως, υἱὸς Διὸς, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ πύλαι Βαβυλωνίως Βηλίδες, ἣ καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς κατὰ τινας. διὸ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἱερὸν εἶναι αὐτῶν λέγει Βῆλου Διὸς, Ktesias *ap.* Diod. 2. 8 (a bronze statue) Διὸς, ὃν καλοῦσιν οἱ Βαβυλωνίως Βῆλον, 2. 9 ἱερὸν Διὸς, ὃν καλοῦσιν οἱ Βαβυλωνίως καθάπερ εἰρήκαμεν, Βῆλον, Berossos *Babyloniaca sive Chaldaica frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 498 Müller) *ap.* Agath. *hist.* 2. 24 (*supra* p. 10 n. 1) Βῆλον μὲν τὸν Δία, Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 568 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 26 Ζεὺς Βῆλος, Hesych. s.v. Βῆλος· οὐρανός. καὶ Ζεὺς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος υἱός, Bekker *anecd.* i. 225, 29 f. Βῆλος· ὁ οὐρανός, βαρυτόνωος, καὶ Ζεὺς, καὶ Ποσειδῶνος υἱός, Nonn. *Dion.* 3. 291 Ζῆνα Αἰβυν τέκε Βῆλον, 40. 392 f. Βῆλος ἐπ' Εὐφρήταο, Αἰβυν κεκλημένος Ἀμμων, | Ἄπις ἔφους Νειλῶος, Ἀραψ Κρόνος, Ἀσσύριος Ζεὺς. See further K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 259 ff.

invention of astrology to Iupiter *Belus*¹. Late writers found it easy to drop the cult-title and to credit the Greek Zeus or the Roman Iupiter rather than their oriental counterpart with the ordering of the universe. Aristeides the rhetorician (117—c. 180 A.D.) describes the courses of moon and stars as the 'arrangement of Zeus².' And Martianus Capella (c. 400 A.D.) puts into the mouth of Harmonia the following hymn addressed to Iupiter as ruler of the starry sky³:

Thee, Iupiter, in my star-sounding song,
 Thee first I name and worship. For through thee
 The sacred revolution of the sky
 Is wont to wheel again in order due
 The jewelled constellations. Thou Almighty
 Beneath thy sceptred diadem dost bind
 And sway thy kingdom, Sire of every god,
 While the great universe rolls on, rolls ever,
 Thanks to the mind fed by thy starry force.
 As sparks on tinder that will burst aflame,
 The scattered stars declare thy handiwork.
 Phoebus proclaims thee, while with task divine
 His rays renew the purple dawn for men
 And give their glory to the ambrosial day.
 Cynthia, queen of night, month after month
 Waxes with horns of gold. Beneath thine eye
 Through fires that light the Wain the Serpent shines
 And drives apart the Bears of Arcady.
 So the hard Earth soft-wrapped in circling Air
 Rests on its axis, and by either pole
 Rules and is ruled; so Nereus knows the bounds
 Of ocean, so for food laps upper Fire,
 That all things thrive with no discordant strife
 And, parted, love the everlasting league,
 Fearing the chaos that might break their peace.
 Thou, King of Heaven, thou, Father, Best of all,
 Who in thy love dost clasp the stars together,
 And to thy children givest perpetual life,
 All hail—my lute uplifts its lay to thee
 For whom full-sounding songs sound yet again.

¹ Plin. *nat. hist.* 6. 121 durat adhuc ibi (*sc.* Babylone) Iovis Beli templum; inventor hic fuit sideralis scientiae, Solin. 56. 3 Beli ibi (*sc.* Babylone) Iovis templum, quem inventorem caelestis disciplinae tradidit etiam ipsa religio, quae deum credit, Mart. Cap. 701 ibi (*sc.* Babylone) Iovis Beli templum, qui inventor fuit disciplinae sideralis. Cp. Iul. Val. *res gest. Alex.* 3. 56 quod ubi factum est, Iovis quoque Babylonii simulacrum motari (*mutare corr. ex* *natare* cod. Ambros.) coepit.

² Aristeid. *or.* 1. 7 (i. 9 Dindorf) καὶ ἡ ἡλίου τε ἀπαστος κίνησις ὑπὲρ γῆς τε καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν Διὸς ἐστὶ πρόρρησις ἡλίῳ προειρημένη ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου φανέρητος, καὶ σελήνης δρόμοι καὶ χορείαί πάντων ἀστρων Διὸς ἐστὶ διάκοσμος.

³ Mart. Cap. 911 f.

Centuries later Ioannes Tzetzes speaks of 'Zeus the astrologer-king'¹ or even of 'Zeus the star-gazer'², assuming in his Euhemeristic way that the sky-god must have been not only a king³ but also a diviner of repute. It is curious to reflect that, just as Zeus at his first beginning appeared in the guise of a human magician⁴, so Zeus at his latter end relapsed to the level of a human astrologer. Old age for him, as for us, meant second infancy.

For astrological purposes the planets were classified as good (Jupiter, Venus) or bad (Saturn, Mars) or both (Mercury). We hear also of stars that are diurnal (the Sun, Saturn, Jupiter) or nocturnal (the Moon, Mars, Venus) or both (Mercury). There was a distinction, too, between stars that are masculine (the Sun, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars) or feminine (the Moon, Venus) or both (Mercury). But these and other such subtleties⁵—though for long ages they were regarded as matters of moment by a public that believed in horoscopes, and though in some cases they have left a permanent trace upon the language of modern almanacs—we need pursue no further. They belong to the history of sidereal divination in general rather than to that of a particular divinity⁶. I shall therefore content myself with quoting Bouché-Leclercq's summary⁷ of

¹ Tzetz. *chil.* 2. 159 (Herakles the reputed son of Amphitryon) τῆ δ' ἀληθεία τοῦ Διός, ἀνακτος, ἀστρολόγου (cp. *ib.* 168 ὁ μάγος βασιλεὺς ἐκείνος ἀστρολόγος), 2. 696 ff. τοῦ Πολυδεύκου. δ' ὁ πατὴρ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ ἀστρολόγος | τοῖς ἀστροῖς κατηστέρισε τοὺς παῖδας τεθνηκότας | καὶ τοὺς Διδύμους κέκληκεν Κάστορα, Πολυδεύκη, *alleg.* II. 18. 169 f. ἡ ἀστρολόγῳ τῷ Διὶ ἐκείνῳ στεφνήφωρον | οὐ καὶ Ὀρφεὺς πον μέμνηται, 18. 179 Διὶ τῷ ἀστρολόγῳ δὲ καὶ βασιλεῖ μοι φίλον, 18. 400 ff. οὐδ' Ἡρακλῆς ὁ φίλος γὰρ Διὶ τῷ ἀστρολόγῳ | ἡ τῷ ἡλίῳ νῦν Διὶ ἡ καὶ τῷ οὐρανῷ δε | (ἔργα κλεινὰ γὰρ καὶ λαμπρὰ ζῶν Ἡρακλῆς ἐτέλει, | καὶ οὐρανῷ δὲ φίλος ἦν ὡς ἀστρολόγος οἶος) | τὴν κῆρα καὶ τὸν θάνατον ἐξέδραμε τῆ τέχνη, 19. 56 (Herakles the reputed son of Amphitryon) ἔργῳ Διὸς δὲ ἀνακτος ὄντος καὶ ἀστρολόγου, 19. 62 ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκείνος βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας ἀστρολόγος, *alleg.* *Od.* 11. 140 f. Ζηνὸς... βασιλέως, | καὶ ἀστρολόγου μάντεως, μάγου, σοφοῦ τοῖς πᾶσι (cited by Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 126).

² Tzetz. *alleg.* *Od.* 1. 156 ὦ Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε, σοφὲ ἀστεροσκοπε (cited by Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 135).

³ See the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 409 and *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 303 f.

⁴ *Supra* pp. 11—14.

⁵ E. Riess in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1802 ff.

⁶ The clearest outlook over the whole subject is still that given by A. Bouché-Leclercq *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* Paris 1879 i. 205—257, *id.* in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 302—305, and especially *id.* *L'astrologie grecque* Paris 1899 *passim*. A great mass of fresh material is listed and in part published in the *Catalogus codicum astrologicorum Graecorum* Brussels 1898— by D. Bassi, F. Boll, F. Cumont, W. Kroll, E. Martini, and A. Olivieri. This is turned to good account by F. Boll *Sphaera* (Neue griechische Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Sternbilder) Leipzig 1903, *id.* *Die Lebensalter* (extr. from the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altert., Gesch. u. deutsch. Lit.* xxxi) Leipzig and Berlin 1913. On recent astrological research in general see the well-informed survey of Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 pp. 206—215.

⁷ A Bouché-Leclercq *L'astrologie grecque* Paris 1899 p. 97 f.

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the powers ascribed by astrologers to the planet Υ^1 , *i.e.* the Greek *Phaëthon* or *Zeus*, the Roman *Jupiter* :—

‘The brilliant planet that bears the name of Jupiter has received from astrologers as many praises—and the same—as Zeus himself, “father of gods and men,” received from his worshippers. Jupiter is a star naturally benevolent and beneficent, a pleasant contrast to the Babylonian Marduk. If his influence alone were dominant, earth would be a paradise : Firmicus holds that men would be actually immortal². Ptolemy expresses this psychological character in physical terms : he emphasises the essentially temperate nature of the planet, which is at once hot and moist, the former to a greater degree than the latter, and so constitutes a just mean between the frosts of Saturn and the fires of Mars. Moreover, he attributes to Jupiter the peculiar characteristic of arousing “winds that fertilise³.” Whence came these vapours and moist blasts ? Ptolemy does not explain ; probably he did not know. It may be that Jupiter inherited these attributes from Marduk. In the fourth tablet of the Chaldean cosmogony we read how Marduk, when he went to fight with Tiamat, let loose a fearful tempest, “the four winds, the seven winds that he engenders.” Further on Marduk is called “the god of the good wind⁴.” As god of the atmosphere, of rain and storm, the Graeco-Latin Jupiter would be readily assimilated to such a deity⁵. In the winds “that fertilise” we have the isolated relic of a once wide-spread superstition. We shall see later that the astrologers attributed to the three superior planets and to Venus an orientation of their own corresponding with the four cardinal points. The north devolved upon Jupiter. And it was the north wind, Boreas, which was credited with such procreative virtue that female animals sometimes found themselves spontaneously impregnated by it⁶.

¹ This symbol is usually explained as the first letter of the name *Zeus*, or (with more probability) as a form of thunderbolt (*id. ib.* p. xix).

² Firmic., ii, 13, 6 Kroll. Jupiter is a solar divinity, the Egyptian ‘*Όσίριδος άστήρ*’ Ach. Tat., *Isag.*, 17). Astrologers assign Cancer as his *Ώψωμα*, Capricornus as his *ταπεινώμα*, an arrangement which would suit the Sun (see, below, ch. vii).

³ *Διά δὲ τὸ μάλλον εἶναι θερμαντικός, γονίμων πνευμάτων γίνεται ποιητικός* (Ptol., *Tetrab.*, i, 4). Heat was supposed to produce by way of reaction the northern or etesian winds, which blew after the dog-days. At the time when he wrote his *Φάσεις* (*ap.* Wachsmuth pp. 199—276 ed. 2), and was not as yet an astrologer, Ptolemy attributed heat to Venus, moisture to Jupiter, and moist winds to Mercury (*ibid.*, p. 209). He changed his labels.

⁴ Jensen, *Kosmologie*, pp. 283 and 295.

⁵ The astrological Jupiter is *γλυκέων υδάτων χορηγός* (Anon., *In Tetrab.*, p. 70) and lodges in Pisces.

⁶ Boreas impregnating mares (Hom. *Iliad.*, xx, 223 ff.) ; Zephyr fertilising Lusitanian mares—a thing reported as *res incredibilis, sed vera* by Varro (*R. rust.*, ii, 1, 19), Pliny [*nat. hist.* 8. 166] and Columella [*de re rust.* 6. 27] ; the alleged non-existence of male vultures, the females being regularly fecundated *ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος* (Euseb., *Pr. Ev.*, iii, 12, 3) [see further the references collected by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 442 n. 3 and E. S. Hartland *Primitive Paternity* London 1909 pp. 22 f., 35, 149 f.] : all these claimed to be facts so well-attested that Lactantius, with a shocking lack of taste, used them as an argument to explain the Incarnation of Jesus Christ : *Quosdi animalia quaedam vento et aura concipere solere omnibus notum est, cur quisquam mirum putet cum Spiritu Dei, cui facile est quidquid velit, gravatam esse virginem dicimus?* (Lactant. *Inst. Div.*, iv, 12). According to Proclus (in *Anal. Sacr.*, v, 2, p. 176 Pitra), Boreas produced males, Notus

However that may be, Ptolemy assigns to Jupiter the epithet that best defines his kind of influence by describing it as "temperate" (εὐκρατον ἔχει τὸ ποιητικὸν τῆς δυνάμεως)¹.

(d) Zeus transformed into a Star.

A tradition fathered upon Clement of Rome² and cited also by Tzetzes³ says that Zeus transformed himself into a star, when he begot Kastor and Polydeukes. We are reminded of the passage in the *Iliad*, which tells how Zeus sent Athena like a meteorite from heaven to earth:

And even as crook-witted Kronos' son
Sendeth a star—a sign to mariners
Or some broad host of men—a brilliant star,
Wherefrom springs many a spark, like unto that
Pallas Athene darted down to earth⁴.

This may be no more than a simile. But in the *Hymn to the Pythian Apollon* we have a case of actual metamorphosis. Apollon, having reached Krisa on board a vessel manned by Cretans from Knossos, leapt ashore—

Like to a star at midday, and therefrom
Flew many a spark, and lo the light reached heaven⁵.

It is, then, possible that the tradition with regard to Zeus was not merely a late invention. Nevertheless it is reasonable to suppose, with O. Gruppe⁶, that it was motived by the frequent association of the Dioskouroi with stars.

(e) The Dioskouroi as Stars.

On the original significance of the Dioskouroi this is not the place to dilate⁷. My concern is merely with their epiphany as stars.

females. See, below (ch. vii), Jupiter's "winds that fertilise" invoked to fix his ὕψωμα in Cancer.

¹ This is the traditional refrain: *Sub Jove temperies et nunquam turbidus aer* (Lucan., *Phars.*, x, 207). The meteorological influence of Jupiter tempering the cold in winter, the heat in summer—*rabidos et temperat aestus* (German., *Arat. Progn.*, iv, 11). Before the time of Ptolemy Pliny had written of Jupiter's position between Mars and Saturn *interjectum ambobus ex utroque temperari Jovem salutareque fieri* (Plin., ii, § 34), and Pliny was copying Cicero (above, p. 95, 2 [Cic. *de nat. deor.* 2. 119, cp. Vitruv. 9. 1. 16]). All this seemed reasonable enough, and no further evidence was demanded.

² Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne) Νεμέσει τῇ τοῦ Θεοστοίου, τῇ καὶ Λήδα νομισθεισῇ, κύκνος ἢ χῆν γενόμενος (sc. ὁ Ζεὺς) Ἑλένην ἐτεκνώσατο, καὶ αὐτῆς, ἀστὴρ γενόμενος, Κάστορα καὶ Πολυδεύκην ἐξέφηνεν.

³ Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 88 <έν> ἄλλοις δέ τισιν εὖρον ἱστορικοῖς ὅτι ὁ Ζεὺς ἀστρῶ (ἀστέρι codicum classis ii) εἰκασθεὶς καὶ μίγεις Λήδα Κάστορα καὶ Πολυδεύκην γεννᾷ, ὕστερον δὲ οὖτως, ὡς ἐφηνεν, τὴν Ἑλένην.

⁴ *Il.* 4. 75 ff.

⁵ *H. Ap.* 441 f.

⁶ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 727 n. 7.

⁷ Neither am I the right man to do so. My learned and brilliant friend Dr J. Rendel

And here it will be best to quote the available evidence before considering the various interpretations that have been put upon it.

i. The dedication of Stars after the battles of Salamis and Aigos Potamos.

In the battle of Salamis (480 B.C.) the Æginetans distinguished themselves above the rest of the Greeks for their bravery¹. The Delphic Apollon therefore demanded of them a special thank-offering for the victory, and they erected at the corner of his temple three golden stars on a bronze mast². H. Pomtow in his plan of the Pythian precinct places the mast with its three stars close to the south-east angle of the temple-platform³. Herodotos, our sole informant, says nothing about the Dioskouroi; nor do we know that they were specially worshipped in Aigina. But an analogous incident, which occurred three quarters of a century later, brings them well to the fore. After the battle of Aigos Potamos (405 B.C.) the victorious Spartan general Lysandros set up at Delphoi a magnificent trophy made from the spoils of the vanquished Athenians. It included a great assemblage of bronze statues, which in time became covered with a patina of exquisite blue, and visitors commented on the appropriateness of the colour⁴. Pausanias gives a list of the thirty seven statues⁵, and important remains of the oblong chamber in which they stood, together with their inscribed bases, have been discovered by the French excavators near to the principal entrance of the sanctuary on the right hand side of the Sacred Way⁶. Pausanias' list of the statues in

Harris has for years past made the subject peculiarly his own, and his contributions towards the elucidation of divine twins in general and the Dioskouroi in particular (*The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* London 1903 pp. 1—64, *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* Cambridge 1906 pp. 1—160 with 7 pls., 'Sons of Thunder' in the *Expositor* 1907 pp. 146—152, 'Some Points in the Cult of the Heavenly Twins' in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 175 f., 'The Cult of the Heavenly Twins' in *The Contemporary Review* 1909 xcv. 50—61, *Boanerges* Cambridge 1913 pp. 1—424) have aroused a wide-spread interest in the subject: see the comments of Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 pp. 57 f., 314 ff., 481 f., 563 f.

¹ Hdt. 8. 93: see further G. Busolt *Griechische Geschichte* Gotha 1895 ii. 2⁷¹⁶ n. 2.

² Hdt. 8. 122.

³ H. Luckenbach *Erläuterungen zur Wandtafel von Delphi* München and Berlin 1904 pp. 12 (perspective view by C. Schuster), 13 (plan by H. Pomtow).

⁴ Plout. *de Pyth. or.* 2 ἀτεχνῶς θαλαππίους τῆ χροῶ καὶ βυθίου ἐστῶτας.

⁵ Paus. 10. 9. 7 ff.

⁶ T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 186, *ib.* 1897 xxi. 284—288, *ib.* 1898 xxii. 572—579, and in the *Comptés rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1901 pp. 668—686, H. Bulle and T. Wiegand in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xxii. 332 f., H. Pomtow in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii Arch. Anz. pp. 14 ff., 80 f., and in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 492—563, A. Furtwängler in the *Sitzungsber. d.*

question is headed by the Dioskouroi: then follow Zeus, Apollon, Artemis, Poseidon, Lysandros crowned by Poseidon, the seer Agias, Hermon the helmsman of Lysandros; behind these is ranked a series of twenty eight captains from various states, who helped Lysandros to win the day. The artists of the statues are duly recorded, the Dioskouroi being the work of Antiphanes the Argive. Plutarch, who knew Delphoi well, mentions along with these statues the 'golden stars of the Dioskouroi, which disappeared before the battle of Leuktra'.¹ He further states that, according to some persons, when Lysandros' ship was sailing out of the harbour to attack the Athenians, the Dioskouroi were seen shining as stars on the steering paddles; and that, according to others, the meteor that fell at Aigos Potamos was a sign of this slaughter². H. Pomtow concludes that at Delphoi the 'golden stars of the Dioskouroi' were in all probability attached to the heads of the twin-deities³. Cicero says that shortly before the fight at Leuktra (371 B.C.) these stars 'fell down and were not found'⁴—an omen, doubtless, of the overthrow of Sparta at the hands of Thebes. Now, in view of the express connexion between the stars dedicated by Lysandros and the appearance of the Dioskouroi on the admiral's vessel, it can hardly be questioned that the stars erected on a mast by the Æginetans were likewise symbolic of help received from the Dioskouroi at the battle of Salamis⁵.

kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1901 pp. 397—400, ib. 1904 pp. 365—368, A. Trendelenburg Die Anfangsstrecke der heiligen Strasse in Delphi Berlin 1908, F. Poulsen 'La niche aux offrandes de Marathon' in the Bulletin de l'Académie royale des Sciences et des Lettres de Danemark 1908 pp. 389—425, G. Karo in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1909 xxxiii. 219—239, ib. 1910 xxxiv. 201—207, and above all É. Bourguet in the Fouilles de Delphes iii. 1. 24—41, id. Les ruines de Delphes Paris 1914 pp. 41—46.

¹ Plout. v. *Lys.* 18.

² Plout. v. *Lys.* 12. So Cic. *de div.* i. 75. On the meteor see the *marm. Par. ep.* 57 p. 17 Jacoby, Aristot. *meteor.* i. 7. 344 b 31 ff., Diog. Laert. 2. 10, Philostr. v. *Apoll.* 1. 2, Tzetz. *chil.* 2. 892 ff., Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 149, Amm. Marc. 22. 16. 22.

³ H. Pomtow in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 563. A bronze statuette of one of the Dioskouroi, found at Paramythia and now in the British Museum, has a hole in its cap, probably for the insertion of a star (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 37 no. 277 pl. 6, 3). But see *infra* p. 764 n. 6.

⁴ Cic. *de div.* i. 75. It is noteworthy that the great inscription recording the accounts of the *ναοροιοι* at Delphoi mentions among other items of expenditure under the archonship of Peithagoras (342 B.C.) the sum paid to a certain Kephalon 'for the model of the wooden star' (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 140, 111 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 591, 111 f. = Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* ii. 652 ff. no. 2502, 111 f. τοῦ ξίυλ[ι]νου ἀστέρου τοῦ παραδειγματος στατήρης τέτοπος, δ[ρ]α[χ]μ[ά]). But this may have been, as É. Bourguet and W. Dittenberger *ad loc.* suppose, a piece of architectural decoration: cp. *supra* p. 751 f.

⁵ My friend Dr W. H. D. Rouse in his *Greek Votive Offerings* Cambridge 1902 p. 135 n. 1 complains that this hypothesis does not account for the fact that there were

ii. The Dioskouroi as Stars in Hellenic Literature.

Literary allusions fully bear out this conception of the Dioskouroi as helpful deities, whose signs bring relief to the storm-tossed mariner¹. The Homeric *Hymn to the Dioskouroi*, which Mr E. E. Sikes dates 'at least as early as the fourth or third century B.C.,' gives a fine description of a storm at sea²—

when the winds of winter
Hurry across the rough deep, and on ship-board
Men cry aloud to the sons of mighty Zeus
With white lambs, climbing up the after-deck,
Which the great wind and wave of the sea plunge deep
Into the brine, till on a sudden they come,
Darting on brown wings through the upper air,
And straightway stay the blasts of labouring winds
And lay the white surf smooth upon the main—
Fair signs of trouble over³: those that see them
Rejoice at heart and cease from sorry toil.

The Dioskouroi here, quite exceptionally, appear as birds⁴, or at least as brown-winged forms. On Etruscan mirrors also they are occasionally winged⁵. To Euripides they were star-like deities, dwelling among the stars, and hastening thence to the rescue of the voyager. In the *Helene* (412 B.C.) Teukros says of them:

In fashion made as stars men name them Gods⁶.

And a chorus of Greek maidens in the same play invokes their blessing upon Helene's home-coming:

And ye, in your chariot o'er highways of sky
O haste from the far land
Where, Tyndareus' scions, your homes are on high
Mid the flashings of starland:

three stars, nor yet for their erection on a mast. But the third star may have been Apollon (*supra* p. 760) or, more probably, Helene (*infra* pp. 764, 769); and the mast is obviously appropriate to a memorial of a sea-fight, especially if the Dioskouroi and Helene were believed to appear as stars on the mast of the ship (*infra* p. 771 ff.).

¹ For a full collection of passages see K. Jaisle *Die Dioskuren als Retter zur See bei Griechen und Römern und ihr Fortleben in christlichen Legenden* Tübingen 1907 pp. 1—73, reviewed by R. Wünsch in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1911 xiv. 554.

² *H. Diosk.* 7 ff. The passage is imitated by Theokr. 22. 8 ff.

³ I follow the emendation of Prof. J. B. Bury, who corrects *ναύταις σήματα καλά πόνου σφίσαντ'· οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες* into *σήματα καλά πόνων ἀπονόφισιν· οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες* (*Class. Rev.* 1899 xiii. 183).

⁴ On the contention of S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1901 ii. 35—50 = *id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1906 ii. 42—57 that 'les Dioscures, comme Apollon et Kyknos, sont des hommes-cygnés' (sons of Zeus transformed into a swan and Leda, i.e. the Phrygian *Lada*, 'a woman'; born from an egg; later conceived as *λευκοπέλω* with egg-shell *piloi*; etc.) see Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 480. J. Rendel Harris *Boanerges* Cambridge 1913 p. 17 ff. would connect the Twins with a variety of 'thunder-birds.'

⁵ E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1109.

⁶ *Eur. Hel.* 140 *ἄστροις σφ' ὁμοιωθέντε φάσ' εἶναι θεῶ,* trans. A. S. Way.

Ye who dwell in the halls of the Heavenly Home,
 Be nigh her, safe guiding
 Helen where seas heave, surges comb,
 As o'er waves green-glimmering, crested with foam,
 Her galley is riding¹!

Similarly in Euripides' *Elektra* (413 B.C.) the women of Argos salute Klytainestra as follows:

Hail, Queen of the Argive land!
 All hail, O Tyndareus' daughter!
 Hail, sister of Zeus' sons, heroes twain
 In the glittering heavens mid stars who stand,
 And their proud right this, to deliver from bane
 Men tossed on the storm-vest water².

In the *Orestes* (408 B.C.) Helene shares their prerogative:

For, as Zeus' daughter, deathless must she live,
 And shall by Kastor and Polydeukes sit
 In folds of air, the mariners' saviour she³.

iii. The Dioskouroi with Stars in Hellenistic Art.

The art-type of the Dioskouroi, with their heads surmounted by a couple of stars, though common enough in Hellenistic times (fig. 554)⁴, especially on coins (fig. 555)⁵, has not as yet been discovered on monuments of the strictly Hellenic period⁶. Diodoros, who drew his information from the *Argonautika* or *Argonautai* of

¹ Eur. *Hel.* 149⁵ ff. trans. A. S. Way. The poet adds *ναύτρας εὐαεῖς ἀνέμων* | *πέμποντες Διόθεν πνοάς*, which marks their connexion with Zeus.

² Eur. *El.* 988 ff. trans. A. S. Way. Cp. Eur. *ib.* 1241 f., 1347 ff., *Hel.* 1633 ff., *frag. adesp.* 133 Bergk¹ (= Pind. *frag.* 140^o Schroeder) *ap.* Plout. *non posse suar. vivē sec. Epiv.* 23, *de def. or.* 30.

³ Eur. *Or.* 1635 ff. trans. A. S. Way. Cp. Eur. *ib.* 1683 ff., Isokr. *Helene* 61.

⁴ Fig. 554 *a, b* representing a pair of bronze statuettes (heights 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ and 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches) at Arosen (R. Gaedechens *Die Antiken des Fürstlich Waldeckischen Museums zu Arosen Arosen* 1862 nos. 173, 174) is drawn from casts in the Cambridge collection. The lowered hands hold sheathed swords; the raised arms doubtless leant upon lances. The right foot of fig. 554 *b* is restored. For variations on the same theme see e.g. Reinach *R'p. Stat.* i. 487 no. 2, ii. 109 nos. 3, 6, 7, 10, iv. 59 no. 5, *id. Rép. Reliefs* ii. 344 no. 1, iii. 248 no. 5. Cp. *supra* p. 35 fig. 8.

⁵ The type dates from the third century B.C. (A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1176 f.). I figure by way of example a silver coin of the Bruttii after Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 183 pl. 124, 12.

⁶ A. Furtwängler *loc. cit.* i. 1171 f. This makes it doubtful whether we can admit H. Pomtow's surmise that the statues of the Dioskouroi at Delphoi by Antiphanes of Argos (soon after 405 B.C.) had stars on their heads (*supra* p. 762).

Polyain. 2, 31, 4 states that Aristomenes the Messenian and a friend once tricked the Lacedaemonians by appearing suddenly in the guise of the Dioskouroi, mounted on white horses and wearing golden stars on their heads (cp. 1, 41, 1, 6, 1, 3, Frontin. *strat.* 1, 11, 8, 9, cited by K. Jaisle *op. cit.* p. 16 n. 6). But little confidence can be placed in the historical accuracy of this trick, and none in its details.

Dionysios Skytobrachion (s. ii B.C.)¹, relates that, when the Argonauts were overtaken by a terrible storm, Orpheus prayed to the gods of Samothrace, that straightway the wind ceased, and that,



Fig. 554.

to the amazement of all, two stars fell upon the heads of the Dioskouroi; wherefore storm-tossed mariners ever afterwards prayed to the gods of Samothrace and interpreted the presence of the



Fig. 555.

¹ E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 929.

stars as an epiphany of the Dioskouroi¹. This late tale with its confusion of the Samothracian Kabeiroi² and the Dioskouroi need not detain us. It may be pure invention on the part of Dionysios, whose credit was none of the best³. But in any case the conception of the Dioskouroi with stars hovering over their heads was a natural development from the earlier conception of the Dioskouroi as stars themselves⁴: the progress of anthropomorphism, everywhere dominant in Greek religion, could have led to no other issue.

In passing I would draw attention to a little-noticed series of Etruscan mirrors (*s.* iii—ii B.C.), on which the Dioskouroi are associated with a star or stars. The simplest variety of the type (fig. 556)⁵ shows them as two youths facing one another with a star between them. Each is clad in Phrygian cap, short *chiton*, and belt, has one arm only visible and that resting on his hip, and stands beside his shield, which is grounded. Their attitude of arrested motion suggests an original group by Polykleitos or some other sculptor of the Argive school. Further examples unite the twins by means of one? (fig. 557)⁶, two (fig. 558)⁷, or three (fig. 559)⁸ cross-bars, sometimes omitting star or shields or both. These designs recall the *dókana* or 'beams' of the Dioskouroi as described by Plutarch⁹ and figured on Spartan reliefs¹⁰. And, whatever may

¹ Diod. 4. 43, cp. 4. 48.

² L. Bloch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2530 f., E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1097 f., H. Graillot in the *Rev. Arch.* 1904 i. 345 ff., K. Jaisle *op. cit.* pp. 22—25.

³ E. Schwartz *ib.* v. 929.

⁴ The older notion lingers in Kallim. *lavacr. Pall.* 24 f. *οἶα παρ' Εὐρώτῃ τοῖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι | ἀστέρες*, Hor. *od.* 1. 3. 2 sic fratres Helenaee, lucida sidera, Loukian. *ναυίγ.* 9 *καὶ τινὰ λαμπρὸν ἀστέρα, Διοσκόρων τὸν ἕτερον, ἐπικαθίσαι τῷ καρρησίῳ κ.τ.λ.*

⁵ Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 33 f. pl. 45, 4 (Berlin).

⁶ *Id. ib.* iii. 35 f. pl. 46, 2 (Bologna, two specimens). Gerhard supposes that the connexion here consists of two bars touching each other.

⁷ *Id. ib.* iii. 35 f. pl. 46, 3 (from the Thorwaldsen collection).

⁸ *Id. ib.* iii. 35 f. pl. 46, 6 (Berlin).

⁹ Plout. *de frat. am.* 1 τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἀφιδρύματα οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται δόκανα καλοῦσιν· ἐστὶ δὲ δύο ξύλα παράλληλα δυσὶ πλαγίοις ἐπέσειγμένα, καὶ δοκεῖ τῷ φιλαδέλφῳ τῶν θεῶν οἰκέον εἶναι τοῦ ἀναθήματος τὸ κοινὸν καὶ ἀδαιρέτον, cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1125, 59 ff. *παράγωγον δὲ δοκοῦ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς δόκανα, ὧν χρῆσις καὶ παρὰ Ἰηλουτάρχῳ (Favorin. *lex.* p. 524, 9 f.). ἦσαν δὲ αὐτὰ Διοσκούρων ἀφιδρύματα, ὡς ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἰστορεῖ καὶ ἐκφράζει, *el. mag.* p. 282, 5 ff. (copied by Zonar. *lex. s.v.* δόκανα, interp. Soud. *s.v.* δόκανα, and Favorin. *lex.* p. 523, 23 f.) δόκανα· τάφοι τινὲς ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ, παρὰ τὸ δέξασθαι τὰς (leg. τοὺς) Τυνδαρίδας, φαντασίαν ἐχούσας (leg. ἐχόντες) τάφων ἀνεψωμένων. ἢ παρὰ τὸ δοκεῖν, δόκανον. The curious statement that the δόκανα looked like opened tombs perhaps refers to the juxtaposed *amphorae* of the Dioskouroi, which sometimes have snakes coiled about them and might suggest graves of the 'Dipylon' type.*

¹⁰ M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 113 f. fig. 14 and p. 193 no. 588.

For gems possibly representing the δόκανα see (1) Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine*

be the ultimate explanation of the *dōkana*¹, it seems probable that we have here a humanised form of them in which the side-posts



Fig. 556.



Fig. 557.



Fig. 558.



Fig. 559.

Berlin p. 30 no. 305 pl. 6 = *id. Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 13, 29, ii. 64 a chalcedony scaraboid from Melos showing two pillars linked together—good work of *s. v. B.C.*; (2) *id. Gesch. Steine Berlin* p. 236 no. 6464 pl. 45 a black stone showing two Egyptising pillars connected by a loop; (3) *id. ib.* p. 243 no. 6617 pl. 47 a striped sardonyx showing two pillars, each surmounted by a radiate globe with a star above it and equipped with a lance and a sword; between them is a tripod (?) with a crescent moon above it. This gem is published on a scale of $\frac{2}{3}$ by its former owner E. Gerhard *Über das Metroon zu Athen* etc. Berlin 1851 (extr. from the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1849 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 459 ff.) p. 32 no. 7 pl. 2.

¹ As an object of religious significance this structure of two side-posts with a connecting bar or (for stability's sake) two connecting bars, themselves sometimes connected by

have become anthropomorphic¹, the connecting bar or bars being retained and perhaps accepted in lieu of the missing arms.

Another variety complicates the scene by adding a central pillar. This pillar tapers upwards (fig. 560)² or downwards (fig. 561)³, or takes the shape of a lotus-column (fig. 562)⁴ or even of a tree topped by a bird? (fig. 563)⁵. The heads of the heroes may be connected by a regular pediment (figs. 561, 563); and the star between them may be accompanied by two other stars (fig. 563).

several vertical ties, is found over a wide area from west to east. It is akin to some forms of the gateway which in the wall-paintings of Pompeii turns a tree into a temple (e.g. Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 155 f., 541, 543, figs. 36, 56, 58, 59, etc.: cp. Schrader *Reallex.* pp. 855—863), to the *tigillum sororium* at Rome (H. Jordan—C. Hülsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom in Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 322 n. 2, O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*² München 1901 p. 311), and to the *ingum* under which conquered troops were made to pass (*Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 369). It resembles, as Miss Harrison has observed (M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 193 n. 1), the *façade* of the temple of the Paphian Aphrodite on coins of Kypros etc. (E. A. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1888 ix. 210—215, G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus p. cxxvii). Further, it is very like a Buddhist tomb at Bangkok (J. Fergusson *Rude Stone Monuments* London 1872 p. 413 f. fig. 177) and the carved *toran* or portal of many an Indian 'tope' (J. Fergusson *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* rev. by J. Burgess and R. Phené Spiers London 1910 i. 62 ff. figs. 12 and 38). Closer still is its analogy to the *p'ai-lou* or memorial gateways of China (*id. ib.* i. 118 f., ii. 456, 472 ff. figs. 501, 502, 503) and the countless *torii* of Japan (R. A. Cram *Impressions of Japanese Architecture* London 1906 pp. 88, 109 f. pl. 18, F. Hadland Davis *Myths & Legends of Japan* London 1912 p. 225 ff.). The possible connexion of these types is a theme deserving of serious investigation, but not one to be undertaken in a footnote.

My friend Prof. H. A. Giles has most kindly supplied me with a note (Sept. 26, 1913) on the *p'ai-lou*, which may at least serve as a suggestive contribution to the subject:

'*P'ai-fang* and *P'ai-lou* are popular names for the honorific gates put up by the Chinese in honour of chaste wives, filial children, and others. The former is simple in style, consisting of uprights and horizontals; the latter is more ornate, with a roofing turned up at the corners. Neither term is given in the Concordance to Literature (*P'ei wen yün fu*).

'It seems to have been customary, since about B.C. 1000, for the suzerain in feudal times, and for the Emperor in later days, to reward distinguished men and women by the bestowal of some mark of favour, such as a banner, which would be exhibited at the gate of the town or village where the recipient was born. Stone animals are also mentioned; e.g. the horse, lion, and elephant. In every case, it was the local gateway which was embellished, the idea being that the fellow-townsmen of the distinguished person should each share in the honour accorded. I can find no record of the date at which isolated gates were first set up, nor any clue to their meaning or symbolism; but it seems very probable that the modern honorific gate is nothing more than the old village gate which was so long associated with the honour that it came eventually to stand for the honour itself.'

¹ The resultant type of the Dioskouroi was, I suspect, not uninfluenced by that of the Kouretes, who—though their origin was very different—were likewise represented as flanking-figures with shields.

² Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 35 f. pl. 46, 4 (Gerhard's collection).

³ *Id. ib.* iii. 37 ff. pl. 47, 6 (Naples).

⁴ *Id. ib.* iii. 36 f. pl. 46, 9 (London).

⁵ *Id. ib.* iii. 36 f. pl. 46, 8 (Paris).

Now several Spartan reliefs of the second century B.C. show the Dioskouroi standing on either side of a pillar-like female figure¹, which has been interpreted as an archaic image of Helene². It is



Fig. 560.

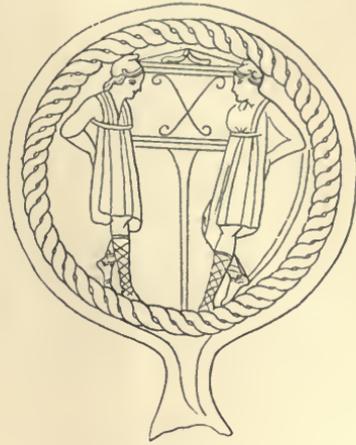


Fig. 561.



Fig. 562.



Fig. 563.

therefore probable that the pillar on our mirrors too is the aniconic form of the same goddess, whose star is here seen flanked by her brothers.

¹ A. Conze and A. Michaelis in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861 xxxiii. 39 f. pl. D, 1 and 2, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1167 fig., M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 158 nos. 201—203 figs. 38.f.

² A. Conze and A. Michaelis *loc. cit.*, A. Furtwängler *loc. cit.*

The lotus¹ and tree not improbably point to a fertility-cult; and on an isolated mirror (fig. 564)² the twins have a thunder-bolt³(?) between them, and their *amphorae* are modified into vessels from which a stream of water descends to a lotus-bloom below.



Fig. 564.



Fig. 565.

Finally, another variety of type (fig. 565)⁴ treats the whole group with much greater freedom, *e.g.* introducing Leda's swan, but still retains the side-posts of the *dókana* in the form of *cippi* and, grotesquely enough, joins head to head by a decorated architrave.

iv. The Dioskouroi identified with the Heavenly Twins in Hellenistic Literature.

But we have yet to ask, what were the stars with which the Dioskouroi are associated?

Eratosthenes, or the pseudo-Eratosthenes, identified them with the celestial Twins⁵, as did other writers of a late date⁶. Recently

¹ A lotus-bud is the central ornament of the *dókana* as figured on a Spartan relief in M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *op. cit.* p. 193 no. 588 fig. 68.

² Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 36 f. pl. 46, 7 (Gerhard's collection).

³ The *Τυνδαρίδαι* are sons of *Τυνδάρεως*, the 'Shatterer' (*infra* p. 780 n. 5), an obvious source of thunder and lightning.

⁴ Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 39 ff. pl. 48, 2 (Naples?), *cp. ib.* pl. 48, 1 (Rome, Museo Gregoriano?).

⁵ Pseudo-Eratosth. *cat. astr.* 10.

⁶ Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 22, *cp. Ov. fast.* 5. 693 ff., Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 6. 121.

this view has been championed by O. Gruppe, who holds that the Dioskouroi were originally none other than the Heavenly Twins¹ and seeks support for his view in the fact that Assyrian mythology gave to the same constellation the name *tuamu rabuti* or 'the Great Twins².' But, as Dr J. Rendel Harris makes clear, many features of the Kastor and Polydeukes tradition are of vastly greater antiquity than the zodiac: 'we are at an earlier date in human history than star-gazing and star-naming³.'

v. The Dioskouroi identified with various Stars by modern writers.

F. G. Welcker, comparing the Ásvins of the *Veda* and analogous pairs of twins found in other Indo-Europæan mythologies, argued that the Dioskouroi were personifications of the morning-star and the evening-star regarded as two, not one⁴. A. Jeremias⁵ and H. Winckler⁶ would equate them with the sun and moon; O. Gilbert, with day and night⁷. E. Bethe holds that they were not a definite pair of stars, but any stars that shone out through a rift in the storm and seemed to promise safety to the mariners in their distress⁸. But these conjectures are devoid of ancient support and must therefore remain at best purely conjectural.

vi. The Dioskouroi identified with Saint Elmo's Fire in Hellenistic Literature.

In the Hellenistic age, and probably long before that⁹, the stars of the Dioskouroi and of their sister Helene were identified with the electrical discharges ('corposants') that play about the spars of ships in stormy weather¹⁰. This phenomenon is known to have

¹ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 164, 727, *id. Myth. Lit.* 1908 pp. 56 f., 480.

² P. Jensen *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier* Strassburg 1890 pp. 64 f., 82, cp. M. Jastrow *Die Religion Babyloniers und Assyriens* Giessen 1912 ii. 2. 680 n. 1.

³ J. Rendel Harris *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* Cambridge 1906 p. 7.

⁴ Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 606 ff.

⁵ A. Jeremias *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients*² Leipzig 1906 p. 64 ff.

⁶ H. Winckler *Die Weltanschauung des alten Orients (Ex Oriente lux i. 1)* Leipzig 1905 p. 28.

⁷ Gilbert *Gr. Götterl.* p. 201 ff.

⁸ E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1096.

⁹ Cp. the stars dedicated at Delphoi after the battles of Salamis and Aigos Potamos (*supra* p. 761 f.).

¹⁰ I have been unable to procure an actual photograph of these electrical lights. But F. T. Bullen's article on 'St Elmo's Fires' in *Marvels of the Universe*, published by Hutchinson and Co., London, pt. 2 p. 63 f. (a reference supplied to me by my nephew Mr E. N. Cook) has an illustration by A. Twidle showing two such lights on a mast-head

attracted the attention of the Greeks as early as the sixth century B.C.; for Xenophanes (c. 576—480) offered a physical explanation of it¹. It is first expressly referred to the Dioskouroi by Seneca the philosopher, who says:

* In a big storm stars as it were are wont to appear sitting on the sail. Men believe that then in their peril they are being succoured by the divine power of Pollux and Castor. They therefore take heart again, for it is already clear to them that the storm is weakening and the winds dropping: otherwise the fires would be borne about and not stationary².

Many other authors of the imperial age mention the stars of the Dioskouroi as appearing on the rigging of ships at sea³. Occasionally the apparition was ascribed to a different source: Polemon, like Diodoros⁴, seems to have spoken of the Kabeiroi in this connexion⁵, and Arrian says that off the island of Achilles in the Euxine sea Achilles was seen on the mast or on the tip of the yard in place of the Dioskouroi⁶.

vii. The Stars of the Dioskouroi and of Helene as a good or bad omen.

Different opinions were entertained with regard to the propitious or unpropitious nature of these signs. Euripides treated Kastor, Polydeukes, and Helene as alike beneficent powers⁷. But a gradual change seems to have come over classical beliefs in this respect.

and a yard-arm. Mr Bullen says: 'St. Elmo's Fire...often covers like a halo the head of a seaman engaged in work aloft, and I myself have several times seen it streaming from my fingers when holding them up for the purpose. I cannot help confessing to a curious feeling of the uncanny on witnessing this phenomenon...Only appearing on the blackest of nights, moving from point to point without apparently passing through the intermediate space, unaffected by fiercest wind or heaviest rain, and insusceptible of being touched or moved, St Elmo's Fires form what is probably the most mysterious and lovely of all the wonderful phenomena belonging to the ocean.' Sir J. J. Thomson informs me (Sept. 22, 1913) that one night in stormy weather he saw St Elmo's fires glimmering on the topmost points of King's College Chapel, Cambridge.

¹ Act. 2. 18. Ἡ Ξενοφάνης τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν πλοίων φαινόμενοις οἷον ἀστέρας, οὓς καὶ Διοσκουροῖς καλοῦσιν τινες, νεφέλια εἶναι κατὰ τὴν ποίαν κίνησιν παραλάμποντα = Plout. *de plac. phil.* 2. 18. 1.

² Sen. *nat. quest.* 1. 1. 13.

³ E.g. Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 101, Loukian. *navig.* 9, *diat. decor.* 26. 2, *Charid.* 3, *de mercedi conductis* 1, Max. Tyr. 15. 7, Lyd. *de ostent.* 5. To the list given by T. H. Martin 'La foudre et le feu Saint-Elme' in the *Revue archéologique* 1866 N.S. xiii. 168 ff. K. Jaïsle *op. cit.* p. 12 adds the papyrus romance published by J. P. Mahaffy in the *Rendiconti d. Lincei* 1897 Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche (Serie Quinta) vi. 93.

⁴ *Supra* p. 765 f.

⁵ Polemon *frag.* 76a (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 137 Müller) *ap. schol. Eur. Or.* 1637.

⁶ Arrian. *peripl. pont. Eux.* 34 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* 1. 399 Müller).

⁷ *Supra* p. 763 f.

A distinction was first drawn between the Dioskouroi and Helene. According to Sosibios (*c.* 250 B.C.), the epiphany of Helene was an evil omen¹—a view perhaps based on a real² or fancied etymology of her name³. The same thing is said by Solinus (*c.* 250 A.D.)⁴. Pliny⁵ and the scholiast on Statius⁶ speak of the stars of Pollux and Castor as favourable signs, but describe the star of Helena in terms which point rather—as T. H. Martin showed⁷—to ball-lightning. Pliny writes:

'On mariners' yard-arms and other parts of ships such stars settle with an audible sound, changing their position like birds from perch to perch⁸. When they come one at a time, they are dangerous, indeed they sink ships and, if they fall to the lower parts of the hull, they set it on fire. But twin stars are a good sign and announce a prosperous voyage. It is said that at their approach the dread and threatening star called Helena is put to flight: hence this exhibition of divine power is ascribed to Pollux and Castor, and men invoke them at sea.'

The scholiast on Statius gives much the same account of the matter, adding that the star of Helena is known as Urania, that it makes a hole in the mast, that it bores through the ship's bottom, and that even bronze is melted by its heat. By degrees the Dioskouroi themselves took on the sinister character of their sister. Artemidoros of Ephesos (*c.* 160 A.D.) reflects the transition, when in his *Oneirokritika* he observes:

'The Dioskouroi are a presage of storm to men on a voyage. To men

¹ Sosibios *frag.* 16 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 628 Müller) *ap. schol. Eur. Or.* 1637.

² 'Ἐλένη, as was shown by F. Solmsen *Untersuchungen zur griechischen Laut- und Verslehre* Strassburg 1901 pp. 196, 248 f., is probably to be connected with ἐλάνη, ἐλένη, 'a torch' (Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 135 f., Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 237).

³ Aisch. *Ag.* 687 f. Ἐλέναν; ἐπεὶ πρεπόντως ἐλένας Ἐλανδρος ἐλέπολις κ.τ.λ.—Browning's 'Ship's-Hell, Man's-Hell, City's-Hell.'

⁴ Solin. i. 57.

⁵ Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 101.

⁶ Lact. *Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 7. 792. The distinction is made by Statius himself (*Theb.* 7. 791 ff., *silv.* 3. 2. 8 ff.).

⁷ T. H. Martin *loc. cit.* p. 173.

⁸ Lyd. *de ostent.* 5 λιγυρόν τι σίργμα προσηχούντες καὶ ὀρνέων δίκην εἰς τόπον ἐκ τόπου τῆς νεὸς μεθιστάμενοι. This may explain the winged Dioskouroi of the Homeric hymn and of Etruscan art (*supra* p. 763). R. Basset in *Mélusine* 1884—85 ii. 189 writes: 'D'après Mas'oudi (*Prairies d'or*, éd. Barbier de Meynard, t. i, ch. xvi, p. 344—345), en temps d'orage, on aperçoit en haut du mât, un objet qui a la forme d'un oiseau lumineux et qui jette une clarté si vive qu'on ne peut le fixer. Dès qu'on l'aperçoit, la mer se calme, cet objet disparaît sans qu'on sache ce qu'il est devenu. Le fait fut attesté à Mas'oudi par des marchands de Basrah, de l'Oman et de Siraf. Dans la Méditerranée, on appelait cet objet *Es sari* (le voyageur de nuit), dans la mer de Chine *Ed douli*.' In the north-east of Scotland these electrical discharges are known as 'Corbie's aunt' (the Rev. W. Gregor in the *Folklore Journal* 1883 p. 396, cp. *The Folk-lore of the North-East of Scotland* London 1881 p. 137), presumably a popular distortion of the name 'corpasant.'

ashore they are a sign of tumult, law-suits, war, or grievous disease. But at the last they let men go scatheless from all dangers, and such as are already involved in any of these alarms they speedily deliver. For the gods are saviours, but saviours of those that have previously been in some fear or peril¹.

Porphyrius notes that in his day (the third century A.D.) sailors regarded the stars of Castor and Pollux as commonly hostile to ships². Fulgentius the mythographer (c. 480—550 A.D.), after moralising in his tasteless way about Iupiter and Leda, continues:

‘But Castor and Pollux stand for perdition, wherefore at sea too they spoke of the signs of the Castores, which create danger³.’

In modern times the process of degradation has gone further still. Mr G. F. Abbott in his *Macedonian Folklore* remarks that the electric phenomena once ascribed to the Dioskouroi ‘are by the modern Greek mariners called [*Telónia*]⁴ or “Devils” and treated as such: the sailors look upon them as presages of disaster and try to frighten them away by dint of exorcisms and loud noises—an instance of beneficent pagan deities degraded to the rank of malignant demons⁵.’ The name *Telónia* has had a curious history⁶. N. G. Polites states that it meant originally demons acting as publicans or custom-house officials and so hindering souls from a free entrance into heaven. The same authority informs us that these *Telónia* are believed to snap the mast and sink the ship: hence, directly they appear, the sailors have recourse to prayers, burn incense, recite incantations from the *Key of Solomon*, discharge fire-arms, pull the tails of pigs, in short do anything and everything calculated to scare away the dreaded powers⁷.

viii. Saint Elmo’s Fire.

Throughout the Mediterranean and the western coasts of Europe the same phenomenon is viewed sometimes as a good, sometimes as an evil sign⁸. It is commonly called the ‘fire of Saint Elmo’—a name which has many variants⁹ and has been

¹ Artemid. *oneirocr.* 2. 37.

² Porphyr. in Hor. *od.* 1. 3. 2: see, however, F. Hauthal *ad loc.*

³ Fulgent. *myth.* 2. 16, cp. *Myth. Vat.* 3. 3. 6.

⁴ Τελώνια.

⁵ G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 241.

⁶ B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 171 ff.

⁷ N. G. Polites in *Mélusine* 1884—85 ii. 117. For ancient apotropaics see Solin. 1. 54—57, cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 28. 77.

⁸ P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 96.

⁹ These are collected in *Mélusine* 1884—85 ii. 112 f. (cp. *ib.* 112 ff., 138 ff., 189, 255 f., 382): e.g. Italian *fuoco di Sant’ Elmo*, *luce di Santo Ermo*, *Sant’ Ermo*, Sardinian *fogu de S. Elmu*, Genoese *fêugo de Sant’ Emo*, French *feu Saint-Elme*, sailors’ French *feu Saint-Erme*, Provençal *fué Sant’ Eoumé*, *fio de Sant’ Èime*, *lume Sant’ Èime*, Bouches-du-

explained in more ways than one. Apart from the inevitable 'Semitic guess', modern scholars have sought to derive it from *elmo*, the Italian form of the German *Helm*², or from *Hermes*³, or even from *Helena*⁴. Others again advocate a connexion with Saint *Erasmus*⁵, a mediaeval patron of mariners, and K. Jaisle has succeeded in citing the intermediate forms *Santeramo*, *Santeremo*, *Santermo*⁶. Finally, Dr J. Rendel Harris argues that 'St Erasmo ... is a modification of St Remo, i.e. of the Roman Twin'.⁷ Probably the last word in this interesting controversy has not yet been written. Be that as it may, Saint Elmo's fire is also attributed to Saint Nicolas⁸, Saint Clara⁹, etc. And, just as ancient Italian sailors referred one star to Helena, two to Castor and Pollux, so modern French sailors ascribe two to Saint Elme and Saint Nicolas, three or four to the added presence of Sainte Anne or Sainte Barbe¹⁰.

It appears, therefore, that for nearly two thousand years the stars of the Dioskouroi and of Helene have been identified with these ominous electrical phenomena. To me it seems probable that from the first they bore the same meaning. If Zeus was the god of the bright sky, such atmospheric illuminations might well be referred to his children. I am, however, very far from thinking that we have reached the ultimate significance of the Dioskouroi when we have succeeded in connecting their stars with the fire of Saint Elmo. It would be truer to say that we have been reading the last and in some respects the least interesting chapter of a lengthy story. The contents of the previous chapters must be sought in the keen-witted works of my friend Dr Rendel Harris¹¹.

Rhône *fo de Sant Antèime*, English *Ferne's fire*. See also A. Jal *Glossaire Nautique* Paris 1848 p. 692 f., and F. Kluge *Seemannssprache* Halle 1911 pp. 217—220.

¹ Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 13 f. 'In the middle ages and in modern times such lights have been known as the fire of Saint Elmo or Saint Telmo. My friend the late W. Robertson Smith informed me that the name Telmo resembles a Phoenician word meaning "twins."'

² K. Jaisle *op. cit.* p. 67.

³ K. Jaisle *op. cit.* p. 63 quotes the forms: S. Erme (c. 1582), S. Heremo (1669), S. Hermen (1688).

⁴ J. K. G. Jacobssohn *Technologisches Wörterbuch* Berlin 1782 ii. 250 b. Cp. the following variants: French *feu d' Hélène* (1678), *Sainte Hélène* (1754), English *Saint Helen's fire*, German *Helmenfeuer*, *Helenenfeuer*, Flemish *Elmsvuer*, *Helensvuer*, Breton *Tan santez Helena*. For the change of sex see *supra* p. 172 ff.

⁵ So first in the *Acta Sanctorum* ed. Bolland. Iunius i. 218 f. (1695). See also D. H. Kerler *Die Patronate der Heiligen* Ulm 1905 p. 330.

⁶ K. Jaisle *op. cit.* pp. 67—72.

⁷ J. Rendel Harris in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 176. See further his *Boanerges* Cambridge 1913 p. 206 f.

⁸ K. Jaisle *op. cit.* p. 58 f. Cp. the Italian *fuoco di San Niccola*, French *Saint Nicolas*.

⁹ K. Jaisle *op. cit.* p. 59 f. In Old French the fires were ascribed to *Sainte Claire*.

¹⁰ P. Sébillot *op. cit.* i. 96.

¹¹ *Supra* p. 760 n. 7.

§ 9. *General Conclusions with regard to Zeus as god of the Bright Sky.*

Having advanced thus far in our main enquiry we must pause to take our bearings afresh. A brief survey of the ground already traversed will enable us to apprehend better the position that we have reached, and will fittingly close the first stage of our journey.

Zeus, whose name means 'the Bright One,' was originally conceived in zoistic fashion as the bright sky itself—a conception that has left its mark on the language and literature of ancient Greece¹.

The change from the zoistic to the anthropomorphic Zeus was occasioned, not by any despair of magic, but rather by a naïve attempt to express heaven in terms of earth. The divine sky, as supreme weather-maker, was represented under the guise of an ordinary human magician or weather-ruling king². This transition, which had been accomplished well before the end of the second millenium B.C., meant that Zeus was no longer worshipped as the sky but as the sky-god. Yet his earlier character can still be surmised from the çult-titles and art-types of a more sophisticated age. Behind Zeus *Aithérios* and Zeus *Aithrios*, if not also behind Zeus *Amários*, Zeus *Díos*, and Zeus *Lýkaios*, we detect the old-world cult of the day-light sky³. Again, when Hellenistic artists portray Zeus with a blue *nimbus* round his head⁴, a blue globe at his feet⁵, a blue mantle wrapped about his loins⁶, what are these attributes, taken together, but an indication that the god so portrayed was once the blue sky and the blue sky only?

As god of the bright or burning sky, Zeus dwelt in *aithér*, the most exalted portion of the celestial vault⁷. And, since high mountains were supposed to rise above the lower zone of *aér* and to penetrate the upper zone of *aithér*, mountain-tops were regarded as in a peculiar sense the abode of Zeus⁸. His mountain-cults can be classified in a roughly chronological series according as they involved a mere altar, or an altar with a statue of the god, or an altar with a statue enclosed in a temple⁹. Further, the mountain that dominated the district was often looked upon as his throne—a prerogative that he appears to have inherited from Hittite predecessors¹⁰. Mythology associated Zeus with the mountain in a variety of ways. There he had been born¹¹. There he consorted

¹ *Supra* pp. 1—8.

² *Supra* pp. 9—14.

³ *Supra* pp. 4, 14—33, 63—99.

⁴ *Supra* pp. 33—41.

⁵ *Supra* pp. 41—56.

⁶ *Supra* pp. 56—62.

⁷ *Supra* p. 25 f.

⁸ *Supra* pp. 100—117.

⁹ *Supra* pp. 117—123.

¹⁰ *Supra* pp. 124—148.

¹¹ *Supra* pp. 148—154.

with his partner, the mountain-goddess¹. There, in one famous case, he lay buried². And, when paganism, outwardly at least, succumbed to Christianity, Zeus the mountain-god was superseded by Elias the mountain-saint³.

Apart from the luminous dome of heaven, there are in normal circumstances three definite manifestations of the burning sky. To the mind of the Greek, sun, moon, and stars were made of the same fiery stuff as the *aithér* itself⁴. Zeus, therefore, must needs stand in relations of peculiar intimacy towards these special exhibitions of his own brightness. This was probably the consideration that, to the more thoughtful portion of the community, justified the *rapprochement*, which from a very early period in the history of Greece began to contaminate the pure worship of Zeus with a whole medley of solar, lunar, and stellar elements. In various districts of the Mediterranean area the sun was popularly viewed as an eye⁵, a wheel⁶, a bird⁷, a ram⁸, a bull⁹, a bronze man¹⁰, or what not? But each of these manifold and in part barbaric notions was sooner or later absorbed into the all-comprehensive cult of the Greek sky-god. Again, here and there the moon as Selene¹¹, as Io¹², as Pasiphae¹³, as Europe¹⁴, as Antiope¹⁵, was paired with Zeus—a pairing which implies that he was credited with solar powers. For this batch of myths non-Hellenic influence is even more largely responsible. Lastly, Zeus figures on occasion as ruler of the starry sky¹⁶. The Greeks, mediately or immediately following the lead of the Babylonians, assigned to him as their foremost god an important rôle in their astronomy and astrology¹⁷. They also associated, perhaps as early as the fifth century before our era, his adoptive sons the Dioskouroi with the electric stars now known as Saint Elmo's fire¹⁸.

In short, Zeus was brought into close connexion with any and every celestial luminary. But, though this is undoubtedly the case, it must be steadily borne in mind that genuine Hellenic religion never identified Zeus with sun or moon or star. If an

¹ *Supra* pp. 104—106, 154—157.

² *Supra* pp. 157—163.

³ *Supra* pp. 163—186.

⁴ See O. Gilbert *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* Leipzig 1907 p. 20. In abnormal circumstances (storms etc.) lightning is another manifestation of the *aithér* (*id. ib.* p. 20 f., and *infra* ch. ii § 3 (a)).

⁵ *Supra* p. 196 f.

⁶ *Supra* pp. 197—341.

⁷ *Supra* pp. 341—346.

⁸ *Supra* pp. 346—430.

⁹ *Supra* pp. 430—665.

¹⁰ *Supra* pp. 719—730.

¹¹ *Supra* pp. 732 f., 739.

¹² *Supra* pp. 453—457, 733, 739 f.

¹³ *Supra* pp. 521 ff., 543 ff., 733, 739 f.

¹⁴ *Supra* pp. 524 ff., 537 ff., 544 ff., 733 f., 739 f.

¹⁵ *Supra* pp. 734—740.

¹⁶ *Supra* pp. 751 ff., 757.

¹⁷ *Supra* p. 754 ff.

¹⁸ *Supra* p. 771 ff.

inscription records the cult of Zeus Helios¹, if a coin represents Zeus with the moon on his head², if a myth tells of Zeus transforming himself into a star³, we may be reasonably sure that inscription, coin, and myth alike belong to the Hellenistic age, when—as Cicero puts it⁴—a Greek border was woven on to the barbarian robe.

To disentangle the complex threads of syncretism is seldom an easy task; and here I cannot hope to have attained more than a limited measure of success. Still, it seemed worth while to attempt the analysis of such far-reaching cults as those of Zeus *Ammon*⁵, Zeus *Sabázios*⁶, Iupiter *Heliopolitanus*⁷, Iupiter *Dolichenus*⁸,—cults which swept across the ancient world from north to south, from east to west.

Zeus *Ammon* was found to be a Graeco-Libyan god, originally worshipped in the Oasis with rites similar to those of Zeus *Náios* at Dodona⁹, but later fused firstly with the Theban *Ámen-Râ*¹⁰ and secondly with the Punic *Ba'al-hammân*¹¹. Zeus *Sabázios* proved to be a Phrygian deity¹² closely resembling the Orphic Zeus, the parallelism of Phrygian and Orphic cults being explained by the fact that both alike were offshoots of the old Thracio-Phrygian religion¹³. Further, since the Graeco-Libyan Zeus *Ammon* and the Thracio-Phrygian Zeus *Sabázios* were ram-gods of identical character, it appeared probable that ultimately the former was akin to the latter; and it was conjectured that sundry traces of the same remote original might be seen scattered up and down in the cults and myths of classical Greece and Italy¹⁴.

Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* was the Roman name of Zeus *Adados*, the great god worshipped at *Baalbek* or Heliopolis¹⁵. Zeus *Adados* in turn was essentially a Grecised (and subsequently Egyptised) form of the Syrian Adad, who both at Heliopolis and at Hierapolis had not improbably succeeded to the position once occupied by the Hittite father-god *Tešub*¹⁶. The cult-image of Zeus at Heliopolis stood with a bull on either hand¹⁷. That of Zeus at Hierapolis is described as 'sitting upon bulls' and figured with two bulls as

¹ *Supra* pp. 186—195, 361 n. 6.

² *Supra* p. 731.

³ *Supra* p. 760.

⁴ Cic. *de rep.* 2. 9 ita barbarorum agris quasi atexta quaedam videtur ora esse Graeciae.

⁵ *Supra* pp. 346—390.

⁶ *Supra* pp. 390—403.

⁷ *Supra* pp. 549—593.

⁸ *Supra* pp. 604—633.

⁹ *Supra* pp. 361—371.

¹⁰ *Supra* pp. 346—353.

¹¹ *Supra* pp. 353—358.

¹² *Supra* pp. 390—398.

¹³ *Supra* pp. 398—400.

¹⁴ *Supra* pp. 401—428.

¹⁵ *Supra* pp. 549—567.

¹⁶ *Supra* pp. 576—589.

¹⁷ *Supra* pp. 567—576.

the supporters of its throne¹. Obviously the Heliopolitan and the Hierapolitan gods were near relatives; and kindred deities flanked by a pair of recumbent bulls occur on the coinage of other Syrian towns². Again, Zeus *Dolichaios*, better known as Iupiter *Dolichenus*, the god of Doliche in Kommagene³, appears to have borrowed the bull on which he habitually stands from Tešub, who on Hittite monuments has a bull either at his side or beneath his feet⁴. On this showing it is possible, and even probable, that both Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* and Iupiter *Dolichenus* have preserved to us essential features of the Hittite father-god.

The discussion of the foregoing cults served to bring out a certain analogy subsisting between the ram and the bull in Levantine religion⁵. These two beasts had been treated from time immemorial as embodiments of procreative power, the former by a pastoral, the latter by a cattle-breeding population. As such they were associated *in primis* with the fertilising sky-god⁶; and I have suggested that the victims sacrificed to Zeus were commonly either oxen or rams just because these animals more than others⁷ were charged with *Zeugungskraft* and would therefore be thought to increase the power of the god to fertilise and bless⁸.

Indeed, it may be claimed that throughout the present volume this conception of Zeus as a procreative god has come gradually into greater prominence. From first to last he was worshipped as a Father: and the invocation *Zeu pater*, familiar to us from the Homeric poems, became stereotyped on Italian soil as the name *Iupiter*⁹.

Two other results of general significance have emerged from the mass of detail considered in this book. Zeus as sky-father is in essential relation to an earth-mother. Her name varies from place to place and from time to time. Sometimes she is a mountain-goddess with little or no disguise—Mousa¹⁰, Koryphe, Aitne, Kyllene, Taygete, or the like¹¹. Sometimes she is an earth-goddess that has developed into a vegetation-goddess—Demeter,

¹ *Supra* pp. 583 f., 586.

² *Supra* p. 590.

³ *Supra* pp. 604—633.

⁴ *Supra* pp. 604—606, 639—644.

⁵ *Supra* p. 430.

⁶ *Supra* pp. 428—430, 633—635.

⁷ Yet in Crete (*supra* pp. 401, 501) and in Karia etc. (*supra* p. 717 n. 3) Zeus was associated with the goat, as was Dionysos in Lakonike, at Metapontum, etc. (*supra* pp. 674 f., 705)—doubtless for the same reason.

⁸ *Supra* p. 716 ff.

⁹ *Supra* p. 14. Geographically intermediate between the Greek *Zeus πατήρ* and the Latin *Diespiter* is the Stymphæan *Δειράδριπος* (*supra* p. 681 n. 4).

¹⁰ *Supra* pp. 104—106.

¹¹ *Supra* pp. 154—157.

it may be, or Persephone¹, or Nemesis². Sometimes she has lapsed from the position of an earth-goddess or a vegetation-goddess into that of a heroine—Semele³, or Europe⁴. But everywhere and always, either patent or latent, the earth-mother is there as the necessary correlative and consort of the sky-father.

Finally, the union of the sky-father with the earth-mother did not remain unfruitful. In the Dorian states the twin sons of *Tyndáreos*, the 'Shatterer'⁵, were aptly affiliated to Zeus, and at least as early as the seventh century B.C.⁶ were renamed the *Dios-kouroi*⁷. But in the region occupied by the ancient Thraco-Phrygian stock Zeus begat a son in his own image, Dionysos the god of animal and vegetable life⁸, whose worship little by little spread through the whole of Greece and everywhere inspired fresh triumphs of religion, literature, and art. Not once, nor twice, but many times in our survey of the Mediterranean lands—in the Archipelago⁹, at Kyrene¹⁰, in Magna Graecia¹¹, in Crete¹², at *Baalbek*¹³, and elsewhere—we have had occasion to notice the younger god side by side with the older god, of whom he was in a sense the second self.

The sky-god, the earth-goddess, and their offspring the life of the world are thus already before us; but as yet in imperfect outline. The more definite and detailed account of their inter-relations we must reserve for another volume.

¹ *Supra* pp. 392—399.

² *Supra* pp. 272—285.

³ *Supra* pp. 155, 457 n. 5, 682 n. 1, 733, cp. schol. B II. 24. 615.

⁴ *Supra* pp. 524—541.

⁵ H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1898 liii. 340 ff. (= *id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 270 f.), E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1088, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 642 s.v. 'tundo.'

⁶ *Supra* p. 142 n. 12.

⁷ *Wide Lakon. Kulte* p. 317 ff., E. Bethe *loc. cit.*

⁸ *Supra* pp. 390—400.

⁹ *Supra* p. 371 f.

¹⁰ *Supra* pp. 371—376.

¹¹ *Supra* p. 372.

¹² *Supra* pp. 644 ff., 708 ff.

¹³ *Supra* pp. 564—566.

ADDENDA

Page 10 note 1: on the Persian sky-god. Prof. J. H. Moulton pursues the topic in his recent and masterly work *Early Zoroastrianism* London 1913 p. 391 n. 3. I quote the following: 'There is now a full discussion of the point in Bartholomae, *Zum Air Wō*, 172—4, starting from a note in Hesychius, Δῖαν· μεγάλην ἢ ἐνδοξον· τὸν οὐρανὸν Ἡέρσαι. Clearly, if the old lexicographer was thinking of Herodotus he had some reason for dissociating Δία there (and Δί) from Ζεὺς, for he selects the accusative of the fem. adj. δία, common in Homer. Now *Δῖαν would represent the acc. of O.P. *Diyauš almost exactly. May we not conjecture that Hesychius had evidence prompting him to desert the obvious Ζεὺς in Herodotus, even though Δί just before would not fit δία? We have strong reason for expecting to find *Dyauš* in Persia, since he belongs to the Vedic pantheon, though his cult is evidently dying. Bartholomae cites Διᾶεις, the name of a Persian noble in Æschylus, *Perse*, 977. It is either *divai·χσιš, "ruling in the sky," or *divai·šiš, "dwelling in the sky." (I think *divai* and *dyavi* may be alternative forms of the locative, related like *χθονί* and *χαμαί*, with Skt *divi* = Διί as a mixture.) Bartholomae suggests that the Thracian sage Ζάμολξις had a Scythian (and so Iranian) name, *zamar·χσιš*, "qui regnat in terra." (Since the cognate Thracian had the required λ in the name for Earth, witnessed by Σεμέλη, we need not perhaps make Zamolxis a foreigner in Thrace.) But what were those Persian aristocrats thinking of when they named their infant, on either etymology? Can we explain *qui regnat in celo* by the doctrine of the Fravashi? If the heavenly counterpart had royal rank, the rank of the earthly double should correspond, and match the parents' ambition.'

Page 37 note 1: on the great altar of Zeus at Olympia. See now L. Weniger 'Der Hochaltar des Zeus in Olympia' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1913 xxxi. 241—260 with 3 figs.

Page 45: on the type of Iupiter *Capitolinus* in the temple rebuilt by Titus and Domitian. Two bronze medallions of Hadrian, published by Gneccchi *Medagl. Rom.* iii. 20 nos. 98 f. pl. 146, 6 (=my fig. 566) and 5, have as reverse type the three Capitoline deities. Behind Iupiter is Victory, wrongly described by Gneccchi as an eagle, holding a wreath.



Fig. 566.

Page 45: on Iupiter *Capitolinus* with globe in right hand, sceptre in left. In the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1912 p. 263 f. figs. 1, 1' K. K. Phylaktou publishes a rock-crystal from Kypros engraved with a Iupiter of this type: Victory flies towards him, an eagle is perched on his footstool, and a star fills the space behind his throne. Mr Phylaktou's interpretation (Iulius Caesar as a bearded Zeus *Olympios* with the *Iulium sidus*) is improbable.

Page 48 fig. 21 sarcophagus-relief in the Capitoline Museum. See now Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 206 no. 1 and the *Mus. Capit. Cat. Sculpt.* p. 264 Stanza dei Filosofi no. 109 pl. 62. The latter characterises the relief as 'Rough Roman work' and, like the former, suggests Hebe as a possible name for the shield-bearing figure. I adhere to my view that she is more probably Victory.

Page 58 note 1: on Jupiter *Purpurio*. Cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv no. 3469 (*alla chiesa di S. Giovanni di Agosta, prossim alla fonte*) Iovi opt. [max. Purpuri] oni Iunoni Mine[rvae] C. Servilius etc., where *Purpurioni* was a suggestion of Mommsen.

Page 80 note 4: on were-wolves. To the bibliography add now Elliott O'Donnell *Werewolves* London (1913) pp. 1—292.

Page 92 f.: on a *kýlix* representing Zeus *Lýkaios*. My friend Mr P. N. Ure informed me some time since that the Museum at Taranto possesses a 'Laconian' *kýlix* closely resembling that in the Louvre (*supra* p. 93 fig. 65). On a recent visit to Taranto he kindly examined the cup on my behalf and reports (March 18, 1914) that it was found at *Bascino di Carrivagio, fuori la città* along with a Corinthian *arýballos*, and that its design is practically the same as that of the Louvre *kýlix*, the only noteworthy differences being: (a) Zeus faces to left; the ornamentation of his clothes is simpler; his seat appears to be a chair rather than an altar; and he has no footstool. (b) The bird is somewhat larger and flies to right. (c) The field is plain, without rosettes.

Page 109: on Axieros, Axiokersa, Axiokersos W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1913 xvii. 367 propose a new derivation of these names: 'Ἀξίκερσος (= "snake-ram"; from *anghw*, snake, and the root of *képas*, horn)...and Ἀξίεπος (= "snake sheep," from *anghw* and the root of *épos* or *fépos* wool-).' Their suggestion is highly precarious.

Page 147 f.: on the pillar-throne at Phalasarna. In the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1907 pp. 589—598 with 3 figs. S. Ronzevalle publishes a small limestone throne of Hellenistic date, found near Tyre. The supports of the throne are two winged sphinxes, Egyptian in character. The seat is treated as an Egyptian cornice, below which is carved a symbolic vegetable design in Egypto-Assyrian style. Projecting from the front side of the throne-back are two round-topped *stélai*, which bear two figures facing each other in low relief, *viz.* a goddess and a beardless dedicant, with very similar costume (tunic, sleeved mantle?), attribute (sceptre), and gesture (benediction and greeting?). The plinth is inscribed

לרבתי לעשתרת אש בנו הקרב
אש לי אך עבדבסת בן בדבעל

Ronzevalle renders: 'A ma dame, Astarté, ici figurée, a été consacrée ma propre effigie, à moi, Abdoubast, fils de Boubaal.' My friend Mr N. McLean would prefer to translate: 'To my lady Ashtoreth who is within (? the throne) has been offered that which is mine—I Abdubast son of Bodbaal.' Ronzevalle notes the obvious attempt on the part of the royal or priestly worshipper to assimilate himself as far as possible to the goddess, whose throne he shares.

Page 177 note o: on Saint George as Zeus *Georgós*. That Zeus *Georgós* was superseded by Saint George at Lydda (Diospolis) is maintained also by E. Krause *Die Trojaburgen Nordeuropas* Glogau 1893 p. 206 f.

Page 178 note o: on Saint George as dragon-slayer. To the bibliography add now J. B. Aufhäuser *Das Drachenwunder des heiligen Georgs* (Byzantinisches Archiv v) Leipzig and Berlin 1911 pp. 1—254 with 19 figs., Géza Róheim *Drachen und Drachenkämpfer* (Erweiterter Separat-Abdruck aus "Jung-Ungarn," Jahrgang 1911) Berlin 1912 pp. 1—56, N. G. Polites *Τὰ δημόδη Ἑλληνικά ἄσματα περὶ τῆς δρακοντοκτονίας τοῦ Ἁγίου Γεωργίου* (extr. from *Λαογραφία* iv) Athens 1913.

Page 216 fig. 159 red-figured *kýlix* at Berlin. L. Malten in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1912 xxvii. 254 fig. 11 (on p. 257) publishes a photograph of this vase, but does not deal at length with its interpretation (Dionysos? Hephaistos? Triptolemos?).

Page 223: on Triptolemos with the plough. In the Roman villa at Brading, Isle of Wight, a mosaic on the floor of room no. 12 shows in one of its panels Demeter presenting corn-ears to Triptolemos: she is clad in *chitón* and *himátion*, and holds sceptre in left, corn in right hand; he has a *chlamýs* over his shoulders and grasps a plough with his left hand. See further *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects* 1880—81 p. 138 f. with pl.



Kýlix at Taranto: Zeus *Lýkaios*.

See page 782.

[From a photograph kindly supplied by Mr Q. Quagliati, Director of the Museum at Taranto.]

Page 227 fig. 166 relief from Gharfin. R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 153 f. fig. 36 regards this as a representation of Adonis-Esmun identified with Triptolemos.

Page 232 ff.: on a coin of Gaza (?). Mr G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Palestine* pp. lxxxvi ff. 181 pl. 19, 29 describes the series to which this coin belongs as 'Philisto-Arabian.'

Page 240 f.: on the hawk as a solar bird. A fragment of a hawk found at Apollonia (*Arsuf*) with a disk round its neck inscribed ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΣ (C. Clermont-Ganneau *Mission en Palestine et en Phénicie* p. 134 no. 121 pl. 2, II) is taken by R. Dussaud to be an emblem of the emperor Julian as sun-god (R. Dussaud in the *Mission dans les régions désertes de la Syrie moyenne* p. 478 n. 1 and in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 351).

Page 241: on the hawk as sacred to solar deities in Egypt. See now T. Hopfner *Der Tierkult der alten Ägypter nach den griechisch-römischen Berichten und den wichtigeren Denkmälern* (*Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1913 ii Abh.) Wien 1913 pp. 107—113.

Page 259 note 3: on *lynx*-wheels in temples. The vase cited as illustrating the temple of Hera at Thebes(?) is explained by F. Hauser in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1913 xv. 169 fig. 108 as representing the Locrian maidens in the temple of Athena at Ilion.

Page 285 note 1: on the magical disk from Pergamon. R. Ganschinietz in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1914 xvii. 346 f. cites parallels.

Page 296 fig. 219 a Thraco-Macedonian coin. J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1913 xv. 201 ff. figs. 1—13 attributes this coin to the Paiones and, like P. Gardner, interprets its type as the sun-god carrying his disk: 'On peut donc conclure que l'ineffable symbole n'est rien d'autre que le Soleil, *solis rota*, le *στρέφων κύκλος*, *κόσμος τὸ περιδρομον ὄμμα*, *χρυσέας ἡμέρας βλέφαρον*, *πανόπτης κύκλος Ἥλιου*, *Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς mundi oculus* (Comparez les monnaies de Skione où le symbole ☉ prend la forme complète d'un œil, [Babelon pl. LI, 4]) etc. et servait à indiquer au public que les pièces qui le portaient sortaient des ateliers péoniens renommés pour leur excellent métal et que leur pureté métallique était sous la garantie et surveillance du *Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς*. En outre ce signe conservait son caractère sacré qui se rapportait au grand dieu de ce peuple, le Soleil. Celui-ci avait son culte central sur le sommet du Pangée même, source de la richesse des Péoniens. C'est là...qu'on a frappé la pièce...au type de la figure qui représente probablement le Soleil même portant son disque.'

Page 299 note 6: on ὁ καλούμενος αὐλός, ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ λειτουργούντος ἀνέμου. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 365 n. 2 explains this αὐλός by reference to Anaximander *frags.* 21 Diels (τὸν ἥλιον) κύκλον εἶναι...ἀρματεῖω τροχῷ παραπλήσιον, τὴν ἀψίδα ἔχοντα κοίλην, πλήρη πυρός, κατὰ τι μέρος ἐφαινούσαν διὰ στομίον τοῦ πῦρ ὡσπερ διὰ πρηστήριος αὐλοῦ, 11 Diels τὰ δὲ ἀστρα...κύκλον πυρός, ...περιληφθέντα δ' ὑπὸ ἀέρος. ἐκπνοῆς δ' ὑπάρξει πόρους τινὰς αὐλώδει, καθ' ὅσιν φαίνεται τὰ ἀστρα. Eisler takes both the so-called *Mithrasliturgie* and the teaching of Anaximander to be dependent upon Persian ideas.

Page 310 f.: on Aristophanes' speech in Platon's *Symposium*. K. Ziegler 'Menschen- und Weltenwerden' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1913 xxxi. 529—573 traces the views of the Platonic Aristophanes to a contamination of Empedoclean ideas with an Orphic, and ultimately Babylonian, anthropogony.

Page 338 note 2: on the Persian chariot of Zeus. Cp. the Zoroastrian account in Dion Chrys. *or.* 36 p. 92 ff. ἕτερος δὲ μῦθος ἐν ἀπορρήτοις τελεταῖς ὑπὸ Μάγων ἀνδρῶν ἄδεται θαυμάζομενος, οἱ τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον (sc. τὸν Δία) ὑμνοῦσιν ὡς τέλειόν τε καὶ πρῶτον ἠέλιον τοῦ τελειοτάτου ἄρματος. τὸ γὰρ Ἥλιου ἄρμα νεώτερόν φασιν εἶναι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον κρινόμενον, φανερόν δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἅτε προδήλον γιγνομένης τῆς φασῆς. ὅθεν κοινῆς φήμης τυγχάνειν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὑπὸ πρῶτων σχεδόν τι τῶν ποιητῶν, ἀνατολὰς καὶ δύσεις ἐκάστοτε λεγόντων, καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα πάντων ἐξηγουμένων ζευγνυμένους τε τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὸν Ἥλιον αὐτὸν ἐπιβαίνοντα τοῦ δίφρου. τὸ δὲ ἰσχυρόν καὶ τέλειον ἄρμα τοῦ Διὸς οὐδεὶς ἄρα ἔβησεν ἀξίως τῶν τῆδε, οὔτε Ὀμηρος, οὔτε Ἡσίοδος, ἀλλὰ Ζωροάστρης, καὶ Μάγων παῖδες ἄδουσι παρ' ἐκείνου μαθόντες· ὃν Πέρσαι λέγουσιν ἔρωτι σοφίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἀποχωρήσαντα τῶν ἄλλων καθ' αὐτὸν ἐν ὄρει τιθῆναι· ἔπειτα ἀφήναι τὸ ὄρος, πρὸς ἀνωθεν πολλοὺ κατασκήψαντος, συνεχῶς τε καίεσθαι. τὸν οὖν βασιλεῖα σὺν τοῖς ἔλλογιμοτάτοις Περσῶν ἀφικνεῖσθαι πλησίον, βουλόμενον εὐχασθαι τῷ θεῷ· καὶ τὸν ἀνδρὰ ἐξελεῖν ἐκ τοῦ πυρός ἀπαθῆ, φανέντα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἴλεων θαρρῆναι κελύσαι καὶ θῦσαι θυσίας τινὰς, ὡς ἤκοντος εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦ θεοῦ. συγγενέσθαι τε μετὰ ταῦτα οὐχ ἅπασιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀρίστα πρὸς ἀλήθειαν πεφυκόσι καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ζυγνείαν δυναμένοις, οὓς Πέρσαι Μάγων ἐκάλεσαν, ἐπισταμένους θεραπεύειν τὸ δαιμόνιον·

οὐχ, ὡς Ἕλληνες, ἀγνοοῖα τοῦ ὄντοματος, οὕτως ὀνομάζουσιν αὐτοὺς γόητας. ἐκείνοι δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα δρῶσι κατὰ λόγους ἱεροῦ καὶ δὴ τῷ Διὶ τρέφουσιν ἄρμα Νισαίων ἵππων· οἱ δὲ εἰσι κάλλιστοι καὶ μέγιστοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν· τῷ δὲ γε Ἥλιφ ἓνα ἵππον. κ.τ.λ.

Page 360: on snakes in Egyptian religion. See now T. Hopfner *Der Tierkult der alten Ägypter nach den griechisch-römischen Berichten und den wichtigeren Denkmälern* (*Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1913 ii Abh.) Wien 1913 pp. 136—149.

Page 379 note 7: on recent journeys to the Oasis of Siwah. To the bibliography add now J. C. Ewald Falls *Swah, Die Oase des Sonnengottes in der libyschen Wüste* Mainz, Kirchheim 1910 (noted by A. Wiedemann in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1914 xvii. 206 f.) and J. C. Ewald Falls (*Kaufmann expedition*) *Three Years in the Libyan Desert* trans. E. Lee London 1913 pp. 262—290 ('With the Viceroy to the Oasis of Amon—an historic progress through the desert in the steps of Alexander the Great'). Falls figures *Ain Mûsa, Umma beida*, a sculptured lion from the *Ammôneion* now in the Frankfurt Museum, etc.

Page 396 note 1: on the snake as phallic. See now E. Ktister *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 p. 84, p. 99 n. 6, p. 149 ff.

Page 418 note 1: on the ram as figure-head of Phrixos' ship. So also schol. Plat. *Menex.* 243 A.

Page 430 ff.: on the bull and the sun in Egypt. See now T. Hopfner *Der Tierkult der alten Ägypter nach den griechisch-römischen Berichten und den wichtigeren Denkmälern* (*Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1913 ii Abh.) Wien 1913 p. 68 ff. (pp. 76—86 Der Apis, p. 86 f. Der Mnevis, p. 88 Der Bakis, p. 88 f. Der Onuphis).

Page 442: on priests and priestesses with animal names. E. Neustadt *De Jove Cretico* Berlin 1906: 'Theraea... exstat inscriptio (J. G. XII 3, 418) de qua Hiller v. Gaertringen haec adnotat: "Prope ecclesiam Χριστός appellatam versus occidentem quinque sellae sive arae ex ipsa rupe exsculptae sunt. Praeter eas duo foramina stelis recipiendis idonea ibi incisa sunt." Ibi inscriptum est: ΤΣ ΔΑΜΑΤΡ[Ο]Σ [ΚΑΙ (?) Κ[Ο]Ρ[Α]Σ]. "Ante T nulla litterarum vestigia vidi. Quamobrem supplementum [Ιερε]ῦς reiciendum esse censeo." Ac profecto hic quodlibet supplementum ad irritum cadit; primum enim utique de ἱερεῖα tantum agi potest; deinde id quod homines prava coniectura inferre volunt exhibetur: ὄς enim Cereris certo non aliter intellegi debet quam πῶλοι Cereris, ἄρκτοι Dianae, βέες Bacchi,' etc. But in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 418 F. Hiller von Gaertringen says: '[Ιερε]ῦς reposui Thera 1 200, ubi imago est photographica (S G D I 4758).' F. Blass in Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 176 no. 4758 prints ΤΣ Δάματρ[ο]ς... K. P... and comments: 'Τς Δάματρος [καί] Κ[δ]ρ[α]ς HvG.; doch sei für καί der Raum eigentlich zu klein. Vor ΤΣ habe er keine Spuren von Schrift bemerkt; also nicht [Ιερε]ῦς. Doch Ιερεῦς nach Thera 1. 200 (wo Abbildung).'

Page 482 note 1: on the κεράτιος βωμός of Delos. F. Courby 'L'autel de cornes à Délos' in the *Mélanges Holleaux* Paris 1913 pp. 59—68 would identify this altar with the apsidal monument in the western part of the precinct of Apollon. But??

Page 501 f.: on a bell-krater representing Herakles in Olympos. This vase should have been described as Campanian, not Athenian.

Page 504: on a coin of Nysa showing a bull carried by six youths. Variants are listed by Rasche *Lex. Num.* v. 1641 f. and by K. Regling in W. v. Diest *Nysa ad Maeandrum* (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* Ergänzungsheft x) Berlin 1913 p. 86 f. nos. 152—154 pl. 13, 153, who says of the British Museum specimen: 'Der Mann mit dem Strick irrig flute-player genannt.'

Page 508 ff.: on the evolution of the horned altar. My suggestion that the horned altars of the Mediterranean area presuppose bull-shrines is to some extent confirmed by W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* Washington 1910 pp. 307—310. Mr Ward in a chapter of great originality and acumen shows that a series of coarsely-cut haematite cylinders, probably of Syro-Hittite origin and referable to a period of c. 1500 B.C., represents an altar in the form of a bull. In some cases a flame is kindled on its back (fig. 567), in others a bird is perched upon it (fig. 568), in others again two human arms project from the quadruped's body (fig. 569). Mr Ward compares the image of Moloch, which had the arms of a man but the head of a calf (*supra* p. 723 n. 1). And it may be added that we have already seen reason to assume 'at various Hittite centres the cult of a life-sized bull, of which copies on a smaller scale were multiplied' (*supra* p. 641).

Page 585: on the snake-entwined statues at Hierapolis. P. Gauckler in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1909 pp. 117 ff., 424 ff., 617 ff. illustrates these statues by a remarkable statuette of gilded bronze (*ib.* p. 425 fig. 1) found lying in the cavity of a triangular altar, which forms the centre-piece of an octagonal chapel in the fourth-century Syrian sanctuary on the Ianiculum. The statuette shows a deity (Atargatis?) cased like a mummy and encircled by the seven coils of a crested snake. Seven hen's-eggs deposited between the coils recall the myth of the Syrian Venus (*supra* p. 584 n.) and incline Gauckler to think 'que la statuette...représente la Nativité d'Atargatis.'



Fig. 567.



Fig. 568.



Fig. 569.

Page 660: on coins of Praios showing Zeus suckled by a cow. My friend Prof. R. C. Bosanquet informs me (Jan. 5, 1914) that he has always taken the beast represented on these coins to be a sow, not a cow, and compared the story told by Agathokles (*supra* p. 653). It would certainly be a gain if we could regard the coins as illustrating the story in question. But fig. 507 is described by E. Babelon as 'Taureau' (*sic*), by J. N. Svoronos as 'Vache (?)', by B. V. Head as 'Cow'; and the rendering of a sow on Greek and Roman coins is very different (see Inghoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 26 pl. 4, 19, 20, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* p. 1 f. Abakainon, *ib.* Italy p. 397 Tuder, Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 11 pl. 22, 1 b, p. 58 pl. 75, 16, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 471, Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 298 pl. 10, 31). As to fig. 508, H. Weber says 'Cow (?) or mare,' and Prof. Bosanquet admits that it looks 'more like a mare'; but B. V. Head is content to describe this too as a 'Cow.'

Page 676 f.: on the Orphic formula $\epsilon\rho\iota\phi\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\varsigma \gamma\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu \epsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$. Dr L. R. Farnell in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1913 p. 135 draws attention to an article by Delatte in the *Musée Belge* 1913 p. 125, who 'proposes a new and attractive explanation of the cryptic formula $\epsilon\rho\iota\phi\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\varsigma \gamma\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu \epsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$, as meaning "I entered earthly life as a Dionysos-Kid," milk being in Orphic-Pythagorean myth the object of desire which lured souls into birth, and which was used by magicians to evoke souls (he quotes Plut., *De gen. Sacr.*, c. 16; Porph., *Antr. Nymph.*, 28; *Papyr. Berlin.*, i. 20).'

Page 676 f.: on the ritual use of milk among the Thracico-Phrygians. C. Avezou and C. Picard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1913 xxxvii. 97 ff. publish a quadrangular altar of white marble (height 1.02^m) from the neighbourhood of Thessalonike. On the left side is carved a *pedum*, on the right a *caduceus*. In front, between two *antae*, is the following inscription (s. iii A.D.?): | ἄρχιμαγ[ε]ῖ|ρεὺς καὶ ἀρχιϰ[α]τῆρος καὶ πατῆρ | σπηλιέων καὶ Αὐρ. | Σωσιπᾶτρα ἢ γαλα|κτηφόρος, κισταφο|ρήσασα <ν> ἔτη Χ | τὸν βωμὸν ἐκ τῶν | ἰδίων ἀνέθηκαν. | εὐτυχῶς. The precise nature of the cult in question is doubtful.

Page 677: on the bath of boiling milk as a means of ritual rebirth. Mr F. M. Cornford in his recent book *The Origin of Attic Comedy* London 1914 (a contribution of capital importance to our understanding of Greek drama) discusses the examples of rejuvenation in Aristophanes' plays and infers (p. 89) 'that these stories reflect a rite of regeneration or resurrection, which has an established place in the cycle of Dionysiac ritual.' He justly observes (p. 90) that my hypothesis 'is strengthened by the instance of Demos in the *Knights*, who renews his youth in the Sausage-seller's cauldron and emerges as a new King and (as the parallel cases allow us to add) a new God, ready for his marriage.' Mr Cornford has also kindly brought to my notice a valuable article by E. Maass in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1913 xxxi. 627 ff. on the *Trophoi* of Aischylos, in which Medea was represented as boiling the attendants of Dionysos, both male and female, in order to make them young again (Aisch. *frag.* 50 Nauck² *ap.* schol. Eur. *Med.* *argum.* and schol. Aristoph. *eq.* 1321). A *propos* of Medea's rejuvenating cauldron Maass writes

(p. 633): 'Das Bad in siedender Milch, das von einem Zauberperde kühl geblasen wird, belegt R. Koehler aus Sizilien, der Walachei und anderswoher in den Anmerkungen zu L. Gonzenbachs "Sizilianischen Märchen" Nr. 83 II 256... und in den "Kleinen Schriften" I 468 (Zigeunermärchen).'

Page 681: on Dionysos as conceived at the City Dionysia and born at the Lenaia. I am indebted to Mr F. M. Cornford (Dec. 3, 1913) for a possible parallel in Roman religion. *Ov. fast.* 5. 229 ff. tells the story of the conception of Mars under the date May 2; and March 1, ten months later, is noted as the birthday of Mars in the calendar of Philocalus. If we may assume that the Roman year originally consisted of lunar months (cp. Censorin. *de die nat.* 20. 4), the interval becomes significant. But this is a somewhat doubtful assumption. See W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 1 ff. and also p. 36 ff.

APPENDIXES

- A KAIROS
- B THE MOUNTAIN-CULTS OF ZEUS
- C KORINTHOS SON OF ZEUS
- D THE WHEEL AS A COIN-TYPE
- E THE KYKLOPS IN FOLK-TALES
- F THE DIOSKOUROI AND HELENE IN FOLK-TALES

will be printed at the end of Volume II.

INDEX I

PERSONS PLACES FESTIVALS

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Dionysos

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Epithets: [ἀγάθ]υρσε, θεῶν ληναγέτα Βακχᾶν 667₄ ἀγρεῖς 651₁ Ἀγριώνιος 657₁ Ἀκρωρεῖτης 674₃ ἀναξ 216 651₄ Ἀνθρωποραλότης 469₁ 659 f. 711 Βάκχος 395₂ 667₄ βασιλεὺς 647₃ Βρόμιος 536₂ 682₁ δευτέρως ἄλλος... ἰέτιος Ζεὺς 398 f. 647₀ Διθύραμβος 681₄ εἰλαπιναστής (See νέω κ.τ.λ.) Εἰραφιῶτης 674₂ Ἐλευθερεῖς 682 682₂ 684 692₄ Ἐριβόας 682₁ Ἐριφος 674 676 Ἐριφος 674 f. 674₂ (?) 676 Ἐσείνος 686₂ Ἐριμβοδιθύραμβος 681₄ Θρίαμβος 681₄ Ἰόβακχος 457₇ Ἰνυγίης 258₂ Ἰνυγίῦ 258₂ Ἰνυγίης (?) 258₂ κισσοδαής (?) 682₁ Κισσός 671₀ Κρήσιος 651₂ ληναγέτας (See [ἀγάθ]υρσε κ.τ.λ.) Λήναιος 667 Ληναῖος 671 (See also Λήναιος) Ληνεῖς 668 f. ἐν Λίμναις (See Dionysos, temple of) Αναῖος 657₁ Μαυόλης 657₁ Μελάναιγος 689₅ Μειλίχιος 428 657₁ Μοσχοφάγος 673₃ (See also Ταυροφάγος) Μύσσης 673 νέω καὶ νηπιῶ εἰλαπιναστῆ 647₃ Νυσήιος 687₅ Ὀρθός 671 Περικιόνιος 671 671₀ Πλουτοδότης 504 Σαβάζιος 395₃ Σαβός 395₃ σκηπτουχος 656₃ ταυρόκερος 466₀ Ταυροφάγος 665₄ 673 (See also Μοσχοφάγος) τριετής 656₃ φιλόθεμος 195₅ Χαριδότης 657₁ Χορείος 657₁ Ὠμάδιος 656 659₀ Ὠμηστής 657 657₁ Ὠμητής (?) 657₁ ὠριος 657₁ Ζαγρεῖς 398

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Rites: αἰγίξεν 665₅ annual drama in Crete 662 f. 673 ἀσκωλαισμός 689₁ birth 399₂ bophony omphagy 662 f. 673 bull carried 503 bull paraded by ἐρθεβοὶ and sacrificed 716₀ bull taken in procession by ἐρθεβοὶ 715₀ chorus of human τράγοι (?) 705 comparison of τράγοι or σάτυροι

Dionysos (cont.)

with *Iuperci* 677₄ διθύραμβος 681 f. 692₄ 733 flute-playing 700₂ human ἔρφοι (?) 705 785 human sacrifice 656 f. human 'stag' slain and eaten 67₃ 674 ἰθύμβος 681₄ κῶμος 683₃ 687 marriage with Βασίλωνα 672₀ 686 709 f. mysteries 399₂ 690 692 f. νευρόσπαστα 591₃ nocturnal 399₂ Xanthias attacked by Acharnians (?) 689 omophagy (?) 656 f. passion-play (?) 678 ff. πειθογία 684 πομπή 683₃ sacrifices 399₂ sacrifice of calf in buskins 469₁ 659 711 sacrifice of goat 709 sacrifice of oxen 715₀ sacrifice of yearling 668 σπαραγμός commemorated in Lenaeian ode 672 688 f. torch-light procession from ἐσχάρα to theatre 686₀ τραγηφόροι 665₅ 704₁ trieteric 662 690 ff. 695₈ φαλλαγωγία 683₀ φαλλοὶ 682 f. χόες 684 χύτροι 684 687 f.

Priests: 710 βουκόλοι 441 457 δαδούχος 669

Priestesses: Αἴναι 667 f.

Worshippers: Βάβαξ 395₃ Βάκχος 395₃ Βαδάκτης 395₃ human βόες (?) 442₁ 784 Σαβάζιος 395₃ Σαβός 395₃

Personated by Antinoos 714₀ Iobakchoi 679₇ priest at Athens 710 Ptolemy Auletes (?) 709₁

Myths: Ariadne 480 Aries 369 f. Asini 755 Athamas and Ino 674 attacked by Titans 689 birth from thigh of Zeus 622 f. 693 (?) Brasiaí 674₀ Corona 755 dedicates φαλλοὶ to Hera 591₃ Eriphē 674₀ first yokes oxen 399₂ founds oracle of Zeus Ammon 376₁ founds temple of Zeus Ἄμμων 369 f. 373 gives crown to Ariadne 492 Hammon 368 373 Hera 674 Hermes 674 India 667₄ introduces agriculture 399₂ Iupiter Hammon 419₀ king of Egypt 457 nursed by Eriphē 674₀ nursed by Ino 674 f. cp. 674₀ nursed by Maenads 111 nursed by Muses 111 nursed by Nymphs of Dodona 111₀ places crown among stars 492 Proitides 451 Rhea (?) 375 f. slain in bovine form 660 slain by Titans 647 standard at Hierapolis in Syria 583 torn asunder by Maenads 679 vanquishes the Titans 376₁

Metamorphosed into bull 660 goat 675 kid 674 f.

Genealogy: s. of Ammon 373 s. of Eirene (?) 670₂ s. of Kabeiros 112₀ s. of Persephone 457₅ f. of Satyros and Telete by Nikaia 536 s. of Selene 457₅ 671 675 s. of Zeus 166 429 687 s. of Zeus by Io 457 f. by Isis 346₅ 457₅ by Kore 695 by Phersephone 398 399₂ by Selene 457₅ (?) 732 by Semele 457₅ 681 f.

Dionysos (cont.)

Functions: bovine 441 chthonian 398 647 fertility 704 f. god of animal and vegetable life 780 hunter 651₁ as rebirth of Zeus 398 f. 399 647 673 711 713 ff. the second self of Zeus 780 vegetation 680₁ year (?) 680

Etymology: 400₂

Attributes: bull 457 f. 463 (?) 502 f. 506₂ 715 blue nimbus 41₀ bunch of grapes 374 502 calf 715 *cornu copiae* (?) 503₀ cows 441 f. cup 375₂ double axe 216 flat cake 671 goat 502 674 ff. 705 ff. 779; horn 503₀ horns 107₄ ivy-sprigs 671 ivy-wreath 374 *kántharos* 214 216 374 kid 674 ff. *kóthornoi* 709 lyre 375₂ *nárthex* 657₁ panther-skin 709 pillar 375 (?) 671 672₀ ram 429₁ *thyrsos* 502 655 vine 566 709 vine-branches 214 vine-wreath 374 wreath of vine or ivy 655

Types: arrival in Attike 709 ff. bearded mask on pillar 671 672₀ bovine horns (?) 374 as bull (?) 549₂ bust of child with head of calf attached 715 as double axe (?) 659 f. education 659₂ effeminate (?) 599₁ enthronement in theatre 710 f. herm 374 horned 373 ff. 399₂ horned infant 695 infancy 708 ff. infant carried by Hermes 708 f. by Maenad 671 by Semele 670 infant guarded by Kouretes 709 infant riding on goat 713 infant seated on pantheress 566 infant seated on throne with Kouretes round him 646 f. lead figures 570₂ marriage with *Βασίλῳα* 709 ff. ram's horns 373 ff. resembles Hephaistos 216₂ resembles Triptolemos 214 ff. 231 suckled by Nymph 565 surrounded by Kouretes 153 on wheeled seat 214 ff. 231 *xóanon* 684₁

Identified with Hades 667, Helios 292 Her-shef 346, Jehovah 234, Kabeiros 107 f. younger Kabeiros 112 Osiris 376₂ 437 Sabazios 399₂ Zeus 112₂ Zeus, Hades, Helios 187₄ 234₄ Zeus, Helios 187₁₀

Associated with Ariadne 566 Bacchantes 565 f. Demeter and Kore 692 Maenads 503₀ 565 f. Muses 111₅ Pan 565 Satyrs 565 Silenoi 503₀ Zeus 566 Zeus *Ἄδαδος* 564 ff.

Compared with Vediovis 711 ff.
In relation to Zeus 373 ff. 401 428 429 706 ff. 780

Superseded by St Dionysios 113 (?) 171 f.
— Attic festivals of 680 ff. conception of 681 f. 683 f. 686 ff. 786 cp. 693 733 education of 659₂ mask of 671 mysteries of 441 f. 457 rearing of 672 688 f. survivals of, in

Dionysos (cont.)

northern Greece 420₁ 694 temple of, *ἐν Λίμναις* 684 as king of Asia 112₀ as king of Egypt 368 M. Antonius greeted as, at Ephesos 657₁

Dio-Pan 603

Cult: Kaisareia Paneas 603₀

Epithet: φιλεῖσχος 603₀

Associated with Echo (?) 603₀

Dios (?) 4₂

Dios Gonai 535₀

Dioskouroi

Cults: Byzantion 168 Etruria 766 ff.

Euxine 306₅ Istros 306₅ Rhosos

590 Sparta 766₀ Tarentum (?) 35₀

Thebes in Boiotia 739

Epithets: ἀγαθῷ 764 εὐαεῖς ἀνέμων | πέμποντες Διὸθεν προῶς 764₁ Λακεδαιμόνιοι | ἀστέρης 766₁ λευκοπόλω 763₄ cp. 764₀ lucida sidera 766₄ οἱ φλογεράν αἰθέρ' ἐν ἀστροῖς | γαιονσι 764 οὐράνιοι 764 σωτήρης 764 τιμὰς σωτήρας ἔχοντες 764 Τυνδαρίδαι 763 766₀

Rite: sacrifice of white lambs 763

Personated by Aristomenes and a friend 764₀

Myths: accompany Iason (?) 250 birth from egg 763, Leda 279₁ Nemesis 279₁ rape of Leukippides by sons of Aphareus and Dioskouroi 738₁₂

Genealogy: sons of Tyndareos 279 f. sons of Zeus by Leda 763₄ by Nemesis 279

Functions: calm the sea 763 f. 772 f. day and night (?) 771 morning-star and evening-star (?) 771 portend victory in sea-fight 761 f. presage of storm, tumult, etc. 773 f. send favourable wind 763 764₁ any stars shining through rift in storm (?) 771 sun and moon (?) 771

Attributes: amphorae 766₀ cp. 770 *bákchoi* 221 caps with stars 590 chariot 763 *cippi* 770 horses 392, lances 35₀ cp. 764₁ *piloi* 250 763₄ sheathed swords 764, shields 766 stars 221 250 762 762₃ (?) 764 ff. thunderbolt (?) 770 white horses 763₄ 764₀ (myrtle-)wreaths 221

Types: accompanied by stars 221 250 766 ff. as birds (?) 763 *dákana* 766 ff. driving in chariot drawn by horses 763 influenced by that of Kouretes (?) 768₁ on vases 219 221 250 252 721 standing on either side of Helene (?) 769 stars 760 ff. 761 ff. 766₁ 772₁ with stars on their heads 35₀ 762 (?) 762₃ (?) 764 ff. two young male heads in juxtaposition 306₅ (?) two youths facing each other with pillar or tree between, their heads connected by pediment 768 ff. and united by

- Dioskouroi (*cont.*)
 one (?), two, or three cross-bars
 766 ff. winged 763
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 Kleobis and Biton (?) 449 St Elmo's
 fire 771 ff. 777
Associated with Selene 449 Zeys 356
 392₁ 590
Compared with Ásvins 771
Degraded to rank of Telúia 774
In relation to Kabeiroi 765 f. 772
Superseded by Kosmas and Damianos
 168 f.
 — initiation of 219 ff. stars of, a
 bad omen 773 f. a good omen 772 f.
 statues of, at Delphoi 761 f. 764₆
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- Diospolis, name of Laodikeia in Phrygia
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- Dipoleia See Diipolieia
 Dipolia See Diipolieia
 Diipolieia See Diipolieia
- Dirke
Myth: Zethos and Amphion 736 740
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Cults: Mauretania Caesariensis 355₁
Identified with Iupiter 188₃ Sarapis
 188₃
Associated with Tanit 355₁
- Di-Sandas (?) 603
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- Disoteria See Diisoteria
- Dis pater 96 ff.
Attributes: bowl 96 ff. mallet 96 ff.
 wolf-skin 96 ff.
- Dithyrambos 681 f.
Etymology: 681₁
- Dius Fidius 4₂
- Djebel Barishā
Cult: Zeus Βωμός 519 f.
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Cult: Zeus Helios Sarapis 189₁
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Cult: Zeus Helios Sarapis 189₁
- Dodo 148₃
- Dodon
Genealogy: s. of Zeus by Europe 524
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 Artemis 729₂ Athena Πολιοῦχος
 729₂ Britomartis 729₂ Ge 729₂
 Helios 729 Hermes 729₂ Hestia
 729₂ Leto 729₂ Ouranos 729₂ Phoi-
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Myths: Acheloiros 592, Cretan bull 467 crosses sea in solar cup 225 Eurystheus (?) 406 f. founds Olympic games 39 Geryoneus 410, Hydra 724 imports sheep 347, initiation at Eleusis 219 ff. 425 ff. on Mt Koniaion 117 leaves Kos 447 Prometheus 329, rescues Athamas 415 sees Zeus in ram-skin 347 f. solar cup 358, suckled by Hera 624

Genealogy: seven Herakles 27₃ s. of Zeus 27₃ by Astera or Asterie 544,

Function: Mars the planet 746, 750 756

Attributes: *bakchos* 220 club 576 746 cornu copiac 592, lion-skin 576 myrtle-wreath 220

Types: bearded bust 571 (?) bust 571₀ (?) 576 capturing Cretan bull 499 feasting in Olympos 501 f. 784 Lansdowne 204 Lysippos 36 204

Identified with Artagnes Ares 744 746 748 Ba'al-hammân 356, Melqarth 356 Sandas 535, 598 f. Shu 348 387 Zeus 356₂

Associated with Ammon 348, Plouton (?) 502, Zeus 399, 502, Zeus and Hebe (?) 501₆

In relation to Hera 457, 467

— emerald *stêle* of 356 greed of 521, initiation of 219 ff. pyre of 600 f.

Hercules

Attribute: club 616

Type: bust 616

Hermes

Cults: Arkadia 84, Dieros 729, Helio-polis in Syria 565 Mt Ide in Crete 729 f. Mt Kyllene 103, Kolchoi 415 Mt Lykaion 84, Nemroud Dagh 744 ff. 718 Phaistos 661, Samos (?) 172 Thera 143

Epithet: Τέχων 175 f.

Myths: Apemosyne 643, *caduceus* 398 Delotot 755 Dionysos 674 Lepus 755 golden lamb 405, golden ram 417, kills (Argos) Πανόπτης 462 lifts cattle of Helios 410 sent to Aietes 405 sent by Zeus to Aietes 417 slays Argos 439 ff.

Genealogy: f. of Bounos 246 f. of Eleusis by Dacira 242 f. of Euan-dros 87 f. of Myrtilos 405, s. of Zeus Ηἰκος 237₁

Hermes (*cont.*)

Functions: conducts procession of deities 707 fertility 704 f. gate-keeper 565 567 Mercury the planet 746₁ 756 phallic 429₄ ψυχροπομπός 746₁ Wednesday 753

Attributes: barsom 746 caduceus 422₇ 661₁ 698 699 chitoniskos 83 chlamys 83 forked stick 698₁ 699 hárpe 441₁ magic wand 441₁ pan-pipes 441₁ pétasos 83 661₁ pilos 83 ram 429₄ winged pétasos 575

Types: awaiting áwodos of earth-goddess (?) 699 beardless 83 bust 575 with caduceus glancing round 204 carrying infant Dionysos 670 708 f. evoking dead from burial-jar 469; herm with kálathos 570 f. lead figures 570₂ Lysippos 204 nude bust 571 (?) on Spartan kýlix 93 ff. Polykleitos (?) 84₁ seated on tree-stump (?) 661₁

Identified with Apollon Mithras Helios 744 ff. 748 Thoth 433

Associated with Alkidameia 246 Apemosyne 643₅ Daeira 212 Pherephatta 699 Satyroi 699 Zeus 567 570 570₂

In relation to St Elmo (?) 775

Superseded by St Tychon 175

— Paul taken for 194₀

Hermes the planet

Attributes: anemone 625₅ 626 bronze 625 f. iron 626₀ lead 626₀ madder 625₅ 626 snake 625₅ 626 swan 626₀ tin 626₀

Hermias 170

Hermione 135 344 519₂

Hermokles of Rhodes 591₂

Hermon, Mt

Cult: Leukothea 420₀

Hermonthis

Cults: Apollon 436 Bacis, Bacchis, or Bouchis 436 f. 470 f. Zeus 436

Herodes Attikos 2₂ 275

Heroës

Attribute: snakes 392₁

Heros

Cult: Gaza (?) 149₁

Herse

Genealogy: d. of Zeus by Selene 732₅

Her-shef

Cults: Herakleoupolis 346 Oasis of Siwah 389

Etymology: 346₅

Type: ram-headed 346 389

Identified with Dionysos 346₅ Khnemu 346

— gold statuette of 346₅

Heru-behutet 206

Hesiod 170

Hesperides 275₂

Hesperos

Associated with Selene 449

Hestia

Cults: in the Amáron 16 f. Athens 709₁ Dreros 729₂ Phaleron 112₃

Associated with Eirene 709₁ Zeus, Hera, etc. 149₂ Zeus 330₁

Hiberi 417

Hierapolis in Phrygia 588₁

Cults: Demeter 229₃ Kabeiroi 109 f.

Hierapolis in Syria, called Bambouch

588 Bambuche 589 Bambych 588

Bambyke 582 587₀ Mabog 582 587

Mabug 587₀ Mambog 587 Mambug

587₀ Mumbij 588 f. Munbedj 589

Cults: Adad 582 ff. 778 Apollon (?) 585 f.

Atargatis 582 ff. cp. 785 Derketo

582 ff. Zeus ("Adados") 582 ff. 598₂

Rites: human böes 442₁ incubation

407₁ sea-water poured out in temple

584₁ young men offer first

beards, girls leave tress uncut 593₀

Myths: Deukalion 583 584₁ 591₃

Dionysos 583 Kombabos 591₂ Semiramis 583

— coins of 584₂ 586 f. description of ritual at 591₃ description of ruins at 588 f.

Hierapytna 305

Cult: Zeus Κρηταγενής 149₁

Hierax 440

Hieron, potter 513₄ 513₀ 706 f.

Himeros

Attribute: ίγυα 258

Hioma 212

Hippa 395₃

Hipparchos

Type: 56

Hippodameia, w. of Antonoos 73₄ 75

Hippodameia, d. of Oinomaos

Myth: Pelops' race with Oinomaos 36 ff. 407 ff.

Hippokrene 117 170

Hippolytos

Cult: Troizen 225₄ 593₀

Myths: 225₄ 680₄ Asklepios 680

Compared with Perdix, Aktaion, Adonis 728

Superseded by St Hippolytos 172

Hippolytos, St 172

Hippos 30₂ See also Equos

Hippotes 251

Hippothon 218

Hippothontis 218

Hirpi Sorani 63₃

Hispania Baetica

Cult: Ba'al-hammán 309

Histiaia

Cult: Dionysos (?) 463

— coins of 463

Hittites

Cults: bronze bull (?) 641 ff. 784 bull

636 639 ff. Chipa 526₂ 644 father-god

604 f. 631 634 636 at Heliopolis (?)

and Hierapolis (?) in Syria 584

lightning-god 635 mountain-mother

631 Sandas 593 ff. 635₁₃ (?) son-god

- Hittites (*cont.*)
 599₆ 604 631 f. sun-god 635 Tešub
 526₂ 604 f. 639 ff. 644 thunder-god
 635₁₃
 — fight Rameses ii 362 rock-carvings of, at Boghaz-Keui 87 rock-cut thrones of 135 ff. 776 sculptures of, at Fraktin and Yarre 587₄
 See also Arinna, Boghaz-Keui, Eyuk, Hatti, Ivriz; Chipa, Sandas, Tešub
- Homer, apotheosis of 129 ff.
- Homogyros
Myths: first yokes oxen to plough 459₄ 469₃ struck by lightning 459₄
- Horai 242₈ 688
Rite: *eiresiōne* 341
Types: four 517₀ two 112₂ 222
- Horeb, Mt 181 f.
- Horos
Cult: Edfū 206 341
Functions: face of heaven 315 moon 315 sky 341 sun 315
Genealogy: s. of Osiris 223₅ s. of Rā 206
Attributes: falcon 341 hawk 241 *pschent* 574 sparrow-hawk 341
Type: head of sparrow-hawk 387
Identified with Apis 435₄ Apollon 241- Rā 315 341
 — eyes of 315
- Hyades 111₆
- Hyakinthos, daughters of 319
- Hybris 252₃
- Hydaspes, *lychnis* found in 583₃
- Hydra
Myth: slain by Herakles and Iolaos 724₁
- Hydra, the constellation 755₂
- Hydrous See Hydruntum
- Hydruntum 623₆
- Hygieia
Cult: Priansos (?) 402
Identified with Nemesis (?) 270₅
- Hymettos, Mt
Cult: Zeus 'Τμήτριος 121
 — convent on 233₅ spring on 429₄
- Hypatos, Mt 123
- Hyperboreoi 244
- Hyperes 74₀
- Hyperion 238
- Hypnos 26
Attribute: blue *nimbus* 41₀
- Hypseus 416
- Hyria 735₂
- Hyrkaniš
Cult: Demeter 229₉
- Hysia 735₂
- Iajta 307
- Iakchos
Cults: Athens 669 f. 695 Elensis 692
Epithets: ἀβρός (?) 234₄ πλουτοδότης 504₃ 670₁ Σεμελῆσιος 504₃ 670₁
Genealogy: s. of Semele 670 f. s. of Zeus by Semele 693
- Iakchos (*cont.*)
Attributes: *bakchos* 425 *nebris* 425
Type: Praxiteles 427
Associated with Demeter and Kore 425
 — evocation of 669 f. 672₅
- Iambe 425₅ 681₄
- Ianiculum
Cults: Adad 551 Atargatis (?) 551₁₁ 785
 Commodus (?) 551₁₁ Genius Forinarum (?) 552₀ Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* (?) 551₁₁ Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* Augustus (?) 552₀ Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* Conservator Imperii (?) 551₁₁
- Ianus
Type: dragon devouring its own tail 192₁ (?)
- Iao 188; 232₁ 233 ff.
Epithets: ἀβρός 234₄ Sabao(th) 235 φωσφόρος 234₄
Functions: autumn 234 light 234₄ sun (?) 236 cp. 337₃
Etymology: 188₁ 233₅ 234₄
Type: golden calf 236
Identified with Hades 234 Helios 233 ff. Zeus 233 ff.
- Iao, horse of Helios 337₃
- Iacouee 234
- Iapetos
Genealogy: s. of Ouranos with Ge 597₄ f. of Prometheus 324₃ 325
- Iarbas 366₇ (?)
- Iasily Kaya See Boghaz-Keui
- Iasion
Genealogy: f. of Korybas by Kybele 106
- Iason 417
Myth: at Corinth 246 ff. pursues Medea from Corinth 249 ff.
Personates Zeus (?) 248
Type: grappling Colchian bulls 499
Associated with Hera 248
 See also Argonauts
- Iasos 170
- Idaean Cave, bronze 'shield' from 645
 651 rock crystal from 649₃
- Idaia
Genealogy: w. of Minos 493₂ 544₂
- Ide, Nymph 112₁
- Ide, a Cretan Nymph 112₃
- Ide, a Phrygian Nymph 112₄
- Ide, Mt, in Crete 112 647
Cults: Daktyloi 646 Hermes 729 f. Kouretes 645 Zeus 161 529 645 652 Zeus 'Ιδαῖος 118 648 ff. Zeus Ταλλαῖος (?) 729 f. Zeus and Hera 708₃ Zeus nursed by Helike 529 f.
 — Idaean Cave on 135 150 150₂ 529 tomb of Zeus on 157 Zeus born on 151
- Ide, Mt, in Phrygia 100 116
Cults: Zeus 102 102₅ 154 338₁ 520₂ Zeus 'Ιδαῖος 117 126 Zeus Πατρώος 116
Myths: judgment of Paris 125 Zeus married to Hera 154 nursed by nymphs 112

Idea See Idaia

Idomeneus

Myths: colony of Sallentini 181₀ return from Trojan War 652 f.

Genealogy: s. of Deukalion of Knossos 653₁

Compared with Jephthah 653₁

Idothea 112₃

Ieù

Epithet: Sabaoth 235₀

Function: light 235₀

Ikaria in Attike, now called Dionysio 171₄

Rite: dance round he-goat 678 705 711

Ikaria, the island near Samos 344

Cult: Artemis 282₂

Ikarios 214₁ (?) 345 709

Myth: slew he-goat, inflated its skin, and instituted dance round it 678₄ 689₁

Ikaros, otherwise called Ikarios 345₃

Ikaros

Myth: 344 ff. buried by Daidalos 727₃ Labyrinth 343

Functions: morning-star (?) 343₂ Orion (?) 343₂ sun (?) 343 346

— tomb of 344 as dance-theme 481

Ikonion, rock-cut throne near 136

Ilion

Cult: Athena 533 783

Rites: bull hung on olive-tree 533 Locrion maidens 783

Myth: Ilos 468 f.

— Athena's olive at 533

Illyria or Illyricum

Cults: Kronos (?) 181₀ Poseidon 181₀

Rite: horse flung into water 181₀

Myth: Io 441

Illyrioi 321₁

Illyrios 321₁

Ilos

Myth: 468 f.

Etymology: 468

Inachos

Myth: 237₁ 237₃

India

Cults: Çiva 637 Dionysos 667₄ Sarapis 637₈

Indians

Myth: fight with the gods 318

Indra 190₃ 741₄

Epithet: bull 718₁

Myth: Ahalyâ 395₂

Function: thunder 341₇ 718₁

Attribute: eagle 341₇

In relation to ram 395₂

Indulgentia Augusti

Attributes: cornu copiae, rod, wheel 268

Type: stands leaning on column 268

Ino

Oracle: 522

Myths: Athamas 674 674₆ becomes Leukothea 674 Brasiai 674₆ Dionysos 674 674₆ Melikertes 416 674 Phrixos 415 f. 418₂

Ino (cont.)

Genealogy: d. of Kadmos and Harmonia 415

Identified with Pasiphae (?) 522

See also Leukothea

Io

Cults: Egypt 237₁ Gaza 236 Nineveh 237₃ (?) Syria 237₁

Epithets: βοῶπις 454 Καλλιθία 454₀

Καλλιθέα 236 454₀ Καλλιθήη 453₈

Καλλιθέσσα 453 459 Καλλιθήη (?)

454₀ Καλλιθία 453₈ λαμπαδηφόρε

237₁ μάκαρα 237₁ ταυρώπις 455₆

Oracle: 522₃ (?)

Rite: knocking on doors 237₁

Myths: Argos 739 Epaphos 438 ff.

Euboia 462 739 gad-fly 532 532₁₀

Hera 438 ff. Iynx 257 wanderings

236 f. Zeus 257 438 ff. 457 ff.

Metamorphosed into a cow 438 ff. 441

451 453 462 470 532 549₂ 739 f.

Genealogy: m. of Dionysos by Zeus

457 f. of Epaphos 462

Functions: hypostasis or by-form of

Hera (?) 453 lunar 236 237₁ 454 ff.

470 733 f. (?) 739 priestess of Hera

438 441 453

Etymology: 454 f.

Attribute: cow 236

Types: with bull or cow 236₃ with cow's horns and cow's ear 459₅

horned 237₃

Identified with Astarte 454₂ Isis 237₁

441 453 Pasiphae 522₃ (?)

Associated with Argos 459₅ Zeus 438 ff.

457 681₄ 733 f. 739 777 Zeus Ηἰκος

237₁

In relation to Argos 459 Hera 453 ff.

— marriage of (scene in mysteries?)

535₀ See also Eios Gamoi

Iobakcheia 686

Iobakchoi 457 f. 686

Rites: Aphrodite 679₁₇ Dionysos 679₁₇

Kore 679₁₇ Palaimon 679₁₇ Pro-

teurythmos 679₁₇

Priests: ἀνθιρεύς 679₁₇ ἀρχίβακχος

679₁₇ βουκολικός 679₁₇ ιερεύς 679₁₇

ἱπποὶ 442 ταύμας 679₁₇

Iobakchos

Cult: Athens 457 f.

Epithet: χορομανής 457₇

Priest: βουκολικός 457 f.

Etymology: 458₃

Attribute: bull 458

Iolaos

Myth: Hydra 724₁

Iole 117

Iolkos 244 246

Ione

Cults: Zeus Ἐπικάρπιος 236₁₀ Zeus

Νέμειος 236₁₀

— foundation of 236 cp. 237₁

Ionia

Rites: dances of Τῦρᾶνες, Κορίθῶνες,

Σάτυροι, βουκόλοι 679₁

- Ionian Gulf
Myth: Io 441
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Cult: Demeter 229₃
 Ionians(?) 362
 Iopolis, foundation of 236 cp. 237₁
 Iphianassa 452
 Iphigenia
Myth: sacrifice to Artemis 417
 Iris 200 ff.
Myth: binds lion with her girdle 457₃
Type: with nimbus 203₂
 Isis
Cults: Alexandria 753 Egypt 237₁
Epithets: *Némeis* 271₅ *Tύχη* 271₅
Rite: gilded cow wrapped in black mantle 581₁₂
Myth: Osiris 435
Metamorphosed into cow 462
Functions: cow-goddess 237₁ lunar 237₁ 454 Virgo 755₁₀
Attributes: busts of Sun and Moon 271 corn-ears 271 cow 454 disk and horns 753 double *cornu copiae* 271 fruit 271 head-dress of solar disk and feathers 427₅ 620 (?) purse 271 ram with disk on its head 346₃ rudder 271 sceptre 620 *sistrum* 620 snake 271 wheel 271
Types: cow 581₁₂ serpent 360 standing on hind(?) 620
Identified with Demeter(?) 427₅ Hera 445 454 Io 237₁ 441 453 Nemesis 271₅ Selene 454₇ Tyche 271₅
Associated with Sarapis 360 Triptolemos 222 f. Zeus 346₅ 457₅ Zeus Helios Sarapis 454
 — head-dress of 271 worshipped by Commodus 607
 Isityche 271₅
 Issos
Cult: Auramazda 208₅
 Istar
Genealogy: d. of Sin 237₁
Function: planet Venus 577 755
Associated with Ramman 577₀ Sin, Samaš, and Adad 577 Tammuz 645 646₀
Attribute: dove 584₀
In relation to Semiramis 584₀
 — descent of 237₁
 Istros, the river 245₃
 Istros, the town
Cults: Dioskouroi(?) 306₅ Helios 306₅
 Itabyrion See Tabor, Mt
 Italia
Type: seated on globe 52
 Italians, golden or purple ram of 403 ff.
 Italy
Myths: Kyklopes 312 Liber 693₄
 Ithake 328 328₃ 544₀
Cult: Odysseus(?) 328
 Ithakos, eponym of Ithake 328₃ 328₄
 Ithas or Ithax 327 f.
Epithet: Προμηθεύς 327
 Ithome, Mt
Cult: Zeus 154 Zeus 'Ιθωμάρας 121
Myth: Zeus nursed by Nymphs 154
 Iulus 488
 Iuno
Cults: Caerleon-on-Usk 611₂ Netherby 611₃ Rome 59₁₁ 611₁ Syene 353₄
Epithets: *Hēra* 609₉ *Lacinia* 82₁ *Regina* 59₁₁ 353₃ 611₁ 611₃(?) *Sancta* 609₉ 610₅ *Saturnia* 449₃
Functions: lunar 455 mountain 353₄
Festival: Nonae Caprotinae 694₀
Attributes: cow 619 *patra* 289₁ peacock 289₁
Type: on cow 619
Assimilated to Venus 617 f.(?)
Associated with Jupiter *Dolichenus* 610 f. 611 619 Jupiter and Minerva 60
 — anger of 661
 Iuno, queen of Crete 661 f.
 Iupiter
Cults: Acumincum(?) 611 f. Apulum 190₀ 630₉ Aquileia in Upper Germania 619 626 Aquincum 551₅ 633₂ Athens 551₁ 554₁ Auximum 190₀ Babylon 757, Caerleon-on-Usk 611₂ Capitolias 45 f. Carmentum 353₁ 551₀ 612 ff. 626 633₁ Carthage 353₄ Celts 288 f. 482₀ Cirta 41₅ Dalmatia(?) 191₀ Dion in Dekapolis 572, Doliche 606 Dorstadt 191₀ Eleutheropolis 572₁ Herdenheim 619 ff. 626 ff. Heliopolis in Syria 550 ff. 578 635 Ianiculum(?) 551₁₁ Kommagene 612₂ Lambaisa 188₃ Latovici 551 551₅ 633₁ Lussonium 615 ff. 620 ff. 626 Lutri 189₁ Magna 552₃ Massilia 552₁ 611 Mauretania Caesariensis 354 f. Neapolis in Samaria 45 572₁ Nemausus 552₂ Netherby 611₃ Nikopolis in Iudaea 572; Pfünz 630₃ Portus Romanus 551₁₀ 567₅ Puteoli 551₉ Rome 42 ff. 53 f. 58 189₁ 190₀ 191₀ 194₁ 351₁₁ 353₄ 608 ff. 630₅ Sallentini 180₅ Sassoferrati 190₀ Siscia 551₇ Syene 353₄ Trigisamum 617 ff.
Epithets: *Aeternus* 59₁₁ 191₀ 608₇ 609₃ *aetherius* 26 cp. 27₃ 102 *Ammon* 365₂ (See also *Hammon*) *Angelus* 551₁₀ 567₅ *Augustus* 552₀ 609₃ *Balmarcodes* 571₀ *Barbarus* 353₄ *Belus* 757₁ *Capitolinus* 34₃ 42 ff. 53 f. 194₁ 234₁ 781 *Chubis* 353₄ *Conservator* 276₇ *Conservator Imperii* 551₁₁ *Conservator Totius Poli* 608₇ 633 *corniger* 365₁ *Crescens* 714 *Defensor* 276₅ *deus Dolichenus* 611₃ (See also *Dolichenus*) *Deus Paternus Comma-genus* 612₂ *Dignus* (?) 609₉ cp. 609₃ *Doliceus* 615₀ (See also *Dolichenus*) *Dolichenus* 25₂ 194₁ 520₂ 551₃ 604 ff. 634 778 ff. *Dolichumus* 611₂ (See also *Dolichenus*) *Dolychenus*

Iupiter (cont.)

610₅ (See *Dolichenus*) *Dulcenus* 551₅
 616₂ *Dulicenus* 630₃ (See also *Dolichenus*) *Exhibitor Invictus* 608₇
 633 *Exoriens* 714 *Exsuper*(*antis-*
simus) 276₅ 598₁ *Hannnon* 353 ff.
 353₄ 419₀ (See also *Ammon*) *Hel-*
liopolitanus 194₁ 549 ff. 617 632 ff.
 778 f. *Iuvenis* 276₅ *Libertas* 194₁
Menzana 180₅ 717₃ *Molossus* 366₁
natus ubi ferrum exoritur 630₀ (See
 also *ubi ferrum nascitur*) *Numen*
Praestantissimum 608₇ *Optimus* 609₀
Optimus Maximus 191₀(?) 288₃ 353₄
 551₄ 551₅ 551₆ 551₇ 551₈ 551₉ 551₁₀
 551₁₁ 552₀ 552₁ 552₂ 552₃ 554₁ 558₂
 561₂ 571₀ 598₁ 608₇ 609₁ 609₈ 611₁
 611₂ 611₃ 612₂ 614 614₂ 614₃ 627₂
 627₅ 628₂ 628₃ 630₃ 630₀(?) 633₁ 633₂
 715 782 *Optimus Maximus* 59₁₁ *pater*
optimus 757 *Praestantissimus* 609₀
 cp. 609₈ *Propagator* (?) 552₂ *Pro-*
pitius (?) 522₁ *Purpurio* 58 782 *rector*
superum 757 *Sabazius* 23₄ *Sanctus*
 (?) 609₀ *Saturnius* 45₅ *Sebazius*
 393₀ *Silvanus* 353₄ *Sol* 609₀ *Summus*
 598₁ *Terminus* 53 520₂ *Tonans* 751₈
ubi ferrum nascitur 627₂ 630₃ 630 ff.
 (See also *natus ubi ferrum nascitur*)
verveceus 395 *Victor* 41₅

Festival: Sebadia 393₀

Oracles: 552 f.

Rites: games 715

Priests: Anrelii 630 *flamen Dialis*
 717₃ *kandidatus* 608₃ 610₀ *lecti-*
curius 609₁ *pater* 609₂ *princeps*
 609₃ *sacerdos* 610

Personated by *Augustus* 43₃ *Commo-*
modus 276₅ *Domitian* 751₃ an emperor
 of the first cent. A.D. 43₃ *Nerva*
 43₃ *Roman emperor* 46 f. *Scipio*
 58 f.

Myths: Pisces 584₀ suckled by goat
 711₇ swallowed by *Saturn* 53 f.

Genealogy: f. of Asterion by Idea
 (= *Idaia*) 493₂ gr.-s. of *Caelus* 59
 s. of *Caelus* 59 f. of *Thebe* 365₂

Functions: atmosphere, rain, and
storm 759 the day-light 14 fertility
 609 622 633 fire-drill (?) 330 giver
 of life 757 god dwelling in *aether*
 26 god of precious metals 629
 mountain 181₀ (?) 353₄ 621 f. oak 1₃
 rain 393₀ ruler of starry sky 757
 the sky 3₂ 6₃ 10 f. 609 solar 288 f.
 552 578 609 632 714 (?) storm 570
 thunder 632 f. and lightning 621

Etymology: 14 779

Attributes: bull 576 ff. 611 631 633 ff.
 butterfly 598₁ club 289₂ coat of
 mail 628 corn-ears 552 569 572
 617 (?) *cornu copiae* 598₁ crown
 289₁ double axe 631 eagle 62 eagle
 on globe with wreath in his beak
 628 fir-cone (?) 569₁ flower-shaped

Iupiter (cont.)

disk 617 globe 41₅ 43 ff. 572 ff. (?)
 grape-bunch (?) 617 helmet 289₂
 jewels (?) 569 *kálathos* 568 f. 571 f.
 574 576 598₁ lily 612 621 ff. nine
 S-shaped pendants 289₁ oak-crown
 41₅ *patera* 598₁ pillar 62₄ 611 (?)
 purple cloak 58 radiate *nimbus*
 572₁ ram's head 612 seven stars
 276₅ shield 289₂ silver 626 ff. snake
 issuing from tree-trunk 289₀ solar
 disk 569 (?) 571 spear 41₅ 276₅
 star 616 620 (?) starry robes 59
toga picta 59 tree with leaves and
 fruit 619 *tunica palmata* 59 two
 bulls 567 ff. Victory 41₅ 616 617 (?)
 620 (?) 628 wheel 288 f. whip 552
 568 ff. wreath 43₂

Types: advancing towards *Giant* (?)
 517₀ *Apollonios* 42 f. archaistic
 598₁ with arched mantle 59 f. as
 beardless charioteer with whip,
 thunderbolt, and corn-ears 552 as
 charioteer with whip and corn-ears
 standing between two bulls 567 ff.
 delegating globe to emperor 46
 Egyptising 572 ff. holding wheel
 288 f. infant riding on goat 713 f.
 protecting emperor 276₅ pyramid
 520₂ radiate 194₁ in Roman military
 costume 289₀ 289₁ as Roman soldier
 with Phrygian cap holding double
 axe and thunderbolt and standing
 on back of bull 611 ff. seated with
 globe and sceptre 45 f. 781 seated on
 pillar 62₄ 521₂ seated with sceptre
 (?), thunderbolt (?), globe (?) 42 f.
 seated with sceptre on eagle, his
 head surrounded by starry mantle
 754₂ seated with thunderbolt and
 sceptre, left foot on globe 47 ff.
 standing behind foreparts of two
 bulls 617 619 (?) standing on bull
 with double axe and thunderbolt
 606 youthful 289₁ (?) youthful head
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Associated with *Augustus* 288₃ *Bonus*
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 Μαχραεύς 717₂ μέγας 233₇ 400₆ 504₂
 648₁ 758₁ 763 μέγιστε κούρε...Κρόνιε
 15 645 Μέγιστος 10₁ Μειλιχίος 290₂
 422 f. 428 520₂ (See also Μηλιχίος)
 Μεμφίτης 188₁ Μηλιχίος 144 (See
 also Μειλιχίος) Μηλώσιος 164 164₅
 520₂ μητέρα 14₁ μητίβιος 14₁ Μοννί-
 τιος 298 Μόριος 196₉ Νάιος 363 369
 369₁ 370 524 778 Νέμειος 236₁₀ 280₂
 448 456 558₅ νεφεληγερέτα 14₁
 Νόσιος=Νότιος 733₃ Ξένιος 75 (?)
 233 234₄ 280₄ 'Ολύβιος 75 125 304₁
 'Ολύβριος or 'Ολύβρις 597₁ 'Ολύμ-
 πιος 37₁ 102₄ 116 f. 117₁ 121 233
 234₄ 758₂ 'Ομαγύριος 17 'Ομάριος
 (?) 16₁ 16₅ 16₁₀ 17 'Ομβριος 121 ó
 πάντων κρατῶν 550₁ our Father
 664₀ Ουράνιος 8 565₂ 647₇ ούρανός
 8 παγκρατὲς γάνος 15 Πανάμαρος,
 Πανήμερος, Πανήμερος 18 ff. 581
 Πανόπτης 459 461 f. 731 παντε-
 πότης 461₀ παντόπτας 459; Πάπας
 399₃ Παπίας 399₃ Παρνήθιος 121
 Πάσιος 520₂ Πατήρ 399₃ Πατρώος
 116 f. 123 143 (?) 290₂ 519₅ 520₂
 Πελασγικός 545₁ Πελινναίος 290₂
 Πελώριος (?) 142 Πίκος 158₂ 237₁
 Πιλούσιος 504₂ Πιλουόδότης 503 f.
 504₂ Πολιεύς 122 142 143 (?) 147
 498₁ 717₂ Πολιούχος 597₄ Προμανθεύς
 289 f. 329 f. Προμηθεύς (?) 330₁
 Σαάξιος 400₂ Σαβάξιος 113 293₃
 390 ff. 399 399₃ 428 650₇ 778 Σαβός
 395 Σεβάξιος 400₆ Σειρήν 740 Σείριος
 740₁₁ Σημαλέος 121 Σθένιος 519₂
 Σιωπιτής 188₁ Σολυμεύς 123 σοφός
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 χαῖος 143 Στοιχείος 143₁₅ Στοιχεύς
 143₁₅ Στορπάος 520₂ Στράτιος 91 602₂
 641 Σωσίπολις 57 f. 717₂ Σωτήρ 350₅
 361₀ 399₃ 459₂ Ταλαῖος 181₀ 194₁
 633₁₀ 723 f. Ταλετίτας 181₀ 194₁ 730
 730₈ Ταλλαῖος 181₀ 194₁ 633₁₀ 729
 730₈ Τέλειος 25₁ Τεμίλιος 623₃ Τέρμων
 520₂ Τέρσιος 597 τραγωδός 702₁ Τρι-
 φόλιος 662 Τύραννος 642₄ δέτιος 398 f.
 647₀ Τμητίιος 121 Τπατος 123
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 Φαναῖος 7₀ Φήμιος 350₈ Φιλέλλην (See
 Antiochos i of Kommagene) Φίλιος
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 Kommagene) Φρύγιος 398 Φύξιος 416
 417 Χθόνιος 668 f. Χρυσάωρ (?) 731₁
 'Ορομάσδης 10₁ 208 741 ff.

Festivals: Ammonia (?) 359₁ ἡ ἀνά-
 βασις τοῦ θεοῦ 21 ἡ ἀνοδος τοῦ θεοῦ
 21 Bouphonia (See Rites) Dia 423₂
 733₂ Diasia 423₂ 733₃ Diipolieia
 681₄ Diisoteria 681₄ ἡ ἐπίδημα τοῦ
 θεοῦ 20 ἡ τοῦ ἵππου εἰσοδος 20

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Komyria 20 ff. Lykaia 63₆ 68 70
 76 f. 76₂ 76₃ Maimakterion 20th
 176₂ Panamareia 20 Pandia 423₂
 682₁ (?) 732 f.
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 363 ff. 367 368₄ 369 Heliopolis in
 Syria 357 552 f. Hierapolis in
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 23 f. 25₁ of horse 21 Dictaeen
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 funeral sacrifice 646 human consort
 348₁ 396 human sacrifice 70 ff. 75
 415 ff. 417 652 ff. 654 656 ἱερὸς
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 526 ff. 534 f. (?) 543 708₃ initiates
 of Zeus Σαβάξιος pass a golden
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 651 ff. 659 ff. πανκαρπια νηφάλιος
 176₂ πῶπανον ὀρθνῶφανον δωδεκῶ-
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 Mt Pelion 420 422 sacrifice of
 black yearling 668 f. of bulls 467
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 goats 347 717₃ of horses 180₅ 717₃
 of oxen 82 338₂ 545₂ 717₂ cp. 467
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 of rams 39 348 407 ff. 416 f. 420 ff.
 422 ff. 717₁ 717₂ 779 cp. 75₂ of
 sheep 75₂ (See also rams) of young
 pig 668 669₂ silence observed during
 sacrifice 592₀ ταυροκαθάρια (?) 498₁
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Marathon (?) 247 Minos (?) 527₁
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280 priest 22 Septimius Severus
278 son of Domitia Longina 51
547 Tyndareos (?) 279 f. cp. 770₃
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Myths: Agdistis 155 Aithiopes 186
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copiae* 501 f. 717₃ Amaltheia hangs
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534 Aquarius 755 Aquila 755 Ara
755 Arcophylax 755 Asterion or
Asterios or Asteros 546 f. attacked
by wheel-shaped beings 310 f. 317
Auriga 755 begets bull 394 birth of
Athena 585 birth of Dionysos 622 f.
693 Bootes 755 born in Crete 650₂
665 665₀ (See also *Epithets Κρητα-
γενής, Κρηταίος, Κρητογενής*) born
in a cave of Mt Dikte 149 151 653
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a cave of Mt Ide in Crete 150 f.
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154 born in Katakekaumene 152
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Messogis 151 born in Naxos 154
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his hand 702₁ Canis 755 Capra
755 Capricornus 755 causes Hera
to suckle Herakles 624 Centaurus
755 chains Prometheus to Mt
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Aitne 106₃ 106₃ 106₃ 156 779 with
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779 with Dione 370 with Elare (?)
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Xθονία 668 f. with Hekate (?) 141 f.
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370 370₃ 522 f. cp. 20 ff. 22₄ 117
133₁ 345₄ 456₄ 459₅ 501₆ 591 597₄
708₃ 753 with Idaia 544₂ with Io
237₁ 257 438 ff. 457 ff. 462 f. 532₁₀
681₄ 733 f. 739 777 with Isis 346₅
454 457₆ with Kalliope 105 f. with

Zeus (cont.)

Kallisto 155 with Kore 394 398 f.
401 695 with Koryphe 155 779 with
Larissa 156 with Larisse (?) 156₂
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with Leto 155 544₀ 727₆ 728 with
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777 with Persephone 394 398 399₂
780 with Phoinike 755₁₀ with
Plouto 156 720₄ with Rhea 398 645
with Selene 456 457₅ (?) 732 f. 739
777 with Semele 155 398₄ 457₆
681 f. 693 (?) 733 736₀ 751 780 with
Taygete 155 755₁₀ 779 with Thaleia
105 f. 106₃ with Themis 755₁₀

cradle hung on tree round which
Kouretes clash weapons 534 Cyg-
nus 755 Danaos 371₁ defeated by
Typhoeus 731₁ Deltoton 755 desti-
ned to be dethroned by s. of
Hekate 543; dethrones Kronos 329₀
Dionysos founds temple of Zeus
Ἄμμων 369 f. 373 Dionysos sewn
up in thigh of Zeus 674₂ Elektra
755₁₀ Engonasin 755 Epaphos
438 ff. Equos 755₃ Ganymedes 408
527₁ gelds ram 394 Gemini 755
Gigantes 119 gives ring to Pro-
metheus 329₀ goes up into moun-
tain with golden calf and silver
knife 581 golden hound 720₄ golden
or purple lamb of Atreus 405 ff.
golden ram 121 Hammon brings
sheep to Dionysos 368 373 He-
niochus 755 Hera 25 f. 106₄ 156 198
248 257 398 438 ff. 440₇ 467 624
658₃ *λεπὸς γάμος* (See *Rites*) Indians
318 Ixion 198 Iynx 257 440; judg-
ment of Paris 125 f. king of Egypt
376₁ Kronos 154 f. 299 329₀ 520₂
755₁₀ Leo 755 Leucadian rock 345₄
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nursed by Adrasteia 112₃ 112₄ by
Aiga 529₄ by Alkinoo 112₁ by Amal-
theia 112₃ 501 f. 717₃ by Ambrosie
111₆ by Anchiroe 112₂ by Anthrakia
112₁ 112₂ by Arsinoe 111₆ by
Bromie 111₆ by Erato 111₆ by
Eriphia 111₆ by Geraistiades 112₃
by Glauke 112₁ by Hagno 112₁ 112₂
by Helike 112₃ 529 f. 548 755₁₀ by
Hyades 111₆ by Ide 112₁ 112₃ 112₄
by Idothea 112₃ by Kisseis 111₆ by
Koronis 111₆ by Kynosoura 112₃
755₁₀ by Melissa 112₃ by Myrtoessa
112₂ by Neda 112₁ 112₂ by Nymphs
on Mt Arkton 112 by Nymphs in
Crete 112₃ 755₁₀ by Nymphs of Do-
dona 111 by Nymphs on Mt Ide in
Crete 112 by Nymphs on Mt Ide in
Phrygia 112 by Nymphs on Mt

Zeus (cont.)

Ithome 154 by Nymphs at Megalopolis 112 by Nymphs at Tegea 112 by Nysa 111₀ by Oinoe 112₁ by Phrixa 112₁ by Polyhymno 111₀ by Theisoa 112, nurtured by bees 150 by cow (?) 660 665 785 by doves 150 182 by goat 112₂ 112₃ 150 529₄ 653₃ 665 720₄ by sheep (?) 401 by sow 150 653 785

Olor 755 Ophiuchus 755 Orion 755 Persephone 126 ff. Phaethon (?) 337 Pliades 755 pretends castration 394 prevents Ares from slaying Kadmos 540 prince slain by wild boar and buried in Crete 157 645 652 663₂ Prometheus' theft of fire 323 ff. reared in Naxos 164₄ receives omen from eagle 164₄ Sagittarius 755 sceptre made by Hephaistos 406 Scorpius 755 Semele 155 398₄ (See also Semele) Semiramis 367 shows himself in ram-skin to Herakles 347 f. spares Nyktimos in answer to supplication of Ge 79₁₀ cp. 79₁₂ stone swallowed by Kronos 154 299 520₂ strife of Athena and Poseidon 147 succeeds Kronos and Rhea 155 329₀ swaddled at Geraiston 154₁₁ Talos 719 Tantalos 116 720₄ Taurus 755 thunderbolt made by Encheirogastores 317 thunderbolt made by Kyklopes 310₃ 314 317 f. Titanes 164₄ 661 f. 731₁ transforms Anthos into bird 73₄ Dionysos into kid 674 f. Helike and Kynosoura into bears 112₃ Leto into quail 544₀ Palikos into eagle 106₄ tug-of-war 113₈ Typhoeus 370₁ 731₁ Ursa Maior 755 Ursa Minor 755 Virgo 755 warned not to marry Tethys 329₀ washed in the Lousios 154₁₁

Metamorphosed into ant 533₀ bull 393 399 438 f. 458 f. 464 468 (?) 472 499 527₀ 535₁ 537₁₁ 544 660 f. 681₄ 736 739 f. eagle 164₄ 532 544₀ fly (?) 532 533₀ gad-fly (?) 532₁₀ golden lamb (?) 412 414 golden rain 414 golden ram 419 golden or purple or white ram (?) 467 goose 279₄ 760₂ man with bull's horns, lion, leopard, puff-adder 392 396 quail 544₀ ram 370₁ 419 422 423 428 430 675₃ Satyr 734 ff. serpent 112₃ 270₆ 279₄ 358 f. 392 394 396 398 398₄ 401 402 (?) 403 428 shepherd 104 star 760 778 stranger 79₀ swan 279₄ 760₆ 763₄ 770 vulture 106 white bull (?) 468 working-man 79₀

Genealogy : f. of Agdistis by Mt Agdos 155 s. of Aither 27₃ 65 h. of Aitne 106₂ 106₃ 106₄ f. of Ammon by Pasiphae 522 544₂ f. of Arkas (?) 702₀ f. of Artemis by Leto 727₀

Zeus (cont.)

f. of Asopos by Eurynome 155 f. of Asterion by Idaia 544₂ f. of Athena by Koryphe 155 f. of Atlas 156 f. of Belos, if not Belos himself 756₀ f. of Britomartis by Hekate (?) 543₁ f. of Charites by Eurynome 155 h. of Demeter 393 f. h. of Deo 393 f. f. of Dike by Themis 755₁₀ f. of Dionysos 166 346₅ 429 687 f. of Dionysos by Io 457 by Isis 457₅ by Kore 695 by Phersephone 398 399₂ by Selene (?) 457₅ 732 by Semele 457₅ 681 f. f. of Dioskouroi and Helene by Nemesis 279 f. of Dioskouroi by Leda 763₄ f. of Dodon or Dodonos by Europe 524 f. of Epaphos by Io 438 ff. 633 f. of Gargaros 156 f. of Geraistos 156 319 f. f. of Hekate by Asteria or Asterie 544₀ f. of Helene by Nemesis 279 760₂ f. of Helios 27₃ f. of Herakles by Alkmene' 624 f. of Hermes 237₁ f. of Herse (Ἑρσα) by Selene 732₅ f. of Iakchos by Semele 693 f. of Karnos by Europe 351₇ f. of Kastor and Polydeukes by Leda 760₃ f. of Kore or Pherephatta 394 f. of Korinthos 247 f. of the Korybantes by Kalliope 105 f. s. of Kronos 14₁ 732 f. of Lakedaimon by Taygete 155 f. of Libye by Io 237₁ f. of Minos 158₂ f. of Minos by Europe 467 545₅ 547 648 f. of Minos, Sarpedon, Rhadamanthys, by Europe 464 h. of Mnemosyne 104 h. of the Muse 104 f. of Muses by Mnemosyne 104 f. f. of Myrmaidon by Eurymedousa 533₀ f. of Nemea by Selene 456 732 f. of Olympos (?) 156 gr.-s. of Ouranos 8 f. of Palikoi by Aitne 156 f. of Palikoi by Thaleia 106 f. of Pan 702₀ f. of Pandie (Pandia) by Selene 732 f. of Pelasgos by Larissa 156 forefather of Pelopidai 407 f. of Persens by Danaë 414 f. of Phersephone by Rhea 398 f. of the Phoenician Herakles by Asteria or Asterie 544₀ forefather of Pterelaos 328₃ f. of Rhadamanthys 545₅ 547 f. of Sarpedon 545₅ 547 f. of Selene by Leto 727₀ f. of Solymos 156 f. of Tainaros 156 f. of Tantalos 156 f. f. of Tantalos by Plouto 720₄ f. of Tityos by Elare (?) or Larisse (?) 156₂ h. of Thaleia 105 f. 106₄ f. of Zethos and Amphion by Antiope 734 ff. three Zeuses 27₃

Functions : aër 30 31₀ agriculture 176₂ aithër 25 ff. 65 195 585 776 animal and vegetable fertility 75 apotropaic 422, astronomy and astrology 751 754 ff. begetter 681₄ 733 779 f. brilliance 15 celestial lights 733 f.

Zeus (cont.)

740 (chthonian?) 63₀ 188 668 f. clouds 318 day-light 15 ff. 65 776 days 16 Dionysiac 399 f. dog-days (?) 299₂ drawing lots 57 earth 33 187₁₀ earthquake 2 f. 14₁ exiles (?) 63₆ father 39₃ 681₁ 733 779 f. fertility 75 429₄ 545 (?) 591 598 623 730-779 fills markets, seas, and havens with his name 664₀ fire 27 28 f. 31 31₃ 323 fire-drill 329 f. gives good signs to men 664₀ giver of wealth 504₂ healer 645 f. (?) 646₁ heat 31₃ heaven 8 565₂ 647₁ 664₀ hunter 651 652 Jupiter the planet 750 756 king 58 758 king of Crete 545₃ king of the gods 233 279 (See also *Epithets*: ἀναξ, Βασιλεύς, Τόρανος) life 11₅ 28₃ 29₄ 31₃ 196 f. light 7 29 63 ff. 66₁ 68 472 lightning 1₃ lunar 208₂ 730 f. magician 14₁ 758 meteorites 760 mountain 102₅ 290₂ 348₁ 399₃ 520₂ 551 777 moves men to work 664₀ oak 1₃ 289 f. ordains all that is visible and invisible 664₀ orders the constellations 754 ff. ovens 290₂ pantheistic 33 planet Jupiter 750 756 procreative 681₁ 733 779 f. rain 121 134 398 f. 545₃ 647₀ rain-maker 14₁ sea 187₁₀ setting sun 358 sky 1 f. 29 f. 33 65 80 182 338₂ 348₁ 758 776 (blue sky 33 ff. bright sky 730 775 f. burning sky 25 ff. 195 585 776 starry sky 751 ff.) solar 7₂ 19 (?) 66₁ 166 181₀ 186 ff. 298 f. 338 358 400 401 428 ff. 454 461 f. (?) 522 f. 545 ff. (?) 549 ff. 578 633 635 642 732 ff. 751₂ 758₁ 777 spring 234 stellar 547 ff. 665 665₀ 740 ff. 751 ff. 757 777 storm 338 398 f. 570 623 streaming water 369 summer heat 195 three-fold god (?) 301 thunder-bolt 28 591 Thursday 753 time (?) 16 transition from sky to sky-god 9 ff. 776 tribal god (See *Epithets*: Παρρῶος) vegetation 74 wealth 504₂ (See also *Epithets*: Κρήσιος, Πάσιος) wind 142 764₁ wolf (?) 63 ff. woodland (?) 280₂ years 16₃ 187₈

Etymology: 1 ff. 16 31₃ 776

Attributes: aigis 14₁ 398 barsom 745 bay-wreath 149₁ 376 blue globe 33 41 ff. 349₂ 776 (See also globe) blue mantle 33₁ 56 ff. 349₂ 776 blue nimbus 33 f. 40 f. 349₂ 776 box (?) 360₁₁ bull 501 576 ff. 633 ff. 660 f. 739 f. bulls 567 ff. 586₂ 590 buskins 112₂ calf 581 Chimaira-heads 748 clouds 57 club 356₂ cornu copiae 361 501 f. 598₁ corn-ears 68₀ 74₆ (?) 552 569 572 590 596 598₂ 741 couch 662 cow 660 665 crescent moon 35₆ 731 crooked stick 87₂ cruz ansata 590 f. cup 112₂ cypress 649 cypress-wood sceptre 558₅ diadem

Zeus (cont.)

of palmettes and lotos-buds 622₁₁ Dionysiac 2₁ double axe 606 ff. 731₁ (See also Index II s.v. Axe) doves 39₁ 364 f. 367 f. eagle 34 ff. 40 56₄ 84 ff. 88 ff. 102₁ 103 ff. 117₁ 191 f. 596 731 eagles 66 83 f. eagle on pine-tree 91 on rock 90₆ eagle-sceptre 590 596 623 fawn-skin (?) 736₀ fir-cone (?) 569₁ fruitful poplar 529 globe 56₄ 136₀ (?) 547 572 (?) (See also blue globe) goat 401 501 547 665 706 ff. 717₃ 731₁ 779₁ golden calf 581 fleece 419 422 ff. grapes 4₂ 596 598₂ himation decorated with animals and lilies 622 horns 74 f. 590 (See also *Epithets*: ἄρμων) 'horns of consecration' (?) 731₁ inscribed golden pillar 662 jewels (?) 569 kalathos 568 f. 571 f. 574 576 590 (See also modius) Kerberos 188₄ lagoblon 736₀ lilies 622 ff. lily-sceptre 623₁ lituos 86 f. 90 f. (?) lotos-sceptre 596 Lycian symbol (?) 301 mem 478₁ modius 188₁ 361 (See also kalathos) moon 35₀ 731 mouse 425 Nike 2₂ 590 753 oak-leaves and acorns 748 f. oak-tree 1₃ 364 ff. 401 omphalos 521₁ phidie 19 35₀ 102₄ 281 (?) 752 pillar 34 ff. 44₄ (?) 62₄ 279₄ 409 520₂ 662 pillars 66 521₃ pillars surmounted by eagles 83 f. pine-cone 392₁ plough 4₂ 598₂ poplar 529 puff-adders 392 radiate crown 19 188 194₁ 361 radiate nimbus 572₁ ram 346 ff. 390 401 417 428 ff. 429₄ 731₁ ram's head as footstool 391 f. ram's horns 361 371 ff. rainbow 57 f. cp. 51₀ sceptre 2₂ 19 34 39 56₄ 102₄ 575 (?) sceptre tipped with eagle 590 596 623 sceptre tipped with lily 623₁ sceptre tipped with lotos 596 sceptre tipped with votive hand 392₁ serpent 102₄ 113 358 ff. 429₄ serpents 102₄ 113₂ 392 394 396 serpent coiled in circle 191 f. serpent-staff 361 seven stars 149₁ cp. 276₅ 547 ff. silver knife 581 snake (See serpent) solar disk 360₁₁ 569 (?) 571 spear cp. 276₅ 621 star 731 741 751 ff. 781 star (sun?) 35₀ stellate tiara 741 f. 745 748 f. thunderbolt 31 39 f. 56₄ 84 ff. 88 102₄ thýrsos with eagle on it 112₂ tiara adorned with disks and thunderbolts 745 tiara adorned with pearly edge, stars, and thunderbolts 748 trident 361 two bulls 567 ff. 586₂ 590 two eagles 34 748 two thunderbolts 299₂ veil 57 Victory 2₂ 590 753 vine-branch 91 cp. 92₄ wheel 288 ff. whip 552 568 ff. willow 529 f. wreath 56₄ wreath of bay 18 69 149₁ 298₁₀ 376 731 cp. 712 wreath of flowers 622

Zeus (cont.)

wreath of lilies 622 f. 623₁ 736₀
wreath of oak cp. 41₅ wreath of
pomegranate-flowers (?) 623₁ zodiac
752 f.

Types: advancing with thunderbolt
and eagle 84 ff. Archelaos 129 ff.
Aristonous 622 Askaros 622 Assyrian
645 bearded 371 ff. 402₀
beardless 371 ff. 402₀ 652 (See also
youthful) beardless charioteer with
whip, thunderbolt, and corn-ears
552 as bull bearing off Europe 499
as bull in radiate circle 472 bust
575 bust in front of rock 597₄
carrying infant Dionysos 707
carrying infant Dionysos with goat
beside him 706 as charioteer with
whip and corn-ears standing be-
tween two bulls 567 ff. child seated
on globe with goat and stars 52 f.
547 colour of hair 2₂ in Comma-
genian costume 745 748 crowned
with lilies 736₀ Dionysiac 2₂ 112₂
131 (?) 373 ff. cp. 4₂ 400 596 598₂
double busts of Zeus "Αμμων and
Dionysos 374 double busts of Zeus
"Αμμων and Hera "Αμμωνία (?) 370₄
double busts of Zeus "Αμμων and
Sarapis (?) 366₂ double herm of
Zeus "Αμμων and Satyr 374 driving
chariot 338 effeminate (?) 599₄
Egyptising 572 ff. enthroned with
sceptre and *cornu copiae* 598₁
Hageladas 122 heads of Zeus
"Αμμων and Dionysiac (?) goddess
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ZEUS

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

VOLUME II

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ZEUS

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

BY

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK

II

FELLOW AND LECTURER OF QUEENS' COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE
READER IN CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY TO THE UNIVERSITY
OF CAMBRIDGE

VOLUME II

ZEUS GOD OF THE DARK SKY
(THUNDER AND LIGHTNING)

χά Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἴθριος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὕει

THEOKRITOS 4. 43

PART II

APPENDIXES AND INDEX

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APPENDIX A.

KAIROS.

Kairos as a distinct personification first emerges in the middle of *s. v* B.C., when Ion of Chios composed a hymn in his honour. Pausanias¹ mentions it *à propos* of an altar to him in the north-eastern part of the *Altis*: 'Hard by the entrance into the *Stádion* are two altars. One they call the altar of Hermes *Enagónios*, the other that of Kairos. I am aware that Ion of Chios actually made a hymn to Kairos and in his hymn gives the genealogy of Kairos as the youngest of the sons of Zeus.' It has been conjectured with some probability that this hymn was written for the original dedication of the Kairos-altar at Olympia².

Whether Kairos was definitely worshipped elsewhere, we cannot say. Menandros 'spoke of him as a god³;' and Lysippos 'enrolled him among the gods⁴' by making his famous effigy. But neither phrase can be pressed to imply a practical cult.

Of the Lysippean Kairos numerous late descriptions and copies are extant⁵. These, however, differ widely among themselves: some must, many may, all might, refer to subsequent modifications of the type. Our earliest and most trustworthy source is Poseidippos (*c.* 270 B.C.), who devotes an epigram to the statue⁶. He informs us that it was fashioned by Lysippos of Sikyon, that it stood on tip-toe as a runner with wings attached to its feet, that it carried a razor in its right hand, that it was long-haired in front but bald behind, and that it was set up 'in the vestibule'—presumably of some Sicyonian building.

But how came Lysippos, the sculptor of athletes, to attempt such a curious piece of allegory? That is a problem which has never been squarely faced. My own conviction is that the statue was not, to speak strictly, allegorical at all. Lysippos, who excelled in the rendering of graceful male forms and is said to have paid special attention to the hair⁷, wished simply to portray the Age of Puberty. He therefore modelled a youthful runner, with wings⁸ on his feet, holding the razor⁹ that had shorn his votive tress for the well known puberty-

¹ Paus. 5. 14. 9.

² O. Benndorf 'Über eine Statue des Polyklet' in the *Gesammelte Studien zur Kunstgeschichte, eine Festgabe zum 4 Mai 1885 für Anton Springer* Leipzig 1885 p. 11.

³ Anth. Pal. 10. 52. 1 (Palladas) εὖ γε λέγων τὸν Καίρον ἔφησ θεόν, εὖ γε, Μένανδρε, | κ.τ.λ.

⁴ Himer. *eccl.* 14. 1 ἐγγράφει τοῖς θεοῖς τὸν Καίρον, κ.τ.λ.

⁵ The fullest list is given by Lamer in his admirable article in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1508—1521.

⁶ Anth. Pal. 16. 275. 1 ff. (Poseidippos).

⁷ Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 65.

⁸ These may of course have been a later addition; but similar wings are attached to the feet of the 'Resting Hermes' at Naples (*Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 208 f. no. 841, Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 282), which—in the opinion of most critics (*e.g.* M. Collignon *Lysippe* Paris 1904 pp. 112, 115 with fig. 24)—emanated from the school, and reflects the style, of Lysippos.

⁹ Lamer *loc. cit.* p. 1516 on grounds which to me seem inadequate denies that Lysippos' Kairos held a razor, and hence infers that even Poseidippos was not describing the original statue.

rite¹. The resultant figure took the popular fancy, and moralists soon² discovered a deep significance in the contrast between the front hair and the back, a significance hardly intended by the sculptor. A further aptitude was perhaps found³ in the fact that the name *Kairós* is related to the verb *keiro*, 'I shave'⁴.

Symbolism, once introduced, grew apace. Gems of the Hellenistic age⁵,



Fig. 796.



Fig. 798.



Fig. 797.

when Eros and Psyche were prime favourites⁶, added wings on the shoulders (fig. 796 ff.) and a butterfly on the hand (fig. 796 f.). The globe beneath the foot⁷ (fig. 798) and the balance suspended in the air (fig. 796 f.) or poised on the razor's edge (fig. 798), are attributes appropriate to divinities of fate such as Nike⁸ and

¹ *Supra* i. 23 n. 6.

² First in Poseidippos' epigram (*Anth. Pal.* 16. 275. 7 ff.).

³ Cp. Poll. 2. 33 ἀκαρῆς κairós and context.

⁴ So P. Persson in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1895 xxxiii. 288 (κairós < κair-ῖο-). Dr Giles too told me (Oct. 22, 1911) that, starting from the root of κairῶ in the weak grade κair-, we could assume κair-ῖο- > κair-ῖο-s > κairós, cp. κῆρ-ῖο > χαιρ-ῖω > χαιρῶ.

⁵ (a) Convex cornelian in the collection of C. Newton-Robinson. Kairos, bearded, with forelock and bald head, wings on shoulders and heels, steps towards the right, holding a butterfly in his right hand and supporting with his left the depressed pan of a balance suspended before him (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 43, 49 (=my fig. 796), ii. 207).

(b) Gem with the design of (a) reversed (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 43, 51, ii. 208). This gem appears to be identical with (b').

(b') Gem from the Blacas collection. 'Kairos, bearded, with wings on shoulders and on heels, holding out pair of scales, and a butterfly' (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 143 no. 1199. My fig. 797 is from a cast kindly furnished by Mr A. H. Smith).

(c) Convex gem in an unknown collection. Kairos, bearded, with wings on shoulders and heels, runs towards the right. His right foot rests on a ball. His right hand carries a razor, on the edge of which is poised a balance. His left hand is held beneath one of its pans (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 43, 50, ii. 207 f.). This gem appears to be identical with (c').

(c') Convex onyx from the Blacas collection. 'Kairos, bald on back of head, bearded, wings on shoulders and heels; runs to r. [with right foot on ball], holding out scales in front [balanced on razor], but without butterfly' (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 143 no. 1200. My fig. 798 is from a cast kindly furnished by Mr A. H. Smith).

⁶ *Infra* Append. G sub fin. and *supra* p. 645 n. 4.

⁷ Kallistrat. ἐκφράσεις β. 1—4 ('On the statue of Kairos at Sikyon') states that the figure wrought by Lysippos for the Sicyonians was a bronze boy in the bloom of youth, for the most part resembling Dionysos, but with unusual hair—long in front and at the sides, free of tresses at the back—and with winged heels set on a sphere. Nothing is said of razor or scales.

⁸ F. Studniczka *Die Siegesgoettin* Leipzig 1898 p. 20 pl. 4, 23, 26 f. See also *supra* i. 48 f. figs. 20, 22.

Nemesis¹. But the most remarkable innovation of the period remains to be mentioned. The gems in question all represent the nude and agile figure, not merely with well-marked forelock and smooth occiput, but also with a full beard. This can only mean that the verbal misuse of *kairós* for *chrónos*² has led to a corresponding typological confusion of Kairos with Chronos.

It is, indeed, likely that confusion became more confounded, since Chronos was constantly interchanged with Kronos³ and Kronos too appears as a bald-

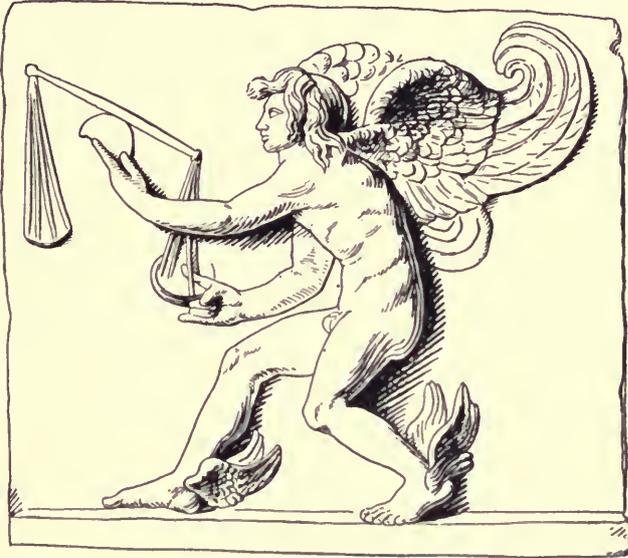


Fig. 799.

headed god hastening along with a sickle-knife in his hand⁴. Thus we reach the singular result that Kairos 'youngest of the sons of Zeus' has actually been transformed into a figure resembling that of his own grandfather Kronos⁵, while by a further surprising coincidence *Krónos*, as we have seen⁶, is derivable from the same root as *Kairós*.

Others distinguished the types and continued to portray Kairos as a youthful god. A relief at Turin (fig. 799)⁷ shows him, with forelock and tonsure, balancing

¹ H. Posnansky *Nemesis und Adrasteia* Breslau 1890 p. 113. See also *supra* pp. 99 n. 1, 734 n. 3.

² C. A. Lobeck in his ed. of *Soph. Ai.* Lipsiae 1835 p. 85 n.*.

³ *Supra* p. 374.

⁴ *Supra* p. 550 fig. 426.

⁵ We are almost reminded of Zagreus the shape-shifter, who appeared now as a youthful Zeus, now as an aged Kronos (*supra* i. 398 f., 647).

⁶ *Supra* p. 549 n. 6.

⁷ A. Rivautella—J. P. Ricolvi *Monumenta Taurinensia* Augustae Taurinorum 1747 ii. 4 ff. no. 22 with pl., E. Curtius 'Die Darstellungen des Kairos' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1875 xxxiii. 5 f. pl. 1, 1 (photograph of cast = my fig. 799), H. Heydemann *Winckelmannsfest- Progr. Halle* 1879 p. 35 Turin: Museo Lapidario no. 1 (thinks the slab a modern copy of an ancient relief: unconvincing), H. Dütschke *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien* Leipzig 1880 iv. 73 f. no. 117, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 751 no. 1897, A. Baumeister

the scales on the edge of a razor and depressing one pan with his finger¹. The would-be archaic wings, floating tresses, muscular body, and barocco pose all point to Pergamene influence.

Equipoise on the razor was a trait naturally suggested by the old Greek proverb 'it stands on the razor's edge'². An engraved cornelian of imperial date in the Berlin collection figures Kairos



Fig. 800.

himself, scales in hand, treading gingerly along the narrow loom of a steersman's paddle (fig. 800)³. And Phaedrus must have seen similar representations in which the light-footed god even trod the razor's edge—*cursu volucris, pendens in novacula*⁴,—unless indeed we venture with G. Thiele⁵ to translate the last phrase 'weighing on the razor's edge,' in which case Phaedrus and the Turin relief would be in exact agreement.

The recognition of Kairos on Italian soil was attended by a certain grammatical awkwardness. Phaedrus describes the god in words of the masculine gender⁶, but names him *Tempus* in the neuter⁷, and says that he signifies *occasionem rerum...breve*⁸. *Occasio*, as the Latin equivalent of *Kairós*, was in fact the name current during the third⁹ and fourth¹⁰ centuries of our era; and, being a feminine term, it entailed a change of sex. Ausonius in one of his epigrams¹¹ professes to expound a group of Kairos and Metanoia carved by in his *Denkm.* ii. 771 f. fig. 823 ('aus spät-römischer Zeit, aber unzweifelhaft echt'), B. Sauer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 900 fig., F. Durrbach in Darenberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 787 fig. 4251 ('la reproduction d'un original grec'), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 423 no. 3. Italian marble. Height 0.60m; breadth 0.65m.

For an exact *replica* on sale at Florence see Friederichs—Wolters *op. cit.* p. 751 f. no. 1898 n.; and for a fragmentary relief of the same type at Athens, E. Curtius *loc. cit.* 1875 xxxiii. 6 pl. 2, 4, L. von Sybel *Katalog der Sculpturen zu Athen* Marburg 1881 p. 375 no. 5987, Friederichs—Wolters *op. cit.* p. 751 f. no. 1898.

¹ Cp. Himer. *ecl.* 14. 1 ποιεῖ (sc. ὁ Λύσιππος) παῖδα τὸ εἶδος ἄβρον, τὴν ἀκμὴν ἐφθιβον, κομῶντα μὲν τὸ ἐκ κροτάφων εἰς μέτωπον, γυμνὸν δὲ τὸ ὄσον ἐκείθεν ἐπὶ τὰ νῶτα μερίζεται· σιδήρῳ τὴν δεξιὰν ὠπλισμένον, ζυγῷ τὴν λαίαν ἐπέχοντα, πτερωτὸν τὰ σφυρά, οὐχ ὡς μετάρσιον ὑπὲρ γῆς ἄνω κουφίζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἵνα δοκῶν ἐπιφαίνειν τῆς γῆς λαυθάνη κλέπτων τὸ μὴ κατὰ γῆς ἐπερείδεσθαι.

² First in *Il.* 10. 173 ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἴσταται ἀκμῆς. See further Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 1692 B—D.

³ Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 273 no. 7358 pl. 55, E. Curtius in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1875 xxxiii. 4 pl. 2, 2 (=my fig. 800).

⁴ Phaedr. 5. 8. 1.

⁵ G. Thiele 'Phaedrus-Studien' in *Hermes* 1906 xli. 577 ff. Dr J. P. Postgate in a letter to me (Aug. 30, 1917) says: 'The absolute use of *pendere* is certainly possible though at first strange, and this perhaps has led to the belief that the participle comes from *pendere*. The expression of the thought is compressed in other respects; and Havet reads *Cursor uolucris pendens* in *novacula*, Calvus *comosa fronte, nudo occipitio* for *cursu*.' Dr Postgate adds that in *Il.* 10. 173 ἴσταται 'should I suppose be understood of "weighing,"' a common meaning of ἴστημι, though the commentators do not say so.'

⁶ Phaedr. 5. 8. 2 f.

⁷ *Id.* 5. 8 *titulus*, 5. 8. 7.

⁸ *Id.* 5. 8. 5.

⁹ Cato *disticha* 2. 26. 2 fronte capillata, post est Occasio calva.

¹⁰ Paulin. Nolan. *epist.* 16. 4 (lxi. 230 B Migne) unde et Spes et Nemesis et Amor atque etiam Furor in simulacris coluntur, et occipiti calvo sacratur Occasio, et tua ista Fortuna lubrico male nixa globo fingitur (*figuratur* codd. F.P.U.). nec minore mendacio Fata simulantur vitas hominum nere de calathis aut trutinare de lancibus.

¹¹ Aus. *epigr.* 33 Peiper.

Pheidias (!). *Metánoia* is comfortably Latinised as *Paenitentia*. But the god *Kairós* must needs become the goddess *Occasio*, poised on a little wheel¹, with winged feet and the traditional *coiffure*.

¹ Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 30, 38, ii. 149 publishes a gem, on which Kairos as a nude youthful runner, with wings on shoulders, winglets on ankles, small round mirror (?) in right hand and whip in left, sets one foot on a four-spoked wheel. Inscription: L · S · P.

A limestone relief (height on left 0·40^m, breadth at bottom 0·27^m) of s. iii or iv from Thebes, now at Cairo, shows a youthful figure in military costume, with wreath, shoulder-wings, knife, wheel, and balance, running towards the right. Below are two females, one flying at the same pace, the other left behind in an attitude of dejection. J. Strzygowski *Koptische Kunst (Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte: Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire)* Vienne 1904 p. 103 f. no. 8757 fig. 159 calls them Kairos, *πρόνοια* and *μετάνοια*. Cp. A. Muñoz in *L'Arte* 1905 viii. 150 fig. 5, O. M.



Fig. 801.

Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 p. 158 with fig. 65 (= my fig. 801). But P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1912 xxxvi. 263 ff. fig. 1 takes the subject to be Nemesis trampling on Hybris (*supra* i. 269 fig. 195), with Metanoia behind. Cp. Lamer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1514. The latter interpretation is probably correct, though the type of Nemesis here is influenced by that of Kairos.

A relief from Thasos, now at Constantinople, has two niches side by side. In the one stands a youthful winged figure in short *chiton* and *himation*, with balance in right hand and wheel beneath feet. In the other is a pair of draped females, touching bosom of dress with right hand and holding short rod in left. A. Muñoz in *L'Arte* 1906 ix. 212 ff. fig. 1 viewed them as Kairos (or Bios) with Pronoia and Metanoia. But O. Rossbach in

Having rung the changes from youth to old and from male to female, this Protean personage reappears in Byzantine letters and art, sometimes under the old name of Chronos, sometimes under the new name of Bios.

Georgios Kedrenos (c. 1100 A.D.) states that the masterpieces collected in the House of Lausos¹ at Constantinople included 'the figure by Lysippos representing Chronos, bald behind, long-haired before.'² Kedrenos' statement is very possibly true³, though Lamer infers from the name Chronos that we have here to do, not with the original Lysippean figure, but with a bearded copy of it⁴. Again, Ioannes Tzetzes (born c. 1110 A.D.) in his historical poem twice over informs us that, when Alexander had let slip an opportunity, Lysippos of Sikyon made him an effigy of Chronos

'Deaf, bald behind, wing-footed on a sphere,
And offering naught but a knife to his follower⁵.'

Tzetzes further spends a score of lines on insisting that this was Chronos, not, as sundry wiseacres maintained, Bios⁶. He had already said the same thing in greater detail in one of his letters⁷. And, after him, Nikephoros Blemmydes (1197/8—1272 A.D.) describes the group in almost identical terms⁸. We gather

Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 157 f. fig. 6 proved that they are Nemesis and the Nemeseis; and P. Perdrizet *loc. cit.* p. 267 suggested the Nemesis of Alexandria and the Nemeseis of Smyrna (*supra* i. 270 fig. 197, 273). Cp. A. Legrand in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 54 fig. 5300, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 174 no. 3, Lamer *loc. cit.*

¹ On this see Kodinos *de signis Constantinopolitanis* 21 c (p. 37 f. Bekker) = Anonymos *πάτρια* 2. 36 (p. 170, 4 ff. Preger).

² Kedren. *hist. comp.* 322 c (i. 564 Bekker) καὶ τὸ τὸν χρόνον μιμούμενον ἀγαλμα, ἔργον Λύσιππου, ὅπισθεν μὲν φαλακρὸν, ἔμπροσθεν δὲ κομῶν.

³ See A. Frickenhaus in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1915 xxx. 127.

⁴ Lamer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1511 f.

⁵ Tzetz. *chil.* 8. 428 ff., 10. 264 ff.

⁶ Tzetz. *chil.* 10. 275 ff.

⁷ Tzetz. *epist.* 70 (p. 61 Pressel) Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ποτὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων τῷ βασιλεῖ παραδραμὸντι καιρὸν καὶ μεταμέλου πείραν λαβόντι παρῶν ἐκεῖνος ὁ πλάστης ὁ Λύσιππος, Σικυώνιος ὃ ἦν ὁ ἀνὴρ, θεοῦτατε δέσποτα, ὡς οὐτ' ἀκινδύον ἑώρα τὸν βασιλεῖα ἐλέγχειν, οὔτε μὴν πάντη ἀζήμιον τὸ μὴ τὴν ἑτέρων διαμαρτίαν ἑτέροις ποιεῖσθαι διδάσκαλον, τὴν ἀμφοτέρων κακίαν ἐκπεφευγὸς σοφῶς ἀμφότερα ἔδρασεν. ἐν εἰκόνι καὶ γὰρ τὸν χρόνον ἀγαλματώσας τὸν τε βασιλεῖα τῷ μὴ δοκεῖν ἐλέγχειν κοσμίως ἐξήλεγε καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρακτικὴν τοῦ λοιποῦ τὴν εἰκόνα παραίνεσιν καταλέλοιπεν. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως τὸ εἰκόνισμα. ἀνθρωπὸς τις ὁ Χρόνος ἐκεῖνῳ δεδημιούργηται προκόμιον ἔχων βραχὺ, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὀπισθοφάλακρος καὶ κωφὸς ἰκανῶς, ὡς ἐστὶν εἰκάσαι, καὶ γυμνὸς ἐστὶν ὡς διολισθαίνων καὶ ἀναφῆς· βέβηκε δὲ ἐπὶ σφαίρας εὐδρόμου τινὸς μεταριπτάζων αὐτοῦ τοῖς ποσὶν ἐκείνην ὀξυκινήτως, ὡς ἡ τῶν ποδῶν ὑπανίπτεται πτέρωσι. ἐκείνου δὲ κατόπιον ἕτερος δεδημιούργηται ἀνθρωπος εὐτόνω κεχηρμένος βαδίσματι, χεῖρά τε ἰδίαν ἐκτείνων, ἐκείνον ὡς συλληψόμενος καὶ τοῦτον μετακαλούμενος, ὡς τὸ ἀνεσπασμένον αὐτοῦ τῶν χειρῶν δηλοῖ· ὃ δὲ παρέρχεται τε καὶ ὄχεται καὶ κωφεύων οὐκ ἔπαίει, μάχαιραν δὲ ὀρέγει πρὸς τὸ κατόπιον ἐπανατείνων τὴν χεῖρα, κατακαρδίουσ πηλῆας αἰνιττήμενος, αἴπειρ ἐγγίνονται τοῖς χρόνον καθυστερίζουσι. οὕτω πως σοφῶς ὁ Λύσιππος ἐνουθέτησε μὴ καθυστερίζειν καιροῦ, τοιαύτη τὸν Χρόνον ἀνασθηλώσας γραφῆ, κἂν ἀκαιρηγοροῦντες δοκῆται τινὲς ἀκρίτως εἶναι βίον ταύτην παραληρώσιν εἰκόνησιν, μὴ συνιέντες ὡς κ.τ.λ. Cp. *epist.* 95 (p. 86 Pressel) κωφὸν· ὁλον τὸν παροχόμενον χρόνον Λύσιππος μὲν ἐξωγράφησε, κ.τ.λ. with schol. A.B. ἐξωγράφησε· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἠρδριαντοῦργησεν· ὁ Λύσιππος γὰρ ἀνδριαντοποιός, οὐ ζωγράφος.

⁸ Nikeph. Blemmyd. *oratio qualem oporteat esse regem* 10 (in A. Mai *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio* Romae 1827 ii. 638) λέγουσὶ τινας ὅτι καὶ Λύσιππος ὁ ζωγράφος ἐκεῖνος ὁ Σικυωνίους (*leg.* Σικυώνιος) βουληθεὶς ζωγραφῆσαι καὶ ὡς ἐν παραδείγματι δεῖξαι (*leg.* δεῖξαι)

that some copy of Lysippos' runner, mounted on a ball, had been amplified by the addition of a second figure portraying the man who has allowed his opportunity to pass by and now pursues it in vain.

Among the wisecakes denounced by Tzetzes must be reckoned his contemporary Theodoros Prodromos (first half of s. xii A.D.), who in an extant epigram¹ describes Bios as a naked man, with wheels beneath his feet and wings about his shins, bearing a balance in his hand, and easily escaping from his pursuer, though holding out hopes of return. The poem is well illustrated by a fragmentary relief (fig. 802)² let into the pavement under the steps of the ambo in

ὅποιον ἔχει τὴν φυγὴν ὁ χρόνος ἐποίησε τοῦτον κωφόν, ὀπισθοφάλακρον (*leg.* ὀπισθοφάλακρον), πτερόποδα, καὶ ἐπάνω τοῦ τροχοῦ βεβηκότα, μάχαιραν διδόντα κάτωθεν ἱσταμένῳ τινί· κωφὸν μὲν, ὡς πρὸς τοὺς αὐτὸν φωνοῦντας, μηδαμῶς αἰσθανόμενον· φαλακρὸν δὲ τὰ ὄπισθεν, ὡς ἀδυνάτου ὄντος ὄπισθεν διώκοντα τινὰ κρατῆσαι αὐτόν· πῶς δὲ τις αὐτὸν παραδραμόντα φθάσαι ἰσχύσειε πτερόποδα ὄντα καὶ ἐπὶ σφαίρας ἱστάμενον; διδόντα δὲ ξίφος, διότι οἱ μῆτε δυνάμενοι τῆς κόμης κρατῆσαι μῆτε φθάσαι φεύγοντα τιτρώσκονται τῷ βέλει τῆς λύπης ὡς τῆς ζημίας ἐπαισθανόμενοι. *Id.* βασιλικὸς ἀνδρίας 10 (ii. 667 Mai) Λύσιππος ὅθεν ὁ Σικυνώσιος, ὃ τι ποτὲ ἔστιν ὁ χρόνος καλῶς συμβολογραφῶν, κωφὸν αὐτὸν ἠγαλμάτωσεν, ὀπισθοφάλακρον, πτερόποδά τε κἀπὶ σφαίρας βεβηκότα, μάχαιράν τινι πρὸς τὸ κατόπιν ὀρέγοντα, δηλῶν ἐντεῦθεν ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐπιστραφείη καλούμενος, διότι κενώφενκεν· οὔτε τις αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὀπίσω παρακατάσχοι δεδραγμένος τῆς κόμης, τὸ γὰρ ὀπισθόκρανον κατεψίλωτο· πῶς δὲ καὶ ὄλως παραδραμόντα τις καταλήψαιτο, τὴν δὲ ξυκινησίαν τοσαύτην φέροντα κἀκ τῶν ποδῶν κἀκ τῆς βάσεως; ρομφαίαν (*ins.* ἀν) σπᾶσαιτο λύπης ὥστε θυμὸν ἀμόσσειν ὁ τῆς ζημίας αἰσθόμενος.

¹ Theod. Prodr. *eis* εἰκονισμένον τὸν βίον (cxxxiii. 1419 A—1420 A Migne)

ἐμὲ τὸν βίον, ἄνθρωπε, δέξαι σου παρανέτην.
 ἔτυχες, εἶρες, ἔλαβες, κατέσχες μου τὰς τρίχας;
 μὴ πρὸς ῥαστώνην ἐκδοθῆς, μὴ πρὸς τρυφὴν χωρήσης,
 μηδὲ φρονήσης ὑψηλὰ καὶ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου.
 γυμνὸν με βλέπεις· νόησον γυμνὸν μου καὶ τὸ τέλος.
 ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας μου τροχοί· φρίττε μὴ κυλισθῶσι.
 περὶ τὰς κνήμας μου πτερά· φεύγω, παρίπταμαί σε.
 ζυγὰ κατέχω τῇ χειρί· φοβοῦ τὰς μετακλίσεις.
 τί με κρατεῖς; σκιάν κρατεῖς· πνοὴν κρατεῖς ἀέμου.
 τί με κρατεῖς; καπνὸν κρατεῖς, ὄνειρον, ἔχνος πλοίου.
 ἐμὲ τὸν βίον, ἄνθρωπε, δέξαι σου παρανέτην.
 οὐκ ἔτυχες, οὐκ ἔλαβες, οὐκ ἔσχες μου τὰς τρίχας;
 μὴ σκυθρωπᾶσης τοῦ λοιποῦ, μηδὲ δυσελπιστήσης.
 γυμνὸς εἰμι, καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐξολισθῆσας τούτων
 ἴσως μεταρρήσομαι πρὸς σὲ καὶ μεταπέσω.
 ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας μου τροχοί· τάχα σοι κυλισθῶσι.
 περὶ τὰς κνήμας μου πτερά· τρέχω, προσίπταμαί σοι.
 ζυγὰ κατέχω· τάχα σοι τὴν πλάστιγγα χαλάσω.
 μὴ τοῖνον ἀποπροσποιοῦ τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας.

There is a line lost from the second of the two stanzas, which were clearly meant to correspond.

² O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1853 pp. 49—59 pl. 4, E. Curtius 'Die Darstellungen des Kairos' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1875 xxxiii. 6 f. pl. 1, 2, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 752 no. 1899, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* ii. 772 fig. 824, B. Sauer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 900 fig., F. Durrbach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 787 f. fig. 4252, A. Muñoz in *L'Arte* 1904 vii. 132 ff. fig. 4, O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 p. 158 f. fig. 91, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 422 no. 3.

A further fragment of the relief, found by the architect R. Cattaneo in a mason's shop at Venice, was published by him in the drawing here reproduced (R. Cattaneo *L'architettura*

the Duomo at Torcello near Venice. The relief, which may be dated *c.* 1100 A.D., represents Bios as a half-naked youth hastening on winged wheels from right to left. His left hand, stretched forward, carries the scales; his right, drawn backward, brandishes a knife. In front of him stands a young man, who succeeds in grasping his hair. Behind him stands an old man, who fails in the attempt. To

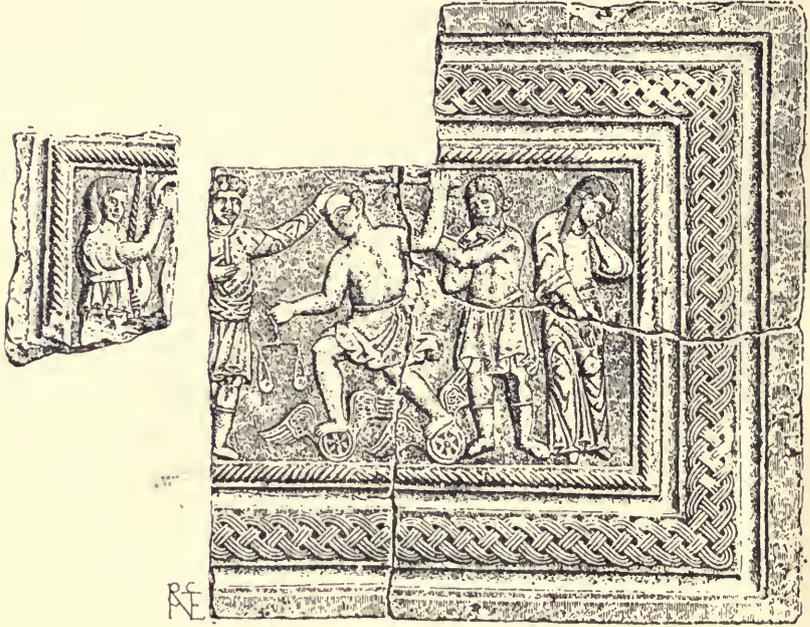


Fig. 802.

the left of the former is Nike with wreath and palm; to the right of the latter is Metanoia in an attitude of despair. Less elaborate is the symbolism of a later epigram on the same subject by Manuel Philes (*c.* 1275—*c.* 1345), who speaks of life (*bios*) as a nude youth, with bald head and winged feet, admonishing a frustrated follower¹.

in Italia dal secolo VI al mille circa Venezia 1888 p. 287 fig., trans. Contessa I. Curtis-Cholmeley in Bermani London 1896 p. 334 ff. fig. 165 = my fig. 802) and by A. Muñoz from a photograph (A. Muñoz in *L'Arte* 1906 ix. 214 f. fig. 2). The completed design is discussed by R. von Schneider 'Ueber das Kairosrelief in Torcello und ihm verwandte Bildwerke' in the *Serta Harteliana* Wien 1896 pp. 279—292 with figs., P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1912 xxxvi. 264 ff. fig. 2, Lamer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1513 f.

R. Cattaneo *loc. cit.* was the first to assign this relief to its right place among the decorative sculptures of *s. x* and *s. xi* A.D. A. Muñoz *loc. cit.* first showed that the central figure was that of Bios.

¹ Philes *carm.* 67 (i. 32 Miller) *εἰς μεράκιον γυμνόν, εἰκόνα φέρον τοῦ βίου*
φεύγω, περωτός εἰμι· τί λαβεῖν θέλεις;
τὰς τρίχας; ἀλλ' ἔρρευσαν. ἀλλὰ τοὺς πόδας;
καὶ πῶς περωτοῖς εὐρεθέντας ἂν λάβοις;
τὸ σῶμα; γυμνόν ἐστὶ· τί σπεύδεις μάτην;

Yet another turn of the kaleidoscope, and this shifting personality puts on, if not a fresh form, at least a new colouring. Bios the naked runner on winged wheels, who has hitherto, in accordance with pagan thought, been represented as a good thing eagerly pursued by mankind, is now, within the pale of the medieval Church, viewed as a bad thing itself in hot pursuit of men. A Vatican manuscript of the *Ladder of Paradise* by Saint John Klimax¹, written about the close of s. xi A.D., has two relevant miniatures. In the one² Bios, a naked youth on wheels, makes after a monk, who bearing a small basket on his shoulder and looking behind him in terror does his best to escape, under the escort of a woman in blue and violet dress called *Aprospátheia*, 'Indifference to the World.' In the



Fig. 803.

other (fig. 803)³ Bios again appears on his roller-skates, extending a hand to seize the monk, who stands irresolute, hesitating whether or not to abandon for Aprospatheia's sake his wife and children and happy home. A notable picture— one wonders if John Bunyan had somewhere seen the like.

We have traced the career of Kairos *alias* Chronos *alias* Bios for close upon eighteen centuries. It is possible that further investigation might find him with us still, 'offering' as of old 'naught but a knife to his follower.' 'It would be interesting to know,' says Prof. E. A. Gardner⁴, 'whether the scythe of Time is the ultimate development of this same symbol, and his hour-glass of the balance.'

ἄνθρωπε ταλαίπωρε, λήξον τοῦ δρόμου,
μὴ κατενεχθῆς τῷ δοκεῖν τι λαμβάνειν.
σκιά γάρ εἰμι, κἂν δοκῶ τέως μένειν.
ἀφίπταμαί σου καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐκτρέχω,
καὶ γίνομαι βροῦς ἂν συνέξῃς δακτύλοις.

Another ms. of Philes (cod. Paris.) has the *lemma* εἰς τὸν βίον μειράκιον ἐξωγραφημένον, whence A. Muñoz in *L'Arte* 1904 vii. 131 n. 2 justly concludes that the poem alludes to some work of art.

¹ *Supra* p. 134 f. The ms. is cod. Vat. Gr. 394.

² A. Muñoz in *L'Arte* 1904 vii. 132 with fig. 2. The three characters are inscribed ὁ βίος, ὁ μοναχός, and ἡ ἀπροσπάθεια, above whose name is written ἡ φυγὴ κόσμου.

³ A. Muñoz in *L'Arte* 1904 vii. 132 with fig. 3 (part of which = my fig. 803). The inscriptions are ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ μοναχοῦ, οἱ παῖδες τοῦ μοναχοῦ, ὁ βίος, ὁ μοναχός, and in the field ἀπελθε μοναχέ εἰς καταλύσαν ἀπροσπάθειαν and ὁ δὲ βίος σκιά καὶ ἐνύπνια.

⁴ E. A. Gardner *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture* London 1897 ii. 411 n. 1.

The scythe of Time¹ should, I think, rather be derived from the scythe of Death, who was often conceived as a reaper or mower² and in folk-celebrations of Mid-Lent was sometimes represented by a straw puppet with a scythe in his hand³. The hour-glass of Time likewise copies the hour-glass of Death so frequently figured in the *Danse Macabre*⁴ of the Middle Ages. But Time himself is presumably the lineal descendant of the Byzantine Chronos or Bios. And it may well be that the knife, if not the balance, of Bios was modified to suit the popular effigy of Death. After all, the Church's idea of Life has often borne a suspicious resemblance to the world's idea of Death. *τίς δ' οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μὲν ἐστι καθανεῖν, | τὸ καθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν κάτω νομίζεται*⁵;

If the main lines of the pedigree are as I have supposed, a further point may be described. As at the first the razor of Kairos, so at the last the scythe of Time, was a symbol drawn from ritual usage. Such symbols live longest.

APPENDIX B.

THE MOUNTAIN-CULTS OF ZEUS.

Since the mountain-cults of Zeus have not, even in Germany, been made the subject of separate and detailed investigation⁶, it seemed worth while to collect the evidence both literary and monumental bearing upon them. The inferences that can be drawn from the evidence have for the most part been already stated⁷.

The Greeks worshipped Zeus *Óreios* 'of the Mountain'⁸, Zeus *Koryphaíos*

¹ Ancient, medieval, and modern representations of Time are discussed by F. Piper *Mythologie und Symbolik der christlichen Kunst* Weimar 1851 i. 2. 389—409.

² J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 848, 1888 iv. 1558, K. Simrock *Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie*³ Bonn 1878 p. 479.

³ J. Grimm *op. cit.* 1883 ii. 772, W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*² Berlin 1904 i. 155 f., 412, 418, 421, cp. 420, Frazer *Golden Bough*³: The Dying God p. 247.

⁴ On the various forms of the *Danse Macabre* see F. Douce *The Dance of Death* London 1833 with 54 pls., E. H. Langlois *Essai historique, philosophique et pittoresque sur les Danses des morts* Rouen 1852 in 2 vols. with 54 pls. and many figs., J. G. Kastner *Les Danses des morts* Paris 1852 with 20 pls. Bibliography in H. F. Massmann *Literatur der Todtentänze* Leipzig 1840 and E. Vinet *Bibliographie méthodique et raisonnée des beaux-arts* Paris 1874 pp. 116—121.

⁵ Eur. *Polyeidos frag.* 638 Nauck². See further F. H. M. Blaydes on Aristoph. *ran.* 1477, *infra* Append. N *init.*

⁶ R. Beer *Heilige Höhen der alten Griechen und Römer* Wien 1891 pp. x, 86, written as a supplement to F. v. Andrian *Der Höhengcultus asiatischer und europäischer Völker* Wien 1891, is a slight and disappointing book. C. Albers *De diis in locis editis cultis pud Graecos* Zutphaniae 1901 pp. 1—92 is likewise quite inadequate (see Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 pp. 115, 316). The lists given by Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 169 ff., Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 116 f., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 50 ff., 152 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1103 f., though useful, are incomplete.

⁷ *Supra* i. 117 ff. *et passim.*

⁸ Zeus *Óreios*. E. Renan *Mission de Phénicie* Paris 1864 p. 396 f. recorded two identical inscriptions on blocks of gritstone formerly used for the lintel of the church-door at *Halalieh*: *ἔτους ζυς', μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου ιέ', Θερεπτίων (N)είκωνος τοῦ Σωσίππου τοῦ δύο | λέοντας Δι' Ὀρεῖω, κατ' ὄναρ, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, εὐσεβῶν ἀνέθηκεν*. The year 257 in the Seleucid era would be 55 B.C., in that of Antioch 209 A.D., in that of Sidon 147 A.D. Renan held

'of the Peak¹, Zeus *Aktaios* 'of the Point², Zeus *Akraios* 'of the Summit³,

that the last date agrees best with the lettering. He pointed out that a little lion in white stone, found in 1863 at the foot of the hill on which the church stands, may well have been one of the two lions here mentioned. G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 57 notes that 'the lion, as an inhabitant of the mountain rather than the plain, is naturally sacred to the mountain deity' [cp. 2 Kings 17. 25 f.], in this case to the Mountain Baal, Hellenised as Zeus *'Opeios*, whose consort Astarte (?) rides a lion on coppers of Sidon struck by Severus Alexander (G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* pp. cxiii n. 6, 198 pl. 25, 8).

Zeus *'Orompatas*. E. Sittig in *Hermes* 1915 l. 158 f. publishes a dedication on a block of dark limestone at Amathous in Kypros: $\text{Κυπρ} \text{|||||} \text{Πολυξένου: Αινιάν[ος θυ]γάτηρ: Εὐβίωτα | Παναίτιον Πολυξένου Αινιάνα, | Διὸς 'Ορομπάτα ἱερέα, τὸν αὐτῆς ἄνδρα, | αὐτῆ καὶ τὰ παιδία.}$ The lettering suggests s. iii B.C.; and Sittig regards *'Orompatas* as = *δρειβάτης* ('*Offenbar neigte das Kyprische dazu, β spirantisch zu sprechen; da in dem Dialekte der Ainianen β Verschlusslaut blieb, vollends in einem sakralen Worte, so half man sich bei der Schreibung so, dass man MII statt des B setzte, mit dem die Eingeborenen einen anderen Lautwert verbanden*'). This is ingenious; but, apart from the fact that *μπ* for *β* is unexampled at so early a date, *δρειβάτης* is an epithet which suits Pan (*Anth. Pa.* 16. 226. 1 (Alkaios of Messene)) rather than Zeus. I suspect that Zeus *'Orompatas* was a god of streams worshipped by the Ainianes. We hear of Ainianes as settled in Kirrha the harbour of Delphoi (Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 13 and 26), and of *δρεμπότης* as a Delphic term for 'river' (Plout. *de Pyth. or.* 24 ἀπέπανσε δὲ τὴν Πυθίαν ὁ θεὸς πυρρικούου μὲν ὀνομάζουσιν τοὺς αὐτῆς ποταμούς, ὀφιοβόρους δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας, ὀρεάνας δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὀρεμπότας δὲ τοὺς ποταμούς). On this showing Zeus *'Orompatas* resembles his neighbour Zeus *Naios*, a god 'of Streaming Water' (*supra* i. 369). The head of Zeus on coins of the Ainianes (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessaly* etc. p. 10 ff. pl. 2, 1, 4, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 292), which in the case of coppers struck c. 168—146 B.C. often has a thunderbolt in the field (so on two specimens in my collection), may be that of Zeus *'Orompatas*.

¹ Zeus *Korupaios*. Seleukeia Pieria, at the foot of Mt Koryphaion (Polyb. 5. 59. 4), had a priest of Zeus *'Olympios* and Zeus *Korupaios* (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4458, 3f., 3ff., = Dittenberger *Oriente. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 245, 3f. Διὸς 'Ολυμπίου | καὶ Διὸς Κορυφαίου, 27 ff. Διὸς 'Ολυμπίου [καὶ] | τῶν θεῶν τῶν | Σωτήρ[ων] καὶ Διὸς | Κορυφαίου, cp. Liban. *legat. ad Iulian.* 79 (ii. 152, 10f. Foerster) τὸν Δία τὸν τε ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς καὶ τὸν ἐν ἄστει, παρ' ὃν εἰσῆλθεσ ὑπατος, ὅθεν ἐξῆλθεσ θαρρῶν, ᾧ γέγονας ὀφειλέτης). Philadelphia in Lydia, at the base of Mt Tmolos, also had a cult of Zeus *Korupaios* (*supra* p. 285 n. o no. (3) and Addenda *ad loc.*), whose head is seen on an imperial bronze coin of the town (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 190 pl. 21, 9 = my fig. 804 (from a cast), Head *Hist. num.*² p. 655). The title has a variety of meanings in Paus. 2. 4. 5 (Corinth) ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ θέατρον ἔστιν ἱερὸν Διὸς Καπετωλίου φωνῆ τῆ 'Ρωμαίων· κατὰ Ἑλλάδα δὲ γλῶσσαν Κορυφαῖος ὀνομάζοιτο ἄν, Aristeid. *or.* 1. 8 (i. 11 Dindorf) οὗτος βασιλεὺς, πολιεὺς, καταιβάτης, βέτιος, οὐράνιος, κορυφαῖος, πάνθ' ὅσα αὐτὸς εἶρε μεγάλα καὶ ἐάντῳ πρόποντα ὀνόματα, Max. Tyr. *diss.* 41. 2 Dübner τὸν Δία...τὸν κορυφαῖον τῆς τῶν ἀστρων περιφορᾶς καὶ δινήσεως καὶ χορείας καὶ ὄρθρου, cp. Ioul. *or.* 7. 230 D ἀγαγῶν δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τι μέγα καὶ ὑψηλὸν ὄρος, 'Ἐπὶ τούτου, ἔφη, τῆς κορυφῆς ὁ πατήρ πάντων κάθηται τῶν θεῶν, Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 59 (Minerva) quarta Iove nata et Coryphe, Oceani filia, Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 28. 2 p. 21, 1f. Stählin (*supra* i. 155 n. 10, to which add Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 14 and 16), Orph. *h. Poseid.* 17 b. 3 (Poseidon) ὁσ ναίεις κορυφαῖος ἐπ' Οὐλύμποιο κερήνων, Paus. 2. 28. 2 ἐπὶ δὲ τῆ ἄκρα τοῦ ὄρους (sc. of Mt Koryphon near Epidaurus) Κορυφαίας ἔστιν ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κορυφαῖον ὄρος ἐπὶ τῷ Ἐπιδαυρίῳ, ἐν ᾧ τιμᾶται Ἄρτεμις Κορυφαία.



Fig. 804.

² Zeus *'Aktaios*. Dikaiarch. 2. 8 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 107 Müller) ἐπ' ἄκρας δὲ τῆς τοῦ ὄρους (sc. of Mt Pelion) κορυφῆς σπηλαιὸν ἔστι τὸ καλούμενον Χειρῶνιον, καὶ Διὸς Ἀκταῖος
[³ For note 3 see p. 871.]

(F. Osann, followed by C. Müller, cj. Ἀκραίου ἱερῶν, ἐφ' ὃ κατὰ κινδὸς ἀνατολήν κατὰ τὸ ἀκμαιότατον καύμα ἀναβαίνουσι τῶν πολιτῶν οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι καὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἀκμάζοντες, ἐπιλεχθέντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱερέως, ἐνεξωσμένοι κώδια τρίποκα καινὰ· τοιοῦτον συμβαίνει ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τὸ ψῶχος εἶναι. On this passage see *supra* i. 420 f. The sanctuary of Zeus Ἀκταῖος has been located and partially explored by A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the *Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ. 1911* pp. 305—312 fig. 5 (= my fig. 805). The discoveries there described may be here summarised (brief notice also in *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1913 xvii. 109):

The highest peak of Pelion (1635^m), now called *Plisssidi* or *Pliasstidi*, has been repeatedly ransacked by treasure-seekers, some of whom coming from *Drákeia* are said to have been devoured by wolves. The rocky eastern side of the summit shows traces of ancient hewn habitations, like those of Demetrias, Pagasai, Phthiotic Thebes, etc., with holes for roof-timbers and coarse tiles perhaps manufactured on the spot. These dwellings are called by the shepherds *Skoleiói*, because they resemble the benches in a school.

Close by is a ruined gate of hewn stone (E) with two towers (Π, Π), continued as a wall some 3^m thick, which forms a large elliptical precinct and probably had another gate on the south, though most of the stones have here disappeared. The wall and towers may date from s. v B.C. Adjoining this precinct, on the south-east, is another, of whose

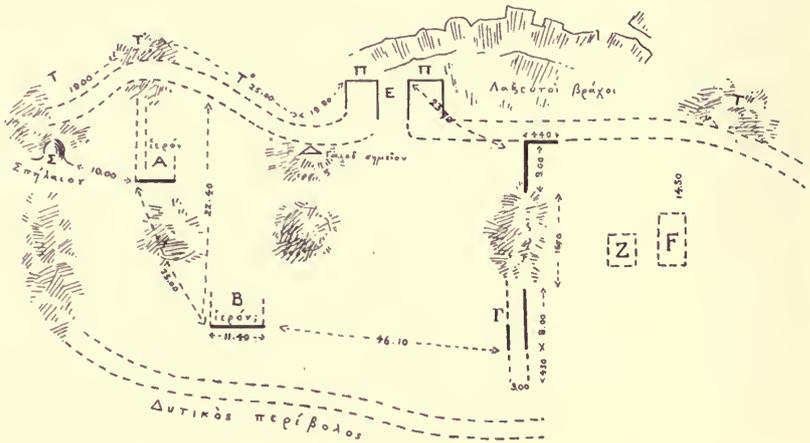


Fig. 805.

wall nothing remains beyond a small portion of the eastern side. The two precincts are separated by a wall of small stones (Γ), again 3^m thick, which was roofed on both sides so as to make a *stoá* for the sale of commodities during festival seasons.

At the north-west end of the large precinct is a steep rock-face, in which is the mouth of a cave (Σ), 2^m across, blocked with stones by the natives in recent times. The walls of the cave appear to have been hewn. Near it are traces of a building (A), which seems to have been of apsidal or horse-shoe shape, like the temple of Athena *Polías* at Gonnoi (Arvanitopoulos *loc. cit.* p. 316 fig. 6), and was presumably the temple of the divinity worshipped in the cave. Further west was the quadrilateral temple (B) of another related deity: this was on a larger scale, one side partly excavated reaching a length of 11.40^m with a wall 0.55^m thick. Both buildings were carefully constructed of clay, the roofs being supported on trunks of trees. Numerous red tiles and black cover-tiles remain. Miscellaneous finds in this area include small cups of s. v—iv B.C., a copper coin of Chalkis of s. iv, butts and blades of iron lances, a flat unpainted idol like those of island make, three fragments of votive marble *stélai*, six *amphorae* buried full of embers and ashes. In the gateway (E) was a fragmentary *stèle* of hard white limestone inscribed in lettering of s. iv B.C. [οἱ δέϊνες ἀνέθηκ]αν Μ[ούσ(?)]αις.

Inside the second precinct are two buildings (F and Z). Of these one (F) is a rect-

angular structure, built of large hewn blocks, with many roof-tiles. It stands on a slight elevation and, as the finest building on the site, is probably to be identified with the temple of Zeus 'Ακραῖος. Its position outside the large precinct is curious [and may imply that Zeus was a later comer than the deity worshipped in the cave—Cheiron son of Kronos and Philyra (?) A. B. C.]. Arvanitopoulos was unable to complete the excavation of this temple, because at midnight on Aug. 15, 1911, a storm burst on the summit of the mountain, inundated his tent, and forced him to beat a retreat. The small neighbouring structure (Z) was left wholly unexcavated.

³ Zeus 'Ακραῖος. (1) The cult of Zeus 'Ακραῖος on Mt Pelion is attested by an inscription found near *Burha* on the Gulf of Pagasai and now in the Museum at *Volo* (J. v. Protta and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 82, 1 ff.=O. Kern in the *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 1110, 1 ff. [---- παριστάναι τὰ θύματα λευκὰ ὀλόκληρα [κα][θαρὰ ἃ δεῖ θύ]εσθαι τῷ θεῷ και τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐθιζόμενα καθῶς [καλ] | [πρὶν ἐ]γίνετο, τὰς δὲ τούτων δωρὰς πωλεῖσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ [νῦν χρῶ][νου κα]' ἐνιαυτῶν ὑπὸ κήρυκα τῆ ἐκτεῖ ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ 'Αρτεμισιῶνος μῆ]νός πρὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας γνωμῆνης ἐννόμου ἀπὸ τοῦ ---- ῥιόν ὑπὸ τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἀρχόντων, συμπαραρῶτων καὶ τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ 'Ακραίου καὶ τῶν ἐξεταστῶν, καὶ τὸ ἐκ τούτων | γενόμενον διάφ[ορον ἱερὸν εἶναι] τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ 'Ακραίου. . . .]νου τὰς ἀγορὰς ---- αμα τῷ θεῷ συναχθεῖση | --- κ.τ.λ. (eight lines badly mutilated)): on this see *supra* i. 421 f. In s. ii B.C. the priest of Zeus 'Ακραῖος was a personage of importance, who proposed decrees along with the chief magistrates of the Magnetes (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 307, 7 f.=*Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 1103, 7 f. 'Αδαῖος 'Αδύμο[υ] ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ['Α]κραίου, *ib.* iii. 2 no. 1105, 11, 6 f. Θηβαγένης 'Απολλωνίου ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ] 'Ακραίου, Michel *op. cit.* no. 309, 6=*Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 1108, 6 [Λυ]σίας 'Επιτέλου ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ 'Ακραίου). About 100 B.C. the priest of Zeus 'Ακραῖος was eponymous magistrate of the Magnetes, and those who were charged with the up-keep of the oracle of Apollon Κοροπαῖος took oath by Zeus 'Ακραῖος, Apollon Κοροπαῖος, and Artemis 'Ιωλκία (Michel *op. cit.* no. 842 A, 1 ff., B, 5 ff., 21 f.=Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 1157, 1 a, 1 ff., 1 b c, 54 ff., 11, 70 f.=*Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 1109, 1, 1 ff. ἱερέως Κρίνωνος τοῦ Παρμενίως, μῆνός 'Αρείου δεκάτη, | Κρίνων Παρμενίως 'Ομολιεύς ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ 'Ακραίου κ.τ.λ., 54 ff. (cited *supra* p. 730 n. 0 *sub fin.*), 11, 70 f. ἱερέως Κρίνωνος τοῦ Παρμενίως, μῆνός 'Αρτεμισιῶνος δεκάτη, | Κρίνων Παρμενίως 'Ομολιεύς ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ 'Ακραίου κ.τ.λ.). Cp. *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 1128, 1 ff. Ἀύρ. Τειμασιθεὸς | Κενταύριος ὁ ἱερ[ε]ῦς τῷ 'Ακραίῳ Δε[ι].

(2) On the Pindos range between Thessaly and Epeiros there was a sanctuary of Zeus 'Ακραῖος (Liv. 38. 2 templum Iovis Acraei), whose figure seated on a rock or throne appears on coins of Gomphoi or Philippopolis (*supra* i. 124 figs. 90—92).

(3) At Trapezous in Arkadia, beneath Mt Lykaion, sacrifices were offered to Zeus 'Ακραῖος (Nikol. Damask. *frag.* 39 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 377 Müller) ταχὺ δὲ καὶ τοὺς υἱεῖς (sc. Κρεσφόντου) ἤθελον (sc. οἱ ἐγχώριοι ἀποκτεῖναι), οὐς τότε ὁ μητροπάτωρ (sc. Κύψελος) ἄμα τῇ θυγατρὶ κνούση θύειν μέλλων Διὶ 'Ακραίῳ εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα μετεπέμψατο).

(4) At Praisos in eastern Crete, where there was a temple of Zeus Δικταῖος (*supra* i. 660), the god seems to have borne the second appellative 'Ακραῖος. He appears on silver

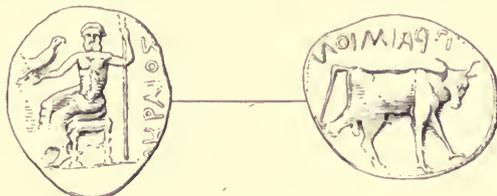


Fig. 806.

coins of the town (*supra* i. 660 n. 3) enthroned with sceptre and eagle and accompanied by the title ΑΚΡΑΙΟΣ (first correctly deciphered by C. T. Seltman); fig. 806 is from a

specimen in my collection. Since the coins in question go back to a date *c.* 400 B.C., this is the earliest known example of ΑΚΡΑΙΟΣ as a numismatic legend.

(5) At Halikarnassos Aphrodite, who shared a temple with Hermes on high ground beside the spring Salmakis (Vitr. 2. 8. 11), probably bore the title Ἄκρατα, since the Halicarnassians are known to have built a temple of Aphrodite Ἄκρατα beneath the *akrópolis* of their mother-city Troizen (Paus. 2. 32. 6). Zeus too was worshipped at Halikarnassos under the same title (Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 501 Διονύσιος | Διὶ Ἄκραται εὐχῆ[ν]). T. Bergk *Exercitationum criticarum specimen VI* Marburgi 1850 p. vi (= *id.* *Kleine philologische Schriften* ed. R. Peppmüller Halle a. S. 1886 ii. 297), K. Keil in *Philologus* 1854 ix. 454, and G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1193, would read Ἄκρατω for Ἄσκρατω in Apollon. *hist. mir.* 13 ἐν τῷ κατὰ τόπους μυθικῷ ἐν Ἄλικαρνασσῷ θεοσλας τινὸς τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ἄσκρατῳ συντελουμένης ἀγέλην ἀγίων ἀγεσθαι πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ ἴστασθαι τῶν δὲ κατευχῶν συντελεσθειῶν προβαίνειν μίαν αἶγα ὑπὸ μηθενὸς ἀγομένην καὶ προσέρχεσθαι τῷ βωμῷ, τὸν δὲ ἱερέα λαβόμενον αὐτῆς καλλιερεῖν. But I have argued in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 415 f. that Zeus Ἄσκραῖος, to whom the Lydians brought their first-fruits (Plout. *animine an corporis affectiones sint peiores* 4 οὗτοι συνεληθῆσασιν... οὐκ



Fig. 807.



Fig. 808.



Fig. 809.



Fig. 810.



Fig. 811.

Ἄσκρατῳ Διὶ Λυδίων καρπῶν ἀπαρχὰς φέροντες), had a cult in Halikarnassos also; that he was an oak-Zeus (Hesych. ἄσκρα· δρῦς ἄκαρπος, cp. O. Schrader *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples* trans. F. B. Jevons London 1890 p. 226, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 59, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 90); and that he is to be seen on imperial coppers of the town as a bearded god crowned with rays and standing between two oak-trees, on each of which is a bird (raven? dove?) (*Brii. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria*, etc. p. 110 no. 83 pl. 19, 2 (= my fig. 807) Trajan, no. 85 (= my fig. 808) Antoninus Pius, p. 111 no. 88 (= my fig. 810) Septimius Severus, W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1854 Asiatic Greece p. 64 (= my fig. 809) Commodus, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 210 f. Münztaf. 3, 12, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 619 fig. 305. Fig. 811 Gordianus Pius is from a specimen in my collection). It is of course possible that Ἄκραῖος was a second appellative of Zeus Ἄσκραῖος (cp. *supra* no. (4)).

(6) W. R. Paton in the *Class. Rev.* 1907 xxi. 47 f. publishes an inscription, in lettering of about s. i B.C. or s. i A.D., found at Myndos: [Πο]σίδεος Κλεωνόμου καθ' ὑποθεσίαν | [δὲ] Ποσίδεον καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Ἡδέα Ἀπολλωνίδου | [καὶ] οἱ υἱοὶ Κλεώνυμος καὶ Ἀπολλωνίδης | [Ἄλ]ικαρνασσεῖς Διὶ Ἄκρατῳ. Paton proposes Ἄκρατῳ for Ἄσκρατῳ, not only in Apollon.

Zeus *Epákrios* 'on the Summit¹, Zeus *Karaiós* 'of the Head², Zeus *Lopheites* *loc. cit.*, but also in Plout. *loc. cit.* Both passages were emended in the same manner 224 years before by G. Cuper *Apotheosis vel consecratio Homeri* Amstelodami 1683 p. 16.

(7) Imperial coppers of Magnesia ad Maeandrum show Zeus 'Ακραίος as a nude standing figure, with right hand supported on sceptre, left holding thunderbolt (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 120 no. 312 ΑΚΡΑΙΟΣ ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ Geta, *id. Kleinas. Münzen* i. 79 no. 27 ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩ Ν ΖΕΥC ΑΚΡΑΙΟΣ Antoninus Pius).

(8) At Smyrna Ulpius Traianus, father of the emperor Trajan, brought an aqueduct to the precinct of Zeus 'Ακραίος (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3146, 1 ff. *ἐκ τοῦ εἰσαχθέντος | ὕδατος ἐπὶ τὸν Δία τὸν | 'Ακραίων ἐπὶ Οὐλλπίου | Τραϊανοῦ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου, | κ.τ.λ.*). Quasi-autonomous and imperial coppers show the god's head, usually inscribed ΖΕΥC ΑΚΡΑΙΟΣ or ΖΕΥC ΑΚΡΑΙΟΣ or ΖΕΥC ΑΚΡΑΙΟΣ (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 253 ff. pl. 27, 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 368 ff. pl. 52, 8, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 594).



Fig. 812.



Fig. 813.



Fig. 814.

Fig. 812 is from a specimen of mine), or seated figure holding Nike and sceptre, sometimes inscribed ΑΚΡΑΙΟΣ or ΑΚΡΑΙΟΣ (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia pp. 250 pl. 26, 8, 266, 272 pl. 28, 15, 287 pl. 29, 12 (= my fig. 813), 297, 302 pl. 39, 5, 307 pl. 39, 11 (= *supra* p. 319 fig. 201), *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 378 no. 202, 379 no. 203, 389 pl. 52, 18, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 594).

(9) At Temnos in Aiolis, on a hill above the Hermos, quasi-autonomous coppers of s. iii A.D. bear the bust of Zeus 'Ακραίος, inscribed ΖΕΥC ΑΚΡΑΙΟ C (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas, etc. p. 145 no. 22, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 311 no. 7, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 557. Fig. 814 is from a specimen of mine).

(10) L. Holstein on Steph. Byz. *s.v. Μυτιλήνη* (ed. Lipsiae 1825 ii. 457) says: 'In Cimeliarchio Mediceo nummus habetur, in cuius uno latere circum Iovem, Neptunum et Plutonem: ΘΕΟΙ ΑΚΡΑΙΟΙ ΜΥΤΙΑΗΝΑΙΩΝ. in averso circum caput Iovis: ΖΕΥC ΒΟΥΛΑΙΟΣ. quinam sint θεοὶ ἀκραῖοι...docet Pollux lib. ix. cap. 5. his verbis: Τὰ δὲ δημόσια, ἀκρόπολις· ἦν καὶ ἄκρον ἂν εἴποις καὶ πόλιν· καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ θεοὺς, ἀκραίους καὶ πολιεῖς.' This coin, cited by numismatists from Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*² ii. 504 to *Head Hist. num.*¹ p. 488 inclusive, has disappeared from *Head Hist. num.*² p. 562 f.

(11) At Akrai (*Palazzolo*) in Sicily the Museum of Baron Judica had a base inscribed ΔΙΟΣ | []ΡΑΙΟΥ. J. Schubring in the *Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.* Suppl. 1867 iv. 672 fig. 2 supplies [Ἄγο]ραλου. But U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in the *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 203 with greater probability cj. [Ἄκ]ραλου.

See further Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 'Ἐπιθετα Διός (20) ἀκραλου, Kallim. *h. Zeus* 81 f. ἴζο δ' αὐτὸς | ἄκρης ἐν πολιεσσιν, *l.* isteid. *or.* 1. 6 (i. 7 Dindorf) τὰς ἀκρόπολεις ἐξεῖλον Δεί, κ.τ.λ.

¹ Zeus 'Ἐπάκριος. Polyzelos Μουσῶν γοναί *frag.* 1 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 869 f. Meineke) *ap. et. mag.* p. 352, 49 ff. 'Ἐπάκριος Ζεὺς· ἐπ' ἄκρας γὰρ τῶν ὀρῶν ἰδρῶντο βωμοὺς τῷ Δεί, ὅλον τοῦ Ἰμηττίου, τοῦ Παρρηθίου. Πολύζηλος Μουσῶν γοναῖς· "ιερόν γὰρ ὄν (A. Meineke cj. ἱερεὺς γὰρ ὦν, cp. Metagenes Αὔραι *frag.* 4 Meineke *ap. schol. Aristoph. av.* 873) πετύχηκας Ἐπακρίου Διός." So Hesych. *s.v.* Ἐπάκριος· Ζεὺς. ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν ὀρῶν

[² For note 2 see p. 874.]

'of the Crest!.' These titles, and perhaps certain others², proclaim him to be a

ιδρυμένος. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν ὀρῶν τοὺς βωμοὺς αὐτῷ ἰδρῶν ὡς ἐπιπολύ, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1747, 59 ὅθεν καὶ Ζεὺς ἐπάκριος, ᾧ ἐπ' ἄκρων ὀρέων ἰδρῶντο βωμοί. E. Ziebarth in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1900 lv. 502 f. published an inscription from Athens, in which certain ὀργεῶνες let on lease (?) [τὸ ἱερόν τ]οῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐπα[κρίου]. But the reading of the appellative is doubtful: ΕΠ/ are the only surviving letters.

² Zeus Kapaïós. Hesych. *s.v.* Kapaïós· Ζεὺς παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς οὕτω προσαγορεύεται· ὡς μὲν τινὲς φασὶ διὰ τὸ ὑψηλὸς εἶναι, ἀπὸ τοῦ κάρα, *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3208 on a small unfluted column at Orchomenos in Boiotia [Δι] Kapaïoῖ | [· · · · · · · ἀρχ]οντος Κλιωνίω (W. Dittenberger *ad loc.* says: 'Vocem ἀρχοντος (aut ἱαραρχιοντος, ἱαρατευοντος) mediam sumpsi interpositam fuisse inter nomen proprium et adiectivum patronymicum. Sed id quoque fieri potest, ut [Δι]οντος, [Σπένδ]οντος aut aliud simile nomen proprium fuerit'). Maybaum *Der Zeuskult in Boeotien* Doberan 1901 p. 6 draws attention to the proper names derived from this appellative: Kapaïóγειτος (Thespiæ), Kapaïs (Anthedon), Kapaïόχος (Lebadeia, Orchomenos), Kapaïων (Orchomenos). E. Sittig *De Graecorum nominibus theophris* Halis Saxonom 1911 p. 13 extends the list, adding Kapaïoῖς (Corp. *Inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 1045, 5 (Athens), *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 729, 16 (Hermione), F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 235 f. no. 4942 a, 10 (Aptarà in Crete)). The title suits a mountain-god, cp. *Il.* 20. 5 κρατὸς ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο, 1. 44 κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρῆρων (Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1193, 9 f., Apollon. *lex. Hom.* p. 95, 22 ff. Bekker), *alib.* On Kratinos *Nemesis frag.* 10 see *supra* i. 280 n. 4. Phot. *lex.* Κάριος Ζεὺς· ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ καὶ Βοιωτίᾳ refers more probably to the Carian Zeus (*supra* p. 577), cp. the Boeotian name Καρίων (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 2787, 5 Kopai, 2974 Koroneia).

Zeus Klários (Aisch. *suppl.* 359 f. ἴδοιτο δῆτ' ἄνατον φυγὰν | ἱεσία Θέμις Διὸς Κλαρίου, Paus. 8. 53. 9 f. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ ὑψηλόν, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ οἱ βωμοὶ Τεγεάταις εἰσὶν οἱ πολλοί, καλεῖται μὲν Διὸς Κλαρίου (καρίου codd. Vb. M.), δῆλα δὲ ὡς ἐγένετο ἢ ἐπέκλησις τῷ θεῷ τοῦ κλήρου τῶν παίδων ἕνεκα τῶν Ἀρκάδος. ἄγουσι δὲ ἑορτῆν αὐτότι Τεγεᾶται κατὰ ἔτος· κ.τ.λ.). Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 56, 71 takes Klários to mean 'he who sanctified the original allotment of land,' 'the god of allotments' (κλήροι) (so already Paus. *loc. cit.* and schol. Aisch. *loc. cit.* παντάπασι (H. Weil corr. πάντα πᾶσι) κληροῦντος καὶ κραίνοντος). W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*³ Braunschweig 1875 i. 666 cite Hesych. κλάρες· αὐτὸ ἐπὶ ἐδάφου(ς) ἐσχάροι, which might be held to justify Klários = ἐφέστιος (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1212). But F. Solmsen in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1898 liii. 157 f., observing that the Tegeate tribe Κλαρεῶτις (Paus. 8. 53. 6: Schwedler cj. Κλαριῶτις) had tribesmen Κραριῶται (F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 351 ff. no. 1231, 357 ff. no. 1247), and that the names of the three other tribes Ἴπποθοῖτις, Ἀπολλωνιάτις, Ἀθανεᾶτις are all derived from deities, contends that Zeus Klários is for Zeus *Κράριος, 'ein "höchster Zeus" oder ein "Zeus der Bergeshöhe."' His view is accepted by Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 552 and may well be right.

Zeus Klários of Eustath. *in Dionys. per.* 444 λέγεται δὲ καὶ Διὸς Κλαρίου μαντεῖον εἶναι αὐτόθι (*sc.* at Κλάριος near Kolophon) must not be confounded with Zeus Klários.

¹ Zeus Loféitēs. A cult of this deity at Perinthos (later known as Herakleia) on the Propontis is evidenced by the following inscriptions: (1) on the back of a rectangular marble altar, between *Rodosto* and *Eregli* (Perinthos), in letters of s. ii A.D. Διὶ Λοφέιτῃ Ε[ἰ]δ[ι]ῶν Φιλλύδ[ου] | ἱερὸς νέος λυ|·····ρίοις δῶρον (E. Kalinka in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1896 xix. 67 f., F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 565. Kalinka suggests that the altar was a gift to a corporation of νέοι ἀνόρροιοι). (2) From Perinthos: Διὶ Λοφέιτῃ | ὑπὲρ Οὐα(τ)ειρίου Καλλιμά|χου οἱ φίλοι καὶ | οἰκιακοὶ εὐχὴν (A. Baumeister in *Philologus* 1854 ix. 392 f. no. 15, F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 565, *id. ib.* 1908 xxxiii. 161 f. Baumeister wrongly supposed that this inscription had come from Herakleia, the small island off the coast of Naxos). (3) From Perinthos: gable with garland, beneath which [Δι] Λοφέιτ(η)ι καὶ | [συ]ναγωγῆι -ΝΑ | ···ων νέων Πρε[ε]|[σκ]ος ἐκ τῶν (εἰδ)ίων | καθιέρω[σε]ν (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Ath. Mitth.*

[² For note 2 see p. 875.]

god of mountain-tops. And, when he is called *Hýpatos* 'the High'¹ or

1908 xxxiii. 162 suspects an allusion to the *νέοι αὐράριοι* (?) of (1) and proposes [σ]υ[να]γωγή (τῶν) Α[ὐ] — [ρ]ί[ων] νέων). The title *Λοφέτης* was due to the situation of the town: ἡ γὰρ Πιέρνθος κείται μὲν παρὰ θάλατταν ἐπὶ τινοῦ αὐχένος ὑψηλοῦ χερρονήσου, σταδίαίον ἐχούσης τὸν αὐχένα· τὰς δ' οἰκίας ἔχει πεπυκνωμένας καὶ τοῖς ὕψει διαφερούσας. αὐταὶ δὲ ταῖς οἰκοδομαῖς αἰεὶ κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν λόφον ἀνάβασιν ἀλλήλων ὑπερέχουσι, καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ὄλης πόλεως θεατροειδὲς ἀποτελοῦσι (Diod. 16. 76). For Zeus *Ἐπιλόφιος* at Naissos see *infra* Moesia.

² Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1103 n. 2 suggests that Zeus *Φαλακρός* at Argos (Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2. 39. 2 p. 29, 6 f. Stählin *οὐχὶ μὲντοι Ζεὺς φαλακρὸς ἐν Ἀργεῖ, τιμωρὸς δὲ ἄλλος ἐν Κύπρῳ τετίμησθον*;) was a mountain-god. This is probable enough, for the summit of Mt Ida was called *Φάλακρον*, *Φάλακρα*, *Φαλάκρα*, *Φαλάκραι*, a promontory in Korkyra *Φάλακρον*, *Φαλακρὸν ἄκρον*, another in Epeiros *Φάλακρον*, another in Euboiá *Φαλάκραι* (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* viii. 604 B—D). For Zeus *Κλάριος* see *supra* p. 874 n. 2.

¹ Zeus *Ἵπατος* was worshipped (1) on Mt Hypatos above Glisas in Boiotia (Paus. 9. 19. 3 *ὑπὲρ δὲ Γλισῶντός ἐστιν ὄρος Ἵπατος καλούμενον, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Διὸς Ἵπάτου ναὸς καὶ ἀγάλμα*). The mountain, now called *Sagmatás*, rises to a height of 749^m: 'it is bold and rocky, and has a flat summit which is crowned with a monastery of the Transfiguration, founded by Alexis Comnenus. The church of the monastery contains fine mosaics, and stands on the foundations of the temple of Zeus. Both the church and the monastery, as well as two neighbouring chapels, contain many considerable fragments of antiquity built into the walls. The dome of the church is supported by two ancient monolithic columns, with their bases and capitals' (Frazer *Pausanias* v. 61). The view from the monastery embraces the three lakes Kopais, Hylike, Paralimne, the Euboean sea, and on the horizon a whole series of mountains—Messapion, Dirphys, Parnes, Kithairon, Helikon, Sphingion, Parnassos, Ptoion (H. N. Ulrichs *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland* Berlin 1863 ii. 28 f.). Maybaum *Der Zeuskult in Boeotien* Doberan 1901 p. 6 notes the frequent Boeotian name *Ἵπατόδωρος*. E. Sittig *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris* Halis Saxonum 1911 p. 13 f. quotes examples of *Ἵπατόδωρος* from Thebes, Tanagra, Delphoi, Smyrna, of *Ἵπατίας* from Thebes, of *Ἵπατοκλῆς* from Rhodes.

(2) He had an altar, founded by Kekrops 'in front of the entry' to the Erechtheion at Athens, where he was served with cakes but no wine- or animal-offerings (Paus. 1. 26. 5 *ἔστι δὲ καὶ οἶκημα Ἐρέχθειον καλούμενον· πρὸ δὲ τῆς εἰσόδου Διὸς ἔστι βωμὸς Ἵπάτου, ἐνθα ἐμψυχον θύουσιν οὐδὲν, πέμματα δὲ θέντες οὐδὲν ἔτι οἶνον χρῆσασθαι νομίζουσιν*, 8. 2. 3 *ὁ μὲν γὰρ (sc. Κέκροψ) Δία τε ὠνόμασεν Ἵπατον πρῶτος (πρῶτον cod. La.), καὶ ὀδῶσα ἔχει ψυχὴν, τούτων μὲν ἤξίωσεν οὐδὲν θύσαι, πέμματα δὲ ἐπιχώρια ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καθήγισεν, ἃ πελάγους καλοῦσιν ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς Ἀθηναῖοι*). He was on occasion associated with Athena *Ἵπάτη* and other deities (Dem. c. *Macart.* 66 (a Delphic response) *συμφέρει Ἀθηναίους περὶ τοῦ σημείου τοῦ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ γενομένου θύοντος καλλιερεῖν Διὶ Ἵπάτῳ, Ἀθηναῖ Ἵπάτῃ, Ἡρακλεῖ, Ἀπόλλωνι Σωτήρι, καὶ ἀποπέμπειν Ἀμφιόνεσσι*). Cp. Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 201. 1 ff. = *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 170, 2 ff. *Ἵψιμέδων Ἵπατε, πάτερ εἰρήνης βαθυκά[ρπου], | σὸν Ἐλῖαον (for Ἐλλέου) βωμὸν ἱκετεύομεν ἡμεῖς, (scansion!) | Ὁρήϊκες οἱ ναῖοντες ἀγάκλιτον ἄστου τὸ [Σά]ρδε[ων(?),] | κ.τ.λ.*

(3) The tetrapolis of Marathon sacrificed to him in Gamelion (R. B. Richardson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1895 x. 209 ff. col. 2, 13 *Διὶ ὑπ[άτω] οἷς Δ|Τ|Τ(?)*) = J. de Prot *Leges Graecorum Sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 *Fasti sacri* p. 46 ff. no. 26, v 13 *Διὶ Ἵπ[άτω] — — —*).

(4) At Sparta he had a statue of hammered bronze by Klearchos of Rhegion (Paus. 3. 17. 6 (*supra* p. 739 n. 1), 8. 14. 7 *τοῦ ἐς Σπαρτιάτας λόγου τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τοῦ Ἵπάτου Διὸς*).

(5) In Paros on the top of Mt *Koundós* the little church of the Prophet Elias has built into its boundary-stones belonging to Zeus *Ἵπατος*, to Aphrodite, to Histie *Δημῆ* (O. Rubensohn in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1901 xxvi. 215). The first of these, a rough block of white marble, is inscribed in lettering of s. v B.C. [θ]ρος Ἵπάτω· ἀ[τε][λ]ῆ[ς]τοι οὐ θέμ[ε]ι[s] οὐδὲ γυναι[κ]ί (sc. εἰσελεῖν) (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 183 with fig.).

Hypsistos 'the Most High¹', there is reason to suspect that the epithet had originally a literal rather than a metaphorical sense.

(6) At Rome the road between the Curia and the Basilica Aemilia yielded a block inscribed Δι' Ἰπάτωι (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 994).

(7) An honorary inscription of s. ii A. D. found at Priene contains the clause ἀναγραφῶ (sic) (τό)δε [τ]ὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λευκοῦ λίθου καὶ ἀνατεθῆ[τ]ω ἐν τῶι ἱερῶ[ι τ]οῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἰπάτου (sc. in Thessaly (?)) (F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Inscriptionen von Priene* Berlin 1906 no. 71, 28 f.).

(8) M. Schweisthal 'L'image de Niobé et l'autel de Zeus Hypatos au mont Sipyle' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1887 xii. 224 argues that Zeus on Mt Sipylos was invoked under the name of Ἰπάτος, cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 13, 533 ff. ὁψὲ δὲ δύσσιφονοῖδμα καὶ ὑδατέεσαν ἀνάγκην | Ζεὺς ὑπάτος (ὑδάτος codd. F. M.) πρήννε, καὶ ἐκ Σιπύλοιο καρήνων | κλυζομένης Φρυγίης παλι-ἀργετον ἤλασεν ὕδωρ. But ὑπάτος is a commonish epithet of Zeus in the poets (Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 141) and is used elsewhere by Nonnos (*Dion.* 33. 162 Ζεὺς ὑπάτος καὶ θεοῦρος Ἄρης καὶ θέσιμος Ἐρμῆς) without local significance.



Fig. 815.

A leaden anchor, found off the coast of Kyrene and now in the British Museum, bears in relief the ship's name ΣΕΥΣ ΥΠΑΤΟΣ (C. Torr *Ancient Ships* Cambridge 1894 p. 71 f. pl. 8, 45, 46 and 47 (= my fig. 815)). The lettering points to s. i A. D.

According to schol. T. II. 13. 837 some persons understood Διὸς ἀγάς as denoting τὰ ὑψηλά τῶν ὀρέων!

¹ Examples of this appellative have been collected, classified, and discussed by E. Schürer in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1897 pp. 200—225 and F. Cumont *Hypsistos* (Supplément à la *Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique*, 1897) Bruxelles 1897 pp. 1—15, *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 444—450 s.v. "Τψιστος. I am under deep obligation to their labours, as the following list will show.

Zeus "Τψιστος was worshipped (1) at Athens in the Pnyx. For a good survey of the problems that cluster about this much-disputed site see in *primis* J. M. Crow and J. Thacher Clarke 'The Athenian Pnyx' in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 1885—1886 iv. 205—260. The view adopted from H. N. Ulrichs by

F. G. Welcker *Der Felsaltar des Höchsten Zeus oder das Pelasgikon zu Athen, bisher genannt die Pnyx* Berlin 1852 pp. 1—75 with pl., *id.* 'Pnyx oder Pelasgikon' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1856 x. 30—76, *id.* 'Ueber C. Bursians "Athenische Pnyx"' *ib.* 1856 x. 591—610, and defended especially by E. Curtius *Attische Studien* i Pnyx und Stadtmauer in the *Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1862 xi. 53—132 with pls. 1, 2, *viz.* that the so-called Pnyx was an ancient sanctuary of Zeus Ἰψιστος with the so-called *bêma* for its altar, is nowadays discredited. But it is generally admitted that in imperial times, when the Pnyx had long ceased to be used for public assemblies, a cult of Zeus Ἰψιστος as a healing god was here carried on. In the rock-cut back-wall of the Pnyx, between its eastern angle and the *bêma*, there are more than fifty rectangular niches cut to receive tablets. Many of the tablets that had been in the niches were found by Lord Aberdeen in 1803 buried in the earth at the foot of the wall and are now in the British Museum (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* i nos. 497—506, C. T. Newton in *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1874 i nos. 60—70, *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. i nos. 147—156, 237, 238). They are dedications, mostly by women of the lower class, to Zeus Ἰψιστος (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. i no. 148 Σύντροφος | Ἰψίστω Δι | χαριστήριον,



Fig. 816.

no. 153 Ὀνησίμη εὐχὴν | Δι Ἰψίστω with relief representing a female breast) or to θεὸς Ἰψιστος (*ib.* no. 237α θεῶ Ἰψ[ίστω] | [ε]ὐχὴν with relief of part of a shoulder) or more often to Ἰψιστος alone (*ib.* no. 149 Εὐδοσ Ἰψίστω εὐχὴν with relief of a pair of eyes (cp. *ib.* no. 238=C. T. Newton *loc. cit.* no. 69), no. 150 Ὀλυμπιάς Ἰψίστω | εὐχὴν with relief of a woman's abdomen, no. 151 Τερτία Ἰψίστω | εὐχὴν with relief of a face from the bridge of the nose downwards, no. 152 Κλαυδία Πρέπουσα | εὐχαριστῶ Ἰψίστω with relief of a pair of arms, no. 154 Εὐρυχίς Ἰψίστω εὐχ(ήν) with relief of a female breast (=my fig. 816), no. 155 Ελισιάς Ἰψ[ίστω] | εὐχ(ήν) with relief of a female breast).

Sporadic inscriptions attest the existence of the same cult elsewhere in Athens. L. Ross *Die Pnyx und das Pelasgikon in Athen* Braunschweig 1853 p. 15 cites three inscriptions discovered in the foundations of a house on the northern slope of the Akropolis (*Ann. d. Inst.* 1843 xv. 330ff.) and now at Berlin (*Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 270 no. 718 Εὐρυχία | Ἰψίστω | εὐχὴν with relief of a female breast, no. 719 Εὐπραξι[s] | εὐχὴν with relief of a female breast, no. 720 Ελισδότη Δι Ἰψίστω with relief of eyebrows, eyes, and bridge of nose. Cp. no. 721 an unscribed relief from the same spot, representing the middle part of the body of a nude female). A column of Pentelic marble, found to the

west of the *Propyläia*, has Γλαῦκος, | Τρύφαινα, | Λέων | [Ἰ]ψίστω | [εὐχὴν] ὑπὲρ | [τῶν γονέων(?)] (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 146). A small Ionic capital from the southern slope of the *Akropolis* is surmounted by a broken eagle, beneath which is inscribed ἀγαθὴ τύχη. | Ἰουλ(ία) Ἀσκληπιανῆ | θεῶ Ἰψίστω ὑπέ[ρ] | Μαξιμου τοῦ υἱ[οῦ] | εὐχαρισστήριον ἀνέθ[ηκεν].

(2) At Thebes near the Hypsistan Gates (Paus. 9. 8. 5 πρὸς δὲ ταῖς Ἰψίσταις Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐπικλησίον ἐστὶν Ἰψίστου). H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.* note that these Gates are assumed to have been on the south-western side of the city, where they are shown, adjoining a hill of Zeus Ἰψίστος, in the map given by Frazer *Pausanias* v. 32.

(3) At Corinth three statues of Zeus stood in the open air. One of them had no special title; the second was Χθόνιος; the third, Ἰψίστος (Paus. 2. 2. 8 τὰ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς, καὶ ταῦτα ὄντα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, τὸ μὲν ἐπικλησίον οὐκ εἶχε, τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν Χθόνιον καὶ τὸν τρίτον καλοῦσιν Ἰψίστον). We are hardly justified in asserting with Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* ii. 87 that the nameless Zeus was 'ohne Zweifel ein...Zenoposeidon,' or in conjecturing with P. Odelberg *Sacra Corinthia, Sicyonia, Phliasia* Upsala 1896 p. 7 that he was a Zeus ἐνάλιος. Such a god would surely have had a distinctive appellation. See, however, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1094 n. 27, *supra* p. 582 ff.

(4) At Argos Smyrna, the wife of Maenius Apollonius and apparently priestess of Zeus, in an interesting epitaph describes her tomb as a barrow adjoining the sanctuary of Zeus Ἰψίστος (*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 620, 4=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 286. 8 Ἰψίστου δ' ἤριον ἔ[γχε] Διὸς).

(5) At Olympia Zeus Ἰψίστος had a couple of altars on the way to the Hippodrome (Paus. 5. 15. 5 πλοσίον δὲ καὶ Μοιρῶν βωμός ἐστιν ἐπιμήκης, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Ἐρμοῦ, καὶ δύο ἐφεξῆς Διὸς Ἰψίστου. K. Wernicke's cj. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν δύο ἐφεξῆς Ἐρμοῦ καὶ Διὸς Ἰψίστου is unnecessary).

(6) In Skiathos is a marble slab inscribed with a dedication [Δι] Ἰψίστω καὶ τῇ Πόλει | κ.τ.λ. (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* viii no. 631).

(7) At Hephaestia in Lemnos is a round altar of white marble inscribed in lettering of s. ii or iii A.D. Ἐπηκόω | θεῶ Ἰψίστω | Βεῖθυσ ὁ καὶ | Ἀδωνίς | εὐχὴν (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* viii no. 24).

(8) In Imbros was a slab of white marble, broken at the right side, with the inscription Δι Ἰψίστω | Ἀθηναίῳ | Ἀρίστω[ος] | εὐχ<ης> ἦν (A. Conze *Reise auf den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres* Hannover 1860 p. 90 pl. 15, 2, *Inscr. Gr. ins.* viii no. 78. In line 4 Conze suggests εὐχῆς (ἐ)ν[εκα]. Wilamowitz says: 'Fortasse Δι ὑψίστωι [ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τῶν vel καὶ τῶι δήμῳ τῶι] Ἀθηναίῳ τῶν ἐν Ἰμβρω ἀνέθηκεν' Ἀρίστων [patris ἐξ] εὐχῆς ἦν [εὐξάτο ὁ δεῖνα] ').

(9) Macedonia has furnished dedications from Aigai (L. Duchesne—C. Bayet *Mémoire sur une mission au mont Athos* Paris 1877 no. 136 Δι Ἰψίστῳ εὐχὴν Μάρκος Λιβύριος Οὐάλης, no. 137 Δι Ἰψίστῳ Πο. Αἴλιος Τερεντιανὸς Ἀττικὸς κατ' ὄναρ), Kerdyllion (P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 xix. 110 M. Λευκελίω[ς] | Μακλᾶς θεῶ[ι] | Ἰψίστωι χα[ρισ]τήριον), and elsewhere (Delacoulonche *Le berceau de la puissance macédonienne* no. 20 to Zeus Ἰψίστος, cited by P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xxii. 347 n. 2).

(10) In Thrace we have inscriptions from Anchialos (C. Jireček in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1886 x. 173 no. 3 ΔΗΥΨΙΣΙΙΔΕΣ | ΓΗΠΟΥΠΡΟΣ | ΟΝΤΕΙΝΩΝ ΚΑΙΣ | ΑΥΤΟΥΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΗ | ΡΙΟΝ, which is read by O. Benndorf *ib.* n. 32^a as Δι ὑψίστωι | ἐ[πόπ]τη(?) Πολύ[β]ιω[ς] τῶν τέ[κ]νων καὶ | ἐ[α]υτοῦ εὐχαριστήριον) and Selymbria (R. Cagnat *Inscriptions Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* Paris 1911 i. 255 no. 777 Θεῶι ἀγίῳ ὑψίστωι | ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥοιμη[τάλκου καὶ Πυθο]δωρίδος ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Κοιλα[λη]τικὸν | πόλεμον κινδύνου | σωτηρίας εὐξάμενος | καὶ ἐπιτυχῶν Γάιος | Ἰούλιος Πρόκ(λ)ος χαρι[σ]τήριον).

(11) Moesia. An altar of reddish limestone, found among Roman remains between the villages of *Selenigrad* and *Miloslavci*, and now in the Museum at *Sofia*, is inscribed Ϝ θεῶι Ἰψί[στωι] | ὑπὲρ Ἀδφιδίων οἰκων | [..... Ἀν]φίδιο[ς]..... (E. Kalinka *Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien* Wien 1906 p. 133 f. no. 145). A limestone altar at *Piprot* reads ἀγαθῆ [τύ]χη | Θεῶ ἐπηκόω ὑψίστω | εὐχὴν ἀνέστησαν | τὸ κοινὸν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων διὰ

ιερέως | Ἐρμογένους καὶ προ|στάτου Ἀγνουστιανοῦ | Ἀχιλλεύς, Ἀνρήλις, Διό(ς), Ἀλέξανδρος, Μόκας, Μο[κ]ιανός, | Δομήτις, Σοφείνος, Πανλείνος, Πύρος, Ἀπολινάριος, Μοκιανός, [Σ(?)]ῆ-
λυς | καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀσκληπιέδου· θια[σος(?)] Σεβαζιλανός θη[··]τους | — (A. von Domaszewski in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1886 x. 238 f. no. 2).

(12) Korkyra (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 1869 Φαιακοσίνη Διελ' Ἐψίστω | εὐχήν).

(13) Rome. A round base in the Galleria Lapidaria of the Vatican is inscribed Θεῶι Ἐψίστωι εὐχήν ἀνέθηκεν | Κλαυδία Πίσση (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 995).

(14) Crete. T. A. B. Spratt *Travels and Researches in Crete* London 1865 ii. 414 no. 1 pl. 1, 1 Κο[λ]ρανος θεῶι Ἐψίστωι | εὐχήν δημόσιος (C. Babington's reading *ib.* is wrong) from Knossos.

(15) Kypros. Dedications to the Θεὸς Ἐψίστος have come to light at *Hagios Tychon* near Amathous (M. Beaudouin—E. Pottier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 167 a round *ciprus* inscribed Θεῶ Ἐψίστω | Νεκρόδημος | κατ[ά] χρηματισμῶν), Golgoi (P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 361 ff. published a series of tablets in yellowish tufa, with holes for suspension, said to have come from a spot near *Athienau* and then in the hands of Z. Malis at *Larnaka*: no. 1 Θεῶ Ἐψίστω ἀνέθηκεν Πρόκτυος εὐξαμέ[ν]η with relief of two female breasts, no. 2 Θεῶ Ἐψίστω εὐξαμέ[ν]η — — with two eyes painted in black, cp. no. 3 three square tablets with *phallós* in relief but without inscription, no. 4 several fragmentary tablets of larger size with remains of painting or drawing, e.g. horse), and Kition (Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* iii no. 2740 read by Perdrizet *loc. cit.* [Θεῶ Ἐψίστω Θεῶν οἰκοδόμος εὐχήν]).

(16) Pisidia. At Oinoanda is a dedication built into the wall near the town-gate (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii Add. no. 4280 n² Χρ(ω)μα[ι]τις θεῶ | Ἐψίστω | τὸν λύχρον | εὐχ[ή]ν) = Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 1231). At Termessos a *ciprus*, which once supported a votive foot (commemorating a visitation or epiphany of the god), is inscribed Θεῶ ἐπηκόω Ἐψιστότυχος ὁ καὶ Ἀτταλιανός Ἐρ(μαλου)β' | Σύρου πατ[ρ]ὰ κέλειςιν | αὐτοῦ ἔστη | ὅ σεν ὅ | σὺν τῷ ἐπόντι | Ἰχνη θεοῦ (K. Lanckoroński—G. Niemann—E. Petersen *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* Wien 1892 ii. 76 fig. 27, 220 no. 178. *Eid. ib.* p. 32 rather doubtfully take the name of the dedicator to be 'Hephaistotychos.' F. Cumont *Hypsistos* (Supplément à la *Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique*, 1897) Bruxelles 1897 p. 14 reads Θεῶ ἐπηκόω Ἐψίστω(ω) Τυχ(ί)ος and Σύρου πα(ἰ)που(?)).

(17) Karia. Zeus Ἐψίστος had cults in Iasos (B. Haussoullier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1884 viii. 456 a boundary-stone of white marble inscribed Διὸς Ἐψίστου. Zeus had a temple at Iasos (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2671, 26 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 462, 26)), Lagina (C. Diehl—G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 159 no. 67 Διὸ Ἐψίστω | καὶ θειωτ[···]σιλικω Σ[τε]φανῶν ὑπὲρ | αὐτοῦ καὶ | τῶν ἰδίων | πάντων εὐχαριστήρι[ον]. I should conjecture Θεῖω (as at Stratonikeia: see below) τῷ βασιλικῷ, 'the royal Zeus Ἐψίστος καὶ Θεῖος'), Miletos (O. Kern in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1893 xviii. 267 no. 1 a column of white marble, found at *Palatia* near the big mosque, inscribed Διὸς Ἐψίστου, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 755 built into a Byzantine church τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου [Θεοῦ Ἐψίστου] Σωτήρος | Οὐλπιον Κάρπον | βουλευτὴν ὁ στατίων (*sc.* assembly) | τῶν κατὰ πόλιν κηπουρῶν τὸν ἴδιον εὐεργέτη[ν] | ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρί[ας], no. 756 built into the same Byzantine church Οὐλπιον Κάρπον, | τὸν προφήτην τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου Θεοῦ | Ἐψίστου, | ὁ στόλος τῶν σωληνοκεντῶν (*sc.* spikers of razor-fish) τὸν ἴδιον εὐεργέτην διὰ πάντων. T. Wiegand in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1904 p. 87 infers from these two inscriptions that in early Byzantine days a Christian church was founded on the site of a temple dedicated to the Θεὸς Ἐψίστος), Mylasa (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2693 e, 1 f. = Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 416. 1 f. = A. Hauvette-Besnault—M. Dubois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881 v. 107 ff. no. 11, B, 1 f. ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου | Ἀριστέου τοῦ Μέλανος τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ἱερέως Διὸς Ἐψίστου καὶ Τύχης Ἀγαθῆς), Panamara (G. Deschamps—G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 271 f. no. 57 [Διὸ Ἐψίστω | καὶ Ἐκάτη Σω[τε]ρα] | [καὶ] Διὸ Καπε[τω]λιῶ | [καὶ] Τύχη τοῦ με[γ]ίστου) | [Ἀυτ]οκράτορος Κα[ίσαρος] | [Τίτου] Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ [Ἀντω]νίου Σεβαστοῦ | [···κα] ταῖς τοῦ Δι[ὸς]··· | [·····] τολξ — —)], Stratonikeia (Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 515 on a *stèle* in the form of an altar, with a horse (*supra* i. 20) advancing below, Διὸ Ἐψίστω καὶ |

Ἄγαθῶ Ἀγγέλῳ, | Κλαύδιος Ἀχιλ(λ)εύς καὶ Γαλατ[ι]α ὑπὲρ σωτηρ[ας] | μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων | πάντων, χαριστ[ή]ριον, A. Hauvette-Besnault—M. Dubois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881 v. 182 f. no. 3 Διὶ Ἐψίστῳ | καὶ Θεῷ Ἀγγέλω Νέων | καὶ Εὐφροσύνῃ ὑπὲρ τῶν | ἰδίων, no. 4 [Διὶ(?) Ἐψίστῳ καὶ | Θεῷ Φρόνιμος καὶ | Πειθῶ κα[ι] (sic) | ὑπὲρ τῶν [ι]δίων χαριστήριον, G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 418 f. no. 1 at *Djidi* [Διὶ Ἐψίστῳ] | καὶ Θεῷ Εὐτύχῃ καὶ Σ[υν]φιλοῦσα, Ἀνδρέας, Ἀντίοχος ὑπὲρ ἐαυτῶν | καὶ τῶν ἰδίων χαριστήριον), and Tralleis (I. Misthos in the *Μουσείον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ* 1873—1875 p. 95 no. 89 Θεῷ Ἐψίστῳ | κατ' ἑναρ on a small quadrilateral *stèle*).

(18) Kos. W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 p. 116 no. 63 record a small *stèle*, with *aedicula* and rosette, inscribed Θεανὸς | Θεῷ Ἐψίστῳ εὐχῆν.

(19) Delos. Two votive inscriptions, the one certainly, the other probably, from Rheneia, both dating from the close of s. ii B.C. and couched in terms so similar as to be practically identical, record prayers to the Θεὸς Ἐψίστος for speedy vengeance on behalf of



Fig. 817.

two Jewish maidens named Marthine and Heraklea respectively (the names recur in the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii Add. no. 2322 ⁶⁷⁸ and no. 2322 ⁶⁸⁹ = Lebas—Foucart *Œs* no. 2041 and no. 2039), who had been done to death by violence or witchcraft. The Marthine-inscription, much mutilated, is now in the National Museum at Athens (best published by A. Wilhelm in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1901 iv Beiblatt p. 9 ff. fig. 2). The Heraklea-inscription, better preserved, is in the Museum at Bucharest (*id. ib.* p. 9 ff. fig. 3 = my fig. 817): its text and relief are repeated on the back as well as on the front of the *stèle* (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* 3 no. 1181, 1 ff. ἐπικαλοῦμαι καὶ ἀξίῳ τὸν Θεὸν τὸν | Ἐψίστον, τὸν κύριον τῶν πνευμάτων | καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ἐπὶ τοὺς δόλω φονεύσαντας ἢ φαρμακεύσαντας τὴν ταλαίπωρον ἄωρον Ἡράκλειαν, ἐχχέαν|τας αὐτῆς τὸ ἀνάτιον αἷμα ἀδίκως, ἵνα οὕτως γένηται τοῖς φονεύσασιν αὐτὴν ἢ φαρμακεύσασιν καὶ | τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν, κύριε ὁ πάντα ἐ|φορῶν καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ, ᾧ πᾶσα ψυ|χὴ ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ ταπεινοῦται | μεθ' ἡκετάς, ἵνα ἐγδικήσῃς τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀνάτιον ζητήσεις καὶ τὴν ταχίστην (Dittenberger *op. cit.* 2 on no. 816 says: 'Exspectes ἵνα ζητήσῃς τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀνάτιον καὶ ἐγδικήσῃς τὴν ταχίστην.' The Marthine-text, however, runs: ἵνα ἐγδικήσῃ[s] | τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀνάτιον καὶ τὴν ταχίστην[ν],



Marble *stèle* from Panormos near Kyzikos, now in the British Museum, with dedication to Zeus *Hypsistos* and votive reliefs representing Zeus, Artemis (?), Apollon and a banquet.

See page 881.

omitting the second verb altogether. A. Deissmann, who has a detailed discussion of both *stélai* in his *Licht vom Osten* Tübingen 1908 pp. 305—316 figs. 55—57, thinks that the archetype had *ἵνα ἐγδικήσῃς τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀναίτιον καὶ ζητήσῃς τὴν ταχίστην*). The uplifted hands are those of the suppliant : cp. *infra* no. (33) Aegyptos.

(20) Lydia. Hierokaisaieia (A. M. Fontrier in the *Μουσείον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς ἐν Σμύρῃ* 1886 p. 33 no. φί = P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 95 no. 16 at *Sasoba* Δούκιος Θεῶν Ἰψίστω εὐχῆν). Koloe in Maionia (M. Tsakyroglou in the *Μουσείον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς ἐν Σμύρῃ* 1878—1880 p. 161 no. τκδ' Ἀπολλωνίσκος | ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἐρμιογένους Θεῶν Ἰψίστω εὐχῆν). Philadelphia (*Ala-Shehir*) (J. Keil—A. von Premerstein 'Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien und der südlichen Aiolis' in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1910 ii Abh. p. 27 no. 39 on a *stèle* with gabled top *ἔτους σξθ'* (269 of Actian era = 238/9 A.D., of Sullan era = 184/5 A.D.), *μη(νός) | Αὐδ(ν)αλου* ἰ. Φλαβία Θεῶν Ἰψίστω | εὐχῆν. *Sari-Tsam* (A. M. Fontrier *ib.* 1886 p. 68 no. φνζ' = P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 84 f. no. 4, a *Τειμόθεος Διαγόρου | Λαβραντίδης* (Foucart justly cp. the epithet *Λαβρανδεύς καὶ Μόσχιου*) | *Τειμοθέου ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ | Θεῶν Ἰψίστω εὐχῆν τὸν | βωμόν, ὃ* (by another hand) *Διαγόρας, Τειμόθεος, Πύθεος | οἱ Τειμοθέου τοῦ Διαγόρου υἱοί | Λαβραντίδαι τὰς λυχνάφλας | Ἰψίστω* ('Ἰψίστωι Fontrier) *ἀνέθηκον*). Silandos (Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 708 Θεῶν Ἰψίστω | εὐχῆν ἀνέθηκε Ἐλένη ὑπὲρ Θρασυβοῦλου τοῦ υἱοῦ | Θρασυβοῦλου). *Tchatal Tere* (K. Buresch *Aus Lydien* Leipzig 1898 p. 119 no. 57 on a small marble altar Θεῶν Ἰψίστω Ἀγαθόπου καὶ | Τελέσειρα εὐχῆν ἔτους σν' | *μη(νός) Δαισίον κ'*). *Phata*, three hours east of *Theira* (A. M. Fontrier in the *Μουσείον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς ἐν Σμύρῃ* 1876—1878 p. 32 on an altar-step Θεῶν Ἰψίστω. | *Νεικηφόρος Ἐρμοκράτου ἱερε[ῖ]ς σὺν καὶ Ἐρμου[κρ]άτει τῷ ἀδ[ελ]φῶν τὸν βωμόν* [[ἀνέσ]τησαν' | [ἔτ]ους σκ'). *Thyateira* (A. Wagener in the *Mémoires de l'académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique* Série in 4^e Classe de Lettres 1861 xxx. 39 = A. M. Fontrier in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1902 iv. 239 no. 4 a relief of an eagle : on the base is inscribed *Μοσχιανὸς Βασιλεὺς | Ἰψίστω Θεῶν εὐχῆν*. J. Keil—A. von Premerstein 'Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien' in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1911 ii Abh. p. 17 f. no. 28 on a small altar of bluish marble in lettering of the end of s. ii or s. iii A.D. *Εὐελ(πι)στ[η] | [Θ]εῶν Ἰψ[ίσ]τ[ω] εὐχῆν* | [[ἀν]έθηκον] | [εὐτ]υχῶ[ς], no. 29 on a small altar of similar material and date *[Τ]ρυφῶσα | [Θ]εῶν Ἰψίστω | εὐχῆν*). Cp. *Ak Tash* (Temenothyrai?) (*ib.* p. 129 no. 237 on a *stèle* of whitish marble with gabled top, in lettering of s. ii A.D., beneath an incised wreath *Τύρανις Ἀφ[φ]ιδόος Ἰψ[ίσ]τω | εὐχῆν*) and *Gjölde* near Koloe (*ib.* p. 97 no. 189 on a *stèle* of whitish marble, in lettering of s. i or ii A.D., beneath a sunk panel representing in front view a male (?), with *chiton* and *himation*, raising the right hand in adoration and holding a staff in the lowered left *Θεῶν Ἰψίστω Γλύκων | εὐχῆν*). The references to J. Keil—A. von Premerstein were kindly furnished to me by Mr A. D. Nock.

(21) Mysia. At Kyzikos a small cubical base of pink St Simeon marble, found near the theatre, reads *[Σ]ω[φ]ί[νης] (?) | Νεικάνδ[ρου] | Δι' Ἰψίστω | εὐχῆν* (Sir C. Smith—R. de Rustafjaell in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 207 no. 14, F. W. Hasluck *Cyzicus* Cambridge 1910 p. 271 no. 11). From Panormos (*Panderna*) near Kyzikos came a votive *stèle* of white marble, presented by A. van Branteghem in 1890 to the British Museum (A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 374 f. no. 817, F. H. Marshall in *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* London 1916 iv. 2. 153 no. 1007 with fig. I am indebted to Mr Smith for the photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming from which my pl. xxxix is taken). This relief, which has aroused much interest (see e.g. A. S. Murray in the *Rev. Arch.* 1891 i. 10f. no. 1, H. Lechat—G. Radet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 520f., F. Cumont *Hypsistos* Bruxelles 1897 p. 12 no. 3 pl., P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1899 xxiii. 592f. pl. 4, E. Ziebarth 'XOTΣ' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1905 xxx. 145f., F. Poland *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* Leipzig 1909 p. 370, F. W. Hasluck *Cyzicus* Cambridge 1910 pp. 207, 271 no. 13, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 493 no. 3), represents three deities standing side by side in a sunk panel—Zeus in *chiton* and *himation*, with a *phiale* in his right hand, a sceptre in his left; Artemis (Persephone, or perhaps

Hekate, according to Murray *loc. cit.* Dionysos, according to Smith and Reinach *loc. cit.*) in short *chiton*, *chlamys*, and high boots, with a *phidole* in her right hand, a torch in her left; Apollon in long *chiton* and *himation*, with a *phidole* in his right hand, a *kithara* in his left, and a snake-twined *omphalos* beside him. Beneath, in low relief, is a banquet of six men, who recline on cushions placed upon a long mattress. On the right a cup-bearer, in a short *chiton*, holds an *oinochoe* in one hand, an *askos* in the other, and draws wine from a large *kratér* partially sunk in the floor. On the left a seated musician plays two flutes, one straight, one curved, while his feet beat time with *kroupézai*. In the centre a girl, stark naked, is dancing, and a man in the costume of a mime-performer, with a pair of long *krótala* in his hands, is running round her at a lively pace. The pediment above is filled with an inscription, whose ligatures point to a date in s. ii A. D. Δι. ι. Τ. ψιστω. κ(αι). | τῷ χῶρῳ Θάλλος | ἐπάνυμος. τὸν. | τελαμῶνα. ἀπέδωκα, 'I Thallos, 'T. ψιστω. κ(αι). | τῷ χῶρῳ Θάλλος | ἐπάνυμος. τὸν. | τελαμῶνα. ἀπέδωκα, 'I Thallos, the name-giver (of the *thlasos*), duly presented the relief to Zeus *Most High* and to the Place (where the *thiasotai* assemble).' So Marshall *loc. cit.* Perdrizet *loc. cit.* under- stood: 'Thallos, magistrat éponyme, a voué ce cippe à Zeus céleste et au bourg,' Murray, Smith, and Cumont *loc. cit.* thought χῶρῳ a blunder for χορῶ (to which not one of them gives the right accent). Ziebarth *loc. cit.*, following T. Reinach in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1894 vii 391, will have it that χῶρῳ was the name of the *thlasos*, cp. T. Wiegand in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1904 xxix. 316 an altar-shaped base of white marble from *Nuserat*, one hour south of *Kébsud* in Mysia, inscribed τὸν Βρομίου μύστην | [Ι]ερῶν, ἀρξάντα χοῦ, | κ.τ.λ. At Pergamon the Θεὸς Ὑψιστος, presumably Zeus (M. Fränkel *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* Berlin 1895 ii. 243 f. no. 331 on a small altar of white marble Τλόκινα | Θεῷ Ὑψιστῷ | εὐχὴν ἀνέθηκα, ἐρωμέτη μετὰ τὸν | [ὄνειρον(?) ---] | [-----] (the last two lines covered with white daub)), was further identified with Helios (*id. ib.* ii. 243 no. 330 on a small altar of white marble from the precinct of Athena [Ἡλ]ιω, | Θε[ε]ῶ | Ὑψ[ι]στῳ, | Τάτιον | [εὐ]χῆν). At Plakia near Kyzikos was another thank-offering to the Θεὸς Ὑψιστος (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3669 ἀγαθῆ τύχη. | Γ. Πασκέννιος Ὀνήσιμος | Θεῷ Ὑψιστῷ σωθεὶς ἀνέθηκα ἐκ μεγάλου κινδύνου μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων. | νέκτης εὐχαριστήριον | ἀναθεῖναι (the last two lines are incomplete: sc. ἐπέταξεν ὁ θεὸς or the like). On the remarkable dedication to Zeus Ὑψιστος Βρονταῖος, now in the Tchিনিli Kiosk at Constantinople, but probably derived from the Cyzicene district, see *supra* p. 833 ff. fig. 793.

(22) Lesbos. Several dedications to the Θεὸς Ὑψιστος have been found at Mytilene (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* ii no. 115 on a large base or altar of white marble, above and below a relief representing an eagle with spread wings in a great olive-wreath Θεῷ Ὑψιστῷ ε[ὐ]χῆν, | Πομπήιος Λυκάων μ[ε]τ[ε]ρ[ε]σ[τ]ῶν τῆς συμβίου Φοιβῆς | καὶ τῶν ἰδίων, no. 119 on a small base or altar Γ. Κορηλί(ο)ς | Χρηστίων, Κορηγία Θάλλουσα, Γ. Κορη<ι>ήλιος | Σεκοῦνδος χειμασθέντες ἐν | πελάγει Θεῷ Ὑψιστῷ χρηστήριον (the last word a blunder for *χαριστήριον*), no. 125 (= A. Conze *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos* Hannover 1865 pp. 5, 12 pl. 5. 3) Θεῷ | Ὑψιστῷ | Π. Αἴλιος Ἀρβιανὸς Ἀλ[ε]ξανδρὸς, | βουλευ(τῆς) | Δακίας κολιβαρίας | Ζερμύξε[ε]θούσης, εὐχῆ[ν] | ἀνέθηκεν, and one of these by adding the title Κεραύνιος makes it clear that Zeus is meant (*supra* p. 807 n. 3 no. (3)).

(23) Phrygia. * Here too the Θεὸς Ὑψιστος had a considerable vogue—at Aizanoi (Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 987 = *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii Add. no. 3842 d [ὁ δεῖνα] Ἄλεξ[α]νδρῶν [Ε]ἰόνιος ([Π]ειόνιος Lebas. Cp. Πειονίου = Pionii in *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 1363, 5 ff., Πιονίου in the *Corp. Inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8866, 9. A. B. C.) | [Θεῷ vel Δι] Ὑψιστῷ εὐχῆν, at *Hadji-keui* near Aizanoi (A. Körte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1900 xxv. 405 no. 9 on an altar of half-marble Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιᾶδ[ης] | ἐλεθεῖς ἀπ' ἑλλων (!) τῶν παθημάτων | εὐξάμενος Θεῷ Ὑψιστῷ μετὰ | τῶν εἰδίων (so Körte. Better ἀπό <πο>λλων by lipo-graphy. A. B. C.), at *Yenije* near Akmonia (W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1897 ii. 652 f. no. 563 [ἐάν δέ τις ἕτερον σῶμα εἰσενέγκη, ἐσ]ται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τὸν ὕψιστον, καὶ τὸ ἀρᾶς δρέπανον εἰς τὸν ὄκον αὐτοῦ [εἰσελθούτο καὶ μηδέναν ἐγκατα-λείψατο], where the formula ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν and the phrase τὸν θεὸν τὸν ὕψιστον suit the epitaph of a Jew or perhaps a Jewish Christian), at *Hadji-Eyub-li* near Laodikeia (W. M. Ramsay *op. cit.* 1895 i. 78 no. 14 [. . . .]s Θεῷ Ὑψιστῷ εὐχῆν), at Nakoleia (*Seidi Ghazi*) (W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1884 v. 258 n. 2 no. 9 on a small

slab of marble Θεῶ Ἰψίστῳ εὐχὴν Ἀὐρήλιος | Ἀσκλάπῳ, ἦν ὁμολόγησεν εἶν | Ῥώμη), at *Arslan Apa* in the upper valley of the river Tembrogios or Tembrios (J. G. C. Anderson in W. M. Ramsay *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire* Aberdeen 1906 p. 211 no. 9 on an altar with a garland in relief [. . . η] Νικο[μ(α?)]χου [. . .] | [ἔτους] τλη' (= 253/4 A.D.). Ἀὐρ. Ἰδῶν Θεῶ Ἰψίστῳ εὐχὴν). The Θεὸς Ἰψίστος was here, as Anderson saw, Zeus Βέννιος or Βεννεύς the native god of the district (W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1884 v. 259 f. no. 11 on a marble *cippus* from *Karagatch Euren* near *Altyntash*, below a relief representing a bunch of grapes, an eagle, and a radiate head of the sun-god Διὶ Βεννίῳ | Διογένης ὑπὲρ | Διογένους πάππου | καὶ Κλ. Χρυσίου | μᾶμμης καὶ τῶν | κατοικούντων | ἐν Ἰσκόμῃ καθιέρωσεν. | Ἀπολλώνιος Ἰσχυραῆος ἔποιε. Ramsay refers the *cippus* 'most probably to the second century after Christ,' adding 'I understand this inscription to be placed by Diogenes on the grave of his grandparents; in preparing the grave Diogenes considers that he is dedicating the spot to Zeus Bennis. The grave is a shrine of Zeus, and the funeral offerings to the dead were considered at the same time as offerings to Zeus.' *Id. ib.* p. 258 f. no. 10 on a *stèle* at *Serea (Kuzujak)*, three hours north-west of *Nakoleia Μάρκος | Μάρκον | Διὶ Βροντῶν|τι καὶ Βεννέ | Σεραεῶ στ|έφανον*. Ramsay remarks: 'Here it is evident that Bennis, or Zeus Benneus, the god of the western side [of the mountains], and Pappas, or Zeus Bronton, the god of the eastern side, are expressly identified.' Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 774 = *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii Add. no. 3857 l = G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie* etc. Paris 1872 i. 122 f. no. 86 on a cylindrical *cippus* at *Altyntash ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοκράτορος | Νερούα Τραϊανοῦ Κάλσαρος | Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ | Δακικοῦ νεκρῆς Διὶ Βεννίῳ | Μηνοφάνης Τειμοδόου | τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέστησεν | Βεννεσισηνῶν*. W. M. Ramsay *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor (Royal Geographical Society: Supplementary Papers* iv) London 1890 p. 144 f. (cp. S. Reinach *Chroniques d'orient* Paris 1891 p. 498) was the first to read the concluding line aright as Βεννέ Σονῶν, Soa being the chief town of the Praipennisis in the neighbourhood of *Altyntash*, whose priests, the Βεννεῖται, are mentioned in another inscription from the same locality (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 3857 between Aizanoi and Kotiaeiou Τρόφον Μενίσκου Διὶ | καὶ τοῖς Βεννεῖταις). W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1887 viii. 512 f. takes Zeus Βέννιος or Βεννεύς to mean 'he who stands on a Car,' cp. the Gallic (Paul. ex Fest. p. 32, 14 Müller, p. 29, 24 f. Lindsay *benna* lingua Gallica genus vehiculi appellatur, unde vocantur conbennones in eadem benna sedentes), Messapien (W. Deecke in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1882 xxxvii. 385 f. no. 22), and Thraco-Illyrian word *benna* (Steph. Byz. s.v. Βέννα, πόλις Θράκης, κ.τ.λ., *Thes. Ling. Lat.* ii. 1907, 48 f. Bennisus, 69 f. Bensus).

(24) Bithynia (?). J. H. Mordtmann in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1885 viii. 198 no. 18 publishes a miniature base from the coast of Asia Minor inscribed ἀγαθῇ τύχη· | Θεῶ Ἰψίστῳ | Ἀσκληπιόδοτος Σωσιπάτρου κατὰ δ'ναρ.

(25) Paphlagonia. Inscriptions from the district of Sinope record the cult of the Θεὸς Ἰψίστος (G. Doublet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1889 xiii. 303 f. no. 7 = D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1905 ix. 306 no. 29 Θεῶ Ἰψίστῳ | Ἄλιος Θρεπτιῶν, | Ποντιανός, Σεουήρος, Μάκερ, οἱ | ἀδελφοὶ ('brethren' in a religious sense) εὐξάμενοι) or Θεὸς Μέγας Ἰψίστος (G. Mendel in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1903 xxvii. 333 no. 49 = D. M. Robinson *loc. cit.* p. 304 no. 26 with fig. on a marble altar pierced to serve as base for a post at *Emrilé* near *Chalabdé* Θεῶ Μεγάλῳ | Ἰψίστῳ εὐχῆς | χάρῳ ἀνέ|θηκε . . . [λ]ος | μετὰ [τῆς γυ]ναί[κ]ος Που[φ]ει[νης]).

(26) Pontos. J. G. C. Anderson—F. Cumont—H. Grégoire *Recueil des Inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie (Studia Pontica* iii) Bruxelles ii no. 284 Sebastopolis (cited by F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 448).

(27) Bosphoros Kimmerios. Gorgippia (*Anapa*) (B. Latyschev *Inscriptiones antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae* Petropoli 1890 ii. 208 ff. no. 400, 1 ff. (manumission of a slave) Θεῶ Ἰψίστῳ παντοκράτορι εὐλογητῷ, βασιλεύοντος βασιλέως [Πολέμωνος] φιλο|γερωμα|νικῆ καὶ φιλοπατρίδος, ἔτους η'λτ' (338 of the Bosphoran era = 41 A.D.), μηνὸς Δελίου, Πόθος Στ[ρ]άτωνος ἀνέθηκεν <ἐν> | τῆι [προσ]ευχῆι κατ' εὐχ[ῆ]ν θρεπτήν ἑαυτοῦ, ἧ ὄνομα Χρῦσα, ἐφ' ᾧ ἡ ἀνέπαφος καὶ ἀνεπηρέαστος | ἀπὸ παντὸς κληρο-

ν[όμ]ου ὑπὸ Δία, Γῆν, Ἥλιον. "Ἡλιον" (cp. *supra* p. 729 n. ο), no. 401, 1 ff. = R. Cagnat *Inscriptions Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* Paris 1911 i. 299 no. 911 (manumission of a slave) [Θεῶ Ἰψίστω παν] [τοκράτ]ορι εὐλο[γῆ] [τ]ῶ βασιλεύοντ[ος] | βασιλέως Τιβερίου Ἰ<ω>|ουλλου<λου> Σαυρομά[του] (sc. Tib. Iulius Sauromates ii, king of Bosphoros in the time of Caracalla) φιλοκαίσαρος καὶ φιλωρμαίου εὐσεβοῦς | Τειμύθεος Νυμφαγύρου Μακαρίου σὺν | ἀδελφῆς Ἥλιδος γυναικὸς Νανοβαλαμύρου κατὰ εὐχὴν | πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νυμφαγύρου Μακαρίου | ἀφελόμεν τὴν θρηπ[τὴν ἡμῶν Δ]ωρέαν | [Ἐλευθέραν --], B. Latyschev *op. cit.* Petropoli 1901 iv. 249 ff. no. 436 b, 4 Θεῶ Ἰψίστω --, 15 [-] Θεῶ Ἰψίστω Ποθῆ[ν]ος --] i.e. the name of the god inserted twice in a list of his worshippers).

Tanais (B. Latyschev *op. cit.* Petropoli 1890 ii. 246 ff. nos. 437—467, R. Cagnat *op. cit.* i. 300 ff. nos. 915—921, of which some samples must serve: no. 437, 1 ff. = no. 915, 1 ff. (topped by relief of gable with shield inside and eagle on apex: see L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pé.* 1870—1871 p. 230 f. fig.) [Θεῶ Ἰψίστωι ζ εὐχῆ]. | [β]ασιλεύοντος βασιλέως Τιβερίου | [Ἰ]ουλίου Ῥοιμητάλκου (sc. Tib. Iulius Rhoemetalces, king of Bosphoros in the time of Hadrian) φιλοκαίσαρος καὶ | φιλωρμαίου εὐσεβοῦς, ἐν τῷ... ἔτει. | μηρὸς Περειτίου ἧ, [ἡ σύνοδος ἡ περὶ] | ἱερέα Πόπλιον Χαρ[ίτωνος (?) καὶ πατέρα συν]όδου Ἄντ[ιμαχον] τοῦ δέωνο --], no. 447, 1 ff. ἀγαθῆ τύχη | Θεῶ Ἰψίστω ἐπηκόω ἡ σύνοδος περὶ Θεὸν Ἰψίστον καὶ ἱερέα Χόφρασμον | Φοργαβάκου καὶ συναγωγὸν Εὐπρέπην | Συμφόρου καὶ φιλάγαθον Ἄντιμαχον Πα[σίωνος καὶ παραφιλάγαθον Σύμφορον Δημητρίου καὶ γυμνασιάρχην Βαλλῶδιν Δημητρίου καὶ νιανισκάρχην Σανάνων Χοφράσμον καὶ οἱ | λοιποὶ θιασῶται. κ.τ.λ., no. 449, 1 ff. = no. 918, 1 ff. (with incised decoration of two eagles and a wreath between them: see L. Stephani *loc. cit.* p. 254 ff. fig.) Θεῶι [Ἰψίστωι] | βασιλεύοντος βασιλέως Τιβερίου | Ἰουλίου Ῥησκουπθρίδος (sc. Tib. Iulius Rhescuporis, king of Bosphoros 212—229 A.D.) φιλοκαίσαρος καὶ φιλωρμαίου εὐσεβοῦς | Ἰσποιητοῖ (= εἰσποιητοί, 'adoptives') ἀδελφοὶ σεβόμενοι | [Θεὸν] Ἰψίστον ἀι[έστησαν τὸν] | τελαμῶνα ἐνγ[ράψαντες ἐαυτῶν] | τὰ ὄνματα. κ.τ.λ., no. 452, 1 ff. = no. 920, 1 ff. ἀγαθῆ τύχη | Θεῶ Ἰψίστω εὐχῆ. | βασιλεύοντ[ος] βασιλέως Τιβερίου | [Ἰ]ουλίου Κό[τ]υος (sc. Tib. Iulius Cotys, king of Bosphoros c. 228—234 A.D.) φιλοκαίσαρος καὶ φιλωρμαίου εὐσεβοῦς εἰσποιητοὶ | ἀδελφοὶ σεβόμενοι Θεὸν Ἰψίστον | ἐνγρ[άψαντες] ἐαυτῶν τὰ ὄνματα καὶ περὶ πρεσβύτερον (sc. the senior of the adoptive brethren) Μ..... Ἡρακλεῖδου καὶ Ἀρίστωνα [Μ]ενεστράτου καὶ Καλλίγ[έν]ην Μύ[ρ]ωνος, Ἀλεξίωνα Πατρόκλου, κ.τ.λ. (list of names), 17 τὸν δὲ τελαμῶ[ν]α ἐδώρησατο τοῖς ἀδελ[φ]οῖς Σαμβίω[ν] Ἐλπίδιωνος. Φούρτας Ἀγαθοῦ, Ἀγαθήμερος Ποπλιου. | ἐν τῷ ἐκτῷ ἔτει (525 of the Bosphoran era = 228 A.D.), Γορπάλου α', no. 454, 1 ff. ἀγαθῆ τύχη | Θεῶ Ἰψίστω ἐπηκόω εὐχῆ ἡ σύνοδος περὶ | ἱερέα Πάταν Χρήστου καὶ [σ]υναγωγὸν Νυμφέρωτα Ὀχωζιάκου κ[α]ὶ φιλάγαθον Θέωνα | Φαζινάμου κ[α]ὶ παραφιλά[α] (γ)αθον Φαζιναμίου Καλλιστ[ε]ωνος καὶ γυμνασιάρχην Μακάριον Μαστοῦ καὶ νιανισκάρχην Ζῆθον Ζήθου | κ[α]ὶ οἱ λοιποὶ θιασῶται. κ.τ.λ.

These inscriptions have been studied by L. Stephani, I. V. Pomjalónskij, V. V. Látyshev, E. Schürer, E. H. Minns, and others. L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pé.* 1870—1871 p. 228 ff. argued that the Θεὸς Ἰψίστος, whose emblem was an eagle, must have been the Greek Zeus, but that the regular omission of the name Zeus implies an incipient Christianisation of his cult. I. V. Pomjalónskij in the *Transactions of the Sixth (1884) Archaeological Congress at Odessa* (published in Russian) Odessa 1888 ii. 24 ff. compared the god with Zeus Σωτήρ, Zeus Στράτιος, Zeus Λαβράνδος, Zeus Χρυσαιορέως, etc. and saw no reason to regard his epithets Ἰψίστος, Ἐπήκοος as indicative of Christian influence. B. Latyschev *op. cit.* Petropoli 1890 ii 246 f., in view of the dedication Θεῶ Ἐπηκόω Ἰψίστω by a θιασος Σεβαζιανός (*supra* no. (11)), concluded that here too the god worshipped was Sabázios—a possible link between Zeus and the κύριος Σεβαζῶθ (*supra* i. 234 n. 4, 400 n. 6, 425 n. 2). But E. Schürer 'Die Juden im bosporanischen Reiche und die Genossenschaften der σεβόμενοι θεὸν Ἰψίστον ebendasselbst' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1897 p. 200 ff. (followed e.g. by E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. 620 ff. and F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 448) has made it clear that the worshippers were Bosphoran Jews, who however did not scruple to use the gentile formula ὑπὸ Δία, Γῆν, Ἥλιον. Their worship was a compromise between the strictly Semitic and the strictly Hellenic ('weder Judenthum noch Heidenthum, son-

dern eine Neutralisierung beider'). At Tanais, for example, there were several small religious societies (*θλασοί, συνόδοι*), each comprising some 15 to 40 members (*θιασῶται, θιασῖται, θιεσεῖται, συνοδέται*). These members were either of recent introduction (*εἰσποιητοὶ ἀδελφοί*) or of senior standing (*πρεσβύτεροι*). Their officers in descending order were *ιερέυς, πατήρ συνόδου, συναγωγός, φιλάγαθος, παραφιλάγαθος, γυμνασιάρχης, νεαυκακάρχης, γραμματεὺς* (omissions and transpositions occur). Their aims included the cult of the θεός Ὑψιστος, the education of the young, and (to judge from similar inscriptions at Pantikapaion) the due burial of the brethren.

(28) Kappadokia. An analogous blend of Jewish and Persian beliefs is found in the case of the Ὑψιστάριοι, according to Gregory of Nazianzos, whose own father had belonged originally to this sect (Greg. Naz. *or.* 18. 5 (xxxv. 989 D—992 A Migne) *ἐκείνοι τοίνυν... ῥίξεις ἐγένετο βλάστημα οὐκ ἐπαυετής... ἐκ δυοῖν τῶν ἐναντιωτάτων συγκεκραμένης, Ἑλληνικῆς τε πλάνης καὶ νομικῆς τερατείας· ὧν ἀμφοτέρων τὰ μέρη φυγῶν ἐκ μερῶν συνετέθη. τῆς μὲν γὰρ τὰ εἰδῶλα καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἀποπεμπόμενοι τιμῶσι τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὰ λύχνα· τῆς δὲ τὸ σάββατον αἰδούμενοι καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ βρώματα ἔστιν ἄμικρολογίαν τὴν περιτομὴν ἀτιμάζουσιν. Ὑψιστάριοι τοῖς ταπεινοῖς ὄνομα, καὶ ὁ Παντοκράτωρ δὴ μόνος αὐτοῖς σεβάσμιος). Gregory of Nyssa speaks of the same sect as Ὑψιστιανοί (Greg. Nyss. *contra Eunomium* 2 (xlv. 481 D—484 A Migne) ὁ γὰρ ὁμολογῶν τὸν πατέρα πάντοτε καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχειν, ἕνα καὶ μόνον ὄντα, τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας κρατῖναι λόγον... εἰ δὲ ἄλλον τινὰ παρὰ τὸν πατέρα θεὸν ἀναπλάσσει, Ἰουδαίους διαλεγέσθω ἢ τοῖς λεγομένοις Ὑψιστιανοῖς· ὧν αὕτη ἔστιν ἡ πρὸς τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς διαφορά, τὸ θεὸν μὲν αὐτοῖς ὁμολογεῖν εἶναι τινα, ὃν ὀνομάζουσιν Ὑψιστον ἢ Παντοκράτορα· πατέρα δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι μὴ παραδέχσασθαι). See further C. Ullmann *De Hypsistariis, seculi post Christum natum quarti secta, commentatio* Heidelbergae 1823 pp. 1—34, G. Boehmer *De Hypsistariis opinionibusque, quae super eis propositae sunt, commentationem* etc. Berolini 1824 pp. 1—102, W. Boehmer *Einige Bemerkungen zu den von dem Herrn Prof. Dr. Ullmann und mir aufgestellten Ansichten über den Ursprung und den Charakter der Hypsistariier* Hamburg 1826 pp. 1—75, G. T. Stokes in Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iii. 188 f.*

(29) Syria. Palmyra (*Tadmor*) (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4503 = Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* iii no. 2571 *b* on a bilingual altar now at Oxford Δι' Ὑψίστῳ καὶ [Ε]πὴκῶς Ἰου(λίος) Ἀνρ(ήλιος) Ἀνρ(ήλιος) Ἀνρ(ήλιος) ἄνρ(ήλιος) καὶ | Ἀλαφῶνας Ἀαίλαμεί του Ζηροβ[ι]ου του Ἀκοπάου | εὐξάμενος ἀνέ[θ]ηκεν, ἔτους δμϛ', | Ἀύδυναίου κδ' (=Jan. 24, 233 A.D.) = C. J. M. de Vogüé *Inscriptions sémitiques* Paris 1868 p. 74 no. 123*a* iii with translation of the Palmyrene text 'Action de grâces à celui dont le nom est béni dans l'éternité' etc. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4502 = Lebas—Waddington *op. cit.* iii no. 2571 *c* = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr.* no. 634 on an altar near the great sulphurous spring at the entrance to the town Δι' Ὑψίστῳ Μεγίστῳ Ἐπηκῶς Βωλάνος Ζηροβ[ι]ου | του Αἰράνου του Μοκίμου του Μαθθά, ἐπιμελητῆς | αἰρεθῆς Ἐφκας πηγῆς (I. Benzinger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2859) ὑπὸ Ἰαρβιάου του θεοῦ (*supra* p. 814 n. 3) τὸν βω(μ)δ(ν) | ἐξ ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν, ἔτους δου', μηνὸς Ὑπερβερεταίου κ' (=Oct. 20, 162 A.D.). Lebas—Waddington *op. cit.* iii no. 2572 on an altar in the Mohammedan cemetery Δι' Ὑψίστῳ καὶ Ἐπηκῶς τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέθηκεν Ἰούλιος Σ.ιυς ἀπέλευθερο(s) Γαῦου <S> | Του[λ]λου Βάσσου ὑπὲρ σω[ω]τηρίας Ἰλείβας υἱοῦ(ῦ) | αὐτοῦ, ἔτους μν', μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ (=April 179 A.D.). Lebas—Waddington *op. cit.* iii no. 2573 on a fragmentary altar from the same site Δι' Ὑψίστῳ Α[ύρ.] Διογένης Σωσιβίου ἅμα | Δόμνη εὐξάμενος καὶ ἐπακουσθέν[τες] [- - -] | [- - -]. Lebas—Waddington *op. cit.* iii no. 2574 on a small altar from the same site Δι' Ὑψίστῳ | καὶ Ἐπηκῶς | εὐξάμενος | ἀνέθηκεν | Α...ευρος καὶ | Σῶπατρος καὶ | Θεῶ Μεγάλῳ | Σαλλούγτῳ (?) | Ἐνεουάρει (?) | [- - -]. Lebas—Waddington *op. cit.* iii no. 2575 on a small bilingual altar from the same site Δι' Ὑψίστῳ καὶ Ἐπηκῶς τὸν βωμὸν ἀν[έ]θηκεν εὐχαριστ[ῶ]ν ὁ δεῖνα | [- - -] = C. J. M. de Vogüé *op. cit.* p. 68 no. 101, who reads εὐχαριστ[ω]ν[ς] [- - -] and renders the Palmyrene text 'Que soit béni son nom à toujours : le bon et le miséricordieux !' etc. M. Sobernheim *Palmyrenische Inschriften (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 1905 x, 2) Berlin 1905 p. 38 f. no. 31 on a *stèle* built into the western wall of the steps leading up to the roof of the 'Fahnenheiligtum'; the pilasters of the *stèle* have Corinthian capitals adorned with filleted wreath and winged thunderbolt [Δι' Ὑψί]στ[ω] καὶ | Ἐ[π]ηκῶς - - - | [- - -] τῶν κα[ρ]πῶν, οὐς [έ]κ [ταύτ]ης [τῆς χώρας] | [- - -] κατ' ἔτος τ[ε] ἀ[γ]αθῆ ἡμέρα διὰ π[α]ντὸς ε[- - -] |

[— — ετους] δου', μηνὶ Ξανδικῶ 5 (= April 6, 163 A.D.). M. Sobernheim *op. cit.* p. 40 no. 20 on a *cippus* built into the eastern wall of the small court in front of the 'Fahnenheiligtum' Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ καὶ Ἐπηκῶ ὁ δεῖνα | ὁ καὶ Ἰαριβω[λέης τοῦ δεῖνα]. M. Sobernheim *op. cit.* p. 40 ff. no. 34 pls. 16, 17 on a bilingual *cippus* in the court before the 'Fahnenheiligtum' Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ καὶ Ἐπηκῶ τὸν βωμὸν | ἀνέθηκεν Ζαβδὼβ[λος τοῦ Ἰαριβωλέους] | τοῦ Λισαμαλοῦ τοῦ Αἰ[ράνου ὑπὲρ τῆς] | ὑγείας αὐτοῦ καὶ τέκνων[καὶ] | ἀδελφῶν, ετους δμου' Ὑ[περβεραλοῦ] (= October 132 A.D.) followed by a Palmyrene text, which he translates 'Diesen [Altar] brachte dar dem, dessen Namen in Ewigkeit gesegnet sei,' etc. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4500 = Lebas—Waddington *op. cit.* iii no. 2627. Some 3½ hours from Palmyra on the road to Emesa are three large altars of similar size placed close together; that on the east has a relief representing a large thunderbolt and a bilingual inscription; that on the west has a similar relief and inscription, except for a variant in the Palmyrene text; that in the centre is damaged and appears to have a different emblem but the same inscription Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ καὶ Ἐπηκῶ ἡ πόλις εὐχὴν· | ετους εκύ', Δύστρου ακ' (= March 21, 114 A.D.), ἐπι ἀργυροταμιῶν Ζεβελδου Θαιμοσαμέδων καὶ Μοκίμου Ἰαριβωλέους καὶ Ἰαριλου Νουρβήλου καὶ Ἀνανίδος Μάλαχου = C. J. M. de Vogüé *op. cit.* p. 74 f. no. 124, who renders the Palmyrene text 'La ville (de Thadmor) a élevé (cet autel) à celui dont le nom est béni à toujours,' etc. R. Dussaud *Mission dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie* (extr. from the *Nouvelles Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires* x) Paris 1903 p. 238 no. 2 a dedication, south of Damaskos, Διὶ Μεγίστῳ Ὑψίστῳ (quoted by F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 445). The Syrian Zeus Ὑψιστος is probably *Ba'al-shamin* (M. Sobernheim *op. cit.* pp. 41, 43, 44 f.; *supra* i. 8, 191 f.).

(30) Phoinike. Sanchouniathon of Berytos (*supra* i. 191) in Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2. 12 f. (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 567 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* i. 10. 14 f. κατὰ τοὺτους γίνεταί τις Ἐλιοῦν καλούμενος Ὑψιστος καὶ θήλεια λεγομένη Βηρούθ, οἱ καὶ κατ'ἴκον περι Βύβλου. ἐξ ὧν γεννᾶται Ἐπίγειος ἢ Αὐτόχθων (W. Dindorf reads Ἐπίγειος αὐτόχθων), δν ὕστερον ἐκάλεσαν Οὐρανόν· ὡς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς στοιχείον δι' ὑπερβολῆν τοῦ κάλλους ὀνομάζειν οὐρανόν. γεννᾶται δὲ τούτῳ ἀδελφῆ ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων, ἡ καὶ ἐκλήθη Γῆ, καὶ διὰ τὸ κάλλος ἀπ' αὐτῆς, φησὶν, ἐκάλεσαν τὴν ὀνόνημον γῆν. ὁ δὲ τούτων πατὴρ ὁ Ὑψιστος ἐν συμβολῇ θηρίων τελευτήσας ἀφιέρωθη, ᾧ χοὰς καὶ θυσίας οἱ παῖδες ἐτέλεσαν. Here Ἐλιοῦν is but the Phoenician for Ὑψιστος, who naturally weds Βηρούθ because he is the solar Ba'al of Berytos (R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 140 f.). W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 p. 76 supposes a blend of Adonis (killed by the boar) with the 'Kronos' of Byblos. Two votive hands of bronze formerly in the collection of M. Péretié at *Beirut* are dedicated to the θεὸς Ὑψιστος (M. Beaudouin—E. Pottier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 265 no. 20 [ἡ δεῖνα] | εἰξ[α]μένῃ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς[s] | καὶ Θ[ε]οῦ ὀδῶ[ρον ἀνδρῶ[s]] | καὶ τέκνων | Θεῶ Ὑψίστῳ, *ib.* no. 21 Θεῶ Ὑψίστῳ Γηριῶν ἐξά[μ]ενος ἀνέθη[κ]εν in dotted letters), as is a third described in the *Catalogue de la Collection Hoffmann*, Bronzes, no. 570 (F. Cumont in R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* p. 122). The god in question is presumably Adad or Rammān, the Zeus or Iupiter of Heliopolis (R. Dussaud *ib.* p. 123 f., F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 445). Possibly some confusion of *Rammān* (*supra* i. 576) with *Rama*, *Ramath*, *Ramatha*, 'Height' (Beer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 132), underlies the glosses in Hesych. ράμα· ὑψηλή, ράμας· ὁ ὕψιστος θεός, and the aetiological tale in Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λαοδίκεια· πόλις τῆς Συρίας, ἡ πρότερον Λευκὴ ἀκτὴ λεγομένη καὶ πρὸ τούτου Ῥάμιθα. κεραυνωθεὶς γὰρ τις ἐν αὐτῇ ποιμὴν ἔλεγε ραμάνθας, τουτέστιν ἀφ' ὕψους ὁ θεός· ράμαν γὰρ τὸ ὕψος, ἄθας δὲ ὁ θεός. οὕτω Φίλων. At *Sahin*, five hours from Antarakos (*Tortosa*, *Tartús*), is the dedication [Θε]ῶ Ὑψίστῳ Οὐρανίῳ Ὑπάτω καὶ Ἠλίῳ Ἀνικήτῳ (?) | [Μί]θρα ὁ βωμὸς ἐκτίσθη[.....] | [ὁ]ρθῶς ἐν τῷ κφ' (= 208 A.D.), ἐπικρατεῖται (?) | [ὑπὲρ] σωτηρίας Θεοφ[ρά]στου | ἐπι ἀρχῆς Σολωμαν[οῦ.....] (E. Renan *Mission de Phénicie* Paris 1864 p. 103 f., F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 ii. 92 no. 5).

At *Abédut* above the door of the church of Mar-Eusebios is a block inscribed ἀγαθῆι τύχη· | ετους ιζ' Καίσαρος Ἀντωνίου τοῦ κυρίου, | μηνὸς Δῶνου (= August 154 A.D.), Διὶ Οὐρανίῳ Ὑψίστῳ Σααρναίῳ (a title derived from the ancient name of the village (?)) Ἐπηκῶ | Γ. Φλάουιος [Γ]λάφυρος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέθηκα (E. Renan *op. cit.*

p. 234 ff. = R. Cagnat—G. Lafaye *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* Paris 1906 iii. 406 no. 1060. At Byblos (*Djebeil*), some six hours north of Berytos, is a square statue-base lettered Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ | Πεκουλιάριος | Μάρθας Δ(ημ)η(τρ)λου (?). The upper part of the base shows in relief a bust of the god, facing. He is bearded, and clad in *chiton* and *himation*, with thunderbolt and sceptre to his right and left (R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1896 i. 299 f. with fig. (inadequate), S. Ronzevalle in the *Revue biblique internationale* 1903 xii. 405 ff. with photographic cut). Ronzevalle *loc. cit.* contends 'que l'*Hypsistos* de Byblos n'est autre que l'antique *Moloch-Kronos* de la même ville': cp. W. W. Baudissin *op. cit.* p. 76 n. 4.

(31) Samaria. On Mt Argarizon (Gerizim) near Neapolis (*Nablûs*) was a sanctuary of Zeus Ὑψίστος, to whom Abraham had devoted himself (Marinos in Damask. *v. Isid. ap. Phot. bibl.* p. 345b 18 ff. Bekker *ὅτι ὁ διάδοχος Πιρόκλου, φησίν, ὁ Μαρίνος, γένος ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ Νέας πόλεως, πρὸς θρεῖ κατωκισμένης τῷ Ἀργαρίξῳ καλουμένην. εἶτα βλασφημῶν ὁ δυσσεβῆς φησὶν ὁ συγγραφεὺς, ἐν ᾧ Διὸς Ὑψίστου ἀγιώτατον ἱερὸν, ᾧ καθιέρωτο Ἀβραάμ ὁ τῶν πάλαι Ἑβραίων πρόγονος, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν ὁ Μαρίνος*); cp. Deut. 11. 29, 27. 12 with Gen. 12. 6f.: Jehovah, from the heathen point of view, was 'a god of the hills' (1 Kings 20. 23). Sanballat built a temple on Mt Gerizim (Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 11. 8. 4), which during the persecutions of Antiochos iv Epiphanes was dedicated to Zeus Ἐλληγιος (*id. ib.* 12. 5. 5, Zonar. 4. 19 (i. 317 Dindorf)) or Ξένιος (2 Macc. 6. 2, Euseb. *chron. ann. Abr.* 1850 versio Armenia (ii. 126 Schoene) = Hieron. *chron. ann. Abr.* 1849 (ii. 127

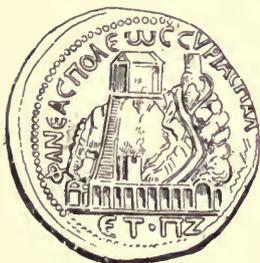


Fig. 818.



Fig. 819.

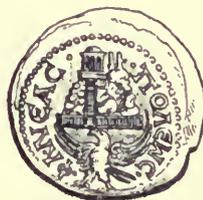


Fig. 820.

Schoene) in Samaria super verticem montis Garizi Iovis Peregrini delubrum aedificat, ipsis Samaritanis ut id faceret praecantibus). Sanballat's temple was destroyed by Ioannes Hyrkanos i in 129 B.C. (Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 13. 9. 1). But the mountain remained the centre of Samaritan worship (John 4. 20 f.), and coins of Flavia Neapolis from the reign of Antoninus Pius to that of Volusianus show it topped by a temple (Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*² iii. 433 ff., T. L. Donaldson *Architectura Numismatica* London 1859 p. 116 ff. no. 33, G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Palestine* pp. xxviii ff., 48 f. pl. 5, 14—16 Antoninus Pius, 59 pl. 6, 12 Macrinus, 60 f. nos. 94—100 Elagabalos, 63 nos. 112—115 Severus Alexander, no. 116 f. Philippus Senior, 66 f. pl. 7, 5 Philippus Senior and Philippus Iunior, 68 no. 135 Otacilia Severa, 69 pl. 7, 9 Philippus Iunior, 70 f. pl. 7, 13 Trebonianus Gallus, 73 pl. 7, 19 Volusianus; cp. pl. 39, 7 f., 12, pl. 40, 1, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 278 pl. 77, 25 Antoninus Pius, 281 pl. 77, 27 Volusianus, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 803. My figs. 818 and 820 are from F. De Saulcy *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 p. 247 f. pl. 13, 1 Antoninus Pius and pl. 14, 2 Volusianus. Fig. 819 is from a specimen struck by Macrinus, in my collection. Mt Gerizim is often supported by an eagle (e.g. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Palestine* pp. 63 no. 116 f. Philippus Senior, 66 f. pl. 7, 5 Philippus Senior and Philippus Iunior, 69 pl. 7, 9 Philippus Iunior, 73 pl. 7, 19 Volusianus) and sometimes flanked by a star (sun?) on the left and a crescent (moon) on the right (*ib.* p. 71 no. 153 f. Trebonianus Gallus): eagle and heavenly bodies would alike suit the worship of Zeus). Mr G. F. Hill *loc. cit.* p. xxviii f. describes the coin-type as follows: 'It shows two distinct peaks, the steepness of which is certainly exaggerated. On the left-hand peak is the

temple which, since it first appears on coins of Pius, is doubtless the temple of Zeus Hypsistos built by Hadrian [E. N. Adler—M. Sélignoh 'Une nouvelle chronique samaritaine' in the *Revue des études juives* 1902 xlv. 82 'le roi Hadrien vint à Sichem et fit du bien aux Samaritains; il fit construire pour lui un grand temple près du mont Garizim et le nomma Temple de Saphis...Le roi Hadrien prit les battants d'airain qui avaient été mis à la porte du temple de Salomon, fils de David, et les plaça à la porte du temple de Saphis,' *ib.* p. 233 'les battants d'airain que les gens de l'empereur Hadrien avaient enlevés du temple des Juifs à Jérusalem et placés dans le temple construit sur l'ordre d'Hadrien dans l'endroit choisi, le Mont Garizim...les battants d'airain enlevés par Hadrien au temple juif et placés par lui au temple qu'il a construit au pied du Mont Garizim.' Cp. the parallel passages in E. Vilmar *Abulfathi annales Samaritani* Gothæ 1865 and T. G. J. Juynboll *Chronicon Samaritanum, Arabice conscriptum, cui titulus est Liber Josuae Lugduni Batavorum* 1848 cap. 47 p. 188. But the chroniclers' description can hardly refer to a temple on the mountain-top. And C. Clermont-Ganneau in the *Journal des Savants* Nouvelle Série 1904 ii. 40 f., in view of the variants *sagaras* lib. Jos., *sapîs*, *sîpas* Abu'l Fath, *sapîs* chron. Adler, concludes that the god established by Hadrian was Jupiter Sarapis. This is certainly better than Jupiter *Sospes* the conjecture of E. N. Adler—M. Sélignoh *loc. cit.* p. 82 n. 2 or *Caesaris* the suggestion of T. G. J. Juynboll *op. cit.* p. 334 f.]. Behind it is a small erection which may be an external altar. On the other (right-hand) peak is a construction which seems again to be rather an altar than a small temple. Since the mountain is doubtless supposed to be seen from the town, i.e. from the north, this smaller peak must lie to the west of the larger. We may perhaps identify it with the spur west of the main summit on which are the ruins known as *Khâr bet Lôzeh* or *Luzah*, where is still the Samaritans' sacrificing place. The 300 steps by which, in the time of the Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333), one ascended to the summit [*Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society: Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem* trans. A. Stewart annot. Sir C. W. Wilson London 1887 p. 18], are indicated on the coins, with chapels at intervals, as on many another *sacro monte*; but no trace of them has been recorded as surviving to the present day. Along the foot of the mountain was a long colonnade; an opening gave access to the foot of the stair and to the road, perhaps for wheeled traffic, which wound up the hill between the two peaks, branching about half-way up.' Prokop. *de aed.* 5. 7. 2 states that the Samaritans worshipped the actual mountain-top, but denies that they had ever built a temple on it (τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὄρος κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οἱ Σαμαρείται εἶχον ὡς εὐδόμοι τε ἀνέβαινον ἐς τὴν τοῦ ὄρους ὑπερβολὴν, οὐδένα ἀνιέντες καιρὸν ὄυχ ὅτι ἐνὸν τινα ἐνταῦθα ᾠκοδομήσαντο πώποτε, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀκρῶρειαν αὐτὴν σεβόμενοι ἐτεθήπεσαν πάντων μάλιστα). He goes on to say (*ib.* 5. 7. 7) that Zenon, emperor of the East, expelled the Samaritans from the mountain, handed it over to the Christians, and built on the summit a church dedicated to the Virgin (τῇ θεοτόκῳ) with a wall, or rather a fence, about it. The *Chronicon Paschale* 327 B (i. 604 Dindorf) for the year 484 A.D. remarks ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ζήνων εὐθέως ἐποίησε τὴν συναγωγὴν αὐτῶν τὴν οὖσαν ἐς τὸ καλούμενον Γαργαρίδην εὐκτήριον οἶκον μέγαν τῆς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν τῆς θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας = Io. Malal. *chron.* 15 p. 382 f. Dindorf. For an account of the ruins still traceable on the mountain see Sir C. W. Wilson 'Ebal and Gerizim, 1866' in *Palestine Exploration Fund: Quarterly Statement for 1873* pp. 66—71 with plan, and for modern celebrations on the site J. A. Montgomery *The Samaritans* Philadelphia 1907 p. 34 ff. with photographic view (*ib.* pp. 322—346 Samaritan bibliography). I. Benzinger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 767 comments: 'Der Berg verdankt den heiligen Charakter seiner kosmischen Bedeutung: Ebal und G. zusammen sind für Palästina der doppelgipfelige Weltberg, der Gottesberg mit dem Pass dazwischen'—a dogmatic statement of a possible (cp. *supra* p. 422 ff.), but by no means proven, hypothesis.

(32) Ioudaia. The Hebrew Godhead in the later books of the Old Testament, in the Apokrypha, and in the New Testament is often styled (ὁ) Ὑψιστος, sometimes (ὁ) Θεὸς (ὁ) Ὑψιστος or Κύριος (ὁ) Ὑψιστος (details and statistics by E. Schürer in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1897 p. 214 f.). Cp. Philon in Flaccum 7 ὁ τοῦ Ὑψίστου Θεοῦ νεὺς, *leg. ad Gaium* 23 ἀπαρχὴν τῷ Ὑψίστῳ Θεῷ, 40 θυσίας ἐντελεῖς ὀλοκαυτὸς τῷ Ὑψίστῳ

Hýpsistos, however, was obviously susceptible of a less material interpretation. Accordingly, in Hellenistic times, the name of Zeus *Hýpsistos* became attached to the supreme deity of more than one non-Hellenic area. In Syria it meant *Ba'al-šamin*. In Samaria it meant Jehovah. Further denationalised, but still recognisable by his eagle (Athens, Thyateira, Mytilene, Tanais), the *Theòs Hýpsistos*—often called *Hýpsistos* and nothing more—was worshipped throughout the Greek-speaking world in early imperial days. The propagation of his cult was due, partly perhaps to a general trend towards monotheism, but mainly to definite Jewish influence. The Jews of the Dispersion, accustomed to use the term *Hýpsistos* of their own august Godhead, carried it with them into Gentile lands, where they formed small and—truth to tell—somewhat accommodating circles of worshippers (Moesia, Bosphoros Kimmerios, Kappadokia). Here and there they continued to light their ceremonial lamps (Pisidia, Lydia); but they could hardly be described as whole-hearted devotees of the Mosaic law. Thus

Θεῶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 16. 6. 2 ἀρχιερέως Θεοῦ Ὑψίστου, Celsus *ap. Orig. c. Cels.* 1. 24 μετὰ ταῦτά φησιν ὅτι οἱ ἀπὸλοι καὶ ποιμένες ἕνα ἐνόμισαν θεόν, εἶτε Ὑψίστου εἶτ' Ἀδωνατ εἶτ' Οὐράνιον εἶτε Σαβαώθ, εἶτε καὶ ὄπη καὶ ὄπωσ χαίρουσιν ὀνομαζόντες τόνδε τὸν κόσμον, 5. 41 οὐδὲν οὖν οἶμαι διαφέρειν Δία Ὑψίστου καλεῖν ἢ Ζῆνα ἢ Ἀδωναίων ἢ Σαβαώθ ἢ Ἄμουν, ὡς Αἰγύπτιοι, ἢ Παπαῖον, ὡς Σκύθαι, 45 Κέλσος οἰεταί μηδὲν διαφέρειν Δία Ὑψίστου καλεῖν ἢ Ζῆνα ἢ Ἀδωναίων ἢ Σαβαώθ ἢ, ὡς Αἰγύπτιοι, Ἄμουν ἢ, ὡς Σκύθαι, Παπαῖον, *Lyd. de mens.* 4. 53 p. 110, 4 ff. Wunsch καὶ Ἰουλιανὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅτε πρὸς Πιέρσας ἐστρατεύετο, γράφων Ἰουδαίους οὕτω φησίν· ἀνεγείρω γὰρ μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Ὑψίστου Θεοῦ, A. Dieterich 'Papyrus magica musei Lugdunensis Batavi' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1888 xvi. 797 verse 23 ff. κατ' ἐπιταγήν τοῦ Ὑψίστου Θεοῦ Ἰάω Ἀδωνατ ἀβ[λα]ναθαναβα (cp. A. Audollent *Defixionum tabellae Luteciae Parisiorum* 1904 p. 500 f.), | σὺ εἶ ὁ περιέχων τὰς χάριτας | [ἐ]ν τῇ κορυφῇ λαμπρῇ, C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 47 pap. Par. 1068 καλὸν καὶ λερόν φῶς τοῦ Ὑψίστου Θεοῦ, *ib.* p. 104 Brit. Mus. pap. 46. 45 ff. = F. G. Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* London 1893 i. 66 no. 46, 44 ff. καὶ διατήρησόν με καὶ τὸν παῖδα | τοῦτον ἀπημάντους ἐν ὄναμι | τοῦ Ὑψίστου Θεοῦ, *oracl. Sib.* 2. 245 Geffcken ἤξει καὶ Μωσῆς ὁ μέγας φίλος Ὑψίστοιο. *Aisch. frag.* 464. 12 Nauck² *ap. Iust. Mart. de monarch.* 2 δόξα δ' Ὑψίστου Θεοῦ (δ' om. Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 415, 15 Stählin = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 13. 13. 60) is a Jewish forgery.

(33) Aigyptos. The Jews of Athribis (*Bencha*) in Lower Egypt dedicated a house of prayer to the Θεὸς Ὑψίστος (S. Reinach in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1889 xiii. 178 ff. no. 1, cp. *id. Chroniques d'Orient* Paris 1891 p. 579, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 96 ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου (sc. Ptolemy v Eriphanes (205—181 B.C.) or Ptolemy vi Philometor (181—146 B.C.)) | καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας | Πτολεμαῖος Ἐπικύδου | ὁ ἐπιστάτης τῶν φυλακτικῶν | καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀθριβεῖ Ἰουδαῖοι | τὴν προσευχὴν | Θεῶι Ὑψίστωι). A woman of Alexandria invokes his aid (*Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien* 1872—1873 no. 12 p. 116 f. cited by E. Schürer in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1897 p. 213 and by J. G. C. Anderson—F. Cumont—H. Grégoire *Recueil des Inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie (Studia Pontica iii)* Bruxelles 1910 i. 17 Θεῶ Ὑψίστω καὶ πάντων Ἐπόπτῃ καὶ Ἠλιῶ καὶ Νεμέσεισι ἀρει Ἀρσεινὴ ἄωρος τὰς χεῖρας· ἢ (=εἰ) τις αὐτῆ φάρμακα ἐποίησε ἢ καὶ ἐπέχαρῃ τις αὐτῆς τῷ θανάτῳ ἢ ἐπιχαρεῖ, μετέλθετε αὐτοῦς. For the raised hands cp. *supra* no. (19) Rheneia).

(34) Africa. At Hadrumetum in Byzacium several curse-tablets invoke the *Deus Pelagicus Aerius Altissimus* Ἰάω (A. Audollent *Defixionum tabellae Luteciae Parisiorum* 1904 p. 403 ff. no. 290 ff., e.g. no. 293, B adiuro te demon | quicunque es et de|mando tibi ex hanc | die ex hanc ora ex oc | momento ut crucietur; adiuro te per eum | qui te resolvit ex vite | temporibus deum pelag|icum aerium altissim[um] | Iaw oi ou iaiasa iowiwe | o oriw aha | Lynceus (sc. the name of the horse to be cursed)). *Altissimus* = Ὑψίστος (F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 449).

their *milieu* on occasion provided a congenial soil for the growth of the Christian church. Indeed, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether a given dedication to the *Theòs Hýpsistos* was the work of a Jew or of a Jewish Christian (Phrygia). After all, *Hýpsistos* was a title that any honest man could use with a clear conscience¹.

Zeus appears as a mountain-god in connexion with the following localities:

Lakonike

Mount Taleton, a peak of Mount Taygeton².

The *Akrópolis* at Sparta³.

Cape Malea⁴.

Cape Tainaros (?)⁵.

Messene

Mount Ithome⁶.

¹ For *ὑψιστος* as applied to Zeus by the Greek poets see Bruchmann *Épith. deor.* p. 142.

² A broken *stèle* of white marble, now at Sparta (M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 43 f. no. 222), mentions Zeus *Taletritas* along with Auxesia and Damoia (J. de Protot *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 *Fasti sacri* p. 35 f. no. 14, 1 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 363, 1 f. cited *supra* i. 730 n. 6). The god derived his title from Mt Taleton (*supra* i. 155 f. pl. xiv), on which horses were sacrificed to Helios (Paus. 3. 20. 4 *ἀκρα δὲ τοῦ Ταῦγέτου Ταλετόν ὑπὲρ Βρυσεῶν ἀνέχει. ταύτην Ἡλίου καλοῦσιν Ιεράν, καὶ ἄλλα τε αὐτόθι Ἡλίω θύουσι καὶ ἵππους· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ Πέρσας οἶδα θύειν νομιζοντας. Supra* i. 180 n. 5); cp. the Cretan sun-god Talos (*supra* i. 719 ff.). The goddesses, Peloponnesian equivalents of Demeter and Kore, were worshipped at the foot of the mountain in Bryseai (*Kalybia Sochiotika*), where traces of an Eleusinian have come to light (H. von Prott in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1904 xxix. 8. *Id. ib.* p. 7 holds that Taleton was not the very summit of Taygeton, but a lower and more accessible crest).

³ Zeus *Ἰπτατος* (*supra* p. 875 n. 1 no. (4)).

⁴ Zeus *Μαλειαιὸς* (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Μαλέα* · ... καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μάλεια Μαλειαιὸς Ζεὺς).

⁵ Tainaros, who founded the Taenarian temple of Poseidon, was the son of Zeus (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Ταίναρος*). *Supra* i. 156.

⁶ Zeus *Ἰθωμάτας* had a cult, but no actual temple (D. Fimmen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 2306 quoting Oikonomakis *Τὰ σωζόμενα Ἰθώμης, Μεσσηνίας* 1879 p. 14 f.), on the top of Mt Ithome, where he had been brought up by the nymphs Ithome and Neda (Thouk. 1. 103, Paus. 4. 3. 9, 4. 12. 7 ff., 4. 27. 6, 4. 33. 1 f.). Water was carried daily from the spring Klepsydra to his sanctuary (Paus. 4. 33. 1). The statue of him made by Hageladas for the Messenians of Naupaktos was kept in the house of a priest annually chosen (Paus. 4. 33. 2 cited *supra* p. 741 n. 4); its type is reflected on coins of Messene (*supra* p. 741 f. figs. 673, 674). At Messene (M. N. Tod in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1905 xxv. 53 f. no. 11, 1 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 1399, 1 f. *τειχιόεσσα παρ' ἀγαλῶν | ἱρὸν Ἰθώμης Μεσσηνίας*) in s. i—ii A.D. the priest of Zeus *Ἰθωμάτας* was eponymous magistrate (*Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 1468, 4 ff. *ἐπὶ Ιερέος τοῦ | Διὸς τοῦ Ἰθωμάτου Ἀπελλίλιωρος τοῦ Φιλίππου*, cp. *ib.* no. 1467, 1 and no. 1469, 1). The yearly festival (*ib.* nos. 1467—1469 record as its officials *ἀγωνοθέτης, Ιεροθύται, γραμματεῦς, χαλειδοφόρος* (= *ἀκρατοφόρος*, cp. *χάλις*, 'pure wine')) was called *Ἰθωμαία* (Paus. 4. 33. 2), *Ἰθωμαία* or *Ἰθωμαῖς* (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Ἰθώμη* · ... καὶ Ζεὺς Ἰθωμάτας, καὶ ἑορτὴ Ἰθωμαία καὶ Ἰθωμαῖς). It dates back to the time of Eumelos (s. viii B.C.), and originally involved a musical competition (Paus. 4. 33. 2 *ἀγῶνι δὲ καὶ ἑορτὴν ἐπέτειον Ἰθωμαία· τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐτίθεισαν μουσικῆς. τεκμαίρεσθαι δ' ἔστιν ἄλλοις τε καὶ Εὐμήλου τοῖς ἔπαισιν· ἐποίησε γοῦν καὶ τάδε ἐν τῷ προσοδίῳ τῷ ἐς Δῆλον (Eumel. frag. 13 Kinkel, cp. Paus. 4. 4. 1, 5. 19. 10)· 'τῷ γὰρ Ἰθωμάτῳ καταθύμιος ἔπλετο Μοῖσα | ἀκαθάρων κίθαρην (ins. T. Bergk; but see H. W. Smyth *ad loc.*) > καὶ ἐλεύθερα σάμβαλ' ἔχουσα.' οὐκοῦν ποιῆσαι μὲν δοκεῖ τὰ ἔπη καὶ μουσικῆς ἀγῶνα ἐπιστάμενος τιθέντας). A tradition of human sacrifice (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 32) attached*

Elis

Mount Olympos¹.Olympia².

Arkadia

Mount Lykaion³.

to Mt Ithome, as to Mt Lykaion (*supra* i. 70 ff.); for Aristomenes is said to have slain 300 persons, including Theopompos king of Sparta, as an offering to Zeus Ἰθωμάτας (Clem. Al. *protr.* 3. 42. 2 p. 31, 23 ff. Stählin (=Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 16. 12) Ἀριστομένης γούν ὁ Μεσσηνίος τῷ Ἰθωμήτῃ Διὶ τριακοσίου ἀπέσφαξεν, τοσαύτας ὁμοῦ καὶ τοιαύτας καλλιερεῖν οἰόμενος εκατόμβας· ἐν οἷς καὶ Θεόπομπος ἦν <ὁ (Euseb.) > Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς, ἱερεῖον εὐγενές, Kyriell. Al. c. *Iul.* 4 (lxxvi. 696 D—697 A Migne) Ἀριστομένης μὲν γὰρ ὁ Μεσσηνίος τῷ ἐπίκλιτῃ Ἰθωμήτῃ Διὶ τριακοσίου ὁμοῦ νεκροὺς ἐχαρίζετο· προσετίθει δὲ τοῦτοις καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύσαντα· Θεόπομπος οὗτος ἦν· ἀξιάγαστος ἐντεῦθεν ὁ τῶν θεῶν ὑπατός τε καὶ ὑπέρτατος· ἐπεμειδία γὰρ κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἀνδράσιν ἀθλῶς διαλωλῶσι, καὶ πλήρη βλέπων τὸν ἐκείνων βωμῶν δαιτὸς εἴσης· ἐντρυφᾶν γὰρ ἔθος αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων συμφοραῖς). Philippos v of Makedonia (in 214 B.C.?) sacrificed to Zeus on Mt Ithome, took the entrails of the ox in both hands, and showed them to Aratos of Sikyon and Demetrios of Pharos, asking each for his interpretation of the omens (Plout. v. *Arat.* 50). The latest notice of Zeus Ἰθωμάτας is in Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 Ἐπίθετα Διὸς (51) ἰθωμήτου, 266 Ἐπίθετα Διὸς (43) ἰθωμήτου. Nowadays on the highest peak of Ithome the traveller sees a ruined monastery, a branch from that at *Fourkano*: its paved threshing-floor is the scene of the annual festival of the Panagia [Aug. 15], at which the peasants dance crowned with oleander-blossom (Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 437). Among the ruins lives a solitary monk (D. Fimmen *loc. cit.* p. 2307).

Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 22 infers a tree-cult of Zeus Ἰθωμάτας at Leuktron or Leuktra (*Leftro*) in Lakonike from Paus. 3. 26. 6 δ δὲ οἶδα ἐν τῇ πρὸς θαλάσση χώρᾳ τῆς Λευκτρικῆς ἐπὶ ἔμοῦ συμβάν, γράψω. ἀνεμὸς πῦρ ἐς ἕλην ἐνεγκῶν τὰ πολλὰ ἠφάνισε τῶν δένδρων· οἱ δὲ ἀνεφάνη τὸ χωρίον ψιλόν, ἀγαλμα ἐνταῦθα ἰδρμένον εὐρέθη Διὸς Ἰθωμάτα. τοῦτο ὡς Μεσσηνίολ φασι μαρτύριον εἶναι σφισι τὰ Λεῦκτρα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς Μεσσηνίας εἶναι. δύναιτο δ' ἂν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τὰ Λεῦκτρα ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἰκούντων ὁ Ἰθωμάτας Ζεὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔχει τιμάς. He justly cp. the figure of Dionysos found in a plane-tree broken by the wind at Magnesia ad Maeandrum (A. E. Kontoleon in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 xv. 330 ff. no. 1 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 856). We might also cite in this connexion a modern parallel from Ithome itself. Miss M. Hamilton (Mrs G. Dickins) *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 170 f. writes: 'According to the popular legend, the monks of the monastery of St. Basil on Mount Eva, opposite Ithome, saw one night a flaming tree on the opposite ridge. They crossed the valley and found this ikon of the Panagia on a tree, with a lighted candle beside it. They conveyed it across to their monastery, but it transferred itself miraculously back to the place at which it was found, and the monks believed themselves forced to change to the other ridge. Since then the monastery of St. Basil has been deserted. The trunk of the tree was made into the lintel of the monastery door, and it is said that at the festival it is hacked by the faithful, who take pieces of it as a cure for fever. The ikon is inscribed with reference to the legend—The Guide to the Hill of Ithome—Ὁδηγήτρια τῷ θρει Ἰθωμάτει. In celebration of the festival this ikon makes a short tour of the country. On 12th August it goes up from Voulkano to its old home with pomp and ceremony, accompanied by the monks and its worshippers, a goodly company, comprising a large number of babies brought to be baptised on the top of Ithome ... On the 15th a solemn procession reconducts the ikon to the lower monastery, and nine days later it is taken to Nisi, near Kalamata, where a fair ends the celebrations of the district. The rest of the year the ikon remains at Voulkano.'

¹ *Supra* i. 100, ii. 758.² Zeus Ἰψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (5)).³ Zeus Λύκαιος (*supra* i. 63—99, 154 f., 177 f.).

- A hill near Tegea¹.
 Trapezous².
 Korinthos
 Corinth³.
 Phliasia
 Mount Apesas⁴.
 Argolis
 The Larisa at Argos⁵.

¹ The high place on which stood most of the altars of the Tegeates was called after Zeus Κλάριος (Paus. 8. 53. 9 f. cited *supra* p. 874 n. 2). Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.* identify this eminence with the hill of St Sostis. See further *supra* p. 807 n. 2.

² Zeus Ἀκραῖος (*supra* p. 871 n. ο no. (3)).

³ Zeus Ὑψίστος (*supra* p. 878 n. ο no. (3)).

⁴ Apesas (*Phouka*) is a mountain which rises north of Nemea to a height of 873^m. It figured in two distinct myths. On the one hand, Perseus here sacrificed for the first time to Zeus Ἀπεσαντίος (Paus. 2. 15. 3 καὶ ὄρος Ἀπέσας ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὴν Νεμέαν, ἐνθα Περσεὺς πρῶτον Διὶ θύσαι λέγουσιν Ἀπεσαντίῳ, cp. Stat. *Theb.* 3. 460 ff., 633 ff.), also known as Zeus Ἀπέσας (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀπέσας· ὄρος τῆς Νεμέας, ὡς Πίνδαρος (*frag.* 295 Bergk⁴) καὶ Καλλιμαχος ἐν τρίτῃ (*frag.* 29 Schneider), ἀπὸ Ἀφέσαντος (*sic*) ἥρωος βασιλεύσαντος τῆς χώρας, ἣ διὰ τὴν ἀφῆσιν τῶν ἀρμάτων ἢ τοῦ λέοντος· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς σελήνης ἀφείθη. ἀφ' οὗ Ζεὺς Ἀπεσαντίος. Καλλιμαχος δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις (*frag.* 82 Schneider) τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἀπέσας φησὶ 'κοῦχ ὦδ' Ἀρείων τῶ Ἀπέσαντι παρ Διὶ | ἔθυσεν Ἀρκὰς ἵππος'). On the other hand, Deukalion on escaping from the deluge here built an altar of Zeus Ἀφέσιος (*ct. mag.* p. 176, 33 ff. Ἀφέσιος Ζεὺς ἐν Ἄργει τιμᾶται. εἰρηται δὲ ὅτι Δευκαλίων τοῦ κατακλιυμοῦ γενομένου διαφυγῶν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄκραν τὴν Ἄργου (so H. Usener for Ἄργου) διασωθεὶς ἰδρύσατο βωμὸν Ἀφεσίου Διός, ὅτι ἀφείθη ἐκ τοῦ κατακλιυμοῦ. ἣ δὲ ἄκρα ὕστερον Νεμέα ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ τῶν (τοῦ add. cod. V) Ἄργου βοσκημάτων ἐκεῖ νεμομένων. οὕτως Ἀρρειανὸς ἐτυμολογεῖ ἐν τῷ β' τῶν Βιθυνιακῶν (Atrian. *frag.* 26 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 591 Müller))). H. Usener *Die Sintfluthsagen* Bonn 1899 pp. 65 ff., 233 (cp. *id.* in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1901 lvi. 482 ff. = *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 383 ff.) contends that Δευκαλίων presupposes a simpler form *Δεῦ-καλος (whence Δευκαλίδαι), 'kleiner Zeus,' 'Zeusknäblein.' Other views are collected by K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 275 f. and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 446 n. 7, 718 e, 1100 n. 1, 1608 n. 3, *id. Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 456. Imperial coppers of Kleonai represent Mt Apesas as a rock surmounted by an altar with an eagle perched upon it (Rasche *Lex. Num.* Suppl. i. 1836 Septimius Severus, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 155 pl. 29, 8 = Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 9 no. 57 pl. 2 Julia Domna, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 154 no. 1 Geta, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 33 f. Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Geta). Traces of the altar of Zeus are still to be seen on the flat rocky summit (É. Puillon Boblaye *Recherches Géographiques sur les ruines de la Morée* Paris 1836 ii. 41 'M. Peytier y a vu quelques ruines qui doivent avoir appartenu à l'autel de Jupiter Apésantius,' E. Curtius *Peloponnesos* Gotha 1852 ii. 505 'der Apesas, auf dem sich bei einer verfallenen Kapelle Paláa Ekklesia genannt, noch Ruinen vom Heiligthume des Zeus Apesantios finden').

⁵ Zeus Λαρισαῖος had a roofless ναὸς with a wooden statue on the top of the Larisa at Argos (Paus. 2. 24. 3 ἐπ' ἄκρα δὲ ἐστὶ τῇ Λαρίσῃ Διὸς ἐπικλήσιν Λαρισαίου ναὸς, οὐκ ἔχων δροφον· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ξύλου πεποιημένον οὐκέτι ἐστηκὸς ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ βᾶθρῳ). Near it was a ναὸς of Athena containing a three-eyed χόανον of Zeus, said to have been the paternal god of Priamos (Paus. 2. 24. 3 f. continues καὶ Ἀθηναῖς δὲ ναὸς ἐστὶ θεῶς ἄξιος· ἐνταῦθα ἀναθήματα κείται καὶ ἄλλα καὶ Ζεὺς ξόανον, δύο μὲν ἢ πεφύκαμεν ἔχον ὀφθαλμούς, τρίτον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου. τοῦτον τὸν Δία Πριάμῳ φασὶν εἶναι τῷ Λαομέδοντος πατρῶον, ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τῆς αὐλῆς ἰδρυμένον, καὶ ὅτε ἤλισκετο ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Ἴλιον, ἐπὶ τούτου κατέφυγεν ὁ Πριάμος τὸν βωμὸν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ λάφυρα ἐνέμοντο λαμβάνει Σθένελος ὁ Καπανέως αὐτὸν, καὶ ἀνάκειται

Phalakron (?)¹.
Mount Kokkygion².

μὲν διὰ τοῦτο ἐνταῦθα· τρεῖς δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῷδε ἂν τις τεκμαίροιο αὐτόν. Δία γὰρ ἐν οὐρανῷ βασιλεύειν, οὗτος μὲν λόγος πάντων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων. δν δὲ ἄρχειν φασὶν ὑπὸ γῆς, ἐστὶν ἔπος τῶν Ὀμηρῶν (*Il.* 9. 457) Δία ὀνομάζον καὶ τοῦτον· 'Ζεὺς τε καταχθόνιος καὶ ἐπαινή Περσεφόνεια.' Δισχύλος δὲ ὁ Εὐφορίωνος (*frag.* 436 b Dindorf, who cp. Prokl. *in Plat. Crat.* 148 p. 83, 28 f. Pasquali ὁ δὲ δεύτερος διαδικῶς καλεῖται Ζεὺς ἐνάλιος καὶ Ποσειδῶν) καλεῖ Δία καὶ τὸν ἐν θαλάσῃ. τρισὶν οὖν ὄρωντα ἐποίησεν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὅστις δὴ τῆς ὁ ποιήσας; ἀτε ἐν ταῖς τριῶν λεγομέναις λήξουσιν ἄρχοντα τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον θεόν. This remarkable figure is mentioned also in schol. Eur. *Tro.* 16 τὸν δὲ ἔρκειον Δία ἄλλοι ἱστορικοὶ ἀναγράφουσιν ἴδιαν τιὰν σχέσιν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἱστοροῦντες, τρισὶν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτὸν κεχρησθῆαι φασιν, ὡς οἱ περὶ Ἄγλαν (*frag.* 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 292 f. Müller) καὶ Δερκύλον (*frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 386 Müller)). I formerly accepted Pausanias' explanation of the three eyes (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 174 f., 1904 xviii. 75 f., 325), but later came to the conclusion that it was merely a sophisticated attempt to account for a very primitive feature, plurality of eyes implying superhuman powers of sight and three being a typical plurality (*Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 282 ff., 1905 xvi. 275 f.). Excavations in the large court of the Venetian castle on the Larisa have brought to light the tufa foundations (11·70^m broad) of a building orientated towards the east. On the rock were sherds of geometric ware, and 14^m east of the building was a fifth-century inscription mentioning the Ἰλλεῖς (W. Vollgraff in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1904 xxviii. 429 no. 11). On the lower terrace of the Larisa, to the east, are the ruined foundations of a second building. These two may well be the temples of Zeus Λαρισσαῖος and of Athena respectively (*id. ib.* 1907 xxxi. 149). Steph. Byz. s.v. Λάρισσα·...καὶ ἡ ἀκρόπολις τοῦ Ἄργου Λάρισσα. καὶ ὁ πολῆτης Λαρισσαῖος καὶ Λαρισεύς Ζεὺς.

¹ Zeus Φαλακρός (*supra* p. 875 n. 2).

² There was a sanctuary of Zeus on the top of Mt Kokkygion (Paus. 2. 36. 2 ἱερά δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸδε ἐπὶ ἄκρων τῶν ὄρων, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Κοκκυγίῳ Διός, ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰρωνί ἐστὶν Ἥρας), where Zeus had become a cuckoo in order to woo Hera (schol. vet. Theokr. 15. 64 Ἄριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Ἑρμιόνης ἱερῶν (*frag.* 287 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 190 f. Müller) = Aristokles *frag.* (*ib.* iv. 330 f. Müller): but Grashof's cj. Ἄριστοκλῆς (cp. Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 4) for Ἄριστοτέλης codd. is far from certain) ἰδιωτέρως ἱστορεῖ περὶ τοῦ Διός καὶ [τοῦ τῆς (om. Wilamowitz)] Ἥρας γάμου. τὸν γὰρ Δία μυθολογεῖται ἐπιβουλεύειν τῇ Ἥρᾳ μιγῆναι, ὅτε αὐτὴν ἴδοι χωρισθεῖσαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. βουλόμενος δὲ ἀφανῆς γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ ὀφθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτῆς τὴν ὄψιν μεταβάλλει εἰς κόκκυγα καὶ καθέζεται εἰς ὄρος, ὃ πρῶτον μὲν Θρόναξ (Hemsterhuys cj. Θόρναξ (cp. Paus. 2. 36. 1)) ἐκαλεῖτο, νῦν δὲ Κόκκυξ. τὸν δὲ Δία χειμῶνα δειῶν ποιῆσαι τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ· τὴν δὲ Ἥραν πορευομένην μόνην ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς τὸ ὄρος καὶ καθέζεσθαι εἰς αὐτό, ὅπου νῦν ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Ἥρας Τελείας. τὸν δὲ κόκκυγα ἰδόντα καταπετασθῆναι καὶ καθεσθῆναι ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα αὐτῆς πεφρικότα καὶ ῥιγῶντα ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος. τὴν δὲ Ἥραν ἰδοῦσαν αὐτὸν οἰκτεῖν καὶ περιβαλεῖν τῇ ἀμπεχόνῃ. τὸν δὲ Δία εὐθέως μεταβαλεῖν τὴν ὄψιν καὶ ἐπιλαβέσθαι τῆς Ἥρας. τῆς δὲ τὴν μίξιν παραιτουμένης διὰ τὴν μητέρα, αὐτὸν ὑποσχέσθαι γυναῖκα αὐτὴν ποιήσασθαι. καὶ παρ' Ἄργεῖος δέ, οἱ μέγιστα (οἱ μέγιστοι codd. Hemsterhuys cj. οἱ μέγιστον vel μάλιστα. Ahrens cj. οἱ μέγιστα) τῶν Ἑλλήνων τιμῶσι τὴν θεόν, τὸ [δὲ (om. Hemsterhuys)] ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἥρας ἐν τῷ ναῷ καθήμενον ἐν [τῷ (om. Wendel)] θρόνῳ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχει σκήπτρον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ σκήπτρῳ κόκκυξ = Eudok. *viol.* 414^b, cp. Paus. 2. 17. 4, 2. 36. 1). For the chryselephantine statue by Polykleitos see Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 166 f. nos. 932—939, *id. Gr. Plastik*⁴ i. 509—511, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 509—512, 516, C. Waldstein (Sir C. Walston) 'The Argive Hera of Polykleitos' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 30—44 with pls. 2, 3, A. B. Cook 'Nephelokokkygia' in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway* Cambridge 1913 pp. 213—221 with pl. Cp. *supra* i. 532. The old name of the mountain, Θόρναξ or Θρόναξ, is said to have meant 'foot-stool' (Hesych. s.v. θόρναξ) and perhaps implies an ancient throne-cult (*supra* i. 134 f.). On Mt Thornax in Lakonike was a statue of Apollon Θορνάκιος (Hesych. s.v. θόρναξ, cp. Steph. Byz. s.v. Θόρναξ) or Ἰλυθαεὺς resembling that at

Mount Arachnaion¹.

Epidauros².

Aigina

The mountain of Zeus *Panhellénios*³.

Amyklai (Hdt. i. 69, Paus. 3. 10. 8), *i.e.* standing on a throne (Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 351 ff.). The hero Bouphagos shot by Artemis on Mt Pholoe was the son of Iapetos and Thormax (Paus. 8. 27. 17).

¹ Mt Arachnaion above Lessa had altars of Zeus and Hera, on which sacrifices were offered when there was a dearth of rain (Paus. 2. 25. 10 cited *supra* p. 467 n. 2). Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 233 f. says: 'This is the high, naked range on the left or northern side of the road as you go to the Epidaurian sanctuary from Argos. The most remarkable peak is Mt. *Arna*, the pointed rocky summit which rises immediately above the village of *Ligourio*. It is 3540 feet high. The western summit, Mt. *St. Elias*, is a little higher (3930 ft.)... The name Arachnaea is said to have been still used by the peasantry in the early part of this century. The altars of Zeus and Hera... appear to have stood in the hollow between the peaks of *Arna* and *St. Elias*, for there is here a square enclosure of Cyclopean masonry which would appear to have been an ancient place of worship.'

² Zeus *Káσιος* (P. Kabbadias in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1883 p. 87 no. 22 = W. Prellwitz in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 1. 150 no. 3330 = *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1287 a rectangular base of limestone inscribed Διὶ Κασίω | Ἐλληνοκράτης | Ἡρακλείδου with

the numeral λα' and the symbol



, on which see *infra* Append. L *init.*).

M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i. 286 observes: 'Iuppiter Casius notus erat in Graecia, postquam Traianus spolia e victoria contra Getas reportata in eius templum in Cario (*sic*) monte ad Euphratem situm dedicavit [*infra* Append. B Syria]... Hadriani fere aetate collocatus fuerit imperator.'

³ The highest peak in Aigina (531^m), a landmark for many miles around, is known nowadays as the *Oros*, sometimes also as *Hagios Elias* from the little chapel that crowns its summit. A. Furtwängler *Aegina* München 1906 i. 473 f. reports that excavations carried out in the spring of 1905 discovered an ancient settlement on the mountain-top. The site yielded a quantity of local ware, not unlike that from Troy, and also imported vases of late Mycenaean make. The inhabitants appear to have been Myrmidones, a division of the Thessalian Hellenes (C. Mueller *Aegineticorum liber* Berolini 1817 p. 14 ff.), whose heroes were Aiakos and the Aiakidai. They brought with them the cult of their Zeus Ἐλλάνιος, and Pindar represents the sons of Aiakos, when they prayed for the welfare of Aigina, as standing *πὰρ βωμῶν πατέρος Ἑλλανίου* (*Nem.* 5. 19). Zeus being a weather-god (*supra* p. 1 ff.); his mountain served as a public barometer (Theophr. *de signis tempest.* 1. 24 *καὶ ἐὰν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ [καὶ (om. J. G. Schneider)] ἐπὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἑλλανίου νεφέλη καθίζηται, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ὕδωρ γίνεται*). Tradition said that during a great drought the foremost Hellenes besought Aiakos, as son of Zeus by Aigina daughter of Asopos, to intercede with his father on behalf of all, that Aiakos did so with success, and that on the spot where he had prayed the whole people raised a common sanctuary (Isokr. 9 *Euagoras* 14 f., Diod. 4. 61, Apollod. 3. 12. 6, Clem. Al. *strom.* 6. 3 p. 444, 13 ff. Stählin, schol. Pind. *Nem.* 5. 17, Eudok. *viol.* 13). Accordingly this came to be called the sanctuary of Zeus Πανελλήνιος (Paus. 1. 44. 9 cited *infra* p. 895 n. 1, 2. 29. 7 f., 2. 30. 3 f.). Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 265 describes the site: 'On the northern slope of Mt. *Oros*..., in a wild and lonely valley, there is a terrace supported upon walls of great blocks of trachyte. On this terrace there is a ruined chapel of the Hagios Asomatos (the Archangel Michael), which is entirely built of fine pieces of ancient architecture. About the middle of the terrace there are a number of large flat stones laid at equal intervals, as if they had been the bases of columns.' In the ruins of St Michael's chapel was found a stone block bearing an

Megaris

A height near Megara¹.

archaic Greek inscription (Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 352, Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 146 f. no. 120, F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 1. 195 no. 3408, *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 6 Κωλιάδαις Ἀβλίων ἐποίησε Ἀπίλλου), perhaps the base of some offering to Zeus, whose cult was in time superseded by that of the Archangel (cp. G. F. Hill 'Apollo and St. Michael: some analogies' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1916 xxxvi. 134 ff., especially p. 145). It was however reserved for Furtwängler by the latest excavations of 1905 to produce definite epigraphic evidence that the terrace of Hagios Asomatos was indeed the sanctuary of Zeus Πανελλήνιος (A. Furtwängler *op. cit.* i. 5 f. with the excellent map by H. Thiersch appended to the volume). For Zeus Ἑλληνίος in the wider sense of the 'Hellenic,' i.e. national as opposed to foreign, god see O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 176.

¹ Paus. i. 44. 9 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τῆς ἄκρα (above the Scironian Rocks) Δίος εἰσὶν Ἀφείσιον καλούμενον ναὸς· φασὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ (H. Hitzig cj. ἐπὶ του) συμβάντος ποτὲ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν αὐχμοῦ θύσαντος Αἰακοῦ κατὰ τι δὴ λόγιον τῷ Πανελληνίῳ Διὶ ἐν Ἀλγίῳ κομισάντα δὲ ἀφείναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀφείσιον καλεῖσθαι τὸν Δία. Many attempts have been made to mend this broken passage. T. Panofka *Der Tod des Skiron und des Patroclus* Berlin 1836 pp. 4, 17 would read κομισάντα δὲ <ἄετον (sic) τὴν χελώνην> ἀφείναι on the strength of an engraved chalcedony at Berlin (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 121 f. no. 2614 pl. 23, T. Panofka *op. cit.* p. 23 pl. 4, 7, E. Brann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1836 viii. 317 f., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 267 Gemmentaf. 3, 10 = my fig. 821), which represents Zeus with a sceptre in his left hand, a tortoise in his right, and an eagle at his feet. This is ingenious; for ἠφίει... ἀφείνεντα... used in Paus. i. 44. 8 of Skiron and his tortoise prepare us for a second tortoise-story in explanation of the title Ἀφείσιος: but, as Frazer *Pausanias* i. 567 f. points out, the sentence remains ungrammatical. C. L. Kayser in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft* 1848 vi. 503 cj. ἐν Ἀλγίῳ <καὶ εὐξαμένου ὕδαρ ἀφείναι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γῆν ὑπα> κομισάντα τε ἀφείναι. H. G. Lolling in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1887 p. 214 proposed ἐν Ἀλγίῳ <ἄετον ἀρπάσαι τὸ ἱερίον εἰς δὲ τὴν ἄκραν> κομισάντα ἀφείναι, cp. schol. Aristoph. *nuβ.* 52. L. C. Valckenaer (see H. Hitzig in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1889 xxxv. 819) had suggested κομισάντα <ἐνθά> δε, which 'would still leave the verb ἀφείναι without either subject or object' (Frazer *loc. cit.*). And J. F. Facius in his edition (Lipsiae 1794 i. 173) had cj. Ἀλγίῳ καὶ θσαντὰ τε ἀφείναι. After all this stirabout H. Hitzig and F. Spiro are content to print the passage as it stands.



Fig. 821.

In 1887 H. G. Lolling recognised the site of this sanctuary, about an hour and a half to the south-west of Megara, at a place called *Sta Marmara*, some 850 ft above sea-level, though far below the mountain-crest (H. G. Lolling in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1887 p. 213 ff. with sketch-plan). D. Philios, who excavated it in 1889, discovered a small prostyle temple (6.40^m × 4.75^m) facing south-east. Of this nothing remained except three foundation-courses and the pavement; but the temple appears to have been of stone and certainly had stone triglyphs. To the north was a Christian tomb (T), long since rifled, showing that sanctity still attached to the spot in Byzantine times: terra-cotta lamps were found, marked with a cross. To the south was a cistern (N), and further east a circular structure (K), three bases (Θ), and a large oblong altar (?) (II). Adjoining this was a line of plinths (M) and a wall (II—P). West of the precinct, if so it may be termed, lay a complex of chambers built round a court-yard. One chamber (A), which had stone couches set against its walls, contained two pits (α, β) full of ashes. Two other chambers (7 and 8), entered from a *stoá* with bases for pillars (τ, υ, φ (?)), were likewise lined with stone couches. A short staircase led from the *stoá* into another room (9), the centre of which was occupied by a shallow circular depression with a flooring of baked brickwork. From this a channel of baked brick ran into a pit about 0.10^m deep. On the rim of the large sinking, towards the north, was set a square base 0.50^m high. The next room (10) again disclosed a pit

0.13^m deep and beside it a base about 0.50^m high. The largest chamber of all (11) was probably entered from the court by a door on the south. Round three sides of it were remains of stone seats. The north-east and north-west corners showed traces of a rough mosaic paving. The middle of the floor had five slabs, which had probably served as bases for pillars. Six lesser apartments (1—6) at the south-east angle were built of small stones bonded with clay and were clearly of later construction. The court also contained a hearth of baked bricks (o), another pit full of ashes (v), etc. The western portion of the building was protected against water pouring down from a higher level by an extra wall (Γ—B—Δ), part of which (B—Δ) was specially strong. And on the southern side the foundations were strengthened by a retaining wall (E—Z). Miscellaneous finds (at Ω and elsewhere) included the relief of a griffin in limestone, animals in clay (leonine foot, pig's snout), the head of a dove (?) in Pentelic marble, etc. No Mycenaean vases were discovered, but fragments of large *pitthoi* with impressed geometric designs, also Corinthian ware in some abundance, and sherds of black-figured and red-figured technique. A few broken vases etc. were inscribed (*Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i nos. 3492—3497), of which the most important were a *kylix*-foot incised ΦΕΞ or ΦΕΣ=[Διὸς 'Α]φεσ[λου], or [Δι 'Α]φεσ[λω] (no. 3494) and a stone slab reading ΗΒΡΟ.....="Ηρω[ος] or "Ηρω[ι] (no. 3492). See further D. Philios in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1890 pp. 35 ff. (with careful plans and illustrations: pl. 4, 3=my fig. 822), 63 f., H. G. Lolling *ib.* 1890 p. 55 ff., D. Philios in the Πρακτ. ἀρχ.

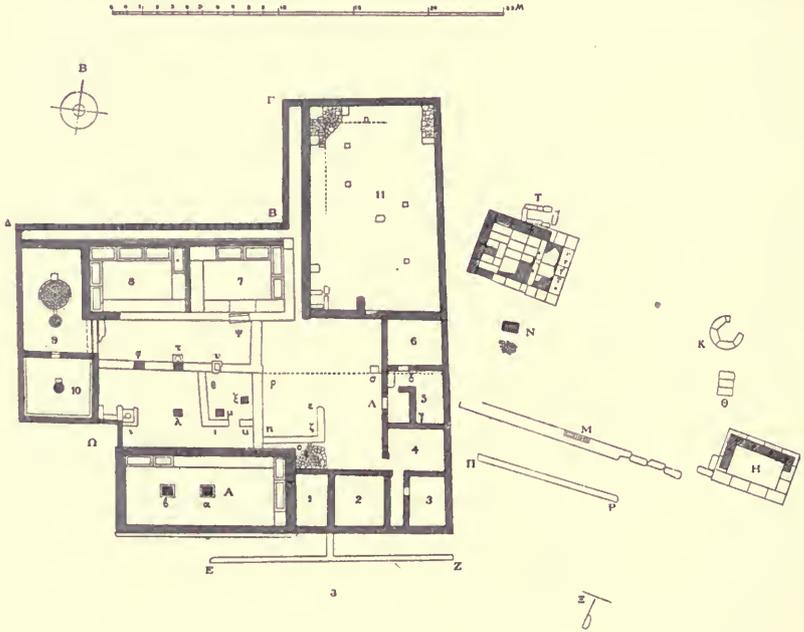


Fig. 822.

ἐτ. 1889 p. 26, W. Doerpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1889 xiv. 327, and Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 550 f.

The interpretation of the western group of buildings is disputed. H. G. Lolling held that it was originally a private dwelling-house, to which a sanctuary had afterwards been attached; D. Philios, that it was from the first an edifice containing chambers for the priest and the temple-attendants (cp. Paus. 10. 34. 7). I incline to think that the chambers with stoue couches (A, 7, 8) were used for incubation, and that the rooms with circular

Mount Gerania (?)¹.

Attike

The *Akrópolis* at Athens².

The Pnyx at Athens³.

Mount Anchesmos⁴.

Mount Hymettos⁵.

Mount Parnes⁶.

pits and rectangular bases (9, 10) betoken a chthonian cult. On this showing the worship of Zeus 'Αφείσιος was associated with that of a local Megarian hero (cp. F. Pfister *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum* Giessen 1909 i. 1 ff. 'Die mythische Königsliste von Megara'), who not improbably had been regarded as Zeus incarnate. A similar combination occurs e.g. at Olympia, and the surviving inscriptions [Διὸς 'Α]φείσ[του] and Ἡρω[ος] are decidedly suggestive.

¹ Paus. i. 40. 1 τὰς δὲ Σιβνίδας νύμφας λέγουσι Μεγαρεῖς εἶναι μὲν σφισιν ἐπιχωρίας, μῆ δὲ αὐτῶν [θηγατρί (secl. C. G. Siebelis)] συγγενέσθαι Δία, Μέγαρόν τε παῖδα ὄντα Διὸς καὶ ταύτης δὴ τῆς νύμφης ἐκφυγεῖν τὴν ἐπὶ Δευκαλιωνὸς ποτε ἐπομβρίαν, ἐκφυγεῖν δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Γερανίας (*Makri Plagi* 1370^m above sea-level), οὐκ ἔχοντός πω τοῦ ὄρους τὸ δνομα τοῦτο, κ.τ.λ. Cp. Dieuchidas of Megara *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 388 Müller) *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 6. 2 p. 443, 9 f. Stählin and *frag.* 11 (*Frag. Hist. Gr.* iv. 290 Müller) *ap.* Harpokr. s.v. Γερανία. *Et. mag.* p. 228, 22 ff., telling the same tale, speaks of Μεγαρεῖς ὁ Διὸς καὶ μῖας τῶν καλουμένων θηίδων (L. Dindorf corr. Σιβνίδων) νυμφῶν.

² Zeus Ἰπταος (*supra* p. 875 n. 1 no. (2)). Zeus Πολιεὺς (*infra* § 9 (h) ii).

³ Zeus Ἰψιστος (*supra* p. 876 f. n. 1 no. (1)). The Siphnian Zeus Ἐπιβήμιος probably implies a statue of the god on the orator's platform (*infra* Append. N *med.*); but it would be unsafe to argue from Siphnos to Athens, and in any case it was not as mountain-god that Zeus supported the speaker (Plout. *praecipit. gerend. reip.* 26 κωνὸν ἐστὶν ἱερὸν τὸ βῆμα Βουλαίου τε Διὸς καὶ Πολιεῦς καὶ Θέμιδος καὶ Δίκης).

⁴ Anchesmos is commonly identified with *Turkouuni*, a range of rocky hills which divides the Attic plain into two unequal parts watered by the Kephisos and the Ilisos respectively (C. Wachsmuth in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2103, H. Hitzig—H. Blümner on Paus. i. 32. 2). It attains a height of 733^m. Somewhere on this range was a statue of Zeus Ἀρχέσιμος (Paus. i. 32. 2 καὶ Ἀρχέσιμος ὄρος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγα καὶ Διὸς ἄγαλμα Ἀρχεσιμίου). A. S. Georgiades in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1920 p. 59 notes foundations on its E. slopes.

⁵ On the top of Mt Hymettos (*Monte Matto* or *Trilo-Vuni* 1027·10^m) was an altar (*et. mag.* p. 352, 49 ff. cited *supra* p. 873 n. 1) and statue of Zeus Ἰμῆτιος, also altars of Zeus Ὀμβριος and Apollon Προφύσιος (Paus. i. 32. 2 ἐν Ἰμῆτι ὄρει δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐστὶν Ἰμῆτιου Διὸς· βωμοὶ δὲ καὶ Ὀμβρίου Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνός εἰσι Προφύσιου). Hesych. Ἰμῆτιος· Ζεὺς παρὰ Ἀττικοῖς. Clouds on Hymettos portended rain (Theophr. *de signis tempest.* 1. 20 and 24), wind (*id. ib.* 2. 9), and storm (*id. ib.* 3. 6). W. Kolbe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 138 f. thinks it very probable that the statue of Zeus Ἰμῆτιος stood on the small plateau close to the highest point of the mountain, and that the cult of Zeus Ὀμβριος is perpetuated on its ancient site by the chapel of St Elias perched upon a conspicuous crest (508^m) on the eastern slope of the main *massif*, above Sphettos, north of the *Pirnari* Pass, to which chapel in times of drought whole troops of pilgrims still resort (A. Milchhöfer in E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert *Karten von Attika* Berlin 1883 Text ii. 32).

⁶ On Mt Parnes was a bronze statue of Zeus Παρνήθιος and an altar of Zeus Σημαλέος; also another altar on which sacrifices were made sometimes to Zeus Ὀμβριος, sometimes to Zeus Ἀπήμιος (Paus. i. 32. 2 καὶ ἐν Πάρνηθι Παρνήθιος Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς ἐστὶ, καὶ βωμὸς Σημαλέου Διὸς. ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Πάρνηθι καὶ ἄλλος βωμὸς, θύουσι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοτὲ μὲν Ὀμβρίου τοτὲ δὲ Ἀπήμιον καλοῦντες Δία, *et. mag.* p. 352, 49 ff. cited *supra* p. 873 n. 1). Parnes (*Ozea*) is at once the highest (1413^m) and the most extensive mountain in Attike. C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1862 i. 252 would locate the statue of Zeus Παρνήθιος and the altar of Zeus Σημαλέος (*supra* p. 4) near Phyle, on the bare rocky ridge

Marathon¹.

Boiotia

Mount Hypatos².

Thebes³.

Orchomenos⁴.

Mount Helikon⁵.

Mount Kithairon⁶.

which the ancients on account of its shape called the Chariot (*supra* p. 815 f.), but the altar of Zeus Ὀμβριος and Ἀπήμιος on some other eminence. Lightning over Parnes, Briletos, and Hymettos betokened a big storm; over two of the three, a less serious storm; over Parnes alone, fair weather (Theophr. *de signis tempest.* 3. 6). Clouds over the western side of Parnes and Phyle, with a north wind blowing, meant stormy weather (*id. ib.* 3. 10).

¹ Zeus Ὀυπατος (*supra* p. 875 n. 1 no. (3)).

² Zeus Ὀυπατος (*supra* p. 875 n. 1 no. (1)).

³ Zeus Ὀψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (2)).

⁴ Zeus Καραιός (*supra* p. 874 n. 2).

⁵ Zeus Ἐλικώνιος had an altar on Mt Helikon, near the spring Hippokrene, round which the Muses danced (Hes. *theog.* 1 ff. with schol. *ad loc.* 2 ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γὰρ ὄρει καὶ κρήνη ἦν καὶ βωμός, 4 ἐν Ἐλικῶνι δὲ ἦν ὁ βωμός, ὡς εἰρηται, τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐλικωνίου). On the north-eastern summit of Helikon (*Zagora* 1527^m) now stands a little roofless chapel of St Elias: it is surrounded by fir-trees, and its walls of small well-jointed polygonal stones probably formed in antiquity the *peribolos* of the altar of Zeus (C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1862 i. 239, H. N. Ulrichs *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland* Berlin 1863 ii. 99, Frazer *Pausanias* v. 158, Maybaum *Der Zeuskult in Boeotien* Doberan 1901 p. 7). See also *supra* i. 132.

⁶ Mt Kithairon was sacred to Zeus Κιθαιρώνιος (Paus. 9. 2. 4 ὁ δὲ Κιθαιρῶν τὸ ὄρος Διὸς ἱερὸν Κιθαιρωνίου ἐστίν. This sentence is out of place in its context. H. C. Schubart—E. C. Walz excised it as a gloss. C. L. Kayser in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft* 1850 viii. 392 transposed it to stand before καθότι δὲ τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος κ.τ.λ.). Nominally every sixth year, but really at shorter intervals, the Plataeans held a festival called Δαίδαλα μικρά. Going to an oak-wood near Alalkomenai they set out pieces of boiled flesh, followed the crow that pounced on the flesh, felled the tree on which it perched, and made of it a wooden image called a δαίδαλον. Every fifty-ninth year the Plataeans joined with the Boeotians to celebrate the Δαίδαλα μεγάλα. The various townships drew lots for the fourteen wooden images provided by the Δαίδαλα μικρά. Apparently each township took its image to the river Asopos and placed it on a waggon along with a bridesmaid. Again casting lots for order of precedence, they drove the waggons from the river to the top of Kithairon. Here an altar had been built of blocks of wood with brushwood piled on it. Each township then sacrificed a cow to Hera and a bull to Zeus, and, filling these victims with wine and incense, burnt them along with the images on the altar. The result was a huge column of flame visible at a great distance. The local myth explained that Hera, enraged with Zeus, had once retired to Eubolia, and that Zeus, at the advice of Kithairon king of Plataiai, had made a wooden image and put it wrapped up on a bullock-cart, giving out that he was taking to wife Plataia, daughter of Asopos: Hera had flown to the spot, discovered the trickery, and made it up with Zeus (Paus. 9. 3. 1—8). According to Plutarch, Hera had been in hiding on Mt Kithairon (not in Eubolia), and the stratagem was suggested to Zeus by Alalkomeneus the autochthon (not by Kithairon): together they cut down a fine oak, shaped it and decked it as a bride and called it Δαίδαλη; the wedding chant was raised, the Tritonid nymphs brought water for the bath, and Boiotia furnished flutes and the band of revellers. Hera with the women of Plataiai in her train came down from Mt Kithairon in jealous anger, but laughed at the ruse and was reconciled to Zeus (Plout. *ap. Euseb. praep. ev.* 3. 1. 6). Aristeides before

Mount Laphystion¹.

A mountain near Lebadeia².

the battle of Plataiai (479 B.C.) was bidden by the Delphic oracle to pray to Zeus, Hera Κιθαιρωνία, Pan, and the Spragritid nymphs (Plout. v. *Aristid.* 11): Pausanias, turning towards the Heraion outside Plataiai, prayed to Hera Κιθαιρωνία and the other deities of the Plataean land (*id. ib.* 18). The image of Hera Κιθαιρωνία at Thespias was a lopped tree-trunk (Clem. Al. *protr.* 3. 46. 3 καὶ τῆς Κιθαιρωνίας "Ἡρας ἐν Θεσπείᾳ πρέμνον ἐκκεκομμένον, cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 11 ramum pro Cinxia Thespias). She had a sanctuary also at Thebes (schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 24 ἢ ὄντι Κιθαιρωνίας "Ἡρας ἐστὶν ἐν Θήβαις ἱερόν). Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 269 Ἐπιθετα "Ἡρας (10) κιθαιρωνίας.

In the traditional singing-match between Kithairon and Helikon (for which see Demetrios of Phaleron *ap. schol. Od.* 3. 267 and Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1466, 56 ff., Lysimachos (? Lysanias) of Kyrene *frag.* 26 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 342 Müller) *ap. schol. Hes. o.d.* p. 33, 4 ff. Gaisford, cp. Tzetz. *chil.* 6. 917 ff., Hermesianax of Kypros *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 428 Müller) *ap. Plout. de fluv.* 2. 3) the former sang of the childhood of Zeus (Korinna in the *Berliner Klassikertexte* Berlin 1907 v. 2. 19 ff. no. 284, cp. *ib.* p. 47, = *frag.* 1 Diehl³).

¹ On Mt Laphystion near Orchomenos was a precinct and stone statue of Zeus Λαφύστιος. It was here that Athamas was about to sacrifice Phrixos and Helle, when Zeus sent the ram with the golden fleece to aid their escape (Paus. 9. 34. 5, cp. 1. 24. 2). Higher up on the mountain-side was a Herakles Χάρωψ; for here, according to the Boeotians, Herakles had brought up the hound of Hades (Paus. 9. 34. 5). Dionysos too was worshipped on the mountain as Λαφύστιος (*el. mag.* p. 557, 51 f. Λαφύστιος: ὁ Διδύνατος, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ Λαφυστίου δρους = Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 1237), and his Maenads were Λαφύστιαι (Lyk. *Al.* 1237 with Tzetz. *ad loc.*).

Laphystion has been identified with *Granitsa*, a steep mountain (896^m) of reddish stone with a summit like a crater and warm springs at its north-eastern foot (C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1862 i. 235 f., Frazer *Pausanias* v. 172, H. Hitzig—H. Blümner on Paus. 9. 34. 5).

That Λαφύστιος must be connected with λαφύσσειν, 'to devour,' is commonly admitted. But beyond this point agreement ceases. Was the god named after the mountain, or the mountain after the god? (1) U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf in his ed. 2 of Eur. *H.f.* Berlin 1895 i. 34 n. 67 holds that Mt Laphystion got its name from the crater that engulfed the unwary. And doubtless Zeus Λαφύστιος could have derived his appellation from Mt Laphystion. But we have already (*supra* i. 416 f., 428) seen reason to think that Zeus Λαφύστιος was originally a Thessalian god, and we hear of no Mt Laphystion in Thessaly. (2) Maybaum *Der Zeuskult in Boeotien* Doberan 1901 p. 8 conversely assumes that Mt Laphystion derived its name from Zeus Λαφύστιος. It is then open to us to interpret Λαφύστιος as 'Devouring' with allusion to human sacrifice. For that grim tradition attached to the cult of Zeus Λαφύστιος, not only in Boiotia, but also in Thessaly (*infra* Append. B Thessalia); and the Dionysos of Orchomenos had an equally sinister reputation (Plout. *quaest.* Gr. 38, Ant. Lib. 10, Ov. *met.* 4. 1 ff. Frazer *Golden Bough*³: The Dying God p. 163 f.). See further P. Buttmann *Mythologus* Berlin 1829 ii. 230, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1850 f., J. W. Hewitt in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1908 xix. 102 f.

² Paus. 9. 39. 4 ἀναβάσι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον (sc. τοῦ Τροφωνίου) καὶ αὐτόθεν ἰοῦσιν ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ δρους, Κόρης ἐστὶ καλουμένη θήρα (καλουμένης θήρας codd. fam. L¹. K. Goldhagen cj. καλουμένης Σωτήρας. H. N. Ulrichs cj. καλουμένης "Ἡρας. F. Spiro: 'an θύρα?') καὶ Διὸς Βασιλέως ναός. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος ἢ καὶ τῶν πολέμων τὸ ἀλλεπάλληλον ἀφείκασαν ἡμέτερον· ἐν δὲ ἐτέρῳ ναῷ Κρόνου καὶ "Ἡρας καὶ Διὸς ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν. The unfinished temple of Zeus Βασιλεῦς is believed to have stood on Mt St Elias, a height which rises west of the castle-hill of *Livadia* at a distance of half an hour from the town. Here the ground is still strewn with big building-blocks, though most of the material was carried off in Turkish times (Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*). The temple seems to have been 46·02^m in length (E. Fabricius *ap. H. Nissen*

Mount Homoloïon (?)¹.

in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1887 xlii. 54). A long inscription, of 175—172 B.C., relating to this temple was found built into the wall of a blacksmith's forge at *Livadia* (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3073 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 589 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 972). It specifies the conditions under which the custodians (*ναοποιοί*) of the temple of Zeus *Βασιλεύς* are prepared to place the building-contract with the contractors (*ἐργῶναι*). The first section (*vv.* 1—89) deals with the slabs (*σῆλαι*) on which the specification is to be inscribed; the second (*vv.* 89—164) with the paving-stones to be laid in one of the external colonnades (*v.* 89 ff. *εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ | Διὸς τοῦ Βασιλέως εἰς τὴν ἔξω περίστασιν τοῦ σηκοῦ | τῶν εἰς τὴν μακρὰν πλευρὰν καταστρωτῆρων ἐργασία καὶ σύνθεσις*). It appears that the temple was constructed, not by the inhabitants of Lebadeia only, but by the Boeotians in common (*v.* 156 f.), probably—as A. Wilhelm saw—with money supplied by Antiochos iv Epiphanes. Other fragments of the same contract are *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i nos. 3074—3076, A. de Ridder and Choisy 'Devis de Livadie' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 318—335 (*v.* 58 *εἰς τὸ <ν>* [ἡμ]κύκλιον is taken to imply an apsidal end to the temple: restoration *ib.* pl. 9. Other Boeotian examples at Arne, Ptoion, Kabeirion, Thespiæ are noted by F. Noack in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 xix. 424: cp. *supra* i. 120), A. Wilhelm 'Bauinschrift aus Lebadeia' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1897 xxii. 179—182.

The Boeotians after vanquishing the Spartans at Leuktra (371 B.C.) established at Lebadeia an ἀγὼν *στεφανίτης* in honour of Zeus *Βασιλεύς* (Diod. 15. 53). These games, known as the *Βασιλεια*, are repeatedly mentioned in inscriptions (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* i Index p. 761, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 82), one of which has ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ within a bay-wreath (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 2487). If, as seems probable, Zeus *Βασιλεύς* was associated with Hera *Βασιλις*, the games were quadriennial (*ib.* i no. 3097). Plutarch's story about Aristokleia the *κανηφόρος* of Zeus *Βασιλεύς* (Plout. *amat. narr.* 1) implies a ritual procession (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 34).

On the relation of Zeus *Βασιλεύς* to Trophonios see *infra* Append. K.

¹ Zeus 'Ομολώιος was worshipped in Boiotia (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Ομόλη), particularly at Thebes (Hesych. *s.v.* 'Ομολώιος ('Ομβλοος cod.) Ζεὺς Ἐθήβησιν οὕτω προσαγορεύεται ὁ Ζεὺς); and Aristodemos of Alexandria, who wrote a learned work on Theban antiquities, appears to have derived the name of the 'Ομολώιδες πόλιν at Thebes from their proximity to a 'Ομολώνιον ὄρος (Aristodem. *Theb. frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 309 Müller) *ap. schol. Eur. Phoen.* 1119, cp. Steph. Byz. *loc. cit.*). It may be inferred, though not with certainty, that there was a cult of Zeus on this hill (see Maybaum *Der Zeuskult in Boeotien* Doberan 1901 p. 9 f.). A small column, found at Thebes and now in the local Museum, has inscribed in archaic letters on its fluting Δι' Ομολῶϊοι | Ἀγειμῶνδας ἀπὸ δεκά[τας] (P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 130 ff., Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 191, R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 227 no. 665, Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 212 no. 198, *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 2456), which is perhaps a clumsy attempt at a hexameter line. Doubtless this column once supported a votive offering in the Theban sanctuary of Zeus 'Ομολώιος. His festival the 'Ομολώια, mentioned in lists of victors from Megara (*ib.* i no. 48, 2) and from Orchomenos in Boiotia (*ib.* i no. 3196, 24 f., no. 3197, 36 f.), was specially discussed by Aristodemos (Aristodem. *Theb. frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 309 Müller) *ap. schol. Theokr.* 7. 103). The same god was worshipped, not only in Boiotia, but also in Thessaly (Phot. *lex. s.v.* 'Ομολώιος Ζεὺς ἐν Θήβαις καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσι Βιωτίας· καὶ ὁ ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἀπὸ 'Ομολώιας προφήτιδος τῆς Ἐννέως, ἣν προφήτῃν εἰς Δελφούς πεμφθῆναι ὁ Ἄριστοφάνης (*sic cod.* S. A. Naber *corr.* Ἀριστόδημος, *sc.* Aristodem. *Theb. loc. cit.*) ἐν δευτέρῃ Θηβαϊκῶν· Ἴστρος δὲ ἐν τῇ δωδεκάτῃ τῆς συναγωγῆς διὰ τὸ παρ' Αἰολεῦσιν τὸ ὀνομαστικὸν καὶ εἰρηρικὸν ὄμολον λέγεσθαι (*frag.* 10 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 419 Müller))· ἔστι δὲ Δημήτηρ 'Ομολώια ἐν Θήβαις = Soud. *s.v.* 'Ομολώιος Ζεὺς, cp. Apostol. 12. 67, *Arsen. viol.* p. 381 Walz, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1358, 38 ff., Eudok. *viol.* 414^ε p. 314, 10 ff. (Flach). O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2263 f. remarks that the name of the month 'Ομολώιος, 'Ομολώος, 'Ομολοῖος found in Boiotia, Aitolia, and Thessaly (E. Bischoff *ib.* viii. 2264) implies a wide-spread cult of deities with this appellative, such as Zeus 'Ομολώιος,

Mount Petrachos¹.

Phokis

Delphoi².

Demeter 'Ομολωια (*supra*), and Athena 'Ομολωίς (Lyk. *Al.* 520 with schol. and Tzetz. *ad loc.*), and concludes: 'Da der Boiotien und Thessalien gemeinsame Monatsname einen gemeinsamen Kult des Zeus H. wahrscheinlich machen, dürfte Zeus H. ähnlich wie Zeus Olympios von Thessalien nach Mittelgriechenland gekommen sein.' His cult reached Eretria also; for a fragmentary slab discovered close to the western gate of Eretria is inscribed in lettering of s. iii. B.C. Διὸς 'Ομ[ο]λω[ω]τ[ω]ν (K. Kourouniotes in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1897 p. 150 n. 3, who cp. the Theban 'Ομολωίδες πόλιν). See further O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 105 f. (Λωίος = 'Ομολωίος), E. Sittig *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris* Halis Saxonum 1911 p. 14 f. (collects derivatives of 'Ομολωίος, Λωίος, and infers from the occurrence of the month 'Ομολωίος at Eresos in Lesbos (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* ii no. 527, 44) 'Iovem omnes Aeoles, priusquam discesserint, hoc cognomine esse veneratos'), F. Bechtel *Die griechischen Dialekte* Berlin 1921 i. 19, 142, 264. *Supra* p. 857 n. 6, *infra* Append. B Thessalia.

¹ The *Akrópolis* of Chaironeia was a sharp rocky summit named Petrachos (Plout. *v. Sull.* 17). Here Kronos received from Rhea a stone instead of Zeus; and there was a small statue of Zeus on the top of the mountain (Paus. 9. 41. 6 *ἔστι δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν κρημνὸς Πιτραχὸς καλούμενος· Κρόνον δὲ ἐθέλουσιν ἐνταῦθα ἀπατηθῆναι δεξάμενον ἀντὶ Διὸς πέτρον παρὰ τῆς Ῥέας, καὶ ἀγαλμα Διὸς οὐ μέγα ἔστιν ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους*). For the extant remains of Chaironeia see C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1862 i. 205 f., Sir J. G. Frazer on Paus. 9. 40. 5, and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner on Paus. 9. 40. 7; for the history of the town, E. Oberhammer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2033 ff.

² The Delphians originally occupied a town *Λυκώρεια* higher up on the side of Mt Parnassos (Strab. 418, cp. schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1490, Plout. *de Pyth. or.* 1 where W. R. Paton cj. *Λυκώρεια* for *Λυκουπλᾶν*). H. N. Ulrichs *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland* Bremen 1840 i. 120 and C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1862 i. 179 f. found traces of *Λυκώρεια* in sundry Hellenic walls still visible on a height to the west of the Corycian Cave. W. M. Leake *Travels in Northern Greece* London 1841 ii. 579 with truer topographical instinct identified the site of the ancient city with the village of *Liakouri*. Here Deukalion had reigned as king (*marm. Par. ep.* 2 p. 3 Jacoby, *ep.* 4 p. 3 f.)—indeed, the town had been founded by survivors of his deluge, who followed the 'howling of wolves,' *λύκων ὠρυγαίς*, to the mountain-top (Paus. 10. 6. 2). Another account made its founder *Λύκωρος*, son of Apollon by the nymph Korykia (Paus. *ib.*, cp. *et. mag.* p. 571, 47 ff.). He is called *Λυκωρεὺς* by schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 711 (cp. Hyg. *fab.* 161), who adds *ἄφ' οὗ Λυκωρεῖς οἱ Δελφοί*. Finally Anaxandrides (*supra* p. 238 n. 1) of Delphoi, who wrote a monograph *περὶ Λυκωρείας*, spoke of *Λυκωρεὺς* as a king (*Alexandrides frag.* 7 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 107 Müller) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Λυκώρεια*).

The town had a cult of Apollon (*et. mag.* p. 571, 47 ff.), who is mentioned as Phoibos *Λυκώρειος* (Ap. Rhod. 4. 1490), Apollon *Λυκωρεὺς* (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Ἀνεμώρεια*), Phoibos *Λυκωρεὺς* (Euphorion *frag.* 53 in A. Meineke *Analecta Alexandrina* Berolini 1843 p. 95 f., Kallim. *h. Ap.* 19, Orph. *h. Ap.* 34. 1, *oracul. ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 14. 5 = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 82. 9 f.), or *Λυκωρεὺς* alone (*Anth. Pal.* 6. 54. 1 (Paulus Silentiarius)). There was also a Zeus *Λυκώρειος* (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Λυκώρεια*... *ἔστι καὶ Λυκώρειος Ζεὺς καὶ Λυκώρειον διὰ διφθόγγου*), who was presumably worshipped on the peak known as *Λυκώρειον* (*id. ib.*) or *Λυκωρεὺς* (Loukian. *Tim.* 3, where for τῷ *Λυκωρεῖ* I should restore τῷ *Λυκωρεῖω*), later *Λυκορί* (schol. rec. Pind. *Ol.* 9. 70). The highest point of Parnassos (2459^m) is still called τὸ *Λυκέρνι*. J. Murray *Handbook for travellers in Greece*⁷ London 1900 p. 540 f. says: 'The...summit, locally called Lykeri (8070 ft.), is marked with a wooden cross. At the top of the mountain is a small plain, enclosed in a crater-like basin, and containing a pool generally frozen over... The view on a clear day exceeds in grandeur and interest almost every other prospect of the kind. To the N., beyond the plains of Thessaly, appears Olympus with its snowy tops brilliant in sunlight. Further W.

Euböia

Mount Oche¹.Mount Kenaion².

is seen the long chain of Pindus; on the E. rises Helicon, with other Boeotian mountains. To the S. the summit of Panachaïcon is very conspicuous; Achaia, Argolis, Elis and Arcadia are seen as in a map, while the Gulf of Corinth looks like a large pond. The Aegean and Ionian seas bound the horizon E. and W.' It appears probable that the cult of Zeus Λυκῶρειος was displaced or overshadowed by that of Apollon Λυκῶρειος. Their common epithet may be connected either with λύκος, 'a wolf' (according to H. N. Ulrichs *op. cit.* i. 118 wolves still haunt the woods of Parnassos: 'In Chrysó sah ich vier Hirten, von denen jeder eine Wolfshaut an einem langen Stocke trug, dessen oberstes Ende aus dem geöffneten Rachen des Thiers hervorsteckte. Sie zogen von Dorf zu Dorf und empfangen an jedem Hause freigebige Geschenke für die Befreiung von diesem gefährlichen Feinde der Herden.' Paus. 10. 14. 7, Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 26, 12. 40, Plout. *v. Per.* 21 associate wolves with the Delphian Apollon, or with Λύκος, an ancient name for the god of the daylight (?) (*supra* i. 64 n. 3).

When Deukalion, after traversing the flood for nine days and nights in his ark, landed at length on Mt Parnassos, he sacrificed there to Zeus Φύξιος (Apollod. 1. 7. 2, cp. schol. cod. Paris. Ap. Rhod. 2. 1147 Φύξιον δὲ τὸν Δία οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἔλεγον, ἦτοι ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμοῦ κατέφυγον εἰς αὐτόν, ἢ διὰ τὸ τὸν Φρέξιον καταφυγεῖν εἰς αὐτόν). This title too is found attached to Apollon (Philostr. *her.* p. 711 Palamedes prays Ἀπόλλωνι Λυκίῳ τε καὶ Φυξίῳ to be delivered from wolves, cp. Soud. *s.v.* Φύξιος).

For Zeus at Delphoi see further *supra* pp. 179 ff., 189 ff., 231 ff., 266 f.

¹ Popular etymology derived the name of Mt Oche ("Όχη) from the union (ὀχή=ὀχέλα) of Zeus and Hera, which was said to have taken place there (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κάραστος... ἐκλήθη δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκεῖ ὀχέλας, ἦτοι τῶν θεῶν μίξεως Διὸς καὶ Ἡρας, ἢ διὰ τὸ τὰ πρόβατα κυίσκεσθαι ὀχευόμενα ἐν τῷ τόπῳ· οἱ γὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ τὴν τροφήν ὀχὴν φασί). The summit of the mountain (1475^m) is nowadays known as *Hagios Elias* (C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1872 ii. 398).

² On the top of Mt Kenaion (677^m), a height untouched by clouds (Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 786 f. hic rupe celsa nulla quam nubes ferit | annosa fulgent templa Cenaei Iovis), was an altar and sanctuary of Zeus Κήναιος (Aisch. Γλαῦκος πόντιος *frag.* 30 Nauck² *ap.* Strab. 447, Soph. *Trach.* 237 f., 752 ff., 993 ff., Skyl. *per.* 58 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 47 Müller), Apollod. 2. 7. 7, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κάναι... Καναῖος Ζεὺς οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ τοῦ Καναίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Κάνης, Soud. *s.v.* Κηναῖος· ὁ Ζεὺς, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 Ἐπιθέτα

Διὸς (57) κηναίου, 266 Ἐπιθέτα Διὸς (49) κηναίου, 274 Ἐπιθέτα Διὸς... κηναῖος κηναῖος (codd. C¹.O¹), Ov. *met.* 9. 136 f., Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 102, 786 f.). According to Sophokles, Herakles after sacking Oichalia dedicated here altars and a leafy precinct to Zeus Πατρῴος. He offered 100 victims on a pyre of oak, including twelve bulls free from blemish, and put on for the purpose the deadly robe brought to him by Lichas (Soph. *Trach.* 750 ff.). According to Bakchylides, he offered from the spoils of Oichalia nine bulls to Zeus Κήναιος, 'lord of the far-spread clouds,' two to Poseidon, and a cow to Athena (Bakchyl. 15. 17 ff.). Cp. Diod. 4. 37 f., Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 50 f., Eudok. *viol.* 436. Fragments of a volutekrater from Kerch show Herakles (... ΚΛΗΣ) holding a sacrificial fillet for one of these victims in the presence of ΛΙΧΑΣ and Hylllos (?). All these are wreathed with bay or olive. At their feet is a pile of stones; in the background, a tripod on a column and a pillar decorated with acanthus-leaves (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pétr.* 1869 p. 179 pl. 4, 1, *ib.* 1876 p. 161 pl. 5, 1 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 31, 12, *ib.* i. 50, 3. This vase-painting was attributed by F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 53 f. fig. 24 to the painter Aristophanes c. 400 B.C., by J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 184 to a contemporary artist, 'the painter of the New York Centaureomachy' (Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 217 no. 4)). A fragmentary bell-krater in the British Museum has Herakles wreathed with olive and wearing

Cape Geraistos (?).¹

Thessalia

Mount Oite².

a *himátion*. Behind him hangs the poisoned robe (?). In front an altar of unworked stones supports four tiers of blazing logs with the horns of some animal on the top. To left and right of this altar are two youths, Philoktetes (ΦΙΛΟΣΚΕΤ) and Lichas (ΛΙ...), holding meat on spits over the fire. By the altar is an olive-tree, from which hang votive tablets representing a Satyr, a Maenad, and two horsemen; also, the image of a goddess draped and mounted on a Doric column. To the right is a draped female figure, perhaps Nike, and beyond her Athena (... N.) with *aigis*, spear, and helmet (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 300 ff. no. E 494 pl. 16). Both vases may depict the sacrifice on Mt Kenaion (A. H. Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 274 ff.). An inscription from the *Akrópolis* at Athens records an Eretrian coin belonging to Zeus Κήναος (*Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 208, 8 f. [Ἐρετρικὸν | [Δι]ὸς Κηναίου). *Lithada*, the modern name of Mt Kenaion, is derived from Λιχάδες, the small islands off the point, and appears in Latin documents of s. xiii A.D. as *Ponta (Punta) Litadi* or *Litaldi* (C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1872 ii. 401 n. 2).

¹ Geraistos, the eponym of Cape Geraistos (*Καπο Μανδίλο*), was the son of Zeus and brother of Tainaros (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γεραιστός, Ταίναρος).

² Mt Oite (*Katavothra*) rises to a height of 2158^m (Lieut.-Col. Baker in *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 1837 vii. 94 says 7071 ft). It was sacred to Zeus (Soph. *Trach.* 1191 τὸν Οἰτῆς Ἰηπὸς ὕψιστον πάγον), whose lightnings played about it (*id. ib.* 436 f., *Phil.* 729 Jebb); and the meadows high on the mountain, since they belonged to him, might not be mown (*id. Trach.* 200 ὦ Ζεῦ, τὸν Οἰτῆς ἀτομον δὲ λειμῶν' ἔχεις).

The traditional pyre of Herakles, son of Zeus, was on the south-eastern shoulder of Oite, known to the ancients as Phrygia (Kallim. *h. Artem.* 159 ὄ γε Φρυγίη περ ὑπὸ δρυλ γυῖα θεωθεῖς with schol. *ad loc.* Φρυγία ὄρος Τραχίνος, ἐνθα ἐκάθη ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Φρυγία... ἐστι καὶ Φρυγία τόπος τῆς Οἰτῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκεῖ πεφύχθαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα) or Pyra (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 9. 10. 2 white hellebore gathered there for the Amphictionic *πυλαία*, Liv. 36. 30 M'. Acilius Glabrio offered sacrifice there to Herakles in 191 B.C.) and to the moderns as *Xerovouni* near *Pauliane*. Here, at a spot called *Marmari*, N. Pappadakis in 1920—1921 discovered the remains of a great precinct-wall in *ῥῶος*, within which was a smaller oblong (c. 20^m × 30^m) marking the limits of the pyre. A bed of ashes (0.40^m to 0.80^m thick) contained bones of animals, bronze weapons, implements, etc., and pottery ranging from archaic Greek to Roman times. Some of the black-figured sherds bore dedications ἙΡΑΚΛΕῖ or [. . .]ΚΛΕῖ, and two archaic bronze statuettes (0.09^m and 0.10^m high) represented the hero, with club and bow (?), in violent action. Miscellaneous finds comprised a bronze club, painted architectural tiles, Roman and Thessalian lamps, Megarian bowls, etc. The principal edifice was of Aetolian date, built with large blocks on an older structure of *ῥῶος*: of it there remains the *cuthynteria*, part of the west side, and one step of the south side, also part of the paving and of the stereobate for the cult-statue, which seems to have been of the late Roman period. Close by was a Doric *templum in antis* (14^m long) with an altar before it: Pappadakis' suggestion that this building was a treasury is hardly borne out by the presence of the altar. Coins from the site included six or seven coppers belonging to the time of the Aetolian League and silver pieces of the Roman imperial series down to Maximian (286—305 A.D.) [Diocletian, who styled himself *Iovius* (*Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 371, *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 315), conferred on Maximian the title *Herculius*]. Of two fragmentary inscriptions one mentions the emperor Commodus (?) [another would-be Herakles (P. v. Rohden in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2470, 2478 f. See also J. de Witte 'De quelques empereurs romains qui ont pris les attributs d'Hercule' in the *Rev. Num.* 1845 pp. 266—272 pl. 13 f.)]. Lastly, to the north at a higher level was a *stoa*, reconstructed in Aetolian times on the site of an older building. Seven chambers for

Halos¹.

Mount Pelion².

Mount Ossa (?)³.

Mount Homole (?)⁴.

Mount Pindos⁵.

Makedonia

Mount Olympos⁶.

the accommodation of priests and pilgrims opened into a colonnade (40^m long) with octagonal columns. Sundry tiles of this *stadá* are inscribed ΙΗΡΑΗ or ΙΗΡΟΧ = *ιερά, ιερός* 'Ηρακλέους (N. Pappadakis in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1920 xliv. 392 f., 1921 xlv. 523).

¹ Halos at the foot of Mt Othrys was founded by Athamas (Strab. 433). There was here a sanctuary and grove of Zeus Λαφύστιος. Tradition said that Athamas, son of Aiolos, had together with Ino plotted the death of Phrixos. The Achaeans were bidden by an oracle to enjoin that the eldest of Athamas' descendants should never enter the Prytaneion. They mounted guard over it, and their rule was that, if any such person entered it, he might leave it only in order to be sacrificed. Many fearing the rule had fled to other lands. If they returned and entered the Prytaneion, they were covered all over with fillets and led out in procession to be slain. The reason given for this strange custom was that once, when the Achaeans in accordance with an oracle were treating Athamas as a scape-goat for the land and were about to sacrifice him, Kytissoros, son of Phrixos, came from Aia in Kolchis and rescued him, thereby drawing down the wrath of the god on his own descendants (Hdt. 7. 197, cp. Plat. *Min.* 315 c). When Phrixos came to Kolchis, he was received by Dipsakos, son of the river-god Phyllis and a local nymph. Phrixos there sacrificed the ram, on which he had escaped, to Zeus Λαφύστιος, and it was a custom for one of his descendants to enter the Prytaneion and sacrifice to the said Zeus (so schol. vulg. Ap. Rhod. 2. 653 *καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν νόμος ἕνα τῶν Φρίξου ἀπογόνων εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον, καὶ θύειν τῷ εἰρημένῳ Διί*). But there is an important variant in schol. cod. Paris. *καὶ μέχρι νῦν νόμος εἰσελθόντα εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἕνα τῶν Φρίξου ἀπογόνων θύειν τῷ εἰρημένῳ Διί*. The accusative *εἰσελθόντα... ἕνα* is ambiguous. It might be the subject of *θύειν* and mean that the man sacrificed to Zeus. It might be the object of *θύειν* and mean that the man was sacrificed to Zeus. In view of the custom at Halos, the latter alternative is more probable than the former. If so, amend Frazer *Golden Bough*³: The Dying God p. 165 n. 1). *Supra* i. 416, ii. p. 899 n. 1.

Coins of Halos show the head of Zeus Λαφύστιος, sometimes filleted, sometimes laureate (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 13 pls. 2, 6, 31, 1). On occasion a thunderbolt is added in front of the head on the obverse (W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1899 xix. 91 pl. 7, 1) or below Phrixos and the ram on the reverse (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 13 no. 3). The coins are coppers of two periods, 400—344 B.C. and 300—200 B.C. (Head *Hist. num.*² p. 295 f.).

² Zeus 'Ακραῖος (*supra* p. 871 n. 3 no. (1)) and 'Ακταῖος (*supra* p. 869 n. 2). A cloud on Pelion meant rain or wind (Theophr. *de signis tempest.* 1. 22).

³ Zeus 'Οσσαῖος (Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 'Επίθετα Διός (76) ὀσσαίου, 266 'Επίθετα Διός (68) ὀσσαίου) is not necessarily to be taken as the god of Mt Ossa (1950^m). He may be the sender of Rumour ('Οσσα) the 'messenger of Zeus' (*Il.* 2. 93 f. *μετὰ δέ σφισιν* 'Οσσα δέδεξε | δρύνουσι' *ἔναι, Διὸς ἄγγελος*, cp. *Od.* 1. 282 f., 2. 216 f., 24. 413).

⁴ Homole or Homolos, one of the northern spurs of Mt Ossa in Magnesia, on which stood the town Homolion (Stählin in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2259 ff.), was 'the most fertile and best watered of the Thessalian mountains' (Paus. 9. 8. 6, cp. Strab. 443). The 'Ομολωίδες πόλαι of Thebes were said to have been called after it (Paus. 9. 8. 6 f.; but see *supra* p. 900 n. 1). It is possible that the Theban cult of Zeus 'Ομολωῖος had spread southwards from Mt Homole (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 12 f., *supra* p. 900 n. 1).

⁵ Zeus 'Ακραῖος (*supra* p. 871 n. 3 no. (2)).

⁶ The cult of Zeus on Mt Olympos has been discussed at some length *supra* i. 100—



The summit of Mount Olympos.

See page 905 n. of.

[By permission of Messrs Boissonnas, Geneva.]

117. My statement that the published illustrations of the mountain are very inadequate (i. 101 n. 3) no longer holds good. A. J. Mann—W. T. Wood *The Salonika Front* London 1920 pl. 7 give a coloured silhouette of Olympos as seen from *Mikra*, the reproduction of a fine original owned by Lieut.-Col. G. Windsor-Clive. And the noble view of the summit here shown (pl. xi) is from a large heliogravure of exceptional merit published by F. Boissonnas of Geneva.

D. Urquhart *The Spirit of the East* London 1838 i. 398 ff. describes with much enthusiasm, but little precision, his ascent of Olympos in 1830: 'I spent no more than an hour at this giddy height, where the craving of my eyes would not have been satisfied under a week. I seemed to stand perpendicularly over the sea, at the height of 10,000 feet. Salonica was quite distinguishable, lying north-east; Larissa appeared under my very feet. The whole horizon, from north to south-west was occupied by mountains, hanging on, as it were, to Olympos. This is the range that runs westward along the north of Thessaly, ending in the Pindus. The line of bearing of these heaved-up strata seems to correspond with that of the Pindus, that is, to run north and south, and they presented their escarpment to Olympos. Ossa, which lay like a hillock beneath, stretched away at right angles to the south; and, in the interval, spread far, far in the red distance, the level lands of Thessaly, under that peculiar dusty mist which makes nature look like a gigantic imitation of an unnatural effect produced on the scene of a theatre. When I first reached the summit, and looked over the warm plains of Thessaly, this haze was of a pale yellow hue. It deepened gradually, and became red, then brown, while similar tints, far more vivid, were reproduced higher in the sky. But, when I turned round to the east, up which the vast shadows of night were travelling, the cold ocean looked like a plain of lead; the shadow of the mighty mass of Olympos was projected twenty miles along its surface; and I stood on the very edge, and on my tiptoes' (*ib.* i. 429 f.). On enquiry he found that the shepherds of Olympos 'had no recollection of the "Thunderer" ...but they told me,' he adds, 'that "the stars came down at night on Olympos!" "that heaven and earth had once met upon its summit, but that since men had grown wicked, God had gone higher up"' (*ib.* i. 437, B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 35, N. G. Polites *Δημώδεις κοσμογονικοί μύθοι* Athens 1894 p. 7, cp. p. 41 ff., *id.* *Παραδόσεις* Athens 1904 i. 122 no. 217, ii. 805).

Later and more scientific ascents were made by L. Heuzey (1856), H. Barth (1862), and H. F. Tozer (1864). Then followed an interval during which brigandage made mountaineering extremely hazardous: for example, in 1911 E. Richter, an engineer of Jena, had to be ransomed by the Porte at a cost of 500,000 francs. But by 1913 political changes had improved the conditions, and the series of ascents was resumed—D. Baud-Bovy and F. Boissonnas (1913), Profs. E. P. Farquhar and A. E. Phoutrides (1914), Major-General Sir W. Rycroft (1918), D. Baud-Bovy, F. Boissonnas, and the son of the latter (1920), M. Kurz and the chamois-hunter Ch. Kakkalos (1921). See further L. Heuzey *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie* Paris 1860, H. Barth *Reise durch das Innere der Europäischen Türkei* Berlin 1864, H. F. Tozer *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey* London 1869, E. Richter *Meine Erlebnisse in der Gefangenschaft am Olymp* Leipzig 1911, Profs. E. P. Farquhar and A. E. Phoutrides in *Scribner's Magazine* for November 1915 (good photographs), D. W. Freshfield 'The summits of Olympos' in *The Geographical Journal* 1916 xlvii. 293—297, C. F. Meade 'Mount Olympos' in *The Alpine Journal* 1919 xxxii. 326—328 (with photographs taken by Lieutenant-Colonel Wood, R. E., from an aeroplane piloted by Lieutenant-Colonel Todd, R.A.F.), D. Baud-Bovy 'The mountain-group of Olympos: an essay in nomenclature' in *The Geographical Journal* 1921 lvii. 204—213 (with a sketch-map of the *massif* of Olympos and four fine photographs of the summits by F. Boissonnas).

D. Baud-Bovy *loc. cit.* concludes: 'Thus, to sum up, the High Olympos is constituted by two ranges, which, though not parallel, run generally east and west. The northern range is that of Kokkino-Vrako, the southern, that of Bichtes. A high rocky barrier running north and south contains three "stones," three "pipes," or three "brothers," quite separated from each other, the Tarpeian Rock in the south, the Throne of Zeus in

Mount Athos¹.

Aigai, Kerdylion, etc. (?)².

Korkyra

Kassiope³.

the north, and in the centre the Venizelos peak, the highest of the three. The point of junction between this barrier and the northern range is the St. Elias. The joint which unites the central peaks with the southern range is more complicated. It includes the Skolion, which forms the counterpart to the St. Elias on the opposite side of the Megali-Gurna, and the Isto-Cristaci more to the west. The St. Anthony and the domes of Stavoidia link these two summits to those at the western end of the southern range, of which the Sarai is the most important.' [The peaks seen in pl. xl, from left to right, are—according to Baud-Bovy's nomenclature—(a) the Throne of Zeus (capped by cloud), (b) Peak Venizelos (the true summit), (c) the Cock's Comb, (d) the Virgin, (e) the Tarpeian Rock.]

M. Kurz in *The Alpine Journal* 1921 xxxiv. 173 f. reports that in August 1921 he surveyed the whole mass of Olympos with a photo-theodolite and that he has in preparation a map, covering an area of c. 100 square kilometers, on a scale of 1 : 20,000. The heights calculated to date are: Skolion = Δ 2905.45^m, Pic Venizelos (*Mitka*, 'Needle') = 2917.85^m, Throne of Zeus (*Stephan*) = 2909.94^m.

¹ Zeus 'Αθῶος (Soph. *Thanyras frag.* 216 Nauck², 237 Jebb *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 358, 40 f. Ὁρῆσαν σκοπιᾶν Ζηνὸς 'Αθῶου, cp. Aisch. *Ag.* 285 'Αθῶον αἰπος Ζηνὸς ἐξεδέξατο) was worshipped on Mt Athos (Eustath. *in Il.* pp. 218, 3, 358, 43 f., 953, 45 f., schol. *Il.* 14. 229), where he had a statue (Hesych. *s.v.* 'Αθῶος· ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ 'Αθω τοῦ ὄρους ἰδρυμένος ἀνδριάς, ὁ Ζεὺς) and a sanctuary on the summit (*et. mag.* p. 26, 47 f. 'Αθῶου Διὸς· Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐν ἄκρῳ 'Αθω τῆ δρει, 'Αθῶου καλουμένου). For beliefs concerning the mountain-top and its altars see *supra* i. 82 n. 1, 103 n. 4 (Solin. 11. 3 there adduced is dependent on Mela 2. 31). The presence or absence of clouds on Mt Athos betokened rain or fine weather (Theophr. *de signis tempest.* 3. 6, 4. 2). Other allusions are collected by W. Capelle *Berges- und Wolkenhöhen bei griechischen Physikern* (Στοιχεῖα v) Leipzig—Berlin 1916 pp. 1, 27, 32 n. 5, 37, 39. On the various monasteries of this 'Αγιον 'Ορος see the literature cited by E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2068 f. and by C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 p. 120.

² Zeus 'Τφιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. ο no. (9)).

³ Kassiope, a town and promontory (Ptol. 3. 13. 9 *Κασσιόπη πόλις καὶ ἄκρα*) in the north-eastern corner of Korkyra, is still called *Kassiopi*. As a convenient haven it figures from time to time in ancient records (L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2314 f., xi. 1413). It possessed a temple of Jupiter *Cassius* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 52 et oppido Cassiope templaque Cassi Iovis), at whose altar Nero sang (Suet. *Ner.* 22 ut primum Cassiopen traiecit, statim ad aram Iovis Cassii cantare auspicatus certamina deinceps obiit omnia). Two dedications to Jupiter *Casii* have been found in Korkyra (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 576 = Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1224 P. Heterieus | Rufio | Iovi Casio sac(rum), *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 577 (cp. p. 989) = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4043 M. Valerius Corvi[ni] | [I. L]orico | Iovi Casio v. s.). A ship built of marble and dedicated by a merchant to Zeus *Kasios* was sometimes regarded as the raft of Odysseus, and is compared with the stone ship made by Tynnichos and dedicated by Agamemnon to Artemis Βολοσία at Geraistos (Prokop. *de bell. Goth.* 4. 22 καίτοι οὐ μονοειδὲς τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτό ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ ἐκ λίθων ὅτι μάλιστα πολλῶν ξύγκειται. καὶ γράμματα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐγκεκλόπαται καὶ διαρρήδην βοᾷ τῶν τινα ἐμπόρων ἐν τοῖς ἀνω χρόνοις ἰδρῶσασθαι τὸ ἀνάθημα τοῦτο Διὶ τῷ Κασίῳ. Δία γὰρ Κάσιον ἐτίμων ποτὲ οἱ τῆδε ἄνθρωποι, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡ πόλις, ἐν ἧ τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτο ἔστηκεν, ἐς τὸνδε τὸν χρόνον Κασίῳ (sic) ἐπικαλεῖται. κ.τ.λ.).

Autonomous bronze coins of Korkyra from 48 B.C. to 138 A.D. often have for reverse or obverse type the figure of ΖΕΥC ΚΑCΙΟC (occasionally ΖΕΥC ΚΑCΚΙΟC) seated on a high-backed throne with a sceptre in one hand and sometimes a *phidile* in the other

Korkyra (?)¹.

Kephallenia

Mount Ainos².

(*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 153 ff. pl. 25, 5 (=my fig. 823), 6—11, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 21 pl. 32, 4, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 328). Imperial coppers from Antoninus Pius to Geta (138—222 A.D.) repeat the type with legend ΖΕΥC ΚΑCΙΟC Antoninus Pius, ΚΟΡΚΥΡΑΙΩΝ ΚΑCΙΟC M. Aurelius, or ΚΟΡΚΥΡΑΙΩΝ M. Aurelius to Geta (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 158 ff. pl. 26, 1, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 21



Fig. 823.

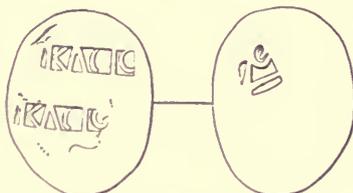


Fig. 824.

no. 53, 23 nos. 65, 67, 72, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 328). Coins of Korkyra, Lakedaimon, Knidos, etc. are found countermarked with various abbreviations of the words Διὸς Κασίου and were probably dedicated in his temple (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 158 pl. 25, 14 (=my fig. 824) and 15, *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* i. 1. 647, 676 f.).

Zeus Κάσιος, an oriental deity (Frau Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2265—2267 and A. Salač 'ΖΕΥC ΚΑΣΙΟC' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvi. 160—189) whose cult had been introduced, perhaps *vis* Delos (A. Salač *ib.* pp. 165, 189), either from Mt Kasion on the Orontes (*infra* Append. B Syria) or from Mt Kasion near Pelousion (*infra* Append. B Aegyptos), was in Korkyra readily identified with the Zeus of Kassiope, a Hellenic god probably connected with Mt Pantokrator (911^m) behind the town. The accidental resemblance of Κάσιος to Κασσιόπη would suffice to ensure his popularity.

¹ Zeus "Υψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. o no. (12)).

² Mt Ainos, the chief mountain of Kephallenia, rises to a height of 1620^m and is known as *Elatovouno* or *Monte Nero* of the dark fir-trees with which it was formerly clad (C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1872 ii. 372). On it was the sanctuary of Zeus Αἰνήσιος (Strab. 456 μέγιστον δ' ὄρος ἐν αὐτῇ <Αἶνος (*ins.* Nylander)>, ἐν ᾧ τὸ Διὸς Αἰνήσιου ἱερόν), to whom the Boreadaï prayed when pursuing the Harpyiαι (schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 297 δτι δὲ ἠδξαντο οἱ περὶ Ζήτην τῷ Διὶ στραφέντες λέγει καὶ ἩσιόδοC (*frag.* 57 Rzach) 'ἐνθ' οἱ γ' εὐχέσθην Αἰνήτῳ ὑψιμέδοντι.' ἐστι γὰρ καὶ Αἶνος ὄρος τῆC Κεφαλληνίας, ὅπου Αἰνήσιου Διὸς ἱερόν ἐστιν· οὐ μνημονεῖται καὶ Λέων ἐν Περιπλῳ (Leon of Byzantion *frag.* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 330 f. Müller)) καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐν τοῖC Λιμέσιν (? Demosthenes of Bithynia (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 384 Müller)). But Müller *op. cit.* ii. 331, iv. 365 emends the text to οὐ μνημονεῖται Κλέων ἐν τῷ Περιπλῳ καὶ Τιμοσθένης ἐν τοῖC Λιμέσιν. The emendation Κλέων is confirmed by *et. gen. s. v.* ἀρετάν... καὶ Κλέων ἐν τῷ Περιπλῳ (E. Miller *Mélanges de littérature grecque* Paris 1868 p. 41), and Kleon of Syracuse was associated with Timosthenes (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 365 Müller)).

Bronze coins of Pronnoi on the south-eastern coast of Kephallenia, from c. 370 B.C. onwards, have *obv.* head of Zeus Αἰνήσιος, laureate, *rev.* a fir-cone, sometimes with twigs (Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 1205, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 89 pl. 18, 7 and 8, *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 807 f. pl. 238, 26 and 27, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 428).

D. T. Ansted *The Ionian Islands in the year 1863* London 1863 p. 345 f. describes his ascent of Mt Ainos: 'Through a couple of miles of forest of these noble trees, through two or three miles also of hard, granulated snow and some snow recently fallen and very soft, I made my way from the cottage to the top of the mountain. The path is long, but

Sicily

Mount Aitne¹.

nowhere steep. It conducts by a succession of slopes and terraces to the culminating ridge, which is itself of considerable length, and comprises at least half a dozen points of rock, all within twenty feet of the highest point. There is a cairn of stones at the last of these, and the remains of an altar dedicated to Jupiter Enos. Numerous fragments of calcined bones have been taken from the ground at the foot of the altar, where there seems to be a large deposit. This point is not really the highest, being a little to the east of it and ten or fifteen feet lower; the culminating point is about 5,400 feet above the sea. The view from this summit when everything is favourable must be exceedingly grand, as, except the Pindus range which is distant, there is nothing to intercept the view. All around is a rich panorama of islands: Zante at one's feet in all its elegant beauty of form; Ithaca to the east; beyond it a silver strip of ocean, and then the gulf of Patras, which is seen in all its length to the bay of Lepanto, in the vicinity of Corinth. Athens is not much further in the same direction. A noble chain of snowy mountains shuts in this view towards the south east. Looking down in the direction of Argostoli a minute speck is seen in the water. On the island called Διος (Thios), that looks so small, was once a temple to the father of the gods, and when sacrifice was offered and the smoke was seen by the priests stationed at the altar on this summit, another sacrifice was here made, and the curling incense rising from this lofty point in the thin air was a sign, far and wide, of the completion of the offering. Here above remain the stones of the altar and the burnt bones of the bulls and the goats; there below, at a distance of several miles, the more solid and beautiful temple is gone—not one stone remains upon another, and there is nothing but the story, probable enough for that matter, to connect the two localities.¹

¹ Aitne, the greatest volcano of the ancient world, rises to a height of 10,758 ft (according to the geodetic survey of 1900) and covers not less than 460 square miles, its base being about 90 miles in circumference (K. Baedeker *Southern Italy and Sicily*¹⁶ Leipzig 1912 p. 423. For full details see W. Sartorius Freiherr von Waltershausen *Der Aetna* herausg. von A. von Lasaulx Leipzig 1880 i. ii.).

On the sea-coast at the southern foot of Mt Aitne lay the old town of Katane. And when in 476/5 B.C. Hieron I drove out its inhabitants, settled in their stead 5000 Syracusans with 5000 Peloponnesians, and renamed the place Aitne (Diod. 11. 49), he seems to have erected there a statue of Zeus Αἰτναῖος and instituted a festival called Αἰτναία (schol. Pind. *Ol.* 6. 162a ἐν τῇ Αἰτνῇ Διὸς Αἰτναίου ἀγάλμα ἴδρυνται, καὶ ἑορτῇ Αἰτναία καλεῖται, *ib.* 162 c περιπέει δὲ καὶ θεραπεύει ὁ Ἴέρων καὶ τὸ κράτος τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Αἰτνὴν τιμωμένου, schol. Pind. *Nem.* 6 Διὸς ἔνεκεν τοῦ ἐν τῇ Αἰτνῇ· Διὶ γὰρ ἀνάκειται καὶ οὗτος ὁ ἀγών· ἐν γὰρ τῇ Αἰτνῇ Διὸς ἱερόν ἐστι, *ib.* 7 ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τοῦ Αἰτναίου Διὸς ἦγον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἴέρωνα τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς στεφανίταις ἀγῶσι πεποιημένους ἐπιούκους καὶ ἦδον. κ.τ.λ.). Accordingly Pindar, in odes composed soon after Hieron's new foundation, dwells on the recently established cult (*Nem.* 1. 6 Ζητὸς Αἰτναίου χάριν, *Ol.* 6. 96 Ζητὸς Αἰτναίου κράτος, *Pylh.* 1. 29 f. Ζεῦ, ... | ὅς τοῦτ' ἐφέπεις ὄρος, κ.τ.λ., cp. *Ol.* 4. 6 ὦ Κρόνον παῖ, ὅς Αἰτναν ἔχεις κ.τ.λ.). In 461 B.C. the settlers at Katane, driven out in their turn by Douketios and his Sikeloï, captured the Sikel town Inessa (*S. Maria di Licodia*) on the southwestern slope of the mountain and transferred to it the name of Hieron's settlement Aitne (Diod. 11. 76); but whether they transferred thither the cult of Zeus Αἰτναῖος also we do not know. Perhaps they did, for in Roman times it seems to have been widely spread. E. Ciaceri *Culti e miti nella storia dell'antica Sicilia* Catania 1911 pp. 34f., 145f. cp. Diod. 34. 10 ὅτι ἡ σύγκλητος δευσιδαιμονοῦσα ἐξαπέστειλεν εἰς Σικελίαν περὶ τοὺς Σιβύλλης χρησμούς κατὰ Σιβυλλιακὸν λόγιον· οἱ δὲ ἐπελθόντες καθ' ὅλην τὴν Σικελίαν τοὺς τῷ Αἰτναίῳ Διὶ καθιδρυμένους βωμοὺς θυσιάσαντες, καὶ περιφράγματα ποιήσαντες, ἀβάτους ἀπέδεικνον τοὺς τόπους πλὴν τοῖς ἔχουσι καθ' ἕκαστον πολίτευμα πατρῶος θύει θυσίας.

The cult at Katane-Aitne is attested by coins of the town, issued from shortly before 476 to shortly before 461 B.C. Silver *litrai* have *obv.* the head of a bald Silenos, *rev.* a thunderbolt with two curled wings and the legend KATA NE often abbreviated (*Brit.*

Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily p. 42 nos. 8—11, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 171 nos. 1—5, G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 43 pl. 3, 21, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 131) or AITNAI likewise abbreviated (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* p. 43 no. 12 fig., nos. 13—16, G. F. Hill *op. cit.* p. 44, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 132). And a unique silver tetradrachm in the Hirsch collection at Brussels (*supra* i. 90 f. fig. 62) shows *obv.* AITNA ION the head of a bald Silenos wearing an ivy-wreath (Eur. *Cycl.* 18 ff. Silenos as slave of Polyphemos dwells in a cave on Mt Aitne), with a beetle beneath (Aristoph. *rax* 73 *Αἰτναίων μέγιστον κάρθαρον* and schol. *ad loc.*), *rev.* Zeus *Αἰτναῖος* sitting on a throne spread with a lion-skin. He is clad in a *himdtion*. His right hand rests on a vine-staff (Strab. 269 *ἔχειν τι οἰκείωμα πρὸς τὴν ἀμπέλον εἰκὸς τὴν Αἰτναίαν σποδόν*); his left holds a thunderbolt with two curled wings. In the field is an eagle perched on a pine-tree (Diod. 14. 42 *εἰς τὸ κατὰ τὴν Αἴτνην ὄρος ἀπέστειλε γέμον κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους πολυτελοῦς ἐλάτης τε καὶ πεύκης*). On this remarkable coin, which has been taken to represent the cult-statue of Zeus *Αἰτναῖος* (Ziegler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2475 f.), see further Baron L. de Hirsch in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1883 iii. 165 f. pl. 9, 1, B. V. Head *ib.* p. 171 ff., G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 74 f. pl. 4, 13, *id.* *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 43 ff. pl. 3, 22, G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 pp. 94 f., 97 pl. 3, 6, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 131 f. fig. 70. The types of the tetradrachm recall the famous scene in Aristoph. *rax* 62 ff., where Trygaeos tries to reach Zeus, first by clambering up light ladders towards the sky (*supra* p. 130), and then by mounting an Aetnaean beetle as a sort of Pegasos. Not improbably there were Dionysiac traits in the cult of Zeus on Mt Aitne, as there were in his cult on Mt Olympos (*supra* i. 104 ff.).

There is, however, no evidence of a Zeus-cult on Aitne earlier than *s. v* B.C. Hence the paucity of myths connecting this god with the mountain. Zeus is indeed sometimes said to have piled Aitne on Typhon (Aisch. *P. v.* 351 ff., Pind. *Pyth.* 1. 13 ff., cp. Strab. 626 f.) or on Enkelados (Lucilius (?) *Aetna* 71 ff., Stat. *Theb.* 11. 8, cp. Verg. *Aen.* 3. 578 ff., Opp. *de venat.* 1. 273 ff.); but Typhon is more properly located in the land of Arima (*supra* p. 826) or in the Corycian Cave (*supra* p. 448 n. 2), and Enkelados is commonly described as the victim of Athena, not of Zeus. Again, the Palikoi, autochthonous deities (Polemon *frag.* 83 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 140 f. Müller) *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 19. 26) of the two volcanic springs in the *Lago dei Palici* (*supra* i. 156. See further L. Bloch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1281—1295), were fathered upon Zeus. Aisch. *Αἰτναίας frag.* 7 Nauck² *ap.* Steph. *Byz. s.v.* Παλική made them the children of Zeus by Thaleia daughter of Hephaistos. *Id. ib. frag.* 6 Nauck² *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 19. 24 added that Zeus had named them Παλικοί because they would 'come again' from darkness into light. The context in Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 19. 17 ff. preserves the Aeschylean version of their myth. The nymph Thaleia, embraced by Zeus near the Sicilian river Symaithos, became pregnant and, through fear of Hera, prayed that the earth might swallow her. It did so. But in due time it opened up and Thaleia's twin sons the Παλικοί 'came again' to light. The self-transformation of Zeus into a vulture (or eagle?) in order to win the nymph (Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 22 and Clem. *Rom. hom.* 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne)—both cited *supra* i. 106 n. 2 f.) is a feature of the story, which would have appealed to Aischylos' love of spectacular effect (cp. the vase-painting *supra* i. 105 f. fig. 76). The so-called interpolator of Servius (Donatus?) knows the tale of Zeus and Thaleia, though he is muddle-headed about the eagle. But Servius himself makes the Palikoi the children of Zeus by the nymph Aitne (Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 9. 584 *Symaethos fluvius est Siciliae [a rege Symaetho dictus], haud longe ab urbe Carinensi (leg. Catinensi), circa quem sunt Palici dei, quorum talis est fabula: Aetnam nymphain [vel, ut quidam volunt, Thalam] Iuppiter cum vitiasset et fecisset gravidam, timens Iunonem, secundum alios ipsam puellam, Terrae commendavit, et illic enixa est. secundum alios partum eius, postea cum de Terra erupissent duo pueri, Palici dicti sunt, quasi iterum venientes. nam πάλιν Ικεῖον est iterum venire. In primo humanis hostiis placabantur, postea quibusdam sacris mitigati sunt et eorum immutata sacrificia. inde ergo 'placabilis ara,' quia mitigata sunt eorum numina. [Palicos nauticos deos Varro appellat. alii dicunt Iovem hunc Palicum propter Iunonis iracundiam in aquilam commutasse. alii Vulcani et Aetnae filium tradunt, sed etc.]). Another line of*

Akragas¹.

tradition or conjecture speaks of Hephaistos, not Zeus, as father of the Palikoi (Silenos *frag.* 7 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 101 Müller) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Παλική). Yet another prefers Adranos (Hesych. *s.v.* Παλικοί, *cp.* Plout. *v.* *Timol.* 12), the Syrian Hadran (*supra* i. 232 n. 1, ii. 630). It may be surmised that their original connexion was with the Earth rather than with the Sky.

Be that as it may, the cult of Zeus as a mountain-god in the region of Aitne is hardly of great antiquity. The ancient god of the district was the 'Minoan' Kronos (Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 154 p. 170, 6 ff. Wiensch cited *supra* p. 554 n. 3).

¹ Akragas, a joint colony from Rhodes and Gela (C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1188), had an *akropolis* named Mt Atabyrion (J. Schubring *Historische Topographie von Akragas in Sicilien während der klassischen Zeit* Leipzig 1870 pp. 21—28 'Die Akropolis'). On the top of it was a sanctuary of Zeus Ἀταβύριος resembling that at Rhodes (Polyb. 9. 27. 7 f. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κορυφῆς Ἀθηναῖς ἱερὸν ἐκτισται καὶ Διὸς Ἀταβυρίου, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ Ῥοδίοις· τοῦ γὰρ Ἀκράγαντος ὑπὸ Ῥοδίων ἀπφικισμένου, εἰκότως ὁ θεὸς οὗτος τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει προσηγορίαν ἣν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥοδίοις). With Zeus Ἀταβύριος must be identified Zeus Πολλεύς (J. Schubring *op. cit.* p. 24), whose temple on the highest point of the rocky site was built by Phalaris (Polyain. 5. 1. 1 cited *supra* i. 122) in the first half of *s. vi* B.C. Phalaris' famous bull of bronze (Pind. *Pyth.* 1. 95 f., *alib.*) seems to have been the sacred beast of Zeus Ἀταβύριος, the Hellenic successor of a Hittite bull-god (*supra* i. 643 f., *cp.* 784 f. figs. 567—569. F. Hrozny *Hethitische Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* Leipzig 1919 i. 1 ff. no. 1 a list of Tešub-cults recording a great bull of silver (i, 34 f.) and several great bulls of iron (ii, 12, 24, 34, 41, iii, 2, 8), one of them with gilded eyes (iv. 3)). The Carthaginians, on capturing Akragas (405 B.C.), carried off the bull, which had a trap-door between its shoulders and pipes in its nostrils (Polyb. 12. 25. 3, Diod. 9. 19 *ap.* Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 646 ff.), to Carthage (Polyb. 12. 25. 3, Diod. 13. 90). Timaios, according to one account, denied that the bull at Carthage had come from Akragas, declaring that the Agrigentines had never possessed the like (Tim. *frag.* 116, 117 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 221 f., 222 Müller) *ap.* Polyb. 12. 25. 1 ff., Diod. 13. 90). But, according to another account, he stated that they had flung the original bull into the sea, and that the bull exhibited at Akragas was only an effigy of the river Gelas (Tim. *frag.* 118 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 222 Müller) *ap.* schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 1. 185). Scipio brought the bull back from Carthage to Akragas (Cic. *Verr.* 4. 73, Diod. 13. 90), where it was still to be seen *c.* 60 B.C. (Diod. 13. 90). See further J. Schubring *op. cit.* p. 24 ff., G. Busolt *Griechische Geschichte* Gotha 1893 i². 422 n. 4.

The temple of Zeus Ἀταβύριος or Πολλεύς is in all probability to be sought beneath the Cathedral of S. Gerlando (bishop of Agrigentum; died Feb. 25, 1101 A.D. *cp.* *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Februarius iii. 592 c (Pirrus e gestis S. Gerlandi) Cathedrale templum quadrato lapide ac nobili structurâ à fundamentis excitavit, illudque D. Marie (uti à D. Petro fuerat olim dicatum) & D. Iacobo Apostolo consecravit iv die Aprilis) on the highest part of modern *Girgenti* (C. Hülsen *loc. cit.*). J. Schubring *op. cit.* p. 24 says 'dass S. Gerlando auf den Substruktionen eines alten Tempels erbaut ist und unbedenklich erkläre ich die grossen Stufen und Quaderbauten, die aus dem Boden hervorragen, für antike Reste.' But R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein *Die griechischen Tempel in Unteritalien und Sicilien* Berlin 1899 i. 139, while agreeing that S. Gerlando marks the site of the temple, add: 'Leider ist von diesem Bau des Phalaris, dem einzigen sicilischen Tempel des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., über den wir eine historische Nachricht haben, nichts erhalten.' Excavation may yet find traces of it. The substantial remains of a Doric hexastyle peripteral temple of *s. v* B.C. beneath the neighbouring church of S. Maria de' Greci were published by Domenico lo Faso Pietrasanta Duca di Serradifalco *Le Antichità della Sicilia* Palermo 1836 iii. 86 f. pls. 43, 44 as belonging to the temple of Zeus Πολλεύς, but should rather be identified with the temple of Athena (J. Schubring *op. cit.* p. 26, R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein *op. cit.* i. 140 ff., ii pl. 20).

On a hill (75^m high) to the west of the so-called *Porta Aurea*, which led through the

southern wall of the lower city towards the sea (Liv. 26. 40), was the vast but unfinished temple of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος (Polyb. 9. 27. 9 καὶ ὁ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου νεὸς παντέλειαν (so J. A. Ernesti, followed by F. Hultsch, for πολυτέλειαν codd. F.S. Cluverius cj. συντέλειαν) μὲν οὐκ εἴληφε, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος οὐδ' ὅποιον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δοκεῖ λείπεσθαι). When Theron, making common cause with Gelon, had vanquished the huge host of the Carthaginians at Himera (480 B.C.), the Agrigentines used their numerous prisoners of war to hew stone for the construction of their largest temples (Diod. 11. 25). The Olympion must have taken many years to build; indeed, it was not yet roofed when in 405 B.C. Akragas was captured by the Carthaginians, and roofless it remained (Diod. 13. 82). In 255 B.C., during the First Punic War, Karthalon besieged and took Akragas; whereupon the remnant of the population fled for refuge to the Olympion (Diod. 23. 14). This great fabric fell gradually into decay. But part of it, supported by three Giants and certain columns, did not collapse till Dec. 9, 1401 A.D. Hence the arms of *Girgenti* (a turreted wall resting on three naked Giants), the mediaeval line *signal Agrigentum mirabilis aula Gigantum*, and the popular name for the ruins *Palazzo de Giganti* (T. Fazellus *de rebus Siculis* Panormi 1558 p. 127 (dec. 1 lib. 6 cap. 1)). In modern times the temple has served as a public quarry, the mole of *Porto Empedocle* being built of its blocks (1749—1763 A.D.) (R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein *op. cit.* i. 154).

There is a detailed account of the Olympion in Diod. 13. 82 ἡ τε γὰρ τῶν ἱερῶν κατασκευὴ καὶ μάλιστα ὁ τοῦ Διὸς νεὸς ἐμφαίνει τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων· τῶν μὲν οὖν (so F. Vogel for γὰρ codd.) ἄλλων ἱερῶν τὰ μὲν κατεκαύθη, τὰ δὲ τελείως κατεσκάφη διὰ τὸ πολλάκις ἠλωκέναι τὴν πόλιν, τὸ δ' (so F. Vogel for δ' οὖν codd.) Ὀλύμπιον μέλλον λαμβάνει τὴν ὀροφὴν ὁ πόλεμος ἐκώλυσεν· ἐξ οὗ τῆς πόλεως κατασκαφίσεως οὐδέποτε ὕστερον ἴσχυσαν Ἀκραγαγῖνοι τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς οἰκοδομήμασιν. ἔστι δὲ ὁ νεὸς ἔχων τὸ μὲν μήκος πῶδας τριακοσίου τεσσαράκοντα, τὸ δὲ πλάτος <ἐκατὸν (ins. T. Kidd, J. Schubring)> ἐξήκοντα, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἑκατὸν εἰκοσι χωρὶς τοῦ κρηπιδώματος. μέγιστος δ' ὦν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκτὸς οὐκ ἀλόγως ἂν συγκρίνοιτο κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ὑποστάσεως· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ τέλος λαβεῖν συνέβη τὴν ἐπιβολὴν, ἡ γὲ προαιρεσις (so J. J. Reiske for προδιαρσεις codd.) ὑπάρχει φανερά. τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἡ μέχρι τοίχων (sic codd. J. J. Reiske cj. μετὰ τοίχων. L. Dindorf cj. μέχρι θριγκῶν. F. Vogel cj. μέχρι τεγῶν vel συνεχεῖ τοίχῳ) τοὺς νεὸς οἰκοδομούντων ἡ κύκλω κίσει (so P. Wesseling, followed by F. Vogel, for ἡ κύκλωσις or κυκλώσει codd. Stephanus cj. ἡ κίσει) τοὺς σκουῖς (so J. J. Reiske, followed by F. Vogel, for σκουοι codd. Stephanus cj. τοίχους) περιλαμβανόντων, οἷτος ἑκατέρας τούτων μετέχει τῶν ὑποστάσεων· συνυκοδομοῦντο γὰρ τοῖς τοίχοις οἱ κίονες (so L. Dindorf for οἱ τοῖχοι τοῖς κίονι codd.), ἔξωθεν μὲν στρογγύλοι, τὸ δ' ἐντὸς τοῦ νεῶ ἔχοντες τετράγωνον· καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐκτὸς μέρους ἐστὶν αὐτῶν ἡ περιφέρεια ποδῶν εἰκοσι, καθ' ἣν εἰς τὰ διαξύματα δύναται ἀνθρώπινον ἐναρμόζεσθαι σῶμα, τὸ (L. Dindorf cj. τοῦ) δ' ἐντὸς ποδῶν δώδεκα. τῶν δὲ στοῶν τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ ὕψος ἐξαισιον ἔχουσῶν, ἐν μὲν τῷ πρὸς ἑω μέρει τὴν Γίγαντομαχίαν ἐποιήσαντο γλυφαῖς (so L. Dindorf for ταῖς γλυφαῖς codd. F.K. ταῖς τε γλυφαῖς cett. codd.) καὶ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ κάλλει διαφερούσαις (so L. Dindorf for διαφερούσας codd. P.A.K. διαφέρουσαι cett. codd.), ἐν δὲ τῷ πρὸς δυσμᾶς τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Τροίας, ἐν ἣ τῶν ἡρώων ἕκαστον ἰδεῖν ἔστιν οἰκείως τῆς περιστάσεως δεδημουργημένον.

The temple, of which substantial remains still strew the ground, was a Doric pseudo-peripteral building with seven half-columns on the short side and fourteen half-columns on the long side. These columns (lower diameter 4'30^m, upper diameter 3'10^m), engaged externally in the wall of the *naós*, appear internally as rectangular pilasters. If completed, they would have the normal number of twenty flutes, flutes of so vast a size (0'55^m broad) that a man can easily stand in each as in a niche. Beneath the half-column is a moulded base, which is continued along the intercolumniation-wall as a moulded plinth. The stylobate, of four steps surmounted by a projecting cornice, rests on a stereobate measuring 113'45^m × 56'30^m. The architrave (3'20^m high) was formed of three superposed courses of stone. The metopes were single slabs left plain. The pediments were filled with groups representing the Gigantomachy at the eastern end and the capture of Troy at the western end (a few fragments only preserved). The building was throughout of yellowish shell-limestone covered with a fine skin of stucco and decorated with the usual patterns in paint.

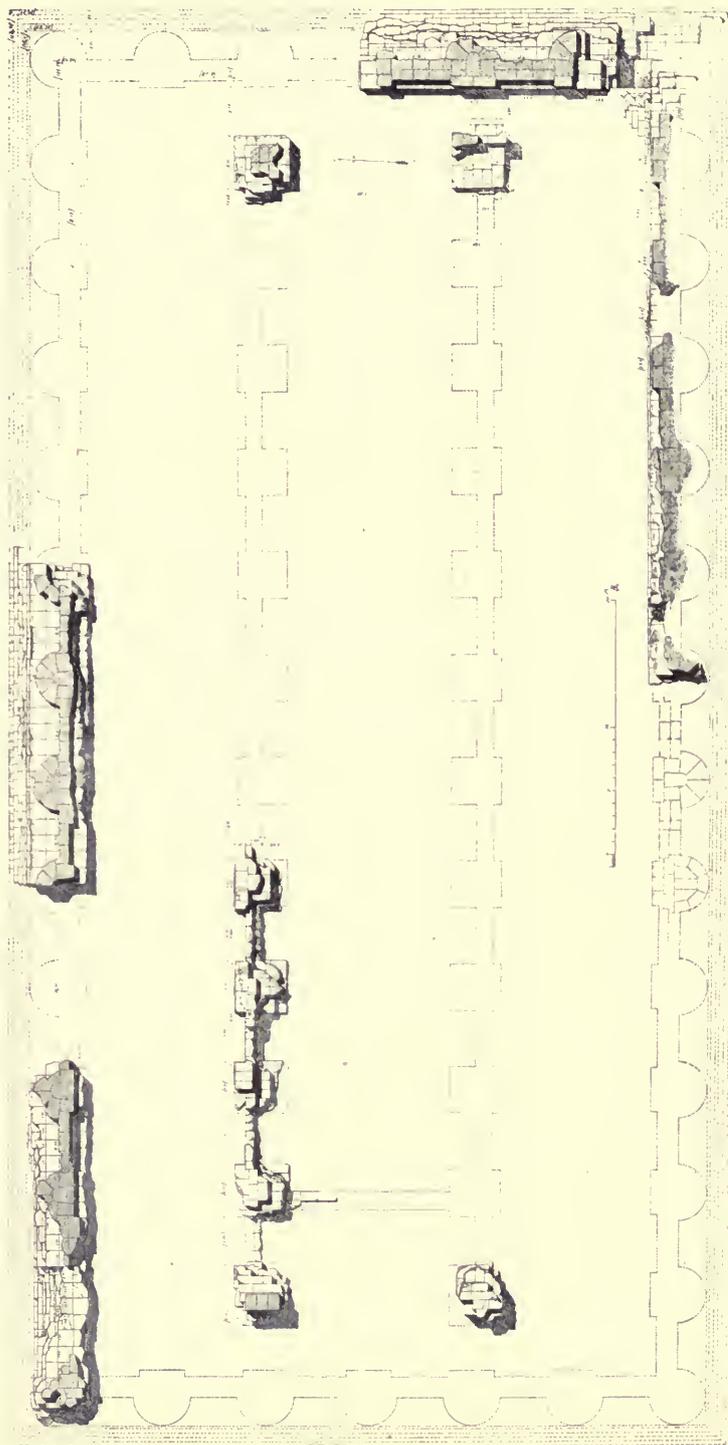


Fig. 825.

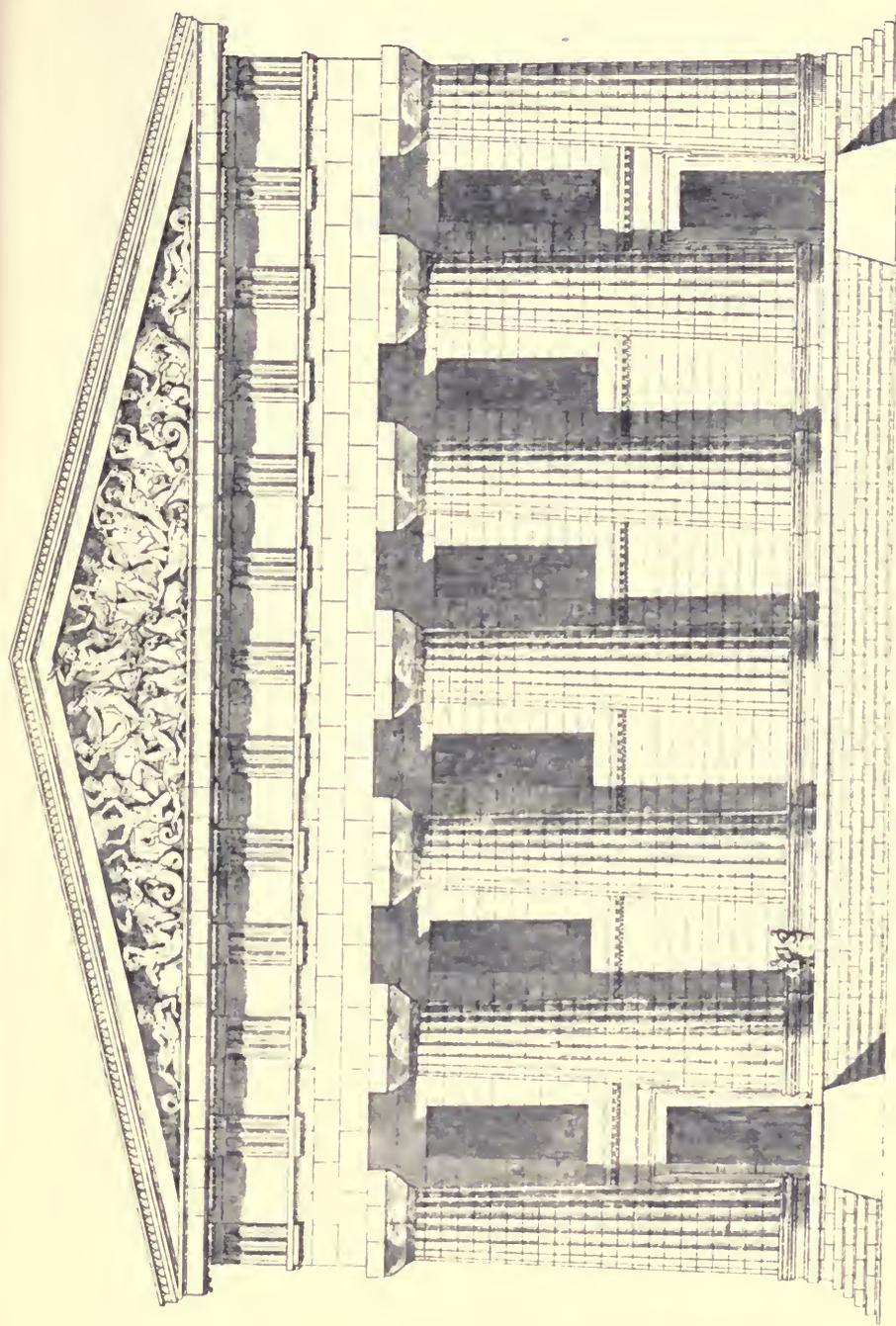


Fig. 826.

Inside, the *nabs* (101.16^m × 44.01^m) is divided into a nave and two side-aisles by means of two parallel walls, each of which has twelve square pillars engaged in it and forming a series of lateral niches. A cross-wall towards the western end is extant for part of its length. The great altar, as broad as the temple itself, was situated in front of the eastern *façade* at a distance of 50.8^m.

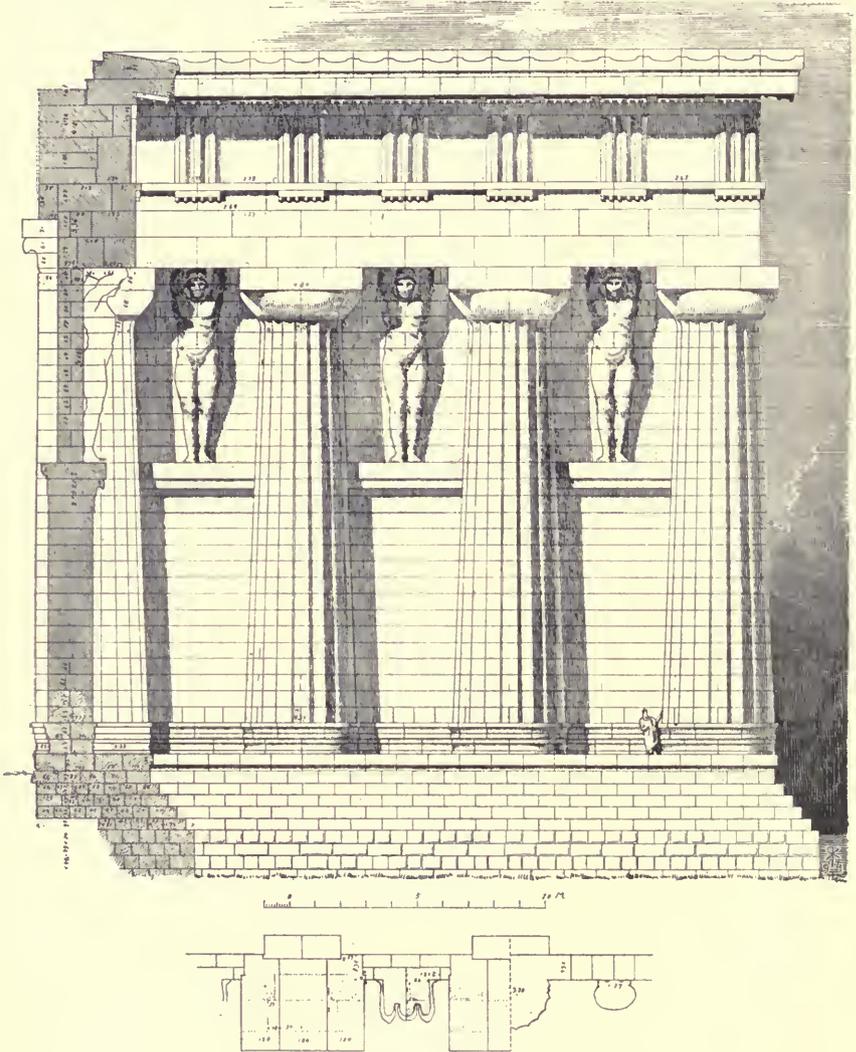


Fig. 827.

Several points are still unsettled. (1) The temple was in all probability entered at the eastern end through the two outermost intercolumniations (C. R. Cockerell, R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein), not at the western end through a large central doorway (Serradifalco, A. Holm). But it is not clear whether we should assume the existence of two ramps leading up to the side-entries (C. R. Cockerell). (2) The two walls dividing the *nabs* into





The Olympieion at Syracuse.

See page 915 n. 2.

Akrai¹.Syracuse².

nave and aisles were either prolonged to meet the western wall of the temple, in which case the cross-wall marked the beginning of an inner sanctuary or *dáyton* (R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein), or stopped before reaching the western wall, in which case the cross-wall marked the beginning of an *opisthódomos* (C. R. Cockerell, Serradifalco, J. Durm, G. Perrot—C. Chipiez). (3) Many sections of huge Atlantes (7·68^m high) have been found in the temple, and one reconstructed Atlas now lies on his back within the building. But they are not mentioned by Diodoros, and their original position has been much debated. C. R. Cockerell (1830) supposed that they stood above the pillars of the nave, supporting on their upturned arms an entablature intended to carry the transverse beams of the roof. Serradifalco (1836) was inclined to place them against the pillars of the nave, but at a lower level. J. Durm (1892), G. Perrot—C. Chipiez (1898), and A. Choisy (1898) reverted to the position advocated by Cockerell. But R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein (1899), observing that the southern wall of the temple had fallen outwards and that its ruins included several blocks belonging to Atlantes, proposed a fresh reconstruction according to which these gigantic figures were placed high up in the external intercolumniations, each standing on a cornice and supporting the architrave above his head. J. Durm (1910) finally accepted Puchstein's restoration in preference to his own. (4) Koldewey and Puchstein speak of Atlantes and Caryatids. The existence of the latter is inferred, partly from the survival of a single apparently female head (Serradifalco *op. cit.* iii pl. 25, 2), partly from the fact that the arms of *Girgenti* figure one female standing between two male Giants—Fama between Enceladus and Caesus (Serradifalco *op. cit.* iii. 3 fig.).

See further C. R. Cockerell in J. Stuart—N. Revett *Antiquities of Athens and other places in Greece Sicily etc.* London 1830 iv. 1—10 with frontispiece, vignette, and pls. 1—8 (my fig. 826 is from part of pl. 2), Serradifalco *op. cit.* iii. 52—69 with pls. 20—27, Durm *Bankunst d. Gr.*³ p. 210 f. figs. 138—140 and Index p. 368, *ib.*³ pp. 104 fig. 72, 141 fig. 112, 401—406 figs. 369—372, 428 with fig. 389, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vii. 400 f. pl. 18 and Index p. 673, R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein *op. cit.* i. 153—166 with figs. 134—144 (my fig. 827 is from their fig. 143), ii pls. 22 and 23, B. Pace 'Il tempio di Giove Olimpico in Agrigento' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1922 xxviii ('in corso di stampa').

¹ Zeus Ἀκραιός (*supra* p. 873 n. o no. (11)).

² On a hill (60 ft. high) half-surrounded by the *Fiume Ciani* and overlooking the *Porto Grande* of Syracuse stand two weather-worn columns on a broken stylobate—all that today remains of the once famous temple of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος. This was a Doric peripteral structure of coarse shell-limestone. It had six columns at either end and seventeen down either side, being about three times as long as it was broad. The columns were short and thick: one, without a capital, measures *c.* 6·50^m in height and *c.* 1·85^m in diameter. They were monolithic and had no *éntasis*. The flutes were sixteen in number; and round the foot ran a small unfluted band, a feature possibly derived from the circular stone base of a timber prototype. Cornice and gutter were embellished with a revetment of painted terra cotta. The roofing was of large flat tiles and round cover-tiles. In short, the building shows every sign of archaism and must be dated *c.* 600 B.C. It is thus one of the earliest of all Greek temples and quite the oldest surviving temple of Zeus.

It has been supposed that the cult at Syracuse was descended from the cult at Olympia (R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein *Die griechischen Tempel in Unteritalien und Sicilien* Berlin 1899 i. 59). But this is far from clear. No doubt the rulers of Syracuse made repeated dedications in the Olympian Ἄλτις (Paus. 6. 12. 1 ff., 6. 19. 7, *Olympia* v. 363 ff. no. 249, 675 f. no. 661). But is it likely that the filial cult dignified the god with a stone-built temple more than a century before the parent followed suit? I would rather assume (with E. Ciaceri *Culti e miti nella storia dell' antica Sicilia* Catania 1911 p. 138) that the Syracusans brought the cult from their *metrópolis* Corinth. For just outside Corinth, on the left of the road leading to Sikyon, Pausanias noted a temple which had been burnt down. Some said that it belonged to Apollon and had been fired by Pyrrhos son of

Achilles; others, that it was the temple of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος and had been accidentally burnt (Paus. 2. 5. 5)—an ominous occurrence which deterred the Corinthians from joining the expedition of Agesilaos against Artaxerxes Mnemon in 396 B.C. (Paus. 3. 9. 2). Of the burnt temple, if I am not mistaken, sundry fragments still subsist. An archaic column-drum and architrave-block of limestone, built into the wall of a late edifice some 500^m to the north of the 'Old Temple,' are attributed by W. Dörpfeld to an ancient Doric fane of even larger size. They resemble in dimensions (cp. W. M. Leake *Travels in the Morea* London 1830 iii. 247 f.) the corresponding members of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. Dörpfeld suggested that they came from the temple of Apollon mentioned by Paus. 2. 3. 6 (W. Dörpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1886 xi. 307 f.). But, thanks to the excavations of the American School, we now know that this temple of Apollon is none other than the extant 'Old Temple' (R. B. Richardson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1897 i. 464, 1900 iv. 225 f., B. Powell 'The Temple of Apollo at Corinth' *ib.* 1905 ix. 51, 53). Accordingly I should conjecture that the archaic drum and architrave really came from the temple of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος on the left of the Sicyonian road, and that this was in fact the parent of the Syracusan Olympieion. Further excavation will some day test the accuracy of my surmise.

Whatever its precise pedigree, the Syracusan sanctuary was held in high esteem. Here were preserved the tribal lists of Syracuse (Plout. *v. Nic.* 14), and in the *formula* of the civic oath Zeus Ὀλύμπιος took precedence of all other deities except the venerable goddess of hearth and home (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 7 ii, 6 ff. in lettering later than the time of Hieron ii ὄρκιον βουλᾶς κα[ὶ ἀρχόντων (?)] | καὶ τῶν ἄλλων [πολιτᾶν] | ὁμνύω τὰν Ἰστίαν τῶ[ν] Συρακοσίων καὶ τὸν Ζῆνα | τὸν Ὀλύμπιον καὶ τὰν [. καὶ τὸν] | Ποσειδῶνα --]). Moreover, for some three hundred years the ἀμφίπολος or priest of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος was eponymous magistrate of the city (Diod. 16. 70 κατέστησε δὲ (sc. Timoleon in 343 B.C.) καὶ τὴν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐντιμοτάτην ἀρχήν, ἣν ἀμφίπολιαν Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου οἱ Συρακοῦσιοι καλοῦσι. καὶ ἤρθε πρῶτος ἀμφίπολος Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου Καλλιμένης, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διετέλεσαν οἱ Συρακοῦσιοι τοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς ἐπιγράφοντες τοῖτους τοῖς ἄρχουσι μέχρι τῶνδε τῶν ιστοριῶν γραφομένων καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν ἀλλαγῆς. τῶν γὰρ Ῥωμαίων μεταδόντων τοῖς Σικελιώταις τῆς πολιτείας (sc. in 44 B.C.) ἢ τῶν ἀμφιπόλων ἀρχὴ ἐταπεινώθη, διαμείνασα ἔτη πλείω τῶν τριακοσίων). Every year three candidates, chosen by vote from three clans (*ex tribus generibus*, on which see E. Ciaceri *op. cit.* p. 136 n. 1), cast lots for the office of priest—a rule of succession which was jealously guarded (Cic. *in Verr.* 2. 2. 126 f., cp. 2. 4. 137).

Round the temple grew up a settlement known as Πολίχνα or 'Small Town' (Thouk. 7. 4, Diod. 13. 7, 14. 72), which, never permanently fortified by the Syracusans, was frequently occupied by forces attacking their city.

Hippokrates tyrant of Gela, after vanquishing the Syracusans in the battle on the Heloros (493/2 B.C.), encamped in the sanctuary of Zeus. Having caught the priest and certain Syracusans trying to carry off various votive offerings of gold and in particular the golden *himdtion* of Zeus, he taxed them with sacrilege, bade them depart to the city, and would not himself lay hands on the sacred objects (Diod. 10. 28). Others, however, state that the golden *himdtion*, which weighed no less than 85 talents (Ail. *var. hist.* 1. 20), was dedicated by Gelon or Hieron after the battle of Himera in 480 B.C. and carried off by Dionysios i (405—367 B.C.), who left a woollen one in its stead with the caustic remark that in summer it would be lighter and in winter warmer wear (Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 83 (where *ad Peloponnesum* etc. is due to an obvious confusion), Val. Max. 1. 1. ext. 3, Lact. *div. inst.* 2. 4). The jest is attributed sometimes to Dionysios ii (367—343 B.C.) (Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 52. 2 p. 40, 18 ff. Stählin, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 21). If these tales are to be trusted, it would seem that Zeus Ὀλύμπιος at Syracuse had a golden *himdtion* long before 438 B.C., the year in which Pheidias began his chryselephantine Zeus at Olympia (*supra* p. 757).

The Athenians, when attacking Syracuse in 415 B.C., landed near the Olympieion and encamped there (Thouk. 6. 64 f.). After the fight the Syracusans, though defeated, sent men to guard the Olympieion, lest its treasures should be plundered by the Athenians (Thouk. 6. 70). But the Athenians returned to Katane, and did not go to the sanctuary

Tyndaris¹.

(Thouk. 6. 71), or, if they did, disturbed none of the votive offerings and left the Syracusan priest in charge of them (Paus. 10. 28. 6). That same winter the Syracusans put a garrison in the Olympieion and erected a stockade on the sea-shore to prevent a possible landing (Thouk. 6. 75). In the following year (414 B.C.) a third part of the Syracusan cavalry was posted at Polichna to control the movements of the Athenians at Plemmyrion (Thouk. 7. 4).

Again, in 396 B.C. Himilkon, on his expedition against Dionysios i, took up his quarters in the temple and encamped his forces near by, at a distance of twelve stades from the city (Diod. 14. 62 f.). But Dionysios captured Polichna by storm and in turn pitched his camp at the sanctuary (Diod. 14. 72 and 74).

In 345 B.C. Hiketas tyrant of Leontinoi, in the course of his operations against Dionysios ii, fortified the Olympion with a palisade (Diod. 16. 68).

In 309 B.C. Hamilkar son of Geskon, again with a view to attacking Syracuse, seized τούς περί τὸ Ὀλύμπιον τόπους (Diod. 20. 29).

In 214 B.C. the Romans, who under M. Claudius Marcellus were then besieging Syracuse, likewise encamped *ad Olympium—Iovis id templum est—mille et quingentos passus ab urbe* (Liv. 24. 33).

The Olympieion was, in fact, a constant centre of military activity. Hence, when we read that Verres at Syracuse carried off *ex aede Iovis religiosissimum simulacrum Iovis Imperatoris, quem Graeci Ὀθριον nominant, pulcherrime factum* (Cic. in Verr. 2. 4. 128, *supra* p. 708), I am inclined to think that the masterpiece in question was a votive figure in the temple of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος, whose position enabled him to control winds and wars alike, rather than a cult-statue erected in some hypothetical temple believed to have stood near the shore adjoining the *empōrion* of Achradine (R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein *op. cit.* i. 57).

See further T. Fazellus *de rebus Siculis Panormi* 1558 p. 107 (dec. i lib. 4 cap. 1 'Templum hoc prostratum est hodie. Cuius iacentes plures, & erectæ quædam cernuntur columnæ, sed præterea nihil'), V. Mirabella *Dichiarazioni della pianta dell' antiche Siracuse*, etc. Napoli 1613 p. 72 f. ('Di questo Tempio appariscono oggi nō picciole reliquie, sendovi anco in piede molte colonne scannellate di lavor dorico'), P. Cluverius *Sicilia antiqua*; etc. Lugduni Batavorum 1619 p. 179 ('Exstant hodièq; eius fani...VII reliquæ columnæ prægrandes, cum aliis quadratorum saxorum fragmentis'), J. Houel *Voyage pittoresque des isles de Sicile, de Malte et de Lipari* 1785 iii. 95 f. pl. 192 (view of remains visible in 1770: 'Il y avoit alors plusieurs colonnes renversées par terre, avec les chapiteaux: deux seules colonnes étoient encore debout; mais elles n'avoient plus de chapiteaux'), Serradifalco *op. cit.* iv. 153 f. pls. 28 (view) and 29 (plan, elevation), F. S. Cavallari—A. Holm *Topografia archeologica di Siracusa* Palermo 1883 pp. 24, 53 f., 104, 166 ff., 263 f., 283, 327, 379 f., R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein *op. cit.* i. 58—60, 66—68, ii pl. 8 (careful ground-plan), P. Orsi 'L'Olympieion di Siracusa' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1903 xiii. 369—392 with figs. 1—6 and pl. 17 (= my pl. xli), E. Ciaceri *op. cit.* p. 136 ff.

Another handsome temple of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος was founded by Hieron ii in the *Agorà* of Achradine (Diod. 16. 83, Cic. in Verr. 2. 4. 119). The Gallic and Illyrian spoils presented to Hieron by the people of Rome (Plout. v. Marc. 8) were hung in this temple, but were commandeered by the insurgents under Theodotos and Sosis in 214 B.C. (Liv. 24. 21). The central *kerkis* of the Syracusan theatre bears the name of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 3, 5 ΔΙΟΣΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΥ 'litteris cubitalibus,' cp. M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 pp. 49 f., 86, 181) in allusion to the god of Hieron's new temple (F. S. Cavallari—A. Holm *op. cit.* p. 287, R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein *op. cit.* i. 57).

¹ Coppers of Tyndaris struck c. 254—210 B.C. or later have sometimes *obv.* a female head (Tyndaris) with *stephane* or corn-ear (?) and veil, *rev.* ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΤΑΝ Zeus, half-draped, standing to left, with a thunderbolt in his outstretched right hand and a transverse sceptre in his left (F. von Duhn in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1876 iii. 30 no. 7, cp.

Naxos

Mount Drios¹.

Paros

Mount *Kounádos*².

Delos

Mount Kynthos³.

Rasche *Lex. Num.* x. 527); or *obv.* head of Zeus, laureate, to right, *rev.* ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΤΑΝ the Dioskouroi standing with, or without, their horses (F. von Duhn *loc. cit.* p. 30 no. 10, p. 30 f. no. 11, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* p. 236 nos. 9 and 10); or *obv.* head of Zeus, laureate, to right, with star of eight rays behind it, *rev.* ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΤΑΝ eagle to right, standing with open wings on a thunderbolt (F. von Duhn *loc. cit.* p. 31 no. 12, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* p. 236 no. 11). See further Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 33 f., G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 201 f., Head *Hist. num.*² p. 190. These coins imply the cult, not only of Tyndaris (Helene) and the Tyndaridai (Kastor and Polydeukes), but also of Zeus to whom the children of Tyndareos were early affiliated (*supra* i. 279 f., 780).

Among the ruins of Tyndaris (for which see Serradifalco *op. cit.* v. 48 ff. pls. 29—35) was found a colossal statue of Zeus, finely carved in Greek marble. It is now in the *Cortile Grande* of the Museo Nazionale at Palermo. The head, right arm, left leg, and lower part of right leg were restored by the local sculptor Villareale. But enough of the original remains to show that Zeus stood erect, his right arm raised to hold a long spear or sceptre, his left wholly enveloped in the *himátion* that covered him from the waist downwards. W. Abeken 'Giove Imperatore ossia Urío' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1839 xi. 62—72 pl. A, 1—3 justly compared the figures of Zeus Στρατηγός on a coin of Amastris (*supra* p. 707 fig. 639) and of Zeus Οὔριος on a coin of Syracuse (*supra* p. 708 fig. 643)—a comparison accepted by Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 130—132 no. 25 fig. 12, who ranges the statue from Tyndaris with another colossal statue in the Louvre (Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* iii. 42 pl. 311 fig. 683) as forming the first group of his 'Vierte Classe.' Probably the inhabitants of Tyndaris had dedicated to Zeus a copy of the Syracusan masterpiece carried off by Verres (*supra* pp. 708, 917 n. o).

The temple of the god is said to have stood on a steep height to the west of the town, which in 1558 A.D. was still known as the Mount of Jove (T. Fazellus *de rebus Siculis Panormi* 1558 p. 205 (dec. 1 lib. 9 cap. 7) 'Extra vrbem occidentem versus, in colle vicino, & vndiq; præciso, qui ab accolis adhuc hodie mons Iouis appellatur, templi Iouis mirabiles cernuntur ruinae').

¹ Zeus Μηλώσιος (*supra* i. 164 f., 520 n. 2). F. Solmsen in *Glotta* 1909 i. 80 connects Zeus Μηλώσιος with *μηλώτης, cp. Hesych. *s.vv.* μηλατάν· τὸν ποιμένα. Βοιωτοὶ and μηλόται· ποιμένες (on which glosses see M. Schmidt *ad locc.*). Different is Zeus Μηλιος on an imperial copper of Nikaia in Bithynia (P. Piovene *I Cesari in metallo mezzano e piccolo raccolti nel Museo Farnese* Parma 1724 ix. 238 pl. 8, 21, Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. v. 84 no. 427 (in the Farnese collection) *obv.* ΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ head of Domitian, laureate, with countermark of an animal running; *rev.* ΖΕΥΣ ΜΗΛΙΟΣ Zeus seated, holding thunderbolt and sceptre, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 406 n. 2). O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1203 cp. Zeus Ἄρπειος (Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 264 Ἐπίθετα Διός no. (1) ἄρπειου, 266 Ἐπίθετα Διός no. (15) ἄρπειου).

² *Supra* p. 875 n. 1 no. (5).

³ Mt Kynthos in the centre of Delos is a granitic cone, which rises to a height of 112·60^m (*Delos* i pl. 1. View from the west *ib.* iv. 1 fig. 1). Strab. 485 describes it as ὄρος ὑψηλὸν...καὶ τραχύ, where G. Kramer alters ὑψηλόν, 'high,' into ψιλόν, 'bare.' It is true that the granite and gneiss, of which the mountain is composed (geological detail in *Delos* iv. 1), do not afford the earth required by tree-roots. But, for all that, ὑψηλόν is correct: Kynthos, partly because of its dominating position, partly because of its proximity

to the sea, looks more of a mountain than it really is (*Délos* iv. 1. 196 f.). On the summit is a small plateau, which commands a magnificent view of the Kyklades. When I visited the spot in 1901, it was carpeted with crimson anemones and surrounded by stretches of azure sea.

Here in antiquity was the precinct of Zeus *Kynthios* and Athena *Kynthia* (L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2473) first excavated by Lebègue in 1873 (J. A. Lebègue *Recherches sur Délos* Paris 1876 pp. 127—172 with plan on p. 127 (= my fig. 828) and list of inscriptions from the sanctuary). Three separate roads (A, B, C), probably processional paths bordered with *stélai* and statues, led up to the western side of the precinct, where was a gateway (E). Within was a rocky elevation (F) with cuttings for votive slabs etc. (G). The plateau was enclosed by a precinct-wall (I), much of which remains standing on the north, west, and east. At its south-eastern corner was a small temple (S) of late date.

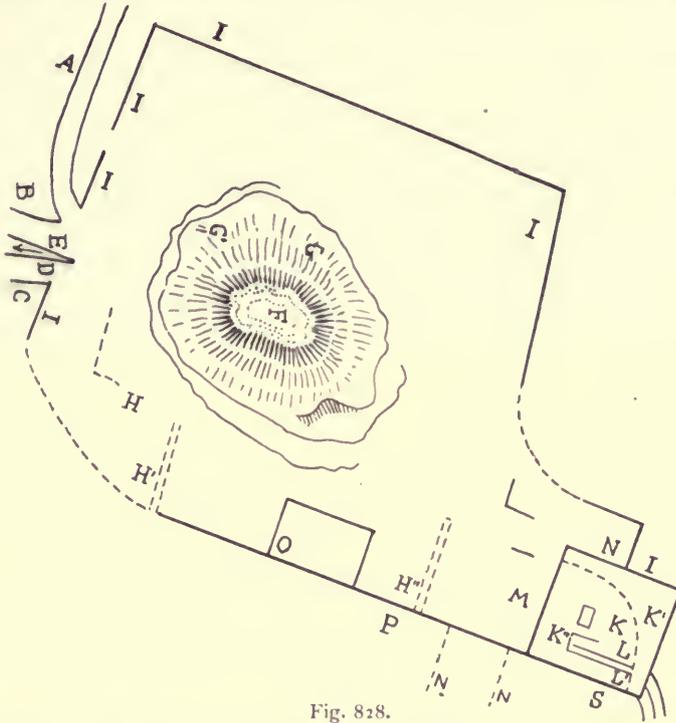


Fig. 828.

The fragments found point to a distyle *templum in antis* of Ionic or composite order with unfluted columns (0.42^m in diameter). At a height of 2^m above the ruins of this temple there was a sacred cistern, into which the water from the roof drained by means of a double conduit (L, L'). The cistern had a mosaic flooring, of which the greater part (K) survives, though a strip to the east (K') has been destroyed by the collapse of the terrace-wall. The mosaic consists of small white stones and fragments of brick set in cement. An inscription in bluish *tesserae* on a white ground with an oblong framework of bluish stones (K'') records the dedication of the cistern in Roman times (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* p. 139 ff. no. 1 Διὶ Κυνθίῳ καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ Κυνθία | Ἀπολλωνίδης Θεογείτονος | Λαοδικεύς, ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ | τῶν ἑταίρων, τὸ κατάκλιςτον ('cistern'), ἐπὶ ἱερέως Ἀριστομάχου, | ζακορέοντος Νικηφόρου (after 88/7 B.C.), | ἐπὶ δὲ ἐπιμελητοῦ Κοῦντου Ἀζηνιεύς). My fig. 829 is from photograph no. 1302 in the collection of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies). Adjoining the cistern was a platform (N), where ashes and fragments of bone, the *débris* of sacrifices,

were buried. South of the rocky summit was an enclosure (O) walled in on the north by blocks of schist, on the other sides by architectural fragments, *stélai*, and broken statues. It contained some thirty urns filled with ashes and animal bones. The urns measured 0·60^m to 0·70^m in height, having rounded handles and a foot, not a pointed base. Miscellaneous finds included a small terra-cotta palmette from the pediment of an *aedicula*, a

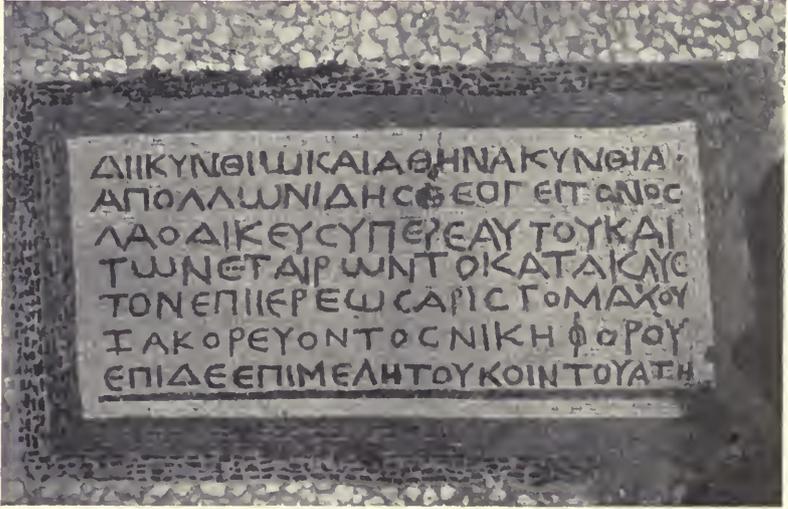


Fig. 829.

colossal hand in Pentelic marble apparently holding a thunderbolt (Zeus *Kύρθιος*?), a small head in Parian marble (Apollon?), the lower half of a sun-dial, several altars large and small (two decorated with *bucrania* and inscriptions were found at some distance from the temple: J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* pp. 137, 166 f. nos. 21, 22), etc.

The history of the sanctuary has been well worked out from inscriptions by P. Roussel *Délos Colonie athénienne* Paris 1916 pp. 223—228, 290 f., 335, 434 f., whose results are here summarised (with a few additions in square brackets).

Zeus and Athena, though their association on *akropolis* etc. is old (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1217 f.), were not the original occupants of the summit. [In 'Minoan' times it was probably tenanted by the sky-father (Kronos) and the earth-mother (Rhea), the cave-temple beneath it (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* p. 49 ff. pls. 1, 2) being a Delian parallel to the sacred caves of Mt Dikte and Mt Ide. The cult of Kronos, however, has left no trace, unless we can claim as such a broken sherd bearing the letters KPO, which was found buried in charcoal under a limestone slab outside the south-west angle of the cave-temple (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* p. 65 f.). Rhea presumably had lions; and in this connexion it should be noted, not only that the late marble statue of a youthful god (Apollon?) erected on the ancient granite libation-table (?) of the cave-temple had a tree-support covered with a lion-skin (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* pp. 60, 63 ff.), but also that a whole row of lions in Naxian marble, comparable with the lions of Branchidai (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 22 f. nos. 17 and 18: no. 17 has on its back a *βουστροφηδών* dedication to Apollon in lettering of early *s. vi* B.C. (Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 483, Roberts *Gr. Epigr.* i. 161 f. no. 133, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1206, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 3a) and Thera (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1899 xiv Arch. Anz. p. 183 f., *id. Die Insel Thera* Berlin 1904 iii. 28 figs. 16 and 17, 57 regards as a gift to Apollon the marble lion, bearing a mutilated inscription of *s. vii* B.C. (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1380), which stood on a terrace overlooking the *Agorá* and was later copied

by Artemidoros (*infra*), adorned a terrace west of the *Linnæ Trochoicidés* (P. Leroux in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1907 pp. 348—353, *ib.* 1908 plan opposite to p. 162). Apparently Rhea had, here as elsewhere (Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 47. 4 p. 36, 6 ff. Stählin *μηδ'* [*sc.* ἀμφιβάλλετε] εἰ τὰ ἐν Πιπάρποις τῆς Λυκίας ἀγάλματα Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Φειδίας πάλιν ἐκείνους [τὰ ἀγάλματα] καθάπερ τοὺς λέοντας τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀνακειμένους εἰργασται· εἰ δέ, ὡς φασὶ τυτες, Βρυάξιος ἢ τέχνη, οὐ διαφέρομαι· κ.τ.λ., *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1346 the rock-cut relief of a lion inscribed in s. iii B.C. (*supra* i. 117 n. 1) α' Ἀπόλλωνι | Στεφανηφόρωι, β' [τ]εῦξ[ε] λέοντα θεοῖς κεχαρισμένον Ἀρτεμίδωρος | ἐν σεμῶι τεμένει μνημόσυνον πόλεως. Cp. a statue of Apollon, seated on a tripod over a lion, now in the Villa Albani (S. Raffaei *Ricerche sopra un Apolline della Villa Albani* Roma 1821, *Clarac Mus. de Sculpt.* iii. 216 f. pl. 486 B fig. 937 A (wrongly numbered 737 A) = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 249 no. 6, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 231 ff. no. 3 Atlas pl. 23, 30, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 3. 309 pl. 25, 14, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*³ Leipzig 1913 ii. 409 f. no. 1848)), passed on her lions to Apollon.]

Τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Κύνθου (*e.g.* *Inscr. Gr. Deli* ii no. 161, *A* 77 f.) or more briefly τὸ Κύνθιον (*e.g.* *ib.* ii no. 199, *A* 90) does not appear in the extant documents till the very end of s. iv B.C. (*ib.* ii no. 145, 1 f., no. 154, *A* 45 f.). Early in s. iii (c. 281—269 B.C.) the precinct was to a large extent reconstructed and thenceforward contained two small οἶκοι or 'sacred buildings' (F. Dürrbach in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1911 xxxv. 250), on a platform bounded by a strong retaining-wall (*Inscr. Gr. Deli* ii no. 165, 33), together with a ἐστιατόριον or 'banqueting-hall' (*ib.* ii no. 163, *A* 34, cp. T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1890 xiv. 507). The accounts of the ἱεροποιοὶ for s. iii and s. ii record various sums spent on repairs to these buildings (*Inscr. Gr. Deli* iii no. 440, *A* 84 f.), but no expenditure on the cult, which seems to have languished (but see *ib.* iii no. 372, *B* 10). According to an inventory of 157/6 B.C., one of the οἶκοι contained a cult-statuette of bronze, eighteen inches high, on a marble base, a bronze incense-burner for professional use, a *kratér* of Corinthian bronze, a marble mortar, twelve wooden couches with small tables beneath them, and sundry portraits and votive paintings (P. Roussel *op. cit.* p. 225 n. 3); the other οἶκος contained a second dozen of wooden couches with small draw-tables beneath them, an old bronze brazier with no bottom to it, two tridents, one of which lacked a tooth, and old iron tongs (*id. ib.* p. 225 n. 4). Despite this poverty, the priest of Zeus Κύνθιος and Athena Κυνθία held the third place in the Delian hierarchy (P. Roussel in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 438 f. no. 64, 11 f. and *op. cit.* p. 202).

Better times began in 166 B.C., when Delos became an Athenian colony (P. Roussel *op. cit.* p. 1 ff.). An inventory of 147/6 B.C. records a pair of bronze figures, about a foot in height, representing Zeus and Athena, a table of bronze, another of marble, a tripod, lamps, linen hangings, but no couches; also a gold ring on a ribbon, and a silver incense-burner (*id. ib.* pp. 225 nn. 7—9, 401). Other inscriptions, ranging from 158/7 to the middle of s. i B.C. or later, show that the *personnel* of the cult consisted in a *τερεύς*, a *ζακρός*, and a *κλειδοῦχος* (lists in P. Roussel *op. cit.* p. 226 [Note the preponderance of well-omened names]). Of these the *τερεύς* held office for a year. So, probably, did the *κλειδοῦχος*. But the *ζακρός* [Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 306 suggests that *ζακρός* is for **δακρός* < **δη-κρός*, cp. *νεωκρός*, *σηκοκρός* (*κορέω*, 'I sweep') and *δάπεδον*: *ζάπεδον*] could have his tenure prolonged.

So far the cult seems to have had no regular temple. But c. 120 B.C. Charmikos, a native of the Attic deme Kikynna, who was priest of Zeus Κύνθιος and Athena Κυνθία, dedicated a *xánon* (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* p. 160 no. 14); and in all probability it was the same native of Kikynna who dedicated the *náds* to Zeus Κύνθιος (*id. ib.* p. 161 no. 15), *i.e.* the small Ionic or composite temple noted above. This attracted the attention, not only of Athenians (P. Roussel in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 422 f. no. 21, 429 no. 38), but of foreigners—witness a statue of Ptolemy x Soter ii here set up by Areios a notable of Alexandria (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* p. 156 f. no. 11, Michel *Revue d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1162, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 171) and an altar presented by Philostratos a wealthy banker of Askalon (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* p. 166 f. no. 21,

Imbros

Imbros¹.

Skiathos

Skiathos².

Lesbos

Mytilene³.

Chios

Mount Pelinnaion⁴.

Rhodes

Mount Atabyrion⁵.

P. Roussel *op. cit.* p. 227 n. 6). Orientals would naturally regard the mountain-top as one of their own high places. Hence Zeus *Kynthos* came to be associated with the Egyptian divinities (A. Hauvette-Besnault in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 328 f. no. 23 a small column (1^m high) inscribed Διὶ Κυνθίωι, | Σαράπιδι, | Ἴσιδι, | κατὰ πρόσταγμα, | Νεοπτόλεμος | Φιλωνίδου. | ἐπὶ ἱερέως Δικαίου | τοῦ Δικαίου Ἴωνίδου, | κλειδουχοῦντος | Ἐδκράτου Διονυσίου τοῦ Σεύθου, | ζακορεύοντος | Ἀπολλωνίου | τοῦ Δικαίου), and his priest figures among the worshippers of the Syrian Aphrodite Ἀγνή (P. Roussel *op. cit.* pp. 227 n. 8, 266 f., 416 ff. no. 21, *A* col. i, 28). The sanctuary on Mt Kynthos, seemingly untouched by the catastrophe of 88 B.C. (Strab. 486, Plout. *v. Sull.* 11, Appian. *Mithr.* 28, Paus. 3. 23. 3 f.), continued to receive gifts, now a cistern-mosaic (*supra*), now a table etc. (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* p. 141 ff. no. 2, P. Roussel *op. cit.* p. 226 n. 14). Finally, about the middle of s. i B.C. a priest published on a marble *stèle* the rules of ceremonial purity to be observed by all visitors entering the precinct (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* p. 158 f. no. 12, J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1906 ii. 259 no. 91, P. Roussel in the *Mélanges Holleaux* Paris 1913 p. 276 f. no. 4 and *op. cit.* p. 228 n. 4. Lines 11 ff. run: *ἰέναι εἰς τὸ λε[ρὸν τοῦ] Διὸς τοῦ Κυνθίου | [καὶ τῆς] Ἀθηναῖς τῆς Κυνθί[ας, χερ]σῶν καὶ ψυχῆ καθα[ρῶ, ἐ]χοντας ἐσθῆτα λευ[κῆν, ἀνυ]ποδέτους, ἀγνεύοντα[s] | [ἀπό γυν]αικὸς καὶ κρέως. | [μηδὲ] εἰσ[φ]έρε[ν] | κ.τ.λ.).*

[The Delian cult had spread to Paros as early as s. vi B.C. O. Rubensohn in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1901 xxvi. 216 reported that on a hill-top (200^m high) called *Vigla* or *Kastro* in the north-west of that island, the nearest point from which the inhabitants of the town Paros could get a glimpse of Delos, he had discovered a sanctuary with votive inscriptions including an archaic *stèle* lettered ΑΘΗΝΑΙΗΚΥΝΘΙΩΝ (Inscr. Gr. ins. v. 1 no. 210, cp. *ib.* nos. 211, 214). This makes it certain that Athena's connexion with Mt Kynthion was centuries older than the Athenian protectorate. Not impossibly in Delos as at Athens Athena was the legitimate successor of the old 'Minoan' goddess.]

¹ Zeus Ἵψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (8)).

² Zeus Ἵψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (6)).

³ Zeus Ἀκραῖος (*supra* p. 873 n. 0 no. (10)).

⁴ Mt Pelinnaion (*Hagios Elias*), the highest point (1260^m) of Chios (Strab. 645, Dionys. *per.* 535), derived its name from the leaden grey (πελινθός, πελιδνός) colour of its rock (L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2288, cp. 2290). On it was a cult of Zeus Πελινναῖος (Hesych. *s.v.* Πελινναῖος· ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Χίῳ), whose Christian supersessor was Saint Elias (*supra* i. 177 ff.).

⁵ Mt Atabyrion (*Atayros*), the highest mountain in Rhodes, was crowned with a sanctuary of Zeus Ἀταβύριος (Pind. *Ol.* 7. 87 f. ἀλλ', ὦ Ζεῦ πάτερ, νότοισιν Ἀταβυρίου | μεδέω, κ.τ.λ. with schol. vet. *ad loc.* ἐπάνω γὰρ τοῦ ὄρους ἴδρυται ὁ Ζεὺς (Ἀταβύριον ὄρος ὑψηλότατον Ἔρδου οὗ ἄνωθεν ἴδρυται Ζεὺς cod. C.), Strab. 655 εἰθ' ὁ Ἀτάβυρις (τάβυρις cod. F.), ὄρος τῶν ἐνταῦθα ὑψηλότατον, ἱερὸν Διὸς Ἀταβυρίου, Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 22 cited *supra* p. 588 n. 1, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀτάβυρον· ὄρος Ἔρδου. Ῥιανὸς ἐκ τῶ Μεσσηνιακῶν (= Herodian. *περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδας* 13 (i. 387, 8 f. Lentz)). τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἀταβύριος, ἐξ οὗ καὶ Ἀταβύριος Ζεὺς, *id.* *s.v.* Κρητηρία· τόπος Ἔρδου, ἐν ᾧ ἴκον αἱ περὶ Ἀλθαμείνην, ὅς

χρησθεὶς ὅτι τὸν πατέρα ἀποκτενεῖ ἔφυγε, καὶ νυκτὶ πλοῖω συναντᾶ ἐν Ῥόδῳ, καὶ ὡς ληστὰς νομισσας ἀναρεῖ τὸν πατέρα. εἰσι δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὰ Ἀταβύρια ὄρη, ἀφ' ὧν Ζεὺς Ἀταβύριος).

The mountain, as modern travellers report, is a mass of schistose limestone, well wooded below and dotted with a few large evergreen oaks and pines above. The sanctuary of Zeus is situated on a rounded crest about a hundred paces south-east of the actual summit. Here at a point 4070 ft above the sea is a walled precinct 120 ft in length, and within it a pile of ruins lying 3 to 4 ft deep. Bluish blocks quarried on the mountain, the largest of them 5 ft long, prove the former existence of a Hellenic building on the site. But no columns have survived, and only a single architrave-block with a simple moulding. The Greek temple was long since reconstructed as a monastery. But this in turn fell into decay, and nowadays even the little chapel of Hagios Ioannes, which stands in the middle of the ruins, has lost its roof. North-east of the precinct, somewhat lower down, in a hollow are the remains of other ancient structures, including a large vaulted cistern. L. Ross, followed by C. Torr, thought that here may have been a temple of Athena; but the argument which he drew from Polyb. 9. 27. 7 (cited *supra* p. 910 n. 1) is insecure. See further W. J. Hamilton *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia* London 1842 ii. 61 ff. (ascent from *Embona* Jan. 31, 1837), L. Ross *Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln des ägäischen Meeres* Stuttgart—Tübingen 1845 iii. 105 ff. (ascent from *Embona* Sept. 27, 1843), C. Torr *Rhodes in Ancient Times* Cambridge 1885 pp. 1, 75, H. F. Tozer *The Islands of the Aegean* Oxford 1890 p. 220 f.

The local myth is told most fully by Apollod. 3. 2. 1 f. Katreus, son of Minos, was fated to be killed by one of his own sons. Althaimenes, son of Katreus, to avoid killing his father, fled from Crete to Rhodes with his sister Apemosyne. He put in at a certain place which he named Krentenia (κρητηνίαν cod. R., followed by R. Hercher and R. Wagner. κρητιλίαν codd. plerique. C. G. Heyne cj. Κρητηνίαν, cp. Steph. Byz. *loc. cit.*). On climbing Mt Atabyrion he got a view of Crete, and, in memory of his ancestral deities, built there an altar of Zeus Ἀταβύριος. Soon afterwards Hermes fell in love with Apemosyne and, when he could not catch her (for she was fleet of foot), strewed freshly-flayed hides in the road. On these she slipped, and thus was violated by her pursuer. Althaimenes, hearing of her fall, believed the tale about Hermes to be a mere excuse and killed his sister by leaping upon her. Later, Katreus, anxious to leave his kingdom to Althaimenes, came to Rhodes and was mistaken for a pirate by the ox-herds, who chased and pelted him. Katreus told them the truth, but could not gain a hearing because the dogs were barking. So Althaimenes all unwittingly speared him. On learning what he had done he uttered a prayer, and in answer thereto was engulfed in a chasm. Diod. 5. 59, however, probably borrowing his account not from Zenon of Rhodes (*frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 177 f. Müller)) but from a later source dependent on Polykalos etc. (*Gruppe Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 380), says that Althaimenes wandered in the desert till he died of grief and was afterwards, in obedience to an oracle, honoured as a hero by the Rhodians.

This myth deserves analysis. There is in it, to begin with, a *substratum* of historic, or at least prehistoric, fact—the intimate relations between ‘Minoan’ Crete and Rhodes (H. van Gelder *Geschichte der alten Rhodier* Haag 1900 p. 30 ff., D. Mackenzie in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1905–1906 xii. 222, C. Blinkenberg in *Hermes* 1913 xlviii. 246 f., *Gruppe Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 380): Minos himself was believed to have dedicated a silver cup to Athena Πολιάς and Zeus Πολιεύς at Lindos (C. Blinkenberg *Die indische Tempelchronik* Bonn 1915 p. 8 ff. B., 18 ff. Μίνως ἀργύρεον ποτήριον, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπεγέγραπτο ‘Μίνως Ἀθάναι Πολιάδι καὶ Διὶ Πολιεῖ,’ ὡς φασι | Ξεναγόρας ἐν ταῖς Ἀ τὰς χρονικὰς συντάξις, | Γόργων ἐν ταῖς Ἀ τὰν περὶ Ῥόδου, Γόργουστῆνης | ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς, Ἰερόβουλος ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς). There is also an element of folk-tale, the story of Katreus fated to be slain by his own son recalling the *motif* of Odysseus and Telegonos (A. C. Pearson *The Fragments of Sophocles* Cambridge 1917 ii. 105 ff.) or of Laios and Oidipous (C. Robert *Oidipus* Berlin 1915 i. 66 ff.). Lastly there are definite points of aetiology. Apemosyne, a woman of the royal house, who flees at full speed, falls on the fresh hides, and is then

brutally dispatched by her kinsman, presupposes—I think—a bygone custom or rite (? in the Rhodian month Agrianos) resembling that of the Minyan Oleiai and Psoloeis at the Agrionia of Orchomenos in Boiotia (Plout. *quaestt.* Gr. 38 with Frazer *Golden Bough*³: The Dying God p. 163 f.). Her name implies that ‘freedom from trouble’ was thought to depend on her sacrifice. And the statement that she slipped on freshly-flayed hides suggests that the human victim was wrapped in the skin of the sacred animal (*supra* i. 67 n. 3, cp. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 155 ff.).

Small bronze bulls, which probably served as offerings to Zeus, are sometimes found on Mt Atabyrion (*supra* i. 643 fig. 502). And we have already conjectured that Zeus had here inherited the bronze bulls of the Hittite Tešub (*supra* i. 642 f., ii. 910 n. 1). The common tradition was that certain bronze kine on Mt Atabyrion bellowed when any evil was about to befall Rhodes (schol. vet. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 159 f. *εἰσι δὲ χαλκαὶ βόες ἐν αὐτῷ, αἷτινες ὅταν μέλλη ἄτοπν τι γενέσθαι, μυκῶνται*, 160 c *εἰσι δὲ καὶ βόες χαλκοὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει τῆς Ῥόδου, οἱ ὅταν μέλλη τι τῆ πόλει γίνεσθαι κακὸν μυκῶνται*, Tzetz. *chil.* 4. 390—393 (= 4. 704—706) *Ῥόδιόν ἐστιν ὄρος, | τὴν κλήσιν Ῥαθύριον, χαλκᾶς πρὶν ἔχον βόας, | αὐτὸν μνηστῆρ ἔξεπεμπον χωρούσης Ῥόδω βλάβης*. | Πινδαρος (? *Ol.* 7. 87 f.) καὶ Καλλιμαχος (*frag.* 413 Schneider) *γράφει τὴν ἱστορίαν*). But one authority spoke of a single bull, that of Zeus, as uttering a human voice (Isigonos of Nikaia *frag.* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 435) *ap.* Kyrill. *Al. c. Julian.* 3 p. 88 c Aubert (lxxvi. 636 A Migne) *καὶ μὴν καὶ Ἰσιγονος ὁ Κιτιεὺς (C. Müller cj. ὁ Νικαιεὺς) ἐν Ῥόδῳ τῆ νήσῳ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς ταῦρὸν φησιν οὐκ ἀμοιρῆσαι λόγου τοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς*). Both versions bear a sinister resemblance to the accounts of the bronze bull made by Perillos for Phalaris at Akragas (*supra* i. 643 f., ii. 910 n. 1) and may likewise be taken to cover a reminiscence of human sacrifice. If the early Cretans tolerated, for ritual purposes, the enclosing of their queen in a wooden cow (*supra* i. 523), the early Rhodians would hardly shrink from burning a *pharmakós* in a bronze bull. Sir J. G. Frazer *Apollodorus* London 1921 i. 307 concludes: ‘Atabyrian Zeus would seem to have been worshipped in the form of a bull.’ That may have been so, no doubt, in the remote past. But in classical times he was almost certainly anthropomorphic. Rhodian coppers of c. 304–189 B.C. or later have *obv.* head of Zeus, wearing bay-wreath, to right; *rev.* PO rose, often surmounted by radiate solar disk (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 250 pl. 39, 15 and 16, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 441 no. 38, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 640. I have two specimens of the sort in my collection): the head is presumably that of Zeus Ῥαθύριος. Cp. also *supra* i. 132.

It was not, of course, to be expected that in busy Hellenistic times the good folk of Rhodes would toil up a steep mountain 4000 ft high in order to pay their respects to Zeus. Accordingly we find a chapel of ease built on a more manageable hill adjoining the city-wall (Appian. *Mithr.* 26 *αὐτομόλων δ’ αὐτῷ (sc. Mithridates vi Eupator, in 88 B.C.) λόφον ὑποδεξάντων ἐπιβατόν, ἧ Ῥαθύριου Διὸς ἱερὸν ἦν, καὶ κολοβὸν τεῖχρον ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ, τὴν στρατιᾶν ἐς τὰς ναῦς νυκτὸς ἐπέβησε, καὶ ἐτέροις ἀναδοῦς κλιμακας ἐκέλευσε χωρεῖν ἐκατέρους μετὰ σιωπῆς μέχρι τινὲς αὐτοῖς πυρσεύσειαν ἐκ τοῦ Ῥαθύριου κ.τ.λ.*). A relic of this urban cult is a block of bluish marble formerly ‘built into the wall of a field to the south-west of St. Stephen’s Hill, near Rhodes’ and now in the British Museum (Sir C. T. Newton in *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1883 ii. 121 no. 346 = *Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 31 [δόγματι τοῦ κοινοῦ] | [τῶν Διοσαταβυρί]αστᾶν τῶν τᾶς πόλ[ι]ος δούλων, Εὐλί[μ]ενος γραμματεὺς | [δα]μόσιος ἱερατεῖ[σας] Διὸς Ῥαθύριου | [ὑπὲρ τῶν κνῆρων Ῥο]δίων ἀν[έ]θηκε Διὶ Ῥα[ταβυρί]ου τού(σ) βοῦς | [χαριστήρι]ον Ψ. W. Dittenberger *De sacris Rhodiorum* commentatio ii Halis Saxonum 1887 p. viii f. restored the opening lines as above, and proposed for the closing lines [ἀν]έθηκε Διὶ Ῥα[ταβυρί]ου τοῦ βουσι[τ]ράθμου τὸ τεῖχ[ρον], which is ingenious but less probable). Hence we learn that Eulimenes, a state slave who had been priest of Zeus Ῥαθύριος, dedicated to the god on behalf of the citizens the customary kine, i.e. small votive bulls of bronze. He describes himself as commissioned to do so by the public servants, who composed an association of Διοσαταβυριασταί.

Of such associations or religious circles there were at least two in the island. One, in

Crete

Mount Aigaion¹.

the town of Rhodes, founded by a certain Philon, was devoted to Zeus 'Αταβύριος and to the Agathos Daimon (*infra* Append. M) in common (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 161, 5 f. = H. van Gelder in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 1. 478 f. no. 3842, 5 f. ('In oppido hodierno, prope hospitium equitum D. Ioannis in basi oblonga marmoris caerulei') και ὑπὸ [Διοσ]αταβυριαστᾶν Ἀγαθοδαίμονιαστᾶν Φιλ(ω)νέλων κοινού | θαλλῶι στεφάνωι). The other, at Lindos, established by a man named Euphranor and later headed by one Athenaios of Knidos, worshipped Dionysos, Athena, and Zeus Ἀταβύριος (Sir C. T. Newton *loc. cit.* ii. 135 f. no. 358, 2 ff., 12 ff. = *Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 937, 2 ff., 12 ff. = H. van Gelder *loc. cit.* iii. 1. 568 f. no. 4239, 2 ff. ('Found at Mallona near Lindos in 1862... On a circular altar or pedestal of white marble, which has been hollowed out, probably to form a mortar with a hole at the bottom') [----τ]ε[ιμα]θέντα ὑπὸ | τοῦ κοινού τοῦ Διονυσιαστᾶν Ἀθαναϊστᾶν Διοσ[αταβυριαστᾶν Εὐφρανορίων τῶν σὺν Ἀθηναίω Κνιδίω | χρυσέω στεφάνω και ἀναγορεύσειεν ἰος τὸν αἰε χρόνον. | κ.τ.λ., 12 ff. και τᾶς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀρέτης μὲν τειμαθέϊσας ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινού τοῦ Διονυσιαστᾶν Ἀθαν[αί]στᾶν Διοσαταβυριαστᾶν | Εὐφρανορίων τῶν σὺν Ἀθηναίω Κνιδίω και ἀν[α]θεϊσας τῶ κοινῶ (τῶ) | Ἀθανα[ίστᾶν ----τῶ]ν ἀναλωμάτων [---]). A mutilated inscription on a slab of blackish marble at Nettea (*Apollakia*) near Lindos, where it serves as a threshold in the church of Saint Georgios, contains ritual rules in lettering of s. ii B.C. and includes a reference to Zeus Ἀταβύριος (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 891, 7 [.....]θ[ε]ϊστᾶν | χο[ρ]εύετα[ι και Δι]᾿ Ἀτα[β]υρίω[ι---]). See further F. Poland *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* Leipzig 1909 pp. 58 f., 181, 237.

The cult of the Rhodian Zeus even found its way to Skythia. At *Kermenchik* (Neapolis?) near *Symphheropol* three inscriptions have come to light recording dedications made c. s. i B.C. (?) by one Posideos to Zeus Ἀταβύριος (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2103b = B. Latyschev *Inscriptiones antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae* Petropoli 1885 i. 216 no. 242 on a base of grey marble now in the Museum at Odessa Δι᾿ Ἀταβυρίω Ποσιδέος Ποσιδέων | χαριστήριον), to Athena Λινδία (*ib.* i. 216 f. no. 243), and to Achilles 'Lord of the Island' (*sc.* Leuke) (*ib.* i. 217 no. 244). E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 pp. 463, 476, 479 treats Posideos, not as a Rhodian, but as an Olbiopolite living at Neapolis and trading with Rhodes. See also M. Rostovtzeff *Iranians & Greeks in South Russia* Oxford 1922 p. 163.

¹ Rhea, when about to bear her youngest son Zeus (*Ζῆνα μέγαν*, cp. *supra* p. 344 f.), was sent by her parents Ouranos and Gaia to Lyktos, and Gaia received the child to bring him up in Crete. So Rhea came by night first to Lyktos and hid the babe in a steep underground cave on the well-wooded Mt Aigaion (Hes. *theog.* 477 ff. πέμψαν δ' ἐς Λύκτον γρ. δι (= δίκτον) in marg. cod. E.), *Κρήτης ἐς πλοια δῆμον. | ὀππότε' ἄρ' ὀπλότατον παιδῶν τέξεσθαι ἐμέλλε* (so G. Kinkel for ἤμέλλε τεκέσθαι), | *Ζῆνα μέγαν· τὸν μὲν οἱ ἐδέξατο Γαῖα πελώρη | Κρήτη ἐν εὐρείῃ τραφέμεν ἀτυαλλέμεναί τε. | ἐνθα μιν* (so J. G. J. Hermann for μὲν codic., cp. schol. *ad loc.*) *Ἰκτο φέρουσα θοὴν διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν | πρώτην ἐς Λύκτον* (G. F. Schömann's cj. *Δίκτην* is mischievous)· *κρύψεν δέ ἐ χειρὶ λαβοῦσα | ἀντρῶ ἐν ἡλιβάτῳ, ἴαθης ὑπὸ κέυθει γαίης, | Αἰγαίω* (Salmasius cj. *αἰγείω*, Wilamowitz cj. *Αἰγείω*. But see G. M. Columba *Aigaion* (extr. from the *Memorie della R. Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti* 1914 iii) Napoli 1914 p. 21 n. 3) *ἐν ὄρει πεπυκασιμένη ὕληντι*).

Hesiod's connexion of the cave on Mt Aigaion with Lyktos makes it practically certain (*pace* W. Aly in *Philologus* 1912 lxxi. 461) that this was the *Psycho* Cave on Mt *Lasithi*, some 4½ hours from the ruins of Lyktos, with which it is linked by an ancient road still traceable (so K. J. Beloch in *Klio* 1911 xi. 435 and especially J. Toutain in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1911 lxiv. 290 f., followed by Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 377). It was partially explored by F. Halbherr and J. Hazzidakis in 1886 (F. Halbherr—P. Orsi 'Scoperte nell'antro di Psycho' in the *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica* 1888 ii. 905—910 pl. 13, A. Taramelli in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1899 ix. 411 f.), by Sir A. J. Evans and J. L. Myres in 1894, 1895, 1896 (Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 350—361 ('Inscribed Libation Table from the Diktaean Cave')), by

J. Demargne in 1897 (Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 629), and fully by D. G. Hogarth in 1899—1900 (D. G. Hogarth 'The Dictaeon Cave' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 94—116 with pls. 8—11 and figs. 27—50, *id.* 'The Birth Cave of Zeus' in *The Monthly Review* 1901 pp. 49—62 with 10 pls.). But these explorers (whom I wrongly followed *supra* i. 150 n. 2, ii. 530) assumed without definite proof that the *Psychro* Cave was the Dictaeon Cave—an assumption denounced by W. Aly *Der kretische Apollonkult* Leipzig 1908 p. 47 and simultaneously refuted by K. J. Beloch in *Klio* 1911 xi. 433—435 ('Dikte') and by J. Toutain 'L'antre de *Psychro* et le ΔΙΚΤΑΙΟΝ ANTPON' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1911 lxiv. 277—291 (see *infra* n. on Mt Dikte).

The *Psychro* Cave shows as a dark spot on the mountain-side (*The Monthly Review loc. cit.* pl. 6, 1) some 500 ft above *Psychro*, a village of the inner *Lasithi*-plain (*ib.* pl. 1, 2, pl. 2, 1 f.). It was perhaps originally a swallow-hole, at the time when the *Lasithi*-plain was an upland lake, and an icy pool still remains in its depths. But its religious history was a long one; for the finds begin with sherds of 'Kamares'-ware in the 'Middle Minoan ii' period (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 101 f. fig. 27) and end with sundry Roman lamps and a silver Byzantine cross. Of the votive bronzes, some are probably 'Middle Minoan' in date, many more 'Late Minoan.' Greek relics of a time subsequent to c. 800 B.C. are scarce.

The Cave itself consists of an upper grotto and a steep slope of c. 200 ft leading down to a subterranean pool and a series of stalactite halls (plan of grotto *supra* p. 531 fig. 401). The upper grotto contained an altar (3 ft high) of roughly squared stones, close to which lay a libation-table in steatite inscribed with three linear characters (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 114 fig. 50). An adjoining gateway gave access to a paved *témenos* enclosed by a massive 'Cyclopean' wall. At the back of the enclosure were the mouths of natural funnels communicating probably with the lower halls and water-channels in the heart of the hill. In the upper grotto, especially round the altar, the topmost *strata* yielded swords, knives, axes, bracelets, etc. of iron with remains of the earliest Hellenic pottery; the lower *strata* had scattered objects mainly in bronze—the model of a two-wheeled car drawn by an ox and a ram and intended to carry one or more little figurines (*ib.* p. 108 fig. 39), images of bulls, a knife with a handle ending in a human head (*ib.* p. 111 fig. 44), long hair-pins with ornate ends, lance-points, darts, knives, wire needles, rings, miniature circular shields (?) (*ib.* p. 109 fig. 41), etc.; also hundreds of little plain earthenware cups for food or incense; a small clay mask with lips, eyelids, and lashes painted in ochre (*ib.* p. 106 fig. 37, 3); a great stoup patterned with checker-work etc. and a polyp in lustreless red (*ib.* p. 103 f. figs 31, 32); ivory ornaments from sword-hilts, bone articles of the toilet; small altar-like tables in steatite and limestone, three of which bore linear inscriptions (*ib.* p. 114 pl. xi). The *témenos* was less rich in metal, but extraordinarily prolific in sherds of 'Minoan' pottery, e.g. fragments of large unpainted *plthoi* with a band of decoration in relief under the rim—embossed double-axe, head of wild goat, rows of *bucrania*, an altar laden with fruit, etc. (p. 104 f. fig. 34). Here too were found the skulls and bones of oxen, wild goats, sheep, large deer, swine, and dogs—clearly the *débris* of animal sacrifices (W. Boyd-Dawkins in *Man* 1902 ii. 162—165 no. 114 identifies *bos domesticus creticus*, *capra agagrus*, *ovis aries*, *cervus dama*, *sus scrofa*, *canis familiaris*).

From the *talus* in the lower halls came other bronzes, including a small statuette crowned with the plumes of *Āmen-Rā* (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 107 pl. x, 1 f.). This was good early work of the New Empire (c. 900 B.C.) and recalls the classical identification of Zeus with *Āmen-Rā* (*supra* i. 348 ff.).

From the floor of the subterranean pool were dredged many rude bronze statuettes, male and female, nude and draped, with the arms folded on the breast or with one hand raised to the head in a gesture of adoration (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 107 pl. x, 4—14); a similar figure in lead (*ib.* p. 107 pl. x, 3); sards and other signet stones engraved with wild goats, bulls; and a geometric labyrinth-design (*ib.* p. 112); rings, pins, blades, needles. At the head of the pool and in a little lateral chamber opening to

Mount Dikte¹.

the left the crevices and crannies of the stalactite columns, up to the height of a man, were found to be crammed with votive bronzes—blades, pins, tweezers, *fibulae* (*The Monthly Review loc. cit.* pl. 9), with here and there a double axe (*ib.* pl. 8). See *supra* p. 530 ff.

D. G. Hogarth concludes: 'About the pre-eminently sacred character of this Cave there can remain no shadow of doubt, and the *simulacra* of axes, fashioned in bronze and moulded or painted on vases, clearly indicate Zeus of the *labrys* or Labyrinth as the deity there honoured' (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 114).

Among the more important objects obtained from the Cave by Sir A. J. Evans are half the top of a libation-table in black steatite bearing an inscription in two lines (Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 350—361 figs. 25 a—27 and tab. i), one of which is further extended by a small fragment found by J. Demargne in 1897 (Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 625—631 figs. 465—467), and a remarkable votive tablet of bronze perhaps of the period 'Late Minoan i' (*id. ib.* p. 632 f. fig. 470 re-

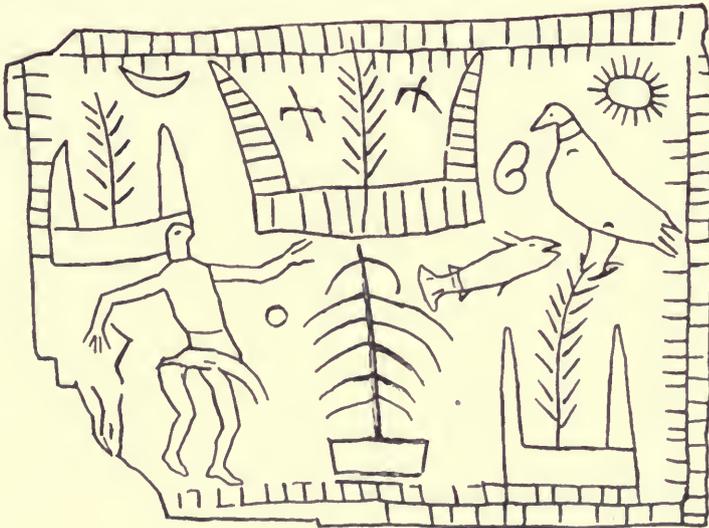


Fig. 830.

versed = my fig. 830). The latter, like a lentoid seal of rock crystal found in the Idaean Cave (L. Mariani in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1895 vi. 178 fig. 12, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 47 fig. 22, Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 141 f. fig. 25), represents the worship of a sacred tree or trees. The ring-dove or wood-pigeon (*columba palumbus*), here perched on one of the three sprays rising from ritual horns, may depict the presence of the deity (? Aphrodite, or her Cretan equivalent Ariadne (cp. *supra* i. 481)). Sun and moon betoken the sky. But the exact significance of the remaining symbols (cp. *supra* i. 583 n. 4) and linear characters is obscure. The cult of a goddess associated with sacred trees is just what we should expect ἐν ὄρει πεπυκασμένῳ ὑλήεντι. Doves reappear in connexion with the Dictaeon Cave (*infra* n. 1).

¹ Zeus Δικταῖος (Kallim. *h. Zeus* 4 πῶς καὶ νῦν (so O. Schneider for καὶ νῦν codd. and earlier edd. A. W. Mair cj. καὶ μιν), Δικταῖον ἀέλωμεν ἢ Λυκαῖον; Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 266 Ἐπιθετα Διὸς no. (22) δικταίου, Mart. *ep.* 4. 1. 1 f. Caesaris (sc. Domitiani) alma dies et luce sacratior illa, | conscia Dictaeum qua tulit Ida Iovem, Min. Fel. *Oct.* 21. 1 ob merita virtutis aut muneris deos habitos Euhemerus exsequitur, et eorum natales, patrias, sepulcra dinumerat et per provincias monstrat, Dictaei Iovis et Apollinis Delphici

et Phariae Isidis et Cereris Eleusinae, cp. Verg. *georg.* 2. 536 ante etiam sceptrum Dictaei regis, Stat. *Theb.* 3. 481 f. ditior ille animi, cui tu, Dictaeae, secundas | impuleris manifestus aves) derived his title from a cave in Mt Dike, where he was born (Agathokles *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 289 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 375 F cited *supra* i. 653 n. 3, Apollod. 1. 1. 6 ὄργισθεῖσα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦτοις ῥέα παραγίνεται μὲν εἰς Κρήτην, ὀπηνίκα τὸν Δία ἐγκυμοῦσα ἐτύγχανε, γεννᾷ δὲ ἐν ἄντρῳ τῆς Δίκτης Δία, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 33 ἐγεννήθη μὲν ἐν τῇ Δίκτῃ, μετεκομισθῆ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄντρον τῆς Ἰδης, Diod. 5. 70 τὴν δὲ ῥεάν ἀγανακτῆσασαν, καὶ μὴ δυναμένην μεταβῆναι τὴν προαίρεσιν τάνδρός, τὸν Δία τεκοῦσαν ἐν τῇ προσαγορευομένῃ Ἰδῇ (Δίκτῃ codd. C. F. G.) κλέψαι καὶ δοῦναι λάθρα τοῖς Κούρησιν ἐκθρέψαι τοῖς κατοικοῦσι πλησίον ὄρους τῆς Ἰδης... ἀνδρωθέντα δ' αὐτὸν φασὶ πρῶτον πόλιν κτίσαι περὶ τὴν Δίκταν, ὅπου καὶ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι μυθολογοῦσιν· ἧς ἐκλειφθείσης ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις διαμένειν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔρματα τῶν θεμελίων, *cl. mag.* p. 276, 12 ff. Δίκτῃ· ὄρος τῆς Κρήτης, καὶ ἄκρα κειμένη κατὰ τὸ Λιβυκὸν πέλαγος... εἰρηται παρὰ τὸ τέκω τίκτω, τίκτα τις οὔσα, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκεῖ τεχθῆναι τὸν Δία) and reared (Ap. Rhod. 1. 508 f. ὄφρα Ζεὺς ἔτι κούρος, ἔτι φρεσὶ νήπια εἰδώς, | Δικταῖον βαίσκεν ὑπὸ σπέος with schol. *ad loc.*, Arat. *phaen.* 30 ff. εἰ ἐτεδὸν δῆ, | Κρήτηθεν κείναι γε (*sc.* the two Bears) Διδὸς μεγάλου ἰότητι | οὐρανὸν εἰσανέβησαν, ὃ μιν τότε κουρίζοντα | Δικτῶ (Zenodotos of Mallos read δικτῶ=δικτάμω) ἐν εὐώδει, (Zeros *σχεδὸν Ἰδαίω, | ἄντρῳ ἐγκατέθεντο καὶ ἔτρεφον εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν, | Δικταῖοι Κούρητες ὅτε Κρόνον ἐψεύδοντο* with schol. *ad loc.*, Lucr. 2. 633 f. Dictaeos referunt Curetas qui Iovis illum | vagitum in Creta quondam occultasse feruntur (cp. Sil. It. 17. 21 qui Dictaeo bacchantur in antro), Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 61 cited *infra*, Arrian. *frag.* 70 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 599 Müller) *ap.* Eustath. *in Dionys. per.* 498 Ἀρριανὸς δὲ φησὶ· 'Κρής, οὗ Κρήτη ἐπώνυμος, ὃ τὸν Δία κρύψας ἐν ὄρει Δικταίῳ, ὅτε Κρόνος ἐμάστευεν ἐθέλων ἀφανίσει αὐτόν,' Serv. *in Verg. georg.* 2. 536 ante quam regnaret Iuppiter, qui est in Dictaeo, Cretae monte, nutritus), being fed by bees (Verg. *georg.* 4. 149 ff. nunc age, naturas apibus quas Iuppiter ipse | addidit expeditam, pro qua mercede, canoros | Curetum sonitus crepitantiaque aera secutae, | Dictaeo caeli regem pavere sub antro, Colum. *de re rust.* 9. 2 nec sane rustico dignum est sciscitari, fueritne mulier pulcherrima specie Melissa, quam Iuppiter in apem convertit, an (ut Euhemerus poeta dicit) crabronibus et sole genitas apes, quas nympphae Phryxonides educaverunt, mox Dictaeo specu Iovis exstitisse nutrices, easque pabula munere dei sortitas, quibus ipsae parvum educaverant alumnium. ista enim, quamvis non dedeceant poetam, summam tamen et uno tantummodo versiculo leviter attigit Virgilius, cum sic ait: 'Dictaeo caeli regem pavere sub antro,' Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 3. 104 sane nati Iovis fabula haec est: Saturnus postquam a Themide oraculo comperit a filio se posse regno depelli natos ex Rhea uxore devorabat, quae natum Iovem pulchritudine delectata nymphis commendavit in monte Cretae Dictaeo; ubi eum aluerunt apes=Lact. Plac. *in Stat. Ach.* 387=Myth. Vat. 1. 104, cp. 2. 16. See further L. Weniger and W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2637 ff. *s.vv.* Melissa, Melissaios, Melisseus, Melissos) or a goat (*supra* i. 112 n. 3, 529 n. 4, 653 n. 3, 665 n. 3. See further E. Neustadt *De Jove Cretico* Berolini 1906 pp. 18—43 ('De Amalthea')) or a pig (*supra* i. 653 n. 3) or doves (Moïro of Byzantion c. 300 B.C. *frag. ap.* Athen. 491 A—B Ζεὺς δ' ἄρ' ἐνὶ Κρήτῃ τρέφετο μέγας, οὐδ' ἄρα τίς νιν | ἡλείδει μακάρων· ὃ δ' ἀέξετο πᾶσι μέλεσσι. | τὸν μὲν ἄρα τρήρωνες ὑπὸ ζαθέῳ τράφον ἄντρῳ, | ἀμβροσίην φορέουσαι ἀπ' Ὀκεανοῦ ῥοάων. | ἔκταρ δ' ἐκ πέτρης μέγας αἰετὸς αἰὲν ἀφύσσων | γαμφηλῆς, φορέεσκε πτόν Διὶ μητιέντι. *Supra* i. 182 n. 8), while the Kouretes, or by later confusion the Korybantes, drowned his infant cries with the clashing of their weapons (*supra* i. 150, 530 n. 0, 534, 659, 709. See further O. Immisch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1587 ff., J. Poerner *De Curetibus et Corybantibus* (*Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* xxii. 2) Halis Saxonium 1913 pp. 245—428, Schwenn in Pauly—Wissowa xi. 1441 ff., 2202 ff.).

Ant. Lib. 19 quotes from the *Ornithogonia* of 'Boios' (*supra* p. 463 n. 1) a queer tale, which relates apparently to the Dictaeon Cave: 'In Crete, they say, there is a cave sacred to bees. Tradition has it that in this cave Rhea gave birth to Zeus, and neither god nor man may enter it. Every year at a definite time there is seen a great glare of fire from the cavern. This happens, so the story goes, when the blood from the birth of Zeus boils out (ἐκξέη with allusion to Ζεὺς (*supra* i. 31 n. 3)). The cave is occupied by sacred bees,

Plate XLII



Amphora from Vulci, now in the British Museum: Laos, Keleos, Kerberos, and Aigolios stung by bees in the Dictaeon Cave.

See page 929 n. o.

the nurses of Zeus. Laïos, Keleos, Kerberos, and Aigolios dared to enter it that they might draw as much honey as they could. They encased their bodies in bronze, drew the honey of the bees, and saw the swathing-bands of Zeus. Whereupon their bronze armour burst asunder. Zeus thundered aloud and raised his bolt. But the Moirai and Themis intervened; for none might die in that spot. So Zeus made them all into birds, and from them sprang the tribe of birds—blue thrushes (λάιοι), green woodpeckers (κελεοί), birds of an unknown species (κέρβεροι), and owls (αίγωλιοί). These are good birds to appear and reliable beyond all other birds, because they saw the blood of Zeus.' See further *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 388 f. A black-figured amphora in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 122 f. no. B 177 from *Vulci*), hitherto unpublished, has (a) the four marauders stung by the bees in the cave (pl. xlii from a photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming): (b) dancing Maenads and Satyrs.

Other myths attached to the same sacred cavern. Here Anchiale bore the Idaean Daktyloi (Ap. Rhod. i. 1129 ff. Δάκτυλοι Ἰδαίοι Κρηταίαιες, οὓς ποτε νύμφη | Ἀγχιιάλη Δικταίων ἀνά σπέος ἀμφοτέρησιν | δραξαμένη γαίης Οἰαξίδος ἐβλάστησεν with schol. *ad loc.*, translated by Varr. *frag.* 3 Baehrens *ap. Serv. in Verg. ecl.* i. 66 quos magno Anchiale partus adducta dolore | et geminis capiens tellurem Oaxida palmis | edidit in Dicta, cp. Vib. Seq. p. 15 Oberlin *s.v.* 'Oaxes'). Here too Zeus, according to one late account, lay with Europe (Loukian. *dial. mar.* 15. 4 ταῦτα ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀχρι τῆς Κρήτης ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπέβη τῇ νήσῳ, ὁ μὲν ταῦρος οὐκέτι ἐφαίνετο, ἐπιλαβόμενος δὲ τῆς χειρὸς ὁ Ζεὺς ἀπήγε τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐς τὸ Δικταῖον ἄντρον ἐρυθρίωσαν καὶ κάτω ὄρωσαν· ἥπιστατο γὰρ ἦδη ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἄγοιτο). Minos, their son, used to descend into the Dictaeon Cave and thence return with the laws of Zeus (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 61 ὦν ὁ μὲν (*sc.* Minos) ὁμιλητῆς ἔφη γενέσθαι τοῦ Διός, καὶ φοιτῶν εἰς τὸ Δικταῖον ὄρος, ἐν ᾧ τραφήναι τὸν Δία μυθολογοῦσιν οἱ Κρήτες ὑπὸ τῶν Κουρήτων ἔτι νεογόνῳ ὄντα, κατέβαιναν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἄντρον, καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἐκεῖ συνθεῖς ἐκόμψεν, οὓς ἀπέφανε παρὰ τοῦ Διός λαμβάνειν). Lastly Epimenides claimed to have slept for years in the Cave and to have had visions there (Max. Tyr. 16. 1 ἀφικετό ποτε Ἀθηναῖζε Κρής ἀνήρ, ὄνομα Ἐπιμενίδης, κομίζων λόγον, οὕτως ῥηθέντα, πιστεύεσθαι χαλεπὸν· ἐν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Δικταίου τῷ ἄντρον κείμενος ὕπνῳ βαθεῖ ἔτη συχνά, ὄναρ ἔφη ἐντυχεῖν αὐτὸς θεοῖς καὶ θεῶν λόγους καὶ ἀληθεῖα καὶ δική. κ.τ.λ.).

Sir A. J. Evans at first identified Mt Dikte with Mt *Lasithi*, the Dictaeon Cave with the *Psycho* Cave, and the city built by Zeus (Diod. 5. 70 cited *supra*) with the ruins at *Goulas* on an outlying spur of the *Lasithi-massif* (Sir A. J. Evans 'Goulas: The City of Zeus' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1895—1896 ii. 169 ff.). This made an attractive combination and found many adherents (*supra* p. 925 n. 1). Unfortunately it ignored two essential factors in the situation—the definite statements of ancient topographers (*in primis* Strab. 478 f., Ptol. 3. 15. 3 and 6, cp. Agathokles *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 289 Müller) *ap. Athen.* 375 F, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 33 f.; *in secundis* Ap. Rhod. 4. 1635 ff., Loukian. *dial. mar.* 15. 4) and the *provenance* of inscriptions relating to the cult of Zeus Δικταῖος. Discussion of the evidence along these lines led K. J. Beloch in *Klio* 1911 xi. 433 ff. and J. Toutain in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1911 lxiv. 277 ff. to reject the identification of Dikte with *Lasithi* and to insist that Dikte must have been a mountain near Praisos at the eastern end of Crete. Apparently Sir A. J. Evans has himself now given in to this view, for the map prefixed to vol. i of *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* adopts the new equation Aigaion = *Lasithi* and, rightly as I conceive, assigns the name 'Mt Dikte' to the range situated south-west of Praisos. If so, the true Dictaeon Cave is still to seek.

The cult of Zeus Δικταῖος in eastern Crete is attested by (1) the civic oath of Itanos in s. iii B.C. (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 462, 2 ff., *ib.*³ no. 526, 2 ff. = F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 324 f. no. 5058, 2 ff. found at *Eremopoli* [τάδε ὤμοσαν τοὶ Ἰτάνιοι πᾶ[ν][τες] Δία Δικταῖον καὶ Ἥραν καὶ θε[ο]ὺς τοὺς ἐν Δικταί καὶ Ἀθαν[α]ϊαν Πολιάδα καὶ θεοὺς, ὄσο[σ]ι[ς] ἐν Ἀθαναίαι θύεται, πᾶ[ν]τας | καὶ Δία Ἀγοραίων καὶ Ἀπόλλω[ν] Πύθιον καθ' ἱερῶν νεοκαύ[τ]ων· κ.τ.λ.): (2) the oath of allegiance taken by settlers from Hierapytna, sent probably to occupy conquered territory (Praisos?) (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2555, 11 ff. = F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 311 f. no. 5039, 11 ff. cited *supra* p. 723 n. 0): (3) the oath to be taken each year in the month

Dionysios by the *kósmos* or chief magistrate of Praisos in accordance with a treaty of s. iii B.C. between that town and Stelai (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 440 A, 15 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 427, a 15 ff., *ib.*³ no. 524, a 15 ff. cited *supra* p. 731 n. o. The restoration $\delta\mu\acute{\nu}\omega\ \Delta\eta[\nu\alpha\ \Delta\iota\kappa\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma]$ exactly fills the gap and is justified by Strab. 475 $\tau\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$ (sc. *Od.* 19. 175—177) $\phi\eta\sigma\iota\ \Sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\phi\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (*frag.* 12 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 507 Müller)) $\tau\acute{\omicron}\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \xi\omega\ \Delta\omega\rho\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\tau\acute{\omicron}\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ <\delta\acute{\epsilon}>$ $\nu\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota\omega\varsigma\ \text{Ἐτεοκρήτας, ὧν ἔτιναι πολὺνχιον Ἠράσον, ὅπου τὸ τοῦ Δικταίου Διὸς ἱερόν, id. 478 εἰρηται δέ, ὅτι τῶν Ἐτεοκρήτων ὑπῆρχεν ἡ Ἠράσσον, καὶ διότι ἐνταῦθα τὸ τοῦ Δικταίου Διὸς ἱερόν. κ.τ.λ.)$; (4) a long inscription, dated in 139 B.C., of which one copy was found near Itanos, another at Magnesia ad Maeandrum (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 929, *ib.*³ no. 685 = R. Cagnat *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* Paris 1911 i. 345 ff. no. 1021). It deals with a dispute between Itanos and Praisos—later between Itanos and Hierapytna—respecting the territory of Heleia and the island of Leuke. Itanos ultimately appealed to the Roman senate, which entrusted arbitration in the matter to Magnesia. The document in delimiting the territory of Itanos more than once mentions the sanctuary of Zeus *Δικταίος*, which must have lain on the border-line of Itanos and Praisos (ii, 37 ff. $\text{Ἰτάνιοι πῶλιν οἰκοῦντες ἐπιθαλάσσιον καὶ χώραν ἔχοντες προγονικὴν γειτονοῦσαν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Δικταίου ἱερῶι, ἔχοντες δὲ καὶ νήσους καὶ νεμόμενοι, ἐν αἷς καὶ τὴν καλουμένην Λεύκην, 47 ff. οὕτως Ἰεραπύτνιοι τῆς τε νήσου καὶ τῆς χώρας ἀμφισβητεῖν Ἰτανίοις ἐπεβάλλαντο, φάμενοι τὴν μὲν χώραν εἶναι ἱεράν τοῦ Ζητῆος τοῦ Δικταίου, τὴν δὲ νῆσον προγονικὴν ἑαυτῶν ὑπάρχειν, iii, 69 ff. τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς ἐκτὸς τῆς διαμφισβητουμένης | χώρας ἄντος καὶ περιουσομῆμασιν καὶ ἑτέροις πλειοσῖν ἀποδεικτικαῖς καὶ σημεῖοις περιλαβ[μ]ανομένοις, 81 f. νῆμοις γὰρ ἱεροῖς καὶ ἀραιῖς καὶ ἐπιτίμοις ἄνωθεν διεκεκώλυτο ἵνα μηθεὶς ἐν τῷ ἱερῶι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Δικταίου μήτε ἐνέμημι μήτε ἐναυλοστατῆμι μήτε σπέριμι μήτε ξυλεύημι).$

Finally, excavations of the British School at Athens undertaken in 1902 at Heleia (*Palaiastro*) on the eastern coast, south of Itanos (*Eremopolis*) and east of Praisos, located the actual site of the Hellenic temple (R. C. Bosanquet in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 286 ff.). This was partially explored in 1903 and 1904 (*id. ib.* 1902—1903 ix. 280, *ib.* 1903—1904 x. 246) and fully cleared in 1905 (*id. ib.* 1904—1905 xi. 298 ff.).

The site was an artificially levelled platform half-way down the south-eastern side of a hill. The *témenos* was enclosed by a wall of undressed stones, of which a few courses survive, and can be traced along the north and north-eastern face of the slope for a distance of 36^m. The temple itself has wholly vanished, huge blocks of freestone having been carried off by the villagers of *Palaiastro* about a generation ago. But the position of the altar is fixed by a bed of grey wood-ash, at least 3^m long by 0.25^m thick. Round it were found bronze bowls, miniature shields, and an archaic scarabaeoid seal.

More widely scattered were tiles and architectural terracottas of two distinct periods: (a) *Archaic*. Many pieces of a *simā* in low relief decorated with the *motif* of a two-horse chariot, driver, two hoplites, and hound (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1904—1905 xi. 300 ff. pl. 15). Antefixes in the form of a *Gorgóneion* (*ib.* p. 303 fig. 20). *Akrotéria* (?) of large birds (eagles?). The leg of a crouching or running human figure in high relief, probably from the pediment (*ib.* p. 300 fig. 18). Transitional in character is an antefix representing the Gorgon with two snakes rising from her shoulders and two others held in her hands—a pose which recalls that of the 'Minoan' snake-goddess (*ib.* p. 304 fig. 22). (b) *Developed style*. Fragments of a deeper *simā* with lion-heads etc. of the conventional sort. Fragments of palmette-shaped antefixes (*ib.* p. 304 fig. 21).

The votive offerings belong mostly to the archaic period (s. vii—v B.C.) and comprise: (i) *Bronzes*. At least four large shields decorated with zones of animals. One (0.49^m across) had as central boss the head and forepart of a lion, which pins down a couple of sphinxes and is flanked by two lions rampant on either side of a 'tree-of-life.' A dozen small shields, a miniature cuirass, a miniature helmet. Parts of about fourteen tripods. Eight bowls. Numerous small figures of oxen. (ii) *Terracottas*. About forty lamps and twelve torch-holders (*ib.* p. 307 fig. 23). About thirty large cups or bowls.

A mile to the north-west of the site there was found in 1907 a slab, which records the restoration by Hierapytna (c. 145—139 B.C.) of certain statues in the temple of Zeus

Δικταῖος (R. C. Bosanquet *ib.* 1908—1909 xv. 340, S. A. Xanthoudides in the 'Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1908 p. 197 ff. no. 1 fig. 1 ἐπὶ τῆς Καμινίδος (*sc.* a tribe at Hierapytna, *cp.* Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἱεράπυτνα) κοσμώντων | τῶν σὺμ Βουάω τῷ Ἀμφέροντος, | ἐπεμελήθηεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῶι τῷ | [Ζ (or Τ)]ηνὸς Δικταίω, τὰ ἀρχαῖα | ἀγάλματα θαραπεύσαντες, | [θεὸς] ἐπισκευῶσαι καὶ χρυσῶ[σαι] Ἀθαναίαν, Ἄρτεμιν, Ἄτλαν[τα, τ]ῶς Σφίγγας ἀστραγαλί[σαι] ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποποδίων, καὶ | [?]Ποσ[σοῖδ]α, Δία, Ἥρας πρόσωπον, | [?] Λατῶν καὶ Νίκαν ἀναγράψαι. | [οἶδ' ἐκ]δ(σ)μῖον, Βοάως Ἀμφέ[ροντος, Ἀκ]άδσων Βραμισάλ].....s Εὐρυκάρτεος, |Εὐρυκάρτεος, |θεος, |s Μοιρίλ[ω]---). A mutilated inscription recording an agreement between Knossos and Hierapytna, which was found in the church of St Nikolaos near *Palaikastro* (F. Halbherr in the *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica* 1890 iii. 612 ff. no. 36), must likewise have come from the precinct of Zeus Δικταῖος, where it had probably been set up during the same period of Hierapytna's supremacy.

But by far the most important epigraphic discovery connected with the site was that of the now famous hymn to Zeus Δικταῖος, first published by R. C. Bosanquet (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1908—1909 xv. 339—356 pl. 20), restored and translated by G. Murray (*ib.* pp. 357—365), and expounded at large by Miss J. E. Harrison ('The Kouretes and Zeus Kouros' *ib.* pp. 308—338, *ead. Themis* Cambridge 1912 pp. 1—29 ('The Hymn of the Kouretes')). With one exception, already noted (*supra* i. 15 n. 6), I give the text as printed by G. Murray:

<p>Ἴώ, Μέγιστε Κούρε, χαῖρέ μοι, Κρόνιε, παγκρατὲς γάνος, βέβακες 5 δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος· Δικταν ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν ἔρ- πε καὶ γέγαθι μολπῆ, Τάν τοι κρέκομεν πακτίσι μείξαντες ἄμ' αὐλοῖσιν, 10 καὶ στάντες δειδομεν τεδὸν ἀμφὶ βωμῶν εὐερκῆ.</p> <p>Ἴώ, κ.τ.λ. Ἔνθα γὰρ σέ, παῖδ' ἀμβροτον, ἀσπιδ[ηφόροι τροφῆς] 15 παρ' Ἱέας λαβόντες πόδα κ[ρούοντες ἀπέκρυσαν].</p> <p>Ἴώ, κ.τ.λ. · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · 20 · · · · · · · · · · τᾶς καλᾶς Ἄο(ῶ)ς.</p>	<p>Ἴώ, κ.τ.λ. [ἼΩραι δὲ βρ]ύον κατῆτος καὶ βροτο(ῶ)ς Δίκα κατῆχε 25 [πάντα τ' ἀγρὶ ἄμφεπ]ε ζῶ' ἀ φίλολβος Εἰρήνηα.</p> <p>Ἴώ, κ.τ.λ. Ἄ[μιν θόρε, κὲς στα]μνία, καὶ θόρ' εὐποκ' ἐ[ς ποιμνία, 30 κὲς λή]ια καρπῶν θόρε, κὲς τελεσ[φόρους σίμβλους].</p> <p>Ἴώ, κ.τ.λ. [Θόρε κὲς] πόλῃας ἀμῶν, κὲς ποντοφόρο(ῶ)ς νᾶας, 35 θόρε κὲς ν[έους πολ]έιτας, θόρε κὲς Θέμιν κ[αλάν].</p>
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This hymn, engraved *c.* 200 A.D. but composed *c.* 300 B.C., expresses in cultured poetical Greek, with a dash of Doric dialect, beliefs that had descended from much earlier times. It invokes Zeus as the 'greatest Lad of Kronos' line' to come to Dikte for the new year at the head of the *daímones* (perhaps the gods in general (Plat. *Phaedr.* 246 E *στρατιὰ θεῶν τε καὶ δαιμόνων*, *cp. supra* pp. 43, 63 n. o) rather than the Kouretes in particular (Strab. 466 *δαίμονας ἢ προπόλους θεῶν*)) and to take delight in the dance about his altar—a dance accompanied by harps and pipes. It goes on to tell how the Kouretes once received him as a babe from Rhea and hid him in safety with the sound of their beating feet, [how under the reign of Zeus foul Darkness was followed by] fair Dawn, the Seasons began to be fruitful year by year, Justice spread over the world, and Peace brought wealth in its train. And now once more comes the invitation to leap in the ritual dance, which shall ensure full jars, fleecy flocks, crops in the fields, and honey in the hives, prosperity alike on land and sea, youthful citizens and established Right.

Mount Ide¹.

The god here invoked is clearly thought of as coming from afar to witness, or even to join in, his worshippers' dance—a dance which very possibly originated as a piece of pure magic. But I do not on that account see in him 'a Kouros who is obviously but a reflection or impersonation of the body of Kouretes' (Miss J. E. Harrison *Themis* p. 27) any more than I regard the Bull Dionysos, who is invited to visit his temple at Elis (*carm. pop.* 5 Hiller—Crusius *ap. Plout. quaest. Gr.* 36), as a projection of the Elean women. The *Creator Spiritus* is not lightly to be identified with the *spiritus creatorum*.

¹ Mt Ide bore a name ("Ἰδη) which, like many mountain-names (Schrader *Reallex.*² p. 88 f.), means 'forest, wood' (F. Solmsen in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1908 xxvi. 109 ff., A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 10, *id. Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland* Göttingen 1909 p. 11 f. ('Ida'), Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 365 f.). It had flourishing oak-trees (Dionys. *per.* 503). And it was famous for its cypresses (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 2. 6, 4. 1. 3, Nik. *ther.* 585, Verg. *georg.* 2. 84, Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 142. Claud. *de rapt. Pros.* 3. 370 ff. confuses Mt Ide in the Troad), which probably stood in some relation to the cult of Rhea (*supra* i. 649 n. 1) or of Zeus (F. Olck in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1920, 1924, 1926, *supra* i. 558 n. 5); for not only were Cretan cypresses called *δρυῖται* (Theophr. *caus. pl.* 1. 2. 2), but beams of cypress were used to roof the temple in which were celebrated the rites of Rhea and Zagreus (Eur. *Cretes frag.* 472 Nauck² *ap. Porph. de abst.* 4. 19 cited *supra* i. 648 n. 1). A fruit-bearing poplar grew in the mouth of the Idaean Cave (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 3. 4 *ἐν Κρήτῃ δὲ καὶ ἀγχειροὶ κάρπμοι πλείους εἰσὶ· μία μὲν ἐν τῷ στομίῳ τοῦ ἄντρου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ* (so J. G. Schneider for *τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἰδῇ* cod. U. *τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἰδῆς* codd. M. V. *ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ* edd. Ald. Heins.), *ἐν ᾧ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἀνάκειται, ἄλλη δὲ μικρὰ πηλοῖον· κ.τ.λ.*, cp. *ib.* 2. 2. 10, Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 69), though Pliny describes it as a willow (Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 110 *salix...una tamen proditur ad maturitatem perferre solita in Creta insula ipso descensu Iovis spelunca durum ligneumque (sc. semen), magnitudine ciceris*). Iron-coloured stones shaped like the human thumb were found in Crete and known as *Idaei dactyli* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 170, Isid. *orig.* 16. 15. 12, Solin. 11. 14): if these were fossil belemnites (E. Babelon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1465), they were doubtless viewed as thunderbolts (C. Blinkenberg *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore* Cambridge 1911 p. 76 f. ('Thunderstones (Belemnites)')).

Mt Ide, which, as the ancients said, sees the sun before the sunrise (Solin. 11. 6, Prisc. *per.* 527 f. (*Geogr. Gr. min.* ii. 194 Müller)), was not unnaturally associated with the Hellenic sky-god. From s. v B.C. onwards we hear of Zeus *Ἰδαῖος* (Eur. *Cretes frag.* 472 Nauck² *ap. Porph. de abst.* 4. 19 cited *supra* i. 648 n. 1, Polyb. 28. 14. 3 *περὶ τούτων κειμένης ἐν ὄρκου συνθήκης παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ἰδαῖον*, cp. Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 264 f. *Ἐπιθετα Διός* no. (50) *Ἰδαίου*, 266 *Ἐπιθετα Διός* no. (42) *Ἰδαίου*, 281 *Ἐπιθετα τοῦ Διός... ἰδαῖος*. In Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 236 *καὶ χθόνα Νωδαλοῖο Διός κ.τ.λ.* G. Falkenberg, G. H. Moser, and Count de Marcellus would read *χθονὸς Ἰδαλοῖο*. J. J. Scaliger cj. *χθονὸς ὠδαλοῖο*. F. Graefe cj. *χθόνα Δικταλοῖο*).

Zeus is never said to have been born on Mt Ide (in Diod. 5. 70 cited *supra* p. 928 n. o the right reading appears to be *Δικτη*, not *Ἰδη*; at most we have Mart. *ep.* 4. 1. 2 *Dictaeum...tulit Ida Iovem*); the claims of Mt Aigaion (*supra* p. 925 n. 1) and Mt Dikte (*supra* p. 927 n. 1) were too strong. He is, however, said to have been brought by the Kouretes living near Mt Ide to a cave and to have been nurtured there by the nymphs on honey and the milk of the goat Amaltheia (Diod. 5. 70 *τὴν δὲ ῥέαν...τὸν Δία τεκούσαν... κλέψαι καὶ δοῦναι λάθρα τοῖς Κούρησιν ἐκθρέψαι τοῖς κατοικοῦσι πηλοῖον ὄρου τῆς Ἰδῆς. τοῦτους δ' ἀπενέγκαντας εἰς τι ἄντρον παραδοῦναι ταῖς Νύμφαις, παρακελευσαμένους τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι. αὐταὶ δὲ μέλι καὶ γάλα μίσγονσαι τὸ παιδίον ἐθρέψαν καὶ τῆς ἀγλὸς τῆς ὀνομαζομένης Ἀμαλθείας τὸν μαστὸν εἰς διατροφήν παρέχοντο*, Oν. *fast.* 5. 115 f. *Nais Amalthea, Cretaea nobilis Ida, | dicitur in silvis occuluisse Iovem*, Iuv. 13. 41 *et privatus adhuc Idaeis Iuppiter antris*) together with Aigokeros or Capricornus (pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 27 p. 237 f. *Maass <Διγokέρωτος> οὗτός ἐστι τῷ εἶδει ὁμοῖος τῷ Ἀιγίπῳ. ἐξ ἐκείνου*

δὲ γέγονεν. ἔχει δὲ θηρίον τὰ κάτω μέρη καὶ κέρατα ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ. ἐτιμήθη δὲ διὰ τὸ σύντροφος εἶναι τῷ Δί, καθάπερ Ἐπιμενίδης ὁ τὰ Κρητικὰ ἱστορῶν φησιν, ὅτι ἐν τῇ Ἰδῆ συνῆν αὐτῷ, ὅτε ἐπὶ τοὺς Τιτᾶνας ἐστράτευσεν (οὗτος δὲ δοκεῖ εὐρεῖν τὸν κόχλον, [ἐν] ᾧ τοὺς συμμαχούς καθώπλισεν), <ἦ> διὰ τὸ τοῦ ἤχου Πανικὸν καλούμενον, ὃ οἱ Τιτᾶνες ἐφευγον. παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τοῖς ἄστροις αὐτὸν ἔθηκε καὶ τὴν αἰγα τὴν μητέρα. διὰ δὲ τὸν κόχλον τὸν θαλάσσιον παράσημον ἔχει ἰχθύος, cp. schol. Arat. *phaen.* 284, Arat. Lat. p. 237 f. Maass, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 407, 9 ff. Eyssenhardt, *Hyg. poet. astr.* 2. 28). Adrasteia his nurse made him a golden ball (Ap. Rhod. 3. 132 ff. καὶ κέν τοι ὀπάσαιμι Διὸς περικαλλῆς ἄθουμα | κείνο, τό οἱ πόησε φίλη τροφὸς Ἀδρήστεια | ἀντρῷ ἐν Ἰδαίῳ ἔτι νήπια κουρίζοντι, | σφαῖραν ἐντρόχαλον... | ... | χρύσεια μὲν οἱ κύκλα τετεύχεται· ἀμφὶ δ' ἐκάστω | διπλοῖαι ἀψίδες περιηγῆες εἰλίσσονται· | κρυπταὶ δὲ ῥαφαὶ εἰσιν· ἔλιξ δ' ἐπιδέδρομε πάσαις | κυανῆν. ἀτὰρ εἰ μιν εἰς ἐνὶ χερσὶ βάλοιο, | ἀστήρ ὡς, φλεγέθοντα δὲ ἤερος ὀλλκὸν ἴσῃσι. H. Posnansky *Nemesis und Adrasteia* Breslau 1890 p. 175 f. finds Adrasteia, the infant Zeus, and his ball on a coin of Laodikeia illustrated *supra* i. 153 fig. 129. More *ad rem* are the coin-types discussed *supra* i. 51 f. figs. 27 and 28, 547; for there the cosmic significance of the ball (K. Sittl *Der Adler und die Weltkugel als Attribut des Zeus* Leipzig 1884 p. 45 ff.) is apparent) and put him to sleep in a golden *liknon* (Kallim. *h. Zeus* 46 ff. Ζεῦ, σὲ δὲ Κυρβάντων ἐτάροι προσεπηχύναντο | Δικταῖαι Μελίαι, σε δ' ἐκοίμισεν Ἀδρήστεια | λικνῷ ἐνὶ χρυσέῳ, σὺ δ' ἐθήσασο πλονα μαζὸν | αἰγὸς Ἀμαλθείης, ἐπὶ δὲ γλυκὸν κηρίον ἔβρωσ. | γέντο γὰρ ἐξαπιναῖα Πανακρίδος ἔργα μελίσσης | Ἰδαίοις ἐν ὄρεσσι, τὰ τε κλείουσι Πάνακρα). Hence in the Rhapsodic theogony Adrasteia, daughter of Melissos and Amaltheia, is associated with her sister Eide (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1086 n. o: 'die Göttin Ida?') as protectress of all laws including those of Zeus and Kronos (Orph. *frag.* 109 Abel *ap. Herm. in Plat. Phaedr.* p. 148 (p. 161, 15 ff. Couvreur)). Lastly, Zeus was first served in the Idaean Cave by Aetos the beautiful child of Earth (interp. Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 1. 394 est et alia fabula. apud Graecos legitur, puerum quendam terra editum admodum pulchrum membris omnibus fuisse, qui Ἄετος sit vocatus. hic cum Iuppiter propter patrem Saturnum, qui suos filios devorabat, in Creta insula in Idaeo antro nutritur, primus in obsequium Iovis se dedit, post vero cum adolevisset Iuppiter et patrem regno pepulisset, Iuno permota forma pueri velut paelicatus dolore eum in avem vertit, quae ab ipso Ἄετος dicitur Graece, a nobis aquila propter aquilum colorem, qui ater est. quam semper Iuppiter sibi inhaerere praecepit et fulmina gestare: per hanc etiam Ganymedes cum amaretur a Iove dicitur raptus, quos Iuppiter inter sidera collocavit. Cp. *supra* pp. 751 n. 2, 777). Copper coins of Crete issued by Titus (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 306, Suppl. ii. 262) and Domitian (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Mâcon 1890 i. 344 pl. 33, 22 (= my fig. 831), Head *Hist. num.*² p. 479) have for reverse type an eagle inscribed ΔΙΟΣ ΙΔΑΙΟΥ.

Other myths were readily attached to the same locality. It was 'in Idaean caves' that Hermaphroditos was reared by Naiad nymphs (Ov. *met.* 4. 288 f.) and that the Telchines were wont to work (Stat. *silv.* 4. 6. 47).

The worship of Zeus on Mt Ide, famous throughout the classical world (Lact. *Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 4. 105 Olenos Arcadiae civitas, in qua Iovem Amalthea capra dicitur nutrisse, quae in cultum Iovis Idam provocat, montem Cretae, in quo Iuppiter colitur), centred about the Idaean Cave. This was distant from Knossos some twenty miles as the crow flies; but the two were connected by a tolerable road and pilgrims could rest in the shade of trees by the wayside (Plat. *legg.* 625 A—B). The Cave itself was sacred to Zeus and the meadows near it were regarded as his (Diod. 5. 70 κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰδῆν, ἐν ᾗ συνέβη τραφῆναι τὸν θεόν, τό τε ἀντρον ἐν ᾧ τὴν δαιταν εἶχε καθιέρωται καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸ λειμῶνες ὁμοίως ἀνένται περὶ τὴν ἀκρόρειαν ὄντες). He had repaid his debt to the bees by turning them gold-bronze in colour and making them impervious to wintry weather (*id. ib.*). Concerning the cavern-ritual we know but little. Votive offerings were to be seen in the entry (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 3. 4 quoted *supra*). Pythagoras is said to have gone down into the Cave with Epimenides (Diog. Laert. 8. 3 εἰτ' ἐν Κρήτῃ σὺν Ἐπιμενίδῃ κατήλθεν



Fig. 831.

εἰς τὸ Ἰδαῖον ἄντρον), who was both a Cretan and a Koures (*supra* p. 191). Fortunately further details are given us by Porph. *v. Pyth.* 17 (cited *supra* i. 646 n. 3). It appears that Pythagoras first repaired to the mystics of Morges, one of the Idaean Daktyloi, by whom he was purified with the thunder-stone (τῆ κεραυνία λίθω—probably a belemnite (*supra*)), at daybreak lying prone beside the sea and at night beside a river, his head wrapped in the fleece of a black ram. He then descended into the Idaean Cave wearing black wool, spent there the customary thrice nine days, made a funeral offering (καθήςσει) to Zeus, saw the throne which was strown for the god once a year, and inscribed on his tomb an epigram entitled 'Pythagoras to Zeus,' which begins ὦδε θανῶν κείται Ζεῶν, θν Δία κυκλήσκουσιν (*supra* i. 158 n. 2, 646 n. 3, ii. 341 n. 6, 345 n. 1). It is abundantly clear that the cavern-rites were concerned with death as well as birth. Zan or Zeus lay dead. Yet yearly a throne was spread for him, *i.e.* for Zeus come to life again as Zagreus (*supra* i. 646 f.). Pythagoras sought to share his death and resurrection.

Apart from the cave-sanctuary there were in *s. v.* B.C.—if we may trust the *Cretans* of Euripides—temples of Zeus Ἰδαῖος roofed with cypress-planks, which were fastened together with glue made of bull's hide. Here the mystics of the god made thunder like Zagreus, feasted on raw flesh, brandished torches for the mountain-mother, and transformed from Kouretes into Bakchoi led thenceforward a life of ceremonial purity (Eur. *Cretes frag.* 472 Nauck² *ap.* Porph. *de abst.* 4. 19 cited *supra* i. 648 n. 1). The significance of these rites has already been discussed (*supra* i. 648 ff.).

An archaic *boustrophedon* inscription recording a convention between Gortyna and Rhizenia stipulates that the Rhizeniates shall send the victims to Mt Ide, every other year, to the value of 350 *statêres* (F. Halbherr in the *Ann. Journ. Arch.* 1897 i. 204 ff. no. 23, F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 257 f. no. 4985, S. A. Xanthoudides in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1908 p. 236 *θιολ. ἐπὶ τοῖδ(δ)ε* Ἐπι[ττέν]σοι Γ[ορ]τυνίους αὐτ[όν]ο[μ]ο[ι] καὶ[τ]όδοικοι (space) [τ]ὰ θ[ύ]ματα παρέκοντες ἐς Βιδαν [τ]ρ[ι]οι [Ἐ]τρεῖ τριακάρτος στατέρας καὶ πεν[τέκοντα]). We infer that the celebration on Mt Ide was trieteric (*supra* i. 662, 690 ff., 695 n. 8).

In Hellenistic times the appellative of Zeus was spelled Βιδάρας (= *Fidáras*, the god of Mt Ide. So first J. Schmidt in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1863 xii. 217 Βιδάρας ('Ιδήςης?), cp. S. A. Xanthoudides *loc. cit.* H. B. Voretzsch in *Hermes* 1870 iv. 273 wrongly assumed connexion with the Phrygian and Macedonian βέδν (Clem. *Al. Strom.* 5. 8 p. 357, 11 ff. Stählin) and concluded that Βιδάρας meant ἕτιος, θυβριος). A treaty of *c.* 150 B.C. between Lyttos and Olous makes the Lyttians swear by Zeus Βιδάρας (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 549b, 5 ff. = F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 380 f. no. 5147b, 5 ff. [δμνύω τὰν Ἐστῆαν καὶ τῆνα Βιδάραν καὶ τῆνα [-] | [-καὶ Ἀπέλλω]να Πύτιον καὶ Λατῶν καὶ [Ἀ]ρ[τεμ]ιν - -] | [-καὶ τὰν Βριθμοῦρην καὶ τὸς ἄλλος θιός - -]). Another treaty, of *c.* 100 B.C., between Gortyna and Hierapytna on the one side and Priansos on the other, mentions a temple of Zeus Βιδάρας on the frontier of Priansos (F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 301 ff. no. 5024, 22 f. [-εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῶ? Τῆ] [νός] τῶ Βιδάτῶ κῆς τὰνς Ἀντρί[-]). Cp. *ib.* 60 and 77 (cited *supra* p. 723 n. o)).

The oldest cult-cavern of Mt Ide seems to have been the grotto, known locally as *Maurospeilaion*, high up on the two-peaked mountain of *Kamares*, the southernmost bastion of the Idaean *massif*. This was first visited in 1894 by A. Taramelli ('A visit to the Grotto of Camares on Mount Ida' in the *Ann. Journ. Arch.* 1901 v. 437—451 with map, elevation, plan, and section (map and plan copied by L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 859 f.)). It was thoroughly explored in 1913 by a party from the British School at Athens (R. M. Dawkins and M. L. W. Laistner 'The Excavation of the Kamares Cave in Crete' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1912—1913 xix. 1—34 with figs. 1—8 and pls. 1 (view), 2 (plan), 3 (section), 4—12 (pottery)). The finds included a couple of neolithic sherds, a few pieces of 'Early Minoan' spouted vessels, many handsome vases of 'Middle Minoan i and ii' date, a little 'Middle Minoan iii' ware, and a very little 'Late Minoan,' the series ending with two *Bügelkannen*. The grotto, which is free from snow for only a few months in the year, can hardly have been a dwelling and must rather be regarded as a sanctuary, presumably of the 'Minoan' mountain-goddess Rhea.

A. Taramelli in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1901 v. 434 held that it was the cult-centre of Zeus 'Iḗaios for the whole commune of Phaistos. But there is no real evidence to connect it with Zeus at all.

The Idaean Cave of classical times has been identified beyond all doubt with the great cavern 500 ft above the plateau of *Nida* (τὰν Ἴδαν), a fresh grassy level lying to the east of the mountain-top. The actual summit of Ide (*Psiloriti* for Ἐψηλωπετης), which attains the height of 8060 ft, is occupied by a small Greek monastery of the Holy Cross (*Timios Stauros*). Mr T. Fyfe, who spent a night on the summit, tells me (Jan. 9, 1923) that of the monastery little now remains except the church. This has a western domed compartment (13 ft 6 ins in diameter) with a narrow door leading to an oblong nave (11 ft 6 ins long by 8 ft 3 ins broad) covered by an elliptical dome. Eastwards of this is the sanctuary, entered by a semicircular arch and containing an aumbry opposite to a shallow recess for a seat. At the extreme east end is a built-in altar-table. The whole is very roughly constructed of rubble stone-work and is probably not very ancient, though the circular



Fig. 832.

western portion is said to be older than the remainder. About 3060 ft below the summit, but still at an altitude of some 5000 ft, lies *Nida*. And the Cave in the western side of its mountain-wall is used as a shelter both by shepherds and by travellers making the ascent from *Anogeia* (T. A. B. Spratt *Travels and Researches in Crete* London 1865 i. 9, 19. For *Anogeia* see *supra* i. 163 n. 1). In the summer of 1884 a shepherd named G. Pasparakī, grubbing in the cavern with a stick, chanced to find fragments of terra-cotta lamps, a few pieces of gold foil, and sundry small bronzes. These finds, being talked about, led to a visit the same year from E. Fabricius ('Alterthümer auf Kreta. II Die Idäische Zeusgrotte' in the *Ath. Mith.* 1885 x. 59—72 with plan and 9 figs., *id.* 'Zur Idäischen Zeusgrotte' *ib.* p. 280 f.) and to a systematic exploration in 1885 by F. Halbherr and G. Aeraki under the auspices of J. Hazzidakis and the Syllogos of Kandia (F. Halbherr 'Scavi e trovamenti nell'antro di Zeus sul monte Ida in Creta' in the *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica* 1888 ii. 689—768 with numerous figs., pls. 11 (two photographs, of which the second = my fig. 832), 12 (a plan, b—d sections = my figs. 833—836), and an Atlas of 12 pls., P. Orsi

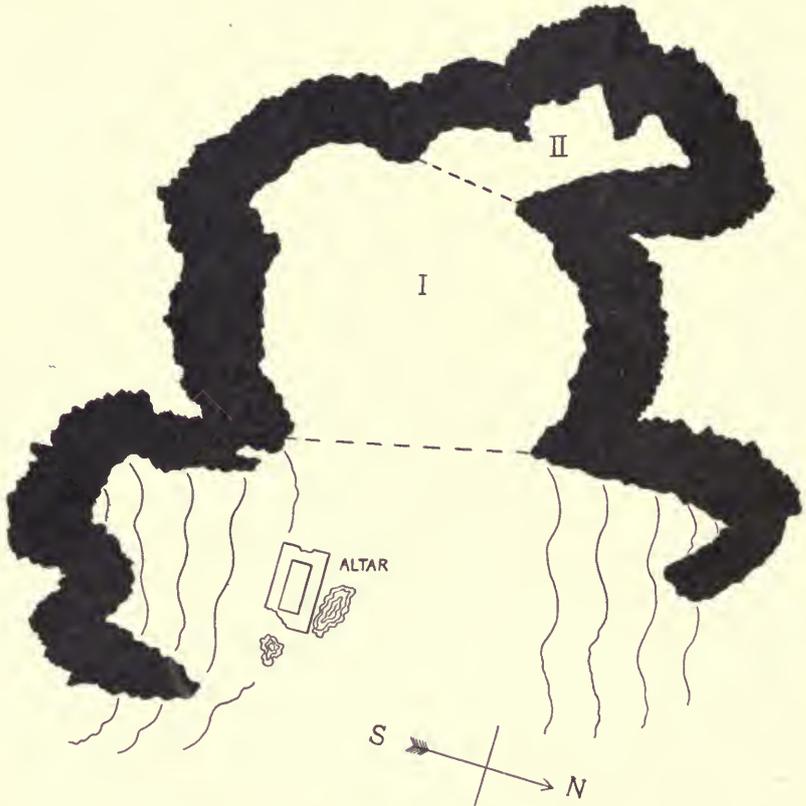


Fig. 833.

••••• Ashes, charcoal, and carbonised matter.
••••• Earth and stones fallen from the mountain.

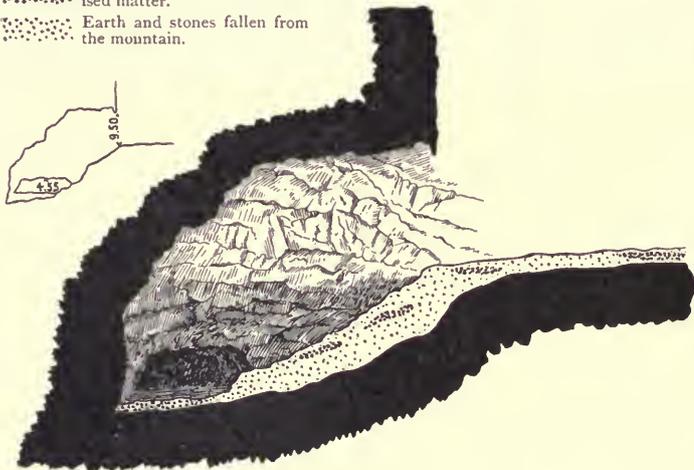


Fig. 834.

'Studi illustrativi sui bronzi arcaici trovati nell'antro di Zeus Ideo' *ib.* pp. 769—904 with a few figs., A. L. Frothingham 'Early Bronzes recently discovered on Mount Ida in Krete' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1888 iv. 431—449 with figs. 13—16 and pls. 16—20, H. Thiersch 'Altkretisches Kuretengerät' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1913 xxviii Arch. Anz. pp. 47—53 with fig. 1).

The Cave comprises three well-marked divisions: (a) the entry; (b) chamber I, the *sanctum*; (c) chamber II, the *sanctum sanctorum*.

(a) On the south side of the entry is a great fallen rock shaped into an altar, the top of which forms an oblong mass (4.80^m long, 1.95^m broad, 0.88^m high) with a wide step all round it (*c.* 1.45^m broad, *c.* 3^m high). Beside it are fragments split off from the parent block and forming deep crannies and cavities, in which many small votive offerings came to light. On the north side are limestone bases of bronze statues etc. formerly erected on

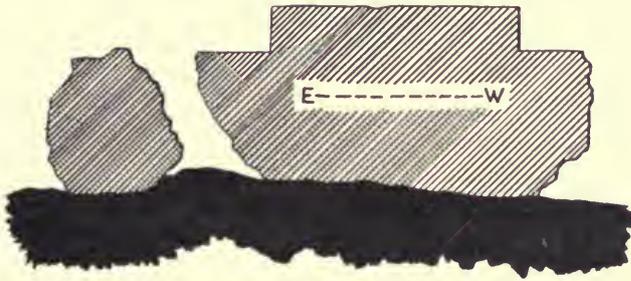


Fig. 835.

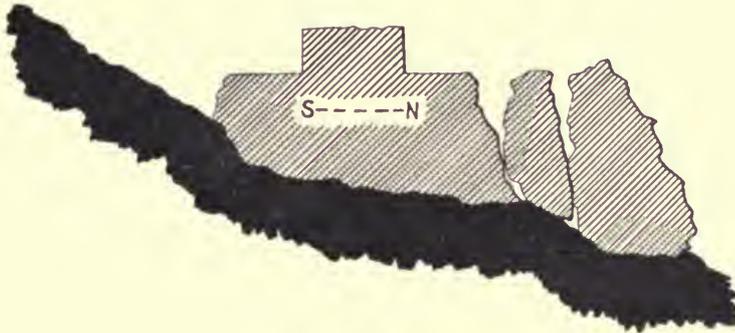


Fig. 836.

the stair-like rocky slope (cp. Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 3. 4 cited *supra*). Immediately in front of the Cave numerous objects in bronze, silver, and gold were unearthed.

(b) The *sanctum*, entered through a broad yawning aperture (9.50^m high), forms a wide hall (25^m to 31^m across) with rocky walls showing no trace of artificial niches. Snow-drifts have carried down into it a thick bed of earth and stones. This contains patches of black carbonised matter, and has yielded the bulk of the articles in plate-bronze.

(c) The *sanctum sanctorum* is a smaller chamber (22^m long, 8^m broad, over 4.50^m high), opening out of the *sanctum* but almost entirely dark. The floor is covered to a depth of several feet with a layer of ashes and charcoal, in which were found fragments of animal-bones half-burnt, several ox-skulls with horns attached, and many terra-cotta lamps.

Below the Cave, on the western edge of the *Nida*-plain, are the foundations of a Roman house once occupied by the custodians of the sanctuary.

The only 'Minoan' object known to have been found in the Cave is a lenticular gem of rock crystal representing a woman, who blows a conch-shell before a group of three sacred trees (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 47 fig. 22, Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* London 1921 i. 221 fig. 167, *supra* i. 649 n. 3). This is interesting in view of the tradition that Aigokeros, the *connutricius...Iovis* (Arat. Lat. p. 237 Maass) in the Idaean Cave, was the discoverer of the conch (*supra*). I should conjecture that it was used to make mock-thunder in the rites of Zagreus, the re-born Zeus. It may also be pointed out that Aigokeros or Capricornus was derived from Mesopotamia, where he figures as the constellation *Suhur-máš*, the 'Fish-goat' (A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 p. 117 figs. 94—96 and Index p. 362, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1463 f. figs. 24, 26—29). It is therefore tempting to suppose that Aigokeros came to Crete from the same quarter and along the same route as Zagreus (*supra* i. 651). Further, in Mesopotamian star-lore the constellation *Suhur-máš* is so intimately related to the constellation *Nušru*, Aquila, that the 'Eagle' on occasion takes the place of the 'Fish-goat' (A. Jeremias *loc. cit.*); and the 'Eagle' is personified as the god Zamama (A. Jeremias *Handbuch* p. 129, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1492). It might be contended, without undue rashness, that we have here the ultimate reason for the Cretan association of Aigokeros with Zeus. But Jeremias goes far beyond this, when he suggests that Zamama and his 'Eagle' are actually the *Urbild* of Zeus and his eagle (*id. ib.*). *Panbabilonismus!*

Votive objects found in the Cave include the following: (1) Convex circular shields of thin bronze, with central boss representing lion's head, eagle or hawk, etc. in high relief and concentric zones of decoration (F. Halbherr *loc. cit.* p. 695 ff. nos. 1—9 Atlas pls. 2—5, 9, 1, 10, 3 f.). (2) A *tympanon* of thin bronze with a quasi-Assyrian representation of Zeus and the Kouretes (*id. ib.* p. 709 f. no. 10 Atlas pl. 1 = *supra* i. 645 pl. xxxv). (3) Cymbals of thin bronze (*id. ib.* p. 712 ff. nos. 1—10 with figs.). (4) Bronze *phidlai*, eight of which are embellished with low reliefs in three distinct styles—Cypriote, Egypto-Phoenician, and Mesopotamian (*id. ib.* p. 718 ff. nos. 1—7 Atlas pls. 6, 7, 8, 9, 2 f., 10, 1 f., 12, 8, 10). (5) Bronze *oinochôai* (*id. ib.* p. 725 Atlas pl. 12, 9, 12 f.). (6) Bronze *lébetes* (*id. ib.* p. 725 ff. nos. 1—5 Atlas pl. 12, 4). (7) Very archaic groups of decorative figures in cast bronze, e.g. war-ship with rowers, chariots, warriors, man milking cow, hounds, etc. (*id. ib.* p. 727 ff. nos. 1—14 Atlas pl. 11). (8) Archaic bronze statuettes of nude male and female figures (*id. ib.* p. 732 ff. nos. 1—5 with figs. Atlas pl. 12, 1 f.). (9) Votive animals in bronze (*id. ib.* p. 736 f. nos. 1 sheep (?) with fig., 2 bull, 3 bulls' horns, 4 goats Atlas pl. 12, 3). (10) Ornamental figures in bronze, e.g. sphinxes, lion, horse, doves, snakes (*id. ib.* p. 745 ff. with figs. Atlas pl. 12, 18). (11) Handles of vases, rings and feet of tripods, etc. in bronze (*id. ib.* p. 737 ff. with figs. Atlas pl. 12, 11, 14—17, 19 f.). (12) Disks of thin gold decorated with dots or rays (*id. ib.* p. 749 ff. with figs.). A small plaque of thin gold stamped in relief with a procession of four warriors bearing circular shields, within an oblong framework of spirals (*id. ib.* p. 751 with fig.): this may be of sub-'Minoan' date. Another plaque of gold inscribed ΙΟΥΩΗ | ΖΑΙΗΗ | | <ΟΟΖΑ, apparently a 'Gnostic' charm ending with [φύλ]άσσου. A few pieces of jewellery, e.g. an oblong plate of gold to which three draped female figures, with *bucrania* between them, are soldered; from the plate hangs a snake biting its own tail (*id. ib.* p. 752). (13) A small bearded (?) head in amber (*id. ib.* p. 753 f. Atlas pl. 12, 6). (14) Sundry objects in ivory, e.g. a bull carved in the round (*id. ib.* p. 754 no. 1 Atlas pl. 12, 7) and a perfume-bottle (?) in the shape of a headless female body (*id. ib.* p. 753 f. no. 2 with figs.): (15) Two pieces of rock-crystal shaped like plano-convex lenses (*id. ib.* p. 756. On the vexed question of classical lenses see H. Blümner *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* Leipzig 1884 iii. 298 ff.). (16) Two small oblong seal-stones of steatite (F. Halbherr *loc. cit.* p. 757 f. with fig.). (17) Phoenician or pseudo-Egyptian majolicas (*id. ib.* p. 758 ff. with figs.). (18) Objects in terra cotta, e.g. the archaic figurine of a bull; the two heads of a god, with a *modius*, and a goddess, with a diadem, embracing; lamps with acanthus-leaf handles (*id. ib.* p. 759 ff. with fig.). (19) Arrow-heads and lance-heads of iron (*id. ib.* p. 764 with figs.).

Plate XLIII



Mount Juktas, as seen from the west, showing the profile of the 'Pursuer' (Διώκτας).

See page 939 n. 1.

Mount Juktas¹.

(20) A tablet of terra cotta bearing in rubricated characters of Roman date the crucial inscription Δι' Ἰδα[ω] | εὐχῆν | Ἀστήρ [A]λεξάνδρου (E. Fabricius in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1885 x. 280 f., F. Halbherr *loc. cit.* p. 766).

Thus for more than a millennium—from 'Minoan' to Roman times—men paid their vows to Zeus Ἰδαῖος in the shadow of a great rock and turned again, well content, to the duties that awaited them in the sunlight five thousand feet below.

The cave on Mt Ide called *Arkésion* (*supra* p. 548 f.) has been identified tentatively with the *Kamares* grotto (L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 861). But its traditional connexion with the Kouretes (*supra* p. 549 n. 1) points rather to identification with the better known Idaean Cave, where in fact the Curetic *λύμφανον* was found (*supra*). The name Ἀρκέσιον has been interpreted (L. Büchner *loc. cit.*) as the 'Bear's Hole' (from ἄρκος, a doublet of ἄρκτος: see Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*³ p. 53, Boisacq *Dict. Etym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 78 f.)—a view which might be supported by the existence of a cavern usually described as that of the Bear (*Arkhoudhes*) in the promontory of *Akrotiri*, east of Kydonia (Canea) (Miss D. M. A. Bate in A. Trevor-Battye *Camping in Crete* London 1913 p. 248). After all, bears had some claim to be regarded as the nurses of the infant Zeus (*supra* i. 112 n. 5).

Mr Trevor-Battye *op. cit.* p. 108 ff. describes and illustrates his ascent of the mountain. He says (p. 119 ff.): 'The actual summit of Ida is a blunted cone with rounded sides. Most of the summit was clear of snow, but on the southern and western sides lay some large melting drifts. The loose stones that pave this cone are laid down flat by the wind. The summit, 8,193 feet high, is now called Stavros... On the tip-top of Ida is a "monastery": every church in Crete is called a monastery. This particular one is a tiny little building made very strong against the wind; it is built on the same principle as the mountain-shepherds' huts—of slabs of stone laid one upon the other. At one point only has any mortar been used, just at the springing of the chancel dome. There were tapers inside for the devotees to burn before the ikons... I gathered... that a priest comes once a year to hold a service in this church. The church is surrounded by a walled enclosure that also includes a well of excellent ice-cold water... Beyond the enclosure a circle had been cleared of stones, and here, said Ianni, once a year the people danced. Spratt tells how, as he went up to Ida, he saw forty ibex, and that a group were actually browsing on the summit; but that was over fifty years ago. I scanned the rocks in every direction in vain.'

¹ Mt Juktas, an isolated ridge running from south to north towards Knossos and the sea, attains a height of 2720 ft. Its modern Greek name Γιούκτας or Γιούκρας derives from an earlier Διώκτας and means the 'Pursuer' (διώκτης). Such a name of course presupposes a myth, and very fortunately the myth is preserved for us by Kallimachos, who describes the 'pursuit' (διωκτόν) of Britomartis by Minos (Kallim. *h. Artem.* 189 ff., *supra* i. 527 n. 1: cp. Diod. 5. 76 διωκομένην ὑπὸ Μίνω). The poet tells how Britomartis, to escape the embraces of Minos, plunged from the top of Mt Dikte into the sea, but omits to state what became of her disappointed lover. In all probability he was transformed into the mountain still called the 'Pursuer.' For the outline of Juktas, as seen from the west, is suggestive of a human face. A. Trevor-Battye *Camping in Crete* London 1913 p. 184 with pl. (my pl. xliii is reproduced from a photograph very kindly given me by Mr C. R. Haines) remarks: 'Rocks and mountains often bear a likeness to human lineaments; every traveller can recall many such resemblances, but none that I have seen have the convincing dignity of the face on Iuktas. The bearded face and the drapery or pillow on which the head reposes occupy the whole of the mountain-top. Seen in the flatness of the mid-day light it is an interesting outline and no more, but at turn of the sun the sculpturing begins. The sun works in masses, as Michelangelo worked; it carves out the planes of the face as Donatello carved them, letting detail go. So the chiselling continues, a high light here, a deepening shadow there, till with closed eyes the head has sunk down upon its pillow just as the sun is low.' Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* London 1921 i.

156 with fig. 112 informs us 'that the long ridge of the mountain rising in successive peaks has given rise to a widespread belief in the island that it reproduces the profile of the native Zeus.' It would seem, then, that in the popular interpretation of this natural phenomenon Minos has been dispossessed by Zeus.

The same process of religious expropriation can perhaps be detected in another famous feature of Mt Juktas—the so-called tomb of Zeus. It may be that this celebrated monument really was, as the schol. Kallim. *h. Zeus* 8 (*supra* i. 158 n. 2, cited *infra*) declares it to have been, *ab origine* the tomb of Minos (cp. Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 121 n. 3, *id.* *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* i. 154). The transition from king to god, always possible, becomes peculiarly probable in the case of one who was the *Διὸς μεγάλου δαριστῆς* (*Od.* 19. 179). A lawgiver who claimed to speak with the authority of Zeus might readily be regarded as Zeus incarnate (*supra* i. 662 with n. 1). The tomb has already engaged our attention at some length (*supra* i. 157—163). I shall therefore be content to collect here the ancient allusions to it—a task well, but not quite adequately, performed by J. Meursius *Creta, Cyprus, Rhodus* Amstelodami 1675 pp. 77—81—and to add a brief account of the excavations carried out on the site in 1909 by Sir A. J. Evans and Dr D. Mackenzie (Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* London 1921 i. 154 ff. figs. 112—114).

Epimenides (?) *ap.* the *Gannat Busamé* (cited *supra* i. 157 n. 3) and *ap.* Isho'dad (cited *supra* i. 663 n. 2). Kallim. *h. Zeus* 8 f. Κρήτες αἰὲ ψεύσται· καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ᾧ ἄνα, σείο | Κρήτες ἐτεκτῆσαντο· σὸ δ' οὐ θάνας, ἐσσι γὰρ αἰὲ μετὰ τάφον· ἐν Κρήτῃ ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ Μίνωος ἐπεγέγραπτο "Μίνωος τοῦ Διὸς τάφος"· τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ τὸ τοῦ Μίνωος (A. Meineke cj. τὸ "Μίνωος τοῦ") ἀπληίφθη (Meineke cj. ἀπληίφθη) ὥστε περιλειφθῆναι <"τοῦ (ins. O. Schneider) > Διὸς τάφος." ἐκ τούτου οὖν ἔχειν λέγουσι Κρήτες τὸν τάφον τοῦ Διὸς. ἥ ἔτι Κορύβαντες λαβόντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ (so Meineke for τοῦ cod. E, τὸ vulg.) κρύψαι διὰ τὸν Κρήτων προσποιήσαντο τάφον αὐτῷ. *Enn. sacr. hist. frag.* 526 Baehrens *ap.* *Lact. div. inst.* 1. 11 Ennius in *Sacra Historia* descriptis omnibus quae in vita sua gessit ad ultimum sic ait: 'deinde Iuppiter postquam quinque terras circumvit omnibusque amicis atque cognatis suis imperia divisit reliquitque hominibus leges mores frumenta paravit multaque alia bona fecit, immortali gloria memoriae adfectus sempiterna monumenta sui reliquit. aetate pessum acta in Creta vitam commutavit et ad deos abiit eumque Curetes filii sui curaverunt decoraveruntque eum (W. von Hartel cj. <ut d> eum); et sepulchrum eius est in Creta in oppido Gnosso et dicitur Vesta hanc urbem creavisse; inque sepulchro eius est inscriptum antiquis litteris Graecis ΖΑΝ ΚΡΟΝΟΥ id est Latine Iuppiter Saturni.' hoc certe non poetae tradunt, sed antiquarum rerum scriptores. quae adeo vera sunt, ut ea Sibyllinis versibus confirmentur, qui sunt tales: δαίμονας ἀψύχους, νεκῶν εἶδωλα καμόντων, | ὦν Κρήτῃ καύχημα τάφους ἡ δύσμορος ξέει (= *oracl. Sibyll.* 8. 47 f. The passage continues, after a comma, θρησκευούσα θρήνῳσιν ἀναίσθητος νεκέσσειν). etc. *Varr. ap. Solin.* 11. 7 Varro in opere quod de litoralibus est etiam suis temporibus adfirmat sepulchrum Iovis ibi visitatum (C. Cichorius *Römische Studien* Leipzig—Berlin 1922 p. 212 argues, from a comparison of *Varr. frag.* 364 Bücheler *ap.* *Non. Marc.* p. 775, 14 ff. Lindsay, that Varro had himself seen the tomb). *Cic. de nat. deor.* 3. 53 tertium (*sc.* Iovem) Cretensem, Saturni filium, cuius in illa insula sepulchrum ostenditur (quoted by *Lact. div. inst.* 1. 11). *Diod.* 3. 61 γεγονέναι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον Δία, τὸν ἀδελφὸν μὲν Οὐρανοῦ, τῆς δὲ Κρήτης βασιλεύσαντα, τῇ δόξῃ πολλὸν λειπόμενον τοῦ μεταγενεστέρου. τούτου μὲν οὖν βασιλεύσαι τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου, τὸν δὲ προγενέστερον, δυναστεύοντα τῆς προειρημένης νήσου, δέκα παῖδας γεννήσαι τοῖς ὀνομασθέντας Κούρητας· προσαγορεύσαι δὲ καὶ τὴν νήσον ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Ἰδαίαν, ἐν ἣ καὶ τελευτήσαντα ταφῆναι, δεκνυμένον τοῦ τῆν ταφῆν δεξαμένου τόπου μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων, *ib.* 6. 5 Vogel (*infra*). *Anth. Pal.* 7. 275. 5 f. (Gaetulicus) τὸν ψεύσται δὲ με τύμβον ἐπὶ χθονὶ θέντο. τί θαῦμα; | Κρήτες ὄκον ψεύσται, καὶ Διὸς ἐστι τάφος (for the cenotaph of Astydamas, a Cydonian drowned between Cape Malea and Crete). *Lucan.* 8. 871 f. atque erit Aegyptus populis fortasse nepotum | tam mendax Magni tumulo quam Creta Tonantis. *Mela* 2. 112 Crete...multis famigerata fabulis...maxime tamen eo quod ibi sepulti Iovis paene clarum vestigium, sepulchrum cui nomen eius insculptum est adcolae ostendunt. *Stat. Theb.* 1. 278 f. (Iuno to Iupiter) placet Ida nocens

mentitaque manes | Creta tuos. Tatian. *or. adv. Graec.* 44 τάφος τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς καθ' ὑμᾶς δεικνύται, κἄν ψεύδεσθαι τις τοὺς Κρήτας λέγῃ. Loukian. *Iur. trag.* 45 εἰ δ' ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ βροντῶν ἐστί, τὸ ἄμεινον ἂν εἰδῆς ἐκείθεν ποθεν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀφύγμενος, ἐπεὶ οἱ γε ἐκ Κρήτης ἦκοντες ἄλλα ἡμῖν διηγούνται, τάφον τινὰ ἐκεῖθι δεικνύσθαι καὶ στήλην ἐφεστάναι δηλοῦσαι ὡς οὐκέτι βροντήσειεν ἂν ὁ Ζεὺς πάλαι τεθνεώς, *de sacrif.* 10 οἱ δ' αὖ Κρήτες οὐ γενέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ τραφήναι μόνον τὸν Δία λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάφον αὐτοῦ δεικνύσθαι· καὶ ἡμεῖς ἄρα τοσοῦτον ἠπατήμεθα χρόνον οἰόμενοι τὸν Δία βροντᾶν τε καὶ ἕναι καὶ τάλλα πάντα ἐπιτελεῖν, ὃ δὲ ἐλλέθῃ πάλαι τεθνεώς παρὰ Κρησὶ τεθαμμένος, *philopat.* 10 ἀλλ' ἔτι ἀνεμνήσθη τὰ τῶν Κρητῶν, οἱ τάφον ἐπεδεικνύτό μοι τοῦ Διὸς σου καὶ τὰ τὴν μητέρα θρέψαντα λόχμα (so M. Solanus and F. Guyet for δόχμα), ὡς ἀειθαλεῖς αἱ λόχμαι αὐταὶ διαμένουσι, *philopseud.* 3 τὸ δὲ καὶ πόλεις ἤδη καὶ ἔθνη πολλὰ κοινῇ καὶ δημοσίᾳ ψεύδεσθαι πῶς οὐ γελοῖον; εἰ Κρήτες μὲν τοῦ Διὸς τάφον δεικνύοντες οὐκ αἰσχύνονται, κ.τ.λ., *Τίμων* ὁ ἤδη ποτὲ οὖν, ὃ Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας υἱέ, τὸν βαθὺν τοῦτον ὕπνον ἀποσεισάμενος καὶ νῆδυμον—ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἐπιμενίδην γὰρ κεκοιμησάμενος—καὶ ἀναρριπίσας τὸν κεραυνὸν ἢ ἐκ τῆς Οἴτης ἐναναστάμενος μεγάλην ποιήσας τὴν φλόγα ἐπιδείξαιδ' ἴνα χολῆν ἀνδρώδους καὶ νεανικοῦ Διὸς, εἰ μὴ ἀληθῆ ἐστί τὰ ὑπὸ Κρητῶν περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκεί ταφῆς μυθολογούμενα. Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 30 p. 40 f. Schwartz (after quoting Kallim. *h. Zeus* 8 f.) πιστεύω, Καλλιμαχῆ, ταῖς γουαῖς τοῦ Διὸς ἀπιστεῖς αὐτοῦ τῷ τάφῳ καὶ νομῶν ἐπισκιάσειν τάληθές καὶ τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι κηρύσσει τὸν τεθνηκότα κἄν μὲν τὸ ἄντρον βλέπῃς, τὸν Ῥέας ὑπομμνησκή τόκου, ἂν δὲ τὴν σορὸν ἴδῃς, ἐπισκοπεῖς τῷ τεθνηκότι, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι μόνος αἰδῖος ὁ ἀγέννητος θεός. Theophil. *ad Autol.* 1. 10 πέσομαι δὲ σου καγῶ, ὡ ἀνθρώπε, πόσοι Ζήγες εὐρίσκονται· Ζεὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν πρώτοις προσ-αγορεύεται Ὀλύμπιος, καὶ Ζεὺς Λατιάριος (*leg.* Λατιάριος), καὶ Ζεὺς Κάσιος, καὶ Ζεὺς Κεραύνιος, καὶ Ζεὺς Προπάτωρ, καὶ Ζεὺς Παννύχιος, καὶ Ζεὺς Πολιοῦχος, καὶ Ζεὺς Καπετώλιος· καὶ ὁ μὲν Ζεὺς παῖς Κρόνου, βασιλεὺς Κρητῶν γενόμενος, ἔχει τάφον ἐν Κρήτῃ· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἴσως οὐδὲ ταφῆς κατηξιώθησαν, *ib.* 2. 3 πρὸς τί δὲ καὶ καταλέλοιπεν ὁ Ζεὺς τὴν Ἰδην; πότερον τελευτήσας, ἢ οὐκ ἔτι ἤρσεν αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὄρος; τοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐπορεύθη; εἰς οὐρανοῦς; οὐχί· ἀλλὰ ἐρεῖς εἰς Κρήτην; ναί, ὅπου καὶ τάφος αὐτῷ ἔως τοῦ δεῦρο δεικνύται. Clem. Al. *prot.* 2. 37. 4 p. 28, 6 ff. Stählin ζήτει σου τὸν Δία· μὴ τὸν οὐρανόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν γῆν πολυπραγμονεῖ. ὁ Κρῆς σοι διηγῆσεται, παρ' ᾧ καὶ τέθαπται· Καλλιμαχος ἐν ὕμνοις (*h. Zeus* 8 f.) “καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἀνα, σείο | Κρήτες ἐτεκτήναντο.” τέθνηκε γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς (μὴ δυσφύρει) ὡς Λήδα (J. Markland cj. ὦ Λήδα), ὡς κύκνος, ὡς ἀετός, ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐρωτικός, ὡς δράκων. Philostr. *v. soph.* 2. 4 p. 74 Kayser (Antiochos, a sophist of Aigai in Kilikia, s. ii A.D.) ἀριστα δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν Κρητῶν ἀπολελόγηται, τῶν κρινομένων ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Διὸς σήματι, φυσιολογία τε καὶ θεολογία πάσῃ ἐναγωνισάμενος λαμπρῶς. Orig. *c. Cels.* 3. 43 μετὰ ταῦτα λέγει (*sc.* ὁ Κέλσος) περὶ ἡμῶν ὅτι καταγελωμέν τῶν προσκυνούντων τὸν Δία, ἐπεὶ τάφος αὐτοῦ ἐν Κρήτῃ δεικνύται, καὶ οὐδὲν ἦττον σέβομεν τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου, οὐκ εἰδότες, πῶς καὶ καθὼ Κρήτες τὸ τοιοῦτον ποιοῦσιν. ἄρα οὖν ὅτι ἐν τούτοις ἀπολογεῖται μὲν περὶ Κρητῶν καὶ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ, αἰνιττόμενος τροπικὰς ὑπονοίας, καθ' ἃς πεπλάσθαι λέγεται ὁ περὶ τοῦ Διὸς μῦθος· ἡμῶν δὲ κατηγορεῖ, ὁμολογούντων μὲν τετάφθαι τὸν ἡμέτερον Ἰησοῦν φασκόντων δὲ καὶ ἐγγεγέρθαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου, ὅπερ Κρήτες οὐκέτι περὶ τοῦ Διὸς ἱστοροῦσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ δοκεῖ συναγορεύειν τῷ ἐν Κρήτῃ τάφῳ τοῦ Διὸς λέγων· ὅπως μὲν καὶ καθότι Κρήτες τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν, οὐκ εἰδότες, φήσομεν ἐπὶ καὶ ὁ Κυρηναῖος Καλλιμαχος, πλείστα ὅσα ἀναγνοῦσι ποιήματα καὶ ἱστορίας σχεδὸν πᾶσαν ἀναλεξάμενος Ἑλληνικὴν, οὐδεμίαν οἶδε τροπολογίαν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Διὸς καὶ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ. κ.τ.λ. (a quotation and discussion of Kallim. *h. Zeus* 8 f., 10, 6 ff.). Min. Fel. *Oct.* 21. 8 eius (*sc.* Saturni) filius Iuppiter Cretae excluso parente regnavit, illic obiit, illic filios habuit: adhuc (C. A. Heumann cj. illic adhuc) antrum Iovis visitur et sepulcrum eius ostenditur, et ipsis sacris suis humanitatis arguitur. Cypr. *de idol. van.* 2 (iv. 567 A Migne) antrum Iovis in Creta visitur (uisitor cod. L. uisitor cod. C¹. uisitor cod. C². uidetur cod. P. dicitur cod. M. mittitur cod. B.), et sepulcrum eius ostenditur, et ab eo Saturnum fugatum manifestum est. Porph. *v. Lyth.* 17 (cited *supra* i. 646 n. 3). Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 14 aiunt igitur theologi vestri et vetustatis absconditae conditores, tris (*v.l.* tres) in rerum natura Ioves esse, ex quibus unus Aether sit patre progenitus, alter Caelo, tertius vero Saturno apud insulam Cretam et sepulturae traditus et procreatus, *ib.* 4. 25 apud insulam Cretam sepulturae esse mandatum Iovem nobis editum traditur? Firm. Mat. 7. 6 et a vanis Cretensibus adhuc mortui Iovis tumulus adoratur.

Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 7. 180 antiqui reges nomina sibi plerumque vindicabant deorum...hinc est quod apud Cretam esse dicitur Iovis sepulcrum. Epiphani. *adv. haer.* 1. 3. 42 (ii. 376 Dindorf) και πάλιν φήσαντος (Titus 1. 12) “εἰπέ τις ἴδιος αὐτῶν προφήτης, Κρήτες δέει ψεύσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί,” ἵνα τὸν Ἐπιμενίδην δελεῖη, ἀρχαῖον ὄντα φιλόσοφον, και Μίθρα (*leg.* μάρτυρα) τοῦ παρὰ Κρησὶν εἰδώλου (*v.l.* εἰδωλλου)· ἀφ’ οὗπερ και Καλλιμαχος ὁ Δίβιος τὴν μαρτυρίαν εἰς αὐτὸν συνανέτεινε, ψευδῶς περὶ Διὸς λέγων, Κρήτες δέει ψεύσται· κ.τ.λ. (Kallim. *h. Zeus* 8 f.). Hieron. in *ep. Paul. ad Tit.* 1 (xxvii. 573 A—C Migne) sunt qui putent hunc verum de Callimacho Cyrenensis poeta sumptum, et aliqua ex parte non errant. siquidem et ipse in laudibus Iovis adversus Cretenses scriptitans, qui sepulcrum eius se ostendere gloriantur, ait: ‘Cretenses semper mendaces; qui et sepulcrum eius sacrilega mente fabricati sunt.’ verum, ut supra diximus, integer versus de Epimenide poeta ab apostolo sumptus est; et eius Callimachus in suo poemate est usus exordio. sive vulgare proverbium, quo Cretenses fallaces appellabantur, sine furto alieni operis in metrum retulit. putant quidam apostolum reprehendendum quod imprudenter lapsus sit et (*alii* ut), dum falsos doctores arguit, illum versiculum comprobari, quod propterea Cretenses dicuntur (*alii* dicunt) esse fallaces quod Iovis sepulcrum inane construxerint. si enim, inquit, Epimenides sive Callimachus propterea Cretenses fallaces et malas bestias arguunt et ventres pigros quod divina non sentiant et Iovem qui regnet in caelo in sua insula fingant sepultum, et hoc quod illi dixerunt esse verum apostoli sententia comprobatur, sequitur Iovem non mortuum esse sed vivum. Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 23 ipsius denique parricidae, qui et patruos peremit et uxores eorum vitiavit, sororibus stuprum intulit, multififormis magi sepulcrum evidens est apud Cretenses, qui tamen scientes et confitentes infanda eius atque incesta opera et omnibus enarrantes ipsi eum confiteri deum non erubescunt. Caesarius (youngest brother of Gregorius Nazianzenos) *dial.* 2. respons. ad interrogat. 112 (xxxviii. 992 Migne) οἱ δὲ τούτοις πειθόμενοι οὐ θεῶ ἀλλὰ σποδῶ προσκυνοῦσι Διὸς (so Cotelerius for διὰ) τοῦ πατραλοῦ και τῶν οἰκείων τέκνων τοὺς γάμους φθείραντος και ἐν τάφῳ παρὰ Κρησὶ (so Cotelerius for κρήσει) φθαρέντος, ὅπερ οὐκ ἔστι θεοῦ. Chrysost. in *ep. Paul. ad Tit.* 3. 1 (lxii. 676 f. Migne) και γὰρ ὅτε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις διελέγετο, μεταξύ τῆς δημηγορίας φησὶν, “Ἀγνώστω Θεῶ”· και πάλιν, “τοῦ γὰρ και γένος ἐσμέν, ὡς και τινες τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς ποιητῶν εἰρήκασιν.” Ἐπιμενίδης οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ εἰρηκῶς, Κρής και αὐτὸς ὢν· ἀλλὰ πόθεν κινούμενος, ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν πρὸς ἡμᾶς· ἔχει δὲ οὕτως· οἱ Κρήτες τάφον ἔχουσι τοῦ Διὸς ἐπιγραφέντα τοῦτο· “ἐνταῦθα Ζᾶν κείται, ὃν (*leg.* τὸν) Δία κικλήσκουσι.” διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ὁ ποιητὴς ψεύστας τοὺς Κρήτας κωμωδῶν, προῖων πάλιν ἐπάγει, αὖξων μᾶλλον τὴν κωμωδῶν· “και γὰρ τάφον, ὃ ἄνα, σείο | Κρήτες ἐτεκτῆναντο· σὺ δ’ οὐ θάνας, ἐσοὶ γὰρ αἰεὶ.” κ.τ.λ. Paulin. Nol. 19. 84 ff. (lxi. 515 Migne) Marcus, Alexandria, tibi datus, ut bove pulso | cum Iove nec pecudes Aegyptus in Apide demens, | in Iove nec civem coleret male Creta sepultum. Kyrril. Al. c. *Iulian.* 10. 342 (lxxvi. 1028 B Migne) γέγραφε δὲ πάλιν περὶ αὐτοῦ (*sc.* τοῦ Πυθαγόρου) Πορφύριος (*v. Pylh.* 17)· “εἰς δὲ τὸ Ἰδαῖον καλούμενον ἄντρον καταβάς, ξρια ἔχων μέλανα, τὰς νενομισμένας τριττὰς ἐννέα ἡμέρας ἐκεῖ διέτριψε και καθήγισε τῷ Δί, τὸν τε στορνύμενον αὐτῷ κατ’ ἔτος θρόνον ἐθεάσατο, ἐπίγραμμα τε (*Auth.* Pal. 7. 746 cited *supra* p. 345 n. 1) ἐνεχάραξεν ἐν τάφῳ, ἐπιγράψας ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΣ ΤΩ ΔΙΙ, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή,—ὡδε μέγας κείται ΖΑΝ, ὃν ΔΙΑ κικλήσκουσιν.” κ.τ.λ. Nonn. *Dion.* 8. 114 ff. ἀλλ’ ὅτε Δικταῆς Κορυβαντίδος ὑπόθι πέτρης | γέλιτος Ἀμισοῖο λεχώιον ἔδρακεν (*sc.* Ἡρη) ὕδωρ, | ἐνθα οἱ ἄλλοπρόσαλλος ὀρεστιάς ἤνετο δαίμων (*sc.* Ἀπάτη)· | και γὰρ ἀεὶ παρέμμενε Διὸς ψευδήμονι τύμβῳ | τεροπομένη Κρήτεσσιν, ἐπεὶ πέλον ἡπεροπήης. Theodoret. *interp. ep. Paul. ad Tit.* 1. 12 f. (lxxxii. 861 B Migne) οὗ γὰρ Ἰουδαίων προφήτης Καλλιμαχος ἦν (αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ ἔπους ἀρχή), ἀλλ’ Ἑλλήνων ἦν ποιητής. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ποιητὴς διὰ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τάφον τοὺς Κρήτας ὠνόμασε ψεύστας. ὁ δὲ θεῖος ἀπόστολος ἀληθῆ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἐκάλεσεν, οὗ τὴν ποιητικὴν βεβαιῶν μυθολογίαν, ἀλλὰ τῶν Κρητῶν διελέγχων τὸ τῆς γνώμης ἀβέβαιον· ἀντὶ τοῦ, καλῶς ἡμᾶς προσηγόρευσε ψεύστας· τοιοῦτοι γὰρ καθεστήκατε. εἰκὸς δὲ και ἐτέρωθι τὸν καλούμενον Δία τεθνᾶναι και τούτους μάτην οἰκοδομήσαι τὸν τάφον. Sedulius Scotus in *ep. Paul. ad Tit.* 1 (ciii. 244 C Migne) *Cretenses semper mendaces.* hoc Epimenides sive Callimachus Cyrenensis de laudibus Iovis contra Cretenses dixit, qui dicebant apud eos sepultum quem raptum putabant in caelum. Schol. Bern. Lucan. 8. 872 (cited *supra* p. 342). Soud. *s.v.* Πήκος ὁ και Ζεὺς παραδοὺς τὴν τῆς δύσεως ἀρχὴν τῷ ἰδίῳ ἰῶ Ἐρμῆ τελευτᾶ, ζήσας

κ' και εκατόν ἑτη· και τελευτῶν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποτεθῆναι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ τῇ νήσῳ <ἐν μνήματι>, ἐν ᾧ ἐπιγέγραπται· ἐνθάδε κείται θανῶν Πήκος ὁ και Ζεὺς. μέμνηται τοῦ τάφου τούτου πλείστοι ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις συγγράμμασι. Kedren. *hist. comf.* 15 D—16 A (i. 28 f. Bekker) ὁ δὲ Κρόνος ἐξωσθεὶς τῆς βασιλείας ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ Διὸς, κατελθὼν ἐν τῇ δύσει κρατεῖ τῆς Ἰταλλας. εἶτα ὁ Ζεὺς ὑποχωρήσας τῶν Ἀσσυρίων παραγίνεται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· ὁ δὲ παραχωρεῖ αὐτῷ βασιλεῦειν τῆς Ἰταλλας. και πολλοὶς ἔτεσι βασιλεύσας εἶτα τελευτήσας κατατίθεται ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ...μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ Διὸς τελευτὴν Φαῦνος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐβασίλευσεν, δς μετωνομάσθη Ἐρμῆς. An attempt to trace the antecedents of the version common to Soudias and Kedrenos will be found *supra* p. 693 n. 4. The sources that mention the burial in Crete are Cramer *anecd. Paris.* ii. 236, 15 ff. (=Diod. 6. 5 Vogel) μέλλων δὲ τελευτᾶν ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκέλευσε τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ τεθῆναι ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ νήσῳ· και κτίσαντες αὐτῷ ναὸν οἱ αὐτοῦ παῖδες ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ· ὅπερ μνήμά ἐστι μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, ᾧ και ἐπιγέγραπται, 'ἐνθάδε κατακείται Πίκος ὁ και Ζεὺς, δν και Δία καλοῦσι,' περὶ οὗ συνεγράψατο Διδώωρος ὁ σοφώτατος χρονογράφος, *id.* ii. 257, 33 ff. (cited *supra* p. 695), Io. Antioch. *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 542 Müller) (cited *supra* p. 695) and *frag.* 6. 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 542 Müller) μέλλων δὲ τελευτᾶν ἐκέλευσε τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ νήσῳ τεθῆναι· και κτίσαντες αὐτῷ ναὸν οἱ αὐτοῦ παῖδες ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ ἐν μνήματι· ὅπερ μνήμα ἐστὶν ἔως τοῦ παρόντος ἐν Κρήτῃ. ἐν τῷ μνήματι ἐπιγέγραπται, 'ἐνθα κείται θανῶν Πίκος ὁ και Ζεὺς, δν και Δία καλοῦσι,' the *Chronicon Paschale* 44 B—C (i. 80 Dindorf) ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ Πίκος ὁ και Ζεὺς ἐτελεύτα, ἐκέλευσεν τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ ταφῆν τεθῆναι ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ νήσῳ· και κτίσαντες αὐτῷ ναὸν οἱ αὐτοῦ παῖδες ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ νήσῳ ἐν μνήματι· ὅπερ μνήμά ἐστιν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Κρήτῃ κείμενον ἔως τοῦ παρόντος, ἐν ᾧ ἐπιγέγραπται, 'ἐνθάδε κείται θανῶν Πίκος ὁ και Ζεὺς, δν και Δία καλοῦσιν'· περὶ οὗ συνεγράψατο Διδώωρος ὁ σοφώτατος χρονογράφος, δς και ἐν τῇ ἐκθέσει τοῦ συγγράμματος αὐτοῦ τοῦ περὶ θεῶν εἶπεν δτι Ζεὺς ὁ τοῦ Κρόνου υἱὸς ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ κείται (Diod. 3. 61 *supra*). Psell. ἀναγωγή εἰς τὸν Τάνταλον (*supra* i. 158 n. 4) p. 348 Boissonade τοιαύτη μὲν και ἡ δευτέρα δόξα περὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῖς Ἑλλησιν· ἡ δὲ τρίτη ἱστορικωτέρα, και ἴσως ἀληθεστέρα. αὐτὸν τε γὰρ και τὸν τούτου πατέρα τὸν Κρόνον οἱ μῦθοι ὀμόθεν ἀπὸ Κρήτης γεννώσι, και τὸν μὲν οὐκ ἴσασι δπου γῆς κατορῶνται, τοῦ δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ δεικνύουσι κολωνῶν· εἶτα, τὴν θνητὴν ὑπεραναβάντες φύσιν, ἀγχισπῶρος ποιοῦσι τῆς οὐσίας τῆς κρείττονος, και πρὸς τὸ τῆς θειότητος εἶδος μεταβιβάζουσι. τοῦτῃ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ και Ἐρμῆς προστίθεται ὁ Τρισμέγιστος. τᾶλλα γὰρ παραθεωρῶν τοὺς μύθους, τούτων δὲ μόνον γυμνὸν ἐξεδέξατο, και πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου μῆμῃσιν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παῖδα διερεθίζει τὸν Τάτ (so J. F. Boissonade for τα cod. A. Τάνταλον cod. B).

For references to the tomb of Zeus in writers of the Renaissance and of modern times see *supra* i. 158 ff. A fifteenth-century map of Crete in the British Museum (MS. Add. 15, 760, f. 11), published by F. W. Hasluck in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1905—1906 xii. 214 f. pl. 1, not only marks the *Sepulcrum Iouis* but adds a view of it, though—to judge from the representation of the neighbouring *Laberintus* as a circular maze-like structure—this is in the nature of a fancy-sketch.

A. Taramelli in 1899 published a rough plan of Mt. Juktas (*supra* i. 159 fig. 130), and drew special attention to the precinct-wall of 'Cyclopean' masonry, which crowns its northern summit at a height of c. 2300 ft above the sea (*supra* i. 160 fig. 132, 161 fig. 133). Within the wall he duly noted the scattered traces of a building, together with much broken pottery including pieces of 'Minoan' *pithoi* (*supra* i. 161 n. 1).

Sir A. J. Evans in 1909 determined the approximate date of the precinct-wall by finding in its inner interstices sherds of 'Middle Minoan i a' ware. 'Middle Minoan i' sherds were also abundant over the rocky surface enclosed by the wall. The cult here carried on passed through two well-marked phases, of 'Middle Minoan' and 'Late Minoan' date respectively.

During the earlier phase offerings were made in the open air at a great altar of ashes. This is represented by two *strata*—a layer of grey ashes yielding ceramic remains of the periods 'Middle Minoan i and ii,' and above it a layer of reddish burnt earth yielding sherds of 'Middle Minoan iii' date. Throughout both *strata* were votive relics in terra cotta—among the ashes, male and female figures, oxen, goats, human limbs (an arm perforated for suspension, two legs joined together), parts of animals (numerous clay ox-horns),

'prayer-pellets' like those of Petsofa (J. L. Myres in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 382); in the burnt earth, larger goats and oxen, the raised arms of a worshipper, clay locks of human hair, flat shell-like coils, and a limestone ladle with traces of an inscription in linear characters (class A). A similar ladle likewise inscribed was found in a deposit of the same date on *Troullos*, a foot-hill of Mt Juktas (S. A. Xanthoudides in the *'Eφ. Δρχ.* 1909 p. 179 ff. figs. 1—4).

The later phase of the cult ('Late Minoan') witnessed the foundation of a rectangular building with walls of ashlar blocks and outer terrace-walls of rougher construction. The building was approached by an ascent (A—A) and comprised an entrance-chamber (B 1), a magazine (?) (B 2), and an inner room (C). In the floor of B 1 a large hollow has been dug by treasure-hunters. On the walls of B 2 fragments of a plaster-facing are still to be seen. And in C are remains of a paving in white-faced cement. The whole building 'seems to have reproduced the arrangement of a small house of the early Cretan and Aegean "but and ben" type, about 16 × 10 metres in its exterior dimensions' (Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* London 1921 i. 158 with fig. 114 = my fig. 837).

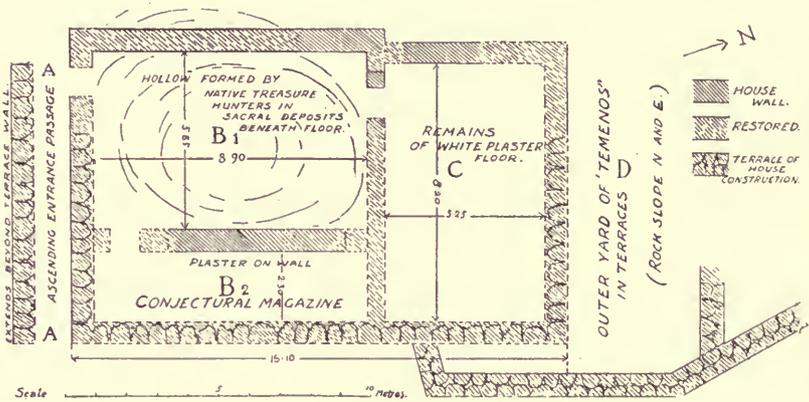


Fig. 837.

Outside the building, to the north, lay a *tēmenos* of roughly triangular shape supported by terrace-walls.

Here knowledge ends and conjecture begins. Sir Arthur Evans (*op. cit.* p. 158 ff.) surmises that the building described above 'was a little house of shelter and refectory for the Goddess on her mountain top, a "Casa Santa," etc., and that the *tēmenos* was 'the hypaethral part of the Sanctuary, well adapted for the exposure of a pillar form of the divinity.' Further, he thinks that a gold signet from Knossos (*supra* p. 48 fig. 19), referable to the period 'Late Minoan ii,' represents 'the Minoan Mother Goddess...bringing down the warrior youth, whether her paramour or actual son, in front of his sacred pillar'—a scene which 'may be even taken to foreshadow the "Tomb of Zeus,"' for 'A later age seems to have regarded these baetylic pillars as actual tombs of divinities.'

Personally I should rather suppose that, just as Kinyras and his descendants were buried in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Paphos (Ptolemaios of Megalopolis *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 66 Müller) *ap. Clem. Al. protr.* 3. 45. 4 p. 35, 1 ff. Stählin and *ap. Arnob. adv. nat.* 6. 6), just as Erichthonios was buried in the precinct of Athena at Athens (Apollod. 3. 14. 7, *alib.*), just as Hippolytos was buried beside the temple of Aphrodite *Kataskopta* at Troizen (Paus. 2. 32. 3 f., cp. L. R. Farnell *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* Oxford 1921 p. 66)—and the list could be lengthened (see Clem. Al. *protr.* 3. 44. 4 ff. p. 34, 7 ff. Stählin, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 6)—, so Minos the priestly king of Knossos lay buried within the circuit-wall of the mountain-goddess. I should conjecture that during his lifetime he had played the part of Zeus (*supra* i. 662 n. 1, cp. 527 n. 1),

Mount Alysis (?)¹.Mount Arbios².

or rather of Zan the older form of Zeus (*supra* p. 340 ff.), and that after his death he continued to be venerated as Zan or Zeus incarnate. Hence the persistent tradition that the tomb was inscribed ZAN KRONOY (Enn. *loc. cit.*), TAN KRONOY (schol. Bern. Lucan. *loc. cit.*), or ὡδε μέγας κείται ZAN ὄν ΔΙΑ κικλήσκουσι (*supra* p. 345). Hence too the ingenious guess of a late grammarian that the inscription originally ran Μίνως τοῦ Διὸς τάφος (schol. Kallim. *loc. cit.*).

Paganism in due course was superseded by, or at least overlaid with, Christianity. The southern and higher summit of Mt Juktas is topped by a church of Ἀυθέντης Χριστός, 'Christ the Lord,' to which there is an annual pilgrimage on August 6, the feast of the Μεταμόρφωσις or 'Transfiguration.' The church contains a chapel of the Panagia (Sir A. J. Evans *op. cit.* i. 154 with n. 7, *supra* i. 162 n. 1).

¹ Schol. Arat. *phœn.* 33 Δίκτω· Δίκτων (Δίκτων om. cod. M.) ἀκρωτήριον τῆς Κρήτης πλῆσιον τῆς Ἰδῆς τοῦ Κρητικοῦ ὄρους, ἐνθα ἐστὶν Ἄλυσίου Διὸς τέμενος παρὰ τὸ παρακείμενον ἐκεῖ ὄρος Ἄλυσις (so ed. Ald. περὶ τὸ περικείμενον ἄλσος, with ἡ ἄλυσος above ἄλσος cod. A. περὶ τὸ περικείμενον ἄλσος cod. M.). E. Maass *cj.* ἐνθα ἐστὶν Ἄλσειου Διὸς τέμενος. <ἐκλήθη δὲ οὗτος> παρὰ τὸ περικείμενον ἄλσος. Ἄλυσίος as a hyperdoricism for Ἡλύσιος is improbable.

² Zeus Ἄρβιος (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἄρβιος... ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ Ἄρβιος ὄρος, ἐνθα τιμᾶται Ἄρβιος Ζεὺς). C. Müller in his commentary on Ptol. 3. 15. 3 Ἰνατος πόλις... Ἰερὸν ὄρος... Ἰεράπυτνα, and on Anon. *stadiasm. Mar. Magn.* 320 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 506 Müller) identifies Ἰερὸν ὄρος with the mountain of Zeus Ἄρβιος—a view accepted by L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real.-Enc.* viii. 1530 ('Zeus Orbios'), *ib.* xi. 1814.

R. Pashley *Travels in Crete* Cambridge—London 1837 i. 285 and T. A. B. Spratt *Travels and Researches in Crete* London 1865 i. 295 give illustrations of the cleft at Arvi. Pashley *op. cit.* p. 275 f. would locate the cult of Zeus Ἄρβιος at a point near the shore, where—as he was assured by the villagers of Haghio Vasili—ancient walls, since chiefly used in building the church, were formerly to be seen. Spratt *op. cit.* i. 294 concurred in this opinion. A. Trevor-Battye *Camping in Crete* London 1913 p. 147 f. was even more successful; for he found the memory of Zeus yet living in the locality. He spent an uncomfortable night in a general store at the village of Kalami, where he wanted to skin birds, press plants, and write. The natives, however, dropped in to talk. 'And I am not likely'—he says—'to forget the story of the Hammer of Zeus, for a hammer used to illustrate the story frequently fell very near my head as I skinned a bird on an inverted packing-case. They said that between us and the sea was a gorge in which, in its ultimate and very narrow ravine, one heard the hammer of Zeus. They told me that when the mountain wind was well astir, blow after blow fell upon this chasm with the sound and shock of a titanic hammer. The noise of these repeated blows they said was awe-inspiring. Now the only gorge of this character near there appears to be that which lies below Peuko and runs thence to the sea.... Spratt says of this ravine, that the rock is "singularly rent from summit to base by a yawning fissure, nearly 1000 feet high*." [**Travels and Researches*, I 293.] He connects this rent with volcanic action evidenced in the rocks of the neighbouring valley (Myrtos), and proceeds: "In this remarkable feature, we probably see the reason for the erection of a temple to the God of Thunder at this locality, under the name of Jupiter Arbius. To whom but the God of Thunder could a temple be so appropriately dedicated when associated with such an apparent fracture from some great volcanic movement," etc. I venture to believe that could this distinguished seaman and geologist have listened to the men in the store that night, he would have accepted their story as a much more promising explanation of the temple of Zeus the Thunderer.'

Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* London 1921 i. 630 f., à propos of 'Minoan' libation-tables, says: 'a good specimen of a mottled steatite table of similar shape, though apparently uninscribed, was obtained by me in 1894 from the Knoll of Tartari in the striking cleft of Arvi on the South Coast² [Near Viano. The libation table is now in the Ashmolean Museum.], where in later times was a sanctuary of the indigenous

God under the name of Zeus Arbios.' *Id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 285 f. fig. 16 publishes a green steatite pendant, inscribed with two linear characters, which he got from an early cist-grave at Arvi. There was clearly a 'Minoan' settlement on the site.

The name 'Αρβιος is of doubtful significance. One is tempted to compare it with the Latin *arbor*, since the district abounds in trees. Peuko 'was once a fine pine forest,' and the hollow leading to Kalami 'is filled with ilex, myrtle, pine, oaks and poplars. Lower down near the village grow figs, pomegranates, mulberry, and other more or less cultivated trees' (A. Trevor-Battye *op. cit.* p. 145 f.). Besides, Zeus is known to have been a tree-god in Crete; for he bore the title 'Επιρνώτιος (Hesych. *s.v.* 'Επιρνώτιος· Ζεὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ), which means either metaphorically 'set over the Growing Plants' (H. Voretzsch in *Hermes* 1870 iv. 273, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 130 n. 3, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1109 n. 2, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 198) or literally 'on the Tree' (as I rendered it in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 413 n. 1, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* 'Ἐνδένδος· παρὰ Ῥοδίου Ζεὺς· καὶ Διδύσσος ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ), being derived from ἐπί + *ἔρνος for ἔρνος = ἔρνος (P. Kretschmer in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1890 xxx. 584 'von ἔρνος.' Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* i. 161 wrongly prefers the spelling ἐπερνώτιος).

In this connexion we should note that silver *statères* of Phaistos struck c. 360—300 B.C. have *obv.* ΖΟΙΛΑΧΛΞ A youthful, beardless god seated to the left amid the branches of a leafless tree; his right hand caresses a cock perched on his knee; his left hand rests on an animal's skin, which passes beneath him and falls over the upper part of his right leg: *rev.* ΠΤΣΙΑΦ or ΦΑΙΣΤΙΟΝ (ΦΑΙΣ) A bull standing to the left, or plunging to the right, sometimes with a gad-fly on its back, sometimes surrounded with a bay-wreath (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 63 pl. 15, 10 and 12, *Head Coins of the Ancients* p. 28 pl. 14, 37, *id. Hist. num.*² p. 473 fig. 253, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 193 no. 4, J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Mâcon 1890 i. 259 f. pl. 23, 24—26

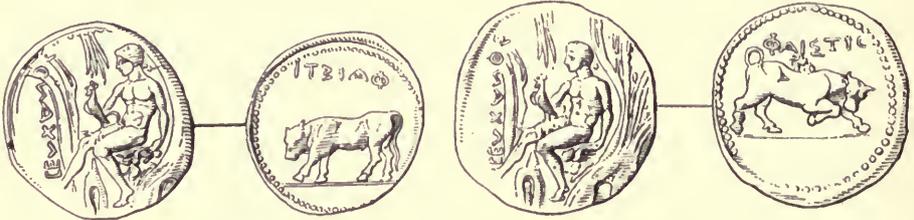


Fig. 838.

Fig. 839.



Fig. 840.

Fig. 841.

(=my figs. 839, 841, 838), Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 987 ff. pl. 256, 1—3, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 197 Münztaf. 3, 3, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 165 f. pl. 9, 17, *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 412 f. fig. 8. My fig. 840 is from a specimen in the McClean collection). Since the tree on these coins of Phaistos is clearly copied from the tree on the Europe-coins of Gortyna (*supra* i. 527 ff. fig. 391 ff.), J. N. Svoronos in the *Rev. Belge de Num.* 1894 pp. 127, 137 infers that it is an oak; but I adhere to my contention (*supra* i. 527 n. 1) that it is the crown of a pollard willow. Comparison with other Phaestian coins (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* i. 260 f. pl. 24, 1 f., 6 f., Babelon

Monn. gr. rom. ii. 3. 989 ff. pl. 256, 4—8) makes it fairly certain that beneath the god is spread a lion (?)—skin, the head of which is touched by his left hand. That we have here to do with a youthful Zeus appears from Hesych. s.v. Γελχάνος (for Φελχάνος)· ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Κρήσιν (so J. V. Perger for κρισίω cod. Musurus cj. 'Ακρισίω). We must, I think, conclude that, as at Gortyna Zeus took Europe to wife on a willow-tree (*supra* i. 526 ff.), so in the neighbouring town of Phaistos he had the same or a similar willow-bride.

And here I cannot avoid adding a word on the meaning of the appellative Φελχάνος, which has been often discussed and always misunderstood. Leaving out of account impossible conjectures (for which see O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 969 f.), we have before us two more or less improbable alternatives. (1) Some scholars assume the existence of a Cretan word *φέκος*, a 'cock,' evidenced by the Phaestian coin-type of Φελχάνος holding a cock and by the occurrence of Γέλλκος (? Φέλλκος misread) as the name of a cock on a late Corinthian vase (Roulez *Vases de Leide* p. 39 n. 4 pl. 10, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 271, *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 413). But the vase-inscription is now read as 'γεκκος?' (A. E. J. Holwerda *Catalogus van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden. Afdeling Griekenland en Italie.* 1 Deel: Vaatwerk. Leiden 1905 i. 62). And to bring in the Hesychian glosses *ήικανός· ὁ ἀλεκτρύων* (A. J. Reinach in *L'Anthropologie* 1910 xxi. 76) and *σέρκος· ἀλεκτρύων. καὶ ἀλεκτροίδες σέλκος* with Σελχροί· Πέσσα (T. Panofka in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1840 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 348) is only to darken counsel. (2) Others assume that Φελχάνος is related to *Volcanus*—an assumption made first by G. Secchi 'Giove **CELANOS** e l'oracolo suo nell' antro Ideo' in the *Dissertazioni della Pontifica Accademia Romana di Archeologia* Roma 1842 x. 331 ff., later by A. Fick in the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1879 iii. 166 f. ('Vielmehr ist Φελχάνος von *φέκ* glänzen abzuleiten, das in der Form *φέκ* auch in dem Gottesnamen 'ΗΓλέκτωρ 'Τπερίων der Sonnengott bei Homer wie in den mythischen Namen 'Ηλέκτρα und 'Ηλεκτρώων erscheint. Gleichen Stammes ist auch *ἄβλαξ* (= *ἄ-βλαξ*)· λαμπρός. Κύπριοι bei Hesych, welches für Digamma beweist.' He defends χ for κ as a Cretan peculiarity, cp. H. Helbig *De dialecto Cretica* Plaviae 1873 p. 13), *id. Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen*⁴ Göttingen 1890 i. 133 ('Φελχάνος = Vulcanus'), and last by Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*² p. 853 f. ('Doch sind die angeführten Stützen für ein **welg-* karg und etwas unsicher, dagegen der Anklang von Φελχάνος (mit seinem auffälligen χ) und *Volcanus* so weitgehend, dass beide wohl als identisch und als Lehnworte aus dem Orient zu betrachten sind'). The equation, however, does not satisfactorily explain the χ of Φελχάνος.

Mr B. F. C. Atkinson and I, after a joint consideration of all the *data*, have rejected both these alternatives and reached the conclusion (Feb. 9, 1923) that Φελχάνος means simply 'god of the Willow-tree,' being in fact akin to the English word *willow* (Middle English *wilow, wikwe*, Anglo-Saxon *welig*, Dutch *wilg*, Low German *wilge*). My contention that Zeus at Phaistos, as at Gortyna, was the consort of a willow-goddess is thus strikingly confirmed. Instead of his usual eagle he has a cock, because that bird as the crest of the Phaestian Idomeneus had a long-standing mythical connexion with the town. Pausanias in describing certain statues by Onatas, which the Achaeans dedicated to Zeus at Olympia, says: 'The one with the scutcheon of the cock on the shield is Idomeneus, the descendant of Minos. They say that Idomeneus was descended from the Sun, who was the sire of Pasiphae, and that the cock is sacred to the Sun and heralds his rising' (Paus. 5. 25. 9 trans. Sir J. G. Frazer). See further G. H. Chase 'The Shield Devices of the Greeks' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1902 xiii. 74, 101 f. (nos. lxxvii and lxxviii = eleven vases with cock as shield-sign, one with cock and rosette) and E. Baethgen *De vi ac significatione galli in religionibus et artibus Graecorum et Romanorum* Gottingae 1887 p. 11 f. ('Sol—Apollo').

The cult of Zeus Φελχάνος has left traces of itself in other places beside Phaistos: (1) *Hagia Triada* (F. Halbherr in the *Rendiconti d. Lincei* 1905 xiv. 381 notes the discovery at *Hagia Triada* of numerous tiles incised with the name of the god Φελχάνος, a dialect form of Φελχάνος). (2) Gortyna (J. de Prot *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 *Fasti sacri* p. 42 f. no. 20, 1 = F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 248 no. 4963,

The Tallaia range¹.

Bosporos Kimmerios

Gorgippia².

Tanais³.

Moesia

Naissos⁴.

Pirot⁵.

1 a very archaic inscription in retrograde lettering from the Pythion (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Πύθιον)—[la]pà | τετελημέ[να] υι | τῶι [F]ελχαν[ωι] -- αι | ἐν τῶι πένπτα[ι] -- | κ.τ.λ.). (3) Knossos (F. Dürnbach—A. Jardé in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1905 xxix. 204 ff. no. 67, 1 ff. a decree of Lato and Olous ἐπὶ τῶν Αἰθαλέων κοσμιόντων Κνωσοὶ μὲν τῶν | σὺν Κύδαντι [τ]ῶ(ι) Κύδαντος μηνὸς Ἑλλχανῶ, Λατοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν | σὺν Διοκλεῖ τῶ(ι) Ἡρώδα μηνὸς Βακινθῶ, ἐν δὲ Ὀλόντι τῶν σὺν Τη|λεμάχῳ(ι) τῶ(ι) Γνώμιος μηνὸς[5] Ἄ . . . νῶ, κ.τ.λ., where the month Ἑλλχάνιος probably corresponded with our May—June). (4) Lyttos (G. Doublet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1889 xiii. 61 ff. no. 6, 1 ff. ---|[τ]ῆς δόσεως τοῖς σπαρτοῖς (= στραποῖς, the classes of the Lyttian population) κατὰ | τὰ πάτρια καὶ Θεοδαισίους καὶ | Βελχανῶις· κ.τ.λ. From the sequel it seems likely that the festival Βελχάνια took place on the kalends of May). (5) Golgoi in Kypros (O. Hoffmann *Die Griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1891 i. 82 f. no. 160, 4 *va la ka ni o* = Φαλκάνιο nom., cp. *ib.* pp. 133, 193. B. Keil in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1895 p. 361 n. 1 transcribes Φαλχανῶ).

At Magnesia on the Maiandros, a colony from Crete (*supra* i. 483 n. 8), this youthful god was identified with Apollon (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 438, 1 ff., 25 ff. = O. Kern *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander* Berlin 1900 p. 16 f. no. 20, 1 ff. an inscription dating from the end of s. iii B.C., which purports to be a decree of the ancient Cretan confederation in honour of Leukippos the founder of Magnesia πα[ρ]ὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Κρητῶν· |[ε]δοξεν Κ[ρ]ηταιέων τῶι κοινῶι συνελ[θ]ουσῶν [τ]ῆμ πολίων πασῶν ἐς Βιλκῶνα (an unknown place in Crete) ἐς τὸ λε[ρ]ὸν τῶ Ἀπέλλωνος τῶ Βιλκῶνῶι, ἀγουμένῳ Γορτυνῶν ἐπὶ | κόσμῳ(ι) Κύδαντος τῶ Κυννῶ· κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 25 ff. τὸ δὲ ψάφισμα τὸδε εἰστάλαν λιθῖναν | ἀναγράψαντας ἀναθήμεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῶ |[Α]πελλῶνος τῶ Βιλκῶνῶι, κ.τ.λ. See further O. Kern *Die Gründungsgeschichte von Magnesia am Maiandros* Berlin 1894 p. 14 ff. and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 472, W. Aly *Der kretische Apollonkult* Leipzig 1908 p. 54 n. 2).

¹ The Tallaia range, midway between Oaxos and the sea, reaches a maximum height of 1092^m. Here Hermes was worshipped (*supra* i. 730 n. 1) in the wonderful stalactite cavern of *Melidhoni* described and drawn by R. Pashley *Travels in Crete* Cambridge—London 1837 i. 126 ff. with pl. Zeus too bore the title Ταλαῖός (Hesych. *s.v.* Ταλαῖός cited *supra* i. 729 n. 1) or Ταλλαῖός at Dreros (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 463 (*ib.*³ no. 527), 14 ff. cited *supra* i. 729 n. 2) and at Olous (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 514 (*ib.*³ no. 712), 14 cited *supra* i. 729 n. 3, J. Demargne in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 227 no. 1 C 57 ff. cited *supra* i. 729 n. 4. Add F. Dürnbach—A. Jardé in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1905 xxix. 204 ff. no. 67, 18 f. a decree of Lato and Olous ἐ[ν δὲ] |[Ὀλόντ]ι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶ(ι) τῶ Ζηρὸς τῶ [Ταλλ]αῖῳ). He was thus, like the Laconian Zeus Ταλετίτας (*supra* i. 730, ii. 890 n. 2), related to the Cretan sun-god Talos (*supra* i. 728 ff.).

² Θεός Ἐψίστος (*supra* p. 883 n. 0 no. (27)).

³ Θεός Ἐψίστος (*supra* p. 884 n. 0 no. (27)).

⁴ At Naissos (*Nisus*) in Moesia Superior was found a limestone altar inscribed I. O. M. Pa[ter]no Ae[pil]ofio | Sanc(tinius?) Oriens, | Cor(nelia) Mide, P. | Ael(ius) Cocaius | vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) Sev(erianae) | ex voto posu(erunt) | Maximo et Aelija[n]o co(n)s(ulibus) = 223 A.D. A. v. Premerstein and N. Vulić, who publish the inscription in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1900 iii Beiblatt p. 130 f. no. 30, take Iupiter *Paternus Aepilofius* to be the Latin rendering of a local Dardanian or Thracian Zeus Πατρῶος Ἐπιλόφιος ('on the Crest': cp. *supra* p. 873 f.).

⁵ Θεός Ἐπήκοος Ἐψίστος (*supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (11)).

Between *Selenigrad* and *Miloslavci*¹.

Thrace

Anchialos².

Perinthos³.

Selymbria⁴.

Troas

Mount Ide⁵.

¹ Θεὸς Ἐψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. o no. (11)).

² Zeus Ἐψιστος Ἐπόπτῃς (?) (*supra* p. 878 n. o no. (10)).

³ Zeus Λοφέλιος (*supra* p. 874 n. 1).

⁴ Θεὸς Ἄγιος Ἐψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. o no. (10)).

⁵ Mt Ide, a long range with numerous foot-hills (Strab. 583 σκολοπενδρῶδης) and springs (πολυπίδαξ eight times in the *Il.*, cp. Plat. *legg.* 682 B), derived its name (*supra* p. 932 n. 1) from abundant woods of pine (schol. *Il.* 12. 20), pitch-pine (Plin. *nat. hist.* 14. 128), terebinth (*id. ib.* 13. 54), larch (*id. ib.* 16. 48), ash (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 11. 4, Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 62), bay (*id. ib.* 15. 131, Dioskor. 4. 145 (147) p. 624 f. Sprengel), fig (Plin. *nat. hist.* 15. 68), and raspberry (*id. ib.* 16. 180). Its inhabitants were familiar with silver fir, oak, plum, filbert, maple, ash, Phoenician cedar, prickly cedar, alder, beech, and sorb (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 6. 5). Here grew the magic herb *aithiops* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 27. 12, Dioskor. 4. 103 (105) p. 597 Sprengel) and flowers galore (*Il.* 14. 347 ff.). So well-wooded was the mountain that Homer even speaks of a silver fir on its summit reaching through *aēr* to *aithēr* (*Il.* 14. 286 ff.). A conflagration of the forests on Ide in 1460 B.C. was remembered as an epoch-making event, which led to the discovery of iron by the Idaean Daktyloī (Thrasyllos of Mendes *frag.* 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 503 Müller) *ap. Clem. Al. Strom.* 1. 21 p. 85, 2 ff. Stählin. Cp. the *Phoronis frag.* 2 Kinkel *ap. schol. Ap. Rhod.* 1. 1129). Here too the herdsman Magnes discovered the loadstone, to which his hobnails and ferule stuck fast (Nikandros *frag.* 101 Schneider *ap. Plin. nat. hist.* 36. 127).

Diod. 17. 7 (after Kleitarchos (?): see E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 683 f.) gives an interesting account of Mt Ide: 'There is a tradition that this mountain got its name from Ide daughter of Melisseus. It is the greatest of the ranges near the Hellespont and has in the midst of it a sacred cavern in which, they affirm, the goddesses were judged by Alexandros [Cp. bronze coins of Skepsis, struck by Caracalla, which show the judgment of Eros in place of Paris on Mt IDH (F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1883 x. 155 f. fig., *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1888 iii. 291 f. pl. 9, 20, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 549)]. It is said that the Idaean Daktyloī too were born here, the first workers of iron, who learnt their craft from the Mother of the Gods. A peculiar phenomenon attaches to this mountain. When the dog-star rises, on the topmost summit so still is the surrounding air that the peak soars higher than the breath of the winds, and the sun is seen coming up before night is over. Its rays are not rounded into a regular disk, but its flame is dispersed in diverse directions so that several fires appear to touch the earth's horizon. A little later and these gather into a single whole, which grows until it becomes 300 ft in diameter. Then, as day increases, the normal size of the sun is completed and produces daylight as usual.' Cp. Lucr. 5. 663 ff., Mela 1. 94 f. The Cretan Ide too (? by confusion with this mountain) was said to see the sun before the sunrise (*supra* p. 932 n. 1).

Coppers of Skamandria struck in s. iv B.C. have *obv.* head of Ide wreathed with fir, *rev.* ΣΚΑ (variously arranged) fir-tree or fir-cone (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Troas*, etc. p. 79 pl. 14, 12—14, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 548). One specimen names the head [I]ΔH (Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1874 i. 139 no. 1 pl. 4, 15 and in his *Kleinias. Münzen* i. 42 no. 2 pl. 2, 2).

One of Mt Ide's summits was known as Γάργαρον or Γάργαρα—probably a Lelegian name, for the Leleges are said to have occupied the district Γαργαρῆς (Strab. 610) and the

mountain-town Γάργαρος (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γάργαρα, *et. mag.* p. 221, 26 f. L. Birtchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 757 f. cp. *Gargissa* some 33 kilometers to the northeast of it). Mt Ide in general was an important centre for the cult of Cybele (A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1653, W. Drexler *ib.* ii. 2859, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 864 f., Schwenn *ib.* xi. 2287), who as Μητήρ Ἰδαία (first in Eur. *Or.* 1453), *Mater Idaea*, was worshipped far and wide throughout the Roman empire (H. Graillet *Le culte de Cybèle Mère des dieux à Rome et dans l'empire romain* Paris 1912 Index p. 582 *s.v.* 'Ida (mont)'). But Gargaron in particular was connected rather with the myth and ritual of Zeus. It was on the height of Gargaron that Here found Zeus the cloud-gatherer (*Il.* 14. 292 f., cp. 352) and enticed him into the famous dalliance (*supra* i. 154). It was there that Apollon and Iris saw him sitting in the midst of a fragrant cloud (*Il.* 15. 152 f.). There in Homeric days Zeus had a precinct and altar (*Il.* 8. 47 ff. Ἴδην δ' ἴκανεν πολυπίδακα, μητέρα θηρῶν, | Γάργαρον· ἐνθα δέ οἱ τέμενος βωμὸς τε θυήεις. | ἐνθ' ἵππους ἐστήσε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε | λύσας ἐξ ὀχέων, κατὰ δ' ἠέρα πούλων ἔχευεν. | αὐτὸς δ' ἐν κορυφῇσι καθέξετο κύβει γαίων, | εἰσορόων Τρώων τε πόλιν καὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν), on which as on the top of Troy Hektor used to burn for him the thigh-pieces of oxen (*Il.* 22. 169 ff. ἐμὸν δ' ὀλοφύρεται ἤτορ | Ἐκτορος, ὅς μοι πολλὰ βωῶν ἐπι μηρὶ ἔκην | Ἴδης ἐν κορυφῇσι πολυπύχου, ἄλλοτε δ' αὐτε | ἐν πόλει ἀκροτάτῃ). For the altar was served by those who claimed to be akin to Zeus and to have his blood running in their veins (Aisch. *Niobe frag.* 162 Nauck² *ap.* Plat. *remph.* 391 E, cp. Strab. 580, Loukian. *Dem. enc.* 13, οἱ θεῶν ἀγχισποροὶ | οἱ Ζηνὸς ἐγγυῖς, ὧν κατ' Ἰδαίων πάγον | Διὸς πατρῶου βωμὸς ἐστ' ἐν αἰθέρι, | κοθῶ σφην ἐξίτηλον αἷμα δαυδόνων). Gargaros, eponym of the town, was the son of Zeus (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γάργαρα... ὠνομάσθη δ' ἀπὸ Γαργάρου τοῦ Διός, τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Λαρίσσης ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ = *et. mag.* p. 221, 31 f. ὠνομάσται δὲ ἀπὸ Γαργάρου τοῦ Διός, ὡς δηλοῖ Νυμφίος (*leg.* Νύμφις) ὁ φιλόσοφος (*Nymphis frag.* 10 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 14 Müller)). οὕτως Ἐπαφρόδιτος ἐν ὕπομνηματι θ' Ἰλιάδος, παρατιθέμενος Κλειταρχὸν Ἀλγινῆτην λεξικογράφου). And Onetor, priest of Zeus Ἰδαῖος, was 'honoured as a god' by the Trojans (*Il.* 16. 604 f. Ὀνήτορος, ὃς Διὸς ἱεὺς | Ἰδαίου ἐτέτυκτο, θεὸς δ' ὡς τιετο δῆμῳ). Epicharmos in his *Troes* made one of his characters pray to the Zeus of Gargara (Epicharm. *frag.* 130 Kaibel *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 20. 5 Ζεὺς ἀναξ, ἀν' ἄκρα (ανααδαν cod. G. Kaibel cj. ἀν' ἄκρα. F. G. Schneidewin cj. ἀν' Ἰδαν) ναίων Γαργάρων (so A. Meineke for γαργαρά cod.) ἀγάνιφα). Quintus Smyrnaeus did the same in the case of Priam (Quint. Smyrn. 1. 184 f. εὔχετ' ἐς ἱερὸν αἰπὺ τετραμμένον Ἰδαίου | Ζηνός, ὃς Ἴλιον αἰὲν εἰὸς ἐπιδέρκεται ὄσσοις); for which he had good Homeric authority, since Hekabe bade Priam, when he set out for the hut of Achilles, pour a libation and offer a prayer to Zeus Ἰδαῖος (*Il.* 24. 287 τῆ, σπέεισον Διὶ πατρὶ, καὶ εὔχεο οἰκαδ' ἰκέσθαι κ.τ.λ., 290 f. ἀλλ' εὔχεο σύ γ' ἔπειτα κελαινεφέϊ Κρονίωνι | Ἰδαίῳ, ὃς τε Τροίην κατὰ πᾶσαν ὄρᾳται, κ.τ.λ.), and Priam took her advice (*Il.* 24. 306 ff. εὔχετ' ἔπειτα στὰς μέσῳ ἔρκει, λείβε δὲ οἶνον | οὐρανὸν εἰσανιδῶν, καὶ φωνήσας ἔπος ἦδα· | 'Ζεῦ πάτερ, Ἴδῃθεν μεδέων, κύδιστε μέγιστε, | δὸς μ' ἐς Ἀχιλλῆος φίλον ἔλθειν ἠδ' ἔλειπὸν, | πέμψον δ' οἰωνῶν, ταχὺν ἄγγελον,' κ.τ.λ.). Virgil in the pseudo-Plutarch associate the cult of Zeus Ἰδαῖος with that of the Phrygian mother-goddess (Verg. *Aen.* 7. 139 f. Idaeumque Iovem Phrygiamque ex ordine Matrem | invocat (*sc.* Aeneas), Plout. *de fluv.* 13. 3 παράκειται δ' αὐτῷ (*sc.* τῷ Σκαμάνδρῳ) ὄρος Ἰδῆ, τὸ πρότερον δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο Γάργαρον· ὅπου Διὸς καὶ Μητρὸς Θεῶν βωμοὶ τινγχάνουσι). Lastly, writers of the Graeco-Roman age treat Gargaron as an appropriate background for the myth of Ganymedes (Loukian. *dial. deor.* 4. 2, *Charid.* 7) or that of Paris (Ov. *her.* 16. 107 f., Loukian. *dial. deor.* 20. 1).

Imperial bronze coins of Ilion, struck by Faustina Junior (H. von Fritze in W. Dörpfeld *Troja und Ilion* Athens 1902 ii. 490 f., 517 pl. 63, 65) and Iulia Domna (fig. 842 from a specimen in my collection), have as reverse type Zeus sitting, with a long sceptre in his right hand and the cult-image of Athena Ἰλιάς in his left, accompanied by the honorific formula ΔΙΑ ΙΔΑΙΟΝ ΙΛΙΕΙΟΝ. W. Kubitschek 'Heroenstatuen in Ilion' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1898 i. 187 suggests that the coin is one of a series struck by Commodus and his successors to commemorate certain statues of gods and heroes, from which at least three inscribed bases are extant. Accordingly G. F. Hill *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* London 1899 p. 186 n. 3 would complete the formula by supplying

some such word as *ἀνέστησαν*. See further G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 170.

Zeus Ἰδαῖος was worshipped at Skepsis also. Bronze coins of the town, struck by Commodus (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Troas*, etc. p. 84 no. 30) and Caracalla (*ib.* p. 84 pl. 16, 1 = my fig. 843), show ΖΕΥΣ ΕΙΔΑΙΟ(C) ΣΚΗΨΙΩΝ clad in a *himdtion*, standing with an eagle in his right hand and a long sceptre in his left. An inscription from Skepsis (*Kurshunlu Tepe*) records a priest of Zeus Ἰδαῖος (J. A. R. Munro in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 236 on a square marble base [ἡ γ]ερονσία | [τὸν] ἱερέα τοῦ Δε[ῖ]ος τ[οῦ] Ἰδαίου καὶ | [τῶν] Σεβαστῶν Γ[α]ίων Φλάβιον Ὀλυ[μ]πι[ο]δόωρον νίδον | [Ἰ]ολ[υ]μ-



Fig. 842.



Fig. 843.

πιόδωρον, | [τὸν] ἐκ προγόνων] | [τῆ]ς πατρίδος εὐ[εργέ]τ(η)ν καὶ εὐ[μ]ποσιάρχη). Demetrios of Skepsis, who c. 150 B.C. compiled an encyclopaedic commentary on *Il.* 2. 814—877, mentions the Trojan claim to possession of the cave where Zeus was born (schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 134 *ἀντρω ἐν Ἰδαίῳ· ἡ τῷ τῆς Κρήτης, ἡ τῷ τῆς Τροίας. ἀντιποιοῦνται γὰρ καὶ Τρῶες τῆς τοῦ Διὸς γενέσεως, καθά φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Σκήψιος*): cp. *supra* i. 154 n. 2. Other coin-types of Skepsis referable to the same cult are a standing eagle (Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 45 no. 4), an eagle with open wings in an oak-wreath (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Troas*, etc. p. 83 pl. 15, 13, Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 628 no. 230 pl. 8, 6, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 549), an eagle standing beside a leafy tree (Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 46 no. 5 pl. 2, 6).

A noteworthy bust of Zeus in white marble, formerly in the Stroganoff collection, represents the god upborne on the spread wings of an eagle. He is draped in a *himdtion* and wears a wreath of pine. Restored: nose, tip of pine-wreath, right foot of eagle. L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Plt.* 1875 p. 200 ff. Atlas pl. 7, 2 (= my fig. 844) regards this as an effigy of Zeus Ἰδαῖος dating from s. i or ii A.D. The association of a Zeus-head with Attis (*supra* p. 297 fig. 189) prepares us to see in the pine-wreath a reminiscence of the tree that figures so largely in the religion of Attis and Kybele (Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 142—147, 263 fig. 11, J. Murr *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie* Innsbruck 1890 p. 117 f., H. Graillot *op. cit.* p. 121 ff. and Index p. 597 s.vv. 'Pin,' 'Pin (pomme de)'). And this connexion certainly seems more probable than any reference to the pine-wreath of the Isthmian victor.

Attempts have been made in modern times to locate the cult-centre of Zeus Ἰδαῖος. J. Thacher Clarke 'Gargara, Lamponia and Pionia: towns of the Troad' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1888 iv. 291—319 notes (a) *et. mag.* p. 221, 26 ff. Γάργαρος· πόλις τῆς Ἰδης ἐν ὑψηλῷ τόπῳ, μικρὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης, ἐξ ἧς διὰ τὸ κρυῶδες ὑποκατέβησαν οἱ Γαργαρεῖς, καὶ ᾤκισαν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ πεδίον (an leg. αὐτὴν ὑποπόδιον? A.V.C.) Γάργαρον. ἐκείνη δὲ ἐρημωθεῖσα καλεῖται Παλαιὰ Γάργαρος· κ.τ.λ.: (b) Strab. 606 μετὰ γὰρ τὸ Λεκτὸν τὸ Πολυμηθίων ἐστὶ χωρίον τι ἐν τετταράκοντα σταδίοις, εἰτ' ἐν ὀγδοήκοντα Ἄσσοις (so C. Mannert for Ἄσσοις codd.), μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης, εἰτ' ἐν ἑκατὸν καὶ τετταράκοντα Γάργαρα· κείται δὲ τὰ Γάργαρα ἐπ' ἀκρας ποιούσης τὸν Ἰδῶς Ἀδραμυττηνὸν καλούμενον κόλπον. Assuming Strabon's distances to be cumulative, not consecutive, he infers that Palaia Gargaros is the ruined town with walls of polygonal masonry still to be seen on the top of *Kozlu Dag* 10 kilometers east-north-east from Assos, that Gargaros on the plain below is the large field of later ruins at the foot of the slope on which lies the Turkish town of *Sazly*, and that the cape mentioned by Strabon is *Katerga Burnu* near Assos.

W. Judeich 'Gargara und der Altar des idäischen Zeus' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1901 iv. 111—125 figs. 160—163 replies that Strabon's distances are regularly consecutive, not cumulative. Hence Gargaros must be placed further east in the vicinity of *Tschibne*, and Palaia Gargaros should be identified with a ruined stronghold on *Odjak Kaya*, the most westerly summit of the *Dikeli Dagh*, which rises immediately behind *Tschibne* to a height of 780^m. Palaia Gargaros (wrongly equated by Clarke with Lamponeia) was visited by E. Fabricius, who reports that it has terrace-walls of 'Cyclopean'



Fig. 844.

masonry well adapted for the erection of houses and an elliptical *akrópolis* enclosed by a ring-wall (now *c.* 1^m high, *c.* 3^m thick) some 500^m round. On the west side of this wall is a gateway (2·35^m wide) with a square tower. Within, the *akrópolis* is divided by another wall into two unequal parts. In the southern and smaller part, on the highest point of the mountain, are the foundations of a big building, probably a temple. The fragments visible are all of pre-Hellenistic date. When Palaia Gargaros was abandoned, the inhabitants of the new town found it difficult to keep up the cult on the mountain-top and chose a new site for their worship on the southern point of the neighbouring hill *Adatepe* (*c.* 260^m).

Mysia

Kyzikos¹.Mount Olympos².Pergamon³.

Here Judeich discovered a rock-cut altar (*loc. cit.* p. 111 ff. figs. 160 view and 161 plan (=my fig. 845)) measuring *c.* 13^m × 15^m and approached by three flights of steps on the

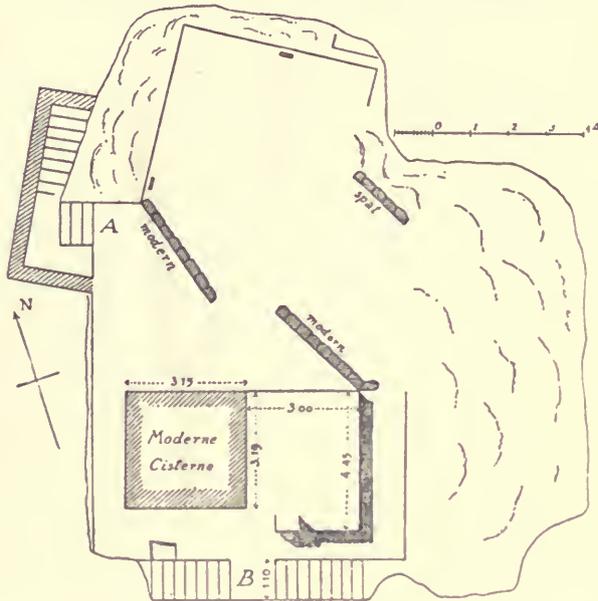


Fig. 845.

west and south sides. A modern cistern constructed on the spot is believed to work cures with its water and probably preserves the sanctity of the ancient altar.

¹ Zeus "Τψιστος and Θεός "Τψιστος (*supra* p. 881 n. ο no. (21)).

² Zeus 'Ολύμπιος (Mnaseas *frag.* 30 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 154 Müller) *ap. schol. T. II.* 20. 234 Μναςέας μὲν φησιν ὑπὸ Ταντάλου ἠρπάσθαι (sc. Γανυμήδην) καὶ ἐν κνυηγείῳ πεσόντα ταφῆναι ἐν τῷ Μυσίῳ 'Ολύμπῳ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ 'Ολυμπίου Διός). *Supra* i. 116 n. 8, 124.

³ The district of Pergamon was of old sacred to the Kabeiroi (Paus. i. 4. 6 ἦν δὲ νέμονται οἱ Περγαμηνοὶ, Καβείρων ἱερὰν φασιν εἶναι τὸ ἀρχαῖον), who as the most ancient deities of the land were worshipped with mystic rites and invoked in stormy weather (Aristeid. *or.* 55 (ii. 709 Dindorf) τοῦτό μοι (Grauert *cj. μὲν* πρεσβύτατοι δαιμόνων ἐνταῦθα λέγονται γενέσθαι Κάβειροι, καὶ τελεταὶ τοῖσι καὶ μυστήρια, ἃ τοσαύτην ἰσχυρὴν ἔχουσιν πεπίστευται ὥστε χειμῶνων τε ἐξαισίω (with which word the fragmentary oration ends)). Their cult, attested by the name of a *prytanis* Κάβειρος (M. Fränkel *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* Berlin 1895 ii. 177 ff. no. 251, 1 and 34. *cp.* E. Sittig *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris* Halis Saxonum 1911 p. 143 f.), was perhaps at one time carried on in connexion with the apsidal building hidden by the foundations of the great Pergamene altar (*supra* i. 120). They are represented on the large frieze of that altar as two youthful warriors attacking a huge bovine giant with double axe and sword respectively (*supra* i. 110 n. 4). Coppers of Severus Alexander (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 158 pl. 32, 3) and Gallienus (*ib.* p. 162 pl. 32, 8) show two youthful male figures standing on either side of an altar: one

is handing to the other a ram's head. H. von Fritze in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1901 xxiv. 120 ff. and in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1910 Phil.-hist. Classe Anhang i. 63 f. pl. 6, 1 identifies them with the Kabeiroi, aptly citing a Pergamene decree first published by B. Schroeder in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1904 xxix. 152 ff. no. 1 (Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 764, 6 *μυστηρίων κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τοῖς μεγάλοις θεοῖς Καβείροις κ.τ.λ., ib.* 27 καὶ τὰ κριοβόλια τῆς τῶν ἐφήβων μεταπαιδιᾶς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔνεκεν). See further E. Thraemer *Pergamos* Leipzig 1888 pp. 263—270 ('Die pergamenischen Kabiren').

The Kabeiroi witnessed the birth of Zeus the lightning-god on the summit of Pergamon, according to an oracle of Apollon (not Apollon Γρύνοιος as F. G. Welcker *Sylloge epigrammatum Graecorum*² Bonnæ 1828 p. 231 and A. Boeckh on *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3538 supposed, nor Apollon Χρηστήριος of Aigai as M. Fränkel *op. cit.* ii. 239 thought probable, but Apollon Κλάριος as C. Picard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvi. 190 ff. and in his *Éphèse et Claros* Paris 1922 pp. 461 n. 4, 673 has definitely proved), which bade the Pergamenes, if they would be rid of a plague (that of 166 A.D. (Amm. Marc. 23. 6. 24)), divide their ἐφῆβοι into four groups, chant hymns to Zeus, Dionysos, Athena, and Asklepios, and then for seven days offer thighs on the altars of the same deities, sacrificing a two-year-old heifer to Athena, a three-year-old ox to Zeus, to Zeus Βάκχος (=Zeus Σαβάκιος: *supra* p. 287 n. 2), and to Asklepios, and feasting themselves on bull's flesh (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3538=M. Fränkel *op. cit.* ii. 239 f.=Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 1035=Coungy *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 172). The oracle begins:

Τηλεφίδαις, οἱ Ζηνὶ πλέον Κρονίδῃ βασιλῆϊ
ἐξ ἄλλων τισκόμενοι Τευθραντίδα γαίαν
ναλοῦσιν καὶ Ζητὸς ἐρισμαράγοιο γενέθλι
ἡμῶν Ἀθηναίῃ πολεμηδόκῳ ἀτρυτώνῃ
ἡδὲ Δι(ω)νώσει λαθικηδέι φυσίζῶι
ἡδὲ καὶ εἰητήρι νόσ(ω)ν Παιήονι λυγρῶν·
οἶσι πᾶρ' Οὐρανοῦ νῆς ἐθηήσαντο Κάβειροι
πρῶτοι Περγαμῆς ὑπὲρ ἄκ(ρι)ος ἀ(σ)τε(ρ)ο(πητ)ή(ν)
τικτόμενον Δία, μητρώων δτε (γα)στ(έρα) λῦσ(εν)· κ.τ.λ.

The later passage concerning the sacrifices to the four gods has been quoted *supra* p. 287 n. 2. Of the hymns prescribed one only, that to Zeus, has survived on a fragmentary *stèle* of white marble found on the western terrace of the Akropolis. The text, which is surmounted by a pediment containing reliefs of a *phidde* with two shield-like ornaments, is thus restored by M. Fränkel *op. cit.* ii. 237 ff. no. 324:

[ἀγ]αθῆι τύχηι.

- [Οὐλύμποιο] μέτωπον, ἄκρην Τειτηνίδα, ναῖον,
[ὦ Ζεῦ δέσποτα,] χαῖρε. λιταζομένων πολητέων
[κλύθι, πάτερ μ]ακάρων τε καὶ ἀτρυγέτων ἀνθρώπων,
5 [λαμπρῶς οὐραν]ίην ἐφέπων ἴνυν αἰγλήεσαν,
[δημιοεργέ βίου] πεφατισμένε σοῖς ὑπὸ φύλοις·
[τῶν ἀγαθῶν γὰρ] φαῦλα διακρίνας πάρος ὕλης
[πᾶσιν ἔδωκας χ]ρῆσιν ἐπάρκιον ἡμερλοῖσιν,
[νείμας καὶ γαῖαν] τε πολύκλυστον τε θάλασσαν,
10 [αἰθέρα καὶ πᾶ]ντ' ἄλλα, τὰ σὴ ποιήσατο μήτις.
[ἐλθέ σε κληῖ]ξοῖσι, μάκαρ, μάκαρ, εἴλαος ἡμῖν
καὶ πτό[λιω ἰθύν]οῦσιν ἀμύμοσιν Περγαμίδαισιν,
ἐλθέ σὺν ἰητήρι θεῶμ Παιήονι κλειτῶι
θεσπεσίην Ἑγλειαν ἐς ἀγλαὰ δώματ' ἄγοντι
15 Εὐνομίηι τε καὶ Εὐστασίηι λιπαρῆι τ' Εἰρήνῃι
Ἥρῃι τε ζυγίηι, ἀλόχῳ σέο κυθήεσσηι,
καὶ Θέμιδι ἀρχ[εγ]όνῳι, προυφητίδι καρτεροβούλῳι,
καὶ γάμον [ἀξο]μένῃι γλαυκώπιδι Τριτογενεῖηι
κ[α] [παίδων μεδ]έοντι διακτόρῳι Ἑρμῶνι
20 [καὶ Μοίραις κλυμ]ένησι μύμοσιν Ἀδ[ρηστ]είαις.

- [κοίρανος ούρα]νίαισι κεκασμένος ἦνε[κ]ες ὤραις,
 [ἦρι περιστέλλο]ντι κ[ό]μην εὐθρεπτον ἀ[ρ]οῦραις
 [ἡδὲ θέρει καρπὸν πολί]δοσταχυν ἀμῶντ[ι]
 [πορφύρεόν τε τρυγῶν]τι βότρυν λιπαρῶι μ[ε]θοπῶρω[ι]
 25 [καλ χειμῶνι βροτοῖς] ὤρην εὐκρητον ἀγο[ν]τ[ι],
 [εἰλθε πόλιν σώξ]εϊμ, μάκαρ, ὀλβιε, καλ λ[ύ]ε πῆμα,
 [ὄττι κακῶς ὠμῶς τ]ε κατὰ φρένας ἔλλ[α]βεν ἡμᾶς.]
 [ταρβέομεν γὰρ πάν]τες δει κήτεια [πέλωρα]
 [λοίμης· ἦ μάλα λ]αὸν ἀρειον ἀμ[ύ]μονα τρύχει,
 30 [ὄστρωι λυσσῆ]ντι κατ[α]σκήπτουσα πολίταις.]
 [ἀλλά σύ, κάρπιμε] Παι[άν], ---]

The older and simpler altar of Zeus, consisting of ashes from the thighs of victims sacrificed to the god (Paus. 5. 13. 8 πεποιήται δὲ (sc. the altar of Zeus at Olympia) ἱερίων τῶν θουμένων τῷ Διὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τέφρας τῶν μηρῶν, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἐν Περγάμῳ κ.τ.λ.), probably occupied the actual summit of the hill (*supra* i. 120 f. fig. 89). The magnificent altar built by Eumenes ii was situated near the top, on a broad terrace seventy or eighty feet below the temple of Athena (*supra* i. 118 ff. pl. x and figs. 87, 88). This altar has often been identified with ὁ θρόνος τοῦ Σατανᾶ (Rev. 2. 13); but the phrase refers rather to Pergamon as the centre of the imperial cult (R. H. Charles *A critical and exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* Edinburgh 1920 i. 60 f.).

Zeus was associated with Athena (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* 1890 i. 29 ff. no. 29 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1215 = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 280 a dedication of c. 223 B.C. βασιλέα Ἀτταλον (sc. Attalos i) | Ἐπιγένης καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες καὶ στρατ[ι]ῶται | οἱ συναγωνισάμενοι τὰς πρὸς τοὺς Γ[α]λ[λ]ῶνας | καὶ Ἀντίοχον μάχας χάρισ[τ]ήτρια | Δεί, Ἀθηναί. | Ἐ(πι)γόνου ἐργα) or more often with Athena Νικηφόρος (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* i. 32 ff. nos. 33—37, 43 ff. nos. 51—56, 46 no. 58, 50 f. no. 63, 52 f. no. 65 f., 54 f. no. 69, 124 ff. nos. 214—216, 130 ff. no. 225—the formula in each case being Διὶ καὶ Ἀθηναί Νικηφόρῳ). E. Thraemer *Pergamos* Leipzig 1888 pp. 223—227 infers from their association that the temple of Athena, which is divided by a cross-wall into two approximately equal halves (J. L. Ussing *Pergamos* Berlin—Stuttgart 1899 pl. 3 after *Pergamon* ii pl. 3), was in reality a double temple of Zeus and Athena. He notes the Pergamene coin-type of Athena's owl on the thunderbolt of Zeus (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 132 pl. 27, 13 ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΝΙΚΗ ΦΟΡΟΥ, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 536: cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. 84 pl. 19, 5, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 136 pl. 18, 8 similar type on a coin of Amastris) and suspects an allusion to their joint temple in a couplet on the base of a marble herm from the Byzantine wall on the south side of the *agorá* (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* ii. 242 no. 325 Ἐρμῆν θυραῖον Ῥοῦφος ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς | εἰδρυσσε φύλακα τοῦ νεῶ καὶ ῥύτορα). But his views have not been adopted by the authors of the official Berlin publication.

Zeus figures of course in Pergamene oaths. Eumenes i and the mercenary leaders who rose against him in 263 B.C. swore by Zeus, Ge, Helios, Poseidon, Demeter, Ares, Athena Ἀρεῖα καὶ ἡ Ταυροπόλος (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* i. 10 ff. no. 13 = Michel *op. cit.* no. 15 = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 266 quoted *supra* p. 729 n. o no. (3)). Towards the end of s. ii B.C. public oaths were administered at the altar of Zeus Σωτήρ in the *agorá* (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* ii. 177 ff. no. 251, 27 ff. = Michel *op. cit.* no. 519, 27 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 592, 27 ff. ὅπως δὲ ταῦτα εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον διαμένῃ | βέβαια Ἀσκληπιάδῃ καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνοις τοῖς | Ἀσκληπιάδου, ἐπιτελεῖν ὀρκωμοσίον τῆν πόλιν | ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐπὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτήρος τῶι βωμῶ[ι] | καὶ ὀμοσαι τὰς τιμουχίας, ἧ μὴν ἐμμενεῖν κ.τ.λ.). Among the honours decreed to Attalos iii by Elaia was a golden equestrian statue to be set up on a marble column beside the altar of Zeus Σωτήρ in the *agorá* (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* i. 153 ff. no. 246, 9 ff. = Michel *op. cit.* no. 515, 9 ff. = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 332, 9 ff. στήσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνα χρυσοῦν ἐφιππονέπ[ι] στυλίδος μαρμαρινῆς παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς [τ]οῦ Σωτήρος βωμῶν, ὅπως ὑπάρχηι ἡ | εἰκὼν ἐν τῶι ἐπιφανεσταύω τόπωι τῆς ἀγορᾶς, κ.τ.λ.); but this must refer to the *agorá* at Elaia, not at Pergamon (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* i. 156).

Aiolis

Temnos¹.

Lydia

Mount Sipylus².

Zeus was worshipped at Pergamon under several other appellatives. The water-supply of the town was a grave matter necessitating repeated changes and improvements to meet the needs of the growing population (F. Gräber *Die Wasserleitungen (Pergamon i. 3)* Berlin 1913 Beiblatt 88 bird's-eye view of three conduits and aqueduct). P. Aelius Aristeides (*supra* p. 127) in an epideictic harangue entitled *πανηγυρικός ἐπὶ τῷ ὕδατι ἐν Περγαμῷ* describes how all Asia rejoiced with the Pergamenes when a copious flow of pure water was secured at last, and how he welcomed the good news as a special favour vouchsafed by Zeus *Εὐαγγέλιος* and Asklepios *Σωτήρ* (Aristeid. *or.* 55 (ii. 708 Dindorf) *εἶναι γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ πλήθει τε πλείστον καὶ κάλλει κάλλιστον ὄσων ἔλαχον πόλεις. ἦγον οὖν οὐχ ὄσων ἡρῆνῃν ἡμέραν, ἀλλ' οἷαν εἰκὸς ἄγειν Διὸς τε Εὐαγγέλιου καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ Σωτήρος πανταχῇ τιμῶντος. κ.τ.λ.*). Zeus *Κεραύνιος* is represented by two dedications (*supra* p. 808 n. o no. (8)), Zeus *Μέγιστος* by a small altar of trachyte (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* ii. 243 no. 328, 1 ff. Διὶ Μεγίστῳ Πύρ[ε][σ][ς][?], cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4885, 1), Zeus *Μέγιστος Σωτήρ* by another of white marble (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* ii. 242 no. 327, 1 ff. Διὶ Μεγίστῳ Σωτήρ|| (relief of an eagle in a niche surrounded by tendrils)||*Καπίτων | κατ' ὄνειρον*). L. Cuspius Rufinus, the consul of 197 A.D., was priest of Zeus *Ὀλύμπιος* (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* ii. 297 f. no. 434, 1 ff. a base of white marble inscribed *Δ(οῦκιον) Κοῦσπιον Πιακτουμή[ον] | Ῥουφῖνον, ὕπατον, ἱερέα Διὸς | Ὀλυμπίου καὶ κτίστην τῆς πατρίδος, | οἱ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κατοικοῦντες*),

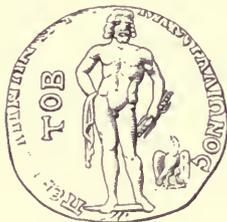


Fig. 846.

whose cult was probably introduced in the days of Hadrian the 'Olympian' (*id. ib.* p. 298). H. von Fritze in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1910 Phil.-hist. Classe Anhang i.* 55 f. pl. 4, 8 (=my fig. 846) detects the statuary type of the god on a Pergamene coin struck by Hadrian (cp. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 163 Münztaf. 2, 23 with eagle beside the right foot of Zeus). For Zeus *Τροπαῖος* see *supra* p. 110 n. 9 (add M. Fränkel *op. cit.* i. 137 f. no. 239, 2), for Zeus (?) *Ψιστος* *supra* p. 882 n. o no. (21), for Zeus *Φίλιος* *infra* Append. N *med.* Coins of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, issued at Pergamon, show Zeus enthroned with Nike on his right hand

and a long sceptre in his left (H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 55 pl. 4, 12, cp. Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* ii. 602 no. 585).

¹ Zeus *Ἀκραῖος* (*supra* p. 873 n. o no. (9)).

² It has been maintained, though without sufficient reason, that there was a cult of Zeus *Ῥατος* on Mt Sipylus (*supra* p. 876 n. o no. (8)), where Zeus was said to have been born (Aristeid. *or.* 22. 270 (i. 440 Dindorf) *τὰ μὲν οὖν παλαιὰ μύμησαι κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἀκούσας ἀρχήν, ἣν τῷ πατρὶ συνήρχες, Διὸς τινα γένεσιν καὶ χορείας Κουρήτων καὶ Ταντάλου καὶ Πέλοπος οἰκισμὸν τῆς πρώτης πόλεως ἐν τῷ Σιπύλῳ γενομένης*, cp. *or.* 15. 229 (i. 371 f. Dindorf) *ἢ μὲν οὖν πρεσβυτάτη πόλις ἐν τῷ Σιπύλῳ κτίζεται, οὗ δὴ τὰς τε θεῶν εὐνάς εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ τοὺς Κουρήτων χοροὺς περὶ τὴν τοῦ Διὸς μητέρα*, *or.* 20. 260 (i. 425 Dindorf) *τὰ μὲν ἀρχαῖα Κουρήτων χοροὶ καὶ τροφαὶ καὶ γενέσεις θεῶν καὶ Πέλοπος διαβαίνοντες ἐνθένδε*) and to have lain with Semele (schol. B. *Il.* 24. 615 *Σιπυλὸς πόλις ἐστὶ Νυδίας καὶ Ἀχελῷος ποταμοῦ ἐκεῖ παρακειμένος. "θεῶν" δὲ "εὐνάς," ὅτι ἐκείσε Σεμέλη ὁ Ζεὺς συνκοιμήθη*).

A remarkable crag on Mt Sipylus is topped by a rock-cut seat known to the ancients as the 'throne of Pelops' (Paus. 5. 13. 7 *Πέλοπος δὲ ἐν Σιπύλῳ μὲν θρόνος ἐν κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Πλαστήνης μητρὸς τὸ ἱερόν. See further supra i. 137 ff. fig. 103*), and the sceptre of Pelops was the sceptre of Zeus (*Il.* 2. 100 ff. *ἀνὰ δὲ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων | ἔστη σκήπτρον ἔχων, τὸ μὲν Ἥφαιστος κάμει τεύχων. | Ἥφαιστος μὲν δῶκε Διὶ Κρονίῳ ἀνακτι, | αὐτὰρ ἄρα Ζεὺς δῶκε διακτόρω ἀργεῖφόντη. | Ἑρμείας δὲ ἄναξ δῶκεν Πέλοπι πληξίππῳ, | αὐτὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς Πέλοψ δῶκε Ἀτρεΐ, ποιμένι λαῶν. | Ἀτρεὺς δὲ θνήσκων ἔλιπεν πολύαρνι Θυέστη, | αὐτὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς Θυέστ' Ἀγαμέμνονι λείπει φορῆναι, | πολλῆσιν νήσοισι καὶ Ἀργεῖ παντὶ ἀνάσειν*, Paus.

- Philadelphieia¹.
Mount Tmolos².
Tralleis³.

9. 40. 11 (*supra* i. 406), Quint. *inst. or.* 9. 3. 57 invenitur apud poetas quoque (*sc. gradatio*) ut apud Homerum de sceptro, quod a Iove ad Agamemnonem usque deducit: et apud nostrum etiam tragicum (*Trag. Rom. frag.* p. 288 f. Ribbeck) 'Iove propagatus (O. Ribbeck *cj. patre prognatus*) est, ut perhibent, Tantalus, | ex Tantalos ortus Pelops, ex Pelope autem satus | Atreus, qui nostrum porro propagat genus' = Diom. *ars gramm.* 2 p. 448, 25 ff. Keil, Quint. *inst. or.* 9. 4. 140 (*Trag. Rom. frag.* p. 289 Ribbeck) 'en impero Argis, scepra (Sen. *epist.* 80. 7 quotes the line with *regna for scepra*) mihi liquit Pelops').

Coppers of Magnesia ad Sipylum, struck in s. ii—i B.C., have *obv.* head of Zeus (or perhaps of Mt Sipylos?) to right, laureate (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 137 pl. 15, 1 and 2, p. 139 pl. 15, 7, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 455 no. 3), or *rev.* Zeus standing, in *chiton* and *himation*, with an eagle on his extended right hand, a transverse sceptre in his left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 137 pl. 15, 3), or Zeus and Hermes (?) joining hands with a spear between them (*ib.* p. 138 pl. 15, 4). Quasi-autonomous coppers of imperial date (M. Aurelius to Gallienus) repeat the *obv.* head of Zeus (or Mt Sipylos: see *supra* i. 102 n. 5 fig. 75) to right, laureate (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 139 ff. pl. 16, 2 f., Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 521 no. 1). A copper of Philippus Senior has *rev.* a naked Zeus holding a thunderbolt in his left hand and resting with his right on a spear (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 151 no. 80).

¹ Zeus Κορυφαῖος (*supra* p. 285 n. o no. (3), p. 869 n. 1 fig. 804).

² According to Eumelos, Zeus was born in Lydia; and on the top of Mt Tmolos, west of Sardeis, was a place called Γοναὶ Διὸς Ἰετίου and subsequently Δεῦσιον (*Lyd. de mens.* 4. 71 p. 123, 14 ff. Wünsch *Εὐμηλος δὲ ὁ Κορινθίος (frag.* 18 Kinkel) τὸν Δία ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς Λυδίᾳ τεχθῆναι βούλεται, καὶ μᾶλλον ἀληθεύει ὅσον ἐν ἱστορίᾳ· ἐτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν πρὸς τῷ δυτικῷ τῆς Σαρδιανῶν πόλεως μέρει ἐπ' ἀκρωρείας τοῦ Τμῶλου τόπος ἐστίν, ὃς πάλαι μὲν Γοναὶ Διὸς Ἰετίου νῦν δὲ παρατραπίσης τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς λέξεως Δεῦσιον (G. Kinkel prints *Δευσίον* and is followed by K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 281) *προσαγορεύετα*). A bronze coin of Sardeis, struck under Iulia Domna, has for its reverse type an infant Zeus seated on the ground with an eagle hovering above him (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 261 pl. 27, 6 = *supra* i. 151 fig. 118). Zeus Σαβάσιος brought the babe Dionysos to Mt Tmolos (*Orph. h. Sabaz.* 48. 1 ff. κλύθι, πάτερ, Κρόνου υἱέ, Σαβάσιε, κύδιμε δαίμον, | ὃς Βάκχον Διόνυσον, ἐρίβρομον, εἰραφιῶτην | μηρῶ ἐγκατέραψας, ὅπως τετελεσμένος ἔλθῃ | Τμῶλον ἐς ἡγάθεον παρὰ θ' Ἴπταν (παρ' Ἴπταν codd.)) καλλιπάρῃον. So O. Kern in *Genethiakov* Carl Robert zum 8. März 1910 überreicht von der Graeca Halensis Berlin 1910 p. 90 f. and in his *Orphicorum Fragmenta* Berolini 1922 p. 222 f., W. Quandt *De Baccho ab Alexandri aetate in Asia Minore culto* Halis Saxonum 1913 p. 257 f.). See further K. Buresch *Klaros* Leipzig 1889 p. 16 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 284 n. 11.

³ Tralleis (*Aidin*) occupied a high plateau on a southern spur of Mt Messogis. Its *akropolis* (320^m) overlooks the little river Eudonos, a tributary of the Maiandros (map by C. Humann and W. Dörpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1893 xviii. 395 ff. pl. 12). The town was said to have been founded by Argives and Thracians (*Strab.* 649 *κτίσμα δὲ φασιν εἶναι τὰς Τράλλεις Ἀργείων καὶ τινῶν Θρακῶν Τραλλίων, ἀφ' ὧν τοῦνομα*, cp. *Steph. Byz. s.v. Τραλλία* and *Diod.* 17. 65). A bronze coin struck by M. Aurelius has for reverse type ΤΡΑΛΛΕΥ C ΚΤΙCCTHC (*sic*) Tralleus as a soldier, standing to left, with right hand outstretched and left supported on spear (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 203 no. 642 b, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 661).

Larisa, a village higher up on the slopes of Messogis, thirty stades from Tralleis, gave its name to Zeus Λαρίσιος (*Strab.* 440 (in a list of towns called Λαρίσια) καὶ τῶν Τράλλειων διέχουσα κώμη τριάκοντα σταθίους ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ Καύστρου πεδίων διὰ τῆς Μεσσηγίδος ἰόντων κατὰ τὸ τῆς Ἰσοδρόμης Μητρὸς ἱερὸν, ὁμοίαν τὴν θέσιν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχουσα τῇ Κρεμαστῇ Λαρίσῃ (so cod. A, with another σ added by the second hand. *λαρίσση* cett. codd.)) καὶ γὰρ εὐνδρος καὶ ἀμπελόφυτος· ἴσως δὲ καὶ ὁ Λαρίσιος (so cod. A, with another

σ added by the second hand. λαρίσσιος cett. codd.) Ζεὺς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπωνύμασται), as did Larisa on the Caystrian Plain to Apollon Λαρισηνός (Strab. 620: *id. ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Λάρισσα* has Λαρισηνός). Pythodoros of Tralleis, the friend of Pompey, is mentioned along with Μηνόδωρος, ἀνὴρ λόγιος καὶ ἄλλως σεμνὸς καὶ βαρὺς, ἔχων τὴν ἱερωσύνην τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαρισαίου (Strab. 649). The name Λάρισα seems, however, to have been assimilated to the Carian place-names Ἄρπασα, Βάργασα, Μύλασα, Πήδασα, etc. (cp. Ptol. 6. 2. 13 Λάρασα in Media); for Zeus Λαρίσιος or Λαρισαῖος regularly appears on coins and in inscriptions as Zeus Λαράσιος. His cult, the most important of all cults at Tralleis, has been well studied by J. O. Schaefer *De Iove apud Cares culto Halis Saxonum* 1912 pp. 455—466, to whose collection of evidence I am much indebted.

Tralleis was formerly called Δία (*et. mag.* p. 389, 55 f. cited *supra* p. 587 n. 2, cp. L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 299) and was officially described as sacred to Zeus (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2926 (of s. iii A.D.) Τι. Κλ. Γλύπτον, | Ἀνδρονίκου (υἱόν), | τὸν ἀγορανόμον, | τὸν ὑπέρατον | λογιστ(ή)ν καὶ | σωτήρα καὶ | κτίστην τῆς | πατρίδος, | τῆς λαμπροτάτης | πόλε(ω)ς τῆς νεώκρου τῶν Σεβαστῶν, | ἱερᾶς τοῦ Διός, κατὰ τὰ δόγματα τῆς | συνκλήτου Τραλλιανῶν | οἱ μύσται | τῶν ἱερῶν (Lebas—Waddington iii. 203 no. 604 read οἱ μύσται τὸν εὐεργέτην)) or to Zeus Λαράσιος (K. Buresch in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 xix. 111 ff. no. 12 (time of Caracalla) Φλάσιον Φ[λ](αούσιον) | Διαδοῦμενον | (ἐπίτροπον?) | τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ὑπ[α]ρικῶν συνηγῆ | ἡ κρατίστη <ι> > Κλαυδία | βουλή καὶ οἱ δῆ[μο]ς [τῆς] | λαμπροτάτης [μητρο]πόλεως τῆς [Ἀσίας καὶ] | νεωκόρου τῶν Σεβαστῶν) | καὶ ἱερᾶς τοῦ [Διὸς τοῦ Λα]ρασιῦ κ[ατὰ τὰ δόγματα] | τῆς ἱερῶτ[α]ς συνκλή[του] Καισα[ρέων] Τραλλια[νῶν] πόλ[εως] | διὰ τὴν (ὑ)περ[τ]ῆ[την] | ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖ[ς] καὶ λειτουρ[γίαις] εὐνοια[ν] καὶ | φιλοτιμία[ν]). Decrees were set up in the sanctuary of Zeus (A. E. Kontoleon in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1886 x. 516 no. 4, 2 ff. τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα | [τὸ]δε ἀναγράφαι εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι | ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διός, Μ. Pappakonstantinou Αἰ Τράλλεις ἦτοι συλλογῆ Τραλλιανῶν ἐπιγραφῶν Athens 1895 no. 42 (of s. iii B.C.) ὁ δῆμος ὁ Σελευκεῶν (cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 108) . . . ἀναγράφαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τὸδε ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ [?] προ (suppl. J. O. Schäfer) νῶφ τοῦ Διὸς ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ) or Zeus Λαράσιος (A. Fointrier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 466 ff., v. 11 ff. (of s. iii B.C.) ἀνα[γ]ράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τὸδε εἰς τ[ὴν] ἀσπερὶ τούτων ἐπι[σκευασθείσας] στήλας καὶ στήσαι μιαν μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαρί[σ]α[ο]υ, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν | ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθη[ν]ῶν, Μ. Pappakonstantinou in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1888 xiii. 411 no. 2, 5 ff. ἀνα[γ]ράψαι δ(ε) αὐτὸν καὶ εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλε[ως] κ[αὶ] τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην | [καὶ στή]σαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαρισίου, κ.τ.λ., A. Rehm in *Milet* iii. 318 ff. no. 143, 66 ff. (a decree of Seleukeia (Tralleis) cited in a pact of 212/11 B.C. between Miletos and Seleukeia) ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἐψηφισμένοις συ[ν]τελέσαι θυσία[ν] τῷ Διὶ τῷ Λαρισίῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας κα[ὶ] | [τοὺς] (8—10 letters missing) καὶ τοὺς θ[ε]ο[φ]ιλοῦν[τες] ἐπιγεχομένους συνενεγχείαι ἀμφοτέραις | [ταῖς] πόλεσι τὰ ἐψηφισμένα καὶ εἶναι) ἐπὶ σωτηρίαι καὶ εὐτυχίαι· ἀνα[γ]ράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ | [Διὸς τοῦ Λαρισίου] κ.τ.λ.), T. Macridy in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1912 xv. 59 f. (a *stèle* of Hellenistic date from Notion) Α, 3 ff. ἀναγράφουσι τὰ ψηφ[ί]σ[ματα] εἰς στήλας λιθίνας δύο καὶ ἰσῶσι τῆμ μὲν μιαν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τ[οῦ] | [Διὸς τοῦ Λαρισίου] ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν παρ' ἡμῶν κ.τ.λ.). And votive offerings to the god included a couple of eagles (C. Fellows *An Account of Discoveries in Lycia* London 1841 p. 19 = *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii Add. no. 2923 δ = Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* iii. 200 no. 597 (beneath a well-carved eagle *minus* its head) Διογένης Ὀρθί[ων]ος Εὐφ[ί]στῶν τούτους | δὲ ἀετοὺς ἀνέθηκε. The formula Εὐφ Διὶ is exceptional and sounds like a Latinism, cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 80, 1 f. *deo* | *Iovi* and the like) and an effigy of Dionysos (M. Pappakonstantinou Αἰ Τράλλεις κ.τ.λ. no. 150 ἀγαθῆ τύχη· τῷ Διὶ τὸν Διόνυσον Ἀγαθήμερος ἱερὸς (on this title see G. Cardinali 'Note di terminologia epigrafica II Ἱεροί' in the *Rendiconti d. Lincei* 1908 xvii. 165 ff., O. Kern 'Hieroi und Hierai' in *Hermes* 1911 xlvi. 300 ff., Link in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1471 ff.)).

The priest of the city, presumably the priest of Zeus Λαράσιος, regularly dwelt in the brick palace built there by the kings of Pergamon (Vitr. 2. 8. 9 Trallibus domum regibus Attalics factam quae ad habitandum semper datur ei qui civitatis gerit sacerdotium). He

held office for life (E. Loewy in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1886 xi. 203 f. no. 1 = A. E. Kontoleon in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1886 x. 456 f. no. 8 = J. R. S. Sterrett in the *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 1888 ii. 325 no. 379 = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 499 'On the base or capital of a column' [Γ.] 'Ιούλιον, [Γ.] 'Ιουλίου Φιλίππου ἀρχιερέως | 'Ἀσίας υἱόν, Οὐέλινρα, Φίλιππον, Ἰππέα 'Ρωμαίων (Loewy and Dittenberger give 'Ρωμαίων), τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν ἐν 'Ρώμ[η]ι δικαστῶν, | ἐπίτροπον τῶν Σεβαστῶν, πατέρα 'Ιουλί[ου] | Φιλίππου συγκλητικῆς, στρατηγῶν 'Ρωμαίων, ἱερέα διὰ βίου τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαρασίου, J. R. S. Sterrett in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1883 viii. 330 ff. no. 11, 14 ff. = *id.* in the *Papers of the American School* 1885 i. 110 ff. no. 11, 14 ff. (c. 200 A.D.) ἐπι ἱερέως διὰ βίου τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαρασίου Φλαουίου | Κλειτοσθένους τοῦ κρατίστου δις 'Ἀσιάρχου, πρώτο[υ] | 'Ἀσίας, πατρὸς ὑπατικοῦ κα[ι] | πάππου συγκλητικῶν, τῆς | θ' αὐτοῦ πενταετηρίδος, M. Pappakonstantinou Αἰ Τράλλεις κ.τ.λ. no. 12 (a similar inscription) ἐπι ἱερέως διὰ βίου τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαρασίου Φλαουίου Κλειτοσθένους κ.τ.λ., *id.* in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1901 xxvi. 239 no. 4 (on a four-sided marble base) [Τ. Φλάουιον] | Στασικλέα Μητροφά[ν]η τὸν κράτιστον | ἱερέα διὰ βίου τοῦ Διὸς | τοῦ Λαρασίου καὶ ἀγνωσθέν[η] | τῶν μεγάλων ἱερῶν | εἰσελαστικῶν εἰς ἅπασαν | τὴν οἰκουμένην ~ | ἀγῶνων πρώτων Πυθίων | ὑὸν Τ. Φλ. Κλειτοσθένους | ὑπατικοῦ ~ ἔγγονον ~ | Τ. Φλ. Κλειτοσθένους, πατρὸς | [ὑπατικοῦ - - - - -]. When, in s. ii A.D., Tralleis was visited by an earthquake, a Pythian oracle delivered to the priest Kleitosthenes represented the disaster as due to the wrath of Zeus for the city's neglect of Poseidon the earthquake-god and directed that ample atonement should be made to both deities (A. Hauvette-Bessault and Dubois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881 v. 340 ff. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* Add. 6. 104 b = O. Kern in *Genethiakiakon* Carl Robert zum 8. März 1910 überreicht von der Graeca Halensis Berlin 1910 p. 98 ff. with pl. χρησμός τοῦ Πυθίου | δοθεὶς Κλειτοσθένει τῷ | ἱερεί τοῦ Διὸς ὑπὲρ τῆς | σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως: |

χειλιπέτες μήνεμα πάτρης Διὸς ἐξαναλύσας
 μειλιχίη Σεισίχθονι ἐν ἄλσει βωμῶν ἐνείρας
 θύεο, μὴ διερεύνω μ' ὡ πόλις, εἰναλίω νῦν
 ἐννομήν Κρονίδη, φοιβῆ χειρὶ δὲ ἀρητήρος,
 πυρῶν καὶ καρπῶν τ' ἐπιδράγματα πάντα· καλεισθῶ
 ἀσφάλιος, τεμενοῦχος, ἀπτόροπος, ἱππιος, ἀργῆς·
 ᾧδε, πόλις, δὲ ὑμνεῖτε δεδραγμένον εἰφι βεβῶτα
 οὐ τε βάθρω κύκνειον ὄσοι γέρας ἀμφιπένεσθε
 ἐν χορῷ εὐ αἰνεῖν Σεισίχθονα καὶ Δ[ι]α μείλαξ

(The last word is a puzzle. O. Kern *loc. cit.* p. 101 n. 1 holds that it is either an unknown adverb or a form comparable with Hesych. μέλαξ· ἡλικία. ἐνοι δὲ μέλλαξ· καὶ παρ' Ἑρμίππῳ ἐν Θεοῖς (*frag.* 10 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 392 Meineke)), ἀγνοήσας Ἀρτεμίδωρος· ἐκεῖ γὰρ μέλαξ ἐστίν. δηλοῖ δὲ τὸν δημοτικόν. J. O. Schaefer *op. cit.* p. 464 f. prefers the first alternative and assumes μείλαξ = μειλιχίη. No allusion to the botanical μέλαξ is probable.) Another priest of s. ii A.D., Claudius Meliton, made a dedication to Zeus Λαράσιος Σεβαστὸς Εὐμενῆς (J. R. S. Sterrett in the *Papers of the American School* 1888 ii. 326 f. no. 381 Διὶ Λαρασίῳ Σεβαστῷ | Εὐμενεῖ Κλαυδί(ο)ς Μελί[των] ὁ ἱερεὺς | ἀποκατέ-στησεν), i.e. to the emperor Hadrian, who in 129 A.D. came to Tralleis (W. M. Ramsay *ib.* 1885 i. 102) and was there identified with Zeus Λαράσιος (J. B. Lightfoot *The Apostolic Fathers* London 1885 ii. 1. 617 n. 1, J. R. S. Sterrett *loc. cit.* 1888 ii. 327), just as in 128 A.D. he came to Athens and was there identified with Zeus Ὀλύμπιος (P. v. Rohden in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 509), or just as in 132 A.D. he came to Dodona and was there identified with Zeus Δωδωναῖος (*id. ib.* i. 512, on the strength of *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 1822 cited *infra* Append. M. *med.*).

Special interest attaches to the inscription on a small marble base from *Aidin* in the Pursar collection at Smyrna (W. M. Ramsay in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 276 f. no. 19, *id.* *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1895 i. 94 ff., 115 no. 18 [ἀγ]αθὴ τύχη· | Α. Ἀύρηλια Αἰ[μι]λία ἐκ προγόνων παλλακίδων καὶ ἀνιπποπῶδων θ[υ]γάτηρ Α. Ἀύρ. Σ[ε]κόνδου Ση[ι]λου παλλακείσα καὶ κατὰ χρ[η]σμον (space) | (space) Διὶ ᾧ). Sir William Ramsay comments: 'Aurelia Aemilia belonged to a family in which the ancient custom was retained that the women should in their youth be *hetairai* in the service of the temple.

This custom was common in the native religions of Asia Minor (1) [(1) Strab. p. 559 and 532-3.], but it is somewhat remarkable to find it actually practised by a family bearing Roman names perhaps as late as the third century P.C.' Cp. Ail. *var. hist.* 4. 1 *Λυδοῖς ἦν ἔθος πρὸ τοῦ συνοικεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας ἀνδράσιν ἔταιρεῖν, ἅπασι δὲ καταφευχθεῖσας σωφρονεῖν· τὴν δὲ ἀμαρτάνουσαν ἐς ἕτερον συγγνώμης τυχεῖν ἀδύνατον ἦν* (but hardly the references collected by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 915 n. 6). The significance of such customs in general is disputed (see e.g. M. P. Nilsson *Studia de Dionysiis Atticis* Lundae 1900 pp. 119—121, *id. Gr. Feste* pp. 365—367, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 914—917, F. Cumont *Les Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain*² Paris 1909 pp. 143—286, H. Ploss—M. Bartels *Das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde*¹⁰ Leipzig 1913 i. 614—616, 648—654, Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Adonis Attis Osiris³ i. 36 ff., 57 ff.) and investigators have been apt to confuse similar effects produced by dissimilar causes (see E. S. Hartland 'Concerning the Rite at the Temple of Mylitta' in *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* Oxford 1907 pp. 189—202). The Trallian inscription perhaps implies that women, believed to represent a mother-goddess, used to mate with men, believed to represent a father-god, their union being thought to promote the fruitfulness of the land and its occupants. If so, the *παλλακίδες* may have been comparable with the Egyptian *παλλακίδες* of Zeus *Θηβαιεύς* (Hdt. i. 182 (*supra* i. 348 n. 1), cp. Hekataios of Abdera *frag.* 12 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 390 Müller) *ap.* Diod. i. 47 ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν πρώτων τάφων, ἐν οἷς παραδέδοται τὰς παλλακίδας τοῦ Διὸς τεθάφθαι, κ.τ.λ., Strab. 816 τῷ δὲ Δεῖ, δὴν μάλιστα τιμῶσιν, εὐειδεστάτῃ καὶ γένους λαμπροτάτου παρθένος ἱεράται, ἃς καλοῦσιν οἱ Ἕλληρες παλλάδας (Xylander cj. *παλλακάς*. W. Dindorf cj. *παλλακίδας*. But see G. Kramer *ad loc.*)· αὐτῇ δὲ καὶ παλλακεύει καὶ σύνεστιν οἷς βούλεται, μέχρις ἂν ἡ φυσικὴ γένηται κάθαρσις τοῦ σώματος· μετὰ δὲ τὴν κάθαρσιν δίδοται πρὸς ἄνδρα· πρὶν δὲ δοθῆναι, πένθος αὐτῆς ἀγεται μετὰ τὸν τῆς παλλακείας καιρὸν). And the *ἀνικτόποδες* recall the priests of Zeus at Dodona (*Il.* 16. 234 ff. *Ζεὺ ἄνα, Δωδωναίε, Πελασγικέ, τηλόθι ναίων, | Δωδώνης μεδῶν δυσχειμέρον· ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοὶ | σοὶ ναῖουσ' ὑποφῆται ἀνικτόποδες, χαμαιεῦναι*), who went with unwashed feet and lay on the ground in order that they might be in constant contact with Mother Earth (J. O. Schaefer *op. cit.* p. 462 f. I had hit upon the same explanation years before and published it in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 180). The combination of a rite reminiscent of Egyptian Thebes with a rite reminiscent of Dodona is not surprising in view of the analogy already traced between the usages of these two cult-centres (*supra* i. 363 ff.).

Coppers of Seleukeia (Tralleis) first struck late in s. iii B.C. (Head *Hist. num.*² p. 659) have *obv.* head of Zeus, laureate, to right; *rev.* humped bull, with ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ above and magistrate's name below, all within maeander-border (F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmiünzen* Genf—Leipzig 1897 p. 169 pl. 7, 7). Some specimens add ΔΙΟΣ above and ΛΑΡΑΣΙΟΥ below the bull (*id. ib.* p. 169 no. 3). One, in place of the maeander, gives ΔΙΟΣ ΛΑΡΑΣΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΣ ΕΥΜΕΝΟΥ (*sic*) (*id. ib.* p. 169 f. no. 4), cp. Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 985, 6 ff. (Philadelpheia in Lydia: s. i B.C.) Διὸς [γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ] | τοῦ Εὐμενοῦς καὶ Ἐστίας τ[ῆς παρέδρου αὐ]τοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Σωτ[ῆρων κ.τ.λ.] and the dedication to Hadrianas Zeus Λαράσιος Σεβαστὸς Εὐμενῆς cited *supra*. The inference is that Eumenes i was divinised after his death as Zeus Εὐμενῆς: cp. the divinisation of Eumenes ii in Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 515, 22 = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 332, 22 θεοῦ βασιλέως Εὐμένου Σωτῆρος (*ib.* 24 f., 27 f., 45). Coppers of Tralleis struck in early

imperial times have sometimes *obv.* head of Zeus, laureate, to right; *rev.* Δ[ΙΟ]Σ ΛΑΡΑΣΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ[ΣΑ]ΡΕΩΝ humped bull standing to left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 339 no. 87: my fig. 847 is from a cast of this specimen). Later we find *obv.* ΣΕΥΚΛΑ ΡΑΚΙΟC bust of Zeus, laureate, to right, within border of dots; *rev.*

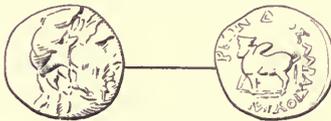


Fig. 847.

ΤΡΑΛ ΛΙΑΝΩΝ Dionysos standing to front, naked, with grape-bunch in raised right hand, *kántharos* in lowered left, within border of dots (*ib.* p. 341 no. 100), or *obv.* ΖΕ VC

bust of Zeus, laureate, to right, within border of dots; *rev.* ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΩΝ humped bull walking to right, within border of dots (*ib.* p. 342 no. 101 f.), or ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΩΝ bunch of grapes, within border of dots (*ib.* p. 342 no. 103). Other imperial coppers represent Zeus Δαράσιος as a seated figure, who wears a *himdtion* round his legs, holds Nike on his outstretched right hand, and rests upon a sceptre with his left (*ib.* p. 340 no. 93 ΛΑΡΑΚΙΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡΕΩΝ time of Nero—Domitian, p. 345 no. 129 ΚΑΙCΑΡΕΩΝ ΝΑΡΑΚΙΟC Domitian, cp. p. 354 pl. 37, 7 Gordianus Pius, p. 357 pl. 37, 11 Philippus Senior, p. 362 pl. 41, 11 Gordianus Pius), sometimes with an eagle at his feet (*ib.* p. 350 pl. 37, 2 L. Verus).

Other coins of the town illustrate the myth of Zeus: (1) a copper of Antoninus Pius has *rev.* ΔΙΟCΓΟΝΑΙ the infant Zeus asleep on a mountain with an eagle hovering above him (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 337 f., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 661. *Supra* i. 151 fig. 119, 535 n. o). Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* London 1890 p. 13 rightly rejects B. V. Head's former view that the legend is Διὸς Γοῶν(ου). Cp. Aristodemos of Thebes *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 310 Müller) *ap. schol.* II. 13. 1 μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἴλου πῦρθησιν Ἐκτωρ ὁ Πριάμου καὶ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τὴν ἀπὸ θεῶν εὐτύχησε τιμῆν. οἱ γὰρ ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ Θηβαῖοι πιεζόμενοι κακοῖς ἐμαντεύοντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς. χρησμός δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐδόθη παύσεσθαι τὰ δεινὰ, ἐὰν ἐξ Ὀφρυνίου τῆς Τρωάδος τὰ Ἐκτορος δατὰ διακομισθῶσιν εἰς τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς καλούμενον τόπον Διὸς Γοῶν. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσαντες καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλαγέντες διὰ τιμῆς ἔσχον Ἐκτορα, κατὰ τε τοὺς ἐπείγοντας καιροὺς ἐπικαλοῦνται τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν αὐτοῦ. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Ἀριστοδήμῳ = Cramer *anecd. Paris.* iii. 18, 7 ff. with Böhle in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1585. (2) A copper of M. Aurelius has *rev.* the infant Zeus suckled by a goat (Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. vii. 472 no. 723). (3) A copper of Antoninus Pius has *rev.* the infant Zeus nursed by Rhea, with an eagle on the ground at her feet and three Kouretes clashing their shields about her (F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmiünzen* p. 177 f. pl. 7, 15, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 347 pl. 36, 5 (*supra* i. 151 fig. 121 from a cast), *Head Hist. num.*² p. 661). (4) A copper of Antoninus Pius has *rev.* ΕΙΟΝCΓΑΜΟ[1] Io in long robe and bridal veil led towards the left by Hermes, who wears a *chlamys* and holds a *caduceus* in his right hand (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 348 pl. 36, 8, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 661). (5) A copper of Antoninus Pius has *rev.* a veiled figure (Io?) sitting in a two-wheeled hinged chariot, which is drawn by a pair of humped bulls and conducted by a naked figure (Hermes?) (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 348 no. 141). (6) A copper of Tranquillina, now in the British Museum, has *rev.* a male figure (Zeus?) clad in a *himdtion* extending his right hand to a fully draped and veiled female figure (Io?), who stands in the entrance of a wattle shed or hut (perhaps the βούστασις of Aisch. *P. v.* 651 ff. σὺ δ', ὦ παῖ, μὴ ἴπολακτίσης λέχος | τὸ Ζηνός, ἀλλ' ἐξελθε πρὸς Λέρνης βαθὺν | λειμῶνα, ποίμνας βουστάσις τε πρὸς πατρός, | ὡς ἂν τὸ Δῖον ὄμμα λωφίσῃ πῆθου) (so B. V. Head and W. Wroth in the *Nun. Chron.* Fourth Series 1903 iii. 337 f. no. 30 pl. 12, 1 (=my fig. 848 from a cast) with the alternative suggestion (*ib.* p. 338 n. 45): 'Or the scene...may possibly refer to a later incident, when Io, at the Egyptian Canobus, is restored to sanity by the gentle touch of Zeus's hand and becomes the mother of Epaphus the ancestor of the Argive Danaoi' [Aisch. *P. v.* 846 ff.], *Head Hist. num.*² p. 661). *A propos* of the whole series B. V. Head in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. cxlvi observes: 'Evidently on these coins we have representations of successive scenes in certain religious mysteries connected with the Io legend, and celebrated by the Trallians in commemoration of their Argive descent, Argos having been the original home of the Io myth.' I doubt the Io-'mysteries.' The coin-types, inscriptions and all, could be equally well explained as copying the subjects of the frescoes or reliefs with which some public edifice at Tralleis was adorned, e.g. the octostyle temple (?) of Zeus. It has an eagle in its pediment, but a *caduceus* beside



Fig. 848.

Ionia

Smyrna¹.Ephesos².

it or within it) figured on imperial coppers (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 338 pl. 35, 1, p. 353 no. 161).

The cult of Zeus Λαρσίος spread to Miletos, where a small domestic altar dedicated to him has come to light (T. Wiegand in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1908 Phil.-hist. Classe Anhang i. 27 'am zahlreichsten sind die Zeuskulte, natürlich wiegen die karischen vor, so dass Zeus Labraundios (einmal Λαβρένδιος) durch sechs mit der Doppelaxt geschmückte Altäre vertreten ist, Larasios und Zeus Lepsynos einmal, ebenso der Ὀλύμπιος Πεισαίος, Κεράνιος Σωτήρ, Τερμινθεύς, Ὀμοβούλιος und Καταιβάτης; endlich ist ein kleiner Altar Διὸς ἐπιδῶν gefunden').

Θεὸς Ὑψίστος (*supra* p. 880 n. o no. (17)).

¹ Zeus Ἀκραῖος (*supra* p. 873 n. o no. (8)).

² The Zeus-cult of the Ephesians can be traced back to the first half of s. vii B.C. (Kallin. *frag.* 4 Bergk⁴, 2 Hiller—Crusius *ap.* Strab. 633 ἦν ἵκα καὶ Σμύρνα ἐκαλείτο ἡ Ἐφεσος· καὶ Καλλίνδος ποῦ οὕτως ἀνέμακεν αὐτήν, Σμυρναλοῦ τοῦς Ἐφεσίου καλῶν ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν Δία λόγῳ· 'Σμυρναλοῦ δ' ἐλέησον'· καὶ πάλιν· 'μῆσαι δ' εἰ κοτέ τοι μηρία καλὰ βοῶν | <Σμυρναῖοι κατέκταν (ins. I. Casaubon)>' κ.τ.λ.). But here Zeus was always of less importance than Artemis; and the tradition which located her birth at Ortygia (the glen of *Arvalia*: see O. Benndorf *Forschungen in Ephesos* Wien 1906 i. 76 ff.) boldly appropriated his Kouretes (C. Picard *Éphèse et Claros* Paris 1922 pp. 277 ff., 423 ff.), installing them on Mt Solmissos (Strab. 640 ὑπέρεκται δὲ τοῦ ἄλλου ὄρου ὁ Σολμισσός, ὅπου σάντας φασὶ τοῦς Κορηῆτας τῷ ψόφῳ τῶν ὄπλων ἐκπλήξαι τὴν Ἥραν ζηλοτύπως ἐφεδρεύουσαν, καὶ λαθεῖν συμπράξαντας τὴν λοχέλαν τῇ Λητοί. κ.τ.λ.).

A bronze coin of Ephesos, struck by Antoninus Pius, has *rev.* Zeus enthroned on a mountain-top (Mt Koressos). He holds in his left hand a thunderbolt and pours from his raised right hand a shower of rain upon a recumbent mountain-god inscribed ΠΕΙΩΝ, who bears a *cornu copiac*. In front of the principal mountain, on the level of the plain, is a distyle temple, above which, in the background, are cypress-trees and two three-storeyed buildings, perched upon rocks. To the left of the same mountain is another three-storeyed building (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 79 pl. 13, 9 (= *supra* i. 134 fig. 100 from a cast), G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 167 f. pl. 6, 9; A. Löbbecke in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1890 xvii. 10 no. 2 pl. 1, 17; O. Benndorf *Forschungen in Ephesos* i. 56 fig. 18 a Löbbecke, b Cabinet des médailles Paris, c British Museum, d Gréau collection; *Head Hist. num.*² p. 577). High up on the south-eastern side of Mt Koressos is a rock-cut throne, once perhaps regarded as the throne of Zeus (*supra* i. 140 f. fig. 104 f.).

Bronze coins issued at Ephesos by Domitian (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 75 no. 215) and Severus Alexander (*ib.* p. 93 pl. 14, 7 (= my fig. 849 from a cast)) show Zeus Ὀλύμπιος seated to the left, holding the cult-statue of Artemis Ἐφεσία in one hand and a long sceptre in the other. Coppers of Caracalla (*ib.* p. 85 no. 272) and Valerianus Senior (*Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 337 no. 75) repeat the type, but omit the name of the god. He was worshipped in the Olympieion (Paus. 7. 2. 9 κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παρὰ τὸ Ὀλυμπεῖον καὶ ἐπὶ πύλας τὰς Μαγνήτιδας). And Hadrian as his vice-gent shared the honours of his festival (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2810, 17 f. Ἀδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, iii no. 5913, 30 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 1102, 30 f. Ἐφεσον τριπλῆ Ἀδριανία Ὀλύμπια, Βαρβιλλη κ.τ.λ.).

A bronze coin at Ephesos struck by Septimius Severus has *rev.* ΖΕΥΣ ΕΦΕΣΙΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΑΣΙΑΣ Zeus standing with the cult-statue of Artemis Ἐφεσία (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 675, vii. 355, xi. 1256, Eckhel *Doctr. num.*



Fig. 849.

Magnesia ad Maeandrum¹.

Miletos².

Karia

Halikarnassos³.

Myndos⁴.

Iasos⁵.

Lagina⁶.

Mylasa⁷.

Panamara⁸.

Stratonikeia⁹.

vet.² ii. 514). Others struck by Valerianus (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 101 no. 357) and Salonina (*supra* p. 743 n. 7 fig. 681) show Zeus naked, striding to right, with thunderbolt in uplifted right hand and eagle on outstretched left.

Finally, the cult-statue of Artemis was called Διοπετές as having fallen from Zeus (Acts 19. 35 τίς γάρ ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων ὃς οὐ γινώσκει τὴν Ἐφεσίων πόλιν νεωκόρον οὖσαν τῆς μεγάλης Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τοῦ διοπετοῦς; Oikoumenios *comm. in acta apost.* 19. 18—34 (cxviii. 253 Migne) δεικνυσι πολλὴν εἶναι τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν τῶν Ἐφεσίων ὃ γραμματεὺς ἐκ τε τοῦ κοσμεῖν τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ εἰδῶλον αὐτῆς τιμᾶν, ὅπερ καὶ Διοπετὲς ἔλεγον ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς πεπτωκός. ἦτοι γὰρ τὸ ὄστροκον ἔλεγον ἐκεῖνο πάντες (*leg. πάντως*) Διοπετὲς τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς πεμφθέν, ἦτοι καταπτὰν καὶ γενόμενον ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἄγαλμα, ἦτοι τὸ Παλλάδιον, καθὼς ἐμύθεον οἱ Ἕλληες πρὸς κατάπληξιν τῶν ἀκραϊοτέρων, ὅπερ ἀνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς διαπλασθῆναι φῶντο καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων. ἡ Διοπετοῦς τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Διὸς, ἦτοι τοῦ στρογγυλοειδοῦς. ἡ καὶ ἑτερον οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο παρ' αὐτοῖς = Theophylaktos archbishop of Bulgaria *expres. in acta text.* alt. 29 (cxxn. 1013 Migne) 'καὶ τοῦ διοπετοῦς.' τὸ εἰδῶλον τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐκαλεῖτο Διοπετὲς ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς πεπτωκός' ἦτοι τὸ ὄστροκον [*ἔλεγον*] ἐκεῖνο πάντως Διοπετὲς τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς πεμφθέν ἦτοι καταπτῶν (*leg. καταπτῶν*) καὶ οὐ γενόμενον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, καθὼς ἐμύθεον Ἕλληες, Isidoros of Pelousion 4 *epist.* 207 (lxxviii. 1299 Migne) οἱ παρ' Ἑλλήσι τὰ ξάνα κατασκευάσαντες, φόβον ἐμποιῆσαι τοῖς ὄρωσι βουλόμενοι, ἔφασκον ὅτι ἐξ οὐρανοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἐπέμφθη ἡ κατέπη, κρεῖττον ἀπάσης ἀνθρωπίνης χειρός. διὸ καὶ διοπετὲς αὐτὸ καὶ οὐράνιον βρέτας προσηγόρευον = Souid. *s.v.* διοπετές' ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατερχόμενον. ὅτι οἱ παρ' Ἑλλήσι τὰ ξάνα κατασκευάζοντες, φόβον ἐμποιῆσαι βουλόμενοι τοῖς ὄρωσιν, ἔφασκον ὅτι τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἐπέμφθη καὶ κατέπη, κρεῖττον ὑπάρχον πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης χειρός καὶ ἀνάλων. ὅθεν καὶ διοπετὲς αὐτὸ καὶ οὐράνιον βρέτας ἐκάλουν, Sozom. *hist. eccl.* 2. 5 (lxxvii. 945 C Migne) γυμνωθέντες δὲ τῆς τοῦ πλήθους ῥοπῆς οἱ νεωκόροι καὶ οἱ λερεῖς προῦδῶκαν τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμώτατα καὶ τὰ διοπετῆ καλούμενα). Cp. the passages cited by Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* ii. 1527 C, to which add Apollod. 3. 12. 3 τὸ διοπετὲς Παλλάδιον, Konon *narr.* 34 τὸ διοπετὲς Ἀθηναῖς Παλλάδιον, Io. Philop. *περὶ ἀγαλμάτων αρ.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 173 b 10 f. διοπετῆ ἐπωνόμασαν. See further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 774 n. 2 and P. Saintyves 'Talismans et reliques tombés du ciel' in the *Revue des Études Ethnographiques et Sociologiques* 1909 ii. 175 ff., *Revue d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie* 1910 i. 50 ff., 103 ff.

¹ Zeus Ἀκραῖος (*supra* p. 873 n. 0 no. (7)).

² Zeus Ὑψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. 0 no. (17)).

³ Zeus Ἀκραῖος (*supra* p. 872 n. 0 no. (5)).

⁴ Zeus Ἀκραῖος (*supra* p. 872 n. 0 no. (6)).

⁵ Zeus Ὑψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. 0 no. (17)).

⁶ Zeus Ὑψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. 0 no. (17)).

⁷ Zeus Ὑψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. 0 no. (17)). For Zeus Ὅσογῶα or Ζηνοποσειδῶν see *supra* p. 576 ff.; and for Zeus Λαβρύνδος or Zeus Στράτιος, *supra* pp. 576 ff., 585 ff., 705.

⁸ Zeus Ὑψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. 0 no. (17)). For Zeus Πανάμαρος, Πανήμερος, Πανήμεριος see *supra* i. 18 ff.

⁹ Zeus Ὑψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. 0 no. (17)).

Kos

Kos¹.

Bithynia

Prousa ad Olympum².

Phrygia

Aizanoi³.¹ Θεός Ἰψιστος (*supra* p. 880 n. o no. (18)).² Zeus Ὀλύμπιος (*supra* i. 116 n. 8, 124). The cult-statue of the god appears on a bronze coin of Prousa, struck by Trajan, with *rev.* ΠΡΟΥΣΑΕΙΣ ΔΙΑ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΝ Zeus enthroned to right, resting his right hand on a long sceptre and holding in his left a globe, on which stands a small wreath-bearing Nike (Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 577 pl. 99, 7 (=my fig. 850), *Head Hist. num.*² p. 517). A later coin-type gives two agonistic urns, with palms and five balls (? apples, cp. *supra* p. 490 n. o no. (5)) respectively, inscribed ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ ΠΥΘΙΑ (Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 600 f. pl. 103, 11 Valerianus Senior, 13 Gallienus, 14 Salonina).

A copper of Caracalla shows a youthful figure, in military costume, carrying a sceptre in his left hand and with his right holding a *phidie* above an altar, garlanded and kindled, towards which leaps a boar beneath a fruitful fig (?)-tree with an eagle in its branches (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus*, etc. p. 197 pl. 35, 7, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 589 pl. 101, 13 (=my fig. 851)). A similar copper of Geta has



Fig. 850.



Fig. 851.



Fig. 852.

rev. ΤΟΝ ΚΤΙΣΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΥΣΑΕΙΣ (in exergue) the same figure holding his *phidie* above an altar, garlanded and kindled, at the foot of which are seen the head and forelegs of the sacrificial bull (? boar A.B.C.). Behind is a fruitful fig (?)-tree with an eagle in its branches; to the left, a round temple with an arched entry (*ib.* i. 591 pl. 101, 22 (=my fig. 852)). These coins presumably represent the eponymous hero Prousius (cp. a coin of Commodus *ib.* i. 582 pl. 100, 3 ΠΡΟΥΣΑΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΚΤΙΣΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΥΣΙΑΝ beardless head of hero to right) worshipping Zeus.

³ Aizanoi (*Tchavdir-Hissar*) (Αἰζάνη only Ptol. 5. 2. 17 *ed. pr.*), the chief town of Aizanitis in Phrygia Epiketos (Strab. 576), is situated on a high plateau (1085^m above the sea) near the sources of the river Rhyndakos. Herodian. *περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδας* 1 (i. 15, 6 f. Lentz) (cp. *περὶ ὀρθογραφίας* (ii. 468, 29 Lentz)) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀζανοί stated that Aizanoi received its name from Aizen son of Tantalos. Others seem to have held that the town was founded by Azan son of Arkas (Paus. 8. 4. 3). But Hermogenes of Smyrna (?) *frag.* 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 524 Müller) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀζανοί was not content with such commonplace conjectures. He reports the tradition that once in time of dearth the shepherds of the district sacrificed to the gods for fertility, but in vain, till one Euphorbos offered a fox (οὐάνου) and a hedgehog (ἐξῆν). The gods were satisfied and sent fertility again. Thereupon the people chose Euphorbos as their priest and ruler (ιερέα καὶ ἀρχοντα), the town being called Ἐξουάνου after his sacrifice. Cp. the coins of Aizanoi (second half

of s. i B.C.) inscribed EZEANITΩN (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* p. xxiv). Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 192 comments: 'The legend points to the existence of a race of priestly kings or popes, with spiritual and temporal power, such as reigned at Pessinus, Comana, and other cities of Asia Minor (W. M. Ramsay, *Historical Geogr. of Asia Minor*, p. 146 sq.).'

The *tēmenos* of Zeus, which occupies a square terrace (146.46^m × 162.96^m) contrived on a natural hill-top, had a *façade* of twenty-two marble-clad arches with a broad stairway (30^m across) in their midst. This gave access to a square *stoa* consisting of a double range of Corinthian columns with a handsome *propylaion* opposite to the stairway. Outside the *stoa* were gardens, *exedrai*, and statues. Inside the *stoa*, on a stylobate of seven steps, rose the temple, a beautifully finished Ionic structure in blue-grey half-marble, dating apparently from Hadrianic times (A. Körte 'Das Alter des Zeustempels von Aizanoi' in the *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* Wien 1898 pp. 209—214 with pl. 11 (= my



Fig. 853.

fig. 853)) and in various points inspired by the Athenian Erechtheion. The building was octostyle and pseudo-dipteral with fifteen columns down the long side, two in the *prōnaos*, and two in the *opisthōdomos*. These last are of interest as having a band of acanthus-leaves beneath their Ionic volutes—a feature which W. J. Anderson—R. P. Spiers *The Architecture of Greece and Rome* London 1902 pp. 98, 154 refer to s. i B.C. and claim as the origin of the 'composite' order. The columns are fluted monoliths (height of shaft 8.520^m: total height 9.504^m) with a small vase in relief at the top of each flute: sixteen of them are still standing, ten on the northern side and six more at the western end. Oak-leaves and acorns appear among the mouldings of the temple. Round the outside of the *naōs*-wall runs a frieze-like band (0.62^m high), with a moulding above and a meander below, ready to receive inscriptions and already in part inscribed (inside the right *anta* of the *prōnaos* and outside the north wall of the *naōs*). Under the *naōs* is a chamber (16.157^m × 9.120^m) with a semicircular vault, reached by steps from the *opisthōdomos* and probably used for the safeguarding of the temple-treasure. It is possible that some dim

recollection of this treasure lingered in folk-memory; for the peasants in comparatively modern times, believing that the columns were cast in stone and full of gold, attacked them with pickaxe and hammer, nor did they desist from their futile search till they had filled the temple with faggots and fired the lot! See further C. Texier *Description de l'Asie Mineure* Paris 1839 i. 95—127 pls. 23—34, W. J. Hamilton *Researches in Asia*

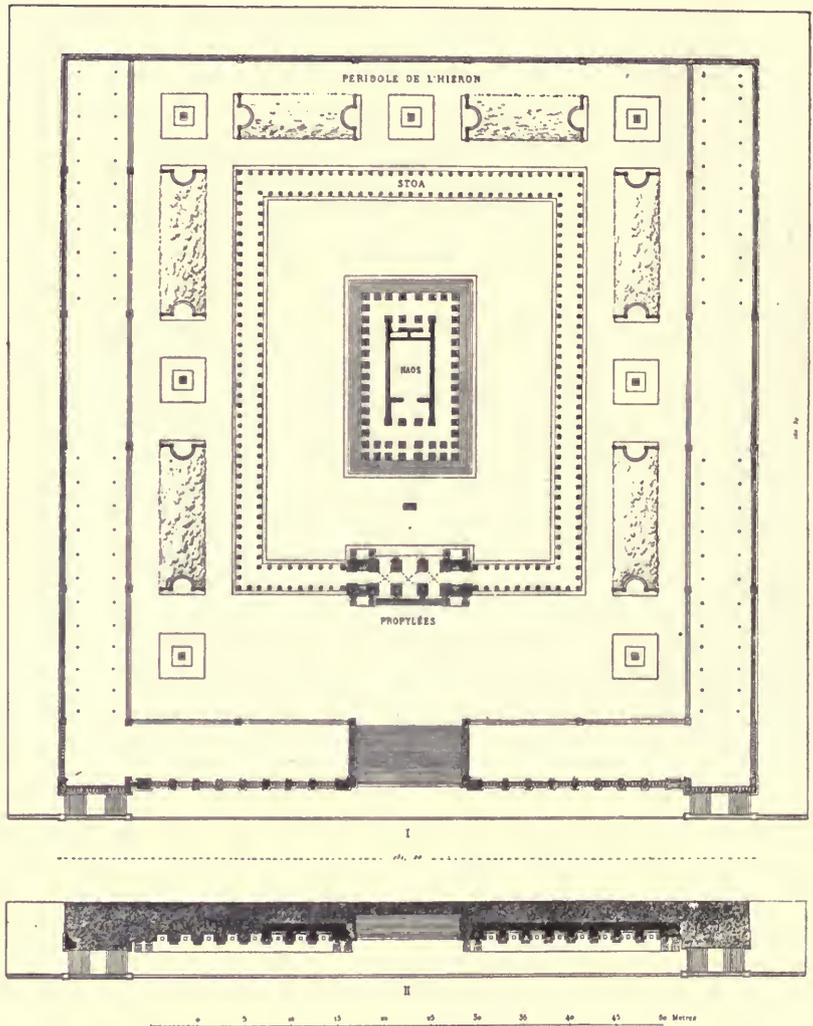


Fig. 854.

Minor, Pontus, and Armenia London 1842 i. 101—104, P. Le Bas *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure* Paris 1858 Architecture Asie Mineure i pls. 18—32, Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 142 ff. Archit. i pls. 18 (= my fig. 854), 19—24, 25 (= my fig. 855), 26—32, F. von Duhn in Durm *Baukunst d. Gr.*² Register p. 367 f.

Inscriptions record a priest of Zeus (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii Add. no. 3831 a¹, 2 ff. Μηρόφιλον Νεικοστράτου | ιερατεύσαντα τοῦ Διὸς δεκάκις, no. 3831 a³, 2 ff. Μενεκλέα | Μενεκλέους, υἱὸν τῆς | πόλεως, ιερατεύσαντα | δις τοῦ Διός, no. 3831 a⁹, 7 f. ιερατεύσαντα τοῦ |

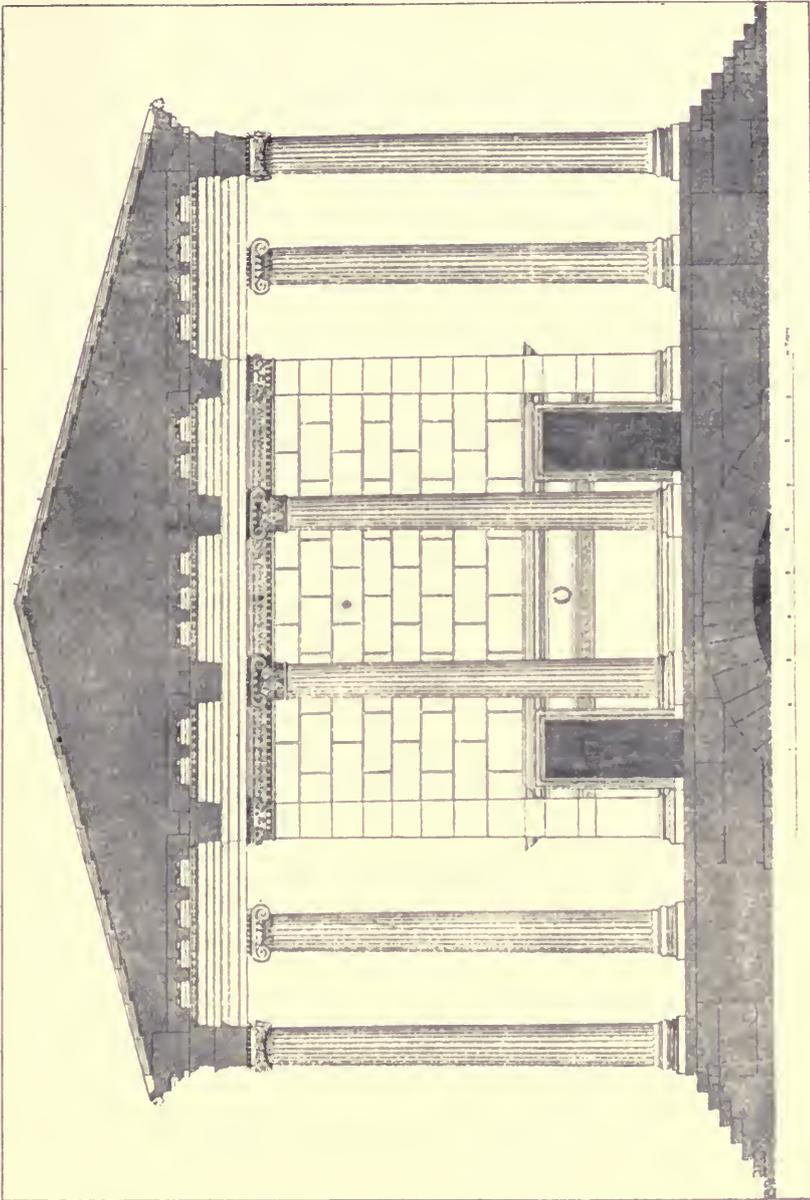


Fig. 855.

[Διός]) and a νεωκόρος of Zeus (*ib.* no. 3831 a⁴, 4 ff. Ἰουλιανὸν Τρύφωνος, νεωκόρον τοῦ Διός | διὰ βίου, no. 3831 a⁷, 2 f. Ὀρθ(εώ)γιον Ἀντιόχου, νε[ωκ]ό[ρο]ν [τ]οῦ Διός, *cp.* no. 3841 a, 8 ff. ὁ νεωκόρ[ος] | τ(οῦ) Διός, ἱερός | καὶ (ἀσυλ)ος (Α)λι(ζα)[ρεῖτ](ῶν) δῆμος | ἐκ

Akmoneia¹.
 Arameia².
 Laodikeia ad Lycum³.

τῶν ἰδίων θεοῦ, no. 3841 g, 1 ff. [τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ] ἀσύλου καὶ | [νεωκόρου] τοῦ Διὸς | [Αἰζανει]τῶν πόλεως | [ἡ φιλοσέβα]στος βουλῇ | [καὶ ὁ νεωκόρος δῆμος | --- | ---]. Inside the right *anta* of the *pronaos* is inscribed a letter, in which Avidius Quietus, proconsul of Asia (125—126 A.D.), informs the people of Aizanoi that a long-standing dispute with regard to the temple-estates has been happily settled. He adds three Latin documents dealing with the matter—(A) the emperor's rescript, (B) his own letter to the imperial procurator, (C) the beginning of the procurator's reply (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 3835 (cp. *ib.* p. 1064 f.) = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 355 = Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* iii nos. 860—863 = Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 6955 = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 502, 1 ff. 'Αουίδιος Κουήτος Αἰζανειῶν ἀρχουσι βουλῇ | δῆμωι χαίρειν' ἀμφισβήτησις περὶ χώρας ἱερᾶς, ἀνατέθεισος πάλαι τῷ Δί, τριεβομένη πολλῶν ἐτῶν, τῇ προνοίᾳ τοῦ | μεγίστου αὐτοκράτορος τέλους ἐτυχε. κ.τ.λ., A, 3 f. ager Aezanen[si] Iovi dicatus, B, 6 f. in ea re[lgione], quae Iovi Aezanitico dicata dicitur).

The neokorate is further evidenced by coins (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* p. 28 no. 34 ἐπὶ Ἴου. Οὐλπι. Σευηρείνου ἀρχινεωκόρω (sic), no. 35 pl. 5, 6 ἐπὶ Ἴου. Σευηρείνου ἀρχινεωκόρ. with B. V. Head's remarks *ib.* p. xxvi. *Id. ib.*: 'On a coin of Commodus (*Invent. Wadd.*, Pl. xv. 7) the city claims the title of Neokorate of this divinity (ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΥ).' Head *Hist. num.*² p. 664).

A copper of Phrygia Epiketos, struck at Aizanoi (F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* Wien 1898 p. 202) probably after 133 B.C., has *obv.* bust of Zeus, laureate, to right, *rev.* ΕΠΙΚΤΗ ΤΕΩΝ eagle on thunderbolt (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* p. 200 pl. 26, 2). Quasi-autonomous and imperial coppers of Aizanoi show Zeus standing to left, half-draped in a *himation*, with an eagle in his right hand, and a long sceptre in his left (*ib.* p. 28 no. 33 f. time of Gallienus; pp. 30 ff., 38 f., 41 f. pl. 5, 8 Augustus, 9 Claudius. Fig. 856 is from a specimen, struck by Caligula, in my collection),



Fig. 856.



Fig. 857.

- also the same figure in a tetrastyle temple with arch over central intercolumniation (*ib.* p. 39 no. 113 M. Aurelius). There can be no doubt that we have here the cult-stature of the god. A copper issued by Commodus has *rev.* AIZA NEIT Ω N a goat standing to right, with head turned back, suckling the infant Zeus (*ib.* p. 40 pl. 6, 3 (= my fig. 857)). Another copper of Commodus, in the Löbbecke collection, has *rev.* AIZANEI ΤΩΝ an eagle standing to right on a column, but turning its head backwards, flanked by a flaming altar on the left and a tree on the right (Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinvas. Münzen* i. 191 no. 11).

Θεὸς Ἰψιστος (*supra* p. 882 n. o no. (23)).

¹ Infancy of Zeus on a Phrygian mountain (*supra* i. 151 f. figs. 122, 123). Θεὸς Ἰψιστος (*supra* p. 882 n. o no. (23)).

² Infancy of Zeus on a Phrygian mountain (*supra* i. 151 f. fig. 124).

³ Infancy of Zeus on a Phrygian mountain (*supra* i. 151 f. fig. 129). Θεὸς Ἰψιστος (*supra* p. 882 n. o no. (23)).

Nakoleia¹.Synnada².Upper valley of the Tembrogios or Tembrios³.**Galatia**Mount Agdos⁴.¹ Θεός Ἰψίστος (*supra* p. 882 n. o no. (23)).² Infancy of Zeus on a Phrygian mountain (*supra* i. 151 f. fig. 120).³ Θεός Ἰψίστος = Zeus *Bénnios* or *Beuvebs* (*supra* p. 883 n. o no. (23)).

⁴ The myth of Attis has two principal forms—a Lydian version, in which Attis is killed by a boar, and a Phrygian version, in which he mutilates himself under a pine-tree. Since the cult of the Great Mother came to Rome from Pessinous in Phrygia, the Phrygian became the official version and gradually eclipsed its Lydian rival (H. Hepding *Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult* Gieszen 1903 p. 121 f.). The Pessinuntine tradition has been preserved for us by Paus. 7. 17. 10—12 and Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 5—7. H. Hepding *op. cit.* p. 37 ff. prints the texts in parallel columns and *ib.* p. 103 ff. discusses their relations and respective sources. Pausanias professes to give the 'local story' (Paus. 7. 17. 10 ἐπιχώριος...λόγος); Arnobius, to derive his information from Timotheos the theologian and other equally learned persons, among whom he mentions the priest Valerius (Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 5 apud Timotheum, non ignobilem theologorum unum, nec non apud alios aequae doctos super Magna deorum Matre superque sacris eius origo haec sita est, ex reconditis antiquitatum libris et ex intimis eruta, quemadmodum ipse scribit insinuatque, mysteriis, 5. 7 quam Valerius pontifex iam nomine fuisse conscribit). A. Kalkmann *Pausanias der Perieget* Berlin 1886 p. 247 ff. showed that Pausanias and Arnobius are really dependent on Alexandros Polyhistor, who in turn got his facts from Timotheos, Promathidas, etc. (see Alex. Polyhist. *frag.* 47 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 233 Müller, cp. *ib.* p. 202) *ap.* Steph. Byz. s.v. Γάλλος), and that Arnobius, in addition to Polyhistor, used a Roman source, probably the priest Valerius, thereby contaminating the Pessinuntine tradition of Agdistis with current tales of the Mater Magna and Attis. Hepding summarises the resultant myth, enclosing within square brackets points of divergence between Pausanias and Arnobius:

Zeus let fall seed on the ground [in his sleep (Paus.), when attempting to lie with the Magna Mater who was asleep on the summit of Mt Agdos (Arnob.)]. In due time the earth bore a wild bisexual being named Agdistis. [The gods, fearing him, cut off his male organ of generation (Paus.). He, having irresistible strength and ferocity, did much mischief, till Liber mingled strong wine with the spring at which he used to slake his thirst and thus threw him into a deep sleep. Liber then took an ingenious noose made of bristles and slipped one end round his foot (*plantae*. Hepding translates: 'an einem Baum'), the other round his genitals. The monster, starting up from sleep, drew the noose tight and so castrated himself (Arnob.)] The blood flowed fast, and from the severed member sprang a fruit-tree, [an almond (Paus.), a pomegranate (*malum...cum pomis...punicum*) (Arnob.)] A daughter of the river Sangarios [Nana by name (Arnob.)] picked the fruit and put it in her bosom. [The fruit immediately vanished (Paus.)] and she conceived. [Thereupon her father kept her shut up and tried to starve her; but the Mother fed her on pomegranates (*pomis*) and other food of the gods (Arnob.)] So she brought forth an infant son, who was exposed [by Sangarios' orders (Arnob.), but tended by a he-goat (Paus.), or found by some one and nurtured on goat's milk (Arnob.: text corrupt)]. He was called Attis because the Lydian word *attis* means 'scitulus' or because the Phrygian *attagus* means 'hircus' (Arnob.). [As the boy grew up, his beauty was more than human, and Agdistis loved him (Paus.). The Mother of the gods loved him for his good looks. So did Agdistis, who ever at his side led him through the woods and presented him with spoils of the chase. Young Attis at first boasted that he had won these himself, but later, under the influence of wine, admitted that they were love-gifts from Agdistis. Hence those that are polluted with wine may not enter his sanctuary (Arnob.)] When Attis was fully grown, he went to Pessinous to wed the king's daughter, [being sent thither by his kinsfolk (Paus.), or summoned by Midas king of Pessinous, who disapproved

of the alliance with Agdistis and closed the town to prevent any untoward interruption of the wedding. But the Mother of the gods, aware that the young man's safety depended on his freedom from wedlock, entered the town, uplifting its walls on her head, which has worn a mural crown ever since (Arnob.). While the bridal hymn was being sung, Agdistis appeared and drove the whole company mad. [Attis cut off his genitals and so did the father of his bride (Paus.). Gallos mutilated himself and the daughter of his concubine cut off her breasts (Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 13: the text of 5. 7 is confused. A. Kalkmann *op. cit.* p. 248 f. makes it probable that Gallos was king of Pessinous and father of the bride: Midas has been imported from an extraneous source). Attis snatched the pipe borne by Agdistis, and full of frenzy flung himself forth. Falling at length beneath a pine-tree he shore off his genitals and cried: 'Take these, Agdistis,—'twas for their sake thou didst stir up this storm of frenzied mischance.' Attis died from loss of blood. But the Great Mother of the gods collected the severed parts, wrapped them in his garment, and buried them in the ground. Violets sprang from his blood and wreathed the tree. Hence the sacred pines are still covered with garlands. The maiden betrothed to him—Valerius the priest calls her Ia—covered his bosom with soft wool, wept for his hard fate (Arnob.), as did Agdistis, [and then slew herself. Her blood became purple violets. The Mother of the gods dug beneath Ia (text doubtful), and up came an almond, signifying the bitterness of death. Then she carried the pine, under which Attis had mutilated himself, to her cave, and in company with Agdistis beat her breast about its trunk (text doubtful) (Arnob.)]. Zeus, when asked by Agdistis to bring Attis to life, refused, but consented that his body should remain incorruptible, [his hair always grow, and his little finger be endowed with perpetual movement. Satisfied with this, Agdistis consecrated Attis' body at Pessinous, and honoured it with yearly rites and a priesthood (Arnob.)].

Throughout this narrative (with which cp. Paus. 1. 4. 5) it is clear that Agdistis is only a Pessinuntine appellation of the Great Mother. So Strab. 469 οἱ δὲ Βερέκιντες, Φρυγῶν τι φύλον, καὶ ἀπλῶς οἱ Φρύγες καὶ τῶν Τρώων οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἴδην κατοικοῦντες Ῥέαν μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τιμῶσι καὶ ὀργιάζουσι ταύτην, Μητέρα καλοῦντες θεῶν καὶ Ἀγδιστιν (so I. Casaubon for ἄγιστιν *epit. Palat. αἰεστίν* codd. plerique) καὶ Φρυγίαν θεὸν μεγάλην, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τόπων Ἰδαίαν καὶ Δανδυμήνην καὶ Σιπυλήνην καὶ Πεσσιουντιδα καὶ Κυβέλλην, 567 Πεσσιουδὸς δ' ἐστὶν ἐμπόριον τῶν ταύτη μάλιστα, ἱερὸν ἔχον τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν σεβασμοῦ μεγάλου τυγχάνων· καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν Ἀγδιστιν (so I. Casaubon for ἀγδιστήν codd. r.o. ἀγγιδιστήν (with ι added over the η) cod. D. ἀγγιδιστιν codd. rell. *Angidistam* Guarino da Verona), Hesych. s.v. Ἀγδιστις· ἡ αὐτὴ τῇ Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν. In Plout. *de flux.* 13. 3 Ἀλγέσθιος ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς φέρου, κόρης Ἰδης ἐρασθεὶς, συνῆλθεν τῇ προειρημένη καὶ ἐγέννησεν ἐξ αὐτῆς τοὺς εἰρημένους Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους. γενομένης δ' αὐτῆς ἀφρονος ἐν τῷ τῆς Ῥέας ἀδύτῳ, Ἀλγέσθιος εἰς τιμὴν τῆς προειρημένης τὸ βροσῖν Ἰδην μετωνόμασεν R. Unger acutely cj. Ἀγδιστίος (Ἀγδιστις? A. B. C.) ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς σπόρου. The same divine name occurs in several inscriptions: (1) *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii Add. no. 3886, 1 ff. = P. Paris in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1884 viii. 237 f. no. 7, 1 ff. (Eumeneia) ὁ δῆμος ἐτεῖ[μῆσεν] | Μόνιμον Ἀρίστων[ος] | τὸν λαμπαδάρχη, [ἱερέα Διὸς] | Σωτήρος καὶ Ἀπόλλ[ωνος καὶ] | Μητρὸς Ἀσκαρηοῦ [καὶ Μητρὸς] | θεῶν Ἀγγδιστεω[ς καὶ Ἀγαθοῦ] | Δαίμονος καὶ εἰ(ὶ)σε[βεστάτης Σε]βαστῆς Εἰρήνης, κ.τ.λ. (2) *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 3993, 1 ff. (Ikonion) [θ]ε(ὸ)ς ὠστηρας τήν τε Ἀγγιδιστιν καὶ τὴν Μ[η]τέ[ρα Βοη]θηάν καὶ θεῶν τῆν Μ[η]τέρα κ.τ.λ. (3) *Ib.* iv no. 6837 (beneath a relief of Kybele, with a pair of lions, seated in an *aedicula* (R. Pococke *A Description of the East, and Some other Countries* London 1745 ii. 2. 212 pl. 98)) Μητρὶ θεῶν Ἀγγιστεῖ Ἀμέριμος οἰκονόμος τῆς πόλεως | εὐχῆ. (4) B. Latyshev *Inscriptiones antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae* Petropoli 1890 ii. 32 no. 31 (of Roman date; beneath a relief representing two draped female figures facing, with a girl standing on their right) Πλουσία ὑπὲρ τῶν θυγατέρων κατὰ πρόσταγμα | Ἀγγισ(τε)ι (the stone has ΑΓΓΙΣΣΣΣΙ) ἀνέθηκε. On Agdistis see further K. Keil in *Philologus* 1852 vii. 198—201, W. W. Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1878 ii. 204 f., 207 f., 216, G. Knaack in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 767 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1528 n. 1, 1547.

Another myth connected with Mt Agdos was that of Deukalion (Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 5

Ankyra¹.

Lykia

Mount Kragos².

in Phrygiae finibus inauditae per omnia vastitatis petra, inquit (sc. Timotheus), est quaedam, cui nomen est Agdus, regionis eius ab indigenis sic vocatae. ex ea lapides sumptos, sicut Themis mandaverat praecinens, in orbem mortalibus vacuum Deucalion iactavit et Pyrrha, ex quibus cum ceteris et haec Magna quae dicitur informata est Mater atque animata divinitus). Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 444 n. 4 well cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 522—545.

¹ Coin-type of Zeus seated on a rock (*supra* i. 124).

² Mt Kragos is a continuation of Mt Tauros, forming a promontory (*Yedi-Burün*, the 'Seven Capes') on the south-western coast of Lykia. North of it is the range of Antikragos. T. A. B. Spratt—E. Forbes *Travels in Lycia, Milyas, and the Cihyratis* London 1847 i. 300 ff. describe their ascent of Kragos (1842): 'In the afternoon we made our way to the opening of a pass leading between the summits of Cragus and Anticragus, now called Mendos and Baba-dagh; ...at daybreak, next morning, (May 27th,) we ascended to a plain which lies between the two chief peaks at a height of four thousand feet... Leaving our attendants and horses...we commenced the ascent of the highest peak of Cragus, which rose precipitously more than two thousand five hundred feet above this alpine plain. The first half of the way was through a thick zone of forest; the remainder was among precipices of bare rock, in the crevices of which lay the accumulated snow of winter... From the sharp and narrow summit of this lofty peak we enjoyed our last look over Lycia; below us lay the whole expanse of the Xanthian plain, and beyond we could see far into the gorges and yaylahs ['summer encampments'] of Massicytus... Such is the steepness of Cragus, that its precipices plunge from the snowy summit to the sea, and from the lofty pinnacle on which we stood we could see the waves breaking white against its base.' Ancient allusions are collected by W. Ruge in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1567. Strab. 665 is worth quoting: εἰθ' ἐξῆς ὁ Ἀντίκραγος...καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ Κράγος, ἔχων ἄκρας ὀκτώ (κράγας ὀκτώ codd. ἄκρας ὀκτώ Eustath. in Dionys. *per.* 847. ἄκρας δύο Eustath. in *Il.* p. 635, 19. We should probably translate 'eight summits,' not 'eight headlands') καὶ πόλιν ὁμώνυμον. περὶ ταῦτα μυθεύεται τὰ ὄρη τὰ περὶ τῆς Χιμαίρας ἔστι δ' οὐκ ἄπωθεν καὶ ἡ Χιμαίρα φάραγξ τις, ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνατείνουσα (the glen of *Avlan*: see O. Benndorf—G. Niemann *Reisen in Lykien und Karien* Wien 1884 p. 82 f.).

Kragos had certain caverns known as the θεῶν ἀγρίων ἄντρα. These 'wild gods' appear to have been the eponym Kragos and his family (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κράγος, ὄρος Λυκίας. Ἀλέξανδρος δευτέρῳ Λυκιακῶν (Alex. Polyhist. *frag.* 75 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 235 Müller)). ἀπὸ Κράγου τοῦ Τρεμίλου υἱοῦ, μητρὸς δὲ Πραξιδικῆς νύμφης. ἐνταῦθα δ' εἶναι καὶ τὰ ἐπονομαζόμενα θεῶν ἀγρίων ἄντρα. ἀπαθανατισθῆναι γὰρ φασὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Κράγον, Eustath. in Dionys. *per.* 847 τὸν δὲ ἐνταῦθα Ταῦρον τὸ ὄρος καὶ Κράγον φησὶ φημίλεισθαι, ἀπὸ Κράγου τινὸς ἐπιφανοῦς ἀνδρός, ὃς αὐτόθι θανὼν τιμᾶται. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ φασὶν οἱ παλαιοὶ τῷ Κράγῳ θεῶν ἀγρίων ἄντρα εἶναι). Kragos and his kin are mentioned also in Panyasis *frag.* 18 Kinkel *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τρεμίλη, in Timagenes *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 322 Müller) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Μιλύαι, and in an important inscription from Sidyma (O. Benndorf—G. Niemann *op. cit.* p. 75 ff. no. 53 A, 15 ff. τῆν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ Τλωεῖς καὶ | Πιναρεῖς γενεαλ[ογίαν Τρεμί][λ]ου καὶ Πραξιδικῆς, ἐξ ὧν Τλώ[ος καὶ] | [Κ]ράγος καὶ Πίναλος ἀνήκον, δι[αδῆ][λ]ης γενεαλο[γί]ας καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πολλὰκις δεδηλωμένης κατὰ τὰς Πο[λ]υχάρμου καὶ ἐτέρων ἰστορίας, *ib.* c. 9 ff. ἐν δὲ Σιδύμοις, κτίσματι Σιδύμου | υἱοῦ Τλώου καὶ Χελειδόνος τῆς | Κράγου, Ἀπόλλωνα τόπω πρὸς | θαλάσση Λοπτοῖς σπηλαίῳ | ἀποκρύφῳ δυσεκιστόδῳ ἐκ κορυφῆς δὲ φωτοῦλλον ἀνοιγμα | μεικρὸν ἔχοντι. μέσον εἰς δ καὶ θοπτεῦσαι θελήσασά τις ἀφῶως | ἀποφῆτι τὸν θεὸν κατηνέχθη, καὶ λίθος κείται πτώμα | φόβου δεῖγμα κατασκόπων' | διὸ καὶ κροτ[οῦν] | τε] ἐπ' ἄσματος | χαῖρε, Ἀπολλων, ὁ ἐγ Λοπτῶν' | εἰσερχόμενοι φωνοῦμεν | τῆνδε. The cave-cult of Apollon at Lopta described in this curious record may give us some notion of the θεῶν ἀγρίων ἄντρα: indeed, Apollon himself is on occasion ἄγριος (Orph. *h. Ap.* 34. 5). The Titans too bore the same title (Hesych. ἄγριοι θεοί· οἱ Τιτᾶνες), perhaps as being chieftains or kings (*supra* i. 655 f.). Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1186 n.¹

Mount Olympos (?)¹.

Pisidia

Prostanna (?)².

justly cp. Plout. *de def. or.* 21 (quoted by Theodoret. *Gr. aff. cur.* p. 129 Gaisford) ἐπεὶ καὶ Σολύμους πυνθάνομαι τοὺς Λυκίων προσοίκους ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τιμῶν τῶν Κρόνον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποκτείνας τοὺς ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν, Ἄρσαλον καὶ Δρύον (Ἄρουν Theodoret.) καὶ Τόσοβιν, ἔφυγε καὶ μετεχώρησεν ὅποιδήποτε (τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν), ἐκείνον μὲν ἀμεληθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἄρσαλον σκληροῦς (σκιρροῦς Theodoret.) θεοὺς προσαγορεύεσθαι, καὶ τὰς κατάρτας ἐπὶ τούτων ποιέσθαι δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ Λυκίους.

It would seem, then, that Kragos and his relatives were, not only heroified, but actually deified. More than that. Kragos was eventually identified with Zeus himself. For Lyk. *Al.* 541 f. ἔν τε δαυτὶ καὶ θαλυσοῖς | λοιβαῖσι μειλίσσωσιν ἀστεργῆ Κράγον is thus expounded by Tzetz. *ad loc.*: ἀστεργῆ δὲ Κράγον τὸν Δία λέγει ἐπεὶ μὴ ἔσπερξε τὴν θυσίαν αὐτῶν. λέγονται δὲ θύοντες τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἐπιλαθέσθαι τοῦ Διός, ὅθεν φιλονεικίαν αὐτοῖς ἐνέβαλε. Κράγος δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Λυκία τιμᾶται.

¹ *Supra* i. 100 n. 11. Methodios, bishop of the Lycian town Olympos at the beginning of s. iv. A.D., claims to have seen on the summit of this mountain *agnus castus* growing, quite unharmed, round a fire that sprang from the earth (*Method. ap. Phot. bibl.* p. 298 b 23 ff. Bekker *ἑθασαμῆν ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ ἐγὼ* (ἄρος δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ Ὀλυμπος τῆς Λυκίας) πῦρ αὐτομάτως κατὰ τὴν ἀκρώρειαν τοῦ δρους κάτωθεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναιδόμενον, περὶ δὲ πῦρ ἄγνος φυτὸν ἐστὶν, οὕτω μὲν εὐθαλὲς καὶ χλοερὸν, οὕτω δὲ σύσκιον, ὡς ὑπὸ πηγῆς μᾶλλον αὐτὸ δοκεῖν βεβλασθηκέναι. κ.τ.λ.) The good bishop describes the phenomenon in terms reminiscent of Moses and the burning bush; and it is noteworthy that Mt Olympos, otherwise called Phoinikous (Strab. 666), is nowadays named *Musa Dagh*, the 'mountain of Moses.' This mountain rises to a height of c. 1000^m due south of the town Olympos on the eastern coast of Lykia. But the perpetual fire is commonly associated with Mt Chimaira (*Yanür-taş*), a height of some 250^m due north of the same town. Here in fact it is still to be seen—a strong jet of flaming gas that leaps up like a fountain from crevices in the rock. The immediate neighbourhood of the vent is bare of vegetation, but all around, a few paces off, is greenery in abundance. For classical references see W. Ruge in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2281; and for modern description and discussion, E. Petersen—F. von Luschan *Reisen in Lykien Milyas und Kibyris* Wien 1889 pp. 138—142 ('Die Chimaira') with fig. 65 and pl. 17. In antiquity several such fiery jets were known and the site was called Hephaistion (Sen. *epist.* 79. 3, Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 100), Hephaistia (Solin. 39. 1), or the mountains of Hephaistos (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 236). Skyl. *per.* 100 speaks of a sanctuary of Hephaistos above the harbour Siderous: ὑπὲρ τούτου ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Ἡφαιστοῦ ἐν τῷ ὄρει καὶ πῦρ πολὺ αὐτόματον ἐκ τῆς γῆς καλεῖται καὶ οὐδέποτε σβέννυται. Hence Hephaistos appears, forging the shield of Achilles, on a copper of Olympos struck by Gordianus iii Pius (Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 326 f. no. 10 pl. F, 14).

It was, however, only natural that in this town, which lay between Mt Olympos and Hephaistion, there should have been a joint recognition of Zeus and Hephaistos. R. Heberdey—E. Kalinka *Bericht über zwei Reisen in S.W. Kleinasien* Wien 1896 p. 34 no. 42 publish an inscription, in which mention is made of a fine payable θεοῖς Ὀλυμπίους Διὶ καὶ Ἡφαιστῶ. G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. p. lxxi compares with it a bronze coin of Olympos at Paris with *obv.* head of Athena to right, *rev.* the ethnic and a thunderbolt.

² Prostanna (*Egherdir*) was situated on the shore of Limnai, at the foot of Mt Viarus (Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* London 1890 p. 407). Imperial coppers of the town have *obv.* Mt Viarus, *rev.* ΠΡ ΟC a tree (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. pp. cvi, 238 pl. 37, 9, Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 175 no. 502 pl. 10, 27), and *rev.* ΠΡΟCΤΑΝ ΝΕΩΝ Mt Viarus with three trees growing on it and ΟΥΙΑΡΟC below (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. p. 239 pl. 37, 13 Claudius ii) or Mt Viarus with a pine-tree on its summit and ΒΙΑΡΟC below (Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas.*

Mount Solymos¹.

Münzen ii. 391 no. 10 pl. 14, 5, A. Markl in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1900 xxxii. 157 no. 4 pl. 7, 4, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 709). Since another coin-type of Prostanna shows Zeus seated with Demeter (?) behind him (G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia*, etc. p. cvi n. †, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 709), it is possible that the cult of the god was connected with the mountain which dominates the town (for views see A. de Laborde, Becker, Hall et L. de Laborde *Voyage de l'Asie Mineure* Paris 1838 p. 111).

¹ Termessos (Termessus Maior) was built, a good 1000^m above sea-level, on Mt Solymos (Strab. 630) or Solyma (*id.* 666), the modern *Güldere Dagħ* or *Güllük Dagħ*. It was an ideally placed stronghold of the Solymoi, whose eponym Solymos figures on imperial coppers of the town (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia*, etc. pp. xc, 271 no. 27 pl. 41, 12 *rev.* COΛY MOC Solymos standing to left, with cuirass, spear, and short sword, 272 no. 36 pl. 41, 14 COΛY MOC Solymos enthroned to left, with crested helmet and right hand raised to face, cp. Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 410 no. 6 pl. 15, 15 and 411 no. 10 pl. 15, 17, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 712). As a warlike hero he was affiliated sometimes to Zeus (Antimachos *frag.* 16 Bergk⁴ *ap. schol. P.T. Od.* 5. 283 *ἔθεν καὶ οἱ Σόλυμοι ὠνομάσθησαν* (dē add. T., *omissis ἔθεν καὶ οἱ Σόλυμοι*) ἀπὸ Σολύμου τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Καλχηθόνιας, ὡς Ἀντιμαχὸς ὀηλοῖ, Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 21 (Iupiter vitiat) Chalceam nympham, ex qua nascitur Olympus (where O. Höfer *cj. Chalcædonian and Solymus*: see his remarks in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1154), Steph. *Byz. s.v. Πισιδία*: οἱ Πισιδῆαι πρότερον Σόλυμοι, ἀπὸ Σολύμου τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Χαλδῆνης), sometimes to Ares (*et. mag.* p. 721, 43 ff. Σόλυμοι (so T. Gaisford for Σόλυμος)· ἔθνος περὶ Κιλικίαν· ἀπὸ Σολύμου τοῦ Καλδῆνης τῆς Πισιδίον καὶ Ἀρεως· οἱ νῦν Ἰσαυροί).

The principal deity of the town in classical times was Zeus Σολυμεύς. Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. vii. 138 no. 228 gives (after Sestini) a coin reading ZEYC COΛYMEYC, and J. Friedlaender in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1885 xii. 6 figures another, at Berlin, with *obv.* ΔΙ[ΟΣ] ΣΟΛΥΜΕΩ[Σ] bust of Zeus Σολυμεύς (but see G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia*, etc. p. xc n. ||). The head of Zeus appears as the normal Termessian coin-type *c.* 71—39 B.C., in the time of the Antonines, and from Gordian to Gallienus (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia*, etc. p. 268 ff. pl. 41, 8—11, pl. 42, 1 f., Head *Hist. num.*² p. 712). E. Petersen in K. Lanckoroński *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* Wien 1892 ii. 47 ff. describes the remains of what was probably the temple of Zeus Σολυμεύς. The site is a raised terrace (1054^m) adjoining the southernmost part of the gymnasium and close to a group of other temples (N 3 on the large plan opposite p. 21). Here were found Doric column-drums, Attic bases with portions of shafts and plinths, architrave-blocks, coffering, the right-hand end-block of a pediment, statue-pedestals, and two reliefs from a frieze representing a Gigantomachy (Zeus and Apollon v. Giants with serpentine legs). These last were published by G. Hirschfeld in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 xxxix. 157—160 figs. *A, B*. Further, a cylindrical base (1·18^m high), which once supported a bronze statue (of Zeus?), is adorned with a relief of a priest presiding at the sacrifice of a humped bull (E. Petersen *op. cit.* ii. 32, 48 f. figs. 7 and 8) and bears the inscription Ὅρατις ΙΟΓΑΚ | Ιερ(ε)ῦς | Διὸς Σολυμεῖ· | Διονύσιος Ἑρακλεῖδου | Ἀλεξ[α]-δρεῦς | ἐποίησ(ε) (K. Lanckoroński *op. cit.* ii. 206 no. 78). Another base from the same site was set up when a certain Strabon was priest of Zeus Σολυμεύς (*id. ib.* ii. 206 no. 80, 15 ff. ἀνεστάθη | ἐπὶ ἱερέως | Σολυμεῶς Δι[ὸς] | Στράβωνος [β']). Another carried the statue of a distinguished priest (*id. ib.* ii. 206 no. 79, 1 ff. ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἱερέα Διὸς Σολ[υ]μεῶς | γενόμενον Λαέρτην Ναναμόου | Λαέρτου κ.τ.λ., *cp.* 207 no. 85, 2 ff. [ἀρ]χιερέα αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ | [Ιερ]έα Διὸς Σολυμεῶς διὰ βίου Λα[ε]ρτῆν | [Ναναμόου] φιλόπατρι καὶ πατέρα πόλεως). Other life-priests of Zeus Σολυμεύς are recorded (*id. ib.* ii. 200 no. 39, 4 f. *Ti. Kl.* Τειμῶδωρον, 200 no. 41, 4 *Ti. Kl.* Τειμῶδωρον, 201 no. 48, 6 ff. *Mār. Aür. Μειδιανόν Πλατωνιανόν* | Οὐᾶρον, 208 no. 93, 4 ff. *Mār. | Aür. Μειδιανόν* | Οὐᾶρον).

The same deity was believed to have under his special protection the tombs of the dead, for any violation of their sanctity was punished with a fine usually payable to him. Numerous inscriptions of the sort are given by G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1899

Pontos

*Βευγκ Ένλια*¹.

xiii. 165—192, 280—286 (e.g. p. 169 no. 7, 9 f. ὁ τούτων τι πειράσας ὑπεύθυνος ἔσται Διὶ Σολυμεί * α, p. 171 no. 13, 7 f. ὁ πειράσας ἐκτελεῖ Διὶ Σολυμεί * β, p. 173 no. 18, 2 δώσει ὁ πειράσας προστεῖμου Διὶ Σολυμεί * γ, p. 182 f. no. 41, 5 ff. ὁ τομῆσας | ἡ παραενχειρήσας ἀποτελεῖ | Διὶ Σολυμεί ἱεράς καὶ ἀπαραίτητους δραχμὰς δισχειλίας πεντακοσίας, p. 184 f. no. 44, 5 f. ὁ πειράσας ἐνσχεθήσεται ἐνκλήματι | τυμβωρυχίας καὶ ἐκτελεῖ Διὶ Σολυμεί * δ, p. 188 no. 52, 3 f. ὁ πειράσας ἐκτελεῖ Διὶ Σολυμεί * ε, ἡ καὶ τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμειῷ * ς, p. 189 f. no. 54, 7 ff. ὁ τούτων τι πειράσας ἐνοχος ἔσται ἐνκλήματι τυμβωρυχίας καὶ ἀραις ταῖς εἰς τοὺς καττοιχομένους καὶ προσαποτελεῖ Διὶ Σολυμεί * ς. See also pp. 167 f. no. 4, 7 ff., 170 no. 10, 7 f., 171 f. no. 14, 4 ff., 172 no. 15, 8 f., 173 f. no. 20, 10 f., 175 no. 24, 2 ff., 175 f. no. 25, 10 f., 176 no. 26, 7 f., 179 f. no. 34, 7 f., 183 f. no. 43, 9 f., 185 no. 45, 3 ff., 186 f. no. 48, 9 ff., 187 no. 49, 5 ff., 187 no. 50, 3 ff., 187 f. no. 51, 9 f., 188 f. no. 53, 11 f., 191 no. 57, 5 ff., 280 f. no. 62, 6 ff., 283 no. 64, 7 ff., 284 no. 66, 10 f., 285 no. 67, 8 ff., 285 f. no. 68, 9 f.), and a few by K. Lanckoroński *op. cit.* ii. 217 no. 154*, 2 f., 218 no. 167, 6 ff., 218 no. 171^a (= *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4366 l), 9 f., 219 no. 173, 16 ff., 219 no. 174, 7 f.

G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 127 f. publishes, among inscriptions copied by E. T. Daniell and Sir C. Fellows, no. 24, 3 ff. ἐκτελεῖ | τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμίῳ | * μὲν κὲ τῷ Διὶ | Σολύμῳ * μὲν, adding: 'The form Σόλυμος for Σολυμῆος is unusual; it occurs again on an inscription on p. 493 [of a MS. volume transcribed by S. Birch].' The form suggests that the eponymous hero Solymos, by a process already exemplified in the case of Kragos (*supra* p. 971 n. 2), had been raised to the rank of Zeus.

Other inscriptions from Termessos attest a cult of Zeus and Dione (*id. ib.* ii. 206 no. 77 on a lintel from the southernmost part of the gymnasium [τοῦ πρώτου ἱερασαμένου Διὸς καὶ Διώνης Ἀλφείδου Μολέους | [τὸν ναὸν καὶ τ]ὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἱερά καὶ ἀγάλματα ὁ δῆμος ἐκ τῆς | ὑποστάσεως (i.e. ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ πρώτου ἱερασαμένου κ.τ.λ.), 219 no. 175^a (= *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4366 m) completed by G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1899 xiii. 192 no. 60 on a sarcophagus at the first Gate ἱερεὺς Διὸς καὶ Διώνης | Γαῖος Διστεῖμον Ἐρ. | Τρ. Γαῖου Γεινίου Χν. τῆν | σωματοθήκην ἐαυτῷ καὶ | Ἀρτέμει καὶ Ἐρ. Τρ. Γαῖου Γεινίου Π. αὐτοῦ· κ.τ.λ.) and a cult of Zeus Ἐλευθέριος (K. Lanckoroński *op. cit.* ii. 203 no. 58, 26 ἱερεὺς Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου Δῶδοτος Ἐρμαίου Ἀρτεῖμον * φ', cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. pp. lxxxix n. *I, xcii with n. *, 275 no. 55 pl. 42, 2 *obv.* ΤΕΡ ΜΗCCEΩΝ head of Zeus, laureate, to right, with Θ below; *rev.* ΕΛΕΝ ΘΕΡΑΤΕ ΡΜΗCCE ΗΤΟΚΑΠ ΟΥCΕΧΟ VCA in wreath = ἐλευθέρα Τερμησσέ | ἡ το(ὺς) κάπους ἐχουσα, which I take to be a tag from some popular chorus (hence the *quasi*-Doric κάπους) performed at a festival of Zeus Ἐλευθέριος).

¹ In 82 B.C. Mithridates vi Eupator, having cleared Kappadokia of the Roman forces, offered a solemn sacrifice to Zeus Στράτιος. Appian. *Mithr.* 66, perhaps following Nikolaos of Damaskos (T. Reinach *Mithridate Eupator roi de Pont* Paris 1890 p. 445 f.), describes the scene in detail (trans. H. White): 'The news of this brilliant and decisive victory spread quickly and caused many to change sides to Mithridates. The latter drove all of Murena's garrisons out of Cappadocia and offered sacrifice to Zeus Stratius on a lofty pile of wood on a high hill, according to the fashion of his country, which is as follows. First, the kings themselves carry wood to the heap. Then they make a smaller pile encircling the other one, on which they pour milk, honey, wine, oil, and various kinds of incense. A banquet is spread on the ground for those present (as at the sacrifices of the Persian kings at Pasargadae) and then they set fire to the wood. The height of the flame is such that it can be seen at a distance of 1000 stades from the sea, and they say that nobody can come near it for several days on account of the heat. Mithridates performed a sacrifice of this kind according to the custom of his country.' In 74 B.C., when about to enter Paphlagonia, Mithridates repeated the offering. Appian. *Mithr.* 70 (trans. White) says: 'At the beginning of spring Mithridates made trial of his navy and sacrificed to Zeus

Stratius in the customary manner, and also to Poseidon by plunging a chariot with white horses into the sea.'

Imperial coppers of Amaseia, the residence of the Pontic kings (Strab. 561), have been rightly interpreted as referring to this cult (C. Cavedoni in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1840 p. 70 f.). They exhibit a large altar, sometimes of two stages and flaming. Beside it are two trees with twisted trunks. Above it on some specimens there hovers an eagle, or the sun-god in his *quadriga*, or both. Occasionally a bull is shown lying dead on the upper stage (*supra* i. 602 n. 2. I illustrate four examples. Fig. 858 = Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 38 no. 78 pl. 5, 26 (Paris) Caracalla 206 A.D. ('une victime qui paraît être un chien!'). Fig. 859 = *eid. ib.* i. 38 no. 79 pl. 6, 1 (Paris) Caracalla 206 A.D. Fig. 860 = *eid. ib.* i. 40 no. 96 pl. 6, 7 (A. Löbbecke) Geta 206 A.D. ('un taureau mort'). Fig. 861 is from a specimen, in my collection, struck by Severus Alexander in 232 A.D.).

F. Cumont—E. Cumont *Voyage d'exploration archéologique dans le Pont et la Petite Arménie* (*Studia Pontica* ii) Bruxelles 1906 pp. 136—184 devote a chapter to Amaseia, including a valuable discussion (pp. 145 f., 172 ff.) of Zeus *Στράτιος* and his cult. Their

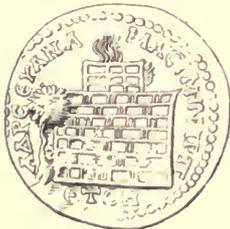


Fig. 859.

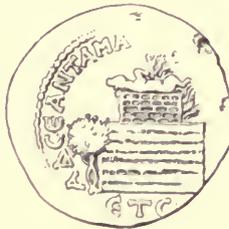


Fig. 858.



Fig. 860.



Fig. 861.

discoveries may be resumed as follows. Some four miles due east of Amaseia rises a rounded hill (1350^m) known as *Beuyuk Evlia*, 'The Great Saint' (map xiii), and reputed to be the burial-place of a *santon* or Turkish saint. Every year in May the peasants repair to this otherwise deserted height, slaughter fowls and sheep, and feast merrily in honour of the *Profit Iliyā*. A clump of large pines crowns the hill-top, venerable trees which are held in such respect that no one will touch them with an axe. (By way of an ancient parallel F. Cumont cites M. Tsakuroglou in the *Μουσείον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ* 1878—1880 p. 164 no. τλβ' = S. Reinach *Chroniques d'Orient* Paris 1891 p. 157 an inscription from *Divlit* near Koloë (*Κούλα*) in Lydia *ἔτους τκ', μη[νὸς] Περειτίου β', Αὐρ. | Στρατόνεικος β', ἐπειδὴ κατὰ | ἄγνοιαν ἐκ τοῦ ἄλσου[ς] ἔκοψα | δένδρα θεῶν Διὸς Σαβαζίου καὶ | Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀναίτις κολασ|θεῖς, εὐχόμενος εὐχαριστή|ριον ἀνέστησα* with Tsakuroglou's note: 'Au-dessus est représenté un homme; à côté de lui, sur la droite, deux arbres, et un seul à gauche. Il est remarquable que la défense de couper du bois dans le bois sacré de Sabazios et d'Artémis Anaitis subsiste encore aujourd'hui, car les habitants turcs de Santal près de Divlit croient que celui qui coupe du bois est puni par quelque maladie.'

[See further Frazer *Golden Bough*³: The Magic Art ii. 40—45.] The summit of the hill forms a flattish space c. 250^m across and was enclosed by a *peribolos*-wall, which can still be traced, especially to the south-west. In the middle of the open space a square mound (c. 40^m each side) evidently covers some construction, for bits of moulding and the *débris* of cut marble are scattered over the ground. Here in all probability stood a monumental altar. A marble base found on the spot records the name of Cn. Claudius Philon as priest for life (J. G. C. Anderson—F. Cumont—H. Grégoire *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie* (*Studia Pontica* iii) Bruxelles 1910 i no. 142 τὸ ἀνάθημα] (or ἀ[γαλμα]) | ἐκ τῶν τ[οῦ] | θεοῦ Γναῖ[ος] Κλ(αύδιος) Φιλῶν | ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου) and two inscriptions from the neighbouring village of *Ebimi* preserve dedications to Zeus Στράτιος (*eid. ib.* i no. 140 on a small limestone altar Διὶ | Στρατίῳ | Βασιλεὺς (a frequent name in Pontos) | εὐχῆ, no. 141 on two portions of a limestone balustrade Διὶ Στρατίῳ [ὁ δῆμος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ] κυρία ἐπὶ τῆς συνῆ[αρχίας] Παμπρωίου. τοῦ?] Κανδίδου, νεωκοιροῦτος γ' [..... ο]υ' Ἀγριππιανοῦ, ἐκ | τῶν συν(λ)ε[λεγμένων] χρημάτων]ν Ϝ εἶτους Ϝ ρά Ϝ (= 98/99 A.D.). In line 4 συνα[θροισθέντων κ.τ.λ.] is possible). From these inscriptions we gather that in the year 99 A.D. the cult was administered by *συνάρχοντες* and *νεωκόροι*. To the west of the precinct is rising ground formerly covered with buildings. The festivities there celebrated seem to have included dramatic shows—witness the epitaph of the strolling player Gemellos, found at *Ebimi* (F. Cumont in the *Festschrift zu Otto Hirschfelds sechzigstem Geburtstag* Berlin 1903 p. 277 ff. = J. G. C. Anderson—F. Cumont—H. Grégoire *op. cit.* i no. 143 κείμε Γεμέλλος ἐγὼ | ὁ πολλοῖς θεάτροις | πολλὰ λαλήσας | καὶ πολλὰς ὁδοὺς | αὐτὸς ὀδεύσας, | καὶ οὐκέτι μου σῶμα | φωνᾶ[ς] ἀπολνεῖ, | οὐδὲ χειρῶν κρότος | ἔρχεσε, ἀλλ' ἀποδοῦς | τὸ δάνιον ('my debt to nature') πεπῶρευμε. | ταῦτα πάντα κόνις. The man is as full of quotations as Dikaiopolis).

Other traces of the same cult came to light at *Ghel-Ghiraz*, some sixteen miles west of Amaseia, on the edge of the plain Chilikomon (*Soulou-Ova*). Here was found a marble altar of s. i (?) A.D. dedicated to Zeus Στράτιος (*eid. ib.* i no. 152 Διὶ Στρατίῳ εὐ[χ]ῆς | καὶ εὐσεβίας [χ]άριον Κύρος καὶ | Φιλέταιρος οἱ | Κλάρον. The letters χ, ϛ, being crosses, have been effaced by some zealous Mohammedan) and sundry remnants of his temple (Ionic and Corinthian capitals, a column-shaft in red marble, fragments of cornice, blocks of marble) scattered through the village. The temple itself probably stood on a small polygonal plateau cut out on a spur of the mountainous heights above *Ghel-Ghiraz* (map xii).

Lastly, an inscription of Roman date from Athens mentions an offering to Zeus Στράτιος made by four citizens of Amaseia (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. i no. 201 ἀγαθῆ τύχη· | Διὶ Στρατίῳ | Διότιμος, Ἐψικράτης], | Δρόσερος, Σείηρος | οἱ Ἀμασεῖς).

F. Cumont justly regards the sacred pines still growing on *Beuyuk Evlia* as comparable with the trees beside the altar on the coins of Amaseia (*supra* figs. 858—861), with the two oaks planted by Herakles at Herakleia Pontike by the altars of Zeus Στράτιος (Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 239 in Ponto citra Heracleam arae sunt Iovis Στρατιου cognomine, ibi quercus duae ab Hercule satae), and with the sacred plane-trees of Zeus Στράτιος at Labranda (*supra* p. 590). But with equal justice Cumont refuses to see in *Beuyuk Evlia* the scene of Mithridates' pyre, which was visible far out at sea and must therefore have been raised on some such peak as *Ak-Dagh*, the highest summit of the country. As to the nature of Zeus Στράτιος, after renewed consideration of the available data (cp. F. Cumont 'Le Zeus Stratiος of Mithridate' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1901 xliii. 47—57), he arrives at the following conclusion: 'Peut-être était-il à l'origine la divinité locale de quelque tribu indigène de la vallée de l'Iris, qui s'assemblait pour l'adorer sur le sommet d'une montagne voisine. A leur arrivée dans le pays, les colons grecs auraient alors, suivant une coutume constante, transformé cette divinité barbare en un Zeus guerrier. Puis, quand une maison d'origine iranienne fonda un royaume dans cette région, elle aurait prétendu reconnaître dans ce Zeus son Ahoura-Mazda, et lui aurait offert des sacrifices nouveaux, imités de ceux qu'accomplissaient les monarques perses. La nature du dieu serait donc composite; elle serait formée d'une réunion des trois éléments,

Kappadokia

Mount Argaios (?)¹.

pontique, grec et iranien, dont la combinaison caractérise la religion comme la civilisation de ces contrées.²

To this I would add but two remarks. Doubtless, as Cumont says, the pyre of Mithridates on the Pontic mountain bears some resemblance to the perpetual fire on the mountain of Zoroastres (Dion Chrys. *or.* 36 p. 92 f. Reiske cited *supra* i. 783 f., ii. 33), and the offering of milk, honey, wine, and oil by Mithridates recalls the offering of oil, milk, and honey by the Magoi (Strab. 733). But these practices can be paralleled from Greek as well as from Persian usage. The big blaze reminds us of the bonfire on the top of Mt Kithairon kindled once in sixty years at the Great Daidala, when the oak-brides of Zeus were burnt (Paus. 9. 3. 1 ff. cited *supra* p. 898 n. 6). And the offering of milk, honey, wine, and oil is suggestive of the usual Hellenic gifts to the dead (see *c.g.* P. Stengel *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*³ München 1920 p. 149 'Man spendet Wein, Wasser, Milch, Honig und Öl, doch selten alles zugleich.' Is the ritual of Aisch. *Pers.* 610 ff. Persian or Greek?). There may after all have been some historical foundation for the folk-belief that a saint lies buried on *Beuyuk Evlia*.

¹ Mt Argaios (*Erjâus*), the culminating point of Antitauros and the highest (3840^m) peak in Asia Minor, has its summit covered with perpetual snow (Strab. 538, Solin. 45. 4). On the side facing Kaisareia (*Kaiserieh*) this forms a vast slope of glittering white—a fact which perhaps gave its name to the mountain (for ἀργός, ἀργός, ἀργήεις, etc. see Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 49 f., Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 74 f.).

In antiquity few persons reached the summit, and those who did declared that in clear weather they could see both the Euxine and the bay of Issos (Strab. 538)! The ascent readily won its way into the region of the mythical. W. J. Hamilton *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia* London 1842 ii. 275 reports the following tale: 'A traveller once came from Frangistan, in search of a rare plant which grew only on the summit of Argaeus, having ten leaves round its stalk and a flower in the centre. Here it was said to be guarded by a watchful serpent, which only slept one hour out of the four-and-twenty. The traveller in vain tried to persuade some of the natives to accompany him, and point out the way; none of them would venture, and at length he made the ascent alone. Failing, however, in his attempt to surprise the dragon, he was himself destroyed. The story adds that he was afterwards discovered, transformed into a book, which was taken to Caesareia, and thence found its way back into Frangistan.'

In modern times ascents have been made by Hamilton (1837), Tchihatcheff (1848), and H. F. Tozer with T. M. Crowder (1879). See W. J. Hamilton *op. cit.* ii. 274 ff. (with lithographic pl. view of Mt Argaios as seen from *Kara Hissar*), P. de Tchihatcheff *Asie Mineure* Paris 1853 i. 439 ff. (with fig. 9 view of Mt Argaios, fig. 10 do. as seen from *Erkelet*, fig. 11 do. as seen from *Tomarsé*, fig. 14 plan of Mt Argaios), H. F. Tozer *Turkish Armenia and Eastern Asia Minor* London 1881 pp. 106—131. Tozer says of the summit (*ib.* p. 125 f.): 'The view was quite clear and very extensive, including the long line of the Anti-Taurus to the east, the Allah Dagh and other mountains that run down towards Lycaonia to the south-west, and to the north the vast undulating plains of the interior which we had crossed in coming from Yeuzgatt. One or two small lakes were visible.... We could also trace the depression in which the Halys runs, though the river itself was not in sight. Kaiserieh lay below us...like a dark carpet spread on the bare plain. But far the most remarkable feature was the mountain itself, for the lofty pinnacles of red porphyritic rock, rising from among the snows around and beneath us, veritable *aiguilles*, were as wonderful a sight as can well be conceived [Tozer here gives a striking view of these three needles, which are *c.* 50 feet in height]. The crater or craters, which once occupied the summit, are too much broken away to be easily traceable, the best-marked being that which faces east; but below, all round the base of the mountain, is a belt of volcanic cones. The idea that prevailed among the ancients, that on clear days both the Euxine and the Mediterranean were visible from here, is wholly impossible on account of

the distance, and the height of the intervening mountains.' Tozer adds (*ib.* p. 126 f.): 'As we were climbing about the rocks close by, we found to our great surprise that in places they were perforated with ancient human habitations. One of these wound inwards to a considerable depth with rude niches hollowed in the sides like those which we had seen on the banks of the Halys.... Anyhow there was no question of their being artificial abodes, for besides the niches, the marks of some hard instrument were evident on the roof and sides.'

The capital of Kappadokia, built at the base of Mt Argaios, was named successively Mazaka, Eusebeia, and Kaisareia (Strab. 537 f., Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Καισάρεια*). Bronze coins of Eusebeia, struck by Archelaos king of Kappadokia 36 B.C.—17 A.D., have *rev.* Mt Argaios (*Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 581 no. 1 pl. 62, 15), sometimes with an eagle on its summit (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. p. 45 no. 2 pl. 8, 1 (= my fig. 862)). Imperial coins of Kaisareia, in silver and bronze, from Tiberius to Gordianus iii, repeat the type with many interesting variations (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. p. 46 ff. pl. 8, 8, 12, pl. 9, 6, 7, 21, pl. 10, 6, 7 (= my fig. 864), 8, 14, 17, 18, 20, pl. 11, 1 (= my fig. 865), 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13 (= my fig. 869), 15—19, pl. 12, 1, 2, 3 (= my fig. 873), 4, 7, 9, 12, pl. 13, 1, 2 (= my fig. 875), 3, 4 (= my fig. 877), *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 582 ff. pl. 62, 16, 19, 22—24, 25 (= my fig. 868), 26—28, 29 (= my fig. 874), Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 417 ff. no. 183 ff. pl. H, 1—4, 5 (= my fig. 872), G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 167 ff. pl. 6, 10, 11, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 752 f. fig. 331. Figs. 863, 866, 867, 870, 871, 876 are from specimens in my collection. See also *supra* i. 603 n. 2). Cp. a red jasper intaglio in the British Museum, which shows Mt Argaios with a wreath above it and a goat's head below (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 135 no. 1107), another from the Blacas collection, which represents the mountain inscribed ΑΡΓΑΙΟΣ and topped by a radiate figure holding a *patera* in his left hand, a sceptre in his right (*ib.* p. 135 no. 1105), and a third at Berlin, which crowns the summit with an eagle holding a wreath in its beak (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 313 no. 8558 pl. 61).

This famous type has been discussed at length by W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. pp. xxxviii—xli and by O. Rossbach in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1901 vii. 406—409. The general shape of the mountain with its crater above and volcanic cones below is adequately rendered. The woods which formerly fringed its sides (Strab. 538 ἀξέλου γὰρ ὑπαρχούσης σχεδὸν τι τῆς συμπόσης Καππαδοκίας, ὁ Ἀργαῖος ἔχει περικείμενον δρυμὸν, κ.τ.λ.) are represented by trees (figs. 866, 869 ff.). The game inhabiting them is suggested by the lively little picture of the hound chasing the goat or stag (fig. 863). But Argaios was more than a picturesque object or happy hunting-ground. It was to the Cappadocians *καὶ θεὸς καὶ ἄρκος καὶ ἀγαλμα* (Max. Tyr. *diss.* 8. 8 Dübner cited *supra* i. 102 n. 5). As an ἀγαλμα it is seen on an altar (fig. 869 ff.) or within a temple (fig. 876). It is even worn as a head-dress by Tranquillina (fig. 877), who thus appears as the Tyche of Kaisareia (II. Dressel in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1901 xxiv. 86 f.). Its claim to divinity is stated somewhat differently by Solin. 45. 4 Mazacam sub Argaeo sitam Cappadoces matrem urbium numerant; qui Argaeus nivalibus iugis arduus ne aestivo quidem torrente pruinis caret quemque indidem populi habitari deo (*habitare deum* cod. G) credunt. It remains therefore to ask what deity was believed to inhabit the mountain. W. Wroth rightly rules out Sarapis, though a coin at Paris shows that god holding the mountain in his hand (J. A. Blanchet in the *Rev. Num.* iii Série 1895 xiii. 74 f. pl. 3, 15). This, like the Egyptian symbol (? lotos: cp. *supra* p. 773 fig. 737) which tops the mountain on a coin of Trajan (fig. 863), merely proves that from time to time Sarapis bulked big at Kaisareia. Wroth himself concludes (as does Rossbach *loc. cit.* p. 407 f.) that the naked male figure, who appears on the mountain-top holding globe and sceptre (fig. 867) and sometimes wearing a crown of rays (cp. fig. 868), is the deified emperor. Accordingly he takes the eagle on the mountain (fig. 862) or on the mountain-altar (fig. 869) to be the Roman eagle, interprets the 'two or more figures' sometimes seen on the summit (figs. 870, 872) as 'Imperial personages?', and draws attention to a coin of Caracalla at Berlin (J. Friedlaender in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1884 xi. 52 pl. 1, 5, better read by B. Pick in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1898 i. 455 ff.) which shows Mt Argaios and a distyle



Fig. 862.



Fig. 863.



Fig. 864.



Fig. 865.



Fig. 866.



Fig. 867.



Fig. 868.



Fig. 869.



Fig. 870.



Fig. 871.



Fig. 872.



Fig. 873.



Fig. 874.



Fig. 875.



Fig. 876.



Fig. 877.

Kilikia

Anazarbos¹.
Mount Olympos (?)².

Kypros

Amathous, Golgoi, Kition³.
Mount Olympos (?)⁴.

Assyria

Mount Zagros⁵.

Kommagene

*Nemroud Dagh*⁶.

Syria

Chalkis sub Libano (?)⁷.

temple below with a star in its pediment and between its columns the inscription ΕΙC ΕΩΝΑ ΤΟΥC ΚΥΠΙΟΥC (= *eis aiōna toūs kyplious*, an acclamation of the imperial house). Wroth, however, admits 'that before the Imperial age some local divinity—perhaps a mountain-god—was worshipped in connection with Argæus.'

This is unsatisfactory. The eagle on the mountain-top occurs before the town was renamed Kaisareia (fig. 862 inscribed ΕΥΣ[Ε] ΒΕΙ[Α]), and the eagle on the mountain-altar is much too prominent to be merely a Roman eagle (fig. 869). Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* i. 166, 174 f. did not scruple to speak of a 'Zeus Argæos.' And, though the exact appellation has not yet been found (for Zeus ἀργής see *supra* i. 31 f., 317 f.), he was in all probability on the right track. At least the naked figure with globe and sceptre, the radiate crown, the sun and moon (figs. 869, 873), the star (figs. 871, 876) or stars (fig. 864)—to say nothing of the eagle—are all appropriate to a Hellenistic Zeus. At Kaisareia such an one would readily take on oriental features, e.g. the tall headdress with which he appears on a silver coin of Trajan (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. p. 52 no. 46 ('Zeus?') pl. 9, 8 (= my fig. 878)). Besides, the two supporters with lances (fig. 870) can then be reasonably explained as the Dioskouroi. It would seem, in fact, that the three rocky pinnacles of the mountain-top were connected with Zeus and the Dioskouroi respectively. I should go further and claim that here, as elsewhere (*supra* pp. 160, 431 f.), the Dioskouroi are anthropomorphic sky-pillars. And I should conjecture that their older aniconic forms were perpetuated by local piety in the curious pillars to right and left of the sacred mountain (figs. 874, 875). The rays that crown these pillars are no accidental adornment. It must often have happened that Dioscuric stars (St Elmo's fires) were to be seen in stormy weather flickering about the *aiguilles* of the summit.



Fig. 878.

Even so we have hardly exhausted the significance of the coin-types. One of them (fig. 867) apparently attaches a goat's head to the outline of the mountain, low down on its left hand side,—a detail which recalls the goat's head on the gem in the British Museum (*supra*), but is not easy to explain. And what are we to make of the star-like flower or rosette that is found so frequently in the centre of the design? Is this only a stylised rendering of rocks or bushes? Or dare we surmise that popular belief connected the mountain with some magical or mythical flower such as that mentioned by W. J. Hamilton in the tale already told?

¹ Zeus Ὀλύβριος or Ὀλύβρις (*supra* i. 597 n. 4).

² *Supra* i. 100 n. 12.

³ Θεὸς Ἐψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. o no. (15)).

⁴ *Supra* i. 100 n. 14.

⁵ Zagreus (*supra* i. 651), whose art-type was borrowed by the Cretan Zeus Ἰδαῖος (*supra* i. 644 ff. pl. xxxv).

⁶ Zeus Ὠρομάσδης (*supra* i. 741 ff.).

⁷ A bronze coin of s. i B.C., probably struck at Chalkis sub Libano (*Anjar*) near

Mount Kasion¹.

Heliopolis (*Ba'albek*), has *obv.* head of Zeus, laureate, to right, *rev.* a temple with two columns, from each of which hangs a fillet, and two steps, on which is the inscription ΧΑΛΚΙ ΔΕΩΝ. Within the temple is a conical stone bound with a fillet (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. pp. liv, 279 no. 1 pl. 33, 10 (=my fig. 879), *Head Hist. num.*¹ p. 655 (but not *ib.*² p. 783)). W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1854 Asiatic Greece p. 41 had assigned a similar specimen in his collection to Chalkis (*Kinnesrin*) near Beroia (*Aleppo*). De Visser *De Gr. diis non ref. spec. hum.* p. 41 f., 167 treats this conical stone as a primitive *ἀγαλμα* of Zeus. And he may well be right (*supra* i. 521 n. o), though it should be remembered that Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 222 f. referred bronze coins with a like *rev.* and *obv.* dolphin round trident (p. 222 no. 60) or head of Hera (p. 223 nos. 63 and 64) to Chalkis in Euboia (so also *Head Hist. num.*² p. 360, Anson, *Num. Gr.* v. 19 nos. 133—135).

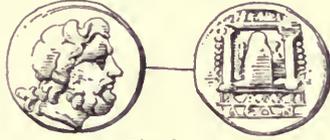


Fig. 879.

¹ Mt Kasion (*Djebel-el-Akrá*) rises abruptly from the sea to a height of 5318 ft. The ancients declared that from its summit the sun could be seen in the fourth watch of the night (Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 80, Solin. 36. 3, Mela 1. 61 (confuses with Mt Kasion in Egypt), Mart. Cap. 680) or at second cock-crow (Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 4). According to Euhemeros the mountain derived its name from a certain king Kasios, who had entertained Zeus (Euhem. *ap. Euseb. praep. ev.* 2. 2. 61, Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 22 cited *supra* p. 588 n. 1). Sanchouniathon, as reported by Philon of Byblos, held that Aion and Protoponos had descendants as mortal as themselves named Phos, Pyr, and Phlox, who discovered and taught how to make fire from the friction of wood on wood. They in turn had gigantic sons, who gave their names to the mountains that they occupied—Kassion, Libanos, Antilibanos, and Brathy (cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 24. 102 herba Sabina, brathy appellata a Graecis, duorum generum est, altera tamarici folio similis, altera cupresso; quare quidam Creticam cupressum dixerunt). Hence sprang Samemroumos (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* renders 'der hohe Herr des Himmels'), also called Hypsouranios, < and Ousoös (on whom see Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 392)>, who were named after their mothers, the women of that age being free to mingle with any whom they met (Philon *Bybl. frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 566 Müller) *ap. Euseb. praep. ev.* 1. 10. 9). Synkellos states that Kasos and Belos, sons of Inachos, founded Antiocheia on the Orontes (Synkell. *chron.* 126 A (i. 237 Dindorf), cp. Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 28 Dindorf). Stephanos of Byzantion declares that Mt Kasion in Syria was colonised from Kasos, one of the Kyklades, which was called after Kasos the father of Kleomachos (Steph. *Byz. s.v. Κάσος*, but cp. *id. s.v. Κάσιον* where much the same is said of Mt Kasion in Egypt). The true derivation of the name is still to seek: for modern conjectures see W. W. Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1878 ii. 238 f., Frau Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2266 f.

Several myths attached to the mountain. Zeus pursued Typhon to Mt Kasion (Apollod. 1. 6. 3 cited *supra* p. 448 n. 2). The inhabitants of the district, when locusts devastated their crops, besought Zeus to send the *Seleucides aves* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 75 *Seleucides aves vocantur quorum adventum ab Iove precibus inpetrat Casii* (so Hermolaus Barbarus for *casini* edd. vett. *casmi* cod. F². C. Mayhoff prints *Cadmi*) montis incolae fruges eorum locustis vastantibus. nec unde veniant quove abeant compertum, numquam conspectis nisi cum praesidio earum indiget). The Antiochenes honoured Triptolemos as a hero with a festival on Mt Kasion (Strab. 750). Some said that Kyparissos, a Cretan boy of great beauty and purity, fled from Apollon or Zephyros to the river Orontes and Mt Kasion, where he was changed into a cypress-tree (interp. Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 680).

In historical times we get repeated allusions to the cult of Zeus on this mountain. When Seleukos i Nikator founded Seleukeia Pieria, he first on the twenty-third day of

the month Xanthikos (April) offered sacrifice to Zeus Κάσιος upon Mt Kasion: an eagle carried off a morsel of the sacrificed flesh towards the sea-shore and so showed him the right site (Io. Malal. *chron.* 8 p. 199 Dindorf, cp. *ib.* pp. 199 f., 202 f. *Infra* Append. N *med.*). Trajan, accompanied by Hadrian, visited Seleukeia in the month Apellaios (December) 113 A.D. on his way to fight the Persians (Io. Malal. *chron.* 11 p. 270 Dindorf). Here Trajan dedicated to Zeus Κάσιος silver bowls and a great gilded ox-horn for his victory over the Getai (Souid. *s.v.* Κάσιον ὄρος), while Hadrian commemorated the occasion in a tactful epigram (*Anth. Pal.* 6. 332 (Adrianos) Ζητὴ τὸδ' Αἰνεῶδης Κασίῳ Τραϊανὸς ἄγαλμα, | κοίρανος ἀνθρώπων κοίραν' ἀθανάτων, | ἄνθετο, δοῖα δέπτα πολυδαίδαλα καὶ βοὸς οὐρον | ἀσκητὸν χρυσῷ παμφανώνντι κέρας, | ξζαῖτα προτέρης ἀπὸ ληίδος, ἦμος ἀπειρήs | πέρσεν ὑπερθύμους ᾧ ὑπὸ δουρὶ Γέτας. | ἀλλὰ σύ οἱ καὶ τήνδε, κελαινεφές, ἐγγυάλιξον | κρήναι ἐκλειῶs δῆρ' Ἀχαιμενίην, | ὄφρα τοι εἰσορβῶντι διάνδιχα θυμὸν ἰαλῆ | δοῖά, τὰ μὲν Γετέων σκύλα, τὰ δ' Ἀρσακιδέων). In 129 A.D. Hadrian climbed the mountain by night to witness the sunrise; but rain came on and, as he was sacrificing, a thunderbolt fell and destroyed both victim and priest (Spart. *v. Hadr.* 14. 3). Perhaps Lucius Verus too paid homage to Zeus Κάσιος, for a medallion, struck in 167 A.D. on account of the victories won in the east by Avidius Cassius, shows the emperor offering Nike to Zeus who is seated on a mountain (Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² iii. 197 no. 291, *supra* i. 133 f. fig. 99): this inference, defended by W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 971 f., is questioned by Frau Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2265. In the spring of 363 A.D. Julian ascended Mt Kasion on a festal day and there sacrificed a hecatomb to Zeus Κάσιος (Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 4, Io. Malal. *chron.* 13. p. 327 Dindorf, cp. Ioul. *misop.* 361 D, Liban. *or.* 14. 69 (ii. 112, 14 Foerster)): he made the ascent at midday, saw the god (? in a dream), rose up, and received some useful advice (Liban. *or.* 18. 172 (ii. 310, 18 ff. Foerster) *eis τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος παρὰ τὸν Κάσιον ἀναβάs Δία μεσημβρίας σταθερὰς εἶδ' ἐτε τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἰδὼν ἀνέστη καὶ συμβουλήν ἐδέξατο, δι' ἧς πάλιν διαφεύγει λόχον).*

But the most interesting evidence with regard to the cult is supplied by the coin-types of Seleukeia. Coppers struck by Trajan and Antoninus Pius have *rev.* a shrine with pyramidal roof resting on four pillars and enclosing a sacred stone, which is filleted. On



Fig. 880.



Fig. 881.



Fig. 882.



Fig. 883.



Fig. 884.

the roof is an eagle with spread wings, and beneath the shrine ΣΕΥΚ ΚΑΣΙΟC (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* p. 274 pl. 33, 3 (=my fig. 880) Trajan, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 216 f. pl. 74, 32 Trajan) or ΣΕΥΚ ΚΑΣΙΟC with star in field (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* p. 275 pl. 33, 4 (=my fig. 882), Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 53 no. 354 pl. 8

Kyrrhos¹.
 Palmyra².
 Seleukeia Pieria³.

Phoinike

Abédar⁴.
 Berytos⁵.
 Byblos⁶.
 Libanos⁷.
 Sahin⁸.

Samaria

Mount Gerizim⁹.

Antoninus Pius). Later specimens omit the god's name (*Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 217 no. 43 Commodus), but show the stone in a tetrastyle temple (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 275 no. 50 Septimius Severus, p. 276 no. 52 Caracalla) and add crescent and star in the pediment (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 277 no. 57 pl. 33, 7 Elagabalos, no. 58 pl. 33, 8 (= my fig. 884) Severus Alexander (OBO = ὀβολός), Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 53 no. 356 pl. 8 Elagabalos, no. 357 pl. 8 Severus Alexander). Figs. 881, 883 are from examples in my collection.

Zeus Κάσιος must not be confounded with Zeus Κεραύνιος (*supra* p. 809); the stone in the shrine is no thunderbolt. Nor is there any real reason to think with F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 935 fig. 1206 that the stone was an aerolite worshipped as the Aramaean god Kašiu (but see Frau Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2266) and Hellenised as Zeus Κάσιος. W. W. Baudissin *op. cit.* ii. 242 observes curtly: 'Der Stein ist Bild des heiligen Berges.' W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. lxxii says: 'the conical object has a cavity in the side, which seems further to show that the representation is that of a mountain or the agalma of a mountain.' Accordingly, he takes it to be 'the mountain Kasios—or rather an *agalma* of the mountain' and compares Mt Argaion on the coins of Kaisareia (*supra* p. 979). A. Salač 'ΖΕΥΣ ΚΑΣΙΟΣ' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvi. 176 f. rejects the view of Baudissin and Wroth, remarking very justly that on the later coins (figs. 883, 884) the cavity in the sacred stone disappears, the resultant shape being that of an *omphalos* (cp. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 553 n. 4). On the whole it seems safest to conclude that the sacred stone did duty as the god's altar (*supra* i. 521), the hollow in it (Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 206 βωμοῖο θέναρ) being used for libations (*supra* p. 193). A parallel might be found in the sacred stone with a cup-like top represented on some of the earliest *statères* of Mallos in Kilikia (?) (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 95 pl. 15, 10—12, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 557 f. pl. 25, 11, Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 17 nos. 117 and 118 pl. 3: on the doubtful attribution see Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 435 f. and Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 1. 561 ff.). The pyramidal or triangular roof topped by an eagle recalls the pyramid of Sandas and would suit a mountain-god (*supra* i. 600 ff.).

A votive inscription from Hedderenheim—*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 7330 Deo | Casio | Ovinius | v.s.l.m.—has been connected with this Syrian cult (Frau Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2267, A. Salač *loc. cit.* p. 187 f.).

¹ Zeus Καταιβάτης seated on a rock (*supra* i. 124, ii. 15 f. figs. 3 and 4).

² Zeus "Υψιστος καὶ Ἐπήκοος, less often Zeus "Υψιστος, Zeus Μέγιστος "Υψιστος, Zeus "Υψιστος Μέγιστος Ἐπήκοος (*supra* p. 885 n. 0 n. (29)).

³ Zeus Κορυφαῖος (*supra* p. 869 n. 1).

⁴ Zeus Οὐράνιος "Υψιστος Σααρναῖος Ἐπήκοος (*supra* p. 886 n. 0 no. (30)).

⁵ Θεὸς "Υψιστος (*supra* p. 886 n. 0 no. (30)).

⁶ Zeus "Υψιστος (*supra* p. 887 n. 0 no. (30)).

⁷ *Supra* i. 551 with i. 581 f.

⁸ Θεὸς "Υψιστος Οὐράνιος "Υπατος (*supra* p. 886 n. 0 no. (30)).

⁹ Zeus Ἑλληνῖος or Ξένιος, Zeus "Υψιστος, Iupiter Sarapis (?) (*supra* p. 887 n. 0 no. (31)).

Ioudaia

Jerusalem¹.

Aigyptos

Alexandria².Athribis³.Mount Kasion⁴.

¹ Hadrian attempted to crush Christianity by erecting a statue of Aphrodite on the site of the Crucifixion and an image of Zeus on the site of the Resurrection (Hieron. *epist.* 58. 3 *ad Paulinum* (xxii. 581 Migne) ab Hadriani temporibus usque ad imperium Constantini, per annos circiter centum octoginta, in loco resurrectionis simulacrum Iovis, in crucis rupe statua ex marmore Veneris a gentibus posita colebatur, existimantibus persecutionis auctoribus quod tollerent nobis fidem resurrectionis et crucis, si loca sancta per idola polluisent. Bethlehem nunc nostram et augustissimum orbis locum, de quo Psalmista canit 'Veritas de terra orta est' (Ps. 85. 11), lucus inumbrabat Thamuz, id est Adonidis, et in specu, ubi quondam Christus parvulus vagiit, Veneris amasius plangebatur = Paulin. Nolan. *epist.* 31. 3 (lxi. 326 C—327 A Migne) nam Hadrianus imperator, existimans se fidem Christianam loci iniuria perempturum, in loco passionis <statuam Veneris, in loco resurrectionis (*ins.* A.B.C.)> simulacrum Iovis consecravit, et Bethlehem Adonidis fano profanata est, ut quasi radix et fundamentum ecclesiae tolleretur, si in iis locis idola colerentur, in quibus Christus natus est ut pateretur, passus est ut resurgeret, surrexit ut regnaret iudicatus).

So even the pagans realised that the Cross meant Love Divine and the empty Tomb Omnipotence.

² Θεός Ἰψιστος καὶ πάντων Ἐπόπτης (*supra* p. 889 n. o no. (33)).

³ Θεός Ἰψιστος (*supra* p. 889 n. o no. (33)).

⁴ Mt Kasion, a barren sand-dune adjoining Lake Sirbonis, was famous for its sanctuary of Zeus Κάσιος (Strab. 760, Lucan. 8. 858, Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 68, Solin. 34. 1, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κάσιον). According to Sanchouniathon as reported by Philon of Byblos, the descendants of the Dioskouroi, when shipwrecked, were cast up on Mt Kasion and dedicated a temple there (Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 568 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 20 κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν Διοσκοῦρων σχεδίας καὶ πλοῖα συνθέντες ἐπλευσαν, καὶ ἐκρίφεντες περὶ τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος ναὸν αὐτῶν ἀφιέρωσαν). The story is late, but the sanctuary must indeed have received many a dedication from travellers who had escaped the dangers of the shallow sea and the shifting sand (T. Wiegand in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1920 xxxv Arch. Anz. p. 87 f.). Near this spot Cn. Pómpēius Magnus the triumvir was murdered as he stepped ashore, on Sept. 29, 48 B.C., and here he was buried (Strab. 760, Vell. Pat. 2. 53, Lucan. 8. 560 ff., Plout. *v. Pomp.* 78—80, Appian. *bell. civ.* 2. 84—86, Dion Cass. 42. 3—5, *alib.*). His partisans erected bronze statues to his memory near Mt Kasion (Appian. *bell. civ.* 2. 86). In the winter of 69—70 A.D. Titus and his army passed from Pelousion to the sanctuary of Zeus Κάσιος, and thence to Ostrakine, Rhinokoroura, etc. *en route* for Jerusalem (Ioseph. *bell. Iud.* 4. 11. 5). In 130 A.D. Hadrian, on his way from Palestine to Egypt, offered a sacrifice (ἐνήγισε) to Pompeius and rebuilt his ruined tomb (Dion Cass. 69. 11, Spart. *v. Hadr.* 14. 4), clearing it of sand and replacing the bronze statues, which had been removed to the *adyton* of the sanctuary (Appian. *bell. civ.* 2. 86). Hadrian's epigram on the tomb is still extant (*Anth. Pal.* 9. 402 (Adrianos) τῷ ναοῖς βριθοντι πῶση σάβανις ἐπλετο τύμβου).

The little town of Kasion made a *spécialité* of intricate woodwork; whence the proverb Κασιωτικὸν ἄμμα (Diogenean. 5. 44, Apostol. 9. 46, *prov. Bodl.* 527 p. 62 Gaisford, Souid. *s.v.* ἄμματα, Κάσιον ὄρος, Zonar. *lex. s.v.* ἄμματα). A papyrus of 283 A.D. mentions Casiotic joiners (B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1898 i. 112 ff. no. 55, 6 Κασιωδῶν). We might have supposed that the local manufacture of Κασιωτικὰ ἱμάτια (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κάσιον) or Κασιανὰ ὑφάσματα (Eustath. in Dionys. *per.* 260) rested on a blunder (ἱμάτια or ὑφάσματα for ἄμματα). But Makrisi too speaks of certain fabrics called *gassiah* as made on the spot (Maqrizi *Description topographique et historique de l'Égypte* trad. U. Bouriant Paris 1900 p. 520). Early in s. i B.C., if not in

Pelousion¹.

s. ii. B.C., a native of the town made a double dedication in Delos to Zeus Κάσιος along with the Θεός Μέγας (*quis?* See *infra* Index *s.v.* Odessos) and Tachnepsis (a deity new to Egyptologists) (P. Roussel *Les cultes égyptiens à Delos du III^e au I^{er} siècle av. J.-C.* Nancy 1916 p. 95 ff. no. 16 Θεῶι Μεγάλωι | καὶ Διὶ Κασίωι καὶ Ταχνήψει | Ὀρος Ὀρου Κασιώτης | ὑπὲρ Λευκίου Γρανίου | τοῦ Ποπλίου Ῥωμαίου · | γυναῖκα μὴ προσάγειν | μηδὲ ἐν ἐρείοις ἀνδρα · | κατὰ πρόσταγμα, no. 16 *his* [Θεῶι] | [Μεγά]λωι | [καὶ Διὶ Κ]ασίωι καὶ | [Τα]χνήψει | [Ὀρος] Ὀρου Κασ(ι)ώτης | [ὕ]πὲρ Λευκίου Γρανίου | τοῦ Ποπλίου Ῥωμαίου, | κατὰ πρόσταγμα · | γυναῖκα δὲ μὴ προσάγειν | μηδὲ ἐν ἐρείοις ἀνδρα). Similarly a native of Berytos gave a thankoffering in Delos to Zeus Κάσιος (*id. ib.* p. 97 no. 17 Ξενοφῶν | Διο- νυσίου | Βηρύτιος | Διὶ Κασίωι | χριστήριον). And, as Roussel remarks, Zeus Κάσιος is again grouped with Egyptian divinities in an inscription from Athens (A. Wilhelm *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* Wien 1909 p. 136 'sie nennt in den ersten erhaltenen Zeilen Priester verschiedener Gottheiten, so des Ὀρος, Θεός Ἀγαθός, Ζεὺς Κάσιος, Ἀπόλλων, Διόνυσος, des Διόνυσος und der Ἀριάγνη?, der Μήτηρ θεῶν, der [Οὐρανία Ἀφροδίτη Νέκκη ἐν Κανώπῳ.' A. Salač, who publishes the inscription in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvi. 182—187, revises this list as follows: *vv.* 3f. [Ἀρπο]κράτους, 5 Ὀρου, 6 Ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ, 7 Διὸς Κασί[υ], 9 Ἀπόλλωνος, 11 Διονύσο[υ] -- Μητρὸς θεῶν, 13 ἐν Κ[Α]νώπῳ (*i.e.* Sarapis at Kanopos (Strab. 801)) -- [Οὐρ]ανίας Ἀφροδίτης, 14 [Ἰσιδος Ταποσ]ειριάδος).

J. Clédat in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1905 pp. 602—611, *ib.* 1909 pp. 764—774, *ib.* 1911 p. 433 proves that Mt Kasion was not situated, as is commonly held, at *Ras-Bouroum* on the narrow strip of land between the sea and the lake, but at *Mahemdiyah* (*Mohamedieh*) some 40 kilometers further to the west, that is, about 15 kilometers east of Pelousion. Here at the western end of the lake and close to the sea rises a rounded sandhill (maximum height 13·30^m: Lucan. 10. 434 *f.* exaggerates), on which he detected and partially excavated (1) a large (*c.* 20·0^m × 20·0^m) public bath, built of gypsum and baked brick in late Roman times; (2) a small (9·60^m × 6·0^m) tetrastyle temple facing east, built of gypsum at the eastern extremity of the hill; (3) numerous tombs, some on the hill, others on the plain, belonging to two Roman and two Byzantine cemeteries. Moreover, in 1909 he noted that a *cippus* of Roman date bore the name of an inhabitant called ΚΑCΙΟC (*loc. cit.* 1909 p. 774). And finally in 1911 he was able to report 'un petit sanctuaire avec niche d'autel en albâtre portant une inscription nabatéenne au nom de Zeus Cassius' (*loc. cit.* 1911 p. 433).

¹ We are further indebted to J. Clédat for the discovery of a temple dedicated to Zeus Κάσιος at Pelousion (J. Clédat 'Le temple de Zeus Cassios à Péluse' in the *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte* Le Caire 1914 xiii. 79—85 with figs. 1—3 and pl. 11). Towards the western end of an elongated mound called by the Arabs *Tell el-Faramah* (Coptic *περεμωση*) he found the walled camp (*el Kasr*) of the *equites Stablesian* and to the west of this, at a point but little raised above the level of the surrounding morass, the last remains of a temple built in rosy granite. On the ground lay two columns (7·80^m in length, 1·0^m in diameter) and two architrave-blocks (1·80^m long, 0·96^m high, 0·80^m deep) bearing the central part of a deeply incised inscription, which may be restored *exempli gratia* as follows: [ὑπὲρ αὐτοκράτορος Κασσαροῦ Τραϊανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σε]βαστοῦ καὶ τοῦ σ[ύ]μ[μ]α[τ]τος αὐτοῦ ο[ἱ]κοῦν Διὶ Κασίω Μ[ε]γίστῳ θεῶι Πηλουσίου καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς | [ἐπὶ Τίτου Φλαυίου Τιτιανοῦ ἐπιτροπεύοντος τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀνέθηκεν Καί]κλι[ος] Κάσιος Δ[ί]ων Ἀπο]λλωνίου τ[ρο]--- | [τὸν σηκὸν τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τὸ πρόναον καὶ τὰ ἐν] αὐτοῖς πάντα κοσ[μ]ήσα[ς] εὐνοροση[. . .] μωματ[ι]--- | [--- αὐ]τοῦ. I cannot make head or tail of the concluding words, unless we may suppose κοσ[μ]ήσα[ς], τὴν ὄροφην [τῶ κομ]μώματι [δια- ποικίλας κ.τ.λ.] or the like. A fragment found to the left of the first block is inscribed ANO with Ç! beneath it: this might be a portion of [Τραϊ]ανοῦ and [ἐπιτροπεύοντος] τ[ρο]ῦ. Another architectural block (2·50^m long, 0·49^m high, 0·90^m deep) bears the central part of a second inscription: [--- τ]οῦ προγεγραμμένου [---] | [---] ἐπὶ Τίτου Φλαυίου Τιτ[ι]ανοῦ ---].

A. Salač in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlv. 166—176 ('*Zeus Kasios en Égypte*'), not only improves on Clédat's reading of the temple-dedication, but also contrives to throw a good deal of light on its occasion and significance. Hadrian came to Pelousion after his journey in Arabia (Spart. *v. Hadr.* 14. 4), that is, in 130 A.D. (W. Weber *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus* Leipzig 1907 p. 246). By the fall of the thunderbolt on the Syrian Mt Kasion (*supra* p. 982 n. o) he had already been designated as the favourite of Zeus Κάσιος (*supra* p. 22 ff.)—an honour comparable with the adoption of Alexander the Great by Zeus Ἀμμων. Hence the foundation of a temple of Zeus Κάσιος at Pelousion would glorify the emperor as well as the god (W. Weber *op. cit.* p. 235 f.).

Salač *loc. cit.* further contends that the cult-statue of Zeus Κάσιος at Pelousion, a youthful figure holding a pomegranate (Ach. Tat. 3. 6 ἔστι δ' ἐν τῷ Πηλουσίῳ Διὸς ἱερὸν ἀγαλμα Κασίου· τὸ δ' ἀγαλμα νεανίσκος, Ἀπόλλωνι μᾶλλον ἑοικώς· οὕτω γὰρ ἡλικίας εἶχε· προβέβληται δὲ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἔχει ῥοῖαν ἐπ' αὐτῇ· τῆς δὲ ῥοῖας ὁ λόγος μυστικός. προσευξάμενοι δὴ τῷ θεῷ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Κλεινίου καὶ τοῦ Σατύρου σύμβολον ἐξαιτήσαντες (καὶ γὰρ ἔλεγον μαντικὸν εἶναι τὸν θεόν) περιήγειμεν τὸν νέον. κατὰ δὲ τὸν ὀπισθοδόμον ὄρωμεν εἰκόνα διπλῆν· καὶ ὁ γραφεὺς ἐνεγέγραπτο· Εὐάνθης μὲν ὁ γραφεὺς, ἡ δ' εἰκὼν Ἀνδρομέδα καὶ Προμηθεύς, κ.τ.λ., 8 ἐξῆς δὲ τὸ τοῦ Προμηθεύς ἐγγεγόνει. κ.τ.λ.), was modelled upon a previously existing cult-statue of Harpokrates, the youthful Horos. This contention is strongly supported by numismatic evidence. In fact, a coin of Pelousion, struck by Trajan, actually shows Harpokrates standing with a sceptre in his left hand and a pomegranate in his right, towards which a little Pan stretches out his hands (G. Dattari *Numi Augg. Alexandrini* Cairo 1901 i. 418 no. 6345 pl. 34). Other coins of the same town, struck by Hadrian in 126/7 A.D., have *obv.* head of the emperor to right, laureate; *rev.* head of Harpokrates to right, wearing the *hem-hem* crown and fillet (V. Langlois *Numismatique des nomes d'Égypte sous l'administration romaine* Paris 1852 p. 39 no. 69 (wrongly described) pl. 3, 1, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* etc. p. 351 nos. 44 and 45), or *rev.* a pomegranate (Langlois *op. cit.* p. 39 no. 70, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* etc. p. 351 no. 46), while coins of Alexandria, struck by Hadrian in 137/8 A.D., have *obv.* head of the emperor to right, laureate, with *paludamentum* over shoulder; *rev.* bust of Harpokrates of Pelousion to right, wearing *hem-hem* crown, with *himntion* over left shoulder and pomegranate in front (*ib.* p. 90 nos. 764 pl. 17 and 765, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 457 no. 391). An Egyptian connexion is again presupposed by the statement that Malkandros king of Byblos had a son Palaistinos or Pelousios, who was nurtured by Isis and gave his name to the town that she founded (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 17. Skyl. *per.* 106 makes Pelousios come ἐπὶ τὸ Κάσιον; Epiphan. *ancor.* 106 (i. 209, 30 Dindorf) makes Kasios worshipped παρὰ Πηλουσιώταις).

But, granting this Egyptian background, we have yet to explain why Zeus in particular was chosen as the successor of the youthful Horos. And here I should conjecture that we must take into account the influence of Crete, where a youthful Zeus had long been recognised. It is noteworthy that, whereas the nursling of Isis is called Horos by Diod. 1. 25 and Pelousios by Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 17, he is described as Diktys by Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 8. The name, whatever its origin (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1283 n. 4), recalls the Cretan Diktynna and Mt Dikte and the infant Zeus (*supra* p. 927). It may be objected that Diktys is not expressly associated with Pelousion. But he is expressly associated with the Egyptian taboo on onions (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 8 τὸ γὰρ ἐμπροσθεῖν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἀπολέσθαι τὸν τῆς Ἰσιδος τρόφιμον Δικτυν τῶν κρομμύων ἐπιδραττέμενον ἐσχάτως ἀπίθανον· οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς ἀφοσιοῦνται καὶ δυσχεραλνοῦσι τὸ κρόμμυον παραφυλάττοντες, ὅτι τῆς σελήνης φθινοῦσης μόνον εὐτροφεῖν τοῦτο καὶ τεθληναὶ πέφυκεν. ἔστι δὲ πρόσφορον οὕτε ἀγνεύουσιν οὐτε ἐορτάζουσι, τοῖς μὲν ὅτι διψῆν, τοῖς δὲ ὅτι δακρύειν ποιεῖ τοὺς προσφερομένους), and that taboo (as to which see the references collected by J. E. B. Mayor on Iuv. 15. 9) was specially characteristic of Pelousion (Plout. *comm. in Hes. frag.* 11. 52 Dübner *ap. Gell.* 20. 8. 7 'id etiam,' inquit, 'multo mirandum est magis, quod apud Plutarchum in quarto in Hesiodum commentario legi: "cepetum revirescit et congerminat decedente luna, contra autem inarescit adolescente. eam causam esse dicunt sacerdotes Aegyptii, cur Pelusiotae cepe non edint, quia solum olerum omnium contra lunae augmenta atque

Uncertain locality

Mount Hymnarion¹.

damna vices minuendi et augendi habeat contrarias," Loukian. *Iup. trag.* 42 ἰδία δὲ Μερφίταις μὲν ὁ βοῖς θεός, Πηλουσιώταις δὲ κρῆμμον, καὶ ἄλλοις ἱβίς ἢ κροκόδειλος, καὶ ἄλλοις κυνοκέφαλος ἢ αἰλουρος ἢ πίθηκος, Hieron. *comm. in Isa. proph.* 13 (xxiv). 450 C—D (Migne) non quo simulacra gentium in praedam bestiarum et iumentorum exposita sint; sed quo religio nationum simulacra sint bestiarum et brutorum animantium, quae maxime in Aegypto divino cultui consecrata sunt... nam et pleraque oppida eorum ex bestiis et iumentis habent nomina, Κύνων a cane, Λέων a leone, Θμοῦις lingua Aegyptia ab hirco, Λύκων a lupo, ut taceam de formidoloso et horribili caepe, et crepitu ventris inflati, quae Pelusiaca religio est, Hieron. *adv. Iovinian.* 2. 7 (xxiii). 296 B (Migne) coge Aegyptium ut ovium lacte vescatur; impelle, si vales, Pelusioten ut manducet caepe). Indeed we are told by Sextus Empiricus that no devotee of Zeus Κάσιος in that town would eat an onion (Sext. *Pyrrhon. hyp.* 3. 24. 224 κρῆμμον δὲ οὐκ ἂν τις προσενέγκαιτο τῶν καθιερουμένων τῷ κατὰ Πηλοῦσιον Κασίῳ Διί, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἱερεὺς τῆς κατὰ Λιβύην Ἀφροδίτης σκοροδίου γεύσεται ἂν. ἀπέχονται δὲ ἐν μὲν ἱεροῖς μίνθης, ἐν οἷς δὲ ἡδυόσμου, ἐν οἷς δὲ σελίνου). Sextus' phrase τῶν καθιερουμένων τῷ...Κασίῳ Διί coupled with that of Achilles Tatios (*supra*) τῆς δὲ βοῖας ὁ λόγος μυστικός may fairly be taken to imply that Zeus Κάσιος had mystic rites of initiation—another point of contact with the Cretan Zeus (*supra* i. 648 ff., 663 ff.).

U. Wilcken in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* 1901 i. 555 draws attention to a letter, written from Pelousion by an unskilled hand at some uncertain date (? s. ii A.D.), found in the *Fayoum*, and now preserved at Berlin, in which mention is made of Zeus Κάσιος (Zereklī in *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin* herausg. von der Generalverwaltung: Griechische Urkunden no. 827 (P. 7150), 1 ff. Ζοῦς Ἀπ[ολ]λιναρίῳ τῷ ἀδελ[φ]ῷ χα[ρ]μν. τὸ προσκύνημά | σου παρὰ τῷ Διί τῷ Κασίῳ. γεινώσκω σε θέλω ὅτι εὐρηκα τὴν γυναῖκα <κα> τοῦ Ἀχαρίας (?) | κα[?] δέδωκα αὐτῇ τὰ γεγραμμένα πάντα κ.τ.λ. addressed on the back ἀπό(δος) Ἀπολιναρίῳ ἀπὸ Πετρωλίου δραμιδαρίου ἀπὸ Πηλουσίου). A circular bronze stamp with long handle in the Leyden Museum shows an Egyptian head-dress, consisting of three bunches of plants with a disk on each, and is inscribed Διὸς Κασίου, Ἀθηνῶν Ἀππιανού ε[...]. (C. Leemans *Description raisonnée des monuments Égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas, à Leide* Leide 1840 p. 111 no. 342, *id. Animadversiones in Musei Antiquarii Lugduno-Batavi inscriptiones Graecae et Latinae* Lugduni Batavorum 1842 p. 28, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 7044 b, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 973 'Bronzespiegel' (!), *Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1104 n. 1 'Gemme' (!)).

W. W. Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1878 ii. 243 infers from Eriphan. *loc. cit.* (Κάσιος δὲ ὁ ναύκληρος παρὰ Πηλουσιώταις (sc. τιμᾶται)) that Zeus Κάσιος was worshipped by sea-faring men. On which Frau Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2266 remarks: 'Daher darf wohl mit dem pelusischen Kulte ein Fund bei Palos in Spanien in Verbindung gesetzt werden; im Meere wurden antike Bleianker aufgefischt mit hebräischen, lateinischen und zwei griechischen Inschriften; die eine galt Aphrodite σώζουσα, die andere Ζεὺς Κάσιος σωζ<ων> (die Ergänzung der zwei letzten Buchstaben unsicher), Boletin d. l. Real Ac. d. Historia 1906, XLVIII 157 f.'

Baudissin *op. cit.* ii. 240 was inclined to derive the Pelusiac from the Syrian cult of Zeus Κάσιος, though he added: 'Es ist aber nicht unmöglich, dass der Dienst des Kasios ein *altsemitischer* war, welchen verschiedene semitische Völker aus der gemeinsamen Heimat herübernahmen.' Frau Adler *loc. cit.* adopts the latter view, 'dass beide Kulte auf gemeinsame, ursemitische Wurzel zurückzuführen sind.' But Salač in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvi. 180, 188 definitely returns to the former view: 'En somme, le culte de Zeus Κάσιος paraît d'origine syrienne; le culte du Mons Casius égyptien semble dérivé de la Syrie.'

¹ Hesych. *s.v.* Ἵνναρεὺς· Ζεὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἵνναρίῳ ὄρους, ἕννης· ἀξ ἀργία, ἕννη· ἀξ. καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀρότρου σιδήριον τὸ τέμνον τὴν γῆν <ἕννη>. καὶ ἕννης ὁμοίως, ἕννης· πῶλος ὁ ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ νοσήσας, πρὶν κνηθῆναι <ἕννης>. *Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 824 n. 7 concludes that Zeus Ἵνναρεὺς (*sic*) derived his appellative from the goat.

APPENDIX E.

THE KYKLOPS IN FOLK-TALES.

Tales resembling that of Polyphemos have, during the last seventy years, been collected and discussed by a whole series of eminent folklorists. W. Grimm (1857)¹, C. Nyrop (1881)², G. Krek (1887)³, L. Laistner (1889)⁴, G. Polívka (1898, 1918)⁵, N. G. Polites (1904)⁶, P. Sébillot (1904)⁷, W. R. Halliday (1916)⁸, F. Settegast (1917)⁹, and Sir J. G. Frazer (1921)¹⁰ have all said their say, most of them making valuable contributions to the subject. But the palm must be awarded to O. Hackman (1904)¹¹, who in an exemplary monograph has not merely summarised two hundred and twenty-one variants, but has also added a lucid and logical study of their contents.

Hackman arranges the tales in three groups—A, B, and C. Group A (124 variants) commonly involves two episodes and frequently adds a third :

- i The blinding of the giant, which is contrived
 - either (a) during his sleep by means of a red-hot stake, iron spit, knife, sword, etc. plunged into his one eye,
 - or (β) as a pretended cure for his defective sight by means of molten tin, lead, oil, pitch, boiling water, etc. poured into his eye.

The former alternative, (a), prevails in southern and western Europe ; the latter, (β), in northern and eastern Europe. It is probable that (β) was not a modification of (a), but had a separate and independent origin¹².

¹ W. Grimm 'Die Sage von Polyphem' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1857* Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 1—30 (= *Kleinere Schriften* Gütersloh 1887 iv. 428—462). W. W. Merry in Appendix ii 'On some various forms of the legend of the blinded Cyclops' to his edition of the *Odyssey* Oxford 1886 i.² 550—554 summarises nine tales after J. F. Lauer *Homeric Studies* Berlin 1851 p. 319 ff. and W. Grimm *loc. cit.*

² C. Nyrop 'Sagnet om Odysseus og Polyphem' in the *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi* 1881 v. 216—255.

³ G. Krek *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*² Graz 1887 pp. 665—759.

⁴ L. Laistner 'Polyphem' in his *Das Rätsel der Sphinx* Berlin 1889 ii. 1—168.

⁵ G. Polívka 'Nachträge zur Polyphem Sage' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1898 i. 305—336, 378, J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1918 iii. 374—378.

⁶ N. G. Polites *Παράδοσις* Athens 1904 ii. 1338—1342 (n. on no. 624).

⁷ P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 434 f.

⁸ W. R. Halliday in R. M. Dawkins *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* Cambridge 1916 p. 217.

⁹ F. Settegast *Das Polyphemmärchen in altfranzösischen Gedichten*, eine folkloristisch-literargeschichtliche Untersuchung Leipzig 1917 pp. 1—167. Review by J. Bolte in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1917 xxvii. 275 f.

¹⁰ Sir J. G. Frazer in Appendix xiii 'Ulysses and Polyphemus' to his edition of Apollodoros London 1921 ii. 404—455 gives an admirable selection of thirty-six variants—quite enough, as he remarks, 'to illustrate the wide diffusion of the tale and the general similarity of the versions.'

¹¹ O. Hackman *Die Polyphem Sage in der Volksüberlieferung* Helsingfors 1904 pp. 1—241. Review by J. Bolte in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1905 xv. 460 f. Review by A. van Gennep 'La Légende de Polyphème' reprinted in his *Religions, Mœurs et Légendes* Paris 1908 i. 155—164.

¹² O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 166 f.

- ii The escape of the hero, who gets off either (α) by clinging under a sheep, goat, ox, etc., or more often (β) by putting on a sheep-skin, goat-skin, ox-hide, etc. Of these alternatives (α), which implies gigantic sheep, was earlier than (β), which makes less demand on the hearer's credulity.
- iii The attempt of the giant to recapture the hero by flinging after him a magical ring (Dolopathos, Italy, Argyllshire, Basses-Pyrénées, Siebenbürgen, Bohemia), a golden staff (Poland, Servia), an axe with a golden or silver haft (Russia, Lithuania, Wotyaks), a sabre (Great Russia), a copper coin (Little Russia), a white stone (Altai Mts.). This episode, which probably formed part of the original tale¹, bulks big in Russia, Galicia, Italy, and Basses-Pyrénées, but does not occur at all in Greece.

Group B (50 variants) is marked by another episode :

- iv The hero escapes detection by giving his name as 'Self' or 'Myself,' rarely as 'Nobody' (*Odyssey*, Anjou)². This *motif* belonged originally to a distinct tale, current in northern and central Europe, which told how a man injured an elfish creature of some sort—mermaid (Sweden), water-nixie (Germany), wood-nymph (Sweden), fairy (France), kobold (Rügen), dwarf (Germany), or devil (eastern Europe)—commonly by means of fire or something hot, and then eluded the vengeance of his victim's companions by giving his name as 'Myself' or the like³.

Group C (47 variants) is a late combination of i (β), the blinding of the giant by way of cure, with iv, the name-trick. It is found only in Finland, Lettland, and Esthonia⁴.

It will be seen from this analysis that the story of Polyphemos, as related by Homer, includes episode i, the blinding of the giant, in its south-European form, and episode ii, the escape of the hero, in its earlier and more miraculous aspect, but omits episode iii, that of the magical ring, altogether⁵, substituting for it episode iv, the originally alien *motif* of the name. Homer, in short, picks and chooses. He may tolerate a monstrous ram, but he omits mere magic, and prefers to insert a conspicuous example of human cunning.

As regards the vexed question of ultimate significance Hackman, after admitting that almost all investigators of the tale (Grimm, Krek, Jubainville, Cerquand, etc.) have taken the single eye of Polyphemos to be the sun⁶, reaches the cautious conclusion : 'Das Stirnauge des Riesen, das jedenfalls schon der Grundform angehört hat, war wohl ursprünglich ein die Sonne symbolisirendes Attribut des Himmels- oder Sonnengottes. Doch hat diese frühzeitig in Vergessenheit geratene mythologische Bedeutung des Stirnages nichts mit der Sage im Übrigen zu tun.'⁷

¹ *Id. ib.* p. 177 ff.

² *Id. ib.* p. 204.

³ *Id. ib.* p. 189 ff.

⁴ *Id. ib.* p. 206 ff.

⁵ Unless indeed we may suppose that a trace of the ring-throwing subsists in the stone-throwing of Polyphemos (A. B. C.). C. Nyrop *loc. cit.* p. 218 suggests *e contra* that the ring-episode is itself an expansion of the Homeric stone-throwing—a view rejected by Hackman *op. cit.* p. 177 n. 1.

⁶ *Id. ib.* pp. 3 ff., 217 f.

⁷ *Id. ib.* p. 221 (cp. also p. 218).

With this decision I find myself in substantial agreement. I have already urged, not only that the Kyklops' eye stood for the sun in heaven¹, but also that the Kyklops himself was in the far past a sky-god like Zeus². Moreover I have ventured to compare Odysseus, who plunged a heated bar into the Kyklops' eye, with Prometheus, who thrust a torch into the solar wheel³. The comparison might be further strengthened. It now appears that an integral part of the Kyklops-tale was the giant's gift to the hero of a magical ring⁴. This recalls the curious legend that Zeus presented Prometheus with a ring fashioned out of his chains⁵. In Germanic belief, too, the one-eyed Wodan possessed a gold ring from which every ninth night dripped eight other rings of equal weight⁶. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the golden rings thrown or dropped by the sky-god were at first but a naïve expression for the daily movement of the solar disk. Nevertheless I concur with Hackman's opinion that the mythological significance of these one-eyed beings had passed into oblivion long before Homer told his immortal tale. *A fortiori* it would be fatuous to seek any such hidden meaning in the modern *Märchen*. I append a few samples from Greece and Italy.

Versions from the Greek area are all more or less defective. At most they preserve episode i (α) together with its sequel ii (α) or ii (β). That is the case with a folk-tale from Athens and with another from Kappadokia :

(1) The Kyklops in a Folk-tale from Athens⁷.

Once upon a time there was a king, whose daughter was so lovely that, if—

‘She bade the sun, he would stand still,
The morning star, he 'ld twinkle.’

All the princes were eager to marry her. But she refused each one who proffered his love : only the handsomest of them, who had been blessed by his mother, touched her heart at all. In the end she agreed to wed him who should bring her the golden wand of the Famous Drakos⁸. The Famous⁹ Drakos was the strongest and fiercest of all the Drakoi ; he had one eye in his forehead, which remained open even when he was asleep, so that none could approach him without being eaten by him. His golden wand, if leant against a door, made it at once fly open. The princes on hearing the terms of betrothal shook with terror. But the handsome prince resolved to obtain the golden wand, or

¹ *Supra* i. 313, 323, 462.

² *Supra* i. 320.

³ *Supra* i. 325 ff.

⁴ *Supra* p. 989 n. 1.

⁵ *Supra* i. 329 n. o.

⁶ *Supra* p. 62 n. 1.

⁷ Text in the *Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἐταιρίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος* Athens 1883 i. 147 ff. Translation (here condensed) in L. M. J. Garnett—J. S. Stuart-Glennie *Greek Folk Poesy* London 1896 ii. 80—87, 444 f. Cp. a very similar tale from Attike in G. Drosinis *Land und Leute in Nord-Euböa* trans. A. Boltz Leipzig 1884 p. 170 ff. (‘Die Polyphem-Sage in modern hellenischer Gestalt aus den “Athenischen Märchen” von Frä. Maria Kampúroglu’) = Hackman *op. cit.* p. 9 f. no. 1 = Sir J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 439 f. no. 24.

⁸ On the *Δράκος* or *Δράκοντας* of the modern Greek see B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 190—195, N. G. Polites *Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων* Athens 1871 i. 154—172 (‘*Δράκοντες*’), *id.* *Παραδόσεις* Athens 1904 i. 219—228 (‘*Δράκοι*’), ii. 990—1002, J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 pp. 280—283, W. R. Halliday in R. M. Dawkins *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* Cambridge 1916 pp. 219, 225 ff.

⁹ With his fixed epithet ‘Famous’ cp. the Homeric *Πολύφημος*.

die in the attempt. So he took the long road, and walked on till he was tired. He sat down under a tree and fell asleep. When he woke, he saw an old woman sifting flour into a great baking-pan. But the flour dropped on to the ground, not into the pan; for the old woman was blind. The prince sifted the flour for her, put it into her sack, and offered to help her carry it. Pleased with his kindness, she asked what she could do for him in return. He begged her blessing and told her of his quest. 'Listen, my son,' said the old woman: 'thou hast undertaken a hard task, but thy parents' blessing and mine will give thee courage. Go straight along this road to a place where there is much grass, for no man has ever trodden it. Beyond the rising ground to which it leads thou wilt see mountains and ravines; and thence thou wilt descry afar off a great cavern. Draw near; and, if thou hear sounds of snoring, thou wilt know that the Drakos is asleep within. Then remain at a distance till the door of the cavern opens; for he has his flocks inside, and puts in front a great rock, which no man can move. Wait till the Drakos drives out his flock, and then find means to hide thyself in the cavern. When he comes back to sleep and folds his flocks and closes the cavern again, then listen and from the snoring thou wilt know that he is no longer awake. Come down from thy hiding-place and step up to him. Tied to his beard is a golden key. Take these scissors that I give thee, and with them cut the beard and the key together. Then, when he opens the cavern, do thou too go out. Having escaped, take once more the grass-grown road. There thou wilt see a great palace. Lean the key against the door of the palace, and it will open to thee. Upstairs in a great chamber there will be a horse and a dog: before the horse are bones to eat; before the dog is straw. Change them without a word, giving the bones to the dog; and the rest thou wilt learn later from the horse.' The prince thanked the old woman, gave her some sequins, and set off. He found the cavern, but heard no snoring. He peeped in, and no one was there. But, seeing within a great caldron full of milk and a bannock as big as a mill-stone, he cut a piece of the bannock, dipped it in the milk, and ate till his hunger was satisfied. Afterwards he espied a hollow high up in the rock, climbed up, and got in. A little later he heard sheep-bells, and concluded that the Drakos was returning with his flocks. So he drew back in his hiding-place, and prayed God to help him. The Drakos entered, pulled to the rock that closed the cavern, and sat down to eat; but found that neither the milk nor the bannock satisfied him as usual. Now the old woman had given the prince a powder to throw into the *raki*¹ jar, so that the Drakos might sleep heavily. When, therefore, the Drakos had finished his meal and stirred the fire, he was soon snoring. The prince came softly down, cut the hairs, took the key, and climbed up again into his hiding-place. But, realising that the Drakos, when he found his key gone, would look for it, he got down and took a long pole, sharpened it, put it in the fire and, as soon as it was red-hot, stuck it into the eye of the Drakos. He, being blinded, began to roar. The other Drakoi came running to see what was the matter with their chief. But they could not remove the rock; and, when they heard his cries, they concluded that he was drunk and went home. Then the Drakos pushed away the stone, sat at the mouth of the cave, and began to fondle and let out his sheep one by one. There was one big, woolly, ram; and the prince placed himself on his stomach under the wool, and, while the Drakos was fondling it, managed to get out of the cave. Following the old woman's advice, he found the palace, unlocked its door with his key, and saw upstairs a splendid horse fastened with chains and a fine big dog. He

¹ A spirit made from grapes (ράξ, βαγίζω) and flavoured with aniseed.

duly gave the horse's pile of bones to the dog and the dog's heap of straw to the horse. Whereupon they both ate, and then began to talk. The prince related his adventures to them. And they informed him that the old woman was the Good Fate, blinded by the other Fates for her goodness and destined never to recover her sight till she found somebody to love and pity her. They further showed him a chamber containing two beautiful captive princesses, whom he was to set free. The youth did so; and the princesses gave him the golden wand as his reward. He next loosed the horse and the dog by leaning the wand against them. Then he led the princesses downstairs, placed them on the horse, and took the dog also. But, as he was leaving the palace, the horse and the dog said: 'Look out of the window and see all those different animals. They were once handsome princes, who went out hunting, found this palace door open, and stepped inside. The Drakos saw them and, sprinkling them with a liquid, transformed them into various animals. Now touch them lightly on their backs with the wand, and they will become as they were before.' The prince did as he was bidden; and the victims of the Drakos, thus restored to human shape, embraced their deliverer and set out for their respective palaces. The prince with the horse and the dog, after locking the Drakos' palace, returned the two princesses to their parents. He also changed the horse and the dog into two princes, who explained that they, in attempting to rescue the princesses of their choice from the Drakos, had been turned into animals by him, but now begged to become the king's sons-in-law. The king bestowed his daughters upon them, and escorted the prince that had saved them all to the door of the princess of whom he was enamoured. She lay dying of grief for his absence, and all the doors of her palace were shut in token of mourning. The prince at once leant the golden wand against each door in turn, reached the princess, and presented her with the wand. The princess embraced him, and they were married with music, drums, and great rejoicings.

(2) *The Kyklops in a Folk-tale from Pharasa in Kappadokia*¹.

'In a time of old there was a priest. He went to find a goat. He went to a village. There was another priest. He said: "Where are you going?" The priest said: "I am going to find a goat." He said: "Let me come too, that I also may get a goat." They rose up. They went to another village. There was there another priest. And the three of them went to another village. They found another priest. They took that priest also (with them). They went on. They became seven priests. Whilst they were on their way to a village, there was a woman. She was collecting wood. There was also a Tepekosis². The Tepekosis hastened (and) seized the seven priests (and) carried them to his house. In the evening he cooked one priest. He ate him. He was fat. He ate him. He got drunk. The six priests rose up. They heated the spit. They drove it into the Tepekosis' eye. They blinded the Tepekosis. They went into the

¹ I am indebted for this tale to the kindness of my friend Prof. R. M. Dawkins, who took it down at Pharasa in the Antitauros district of Kappadokia (July 23-25, 1911) from the mouth of an urchin named Thomás Stephánu and dictated the above rendering to me (Nov. 21, 1911). The original is in the local dialect of Greek with some admixture of Turkish words. Text and translation in R. M. Dawkins *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* Cambridge 1916 p. 550 f. no. 25 (cp. W. R. Halliday *ib.* p. 217) = Sir J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 438 f. no. 23.

² *Tepe* means 'hill' and here, presumably, 'head.' *Koz* is for *güz*, 'eye.' The name, therefore, appears to be 'Head-eye' or 'Eye-in-head'—a Turkish *Kyklops*.

stable. The Tepekozis had seven hundred sheep. They entered the stable. They flayed six sheep. They left the heads and the tails (with the skins). They crawled into the skins. In the morning the Tepekozis rose up. He drove out the sheep. He took them by the head and by the tail. He drove out the seven hundred sheep. He shut the doors¹. He went inside. He looked for the six priests. He could not find them. He found the six sheep killed. The six priests took the seven hundred sheep. They went to their houses. They gave also a hundred sheep to the wife of the priest whom the Tepekozis had eaten. The woman said: "Where is my priest?" They said: "He has stopped behind to make further gains." And the six priests took a hundred sheep apiece. They went to their houses. They ate. They drank. They attained their destinies.²

More often we meet with single episodes of the Kyklops-tale isolated from their proper context and worked into other narratives. For example, episode i (a), the blinding of the giant with a red-hot spit or the like, was a thrilling incident suitable to a variety of situations and sure to please. It occurs alone on the Greek mainland:

(3) The Blinding of the Kyklops in a Folk-tale from Gortynia².

'One of us men in olden days wanted to travel through the whole world. In a certain region he found men who were very tall but had only one eye apiece. The wife of a One-eye, in whose house he lodged, hid him in the evening; for in the daytime her husband was not there—he was a bad character and ate men. When her husband came home and entered the house, he told her that he smelt something; but his wife said it was nothing at all. The One-eye didn't believe her. He got up, groped about, found the man, and wanted to eat him. He put him in his apron along with his supper. But when he tasted his bread, without noticing, for his thoughts were elsewhere, he grasped the man too in the hollow of his hand and thrust him into his mouth. But he stuck in a hole of his tooth, without the tooth getting a real grip on him. After he had pulled him out he let him live, to please his wife, since he was hardly worth eating. But next day he changed his mind and again wanted to eat him. His wife then made her husband drunk, got the stranger out secretly and sent him packing. But, before the wife sent him off, he thrust a big burning coal into the eye of the drunken One-eye and blinded him. And so he punished the bad character, who could no longer see to eat men. When he left, the wife asked his name, and he said: "They call me World-traveller"³; for he had seen and learnt much of the world.'

¹ *θύρε*, plural of *θύρι*: cp. *Od.* 9. 240, 313, 340 *θυρεδν μέγαν*.

² Text in N. G. Politēs *Παραδόσεις* Athens 1904 i. 70 f. no. 134 'Ο μονομάτης, ii. 752 ff. (recorded at Lasta in the deme Mylaon in Gortynia, a district of the Morea). Translation by K. Dieterich in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1905 xv. 381 = Sir J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 441 no. 26. I follow Dieterich.

At Arachova on Mt Parnassos the name *Μονόματοι* (or *Μονόματοι*) is given to a race of wild and impious men believed to inhabit a foreign land of unknown situation and to have but a single eye in their forehead. The same expression is applied to people, who in character and behaviour resemble these mythical savages (B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 203). For instance, in Akarnania the natives of Xeromeros detest the uncivilised and unsociable mountaineers of Baltos and speak of them as *μονομάται*, 'one-eyed' monsters (L. Heuzey *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie* Paris 1860 p. 259).

³ "Μέ λένε Κοσμοτριγυριστή." Cp. *Od.* i. 1 ff.

The same *motif* is woven into tales of different texture from Zakynthos and Kypros :

(4) The Blinding of the Kyklops in a Folk-tale from Zakynthos¹.

Once upon a time there was a certain king's daughter. Three days after her birth came the Fates, who declared that during the fifteenth year of her life she must hide herself from the sun, on pain of becoming a lizard, falling into the sea, and remaining there for five months. As the destined time drew near, the maid saddened and her father tried to divert his thoughts by travelling. Before he set out on his journey he asked his daughter what he could do for her. She begged him to contract a marriage on her behalf with the Giant of the Mountain². The king then went abroad and reached at last the Giant's town, where he heard say that the Giant meant to marry the fairest maiden in the world. He also made friends with the barber that clipped the Giant's beard and enjoyed the Giant's confidence. The Giant himself proved to be a one-eyed monster, who wore seven veils over his face : he lived with many others of his kind in a hollow mountain, where they dug for treasure and hewed out vast building-stones for their houses. Prompted by the barber, the king claimed to be the Giant's son, and, in proof of his assertion, let the giant strike him with a huge pole : he evaded the blow by receiving it on a big leather bag³. He then removed the Giant's veils, and was thanked for his pains. When he broached the subject of his errand, the Giant took him into a chamber apart, showed him many paintings of maidens, and asked whether his daughter resembled any of them. The king replied that these were not worthy even to wash his daughter's feet. The Giant next drew from his breast a miniature, and repeated his question. The king again answered that his daughter's chamber-maid looked like that. So the Giant agreed to wed the king's daughter, if she was as beautiful as her father declared⁴. The king went home and reported his success. His daughter made herself ready, and, in order to avoid the sun-light, came in a litter with her nurse and her nurse's daughter. But, when they were on board ship nearing the coast, the nurse dropped a costly kerchief and begged the princess to have the door of the litter opened that she might recover it. Here-

¹ Text unpublished. Translation (here summarised) in B. Schmidt *Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder* Leipzig 1877 pp. 98—104 no. 13 ('Der Riese vom Berge'), 230 f. = Hackman *op. cit.* p. 11 f. no. 3. The tale is a variant of a type first described by R. Köhler in L. Gonzenbach *Sicilianische Märchen* Leipzig 1870 ii. 225 ff. as 'das M. von dem Bruder und seiner schönen Schwester' and later studied in detail by P. Arfert *Das Motiv von der unterschobenen Braut in der internationalen Erzählungs-literatur* Rostock 1897 : see J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1913 i. 79 ff., 1918 iii. 85 ff.

² τὸν ἑλγαντα τοῦ βουνῶ. In Zakynthos giants, with a long beard on their chin and a single eye that sparkles like fire in their forehead, are said to live underground, where they quarry huge stones for building towers and cause the earthquakes that are so frequent in this island. They are the children of a devil and a *Lámmissa* (Lamia) or a witch ; and their wives spin yarn with spindles of such monstrous size and weight that once, when the giants made war on a certain king, their wives flung these spindles at the enemy and so slew thousands (B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 200 f.).

³ For a similar incident see 'The Scab-pate,' a folk-tale from Astypalaia (J. Pio ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ ΠΑΡΑΜΥΘΙΑ *Contes populaires grecs* Copenhagen 1879 p. 162 f., E. M. Geldart *Folk-Lore of Modern Greece* London 1884 p. 157).

⁴ A similar situation occurs in a folk-tale from Epeiros (J. Pio *op. cit.* p. 17, E. M. Geldart *op. cit.* p. 37 f. 'The Golden Wand').

upon the sun shone in, and the princess, transformed at once into a lizard, fell into the sea. The nurse, having thus gained her end, substituted her own daughter for the princess. The Giant of the Mountain came out to meet them, riding on a high horse, with a sceptre in his right hand and a sword in his left. On opening the litter, he and the father of the bride were equally astonished to find an ugly wench instead of a beautiful princess. But, as the nurse explained that in five months' time the bride would regain her good looks, the Giant received her into his mountain along with her mother, though he punished the king by making him an ostler for a term of five years. The Giant's practice was to leave the mountain at dawn and return to it in the evening. He told his young wife that she might enter all the rooms of his castle except one. Curiosity forced her to enter the forbidden apartment, where she found the mother of the giants. This portentous creature was sitting on a stool, holding in one hand a large stone set in plates of gold and in the other an iron staff. Being able to predict the future, she told the would-be queen that she would live to rue her deceit, since the real princess was yet alive and already on her track. The maid fled and told her mother, who, to secure the death of the princess, informed the Giant that his wife was ill and wished all the fish in the harbour to be burnt before her eyes. This was done; but the princess had already escaped the water and been restored to her former shape. She found her father, who brought her to the Giant. The mother of the giants bade her son treat the nurse's daughter as the nurse's daughter had been minded to treat the princess; and the false bride was accordingly burnt. The Giant then married the princess and sent her father home a free man. Some months later the giant began to ill-treat his wife, because she was more friendly with his mother than he cared to be. The Giant's wife therefore fled on a ship to her former home. The Giant himself followed her, and bribed a goldsmith to shut him in a large golden coffer and sell him as a saint's relic to the king's daughter. The king's daughter bought the coffer, and proceeded to say her prayers before it. But, while thus engaged, she heard a slight noise, *zicki zicki*, and detected the Giant within. She shrieked aloud. Soldiers came up, ran a red-hot spit through the key-hole of the coffer, and so bored out the eye of the Giant inside it¹. They then took him and struck him on the ankle-bones till he died.

(5) The Three-eyed Ogre in a Folk-tale from Kypros².

A woodcutter's eldest daughter once married a passing merchant, who gave her a hundred and one keys. She might open a hundred chambers in his house, but not the one over. For all that, she opened it. Looking from its window she saw a ghastly sight. First, a corpse was borne out to burial without friends or mourners. Then, her husband appeared among the tombs, made himself a head as big as a sieve, three eyes, enormously long arms and hideous nails. With

¹ In a folk-tale from Syra (E. M. Geldart *op. cit.* p. 16 f. 'The two brothers and the forty-nine dragons') the hero kills the Drakoi by thrusting red-hot spits through the chests in which they are concealed.

² Text in A. Sakellarios *Tà Κυπριακά* Athens 1868 iii. 136 ff. Translation (here condensed) in É. Legrand *Recueil de contes populaires grecs* Paris 1881 pp. xiv, 115—131 'Le Trimmatos ou l'ogre aux trois yeux.' The tale falls under the thirtieth or 'Bluebeard'-formula of J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 56, on which see T. F. Crane *Italian Popular Tales* London 1885 p. 77 ff. and J. Bolte—G. Polivka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1913 i. 13 ff., 370 ff., and especially 398 ff.

these he dug up the dead body and devoured it. At this she fell sick of a fever. Her husband returned, and found reason to suspect her of entering the forbidden room. He transformed himself successively into her mother, her relatives, and her nurse. In this final disguise he induced her to say what she had seen. He then suddenly turned into a Trimmatos or 'Three-eyed' ogre again, and prepared to eat her for not having kept his secret. Kindling a brasier, the flames of which licked the sky, he thrust into it a spit till it became red-hot, and went to fetch his wife. She begged for two hours' respite, slipped out of the window, and besought first a carter and next a camel-driver to hide her from the Trimmatos. The camel-driver took pity on her and concealed her in a bale of cotton. Meantime the ogre had discovered her escape. Starting in pursuit, he soon came up with the carter, who sent him on to the camel-driver. He thrust his glowing spit into each bale belonging to the latter before he was satisfied and took his departure. The spit had wounded his wife's foot. But the camel-driver took her, still in the bale, to the king's palace and told the king her story. The royal physician cured her foot; and she showed such skill in embroidery that the king and queen chose her as their daughter-in-law. She, fearing the vengeance of the ogre, bargained that the wedding should take place at night, that a bridal chamber should be built reached by seven flights of steps, that these steps should be strewn with chick-peas, that two pits should be dug at the bottom of the lowest flight and covered with matting, and that no one should be told a word about it all. Nevertheless the matter came to the ears of the Trimmatos, who, disguised as a merchant, repaired to the palace with negroes in his sacks. His former wife saw through his disguise, and signed to the queen to ask him what wares he had brought. He replied that he had pistachio-nuts, dried apricots, and chestnuts. The bride then said that she was indisposed and would like some of these fruits. The merchant tried to put her off till the morrow; but the king's jester, who was at table, went out to sample the wares and brought back word about the negroes. These were at once put to death. The merchant, however, made his escape. The same night he took the form of a Trimmatos once more, mounted to the bridal chamber, cast the dust of a corpse on the bride-groom to make him sleep soundly, seized the bride and dragged her off to be spitted for his meal. But on the way she gave him a sudden push; he slipped on the chick-peas, and fell into the pit, where he was devoured himself by a lion and a tiger. The bride fainted on the staircase. Next morning the physician brought the happy couple to their senses again; and the subsequent festivities lasted forty days and forty nights.

Again, episode ii (β), the escape of the hero in a sheep-skin, forms part of a wonder-voyage entitled *George and the Storks*, which was related to L. Ross by a native of Psara or Ipsara, an island off the west coast of Chios:

(6) The Blind Kyklops in a Folk-tale from Psara¹.

Long, long ago there lived at Therapia near Constantinople a poor sailor, who bade three of his children—Dimitri, Michael, and George—go out into the world and seek their fortunes. So they took service with a captain and made many trips to Marseilles, Leghorn, Trieste, to Smyrna, to Alexandria, and to other Mediterranean ports. After two years they joined the crew of a fine frigate bound on a voyage of discovery. Passing through the Straits of

¹ L. Ross *Erinnerung und Mittheilungen aus Griechenland* Berlin 1863 pp. 279—298 'Georg und die Störche' = O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 10 f. no. 2 = Sir J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 440 f. no. 25. I abbreviate from Ross.

Gibraltar into the ocean beyond, they were caught by a terrible storm and driven for months before it. Their provisions were spent and they were starving. When one of their company died, the rest cut up, cooked, and ate his body. Then day by day they drew lots to determine who should be killed and eaten. Some ten days had elapsed when the lot fell on George, who had just had a happy dream of reaching shore. He persuaded his shipmates to spare him till the evening, and at midday land was sighted on the horizon. The crew, overjoyed, thanked God and St Nikolaos, and hastily rowed ashore. Here the three brothers got separated from the others, lost their way, and had to spend the night up a tree. The same thing happened on the morrow, and it was not till the morning of the third day that they got out of the wood.

On the plain beyond they saw a magnificent castle. A narrow door led into a wide courtyard, in which they found a great flock of sheep, but no trace of human beings. The castle too seemed quite unoccupied. They passed from room to room till they entered a banqueting-hall, where a feast was set out. Unable to make anybody hear, they at last sat down to eat, when suddenly through the door came a monstrous, misshapen, blind Drakos. In a voice which froze the blood in their veins he cried: 'I smell the flesh of men, I smell the flesh of men!' Pale with terror, they sprang from their seats. But the Drakos, guided by the sound, stretched out his hideous long claws and seized by the neck first Dimitri and then Michael. He dashed them to pieces on the floor. George alone escaped, being nimble, and slipped out into the courtyard. He found the little door fast-closed and the walls too high to climb. What was he to do? Terror suggested a plan. Whether it was that he had heard of the famous hero Odysseus¹, or thought of it now for himself, he drew his sharp seaman's knife, killed the biggest ram in the flock, stripped off its skin, threw the carcass into a well, wrapped himself in the skin, and attempted to creep out on all fours, as if he were a ram. Meantime the Drakos had finished his horrible meal, and came waddling down the marble steps, shouting: 'You shall not escape me, you shall make me a tasty supper!' He crossed the court to the little door, threw it open, and blocked the way with his ungainly body, leaving just room enough for one sheep to pass. Then he called his ewes one by one, milked them, and let them go through. Last came the rams, with George in their midst. He approached with fear and trembling. But the Drakos only stroked his back, praised his size and strength, and set him too at liberty.

Once safely outside, George fled to the nearest wood, wandered about in it, and on the third day reached a wide plain, where there was a large town built round a king's castle. But again all seemed empty and deserted. This time he did not venture into the castle, but lodged in an ordinary house. He had stayed there for rather more than five months, when one day he caught sight of a great army crossing the plain. He fled in alarm to a bakery and hid in the kneading-trough. Here he was discovered on the third day by the baker and taken before the king, by whom he was kindly treated. For six months he lived with the baker and helped in his work. Then one morning the inhabitants all collected on the plain, and the king despatched his people in troops to England, France, Italy, Smyrna, and the Dardanelles. Before George could ask the reason, they all went off towards a broad river at some distance from the town,

¹ It may be thought that this allusion proves the influence of the Homeric narrative. But observe that Odysseus' expedient was *not* that adopted by George. The former clung on beneath a living ram (ii (a)), the latter donned the fleece of a dead ram (ii (β)).

plunged into it, and emerged on the other side as so many bands of storks! George now woke up to the fact that this was the land of the storks. Six months later he witnessed their return. A whole cloud of them settled on the further bank of the river, dived into it, and came out on the near side as men¹. He eagerly questioned them about Therapia, and begged the king to send him thither. The king assured him that this was impossible, unless he would consent to become a stork himself. Anxious to revisit his home, George agreed. So, when spring came round, he too dived into the river of transformation, and came out as a fine stork with long red beak, white feathers, and black wings. He flew to Therapia, married a beautiful she-bird, and built his nest on the roof of his father's house. He was so tame that he was soon welcomed in, and picked up crumbs under the low table with his long beak. When his old mother stroked his head and fed him with tit-bits, he chattered his best and made a hundred grotesque gestures to show his love and gratitude. But he could not make his kinsfolk understand that he was their long-lost George. At length he resolved to play a trick upon his sister Kathinko. She had a pair of silver armlets, which she had inherited from her grandmother. Waiting his opportunity, he carried off one of these and hid it in his nest. Kathinko and her mother looked for it in vain; they never thought of the stork. Meantime summer slipped away, and the storks departed—George among them. On reaching the land of the storks he begged the king to contrive his home-coming. So some weeks later the king had a boat built, laden with food, and launched on a river which flowed behind the town. He gave George a sack full of his costliest gems, and let him drift down the strong stream. After some hours the river plunged into a *katabóthra* and flowed for many hundreds of miles through a rocky channel. This must have taken weeks, though George lost count of days and nights in the darkness. At last he saw in the distance a star, which proved to be the daylight at the end of the channel. His boat was swept out into the open, and he saw before him the town of Smyrna; in fact, he found himself on the river² which gushes out of the rocks near that town. He went into the town and secured a lodging, but returned to his boat the same evening and fetched his bag of precious stones. Next day he sold a dozen of them to some Jews for two tons of gold. With this he bought fine clothes, a number of necessaries, and a big frigate, in which he sailed for Constantinople. He cast anchor off Therapia, saluted his birthplace by firing a number of guns, and invited on board the elders of the place. They came in their best clothes, and it so chanced that George's old father brought their boat alongside. George welcomed them to his table, but insisted that the old sailor must join their company and gave him a seat next himself. He sent each man away with a handful of gold pieces, and bade them come and feast with him on the morrow, only bargaining that the old sailor should bring his family with him³. When the hour arrived, he set wine before them and told them all of his wonderful experiences. 'Among other things,' said he, 'I was once a stork, and that here in Therapia.' At this all laughed and thought it a mere joke. But George proved the truth of his words by bidding a

¹ The metamorphosis of storks into men in return for their filial piety is already noticed by Alexander of Myndos (c. 1—50 A.D.) (Ail. *de nat. an.* 3. 23 'Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Μύνδιος φησιν, ὅταν ἐς γῆρας ἀφίκωνται (sc. οἱ πελαργοί), παρελθόντας αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰς Ἰσκιανίδας νήσους ἀμβέβειν τὰ εἶδη ἐς ἀνθρώπου μορφήν, καὶ εὐσεβείας γε τῆς ἐς τοὺς γεωγαμένους ἄθλον τοῦτο ἴσχειν, κ.τ.λ. See further D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 129 and O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 196 f.

² The river Meles.

³ Perhaps a reminiscence of Gen. 42. 14 ff.

servant mount the old sailor's roof and fetch thence the armlet hidden in a stork's nest. He did so, and Kathinko recognised her trinket. Hereupon the old mother would have died of surprise, had she not been kept alive by joy at the recovery of her son. George settled in Therapia, built a fine house there, and maintained his parents in plenty. He endowed his sisters well and married them to honest men. He put up monuments to his luckless brothers and gave a donation to a church for masses to be said on their behalf. His descendants are well-to-do folk still living at Therapia and in the neighbourhood.

Lastly, episode iv, the name-trick, is the main feature of *The Three Thieves*, a very much transmogrified tale from Lesbos :

(7) The Name-trick in a Folk-tale from Lesbos¹.

'Once there was a good man whose fortune was in the sun². He went out on the hill, and saw three thieves who had killed a goat. They told him to cook it. Well, as they say, "a thief among thieves, and a liar among liars³"; so he nodded without speaking, and did as he was bid. They asked him his name, and he said 'Απατός—"Mr Self." When he had cooked the goat, he beat the three thieves soundly with the spit⁴, and they ran off howling. People asked them who did it? "Self!" said they, and got laughed at for their pains.'

An Albanian version, recorded at Piana de' Greci near Palermo, recognises two Kyklopes and gives each of them two pairs of eyes :

(8) The Kyklopes in an Albanian Folk-tale⁵.

'Once on a time there were two men travelling. Night fell upon them by the way, and it rained and thundered. Poor fellows, just think what a plight they were in! They saw a light far off and said, "Let's go and see if we can pass the night where that light is." And they went and came to the cave, for a cave it was where the light shone. They went in and saw that there were sheep and rams and two Cyclopes⁶, who had two eyes in front and two behind. The Cyclopes saw them come in and said one to the other, "Go to, here we have got something to eat." And they proposed to eat the two men. The poor fellows stayed there two days; then the Cyclopes felt the back of their necks and said, "Good! We'll eat one of them to-morrow." Meantime they made them eat to fatten them. For in the evening they would take a sheep and a ram, roast them on spits over the fire, and compel the poor wretches to devour them, entrails and all, just to fatten them. And every now and then they would feel the back of their necks, and one would say to the other, "They're getting on very well!" But the two men said to each other by words or signs, "Let us see whether we can escape." Now, as I said, two days passed, and on the second day the Cyclopes fell asleep and slumbered with all their eyes open. Nevertheless, when the two men saw the Cyclopes sleeping, they took the spits on which the sheep had been roasted, and they heated them in the fire. Then they took rams' skins

¹ Reported by W. H. D. Rouse in *Folk-Lore* 1896 vii. 154 f. = O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 107 no. 125.

² ἡ τύχη του ἦτο 'ς τὸν ἥλιον, *i.e.* he had no means of subsistence.

³ κλέφτης μὲ τοὺς κλέφταις, καὶ ψεύτης μὲ τοὺς ψεύταις, *i.e.* do at Rome as the Romans do.

⁴ An attenuated form of episode i (a).

⁵ D. Comparetti *Novelline popolari Italiane* Torino 1875 pp. 308—310 no. 70 = O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 12 f. no. 4 = Sir J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 441 f. no. 27. I transcribe Frazer's rendering.

⁶ O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 13 takes *ciclopi* to be a popular, not a learned, appellation: he cites *ciropidhu* as a dialect form from Messina (*ib.* p. 16 no. 9 and p. 169).

and clothed themselves in them, and going down on all fours they walked about in the rams' skins. Meanwhile the spits were heated, and each of the men took two, and going softly up to the sleeping Cyclopes, they jabbed the hot spits into their eyes. After that, they went down on all fours like sheep. The Cyclopes awoke blind, and gave themselves up for lost. But they took their stand at the door, each at a doorpost, just as they were, with all the spits sticking in their eyes. They let out all the sheep that were in the cave, saying, "The sheep will go out, and the men will stay in," and they felt the fleeces of the sheep to see whether the men were going out too. But the men had the sheep-skins on their backs, and they went on all fours, and when the Cyclopes felt them, they thought they were sheep. So the men escaped with their life, and when they were some way off, they put off the skins. Either the Cyclopes died or they know themselves what they did. That is the end of the story.'

A Sicilian tale from Erice, which G. Pitrè had from the lips of a girl only eight years old, contains the same two episodes—i (a), the blinding of the giant by means of a hot poker, and ii (β), the escape of the hero by putting on a sheep-skin :

(g) *The Kyklops in a Sicilian Folk-tale*¹.

'A couple of monks, one big, the other little, were once off on their yearly round, begging for the church, when they lost their way. However, they pushed on and came to a large cave, where a strange creature, a devil if they had but known it, was engaged in making a fire. Hoping to obtain shelter for the night, they entered the cave, and found the monster killing a sheep and roasting it. He had already killed and roasted a score of them, for he kept sheep in his cave. The monster bade the monks eat. At first they refused, saying that they were not hungry. But he forced them to fall to and finish the meal. They then went to bed. The monster took an enormous rock and placed it in front of the cave. Next he seized a huge iron poker with a sharp point, heated it, and thrust it through the neck of the bigger monk. He roasted the body, and asked his companion whether he would help eat it. The little monk said that he would not, because he was already full. The monster thereupon threatened to murder him, unless he would get up and eat. So in sheer terror he sprang up, sat at the table, and took a tiny morsel, but at once cast it on the floor. "Maria!" he cried, "I'm full, I am indeed!" In the course of the night the good man himself got hold of the poker, heated it, and stuck it into the monster's eyes, which gushed out of his head. The monster cried out in pain; and the monk in alarm slipped on a sheep-skin. Afterwards the monster, feeling his way to the mouth of the cave, raised the stone by which it was shut, and let his sheep out one by one. The monk made his escape among them, and got away to the coast at Trapani, where he told his story to some fishermen. Finally, the monster went fishing, but, being blind, fell over a rock and broke his skull. The sea grew red with his blood. Thus the young man went off, while the monster stayed there.'

Italian versions of the tale, as compared with Greek, are at once more numerous and less defective—a fact which suggests that the original centre of diffusion was Italy rather than Greece. Examples from the Abruzzo and from

¹ G. Pitrè *Fiabe novelle e racconti popolari siciliani* Palermo 1875 i (= *Biblioteca delle tradizioni popolari siciliane* iv) p. lxxxviii ff., ii. 1 ff. no. 51 'Lu munacheddu' (for the dialect see A. Traina *Nuovo vocabolario siciliano-italiano* Palermo 1868)=T. F. Crane *Italian Popular Tales* London 1885 pp. 89 f., 345 n. 31=O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 15 no. 8=Sir J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 437 f. no. 22. I translate from Pitrè.

the neighbourhood of Rome contain, not only episodes i (α), the blinding, and ii (β), the escape, but also iii, the *motif* of the magical ring :

(10) The Kyklops in a Folk-tale from Roccascalegna in the Abruzzo¹.

'Four and twenty school-boys once went out for a walk. When they had gone a good distance, night came on. "We had better return," said the youngest of them, "or our master will scold us." "No," cried all the rest, "let us go to yonder inn." They did so, and knocked at the door. A voice from within asked: "Who is it?" "Friends," they replied. "I'm so glad you've come!" said Eye-on-forehead. He then made them enter and set about cooking a sheep in a caldron without skinning it first. The boys, disgusted, would not eat. Next day Eye-on-forehead seized a boy, and set about cooking him in the caldron; but the others would not eat him either. One by one Eye-on-forehead ate them all. Only one was left, the shrewdest of them all, and he said to Eye-on-forehead: "Why do you eat human flesh?" And Eye-on-forehead answered him: "Out of spite, because I've only one eye." "Then," continued the school-boy, "if I grow you another eye², will you let me go free?" "Yes," replied Eye-on-forehead. Thereupon the boy made the spit red-hot on the hearth, and said to Eye-on-forehead: "Shut your eye." He took that spit and drove it into the eye till it came out the other side. Eye-on-forehead was furious and wanted to eat him; but how could he see where the rascal was standing? Every day he used to send his sheep out to pasture, and seated himself in the door-way so as to prevent the boy from getting past; and he felt each sheep as it went by him. One day the boy dropped into the pen, skinned a sheep, put on its fleece and tried walking on all fours. When the time for pasture had come, Eye-on-forehead, thinking he was a sheep, sent him out. Once outside, the boy began to shout: "I'm out! I'm out!" Eye-on-forehead, thus informed, took and flung a ring. This ring went straight on to the finger of the boy and he could not stir from where he stood. What could he do? Eye-on-forehead, groping round, was like to catch him again. But an idea struck him: he would cut off the finger, on which that cursed ring was; and so he did. Having cut it off, he began to hurry away. Eye-on-forehead found the finger, ate it, and said to the boy as he ran: "So you didn't want me to eat your flesh? But for all that I've had a taste of it!" The boy got back home and told his mother all about it.'

(11) The Kyklops in a Folk-tale from the vicinity of Rome³.

A master was travelling with his servant through a wide wood. They came to a great cavern, where dwelt the Occhiaro ('Bright-eye'), a monster with only

¹ G. Finamore *Tradizioni popolari Abruzzesi* Lanciano 1882 i (Novelle) 190 f. no. 38 'Lu fatte dell' uocchie-'n-frónde' = O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 17 no. 10. I translate from Finamore. For a very similar version (i (α) + ii (β) + iii), likewise from the Abruzzo, see A. de Nino *Usi e costumi Abruzzesi* Firenze 1883 iii (Fiabe) 305—307 = Sir J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 416 ff. no. 7.

² Episode i (α) is here crossed by episode i (β), the southern by the northern form (*supra* p. 988). The same contamination is found in a variant from Vasto in the Abruzzo (G. Finamore *Tradizioni popolari Abruzzesi* Lanciano 1886 ii (Novelle) 57 f. no. 68 'La favulette dell' ucchie-'m-brande' = O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 17 f. no. 11). Episode i (β) takes the place of i (α) in a version recorded at Pisa (D. Comparetti *Novelline popolari Italiane* Torino 1875 pp. 192—195 no. 44 'Il Fiorentino' = O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 18 f. no. 12 = Sir J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 418 f. no. 8).

³ C. Nyrop 'Sagnet om Odysseus og Polyphem' in the *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi* 1881 v. 239—240 = O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 13 f. no. 5. I translate from Hackman.

one big brilliant eye. The Occhiaro closed the cavern with a great stone, and then slaughtered the servant and ate him up. After that he lay down and went to sleep. The master drew his sword, plunged it into the Occhiaro's eye, and so blinded him. The Occhiaro howled till the cavern rang again. In the night the man slaughtered a sheep and wrapped himself in its skin. Next morning the Occhiaro let the sheep out of the cavern one by one and felt them as he did it. The man in the sheep-skin luckily got out and then mocked at the Occhiaro. He flung him a ring, with which to make himself invisible. The man stuck the ring on his finger. Thereupon the Occhiaro cried: 'Hold fast, ring, till I come.' The man could no longer stir from the spot; so he chopped the finger off with his sword and made his escape.

To pursue the subject beyond the limits of Greece and Italy would be beside my purpose. But it must of course be borne in mind that the variants noted in classical lands are essentially similar to those collected from the rest of Europe. A single specimen will suffice to make this clear, and may at the same time show how such a tale, drifting along the current of popular mouth-to-mouth transmission, may attach itself to some landmark or salient feature of the countryside and become fixed as a local legend with names of persons and places all complete.

(12) The Kyklops in an English Folk-tale.

In 1879 S. Baring-Gould contributed the following paragraph to W. Henderson's *Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties*¹: 'At Dalton, near Thirsk, in Yorkshire, is a mill. It has quite recently been rebuilt, but when I was at Dalton, six years ago, the old building stood. In front of the house was a long mound, which went by the name of "the giant's grave²," and in the mill was shown a long blade of iron something like a scythe-blade, but not curved, which was said to have been the giant's knife³. A curious story was told of this knife. There lived a giant at this mill, and he ground men's bones to make his bread. One day he captured a lad on Pilmoor, and instead of grinding him in the mill he kept him as his servant and never let him get away. Jack served the giant many years and never was allowed a holiday. At last he could bear it no longer. Topcliffe fair was coming on, and the lad entreated that he might be allowed to go there to see the lasses and buy some spice. The giant surlily refused leave; Jack resolved to take it. The day was hot, and after dinner the giant lay down in the mill with his head on a sack and dozed. He had been eating in the mill and had laid down a great loaf of bone bread by his side, and the knife was in his hand, but his fingers relaxed their hold of it in sleep. Jack seized the moment, drew the knife away, and holding it with both hands drove the blade into the single eye of the giant, who woke with a howl of agony, and starting up

¹ W. Henderson *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders* London 1879 p. 194 f., S. Baring-Gould 'The Giant of New Mills, Sessay' [Dalton is in the parish of Sessay] in *Folk-Lore* 1890 i. 130=O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 33 no. 28=Sir J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 430 f. no. 18.

² S. Baring-Gould in W. Henderson *op. cit.* p. 196 n. adds: 'I am told by one of our servants from Dalton that at the rebuilding of the farm the mound was opened, and a stone coffin found in it; but whether this be a kistvaen or a mediæval sarcophagus I cannot tell.'

³ *Id.* in *Folk-Lore loc. cit.* says further: 'in the mill was shown...the giant's...stone porridge-basin or lather-dish.'

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barred the door. Jack was again in difficulties, but he soon found a way out of them. The giant had a favourite dog which had also been sleeping when his master was blinded. Jack killed the dog, skinned it, and throwing the hide over his back ran on all fours barking between the legs of the giant, and so escaped.¹

APPENDIX F.

THE DIOSKOUROI AND HELENE IN MODERN FOLK-TALES.

Attention may here be called to a group of modern Greek and Italian folk-tales, which are related to the myth of the Dioskouroi, as I shall presently point out. The group was first recognised as such by that excellent investigator J. G. von Hahn, who included it under his fourth or 'expulsion' *formula*, though he failed fully to perceive its affinity with classical myths¹.

(a) Sun, Moon, and Star in a Folk-tale from Greece.

(1) A good example of the group in question is the modern Greek story of the *Tzitzinaina*, which runs as follows². An old woman once had three daughters, poor and hard-working girls. The eldest said: 'If I had for husband the king's pastry-man, I should eat cake.' The second said: 'If I had his cook, I should taste all the royal dishes.' The third said: 'I would like the king himself. Then I should have all his treasures, and should bear him three children, Sun, Moon, and Star.' It so chanced that the king overheard them talking and granted their several desires. But when the third sister became queen, she was hated by the king's mother. She was about to bring forth Sun, when the king was called off to a war and entrusted her to his mother. This cruel woman bade the midwife put the new-born babe in a box, fling it into the sea, and place a puppy dog instead beside the queen. The same sorry scene was enacted a second and a third time. A cat was substituted for Moon, and a snake for Star, the children being each in turn sent adrift on the sea. The king, disappointed and angry, walled up the queen in the jakes. The children one after the other were washed up at the foot of a mountain, on which dwelt a hermit. He cared for them till they were grown and then sent the two brothers Sun and Moon with their sister Star to the neighbouring town. Meantime the midwife had learnt of the children's escape and, wishing to destroy them, sought out Star and told her that she was beautiful but might be more so, if only she possessed the golden apple kept by forty dragons in a garden. Sun, who had been out to the bazar and bought of a Jew a mysterious box, now opened it, found inside a green winged horse and set out upon him to get the golden apple. The horse caused a flash of lightning and a clap of thunder, under cover of which Sun secured the apple and brought it back to Star. Again the midwife passed by and told Star that she needed, to make her more beautiful still, the golden bough on which all the birds of the world met to sing. Sun remounted his horse, which, as before, promised to lighten and thunder and advised

¹ J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 46, T. F. Crane *Italian Popular Tales* London 1885 pp. 17, 325. On the 'expulsion' *formula* see *infra* p. 1012.

² Text by G. Ch. B. in the *Νεοελληνικά ἀνάλεκτα* Athens 1871 i. 17 ff., French translation by É. Legrand *Recueil de contes populaires grecs* Paris 1881 pp. 77—93. I have condensed Legrand's version.

his master to take a hatchet to cut a branch from the tree. Sun did so, and returned in safety with the golden bough. Once more the midwife passed by, and this time suggested that Star, to perfect her beauty, needed the Tzitzinaina, who knew the language of the birds and could explain their song. But to obtain the Tzitzinaina proved a harder task. For, when Sun and his horse reached her house and thrice summoned her to come forth, she turned them both into marble, first up to the knees, next up to the thighs, and then up to the waist. At this crisis the young man remembered that he had about him some hairs from the beard of the hermit, which he was to burn if ever he required assistance. He burnt one now. The hermit appeared, and bade the Tzitzinaina restore to life all those whom she had petrified. She sprinkled them with water of immortality and so recovered them. Among the rescued was Moon, whom his brother and sister had lost. The hermit now made the Tzitzinaina act as their mother. She explained to them the language of the birds and everything else that they wanted to know. One day the king met them out and asked them to dine with him on the morrow. The Tzitzinaina told them to take a puppy with them and give it a slice. They did so, and the puppy died. The young folk protested that they had no wish to be poisoned, and invited the king to dine with them on the next day. The Tzitzinaina, when the king sat down to their empty table, clapped her hands thrice and a grand meal appeared. After dinner the king asked Sun, Moon, and Star what they wished for most. They, instructed by the Tzitzinaina, craved the release of the woman hidden in the jakes. She was brought out, washed, clothed, and presented to the king by the Tzitzinaina, who told him all the facts. Thereupon the king in high delight took back his queen to the palace. But the king's mother and the midwife were fastened to four horses, which dragged them along the road and, on being lashed, tore them asunder.

(β) Sun, Moon, and Morning-Star in a Folk-tale from Syra.

(2) A Greek tale from Syra is very similar¹. A poor old couple once had three hard-working daughters. The eldest of them wished that she had for husband the king's cook: then she would eat of the good things on his table. The next wished for the king's treasurer: then she would have plenty of money. The youngest, for the king himself: then she would bear him three children, Sun, Moon, and Morning-star. The prince² overheard them wishing, granted their desires, and married the youngest of them, much against his mother's will. When the young queen was about to bear the children, her mother-in-law bade the midwife substitute a dog, a cat, and a mouse for them, and fling the three children into the river. But the midwife had pity on the little brats and laid them down on a bed of rushes. Here a childless herdsman found them fed by one of his goats. He brought them to his wife, who tended them carefully; and, when they were grown up, he built them a tower to live in. As for the queen, at the time of her confinement the king was absent on a campaign. So his mother put her in the hen-house, and told him on his return that his wife, instead of Sun, Moon, and Morning-star, had given birth to a dog, a cat, and a mouse. The king was so upset that he did not ask what had become of the queen. For long he was inconsolable. At last one day he roused himself, went for a ride, and saw Sun and Morning-star exercising their horses near the tower and Moon watching them from a window. He thought the young folk just like those whom his wife had

¹ Text unpublished, German translation by J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 40 ff. I have condensed the version of von Hahn.

² In the sequel he is called king.

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promised to bear, and that night he told his mother about them. She taxed the midwife with neglecting her orders. So the midwife went off, obtained by guile an entrance into the tower, and told Moon that she was indeed beautiful, but that she needed one thing to complete her happiness—the branch that makes music. Her brothers Sun and Morning-star consented to get it. They set off, and met a monk, who told them all about it. It was kept by two dragons, who would swallow them if they approached by day, but who snored with open mouth at midnight and might then be shot. The young men followed the monk's directions, shot the dragons, broke off the branch, and brought it back to their sister. The king, who on his rides past the tower had missed them, now told his mother of their return. She again sent the midwife, who paid a second visit to the tower. The girl Moon showed her a tree outside the house, which had grown apace from the planted branch making music continually and producing every morning a dishful of precious stones. The midwife, duly astonished, said that she still needed a mirror showing all towns, villages, lands, and princes. The brothers went off to seek it, and again met the monk. He told them that it was guarded by forty dragons, who by day kept watch, twenty on one side, twenty on the other, and by night slept in a row. About midnight they snored so loud that the mountains re-echoed. The brothers must then tread across their bodies with the greatest care. This they did, and brought the mirror to their sister. The king again noticed their absence and their return. He told his mother. She sent the midwife once more, who said to Moon that the only thing now lacking was the bird Dikjeretto: he understood all languages and by looking in the mirror would be able to tell her what people were saying all the world over. The brothers suspected that this quest would be the death of them. So they gave their sister two shirts, which she was to look at daily: if the shirts turned black, she would know that they had failed. This time, when they met the monk, he refused to help them. However, they pressed on, and the bird by his glance turned first one and then the other into stone. Moon knew of the disaster because the two shirts turned as black as coal. In her grief she set out on horseback to die with her brothers. The monk met her, had compassion on her, and explained that many a prince had failed in this enterprise because they had made the attempt in their clothes. She must strip herself of everything, attack the bird from behind before he was aware of her presence through the rustling of her clothes, and so grasp him by the feet. She did as she was bidden, caught the bird, and asked him where her brothers were. He showed her where they stood, and pointed out a mountain which opened at midday and contained a spring: if she were quick enough, she might slip in and get the water of life from the spring; if not, the mountain would close upon her, and they would be ruined. The maiden with the bird on her hand performed the feat with the utmost speed; but even so the mountain as it closed caught a piece of her clothing, and she had to draw her sword and cut it off. She sprinkled her brothers with the water, and they awoke as from a deep sleep. All who had been petrified on the spot were now in turn sprinkled and accompanied the happy party back to the tower, where the herdsman overjoyed at the return of his fosterlings slew forty lambs and poured out wine in abundance: the feasting lasted three days and three nights. The king, hearing of it, went out to see whether the children were there. They showed him the greatest respect, and he invited them to be his guests on the following Sunday. The bird told the young people to take him too along with them, adding that the king was their father. At the royal table both the king's mother and the midwife were present, when the bird from his cage revealed the whole tale. The king sprang up and kissed

his children. His wife was fetched from the hen-house, clad in queenly garments, and brought to her children Sun, Moon, and Morning-star. The midwife had her head cut off; and the king's mother was banished from the palace.

(γ) Morning-Star and Evening-Star in a Folk-tale from Epeiros.

(3) A tale from the village of Çágori in Epeiros has some variations of interest¹. Three sisters once sat on a balcony near the king's castle. The eldest said: 'I wish I sat at the king's table; how I should relish it!' The second said: 'I wish I were in the king's treasury; how I should help myself to money!' The youngest said: 'I wish I were married to the prince; I would bear him a boy and a girl as beautiful as the morning-star and the evening-star².' The prince overheard them wishing and granted all their wishes. But, when his young wife was about to be delivered of the children, he had to go off to a war. He entrusted her, therefore, to his mother. She, however, as soon as the little ones were born, put them in a basket and bade the midwife fling it into the river. She also slipped a dog and a cat into the cradle. When the poor wife wanted to see her offspring, she was dismayed indeed at their appearance. The prince now returned victorious from the war, but was so shocked at the news with which he was greeted that for three days he was speechless. Then he gave orders that his wife, who could deny nothing, should be walled up at the entrance of his castle so that only her head showed, and that every one who passed by should spit at her and strike her in the face. Meantime the basket in which the children lay floated to the house of certain dragons, who pulled it out of the water. They kept the children till the age of ten, then put them on a lame horse, and left them in the streets of the town to their fate. People wanted to know where they came from; and the children replied that they themselves did not know. At last the lame nag brought them to the house of a poor old woman, who out of pity took them in. Next morning she was astonished to find a handful of gold coins on the spot where the children had slept. The same thing occurred every morning, and she and they lived happily on the money. One day the king came by and noticed the morning-star on the face of the boy and the evening-star on that of the girl. He sighed and thought of the children that his wife had promised him. Indeed, he became so fond of these two that he brought them into his palace, hunted with them, and would never be without them. But his mother at once perceived who they were, and consulted with the midwife how best to get rid of them. The midwife came to the girl and said: 'You are a beautiful maiden, but you would be more beautiful still, if your brother had the winged horse of the plain.' The brother readily promised to go in quest of it. He rode forth and met an old woman, who told him of a plain near by so large that it took a man six days to cross it, though the winged horse was across it in one. The said horse ate men and beasts. If he would capture it, he must hide behind the thicket by the spring from which it drank, and at the moment when it stooped its head in drinking must leap on to its back and never dismount till it swore by its brother to serve him. The lad carried out her advice to the letter. The horse swore to serve him by its head—by its tail—by its saddle—by its foot—and lastly by its brother. The boy then dismounted, put a bridle on it, and brought it back to his

¹ Text unpublished, German translation by J. G., von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 287 ff. As before, I have condensed from von Hahn.

² *πῶλια* (*sic*) is the original word, according to von Hahn. But N. Contopoulos *Greek-English Lexicon*⁵ Athens 1903 makes *πῶλια*, -as, mean 'the pleiades, the seven stars in the constellation Taurus.'

sister. The king was so pleased at his success that he gave him a small kingdom. But the grandmother again plotted with the nurse for his destruction. The nurse went a second time to the girl and said: 'You are beautiful, sweetheart, but you would be more beautiful still, if you had the Beauty of the Land.' The brother set out to get her without delay. The Beauty of the Land was a woman beautiful beyond compare, who lived on the far side of a river. Whoever wanted to carry her off had to traverse the dry bed of the river: his horse must there whinny aloud, and, if she heard it whinnying, he would be able to ride through, but, if she heard it not, he and his horse would there and then be turned into stone. When the lad came to the dried up river, he bade the winged horse whinny his loudest. The horse did so, but the Beauty of the Land heard nothing. 'We are lost!' cried the horse. 'Courage!' said the lad, 'whinny once more.' This time the Beauty of the Land heard and answered. The lad rode over and carried her off; and, as they crossed the dry river-bed, a number of people who were petrified there came to life again and escorted them home, remaining with them till the marriage between the young man and the Beauty of the Land was celebrated. The king was greatly delighted at all this. But the king's mother plotted once again with the nurse to poison the young people. Soon afterwards the king invited them to a feast. Before they went, the Beauty of the Land revealed everything to her husband, counseling him not to strike in the face the poor walled up woman who was his own mother and at table to eat only of those dishes of which she herself ate. When the bride, the bridegroom, and the bridegroom's sister ate only of the dishes set before the king, the king pressed them to eat of others also. They told him that the rest were poisoned. He hurled the whole meal out of the window with his own hand and ordered another. Afterwards the Beauty of the Land begged him to send for the walled up woman. On her arrival the three young folk stood up and kissed her. The Beauty of the Land told the whole tale to the king, who embraced his children and his wife. But he had his mother and the midwife each bound to four horses and torn into quarters.

(δ) **Three Golden Children in a Folk-tale from Euboea.**

(4) A variant hails from Hagia Anna, a small town in the north-east of Euboea¹. The third sister said: 'I would bear the prince three golden children.' She bore a golden child, while her husband was on a campaign; but the cruel mother-in-law flung it into the hen-house and substituted for it a small dog. When her son returned and asked after the child that his wife had borne, she replied: 'What is to be done? She is a dog and a dog she has borne.' And the prince made answer: 'Dog though it be, it will watch my house.' The second child she flung into the hen-house and replaced by a cat; and the prince on his return was told of it and replied: 'Cat though it be, it will clear my house of mice.' For the third child she substituted a snake. Then the prince came back and gave orders that his wife should be flung into the hen-house. There the mother-in-law, who did not want her to die of hunger, brought her food in secret. When the boys had grown up, one day the king bade his heralds summon all his people to assemble before his castle. The boys heard of it, broke their way out of the hen-house and went to the assembly. The king noticed them, and was so pleased with them that he wanted to take them into his castle. But they said that they could not come without their mother; and, when the king asked 'Who is your mother?', they replied 'She is the woman whom you shut up in the hen-house'

¹ Text unpublished, German summary by J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 291 f. I translate from von Hahn.

and told him all that had happened. Thereupon he brought his wife out of the hen-house, but had his mother bound to two vicious mules and torn asunder by them.

(e) **Two Sons with Apples and a Daughter with a Star in a Folk-tale from Sicily.**

(5) A Sicilian parallel to the foregoing tales is entitled *The Herb-gatherer's Daughters*¹. A herb-gatherer died and left three daughters alone in the world. The eldest said: 'If I were the wife of the royal butler; I would give the whole court to drink out of one glass of water, and there would be some left.' The second said: 'If I were the wife of the keeper of the royal wardrobe, with one piece of cloth I would clothe all the attendants, and have some left.' The youngest said: 'Were I the king's wife, I would bear him three children—two sons with apples in their hands, and a daughter with a star on her brow.' The king happened to overhear them talking and sent for them next morning. The eldest and the second sister made good their promises and received in marriage the royal butler and the keeper of the royal wardrobe. The youngest became queen on condition that, if she failed to bear two sons with apples in their hands and a daughter with a star on her brow, she should be put to death. A few months before the queen's children were born the king went on a campaign. When they were born as she had foretold, the two elder sisters, jealous of her lot, bribed the nurse to substitute little dogs for them and sent word to the king that his wife had given birth to three puppies. He wrote back that she should be taken care of for two weeks and then put into a tread-mill. Meanwhile the nurse carried the babies out of doors and left them for the dogs to eat. Three fairies passed by, admired them, and gave them three gifts—a deer to nurse them, a purse always full of money, and a ring that would change colour when any misfortune befell one of them. The deer nursed the children till they were grown up. Then the fairy that had given the deer came and said: 'Now that you have grown up, how can you stay here any longer?' 'Very well,' said one of the brothers, 'I will go to the city and hire a house.' 'Take care,' said the deer, 'that you hire one opposite the royal palace.' So they all went to the city and hired a palace as directed. The aunts, seeing the apples in the hands of the boys and the star on the brow of the girl, recognised them at once and told the nurse. The nurse visited the girl and said that, to be really happy, she needed the Dancing Water. One of the brothers rode off to get it. On the way he met a hermit, who said: 'You are going to your death, my son; but keep on until you find a hermit older than I.' He met another hermit, who gave him the same direction. He met a third hermit older than the other two, who said: 'You must climb yonder mountain. On the top of it you will find a great plain and a house with a beautiful gate. Before the gate you will see four giants with swords in their hands. When the giants have their eyes closed, do not enter; when they have their eyes open, enter. Then you will come to a door. If you find it open, do not enter; if you find it shut, push it open and enter. Then you will find four lions. When they have their eyes shut, do not enter; when their eyes are open, enter, and you will see the Dancing Water.' The lad followed these instructions, filled his bottles with the Dancing Water, and returned in safety to his sister. They had two

¹ G. Pitre *Fiabe novelle e racconti popolari siciliani* Palermo 1875 i (= *Biblioteca delle tradizioni popolari siciliane* iv) 316 ff. no. 36 'Li figghi di lu Cavuliccidaru' (Palermo). There is a slightly condensed translation of this tale in T. F. Crane *Italian popular tales* London 1885 p. 17 ff. I have abbreviated T. F. Crane's version.

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golden basons made, and the Dancing Water leaped from one to the other. Again the aunts told the nurse, and again the nurse visited the girl and said that now she wanted the Singing Apple. The same brother rode off to get it. After a time he met the first hermit, who sent him to an older one, <who sent him to an older one still>. He said: 'Climb the mountain; beware of the giants, the door, and the lions; then you will find a little door and a pair of shears in it; if the shears are open, enter; if closed, do not risk it.' The lad did so, and found everything favourable. When he saw the shears open, he went into a room and saw a wonderful tree, on the top of which was an apple. He climbed up and tried to pick the apple, but the top of the tree swayed now this way, now that. He waited until it was still a moment, seized the branch, and picked the apple. He got away in safety and, as he rode home, the apple kept making a sound. Once more the aunts told the nurse, and once more the nurse visited the girl and said that, should she set eyes on the Speaking Bird, there would be nothing left for her to see. The same brother undertook the quest. As before, he met the first hermit, who sent him to the second, who sent him to the third, who said: 'Climb the mountain and enter the palace. You will find many statues. Then you will come to a garden, in the midst of which is a fountain, and on the bason is the Speaking Bird. If it should say anything to you, do not answer. Pick a feather from the bird's wing, dip it into a jar that you will find there, and anoint all the statues. Keep your eyes open, and all will go well.' The lad soon found the garden and the bird. But, when the bird exclaimed 'Your mother has been sent to the tread-mill,' 'My mother in the tread-mill?' he cried, and straightway became a statue like all the rest. In the meantime his sister at home looked at her ring and saw that it had changed its colour to blue. So she sent the second brother after the first. Everything happened to him in the same way. He too met the hermits, found the palace, saw the garden with the statues, and heard the Speaking Bird. And, when the bird said 'What has become of your brother? Your mother has been sent to the tread-mill,' he too cried out 'Alas, my mother in the tread-mill!' and became a statue. The sister now looked at her ring again, and it was black. Thereupon she dressed herself like a page and set out. She met the hermits and received their instructions. The third ended by saying: 'Beware, for, if you answer when the bird speaks, you will lose your life.' When she reached the garden, the bird exclaimed: 'Ah! you here, too? Now you will meet the same fate as your brothers. Do you see them? One, two, and you make three. Your father is at the war. Your mother is in the tread-mill. Your aunts are rejoicing.' She made no answer, but caught it, pulled a feather from its wing, dipped it into the jar, and anointed her brothers' nostrils. The brothers at once came to life again. Then she did the same to all the other statues, the lions, and the giants: all were restored to life. After that she departed with her brothers; and all the noblemen, princes, barons, and kings' sons rejoiced greatly. When they had recovered their life, the palace disappeared; and so did the hermits, for they were the three fairies. On reaching the city they had a gold chain made for the bird; and, the next time that the aunts looked out, they saw in the window of the palace opposite the Dancing Water, the Singing Apple, and the Speaking Bird. 'Well,' said they, 'the real trouble is coming now!' At length the king returned from the war and noticed the palace opposite equipped more magnificently than his own. When he saw the brothers with apples in their hands and the sister with a star on her brow, he cried: 'Gracious! If I did not know that my wife had given birth to three puppies, I should say that those were my children.' Another day, as he stood by the window and enjoyed the Dancing Water and the Singing

Apple, the Speaking Bird spoke to him and bade the sister and brothers invite him to a grand dinner on Sunday. At the dinner the bird got a counter-invitation for them all to dine with the king on the Sunday following. When they were assembled at the king's table, the bird related the whole story, ending with the words: 'These are your children, and your wife was sent to the mill and is dying.' The king at once embraced his children, and went to find his wife, who was at the point of death. He knelt before her and begged her pardon. Then he asked the bird to pronounce sentence on the aunts and the nurse. The bird sentenced the nurse to be thrown out of the window and the aunts to be cast into a caldron of boiling oil. This was done forthwith. Then the bird departed; and the king lived in peace with his children and his wife.

(5) **Two Sons with a Gold Star and a Daughter with a Silver Star in a Folk-tale from Brittany.**

(6) It must not be supposed that tales of this type are found only in the Greek and Italian area. Here, for example, is a version entitled *The Baker's Three Daughters* from Plouaret in Brittany¹. An old baker had three daughters, who one evening after supper were talking confidences. The eldest said that she loved the king's gardener. The next, that she loved the king's valet. The youngest, that she loved the king's son, and, what was more, that she would have by him three children—two boys with a gold star on their foreheads and a girl with a silver star. The prince chanced to be taking a walk that evening, accompanied by his gardener and his valet. He overheard the conversation, summoned the girls to his presence next morning, and granted the desires of them all. The young queen was delivered of a fine boy with a gold star in the middle of his forehead. But the jealous sisters, acting on the advice of an old fairy, had secured a midwife, who exposed the babe in a basket on the Seine and substituted a puppy for him. The prince was much distressed, but bowed to the will of God. The babe floated down the river, was picked up by the king's gardener, and reared by the gardener's wife. Again the queen bore a boy with a gold star on his forehead. The midwife exposed him too in a basket on the Seine, and substituted a puppy for him. The prince, who by this time owing to the death of his father was king, was again deeply distressed, but submissive to the will of God. The second boy, like the first, floated down stream, was found by the gardener, and given to the gardener's wife. Once more the queen bore a child—a girl with a silver star in the middle of her forehead. The midwife exposed her in the same manner and substituted a puppy for her. This time the king was very angry: he felt that it was not God's doing, but that there was some mystery behind it all. So he had the queen shut up in a tower, with nothing but bread and water to live upon and a little book to read. The girl, like the boys, was found on the water by the gardener and reared by his wife. In due time their foster-parents died, and the children were taken into the palace by the king, who liked to have them about him. Every Sunday they were to be seen in the royal pew at church, each wearing a head-band to cover up the star: these head-bands puzzled people. One day, when the king was out hunting, an old woman (it was the midwife disguised as a beggar) came to the palace and began to compliment the girl: she was fair indeed, but if only she had the Dancing Water, the Singing Apple, and the Bird of Truth, there would not be her like upon earth! Her eldest brother set out to seek these marvels for her, and, before

¹ Text unpublished, French translation by F. M. Luzel in *Mélusine* 1878 i. 206 ff. I have abridged F. M. Luzel's rendering.

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he went, gave her a dagger : she was to pull it out of its sheath several times daily for a year and a day ; if ever it would not come out, she might know that he was dead. A day arrived when she failed to draw the dagger : her eldest brother must be dead. The second brother now set out to seek him, and, before he went, gave her a rosary : she was to tell the beads constantly ; if one stuck, she might know that he was dead. A day came when one did stick : he too must be dead. So she bought a horse, dressed as a cavalier, and set out herself in quest of them. She went on and on till she reached a large plain. Here in the hollow of an old tree she saw a little man with a long white beard, who saluted her as the daughter of the king of France. She denied the title, but offered to clip his beard, which must be in his way, she thought. By so doing she delivered him : for five hundred years people had passed that way and no one had helped him. He therefore gave her his blessing, and told her how to find her brothers. Sixty leagues off was a road-side inn, where she was to eat, drink, and leave her horse. Soon afterwards she would find herself close to a very high mountain, terribly hard to climb. A wild wind would burst upon her. There would be hail, snow, ice, and cruel cold to contend with. On either side of the path would be seen many stone pillars—men, who had essayed to climb the mountain, lost heart, and been petrified on the spot. Once at the top, she would see a plain covered with turf and May flowers. Beneath an apple-tree would appear a golden seat. On this she was to sit and feign sleep. A blackbird would then hop down from branch to branch of the apple-tree, and enter a cage beneath it. She was to shut the cage quickly, and would so have secured the Bird of Truth. Next she would cut a branch from the apple-tree with an apple on it ; it would be the Singing Apple. Lastly, she was to fill a phial with water from a fountain beneath the tree ; this was the Dancing Water. On her way down the mountain she was to spill a drop of water on each stone pillar : from every one would come a cavalier, her own two brothers among them. All these directions she faithfully carried out. Passing through the intense cold on the mountain-side she reached the top, where the sky was clear and the air warm, as though it were summer. She sat on the golden seat below the apple-tree, feigned sleep, and duly secured the Bird of Truth, which again addressed her as daughter of the king of France. She next cut a branch of the apple-tree with one apple on it, filled her phial with water from the fountain, sprinkled and set free all the princes, dukes, barons, and cavaliers, who had been turned into stones, and last of all restored to life her own two brothers. They did not recognise their sister : so she hurried on, and got home first. On their arrival they told her how they had failed in the quest, and spoke of a young cavalier of surpassing beauty who had freed them from their fate. Meantime the old king, who loved the children, as he supposed, of his sister-in-law, was glad to see them all back again, and invited them to a banquet. Towards the end of it the young girl placed on the table the Dancing Water, the Singing Apple, and the Bird of Truth, and bade them do their business. So the Water danced, the Apple sang, and the Bird told the whole story to the assembled company. To prove the truth of it he bade the head-bands be removed from the two brothers and their sister : whereupon it was seen that each of the lads had a gold star on his forehead, and the young girl a silver star. The king fainted away. Recovering himself, he went and fetched the queen from her solitary tower. Despite twenty years' imprisonment, she was still beautiful and gracious. She ate and drank a little, and then—died where she sat ! The king, mad with grief and rage, had a furnace heated in the field, into which his sister-in-law and the midwife were cast.

(7) The Myth of Zethos and Amphion as an 'Expulsion' Tale.

It would be easy, but needless, to cite other variants. Tales of this type are, in fact, spread throughout the south of Europe, and with sundry modifications and adaptations could be traced yet further afield¹. J. G. von Hahn, regarding them as essentially tales of 'expulsion' (*Verstossung*), formulated their common characteristics as follows²:

- (a) Jealous relatives deprive the mother of her new-born children, who are found and brought up at a distance from the father's home by a childless foster-parent.
- (b) Beasts are substituted for the new-born children; or the mother is accused of having devoured them.
- (c) Expulsion or punishment of the mother.
- (d) The children, found again by the father, deliver the mother.

Von Hahn has done good service by thus emphasising the permanent features of the tale. But, when he states that they cannot be illustrated from Greek mythology³, he has somewhat seriously misconceived the situation and has thereby missed a certain number of interesting parallels. Ancient Greek folk-tales have for the most part come down to us through the discriminating sieve of ancient Greek literature. Sometimes, as in the case of Sophokles, that sieve had a very fine mesh, the result being that the primitive traits still to be seen in Sophoclean dramas are but few. Sometimes, as in the case of Euripides, the mesh was broad, and traits of this kind are comparatively numerous. Nevertheless, Euripides too made his appeal to one of the most aesthetically cultivated audiences of all time; and it is certain that he would not have thought the folk-tale as outlined above immediately suitable for dramatic presentation in the theatre at Athens. How, then, would Euripides, say, have manipulated such a theme to suit his purpose? We may here with some assurance hazard a twofold guess. On the one hand, he would have excised the whole of the second or bestial episode: nowhere in Greek tragedy do we find any precedent for a scene which, to Euripides' gener-

¹ See L. Gonzenbach *Sicilianische Märchen* Leipzig 1870 i. 19 ff. no. 5 'Die verstossene Königin und ihre beiden ausgesetzten Kinder,' *ib.* ii. 206 f., G. Pitre *Fiabe novelle e racconti popolari siciliani* Palermo 1875 i (= *Biblioteca delle tradizioni popolari siciliane* iv) 328 f. 'La cammissa di lu gran jucaturi e l' auceddu parlanti' (Montevago), *ib.* 330 'Suli e Luna' (Capaci), *ib.* 330 f. 'Stilla d' oru e Stilla Diana' (Casteltermini), *ib.* 331 'Lu Re Turcu' (Noto), *ib.* 331 ff., G. Pitre *Nuovo saggio de fiabe e novelle popolari siciliane* Imola 1873 (= *Rivista di Filologia Romanza* vol. i fasc. 2 f.) no. 1 'Re Sonnu' (Palermo), G. Finamore *Tradizioni popolari Abruzzesi* Lanciano 1882 i (Novelle) 192 ff. no. 39 'Lu fatte de le tré ssurèlle,' *Il Pentamerone* trans. by Sir R. Burton London 1893 i. 390 ff. 'Fifth Diversion of the Fourth Day,' F. M. Luzel 'Les trois filles du boulanger' (Plouaret) variants in *Mélusine* 1878 i. 209 n. 1, 210 n. 1, R. Koehler *ib.* 213 f., T. F. Crane *Italian Popular Tales* London 1885 p. 325 f., J. F. Campbell *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* Edinburgh 1860 i. p. lxxxiii f., J. Curtin *Fairy Tales of Eastern Europe* London s.a. pp. 91—119 'The Golden Fish, the Wonder-working Tree, and the Golden Bird' (a Hungarian tale of a prince with a golden sun on his breast and a princess with a golden moon on her bosom, who sought a Golden Fish, a branch cut from a Music-tree, and a Golden Bird, all kept in the Glass Mountain beyond the Crimson Sea: the old queen is burned on the public square), L. A. Magnus *Russian Folk-tales* London 1915 pp. 269—273 'The Singing-Tree and the Speaking-Bird' (two princes and a princess seek the Talking-Bird, the Singing-Tree, and the Water of Life on the top of a steep mountain). Most of these authors refer to further sources.

² J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 46.

³ *Id. ib.* 'Hellenische und germanische Sage: fehlt.'

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ation at least, would have been so outrageous and so unconvincing as that of the supposititious animals or the cannibalistic mother. On the other hand, the poet would have expanded such parts of the story as were susceptible of pathetic treatment, and in particular would have elaborated the final scene of recognition¹. But I need not follow out this *à priori* enquiry; for it so happens that there is extant, not indeed a play of Euripides, but at least the summary of a Euripidean play, on a strictly analogous theme.

Apollodoros, who is paraphrasing Euripides' *Antiope*², tells the tale of that heroine in these words³: 'Antiope was the daughter of Nykteus. Zeus consorted with her, and she, when pregnant, to avoid her father's threats, fled to Epopeus at Sikyon and married him. Nykteus in despair took his own life, after laying his behest upon Lykos to exact vengeance from Epopeus and Antiope. So Lykos made an expedition against Sikyon and captured it: Epopeus he slew, but Antiope he took captive. As she was being led along, at Eleutherai in Boiotia, she gave birth to two sons. They were exposed; but a herdsman found them and reared them, calling the one Zethos, the other Amphion. Zethos gave his attention to herds of cattle; but Amphion used to practise harp-playing, for Hermes gave him a lyre. Lykos shut up Antiope and evil intreated her, as did Dirke his wife. At last her bonds dropped off of their own accord, and she escaped by stealth to her sons' homestead, eager to be welcomed by them. They recognised their mother, slew Lykos, bound Dirke to a bull, and, when she had been killed, flung her into a spring that is called Dirke after her.'

The general similarity of Euripides' play to the 'expulsion' formula of J. G. von Hahn is sufficiently obvious. The main discrepancy lies in the fact that, according to von Hahn's formula, the father of Zethos and Amphion ought to have been Lykos rather than Zeus. But this difficulty vanishes, if with H. Usener we suppose (indeed, we have already supposed it⁴) that *Lykos* was an ancient god of daylight comparable with Zeus *Lýkaios*: the Theban Lykos will then be a doublet of the Sicyonian Epopeus, two kings bearing the name of the local god. Again, it might be objected that, on von Hahn's showing, Zethos and Amphion should have slain Dirke, but not Lykos. Here the explanation of the difficulty is simpler still. Hyginus, our ultimate authority for the Euripidean character of the narrative⁵, has a different ending to it: 'They bound Dirce,' he says, 'by her hair to a bull and slew her. When they were about to slay Lycus, Mercurius forbade them and at the same time ordered Lycus to yield his kingdom to Amphion⁶.' Euripides, in short, preserved the main outlines of the old-world tale.

¹ On ἀναγνώσις as a strong point with Euripides see e.g. M. Croiset *Histoire de la littérature grecque* Paris 1891 iii. 315 f. Karkinos in his *Thyestes* (*Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 797 Nauck²) *ap.* Aristot. *poet.* 16. 1454 b 21 ff. used certain congenital signs in the shape of stars (ἀστέρας) as the means of effecting such a recognition: this is a parallel to the Breton tale *supra* p. 1011.

² This appears from a comparison of Apollod. 3. 5. 5 with Hyg. *fab.* 8, which is headed *eadem Euripidis, quam scribit Ennius*. See also schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1090, and the remarks of A. Nauck *Trag. Gr. frag.*² p. 410 ff. An analogous version by Kephalion, a rhetorical historian of Hadrian's age, is preserved by Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 pp. 45—49 Dindorf.

³ Apollod. 3. 5. 5.

⁴ *Supra* i. 64 n. 3, 738.

⁵ *Supra* n. 2.

⁶ Hyg. *fab.* 8. So the schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1090.

(θ) Stellar names of the children in 'Expulsion' Tales.

Now Zethos and Amphion were the Theban Dioskouroi¹. It seems worth while, therefore, to consider whether the features common to the 'expulsion' tales can be paralleled from the numerous classical myths with regard to heroic twins. To begin with, one characteristic of the six 'expulsion' tales cited above is a certain peculiarity of nomenclature. The king's wife bears him children as follows:

1. A boy called *Sun*, a boy called *Moon*, a girl called *Star* (successively).
2. A boy called *Sun*, a girl called *Moon*, a boy called *Morning-star* (simultaneously).
3. A boy with the *Morning-star* on his face, a girl with the *Evening-star* on her face (simultaneously).
4. Three golden children, of whom two at least were boys (successively).
5. Two boys with golden apples in their hands, a girl with a *star* on her brow (simultaneously).
6. Two boys with *golden stars* on their brows, a girl with a *silver star* on her brow (successively).

The children, then, are definitely stellar; and a comparison of the last two tales shows beyond all doubt that the golden apples are tantamount to golden stars. Further, in four, perhaps five, out of the six tales the children consist of two boys and a girl. On both grounds we are forced to compare them with Kastor, Polydeukes, and Helene². Zethos and Amphion too were, as we have before seen³, intimately related to sun, moon, and stars. Even Romulus and Remus on Roman imperial coins are treated as Dioskouroi and surmounted by a couple of stars⁴.

(ι) Exposure of the children and Punishment of the mother in 'Expulsion' Tales.

J. Rendel Harris in *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* argues well in defence of the thesis 'That, in the earliest stages of human evolution, twins are taboo, without distinction between them, and that their mother shares the taboo with them⁵.' In conformity with this rule the children of the 'expulsion' tales are regularly exposed as castaways:

1. They are put into boxes and flung into the sea.
2. Orders are given that they should be flung into a river; but they are actually left on a bed of rushes.

¹ *Supra* i. 739, ii. 317, 445.

² If this comparison be well founded, the relation of the children to horses may be more than fortuitous:

- (1) Sun rides a green winged horse, which can thunder and lighten.
- (2) Sun and Morning-star spend their time in exercising their horses: Moon also rides on horseback.
- (3) Morning-star and Evening-star are abandoned on a lame horse: Morning-star secures the winged horse of the plain, which eats men and beasts.
- (5) The brothers with golden apples and the sister with a star all ride on horseback.
- (6) The brothers with golden stars and the sister with a silver star all ride on horseback as cavaliers.

³ *Supra* i. 739.

⁴ Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* pp. 761, 914 f., *supra* p. 443 f. figs. 349—351.

⁵ J. Rendel Harris *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* Cambridge 1906 p. 10 ff.

3. They are put into a basket and flung into a river.
4. They are flung into a hen-house.
5. They are thrown out for the dogs to eat.
6. They are put into baskets and floated down the Seine.

Their mother too is (1) walled up in the jakes, or (3) partially walled up at the entrance to the castle, or (6) shut up in a tower, or (5) put into a tread-mill, or (2 and 4) thrown into the hen-house. Here again classical parallels are not far to seek. According to Kephalion, Lykos had the twins Zethos and Amphion exposed near Mount Kithairon, where a childless labourer named Ordion found and reared them; Dirke took their mother Antiope to the same place, fastened a torch to the horns of a wild bull, and gave orders that Antiope should be roped to its neck and so dragged to death, when in the nick of time the twins learned the victim's name from Ordion, set free their mother, and at her request bound Dirke to the bull¹. As to Kastor, Polydeukes, and Helene, an anonymous narrative, probably drawn from the *Kypria*², said that Zeus under the form of a swan had mated with Nemesis under the form of a goose, that Nemesis had laid an egg and left it in the marsh, that a certain shepherd had found it there and brought it to Leda, who kept it carefully in a chest, and that in time Helene was born from this egg and brought up as the child of Leda³. A tradition, late in date⁴ but early in character⁵, added that Kastor and Polydeukes were born of the same egg⁶, and used the halves of it as conical caps⁷. Ibykos, a sixth-century lyrical poet, introduced some speaker, presumably Herakles, saying of the twin Moliones:

The white-horsed youths,
Sons of Molione, I slew,
Like-aged and equal-headed and one-bodied,
Both born in a silver egg⁸.

¹ Kephalion *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 628 ff. Müller) *ap.* Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 45 ff. Dindorf.

² See O. Rossbach in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 118 ff.

³ Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 88, Apollod. 3. 10. 7. The egg was left ἐν τῷ ἔλει (Tzetz.), ἐν τοῖς ἀλαεσιν (Apollod.: ἀλαεσιν cod. S. ἔλαεσιν Preller, δάλαεσιν Bekker).

⁴ A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1159.

⁵ E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1113.

⁶ Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 88, 506, schol. Kallim. *h. Artem.* 232, schol. *Od.* 11. 298, *Hor. sat.* 2. 1. 26, *ars poet.* 147 with Acron *ad loc.*, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 328, Fulgent. *myth.* 2. 16, *Myth. Vat.* 1. 78, 3. 3. 6.

⁷ Lyk. *Al.* 506 f., Loukian. *dial. deor.* 26. 1.

Another account said that Iupiter as a swan consorted with Leda, who laid two eggs, one of them containing Castor and Pollux, the other Clytemnestra and Helena (*Myth. Vat.* 1. 204).

In a sanctuary of Hilaeira and Phoibe at Sparta an egg, hung from the roof by ribbons, was shown as that to which Leda had given birth (*Paus.* 3. 16. 1). Its position, slung in mid air, suggests that it may have symbolised the moon. Neokles of Kroton stated that the egg from which Helene was born had fallen from the moon, the women there being oviparous and their offspring fifteen times as large as we are, according to Herodorus of Herakleia (*frag.* 28 in *Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 35, where see C. Müller's note).

⁸ Ibyk. *frag.* 16 Bergk⁴ *ap.* Athen. 57 F I., cp. Eustath. *in* *Il.* p. 1321, 33 ff., *in* *Od.* p. 1686, 45 ff. According to Pherekydes *frag.* 36 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 81 Müller) *ap.* schol. *Il.* 11. 709, Kteatos and Eurytos were the sons of Molione, daughter of Molos, nominally by Aktor, but really by Poseidon: each of them had two heads, four hands, four feet, and one body. They thus closely resembled the composite beings, whom Plato related to the

But whether this egg, like that of Helene, was left in the wilds, we do not know. Far more familiar is the fate of Romulus and Remus. Amulius, king of Alba Longa, gave orders that they together with their mother, the Vestal Ilia, should be thrown into the Tiber. The twins were washed up on the bank, where the shepherd Faustulus found them, suckled by a she-wolf and attended by a woodpecker and a jay. He took them to his wife Acca Laurentia, who reared them. Their mother Ilia became the wife of the river-god Anien or Tiberis¹. According to another account, Amulius doomed the guilty mother to be flogged to death. Others again said that, owing to the entreaties of his daughter Antho, Amulius commuted her punishment into close imprisonment, but that after his death she was let out².

(κ) **Quests undertaken by the children in 'Expulsion' Tales.**

The quests undertaken by the children in the 'expulsion' tales are not regarded by J. G. von Hahn as essential to this type of story; and in point of fact they are absent altogether from the Eubœan version (4). Still, where they are present, they are likely to repay investigation. Indeed, I suspect that ultimately they will prove to be quite the most interesting portion of the whole. For purposes of comparison, let us enumerate them in order:

1. (a) A golden apple kept by forty dragons.
 (b) A golden bough, on which all the birds of the world meet to sing.
 (c) The Tzitzinaina, who knows the language of all birds and can turn men into stone.
2. (a) A branch, which makes music and is kept by two dragons.
 (b) A mirror, which shows the whole world and is kept by forty dragons.
 (c) The bird Dikjeretto, which can turn men into stone.
3. (a) The Winged Horse of the Plain, which swears by its brother.
 (b) The Beauty of the Land, who can turn men into stone.
5. (a) The Dancing Water, which is guarded by four giants and four lions.
 (b) The Singing Apple, which grows on the top of a wonderful tree with shears before it.
 (c) The Speaking Bird, which is perched on the bason of a fountain in a garden and can turn men into statues.
6. (a)+(b)+(c) The Dancing Water, the Singing Apple, and the Bird of Truth. The Dancing Water comes from a fountain beneath an apple-tree. On a branch of the tree grows the Singing Apple. A blackbird on the tree is the Bird of Truth. Beside the tree is a golden seat. All these are found in a summery plain on the top of a wintry mountain, the path up which is bordered by cavaliers turned into stone.

It will be seen that the last tale gives the most coherent account of the various objects to be sought. Moreover, it alone makes mention of one detail, the golden seat, which affords a clue to the meaning of all the rest. Whoever can sit on that golden throne thereby establishes his claim to be king, the Dancing Water, the Singing Apple, and the Bird of Truth being in some sort his *regalia*. But this is a matter for further investigation. For the moment I content myself with observing that traces, substantial traces, of similar quests are to be found sun and moon (*supra* i. 311). Cp. Plout. *de frat. am.* 1 τὸς Μολιονίδας ἐκείνους, συμφύεις τοῖς σώμασι γεγονέναι δοκοῦντας.

¹ Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 1. 273.

² Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 78f., Plout. *v. Rom.* 3, Liv. 1. 4. 3.

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throughout ancient Greek mythology. The folk-tale hero rides off to get the golden apple kept by forty dragons in a garden¹. We think of Herakles, the great twin brother of Iphikles, who seeks the golden apples of the Hesperides, apples that grow in the garden of Zeus and are kept by the dragon Ladon². The same folk-tale hero rides a green winged horse, which can thunder and lighten³. We are familiar with the winged horse Pegasos, of whom Hesiod wrote:

In Zeus' home he dwells
Bearing the thunder-peal and lightning-flash
For Zeus the wise⁴.

¹ *Supra* p. 1003.

² K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2594 ff.

³ *Supra* p. 1003.

⁴ Hes. *theog.* 285 f., cp. Eur. *Bellerophon* frag. 312 Nauck² ὄφ' ἄρουα' ἐλθῶν Ζηνὸς ἀστραπήφορεῖ. I do not know any ancient representation of Pegasos as lightning-bearer. But a very remarkable red-figured *hydria* at Paris (De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* ii. 343 no. 449, J. B. Biot in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1847 xix. 184 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* iv pl. 39, 2 (= my fig. 885), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 129, 4. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München



Fig. 885.

1910 i. 84 n. 2 fig. 26 ('Apotropäische Darstellung einer Sonnenfinsternis') appears to represent him as a constellation in the sky. My friend Prof. E. T. Whittaker, late Astronomer Royal of Ireland, has kindly supplied me with the following note on this unique vase-painting:

'Four stars of approximately equal magnitude will be noticed forming a rectangular figure flanked by two other stars. There are in the northern sky two well known instances of stars disposed in a rectangle, *viz.* the body of the Plough (Ursa Major) and the great square of Pegasus. Here the addition of Pegasus himself puts the meaning beyond doubt.

The fact that the moon appears as a comparatively thin crescent shows that a time

The hero of another folk-tale captures the Winged Horse of the Plain: he waits till it stoops its head in drinking from a spring, then leaps on to its back, and makes it swear by its brother to serve him¹. He too can be paralleled by Bellerophontes, who captures Pegasus while drinking at the spring Peirene²; and Pegasus, we remember, has Chrysaor for brother³. Lastly, the folk-tale hero, who as a new-born babe is put into a box and flung into the sea, while his mother is walled up in the jakes⁴, recalls the classical myth of Danae, first shut up in an underground chamber and then sent adrift in a chest on the sea



Fig. 886.

with the infant Perseus. And, when the said folk-tale hero vanquishes the Tzitzinaina that turns men into stone⁵, we can but compare Perseus decapitating Medousa and returning in triumph with her petrifying head. The fact is, these modern European folk-tales are—as E. S. Hartland expresses it—‘stuff of the kind out of which the classical and other mythologies grew⁶.’ Such correspondences between the modern illiterate folk-tale and the ancient literary myth are, therefore, to be expected. Parian marble must needs bear a certain resemblance to the Hermes of Praxiteles⁷.

either quite early or quite late in the lunation is intended. If the former, the vase must represent the western horizon soon after sunset in spring. If the latter, it represents the eastern sky shortly before sunrise in autumn. No obvious meaning attaches to the short curved lines within or without the moon’s disc. The scale on which the moon is represented is much larger than that on which the great square of Pegasus appears.’

¹ *Supra* p. 1006.

² Strab. 379.

³ O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2484, H. W. Stoll in *Roscher Lex. Myth.* i. 900, F. Hannig *ib.* iii. 1749. *Supra* p. 716 ff.

⁴ *Supra* p. 1003 f.

⁵ *Supra* p. 1004.

⁶ E. S. Hartland *Mythology and Folktales* London 1900 p. 35.

⁷ We must, however, bear in mind the warning uttered by that careful student of Greek

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(λ) Penalties exacted by the children in 'Expulsion' Tales.

It remains but to notice the extreme savagery with which, in the folk-tales, the guilty parties are punished :

1. The king's mother and the midwife are torn asunder by horses.
2. The king's mother is banished from the palace : the midwife is beheaded.
3. The king's mother and the midwife are torn asunder by horses.
4. The king's mother is torn asunder by mules.
5. The jealous sisters are thrown into a caldron of boiling oil : the nurse is flung from the window.
6. The jealous sister and the midwife are cast into a furnace.

Even here classical mythology, for all its refinement and polish, can offer a gruesome analogy. Zethos and Amphion, as we have already heard¹, bind the ill-starred Dirke to a wild bull, by which she is dragged to death. Nay worse, the scene of her agony was a favourite subject with the sensational art of the Hellenistic age (fig. 886)².

APPENDIX G.

ORPHIC THEOGONIES AND THE COSMOGONIC EROS.

The Orphic fragments were collected and discussed with marvellous insight by C. A. Lobeck *Aglaophamus Regimontii Prussorum* 1829 i. 411—ii. 964. A somewhat fuller and handier collection is that of E. Abel *Orphica Lipsiae-Pragae* 1885 pp. 137—273, who, however, does not add a commentary and occasionally refers a fragment to the wrong context. An important supplement is G. Murray 'Critical Appendix on the Orphic Tablets' in Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² pp. 659—673 (*supra* p. 118 n. 2). Recently O. Kern in his *Orphicorum fragmenta* Berolini 1922 has produced an admirably careful and complete edition, which includes 'Testimonia' (pp. 1—79), 'Fragmenta' (pp. 80—344), bibliography (pp. 345—350), reference-tables (pp. 351—353), and 'Indices' (pp. 360—407). But the subject is even now far from being exhausted, and a *Corpus* of the monu-

folk-tales, Prof. W. R. Halliday, in R. M. Dawkins *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* Cambridge 1916 p. 216 f. : 'It cannot be too strongly insisted that there is no special connexion at all between ancient mythology and modern Greek folk-tales. Wherever it has been traced, there is obvious to the impartial observer either a straining of the evidence or a palpable mistake.'

¹ *Supra* pp. 1013, 1015.

² See e.g. Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 532 ff., Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 43 Text p. 55, E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1170.

I figure e.g. the principal design on an Apulian *krater* from Palazuolo near Syracuse, now in Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamm. Berlin* ii. 926 f. no. 3296 K. Dilthey in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1878 xxxvi. 42 ff. pls. 7 (=my fig. 886) and 8, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 421, 2, O. Jessen in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2184 ff. fig. 1, J. H. Huddilston *Greek Tragedy in the light of Vase Paintings* London 1898 p. 9 n. 1). On the left Dirke, a pathetic figure with bared breast, is dragged to death by the raging bull. On the right Lykos, caught skulking in a cave by Zethos and Amphion, is about to be dispatched, when Hermes—as in the Euripidean version (*supra* p. 1013)—suddenly intervenes to stay the slaughter. Antiope escapes to the right. The panther-skin hung on the wall of the cave hints at the Dionysiac character of Antiope (*supra* i. 735).

mental evidence is still sorely needed. Of scholars that in modern times have devoted special attention to the Orphic theogonies (P. R. Schuster *De veteris Orphicae theogoniae indole atque origine* Lipsiae 1869, O. Kern *De Orphei Epimenidis Pherecydis theogoniis quaestiones criticae* Berolini 1888, *id.* 'Theogoniae Orphicae fragmenta nova' in *Hermes* 1888 xxiii. 481—488, F. Susemihl 'Die Orphische theogonie' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1874 xx. 666—676, *id.* *De theogoniae Orphicae forma antiquissima Gryphiswaldiae* 1890, *id.* 'Zu den orphischen Theogonien' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1890 xxxvi. 820—826, *id.* *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit* Leipzig 1891 i. 896, F. Lukas *Die Grundbegriffe in den Kosmogonien der alten Völker* Leipzig 1893, pp. 178—195, A. E. J. Holwerda 'De Theogonia Orphica' in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 1894 xxii. 286—329, 361—385, W. Kroll 'De Orphicis addendum' in *Philologus* 1894 liii. 561, P. Tannery 'Sur la première theogonie Orphique' in the *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 1897 xi. 13—17, Rohde *Psyche*³ ii. 414—417, and others) none has done better service than O. Gruppe (*Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 612—675, 'Berichtigung' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1888 xxxiv Anhang 1 f., 'Die rhapsodische Theogonie und ihre Bedeutung innerhalb der orphischen Litteratur' *ib.* 1890 Suppl. xvii. 687—747, *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 419—423, 430—432, 'Älteste orphische Theogonie' in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1120—1124, 'Die Lehre von der periodischen Welterneuerung' *ib.* iii. 1139—1149, *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 215 f.), whose views—with sundry modifications—are here summarised.

(1) The earliest Orphic Theogony.

Quotations in authors of the classical age (cp. H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*³ Berlin 1912 ii. 167 ff. 'Altbezeugte Fragmente') postulate the existence of an early Orphic theogony, to which even Homer, at least in the *Διὸς ἀπάτην*, was indebted (*Il.* 14. 201 cp. Plat. *Cratyl.* 402 B—C; *Il.* 14. 246 cp. Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 18 p. 20 Schwartz, Krates *ap.* Plout. *de fac. in orbe lun.* 25, Orph. *h. Okean.* 83. 1 f., Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 5. 7 p. 148 Duncker—Schneidewin, 8. 12 p. 424; but hardly *Il.* 14. 259 ff. cp. Damaskios *quaest. de primis principiis* 124 (i. 319, 8 ff. Ruelle)). The contents of the poem can be partially reconstructed as follows:—In the beginning was Nyx (Aristot. *met.* 12. 6. 1071 b 26 f., 14. 4. 1091 b 4 ff., Eudemos of Rhodes *ap.* Damaskios *loc. cit.*, Lyd. *de mens.* 2. 8 p. 26, 1 ff. Wünsch). Black-winged Nyx laid a wind-egg, from which in due time sprang gold-winged Eros (Aristoph. *av.* 695 ff.). Apparently heaven and earth were regarded as the upper and lower halves of the vast egg (so in the later theogony of Orph. *frag.* 57 Kern *ap.* Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 18 p. 20 f. Schwartz, cp. Varro *frag.* 109 Funaioli *ap.* Prob. *in Verg. ecl.* 6. 31 p. 354 Lion). Uranos (Aristot. *met.* 14. 4. 1091 b 5) and Ge (Lyd. *de mens.* 2. 8 p. 26, 2 f. Wünsch) together produced as their offspring Okeanos and Tethys (Plat. *Tim.* 40 E). Fair-flowing Okeanos took to wife Tethys, his sister by the same mother, and so was the first to begin regular wedlock (Orph. *frag.* 15 Kern *ap.* Plat. *Cratyl.* 402 B—C, cp. Aristot. *met.* 1. 3. 983 b 30 f.). Their children were Phorkys, Kronos, Rhea, and others (Plat. *Tim.* 40 E, Cic. *Tim.* 11). The sequel can perhaps be surmised from the *Διὸς ἀπάτην*. Rhea took Hera to Okeanos and Tethys, who brought up the child in their abode; and Zeus thrust Kronos down below the earth and the sea (*Il.* 14. 200 ff.). Zeus used to visit Hera clandestinely (*Il.* 14. 294 ff.), repairing to Okeanos for the purpose (Orph. *περὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας frag.* 115 Kern *ap.* Eustath. *in Dionys. per.* 1). Not improbably the poem told how, to grace this 'sacred marriage' (Dion Chrys. *or.* 36 p. 99 Reiske, Prokl. *in Plat. Tim.* i. 49, 13 f. Diehl cp. *ib.* iii. 248, 5 ff.), Ge sent up golden apples

(Asklepiades of Mende *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 306 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 83 c) or apple-trees bearing golden fruit in Okeanos (Pherekydes of Leros *frag.* 33 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 78 f. Müller) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1396), or came with branches of golden apples to the wedding and allowed Hera to plant them in her garden by Mt Atlas, where they were protected by the Hesperides and the snake (Pherekydes of Leros *frag.* 33a (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 79 f. Müller) *ap.* Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 3, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 383, 1 ff. Eyssenhardt: *id. ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 3 calls it the garden of the gods; others, the gardens of Zeus (Soph. *Ion frag.* 297 Nauck², 320 Jebb, *ap.* Stob. *flor.* 103. 10 (ed. Gaisford iii. 292) *ἐν Διὸς κήποις ἀρούσθαι* (T. Bergk cj. ἀρούσθαι) *μόνον εὐδαιμόνος* (leg. εὐδαιμόνας) ὄλβους) or the plain of Zeus (Aristoph. *av.* 1758 *πέδον Διὸς καὶ λέχος γαμήλιον*, cp. Eur. *Hipp.* 749 *Ζανὸς μελάθρων παρὰ κοίταις* (J. G. J. Hermann cj. *παρ' εὐναίς*)), or the gardens of Father Okeanos (Aristoph. *nuθ.* 271), or the meadow of Hera (Kallim. *h. Artem.* 164)). The poem concluded with the sixth generation (Orph. *frag.* 14 Kern *ap.* Plat. *Phileb.* 66 c). O. Gruppe thinks that it was probably composed towards the end of s. vii B.C. at Kroton, where Hera *Lakinia* had a garden (Lyk. *Al.* 856 ff. ὄρχαρον with Tzetz. *ad loc.* δῆλον τὸν κήπον λέγειν) and a temple of the Muses (Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 50 after Timaios?) may betoken Orphic influence.

[Here I dissent. It seems to me that clear indications point to an earlier age and a very different locality. If the *Διὸς ἀπάτη* really presupposes an Orphic theogony, that theogony can hardly be later than s. x (see the sober estimates of W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*⁶ München 1908 i. 59—62)—a period which accords well with the epic metre and dialect of the extant fragments, not to lay stress on the remote traditional dates of Orpheus himself (O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1064—1073). Moreover, our attention is drawn eastwards rather than westwards: the scene of the *Διὸς ἀπάτη* is laid on Mt Ide in Phrygia (*supra* i. 154, ii. 950); the position assigned by the theogony to Nyx recalls the archaic (s. vi) figure of Nyx by Rhoikos at Ephesos (Paus. 10. 38. 6 f.); Okeanos and Tethys as forbears are compared by Aristotle with water as the primal substance assumed by Thales of Miletos (Aristot. *met.* 1. 3. 983 b 20 ff.); and the cosmic egg, not to mention other points of resemblance, occurs also in the Phoenician theogony (Sanchouniathon as translated by Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2. 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 565 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praef. ev.* 1. 10. 2 ἀνεπλάσθη ὁμοίως ᾧ οὐ σήματι κ.τ.λ., cp. *supra* i. 583 n. 4, 785, and Mochos *ap.* Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 125 *ter* (i. 323, 6 ff. Ruelle) ὦν... τὸ δὲ ὦν ὁ οὐρανός). I infer that the Orphic poem took shape somewhere in Asia Minor as the result of early Ionian speculation brought to bear on primitive Thraco-Phrygian beliefs. A trace of such beliefs may be found in the Lesbian tale of Enorches. A certain Thyestes consorting with his sister Daita or Daito (*v.l.* Daiso, cp. the Lesbian Theodaisia (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* pp. 280 n. 2, 472 n. 2)) produced from an egg a son called Enorches, who founded a temple for Dionysos and called the god after himself Dionysos Ἐνόρχης (Eudok. *viol.* 345, schol. Lyk. *Al.* 212)—a title borne by Dionysos in Samos also (Hesych. *s.v.* Ἐνόρχης) and obviously derived from ὄρχεις, 'testicles' (ἐνόρχης, ἐνορχος, ἐνορχίς is elsewhere used e.g. of a ram (*Il.* 23. 147, Synes. *epist.* 148) or he-goat (Theokr. 3. 4, Loukian. *dial. deor.* 4. 1) or bull (Aristot. *hist. an.* 9.50. 632 a 20)). Now the names Thyestes and Daito recall at once the banquet of Thyestes, son of Pelops the Phrygian (Bakchyl. 7. 5, Hdt. 7. 8 and 11, Telestes *frag.* 5 Bergk⁴ *ap.* Athen. 625 E—626 A, schol. Pind. *Ol.* 9. 15 a), and imply that in Lesbos as at Mykenai there lingered the memory of ritual cannibalism. H. D. Müller *Mythologie der griechischen Stämme* Göttingen

1861 ii. 154—158 argues that the Mycenaean myth points back to a human sacrifice offered to a Zeus-like deity *Θυέστης*, the 'Dashing' storm-god (*θύω*, *θύελλα*). This etymology is possible (Dionysios i of Syracuse *ap. Phot. bibl.* p. 532 b 32 ff. Bekker *θυέστην τὸν δοῖδνκα ἐκάλει*, a pestle being a 'dasher' or 'bruiser': see Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 355), though the Lesbian Thyestes appears in a Dionysiac context (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 660 n. 1) which relates his name to *θυιάδες*, *θυιστάδες*, *Θυώνη*, etc. Be that as it may, the association of human sacrifice with the cult of Dionysos takes us from Lesbos (*supra* i. 656 n. 4: see also the story told by Ail. *var. hist.* 13. 2 of the Mytilenaeon Makáreus, priest of Dionysos, and his sons, who *μιμούμενοι τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἱερούργιαν τῷ βωμῷ τῷ πατρῷῳ προσήλθον ἔτι καομένων τῶν ἐμπύρων· καὶ ὁ μὲν νεώτερος παρέσχε τὸν τράχηλον, ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος ἡμελημένην εἴρων σφαγίδα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς ἱερεῖον*) to Thrace, where the devouring of a dismembered child was not unknown (*supra*, i. 656). Others explained the title *Ἐνόρχης* by the tale of Polyhymnos (Eudok. *viol.* 345, Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 212: O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2657—2661, 3154 f. discusses variants). Dionysos, when his mother was struck by the thunderbolt, groped about for her. A young man named Polyhymnos undertook to show him the way to her, if allowed to consort with him. Dionysos agreed, provided that he found his mother first. Following the advice of Polyhymnos, he went down to Hades and brought her up from the spring at Lerna. Polyhymnos having died, Dionysos by way of keeping his promise attached genitals of fig-wood to himself and leathern *phalloi* of deer-skin. Hence his title *Ἐνόρχης*. The clue to the understanding of this narrative is the fact that *πολύμνος* was an appellative of Dionysos himself (*h. Dion.* 26. 7, Eur. *Ion* 1074 f.), kindred names being found in his *entourage* (Polyhymno his Dodonaean nurse (*supra* i. 111 n. 6), Polymnia mother of Orpheus (schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 23) and of Triptolemos (schol. *Il.* 10. 435, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 817, 32, Tzetz. *in Hes. o. d.* i p. 28, 6f. Gaisford)). The descent of Dionysos and Polyhymnos is therefore tantamount to a descent of Dionysos *Πολύμνος*; and the obscene pact between the two, which is missing in the version given by Paus. 2. 37. 5, is a piece of aetiology meant to elucidate the Lernaean *Φαλλαγῶγια*. The quest of Dionysos for Semele thus becomes comparable with that of Orpheus for Eurydike (see Harrison *Themis* pp. 420, 523) and again points Thrace-wards.]

(2) The Orphic Theogony of Hieronymos and Hellanikos.

Another Orphic theogony, distinguished as *ἡ...κατὰ τὸν Ἱερόνυμον φερομένη καὶ Ἑλλάνικον, εἴπερ μὴ καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἔστιν*, is set forth by Damaskios *quaest. de primis principiis* 123 bis (i. 317, 15 ff. Ruelle):—In the beginning was water and slime (Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 484, followed by F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*³ Leipzig and Darmstadt 1842 iv. 83, rightly cj. *ἰλύς* for *ἕλη*; but cp. Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iii. 249 B—C) which thickened into earth. Water, the combining element, and earth, the scattered, together produced a snake with three heads, in the middle that of a god, to one side that of a bull, to the other that of a lion. The snake had wings on its shoulders and was named Chronos the ageless and Herakles (cp. Orph. *h. Herakl.* 12). With it consorted Ananke or Adrasteia, a bodiless being whose arms stretch throughout the world and clasp its extremities: she is described as at once male and female. The snake Chronos begat intelligent (but Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 486 n. † cj. *νοτερόν* for *νοερόν*, and C. E. Ruelle *ad loc.* approves the change) Aither, boundless Chaos, and misty Erebus. Among these Chronos produced an egg containing male and female elements, a multiplicity of seeds, and a bodiless god (*supra* i. 311 n. 5: see also

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O. Kern *De Orphēi Epimenidis Pherecydis theogoniis quaestiones criticae* Berolini 1888 p. 25 f.) with golden wings on his shoulders, the heads of bulls attached to his sides (cp. Orph. *h. Protog.* 6. 3 ταυροβόαν), and on his head a monstrous snake resembling all manner of wild beasts. This god is named Protogonos or Zeus the arranger of all or Pan (Πρωτόγονον ἀνυμνεῖ καὶ Δία καλεῖ πάντων διατάκτορα καὶ ὄλου τοῦ κόσμου, διὸ καὶ Πᾶνα καλεῖσθαι (cp. Orph. *h. Pan.* 11. 12 ἀληθῆς Ζεὺς ὁ κεράστης)). The account given by Damaskios is borne out by Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 18 p. 20, 22 ff. Schwartz and schol. Greg. Naz. *or.* 31. 16 (E. Norden in *Hermes* 1892 xxvii. 614 f.), who, however, omit the bovine head of the snake, ascribing to it the head of a god between the heads of a snake and a lion, and say nothing of Aither, Chaos, and Erebos. The snake Herakles—they declare—produced a huge egg, which, filled with his force, cracked and broke into halves—the upper heaven, the lower earth. Forth from the egg came a bodiless god (*supra*), Phanes by name. Athenag. *loc. cit.* p. 21, 1 ff. Schwartz adds the sequel. Ouranos and Ge had as their daughters Klotho, Lachesis, Atropos, as their sons the Hekatoncheires Kottos, Gyges, Briareos, and the Kyklopes Brontes, Steropes, Arges. These Ouranos bound and flung into Tartaros, having heard that his sons would dethrone him. Thereupon Ge was angered and bare the Titans, so called 'because they took vengeance (τισάσθην) on great Ouranos the starry' (Orph. *frag.* 57 Kern).

[As to the date and *provenance* of the theogony, we are reduced to guesswork. C. Müller *Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 450 n. ** cj. that Hieronymos was Ἱερώνυμος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ὁ τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν τὴν Φοινικικὴν συγγραψάμενος (Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 1. 3. 6, cp. 1. 3. 9, = Euseb. *praef. ev.* 9. 11. 3, cp. 9. 13. 5, Kedren. *hist. comp.* 11 b c (i. 23 Bekker)), and he is followed e.g. by F. Susemihl *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit* Leipzig 1891 i. 376 n. 6; but A. Gudeman in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1564 enters a caveat. Hellanikos is commonly regarded as pseudo-Hellanikos; but Gudeman *loc. cit.* viii. 121 thinks that the theogony current under his name 'war sicher kein besonderes Buch, sondern der Bericht über die Entstehung der Welt nach einem orphischen Gedicht. H. kann ihn recht gut irgendwo gegeben haben.' If so, the Orphic poem itself cannot have been composed later than c. 450 B.C. and may have been a good deal earlier. It exhibits various traces of oriental cosmogony and of Greek philosophy. The complex monsters are more Semitic than Hellenic. The world-creating Herakles is perhaps Phoenician (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 499; but see *cund.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1141). So, as was pointed out by E. Zeller (*A History of Greek Philosophy* trans. S. F. Alleyne London 1881 i. 102 n. 4 *fin.*), is primeval slime (Sanchouniathon in Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2. 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 565 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praef. ev.* 1. 10. 1 f. καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ συμπλοκῆς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐγένετο Μῶτ· τοῦτό τινές φασιν ἰλύν, οἱ δὲ ὕδατώδους μίξεως σῆψιν, with which Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 386 f. well cp. Diod. 1. 10 φασὶ τοῖνον Αἰγύπτιοι κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῶν ὄλων γένεσιν πρώτους ἀνθρώπους γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον διὰ τὴν εὐκρᾶσίαν τῆς χώρας καὶ διὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ Νείλου. τοῦτον γὰρ πολύγονον ὄντα καὶ τὰς τροφὰς αὐτοφυεῖς παρεχόμενον βράδιως ἐκτρέφειν τὰ ζωογονηθέντα... ὅταν γὰρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ποιούμενου τὴν πρώτην τῆς ἰλύος ὁ ἥλιος διαξηράνη, φασὶ συνίστασθαι ζῶα, τινὰ μὲν εἰς τέλος ἀπηρτισμένα, τινὰ δὲ ἡμιτελῆ καὶ πρὸς αὐτῇ συμφυῆ τῇ γῆ, *ib.* 12 τὸ μὲν οὖν πνεῦμα Δία προσαγορεύσαι μεθερμηνευομένης τῆς λέξεως, ὃν αἴτιον ὄντα τοῦ ψυχικοῦ τοῖς ζῴοις ἐνόμισαν ὑπάρχειν πάντων οἰονεῖ τινὰ πατέρα... τὴν δὲ γῆν ὥσπερ ἀγγεῖον τι τῶν φυσωμένων ὑπολαμβάνοντας μητέρα προσαγορεύσαι, the Egyptian word for 'mother' being μούθ (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 56) = Sanchouniathon's Μῶτ: *id. Gr. Myth. Rel.*

p. 431 n. 3 further cites the thickening of water into slime and earth in Mandaite speculation (A. J. H. W. Brandt *Die mandäische Religion* Leipzig 1889 p. 50 ff.). But a similar view was held by Anaximandros (E. Zeller *op. cit.* i. 255 f.), Diogenes of Apollonia (*id. ib.* i. 294, 296), and Anaxagoras (*id. ib.* ii. 356). Empedokles too had spoken of water as a combining element (*frag.* 34 Διὸς ἀλφειὸν ὕδατι κολλήσας). And the equation of Zeus with Pan is again suggestive of philosophical influence (E. Zeller *op. cit.* i. 101), conceivably that of Herakleitos (*supra* i. 28 ff.). On the whole we may conclude that the Orphic theogony bearing the name of Hieronymos or Hellanikos was the summary of an epic poem drafted somewhere in Ionia c. 500 B.C.]

(3) The Theogony of the Orphic Rhapsodies.

But the bulk of the Orphic fragments, quoted by neo-Platonists and others, belongs to a third theogony probably called the *ἱερός λόγος* (Orph. *frag.* 63 Kern *op. et. mag.* p. 231, 22 ff.) or *ἱεροὶ λόγοι* (Soud. *s.v.* Ὀρφεύς) and contained in 24 Rhapsodies ascribed by some to Theognetos the Thessalian, by others to Kerkops the Pythagorean (*id. ib.*). Of Theognetos nothing more is known. Epigenes in his work *On poetry attributed to Orpheus* (*ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* i. 21 p. 81, 11 ff. Stählin) regarded Kerkops the Pythagorean as the author of the Orphic *εἰς Ἄιδου κατάβασις* and *ἱερός λόγος* (cp. Cic. *de nat. deor.* i. 107). And Pythagorean authorship is not impossible, or even improbable; for Herakleides Lembos *frag.* 8 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 169 f. Müller) *ap.* Diog. Laert. 8. 7 cites the opening hexameter of a *ἱερός λόγος* ascribed to Pythagoras; Iambli. *v. Pyth.* 146 quotes from another *ἱερός λόγος* or *περὶ θεῶν λόγος*, believed to be by Pythagoras himself or by his son Telauges, a passage of Doric prose, in which Pythagoras declares that he was initiated at Libethra in Thrace by Aglaophamos and there learnt that Orpheus son of Kalliope, taught by his mother on Mt Pangaion, had enunciated the fundamental significance of number etc.; *id. ib.* 258 f. tells how the rhetorician Ninon professed to divulge Pythagorean secrets contained in a work entitled *λόγος ἱερός*; Soud. *s.v.* Ἀριγνώτη = Eudok. *viol.* 173 speaks of a *ἱερός λόγος* written by the Pythagorean Arignote; and Plout. *de gen. Socr.* 24 makes Theaṅor the Pythagorean describe Simmias' story of Timarchos' visit to the Underworld as *λόγον...ἱερόν*: see further A. Delatte *Études sur la littérature pythagoricienne* Paris 1915 pp. 1—79 ('Un ἼΕΡΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ pythagoricien'). The Rhapsodic theogony, according to Damaskios *quaest. de primis principiis* 123 (i. 316, 18 ff. Ruelle), cp. *ib.* 50 (i. 100, 19 f.), 123 *bis* (i. 318, 6 ff.), gave the following sequence of events:—In the beginning was Chronos the ageless, father of Aither and Chaos. Then came the cosmic egg, called also 'the brilliant *chitón*' or 'the cloud' (*ib.* 123 (i. 317, 2 f.) ἦτοι τὸ κρούμενον καὶ τὸ κύον ὦν τὸν θεόν, ἢ τὸν ἀργῆτα χιτῶνα, ἢ τὴν νεφέλην), from which sprang Phanes, otherwise known as Metis or Erikepaïos. [As to the meaning of these names valuable information is preserved to us by Io. Malal. *chron.* 4 p. 74 Dindorf ἔφρασε δὲ ὅτι τὸ φῶς ῥῆξαν τὸν αἰθέρα ἐφώτισε τὴν γῆν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν, εἰπὼν ἐκεῖνο εἶναι τὸ φῶς τὸ ῥῆξαν τὸν αἰθέρα τὸ προειρημένον, τὸ ὑπέρατον πάντων, οὐ ὄνομα ὁ αὐτὸς Ὀρφεύς ἀκούσας ἐκ τῆς μαντείας ἐξέειπε, Μῆτιν, Φάνητα, Ἐρικεπαῖον (*sic*). ὅπερ ἐρμηνεύεται τῇ κοινῇ γλώσσει βουλή, φῶς, ζωδοτήρ (= Kedren. *hist. comp.* 57 D (i. 102 Bekker) βουλή, φῶς, ζωδοτήρ, cp. Soud. *s.v.* Ὀρφεύς 7 βουλήν, φῶς, ζῶην = Kedren. *hist. comp.* 84 B (i. 148) βουλή, φῶς, ζῶή) and by Nonnos Abbas *collectio et explicatio historiarum quibus Gregorius Nazianzenus in priore invectiva in Julianum usus est* 78 (xxxvi. 1028 C Migne) Περὶ Φάνητος καὶ Ἐρικεπαίου. ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς ποιήμασιν εἰσηνέχθη τὰ δύο ταῦτα ὀνόματα μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν. ὦν τὸν Φάνητα εἰσφέρει αἰδοῖον ἔχοντα

ὀπίσω περὶ τὴν πυγῆν. λέγουσι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔφορον εἶναι τῆς ζωογόνου δυνάμεως ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἑρικεπαῖον λέγουσιν ἑτέρας ἔφορον εἶναι δυνάμεως (repeated in a corrupt form by Suid. *s.v.* Φάνης; see G. Bernhardt *ad loc.*). From this it appears that the names Μῆτις and Φάνης had an obvious sense for Greek ears, but that Ἑρικεπαῖος or Ἑρικαπαῖος had not. Presumably Μῆτις (masc.) was a *Kosename* either for πολύμητις, which occurs as an Orphic designation of this deity (Orph. *h. Protog.* 6. 10), or—and this I regard as the more probable view—for μητίετα, the epic appellative of Zeus (*supra* i. 14 n. 1). Φάνης was certainly taken by the Greeks to denote a god of light or daylight or sunlight (*supra* i. 7 n. 6): but of course it remains possible that his name was originally non-Greek; it may *e.g.* have been Thracο-Phrygian, cp. Auson. *epigr.* 48. 3 Mysi Phanacen nominant, 49. 1 Μυσῶν δὲ Φανάκης (F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*³ Leipzig and Darmstadt 1840 ii. 226, 1842 iv. 80, Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 478 n. ¹, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2248). Ἑρικεπαῖος or Ἑρικαπαῖος is a well-known *crux* (for older views see K. W. Goettling *De Ericarphao Orphicorum numine* Jenae 1862 (= *id. Opuscula academica* Lipsiae 1869 pp. 206—214); for newer, O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 452 f. and K. Beth ‘Über die Herkunft der orphischen Erikepaios’ (god of *Ericibba*=Eridu) in the *Wiener Studien* 1912 xxxiv. 288—300). If we may rely on Malalas’ interpretation ζωοδοτήρ, it is clear that the name was not Greek. I incline to think that it was Thracian or Thracο-Phrygian. Hence its occurrence as a cult-title of Dionysos at Hierokaisareia in Lydia (J. Keil—A. v. Premerstein ‘Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien und der südlichen Aiolis’ in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1910 ii. Abh. p. 54 f. no. 112 fig. 51=W. Quandt *De Baccho ab Alexandri aetate in Asia Minore culto* Halis Saxonum 1913 p. 181 a round altar of white marble inscribed in lettering of *s.* ii A.D. ἐπὶ ἱεροφάντου | Ἀρτεμιδῶρου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου Μηρόφιλος, Περηλίαις καὶ Σεκοῦνδος Ἀπολλωνίου οἱ συγγενεῖς Διοῦνύσω Ἑρικεπαῖω τὸν βωμόν with wreath below and two garlands supported on rani’s-heads). The second element in the compound might be paralleled, as O. Gruppe saw (in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2268), from Παντικάπησις the river in European Sarmatia and Παντικαπῆσιον the town in the Tauric Chersonesos. The first element, it seems to me, recurs in the name of the river Ἑριδανός (with which A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 129 and *Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland* Göttingen 1909 p. 37 compared the river-names Ἀπιδανός in Thessaly, Ἰάριδανος in Lydia, Crete, and Elis). Indeed, if Ἑρι-κεπαῖος meant ‘Giver of Life,’ I would venture to translate Ἑρι-δανός by ‘River of Life’—an appellation suited to that mythical stream (Strab. 215 περὶ τὸν Ἑριδανόν, τὸν μηδαιμῶ γῆς ὄντα, πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Πάδου λεγόμενον, cp. Hdt. 3. 115, Polyb. 2. 16. 6, Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 31), which was not only a river on earth but also a constellation in heaven (Hes. *frag.* 199 Rzach *ap.* Hyg. *fab.* 152 b, 154, schol. Stroziana in Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 174, 6 ff. (cp. p. 185, 4 ff.) Breysig, Lact. *Plac. narr. fab.* 2. 2 f., Arat. *phaen.* 359 ff. with schol. *ad loc.* 355, 359, pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 37, Caes. Germ. *Aratea* 367 ff., Cic. *Aratea* 143 ff. Bachrens (387 ff.), Mart. Cap. 838, 841, 842, Claudian. *de sext. cons. Hon. Aug.* 175 ff., *Anth. Lat.* i. 2 no. 679. 12 Riese (Priscianus), Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 326 f., 23. 298 ff., 38. 429 ff., *Myth. Vat.* 3. 6. 21, Eustath. in *Dionys. per.* 288) by some called Okeanos (Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 32) or the Nile (Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 32, pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 37, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 359, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 417, 19 Eyssenhardt): see further R. Brown *Eridanus: river and constellation* London 1883, G. Thiele *Antike Himmelsbilder* Berlin 1898 pp. 5, 29 f., 39 f., 49, 124 ff. fig. 50, 147, 164 ff. fig. 72, pls. 2, 4, A. Jeremias *Handbuch der allorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 pp. 60, 189, *id.*

Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1468 fig. 35.] Phanes was also spoken of as Πρωτόγονος (Orph. frag. 86 Kern *ap.* Herm. in Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 141 (p. 148, 25 ff. Couvreur), Orph. frag. 85 Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 33, 3 ff. Pasquali, *eund.* in Plat. *Tim.* i. 450, 9 ff. Diehl, i. 451, 11 ff., iii. 209, 1 f., Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 53 (i. 107, 13 f. Ruelle), 89 (i. 217, 26 f.), 98 (i. 251, 18 ff.), 111 (i. 286, 15 f.), Orph. *h. Protog.* 6. 1, *h. Rhe.* 14. 1, Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 20 p. 23 Schwartz, *Lact. div. inst.* 1. 5, Nonn. *Dion.* 9. 141 (cp. 157 αὐτογόνου), 12. 34 : see further O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2257 f., O. Höfer *ib.* iii. 3183 f.), Ἀνταύγης (Orph. frag. 237, 4 Kern *ap.* Macrobian. *Sat.* 1. 18. 12, Orph. *h. Protog.* 6. 9), Φαίθων (Orph. frag. 73 Kern *ap.* *Lact. div. inst.* 1. 5), Διόνυσος (Orph. frag. 237, 3 Kern *ap.* Macrobian. *Sat.* 1. 18. 12 f., Orph. frag. 237 p. 250 Kern *ap.* Diod. 1. 11, Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* i. 336, 15 f. Diehl, cp. Orph. frag. 239 b, 1 Kern *ap.* *Iust. cohort.* 15 and frag. 239 b Kern *ap.* Macrobian. *Sat.* 1. 18. 18 cited *supra* i. 187 n. 4, i. 234 n. 4 : see also O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2260), Εὐβουλεύς (Orph. frag. 237, 4 Kern *ap.* Macrobian. *Sat.* 1. 18. 12 and 17, cp. Orph. *h. Adon.* 56. 3), Πρίηπος ἀναξ (Orph. *h. Protog.* 6. 9), and Ἔρως (e.g. Orph. frag. 74 Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* i. 433, 31 ff. Diehl, Orph. frag. 37 Kern *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 26, Orph. frag. 82 Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* iii. 101, 20 ff. Diehl, Orph. frag. 83 Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Alcib.* i. 66 Creuzer, Orph. frag. 170 Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* i. 336, 11 ff. Diehl and *ap. eund.* in Plat. *Alcib.* i. 233 Creuzer, cp. Orph. *Arg.* 14 ff.). As μονογενής he was in the time of the emperor Zenon (474—491 A.D.) compared with Christ Himself (*theosoph. Tubing.* 61 in K. Buresch *Klaros* Leipzig 1889 p. 116 f. οὐτι ἐν πολλοῖς φάνητα φερωνύμως ὁ Ὀρφέης προσαγορεύει τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ. κ.τ.λ.). Phanes, when he emerged from the 'white egg' (Orph. frag. 70 Kern *ap.* Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 55 (i. 111, 17 ff. Ruelle) ἔπειτα δ' ἔτευξε μέγας Χρόνος (so C. A. Lobeck for Κρόνος codd.) αἰθέρι διφ | ἠέον ἀργύφειον), contained within him the seed of the gods (Orph. frag. 85 Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 33, 5 f. Pasquali *Μῆτιν σπέρμα φέροντα θεῶν κλυτόν, ὃν τε φάνητα | πρωτόγονον μάκαρες κάλειον κατὰ μακρόν Ὀλυμπον*). Being female as well as male, he begat Nyx, and subsequently consorted with her (Orph. frag. 98 Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* i. 450, 22 ff. Diehl, Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 244 (ii. 116, 4 Ruelle), cp. Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* iii. 170, 4 f. Diehl, Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 209 (ii. 92, 22 f. Ruelle)) and by her had three successive pairs of children—Ge or Gaia and Ouranos (Orph. frag. 109 Kern *ap.* Herm. in Plat. *Phaedr.* pp. 141, 144 (pp. 148, 17 ff., 154, 23 ff. Couvreur)), Rhea and Kronos, Hera and Zeus (Damaskios *quaest. de primis principiis* 244 (ii. 116, 5 ff. Ruelle)). Nyx as queen (Damaskios *quaest. de primis principiis* 209 (ii. 92, 25 ff. Ruelle)) received the sceptre of Phanes or Erikepaios, and in her turn transmitted it to Ouranos, Kronos, Zeus, Dionysos (Orph. frag. 107 Kern *ap.* Syrian. in Aristot. *met.* N. 4. 1091 b 4 p. 182, 9 ff. Kroll, Alex. Aphr. in Aristot. *met.* N. 4. 1091 b 4 p. 821, 5 ff. Hayduck, Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* i. 306, 12 f. and iii. 168, 15 ff. Diehl, Herm. in Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 143 (p. 152, 15 ff. Couvreur), Olympiod. in Plat. *Phaed.* 61 c p. 2, 21 ff. Norvin, Michael Ephes. in Aristot. *met.* N. 4. 1091 b 4 (ed. Berolin. iv. 828 a 8 ff.), Orph. frag. 101 Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 54, 28 ff. Pasquali, Orph. frag. 102 Kern *ap.* Alex. Aphr. in Aristot. *met.* N. 4. 1091 b 4 p. 821, 19 ff. Hayduck, Syrian. in Aristot. *met.* N. 4. 1091 b 4 p. 182, 14 f. Kroll); she also had the gift of prophecy (Orph. frag. 103 Kern *ap.* Herm. in Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 140 (p. 147, 20 ff. Couvreur)). The gods saw with wonderment the light of their creator Phanes shining in the *aithér* (Orph. frag. 86 Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* i. 435, 3 ff. Diehl (cp. *ib.* iii. 83, 4 ff.), Prokl. in Plat. *theol.* 3. 21 p. 161 Portus, Damask

quaest. de primis principiis 113 (i. 291, 18 ff. Ruelle), Herm. in Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 141 (p. 148, 25 ff. Couvreur), cp. Wolf *anecd.* iii. 209). But Zeus with a view to the ordering of all things consulted both Nyx and Kronos, whom he had already bound (Orph. *frag.* 164 Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* i. 206, 26 ff. Diehl, *id.* in Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 30 f.) and mutilated after making him drunk on honey (Orph. *frag.* 154 Kern *ap.* Porph. *de antr. hymn.* 16 παρά δὲ τῷ Ὀρφεὶ ὁ Κρόνος μέλιτι ὑπὸ Διὸς ἐνεδρεύεται· πλησθεὶς γὰρ μέλιτος μεθύει καὶ σκοτοῦται ὡς ἀπὸ (Lobeck cj. ὑπὸ οἴνου καὶ ὑπνοῖ ὡς παρὰ Πλάτωνι (*symph.* 203 B ὁ οὖν Πόρος μεθυσθεὶς τοῦ νέκταρος, οἶνος γὰρ οὐπῶ ἦν, εἰς τὸν τοῦ Διὸς κῆπον εἰσελθὼν βεβαρημένος ἠῖδεν) ὁ Πόρος τοῦ νέκταρος πλησθεὶς· οὐπῶ γὰρ οἶνος ἦν. φησὶ γὰρ παρ' Ὀρφεὶ ἡ Νύξ τῷ Διὶ ὑποπιθεμένη τὸν διὰ μέλιτος δόλον· εὖτ' ἂν δῆ μιν ἴδῃαι ὑπὸ δρυσὶν ὑψικόμοισιν | ἔρροισιν μεθυσάων μελισσάων ἐριβόμβων, | δῆσον αὐτὸν (Barnes cj. αὐτίκα μιν δῆσον). ὁ καὶ πάσχει ὁ Κρόνος καὶ δεθεὶς ἐκτέμνεται ὡς ὁ Οὐρανός, cp. Prokl. in Plat. *Cratyl.* pp. 54, 19 and 62, 3 ff. Pasquali). At the advice of Nyx Zeus leapt upon Phanes and swallowed him (Orph. *frag.* 82 Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* iii. 102, 2 f. Diehl ὁ δὲ Ὀρφεὺς καὶ ἐπιπηδᾷ αὐτῷ καὶ καταπίνειν δεξιᾶσθς μέντοι τῆς Νυκτός, Orph. *frag.* 167 Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* i. 324, 14 ff. Diehl ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Ὀρφεὺς ἐνδεικνύμενος καταπίνεσθαι τὸν νοητὸν θεὸν ἔφατο παρὰ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τῶν ὄλων· ...ὁ δὲ θεολόγος καὶ οἷον ἐπιπηδᾷ αὐτὸν τῷ νοητῷ καὶ καταπίνειν, ὡς ὁ μῦθος ἔφησεν). Having thus with wide open jaws devoured Phanes, Zeus had within his own belly the body of all things, and, since he had digested the power of that creative god, was himself able to create the universe anew (Orph. *frag.* 167 a Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* i. 324, 29 ff. Diehl ὡς τότε Πρωτογόνοιο χανὼν μένος Ἑρικεπαίου | τῶν πάντων δέμας εἶχεν ἔη ἐνὶ γαστέρι κοίλῃ, | μίξε δ' εἰὸς μελέεσσι θεοῦ δυνάμιν τε καὶ ἀλκῆν, | τοῦνεκα σὺν τῷ πάντα (παρὰ codd. E. Abel prints παντὶ E. Diehl cj. πάντα) Διὸς πάλιν ἐντὸς ἐτύχθη. |... πάντα τάδε κρύψας αὔθις φάος ἐς πολυγηθῆς | μέλλεν ἀπὸ κραδίης προφέρειν πάλι θέσκελα ρέζων, cp. Prokl. in Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 62, 3 ff. Pasquali). Inside Zeus were made afresh the world and all its contents, including gods and goddesses (Orph. *frag.* 167 b Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* i. 313, 9 ff. Diehl τοῦνεκα σὺν τῷ πάντα (E. Abel gives παντὶ) Διὸς πάλιν ἐντὸς ἐτύχθη | αἰθέρου εὐρείης ἢδ' οὐρανοῦ ἀγλαῶν ὕψος, | πόντου τ' ἀρυγέτου γαίης τ' ἐρικυδέος ἔδρη (E. Abel has εὔρη), | Ὀκειανὸς τε μέγας καὶ νεάτα τάρταρα γαίης | καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ πόντος ἀπείριτος ἄλλα τε πάντα | πάντες τ' ἀθάνατοι μάκαρες θεοὶ ἠδὲ θείαιαι, | ὅσσα τ' ἔην γεγαῶτα καὶ ὕστερον ὀπίσσω ἔμελλον, | ἐνγένετο, Ζητὸς δ' ἐνὶ γαστέρι σύρρα πεφύκει, cp. Prokl. in Plat. *Parm.* iii (p. 621 Stallbaum), Orph. *frag.* 169 Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Parm.* iv (p. 750 Stallbaum) οὕτως δὲ Ζητὸς καὶ ἐν ὄμμασι πατρός ἀνακτος | ναιούσ' ἀθάνατοὶ τε θεοὶ θνητοὶ τ' ἄνθρωποι | ὅσσα τ' ἔην γεγαῶτα καὶ ὕστερον ὀπίσσω ἔμελλε, cp. *theosoph. Teaching.* 50 in K. Buresch *Klarios* Leipzig 1889 p. 109 f.). Accordingly Zeus himself was described by the Orphists in pantheistic terms (Orph. *frag.* 21 a Kern *ap.* Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 27 ff. (cp. Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 409, 4 ff. Stählin) διὸ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς οὐ κακῶς λέγεται:—

Zeus πρώτος γένητο, Zeus ὕστατος ἀργικέρανος·
 Zeus κεφαλῆ, Zeus μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται·
 Zeus πυθμῆν γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος·
 Zeus ἄρσην γένητο, Zeus ἄμβροτος ἔπλετο νύμφη·
 Zeus πνοιή πάντων, Zeus ἀκαμάτου πυρὸς ὄρμη·
 Zeus πόντου ρίζα, Zeus ἥλιος ἠδὲ σελήνη·
 Zeus βασιλεὺς, Zeus ἀρχὸς πάντων ἀργικέρανος·
 πάντας γὰρ κρύψας αὔθις φάος ἐς πολυγηθῆς
 ἐξ ἱερῆς κραδίης ἀνεγένετο μέγαρα ρέζων.

A fuller version of these lines is found in Orph. *frag.* 168 Kern *ap.* Euseb. *φρασφ.* *ευ.* 3. 9. 1—3=Stob. *eccl.* 1. 1. 23 p. 29, 9 ff. Wachsmuth (cp. Prokl. *in Plat. Alcib.* i. 233 Creuzer, *id. in Plat. Parm.* iii (p. 621 Stallbaum), *id. in Plat. Tim.* i. 313, 18 ff. Diehl, *ib.* i. 161, 23 ff., i. 307, 28 ff.) τὸν γὰρ Δία τὸν νοῦν τοῦ κόσμου ὑπολαμβάνοντες, ὅς τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐδημιούργησεν ἔχων τὸν κόσμον, ἐν μὲν ταῖς θεολογίαις ταύτῃ περὶ αὐτοῦ παραδεδῶκασιν οἱ τὰ Ὀρφείως εἰπόντες·

Zeus πρώτος γένητο, Zeus ὕστατος ἀργικέρανος·
 Zeus κεφαλή, Zeus μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται·
 Zeus ἄρσην γένητο, Zeus ἄφθιτος¹ ἔπλετο νύμφη·
 Zeus πυθμὴν γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος·
 Zeus βασιλεύς, Zeus αὐτὸς ἀπάντων ἀρχιγένεθλος.
 ἐν κράτος, εἰς δαίμων γένητο, μέγας ἀρχὸς ἀπάντων,
 ἐν δὲ² δέμας βασιλείον, ἐν ᾧ τάδε πάντα κυκλείται,
 πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα καὶ αἰθήρ, νύξ τε καὶ ἡμαρ,
 καὶ Μῆτις πρώτος γενέτωρ³ καὶ Ἔρως πολυτερπῆς·
 πάντα γὰρ ἐν μεγάλῳ Ζηνὸς⁴ τάδε σώματι⁵ κείται.
 τοῦ δὴ τοι κεφαλῆ⁶ μὲν ἰδεῖν καὶ καλὰ πρόσωπα
 οὐρανοῦ αἰγλήεις, ὃν χρύσεια ἀμφὶς ἔθειραι
 ἄστρον μαρμαρέων περικαλλέες ἠερέθονται·
 ταύρεα δ' ἀμφοτέρωθε δύο χρύσεια κέρατα,
 ἀντολίη τε δύσις τε, θεῶν ὁδοὶ οὐρανόων·
 ὄμματα δ' ἠελίος τε καὶ ἀντίωσα⁷ σελήνη·
 νοῦς⁸ δέ <οἱ⁹> ἀψευδής, βασιλῆϊος¹⁰, ἀφθιτος αἰθήρ,
 ᾧ δὴ πάντα κλύει¹¹ καὶ φράζεται, οὐδέ τις ἐστὶν
 αὐτῇ οὐτ'¹² ἐνοπή οὔτε¹³ κτύπος οὐδέ¹⁴ μὲν ὄσσα
 ἢ λήθει Διὸς οὐας ὑπερμενέος Κρονίωνος.
 ὦδε μὲν ἀθανάτην κεφαλὴν ἔχει ἠδὲ νόημα·
 σῶμα¹⁵ δὲ οἱ περιφεγγές¹⁶, ἀπείριτον, ἀστυφέλικτον,
 ἄβριμον¹⁷, ὄβριμόγυιον, ὑπερμενές ὦδε τέτυκται·
 ὦμοι μὲν καὶ στέρνα καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα θεοῖο
 αἴηρ εὐρυβίης· πτέρυγες δὲ οἱ ἐξεφύοντο,
 τῆς ἐπὶ πάντα ποτᾶθ'· ἰερῇ δὲ οἱ ἔπλετο νηδὺς
 γαῖά τε παμμήτειρ' ὕρέων τ' αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα·
 μέσση δὲ ζῶνη βαρυηχέος¹⁸ οἶδμα θαλάσσης
 καὶ πόντου· πυμάτη δὲ βάσις χθονὸς ἐνδοθι ρίζαι
 τάρταρά τ' εὐρώεντα καὶ ἔσχατα πείρατα γαίης.
 πάντα δ' ἀποκρύψας¹⁹ αὐθις φάος ἐς πολυνηθὲς
 μέλλεν²⁰ ἀπὸ κραδίης προφέρειν πάλι, θέσκελα ῥέζων.

Zeus οὖν ὁ πᾶς κόσμος, ζῶον ἐκ ζῶων καὶ θεὸς ἐκ θεῶν· Zeus δέ, καθὸ νοῦς, ἀφ' οὗ

¹ ἄμβροτος Stob.

² δὲ om. Stob.

³ So Prokl. πρωτογενέτωρ codd. A Euseb., F Stob.

⁴ Ζηνὸς μεγάλῳ Stob. Ζηνὸς μεγάλου Prokl.

⁵ δώματι Prokl.

⁶ δ' ἦτοι κεφαλῆ Prokl. δὴ τοι κεφαλὴν Euseb.

⁷ Heringa cj. ἀνταυγοῦσα.

⁸ Heringa cj. οὐς.

⁹ So Prokl. Om. Euseb., cod. F Stob.

¹⁰ Heringa cj. ἀψευδὲς βασιλῆϊον.

¹¹ κλύει cod. F Stob. and Prokl. κυκλεῖ Euseb.

¹² οὐδ' Stob.

¹³ οὐδέ Stob. οὐδ' αὖ Prokl.

¹⁴ So Prokl. οὔτε Euseb.

¹⁵ σῆμα cod. F Stob.

¹⁶ πυριφεγγές Prokl.

¹⁷ ἄτρομον Stob.

¹⁸ βαθυηχέος Prokl.

¹⁹ τάδε κρύψας Prokl.

²⁰ So cod. F Stob., cp. Prokl. μέλλει Euseb.

προφέρει πάντα καὶ δημιουργεῖ τοῖς νοήμασι. κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 3. 9. 10 f. δι' ὧν ἀνεπικαλύπτως ζῶον μέγα τὸν κόσμον ὑποθέμενος, καὶ τοῦτον Δία προσειπὼν, νοῦν μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸν αἰθέρα, σῶμα δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη ἀπεφίηματο εἶναι. τοιοῦτος μὲν τις ὁ δία τῶν ἐπῶν ἐπιγραφόμενος τυγχάνει Ζεὺς. ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐπῶν ἐξηγητῆς ἀρξάμενος μὲν τοῖς ἔπεισι ἀκολούθως λέγει, Ζεὺς οὖν ὁ πᾶς κόσμος, ζῶον ἐκ ζῶων, θεὸς ἐκ θεῶν· σαφῶς τὸν θεολογούμενον Δία οὐδὲ ἄλλον ἢ τὸν ὀράμενον καὶ αἰσθητὸν κόσμον δηλοῦσθαι διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ἐρμηνεύσας). Having asked of Nyx how all things might be both one and divided, he was bidden to wrap *aithér* round the world and tie up the bundle with the 'golden cord' (Orph. *frag.* 165 f. Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. Tim.* i. 313, 31 ff. Diehl, ii. 24, 23 ff., ii. 112, 3 ff.: cp. *Il.* 8. 18 ff. with the sensible remarks of Dr W. Leaf *ad loc.*). In arranging the universe he was helped by Dike (Orph. *frag.* 158 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. remp.* ii. 144, 29 ff. Kroll, *in Plat. theol.* 6. 8 p. 363 Portus) and Nomos (Orph. *frag.* 160 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. Tim.* i. 315, 11 ff. Diehl, *id. in Plat. Alcib.* i. 219 f. Creuzer). Rhea, as the mother of Zeus, was named Demeter (Orph. *frag.* 145 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. Cratyl.* pp. 80, 10 ff. and 90, 28 ff. Pasquali, *in Plat. theol.* 5. 11 p. 267 Portus). Athena in full armour sprang from the head of Zeus (Orph. *frag.* 174 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. Tim.* i. 166, 21 ff. Diehl, cp. Orph. *frag.* 176 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. Tim.* i. 169, 1 ff. Diehl) and, as 'leader of the Kouretes,' taught them rhythmic dancing (Orph. *frag.* 185 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. Cratyl.* p. 112, 16 ff. Pasquali): hence the first Kouretes are said to have been wreathed with olive (Orph. *frag.* 186 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. remp.* i. 138, 12 ff. Kroll). Athena was also the best of the goddesses at weaving and spinning (Orph. *frag.* 178 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. Cratyl.* p. 21, 13 ff. Pasquali). Being herself the wisdom of the creator and the virtue of the leading gods, she bore the name of Arete (Orph. *frag.* 175 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. Tim.* i. 170, 3 ff. Diehl, cp. i. 185, 1 ff.). Artemis, the lover of virginity (Orph. *frag.* 187 f. Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. Cratyl.* p. 105, 18 ff. Pasquali), was also called Hekate (Orph. *frag.* 188 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. Cratyl.* p. 106, 25 ff. Pasquali). Zeus and Dione between them produced Aphrodite, who arose—like her namesake the daughter of Ouranos—from the seed of the god falling into the sea (cp. Orph. *frag.* 127 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. Cratyl.* p. 110, 15 ff. Pasquali μήδεα δ' ἐς πέλαγος πέσεν ὑψόθεν, ἀμφὶ δὲ τοῖσι | λευκὸς ἐπιπλώουσιν εἰλίσσεται πάντοθεν ἀφρός· | ἐν δὲ περιπλομέναις ὄραις ἐνιαυτὸς ἔτικτεν | παρθένον αἰδοίην, ἣν δὴ παλάμαις ὑπέδεκτο | γεινομένην τὸ πρῶτον ὁμοῦ Ζηλῶς τ' Ἀπάτης τε of the first Aphrodite with Orph. *frag.* 183 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. Cratyl.* p. 110, 23 ff. Pasquali τὸν δὲ πόθος πλέον εἶλ', ἀπὸ δ' ἔκθορε πατρὶ μεγίστω | αἰδοίων ἀφροῖο γονή, ὑπέδεκτο δὲ πόντος | σπέρμα Διὸς μεγάλου· περιτελλομένου δ' ἐνιαυτοῦ | ὄραις καλλιφύτοις τέκ' ἐγεροσιγέλωτ' Ἀφροδίτην | ἀφρογενή of the second). Zeus also mated with his sister Hera, who was said to be *ισοτελής*, 'of equal rank,' with him (Orph. *frag.* 163 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in Plat. Tim.* i. 450, 20 ff. Diehl, cp. *ib.* iii. 249, 2 ff. So also Orph. *εὐχὴ πρὸς Μουσαῖον* 16, *id. h. Her.* 16. 2, *id. frag.* 115 Kern *ap.* Eustath. *in Dionys. her.* 1, Dion Chrys. *or.* 36 p. 99 Reiske). O. Gruppe (*Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 637 ff., in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1890 Suppl. xvii. 716 ff., *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 432, in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1140 f.) contends that the Rhapsodic theogony further included much that E. Abel (*Orphica* Lipsiae—Pragae 1885 p. 224 ff.) assigns to the *Τελεταί*, in particular the whole story of Dionysos. Zeus consorted with his own mother Rhea or Demeter, both he and she being in the form of snakes, and had by her a horned, four-eyed, two-faced daughter Phersephone or Kore, with whom he, again in snake-form, consorted and had for offspring a horned babe, the chthonian Dionysos or Zagreus (*supra* i. 398: other notices of

the myth in *Ov. met.* 6. 114, *Philostr. epist.* 30 (58) Hercher, *Nonn. Dion.* 5. 563 ff., *Orph. frag.* 195 Kern *ap. Prokl. in Plat. Cratyl.* p. 85, 19 ff. Pasquali, *Orph. frag.* 198 Kern *ap. Prokl. in Plat. theol.* 6. 11 p. 371 Portus, cp. *Orph. frags.* 180, 192 f. Kern with the remarks of Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 550 ff. and *Orph. frag.* 43 Kern). Zeus installed Dionysos or Zagreus on his own throne as king of the gods, allowing him to hold the sceptre and wield the lightning, the thunder, and the rain (*supra* i. 398 f., 647 n. 3). The decrees of the Father were confirmed by the Son (*Orph. frag.* 218 Kern *ap. Prokl. in Plat. Tim.* iii. 316, 3 ff. Diehl *κραίνει μὲν οὖν Ζεὺς πάντα πατήρ, Βάκχος δ' ἐπέκραυε*, with which Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 432 n. 1 aptly cp. Damaskios *quaest. de primis principibus* 245 (ii. 117, 2 ff. Ruelle) *καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος ἐπικραίνει τὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἔργα, φησὶν Ὀρφεύς, ὀλοποιοῦ τοῦ Διὸς ὄντος*). Apollon (*Orph. frag.* 211 Kern *ap. Prokl. in Plat. Alcib.* i. 83 Creuzer) and the Kouretes (*Orph. frag.* 151 Kern *ap. Prokl. in Plat. Cratyl.* p. 58, 1 ff. Pasquali, *in Plat. Tim.* i. 317, 11 ff. Diehl, *in Plat. theol.* 5. 3 p. 253 Fortus and 5. 35 p. 322 Portus) were set to keep watch and ward over the infant king, who was nurtured by the Nymphs (cp. *Nonn. Dion.* 24. 43 ff.) like a fruitful olive (*Orph. frag.* 206 Kern *ap. Clem. Al. Strom.* 6. 2 p. 442, 8 ff. Stählin) till his sixth (?) year (*Orph. frag.* 257 Kern *ap. Tzetz. exeg. Il.* p. 26 (ed. G. Hermann Leipzig 1812), cited in this connexion by Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 554). But Hera in anger got the Titans to trick the boy by means of certain toys (*Orph. frag.* 34 Kern *ap. Clem. Al. Protr.* 2. 17. 2 f. p. 14, 7 ff. Stählin (=Euseb. *praef. ev.* 2. 3. 23 f.) *τὰ γὰρ Διονύσου μυστήρια τέλεον ἀπάνθρωπα· ὃν εἰσέτι παῖδα ὄντα ἐνόπλων κινήσει περιχορευόντων Κουρήτων, δόλον δὲ ὑποδύντων Τιτάνων, ἀπατήσαντες παιδαριώδεσιν ἀθύρμασιν, οἷτοι δὴ οἱ Τιτᾶνες διέσπασαν, ἔτι νηπίαχον ὄντα, ὡς ὁ τῆς Τελετῆς ποιητὴς Ὀρφεύς φησὶν ὁ Θράκιος: "κᾶνος καὶ ῥόμβος καὶ παίγνια καμπεσίγνια, | μῆλα τε χρύσεια καλὰ παρ' Ἑσπερίδων λιγυφώνων."* καὶ τῆσδε ὑμῖν τῆς τελετῆς τὰ ἀχρεῖα σύμβολα οὐκ ἀχρεῖον εἰς κατάγνωσιν παραθέσθαι· ὑστράγαλος, σφαῖρα, στρόβιλος, μῆλα, ῥόμβος, ἔσοπτρον, πίκος, cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 19 cuius rei testimonium argumentumque fortunae suis prodidit in carminibus Thracius talos, speculum, turbines, volubiles rotulas et teretis pilas et virginibus aurea sumpta ab Hesperidibus mala, *supra* i. 661: on these 'toys' see further Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 699 ff. and Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 490 f.) including a mirror made by Hephaistos (*Orph. frag.* 209 Kern *ap. Prokl. in Plat. Tim.* ii. 80, 19 ff. Diehl). He was looking at himself in this mirror (*Plotin. enn.* 4. 3. 12, *Nonn. Dion.* 6. 173), when the Titans, having first smeared their faces with gypsum, attacked him with a knife (*Nonn. Dion.* 6. 169 ff., cp. *supra* i. 398, 655 n. 2). To escape them he became a youthful Zeus, an aged Kronos, a babe, a youth, a lion, a horse, a horned snake, a tiger, and a bull (*Nonn. Dion.* 6. 174 ff., cp. *supra* i. 398). A bellowing in mid air from the throat of Hera was the signal for his fate: the Titans with their knife cut up his bovine form (*Nonn. Dion.* 6. 200 ff.) into seven portions (*Orph. frag.* 210 Kern *ap. Prokl. in Plat. Tim.* ii. 146, 9 ff. Diehl), one for each of themselves (*Orph. frag.* 114, 1 f. Kern *ap. Prokl. in Plat. Tim.* i. 450, 16 ff. Diehl, *Orph. frag.* 114, 3 ff. Kern *ap. Prokl. in Plat. Tim.* iii. 184, 3 ff. Diehl, cp. *Orph. frag.* 107 p. 171 f. Kern *ap. Prokl. in Plat. Tim.* iii. 169, 3 ff. Diehl: similarly Typhon divided the body of Osiris into fourteen (*Plout. de Is. et Os.* 18, 42: see Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Adonis Attis Osiris³ ii. 129 n. 4, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 174 ff.) or twenty-six pieces, one for each of his assailants (*Diod.* 1. 21=Euseb. *praef. ev.* 2. 1. 16: *Diod.* 4. 6 calls the assailants Titans)); they then set a caldron on a tripod, boiled the portions, pierced them with spits, held them over the fire (*Orph. frag.* 35 Kern *ap. Clem. Al. Protr.* 2. 18. 1 p. 14, 17 ff. Stählin cited *supra* p. 218, cp. Firm.

Mat. 8. 2), and finally devoured them (Firm. Mat. 6. 3 cited *supra* i. 661 f., Olympiod. in Plat. *Phaed.* 61 C pp. 2, 26 and 3, 4 f. Norvin). Thereupon Hekate went to Olympos (Orph. *frag.* 188 Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 107, 1 ff. Pasquali), Zeus appeared, struck the Titans with a thunderbolt, and gave the limbs of Dionysos to Apollon for burial (Orph. *frag.* 35 Kern *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 18. 2 p. 14, 20 ff. Stählin cited *supra* p. 218). Apollon, at the behest of Zeus, arranged all the limbs in order (Orph. *frag.* 216 b Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 108, 17 f. Pasquali Οἶνον (= Διονύσου) πάντα μέλη κόσμῳ λαβὲ καὶ μοι ἔνεικε, Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* ii. 198, 11 ff. Diehl, cp. *ib.* ii. 197, 18 ff.) and took them to Parnassos (Orph. *frag.* 35 Kern *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 18. 2 p. 14, 24 f. Stählin cited *supra* p. 218)—the Titanic caldron being identified with the Delphic tripod (*supra* p. 218 ff.). The Titans had left intact the heart of Dionysos, and this was rescued by Athena (Orph. *frag.* 210 Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* ii. 145, 18 ff. Diehl, cp. Prokl. in Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 109, 19 ff. Pasquali), who was named Παλλὰς because she brandished it (πᾶλλειν) or because it still beat (πᾶλλεσθαι) as she brought it to Zeus (Orph. *frag.* 35 Kern *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 18. 1 p. 14, 16 f. Stählin, schol. *Il.* 1. 200, *et. mag.* p. 649, 56 f., *et. Gud.* p. 450, 9 f., Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Παλλὰς, Tzetz. in Lyk. *Al.* 355, Eudok. *viol.* 746, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1417, 26 ff.: Eustath. in *Il.* p. 84, 43 f. transfers the incident to the Theban Dionysos, and *et. Gud.* p. 450, 11 ff. makes Athena drive off the Titans by 'brandishing' her spear. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 560 n.^o quotes Soud. *s.v.* κωνοφόροι for the connexion of the heart with Dionysos, and Cornut. *theol.* 6 p. 6, 7 f. Lang for its relation to Rhea). As to what Zeus did with the heart, opinions differed: some said that he placed it in a gypsum image of the boy (Firm. Mat. 6. 4 cited *supra* i. 662), but the common view was that he pounded it into a potion and gave it to Semele to drink, that she conceived thereby, and that Zagreus thus came to life again as Dionysos (Hyg. *fab.* 167 Liber Iovis et Proserpinae filius a Titanis est distractus, cuius cor contritum Iovis Semelae dedit in potionem. ex eo praegnans cum esset facta, Iuno in Beroen nutricem Semelae se commutavit et ait: 'alumna, pete a Iove ut sic ad te veniat, quem ad modum ad Iunonem, ut scias quae voluptas est (J. Scheffer cj. *sit* cp. *fab.* 179) cum deo concumbere.' illa autem instigata petit ab Iove, et fulmine est icta. ex cuius utero Liberum exiit et Nyso dedit nutriendum unde Dionysus est appellatus et Bimater est dictus, Orph. *frag.* 210 p. 231 f. Kern *ap.* Prokl. *h. Ath. Polym.* 7. 11 ff. (E. Abel *Orphica* Lipsiae—Pragae 1885 p. 282) ἡ κραδίην ἐσάσσας ἀμυστύλλετον ἄνακτος | αἰθέρος ἐν γνάλοισι μεριζομένου ποτὲ Βάκχου | Τιτήνων ὑπὸ χερσὶ· πόρες δὲ ἐ πατρὶ φέρουσα, | ὄφρα νέος βουλῆσιν ὑπ' ἀρρήτοιςι τοκῆος | ἐκ Σεμέλης περὶ (Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 561 prints κατὰ κόσμον ἀνηβήσῃ Διόνυσος, Nonn. *Dion.* 24. 47 ff. (Hydaspes to Dionysos) καὶ σὺ φέρεις Ζαγρῆος ὄλον δέμας· ἀλλὰ σὺ κείνῳ | δὸς χάριν ὀψιτέλεστον, ὅθεν πέλες· ἀρχηγόνου γὰρ | ἐκ κραδίης ἀνέτελλες, ἀειδομένου Διονύσου (H. Koehly cj. ἀεζόμενος Διονύσου, but see Nonn. *Dion.* 1. 12), Commod. *instructiones* (an acrostich LIBER PATER etc.) 1. 12. 1 ff. Liberum Patrem certe bis genitum dicitis ipsi. | I n India natus ex Iove Proserpina primum | B elligerans contra Titanas profuso cruore | E xpivavit enim sicut ex mortalibus unus. | R ursus flato (B. Dombart *ad loc.* notes 'spiritui; animae, vitae?' flato C (l altera (?) manu expunctum). B.A.^{m.}r.¹. fato A¹.r.v.) suo redditus (F. Oehler cj. *reddiitur*) in altero ventre. | P ercepit (so B. Dombart for *percipit* codd.) hoc Semele iterum Iovis altera moecha (*Maia* r. Oehler), | A bscisso (so C. *Abscisso* B.A.r.v.) cuius utero prope partu (*partum* r². Oehler) defunctae | T ollitur et datur Niso nutriendus alumnus. | E x eo bis natus Dionysus ille vocatur, | Religio cuius in vacuo falsa curatur, | etc.). Thus the

upshot of the Titans' murderous onslaught was that their victim was put together again (Cornut. *theol.* 31 p. 62, 10 f. Lang *μυθολογείται δ' ὅτι διασπασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Τιτάνων συνετέθη πάλιν ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥέας*, κ.τ.λ. = Eudok. *viol.* 272 p. 210, 10 ff. Flach, Ioul. *ap.* Kyrril. Al. c. Iul. 2. 44 (lxxvi. 568 B—C Migne) <τῆ> μητρὶ γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐμίχθη καὶ παιδοποιησάμενος ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔγημεν αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα <οὐδὲ κατέσχευεν vel simile quiddam ins. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 562 n. f>, ἀλλὰ μυχθεὶς ἀπλῶς ἄλλῳ παραδίδωκεν αὐτήν. εἶτα οἱ Διονύσου σπαραγμοὶ καὶ μελῶν κολλήσεις) and attained a joyful resurrection (Orph. *frags.* 205, 213, 240 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* iii. 241, 5 ff. Diehl, Iust. Mart. *apol.* 1. 21 (vi. 360 A Migne), 1. 54 (vi. 410 A—B Migne), *cum Tryph.* Iud. *dial.* 69 (vi. 636 C—638 A Migne), Myth. Vat. 3. 12. 5, Macrob. *comm. in somn. Scip.* 1. 12. 12), whilst the aggressors were visited with condign punishment (Nonn. *Dion.* 6. 206 ff. makes Zeus fling them into Tartaros, as does Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 188, 26 ff., cp. Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* i. 93, 22 ff. Kroll; but various offenders, e.g. Atlas, were reserved for special fates (Orph. *frag.* 215 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 173, 1 ff. Diehl, Simpl. *in* Aristot. *de cael.* 2. 1. 284 a 1 p. 375, 12 ff. Heiberg, cp. Firm. Mat. 6. 4 cited *supra* i. 662). The bodies of those that had been struck by the thunderbolts were reduced to powder, hence called *τίτανος* (Eustath. *in* Il. p. 332, 23 ff.: see *supra* i. 655 n. 2), and from their smoking ashes men were made (Olympiod. *in* Plat. *Phaed.* 61 C p. 2, 27 ff. Norvin καὶ τούτους ὀργισθεὶς ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκεραύνωσε, καὶ ἐκ τῆς αἰθάλης τῶν ἀτμῶν τῶν ἀναδοθέντων ἐξ αὐτῶν ὕλης γενομένης γενέσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, cp. Dion Chrys. *or.* 30 p. 550 Reiske ὅτι τοῦ τῶν Τιτάνων αἵματος ἐσμὲν ἡμεῖς ἅπαντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι). It follows that we are part and parcel of Dionysus (Olympiod. *ib.* p. 3, 2 ff. Norvin οὐ δεῖ ἐξάγειν ἡμᾶς ἐαντοὺς ὡς τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν Διονυσιακοῦ ὄντος· μέρος γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐσμὲν, εἴ γε ἐκ τῆς αἰθάλης τῶν Τιτάνων συγκείμεθα γεσσαμένων τῶν σαρκῶν τούτου), or he of us (Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 77, 24 ff. Pasquali ὅτι ὁ ἐν ἡμῖν νοῦς Διονυσιακός ἐστιν καὶ ἀγαλμα ὄντως τοῦ Διονύσου. κ.τ.λ.). Others taught that men arose from the blood of the Giants (Ov. *met.* 1. 154 ff., interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 6. 41) or from a rain of blood-drops let fall by Zeus (Ioul. *frag. epist.* i. 375, 21 ff. Hertlein ἀποβλέψαντα...εἰς τὴν τῶν θεῶν φήμην, ἣ παραδέδοται διὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡμῖν θεωργῶν, ὡς, ὅτε Ζεὺς ἐκόσμηε τὰ πάντα, σταγόνων αἵματος ἱερῶν πεσοσῶν, ἐξ ὧν πον τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βλαστῆσειε γένος).

The Rhapsodies, which—as the foregoing summary shows—began with theogony and ended with anthropogony, are supposed by O. Gruppe (*Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 430, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1141 ff., cp. *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 215) to have been put together at Athens between 550 and 300 B.C., though they did not obtain much recognition till the time of the neo-Pythagoreans. A *provenance* in Pisistratic Athens is suggested, he thinks, by the dedication of this Orphic poem to Mousaios (*theosoph. Tubing.* 61 in K. Buresch *Klaros* Leipzig 1889 p. 117, 3), by the identification of Phanes with Metis which allowed Athena (*infra* § 9 (h) ii (μ)) to be viewed as one aspect of the reborn Erikepaios, by the affiliation of Artemis or Hekate (*supra* p. 1029) to Demeter (Orph. *frag.* 188 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 106, 25 ff. Pasquali, Orph. *frag.* 41 Kern *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 467, cp. Kallim. *frag.* 556 Schneider *ap.* schol. Theokr. 2. 12)—a genealogy known to Aischylos (*supra* p. 252), and by the equation of Rhea with Demeter (*supra* i. 398, ii. 1029) which appears also in Euripides (Eur. *Hel.* 1301 ff.) and other fifth-century poets (Pind. *Isthm.* 7 (6). 3 f, Melanippid. *frag.* 10 Bergk⁴ *ap.* Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 51, 11 ff. p. 23 Gomperz: see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1169 n. 7, O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2755, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 32, 312). Bendis (Orph. *frag.* 200 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* i. 18, 12 ff. Kroll), the one barbaric deity mentioned in

the poem, was worshipped at Athens in 403 B.C. (*supra* p. 115), if not earlier (A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 780, G. Knaack in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 269 f.: Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1142 suggests that her cult was introduced 'wahrscheinlich durch Peisistratos' thrakische Unternehmungen'). M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 239 f. (cp. *ib.* p. 3 n. 2) notes that Kratinos the younger, a contemporary of Platon the philosopher, in his *Gigantes frag.* 1 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 374 Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 661 E—F *ἐνθυμείσθε* (so A. Meineke for *ἐνθύμει δὲ* codd. K. W. Dindorf cj. *ἐνθυμοῦ* (?) *δὲ*) *τῆς γῆς ὡς γλυκὴ* | *ἔξει, καπνὸς τ' ἐξέρχεται* *εὐωδέστερος* (T. Bergk cj. *εὐωδέστατος*); | *οἰκεί τις ὡς ἔοικεν ἐν τῷ χάσματι* | *λιβανοστοπῶλης ἢ μάγειρος* *Σικελικός* makes fun of the scene in which Zeus was attracted to the Titans' feast by the smell of roast flesh (Orph. *frag.* 34 Kern *ap.* Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 19, Orph. *frag.* 35 Kern *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 18. 2 p. 14, 20 ff. Stählin cited *supra* p. 218) and works in a not very appropriate allusion to the *χάσμα* (Orph. *frag.* 66 a Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *remp.* ii. 138, 8 ff. Kroll, Syrian. in Aristot. *met.* 2. 4. 1000 b 14 p. 43, 30 f. Kroll, *Simplic. in Aristot. phys.* 4. 1. 208 b 29 p. 528, 14 f. Diels, Orph. *frag.* 66 b Kern *ap.* Prokl. in Plat. *Tim.* i. 385, 29 ff. Diehl). Further evidence as to date is at best doubtful. Platon himself has no direct allusion to the Rhapsodies¹; but it must not be inferred that therefore they are post-Platonic, for they in turn are apparently uninfluenced either by Platon or by later philosophers. Their principal trait, the conception of a world born and re-born, first created by Phanes and then re-created by Zeus, points rather—as Gruppe saw (*Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 643 ff., *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 428 ff., and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1143 ff.)—to ideas that were current in Greece (Anaximandros, Herakleitos, Empedokles) between, say, 550 and 450 B.C. On the whole, then, it may be concluded that the Rhapsodic Theogony was composed at Athens (?) *c.* 500 B.C. (?), and consisted in a rehandling of older Orphic materials by a Pythagorising (?) poet. Hence its vogue among neo-Pythagorean writers of the Graeco-Roman age.

(4) Conspectus of the Orphic Theogonies.

For clearness' sake I add a conspectus showing the three chief forms of Orphic theogony. The letters at the side indicate the creation (A) and re-creation (B) of the world: the numerals give the sequence of mythical generations (1—6).

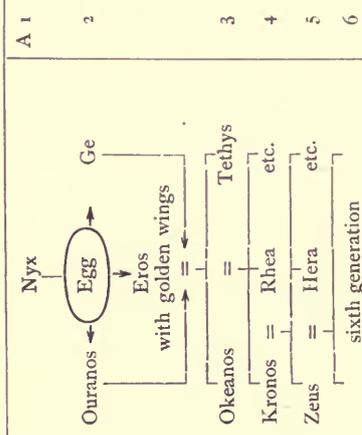
(5) The Cosmic Egg.

The most striking feature of these theogonies is the cosmic egg—a conception discussed by R. G. Latham *Descriptive Ethnology* London 1859 i. 439—441, J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 559 n. 4, Costantin in the *Rev. Arch.* 1899 i. 355 ff. fig. 6 f., L. Frobenius *Das Zeitalter des Sonnengottes* Berlin 1904 i. 269—271 ('Die Ureimythe'), M. P. Nilsson 'Das Ei im Totenkult der Alten' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1908 xi. 543 and 544 f., and especially F. Lukas 'Das Ei als kosmogonische Vorstellung' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1894 iv. 227—243 (this author attempts, not altogether successfully, to distinguish three aspects of the egg in ancient and modern cosmogonies: (1) the world in general is egg-shaped and

¹ Mr F. M. Cornford, however, points out to me that Plat. *legg.* 715 E—716 A is apparently paraphrasing not only, as the schol. *ad loc.* saw, Orph. *frag.* 21 Kern *Zeὺς ἀρχή, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται*, but also Orph. *frag.* 158 Kern *τῆ δὲ Διὸς πολυπόουτος ἐφέλετο πᾶσιν ἀρωγός*—both lines being probably extant in the Rhapsodic Theogony (cp. E. Abel *Orphica* Lipsiae—Pragae 1885 p. 157 n. 1).

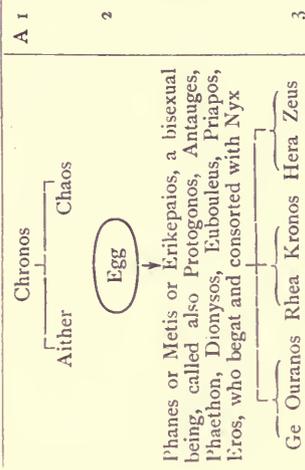
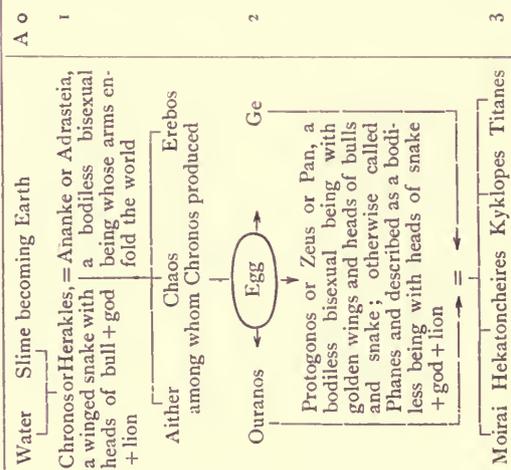
EARLY ORPHIC THEOGONY

composed in Asia Minor (?) c. s. x B.C. (?) as the result of Ionic speculation on Thracio-Phrygian beliefs.



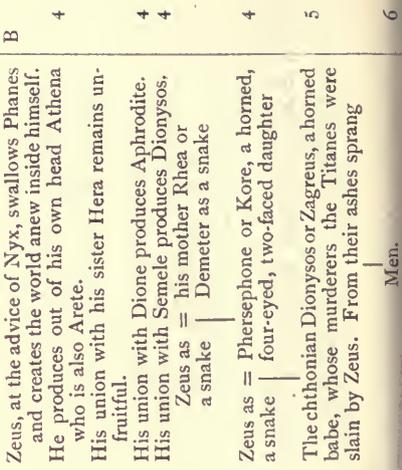
ORPHIC THEOGONY OF HELLANIKOS

i.e. Hellenikos' summary of a poem composed in Ionia (?) c. 500 B.C. (?) under the influence of oriental cosmogony and of Greek philosophy.



RHAPSODIC THEOGONY

composed at Athens (?) c. 500 B.C. (?) by a Pythagorising (?) poet in touch with the doctrines of other Greek philosophers.



Orphic Theogonies and Cosmogonic Eros 1035

was originally an egg ('*Weltei*'); (2) the sun in particular is egg-shaped and was originally an egg ('*Lichtei*', '*Sonnenei*): (3) the life of all things has been developed like that of a chicken from an egg ('*das Ei als Embryonalzustand*').

Confining our attention to old-world examples, we note the following:

(a) EGYPT. Râ as a phoenix (*supra* i. 341) came out of the great egg produced by Seb and Nut (E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 ii. 95 f., 107 n. 1, 110, cp. A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 pp. 26, 81, 157). Ptah the 'Padre dei principii creatore dell' uovo del sole e della Luna' (Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 239) was represented as a potter shaping on his wheel the cosmic egg (*id. ib.* p. 250 f. pl. 94, 1). Cp. Sir G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*⁴ London 1901 p. 128 with *id. The Struggle of the Nations* London 1896 p. 168 n. 1.

(b) INDIA. In Vedic cosmogony Aditi had eight sons, but the eighth, Mārtāṇḍa, the 'Egg-born,' she cast away, having brought him forth to be born and to die (*i.e.* to rise and to set: see the *Rig-Veda* 10. 72. 8 and the remarks of E. W. Hopkins *The Religions of India* Boston etc. 1895 p. 208 n. 2, A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 13, H. Oldenberg *La religion du Vēda* Paris 1903 p. 156 n. 2). Again, according to the *Rig-Veda* 10. 121. 1 (*Vedic Hymns* trans. F. Max Müller (*The Sacred Books of the East* xxxii) Oxford 1891 p. 1), 'In the beginning there arose the Golden Child (Hiranyagarbha); as soon as born, he alone was the lord of all that is'..., on which Max Müller *ib.* p. 6 observes that the epithet *Hiranyagarbha* 'means literally the golden embryo, the golden germ or child, or born of a golden womb, and was no doubt an attempt at naming the sun'—a view endorsed by A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 pp. 13, 119: 'In the last verse of this hymn, he is called Prajāpati, "lord of created beings," the name which became that of the chief god of the Brāhmaṇas.' 'This is the only occurrence of the name [*Hiranyagarbha*] in the RV., but it is mentioned several times in the AV. and the literature of the Brāhmaṇa period (cp. p. 13). Hiranyagarbha is also alluded to in a passage of the AV. (4, 2⁸) where it is stated that the waters produced an embryo, which as it was being born, was enveloped in a golden covering. In the TS. (5, 5, 1²) Hiranyagarbha is expressly identified with Prajāpati. In the later literature he is chiefly a designation of the personal Brahman.' A. A. Macdonell *op. cit.* p. 14: 'The account given in the Chāndogya Brāhmaṇa (5, 19) is that not-being became being; the latter changed into an egg, which after a year by splitting in two became heaven and earth; whatever was produced is the sun, which is Brahma'... Similarly in the *Khāndogya-upanishad* 3. 19. 1 ff. (*The Upanishads* trans. F. Max Müller (*The Sacred Books of the East* i) Oxford 1879 p. 54 f.): '1. Āditya (the sun) is Brahman... In the beginning this was non-existent. It became existent, it grew. It turned into an egg. The egg lay for the time of a year. The egg broke open. The two halves were one of silver, the other of gold. 2. The silver one became this earth, the golden one the sky, the thick membrane (of the white) the mountains, the thin membrane (of the yoke [*sic!*]) the mist with the clouds, the small veins the rivers, the fluid the sea. 3. And what was born from it that was Āditya, the sun'... Cp. the birth of Prajāpati as described in the *Ṣaṭapatha Brāhmaṇa* 11. 1. 6. 1 f. (*The Ṣaṭapatha-Brāhmaṇa* trans. J. Eggeling Part v (*The Sacred Books of the East* xlv) Oxford 1900 p. 12): '1 Verily, in the beginning this (universe) was water, nothing but a sea of water. The waters desired, "How can we be reproduced?" They toiled and performed fervid devotions¹ (1 Or, they toiled and became heated (with fervid devotion).), when they were becoming heated, a golden egg was produced. The

year, indeed, was not then in existence : this golden egg floated about for as long as the space of a year. 2 In a year's time a man, this Praḡapati, was produced therefrom... He broke open this golden egg'... or the birth of Brahma as related in the *Laws of Manu* 1. 5 ff. (*The Laws of Manu* trans. G. Bühler (*The Sacred Books of the East* xxv) Oxford 1886 p. 2 ff.) : ' 5 This (universe) existed in the shape of Darkness... 6 Then the divine Self-existent (Svayambhū, himself)... appeared, dispelling the darkness... 8 He, desiring to produce beings of many kinds from his own body, first with a thought created the waters, and placed his seed in them. 9 That (seed) became a golden egg, in brilliancy equal to the sun ; in that (egg) he himself was born as Brahman, the progenitor of the whole world... 12 The divine one resided in that egg during a whole year, then he himself by his thought (alone) divided it into two halves ; 13 And out of those two halves he formed heaven and earth, between them the middle sphere, the eight points of the horizon, and the eternal abode of the waters.' Later Hinduism sometimes represented Brahma as born in a golden egg (*Mahā-Bhārata* 12. 312. 1—7 cited by E. W. Hopkins *The Religions of India* Boston etc. 1895 p. 411), and spoke of a bubble, which contained Viṣṇu as Brahma (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 1. 2. 45 f.). See further H. Jacobi in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1911 iv. 156—160 and the monograph of K. F. Geldner *Zur Kosmogonie des Rigveda* Marburg 1908.

(c) PERSIA. In Parsi speculation of Sassanian date Ahura the creator made heaven like an egg with the earth for its yolk. *Minokhired* 44. 8—11 (*Dinā-i Maīnōg-i Khrad* trans. E. W. West (*The Sacred Books of the East* xxiv) Oxford 1885 p. 84 f.) : ' The sky and earth and water, and whatever else is within them are egg-like (khâiyak-dis), just as it were like the egg of a bird. 9. The sky is arranged above the earth (L 19 adds 'and below the earth'), like an egg, by the handiwork of the creator Aûhar Mazda ; (10) and the semblance of the earth, in the midst of the sky (L 19 has 'and the earth within the sky'), is just like as it were the yolk amid the egg ; [(11) and the water within the earth and sky is such as the water within the egg.]'. Cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 47 εἶθ' ὁ μὲν Ὀρομάζης τρις ἐαυτὸν αἰθέρας ἀπέστησε τοῦ ἡλίου τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ ἡλίος τῆς γῆς ἀφέστηκε, καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀστροῖς ἐκόσμησεν· ἓνα δὲ ἀστὲρα πρὸ πάντων οἶον φύλακα καὶ προόπτῃν ἐγκατέστησε τὸν σείριον, ἄλλους δὲ ποιήσας τέτταρας καὶ εἴκοσι θεοὺς εἰς ὧν ἔθηκεν. οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρεμάνιον γενόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τοσοῦτοι διέτρησαν τὸ ὄν· ὅθεν (50 D. Wyttenbach, after Xylander, for διατρήσαντος τὸ ὄν γανωθὲν) ἀναμείκται τὰ κακὰ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς with the comments of R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 pp. 410 n. 2 f., 414 n. 2, 537 and J. H. Moulton *Early Zoroastrianism* London 1913 p. 402 n. 4.

(d) PHOENIKE. Of the Phoenician cosmogony we have a threefold account. (i) Eudemos of Rhodes *ap. Damask. quaest. de primis principiis* 125 *ter* (i. 323, 1 ff. Ruelle) Σιδώνιοι δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν συγγραφέα πρὸ πάντων χρόνον ὑποτίθενται καὶ Πόθον καὶ Ὁμίχλην, Πόθου δὲ καὶ Ὁμίχλης μιγέντων ὡς δυεῖν ἀρχῶν Ἄερα γενέσθαι καὶ Αὔραν, Ἄερα μὲν ἄκρατον τοῦ νοητοῦ παραδηλοῦντες, Αὔραν δὲ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κινούμενον τοῦ νοητοῦ ζωτικὸν προτύπωμα. πάλιν δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἀμφοῖν Ὄγον γεννηθῆναι κατὰ τὸν νοῦν, οἶμα τὸν νοητόν. Ὄγρος is hardly to be identified with either of the mythical personages so named (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1231 f.) ; nor shall we venture with Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 349 to take the word as ὄγρος, 'the horned owl' (though this bird with crook and flail appears on the coinage of Tyre : see Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 32 pl. 5, 22, O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 38 f. pl. 1, 8—other

examples in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia pp. cxvii, 227—233 pls. 28, 9—29, 17, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 263 pl. 76, 31, *Head Coins of the Ancients* p. 41 pl. 20, 46, p. 61 pl. 29, 36, *id. Hist. num.*² p. 799 fig. 352); nor yet to treat Ὠτον as a corruption of ὠόν, the cosmic 'egg' (J. Kopp in his ed. of Damaskios (Frankfurt-am-Main 1826) cj. ὠόν, and so did F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*³ Leipzig and Darmstadt 1840 ii. 345 n. 2), though we should thereby reduce all the names in this genealogy to common Greek substantives—χρόνος, πάθος, ὀμίχλη, ἀήρ, αἶρα, ὠόν. If any change is required, I would rather correct Ὠτον to Μῶτον = the Μῶτ of Sanchouniathon's cosmogony (*infra* (iii)). (ii) Mochos of Sidon (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*³ Braunschweig 1875 p. 969 f.) *ap. Damask. quaest. de primis principiis* 125 *ter* (i. 323, 6 ff. Ruelle) ὡς δὲ ἔξωθεν Εὐδήμον τὴν Φοινίκων εὐρίσκομεν κατὰ Μῶχον μυθολογίαν, Αἰθὴρ ἦν τὸ πρῶτον καὶ Ἄηρ αἱ δύο αὐτὰ ἀρχαί, ἐξ ὧν γεννᾶται Οὐλωμός, ὁ νοητὸς θεός, αὐτὸ, οἶμαι, τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ νοητοῦ· ἐξ οὗ ἐαυτῷ συνελθόντος γεννηθῆναι φασὶ Χουσωρόν, ἀνοιγέα πρῶτον, εἶτα ὠόν, τοῦτον μὲν, οἶμαι, τὸν νοητὸν νοῦν λέγοντες, τὸν δὲ ἀνοιγέα Χουσωρόν, τὴν νοητὴν δύναμιν ἄτε πρώτην διακρίνασαν τὴν ἀδιάκριτον φύσιν, εἰ μὴ ἄρα μετὰ τὰς δύο ἀρχὰς τὸ μὲν ἄκρον ἐστὶν Ἄνεμος ὁ εἰς, τὸ δὲ μέσον οἱ δύο ἄνεμοι Λίψ τε καὶ Νότος· ποιούσι γὰρ πῶς καὶ τούτους πρὸ τοῦ Οὐλωμοῦ· ὁ δὲ Οὐλωμός αὐτὸς ὁ νοητὸς εἶη νοῦς, ὁ δὲ ἀνοιγεὺς Χουσωρός ἢ μετὰ τὸ νοητὸν πρώτη τάξις, τὸ δὲ Ὠόν ὁ οὐρανός· λέγεται γὰρ ἐξ αὐτοῦ βαγέντος εἰς δύο γενέσθαι Οὐρανός καὶ Γῆ, τῶν διχοτομημάτων ἐκάτερον. The names Οὐλωμός and Χουσωρός are presumably Phoenician, not Greek. Οὐλωμός is commonly regarded as the transliteration of the Hebrew עֹלָם ('*olām*'), 'eternity,' though *Gruppe Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 514 (cp. i. 349, 642) says: 'Dies Wesen war höchst wahrscheinlich zweigeschlechtlich gedacht, da es mit sich selbst den Χουσωρός erzeugt... Demnach scheint es mir (trotz der von Schuster *de vet. Orph. theog. ind. atq. or.* S. 98. Anm. 1 citirten *Kabbalastelle*) zweifellos, dass Οὐλωμός nicht... von עֹלָם "Ewigkeit," sondern von עֹלָם "Geschlechtstrieb empfinden" abgeleitet ist.' Mr N. McLean, to whom I have referred the point, tells me (Sept. 13, 1916) that Οὐλωμός might perhaps be connected with עֹלָם ('*olām*'), 'the front, that which is first,' but is more probably the Grecised form of עֹלָם ('*olām*'), 'eternity.' Similarly Count Baudissin sees in 'Οὐλωμός (wohl עֹלָם)' 'Den Gott der Vorzeit' (W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 pp. 503 and 488). Cp. Gen. 21. 33 'And Abraham planted a tamarisk tree in Beer-sheba, and called there on the name of the LORD, the Everlasting God' with J. Skinner's note *ad loc.*: 'El [Ólām] presumably the pre-Israelite name of the local *numen*, here identified with Yahwe' etc. Χουσωρός, 'the Opener,' remains obscure. H. Ewald 'Über die phönikischen Ansichten von der Welterschöpfung und den geschichtlichen Werth Sanchouniathon's' in the *Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. 1851—1852* Phil.-hist. Classe v. 17 would read Χουσωρ for Χρυσώρ in the anthropogony of Sanchouniathon as given by Philon *Bybl. frag.* 2. 9 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 566 Müller) *ap. Euseb. praef. ev.* i. 10. 11 f. χρόνους δὲ ὕστερον πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ὑψουρανίου γενεᾶς γενέσθαι Ἀγρεία καὶ Ἀλιέα, τοὺς ἄγρας καὶ ἀλιείας εὐρετάς, ἐξ ὧν κληθῆναι ἄγρεντὰς καὶ ἀλιείας· ἐξ ὧν γενέσθαι δύο ἀδελφοὺς σιδήρου εὐρετάς καὶ τῆς τούτου ἐργασίας, ὧν θάτερον τὸν Χρυσώρ λόγους ἀσκήσαι καὶ ἐπφῶδας καὶ μαντείας· εἶναι δὲ τοῦτον τὸν Ἡφαιστον, εὐρίην δὲ καὶ ἄγκιστρον καὶ δέλεαρ καὶ ὀρμιῶν καὶ σχεδιάων, πρῶτόν τε πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλεῦσαι· διὸ καὶ ὡς θεὸν αὐτὸν μετὰ θάνατον ἐσεβύσθησαν· καλεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Δία Μελίχιον. κ.τ.λ. But Χρυσώρ may well be an attempt to make the Phoenician Χουσωρός intelligible to Greek readers. Be that as it may, Χουσωρός was doubtless 'the Opener' of the cosmic egg (so F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*³ Leipzig

and Darmstadt 1840 ii. 347, 1842 iv. 250, W. Robertson Smith in T. K. Cheyne—J. S. Black *Encyclopædia Biblica* London 1899 i. 942 n. 9, R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 440 n. 6). (iii) Sanchouniathon in Philon Bybl. frag. 2. 1 f. (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 565 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 1 f. τὴν τῶν ὄλων ἀρχὴν ὑποτίθεται ἀέρα ζοφώδη καὶ πνευματώδη, ἢ πνοὴν ἀέρος ζοφώδους, καὶ χάος θολερὸν, ἐρεβώδες· ταῦτα δὲ εἶναι ἀπειρα, καὶ διὰ πολλὸν αἰῶνα μὴ ἔχειν πέρας. 'ὅτε δέ,' φησὶν, 'ἠράσθη τὸ πνεῦμα τῶν ἰδίων ἀρχῶν, καὶ ἐγένετο σύγκρασις, ἢ πλοκὴ ἐκείνη ἐκλήθη πῶθος. αὕτη δὲ ἀρχὴ κτίσεως ἀπάντων. αὐτὸ δὲ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκε τὴν αὐτοῦ κτίσιν· καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ συμπλοκῆς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐγένετο Μῶτ· τοῦτό τινες φασὶν ἰλύν, οἱ δὲ ἰδατώδους μίξεως σῆψιν. καὶ ἐκ ταύτης ἐγένετο πᾶσα σπορὰ κτίσεως καὶ γένεσις τῶν ὄλων. ἦν δὲ τινα ζῶα οὐκ ἔχοντα αἴσθησιν, ἐξ ὧν ἐγένετο ζῶα νοερά, καὶ ἐκλήθη Ζωφασημίν (Ζωφισημῖαν cod. H.), τοῦτ' ἔστιν οὐρανοῦ κατοπταί. καὶ ἀνεπλάσθη ὁμοίως ὡὸ σχήματι. καὶ ἐξέλαμψε Μῶτ ἥλιος τε καὶ σελήνη ἀστέρες τε καὶ ἄστρα μεγάλα.' Μῶτ is another conundrum, of which very various interpretations have been given (W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3222 f.). F. C. Movers *Die Phönizier* Berlin 1841 i. 136 equated it with the Egyptian Μοῖθ, 'Mother' (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 56: see further Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 1219 C—D). H. Ewald *loc. cit.* v. 30 connected it with the Arabic *madda*, 'stuff, matter.' W. W. Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1876 i. 11 f., 195 supposes מַד = מֵד 'water'; and Sir G. Maspero *The Struggle of the Nations* London 1896 p. 168 n. 1 likewise says: 'Môt ... is probably a Phœnician form of a word which means *water* in the Semitic languages (ROTH, *Geschichte unserer abendländischen Philosophie*, vol. i. p. 251; SCHRÖDER, *Die Phönizische Sprache*, p. 133).' C. C. J. von Bunsen *Ägyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte* Gotha 1857 v. 3. 257 n. 25 would correct Μῶτ to Μῶχ = מֵד 'mud.' J. Halévy 'Les principes cosmogoniques phéniciens πῶθος et μῶτ' in the *Mélanges Graux* Paris 1884 p. 59 f. assumes haplography ἐγένετο [TO]ΜΩΤ and takes Τομῶτ to be a Phœnician *Tehômôt* formed with the feminine ending from the Hebrew *Tehôm*, 'deep,' thus obtaining a Phœnician equivalent of the Babylonian *Tiāmat*. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 440 n. 6 is content with the old (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 1219 D) transcription Μῶτ = מוֹט *mavet*, 'death.' Mr N. McLean, who has kindly considered the matter for me, inclines (Sept. 13, 1916) to think that מֵד (*māḏ*), 'rotteness,' might have an infinitival form מֵד (*mōḏ*), which would be represented by Μῶκ (not Μῶχ, as Bunsen proposed). He further notes that *Ζωφασημίν* is a fairly correct transliteration of מֵדֵשׁ 'שָׁמַיִם (*šōphē šāmayim*), 'observers of heaven.' The three versions of the Phœnician cosmogony may be set out as follows:

EUDEMOS	MOCHOS	SANCHOUNIATHON
Χρόνος Πῶθος = Ὁμίχλη	Ἄνεμος Λίψ Νότος or Αἰθῆρ = Ἀήρ	Ἀήρ ζοφώδης καὶ = Χάος θολερὸν, πνευματώδης ἐρεβώδες
Ἀήρ = Ἀῦρα	Οὐλωμός	(Πῶθος)
? Μῶτος	Χουσωρός	Μῶτ
	Οὐρανός ← Ὀόν → Γῆ	Ζωφασημίν
		Ὀόν

(6) The Cosmogonic Eros.

It will be observed that in several respects the Indian and the Phœnician cosmogonies recall Orphic speculation. In particular, they assign the same

primary position to cosmic Desire or Love. According to the *Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (*supra* p. 1035) the golden egg was caused by the desire of the waters for reproduction; according to *The Laws of Manu* (*supra* p. 1036) it was occasioned by similar desire on the part of the divine Self-existent. Eudemos (*supra* p. 1036) spoke of *Póthos* as uniting with Mist to beget Air and Breeze; Sanchouniathon (*supra* p. 1038) applied the same term *Póthos* to the love of the primeval Wind. These conceptions are akin to that of Eros, who in the early Orphic scheme sprang from the wind-egg laid by Nyx. True, the theogony of Hellanikos dropped the name Eros and substituted for it Protogonos or Zeus or Pan. But the Rhapsodies retained both Eros and Protogonos as alternative appellations of their Phanes or Metis or Erikepaïos. It looks as though Eros were in some sense the very soul or self of a deity variously named. Hence his intimate connexion with Wind—a common form of soul (W. H. Roscher *Hermes der Windgott* Leipzig 1878 p. 54 ff., Rohde *Psyche*³ i. 248 n. 1, ii. 264 n. 2, C. H. Toy *Introduction to the History of Religions* Boston etc. 1913 p. 22 f., S. Feist *Kultur Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen* Berlin 1913 p. 99, W. Wundt *Völkerpsychologie* Leipzig 1906 ii. 2. 40 ff., *id. Elements of Folk Psychology* trans. E. L. Schaub London 1916 p. 212 f., *infra* § 7 (a)). Miss J. E. Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 625 n. 3 rightly suspected that a definite doctrine underlay Aristophanes' travesty of the 'wind-egg.' We must, I think, conclude that the Orphic cosmogonies rest in part upon a primitive psychology, which explained desire (*ἔπος, ἔπος*) as the issuing of the soul from the mouth in the form of a small winged being. That the early Greeks should have entertained such a belief is well within the bounds of possibility: cp. A. E. Crawley *The Idea of the Soul* London 1909 pp. 278 and 280 'In order to see the spiritual world, the savage either anoints his eyes to acquire an extension of sight, or "sends out his soul" to see it. The latter occurs as a theory of imagination¹. (1 De Groot, *The Religious System of China*, iv. 105)...' 'The savage holds that when a man desires a thing his soul leaves his body and goes to it. The process is identical with imagination and with magic'... Homeric diction still shows traces of analogous notions. The stock phrase *ἔπεα πτερόεντα* together with certain less frequent expressions (*Od.* 17. 57, 19. 29, 21. 386, 22. 398 *τῆ δ' ἄπτερος ἐπλετο μῦθος*, and perhaps *Od.* 7. 36 *ὠκείαι ὡς εἰ πτερόν ἢ ῥόνημα*) presupposes the view that words had actual wings and flew across from speaker to listener, while the formula *πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἐντο* (*Il.* 1. 469, 2. 432, 7. 323, 9. 92, 23. 57, 24. 628, *Od.* 1. 150, 3. 67, 473, 4. 68, 8. 72, 485, 12. 308, 14. 454, 15. 143, 303, 501, 16. 55, 480, 17. 99, *h. Ap.* 513, cp. *Od.* 24. 489, *h. Ap.* 499) or the like (*Il.* 13. 636 ff., 24. 227, Theog. 1064) implies, if pressed, a physical expulsion or dismissal of desire. Not improbably, therefore, the Hesiodic idea that Eros had issued from Chaos (*supra* p. 315), could we trace it to its ultimate origin in the mind of unsophisticated folk, would be found to involve the conviction that the vast void between heaven and earth was a gaping or yawning mouth (*χάος* for **χάφος* connected with *χαῦνος, χάσκω*, etc.: cp. *οὐρανός, οὐρανίσκος* in the sense of 'the mouth's palate' with the remarks of Stephanus *Theog. Gr. Ling.* v. 2405 B—C) from which the divine soul, desirous to create, had flown forth in the guise of Eros. Since winged things in general emerge from eggs, such a belief would naturally, though illogically, be fused with an egg-cosmogony.

Some support for the opinions here advanced is furnished, not indeed by the painted tablet from Tarragona (on which see Addenda to ii. 2 n. 4), but by the occasional numismatic representation of Desire or Love as a winged mannikin proceeding out of the mouth. At Emporion (*Ampurias*) in Hispania Tarra-

consensus the earliest coins (s. iii B.C.), copying the Siculo-Punic *drachmai*, show a head of Persephone on the obverse and a standing horse crowned by a flying Nike on the reverse side (fig. 887, *a*=A. Heiss *Description générale des monnaies antiques de l'Espagne* Paris 1870 pp. 86, 90 pl. 1 Emporiae 1, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 2). Later silver and copper coins of the same town exhibit a most remarkable modification of this originally Carthaginian horse. First, he is transformed into a winged and prancing Pegasus (fig. 887, *b*=Heiss *op. cit.* p. 87 pl. 1 Emporiae 2). Then there emerges from his head a small human head wearing a *pétasos* (Heiss *op. cit.* p. 87 pl. 1 Emporiae 3, cp. 4 f.=fig. 887, *c, d*). Finally,



Fig. 887.

this little personage becomes an obvious Eros, his wing formed by the horse's ear, his back by the horse's cheek, his arm and leg by the horse's muzzle (fig. 887, *e, f*=Heiss *op. cit.* p. 87 pl. 1 Emporiae 7 f., cp. *ib.* p. 89 f. pl. 2 Emporiae 23—29, 31—35, p. 93 pl. 4 Emporiae 37—43, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 2). Gallic imitations of the type sometimes show the winged figure riding the horse (R. Forrer *Keltische Numismatik der Rhein- und Donaulande* Strassburg 1908 p. 39 fig. 68 Pictones, p. 77 f. fig. 144 Pictones).

Once launched from the lips, the small figure representing the desire of the deity might run along his arm and so fare forth into the world to work his will. Silver coins of Kaulonia from c. 550 B.C. onwards have as their obverse design a naked male with hair in long ringlets and left foot advanced. In his uplifted right hand is a stalk with pinnate leaves: on or over his outstretched left arm runs a diminutive figure carrying a similar stalk in one (fig. 888) or both hands (figs. 889, 890) and sometimes equipped with a *chlamys* over his shoulders and wings on his heels (fig. 888). In the field stands a stag, beneath which on many specimens is another stalk of the plant springing from the ground (figs. 889, 890). The design is repeated, incuse, on the reverse side of the coin, though here the small runner is mostly omitted. One specimen (fig. 890) is known bearing the additional legend IKETESI(A), with which festival-name cp. *Od.* 13. 213 Ζεύς σφειας

τίσαστο ἰκερήσιος and the evidence collected by O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1592 f. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy* p. 334 ff., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 126 pl. 9, 8, cp. i. 127 f. pl. 9, 9 f., *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1460 ff. pls. 70, 14 f., 71, 1—6, *Garrucci Mon. It. ant.* p. 155 f. pl. 111, 11—14, p. 186 pl. 125, 17 = my fig. 890, cp. p. 156 f. pl. 111, 15 ff., p. 186 pl. 125, 16, *Head Coins of the Ancients* p. 15 pl. 8, 17 = my fig. 888, cp. p. 15 pl. 8, 18, p. 30 pl. 15, 9, *id. Hist. num.*² p. 92 ff. figs. 50 f., G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 pp. 36, 97, 132 pl. 3, 7, cp. p. 132 f. pl. 5, 10. Fig. 889 is drawn from a specimen in my collection). Many and wonderful are the explanations of this remarkable

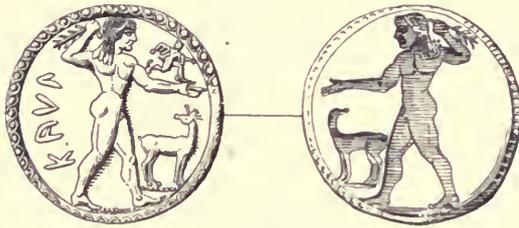


Fig. 888.

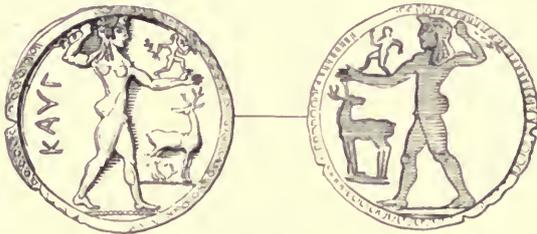


Fig. 889.

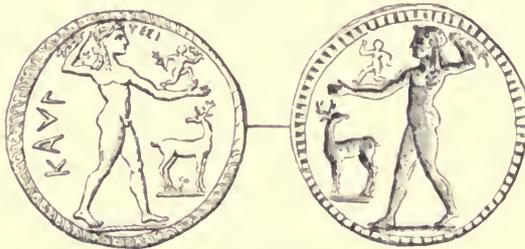


Fig. 890.

type that have been put forward (for a full list see now Oldfather in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 80—85): e.g. *Iupiter Tonans* brandishing a thunderbolt (J. Hardouin *Nummi antiqui populorum et urbium illustrati* Parisiis 1684 p. 244, A. S. Mazzocchi *In Regii Herculaneensis Musei Aeneas Tabulas Heraclenses Commentarii* Neapoli 1754 p. 527 f.: see Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*² i. 168 f.), *Dionysos* with *Oikropos* (F. M. Avellino in the *Giornale numismatico* 1811—1812 ii. 24 and in his *Opuscoli diversi* Napoli 1833 ii. 108 ff. citing *inter alia* Nonn. *Dion.* 9. 263 f. where Ino lashes the Maenads with sprays of ivy. Note that in *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 127 pl. 9, 10 = my fig. 891 the small runner is replaced by an ivy-leaf with a long stalk, an attribute which appears again on the reverse of the same coin), *Herakles* returning from the *Hyperborei*

with one of the Kerkopes (F. Streber 'Ueber die Münzen von Caulonia' in

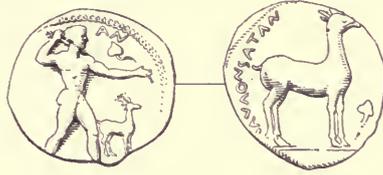


Fig. 891.

the *Abh. d. bayer. Akad. 1837* Philos.-philol. Classe ii. 709 ff.), Apollon with laurel-branch and the purified Orestes (K. O. Müller *Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst*² Breslau 1835 p. 516, *id. Denkmäler der alten Kunst* Göttingen 1835 i. 8 pl. 16, 72), Apollon as καθαρῆς or καθάρσιος with Aristaios (Honoré d'Albert duc de Luynes in the *Nouv.*

Ann. i. 426), Apollon with Daphnis or Hyacinthos (J. de Witte in the *Rev. Num.* 1845 p. 400 ff. makes these suggestions, but prefers to follow T. Panofka: see *infra*), Apollon as καθαρῆς—or else the Demos of Kaulonia—performing the act of lustration with the genius of ἀγνισμός or καθαρμός on his arm (R. Rochette *Mémoires de Numismatique et d'antiquité* Paris 1840 p. 1 ff. followed by C. Cavedoni in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1842 p. 90 f.), Apollon as sun-god with a lustral branch and a wind-god dispersing miasmas (W. Watkiss Lloyd 'On the types of the coins of Caulonia' in the *Num. Chron.* 1847 x. 1 ff. followed by P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 85 pl. 1, 1, cp. G. F. Hill *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* London 1899 p. 171 pl. 3, 3), Apollon chasing the thief Hermes (S. Birch 'Notes on types of Caulonia' in the *Num. Chron.* 1845 viii. 163 ff.), the headland Kointhos with the wind-god Zephyros (Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 186), 'Some local myth, which has not been handed down to us' (Head *Hist. num.*¹ p. 79 after Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*² i. 169). Specially ingenious was the view of T. Panofka 'Über die Münztypen von Kaulonia' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1843 i. 165 ff.: accepting the identification of the larger figure with Apollon, he regarded the smaller as Kaulon (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Καυλωνία) or Kaulos, son of the Amazon Kleite and eponymous founder of the town (interp. Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 153), and suggested that both figures bear an olive-branch not without a punning allusion to καυλός, *caulis*. Head *Hist. num.*² p. 93 does not mention Panofka, but adopts and modifies his interpretation: the main figure is the founder Καῦλος, who carries as his emblem a καυλός or 'parsnip' (*pastinaca sativa*); the running genius is Ἄγων (G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 80, cp. W. Wroth *ib.* 1907 xxvii. 92), or Hermes Ἄγωνιος (Pind. *Isthm.* 1. 85, cp. *Ol.* 6. 133 ff. with scholl. *ad locc.*) or Δρόμιος (G. Doublet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1889 xiii. 69 f. publishes an inscription from Polyrrhenion Ἐρμῆι Δρομίωι, with which S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 755 cp. Hesych. οἴνιος...δρομεύς), carrying apparently the same emblem, which is also shown growing beneath the stag. P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 86 came nearer to the truth, when he wrote: 'The most plausible alternative view would be to regard him [the small figure] as an embodiment of the χόλος or wrath of the Apollo, who is about to attack the enemies of the deity...' I hold that he is in fact the soul of the god sent forth to work the divine will. The god himself is Apollon, whose epithets ἐκάεργος, ἐκατηβέλτης, ἐκατηβόλος, ἕκατος, ἐκηβόλος are all connected with ἐκών (A. Fick—F. Bechtel *Die Griechischen Personennamen*² Göttingen 1894 pp. 107, 127, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 133, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 236 f., O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2664 f., 2799 f., 2800 ff., F. Bechtel *Lexilogus zu Homer* Halle a. d. S. 1914 pp. 114—117) and betoken his magical will-power (cp. *supra* i. 12 n. 1, 14 n. 1). Apollon ἐκηβόλος would thus mean Apollon 'who strikes what he wills' (less probably 'who projects his will'). And I am reminded by Mr F. M. Cornford that Plat. *Cratyl.* 420 c

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sought to connect βουλή with βολή—a notion well worth weighing (Boisacq *op. cit.* pp. 114, 129). However that may be, the καυλός in the hand of the god or of the god's soul is presumably the magician's rod; its precise botanical character can hardly be determined.

The nearest analogue to the Cauloniate sprite occurs on a fragmentary votive *pinax* of terra cotta found at Rosarno in Calabria and now preserved in the Antiquarium at Munich (A. Michaelis in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1867 xxxix. 93—104 pl. D, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1352 f., Christ—Lauth *Führer durch d. k. Antiquarium in München* 1891 p. 16 cited by O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 498 f. Fig. 892 is a fresh drawing made from the cast at Cambridge). This relief, which Furtwängler *loc. cit.* assigned to the period c. 450—440 B.C., shows Hermes confronting Aphrodite. The type of the goddess is obviously derived from a cult-statue—witness the rose in her hand and the

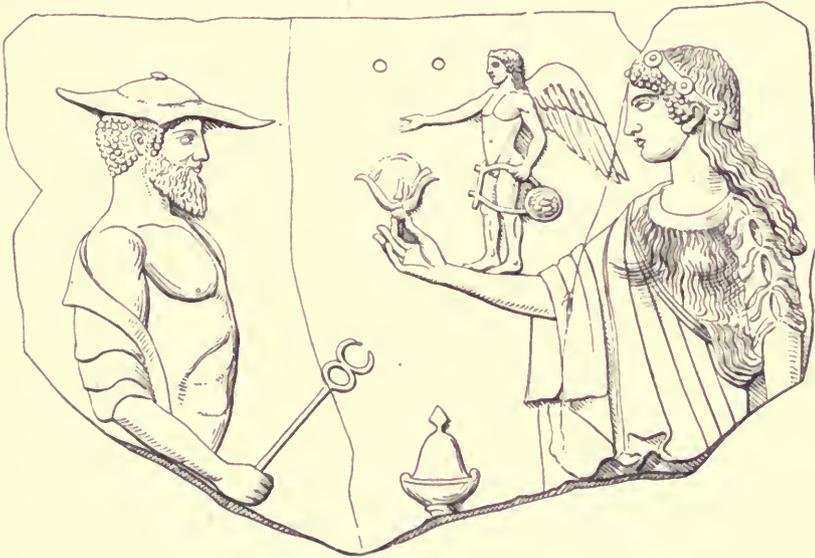


Fig. 892.

thymiatérion before her. But the chief interest of the design lies in the little figure of Eros, who stands on the arm of the goddess and with outstretched hand expresses her feelings towards the god (Plout. *praec. coniug.* 1 καὶ γὰρ οἱ πάλαιοι τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ τὸν Ἑρμῆν συγκαθίδρυσαν, ὡς τῆς περὶ τὸν γάμον ἡδονῆς μάλιστα λόγου δεομένης, Harpokr. *s.v.* Ψιθυριστῆς Ἑρμῆς· Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Νεαίρας (39). ἦν τις Ἀθήνησιν Ἑρμῆς οὕτω καλούμενος· ἐτιμᾶτο δὲ Ἀθήνησι καὶ Ψίθυρος Ἀφροδίτῃ καὶ Ἔρωσι Ψίθυρος = Souid. *s.v.* Ψιθυριστῆς Ἑρμῆς, *id.* *s.v.* Ψιθυριστοῦ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἔρωτος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης· ἄπερ πρῶτος ἐποίησεν, ὡς φησι Ζώπυρος (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 533 Müller), Θησεύς, ἐπεὶ Φαῖδρα ὡς φασιν ἐψιθύριζε Θησεῖ κατὰ Ἴππολίτου, διαβύλλουσα αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ ἀνθρωπινώτερόν φασιν Ἑρμῆν Ψιθυριστήν, παρὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπου ἐκεῖ συνερχομένου τὰ ἀπόρρητα συντίθεσθαι, καὶ ψιθυρίζειν ἀλλήλοις περὶ ὧν βούλονται = Bekker *anecd.* i. 317, 11 ff., Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1881, 1 ff. διὸ καὶ Ψιθύρου Ἀφροδίτης κατὰ Πανσανίαν (*sc.* the lexicographer Pausanias rather than a slip for Harpokration) ἱερὸν ἦν Ἀθήνησι καὶ Ἔρωτος δέ· οὐ καὶ Δημοσθένης, φησί, μέμνηται ἐν τῷ κατὰ Νεαίρας (39). ἐκαλεῖτο δέ, φασί, Ψίθυρος διὰ τὸ τὰς εὐχομένας αὐτῇ πρὸς

τὸ οὖς λέγειν, κ.τ.λ. See further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3198 f. The genesis of the hero Psithyros at Athens (Hesych. s.v. *ψιθύρα*) and of the god Psithyros at Lindos (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1904 xix Arch. Anz. p. 185 f., H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1904 lix. 623 f. (= *id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 467 ff.) in an inscription of early imperial date found by R. F. Kinch near the north angle of the temple of Athena: τῷ Ψιθύρῳ νηὸν πολυκείονα τεύξε Σέλευκος κ.τ.λ.) appears to have resembled that of Eros himself; the whispered prayer of the worshipper (S. Sudhaus 'Lautes und leises Beten' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 185—200), like the heartfelt desire of the deity, was projected in visible form.

Similarly a metope from the north side of the Parthenon (slab no. xxv) shows a diminutive Eros stepping down from behind the shoulder of Aphrodite towards Menelaos, who on the adjoining metope (slab no. xxiv) drops his sword at the sight of Helene clinging to the Palladion (A. Michaelis *Der Parthenon* Leipzig 1870 p. 139 Atlas pl. 4, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 265 no. 590, Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*³ i. 424 n.*, A. S. Murray *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1903 p. 79 (misleading) pl. 12, 25 as drawn by Carrey, A. H. Smith *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 42 fig. 81 photographic view of the metope *in situ*, *ib.* fig. 82 photograph of Eros from the cast at Berlin, C. Präsch-

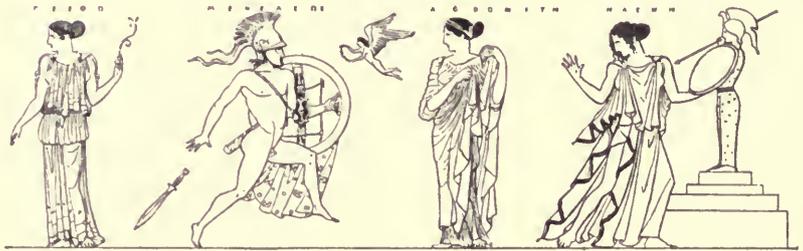


Fig. 893.

niker 'Die Metopen der Nordostecke des Parthenon' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1911 xiv. 149 fig. 136 photograph, M. Collignon *Le Parthénon* Paris 1912 p. 29 pl. 39, 25 photograph. In this familiar scene (literary and monumental evidence in Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 626 ff. Atlas pl. 26, 2 ff, Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 745 ff. fig. 798 f., R. Engelmann in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1970 ff. figs., H. W. Stoll *ib.* ii. 2786 f. figs. 4—6, E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2832, 2835), especially as represented on the fine red-figured *oinochôe* from Vulci now in the Vatican (fig. 893 = *Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii pl. 5, 2^a, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 631 f. pl. 26, 12, Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 745 f. fig. 798, P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1800 f. fig. 3, J. H. Huddilston *Lessons from Greek Pottery* New York 1902 p. 86 f. fig. 16, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 347 no. 7 (by 'The Painter of the Epinetron from Eretria in Athens')), Eros is already so far detached from Aphrodite that he signifies, not the love felt by the goddess, but the love caused by her in the heart of Menelaos. We are well on the way towards later conceptions of the love-god.

In Hellenistic times the favourite types of Eros were those of a boy (e.g. *Ausgewählte griechische Terrakotten im Antiquarium der königlichen Museen zu Berlin* Berlin 1903 p. 17 pl. 20, Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* iii. 2. 325 fig. 6 a flying Eros, said to be from Pagai in Megaris, now at Berlin, holding grapes in his raised right hand and other fruits in a fold of his *chlamys*: height 0.275^m)

or a mere child (e.g. O. Rayet *Monuments de l'art antique* Paris 1884 ii pl. (40), 7 with text, L. Heuzey *Les figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre* Paris 1883 p. 21 pl. 35^{bis}, 5, M. Collignon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1607 fig. 2188, E. Pottier *Les statuettes de terre cuite dans l'antiquité* Paris 1890 p. 129 fig. 44, Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* iii. 2. 320 no. 12 b a walking Eros, from Tanagra, formerly in the Barre collection (no. 449), now in the Louvre, with his *chlamys* drawn over his head: height 0'07^m) or even a babe (e.g. L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1864 p. 202 f. Atlas pl. 6, 2, Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* iii. 2. 313 fig. 4 Eros clinging on to the neck of a swan, found at Kerch and now in the Hermitage at Petrograd: height 0'075^m); and it is usually assumed that his progressive diminution in size was the natural outcome of fourth-century art with its well-defined *penchant* for youth and beauty (see e.g. the clear and sensible statements of O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 496 f., 502, 509). It must not, however, be forgotten that this tendency, which was undoubtedly a *vera causa*, gave fresh effect to the very ancient belief in the soul as a tiny winged form sent forth from the lover to compass his desires. That is the ultimate reason—I take it—why Eros with crossed legs and torch reversed became the commonest of all symbols for Death (A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1369, M. Collignon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1610 fig. 2192 f., O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 508 f., F. Lübker *Reallexikon des klassischen Altertums*⁸ Berlin 1914 p. 1028, C. Robert *Thanatos (Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin xxxix)* Berlin 1879 p. 44, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 845, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1050 n. 5, *supra* p. 309): a resting Eros meant a restful soul. Again, that is why Eros was so constantly associated with Psyche (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1877 pp. 53—219, M. Collignon *Essai sur les monuments grecs et romains relatifs au mythe de Psyché* Paris 1877 (inadequate), A. Zinzow *Psyche und Eros* Halle 1881, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1370—1372, O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 531—542 and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3237—3256): *quasi*-bird and *quasi*-butterfly were kindred conceptions of the soul. Finally, we may discover here one ground at least for the astonishing variety of *genre* occupations attributed to Eros and the Erotes in the Graeco-Roman age. Readers of these lines will probably remember an eloquent passage in which J. W. Mackail *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology* London 1890 p. 34 f. describes the wealth of imagination lavished by a single writer, Meleagros, upon the figure of Eros. The poet's words could be illustrated by scores of extant works of art, especially terra-cotta statuettes, engraved gems, and mural paintings. By way of relaxation at the end of a somewhat stiff and stodgy Appendix I subjoin a few specimens.

Eros pervaded the universe and swayed all hearts from the highest to the lowest. Time was when Alkibiades had given offence by carrying a shield of gold and ivory with the device of Eros fulminant (Plout. *v. Alcib.* 16, Athen. 534 E), and an onyx at Berlin dating from the first half of s. iv (?) B.C. very possibly shows this deity with his *protégé* (fig. 894=C. O. Müller *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* Göttingen 1835 ii. 2. 35 pl. 39, 451, Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 35 no. 355 pl. 7). But in s. i B.C. Eros was represented not merely holding a thunderbolt (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 160 no. 3708 pl. 29 brown paste: Eros leaning on a pillar with thunderbolt (?) in right hand, sceptre in left and an altar (?) below, *id. ib.* p. 159 no. 3700 pl. 29 dark brown paste: Eros with thunderbolt in right hand, trident in left) but actually breaking it across his knee (fig. 895=Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 30, 31, ii. 149 a cornelian in the royal collection at The Hague, *id. Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 90 no. 1628 pl. 17

paste, Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 52 no. 16, 1 pl. 51 banded agate, cp. Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 8 no. 7 fig. reverse type of a *quinarius* struck by L. Iulius Bursio in 88 B.C.). A sardonyx formerly in the Poniatowski cabinet shows Eros posing as Zeus himself with thunderbolt and sceptre (fig. 896=T. Cades *Collezione di N° 1400 Impronti delle migliori pietre incise, sì antiche, che moderne, ricavati dalle più distinte Collezioni conosciute dell' Europa 1^{ma} Classe, A 6, 34 'Genio di Giove': genuine? Lippold *Gemmen* p. 171 pl. 28, 4 says*



Fig. 894.



Fig. 895.

'Römisch'). If Eros thus usurped the position of the strongest god, *a fortiori* he superseded the strongest hero. Lysippos is said to have represented Herakles as stripped of his weapons by Eros (*Anth. Pal.* 16. 103. 1 ff. (Tullius Geminus), cp. 16. 104. 1 ff. (Philippos)); and the incident became a commonplace of later art (see e.g. M. Collignon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1606 fig. 2184, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1366, 2248 f., O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 510, 513 f.). Hence Eros is arrayed in the hero's spoils



Fig. 896.



Fig. 897.

(fig. 897=Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 64, 19, ii. 290 a sardonyx cameo of three layers—translucent ground, figure in opaque white, upper surface brown—at Munich; of Roman date. Cp. Furtwängler *ib.* i pl. 62, 2, ii. 280, *id.* *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 73 no. 1111 pl. 14 (shown more clearly in C. O. Müller *Denkmäler der alten Kunst Göttingen* 1835 ii. 3. 13 pl. 51, 636) small convex garnet, p. 135 no. 3020 pl. 25 cornelian, p. 135 nos. 3021—3028 pl. 25 pastes, p. 160 nos. 3713—3716 pastes, p. 237 no. 6482 (G. Winckelmann *Monumenti antichi inediti* Roma 1821 i. 39 f. κληροῦχος! pl. 32) sardonyx), or combines

them with those of Zeus in a pantheistic scheme (fig. 898 = Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 43, 61, ii. 210). In short, Eros plants his foot upon the world (C. O. Müller *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* Göttingen 1835 ii. 3. 13 pl. 51, 633, Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 276 no. 7440 pl. 55 flat cornelian of imperial date. The motif occurs also in sculpture: see A. de Ridder *Les bronzes antiques du Louvre* Paris 1913 i. 87 no. 613 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 446 no. 7, Von Sacken *Ant. Bronzen Wien* pl. 14, 1 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 447 no. 1, L. Urlichs in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1846 ix. 155 pl. 5, 4 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 431 no. 4), or takes his seat thereon (fig. 899 = Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 30, 37, ii. 149), or with a mighty effort carries the globe as if it were a mere ball



Fig. 898.



Fig. 899.



Fig. 900.

(fig. 900 = Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 160 no. 3722 pl. 29 black paste with bluish band). We are meant to draw the moral: *omnia vincit Amor; et nos cedamus Amori* (Verg. *ecl.* 10. 69). Psyche is no match for the matchless one. Of countless illustrations I give but two: a convex banded agate in my daughter's possession shows Eros with one foot raised on a step in hot pursuit of a butterfly, the animal form of Psyche (fig. 901); and a flat cornelian in my own collection portrays him riding her round a race-course, the goals of which are marked by her butterfly and his weapons respectively (fig. 902). Such allegories, not to say 'sermons in stones,' were keenly relished in the early imperial age. If Eros thus masters the human soul, he enters into all the pleasures and pains of man. Sometimes he is represented as a veritable fay, doing the deeds of mortals with more



Fig. 901.



Fig. 902.

than mortal skill. Thus, like 'the merry Grecian coaster' he sails the blue waters of the Mediterranean, but his boat is nothing more than a wine-jar—no wonder he bears the palm (fig. 903 = T. Cades *op. cit.* 1^{ma} Classe, A 6, 57, C. O. Müller *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* Göttingen 1835 ii. 3. 23 f. pl. 55, 702 a cornelian in the Poniatowski collection), or even a *murex*—a cockleshell, as we might say (fig. 904 = T. Cades *op. cit.* 1^{ma} Classe, A 6, 59 of unknown *provenance*). Sometimes, again, Erotes and Psychai play the part of ordinary men and women with no trace of divinity beyond the tell-tale wings of bird or butterfly or beetle and a certain exquisite grace that idealizes all—witness a wonderful band of decoration below the main panels on the wall of a dining-room in the house of the Vettii, which pictures Erotes and Psychai as twining garlands, making oil, coining

money (?), fulling clothes, and selling wine (Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pls. 22, 24, 25 Text pp. 34—39, A. Mau *Pompeii its life and art*² trans. F. W. Kelsey New York 1902 pp. 331—337 figs. 163, 165—169, A. Mau *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst* Anhang zur zweiten Auflage Leipzig 1913 p. 48, P. Gusman *Pompéi* Paris 1899 p. 339 with col. pl. 11 opposite p. 388, H. B. Walters *The Art of the Romans* London 1911 p. 102 f. pl. 43). Eros can be the schoolmaster and wield the whip



Fig. 903.



Fig. 904.



Fig. 905.

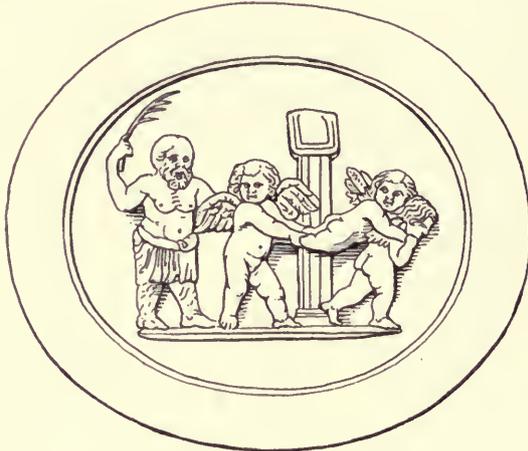


Fig. 906.

(fig. 905 = Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 50, 36, ii. 244, E. Gerhard in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1834 p. 124 no. 31 a cornelian from the Nott collection); Eros can be the schoolboy and suffer the whipping (fig. 906 = T. Cades *op. cit.* 1^{ma} Classe, A 3, 59 'nel Museo Blacas,' *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 127 no. 1005 an onyx cameo from the Castellani collection).



Fig. 907.

It seems a far call from Eros as a great cosmogonic deity to Eros as a diminutive fairy. But *ξυβὸν ἀρχὴ καὶ πέρας*, and the expression of the one belief may be curiously like the expression of the other. Thus a cornelian formerly in the collection of Sir Henry Russell represents the Orphic Eros seated in the world-egg, already split open to form heaven and earth (fig. 907 = C. O. Müller *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* Göttingen

1835 ii. 3. 12 pl. 50, 628, E. Gerhard in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1839 p. 107 no. 100,

M. Collignon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1595 f. fig. 2142, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1357, *id. Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 50, 37, ii. 244), while one of the most charming of all Pompeian frescoes shows a pair of lovers examining a nestful of tiny Erotes (G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1824 i pl. 24, L. Hirt 'Il nido. Idillio' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1829 p. 251 ff. pl. E, 1, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* Text p. 26 fig. 5, Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 163 no. 821, *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 313 no. 1324, from the *Casa del poeta tragico*.

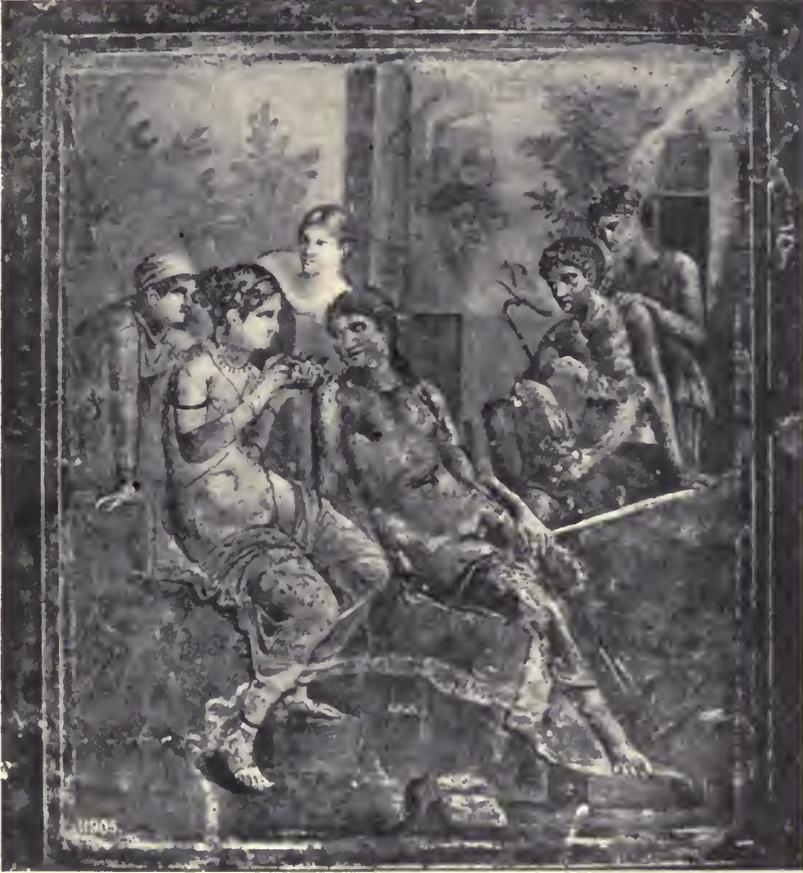


Fig. 908.

Fig. 908, a *replica* from Pompeii *reg.* vii. 12. 26, well published by Herrmann *op. cit.* pl. 17 Text p. 26=Helbig *op. cit.* p. 164 no. 823, G. Rodenwaldt *Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wandgemälde* Berlin 1909 p. 152 ff. fig. 25, is more completely preserved, but less fine: it has only two Erotes in the nest. A second *replica*, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 164 no 822, omits the girl in the background to the right. See also J. Overbeck—A. Mau *Pompeji*⁴ Leipzig 1884 pp. 288, 293, 581).

It was pointed out by F. Piper *Mythologie der christlichen Kunst* Weimar

1847 i. 214—217 that scenes representing Eros and Psyche passed from pagan to Christian *sarcophagi* ((1) R. Garrucci *Storia della Arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa* Prato 1879 v. 12 f. pl. 302, 2—5, J. Ficker *Die altchristlichen Bildwerke im christlichen Museum des Laterans* Leipzig 1890 no. 181, W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archaeology* New York 1901 p. 254 fig. 93, L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1909 ii. 44, 70, 72, 98 n. 1, 103 n. 1, 194, 226 fig. 45, C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 p. 498 fig. 193 = a marble *sarcophagus*, found near the catacomb of Praetextatus and now preserved in the Lateran Museum : it dates from the end of s. iii or the beginning of s. iv A.D. and shows on its main face the Good Shepherd, thrice repeated (bearded in centre, beardless to right and left), amid a vintage of Erotes, which includes a Psyche with butterfly-wings bringing grapes to an Eros with bird-wings. (2) A. Bosio *Roma Sotterranea* Roma 1632 p. 75 fig., G. Bottari *Sculture e pitture sagre estratte dai cimiterj di Roma* Roma 1737 i. 105 pl. 28 f., E. Z. Platner *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom* Stuttgart 1830—1842 ii. 1. 192 f. = a marble *sarcophagus* from the Vatican catacomb, now under an altar in the chapel of the Madonna della Colonna in St. Peter's : Christ, amid the apostles, adored by a man and his wife ; beneath, a large lamb flanked by twelve smaller lambs ; behind, vines and two palm-trees (phoenix on left palm) ; Christ stands in front of a gateway, the arch of which has a Psyche with butterfly-wings on the left, a wingless Eros with torch on the right. [But R. Garrucci *op. cit.* v. 50 f. pl. 327, 2—4 shows that these figures really represent Sol and Luna respectively.] (3) J. B. L. G. Séroux d'Agincourt *Histoire de l'Art par les monumens* Paris 1823 iii Sculpture p. 4 pl. 4, 3, 5 = a *sarcophagus* from the catacomb of S. Pietro e Marcellino (Torrepignatarra) : the column which divides the front bears a relief of Eros embracing Psyche ; the inscription reads *Zacinie cesque (for quiesce) in pace*. (4) E. Z. Platner *op. cit.* iii. 2. 450 = a *sarcophagus* in the Convent of S. Agnese at Rome : both ends show Eros and Psyche with reed and urn to betoken water, and a *cornu copiae* for earth, beneath them ; the centre has inlaid a Christian medallion of S. Agnese. [(5) R. Garrucci *op. cit.* v. 138 pl. 395, 3, L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1909 ii. 96 fig. 11 = a fragmentary *sarcophagus*-lid from the catacomb of S. Callisto at Rome with a medallion supported by two Erotes, adjoining which is the group of Eros and Psyche.] Indeed, early Christian art made constant use of Erotes, winged or wingless, in a variety of *motifs* derived from classical sources (see the examples collected by L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1906 i col. pl. 1, 2, 169 fig., 175 f. with 176 n. 1, 179, 1909 ii. 96 n. 3). Eros still figured largely in Byzantine carvings and paintings (*e.g.* O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 p. 216 fig. 130, p. 281 fig. 171). He survived in the *putto* of the early renaissance (F. Wickhoff 'Die Gestalt Amors in der Phantasie des italienischen Mittelalters' in the *Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 1890 xi. 41—53, S. Weber *Die Entwicklung des Putto in der Plastik der Frührenaissance* Heidelberg 1898, O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 516), and is still recognizable on our valentines and Christmas-cards.

It would seem, then, that from first to last Eros was simply and essentially a soul-type. If we raise the further question—Whose soul was represented by the Orphic Eros?—, we get an uncertain reply. According to the early Orphic scheme (*supra* pp. 1020, 1034), golden-winged Eros sprang from the egg laid by black-winged Nyx Ἐρέβους... ἐν ἀπείροσι κόλποις (Aristoph. *av.* 695). But who was the consort of Nyx? We are not definitely told. Presumably it was Erebus (so in Hes. *theog.* 123 ff., Akousilaos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 100

Orphic Theogonies and Cosmogonic Eros 1051

Müller) *ap.* Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 124 (i. 320, 10 ff. Ruelle)—though schol. Theokr. 13. 1f. says Ἀκουσίλλας (Kallierges corr. Ἀκουσίλαος) Νυκτὸς καὶ Αἰθέρος (*sc.* νιὸν εἶπεν τὸν Ἔρωτα), Antagoras *ap.* Diog. Laert. 4. 26, Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 44, Hyg. *fab. praef.* p. 9, 3 ff. Schmidt). But the later Orphic theogonies (*supra* pp. 1022, 1024, 1034) appear to have regarded Chronos as the maker of the cosmic egg. In any case—and this is the main point—it was not Zeus. In the early Orphic theogony Zeus does not figure at all till the fourth generation (*supra* pp. 1020, 1034). In the theogony of Hellanikos he is a name for Protogonos in the second generation (*supra* pp. 1023, 1034). In the Rhapsodies he is one of the children of Phanes in the third generation (*supra* pp. 1026 ff., 1034). We may reasonably infer that the original form of the Orphic cosmogony was independent of, and perhaps anterior to, the recognition of Zeus.

The later Orphists, however, made much of Zeus and viewed him as a pantheistic power (*supra* p. 1027 ff.). The primitive notion of Chaos as a gaping or yawning mouth (*supra* p. 1039) was transferred to Zeus who, according to the Rhapsodies, opened his jaws wide and swallowed Phanes whole (*supra* p. 1027). Phanes himself was conceived as in some sort a Zeus (*supra* i. 7 n. 6); for Phanes was Protogonos (*supra* p. 1026), and Protogonos was 'Zeus the arranger of all' (*supra* p. 1023). This equation is presupposed by a relief (fig. 909), which seems to have come more than a century since from Rome and is now exhibited in the Royal Museum (no. 2676) at Modena (C. Cavedoni 'Dichiarazione di un bassorilievo Mitriaco della R. Galleria Palatina di Modena' in the *Atti e Memorie delle RR. deputazioni di storia patria per le provincie Modenesi e Parmensi* Modena 1863 i. 1—4 with lithographic pl., A. Venturi *La R. Galleria Estense in Modena* Modena 1883 p. 360 fig. 94, F. Cumont in the *Rev. Arch.* 1902 i. 1—10 with photographic pl. 1, R. Eisler *Welltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 399 ff. fig. 47, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 61 no. 1). On a thick slab of white marble (0.71^m high, 0.49^m wide) is an oval band enclosing an egg-shaped recess. The band is decorated with the twelve signs of the zodiac, and grouped about it are winged heads representing the four winds of heaven. Within the recess stands a nude youth encumbered with a plethora of attributes. Above his head and beneath his feet are the two halves of an egg, from each of which flames are bursting. A snake coiled round him rears its head on to the upper egg-shell. He has two large wings and a crescent on his back, the head of a lion growing from his front, and the heads of a goat and a ram projecting from his right and left sides. Instead of feet he has cloven hoofs. In his right hand he grasps a thunderbolt, in his left a sceptre. Cavedoni, followed by Cumont, regarded this singular figure as primarily Mithraic, though both admitted the presence of features susceptible of an Orphic interpretation. R. Eisler has done good service by insisting on its Orphic character. The egg-like recess in which the god is placed, the upper and lower shells from which he has emerged, the strange animal-heads on his flanks (*supra* p. 1022 f.), the snake's head appearing above his face (*supra* p. 1023), all mark him as Phanes. He bears thunderbolt and sceptre, because Phanes was one with Zeus. His face is that of the sun-god in Rhodian art, for Phanes was not only called Antauges and Phaethon (*supra* p. 1026) but also identified with Helios (*supra* i. 7 n. 6, 311). Cavedoni took the cloven hoofs to be those of a goat: if so, they hint that Phanes was Pan (*supra* p. 1023). Cumont and Eisler think them bovine: if so, they denote him as Dionysos (*supra* p. 1026). The relief bears two inscriptions. The first, [E]YΦHPOSY[NE ET] FELIX on the background of the recess, has been intentionally effaced. The second, P P | FELIX PATER on

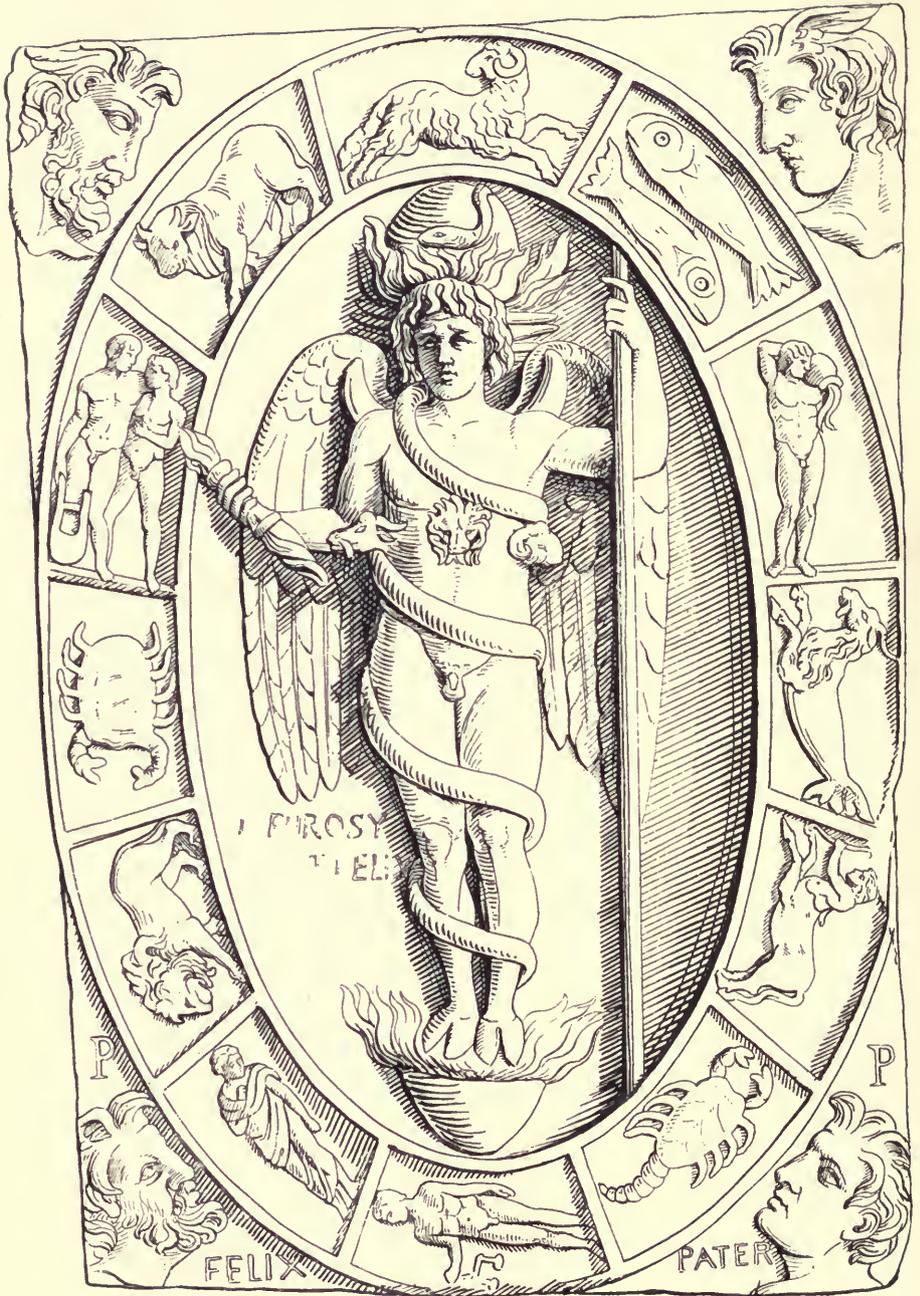


Fig. 909.

either side of the zodiac, must be completed as *p(ecunia) p(osuit) Felix pater (sacrorum)*. Eisler ingeniously suggests that the relief in question originally adorned the Orphic sanctuary of a certain Felix and Euphrosyne and was subsequently re-dedicated in a Mithraic temple by Felix alone, since women were excluded from the rites of Mithras. That an Orphic monument should thus be re-consecrated in a Mithraic shrine seems likely enough in view of the fact that at Borcovicium (*Housesteads* on Hadrian's Wall) Mithras himself was represented in an oval zodiac with an egg-shell on his head (J. C. Bruce *The Roman Wall*³ London 1867 p. 399 with fig. on p. 398, *id. Lapidarium Septentrionale* Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1871 ii. 96—98 no. 188 fig., F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 i. 395 fig. 315, R. Eisler *Welltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 410 ff. fig. 48 a relief, 1.40^m high, 0.77^m wide, found *in situ* between two Mithraic altars = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii nos. 645, 646: Mithras' body emerges from the *Petra generatrix* (Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4244, 4248, 4250, cp. 4249); his arms are broken, but his right hand still holds a knife, his left hand a lighted torch), while the lion-headed god, usually described as the Mithraic Kronos or Aion, but more probably explained as Areimanios or Areimanes, the Mithraists' equivalent for Ahriman (F. Legge *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* Cambridge 1915 ii. 254 f.), appears with a snake coiled about him, wings attached to his shoulders and haunches, a sceptre held in his left hand, and a thunderbolt on his breast or at his side (e.g. Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 559 fig. 1193, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 296 no. 3, F. Lajard *Introduction à l'étude du culte public et des mystères de Mithra en orient et en occident* Paris 1847 pl. 70, C. O. Müller *Denkmäler*

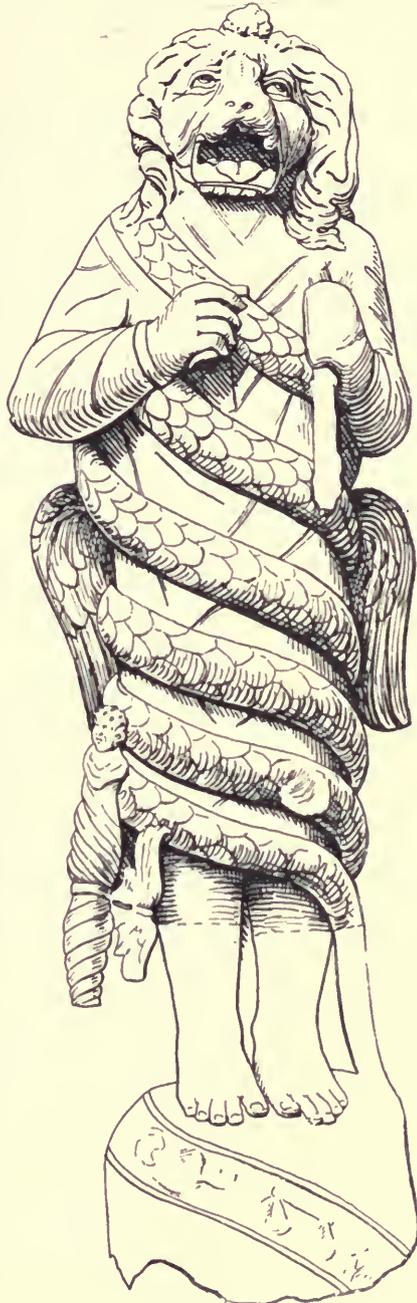


Fig. 910.

der alten Kunst Göttingen 1835 ii. 4. 71 f. pl. 75, 967, F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 ii. 238 f. fig. 68, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3039 fig. 1, R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 412 f. fig. 50 a statue in white marble (1.65^m high, 0.47^m wide at base), found at Ostia in 1797 by the English painter R. Fagan and now erected at the entrance of the Vatican Library: the four wings are adorned with symbols of the seasons, *viz.* the left upper wing with dove and swan, the right upper wing with corn-ears, the right lower wing with grapes, the left lower wing with two palm-trees and reeds; the hands hold keys and a sceptre; the breast is marked with a thunderbolt; the supporting slab shows hammer and tongs to left, *caduceus*, cock, and pine-cone to right, with an inscription (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv no. 65 = *Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4212 C. Valerijus Heracles pat(er) | et C. Valerii | Vitalis et Nicolmes (*sic*) sacerdot|es s(ua) p(e)c(unia) p(o)s(ue)r(unt) | D. d. idi. Aug. imp. | Com. | VI et | Septi|miano | cos. = Aug. 13, 190 A.D.). H. Dütschke *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien* Leipzig 1878 iii. 180 f. no. 367, F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 ii. 258 f. fig. 96, *id.* *Die Mysterien des Mithra*² trans. G. Gehrich Leipzig 1911 p. 215 n. 1 pl. 2, 4 (= my fig. 910), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 477 no. 7 a statue in white Italian marble (1.15^m high, 0.35^m wide) in the Uffizi at Florence: the god wears a sleeved garment; two slot-holes in his back show where the shoulder-wings were attached; his right hand held a key, his left a sceptre; the upper part of the thunderbolt at his side takes the form of a human head; his feet with the sphere on which he stands are restored).

APPENDIX H.

ZEUS KTÉSIOS.

(1) The Jars of Zeus *Ktésios*.

Any discussion of Zeus *Ktésios* must start from the *locus classicus* in Athen. 473 B—C ΚΑΔΙΣΚΟΣ. Φιλήμων ἐν τῷ προειρημένῳ συγγράμματι (*sc.* Philemon the Atticist, on whom see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*³ München 1898 p. 771 n. 3) ποτηρίου εἶδος. ἀγγείον δ' ἐστίν ἐν (M. P. Nilsson would delete ἐν) ᾧ τοὺς Κτησίους Δίας ἐγκαθιδρύουσιν, ὡς Ἀντικλείδης φησὶν ἐν τῷ Ἐξηγητικῷ (E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2426, ii. 2597 f. makes it highly probable that the reference is to the Ἐξηγητικόν of Autokleides, not Antikleides,—a valuable source for traditional rites) γράφων οὕτως “Διὸς Κτησίου σημεῖα (G. Kaibel *cj. σιπίνας*) ἰδρῦεσθαι χρὴ ᾧδε. καδίσκον καινόν (καινόν with αι above ε *cod. P.*) δίωτον ἐπιθηματοῦντα στέψαι τὰ (so Villebrun and C. F. W. Jacobs for *στέψαντα*. K. W. Dindorf would follow Jacobs, or else read *στέψαντα τὰ*) ὅτα ἐρίῳ λευκῷ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ᾧμου τοῦ δεξιῷ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου ἑτοῦ κροκίου καὶ (K. W. Dindorf would omit καὶ) ἐσθῆναι (so *codd.* A. B. *ἐσθῆναι* *cod. P.* *edd. V. L.*) ὅ τι ἂν εὐρῆς καὶ εἰσχείαι (so J. Schweighäuser for *ἔσχεαι* *cod. C.* *ἴσχεται* *cod. P.* *edd. V. L.*) ἀμβροσίαν. ἢ δ' ἀμβροσία ὕδωρ ἀκραυφνές, ἔλαιον, παγκαρπία. ἅπερ ἔμβαλε.” *Cod. C.* epitomizes as follows: φησί που Διογένης. εἶτα εἴσχεαι ἀμβροσίαν. ἢ δ' ἀμβροσία, ὕδωρ ἀκραυφνές, ἔλαιον, παγκαρπία. ἅπερ ἔμβαλε. For the word ἑτοῦ κροκίου, which I have marked as corrupt, no very satisfactory emenda-

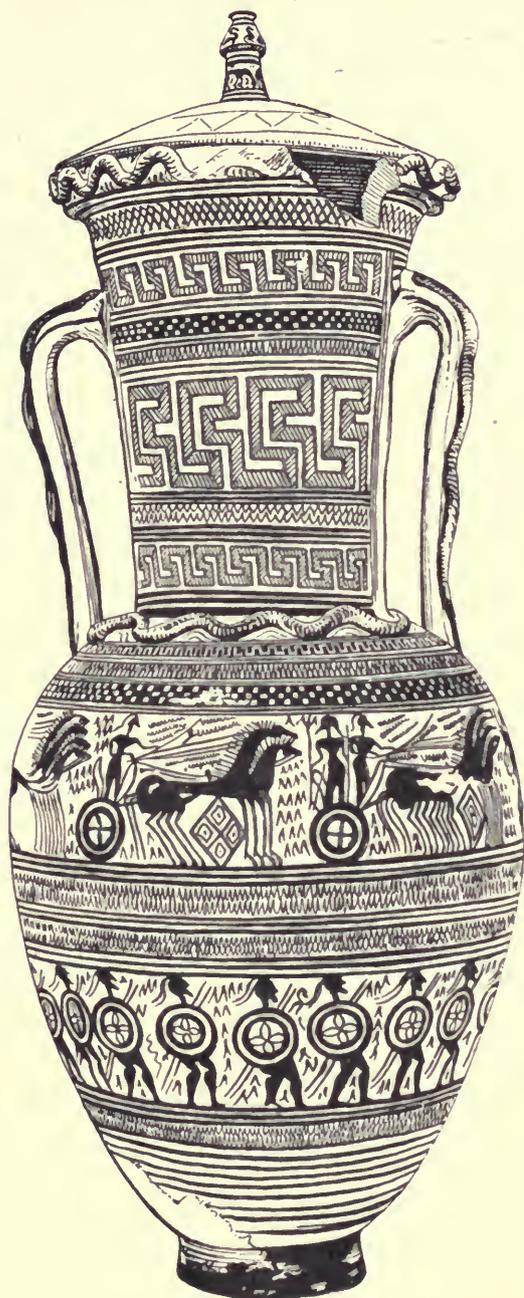


Fig. 911.

tion has been proposed. I. Casaubon cj. ἄωτον κρόκων κρεμανύναι, 'lanam suspendito coloris crocei.' Villebrun cj. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὄμου τοῦ δεξιού τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου τι κρόκων ἀρθῆναι (meaning ἀρτηθῆναι!), ὅ τι ἂν εὕρησ. C. F. W. Jacobs cj. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὄμου τοῦ δεξιού τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου κρόκων κάλυμμα ἐσθῆναι. G. Kaibel cj. < καθέσθαι τὰ ἄκρα > τοῦ κροκίου, 'to let down the ends of the thread.' Tresp *Frag. gr. Kultschr.* p. 47 keeps ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου τοῦ κροκίου, taking κροκίου in the sense of κροκίνου, 'from its forehead smeared with saffron.' But τοῦ κροκίου is a *vox nihili*; and there is, to my thinking, much difficulty in ἐσθῆναι ὅ τι ἂν εὕρησ. I suspect that we ought to read καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὄμου τοῦ δεξιού καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου κρόκινόν τι ἐκτείνειν, ὅ τι ἂν εὕρησ, and to translate the whole extract as follows: 'The right way to set up the signs of Zeus *Ktésios* is this. Take a new jar with two ears and a lid to it (ἐπιθηματοῦντα is adj.) and wreath its ears with white wool, and stretch a piece of yellow—anything you can find—from its right shoulder and its forehead, and pour ambrosia into it. Ambrosia is a mixture of pure water, olive oil, and all manner of fruits: empty these ingredients in.'

(2) The Jars of Zeus *Ktésios* funereal in character.

The use of the terms *ῥατα*, *ῥμος*, *μέτωπον* reminded Miss Harrison (*Themis* p. 299) 'of the anthropoid vases of the Troad.' But, though such language may have originated in connexion with *Gesichtsurnen* (*vide* Forrer *Reallex.* pp. 275, 419 and especially J. Schlemm *Wörterbuch zur Vorgeschichte* Berlin 1908 pp. 173—176 figs. a—i), we cannot safely infer that the *kadiskos* of Zeus *Ktésios* was of human or partially human shape. The description of it given above recalls rather certain vase-forms developed out of the primitive *pithos* (H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 159) such as the large lidded *amphora* of the 'Dipylon' style, or its lineal descendants (A. Milchhöfer in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1880 v. 177 f., A. Brückner—E. Pernice *ib.* 1893 xviii. 143 ff., P. Wolters in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1899 xiv. 128 ff., F. Poulsen *Die Dipylongräber und die Dipylonvasen* Leipzig 1905 pp. 18 ff., 45 ff.) the *próthesis*-vase of the sixth century and the *loutrophóros* of the fifth. Now all these vases were connected with death and the grave. The 'Dipylon' *amphora*, of which I figure a typical specimen (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 40 f. no. 196 Planches p. 5 pl. 11, A. Furtwängler in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1885 xliii. 131, 139 figs., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vii. 174 fig. 58, 226 fig. 98, S. Wide in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1899 xiv. 196 f. fig. 61. My fig. 911 is from a photograph. Height with lid 0'90^m), stood half-sunk beneath the surface of the ground (cp. A. Brückner—E. Pernice in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1893 xviii. 92 fig. 4 = Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vii. 56 fig. 4) and—since its bottom is holed—served to convey liquid offerings to the dead beneath it (F. Poulsen *op. cit.* p. 19 'die Vase diente als Hohllaltar, durch welchen man die flüssigen Opfer Milch und Honig, Öl und Wein, vielleicht auch das Blut der Opfertiere hinabströmen lassen konnte'). The lid with its handle in the shape of a vase turned upside down is suggestive of drink-offerings. The procession of chariots above and warriors below would delight the heart of the dead. And snakes moulded in relief round the rim, round the base of the neck, and up either handle sufficiently indicate the funereal character of the whole. The *próthesis*-vase was likewise set up over the grave, as we see from a very remarkable example found at Cape Kolias and now at Athens (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 212 ff. no. 688 Planches p. 14 f. pl. 30; A. Conze in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1864 xxxvi. 183 ff. with fig., *Mon. d. Inst.* viii pl. 4, 1^a—1^e, pl. 5, 1^f—1^h = Reinach *Rép. Vases*

i. 164, 1—5, 165, 1—3, H. von Rohden in Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 1974 f. fig. 2114, É. Michon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1333 fig. 3280, É. Cuq *ib.* ii. 1377 fig. 3345, 1378 fig. 3346, M. Collignon *ib.* iii. 1319 fig. 4561, O. Crusius in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1149 fig. 5, P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 379 no. 11 fig., Miss J. E. Harrison in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 219 fig. 4, *ead. Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 235 fig. 53, *Themis* p. 290 f. fig. 77. I reproduce the drawings given in the *Mon. d. Inst. loc. cit.* Height 0·64^m). The body of the vase shows two successive scenes: (A) the dead man, laid out on a bed, is surrounded by mourners; beside one of them is the word ΟΙΑΡΟΙ (S. Reinach

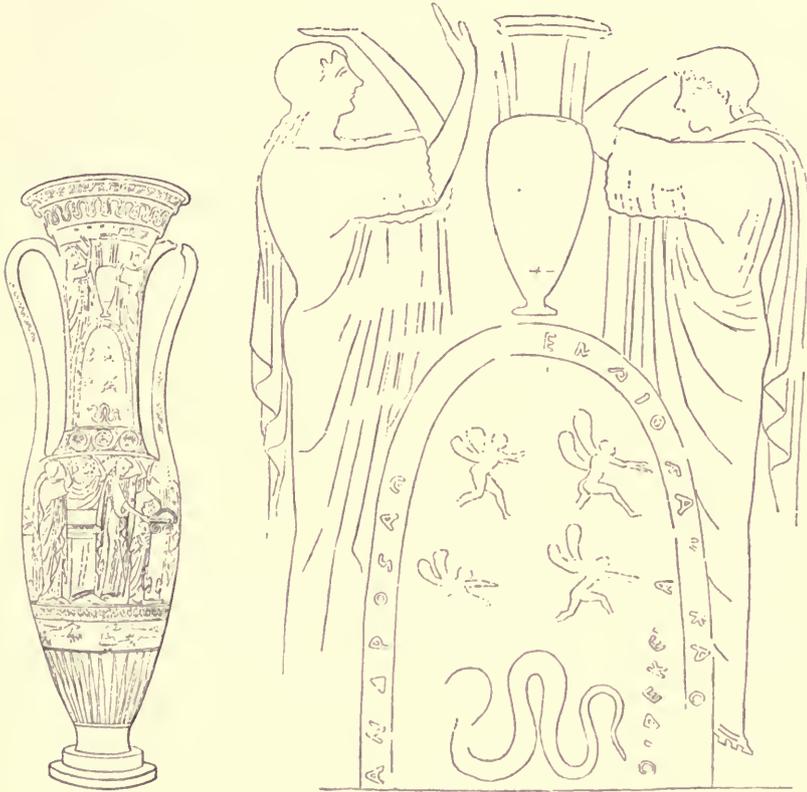


Fig. 912.

loc. cit. suggests οἶμοι (?); but cp. Soud. *s.v.* οἶαροι· γυναικες). (B) The coffin is lowered into the grave by four men, one of whom removes the pall. Mourners stand to right and left; and there is a tree in the background. Beneath both scenes is a race of four chariots, the goal appearing between two of them. The neck of the vase continues the same sequence of scenes: (A') In the centre rises an omphaloid tomb painted white. Within it flit four souls represented as small winged *eidola*; below them is a snake. Round the edge of the tomb runs an inscription, which P. Pervanoglu took to be

ΑΝΔΡΟΣΛ.....ΟΙΟΓΑΥ·ΚΑ·ΟΙΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΜΑΙ

S. A. Kumanudis (*Ann. d. Inst.* 1864 xxxvi. 197 n. 2) transcribed the latter part of it as follows :

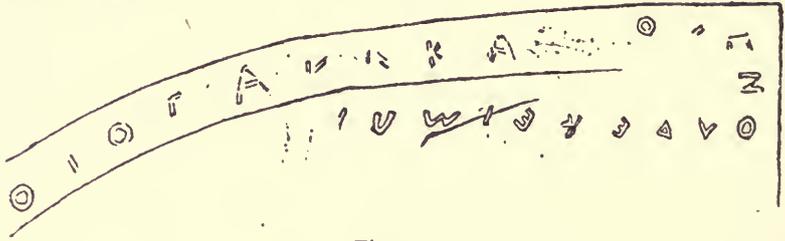


Fig. 913.

A. Conze's illustration is based on a copy by A. Postolakkas. The line was convincingly read by C. Keil: *ἀνδρὸς ἀποφθιμένοιο ῥάκος κακὸν ἐνθάδε κείμει*—a curiously cynical hexameter. The use of *ῥάκος* to denote a corpse is defended by *Anth. Pal.* 7. 380. 6 f. (Krinagoras) *κείται δὲ τῆδε τῶλιγηπελὲς ῥάκος* | *Εὐνικίδαο, σήπεται δ' ὑπὸ σποδῶ*, cp. *ib.* 5. 20. 3 (Rufinus) *σῶμα ῥακῶδες* and Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vi. 2334 Df. On the tomb is placed a vase resembling in shape that which is here described; and mourners to right and left make lamentation. (B') A procession of four mourners, two of whom bear offerings (?), approaches the grave. Among the patterns surrounding the neck of the vase will be seen a wavy line clearly derived from the old sepulchral snake. The paintings of this important vase have, unfortunately, suffered much since its discovery: nothing now remains of the inscriptions, the winged souls, or the snake, and little is left of the tomb. Finally, the *loutrophóros* was carved or painted over the tomb of the unmarried (*infra* § 9 (d) ii (β)). 'So war die Grabvase, deren Entwicklung von Hohlaltar zu Monument wir verfolgt haben, aus einem Monument zum Symbol geworden' (F. Poulsen *op. cit.* p. 47).

The 'Dipylon' *amphora*, the *próthesis*-vase, the *loutrophóros*, each in turn served as the *σήμα* or *σημείον* of the dead beneath it. In view of these facts how are we to interpret the jars called by Autokleides the *σημεῖα* of Zeus *Ktésios*? They too may well have been funereal in character. Hence their prophylactic wreathing with white wool and yellow stuff(?). Hence too the necessity for filling them with a mixture of water, oil, and seeds, known as *ambrosia* (cp. Pausanias the Atticist *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 976, 4 f. *κατὰ Πανσανίαν, ὅς λέγει καὶ ὅτι ἀμβροσία γένος τι συνθέσεως ἐξ ὕδατος ἀκραιφνοῦς καὶ μέλιτος καὶ ἐλαίου < καὶ (inserui) > πυγκαρπίας*): such offerings had come to be conceived as food given by the living to the dead (see e.g. P. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig and Berlin 1910 pp. 129 ff., 183 ff.), but were originally a magical means of enabling the dead to make food for the living (see Miss J. E. Harrison *Themis* p. 291 ff.). Similar in character was the offering made to the chthonian Zeus in Eur. *frag.* 912 Nauck² (from the *Cretes*, according to L. C. Valckenaer) *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 11 p. 373, 3 ff. *Στάηλι σοὶ τῶν πάντων μεδόντι χοῖην | πέλανόν τε φέρω* (so H. Grotius for *φέρων* cod. L.), *Ζεὺς εἴτ' Ἀΐδης | ὀνομαζόμενος στέργεις· σὺ δέ μοι | θυσίαν ἄπυρον* (so Abresch for *ἀπορον* L.) *παγκαρπίας* (so Grotius for *παγκαρπίας* L.) | *δέξαι πλήρη προχυθείσαν* (so Valckenaer for *προχυτίαν* L.) | *σὺ γὰρ ἔν τε θεοῖς τοῖς οὐρανίδαυς | σκῆπτρον τὸ Διὸς μεταχειρίζεις* (so H. van Herwerden for *μεταχειρίζων* L.) | *χθονίων τ'* (so F. Sylburg for *δ'* L.) *Ἀΐδη (ἄϊδη L.) μετέχεις ἀρχῆς.* | *πέμψον δ' ἐς* (so A. Nauck for *μὲν* L.) *φῶς ψυχὰς ἐνέρων* (so Nauck for *ἀνέρων* L.) | *τοῖς βουλομένοις* (Grotius cj. *πέμψον μὲν φῶς ψυχὰς ἀνέρων ταῖς βουλομένοις*) *ἄθλους προμαθεῖν* (so Grotius for *προσμαθεῖν* L.) |

πόθεν ἔβλαστον, τίς ῥίζα κακῶν, | τίνα (F. H. M. Blaydes cj. τίνι) δεῖ (so Grotius for δῆ L.) μακάρων ἐκθυσσάμενους (so Valckenaer for ἐκθυσσάμενους L.) | εὐρεῖν μοχθῶν ἀνάπαυλαν.

(3) Zeus *Ktésios* as Forefather buried in the House.

Accordingly I would venture to put forward the following hypothesis with regard to Zeus *Ktésios* and his jars. In Italy the forefather of the family, once buried in the house (Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 5. 64 etiam domi suae sepeliebantur: unde orta est consuetudo ut dii Penates colantur in domibus, *ib.* 6. 152 apud maiores...omnes in suis domibus sepeliebantur. unde [ortum est ut Lares colerentur in domibus, unde] etiam umbras larvas vocamus, nam dii Penates alii sunt. inde est quod etiam Dido cenotaphium domi fecit marito, Isid. *orig.* 15. 11. 1 prius autem quisque in domo sua sepeliebatur. These statements are supported by the custom of burying infants less than forty days old in a *subgrundarium* (Fulgent. *expos. serm. ant.* 7; cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 27571 = Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4545 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 7938) and by the myths concerning the birth of Romulus (Plout. *v. Rom.* 2), Servius Tullius (Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 204), and Caeculus (Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 7. 678). They are rightly emphasised by F. Granger *The Worship of the Romans viewed in relation to the Roman Temperament* London 1895 p. 60, *id.* in the *Class. Rev.* 1897 xi. 32 f. W. Warde Fowler *ib.* 1896 x. 394 f., 1897 xi. 33 ff. attempted to minimise their force. But J. E. King *ib.* 1903 xvii. 83 f. suggested that infants were so buried in order to ensure their re-birth, and Frazer *Golden Bough*³: The Magic Art i. 105 n. 4 extends his suggestion to cover 'The widespread custom of burying the dead in the house.' A good example of this practice in the Semitic area is the case of Samuel, who was 'buried...in his house at Ramah' (1 Sam. 25. 1). At Bibracte the capital of the Aedui (*Mont Beuvray* in *Saône-et-Loire*) Gallic graves of the third La Tène period (s. i B.C.) were found beneath the houses, often under the hearth: see M. Hoernes *Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen* Wien und Leipzig 1909 ii. 128, 440, cp. J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie pré-historique* Paris 1914 ii. 3. 948 ff. for an *aperçu* of the town), was known as the Lar or Genius of the home (Plaut. *merc.* 834 familiai Lar pater, Laberius *frag.* 54 *ap.* Non. Marc. p. 172, 26 f. Lindsay Laberius in *Imagine: Genius generis nostri parens*. For the identification of the Lar with the Genius see further Censorin. *de die nat.* 3. 2 eundem esse Genium et Larem multi veteres memoriae prodiderunt, in quis etiam Granius Flaccus in libro quem ad Caesarem de indigitamentis scriptum reliquit, interp. Serv. (*i.e.* Donatus, according to E. K. Rand in the *Class. Quart.* 1916 x. 158 ff.) in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 63 Appuleius de Daemonio Socratis (? a paraphrase of Apul. *de deo Socr.* p. 152 f. Oudendorp): 'Manes,' inquit, 'animae dicuntur melioris meriti, quae in corpore nostro Genii dicuntur, corpori renuntiantes Lemures; cum domos incursionibus infestarent, Larvae appellabantur; contra, si aequi et faventes essent, Lares familiares,' Auson. *technop. de dis* 9 nec Genius domuum, Larunda progenitus Lar, cp. Ov. *fast.* 3. 57 f. Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*² p. 175 denies their identity on grounds that seem to me inadequate) and was conceived as a Iupiter (so at least I have argued in *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 296 ff. noting that the Genius of a man corresponded with the Iuno of a woman (T. Birt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1614 f., M. Ihm *ib.* ii. 615 ff.), that according to Caesius (Bassus?), who professed to follow Etruscan authorities, the Penates were Fortuna, Ceres, the Genius Iovialis, and the masculine Pales (Caesius *ap.* Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 40, cp. *ib.* 3. 43 Ceres, Pales, Fortuna, Iovialis aut Genius)—this Genius Iovialis being

evidently a family god of some kind, not to be confused with the Genius Iovis (Min. Fel. *Oct.* 29. 5; *Corp. inscr. Lat.* i no. 603, 16 with tab. lith. 82=ix no. 3513, 16=Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2488 *fin.*, cp. no. 1730,=Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 105, 25=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4906, 16) who was but the Genius of an anthropomorphic Jupiter—, that the Genius was not only affiliated to Jupiter (Fest. p. 359 a 14 f. Müller, p. 492, 6 f. Lindsay Tages nomine, Geni filius, nepos Iovis) but actually identified with Jupiter (Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 13 quid est Genius? ...hic est igitur quem appellant Iovem. This, however, is a quasi-philosophical conclusion based on the general similarity between the functions of the Genius and those of Jupiter as conceived by Valerius Soranus in his famous couplet (*ib.* 7. 9, cp. Myth. Vat. 3 prooem. p. 152, 28 ff. Bode): Iuppiter omnipotens, regum rerumque deumque (*rerum regumque repertor* Myth. Vat. G. H. Bode cj. *creator*) | progenitor genetrixque (*genetrixque* Myth. Vat.) deum, deus unus et omnes (*idem* Myth. Vat.), etc.), who appeared in the form of a snake (Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 48 Text p. 59, A. Mau in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1896 xi. 29, *id. Pompeii: its Life and Art*² trans. F. W. Kelsey New York 1902 p. 271 f. fig. 127, A. Sogliano in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1898 viii. 268, Talfourd Ely in *Archæologia* 1897 lv. 305 ff. a painting on the back wall of a shrine in the *Casa dei Vettii* at Pompeii, which shows the Genius with *patera* in right hand, *acerra* opened in left, and a face resembling that of Nero (*supra* p. 96); he stands between two dancing Lares, each of whom bears a goat-*rhyton* (cp. *supra* i. 108) and a pail; beneath him a great bearded and crested snake approaches an altar, on which is an egg and fruit. For the snake as a manifestation of the Genius see further T. Birt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1623 ff. fig., J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1490 with fig. 3543, W. F. Otto in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1161 f., E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 pp. 146 n. 3, 153 f.; and for the egg as an offering to the dead, M. P. Nilsson *Das Ei im Totenkultus der Griechen* Lund 1901 pp. 3—12 figs. 1, 2 (Sonderabdruck aus *Från Filologiska Föreningen i Lund, Språkliga uppsatser* ii Lund 1902)).

Similarly we may suppose without any undue temerity that in Greece the forefather of the family, once buried in the house (Plat. *Minos* 315 D οἱ δ' αὖ ἐκεῖνων ἐπιπρότεροι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔθαπτον ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας. No other literary testimony to this custom can be cited; but the assertion here made is fully borne out by actual remains. H. Bulle *Orchomenos* München 1907 i. 67 f. shows that at Orchomenos in Boiotia during early Mycenaean times (c. 1700—1500 B.C.) the dead were buried as a rule inside the houses, and quotes parallels from Thorikos, Athens, and Eleusis. In the small settlement of early Mycenaean date on the summit of Mt *Velatouri* at Thorikos round, or in two cases oblong, holes were found hewn in the rock within the houses: the round holes had certainly served as graves, for in them stood large *pithoi* the upper parts of which were safeguarded by circular walls, and in these *pithoi* were remains of human bones (B. Staes in the *Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ.* 1893 p. 15 f. pl. B, 3, *id.* in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1895 p. 228 ff. pl. 11, 3, Frazer *Pausanias* v. 524 f., A. J. B. Wace—M. S. Thompson *Prehistoric Thessaly* Cambridge 1912 p. 222). At Athens a grave of unbaked brick, dating from the same period and containing four bodies, one of them in a crouching attitude, was discovered between 'Pelagian' house-walls on the S. slope of the Akropolis (A. N. Skias in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1902 p. 123 ff. figs. 1—4, A. J. B. Wace—M. S. Thompson *op. cit.* p. 221). In the nekropolis at Eleusis two graves of unbaked brick were found under hearths and mistaken for small altars (A. N. Skias in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1898 p. 49 ff.

with pl., A. J. B. Wace—M. S. Thompson *op. cit.* p. 222). At Tiryns beneath the walls of the older Mycenaean palace five small stone-built graves with crouched bodies have come to light (W. Dörpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1907 xxxii p. iii, R. M. Dawkins in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1907 p. 14).

In Thessaly graves have been repeatedly found within houses of the bronze age (Ch. Tsountas *Αἱ προϊστορικαὶ ἀκροπόλεις Διμητίου καὶ Σέσκλου* Athens 1908 p. 131 'οἱ νεκροὶ ἐθάπτοντο ἐντὸς τῶν οἰκιῶν ἢ παρ' αὐτάς,' *ib.* p. 383 'τὸ ἔθιμον νὰ θάπτωσι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐντὸς τῶν οἰκιῶν')), was viewed as Zeus; for in prehistoric times he had been the representative of the sky-god to his clan. Herein, I take it, lies the ultimate explanation of such cults as that of Zeus 'Αγαμέμνων, who was worshipped at Sparta, if not at Athens (Append. I), Zeus 'Αμφιάραος, who had a popular sanctuary at Oropos (Append. J), Zeus Τρεφώνιος or Τροφώνιος, the great oracular deity of Lebadeia (Append. K), and Zeus 'Ασκληπιός, the healer of Epidauros, Hermione, and Pergamon (Append. L). The same conception will afford us a clue to the cults of Zeus Μειλίχιος and Zeus Φίλιος as well as to the myth of Periphas (Append. M). Most of these buried kings appeared in the guise of snakes. And it is important to observe that Zeus *Ktésios* did so too. A marble *stèle* from Thespiæ, now in the Museum at Thebes (inv. no. 330), bears the inscription ΔΙΟΣ | ΚΤΗΣΙΟΥ in lettering of s. iii (?) B.C. and below it a relief, partially chipped away to make the block available for building purposes, but still plainly portraying a coiled snake with crest and beard (M. P. Nilsson 'Schlangenstele des Zeus Ktesios' in the *Ath. Mitth.*

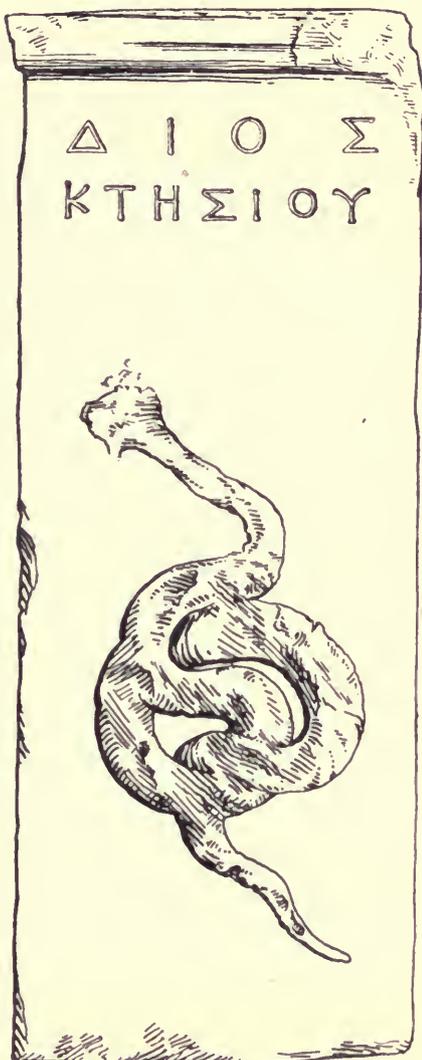


Fig. 914.

1908 xxxiii. 279—288 fig.=my fig. 914, Harrison *Themis* p. 297 ff. fig. 79). The discovery of this *stèle* confirmed, as M. P. Nilsson notes, the acute surmise of E. Gerhard *Über Agathodämon und Bona Dea* Berlin 1849 pp. 3, 23 (*Gesammelte akademische Abhandlungen* Berlin 1868 ii. 45 with n. 28) that Zeus *Ktésios* was probably represented as a snake.

(4) The Jars of Zeus *Ktésios* compared with the Jars of the Dioskouroi.

Gerhard further maintained that the jars of Zeus *Ktésios* were comparable with those of the Dioskouroi at Sparta (e.g. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 122 pl. 24, 6 a silver coin of 250—146 B.C. with rev. Λ Δ a lidded *amphora* with a snake twining round it, between the caps of the Dioskouroi surmounted by stars; in the field a monogram and A. *Ib.* p. 125 pl. 24, 14 a copper of 146—32 B.C. with rev. ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙ Μ·ΝΙΩΝ two *amphorae* with snakes twining round them; in the field two monograms. Fig. 915 = *Einzelauftnahmen* no. 1311, E. Cahen in the *Bull. Corr.*



Fig. 915.

Hell. 1899 xxiii. 599 f. fig. 1 (Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* viii. 442 f. fig. 216) an archaic relief—'sculpture par silhouettage ou découpage'—at Sparta (M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 191 no. 575 fig. 65), which has in the gable an egg (that of Leda??) flanked by two snakes, and in the space below the Dioskouroi facing each other with two lidded *amphorae* between them. Fig. 916—drawn from a photograph kindly given me by Miss J. E. Harrison—shows the relief of Argenidas in the Museo Lapidario at Verona (no. 555, height 0.40^m, breadth 0.72^m. Montfaucon *Antiquity Ex-*

plained trans. D. Humphreys London 1725 Suppl. i. 103 f. pl. 27 no. 1 (inexact), S. Maffei *Museum Veronense* Veronae 1749 p. 47 fig. 7 (bad) with p. 56, A. Michaelis in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1871 xxix, 145 n. 37, *Wien. Vorlegebl.* iv pl. 9, 8 a, H. Dütschke *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien* Leipzig 1880 iv. 237 no. 538, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1170 f. fig., M. N. Tod—A. J. B. Wace *op. cit.* p. 113 f. fig. 14, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 436 no. 4, Harrison *Themis* p. 304 f. fig. 84). On a base to the left are statues of the Dioskouroi wearing *phloi*, *chitônes* (?), and *chlamýdes* (?). Before them is a rectangular altar decorated with a boar in relief. Behind the altar a large pedestal carries two lidded *amphorae*. On a step or low base to the right stands a man, clad in *chitôn* and *himátion* (?), who holds a *phiale* (see H. Heydemann *Mittheilungen aus den Antikensammlungen in Ober- und Mittelitalien* Halle 1879 p. 5) in his right hand extended over the altar (?). Away to the right is seen a rocky coast forming a bay, in which floats a vessel close to the shore. Near the vessel's stern are the heads of two horned animals (oxen?). On the further side of the bay two sets

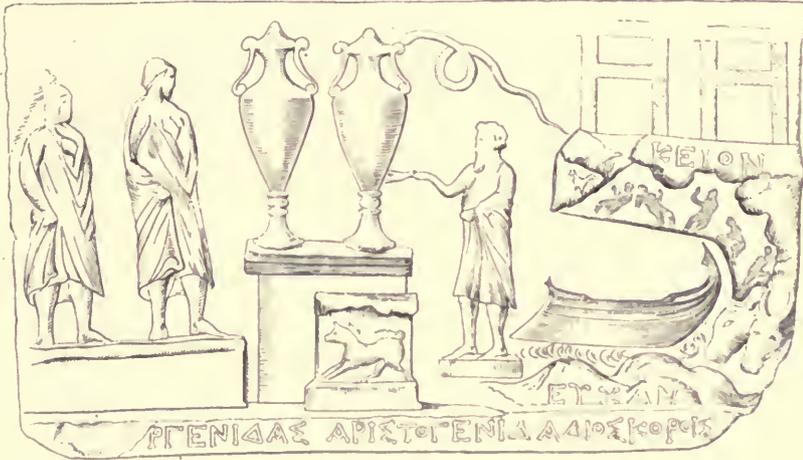


Fig. 916.

of *dókana* (*supra* i. 766 ff.) are set up over a cavern. In the cavern two male figures are reclining; a third raises his hand with a gesture of surprise or greeting; a fourth (?) and possibly a fifth (??) follow him into the cave. On the rocky point to the left of the cave is a cock. And from the *dókana* a snake makes its way towards the *amphorae*. The scene is accompanied by the inscriptions [ΑΝΑ]ΚΕΙΟΝ below the *dókana* and [Α]ΡΓΕΝΙΔΑΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΓΕΝΙΔΑ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΡΟΙΣ | ΕΥΧΑΝ along the lower edge of the slab in lettering of s. ii B.C. (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 1949). This relief, found in 1710 A.D. at Ateste (*Este*) in the country of the Veneti, had perhaps been brought thither from Venice (A. Boeckh in the *Corp. inscr. Gr. loc. cit.*). It records the gratitude of one Argenidas, a Spartan (?), who having crossed the sea to Venetia (?) in safety dedicates a thank-offering to the Dioskouroi. It is thus the monumental counterpart of Catullus' famous poem on his yacht (*Cat.* 4). The foreground of the relief shows Argenidas pouring a libation at the altar, which—like many examples of Italian *aes grave* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy Index* p. 406)—bears the figure of a boar, and the heads of two sacrificed animals lying on the rocky

shore. The distance gives a very interesting view of the Anakeion (*supra* i. 107 n. 7) or sanctuary at Therapne (?), where the Dioskouroi lived on underground (Alkm. *frag.* 5 Bergk⁴ *ap. schol. Eur. Tro.* 210, Pind. *Nem.* 10. 103 f. with schol. *ad loc.*). The reclining figures are the buried heroes themselves. The snake containing their *numen* creeps across from the old sanctuary to the new, intent on tasting the libation of Argenidas), at the Spartan colony Tarentum (see e.g. Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 130 pl. 100, 48, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy* p. 160 nos. 1—3, *Head Coins of the Ancients* p. 66 pl. 33, 12, *id. Hist. num.*² p. 58, and especially M. P. Vlasto in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1899 ii. 331 f. pl. 17, 1—6 gold *statères* of Tarentum struck c. 281 B.C.: obv. head of Zeus to left with $\overline{\text{NIK}}$ as monogram in the field to right; rev. $\overline{\text{TAPANTIN}\Omega\text{N}}$ and $\overline{\text{NIKAP}}$ and on one specimen $\overline{\Phi\text{I}}$, eagle to right on thunderbolt with two *amphorae*, sometimes surmounted by stars, in the field to right, *id. ib.* 1899 ii. 333 f. pl. 17, 16—18 quarter *statères* of gold with same reverse type, but obverse showing laureate head of Apollon. The presence of the *amphorae* as symbols on these coins is explained by the fact that at Tarentum there was a cult of the Dioskouroi (*supra* i. 35 n. 6 fig. 8). In 1880 A.D. numerous terra-cottas were found at Tarentum, including a series of votive tablets studied by E. Petersen 'Dioskuren in Tarent' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1900 xv. 3—61 with 2 pls. and many figs. and by G. Gastinel 'Cinq reliefs Tarentins' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1901 i. 46—58 with 4 figs. The tablets are in the form of *naïskoi* and were originally painted. As classified by Petersen, they comprise the following types:

- A. The Dioskouroi standing without horses (Petersen *loc. cit.* p. 7 fig. 1 and p. 8 fig. 3).
- B. The Dioskouroi standing by their horses (Petersen *loc. cit.* p. 15 fig. 1).
- C. The Dioskouroi riding (Petersen *loc. cit.* p. 18 fig. 2).
- D. The Dioskouroi driving (Petersen *loc. cit.* p. 23 fig. 1).
- E. The Dioskouroi on horse-back coming to the *Theoxénia* (Petersen *loc. cit.* p. 24 fig. 6).
- F. The Dioskouroi reclining at the feast (Petersen *loc. cit.* p. 27 fig. 2).

It should be observed that the *amphorae* are a constant feature of the Tarentine reliefs (G. Gastinel *loc. cit.* p. 55 cp. the *amphorae* on the cake-moulds from Tarentum: *supra* p. 131), being placed usually on the ground, but sometimes on the *dókana* (cp. *supra* p. 158 ff. fig. 99), or on pillars), in Etruria (Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 42 pl. 48, 6 and 8, cp. *supra* i. 770 fig. 564), and at Tauion in Galatia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. p. 24 pl. 5, 1, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 749 coppers of s. i. B.C.).

These Dioscuric *amphorae* have been variously explained. E. Petersen in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1900 xv. 41 calls them 'agonistisch' and supposes that jars of wine were given as prizes and contained the drink required for the *Theoxénia* (schol. Pind. *Ol.* 3 *argum.*, 1, cp. 72: see further Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 418 ff.). A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1171 hesitates whether to regard them as 'Weinamphoren' implying a ritual use or as merely 'sepulkrale Symbole.' E. Bethé in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1108 takes them to be bottomless vessels, like the great 'Dipylon' vases (cp. *supra* i. 766 n. 9), set up over the grave for the reception of funereal offerings. Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* i. 524 f. long ago described them as 'Aschengefässe.' My friend Dr J. Rendel Harris *Boanerges* Cambridge 1913 p. 377 f. acutely conjectures that in them we have a Greek parallel to the pots used throughout Africa etc. for the burial of a twin or of a twin's *placenta*. Personally I should be content to say that the *amphorae* both of Zeus *Ktésios* and of the Dioskouroi presuppose the custom of *pithos*-burial, and

were retained as signs of the divinised dead long after the custom in question had ceased to be. If Zeus *Ktésios* was, as I maintain, an early Greek king buried in his own house, it is certainly permissible to assume that he was buried in a *phthos*. Platon, who states that the primitive Athenians used to bury the dead in their houses (*supra* p. 1060), informs us in the same context that their successors among other old-fashioned burial rites 'sent for women to fill the jars' (Plat. *Minos* 315 C ὡσπερ καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς οἰσθά πον καὶ αὐτὸς ἀκούων, οἷος νόμοις ἐχρῶμεθα πρὸ τοῦ περὶ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας, ἱερεῖά τε προσφάττοντες πρὸ τῆς ἐκφορᾶς τοῦ νεκροῦ καὶ ἐγχυτρίστριας μεταπεμπόμενοι with schol. *ad loc.* τὰς χοᾶς τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν ἐπιφερούσας, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦδε. ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ τὸ βλάψαι (βάψαι Zonaras. C. A. Loebck cj. θάψαι) καταχυτρίσαι (J. G. Baiter cj. ἐγχυτρίσαι), ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης (Aristoph. *vesp.* 289 ὄν ὅπως ἐγχυτρίεις). λέγονται δὲ καὶ ὄσαι τοὺς ἐναγείς καθαίρουσιν, αἷμα ἐπιχέουσαι τοῦ ἱερίου. ἔτι δὲ καὶ αἱ θρηνητρίαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ αἱ μαῖαι αἱ ἐκτιθείσαι ἐν χύτραις τὰ βρέφη = Souid. *s.v.* ἐγχυτρίστριαι = *et. mag.* p. 313, 41 ff. (cp. 39 f.) = Zonar. *lex. s.v.* ἐγχυτρίστριαι (cp. *s.v.* ἐγχυτρίζειν), cp. Hesych. *s.vv.* ἐγχυτρίεις, ἐγχυτρίζειν, schol. Aristoph. *vesp.* 289, Moiris *lex. s.v.* ἐγχυτρισμός, Thom. *Mag.* p. 264). It seems reasonable to infer that, when *phthos*-burial within the house was abandoned, offerings to the dead were still placed in memorial jars by a special class of mourning-women. My contention is that the *σημεῖα* of Zeus *Ktésios* were just such memorial jars retained in the house, though their original significance had long been forgotten. The divinity whose presence they betokened would naturally be deemed the guardian of the household stores; for the master, himself buried in a *phthos*, would know how to protect his own goods bestowed in other *phthoi*.

(5) Zeus *Ktésios* in Literature and Cult.

Hence his title *Ktésios*, 'god of Property,' which occurs in literature from s. v B.C. onwards (Aisch. *suppl.* 443 ff. καὶ χρημάτων μὲν ἐκ δόμων πορθουμένον | ... γένοντο' ἂν ἄλλα Κτησίου Διὸς χάρις, Hippokr. *de insomniis* 4 (xxii. 10 Kühn) καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχεσθαι, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖσιν ἀγαθοῖσιν Ἡλίῳ, Διὶ Οὐρανίῳ, Διὶ Κτησίῳ, Ἀθηναῖᾳ Κτησίῃ, Ἑρμῇ, Ἀπόλλωνι, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσιν ἐναντίοισι τοῖσιν ἀποτροπιοῖσι καὶ Γῇ καὶ Ἥρωσιν κ.τ.λ., Hypereid. πρὸς Ἀπελλαῖον *frag.* 13 Blass² *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* Κτησίου Διὸς who adds Κτήσιον Δία ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις ἰδρυντο, Menand. *Pseudherakles frag.* 2, 2 f. (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 223 f. Meineke) *ap.* Harpokr. *loc. cit.* τὸν δὲ Δία τὸν Κτήσιον | ἔχοντα τὸ ταμείον οὐ κεκλεισμένον, Autokleides (?) *ap.* Athen. 473 B—C (*supra* p. 1054 ff.), Plout. *de refugn. Stoic.* 30 ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς γελοῖος, εἰ Κτήσιος χαίρει καὶ Ἐπικάρπιος καὶ Χαριδότης προσαγορευόμενος, ὅτι δηλαδὴ χρυσᾶς ἀμίδας καὶ χρυσᾶ κρᾶσπεδα χαρίζεται τοῖς φαύλοις, τοῖς δ' ἀγαθοῖς ἄξια δραχμῆς ὅταν πλοῦσιοι γένωνται κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Διὸς πρόνοιαν, Cornut. *theol.* 9 p. 9, 16 f. Lang καὶ Κτήσιον... αὐτὸν (*sc.* Δία) προσαγορεύουσιν, Dion Chrys. *or.* 1 p. 57 Reiske Κτήσιος δὲ καὶ Ἐπικάρπιος ἅτε τῶν καρπῶν αἴτιος καὶ δοτήρ πλοῦτου καὶ κτήσεως, οὐ πενίας οὐδὲ ἀπορίας, *or.* 12 p. 413 Reiske Κτήσιος δὲ καὶ Ἐπικάρπιος ἅτε τῶν καρπῶν αἴτιος καὶ δοτήρ πλοῦτου καὶ δυνάμεως, Souid. *s.vv.* Διὸς κώδιον (*supra* i. 423 n. 1 = Apostol. 6. 10), Ζεὺς Κτήσιος ὄν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις ἰδρύντο ὡς πλουτοδότην, Κτήσιος ὁ Ζεὺς, Κτησίου Διὸς τὸν Κτήσιον Δία ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις ἰδρύντο, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 266 no. 51 (Διὸς Κτησίου).

Under this title Zeus was worshipped at Athens (Dem. *in Mid.* 53 Διὶ Κτησίῳ βοῦν λευκόν (*supra* i. 717 n. 2), *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 2 no. 3854, 1 f. from the Asklepieion [.κ.]αἱ Διὸς | [Κ]τησίου) including the Peiraieus (Antiph. *or.* 1. 16 μετὰ ταῦτα ἔτυχε τῷ Φιλόνεω ἐν Πειραιεῖ ὄντα ἱερά (C. Wachsmuth *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum* Leipzig 1890 ii. 1. 146 n. 1 would read ὄντι θένε ἱερά) Διὶ Κτησίῳ, ὁ δὲ πατήρ ὁ ἐμὸς εἰς Νάξον πλεῖν ἔμελλεν. κάλλιστον οὖν ἐδόκει εἶναι τῷ Φιλόνεω τῆς

αὐτῆς ὁδοῦ ἅμα μὲν προπέμψαι εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν φίλον ὄντα ἑαυτῷ, ἅμα δὲ θύσαντα τὰ ἱερὰ ἐστιᾶσαι ἐκείνον, *ib.* 18 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐδεδειπνήκησαν, οἷον εἰκὸς, ὁ μὲν θύων Διὶ Κτησίῳ καὶ ἐκείνον ὑποδεχόμενος, ὁ δ' ἐκπλεῖν τε μέλλων καὶ παρ' ἀνδρὶ ἐταίρῳ αὐτοῦ δειπνῶν, κ.τ.λ., cp. for the domestic celebration *Isai. or.* 8. 16 καὶ τὸς ἐορτὰς ἤγομεν παρ' ἐκείνου πάσας· τῷ Διὶ τε θύων τῷ Κτησίῳ, περι ἦν μάλιστ' ἐκείνος θυσίαν ἐσπούδαξε καὶ οὔτε δούλους προσῆγεν οὔτε ἐλευθέρους ὀθνείους, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ πάντ' ἐποίει, ταύτης ἡμεῖς ἐκωνωνοῦμεν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ συνεχειροουργοῦμεν καὶ συνεπιτίθεμεν καὶ τᾶλλα συνεποιούμεν, καὶ ἤρχετο ἡμῖν ὑγίειαν διδόναι καὶ κτῆσιν ἀγαθὴν, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ὄντα πάππον) and Phlyeis (Paus. 1. 31. 4 Φλυεῦσι δέ...ναὸς δὲ ἕτερος ἔχει βωμοὺς Δήμητρος Ἀνησιδώρας < καὶ ins. Siebelis > Διὸς Κτησίου καὶ Τιθρωνῆς (Siebelis cj. Τριτώνης) Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Κόρης Πρωτογόνης καὶ Σεμνῶν ὀνομαζομένων θεῶν), at Thespiæ (*supra* p. 1061), at Epidaurus (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 56 no. 121 = *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1288 a limestone slab inscribed Διὶ | Κτησίῳ | Κράτων. | μη'), at Kárien between Mt Pangaion and the sea (P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 441 ff. no. 1 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 774 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 576 a white marble boundary-stone inscribed in lettering of c. 400 B.C. Διὸς Ἐρκεῖ|ιο Πατρῶ|ιο : καὶ Διὸς Κτησί|ο), in the Kyklades Syros (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 670 an altar from *Psarríaná* inscribed in late lettering Διὸς | Κτησί|ον), Thera (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1361 fig. = my

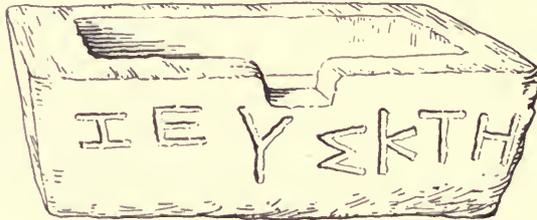


Fig. 917.

fig. 917 a small altar or ἐσχάρα of volcanic stone inscribed Ζεὺς Κτή(σιος), Anaphe (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2477, 17 [Διὸς?] τοῦ Κτησίου, which is corrected *ib.* p. 1091 to [ὁ]πεῖ δ [βω]μὸς τοῦ Κτησίου καὶ τὸ ξο[άνι]ον and in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 1. 201 ff. no. 3430, 12 to [ὁ]πεῖ δ βωμὸς τοῦ Κτησίου καὶ τὸ ξοάνιον = F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 248, 13 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 853, 12 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 555, 13 = J. v. Protz and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 122, 13. This inscription, which can be dated c. 100 B.C., tells how one Timotheos, anxious to erect a temple of Aphrodite, was bidden by an oracle to do so in the precinct of Apollon *Asgelátas*: the building-operations necessitated the temporary removal of an altar of *Ktésios* and an adjacent statuette. It is not certain that the statuette belonged to *Ktésios*, still less that it represented him. L. Ziehen even denies that *Ktésios* was originally Zeus *Ktésios*. In this, however, he is over-sceptical, though no doubt *Ktésios* was a title applicable to other deities besides Zeus (see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1578 f.), at Panamara in Karia (G. Deschamps — G. Cousin 'Inscriptions du temple de Zeus Panamaros' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 269 f. no. 54, 7 ff. a *stèle* dedicated by Kleoboulos and Strateia to a series of deities καὶ τοῖς ἐνοικιδίῳ θεοῖς Διὶ Κτησίῳ καὶ Τύχη καὶ Ἀσκληπιῷ), at Teos in Ionia (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3074 on an altar or base of s. ii B.C. Διὸς Κτησίου, | Διὸς Καπετωλίῳ, | Ῥώμης, | Ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr.*

gr. no. 806), in Phrygia (G. Cousin 'Inscription d'Ormelé de Phrygie' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1884 viii. 503 part of an astragalomantic inscription found at *Tefeny* col. iii, 19 δδδ5α Ϝ ιθ' Ϝ Διὸς Κτη|σίου Ϝ (i.e. the throw 4 + 4 + 4 + 6 + 1 = 19 is that of Zeus *Ktésios*) followed by the hexameters *θαρωῶν ἐν χερεῖ καὶ ἐ[π' ἐ]* | *λπίδος ἐστὶν ὁ χρῆσμὸς, ὡς....* | *μανύει καὶ τὸν νοσεύου[α δὲ σώσει]μ· εἰ δὲ τι* | *μαντεύη χρ[η]σμὸς...| δ]εῖς ἀπολήψῃ.* I should venture to restore and read the lines as follows: *θαρωῶν ἐν χερεῖ, καὶ ἐπ' ἐλπίδος ἐστὶν ὁ χρῆσμὸς, | ὡς κατὰ μανύει* | *καὶ τὸν νοσεύουτα δὲ σώσει· | εἰ δὲ τι μαντεύη, χρῆσμοὺς ἡδεῖς ἀπολήψῃ.* See further the clear and helpful observations of W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 p. 213 ff. A. Wagener 'Inscriptions grecques recueillies en Asie Mineure' in the *Mémoires couronnés et mémoires des savants étrangers, publiés par l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 1858 —1861 xxx Classe des Lettres 2. 19 f. no. 2 pl. A inscribed on a white marble *stèle* found at Koloe (*Koula*) with the prefatory remarks of J. de Witte *ib.* p. viii *Διὰ Κτήσιον Τατία | Παπίαν τὸν ἐαυτῆ[ς] | ἄνδρα, Τειμοκράτη[ς] | τὸν πατέρα,* | *Καρποφόροσ τὸν θρέψαντα | κατειέρωσαν. | ἔτους σοα' μη(νὸς) | Αἰθναίου η'*; from which it appears that in 175 A.D. (=261 of the Sullan era) Tatia definitely consecrated her deceased husband Papias as Zeus *Ktésios*—a striking vindication of my view that Zeus *Ktésios* was but the buried ancestor of the clan), at Pergamon in Mysia (H. Hepding in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1910 xxxv. 452 no. 35 a marble altar inscribed [*Διὰ Κτησίωι | [M.] Αὐρήλιος | Μηνογένης | ὁ ἱεροφάντης*]), and doubtless elsewhere also. At Amastris in Paphlagonia he was recognised as Zeus *Panktésios* (G. Hirschfeld 'Inscripfen aus dem Norden Kleinasiens besonders aus Bithynien und Paphlagonien' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1888 p. 878 no. 31 on a small marble altar at Amastris inscribed Ϝ ΔΙΙ Ϝ | ΠΑΝΚΤΗ|CΙΩ Ϝ). But this was an exceptional flourish. As a rule, Zeus *Ktésios* was a homely power content with worship in a small way—he never has a temple or a statue, but puts up with a jar or a hearth or at most a trumpery altar. I doubt if he ever received a handsomer offering than that of the white ox mentioned by Demosthenes.

(6) The Jars of Zeus in the *Iliad*.

One interesting possibility must not be neglected. We have traced Zeus *Ktésios* back to the days of Aischylos. But the very nature of his cult postulates a hoary antiquity. There is therefore much to be said for an acute suggestion made by Miss Harrison (*Proleg. Gk. Rel.* 2 p. 642), viz. that we have a reminiscence of the self-same cult in the Homeric description of the jars of Zeus (*Il.* 24. 527 ff. *δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακείαται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει | δῶρων, οἷα δίδωσι, κακῶν,* | *ἕτερος δὲ εἰῶν· | ᾗ μὲν κ' ἀμμίξας δῶη Ζεὺς τερπικέρυμνος, | ἄλλοτε μὲν τε κακῶ ὃ γε* | *κύρεται, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐσθλῶ· | ᾗ δὲ κε τῶν λυγρῶν δῶη, λωβητὸν ἔθηκε· | καὶ ἐ κακῆ* | *βοῦβρωστis ἐπὶ χθόνα διαν ἑλάνουει, | φουτᾶ δ' οὔτε θεοῖσι τετιμένους οὔτε βροτοῖσιν.* For full *apparatus criticus* see A. Ludwig *ad loc.* The most important variants are the omission of line 528 in cod. T. and the substitution of *κηρῶν ἔμπλειοι, ὁ μὲν ἐσθλῶν, αὐτὰρ ὁ δειλῶν* in the passage as quoted by Plat. *rep.* 379 D, Plout. *quo modo adolescens poetas audire debeat* 6 (but cp. *consolat. ad Apollon.* 7), Euseb. *praep. ev.* 13. 3. 12 (from Plat. *loc. cit.*), Prokl. *in Plat. remf.* i. 96, 14 f. Kroll. Dr W. Leaf in 1888 printed *δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακείαται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει | δῶρων οἷα δίδωσι κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ εἰῶν· | κ.τ.λ.* and supposed that 'Zeus has two jars of evil for one of good' (cp. Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 143 ff. *ἐν παρ' ἐσλὸν πῆματα σύνδυο δαίονται βροτοῖς | ἀθάνατοι*). But in 1898, collaborating with Mr M. A. Bayfield, he was more disposed to admit the possibility that 'there are only two jars spoken of, one of ills and one of blessings.' For *κακῶν, ἕτερος*

δὲ εἰών = ἕτερος μὲν κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ εἰών he cited *Il.* 7. 417 f. But the idiom is by no means rare: to the examples adduced by R. Kühner—B. Gerth *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* Hannover and Leipzig 1904 ii. 266 add Aristot. *poet.* 1. 1447 b 14 ἐλεγείσσι τοὺς δὲ ἐποποιούς ὀνομάζουσιν, *pol.* 2. 4. 1262 a 26 f. φόνους ἀκουσίους, τοὺς δὲ ἐκουσίους. Moreover, the existence of the variant κηρῶν ἔμπλειοι, ὁ μὲν ἐσθλῶν, αὐτὰρ ὁ δειλῶν, which is not of course 'more careless than the average of Plato's citations' but good evidence of the pre-Aristarchean text, makes it practically certain that the jars were conceived as two in number):

Two jars lie buried in the floor of Zeus
 Filled with the gifts he gives—evil in this,
 Good in the other. Whensoever Zeus
 The lightning-hurler gives a mingled lot,
 He that receives it falls on evil now
 And now on good. But he to whom Zeus gives
 Of the sorry store is made a very scorn:
 Him evil hunger drives o'er the bright earth,
 Nor gods nor mortals honour him as he goes.

(7) Zeus *Ktésios* compared with the *Di Penates*.

Finally, it should be observed that sundry Greek antiquarians described the Roman *di Penates* as *theoi Ktésioi* (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 67 τοὺς δὲ θεοὺς τούτους Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν Πενάτας καλοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ ἐξηρμηνεύοντες εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν τοῦνομα οἱ μὲν Πατρώους ἀποφαίνουσιν, οἱ δὲ Γενεθλίους, εἰσι δ' οἱ Κτησίους, ἄλλοι δὲ Μυχίους, οἱ δὲ Ἑρκίους, cp. *ib.* 8. 41 καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὧ θεοὶ Κτήσιοι καὶ ἑστία πατρώα καὶ δαίμονες οἱ κατέχοντες τοῦτον τὸν τόπον, χαίρετε). The description was apposite; for the *di Penates*, as divinised ancestors (?? see *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 293 ff.) keeping watch over the *penus*, were in function at least strictly analogous to Zeus *Ktésios*. Perhaps indeed the likeness extended to the signs and symbols of their presence; for the *Penates* of Lavinium were represented by 'caducei of iron and bronze together with Trojan pottery' (Timaios *frag.* 20 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 197 Müller) *ap.* Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 67 σχήματος δὲ καὶ μορφῆς αὐτῶν πέρι Τίμαιος μὲν ὁ συγγραφεὺς ὧδε ἀποφαίνεται· κηρύκια σιδηρὰ καὶ χαλκὰ καὶ κέραμον Τρωϊκὸν εἶναι τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις τοῖς ἐν Λαουνίῳ κείμενα ἱερά. πυθέσθαι δὲ αὐτὸς ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων), which presumably implies metal snakes coiled about a staff and an earthenware jar (*N.B.* The *tabula Iliaca* in three separate places represents Aeneias and Anchises as carrying the *sacra* of Troy in a cylindrical jar(?) with a domed lid: see O. Jahn *Griechische Bilderchroniken* Bonn 1873 p. 35 pl. 1, and cp. Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 310 no. 1380, *id.* in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1879 p. 76 f., Preller—Jordan *Röm. Myth.*³ ii. 322 n. 2). The mention of *caducei* in this connexion sets us thinking. Is it possible that Hermes himself with his chthonian and his phallic traits was of kindred origin? The idea should not be scouted without a careful consideration of the facts brought together by Mr A. L. Frothingham (in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1916 xx. 175—211 and a sequel as yet unpublished). See further *supra* p. 383 n. 7.

APPENDIX I.

ZEUS AGAMÉMNON.

The evidence for the cult of Zeus Ἀγαμέμνων at Sparta is as follows: Lyk. *Al.* 335 states that Priamos was killed (*supra* i. 39 n. 2 and n. 6) ἀμφὶ τύμβῳ τᾶγαμέμνονος, on which Tzetzes remarks Ἀγαμέμνων ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ. This is confirmed by Lyk. *Al.* 1124 Ζεὺς Σπαρτιάταις αἰμύλοις κληθήσεται (*sc.* ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων) with Tzetz. *ad loc.* ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἰδρύσαντο Ἀγαμέμνονος Διὸς ἱερόν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ ἥρωος, Staphylos *frag.* 10 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 506 Müller) ἀφ. Clem. *Al. protr.* 2. 38. 2 p. 28, 17 f. Stählin Ἀγαμέμνονα γούν τινα Δία ἐν Σπάρτῃ τιμᾶσθαι Στάφυλος ἱστορεῖ, Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* i p. 1 Schwartz ὁ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιος Ἀγαμέμνονα Δία...σέβει.

For his cult at Athens the evidence is slighter: Lyk. *Al.* 1369 ff. πρῶτος μὲν ἦξει Ζηνὶ τῷ Λαπερσίῳ | ὁμώνυμος Ζεὺς, ὃς καταβάτης μολῶν | σκηπτῷ πυρώσει πάντα δυσμενῶν σταθμά with Tzetz. *ad loc.* Λαπέρσαι δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *cj.* Λακωνικῆς), ἔνθα Ἀγαμέμνονος Διὸς ἱερόν ἐστίν. ὁ ὁμώνυμος οὖν τῷ Λαπερσίῳ Διὶ ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων, κ.τ.λ. The *cj.* Λακωνικῆς is supported by Soph. *frag.* 871 Nauck², 957 Jebb, ἀφ. Strab. 364 νῆ τῷ Λαπέρσα (*sc.* the Dioskouroi), νῆ τὸν Εὐρώταν τρίτον, | νῆ τοὺς ἐν Ἄργει καὶ κατὰ Σπάρτην θεοὺς, Rhian. ἀφ. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λαπέρσα θηλυκῶς, ὄρος Λακωνικῆς, οὐ μέμνηται Ῥιανὸς ἐν Ἡλιακῶν πρώτῳ· ἀπὸ τῶν Λαπερσῶν Διοσκούρων. τὸ ἔθνικόν Λαπερσαῖος. See further W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*³ Braunschweig 1875 ii. 773.

With regard to the interpretation of this evidence ancient and modern views have differed widely: Metrodoros of Lampsakos, who allegorized Homer (Tatian. *or. adv. Graec.* 37), took Agamemnon to be the *aithér* (Hesych. Ἀγαμέμνονα τὸν αἰθέρα Μητροδόωρος ἀλληγορικῶς). Eustath. *in Il.* p. 168, 11 ff. is hardly more satisfactory: δοκεῖ εὐλόγως παρὰ Λάκωσι Ζεὺς Ἀγαμέμνων ἐπιθετικῶς εἶναι, ὡς ὁ Λυκόφρων λαλεῖ· Ἀγαμέμνων τε γὰρ εὐρυκρείων καὶ Ζεὺς εὐρυμέδων. εἰ δὴ ταῦτῶν εὐρυκρείων καὶ εὐρυμέδων, λέγοιτ' ἂν διὰ τοῦτο διθυραμβικότερον καὶ Ἀγαμέμνων Ζεὺς, καθότι καὶ εὐρυκρείων. Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 183 regards Ἀγαμέμνων as a title of Zeus, 'Erzwalter.' Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 157 renders 'Zeus...der "grosse Sinner"' and *ib.* n. 22 cites the vase inscriptions ΑΛΑΜΕΣΜΟΝ and ΑΛ·ΜΕΣΜΟ· (P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 168 ff.) as implying an original *Ἀγαμέδμων (W. Prellwitz in the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1891 xvii. 171 f., 1894 xx. 306 f., *id.* *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 3) with which he compares such names as Ἀγαμήδης, Ἀγαμήτωρ. Wide *Lakon. Kulte* pp. 12 f., 333 f., following F. Deneken in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2449 f., holds that a god Ἀγαμέμνων (ἀγα-+μεμ-), 'der viel sinnende, viel Sorge tragende, mächtig schirmende und schützende,' whose partner was originally Ἀλεξάνδρα, came to be identified with Zeus. On the etymology see, however, K. Brugmann—A. Thumb *Griechische Grammatik*⁴ München 1913 p. 89: 'Dass uridg. -nm- auch zu -μν- geworden sei, glauben wir nicht. Man nimmt an, Ἀγα-μέμνων sei aus *-μενμων (zu ai. *mānman-*) entstanden (DE SAUSSURE, *Mém.* 4, 432). Wäre das richtig, so könnte die besondere Behandlung der Gruppe -nm- aus der Mitwirkung der anderen Nasale des Wortes oder aus Volksetymologie (vgl. *θρασσο-μέμων* 'mutig standhaltend') erklärt werden. Aber die attische Nebenform Ἀγαμέσμων (KRETSCHMER, *Vas.* 168 f.) weist auf *Ἀγα-μέδμων als Grundform (vgl. PRELLWITZ, *BB.* 17, 171 f.

20, 306 f.). Hieraus ging einerseits durch Anlehnung an Πολυ-φράσμων u. a. (§ 88 Anm. 2) die Form Ἀγαμέσμων hervor; Ἀγαμέμων anderseits zeigt die gleiche Behandlung des δμ wie att. μεσό-μνη neben ion. μεσό-δη (§ 58), ὕμνος aus *ὕδμος (falls zu ὕδω, ἰδέω, s. W. SCHMID, Rhein. Mus. 61, 480; anders, aber unwahrscheinlich EHRlich, Rhein. Mus. 62, 321 ff., vgl. ferner P. MAAS, Philol. 66, 590 ff.), kret. μνῶ neben ion. δμός: in einzelnen griechischen Dialekten wurde also δμ zu νμ (vgl. ἰπτι aus ἡπι § 87, 6) und dieses weiter zu μν (vgl. neur. μεμνη=altir. menne 'mens') zu einer Zeit, wo der Wandel von uridg. -nm- zu -μμ- schon längst vollzogen war¹. (1 Dass dm- schon uridg. zu nm- geworden sei und hierauf unser μν beruhe (so zuletzt JOHANSSON, IF. 3, 227), ist unwahrscheinlich.) Aus diesem Dialektgebiet stammt die Form Ἀγα-μέμων. Anders KRETSCHMER a. a. O., FICK, Gött. gel. Anz. 1894 S. 234. 241 (der in μεσό-μνη ursprüngliches -δμν- vermutet) und SCHULZE, Gött. gel. Anz. 1896 S. 236 (der in μεσόμνη, Ἀγαμέμων "durch eine Art von Metathesis δμ zu βν und weiter zu μν" geworden sein lässt unter Mitwirkung des in den beiden Wörtern vorausgehenden μ); vgl. aber auch STOLZ, Innsbrucker Festschr. zur 50. Philol.-Vers. (1909) 13 ff.² Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 50 without venturing upon philological ground assumes that 'the two names [Ζεὺς and Ἀγαμέμων] were originally quite distinct and became conjoined owing to some later fusion of cults.' But A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 96 'ein chthonischer Zeus' and K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real. Enc.* i. 721 'vielleicht ein chthonischer Gott' had already pointed the way to a better solution of the problem. In the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 277, cp. *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 299, 301, I contended that the hero was a Zeus all along, the local champion or king being as such the embodiment of the god. Even in Homer there are traces of this belief. Agamemnon's stock epithet ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν is suggestive of a divine appellation (cp. Verg. *Aen.* i. 65 divom pater atque hominum rex, Hes. *theog.* 923 θεῶν βασιλῆι καὶ ἀνδρῶν), and in *Il.* 2 478 he is described as ἄμματα καὶ κεφαλῆν (S. A. Naber cj. φθογγῆν) ἱκέλος Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ. See further *supra* p. 1060 f.

APPENDIX J.

ZEUS AMPHIARAOS.

The worship of Zeus Ἀμφιάραος at Oropos is attested by Dikaiarch. i. 6 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 100 Müller) ἐντεύθεν εἰς Ὠρωπὸν δι' Ἀφιδνῶν καὶ τοῦ Ἀμφιάρου Διὸς ἱεροῦ ὁδὸν ἐλευθέρω βαδίζοντι σχεδὸν ἡμέρας προσάντη πάντα. The text is not free from corruption. For the manuscript's διαδαφνιδὸν L. Holstein and others read διὰ Δελφίνιον (cp. Strab. 403), C. Müller in *Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 256 διὰ Ψαφιδῶν (cp. Strab. 399); *id.* in *Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 100 accepts C. Wordsworth's cj. δι' Ἀφιδνῶν or else δι' Ἀφιδνῶν. For the manuscript's ὁδὸν...πρόσαντα C. Müller, after I. Casaubon, proposes ὁδὸς...προσάντης πᾶσα, but prints ὁδὸν...προσάντη [πάντα]. Casaubon wanted to expunge Διός. But he was certainly wrong. The hero Amphiaros had come to be reckoned as a god: cp. Soph. *El.* 836 ff. οἶδα γὰρ ἄνακτ' Ἀμφιάρων χρυσοδέτους | ἔρκεισι κρυφθέντα γυναικῶν· καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ γαίης | ... | πάμψυχος ἀνάσσει with Cic. *de div.* i. 88 Amphiarum autem sic honoravit fama Graeciae, deus ut haberetur, atque ut ab eius solo, in quo est humatus, oracula peterentur, Paus. i. 34. 2 θεὸν δὲ Ἀμφιάρων πρῶτος Ὠρωπίος κατέστη νομίζειν, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες ἤγηται. That he was

under the protection of Zeus appears from Pind. *Nem.* 9. 58 ff. ὁ δ' Ἀμφιάρῃ σχίσσεν κεραυνῶ παμβία | Ζεὺς τὰν βαθύστερον χθόνα, κρύψεν δ' ἄμ' ἴπποις, | δουρὶ Περικλυμένον πρὶν νῶτα τυπέντα μαχατὰν | θυμὸν αἰσχυρθῆμεν, 10. 13 ff. γαῖα δ' ἐν Θήβαις ὑπέδεκτο κεραυνωθέισα Διὸς βέλεσιν | μάντιν Οἰκλείδαν, πολέμοιο νέφος, Apollod. 3. 6. 8 Ἀμφιαράφ δὲ φεύγοντι παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἴσμηνόν, πρὶν ὑπὸ Περικλυμένον τὰ νῶτα τραθῆ, Ζεὺς κεραυνὸν βαλὼν τὴν γῆν διέστησεν. ὁ δὲ σὺν τῷ ἄρματι καὶ τῷ ἡνίοχῳ Βάτωνι, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι Ἑλάτωνι (so R. Wagner after Sommer, who suggested Ἑλάτωνι or Ἑλατίφ. L. Dindorf cj. Ἑλάτφ. ἐλάττω R. ἐλάττωνι *R^a. ἐλάττωνον P. R^b. R^c. ἐλάττω V. L. N. T.), ἐκρύφθη, καὶ Ζεὺς ἀθάνατον αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν.

As a parallel to this famous scene H. Usener in the *Sitzungsber. d. Kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1897 cxxxvii. 3. 2, 4, 37 (= *id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 200 ff., 234) cites the belief that Theodoric the Great, king of the Ostrogoths, did not die in 526 A.D., but entered the earth as a living man seated on his black charger. I am, however, inclined to lay more stress on analogies drawn from the classical area, e.g. that of Erechtheus (*supra* p. 793 f.) or those of Látinus and Aeneas (*Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 363, *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 286). Such cases may be taken to imply that the early king, who during his life had been credited with magical powers of making a thunderstorm, was after his death frankly identified with the weather-god. Moreover dead kings, being chthonian powers, can give oracles, send dreams, and bestow health on those that consult them in the right way. Hence at the popular Amphiareion near

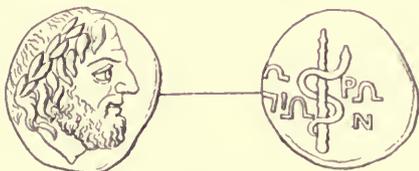


Fig. 918.



Fig. 919.

Oropos (on which see F. Dürrbach *De Orope et Amphiarui sacro* Paris 1890, E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1893 ff. fig., Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 466 ff. pl. 9, figs., and for recent finds etc. F. Versace in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1908 xxxiii. 247—272, H. Lattermann *ib.* 1910 xxxv. 81—102, B. Leonardos in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1913 p. 237, *ib.* 1916 pp. 118—121, besides reports in the *Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ.* 1903 p. 33 f., 1904 p. 27 f., 1906 p. 83 f., 1913 p. 114) the marble cult-statue of Amphiaraos (Paus. i. 34. 2) appears to have borne a close resemblance to Asklepios. An autonomous copper of the town, dating from s. ii B.C. or later, has for obverse type the head of Amphiaraos bearded and laureate, and for reverse a snake coiled round a staff with the legend Ω Ρ Ω Π Ι Ω Ν (É. de Cadalvène *Recueil de médailles grecques inédites* Paris 1828 p. 168 no. 1 = Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 151 Atlas pl. 6, 10 = my fig. 918. Other specimens show *obv.* a beardless head described as Apollon (A. v. Sallet in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1898 xxi. 208 f. pl. 4, 10) or Amphiaraos (Head *Hist. num.*² p. 392—a bad guess, unless the head is really bearded, as stated by Cadalvène *op. cit.* p. 168 no. 2, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica* etc. p. 115 pl. 20, 5) or even a female (U. Köhler in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1879 iv. 250 f. fig., 259 ff.), *rev.* a dolphin coiled round a trident with the legend Ω Ρ Ω Π Ι Ω Ν). Another copper of Oropos, struck by Gallienus, has *rev.* Ω Ρ Ω Π Ι Ω Ν Amphiaraos enthroned to left, his left hand grasping a sceptre and his right extended over a snake (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica* etc. p. 115 pl. 20, 6, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 153 pl. EE, 18

=my fig. 919). Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner justly remark that 'On these coins Amphiaras is represented exactly in the guise of Asclepius, as a god rather than as a hero.' B. I. Leonardos in the *Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ.* 1887 p. 62 f. reports the discovery in the Amphiareion at Oropos of a small statue, *minius* head and extremities, 'παριστὰν δὲ βεβαίως τὸν Ἀμφιάραον ὡς τὸν Ἀσκληπιῖόν, στήριζόμενον ἐπὶ ῥάβδον περὶ ἣν ἐλίσσεται ὄφης,' and of a small relief representing a similar Amphiaras and Hygieia seated on a rock beside him (cp. 'Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885 p. 102 no. 4, 3 = *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 311, 3, 'Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885 p. 106 no. 6, 3 = *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 372, 3, *ib.* i no. 412, 11), while above them appears the head of Pan another partner in their cult (Paus. i. 34. 3).

The hero's name offers a variety of problems. Ἀμφιάραος had a clipped form *Ἀμφίς (Herodian. *περὶ παθῶν frag.* 104 (ii. 205, 16 ff. Lentz) *ap. et. mag.* p. 93, 50 ff. = Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Ἀμφίς, cp. *et. mag.* p. 159, 31, cites Aisch. *frag.* 412 Nauck²). A possible doublet is *Ἀμφίος, brother of Adrastos and son of Merops the seer of Perkote who foresaw the doom of his sons at Troy (*Il.* 2. 830 ff., 11. 328 ff.); and he in turn has been regarded (E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1949) as originally identical with *Ἀμφίος, son of Selagos, who lived at Paisos and was slain at Troy (*Il.* 5. 612 ff., Tzetz. *Hom.* 89 f. *N.B.*: *Il.* 2. 828 Ἀπαισοῦ = *Il.* 5. 612 Παισοῦ). See further H. Usener in E. Bethe *Thebanische Heldenlieder* Leipzig 1891 p. 65, *id.* *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 355, *id.* in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1897 cxxxvii. 3. 40 ff. (= *id.* *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 237 ff.), who holds that *Ἀμφίος gave rise, on the one hand to Ἀμφίων (cp. *et. mag.* p. 92, 41 ff.), on the other to Ἀμφιάραος, Ἀμφιύρεως, Ἀμφιάρης. It may, however, be doubted whether Usener has said the last word on the subject; for the etymology of the name Ἀμφιάραος is still far from clear. F. G. Welcker *Der epische Cyclus*² Bonn 1882 p. 322 takes Ἀμφιάραος to mean 'der Beter' (ἀράομαι). P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 pp. 32, 123 argues that Ἀμφιάρης, for *ἈμφιάρηFos, was derived from *iareús* (stem *iarrhF-*) and meant ἀρχιρέως, but that Ἀμφιάραος was formed by popular etymologizing from ἀράομαι. A. Fick *Die Griechischen Personennamen*² Göttingen 1894 p. 438 f. connects with *Ἄρης: 'Dasselbe Element ist in ἀμφι-ἄρης Zeus.' Similarly J. Rendel Harris *Boanerges* Cambridge 1913 p. 225 suggests that at Argos Areios (Ap. Rhod. 1. 118, Orph. *Arg.* 148, cp. Pherekyd. *frag.* 75 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 90 Müller) *ap. schol. Od.* 11. 289) and Amphiaras were twin-brothers. But all these views are *risquées*. At most we can assert that there is a tendency (satirised in the person of Ἀμφίθεος by Aristoph. *Ach.* 46 ff.) for divine and heroic names to begin with Ἀμφι-. Such names need not point to the existence of twins (*pace* J. Rendel Harris *op. cit.* p. 224 f.), but might on occasion refer to some twofold aspect of Zeus (*supra* p. 445), who is e.g. ἀμφιθαλής, 'god of both parents,' in Aisch. *cho.* 394 f. καὶ πότ' ἂν ἀμφιθαλής | Ζεὺς ἐπὶ χεῖρα βάλου; (see a good note by T. G. Tucker *ad loc.*). Thus H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1898 liiii. 336 f. (= *id.* *Kleine Schriften* iv. 266 f.) regards Ἀμφιτρύων (τρύω, τρυπᾶν, κ.τ.λ.) as 'der nach Osten und Westen den Donnerkeil entsendende und damit durchbohrende Gewittergott,' an ancient *Sondergott* (*supra* p. 13 n. 1) absorbed into the all-prevailing personality of Zeus. I should myself put the matter somewhat differently. To my thinking Amphitryon, like Amphiaras, was a king who played the part of a human Zeus and was named accordingly.

APPENDIX K.

ZEUS TREPHTÓNIOS OR TROPHÓNIOS.

For the cult of Zeus Τρεφώνιος or Τροφώνιος at Lebadeia Rohde *Psyche*³ i. 125 n. 1 cites the following evidence: Strab. 414 Λεβάδεια δ' ἐστίν, ὅπου Διὸς Τροφωνίου μαντεῖον Ἴδρυται, χάσματος ὑπονόμου κατάβασιν ἔχον, καταβαίνει δ' αὐτὸς ὁ χρηστηριαζόμενος, Liv. 45. 27 Lebadiae quoque templum Iovis Trophonii adit (sc. L. Aimilius Paullus in 167 B.C.): ibi cum vidisset os specus, per quod oraculo utentes sciscitatum deos descendunt, sacrificio Iovi Hercynnaeque facto, quorum ibi templum est, etc., Iul. Obseq. *prod.* 110 (96 B.C.) Lebadiae Eutychides in templum Iovis Trophonii digressus tabulam aeneam extulit, in qua scripta erant quae ad res Romanas pertinerent, [add Ampel. 8. 3 ibi (sc. *Argis in Epiro!*— unless we may assume that a mention of Lebadeia has dropped out of the text, or that *pictum est* is to be supplied from the preceding clause) Iovis templum Trophonii (so D. *hyphonis* C.), unde est ad inferos descensus ad tollendas sortes: in quo loco dicuntur ii qui descenderunt Iovem ipsum videre], Hesych. *s.v.* Λεβάδεια· πόλις Βοιωτ[ε]ίας, ἐνθα καὶ μαντεῖον Διὸς τὸ ἱερὸν κατεσκευάστω [? *leg.* μαντεῖον Διὸς, <Τροφωνίου> τὸ ἱερὸν κατασκευάσαντος], Phot. *Iex.* (p. 154 Hermann) *s.v.* Λεβάδία· πόλις Βοιωτίας, ἐν ἧ Διὸς μαντεῖον, Τροφωνίου κατασκευάσαντος, *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3090=R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 162 f. no. 423 Ἰππων Ἐπινίκαν Νικίασ | Διὶ Τρεφωνίῳ on a square base formerly supporting a statue of Epinike (on the back of the same base was recorded the manumission of Athanon (*Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3080 *infra*); on its right side, that of Hermaïa (*ib.* no. 3081 *infra*): later the base was used for a statue of Drusus Caesar (*ib.* no. 3103)), *ib.* no. 3098=L. Stephani *Reise durch einige Gegenden des nördlichen Griechenlandes* Leipzig 1843 p. 70 f. no. 47 pl. 5 Διονύσῳ Εὐσταφύλῳ | κατὰ χρησμόν Διὸς | Τροφωνίου, *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3077, 3 ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Τροφωνίου Τροφωνιανός (the priest being named after his god, as Maybaum *Der Zeuskult in Boeotien* Doberan 1901 p. 11 f. remarks).

Further, at Lebadeia—as I urged in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 301—Zeus bore the significant title Βασιλεύς (*Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3073, 89 f. and 93=Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 589, 89 f. and 93=Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 972, 89 f. and 93 *eis* τὸν νυὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Βασιλέως in an important inscription of s. ii B.C. dealing with the half-built temple on Mt St. Elias to the W. of *Livadia* (Paus. 9. 39. 4, *supra* p. 900 n. ο), *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3080, 1 ff.=R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 165 no. 430, 1 ff. [τὸ *F*[ῶ]σι[ν] δουλι[κὸν | π]αιδάριον Ἀθάνωνα τῷ Διὶ τεῖ Βασιλεῖ κῆ τεῖ Τροφωνίῳ ἱερὸν εἶμεν τὸν πάν[τα | χ]ρόνον ἀπὸ τῆσδε τὰς ἡμέρας, *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3081, 2 f.=R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 164 f. no. 429, 2 f. τὰν *F*διάν δούλαν Ἐρμαίαν τεῖ Διὶ τεῖ Βασιλεῖ κῆ τῷ Τρε[φ]ωνίῳ ἱερὸν εἶμ[ε]ν | τὸν πάντα χρόνον, *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3083, 6 ff.=R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 163 no. 425, 6 ff.=Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1392, 6 ff. τὸν | *F*ιδιον θεράποντα Ἀνδρικὸν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Βασιλεῖ | κῆ τῷ Τροφωνίῳ ἱερὸν εἶμεν παραμείναντα πᾶρ | τὰν μητέρα Ἀθανοδώραν *F*έτια δέκα, *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3085, 2 ff. τὸ ἴδιον δουλικὸν παιδάριον | Σωκράτην, παραμείναντα *Ki*.....] καὶ Ἀριστοκίδι, τὸν πάντα | χρόνον ἱερὸν κατὰ τὴν | ἀνάθ[ε]σιον τῷ Διὶ τῷ Βασιλεῖ, *ib.* no. 3091, 1 ff.=R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 162 no. 422, 1 ff.=Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1115, 1 ff. Νέων *F*ασκώ[ν]δωσ | ἀγνωσθε[ρ]ε[σ]ας | τὰ Βασιλεια | τὸ ἐλροχρίστ[ιον] | ἀνέθεικε τοῖ [Δι] | τοῖ Βασιλεῖ[ι] κ[ῆ] τῆ] | πόλι in an inscription

which can be dated shortly after 250 B.C., cp. Polyb. 20. 5. 5, 8, 14, *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3096, 1 f. Διὶ Βασιλεῖ | καὶ τῇ πόλει Λεβαδέων | κ.τ.λ., *ib.* no. 4136, 1 ff. = M. Holleaux in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1890 xiv. 19 ff. no. 10, 27 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 635 B, 27 ff. Καλλικλίδας Λοκρὸς ἔσς Ὀπιόντος καταβὰς ἐν Τρεφῶνιον ἀνάγγειλε Λεπάδειαν τοῖ Δι τοῖ Βασιλεῦ ἀνθέμεν | κῆ τοῖ Τρεφώνιοι, κ.τ.λ., 32 f. ὅστις δέ κα τῶ | Διὸς τῶ Βασιλείου ἐπιμελειθεῖει τῶ ναῶ, τὸν στέφανον | ὕσση in the record of an oracle delivered soon after 178 B.C.).

In view of the foregoing passages and inscriptions I would venture to reconstruct the story of the Lebaean cult as follows. Once upon a time there lived in the locality a king of the old magical sort (*supra* i. 12 ff.), who controlled the weather for his people (*supra* i. 79) and passed as a human Zeus (*supra* i. 247 (?), 545 n. 5, 547 (?), 662, 737 (?), ii. 24, 192, 794, 833, 897 n. o, 940 n. o, 944 f. n. o, Append. H (3) and (4), Append. I, Append. J, *infra* Append. L *sub fin.*, Append. M *med.*)—one of those who in epic days came to be called Διοτρεφέες βασιλῆες (*Il.* 1. 176, 2. 98, 196, 445, 14. 27, *Od.* 3. 480, 4. 44, 63, 7. 49, *h. Dion.* 11, Hes. *theog.* 82, 992: see H. Ebeling *Lexicon Homericum Lipsiae* 1885 i. 311 f.) because it was remembered that they were at least intimately related to the sky-god (either by descent (schol. *Il.* 1. 176 citing Hes. *theog.* 96 ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆς, Hesych. *s.v.* Διοτρεφέων), or by special favour (*Il.* 2. 196 f. with Eustath. *in Il.* p. 199, 20 ff. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ἐφερμηνεύει, διὰ τί Διογενεῖς καὶ Διοτρεφεῖς τοὺς βασιλεῖς λέγει, οὐχ ὅτι ἐκ Διὸς τὸ γένος ἔλκουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐξ ἐκείνου αὐτοῖς ἡ τιμὴ. φησὶ γάρ· "τιμὴ δ' ἐκ Διὸς ἔστιν," ἢ τῆς βασιλείας δηλαδή. ἀφιδρύματα γὰρ ὡσανεὶ Διὸς ἐδόκουν εἶναι οἱ βασιλεῖς, cp. *ib.* p. 316, 33 f.): the relation is moralised by Themist. *or.* 6 p. 79 A—B ἡ δὲ εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἀρετὴ καὶ πραότης καὶ εὐμένεια... μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἔστιν ἐγγυτέρα τῷ κοινωνοῦντι τῆς φύσεως; αὕτη ποιεῖ θεοείκελον, αὕτη θεοειδῆ, οὕτω Διοτρεφῆς γίνεται βασιλεὺς, οὕτω Διογενής, οὕτως αὐτῷ τὴν θεϊότητα ἐπιφημίζοντες οὐ ψευσόμεθα). Now Διοτρεφῆς, Διετρεφῆς, and similar names have a shortened form Τρέφων (A. Fick *Die Griechischen Personennamen*² Göttingen 1894 p. 269), and Τρέφων by the addition of a common suffix would become Τρεφώνιος. Hence our local king, when dead and buried, was still consulted as Zeus Τρεφώνιος or—since he was responsible for the crops (*supra* i. 79)—as Zeus Τροφώνιος (Max. Tyr. 41. 2 τὸν Δία... τὸν καρπῶν τροφέα, cp. Zeus Ὀπωρέυς in *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 2733 = Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 151 = R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 213, 396 no. 567 an early inscription from Akraiphia Κρίτων καὶ Θεοῖσδοτος τοῖ | Δι τῶπωρεῦ. Other appellatives of Zeus with the same general significance are collected and discussed by H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 243 n. 67, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1109 n. 1). In support of this explanation it should be noted that, when Q. Titius and Salvenius obtained from Trophonios at Lebaeia prophecies concerning Sulla, ἀμφοτέροι... ταῦτα περὶ τῆς ὁμφῆς ἔφραζον· τῷ γὰρ Ὀλυμπίῳ Δι καὶ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος παραπλήσιον ἰδεῖν ἔφασαν (L. Cornelius Sulla *rer. gestar. frag.* 16 Peter *ap.* Plout. *v. Sull.* 17). Further, Paus. 9. 39. 10 compares the oracular building to a κρίβανος or 'baking jar,' *i.e.* one of the domical earthen ovens still used in the east for baking bread (J. H. Middleton in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1888 ix. 313 f.). It was in fact the ἑόλος-tomb of an old Boeotian king (cp. schol. Loukian. p. 255, 21 ff. Rabe). Those who descended into it to consult the divinised dead took honey-cakes in their hands (Aristoph. *nub.* 506 ff., Paus. 9. 39. 11, Poll. 6. 76, Loukian. *dial. mort.* 3. 2, Max. Tyr. 14. 2, Hesych. *s.v.* μαγίδες) for the reptiles that they might encounter (Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 8. 19 p. 335 Kayser, schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 508 = Soud. *s.v.* Τροφωνίου κατὰ γῆς παίγνια, Eudok. *viol.* 930) because the man who first penetrated its recesses found there

two snakes and appeased them with honey-cakes (schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 508). It was even said that the oracle was delivered by a snake (schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 508=Souid. *s.v.* Τροφωνίου κατὰ γῆς παίγνια) or snakes (Souid. *s.v.* μελιτοῦτρα), to which the inhabitants threw honey-cakes. Snakes, it would seem, were as sacred to Trophonios as they were to Asklepios (Paus. 9. 39. 3): indeed, in the cave from which flowed the stream Herkyna there stood images of Trophonios and Herkyna with snakes coiled about their staves so that they resembled Asklepios and Hygieia (Paus. *ib.*). According to the story current in the district, Herkyna (a sort of Demeter, cp. Lyk. *Al.* 152 f. Ἐρυναία... | Ἐρκυνν' Ἐρινὸς κ.τ.λ. with Tzet. *ad loc.* Ἐρκυνν' Ἐριννὸς ἐπώνυμα Δήμητρος. κ.τ.λ., Hesych. Ἐρκύνια (so S. Potter for Ἐρκύνια). ἑορτὴ Δήμητρος. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 353 says: 'wohl eine Fruchtbarkeit spendende Quellgöttin, der arkadischen Demeter ähnlich'), playing with Kore, had lost a goose, which flew into a cave and hid beneath a stone till Kore came in and found it: the stream springing from the spot, whence Kore had lifted the stone, was called Herkyna. And in the temple of Herkyna near the bank of the stream a maiden was still to be seen with a goose in her hands (Paus. 9. 39. 2 f.). The story reminds us that Zeus, to win Nemesis or Leda, transformed himself into a goose (*supra* i. 279 n. 4, 760 n. 2). It may, I think, be divined that the goose in the hands of the maiden was Zeus himself in animal form. For that Zeus was associated with Herkyna appears from Paullus' sacrifice 'Iovi Hercynnaeque' (*supra* p. 1073). L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pétr.* 1863 p. 94 finds an illustration of the Lebadean tale on a *rhytôn*, shaped like a bull's head, found at Ruvo and now in the Jatta collection, which shows (a) Zeus seated with thunderbolt and sceptre, and (b) a maiden pursuing a goose (published by T. Avellino in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* 1856 Nuova Serie iv. 114 f. pl. 11, 2, 1, 3=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 483, 4, 3, 6): but this is perhaps a mere juxtaposition of the sublime with the ridiculous (Maybaum *Der Zeuskult in Boeotien* Doberan 1901 p. 19 detects 'eine Genrescene'). Be that as it may, Trophonios was not only a dead man, but also a living god (Loukian. *dial. mort.* 3. 1 f.), and as such received the rites due to a god (Charax *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 637 f. Müller) *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 508 καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ ὡς θεῷ), being, as we have seen, frequently identified with Zeus (in Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 55, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 14, with a chthonian Hermes: cp. Paus. 9. 39. 7). This, however, does not preclude a certain likeness to Amphiaros; for Trophonios too was swallowed by the earth at a place in Lebadeia, where there was a hole (βόθρος) of Agamedes and a *stèle* beside it (Paus. 9. 37. 7, cp. 9. 39. 6?). The name Καταβάσιον sometimes given to the oracular building (schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 508=Souid. *s.v.* Τροφωνίου κατὰ γῆς παίγνια) bears a superficial resemblance to that of Zeus Καταβάτης, but means presumably the sacred spot 'to which men descend' (cp. Dikaiarchos *περὶ τῆς εἰς Τροφωνίου καταβάσεως* (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 266 ff. Müller), and a work by Plutarch with the same title—no. 181 in the catalogue of Lamprias (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*⁶ München 1911 ii. 1. 371 n. 4)). J. Vürtheim 'De Eugammonis Cyrenaei Telegonia' in *Mnemosyne* 1901 xxix. 27—30 regards both Agamedes and Trophonios as hypostases of Zeus: 'Sed indigetando ex uno hoc love (vel Mercurio) dii tres sunt facti, e quibus unus Clymenus (i.e. Ζεὺς Κλύμενος vel Περικλύμενος) avum repraesentabat, secundus Trophonius antiquo nomine servato vates fiebat, tertius Agamedes (i.e. sagacissimus) indolem prudentem τοῦ χθονίου θεοῦ indicabat; deinde e dis mutati in reges mythicos (ut Amphiarus ille)' etc.... 'Vidimus igitur Iovem τροφώνιον χθόνιον e spelunca sua in lucem quasi protractum in duos heroas abiisse, quemadmodum Amphiarus est natus

e Iove Amphiarao et subterraneus Iuppiter plurimis locis *cognominibus variis* invocabatur, qualia sunt *Zeus Eἰβουλος* vel *Eὐβουλεύς*, *Βουλαῖος*, *Κλύμενος* etc. But this explanation leaves unexplained the peculiar character of the *Καταβάσιον*. I much prefer to suppose that it was the *thólos* of an ancient Lebadean king, who in his day played the part of Zeus. The worship of Zeus *Βασιλεύς*, which—as we have seen—flourished at Lebadeia, implies a similar, though not identical, tradition. We may, in fact, conceive of the local cult as having developed along the following divergent lines:



Trophonios is said to have been succeeded at Lebadeia by St Christopher the martyr (schol. Loukian. p. 255, 15 ff. Rabe); but see Frazer *Pausanias* v. 198 f. and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner on Paus. 9. 39. 4.

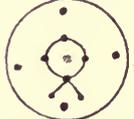
APPENDIX L.

ZEUS ASKLEPIÓS.

The cult of Zeus *Ἀσκληπιός* at Epidauros, Hermione, and Pergamon is attested by a considerable body of evidence, inscriptional, literary, and monumental.

(1) Zeus *Asklepiós* in Inscriptions.

M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1000 Epidauros [Γά(?)]ος Ἴο[ύ]λιος Ἀ[σια]τικός, ἱεραπολήσας ἔτους πα', | κελύσα[ν]τι | Διὶ Ἀσκληπιῶ | Σωτήρι. |

with the numeral *ιθ'* and the symbol , which—as C. Blinkenberg in

the *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi* Tredie Række 1894—1895 iii. 175 ff. and in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 384, 391 showed—represents the wreath of Asklepios. P. Kabbadias in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1884 p. 24 no. 65 = *id.* *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 58 no. 136 inserted a comma between Διὶ and Ἀσκληπιῶ, but E. Thraemer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1661 and M. Fränkel *loc. cit.* rightly reject it. M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1022 Epidauros ----- ν ----- | ----- os Διογνήτου ἱερέως | Ἀσκληπιῶ Διὶ κατὰ ὄναρ. | with the numeral *ος'*. *Id. ib.* i no. 1086 Epidauros Παταῖος --- | πυρο[φορή]σας | Ἀσ-

κληπιῶι | Διὶ Τελείωι. | with the numeral *ος'* and the symbol , which

C. Blinkenberg in the *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi* Tredie Række 1894—1895 iii. 175 f. took to be 'le rameau...comme un signe de la soumission et du respect

le plus profond' and in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 385, 392 described as 'Zweig (oder Baum?)', 'wahrscheinlich...ein Palmenzweig,' while M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i. 188 calls it 'Ramus olivae s. quercus.' C. Blinkenberg in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 385 n. 2 read the name of the dedicator as ΠΑΙΛΙΟC i.e. Πόπιλος Δίλιος and put a comma between Ἀσκληπιῶι and Δί. M. Fränkel in his note on the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1086 thinks Blinkenberg's reading possible, but demurs to his punctuation. The inventory-symbols, which appear to have been added to the inscriptions c. 306 A.D. (*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i. 186), suffice to prove that at Epidauros Asklepios was then known as Zeus Ἀσκληπιός Σωτήρ and Zeus as Asklepios Ζεὺς Τέλειος. A. Boeckh in the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1198=M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 692=W. Prellwitz in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 1. 185 no. 3396 Hermione Ξενότιμος Πολυκλέος | Δάματρι Χθονίαι, Δί Ἀ(σκ)λαπιῶι, where K. O. Müller *Die Dorier*² Breslau 1844 i. 403 n. 3 corrected M. Fourmont's reading ΔΙΑΡΓΙΑΠΙΩΙ to ΔΙΑΣΚΛΑΠΙΩΙ. P. Kabbadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* i. 58 and W. Prellwitz *loc. cit.* assume a series of three deities; but A. Boeckh *loc. cit.* and M. Fränkel *loc. cit.* treat Δί Ἀσκληπιῶι as one god.

(2) Zeus Asklepiós in Literature.

Their view is supported by E. Thraemer *loc. cit.*, who adds: 'Besonders häufig findet sich Zeus A. bei Aristeides, nicht etwa ein blos rhetorischer Ausdruck für die Hoheit des Gottes, sondern Anlehnung an einen ganz bestimmten Kult der Stadt Pergamos. Dieser hat mit dem schon in hellenistischer Zeit blühenden vorstädtischen Asklepieion freilich nichts zu thun, ist vielmehr eine Neuschöpfung des 2. Jhdts. v. Chr., seine Stätte die grösste Ruine der Unterstadt, die früher Basilika genannte, jetzt in Berlin für Thermen gehaltene Anlage über dem Selinos. Dass wir es hier mit dem Tempel und ἄλσος des Zeus A. zu thun haben, werde ich demnächst an anderem Orte nachweisen.' See further K. Pilling *Pergamenische Kulte* Naumburg a. S. 1903 p. 23 ff. (cited by Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 271) and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 295, 1094 n. 19, 1456 n. 4. Cp. Aristeid. *or.* 6. 37 (i. 64 f. Dindorf) καὶ Διὸς Ἀσκληπιουῦ νεῶν οὐκ ἄλλως οἱ τῆδε ἰδρύσαντο. ἀλλ' εἶπερ ἐμοὶ σαφῆς ὁ διδάσκαλος, εἰκὸς δὲ παντὸς μᾶλλον, ἐν ὧν δὲ ταῦτ' ἐδίδαξε τρόψω καὶ ὅπως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς λόγοις εἴρηται, οὗτός ἐσθ' ὁ τὸ πᾶν ἄγων καὶ νέμων σωτήρ τῶν ὄλων καὶ φύλαξ τῶν ἀθανάτων, εἰ δὲ θέλεις τραγικώτερον εἰπεῖν, ἔφορος οἰάκων, σώζων τὰ τε ὄντα ἀεὶ καὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα. εἰ δ' Ἀπόλλωνος παῖδα καὶ τρίτον ἀπὸ Διὸς νομίζομεν αὐτόν, αὐθις αὐτὸν καὶ συνάπτομεν τοῖς ὀνόμασι, ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Δία γενέσθαι λέγουσί ποτε, πάλιν δὲ αὐτόν ἀποφαίνουσιν ὄντα τῶν ὄντων πατέρα καὶ ποιητήν, *or.* 23. 283 (i. 456 Dindorf) ὁ δὲ στέφανος ἦν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς Ἀσκληπιουῦ (for the wreath of Asklepios C. Blinkenberg in the *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi* Tredie Række 1894—1895 iii. 176 f. and in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 391 cites, not only the Epidaurian symbol, but also a red-figured *kratér* from Boiotia, now at Athens (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 626 f. no. 1926), published by O. Kern in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1890 p. 131 ff. pl. 7=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 515, 1 f., which shows (a) Asklepios on a couch feeding a huge snake from a Boeotian cup in his right hand and holding an egg in his left hand, the wall hung with four garlands, (b) Hygieia seated, grasping a sceptre with her left hand and extending her right towards a girl, who carries a basket of fruits and cakes and an *oinochôe*, the wall hung with three garlands and votive limbs, and a Messenian copper of Roman date (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 112 pl. 22, 16, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 66 pl. P, 1 f.), on which

Asklepios appears with a large wreath by his side), *or.* 23. 290 (i. 464 Dindorf) καὶ ἅμα λαμβάνω τιὰ ἐπιστολήν πρὸ ποδῶν κειμένην τοῦ Διὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ, *or.* 26. 332 (i. 516 Dindorf) μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα βουλομένοις ἡμῖν κωμῆ περὶ τοῦ ἀναθήματος συνεδόκει καὶ τῷ ἱερεί καὶ τοῖς νεωκόροις ἀναθεῖναι ἐν Διὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ, ταύτης γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι χάραν καλλίω· καὶ οὕτω δὴ τοῦ ὄνειρατος ἢ φήμη ἐξέβη. καὶ ἔστιν ὁ τρίπους ὑπὸ τῆ δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰκόνας χρυσᾶς ἔχων τρεῖς, μίαν καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν πόδα, Ἀσκληπιοῦ, τὴν δὲ Ὑγείας, τὴν δὲ Τελεσφόρου. κ.τ.λ.

(3) Zeus *Asklepiós* in Art.

In art the type of Asklepios was not uninfluenced by that of Zeus. Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 186 ff. regards a whole series of standing Asklepios-statues as copies of a Myronian original representing Zeus (Strab. 637 notes a Zeus by Myron formerly grouped with an Athena and a Herakles by the same sculptor at Samos, but later erected by Augustus in an *aedicula* on the Capitol at Rome): 'The restful conception that marks the older type of Zeus exactly suited the mild character of Asklepios.' Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*⁴ i. 379 holds that 'das Ideal des Asklepios wesentlich als eine geistreiche Umbildung des von Phidias ausgeprägten Zeusedeales erscheint, eine Umbildung, die unter Beibehaltung der meisten charakteristischen Formen doch vermöge ihrer Herabsetzung auf ein reiner Menschliches die Hoheit des Weltregierers durch die herzliche Milde und Klugheit des hilfreichen Heilgottes zu ersetzen weiss': accordingly he traces the canonical bearded type of Asklepios to the cult-stature of the god by Pheidias' pupil Alkamenes at Mantinea (Paus. 8. 9. 1). E. Reisch in the *Eranos Vindobonensis* Wien 1893 p. 21 f. assumes that this statue showed the god standing as on imperial coppers of Mantinea (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 187 pl. 35, 9, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 93 pl. s, 15, Rasche *Lex. Num.* v. 183 f.), and that the same figure appearing with inverted sides on Athenian silver ((i) ΜΕΝΕΔ ΕΠΙΓΕΝΟ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. pp. xlv, 63 pl. 11, 6, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 150 pl. EE, 2, E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 331 ff., Head *Hist. num.*² p. 383 accepting J. Sundwall's date, 177 B.C.; (ii) ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ ΛΕΩΝΙΔΗΣ E. Beulé *op. cit.* p. 401, Head *op. cit.*² p. 386 dating c. 86 B.C. to time of Augustus) and copper coins (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 109 pl. 19, 4, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 150 pl. EE, 3 f., E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 331) attests the existence in the Asklepieion at Athens of a similar statue by Alkamenes or one of his pupils. But, after all, the coins adduced by Reisch exhibit common poses of Asklepios (the coppers of Mantinea show *schema* iii of E. Thraemer's classification in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 636; the silver and copper coins of Athens, *schema* i *ib.* i. 634 f.), and it is far from certain that they were intended to portray cult-statues, let alone works by Alkamenes. We are on firmer ground in observing that Kolotes, who helped Pheidias with his Zeus at Olympia (Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 87, 35. 54), made a wonderful ivory statue of Asklepios for Kyllene (Strab. 337). If this, like Zeus at Olympia, was a seated figure, Kolotes paved the way for Thrasymedes of Paros, whose chryselephantine Asklepios at Epidaurus (bibliography in Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 148 n. 1) was half the size of the Zeus Ὀλύμπιος at Athens (Paus. 2. 27. 2) and was, by a natural blunder, attributed to Pheidias himself (Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 17 p. 19, 15 f. Schwartz). Thrasymedes' cult-stature was decidedly Zeus-like in appearance—witness the silver (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 156 pl. 29, 14, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner

Num. Comm. Paus. i. 43 pl. L, 3, W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1892 xii. 14 f. pl. 1, 17, J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1901 iv. 11 fig. 6 enlarged=*id. Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 150 fig. 104, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 441) and copper coins of Epidauros (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 159 pl. 29, 22 f., cp. *ib.* p. 158 pl. 29, 19, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 43 pl. L, 4 f., J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1901 iv. 10 f. figs. 3—5 enlarged=*id. Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 150 f. figs. 105—107, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 442), and an imperial copper of Kleonai (Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 133, *id.* and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 32, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 441). The god is seated to the left with his left foot advanced, holding a long sceptre high up in his left hand and extending his right hand over the head of a coiled snake. Beneath his seat (silver coins) or behind it (coppers) lies a dog (see H. Gaidoz 'À propos des chiens d'Épidaure' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1884 ii. 218—222, O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 i. 141, F. Orth in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2576 f.). The seat itself is sometimes a high-backed throne (silver and copper coins), sometimes a mere stool (silver coins). Other Zeus-like types of Asklepios seated occur on coppers of Argos—perhaps after the group by Xenophilos and Straton (*Paus.* 2. 23. 4), which followed the main lines of Thrasymedes' work (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 40 f. pl. κ, 47, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 151 no. 166),



Fig. 920.



Fig. 921.



Fig. 922.



Fig. 923.

Rhegion (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy* p. 381 f., Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 165 pl. 115, 12 f., Head *Hist. num.*² p. 111. The shape of the seat varies from throne to high-backed chair), the Magnetes in Thessaly—an adaptation of Thrasymedes' statue (Imhoof-Blumer *Choix de monn. gr.*¹ pl. 1, 26, *id. Monn. gr.* p. 133 no. 2^a, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 300), Trikke (T. Panofka 'Asklepios und die Asklepiaden' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1845* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 353 pl. 1, 13, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessaly* etc. p. 52 pl. 11, 13, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 311 'Asklepios seated, feeding serpent with bird, or resting on crooked staff'! Fig. 922, from a well-preserved specimen of mine, shows the god to have a sceptre and the bird to be a goose (cp. Loukian. *Alex.* 13 f. cited *infra*), Ainos (*Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* ii. 1. i. 199 pl. 5, 28), Anchialos (*ib.* ii. 1. i. 272 pl. 8, 2), Bizye (Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 154, 1548, Suppl. i. 295), Serdike (*ib.* viii. 673, Suppl. i. 295), Mytilene (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Troas*, etc. p. 201 pl. 40, 3=*supra* p. 260 fig. 172, p. 206 pl. 41, 4), Pergamon—perhaps after the statue of Phryomachos (Polyb. 32. 27. 4, Diod. 31 *frag.* 46 Bekker (ii. 2. 128 Dindorf), Soud. *s.v.* Πρωμαχίας bis: diverse possibilities are mooted by P. Smith *Dict. Biogr. Myth.* iii. 608, W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1882 ii. 14 ff., W. Amelung 'Der Asklepios des Phryomachos zu Pergamon' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1903 xviii. 1 ff., H. von Fritze in *Nomisma* 1908 ii. 19 f. Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 154, Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* ii. 604 no. 595, Suppl. v. 443 no. 1018, T. Panofka 'Asklepios und die Asklepiaden' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1845* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 352 f.

pl. 1, 8, p. 353 pl. 1, 17, W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 Asiatic Greece p. 98, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 121 pl. 25, 9, cp. *ib.* p. 156 pl. 32, 1, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 534), Herakleia Salbake (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. pp. 116, 120 pl. 20, 9), Neapolis in Samaria (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine p. 65 f. pl. 7, 3): cp. coins of Antoninus Pius (Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 154, Suppl. i. 295 f., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² ii. 381 no. 1138). The same Zeus-like figure appears on gems (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine* Berlin p. 111 no. 2356, *supra*



Fig. 924.

i. 357 n. 4, a small convex 'plasma,' which I reproduce in fig. 923 from T. Panofka 'Asklepios und die Asklepiaden' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1845 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 289 pl. 1, 10. Asklepios (? Zeus Ἄσκληπιός) is enthroned to the left with serpent-sceptre: on the back of the throne, behind his head, stands a Nike; beneath his left foot lies a ram's-head; in his right hand is a pine-cone, possibly resting on a *phiale* (?); before his feet is a second pine-cone (cp. Asklepios at Sikyon as described by Paus. 2. 10. 3 ἐσελθοῦσι δὲ ὁ θεός ἐστιν οὐκ ἔχων γένεια,

χρυσῷ καὶ ἐλέφαντος, Καλάμιδος δὲ ἔργον· ἔχει δὲ καὶ σκῆπτρον καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐτέρας χειρὸς πίτυος καρπὸν τῆς ἡμέρου with Sir J. G. Frazer's note *ad loc.*). Furtwängler *op. cit.* p. 124 no. 2677 pl. 24 a cornelian = Asklepios (?) seated on a stool gazing at a beardless head held in his right hand, a serpent-staff before him, *ib.* p. 248 no. 6753 pl. 48 a cornelian = Asklepios (?) with portrait features, seated on a stool, plucking fruit and placing it in a basket on an altar (?), a serpent-staff before him). Indeed, Asklepios was commonly conceived as a kindly, human Zeus,



Fig. 925.

conversant with the ways of men and able to cure their ailments. The difference between Zeus and Asklepios may be readily grasped, if we set side by side two reliefs of Pentelic marble found in the precinct at Epidauros (Stais *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*² p. 42 f. no. 173 f., P. Kabbadias in the *Ἔφ. Ἀρχ.* 1885 p. 48 ff. pl. 2, 6 and 1894 p. 11 ff. pl. 1, *id. Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 22 pl. 9, 21, A. Defrasse—H. Lechat *Épidaure* Paris 1895 p. 83 ff. with figs., Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 3, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt.*

gr. ii. 186 f. fig. 88). Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pp. 148—154 no. 173 f. pl. 31 (cp. my figs. 924, 925) has made out a strong case for supposing that they were metopes from the temple of Asklepios, carved in s. iv B.C. On his showing the one (fig. 924) represents Zeus seated on a throne, the arms of which are supported by winged sphinxes and end in rams' heads. His right hand held a sceptre; his left was extended. An ample *himátion*, draped over the back of the throne and round the legs of the god, left bare his broad chest. His head wore a metal wreath (holes for attachment remain), and his feet were shod with sandals of strap-work. Altogether he was an august and imposing figure. The other relief (fig. 925) shows Asklepios, very similar in attitude and costume, but curiously diverse in effect. A comfortable man with soft, podgy body, he sits on a cushioned chair with easy back, crosses his feet, and talks with a gesture of his right hand. He might be a Harley Street consultant prescribing for a patient. The same humanity and affability are characteristic of Asklepios, even when an attempt is made to emphasise his Zeus-hood by means of external attributes. For instance, an alliance-copper of Pergamon and Ephesos, struck by Commodus, has Asklepios standing, in his right hand the serpent-staff, in his left a Nike, who offers a wreath to Artemis (Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 888, Suppl. i. 295: but cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 164 pl. 33, 4), while coppers of Caracalla show Asklepios with little Telesphoros to the left and the cosmic globe to the right (Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 158, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 775 f., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² iv. 178 no. 329 f. P · M · TR · P · XVIII · IMP · III · COS · IIII · P · P · S · C · first brass, cp. *ib.* iv. 179 no. 331 do. do. without Telesphoros. Fig. 926 is from a second brass in my collection. For other examples of Asklepios with the globe see Rasche *Lex. Num.* Suppl. i. 298 f.: E. Loewe *De Aesculapi figura* Strassburg 1887 p. 75 n. 7).



Fig. 926.

globe see Rasche *Lex. Num.* Suppl. i. 298 f.: E. Loewe *De Aesculapi figura* Strassburg 1887 p. 75 n. 7).

(4) *Asklepiós* and the Snake.

Next we must note the constant association of this human Zeus with a snake. Asklepios himself on occasion took that form. He travelled from Epidauros to Sikyon as a snake drawn by mules; and from the roof of his temple in the latter town hung a small figure of Aristodama, the mother of his son Aratos, riding on a snake (Paus. 2. 10. 3): the creature so ridden was presumably none other than the god, who was believed to have consorted with Aristodama in snake-form (Paus. 4. 14. 7 f., cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 866 n. 1). Again, it was as a snake that Asklepios came from Epidauros to Epidauros Limera on the east coast of Lakonike: he slipped out of the ship and dived into the earth not far from the sea at a place where altars, planted about with olive trees, were erected to him (Paus. 3. 23. 7: see F. W. Hasluck in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1907—1908 xiv. 179). At Lebena in Crete there was a famous temple of Asklepios (Paus. 2. 26. 9, Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 4. 34 p. 152 f. Kayser), where incubation was practised (Kaibel *Epiigr. Gr.* no. 839, 1 f. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* i. 303. 1 f.): the divine snake sent by Asklepios to guide his priest the son of Aristonymos to the temple-spring and forty-seven years later sent on a similar errand to show Soarchos, priest in his father's room, how to replenish the failing spring (see the interesting inscription from Lebena (*Leda*) published by T. Baunack in *Philologus* 1890 xlix. 578 ff. and R. Meister *ib.* 1891 l. 570 ff.) should probably be viewed 'als Inkarnation des Gottes selbst' (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.*

p. 1448 n. 7). Whether the snake followed by Antinoe, daughter of Kepheus and granddaughter of Aleos, when she refounded Mantinea on its historical site (Paus. 8. 8. 4 f.), was Asklepios (as Miss Harrison apparently assumes in *Themis* p. 381 n. 5) is very doubtful. In 293—291 B.C. Asklepios was fetched from Epidaurus to Rome and duly domiciled on the island in the Tiber; he arrived in the guise of a golden snake (Liv. 10. 47. 7, *per.* 11 Aesculapii signum... anguem... in quo ipsum numen esse constabat, Ov. *met.* 15. 622 ff. especially 669 f. *cristis aureus altis | in serpente deus etc.*, 737 *erigitur serpens*, etc., cp. *fast.* 1. 291 f., Val. Max. 1. 8. 2 *anguis*, Plout. *quaestt. Rom.* 94 τοῦ δράκοντος, Plin. *nat. hist.* 29. 72 *anguis*, Aur. Vict. *de vir. ill.* 22. 1—3 *anguis*, Sidon. *epist.* 1. 7. 12 *serpentis Epidaurii*: see further O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*² München 1901 p. 282 f., H. Jordan—C. Hülsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 633—635)—a belief commemorated on coppers of the gens *Rubria* (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 406 ff. nos. 5 f. and 9 figs., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 312 pl. 38, 5, i. 313 n. 1 fig. under date c. 86 B.C.) and on bronze medallions of Antoninus Pius (Gnechci *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 9 pl. 43, 1=my fig. 927 and ii. 9 pl. 43, 2, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* p. 7 no. 4 pl. 8, 3, cp. p. 7 no. 5, Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 51 ff. figs., Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 140 fig. 150, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 20 fig. Father Tiber, reclining amid his waters, rests his left elbow on an urn, holds a reed in his left hand, and extends his right to greet the snake on its arrival. The galley, whose steersman and rowers(?) are visible, passes under the Pons Fabricius and a tree mark the new home of the god). Lastly, Lucian in his *Alexandros* or the



Fig. 927.

Sham Seer tells how an impostor from Abonou Teichos, a coast-town in Paphlagonia, purchased a large tame snake at Pella in Makedonia (Loukian. *Alex.* 7), and with the aid of a confederate spread the news that Asklepios and his father Apollon were about to visit the Abonotichians (*ib.* 10). The rascals had made a snake's head of linen, painted it with a human expression, given it a mouth that could open and shut by means of horse-hairs, and added a black forked tongue that worked in the same way (*ib.* 12). Thus equipped Alexandros went to Abonou Teichos, where the worthy inhabitants were already digging the foundations of a new temple to greet the advent of the gods, buried a goose's egg containing a young reptile in the mud after dark (*ib.* 13) and duly discovered 'the new-born Asklepios' next morning to the astonishment of the bystanders (*ib.* 14). Alexandros now became the exhibitor of the god. He took into his bosom 'the Asklepios from Pella,' twined its body round his neck and let its tail hang down, but kept its head hidden under his armpit and showed the linen mask instead (*ib.* 15). The people were astounded at the miraculously rapid growth of the snake (*ib.* 16). Bithynians, Galatians, Thracians came flocking in; pictures, portraits, and images, some of bronze, some of silver, were made; and the god was named Glykon in obedience to an oracle of his own (*ib.* 18 εἰμι Ἰλγύκων, τρίτον αἶμα Διός, φάος ἀνθρώποισι). From this time onwards Alexandros drove a roaring trade in oracles (*ib.* 19 ff.). A tube consisting of the windpipes of cranes introduced into the artificial head enabled an assistant outside to make 'the linen Asklepios' answer questions and deliver 'autophone

oracles' (*ib.* 26). The fame of Glykon spread to Italy and made a sensation at Rome (*ib.* 30 ff.). Mysteries were instituted with hierophants, *daidouchoi*, and a full ceremonial lasting three days (*ib.* 38 ff.). Alexandros even petitioned the emperor that new coins might be struck with an obverse design of Glykon and a reverse of himself bearing the *stémata* of Asklepios and the *hárpe* of Perseus (*ib.* 58). The whole narrative is sufficiently amazing. But perhaps more amazing still is the fact that much collateral evidence can be quoted in its support. Copper coins of Abonou Teichos from the reigns of Antoninus Pius, Lucius Verus, Geta, Severus Alexander, Gordianus Pius, and Trebonianus Gallus represent the new-fangled god as a snake with a more or less human face (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus*, etc. p. 83 pl. 19, 1 = my fig. 928, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 129 ff. pl. 17, 12, 13, 16 (=my fig. 929), 19 with legend ΓΛΥΚΩΝ, cp. pl. 17, 20, 21, 22, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 505). Coppers of Nikomedeia in Bithynia struck by Caracalla and Maximus give the snake a definitely human head (M. Dumersan *Description des médailles antiques du cabinet de feu M. Allier de Hauteroche* Paris 1829 p. 70 pl. 11, 10, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus*, etc. p. 187 no. 48, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 513, 545 pl. 94, 12 = my fig. 930, pl. 94, 13 f.,



Fig. 928.



Fig. 929.



Fig. 930.

562 pl. 97, 14). Amulets appear to confuse him with the Khnemu-snake (*supra* i. 357 n. 4, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1258 ff., cp. for Egyptian snake-worship in general T. Hopfner *Der Tierkult der alten Ägypter nach den griechisch-römischen Berichten und den wichtigeren Denkmälern* (*Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1913 ii Abh.) Wien 1913 p. 136 ff.). Thus an agate in the Behr collection showed Khnemu as a lion-headed snake, with a radiate crown, accompanied by several inscriptions—XNOVBIC in the field, ΓΛΥΚΩΝΑ in front, ΙΑΩ beneath, and a magical formula on the other side of the stone (F. Lenormant *Description des médailles et antiquités composantes le cabinet de M. le baron Behr* Paris 1857 p. 228 no. 76, *id.* in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1878 iv. 183, E. Babelon in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1900 iv. 28 fig. 6). Again, a red jasper in the Sorlin-Dorigny collection at Constantinople has Asklepios standing with a raven(?) behind his shoulder and a human-headed or lion-headed snake before him (F. Lenormant 'Un monument du culte de Glykon' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1878 iv. 179 ff. with fig., E. Babelon in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1900 iv. 27 f. fig. 5). Two inscriptions from Apulum (*Carlsburg*) prove that the cult of Glykon reached Dacia (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 1021 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4079 Glyconi | M. Ant. | Onesas | iusso dei | l. p., *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 1022 Gl(y)co | M. Aur. | Theodo|tus ius|so dei p.). A third inscription found at *Blatsche* between Skoupoi (*Uskub*) and Stoboi associates the beast with the false prophet (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 8238 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no 4080 Iovi et Iuno|n. [et] Dracco|n. et Dracce|nae et Ale|xandro Epi|tynchanus [C. | F]uri Octavi[ani] | c. v.

posuit). See further F. Cumont 'Alexandre d'Abonotichos' in the *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences de Belgique* 1887 xl. 13 ff., 37 ff. and in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1634 f., vii. 1468 f., E. Babelon 'Le faux prophète Alexandre d'Abonotichos' in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1900 iv. 1—30 with 6 figs., W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1692 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1487, O. Weinreich 'Alexandros der Lügenprophet und seine Stellung in der Religiosität des II. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1921 xlvii. 129—151. The main point to bear in mind—a point commonly missed—is that the populace regarded Asklepios as essentially serpentiform.

(5) The Name *Asklepiós*.

This leads us to consider the question whether Ἄσκληπιός originally meant 'Snake' and nothing more. The name occurs in a puzzling variety of forms:

Ἄγλαόπης (Hesych. Ἄγλαόπης· ὁ Ἄσκληπιός. Λάκωνες. So Musurus for γλαόπης cod., cp. Bekker *anecd.* i. 329, 23, Soud. s.v. ἄγμαιοι, Zonar. *lex.* s.v. ἄγμαιοι).

Ἄγλαπιός (G. Dickins in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1904—1905 xi. 131 f. no. 1 fig. 1 publishes a *stèle* at Thalamai (*Koutiphari*) inscribed ΛΑΝΙΚΙΑ | ΑΝΕΘΒΚΕ | ΤΩΙΑΓΛΑΠΙΩΙ in lettering which M. N. Tod *ib.* assigns to c. 350 B.C. and W. Kolbe in *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 1313 to s. v B.C.).

Ἄσκληπιός in epic, Ionic, Attic. Ἄσκληπιός thrice in Attic inscriptions (K. Meisterhans *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*³ Berlin 1900 p. 89 n. 770), cp. Ἄσκληπιούδης (*id. ib.* p. 89 n. 771), Ἄσκληπιούδωρος (*id. ib.* p. 89 n. 772).

Ἄσκληπιός in non-Ionic dialects. Ἄσκαλιός in a Gortynian inscription (F. Halbherr in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1889 i. 38 ff. C, 7 ΑΣΚΑΛΠΙΟΝ). Ἄσκληπιός in a Spartan inscription (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1444, 10 ΑΣΚΛΕΙΠΙΟΥ) turns out to be a mistaken reading (H. J. W. Tillyard and A. M. Woodward in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 212 ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΥ, *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 602, 10).

Ἀσκληπιός in a Boeotian inscription (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3191 f., 3 ΑΣΧΛΑΠΙΩ, 37 f. [ΑΣΧ]ΛΑΠΙΩ Orchomenos), cp. Ἀσχλάπων (Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 397 no. 571^a, 10 Akraiphia), but Ἀσκαλιχίως (*ib.* i. 174 no. 476, 40 Orchomenos).

Ἀσκληπιός in the alphabet of Megara or Corinth on the leg of an archaic bronze statuette from Bologna (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 6; 37, 2, Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 549, 2, *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 356. 2, Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 146 no. 118 (c), 2 ΔΙΣΧΛΑΠΙΩΙ).

Ἀσκαλιός in the oldest Epidaurian inscription (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 37 no. 8 on a bronze *phidèle*, to be dated at the beginning of s. v B.C., if not earlier still, *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1202 ΤΟΙΑΙΜΚΛΑΠΙΩΙ) and in an inscription from Troizen (E. Legrand in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 90 ff. no. 4, 3, *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 771, 3 ΤΩΙΑΙΣΚΛΑΠΙΩΙ).

Ἀσκαλιεύς in another early Epidaurian inscription (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 37 no. 10 from the rim of a bronze vessel ΙΙΙΙΜΙΞΙΓΑΛΧΣΙΔΑ—τ' Ἀσκαλιεῖ μ' [ἀνέθηκε—]).

Aisclapius in an inscription painted on an Etruscan cup (H. Jordan in the

Ann. d. Inst. 1884 lvi. 357 f. pl. R, Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 2827 b,
Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2958 (ΛΙΣCΛΛΠΙ).

Aesclapius in an inscription at Narona (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 1766
AESCLAPIO, cp. *ib.* iii no. 1767, 1 [AE]SCLAPIO).

Aiscolapius in an inscription found in the Tiber (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 30846,
Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3833).

Aescolapius in a trilingual (Latin, Greek, Phoenician) inscription on the base
of a bronze-column at *Santuacci* in Sardinia (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* x no. 7856,
1, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1874, 1, *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 608, 1 AES-
COLAPIO) and in two inscriptions from Rome (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no.
30849, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3834; *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 30847,
Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3835).

Aisculapius in an inscription from the Tiber-island (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 12,
Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3837).

Aesculapius, the normal form in Latin.

Esculapius on a bronze plate from the *ager Praenestinus* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.*
xiv no. 2846, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3838).

In view of Asklepios' early connexion with Thessaly, special importance
must be attached to the names Ἀσκαλαπιῶδας at Iolkos (H. G. Lolling in the
Ath. Mitth. 1883 viii. 115 no. 9, 1, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 378 no.
1284, 1 [Ἀσ]καλαπιῶδ[ας]) and Ἀσκαλαπιῶδωρος at Phalanna (H. G. Lolling in
the *Ath. Mitth.* 1883 viii. 109 f. line 3, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 384
no. 1330, 5 ΑΣΚΑΛΑΠΙΟΔΟΥΡΟΙ), since these point to an original Thessalian
*Ἀσκαλαπιος (E. Thraemer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1642): cp. Collitz—
Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 1. 186 no. 3398 b, 21 Hermione ΛΣΚΑΛΛΑ gen. of
Ἀσκαλᾶς, J. H. Mordtmann in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1885 x. 13 no. 1 near Kotiaion
Ἀσκλᾶς καὶ Ἀσκληπᾶ[s] | οἱ Ἀσκληπᾶ (A. Fick in the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indo-
germanischen sprachen* 1901 xxvi. 319). The ultimate meaning of Ἀσκληπιῶς has
been much debated, and is still questionable. The ancients—children in philo-
logy—jumped to the conclusion that the second element in the name was ἥπιος,
'mild,' and used this word (Lyk. *Al.* 1054 with Tzetz. *ad loc.*, *et. mag.* pp. 154,
45 ff., 434, 15 ff., Tzetz. *chil.* 6. 991, 10. 712, Eustath. *in Il.* pp. 463, 34 f., 860,
9 ff., *in Od.* p. 1447, 48 f., Cornut. *theol.* 33 p. 70, 5 ff. Lang (?), cp. *Corp. inscr.*
Att. iii. 1 Add. no. 171 b, 8 and 13 = *carm. pop.* 47, 6 and 11 Bergk⁴ = Cougny
Anth. Pal. Append. 4. 53. 4 and 9) or its compounds ἥπιωδότης, ἥπιῶδωρος,
ἥπιῶφρων (Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 51, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1441) of the
god himself—Demosthenes is even said to have sworn by Ἀσκληπιῶς, not Ἀσ-
κληπιῶς (Plout. *de vit. decem orat.* 8, Herodian. *περὶ καθολικῆς προσηφίας* 5 (i. 123,
1 ff. Lentz), Eustath. *in Il.* p. 463, 37 ff., *in Od.* p. 1447, 64 ff., Favorin. *lex.* p. 296,
40 f.),—and Ἡπιώνη, Ἡπιῶ of his partner (Cornut. *theol.* 33 p. 71, 2 ff. Lang: see
further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1441 n. 9, E. Thraemer in Pauly—Wissowa
Real-Enc. vi. 186 ff.). But the first element puzzled them. They tried ἀσκέω
(schol. *Il.* 4. 195, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 463, 35 f., Favorin. *lex.* p. 296, 43 f.), ἀσκελές
(*et. mag.* p. 154, 43 ff., 47 f., *et. Gud.* p. 83, 39 ff., Orion p. 9, 14 ff., Tzetz. *in Lyk.*
Al. 1054, Favorin. *lex.* p. 296, 38 ff.), Ἀσκλης a supposed king of Epidaurus
(Tzetz. *in Lyk.* *Al.* 1054, Favorin. *lex.* p. 296, 41 ff., cp. *et. mag.* p. 154, 45 ff.,
Eustath. *in Il.* p. 463, 34 f.), Ἀγλη the mother of Asklepios (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles
d'Épidaure Athènes* 1893 i. 35 f. no. 7, 50 ff. = Isyll. 19 f. Weir Smyth). Modern
scholars have gone from bad to worse, starting with ἄλκω, 'I help,' whence an
assumed *Ἀλξηπιος (A. F. Pott in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprach-
forschung* 1857 vi. 401), and, after numerous blind alleys (see E. Thraemer in

Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 616 and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1643), ending in the *quartier juif* with *ish-kalbi*, 'l'homme-chien' (C. Clermont-Ganneau in the *Revue critique* 1884 p. 502). Much more attractive is the view first put forward in 1860 by Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 736, *viz.* that Ἄσκληπιός is akin to ἀσκάλαβος, 'lizard,'—a word which may well have had at one time a wider meaning and denoted 'snake.' This idea has commended itself, not only to mythologists (J. Maehly *Die Schlange im Mythos und Cultus der classischen Völker* Basel 1867 pp. 6, 8 f., M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 93 n. 105, L. Deubner *De incubatione* Lipsiae 1900 p. 37, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1443 ff.), but also to philologists. C. Angermann in *Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik* herausgegeben von G. Curtius und K. Brugmann 1876 ix. 247 f. would trace both Ἄσκληπιός and ἀσκάλαβος, ἀσκαλαβώτης (perhaps also the bird-names ἀσκαλώπας, σκολόπαξ, and the insect-name σκολόπενδρα) to a root *skalp* or *skarp*, a lengthened form of *skar*, 'springen, sich hin und her bewegen.' A. Vaniček *Griechisch-lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1877 i. 1079 says: '(σκαλ-π, σκλα-π, σκλη-π) Ἄσκληπιός m. (urspr. Schlange).' A. Fick in the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1901 xxvi. 313—323 'Asklepios und die heilschlange,' followed by Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 58, holds that Asklepios was originally a snake and explains the Thessalian *Ἄσκαλαπιος and the Cretan Ἄσκαλαπιός by the help of the Hesychian glosses σκαλαπάξει· ῥέμβεται and σκαλαπάξειν· ῥέμβωδῶς βαδίζειν. Thus Ἄσκληπιός would mean 'Creepy-crawly'—a likely enough name for a snake. Ἀσκάλαβος, 'lizard,' and ἀσκάλαφος, a species of 'owl' (Apollod. 2. 5. 12, Ov. *met.* 5. 538 ff., interp. Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 4. 462 f.) that haunts holes in the rock (cp. Apollod. 1. 5. 3, 2. 5. 12: see further D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 36), are very possibly related forms, if not also σκολόπαξ, ἀσκολόπας, ἀσκαλώπας, 'woodcock' (*id. ib.* pp. 36, 155).

(6) Thessalian Kings as impersonations of Zeus.

The explanation of Ἄσκληπιός as formerly denoting a snake is perfectly compatible with the belief that the original bearer of the name was a Thessalian king. Drakon of Thebes, Ophis of Salamis, Python of Delphoi, etc. were all recognised as kings by Euhemeristic writers (see W. H. Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1201, O. Höfer *ib.* iii. 925 f., R. Wagner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1646 f.). But here, as elsewhere (*supra* i. 662), Euhemerism had a foundation in fact. Greeks and Romans alike regarded the soul of the dead as able to manifest itself in the form of a snake (the evidence is conveniently summarised by E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 p. 62 ff., cp. W. Wundt *Völkerpsychologie* Leipzig 1906 ii. 2. 72 ff., *id. Elements of Folk Psychology* trans. E. L. Schaub London—New York 1916 pp. 190 ff., 214, 368, O. Waser 'Über die äussere Erscheinung der Seele' etc. in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 354 ff.). A deceased king might well appear as a great beneficent snake, or at least be accompanied by such. And, when his soul-animal had come to be viewed as a mere attendant or attribute, explanatory myths would arise. Thus Asklepios was said to have reared his snake in an oak growing in a glen of Mt Pelion called Pelethronion (Nik. *ther.* 438 ff. with schol. and Eutekn. *ad loc.*: *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 83. Cp. the story told of Melampous by Apollod. 1. 9. 11), or again to have been placed by Zeus in the sky as the constellation Ophiuchus (*supra* i. 755 n. 9) because he had raised from the dead Hippolytos son of Theseus (pseudo-Eratosth. *cat. ast.* 6, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 14) or Glaukos son of Minos (Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 14). Such tales are late and of little value. It

is more important to note that the earliest home of Asklepios was in central Thessaly (E. Thraemer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 623 and more fully in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1643 ff., 1662 f.), and that at Trikke he had an underground *ádyton* (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 34 ff. no. 7, 27 ff. πρώτος Μάλος ἔτευξεν Ἀπόλλωνος Μαλεάτα | βωμὸν καὶ θυσίας ἠγλαΐσεν τέμενος. | οὐδὲ κε Θεσσαλίας ἐν Τρίκκῃ πειραθείης | εἰς ἄδυτον καταβάς Ἀσκληπιῶν, εἰ μὴ ἐφ' ἀγνοῦ | πρώτων Ἀπόλλωνος βωμοῦ θύσας Μαλεάτα. Cp. J. Ziehen 'Über die Lager des Asklepiosheiligtums von Triikka' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1892 xvii. 195—197 and especially P. Kastriotes Τὸ ἐν Τρίκκῃ τῆς Θεσσαλίας Ἀσκληπιεῖον Athens 1903, *id.* 'Τρίκκης Ἀσκληπιεῖον' in the 'Ἐφ. Ἄρχ. 1918 pp. 65—73) comparable with the *Καταβάσιον* of Trophonios at Lebadeia, which we have already (*supra* p. 1076) taken to be the *thólos* of an ancient king (A. J. B. Wace—M. S. Thompson *Prehistoric Thessaly* Cambridge 1912 p. 272 Index record *thólos*-tombs at Dhimini, Ghura, Kapakli, Marmariani, Rakhmani (?), Sesklo, Zerelia (?)). Moreover, there is reason to think that in early days Thessalian kings were wont to pose as Zeus. Salmoneus, the very type of a would-be Zeus (*supra* i. 12, 318), was a king hailing from Thessaly (Apollod. i. 9. 7, schol. Aristoph. *ran.* argum. 4, Soud. *s.v.* Σαλμωνεύς. See further J. Ilberg in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 290). Keyx, who declared that his wife was Hera, and Alkyone, who dubbed her husband Zeus (Apollod. i. 7. 4, schol. *Il.* 9. 562, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 776, 19 ff., schol. Aristoph. *av.* 250. K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1580 f. suggests that the story in this form goes back to the Hesiodic *Κῆκος γάμος*), were commonly described as king and queen of Trachis in south Thessaly (schol. Aristoph. *av.* 250, Loukian. *Alcyon* 1, Ov. *met.* 11. 268 ff., 382 ff., Lact. *Plac. narr. fab.* 11. 10. See further K. Wernicke *loc. cit.* and H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 249 ff., ii. 1181 f.). Ixion, king of the Thessalian Lapithai, aspired to the hand of Hera, while conversely Zeus was enamoured of Ixion's wife Dia (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 420, 1906 xx. 378)—a case paralleled by that of Hera in love with the Thessalian Iason and Zeus in love with Medeia (*supra* i. 248). Now it is a very noteworthy fact that all these names, indeed the great bulk of the personages considered in the present discussion,—Amphiaraios, Trophonios, Asklepios, Askalaphos, Salmoneus, Alkyone, Ixion, Iason—belonged to the family of Aiolos (see the pedigree conveniently set forth by Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* ii. 223 ff.). The inference is that this custom of regarding the king as Zeus was characteristic of the Aeolians settled in Thessaly and central Greece. Asklepios, like the rest, was *ab origine* a king (he is ἄναξ in *h. Asklep.* 5, Aristoph. *Plout.* 748, Herond. 4. 1 and 18, P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 36 no. 7, 79, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 2292, 1 (Delos)=Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 803, 1=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 225, 1 (see R. Wünsch in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1904 vii. 95 ff.); βασιλεύς in *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 5974 B, 1 (Rome)=*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 967 b, 1=Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* Add. no. 805 a, b *tit.*=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 247 β n., Ail. *de nat. an.* 9. 33, Orph. *εὐχή πρὸς Μουσαῖον* 37, Cougny *op. cit.* 6. 180. 2 f. Ἀσκληπιὸς Καῖσαρ in W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 p. 130 no. 92, 5 f., *ib.* p. 153 no. 130, 4 f.=Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 1. 375 f. no. 3672, 5 f. is the deified Claudius, who played the part of Zeus during his life and was worshipped as Zeus after his death (E. Thraemer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 620 and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1654 f. draws attention to the fact that several Greek localities could point to an alleged grave of Asklepios: Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 57 Aesculapiorum...secundus, secundi Mercurii frater. is, fulmine percussus, dicitur humatus esse Cynosuris, Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 30. 3 p. 22, 14 Stählin οὗτος μὲν οὖν κείται κεραυνωθείς ἐν τοῖς Κνωσοσυρίδος ὀρίοις

with schol. *ad loc.* p. 305, 31 Stählin κόμη Δακεδαίμονος, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 142 p. 164, 8 ff. Wunsch δεύτερος Ἴσχύος τοῦ Ἐλάτου καὶ Κορωνίδος, <δὲ ἐν τοῖς Κυνοσουρίδος suppl. C. B. Hase> ὀρίους ἐτάφη, cp. *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Octobris ix. 546 ('Passio S. Philippi episc., Severi presb. et Hermæ diac.' 1. 8) ignis ille divinus...et Scolapium medicum in monte Cynozuridos fulminatum consecrationem mereri in gentibus fecit, where cod. Bodecense rightly reads *Æsculapium* and the Bollandist editors wrongly (?) comment: 'apud Cynozurim Thessaliæ urbem sepultus' (*ib.* ix. 549). Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 57 tertius, Arsiippi et Arsinoæ,...cuius in Arcadia non longe a Lusio flumine sepulcrum et lucus ostenditur, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 142 p. 164, 10 ff. Wunsch τρίτος Ἀρσίππου καὶ Ἀρσινόης τῆς Λευκίππου...καὶ τάφος αὐτῶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ. Clem. Rom. *hom.* 6. 21 (ii. 213 Migne) Ἀσκληπιὸς ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ (*sc.* κείται), Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 24 in Epidauro Aesculapii (*sc.* sepulcrum demonstratur). Cp. Tert. *ad nat.* 2. 14 Athenienses...Aesculapio et matri inter mortuos parentant with Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 217 n. 4, 218, 222 and F. Kutsch *Attische Heilgötter und Heilheroen* Giessen 1913 p. 16 ff.).

(7) Telesphoros.

Such an one might even be called Zeus Τέλειος (cp. the dedication Ἀσκληπιῶι Διὶ Τελείῳ *supra* p. 1076). Further, the title τελεσφόρος, 'bringing the end, bringing to maturity' (see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 1971 C ff.), appropriate to the divine monarch (*h. Zeus* 1. f. Ζήνα θεῶν τὸν ἄριστον αἰείομαι ἢ δὲ μέγιστον, | εἰρύοπα, κρείοντα, τελεσφόρον, κ.τ.λ.) and actually found on a Phrygian altar as his appellative (*supra* p. 838 n. 1), was a likely epithet of his human counterpart. And here it will be remembered that antiquity often associates with Asklepios a subordinate deity Telesphoros, who has been the subject of much speculation (L. Schenck *De Telesphoro deo* Göttingen 1888, W. Wroth 'Telesphorus' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 283—300, *ib.* 1883 iv. 161 f., *ib.* 1884 v. 82 n. 2, Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 70 f., S. Reinach 'Télesphore' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1901 xiv. 343—349=*id. Cultes, mythes et religions* Paris 1906 ii. 255—261, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1455 n. 1, *alib.*, *id. Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 622, Harrison *Themis* p. 382 f.). We shall not be far wrong, if we regard him as the procreative power of Asklepios, split off from the god, to whom he at first belonged by way of appellative, and endowed with a separate and secondary personality. The existence of *Grabphalli* (*supra* i. 53 n. 1) and the birth-myths of Romulus and Servius Tullius (*supra* p. 1059) lead us to suppose that the buried ancestor in his procreative capacity might take the form of a simple *phallós* (with this interchange of human and phallic shapes cp. the statue of Nabu at Calah figured in two aspects by C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 685 f.). Accordingly we sometimes meet with representations of Telesphoros as a *phallós* draped to look like a man or a boy. C. M. Grivaud de la Vincelle *Recueil de monumens antiques, la plupart inédits, et découverts dans l'ancienne Gaule* Paris 1817 i. 86 f., ii. pl. 10, 1—5 (of which 1, 3=my fig. 931) and pl. 11, 5 (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 75 no. 1, J. A. Dulaure *Histoire abrégée de différens cultes*² Paris 1825 ii. 242 f.) published a bronze statuette, found some forty years earlier in a tomb near Amiens, which shows a bearded male figure clad in a short tunic, a cape with a peaked hood (*bardocucullus*), and boots (*caligae*): the upper part—head, hood, and cape—can be lifted off, revealing a body that consists in an erect *phallós*. Similarly T. Panofka 'Asklepios und die Asklepiaden' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1845 Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 324, 357 pl. 6, 5 and 5 a (=my fig. 932, C. O. Müller—F. Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* Göttingen 1856 ii. 4. 4 pl. 61, 789, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii.

469 no. 8 f.) published a bronze statuette at Copenhagen (L. Müller *Description des antiquités du Musée-Thorvaldsen* Section i et ii Copenhague 1847 p. 162 f. no. 50 height without the peak 3 Danish inches, with it 4, S. B. Smith *Kort Veiledning i Antikkabinetet i Kjøbenhavn* Kjöbenhavn 1864 p. 38 no. 123 a), which repeats the type, except that the figure is a beardless youth and wears no sandals. One whose function is to bring to maturity might well be portrayed as either man or boy. Asklepios himself was beardless on occasion (Paus. 2. 10. 3 Sikyon (*supra* p. 1080), 2. 13. 5 Phlious, 8. 28. 1 Gortys. Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpture* pp. 277 n. 5, 300, E. Thraemer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1690 f., 1693 ff.) or even infantile (Paus. 8. 25. 11 Thelpousa; 8. 32. 5 Megalopolis. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 5974 A, B (Rome)=*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 967



Fig. 931.

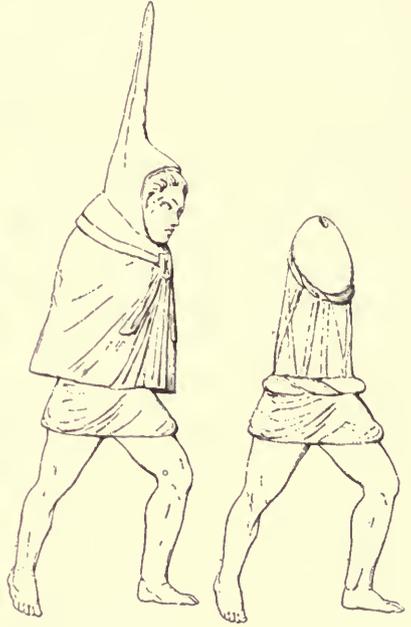


Fig. 932.

a, b = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* Add. no. 805 *a, b* = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* i. 247 *a, b*; Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*⁴ ii, 181). The Copenhagen bronze is inscribed OMORION (Panofka *loc. cit.*), which could be connected with Zeus Ὀμόριος (Steph. *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 1984 A quotes the title from Polyb. 2. 39. 6; but see *supra* i. 17 n. 4) or Ὀπιος (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 74) = Iupiter *Terminus* or *Terminalis* (*supra* i. 53, 520 n. 2. Cp. Aug. *de civ. Dei* 4. 11 ipse in aethere sit Iuppiter, ... in Iano initiator, in Termino terminator. E. Samter 'Die Entwicklung des Terminus-kultes' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 137—144 argues that the boundary-stone could not have been originally sacred to Iupiter, because at its erection offerings were placed in the hole prepared for it (Siculus Flaccus in the *Grom. vet.* i. 141 Lachmann)—a procedure suggestive of a chthonian rather than of a celestial power. But the lord of the property, who had been a celestial Iupiter during his life would be a chthonian Iupiter after his death). B. Borghesi in the *Bull. d. Inst.*

1831 p. 182 ff. and E. Gerhard in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1846 xviii. pl. 5, *ib.* 1847 xix. 327 ff. drew attention to a white marble Hermaphrodite-term, found near Ravenna, which is inscribed (Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5648 = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xi no. 351) IOV · TER · M | VAL · ANT · | AN · TI · CO · | V · L · S · | & *ramus*, i.e., according to Borghesi, Iov(i) Ter(minali) M(arcus) Val(erius) Ant(oni)us Antico v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit), or, as Mommsen suggested, M. Val(erius) Ant(iochus) An(ni) Ti(beriani) co(mes). It should be noted also that a *denarius* of Augustus, struck



Fig. 933.



Fig. 934.

c. 29—27 B.C., has *obv.* head of Octavian, *rev.* IMP | CAESAR an ithyphallic term of Octavian with a bay-wreath on his head and a winged thunderbolt at his feet (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 64 no. 153 fig., cp. *ib.* ii. 65 no. 155 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 16 no. 4360 f. pl. 60, 5 f., cp. *ib.* ii. 16 no. 4362 pl. 60, 7 = my fig. 933, Emp. i. pp. cxxiii f., 102 nos. 628—630 pl. 15, 10 f., cp. *ib.* i. 104 no. 637 pl. 15, 16, A. Boutkowski *Dictionnaire numismatique* Leipzig 1881 i. 333 f. no. 732, cp. *ib.* i. 334 no. 733. Fig. 934 is from a specimen in my collection),—an excellent illustration of a mortal monarch aping the sky-god and credited with superhuman propagatory powers. See also Addenda *ad loc.*

APPENDIX M.

ZEUS *MEILÍCHIOS*.(1) Zeus *Meilichios* on the Kephisos.

Zeus was worshipped under the title *Meilichios* far and wide through the Hellenic world. *In primis* Athens had long been a centre of his cult. Pausanias, noting the objects of interest along the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis, remarks :

‘When you have crossed the Kephisos there is an ancient altar of Zeus *Meilichios*. At this altar Theseus was purified by the descendants of Phytalos after he had slain various brigands including Sinis, who was related to him through Pittheus¹.’

Plutarch’s account is rather fuller :

‘So Theseus went on and came to the Kephisos. Here he was met by men of the clan Phytalidai, who were the first to salute him. He begged them to purify him. Thereupon they cleansed him with the customary rites, offered Milichian sacrifices, and feasted him in their home, whereas up to that time no man had shown him hospitality by the way. His return is said to have fallen on the eighth day of the month Kronios, Hekatombaion as it is called nowadays².’

Dates of this sort are not invented at random, and we may fairly suppose that the local festival of Zeus *Meilichios* was celebrated by the Phytalidai in their

¹ Paus. i. 37. 4.

² Plout. v. *Thes.* 12.

ancestral house¹ on Hekatombaion 8². Plutarch adds that, in return for their entertainment, Theseus gave them charge over a sacrifice at the Oskophoria³.

In the old Attic myth two points deserve to be stressed. On the one hand, Zeus *Meilichios* was a god able to purify a man from the stain of kindred bloodshed: we have already noted that the skins of animals sacrificed to him were used in purificatory rites⁴. On the other hand, the festival of this god was observed 'at home'⁵ by a clan traditionally associated with the fig-tree and its fruit⁶: in fact, the descendants of Phytalos appear to have had special duties in regard to Zeus *Meilichios*, much as the descendants of Anthos had in regard to Zeus *Lýkaios*⁷.

(2) The Title *Meilichios*.

We are, therefore, at once confronted with the difficult question: What is the meaning of *Meilichios*? Does it denote 'the Kindly One' (*meilichos*, *meilichios*)⁸, a deity whose wrath could be readily appeased by the quaking man-slayer? Or does it rather signify 'the god of Figs' (*mellicha*)⁹ with special

¹ Cp. Paus. 1. 37. 2 quoted *infra* n. 6.

² In the calendar of Mykonos (J. de Protte *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 *Fasti sacri* p. 13 ff. no. 4, 29 ff., Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 714, 29 ff., Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 615, 29 ff.) Hekatombaion 7 is marked by the sacrifice of a bull and ten lambs to Apollon Ἐκατόμβαιος and by the sacrifice of a full-grown victim and ten lambs to Acheloios—a god who at Athens was closely connected with Zeus Μειλίχιος (*infra* p. 1117 f.). It seems possible that this Myconian festival on Hekatombaion 7 was the equivalent of an Athenian festival on Hekatombaion 8. But further evidence is lacking.

³ Plout. *v. Thes.* 23: see J. Töpffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 251 f., Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 286 n. 2.

⁴ *Supra* i. 422 ff.

⁵ Plout. *v. Thes.* 12 καὶ δεομένου καθαρθῆναι τοῖς νενομισμένοις ἀγνίσαντες καὶ Μειλίχια θύσαντες εἰστίσαν οἴκοι.

⁶ Paus. 1. 37. 2 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ Φύταλόν φασιν οἴκῳ Δήμητρα δέξασθαι, καὶ τὴν θεὸν ἀπὲρ τούτων δοῦναι οἱ τὸ φυτὸν τῆς συκῆς· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 3. 24) τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Φυτάλου τάφῳ· ἐνθάδ' ἄναξ ἦρος Φύταλός ποτε δέξατο σεμνὴν | Δήμητραν, ὅτε (A. Meineke cj. Δήμητρ' ᾧ τότε L. Dindorf and C. G. Cobet cj. Δήμητρ' ὅποτε) πρῶτον ὀπίωρα καρπὸν ἔφηνεν, | ἦν ἱερὰν συκὴν θνητῶν γένος ἐξονομάζει· | ἐξ οὗ δὴ τιμὰς Φυτάλου γένος ἔσχεν ἀγήρως. *Infra* p. 1103 n. 3.

⁷ *Supra* i. 71 ff.

⁸ C. Nutt. *theol.* 11 p. 12, 2 ff. Lang προσαγορεύουσι δὲ καὶ μελιχίον (F. Osann cj. μελιχίον; but Aristeid. *or.* 1. 3 (i. 4 Dindorf) has εἰ δέ πη σφαλλόμεθα, ὁ μελιχίος (sc. Zeus) ἡμῖν κεκλήσθω) τὸν Δία, εὐμελικτὸν ὄντα τοῖς ἐξ' ἀδικίας μετατιθεμένοις, οὐ δέοντος ἀδιαλλάκτως ἔχει πρὸς αὐτούς: cp. Liban. *or.* 57. 12 (iv. 154 Foerster) Ζευῆρος δὲ χρηστός τε ἦν ἐν τοῖς βήμασι καὶ τιμῆσειν ἔλεγε τῇ πράτῳ τὸν Μειλίχιον Δία, κ.τ.λ., *Anth. Pal.* 9. 581. 4 f. (Leon Philosopher?) μηδὲ νοήσω, | Ζηρὸς Μειλιχίῳ λαχὼν θρόνον, ἀνέρος οἶτον. A highly moral explanation: but high morals are out of place in an early cult-title. Phrynichos the 'Atticist' (on whom see Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*² Cambridge 1906 i. 323 ff.) in Bekker *anecd.* i. 34, 12 ff. Δικαιοῦνος Ζεὺς· ὁ ἐπὶ τοῖς δίκαιά τε καὶ ἀδίκῃ δρώσι τεταγμένος. ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῖς μελιχῶ μελιχίος καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῖς φίλῃ φίλιος adduces would-be parallels. But Zeus Δικαιοῦνος is a late divinity (D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1905 ix. 302 no. 24 near *Gherzeh* (Karousa) Δὺ Δικαιοσύνῃ | Μεγάλῃ | Πύθῃ Διονυσίῳ | στρατηγῶν | χαριστήριον, cp. schol. *Il.* 13. 29, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 918, 47), and Zeus Φίλιος is probably euphemistic (Append. N). On Zeus Ἄγιος see *supra* i. 192, 400 n. 6, 565 n. 2.

⁹ Figs were called μελιχῶ, 'sweets,' in Naxos—witness Athen. 78c Νάξιοι δέ, ὡς Ἄνδρσκοσ (frag. 3 in *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 304 Müller) ἐτι δ' Ἀγλαοσθένῃς (frag. 5 in *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 294 Müller) ἱστοροῦσι, Μειλίχιον καλεῖσθαι τὸν Διδόνισον διὰ τὴν τοῦ συκίνου

reference to the Phylalidai and their fig-culture? Arguments in support of either interpretation lie near to hand.

In may be urged that Zeus was notoriously sympathetic with the outcast and the vagabond. He was worshipped as *Hikésios*, 'the Suppliant's god',¹

καρπού παράδοσιν. διὸ καὶ πρόσωπον τοῦ θεοῦ παρὰ τοῖς Ναξίοις τὸ μὲν τοῦ Βακχέως Διονύσου καλουμένου εἶναι ἀμπέλιον, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Μειλίχιου σύκινον. τὰ γὰρ σύκα μελίχα καλεῖσθαι, where T. Reinesius' proposed alteration of Μελίχιον...Μειλίχιου...μέλιχα into Μόρυχον...Μορύχου...μόρυχα (cp. Soud. *s.v.* Μόρυχος, μωρότερος Μορύχου) is a good example of misplaced ingenuity.

¹ At Athens in *s. vi* B.C. (Poll. 8. 142 τρεῖς θεοὺς ὁμύναι κελεύει Σόλων, Ἰκέσιον, Καθάρισον, Ἐξακεστήρα, *i.e.* Zeus under three diverse aspects (cp. Poll. 1. 24), as observed by W. Dindorf *ad loc.*, G. F. Schoemann *Griechische Alterthümer*⁴ Berlin 1902 ii. 145, 276 = *id.* *Antiquités recques* trans. C. Galuski Paris 1887 ii. 185, 331, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1592. The recognition of Zeus Ἐξακεστήρ (Hesych. Ἐξακεστήριος· ὁ Ζεὺς· καὶ ἡ Ἥρα) is perhaps not unconnected with the fact that Solon's own father was Ἐξηκεστίδης. The oath by this triad of Zeuses was inscribed on the *ἄξονες* (Hesych. τρεῖς θεοί· παρὰ Σόλωνι ἐν τοῖς ἄξουσιν

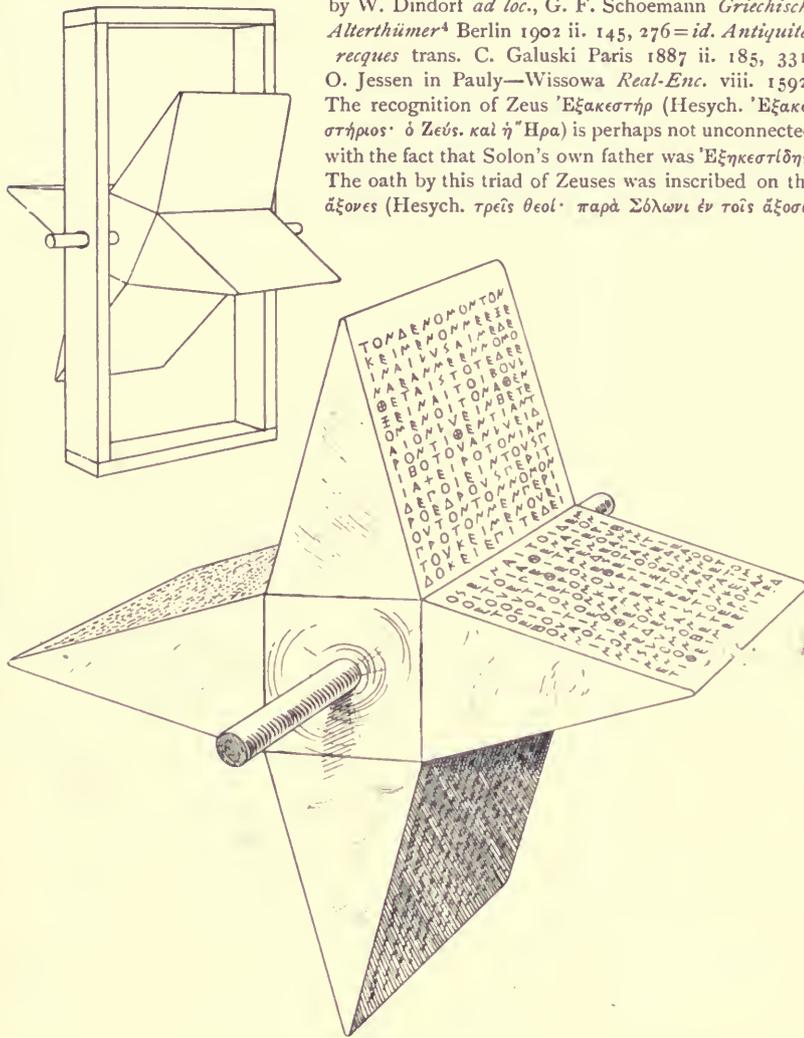


Fig. 935.

ὄρκῳ τέτακται <τρεις θεοὺς ἐπιμαρτύρεσθαι?>. ἔνιοι κατὰ τὸ Ὀμηρικόν (sc. *Il.* 2. 371,

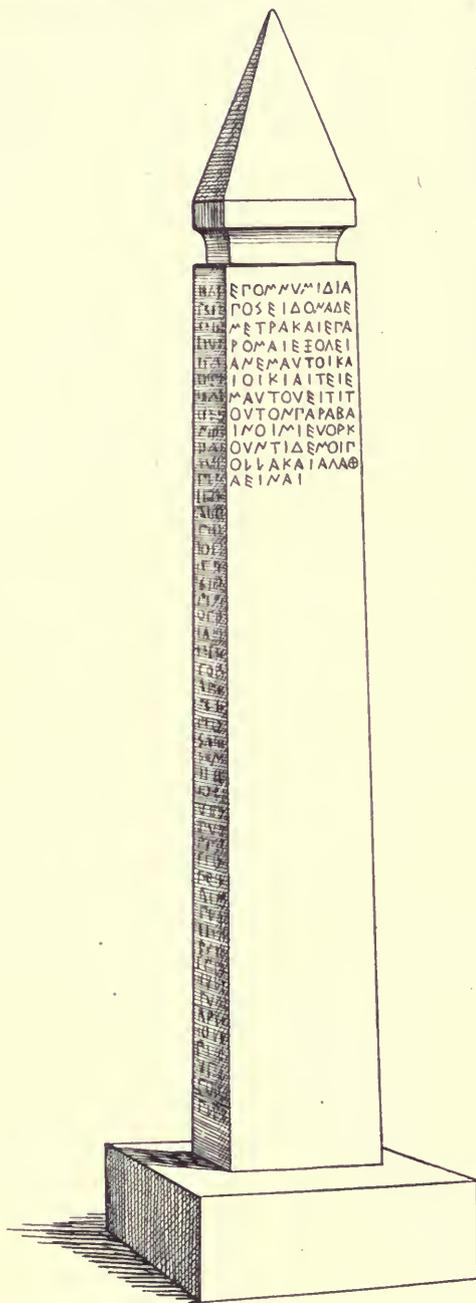


Fig. 936.

4. 288, 7. 132, 16. 97, *Od.* 4. 341, 7. 311, 17. 132, 18. 235, 24. 376 αἰ γὰρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίῃ καὶ Ἀπολλῶνι), which are said to have been wooden axles revolving in oblong frames kept in the Prytaneion (Plout. *v. Sol.* 25 καὶ κατεγράφησαν εἰς ξυλίνους ἀξονας ἐν πλαισίοις περιέχουσι στρεφομένους, ὧν ἔτι καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν Πρυτανείῳ λείψανα μικρὰ διεσώζετο). Another account says rather enigmatically that they were square in shape, but that when laid in the direction of their acute angle they produced a triangular appearance (Polemon *frag.* 48 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 130 Müller) *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* ἀξονι· οἱ Σόλωνος νόμοι ἐν ξυλίνους ἦσαν ἀξοσι γεγραμμένοι... ἦσαν δέ, ὡς φησι Πολέμων ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἐρατοσθένην, τετράγωνοι τὸ σχῆμα. διασώζονται δὲ ἐν τῷ Πρυτανείῳ, γεγραμμένοι κατὰ πάντα τὰ μέρη· ποιοῦσι δ' ἐνιοτε φαντασίαν τρίγωνον, ὅταν ἐπὶ τὸ στενὸν κλιθῶσι τῆς γωνίας). The Solonian laws were also inscribed on *kyrbeis* set up in the Stoa Basileios (Aristot. *resp. Ath.* 7. 1 = Aristot. *frag.* 352 Rose *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* *kyrbeis*, Soud. *s.v.* *kyrbeis*, Plout. *v. Sol.* 25, schol. Aristoph. *av.* 1354, cp. Aristot. *de mundo* 6. 400 b 30 f.), and these *kyrbeis* are described as stones standing upright like pillars, surmounted by an apex or cap (Apolod. *frag.* 26 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 432 f. Müller) *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* *kyrbeis*·... *kyrbeis* φησὶν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς περὶ θεῶν ἔχειν ἐγγεγραμμένους τοὺς νόμους. εἶναι δ' αὐτοὺς λίθους ὀρθοὺς ἐστῶτας, ὡς ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς στάσεως στήλας, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς εἰς ὕψος ἀναστάσεως (*leg.* ἀνατάσεως) διὰ τὸ κεκορυφῶσθαι *kyrbeis* ἐκάλουν, ὡσπερ καὶ κυρβασίαν τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τιθεμένην, cp. Soud. *s.v.* *kyrbeis*, Phot. *lex.* *s.v.* *kyrbeis*, schol. Aristoph. *av.* 1354). One ancient grammarian attempts to identify the *kyrbeis* with the *axones*, stating that in both cases a large brick-shaped body as long as a man had fitted

to it quadrangular pieces of wood, whose sides were flat and covered with lettering, and that pivots at either end enabled readers to move and turn about the text (Aristophanes (of Byzantium) *ap.* Soud. *s.v.* κύρβεις: ...'Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ ὁμοίως εἶναι φησὶ τοῖς ἀξοσι... ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τὰ κατασκευάσματα τοιοῦτον· πλινθὸν τι μέγα, ἀνδρόμηκες, ἥρσομένα ἔχον τετράγωνα ξύλα, τὰς πλευρὰς πλατείας ἔχοντα καὶ γραμμάτων πλήρεις· ἑκατέρωθεν δὲ κνώδακος, ὥστε κινεῖσθαι καὶ μεταστρέφεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων). On the whole it seems clear that the wooden ἀξῶνες of the Prytaneion are to be distinguished from the stone κύρβεις of the Stoa Basileios. The ἀξῶνες were apparently shaped as in fig. 935, the κύρβεις as in fig. 936 (on the former is inscribed *frag.* 149 (I. B. Télyfύ Συναγωγή τῶν Ἀττικῶν νόμων *Corpus iuris Attici* Pestini et Lipsiae 1868 p. 39 f.) *ap.* Dem. *c.* *Timocr.* 33; on the latter, *frag.* 562 (Télyfύ *op. cit.* p. 137) *ap.* Dem. *c.* *Timocr.* 151). Neither shape was chosen at random. The wheel of Nemesis (*supra* i. 269 ff.) had a long history behind it and was related (*supra* i. 267) to that wheel, which in India symbolised *ῥτα*, the course of nature, the right path, in short, law and order (W. Simpson *The Buddhist Praying-wheel* London 1896 p. 89 ff., H. Oldenberg *La religion du Véda* Paris 1903 p. 163 ff., Harrison *Themis* p. 526 f., F. M. Cornford *From Religion to Philosophy* London 1912 p. 172 ff.). It seems highly probable that Solon inscribed his laws on wooden ἀξῶνες because he wished to represent them as the *σεμνὰ θέμεθλα Δίκης* (Solon *frag.* 2. 14 Hiller—Crusius). At the same time the shape chosen would be convenient for purposes of reference or consultation: my friend Dr P. Giles tells me that in the parish church of Great Yarmouth documents are, or were, arranged à la Solon. Individual enactments appear to have been copied on stones of the characteristic wedge-like form, as may be seen from an extant fragment (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 1. 2 no. 559 with figs.) first published by S. A. Koumanoudes, to whose brilliant article in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885 pp. 215—218 figs. 1—3 I am indebted for the main idea of my restoration in fig. 935 (Koumanoudes fits his wedges on to an axle that is circular, not square, in section). Again, it seems likely that the κύρβεις—as indeed I conjectured in the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 86—copied the primitive idols of Zeus. Their shape, to judge from Apollodoros' words (*supra* p. 1094 n. o), was identical with that of Zeus Στροπᾶος, Zeus Πᾶσιος, Zeus Πατρῷος, etc. (*supra* i. 520 n. 2, ii. 815 fig. 781). If so, the implication is that the laws were the very voice of Zeus (cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 426 n. 1, 1001 n. 5). There was a tradition that Solon had tried to express his laws in hexameter verse and had begun with a couplet invoking Zeus: *πρῶτα μὲν εὐχόμεσθα Διὶ Κρονίδῃ βασιλῆϊ | θεσμοῖς τοῖσδε τύχην ἀγαθὴν καὶ κῆδος ὀπάσσαι* (Plout. *v. Sol.* 3). The original form of his famous oath may have been *πρὸς Διὸς ἱκεστοῖο καθαριστοῖο ἐξακέσαντος* (cp. for the last word *Pyth. carn. aur.* 66) or the like. Analogous to the κύρβεις as inscribed obelisks were the Egyptian κύρβεις of the Colchians (Ap. Rhod. 4. 279 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*), not to mention the pillar of Zeus Τριφύλιος (*supra* i. 662). Cp. also the marble obelisk from Kition, the base of which bears a votive inscription for Esmun (*Corp. inscr. Sem.* i no. 44 pl. 8 fig. 44, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 385 fig. 203, Ohnefalsch—Richter *Kypros* pp. 173 ff., 416 pl. 80, 5. Seleukos, a grammarian of Alexandria, wrote a whole treatise τῶν Σδλωνος ἀξῶνων (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 500 Müller), and modern writers have devoted much attention to them, e.g. E. Caillemer in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 589, G. Busolt *Griechische Geschichte* Gotha 1895 ii.² 290 ff., E. Szanto in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2636, Lübker *Reallex.*⁸ pp. 153, 963 f., and the literature there cited. E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 399 f. fig. would recognize Solon with one of his ἀξῶνες on a copper coin of Athens: but see K. Lange in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1881 vi. 68 f. fig., Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 152 pl. EE, 16 f.).

Similarly at Thera in *s.* vi B.C. the same appellative occurs without the name of Zeus (*supra* i. 143 in three rock-cut inscriptions). Elsewhere name and title appear together: so at Kos in *s.* iv B.C. (A. Hauvette-Besnault and M. Dubois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881 v. 224 no. 12 on a slab fixed in the pavement of an ancient chapel of S. John Διὸς ἱκεστοῖο | Σιμωνιδᾶν=W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 p. 161 no. 149=Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 1. 376 no. 3674=Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 796=Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 929) and at Delos in *s.* iii B.C.

and even as *Hikétas*, himself 'the Suppliant',—a remarkable title dependent, I think², upon the very primitive notion³ that a stranger suddenly appearing in the midst of the community may well be a god on his travels⁴.

(T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 471 f. no. 4 on a square base of white marble Διονύσιος Νίκωνος | Παλληνεύς ἐπιμελητῆς | γενόμενος Δήλου | ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ | Ἀθηναίων Δὲ Ἴκεστωι). More doubtful is an inscription of s. ii B.C. from Netteia in Rhodes (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 891, 2 on a slab of blackish marble [ὁ] ἐπιμήνιοι ἀεὶ τοὶ αἰ[ρ]εθε[ν]τες Ἴκε[σ]τωι φθῆ[ι]ς] ἐγ λ - , where F. Hiller von Gaertringen *ad loc.* supplies Δτ and notes that φθῆ[ι]ς = φθῆ[ι]ας, 'cakes').

¹ Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* Add. nov. no. 49a with fig. = my fig. 937 a rough calcareous



Fig. 937.

boundary-stone (0·35^m long, 0·30^m high, 0·10^m—0·11^m thick), found at Sparta and preserved in the Museum at Teuthis (*Dimitziana*), bearing the retrograde inscription Διοίκετα, | Διόλευθερ[ω] = Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 249 no. 244 = R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 6 no. 4407. E. S. Roberts *ad loc.* remarks: 'The change of the final σ of Διός in l. 1 to the *spiritus asper* is remarkable; still more so the contraction in Διώλ. of l. 2 after disappearance of the *h* = σ. Stolz (*Wiener Stud.* VIII. 1886, p. 160), who summarily rejects this explanation, suggests a genitive Δίω

on the analogy of ο-stems, and compares Lat. *Iovos*, *Eph. ep.* i. 14 no. 21, *Iovo*, *Herm.* XIX. 453. Elsewhere certainly final σ does not disappear in Laconian, even where the next word begins with a vowel.¹ But R. Meister *ad loc.* is content to assume the change of σ into *h*; and so is A. Thumb in K. Brugmann *Griechische Grammatik*⁴ München 1913 p. 171, citing Cypriote parallels.

² H. Roehl *loc. cit.* refers to Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1807, 9 f. καὶ ὁ ἱκετεύσας καὶ ὁ τὴν ἱκετεῖαν δεξάμενος ἦτοι κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς εἰπεῖν ἱκετοδόχος ἰκέται εἰσὶν ἀλλήλοις. For the supposed reciprocal sense Eustathios cp. ξένος, προστρόπαιος, χρήστης.

G. Murray *The Rise of the Greek Epic*² Oxford 1911 p. 291 ('this Zeus of Aeschylus is himself the suppliant; the prayer which you reject is his very prayer, and in turning from your door the helpless or the outcast you have turned away the most high God. The belief was immemorially old') comes much nearer the mark, though I cannot accept the explanation which he adds in a footnote *ib.* p. 291 n. 1 ('Zeus Ἀφικτωρ... is a "projection" of the rite of Supplication').

³ Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 216 ff., 252 f. (the story of Lityerses compared with the harvest customs of Europe, after W. Mannhardt *Mythologische Forschungen* Strassburg 1884 p. 18 ff.).

⁴ This is definitely stated in *Od.* 17. 483 ff. Ἀντίνο', οὐ μὲν κάλ' ἔβαλες δύστηνον ἀλήτην· | οὐλόμην, εἰ δὴ πού τις ἐπουράνιος θεός ἐστι, — | καὶ τε θεοὶ ξείνοισιν εὐκότες ἀλλοδαποῖσι, | παντοῖοι τελέθοντες, ἐπιστροφῶσι πόληας, | ἀνθρώπων ὕβρι τε καὶ εὐνομήην ἐφορῶντες (cp. Hes. *o.d.* 121 ff.), and is implied in the history of Barnabas and Paul (*supra* i. 193 n. 3. See too Acts 28. 1—6), the myths of Philemon and Baucis (*Ov. met.* 8. 616 ff., Lact. *Plac. narr. fab.* 8. 7—9), Pelargus or Pelasgus (*Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 81 f.), Lykaon (*supra* i. 79 n. 6. There is a reminiscence of the Homeric passage in Nikolaos Damask. *frag.* 43 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 378 Müller) ὅτι Λυκάων ὁ Πελασγοῦ υἱός, βασιλεὺς Ἀρκάδων, ἐφύλαττε τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰσηγήματα ἐν δικαιοσύνη. ἀποστήσαι <δὲ> βουλόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς ἀδικίας τοὺς ἀρχομένους, ἔφη τὸν Δία ἐκάστοτε φοιτᾶν παρ' αὐτὸν ἀνδρὶ ξένῳ μοιούμενον εἰς ἐποψίαν τῶν δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων = Soud. *s.v.* Λυκάων), and many others.

Similarly the poets spoke of Zeus, not only as *hiketésios*¹, *hikésios*², and It is reasonable to surmise that the possible divinity of the stranger even helped to establish the law of hospitality (other contributory causes in Schrader *Reallex.* p. 269 ff., Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Taboo p. 130, W. Wundt *Elements of Folk Psychology* trans. E. L. Schaub London 1916 p. 340 ff.). 'Ικέτης or ξένος—who could tell?—might turn out to be Zeus himself. 'Some have entertained angels unawares' (Heb. 13. 2).

At a later stage of religious development Zeus is conceived, not as the actual *ικέτης* or *ξένος*, but as his unseen attendant. Thus e.g. the Phaeacian Echeneos says to Alkinoos: ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ ξείνων μὲν ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀργυροῦλου | εἰσον ἀναστήσας, σὺ δὲ κηρύκεσσι κελύουσιν | οἶνον ἐπικρήσαι, ἵνα καὶ Διὶ τερπικεραῖνῳ | σπέισομεν, ὅς θ' ἰκέτην ἄμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ· | κ.τ.λ. (*Od.* 7. 162 ff. with the sequel in line 178 ff.), and Odysseus to Polyphemos: ἀλλ' αἰδέοι, φέριστε, θεοῦς· ἰκέται δὲ τοὶ εἰμεν. | Ζεὺς δ' ἐπιτιμήτωρ ἰκετῶν τε ξείνων τε, | ξείνιος, ὅς ξείνοισιν ἄμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ (*Od.* 9. 269 ff.). Cp. *Od.* 14. 158 f., a variant of *Od.* 19. 303 f.

Ultimately Zeus becomes 'Ικέσιος and Ξένιος (cp. Ap. Rhod. 2. 378 Ζηνὸς Ἐυξείνιοι Γενηταῖην ὑπὲρ ἄκρην with schol. *ad loc.* cited *supra* p. 617 n. 1), the god who protects suppliants and strangers in general.

¹ *Od.* 13. 213 f. Ζεὺς σφεας τίσατο (C. G. Cobet cj. Ζεὺς δὲ σφεας τίσαθ') ἰκετήσιος, ὅς τε κατ' ἄλλους | ἀνθρώπων ἐφορᾷ καὶ τίννται ὅς τις ἀμάρτην with schol. *ad loc.* ἰκέσιος· ἰκετῶν ἐπόπτης and Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1739, 18 f. ἰκετήσιος δὲ Ζεὺς δοκεῖ πρωτότυπον εἶναι τοῦ ἰκέσιος (*id. ib.* p. 1576, 14), Tzetz. *alleg. Od.* 13. 46 ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ ἰκετήσιος, Hesych. s.v. ἰκετήσιος· ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἰκετῶν Ζεὺς· ἢ οὗτος ἰκέτας ἐξείων.

² Aisch. *suprl.* 343 βαρὺς γε μέντοι Ζηνὸς ἰκεσίου κότος, 616 f. ἰκεσίου Ζηνὸς κότον | μέγαν προφωῶν κ.τ.λ., Soph. *Phil.* 484 πρὸς αὐτοῦ Ζηνὸς ἰκεσίου, Eur. *Hec.* 345 πέφειγας τὸν ἐμὸν ἰκέσιον Δία, Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 23 f. καθάρσιος τε καὶ παλαμναῖος καὶ ἰκέσιος καὶ μειλίχιος, ὡσπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσι = Stob. *ecl.* 1. 1. 36 p. 45, 21 f. Wachsmuth, Ap. Rhod. 2. 215 ff. ἰκεσίου πρὸς Ζηνὸς, ὅτις βίγιστος ἀλιτροῖς | ἀνδράσι, ... | λισσομαι with schol. *ad loc.*, 2. 1131 ff. ἀλλ' ἰκέτας ξείνους Διὸς εἵνεκεν αἰδέσσασθε | ξείνιου ἰκεσίου τε· Διὸς δ' ἄμφω ἰκέται τε | καὶ ξείνοι· ὁ δὲ που καὶ ἐπόψιος ἄμμι τέτυκται, 4. 358 f. ποῦ τοι Διὸς ἰκεσίου | ὄρκια; 4. 700 ff. τῷ καὶ ὀπιζομένη Ζηνὸς θέμιν ἰκεσίου, | ὅς μέγα μὲν κοτῆει, μέγα δ' ἀνδροφόνουσιν ἀρήγει, | βρέξε θηηπολλῆν with the whole context (Iason and Medeia, on reaching the hall of Kirke, sit in silence at her hearth as is the wont of suppliants. Medeia hides her face in both hands; and Iason fixes in the ground the sword with which he has slain Apsyrtos. Kirke understands, and performs the appropriate rites of atonement. She holds above their heads a young pig, slits its throat, and sprinkles their hands with its blood. Then she makes propitiation with drink-offerings, καθάρσιον ἀγκαλέουσα | Ζῆνα, παλαμναίων τιμήρορον ἰκεσιῶν (708 f.). Her attendants carry forth all defilement (cp. *Il.* 1. 314), while she, standing by the hearth, burns *planoi* and expiatory offerings without wine as she prays to the Erinyes and Zeus. Finally, she raises Iason and Medeia, and bids them sit on seats to question them), Cornut. *theol.* 11 f. p. 12, 4 ff. Lang (sequel to passage cited *supra* p. 1092 n. 8) διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἰκεσίου Διὸς εἰσι βωμοὶ καὶ τὰς λιτὰς ὁ ποιητὴς ἐφη τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι θυγατέρας, κ.τ.λ., Dion Chrys. *or.* 1 p. 56 f. Reiske (of Zeus) πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἰκεσιῶς τε καὶ Φύξιος καὶ Ξένιος... Ἰκέσιος δὲ ὡς ἂν (Reiske suggests ὦν for ἂν) ἐπήκοός τε καὶ ἴλεως τοῖς δεομένοις, Φύξιος δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν κακῶν ἀπόφειξιν (L. Dindorf restores ἀπόφειξιν), Ξένιος δὲ ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο ἀρχὴ φίλλας μῆδὲ τῶν ξένων ἀμελεῖν μῆδὲ ἀλλότριον ἠγείσθαι μῆδένα ἀνθρώπων = *or.* 12 p. 413 Reiske (of Zeus) πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἰκεσιῶς τε καὶ <Φύξιος καὶ > Ξένιος... Ἰκέσιος δὲ ὡς ἂν ἐπήκοός τε καὶ ἴλεως τοῖς δεομένοις, Φύξιος δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν κακῶν ἀπόφειξιν, Ξένιος δὲ ὅτι δεῖ μῆδὲ τῶν ξένων ἀμελεῖν μῆδὲ ἀλλότριον ἠγείσθαι ἀνθρώπων μῆδένα, Clem. Al. *prot.* 2. 37. 1 p. 27, 23 f. Stählin καλὸς γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ μαντικός, ὁ ξένιος, ὁ ἰκέσιος, ὁ μειλίχιος, ὁ πανομφαῖος, ὁ προστροπαῖος, Heliod. 2. 22 ὁ δὲ Κνήμων θανάσας, Ἄλλ' ἢ Ξενίου Διὸς, ὡς ἔοικεν, εἰς αὐτὰς ἤκομεν, ὦ πάτερ, οὕτως ἀπροφάσιτος ἢ θεραπεία καὶ πολλὸν τὸ εὐνοῦν τῆς γνώμης ἐμφαίνουσα. Οὐκ εἰς Διὸς, ἐφη, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀνδρὸς Δία τὸν Ξένιον καὶ Ἰκεσίον ἀκριβοῦντος, *Anth. Pal.* 11. 351. 7 f. (Palladas) ἀλλὰ σε πρὸς πύκτου Πηλυδεύκεος ἤδὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ | Κάστωρος ἰκνοῦμαι καὶ Διὸς ἰκεσίου, Orph. *Arg.* 107 f. οὐ γὰρ

hiktaios (?)¹, 'the god of suppliants,' but also as *hiktér*², and *aphiktór*³, 'the suppliant.' Again, Zeus was known as *alástoros*⁴ or *aldístor*⁵, 'he that brings a curse'; *Palamnaíos*, 'he of the Violent Hand'; *prostrópaios*, 'he of the

ἄτιμοι | ἱκεσίου Ζητὸς κοῦραι Ἰταί, Nonn. *Dion.* 18. 18 πρὸς Διὸς ἱκεσίῳ, τεοῦ, Διόνυσε, τοκήος, Tryphiod. *exc. II.* 278 πεφύλαξο Διὸς σέβας ἱκεσίῳ, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 (Διός) 49 ἱκεσίῳ, *ib.* i. 266 (Διός) 44 ἱκεσίῳ.

¹ Aisch. *suppl.* 385 μένει τοι Ζητὸς ἱκταίου κότος. So U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (1914) with cod. M. E. Fraenkel in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1913 xlv. 168 n. 2 accepts Dindorf's cj. ἱκτίου 'das wohl eine Kompromissbildung zwischen ἱκέσιος und ἱκτήριος ist genau wie Lykophrons ἱκτής, ἱκτίδες eine solche zwischen ἱκέτης, -τις und ἱκτήρ; vgl. auch die umgekehrte Beeinflussung, die ἱκετήρια (im Gegensatz zu ἱκτήριος) durch ἱκεσία, ἱκετεία erfahren hat ([E. Fraenkel *Griechische Nomina agentis* Strassburg 1910] I, S. 52 ff. mit Anm. 2).'

² Aisch. *suppl.* 478 f. ὄμως δ' ἀνάγκη Ζητὸς αἰδεῖσθαι κότον | ἱκτήρος· ἕψιστος γὰρ ἐν βροτοῖς φόβος. W. Headlam renders 'Zeus Petitionary.'

³ Aisch. *suppl.* 1 f. Ζεὺς μὲν ἀφίκτωρ ἐπίδοι προφθρόνως | στόλον ἡμέτερον. 'Zeus Petitionary' (W. Headlam).

⁴ Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* i. 62, 10 ff. παρὰ δὲ τὸ ἀλαστῶ ῥήμα, ἀλάστωρ ὁ Ζεὺς, ἐπὶ τῶν χαλεπῶν τι πρᾶσσόντων· παρηκτική δὲ ἡ εὐθεία παρὰ τὴν ἀλάστορος γενικήν· Ἀἰσχύλος Ἰξίῳ (*frag.* 92 Nauck²) "πρευμενῆς ἀλάστορος," καὶ Φερεκύδης (*frag.* 114^a (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 99 Müller)) "ὁ Ζεὺς δὲ Ἰκέσιος καὶ ἀλάστορος καλεῖται." With πρευμενῆς ἀλάστορος A. Nauck *ad loc.* cp. Aisch. *Eum.* 236 (Orestes to Athena) δέχου δὲ πρευμενῶς ἀλάστορα | κ.τ.λ. and Bekker *anecd.* i. 382, 29 f. ἀλάστορον· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀλάστορα, ἀπὸ εὐθείας τῆς ὁ ἀλάστορος, Ἀισχύλος (*frag.* 294 Nauck²) "μέγαν ἀλάστορον" ἔπεν. Farnell *Cults of Grk. States* i. 67 reasonably supposes that Pherekydes spoke of Zeus ἱκέσιος καὶ ἀλάστωρ (*sic*) in relation to Ixion (*supra* i. 198 n. 3).

⁵ Orph. *h. daem.* 73. 2 ff. cited *infra* Append. M *fin.*, cp. *supra* i. 504 n. 2. The title provoked much learned discussion: Cornut. *theol.* 9 p. 10, 20 ff. Lang λέγεται δ' (*sc.* ὁ Ζεὺς) ὑπὸ τίνων καὶ ἀλάστωρ καὶ παλαμναῖος τῷ τοῦς ἀλάστορας καὶ παλαμναῖους κολάζειν, τῶν μὲν ὠνομασμένων ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιαῦτα ἀμαρτάνειν ἐφ' οἷς ἔστιν ἀλαστήσαι καὶ στενάξει, τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ταῖς παλάμαις μίσματα ἀνέκθυτα (ἀνέκπλυτα codd. N. B. G.) ἀποτελεῖν = Eudok. *viol.* 414^g, Hesych. *s.v.* ἀλάστωρ· πικρὸς δαίμων. Ζεὺς, *et. Gud.* p. 32, 35 ff. ἀλάστωρ· ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ ἐποπτεύων τοὺς ἀλαστὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ ποιούντας. ἡ ὁ ἀσεβῆς, ἡ ὁ κακοποιός. οὕτως Ἡρωδιανός (περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδας 2 = i. 49, 13 f. Lentz reading ὑποπτεύων for ἐποπτεύων; cp. ii. 937, 27 n. Lentz), *et. mag.* p. 57, 25 ff. ἀλάστωρ· ὁ ἀμαρτωλός, ἡ ὁ φονεύς, ἡ ὁ ἐφορῶν τοὺς φόνους Ζεὺς...ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Διός, οἷον ἀλάστωρ Ζεὺς, ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῖς τὰ ἀλαστὰ πᾶσχοῦσιν ἐπαμύνει· ἡ ὁ τὰ ἀλαστὰ (τουτέστι τὰ χαλεπὰ) τηρῶν, Eustath. *in II.* p. 474, 22 f. παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ὕστερον καὶ Ζεὺς ἀλάστωρ, δν ἐλάνθανεν οὐδέν, ἡ ὁ τοῖς ἀλαστα πᾶσχοῦσιν ἐπαμύνων κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς, *ib.* p. 763, 36 f. ὅθεν καὶ Ζεὺς ἀλάστωρ καὶ φθόνος καὶ δαίμων ἀλάστωρ ἐπενοήθη λέγεσθαι = Favorin. *lex.* p. 1692, 43 f. ὅθεν καὶ Ζεὺς ἀλάστωρ καὶ ὁ φθονερὸς δαίμων ἐπενοήθη λέγεσθαι.

⁶ The derivation of the word is doubtful (cjj. in A. Vaniček *Griechisch-lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1877 i. 788 f., L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 293 f., Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 23, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 41), but its meaning is sufficiently clear (see K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1292 f.).

⁷ Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 23 (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2) = Stob. *ecl.* 1. 1. 36 p. 45, 21 Wachsmuth, Cornut. *theol.* 9 p. 10, 20 ff. Lang (cited *supra* p. 1098 n. 5), Orion in F. W. Sturz's ed. of *et. Gud.* p. 628, 17 ff. παλαμναῖος ὁ τοὺς αὐτοχειρὶ φονεύσαντας τιμωρούμενος καὶ Ζεὺς Παλαμναῖος ἐν Χαλκίδι, *et. Gud.* p. 448, 28 ff. παλαμναῖος· σημαίνει δὲ δύο, ὁ τοὺς αὐτοχειρὶ φονεύσαντας τιμωρούμενος καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τινὶ βιάσματι κατεχόμενος, *ib.* p. 449, 21 f. καὶ Ζεὺς δὲ Παλαμναῖος λέγεται ἐν Χαλκίδι, *et. mag.* p. 647, 43 f. παλαμναῖος· ὁ τοὺς αὐτοχειρὶ φονεύσαντας τιμωρούμενος, Ζεὺς Παλαμναῖος. λέγεται καὶ ἐν Χαλκίδι Παλαμναῖος (cod. D. omits the last word), Suid. *s.v.* παλαμναῖος = Phot. *lex. s.v.* παλαμ-

appeal¹,—titles which applied primarily to the sinner, secondarily to the god concerned with his sin. Less ambiguous and further removed from primitive conceptions are the cult-names *Litaios*, 'god of Prayers²,' and *Kathársios*, 'god

ναῖος· φονεὺς ἢ μιὰρός· παλαμναῖοι γὰρ λέγονται οἱ διὰ χειρὸς ἀνδροφονοῦντες· παρὰ τὴν παλάμην· καὶ Ζεὺς Παλαμναῖος, ὁ τοὺς τοιοῦτους τιμωρούμενος· καὶ προστροπαῖος ὁ προστρέπων τὸ ἄγος αὐτοῖς, Favorin. *lex.* p. 221, 54 καὶ Ζεὺς δὲ φασι Παλαμναῖος, ὁ τοὺς φονεῖς καταρρίπτων, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 (Διός) 87 παλαμναίου, *id.* i. 266 (Διός) 69 παλαμναίου. Cp. Ap. Rhod. 4. 708 f. (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2) and Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 39. 2 p. 29, 6 f. Stählin οὐχὶ μέντοι Ζεὺς Φαλακρὸς ἐν Ἀργεῖ, Τιμωρὸς (J. Bernays *cj. συνάμωρος*) δὲ ἄλλος ἐν Κύπρῳ τετίμησθον;

In a church near Gomphoi (*Musdiki*) Leake found a plain quadrangular altar inscribed in large deeply-cut letters ΖΗΝΙ | ΠΑΛΑΜΝΙΩ (W. M. Leake *Travels in Northern Greece* London 1835 iv. 523 f. pl. 44 no. 220, Lebas—Foucart *Peloponnèse* ii no. 1194, *Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 291).

¹ Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 37. 1 p. 27, 23 f. Stählin (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2), Soud. *s.v.* παλαμναῖος = Phot. *lex. s.v.* παλαμναῖος (cited *supra* p. 1098 n. 7), Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1807, 11 f. προστρέπαιος τε γὰρ Ζεὺς ἐν ῥητορικῷ λεξικῷ (E. Schwabe *Aelia Dionysii et Pausaniae Atticistarum fragmenta* Lipsiae 1890 p. 254, 7 ff.: see further Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*² Cambridge 1906 i. 323 and L. Cohn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1478 ff.), ᾧ ἂν τις, φασι, προστρέπειτο δέμενος. καὶ προστρέπαιος ὁ ἰκέτης, ὁ πρὸς τινα δηλαδὴ δεητικῶς τρεπόμενος (*supra* p. 1096 n. 2). It follows that Zeus, who in one respect was προστρέπαιος, in another was ἀποτρόπαιος: cp. Bekker *anecd.* i. 427, 5 f. ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαι· ἀποπέμπεσθαι πρὸς τὸν προστρόπαιον Δία καὶ οἰοεῖ καθαίρεσθαι ἢ ἰλδοεσθαι, schol. Plat. *Crat.* 396 E ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαι φασι τὸ ἀποτρέπεσθαι τὸν προστρόπαιον Δία καὶ οἰοεῖ καθαίρεσθαι τὰ δεινὰ, schol. Plat. *legg.* 854 B ἀποδιοπομπήσεις· τὰς ἀποτροφὰς τὰς γιγνομένας ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποτροπαίου Διός, διὰ τὸ καθαίρεσθαι τὰ δεινὰ· ἢ τὰς ἀποκομπὰς τὰς πρὸς τὸν προστρόπαιον Δία καὶ οἰοεῖ καθάρσεις καὶ ἰλασμοὺς, schol. Aischin. *de fals. leg.* 323 προστρέπαιος ἐστὶν ὁ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπισπώμενος τὰ κακά, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐναντίον τοῦ (so H. Sauppe for τῷ cod. f.) ἀποτρόπαιος, τοῦ ἀποτρέποντος τὰ κακά. διὸ καὶ Διὶ ἀποτροπαίῳ θύομεν, οὐκέτι μέντοι καὶ προστροπαίῳ (on which see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3154).

The essence of a προστροπή was that the supplicator and the supplicated should both be turned towards each other and thus brought into such immediate connexion that the thing asked must needs be granted. If possible, direct contact was established by the clasping of knees, chin, etc. (C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 pp. 163 ff., 282 f.). Failing that, quasi-contact was made by means of outstretched arms, etc. (*id. ib.* pp. 186 ff., 283, 296). But in any case the two parties were face to face.

² Coppers of Nikaia in Bithynia, struck by Nero (M. P. Lambros in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1878 ii. 508 f. pl. 24, 1 = my fig. 938 ΔΙΟΣ | ΛΙΤΑΙΟΥ) and Antoninus Pius (*supra* i. 37 n. 1 ΔΙ|ΟC || ΛΙΤΑΙΟΥ), show the altar of Zeus Λιταῖος (Head *Hist. num.*² p. 517). O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.*

ii. 2064 explains the title as 'Father of the Litai' with reference to the remarkable passage in *Il.* 9. 502 ff. καὶ γὰρ τε Λιταὶ εἰσι, Διὸς κούραι μεγάλοιο, | χωλαὶ τε ῥυσαὶ τε παραβλῶπές τ' ὄφθαλμῶ, | αἷ ῥά τε καὶ μετόπισθ' Ἀτης ἀλέγουσι κιοῦσαι. | ἢ δ' Ἀθη σθεναρὴ τε καὶ ἀρτίπος, οὐνεκα πάσας | πολλὸν ὑπεκπροθεί, φθάσει δὲ τε πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν | βλάπτουσ' ἀνθρώπων· αἱ δ' ἐξάκρονται ὀπίσω. | δε μὲν τ' ἀδέσεται κούρας Διὸς ἄσπον ἰούσας, | τὸν δὲ μέγ' ὤνησαν καὶ τ' ἔκλυον εὐχομένοιο· | δε δὲ κ' ἀνήγηται καὶ τε στερεῶς ἀποσιπη, | λισσονται δ' ἄρα ταί γε Δία Κρονίωνα κιοῦσαι | τῷ Ἀθην ἄμ' ἔπεισθαι, ἵνα βλαφθεὶς ἀποσίση (see for variants A. Ludwich *ad loc.*, for imitations Quint. Smyrn. 10. 300 ff. Λιταῖς δ' ἀποθύμια ῥέξεις, | αἷ ῥά καὶ αὐτὰ Ζητὸς ἐριγδοῦποιο θύγατραι | εἰσί, κ.τ.λ., Orph.

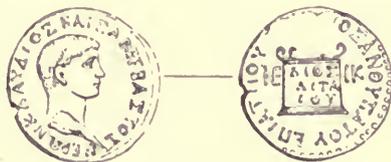


Fig. 938.

of Purification¹. The exact relationship of all these appellatives and the growth of the religious beliefs implied by them are still far from clear. Perhaps we shall come within measurable distance of the truth by assuming that development proceeded on some such lines as follow:

Arg. 107 f. cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2, and for a parody *Anth. Pal.* 11. 361. 1 ff. (Automedon)). How Zeus could have begotten such creatures, 'halt wrinkled squinting,' was a puzzle (Bion Borysthenites *frag.* 44 Mullach *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 56. 1 p. 43, 29 ff. Stählin, Herakleitos *quaestt. Hom.* 37, Porph. *quaestt. Il.* 97, 21, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 768, 28 ff.). But symbolism proved a ready solvent (*vide* the comments of Herakleitos *quaestt. Hom.* 37, schol. *Il.* 9. 502 f., Porph. *quaestt. Il.* 97, 21, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 767, 60 ff., Cornut. *theol.* 12 p. 12, 5 ff. Lang, Eudok. *viol.* 606, Cramer *anecd. Paris.* iii. 239, 32 ff., cp. Hesych. *s.v.* *Ατραί* (H. Stephanus restored *Ατραί*)). Dr W. Leaf *A Companion to the Iliad* London 1892 p. 185 can still write: 'The epithets applied to them indicate the attitude of the penitent: halting, because he comes with hesitating steps; wrinkled, because his face betrays the inward struggle; and of eyes askance, because he dares not look in the face the man he has wronged' (cp. the same scholar's note on *Il.* 9. 503, repeated in his joint ed. with the Rev. M. A. Bayfield). I am sorry to dissent from Dr Leaf, to whom all lovers of Homer are so deeply indebted. But to me it seems far more probable that the Litai were physically deformed and loathsome like the Erinyes, to whom they were akin. I suppose them to have been essentially the prayers of the injured man taking shape as vengeful sprites. In the last analysis they were simply the soul of the victim issuing from his mouth in visible form, maimed because he was maimed, and clamouring for vengeance. The personification is not unlike that implied in Gen. 4. 10 'the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground' (with Dr J. Skinner's note *ad loc.*). For the soul as Erinyes see Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 213 ff. No doubt all this belongs to the dim background of Greek religion and has already been half-forgotten by the Homeric writer, who conceives the Litai, not as the wrathful prayers of the injured man, but as the penitential prayers of his injurer. The apologue thus acquires a new moral value. It is, however, largely couched in language appropriate to the earlier conception (Ate, swift of foot, drives many a man to do mad deeds. Then come the Litai and effect the cure. If a man respects them, they help him and hear his prayer. If a man flouts them, they go and pray to Zeus that Ate may fall upon such an one, drive him mad, and make him pay the price), and in particular its description of the Litai as misshapen and hideous is an abiding relic of its former significance. The passage is, in fact, an *αἴλιος* (like *Il.* 19. 91 ff. or the oracle in *Hdt.* 6. 86) misinterpreted and misapplied by a later moralist. But, however understood, it contributes little or nothing to an explanation of Zeus *Ατραίος*. The altar at Nikaia was surely voted to him as 'Hearer of Prayers' for the restored health of the emperor or for some other benefit vouchsafed to a grateful public.

¹ Zeus was worshipped as *Καθάριστος* at Athens (*Pol.* 8. 142 (cp. 1. 24) cited *supra* p. 1093 n. 1) and at Olympia (Paus. 5. 14. 8 *πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ ἔστιν Ἄγνωστον θεῶν βωμόν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Καθαριστὸν Διὸς καὶ Νίκης, καὶ αἰθῆς Διὸς ἐπινομιλῶν Χθονίου*. E. Curtius *Die Altäre von Olympia* (*Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1881 Phil.-hist. Classe) Berlin 1882 p. 39 no. 21 rightly assumes that Zeus *Καθάριστος* and Nike had here a common altar. So, with some hesitation, does W. Dörpfeld in *Olympia* i. 83 no. 18. C. Maurer *De aris Graecorum pluribus deis in commune positis* Darmstadii 1885 p. 17 adopts the same view. But K. Wernicke 'Olympische Beiträge i' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1894 ix. 96 no. 18 f. thinks otherwise). For literary allusions see Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 23 (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2) = Stob. *ecl.* 1. 1. 36 p. 45, 21 Wachsmuth, *Ap. Rhod.* 4. 708 f. (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2), Plout. *de carn. esu* 2. 1 ὦ Ζεῦ καθάρσιε, Orph. *h. Zeus* 15. 8 f. *σεισίχθων, ἀξήγά, καθάρσιε, παντοινάκτα, | ἀστράπιε* (so G. Hermann for *ἀστραπαίε*), *βρονταίε, κεραΐνιε, φητάλιε Ζεῦ*.

MAN-SLAYER.

- (1) The bloodguilty man, appearing suddenly as a suppliant stranger, is deemed a god (Zeus 'Ikéatas, *ἰκτήρ, ἀφίκτωρ, ἀλάστωρ, κ.τ.λ.*)¹.
- (2) The suppliant or stranger is not himself mistaken for a god, but is thought to have a divine escort (Zeus ὅς θ' ἰκέτησιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ, Zeus ὅς ξείνοισιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ)².
- (3) Suppliants and strangers in general are supposed to be *protégés* of the god (Zeus 'Ikéσιος, *ἰκετήσιος, ἰκταῖος* (?), Zeus *Ξένιος*)³.

VICTIM.

- (1) The soul (*κῆρ*) of the murdered man becomes a wrathful spirit (*ἔρινός*). His curses (*ἀραί*), prayers (*λιταί*), and penalties (*ποιναί*) all pursue the guilty.
- (2) Hence arises the whole tribe of avenging deities (*Κῆρες, Ἐρινύες, Ἀραί, Ἀράντιδες*⁴, *Λιταί*⁵, *Ποινάι, κ.τ.λ.*).
- (3) With the progress of religion deities of this low type are subordinated to a high god⁶, especially to Zeus⁷ (cp. Zeus *Τιμωρός*)⁸.

The protective and the punitive powers of Zeus are fused
(Zeus 'Ikéσιος, *Παλαμναῖος, προστρόπαιος*).

¹ *Supra* pp. 1096, 1098.

² *Supra* p. 1097 n. o.

³ *Supra* pp. 1093, 1097, 1097 n. o, 1097 n. 2.

A marble statue of Zeus *Ξένιος* by Papylos, a pupil of Praxiteles, was owned by C. Asinius Pollio (Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 34 Iuppiter hospitalis Papyli (*praxiphili* Gelenius),



Fig. 939.

Praxitelis (K. L. von Ulrichs cj. *Pasitelis* discipuli). At Sparta—the former home of *ξενηλασία*—Zeus *Ξένιος* was grouped with Athena *Ξένια* (Paus. 3. 11. 11 with H. Hitzig [⁴⁻⁸ For notes 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8, see page 1102.]

Zeus *Meilichios* as an angry god readily appeased by the man-slayer might conveniently be ranged under this joint-category, his title being interpreted as 'the Kindly One.'

and H. Blümner *ad loc.* Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 9 aptly cites Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 4. 31 p. 149 Kayser *περιστάντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ξένον τε παρὰ τῷ Διὶ ἐποιούοντο κ.τ.λ.*) A broken relief in the Terme Museum (fig. 939) shows Zeus *Ξένιος* as a traveller sitting with a rumpled *himátion* over his knees and a knotted stick in his left hand, while he extends his right in welcome to a draped figure before him and offers a seat on his own eagle-decked couch (Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 146 f. no. 3772, P. Arndt *La Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg* Munich 1896 p. 64 fig. 34, Reinach *Reliefs* iii. 330 no. 2, R. Paribeni *Le Terme di Diocleziano e Il Museo Nazionale Romano*⁴ Roma 1922 p. 217 no. 546). The lower border of the relief bears an archaizing inscription, which G. Kaibel in *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 990 transcribes [ὁ δὲῖνα ...] πους καθ' ὕπνον ἀνέθηκα Διὲι Ξένιω ... (facsimile in W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*³ Leipzig 1913 ii. 173 ff. no. 1405 fig. 38).

⁴ Hesych. 'Ἀράντισιν (Musurus cj. ἀραντίσω): Ἐρινύσι. Μακεδόνες. See O. Crusius in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 470, ii. 1165, K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 379, O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 95 f.

⁵ *Supra* p. 1099 n. 2.

⁶ A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1328.

⁷ This can be best made out in the case of the Erinyes. The following sequence of extracts attests their increasing subordination to Zeus: *Il.* 19. 86 ff. ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ αἰτίος εἰμι, | ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς καὶ Μοῖρα καὶ ἡεροφῶτις Ἐρινύς, | οἳ τέ μοι εἰν ἀγορῇ φρεσὶν ἔμβαλον ἀγχιον ἄτην | κ.τ.λ. (see further E. Hedén *Homeric Götterstudien* Uppsala 1912 p. 134 f.), Aisch. *Ag.* 55 ff. ὕπατος δ' ἄλων ἢ τις Ἀπόλλων | ἢ Πᾶν ἢ Ζεὺς... | ὕστερόποιον | πέμπει παραβάσιν Ἐρινύν, 744 ff. παρακλίνας' ἐπέκρανεν | δὲ γάμον πικρὰς τελευτάς, | δύσεδος καὶ δυσόμιλος | σμύμενα Πριαμίδασι, | πομπᾷ Διὸς ξένου | νυμφόκλαντος Ἐρινύς (see W. Kausch 'Mythologumena Aeschylea' in the *Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* Halis Saxonum 1888 ix. 182 f.), Verg. *Aen.* 12. 849 ff. haec (sc. the three Furies) Iovis ad solium saevique in limine regis | apparent, ac uentque metum mortalibus aegris, | si quando letum horrificum morbosque deum rex | molitur, meritas aut bello territat urbes. | harum unam celerem demisit ab aethere summo | Iupiter, etc., Val. Flacc. 4. 74 f. gravis orantem procul arce Erinys, | respiciens celsi legem Iovis.

⁸ *Supra* p. 1099 n. 0. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1116 n. 9 cites as a doubtful analogue Hesych. *Ζητήρ*: Ζεὺς(ς) ἐν Κύπρῳ = Favorin. *lex.* p. 828, 36 f. F. Guyet in J. Alberti's note on Hesych. *loc. cit.* says: 'An *Ζητήρ* a ζῶν, unde *Ζᾶν, Ζῆν, & Ζεὺς*, a ζέω.' This derivation would have satisfied the Greeks themselves (*supra* i. 11 n. 5, 31 n. 3), and in Kyros a Zeus *Ζητήρ* might have been regarded as a Grecised equivalent of the Semitic θεὸς ζῶν (W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 pp. 450—510 'Jahwe der lebendige Gott'). But it is far more probable that *Ζητήρ* means 'Avenger' and is related to ζῆ-μα, ζῆ-τρος, κ.τ.λ. (on which see A. Vaniček *Griechisch-lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1877 i. 756, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 168, Boisacq *Dict. etym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 309). *Supra* p. 444 n. 7.

His Roman equivalent was Iupiter *Ultor*. Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 9239 (a dedication found at Clunia in Spain) Iovi Aug. | Ultori sacrum | L. Valerius Paternus | mil. leg. x Gem. | optio 7 Censoris exs | voto perhaps has reference to the death of Nero. Pertinax at the last besought Iupiter *Ultor* to avenge his assassination (Iul. Capit. *v. Pert.* 11. 10). Donitian, Septimius Severus, Alexander Sevērus, Papienus, and Gallienus issued coins with the legend IOVI VLTORI (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 902 ff., Suppl. iii. 158 f., Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 486 fig.). I figure a 'first brass' of Alexander Severus in my collection (fig. 940) and a medallion struck in two bronzes by the same emperor, 224 A.D. (F. Gnechchi in the *Rivista italiana di numismatica* 1888 i. 286 no. 12 pl. 8, 7 (=my fig. 941) *rev.*: IOVI VLTORI P.M. TR. P. III. and COS. P. Hexastyle temple with triumphal chariot and statues as *akrotéria*; statuary

Very different is the explanation propounded by Monsieur S. Reinach in an able and persuasive paper already noticed¹. The altar of Zeus *Meiltchios*, at which the Phthalidai purified Theseus², was not far from the spot called *Hierà Syké*, the 'Sacred Fig-tree,' where Demeter first revealed to Phyalos the fruit of the fig³. It is, therefore, tempting to surmise that Theseus was purified 'avec du suc des figuiers sacrés (?)'⁴ and that *Meiltchios* meant originally the 'god of Figs' (*meiicha*)⁵. Whether we accept Monsieur Reinach's further contention that the word *sykophántes* meant the hierophant of this fig-cult⁶, or not, we must admit that the contiguity of a place named the 'Sacred Fig-tree' affords strong support to his derivation of *Meiltchios*. Moreover, Zeus *Meiltchios* was, according to the myth, a purificatory power, and another purifying Zeus bore the title *Sykásios*, which presumably denotes the 'god of Fig-gathering' (*sykázzein*)⁷. The case for a local fig-cult might indeed be made even stronger. When Plouton carried off Kore, he was said to have descended into the earth beside the Eleusinian Kephisos at a point known as *Erineós*, the 'Wild Fig-tree.'⁸ Again, Sir James Frazer thinks that the site of the ancient altar dedicated

also in pediment. Within the temple sits Iupiter *Ullor* with thunderbolt and sceptre.



Fig. 940.

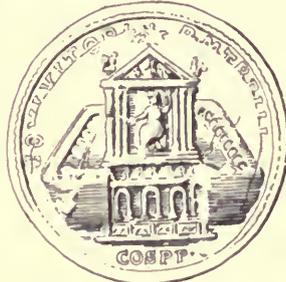


Fig. 941.

Round the temple is a large *porticus* with eight arches a side, and three arched entrances surmounted by statues).

¹ *Supra* p. 291 n. 2.

² *Supra* p. 1091 f.

³ *Supra* p. 1092 n. 6. Cp. Plout. *symp.* 7. 4. 4, Athen. 74 D, Philostr. *v. soph.* 2. 20, Hesych. *s.v.* *λερά*, Phot. *lex. s.v.* *λερά συκή*, *et. mag.* p. 469, 17, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1964, 12 f.

⁴ On figs as a means of purification see Boetticher *Baumkultus* p. 437 f., J. Töpffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 pp. 249 f., 252, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 910, F. Olck in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 2148 f.

⁵ *Supra* p. 1092.

⁶ *Supra* p. 291 n. 2.

⁷ Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1572, 58 f. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Συκάσιος Zeus παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ὁ Καθάρισιος. τῇ γὰρ συκῇ ἐχρῶντο φασὶν ἐν καθαρμοῖς, Hesych. Διὶ Συκασίῳ (so Musurus for δῖαυκασίῳ cod.): παραπεποιήται παρὰ τὸ συκοφαντεῖν. From these two passages it may be inferred that there was a cult of Zeus Συκάσιος with cathartic rites, and that some comedian had used the phrase Διὶ Συκασίῳ with a sly reference to συκάζειν in the sense of συκοφαντεῖν or worse (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 1014 A).

⁸ Paus. i. 38. 5, cp. Plat. *Theaet.* 143 B.

When Zeus was pursuing a Titan named Sykeas or Sykeus, Ge rescued her son by sending up a fig-tree to shelter him: the scene was laid at Sykea in Kilikia (Athen. 78 A—B *περὶ δὲ τῆς προσηγορίας τῶν σύκων λέγων Τρύφων ἐν δευτέρῳ φυτῶν ἱστορίας Δωριανά φησιν ἐν Γεωργικῷ ἱστορεῖν Συκέαν, ἕνα τινὰ τῶν Τιτάνων, διωκόμενον ὑπὸ Διὸς τὴν μητέρα Γῆν ὑποδέξασθαι καὶ ἀνεῖναι τὸ φυτὸν εἰς διατριβὴν τῷ παιδί, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Συκέαν πῶδιν εἶναι ἐν Κιλικίᾳ, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Συκαί, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1764, 13 ff.). Kreuzer in*

to Zeus *Meilichios* may now be covered by the church of Saint Sabas¹. If so², it is a mere coincidence that this Greek martyr, whose festival falls on the first of May, was said to have been hung by his hands upon a fig-tree³?

There is, it would seem, much to be said in favour of both these views—that which regards Zeus *Meilichios* as a god 'Kindly' towards the fugitive man-slayer and that which takes him to have been originally a 'god of Figs.' Nevertheless I find myself unable to adopt either opinion; for both alike are based on the circumstances of one particular cult-centre without regard to the other localities in which Zeus *Meilichios* is known to have been worshipped. Our survey must be wider before we can safely venture on an interpretation of the disputed appellative.

(3) Zeus *Meilichios* on the Attic coast.

Between the harbours of Zea and Mounichia the Attic coastline shows various groups of rock-cut niches⁴. At one point⁵, four hundred metres in a north-westerly direction from the island of *Stalida*, the foothill displays a grotto and beside it a recess, originally lined with red stucco and still framed by pilasters and an architrave with palmettes above it. The decoration appears to date from the fourth century B.C. Some ninety metres further towards the west other niches of different shapes and sizes are to be seen carved in an old quarry-face⁶. To judge from votive reliefs found in the vicinity, the whole site was once sacred to Zeus *Meilichios* and to a kindred deity Zeus *Phlios*⁷. Agathe Tyche, regarded

Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1617 connects this myth with the belief that the fig-tree was lightning-proof (Plout. *symp.* 4. 2. 1, 5. 9, Lyd. *de mens.* 3. 52 p. 49, 22 Bekker = *ib.* 4. 96 p. 111, 3 f. Bekker = p. 181, 18 f. Wünsch, 4. 4 p. 69, 1 Wünsch, *de ostent.* 45 p. 98, 15 ff. Wachsmuth, Theophanes Nonnos *építome de curatione morborum* 259, *Geopon.* 11. 2. 7, cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 15. 77: see Rohde *Psyche*³ ii. 406 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 785 n. 6, F. Olck in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 2145, and especially T. H. Martin *La foudre l'électricité et le magnétisme chez les anciens* Paris 1866 p. 194 f.).

¹ Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 493.

² F. Lenormant *Monographie de la Voie Sacrée Éleusinienne* Paris 1864 p. 312 accepts the view of F. C. H. Kruse *Hellas* Leipzig 1826 ii. 1. 173 that the site of the altar is marked by the little church of St Blasios (Sir W. Gell *The Itinerary of Greece* London 1819 p. 31).

³ *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Maii i. 46 (De Sancto Saba, martyre apud Græcos.) *Antiqua MSS. Menæa, quæ Divisione apud Petrum Franciscum Societatis Iesu asseruari reperimus anno MDCLXII, referunt hisce Kalendis Maji* S. Sabam, in fico digitis suis appensum, & sic gloriosa vita functum, & addunt hoc distichon.

"Ἦνεγκε καρπὸν πρωΐμένης συκῆς

[lege "Ἦνεγκε καρπὸν πρωΐμης συκῆς κλάδος

Κλάδος τὸν χειροδέμοις ἐκκρεμαμένον

Τὸν χειροδέμοις ἐκκρεμαμένον (sic) Σάβαν.]

Σάβαν.

Attulit fructum præmaturæ ficus

Ramus, suspensum è digitis vinctis Saban.

M. and W. Drake *Saints and their Emblems* London 1916 p. 113 confuse this St Sabas with St Sabas the Gothic martyr (April 12), who suffered under Athanaricus in 372 A.D. (G. T. Stokes in Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iv. 566).

⁴ A. Milchhöfer in E. Curtius—J. A. Kaupert *Karten von Attika* Berlin 1881 Erläuterender Text Heft 1 p. 60 f., C. Wachsmuth *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum* Leipzig 1890 ii. 1. 146 ff., A. Furtwängler in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1897 p. 406 ff., W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 383.

⁵ E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert *Atlas von Athen* Berlin 1878 p. 35 pl. 12, 1.

⁶ E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert *op. cit.* p. 35 pl. 12, 2.

⁷ *Infra* Append. N *med.*

as consort of the latter¹, had a separate precinct near by², as had also on a larger scale Asklepios³.

Zeus *Meilichios* was sometimes represented as a kingly figure enthroned. A fourth-century relief of white stone, found near the Tsocha theatre in the Peiraieus and now in the National Museum at Athens, shows him approached by three devotees (fig. 942)⁴. Within an architectural framework the god is seated towards the right on a throne, the arm of which is adorned with the usual sphinx and ram's-head (?)⁵. Clad in a *himation* only, he holds a sceptre in one hand, a *phiale* in the other. Before him is a rectangular altar. From the right draws near a simple family-group of man⁶, woman, and child, with gestures of greeting. Above, on the architrave, is the dedication:

'Aristarche, to Zeus *Meilichios*⁷.'

A second relief from the same find-spot adds more to our knowledge of the god (fig. 943)⁸. As before, he is seen within a framework of architecture, which bears the inscription:

'—toboule, to Zeus *Milichios*⁹.'

As before, he is enthroned on the left with a *phiale* in his right hand¹⁰, while a group of worshippers advances towards him from the right. But this time he grasps a *cornu copiae* in his left hand, and they bring a pig to sacrifice at his altar. Behind the altar stands a boy with something in a shallow basket: between the man and woman is seen a grown girl supporting a deep basket on her head. The *cornu copiae*, one of the rarer attributes of Zeus¹¹, marks him as a sort of Plouton, able to dispense abundance. The pig, again, though its bones strewed the altar of Zeus *Lykaios*¹², was an animal commonly sacrificed to Zeus in his chthonian capacity—Zeus *Bouleús* at Mykonos¹³, Zeus *Eubouleús* at Delos¹⁴.

¹ *Infra* Append. N *init.*

² Ch. D. Tsountas in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1884 p. 169 line 44, W. Judeich *op. cit.* p. 383 n. 9.

³ W. Judeich *op. cit.* p. 388 n. 16.

⁴ Stais *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*² p. 245 f. no. 1431, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 436 f. pl. 70, 4, P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 507 ff. pl. 18 (= my fig. 942), Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 117 pl. 2, a, *Einzelaufnahmen* no. 1246, 2 with Text v. 21 by E. Löwy, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 19 f. fig. 3, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 363 no. 1. Height 0.30^m, breadth 0.40^m.

⁵ *Supra* i. 407 n. 1.

⁶ Not the priest (Foucart *loc. cit.*), but the husband (Svoronos *loc. cit.*) or son (Löwy *loc. cit.*) of the dedicant Aristarche.

⁷ *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1579 'Αριστάρχη Διὸς Μειλιχίωι. Rather: 'Αρι(σ)τάρχη κ.τ.λ.

⁸ I. Ch. Dragatses in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1886 p. 49 f. no. 1, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 117, A. Furtwängler in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1897 p. 408, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 21 f. fig. 6. My illustration is from a photograph kindly placed at my disposal by Miss Harrison. Height 0.36^m, breadth 0.24^m. Traces of colouring persist on Zeus and his horn (red, yellow), etc.

⁹ *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1579b —τοβούλη Διὸς Μειλιχίωι. Miss Harrison *loc. cit.* after Dragatses prints [Κριτο]βόλη Διὸς Μειλιχίωι. But this is inexact. The name of the dedicant should be longer, perhaps ['Αρισ]τοβούλη (F. Bechtel *Die Attischen Frauennamen* Göttingen 1902 pp. 6, 9); and the name of the god has no ε.

¹⁰ I. Ch. Dragatses *loc. cit.* says τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν ἐπὶ τῶν μηρῶν ἀναπαύοντα—another inexactitude.

¹¹ *Supra* i. 361, 501 f., 598 n. 1.

¹² *Supra* i. 82.

¹³ *Supra* i. 668, 717 n. 3.

¹⁴ *Supra* i. 669 n. 2, 717 n. 3.

The abundance vouchsafed by Zeus *Meilichios* and the pig provided by his worshippers are alike illustrated by a passage in Xenophon's *Anabasis*¹:

'Next they sailed across to Lampsakos, where Xenophon was met by a seer

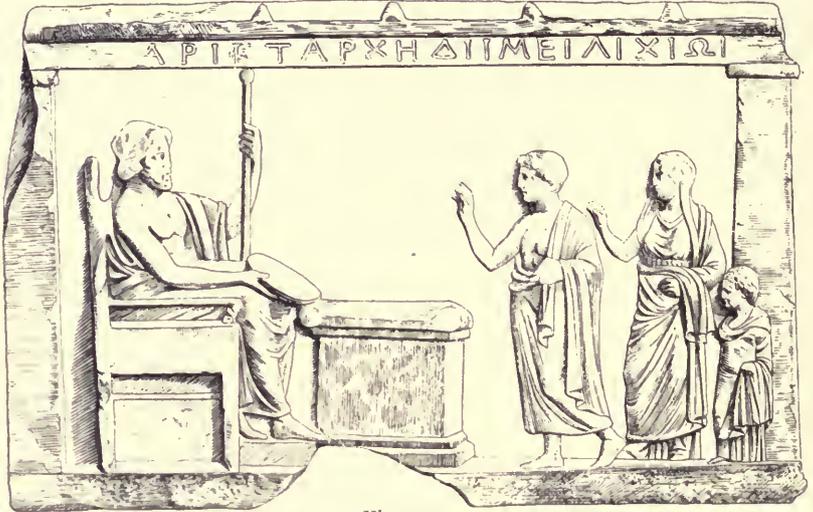


Fig. 942.

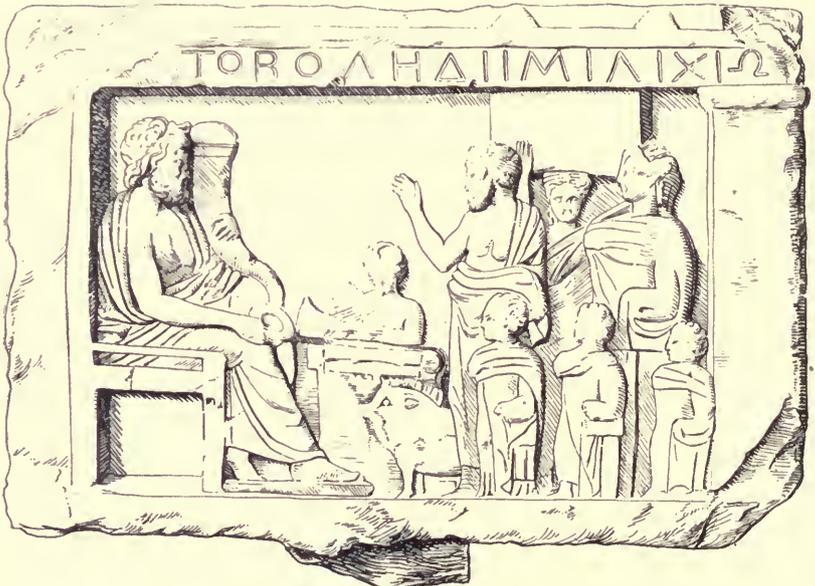


Fig. 943.

from Phlious, Eukleides son of Kleagoras. Kleagoras was the man who painted the frescoes in the Lykeion. This Eukleides congratulated Xenophon on his

¹ Xen. *an.* 7. 8. 1-6.

escape and asked him how much money he had. Xenophon told him on oath that he would not even have enough to take him home, unless he sold his horse and personal belongings. Eukleides did not believe him. But when the men of Lampsakos sent gifts by way of welcome to Xenophon and he offered sacrifice to Apollon, he bade Eukleides stand beside him. And he on seeing the victims said that he believed in Xenophon's lack of funds. "But I know," he added, "that even if funds are ever forthcoming there is some hindrance in your way—yourself, if nothing else." To this Xenophon agreed. "The fact is," said Eukleides, "Zeus Meilichios is hindering you." And he went on to ask if Xenophon had already sacrificed to that deity "as I," said he, "used at home to have sacrifice made and to present whole burnt-offerings on your behalf." Xenophon replied that since leaving home he had not sacrificed to this god. So Eukleides counselled him to have sacrifice made to the god in his usual manner and declared that things would improve. Next day Xenophon advanced to Ophrynon: there he had sacrifice made and presented whole burnt-offerings of pigs in accordance with his ancestral custom, and the omens were favourable¹. That very day Bion and Nausikleides arrived with money for the troops. They were entertained by Xenophon and, as to the horse which he had sold at Lampsakos for fifty darics, hearing that it was a favourite mount and suspecting that he had parted with it through poverty, they bought the animal back again and handed it over to its master, refusing to take the purchase-money from him.¹

That the god who thus sent wealth in return for whole burnt-offerings of pigs was in fact an Underworld power appears further from other votive reliefs, nine or more in number, found in 1878 near the north-east angle of the Munichian Gate². These show the same deity in the guise of a monstrous snake³, usually bearded (figs. 944⁴, 945⁵) and towering above his human worshippers (fig. 946)⁶. P. Foucart, to whom we are indebted for the first collection and discussion of these reliefs, pointed out that in no case is the name of the dedicator accompanied by that of his deme. It follows that the worshippers were strangers, resident

¹ ἐθέτο καὶ ὠλοκαῦτε χοίρους τῷ πατρίῳ (πατρίῳ cod. Eton. etc. followed by Bornemann) νόμῳ, καὶ ἐκαλλιέρι (Xen. an. 7. 8. 5).

² P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 507 ff. draws up the list.

³ On the chthonian character of the snake see *supra* pp. 1060, 1061.

⁴ *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 270 no. 722 with fig., R. Kekulé von Stradonitz *Die griechische Skulptur*² Berlin 1907 p. 202, P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 509 no. 6, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 17 f. fig. 1 a *stèle* of Hymettian marble inscribed in lettering of s. iv. B.C. — — Διὶ Μειλιχίῳ (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1581). Height 0.58^m, breadth 0.31^m. I am again indebted to Miss Harrison for the photograph from which my fig. 944 is drawn.

P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 509 no. 7 describes a relief in the Louvre representing a snake reared upright, with the inscription Ἀσκληπιάδης | Ἀσκληπιοδώρου | Διὶ Μειλιχίῳ (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1580).

⁵ Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 438 pl. 70, 3 (= my fig. 945), P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 510 no. 8 with fig., *id.* in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1700 f. fig. 4892, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 20 fig. 4 a relief inscribed in lettering of s. iv. B.C. Ἡρακλείδης τῷ θεῷ (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1583). Height 0.33^m, breadth 0.19^m. J. N. Svoronos *loc. cit.* notes that τῷ θεῷ might mean either Διὶ Μειλιχίῳ or Ἀσκληπιῷ (*id.* in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1901 iv. 503—507).

⁶ *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 271 no. 723 with fig., R. Kekulé von Stradonitz *Die griechische Skulptur*² Berlin 1907 p. 202, P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 509 no. 5, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² pp. 17, 19 fig. 2, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 31 no. 4 a *stèle* of Hymettian marble without inscription. My fig. 946 is from a transparency in the collection of Newnham College, Cambridge. Height 0.42^m, breadth 0.23^m to 0.25^m. The gigantic snake approached by a woman and two men might, again, be either Zeus Meilichios or Asklepios.

aliens, freedmen, or slaves. And Foucart suggests¹ that they formed a *thiasos* of Phoenician settlers, who had brought with them to the crowded port of Athens *Ba'al Milik* or *Melek* or *Molok*, their own 'Lord King':² *Ba'al* they translated as *Zeus* and *Milik* they transliterated as *Milichios*.³ This view has commended

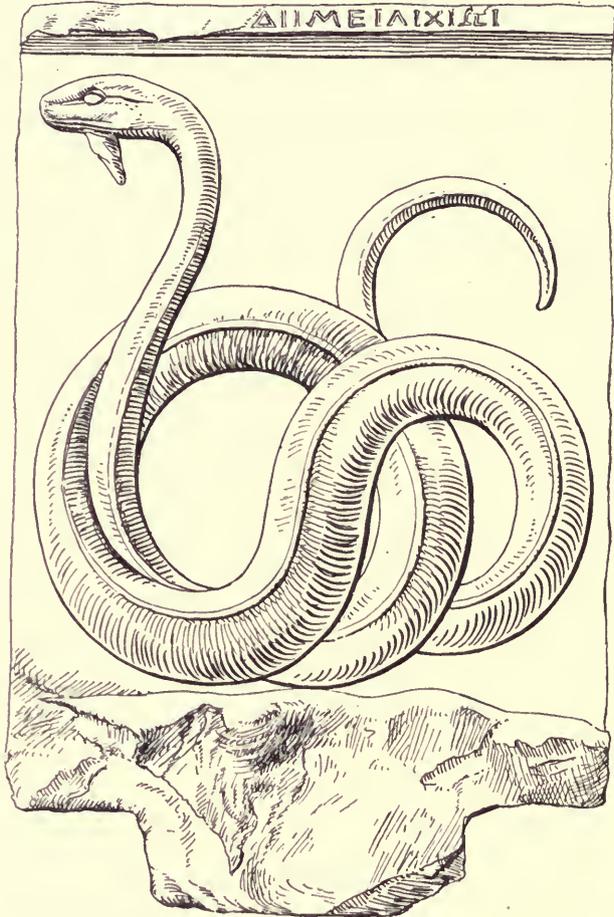


Fig. 944.

¹ P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 511 ff., *id.* in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1700 f.

² On the problematic Malakba'al- or Melekba'al-*stélai* see E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2871, ii. 3107, and on Moloch in general E. Meyer and A. Jeremias *ib.* ii. 3106 ff., F. X. Kortleitner *De polytheismo universo* Oeniponte 1908 pp. 216—227. My friend and colleague the Rev. Prof. R. H. Kennett has suggested 'that Moloch, to whom first-born children were burnt by their parents in the valley of Hinnom, ... may have been originally the human king regarded as an incarnate deity': for this important hypothesis see Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Adonis Attis Osiris³ ii. 219 ff. ('Moloch the King').

³ Cp. P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 513 n. 4: 'M. Renan avait fait remarquer que la forme la plus vraisemblable est Milik, que la leçon Δία Μιλίχιον se rencontre

dans plusieurs des manuscrits d'Eusèbe où est traduit un passage de Sanchoniaton sur le dieu phénicien [Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 12 *Δία Μειλχιον*. G. H. A. Ewald in W. W. Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1876 i. 15 took *Μειλχιος* here to be a Grecised form of the Semitic word for 'sailor,' and Baudissin himself *ib.* p. 36 n. 2 says: 'Insofern der oben S. 15 erwähnte *Μειλχιος* "der Schiffer" die Bezeichnung *Zeus*

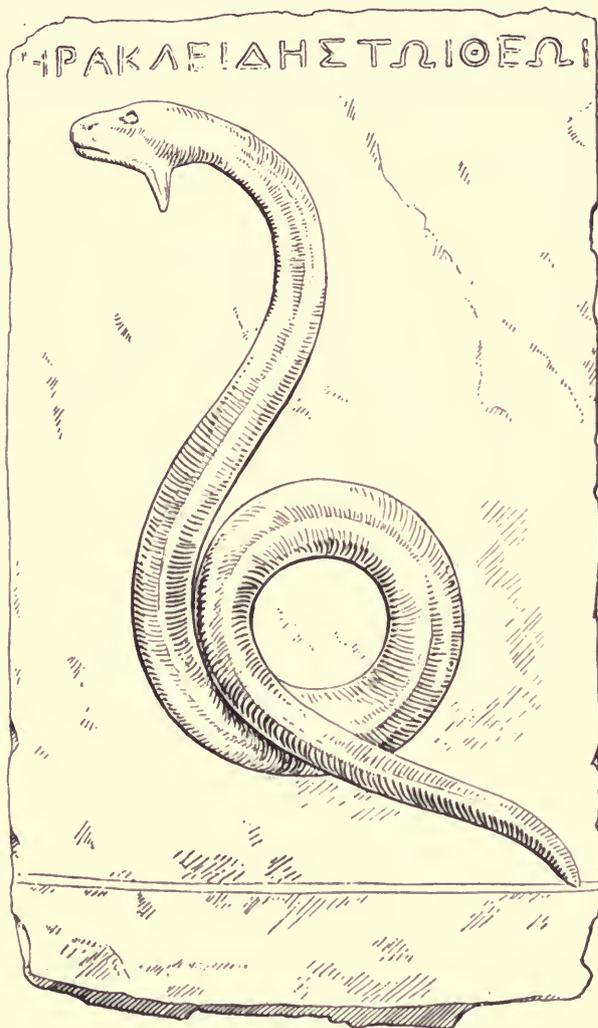


Fig. 945.

erhält, haben wir eine Gottheit in diesem Namen zu suchen, die kaum eine andere als Melkart sein kann (s.m. *Jahve et Moloch* S. 28 f.). *Μελεκέρτης*, dessen Name sicher das phöniciſche *Melkart* ist, gilt bei den Griechen als Meergottheit...’ Cp. Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 398, *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 908 n. 3. *À propos* of the Semitic word for ‘sailor’ my friend Mr N. McLean writes to me (April 10, 1917): ‘The word occurs in the form *mallāh* in Hebrew, Aramaic, & Arabic. Arabic borrowed it from Aramaic; & it is said to

itself to sundry scholars including M. Clerc¹, H. Lewy², M. Mayer³, O. Höfer⁴, W. Prellwitz⁵, and in a modified form to S. Reinach⁶. But Miss Harrison in-



Fig. 946.

have come to Hebrew & Aramaic as a loanword from Assyrian, where the form is *Malaḥu*.⁷ The last statement is further guaranteed by the Rev. C. H. W. Johns (April 11, 1917)], qu'enfin Silius Italicus (III, 104 [103 ff. lascivo genitus Satyro nymphaque Myrice | Milichus indigenis late regnarat in oris | cornigeram attollens genitoris imagine frontem]) cite Milichus comme un dieu punique (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, t. 23, p. 267). L'orthographe constante [?] des bas-reliefs du Pirée vient confirmer cette opinion.⁸ F. C. Movers *Die Phönizier* Berlin 1841 i. 326 f. had already connected the words *Μελιχιος*, *Milichus*, and *Melech*.

¹ M. Clerc *Les métèques athéniens* (*Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* lxiv) Paris 1893 p. 127 ff.

² H. Lewy *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen* Berlin 1895 p. 242 f.

³ M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1521.

⁴ O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2561 : but cp. *ib.* p. 2562.

⁵ Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 286.

⁶ S. Reinach *Chroniques d'Orient* Paris 1891 p. 683 holds that in Zeus *Μελιχιος* we may see the fusion of an original Greek with an incoming oriental god : 'une forme grecque et une forme orientale, distinctes à l'origine, ont été confondues par le même syncrétisme qui a assimilé Héraklès à l'Hercule latin.' Similarly in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1906 xix. 348

dicates an obvious difficulty: 'Unfortunately for this interesting theory we have no evidence that "Moloch" was ever worshipped in snake form¹.' And R. Dussaud further contends that in point of fact the Phoenicians recognised no such deity as *Milk*². We must turn a deaf ear to all Semitic Sirens and seek an explanation nearer home.

Miss Harrison herself maintains that the cult of Zeus *Meilichios* was a case of 'superposition.' The worship of the sky-god Zeus had ousted that of an older earth-demon *Meilichios*: hence the snake inappropriate to the former, but natural to the latter; hence too the euphemistic title common to many a buried hero. 'Zeus,' we are told, 'is one of the few Greek gods who never appear attended by a snake. Asklepios, Hermes, Apollo, even Demeter and Athene have their snakes, Zeus never³.' 'And the truth is nothing more or less than this. The human-shaped Zeus has slipped himself quietly into the place of the old snake-god.... It is not that Zeus the Olympian has "an underworld aspect"; it is the cruder fact that he of the upper air, of the thunder and lightning, extrudes an ancient serpent-demon of the lower world, *Meilichios*. *Meilichios* is no foreign Moloch, he is home-grown, autochthonous before the formulation of Zeus⁴.' 'When we come to the discussion of hero-worship, it will be seen that all over Greece the dead hero was worshipped in snake form and addressed by euphemistic titles akin to that of *Meilichios*⁵.' That Miss Harrison's shaft has hit the target and indeed gone near to piercing the bull's-eye, I shall not deny. The snake-form and euphemistic title of Zeus *Meilichios* are rightly explained as the appanage of a chthonian power resembling the divinised dead. But why need we make the rather unlikely assumption that a sky-cult has been superposed on an earth-cult? Because—says Miss Harrison—Zeus never has a snake as his attribute. That, surely, is a misleading statement. I have already adduced much evidence connecting both the Thraco-Phrygian Zeus⁶ and the Graeco-Libyan Zeus⁷ with the snake. To recall but a single case: the coinage of Dion in Makedonia shows Zeus standing with a snake at his side⁸. Should we not rather conclude that the

(*id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1908 iii. 104): 'C'est plus tard seulement...qu'on l'identifia, par exemple au Pirée, à quelque *baal-melek* phénicien.' Cp. Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 18 n. 1: 'The possibility of a *contaminatio* between the Phœnician Baal and Zeus *Meilichios* cannot be lightly dismissed. For a discussion of the subject see especially Clermont-Ganneau, *Le dieu Satrape*, p. 65, on the river *Meilichos* at Patrae, and Langrange, *Études sur les Religions Sémitiques*, p. 105.'

¹ Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 18. Not but what there is ample evidence of serpent-worship among the Semites: see e.g. S. Bochart *Hierozoicon* rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1796 iii. 125—250, F. X. Kortleitner *De polytheismo universo* Oeniponte 1908 pp. 191 ff., 323 f., J. Skinner on Gen. 3. 1 ff., R. H. Kennett 'Ark' in J. Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 791—793. The sanctity of the serpent in Phoinike (Philon Bybl. *frag.* 9 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 572 f. Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 46 ff.) may in part account for its frequency as a *motif* in Phœnician art (e.g. Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iii. 658, with fig. on p. 628, 759 fig. 543, 833 fig. 597, F. Poulsen *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst* Leipzig—Berlin 1912 p. 193 Index *s.vv.* 'Schlangen, Schlangenkopf,' E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 p. 48).

² R. Dussaud 'Milk, Moloch, Melqart' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1904 xlix. 163—168, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 643.

³ Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 18 f.

⁴ *Ead. op. cit.* p. 19.

⁵ *Ead. op. cit.* p. 20 f.

⁶ *Supra* i. 392 ff., 428.

⁷ *Supra* i. 358 ff., 428.

⁸ *Supra* i. 102 n. 4, 113 fig. 84.

local king, revered during his life-time as Zeus incarnate, was after his death worshipped as an anguiform soul under the euphemistic appellation of Zeus 'the Kindly One'? On this showing Zeus *Meilichios* falls into line with a whole string of deities already discussed—Zeus *Ktésios*¹, Zeus *Agaménnon*², Zeus *Amphí-áraos*³, Zeus *Trophónios*⁴, Zeus *Asklepiós*⁵. Moreover, from the new standpoint the circumstances of the cult on the Kephisos are readily intelligible. The head of a clan, dead and buried, would be just the personage required on the one hand to purify a man from the stain of kindred bloodshed, on the other to promote the fertility of the fig-trees. His title *Meilichios*, 'the Kindly One'⁶,—originally a euphemistic name⁷—would lend itself equally well to two false inter-

¹ Append. H.

² Append. I.

³ Append. J.

⁴ Append. K.

⁵ Append. L.

⁶ E. Maass *De Aeschylí Supplicibus commentatio* Gryphiswaldiae 1890 p. xxxvii n. 4 says: 'Juppiter Μελισσαίος (Hesych. s.v. [Μελισσαίος· ὁ Ζεὺς]) a μέλισσα abstracto (= ἡπίοτης) videtur derivatus, ut sit idem ac μελιχίος.' But Zeus *Μελισσαίος* presumably means Zeus 'of the Bees' (cp. Nik. *ther.* 611). Whether the allusion is to the infant Zeus of Crete nurtured by bees (*supra* i. 150, ii. 928 f. n. 0, 932 f. n. 1) or to Aristaios the bee-keeper worshipped as Zeus in Arkadia (*supra* i. 372 n. 7) or to some unidentified cult, we cannot say.

Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 908 f.: 'Das gewöhnlichste Mittel, die Geister zu versöhnen, ist die Bewirtung mit Honig; wahrscheinlich nach ihm heisst das Entsühnen μειλισσειν. Nach der besänftigenden Honigspende sind wahrscheinlich Zeus und Dionysos Meilichios genannt worden.' But, as Gruppe himself is aware (*op. cit.* p. 908 n. 2 f.), the connexion of μειλισσειν with μέλι is very doubtful: see now Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* pp. 620, 624.

⁷ Euphemism is and always has been a *vera causa* in popular life. I once stayed at Lavancher, a village near the Mer de Glace: the little inn, which had languished under the name *L'hôtel du Mauvais Pas*, was doing well as *L'hôtel Beau-Séjour*! Similarly with Greek and Latin place-names: the Ἀξενος became the Εἰξενος (Strab. 298 f., *Ov. trist.* 4. 4. 55 ff., Mela 1. 102, Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 76, 6. 1, Solin. 23. 16, *Isid. orig.* 13. 16. 7), *Maleventum* was improved into *Beneventum* (Liv. 9. 27, Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 105, Fest. p. 340 b 7 f. Müller, p. 458, 35 f. Lindsay, Paul. ex Fest. p. 34 Müller, p. 31, 17 ff. Lindsay, Steph. Byz. s.v. Βεβεβεντός, Prokop. *de bell. Goth.* 1. 15); it was even supposed that *Epidamnus* had been changed into *Dyrrhachium* (Mela 2. 56, Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 145, Fest. p. 340 b 9 Müller, p. 458, 37 Lindsay) and *Egesta* into *Segesta* (Fest. p. 340 b 3 ff. Müller, p. 458, 31 ff. Lindsay) for the sake of avoiding an evil omen. Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Taboo p. 392 ff. collects many examples of euphemistic substitutes for common words, which for one reason or another were taboo. He might have added to his store from Greek usage. When the ancient Greek spoke of his 'left hand' as ἀριστερά or εὐώνυμος, of 'night' as εὐφρόνη, of 'death' as εἰ τι πάθεις, of 'the dead' as οἱ πλεῖστες (see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2560 f.), when the modern Greek calls the small-pox Συγχωρημένη, the 'Gracious One,' or Εὐλογία, the 'Blessing' (G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 236), and the Devil himself ὁ καλὸς ἄνθρωπος, 'the Good man,' or ὁ κατάκαλος, 'the Beloved' (B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 176), these complimentary phrases are best explained as due to downright euphemism. Cp. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1398, 50 ff., *et. mag.* p. 144, 20 ff. Further instances are adduced by writers on rhetoric to illustrate the trope *antíphrasis*: see Anonymos *περὶ τρόπων* 14 (C. Walz *Rhetores Graeci* Stuttgartiae et Tubingae 1835 viii. 722, 10 f.), Tryphon *περὶ τρόπων* 15 (Walz *op. cit.* viii. 755, 11 ff.), Gregorios of Corinth *περὶ τρόπων* 18 (Walz *op. cit.* viii. 773, 20 ff.), Kokondrios *περὶ τρόπων* 6 (Walz *op. cit.* viii. 785, 27 ff.), Choïroboskos *περὶ τρόπων* 13 (Walz *op. cit.* viii. 812, 11 ff.). An example will serve: Helladios *ap. Phot. bibl.* p. 535 a 4 ff. Bekker ὅτι τὸ μὴ λέγειν δύσφημα πᾶσι τοῖς παλαιοῖς μὲν φροντὶς ἦν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. διὸ καὶ τὸ θεσμοπῆριον οἴκημα ἐκάλον, καὶ τὸν δῆμον κοινόν [a euphemism for a euphemism!], τὰς δὲ Ἐρινύας Εὐμενίδας ἢ σεμνὰς θεάς, τὸ δὲ μύσος ἄγος, τὸ δὲ ὄξος μέλι καὶ τὴν χολῆν

γλυκείαν, τὸν δὲ βόρβορον ὄχετόν. οἱ δὲ γραμματικοὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κατὰ ἀντίφρασιν ὀνομάζουσιν. οἶδα δὲ τίνας, φησί, τῶν φιλολόγων καὶ τὸν πῆθρον ὀνομάζοντες καλλίαν.

Confining our attention to the titles of Greek divinities, we note the following cases:—

(1) The Erinyes were known as Ἀβλαβλαί (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 600, *b* 67, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 839, *B* 18 Erythrai in the first half of *s.* iii B.C.), Εὐμειδῆς, Σεμναί.

(2) Hades was Ἀγήσανδρος (Hesych. *s.v.*, Favorin. *lex.* p. 18, 22), Ἀγησίλαος (Aisch. *frag.* 406 Nauck² *ap.* Athen. 99 B, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Ἀγεσίλαος (so Musurus for ἄγες, λαὸς cod.)=Favorin. *lex.* p. 17, 7 f., Kallim. *lavacr. Pall.* 130 Ἀγεσίλα cited by *et. mag.* p. 8, 32 f. as Ἀγεσιλάω, Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 195. 2=Cougny *Anth. Append.* 2. 551. 2 ἐπ' Ἀγεσίλας for the meaningless inscr. ΕΠΑΓΕΣΙΜΗ, *Laeth. div. inst.* 1. 11 Plutoni, cui cognomen Agesilao (*v.l.* Agelasto) fuit. So Nik. *frag.* 74, 72 *ap.* Athen. 684 D Ἠγεσιλάου, *Anth. Pal.* 7. 545. 4 (Hegesippos) ἠγησιλεω...Ἰαίδος, Εὐβουλεύς (*supra* p. 118 n. 4), Εὐειδῆς (Hesych. *s.v.* Εὐκλήης cited *supra* p. 118 n. 3), Εὐκλήης (*supra* p. 118 n. 3), Εὐχάτης (J. Franz in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1842 xiv. 136 ff. no. 1, 24 an oracle of Klaros, *s.* ii A.D., found at Kallipolis on the Thracian Chersonese: see Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 1034. 23, W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 1397, K. Buresch *Klaros* Leipzig 1889 p. 81 ff., H. von Prott in the *Ath. Mittl.* 1899 xxiv. 257 f., O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 880, and C. Picard *Épipse et Klaros* Paris 1922 pp. 212, 389, 673, 694, 696 (following Buresch)), Ἰσοδαίτης (Hesych. *s.v.*: see further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 551 f., Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 804 n. 7, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1430 n. 1, 1432 n. 2, 1557 n. 3, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² pp. 440, 481 n. 1, *Themis* p. 157), Κλύμενος (C. Scherer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1783, R. Engelmann, W. H. Roscher, and W. Drexler *ib.* ii. 1228 f.), Πασιάναξ (on Megarian (?) imprecatory tablets of lead published by E. Ziebarth 'Neue attische Fluchtafeln' in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1899 p. 120 no. 21, 1, 3, 7 and p. 121 no. 22, 1. O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1664 cp. the Pythian oracle quoted by Phlegon of Tralleis *Olympiades seu chronica frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 603 Müller)=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 20. 5 f. ἀτιμάζοντες Ὀλύμπια πασιάνακτος | Ζηρός), Περικλύμενος (Hesych. *s.v.*: so Salmasius and Soping for περικλυμος cod.), Πλούτων (*supra* i. 503 f.), Πολύαρχος (Cornut. *theol.* 35 p. 74, 15 Lang), Πολυδαίμων (Orph. *h. Plout.* 18. 11: see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 400 n. 2, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2637), Πολυδέγμων (*h. Dem.* 17, 31, 430, Cornut. *theol.* 35 p. 74, 15 Lang: see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 400 n. 2, 809 n. 1, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2639 f.), Πολυδέκτης (*h. Dem.* 9 with the note of E. E. Sikes *ad loc.*, Cornut. *theol.* 35 p. 74, 14 Lang: see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 400 n. 2, 867 n. 5, H. W. Stoll and O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2640), Πολύξενος? (Kallim. *frag.* 478 Schneider *ap. et. Flor.* p. 189 Κλυμένου...πολυξένοιο. In Soph. *O.C.* 1569 f. ἐν πύλαισι | ...πολυξέστοις S. Musgrave restored πολυξένοιο. Cp. Aisch. *suprl.* 157 f. τὸν πολυξενώτατον | Ζῆνα τῶν κεκηκότων, where T. Birt would read Δία for Ζῆνα with the citation in *et. Gud.* p. 227, 43 διὰ (*sic*) and in Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 443, 13 Δία (*sic*). Again, in Aisch. *frag.* 228 Nauck² Ζαγρεῖ τε νῦν με καὶ πολυξένω < > | χαίρειν cited by *et. Gud.* p. 227, 40 f. and by Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 443, 10 f. Hermann supplied πατρί, Schneidewin Δίλ. See further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2561 and 2742), Πυλάοχος (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 35), πυλάρης (*Il.* 8. 367 with schol. *ad loc.*, 13. 415, *Od.* 11. 277, Mosch. 4. 86, Apollon. *lex. Hom.* p. 137, 25 ff., Hesych. *s.v.* πυλάρταο κρατεροῖο, *et. mag.* p. 696, 48 ff., Eustath. *in Il.* pp. 718, 20 f., 914, 18 f., 940, 5 f., *in Od.* p. 1684, 43 f., Favorin. *lex.* p. 1601, 28 ff.: see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 400 n. 1, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3326). *Infra* Append. N *med.*

(3) Persephone was Μελίβοια? (Lasos *frag.* 1 Bergk⁴ *ap.* Athen. 624 E Δάματρα μέλπω κόραν τε Κλυμένοι' ἄλοχον Μελίβοιαν, | ὕμνων ἀναγνῶν Αἰολῆδα | βαρύβρομον ἀρμονίαν: but E. Hiller—O. Crusius read ἄλοχον | μελιβόαν ὕμνων ἀναγνῶν | Αἰολιδ' ἀνά κ.τ.λ.), Μελιτώδης (Theokr. 15. 94 with schol. *ad loc.*, Porph. *de antr. nymph.* 18. In Kokondrios *περὶ τρόπων* 6 (Walz *op. cit.* viii. 786, 8) καὶ Μελιτώνην τὴν Περσεφόνην Boissonade *anecd.* iii. 292 cj. μελιτώδη), Μελωδία? (Io. Malal. *chron.* 3 p. 62 Dindorf: Rohde *Psyche*³ i. 206 n. 2 cj. Μελινοια).

pretations. Some, narrowing its range overmuch, would see in it the description of a god specially gracious to the repentant man-slayer. Others, wrongly associating it with *mellichia*, 'figs,' would point in triumph to the Sacred Fig-tree of the Phytalidai.

(4) Zeus *Meilichios* on the Hills near Athens.

There must have been another sanctuary of Zeus *Meilichios* on the northern slope of the Nymphs' Hill, now crowned by the Observatory. For here two dedications to the god have come to light, one inscribed on a round pillar¹, the other on a quadrangular base². The latter associates him with Helios, possibly as being a god of fertility³.

The eastward prolongation of the Nymphs' Hill, on which stands the church of Saint Marina, had in antiquity its own cult of Zeus: a couple of rock-cut inscriptions on the southern slope mark the limits of his precinct⁴. Whether the god here also had fertilising powers, we cannot tell; but at the present day women who come to supplicate Saint Marina for children 'go through the performance of sliding down the great sloping rock in front of the church⁵.'

(4) Hekate was 'Απστη (C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 57 pap. Par. 1450 καὶ 'Απστη Χθονία), Εὐκόλνη (Kallim. *frag.* 82^d Schneider χαῖρ', Εὐκόλνη, *ap. et. Sorbon.* (cited by T. Gaisford in his note on *et. mag.* p. 392, 27), *et. Ultraiect.* (cited by D. Ruhnken *epist. crit.* ii. 181), *et. Flor.* p. 133, *cp. et. mag.* p. 392, 27 f., Cramer *anecd. Paris.* iv. 182, 23 ff., Suid. *s.v.* Εὐκόλνη), Καλλίστη (Hesych. *s.v.*), Κράταις (Ap. Rhod. 4. 829 with schol. *ad loc.*: see further H. W. Stoll and O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1408 f.).

(5) A daughter of Zeus by Persephone was Μελιῶνη? (so C. A. Lobeck for Μηλιῶνη in Orph. *h. Melin.* 71. 1).

(6) An Arcadian bear-goddess (?) was Καλλιστώ (Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 402 ff. fig. 26, R. Franz 'De Callistus fabula' in the *Leipziger Studien zur classischen Philologie* 1890 xii. 233—365, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 931—935, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 438, Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 191, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 194 f., 942 n. 8, *alib.*, O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 i. 176 f.).

(7) The bogus snake-god of Abonou Teichos was Γλυκῶν (*supra* Append. L p. 1083 ff.).

Such titles have a twofold aspect. Their value is at once negative and positive. On the one hand, they are substitutes for names that were taboo. 'It is especially,' says Dr Farnell (*Cults of Gk. States* iii. 137), 'in the cults of the powers of the lower world, in the worship of Hades and Persephone, and more especially still in the mysteries, that we discern in many Greek communities a religious dislike to pronounce the proper personal name, either because of its extreme holiness or because of its ominous associations, and to conceal it under allusive, euphemistic, or complimentary titles.' On the other hand, these titles often aim at securing by magical means the blessing that they describe: you call your god what you wish him to be, in order to make him so. See some shrewd remarks by W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 p. 33 f.: 'Here, in part (there are other elements also) lies the efficacy of Euphemism. You call the Fairies "Kindly Ones"; behind the conscious motive of putting them into a good temper, and the fear of effecting a connection with them by uttering their name, is further the comfort that you derive by persuading yourself to believe that they are kindly: the fact that you call them kindly makes them kindly.' *Meilichios* is a case in point.

¹ *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1584 Δὲ Μελιχίωι | Ξωπρωτων.

² *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1585 Ἑλλωι καὶ Δὲ Μελι[χίωι] | Μαμμλα.

³ Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 421 n. 4, 424.

⁴ *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 504 ΣΟΙΔ:ΣΟΦΟΗ and a little lower down no. 505 ΗΟΡΟΣ.

⁵ Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 58 f. Cp. *supra* i. 563 n. 4.

At Alopeke (*Angelokepoi, Ampelokepoi*) near Mount Lykabettos¹ Zeus again appears to have borne a chthonian character. A roughly squared block of Pentelic marble, found in an ancient well of this locality, has the upper part of its front face engraved as follows² in lettering of the late fifth century B.C.:

ΗΙ ΕΡΟΝ :	Sanctuary
ΔΙΟΣ:ΜΙ	of Zeus <i>Mi-</i>
ΛΙΧΙΟ:Α	<i>lichios, (G)-</i>
ΗΣ:ΑΘΗΝ	<i>e, Athen-</i>
ΑΙΑΣ	<i>aia.</i>

The grouping of the god with Ge, if not also the discovery of his boundary-stone in a well, is significant of his underground nature.

(5) Zeus *Meilichios* on the Ilissos.

Yet another Athenian cult seems to have connected Zeus *Meilichios* as a god of fertility with underground waters. In 1893 A. N. Skias, when exploring



Fig. 947

¹ S. Reinach 'Le sanctuaire d'Athéna et de Zeus Meilichios à Athènes' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1892 xvi. 411—417.

² S. A. Koumanoudes in the *Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1889 pp. 51—54 no. 1 = *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 1. 3 no. 528¹ *ἱερὸν | Διὸς Μελιχίου, (Γ)ῆς, Ἀθηναίας*. The reading (Γ)ῆς, here adopted by A. Kirchhoff, was suggested independently by Semitelos and Diels (*O. Kern in the Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 10 n. 2), and is accepted by O. Höfer in *Roscher Lex. Myth.* ii. 2558 f., *Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 421 n. 3, 424, W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 69.

the bed of the Ilissos, discovered in the two reservoirs beneath the rocky barrier of the later Kallirrhoe four slabs carved in relief. Of these slabs two were found close together in the basin¹ adjoining the chapel of Saint Photine, and with



Fig. 948.

them a colossal head of Herakles wearing the lion-skin. One of the two reliefs in question (fig. 947)² shows Zeus, with a sceptre in his left hand and a *phiale* (?) in

¹ Marked B in W. Wilberg's plan of the excavations (Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ. 1893 pl. A).

² A. N. Skias in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1894 p. 133 ff. fig., Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.*

his right, seated on a rock (?)¹. Before him is an altar of rude stones. Beyond it stand two female worshippers, presumably mother and daughter, conceived on a smaller scale than the god himself. The moulding above bears traces of fifth-century letters, which were read by Skias as a dedication to Zeus *Naios*²: they may equally well, indeed better, be completed as a dedication to Zeus *Meilichios*³. The second relief (fig. 948)⁴ represents Zeus holding a jug in both hands as he sits on a horned and bearded head, which is inscribed in lettering of the Alexandrine age *Achelōios*⁵. Behind Zeus stands a female (?)—perhaps Kallirrhoe, daughter of Achelōios,—fronting us with a *cornu copiae* in her left hand and a *phidie* in her right. Before Zeus stand Hermes and Herakles. Hermes has a trefoil *oinochōe* in his right hand, the *caduceus* in his left. Herakles, equipped with lion-skin and club, extends his right hand with something in it (another *oinochōe*?) towards Zeus. To either side of the heads of Zeus and Herakles are two holes of doubtful significance.

It is not quite certain that either of these reliefs figures Zeus *Meilichios*. But it is probable that both do so. The former bears a general resemblance to the *Meilichios*-reliefs of the Peiraieus (figs. 942, 943)⁶, though it shows a more primitive type of altar and dispenses with architectural framework. The latter represents a chthonian Zeus of some sort; for it associates him closely with Achelōios⁷ and Kallirrhoe (?). Now somewhere in the immediate neighbourhood

pl. 130, 2 (=my fig. 947). The dimensions of the slab, which is now preserved in the National Museum (no. 1779), are as follows: breadth 0.31^m, height 0.22^m.

¹ Cp. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 130, 3 (no. 1781), *infra* p. 1119 n. o.

² ΕΥΙΛΕΝΝΑΙ = [ὁ δεῖνα ἀν]έθηκεν Ναῖ[ω Δι]. The lettering is hardly later than c. 450 B.C.

³ Skias himself supposes that the god portrayed is Zeus *Μειλχιος*, who *qua* watery chthonian Zeus might—he thinks—bear the title *Naios*. But it is surely simpler to restore [Δι Μειλιχίωι κατ' εὐχὴν ἀν]έθηκεν Ναῖ[άς] or *Nāv[νιον]* or the like.

⁴ P. Kabbadias in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1893 p. 137 n. 1, A. N. Skias *ib.* 1894 p. 137 ff. pl. 7 (=my fig. 948), Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 131 (larger, but not so clear), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 351 no. 3 (summary sketch). The slab, now in the National Museum (no. 1778), measures: greatest height 0.85^m, breadth below 0.53^m, breadth above 0.60^m, thickness of base 0.16^m, thickness of background c. 0.10^m.

⁵ ΑΧΕΛΩΙΟΣ.

⁶ *Supra* p. 1105 f.

⁷ A votive relief of Pentelic marble (height 0.42^m, breadth 0.49^m, thickness 0.08^m; it had originally a tenon for insertion in a mortise), found at Megara (F. Wieseler 'Ueber ein Votivrelief aus Megara' in the *Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1875 xx. 6. 1—39) and now in the Berlin Museum (*Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 251 f. no. 679 with fig.), is referable to the early part of s. iv. B.C. (Furtwängler *Samml. Sabourroff Sculptures* pl. 27=my fig. 949). On the back wall of a cavern is carved the head of Achelōios, and immediately beneath it is set a table for offerings. Ranged round the cavern we see a semicircle of divinities. Zeus in the centre is flanked by Pan (horns) and Kore (torches). Next to Pan is Demeter (?); next to Kore, Plouton (?—possibly Agathos Daimon) (*phidie, cornu copiae*). The reclining youth on the extreme left and the seated female figure on the extreme right are insufficiently characterised as deities (Apollon?? Aphrodite?? cp. Paus. 1. 44. 9) and more probably represent the eponymous hero Megaros and his mother, one of the nymphs called Sīthnides, who was beloved by Zeus (Paus. 1. 40. 1, cp. *et. mag.* p. 228, 21 ff. where the hero is called Megareus): the fact that they alone occupy the ground-level would not justify the inference that they are merely the dedicators of the *ex voto*.

The nearest parallel to this relief as a whole is furnished by the rock-carvings at the entrance to the marble-quarries of Paros: see J. Stuart—N. Revett *The Antiquities of Athens* London 1816 iv pp. ix, 34 f., ch. 6 pl. 5, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst*

of the reservoirs above-mentioned must be located¹ that sanctuary of the Nymphs and Acheloius, which with its votive statuettes and images still makes a pretty picture in the pages of Platon. It will be remembered how Sokrates and Phaidros one thirsty day stretched themselves on the turf beneath a great plane-tree, cool water bubbling up at their feet, the air ringing with a chorus of cicadas, and blossoms of *agnus castus* perfuming the whole place². It is reasonable to suppose that the Zeus of our reliefs had a precinct adjoining this sacred spot. And the supposition squares well with sundry further considerations. To the north, and close at hand, lay the vast temple of Zeus *Olympios*, begun by Peisistratos, continued by Antiochos iv Epiphanes, and ended by Hadrian. Zeus indeed had been established here from time immemorial. 'They say,' writes Pausanias, 'that Deukalion built the old sanctuary of Zeus *Olympios*, and in proof that Deukalion dwelt at Athens they point to a grave not far from the present temple³.' If early graves were to be seen in the vicinity, we might look to find the cult of a chthonian Zeus⁴, who would be readily brought into connexion with the powers of sub-

ii. 4. 11 pl. 63, 814, A. Michaelis in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1863 xxxv. 314 f., 328, Lebas—



Fig. 949.

Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 110 f. pl. 122, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 360 no. 1, *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 245.

¹ A. N. Skias *Συμβολαί εις την 'Αθηναϊκήν τοπογραφίαν* pp. 13—16 (= *Εστία* 1894 p. 292), *id.* in the *Πρακτ. άρχ. έτ.* 1893 p. 123.

² Plat. *Phaedr.* 230 B—C.

³ Paus. i. 18. 8.

⁴ A. N. Skias in the *Πρακτ. άρχ. έτ.* 1897 p. 81 ff. suggests that the small Ionic temple

terranean springs. Pliny, or his authority, was probably¹ thinking of the site, when he remarked: 'At Athens during a rainy summer Enneakrounos is colder than the well in the garden of Zeus, but in dry seasons the latter is freezing-cold².' More than that. Midway between the Kallirrhoe-bar and the Olympieion are the foundations of a small temple built in Roman times and subsequently transformed into a Christian church³. This little edifice perhaps marks the very ground where Zeus *Meilichios* was worshipped⁴.

on the Ilissos (J. Stuart—N. Revett *The Antiquities of Athens* London 1762 i. 7 ff., ch. 2 pls. 1—8, A. N. Skias *loc. cit.* p. 73 ff. with pl. A' by A. N. Lykakes, W. Dörpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1897 xxii. 227 f., J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1901 iv. 243 ff., C. Wachsmuth in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. i. 190 f.), which was standing as the church of the Παναγία εἰς τὴν Πέτραν till towards the close of the eighteenth century, had originally some connexion with Zeus Φίλιος, a doublet of Zeus Χθόνιος. He relies on a fragmentary votive relief (Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ. 1897 p. 83 f. pl. A' fig. A', Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 130, 3 (no. 1781)) of s. iv or iii B.C. found in one of the numerous tombs adjoining the temple: it represents a sceptred god sitting on a rock with an altar before him. But W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 371 f. makes out a strong case for regarding the sanctuary as that of the Μήτηρ ἐν Ἀγρας.

¹ But see W. Judeich *op. cit.* p. 182 n. 6.

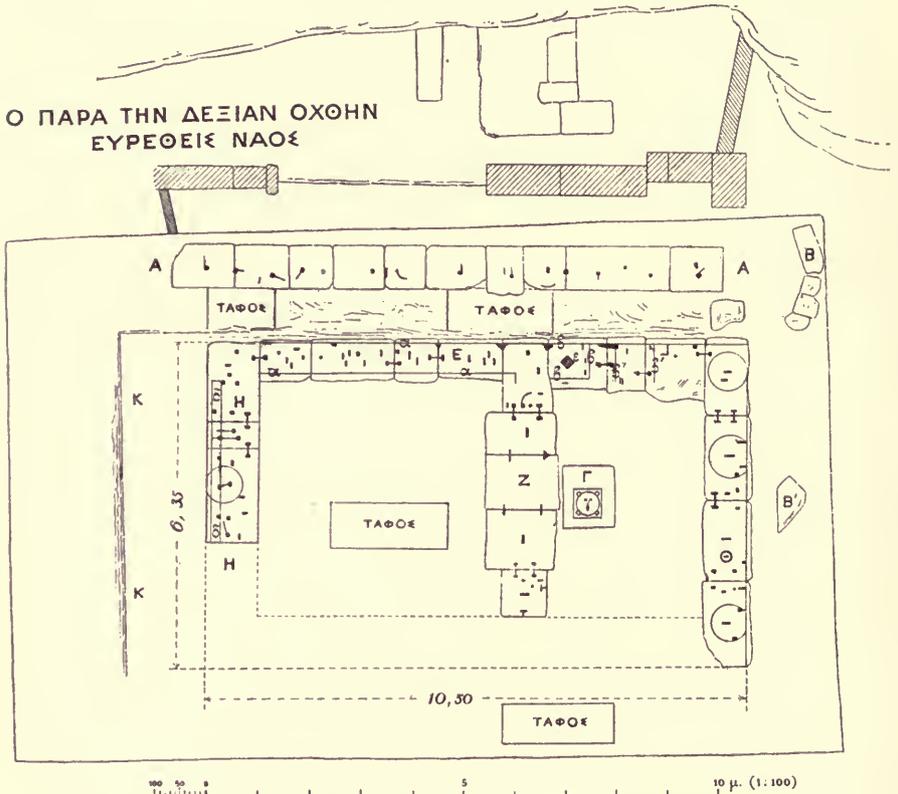
² Plin. *nat. hist.* 31. 50 Athenis Enneacrunos nimbose aestate frigidior est quam puteus in Iovis horto, at ille siccitatibus riget.

³ A. N. Skias in the Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ. 1893 p. 130 ff. pl. A with inset (= my fig. 950). The temple was a peripteral building with 6 columns on each short side and 9 on each long side: the *nais* was amphiprostyle with 4 columns at either end (Skias *loc. cit.* p. 131 fig.). The order appears to have been Doric (?). When the temple became a church, the πρόναος was transformed into a ἄγιον βῆμα. Beneath the sacred table was a pit (Γ in fig. 950) for relics, which were bestowed in an old Greek sepulchral urn of black stone with four handles. Several tombs of Christian date were found on the site.

⁴ That is my conjecture. A. N. Skias, who has a better right to speak, contends (Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ. 1893 p. 132 f.) that here was the spot known in s. xv A.D. as the 'precinct of Hera' (Anon. Vindob. 7 in C. Wachsmuth *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum* Leipzig 1874 i. 735 f. πρὸς δὲ νότον τούτων ἔστιν οἶκος βασιλικὸς πλὴν ὠραῖος, εἰς δὲ κατερχόμενος ὁ δοῦξ κατὰ κράτος εἰς εὐωχίαν ἐκίνεῖτο· ἐκεῖ ἔσθι καὶ ἡ Ἐννεάκρουνος (ναὸς ἀκροῦ) πηγῆ ἢ Καλλιπρόην, εἰς τὴν λουόμενος ἀνήρχετο εἰς τέμενος τὸ τῆς Ἥρας λεγόμενον καὶ πορρηχέου· νῦν δὲ μετεποιήθη εἰς ναὸν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου ὑπὸ τῶν εὐσεβῶν). But W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 371 n. 12 decides with greater probability that this and other early allusions to a 'temple de Junon' (Wachsmuth *op. cit.* i. 736 n. 1) referred to the Christian church on the Ilissos-'island' (see R. Rangabé in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1850 p. 134 ff.), which had been wrongly identified with Hadrian's temple of Hera and Zeus Πανελλήνιος (Paus. i. 18. 9 Ἀδριανὸς δὲ κατεσκευάσατο μὲν καὶ ἄλλα Ἀθηναίους, ναὸν Ἥρας καὶ Διὸς Πανελληνίου κ.τ.λ., Dion Cass. 69. 16 τὸν τε σηκὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, τὸ Πανελλήνιον ὠρομασμένον, οἰκοδομήσασθαι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατεστήσατο (sc. Ἀδριανός), Philostr. v. *soph.* 2. 1. 7 καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐλειτούργησεν (sc. Πρώδης) Ἀθηναίους τὴν τ' ἐπώνυμον καὶ τὴν τῶν Πανελληνίων, 2. 17. 1. μὲθ' εἰ τὴν τῶν Πανελληνίων Ἀθήνησιν εὐκλεῶς ἤρξεν (sc. Ροῦφος, cp. *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 17) Hieron. *chron. ann. Abr.* 2148 (Euseb. *chron.* ii. 167 Schoene) Hadrianus cum insignes et plurimas aedes Athenis fecisset agonem edidit bibliothecamque miri operis instruxit). The real site of the temple of Zeus Πανελλήνιος at Athens is unknown: future excavators will doubtless discover it.

Meantime extant inscriptions confirm the literary sources and add somewhat to our knowledge of the god and of his festival. The name appears to have had a distinctly political origin. In late republican or early imperial times the Achaean League was revived as τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Λοκρῶν καὶ Φωκέων καὶ Εὐβοέων κοινόν, or more briefly τὸ κοινόν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἡ σύνοδος τῶν Πανελληνίων: their council met at Argos under the presidency of a στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. But in 131 A.D. Hadrian instituted a new Πανελληνίω on

grander lines: it met at Athens and included all the Greek states, not merely those of the Peloponnese. Thenceforward the revived Achaean League naturally dropped its pretension to be Panhellenic (see W. Dittenberger's notes on the *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 18, on *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 842, 2 f., and on *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 504, 1 f., 11). Hadrian not only found a temple of Zeus Πανελλήνιος (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 13, 10 [ναὸν Πανελλήνιον Διὸς ἐφ'ἰδρύσατο (sc. Ἀδριανός)]), but also himself assumed the title Πανελλήνιος (*ib.* iii. 1 no. 12, 26 ff. [τὰς δωρεὰς ὡς ἕκασται ἐδόθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ] | μεγίστου αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραϊᾶ[νοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ] | Ὀλυμπί[ου Πανελληνίου], *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 70, 1 f. τὸν δις αὐτοκράτορα Κ[αίσαρα Τραϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν] | Σεβαστὸν Ὀλύμπιον Π[ύθιον] Πανελλήνιον, *ib.* i no. 71, 1 f. [τὸν δις αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τραϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν



Σεβαστὸν Ὀλύμπιον Πύθιον Πανελλήνιον], *ib.* i no. 72, 1 ff. τὸν δις αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τραϊανὸν | Ἀδριανὸν Σεβαστὸν Ὀλύμπιον Πύθιον | Πανελλήνιον, *ib.* i no. 3491, 1 ff. τὸν δις αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα [θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱόν], | θεοῦ Νέρβα υἱόν, Τραϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν Σεβαστὸν Ὀλύμπιον Πανελλήνιον νέον Πύθιον, G. Radet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 480 no. 60, 1 f. *Kirk-Agatsch* from Thyateira [αὐτοκράτορα Τραϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν Καίσαρα Σεβαστόν, | ...καὶ Πανελλήνιον] presumably as being the earthly representative and vicergerent of Zeus (*Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 314). After his death the divinised Hadrian had as priest the president of the great Panhellenic council (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 681, 2 ff. τὸν ἀρχο[ντα τῶν] | σεμνο[τάτων Παν]ελλήνω[ν καὶ ἱερέα] | θεοῦ Ἀδ[ριανοῦ Παν]ελλ[ληνίου] καὶ ἀγω[νισ]θ[ῆ]τ[ην τῶν Παν]ελλήνω[ν]...],? cp. *ib.* iii. 2 no. 3872, 1 ff. θεὸν [Ἀδριανόν?] --- Πανελλήν...], Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 504, 1 f. Aizanoi οἱ ἀρχων τῶν

With his cult on the Ilissos I would connect both a local myth and a local custom.

(6) The Myth of Periphas.

Antoninus Liberalis in his *Metamorphoses*, a valuable work preserved to us by a single manuscript at Heidelberg, gives the following account of Periphas :

'Periphas was sprung from the soil in Attike before Kekrops the son of Ge appeared. He became king of the ancient population, and was just and rich and holy, a man who offered many sacrifices to Apollon and judged many disputes and was blamed by no one. All men willingly submitted to his rule and, in view of his surpassing deeds, transferred to him the honours due to Zeus and decided that they belonged to Periphas. They offered sacrifices and built temples to him, and called him Zeus *Sotér* and *Ephésios* and *Meilichios*.

Πανελλήνων και Ιερεὺς θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Π[ανελληνίου] † και ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων, *ib.* no. 507, 1 f. ὁ ἄρχων τῶν Πανελλήνων και Ιερεὺς θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Πανελληνίου | και ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων. It would even seem that at Athens the god Hadrian took over the temple of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος (so W. Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 504 n. 6 understands Dion Cass. 69. 16 cited *supra*). Cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 1822 (Epeiros) an altar inscribed αὐτοκράτορι Τραϊᾷ νῶϊ Ἀδριανῶϊ Σε]βαστῶϊ, | Ὀλυμπίω, Διὶ Δωδωναίῳ]. The foundation of the Πανελλήνιον in 131 A.D. (P. Canvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 43 no. 35, 1 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 842, 1 ff. ετους γ' τῆς καθιερώσεως τοῦ Διός] | τοῦ Ὀλυμποῦ και τῆς κτίσεως | τοῦ Πανελληνίου) was commemorated (Dion Cass. and Hieron. *chron. locc. cit.*) by means of an ἀγών (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 10, 13 f. (ἀ)ντ]άρχωντος τοῦ Ιερωτάτου ἀ(γ)[ῶνος τοῦ] (Π)αν(ε)λληνίου, *cp.* *ib.* iii. 1 no. 681, 6 ff. [ἀγώ]ν|σ[θ]ῆ|τ[ρη] τῶν Παν|ελλη|ν[ιων]....), *ib.* iii. 1 no. 682, 1 ff. [ἀγωνοθετή]σαντα --- [? Πανελληνίων, *ib.* iii. 1 no. 1199, 5 f. ἐπὶ ἀγωνοθέ[του τῶν μεγά]λων Πανελληνίων, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 504, 2 ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων, *ib.* no. 507, 2 ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων) known as the Πανελλήνια (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 32, 5 τὸ εἰς τὰ Πανελλ[ήνια], *ib.* iii. 1 no. 127, 3 f. Πανελλήνια | ἐν Ἀθήναις, *ib.* iii. 1 no. 128, 5 νεικήσας κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς Πανελλήνια | κ.τ.λ., 10 f. Πανελλ[ήνια] | δις | Ἀθή(νας), *Olympia* v. 347 ff. no. 237, 8 f. α' Ἀδρειανεία ἐν Ζυμύρῃ και ἐν Ἐφέσῳ και τὰ πρώτως Παν|ελλήνια ἀχθέντα ἐν Ἀθήναις πρώτος κηρύκων, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1068 i, 1 f. = *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 49, 7 Megara Πανελλήνια | ἐν Ἀθήναις, E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* iii. 2. 237 f. Oxford 1890 no. 611, 7 Ephesos Πανελλήνια ἐν Ἀθήναις, στάδιον, *ib.* iii. 2. 238 f. no. 613, 8 f. Ephesos [Ἀ]θήναις πα[ιδ]ων Παν|ελλήνια γ, *ib.* iii. 2. 239 f. no. 615, 5 Ephesos Ἀθήνας παίδων Πανελλήνια, J. R. S. Sterrett in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* Boston 1888 iii. 291 f. no. 413, 15 f. Kara Baulo Πανελλήνε(ι)α | ἐν Ἀθήναις). The name μέγαρα Πανελλήνια (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 17, 3 [τῶν μεγ]άλων Πανελλ[ηνίων] or [τῶν ἄ]λλων Πανελλ[ήνων], *ib.* no. 1199, 5 f. ἐπὶ ἀγωνοθέ[του τῶν μεγά]λων Πανελληνίων, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 504, 2 ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων, *ib.* no. 507, 2 ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων) implies that the contest was organised also as a *pentacteris* on the analogy of the Παναθηναία (Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p 168 ff. tries to make out that the Panhellenia at Athens was modelled on the Eleutheria at Plataiai). Few further details of the festival are on record (with *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 1141, 20 f. και ἐκ Παν[ε]λληνίου οὐθέν *cp.* *ib.* iii. 1 no. 1184, 20 ff. [με]τ[ρ]ᾶ τὰς Σεβαστοφορικὰς νομάς πάσας τὰς διὰ Πανελληνίων ἐπ' ἴσης ὅ τε ἐφηβοὶ και οἱ πε[ρ]ὶ τὸ Διογενέειον θύσαντες και σπείσαντες ἐν τῷ Διογενεῖω τὰ ἐξιτήρια εὐωχήθησαν, | σ[θ]δ[ε]νὶ δὲ ἄλλω συνετέλεσαν οἱ ἐφηβοὶ ἢ κατὰ τὸ ἀνακαῖον τῷ καψαρίῳ μόνω. Mommsen *op. cit.* p. 168 f. argues that the ἐφηβοὶ, who began their course in Boedromion, must have ended it in Metageitnion: accordingly, if their concluding feast took place after the Panhellenia, we may refer the Panhellenia also to Metageitnion, *i.e.* to August or September. The relevance of *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 85, 1 ff. οἱ Πανελλήνες | ΑΡΙΣΤΑ[N] | | καρποῦ ἀπαρχῆς is doubtful: see W. Dittenberger *ad loc.*)).

Indignant at this, Zeus wished to consume his whole house with a thunderbolt. But when Apollon, whom Periphas used to honour exceedingly, begged Zeus not to destroy him utterly, Zeus granted the request. He came into the home of Periphas and found him embracing his wife. Grasping them both in his hands, he turned Periphas into an eagle; his wife, who begged him to make her too a bird to bear Periphas company, into a vulture. So upon Periphas he bestowed honours in return for his holy life among men, making him king over all the birds, and granting him to guard the sacred sceptre and to draw near to his own throne; while Periphas' wife he turned into a vulture, and suffered to appear as a good omen to men in all their doings¹.

From what source Antoninus Liberalis, a compiler of the second century A.D. or later², drew this singular narrative is unknown³; nor are its incidents—apart from a casual reference in Ovid⁴—cited elsewhere. Nevertheless the story as it stands is instructive. Certain traits are late and must be suppressed. Thus the writer, or his authority, is inclined to etymologise⁵ and, worse still, to moralise. His tale belongs to a well-defined group, in which an early king (Salmeoneus is typical) poses as Zeus and is consequently punished by the real Zeus. This implies, as I have elsewhere pointed out⁶, that, when the essential divinity of the old-world king had little by little faded into oblivion, posterity treated his claim to be Zeus as sheer impiety calling for the vengeance of the genuine god. Yet the author of our tale, with illuminating inconsistency, makes Zeus himself bestow upon the blasphemer altogether exceptional 'honours in return for his holy life.' I take it, then, that Periphas was an Attic king, who in the dim past had played the rôle of Zeus and made his petty thunder for some unsophisticated folk. It may even be that his name *Periphas*, 'the Brilliant'⁷, was a recognised epithet of Zeus⁸; for an Orphic hymn salutes Zeus *Astrápios*, the lightning-god, as *periphantos*⁹. Now we have repeatedly found a human Zeus of this sort figuring among the kings of Thessaly descended from Aiolos¹⁰. It is therefore of interest to observe that Lapithes, the eponymous king of the Thessalian Lapithai, was either father¹¹ or son of a Periphas, who wedded Astygyia

¹ Ant. Lib. 6.

² G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2573 ('schwerlich vor dem 2. Jhdt. n. Chr.'). W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*³ München 1898 p. 778 ('aus der Zeit der Antonine'). See further E. Oder *De Antonino Liberali* Bonn 1886 pp. 1—61.

³ H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1868 xxiii. 357 (= *id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 66) says: 'wahrscheinlich von Boios,' and O. Schneider *Nicandrea* Lipsiae 1856 p. 43 had reached the same conclusion before him. M. Wellmann in *Hermes* 1891 xxvi. 507 n. 2 thinks otherwise: 'Vermuthlich ist Nikander Quelle.'

⁴ *Ov. met.* 7. 399 f. Palladas arces: quae te, iustissima Phene, | teque, senex Peripha, pariter videre volantes. Lact. *Plac. narr. fab.* 7. 20 merely echoes Ovid (M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*² München 1899 ii. 1. 237 f.): venisse etiam Athenas, ubi Phineum (*sic*) et Peripham in aves conversos.

⁵ He harps on derivatives of *φαίνω*, real or supposed: *Περίφας...φανήναι...φήνην...ἐπιφαίνεσθαι*.

⁶ *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 277, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 300.

⁷ *Περίφας* = *περιφανής* (Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* iii. 86), *περίφαντος*, *περιφανής*. Cp. *Πολύφας*, *Υπέρφας*. For other explanations see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1971 f.

⁸ H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1868 xxiii. 357 (= *id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 66 f.).

⁹ Orph. *h. Zeus Astrápios* 20. 1 ff. *κικλήσκω μέγαν, άγρόν, έρισμάραγον, περίφαντον, | ...άστράπιον Δία, παγγενέτην, βασιλήα μέγιστον, | κ.τ.λ.* adduced by O. Höfer *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ *Supra* p. 1088.

¹¹ Epaphroditos *Homeric frag.* 16 Luenzner *ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Λαπίθη*.

daughter of Hypseus and became by her the father of Antion and the grandfather of Ixion¹. J. Töpffer in an important article² insisted on the point that Periphas was at once an Attic autochthon and a Thessalian king: he compared other cases of the same bilocation³ and, following up the clue thus afforded, reached the conclusion that in prehistoric times some Thessalian tribe (Lapithai? Dryopes?) migrated southwards through Euboea to north-eastern Attike, and so on by sea to the southern parts of the Argolid. Töpffer's hypothesis has been accepted by P. Weizsäcker⁴ and is, I think, helpful in any attempt to unravel the tangled skein of Attic religion. For, in view of their traditional descent from Aiolos, we shall probably be right in supposing that these immigrants were Aeolians (not Achaeans⁵), who, swarming off from Thessaly in days before the great Athenian *synoikismós*, settled in Attike and planted the worship of their⁶ Zeus *Olympios* on the northern bank of the Ilissos. The leader of the settlement, regarded by his subjects as the human representative of the sky-god, would later on be revered in the same neighbourhood as Zeus *Sotér* and *Ephépsios* and *Meilichios*. All these titles, whose connotation was subsequently enlarged in a variety of directions, were from the first applicable to the buried king. To begin with, he was *Sotér*, because on him depended the preservation and perpetuation of the family line. Custom prescribed that at a banquet libation should be made from the first mixing-bowl to Zeus *Olympios* and the Olympians, from the second to the Heroës, from the third to Zeus *Sotér*, otherwise styled *Téleios*⁷. The sequence suggests that this final offering was in its essence simply

¹ Diod. 4. 69, who—according to E. Schwartz (Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 674)—is here excerpting from an earlier mythographical handbook.

² J. Töpffer 'Theseus und Peirithoos' in *Aus der Anomia* Berlin 1890 pp. 30—46.

³ Theseus, Peirithoos, Boutes, Ixion, Phorbas, Phaleros, Mopsos, etc. Töpffer remarks *inter alia* that Perithoidai, a deme of the tribe Oineis (A. Milchhöfer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2195, with map to face p. 2204, places it to the N.W. of Athens on the near side of Mt Aigaleos), was said to have been founded by Peirithoos son of Ixion, and that the Athenian custom of extending a special welcome to Thessalians was motivated by the friendship of Theseus and Peirithoos (Ephoros *frag.* 37 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 243 Müller) *ap. Phot. lex. s.v. Περιθοῖδαι*, Soud. *s.v. Περιθοῖδαι*, Apostol. 14. 19).

⁴ P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1762.

⁵ The commonly received opinion that the Achaeans were an Aeolian people is subjected to shrewd criticism by J. A. K. Thomson *Studies in the Odyssey* Oxford 1914 p. 117 ff. See further A. Fick 'Aöler und Achäer' in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1911 xlvii. 1 ff., *eund.* 'Älteste griechische Stammverbände' *ib.* 1914 xlvi. 67 ff., G. Dottin *Les anciens peuples de l'Europe* Paris 1916 p. 143 ff.

⁶ A. Fick *loc. cit.* 1914 xlvi. 97.

⁷ Poll. 6. 15 κρατήρες δὲ ὁ μὲν πρῶτος Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου καὶ Ὀλυμπίων θεῶν, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἠρώων, ὁ δὲ τρίτος Διὸς Σωτήρος Τελείου, ὅτι καὶ τὰ τρία πρῶτος τέλειος ἀριθμὸς, 6. 100 ὥσπερ καὶ Διὸς Σωτήρος ὁ τρίτος κρατὴρ ἱερὸς ἦν, Schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 6 (5). 10 τὸν δὲ τρίτον κρατὴρα Διὸς Σωτήρος ἔλεγον, καθὰ καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν *Ναυπλίῳ* (*frag.* 392 Nauck², 425 Jebb): 'Ζεῦ πανσίλυπε καὶ Διὸς σωτηρίων | σπονδῆ τρίτον κρατήρος.' τὸν μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἐκίρασαν, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἠρώων, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Διὸς Σωτήρος, καθὰ καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν Ἐπιγόνους (*frag.* 55 Nauck²): 'λοιβὰς Διὸς μὲν πρῶτον ὠραίου γάμου | Ἴπρας τε.' εἶτα· 'τὴν δευτέραν γε (C. G. Schütz cj. δὲ) κρᾶσιν ἠρωσων νέμω.' εἶτα· 'τρίτον (A. Nauck cj. τρίτην) Διὸς Σωτήρος εὐκταλαν λίβαν.' Διὸς δὲ Σωτήρος ἔλεγον τὸν τρίτον διὰ τὸ τοῦς τοῦτον πίνοντας σταθεροῦς γίνεσθαι, τοῦς δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον εἰς ἄτην καὶ ἀνομίαν καὶ ἀσέλγειαν τρέπεσθαι. ἔλεγον δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Τέλειον διὰ τὸ τέλειον εἶναι τὸν τρίτον ἀριθμὸν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα καὶ μέσον καὶ τέλος, schol. Plat. *Phileb.* 66 D τὸ τρίτον τῷ Σωτήρι: ἐκ μεταφορᾶς εἰρηται τοῦ ἐν ταῖς

συνουσίας ἔθους· Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Ναυπλίῳ καταπλέοντι. ἐκινῶντο γὰρ ἐν αὐταῖς κρατῆρες τρεῖς. καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου καὶ θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἔλεγον, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἠρώων, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Σωτήρος, ὡς ἐνταῦθα τε καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν Πολιτεία (Plat. *rep.* 583 B). ἔλεγον δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Τέλειον, ὡς Εὐριπίδης Ἀνδρομέδα (*frag.* 148 Nauck²) καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης Ταγηνισταῖς (*frag.* 33 Meineke), schol. Plat. *Charm.* 167 A—B τὸ τρίτον τῷ Σωτήρι· ἐπὶ τῶν τελείως τι πρατύντων. τὰς γὰρ τρίτας σπονδὰς καὶ τὸν τρίτον κρατῆρα ἐκίμων τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτήρι. τέλειος γὰρ ὁ τρία ἀριθμὸς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ μέσον καὶ τέλος ἔχει, καὶ πρῶτος οὗτος τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἀριοπέριττος. Τέλειος δὲ καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς, ὥστε κατὰ λόγον τρίτον τῷ Διὶ σπένδεται τε καὶ ὁ κρατῆρ τρίτος τίθεται. Σοφοκλῆς Ναυπλίῳ· ‘καὶ Διὸς σωτηρίου | σπονδῆ τρίτου κρατῆρος,’ καὶ Πλάτων Πολιτείας καὶ ἐνταῦθα, Hesyech. s.v. τρίτος κρατῆρ· Σοφοκλῆς Ναυπλίῳ καταπλέοντι. ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις ἐκινῶντο κρατῆρες τρεῖς. καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου καὶ θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἔλεγον· τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἠρώων· τὸν δὲ τρίτον Σωτήρος, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 14 τὴν μὲν πρῶτην σπονδὴν εἶναι θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων, δεύτεραν δὲ ἠρώων, καὶ τρίτην Διὸς Σωτήρος, Soud. s.v. τρίτου κρατῆρος· τοῦ Σωτήρος, δν καὶ Τέλειον ἔλεγον. τὸν μὲν γε (G. Bernhardt cj. μὲν γὰρ) πρῶτον Ὀλυμπίων φασί· τὸν δὲ β’ ἠρώων, <τὸν δὲ γ’ Σωτήρος ins. T. Gaisford>. Πλάτων Πολιτεία· τὸν (G. Bernhardt cj. τὸ) δὲ γ’ Ὀλυμπικῶς τῷ Σωτήρι τε καὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ (cp. Plat. *rep.* 583 B) = Phot. *lex.* s.v. τρίτου κρατῆρος· τοῦ Σωτήρος, δν καὶ Τέλειον ἔλεγον. τὸν μὲν πρῶτον Ὀλυμπίων φασί, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἠρώων, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Ὀλυμπικῶς τῷ Σωτήρι τε καὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ, *ib.* s.v. τρίτος κρατῆρ· Διὸς Τελείου Σωτήρος· πρῶτος γὰρ τέλειος ἀριθμὸς ὁ τρία, ὅτι ἔχει ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος καὶ μέσα, ὡς Φιλόχορος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἡμερῶν (*frag.* 179 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 414 Müller)), Apostol. 10. 5 α κρατῆρ τρίτος Διὸς Σωτήρος· εἰώθασι γὰρ ἐν συμποσίοις οἱ παλαιοὶ κερνᾶν κρατῆρα πρῶτον Ὀλυμπικῷ Διὶ, δεύτερον τοῖς ἠρωσι, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Διὸς Σωτήρος. Σοφοκλῆς τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖ ἐν Ναυπλίῳ (A. Boeckh corr. Ναυπλίῳ)· ‘Ζεὺ παυσίλυπε (P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1903 xxxviii. 197 notes a *skýrphos* at Athens (no. 12351) with incised inscription ΠΑΥΣΙΛΥΠΟΣ) καὶ Διὸς σωτηρίου | σπονδαὶ τρίτου κρατῆρος,’ 10. 77 α ‘λοιβὰς <Διὸς> μὲν πρῶτον ὠραίου γάμου | Ἥρας 1ε.’ εἶτα· ‘τὴν δευτέραν <γε> κῶσιν ἠρωσιν νέμω,’ 17. 28 τρίτου κρατῆρος ἐγένεω (α proverb in ancient dactylic metre: *supra* i. 444)· ἐπὶ τῶν μεμνημένων τὰ τελεώτατα καὶ σωτηριωδέστερα. τρεῖς δὲ ἦσαν κρατῆρες· καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἔλεγον Ὀλυμπίων, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἠρώων, <τὸν δὲ τρίτον Σωτήρος ins. T. Gaisford>. Πλάτων ἐν Πολιτεία· τὸν (*leg.* τὸ) δὲ τρίτον Ὀλυμπικῶς τῷ Σωτήρι τε <καὶ> Ὀλυμπίῳ. S. A. Naber on Phot. *lex.* s.v. τρίτου κρατῆρος says: ‘Boethi observatio est.’ A. C. Pearson on Soph. *frag.* 425 Jebb remarks: ‘It is clear that our passage was a stock instance with the grammarians, and that all the quotations given above are derived from a common source: this was in all probability Didymus, from whom they may have passed to Diogenian, and thence to the Platonic scholia.’ Another tradition is evidenced by Soud. s.v. κρατῆρ· τρεῖς κρατῆρας ἴστασαν ἐν τῷ δέπνῳ· α’ Ἐρμῆ, β’ Χαρισίῳ (T. Hemsterhuys cj. Χάρισιν), γ’ Διὶ Σωτήρι.

A *kratér* or *stámnos* of Apulian ware from Fasano, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 226 no. F 548, P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1903 xxxviii. 198 n. 2), has its body decorated with (a) a vine-wreath, from which hang two branches with a comic mask between them and a rosette on either side; (b) an ivy-wreath. On its neck is painted in white ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8470 c).

Literary allusions to the third bowl of Zeus Σωτήρ will be found e.g. in Pind. *Isthm.* 6 (5). 10 ff., Aisch. *suppl.* 27 l., *Ag.* 244 ff., 1385 ff., *cho.* 577 f. with 1073 f., *Eum.* 759 f., *frag.* 55 Nauck², Soph. *frag.* 392 Nauck², 425 Jebb, Eur. *frag.* 148 Nauck² (?), Aristoph. *tagenistai frag.* 33 Meineke (?), Plat. *Charm.* 167 A—B, *rep.* 583 B, *Phileb.* 66 D, *legg.* 692 A, *epist.* 7. 334 D, 340 A, Antiphanes *ágraikoi frag.* 5 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 692 F, Euboulos *kybeutai frag.* 1 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 471 D—E, Alexis *tokistés* or *katapseúddomenos frag.* 3 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 692 F l., *frag. fab. inc.* 12 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 466 D—E (a goblet inscribed in golden letters ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ), Diphilos *Sappho frag.* 1 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 487 A, Philochoros *frag.* 18 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 387 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 38 C—D, Diod. 4. 3, Philonides *de unguentis et coronis ap.* Athen. 675 B—C, Eumath. 1. 14 (*τέταρτον (sic) ἐπίνομον Σωτήρι Διὶ*).

The chthonian character of the god is well brought out by Aischylos. In *suppl.* 24 ff. the chorus of Danaïdes prays: ὦν πόλις, ὦν γῆ καὶ λευκὸν ὕδωρ | ὕπατοι τε θεοὶ καὶ βαρῶ-

drink for the soul of a dead man. As such it was duplicated by the cup of unmixed wine drunk after dinner in the name of the Agathos Daimon¹. Both

τιμοι | χθόνιοι θήκας κατέχοντες, | και Ζεὺς Σωτὴρ τρίτος, οἰκοφύλαξ | ὄσιων ἀνδρῶν, κ.τ.λ. In *Ag.* 1385 ff. Klytaimestra describes the third and fatal blow dealt by her hand: και πεπτωκότι | τρίτην ἐπειδώμι, τοῦ κατὰ χθονός | Διός (so R. Enger for αἰδου codd.) νεκρῶν Σωτῆρος εὐκταλαν χάριν, where W. Kausche 'Mythologumena Aeschylea' in the *Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* Halis Saxonum 1888 ix. 179 and A. W. Verrall (ed. 1889) adhere to the manuscript reading, but W. Headlam (trans. 1904) and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (ed. 1914) rightly accept Διός.

¹ With regard to the Agathos Daimon various opinions have been held: see E. Gerhard *Über Wesen, Verwandtschaft und Ursprung der Dämonen und Genien* Berlin 1852 pp. 12 f., 30 (= *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1852* Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 248 f., 266), K. Lehms *Populäre Aufsätze aus dem Alterthum*² Leipzig 1875 i. 173 ff. ('Dämon und Tyche'), E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 131, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 746 f., Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 541 ff., Rohde *Psyche*³ i. 254 n. 2, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1087 n. 2, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 401 f., Harrison *Themis* p. 277 ff.

On the whole it seems probable that the *Agathos Daimon* or 'Good Spirit' was originally the male ancestor of the family addressed by a euphemistic title (*supra* p. 1112 n. 7). As such, he was a giver of fertility and wealth, a sort of Plouton or chthonian Zeus, equipped with a *cornu copiae* (*Cornut. theol.* 27 p. 51, 11 ff. 'Αγαθὸς δὲ Δαίμων... προστάτης... και σωτὴρ τῶν οἰκείων ἐστὶ τῷ σώζειν καλῶς τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον... τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀμαλθείας κέρως οἰκείον αὐτῷ φέρμα ἐστίν, ἐν ᾧ ἅμα πάντα ἀλδήσκει τὰ κατὰ τοὺς οἰκείους καιροὺς φύμενα, κ.τ.λ.). An Athenian relief shows him as a bearded man carrying his horn and associated with his usual partner, Agathe Tyche (L. Stephani in the *Comptendu St. Pét.* 1859 p. 111, R. Schöne *Griechische Reliefs aus athenischen Sammlungen* Leipzig 1872 p. 55 pl. 26, 109. The inscriptions run: ...ι... | ἀνέθηκ... | Ἀγαθὸς Δα[ίμων]ν [Ἀγ]α[θή] Τύχη): cp. *Brit. Mus. Marbles* xi. 90 ff. pl. 47, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 232 no. 2163, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 481 no. 5. A relief from Thespiæ represents a similar figure seated before an altar (?) with a *phiale* in his right hand, a horn in his left (G. Körte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1878 iii. 408 no. 189, O. Kern *ib.* 1891 xvi. 24 f. fig.). And another relief from Thespiæ completes the likeness to Zeus by the addition of throne, sceptre, and eagle (O. Kern in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 24 f. fig. = my fig. 951, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 356 f. fig. 107, *infra* Append. N *inii*. Inscr. in: 'Ἀγέστρος[ς], | Τιμοκράτεια, | Πρωλλεία, | Ἐμπεδονίκα | Ἀγαθοὶ Δήμων[ι] (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 1815)). Hence, although the contention of J. Neuhäuser *De Graecorum daemonibus particula prior* Berolini 1857 p. 10 ff. that the word *δαίμων* was in the beginning 'ipsius summi numinis appellatio' is justly dismissed by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1087 n. 2, we can understand the reasoning of Paus. 8. 36. 5 Μεγαλοκόλραις δὲ διὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλος ὀνομαζομένων πυλῶν, διὰ τούτων ὀδεύουσιν ἐς Μαίναλον παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἐλισσόντα ἐστὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Ἀγαθοῦ Θεοῦ ναός· εἰ δὲ ἀγαθῶν οἱ θεοὶ δοτῆρὲς εἰσὶν ἀνθρώποις, Ζεὺς δὲ ὕπατος θεῶν ἐστίν, ἐπόμενος ἂν τις τῷ λόγῳ τῆν



Fig. 951.

ἐπικλησὼν ταύτην Διὸς τεκμαίροιο εἶναι. Others besides Pausanias took the Agathos Theos to be a sort of Zeus. Tiberius Claudius Xenokles, after serving as fire-bearer, set up an altar at Epidauros in 224 A.D. to the local Agathos Theos, whom he represented as a chthonian Zeus with a sceptre in his right hand, a *cornu copiae* in his left, and a snake wriggling below (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 45 no. 44, Harrison *Themis* p. 285 f. fig. 75, M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1059 with numeral πθ' and circle no. 2 *ib.* p. 186 possibly meant for a snake emerging from its hole (?); cp. another block erected at Epidauros in 187 A.D. by Tiberius Claudius Pollio, after service as *hierarphos*, to the Agathos Theos and to Agathe (P. Cavvadias *op. cit.* i. 44 f. nos. 41—41^a, M. Fränkel *loc. cit.* i no. 997: Agathos Theos has numeral ξγ' and circle no. 1 *ib.* p. 186 possibly meant for a snake emerging from its hole (?); Agathe has numeral ξδ'). The same explanation might well be given of the Zeus-like Theos Megas at Odessos in Thrace,

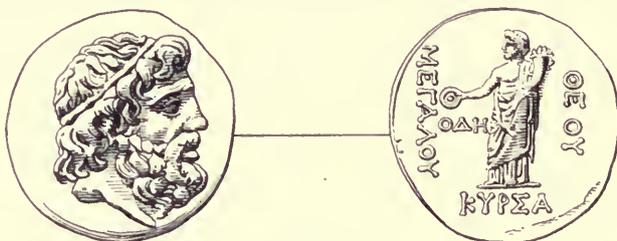


Fig. 952.

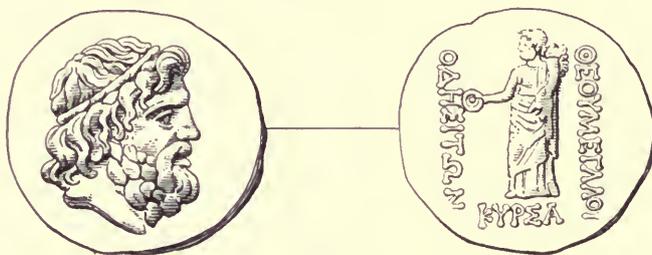


Fig. 953.

where silver tetradrachms were struck in s. ii B.C. with *obv.* a bearded male head wearing a fillet, *rev.* the bearded god standing with *phidde* and *cornu copiae* (B. Pick in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1898 xiii. 155 f. pl. 10, 20 = my fig. 952, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 276 fig. 167, inscribed ΘΕΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΔΗ and ΚΥΡΣΑ below. *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 418 pl. 28, 4 = my fig. 953 inscribed ΘΕΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΔΗΣΙΤΩΝ and ΚΥΡΣΑ below. For later variants see *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thrace etc. p. 137 ff. fig., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 418 f. pl. 28, 5, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 276 f., and especially B. Pick in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1898 xiii. 157 ff. pl. 10, 15 ff. and *Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* i. 2. 524 ff. pl. 4 f.).



Fig. 954.

Ant. Gemmen i pl. 44, 9 ff., ii. 211 f. illustrated it from gems and coins of Galba etc. (in fig. 954 I add the reverse of an unpublished copper of Antoninus Pius in my collection):

Fourth-century sculptors *more suo* represented the Agathos Daimon in younger form. Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 77 mentions among the bronzes of Euphranor to be seen at Rome 'a statue of Bonus Eventus holding a *patera* in its right hand, a corn-ear and poppies in its left.' Fröhner *Med. emp. rom.* p. 35 f. fig. detected the type on a bronze medallion struck by Hadrian (Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 3 no. 3) and Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 349 f. fig. 149 with pl. 6, 37, id.

cp. also a cameo plaque of blue glass now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Marbles* iii Frontisp., F. Robiou in Darenberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 737 fig. 870, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 462 no. 5, C. Davenport *Cameos* London 1900 p. 24 f. pl. 3, Harrison *Themis* p. 302 f. fig. 82), which Taylor Combe *Brit. Mus. Marbles loc. cit.* already recognised as a copy of Euphranor's statue. Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 23 in his list of marble works by Praxiteles at Rome includes 'the statues of Bonus Eventus and Bona Fortuna on the Capitol.' W. Klein *Praxiteles* Leipzig 1898 p. 156, greatly daring, would identify the Praxitelean Bonus Eventus with the bronze original of the Madrid Hypnos and its numerous congeners, e.g. the bronze statuette of a horn-bearing Hypnos at Vienna (*id. ib.* p. 140 fig. 21). Be that as it may, the common assumption that Pliny's *Bonus Eventus* and *Bona Fortuna* are the Latinised forms of *Agathōs Daimon* and *Agathē Týche* is probably correct.

Not till Hellenistic times do we get evidence of the Agathos Daimon conceived as a snake. This belief was especially prevalent in Egypt; but it seems to have spread from thence to Delos, and even to Rome. According to the foundation-legend of Alexandria, when the city-walls began to rise, a snake of huge size and majestic bearing attacked the workmen and hindered their work. Alexander the Great bade his men assemble on the following day to slay the monster. This was done on the site of the later Stoa. An elaborate tomb was built for the snake, and Alexander had garland-shops erected near by 'in order that the beast, commonly thought to do service in temples—it is called Agathos Daimon—, might itself be worshipped as a deity' (Iul. Valer. i. 28 p. 37, 15 ff. Kuebler. The concluding words are: 26 ff. ut quod haec bestia famulitium quoddam templis praestare videbatur—daemon <enim> melior appellatur—, ipse quoque divina quadam religione coleretur). When the snake's tomb was finished, certain blocks of the architrave over the columns of the entrance gave way, and from them were seen to issue numerous snakes (cp. *supra* i. 205 f.). These crept about and entered the *penetralia* of the newly built houses. Soothsayers declared that they too were presiding Daimones to be worshipped in every house as *di Penates*. Hence the custom at Alexandria that on definite days wheaten meal is thrown for the snakes to eat and the upper classes, with garlands, go up to the temple of the Heros, who is served by snakes of this sort (Iul. Valer. i. 29 p. 38, 18 ff. Kuebler. Cp. pseudo-Kallisth. i. 32 ἰδρυμένοι δὲ τοῦ πυλῶνος τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐξαίφνης πλᾶξ μεγίστη ἐξέπεσαν ἀρχαιοτάτη πλήρης γραμμάτων, ἐξ ἧς ἐξήλθον ὄφεις πολλοί, καὶ ἐρπίζοντες εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὰς οὐδοὺς τῶν ἤδη τεθεμελιωμένων οἰκιῶν. [τὴν πόλιν γὰρ ἔτι παρῶν Ἀλέξανδρος καθίδρυσεν τῇ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει ἰανουαρίου πρώτη καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἱερὸν.] ὅθεν τοίτους τοὺς ὄφεις σέβονται οἱ θυρωροὶ ὡς Ἄγαθοῦ Δαίμονος εἰσιόντας εἰς τὰς οἰκίας· οὐ γὰρ εἰσὶν ἰοβόλα ζῶα with the addition in cod. A ἐκέλευσε δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς φύλαξι τῶν οἰκῶν σίτον δοθῆναι. οἱ δὲ λαβόντες, ἀλῆσαντες καὶ ἀθηροποιησάμενοι τὴν ἡμέραν (C. Müller cj. ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ) τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσι θάλλους διδῶσιν· ὅθεν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο τούτου τὸν νόμον φυλάττουσι παρ' Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι, Τύβι (so C. Müller for Τύβη) κέ τὰ μὲν κτήνη στεφανοῦσθαι, θυσιάζεσθαι <δὲ> τοῖς Ἄγαθοῦ Δαίμονος τοῖς προνοουμένοις τῶν οἰκιῶν, καὶ διασώσεις (διαδόσεις? C. Müller) τῶν ἀθρῶν ποιέσθαι). See further Plout. *amat.* 12 ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποτὲ γειτόνας ἑώρων δύο διαμφισβητούντας ὄφεις προσεπέψαντος εἰς τὴν ὁδόν, ἀμφοτέρων μὲν Ἄγαθὸν Δαίμονα καλοῦντων, ἑκατέρου δ' ἔχειν ἀξιούντος ὡς ἴδιον, Lamprid. *v. Heliogab.* 28. 3 Aegyptios dracunculos Romae habuit, quos illi Agathodaemonas vocant, C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 81 pap. Par. 2427 ff. (part of a charm to secure wealth, in which a waxen man begs with his right hand, holds in his left a wallet and a staff with a snake coiled about it, and has a coiled snake on his belt and upon the crown of his head) εἰς δὲ τὸν δράκοντα τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἄγαθοῦ Δαίμονος, δ' ἔστιν, | ὡς λέγει Ἐπαφρόδιτος, [δ' ἔστιν] τὸ ὑποκείμενον· | φρη αν ὡφ φωρχω φννν ρορφίς | οροχωῶ, ὡς δὲ ἐν τῷ χάρτη δ (sic) εἴρο(ν), | μετεβλήθη τὸ πραγματικὸν οὕτως· | αρπονκνουφι ὁ, P'ihlon Bybl. *frag.* 9 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 572 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* i. 10. 48 ff. Φοίνικες δὲ αὐτὸ (sc. the snake) Ἄγαθὸν Δαίμονα καλοῦσιν. ὁμοίως καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι Κνήφ ἐπονομάζουσι· προστιθέασι δὲ αὐτῷ ἱέρακος κεφαλὴν διὰ τὸ πρακτικὸν τοῦ ἱέρακος...ἔτι μὴν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐννοίας τὸν κόσμον γράφοντες περιφερῆ κύκλον ἀεροειδῆ καὶ πυρωπὸν χαράσσουσι, καὶ μέτα τεταμένον ὄφιν ἱερακόμορφον, καὶ ἔστι τὸ πᾶν σχῆμα ὡς τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν

θήτα, τὸν μὲν κύκλον κόσμον μηνύοντες τὸν δὲ μέσον ὄφιν συνεκτικὸν τούτου Ἀγαθὸν Δαίμονα σημαίνοντες. Nero, who in Egypt called himself ὁ Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων τῆς | οἰκουμένης (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4699, 3 f. = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 666, 3 f.), struck



Fig. 955.

billon coins there with the reverse type of a serpent enfolding corn-ears and poppy-heads, inscribed ΝΕΟ·ΑΓΑΘ·ΔΑΙΜ= νέος Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p.* 20 f. pl. 26, 171 = my fig. 955, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 413, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 863, E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 131 fig. 174, Harrison *Themis p.* 277 fig. 66). And a remarkable cornorniate medal shows him as the νέος Ἀπόλλων, νέος Διόνυσος (*supra pp.* 96 n. 3, 254), and νέος Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων rolled into one (fig. 956 from a specimen in my collection. *Obv.*: Head of Nero to right, with bow and arrow in front of him, and ivy-leaf behind

him. The usual compendium ρ here appears on Nero's face, the P encircling his eye and the E marking his nostril and mouth. Also the muscles of his neck are peculiarly rendered in the form of an ivy-leaf. *Rev.*: Bearded and crested snake approaching a portable altar with dependent fillets). The antechamber of a Graeco-Egyptian catacomb at Kom el Chougafa has its doorway flanked by two such snakes equipped with *thýrsos* and winged *caduceus* (F. W. von Bissing *Les bas-reliefs de Kom el Chougafa* Munich 1901 pl. 1). Another rock-cut tomb, known locally as 'the grave of

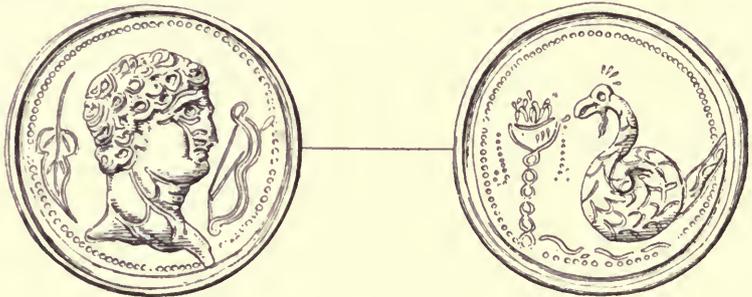


Fig. 956.

Adam and Eve,' in the garden of the late Sir John Antoniadis at Alexandria is its innermost niche occupied by the relief of a large snake coiled on a couch with gay-coloured cushions (H. Thiersch *Zwei antike Grabanlagen bei Alexandria* Berlin 1904 p. 6 ff. figs. 6 f., p. 16 f. pl. 5 f.). This challenges comparison with a relief from Delos, which shows a large bearded snake similarly installed on a couch between a bearded male figure bearing *phidre* and *cornu copiae* to the right and a female figure bearing *oinochóe* and *cornu copiae* to the left: these personages, who both have a *modius* on their heads and are draped alike in *chitón* and *himátion*, should be interpreted as Agathos Daimon (hardly Sarapis or Plouton) and Agathe Tyche (M. Bulard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1907 xxxi. 525 ff. fig. 24, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 326 no. 2). Agathos Daimon is, in fact, here represented both in his animal and in his human form. Similarly a marble statue at Berlin, which portrays Antinoos as Agathos Daimon, makes him a youthful Dionysiac figure resting his hand on a *cornu copiae* with a snake twined about it (*Ant. Skulpt. Berlin p.* 146 f. no. 361 fig., Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 947 fig. 2427, E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 131 fig. 173). A small relief of s. iii A.D. in the Palazzo Massimo alle Terme again groups Agathos Daimon with Agathe Tyche (F. von Duhn in Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 144 no. 3764 says Sarapis (?) with Alexandria (?). F. Grossi Gondi 'Di una singolare rappresentazione mitologica sincretistica del culto romano' in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1910 xxxviii. 150—160 fig. 1 decides for Serapis with Isis (Isityche)). It represents the former as a coiled snake with

had their counterpart in another Greek custom. 'Food that fell from the tables,' says Athenaios, 'they used to assign to their dead friends.' And by way of proof he quotes from Euripides the couplet descriptive of the love-sick Sthenobolia, who believes that Bellerophon is dead:

Never a crumb falls from her finger-tips
But she must cry: 'For the Corinthian guest!'

Athenaios might have added the Pythagorean precept not to pick up food from the floor, a precept utilised by Aristophanes in his *Heroes* and duly recorded by Aristotle *On the Pythagoreans*².

a bearded human head wearing a *modius*, the latter as a draped goddess likewise wearing a *modius* and holding a leafy spray (hardly corn-ears) in her right hand, a *cornu copiae* in her left, while a large jar projects from the ground beside her.

Agathos Daimon was, on this showing, a chthonian power essentially akin to Zeus *Sotér*. As a fertilising agent he was naturally brought into connexion with Dionysos (see bibliography at the beginning of this note), with whom he is even identified (Philonides *de unguentis et coronis ap.* Athen. 675 B). The postprandial draught of unmixed wine is referred to Agathos Daimon by Aristoph. *eq.* 105 ff., *vesp.* 525, *rax* 300 with scholl. *ad locc.*, Antiphanes *lampás frag.* 1 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 486 F and 487 B, Theophr. *ap.* Athen. 693 C—D, Aelius Dionysios *ap.* Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1471, 32 ff., Ail. *var. hist.* 1. 20, Hesych. *s.v.* 'Αγαθοῦ Δαίμονος πόμα = Bekker *anecd.* i. 209, 14 ff., i. 334, 4 ff. = Apostol. 1. 10. Cp. also the 'Αγαθοδαίμοισταλ (Hesych. *s.v.*) or 'Αγαθοδαίμονιασταλ (Aristot. *eth. Eud.* 3. 6. 1233 b 3 f., *Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 161, 5 = Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 1. 478 f. no. 3842, 5 καὶ ὑπὸ [Διοσ]ταβυριαστῶν 'Αγαθοδαίμονιαστῶν Φιλ(ω)νείων κοινῶ κ.τ.λ., with Plout. *synp.* 3. 7. 1). The toast 'Αγαθοῦ Δαίμονος is distinguished from the toast Διὸς Σωτήρος by Eriphos *frag.* 3 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 693 C, Xenarchos *didymoi frag.* 1 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 693 B—C, Diod. 4. 3, Poll. 6. 100, Athen. 692 F, Soud. *s.v.* 'Αγαθοῦ Δαίμονος, schol. Aristoph. *rax* 300, cp. Philochoros *frag.* 18 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 387 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 38 C—D and *frag.* 19 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 387 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 693 D—E, and never really confused with it (Diphilos *Sappho frag.* 1 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 487 A 'Αρχιλοχε, δέξαι τήνδε τὴν μετανιπτρίδα | μεστὴν Διὸς Σωτήρος, 'Αγαθοῦ Δαίμονος is a case of asyndeton, not of apposition. Cp. e.g. Herond. 2. 67 f.).

A *kántharos* with knotted handles from Athens (Nicole *Cat. Vases d'Athènes Suppl.* p. 272 f. no. 1173, C. Watzinger in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1901 xxvi. 74 no. 17 fig., P. Wolters *ib.* 1913 xxxviii. 198 n. 2) has round its neck a yellow ivy-wreath, above which is painted in white ΑΓΑΘΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ. A small vase at Kentoripa (*Centorbi*) is inscribed ΑΓΑΘΟΥ ΔΑΜΟΕ, which is perhaps to be read as 'Αγαθοῦ Δαίμονος rather than as 'Αγαθοδάμου (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 2406, 109, P. Wolters *loc. cit.*). Cp. a fragment of black ware with relief-decoration and the inscription ΗΣΤΥ+ΗΣ = ['Αγαθ]ῆς Τύχης round its neck, found on the W. slope of the Akropolis at Athens (A. Koerte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 xxi. 294, P. Wolters *loc. cit.*).

¹ Athen. 427 E τοῖς δὲ τετελευτηκόσι τῶν φίλων ἀπένεμον τὰ πίπτοντα τῆς τροφῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τραπέζων· διὸ καὶ Εὐριπίδης περὶ τῆς Σθενεβοίας φησὶν, ἐπειδὴ νομίζει τὸν Βελλεροφόντην θετνάναι, 'πεσὸν δὲ νιν λέληθεν οὐδὲν ἐκ χερσός, | ἀλλ' εὐθὺς αὐτῶ "τῷ Κορινθίῳ ξένῳ"' (*Eur. frag.* 664 Nauck²). The Euripidean passage is parodied by Kratin. *fab. inc. frag.* 16. 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 179 ff. Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 782 D—E, Aristoph. *thesm.* 404 f. with schol. *ad locc.*, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Κορίνθιος ξένος.

² Aristot. *frag.* 190 Rose *ap.* Diog. Laert. 8. 34 φησὶ δ' 'Αριστοτέλης... παραγγέλλειν αὐτὸν (sc. Πυθαγόραν)...τὰ...πεσόντ' ἀπὸ τραπέζης μὴ ἀναεῖσθαι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐθίξασθαι μὴ ἀκολάστως ἐσθλεῖν ἢ ὅτι ἐπὶ τελευτῇ τινος ('sive quod essent mortuo destinata' Ambrosius revised by C. G. Cobet): καὶ 'Αριστοφάνης δὲ τῶν ἠρώων φησὶν εἶναι τὰ πίπτοντα, λέγων ἐν τοῖς 'Ηρωσι (*frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 1070 f. Meineke)) 'μηδὲ γέυεσθ' ἄτ' ἂν ἐντὸς (I. Casaubon and W. Canter, followed by C. Jacobitz, *cij.* ἐκτὸς) τῆς τραπέζης καταπέση' = Soud. *s.v.* Πυθαγόρα τὰ σύμβολα.

Secondly, the buried chieftain was *Ephrosios* because he kept an eye on his descendants and watched over their interests¹. The title was, however, susceptible of a wider meaning. So Zeus *Ephrosios*² came to be revered as the guardian of suppliants³, the observer of right and wrong⁴, the avenger of impious deeds⁵. Like Zeus *Panórhtes*⁶, he readily took on a solar complexion⁷. And it may be that the story of Zeus transforming himself into a hoopoe (*eprops*)

¹ Cp. the important passage Hes. *o. d.* 121 ff. *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖ' ἐκάλυψε, | τοὶ μὲν δαίμονες εἰσι Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλὰς | ἐσθλοὶ, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, | [οἱ ῥα φυλάσσοσιν τε δίκας καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα | ἤερα ἐσσάμενοι πάντη φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἶαν,] | πλουτοδοῦται· καὶ τοῦτο γέρας βασιλῆιον ἔσχον.* For *apparatus criticus* see A. Rzach *ad loc.* *Infra* Append. M *fin.*

The adjective *eprosios* is used in this sense by Soph. *Phil.* 1040 f. *ἀλλ', ὦ πατρώα γῆ θεοὶ τ' ἐπρόσιοι, | τείσασθε κ.τ.λ.*, the substantive *eprosios* by Strab. 676 *εἴτ' Ἀμφίλοχον... συμβαλεῖν εἰς μονομαχίαν πρὸς τὸν Μῆσον, πεσόντας δ' ἀμφοτέρους ταφῆναι μὴ ἐν ἐπρόσει ἀλλήλοισ, the verb ἐποπτεύω by Aisch. *cho.* 489 of the buried Agamemnon ὦ γαῖ', ἄνες μοι πατέρ' ἐποπτεύσαι μάχην, *cho.* 1 of Hermes *Chithónios* Ἐρμῆ Χθόνιε πατρῶ' ἐποπτεύων κράτη cited by Aristoph. *ran.* 1126, 1138 ff., *Eum.* 220 of the Eumenides τὸ μὴ τίνεσθαι μηδ' ἐποπτεύειν κῆρυ, *cho.* 984 ff. of Helios ὡς ἴδη πατῆρ, | οὐχ οὐμός, ἀλλ' ὁ πάντ' ἐποπτεύων τάδε | Ἥλιος, ἀναγνα, μητρὸς ἔργα τῆς ἐμῆς, *Ag.* 1270 of Apollon ἐποπτεύσας δέ με, *Eum.* 224 of Athena δίκας δὲ Παλλὰς τῶνδ' ἐποπτεύσει θεά, *cho.* 1064 f. of God καὶ σ' ἐποπτεύων πρόφρων | θεὸς φυλάσσοι κ.τ.λ., *Ag.* 1578 f. of the gods in general φαίην ἂν ἦδη νῦν βροτῶν τιμαῖρους | θεοὺς ἀνωθεν γῆς ἐποπτεύειν ἀχῆ (see further F. H. M. Blaydes on Aristoph. *ran.* 1126). Similarly *eporān* is used of Zeus in *Od.* 13. 213 f. (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 1), Archil. *frag.* 84 Hiller—Crusius *ap. Stob. ecl.* 1. 3. 34 p. 58, 11 ff. Wachsmuth (Clem. *Al. Strom.* 5. 14 p. 412, 3 ff. Stählin, Euseb. *praer.* *ev.* 13. 13. 54) ὦ Ζεῦ, πάτερ Ζεῦ, σὸν μὲν οὐρανοῦ κράτος, | σὺ δ' ἔργ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ὄρας | λωργὰ καὶ θεμιστά (so Liebel for *κάθεμιστα* or the like), *sol* δὲ θηρίων | ὕβρις τε καὶ δίκη μέλει, Soph. *El.* 174 f. *ἔτι μέγας οὐρανοῦ | Ζεὺς, ὅς ἐφορᾷ πάντα καὶ κρατύνει.* For Zeus⁷ *Ephoros* see *supra* i. 737 n. 8.*

² *Supra* i. 737 n. 9.

³ *Ap. Rhod.* 2. 1123 *ἀντόμεθα πρὸς Ζηνὸς Ἐποψίου* with schol. Paris. *ad loc.* Ἐπρόσιος δὲ ὁ ἐποπτος (J. Alberti corr. ἐπόπτῃς), 1131 ff. (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2).

⁴ Kallim. *h. Zeus* 81 ff. ἴξεο δ' αὐτὸς | ἄκρης ἐν πολίεσσιν, ἐπρόσιος οἱ τε δίκησι | λαὸν ὑπὸ σκολιῆς, οἱ τ' ἔμπαλιν ἰθύνουσιν.

⁵ Orph. *Arg.* 1035 ἀλλὰ οἱ οὐτι λάθον Δι' ἐπρόσιον οὐδὲ θέμιστας.

⁶ *Supra* i. 459 ff.

⁷ A stone pillar (height 1·0^m, breadth 0·23^m), found on the site of Itanos (*Erimopolis*) in E. Crete and now serving as a lintel in a cottage near the lighthouse on *Capo Sidero*, bears the following inscription in letters of s. iv. b. c. or earlier: Πάτρων Δι' Ἐπ[ο]ψ[ι]ω | ἀνε[θ]ηκε. | τροπα[ι] χει|μερναί. | εἰ τι νι τοῦ|των : ἐπιμε|λές : κατὰ | τὴν : χοι|ράδα : τὴν | μικρὰν | καὶ τὴν στή|λην : ὁ ἥλιος | τρέπεται (F. Halbherr in the *Museo Italiano di antichità classica* 1890 iii. 585 f. no. 4 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1181 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 1264). The original position of the pillar was such that a line drawn from it to a certain small rock visible at sea, and prolonged thence to the horizon, would mark the precise spot where the sun rose at the winter solstice. Halbherr *ad loc.* cp. schol. Aristoph. *av.* 997 φησὶ δὲ Καλλίστρατος ἐν Κολωνῶ ἀνάθημά τι εἶναι αὐτοῦ (*sc. Μέτῳς*) ἀστρολογικόν and Ail. *var. hist.* 10. 7 *ὅτι Μέτῳς ὁ Λευκονοεὺς ἀστρολόγος ἀνέστησε στήλας καὶ τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου τροπὰς κατεγράψατο.* The rosette or star, which figures so frequently on coins of Itanos (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Mâcon 1890 i. 201 ff. pl. 18, 21 ff., pl. 19, 5, 16, 19, 22 f., 25 ff., *id.* in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 115, 117 f., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* etc. p. 51 f. pl. 12, 6 ff., pl. 13, 4, 7 f., Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 895 ff. pl. 244, 1 ff., 20, pl. 245, 3, 7 ff., Anson *Num. Gr.* vi. 11 no. 114 pl. 1, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 469 f.), was in all probability a solar symbol. And Zeus on Cretan soil tended to become a sun-god (*supra* i. 545 ff.).

For Ἐπρόσιος as a title of Apollon see *supra* i. 737 n. 9.

to win Lamia¹ owes something to popular confusion with the title *Epópsios*². Thirdly, the king was *Meilichios*—a coaxing or cajoling appellation³, which he shared with various chthonian powers⁴.

Two other points in the narrative of Antoninus Liberalis call for remark. Periphas, transformed into an eagle, was set to guard the sacred sceptre and had leave to approach the very throne of Zeus⁵. Much the same is said of

¹ W. Crönert in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* 1901 i. 109 n. 1 drew attention to an unnoticed fragment of Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* (in the series of photographs issued by the Oxford Philological Society vi. 206) on the amours of Zeus: [ὦν ἦν καὶ Νέμ]εσις, [ἦν | φη]σιν (T) ὁ τὰ Κί[πρια | γ]ράφας ὁμοιωθῆ[ν]α <ι> χηνί, Δία <δὲ> αὐτ[ῆν | δ]ιώκειν καὶ μιγῆν[αι, | τὴν δ]ε ὠόν τεκεῖν, | [έ]ξ[ε] οὐ γενέσθαι τῆ[ν | Ἐλ]ένην. ὥσ[π]ε[ρ] αὐ | Λή]δας ἐρασθῆς [έ]γ[έ]νετο κύκνο[s, | Εὐ]ρώπης δὲ ταῦ[ρος], Λαμίαι δὲ εἰ[πο]ψ (so F. Blass), Δανάης δὲ χ[ρ]υσός. καὶ παρ' Ἀπολ[λων]ίδῃ καὶ παρ' Εὐ[ρο]πίδῃ λέγεται... With this allusion to the hoopoe O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2566 well cp. Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne) Λαμίαι ἐπεμορφώθη ἐποψ, Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 22 Lamiam (sc. stuprat) mutatus in upupam.

² Aisch. *frag.* 304, 1 Nauck² *ap.* Aristot. *hist. an.* 9. 49 v. 633 a 19 τοῦτον δ' ἐπόπτῃν ἐποπα τῶν αὐτοῦ κακῶν | κ.τ.λ. (F. G. Welcker *Die Griechischen Tragödien* Bonn 1839 i. 384, followed by many scholars, attributed the fragment to Sophokles' *Tereus*: see A. C. Pearson on Soph. *frag.* 581 Jebb). Cp. Hesych. ἐποψ· ἐπόπτῃς. δυνάστης. καὶ εἶδος ὀρέου.

There were, no doubt, other reasons, which made the hoopoe a suitable vehicle for Zeus, especially his fine feathered crest or crown and his widely-recognized magical powers (to the evidence cited by S. Bochart *Hierozoicon* rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1796 iii. 111 f. add the *Kyranides* 1. 7. 11 ff. in F. de Mély—C. É. Ruelle *Les Lapidaires de l'antiquité et du moyen âge* Paris 1898 ii (Les Lapidaires grecs). 20 ff. with 235 f. [ἐποψ] ζῶν ἐστὶν ἐν ἀέρι πτώμενον ὃ καλεῖται ἐποψ, ἐπτάχρωμον βασιλεῖον ἔχον μήκει δακτύλων β', ἀπλούμενον καὶ συσσελλόμενον· αὐτὸ δὲ τετράχρωμον, ὡς εἶπεύ, πρὸς τὰς δ' τροπὰς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ· οὗτος καλεῖται κουκούφας καὶ ποῦπος, ὡς ἐγράφη τὰ περὶ τούτου ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῇ βίβλῳ 'ἀρχαίῃ' καλουμένῃ· ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ ζῶν ἱερὸν. λαβῶν οὖν τὴν τούτου καρδίαν ἐτι πταίρουσαν κατάπιε ἀντίκρου τοῦ ἡλίου ὥρας πρώτης ἀρχομένης ἢ ὀγδόης ἀρχομένης· ἐστὼ δὲ ἡμέρα Κρόνου, σελήνης ἀνατολικῆς οὐσῆς· καὶ ἐπίπιε γαλὰ βοῆς μελαίνης μετ' ὀλίγου μέλιτος ἐκ τοῦ συνθέματος αὐθωρόν, ἵνα ἡ καρδία ὑγιῆς καταποθῆ, καὶ ἔση προγινώσκων τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ γῆ, καὶ εἰ τις κατὰ ψυχῆν ἔχει· τι καὶ ὅσα κατὰ τὰ κλίματα καὶ κατὰ πόλεις γίνεται καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις· ...ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἐτέραν καρδίαν καὶ ἦπαρ ἐποπος βάλῃς ἐν τῷ συνθέματι, κρεῖττον ἔσται καὶ ἐτι μνημονικώτερον ποιεί... The sequel deals with a yet more potent charm, in which, among other ingredients, is καὶ τὸ βασιλεῖον τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἐποπος). On his relations to the cuckoo, hawk, woodpecker, and bee-eater see E. Oder 'Der Wiedehopf in der griechischen Sage' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1888 xliii. 541—556, D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 pp. 54—57, S. Bochart *op. cit.* iii. 107—115, J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 681 f., C. Swainson *The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* London 1886 pp. 106—109, O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 60—63. Horapoll. *hierogl.* 1. 55 εὐχάριστιαν γράφοντες, κουκούφαν ('hoopoe') ζωγραφοῦσι· διότι τοῦτο μόνον τῶν ἀλόγων ζῶων, ἐπειδὴν ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων ἐκτραφῆ, γηράσασιν αὐτοῖς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀποδίδωσι χάριν· ...ἔθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θείων σκήπτρων κουκούφα προτιμήσις ἐστὶ (cp. Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 16, 16. 5) looks like a parallel to the tale of Periphas, but is perhaps based on a misconception; for the erectile crest of the hoopoe, when laterally compressed (H. Lydekker *The Royal Natural History* London 1895 iv. 57 ff., col. pl., A. H. Evans *The Birds of Britain* Cambridge 1916 p. 108 f. fig.), bears a superficial resemblance to the regular sceptre of the gods (see e.g. C. Leemans on Horapoll. *loc. cit.* with fig. 54).

³ *Supra* p. 1112 n. 7.

⁴ See O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2558, 2563.

⁵ Ant. Lib. 6 (*supra* p. 1121 f.) διδοῦ φυλάσσειν τὸ ἱερὸν σκήπτρον καὶ προσίναει πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θρόνον.

Merops an early king of Kos¹. Behind such traditions lie definite beliefs. It was supposed, as I have elsewhere contended², that, when the divine king died, his soul escaped as a bird and in that shape continued to watch over the fortunes of his realm. Further, his divinity was transmitted to his successor in outward and visible form as an eagle-tipped sceptre to be handed down from king to king. Thus the soul of Agamemnon, for instance, became an eagle³; and the sceptre which had descended to him from Zeus⁴, with an eagle perched upon it⁵, was worshipped at Chaironeia as the chief of the gods⁶. The sceptre originally belonged

¹ Schol. *Il.* 24. 293 οἱ δέ, οἱ Μέρωψ ὁ Κῶπος ἀπαύστως ἐπένθει τὴν γυναῖκα, ξενίας δὲ τὴν Ῥέαν (C. Robert cj. Ἦραν) μετεβλήθη καὶ συμπάρεστιν αἰὲ τῷ Δίῳ, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1351, 29 f. φέρεται δὲ μῦθος καὶ οἱ Μέρωψ Κῶπος, ἀπαύστως τὴν γυναῖκα πενθῶν θανοῦσαν, ξενίας Ῥέαν, μετεβλήθη εἰς αἰετὸν, καὶ σύνεστιν αἰὲ τῷ Δίῳ. It may be suspected that originally Merops was metamorphosed, not into an eagle, but into a bee-eater (μέροψ), cp. Ant. Lib. 18 and D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 116 f.

² *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 386 ff., cp. *ib.* 1905 xvi. 312, 1906 xvii. 165 ff., 313 ff.

³ Plat. *rep.* 620 B τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ Ἀγαμέμνονος (sc. ψυχῆν)· ἐχθρὰ δὲ καὶ ταύτην τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου γένους διὰ τὰ πάθη αἰετοῦ διαλλάξαι βλῶν. It would not be safe to conclude that Agamemnon's choice was due to Platonic fancy: Platon constantly founds on folk-belief (*supra* i. 310 f., 357 n. 4, ii. 43 ff., 63 n. o).

⁴ *Il.* 2. 100 ff. (Hephaistos made the sceptre for Zeus, from whom it passed successively to Hermes, Pelops, Atreus, Thyestes, and Agamemnon) with schol. *ad loc.* and Eustath. *in Il.* p. 181, 13 ff.

⁵ Aristoph. *av.* 509 ff. ΠΕ. ἤρχον δ' οὕτω σφόδρα τὴν ἀρχὴν ὥστ' εἰ τις καὶ βασιλεῖοι | ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, Ἀγαμέμνων ἢ Μενέλαος, | ἐπὶ τῶν σκῆπτρων ἐκάθητ' ὄρου, μετέχων δ' τι δωροδοκίῃ with schol. *ad loc.* ἐν γὰρ τοῖς σκῆπτροις τῶν βασιλέων ἦν αἰετός. But see *supra* i. 406 f.

⁶ Paus. 9. 40. 11 f. θεῶν δὲ μάλιστα Χαιρωνεῖς τιμῶσι τὸ σκῆπτρον ὃ ποιῆσαι Δίῳ φησιν Ὀμηρος Ἡφαιστον, παρὰ δὲ Διὸς λαβόντα Ἐρμῆν δοῦναι Πέλοπι, Πέλοπα δὲ Ἀτρεὶ καταλιπεῖν, τὸν δὲ Ἀτρεὶα Θυέστη, παρὰ Θυέστου δὲ ἔχειν Ἀγαμέμνονα· τοῦτο οὖν τὸ σκῆπτρον ἐσέβουσι, δῶρον ὀνομάζοντες. καὶ εἶναι μὲν τι θεϊότερον οὐχ ἥκιστα δηλοῖ ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιφανῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ· φασὶ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄροις αὐτῶν καὶ Πανοπῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Φωκίᾳ εὐρεθῆναι, σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρυσὸν εὔρασθαι τοὺς Φωκεῖς, σφίσι δὲ ἀσιμένους ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ γενέσθαι τὸ σκῆπτρον. κομισθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸ ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ὑπὸ Ἡλέκτρας τῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος πελθομαι. ναὸς δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ δημοσίᾳ πεποιημένους, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ὃ (H. C. Schubart, followed by H. Hitzig—H. Blümner, cj. ὃ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον) ἱερόμενος ἐν οἰκίᾳ ἔχει τὸ σκῆπτρον· καὶ οἱ θυοῖαι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν θύονται, καὶ τράπεζα παράκειται παντοδαπῶν κρεῶν καὶ πεμμάτων πλήρης. The worship of sceptre or spear was characteristic of a primitive age: Iust. 43. 3. 3 per ea tempora adhuc reges hastas pro diademate habebant, quas Graeci sceptra dixere. nam et ab origine rerum pro signis immortalibus veteres hastas coluere, ob cuius religionis memoriam adhuc deorum simulacris hastae adduntur, Philon Bybl. *frag.* 1. 7 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 564 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 9. 29 οἱ παλαιῶτατοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἱερατέρως δὲ Φοῖνικῆς τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου, παρ' ὧν καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ παρέλαβον ἀνθρώποι, θεοῦ ἐνό, μεγίστους τοὺς τὰ πρὸς τὴν βιωτικὴν χρεῖαν εὐρόντας, ἢ καὶ κατὰ τι εὐποιήσαντας τὰ ἔθνη· γέτας τούτους καὶ πολλῶν αἰτίους ἀγαθῶν ἡγούμενοι ὡς θεοῦ προσεκύνουν, καὶ εἰς τὸ χ. ἔν μεταστάνας ναοὺς κατασκευασάμενοι στήλας τε καὶ ῥάβδους ἀφέρουν ἐξ ὄνοματος αὐτῶν, καὶ ταῦτα μεγάλως σεβόμενοι, καὶ ἐορτὰς ἐνεμον αὐτοῖς τὰς μεγίστας Φοῖνικες. Examples of the cult are collected by De Visser *De Gr. diis non ref. spec. hum.* p. 90 f. § 94 ff. and Frazer *Pausanias* v. 210 ff., *Golden Bough*³: The Magic Art i. 365. It is possible that the object revered by the Chaeroneans was a sceptre found in the grave of some 'Minoan' chief (cf. C. Schuchhardt *Schliemann's Excavations* trans. E. Sellers London 1891 p. 250 f., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 978 f., W. Dörpfeld *Troja und Ilios* Athen 1902 i. 385, 398, R. M. Dawkins in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1904—1905 xi. 284, H. R. Hall *Aegean Archaeology* London 1915 pp. 57, 242). H. C. Schubart in

to the king as weather-maker, and the eagle on it was no mere decoration¹

Philologus 1860 xv. 400 thought that it was housed in a portable wooden shrine (ὄκημα!). But F. Thiersch in the *Abh. d. bayer. Akad.* 1858 Philos.-philol. Classe viii. 445 with far greater probability explained that the priest for the time being used a room (ὄκημα) in his own house as chapel for the *chore sacrée*. The annual tenure of his office seems to have been a method of ensuring his bodily competence (*Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 394 ff.).

¹ K. Sittl *Der Adler und die Weltkugel als Attribute des Zeus* (Besonderer Abdruck aus dem vierzehnten Supplementbande der Jahrbücher für classische Philologie) Leipzig 1884 pp. 3—42 contains a rich collection of material. Here we are concerned only with the eagle in relation to the sceptre (cp. *supra* i. 127 fig. 96, 128 f. pl. xii, 200 f. fig. 146, 251 pl. xxii, 501 f. pl. xxxi, 590 fig. 450, 596 fig. 454, ii. 104 fig. 65, 512 fig. 390)—a combination which should be compared with the cuckoo-on-sceptre (*supra* i. 134 f., 532 fig. 399), the cock-on-column (G. von Brauchitsch *Die panathenäischen Preisamphoren* Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 106 ff. fig. 33 ff., R. Garrucci *Storia della Arte Cristiana* Prato 1881 iv. 59 pl. 251, 1), the woodpecker-on-post (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* i. 14: see *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 375, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i. pl. 24, 10, ii. 119, Harrison *Themis* p. 101 f. fig. 17, W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 p. 265. I figure (scale $\frac{2}{3}$) an engraved cornelian at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (J. H. Middleton *The Lewis Collection of Gems and Rings* London 1892 p. 50 no. 26), which shows a warrior consulting the woodpecker of Mars at Tiora Matiene (Dion. Hal. *loc. cit.*), the hawk-on-pillar (D. G. Hogarth *Excavations at Ephesus* London 1908 pp. 157 pl. 22, 1a, 161 f. pl. 25, 1 ff., 198, W. M. Flinders Petrie *Tanis* London 1888 ii. 2. 9, J. T. Bent *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*³ London 1895 p. 180 ff.), the dove-on-sceptre (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*⁹ London 1886 xx. 340 s.v. 'Regalia,' *ib.* xxi. 385 s.v. 'Sceptre,' *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 315, *The Daily Graphic* for Dec. 14, 1907 p. 8 fig.), and the like.

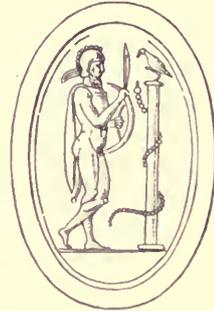


Fig. 957.

The earliest literary allusions (Pind. *Pyth.* 9 ff. εἶδει δ' ἀνὰ σκάπτῳ Διὸς αλερός, κ. τ. λ. with schol. *ad loc.* and Soph. *frag.* 799 Nauck², 884 Jebb, *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *av.* 515 ὁ σκηπτορῶν αλερός, κύων Διός) are at least suggestive of vitality. Cp. Append. N *med.* And classical numismatic art conceived of the bird as alive and active. On an archaic silver obol (?) of Galaria or Galarina in Sicily he is unusually large and prominent (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* p. 64 fig., P. Gardner *Types of Gk Coins* p. 89 pl. 2, 1 f., G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 90 f. fig. 12, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 139 *obv.* CAAA, Dionysos standing with *kántharos* and vine-branch; *rev.* ΣΟΤΕΡ retrograde, Zeus enthroned with eagle-sceptre). On coppers of Ptolemy vi Philometor (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins The Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt* p. 80 pl. 19, 2, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 388 ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ and ΕΥΛ (the regent Eulaios) and of Antiochos viii Grypos (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 90 pl. 24, 4, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 102 f. pl. 70, 1 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΟΥΣ with ΙΕ to left, ΒΡΡ (= 120 B.C.) and ear of corn below, *ib.* iii. 103 pl. 70,³ the Macedonian eagle appears shouldering a sceptre. On a gold coin struck by K⁹son, king of Thrace (?) under the Romans, c. 42 B.C. the eagle carries a sceptre and a wreath (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thrace* p. 208 fig., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 436, *Ant. Münz. Berlin Paeonia* etc. iii. 2. 23 fig., *Head Hist. num.*² pp. 272, 289). *Denarii* struck c. 49 B.C. by one Terentius Varro *pro quaestore* have *obv.* VARRO·PRO Q; a filleted bust of Iupiter (*Terminalis*?) to right; *rev.* MAGN·PRO COS (*Magnus pro consule*) in exergue, a sceptre upright between an eagle and a dolphin (emblems of earth, air, and sea?) (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 343, 485 f. fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 362 nos. 64, 65 pl. 100, 16, 66, 363 nos. 67, 68 pl. 100, 18, 69). An aureus of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, 48—46 B.C., has *obv.* METEL·PIVS SCIP·IMP, a bust of Iupiter (*Terminalis*?)

but an actual embodiment of Zeus¹, which conferred upon its holder the powers of the sky-god. This belief has left traces of itself throughout the historical period of Greece and Rome²; indeed, it appears to have lingered on³ well into the middle ages⁴. In a sense it is still with us⁵. But if the mythopoeic mind fitly transformed any ancient king into an eagle⁶, it did so in the case of Periphas with a clear conscience. For Periphas, as son or father of Lapithes⁷, was near akin to the Phlegyai⁸, whose very name marks them as an 'Eagle'-tribe⁹.

In conclusion, the devotion of Periphas to Apollon is adequately explained, either by the fact that in the Lapith genealogy Lapithes and Kentauros were

to right, with an eagle's head



Fig. 958.

and sceptre below (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 278 f. fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Rep.* ii. 571 fig.: there are *denarii* with the same type—Babelon *op. cit.* i. 279, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Rep.* ii. 571 no. 4 pl. 121, 2, no. 5). A first brass of Hadrian has *rev. PROVIDENTIAEORVM S.C.*, an eagle flying with a sceptre towards the emperor, who stands with a roll in his left hand (Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² ii, 208 no. 1207. Fig. 958 is from a specimen in my collection. Cohen *ib.* no. 1208 fig. shows a second brass with the same design).

¹ *Supra* i. 105 f. fig. 76, 164 n. 4, 532 figs. 395—400, 543 n. 6, and especially ii. 187 n. 8, 751 f.

² *Supra* p. 1133 n. 1.

³ Cp. R. Garrucci *Storia della Arte Cristiana* Prato 1881 iv. 76 pl. 226, 5.

⁴ Mrs H. Jenner *Christian Symbolism* London 1910 p. 41 f.: 'The Eagle is chiefly used to suggest the inspiration of the Holy Spirit to saints of the Old Law, such as David and Elisha, but it is not common.' This is illustrated by a plate from an English ms. of s. xi now in the British Museum (Cotton. Tib. C. vi), which shows David inspired by the eagle on his sceptre (Mrs Jenner by an odd slip says 'dove'): above is the hand of God, holding a horn full of rays. My friend Mr G. F. Hill kindly directs me to a discussion of the inspiration-type by C. R. Morey 'East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection' in the *University of Michigan Studies*, Humanistic Series 1914 xii. 35 ff.

⁵ *Supra* p. 1133 n. 1 the dove-on-sceptre.

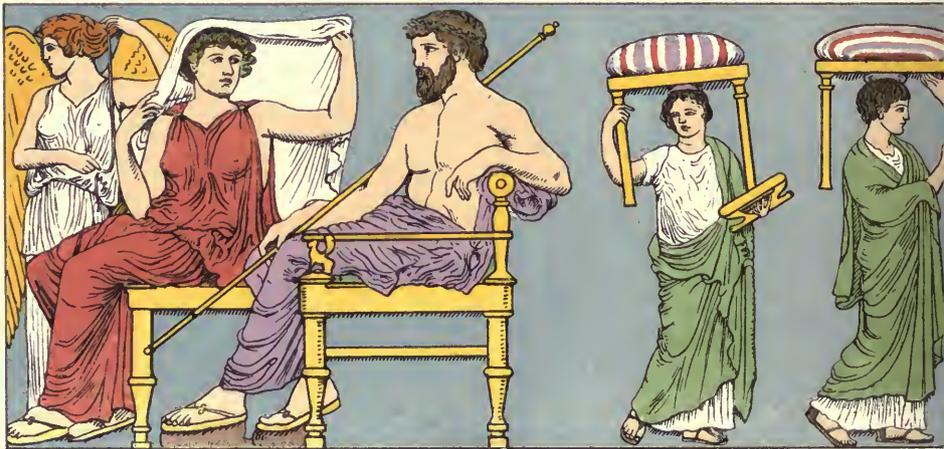
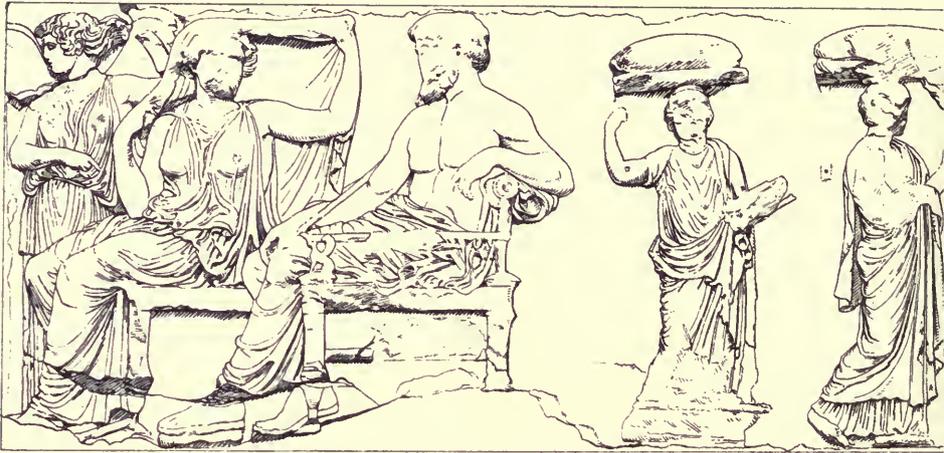
⁶ In addition to Periphas (*supra* p. 1121 f.), and Merops (*supra* p. 1131 f.), the shape-shifter Periklymenos underwent the same transformation (Hes. *frag.* 14, 3 f. Rzach *ap. schol. Ap. Rhod.* 1. 156, *Ov. met.* 12. 556 ff., *Hyg. fab.* 10). ? Cp. Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 26, 71 and 72, ii. 132, if not also i pl. 25, 42, ii. 128.

⁷ *Supra* p. 1122.

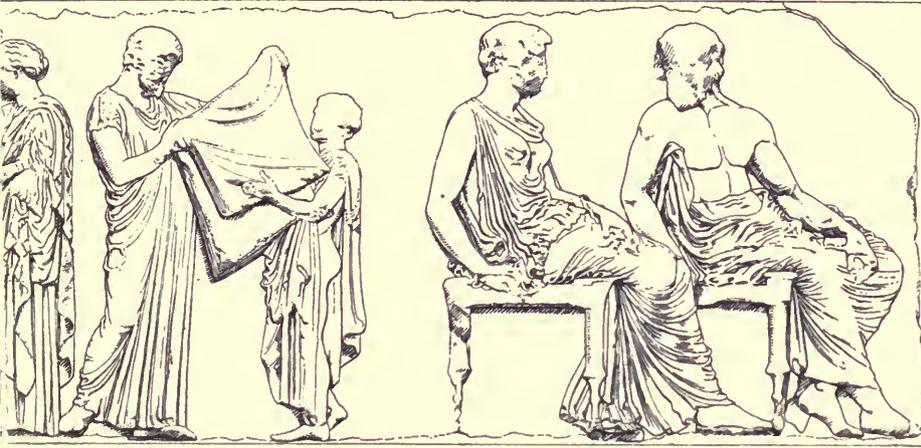
⁸ See the pedigrees in Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* p. 227 f. ('Lapithen und Phlegyer').

⁹ Hes. *sc. Her.* 133 f. (arrows) *ἄρισθε | μὲρφνοιο φλεγύαο καλυπτόμενοι περὲρ γέσσων*, Hesych. *s.v.* *φλεγύας* · *ἀετὸς ξανθὸς, ὄξυς*, Soud. *s.v.* *φλεγύας* · *ὁ ἀετὸς, et. mag.* p. 795, 57 ff. *φλεγύας, ἔστιν ἀετὸς, ἀπὸ τοῦ φλέγειν καὶ λαμπρὸς εἶναι. οἱ δέ, ὄρνεον παραπλήσιον γυπλί. Ἡσίοδος Ἀσπίδι, 'μορφνοῖο φλεγύαο,' τούτέστι μέλανος ἀετοῦ*, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 933, 27 f. *ῥήτωρ δέ τις, κατὰ στοιχείον συντάξας ἄπερ ἐπύνησε, λέγει καὶ ὅτι φλεγύας ξανθὸς ἀετὸς, κατὰ γλῶσσάν τινα, ὡς ἔοικεν.* A. Fick in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1914 xlvi. 77 f. renders *φλεγύας* 'der Schwarzadler' and adds: 'Das Wort wird soviel als "braun, dunkel" bedeutet haben: wie *αἰθων* braun, *αἰθαλος* Russ von *αἰθω* brennen, so *φλεγύας* von *φλέγω* brennen, engl. *black* zu germ. *blek* (φλέγειν).' See further my paper on 'Descriptive animal names in Greece' in the *Class. Rev.* 1894 viii. 381 ff. and, for the bird-tribes of Greece and Italy, an appendix by W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 p. 277 ff.





The central slab from the Eastern Frieze of the Parthenon, r.
1. The relief as extant in the British Museum.



E. T. T.

...ting the ritual Apotheosis of the King and Queen at Athens :
...e relief with flat coloration and metal accessories restored.

See page 1135 ff.



the sons of Stilbe by Apollon¹, or by the contiguity of the Olympieion to the Pythion². In any case it is noteworthy that at Ardettos, just across the Ilissos, Athenian jurors used to swear by Apollon *Patrōios*, Demeter, and Zeus *Basileús*³.

The myth of Periphas comes to us from an age that had largely forgotten its own antecedents. Few, if any, citizens even of Periclean Athens would have dared to assert that on the banks of the Ilissos there once lived a line of kings claiming to be Zeus incarnate. Nevertheless that is the real gist of the tale, and I do not see how we are to avoid accepting it as a genuine echo of bygone beliefs. After all, Periclean Athens, democratic to the core, still had its 'king' and still remembered that divinity clung about him⁴. If any doubted, he had but to lift his eyes to the scene carved by Pheidias' direction above the main doorway of the Parthenon. The central slab of the eastern frieze (pl. xlv)⁵ represents a ritual apotheosis⁶. The 'king' and 'queen' of Athens receive from

¹ Diod. 4. 69.

² Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 189 ff., v. 519 ff., W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 344 f.

³ Poll. 8. 122 ὠμυσαν δὲ ἐν Ἀρδήττω δικαστηρίῳ Ἀπόλλω Πατρῶιον καὶ Δήμητρα καὶ Δία Βασιλέα.

⁴ We must be careful here to rule out invalid evidence. Some statements, which *prima facie* connect the Athenian king with Zeus, or Zeus with the Athenian king, will not bear closer scrutiny.

The βασιλεύς of republican Athens, during his year of office, sat in the Στοὰ Βασιλείου (Paus. 1. 3. 1 with the notes of Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*, E. A. Gardner *Ancient Athens* London 1902 pp. 386 f., 518 f., W. Judeich *op. cit.* p. 295 ff.), which is sometimes said to have been named after Zeus Βασιλεύς (Hesych. *s.v.* Βασιλείου Στοά· δύο εἰσὶν Ἀθήνησιν Βασιλείου Στοαί, ἣ τε τοῦ λεγομένου Βασιλέως Διὸς καὶ ἣ τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου = Favorin. *lex.* p. 355, 13 f., Bekker *anecd.* i. 222, 29 f. Βασιλείου Στοά· Ἀθήνησι δύο εἰσὶ Βασιλείου Στοαί, ἣ τοῦ λεγομένου Βασιλέως Διὸς καὶ ἣ τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου); but this seems to be a misconception due to a transcriber's error (cp. Harpokr. *s.v.* Βασιλείου Στοά·... δύο εἰσὶ στοαί παρ' ἀλλήλας, ἣ τε τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διὸς καὶ ἣ Βασιλείου. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τρίτη τις, ἣ πάλαι μὲν Ἀνάκτιος καλουμένη, Παικίλη δὲ μετονομασθεῖσα, Soud. *s.v.* Βασιλείου Στοά· δύο εἰσὶ στοαί παρ' ἀλλήλας, ἣ τε τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διὸς καὶ ἣ Βασιλείου. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τρίτη, ἣ πάλαι μὲν Πανάκτιος (P. J. de Maussac *cj.* Πεισιανάκτιος cp. Diog. Laert. 7. 5 and Soud. *s.v.* Τήνων and Πεισιανάκτιος Στοά, G. Bernhardt *cj.* Πεισιανάκτιος) ἐκαλεῖτο, νῦν δὲ μετονομάσθη Παικίλη, whence Meursius in Hesych. *loc. cit.* restored δύο εἰσὶν Ἀθήνησι στοαί ἣ τε Βασιλείου λεγομένη τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἣ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου).

Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 53 Διόσκουροι etiam apud Graecos multis modis nominantur. primi tres, qui appellantur Anactes Athenis, ex rege Iove antiquissimo et Proserpina nati, Tritopatrus, Eubuleus, Dionysus. This passage forms part of the Catalogue of the gods, the origin of which has been much disputed. J. B. Mayor *ad loc.* would trace it back to Kleitomachos, who became head of the New Academy in 129 B.C. W. Michaelis *De origine indicis deorum cognominum* Berlin 1898 finds its ultimate source in the pseudo-Aristotelian *péplas*, which he attributes to an unknown Rhodian author of *s. ii. B.C.* W. Bobeth *De indicibus deorum* Leipzig 1904 thinks that the Catalogue was first drafted in 100—50 B.C. Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 199 refers it to Aristokles of Rhodes, whose *floruit* falls in *s. i. B.C.* In any case the allusion to 'Zeus a very ancient king' betrays the influence of Euhemerus (*supra* i. 662, 758).

⁵ Pl. xlv, 1 is drawn from the best available photographs of the actual slab, *viz.* A. H. Smith *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 pls. 34—36, supplemented by the casts of it in the Cambridge collection. Pl. xlv, 2 gives a restoration of the same.

⁶ So at least I ventured to suggest in the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 371, cp. Frazer *Golden Bough*³: The Dying God p. 89 n. 5. Other interpretations (which to me,

their attendants the sacred *péplos* and two cushioned *diphroi*. Of these *diphroi* one is being handed to the 'queen,' the other with a footstool¹ is reserved for the 'king.' He is a very noteworthy personage. Alone of all the figures on the frieze, he is clad simply in a long *chiton* with short sleeves and in shoes—doubtless the Cretan garment² and royal footgear³, which we know to have been his distinctive attire. Court etiquette is conservative and these articles of apparel were reminiscent of 'Minoan' predecessors. But, to complete his costume, he needs a *himation*; and it seems not unreasonable to conjecture that he is about to put on immortality in the shape of Athena's *péplos*⁴. This done, the 'king'

I confess, seem inadequate) regard the scene as (1) the priest receiving the new *péplos* (most archaeologists); (2) the priest folding up and putting away the old *péplos* (G. F. Hill 'The east frieze of the Parthenon' in the *Class. Rev.* 1894 viii. 225 f., E. A. Gardner *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture* London 1897 ii. 291 f., *id.* *Ancient Athens* London 1902 p. 332 ff.); (3) the priest, about to sacrifice, handing his own *himation* to the boy, cp. the vase shown in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1879 xxxvii pl. 4 (A. Flasch *Zum Parthenon-Fries* Würzburg 1877 p. 99 ff., Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 277 f., Sir C. Waldstein 'The Panathenaic festival and the central slab of the Parthenon frieze' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1885 i. 10 ff., *id.* *Essays on the Art of Pheidias* Cambridge 1885 p. 229 ff. ('The central slab of the Parthenon frieze and the Copenhagen plaque') pls. 11 f.); (4) the *βασιλεύς*, before sacrifice, about to put on his *protinion* (W. Watkiss Lloyd 'On the Central Groups of the Eastern Frieze of the Parthenon' in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* Second Series (1892) xvi. 73 ff.); (5) the priest receiving a carpet (*στρωμνή*, cp. Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 589, 9 and 44 f.) to be spread before the seats of the gods for a theoxeny (E. Curtius in the *Jahrb. d. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1894 ix *Arch. Anz.* p. 181, Miss J. E. Harrison in the *Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 91, 427 f. ('The central group of the east frieze of the Parthenon: *peplos* or *στρωμνή*?')). See also E. Petersen 'Peplosübergabe' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1877 xxxv. 136 f., A. Michaelis 'Peplos und Priestermantel' in the *Festschrift für Johannes Overbeck* Leipzig 1893 p. 178 ff., A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 156 ff., *id.* *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1908 p. 75 ff., *id.* *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 53, Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 427, *id.* in the *Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 274 ff.

¹ E. Petersen *Die Kunst des Pheidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia* Berlin 1873 p. 247 n. 1. •

² Poll. 7. 77 *ἐκαλείτο δὲ τι καὶ Κρητικόν, ᾧ Ἀθήνησιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐχρήτο.*

³ Poll. 7. 85 *ὑποδημάτων δὲ εἶδη βασιλίδες· ἐφόρει δὲ αὐτὰς ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀθήνησιν.*

⁴ If it be objected that the *βασιλεύς* had no right to masquerade in the costume of Athena, various considerations may be urged in his defence. At the Greater Mystery of Pheneos in Arkadia the priest put on the mask of Demeter *Kidaria* before smiting the Underground Folk with rods (Paus. 8. 15. 3). The obverse of a gold *stater* with the name and types of Alexander the Great is believed by C. T. Seltman to exhibit the head of Demetrios Poliorketes wearing the helmet of Athena (*Num. Chron.* Fourth Series 1909 ix. 267 ff. pl. 20, 3). A Melian copper of imperial date shows a bearded male figure inscribed T|V|[X]|H, with left arm carrying a child and right arm resting on a pillar (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 23 no. 66 pl. 2, 8), presumably a benefactor of Melos represented as her Tyche holding the infant Ploutos (so Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 382 n. 3). The colossal statues of the Nemroud Dagh include Antiochos i of Kommagene, who in the accompanying inscription speaks of himself as *Τύχης νέας* (*supra* i. 744 n. 3). Conversely, the gold octadrachms and silver decadrachms etc. of the deified Arsinoe ii give her a horn like that of Zeus *Ammon* (J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* cited *supra* p. 773 fig. 739, C. T. Seltman *Num. Chron.* Fourth Series 1909 ix. 269, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 850). Again, it might be pointed out that a woman's *péplos* is really the same garment as a man's *himation*, both being essentially an oblong piece of woollen cloth folded for wear. But the true defence of the *βασιλεύς* is more

and 'queen' will take their places on the *diphroi* set for them between the deities enthroned on either hand¹. With Zeus and Hera on the one side, Athena and Hephaistos on the other², they will appear with all the credentials of divinity.

But it is time to pass from the local myth of Periphas to the local custom of the Diasia³.

probably to be sought in the fact that on certain ritual occasions men were expected to don women's raiment—a custom on which I have said my say elsewhere (*Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 376 f.). Miss Harrison has suggested to me (July 30, 1917) an explanation, which—if sound—would not only meet the objection here noted but also add much to the significance of the whole procedure. The 'king,' on my showing, is about to assume the *péplos* of Athena. Yes, but the *péplos* may be simply the 'Weltenmantel,' which Athena had taken over from the early Attic kings. Such a garment could be appropriately worn by the 'king,' who thus came by his own again. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 i. 58 ff., 77 ff., ii. 326 seems (though he is not very clear about it) to regard Athena's *péplos* as a cosmic robe. I fail to see that he has proved the point. When he states that the 'Praxiergidenpriesterinnen' ἀμφιέννουσιν ἐν ἑορταῖς τὸν πέπλον Διὶ Μοιραγέτει Ἀπόλλωνι (*op. cit.* i. 59), he is indulging in an ungrammatical (Ἰπραξειργίδαι should be masculine, and ἀμφιέννουσιν is not Greek at all) and highly improbable ('Δι...appellativisch (wie divus)') restoration of the mutilated text *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 93, 11 f. = J. V. Protz and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 14, 11 f. cited *supra* p. 231 n. 8.

¹ Similarly Philip of Macedon, immediately before his assassination at Aigai in 336 B.C., εἰδῶλα τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν ἐπόμπευε...σὺν δὲ τοῖσι τοῦτοῦ τοῦ Φιλίππου τρισκαίδεκατον ἐπόμπευε θεοπροπέε εἰδῶλον, σύνθρονον ἑαυτὸν ἀποδεικνύοντος τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς (Diod. 16. 92).

² It seems likely that Pheidias had already employed the same principles of composition for the trophy erected at Delphoi as a tithe from the spoils of 'Marathon.' The account given by Paus. 10. 10. 1—2 has led to much discussion, which is conveniently summarised by H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.* Personally, I hold that the grouping of this remarkable monument was as follows:

[Three national worthies]	||	Five ἐπώνυμοι	||	ATHENA as goddess of Athens	MILTIADES	APOLLON	||	Five ἐπώνυμοι	||	[Three later ἐπώνυμοι]
					as god	of Delphoi				

Three out of the ten ἐπώνυμοι, *viz.* Oineus, Hippothoon, and Aias, are not mentioned in the text of Pausanias (probably a clerical error, cp. E. Curtius in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1861 p. 369 ff. = *id. Gesammelte Abhandlungen* Berlin 1894 ii. 365 f.). Later, when the ten tribes were increased to thirteen, the Athenians added at one end of the row three figures of the new ἐπώνυμοι, Antigonos, Demetrios Poliorketes, Ptolemy ii Philadelphos, and balanced them at the other end by three more figures of national worthies, Kodros, Theseus, Phyleus. It will be observed that, on this showing, the arrangement of the Delphic trophy definitely anticipated that of the eastern frieze of the Parthenon (I accept the view of A. S. Arvanitopoulos 'Phylen-Heroen am Parthenonfries' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 38 ff. pl. 4 f. that the ten standing men of the eastern frieze are the eponymous heroes of the Attic tribes):

Head of Panathenaic procession		Five ἐπώ- νυμοι		Six seated DEITIES	KING and QUEEN of Athens with their attendants	Six seated DEITIES		Five ἐπώ- νυμοι		Head of Panathenaic procession
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In both cases alike Pheidias' design portrays a virtual apotheosis—humanity raised to the rank of surrounding deities.

³ The best collection of sources will be found in O. Band *Die Attischen Diasien* Berlin 1883 pp. 3—10. The remainder of this excellent monograph suffers from undue compression and is admittedly incomplete.

(7) The Diasia.

Towards the close of the seventh century (636? 632? 628? B.C.) Kylon, an Athenian noble who had married the daughter of Theagenes tyrant of Megara, resolved with Theagenes' help to make himself tyrant of Athens. In answer to an enquiry the Delphic god bade him seize the Akropolis 'at the greatest festival of Zeus.' Kylon, who had been an Olympic victor, naturally took this to be the festival at Olympia. So he waited till it came round and then made his *coup*, which proved a disastrous failure¹. Thoukydides' comment concerns us:

'Whether the greatest festival spoken of was in Attike or elsewhere, was a point which he did not perceive and the oracle did not reveal. For the Athenians too have what is called the Diasia, a festival of Zeus *Meilichios*, greatest of any, held outside the city, at which all the people offer sacrifice—many not victims but sacrifices peculiar to the country².'

The difficulties of the Thucydidean style³ and the doubts attaching to the text⁴ have, I think, hindered scholars from asking the obvious question: Why did the oracle regard the Diasia as a suitable day for setting up a tyranny at Athens? The explanation is twofold: partly, no doubt, because the gathering of the populace outside the city would leave the coast clear for Kylon's attempt; but partly also because the Diasia was the festival of Zeus *Meilichios*, who represented the line of ancient kings. Kylon might in fact have acted under their auspices and been accepted as their successor. His presumptuous error spoiled what was, in reality or pretence, quite a pretty piece of politico-religious plotting⁵.

¹ Thouk. i. 126, Hdt. 5. 71, Aristot. *de Athen. rep. frag.* 8 p. 110, 14 ff. Blass—Thalheim, Herakleides Pontikos *frag.* 1. 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 208 Müller), Cic. *de leg.* 2. 28, Plout. *v. Sol.* 12 f., Paus. 1. 28. 1, 1. 40. 1, 7. 25. 3, Hesych. *s.v.* Κωλών(ε)ιον ἄγος, Soud. *s.v.* Κυλώνειον ἄγος, schol. Aristoph. *eq.* 445.

² Thouk. i. 126 εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἢ ἄλλοθι ποῦ ἡ μεγίστη ἐορτὴ εἰρητο, οὔτε ἐκείνος ἐτι κατενόησε τό τε μαντεῖον οὐκ ἐδήλου. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίους Διάσια ἃ καλεῖται, Διὸς ἐορτὴ Μειλιχίου μεγίστη, ἕξω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ᾗ πανδημεὶ θύουσι, πολλοὶ οὐχ ἱερεῖα ἀλλὰ θύματα ἐπιχώρια with schol. *ad loc.* ἱερεῖα· πρόβατα and θύματα· τινὰ πέμματα εἰς ζῶων μορφὰς τετυπωμένα ἔθνον.

³ B. Jowett *ad loc.* would punctuate differently, reading either (1) ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίους, Διάσια ἃ καλεῖται, Διὸς ἐορτὴ Μειλιχίου μεγίστη, κ.τ.λ. 'For the Athenians also have a greatest festival of Zeus, namely, of Zeus Meilichius, the Diasia as it is called'; or (2) ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίους Διάσια, ἃ καλεῖται Διὸς ἐορτὴ Μειλιχίου μεγίστη, κ.τ.λ. 'For the Athenians also have a festival of Zeus, namely, the Diasia, which is called the greatest festival of Zeus Meilichius.' E. C. Marchant *ad loc.* translates as in (2).

⁴ E. F. Poppo—J. M. Stahl *ad loc.* cj. Διάσια ἢ καλεῖται. C. F. Hermann in *Philologus* 1867 ii. 1 ff. cj. ἐν ᾗ πανδημεὶ θύουσι πολλὰ οὐχ ἱερεῖα, κ.τ.λ. T. Hemsterhuys on Loukian. *Tim.* 7 cj. ἀλλ' ἄγνὰ θύματα ἐπιχώρια. O. Band *op. cit.* p. 4 regards the words ἔστι—μεγίστη as a probable and ἕξω—ἐπιχώρια as a certain interpolation.

⁵ In view of Kylon's connexion with Theagenes, note that the cult of Zeus at Megara bore some resemblance to the cult of Zeus on the Ilissos. A relief from Megara, like that from the Kallirrhoe-basin, associates Zeus with Acheloius (*supra* p. 1117 n. 7). Megara, like the Ilissos-bank, had its myth of the deluge (Paus. 1. 40. 1). And at Megara too there was an Olympieion with a famous statue of Zeus (Paus. 1. 40. 4 μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς (τοῦ Διὸς πρὸ cod. Monac.) τέμενος ἐσελθοῦσι καλούμενον Ὀλυμπιεῖον ναὸς ἐστι θεῶς ἄξιος· τὸ δὲ ἀγαλμα οὐκ ἐξεργάσθη τοῦ Διὸς ἐπιλαβόντος τοῦ Πελοποννησίων πολέμου πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ... τῷ δὲ ἀγάλματι τοῦ Διὸς πρόσωπον ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πηλοῦ τέ ἐστι καὶ γύψου· ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸ Θεόκοσμον λέγουσιν ἐπιχώριον, συνεργάσασθαι δὲ οἱ Φειδιάν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Διὸς εἰσιν ὦραι καὶ Μοῖραι· δῆλα δὲ πᾶσι τὴν Πεπωμένην μόνω οἱ πείθεσθαι, καὶ τὰς ὥρας τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον νέμειν ἐς (so H. C. Schubart—E. C. Walz for εἰς) τὸ δέον. ὅπισθε δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ κείται ξύλα ἡμίεργα· ταῦτα ἐμειλλεν ὁ Θεόκοσμος ἐλέφαντι

It remains to determine the place, time, and character of the Diasia. O. Band¹ and A. Mommsen² conclude in favour of the Ilissos-site. Not without reason; for here Zeus had been worshipped since the days of Deukalion³, and here, on the north bank of the river, just outside the Themistoclean wall⁴, there was convenient space for the people to assemble⁵. They did so on Anthesterion 22 or 23⁶, which in the time of Plutarch would have corresponded with March 22 or 23⁷. The inference to be drawn from this dating is that the Diasia, like the Lesser Mysteries of Agra (*c.* Anthesterion 20⁸) or the *Pithoigia*, *Chôes*, and *Chýtroi* (Anthesterion 11—13⁹), had a character at once chthonian and agrarian¹⁰. Zeus *Meilichios*, the buried king, was the giver of animal and vegetable life.

καὶ χρυσῷ κοσμήσας τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐπέτέλειεν τοῦ Διὸς, *supra* i. 2 n. 2). Imperial coppers of Megara show a seated Zeus holding a Nike (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica* etc. p. 122 pl. 22, 1 = my fig. 959, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 4 f. pl. A, 3, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 394) or an eagle (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 5), which may be meant for Theokosmos' masterpiece, and a Zeus striding to the right with



Fig. 959.



Fig. 960.

thunderbolt and eagle (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 5 pl. A, 4 = my fig. 960, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 394), in which—since the god sometimes has a base—we must recognise another statue (*cp.* Paus. i. 40. 6 Διὸς Κοῦλου in a context cited *supra* p. 257 n. 4, Paus. i. 43. 6 καὶ ἐν τῷ ναφ τῷ πλησίον Μούσας καὶ χαλκοῦν Δία ἐποίησε Λύσιππος).

¹ O. Band *Die Attischen Diasien* Berlin 1883 p. 11.

² Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 421 f.

³ Paus. i. 18. 8, *supra* p. 420.

⁴ Schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 408 ἐορτὴ Διὸς Ἀθήνησι τὰ Διάσια, ἐν ᾗ πανδημεὶ ἔξω τείχους συνόντες ἐορτάζουσιν (a paraphrase of Thouk. i. 126 cited *supra* p. 1138 n. 2) = Favorin. *lex.* p. 492, 36 f.

⁵ See A. N. Skias in the *Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ.* 1893 pl. A.

The Ilissos-site is highly probable, but not absolutely certain; for the Kephisos-site (W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 362 n. 5) likewise had claims to high antiquity and convenient proximity. It is not, however, so aptly described by the phrases ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, ἔξω τείχους, and its festal day appears to have been Hekatombaion 8 (*supra* p. 1091 f.).

⁶ Schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 408 Διασιόισιν· ἐορτὴ Ἀθήνησι Μειλιχίου Διὸς. ἀγεται δὲ μηνὸς Ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἢ φθινοῦτος. This would be Anthesterion 22 or 23, according as that month was 'full' (30 days) or 'hollow' (29 days): see the discussion and tables in A. Schmidt *Handbuch der griechischen Chronologie* Jena 1888 p. 200 ff.

⁷ Plout. *v. Sull.* 14 ἔλειν δὲ τὰς Ἀθήνας αὐτὸς φησιν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι (*frag.* 13 (*Hist. Rom. frag.* p. 131 Peter)) Μαρτίας καλάνδαις, ἧτις ἡμέρα μάλιστα συμπίπτει τῇ νομηνίᾳ τοῦ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος μηνός, ἐν ᾗ κατὰ τύχην ὑπομνήματα πολλὰ τοῦ διὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν ὀλέθρου καὶ τῆς φθορᾶς ἐκείνης δρῶσιν, ὡς τότε καὶ περὶ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον μάλιστα τοῦ κατακλισμοῦ συμπεσόντος, *infra* § 9 (h) ii (ε).

⁸ Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 406, *supra* i. 692 f.

⁹ Mommsen *op. cit.* p. 384 ff., *supra* i. 684.

¹⁰ *Supra* i. 687.

The ritual of the Diasia is imperfectly known. Thoukydides' statement that many, in lieu of 'victims,' offered 'sacrifices peculiar to the country' is annotated by the scholiast, who remarks (1) that 'victims' means sheep (*próbata*), and (2) that the 'sacrifices peculiar to the country' were cakes moulded into the forms of animals¹. Both observations are credible. On the one hand, we have seen that the 'fleece of Zeus' was stripped from a victim sacrificed to Zeus *Meillichios* or to Zeus *Ktésios*². On the other hand, we hear³ of a cult of Artemis at Syracuse, in which rustic singers were decked with a loaf that had wild beasts moulded upon it⁴, a wallet full of mingled grain, and wine in a goat-skin for distribution to all and sundry. They wore garlands, had stag-horns on their foreheads, and carried a crook in their hands. Thus equipped they vied with each other in song: the victor received the loaf of the vanquished and stopped in Syracuse; the vanquished went about the neighbouring villages collecting food for themselves. Their songs were full of mirth and merriment, and ended with the stanza:

Here's wealth for you!
Here's health for you!
We bring you what the goddess sends,
A boon and blessing to her friends!

It would seem that at Athens the god, and at Syracuse the votary, accepted the cake or loaf moulded with animal forms as a surrogate for the animals themselves in accordance with a well-known principle of ancient ritual⁵.

¹ *Supra* p. 1138 n. 2.

² *Supra* i. 422 ff. O. Band *Die Attischen Diasien* Berlin 1883 p. 4 (following E. F. Poppo on Thouk. 1. 126) à propos of the scholion *τερεῖα· πρόβατα* says curtly 'Immo χοίρους.'

³ Schol. Theokr. *proleg.* Β εἰρεσις τῶν βουκολικῶν b p. 3, 2 ff. Wendel (cp. *anecd. Estense* 3. 1 p. 7, 11 ff. Wendel, Prob. in *Verg. ecl.* p. 347 f. Lion, Diomed. *ars gramm.* 3 p. 486, 27 ff. Keil: Probus and Diomedes connect the custom with the cult of Diana *Lyaea* ἄδειν δὲ φασιν αὐτοὺς ἄρτον ἐξηρημένους θηρίων ἐν ἑαυτῷ πλέονας τύπους ἔχοντα καὶ πήραν πανσπερμίας ἀνάπλων καὶ οἶνον ἐν αἰγείῳ ἀσκή, σπονδὴν νέμοντας τοῖς ὑπαντῶσι, στέφανόν τε περικεῖσθαι καὶ κέρατα ἐλάφων προκεῖσθαι καὶ μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχειν λαγωβόλον. τὸν δὲ νικῆσαντα λαμβάνειν τὸν τοῦ νενικημένου ἄρτον· κάκεινον μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν Συρακουσίων μένειν πόλεως, τοὺς δὲ νενικημένους εἰς τὰς περιοικίδας χωρεῖν ἀγείροντας ἑαυτοῖς τὰς τροφάς· ἄδειν (so H. Schaefer for διδοῖναι codd.) δὲ ἄλλα τινὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ γέλωτος ἐχόμενα καὶ εὐφημοῦντας ἐπιλέγειν· 'δέξαι τὰν ἀγαθὰν τήχαν, | δέξαι τὰν ὑγίειαν, | ἂν φέρομες παρὰ τᾶς (so F. G. Schneidewin for τῆς E^b. A. T. τοῦ K.) θεοῦ, | ἂν ἐκαλέσσατο (ἐκλελάσκετο K. A. H. Ahrens cj. ᾗ 'κελήσατο C. Wendel cj. ἐκλάσκετο or ἐλακήσατο) τήνα (*carm. ror.* 42 Bergk⁴, 45 Hiller—Crusius).

⁴ ? cp. Athen. 64 E ελαφος πλακοῦς ὁ τοῖς Ἐλαφηβολοῖς ἀναπλασσομένους διὰ σπαιτῶς καὶ μέλιτος καὶ σσημόν.

⁵ Serv. in *Verg. Aen.* 2. 116 et sciendum in sacris simulata pro veris accipi. unde, cum de animalibus quae difficile inveniuntur est sacrificandum, de pane vel cera fiunt et pro veris accipiuntur. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1079 ff. and Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 95 u. 2 have made full collections of the literary evidence. Countless archaeological finds illustrate the same principle: see W. H. D. Rouse *Greek Votive Offerings* Cambridge 1902 p. 295 ff. To take a single case, the pig for sacrifice might be replaced by a dog dressed in a pig-skin (so on a red-figured *kylix* at Vienna (Masner *Samml. ant. Vasen u. Terracotten Wien* p. 40 f. no. 321 fig. 24, F. Studniczka 'Ein Opferbetrug des Hermes' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1891 vi. 258 ff. fig., J. E. Harrison—D. S. MacColl *Greek Vase Paintings* London 1894 p. 25 pl. 33, 1)), or by a terra-cotta pig (so with those from the precinct of Demeter and Kore at Tegea (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* pp. xxxviii f., 78 no. B 46, A. Milchhöfer in the *Ath.*

Kylon's mistake suggests that already in the seventh century the Diasia was past its zenith. But popular rites die hard. Two hundred years later old-fashioned folk still thought of the family feast and the public fair. Aristophanes makes Strepsiades tell with gusto how once at the Diasia he roasted a haggis for his kinsmen¹, and how on a like occasion he spent an obol on a toy-cart for his little son². This is the last that we hear of the festival for more than half a millennium. Then came Lucian with his marvellous talent for galvanizing the past into a semblance of life. In the *Ikaromenippos* Zeus asks 'why the Athenians had dropped the Diasia all those years³.' In the *Timon* Hermes jogs the memory of Zeus himself:

'What, Father! Don't you know Timon—son of Echekratides, of Kollytos? Many's the time he's entertained us on perfect sacrifices, the wealthy *parvenu* of the whole hecatombs, with whom we used to feast like lords at the Diasia⁴.'

In the *Charidemos* there is a reference to literary competitions at the same festival⁵.

A stage more remote from the original facts was Eumathios Makrembolites, the Byzantine novelist (second half of s. xii A.D.) who penned the *Romance of Hysmine and Hysminias*. He laid its scene in the imaginary towns of Eurykomis and Aulikomis and dealt largely with the circumstances of the Diasia. The hero, Hysminias, wearing a bay-wreath, a long *chiton*, and sacred shoes⁶, went as herald of Zeus from the former to the latter town, where he was received as a god⁷ and entertained in the name of Zeus⁸, but proved himself to be very human by falling in love with Hysmine the daughter of his host. She, however, was betrothed to another; and her parents, who had escorted the herald back to Eurykomis, offered there at the altar of Zeus a sacrifice for the future happiness of their daughter. Thereupon an eagle swooped down and carried off the sacrifice. The parents were much upset at this evil omen⁹. But some of the bystanders took it to be a most auspicious sign¹⁰. And a friend of Hysminias pointed out to him that he might be the eagle, and carry off the bride¹¹—which he proceeded to do. We need not trace at greater length his rather banal escapades and adventures. But we should note that the god, whom he served so unworthily, is throughout spoken of as Zeus or Zeus *Patrios*¹² or Zeus *Phlios*¹³ or Zeus *Sotér*¹⁴

Mith. 1879 iv. 171, 174, C. A. Hutton *Greek Terracotta Statuettes* London 1899 p. 3 f.) or from that of Persephone at Tarentum (Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1886 vii. 24, W. H. D. Rouse *op. cit.* p. 301), or even by a ham-shaped coin (so with the curious coppers from the fountain at Nîmes (L. de la Saussaye *Numismatique de la Gaule Narbonnaise* Blois 1842 p. 159 pl. 20, 36, G. Long in *Smith Dict. Geogr.* ii. 414 f. fig., A. Boutkowski *Dictionnaire Numismatique* Leipzig 1884 ii. 1. 1738 f. no. 2833 fig., E. Muret—M. A. Chabouillet *Catalogue des monnaies gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale* Paris 1889 p. 61 no. 2839, H. de la Tour *Atlas de monnaies gauloises* Paris 1892 no. 2839 pl. 7, G. F. Hill *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* London 1899 p. 3 f. fig. 2, *Babelon Monn. gr. rom.* i. 1. 675 f.)).

¹ Aristoph. *nub.* 408 ff.

² *Id. ib.* 861 ff.

³ Loukian. *Ikaromen.* 24.

⁴ Loukian. *Tim.* 7.

⁵ Loukian. *Charid.* 1, cp. 3.

⁶ Eumath. 1. 1 f., 1. 7, 4. 3, 4. 24, 5. 3, 8. 10, 8. 13, cp. 8. 19, 8. 21.

⁷ *Id.* 1. 3 δέχομαι παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὡς κήρυξ, ἀλλ' ὡς θεός.

⁸ *Id.* 1. 10 Διασίως καιρὸς, κατατροφήσωμεν τὰ Διάσια· ὅλοι γενώμεθα τῆς ἐορτῆς, ὅλοι τῆς πανηγύρεως. Ζεὺς παρὰ τῆς τραπέζης, καὶ Διὸς τράπεζα, ὅτι καὶ ὁ κήρυξ οὗτος Διὸς: cp. 6. 2.

⁹ *Id.* 6. 10.

¹⁰ *Id.* 6. 11.

¹¹ *Id.* 6. 13.

¹² *Id.* 6. 10.

¹³ *Id.* 3. 9, 5. 18.

¹⁴ *Id.* 4. 2, 5. 15, 6. 2, 6. 15, cp. 1. 14.

or Zeus *Xénios*¹, but never as Zeus *Meilichios*—a sufficient proof that the author, though he works up his material with some care, has not preserved to us a trustworthy record of Athenian cult.

The scholiast on Lucian, who here and there makes valuable remarks, tells us more than once that the Diasia was kept at Athens 'with gloomy looks,' such as befitted the worship of the dead². This agrees well with other indications concerning the ritual of Zeus *Meilichios*. An old Attic calendar, the lettering of which has been referred to the early part of s. v B.C., mentions 'sober' offerings to *Milichios* side by side with offerings to Meter at some date before the end of Gamelion³. Now 'sober' offerings consisted in the main of honey⁴, and were specially, though not exclusively, given to chthonian powers (Gaia⁵, the *Bona Dea*⁶, Dis⁷, Hekate⁸, the Eumenides⁹, Kerberos¹⁰) and the souls of the dead¹¹. The same might be said of the pigs sacrificed to Zeus *Meilichios* at the Peiraeus¹² and by Xenophon 'in accordance with his ancestral custom'¹³. In short, we have every reason to conclude that at Athens the cult of Zeus *Meilichios* was essentially chthonian—the worship of a buried king, who during his life-time had been hailed as the sky-god incarnate and still was present to bless his people with increase of field and flock and family.

¹ Eumath. 5. 8 f., 5. 14 f., 6. 1 f., 6. 9, 11. 3.

At the altar of this deity, who is called indifferently Zeus *Σωτήρ* or Zeus *Ξένιος*, the parents sacrifice about the third watch of the night (*id.* 5. 15, 6. 5, 6. 14, 6. 16, cp. 10. 9).

² Schol. Loukian. *Icaromen.* 24 p. 107, 15 f. Rabe Διάσια· έορτή 'Αθήνησιν, ήν έπετέλουν μετά τινωσ στυγνότητος θύοντες έν αύτή Δά Μειλιχίω, *Tim.* 7 p. 110, 27 f. Rabe Διάσια· έορτή 'Αθήνησιν ούτω καλουμένη, ήν είώθεσαν μετά στυγνότητος τινωσ έπιτελείν θύοντες Δά τώ Μειλιχίω, *Tim.* 43 p. 117, 14 ff. Rabe άποφράς·... έτελείτο δέ ταυτα κατά τόν Φεβρουάριον μήνα, ότε και τοίς καταχθονίοις ένήγιζον. και πάσ ούτος ό ήν άρείτο τοίς κατοικομένοις μετά στυγνότητος πάντων προΐόντων † έτερον † τρώπον, δν και τά Διάσια στυγνάζοντες ήγον 'Αθηναίοι. M. du Soul marked έτερον as corrupt. T. Hemsterhusius cj. έτέρων. Graeven cj. ούχ έτερον. O. Band *Die Attischen Diasien* Berlin 1883 p. 6 regards έτερον as euphemistic. If alteration is needed, perhaps we should read σκυθρωπότερον. Cp. Hesych. Διάσια· έορτή 'Αθήνησι. και σκυθρωπούς άπό τής έορτής ήν έπετέλουν μετά τινωσ στυγνότητος θύοντες, on which M. Schmidt acutely observes: 'Fortasse comicus dixerat βλέποντας Διάσια.'

³ *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 4 A, 3 ff., J. de Prot *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 *Fasti sacri* p. 1 ff. no. 1 A, 3 ff. θάρ[γελοι? --- Δά Μ][ε]λιχίοι: ε[-----νεφ][δ](λι)α: Μετρί: [έν'Αγρας---][.]σπυριχεια----- . Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 421 infers that Zeus *Milichios* and Meter (= Demeter) were worshipped in or near Agra on the Ilissos: cp. *supra* p. 1118 n. 4.

⁴ W. H. Roscher *Nektar und Ambrosia* Leipzig 1883 p. 64 n. 167, *id.* *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 49 n. 199, W. Robert-Tornow *De apium mellisque apud veteres significatione et symbolica et mythologica* Berolini 1893 p. 144, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 20 f. ⁵ Ap. Rhod. 2. 1271 ff. ⁶ Macrobian. *Sat.* 1. 12. 25.

⁷ Sil. It. 13. 415 f. For bees and honey in relation to Demeter and Persephone see *supra* i. 443 n. 6 f., ii. 1113 n. 0 no. (3).

⁸ Ap. Rhod. 3. 1035 f.

⁹ Aisch. *Eum.* 106 f., Soph. *O.C.* 98 ff., 480 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*, Paus. 2. 11. 4.

¹⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 6. 417 ff., Soud. s.v. μελιτοῦτρα = schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 601.

¹¹ Il. 23. 170 f., Od. 10. 518 ff., 11. 26 ff., 24. 67 f., Aisch. *Pers.* 607 ff., Eur. *Or.* 114 f. with schol. *ad loc.*, *I.T.* 159 ff., 633 ff., Ap. Rhod. 2. 1271 ff., Soud. s.v. μελιτοῦτρα = schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 601. See further H. Usener 'Milch und Honig' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1902 lvii. 177—195 (= *id.* *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 398—417) and S. Eitrem *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer* (*Videnskapsselskaps Skrifter.* 11. Hist.-Filos. Klasse. 1914. No. i) Kristiania 1915 pp. 102—105.

¹² *Supra* p. 1105.

¹³ *Supra* p. 1107.

(8) Zeus *Meilichios* at Argos.

Outside Athens the cult of Zeus *Meilichios* seems to have borne a similar character. Thus at Argos there was a seated statue of Zeus *Meilichios*, made of white marble by Polykleitos (so it was said) to purify the people from the stain of kindred bloodshed¹. Argive coppers of imperial date show several types of Zeus. Coins of Hadrian (fig. 961) and Lucius Verus give his head alone². Others, struck by Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Lucius Verus (fig. 962), represent



Fig. 961.



Fig. 962.



Fig. 963.



Fig. 964.

him enthroned with a *phidyle* in his right hand and a sceptre in his left³. Others of Septimius Severus and Plautilla (fig. 963) make him hold an eagle or a Nike in place of the *phidyle*⁴. On others, again, struck by Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius (fig. 964), Septimius Severus, Iulia Domna, Plautilla, and Valerianus Senior, he stands, naked, with a sceptre in his right hand and an eagle at his feet⁵; while yet another, by Plautilla, figures him striding, naked, with eagle and thunderbolt in his hands⁶. F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner suggest that the Zeus enthroned with *phidyle* and sceptre (fig. 962) may be Zeus *Meilichios*, and add that the head

¹ Paus. 2. 20. 1 f. with Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.* The statue has been attributed to the elder Polykleitos by Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 168 no. 941 and *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 50 f. (but see *infra*), G. Löschke in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1878 xxxvi. 11 n. 12, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 486, to the younger Polykleitos by H. Brunn *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler* Stuttgart 1857 i. 280 f. and in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1880 p. 469, Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*⁴ i. 508 f. (but see *supra*). Both attributions are called in question by C. Robert *Archaeologische Maerchen aus alter und neuer Zeit* Berlin 1886 p. 102, Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 224, E. A. Gardner *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture* London 1897 ii. 332 n. 1. To me it seems clear (1) that Pausanias meant the elder and more famous Polykleitos, but (2) that marble was an improbable material for such a statue by him, and (3) that an obvious ground for the false ascription of the seated Zeus to him lay in the fact that he was the sculptor of the seated Hera (*supra* i. 134 f.).

² Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 36 pl. K, 27 = my fig. 961, Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 1082.

³ Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 36 pl. K, 25 = my fig. 962.

⁴ Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 36 pl. K, 26 = my fig. 963.

⁵ Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 36 pl. K, 28 = my fig. 964, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 148 pl. 28, 10 Hadrian, p. 150 Septimius Severus (with wrong reference to pl. 28, 21), *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 154 pl. 39, 13 Valerianus Senior, Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 1083 Iulia Domna, Suppl. i. 1033 Septimius Severus, cp. 1034 Plautilla. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *loc. cit.*, *id.* in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 148 n. * cp. Paus. 2. 20. 3 τούτων δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ Νεμείου Διὸς ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ἀγαλμα ὀρθὸν χαλκοῦν, τέχνη Λυσίππου (where H. C. Schubart cj. <τὸ> ἀγαλμα, but H. C. Schubart—E. C. Walz and Kayser omit ἱερόν with cod. Leid. a).

⁶ Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 36, Rasche *Lex. Num. Suppl.* i. 1034.

of Zeus (fig. 961) being 'decidedly fine and early' is perhaps 'a reminiscence of the head of Polycleitus' statue¹. But, in view of the large number of Argive Zeuses², these conjectures are admittedly uncertain.

(9) Zeus *Meilichios* at Sikyon.

From Argos to Sikyon³, as the crow flies, is less than five-and-twenty miles. But in their representation of Zeus *Meilichios* Argives and Sicyonians differed *to to caelo*. The former could boast a masterpiece shown to visitors as the work of Antykleitos himself; the latter were content with an artless pyramid, not even anthropomorphic⁴. Why Zeus was given this peculiar shape, we are not told.

¹ Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 36.

² In addition to references already given (*supra* i. 117 Zeus 'Αφέσιος, 122 f. Zeus Λαρισαῖος, 134 f. Zeus as a cuckoo, 320 and 462 Zeus with three eyes, 448 and 456 Zeus Νέμειος, 461 Zeus Πανόπτης, ii. 704 ff. Zeus as a cuckoo, 712 ff. Zeus as partner of Hera, 875 n. 2 Zeus Φαλακρός, 892 n. 5 Zeus Λαρισαῖος, Λαρισσεύς) see Paus. 2. 19. 7 Δαναὸς δὲ ταῦτά τε ἀνέθηκε καὶ πλησίον κίονας ἐκ < > Διὸς καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ξόανον (so most MSS. and H. C. Schubart, who indicated the lacuna: he is followed by Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner. Some of the older editors read ἐς Διὸς with cod. Paris c. H. C. Schubart—E. C. Walz, L. Dindorf, and F. Spiro print καὶ Διὸς after cod. Vindob. a. Clavier c. ὡς Διὸς. A. Kuhn c. ξόανα) where we should perhaps correct ἐκ Διὸς < κελείσματος > (cp. *supra* i. 371 n. 1) and suppose a pillar-cult of some sort, 2. 19. 8 βωμὸς Ἰερίου Διὸς (*infra* § 9 (h)), 2. 20. 6 καὶ Διὸς ἐστὶν ἐν ταῦθα ἱερὸν Σωτήρος, 2. 21. 2 πρὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ πεποιήται Διὸς Φυξίου βωμὸς, 2. 22. 2 πέραν δὲ τοῦ τάφου (sc. of Pelasgos) χαλκείον ἐστὶν οὐ μέγα, ἀνέχει δὲ αὐτὸ ἀγάλματα ἀρχαῖα Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἀθηῶν. Λυκίας μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς ἔκπεσιν ἐποίησε Μηχανεύς τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι Διὸς, καὶ Ἀργείων ἔφη τοὺς ἐπὶ Ἴλιον στρατεύσαντας ἐν ταῦθα ὁμοίαι παραμενεῖν (so H. C. Schubart—E. C. Walz for παραμενεῖν codd.) πολεμοῦντας, ἔστ' ἂν ἢ τὸ Ἴλιον ἔλωσιν ἢ μαχομένους τελευτῆ σφῶς ἐπιλάβῃ· ἑτέροις δὲ ἐστὶν εἰρημένον ὅσα ἐν τῷ χαλκείῳ κείσθαι Ταυτάλου. The word χαλκείον, which has been much misunderstood (see H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*), presumably means a bronze *cista*. On the lid of it stood three archaic figures—an arrangement familiar to us from extant specimens (e.g. the 'Ficoronian'-*cista*, on which see Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* ii. 14 ff. pl. 2, P. O. Brøndsted *den Ficoroniske Cista* Kjöbenhavn 1847, E. Braun *Die Ficoronische Cista des collegio Romano* Leipzig 1849, O. Jahn *Die Ficoronische Cista* Leipzig 1852, Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 453 f. fig. 500, Forrer *Reallex.* p. 148 f. fig. 146; the handle of another *cista* from Paestrina in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 106 no. 643). Lykeas, as an Argive poet (Paus. 1. 13. 8 f., 2. 19. 5, 2. 23. 8), followed local tradition. And it is possible that the bones in the *cista* really were those of some early chieftain worshipped after his death as Zeus *Μηχανεύς* (for whom see *infra* § 9 (h) i). Argive inscriptions further allude to the cult of Zeus *Νέμειος* (*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 602, 14 ff. καὶ θύσαντα τῷ Διὶ τῷ Νεμείῳ ἐκατόμβην, *ib.* no. 606, 11 f. = *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1123, 12 f. = W. Prellwitz in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* ii. 1. 131 f. no. 3293, 12 f. θύσαντά τε καὶ τῷ Διὶ τῷ Νεμείῳ ἐκατόμβαν πρῶτον καὶ μόνον) and Zeus Ἰψίστος (*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 620, 4 = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 465. 8 = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 286. 8 cited *supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (4)).

³ I pass by Epidauros, because the evidence for a cult of Zeus *Meilichios* in that town is small—in fact depends on the suggested interpretation of a single letter. See J. Bannack 'Zu den Inschriften aus Epidauros' in *Philologus* 1895 liv. 37: 'Nr. 125 h. bei K. [= P. Kabbadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 p. 57] nur Ἀφροδίτας μελιχίας. Bl. (Ask. S. 123) [= C. Blinkenberg *Asklepios og hans fraender i Hieron ved Epidauros* Kobenhavn 1893 p. 123 no. 7] merkt darauf einen Zwischenraum von etwa 2 Zeichen an und hierauf ein Δ, was er ansprechend als den Anfang einer zweiten Inschrift Δ[ιὸς μελιχίου] erklärt,' *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1272 in letters of s. iii b.c. ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΑΣΜΙΛΙΧΙΑΣ | ΔΤ = Ἀφροδίτας Μελιχίας. Δ[ιὸς Μελιχίου].

⁴ Paus. 2. 9. 6 cited *supra* i. 520 n. 2.

I do not, of course, mean to imply that the Sicyonians were averse from the Zeus-types

It is tempting to conjecture that his pyramid betokened a buried king. For tombs of pyramidal form occur sporadically from Egypt to Italy¹; and, if Eumelos

of later art. A 'third brass' of Geta shows Zeus seated with a *phiale* in his right hand, a sceptre in his left (Rasche *Lex. Num.* viii. 912, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 29). A copper of Caracalla (2) has CI KVV N Zeus standing to the left, naked, with thunderbolt in right hand, sceptre in left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 55, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 29 pl. H, 10=my fig. 965): cp. the obverse type of a quasi-autonomous coin in *Numismata antiqua in tres partes divisa*, collegit Thomas Pembrochiæ et Montis Gomerici comes Londinii 1746 ii pl. 28, 11, Rasche *Lex. Num.* viii. 910 Zeus standing, naked, with Nike in his right hand and a sceptre in his left. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *loc. cit.* rightly see in the British Museum coin an illustration of Paus. 2. 9. 6 τῆς δὲ ἀγορᾶς ἔστιν ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς, τέχνη Λυσίππου (cp. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 151 f.).



Fig. 965.

¹ A good collection of evidence is got together by R. Rochette 'Sur la pyra, comme type de monument funéraire' in the *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France* Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 1848 xvii. 388—401, who derives pyramidal tombs from pyramidal pyres. Without necessarily subscribing to this view, we may admit that pyres and similar structures of funerary import must be taken into account along with actual tombs. A rough classification of the relevant monuments according to form would include (a) stepped pyramids, (b) smooth-sided pyramids, (c) stepped pyramids on plinths, (d) smooth-sided pyramids on plinths. Examples are:—

(a) The stepped pyramid at Saqqâra built by Zosiri of the third dynasty (G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*⁴ London 1901 p. 359, E. A. Wallis Budge *A History of Egypt* London 1902 i. 193, 218 f. fig., J. H. Breasted *A History of Egypt* New York 1911 p. 113 f. fig. 63, E. Bell *The Architecture of Ancient Egypt* London 1915 p. 23 ff. fig.), or that at Riqqeh, whose occupant is unknown (G. Maspero *op. cit.*⁴ p. 359 n. 3), or again that at Médûm built by Snofrûi the last king of the third dynasty, though this at least was probably meant to be cased with polished stone (G. Maspero *op. cit.*⁴ p. 359 f. fig., E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* ii. 24 f. fig., J. H. Breasted *op. cit.* p. 115 fig. 64, E. Bell *op. cit.* p. 25 f. fig.). The form has traceable antecedents, viz. the four-sided *tumulus* → the brick-built *mastaba* → the stone-built *mastaba* → a series of stone-built *mastaba* superposed = a stepped pyramid.

(b) The fully developed pyramids of Egypt, those of Kenchreai (A. Blouet etc. *Expédition scientifique de Morée* Paris 1833 ii. 92 pl. 55, 1—3, Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 212—214, v. 565 f.) and *Ligouria* near Epidaurus (A. Blouet etc. *op. cit.* ii. 164 pl. 76, 2 f., Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 233, v. 570), that at *Astros* in Kynouria (W. Vischer *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland* Basel 1857 p. 327), that of Cestius on the *via Ostiensis* (A. Schneider *Das alte Rom* Leipzig 1896 pl. 4, 15, O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*² München 1901 p. 355, H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 179 f.), if not also the one formerly existing near the Mausoleum of Hadrian and known to the middle ages, or earlier (Acron in *Hor. epod.* 9. 25), as the *sepulcrum Scipionis* or *Romuli* (O. Richter *op. cit.*² p. 280, H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *op. cit.* i. 3. 659 f., H. Jordan *ib.* Berlin 1871 ii. 405 f.). A pyramid of the sort is grouped with a warrior or gladiator (*bustnarius*?) in two different gem-types (E. Saglio in *Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant.* i. 755 fig. 898, Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 65 no. 73, 5 pl. 65; Reinach *op. cit.* p. 83 no. 90 pl. 80).

(c) The stepped tomb of 'Kyros' on the site of Pasargadaï (C. F. M. Texier *Description de l'Arménie, la Perse et la Mésopotamie* Paris 1852 ii. 152 ff. pls. 81—83, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* v. 597 ff. figs. 375—377, J. Fergusson *A History of Architecture in all Countries*³ London 1893 i. 196 ff. figs. 84—86) can hardly be said to have a plinth, but forms the starting-point for such edifices as the lion-tomb at Knidos (Sir C. T. Newton *A*

is to be trusted, the eponymous king Sikyon, son of Marathon son of Epopeus, came of a family in which we have already seen reason to suspect successive incarnations of Zeus¹. To be sure, there were rival traditions with regard to Sikyon. Hesiod made him the son of Erechtheus². Asios the Samian genealogist³ took him to be the son of Metion son of Erechtheus, and this view was preferred by the Sicyonians themselves⁴. Finally, Ibykos deemed him the son of Pelops⁵. But the variants each and all suggest close connexion with Zeus. *Erechtheus*, the 'Cleaver,' was a cult-title of Zeus the lightning-god⁶. *Metion* is

History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchide London 1862—1863 i pls. 61—66, ii. 480—511, *id. Travels & Discoveries in the Levant* London 1865 ii. 214 ff., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* ii. 214 ff. no. 1350, J. Fergusson *op. cit.*³ i. 284 f. fig. 164, P. Gardner *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas* London 1896 p. 224 ff. fig. 77), the Mausoleion of Halicarnassos, the stepped tomb at Mylasa (M. G. F. A. Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* Paris 1782 i. 144 ff. pls. 85—89, *Antiquities of Ionia* published by the Society of Dilettanti London 1797 ii. 26 pls. 24—26, C. Fellows *An Account of Discoveries in Lycia* London 1841 p. 75 f. with pl.), and that near Delphoi (E. Dodwell *Views and Descriptions of Cyclopiæ, or, Pelasgic Remains, in Greece and Italy* London 1834 p. 20 pl. 36 f.).

(d) A good specimen of the smooth-sided pyramid on plinth is the tomb of 'Zechariah' in the Valley of Jehoshaphat near Jerusalem (T. H. Horne *Landscape Illustrations of the Bible* London 1836 i pl. 93 with text). See also *supra* i. 515 n. 5 fig. 388, ii. 814 f. fig. 781, cp. i. 600 ff. figs. 465—468.

Further cp. the pyramids built above the rock-cut tombs of the Maccabees at Modin (Macc. 1. 13. 25—30, Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 13. 6. 5, Euseb. *onomasticon de locis Hebraicis s.v. Modelm* p. 290, 4 ff. F. Larsow—G. Parthey = Hieron. *de situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum s.v. 'Modeim'* p. 291, 6 ff. F. Larsow—G. Parthey: see V. Guérin *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine* Paris 1868—1880 Seconde partie—Samarie ii. 55 ff. with two pls., Troisième partie—Galilée i. 47 ff., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 361), the three pyramids built near Jerusalem by Helene, sister and wife of Monobazos Bazaïos king of Adiabene (Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 20. 4. 3, *bell. Iud.* 5. 2. 2, 5. 3. 3, 5. 4. 2, Paus. 8. 16. 5, Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 2. 12. 3, Hieron. *epist.* 108. 9 (xxii. 883 Migne): see W. Otto in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2836 f.), the pyramid, decorated with Argive shields, beneath which the followers of Proitos and Akrisios were buried (Paus. 2. 25. 7), the pyramidal tombs built by Hieron ii at Agyrion in Sicily (Diod. 16. 83), those made for horses at Agrigentum (Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 155), the rock-cut 'Sepolcro Consolare' at Palazzola (Palazzuolo) above the Alban Lake (A. Nibby *Viaggio antiquario ne' contorni di Roma* Roma 1819 ii. 125 f.), the 'Sepolcro di Pompeo' or, as the folk of the district call it, 'di Ascanio' on the *via Appia* near Albano (A. Nibby *op. cit.* ii. 110—112), and another tomb near Capua (J. C. Richard de Saint-Non *Voyage pittoresque ou description des royaumes de Naples et de Sicile* Paris 1781—1786 ii. 249).

All these and other related types (cones etc.) ought to be made the subject of a thoroughgoing investigation. It would, no doubt, be found that the structures in question were produced by a combination of factors, some of practical exigency, some of symbolic significance. I shall content myself with suggesting that one root-idea was that of a mountain reaching up to heaven—an idea comparable with those of the sky-pillar (*supra* p. 44 ff.), the soul-ladder (*supra* p. 121 ff.), the stepped or spiral tower (*supra* p. 128 f.).

¹ *Supra* i. 245 ff.

² Hes. *frag.* 229 Flach, 102 Rzach *ap.* Paus. 2. 6. 5.

³ E. Bethé in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1606, W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*⁵ München 1908 i. 125.

⁴ Asios *frag.* 11 Kinkel *ap.* Paus. 2. 6. 5.

⁵ Ibyk. *frag.* 48 Bergk⁴ *ap.* Paus. 2. 6. 5.

⁶ *Supra* p. 793.

but another form of *metteta*, *metiōeis*, Zeus the 'Magician'¹. And Pelops too we have regarded as in some sense a human Zeus². Nevertheless I should not insist on the Sicyonian pyramid as sepulchral in character; for it must not be forgotten that at Tegea the pyramid-on-pillar was a favourite type for the representation of deities in general³.

(10) Zeus *Melichios* at Tegea.

From Tegea comes a dedication, of s. ii B.C. or earlier, to Zeus *Melichios*⁴. W. Immerwahr holds that the cult was of recent introduction⁵. But Tegea was an ancient Arcadian town⁶, and there is some ground for thinking that the Tegeates, like the Athenians, recognised the divinity of their early kings. At Athens—it will be remembered—the dead king seems to have been known as Zeus *Sotér* or *Téleios*⁷; and at Tegea Zeus *Téleios* had an altar and a square image (presumably a pyramid-on-pillar) of the usual Arcadian type⁸. Moreover, there are scattered indications that something rather like the Erechtheion and its royal worship existed at one time in Tegea. Aleos, the founder of the town⁹, was, like Erechtheus¹⁰, a quasi-divine king, whose head as shown on autonomous coppers closely resembles that of Zeus (fig. 966)¹¹. His house, like the house of Erechtheus, was still to be seen in Pausanias' time¹². Again, Aleos instituted the cult of Athena *Aléa*¹³ and established his kingdom in connexion with her sanctuary¹⁴. This suggests that he stood to her in the same sort of relation as Erechtheus to Athena *Poliás*. Further hints help to fill in the picture: Athena *Aléa* had a sacred couch in her temple¹⁵, was served by a boy-priest¹⁶, and on occasion received the

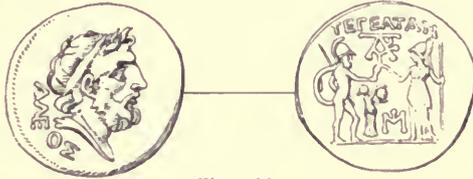


Fig. 966.

¹ *Supra* i. 14 n. 1.

² *Supra* i. 139.

³ *Supra* i. 520 n. 1, ii. 814 f.

⁴ O. Hoffmann *Die Griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1891 i. 33 no. 49, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1092, *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 90 Διὸς Μελιχίωι Μεκύλο's ἀνέθηκε where F. Hiller von Gaertringen notes: 'Forma Δ et dativus in -ωi alterius, sed Μελ- pro Μειλ quarti potius saeculi a. Chr. esse videtur.'

⁵ Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 30.

⁶ There was another *Tegea* in Crete, founded by Talthybios (Steph. Byz. s.v. Τέγεια) or Agamemnon (Vell. Pat. 1. 1. 2). Conversely, Tegea in Arkadia had its ὄρος...Κρήσιον (Paus. 8. 44. 7).

⁷ *Supra* p. 1123.

⁸ Paus. 8. 48. 6 πεποίηται δὲ καὶ Διὸς Τελείου βωμὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα τετράγωνον· περισσῶς γὰρ δὴ τι τῷ σχήματι τούτῳ φαίνονται μοι χαίρειν οἱ Ἀρκάδες.

⁹ Paus. 8. 45. 1.

¹⁰ *Supra* p. 793 f.

¹¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 202 pl. 37, 19 (=my fig. 966), *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 163, W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 European Greece p. 98, F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Com. Paus.* ii. 108 f. pl. V, 23, Head *Hist. num.* 2 p. 455: autonomous copper struck after c. 146 B.C. *obv.* ΑΛΕΟΣ Bearded head of Aleos to right, wearing fillet; *rev.* ΤΕΓΕΑΤΑΝ Athena handing to Kepheus the hair of the Gorgon, while Sterope holds up a vase to receive it. In the field are two monograms.

¹² Paus. 8. 53. 10.

¹³ Paus. 8. 4. 8, 8. 45. 4.

¹⁴ Paus. 8. 4. 8.

¹⁵ Paus. 8. 47. 2.

¹⁶ Paus. 8. 47. 3 ἱεράται δὲ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ παῖς χρόνον οὐκ οἶδα ὅσον τινά, πρὶν δὲ ἡβάσκειν καὶ οὐ πρόσω, τὴν ἱερωσύνην with Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*

gift of a *péplos*¹. Notice too that, just as the safety of Athens depended on the snake kept in the Erechtheion², so the safety of Tegea depended on a lock of Medousa's hair which Athena had given to Kepheus son of Aleos³. The coins represent Kepheus' daughter Sterope receiving it in a jar (fig. 966)⁴. And it is permissible to conjecture that both at Athens and at Tegea the original talisman⁵ was the soul of the ancestral king living on as a snake⁶ in his burial jar⁷. The comparison will even take us a step further. The perpetual lamp of the Erechtheion⁸ was but a civilised form of the perpetual fire burning on the common hearth of a primitive folk⁹. Now Pausanias says: 'The Tegeates have also what they call the common hearth of the Arcadians.... The high place on which stand most of the altars of the Tegeates is called after Zeus *Klárrios*¹⁰: plainly the god got his surname from the lot (*kléros*) cast on behalf of the sons of Arkas. The Tegeates celebrate a festival here every year¹¹. Zeus *Klárrios* gave his name to the first of the four Tegeate tribes *Klareótis*, *Hippochoítis*, *Apolloniádis*, *Athaneátis*¹². But the legend of the lot is probably due to a mis-

¹ Paus. 8. 5. 3.

² Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 168—170 collects the evidence. The precise position of the snake's hole is doubtful (W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 250 f., M. L. D'Ooge *The Acropolis of Athens* New York 1908 p. 209). H. N. Fowler in the *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens 1882—1883* Boston 1885 would seek it somewhere under the N. porch of the Erechtheion, a view approved by M. P. Nilsson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 329. Not improbably it is covered by the small round cistern of Turkish (?) origin still to be seen in the N.W. corner of the crypt beneath the N. porch (Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐπι τοῦ Ἐρεχθείου ἐπιτροπῆς Athens 1853 pl. 3 = F. Thiersch in the *Abh. d. bayer. Akad.* 1857 Philos.-philol. Classe viii pl. 3 will provide a coloured plan and section. See also P. Cavvadias—G. Kawerau *Die Ausgrabung der Akropolis Athens* 1907 pl. F', and the remarks of E. M. Beulé *L'Acropole d'Athènes* Paris 1854 ii. 251 f., D'Ooge *op. cit.* p. 207).

³ Paus. 8. 47. 5, cp. Apollod. 2. 7. 3, Phot. *lex. s.v.* πλόκιον Γοργάδος, Soud. *s.v.* πλόκιον Γοργάδος, Apostol. 14. 38.

⁴ Cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 203 pl. 37, 20, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 163, W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 European Greece p. 98, F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 108 pl. V, 22, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 455: *obv.* Head of Eileithyia (?) with torch at her shoulder; *rev.* [T]ΕΓΕΑΤΑΝ and type as above described. In the field are two monograms.

⁵ For other classical examples see Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 433 f. and *Golden Bough*³: Taboo p. 317, *ib.*³: Balder the Beautiful i. 83 n. 1.

⁶ K. Tümpel in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1108 says 'βαστραχος; ob vielmehr Schlange?'—an acute suggestion.

⁷ *Supra* Append. H.

⁸ Strab. 396, Plout. *v. Num.* 9, *v. Sull.* 13, Paus. 1. 26. 6 f., schol. *Od.* 19. 34.

⁹ Sir J. G. Frazer 'The Prytaneum, the Temple of Vesta, the Vestals, Perpetual Fires' in the *Journal of Philology* 1885 xiv. 145 ff., *id. Pausanias* iv. 441 f., *id. Golden Bough*³: The Magic Art ii. 253 ff., *ib.*³: Adonis Attis Osiris³ ii. 174, *id. Totemism and Exogamy* London 1910 ii. 491, iii. 239.

¹⁰ The high place in question (684^m above sea-level) lies to the N. of the town and is now occupied by the modern village of Mertzauouzi. Another height (706^m) to the N.W. of the town, the ancient citadel, is crowned by the village of Hagios Sostis (V. Bérard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1892 xvi. 541 with pl. 13).

¹¹ Paus. 8. 53. 9 f. cited *supra* p. 874 n. 2.

¹² Paus. 8. 53. 6, *supra* p. 164 n. 6. G. Gilbert *Handbuch der griechischen Staatsalterthümer* Leipzig 1885 ii. 127 notes that, according to inscriptional evidence (*Corp.*

taken attempt to explain the title *Klários*, which has been better interpreted by F. Solmsen as 'god of the High Place' (*Klários* for **Krários*)¹. Be that as it may², Zeus *Klários* was not improbably the old divine king buried under the common hearth of his people. If such were really the beliefs of the Tegeates, the cult of Zeus *Meilichios*, whether imported or not, would flourish in their midst.

(11) Zeus *Meilichos* or *Milichos* in Boiotia.

At Orchomenos in Boiotia, the great stronghold of the Aeolian Minyai³, Zeus was worshipped under the title *Meilichos*. Towards the close of the third century B.C. a certain Anticharidas, priest of the god, brought forward a decree for the construction of a fountain in or near his sanctuary, the *Meilichion*, in order that persons sacrificing there might have a convenient supply of drinkable water⁴. The connexion with water recalls the *Meilichios*-cults of Athens⁵ and prepares us to find that here too Zeus was a chthonian god with fertilising powers. Now Orchomenos the eponym of the town is said to have been the son

inscr. Gr. i nos. 1513, 1514 = F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 351 ff. no. 1231 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 888 = *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii. no. 36 and F. Bechtel *loc. cit.* i. 357 ff. no. 1246 = *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 38. Add *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 6, 83 and 89, ii nos. 39, 40, 41, 173, 174), the names of the tribes were ἐπ' Ἀθαναίαν, Κραριῶται, Ἰπποβοῦται, Ἀπολλωνιάται. On their topographical distribution see V. Bérard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1892 xvi. 549 with pl. 13.

¹ *Supra* p. 874 n. 2.

² *Alii aliter.* (1) M. Schmidt on Hesych. κλάρες: αἱ ἐπὶ ἐδάφους (so M. Musurus for ἐδάφου) ἐσχάραι suggests that Zeus *Klários* of Tegea drew his title hence.

If Zeus *Klários* was a god 'of Hearths,' his annual festival was presumably for the purpose of furnishing the people with new fire (Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Index p. 271 f.). This adds significance to a curious incident in the history of the town. According to Paus. 8. 53. 10, the Lacedaemonians once marched against the Tegeates at the time of the festival: 'It was snowing, and the Lacedaemonians were cold and weary with the weight of their weapons. But the Tegeates unbeknown to them kindled a fire and, not being incommoded by the chill, got under arms, marched out against the Lacedaemonians, and beat them in the action.' According to Polyain. 1. 8, when the Lacedaemonians were attacking Tegea, Elnes (?) king of the Arcadians bade the men of military age to charge downhill against the enemy at midnight, but the old men and children to kindle a huge fire outside the town at the same hour. The Lacedaemonians turned in astonishment towards the glare, and so fell a prey to the onslaught from the height. Both accounts presuppose the fire-festival of Zeus *Klários*.

(2) Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 29 takes Zeus *Klários* to be 'god of Branches,' i.e. of suppliant-boughs, cp. Hesych. †κλάριοι (Immerwahr rightly adopts M. Schmidt's cj. κλάροι): κλάδοι and Aisch. *supra* p. 354 ff. ΠΕΛ. ὀρῶ κλάδοισι νεοδρόποις κατάσκιον | νεύονθ' ἔμιλον τόνδ' (so J. G. J. Hermann for τῶνδ') ἀγωνίων θεῶν followed by 359 f. cited *supra* p. 874 n. 2.

³ On the Minyai as Aeolians see A. Fick in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1911 xlvii. 2 f., 5, *ib.* 1914 xlvii. 70, 76 f., 85 ff., 93, 102 ff.

⁴ *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1568, R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 191 no. 495 with i. 394, *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3169, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 701, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 994 Δαμορθίδαο ἀρχοντος, | ιαρείადδοντος | Ἀντιχαρίδαο Ἀ[θ]αναοῖδῶρω, (ἀ π)όλις Δι Μειλί[χ]υ. | Ἀντιχαρίδαο Ἀθανοδῶρω ἐλ[ε]ξ[ε]· δεδόχθη τῷ δάμν, σπω[ς] ἐχ(υ)θι τῶν πολιτῶν τῷ (θ)ύ(ο)ν(τ)ες ἐ[ν] | (τ)ῷ Μειλιχίῳ ο(ῦ)ατι χρεεῖσθη [πο]τῖμν, κατασκευάτη κ(ρ)ά[δαν] | ἐν τῷ ιαροῦ εἰ παρ τὸ (ι)αρ[όν, εἰ κα] | δοκί ἐ[ν] καλλιστο[ι εἰμν].

⁵ *Supra* p. 1115 ff.

of Zeus¹ by the Danaid Hesione² or by Hermippe daughter of Boiotos³. Alleged descent from Zeus presupposes a line of kings believed to incarnate Zeus. Was one of them that Minyas, of Aeolian ancestry⁴, whose name was attached by the Orchomenians to their famous prehistoric *thólos*? It would seem so; for among the relics of funerary cult discovered by Schliemann within the *thólos*, relics ranging from 'Minoan' to Roman times⁶, was a slab of white marble inscribed with a late dedication to Zeus *Téleios* and Hera *Teleía*⁷. The old pre-Greek king, whose underground cupola with its rosettes of glittering bronze mimicked the midnight sky⁸, was indeed aptly succeeded by an Aeolian dynast revered as a nether Zeus⁹. With all the prestige of immemorial tradition behind him such an one would watch over the fortunes of his people. For instance, in or about the year 329 B.C., as we know from an inscription formerly (1868) to be seen in the court of the neighbouring monastery¹⁰, Orchomenian troopers, who

¹ Eustath. *in Il.* p. 272, 31 ὁ Βοιώτιος δὲ τῷ τοῦ Διὸς Ὀρχομενῶ ἐπωνόμασται.

² Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 230 Ἡσιώνης (Ἰσιώνης cod. Paris.) δὲ τῆς Δαναοῦ καὶ Διὸς γίνεται Ὀρχομενός, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ πόλις Ὀρχομενός καλεῖται (ἐκλήθη cod. Paris.). Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 21 Hippodamiam et Isonen Danai filias (*sc. vitiat Iupiter*), quarum unam Hippodamiam <matrem (*inseui*)> Olenus, Isonen vero Orchomenus sive Chryses habuit. O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 939 f. conjectures that the mother's name was Ἰσονόη: but see G. Weicker in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1240.

³ Schol. D. *Il.* 2. 511 τὸν ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ λέγει Ὀρχομενόν, τὸν ὑπὸ Μιννοῦ βασιλευθέντα, τὸν ὀνομασθέντα ἀπὸ Ὀρχομενοῦ τοῦ Διὸς υἱοῦ καὶ Ἑρμιππῆς τῆς Βοιωτοῦ.

⁴ Ap. Rhod. 3. 1094 Αἰολίδην Μινύην with schol. *ad loc.* (cod. Paris.) Αἰολίδην δὲ τὸν Μινύαν λέγει, οὐχ ὡς θῦτα υἱὸν τοῦ Αἰόλου, ἀλλ' ὡς μητρῶθεν ἀπ' ἐκείνου καταγόμενον. Σισύφου γὰρ τοῦ Αἰόλου παῖδες Ἄλμος καὶ Πορφυρίων, Χρυσόγυνος δὲ τῆς Ἄλμου καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Μινύας. ὥστε ἐκ μητρὸς μὲν Αἰολίδης ὁ Μινύας, πατὴρ δὲ Ποσειδῶνος.

⁵ The genealogy of Minyas is very variously given: see *in primis* schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 1. 80 τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Μινύαν οἱ μὲν Ὀρχομενοῦ γενεαλογουσιν, ὡς Φερεκίδης (*frag.* 84 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 92 Müller)), ἔνιοι δὲ ἔμπαλι τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν Μινύον, ἔνιοι δὲ ἀμφοτέρους Ἐπεοκλῆος γενεαλογουσι, Διονύσιος (*quis?* Perhaps the Rhodian, *cp. schol. Pind. Pyth.* 1. 109, *Nem.* 3. 104) δὲ τὸν Μινύαν Ἄρεος ἀναγράφει, Ἀριστόδημος (*sc. ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς*, *cp. schol. Pind. Isthm.* 1. 11) δὲ Ἄλεοῦ τὸν Μινύαν, καὶ τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας δὲ Μινύας ἐντεῦθεν γράφει προσηγορεῖσθαι with K. Tümpel's article in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3016 ff.

⁶ H. Schliemann *Orchomenos* Leipzig 1881 p. 56 ff. = *id.* 'Exploration of the Boeotian Orchomenus' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1881 ii. 137 ff., Perrot—Chippiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 439 f., Frazer *Pausanias* v. 189, 191.

⁷ H. Schliemann *Orchomenos* p. 58 = *id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1881 ii. 139 ('a slab of marble broken on the left side, with the inscription:— ... ΕΙΩΗΡΑΤΕΛΕΙΑ which Professor Sayce [May he be forgiven! A.B.C.] holds to be the end of an hexameter'), *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3217 [..... Δι Τελείει, Ἡρα Τελεία.

⁸ *Supra* i. 751 f.

⁹ Notice *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3218 Orchomenos [..... τὸν] ἐαυτῶν γυμνασι-
αρχον | ἰον Ἑρμῆ καὶ Μινύα, which proves a definite cult of Minyas. In 1889 a herm of white marble was found near the church of Haghios Charalambos on a small hill to the W. of Thespiæ: beneath the *phallós* was inscribed τοὶ ἱεράρχαι ἀνέθεν | τοὶ ἐφ' Ἰππῶνος ἀρχοντος | τοῖς Δαιμόνεσσι | κ.τ.λ. (P. Jamot in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 xix. 375 ff. no. 28, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 752, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1102). This inscription (*c.* 300 B.C.) associates Hermes with certain *Δαίμονες*. May we venture to conclude that they were the souls of bygone Thespian kings?

¹⁰ The monastery named after the *Κοίμησις τῆς Θεοσόκου*, the 'Falling Asleep of the Mother of God,' is believed to occupy the site of the ancient temple of the Charites (Frazer *Pausanias* v. 186, H. Hitzig—H. Blümmer on Paus. 9. 38. 1, K. Baedeker *Greece* Leipzig 1889 p. 188, J. Murray *Handbook for Travellers in Greece*⁷ London 1900 p. 562).

had served with Alexander the Great in Asia, returned home and testified their gratitude by a votive offering to Zeus *Sotér*¹.

At Thespiai, another ancient city of Boiotia, Zeus *Milichos* had a consort *Miliche*². Since Thespios, the eponymous hero of the place, was said to have been an Athenian and the son of Erechtheus³, or Teuthrás son of Pandion⁴, we may legitimately compare the cult with that of Zeus *Meilichios* at Athens. Accordingly, we are not surprised to learn that Thespiai made much of Zeus *Sabtes*, the local equivalent of Zeus *Sotér*. Pausanias heard all about him:

'The Thespians have in their town a bronze image of Zeus *Sabtes*. The story they tell of it is this. Once upon a time, when a snake (*drákon*) was ravaging the town, the god commanded that every year a youth, chosen by lot, should be given to the monster. They do not, they say, remember the names of the victims who thus perished. But they add that, when the lot fell on Kleostratos, his lover Menestratos resorted to the following expedient. He had a bronze breastplate made with a fish-hook on each of its plates, pointing upwards. This breastplate he put on, and offered himself willingly to the snake; for he meant by his offering to kill the monster, though he died for it. Hence Zeus got the name of *Sabtes* (the "Saviour")⁵.

So the Greeks had their own version of Slingsby and the Snapping Turtle! Indeed, the episode is but one variety of a world-wide myth, that of the dragon-slayer⁶. We must not, therefore, too hastily assume that the snake in question was the animal form of a divinised ancestor. Not improbably, however, the Boeotian Zeus *Sabtes*, like the Elean *Sosipolis*⁷, appeared on occasion as a snake, so that the old snake-myth, which originated elsewhere in a different connexion, would in Boiotia readily attach itself to the ancestral theriomorphic Zeus.

A relic of his cult has survived in a votive relief of white marble found at *Sialesi* and now in the Berlin collection (fig. 967)⁸. This monument, which might be good Attic work of the fourth century B.C., shows a bearded man and a boy approaching a cave in a rocky hill-side. The man holds an egg-shaped object, perhaps a honey-cake⁹, in his raised right hand. And a large snake writhes out of the cave to get it. If *Sialesi* is rightly identified with the site of the ancient Eteonos¹⁰ (later Skarphé), the cave may well represent the burying-

¹ P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 452 ff., R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 170 f. no. 470, *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3206, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1112 [τοῖσι πρῶτῳ τῷ ἐν τὰν Ἀσία[ν] στρατευόμενοι βασιλεῖς Ἀλεξάνδρω στραταγίοντος, | . ὀδῶρτω φιλαρχίοντος, Διὶ Σωτείρι ἀνέθιαν · κ.τ.λ.].

² P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1885 ix. 404 no. 15, *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 1814 Θυνοκλῆδας Διονουσίω Διὶ Μελίχῳ κῆ Μελίχῃ (an inscription of s. ii or iii B.C.).

³ Diod. 4. 29, Paus. 9. 26. 6 (with Thespia daughter of Asopos as alternative eponym).

⁴ Steph. Byz. s.v. Θέσπεια, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 266, 6 f.

⁵ Paus. 9. 26. 7 f.

⁶ See Sir J. G. Frazer on Paus. 9. 26. 7 and the authorities cited *supra* i. 178 n., 782.

⁷ Paus. 6. 20. 5. See further C. Robert 'Sosipolis in Olympia' in the *Att. Mith.* 1893 xviii. 37—45 and the excellent article of L. Weniger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1222 ff.

⁸ *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 271 no. 724 fig., C. O. Müller—A. Schöll *Archaeologische Mittheilungen aus Griechenland* Frankfurt a/M. 1843 p. 97 no. 103 ('Opfer an die (Asklepios-) Schlange für einen (kranken) Knaben'), R. Kekulé von Stradonitz *Die griechische Skulptur*² Berlin 1907 p. 202 fig. ('Weihrelief an Zeus Meilichios'), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 14 no. 1 ('Hommage au serpent d'Asklépios'), Harrison *Proleg. Gr. Rel.*² p. 20 f. fig. 5 and *Themis* p. 282 f. fig. 73. I am indebted to Miss Harrison for the photograph, from which my fig. 967 was drawn. Height 0.265^m, breadth 0.495^m to 0.505^m.

⁹ So Harrison *Themis* p. 282.

¹⁰ C. O. Müller—A. Schöll *loc. cit.*, *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin loc. cit.*

place of Oidipous in the sanctuary of Demeter. Lysimachos of Alexandria¹ in his work on *Theban Marvels* wrote as follows²:

‘When Oidipous died, his friends thought to bury him in Thebes. But the Thebans, holding that he was an impious person on account of the misfortunes which had befallen him in earlier times, prevented them from so doing. They carried him therefore to a certain place in Boiotia called Keos and buried him there. But the inhabitants of the village, being visited with sundry misfortunes, attributed them to the burying of Oidipous and bade his friends remove him

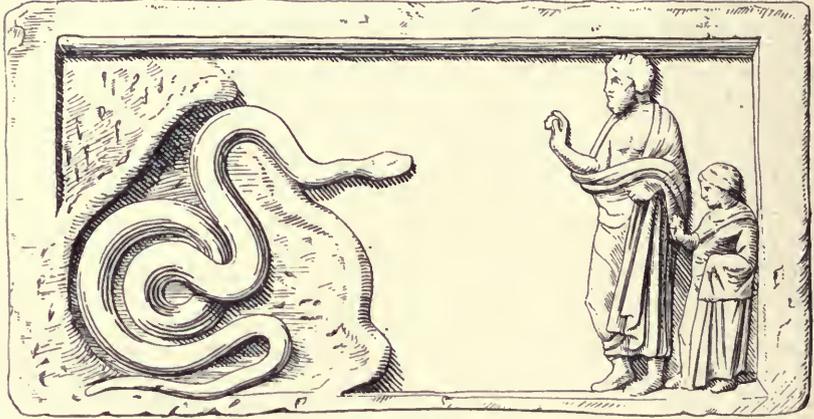


Fig. 967.

from their land. The friends, perplexed by these occurrences, took him up and brought him to Eteonos. Wishing to bury him secretly, they interred him by night in the sanctuary of Demeter—for they did not know the locality. When the facts transpired, the inhabitants of Eteonos asked the god what they should do. The god bade them not to move the suppliant of the goddess. So Oidipous is buried there, and³—adds Lysimachos—‘the sanctuary is called the *Oidípodeion*.’

Demeter at Eteonos bore the surname *Euryódeia*³ and was certainly an earth-goddess⁴. Oidipous, buried in her precinct with the honours due to a suppliant⁵, would naturally be viewed as a beneficent chthonian power. In this capacity he would almost certainly be anguiform. Indeed, P. Kretschmer has argued that the name *Oidípous*, ‘Swell-foot,’ actually denoted a snake, being a euphemistic

¹ W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*⁶ München 1911 ii. i. 184.

² Lysimachos *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 336 f. Müller) *ap.* schol. Soph. *O.C.* 91, citing Arizelos, of whom nothing further is known (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 340 Müller).

³ Hesych. *Εὐρύδεια* · *μεγαλάμοδος* (so Musurus for *μεγαλάμοφεδα* cod.). *καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ οὕτως ἐν Σκαρφέα* (so M. Schmidt for *Σκαρφέα* cod.). *καὶ ἡ γῆ*.

⁴ *Et. mag.* p. 396, 24 ff. *εὐρυοδεία*... ‘ἀπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης’ (*Il.* 16. 635, *Od.* 3. 453, 10. 149, cp. 11. 52), *μέγα τὸ ἔδος ἐχούσης, ὃ ἐστὶν ἔδρασμα. ἔστι δὲ ἐπίθετον τῆς γῆς*.

⁵ Cp. schol. *Od.* 16. 118 ‘*Ἀρκείσιος Εὐρυοδείας* (W. Dindorf cj. *Εὐρυοδείας*) *καὶ Διὸς Eustath. in Od.* p. 1796, 34 *ιστέον δὲ ὅτι γενεαλογούσι Διὸς μὲν καὶ Εὐρυοδείας Ἀρκείσιον*, which presupposes a union of Zeus with the earth-goddess.

⁶ Similarly in the Attic version Oidipous at Kolonos *ἰκέτευσεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν θεῶν Δήμητρος καὶ Πολιούχου Ἀθηνᾶς* (Androtion *frag.* 31 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 374 Müller) *ap.* schol. *Od.* 16. 271. The passage continues *καὶ Διὸς. ἀγόμενος < δὲ > ὑπὸ Κρέοντος κ.τ.λ.* But W. Dindorf, following J. T. Struve, *corr.* *καὶ βία ἀγόμενος ὑπὸ Κρέοντος κ.τ.λ.*)

appellation for the swollen coils of the creature appropriate to a chthonian hero¹.

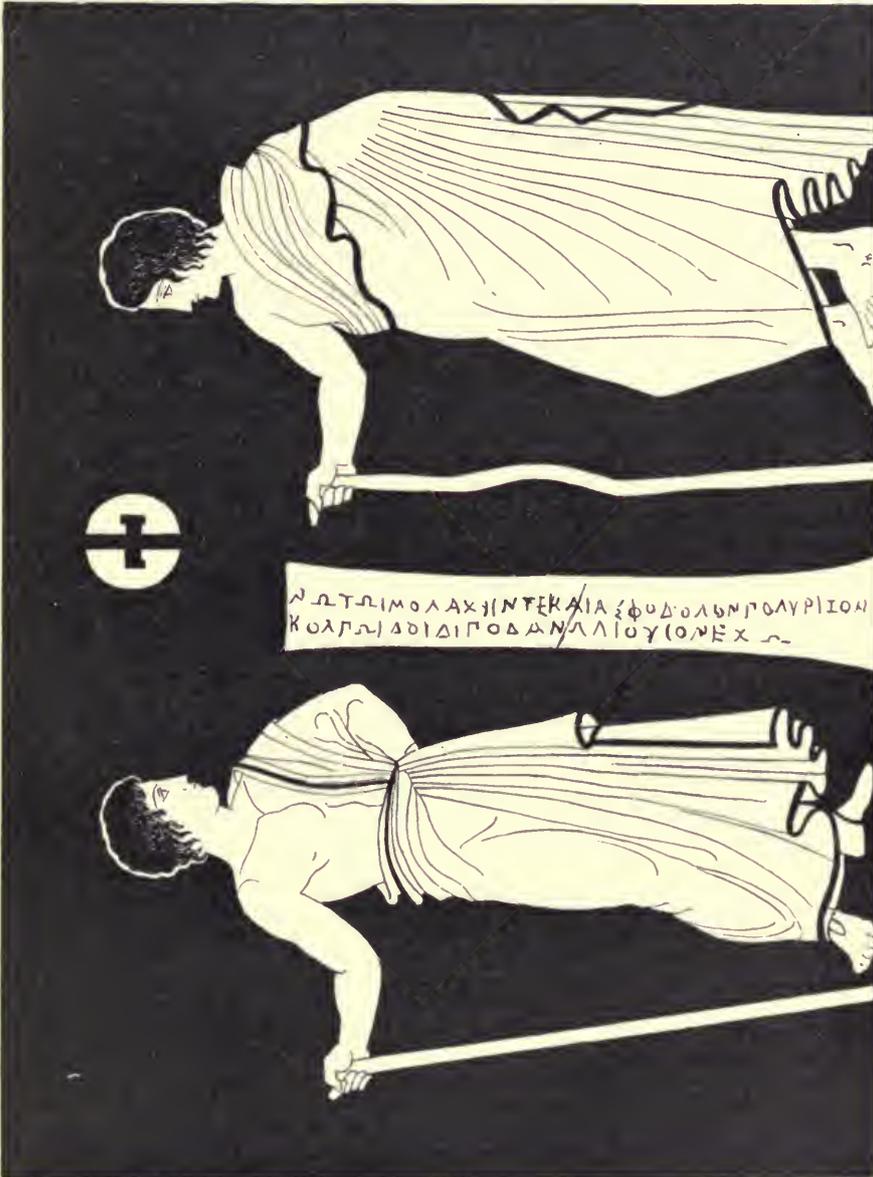


Fig. 968.

¹ P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 191 n. 3
 'Οιδίπους erinnert an einen anderen rätselhaften mythischen Namen, den des frommen
 Sehers Μελάμπος: beides sind chthonische Heroen... Chthonische Wesen haben einen
 Schlangenleib statt der Füße Sollten nicht "Schwellfuss" und "Schwarzfuss" euphemis-

Again, the buried hero would be responsible for the growth of all living things. The *Sialesi* relief shows the snake propitiated by a grown man and a growing boy—a sufficiently suggestive picture. Moreover, a red-figured *amphora* from Basilicata, now in the Naples collection (fig. 968)¹, represents two youths, with *himátia* and sticks, standing to right and left of a *stèle*, which marks the grave of Oidipous. In the background hangs a pair of *haltères*², the sign of their devotion. But the most interesting feature of the design is the inscription on the *stèle*, a metrical couplet in which the grave apparently (though the speaker is not named) announces:

Mallows and rooty asphodel upon my back I bear,
And in my bosom Oidipodas, Laios' son and heir³.

Now mallows and asphodel were the common vegetable food of the Boeotian peasant, as we learn from a famous passage of Hesiod⁴. We may therefore reasonably regard this vase-painting as an illustration of the Boeotian *Oidípodeion*. And the more so, if—as seems probable—the dialect of the inscription contains sundry would-be Boeotisms⁵.

It appears, then, that Oidipous in his grave played a part not easily distinguishable from that of Zeus *Meilichios*⁶. There is, I think, that much of truth in a venturesome view advanced by O. Höfer, who after an exhaustive study of the hero's myth and monuments comes to the tentative conclusion that Oidipous after all may be but a hypostasis of the chthonian Zeus⁷. Sophokles knew what he was about in making the old king summoned hence by the

tische Bezeichnungen des schwarzen geschwollenen Schlangenleibes sein, welcher diesen Heroen natürlich genommen wurde, als sie zu Helden der Dichtung wurden?⁷

¹ Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 415 f. no. 2868 pl. 7, B. Quaranta in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1833 ix pl. 28, J. Millingen *Ancient Unedited Monuments* Series ii London 1826 p. 86 ff. pl. 36, Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* iv. 18 ff. pl. 315. Fig. 968 is copied from Millingen's coloured plate and Heydemann's facsimile of the inscription.

² Heydemann *loc. cit.* says 'ein Ball.'

³ $\nu\acute{\omega}\tau\omega\iota <\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu> \mu\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\nu \tau\epsilon \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\sigma\phi\acute{\omicron}\delta\delta\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu \mu\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\zeta\omicron\nu \mid \kappa\acute{\omicron}\lambda\pi\omega\iota \delta' \text{Ο}ιδ\acute{\iota}\pi\acute{\omicron}\delta\delta\alpha\nu \text{Λα\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon} <\nu> \acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu \xi\chi\omega$ (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 120). A. Boeckh in the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8429 quotes Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1698, 25 ff. $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\upsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\tau\omicron \acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \tau\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \tau\acute{\omicron} \tau\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu \phi\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ (sc. $\acute{\omicron} \acute{\alpha}\sigma\phi\acute{\omicron}\delta\delta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$), $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \delta\eta\lambda\omicron\iota \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\iota \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \mu\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\sigma\phi\acute{\omicron}\delta\delta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu \mu\omicron\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\zeta\omicron\nu, \kappa\acute{\omicron}\lambda\pi\omega \delta\acute{\epsilon} \tau\omicron\nu \delta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\alpha \xi\chi\omega$ and surmises that Porphyrios found the epigram in the Aristotelian *péplos* (see Eustath. in *Il.* p. 285, 24 f.)—a view already put forward by Jaln *Vasensamml. München* p. cxxiv n. 914. Boeckh *loc. cit.* further cp. Auson. *epitaph.* 21. 1 f. (p. 79 Peiper) Hippothoum Pyleumque tenet gremio infima tellus: | caulibus et malvis terga superna virent, whence E. Curtius would read 'Ἰππόθοου τ' ἠδὲ Πύλαιον for τὸν δείνα in Eustath. *loc. cit.*

⁴ Hes. *o.d.* 41 with K. W. Goettling—J. Flach *ad loc.*, and H. G. Evelyn White in the *Class. Quart.* 1920 xiv. 128 f.

⁵ $\mu\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\nu$ for $\mu\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\phi\acute{\omicron}\delta\delta\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu$ for $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\phi\acute{\omicron}\delta\delta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$, $\text{Ο}ιδ\acute{\iota}\pi\acute{\omicron}\delta\delta\alpha\nu$ for $\text{Ο}ιδ\acute{\iota}\pi\acute{\omicron}\delta\delta\eta\nu$, if not also (as Dr P. Giles suggests to me), $\text{Λα\acute{\iota}\omicron}\omega = \text{Λα\acute{\iota}\omicron}\omega$ for $\text{Λα\acute{\iota}\omicron}\omega$. J. Millingen *loc. cit.* p. 87 n. 5 says 'according to the Æolic dialect'; P. Kretschmer *op. cit.* p. 224 f., 'in attischem Dialekt,' regarding $\mu\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\nu$ as a blend of $\mu\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\nu$ and $\mu\omicron\lambda\acute{\omicron}\chi\eta\nu$ (Athen. 58 D), $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\phi\acute{\omicron}\delta\delta\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu$ as a case of vulgar assimilation. *Decernant peritiores.*

⁶ Cp. *Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 1329 an inscription in lettering of s. ii B.C. found at Akkesti near Thebes $\text{Α}\nu\sigma\iota\mu\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma \mid \text{Με}\iota\lambda\iota\chi\iota\omicron\varsigma$.

⁷ O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 743 'Ist Oidipus vielleicht eine Hypostase des Zeus $\chi\theta\omicron\nu\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$?' This suggestion should not be tossed on one side till the evidence adduced *ib.* p. 741 ff. has been carefully weighed.

thunders of Zeus *Chthónios*¹. When the moment of departure comes and Theseus remains 'holding his hand before his face to screen his eyes, as if some dread sight had been seen, and such as none might endure to behold²; the poet with consummate tact leaves the secret untold. But the mythologist may be forgiven, if he hazards the conjecture that Oidipous was then and there transformed into a snake.

(12) Zeus *Meilichios* in Thessaly.

The demolition of a mosque at Larissa in Thessaly brought to light two fragments of an Ionic architrave inscribed as follows³:

Makon, son of Omphalion, (dedicated) the temple
to Zeus *Meilichios* and to *Enhodta*⁴ and to the City⁵.

The cult of the chthonian Zeus here had civic importance, and may fairly be connected with the founder of the state, Akrisios⁶, who—struck on the foot and slain by the *diskos* of Perseus—was buried in a *heróion* outside the town⁷ or else in the temple of Athena on the akropolis⁸. Akrisios was represented by Attic vase-painters of s. v B.C. as a bearded king, twice with a long sceptre⁹, once with a long staff and a wreath of olive¹⁰. He had a divine doublet in Akrisias, the

¹ Soph. *O. C.* 1606 κτύπησε μὲν Ζεὺς Χθόνιος κ.τ.λ. *Supra* p. 805 n. 6.

² Soph. *O. C.* 1650 ff.

³ *Ath. Mith.* 1886 xi. 336, S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1887 ii. 79, *id. Chroniques d'Orient* Paris 1891 p. 346, G. Fougères in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1889 xiii. 392 no. 9, *Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 578 Μάκων Ὀμφαλιῶνος τὸν να[ὸν] | Διὶ Μειλιχίῳ καὶ Ἐνοδία καὶ Ἠόλῃ.

⁴ For this appellation of Hekate at Larissa cp. *Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 575, 2 f. εἴξατο: δ' Ἀγέ[τ]ορ | φαστικῶι: Ἐνοδία.

⁵ Cp. *Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 31, 2 (Hypata) Ἐρμῶι καὶ τῶι πόλει[τ], no. 94, 5 (Larissa Kremaste) Ἐρμῶι καὶ τῶι πόλει.

⁶ *Hellanic frag.* 29 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 49 Müller) ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 40 = Favorin. *lex.* p. 1156, 25 f., Steph. Byz. s.v. Λάρισσα.

⁷ Pherekyd. *frag.* 26 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 77 Müller) ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1091 = Eudok. *viol.* 40 = Favorin. *lex.* p. 99, 16 ff., Apollod. 2. 4. 4, cp. Paus. 2. 16. 2. Hyg. *fab.* 63 lays the scene in Seriphos and makes Akrisios struck on the head, cp. *fab.* 273. Further confusion in Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Theb.* i. 255 = Myth. Vat. 2. 111 (Perseus hurls the Gorgon's head at Akrisios and turns him into stone!).

⁸ Antiochos *frag.* 15 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 184 Müller) ap. Clem. Al. *protr.* 3. 45. 1 p. 34, 9 f. Stählin.

⁹ (1) On a red-figured *kratér* from Caere, now at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamm. St. Petersburg* ii. 281 ff. no. 1723, E. Gerhard *Danae, ein griechisches Vasenbild* (Winkelmanns-fest-*Progr.* Berlin xiv) Berlin 1854 with col. pl., Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* v. 275 ff. pl. 17, 1, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 406 f., 411 f. Atlas pl. 6, 2 f., Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 405 f. fig. 447 f., P. Hartwig *Die griechischen Meisterschalen der Blüthezeit des strengen rothfigurigen Stiles* Stuttgart—Berlin 1893 p. 396 f., J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 94 ('The Foundry Painter'), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 458 f. no. 17).

(2) On another red-figured *kratér* from Caere, now at Petrograd (Stephani *op. cit.* ii. 139 ff. no. 1357, F. T. Welcker in the *Mon. ed. Ann. d. Inst.* 1856 p. 37 f. pl. 8, Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* v. 283 ff. pl. 17, 2, Overbeck *op. cit.* Zeus p. 412 f. Atlas pl. 6, 4, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 244, 1, J. D. Beazley in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1911-1912 xviii. 226 no. 16 and *op. cit.* p. 46 f. fig. 28 ('The Eucharides Painter'), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 359 no. 20).

¹⁰ On a red-figured *hydria* at Boston (P. Hartwig 'Danaé dans le coffre' in the *Mon.*

Phrygian Kronos¹. It seems probable, therefore, that Akrisios was the royal embodiment of a sky-god². And the story of his death from the *diskos* of Perseus, like that of Hyakinthos' death from the *diskos* of Apollon³, is best explained as a genuine solar myth⁴. Whether Akrisios or Akrisias, as O. Gruppe supposes⁵, was originally a mountain-god, is doubtful⁶. Still more so is Gruppe's attempt⁷ to equate him with *Arkésios* or *Arkelsios*, a clipped form of *Arkesillaos*⁸, god of the underworld⁹. Ruling out such questionable possibilities, we must yet concede that Akrisios was likely enough to live on in the popular memory as a buried beneficent Zeus.

(13) Zeus *Meilichios* in the Archipelago, Asia Minor, etc.

The cult of Zeus *Meilichios* was wide-spread in the islands of the Archipelago. Rock-cut inscriptions at Thera show that Zeus *Melichios* was adored by the intimates of a certain Polyxenos¹⁰ and that *Melichios* received the offering of a 'singed' victim¹¹. Boundary-stones inscribed 'Of Zeus *Meilichios*' have been found at *Palaiopolis* in Andros¹², at Arkesine in Amorgos¹³, and in the district of

Piot 1903 x. 55—59 pl. 8, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 51 f. fig. 32 ('The Painter of the Diogenes Amphora'), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 206 no. 1).

¹ Hesych. Ἀκρισίας· Κρόνος, παρὰ Φρυξίβν.

² On Kronos as a sky-god see *supra* p. 548 ff.

³ Greve in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2760, G. Fougères in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 305, S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 9 f.

⁴ *Pace* S. Eitrem *loc. cit.* p. 16.

⁵ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 182 n. 2, 1105 n. 1 starting from ἄκρις = *ocris* derives Ἀκρίσιος from the former, *Ocrisia* from the latter and cp. Hesych. Ἀκρία· ἡ Ἀθηναῖα ἐν Ἀργεῖ, ἐπὶ τίνος ἄκρις ἰδρυμένη, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ Ἀκρίσιος (so Musurus for ὀκρίσιος. M. Schmidt suggests ὁ Ἀκρίσιος ὠνομάσθη. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ Ἡρα καὶ Ἀρτεμις καὶ Ἀφροδίτη προσαγορευομένη ἐν Ἀργεῖ, κατὰ τὸ ὅμοιον ἐπ' ἄκρω ἰδρυμένην, cp. Methodios *ap. et. mag.* p. 52, 40 f. Ἀκρίσιος· ὁ ἦρας, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἀργεῖ ἄκρις. οὕτως Μεθόδιος.

⁶ A. Fick *Die ehemalige Spracheinheit der Indogermanen Europas* Göttingen 1873 p. 411 proposed to connect the Phrygian Ἀκρισίας with Hesych. ἄκριστων· κλέπτριαν (C. A. Lobeck *cj. πέπτριαν*). ἀλετριδα. Φρύγες. This, though groping in the dark, is better than *et. mag.* p. 52, 41 f. ὁ δὲ Ὀρος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀκρίζω Ἀκρίσιος, ὡς παρὰ τὸ θαυμάζω θαυμάσιος. ἢ παρὰ τὸ κρίσις κρίσιος, καὶ ἀκρίσιος, ὁ ἄκριτος καὶ ὠμός. [ἀκρίζω δὲ σημαίνει τὸ ἄκριος ποσὶ πορεύεσθαι· κ.τ.λ.]

⁷ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 253, 778, 1105 n. 1.

⁸ A. Fick in the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1906 xxx. 279: Ἀρκεῖσιος [*Od.* 14. 182, 16. 118, *alib.*] würde richtig Ἀρκεῖσιος = Ἀρκεῖσιλαος heissen; den anlass zu der entstehung gab der schreibung mit einem σ.

⁹ *Cp. et. mag.* p. 144, 33 ff. cited *supra* p. 549 n. 1.

¹⁰ With *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1316 Ζεὺς Μηλιχίος τῶν | περὶ Πολύξενον (fig.) cp. the other rock-cut inscriptions from the same locality *ib.* no. 1317 Ζε(ὶ)ς | τ[ῶ]ν περ[ὶ] Ἀ]άκιον and *ib.* no. 1318 Ζεὺς | τῶν περὶ Ὀλ[υμ]πίδωρον. *Supra* i. 144 n. 2 with i. 143 n. 13.

¹¹ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 406 (*supra* i. 144 n. 1).

¹² E. Pernice in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1893 xviii. 9 f. no. 4 = *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. i no. 727 on a large unworked stone ΔΙΟΞ | ΜΕΛΙΧΙΟ (fig.) = Διός | Με(ι)λιχί(ο). E. Pernice and F. Hiller von Gaertringen *loc. cit.* regard the line after O as a mere crack.

¹³ *Inscr. Gr. ins.* vii no. 89 on a rough stone in letters of s. iii or iv B.C. [Δι]ὸς Μειλιχίου, *ib.* no. 90 on a fragmentary slab of marble with lower moulding [Διός Μει]λιχίου. Note also *ib.* no. 92 on a small white marble base of Roman date Διός Σωτήρος, *ib.* no. 93 on a broken block of bluish marble in letters of s. iii B.C. Διός | Σωτήρο[ς], *ib.* no. 94 on a fragment of rough bluish marble Διὲ Τελ[εω], *ib.* no. 91 on a large marble slab

Saint Anna beyond *Bouniki* at Chios¹. A dedication to the same god has been recorded at Chalkis in Euboea². Nisyros had its sect of Diosmilichiaistai³, and Crete a joint-cult of Zeus *Meilichios* and Hera *Melichta*⁴.

Our search might be extended eastwards into Asia Minor and Egypt, westwards into Sicily and Italy. An altar 'Of Zeus *Meil[ichios]*,' discovered at Knidos by Sir Charles Newton, is now in the British Museum⁵. Xenophon sacrificed pigs to Zeus *Meilichios* at Ophrynon⁶: but we have no reason to think that there was a local cult of this deity. Achilleus Tatios (? s. vi. A.D.⁷) brings Kleitophon and Leukippe, the hero and heroine of his novel, to Alexandria, his own native town.

ΔΙΟΣΑΝΑΛΩΙΟΥ = Διὸς Ἀνα(δ)ώ(τ)ου, 'of Zeus who sendeth up his Gifts from Below'—an obviously chthonian god (cp. *supra* p. 321 n. 1).

Other Zeus-cults of the same town: *ib.* no. 88 on a rough altar of bluish marble in letters of s. iv B.C. [Δ]ιὸς Ἀποτροπαίου (cp. P. Kabbadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 56 no. 119 = *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1285 Epidaurus, not later than s. iii B.C. Διὸς Ἀποτροπαίου, O. Rayet in the *Rev. Arch.* 1887 i. 107 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 839 B, 19 f., C, 2 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 1014 b, 69 f., c, 114 ff. Erythrai, a sale of priestships dating from the first half of s. iii B.C. Διὸς | Ἀποτροπαίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀποτροπαίας [Δ] [Ε] [Ε], ἐπιώνιον. [Ε] [Ε] and Διὸς | [Ἀπο]τροπαίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀπο[ρο]-[παί]ας [Η] [Α], ἐπιώνιον [Ε]), *ib.* no. 95 a metrical inscription on a marble slab *Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἀγαθὰ τέκνα* cp. Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 4. 33. 1, | κ.τ.λ., *supra* i. 194 f.

¹ A. G. Paspates *Τὸ Χιακὸν γλωσσάριον* Athens 1888 p. 421 f. no. 58 on Chian marble ΔΙΟΣ | ΜΙΛΙΧΙ [. .] = Διὸς | Μελιχί[ου].

At *Mestá*, six kilometers S.E. of the capital, is a place still called *Olympi*, where was a cult of Zeus *Olympios* and Herakles (Paspates *op. cit.* p. 410 no. 24 Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου) | καὶ Ἡρακλεῦς).

² *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2150 ΕΡΜΙΩΝ ΜΕΛΙΧΙΟΥ ΔΙΔΙΟΝΙ which A. Boeckh *ad loc.* would read as Ἐρμιῶν Μελιχί(ω) Δι(ι ἀν(έ)[θηκεν].

³ A. E. Kontoleon in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 xv. 134, S. Reinach *Chroniques d'Orient* Paris 1891 p. 702, *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 104 a cylindrical base of white marble now serving as pedestal for an *eikón* in the church at *Mandráki* 1 ff. Γνωμαγόραν Δωροθέου | Νεισύριον | κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 13 ff. καὶ στεφανωθέντα ὑπὸ Ἐρμαῖζόντων χερσέοις στεφάνοις πλεονάκις, καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀφροδισιαστᾶν Σύρων καὶ ὑπὸ Διὸς Μελιχιαστᾶν, | [καὶ] τεμαθέντα ὑπὸ αὐτῶν καὶ στεφανωθέν[τα ὑπὸ Διον]υσιαστᾶν Εὐ[ρουθεμιδ]ίων τῶν σὺν | [τῷ δέινι - - -]. I should prefer to read (with Kontoleon and Reinach) Διοσμυλχιαστᾶν, cp. Διοσαταβυριαστᾶν (*supra* p. 924 f. n. 0).

⁴ F. Halbherr in the *Museo Italiano di antichità classica* 1890 iii. 621 f. no. 39 Hierapytna = J. Baunack in *Philologus* 1889 xlviii. 399 f. no. 3 Herakleion, a small altar inscribed ΖΗΝΙΜΗΛΙ | ΧΙΩΚΑΗΡΑ | ΜΗΛΙΧΙΑ | ΩΤΑΥΠΤΕ | ΡΤΑΡΔΑΛΑ | ΕΥΧΗΝ = Ζηνί Μηλιχίω κα(ι) Ἡρα | Μηλιχίω. | Σώτας ὑπέρ| Παρδάλα | εὐχῆν.

⁵ Sir C. T. Newton *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae* London 1862—1863 i pl. 92 no. 40, ii. 755 (cp. 470) no. 40, R. Schoell in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1887 xlii. 478 ff., E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* iv. i. 24 f. Oxford 1893 no. 817. Newton, followed by Schoell, read ΔΙΟΣ ΜΕΙ as Διὸς Μεγ[ίστου]. But Hicks gives ΔΙΟΣ ΜΕΙ/ with Φ below ΔΙΟΣ and interprets as Διὸς Μελιχίου with inventory number. In addition to this mark of ownership the altar bears a second inscription, which Schoell took to be a modified hexameter [ἀθα]νάτοις | [θυ]θέντα | [δα]μιουργὸς Ἀρ[πο]κρά(ς) ἰδρύσατο | βωμόν. Hicks reads [ἀθα]νάτοις | [θυ]θέντα | [δα]μιουργὸς Ἀρ[πο]κρά(ς) ἰδρύσατο | βωμόν, and suggests with hesitation that ζ may be a numeral. He thinks that the name, Harpokras or the like, was substituted for that of an earlier dedicator. *Non liquet.*

⁶ *Supra* p. 1107.

⁷ W. Schmid in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 245.

'By a stroke of luck,' says Kleitophon¹, 'we happened upon a sacred month of the great god, whom the Greeks call Zeus and the Egyptians Serapis². The festivities included a torch-lighting; and I saw that remarkable sight. It was evening and the sun sank. Yet night was nowhere to be seen. Another sun made its appearance, or rather the small change of that gold piece. There before my eyes was the city rivalling the sky in beauty. On the one hand I saw Zeus *Meilichios*, on the other the temple of Zeus *Oouránios*³. So, after breathing a prayer to the great god and beseeching him that our troubles might at last come to a standstill, we reached the lodging hired for us by Menelaos.⁴

It may be inferred from this passage, not only that the Alexandrines had a statue of Zeus *Meilichios* and a temple of Zeus *Oouránios*⁴, but also that the former was a god of the underworld, the latter a god of the upperworld. Both are appropriately mentioned at a moment when the twinkling lamps below seemed to reflect the twinkling stars above. At Alaisa or Halaesa (*Castel Tusa*), founded or re-founded in 403 B.C. by the Sikel king Archonides ii⁶ on the north coast of Sicily, an inscription records among other topographical features 'the road past the *Meilichieion*⁶.' And, finally, an Oscan road-makers' tablet of c. 200 B.C. from Pompeii states that the aediles M. Suttius and N. Pontius laid out the Via Pompeiana, now known as the *Strada Stabiana*, with a breadth of three perches as far as the temple or precinct of Iupiter *Milichius*⁷.

Further indications of the cult might be sought in theophoric names⁸ such as *Meilichios*, a magistrate of Hierapolis in Phrygia⁹, or *Meilichion*, a woman of Elateia in Phokis¹⁰.

¹ Ach. Tat. 5. 2.

² *Supra* i. 188 ff.

³ *θεασάμενη δὲ καὶ τὸν Μειλχιον Δία, καὶ τὸν Διὸς Οὐρανίου* (so C. B. Hase, W. A. Hirschig, and S. Gaselee for *οὐράνιον* codd.) *νεών*.

⁴ *Supra* i. 8, 565 n. 2, 647 n. 7.

⁵ B. Niese in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 565.

⁶ *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 5594 col. dextra, 15 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 352 i, 15 f. *κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺ τὰς παρὰ τὸ | Μειλχιεῖον ἐς τὸν ῥοσκοῦν κ.τ.λ.*

Coppers of Alaisa, struck during Timoleon's war with the Carthaginians (340 B.C.), have *obv.* ΞΕΥΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΣ head of Zeus; *rev.* ΑΛΑΙΣΙΝΩΝ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ torch between two ears of corn (G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 175, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 126). Coppers of the same town, struck after c. 241 B.C., have *obv.* a head of Zeus, usually to left, wearing a bay-wreath; *rev.* an eagle to left, standing with open wings (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily* p. 27, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 166 pl. 12, 6, Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 269 f., Suppl. i. 425, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 126).

⁷ H. Grassmann in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1867 xvi. 103, J. Zvetaieff *Sylloge inscriptionum Oskarum* Petropoli 1878 i. 41 ff. no. 62, 5 ff., ii pls. 10, no. 5, and 10^a, R. S. Conway *The Italic Dialects* Cambridge 1897 i. 58 f. no. 39, 5 ff., C. D. Buck *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian* Boston 1904 p. 239 f. no. 3, 5 ff. *lussu vĩa Pũmpaiiana ter|emnatens perek. 111 ant ka|lla Iũvels Meelfkiielis* (= *iidem vĩa Pompeianam terminaverunt perticis 111 usque ad aedem* (cp. *caeli templa* in De Vit *Lat. Lex. s.v.* 'templum' § 2) *Iovis Milichii*).

⁸ E. Sittig *De Graecorum nominibus theophoricis* Halis Saxonum 1911 p. 15.

⁹ Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 238 f. no. 21, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* p. lxxvii ... ΙΑΛΟ[Σ] | ΜΕΙΛΙΧΙΟΣ on the reverse of a copper struck by Augustus.

¹⁰ *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 1 no. 174 a cone of grey limestone found near the E. foundation-wall of the temple of Athena *Kranata* at Elateia and now preserved in the local museum at *Drachmani*: the cone has a hole in its truncated top and is inscribed on the side ΜΕΙΛΙΧΙΟΝ | ΔΑΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΑ | ΜΙΚΑ | ΧΟΙΡΙΝΑ = *Μειλχιος[ν]*, | *Δαμοστράτα*, | *Μίκα*, | *Χοίρινα*. P. Paris in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 345 f. no. 15 at first read *Μειλχιος[ς]*, but concluded in favour of *Μειλχιος[ν]*.

(14) Conclusions with regard to *Zeus Meilichios*.

It remains to gather up the results of our enquiry. Early Greek kings, especially such as could claim descent from Aiolos, were held to be embodiments of the sky-god Zeus, and as weather-makers for the community bore a sceptre tipped with the lightning-bird. Even when dead and buried the king continued to help his people. He preserved and perpetuated the tribe (Zeus *Sotér*). He brought its young folk to his own state of maturity (Zeus *Téleios*). He watched over its interests (Zeus *Epópsios*). Hence, like other chthonian powers, he was fitly addressed by a coaxing appellation—'the Kindly One' (Zeus *Meilichios*). Regents of this sort, at once human and divine, were, strictly speaking, *datmones* rather than *theoi*; and there is much to be said for O. Schrader's brilliant suggestion that in name, as in nature, they were the equivalent of the Latin *Lares*¹. They are best described in two passages of poetry which, though separated by a thousand years, yet derive mutual support and illustration from each other, and serve to assure us that the belief common to both was latent, if not patent, throughout the whole course of Greek history. Hesiod, looking

¹ Schrader *Reallex.* p. 29: 'Es steht daher nichts im Wege, für *δαμων* ein Grundform **δασι-μων* anzusetzen, und den ersten Bestandteil dieses Wortes **δασι-* unter Annahme eines bekannten Lautwandels (*δακρυμα*: lacrima) dem lat. **lasi-* (*lāres, lārium*) "Geist eines Verstorbenen" zu vergleichen.' The context rightly maintains that previous derivations (from *δαήμων*, 'knowing,' or from *δαλομαι*, 'I divide,' or from the Sanskrit root *div*, 'to shine') are all unsatisfactory. I regret to see that Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 103 and Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 162 still cling to *δαλομαι*.

The word **δασι-μων* is perhaps related to the name *Δάσιμος* or *Δάξιμος*. *Δάσιμος* *Πύρρον* is engraved on a bronze helmet from Anxia (*Anzi*) now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 48 no. 317, Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 547, Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 272 no. 269, *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 655); and *Δάξιμος* *Πύρρον*, presumably a descendant of the same family, is mentioned in the bronze *tabulae Heracleenses* (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 645 i, 5, 9, ii, 1, 5, 8, R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 88 no. 4629 i, 5, 9, ii, 1, 5, 8, F. Solmsen *Inscriptiones Graecae ad inustrandam dialectos selectae Lipsiae* 1905 no. 18 i, 5, 9, ii, 1, 5, 8). The *l*-form of this name occurs in *ΛΑΣΙΜΟΣ* *ΕΓΡΑΨΕ*, an inscription on an Apulian *amphora* from Canusium (*Canosa*) now in the Louvre (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8486, *Wien. Vorlegebl.* 1889 pl. 11, 3, Reinach *Vases Ant.* p. 64 ff. Millin ii pl. 37 ff. with bibliography, P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vasenschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 217 f.). The foregoing can hardly be separated from the definitely Messapian name *ΔΑΣΙΜΑ* (J. P. Droop in *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1905—1906 xii. 139 f. fig. 1, 2 *Ceglie Messapica*) and the Grecised or Latinised *Δάσιος* (Appian. *Hannib.* 31 and 45), *Δάσιος* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 68 no. 52 *ΔΑΖΙΟΣ* on a coin of Dyrhachion, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 130 no. 1 f. *ΔΑΙΟΥ* on coins of Arpi, *ib.* p. 144 no. 4 *ΔΑΙΕΝΙ* and no. 6 *ΔΑΙΥ* on coins of Salapia, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 53 no. 1 pl. 4, 10 *ΔΑΙΟΥ* on a coin of Arpi), *Dasius*, *Dasunius*, etc. (De Vit *Onomasticon* ii. 568 f., R. S. Conway *The Italic Dialects* Cambridge 1897 ii. Index iii p. 566, F. Münzer, Stein and Groag in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2218 f., 2222 ff.).

A. Zimmermann in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1915 xlvii. 192 holds that the *-da* of *Larunda* is identical with the *Δα-* of *Δαμάτηρ* and regards *Larunda* *δαιμόνων μήτηρ* (G. Goetz—G. Gundermann in the *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum Lipsiae* 1888 ii. 121, 17) as a literal translation (cp. *eid. ib.* ii. 265, 62 *δαίμονες ἦροι θεοὶ κατοικίδιοι*: *lares dicitur et lar*).

For a useful vindication of the view that the *Lares* were originally the souls of deified ancestors see Miss M. C. Waites 'The nature of the *Lares* and their representation in Roman art' in the *Ann. Journ. Arch.* 1920 xxiv. 241—261.

backward to the Golden Age when men lived 'as gods' and the soil was fruitful to the uttermost, says:

But since the earth hath covered o'er this race
They are *daimones* by the will of mighty Zeus,
Good spirits that tread the ground and guard mankind,
Givers of wealth—a guerdon meet for kings¹.

The late writer of an Orphic hymn strikes the self-same note:

I bid the *daimon* to draw near, dread chief,
The Kindly Zeus, begetter and life-giver,
Great Zen, much-roaming², curse-bringer³, king of all,
Wealth-giving where he enters house full-force,
Or now again chilling the poor man's blood.
The keys of grief and gladness both are thine⁴.

The *daimon*, in short, was the *theos* incarnate⁵. And the Agathos Daimon *par excellence* was Zeus *Meilichios*.

APPENDIX N.

ZEUS PHÍLIOS.

It was pointed out by H. Usener⁶ that every important conception of a god tends to express itself verbally in more ways than one. The result is a succession of divine appellatives, practical synonyms which vary from time to time and from place to place. In accordance with this principle we find the Greeks worshipping, not only Zeus *Meilichios* or *Meilichios*, 'the Kindly One,' but also Zeus *Phílios*, 'the Friendly One.' The former title gradually became old-fashioned and wore out. The latter, with its appeal to the language of daily life, seemed more up-to-date, promised a business-like return, and consequently acquired a vogue of its own. Of course old centres remained more or less faithful to the old name, the connotation of which was enlarged in various directions. But new centres accepted, fixed, and popularised the novel epithet, which in its turn was filled with fresh meaning and expanded into an ever widening circle of applicability. Nevertheless Zeus *Phílios* was from the outset essentially akin to Zeus *Meilichios*, as may be seen from a brief survey of the relevant monuments and literary allusions⁷.

¹ Hes. *o.d.* 121 ff. cited *supra* p. 1130 n. 1.

² *Supra* p. 1096 n. 4.

³ *Supra* p. 1098 n. 5.

⁴ Orph. *h. daem.* 73. 1 ff. (ΔΑΙΜΟΝΟΣ, θυμίαμα λιβανον) δαίμονα κικλήσκω πελάσαι ἡγήτορα φρικτῶν, | μειλίχιον Δία, παγγενέτην, βιοδώτορα θνητῶν, | Ζῆνα μέγαν, πολύπλαγκτον, ἀλάστορα, παμβασιλῆα, | πλουτοδότην, ὅπστ' ἄν γε βρνάζων οἶκον ἐσέλθῃ, | ξμπαλι δὲ ψύχοντα βλον θνητῶν πολυμύχθων. | ἐν σοὶ γὰρ κλήδεις λύπης τε χαρᾶς τ' ὄχέονται. *Supra* i. 504 n. 2, ii. 1098 n. 5.

⁵ The relation of *δαίμων* to *θεός* is a thorny topic, which cannot be dismissed in a sentence, but must not here be pursued. See further J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 9 ff., O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2010f., Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² pp. 587, 624, 657, *ead.* *Themis* pp. 307, 386.

⁶ H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 56 ff. ('Erneuerung des Begriffs').

⁷ The evidence is well presented in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2305—2308 by that excellent enquirer O. Höfer, to whose article I am much indebted.

(1) Zeus *Phlios* at Athens.

We begin with Athens. The priest of Zeus *Phlios* was a personage of importance, who in the time of Augustus had a reserved seat at the theatre¹. On the northern slope of the Nymphs' Hill, where—as we have already seen²—Zeus *Meilichios* was worshipped, Zeus *Phlios* too had obtained a footing as far back as s. iv B.C. For here in the archonship of Hegesias (324—323 B.C.) certain *e-feanistal* or club-feasters dedicated to him a *stèle* of Pentelic marble bearing a relief (fig. 969)³, which closely resembles the offering of [? Aris]toboule to Zeus *Meilichios* (fig. 943)⁴. The club-feasters too represent Zeus enthroned on the left with a *phiale* in his right hand, while a pig is brought to the altar before him. The pig is proof enough that Zeus *Phlios*, despite the eagle at his side, was a chthonian god⁵—a god much like the Agathos Daimon, as Miss Harrison adroitly shows by figuring together this relief and another from Thespiiai (fig. 951)⁶. But what—it will be asked—had feasters to do with a chthonian god

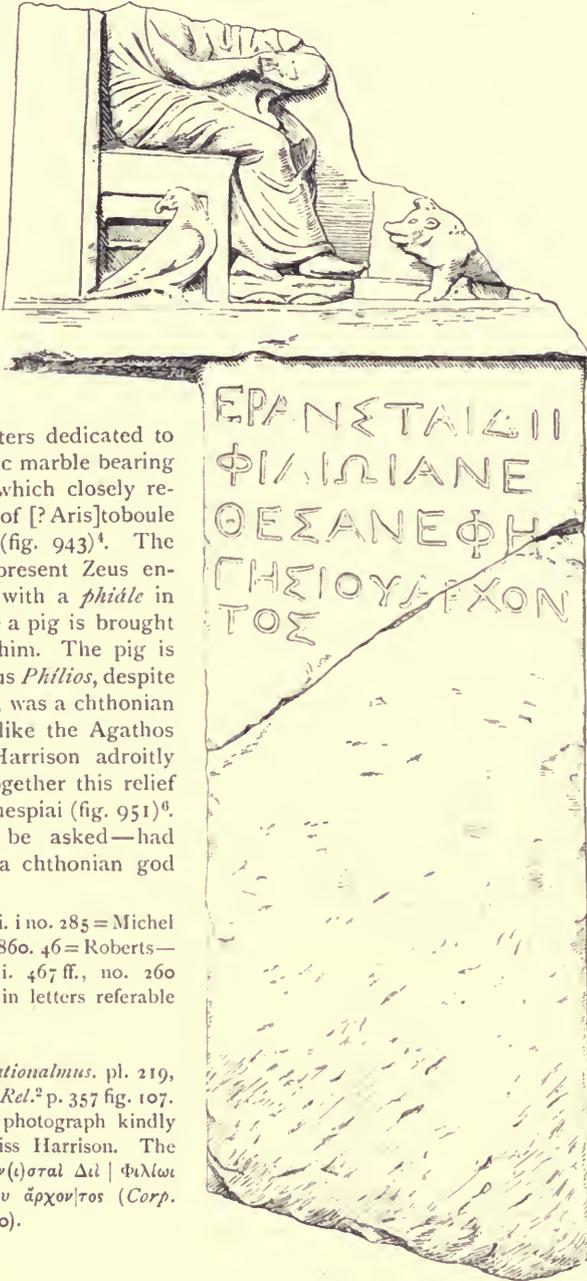


Fig. 969.

¹ *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. i no. 285 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 860. 46 = Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 467 ff., no. 260 ΙΕΡΕΩΣΔΙΟΣΦΙΛΙΟΥΤ in letters referable to the Augustan age.

² *Supra* p. 1114.

³ Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 219, 1, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.* 2 p. 357 fig. 107. My fig. 969 is from a photograph kindly supplied to me by Miss Harrison. The *stèle* is inscribed: $\epsilon\rho\alpha\nu(\epsilon)\sigma\tau\alpha\iota \Delta\iota\iota | \Phi\iota\lambda\iota\omega\iota \delta\alpha\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\sigma\alpha\nu \epsilon\phi' \text{'Η}\gamma\eta\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon \alpha\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1330).

⁴ *Supra* p. 1105 f.

⁵ *Supra* p. 1105.

⁶ *Supra* p. 1125 n. 1.

akin to a divinised ancestor? In view of our discovery¹ that at an ordinary banquet food was assigned 'to dead friends' and drink offered to the father of the clan under the titles of Zeus *Sotér* and Zeus *Téleios*, we may well suppose that a dinner-club would reverence its deceased founder as Zeus *Phlios* and think of him as still a sharer in the common festivity. His presence would transform the meal into a communion² and safeguard the participants against the intrusion of evil³ without in any way diminishing their social merriment.

In the other world too Zeus *Phlios* was a feaster, as appears from an Attic relief of fourth-century style, now in the Jacobsen collection at Ny Carlsberg (fig. 970)⁴. Within an architectural framework we see the man-turned-god

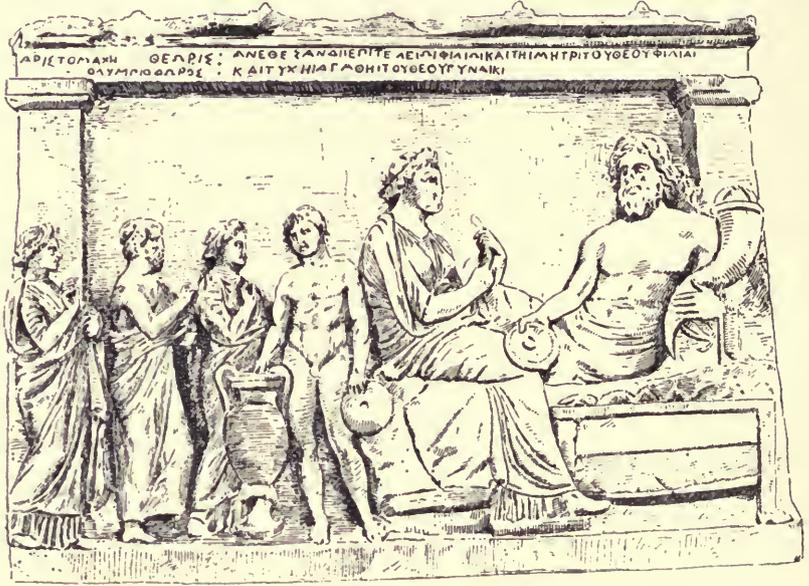


Fig. 970.

recumbent on a couch, with a *cornu copiae* in his left hand, a *phiale* in his right, and a table bearing flat and pointed cakes (*pyramides* made of wheat and honey⁵) at his side. On the foot of the couch sits a goddess holding in both hands a fillet or perhaps rather a garland for the neck (*hypothymis*⁶), the carving

¹ *Supra* p. 1129.

² On communion with the dead by means of food see e.g. Frazer *Golden Bough*³: *Spirits of Corn and Wild* ii. 154. *Infra* p. 1170 ff.

³ An important consideration during a repast, when the mouth must be opened and bad spirits as well as good food might gain a ready entrance. In the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 22 ff. I have argued that the common *kottabos*-stand was originally a feasters' gong intended to keep evil at a distance.

⁴ *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek: Billedtavler til Kataloget over Antike Kunstvaerker* Kjøbenhavn 1908 no. 95, A. Furtwängler 'Sogenanntes "Todtenmahl"-Relief mit Inschrift' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1897 i. 401—414 with fig. (=my fig. 970), Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 354 ff. fig. 106, *ead. Themis* p. 312 f. fig. 90.

⁵ Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vi. 2250 D.

⁶ *Id. ib.* viii. 338 D ff.

of which would be eked out by means of colour. Behind the goddess stands a naked cup-bearer, dipping his right hand into the *kratér* so as to fill the *phidèle* in his left. Then, on a smaller scale, we have two women and a man approaching from the left with hands raised in adoration. The architrave above carries an inscription, which throws a good deal of light (together with some darkness) on the scene represented :

'Aristomache, Olympiodoros, Theoris dedicated (this) to Zeus *Epitéleios Phllios* and to *Philla* the mother of the god and to Tyche *Agathé* the god's wife!'

We gather that the dedicators are worshipping their kinsman transformed into a chthonian Zeus—*Epitéleios* because he has himself come 'to maturity',² *Phllios* because he will be 'friendly' to his friends. The goddess associated with him is in all probability his wife, Tyche *Agathé* as the inscription calls her. An Agathe Tyche makes an appropriate partner for one who is essentially an Agathos Daimon. This being so, we should have expected *Philla*, the feminine form of *Phllios*, to be a second title attached to Tyche. Instead of that, it is treated as the name of a third deity, who is described as the mother of the god. Possibly the curious distribution of divine names was motived by the fact that the dedicators too were three in number—a man, his wife, and his mother³. Possibly also an effigy of *Philla* was added in paint on the smooth background between Zeus *Epitéleios Phllios* and Tyche *Agathé*.

But this does not exhaust the interest of our relief. The artist has, somewhat unexpectedly but quite justifiably, used for his Zeus *Phllios* the familiar type of a *Totenmahl* or hero-feast⁴. Now Mr J. C. Lawson⁵ in a chapter marked by equal insight and eloquence has gone far towards proving, partly from ancient literature⁶,

¹ 'Αριστομάχη, | 'Ολυμπιόδωρος, | Θεωρίς | ἀνέθεσαν Διὶ Ἐπιτελεῖω Φιλίῳ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ θεοῦ Φιλίᾳ | καὶ Τύχηι Ἀγαθῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γυναίκα. Since the names of the three dedicators are inscribed above their respective figures, and Theoris heads the procession, it seems that the order of precedence should be Θεωρίς, 'Ολυμπιόδωρος, Ἀριστομάχη.

² Cp. Plat. *legg.* 784 D μήτε γὰρ εἰς γάμους ἴτω μήτε εἰς τὰς τῶν παίδων ἐπιτελεῖώσεις with Hesych. s.v. ἐπιτελεῖωσις· ἀξήσις. Zeus Ἐπιτελεῖος would thus be only another form of Zeus Τέλειος, whose priest at Athens was drawn from the ancient clan of the Bouzygai and occupied a special seat in the theatre (*Corp. Inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 294 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 860. 55 = Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 467 ff. no. 251 *τερῶς* | Διὸς Τελεῖου βουζύγου in lettering (fig. 971) not earlier than s. ii A.D.).

³ So Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 356.

⁴ Lübker *Realex.*⁸ p. 1052 gives a brief bibliography, to which should be added Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1049 n. 1, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² pp. 349—362, 614, *ead. Themis* pp. 307—316.

⁵ J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 pp. 543—606 ('The union of gods and men'). The statement 'that Easter falls in the same period of the year as did the great Eleusinian festival' (*ib.* p. 572) is a slip, which has hindered the critics from appreciating the real merits of this important chapter.

⁶ Soph. *Ant.* 574 f., [653 f.,] 804 f., 810 ff., 891 ff., 1203 ff., 1240 f., [Eur. *Trō.* 445, *Or.* 1109, *I. A.* 460 f.,] Artemid. *oneirocr.* i. 80 θεῶ δὲ ἢ θεῶ μίγναι ἢ ὑπὸ θεοῦ περανθῆναι νοσοῦντι μὲν θάνατον σημαίνει (θάνατον σημείον cod. B.)· τότε γὰρ ἢ ψυχὴ τὰς τῶν θεῶν συνόδους τε καὶ μίξεις μαντεύεται, ὅταν ἐγγὺς ἢ τοῦ καταλιπεῖν τὸ σῶμα ᾧ ἐνοικεῖ· κ.τ.λ., 2. 49 ἀποθανεῖν δοκεῖν καὶ ἐκκομισθῆναι καὶ κατορυγῆναι...ἀνδρὶ...ἀγάμῳ γάμον προαγορεύει· τέλη μὲν γὰρ ἀμφοτέρα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἶναι νενομίσματα καὶ ὁ γάμος καὶ ὁ θάνατος. αἰεὶ δὲ

ΙΕΡΕΩΣ
ΔΙΟΣΤΕΛΕΙ
ΟΥΒΟΥΙΥΓΘ
Fig. 971.

partly from modern folk-song¹, that the Greeks of old aspired to an actual marriage-union with the deities of the underworld, a union to be fore-shadowed here in mystic rites and consummated hereafter in very truth. Every man would one day enter the bridal chamber of Persephone, every woman that of Hades². If this daring belief is rightly credited to them—and the evidence for it is strong—, then we may, I think, venture to interpret the popular scheme of the hero-feast as a naïve representation of the dead man's marriage-banquet. Wedded at last to the queen of the nether world, he is actually feasting in her company. His garland and cakes recall

‘the white sesame-grains

And myrtle-berries and poppy-head and water-mint³’

appropriate to any bridegroom. Were they not the magic means by which he

δείκνυνται ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων. ὄθεν καὶ τοῖς νοσοῦσι τὸ γαμῆν θάνατον προαγορεύει· καὶ γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀμφοτέροις συμβαίνει τῷ τε γαμοῦντι καὶ τῷ ἀποθανόντι, οἷον παραπομπὴ φίλων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ στέφανοι καὶ ἀρώματα καὶ μύρα καὶ συγγραφή κτημάτων, 2. 65 ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ γάμος εἰκοε θανάτῳ καὶ (ἐπειδὴ καὶ cod. B.) ὑπὸ θανάτου σημαίνεται, ἐνταῦθα καλῶς ἔχειν ἡγήσαμην ἐπιμνησθῆναι (ὑπομνησθῆναι cod. B.) αὐτοῦ. γαμῆν παρθένον τῷ νοσοῦντι θάνατον σημαίνει· ὅσα γὰρ τῷ γαμοῦντι συμβαίνει, τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ τῷ ἀποθανόντι.

Mr Lawson might have found further support for his theory in the rich storehouse of ancient Greek epitaphs. Turning over the leaves of the *Anthology* I lit upon the following: *Anth. Pal.* 7. 13. 2 f. (Leonidas or Meleagros) “Ἡρῆναν... | “Αἶδας εἰς ὑμέναιον ἀνάρπασεν, 7. 183. 2 (Parmenion) “Αἰδὸς τὴν Κροκάλῃς ἔφθασε παρθένην, 7. 401. 9 (Krinagoras) χθῶν ᾧ δυσνόμφευτε, 7. 492. 6 (? Anyte of Mitylene) νυμφίον ἀλλ’ Αἰδὸν κηδεμόν’ εἰρήρμεθα, 7. 507^b (? Simonides = frag. 124 B Bergk⁴, 105 Hiller—Crusius) οὐκ ἐπίδων νύμφεια λέχη κατέβην τὸν ἀφικτον | Γόργιππος ξανθῆς Φερσεφόνης θάλαμον, 7. 547. 3 f. (Leonidas of Alexandria) κατέστεινε δ’ οὐχ’ Ὑμεναίω, | ἀλλ’ Αἶδα νύμφαν δωδεκῆτιν κατὰγων, cp. 7. 221. 5 f. “Αἰδὴ δυσκίνητε, τί τὴν ἐπέραστον ἐταίρην | ἦρπασας; ἦ καὶ σὴν Κύπρις ἔμυνε φρένα; Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 43 = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 50 ἐνθάδε τὴν πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ τέρμα μολούσαν | Φαναγόραν κατέχει Φερσεφόνης θάλαμος, Cougny 2. 122 a. 3 f. = Kaibel no. 35 a. 3 f. ἔθανες, Διονύσειε, καὶ τὸν ἀνάγκης | κοῦρον Φερσεφόνης πᾶσιν ἔχεις θάλαμον, Cougny 2. 127. 3 f. Ἰλαυκιάδης... | ἦλθ’ ἐπὶ πάνδεκτον Φερσεφόνης θάλαμον, 2. 214. 3 f. = Kaibel no. 201. 3 f. συγκέχυνται γενέτας δὲ Ἰσοεῖδιππος κλυτὸν ἔρνος | ξαλωτὸν πέμψας Περσεφόνας θάλαμοις, Cougny 2. 268. 1 f. = Kaibel no. 570. 1 f. οὐχ’ ὁσίως ἦρπασας ὑπὸ [χθόνα], κοίρανε Ἰλιουτεῦ, | πενταετὴ νύμφην κ.τ.λ.

See also R. Foerster *Der Raub und die Rückkehr der Persephone* Stuttgart 1874 p. 73 n. 3, E. Maass *Orpheus* München 1895 p. 219, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 865 n. 1.

¹ E.g. A. Passow *Popularia carmina Graeciae recentioris* Lipsiae 1860 no. 364. 6 ff. Κ’ ἐγὼ πάγω νὰ παντρεφτῶ νὰ πάρω μιὰ γυναῖκα, | Πῆρα τὴν πλάκα πεθερὰ, τὴ μαύρη γῆ γυναῖκα | Κι’ αὐτὰ τὰ λιανολίθαρα ὅλα γυναικαδέρφια (‘For I must go to marry me, to take a wife unto me; | The black earth for my wife I take, the tombstone as her mother | And yonder little pebbles all her brethren and her sisters’—from the dirge of an old man: Bostitsa), *ib.* no. 374. 8 f. Ἐψὲς ἐγὼ παντρεύθηκα, ἐψὲς ἀργὰ τὸ βράδι. | Ὁ ἄδης εἴν’ ὁ ἄντρας μου, ἢ πλάκ’ ἢ πεθερὰ μου (‘Yesterday was my marriage-day, late yestere’en my wedding, | Hades I for my husband have, the tomb for my new mother’—from the dirge of a young girl). Cp. *ib.* nos. 38, 65, 152, 180, 370, 380, 381, G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 256 n. 1.

² This had been remarked by E. Maass *Orpheus* München 1895 p. 219: ‘Jedes Weib, das stirbt, vermählt sich nach alter Anschauung dem Hades; die Männer und Jünglinge betreten ihrerseits den Thalamos der Persephone.’ B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 232 f. had already drawn attention to this group of ideas, citing ancient and modern illustrations. See further O. Schrader *Totenhochzeit* Jena 1904 pp. 1—38 and S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 ii. 141—143.

³ Aristoph. *av.* 159 f. τὰ λευκὰ σῆσάμα | καὶ μύρα καὶ μήκωνα καὶ σισύμβρια.

was empowered to impregnate his bride¹? Raised from mortal to immortal

¹ Schol. Aristoph. *rax* 869 πλακοῦς γαμικὸς ἀπὸ σησάμων πεποιημένος, διὰ τὸ πολύγονον, ὡς φησι Μένανδρος (*frag.* 435 (*Frag. con. Gr.* iv. 318 Meineke)). A. de Gubernatis *La mythologie des plantes* Paris 1882 ii. 347 refers to L. G. Gyraldus *Operum que extant omnium Tomus Secundus* Basileae 1580 p. 485, 24 ff. Quale est illud, quod de nubentibus dici vulgo solebat, Sesamum aut hordeum sere, aut projice: cum foecunditatem, & multiplicem generationem ac foetum significare volebant. Sunt enim huiusmodi semina multae foecunditatis, & vt Graeci dicunt, πολύγονα. Sed quod de sesamo dicimus, aliqui ex eo placentam fieri solitam in nuptiis, eadem ratione tradunt.

Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 445—455 begins his article on the myrtle by distinguishing a lucky aspect of the plant as sacred to Aphrodite from a sepulchral aspect of it as sacred to chthonian deities. He finds a connecting link in the cult of Venus *Libitina*, Aphrodite *Epitymbia*, etc. I should rather suppose that both aspects are referable to the quickening qualities of the evergreen. When a long journey was to be taken afoot, the mere carrying of myrtle-twigs prevented fatigue. Twisted into rings without the use of iron, they cured swelling of the groin (Plin. *nat. hist.* 15. 124). To dream of a myrtle-wreath meant marriage with a free-born woman and a prospect of long-lived children (Artemid. *oneirocr.* 1. 77). Etc., etc. A shrub of such vivifying or revivifying potency was well fitted to be a life-token. Accordingly we hear of two sacred myrtles, which grew before the temple of Quirinus and by their fertility or barrenness portended the fortunes of the patricians and plebeians respectively (Plin. *nat. hist.* 15. 120 f.). See further A. de Gubernatis *op. cit.* ii. 233—236, H. Friend *Flowers and Flower Lore* London 1883 ii. 688 Index s.v. 'Myrtle,' R. Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* London 1884 pp. 454—457. These authors by no means exhaust the topic, which deserves fuller investigation. It might, for example, be discovered that the myrtle-wreath worn by the initiate at Eleusis (Aristoph. *ran.* 156, 328 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*, Istros *frag.* 25 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 421 Müller) *ap. schol.* Soph. *O. C.* 681: illustrated *supra* i. 220 f. fig. 163, E. Lübbert in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1865 xxxvii. 82 ff. pl. F=L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pé.* 1868 p. 160=F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 570 fig. 2637=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 313, 1 f.) or by the Orphic devotee (*supra* p. 555) marked him as the prospective consort of a chthonian deity. The botanical fact underlying these beliefs is the polyspermous nature of the myrtle: 'The fruit is a purplish berry, consisting of the receptacle and the ovary blended into one succulent investment enclosing very numerous minute seeds' (*The Encyclopædia Britannica*¹¹ Cambridge 1911 xix. 115).

The poppy has an even greater wealth of tiny seeds. Hence it made for fertility, and became the attribute of various mother-goddesses. A. de Gubernatis *op. cit.* ii. 284 quotes from L. G. Gyraldus *op. cit.* ii. 468, 39 f. the *dictum* 'papauer fertilitatis & vrbis symbolum fuit' [where, however, we should restore *orbis*, cp. Cornut. *theol.* 28 p. 56, 8 ff. Lang *ἀνατιθέασι δ' αὐτῇ* (sc. τῇ Δήμητρι) καὶ τὰς μήκωνας κατὰ λόγον· τὸ τε γὰρ στρογγύλον καὶ περιφερὲς αὐτῶν παρίστησι τὸ σχῆμα τῆς γῆς σφαιροειδοῦς ὄψεως, ἣ τε ἀνωμαλία τὰς κοιλότητας καὶ τὰς ἐξοχὰς τῶν ὀρῶν, τὰ δ' ἐντὸς τοῖς ἀντρώδεσι καὶ ὑπονόμοις ἔοικε, σπέρματά τε ἀναριθμητὰ γεννώσιν ὡσπερ ἡ γῆ]. The poppy of Demeter (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1179 n. 2) was passed on to Rhea (*id. ib.* p. 1542 n. 1) and to Isis (W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 450 ff. fig.). Kanachos made for the Sicyonians a chryselephantine Aphrodite with a poppy in one hand, an apple in the other (Paus. 2. 10. 5): and here again the influence of Demeter may be suspected; for certain persons derived the old name of Sikyon, *Μηκώνη*, from the 'poppy,' *μήκων*, which Demeter there first discovered (*et. mag.* p. 583, 56 f.: but cp. Ov. *fast.* 4. 531 ff., Serv. and interp. Serv. in Verg. *georg.* i. 212). Poppy-heads, as well as myrtle-wreaths, played their part in the Eleusinian initiation (*supra* i. 425 f. fig. 307 f.).

Lastly, *σισύμβριον* or 'bergamot-mint' (*mentha aquatica*) was used for the bridegroom's garland (schol. Aristoph. *av.* 160), not merely because its branches, leaves, etc. were sweet-scented (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 6. 6. 2 and *frag.* 4, 27 *ap.* Athen. 689 D, Nik. *georg. frag.* 2. 57 *ap.* Athen. 684 B), but on account of its aphrodisiac properties. If the

rank, henceforward he can read a deeper meaning in the old-world wedding-chant :

‘I have fled the bad, I have found the better¹.’

It looks as though the primitive mind conceived of death itself as simply due to the fact that the chthonian deity (whether goddess or god) had claimed another consort². The summons has been sent. The call must be obeyed. But—

‘Who knows if life be death and death be life³?’

In the embrace of Persephone the dead man becomes the chthonian king. Borne off by Hades the dead woman becomes the chthonian queen. We can understand now the familiar saying

‘Whom the gods love dies young⁴,’

and find a further significance in the representation of Death as Love⁵.

wearing of a wreath made from it betokened disease (Artemid. *oneirocr.* 1. 77), that was due to the fact that the plant in question was recognised as a cure for diseases (Nik. *ther.* 896). Greeks called it the garland of Aphrodite, Romans the herb of Venus (Dioskor. 2. 154 (155) p. 271 Sprengel); and the medical writers enable us to guess the reason, cp. Dioskor. 2. 154 (155) p. 272 Sprengel *δύναμιν δὲ ἔχει θερμαντικὴν· ἀρμύζει δὲ πρὸς στραγγουρίας καὶ λιθιάσεις τὸ σπέρμα σὺν ὄνῳ πινόμενον*, *id.* 2. 155 (156) p. 272 Sprengel of another variety *ἔστι δὲ θερμαντικόν, οὐρητικόν*, Galen. *de simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus* 8. 18. 20 (xii. 124 Kühn) *θερμανούσης καὶ ξηρανούσης κατὰ τὴν τρίτην τάξιν ἐστὶ δυνάμεώς τε καὶ κράσεως. καὶ τὸ σπέρμα δ’ αὐτοῦ λεπτομερές τε καὶ θερμὸν ἐστίν, ὅθεν σὺν ὄνῳ τινὲς αὐτὴν δίδουσι κ.τ.λ.*, *id. ib.* 8. 18. 21 (xii. 124 Kühn) of the other variety *ὅταν μὲν ξηρὸν ᾖ, τῆς τρίτης ἐστὶ τάξεως τῶν ξηρανότων τε ἅμα καὶ θερμανότων, κ.τ.λ.* On mint in general see A. de Gubernatis *op. cit.* ii. 226—228, H. Friend *op. cit.* ii. 687 Index *s.v.* ‘Mint,’ R. Folkard *op. cit.* p. 439 f. *Supra* i. 257 n. 5.

¹ *ἔφυγον κακόν, εὖρον ἀμεινον* (*carm. pop.* 20 a Hiller—Crusius)—an early dactylic line (cp. *supra* i. 444) first found in Dem. *de cor.* 259 (cited *supra* i. 392 n. 4) as a *formula* used by initiates in the rites of *Sabázios*, and from him apparently quoted by Hesych. *s.v.* It is given as a marriage-rubric by Pausanias the Atticist *ap.* Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1726, 19 ff. *καὶ παροιμία δηλοῖ παρὰ Παιουσανία λέγουσα ‘ἔφυγον κακόν, εὖρον ἀμεινον,’ ἦν ἐλεγέ, φησιν, ἀμφιθαλῆς παῖς Ἀθήνησιν, ἐστεμμένος ἀκάνθαις μετὰ δρυῖνων καρπῶν, Ἴκκον βασιτάζων πλήρες ἄρτων, ἀνισσόμενος τὴν ἐκ τοῦ παλαιοῦ βίου ἐπὶ τὸ κρείττον μεταβολήν* = Zenob. 3. 98, Diogeneian. 4. 74, Plout. 1. 16, Apostol. 8. 16, Phot. *lex.* and Soud. *s.v.*, cp. Porph. *de abst.* 1. 1. Probably the so-called proverb was a very ancient charm employed in the mysteries to facilitate the transition from the lower to the higher life, a transition culminating in the divine marriage (see Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 646 ff.). Subsequently it was transferred, with some loss of meaning, to ordinary human marriages.

² Cp. the Celtic tales of the Otherworld-visit, which I have summarised in *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 143 ff. (*supra* i. 239).

³ Eur. *Polyeidos frag.* 638 Nauck² (*supra* p. 868), cp. Eur. *Phrixus frag.* 833 Nauck². In Aristoph. *ran.* 1477 f. *τίς οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μὲν ἐστὶ κατθανεῖν, | τὸ πνεῖν δὲ δειπνεῖν, τὸ δὲ καθεῖδεν κώδιον*; the attempts of the editors to extract sense from the latter line are far from convincing. I fancy Aristophanes is poking fun at the prospect held out to every pious believer, the hero-feast (*δειπνεῖν*) and the poppy-head (for *κώδιον* read *κώδον*, cp. Theophr. *hist. pl.* 6. 8. 1 and *ap.* Athen. 680 E, or *κώδια*, cp. Aristoph. *frag.* 166 Dindorf *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* *κώδια*). Life hereafter was to be one perpetual banquet in the bridal chamber of Persephone: if the new immortal tired of it, he had at least the poppy-capsule to lull him to sleep and to renew his generative powers. Those who retain *κώδιον* in the text should still interpret the word of the initiate’s equipment, the ‘fleece of Zeus’ (*supra* i. 422 ff.).

⁴ Menand. *disexapaton frag.* 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 105 Meineke). Cp. Kaibel *Epigr.* Gr. no. 340. 8 = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 585. 8.

⁵ *Supra* pp. 309, 1045.

Nor was this union one of merely physical fruition. The Greek was capable of rising to greater heights, and the title *Phílios* had from the first a moral connotation. True, Aristotle denied the possibility of love (*phília*) between man and God:

‘For love, we maintain, exists only where there can be a return of love. But love towards God does not admit of love being returned, nor at all of loving. For it would be strange if one were to say that he loved Zeus!’

But popular usage was against him². Whether parched with drought³, or drenched with rain⁴, the man in the street cried out upon ‘loved Zeus.’ And the like intimacy is attested by half-a-dozen poets from Theognis to Antipatros of Thessalonike⁵. On a red-figured *kýlix* by the potter Sosias Herakles, when admitted to Olympos, makes the same naïve ejaculation⁶. Moreover, the name *Díphilos*, ‘loved by Zeus,’ was of common occurrence⁷. No doubt this mutual love did not amount to much. But the root of the matter was there, and its growth was fostered by mystic teaching. On the grandest page of extant Greek literature⁸ the Platonic Sokrates tells how Diotima of Mantinea (supposed to be a priestess of Zeus *Lýkaios*⁹ and in any case, as her name shows, ‘honoured of Zeus’) once made plain to him the mysteries of Eros. The initiate, she said, must mount by successive grades from desire of a single beautiful body to desire of all beautiful bodies, and from beauty of body to beauty of soul involving the beauty of customs and laws. Thence he will launch out boldly into the beauty of knowledge until, crossing its wide sea and nearing his journey’s end, on a sudden he catches sight

¹ Aristot. *mag. mor.* 2. 11. 1208 b 28 ff. *τὴν γὰρ φιλιαν ἐνταυθα φαμεν εἶναι οὐ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι, ἢ δὲ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν φίλα οὐτε ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι δέχεται οὐθ’ ἄλλως τὸ φιλεῖν ἄπορον γὰρ ἂν εἴη εἰ τις φαλὴ φιλεῖν τὸν Δία.*

² Indeed, he was against himself—witness his brief but pregnant utterance with regard to the Final Cause in *met.* 12. 7. 1072 b 3 f. *κινεῖ δὲ ὡς ἐρώμενον, κινούμενον δὲ πᾶλλα κινεῖ.* He is groping his way towards the stupendous discovery that ‘God is love.’

³ Marc. Ant. *comment.* 5. 7 ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ (*infra* § 9 (b)).

⁴ *Anth. Pal.* 5. 166. 6 (Asklepiades) Ζεῦ φίλε (*infra* § 9 (b)).

⁵ Theogn. 373 Hiller—Crusius Ζεῦ φίλε, θανμάζω σε· κ.τ.λ., Eupol. χρυσοῦν γένος *frag.* 13 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 541 f. Meineke) ἀρ. Poll. 10. 63 ἄλλ’, ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ, κατάχυτον τὴν βῖν’ ἔχεις, Aristoph. *ecc.* 378 f. καὶ δῆτα πολλὸν ἢ μίλτος, ὦ Ζεῦ φίλτατε, | γέλω παρέρσχεν, κ.τ.λ., Philem. *Pyrrhos frag.* 1. 7 f. (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 22 Meineke) ἀρ. Stob. *flor.* 55. 5 εἰρήνη’ στήν· ὦ Ζεῦ φίλτατε, | τῆς ἐπαφροδίτου καὶ φιλανθρώπου θεοῦ, Kallim. *ep.* 7. 4 Schneider, 6. 4 Wilamowitz Κρεωφύλω, Ζεῦ φίλε, τοῦτο μέγα, *Anth. Pal.* 5. 108. 4 (Antipatros) ἦ ῥα μάτην, Ζεῦ φίλε, βοῦς ἐγένον. It is obvious that the phrases Ζεῦ φίλε, ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ, ὦ Ζεῦ φίλτατε expressed a variety of moods—indignation, astonishment, delight, etc. But the point is that all alike are colloquial, herein differing somewhat from such usages as *Il.* 1. 578 πατρὶ φίλω ἐπιήρα φέρειν Δία, Pind. *Nem.* 10. 104 ff. ἀμέραν τὰν μὲν παρὰ πατρὶ φίλω | Δι νέμονται, τὰν δ’ ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γάλας κ.τ.λ.

⁶ Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 549 ff. no. 2278, C. Lenormant in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1830 ii. 232 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* i pl. 24 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 70, 2, Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 13 ff. pl. 123, Perrot—Chippiez *Hist. de l’Art* x. 503 ff. fig. 285, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 457 ff., iii. 137 fig. 418. Further bibliography in Hopppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 421 ff. no. 1. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8291, a $\Xi\text{N}\text{I}\text{O}\text{V}\text{E}\text{I}$.

⁷ Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1152—1156 record twenty-two bearers of the name. See also K. Meisterhans *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*³ Berlin 1900 p. 74 n. 644 a.

⁸ I am weighing my words: that is my deliberate opinion.

⁹ Schol. Aristeid. p. 468, 15 f. Dindorf.

of Absolute Beauty, timeless, changeless, formless,—the beatific vision which shall

make amends

For all our toil while on the road.

Embracing this, he will at last beget no phantom forms of virtue, for it is no phantom that he clasps, but virtues true to type, for he has the very truth. And here he will live for ever as one that is indeed 'loved of God' and a sharer in immortality. That is the hope of which Sokrates, persuaded himself, is fain to persuade others also¹. To summarise or paraphrase such a passage is, of course, to ruin its effect, and is little short of blasphemy to boot. I can but call attention to the one word *theophilés*, 'loved of God².' Platon had it from the mystics. And Theon of Smyrna (*s. ii.* A.D.) informs us that the initiate passed upwards through five stages, *viz.* purification, the tradition of the rite, the eyewitnessing of it, the binding and putting on of the garlands in order to communicate it to others, and finally the resultant felicity of dwelling in the 'love of God' (*theophilés*) and sharing in the life divine³.

These beliefs formed a point of contact between paganism and Christianity. The hero-feast is an antecedent of the celestial banquet, a favourite theme in the art of the catacombs⁴. And if the Greeks looked forward to 'the good fare of the blest⁵' in the bridal chamber of Hades or Persephone, John can say 'Blessed are they which are bidden to the marriage supper of the Lamb⁶.' The conception, cherished by the Church⁷, has inspired not a few modern mystics :

¹ Plat. *symp.* 209 E—212 B. Faith, Hope, and Charity unite in this triumphant climax.

² The relevant words are: τεκνυτι δὲ ἀρετὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ θρηψαμένω ὑπάρχει θεοφιλεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ ἐπερ τῷ ἄλλω ἀνθρώπων, ἀθανάτω καὶ ἐκείνω. On the later Platonic conception of ἀθανασία I have said my say in *The Metaphysical Basis of Plato's Ethics* Cambridge 1895 p. 96 ff. See also R. K. Gaye *The Platonic Conception of Immortality and its Connexion with the Theory of Ideas* (Hare Prize Essay 1903) London 1904.

³ Theon Smyrn. *mathem.* p. 14, 18 ff. Hiller καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν φιλοσοφίαν μύησιν φαίη τις αὐτὴν ἀληθοῦς τελετῆς καὶ τῶν ἑνῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς μυστηρίων παράδοσιν. μύησεως δὲ μέρη πέντε. τὸ μὲν προηγούμενον καθαρισμός· οὕτε γὰρ ἅπασιν τοῖς βουλομένοις μετουσία μυστηρίων ἔστιν, ἀλλ' εἰσὶν οὓς αὐτῶν εἰργεσθαι προαγορευεται, οἷον τοὺς χεῖρας μὴ καθαρὰς καὶ φωνῆν ἀξύνετον ἔχοντας, καὶ αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς μὴ εἰργόμενους ἀνάγκη καθαρισμοῦ τινοῦ πρότερον τυχεῖν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν κάθαρσιν δευτέρα ἔστιν ἡ τῆς τελετῆς παράδοσις· τρίτη δὲ < ἡ ins. C. A. Lobeck > ἐπονομαζομένη ἐποπτεία· τετάρτη δὲ, ἡ δὲ καὶ τέλος τῆς ἐποπτείας, ἀνάδεσις καὶ στεμμάτων ἐπιθέσις, ὥστε καὶ ἑτέροις, ἃς τις παρέλαβε τελετάς, παραδοῦναι δύνασθαι, δαδουχίας τυχεῖντα ἢ ἱεροφαντίας ἢ τινοῦ ἄλλης ἱερωσύνης· πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἐξ αὐτῶν περιγενομένη κατὰ τὸ θεοφιλεῖς καὶ θεοῖς συνδιδαιτον εὐδαιμονία (so I. Bouillaud for εὐδαιμονίαν cod. A.). See Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 38 ff.

⁴ W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archaeology* New York 1901 pp. 221—223, L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1906 i. 181—209 (the best account), C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 pp. 269—274, 358.

⁵ Aristoph. *ran.* 85 ἐς μακάρων εὐωχίαν, cp. Plat. *Phaid.* 115 D. Notice the schol. Aristoph. *loc. cit.* ἢ ὡς περὶ τετελευτηκότος λέγει, ὥσαυτε εἶπε τὰς μακάρων νήσους· ἢ ὅτι Ἀρχελάω τῷ βασιλεῖ μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς μετὰ ἄλλων πολλῶν συνῆν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, καὶ μακάρων εὐωχίαν ἔφη τὴν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις διατριβῆν. If Hades was known as Ἀγησίλαος, Πολύαρχος, and the like (*supra* p. 1113 n. o no. (2)), it is at least possible that he bore the title Ἀρχέλαος. Aristophanes' *sous-entendu* would thus gain in point.

⁶ Rev. 19. 9 with the context.

⁷ A. Dieterich *Eine Mithrasliturgie*² Leipzig and Berlin 1910 pp. 129—134.

He lifts me to the golden doors ;
 The flashes come and go ;
 All heaven bursts her starry floors,
 And strows her lights below,
 And deepens on and up ! the gates
 Roll back, and far within
 For me the Heavenly Bridegroom waits,
 To make me pure of sin.
 The sabbaths of Eternity,
 One sabbath deep and wide—
 A light upon the shining sea—
 The Bridegroom with his bride !¹

How much, or how little, of all this is to be found in our relief, it is not easy to say. The title *Epitēleios* suggests the mystic marriage, and the stress laid on *Phlios* and *Philia* tends to confirm the suggestion. We must leave it at that.

The matter-of-fact spectator, who cared little for mysteries or mystical symbolism, saw in Zeus *Phlios* a god of good company, given to feasting in both this world and the next. Accordingly, Diodoros of Sinope, a poet of the new comedy, who flourished early in s. iii B.C.², makes him the discoverer of the parasite and his ways:

'Twas Zeus the Friendly, greatest of the gods
 Beyond all doubt, that first invented parasites.
 For he it is who comes into our houses,
 Nor cares a rap whether we're rich or poor.
 Wherever he espies a well-strown couch
 With a well-appointed table set beside it,
 Joining us straightway like a gentleman
 He asks himself to breakfast, eats and drinks,
 And then goes home again, nor pays his share.
 Just what I do myself ! When I see couches
 Strown and the tables ready, door ajar,
 In I come quietly, all in order due—
 I don't disturb, not I, my fellow-drinker.
 Everything set before me I enjoy,
 Drink, and go home again, like Zeus the Friendly³.

The inference to be drawn from the fourth-century reliefs and the third-century comedy is that at Athens Zeus *Phlios*, like Zeus *Sotēr*⁴, Zeus *Xénios*⁵, and other

¹ Tennyson *St. Agnes' Eve* 25 ff.

² J. Kirchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 660, Lübker *Reallex.*⁸ p. 293.

³ Diod. Sinop. *ἐπικληρος frag.* 1. 5 ff. (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 543 ff. Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 239 A ff.

⁴ *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 305, 10 ff. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 1 no. 676, 10 ff. ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ πάσας] ἐθ[υόν τε τὰς θ[υ]σίας τῶ[ι Διὶ τῶι Σωτήρι καὶ τ]εῖ Ἀθη[ναί] τεῖ | Σω]τείρ[αι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπεμε]λήθησα[ν μετὰ | το]ῦ λερ[έως καλῶς καὶ φιλοτιμω]ς, ἐπεμελήθη[σα]ν δὲ [καὶ τῆς στρώσεως τῆς κλι]νης καὶ τῆς κ[οσ]μῆ[σεως τῆς τραπέζης· κ.τ.λ.] in a decree of 277/6 B.C.

⁵ Pyrgion *Κρητικά νόμιμα frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 486 f. Müller) *ap.* Athen. 143 E—F ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ξενικοὶ θάκοι καὶ τράπεζα τρίτη δεξιᾶς (I. Casaubon *cj.* ἐκ δεξιᾶς ἢ ἐν δεξιᾷ) εἰσιόντων εἰς τὰ ἀνδρεία· ἦν Ξένιου τε Διὸς ξενίαν τε προσηγόρευον.

chthonian powers¹, had a couch set for him and a table spread. The rite was private rather than public, belonging essentially to family worship² and being in effect a communion between the dead and the living³. A. Furtwängler⁴ justly compares the *lectisternia*, which are commonly held to have been a Roman adaptation of the Greek *Theoxenia*⁵. Be that as it may, the comparison is of interest. For it is possible, perhaps even probable, that at the Greek feast, as at its Roman equivalent, the god was represented in visible shape. But in what shape? Our only clue is the Roman custom. Livy mentions 'heads of gods' placed on the couches⁶. Pompeius Festus (s. ii A.D.)—an excellent authority, since he abridged the important dictionary of Verrius Flaccus (c. 10 B.C.)⁷—states that these 'heads of gods' were properly termed *struppi* and consisted in bundles of *verbenae* or 'sacred plants'⁸. Elsewhere Festus, *à propos* of *stroppus* in the sense of a priestly head-dress or wreath, informs us that at Tusculum an

¹ Furtwängler *Samml. Sabouroff Sculptures* p. 28 f., A. Milchhöfer in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1887 ii. 31 (with list of deities).

² The *épavostal* (*supra* p. 1161 f.) formed a quasi-family, worshipping—we have conjectured—its deceased founder as its ancestor.

³ *Supra* p. 1162 n. 2. See also Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 419.

⁴ A. Furtwängler in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1897 i. 405.

⁵ F. Robiou 'Recherches sur l'origine des lectisternes' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1867 i. 403—415, F. Deneken *De Theoxeniis* Berolini 1881, (G.) Wackermann *Ueber das Lectisternium* Hanau 1888 pp. 1—28, G. E. Marindin in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 15—17, C. Pascal 'De lectisterniis apud Romanos' in the *Rivista di filologia* 1894 xxii. 272—280, *id. Studi di antichità e mitologia* Milano 1896 p. 19 ff., W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 pp. 200, 218, 273, *id. The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 pp. 263 ff., 268, 318 f., A. Bouché-Leclercq in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1006—1012, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 161 f., Wissowa *Rel. Kull. Röm.*² pp. 61, 269 f., 311, 315, 421 ff.

⁶ Liv. 40. 59 terra movit: in foris (K. A. Duker cj. *fanis*) publicis, ubi lectisternium erat, deorum capita, quae (K. A. Duker and J. N. Madvig cjj. *qui*) in lectis erant, avertunt se, lanaque (J. Scheffer cj. *laenague*, G. Cuypers and J. Marquardt cjj. *lanxque*) cum integumentis (F. van Oudendorp cj. *intrimentis*), quae Iovi opposita (C. Sigone and J. Scheffer cjj. *apposita*) fuit, decidit=Iul. Obseq. 61 in lectisternio Iovis terrae motu deorum capita se converterunt. lana cum integumentis, quae Iovi erant apposita, decidit.

⁷ M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*² München 1899 ii. 1. 319 ff., Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*² Cambridge 1906 i. 200.

⁸ Fest. p. 347, 34 f. Müller, p. 472, 15 f. Lindsay *struppi* vocantur in pulvinaribus <fasciculi de verbenis facti, qui pro de>orum capitibus ponuntur=Paul. ex Fest. p. 346, 3 Müller, p. 473, 4 f. Lindsay *struppi* vocabantur in pulvinaribus fasciculi de verbenis facti, qui pro deorum capitibus ponebantur. Cp. Paul. ex Fest. p. 64, 5 Müller, p. 56, 12 Lindsay capita deorum appellabantur fasciculi facti ex verbenis.

Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 12. 120 verberna proprie est herba sacra sumpta de loco sacro Capitolii, quae coronabantur fetiales et paterpatratu foedera facturi vel bella indicturi. abusive tamen verbenas iam vocamus omnes frondes sacratas, ut est laurus, oliva vel myrtus. etc. Cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 22. 5, 25. 105 ff., interp. Serv. in Verg. *eccl.* 8. 65, Donat. in Ter. *Andr.* 4. 3. 11.

S. Eitrem in the *Class. Rev.* 1921 xxxv. 20 finds an illustration of these *struppi* in a painting of s. v B.C. in the *Tomba del Letto funebre* at Corneto (F. Poulsen *Fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Samlinger* Copenhagen 1920 i fig. 34, F. Weege *Etruskische Malerei* Halle (Saale) 1921 pls. 23, 24): 'on a mighty lectus you see on the torus not two recumbent defuncts, but two green crowns, surmounted by the Etruscan (and Roman) pointed head-dress, the *tutulus*.'

object known as *struppus* was placed on the couch of Castor¹. We gather, then, that at the *lectisternia* Jupiter and the gods in general were originally represented by twisted bundles of herbs. These bundles seem to have been padded and clothed as puppets; for in 179 B.C., shaken by an earthquake, the wool and wrappings attached to Iupiter slipped off revealing his true inwards to the confusion of all present². Later, if we may trust the evidence of a Roman lamp (fig. 972)³ and certain Roman coins (figs. 973, 974, 975)⁴, the puppets of the



Fig. 972.



Fig. 973.



Fig. 974.



Fig. 975.

¹ Fest. p. 313 a 12 ff. Müller, p. 410, 6 ff. Lindsay *stroppus* est, ut Ateius Philologus (L. Ateius Praetextatus *frag.* 7 Funaioli) existimat, quod Graece *στροβφιον* vocatur, et quod sacerdotes pro insigni habent in capite. quidam coronam esse dicunt, aut quod pro corona insignie in caput inponatur, quale sit strophium. itaque apud Faliscos diem (so Antonius Augustinus for *idem* codd.) festum esse, qui vocetur Struppearia, quia coronati ambulent; et a Tusculanis, quod in pulvinari inponatur Castoris, struppum vocari = Paul. ex Fest. p. 312, 1 Müller, p. 411, 1 ff. Lindsay *stroppus*, quod Graece *στροβφιον* dicitur, pro insigni habebatur in capitibus sacerdotum; alii id coronam esse dixerunt. Cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 21. 3.

² Liv. 40. 59 and Iul. Obseq. 61 cited *supra* p. 1170 n. 6.

Cp. the woollen effigies of the Lares hung up at the cross-roads during the Compitalia (Paul. ex Fest. p. 121, 17 ff. Müller, p. 108, 27 ff. Lindsay; Fest. p. 237 b 34 ff. Müller, p. 272, 15 ff. Lindsay = Paul. ex Fest. p. 239, 1 ff. Müller, p. 273, 7 ff. Lindsay. See further Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 94 ff., 107 f.), if not also the saying that the gods had woollen feet (Apollod. *frag.* 41 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 435 Müller) ap. Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 8. 5, Petron. *sat.* 44. 18, Porph. in Hor. *od.* 3. 2. 31 f.).

³ Fig. 972 shows the relief on the handle of a terra-cotta lamp first published by P. S. Bartoli—G. P. Bellori *Le antiche lucerne sepolcrali* Roma 1691 ii pl. 34 (A. Bouché-Leclercq in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1011 fig. 4381, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 412). Sarapis and Isis, Selene and Helios, are here represented by half-length busts set on the couch. A similar bust of white marble, obtained in the Levant by Mr W. Simpson and now in my possession (height 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches: *kálathos* broken off: traces of paint (?) on face, chest, etc.: eye-holes and breast-jewel once filled in with glass or other glittering substance), was very possibly used at some *lectisternium* of Sarapis (cp. e.g. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. 101 no. 57 a copper of Sinope struck by Caracalla: *rev.* Zeus Sarapis on couch to left, with eagle on right hand, sceptre in left, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 507).

Another lamp-handle with a similar design, found at Pesaro, is suspect as being derived from the *Lucernae fictiles Musei Passerii* Pisauri 1739—1751 iii pl. 51 (A. Bouché-Leclercq *loc. cit.* iii. 1011 fig. 4382): see the exposure by H. Dressel in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1892 vii. 144 ff. (150 'una solenne impostura'), H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* ii. 408.

⁴ *Denarii* of the gens *Coelia*, struck c. 61 B.C., have for reverse type a *lectisternium*

lectisternia appear to have developed into half-length busts. Indeed, on one occasion, when Seleukos was sending back to Athens the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton carried off by Xerxes, the Rhodians invited the venerable bronzes to a public banquet and installed them bodily on the sacred couches¹. So much for progressive anthropomorphism. The vegetable bundles, which formed the primitive effigies², may be taken to imply that the souls of the dead were conceived as animating the yearly vegetation³. And the same belief may underlie the rites of Iupiter *Dapalis*⁴ and Iupiter *Farreus*⁵, in which Mr Warde surmounted by a half-figure and flanked by two trophies. The front is inscribed L·CALDVS | VII·R·EPV (= *Lucius Calvus septemvir epulo*). To left and right is the legend, read downwards, C·CALDVS | IMP·A (or A')·X (= *Gaius Calvus imperator augur decemvir sacris faciundis*). Below is CΔVS·III·VIR (= *Caldus triumvir monetalis*). See Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 100 ff., ii pl. Coelia 1, 1A, 1B, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 373 ff. with six figs., G. F. Hill *Historical Roman Coins* London 1909 p. 76 ff. pl. 10, 44, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 475 pl. 47, 23 f., pl. 48, 1. Figs. 973—975 are from specimens in my collection. The identification of the personage seen above the couch has long been disputed. He is either the moneyer's father, L. Coelius Calvus, as *septemvir epulo* preparing the feast for Iupiter (Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 659 f., T. Mommsen *Histoire de la monnaie romaine* Paris 1870 ii. 506, Babelon *loc. cit.*, G. F. Hill *op. cit.* p. 78), or—more probably—the effigy of Iupiter himself eating the sacrificial meal (see the remarks of S. Haverkamp in Morell. *op. cit.* i. 102, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 507, H. A. Grueber in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 474 n. 2).

The two *epula Iovis*, which took place on Sept. 13, the foundation-day of the Capitoline temple, and on Nov. 13, were in relation to the *ludi Romani* and *ludi plebei* respectively (Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*² pp. 127, 423, 453 ff.). Iupiter had a *lectulus*, Iuno and Minerva each a *sella* (Val. Max. 2. 1. 2), while the magistrates and senate took the meal before them in *Capitolio* (Liv. 38. 57, 45. 39, Gell. 12. 8. 2 f., Dion Cass. 39. 30, 48. 52). See further E. Aust in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 732, 734 f., W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 215 ff., *id.* *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 pp. 172 f., 336, 338, 353. Hence the title of Iupiter *Epulo* (*Corp. inser. Lat.* vi no. 3696 found in the Forum at Rome = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4964, with the criticisms of G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 265, who prefers T. Mommsen's reading (*Bull. d. Inst.* 1873 p. 51 f.) [*magistri*] *quinq[ue]miales* | [*collegi*] *teib[icinum] Rom[anorum], qui* | [*s[acris] p[ublicis] p[raesto] s[unt]*], *Iov[is] Epul[oni] sac[rum]* | etc. to that of E. Bormann and H. Dessau *qui* | . . . *Iov[is] epul[is], sac[ris]* | [*p[ublicis] p[raesto] s[unt]*] : | etc.).

¹ Val. Max. 2. 10. 1 *ext.*

² Masurius Sabinus *ap. Serv. in Verg. Aen.* 2. 225 Masurius Sabinus delubrum, effigies, a delibatione corticis; nam antiqui felicium arborum ramos cortice detracto in effigies deorum formabant, unde Graeci *ξβανον* dicunt. Cp. *Serv. in Verg. Aen.* 4. 56, Paul. ex Fest. p. 73, 1 Müller, p. 64, 6 f. Lindsay, pseudo-Ascon. in Cic. *div. in Caec.* p. 101, 16 f. Baiter (in J. C. Orelli's ed. of Cicero *Turici* 1833 v. 2. 101). But a closer parallel may be found in the Corn-maiden (*supra* i. 397 n. 4 pl. xxviii).

³ *Supra* i. 687.

⁴ Cato *de agr.* 132 dapem hoc modo fieri oportet: Iovi Dapali culignam vini quantum vis polluceto. eo die feriae bubus et bubulcis et qui dapem facient. cum pollucere oportebit, sic facies: 'Iuppiter Dapalis, quod tibi fieri oportet in domo familia mea culignam vini dapi, ei <us> rei ergo macte hac illace dape pollucenda esto.' manus interluito, postea vinum sumito: 'Iuppiter Dapalis, macte istace dape pollucenda esto, macte vino inferio esto.' Vestae, si voles, dato. daps Iovi assaria pecuina (pecuina v.) urna vini. Iovi caste profanato sua contagione. postea dape facta serito milium, panicum, alium, lentim.

The adjective *dapalis*, 'sumptuous,' is most frequently found as an epithet of *cena* (*Thes. Ling. Lat.* v. 35, 29 ff.).

⁵ Gaius *inst.* 1. 112 farreo in manus (Göschel, followed by P. Krüger—W. Studemund,

Fowler conjectures that Jupiter himself was originally identified with the flesh, the wine, and the bread consumed by his worshippers¹.

It is possible, then, that the communion-feast of Zeus *Phlios* approximated to, and paved the way for, the *agápe* or 'love-supper' of the early Christian Church². Nevertheless the evidence is indirect and by no means conclusive. We shall be on surer, if lower, ground in returning to the cult-monuments of Attike.

(2) Zeus *Phlios* on the Attic coast, etc.

To the west of the *Asklepieion* near the strand of Zea there appears to have been a common sanctuary of Zeus *Meilichios* and Zeus *Phlios*³. Votive reliefs from the site show the latter god in the same types (anthropomorphic and theriomorphic) as the former.

On the one hand, a slab of Pentelic marble, found on the eastern slope of Mounichia at a point two hundred paces from the sea, represents him (fig. 976)⁴ as a kingly personage enthroned towards the right with a sceptre (painted) in his hand. He is approached by a woman and a girl—Mynnion and her daughter, as we infer from the inscription added above in lettering of s. iv B.C.:

[M]ynnion dedicated (this) to Zeus *Phlios*⁵.

A fragmentary relief of white marble, found later in the same locality, was clearly of similar type⁶. On the left are seen the head of Zeus, his left shoulder, and his left hand holding a sceptre. On the right a bearded man and a youthful figure draw near with right hand raised in the attitude of adoration: behind them there

cj. *manum*) conveniunt per quoddam genus sacrificii, quod Iovi Farreo fit, in quo farreus panis adhibetur; unde etiam confarreatio dicitur; etc.

¹ W. Warde Fowler *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 p. 141 'The cult-title [*Farreus*] should indicate that the god was believed to be immanent in the cake of *far*, rather than that it was offered to him (so I should also take I. Dapalis, though in later times the idea had passed into that of sacrifice, Cato, *R. R.* 132), and if so, the use of the cake was sacramental.' A shrewd and scholarly verdict. Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*² p. 119 'die heilige Handlung gilt dem Juppiter, welcher von dem zur Anwendung kommenden *farreum libum* den Beinamen *Farreus* erhält' is inadequate. B. J. Polenaar on Gaius *inst.* 1. 112 cp. *Adorea* as goddess of martial glory (*Hor. od.* 4. 4. 41) *a farris honore* (*Plin. nat. hist.* 18. 14): but the derivation of the word from *ador*, though assumed by the ancients, is doubtful or worse (see F. Stolz in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1899 x. 74 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*² p. 13 s.v. 'adōria').

² On the Christian ἀγάπη consult A. Kestner *Die Agape oder der geheime Weltbund der Christen* Jena 1819, E. H. Plumptre in Smith—Cheetham *Dict. Chr. Ant.* i. 39 ff., R. St. J. Tyrwhitt *ib.* i. 625 ff., H. Leclercq in F. Cabrol *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* Paris 1907 i. 775—848, A. J. Maclean in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 166—175.

³ *Supra* p. 1104.

⁴ R. Schöne *Griechische Reliefs* Leipzig 1872 p. 53 f. no. 105 pl. 25, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 370 no. 1128, *Einzelabnahmen* no. 1247, 2 with Text v. 22 by E. Löwy, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 354 f. no. 1405 pl. 59 (= my fig. 976), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 362, 7 (wrongly described *ib.* p. 363 as 'Hommage à Zeus Meilichios'). Height 0.22^m, breadth 0.21^m.

⁵ *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1572 [M]YNNIONΔΙΙΦΙΛΙΩΙΑΝΕΘ[HKEN]= [M]ύννιον Δι Φιλίωι ἀνέθ[ηκεν].

⁶ I. C. Dragatsis in the Έφ. Ἀρχ. 1885 p. 89 f. no. B', Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 355. Height 0.16^m, breadth 0.30^m.

are traces of a third head. The whole is enclosed by an architectural framework, which bears the inscription:

‘Hermaios (dedicated this) to Zeus *Phllios*¹.’

On the other hand, the same site yielded two reliefs representing a snake accompanied by the words:

‘—— dedicated (this) to Zeus *Phllios*².’



Fig. 976.

As before³, we must suppose that the snake figures the soul of the divinised dead, here conciliated by the euphemistic title Zeus ‘the Friendly One.’ *Phllios* is virtually a synonym of *Meilichios*⁴.

Other reliefs, which probably derive from the same cult-centre in the Peiraeus,

¹ *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 Add. no. 1572δ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΣ ΔΙΙΦΙΛΙΩΝΙ = ‘Ερμῆος Διὶ Φιλίωι.

² (1) I. C. Dragatsis in the Δελτ. Ἀρχ. 1888 p. 135, *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 2 no. 1572c a fragmentary marble slab inscribed ΔΙΙΛΙ and ΞΝ = [--- Διὶ Φιλίωι] | [ἀνέθηκ]εν above the relief of a snake. (2) I. C. Dragatsis in the Δελτ. Ἀρχ. 1888 p. 135 no. 3, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 355 the relief of a snake with the inscription Διὶ Φιλίωι [ἀνέθηκ]εν.

³ *Supra* p. 1111.

⁴ This explains the otherwise inexplicable gloss of Hesych. φίλιός (Soping *corr.* φίλιος, M. Schmidt *ej. ἀφάδιος?*) ‘ὁ ἀποτρόπαιος, κατ’ εὐφημοσμ[έν]ον.

repeat the types in question but, having no inscribed dedication, cannot be assigned with assurance to either god. Two examples will suffice. A fourth-century relief in Pentelic marble (fig. 977)¹ shows, within an architectural border, Zeus enthroned towards the right, holding a *phiale* in his right hand and a sceptre (painted) in his left. Before him kneels a woman, who with a well-known gesture of supplication stretches out both hands to clasp his knees². Behind her stands a second woman, with right hand uplifted. They are accompanied by a couple of children. The scene is closed by two *hieródouloi*—a boy carrying a ram with his left, and a girl sup-

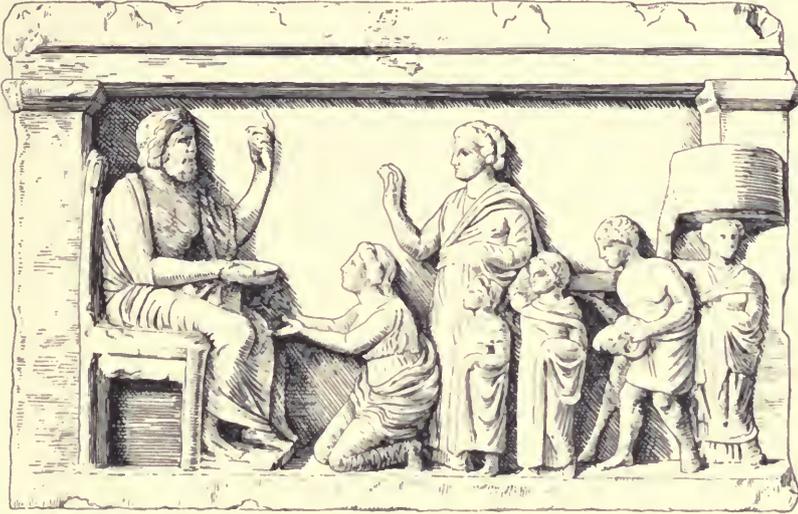


Fig. 977.

porting a large round basket on her head. The fact that in reliefs of this sort the father is so often escorted by his son, the mother by her daughter, suggests that the god, whether *Meilichios* or *Phlios*, was in any case worshipped as *Téleios*.

More difficult to interpret is another fourth-century relief (fig. 978)³ representing a cylindrical altar with a snake coiled about it and a pair of snakes, both bearded, in heraldic pose to right and left. Have we here a votive tablet honouring the same god under all three aspects?

The chthonian character of Zeus *Phlios* is borne out by his ability to witness oaths and to send dreams. Greek dialogues, letters, and speeches abound in such phrases as 'by Zeus the Friendly⁴,' 'by the Friendly Zeus⁵,' 'by the Friendly

¹ Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 375 no. 1139, *Einzelauftnahmen* no. 1245, 3 with Text v. 20 by E. Löwy, *Stais Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*² p. 242 no. 1408, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 357 f. no. 1408 pl. 65 (=my fig. 977), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 363 no. 2. Height 0.25^m, breadth 0.40^m.

² C. Sittl *Die Gebärdn der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 pp. 163 ff., 282 f., Svoronos *op. cit.* p. 358.

³ Svoronos *op. cit.* p. 441 no. 1441 pl. 71 (=my fig. 978). Height 0.15^m, breadth 0.24^m.

⁴ πρὸς Διὸς Φιλίου Plat. *Phaedr.* 234 E, *Minos* 321 C, Ioul. *epist.* 3. 2. Cp. πρὸς Διὸς Φιλίου τε καὶ Ἐταίρου Sokrat. *epist.* 27. 1 p. 627 Hercher.

⁵ πρὸς Φιλίου Διὸς Ioul. *or.* 2 p. 123, 9 Hertlein, *or.* 3 p. 165, 23 Hertlein, Aineias of Gaza *epist.* 1.

One¹, 'yes, by the Friendly One², 'no, by your Friendly One and mine³.

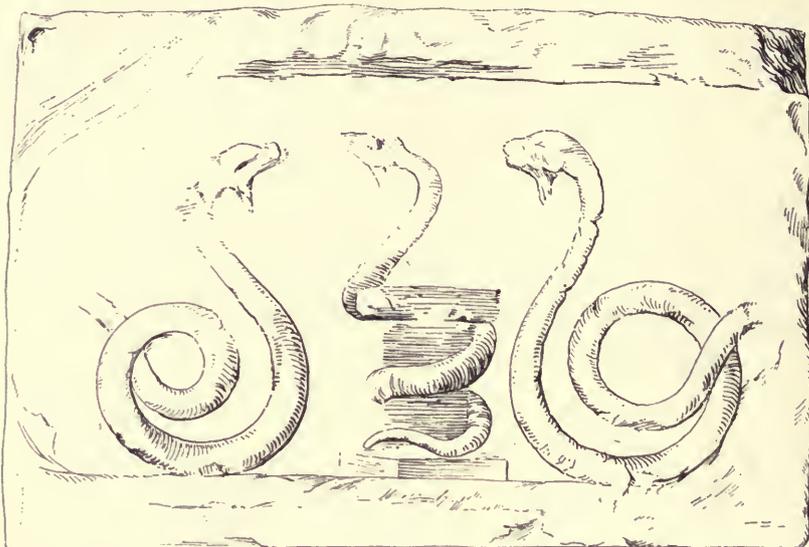


Fig. 978.

Friends in general swore by Zeus *Phllios*⁴, who came to be looked upon as the overseer and guardian of friendship⁵, or ultimately as a god of love who would

¹ πρὸς Φιλίου Plat. *Euthyphr.* 6 B, *Gorg.* 500 B, 519 E, Loukian. *Herod.* 7, *rhet. praecept.* 4, *de dipsad.* 9, Themist. *or.* 1. 17 A p. 19, 6 Dindorf, Prokop. *epist.* 75, 103, 116, 132.

² καὶ τὸν Φίλιον Aristoph. *Ach.* 730 with schol. *ad loc.* νῆ τὸν Φίλιον Pherekrat. *κραπάταλοι frag.* 16. 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 293 Meineke) *ap.* Phot. *lex. s.v.* Φίλιος Ζεύς = Soud. *s.v.* Φίλιος.

³ μὰ τὸν Φίλιον τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ σὸν Plat. *Alcib.* 1 109 D, imitated by Aristain. *epist.* 2. 14 μὰ τὸν Φίλιον Ἔρωτα (D. Wytténbach *om.* Ἔρωτα as a gloss) τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ σὸν and Synes. *epist.* 49 p. 660 Hercher and 59 p. 672 καὶ μὰ τὸν Φίλιον τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ σὸν, 103 p. 700 οὐ μὰ τὸν Φίλιον τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ σὸν, 129 p. 716 νῆ τὸν Φίλιον τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ σὸν, 95 p. 694 οὐ μὰ τὸν Ὀμόγγιον τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ σὸν. We have a similar usage of the possessive pronoun (one of those little touches, which show that on occasion Greek religion could be personal as well as civic) in Eur. *Andr.* 602 f. ἦτις ἐκ δόμων | τὸν σὸν λιποῦσα Φίλιον (*sc.* Δία) ἐξεκώμασε | κ.τ.λ., *Hec.* 345 (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2).

⁴ Menand. *ἀνδρόγυνοσ frag.* 6 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 85 Meineke) *ap.* Phot. *lex. s.v.* Φίλιος Ζεύς = Soud. *s.v.* Φίλιος... μαρτύρομαι τὸν Φίλιον, ὦ Κράτων, Δία, Loukian. *Τοχαρ.* 11 f. ΜΝΗΣ. ὁμοίμεθα, εἰ τι καὶ ὄρκου δεῖν νομίζεις. τίς δέ σοι τῶν ἡμετέρων θεῶν—ἄρ' ἱκανὸς ὁ Φίλιος; ΤΟΞ. καὶ μάλα... ΜΝΗΣ. ἴστω τοίνυν ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Φίλιος, ἦ μὴν κ.τ.λ., schol. rec. Soph. *Αἰ.* 492 p. 211, 6 ff. ἐφέστιον Διὸς· τοῦ τιμωμένου ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ ἐφορῶντος τὴν συνόκλησιν ἡμῶν. Ἐφέστιον Δία προτείνουσι οἱ συνοικοῦντες· οἱ δὲ φίλοι Φίλιον· οἱ δὲ ἐν μῆϊ τάξει καταλεγόμενοι καὶ μᾶ συμμορία, Ἐταιρεῖον· οἱ δὲ ξένοι, Ξένιον· οἱ δὲ ἐν ὄρκοις συμφωνίας ποιοῦντες, Ὀρκιον· οἱ δὲ δεόμενοι, Ἰκέσιον· οἱ δὲ ἀδελφοί, Ὀμόγγιον = schol. Eur. *Hec.* 345.

⁵ Phrynichos the 'Atticist' (c. 180 A.D.) in Bekker *anecd.* i. 34, 14 (cited *supra* p. 1092 n. 8), *ib.* i. 71, 7 Φίλιος· ὁ φίλιασ ἐφοροσ θεός, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Φίλιος Ζεύς = Soud. *s.v.* Φίλιος· ὁ τὰ περὶ τὰσ φίλιασ ἐπισκοπῶν, *et. mag.* p. 793, 43 Φίλιος Ζεύς· ὁ τὰ περὶ τῆσ φίλιασ (F. Sylburg *cj.* τὴν φίλιαν) ἐπισκοπῶν, Olympiod. *in Plat. Gorg.* 500 B (published by

have all men dwell together in amity¹. A title with such claims to popularity was naturally included among the stock epithets of Zeus².

An oblong slab of limestone found in the precinct of Asklepios at Epidauros bears a dedication to Zeus *Phílios* 'in accordance with a dream' and adds, as symbol of the god, a branch of olive or oak enclosed in a circle³. It must not be

A. Jahn in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* Suppl. 1848 xiv. 364 f.) ἐπὶ τῶν ἐφορον τῆς φίλιας φέρει αὐτὸν, ἵνα εἰδῶς ὅτι θεὸς ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς φίλιας προστάτης μὴ πάλιν παῖξῃ· ὁ γὰρ παῖξων εἰς φίλον τὸν προστάτην ταύτης θεὸν παῖζει, schol. Plat. *Gorg.* 500 B Διὸς ἦν ἐπώνυμον παρ' Ἀθηναίους ὁ Φίλιος, ἐκ τοῦ εἶναι τῶν φιλικῶν καθηκόντων αὐτὸν ἐφορον, Thom. Mag. *eccl. voc. Att.* p. 382 Ritschl Φίλιος ὁ τῆς φίλιας ἐφορος θεός, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1188, 57 Φίλιος, ὁ φίλιας ἐφορος, p. 1832, 62 f. Φίλιος Ζεὺς, ὁ τὰ περὶ τῆς φίλιας ἐπισκοπῶν. With these scholastic definitions 'cp. such passages as Liban. *epist.* 19 καὶ ταύτην τίνομεν τῷ Φιλίῳ τὴν δίκην ὅτι δὴ φίλων ἡμῶν ἐφάνη τι τιμώτερον, 1204 ὑπέμνησα Φίλιου Διὸς and context.

¹ Dion Chrys. *or.* 1 p. 56 f. Reiske Ζεὺς γὰρ...ἐπονομάζεται...καὶ Φιλίος τε καὶ Ἐταιρείος... Φίλιος δὲ καὶ Ἐταιρείος ὅτι πάντας ἀνθρώπους ξυνάγει καὶ βούλεται εἶναι ἀλλήλους φίλους, ἐχθρὸν δὲ ἢ πολέμιον μηδένα = *or.* 12 p. 412 f. Reiske Ζεὺς γὰρ...ὀνομάζεται...καὶ Φίλιος καὶ Ἐταιρείος... Φίλιος δὲ καὶ Ἐταιρείος ὅτι πάντας ἀνθρώπους ξυνάγει καὶ βούλεται φίλους εἶναι ἀλλήλους, ἐχθρὸν δὲ ἢ πολέμιον οὐδένα οὐδενός, Eustath. *in magnam quadragessimam orationem graecaratorum* 44 (= Eustath. *opusc.* p. 86 Tafel) πονηροὶ οἱ μὴ ἀγαπῶντες· πονηροὶ δὲ ὁ Φίλιος οὐ προσίεται.

² Aristot. *de mund.* 7. 401 a 22 ἑταιρείος τε καὶ φίλιος καὶ ξένιος = Stob. *eccl.* 1. 1. 36 p. 45, 19 f. Wachsmuth (translated by Apul. *de mund.* 37 alii Hospitalem Amicalemque), Loukian. *Tim.* 1 TIM. ὦ Ζεῦ φίλιε καὶ ξένιε καὶ ἑταιρείε καὶ ἐφέστιε καὶ ἀστεροπητῆ καὶ ὄρκιε καὶ νεφεληγερέτα καὶ ἐρίγδονπε καὶ εἰ τί σε ἄλλο οἱ ἐμβρόντητοι ποιηταὶ καλοῦσι, καὶ μάλιστα θῆαν ἀπορῶσι πρὸς τὰ μέτρα, Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 288 Φύξιος δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ Φίλιος καὶ Ἐταιρείος καὶ Ἐφέστιος καὶ Ὀμόγνιος καὶ ἄλλα μυρία καλεῖται πρὸς τὰ συμβαίνοντα καὶ γινόμενα καὶ μετονομαζόμενος· κ.τ.λ., Achilles (Tatios) *comment. frag. in Arat. phaen.* 2 f. p. 84, 16 ff. Maass λέγεται γὰρ καὶ βουλαῖος Ζεὺς καὶ ξένιος καὶ ἑταιρείος (*leg. ἑταιρείος*) φίλιος φυτάλμιος ἐπικάρπιος, schol. Arat. p. 332, 10 f. Maass ὡς εἰσι (φασί) γενέτωρ φράτριος ὁμόγνιος ἑταιρείος φίλιος ἰκέσιος ξένιος ἀγοραῖος βουλαῖος βρονταῖος καὶ τὰ ὅμοια (*sc. ἐπίθετα Διὸς*), Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 267 no. 100 φίλιου (*sc. Διὸς*), 274 φίλιος (*sc. Ζεὺς*), 282 φίλιος (*sc. Ζεὺς*).

In particular the epithets Ξένιος καὶ Φίλιος are often combined: Plout. *v. Arat.* 54 δίκας γε μὴν ὁ Φίλιππος οὐ μεμπτὰς Διὶ Ξενίῳ καὶ Φιλίῳ τῆς ἀνοσιουργίας ταύτης τίνων διετέλεσε, Himer. *or.* 6. 3 φέρε οὖν κἀνταῦθα Φιλίῳ Διὶ κρατῆρα στήσωμεν καὶ τὸν Ξενίου βωμὸν λόγων ξενίας ἀμείψωμεν, Ioul. *or.* 8 p. 327, 8 ff. Hertlein ἀγοι μὲν θεὸς ἐυμένης, ὅποι ποτ' ἂν δέη πορεύεσθαι, Ξένιος δὲ ὑποδέχοιτο καὶ Φίλιος εἵνους, Heliod. *Aeth.* 6. 2 πρὸς Ξενίων καὶ Φιλίων θεῶν, schol. Eur. *Hec.* 791 χθονίους μὲν (*sc. οὐ δείσας*) διὰ τὸ ἀταφον εἶσαι φοιροῦσαντα, οὐρανίους δὲ διὰ τὸν Ξένιον καὶ Φίλιον Δία (here actually contrasted with the chthonian powers!), schol. Eur. *Andr.* 603 Φίλιον... ἢ λείπει τὸ Δία, ἴν' ἢ Φίλιον Δία, ὡς Ξένιον Δία, schol. Aristoph. *cp.* 500 Ζεὺς Ἀγοραῖος· ὡς Ζεὺς Ξένιος ἢ Μειλίχιος ἢ Φίλιος, οὕτω καὶ Ἀγοραῖος.

See also Aineias of Gaza *epist.* 8, Prokop. *epist.* 15, Eumath. 3. 9, 5. 18 (*supra* p. 114 i n. 13). And cp. Loukian. *Prom.* s. *Caucas.* 6 πᾶν φιλανθρώπων τοῦ Διὸς πεπειραμένους.

³ P. Kabbadias in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1883 p. 31 no. 12, *id.* *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 60 no. 161, M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1296 [Δ]ι Φιλίῳ | Πύροιοι | κατ' ὄναρ with the numeral νθ' and the symbol ☉ in circle, on which see *supra* p. 1076 f. The garland of Zeus *Phílios* is mentioned in an inscription from Kyrene (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 5173, 3 ff. = Kaibel *Épigr. Gr.* no. 873, 1 ff. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 280. 1 ff. ἀ[γ]ρεῖ δ' Ἀρτεμῖς ἀ[γ]ροστέ[ρη], καλοῖς ἐνὶ [πέπλ]οις, | Μαρκιανὴν ἱερῷ δερκομένη (θ)[αλῶμω] | οὐ[δ] Δ[ι]ὸς ἀρητῆρ [ἡρᾶ]το, πατῆρ ἱερῶν, | [ἀρ]τ[ι] π[υ]κ[νὸν] Φιλί(ο) [σ]τέμ[μα] ἀ[να]θησάμενος· | κ.τ.λ. The restoration is doubtful: see G. Kaibel and E. Cougny *ad loc.*).

hastily assumed that Zeus *Phillios* was only another name for Asklepios¹, though the two deities were certainly of similar origin and somewhat similar character.

But we have yet to notice three remarkable cults of Zeus *Phillios* at Megalopolis in Arkadia, at Pergamon in Mysia, and at Antiocheia on the Orontes, respectively.

(3) Zeus *Phillios* at Megalopolis.

Pausanias in describing the enclosure sacred to the Greek Goddesses at Megalopolis says:

‘Within the precinct is a temple of Zeus *Phillios*. The image is by Polykleitos the Argive and resembles Dionysos; for its feet are shod with buskins and it has a cup in one hand, a *thýrsos* in the other. On the *thýrsos* is perched an eagle, though this does not agree with what is told of Dionysos. Behind the said temple is a small grove of trees surrounded by a wall. People are not allowed to enter it, but before it are images of Demeter and Kore some three feet in height. Within the precinct of the Great Goddesses there is also a sanctuary of Aphrodite².’

So the temple of Zeus *Phillios* had a grove of awful sanctity behind it, over which Demeter and Kore mounted guard. I take this to mean that Zeus *Phillios*, himself a chthonian god, was reckoned as the consort of these chthonian goddesses, and was held to be jointly responsible with them for the yearly yield of corn and wine. Hence his approximation to the type of Dionysos. The singular Dionysiac Zeus is attributed by J. Overbeck³ to Polykleitos the younger on the ground that his more famous namesake was dead and buried years before the foundation of Megalopolis (371—368 B.C.). But H. Brunn⁴ suggested that the statue was a work of Polykleitos the elder, brought from some other Arcadian town to grace the new federal centre. Two arguments incline me towards Brunn’s view. In the first place, Pausanias is elsewhere careful to distinguish the younger sculptor from his more illustrious predecessor⁵, so that, rightly or wrongly, our author must have meant the elder Polykleitos. In the second place, Polykleitos the elder, bowing to the authority of local tradition, represented Hera with a highly peculiar sceptre⁶: he may well have done the same for this cult-statue of Zeus. It is not, however, necessary to suppose with Brunn that the statue was brought from another town: cult-statues are not easily transplanted. I should rather conceive of the situation as follows. Megalopolis had a quarter or, as Stephanos the geographer says, a ‘half’ called *Orestía* after Orestes⁷, who had spent a year of exile in the *Orésteion*⁸. Now in the only other *Orésteion* known

¹ Cp. *supra* p. 1076 ff.

² Paus. 8. 31. 4 f. (*supra* i. 112 n. 2) τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐστὶν ἐντὸς Φιλίου Διὸς ναὸς, Πολυκλείτου μὲν τοῦ Ἀργείου τὸ ἄγαλμα, Διονύσω δὲ ἐμπερές· κόθοροί τε γὰρ τὰ ὑποδήματά ἐστιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἔχει τῇ χειρὶ ἔκπωμα, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρα θύρσον, κάθηται δὲ ἀετὸς ἐπὶ τῷ θύρσῳ· καίτοι γε τοῖς (R. Porson cj. τοῖς γε) ἐς Διόνυσον λεγομένοις τοῦτο οὐχ ὁμολογοῦν ἐστί. τούτου δὲ ὀπισθεν τοῦ ναοῦ δένδρων ἐστὶν ἄλσος οὐ μέγα, θρηγκῶ περιεχόμενον. ἐς μὲν δὴ τὸ ἐντὸς ἔσοδος οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις· πρὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ Δῆμητρος καὶ Κόρης ὅσον τε ποδῶν τριῶν εἰσιν (Siebelis cj. ἐστὶν) ἀγάλματα. ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τῶν Μεγάλων Θεῶν καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν.

³ Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 51 f., 228 ff., 563, *Gr. Plastik*⁴ i. 533, 537.

⁴ H. Brunn in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1880 p. 468 f.

⁵ Paus. 6. 6. 2.

⁶ *Supra* i. 134 f., ii. 893 n. 2.

⁷ Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Μεγάλη πόλις.

⁸ Eur. *Or.* 1643 ff. with schol. See N. Wedd *ad loc.* and Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 413.

to us Orestes and Pylades were revered by the Scythians as *Phílioi Daímones*¹. Not impossibly, therefore, the Arcadian Orestes likewise was a *Phílios Daímon* worshipped after his death as Zeus *Phílios*. Orestes was the son of Agamemnon; and it is probable enough that he, like his father², was remembered as a human Zeus. His name *Oréstes*, whatever its origin³, would pass muster as a title of Zeus the mountain-god⁴. In any case there was good reason for the retention of this pre-Megalopolitan cult: the appellative *Phílios* was a most desirable omen for a town which combined the inhabitants of some forty Arcadian villages⁵.

(4) Zeus *Phílios* at Pergamon.

From Arkadia we pass to Pergamon. 'The Pergamenes themselves,' says Pausanias, 'claim to be Arcadians of the band which crossed into Asia with Telephos⁶.' It is not, therefore, surprising to find that Pergamon too had its cult of Zeus *Phílios*. An inscribed block from the wall of the *Traianeum* speaks of that splendid structure (fig. 979)⁷ as the temple of Iupiter *Amicalis* and the emperor Trajan. The inscription is probably of 113—114 A.D. and intimates that, thanks to the liberality of one Iulius Quadratus, the joint cult is to be honoured with a penteteric festival, which shall take rank with the existing Pergamene festival of Roma and Augustus⁸. The competitions thus established

¹ In Loukian. *Toxar.* 7 the Scythian states that his compatriots honour Orestes and Pylades on account of their mutual loyalty and devotion, adding *καὶ τοῦνομα ἐπὶ τοῦτοις αὐτῶν ἐθέμεθα Κοράκουσ καλεῖσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φωνῇ ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ τις λέγοι 'Φίλιοι Δαίμονες.'* He also mentions a bronze tablet in the *Orésteion* inscribed with the tale of their sufferings, which Scythian children had to get by heart, and ancient paintings on the temple-wall illustrating the record. Possibly *Κόρακοι* = (*Διόσ*)*κοροὶ*.

² *Supra* Append. I.

³ Recent discussion of Orestes and his myth is conveniently summarised by Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 pp. 576 ff., 620 ff.

⁴ *Supra* i. 100 ff., 117 ff., ii. Append. B.

⁵ Diod. 15. 72, Paus. 8. 27. 3 ff. Prof. J. B. Bury in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 19 says of the temples enumerated by Pausanias at Megalopolis: 'Those which he saw on the north side [of the river Helisson] suggest no federal association.' Is not this to ignore the obvious connotation of the title *Phílios*?

⁶ Paus. 1. 4. 6. See further W. Ridgeway *The Early Age of Greece* Cambridge 1901 i. 180 f. and A. C. Pearson on Soph. *Muscol frag.* 409 ff. Jebb.

Orestes enters into the myth of Telephos (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 958—961) and is figured on the small inner frieze of the grand altar of Zeus (H. Winnefeld in *Pergamon* iii. 2. 191 f., 219, 223, 228, Beilage 6, D, 7, 42, pl. 33, 4; Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*⁴ ii. 285 fig. 201 c, C. Robert in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1887 ii. 245 ff. fig. D, *id. ib.* 1888 iii. 104, A. Trendelenburg in Baumeister *Denkm.* ii. 1271 f. fig. 1429, O. Höfer *loc. cit.* p. 960).

⁷ *Pergamon* v. 2. 1—54 with numerous illustrations and an Atlas of plates (my fig. 979 is after pl. 34 the restored view) forms a monograph on the *Traianeum* by H. Stiller. See also E. Pontremoli and M. Collignon *Pergame, restauration et description des monuments de l'acropole* Paris 1900 pp. 153—160 with figs. and pls. 11 f.

⁸ T. Mommsen in the *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 7086, 18 ff. = M. Fränkel *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* (= *Pergamon* viii. 2) Berlin 1895 ii. 203 ff. no. 269, 9 ff. with facsimile [placere ut certamen illud,] quod in honorem templi Iovis Amicalis et | [Imp. Caes. divi Nervae f. Ner]vae Traiani Augusti Germanici Dacici | [pontif. max. est const]titutum *εισελαστικὸν* in civitate | [Pergamenorum, eiusdem cond]ditionis sit, cuius est, quod in honorem Romae | [et divi Aug. ibi agitur, it]a ut ea impendia, quae propter id certamen | [fieri oportebit, cedant in] onus Iuli Quadrati clarissimi viri | [eorumque a]d quos ea res pertinebit. The official description *ib.* 13 = 5 [*ἀγῶν δεῦτ*]ερος παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπερὶ

are called in another inscription the Traianeia Deiphleia¹. From the double nomenclature and from the absence of earlier foundations beneath the temple M. Fränkel justly infers that the cult of Trajan was superposed on a previously existing cult of Zeus *Phlios* (Latinised as *Iupiter Amicalis*), who formerly had

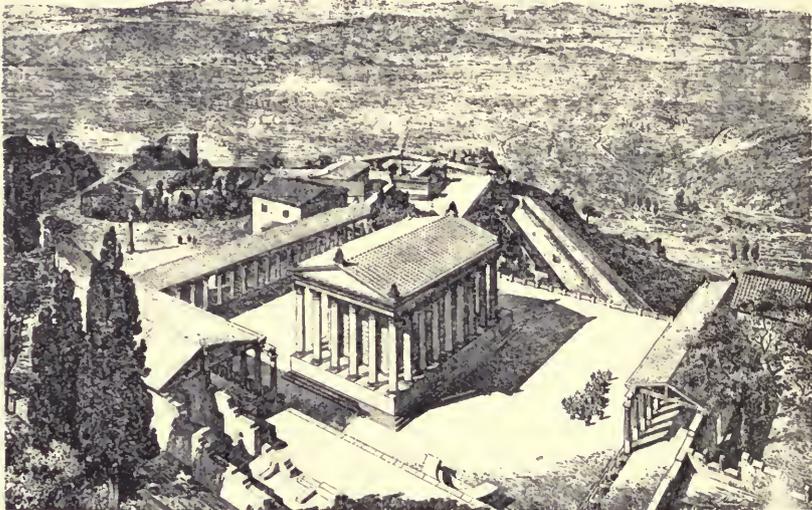


Fig. 979.

no temple but only an open-air altar²—presumably that detected by J. Schrammen on the highest point of the hill³. When it was decided to institute the cult of Trajan, who himself had some pretensions to the name of Zeus⁴, the best

is borne out by Dion Cass. 51. 20 καὶ ἔλαβον καὶ οἱ Περγαμηνοὶ τῶν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἱερὸν ὀνομασμένον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ναοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. Αὐγούστου) τιμῇ ποιεῖν.

¹ E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* iii. 2. 233 f. Oxford 1890 no. 605, 9 Τραϊάνεια Δειφίλεια ἐν Περγάμῳ ἀνδρῶν πυγμαίων*, where Hicks wrongly supposes that the games ‘may have been endowed by one Δειφίλος (sic)’. Δειφίλεια, as M. Fränkel *loc. cit.* saw, are the games of Zeus Φίλιος.

² M. Fränkel *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* (= *Pergamon* viii. 2) Berlin 1895 ii. 206.

³ *Supra* i. 120 f. fig. 89.

⁴ A fragmentary inscription from Hermione speaks of Trajan as Zeus *Embatérios* (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1213 = *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 701 ----- | [K]αίσαρα θεὸν θεο[ῦ] | Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν | Δακικόν, Δία Ἐμβατήριον, (ἡ πόλις). L. Dindorf in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iii. 810 A cp. Apollon Ἐμβάσιος (O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2485) and Ἐπιβατήριος (*id. ib.* vi. 28). We can contrast Apollon Ἐκβάσιος (*id. ib.* v. 2155), Artemis Ἐκβατήρια (*id. ib.* v. 2158). Such epithets denote a deity invoked by the voyager before he embarks or after he disembarks, as the case may be. The deity in question might chance to be of mortal stock : on the quay at Alexandria was τὸ λεγόμενον Σεβάσιον, Ἐπιβατηρίου Καίσαρος νεῶς (Philon *leg. ad Gai.* 22 : see further O. Puchstein in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1385, O. Jessen *ib.* vi. 28). Hesych. Ἐπιβήμιος : Ζεὺς ἐν Σίφῳ has been wrongly added to this group of travel-titles (O. Jessen *ib.* vi. 28), or altered to Ἐπιδήμιος (R. Förster in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 xix. 372 f., citing a marble block at *Karadjadagh-Köi* on the *Ulutshar* in Bithynia, which is inscribed Διὶ Ἐπιδημίῳ | Κλαύδιου(ς) Σεήρου | Ὀφελίων οἰκονόμος κ(αὶ) Ἥλιος | ὑπὲρ τέκνων | κ(αὶ) τῶν βοῶν | εὐχῆς χάρις | ἀνεστήσα(μεν) : Zeus ‘on the Step’ is better explained as a god standing beside the

course seemed to be to maintain the old altar of ashes on the hill-top and to erect a new temple, which should be shared on equal terms by Zeus *Phllios* and the divinised emperor. Copper coins of Pergamon, struck by Trajan, illustrate the inscription from the *Traianeum* in two ways. On the one hand, they put



Fig. 980.



Fig. 981.



Fig. 982.

Trajan himself more or less on a par with Zeus *Phllios*. Thus the emperor's head occupies the obverse, the god's head the reverse, of a coin (fig. 980)¹. Or, the emperor's head on the obverse is balanced by a seated figure of the god on the reverse (fig. 982)². Or, the emperor in military costume stands beside the

orator on his platform and inspiring his utterance (cp. Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 207, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 162). *Supra* p. 897 n. 3.

The southern or townward face of Trajan's Arch at Beneventum, which like the Pergamene temple dates from the year 113—114, represents in the two panels of its attic (a) the Capitoline triad awaiting the arrival of Trajan: Iuno is escorted by Mercurius and Ceres, Minerva by Liber and Hercules; (b) Trajan approaching the *area Capitolina*: accompanied by Hadrian as emperor designate and followed by two lictors, he has reached the temple of Iupiter *Custos*, on the left of which, before the entrance-arch, are seen Roma, the Penates Publici Populi Romani, and the consuls. These two panels, separated only by the dedicatory inscription (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* ix no. 1558 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 296 imp. Caesari divi Nervae filio | Nervae Traiano Optimo Aug. | Germanico Dacico, pontif. max., trib. | potest. XVIII, imp. VII, cos. VI, p. p., | fortissimo principi, senatus p. q. R.), form a single composition—Iupiter handing his own thunderbolt to Trajan, who is thereby recognised as his vice-gerent (figs. 983, 984 are from photographs by R. Moscioni (nos. 15308, 15309)). See further E. Petersen 'L'arco di Traiano a Benevento' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1892 vii. 239—264 with cut, especially p. 251 f., A. L. Frothingham in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1897 p. 379 f., A. von Domaszewski 'Die politische Bedeutung des Traiansbogens in Benevent' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1899 ii. 173—192 with figs., especially p. 175 ff., F. Wickhoff *Roman Art* trans. Mrs. S. A. Strong London 1900 pp. 105—110 with figs., *ead.* *Roman Sculpture* London 1907 pp. 214—227 with pls. 63—66, especially p. 215 f., *ead.* *Apotheosis and the After Life* London 1915 pp. 85—87 pl. 10, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 58—66, especially p. 64 no. 1 f. For the title *Optimus* see *supra* p. 100 n. 6.

The significance of the imperial figure on the summit of Trajan's Column at Rome has been already considered (*supra* p. 100 ff.).

¹ Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 228 Münztaf. 3, 23, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 141 pl. 28, 12, H. Stiller in *Pergamon* v. 2. 53 fig. 2, H. von Fritze in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1910 Phil.-hist. Classe Anhang i. 55 pl. 4, 5. I figure a specimen from my collection: obv. ΑΥΤΤΡΙΑ ΝΟCCCBΛ, rev. ΣΕΥC ΦΙΛΙΟC (= obv. Αὐτοκράτωρ Τραϊανὸς Σεβαστὸς, rev. Ζεὺς Φίλιος).

² Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 872, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 141 no. 259, H. Stiller in *Pergamon* v. 2. 53 fig. 1 = my fig. 982, H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 55 pl. 4, 4: obv. ΑΥΤΤΡΙΑ ΝΟCCCBACT, rev. ΦΙΛΙΟCΣΕΥC ΠΕΡΓΑ (= obv. Αὐτοκράτωρ

seated god within the same temple (fig. 981)¹. On the other hand, the coins equate the cult of Zeus *Philius* and Trajan with the cult of Roma and Augustus. The obverse shows Zeus *Philius* and Trajan in their temple, the reverse Roma



Fig. 983.

and Augustus in theirs². Or, the obverse has Trajan, the reverse Augustus, as sole occupants of their respective fances³.

Τραϊανὸς Σεβαστός, rev. Φίλιος Ζεὸς Περγαμηνῶν). A copper of Lucius Verus gives the reverse type on a larger scale (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 148 no. 293, II. Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 55 pl. 4, 6) with the legend: ΕΠΙΣΤΡΑΑΤΥΛ... ΚΡΑ ΤΙΠΠΟΥΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝΒ ΝΕΟΚΟΡ (= ἐπὶ στρατηγῶ Ἀτυλλίου Κρατίππου, Περγαμηνῶν β' νεωκέρων).

¹ Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 872, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 142 no. 262, H. Stiller in *Pergamon* v. 2. 53 fig. 3 = my fig. 981: rev. ΦΙΛΙΟΣ ΖΕΥΣ ΤΡΑΙΑ ΝΟΣΠΕΡΓ ΑΜΗΝΩΝ. Cp. a copper of Traianus Decius (H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 55 pl. 8, 18).

² Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 872 ff., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 142 pl. 28, 10, H. Stiller in *Pergamon* v. 2. 53 fig. 5, H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* pp. 55, 83 ff. pl. 8, 12: obv. ΦΙΛΙΟΣ ΣΕΥΣ ΑΥΤ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟ ΣΕΒΠΕ[Ρ] or ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗ, rev. ΘΕΛ ΡΩΜΗ [Κ]Λ[ΙΘ]Ε[Ω] ΣΕΒΑΣ ΤΩ.

³ Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 873, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 142 pl. 28, 11, *Hunter*

The cult of Zeus *Phlios* on the mountain at Pergamon was, if I am right in my conjecture¹, derived from the cult of Zeus *Phlios* the 'Mountaineer'² of Megalopolis. But the original connexion with *Oréstes* had long since been for-



Fig. 984.

gotten, or at best left a mere trace of itself in the traditional link between *Orestes* and *Telephos*³. It was, however, remembered that Zeus *Phlios* somehow stood for the founder of the state. This may be inferred from the fact that, when

Cat. Coins ii. 282 no. 57, H. Stiller in *Pergamon* v. 2. 53 fig. 4, H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 84 pl. 8, 17: obv. ΣΤ ΡΡΩ ΛΙΩΝΟΣ ΤΡΑΙΑ ΝΟ C or ΣΤΡΡΩΛΛΙ ΩΝΟCΤΡΑΙΑ ΝΟCΕΠΙ, rev. ΑΥΓ Ο V CΤΟC ΠΕΡΓΑ (= obv. ἐπὶ στρατηγού Πωλλωνος· Τραϊάνος, rev. Αὔγουστος· Περγαμηνῶν).

¹ *Supra* p. 1179.

² *Supra* p. 1178 f.

³ *Supra* p. 1179 n. 6. Note that Τήλεφος, a clipped form of Τηλεφάνης (F. Bechtel—A. Fick *Die Griechischen Personennamen*² Göttingen 1894 p. 374) was, like 'Ορέστης (*supra* p. 1179), a name which would fitly describe a mountain-god (cp. *Od.* 24. 83, *Aristoph. nub.* 281, *Menand. Λευκαδία frag.* 1, 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 158 f. Meineke) *ap.* Strab. 452, and the like).

the Pergamenes invented an eponymous hero Pergamos¹, they portrayed him (fig. 985)² with the features of Zeus *Phlios*.

Whether Zeus *Phlios* at Pergamon was in any sense Dionysiac, we can hardly determine. A *phidie* in his hand (figs. 981, 982) is no proof. Nor can we lay stress on the curious association of Telephos with the vine³. The most we



Fig. 985.



Fig. 986.

can say is that a buskined Zeus of the Arcadian type⁴ would not be out of place in a town which recognised Zeus *Subázios*⁵ and Zeus *Bákchos*⁶.

Popular enthusiasm, or policy, having thus raised the emperor to the level of Zeus *Phlios*, went a step further and identified the two. An alliance-coin of Thyateira and Pergamon (fig. 986)⁷ surrounds the laureate bust of Trajan with

¹ H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 69 n. 1 points out that Pergamos is first mentioned as founder of the state in two mutually complementary inscriptions of c. 50 B.C. published together by H. Hepding in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1909 xxxiv. 329 ff.: *ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν | Μιθραδάτην Μηροδότην τὸν διὰ γένους ἀρχιερέ[α] | καὶ ἱερέα τοῦ Καθηγεμόνου Διονύσου διὰ γένου[ς,] | ἀπο[κα]ταστήσαντα τοῖς πατρίοις θεοῖς τ[ὴν τε πόλιν] | καὶ τ[ὴν] χώραν καὶ γενόμενον τῆς πατρίδος μ[ε]τὰ Πέργαμον | καὶ Φιλέταιρον νέον κτίστην and ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν | [Μιθραδάτην] Μηροδότην διὰ γένου[ς] ἀρχιερέα | καὶ ἱερέα τοῦ Καθηγεμόνου Διονύσου, ἀποκαταστήσαντα | τοῖς πατρίοις θεοῖς τῆν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ γενόμενον | τῆς πατρίδος μ[ε]τὰ Π[ε]ργαμόν καὶ Φιλέταιρον νέον κτίστην. On the hero Pergamos and his cult see further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1958 f.*

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 136 pl. 28, 1, H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 67 pl. 3, 14 and 19=my fig. 985, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 536: quasi-autonomous coppers inscribed ΠΕΡΓΑΜΟΣ and ΠΕΡΓΑΜΟΣ ΚΤΙΣΤΗΣ.

³ When the Greeks sailed against Troy, they lost their way and attacked Mysia by mistake. Telephos, king of the Mysians, went out against the invaders and slew many of them, but fled before Achilles and, tripping over a vine, was wounded in the thigh by that hero's spear (Apollod. *epit.* 3. 17). This occurred because Dionysos was angry with Telephos for depriving him of his due honours (schol. *Il.* 1. 59 f., cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 46, 35 ff. (Telephos' horse stumbles over a vine by the design of Dionysos), Tzetz. *in Lyk. Al.* 211 (Dionysos repays Achilles' sacrifices by causing to spring up a vine-shoot, which entangles Telephos), Dictys Cretensis 2. 3 (Telephus, pursued by Ulysses among the vineyards, trips over a vine-stem and is speared by Achilles in the left thigh)). The story is given without detail by Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 109 f. δ καὶ Μύσιον ἀμπελόεν | αἰμαξε Τηλέφου μέλαν ῥαίνων φόνω πεδίον. On the golden vine presented to Telephos' wife Astyoche by Prianos see *supra* p. 281 n. 4.

⁴ *Supra* p. 1178.

⁵ *Supra* p. 287 n. 2.

⁶ *Supra* pp. 287 n. 2, 954 n. o.

⁷ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia* p. 320 pl. 41, 5 (my fig. 986 is from a cast of the coin), H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 100: ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΟΥ ΚΤΙΣΤΟΥ Ν[ΩΝ]ΑΝ ΤΕΙ ΤΕΙ ΘΗΟΝΟΙΑ ΔΑΚΙΦΙΛΙΟΝ ΔΙΑ (=αὐτοκράτορα Νέρουαν Τραϊανὸν Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν Δακικὸν Φίλιον Δία).

the cunningly-worded legend: 'The emperor Nerva Traianus [Augustus] Germanicus Dacicus Zeus *Phlios*.' The mind of the reader passes upward from names of human import through titles recording hard blows struck and magnificent triumphs won to the final claim of supreme beneficent godhead. Moreover, the whole is thrown into the accusative case with a subtle suggestion of some verb denoting honour, if not worship¹. Adulation of the man has reached its limit. And, after all, a god who starts as a buried king ends not unfittingly as a divinised emperor.

Pergamon, in common with other cities of Asia Minor, frankly regarded the reigning sovereign as lord of heaven and earth, and did not hesitate to portray him in this capacity as a cosmic Zeus. A wonderful copper piece from the Pergamene mint (fig. 987)² exhibits Commodus in the form of a youthful Zeus with short hair and slight beard, naked and erect, a thunderbolt in his right hand, a sceptre in his left. He has an eagle with spread wings at his feet, and is flanked by two recumbent figures—Gaia on the right with a turreted crown and a *cornu copiae*, Thalassa on the left with a head-dress of crab's-claws and a steering paddle. In the field are busts of Helios and Selene. A unique coin, struck at Pergamon and now in the cabinet of T. Prowe at Moscow (fig. 988)³, repeats the theme with variations.

Thalassa and Gaia stand side by side, the former with bare breast, crab's-claws on her head, and a steering paddle in her uplifted hand, the latter with covered



Fig. 987.



Fig. 988.



Fig. 989.

¹ G. F. Hill *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* London 1899 p. 186, G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 pp. 161, 170, H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 78 ff.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia* p. 151 pl. 30, 4 = my fig. 987: rev. [ΕΠΙ]ΣΤΡΜΑΙΓ Λ ΥΚΩΝΙΑΝ[ΟΥ] ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩ ΝΝΕΟΚΟΡΩ Ν·Β (=ἐπὶ στρατηγῶν Μ. Αἰλίου Γλυκωνιανοῦ, Περγαμηνῶν νεωκῶρων β'). H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 56 f. pl. 4, 7 publishes another specimen from the Gotha collection.

³ H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 56 f. pl. 4, 11: rev. ΕΠΙΣΤΡ ΜΗΝΟ Γ ΕΝΟΥΣ·Β· ΝΕΩ[ΚΟ] ΡΩΝ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝ ΩΝ (=ἐπὶ στρατηγῶν Μηνογένους, β' νεωκῶρων Περγαμηνῶν).

breast, wheat-ears on her head, and a *cornu copiae* on her arm. Both join hands to support a nude, youthful Zeus with the features of Geta, who holds a sceptre in his left hand and brandishes a thunderbolt in his right. Below him is his eagle with spread wings, grasping a wreath in his talons. Further variations are found on another unique copper, struck by Caracalla at Laodikeia in Phrygia and now in our national collection (fig. 989)¹. Gaia and Thalassa have changed places: behind the one corn-ears spring from the ground; behind the other a dolphin plunges into the sea. On their joined hands, instead of Zeus, stands Caracalla with a radiate crown on his head holding *phiale* and sceptre, while beneath him hovers his eagle bearing a wreath.

(5) Zeus *Phlios* at Antiocheia.

Lastly, we turn to Antiocheia on the Orontes, where the worship of Zeus *Phlios* was established by Theoteknos, governor of the city under Maximinus ii and an apostate from the Christian faith². Eusebios in his *Ecclesiastical History*³ pens an ugly portrait of this persecutor⁴:

‘The root of all the mischief grew in Antiocheia itself⁵—Theoteknos, a horror, a humbug, and a villain, whose character belied his name; he was supposed to keep the town in order. He set all his forces against us. He threw himself with zest into the task of hunting our people out of their holes and corners in every possible way, as though they had been a gang of thieves and malefactors. He went all lengths in slandering and accusing us. And, after causing tens of thousands to be put to death, he finally set up an idol of Zeus *Phlios* with a deal of quackery and imposture. He invented foul rites for it, initiations of an irreligious sort, and abominable modes of purification. He even exhibited before the emperor the portentous signs by means of which it was supposed to produce oracles⁶.’

Theoteknos may well have augured a great success for his new cult, partly on general and partly on special grounds.

On the one hand, the Antiochenes had always been devoted to the worship of Zeus. Long before their city was built, Triptolemos—so they said—had founded Ione on the slope of Mount Silpion and had constructed there a sanctuary of Zeus *Némeios*, later renamed Zeus *Epikdrprios*⁷. Subsequently Perseus

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia* p. 316 pl. 37, 12 (= my fig. 989), H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 57: rev. ΕΠΙ·Π·ΑΙΛ ΠΙΓΡΗ ΤΟC ΑCΙΑΡΓ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝΝ ΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ· (ἐπὶ Π. Αἰλίου Πιγρητος Ἀσιάρχου γ', Λαοδικέων νεωκέρων).

² G. T. Stokes in Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iv. 1011.

³ Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 9. 2 f.

⁴ In 304 A.D. he did to death S. Theodotos and the Seven Virgins of Ankyra (*Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Maii iv. 147—165, T. Ruinart *Acta primorum martyrum sincera & selecta*² Amstelædami 1713 pp. 336—352, A. Gallandius *Bibliotheca veterum patrum antiquorumque scriptorum ecclesiasticorum* Venetiis 1768 iv. 114—130).

⁵ We have here a buried hexameter: ὦν πάντων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ἀντιοχείας.

⁶ Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 9. 3 τελευτῶν εἰδωλὸν τι Διὸς Φιλίου μαργαρελαῖς τισὶ καὶ γοητελαῖς ἰδρύεται, τελετὰς τε ἀνάγνους αὐτῶ καὶ μνήσεις ἀκαλλιερέτους ἐξαγίστους τε καθαρμῶς ἐπινοήσας, μέχρι καὶ βασιλέως τὴν τερατεῖαν δι' ὧν ἐδόκει χρησμῶν (*leg.* χρησμοῦς) ἐκτελεῖν ἐπεδείκνυτο. Cp. the loose translation of Rufin. *hist. eccl.* 9. 3 apud Antiochiam simulacrum quoddam Iovis Amicalis nuper consecratum artibus quibusdam magicis et impuris consecrationibus ita compositum erat, ut falleret oculos intuentium et portenta quaedam ostentare videretur ac responsa proferre. C. F. Crusé renders τελετὰς τε ἀνάγνους κ.τ.λ. ‘after reciting forms of initiation’ etc., clearly taking ἀνάγνους to be ἀναγρούς—an ingenious error.

⁷ Liban. *or.* 11. 51 (i. 2. 453, 1 ff. Foerster), *supra* i. 236 n. 10. Cp. *Chron. Paschale*

visited Ione and, when a storm burst so that the river Orontes, then called Drakon, overflowed its banks, bade the inhabitants pray for deliverance. Thereupon a ball of lightning fell from the sky and stopped at once the downpour and the flood. Perseus kindled a fire from the blaze, took it to his own palace in Persia, and taught the Persians to reverence it as divine. He also established for the men of Ione a sanctuary of Immortal Fire¹. In the Hellenistic age this sanctuary on Mount Silpion was known as that of Zeus *Keraúnios*². Again, the foundation of Antiocheia itself was directly associated with the cult of Zeus. Libanios in his panegyric of the town says³:

'The settlement began with Zeus *Bottiaios*⁴, erected by Alexander, and the hill called Emathia after Alexander's home.'

i. 76 Dindorf *ἐκτίσων οὖν ἐκεῖ οἱ ἀπτοῖ Ἰωνῆται ἱερὸν Κρονίωνος* (but see *supra* i. 237 n. 1) *εἰς τὸ Σιλπίων ὄρος* and perhaps Liban. *legat. ad Iulian.* 79 (ii. 152, 10 ff. Foerster) cited *supra* p. 869 n. 1.

Zeus *Némeios* appears on a billon coin of Alexandria with *selinon* (?)-wreath, *aigis*, and star (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 17 no. 130 pl. 1 (=my fig. 990), Head *Hist. num.*² p. 862, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 218, 248, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 116). These coins were struck by Nero in 67—68 A.D. to commemorate his triumphant tour through Greece in 67 A.D. (*Eckhel Doctr. num. vet.*² iv. 53).

As to the title *Ἐπικάρπιος*, my friend Mr G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1915 xxxv. 150 kindly draws my attention to Methodios *ap. et. mag.* p. 58, 20 ff. *Ἀλδήμιος ἢ Ἄλδος, ὁ Ζεὺς, ὃς* (codd. D. Vb. omit *ὃς*) *ἐν Γάζῃ τῆς Συρίας τιμᾶται· παρὰ τὸ ἀλδαῖων, τὸ αὐξάνων· ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐξήσεως τῶν καρπῶν. Μεθόδιος* (οὕτως Μεθόδιος cod. Vb.). Cp. S. Bochart *Geographia sacra, seu Phaleg et Canaan*⁴ Lugduni Batavorum 1707 lib. ii cap. 14 p. 748 'Ego Jovem illum Phoenices linguâ suâ vocasse puto בַּעַל הַחַלְדַּי *baal-halda* dominum sæculi, vel בַּעַל הַחַלְדִּים *baal-aldim* dominum sæculorum'—a most ingenious explanation of the alternatives *Ἄλδος* and *Ἀλδήμιος*.

¹ Pausanias the chronographer (cp. Io. Tzetz. *schol. in exeges. Iliad.* in L. Bachmann *Scholia in Homeri Iliadem* Lipsiae 1835 p. 833, 28 f. Πανσανίας δὲ ὁ ἱστορικὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἄντιοχείας κτίσεως γράφει παλιότερον. κ.τ.λ.) *ap.* Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 37 f. Dindorf = *Chron. Paschale* i. 72 f. Dindorf ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Περσεὺς ἐκτίσεν τοῖς Ἰωνῆταις ἱερὸν, ὃ ἐπωνόμασε πῦρὸς ἀθανάτου.

² Io. Malal. *chron.* 8 p. 199 Dindorf says of Seleukos i Nikator after the foundation of Seleukeia *καὶ εὐχαριστῶν ἀνήλθεν εἰς Ἰώπολιν καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπετέλεσεν ἑορτὴν ἐκεῖ τῷ Κεραυνίῳ Διὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ κτισθέντι ὑπὸ Περσέως τοῦ υἱοῦ Πίκων καὶ Δανάης, τῷ ὄντι εἰς τὸ Σιλπίων ὄρος, ἐνθα κεῖται ἡ Ἰώπολις, ποιήσας τὴν θυσίαν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ Ἄρτεμιεῖος μηνός.*

³ Liban. *or.* 11. 76 (i. 2. 461, 18 ff. Foerster).

⁴ With Zeus *Bottiaios* cp. Zeus *Bórtios* of *Bortia*, a village on the Orontes (Io. Malal. *chron.* 8 p. 200 Dindorf cited *infra* p. 1188), which doubtless claimed connexion with *Bortia*, *Bortiala*, *Bortialis*, the district round Pella in Makedonia (E. Oberhammer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 794 f.). Since the Bottiaeans of Makedonia were said to have been brought by one Botton from Crete (Aristot. *frag.* 443 Rose *ap.* Plout. *v. Thes.* 16 and *quaestt. Gr.* 35, Strab. 279, 282, 329 *frag.* 11, Konon *narr.* 25, *et. mag.* p. 206, 1 ff.), it is possible that Zeus *Bottiaios* was ultimately of Cretan origin. The story of the clay loaves etc. told by Konon *loc. cit.* probably has some basis in Bottiaeian ritual. Coppers struck at Pella, under Philippos v and later (Head *Hist. num.*² p. 243), with the monogram Β (for *Bortraiw*) have obv. head of Zeus wreathed with bay (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia*, etc. p. 13, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 352) or oak (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia*, etc. p. 13 fig., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 352 (?)), rev. winged thunderbolt.



Fig. 990.

Further on he adds¹:

'The whole thing was ordained of God. Forty furlongs from this city of ours there was a city bearing the name of Antigonos and built by Antigonos. Here Seleukos was sacrificing after his victory². The bull had been slaughtered, the altars had received their customary portion, the fire was already licking up the sacrifice and burning fiercely, when, lo, Zeus moved from his sceptre³ his own companion and favourite bird and despatched him to the altar. He flew down into the midst of the flame, caught up the thigh-pieces all ablaze, and bore them off⁴. As the event attracted the looks and thoughts of all and was manifestly due to divine interposition, Seleukos bade his son⁵ mount a horse, pursue the flight from the ground, and guide his horse by the bridle according to the route taken by the bird; for he wished to know what it would do with its booty. Seleukos' son riding his horse, with upturned eyes, was led by the flight to Emathia. There the eagle stooped and deposited his burden on the altar of Zeus *Bottiaios*, erected by Alexander when he was cheered by the sight of the spring⁶. So all men, even without special powers of interpretation, could see that Zeus meant them to build a city on the spot. And thus it came about that the settlement intended and commenced by Alexander was carried to completion, while the chief of the gods⁷ by means of his own omen became our founder.'

Similar tales were current with regard to Alexander's foundation of Alexandria⁸ and Seleukos' foundation of Seleukeia Pieria⁹. Ioannes Malalas, of whose sixth-century chronicle a Greek abridgment (not to mention the fuller Slavonic version¹⁰) is extant, gives the Antiochene story¹¹, adding a touch or two of his own to heighten the interest. Thus, instead of connecting Zeus *Bottiaios* with the hill Emathia, he harrows our feelings by the assertion that at Bottia, a village over against Iopolis, Seleukos, when founding Antiocheia, sacrificed a maiden named Aimathe (*sic*) by the hand of the chief priest and initiator Amphon, between the city and the river, on Artemisios, *i.e.* May, 22, at daybreak, as the sun rose—a most circumstantial narrative. He goes on to say that Seleukos founded also the sanctuary of Zeus *Bóttios*¹². Again, Antiochos iv Epiphanes built for the Antiochenes, presumably on Mount Silpion, a magnificent temple of Iupiter *Capitolinus*, of which we are told, not only that its roof had gilded coffers, but that its walls were overlaid with beaten gold¹³. Tiberius either completed or restored the structure¹⁴. Antiochos Epiphanes also erected in the temple, which he had built, or more probably beautified, for Apollon at Daphne, a copy of the Olympian Zeus, said to have been as large as the original¹⁵. This statue was perhaps in-

¹ Liban. *or.* 11. 85—88 (i. 2. 464, 10 ff. Foerster).

² Seleukos i Nikator, after vanquishing Antigonos in Phrygia (301 B.C.).

³ *Supra* p. 1132 ff.

⁴ *Infra* fig. 1001.

⁵ Antiochos i Soter.

⁶ See Io. Malal. *chron.* 10 p. 234 Dindorf.

⁷ (ὁ Ζεὺς) ὁ τῶν θεῶν κορυφαῖος.

⁸ Iul. Valer. 1. 30 p. 39, 9 ff. Kuebler, pseudo-Kallisth. 1. 32 (context *supra* p. 1127 n. o).

⁹ *Supra* p. 981 n. 1.

¹⁰ Prof. J. B. Bury informs me that such a version exists, but is not yet published in accessible shape. On Malalas see further K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches*² München 1897 p. 325 ff., Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*² Cambridge 1906 i. 390 f.

¹¹ Io. Malal. *chron.* 8 p. 199 ff. Dindorf.

¹² *Id. ib.* 8 p. 200 Dindorf.

¹³ Liv. 41. 20. Cp. Gran. Licin. 28 p. 6, 5 f. Flemisch duos colossos duodenum cubitorum ex aere unum Olympio, alterum Capitolino Iovi dedicaverat.

¹⁴ Io. Malal. *chron.* 10 p. 234 Dindorf ὁ δὲ Τιθέριος Καῖσαρ ἐκτίσεν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ πῶλει ἱερὸν μέγα Διὸς Καπετωλίου. The word ἐκτίσεν must not be pressed.

¹⁵ Amm. Marc. 22. 13. 1 eodem tempore die xi Kalend. Novembrium amplissimum

tended to represent Antiochos himself¹; for it seems to have been part of that ruler's policy always to foster the cult, and on occasion to assume the rôle, of Zeus². Thus he struck handsome silver pieces showing on the obverse side an

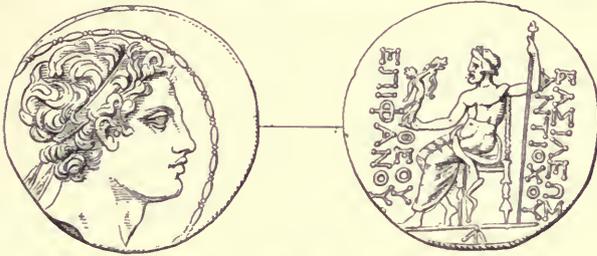


Fig. 991.

idealised portrait-head of himself, sometimes with twin stars at the ends of his diadem³, and on the reverse Zeus enthroned with a Nike in his hand. The Nike extends a wreath towards the god. And the accompanying legend reads 'Of King Antiochos, the God Made Manifest' (fig. 991)⁴, or 'Of King Antiochos, the God Made Manifest, Bearer of Victory' (fig. 992)⁵. Another imposing type has on the obverse the head of the monarch, wreathed with wild-olive and bearded as if he were indeed Zeus *Olympios*, on the reverse Zeus enthroned with Nike in the act of crowning him (fig. 993)⁶ or his pompous inscription (fig. 994)⁷. It is very possible that this coin commemorates the erection of the Olympian Zeus at Daphne. Be that as it may, the statue was probably made of gold and ivory, like its original at Olympia.



Fig. 992.

Daphnaei Apollinis fanum, quod Epiphanes Antiochus rex ille condidit iracundus et saevus, et simulacrum in eo Olympiaci Iovis imitamenti aequiparans magnitudinem, subita vi flammaram exustum est. But Liban. *or.* 11. 94 ff. (i. 2. 467, 1 ff. Foerster) and Sozom. *hist. eccl.* 5. 19 agree that the sanctuary of Apollon Δαφναῖος was the work of Seleukos i Nikator. Presumably Antiochos Epiphanes added to its attractions. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 58 by an odd blunder takes Ammianus to mean that Antiochos dedicated at Daphne a statue of Apollon in the guise of Olympian Zeus!

¹ We may fairly suspect that the same intention prompted Antiochos' sacrilegious treatment of the temples at Jerusalem and on Mt Gerizim (*supra* i. 233, ii. 887 n. o no. (31)).

² See E. R. Bevan 'A note on Antiochos Epiphanes' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1900 xx. 26—30, *id.* *The House of Seleucus* London 1902 ii. 154 ff., G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 144.

³ Tetradrachms with rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ or ΑΝ ΤΙΟΧΟΥ Apollon seated on the *omphalos* have obv. head of Antiochos with diadem surmounted by a star (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 34 pl. 11, 1) or with diadem ending in two eight-rayed stars (*Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 41 pl. 66, 9). They bear witness to the early deification of the king.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 35 pl. 11, 8, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 44 pl. 66, 13, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 762. I figure a specimen from my collection.

⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 35 pl. 11, 7 = my fig. 992, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 47 f. pl. 66, 17 (cp. 18), Head *Hist. num.*² p. 762, *Bunbury Sale Catalogue* 1896 ii. 65 no. 494.

⁶ E. Babelon *Les rois de Syrie* Paris 1890 pp. xciv f., 71 pl. 12, 11 (= my fig. 993).

⁷ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 36 pl. 11, 9 = my fig. 994, *Hunter*

Alexander ii Zabinas, when beaten by Antiochos viii Grypos in 123—122 B.C., retired to Antiocheia and, in order to pay his troops, bade men enter the temple of Zeus and remove from the god's hand the Nike of solid gold, remarking that

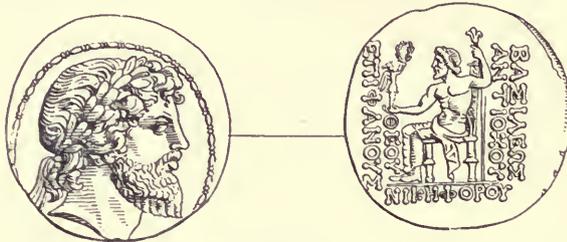


Fig. 993.

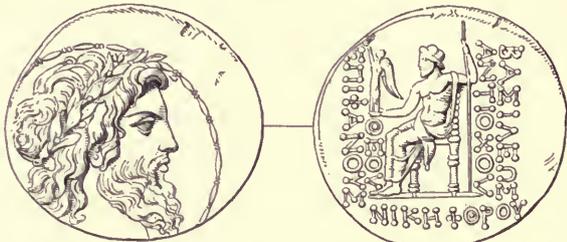


Fig. 994.

Zeus had lent him victory!¹ A unique *statér* of gold, formerly in the Montagu collection (fig. 995)², was doubtless struck by Zabinas from this stolen Nike³. A few days later he attempted to carry off the whole statue of Zeus with its vast weight of gold, but was caught in the act and forced by popular outcry to flee from the city⁴.

The statue, however, did not escape for long the cupidity of the Syrian kings' Antiochos ix Kyzikenos, son of Antiochos vii Sidetes, being in need of money, gave orders that the golden Zeus, fifteen cubits high, should be melted down and replaced by a copy in inferior material with gilded sheathing⁵. It was presumably in connexion with the cult of Zeus *Olympios* that Antiochos Epiphanes held games

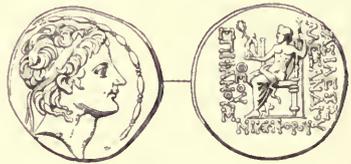


Fig. 995.

Cat. Coins iii. 48 no. 50, E. Babelon *Les rois de Syrie* Paris 1890 p. xciv f., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 762 f. The head is usually described as laureate.

¹ *Iust.* 39. 2. 5.

² *Montagu Sale Catalogue* 1896 i. 92 no. 716 pl. 9 = my fig. 995.

³ E. Babelon *Les rois de Syrie* Paris 1890 p. cxlix f.

⁴ *Iust.* 39. 2. 6, *Diod. excerpta de virt. et vit.* 35 p. 145, 42 ff. Dindorf.

⁵ *Clem. Al. protr.* 4. 52. 3 p. 40, 22 ff. Stählin 'Antiochos δὲ ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἀπορούμενος χρημάτων τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ χρυσοῦν, πεντεκαίδεκα πηχῶν τὸ μέγεθος ὄν, προσέταξε χωνεῦσαι καὶ (J. Markland cj. κάκ) τῆς ἀλλῆς τῆς ἀτιμοτέρας ὕλης ἄγαλμα παραπλήσιον ἐκείνῳ πετάλοις κεχρυσωμένον ἀναθεῖναι πάλιν. Cp. *Arnob. adv. nat.* 6. 21 Antiochum Cyzicenum ferunt decem (F. Orsini cj. *quindecim*) cubitorum Iovem ex delubro aureum sustulisse et ex aere bracteolis substituisse fucatum.

of unusual significance at Daphne¹, not to mention the high jinks² which earned him the *sobriquet* of *Epimandês*. Antiochos Grypos followed suit³. And in later times the Olympic contests of Daphne obtained a wide celebrity⁴. Diocletian is said to have built a sanctuary of Zeus *Olympios* in the *Stádion* at Daphne—a statement of uncertain value⁵. Meantime in Antiocheia itself Commodus had built a temple of Zeus *Olympios* with an adjoining portico known as the *Xystón*⁶. Didius Iulianus had added a *Pléthron*⁷, which was later doubled in size by Argyrios and Phasganius⁸, and still further enlarged by Proklos⁹. The whole complex of buildings was evidently modelled on its counterpart at Elis and was meant to accommodate athletes preparing for the Olympia, which were actually held at Daphne. At Daphne too there was a temple of Zeus *Sotér*, built to commemorate a crisis in the history of the city. For at dawn on Apellaios, *i.e.* December, 13 in the year 115 Antiocheia was shaken by a great earthquake with most disastrous results. The survivors founded this temple and inscribed upon it the words:

‘The saved set up (this edifice) for Zeus the Saviour¹⁰.’

The earthquake was preceded by many thunderbolts and unusual winds¹¹; and so severe was it that the tops of Mount Kasion were broken off and threatened destruction to the town below¹². Finally, there was the ancient cult of Zeus

¹ Polyb. 31 *ap.* Athen. 194 C—195 F and 439 B—D.

² *E.g.* Polyb. 31 *ap.* Athen. 195 F (= 439 D) ὑπὸ τῶν μίμων ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰσεφέρετο ὄλος κεκαλυμμένος καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐτίθετο, ὡς εἰς ὧν δῆτα τῶν μίμων· καὶ τῆς συμφωνίας προκαλουμένης ἀναπηδήσας ὠρχεῖτο καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο μετὰ τῶν γελωτοποιῶν. Was this sheer foolery, or the take-off of some resurrection-rite?

³ Poseidonios of Apameia 28 *frag.* 31 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 263 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 210 D—E and 540 A—B.

⁴ Liban. *or.* 60. 6 f. (iv. 315, 5 ff. Foerster)=Io. Chrys. *de Babyla c. Iul.* 19 (ii. 568 A Montfaucon), Liban. *epist.* 763 Wolf, Io. Malal. *chron.* 9 p. 224 f. Dindorf (see P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 290 f.), 12 pp. 289 f., 307 Dindorf, 16 p. 396 Dindorf. Cp. Liban. *or.* 10. 30 (i. 2. 409, 15 ff. Foerster).

⁵ Io. Malal. *chron.* 12 p. 307 Dindorf ἐκτίσσε δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σταδίῳ Δάφνης ἱερὸν Ὀλυμπίου Διός, καὶ ἐν τῇ σφενδόνη τοῦ αὐτοῦ σταδίου ἐκτίσεν ἱερὸν τῇ Νεμέσει. C. O. Müller *Antiquitates Antiochenae* Gottingae 1839 p. 62 f. thinks it far more likely that the temple of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος at Daphne was founded by Antiochos Epiphanes. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 59 dismisses the claims of Diocletian (‘wohl ohne allen Zweifel verkehrt’) and attributes to Antiochos Epiphanes merely a redecoration of the temple (‘nur eine neue Ausschmückung des Zeusheiligthums von Daphne, nicht dessen Gründung’). But is it certain that Malalas is referring to the big temple of Zeus? A small shrine in the *Stádion* would be appropriate enough.

⁶ Io. Malal. *chron.* 12 p. 283 Dindorf καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν δὲ τὴν κάτω τοῦ Ξυστοῦ ἐκτίσεν ἱερὸν τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Δι.

⁷ Io. Malal. *chron.* 12 p. 290 Dindorf Πλεθρίν.

⁸ Liban. *or.* 10. 9 ff. (i. 2. 403, 22 ff. Foerster).

⁹ Liban. *or.* 10. 1 ff. (i. 2. 401, 2 ff. Foerster).

¹⁰ Io. Malal. *chron.* 11 p. 275 Dindorf οἱ σωθέντες ἀνέστησαν Δι Σωτήρι. Eustath. *in Dionys. per.* 916 quotes the dedication as οἱ ζήσαντες (ζητήσαντες cod. γ.) ἀνέστησαν θεῷ (ἐν θεῷ cod. γ. H. S. Reiner cj. ἀνεστήσαμεν) Σωτήρι, which amounts to much the same thing.

¹¹ Dion. Cass. 68. 24.

¹² Dion. Cass. 68. 25. See further Iuv. 6. 411, Aur. Vict. *de Caes.* 13. 10, cp. *epit.* 13. 12, Oros. *hist. adv. pag.* 7. 12. 5, Euagrius *hist. eccl.* 2. 12, Synkell. *chron.* 348 A (i. 657 Dindorf), Euseb. *vers. Armen. in ann. Abr.* 2130 (= 116 A.D.), Hieron. *in Euseb. ann. Abr.* 2130 (= 116 A.D.), Zonar. 11. 22 (iii. 68 f. Dindorf).

Kásios on Mount Kasion, where Julian offered a belated hecatomb¹. The devotion of the Antiochenes to Zeus—a devotion grafted perhaps upon the *Ba'al*-worship of their predecessors—might further be inferred from their coin-types. Antiochos iv Epiphanes (175—164 B.C.) inaugurated a system of municipal coinage and struck coppers at 'Antiocheia near Daphne,' which had as reverse design Zeus wrapped in a *himátion* with a wreath in his outstretched hand (fig. 996)²—sign and symbol of the Olympic sports that he held at Daphne³. Alexandros i Bala (150—145 B.C.), who claimed to be the son of Antiochos iv, repeated his father's type of a wreath-bearing Zeus⁴. Other Seleucid kings in all probability issued coins with Zeus-types at Antiocheia, e.g. Demetrios ii



Fig. 996.



Fig. 997.



Nikator in his first reign (146—140 B.C.)⁵ and Antiochos viii Grypos (121—96 B.C.)⁶. Passing from the regal to the autonomous coinage of the town, we have coins struck for the *tetrápolis*⁷ of Antiocheia by Daphne, Seleukeia in Pieria, Apameia, and Laodikeia (149—147 B.C.) with a head of Zeus as obverse and a thunderbolt as reverse type⁸, or with two Zeus-like heads—probably meant for the *Demoi* of Antiocheia and Seleukeia—as obverse and Zeus enthroned, Nike in one hand, a sceptre in the other, as reverse type (fig. 997)⁹. The autonomous issues of 'the metropolis of the Antiochenes' (s. i B.C.) show the head of Zeus wearing bays and Zeus enthroned as before but enclosed in a

¹ *Supra* p. 981 n. 1.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 40 pl. 13, 1, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 50 f. pl. 66, 20, E. Babelon *Les rois de Syrie* Paris 1890 p. 79 pl. 14, 6 (= my fig. 996), *Head Hist. num.*² p. 763.

³ *Supra* p. 1188 ff.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 56 pl. 17, 1, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 66 no. 65 f., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 765 f.

⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria* p. 61 no. 29 obv. head of Zeus to right, laureate; rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ, with $\text{M} \text{M}$ in exergue, Apollon seated on the *omphalos*, holding arrow and bow.

⁶ *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 100 pl. 69, 20 obv. Head of Antiochos viii to right, diademed; rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ, with Φ and A , Zeus enthroned to left, holding Nike with a wreath on his right hand and a long sceptre in his left.

⁷ Strab. 749.

⁸ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* p. 151 no. 1, p. 152 pl. 18, 7, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 142 nos. 2—4, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 778.

⁹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc.* p. 152 pl. 18, 6 (= my fig. 997), cp. pl. 18, 8, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 141 no. 1, cp. p. 142 no. 8, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 778. G. Macdonald in the *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 141, followed by B. V. *Head loc. cit.*, supposes that the mint was Seleukeia, not Antiocheia. The usual interpretation of the two bearded heads is borne out by the reverse legend ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΔΗΜΩΝ.

large bay-wreath (fig. 998)¹. In imperial times the head of Zeus sometimes occupies the obverse (fig. 999)², while his eagle in one guise or another very commonly fills the reverse³. We see the great bird grasping a thunderbolt⁴, or holding a wreath in his beak and a bay-branch in his talons⁵, or gripping a *caduceus* with his jaws and a palm-branch with his right claw as he rests



Fig. 998.



Fig. 999.



Fig. 1000.



Fig. 1001.



Fig. 1002.



Fig. 1003.

on a garlanded altar (fig. 1000)⁶, or again perched with wreath in beak on the thigh of an animal-victim (fig. 1001)⁷—altar and thigh alike recall the city's foundation-myth—⁸, or bestriding a bay-wreath with the three Charites in it (fig. 1002)⁹, or soaring beneath the imperial head (fig. 1003)¹⁰. Here and there

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. p. 153 ff. pl. 18, 9, 11, 12, pl. 19, 1 (cp. my fig. 998 from a specimen of mine, which likewise shows Nike wreathing the city's title), *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 143 ff. pl. 71, 28, 30, 34, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 778.

² From a specimen in my collection. Cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. p. 162 f. pl. 19, 11 and pl. 20, 3. The reverse shows Boule (?), in *chiton* and *himation*, dropping a pebble into the voting-urn.

³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. p. 158 ff., *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 148 ff., *Head Hist. num.*² p. 779 f.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. p. 175 pl. 21, 9 Nero: ΕΤΟΥΣ ΒΙΡ·Ι (year 112 of the Caesarian era, reckoned from 49 B.C.: see B. Pick in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1887 xiv. 312 n. 3).

⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. p. 177 pl. 22, 2 Otho: ΕΤΟΥΣΑ (year 1 of the emperor's reign!).

⁶ *Ib.* p. 179 pl. 22, 5 Vespasian: ΕΤΟΥΣΝΕΟΝ ΙΕΡΟΝ Ε (new sacred year 5 = 73—74 A.D., reckoned from Sept. 2 to Sept. 1, the Syrian year of Augustus: see B. Pick *loc. cit.* p. 331 ff.).

⁷ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia*, etc. p. 192 pl. 23, 5 Marcus Aurelius: ΓΕΡΣΑΡΔΗ ΜΕΞΑΙ ΒΠΑ ΤΓ (=Γερμανικός Σαρματικός, δημαρχικής έξουσίας α', ύπατος γ').

⁸ *Supra* p. 1188.

⁹ *Ib.* p. 196 pl. 23, 11 Caracalla: ΔΗΜΑΡ Χ·ΕΞ·ΒΠΑ·Τ·Δ (=δημαρχικής έξουσίας, ύπατος τὸ δ').

¹⁰ *Ib.* p. 196 pl. 23, 12 Caracalla: ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕ ΕΒΠΑΤΟCTO Δ (=δημαρχικής έξουσίας, ύπατος τὸ δ'). See F. Imhoof-Blumer 'Zur griechischen Münzkunde' in the *Revue Suisse de Numismatique* 1898 p. 45 f.

a little touch implies that the emperor, whose bust appears on the obverse, is posing as the very Zeus. Thus Nero¹, Domitian², and Nerva³ are all invested with the *aigis*. It is clear, then, that for centuries the inhabitants of Antiocheia had been familiar with the Hellenic Zeus and had known emperors who claimed to be his visible vicegerents.

On the other hand Maximinus ii, like Diocletian⁴ and Galerius⁵ before him,

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 175 pl. 21, 9: ΝΕΡΩΝΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ.

² *Ib.* p. 182 pl. 22, 8: ΑΥΤΚΑΙΣΑΡΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣΣΕΒΓΕΡΜ.

³ *Ib.* p. 183 pl. 22, 9: ΑΥΤΝΕΡΟΝΑΣ ΚΑΙΣΣΕΒ. On these coins of Domitian and Nerva the *aigis* is reduced to a mere fringe of snakes passing over the further shoulder. It is, however, there and ought to have been noticed in the British Museum catalogue.

⁴ Eumenius *panegy. Constantio Caesari* 4, *pro restaur. schol.* 10, 16, Lact. *de mortibus persecut.* 52, Aur. Vict. *de Caes.* 39. 18, 39. 33, 40. 1, 40. 8, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 621 Rome (= *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 254 = Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1047) Genio Iovii Aug., | Iovia porticu eius a fundamentis absoluta | excultaque, | etc., no. 623 Sirmium (= *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3231 = Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5560a = Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 1059) I. O. M. et | G. h. l. (= Genio huius loci) pro | salute dd. | nn. Iovio | et Herculo Augg. nn. (= dominorum nostrorum, Iovio et Herculo Augustis nostris), no. 634 Thessalonike Herculi Augusto | Iovius (the words *et Herculus* have been erased) Augg. (et | Herculus et Iovius nobb. Caess., no. 8930 Alexandria (S. de Ricci in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1908 p. 793) Iovi Auguste, vincas, cp. no. 659 Carnuntum (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* iii no. 4413 = Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1051) D. S. I. M. (= Deo Soli Invicto Mithrae), | fautori imperii sui, | Iovii et Herculli | religiosissimi Augusti et Caesares | sacrarium restituerunt.

A gold medallion of Diocletian and Maximianus, formerly in the Cabinet de France, had rev. IOVIO ET HERCVLIO The two emperors pouring a libation over a tripod: in the field above, nude statues of Iupiter, with thunderbolt, and Hercules, with club, set on a garlanded altar. In exergue S M V R or S M T (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 917 f., 932, Suppl. iii. 162, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² vi. 480 no. 7, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 487, Gnechi *Medagl. Rom.* i. 12 no. 3). A bronze medallion of Diocletian, at Paris, has obv. IOVIO DIOCLETIANO AVG Half-length bust of Diocletian, with bay-wreath, sceptre, and *himdtion* only—in imitation of Iupiter (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 917, Suppl. iii. 162, Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 256 f. fig., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² vi. 429 f. no. 142 fig., Gnechi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 124 no. 3 pl. 124, 1, cp. ii. 124 no. 4). A smaller bronze medallion, in the Vatican, has obv. IOVI DIOCLETIANO AVG A similar bust of Diocletian, with radiate crown (*id. ib.* iii. 78 no. 40 pl. 158, 11): this medallion, if IOVI is not a mere blunder for IOVIO, baldly identifies the god with the emperor. Another at Paris has rev. IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG A hexastyle temple, with wreath in pediment and architrave inscribed IOVIVS AVG, containing emperor as Iupiter enthroned with thunderbolt and sceptre (Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 255, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² vi. 443 no. 275 fig., Gnechi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 124 no. 7 pl. 124, 3 corroded and retouched, cp. *id. ib.* ii. 124 no. 8 at Florence): similar medallions at Paris, struck by Maximianus, repeat the reverse type, but show the emperor as Iupiter standing with thunderbolt, sceptre, and eagle (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 931 f., Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 255 fig., Gnechi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 128 nos. 6 f. pl. 126, 6 and 7). A gold piece, formerly in the Cabinet de France, had rev. PRIMI XX IOVI AVGVSTI Iupiter seated, with thunderbolt and sceptre. In exergue TR (Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² vi. 458 no. 393 with n. 1 'IOVI est sans doute mis pour IOVII, et encore dans ce cas la légende n'est-elle pas trop compréhensible').

The title *Iovius* was, no doubt, suggested by the name *Diocletianus*, the origin of which is uncertain. W. Ramsay in Smith *Dict. Biogr. Myth.* i. 1011 says of Diocletian:

or Licinius¹ and Licinius Iunior² after him, had assumed the title *Iovius*³—

'From his mother, Doclea, or Dioclea, who received her designation from the village where she dwelt, he inherited the appellation of *Docles* or *Diocles*, which, after his assumption of the purple, was Latinized and expanded into the more majestic and sonorous Diocletianus' [Aur. Vict. *epit.* 39. 1]. But T. Mommsen in the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii. 283 argues that the home of Diocletian was Salona, not Doclea. And Patsch in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1251 notes that Doclea came to be called Dioclea (Aur. Vict. *epit.* 39. 1), *Διόκλεια* (Constantinus Porphyrogenitus *de administrando imperio* 29 (iii. 126 Bekker)), *Διόκλεια* (*id. ib.* 35 (iii. 162 Bekker)) in consequence of the conjecture that Diocletian was born there.

¹ *Chronicon Paschale* (i. 512 Dindorf) 275 Β Μαξιμιανὸς Ἰόβιος ἐπιφανέστατος Καῖσαρ, 275 C Μαξιμιανοῦ Ἰοβίου Καίσαρος, 275 D Μαξιμιανοῦ Ἰοβίου bis, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 634 cited *supra* p. 1194 n. 4, no. 658 Aquincum (= *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3522) pro salute dd. | nn. | [M]aximiano | Iovo invic. | Aug. et Maximino | Caes. (=dominorum nostrorum Maximiani Iovii invicti Augusti et Maximini Caesaris) | Iulius Valeria[n]us et Aurel. Maxim[us] ddvv. col. | Aq. (=duoviri coloniae Aquinci), cp. no. 659 cited *supra* p. 1194 n. 4, no. 661 Solva near Leibnitz in Stiria (= *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 5325) divo | Iovio | Maximiano | ordo Sol., no. 8931 Alexandria (S. de Ricci in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1909 p. 146) Iovi Caes[ar]ar, vincas.

² Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 676 Canusium (= *Corp. inscr. Lat.* ix no. 6026) d. n. Iovio Licinio invicto semper Aug.

Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 932, Suppl. iii. 163, cites from A. Banduri *Numismata imperatorum a Trajano Decio ad Palaologos Augustos* Lutetiae Parisiorum 1718 ii. 195 and other sources a coin showing the head of Licinius with the legend IOVIVS LICINIVS AVG. On this Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*² viii. 67 remarks: '*Iovius*. Hujus appellationis auctor Diocletianus, quam is transmisit in Gal. Maximianum, hic in Maximinum, mox Licinium, scilicet lege adoptionis, Licinius denique in filium. Haec confirmata numis vidimus, tum iis, quae supra de hereditariis his nominibus in numis Constantii Chlorig expositi. Atque hujus cum Iove cognationis causa tot Licinius numos cum ejus dei effigie feriri jussit, quot ante eum nemo, neque ingratus is adversus nepotem fuit. Nam ut Hercules olim filio Maximiano leoninum capitis integumentum, ita Iuppiter Licinio fulmen impertivit, quod ille, ut in aciem nonnullorum ejus numorum videre est [*ib.* p. 64], manu terrificam vibrat, sed cujus aciem Constantinus Enceladus apud Hadrianopolin obtundet.' Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² vii. 198 f. nos. 98—100 with fig. gives examples, in small bronze and in bad billon or potin, of the type described by Eckhel.

I add a few specimens from my collection which illustrate the relation of Licinius (figs. 1004—1006) and Licinius Iunior (fig. 1007) to Iupiter *Conservator*. It is amusing to see the thunderbolt in the hand of the emperor (figs. 1004, 1005) replaced by a mere *mapra* (figs. 1006, 1007).

³ Copper coins struck by Licinius and his son have obv. DD. NN. IOVII LICINII INVICT. AVG. ET CAES. Laureate busts of the two Licinii supporting between them a figure of Fortuna (or Victoria, or a trophy); rev. I. O. M. ET FORT. CONSER. (or VICT. CONSER., or VIRTVTI) DD. NN. AVG. ET CAES. Iupiter and Fortuna (or Victoria, or a trophy). In exergue SMKA or SMKB or SMNA (or SMKA. SMKΓ or SMKΔ, or SMNTA or SMATE) (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 932, 1740, 1746, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² vii. 210 f. nos. 1—3 with fig. of no. 2).

³ Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 9. 9. 1 bis Ἰόβιος Μαξιμίνος Σεβαστὸς Σαβίνω, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 420, 22 ff. (=G. Deschamps and G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 101 ff. no. 22, 22 ff.) an inscription from the precinct of Zeus *Pandamros* (*supra* i. 18 ff.) honouring a certain priest and priestess ἐφ' ὧν ἱερωμένων καὶ ἡ θεϊότης τοῦ δεσπότητος | ἡμῶν, τοῦ ἀπότητου Σεβαστοῦ | Ἰοβίου Μαξιμίνου ἐν τῇ πα[τρ]ίδι | ἐπέλαμψεν καὶ τὰ ληστήρια | ἐξέκοψεν.

A bronze medallion of Maximinus, now at Paris, has obv. IOVIVS MAXIMINVS NOB CAES A bust of the emperor, laureate and armed, holding sceptre and *mapra* (Cohen

struck perhaps by the fact that, so far as names were concerned, *Iovius Maximinus* was a tolerable imitation of Jupiter *Optimus Maximus*. Theoteknos in importing the novel cult very probably designed to win the favour of his imperial master. *Quasi-Dionysiac* rites practised in the name of Zeus would be quite in the line of the profligate *Iovius*.

Alas for his calculations. A few pages further on Eusebios¹ tells us what happened:

‘Theoteknos too was summoned by Justice, who had no intention of forgetting the harm he did to Christians. On the strength of the *xóanon*² that he had set up at Antiocheia he expected to take life easily, and was in fact already promoted by Maximinus to the post of governor. But Licinius had no sooner set foot in the city of the Antiochenes than he ordered all impostors to be brought in, and put the prophets and priests of the new-fangled *xóanon* to the torture, asking them how they came to play such a lying part. Hard pressed by the tortures, they could conceal the facts no longer, but explained that the whole mystery was a fraud contrived by the wily Theoteknos. Thereupon Licinius punished them all according to their deserts. He first condemned Theoteknos, and then the partners of his imposture, to death, after inflicting upon them the greatest possible torments.’

For all that, the cult of *Zeus Phllios* once started was not easily suppressed. Fifty years later Julian wintered at Antiocheia (362—363 A.D.) and, as we gather from his own *Misopogon*, was diligent in visiting the temple of *Zeus Phllios*³.



Fig. 1004.



Fig. 1005.



Fig. 1006.



Fig. 1007.

*Monn. emp. rom.*² vii. 155 no. 134 fig., *Gnechi Medagl. Rom.* ii. 132 no. 1 pl. 129, 5 roughly retouched). Another, with the same legend, had for the bare head of Maximinus (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 932, Suppl. iii. 163, *Cohen Monn. emp. rom.*² vii. 155 no. 135, *Gnechi Medagl. Rom.* ii. 132 no. 2). One of his coppers, struck at Antiocheia, ventures on a new title: rev. IOVIO PROPAGAT. ORBIS TERRARVM Maximinus, with bay-wreath and *toga*, stands holding Victoria on a globe: to the right is a burning altar; on either side of him, the letter A and a star; in the exergue, ANT (*Cohen Monn. emp. rom.*² vii. 153 no. 130 fig.).

¹ Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 9. 11. 5 f.

² For the implications of this term see now an excellent paper by Miss F. M. Bennett ‘A study of the word ΞOANON ’ in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 8—21.

³ Ioul. *misopog.* p. 446, 10 ff. Hertlein ἡ Σύρων ἦκει ρουμηνία, καὶ ὁ καίσαρ αὐθις εἰς Φιλίου Διὸς· εἶτα ἡ πάγκοιτος ἐορτή, καὶ ὁ καίσαρ εἰς τὸ τῆς Τύχης ἐρχεται τέμενος. ἐπισχῶν δὲ τὴν ἀποφράδα πάλιν ἐς Φιλίου Διὸς τὰς εὐχὰς ἀναλαμβάνει κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. καὶ τίς ἀνέξεται τοσαυτάκις εἰς ἱερὰ φοιτῶντος καίσαρος, ἐξὸν ἀπαξ ἢ δις ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς, κ.τ.λ. Cp. Liban. *or.* 1. 122 (i. 1. 141, 19 ff. Foerster) ἦκε δὲ ποτε εἰς Διὸς Φιλίου θύσων κ.τ.λ.

Again, Libanios the Antiochene, when petitioning Theodosios to protect the pagan temples against the depredations of the Christian monks (384¹ A.D.), expressly notes that certain temples—those of Tyche, Zeus, Athena, and Dionysos—are still untouched².

Antiocheia was a city where Christians and pagans jostled each other in the street³; and it is possible that, as the former found their centre in the great Constantinian church, so the latter had a nucleus and rallying-point in the temple of Zeus *Philius*. Indeed, between the two rival cults there was a certain superficial resemblance. On the one hand, Zeus *Philius* was a god of love, who brought even enemies together⁴, encouraged love-feasts among the faithful here, and held out hopes of a celestial banquet hereafter⁵. If his initiations and purifications⁶ savoured somewhat of *Sabázios*, it must be remembered that the Hebrew Godhead was by successive pagan blunderers confused with Jupiter *Sabázios*, Bacchus, Liber *Pater*, and Dionysos⁷. On the other hand, the Christians themselves—as I shall hope to prove in a third volume—had not scrupled to employ the art-types of Zeus and Dionysos for the representation of Christ, and that on objects of the most solemn and sacred character.

The strongest support for this assertion, so far as Antiocheia was concerned, is to be derived from the famous chalice recently published by Dr G. A. Eisen. It appears that early in the year 1910 certain Arabs, who were digging a cellar or a well at *Antakieh* (Antiocheia), lit upon underground chambers partially choked with *débris*. In the *débris* were embedded various objects of value. In addition to the chalice of carved silver that is here in question, there was a second chalice of plain silver with inscriptions of the sixth or seventh century A.D.; there were also three silver book-covers decorated with saints and referable to the fourth or fifth century; and there was a large ceremonial cross inscribed on front and back, not to mention a sackful of crumbled silver fragments. A smaller cross, likewise of silver, supposed to be from the same find, passed into the possession of Monsieur W. Froehner. Since the spot where these objects were discovered was, according to local tradition, the site of an ancient cathedral⁸, it is clear that we have to do with a church-treasure

¹ Libanios ed. R. Foerster iii. 80 n. 3.

² Liban. *or.* 30. 51 (iii. 116, 1 ff. Foerster) *επέ μοι, διὰ τί τὸ τῆς Τύχης τοῦτο σὼν ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου; ἄρ' ὅτι βούλοισθ' ἂν αὐτὰ μένειν; οὐ, ἀλλ' ὅτι μηδεὶς τὴν ἐπ' αὐτὰ δέδωκεν ὑμῖν ἐξουσίαν.*

³ The most careful and thorough-going monograph on Antiocheia in general is still C. O. Müller *Antiquitates Antiochenae* Gottingae 1839 pp. viii, 134 with map and pl. of coins etc. Other works of importance in particular directions are J. M. Neale *A History of the Holy Eastern Church. The Patriarchate of Antioch* London 1873 pp. lx, 229, R. Förster 'Antiochia am Orontes' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1897 xii. 103—149 with twelve figs. and pl. 6, *id.* 'Skulpturen von Antiocheia' *ib.* 1898 xiii. 177—191 with figs. and pl. 11, S. Krauss 'Antioche' in the *Revue des Études Juives* 1902 xlv. 27—49 (classical records largely supplemented from Rabbinic sources), K. Bauer *Antiochia in der ältesten Kirchengeschichte* Tübingen 1919 pp. 1—47, H. Dieckmann *Antiochien, ein Mittelpunkt urchristlicher Missionstätigkeit* Aachen 1920 pp. 1—56.

⁴ *Supra* p. 1176 f.

⁵ *Supra* p. 1161 ff.

⁶ *Supra* p. 1186.

⁷ *Supra* i. 234 n. 4.

⁸ Mr C. L. Woolley in *The Times Literary Supplement* for July 10, 1924 p. 436 tells a very different tale. He says of the chalice: 'I believe myself to be fully justified

buried either accidentally by earthquake or intentionally to escape some threatened danger. The treasure trove, at first divided among the finders and widely dispersed (two pieces were carried off to Mesopotamia), was recovered piecemeal by Messieurs S. and C. Kouchakji and forwarded to Monsieur G. Kouchakji in Paris. Here the principal chalice, coated with oxide to a thickness of several millimetres, was skilfully deoxidised by Monsieur A. André. He found the silver matrix already crystalline in texture and so brittle that he dared not rectify a compression of the cup caused by a blow received in ancient times¹. In 1914 the chalice, for safety's sake, was sent over to Messieurs H. and F. Kouchakji in New York, where since 1915 it has been exhaustively studied by Dr Eisen², formerly Curator of the California University Academy of Sciences.

The chalice stands 0·19^m in height and measured originally about 0·15^m in diameter. It consists of three parts—an inner bowl rudely hammered out of a

in stating that it was found in a small mound close to Ma'arit il Na'aman, a village situated south of Aleppo, on the Aleppo-Homs railway, about a hundred miles from Antioch. It was discovered, together with a silver cup or bowl and a silver crucifix, by a peasant, who sold it for £3 to a man in Ma'arit il Na'aman, who sold it for £70 to a group of three antiquity dealers at Aleppo.... I derive my information from the dealers concerned, who had no motive for telling me an untruth and were able to give me a very fair description of the object before any photographs of it had been published.'

This account is detailed and circumstantial. But, in reply to enquiries, Messrs Kouchakji have informed me by cable (Nov. 9, 1924) that they confirm Dr Eisen's statement. They say: 'Arabs found chalice in Antioch.... Woolley's information absolutely incorrect.'

¹ In 341 A.D., when the 'Golden' Basilica of Antioch, begun by Constantine the Great and finished by his son Constantius ii, was consecrated, the chalice must have been one of its most cherished possessions. Some twenty years later, in 362, Julian, uncle of Julian the Apostate, came to Antioch, closed the churches, and plundered their valuables (Io. Monach. Rhod. *vit. S. Artemii* 23 (xcvi. 1272 c—D Migne)). It is said that after a futile attempt to intimidate Theodoros, the 'guardian of the treasures' in the great church, he condemned him to torture and death, and that flinging the sacred vessels on the ground he treated them to the grossest indignities (Sozom. *hist. eccl.* 5. 8, Theodoret. *eccl. hist.* 3. 12, cp. Ruinart *acta prim. mart.*² p. 588 ff.)—a story of very doubtful historicity (Seeck in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 94). Dr Eisen, however, accepts the tale, and even suggests that the compression of the chalice may be the result of its sacrilegious mishandling by Julian. In that case the chalice must have been concealed again either during the invasion of Chosroes i, who in 538 burned Antioch but spared the Cathedral, or more probably during the conquests of Chosroes ii, who captured Syria in 611. The later date would account for the association of the chalice with the objects of early Byzantine art enumerated above.

² G. A. Eisen 'Preliminary Report on the Great Chalice of Antioch containing the Earliest Portraits of Christ and the Apostles' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1916 xx. 426—437 with pl. 19 and four figs., *id.* 'The Plate with seven Loaves and two Fishes on the Great Chalice of Antioch' *ib.* 1917 xxi. 77—79 with fig., *id.* 'The Date of the Great Chalice of Antioch' *ib.* 1917 xxi. 169—186 with five figs., *id.* 'Chalice of Antioch and Its Portraits of Christ, Apostles and Evangelists' in the *New Era Magazine* for January 1920 pp. 12—15 with four figs., *id.* 'Identification of Seated Figures on Great Chalice of Antioch' *ib.* for June and July 1920 pp. 414—417, 526—528 with six figs., *id.* *The Great Chalice of Antioch* New York 1923 pp. 1—194 with two diagrams and an atlas of sixty photogravures and etchings. The last-mentioned publication is a monograph *de luxe*, the plates of which include three whole-page photographs—life-size, enlarged, and larger still—of every figure on the chalice together with an attempted drawing of each head. The accompanying text is less satisfactory, being verbose, over-credulous, and disfigured by unnecessary slips. The book as a whole is obviously meant for wealthy art-lovers



a

The Chal



b

Antioch.

See page 1197 ff. with fig. 1008.

thick sheet of silver, the rim of which has been bent outwards over itself and left with uneven edge; an outer shell or container of carved open-work, for which the inner bowl now serves as a background; and a support, comprising knop and foot, turned on the lathe out of a solid block of silver. The inner bowl is wholly unadorned and was, when found, quite distinct and separable from the outer shell: the two have since been cemented together for fear of breakage. The base exhibits simple but good decorative work; the knop, surrounded by a wreath of lozenge-shaped leaves, parts lotus-petals above from lotus-petals below. The shell or container is carved *à jour* with an intricate design. Six vines with double stems rise from the ground-line and cover the whole available surface with a complicated growth of branches. Amid the profusion of tendrils, leaves, and grape-bunches many living creatures can be made out—doves and other birds, a couple of snails, a rabbit, a butterfly, a grasshopper, etc. Moreover, twelve spaces are reserved in the foliage for as many seated persons, arranged in two horizontal alternating rows. These twelve persons fall into two distinct groups, of which one occupies the front, the other the back of the chalice. On the obverse side (pl. xlvii, *a*) Christ appears as a beardless man, enthroned, with a lamb standing at his right hand. Above his head flies one of the birds, perhaps a dove¹. His right arm is extended²; his left, which is missing, may have held a roll³. Beneath his footstool an eagle with spread wings rests upon a basket of fruit⁴. And round him are ranged five of his followers, who turn towards him raising the right arm with a gesture of salutation. On the reverse side (pl. xlvii, *b*) Christ is represented as a boy, sitting on a round-backed throne, with his right hand held out and a roll in his left. He is again surrounded by five of his followers, who raise their arms as before. Most of the ten, if not all⁵, hold

rather than scholars, and it is to be hoped that it will be followed at no distant date by a better documented students' edition.

I am indebted to Dr Eisen for sending me his three articles in the *New Era Magazine* (now out of print) and to Messrs Kouchakji Frères for presenting me, not only with a copy of the big monograph, but also with the special silver-prints from which pl. xlvii and fig. 1008 were made.

¹ G. A. Eisen *The Great Chalice of Antioch* p. 7: 'over his head soars the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove.'

² *Id. ib.* p. 7: 'at his right hand is a plate with loaves and fishes.' *Id. ib.* p. 27: 'The objects on the plate are: seven loaves of bread, two fishes, an oval object with minute spheres and a bunch of pointed leaves.' Dr Eisen gives an enlarged drawing ($\frac{1}{4}$) of the plate in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 78 fig. 1. I confess that, on the photographs, it looks to me like an ordinary bunch of grapes, partly hidden by over-lying tendrils (the supposed fish) and partly resting on a round piece of background (the supposed plate) left to connect it with the sheep below. But I suspect that the artist originally intended to represent a bird's nest with eggs and later modified his design.

³ As on the reverse side of the chalice.

⁴ G. A. Eisen *The Great Chalice of Antioch* p. 7: 'a basket with bread.' *Id. ib.* p. 180: 'The Eagle, perched on one of the Baskets, can only symbolize the Roman Empire, now partaking of the Christian religion as administered by St. Peter and St. Paul.' I see nothing but a basket of fruit, such as might be expected in any vintage scene, and an eagle which is in relation to the figure above, not to the basket below.

⁵ Dr Eisen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 180 f. fig. 4 and in *The Great Chalice of Antioch* pp. 31 ff., 41 describes the object in the left hand of no. 2 as possibly the handle of a sword and that in the left hand of no. 5 as resembling a bag or purse. Neither description is free from doubt, and it is more probable that in every case a roll was intended.

rolls in their hands. Two (nos. 12 and 9 on fig. 1008) show the right arm wound with phylactery-bands (?)¹. Finally, the upper part of the shell is encircled by a narrow strip of thin silver, to which are attached fifty-eight rosettes².

It should be noticed that the chalice, long after it was made, came to be gilded, and that at two different dates—at first with pale whitish gold, and later with deep reddish gold. The first gilding affected the whole outer surface of the shell; the second did not extend to its lower part, and was carried out in much thicker gold leaf. Both layers of gold are largely worn away by the fingering of reverent hands, especially in the case of persons and objects that would be deemed most sacred. There are no inscriptions on the chalice. But, between the first and second gildings, upon many of the chairs (perhaps upon all) were added poorly scratched *graffiti* representing a variety of emblems³, which—if they can be deciphered—may help to show how the seated figures were interpreted⁴ at some doubtful date before the final gilding.

¹ See Dr Eisen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 182 ff. fig. 5 and *e contra* Prof. F. C. Burkitt in *The Cambridge Review* 1923—1924 xlv. 254 (long tight sleeves, not phylacteries).

² G. A. Eisen *The Great Chalice of Antioch* pp. 7, 19 f., 125 claims that the rosette above the hand of Christ on the obverse side of the chalice is in reality a six-pointed star, the Star of the Nativity.

³ Dr Eisen in the *New Era Magazine* for June 1920 p. 415 figures four of the *graffiti* from the chairs of nos. 2 (two crossed bars or keys), 6 (tree? or *ankh*? [amulet A. B. C.]), 7 (water jug), 9 (arch with circle [coin C. Renz] above it). The rest are less distinct and as yet undeciphered. See further *The Great Chalice of Antioch* p. 20 f.

⁴ In his initial publication of the chalice Dr Eisen held that its twelve figures portray Christ in older and younger form together with ten of his Apostles. He noted also the suggestion that they are the Baptist with the Lamb at his side, and Christ with ten Apostles. But the number ten was hard to justify; and careful study of the features of each portrait led to the conviction that figures 1 and 8 are related, that figures 2 and 5 possess much in common, and that the heads of figures 10 and 11 are quite different in formation from the rest. Satisfied that the two central figures 1 and 8 are indeed Christ as a man and Christ as a youth, Dr Eisen next observed that 2 closely resembles St Peter as portrayed in the Catacombs (J. Wilpert *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms* Freiburg 1903 pl. 94) and in the Viale Manzoni Hypogeum at Rome (*Not. Scavi* 1920 p. 123 ff.)—an identification seemingly confirmed by the discovery on seat 2 of the *graffito* representing two crossed bars or keys. The identity of the other figures remained doubtful till it was remarked that no. 6, unlike the rest, has a band round his head but no side-lock of hair. This suggested a Greek as distinct from a Jew, and in that case he must necessarily be St Luke. But, if so, the figures are not all Apostles. Those grouped with St Luke may then be St Matthew (9), St Mark (7), and St John (10). At this point again *graffiti* were helpful. Tradition said that St Mark had been a water-carrier (Alexandros Monachos (s. vi A.D.) *laudatio S. Barnabae Apost.* i. 13 in the *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1698 Junius ii. 440D λόγος γὰρ ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ γερόντων οὗτι ὁ τὸ κεράμιον βαστάζων τοῦ ὕδατος, ᾧ κατακοιουθῆσαι προσέταξεν ὁ Κύριος τοῖς μαθηταῖς, Μάρκος ἦν ὁ υἱὸς τῆς μακαρίας Μαρίας, Severus Bishop of El-Eschmounein in Upper Egypt *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria* trans. B. T. A. Evetts Paris 1907 i. 1 p. 17 in the *Patrologia Orientalis* i. 139 'And he (sc. Mark) was among the servants who poured out the water which our Lord turned into wine, at the marriage of Cana in Galilee. And it was he who carried the jar of water into the house of Simon the Cyrenian, at the time of the sacramental Supper'; and on his chair is scratched a water-jar. St Matthew sat at the receipt of custom; his *graffito* is an archway with a circle above it, presumably the city-gate with a coin in evidence. St Luke, as a physician, has for his emblem an obvious

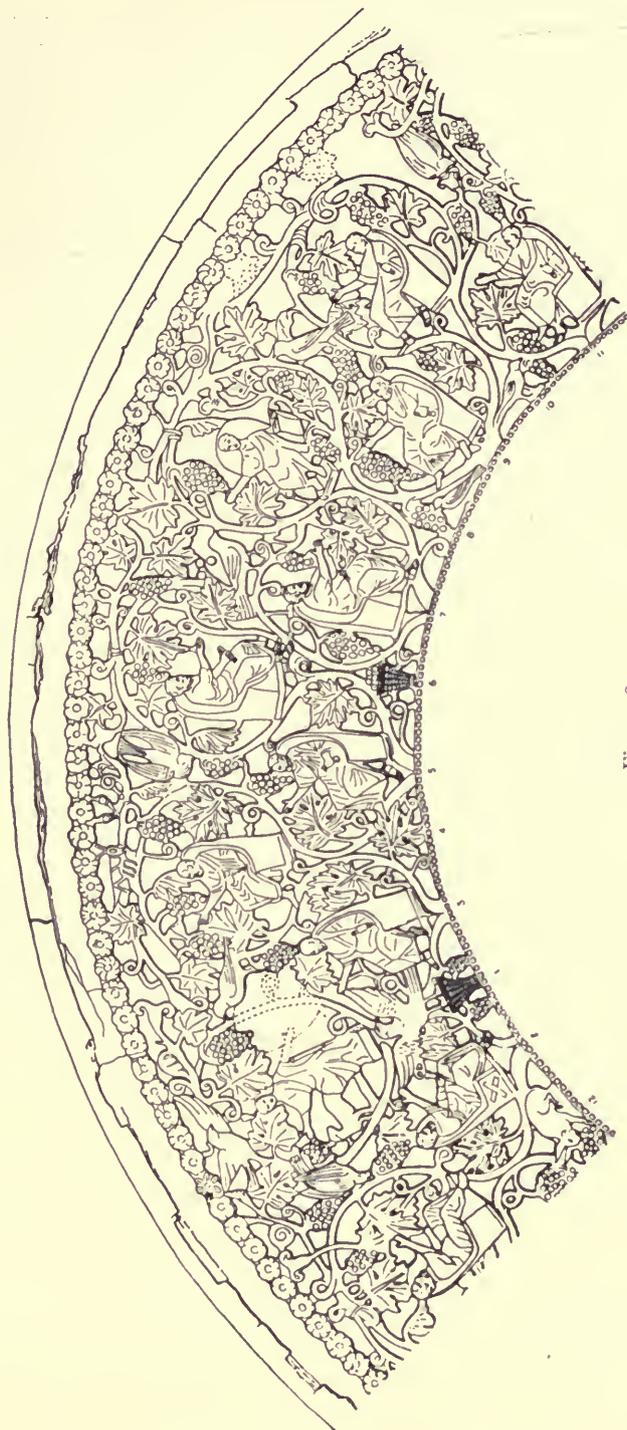


Fig. 1008.

To determine the date of the chalice is a task of primary importance. Sound criticism will rely, not on any *à priori* notions as to what the early Church could or could not have done, but on definite considerations of shape, *technique*, style, and subject.

Now the outer shell or container is essentially an ovoid bowl, without handles, supported on a round knob with a low and narrow foot-stand. A cup so constructed suffers from one obvious defect. It is top-heavy and would be easily upset. Such a shape could hardly have been popular for long together. Nor was it. Bronze coins of uncertain denomination struck by Simon Maccabaeus in 136/5 B.C. have for reverse type a closely similar chalice with knob, short stem, and small foot¹. But silver shekels and half-shekels dating from the First Revolt of the Jews in 66/7—70 A.D. have for obverse type a chalice with smaller knob, longer stem, and broader foot². Coins of the Second Revolt in 132—135 A.D. substitute either a one-handed jug³ or a two-handed *amphora*⁴, and do not enable us to trace further the evolution of the chalice. But this at least is clear, that on Palestinian soil the old top-heavy chalice was passing out of use as early as 66 A.D. Elsewhere too the same holds good. Two silver cups of similar shape belonging to the Pierpont Morgan collection, exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts, are justly regarded as excellent samples of Hellenistic work⁵. And silver cups of a like pattern depicted in frescoes from Herculaneum⁶

amulet. Again, if 10 is St John, the other beardless figure (11) must be his brother, St James the son of Zebedee. Moreover, St Peter (2) would naturally be balanced by St Paul (3). And the resemblance of the older man 5 to figure 2 suggested St Peter's brother, St Andrew. Lastly, it was surmised that figures 12 and 4, seated respectively on the right and left hand of Christ are St James the Lord's brother and St Jude, his nearest relatives on earth. It is claimed that figure 12 alone is clad in linen, which would suit the tradition that St James despised woollen clothes even in winter and habitually wore thin linen garments (Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 2. 23. 6 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐρεοῦν ἐφόρει ἀλλὰ συνδόνας). These are the main arguments advanced by Dr Eisen, whose proposed identifications may be conveniently shown in tabular form :

Front	{	(12) James the Brother of the Lord	(1) CHRIST as Man	(4) Jude		(6) Luke	(8) CHRIST as Boy	(10) John	}	Back
		(2) Peter	(3) Paul	(5) Andrew		(7) Mark	(9) Matthew	(11) James the Son of Zebedee		

Dr G. H. Rendall in a letter to me (Feb. 16, 1924) very pertinently suggests that 5 may be, not St Andrew, but St Barnabas, whose association with Antioch was most intimate. Accepting the attribution of the *Epistle to the Hebrews* to St Barnabas, Dr Rendall points out that we should thus have represented on the chalice the whole canon of the New Testament [*plus* James, son of Zebedee]. His shrewd conjecture of course postulates a date at which the canon was complete. But I see no difficulty in supposing that, at the time when the *graffiti* were added, those who added them believed the ten seated figures to include portraits of all the New-Testament writers.

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Palestine* p. 185 ff. pl. 20, 11—14.

² *Ib.* p. 269 ff. pl. 30, 1—9.

³ *Ib.* p. 288 ff. pl. 33, 5 f., 9 f., 14 f., pl. 34, 4—10, 20.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 303 f. pl. 35, 14, pl. 36, 1—3, p. 306 pl. 36, 10.

⁵ Miss G. M. A. Richter in *Art in America* 1918 vi. 171 ff. with pl., *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1918 xxii. 349 f. fig. 1.

⁶ *Antichità di Ercolano Napoli* 1760 ii (Pittura ii) p. 287 (= Roux—Barré *Herc. et Pomp.* iv Peintures 3^e Série p. 219 pl. 115) preparations for a festival, including a silver jug, a silver cup, three wreaths, a palm-branch, etc., cp. *ib.* ii pp. 118, 157 a similar but deeper vessel, standing on a square plinth, with a couple of wreaths in it.

must be dated before the fatal year 79 A.D. Plate was naturally imitated in less costly materials ; and here again the evidence is in favour of an early date. Very similar to the chalice of Antioch, though without its knob, is a glass vessel in another painting from Herculaneum¹. Precisely parallel to the chalice in contour and proportions is a small glass cup from Syria, now in a private collection in New York : this, on account of its shallow spiral fluting, has been assigned to the first century A.D.² The main point is that after the first century the chalice-shape is entirely superseded. Dr Eisen is, so far as I know, justified in concluding : ' Not one single specimen of this form and with such proportions has been found of a date later than the first century A.D.'³

The *technique* of the chalice is compatible with the same early date. Knob, stem, and foot are chased in solid silver—a procedure somewhat uncommon, but known to occur in Graeco-Roman times⁴. The rest of the container is of carved open-work, the so-called *opus interrasile*, which is more than once mentioned by the elder Pliny and seems to have been fashionable at Rome in the seventies⁵. Dr Eisen supposes that this shell of open silver was from the first meant to cover the bowl of plain silver within it. But here I demur. Open-work was regularly used with an eye to colour-contrast, and no toreutic artist worthy of the name would have cased a silver bowl in a silver holder⁶. Dr Eisen further maintains that the inner bowl, which is of crude and unfinished appearance, was more ancient than the outer shell and, when that shell was made, must have been already regarded as a venerable relic, too sacred to alter or amend⁷. But many months ago Dr Minns suggested to me that very likely the inner bowl

¹ *Ib.* ii p. 111 a glass goblet full of eggs.

² G. A. Eisen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 170 fig. 1, 1, 172, *id.* *The Great Chalice of Antioch* p. 143.

³ G. A. Eisen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 171. Note, however, that Dr Eisen himself in the *New Era Magazine* 1920 p. 12 and in *The Great Chalice of Antioch* pp. 136, 180 has figured a pottery lamp from a fourth-century grave at Gezer, on which a very similar cup is seen flanked by a pair of doves. Dr Eisen holds that this is a pious representation of the Antiochene chalice with two dove-like souls gazing upon it! I see in it merely a traditional *motif*, which could, if necessary, be traced back to the days of Nestor. It might, I think, reasonably be urged that the old-fashioned cup has become stereotyped as a decorative detail and should not be taken to imply that cups of this pattern were still in common use. After all, heraldic shields do not portray the equipment of the modern soldier.

The force of the argument from shape is—I concede—to some extent lessened by the possibility that, for ritual purposes, an archaic form might be deliberately preferred. But are we really prepared to maintain that the chalice is the product of an archaising art?

⁴ E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 801. A good example is the vase from Herculaneum, now at Naples, representing the apotheosis of Homer (J. Millingen *Ancient Unedited Monuments* Series ii London 1826 p. 25 f. pl. 13, J. Overbeck *Pompeji*⁴ Leipzig 1884 p. 624 f. figs. b, c, *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 411 no. 25301 fig. 93).

⁵ Plin. *nat. hist.* 12. 94 *interrasili auro*, 33. 140 *interradimus alia*.

⁶ We can hardly escape from this improbability by urging that the silver holder was richly gilt and so provided the requisite contrast in colour. For even the first of its gildings appears to have been added when the chalice had been in use for years (*The Great Chalice of Antioch* pp. 17 f., 139).

⁷ He points out that in form it resembles the mysterious cup taken from Jerusalem by the Romans and figured, along with the holy vessels of Herod's temple, on the Arch of Titus at Rome (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 170 fig. 1, 4). Since Vespasian is said to have erected before the city-gate of Antioch the bronze Cherubim, which Titus his son had

was later, not earlier, than the shell. He argued that the inner bowl appropriate to the shell would be of glass; and this, when broken, might well have been replaced by a silver substitute of later and clumsier make¹. If so, the shell cannot be earlier than the introduction of open-work over glass. And when did that take place? We think first, no doubt, of the finest extant example, the silver-gilt *kántharos* found in 1871 in a tomb to the north of Tiflis and now preserved in the Hermitage at Petrograd². Here a vessel of dark violet glass was actually blown into shape within the holder and still bears in places the impress of the silver upon it. Stephani, who published this splendid cup—it is six inches high,—assigns it on account of its hunting-scene to a date *c.* 200 A.D.; and we note in passing that the rosettes round its rim recall those of the Antioch chalice. But other examples of the art are of much earlier date. To the period of Augustus or Tiberius belongs a *skyphos* of open-work lead formerly in the Slade collection and now in the British Museum³. This curious work, perhaps a goldsmith's model, has blown within it a cup of azure glass, which shows through oval openings in a band about its waist. Above are Bacchic scenes in relief with incised inscriptions⁴. Below is another relief of vine-tendrils and grape-bunches. The two handles also are decorated with masks. Earlier still may be placed the *skyphos* found in 1876 at Varpelev in Zealand and now in the Museum at Copenhagen⁵. It is a bowl of deep blue glass, the upper part of which is covered with a decorative design of vine-leaves, ivy-leaves, etc. in open-work silver. It was found with coins of Probus (276—282 A.D.), but is itself Greek work⁶ of the early

found in the temple of Solomon (Io. Malal. *chron.* 10 p. 260 f. Dindorf), it is just thinkable that this silver cup of special sanctity was presented on the same occasion to the Antiochenes. Dr Eisen, however, does not press the point (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 171 f.) and obviously inclines to a different and a more heroic hypothesis. With the fall of Jerusalem Antioch became the main centre of Christianity in the east. May not the inner bowl of the chalice have been brought thither from Jerusalem? May it not even have been the very vessel used in Apostolic times by the infant Church? Nay more, might it not conceivably have been the actual Cup of the Last Supper? No wonder that in the great Syrian capital, where the disciples were first called Christians, those who obtained possession of a relic so precious lavished all the resources of early imperial art upon its external embellishment.

¹ E. H. Minns in *The Cambridge Review* of Feb. 15, 1924 (xlv. 216). Sir Martin Conway in *The Burlington Magazine* for Sept. 1924 (xlv. 109) independently makes the same conjecture: 'I suggest,' he says, 'that this original was of coloured glass.' Mr F. Kouchakji in a letter to me (March 4, 1924) replies by anticipation: 'So far all the open-work over glass cups that have come down to us from antiquity are very small. None of them possessed a glass cup of the size of the inner cup. Then, if a fine glass cup had been broken, it would have been replaced by a finished cup and not by a crudely made one, never finished.'

² L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pétr.* 1872 p. 143 ff. Atlas pl. 2, 1 and 2 (in colours), E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 808 fig. 981, H. Blümmer *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* Leipzig 1887 iv. 405 n. 1, A. Kisa *Das Glas im Altertume* Leipzig 1908 ii. 602 ff. with figs. 208, 208a.

³ Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 327 pl. 87, 1—4, A. Kisa *op. cit.* ii. 602 with figs. 335, 335 a, 335 b.

⁴ (a) DOMITILLAE | STATILIO CONIVGI, (b) SALVS | GEN · HVM. Below the foot is an inscription in relief: (c) · FM · AVG · ꝛꝛ. Clearly (a) and (b) are later than (c).

⁵ C. Engelhardt in the *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* 1877 p. 354 with col. pl. 1, A. Kisa *op. cit.* ii. 604 f. with fig. 209.

⁶ Witness the wave-pattern round its rim, broken by the single word ΕΥΤΥΧΩC.

first century, or earlier¹. Kisa goes further and claims that already in Ptolemaic times craftsmen had begun to cover glass cups with gold and silver². How else are we to understand Athenaios' statement that 'two glass vessels of open-work gold' were carried in the pageant of Ptolémy ii Philadelphos³? After this it may be conceded that the *technique* of the Antioch chalice is no bar to accepting the first-century date suggested by its shape.

A third criterion may be sought in the style of the chalice-decoration. Mr T. Davies Pryce in a recent letter to me (Nov. 12, 1924) says: 'Apart from the Christian figures, the decorative elements are undoubtedly similar to those used by the first and second century *sigillata* potters.'⁴ The vines, though not so purely naturalistic as those of the Augustan age⁵, are as yet untouched by the incipient stylisation of the third century⁶ and show little, if any, trace of that formality which as time went on became more and more marked⁷ till it culminated in the Coptic art of the sixth century⁸. Mr W. A. Watkins draws my attention (Nov. 15, 1924) to the fact that the vines on the chalice resemble, on the one hand, the vine in the Catacomb of Domitilla, which likewise springs from the ground with a double stem and has birds and Cupids among its

¹ A. Kisa *op. cit.* ii. 604 notes that its handles, inlaid with gold, resemble those of Alexandrine silver cups found *e.g.* at Bosco Reale.

² *Id. ib.* ii. 600.

³ Kallixenos of Rhodes *περὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 62 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 199 F ἄλλα διαχρυσά δύο.

⁴ Mr Pryce's arguments include the following: (a) The vine-scroll is comparable with that on a sherd from Wroxeter dated 90—110 or 120 A.D. (J. P. Bushe-Fox *Excavations on the Site of the Roman Town at Wroxeter Shropshire, in 1912 (Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London No. 1)* Oxford 1913 p. 38 f. no. 23 fig. 12). (b) The eagle with outspread wings and head turned to right or left was a common stock-type with the potters of *s. i* and *ii* A.D. (F. Oswald—T. Davies Pryce *An Introduction to the study of Terra Sigillata* London 1920 pls. 6, 4; 7, 2; 9, 4). (c) The rabbit eating grapes appears in the period Domitian—Trajan (*eid. ib.* pl. 19, 5). (d) The basket with outspread rim and externally concave sides occurs often on pottery of 100—150 A.D. (*eid. ib.* pl. 17, 4 in a vintage scene with birds, J. Déchelette *Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule Romaine* Paris 1904 ii. 154 f. types 1082 and 1087). (e) The repeated rosette frequently forms an upper bordering in Italian *sigillata* designs and is sometimes copied by the later or first-century Gaulish *sigillata* potters.

⁵ A silver bowl of this period, formerly in the Blacas collection and now in the British Museum, is covered with exquisitely natural vine-leaves and tendrils in gilded *repoussé*-work (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Silver Plate* p. 22 no. 82 pl. 11).

⁶ A circular mirror of about *s. iii* A.D., found in a woman's grave near Sofia and now in the British Museum, has a frame of silver-gilt bronze with a somewhat schematised vine-scroll and peacocks worked *à jour* on a backing of wood (*ib.* p. 28 no. 106 pl. 15).

⁷ *E.g.* L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1909 ii figs. 45 (*sarcophagus* in the Lateran Museum at Rome), 46 (*sarcophagus* in San Lorenzo at Rome), 74 (ivory throne at Ravenna)=R. Garracci *Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa* Prato 1881 v pl. 302, 2f., v pl. 306, 1—4, vi pl. 414 f.

⁸ Sir Martin Conway in *The Burlington Magazine* for Sept. 1924 (xlv. 106 ff.) compares the chalice with the sculptured semidome of a Coptic niche now in the Cairo Museum (*s. vi*), with the back and front of a carved ivory fragment in the same collection (*s. v—vi*), with a panel of the ivory throne at Ravenna (*c.* 550 A.D.), etc. Accordingly he would date the chalice *c.* 550 A.D. (*ib.* p. 110). But on all the monuments cited by him the vines are far advanced in stylisation.

branches¹, on the other hand, the vine-scroll in the Catacomb of Praetextatus, where again birds are seen among the vine-leaves². The cemetery of Domitilla on the Via Ardeatina is believed to go back to Apostolic times³, while that of Praetextatus on the Via Appia is referred to the second century⁴. The two representations of Christ as a young man and as a boy are imperfectly preserved, but appear to be idealistic rather than realistic figures. The head of the latter at any rate is, as Dr Eisen duly notes⁵, reminiscent of a well-known Scopaic type. The other seated persons are at least to some extent individualised⁶ and were almost certainly interpreted as portraits at the time when the *graffiti* were added. We know so little at present about the history of Greek portrait-sculpture in the east during the first few centuries of the Christian era that it is peculiarly difficult to date a given work, especially when executed on a small scale⁶. But if we might assume (a somewhat doubtful assumption) that the development of later Greek portraiture followed the same lines as that of Roman portraiture, we should have little hesitation in referring these life-like but not over-realistic heads to the Flavian period (69—96 A.D.). The preceding Augustan and Julio-Claudian art (31 B.C.—68 A.D.) had been more idealistic and aristocratic. Trajanic portraits (98—117 A.D.), though still life-like, are harder and less sympathetic. In the Hadrianic age (117—138 A.D.) we get a marked loss of individualism owing to the revival of old Hellenic ideals. Antonine and Aurelian carving (138—180 A.D.) is pictorial in effect: loose locks contrast with polished faces and there is a glint of light on plastic eyes. Realism returns with the third century, but is accompanied by various tell-tale innovations, e.g. very short hair shown by pick-marks on a roughened surface. Had the work been later than this, we should have looked to find standing figures frontally arranged with formal hair and eyes monotonously drilled. On the whole it may be contended that the style of the seated persons suits best the end of the first or, possibly, the beginning of the second century A.D. But, I repeat, the scarceness of strictly comparable work and above all the smallness of the scale—each head is only three-eighths of an inch in height—make certainty unattainable.

It remains to speak of the subject represented on the chalice. The nearest parallels were pointed out by Prof. F. C. Burkitt⁷ and Sir Martin Conway⁸, who both aptly cite a gilded glass or *fondo d'oro* published by Garrucci (fig. 1009)⁹.

¹ G. B. de Rossi *Roma sotterranea* edd.¹ J. S. Northcote—W. R. Brownlow London 1869 p. 73 with fig. 10 (ed.² 1879 ii. 120 ff. fig. 26), R. Garrucci *op. cit.* Prato 1881 ii. 23 pl. 19, 1. The vine spreads over the vaulted roof in the oldest portion of the catacomb.

² G. B. de Rossi *op. cit.* ed.¹ p. 78 with fig. 12 (ed.² ii. 148 ff. fig. 37), R. Garrucci *op. cit.* ii. 43 f. pl. 37, 1. The vine occupies the third (autumnal) zone of decoration on the Crypt of St Januarius, who was martyred in 162 A.D.

³ W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archaeology* New York 1901 p. 65 f., C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 p. 127.

⁴ C. M. Kaufmann *op. cit.* p. 127 f.

⁵ G. A. Eisen in the *New Era Magazine* for June 1920 p. 416, *id.* *The Great Chalice of Antioch* pp. 63 ff., 74.

⁶ Whether this individualisation was in any degree due to tooling or retouching of the original figures before the first gilding of the shell is a point that calls for careful investigation.

⁷ In *The Cambridge Review* 1923—1924 xlv. 253 f.

⁸ In *The Burlington Magazine* for Sept. 1924 (xlv. 109).

⁹ R. Garrucci *Vetri ornati di figure in oro trovati nei cimiteri dei cristiani primitivi di Roma* Roma 1858 p. 40 f. pl. 18, 4 (not 3, as both Prof. Burkitt and Sir M. Conway cite

This shows a youthful Christ (CRISTVS) seated with a group of eight or more¹ Saints to right and left of him. As on the chalice, they occupy high chairs with a rounded back, most of them holding rolls, two extending their right hands. The highest pair is inscribed PETRVS and [PA]V[LVS]. The lowest four are TIMOTEVS, SVSTVS, SIMON, FLORVS—Roman Christians of the third or fourth century². The glass itself is assigned to the age of Pope Damasus (366—384 A.D.)³.



Fig. 1009.

But the makers of these gilded glasses often gave new names to old designs, and Prof. Burkitt⁴ rightly traces the type back to a ceiling in the Catacomb of Petrus and Marcellinus. J. Wilpert holds that the ceiling in question dates from the middle of s. iii and depicts the Judgment with the Saints as assessors⁵.

It is clear that we have here one element in the design of the Antioch chalice. But that is not all. Prof. Burkitt⁶ very justly observes that the left arm of the

it), *id. Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa* Prato 1881 iii. 159 f. pl. 187, 4 (more complete)=my fig. 1009, C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 p. 623 fig. 253, 7. On the vestments lettered **I** and **J** see Garrucci *Storia* iii. 160.

¹ Originally, perhaps, ten: the glass is broken away to right and left.

² Timotheus was martyred in 301 (?), Sustus *i.e.* Xystus (Sixtus ii) in 258 A.D.

³ H. Vopel *Die altchristlichen Goldgläser* Freiburg i. B. 1899 p. 58.

⁴ Cp. Vopel *op. cit.* p. 58 n. 1.

⁵ J. Wilpert *Ein Cyclus christologischer Gemälde aus der Katakomben der heiligen Petrus und Marcellinus* Freiburg im Breisgau 1891 p. 17 pl. 1—2, 1, pl. 3—4, 1

⁶ In *The Cambridge Review* 1923—1924 xlv. 254.

Christ above the eagle (no. 1) and much of the adjoining space are due (*vide* the key-plan) to a restoration by Monsieur André. He suggests that the disturbing blank was originally filled with a second lamb, the figure being conceived as that of the Good Shepherd. And, if it be objected that the Good Shepherd should be standing not seated, the unusual position is defended by a fifth-century mosaic in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna¹. It might have been defended by a second-century painting in the cemetery of Callistus at Rome, which shows Christ seated, lyre in hand, between two sheep—the type of the Good Shepherd being definitely influenced by that of Orpheus². I incline therefore to think that Prof. Burkitt's acute divination of the original design is right and that Christ was represented on the chalice in the Orphic or seated type of the Good Shepherd with a sheep on either hand³. In this connexion it is interesting to recall that Tertullian, writing between 217 and 222 A.D., mentions chalices of the anti-Montanist party as decorated with representations of the Good Shepherd⁴. It is possible that he had in view cheap imitations of such a masterpiece as the chalice of Antioch.

The combination of the Judge and the Shepherd accounts for much, but not quite for everything. We have yet to explain the eagle beneath his feet. An eagle commonly suggests Zeus, and not least at Antioch where his cult was so familiar⁵. But what exactly is the link between the Shepherd-Judge and Zeus? It is, I think, to be found in the conception of the Divine Ruler, which would easily attach itself either to the figure of the Judge on his judgment-seat or to the seated type of the Shepherd⁶. Dr Eisen⁷ remarks that the central figure

¹ R. Garrucci *Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa* Prato 1881 iv. 41 pl. 233, 2, W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archaeology* New York 1901 p. 330 f. fig. 141, C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 p. 456.

² G. B. de Rossi *Roma sotterranea* edd.¹ J. S. Northcote—W. R. Brownlow London 1869 p. 373 col. pl. 11, 2 (ed.² 1879 i. 455, ii col. pl. 18, 2), R. Garrucci *op. cit.* ii. 10 pl. 4, 1, L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1906 i. 245 f. fig., 1909 ii. 106, C. M. Kaufmann *op. cit.* p. 275 f. fig. 102.

It is a curious coincidence, if nothing more, that the Phoenician Ba'al-hammân is represented by a Cypriote terra cotta as sitting on a throne with a ram standing on either side of him (*supra* i. 354 pl. xxvi, 1).

³ Dr Eisen in a letter to Dr F. J. Foakes Jackson, of which a copy was sent to me by Messrs Kouchakji (March 15, 1924), says: 'An original photograph taken before the cleaning shows that there was no lamb on the other side, and that the design was probably one: branches, leaves, tendrils and bunches of grapes. There is a total absence of symmetry in any part of the Chalice design.' [1]

⁴ Tertull. *de pud.* 7 a parabolis licebit incipias, ubi est ovis perdita a domino requisita et humeris eius revecta. procedant ipsae picturae calicum vestrorum, si vel in illis perlucebit interpretatio pecudis illius, utrumne Christiano an ethnico peccatori de restitutione conlineet, *ib.* 10 sed cederem tibi, si scriptura Pastoris, quae sola moechos amat, divino instrumento meruisset incidi, si non ab omni concilio ecclesiarum etiam vestrarum inter apocrypha et falsa iudicaretur, adultera et ipsa et inde patrona sociorum, a qua et alias initiaris, cui ille, si forte, patrociniabitur pastor quem in calice depingis, prostitutorem et ipsum Christiani sacramenti, merito et ebrietatis idolum et moechiae asylum post calicem subsecuturæ, de quo nihil libentius libas quam ovem paenitentiae secundae (*cp. ib.* 13).

⁵ *Supra* p. 1186 ff.

⁶ The seated Shepherd in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia 'is clothed in imperial purple' (W. Lowrie *op. cit.* p. 331).

⁷ G. A. Eisen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1916 xx. 432, 434, *id. ib.* 1917 xxi. 172, 174 fig. 2, 10 ff., 179, *id. The Great Chalice of Antioch* pp. 31, 34, 143, 147, 179.

enthroned with a footstool bears a strong resemblance in costume, pose, and general effect to the figure of Augustus on a silver *skyphos* from Bosco Reale¹. He notes also that on this tereotic triumph, as on the chalice of Antioch, the central figure appears twice—once seated to receive the submission of the barbaric Germans, once enthroned amid the gods as master of the universe. I submit that the artist of the chalice has given to Christ the aspect and position of a divinised emperor². Now Roman emperors were often acclaimed by Greek adulation as Zeus incarnate³; and a bust of Zeus, referred to the first or second century A.D., is supported on an eagle with spread wings⁴. We are not, therefore, surprised to find that the head of Caracalla on a coin of Antioch struck between 213 and 217 A.D. has a similar eagle beneath it⁵. In view of these facts it becomes a legitimate conjecture that the eagle beneath the seated Christ marks him as at once human and divine, the true claimant to the throne of Zeus⁶.

So, then, the Shepherd-Judge is also the Divine Ruler. And, if it be argued that this multiple *rôle* is not likely to go back to the first century, I should answer that it is already implied by a great passage in the Gospel⁷: 'But when the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the angels with him, then shall he sit on the throne of his glory: and before him shall be gathered all the nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as the shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats.'

It amounts to this. For the Christian artist—trained, it may be, in a pagan school—Christ has dispossessed all rivals and has taken his seat on the very throne of Zeus. But the chalice has a reverse as well as an obverse design, and we have still to ask Why this duplication of Christ in younger form? and Wherein lies the special appropriateness of the vine-symbolism? The problem, so put, suggests its own solution. The boyish figure seated on the divine throne

¹ A. Héron de Villefosse in the *Mon. Piot* 1899 v. 133 ff. pls. 31—33 = Reinach *Répl. Reliefs* i. 92 no. 2 f., 93 no. 1 f., 94 no. 1 f.

² For a later variation on the same theme see the well-known ivory *pyxys* at Berlin (R. Garrucci *op. cit.* vi. 60 pl. 440, 1, L. von Sybel *op. cit.* ii. 253 fig. 77, C. M. Kaufmann *op. cit.* pp. 366, 552 fig. 142), which likewise has Christ seated *en face* on a round-backed throne, with a roll in his hand and a footstool at his feet. He is flanked by two seated Apostles (St Peter and St Paul), who raise their hands in salutation. The other ten stand to right and left of him.

The position assigned to the two foremost Apostles suits their 'Dioscuric' character (*supra* p. 606). Zeus is supported by the Dioskouroi (*supra* i. 35 fig. 8, ii. 1230 tail-piece); Christ, by St Peter and St Paul (*supra* i. 51 fig. 24, ii. 1207 fig. 1009).

³ See e.g. the examples that I collected in *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 308 ff.

⁴ *Supra* p. 951 n. o with fig. 844.

⁵ *Supra* p. 1193 fig. 1003. The head of Trajan on silver coins struck at Tyre is often supported by an eagle with closed wings (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 300 f. pl. 36, 1, 3—6, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 268 f. pl. 77, 5). Some specimens, which have the same obverse type, but for reverse Tyche seated with the Orontes at her feet, are assigned doubtfully by G. F. Hill to Tyre (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* pp. cxxxvii f., 302 pl. 36, 9), by G. Macdonald to Antioch (*Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 163 f. pl. 72, 19).

⁶ I do not deny that the eagle here may have had a further significance. C. M. Kaufmann *op. cit.* p. 286 discusses its appearance in Christian art 'als...Symbol der Auferstehung...und zwar der in Christo gebotenen felix reparatio temporum (vgl. Ps. 103, 5) im Jenseits.'

⁷ Matthew 25. 31 f. Aischylos long since had made Agamemnon, his divine ruler, an ἀγαθὸς προβατογνώμων (*Ag.* 795).

in the midst of his trusty followers is, to those at least who have in mind the coinage of Lydia and Kilikia¹, reminiscent of the child Zeus or Dionysos seated on his throne with the Kouretes grouped about him; and the framework of grape-vines adds point to the analogy.

On the whole, piecing together the evidence of shape, *technique*, style, and subject, I conclude that the chalice of Antioch was made at some date not far removed from the year 100 A.D.²; that it was then adorned with figures of Christ sitting in Judgment with the Saints³, ten in number merely because ten was a typical plurality⁴; and that these assessors were later, by means of *graffiti*, identified with individual Apostles and canonical authors, including perhaps all the recognised writers of the New Testament⁵. Further, I hold that the decoration of the chalice, though essentially Christian, owes certain of its features to pagan antecedents, in particular to Anatolian representations of Zeus and Dionysos⁶. Here, as elsewhere, the art-types of the Greek Father and Son were both taken into the service of the conquering creed and alike used to portray the form of Him who said: 'I and the Father are one.'⁷

¹ *Supra* i. 152 f. figs. 125—128, i. 646 f.

² Prof. Strzygowski, after personal inspection of the chalice and prolonged study of its detail, refers it to the first century A.D. (J. Strzygowski 'Der "Silberkelch von Antiochia"' in the *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst* 1924 pp. 53—61 pl. 28 f., especially p. 61). But when he attributes the Berlin *pyxys* also to the first century (*ib.* p. 59), we part company.

³ *Supra* p. 1207.

⁴ M. H. Farbridge *Studies in Biblical and Semitic Symbolism* London 1923 p. 140 ff. (citing E. W. Bullinger *Number in Scripture* Bromley 1894 p. 243).

⁵ *Supra* p. 1200 n. 4.

⁶ *Supra* p. 1209 f.

⁷ John 10. 30.

ADDENDA

ii. 2 n. 4. The painted marble tablet from Tarragona, though accepted as genuine by more than one archaeologist of repute (F. Ladelci in the *Atti dell' Accademia pontificia de' nuovi Lincei* 1885 xxxviii. 4. 122 ff. pl. 1, *Milani Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1899—1901 i. 36 ff. fig. 4, A. L. Frothingham in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1916 xx. 209—211 fig. 41), has recently been denounced as a forgery by the eminent connoisseur of Iberian antiquities P. Paris 'Le faux sarcophage égyptien de Tarragone' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 ii. 146—157 with figs. 1—6. I have not myself seen the tablet; but Mr T. W. I. Bullock of Queens' College, Cambridge, who has kindly interviewed on my behalf J. R. Mélida y Alinari, director of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional at Madrid, and F. A. Ossorio, keeper of the Greek and Roman antiquities, reports (Sept. 21, 1923) that both these authorities regard, and always have regarded, the fragment as a mere fabrication.

ii. 7 n. 1. Add Eunap. *v. Aedesii* 37 (p. 20 Boissonade) τὸ τῶν ὀμηγητῶν ἀριστον πρὸς μυστηριώδη τινὰ σωπῆν καὶ ιεροφαντικὴν ἐχεμυθίαν ἐπιρρηπὲς ἦν καὶ συνεκέκλιτο.

ii. 31 n. 7. So also Loukian. *somn.* 2 ὦ Ζεῦ τεράστιε, cp. Aristoph. *rax* 41 f. οὐκ ἔσθ' ὄπως | τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ τέρας οὐ Διὸς σκαταιβότου (*supra* p. 15 n. 1) and Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1885, 8 f. Διὸς δὲ τέρας ἀλληγορικῶς μὲν τὸ ἐξ ἀέρος· τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἦ, ὡς ἐρρήθη, δίχα νέφους βροντῆ. ἄλλως δὲ διὰ τὸ πᾶν τέρας ἀνάγεσθαι εἰς ἐκείνον, καθὰ καὶ πᾶσαν ὁμήν· διὸ καὶ πανομαχίος ἐλέγετο Ζεὺς. See further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 369.

ii. 32. The relief of Zeus Κραταιβάρης is now figured by Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 219, 8 (=my fig. 1010).



Fig. 1010.

ii. 38 n. 5. Mr A. D. Nock points out to me (Oct. 4, 1921) that Paulin. Nolan. *carm.* 5. 37 ff. is transplanted from Auson. *ephem.* 3. 37 ff. See M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur München* 1904 iv. 1. 33, 238 f.

ii. 44. Platon's comparison of the Galaxy with 'the undergirders of triremes' perhaps rests on another folk-belief. W. Gundel *Sterne und Sternbilder im Glauben des Altertums und der Neuzeit Bonn—Leipzig* 1922 p. 46 says that the Milky Way is sometimes conceived as 'ein gewaltiges Seil.' This would explain, not only the Platonic cable, but also the yet more famous *σειρῆν χρυσείην* of *Il.* 8. 19 ff. A golden rope hung from heaven to earth may well have been a popular conception of the Galaxy. And, if Zeus bound it *περὶ βίον Οὐλύμποιο* (*ib.* 25), we recall that 'the stars came down at night on Olympus' (*supra* p. 905 n. 0).

ii. 44 n. 4. The late Mr H. G. Evelyn White kindly supplied me (Sept. 23, 1921) with a Coptic parallel to the Manichaean 'pillar of light.' It occurs in an apocalyptic Gospel from Dêr Abû Makâr in the Wady'n Natrûn (*New Texts from Dêr Abû Makâr* no. 3,

folio 117^{recto}): 'There shall be a pillar (στῦλος=στῦλος) of light, like unto silver, in Amenti (Hades): all mankind that is shall come to the place of judgment. But ye upon your thrones within the wall shall order the judgment. But the rest of the just—they who shall not be able to attain to the measure of the judgment—shall sit (or rest, remain) upon a pillar (στῦλος) of light, that they may behold them who do judgment and them who have judgment done upon them.' Mr Evelyn White further noted (Oct. 24, 1921), after Dr M. R. James, a 'great pillar' in the judgment-scene of *oracl. Sib.* 2. 238 ff. Geffcken ἦνικα δ' ἀνοστήσῃ νέκρας μοῖραν καταλύσας | καὶ καθίσῃ Σαβαώθ Ἀδωναῖος ὑψικέρανος | ἐς θρόνον οὐράνιον [τε] μέγαν δέ τε κίονα πῆξῃ, | ἥξει δ' ἐν νεφέλῃ πρὸς ἀφθιτον ἀφθιτος αὐτός | ἐν δόξῃ Χριστός κ.τ.λ.

ii. 45 n. 1. After repeated inspection of the marble (in the spring of 1922) and examination of a good photograph I incline to think that the arch is intentional, that the pillar is topped by an *abacus*, and that the inscription should be read as $\Gamma\text{EY}\Sigma$.

ii. 50 ff. F. Haug 'Die Irminsul' in *Germania* 1918 ii. 68—72 contends that there was but one *Irminsul*, that of Eresburg, probably a huge oak-tree lopped of its boughs but still rooted in the ground, till it was destroyed by Charles the Great in 772 A.D. Haug makes light of Widukind's evidence for a second *Irminsul* at Scheidungen, and gives short shrift to the view of Müllenhoff and Mogk that there were several or even many such pillars. He regards the first element in the name as either adjectival ('mächtige, starke, erhabene Säule') or substantival ('für *Irmin(essul)*, d. h. Säule des Gottes oder Halbgottes Irmin').

ii. 50 n. 2. C. Petersen 'Zioter (Zeter) oder Tiodute (Jodute), der Gott des Kriegs und des Rechts bei den Deutschen' in *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte* 1866 vi. 223—342 must be read with caution.

ii. 51 n. 5. Mr B. Dickens has sent me the following notes in criticism (Oct. 8, 1920) of the view advocated by J. Grimm, K. Simrock, and others:—

'The evidence on which this view is based appears to be as follows:

(a) *Stephens, No. 5*, taken from Hickeys' edition of the A.S. Runic Poem, which glosses Υ as both *ear* and *tir*: this poem was however derived from the burnt Cott. Otho B. 10, which seems to have had the characters but no names, the latter being added by Hickeys from

(b) *Stephens, No. 9*, taken from Cott. Dom. A. 9, the writer or copyist of which was an ignorant person who confused Υ and \uparrow as he had previously failed to distinguish between the names of \mathfrak{M} and \mathfrak{M} .

(c) *Stephens, No. 10*, taken from St Gall, 4to, No. 270, p. 52; which gives the value and name of Υ as *z* and *aer* respectively. This is a pretty faithful copy of the A.S. 2nd letter futhorc only partially assimilated to the phonology of O.H.G.; e.g. β is still preserved, though its name has become *dorn*, and \uparrow retains the name *ti* and the value *t*, though the name and value of \mathfrak{M} have become *tag* and *t*.

Later a more drastic attempt is made to harmonize the Latin alphabet, the English futhorc and the sounds of O.H.G. β disappears, though its name *horn* in the form *dorn* is attached to \mathfrak{M} ; the A.S. name of \mathfrak{M} (*dæg*) is changed to *tac* and attached to \uparrow , while Υ , for which O.H.G. had no use in its proper value *ea*, is baptised *ziu*, which corresponds with A.S. *tiv* (found also in the alphabets as *ti* and *tir*).

However the equation of Bavarian *Er* and A.S. *ear* is etymologically unsound, and the association of Υ with the god *Ziu* is quite fortuitous, for the following reasons:—

(1) The use of Υ to represent the sound of *z* [ts] is by no means universal; cf. e.g. *Stephens Nos. 13* and *18* where varieties of the Latin *z* are used and *No. 20*, where the last letter of the Northumbrian futhorc \mathfrak{Z} (*gaar*) is similarly thrust into the gap.

(2) Υ is a specifically English letter invented to represent the *zā* which arose from Gmc. *au*: it is not found in inscriptions outside the English area, and where it occurs in O.H.G. futhorcs and alphabets it is legitimate to assume that it has been borrowed from England.

(3) The sound *z* [z], which existed in the parent Gmc. and was represented by Ψ in the old futhark, disappeared both in English and German, though the letter kept its place in the series and was sometimes used in the later Runic alphabets to fill the vacant place of the Latin *x*. When, therefore, by the Fourth Sound-Shifting a new *z* [ts] developed

in O.H.G. it was necessary to find a fresh symbol. Now Υ was the last letter of the 28 letter English futhorc found, for instance, on the Thames scramasax [the characters for guttural *c* and *g* seem to have been confined to Northumbria]; moreover O.H.G. had no use for an *ea* character.

Put shortly, the association of the character Υ with the name of the god Ziu appears to be due to the following causes:

By a sound-change peculiar to O.H.G. (the Fourth Sound-Shifting) the dentals experienced a general shift round, $\beta > d > t > z$, the effect of which was the loss of β and the appearance of a new sound *z* [ts]. The disappearance of β was welcomed rather than otherwise, since it was an alien which could not be found a place in the Latin alphabet, but it was necessary to find a symbol for *z*. Υ happened not to be needed in its proper A.S. value of *ea*, and moreover to be the last letter of the non-Northumbrian futhorc. It was therefore taken over, but its original name *ear* discarded in order to avoid the confusion which would arise if the initial of the name of a letter were other than the letter itself. Naturally it inherited the name *ziu* which in its shifted form was no longer appropriate to its original possessor \uparrow .

ii. 57 n. 4. Recent articles on 'Jupiter-columns' are listed by W. Deonna in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1917 xxx. 348, *ib.* 1918 xxxi. 434. Add F. Hertlein 'Zu älteren Funden des Juppitergigantenkreises' in *Germania* 1917 i. 101—105 with 2 figs., *id.* 'Der Zusammenhang der Juppitergigantengruppen' *ib.* 1917 i. 136—143 with 9 figs. R. Forrer 'Zur Frage der Juppitergigantensäulen' in the *Römisch-germanisches Korrespondenzblatt* 1912 v. 60 f. questions Hertlein's Germanic interpretation of the columns on two grounds ((1) 'dass an vielen Orten, so z. B. in Zabern, die neben Juppitergigantenresten auf Inschriften gefundenen Personennamen nicht germanische sondern keltische sind'; (2) 'dass schon auf vorrömisch gallischen Münzen eine verwandte Darstellung Platz gegriffen hat').

ii. 86. On the group from *Luxeuil* see now É. Espérandieu in the *Rev. Arch.* 1917 i. 72—86 with two figs. (summarised in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1918 xxii. 220). Espérandieu argues that the rider was Jupiter with an astral wheel, that the horse should be restored in a rearing or galloping posture, and that the human head supporting its foot was part of a giant with snaky legs.

ii. 90. Mr C. D. Bicknell notes a second example—*British Museum: A Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain* London 1922 p. 20 f. fig. 10 'Half of a stone octagon, with reliefs in niches of the deities presiding over the days of the week, was found by Horsley in the mill at Chesterford, Essex, where it had been used by the local blacksmith as a water-trough for cooling his iron.'

ii. 90. The 'Jupiter-column' had a long history in front of it as well as behind it—witness the sacred pillars revered by thousands today in France and Spain. Miss J. E. Harrison 'The Pillar and the Maiden' in the *Proceedings of the Classical Association* 1907 v. 65—77 has drawn attention to the cult of La Vierge du Pilier at Chartres and to the multiplied pillar-shrines of her Cathedral (bibliography by U. Chevalier *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge* Montbéliard 1895 p. 661 ff.). Similarly at Zaragoza the Apostle James (Santiago) built a chapel on the spot where he had seen a vision of the Virgin poised on a pillar of jasper and attended by angels (A. F. Calvert *Valladolid, Oviedo, Segovia, Zamora, Avila, & Zaragoza* London 1908 p. 158 ff. with pls. 348 and 349 Our Lady del Pilar).

ii. 93 ff. The Column of Mayence continues to provoke discussion. To the bibliography (ii. 93 n. 3) add F. Quilling 'Zur grossen Jupitersäule von Mainz' in the *Römisch-germanisches Korrespondenzblatt* 1913 vi. 49—53, K. Körber *Die grosse Jupitersäule im Altertums-museum der Stadt Mainz* Mainz 1915 pp. 1—28 with 10 pls. and 9 figs. (reviewed by K. Wigand in the *Römisch-germanisches Korrespondenzblatt* 1915 viii. 47 f.), F. Drexel 'Zur Mainzer Jupitersäule' in the *Römisch-germanisches Korrespondenzblatt* 1915 viii. 67—69, F. Quilling 'Zur grossen Jupitersäule in Mainz' in *Germania* 1917 i. 43—45, *id.* *Die Jupiter-Säule des Samus und Severus* Leipzig 1918 pp. 1—236 with many figs. (reviewed by F. Drexel in *Germania* 1919 iii. 28—32, J. P. Waltzing in *Le Musée Belge* 1921 xxv. 221—226, cp. *Class. Rev.* 1922 xxxvi. 141), F. Quilling *Die Nerosäule des Samus und Severus* Leipzig 1919 pp. 1—32 with 2 figs. ('Nachtrag' to the 1918 volume by the same author), *id.* *Die Jupiter-Votivsäule der Mainzer Canabarii. Eine neue Erklärung ihres Bildschmuckes* Frankfurt 1919 pp. 1—16 with figs. and 2 pls. (reviewed by F. Drexel in *Germania* 1919 iii. 127 f.).

Of points made since my section on the subject (*supra* p. 93 ff.) was written the most important is the discovery by P. T. Kessler, assistant of the Mayence Museum, that two

drums of the column have hitherto been incorrectly placed. Kessler observed that in its first, fourth, and fifth drums the run-holes for lead ('Gussrinnen') were contrived at the back of the shaft. If the same rule was followed for the second and third drums, we must suppose that their front figures were Volcanus and the goddess with the scales. This supposition is confirmed by the fact that a lance-tip carved beneath Ceres' altar on the lower edge of the second drum is now seen to be the point of Neptunus' staff on the first drum—an adjustment further certified by an incised mark ('Versatzmarke') on the two adjacent edges. Another mark above the helmet of Virtus on the second drum is likewise found to fit on to its prolongation below the figure of Pax on the third drum. The whole rearrangement may be set out as follows:

SHAFT OF THE COLUMN	IVNO <i>Regina</i>	Luna		Sol
	Genius Neronis	Lar	Bacchus	Lar
	VENVS	Pax	Iuno <i>Sancta</i>	VESTA
	VOLCANVS	Virtus	CERES	Honos
	Victoria	MARS	DIANA	NEPTVNVS
	UPPER PLINTH	Inscription	Castor	APOLLO	Pollux
LOWER PLINTH		IVPPITER	MERCVRIVS and Maia (?)	Hercules	MINERVA and Fortuna
	FRONT	LEFT SIDE	BACK	RIGHT SIDE

Quilling now maintains that the entire monument refers to its dedicators, the Canabarii. Virtus and Honos are (as Maass suggested) personifications of Mayence and Castel. Victoria between Mars and Neptunus denotes the success of the fourteenth legion, formerly stationed at Mayence, over the British Boudicca in 61 A.D. Volcanus is there to avert the risk of fire from the corn-ears of Ceres, who represents the harbour-quarter. The goddess with the scales is the patron of Mayence market. She that sets foot on the cow's head and she that has the horse (?) stand for cattle-breeding. Pax is for petty trade. The Genius Neronis becomes the Genius Canabensium. Apollo hails from the Vicus Apollinensis. Etc., etc. But Quilling's views succeed one another at such a pace that the foregoing identifications are, for aught I know, already superannuated.

ii. 97 n. o. H. Mattingly in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1920 x. 38 described an aureus of Nero, which has *rev.* IVPPITER LIBERATOR Iupiter enthroned to left with a thunderbolt in his right hand and a sceptre in his left—a thin disguise for the emperor himself. Mr Mattingly supposed that this coin was struck at Corinth (?) in 67 A.D. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Emp. i pp. clxxxiii f., 214 no. 110 pl. 40, 15), but he is careful to state that its authenticity has been very seriously questioned (*ib.* p. clxxxiv n. 1). Coppers of Patrai, issued under Nero, show *rev.* IVPPITER LIBERATOR Iupiter, nude, standing to left with an eagle on his right hand and a sceptre in his left (Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*² ii. 243, 256, B. Pick in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1890 xvii. 180 ff.).

ii. 98 n. 3. On the statuette from Woodchester see also Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 529 pl. 31, a ('must be a fragment of a statue of Artemis Tauropolos, standing on the bull and carrying a torch'), and S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 i. 29 fig. 3 ('Cérés'), i. 422 ('Déméter-Cérés').

ii. 106 n. 2. Add R. Traquair and A. J. B. Wace 'The Base of the Obelisk of Theodosius' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909 xxix. 60—69 with 7 figs.

ii. 121 ff. on Thracian tattooing. P. Wolters in *Hermes* 1903 xxxviii. 265—273 explains the name 'Ελαφστικτος (*Lys. or.* 13. 19 Θεάκριτον τὸν τοῦ Ἐλαφστικτοῦ καλούμενον)

as appropriate to a Thracian painted or tattooed. See further O. Crusius in *Philologus* 1903 lxii. 125—132 (reported in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1903 vii. 477 f.).

At *Dikili-Tasch* near Philippoi have been found terra-cotta figures of prehistoric (neolithic?) date, which show male heads tattooed, with pointed beards (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1921 xlv. 543 fig. 15).

ii. 131 n. 1. W. B. McDaniel 'The Holiness of the Dischi Sacri' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1924 xxviii. 24—46 figures and discusses eleven such disks; he sees in them (p. 44) 'a sort of compound seal, a composite of signets, peculiar in its design to Tarentum, used for commercial purposes'... 'Pressed in the wax of Tarentum or upon a seal of clay or gypsum.'

ii. 136 ff. Anent the 'Ladder of Salvation' Mr G. G. Coulton kindly refers me to a passage in the *vita fratris Leonis* (*Analecta Franciscana* Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi) 1897 iii. 71, 19 ff.) semel etiam frater Leo vidit in somnis, quod divinum iudicium parabatur, et in prato quodam Angelis tubicinantibus congregabatur gentium innumerabilis multitudo. et ecce duae scalae, quarum una erat alba, altera rubea, fuerunt positae, una ab una parte illius prati, altera ab alia, quarum proceritas usque ad coelos a terra tendebatur. apparuit autem Christus in summitate scalae rubeae quasi offensus graviter et iratus; et beatus Franciscus erat aliquantulum inferius prope ipsum. qui amplius descendens, fratres suos fortissime clamando vocabat dicens: 'venite, fratres, venite, accedite ad Dominum, qui vos vocat. confidite, ne timeatis.' fratres autem multi currebant ex admonitione Patris et incipiebant ascendere scalam rubeam confidenter. cum autem sic ascenderent, unus cadebat de tertio gradu, alius de quarto, alius de decimo, alii de medio, alii de summo. beatus autem Franciscus ad tantam fratrum ruinam motus compassione, pro filiis iudicem precabatur. Christus vero ostendebat manus et latus, in quibus plagae eius renovari videbantur; et inde sanguis recentissime distillabat, et dicebat: 'ista fecerunt mihi fratres tui.' et dum beatus Franciscus perseveraret misericordiam pro filiis postulando, post brevem morulam aliquantulum per scalam rubeam descendebat et clamabat dicens: 'confidite, fratres, ne desperetis, currite ad scalam albam et ascendite, quia ibi suscipiemini et per eam intrabitis coelum.' currentibus autem fratribus ad scalam albam ex admonitione paterna, ecce beata Virgo apparuit in summitate scalae et recipiebat eos; et ingrediebantur regnum sine labore. Cp. Bartholomaeus de Pisis *de conformitate vitae beati Francisci ad vitam Domini Iesu Redemptoris nostri* 8. 2 *de fratre Leone* (*Analecta Franciscana* Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi) 1906 iv. 191, 18 ff.), S. Alfonso de' Liguori *Glories of Mary* (extr. from *The Christian Remembrancer* Oct. 1855) London 1856 p. 25 f., *The Church Quarterly Review* 1902—1903 lv. 55.

ii. 146. A similar sacred trunk adorned with the spoils of the chase was to be seen at Autessiodurum (*Auxerre*), a town of the Senones in Gallia Lugudunensis, as late as the beginning of s. v A.D. (*Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Maius i. 57 C—E (Stephanus Africanus Presbyter *vita S. Amatoris Episcopi Autessiodorensis* 4. 24) Eo autem tempore quo haec gesta sunt, Germanus quidam nomine, nobili germine procreatus, territorium Autessiodorensis visitatione propria gubernabat: cui mos erat tiruncolorum potius industriis indulgere, quam Christianae religionis operam dare. Is ergo assiduo venatui invigilans, ferarum copiam insidiis atque artis strenuitate frequentissime capiebat. Erat autem arbor pyrus in urbe media, amoenitate gratissima, ad cuius ramusculos ferarum ab eo deprehensurarum capita pro admiratione venationis nimiae dependebant. Quem celebris vir ejusdem civitatis Amator Episcopus, his frequens compellabat eloquiis: Desine, quaeso, vir bonorum splendidissime, haec jocularia, quae Christianis offensae, Paganis vero imitanda sunt, exercere. Hoc opus idololatricae culturae est, non Christianae elegantissimae disciplinae. Et licet hoc vir Deo dignus indesinenter perageret, ille tamen nullo modo admonenti se acquiescere voluit aut obedire. Vir autem Domini iterum atque iterum eum hortabatur, ut non solum à consuetudine male arrepta discederet, verum & ipsam arborem, ne Christianis offencilum esset, radicibus extirparet. Sed ille nullatenus aures placidam applicare voluit admonenti. In hujus ergo persuasionis tempore, quadam die praefatus Germanus ex urbe in praedia sui juris secessit. Tunc B. Amator, opportunitatem operiens, sacrilegam arborem cum radicibus abscidit; & ne aliqua ejus incredulis esset memoria, igni concremandam illico deputavit: oscilla vero, quae tamquam trophæi cujusdam certaminis umbrâ dependentia ostentabant, longius à civitatis terminis projici præcepit. Protinus autem [aliquis], gressus suos ad aures saepedicti Germani retorquens, dictis animum incendit; atque iram suis suasionibus exaggerans, ferocem effecit: ita ut oblitus sanctae religionis, cujus fuerat ritu atque munere consecratus, mortem viro beatissimo minitaret: & ne ei aliquo modo quorundam Christianorum conventus furenti resisteret, turbam secum agrestem coadunans civitati improvisus advenit. The upshot was unexpected. Amator, to escape the wrath of Germanus, fled the town, made his way to Augustodunum (*Autun*), and besought Julius, governor of the province, to sanction the

nomination and consecration of Germanus to the episcopal throne of *Auxerre* in the room of himself. 'For,' said the saint, 'God has revealed to me that my life draweth to a close.' A few days later Amator died, while Germanus became bishop in his stead and ruled the see well (S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints*² Edinburgh 1914 v. 13 f.). Amator's festival falls on May 1).

There are points about this curious narrative which suggest that we have here in an attenuated, Christianised, form a Gallic parallel to the cult of Diana *Nemorensis*.

ii. 157 n. o. F. Courby *Les vases grecs à reliefs* Paris 1922 pp. 509—513 ('Oenochoés à portraits de reines') enumerates four examples and sundry fragments, which commemorate Arsinoë ii, Berenike ii, and Ptolemy iv Philopator. With unimportant variations, all repeat the same type, derived—according to Courby—from a statue of Arsinoë ii with the attributes of Tyche set up by Ptolemy ii Philadelphos (Athen. 497 B—C) in her temple at Alexandria (Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 108) together with an obelisk eighty cubits high (*id. ib.* 36. 67 f.).

ii. 174. In the *Rev. Arch.* 1920 i. 172 C. Picard attempts to discredit the *omphalos* found by F. Courby within the temple of Apollon. He suggests that it is perhaps a mere weight and that its inscription may not after all be archaic. But Mr C. T. Seltman, who at my request has made a careful examination of the original stone, sends me (Jan. 11, 1923) the following report: 'After our trip to Delphi, from which we returned four days ago, I must write and tell you what I think about the *Omphalos*, which is now placed in the Museum there. It seems to me that the suggestion of its being a forgery can only be born of madness or malice! The thing is smaller than one expected it to be, but it is to my thinking impossible that it should be a fake. The \square upon it is clear as are \wedge \wedge ; but the *sigma* of \wedge \wedge Σ is so mutilated by a large fracture in the stone that it might be almost any letter.'

ii. 176 n. 1. On Themis at Delphoi see also F. Courby in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1. 81, who notes the inscription restored by G. Colin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1903 xxvii. 107 no. 684 B, 14 f. *ἐπιφοροῦντι δὲ [Θέμης] καὶ Ἀπόλλων Πύθιος καὶ Λατῶ καὶ Ἀρτεμίδος καὶ Ἑστία καὶ πῦρ ἀθάνατον καὶ θεοὶ πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι κακίστωι ὀλέθρῳ τὴν* | *σωτηρίαν μοι [ἀφέλωσι]ν, κ.τ.λ.*

In the hymn composed by Aristonoös of Corinth and inscribed on the Athenian Treasury at Delphoi we read how Apollon first occupied the oracular seat *πέλας Γαίαν ἀνοτροβρόν* | *Θέμιν τ' εὐπλόκαμον θεάν* (G. Colin in the *Fouilles de Delphes* iii. 2. 213 ff. no. 191, 18 f.).

ii. 176 n. 2. W. H. Roscher 'Die Bedeutung des E zu Delphi und die übrigen *γράμματα Δελφικά*' in *Philologus* 1900 lix. 21—41 labours to prove that the mystic *εἶ* is for *πρόσει*, *εἶσει*, "'komm her" oder "Willkommen." This, to my mind, is quite impossible Greek.

ii. 190 n. o. Further references for the history of *rhytd* are given by F. W. von Bissing in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix Arch. Anz. pp. 106—109.

ii. 193. On the evolution of the tripod see now K. Schwendemann 'Der Dreifuss' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1921 xxxvi. 98—185 with figs. 1—30. *Id. ib.* p. 183 f. discusses the relation of the tripod to Zeus on vases and coins.

ii. 193 n. 2. Cp. the twelfth-century fonts at Winchester etc. (C. H. Eden *Black Tournaï Fonts in England* London 1909 pp. 1—32 with good plates), which in appearance at least perpetuate this ancient form of libation-table.

ii. 195 n. 1. A. Furtwängler 'Zum plattäischen Weihgeschenk in Delphi' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1904 pp. 413—417 (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1905 ix. 477) figures the upper surface of the highest extant step of the Plataean tripod, and explains three symmetrically arranged slots in it as due to tenons which passed through the top step of the base and thus tethered the tripod-feet to the second step. If so, we must suppose that the legs of the tripod were drawn somewhat closer together than I have placed them (*supra* p. 194 fig. 134). Furtwängler's inference, however, is not quite secure, since the serpent-coil, which he too takes to have been the central support of the caldron, has left no trace whatever on the second step. It may be that the three slots in question served merely for dowels fastening this step to the one above it, in which serpent-coil and legs were alike embedded.

Re the Plataean tripod see now R. M. Dawkins in *Folk-Lore* 1924 xxxv. 234 f., 380.

ii. 208 f. In this connexion Miss H. Richardson of Newnham College drew my attention (Oct. 24, 1924) to Plout. *de sera num. vind.* 22 566 D *ἅμα δ' ἐπειρᾶτο προσάγων ἐπιδεικνύειν αὐτῷ τὸ φῶς ἐκ τοῦ τρίποδος, ὡς ἔλεγε, διὰ τῶν κόλπων τῆς Θέμιδος ἀπειριδδ-*

μενον εις τον Παρνασον· και προθυμουμενος ιδειν ουκ ειδεν υπο λαμπροτητος, αλλ ηκουε παριων φωνην δεξιαν γυναικος εν μετρω φραζουσαν αλλα τε τινα και χρονον, ως ειουκε, της εκεινου τελευτης. We have here, apparently, Themis on the Delphic tripod impregnated by the central pillar of light (= Apollon: cp. *supra* p. 178).

ii. 222 n. 2. On Iason swallowed by the snake see further P. Ducati 'Giasone e il serpente' in the *Rendiconti d. Lincei* 1920 xxix. 52—64 (p. 53 fig. 1 *kýlix* from *Cervetri*, p. 61 fig. 3 bronze *kýathos* from Felsina).

ii. 229 n. 7. Zeus as Artemis wooing Kallisto is the subject of a painting by F. Boucher (1703—1770 A.D.) (W. Hausenstein *Der nackte Mensch in der Kunst aller Zeiten* München 1918 p. 122 fig. 84).

ii. 281 n. 4. For the golden vine overhanging the entrance to Herod's temple Mr G. C. Armstrong quotes also Ioseph. *de bell. Iud.* 5. 5. 4.

ii. 282. Mr B. F. C. Atkinson has kindly supplied me (Apr. 28, 1922) with a *Note on the Name Sabazios*:—

'I suggest the following etymology for *Sabazios*. The second part I believe to be *Zios*, *Dios*, the Phrygian Zeus. The change of *d* to a sound represented by *zeta* in Thracian is frequent and seems regular, whether it be, as Kretschmer suggests (*Einleitung* p. 196), due to "Assibilation des *d* vor *i*," or whether, as is perhaps more probable, a change of *d* to the voiced dental spirant *ḍ* took place over the whole Illyrian—Thracian—Phrygian language area. The disappearance of intervocalic digamma may be due to conscious assimilation by Greek transcribers to Gk. *Δια*, *Διός*, etc., although it is well to remember in this connection that there is a form of the stem that contains no *μ* (Skt. *dyām*, Gk. *Ζῆρ*, Lat. *diem*).

The first part of the compound adapts itself with surprising regularity to the root given by Brugmann as **keuā*, which appears with varying ablaut in Skt. *śvīṣṭhas*, *śvātrās*, *śvdyati*, *śhras*, Gk. *κύος*, *κύρος* and Boeotian *πάματα*. The root has the general meaning of "swell," "be important," "be master," "possess." *Sabazios* would thus mean originally "Lord Zeus."

There seems to be another possible etymology for the first part of the compound. The root occurring in Skt. *kṛviṣ*, Gk. *κοίω*, Lat. *caueo*, Goth. **us-skāius* may be in evidence here. If this is the case, the initial *s* can be explained in two ways. It may represent an *s*-sound and illustrate the Thracian treatment of the I.-E. combination *sq*-. More probably we have in Thracian that form of the stem that shows no initial sibilant (as in the examples cited from Skt., Gk., and Lat.), in which case concealed beneath *sigma* is the sound *ts* (final in Eng. *thatch*). The Messapian and Lycian inscriptions, if correctly interpreted by Deecke, throw light on this view. There we find *sigma* or *zeta* used for a sound that represents the I.-E. velar (Messap. *zis* for **quis*, a proper name *Plaxtas* with genitive *Plaxtas*; Lyc. *sättäre*, "four," etc.: vd. Deecke in *Bezz. Beit.* Vols. xii, xiii, xiv), though it is true that it is the labialised velar that in these cases undergoes palatalisation. In this case *Sabazios* would mean "Zeus the wise one" with a hint at prophetic power (cf. *caueo*), somewhat resembling "*augur Apollo*." Then we could regard the *Sauadai* or *Saboi*, whose connection with the god seems obvious, as his "wise ones" or "seers."

The former of these two etymologies is perhaps the more straightforward; but there is no real barrier to the second (though it would scarcely have been possible apart from the evidence of the Messapian and Lycian inscriptions). In either case the *beta* represents a *z*-sound, as the alternative forms (*Sauuzios*, *Sauazios*, *Sauuzios*, *Savuzios*, *Sabadius*) make clear, and this derives almost certainly from an earlier *u*. The *a* of the first syllable, whether it represent older *e* or *o*, is assimilated to the following *a*, a practice which seems regular in Illyrian and Thracian (cf., for example, *Delminium* but *Dalmatae*, *-poris* but *-para*). Thus the former etymology would give us *Savaḍios*, the latter *Ἰζαυαḍios*.

ii. 282 n. 2. P. Roussel—J. Hatzfeld in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1909 xxxiii. 511 no. 29 publish a marble slab, from a house N.W. of the *agorá* of Theophrastos in Delos, inscribed in late lettering *Δειελ Σαβαζιω(ι) --- | καρ' εὐχῆν Μο --- | του γεγονότος --- | ἐν Δῆλω Αἰ[ῖου?] ---*. See also P. Roussel *Délos Colonie athénienne* Paris 1916 p. 276 n. 7.

ii. 285 n. o no. (3). The relief from Philadelphieia (*Ala-Sehir*) in Lydia, hitherto incorrectly described, is figured from a photograph (= my fig. 1011) by J. Keil—A. von Premerstein 'Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien' in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1911 ii Abh. p. 84 no. 2. A bearded man standing erect, in *chiton* and *himation*, holds

his garment with his left hand. With his right hand he pours a libation from a *phidle* into a *kratér*, set on the ground, about which two snakes are twined, apparently drinking out

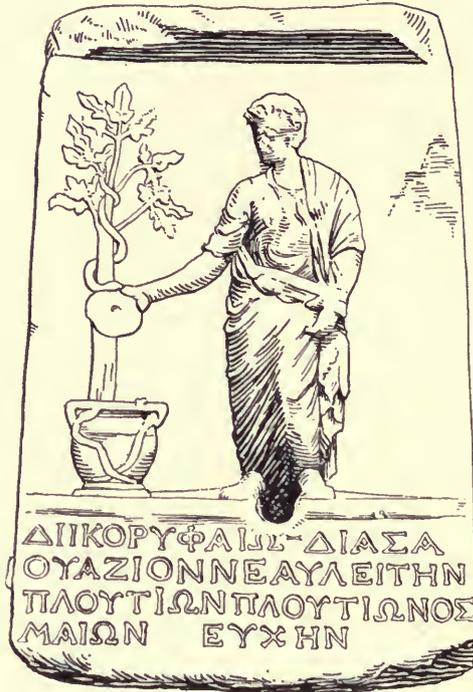


Fig. 1011.

of it. Behind the *kratér* is seen a tree (oak ??), from which a snake lowers itself towards the *phidle*.

ii. 290 n. o. Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie 'Funereal Figures in Egypt' in *Ancient Egypt* 1916 pp. 151—162 draws attention to the existing African custom of treasuring in the family the head of the deceased father and uses it to elucidate certain sepulchral practices of the ancient Egyptians. He shows that in many burials of prehistoric times the head was removed and later replaced in the grave, if not lost or buried elsewhere; that in tomb-shafts of the fourth dynasty a stone image of the head was provided in case the actual head should be lost or injured; that at the break-up of the Old Kingdom a stone image of the mummy came into vogue; and that the addition of hands, arms, etc. led on to the fully developed *ushabti* figures of the seventeenth and following dynasties.

P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 303 notes relevant facts in the Scandinavian area.

ii. 295 n. 1. On Ἄδαμα = Ἄττις see now W. Vollgraaf 'De voce thracia ἄδαπαις' in *Mnemosyne* 1921 xlix. 286—294 (summarised by S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 ii. 406 f.).

ii. 322 n. 6. In the Hesychian gloss on the word *κρυακίας* J. Alberti rightly conjectured *διδόμενοι* for *διδόμενον*. He is followed by Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 68.

ii. 326. See now Miss M. A. Murray *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* Oxford 1921.

ii. 345. The *formula* of the Cretan mystics (*βοῦς μέγας*) may help to clear up an obscure epigram of Kallimachos—'οὗτος ἐμὸς λόγος ὕμνων ἀληθινός· εἰ δὲ τὸν ἥδὼν | βούλει, Πελλαίου βοῦς μέγας εἰν' Αἰδῶν' (Kallim. *ep.* 15. 5 f. with A. W. Mair's note *ad loc.*).

ii. 345 n. 6. On the survival of this *formula* into the middle ages see some interesting remarks by W. Deonna in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 ii. 412.

ii. 386. The *petasos* as a sky-symbol possibly meets us again on the tomb of Porsenna at Clusium as described by Varro *ap. Plin. nat. hist.* 36. 91—93 (92 pyramides stant quinque...ita fastigatae ut in summo orbis aeneus et petasus unus omnibus sit inpositus, ex quo pendent exapta catenis tintinabula, etc.). For discussion and attempted restorations see Quatremère de Quincy and the Duc de Luynes in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1829 i. 304—309, *Mon. d. Inst.* i pl. 13, G. Dennis *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*² London 1883 ii. 345—358, J. Martha *L'Art Étrusque* Paris 1889 p. 206 ff., Durm *Baukunst d. Etrusk.*² p. 140 ff. fig. 165.

ii. 388 n. 4. Janiform busts of Zeus and Hermes are implied by the word Διέρμαι (Prokl. in Plat. *Alcib.* i. 68 f. Creuzer καὶ περὶ ἕκαστον τῶν θεῶν πλήθος ἐστὶ δαιμόνων ἀμύθητον καὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐπωνυμίαις ἀποσεμνυνόμενον τῶν ἡγουμένων θεῶν· Ἀπόλλωνες γὰρ καὶ Δες καὶ Διέρμαι καλοῦμενοι χαίρουσιν, αἵ τε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἰδιότητα τῶν οἰκείων θεῶν ἀποτυπώμενοι).

ii. 397 n. o. R. B. Onians in the *Class. Rev.* 1924 xxxviii. 5 takes Zeus 'Ἡρακλεῖος to mean Zeus 'of the Spindle,' who spins the thread of fate (cp. *Od.* 4. 207 f. βεία δ' ἀργυροῦτος γόβος ἀνέρος ᾧ τε Κρονίων | ὄλβον ἐπικλώσῃ γαμέοντι τε γεινομένῳ τε).

ii. 465. For horned female deer see L. P. Hatch 'A Doe with Horns' in *The American Naturalist* 1870 iii. 279, W. J. Hays 'Does with Horns.' *ib.* 1870 iii. 548—550 and in *The Academy* 1870 i. 103.

ii. 479 n. 8. J. Kohler 'Bräuche und Mythen der Arandas' [=the Arunta] in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1916 xxvi. 283 'hier bildet die Milchstrasse einen grossen Fluss: sie ist mit hohen Bäumen besetzt und von Wasserquellen umgeben, wo Beerenfrüchte in Hülle und Fülle wachsen.'

ii. 479 n. 10. See also D. A. Mackenzie in *Folk-Lore* 1922 xxxiii. 159.

ii. 482. For the Milky Way conceived as a tree cp. W. Gundel *Sterne und Sternbilder im Glauben des Altertums und der Neuzeit* Bonn—Leipzig 1922 p. 46: 'Für sich steht die Auffassung der Bakaïri die einen gewaltigen Trommelbaum darin erblicken' (citing K. von den Steinen *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens* Berlin 1894 pp. 360, 436).

ii. 483. Mr R. Campbell Thompson, in a letter passed on to me by Mr Sidney Smith, says: 'The *kiskauū* is not a common plant, and is rarely, if ever, used in the medical texts. Yet there are three kinds of it—*šalmu*, *pišu*, and *samu*—black, white, and red? (or yellow). I doubt it being the *astragalus* now. I looked about always in Mesopot for anything which would coincide and I confess I am baffled. There is nothing at Eridu now—which is as flat and bare, save for low scrub growth in parts, as one's hand. It can hardly be a very special tree, since it is to be found at the mouth of the rivers.'

ii. 484. A. Nehring in the *Mitteilungen der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde* 1916 xviii. 23 argues that the original form of the name was the vocative Ἀπελλων, because only in the vocative is the ε unaccented, and only unaccented ε becomes ο under the influence of a following ω (ο). This argument was cited by A. H. Krappe in a letter to J. Rendel Harris, who comments: 'He should have added that, with the second syllable unstressed, it was easy to explain the Thessalian Ἀπλων' (F. Bechtel *Die griechischen Dialekte* Berlin 1921 i. 172).

ii. 486. The ultimate acceptance of the bay as the tree *par excellence* of Apollon can be well illustrated from a unique *statēr* of s. iv B.C., struck by some uncertain town in Crete and now preserved in the Hunterian collection at Glasgow (P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 165 pl. 9, 15 and 16, J. N. Svoronos *Nismatique de la Crète ancienne* Mâcon 1890 i. 331 pl. 31, 8, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 200 pl. 43, 7, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 479). *Obv.* Apollon, seated to right on the trunk of a bay-tree, holding a wreath in his left hand. *Rev.* Apollon, seated to right on the trunk of a bay-tree, holding a lyre in his left hand. Fig. 1012 is drawn from a cast kindly supplied to me by Mr G. Macdonald.



Fig. 1012.

ii. 493. I am indebted to Mr B. F. C. Atkinson for the following important communication (Feb. 25, 1922):—'Note on Apollo and the Apple. It seems to me that the philological obstacles to this connection are not insurmountable. Professor E. H. Sturtevant (*Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*, Chicago 1920 pp. 91 ff.) has shown that, while in Greek the unvoiced stops were *lenes*, that is, pronounced without force, and the voiced stops were *fortes*, the reverse was true in Latin. This is the reason why in certain cases of

transliteration from one language into the other $g(\gamma)$ and $k(\kappa)$, $d(\delta)$ and $t(\tau)$, $b(\beta)$ and $p(\pi)$ are interchangeable: for references and examples see my article on "Apollo and the Apple" in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, 1922 vii. 138—140. I have in this article tried to show that in respect of the sets of stops which are *fortes* or *lenes* there is a probability of the Illyrian dialects agreeing with Latin rather than Greek. If then, as I have ventured to surmise, the god's name were borrowed by the Greeks from an Illyrian dialect, in which the form had a voiced stop and was connected with the stem meaning "apple," which runs through the northern languages and appears probably in the name of *Abella* in Campania, the unvoicing of the stop in transmission, that is to say, the change from b to p , need cause us no surprise. The suggestion is somewhat strengthened by the occurrence of the proper names *Abellio* (dat. *Abellioni*) in an inscription from Salona on the Dalmatian coast (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 2169, 3) and *Abello* (gen. *Abellonis*) in another from Mursa in Pannonia Inferior (*ib.* iii no. 10271, 3).'

ii. 496 n. o. On Zeus Περφερέτας or Φερφερέτας as worshipped by the Phrouroi (originally conservators of a particular stretch of the Sacred Way?) see now F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 p. 90 n. 7.

ii. 498 n. 2: 'Has it been noticed etc.?' The answer is, Yes. See Campbell Bonner in the *Am. Journ. Philol.* 1900 xxi. 433—437.

ii. 500 f. I have doubted, and still doubt, Artemis' northern *provenance*. But see, on the other side, an interesting paper by Mr J. Whatmough 'Inscribed fragments of stags-horn from North Italy' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1921 xi. 245—253. He would equate *Artemis*, not only with Βριτόμαρτις (= Φριτόμαρτις), but also with *Rehtia* at Este and *Rit-* in Magrè.

ii. 542. W: Gaerte 'Die Bedeutung der kretisch-minoischen Horns of Consecration' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1922 xxi. 91 n. 2 interprets the problematic object between the horns of my fig. 415 f. as the sun between the peaks of an 'Erdsymbol' (mountains).

ii. 575 n. 4. The coin of Euromos that shows the local Zeus with a stag (cp. ii. 575 n. 1) suggests that Zeus has here replaced Artemis Ἐφεσία. Note that the similar Zeus on coins of Mylasa was, like Artemis at Ephesos (ii. 408 n. o), linked to the ground with fillets (ii. 574), and that the Zeus of Euromos is covered with dots, which may represent breasts (ii. 592 ff.).

ii. 578 n. 4. Add A. Rehm in *Milet* iii. 330 ff. no. 146, A 17 ff. ἵνα δὲ καὶ διαμνημονεύηται τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον καὶ τηρήηται τὰ δεδομένα, συνέταξαν τὰ περὶ τούτων ἐψηφισμένα ἀναγράψαι ἐν τοῖς ἐαντῶν ἱεροῖς πῶι τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὄσογῶ καὶ τοῦ Διὸς | τοῦ Λαβραῦνδου· συνετέλεσαν δὲ καὶ εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας | τοῖς τε προσημνομένοις θεοῖς καὶ τῇ Ἔστια καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Διδυμεί, B 71 ff. ὅπως δὲ τὰ ἐψηφισμένα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου | τίμια μνημονεύηται εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, ἀναγράψαι τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐ[ν] | τοῖς ἱεροῖς πῶι τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὄσογῶ καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαβραῦνδου. ἵνα ᾗ[ε] | ἕκαστα γίνηται μετὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν εὐμενείας, τὸμ μὲν στεφανηφόρον | μετὰ τοῦ ἱέρου τῇ Ἔστια θῦσαι καὶ τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Διδυμείως καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τὸν τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὄσογῶ καὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαβραῦνδου προσαγαγέωθαι θυσίαν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ εὐχὰς ποιήσασθαι συνενεργεῖν | τοῖς πόλεσιν ἀμφοτέραις τὰ ἐψηφισμένα (in a treaty between Miletos and Mylasa, 209/8 B.C.).

ii. 583. E. W. Fay in the *Class. Quart.* 1917 xi. 215 derives Που-ειδᾶζω from *ποι-, 'lord,' and EID, 'to swell.'

ii. 587. Unexpected confirmation of O. Höfer's conjectural Zeus Σπάλαξος has recently



Fig. 1013.

come to hand. The British Museum has acquired an imperial bronze coin of Aphrodisias in Karia, on which he actually appears. Mr G. F. Hill kindly allows me to illustrate it here for the first time (fig. 1013). *Obv.* ΚΡΙCΠΕΙΝΑ ΑΥΓΟΥCΤΑ Bust of Crispina to right. *Rev.* CΕΥCCTΠ ΑΛ[Α]ΞΕΟC ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙCΙ [Ε]ΩΝ Zeus Σπάλαξος (less probably Σπάλωξος) enthroned to left with Nike in right hand and long sceptre in left.

ii. 596 fig. 499. In J. G. C. Anderson—F. Cumont—H. Grégoire *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie* (*Studia Pontica* iii) Bruxelles 1910 i. 161 f. no. 146 H. Grégoire gives a photographic cut of the whole relief, a facsimile of its inscription (which he transcribes as Ζῶβη (or Ζιῶβη) | θεᾶ (or θεαῖς) | σι

though various other letters are visible in lines 4, 5, 6), and a commentary.

ii. 619 n. 4. On the Mithraeum of Allmendingen, excavated 1824—1825, see further Lohner in *Der Schweizerische Geschichtsforscher* 1834 viii (wrongly numbered ix). 430 ff. pl. 5, F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles

1896 ii. 505 figs. 450—455. Seven little hatchets of bronze were found, inscribed IOVI, MIIERVAE, etc.

ii. 625 n. 3. Mr A. J. B. Wace, lecturing to the Classical Society at Cambridge on Nov. 27, 1922, described how in the last season's 'dig' at Mykenai the British School had excavated various tombs outside the town. In the entrance to tomb no. 515 were found two seal-stones, dating from s. xv B.C., with an almost identical device. Above a stepped base stands a 'Minoan' goddess, flanked by a pair of lions erect upon their hind legs. On her head she supports a double axe, which rises from the centre of a couple of two-headed snakes connected by cross-bars—apparently a serpentine substitute for the more usual 'horns of consecration' (cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery* p. 54 f. no. 762 pls. 6 and 7). Fig. 1014 is enlarged $\frac{2}{3}$ from a cast supplied to me by the British Museum. The main difference between the two stones is that on this one the lions' tails curl upwards, on the other downwards. Mr Wace aptly drew attention to Hesych. s. *vv.* κύβηλις· μάχαιρα. ἀμεινον δὲ πέλεκυν, ὃ τὰς βοῦς καταβάλλονσι, κυβηλίσαι· πελεκίσαι· κύβηλις γὰρ ὁ πέλεκυς, and accordingly proposed to call the goddess Kybele (*id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1921 xli. 264 'Kybele or Rhea').



Fig. 1014.

ii. 632 n. 6. Add an axe of dark brown schist, decorated with zigzags and spirals and ending in the forepart of a lioness, found in a 'Middle Minoan iii' vase at Mallia (*Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1925 p. 23 f. fig.).

ii. 633 ff. The axes borne by Roman lictors may be illustrated from a fragmentary marble relief now affixed to a wall of the Cryptoporticus on the Palatine. Fig. 1015 is from a photograph taken by my friend and colleague Mr A. Munro, Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge. It will be observed that the haft of every axe is surmounted by a head (lion, man, ram).

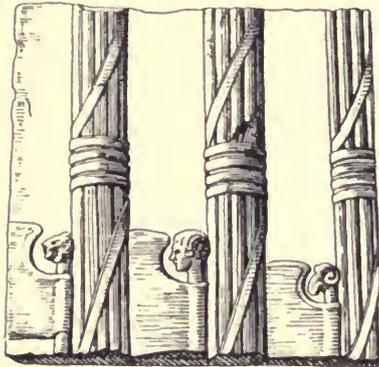


Fig. 1015.

The 'Tomb of the Lictor' at Vetulonia takes its name from an iron double axe (0.27^m long) hafted on to an iron rod surrounded by eight hollow rods of iron (last published by D. Randall-MacIver *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* Oxford 1924 p. 145 fig. 56 after O. Montelius *La civilisation primitive en Italie depuis l'introduction des métaux* Stockholm 1904 Série B pl. 194, 5). Cp. *Sil. It.* 8. 483 ff.

ii. 637. Four fine examples of carving in amber (Eros v. Anteros, Bacchant, female bust, 'Tiergruppe') are figured by H. Maionica in the *Führer durch das K. K. Staatsmuseum in Aquileia* Wien 1910 p. 71 ff. Finer still (c. 0.40^m high) is the archaic *kotlos* of Fiumicino (S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1924 ii. 237).



Fig. 1016.

ii. 645 n. 4. See now Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 53 ff.

ii. 660. A small double axe of ivory (fig. 1016: scale $\frac{1}{4}$), now in my possession, is said to have come from Pharsalos, but was more probably found at Pherai. With it were an ivory *fibula* of 'spectacle'-type and two bronze pendants of the Hallstatt period.

ii. 667. Cp. Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 312 no. 8514 pl. 71 a red jasper of imperial date showing a crab with a comic mask as its carapace.

ii. 693 n. 4. See now an interesting study by W. R. Halliday 'Picus-who-is-also-Zeus' in the *Class. Rev.* 1922 xxxvi. 110—112.

ii. 716. F. J. M. De Waele 'ΧΡΥΣΑΩΡ' in *Le Musée Belge* 1924 xxviii No. 1 (January) holds that *ωρ* in this compound retains its original sense, 'arrow.' See *Class. Rev.* 1924 xxxviii. 92.

ii. 725 figs. 660, 661. A. della Seta *Italia antica* Bergamo 1922 p. 252 fig. 281 shows this statue as it stands in the Galleria dei Candelabri of the Vatican, with a bow restored in its right hand and an eagle in its left!

ii. 739. On statuettes of Zeus the thunderer see now S. Casson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1922 xlii. 211 f. figs. 4—6. He claims that a crude example of the type from Dodona (C. Carapanos *Dodone et ses ruines* Paris 1878 p. 32 no. 16 pl. 13, 4, S. Casson *loc. cit.* p. 211 f. fig. 4 (b) = my fig. 1017) is 'of the Geometric period.' If so, this would be the earliest known representation of Zeus in the round. Unfortunately it is not quite certain that Zeus was intended. The subject *may* be a fighting man, not a thundering god. The holes in his hands would suit spear and shield at least as well as they would suit thunderbolt and eagle. The absence of a helmet, however, tells in favour of Zeus.

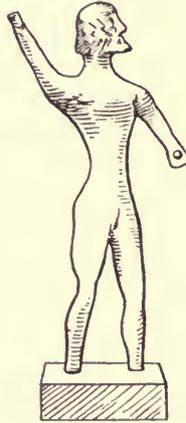


Fig. 1017.

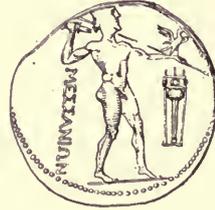
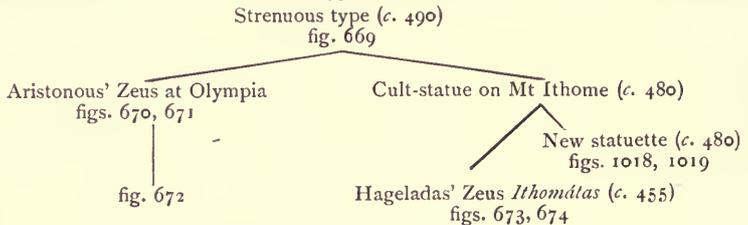


Fig. 1020.

ii. 741 f. K. A. Rhomaios in the *Arch. Δελτ.* 1920—21 vi. 169—171 figs. 3—6 (of which figs. 5 and 6 = my figs. 1018 and 1019) publishes an archaic bronze statuette of Zeus, found in a wonderful state of preservation at Ambrakia in Aitolia and now installed in the National Museum at Athens (no. 14984. Height 0.165^m; with base, 0.188^m. Patina, blackish green). The god advances brandishing a bolt in his raised right hand and supporting an eagle on his outstretched left. Yet the action of his legs and arms is by no means strenuous. It agrees rather with the pose of Hageladas' Zeus on the coins of Messene (ii. 742 fig. 673 f.). Accordingly Rhomaios regards the new statuette as made under the influence of Hageladas' work, which he dates c. 480 B.C. (cp. C. Robert *Archaeologische Maerchen aus alter und neuer Zeit* Berlin 1886 p. 92 ff. and Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 318). But that is definitely to reject the testimony of Paus. 4. 33, 2 (see Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*). It is safer to conclude that the new statuette was an early faithful copy (c. 480 B.C.), Hageladas' masterpiece a later improved copy (c. 455 B.C.), of the same cult-stature on Mt Ithome, which itself was a modification of the ancient strenuous type (c. 490 B.C.). We thus obtain the *stemma*:



ii. 741 f. fig. 674. A rare variety of this Messenian tetradrachm shows Zeus holding, not only an eagle, but also a long sceptre in his left hand. Fig. 1020 is from a well-preserved specimen formerly in the Mavrocordato collection (J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 29 no. 2052 pl. Z', 8) and now in mine. A second



Fig. 1018.



Fig. 1019.

example from the same dies, as I am informed by Mr C. T. Seltman, was in the collection of E. F. Weber (*Sammlung Consul Eduard Friedrich Weber† Hamburg München* 1908 i. 136 no. 1983 pl. 25). The variation of type is presumably due to the die-sinker and does not reproduce the original aspect of Hageladas' work.

ii. 743 n. 5. More complete is a later example now in my collection (fig. 1021). Zeus, with abundant hair and wreath of large bay-leaves, advances brandishing a three-spiked thunderbolt (one end broken) in his right hand and supporting an eagle erect on his left wrist. Height $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Careful work of the Hellenistic age.

ii. 744 n. 3. The Pourtalès *amphora* is now in the Louvre (G 204): see E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre 3^{me} Série* Paris 1922 p. 204 f. pl. 129, J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 38 ('in the style of the Berlin painter'), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 65 no. 45.

ii. 757 fig. 700. A second and better preserved specimen of this important coin has lately come to light. I am indebted to Mr C. T. Seltman for the casts from which my



Fig. 1021.

illustration of it (fig. 1022) is drawn. The obverse is from the same die as that of fig. 701; the reverse, from the same die as that of fig. 700.

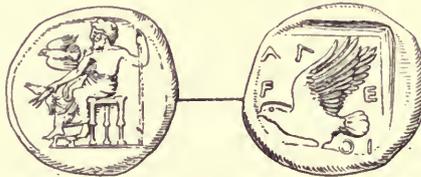


Fig. 1022.

ii. 771 fig. 735. For Zeus enthroned with a lotos in his hand cp. an Arabian imitation of a tetradrachm of Alexander, showing a beardless god enthroned to left with a flower instead of an eagle in his right hand (B. V. Head in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1880 xx. 303 ff. pl. 15, 3, G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Arabia* etc. p. lxxxii pl. 50, 5).

ii. 774 n. 4. Miss M. E. H. Lloyd tells me (Oct. 7, 1922) that at Pitigliano in Grosseto during May and June the leaves of the *giglio* (*iris florentina*) are hung up outside the windows as a charm against lightning. The plant in leaf, before being hung up, is taken to the church to be blessed by the priest.

ii. 798. Mrs A. Strong 'Treasure from Vatican Rubbish' in *The Illustrated London News* 1922 clxi. 380 fig. 1 (=my fig. 1023) publishes, among other fragments of sculpture

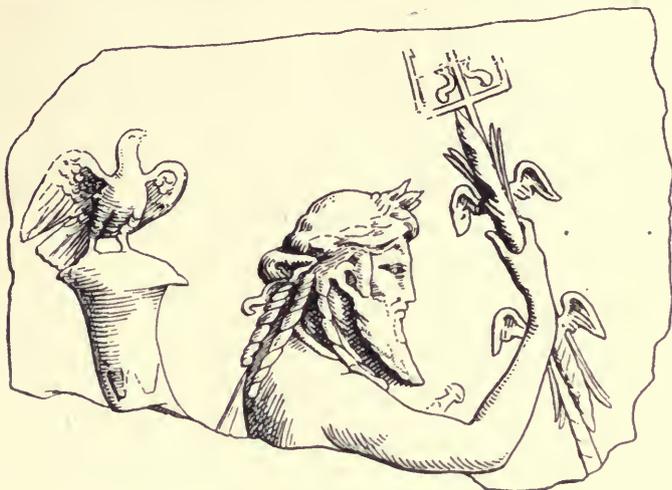


Fig. 1023.

found by W. Amelung in *magazzini* of the Vatican, a neo-Attic relief of s. i A.D., which shows 'a composite divinity, carrying the thunderbolt of Zeus, the trident of Poseidon, and the sword of Ares, while behind him an eagle perches upon a large cornucopia.' See also S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1923 i. 176.

ii. 799 n. 2. A fine bronze trident, which can be converted at will into a bident, was found in the Tomba del Tridente at Vetulonia and is figured by Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1905 iii. 85 fig. 415 a, b.

ii. 800 n. 1. A photograph of this vase with the restorations removed is now published by H. Schaal *Griechische Vasen aus frankfurter Sammlungen* Frankfurt am Main 1923 pl. 30, a.

ii. 802. Mr E. J. Seltman kindly informs me (Aug. 24, 1923) that he has recently seen a terra cotta of the same questionable sort on sale at Naples. He describes it as being 'About 6 inches high, and 4 broad. Hollow. On the back, in the centre, a round boss with T. AΛ. On the front appear at the top, from left to right, the heads of Poseidon, Zeus, and Hades. Below [Zeus] is the thunderbolt, the trident below Poseidon, and below Hades his bidens. Underneath, an inscription of three short lines beginning DIS—.'

ii. 805 n. 6. For recent discussion of the three-bodied monster see A. Brückner in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix Arch. Anz. pp. 113—115.

ii. 807 n. 5 no. (3). V. Chapot in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902 xxvi. 168 no. 8 publishes the following inscription from a marble block, hollowed out to serve as a trough, in the village of *el-qābiisije* (Seleukeia Pieria): ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ προβουλὴ (perhaps a misreading of [ε]ρ[α] βουλῆ) Δ | Γ[ρ]άδιον Πομπήιον Ίήγωνα, τὸν διὰ β[ε]λον νεωκόρον τοῦ Νεικηφόρου Κεραυ[ρ]οῦ καὶ πατέρα τῆς πόλεως, κ.τ.λ. with date ἔτους 85^ο = 95 or 155 A.D.

ii. 818. G. Kazarow 'Nouvelles inscriptions relatives au Dieu Thrace Zbelsourdos' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 i. 340 ff. adds two from the village *Goldno-Selo* in the district *Dupnitza*: (1) Κυρίω | θεῷ προγονικῶ Ζβελ|σοῦρδω Φλ. Ἄ μάτοκος Φλ. Ἄ[μ]ατόκου υἱὸς | εὐξά[μ]ενος ἀνέθηκεν. (2) Τῶ κυρίω | Διὶ Ζβελ|σοῦρδω | ἀνέθηκεν | Τ. Φλα. Ἄμὰ το[κ]ος Τ. | Φ[λ]. Ἄματόκου υἱός].

C. F. Lehmann-Haupt 'Der thrakische Gott Zbelsurdos' in *Klio* 1921 xvii. 283—285 notes also V. Dobrusky *Archäol. Bericht des bulgar. Nationalmuseums* 1907 i. 152 no. 203 an inscription from the village *Chatrono* in the district *Dupnitza* Διὶ Ζβε[λ]|σοῦρδω | τῶ κυρίω Βελβαβριηνοὶ κωμήται | ἀνέθηκαν.

ii. 822 n. 13. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt *loc. cit.* proposes Cic. *in Pis.* 85 a te Iovis *Zbelsurdi* fanum etc.

ii. 823. *J. Whatmough 'The *Iovilae*-dedications from S. Maria di Capua' in the *Class. Quart.* 1922 xvi. 181—189 would connect them with the cult of Iuno *Lucina* as goddess of motherhood and procreation.

ii. 826 n. 3. With the gong at Dodona cp. those discussed by J. Jüthner 'Die Schelle im Thiasos' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1904 vii. 146—150.

ii. 837 n. 1. The Phrygian Zeus ἐξ ἀλῆς is hardly to be connected with Plat. *Axioch.* 371 A—B εἰ δὲ καὶ ἕτερον βούλει λόγον, ὃν ἐμοὶ ἤγγειλε Γωβρύης, ἀνὴρ μάγος· ἔφη κατὰ τὴν Ζῆρον διάβασιον τὸν πάππον αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁμώνυμον, πεμφθέντα εἰς Δῆλον, ... ἐκ τινῶν χαλκῶν δέλτων, ἃς ἐξ Ἑπερβορέων ἐκόμισαν Ὀπίς τε καὶ Ἐκαέργη, ἐκμεμαθηκέναι μετὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος λύσιν τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὸν ἀθλον χωρεῖν τόπον, κατὰ τὴν ὑπέγειον οἰκησιν, ἐν ἣ βασιλεια Πλούτωνος οὐχ ἦν τῶ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς ἀλῆς, ἅτε τῆς μὲν γῆς ἐχοῦσης τὰ μέσα τοῦ κόσμου, τοῦ δὲ πλόου ὄντος σφαιροειδοῦς, οὗ τὸ μὲν ἕτερον ἡμισφαίριον θεοὶ ἔλαχον οἱ οὐράνιοι, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον οἱ ὑπέερεβεν, οἱ μὲν ἀδελφοὶ ὄντες, οἱ δὲ ἀδελφῶν παῖδες.

ii. 869 n. 2. For Mt Pelion and its cults see now F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 pp. 41—43.

ii. 873 n. 2. Cp. Zeus *Karabós* of Akarnania (K. A. Rhomaios in the *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* 1918 iv. 117 ff. = *Suppl. Epigr. Gr.* i. no. 213 (near Astakos) *ἱεραπόλοι Διὸς Καραοῦ* | κ.τ.λ. of s. ii B.C.).

ii. 874 n. 2 (on p. 875). *Φάλακρον* in Epeiros is not to be distinguished from *Φάλακρον* in Korkyra.

Schrader *Realex.*² ii. 245 compares Zeus *Φαλακρός* with the ancient Roman Divus Pater Falacer (Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 84, cp. 7. 45), on whom see G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1967 f. or in his *Rel. Kult. Röm.*² p. 240 n. 4.

ii. 892 n. 4 line 9. The word *ἔθυσεν* is well corrected by A. Meineke to *ἔθυσεν*, i.e. ran in the Nemean games (K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 622).

ii. 897 n. 5. Mr C. W. Blegen has kindly furnished me (Aug. 16, 1924) with the following note:—'Trial excavations conducted by the American School in 1923 and 1924 brought to light near the summit of Mt. Hymettus a large deposit of ancient pottery. It seems to have been deliberately placed in a great heap and carefully covered with earth and ashes, and is probably, therefore, formed of votive offerings discarded from a small shrine or altar. These vases, of many different shapes and sizes, date almost exclusively from the Geometric Period; and some of them bear incised inscriptions. The material is sadly fragmentary, only one inscription being sufficiently preserved to give an idea of its content. It is of a coarsely vituperative nature, recalling the archaic inscriptions of Thera, and unfortunately gives no clue to the character of the shrine. A slight scattering of sherds of classical pottery and a few fragments of Roman lamps were also found.'

The small mountain sanctuary which once occupied this lofty position accordingly appears to have flourished chiefly during the Geometric Age, though it continued to be visited in a small way till Roman times.

Since no trace of a building has yet been discovered, it is possible that the cult possessed merely an open altar.

Until further evidence is forthcoming there can be no certainty in identifying definitely this cult; but it is tempting to conjecture that we have here the site of the worship of Zeus *Ombrios*, which, according to Pausanias, was somewhere on Mt. Hymettus.⁷

See now *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1924 xxviii. 337 (citing *Art and Archaeology* 1924 xvii. 285 f. and *Archaeological Institute of America: 42d Annual Report of the Managing Committee of the American School at Athens, 1922—1923* p. 16 f.) and *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1924 xlv. 255 f.

ii. 903 n. 2. For Mt Oite see now F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 p. 192 ff.

ii. 904 n. 1. W. Vollgraff in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1907—1908 xiv. 225: 'Two hours south-east of Almyró, near Paralia, are the insignificant ruins of a large building of the classical period, within a rectangular temenos. It seems to me that these can only be the remains of a temple belonging to the neighbouring city of Halos. Mr. [N. I.] Giannopoulos' view that this is the sanctuary of Zeus Laphystios may perhaps be correct, though no proof can at present be adduced. In the small trial excavation which I made here, a few fragments of black-glazed pottery were found, but nothing of the prehistoric age.'

ii. 904 n. 3. For Mt Ossa and its cults (no sign of Zeus) see F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 p. 40f.

ii. 904 n. 4. F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 p. 46f. describes Homolion and states that on its *akrópolis* (233^m above sea-level), beneath the unroofed chapel of St Elias, remains of a temple have come to light together with glazed sherds of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Close by was found the foot of a colossal statue (c. 5^m high) with a thunderbolt represented on its sandal. This is now preserved in the Museum at Voló, and may fairly be taken as implying the local cult of Zeus [*Ἰουλιώσις*?].

ii. 904 n. 6. H. Scheffel 'Eine antike Opferstätte auf dem Olymp' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1922 (published 1924) xlvii. 129f. reports that in the summer of 1923 he climbed the highest peak of Mt Olympos and found there no trace of ancient cult, but that on one of the neighbouring summits (c. 2900^m high, *i.e.* c. 100^m below the true top) he recognised remains of an altar and, strewn among the stones of the peak, some hundreds of sherds, badly weathered and broken. Perhaps one half of their number showed traces of ancient black glaze, and the fragments collected must have come from several dozen vessels—small cups, jugs, bowls, etc., mostly of late classical times. Scheffel justly identifies this with the altar of Zeus mentioned by Solin. 8. 6 (*supra* i. 103 n. 1).

F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 pp. 5—11 gives a good description of the mountain with concise geological, topographical, and historical notes.

But by far the most important source for exact knowledge of Olympos is now M. Kurz *Le Mont Olympe (Thessalie)* Paris—Neuchâtel 1923. This well-written and brilliantly illustrated monograph contains a historical introduction (pp. 7—35), a full record of successive explorations (pp. 37—157), chapters on cartography (pp. 159—186) and toponomy (pp. 187—207), with sundry appendixes (pp. 209—232). Its illustrations include 3 photographic panoramas, 14 plates, and 2 coloured maps, one of which (scale 1 : 20,000) is a special survey made by the author (*supra* p. 906 n. o).

ii. 910 n. 1. B. Pace 'Il tempio di Giove Olimpico in Agrigento' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1922 xxviii. 173—252 with pls. 1—3 and figs. 1—31 gives a historical account of the temple and of the attempts hitherto made to recover its arrangements (pp. 175—198), a fresh discussion of its plan, elevation, roof, doors, Atlantes, and sculpture (pp. 199—236), and an Appendix on ancient buildings with *façades* involving an uneven number of columns (pp. 237—252). The main conclusions reached by the author are as follows. The temple had a central nave and two side aisles (*κρητοὶ περιπατοὶ*, cp. Athen. 206A). The cross-wall at the western end of the nave marked the beginning of an *adyton*, which could be entered also from the aisles. The building was hypaethral, the central nave being left open like an *atrium*, though the *adyton* and the side aisles were roofed over. Whether it had pediments is doubtful (R. Pierce on p. 208 ff. is clear that it had not, and on pl. 3 restores it without them). The metopes at either end were carved; those of the long sides were plain. The Atlantes and Caryatids were not placed in the external intercolumniations (*supra* p. 914 fig. 827), but engaged in the internal pilasters of the hypaethral nave (N. Maggiore 'Nota sulla collocazione dei così detti giganti nell' Olimpico agrigentino' in *Due opuscoli archeologici* Palermo 1834 p. 21). No ramps are assumed.

ii. 920 n. o. C. Picard in 1923 reconstructed from remains of sculpture in the Artemision at Delos two lionesses with heads raised in attendance on the goddess. He supposes that this group was set up near the Keraton or altar of horns (G. Glotz *La civilisation égéenne* Paris 1923 p. 476).

ii. 922 n. o. See now Rubensohn 'Das Delion von Paros' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix Arch. Anz. pp. 118—121.

ii. 929 n. o. W. Aly *Der kretische Apollonkult* Leipzig 1908 p. 47 n. 4 regards the hound of Praisos (Theophr. *περὶ ἔρωτος frag.* 113 Wimmer *ap.* Strab. 478, cp. *Ant. Lib.* 36 (*supra* i. 720 n. 4), schol. *Od.* 19. 518, schol. *Pind. Ol.* 1. 91 a) as a sort of Kerberos, guardian of the Dictaeon Zeus.

ii. 933 n. o. See now M. M. Gillies 'The Ball of Eros (Ap. Rhod. iii. 135 ff.)' in the *Class. Rev.* 1924 xxxviii. 50f.

ii. 957 n. 2 on Zeus at Sardeis. E. Littmann in *Sardis* vi. 1. 13 (cp. *ib.* pp. 42, 70) quotes from two Lydian inscriptions the four following phrases:

no. 4 (inv. 1), b 4f. *fakmūt Hūdāns | Artēmuk vqbahēnt*, 'then him may Hūdāns and Artemis destroy.'

no. 23 (inv. 7), 1 *Hūdān. Artīmūū daquwe.st*, 'is sacred to Hūdāns and Artemis' (?).

no. 23 (inv. 7), 3f. *Hūdāns Tavśās* | *Artimuk Ibdimsis katsarlokid*, 'Hūdāns Tavśās and Artemis of Ephesos will punish.'

no. 23 (inv. 7), 10 *Hūdānk Artimuk katsarlokid*, 'Hūdāns as well as Artemis will punish.'

W. H. Buckler *ib.* p. 13 very acutely suggests that *Hūdāns Tavśās* is *Zeus* Ἰδηνός. He observes: '*Hyde* is the ancient, or one of the ancient names, of Sardis (TRAB. XI, 4. 6), and as in the third century B.C. one could speak of the Carian god Komyros without also calling him Zeus (LYKORH. *Al.* 459: *καταίθων θύσθλα Κωμύρω*, and TZETZES *ad loc.*), so one could probably have mentioned Hūdāns without the additional name *Tavśās*. The Old-Indian god Dyaus (*Dyāuś*) is the same as Zeus, and since *ι* in Lydian often takes the place of *δ*, *Tavśās* might represent *D(y)avś-as*, and this would be very similar to Dyaus. In the big stele (No. [23]) sacred to *Hūdāns* and *Artemis*, the god mentioned before *Artemis* must be an important one. We know that Zeus' temple shared the precinct of *Artemis* at Sardis, that Tmolos disputed with Crete the honor of Zeus' birthplace, that Zeus was very important in Lydia, being mentioned and depicted on coins of Sardis and many other towns, in short that next to *Artemis* he was by far the most important local deity.... The termination of *Hūdāns* does not seem to be found in any other Lydian adjective denoting origin, but we cannot be sure that it is not a possible form, and it certainly suggests the Greek termination *Σαρδι-ανός*, or *-ηνός*. Or perhaps *Hūdāns* is no adjective, but the original name of the Lydian Zeus.'

Id. ib. vi. 2. 11 and 44 retains *Tavśās=Zeosis* (Hesych. *s.v.* *Μηδιεύς* cited *supra* p. 312 n. 5), but now transliterates *PNāns* (not *Hūdāns*) and refers to O. A. Danielsson 'Zu den lydischen Inschriften' in the *Skrifter utgifna af Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala* 1917 xx. 2. 24 f., who compares *Tavśās* with the man's name **Tavśās*, gen. *Tavśādos* (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr.* Gr.³ no. 46 a 64 = F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 743 ff. no. 5727 a 64 from Halikarnassos), and equates *PNāns* with Ἀπόλλων (-λδ- = -λλ-, cp. Carian Ἰσσωλδος = Ἰσσωλλος in the last-mentioned inscription).

Mr Buckler informs me (May 19, 1924) that his identification of *Tavśās* with *Zeus* has been accepted by Professors A. H. Sayce and J. Fraser. Dr P. Giles, whom I consulted on the point (Dec. 27, 1924), sees no objection.

The Zeus-cults of Lydia in general are listed by J. Keil 'Die Kulte Lydiens' in *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay* edd. W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder Manchester 1923 pp. 259—261. The list includes no fewer than twenty-five appellatives, eight of which are epithets in *-ηνός*.

ii. 962 n. 0 on the Zeus-cults of Miletos. Add A. Rehm in *Milet* i. 7. 290 ff. no. 203 b 12 f. (cult-regulation of c. 130 B.C.) the priest τοῦ Δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης must have been *τελεσθεὶς Δύ* | *Τελεσουργῶ*, *ib.* i. 7. 299 ff. no. 204 a 13 f. (cult-regulation of s. i A.D.) the priest of Asklepios must have been *τελεσθεὶς Δύ Τελεσ[ι]ουργῶ* with remarks on p. 297 f., *ib.* i. 7. 347 nos. 275 ('in der zweischiffigen Halle') small altar of white marble decorated with a double axe, to left and right of which is inscribed in late Hellenistic lettering *Δεῖδς Λαβραῦν|δελω|ς*, 276 ('in der zweischiffigen Halle') small altar decorated with a double axe, beneath which in late Hellenistic letters is *Δὸς Λαβραῦνδου*, 277 ('in der zweischiffigen Halle') small altar of grey-blue marble decorated with a double axe, to left of which is *Λέων* | *Ἰεροκλείους* | *Δύ* | *Λαβραῦνδω*, 278 ('in der Füllung der Justiniansmauer') small altar of white-grey marble decorated with a double axe, round which is inscribed *Δεῖδς* | *Κεραῦνλου*.

ii. 970 n. 0. Other inscriptions relating to Agdistis are as follows: (1) P. Jouguet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 398 f. = Dittenberger *Oriental. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 28 small slab of white marble, on sale at Gizeh in 1896 but possibly brought from the Fayum, in lettering of reign of Ptolemy ii Philadelphos ὑπὲρ βασιλείως Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Ἀρσινόης Μόσχος ὁ ἱερεὺς | τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸ τέμενος | Ἀγδίστει ἐπηκῶν | ἰδρύσατο.

(2) J. Keil—A. v. Premerstein 'Bericht über eine dritte Reise in Lydien' in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1914 i. Abh. p. 18 ff. no. 18 = O. Weinreich 'Stiftung und Kultsatzungen eines Privatheiligtums in Philadelpheia in Lydien' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1919 Abh. xvi. 1—68 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 985 a *stèle* of whitish marble, found at Philadelpheia in Lydia and containing in late Hellenistic script (s. i or ii (?) B.C.) the regulations of an *oikos*, or private sanctuary, of Agdistis established by one Dionysios in accordance with a dream vouchsafed to him by Zeus. The inscription enumerates the deities who have altars in the 'house' (vv. 1—11), gives a long list of ritual and moral prescriptions (vv. 12—50), mentions Agdistis as the guardian and mistress of the 'house' (vv. 50—60), and ends with a

solemn prayer to Zeus Σωτήρ (vv. 60—64). The first and last portions are as follows: 1 ff. ἀγαθῆι τ[ύχηι]. | ἀνεγράφησαν ἐφ' ἕγχειαι κα[ὶ κοινῆι σωτηρίαι] | καὶ δόξῃ τῆι ἀρίστηι τὰ δοθέ[ντα παραγγέλλμα]τα Διονυσίω καθ' ἕπνον π[ρόσοδον διδόν] | τ' εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον ἀνδρά[σι καὶ γυναιξίν] | ἐλευθέρους καὶ οἰκέταις· Διὸς [γὰρ ἐν τούτῳι] | τοῦ Εὐμένους (supra p. 960 n. ο) καὶ 'Εστίας τ[ῆς παρέδρου αὐ] | τοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Σωτ[ήρων καὶ Εὐδαί]-μοσίας καὶ Πλούτου καὶ Ἀρετῆς [καὶ Ἑγχείας] | καὶ Τύχης Ἀγαθῆς καὶ Ἀγαθοῦ [Δαίμονος καὶ Μνή]μης καὶ Χαρίτων καὶ Νίκης εἰσὼν ἰδ[ρυμένοι βωμοί]. | τοῦτ[ω] δέδωκεν ὁ Ζεὺς παραγγέλλ[μα]τα τοὺς τε ἀ[γνισμοὺς καὶ τοὺς καθαρμούς καὶ] | τὰς θυσίας ἐπι[τελεῖν κατὰ τε τὰ πάτρια καὶ ὡς νῦν [εἰδισταί]· κ.τ.λ. 50 ff. [τὰ παραγγέλλμα]τα ταῦτα ἐτέθησαν παρὰ Ἀγαθίστην [τὴν ἀγυωτάτην] | φύλακα καὶ οἰκοδόσπουαν τοῦδε τοῦ οἴκου, ἥτις ἀγαθὰς | διανοίας ποιείτω ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξίν [ἐλευθέρους καὶ] | δούλοις, ἵνα κατακολουθῶσι τοῖς ὡδε γεγραμμένοις, καὶ ἐν | ταῖς θυσίαις ταῖς τε ἐμμήνοις καὶ ταῖς κατὰ ἐνιαυτὸν ἀ[ππέσθωσαν, ὅσοι πιστεύουσιν ἐα[ντοῖς ἄνδρες τε καὶ] | [γυν]ναῖκες, τῆς γραφῆς ταύτης, ἐν [ἧι τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ παραγγέλλ[μα]τὰ εἰσὼν γεγραμμένα, ἵνα φαῖεροὶ γίνωνται οἱ κατα][καλοῦ]θού[ν]τες τοῖς παραγγέλλ[μασιν καὶ οἱ μὴ κατακοῦ]θού[ν]τες. [Ζεὺς] Σωτή[ρ], τὴν ἀφή[γησιν ταύτην ἰλέως καὶ] | [εὐμεν]ῶς προσδέχων καὶ προσ[space for c. 18 letters] | [πάρε]χε ἀγαθὰς ἀμοιβὰς, [ὑγίειαν, σωτηρίαν, εἰρήνην, ἀσφάλειαν] ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ἐπὶ θα[λάσσης ἐμοὶ τε καὶ τοῖς] | [εἰσπορευο]μένοις ὁμοίω[ς].

(3) J. Keil 'Denkmäler des Meter-Kultes' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1915 xviii. 73 f. fig. 45 republishes (cp. A. Conze in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1880 xxxviii. 4 pl. 3, 3) a fragmentary votive relief of grey-blue marble, now in the Estense collection at Vicenza, which represents a goddess (Agdistis) standing, with a *kálathos* on her head, a *phiale* in her right hand, and a large *tympanon* in her left, between two lions. To her right stands a youthful god (Attis) in short *chiton* and *chlamys*. To her left (now missing) stood an elderly god (Zeus), whose hand held a sceptre. On the left margin of the relief is a small torch-bearing maiden. Below, in lettering of s. iii B.C., is inscribed Ἀναξίπολη [- -] [Ἀ]γδίστη[ι ἀνέθηκεν]. I am indebted to Mr B. F. C. Atkinson for a notice of this inscription.

ii. 1059 for burial in the house. See further H. J. Rose *The Roman Questions* (supra *Plutarch* Oxford 1924 p. 202 (note on *quaestt. Rom.* 79).

ii. 1065 n. ο. H. Bolkestein 'The Exposure of Children at Athens and the ἐγχυτρίστραι' in *Classical Philology* 1922 xvii. 222—239 (summarised in the *Class. Quart.* 1923 xvii. 206), arguing 'that the current idea as to the normality of *expositio* is totally unfounded,' interprets ἐγχυτρίσειν 'to throw into a pit (χύτρος = βόθρος), to sacrifice in a pit to the dead' and so 'to burn up, to destroy,' ἐγχυτρίστραι 'women who sacrificed to the dead.'

ii. 1089. G. Seure 'ΤΕΛΕΣΦΟΡΟΣ-ΤΙΛΕΣΠΟΡΟΣ' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1918 xxxi. 389—398, following up a suggestion of S. Reinach 'Télesphore' *ib.* 1901 xiv. 343—349 = *id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1906 ii. 255—261, contends that Telesphoros, though Greek in appearance, was Thracian in origin. He points out that a Thracian name *Τιλε-σφόρις, *Τιλε-σφόρος, of legitimate formation but of unknown significance, might well have been Hellenised into Τελεσφόρος.

ii. 1101 n. 3. F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1921 p. 442 publishes an inscription from the western slope of the *Akrópolis* at Athens, where it was built into the wall of a later *Lésche*: *ἑπερὸν | Διὸς Ζην[ε]ο Θουμα[ι]δος φρα[γ]τρίας*. He infers that the phratry Thymaitis had a sanctuary of Zeus Ζένιος near the *Lésche*.

ii. 1102 n. ο. On the relief in the Terme Museum (fig. 939) see further P. Perdrizet 'D'une certaine espèce de reliefs archaïsants' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 ii. 211—218 with pl. 13.

ii. 1118. G. Welter 'Das Olympieion in Athen' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1922 (published 1924) xlvii. 61—71 with pls. 7—10 marks an important advance in our knowledge of the Olympieion.

(1) Within the eastern portion of its foundations there has come to light the lowest course of a pre-Peisistratic *peristasis*, of which the N. wall was uncovered by F. C. Penrose, the W. by Welter. The wall was 2.50^m thick, and the *peristasis* measured 30.50^m broad by c. 60^m long. This was τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἱερόν built by Deukalion (Paus. 1. 18. 8).

(2) The temple of the Peisistratidai, begun c. 515 B.C., was a more ambitious structure, having the same proportions, size, and plan as its Hellenistic—Hadrianic successor. It was designed as an Ionic dipteral building with eight columns on the short side and twenty on the long side. Its length and breadth (107.70^m × 42.90^m) make it comparable

with the great Ionic temples of eastern Greece—the Artemision at Ephesos ($109.20^m \times 55.10^m$) and the second Heraion at Samos ($108.73^m \times 52.41^m$). The foundations, continuous for the outermost columns, separate for the inner rows, are laid in neat polygonal courses of Akropolis-limestone and Kara-stone with a *euthynteria* of hard *póros*. The stylobate had three steps of *póros*. No column-bases have been found. But unfluted drums of *póros* show a lower diameter of 2.42^m and enable us to conclude that the height of the shafts was *c.* 16^m .

Welter suggests that the Peisistratidai, as a counterbast to the Delphic activities of the Alkmaionidai, not only rebuilt the Telesterion at Eleusis (520—515 B.C.), but also tried to establish a panHellenic Zeus-cult at Athens. He thinks that these two enterprises were not unconnected. Hippias dealt in oracles (Hdt. 5. 93, cp. 90), Hipparchos in dreams (Hdt. 5. 36); and Hipparchos was at one time under the influence of Onomakritos (Hdt. 7. 6). Such men might well honour Zeus as the supreme god of the Orphic cosmogony. But, with the fall of the mystically-minded Peisistratidai, the vast temple was left unfinished, and the democracy reverted to the worship of Athena.



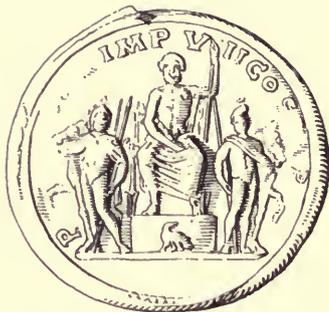
Fig. 1024.

ii. 1133 n. 1. With fig. 957 cp. the Roman mural relief of Mars and Apollo with an oracular bird on a pillar in a cage (G. P. Campana *Antiche opere in plastica* Roma 1842—1851 pl. 19, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 381 no. D 507, Von Rohden—Winnefeld *Ant. Terrakotten* iv. 1. 20 f. figs. 29—32).

ii. 1143 fig. 964. A specimen in the British Museum (fig. 1024 from a cast) shows the type somewhat more clearly.

CORRIGENDA

- ii. 19 line 2. For 'Kynados' read 'Kounados.'
- ii. 67 n. 3. For 'p. 377^t' read 'p. 57.'
- ii. 115 n. 2 line 4. For 'οπερ' read 'δπερ.'
- ii. 120 n. 1 last quotation. For 'Ομηρος' read "Ομηρος."
- ii. 133 n. ο. For 'Gaulminus' read 'Gualminus' *bis*.
- ii. 182 n. 1 line 5. For 'Nationalmus.' read 'Nationalmus.'
- ii. 209 n. 2 line 10. For 'Ολμων' read "Ολμων."
- ii. 241 n. 4 line 6 from bottom of page. For 'Pherekyde' read 'Pherekydes.'
- ii. 298 n. 2. For 'Modius' read 'Modius!.'
- ii. 423 n. 3 *sub fin.* For 'Riðbenhavn' read 'Kiðbenhavn.'
- ii. 436 n. 7. For '376 f.' read '22 ff.'
- ii. 547 n. '2' should be numbered n. '4,' and n. '3' should be numbered n. '5.'
- ii. 565 n. 2 line 5. For 'η' read 'η.'
- ii. 664 n. 1 line 10. For 'syrinx' read 'sφrinx.'
- ii. 714 n. 2 line 2. For 'Εκάτης' read 'Εκάτης.'
- ii. 729 n. ο line 15 from bottom of page. For 'ii 208 f.' read 'ii. 208 f.'
- ii. 774 n. 1 line 7. For 'Vishna' read 'Vishnu.'
- ii. 784 n. 7. For 'Kentoripai' read 'Kentouripai.'
- ii. 806 n. 8. For 'άστεροπητής' read 'άστεροπητής.'
- ii. 808 n. ο line 11. For 'δ' read 'δ.'
- ii. 829 line 23. For 'they delay' read 'thy delay.'
- ii. 868 n. 6 line 4. For 'pud' read 'apud.'
- ii. 874 n. 2 last line. For '874' read '873.'
- ii. 916 n. ο line 15. For 'Ολύμπιος' read 'Ολύμπιος.'
- ii. 960 n. ο line 13 from bottom of page. For 'Hadrianas' read 'Hadrian as.'
- ii. 968 n. ο line 2. For 'νεωκόρ[ος]' read 'νεωκόρ[ος].'
- ii. 975 n. ο line 7 from bottom of page. For 'Πεπειτλου β' read 'Πεπειτλου ιβ'.'
- ii. 977 n. ο line 14. For 'historica' read 'historical.'
- ii. 1088 line 14 from bottom of page. For 'inscr. Gr. i' read 'inscr. Gr. ii.'
- ii. 1093 n. 1 line 5. For 'recques' read 'grecques.'
- ii. 1128 n. ο line 1. For 'Αγαθόν' read 'Αγαθόν.'
- ii. 1140 n. 3 line 4. For 'Lyaea' read 'Lyaea).'
- ii. 1178 line 7. For 'Greek' read 'Great.'



Bronze medallion of Commodus,
struck 185 A.D. (Gnechi *Medagl.*
Rom. ii. 59 f. no. 74 pl. 83, 2).
Supra p. 1209 n. 2.

INDEX I

PERSONS PLACES FESTIVALS

The contents of each item are arranged, as far as possible, under the following heads: *Cults Epithets Festivals Oracles Rites Priests Personations Myths Metamorphoses Genealogy Functions Etymology Attributes Types Identifications Assimilations Associations Comparisons Relations Supersedure.*

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The larger numerals refer to pages, the smaller numerals to foot-notes.

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 Alexandros of Abonon Teiehios 225 1083 ff.
- Alexis, St 134
- Algidus, Mt
Cult: Diana 404
- Alinda, coins of 572
- Aliphera
Cults: Athena (?) 782 Myiagros 782

- Alkamenes 1078
 Alkmaionidai 1229
 Alkyone
Myth: claims that her h. Keyx is Zeus 1088
Genealogy: d. of Aiolos 1088 d. of Atlas 414₂ m. of Hyperes and Anthas by Poseidon 414₂
 Alkyoneus 463₁
 Allmendingen
Cults: Iupiter 619 1221 Matres 619
 Matronae 619 Mercurius 619
 Minerva 619 1221 Neptunus 619
 — Mithraeum at 1220
 Allobroges
Cults: Baginatiae 570 Baginus 570
 Iupiter Baginas 570
 Almedha, St 325₃
 Alopeke
Cults: Athena (Athenaia) 1115 Ge 1115 Zeus Μολχίος 1115
 Alopekos 421
 Althaimenes
Cult: Rhodes 923₀
Myths: Mt Atabyrion in Rhodes 923₀
 Rhodes 922₃ 923₀
 Altheos 414₂
 Altyntash in Phrygia
Cult: Zeus Βένιος 883₀₍₀₎
 — tombstones from 836
 Alysis, Mt (?)
Cult: Zeus "Αλσειος (?) 945₁ Zeus "Αλύσειος (?) 945₁
 Amadokos 452
 Amaltheia
Myth: nurses Zeus 928₀ 932₁
Genealogy: m. of the nymphs Adrasteia and Eide (Ide) by Melissos 933₀
Functions: goat 932₁ Naiad 932₁
Types: carrying infant Zeus 363₁ (?) goat 746₂ (?)
 Amaseia
Cult: Zeus Στράτιος 975₀ f.
 — coins of 975₀ f.
 Amasis, the vase-painter 794₀
 Amastris
Cults: Hera 707 Zeus Πανκλήσιος 1067
 Zeus Στρατηγός 707 848 918₀
 — coins of 707 918₀
 Amathous
Cults: Theos "Υψιστος 879₀₍₁₆₎ 980₃
 Zeus Λαβράνιος 598 f. Zeus "Ορομπάρας 869₀
 Amazons
Myth: Ephesos 405
Attributes: battle-axe (σάγαρις, securis) 560 double axe (λάβρυς, πέλεκυς, ἀμφιπέλεκκον (?), bipennis) 560
In relation to Hittites 560
 Ambrakia
Cult: Zeus 1222
 — bronze statuette of Zeus from 1222 coins of 162 f. 499
 Ameirake, former name of Penelope 691
 Amen
Cult: Thebes in Egypt 774₀
 See also Amen-Râ, Ammon, Amon, Amoun
 Amen-Râ
Attributes: plumes 926₀ solar disk 492₀₍₀₎
Type: ithyphallic 772₁
Identified with Zeus 926₀
 See also Amen, Ammon, Amon, Amoun
 Amenti 1212
 Ammon
Cult: Egypt 767₂
 — horn of 773₀ masks of 808₀₍₁₇₎
 See also Amen, Amen-Râ, Amon, Amoun
 Amnisos 942₀
 Amon 767₂
 See also Amen, Amen-Râ, Ammon, Amoun
 Amor 862₁₀
 Amorgos
Cult: Zeus Εύβουλεύς 258₃
 — head from 122₀
 Amoun
Cult: Egypt 293₀ 889₀₍₀₎
 See also Amen, Amen-Râ, Ammon, Amoun
 Amphiaraos
Cults: Hellenes 1070 Oropos 1070 ff.
Epithet: ἀναξ 1070
Myth: 1070 f.
Genealogy: descended from Aiolos 1088 f. of Amphilochos 489₀₍₄₎ s. of Oikles 1071
Function: chthonian 1070
Etymology: 1072
Attributes: snake 1071 snake coiled round staff 1071
Types: bearded 1071 beardless (?) 1071 enthroned 1071 laureate 1071
Assimilated to Asklepios 1072
Associated with Hygieia and Pan 1072
Compared with Aeneas 1071 Erechtheus 1071 Latinus 1071 Theodoros the Great 1071 Trophonios (Trophonios) 1075
 — chariot of 815₇
 Amphiareion near Oropos 1071 f.
 Amphictionic πύλαια 903₂
 Amphikles 421 673₃
 Amphilochos
Myths: fights Mopsos 489₀₍₄₎ 490₀₍₀₎ 1130₁ founds Mallos in Kilikia 489₀₍₄₎
Genealogy: s. of Alkmaion 489₀₍₄₎ s. of Amphiaraos 489₀₍₄₎
 Amphion
Cult: Antiocheia on the Orontes 428
Myths: Dirke 1013 1015 1019 Lykos 1019₂
Genealogy: b. of Zethos 317 s. of Zeus by Antiope 1013 s. of Zeus or Epopeus 445

- Amphion (*cont.*)
Functions: harp-player 1013 one of the Theban Dioskouroi 317 1014
Etymology: 445 673₃ 1072
Attribute: lyre 1013
- Amphios, s. of Merops 1072
 Amphios, s. of Selagos 1072
 Amphiss, clipped form of Amphiaraios 1072
 Amphissos 486
 Amphisthenes 421 673₃
 Amphithea 673
 Amphithea (?) 353₃
 Amphitrite
Type: with head-dress of crab's-claws 665₃
- Amphitryon
Function: human Zeus 1072
Etymology: 1072
- Ampsactus (Amsactus) 328₄
 Amulius 1016
 Amyklai
Cult: Apollon 458 894₀
- Amymone 800 (?)
 Anagnia
Rites: priests wear fleece as head-dress 377 procession of Salii 375
 — marble relief from 375
- Anakeion 1063 f.
 Anaktes
Cult: Athens 1135₄
- Ananke
Genealogy: m. of Aither, Chaos, and Erebus by Chronos or Herakles 1022 st. of Dike 316₀
Function: cosmic 316₀
Type: androgynous 1022
Identified with Adrasteia 1022
 — spindle of 45 66₀ throne of 129₁ way (Milky Way) of 42 (?)
- Anaphe
Cults: Aphrodite 1066 Apollon Αἰγλήτης 816₄ Apollon Ἀσγέλατας 1066 (Zeus) Κτήσιος 1066
Myth: Apollon 816₄
- Anat 807₃₍₁₎ (?)
- Anatolian association of Mother-goddess with youthful *páredros*, at once her consort and her child 294
- Anaxagoras 11 1024
 Anaximandros 1024 1033
 Anaximenes 386
 Anazarbos
Cults: Phcrsephone 14₃ θεὸς Καταβάτης 14₃ Zeus Ὀλύβριος or Ὀλύβρις 980₁
- Anchesmos, Mt
Cult: Zeus Ἀγχέσμος 897₄
- Anchiale, m. of Idaean Daktyloi 929₀
 Anchialos in Thrace
Cults: Asklepios 1079 Zeus Ἐπίστος Ἐπόπτης (?) 878₀₍₁₀₎ 949₂
 — coins of 1079
- Anchises
Myth: *sacra* of Troy 1068
- Andraimon 486
- Andrew, St
Type: on chalice of Antioch 1202₀ (?)
 Andromeda, picture of 986₀
- Andros
Cult: Zeus Μειλίχιος 1156
- Anemoi
Cult: Orphists 141, 827
- Anemos in Phoenician cosmogony 1037 f.
- Angdistis See Agdistis
- Angela, St 135 f.
- Angelion 232₀
 Angeloi Theou 880₀₍₁₉₎
 Angelos See Agathos Angelos, Theios Angelos
- Angistis See Agdistis
- Ani (= Ianus)
Cult: Etruria 338₃
- Anien, the river-god 1016
- Anigemius
Cult: Noricum 338₃
- Anios 670 f.
- Ankya in Galatia
Cults: Zeus 971₁ Zeus Βροντῶν 835₅ Zeus Ταουανός 754₁
 — coins of 491₀₍₀₎
- Ankya in Phrygia
Cult: youthful hero on horseback bearing double axe 566
 — coins of 566
- Anna, St 1157
- Anogea 935₀
 Antaios 134₁
- Antandros
Cult: Zeus Ἀστραπαῖος 815
- Antauges
Identified with Phanes 1026 1051
- Anteros
Type: with Eros 1221
- Anthas, king of Troizen 414₂
- Anthesteria 1139
- Antho 1016
- Anthos of Arkadia 414₂ 1092
- Anthos, s. of Autonooos and Hippodameia 414₂
- Antigonia on the Orontes
Cult: Zeus 1188
- Antilibanos, Mt 981₁
- Antinoe, d. of Kepheus 1083
- Antinoos
Personates Agathos Daimon 1128₀
Types: with lotos-flower on head 773₀ with lotos-wreath 773₀
- Antiocheia in Chrysaoris (= Alabanda)
Cults: Apollon Ἰσότιμος 714₂ Zeus Χρυσασορεύς 714₂
- Antiocheia on the Maiandros
Cult: Zeus Βουλαῖος 259₀
 — coins of 259₀ f.
- Antiocheia on the Orontes
Cults: Amphion and Zethos 428 Apollon (?) 1192₅ Athena 1197 Boule (?) 1193₂ Demos (?) 1192 Dionysos 428 1197 Iupiter *Capitolinus* 1188 Triptolemos 981₁ Tyche 1196₃ 1197 Zeus 1197 Zeus Bor-

- Antiocheia on the Orontes (*cont.*)
τιὰς 1187 f. Zeus Βώττιος 1188
 Zeus Καπερώλιος (=Iupiter *Capitolinus*) 1188₄ Zeus Κεραύνιος 428
 Zeus Φίλιος 1178 1186 1196 f.
Myths: founded by Alexander the Great 1187 founded by Kasos and Belos 981, founded by Seleukos i Nikator 1188
 — chalice from 1197 ff. coins of 1192 ff. 1196₀ 1209 1209₅ (?)
 'Golden' Basilica of 1198₁
- Antiochos i of Kommagene
Personates Tyche 1136₄
- Antiochos iv Epiphanes
Epithets: Θεός 'Επιφανής 1189 Θεός 'Επιφανής Νικηφόρος 1189
Personates Zeus 1188 f.
- Antion 1123
- Antiope
Myth: 1013 1015
Genealogy: d. of Nyktens 1013 m. of Zethos and Amphion by Zeus 1013 cp. 428₄ w. of Epopeus 1013
 — Dionysiac character of 1019₂
- Antoninus Pius
Personates Zeus 101, 343₀
 — house of, struck by lightning 10
- Anxia, helmet from 1159₁
- Arameia in Phrygia
Cults: Artemis 'Εφεσία 408₀ Dioskouroi 313
Myth: Zeus nursed by Rhea under protection of Kouretes 968₂
 — coins of 313 408₀ 610
- Arameia on the Orontes
Cult: Zeus 1192
 — coins of 1192
- Apatē
Epithets: ἄλλοπρόσαλλος ὀρεστίας... δαίμων 942₀
Myth: birth of the first Aphrodite 1029
Type: Fury 854
- Apelles 828
- Apellon See Apollon
- Apmosyne
Myth: Mt Atabyrion in Rhodes 923₀ 924₀
- Apesas, Mt
Cults: Zeus 'Απεσάντιος 892₄ Zeus 'Απέσας 892₄ Zeus 'Αφέσιος 892₄
Myths: Deukalion 892₄ Nemean Lion 892₄ Perseus 892₄
Etymology: 892₄
- Aphareus 437
- Apharidai 438₂
- Aphesas 892₄
- Aphrodisias in Karia
Cults: Aphrodite 573₇ Eros 572₁₀ Zeus Λαβράινδος 585₃ Zeus Μέγιστος 585₃ Zeus Σπάλαξος (less probably Σπάλωξος) 1220
Rite: tree threatened 681 f.
Myth: Myrrha (?) 681 f.
 — coins of 572 f. 681 1220
- Aphrodisiastai Syroi 1157₃
- Aphrodite
Cults: Mt Aigaion (?) 927₀ Anaphe 1066
 Aphrodisias in Karia 573₇ Argos 1156₃ Athens 985₀ 1043 Delos 922₀ Dorylaeion 281 Elis 68₁ Epidauros 1144₃ Gortyna 723₀ Halikarnassos 872₀₍₅₎ Hierapytna 723₀ Jerusalem 984₁ Kition in Kypros 807₅₍₄₎ Kypros 424 Libye 987₀ Lyttos 723₀ Megalopolis 1178 Megara 257₄ Nisyros 1157₃ Paphos 783₃ 944₀ Paros 875₁₍₅₎ Pergamon 424 Philadelpheia in Lydia 363 Priansos 723₀ Sardeis 424 Sikyon 1165₁ Skythia 292₄ Smyrna 729₀ Troizen 872₀₍₅₎ 944₀
Epithets: 'Αγνή 922₀ 'Ακραία 872₀₍₅₎ 'Ακρία 1156₅ 'Αρτιμήσασα 293₀ ἀφρογενής 1029 ἐγεροίγελος 1029 'Επιτροφία 257₄ 'Επιτυμβία 1165₁ Κατασκοπία 944₀ Μιλχία 1144₃ Ούρανία 68, 292, 854 985₀ Πάφια 424 Στρατονικίς 729₀ Σώζουσα 987₀ Ψίθυρος 1043
Rites: emergence from sea 132₂ taboo on garlic among priests of Aphrodite in Libye 987₀
Worshippers: 'Αφροδισιασταί Σύροι 1157₃
Myths: reared amid *aphrōs* arising from genitals of Ouranos 448₀ cp. 448₁ sprung from seed of Ouranos falling into sea 1029 sprung from seed of Zeus falling into sea 1029
Genealogy: d. of Aphros by Astynome 693₄ 694₀ d. of Ouranos 1029 d. of Zeus 1029 w. of Adonis 694₀
Functions: cosmic 316₀ summer 557₁
Attributes: apple 491₀₍₆₎ 1165₁ doves 710 myrtle 1165₁ poppy 1165₁ rose 1043 water-mint 1166₀ wreath 573₇
Types: with Eros standing on her arm 1043 with Eros stepping down from behind her shoulder 1044 face with flower in hair 710 with foot on tortoise 68₁ holding apple 491₀₍₆₎ holding poppy and apple 1165₁ Kanachos 1165₁ on ladder 124₂ (?) Pheidias 68₁ terminal goddess 854 under arch 363
Identified with Artimpasa (Artimeasa, Argimpasa, Arippasa) 293₀
Associated with Hermes 146₂ 872₀₍₅₎ 1043 Peitho 261 1044 (fig. 893) Tammuz (Adonis) 984₁
In relation to Adonis 293 552₁
- Aphrodite, as ship's name 987₀
- Aphroi (Africans) 693₄
- Aphros, forefather of Aphroi
Genealogy: f. of Aphrodite by Astynome 693₄ 694₀ s. of Kronos by Philyra 695₀
- Apia (Api), the Scythian Ge 293₀
- Apidanos, river in Thessaly 1025
- Apis
Cult: Egypt 942₀
Type: double bust (with Isis) 392

Apollo

Epithet: Delphicus 927,*Associated with Hercules and Diana*59₀*In relation to Castor and Pollux* 95 f.

Diana 99 f.

Apollon

Cults: Achaeans (?) 458 Acharnai 163 Aigai in Aiolis 95₄ Aigina 184 Akraiphia 238₀ Alabanda 97₀ 247₀ 248₀ 714₂ Amyklai 458 89₄ Anaphe 816₄ 1066 Antiocheia in Chrysaoris (= Alabanda) 714₂ Antiocheia on the Orontes (?) 1192₅ Ardettos 1135 Argos 163 173₄ Athens 163 163₄ 184 255 730₀ 875₁₍₂₎ 985₀ 1121 Aulai 249₂ Axos 816₄ Babylonia (?) 456 Badinlar, in Phrygia 567 f. Bassai 405₃ Bilkon 948₀ Branchidai 920₀ Byzantium 167 f. Corinth 210₀ 915₂ (?) 916₀ Crete 457 948₀ Daldeia 250 f. Daphne near Antiocheia on the Orontes 1188 Delos 223₃ 249₂ 452 ff. 854 Delphoi 457 839 1216 Didyma near Miletos 317 f. 317₂ Dorylaeion 281 Eleuthernai (Eleutherna) 456₇ 491₀₍₆₎ 492₀₍₁₀₎ Epidaurus 487₃₍₁₁₎ Erythrai in Ionia 730₀ Eumeneia in Phrygia 571 970₀ Gortyna 723₀ 731₀ Gryneia 489₀₍₄₎ Halikarnassos 163 Hiern in Lesbos 488₀₍₂₎ Hierapolis in Phrygia 567 Hierapytna 723₀ Mt Hymettos 897₅ Hyperboreoi 501 844 Illyria 458 Itanos 929₀ Kalymna 808₀₍₁₁₎ Karia 573₁₀ 574₁ 574₂ 574₃ Katane 486₅ Kaulonia 1042 f. Keratia in Attike 237₀ Klaros 489₀₍₄₎ Knidos 729₀ Koloe 568 f. Korkyra 730₀ Kroton 237₀ Kypros 246₁ Lakonike 322 322₀ Larisa on the Caystrian Plain 958₀ Lebadeia 899₂ Mt Lepetymnos 832 Leukas 782 Lopta 971₂ Lykia 453 458 f. Lykoreia 901₂ 902₀ Lyttos 723₀ 934₀ Magnesia ad Maeandrum 249₂ 948₀ Magnesia ad Sipylum 729₀ Magnesia in Thessaly 730₀ Macedonia 458 Cape Malea (Maleai) 488₀₍₁₀₎ Megalopolis 160₅ 163 Megara 165₃ 185 Messene 458 Miletos 237₀ 250 255 457 486₅ 1220 Mykonos 1092₂ Myrrhinous 730₀ Mytilene 488₀₍₂₎ Neapolis in Campania 486₅ Olbia 493₀₍₇₎ Olymos 586₂ Orchia (?) in Lakonike 439 Oropos (?) 1071 Panormos near Kyzikos 882₀₍₁₀₎ Patara 210 921₀ Peiraneus 487₃₍₁₎ Pergamon 729₀ Phlyeis 251 Praisos 731₀ Prasiai in Lakonike 487₃₍₁₎ Priansos 723₀ Mt Ptoion 455 Rhegion 680 Rhithymna 492₀₍₁₀₎ Samos 223₃ Selinous 489₀₍₁₀₎ Skias in Arkadia (?) 439 Skythia 292₄ Sparta 255 246₁ 487₃₍₁₎ Stelai in Crete 731₀ Sybrita 731₀ Tarentum

Apollon (cont.)

1064 Tarsos 570 Tegea 163 Thera 920₀ 921₀ Mt Thornax in Lakonike 893₂ Thrace 458 Thyateira 562 Tilphossa 439 Tralleis 958₀ Trikke 487₃₍₁₎ 1088 Troy 453 Tyana (?) 570

Epithets: ἀγριος 971₂ Ἀγριεύς 163 f. 456₇ Ἀγριεύς Ἀλεξικακος 163₄ Ἀγριεύς Προστατήριος Πατρῶος Πύθιος Κλάριος Πανιώνιος 163₄ Αἰγλήτης 816₄ Ἀκτιος 255 782 Ἀμάδοκος (?) 452 Ἀμυκλαίος 255 ἀναξ 252₁ Ἀρχηγέτης 237₀ 567 Ἀσγελάτας 1066 Ἀσκραίος 255 486₅ ἀστρων ἡγεμῶν 255₃ Αὐλαεῖτης (Αὐλαίτης, Αὐλάτης, Αὐλαήτης) 249₀ ἀφήτωρ 180 841 βακχεύς (?) 253₂ Βάχκος 253₃ Βιλκωνίος 948₀ βοδῶτης 252₀ Βοζηνός 568 ff. Βραγχιάτης 255 Γενέτωρ 223₃ Γοιτόσυρος 293₀ Γρύνειος 954₀ Δαφωναῖος 265₀ 1189₀ Δαφνηφόρος 265₀ Δαφνίτας 265₀ Δεραβιεύτης 173₄ 210₀ Δελφίνιος 189₀ 205₁ 230 237₀ 456₇ Δήλιος 255 Διόναυος 317 f. Διδυμεύς 317₂ 1220 Διδύμων γενάρχης 317₂ Διονυσόδότης (less probably Διονυσόδωτος) 251₂ Δονάκτας (?) 249₃ Δουαστάς (?) 249₃ Δουητής (?) 249₃ Δρομαῖος 456₇ Δρύμαιοι 486₅ Δρύμας 486₅ Ἐβδομαγενής 237₀ ἔβδομαγέτης 237₀ Ἐβδομείος 237₀ 238₀ Εἰκάδιος 456 Ἐκάεργος 1042 ἑκατηβελέτης 1042 ἑκατηβόλος 1042 Ἐκατόμβαιος 1092₂ Ἐκατος 1042 Ἐκβάσιος 1180₄ ἐκηβόλος 1042 Ἐλευθέριος 97₀ ἐπιδοδάτης 252₀ Ἐμβάσιος 1180₄ ἐνόλμιος, ἐνόλμης, ἐνόλμος 209₂ ἐν Πιάνδοις 729₀ Ἐπιβατήριος 1180₄ Ἐπικουρίος 405₃ Ἐπόπιος 1130₇ Ἐρεθίμιος 630 εὐλυρος 253₃ ζάθεος 204₁ ζηλοδοτήρ (?) 204₁ 252₀ ζηροδοτήρ 204₁ 252₀ ζηρόφρων 204₁ ζωφρόνος 204₁ Θορακίος 893₂ Οἰῶς 250 ἴλιος 246₁ Ἰσότιμος 714₂ Καρινός 167 f. Κάρνειος 456₇ 458 κισσοχαλῆτης 246₁ κισσεύς 253₂ Κισσίος (less probably Κισσεός) 247₀ 248₀ Κλάριος 489₀₍₄₎ 954₀ Κοροπαῖος 730₀ 871₃₍₁₎ Κόρινθος 458 Κουρίδιος 322₀ Κτιστής 98₀ κυναγέτης 237₀ Λαιμηνός (Λαρημηνός, Λαρθηνός, Λειμηνός, Λυρημηνός) 567 f. Λαδόκοκος (?) 452 Λαρισηνός 958₀ Λάφριος 599 Λητοῖδης (Λητοῖδας) 455 490₀₍₅₎ Λοξίλας 204₁ Λύκειος 255 453 458 λυκηγενής 455₀ Λυκηγενής (?) 453 Λύκιος 453 729₀ 902₀ Λυκωρεῖς 901₂ Μαλεάτας (Μαλεάτης) 487₃₍₁₎ 1088 Μαλεάτας Σωτήρ 487₃₍₁₎ Μαλόεις 488₀₍₂₎ μάντις (?) 253₂ Μοιραγέτης 237₀ 231 1137₀ (?) Μουσηγέτης 237₀ Μύλας or Μυλάντιος 260₀ Μύστης 250 f. Νόμιος 252 Νομήμιος 456 Νυμφηγέτης 237₀ ξυνοδοτήρ 252₀ ὁ ἐκ Ἀσπιδῶν 971₂ ὁ προπάτωρ θεῶς Ἥλιος Πύθιος... Τυρμιμαῖος 562 Ὀρχεῖς 439

Apollon (*cont.*)

Παιών 253₃ Παιών 223 Πατρώος 255
 730₀ 1135 πλουτοδοστήρ 252₀ Προηγέ-
 τής 237₀ Προόπιος 897₅ Προσατήριος
 163₄ Πτώσιος 238₀ Πυθαεΐος 458 893₂
 Πύθιος 183 184₆ 185 f. 223 223₃ 233
 240 255 457 731₀ 816₄ 929₀ 1216
 Πύσιος (= Πύθιος) 723₀ 934₀ Σκισστής
 439 Σμινθεΐος 250₂ Σμίνθιος 255
 Στυρακίτης 492₀₍₀₎ Σωτήρ 875₁₍₂₎
 Ταρσεΐος 569 f. 571 Τετράχειρ or
 Τετράχειρος 322₆ Τετράωτος 322 Τιλ-
 φοΐσιος 439 Τύριμος 562 Ἐπερβόρειος
 223 Ἐπέροχος (?) 452 φιλόδαφνος
 253₃ Φοΐβος 234 Φύξιος 902₀ Χρηστη-
 ριος 954₀ χρυσάορος 716 χρυσάωρ 716
 ψυχοδοστήρ 252₀ ὤρεσιδώτης 252₀
Festivals: birthday (Bysios) 7) 236
 Boedromia 237₀ Daphnephoria 455₈
 Ebdomaia 237₀ first day of month
 456 frequent in Asia Minor and
 islands, rare on Greek mainland
 455 Hyakinthia 246₁ 455₈ Karneia
 237₀ 455₈ Pyanopsia or Pyanepsia
 237₀ seventh day of month 456
 commemoration of Skephros 164₆
 455₈ Thargelia 237₀ 455₈ twentieth
 day of month 456
Rites: bay brought from Tempe to
 Delphoi 249₂ ἐβδομαίων at Athens
 on seventh day of some month 237₀
 first-fruits sent to Apollon Πύθιος
 every eight years 240 Hyperborean
 offerings brought to Delos 249₂
 249₃ 497 ff. paeon 234 f. passes
 night in temple with prophetess
 210 *perpherees* 495₀ *προφορήσας*
 487₃₍₁₎ sacrifice of asses 463 f. 843
 sacrifice of a bull and ten lambs to
 Apollon Ἐκατόμβαιος 1092₂ sacri-
 fices at Kroton on seventh day of
 month 237₀ sacrifices by *thiasoi* in
 Kypros 246₁ Spartan kings sacrifice
 on first and seventh days of every
 month 237₀ straps from hide of ox
 sacrificed to Apollon Τετράχειρ
 given as prizes 322₆ sword washed
 in water from the Kydnos 570 f.
 worshippers turn towards ground
 256
Priests: *λεπείς* 562₂ *λεπείς* 322₆ *νεωκόρος*
 199₂
Priestess: the *Pythia* 203 ff. 238 322₇
 441 841 the *Pythia* as bride of
 Apollon 207 ff. *thyiads* 199₂ virgin
 210₀
Worshippers: ἀρχίχορος καὶ λεποκάρυξ
 τῶν λεπείων 488₀₍₂₎
Personated by boy 241₃ Nero 98₀ 254
 1128₀ Pythagoras 221 ff.
Myths: Anaphe 816₄ Anios 670 Ari-
 staios 1042 (?) arranges the limbs
 of Dionysos or Zagreus 1031 arri-
 val at Delphoi 262 ff. boiled in a
 caldron and pieced together again

Apollon (*cont.*)

225 born at Araxa 455 born in
 Arkadia 252 buries Dionysos at
 Delphoi 218 ff. carries off Kyrene
 460₂ chases Hermes 1042 (?)
consorts with Aigle (Koronis)
 488₀₍₀₎ Akakallis 218₀ Pythais 222
 Themis 1217
 contest with Marsyas 248₀ 249₀
 Cygnus 477, Daphne 265₀ 460₂ 486
 Daphnis 1042 (?) destroys mice in
 Rhodes 250₂ Dryope 485 f. 486₅
 exiled by Zeus to land of Hyper-
 boreoi 484 493 Hyakinthos 491₀₍₀₎
 1042 (?) Hyperboreoi 459 ff. invents
 the art of playing flute and *kithára*
 249₂ Kleinis 463₁ Koronis 210₀
 Kyknos 477 Kyparissos 981₁ Makro-
 bioi 500₁ Marpessa 439₁₄ Molpadia
 671 nursed by Leto 252 Orestes
 453 1042 (?) Parthenos 671 Periphas
 1121 f. purified by Chrysothemis
 190₀ purified by Karmanor 190₀
 Pylades 453 restores Dionysos 251₂
 Rhoio 670 sends raven to get water
 832₇ serves Admetos 240 a seven-
 months' child 237₀ sheds tears of
 amber 484 slain by Python and
 buried in Delphic tripod 221 ff. slays
 Hyakinthos with *diskos* 1156 slays
 Kyklopes or their sons 241₄ slays
 Python 217₂ 239₀ taught by Athena
 to flute 249₂ Telephos 671 Trojan
 War 459 winters in Lykia 455
Metamorphosed into snake 486 tortoise
 486
Genealogy: f. of Amphissos by Dryope
 486 f. of Anios by Rhoio 670 f. of
 Asklepios 1077 1083 f. of Asklepios
 by Aigle (Koronis) 488₀₍₀₎ f. of
 Dryops 486₅ f. of Idmon 471 f. of
 Kentauros by Stilbe 1134 f. f. of
 Lapithes by Stilbe 684₂ 1134 f. f. of
 Lykoros by Korykia 901₂ f. of
 Phylakides and Philandros by Aka-
 kallis 218₀ f. of Platon 237₀ f. of
 Pythagoras by Pythais 222 not *ab*
initio the twin b. of Artemis 501
 s. of Dionysos by Demeter 252 s. of
 Leto (Lato) 237₀ 456 484 s. of Leto
 (Lato) by Zeus 453 s. of Silenos
 221 252
Functions: ancestral god of Attic no-
 bility 730 destiny 231 fire 234 flocks
 and herds 457 heaven, earth, under-
 world 256 f. lighting 816₄ lustration
 1042 (?) mills 260₀ oracles 457
prophétes of Zeus 203₀ 204₁ 841
 song 244₄ sun 338₄ 457 495 1156
 sun and moon (?) 318 *tela* (bow and
 arrows) 244₄ transition from sky-
 god (?) to sun-god 500
Etymology: 234₂ (α + πολλός) 484 500
 (ἀπελλόν) 487 ff. 1219 f. ('apple'-
 god)

Apollon (*cont.*)

Attributes: agonistic urn 562 apple (?) 487 ff. 844 three apples 490₍₅₎ five apples 490₍₅₎ 491₍₀₎ arrow 1192₅ arrows 257 ball of resin (?) 492₍₀₎ bay 244₄ 264₂ 841 1219 bay-branch 186 203₀ 207₀ 562 bay-tree 486 844 bay-wreath 388 black-poplar 486 black-poplars 500 844 bow 202₁ 1192₅ bow-case and quiver 160₀ car drawn by four winged horses 453₃ car drawn by swans 459 f. Charites 249₂ crow 490₍₅₎ *diskos* 1156 double axe 562 571 eagle 246₁ 247₀ 248₀ flutes 246 golden *mitra* 459 griffin 160₀ 257 ivy-leaves 246 *kálathos* 493₍₇₎ *kithára* 882₍₀₎ lion 920₀ 921₀ lyre 160₀ 256 459 1219 Nike 246₁ oak-wreath 486₅ 486 oil-flask 493₍₇₎ *omphalós* 1189₃ *omphalós* twined with snake 882₍₀₎ palm-branch 246₁ palms 262₅ pan-pipes 246 pomegranate (?) 493₍₇₎ poplar-trees (?) 485 ram 247₀ 248₀ raven 160₀ 571 scroll (?) 246₁ stone (?) 491₍₆₎ sword 570 f. 716 trident 570 f. tripod 160₀ 193 ff. wreath 1219

Types: archaic 169₂ archaic 'Apollon'-torso from Dyrhachion 499₀ archaic statuette from Naxos 493₍₇₎ archer 459 with attributes of Zeus 246₁ Bryaxis (?) 921₀ in car drawn by swans 460₂ with Charites in left hand 249₂ with Charites in right hand 232₀ Dionysiac 244 246 ff. double bust (with Silenos) 388 erect with double axe and agonistic urn 562 erect with double axe and bay-branch 562 erect with double axe and raven 571 four-armed 322 322₀ four-handed 322₀ Gigantomachia 973₁ grasping deer 264₃ head in radiate circle 491₍₆₎ with *himátion* wrapped about his legs 203₀ Pheidias (?) 921₀ pillar 163 ff. 167 ff. pillar of light 1217 playing lyre 163₄ 165₀ 181 184 f. pyramid 168₁ radiate 562 riding on swan 460₂ seated on bay-trunk holding wreath or lyre 1219 seated on *omphalós* 207₀ 1189₃ 1192₅ seated on tripod 201 ff. 921₀ slaying Niobids 475₇ in solar chariot 562 square 160₅ 164₇ standing by *omphalós* 882₍₀₎ standing by tripod 196 205₀ standing on throne 894₀ standing with *phiale* in right hand and *kithára* in left 882₍₀₎ standing with three Charites on his right hand 232₀ youthful 234

Identified with Asklepios 241₄ Chrysaor (?) 457 Dionysos 252 ff. Helios 164₁ 562 568 Helios and Dionysos 253 f. Horos 252 255 Ianus 339₀ Lairbenos 566 ff. Lairmenos 566 ff.

Apollon (*cont.*)

Liber 244₄ Mithras 250 Oitiosyros (Goitiosyros, Gongosyros) 293₀ Sol and Liber Pater 256 f. Tyrimnos 561 f. Velehanos 948₀

Assimilated to Dionysos 244 246 ff. Zeus 246₁

Associated with Artemis 164₀ 181 f. 488₍₂₎ 586₂ Artemis and Leto (see Leto and Artemis) Asklepios 487₍₃₎ Asklepios Σωτήρ 487₍₃₎ Azosioi Theoi 487₍₃₎ Dionysos 164 233 ff. Herakles 241₁ Leto 567 Leto and Artemis 202₁ 203₀ 317₂ Maenads 461₀ Maleates 487₍₃₎ Satyroi 461₀ Zeus 317 317₂ Zeus and Athena 458 1094₀ Zeus, Athena, Herakles 875₍₂₎ Zeus and Themis 730₀

Compared with Dionysos 252 Zeus 201 ff.

In relation to Artemis 452 ff. Dionysos 267 Erinys 1102₇ Pythagoras 223₁ Zeus 267 730₀

Supersedes Dionysos 243 ff. 839 841 Rhea 921₀ Zeus 816 902₀

Superseded by Helios 730₀

— ἀποδημαί and ἐπιδημαί of 233 ff. 238₂ as migratory god 459 cave of, at Aulai near Magnesia ad Maecandrum 249₂ epiphanies of 455 f. epithets of, often derived from place-names 455 five Apollons 252 gold statue of 220 in the plural 252₃ 1219 *provenance* of 453 ff. 843 soul of 1042 tomb of 221 225 wrath of 1042 (?)

Apollonia in Aitolia 499

Apollonia in Akarnania 499

Apollonia in Illyria

Cults: Apollon (?) 499₀ Helios 485 Nymphs (?) (Heliades) 485

— coins of 161 ff. 485 499 *Nymphaion* at 485

Apollonia in Makedonia 500

Apollonia in Thrace 500

Apollonia, later name of Eleuthernai 492₍₀₎

Apollonia on Mt Athos 500

Apollonia (Tripolis) in Lydia

Cult: youthful hero (?) on horseback bearing double axe 563

— coins of 563

Apolloniatis, a Tegeate tribe 1148 1149₀

Apollonios of Tyana 569₄

Aprosopatheia 867

Apsinthos

Cult: Dionysos Πλεστωπος (?) 270

Apsyrtos 1097₂

Apteroei 190₀

Apulia, persistence of 'Minoan' motifs in 541 ff.

Apulum

Cults: Glykon 1084 Iupiter *O(ptimus)*

M(aximus) Tavianus 754₁

Aquarius 43₄ 430₀ (?) 430_(?) 664₁ (?)

- Aquila 477, 933, 938₀
 Aquileia in Venetia
Cults: Jupiter *Ambisagrus* 842 Jupiter
Dianus 328 842 Jupiter *Optimus*
Maximus Co(nservator) et Am-
bisagrus 328
- Aquincum
Cult: Iuno *Caelestis* 68₂
- Aquitania
Cult: *Fagus* 402₁
- Aquites 471
- Ara 664₁
- Arabia
Cults: Azizos and Monimos 428 f.
 Zeus (?) 1224
 — coins of 1224
- Arachnaion, Mt
Cults: Hera 894₁ Zeus 894₁
- Arachova 505₆ 993₂
- Arai 1101
- Arantides 1101 1102₄
- Aratos, s. of Asklepios (not Kleinias) by
 Aristodama 1082
- Araxa 455
- Arbios, Mt 945₂
- Arbios, Mt
Cult: Zeus ^{Ἄρβιος} 945₂ 946₀
Etymology: 946₀
- Arbor intrat 303₂
- Arcadians, common hearth of, at Tegea
 1148 See also Arkadia
- Archelaos (= Hades) 1168₅ (?)
- Archemoros 245₅ 490₀₍₆₅₎
- Archonides, head of, consulted by Kleo-
 menes 290₀
- Ardettos
Cults: Apollon *Παρρῶς* 1135 Demeter
 1135 Zeus *Βασίλειός* 1135
Rite: oath of *dikastai* 730₀
- Areimanios or Areimanes See Ahriman
- Areion 892₄
- Areios the Argonaut 1072
- Ares
Cults: Athens 729₀ Gortyna 723₀ Hiera-
 pytna 723₀ Karmania 464 Kyaneai
 101₁ Lyttos 723₀ Magnesia ad Sipy-
 lum 729₀ Olympia (?) 706₅ Pergamon
 729₀ 955₀ Priansos 723₀ Skythia
 292₄ 547₃ Smyrna 729₀ Sparta
 729₀
Epithets: *Θούρος* 876₀₍₈₎ *κλειωναρχής*
 438 *Μέγας* 101₁
Rites: human sacrifice 548₀ sacrifice
 of asses 464 yearly sacrifice of
 sheep and horses 548₀
Myth: Kaldene 973₁
Genealogy: f. of Minyas 1150₅ f. of
 Solymos by Kaldene d. of Pisias
 (Pisides?) 973₁
Attributes: chariot 436₁ sword 1225
Type: iron scimitar 548₀
Identified with Azizos 428 430 Zeus
 and Poseidon 1225 Ziu 50
In relation to Dionysos 565₂
 — horses of 436₁
- Ares, the planet
Myth: slays the giant Kaukasos 694₀
Identified with Thourous and Baal or
 Bel 694₀
- Arete
Cult: Philadelpheia in Lydia 1229
Identified with Athena 1029
- Argaios, Mt 977, ff.
Cults: Dioskouroi 980₀ emperor (?)
 978₀ 980₀ Sarapis (?) 978₀ Zeus 980₀
Etymology: 977₁
 — eagle on 978₀ 980₀ flanked by
 radiate pillars 980₀ held by Sarapis
 978₀ hound chasing goat or stag on
 978₀ image of, on altar 978₀ image
 of, as head-dress 978₀ image of,
 within temple 978₀ oath by 978₀
 radiate figure on 978₀ 980₀ rock-cut
 habitations on 978₀ snake guards
 plant on 977₁ 980₀ surmounted by
 Egyptian symbol (lotos?) 978₀
 See also Kaisareia in Kappadokia
- Argarizon, Mt See Gerizim, Mt
- Arge See Hekaerge
- Argenidas, relief of 1062 ff.
- Arges 828 1023
- Argimpassa See Artimpassa
- Argo, the constellation 477₈
- Argonauts
Epithet: *Μωβαί* 1150₅
Myths: Eridanos 484 Heliades 484
 Idmon 471
- Argos
Cults: Aphrodite ^{Ἀρκία} 1156₅ Apollon
^{Ἄγυειός} 163 Apollon *Δειραδιώτης*
 173₄ Artemis 1144₂ Artemis ^{Ἀρκία}
 1156₅ Athena 892₅ 893₀ 1144₂
 Athena ^{Ἀρκία} 1156₅ Athena ^{Ὀξυδερ-}
^{κής} or ^{Ὀξυδερκός} 502₂ Epidotas 321₁
 Hera 290₀ 515 1144₂ Hera ^{Ἀρκία}
 1156₅ Leto (Lato) ^{Ἀσιᾶτις} 455
 pillars set up by Danaos (?) 1144₂
 Zeus 1230 Zeus ^{Ἀφέσιος} 179 1144₂
 Zeus ^{Κεραύνιος} 808₀₍₁₄₎ Zeus
^{Λαρισσαῖος} 892₅ 893₀ 1144₂ Zeus
^{Λαρισσεύς} 1144₂ Zeus ^{Μελίχιος}
 1143 f. Zeus ^{Μηχανεύς} 1144₂ Zeus
^{Νέμειος} 1143₅ Zeus ^{Σωτήρ} 1144₂
 Zeus ^{Υτίος} 164₅ 164₆ 1144₂ Zeus
^{Ἵψιστος} 878₀₍₄₎ 1144₂ Zeus ^{Φαλακ-}
^{ρός} 874₂ 893₁ 1099₀ 1144₂ Zeus
^{Φύξιος} 1144₂ Zeus with three eyes
 892₅ 1144₂
Myths: Amphilochos 489₀₍₄₎ Areios
 1072 Danaos 1144₂ Pelasgos 1144₂
 Pelopidai 956₂ 957₀
 — coins of 1079 1143 *omphalós* at
 173
- Argos, watcher of Io
Myths: Nemea 892₄ slain by Hermes
 379 f.
Function: sky 379
Attributes: club 380 lion-skin (?) 380
 panther-skin 380 *pétasos* 380 386
Types: bifrontal 341₀ 379 f. Janiform

Argos, watcher of Io (*cont.*)
(bearded + beardless) 387 with numerous eyes 380

Compared with Zeus 379

Aradne

Cult.: Mt Aigaion (?) 927₀

Myth.: Daidalos 600 f.

Attributes.: ivy-wreath 390 (?) sceptre 788₀ (?)

Type.: double bust (with Dionysos) 390 (?) 391 392₁ (?)

Associated with Dionysos 245₀ 245₅ 261 390 (?) 391 661 (?)

Aricia

Cults.: Diana 420₁ Diana *Nemorensis* 147

Aries 16₁ 103₀ 664₁

Arignote 1024

Arima

Myth.: Typhon (Typhoeus) 826 909₀

Arimian Cave 449₀

Arippasa See Artimpasa

Aristaios

Cult.: Arkadia 1112₀

Myth.: Apollon 1042 (?)

In relation to Zeus 1112₀

Ariste Chthonia (= Hekate) 1114₀₍₄₎

Aristodama, m. of Aratos by Asklepios (not Kleinias) 1082

Aristodemos 436

Aristogeiton 1172

Aristomenes sacrifices 300 persons to Zeus
ἱθωμάτας 891₀

Aristonous of Aigina 740 1222

Aristophanes on Zeus 2

Aristophanes, the painter 902₂ (?)

Aristotle 805₆

Arkadia

Cults.: Aristaios 1112₀ Artemis 412
Kallisto 1114₀₍₆₎ Zeus *Ἐρεχθεύς* 793
Zeus *Λύκαος* 760 f. 849

Myths.: Arkas 228₅ birth of Apollon
Νόμος 252

— coins of 757 760 849

Arkas 212 228₅ 964₃ 1148

Arkeisios

Genealogy.: s. of Zeus by Euryodeia
(Euryodia) 1152₄

Arkesilaos (?) 1156

Arkesine

Cults.: Dionysos *κισσοκόμος* 246₁ Muses 1157₀ Zeus *Ἀναδότης* 1157₀ Zeus *Ἀποτρόπαιος* 1157₀ Zeus *Μελιχίος* 1156 Zeus *Σωτήρ* 1156₁₃ Zeus *Τέλειος* 1156₁₃

Arkesine, a cave on Mt Ide in Crete

Myth.: Kouretes hide from Kronos 549₁ 939₀

Etymology.: 939₀

— to be identified with the Idaean Cave, not with the Kamares grotto 939₀

Arkesios (?) or Arkeisios (?) 1156

Armenios 54 114

Arnaia, former name of Penelope 691 f.

Arnakia, former name of Penelope 691 f.

Arne in Boiotia, apsidal temple of 900₀

Arne, a spring near Mantinea 692

Arnea (?) See Arnaia

Arnepolis (?) in Mesopotamia)

Cult.: Herakles 469₁

Arpi, coins of 1159₁

Arsalos 972₀

Arsinoe, d. of Leukippos 1089

Arsinoe ii

Cult.: Alexandria 1216

— personates Tyche 1216 wears horn of Zeus *Ἀμμων* 773₀ 1136₄

Arsippos 1089

Arslan Apa, in Phrygia

Cult.: Theos *Ἐψίστος* (= Zeus *Βέννιος* or *Βεννείος*) 883₀₍₁₀₎ 969₃

Artemiche, d. of Kleinis 463₁

Artemis

Cults.: Achna 157₁ Akarnania 412

Apameia in Phrygia 408₀ Argos

1144₂ 1156₅ Arkadia 412 Athens

115₂ 163₄ 410, Delos 452 ff. 501

1227 Delphoi 1216 Divlit near Koloë

975₀ Eleuthernai 492₀₍₁₀₎ Ephesos

405 ff. 962₂ 1082 Epidaurus 413₇

Geraistos 906₃ Gortyna 723₀ Hili-

karnassos 164₈ Heleia 931₀ Hiera

in Lesbos 488₀₍₂₎ Hierapytna 723₀

Hittites (?) 410, Hyperborcoi (?) 501

Kadoi 408₀ Korkyra 457 Mt Kory-

phon (Koryphaion) 869₁ Kyrene

1177₃ Lousoi 646 Lykia 681₁ Lyttos

934₀ Magnesia ad Sipylum 729₀

Magnesia in Thessaly 730₀ Miletos

410₁ Mounychia 115 Myra (?) 681₁

Olymos 586₂ Pagai, port of Meg-

gara (?) 488₀₍₃₎ Paionia 500 Panor-

mos near Kyzikos 881₀₍₂₁₎ Pergamon

729₀ 955₀ Pogle (?) 363 Priansos

723₀ Rhegion 680 Sardeis 1227 f.

Smyrna 729₀ Sparta 421 f. 457 640₀

647 Stymphalos 692 Syracuse 1140

Thebes in Boiotia 412 Thrace 411

500 f. Troizen 413 ff. Troy 453

Epithets.: *Ἀγροτέρα* 1177₃ *Ἄκρια* 1156₅

Ἀναεΐτις (*Ἀναεΐτις*?) 975₀ *Ἄργη* (?)

452 *Βασίλεια* 495 500 f. *Βολοσία*

906₃ *Βούσβατος* (See *Bousbatos*)

Βρανρώνια 228₄ *Δικτυνα* 414₀ *δρυ-*

μονή 412₄ *Ἐκαέργη* 452 *Ἐκβατηρία*

1180₄ *Ἐλευθέρα* 681₁ *ἐν ὄρεισι δρυογό-*

νοισι κόβραν... ἀγροτέραν 412₅ *Ἐύκλεια*

118₃ *Ἐφεσία* 405 ff. 962₂ 1220 *ἢ*

κατέχεις ὄρειων δρυμῶσι 412₄ *ιοχέαира*

405₃ *Ἰπποσόα* 465 501 *Ἴωλκία* 730₀

871₃₍₁₁₎ *Καλλίστη* 228₄ *Λαφρία* 599

Λοχία 183 *Λυαία* 1140₃ *Λυγοδέσμα*

421₅ *μεγάλη* 963₀ *Ὀρθία* 421 f.

501 (?) 640₀ 647 *Ὀρθωσία* 422₁

Περγαία 363 (?) *Πηνελόπη* (?) 691 f.

Σαρωνία 413₇ 414₀ *Σαρωνίς* 413 417

Στυμφαλία 692 *Σώτειρα* 488₀₍₃₎ *Ταν-*

ροπόλος 729₀ 955₀ 1214 (?) *Φακελίτις*

or *Φακελίνη* 680 *Φωσφόρος* 115

Artemis (cont.)

- Χιτώνη 409 410₁ Χιτώνια 410₁
 χρυσόοπος 716[°]Ωπιδ 452
Festivals: Marathon (Boedromion) 6)
 854 Saronia 413₇
Rites: βωμονίκαι 421₃ contest of rustic
 singers wearing stag-horns 1140
 διαμαστίλωσις 421₃ wheaten straw
 used in sacrifice by women of
 Thrace and Paionia 500 f.
Priestess: Kallisto 228₁ pursues a man
 as Artemis pursued Leimon 164₀
 virgin 210₀
Worshippers: ἀρχιχορος καὶ ἱεροκάρυξ
 τῶν ἱερῶν 488₀₍₂₎
Myths: Astrabakos and Alopekos 421
 Atalante 412 born at Araxa 455
 born at Ortygia near Ephesos 962₂
 Bouthagos 894₀ Hippolytos 393
 Hyperboreoi (?) 501₅ Kallisto 228₅
 Kleinis 463₁ Orestes 421₃ 680 Saron
 413 f. wooed by Otos 130
Metamorphosed into doe (?) 413₃
Genealogy: d. of Demeter 1032 d. of
 Dionysos by Demeter 252 d. of Leto
 (Lato) 456 465 501 d. of Zeus 164₃
 342₀ d. of Zeus by Leto (Lato) 453
 not *ab initio* the twin sister of
 Apollon 501
Functions: fertility 457 growth 421 f.
 moon 854 motherhood 410₀ nature
 457 vegetation 411 younger form of
 Anatolian mother-goddess 501 844
Etymology: 1220
Attributes: bee 407₀ birds (?) 457 bow
 202₁ 453₃ bull 1214 (?) crab 407₀
 crown 147₁ doves (?) 457 fawn 152₀
 griffin 406₀ f. horned doe 854 lion
 406₀ f. lions (?) 457 two lionesses
 1227 mountains (?) 457 necklace of
 acorns 405 407₀ 410₀ ox 407₀ *phiale*
 882₀₍₀₎ quiver 453₃ ram (?) 488₀₍₃₎
 rosette 407₀ Skylla 407₀ snakes (?)
 457 Sphinx 407₀ 409₀ (?) stag 406₀ ff.
 453₃ sword 716 torch 412 882₀₍₀₎
 1214 (?) torches 488₀₍₃₎ (?) Victories
 407₀ 409₀ wreath of flowers 405 407₀
Types: archaistic 152₀ Διοπερές 963₀
 Ἐφεσία not descended from πότνια
 θηρῶν 410₀ with fillets hanging from
 hands 409₀ f. with fillets tethering
 hands 408₀ f. filling *phiale* of Apol-
 lon 181 fire 115₂ holding torches
 187₄ (?) many-breasted 406₀ ff.
multimamma 410₀ πολύμαστος 410₀
 riding horned doe 854 shooting
 arrow 473 492₀₍₀₎ slaying Niobids
 475₇ standing with *phiale* in right
 hand and torch in left 882₀₍₀₎ with
 temple on head 406₀ ff.
Identified with Bendis 501 Boubastis
 252 Bousbatos 501₃ Hekate 1029
 1032
Associated with Apollon 164₆ 181 f.
 488₀₍₂₎ 586₂ Apollon and Leto 317₂

Artemis (cont.)

- Asklepios 1082 Hippolytos 149 Zeus
 and Athena 1144₂
In relation to Apollon 452 ff. bear 680
 Hippolytos 414 417 Leto 501 Saron
 413 f.
Superseded by Zeus 1220
 — effigy of, carved on trees near
 Thebes 412 elm-tree of 405₃ image
 of, made from fruitful oak-tree
 409 f. image of, set up beneath
 oak-tree 405 oak-tree of 405 ff. *pro-*
venance of 453 ff. sacred grove of
 975₀
 Artemision in Euboeia 854
 Artimeasa See Artimpasa
 Artimpasa (Artimeasa, Argimpasa, Arip-
 pasa), the Scythian Aphrodite Οὐ-
 ραρία 293₀
 Artimuk (= Artemis)
Cult: Sardeis 1227 f.
Epithet: *Ibšimsis* (= Ἐφεσία?) 1227
 Arvi, 'Minoan' settlement at 945₂ 946₀
 Arvi, the cleft at 945₂
 Aschlapios (sc. Asklepios) 1085
 Ashur, the god
Attributes: flowers (?) 771₀ lightnings (?)
 770₂
 Asia personified 854
 Askalaphos
Genealogy: descended from Aiolos
 1088
 Askalpios (sc. Asklepios) 1085
 Asklapios (sc. Asklepios) 1085 1088
 Asklepicion at Trikke 1088
 Asklepios
Cults: Ainos 1079 Anchialos 1079
 Athens 1065 1078 Bizye 1079 Bon-
 onia 1085 Delos 1088 Epidaurios
 413₇ 1076 ff. 1085 1177 f. Epidaurios
 Limera 1082 Gortyna 1085 Gortys
 1090 Herakleia Salbake 1080 Kos
 1088 Kyllene 1078 Lakonike 1085
 Lebena 1082 Mantinea 1078 Mega-
 lopolis 1090 Miletos 1228 Mytilene
 259₀ 1079 Neapolis in Samaria 1080
 Orchomenos in Boiotia 1085 Pana-
 marea 1066 Peiraieus 487₃₍₁₎ 1105
 1107₅ (?) 1107₀ (?) 1173 Pergamon
 954₀ 956₀ 1077 1079 f. Phlous 1090
 Rome 1088 1090 Serdike 1079 Sik-
 yon 1080 f. 1082 1090 Sparta 1085
 Thalamai 1085 Thelpousa 1090
 Trikke 1079 1088 Troizen 1085
Epithets: ἀναξ 1088 βασιλεύς 1088 δεύ-
 τερος 1089 Ζεὺς Τέλειος 1076 f. 1089
 ἠπιόδωρος 1086 ἠπιόδωτης 1086 ἠπιος
 1086 ἠπιόφρων 1086 ἰητήρ θεῶν...
 κλειτός 954₀ ἰητήρ νόσων... λυγρῶν
 954₀ Καίσαρ (= Claudius) 1088 Παί-
 ῥων 954₀ Σωτήρ 487₃₍₁₎ 956₀ 1076 f.
 Τελεσφόρος (?) 1089 τρίτος 1089
Oracles: 1083 f.
Rites: incubation 1082 preliminary
 sacrifice to Apollon Μαλέατας 1088

Asklepios (*cont.*)

πυροφορέιν 413₇ 1076 sacrifice of three-year-old ox 287₂ 954₀

Priest: Alexandros of Abonou Teichos 1083 ff.

Personated by Claudius 1088

Myths: buried in Arkadia 1089 buried in Epidauros 1089 buried at Kynosoura in Lakonike 1088 f. Ophiuchus 1087 raises dead at Delphoi 241₄ raises Glaukos from dead 1087 raises Hippolytos from dead 394₂ 1087 rears his snake on Mt Pelion 1087 slain by Zeus at Delphoi 241₄ struck by thunderbolt 23 f.

Metamorphosed into snake 1082 ff.

Genealogy: descended from Aiolos 1088 f. of Aratos by Aristodama (w. of Kleinias) 1082 h. of Epione (Epio) 1086 s. of Aigle 1086 s. of Apollon 1077 1083 s. of Apollon by Aigla (Koronis) 488₀₍₁₀₎ s. of Arsippos by Arsinoe d. of Leukippos 1089 s. of Ischys by Koronis 1089 s. of Koronis 833₀

Function: healing 127 954₀

Etymology: 1085 ff.

Attributes: dog 1079 globe 1082 goose 1079 human-headed or lion-headed snake (Glykon or Khneimu) 1084 Nike 1080 pine-cone 1080 f. ram's-head 1080 raven (?) 1084 sceptre 1079 snake 1077 1079 1111 snake coiled round sceptre 1080 snake coiled round staff 1075 1082 wreath 1076 ff.

Types: Alkamenes 1078 bearded 1078 beardless 1080 1090 infant 1090 on couch, feeding snake 1077 Kalamis 1080 f. Phylomachos 1079 seated 1078 ff. seated with goose in right hand and sceptre in left 1079 seated with pine-cone in right hand and snake round sceptre in left 1080 standing 1078 1084 standing with serpent-staff in right hand and Nike in left 1082 Thrasymedes of Paros 1078 f. with sceptre and pine-cone 1081 Xenophilos and Straton 1079

Identified with Apollon 241₄ Ophiuchos 241₄ Zeus 1076 ff.

Assimilated to Zeus 1078 ff.

Associated with Apollon Μαλέφτας 487₃₍₁₁₎ Artemis 1082 Herakles 241₄ Hygieia and Telesphoros 1078 Telesphoros 1082

Compared with Herakles 241₄ Trophonios 1075

Contrasted with Zeus 1081 f.

In relation to Zeus Φίλιος 1178

— grave of 1088 f. underground *ádyton* of 1088 variant forms of the name 1085 f.

Askles 1086

Asopos, the river 898₀

Asopos, the river-god 898₀ 1151₃

Assklepios (*sc.* Asklepios) 1085

Assos

Cults: (Athena) Παρθένος 728₀ Octavianus 728₀ Zeus Ὅμωνῶος 857₀ Zeus Σωτήρ 728₀

Assyria

Cult: Baal or Bel 694₀

Assyrioi (= Syrioi)

Cult: Adonis 296₄

— tattooed 123₀

Astakos, s. of Poseidon 665₃

Astakos in Akarnania 666₀

Astakos in Bithynia, coins of 665₃

Astarte

Cult: Chytroi 157₁

Type: riding lion (?) 869₀

Asterioi 663

Asterion 663

Astrabakos 421

Astraios 230

Astrapai

Cult: Bathos 827

Astrape, personification of lightning 828 851

Astros 1145₁₍₅₎

Astyagia 1122

Astynome, m. of Aphrodite 693₄ 694₀

Astyoche, w. of Telephos 231₄ 1184₃

Ataburus 588₁

Atabyrion, Mt, in Rhodes

Cults: Athena (?) 923₀ Zeus Ἀραβύριος 922₆ 923₀ 924₀ 925₀

Myths: Althaimenes 923₀ Apemosyne 923₀ Katreus 923₀

Atabyrion, Mt, in Sicily See Agrigentum

Atabyris (Tabyris) See Atabyrion, Mt, in Rhodes

Atalante

Myth: dedicates oak to Artemis in Arkadia 412

Ate 1099₂ 1100₀

Atella, coins of 831₁₍₂₎

Athamas

Myths: founds Halos 904₁ golden ram 899₁ plots death of Phrixos 904₁

Genealogy: h. of Ino 904₁ s. of Aiolos and f. of Phrixos 904₁

— eldest descendant of, must never enter Prytaneion 904₁

Athanaïstai 925₀

Atheneatis, a Tegeate tribe 1148 cp. 1149₀

Athens

Cults: Achaeans (?) 458 Agrigentum 910₁ Aliphera (?) 782 Alopeke 1115 Antiocheia on the Orontes 1197 Argos 502₂ 892₅ 893₀ 1144₂ 1156₅ Assos 728₀ Mt Atabyrion in Rhodes (?) 923₀ Athens 259₀ 729₀ 730₀ 757 875₁₍₂₎ 922₀ 944₀ 1147 1169₄ 1230 Boiotia 731₀ Chersonesos Taurike 729₀ Delos 919₀ 920₀ 921₀ 922₀ Delphoi 231 Eilena 625

Athena (cont.)

Elateia in Phokis 1158₁₀ Elis 291₀
 Emesa 814₃ Epidaurous 502₂ Erythrai in Ionia 1157₀ Gonnoi 870₀
 Gortyna 723₀ 731₀ Heleia 931₀
 Hierapytna 723₀ Ilios 950₀ Itanos 929₀
 Kolonos 1152₅ Mt Kynthos 919₀
 920₀ 921₀ 922₀ Larisa at Argos 892₅
 893₅ Larissa in Thessaly 1155
 Lindos 346₀ 923₀ 925₀ Lyttos 723₀
 Magnesia ad Sipylum 729₀ Megalopolis
 164₇ Olympos in Lykia 972₁ Ouxenton
 (?) 386₁ Oxyrhynchite nome 625
 Paros 922₀ Pergamon 287₃ 729₀
 882₀₍₀₎ 954₀ 955₀ Phlyeis 1066
 Phokis 731₀ Praisos 731₀ Priansos
 723₀ Rhodes(?) 923₀ Selinous 489₀₍₀₎
 Skythia 925₀ Smyrna 729₀ Sparta
 261₀ 502₂ 729₀ 739₁ 1101₃ Stelai
 in Crete 731₀ Sybrita 731₀ Tegea
 593 f. 1147 Tralleis 958₀ Troizen
 416₃

Epithets: ἀγνή 728₀ Ἀκρία 1156₅ Ἀλέα
 593 f. 1147 Ἀμβουλλα 261₀ Ἀποτροπαία
 1157₀ Ἀρετα 723₀ 955₀ ἀρτυρώνη
 954₀ Βαλενίκη 833₇ Βελενίκη 833₇
 Βελονίκη 833₇ Βουλαία 259₀ caesia
 503₀ γλαυκῶπις 502₂ 954₀ γοργῶπις
 502₂ Ἐργάνη 164₇ ἡγεμῶν τῶν Κουρή-
 των 1029 Ἰλιάς 950₀ Κραναία 1158₁₀
 Κτησία 1065 Κυνθία 919₀ 920₀ 921₀
 922₀ Λινδία 925₀ Νικηφόρος 287₂ 955₀
 Ξενία 1101₃ ὀβριμοδερκής 502₂ Ὀμο-
 λωίς 901₀ Ὄξυδερκα 502₂ Ὄξυδερκής
 or Ὄξυδερκῶ 502₂ Ὀπλοσμία 290₀
 291₀ Ὀπτιλέτις or Ὀπτιλία 502₂
 Ὀφθαλμίτις 502₂ Παλλάς 1031 1130₁
 Παρθένος 728₀ 729₀ 757 πάτριος 728₀
 πολεμηδῶκος 954₀ Πολιάς 723₀ 870₀
 923₀ 929₀ 1147 Πολιούχος 731₀ 1152₅
 Προναία 231 Πιτλλία (See Ὀπτιλία)
quarta 869₁ Σαλμωνία 723₀ Σθενιάς
 416₃ Σῶπειρα 1169₄ τετάρτη (See
quarta) Τιβρωνή 1066 Τριστογένεια
 954₀ Τριτώνη (?) 1066 Ὑπάτη 875₁₍₂₎
 Φρατρία 730₀ Χαλκίκοις 739₁ Ὠλερία
 723₀

Festival: Panathenaia 1121₀

Rites: πέπλος at Athens 1136 πέπλος
 at Tegea 1148 sacrifice of cow 902₂
 sacrifice of two-year-old heifer 287₂
 954₀

Priests: boy at Tegea 1147 ζακῶρος 921₀
 ιερεὺς 921₀ κλειδοῦχος 921₀

Priestess: virgin 210₀

Personated by Demetrios Poliorketes(?)
 1136₄ Helene, consort of Simon
 Magus 726₀

Myths: Aleos 1147 birth from head of
 Zeus 709 721₂ 753₃ 785 1029 Epeios
 625 Kepheus s. of Aleos 1148 Medousa
 1148 Orestes 1098₄ puts on
chiton of Zeus 744₄ rescues the
 heart of Dionysos or Zagreus 1031
 Sterope, d. of Kepheus 1147₁₁

Athena (cont.)

teaches Apollon to flute 249₂ teaches
 Kouretes to dance 1029

Genealogy: d. of Brontaios 833₇ d. of
 Bronteos 833₇ d. of Zeus by Koryphe
 869₁ (cp. i. 155)

Functions: dancing 1029 second self
 of Zeus 502₂ spinning 66₀ 1029
 virtue of the leading gods 1029
 weaving 66₀ 1029 wisdom of the
 creator 1029

Attributes: aigis 903₀ chariot 721₂
 couch 1147 double axe 625 f. 847
 helmet 90₃ lance 794₀ owl 955₀
 snakes 1111 spear 903₀ sword 713
 716

Types: bearing Nike and double axe
 625 birth from head of Zeus 709
 753₃ 785 in crested Corinthian hel-
 met 162₁ Διοπερὲς Παλλάδιον 963₀
 with double axe 625 f. Gigantoma-
 chy 713 introduction of Herakles
 to Olympos 735 ff. Janiform (?)
 386₁ Myron 1078 spears Enkelados
 777₂ square 164₇

Identified with Arete 1029 Tefēnē 626₀
Associated with Hephaistos 1137 Zeus
 259₀ 920₀ 923₀ 955₀ 1101₃ Zeus and
 Apollon 458 1094₀ Zeus and Artemis
 1144₂ Zeus and Hera (= Capitoline
 triad) 319₇ Zeus and Herakles 1078
 Zeus, Herakles, Apollon 875₁₍₂₎
 Zeus Ἀραβῆριος and Dionysos 925₀
 Zeus Μελχίσιος and Ge 1115 Zeus
 Σαβάσιος 287₂ Zeus Σωτήρ 1169₄

In relation to Cretan mother-goddess
 625 Erikerpaïos (Erikapaïos) 1032
 Gorgon 502₂

Supersedes 'Minoan' goddess (?) 922₀

Superseded by St Maria de' Greci 910₁

Athens

Cults: Acheloios 1092₂ 1117 1118
 Agathe Tyche 1125₁ 1129₀ Agathos
 Daimon 1125₁ Agathos Deos (*sic*)
 985₀ Agathos Theos 1129₀ Agnostos
 Theos 942₀ Anaktes 1135₄ Aphrodite
 Οὐρανία 985₀ Aphrodite Ψιθυρος 1043
 Apollon 730₀ 985₀ 1121 Apollon
 Ἀγυειὺς 163 Apollon Ἀγυειὺς Ἀλεξι-
 κακος 163₄ Apollon Ἀγυειὺς Πρω-
 στατήριος Πατρῶος Πόβιος Κλάριος
 Πανώνιος 163₄ Apollon Πατρῶος
 255 730₀ Apollon Προστατήριος 163₄
 Apollon Σωτήρ 875₁₍₂₎ Ares 729₀
 Artemis 163₄ Artemis Φωσφόρος
 115₂ Artemis Χιτώνη (?) 410₁ As-
 klepios 1065 1078 Athena 729₀ 730₀
 922₀ 944₀ 1230 Athena Ἀρεία 729₀
 Athena Βουλαία 259₀ Athena Παρ-
 θένος 757 Athena Πολιάς 1147
 Athena Σῶπειρα 1169₄ Athena Φρα-
 τρία 730₀ Athena Ὑπάτη 875₁₍₂₎
 Bendis 1032 f. Demeter 729₀ 730₀
 Dionysos 985₀ Dionysos Μελπόμενος
 245₀ Dioskouroi 1135₄ Erechtheus

Athens (*cont.*)

793 f. Eros *Ψιδυρος* 1043 Ge 729₀
 Hadrian 1120₀ 1121₀ Harpokrates
 985₀ Helios 729₀ 1114 Hera 1119₄
 Herakles 163₄ 875₁₍₂₎ 1116 f. Hermes
 1117 Hermes *Καταιβάτης* 14 Hermes
Χθόνιος 14 Hermes *Ψιδυριστής* 1043
 Heroës 1123 Hestia *Βουλαία* 259₀
 Horos 985₀ Isis *Ταποσειριάς* 985₀
 Kallirrhoe, d. of Acheloius 1117 (?)
 Kronos 554₂ Leto 163₄ St Marina
 1114 Meter *ἐν Ἄγρας* 1119₀ 1142₃ (?)
 Moirai 231₃ Mother of the gods
 985₀ Nymphs 1118 *Παναγία εἰς τὴν*
Πέτραν 1119₀ Philia 1163 St Pho-
 teine 1116 Poseidon 729₀ 730₀ Psi-
 thyros the hero 1044 (*Sarapis*) *ἐν*
Κανώπῳ 985₀ ἡ *ὑπεραγία Θεοσόκος*
 1119₄ Tyche *Ἀγαθή* 1163 Zeus 729₀
 730₀ 817 1229 Zeus *Ἀγαμέμνων* (?)
 1061 Zeus *Ἀστραπαῖος* 815 Zeus
Βασιλεύς 730₀ Zeus *Βουλαῖος* 259₀
 Zeus *Ἐλευθέριος* 1135₁ Zeus *Ἐλευ-*
θέριος (= Domitian) 97₀ Zeus *Ἐλευ-*
θέριος (= Hadrian) 98₀ Zeus *Ἐλευ-*
θέριος Ἀντονίνου Σωτήρ Ὀλύμπιος (?)
 (= Antoninus Pius) 101₁ Zeus
Ἐξακροστήρ 1093₁ Zeus *Ἐπιτέλειος*
Φίλιος 1163 Zeus *Ἐπόψιος* 1121
 1123 Zeus *Ἐρεχθεύς* 793 Zeus
Ἐρκεῖος 730₀ Zeus *Ἰκέσιος* 1093₁
 Zeus *Καθάριος* 1093₁ 1100₁ Zeus
Κάσιος 985₀ Zeus *Καταιβάτης* 20 f.
 Zeus *Κήναιος* (*Κηνάιος*) 903₀ Zeus
Κτήσιος 1065 Zeus *Μειλιχίος* 1091 f.
 1103 1114 ff. 1121 1123 1149 1151
 1161 Zeus *Μοιραγέτης* 231₃ Zeus
Μόριος 20 Zeus *Νάιος* 1117 (?) Zeus
Ξένιος 1229 Zeus *Ὀλύμπιος* 20 1078
 1118 1123 Zeus *Ὀλύμπιος* (= *Hadrian*)
 (?) 959₀ Zeus *Πανελληνίος*
 1119₄ 1120₀ Zeus *Πατρῶος* 111₀
 Zeus *Πολιεύς* 897₂ Zeus *Στράτιος*
 976₀ Zeus *Σωτήρ* 1121 1123 1147
 1169 Zeus *Τέλειος* 1123 1147 1163₂
 Zeus *Τροπαῖος* 111₀ Zeus *Ἰπάτος*
 163₄ 875₁₍₂₎ 897₂ Zeus *Ἰψιστος*
 876₁₍₁₎ 897₃ Zeus *Φίλιος* 1161 ff.
 Zeus *Φράτριος* 730₀

Festivals: Anthesteria (Anthesterion
 11—13) 1139 City Dionysia 244₂
 Diasia (Anthesterion 22 or 23)
 1137 ff. Lenaia 244₂ Megala Pan-
 hellenia 1121₀ Panathenaii 1121₀
 Panhellenia 1119₄ 1121₀ Pyanopsia
 or Pyanepsia 237₀ Thargelia 237₀

Rites: Bacchantes cover their breasts
 with iron bowls 346₀ burial within
 the house 1060 1065 *ἐγχυρλοστριαί*
 1065 *ἐφυγον κακόν, εὔρον ἀμεινον*
 1166₁ first-fruits taken to Delphoi
 816 f. need-fire brought from Del-
 phoi 816 f. *πιθογία* (Anthesterion
 11) 1139 procession to Delphoi
 headed by axe-bearers 628 817 847

Athens (*cont.*)

sacred tripod fetched from Delphoi
 816 f. sacrifice of pig to Zeus *Φίλιος*
 1161 sacrifice of white ox to Zeus
Κτήσιος 1065 1067 *χόδες* (Anthesterion
 12—13) 1139 *χύτροι* (Anthesterion
 13) 1139 wearing of white-poplar
 470 women slide down rock to
 obtain children 1114

Priestess: *πυρφόρος* 817₀

Myths: Akropolis struck with trident
 by Poseidon 793 Deukalion 1118
 1139 1229 Erichthonios 944₀
 Kekrops 875₁₍₂₎ Periphas 1121 ff.
 sea-water on Akropolis 581

— Asklepieion at 1078 coins of 232₀
 674₁ 675₁ 1078 Erechtheion at 24
 789₇ 792 965₀ 1148 Kyklops in folk-
 tale from 990 ff. old Hekatompedon
 at 757₁ Olympieion at 1118 ff. 1135
 1229 f. Parthenon at (See Parthenon)
 Prytaneion at 1094₀ 1095₀ Python
 at 201₁ 202₁ 1135 Stoa Basileios at
 1094₀ 1095₀ 1135₄ Stoa Poikile at
 1135₄ Stoa of Zeus *Ἐλευθέριος* at
 1135₄ talisman of 1148

Athos, Mt
Cult: Zeus *Ἀθῶος* 906₁
 — altars on 906₁ Macrobian on 500
 monasteries on 906₁

Athribis
Cult: Theos *Ἰψιστος* 889₀₍₃₃₎ 984₃

Athtar 430₄

Atlas
Cult: Heleia 931₀
Genealogy: f. of Alkyone 414₂
 See also Index II Atlantes

Atlas, Mt
Myths: garden of Hera 1021 Hes-
 perides 1021

Atreus
Myth: sceptre of Zeus 547₂ 956₂ 1132₄
 1132₆
Genealogy: s. of Pelops and f. of
 Agamemnon 957₀
Etymology: 569₂

Atropos 1023

Attabokaoi 310₂

Attaleia in Pamphylia
Cult: Zeus *Τροπαιούχος* 111₀

Attalos
Etymology: 569₂

Attes 292₃ 296₄ 297₀
 See also Attis

Attes, s. of Kalaos 444

Attike
Cults: Zeus *Ἀγαμέμνων* (?) 1069 Zeus
Μειλιχίος 291₂
Myth: Theseus purified by Phytalidai
 at altar of Zeus *Μειλιχίος* 291₂

Attis
Cults: Hierapolis in Phrygia 306₁
 Ostia 297 ff. 303₂ Pessinous 970₀
 Phrygia 313 Rome 303₃ 306₅
Epithets: *Aeternus* (?) 306₄ *αἰπῶλος*

Attis (cont.)

296₁ 307₁ *ἀκαρπος* 296₄ *βασιλεύς* 303₂
βουκόλος 307₁ *bubuleus* 307₁ *Chris-*
tianus (!) 307 *formosus adolescens*
 307₃ *Invictus* 303₂ *Μηνοτύραννος*
 303₂ *Menotyranus* (*Menoturannus*,
Minoturannus) 303₂ *νέκυσ* 296₄ *Πάπας*
 or *Παπᾶς* 292 ff. *pastor* 307₁ *Pileatus*
 307 *ποιμὴν* 307₁ *ποιμὴν λευκῶν*
ἄστρον 296₄ 297₀ *Sanctus* 303₂
συρικτάς 296₄ *Ἰγῆς* 292₃ *χλοερὸς*
στάχυς ἀμυθελίς 296₄

Festivals: arbor intrat 303₂ *Hilaria*
 306₁

Rites: those polluted with wine may
not enter his sanctuary 969₄
criobolium 306 effigy affixed to
 pine-tree 303 effigy worn by votaries
 299 ff. *formula* of exhortation 306
 illumination 306 lamentation over
 prostrate body 303 *taurobolium* 306
 unction 306₁

Myths: betrothed to Ia 970₀ conceived
 by Nana after putting fruit in her
 bosom 969₄ loved by Agdistis 969₄
 loved by Mother of the gods 969₄
 Lydian version (Attis killed by boar)
 969₄ mutilates himself under pine-
 tree 970₀ nurtured on goat's milk
 969₄ Phrygian version (Attis mutil-
 ated under pine-tree) 969₄ 970₀
 tended by he-goat 969₄

Genealogy: s. of almond-tree 295 s. of
 Kronos 294 s. of Nana, d. of
 Sangarios 969₄ s. of Rhea 294 296
 s. of Zeus 294

Functions: divine king 303₂ emblem
 of resurrection 309 rain 292 rebirth
 of *Πάπας* (*Παπᾶς*) 294 ripe corn 295₂
 shepherd of his devotees 306 f.
 spring flowers 295₂ tree-spirit (?)
 303₂ young corn 295₂

Etymology: 293 969₄

Attributes: almonds 298 corn-ears
 297 ff. flowers 297 f. fruit 297
lagobólon 300 moon 298 Phrygian
 cap 298 *pileum* 307₃ pine-cones 298
 pine-tree 951₀ pomegranates 298
 poppy-heads 298 starry *pilos* 386

Types: duplicated 300 f. 308 ff. effem-
 inate youth reclining on rock 297 f.
 goatherd 295 green ear of corn 295
 half-length figure 301 piper 295
 radiate 298 recumbent 300 shepherd
 296

Identified with Adamna 295 1218
Adonis 294 f. 298 Dionysos 294
 296 298 Korybas 295 Men 295 298
 Osiris 294 f. Pan 296 Zeus 292

Assimilated to Cautes and Cautopates
 309

Associated with Agdistis and Zeus 1229
 Kybele 301₁ Mater deum 306₅

Compared with Adonis 293

In relation to Christianity 303 ff.

Attis (cont.)

Dioskouroi 307 ff. Kybele 293 842
 Papas 317

— *formula* of devotion to 278₂

Attis, priest of the Mother of the gods
 310 f.

Attoua

Cult: Zeus 743₇

— coins of 743₇

Atys, s. of Kroisos 311

Atys, s. of Manes 311 f. with Kotys as
 Dioskouroi (?) 312

Augeias

*Etymology: 384*₀

Augustine, St 140

Augustus

Cults: Assos 728₀ Dorylaeion 281 Pa-
 phlagonia 729₀ Pergamon 1179 1182
 Termessos (Termessus Maior) 973₁

Priest: ἀρχιερεύς 973₁

Personates Iupiter 1091 Zeus 97₀ 260₀

— birthday of 419₁ house of 147
 statue of, struck by lightning 10
 tree at Nemi planted by 418 419₂
 419₃

Aulai

Cult: Apollon 249₂

Aule

Cult: Pan 249₂

Aulikomis 1141

Aura

Genealogy: d. of Pothos and Omichle
 1036 1038 m. of Motos (?) by Aer
 1036 1038

Aurelii 321

Auriga 477 477₈

Autessiodurum, sacred pear-tree at 1215 f.

Autochthon *Ὀυρανός* See *Epigeios Ὀυρανός*

Autonoe 347₀ (?)

Autonoos, a Delphic hero 452

Autonoos, f. of Anthos 414₂

Auxesia

Cults: Bryseai 890₂ Epidauros 487₃₍₁₎
 Sparta 890₂

Axenos See Euxeinos

Axieros

Cult: Thrace 314 f.

Function: rebirth of Axiokersos 314 f.

Etymology: 315 664

Identified with Demeter (?) 314₂

Axiokersa

Cult: Thrace 314 f.

Function: earth 315

Etymology: 314 664

Identified with Persephone (?) 314₂

Axiokersos

Cult: Thrace 314 f.

Function: sky 315

Etymology: 314 f. 664

Identified with Hades (?) 314₂

Axios, f. of Pelegon 588₀

Axos

Cults: Apollon 816₁ Zeus 816₄

— coins of 816₄

Azan, s. of Arkas 964₃

- Azizos**
Cults: Arabia 428 f. Baitokaike 431
 Edessa 428
Etymology: 428
Type: male figure on column 429 f.
Identified with Ares 428 430
- Azasioi Theoi**
Cult: Epidauros 487₃(1)
- Ba'al (Baal, Bel)**
Cults: Assyria 694₀ Berytos 886₀(30)
Function: solar 886₀(30)
Identified with Kronos 558₀ Thouros
 and the planet Ares 694₀ Zeus
 "Ορειος 869₀
Superseded by Zeus 1192(?)
 — axe dedicated to 510₅ distinguished
 from Belos 694₀
- Ba'al-hammān**
Cults: Kypros 1208₂ Roman Africa
 554₃
Type: enthroned between two rams
 1208₂
Identified with Kronos 554₃ Saturnus
 554₃
- Ba'al Milik (Melek, Molok)**
Cults: Peiraiens (?) 1108 Phoinike 1108
Identified with Milichus (?) 1110₀ Zeus
 Μειλίχιος (Μιλίχιος) (?) 1108
- Ba'al Qarnain 554₃**
- Ba'al-Samin**
Identified with Zeus "Τψιστος 886₀(10)
 889
- Ba'al-tars**
Cult: Tarsos 761 f.
Type: seated with eagle in right hand
 and sceptre in left 762
- Babylon**
Cults: Adad 769₁ god with dagger and
 double axe 714₁ Marduk 128₂ 769₁
 Zeus Βήλος 128₄ 675
Rites: sacrifice of asses 463₁ sacrifice
 of goats, sheep, and oxen 463₁
Myth: Kleinis 463₁
 — Hittite relief from 766₁ pillars of
 Herakles beyond 422
- Babylonia**
Cults: Apollon (?) 456 fire 34₁
- Bacchus**
Identified with Jehovah 1197
 — on the column of Mayence 96
- Badinlar, in Phrygia**
Cults: Apollon Λαιρμηνός (Λαρμηνός,
 Λαρβηνός, Λειμηνός, Λυρμηνός) 567 f.
 Helios Apollon Λερμηνός (Λερμηνός)
 568 Lairmenos 567 Μητηρ Leto 567
 568₀
- Baganda 450₁**
- Baginatiae**
Cult: Allobroges 570₀
- Baginus**
Cult: Allobroges 570₀
- Bagis 570**
- Baitokaike**
Cult: Azizos and Monimos 431
- Bakchappollon (?) 253₃**
- Bakchoi** See Zeus *Worshippers*
- Bakchos**
Etymology: 268₄
Identified with Zeus 287 1184
- Balder** See Baldr
- Baldr**
Myth: stabbed by Hqdhhr with lance of
 mistletoe 305₀
Genealogy: h. of Nanna 305₀ s. of
 Odhin 305₀
Identified with Apollo (?) 110₅ 844
 Phol (?) 110₅ 844
- Ballenaion, Mt 270₅ 271₀**
- Ballenaion, a Phrygian festival 270₅**
- Ballenaïos, s. of Ganymedes 270₅**
- Barbillea 962₂**
- Bargasa 958₀**
- Bargylia 721₂**
- Baris**
Cult: double Herakles 446 f.
 — coins of 446 f.
- Barnabas, St 1096₄**
Type: on chalice of Antioch 1202₀ (?)
- Baronga 434**
- Basil the Great, St 116 891₀**
- Basileia** See Queen of the Under-
 world
- Basileia, festival of Zeus Βασιλεύς 900₀**
- Bassai**
Cult: Apollon Ἐπικούριος 405₃
- Bastarnae 55**
- Batavi**
Cults: Haeva 64₀ Hercules *Magusanus*
 64₀
- Bathild, St 135**
- Bathos**
Cults: Astrapai 827 Brontai 827 Thy-
 ellai 827
Myth: Gigantomachia 827
- Bathykolpos**
Cult: Saron 414₁
- Baton, charioteer of Amphiaraios 1071**
- Battakes, priest of the Mother of the gods
 310 f.**
- Baubo**
Cult: Paros 131
Genealogy: m. of Protogone and Misa
 131 w. of Dysaules 131
Function: Underworld 132
Attribute: ladder 131
Type: seated on pig 131
Associated with Zeus, Hera, Demeter
 Θεσμοφόρος, Kore 259₀
- Baucis 1096₄**
- Bavian, rock-carving at 769₀**
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- Beda, a goddess of the Frisii**
Cult: Borcovicium 51₁
- Bejad in Phrygia**
Cult: (Zeus) Παπας or Παπās 292₄
- Bel** See Ba'al
- Belchania 948₀(4)**
- Belchanos (?) = Velchanos**
Cult: Lyttos (?) 948₀(4)

- Bellerophon (Bellerophontes) 720 f. 1129₁
Myth: Pegasus 721₂ 1018
Type: on horseback 717₂
- Belos
Cult: Emesa (?) 814₃
Genealogy: s. of Inachos and b. of Kasos 981₁ s. of Nebrod (Nimrod) Orion Kronos by Semiramis Rhea 693₄ 694₀ s. of Pikos who is also Zeus by Hera 694₀ 695₀
 — distinguished from Ba'al (Baal, Bel) 694₀
- Bendis
Cults: Athens 1032 f. Imbros 314₀ Lemnos 314₀ Mounychia 115 Paionia 500 f. Samothrace 314₀ Thasos 314₀ Thrace 303₂ 314₀ 411 501
Rite: oak-wreath 411 f.
Etymology: 303₂
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- Berekyndai 587₇
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- Biaros, Mt See Viarus, Mt
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Type: naked or half-naked runner with wheels beneath his feet 865 ff.
Identified with Kairos 864
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 — coins of 296₀
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Cult: sword (?) 548₀
 — coins of 548₀
- Bizye 282₁
Cult: Asklepios 1079
 — coins of 1079
- Blasios, St 1104₂
- Blatsche, between Skoupoi and Stoboi
Cults: Alexander (sc. Alexandros of Abonou Teichos) 1084 Draccena (= Δράκαινα) 1084 Dracco (= Δράκων, i.e. Glykon) 1084 Iuno 1084 Iupiter 1084
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- Boibe 500₈
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Cults: Athena 731₀ Dan 342₀ Demeter 716₅ Dionysos 'Ενδενδρος 946₀ Hera Βασίλεια 731₀ Poseidon 583₃ 731₀ Zeus Βασιλεύς 731₀ Zeus 'Ελευθέριος 238₀ Zeus Καραύς 873₂ Zeus Κάριος 873₂ Zeus 'Ομολῶιος 900₁ Zeus "Τραπος 875₁₍₁₎
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- Bologna, gongs from 649 ff.
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- Bombos (Bombros) 214₃
- Bona Dea
Rite: wine not brought into her temple except under name of milk in a vessel called the honey-pot 1142₀
Superseded by St Agatha of Catania 347₀
- Bona Fortuna
Type: Praxiteles 1127₀
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Cult: Asklepios 1085
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Myth: Botton 1187₄
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- Botton 1187₄
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- Brahma 1035
Myth: birth 1036
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Cult: India 367 774₁
Myth: Vishnu 774₁
Genealogy: h. of Sarasvati 774₁
Function: solar (?) 774₁
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Myths: Berouth 886₀₍₃₀₎ Elioum "Τψιστος 886₀₍₃₀₎ Epigeios (Autochthon)

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Cults: Apollon *Καρινός* (?) 167 f.
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Rite: axe-bearers 635
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- Cadenet
Cults: Dextiva 619 Mars 619
- Caeculus
Myth: birth 1059
- Caelus
Genealogy: f. of Ianus by Hecate 368₃ f. of Iupiter 941₀
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Cult: Alexandria 1180₄
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Festival: *canna intrat* 299₃
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- Caracalla
Cult: Laodikeia on the Lykos 1186
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- Carian place-names in *-yna*, *-ymos* 318
- Carnuntum
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Cults: Saturnus *Balcaranensis* (*Balcaranensis*, *Balcharanensis*, *Balkharanensis*) 554₃ 555₀ Tanit 69₀
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- Carthago Nova, in Spain 557₀
- Castor
Cult: Tusculum 1170 f.
 — couch of 1171 on column of Mayence 96
- Cautes 309
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- Celsus on syncretism 889₀₍₀₎
- Celts
Cults: Dextia 619₃ Dextiva 619 Dis 326 Iupiter 86 f. Iupiter *Tanarus* 32
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Myths: Otherworld-visit 1166₂
 — coins of 323 ff. fear lest sky should fall 55 folk-tales of 224₁ 682 f. 848
- Centaurus
Attributes: branch 615 tree 615
Types: attacked by Theseus 628 fighting Herakles 615₂ (?) fighting Lapiths 615₂ (?) fighting Zeus (?) 614 f.
- Centaurus, the constellation 477₈
- Ceraunobolia 828
- Ceres
Epithet: *Eleusinia* 928₀
Festival: Ludi Cereri 19₀
Functions: one of the Penates 1059 plenty 99
Etymology: 549₀
Attribute: corn-topped sceptre 99
Identified with Luna, Diana, Iuno, Proserpina 256 Virgo 734₃
Associated with Iuno and Mercurius 1181₀
 — on column of Mayence 96 98
- Chaironeia
Cult: sceptre of Zeus 547₂ 1132
Rite: daily oblation to sceptre of Zeus 547₂ 1132₀
- Chalcea, m. of Olympus (?) 973₁
- Chaldaioi 255
- Chaldene, m. of Solymos 973₁
- Chalkis near Beroia 981₀ (?)
- Chalkis in Euboea
Cults: Hera 981₀ Zeus Μελιχίος 1157 Zeus Παλαμναῖος 1098₇
 — coins of 870₀ 981₀
- Chalkis sub Libano
Cult: Zeus 981₀
 — coins of 980₇ 981₀
- Chalon-sur-Saône, bronze statuette from 747₁
- Chalybes 472 617 715
- Cham See Ham
- Chaos
Epithet: ἀπειρον 1022
Genealogy: child of Chronos 1024 child of Chronos or Herakles by Ananke or Adrasteia 1022 m. of Mot by Aer 1038
Function: primeval power 315
Etymology: 1039 1051
Identified with Ianus 335₀
- Charalambos, St 1150₀
- Chares 254₅
- Charila 240 242
- Charites
Cults: Orchomenos in Boiotia 238₀ 1150₀ Philadelpheia in Lydia 1229
Rite: libation from second *kratēr* (?) 1124₀
Attributes: lyre, flutes, pan-pipes 249₂ 249₃

Charites (*cont.*)

Types: in bay-wreath 1193 three small females on hand of Apollon 232₀ three small females on hand of Zeus 232₀

Superseded by ἡ Θεοτόκος 1150₁₀

Charon

Cult: Etruria 627₃ 803

Functions: ferryman of the dead 641₂ Underworld 641

Etymology: 641

Attributes: fork (?) 803 hammer 627₃ 641

Contrasted with Zeus 641₂

— eyes of 642₀

Charos 641₂ See also Charon

Chartres

Cult: La Vierge du Pilier 1213

Charun 641₂ See also Charon

Chedworth, Roman villa at 604 f.

Cheiron

Cult: Mt Pelion 869₂ 871₀

Myth: teaches Peleus to use double spear 799

Genealogy: s. of Kronos by Philyra 695₀ 871₀

Cheleidon, eponym of the Chelidoniai Islands 971₂

Chelidoniai

Myth: Polytechnos 693

Chersonesos Taurike

Cults: (Athens) Ἡραθίνος 729₀ Ge 729₀ Helios 729₀ heroes 729₀ Zeus 729₀

Cherubim 1203₇

Chiliokomon 596

Chimaira, Mt, fire springing from ground on 972₁

China 66₀ 479 495

Chios

Cults: St Anna 1157 Dionysos Ὁμάδιος 667 f. Herakles 1157₁ Zeus Μελιχίος 1157₁ Zeus Ὀλύμπιος 1157₁ Zeus Ἡελωναῖος 922₄

Rite: human sacrifice 667 f.

Type: under winged arch 362

Choes 1139

Chonai, cleft of 115

Chons (Cush) 693₄ 694₀

Chousor (?) 1037

Chousoros

Genealogy: s. of Oulomos 1037 f.

Function: opener of cosmic egg 1037

Christ

Epithet: Ἀθέρης 945₀

Types: bearded man 1050 beardless man 1050 1199 1200₄ 1202₀ 1206 1207 boy 1199 1200₄ 1202₀ 1206 on the cross 305₀ descent into Hell 305₀ Dionysos 1197 Good Shepherd seated 1208 Good Shepherd standing 1050 1208 half-length figure flanked by sun and moon 138₀ harrowing of Hell 138₀ Orphic 1208 Scopaic 1206 seated between two lambs (sheep) 1208 seated with a

Christ (*cont.*)

lamb (sheep) beside him 1199 shepherd 305₀ youth raising right hand to bless 288 f. Zeus 1197

Attributes: eagle 1199 1209 lamb 1199

lyre 1208 roll 1199 vines 1199 1210

Associated with St Peter and St Paul 1209₂

Compared with Phanes 1026

Supersedes: Dionysos 1209 f. Theos

Hypsistos 879₀₍₁₇₎ Zeus 1209

— resurrection of 941₀

Christopher, St 1076

Chronos

Epithets: ἀγῆραος 1022 1024 τετραπόπος 831₀

Myth: makes cosmic egg 1026 1051

Genealogy: f. of Aither and Chaos 1024

f. of Aither, Chaos, and Erebos by

Ananke or Adrasteia 1022

Attribute: knife 864

Types: globe beneath foot 864 Lyssippos (?) 864 snake with heads of god, snake, lion 1023 winged snake

with heads of god, bull, lion 1022

Identified with Herakles 1022 Kairos

861 864 Kronos 374 861

Associated with Zas and Chthonia (Chthonie) 351₁

— chariot of 831₀ in Phoenician cosmogony 1036 1038

Chrysaor, the Carian hero 714 f. 720

Chrysaor, twin-b. of Pegasus

Epithet: μέγας 716

Myth: birth from neck of Medousa 716 ff.

Genealogy: b. of Pegasos 317 1018

f. of Geryoneus by Kallirrhoe, d.

of Okeanos 716 s. of Medousa 457

Function: lightning (?) 721 f.

Etymology: 715 f. 1222

Attribute: sword 716

Chryses, s. of Zeus by Hesione d. of Danaos 1150₂

Chrysippos 855₂

Chrysogone, d. of Halmos 1150₄

Chrysor, the Phoenician Hephaistos

Identified with Zeus Μελιχίος 715 1037

Chrysaoreis 714

Chrysaoris 714

Chrysothemis, s. of Karmanor 190₀

Chrysothemis, w. of Staphylos 670

Chthonia (Chthonie)

Function: primeval power 316

Identified with Ge 351₁

Chytroi

Cult: Astarte 157₁

Chytroi, the festival 1139

Cimbri 799₅

City Dionysia 244₂

Çiva

Cult: India 790 f.

Attributes: bull 791₂ trident 790 f. wreath 791₂

Type: three-faced 791₂

- Clunia in Spain
Cult: Iupiter *Augustus Ultor* 1102₃
 Clusium, tomb of Porsenna at 1219
 Collorgues, carved slabs from 690
 Commodus
Cult: Pergamon 1185
Personates Zeus 1185
 Compitalia 1171₂
 Coralli 108 111₀
 Cordeilla See Cordelia (Cordalia)
 Cordelia (Cordalia) 325 f.
 Corinium in Dalmatia
Cult: Ianus *Pater* 325
 Corinth
Cults: Apollon 915₂ (?) 916₀ Apollon
Δειραδιώτης 210₀ Iupiter *Liberator*
 (Nero) (?) 1214 Zenoposeidon (?)
 878₀₍₃₎ Zeus 878₀₍₃₎ Zeus Καπετώλιος
 (= Κορυφαίος) 869₁ Zeus Ὀλύμπιος
 916₀ Zeus Ὑψίστος 878₀₍₃₎ 892₃ Zeus
 Χθόνιος 878₀₍₃₎
 Corne, Mt
Cult: Diana 403
 Corneto, *Tomba del Letto funebre* at 1170₃
 Corvus 664₁
 Corycian Cave 449₀
 Crater 664₁
 Crete
Cults: Apollon Βελκώνιος 948₀ Apollon
 Ἰθύβιος 457 Diktyinna 986₀ Kronos
 548 f. Pikos who is also Zeus (?)
 697₀ Talos 890₂ 948₁ Tan 342₀
 Zagreus 352 667 Zan 344 f. Zeus
 344 f. 352 354 727 743₇ Zeus Ἀσ-
 τέριος 230₀ Zeus Βορτιαῖος (?) 1187₄
 Zeus Ἐλαφρός 599 Zeus Ἐπιρυνίτιος
 946₀ Zeus Ἰδαῖος 932₁ ff. Zeus Ξένιος
 1169₅
Rites: bovine omophagy 539 Kouretes
 sacrifice children to Kronos 548
Myths: Adionunios Tauros 349 birth of
 Zeus 1228 cp. 925₁ 927₁ 932₁ Botton
 1187₄ nurses of Zeus 228 reign of
 Kronos and Rhea 548 Talos 645₀
 Zeus a prince slain by wild boar
 and buried in Crete 522 727
In relation to Delphoi 189₈ Rhodes
 923₀
 — coins of 743₇ 933₀ tomb of Zeus
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 Culsán's 378 See also Ianus
 Cuprius, Vicus 401
 Curiatii 363 f.
 Cuthbert, St 116
 Cygnus 477₇ See also Olor
 Cynthianum 419₃ See also Genzano
- Daai (Daai, Dahae), a Scythian tribe
 312₅
 Daci 114₀
 — tattooed 123₀
 Daeira 312₅
 Daes (?), consort of Daeira 312₅
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 Daidala Megala 898₆ 977₀
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 Daidalos
Myths: makes dancing-ground for Ari-
 adne 600 f.
Genealogy: f. of Iapyx 30
Function: sculptor 322₇ 739₁
- Daimon
Epithets: ἡγήτορα φρικτόν, | μείλιχιον
 Δία, παγγενέτην, βιοδώτορα θνητῶν, |
 Ζῆνα μέγαν, πολύπλαγκτον, ἀλά-
 στορα, παμβασιλῆα, | πλουτοδότην,
 κ.τ.λ. 1160₄
Identified with Zeus 1160₄ Zeus Μει-
 λχιος 1160₄
 — Orphic hymn to 1160
- Daimones
Cult: Thespiai 1150₀
Epithets: ἐσθλοί, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες
 θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, |...| πλουτοδότα
 1130₁ 1160
Function: buried kings (?) 1150₀
Etymology: 1159₁
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- Daiso See Daita or Daito
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- Daktyloi
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 εδροι | μητέρος Ἰδαίης 232₀
Rites: head wrapped in fleece of black
 ram 934₀ lying prone beside sea and
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Genealogy: sons of Aigesthios (Ag-
 destis?) by Ide 970₀ sons of Anchiale
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- Daldea
Cult: Apollon Μύσσης 250 f.
 — coin of 251₁
- Dalmatia 440₂
 Damaskos
Cults: Zeus Κεραῖνιος 807₅₍₂₎ Zeus
 Μέγιστος Ὑψίστος 886₀₍₀₎
- Damastes 626 f.
 Damoia
Cults: Bryseai 890₂ Sparta 890₂
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- Dan
Cult: Boiotia 342₀ 344₆ cp. 583₀
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- Danaë
Myths: consorts with Zeus 1131₁ sent
 to sea in coffer 671 1018
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Myth: Argos 1144₂

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Daos, 'the Wolf' (?) 312₅

Daphne

Myth: Apollon 265₀ 460₂ 486

Daphne, near Antiocheia on the Orontes

Cults: Apollon Δαφναῖος 1188 Nemesis 1191₅ Zeus Ὀλύμπιος 1188 f. (?) 1191 Zeus Σωτήρ 1191

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Rite: resurrection (?) 1191₂

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Dardanos

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Dasios (Dazios) 1159₁

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Dazimas 1159₁

Dazimos See Dasimos

Dazios See Dasios

Dea Augusta Vocontiorum

Rite: *loco vires conditae* 306₁

Dea Roma See Roma, the personification of Rome

Dea Syria

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Deana 339₅ See Diana

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Functions: mower 868 reaper 868

Attributes: hour-glass 868 scythe 868

Type: straw puppet 868

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Hyperoche and Laodike 452 f. 501

Opis and Hekaerge (Arge) 452 501

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— Artemision at 1227 as centre of earth 167 confederacy of 854 Keraton at 1227 temple-inventory of 346₀ votive lions in 920₀ 921₀

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In relation to Crete 189₃

— as centre of earth 167 as vital centre of Greek religion 841 calendar at 235 f. Cnidian *Lésche* at 122₀

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coins of 176₂ 218₀ 267₁ 490₀₍₅₎ E at 176₂ 178 1216 eagles at 179 ff. frieze of Siphnian Treasury at 831₁₍₄₎ inhabitants of, called Lykoreis 901₂ inner chapel in temple of Apollon at 239 inscribed axe from 628 *omphalos* at 169 ff. 841 1216 pediments of temple at 267₁ Plataean tripod at 170₂ 193 ff. 1216 precinct of, represented in archaistic reliefs 199 ff. stepped pyramid on plinth near 1140₀₍₁₀₎ succession of cults at 231 239 266 f. trophy from spoils of 'Marathon' at 1137₂ votive double axes from 629 669₃

Delphos 176₁Delphyne 449₀Demaratos, oath of 728₀

Demeter

Cults: Aixone 730₀ Ardettos 1135 Athens 729₀ 730₀ Boiotia 716₅ Dotion 497₅ 683 f. Eleusis 314₀ 314₂ 730₀ Erythrai in Ionia 730₀ Eteonos 1152 Hermione 1077 Kios 815₅ Kolonos 1152₅ Korkyra 730₀ Megalopolis 1178 Mostene (?) 564 Myrrhinous 730₀ Nisaia, port of Megara 488₀₍₃₎ Pagai, port of Megara (?) 488₀₍₃₎ Paros 131 Pergamon 729₀ 955₀ Pheneos 1136₄ Phlyeis 1066 Prostanna (?) 973₀ Samothrace 314₀ 314₂ Selinous 489₀₍₁₀₎ Sparta 729₀ Tegea 1140₅ Thebes in Boiotia 900₀ 901₀

Epithets: 'Ανησιδώρα 1066 'Ενναία 1075 'Ερινύς ('Εριννύς) 1075 'Ερκυννα 1075 (See also Herkyna) Εὐρύδεια 1152 Θεσμοθέτις 268₂ Θεσμοφόρος 131 259₀ Καρποφόρος 815₅ Κιδαρία 1136₄ Μαλοφόρος 488₀₍₃₎ 489₀₍₁₀₎ Μηλοφόρος 489₀₍₁₀₎ ξιφηφόρος 716₅ 'Ομολόα 900₁ cp. 901₀ Χθονία 1077 Χλόη 413₂ χρυσόδορος 716

Festivals: Herkynia 1075 τελετή μείζων at Pheneos 1136₄

Myths: boiling of Pelops 212₅ consorts with Zeus 1029 Erysichthon 497₅ 683 f. Iambe 821 851 reveals fig to Phytalos 291₂ 1092₀ 1103

Metamorphosed into snake 1029

Genealogy: m. of Artemis 252 m. of Artemis or Hekate 1032 m. by Zeus of Phersephone or Kore 1029 w. of Poseidon 584₀

Functions: Corn-mother 295₂ earth 584₁ 585₁ 1152

Etymology: 584₀ 584₁ 585₁ 1159₁

Attributes: corn-ears 564 (?) double axe 564 (?) *drépanon* 448₀ *hárpe* 448₀ *kálathos* 564 (?) oak-tree 683 f. pig 1140₅ poplar-tree 683 poppies 1165₁ ram (?) 488₀₍₃₎ snake 1111 sword 716 716₅ torches 488₀₍₃₎ (?)

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In relation to bees and honey 1142₇ Persephone 501

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Personates Athena (?) 1136₄

Demoi of Antiocheia on the Orontes (?) and Seleukeia Pieria (?) 1192

Demokritos of Abdera 701₀

Demos

Cults: Antiocheia on the Orontes (?) 1192 Kaulonia (?) 1042 Seleukeia Pieria (?) 1192

— in Aristophanes 212

Demos of Rome

Cult: Miletos 1228

Demotionidai, oath of 728₀

Deu 344₀ 583₀ 583₃

See also Zeus

Denderah

Cults: Horos 773₀ Osiris 773₀ Zeus 'Ελευθέριος Σεβαστός (= Augustus) 97₀

Deo

Myth: Zeus 132₂

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Function: sky 279 f.

Associated with Semele 279 f.

— tribe Deia named after (?) 281

Despoina

Cult: Akakesion 231₈

Deukalidai 892₄

Deukalion

Myths: takes stones from Mt Agdos to people the world 971₀ Athens 1118 1139 1229 builds altar of Zeus 'Αφείσιος 892₄ Lykoreia 901₂ Mt Par-nassos 902₀

Genealogy: h. of Pyrrha 971₀ s. of Minos, s. of Zeus 793₇

Etymology: 892₄

— grave of 1118

Deunysos 272₀

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Deus 344₀

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Deus Altissimus

Cult: Hadrumetum 889₀₍₃₄₎

Epithets: *Pelagicus Aeriis* 889₀₍₃₄₎

Identified with Iao 889₀₍₃₄₎

Deus Casius

Cult: Heddernheim 983₀

See also Zeus *Epithets* Κάσιος (Κάσιος)

Deus Magnus Pantheus

Associated with Vires 306₄

Deverra 643₈

- Deviana 339₀
 See Diana
- Dexia 619₃
 Dexasiva
Cult: Cadenet 619
- Dia, d. of Lykaon 486₁
 Dia, old name of Tralleis 587₂ 958₀
 Dia, w. of Ixion
Myth: wooed by Zeus 1088
- Dian (?), consort of Diane (?) 351₀
 Diana
Cults: Mt Algidus 404 Aricia 420₁
 Mt Corne 403 Kolchoi 411 Nemi
 149 393 399 f. 403₁ 842 f. Nemus
 417 ff. Rome 400 f. 421 Mt Tifata
 404 Tusculum 403
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Lyaea 1140₃ *nemoralis Delia* 412₀
Nemorensis 146 411₃ (?) 414 417 841
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 928₀
 Dikte, Mt
Cult: Iupiter *Dictaeus* 927₁ Zeus *Δικταίος*
 927₁ 928₀ 929₀
Epithet: *Κορυθαυρίδος...πέτρης* 942₀
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 tyloi 929₀ birth of Zeus 928₀ 986₀
 Britomartis 939₁ city founded by
 Zeus 928₀ 929₀ Epimenides sleeps
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 Zeus 928₀ 929₀ Kouretes rear Zeus
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Cult: Crete 986₀
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Myths: Brasiai 671 brings Semele up from spring at Lerna 1022 buried by Apollon at Delphoi 218 ff. cut up, boiled, roasted, and eaten by Titans 218 f. 239 1030 f. Delphoi 239₀ descent to Hades 1022 destroys mice in Rhodes 250₂ guarded by Apollon and Kouretes 1030 his heart placed in a gypsum image by Zeus 1031 his heart rescued by Athena 1031 his limbs arranged by Apollon 1031 instructed and equipped by Mystis 346₀ invades India 7₂ invents wine 250₃ nursed by Dryades 276 nursed by Hyades 274 f. nursed by Ma 565₂ nursed by Maenads 347₀ nursed by Nymphs 1030 nursed by Polyhymno 1022 Polyhymnos 1022 put together again by Rhea 1032 reborn as Thyonians (?) 393₀ restored by Apollon 251₂ resurrection 1032 a seven-months' child 237₀ sits on throne of Zeus 1030 slain in bovine form 1030 Telephos 1184₃ Titans 199₂ 218 ff. 251₂ 841 1030 f.

Metamorphosed into bull 932₀ ep. 1030 jay (?) 524 Zeus, Kronos, babe, youth, lion, horse, horned snake, tiger, bull 1030

Genealogy: s. of Semele 220 s. of Zeus 317 1098₀ s. of Zeus by Persephone 1135₄ s. of Zeus by Phersephone or Kore 1029

Functions: chthonian 471 1029 figs 1092₀ 1093₀ health 250₃ rain 274 ff. rebirth of Zeus 381 823₁ snow 275 thunder 852 wine 557₁

Etymology: 271 ff.

Attributes: ass 464 bay-wreath 244 390 (?) double axe 661 drinking-horn 661 grape-bunch 960₀ ivy-wreath 388 jay 275₃ 524 *kántharos* 661 960₀ 1133₁ lyre 244 838 *nebris* 270₃ nightingale (?) 275₃ panther 261 270₃ *φρυγίλος* (?) 275₃ swallow (?) 275₈ *thýrsos* 261 ff. tripod 841 vine-branch 1133₁

Types: Apolline 244 ff. 838 bearded 388 661 in car drawn by panthers 245₀ double bust (with Ariadne) 390 (?) 391 392₁ (?) ep. 661 double bust (with Hermes) 388 double bust (with Satyr) 388 double bust (with Zeus) 388 fire 114 f. horned 244₄ horned babe 1029 on horseback 270₃ 821 infant nursed by Nymph

Dionysos (cont.)

245₀ Janiform (bearded + beardless) 387 light 114 f. with lyre in art, but not in literature 246₀ pillar 164 riding on bull 661 seated as child amid Kouretes 1210 seated as lyre-player 245₃ standing with grape-bunch in raised right hand and *kántharos* in lowered left 960₀ two bearded masks hung back to back on pillar 381 with wings on head 388 youthful head 575₁ Zeus-like 662 f. 847

Identified with Agathos Daimon 1129₀ Apollon 252 ff. Apollon and Helios 253 f. Attis 294 296 298 Esmun 314₀ Hittite god bearing grape-bunches and corn-ears 565 Jehovah 1197 younger Kabeiros 664₁ Liber 1031 Liber *Pater* 220₀ Osiris 252 Phanes 1026 1051 Sabazios 275 Zagreus 234 1029 Zeus 282 287 f. 288₀

Assimilated to Apollon 244 ff. Thracian rider-god 821 823

Associated with Apollon 164 233 ff. Ariadne 245₀ 245₅ 261 390 (?) 391 661 (?) Athena and Zeus 'Αραβύριος 925₀ the Egyptian Herakles 7₂ Kore 120₁ Maenads 115 246₀ 262 f. 265 Nero 97₀ Oistros (?) 1041 Satyrs 245₅ 246₀ 262 f. 265 314₀ Silenoi 661 Zeus and Themis 261 f.

Compared with Apollon 252

In relation to Agathos Daimon 1129₀ Apollon 267 Ares 565₂ mankind 1032 Semele 663 Zeus 267 ff. 522 1210

Superseded by Apollon 243 ff. 839 841 Christ 1209 f.

— as one of the first three Dioskouroi 1135₄ attendants of, boiled by Medeia 212 ephry of, dedicated to Zeus 958₀ epitaph of 220 mystics of 124₄ mysteries of 882₀₍₀₎ nurses of 347₀ pillars of 423 in the plural 252₃ sceptre of 1026 tomb of 219 231 289 toys of 1030 tripod of 231

Dionysos 272

See also Dionysos

Diopetes See Artemis *Types* Διοπέτης
Dios, island off coast of Kephallenia 908₀
Dios, the Thracian Zeus

Cults: Thrace 277 ff. 288 313 821 Thracio-Phrygians 277 ff. 313 842

Epithets: Νῦσος (hence the Hellenic Δῶνυσος) 277 288 313 842 Πάπας 277
Functions: sky 277 842 twofold, as Father and Son 288 842

Etymology: 824

Superseded by Zeus Διός 280 f.

Diosatabyriastai 924₀ 925₀ 1129₀ 1157₃

Dios Bous 318₀

Dios Elpides

Cult: Miletos 962₀

- Dios Gonai in Boiotia 961₀
 Dios Gonai in Lydia 961₀
 Dioskouroi
Cults: Aizanoi 313 Akmonēia 313
 Apameia 313 Mt Argaios 980₀
 Athens 1135₄ Bria 313 Etruria 431 f.
 1064 Euromos 574 f. Sparta 261₀
 436 ff. 1062 Synnada 313 Tarentum
 1064 Tauion 1064 Temenothyrai
 313 Themisonion (?) 313 Therapne
 1064 Tusculum (?) 368₂ Tyndaris
 918₀
Epithets: Ἀμβούλιοι 261₀ Ἀνακτες 311
 1135₄ Λαπέρρα 1069
Festival: Theoxenia 443 1064
Rites: *lectisternium* 443 sacrifice of
 oxen 606₃
Personated by Aristomenes and friend
 436₀ Atys and Kotys (?) 312 L.
 Aurelius Commodus and Antoninus
 443 Epiphanes and Kallinikos 442 f.
 kings of Sparta 436 440 Nero Caesar
 and Drusus Caesar 442 Tiberius
 and Germanicus 441 f.
Myths: alive and dead on alternate
 days 433 their descendants found
 temple on Mt Kasion in Egypt 984₄
 feud with sons of Aphareus 437
 Gigantomachy 435 in *Iliad* 436 in
Kypria 438 f. in Lykophron 439
 in *Odyssey* 437 in Pindar 437 f. life
 underground 1064
Genealogy: sons of Tyndareos 918₀
Functions: anthropomorphic sky-
 pillars 980₀ both mortal men 436
 one mortal, the other immortal
 437 f. 440 halves of the sky 432 ff.
 843 ἡ συμφωνία τῶν ἀπάντων 434₃
 incarnate in kings of Sparta (?) 436
 440 living and dead on alternate
 days 437 ff.
Attributes: *amphorae* 1062 ff. black
 and white *piloi* 435 caps with stars
 313₂ 313₄ 313₀ 433 574 f. 1062
 dagger 432₃ *dōkana* 160 f. 436₈ 841
 1063 f. horses 313₂ 313₅ 313₃ knife
 432₃ Phrygian caps 432₂ (See also
 caps with stars) *piloi* 307 1063 (See
 also caps with stars) semicircles
 434 sepulchral jars 436₈ 1062 ff.
 stars 980₀ (See also caps with stars)
Types: aniconic pillars crowned with
 rays 980₀ bearded and beardless
 451 on short column or altar 606₃
 driving two-horse chariot 1064
 Etruscan 160 with heads connected
 by forked bar 432₃ with heads con-
 nected by pediment 431 432₂ on
 horseback 442 479 1064 male and
 female 451 with one arm apiece
 432 with one wing apiece 432
 radiate 432₃ reclining in cave 1064
 reclining at least 1064 standing
 with horses 1064 standing without
 horses 1062 1063 1064
- Dioskouroi (*cont.*)
Associated with Helene 1003 ff. Zeus
 1209₂
Compared with children in 'Expul-
 sion' tales 1014
In relation to Attis 307 ff.
Superseded by St Peter and St Paul 606
 — in folk-tales 1003 ff. jars of 1062 ff.
- Diosmilichiaistai 1157
 Diosphoros (?) 970₀
 Diotima 130₇ 1167
 Diphilos 1167
 Dipoinos 739
 Dipsakos 904₁
 Dirke, the spring 1013
 Dirke
Myths: Antiope 1013 1015 Zethos and
 Amphion 1013 1015 1019
Type: dragged by bull 1019
- Dis (*Δίς*) 344₀
 See also Zeus
- Dis
Cult: Celts 326
Rite: drink-offering of honey and pure
 wine 1142₇
- Dius
Cults: Rome 724₀ ff. Tiber-island 726₀
Epithets: *Fidius* 724₀ ff. 849 *Sancus*
 724₀ *Sancus Sanctus Semo* 724₀
Semo Sancus 724₀ *Semo Sancus*
Sanctus 724₀ 725₀
Rites: *aenei orbes* 724₀ 725₀ (?) oath
 under open sky 724₀
Functions: lightning 726₀ 849 sky 724₀
 725₀
Type: archaic 'Apollon' 725₀ cp. 1222
Identified with Herakles (?) 724₀ Simon
 Magus 726₀
- Diviana 338₄
 See also Diana
- Divitia
Cults: Mercurius 64₀ Victoria 64₀
- Divlit near Koloë
Cults: Artemis Ἀναίτις (Ἀναίτις?)
 975₀ Zeus Σαβάτιος 975₀
 — sacred trees at 975₀
- Dodona
Cults: Dione 350 350₀ 353 Ge (Gaia)
 350₁ Zeus 350 353 693₃ 855₂ 960₀
 Zeus Δωδωναίος (= Hadrian) 959₀
 Zeus Νάιος 350₀ 763₁ 826
Epithet: *δυσχέλμερος* 960₀
Rites: caldron of hot water 214 ff.
 Hyperborean offerings 497 oracular
 caldron 214 priests go with un-
 washen feet 960₀ priests sleep on
 ground 960₀
Priests: Ἕλλοί 677 f. Σελλοί 960₀ τό-
 μαροι (τόμοιροι) 693₃
Priestesses: 'Fly' 215₁ πελειάδες 350
 693₃
Myth: Hellos 677 f. 848
 — bronze statuettes of Zeus from
 739 1222 (?) Coreyraean whip at
 826 851 double axe of iron from 678

Dodona (*cont.*)

gong at 133₀ 214₁ 826 1226 oak at
413₂ 677 692 848 painting of 677
small votive axes from 648 677

Dogs-heads 679

Dokimeion, coin of 756₂

Doliche

Cult: Zeus Δολιχαῖος 745₁

Domitian

Personates Zeus 97₀ 1194 cp. 811₅

Domitilla, Catacomb of 1205 f.

Donar

Functions: autumn 62 f. fertility 63₁
thunder 63₁

Etymology: 63₁

Attributes: hammer 64₀ 609 birch (?)
642₃

Identified with Hercules 62 f. 63₁ 64₀
94₁ Iupiter 64₀ 95₂ Vulcanus 63₁

Donatus as author of the scholia P.

Danielis on the commentaries of
Servius 1059 cp. 468₁

Donuca, Mt 55

Dorians, *Agyieús*-pillars of 165 f. originally
an Illyrian tribe 341

Dorylaeion

Cults: Aphrodite 281 Apollon 281
Augustus 281 Dionysos 280₁
Homonoia Σεβαστή 280₁ Mother of
the gods 281 Poseidon 281 Sarapis
281 Zeus Βροντῶν 280₁ 833₄ 836
Zeus Δίος (rather than Δίος) 280 f.
Zeus Μεληρός 280₁ Zeus Παπίας
Σωτήρ 292₄ Zeus Πατρώος 280₁ Zeus
Σημαντικός 280₁
— bust of Zeus Βροντῶν from 836
coins of 280₁ seven tribes at 281

Dorylaos (?) 280₁

Dotion

Cult: Demeter 497₅ 683 f.

Myth: Erysichthon 497₅ 683 f. 848

Douris 122₀

Draccena (= Δράκαινα)

Cult: Blatsche 1084

Dracco (= Δράκων, *i.e.* Glykon)

Cult: Blatsche 1084

Drakon, king of Thebes in Boiotia 1087

Drakon, the river See Orontes

Drepanon in Achaia

Myth: so called after the δρέπανον of
Kronos 448₀

Drepanon (Drepane) in Bithynia

Myth: so called after the δρέπανον of
Zeus 448₀

Drepanon (Drepane) = Phaiakia or Kor-
kyra 448₀

Drepanon = Zankle in Sicily 448₀

Dreros

Cult: Zeus Ταλλαῖος 948₁

— oath of 730₀

Drios, Mt, in Naxos

Cult: Zeus Μηλώσιος 918₁

Droiophoroi 411₀

Druids regarded oak-mistletoe as fallen
from heaven 643

Dryades 276 683 f.

Dryope

Myth: loved by Apollon 485 f. 486₅

Metamorphosed into black-poplar 486
lotus-tree 486₂

Genealogy: m. of Amphissos by Apollon
486 w. of Andraimon, s. of Oxylos
486

Superseded by Daphne 486

Dryopes

Cult: πόποι 293₀

— migration of 458 (?) 1123 (?)

Dryops

Genealogy: s. of Apollon by Dia, d. of
Lykaon 486₁ 486₅ s. of Spercheios
by the Danaïd Polydora 486

Dryos 972₀

Duana 339₀ See Diana

Durocortorum 359₃

Dyauš 1228

Dyrrhachion by euphemism for Epidam-
nos (?) 1112₇ coins of 1159₁

Dysaules (= Hades?) 131 f.

Genealogy: f. of Eubouleus and Tri-
ptolemos 132 f. of Protogone and
Misa by Baubo 131

Ebal, Mt, and Mt Gerizim as two-peaked
cosmic mountain (?) 888₀₍₀₎

Ebdomaia 237₀

Ebimi near Amaseia

Cult: Zeus Στράτιος 976₀

Echekrates 209₃

Edessa

Cults: Helios 428 Monimos and Azizos
428 Tyche 429 f.

— coins of 429 f. columns of 428 ff.

Eëtion 317

Egeria

Etymology: 418₀ (?)

Identified with Diana (?) 418₀

Egesta See Segesta

Egypt

Cults: Agdistis Επήκοος 1228 Ammon
767₂ Amoun 293₀ 889₀₍₀₎ ape 987₀
Apis 942₀ baboon 987₀ benefactors
of society 1132₀ Bes 457 cat 987₀
crocodile 987₀ double axe 545₀ fire
34₁ HA of the Double Axe 545₀
Hermes 382₂ Horos 255 ibis 987₀
Kneph 1127₀ Min 767₂ Mouth
(= Isis) 1038 Tefcnet 626₀ Zeus
1023

Rite: head buried separately from
body and replaced by stone image
1218

Myths: anthropogony 1023 cosmic egg
1035 flight of the gods from
Typhoeus 449₀ zoögonny 1023

— Homer indebted to 481₀ pyramids
of 1145_{1(a)} 1145_{1(b)}

Eide (Ide), a Cretan Nymph

Genealogy: d. of Melissa by Amaltheia
and st. of Adrasteia 933₀

Function: protectress of laws 933₀

- Eikthyrnir 305₀
 Eileithya
Cults: Gortyna 723₀ Hierapytna 723₀
 Megara 168₁ Phaleron 183 Priansos
 723₀ Tegea (?) 1148₄
Epithets: Βενάρια 723₀ ἤπια 184₂ λυσί-
 ζωος 184₂
Function: child-birth 709
Attributes: girdle 184 torch (?) 1148₄
- Eilenaia
Cult: Athena 625
 — Epeios' axe in temple at 625
- Eirene
Cult: Eumeneia in Phrygia 970₀
Epithets: εὐσεβειστάτη Σεβαστή 970₀
 Λιπαρή 954₀ φιλόλογος 931₀
Personated by Marcia Otacilia Severa,
 w. of Philippus i 970₀
- Eisenlaci 224₁
- Ekbatana, axe-head from 632₀ Ktesias on
 832
- Ektenes 824₀
- El
Identified with Kronos 558₀
- Elagabalos
Cult: Emesa (?) 814₃
- Elaiia in Aiolis
Cults: Theos Βασιλεὺς Εὐμένης Σωτήρ
 (= Eumenes ii) 960₀ Zeus Σωτήρ
 955₀
- Elakataion, Mt. in Thessaly
Cult: Zeus Ἡλακαταῖος or Ἡλακατεὺς
 397₀
- Elaphebolia 1140₄
- Elasson in Thessaly
Cult: Zeus Κεραῖνιος 808₀ (13)
- Elateia in Phokis
Cult: Athena Κραναία 1158₁₀
- Elaton, charioteer of Amphiaraios 1071
- Elatos, f. of Ischys 1089
- Elatos, Lapith chief 471
- Elchanos (?) = Velchanos
Cult: Knossos 948₀ (3)
- Elektror
Etymology: 397₀ 947₀
 See also Helios *Epithets* ἠλέκτωρ
- Elektra, d. of Agamemnon 1132₀
Etymology: 397₀ 947₀
- Elektryon
Etymology: 397₀
- Elektryone (Alektroina)
Cult: Ialysos 499
Rite: precinct must not be entered
 by horse, ass, mule, etc., nor by
 any one with sandals or articles
 made of pig-skin 499₅
- Eleos
In relation to Zeus 875₁ (2)
 — altar of 875₁ (2)
- Eleusis
Cults: Demeter 314₀ 314₂ 730₀ Hades
 314₀ 314₂ Kore 314₀ 314₂ Persephone
 132₂
Rites: burial within the house 1060
 exhibition of corn-ear 291₂ 292₀
- Eleusis (*cont.*)
 295₂ myrtle-wreaths 1165₁ mysteries
 132₂ poppy-heads 1165₁
Priest: Ιεροφάντης 291₂ 292₀
 — *katabasion* at 14 Telesterion at
 1229
- Eleuther 190₀
- Eleutherai
Myth: Antiope 1013
- Eleutheria
Cult: Kyaneai 101₁
Epithets: Ἀρχηγέτις Ἐπιφανής 101₁
- Eleutheria, the festival 974₀ (?) 1121₀
- Eleuthernai (Eleutherna)
Cults: Apollon 456₇ Apollon Στυρακίτης
 491₀ (6) 492₀ (10) Artemis 492₀ (10)
Myth: Eleuther (?) 190₀
 — coins of 491₀ (6)
- 'El 'Ōlām
Identified with Jehovah 1037
- Elias, St
Cults: Beuyuk Evlia near Amaseia
 975₀ Mt Helikon 898₅ Homolion
 1227 Mt Hymettos 897₅ Lebadeia
 899₂ Paros 875₁ (5)
Epithets: Dry 251₀ Wet 251₀
Attribute: chariot 820
Supersedes Zeus 875₁ (5) 894₁ 894₃ 897₅
 898₅ 899₂ 902₁ 906₀ 922₄ 1073
 1227
 — ascends to heaven by the Milky
 Way 38₅
- Elijah 138₀
- Elioun
Cult: Byblos 886₀ (30)
Epithet: Ἐψιστος 886₀ (30)
Genealogy: f. of Epigeios (Autochthon)
 Οὐρανός and Ge by Berouth 886₀ (30)
- Elis
Cults: Aphrodite Οὐρανία 68₁ Athena
 Ὀπλοσμία 291₀ Dionysos 932₀
 Dionysos Ἡρώς 823₁ Hera Ὀπλοσ-
 μία 291₀ Myiacoeres 783 Sosipolis
 1151 Zeus Ἀπόμυιος 783 Zeus
 Ὀλύμπιος 728₀
Myth: Salmoncus 825
- Elisha 1134₄
- Elmo, St, fires of 980₀
- Elnes (?) 1149₂ (1)
- Elpides See Dios Elpides
- Elysian Plain (Fields) 224₁ 117 465 469
- Elysian Way 36 ff. 117 840
- Elysium 22 133 840
- Emathia, hill at Antiocheia on the Orontes
Cult: Zeus Βορτιαῖος 1187 f.
- Emesa
Cults: Aglibolos 814₃ Athena 814₃
 Belos (?) 814₃ Elagabalos (?) 814₃
 Iarebolos 814₃ Keraunos 814₃ Mala-
 chbelos (?) 814₃ Seimia (?) 814₃
 Semiramis (?) 814₃
 — relief from 814₃
- Emmeram, St 135
- Emona
Cult: Laburus 609₃

Empedokles 358₆ 432 (?) 505₁ 852 1024
1033

Emporia 94₃ (?)

Emporion

Cults: Eros 1040 Persephone 1040
— coins of 1039 f.

Endoios 410₀

Enhodia

Cult: Larissa in Thessaly 1155
Epithet: *Φαστικά* (? from Thracian
tribe 'Ασταλ) 1155₄
Associated with Zeus Μειλίχιος and
Polis 1155

Eniautos (?) 1029 (in Prokl. in Plat. *Cratyl.*
p. 110, 20 Pasquali *ἐνιαυτός* Kern
would read 'Ενιαυτός)

Enipeus 460

Enkelados

Myths: Athena 713 777₂ 909₀ Zeus
909₀
— in town-arms of Girgenti 915₀

Enneakrounos 1119 1119₄

Ennius, the twelve deities of 100

Enoch 38₅ 138₀

Enorches

Myths: born from egg laid by Daita or
Daito (Daiso) w. of Thyestes 1021
founds temple of Dionysos 'Ενὸρχης
1021

Etymology: 1021

Enycus, f. of Homoloia 900₁

Eos See Heos

Ephaphos

Genealogy: s. of Zeus by Io 961₀

Epeios

Myth: wooden horse 625

Attribute: axe 613 625

Epeiros

Cult: Hadrian 1121₀
— coins of 763₁ folk-song from 828 f.
folk-tales from 671 f. 1006 f.

Ephesos

Cults: Artemis 1082 Artemis 'Εφεσία
405 ff. 962₂ Nyx 1021 Zeus 728₀
743₇ 962₂ Zeus 'Ολύμπιος 962₂

Festivals: Barbillea 962₂ Hadrianeia
1121₀ Hadrianeia (Adriana, Adria-
nia) Olympia 962₂

Rites: oath by Zeus taken over boar
728₀ thigh-pieces of oxen sacrificed
to Zeus 962₂

Myths: Amazons 405 Hippo 405₃
— Artemision at 580₇ 637 f. 1230
coins of 408₀ 409₀ 743₇ 962₂ 963₀
columns dedicated by Kroisos etc.
at 580₇ oak-tree at 405 Olympieion
at 962₂

Ephesos, personification of the town 319₅

Ephialtes, b. of Otos 129 f. 130₄ 317 712

Ephka, sacred spring at Palmyra 885₍₂₀₎

Ephraem the Syrian, St 116

Epidamnus See Dyrrhachion

Epidauros

Cults: Agathe 1126₀ Agathos Theos
1126₀ Aphrodite Μιλίχια 1144₃

Epidauros (*cont.*)

Apollon Μαλεάτας (Μαλεάτης) 487₃₍₁₎

Apollon Μαλεάτας Σωτήρ 487₃₍₁₎

Artemis Σαρανία 413₇ Asklepios

413₇ 1085 1177 f. Asklepios Zeus

Τέλειος 1076 f. Athena 'Οξυδέρκα

502₂ Auxesia 487₃₍₁₎ Azosioi Theoi

487₃₍₁₎ Ourania, the Carthaginian

goddess 487₃₍₁₎ Tychai 487₃₍₁₎ Zeus

'Αποτρόπαιος 1157₀ Zeus 'Ασκληπιός

1061 1076 f. Zeus 'Ασκληπιός Σωτήρ

1076 f. Zeus Κάσιος 894₂ Zeus

Κτήσιος 1066 Zeus Μιλίχιος (?) 1144₃

Zeus Φίλιος 1177 f.

Rite: πυροφορήσας 1126₀

Priest: ιεραπολήσας 1126₀

Myth: Askles 1086

— coins of 1078 f. metopes (?) from
temple of Asklepios at 1081 f.

Epidauros Limeria

Cult: Asklepios 1082

Myth: Asklepios arrives as snake on
shipboard 1082

Epidotai

Cult: Pagasai 321₁

Epidotas

Cult: Argos 321₁

Epigeios (Autochthon) Ούρανός, s. of Eliouan

ΤΨιστος by Berouth 886₀₍₃₀₎

Epigonos 955₀

Epikouros, portrait-herm of (with Metro-
doros) 390

Epimenides 191 222 451 929₀ 933₀ 934₀

940₀ (?) 941₀ 942₀

Epio, short form of Epione 1086

Epione, w. of Asklepios 1086

Epona 99₄ (?)

Epopous

Personates Zeus (?) 1146

Myth: 1013

Genealogy: f. of Marathon f. of Sikyon
1146

Identified with Zeus 445

Epula Iovis (Sept. 13 and Nov. 13) 1172₀

Er, ancestor of Joseph 54₁

Er, s. of Armenios 54 114

Er, the Germanic sky-god

Cult: Bavaria 51 1212

Identified with Ziu 50 f. 114

Erato, w. of Malos 488₀₍₁₀₎

Erebos

Epithet: ὀμιχλωῶδες 1022

Genealogy: child of Chronos or Hera-
kles by Ananke or Adrasteia 1022
f. by Nyx of Aither, Eros, Metis
315₄ ep. 1050 f.

Erechtheion at Athens 24 789₇ 792 965₀
1148

Erechtheus

Cult: Athens 793 f.

Myths: slain by Poseidon 794 slain by
Zeus 794 struck by thunderbolt 24

Genealogy: f. of Metion f. of Sikyon
1146 f. of Oreithyia 444 f. of Sikyon
1146 f. of Thespios 1151

- Erechthens** (*cont.*)
Functions: king regarded as lightning-god 794 1071 lightning 793
Etymology: 793 1146
Identified with Poseidon 793 Zeus 793
Compared with Aleos 1147 Amphiaraios, Latinus, Aeneas 1071
- Eresos**
Cults: Helios 729₀ Zeus 729₀
- Eretria**
Cult: Zeus Ὀμολώιος 901₀
 — coin of 903₀
- Erichthonios**
Myth: buried in precinct of Athena at Athens 944₀
- Eridanos**
Myths: Phaethon and Heliades 472 ff. set in sky as constellation Eridanus or Flumen 476
Etymology: 481 483 (?) 1025
Attributes: branch 479 poplar 468 snake 479
Identified with Padus 476 Rhodanus 476
 — at first none other than Milky Way 481
- Eridanos**, as original name of Phaethon 476₅
- Eridanus**, the constellation 476 481 483₂
Identified with Neilos 481 1025 Okeanos 481 1025
- Eridu** 482 f.
- Erikepaios** (Erikapaios)
Cult: Thrace (?) 1025
Myth: swallowed by Zeus 1027
Functions: ἐτέρας ἐφορος δυνάμειος 1025 ζῶή 1024 ζωοδοτήρ 1024
Etymology: 1025
Identified with Eros 1039 Metis (masc.) 1024 1039 Phanes 1024 1039 Protonogon 1027 1039
In relation to Athena 1032
 — sceptre of 1026
- Erineos** 1103
- Erinyes**
Epithets: Ἀβλαβίαι 1113₀₍₁₎ Εἰμενίδες 1112₇ 1113₀₍₁₎ Σεμναί 1112₇ 1113₀₍₁₎
Rites: offerings without wine 1097₂
Myth: sprung from blood of Ouranos falling on Gaia 447₈
Type: deformed 1100₀
Associated with Zeus, Ge, and Helios 728₀ f.
 — euphemistic titles of 1112₇ 1113₀₍₁₎ increasingly subordinated to Zeus 1102₇
- Erinyes**
Epithets: ἡεροφούτις 1102₇ νυμφόκλαυτος 1102₇ ὄρπα 315₃ ὑπερόποιος 1102₇
Functions: angry ghost 207₀ soul of murdered man 1100₀ 1101
Associated with Zeus and Moira 1102₇
In relation to Apollon 1102₇ Eros 315₃ Jupiter 1102₇ Pan 1102₇ Zeus 1102₇
- Eriza**, coins of 565
- Ermine** Street 91
- Eros**
Cults: Aphrodisias 572₁₀ Athens 1043 Emporion 1040 Plarasa 572₁₀
Epithets: Ἄρπυς 315₃ Βακχεύς 316₀ θεῶν πάτερ ἤδὲ καὶ υἱὲ 316₀ πολυτελής 316₅ 1028 στίλβων νῶτον περὶ γοῦν χρυσαῖν 1020 1050 Φίλιος (?) 1176₃ Ψίδυρος 1043
Rite: mysteries 1167 f.
Myths: judgment of Eros 949₅ springs from egg laid by Nyx 1039 Typhoeus 449₀ Zeus transforms himself into Eros when about to create the world 316
Genealogy: a bone of contention 316₀ s. of Aphrodite (?) and Ouranos 316₀ s. of Aphrodite and Zeus 316₀ s. of Ge and Ouranos 315₄ s. of Nyx 1020 s. of Nyx and Aither 315₄ 1051 s. of Nyx and Erebus 315₄ 1050 f. (?)
Functions: cosmogonic 316 1019 ff. 1038 ff. funerary 309 male Erinyes 315₃ male Harpy 315₃ primeval power 315 f. soul 1039 ff. 1050 soul of the sky-god 315₃ specialised form of Ker 315₃
Etymology: 315₃
Attributes: χλαμῆς 1045 club 1046 globe 1047 lion-skin 1046 thunderbolt 1045 f. torch 309
Types: with Anteros 1221 with attributes of Herakles 1046 with attributes of Herakles and Zeus 1046 f. with attributes of Zeus 1045 ff. babe 1045 with bird-wings 1050 boy 1044 breaking thunderbolt 1045 bust 572₁₀ Byzantine 1050 carrying globe 1047 chasing butterfly 1047 child 1045 clinging to swan 1045 in cosmic egg 1048 with crossed legs and torch reversed (= Thanatos) 1045 embracing Psyche 1050 emerging from head of Pegasos 1040 *genre* 1045 ff. Graeco-Roman 1045 Hellenistic 860 1044 f. holding thunderbolt 1045 hovering youth 124₂ 261 737 on ladder 124₃ Lysippos (?) 1046 modern 1050 nursed by Hermaphroditos 152₀ pantheistic 1047 planting foot on globe 1047 *psychostasia* 734₃ Renaissance 1050 riding horse 1040 riding Psyche round race-course 1047 sailing on wine-jar 1047 schoolboy 1048 schoolmaster 1048 sitting on globe 1047 soul 315₃ standing on Aphrodite's arm 1043 steering *murex*-shell 1047 stepping down from behind shoulder of Aphrodite 1044 stripping Herakles of his weapons (?) 1046 torch-bearing 309 vintage 1050 winged mannikin 1039 ff. wingless (?) 1050

- Eros** (*cont.*)
 as Zeus with thunderbolt and sceptre (?) 1045
Identified with Erikepaïos 1039 Metis (masc.) 1039 Phanes 1026 1039 Protoponos 1039 Zeus 1028
Assimilated to Herakles 1046 Zeus 1045 ff.
Associated with Psyche 1045
In relation to Ker 315₃ Psyche 315₃ Wind 1039 Zeus 316₃ 316₅
Survives as early Renaissance *putto* 1050
- Erotos**
Types: coining money (?) 1047 f. fulling clothes 1048 *genre* 1047 f. making oil 1047 in nest 1049 selling wine 1048 twining garlands 1047 winged 1050 wingless 1050
Associated with Psychai 1047 f.
Erymne, old name of Tralleis 587₂
Erysichthon
Myths: Dotion 497₅ 683 f. 848 Prasinaï 497
 — hunger of 683 f.
Erysichthon the Giant 684₄
Erythrai in Ionia
Cults: Ablabiai 1113₀₍₁₎ Apollon 730₀ Athena Ἀποροπαία 1157₀ Demeter 730₀ Zeus 730₀ Zeus Ἀποτρόπαιος 1157₀
- Esculapius** (*sc.* Aesculapius) 1086
Esmun
Cults: Kition 1095₀ Phoinike 314₀
Type: obelisk 1095₀
Identified with Dionysos Σαβάτιος 314₀ Kadmilos 314₀
- Esquilinus**, Mons 401
Essir-keui in Bithynia
Cult: Zeus Βροντῶν 835₅
- Este**
Cult: Rehtia 1220
- Esus**
Cults: Gallia Belgica 547₀ Gallia Lugudunensis 547₀ 619
Attribute: axe 619
Associated with Iovis and Voleanus 547₀ 619 Mercurius and Rosmerta (?) 547₀
- Eteo-Cretans** at Praisos 930₀
Eteokles
Genealogy: f. of Orchomenos and Minyas 1150₅ s. and b. of Oidipous 825₂
- Eteonos**
Cults: Demeter Εὐρύοδεα 1152 Oidipous 1151 ff.
Myth: Oidipous 1152
- Etruria**
Cults: Aesculapius 1085 f. Ani (= Ianus) 338₃ Charon 627₃ 803 Culśanś 378 Dioskouroi 431 f. 1064 god of the Underworld 805 f. 850 Tina (= Iupiter) 338₃ Tiv 339₀ Uni (= Iuno) 338₃ Usil 339₀
 — gold necklace from 528
- Etrusci**, lightning-lore of 5₅ 805 mirrors of 160
EuBoia, three golden children in folk-tale from 1007 f.
Eubouleus (= Hades) 118₄ 1113₀₍₂₎
Functions: one of the first three Dioskouroi 1135₄ s. of the nether Zeus (?) 119₀
Identified with Phanes 1026
Euboulos 190₀
Euchaites (= Hades) 1113₀₍₂₎
Eudaimonia
Cult: Philadelpheia in Lydia 1229
Eudoxos 222
Euicides (= Hades) 1113₀₍₂₎
Euhemerios 342₀ 554₃ 588 927₁ 928₀ 981₁ 1087 1135₄ cp. 940₀
Eukleia, the goddess 118₃
Eukleia, the festival 118₃
Eukleides, s. of Kleagoras 1106 f.
Eukles (= Hades) 118₃ 1113₀₍₂₎
 See also Euklos
Euklos (= Hades) 118₃
 See also Eukles
Eukoline (= Hekate) 1114₀₍₄₎
Eumeneia in Phrygia
Cults: Agathos Daimon (= the emperor Philippus i) 970₀ Apollon 571 970₀ εὐμεβαστῆρη Σεβαστῆ Ειρήνη (= Marcia Otacilia Severa, w. of Philippus i) 970₀ Men Ἀσκαρνός 970₀ Meter Theon Ἀνγδιστις (= Ἄγγδιστις) 970₀ Zeus Σωτήρ 970₀
 — coins of 565 f. 571
Eumenes i divinised as Zeus Εὐμένης 960₀ 1228 f.
Eumenes ii divinised as Theos Βασιλεὺς Εὐμένης Σωτήρ 960₀
Eumenides
Rites: libation of μελκκρατον (water and honey) 1142₀ νηφάλια 1142
Genealogy: daughters of Nyx 825₁
Function: avenge bloodshed 1130₁
 — euphemistic names of 1113₀₍₁₎
Eumolpos, a flute-player 670
Euneidai 245₅
Euneos 245₅
Eunomia 954₀
Euphorbos, priestly ruler of Aizanoi 964₃
Euphranor 1126₀ 1127₀
Euphronios 121₃
Euripides, portrait herm of (with Sophokles) 389 tomb of, struck by lightning 9
Euromos
Cults: Dionysos 575₁ Dioskouroi 574 f. Zeus 572₇ 573₄ 574 f. 1220 Zeus Εὐρωμεὺς (?) 589₀
Priests: dedicate temple-columns 580
 — coins of 572 ff. 1220 site of 588₇
- Europe**
Myth: Zeus 348 929₀ 1131₁
Compared with Themis 267₅
Euros
Type: horse 830₇

- Euryale 718
 Eurydike
 Myth: Orpheus 211₂ 1022
 Eurykomis 1141
 Eurymede, m. of Bellerophon 721₂
 Euryodeia (Euryodia)
 Genealogy: m. of Arkeisios by Zeus 1152₄
 Function: earth 1152₄
 Eurypylos 281₄
 Eurytos
 Genealogy: b. of Kteatos 317 s. of Molione, nominally by Aktor, really by Poseidon 1015₈
 Eusebeia, former name of Kaisareia in Kappadokia 978₀
 Eustasia 954₀
 Euthymos, statues of, struck by lightning 9
 Euxeinos by euphemism for Axenos 1112₇
 Exouanoun, old name of Aizanoi 964₃
 Eyuk, Hittite sculptures at 620 f.
- Fagus
 Cult: Aquitania 402₁
 Fagutal 401 403₀
 Falacer
 Cult: Rome 1226
 Epithet: *Divus Pater* 1226
 Falerii
 Cult: Ianus 373
 Festival: *Struppearia* 1171₁
 Fama 915₀ (?)
 Faolan 683
 Fata
 Attributes: baskets 862₁₀ scales 862₁₀
 Types: spinning 862₁₀ weighing 862₁₀
 Fauna
 Epithet: *Bona Dea* 724₀
 Faunus
 Associated with Picus 400
 Faunus, king of Aborigines 404₀
 Faustulus 1016
 Felicitas 71 (?) 98₁
 Fenians 682
 Fenrir (Fenris-wolf) 62₁ 305₀
 Feralia 19₀
 Fimmilena
 Cult: Eorcovicium 51₁
 Fin 682 f.
 Fintra 682
 Fisos (Fisovios)
 Cult: Umbria 724₀
 Epithet: *Saucios* 724₀
 Fiumicino, *koïros* of 1221
 Florianus, M. Annius, statue of, struck by lightning 10
 Flumen, the constellation 476
 Fons
 Cults: Ianiculum 368₃ Lambaesis 369₀
 Associated with (Aqua) Ventina and Vires 306₄
 See also Fontus
 Fonteii 368₂
- Fontes
 Cult: Rome 369₀ 401₀
 Associated with Iupiter *Optimus Maximus Caelestinus* 369₀ Iupiter *Optimus Maximus Caelestinus* and Minerva 401₀
- Fontus
 Cult: Tusculum (?) 368₂
 Genealogy: s. of Ianus 368 394₃
 Type: bifrontal 368
 See also Fons
- Fortinae See Nymphs
- Fortuna
 Cult: Rome 1195₂
 Function: one of the Penates 1059
 Attributes: *cornu copiae* 95₁ globe beneath foot 862₁₀ steering-paddle 95₁ wheel 57₆
 Associated with Iupiter 1195₂ Minerva 95₁ 96
 In relation to Minerva 95
 — on Iupiter-column (?) 71
 Frampton, Roman villa at 604
 Freyia 682
 Frijia
 Attribute: necklace 61₀
 Identified with Iuno 59 94₁
 Differentiated into Iuno and Venus 67
- Furiae 808₀₍₁₇₎ 1102₇
 Furi 368₂
 Furor 862₁₀
 Furrina
 Cult: Rome 808₀₍₁₇₎
- Gabriel 793₄
 Gadeira
 Cult: Herakles 423
- Gaia
 Cults: Delphoi 500 1216 Dodona 350₁ Laodikeia on the Lykos 1186 Pergamon 1185
 Epithets: *ἀνθοτρόφος* 1216 *εὐρύστερνος* 176₁ *Μήτηρ* 350₁
 Rite: drink-offering of honey and pure wine 1142₅
 Myth: birth of Zeus 925₁
 Genealogy: d. of Phanes by Nyx 1026 m. of Kronos 447₈ w. of Ouranos 447₈
 Function: primeval power 315
 Attributes: corn-ears 1186 *cornu copiae* 1185 1186 turreted crown 1185
 Types: recumbent 1885 standing 1185 f.
 See also Ge
- Gala 40₃ 43₄
 See also Galaxias, Milky Way
- Galaria or Galarina
 Cults: Dionysos 1133₁ Zeus *Σωτήρ* 1133₁
 — coins of 1133₁
- Galatia
 Cult: Zeus *Βροντῶν* 835₅
- Galaxias 42₃ 42₄ 43₄
 See also Gala, Milky Way
- Galba 7

Galerius

Personates Iupiter 1194

Galla Placidia, Mausoleum of 1208 1208₀

Galli

Rite: use vervain for casting lots and chanting oracles 395₂

Gallia Aquitanica, coins of 1040

Gallia Belgica

Cults: Esus 547₀ Mercurius 547₀

Rosmerta (?) 547₀

Gallia Lugdunensis

Cults: Esus 547₀ 619 Iovis 547₀ 619

pear-tree 1215 f. Volcanus 547₀ 619

— burial within the house in 1059
tombstones dedicated *sub ascia* in 547₀

Gallos, king of Pessinon (?) 970₀

Ganymedes

Myths: buried on Mt Olympos in

Mysia 953₂ Mt Gargaron (Gargara)

950₀ golden vine 281₄ Tantalos

212₅ 953₂ Zeus 188₀ 281₄ 933₀

Genealogy: f. of Balleaios by Medesigiste 270₅

Types: with eagle 188₀ 189₀ with eagle and golden vine (?) 281₄

Gargaris, the district 949₅

Gargaron (Gargara), Mt 949₅ ff.

Cult: Zeus 950₀ ff.

Myths: Ganymedes 950₀ Paris 950₀

Zeus consorts with Hera 950₀

Gargaros, the town 950₀ 951₀ f.

Gargaros, s. of Zeus at (by?) Larissa in Thessaly 950₀

Gaza

Cults: Bes 674 Janiform god and

goddess 673 f. Kronos (?) 675 Mar-

nas 675 Rhea (?) 675 Satyric god

674 Zeus Ἀλδήμιος or Ἄλδος 675

1187₀ Zeus Κρηταγενής 675

— coins of 673 ff. cosmic picture at 828

Gazaka

Cult: fire 34₁

Ge

Cults: Alopeke 1115 Athens 729₀

Bosporos Kimmeris 729₀ Cher-

sonesos Taurike 729₀ Delphoi 176₁

841 Dodona 350₁ Karia 729₀ Knidos

729₀ Magnesia ad Sipylum 729₀

Paphlagonia 729₀ Pergamon 729₀

955₀ Phaselis 729₀ Smyrna 729₀

Sparta 487₃₍₁₎ 729₀ Thermos in

Aitolia 729₀

Epithets: Εὐρυστέρνα 176₁ Εὐρύστερνος

176₁ Θεμέλη (= Σεμέλη) 279₃ Θέμις

176₁ 266 f. (?) 268₀ 841 (?) Θνώνη

279₃ Καρποφόρος 21₄ μᾶ 294₀ μέλαινα

176₁ μήτηρ 1023

Rite: οὐλαί, οὐλόχνηαι 18₀

Myths: golden apples 1020 f. Palikoi

909₀ sends up fig-tree to shelter

Sykeas or Sykeus 1103₅

Genealogy: d. of Eliou Ἰψιστος by

Ge (cont.)

Berouth 886₀₍₃₀₎ d. of Phanes by

Nyx 1026 m. by Ouranos of Klotho,

Lachesis, Atropos, the Hekaton-

cheires Kottos, Gyges, Briareos,

and the Kyklopes Brontes, Steropes,

Arges 1023 m. of Aetos 933₀ m. of

Eros by Ouranos 315₄ m. of Kekrops

1121 m. of Manes by Zeus 312 m.

of Okeanos and Tethys by Ouranos

1020 m. of Titanes by Ouranos 1023

m. of Typhon by Tartaros 448₂ m.

of Zeus 294₀ w. of Zeus 292₄

Functions: fertility 267 crops 350₁

Attributes: κτεῖς 268₀ lamp mar-

joram 268₀ omphalós 231 239 841

sword 268₀

Type: praying Zeus to rain 21₄

Identified with Apia (Api) 293₀ Chthonie

351₁ Semele 279₃ Themis 176₁

Associated with Poseidon 176₁ Zeus

266 f. 292₄ Zeus and Helios 729₀

884₀₍₀₎ Zeus, Helios, and Erinyes

728₀ f. Zeus Μολιχίος and Athenaia

1115

— omphalós of 231 239 1216

See also Gaia

Gebelēizis

Cult: Getai 227 805 822

Etymology: 227₁ 805 822 f.

Identified with Salmoxis (Zalmoxis)

227 822

See also Zibeleizis

Gela

Myth: Entimos and Antiphemos are

bidden to beware of τὸν Τετράωνον

322₀ 322₇

Gelas, the river in Sicily

Type: bull 910₁

Geloni tattooed 123₀

Gemini 430 477₈

— Didyma named after (?) 318

Genes, river in Pontos 617

Genctaeon headland

Cults: Zeus Γενηταῖος 616 Zeus Εὐ-

ξείνος 617 1097₀ Zeus Ζένιος 617

Genii

In relation to Manes, Lemures, Larvae,

Lares familiares 1059

Genius

Cult: Mogontiacum 96₂

Epithet: generis nostri parens 1059

Genealogy: f. of Tages 1060 s. of

Iupiter 1060

Attributes: acerra 1060 patera 1060

Types: anthropomorphic 1060 snake

1060

Identified with Iupiter 1060 Lar

1059

Assimilated to Nero 1060

— of a man corresponds with Iuno

of a woman 1059 on Iupiter-

columns (?) 71

Genius Caeli Montis

Cult: Rome 400₁₁

- Genius Canabensium (?) 1214
 Genius Fontis
Cult: Lambaesis 369₀
Associated with Inpiter *Propagator*
Conservator 369₀
- Genius huius loci
Cult: Sirmium 1194₁
Associated with Inpiter *Optimus Maximus* 1194₁
 See also Genius loci
- Genius Iovialis
Function: one of the Penates 1059
- Genius Iovii Augusti
Cult: Rome 1194₁
- Genius Iovis 1060
- Genius loci
Cults: Divitia 64₀ Mogontiacum 620₂
 See also Genius huius loci
- Genius Neronis 96 98 cp. 1060
- Genzano 419 f. 420₁
- George, St 925₀
- Geraistos
Cult: Artemis Βολοσία 906₃
- Geraistos, Cape
Cult: Zeus (?) 903
- Geraistos, eponym of Cape Geraistos
Genealogy: s. of Zeus and b. of Tainaros 903₁
- Gerania, Mt
Cult: Zeus (?) 897₁
Myth: Megaros (Megareus) 897₁
- Gerizim, Mt
Cults: Iupiter *Peregrinus* 887₀₍₃₁₎
 Iupiter *Sarapis* (?) 888₀₍₀₎ 983₀
 Jehovah 887₀₍₃₁₎ mountain-top 888₀₍₀₎ the Virgin 888₀₍₀₎ Zeus Ἐλλήμιος 887₀₍₃₁₎ 983₀ Zeus Ξένιος 887₀₍₃₁₎ 983₀ Zeus Ἰψιστος 887₀₍₃₁₎ 888₀₍₀₎ 983₀
 — Antiochos iv Epiphanes and 1189₁ and Mt Ebal as two-peaked cosmic mountain (?) 888₀₍₀₎ ruins on 888₀₍₀₎
- Gerlando, St
Supersedes Zeus Ἀταβύριος or Πολλεύς 910₁
- Germanicus Caesar
Personates Zeus 260₀
 — house of 147
- Germans, divination of 635
- Germanus, St 214₀
- Geryones or Geryoneus
Myth: Milky Way 37₂
Epithet: τρικέφαλος 716
- Geta
Cult: Pergamon 1186
Personates Zeus 1186
- Getai
Cults: Gebeleizis 227 805 822 (See also Zibeizis) Salmoxis (Zalmoxis) 227 822 851 Zibeizis 822 851 (See also Gebeleizis)
 — spoils of 982₀ tattooed 123₀
- Ghel-Ghiraz near Amaseia
Cult: Zeus Σπράτιος 976₀
- Giant
Attributes: club 80 82 pair of clubs 80
Types: bovine 953₃ with snaky legs 76₀ 82
- Gigantes
Myths: attempt to reach heaven in folk-tale from Zakynthos 505 f. Gigantomachia 82 712 f. 752₄ 830₇ 831₁ 911₀ 953₃ 973₁ men made from their blood 1032 sprung from blood of Ouranos falling on Gaia 447₈
Types: hoplites 712 with horns 399₁ with leaf-shaped ear 399₁ with snaky legs 399₁ 973₁ 1213
 — as arms of Girgenti 911₀ 915₀
- Girgenti, arms of 911₀ 915₀ See also Agrigentum
- Gjölde in Lydia
Cult: Thea Ἰψιστη 881₀₍₂₀₎
- Glanum 359₂
- Glaukos of Anhedon 414₁
- Glaukos, s. of Minos
Myths: Iapyges 30 raised from dead by Asklepios 1087
- Glaukos, s. of Sisyphos 720 721₂
- Glykon
Cults: Abonou Teichos 1083 ff. 1114₀₍₇₎ Apulum 1084 Nikomedeia 1084
Epithets: βασιλεύς 225 *Dracco* (= Δράκων) 1084
Oracles: 225 1083 f.
Rite: mysteries 1084
Priests: δαδοῦχοι 1084 *λεροφάνται* 1084
Types: snake with human head 1084 snake with more or less human face 1084
Identified with Khnemu-snake 1084
- Gnathia, terra-cotta group from 831₁
- Gnossus See Knossos
- Gnostics, amulets of 625 f. 938₀ (?) 1084 double axe survives in teaching of 611 ff. *formulae* of 1084 tattooed 123₀
- Goitosyros See Oitosyros
- Golgoi
Cults: Theos Ἰψιστος 879₀₍₁₅₎ 980₃ Valc(h)anos (?) = Velchanos 948₀₍₅₎ Zeus Φαλκάνος (?) or Φαλχάνος (?) = Φελχάνος 948₀₍₅₎
 — *sarcophagus* from 717 f.
- Gomphoi
Cults: Zeus Ἀκραίος 871₃₍₂₎ Zeus Παλάμιος 1099₀
- Gonai Dios Hyetion (later Deusion?), on Mt Tmolos 957₂
 See also Dios Gonai
- Gongosyros See Oitosyros
- Gongyle (?) 824₇
- Gonnoi
Cult: Athena Πολλάς 870₀
- Gordios (Gordies), s. of Midas 311₈
- Gorgippia
Cult: Theos Ἰψιστος 883₀₍₂₇₎ 884₀₍₀₎ 948₂

Gorgon

Type: with two snakes rising from shoulders and two others held in hands 930₀

Compared with 'Minoan' snake-goddess 930₀

In relation to Athena 502₂

See also Gorgoneion, Gorgones, Medousa

Gorgoneion 123₀ 375 377 457 717 757₆
808₀₍₁₇₎ 930₀ 1155₇

See also Gorgon, Gorgones, Medousa

Gorgones 718

Gortyna

Cults: Aphrodite 723₀ Apollon *Ἰήθιος* 731₀ Apollon *Ἰήτιος* (= *Ἰήθιος*) 723₀ Ares 723₀ Artemis 723₀ Asklepios 1085 Athena *Πολιοῦχος* 731₀ Athena *᾽Ωλερία* 723₀ Eileithyia *Βινάρια* 723₀ Europe 946₀ 947₀ Hera 723₀ Hermes 723₀ Hestia 723₀ Korybantes (*Kyrbantes*) 723₀ Kouretes (*Koretēs*) 723₀ Leto (*Lato*) 723₀ Nymphs 723₀ 731₀ Velchanos (?) 947₀₍₂₎ Zeus 947₀ Zeus *Βυδάτας* 723₀ Zeus *Δικταίος* (?) 723₀ (Zeus) *Φελχάνιος* (?) 947₀₍₂₎ Zeus *Κρηταγενής* 731₀ Zeus *᾽Οράτριος* 723₀ Zeus *Σκύλιος* 723₀

Festival: Velchania (?) 947₀₍₂₎

Myths: Zeus and Europe 947₀

— coins of 946₀ Pythion at 948₀ treaties of 934₀

Gortynia, district of the Morea, *Kyklops* in folk-tale from 993

Gortys

Cult: Asklepios 1090

Gosforth, the sculptured cross at 305₀

Gothia

Cult: Iupiter (*Thor*) 620

Goths 107₃

Gournia, 'Minoan' shrine at 538

Graeco-Libyans

Cult: Zeus 1111

Graeco-Scythian kings, coins of 607 f. 613

Greece, burial within the house in 1060 f. Sun, Moon, and Star in folk-tale from 1003 f.

Greuthungi 107₀Gryneion (*Gryneia*)

Cult: Apollon 489₀₍₄₎

Myth: contest of Kalchas with Mopsos 489₀₍₄₎

— *omphalós* at 167

Gümbet in Phrygia

Cult: Zeus *Βροντῶν* 835₄

— altar from 836

Günjarik in Phrygia

Cult: Zeus *Βροντῶν* 835₄

Gunther 447₆

Gwydion 52

Gyges 559 561 1023

Gythion

Cults: Helios 259₀ Selene 259₀ Zeus *Βουλαίος* 259₀ Zeus *Τεράστιος* 31

HA of the Double Axe

Cult: Egypt 545₀

Type: a mountain with two or more crests 545₀

Hades

Cults: Eleusis 314₀ 314₂ Samothrace 314₀ 314₂

Epithets: *Ἄγασίλαος* 1113₀₍₂₎ *Ἄγῆσανδρος* 1113₀₍₂₎ *Ἄγῆσίλαος* 1113₀₍₂₎ 1168₅ *Ἄρκεσίλαος* (?) 1156 *Ἀρχέλαος* (?) 1168₅ *Δυσσάλης* (?) 131 *δυσκίνητος* 1164₀ *Εὐβουλεύς* 118₃ 1113₀₍₂₎ *Εὐειδής* 118₃ 1113₀₍₂₎ *Εὐκλειής* (?) 118₃ *Εὐκλής* (?) 118₃ *Εὐκλής* 118₃ 1113₀₍₂₎ *Εὐκλος* 118₃ *Εὐκόλος* (?) 118₃ *Εὐχάιτης* 118₃ 1113₀₍₂₎ *Ἡγεσίλαος* 1113₀₍₂₎ *Ἡγησίλαος* 1113₀₍₂₎ *Ἰσοδαίτης* 1113₀₍₂₎ *Κλύμενος* 1113₀₍₂₎ 1113₀₍₃₎ *κρατερὸς* 1113₀₍₂₎ *μέγας* 666₂ *Πασίαναξ* 1113₀₍₂₎ *Περικλύμενος* 1113₀₍₂₎ *Πλοῦτων* 1113₀₍₂₎ *Πολύαρχος* 1113₀₍₂₎ 1168₅ *Πολυθαίμων* 1113₀₍₂₎ *Πολυδέγμων* 1113₀₍₂₎ *Πολυδέκτης* 1113₀₍₂₎ *Πολύξενος* (?) 1113₀₍₂₎ *πολυξενώτων Ζήνα* (v. l. *Δία*) *τῶν κεκμηκότων* 1113₀₍₂₎ *Πολυπήμων* (?) 627₃ *Πυλόχοος* 1113₀₍₂₎ *πυλάρτης* 1113₀₍₂₎ *πυλάρτης κρατερὸς* 1113₀₍₂₎ *τοῦ κατὰ χθονὸς | Διὸς* (*αἶδου* cold.) *νεκρῶν Σωτήρος* 1125₀

Attributes: fork (?) 227₄ 798 ff. 850 1225 horn (?) 785 rod 166₄ trident 800₀ two-pronged spear (?) 798 ff. white-poplar 471

Identified with *Axiokersos* (?) 314₂ Milky Way 42 43 Zeus 1058 Zeus *καταχθόνιος* 582₄

Associated with Zeus and Poseidon 785

— in Greek epitaphs 1164₀ marriage with 1164 ff. name of, taboo 1114₀

Hadran

Cults: Mt Aitne 630 Syria 910₀

Genealogy: f. of Palikoi 910₀

Identified with Hephaistos 630

Hadrian

Cults: Aizanoi 1120₀ 1121₀ Athens

1120₀ 1121₀ Epeiros 1121₀

Epithets: *νέος Ἰήθιος* 1120₀ *Ὀλύμπιος*

1120₀ 1121₀ *Ἰανελλήγιος* 1120₀ 1121₀

Ἰήθιος 1120₀ *Ζεὺς Δωδωναῖος* 1121₀

Festivals: Hadrianeia 1121₀ Hadrianeia (*Adriana*, *Adriania*) Olympia 962₂

Priest: president of Panhellenic council 1120₀ 1121₀

Personates Zeus 260₀ 280₁ 343₀ 956₀ 959₀ f. 962₂ 1120₀ 1121₀

— as favourite of Zeus *Κάσιος* 986₀

Hadrianeia 1121₀

Hadrianeia (*Adriana*, *Adriania*) Olympia 962₂

Hadrumetum

Cult: Deus *Pelagicus Aeriis Altissimus* *Ἴδω* 889₀₍₃₄₎

- Haeva**
Cult: Batavi 64₀
Hageladas 741 ff. 749 890₆ 1222 1223
Hageladas, the younger (?) 742₃ 742₄
Hagia Triada
Cults: Dionysos (?) 522 524 double axe
 522 Velchanos 947₀₍₁₎ Zagreus (?)
 522 (Zeus) *Φευχάρως* 947₀₍₁₎
Rite: sacrifice of bull 517 522
 — *sarcophagus* of painted limestone
 from 516 ff. 652 657 677 692 845
Hagios Onuphrios, spear-head from 799
Haimonioi
Cult: Korybas 295
Haimos, Mt 108
Myth: Zeus fights Typhon 449₀
Halaea See Alaisa
Halieus 715₄ 1037
Halikarnassos
Cults: Aphrodite (*Ἀκράτα*?) 872₀₍₅₎
 Apollon *Ἀγυιεύς* 163 Artemis 164₃
 Hermes 872₀₍₅₎ Zeus *Ἀκραίος* 872₀₍₅₎
 ep. 872₀₍₆₎ 963₃ Zeus *Ἀσκραίος*
 872₀₍₆₎ Zeus *Κώμυρος* 1228 Zeus
Λαβράνδος 585₃
Myth: Pegasus 721₂
 — coins of 721₂ 872₀₍₅₎ the Mausoleion at 1146₀₍₀₎
Hallowmas 326₄
Hallstatt, axe-heads from 618 632₆ 635
Halmos, s. of Sisyphos and f. of Chrysgone 1150₄
Halos
Cult: Zeus *Λαφύστιος* 904₁ 1226
 — coins of 904₁
Ham 35
Hamar (Hamer) 660₁
Hapi Kema 772₁
Hapi Mehit 772₁
Hariasa 57₃
Harii tattooed 123₀
Harma near Mykalessos 815₇ 816₀
Harma near Phyle 815 831₀ 898₀
Harmodios 1172
Harpasa 958₀
Harpasos, s. of Kleinis 463₁
Harpe = Phaiakia or Korkyra 448₀
Harpe, w. of Kleinis 463₁
Harpokrates
Cults: Athens 985₀ Pelousion 986₀
Function: youthful Horos 986₀
Attributes: hem-hem crown 986₀ pomegranate 986₀ sceptre 986₀
Associated with Pan 986₀
Harpolykos 713 (?)
Harpy
In relation to Eros 315₃
Harpyiai
Myth: pursued by Boreadaï 907₂
Hathor 409₀
Hati 305₀
Hebe
Epithet: *πότηρια* 584₀
Type: introduction of Herakles to Olympos 737
Hebrews 115₂
Hecate
Cult: Rome 835₆
Genealogy: m. of Ianus by Caelus 368₃
 See also Hekate
Heddernheim
Cult: Deus *Casius* 983₀
Hegesilaos (= Hades) 1113₀₍₂₎
Heimdallr 305₀
Hekaerge (Arge) 452 452₁₁ 501 1226
Hekaergos 452 f.
Hekate
Cults: Lagina 714₂ Panamara 879₀₍₁₇₎
 Panormos near Kyzikos (?) 882₀₍₀₎
 Rome 307₀ Stratoniikeia 714₂ 714₃
Epithets: *Ἀρστη* *Χθονία* 1114₀₍₄₎
Δαδοφόρος 714₃ *Εὐκολλητή* 1114₀₍₄₎
θεῶν μήτηρ 328₇ *καλλιγένηθλος* 328₇
Καλλίστη 1114₀₍₄₎ *Κράταις* 1114₀₍₄₎
μεγασθενής 328₇ *πολυώνυμος* 328₇
προθυραία (προθύραει?) 328₇ *Σώτειρα*
 879₀₍₁₇₎ *Χθονία* 1114₀₍₄₎ *Σθονική (sic)*
 695₀
Festival: *πανηγύρεις* 714₂
Rite: libation of honey 1142₈
Priest: *hierofanta* 307₀
Genealogy: d. of Demeter 1032
Attributes: *kálathos* with crescent 714₂
 torch 714₂
Types: *Hecatae* 307₀ holding torches 187₄ (?)
Identified with Artemis 1029 1032
 Bendis 314₀ Kabeiro 314₀ Semiramis 695₀
Associated with Zeus 714₂ 714₃ (Zeus) *Βροντῶν* 835₀ 838
 See also Hecate
Hekatoncheires
Genealogy: sons of Ouranos by Ge 1023
Hektor
Cult: Thebes in Boiotia 961₀
Myths: Apollon 459 buried at Ophrynon 961₀ sacrifices to Zeus 950₀ ep. 8
In relation to Paris 447₅ Zeus 8
Heleia 930₀
Cults: Artemis 931₀ Athena 931₀ Atlas 931₀ Hera 931₀ Leto (?) 931₀ Nike 931₀ Poseidon (?) 931₀ Zeus 931₀ Zeus *Δικραίος* 930₀ 931₀ 932₀
 See also Palaikastro
Helene
Cult: Tyndaris 918₀
Myths: brought up as d. of Leda 1015 dedicates electrum cup, modelled on her own breast, in temple of Athena at Lindos 346₀ Menelaos 1044
Genealogy: d. of Tyndareos 918₀ d. of Zeus by Leda and st. of Klytaimestra 1015₇ d. of Zeus by Nemesis 1131₁
Type: radiate 432₂ (?)

Helene (cont.)

Associated with Dioskouroi 432₂ (?)
1003 ff.
— in folk-tales 1003 ff.

Helenos

Myth: founds Bouthroton (Bouthrotos)
in Epeiros 348₆

Heliadai 479

Heliades

Myths: escort Parmenides up Milky
Way 42 f. 476 shed tears of amber
484 499₄

Metamorphosed into alders 472 black-
poplars 472 484 f. larches (?) 402₀
472₀ oaks 472₁₀ poplars 472 483 495

Types: mourning 479 transformation
into trees 473 ff.

Helikon, Mt

Cults: St Elias 898₅ Zeus 'Ελικώνιος
898₅

Myths: Muses dance round Hippo-
krene and altar of Zeus 898₅ singing-
match with Mt Kithairon 899₀

Heliopolis in Syria

Cults: Iupiter 886₀₍₃₀₎ Iupiter *Heliopo-*
litanus 745₁ Zeus 886₀₍₃₀₎

Helios

Cults: Alexandria 889₀₍₃₃₎ Apollonia
in Illyria 485 Athens 729₀ 1114
Badinlar, in Phrygia 568 Bosporos
Kimmerios 729₀ Chersonesos Tau-
rike 729₀ Edessa 428 Eresos 729₀
Gythion 259₀ Karia 729₀ Magnesia
ad Sipylum 729₀ Paphlagonia 729₀
Pergamon 729₀ 955₀ 1185 Phaselis
729₀ Rhodes 469 Sahin in Phoi-
nike (?) 880₀₍₃₀₎ Smyrna 729₀ Sparta
729₀ Mt Taleton 890₂ Thermos in
Aitolia 729₀

Epithets: 'Ανέκτρος (?) 886₀₍₃₀₎ ἡλέκτωρ
499₂ 499₃ 499₄ Νέος 98₀ ὁ προσπάτωρ
θεός... Πύθιος 'Απόλλων Τυρμναίος
562 ὁς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπα-
κούεις 728₀ πατήρ 1130₁

See also Elektor, Hyperion

Festival: Tlapolemcia 469

Rite: sacrifice of horses on Mt Taleton
890₂

Priest: ιερεὺς 562₂

Personated by Nero 98₀ 254 254₅

Myths: Auriga 477₇ Cygnus 477₇
Eridannus 477₇ Hyades 477₇ Phae-
thon 473 ff.

Genealogy: f. of Elektryone (Alek-
trona) 499 f. of Pasiphae 947₀ f. of
Phaethon by Klymene 473₃ f. of
Triopas by Rhodos 684₂ forefather
of Idomeneus 947₀

Attributes: cock 947₀ torch 478 wreath
of white-poplar 469

Types: bust 1185 bust on couch 1171₃
colossal 254₅ in four-horse chariot
975₀ on horseback 473 475 475₀ 478
radiate bust with crescent (!) 664₁
radiate head, facing 469; seated 479

Helios (cont.)

Identified with Antoninus Pius 321 f.
Apollon 164₁ 562 568 Apollon and
Dionysos 253 f. Lairmenos 568
Mithras 886₀₍₃₀₎ (?) Phanes 1051
Theos Hypsistos 882₀₍₁₎ Tyrinnos
562

Associated with Monimos and Azizos
428 Selene 1171₃ Zeus and Ge 729₀
884₀₍₁₀₎ Zeus, Ge, and Erinyes 728₀ f.
Zeus, rivers, earth, and chthonian
powers 728₀ Zeus Μετλίχιος 1114

Supersedes Apollon 730₀

Superseded by Phoibos 'Απόλλων 500

— connected with Aurelii 321 gates
of 41 horses of 828 851

Hell

Types: gaping monster 138₀ harrowing
of Hell 138₀

Hellanikos 1023

Hellas personified 853

Helle

Myth: golden ram 899₁

Hellenes, the Thessalian tribe 894₃

Helloi 677

Hellos 677 f. 848

Hemitheia

Cults: Kastabos 670 f. Tenedos 670 f.
847

Myths: sent to sea in a coffer 669 ff.
swallowed by earth 670

Functions: childbirth 671 cures 671
earth 670 f. 673

Henny-penny 54₃

Heos (Eos)

Myths: *psychostasia* 734 supplicates
Zeus 753₃

Genealogy: m. of Memnon by Tithonos
281₄ cp. 734

Hephaestia in Lemnos

Cult: 'Επήκοος Theos Τψιατος 878₀₍₇₎

Hephaestion (Hephaestia) in Lykia 972₁

Hephaistos

Cults: Mt Aitne 630 Olympia 706₅
Olympos in Lykia 972₁ Siderous
972₁

Epithet: 'Ολύμπιος in Lykia 972₁

Myths: presents Polytechnos with
double axe 693 sceptre of Zeus
547₂ 956₂ 1132₄ 1132₀ shield of
Achilles 972₁

Genealogy: f. of crabs 665 667 f. of
Palikoi 910₀ f. of Thaleia and gf.
of Palikoi 909₀

Attributes: blue *pilos* 386₅ dogs 630
double axe 709 f. perpetual fire 630

Identified with Chrysor 715 Hadran
630 Ptaḥ 34₁ Zeus Μετλίχιος 715

Associated with Athena 1137 Zeus 972₁
— road-making sons of (= Atheni-
ans) 817 cp. 628₄

Hephaistos, Mts of, in Lykia 972₁

Hera

Cults: Aigion 210₀ Amastris 707 Mt
Aracinaion 894₁ Argos 290₀ 515

Hera (cont.)

- 1144₂ 1156₅ Athens 1119₄ Boiotia 731₀ Chalkis in Euboia 981₀ Elis 291₀ Gortyna 723₀ Heleia 931₀ Hierapytna 342₀ 723₀ 1157₄ Itanos 929₀ Kebrenioi 130 Mt Kithairon 898₆ 899₀ Mt Kokkygion 893₂ Kroton 1021 Lebaeia 899₂ Lyttos 723₀ Messene 728₀ Mykenai 515 Mylasa 592 Olympia 706₅ Orchomenos in Boiotia 1150 Panionion 259₀ Paros 131 Phokis 731₀ Plataiai 899₀ Priansos 723₀ Mt Pron 893₂ Sparta 515 Sykaiboai 130 Tenedos (?) 662 Thebes in Boiotia 899₀ Thespiiai 899₀ Triphylia 291₀
- Epithets:* Ἀκρία 1156₅ Βασιλεία 731₀ Βασιλις 900₆ Ἐξακροστηρία 1093₁ Ζυγία 60₀ 695₀ 723₀ 954₀ Ἰσοτελής 1029 Κιθαίρωνία 899₀ Λακωνία 291₀ 1021 λευκώλωνος 343₀ Μηλιχία (= Μειλιχία) 1157₄ Ὀπλοσμία 290₀ 291₀ πότνια 583 584₀ Τελεία 893₂ 1150
- Rite:* libation from first *kratēr* to Zeus and Hera 1123₇ 1124₀
- Priests:* among Kebrenioi 130 among Sykaiboai 130
- Priestess:* virgin 210₆
- Personated by* Alkyone 1088
- Myths:* consorts with Zeus on Mt Gargaron 950₀ consorts with Zeus on Mt Oche 902₁ consorts with Zeus in Rhapsodic theogony 1029 golden apples 1021 Iason 1088 Kallisto 228₆ Merops (?) 1132₁ reconciled to Zeus on Mt Kithairon 898₆ retires to Euboia 898₆ rouses Titans to attack Zagreus 1030 sends crab to attack Herakles 665₃ taken by Rhea to Okeanos and Tethys 1020 transforms Aetos into eagle 933₀ wooed by Ephialtes 130 wooed by Ixion 1088 wooed by Zeus clandestinely 1020 wooed by Zeus on Mt Kokkygion 893₂
- Genealogy:* d. of Phanes by Nyx 1026 w. of Zeus 584₁ 954₀
- Attributes:* cuckoo-sceptre 893₂ lilies 515 lion-skin 515 sceptre 707 1178 (See also cuckoo-sceptre) sword 713 716 vervain 395₂ vine-wreath 515
- Types:* branch of tree 899₀ enthroned 706₆ Gigantomachy 713 introduction of Herakles to Olympos 771 Janiform head (with Zeus) (?) 662 lopped tree-trunk 899₀ Polykleitos 893₂ 1143₁ 1178 with vine-wreath and lion-skin 515
- Identified with* Semiramis 695₀
- Associated with* Zeus 259₀ 592 707 776₃ 893₂ 894₁ 900₀ 1137 1144₂ 1150 1157 Zeus and Athena (=Capitoline triad) 319₇ Zeus, Demeter Θεσμοφόρος, Kore, Baubo 259₀

Hera (cont.)

- In relation to* Zeus 693
- Supersedes* Rhea 515
- Superseded by* ἡ ὑπεραγία Θεοτόκος 1119₄
- garden of 1021 meadow of 1021 tear of (vervain) 395₂
- Heraia 757
- Herakleia ad Latmum
- Cult:* Zeus Λαβράνδος 585₃
- treaty of, with Miletos 318₀
- Herakleia Pontike
- Cult:* Zeus Σπράτιος 976₀
- Myth:* Herakles plants two oaks 976₀
- coins of 560₃
- Herakleia Salbake
- Cult:* Asklepios 1080
- coins of 1080
- Herakleitos 12 13₁ 130₇ 805₆ 852 855₂ 856₆ 858₆ 1024 (?) 1033
- Herakles
- Cults:* Acharnai 163₃ Aigion 742₅ Arnepolis (? in Mesopotamia) 469₁ Athens 163₄ 875₁₍₂₎ 1116 f. Baris in Pisidia 446 f. Chios 1157₁ Gadeira 423 Kaulonia (?) 1041 f. Mt Laphysation in Boiotia 899₀ Mt Oite 903₂ Rhodes 469 Rome 783 Selge 492₀₍₀₎ Selinous 489₀₍₀₎ Senones (?) 445 f. Skythia 292₄ Tarsos 560 Tyre 423 f.
- Epithets:* Αἰγύπτιος 7₂ ἀνίκητος 292₄ Ἀπόμμιος 783 Διὸς παῖς 273 Χάρουψ 899₁
- Personated by* Nero 98₀
- Myths:* Antaios 134₁ apples of Hesperides 134₁ brings white-poplar from banks of Acheron 469 brings wild-olive from land of Hyperboreoi to Olympia 466 brings wild-olive from Istrian land 501 Cerynean hind 465 f. 843 cuts club from wild-olive on Saronic Gulf 466 Geryones 37₂ Hesperides 1017 Hippolyte 559 f. Hydra 665₃ Hyperboreoi 1041 (?) Kerberos 469 899₁ Kerkopes 1041 f. (?) Kyknos 274₀ makes wild-olive spring up at Troizen 466 Omphale 559 560₅ pillars 422 f. plants two oaks beside altar of Zeus Σπράτιος at Herakleia Pontike 976₀ pyre 23 903₂ rape of Delphic tripod 199₂ sacks Oichalia 902₂ sacrifices to Zeus on Mt Kenaion 902₂ sacrifices to Zeus at Olympia 467 slays Kalchas, of Siris in Lucania 490₀₍₀₎ Tarsos 570₄ worried by flies at Olympia 783
- Genealogy:* b. of Iphikles 317 1017 f. of Telepolemos 469
- Functions:* ἡ δύναμις τῆς φύσεως 434₃ time 469, world-creating 1023
- Attributes:* apple (?) 445 bow and club 446 knife (?) 445 lion-skin 1116 sword, bow, and club 446 wreath of poplar 388₈ wreath of white-poplar 469

Herakles (cont.)

Types: beardless 742₅ dicephalous 445 ff. double bust (with Hermes) 388 fighting Centaur 615₂ (?) four-armed 446 Gigantomachia 777₂ Hageladas 742₅ introduction to Olympus 735 ff. 771 1167 Janiform (bearded + beardless) (?) 388₈ Lysippos 1046 Myron 1078 snake with heads of god, snake, lion 1023 stripped of weapons by Eros 1046 winged snake with heads of god, bull, lion 1022 with club and bow (?) 903₂ with Theseus and Peirithoos 211₂ wreathed with white-poplar 469

Identified with Dius Fidius (?) 724₀ Ophiouchos 241₄ Sandas 560

Associated with Apollon 241₁ Asklepios 241₄ Zeus 492₀₍₀₎ Zeus and Athena 1078 Zeus, Athena, Apollon 875₁₍₂₎ Zeus 'Ολύμπιος 1157₁ Zeus Παπίας Σωτήρ 292₄

Compared with Asklepios 241₄

In relation to Iphikles 445 447₅

— hunger of 683 pillars of 422 f. pyre of, on Mt Oite 903₂

See also Hercules

Herculeaneum, paintings from 143 f. 1202 f.

Hercules

Cults: Batavi 64₀ Rome 400₁₁ 469 783 Thessalonike 1194₄ Tibur 328₃

Epithets: Augustus 65₀ 1194₄ Barbatus 64₀ Deuonienensis 57₃ Iulianus 400₁₁ Magusanus 57₃ 64₀ Maliator 64₀

Personated by Commodus 255₀ 400₁₁ (?) 903₂ Maximian (*Herculius*) 903₂

Myth: Myiagrus 783

Function: autumn 62 f. 94₁

Attribute: club 62 f.

Types: bearded 62 64₀ colossal 254₅

Identified with Donar 62 f. 63₁ 64₀ 94₁

Associated with Apollo and Diana 59₀ Iuno, Mercurius, Minerva 57 ff. Iupiter 1194₄ Minerva and Iuno 89

In relation to Iupiter 95₂

— on column of Mayence 96

See also Herakles

Hercynian Forest 466

Herkyna

Cult: Lebadeia 1073 1075

Myth: Kore 1075

Function: stream-goddess 1075

Attributes: goose 1075 snake coiled round staff 1075

Associated with Zeus 1073 1075

Compared with Demeter 1075 Hygieia 1075

Herkynia 1075

Hermaizontes 1157₃

Hermaon See Hermes

Hermaphroditos

Myth: reared by Naiades on Mt Ide in Crete 933₀

Types: herm 1091 nursing Eros 152₀

Hermeias See Hermes

Hermeracrae 388

Hermes

Cults: Ainos in Thrace 496₀ Athens 1043 1117 Egypt 382₂ Gortyna 723₀ Halikarnassos 872₀₍₅₎ Hierapytna 723₀ Kaulonia (?) 1042 Kyzikos 834 Magnesia ad Sipylum (?) 957₀ Metapontum 118₃ Mostene 563 Nisyros 1157₃ Olympia 231₈ 859 878₀₍₅₎ Orchomenos in Boiotia 1150₀ Peiraiens 487₃₍₁₎ Polyrrhenion 1042 Priansos 723₀ Tallaiia range 948₁ Thespiai 1150₀ Troizen 466 Volaterrae (?) 383

Epithets: Αγώνιος 1042 (?) 'Αργειφόντης 385₀ ἀργειφόντης 384₀ 956₂ διάκτορος 384₀ 954₀ 956₂ διπρόσωπος 382₂ Δρόμιος 1042 δῶτορ ἑδων (ἑδων) 385₀ 'Εραγώνιος 859 Εὐκόλος 118₃ θέσιμος 876₀₍₈₎ θυραῖος 955₀ Καταιβάτης 14 κερδῶος 31₇ Κτάρος 384₀ οἰνῖος (?) 1042 Περφεραῖος 496₀ Πιλόγιος 466 Τρισμέγιστος 611 943₀ χαριδῶτα 385₀ Χθόνιος 14 1130₁ Ψιδυριστής 1043 ψυχσομοπῆς 563

Rite: libation from first *kratēr* 1124₀

Worshippers: 'Ερμαῖζοντες 1157₃

Myths: Amphion 1013 conducts goddesses to judgment of Paris 266 conducts Io to Zeus 961₀ consorts with Apemosyne 923₀ 924₀ Lykos 1013 sceptre of Zeus 547₂ 956₂ sinews of Zeus 449₀ slays Argos 379 f. steals oxen of Apollon 1042 (?) uses Typhon's sinews as lyre-strings 450₀ Zethos and Amphion 1019₂

Genealogy: f. of Pan by Penelope 691 s. of Pikos who is also Zeus 942₀ s. of Polyktor 384₀ s. of Zeus 385₀

Functions: bearer of oblations to the dead 384₀ chthonian 385₀ 1068 1075 dispenser of treasures 385₀ divinised ancestor (?) 1068 messenger 479 phallic 1068 pillar 383 slayer of Argos (?) 385₀ slayer with lightning-flash (?) 385₀

Etymology: 383₇

Attributes: caduceus 1117 endromides 713 lance 713 oinochoē 1117 pétasos 383 386 388 713 snakes 1111 vervain 395₂ winged caduceus 718 winged cap 718 winged hat 388 winged sandals 718

Types: bifrontal 341₀ 382 f. column or pillar of stone 384₀ double bust (with Dionysos) 388 double bust (with Herakles) 388 double bust (with Hestia) 392 double bust (with Zeus) 388 (?) Gigantomachy 713 heap of stones 383₇ 384₀ herm 152₀ 384₀ 834 955₀ Janiform head (with Zeus) 1219 Lysippos (?) 859₈ phallic post 384₀ Pheidias 479₀ psychostasia 733 resting 859₈ seated 751₁

- Hermes (*cont.*)
Identified with Kasmilos 314₂ Monimos 428 Phaunos 694₀ 943₀ Thoth 611 Trophonios (Trepthonios) 1075
Associated with Aphrodite 146₂ 872₀₍₅₎ 1043 Daimones 1150₀ Polis 1155₅ Zeus 957₀ (?)
Compared with Plouton 385₀ Zeus 385₀ Zeus Κτήσιος 384₀ Zeus Κτήσιος and Penates 1068 Zeus Πλουτοδότης 385₀ — blood of (vervain) 395₂ sceptre of 1132₄ 1132₆
- Hermes, the planet
Function: λόγος 558₀
- Hermione
Cults: Demeter Χθονία 1077 Trajan 1180₄ Zeus Ἀσκληπιός 1077 Zeus Ἀσκληπιός 1061 Zeus Ἐμβατήριος (= Trajan) 1006 1180₄
- Hermippe, d. of Boiotos 1150
- Hermopolis
Cults: ogdoad 701₀ Ostanes 701₀
- Herodotos, portrait-herm of (with Thoukydides) 389 f.
- Heroës
Cult: Athens 1123
Rites: food fallen on floor reserved for them 1129₂ libation from second kratér 1123
- Heroïs 240 242
- Heros
Cults: Alexandria 1127₀ Megara 896₀ 897₀ Olympia 897₀
- Hesiod, portrait-herm of (with Homer) 389
- Hesione, d. of Danaos 1150
- Hesperides
Epithet: λεγύφωνοι 1030
Myth: golden apples 1017 1021
- Hesperos 261 430₄ 430₅
- Hestia
Cults: Aigai in Aioliis 259₀ Athens 259₀ Delphoi 1216 Gortyna 723₀ Hierapytna 342₀ 723₀ Kos 19₀ 238₀ Lyttos 723₀ 934₀ Miletos 317₂ 1220 Paros 875₁₍₅₎ Pergamon 259₀ Phaleron 183 f. Philadelpheia in Lydia 960₀ 1229 Priansos 723₀ Skythia 292₄ Sparta 259₀ Syracuse 916₀
Epithets: Βολλαία (? Βόλλαία) 259₀ Βουλαία 259₀ 317₂ Δημήτη 875₁₍₅₎ Ταμία 19₀ 238₀
Rite: meal burnt 19₀
Personated by Agrippina, w. of Germanicus Caesar 260₀
Function: cosmic 43 316₀
Types: double bust (with Hermes) 392
Identified with Tabiti 293₀
Associated with Zeus 259₀ 317₂ 960₀ Zeus Εὐμένης 1223
- Heudonos 587
- Hiera in Lesbos
Cults: Apollon Μαλδεῖς 488₀₍₂₎ Artemis 488₀₍₂₎
- Hierapolis in Phrygia
Cults: Apolline hero 571 Apollon Ἀρχηγέτης 567 Attis 306₁ emperor 571 Lairbenos 566 Mother of the gods 306₁ youthful hero (?) (Lairbenos) on horseback bearing double axe 566 Zeus Βοῖτος (Βωῖτος) 570 Zeus Τρώιος 571₆
Festival: Hilaria 306₁
 — coins of 565 f. 571 1158₀ *katabasion* at 14
- Hierapytna
Cults: Aphrodite 723₀ Apollon Πύτιος (= Πύθιος) 723₀ Ares 723₀ Artemis 723₀ Athena Πολιάς 723₀ Athena Σαλαμωνία 723₀ Athena Ὀλερία 723₀ Eileithyia Βυαρία 723₀ Hera 342₀ 723₀ Hera Μηλιχία 1157₄ Hermes 723₀ Hestia 342₀ 723₀ Korybantēs (Kyrbantēs) 723₀ Kouretēs (Koretēs) 723₀ Leto (Lato) 723₀ Nymphs 723₀ Zeus Βιδάτας 723₀ 934₀ Zeus Δικταῖος 342₀ 723₀ 929₀ cp. 930₀ Zeus Μηλιχίος 1157₄ Zeus Μοννύτιος 723₀ Zeus Ὀράτριος (= Φράτριος) 342₀ 723₀ Zeus Σκόθλιος 723₀
 — coins of 342₀ oath of 723₀ 731₀ 929₀
- Hiera Syke 1103
Rite: exhibition of fig (?) 291₂ cp. 292₀ 1103
Myth: Demeter reveals fig to Phytalos 291₂ 1092₀ 1103
- Hierokaisareia in Lydia
Cults: Dionysos Ἱεροκραιῖος 1025 Theos "Ἐψιστος 881₀₍₂₀₎
Priest: ιεροφάντης 1025
- Hieron Oros in Crete 945₂
- Hieron, the potter 777
- Hieronimos 1023
- Hiketesia 1040
- Hilaeira
Cult: Sparta 1015₇
Associated with Phoibe 1015₇
- Hilaria 306₁
- Himera, coin of 558₁
- Hippa See Hipta
- Hippodameia, d. of Danaos 1150₂
- Hippodameia, d. of Oinomaos 706₅
- Hippodameia, w. of Autonooos 414₂
- Hippokrene 893₅
- Hippolyte, queen of the Amazons
Myth: Herakles 559 f.
- Hippolytos
Myths: Artemis 393 buried beside temple of Aphrodite Κατασκοπία at Troizen 944₀ death 414 f. Nemi 149 Phaidra and Theseus 1043 raised from dead by Asklepios 394₂ 1087
Genealogy: s. of Theseus 1087
Functions: mythical prototype of *rex Nemorensis* 399
Type: Janiform (with Virbins) 392 f.
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- Hippochoitis, a Tegeate tribe 1148 1149₀
 Hippochoon 1137₂
 Hippochoos, s. of Lethos 1154₃
 Hipta 347₀ (?) 957₂ (?)
 Hiram 425
 Hiranyagarbha 1035
Identified with Brahmā 1035 Prajāpati 1035
 Histie See Hestia
 Hittites
Cults: Artemis (?) 410₁ bull of bronze or iron or silver 910₁ dagger-god (akin to Kronos?) 550 ff. 845 god with grape-bunches and corn-ears 564 f. lion-god (akin to Kronos?) 550 ff. Sutekh 621 f. 623 Tešub 766₁ 767₀ 910, winged deities 457 youthful god bearing double axe 599₂ youthful god on lioness (?) 552
In relation to Amazons 560 Artemis *Χιτώνη* (?) 410₁ Iupiter *Dolichennus* 615 Tenedos 662 Zeus *'Αραβύριος* in Rhodes 615
 — axes of 560 double eagle of 779₂ reliefs of, from Babylon 766₁ 767₀ reliefs of, at Eyuk 620 f. reliefs of, from Sinjerli 767₀ rock-carvings of, at Boghaz-Keui 550 ff. 845 thunder-weapon of 790
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 Hludana 65₁ See also Hludena
 Hludena 65₁ See also Hludana
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Myth: stabs Baldr with lance of mistletoe 305₀
 Holda 66₀
Functions: snow 66₀ spinning 65 66₀ winter 65 66₀
Identified with Minerva 65 66₀ 94₁
In relation to Milky Way 66₀
 Holden 66₀
 Holl 66₀
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 Holmos (?) 209₂
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 Homer, apotheosis of 1203₄ indebted to early Orphic theogony 1020 omits mere magic 989 portrait-herm of (with Hesiod) 389
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Cult: Zeus *'Ομολώιος* (?) 904₄
 Homolion
Cults: St Elias 1227 Zeus *'Ομολώιος* (?) 1227
 — bronze rings from 166₂
 Homoloia, d. of Enyeus 900₁
 Homoloia, festival of Zeus *'Ομολώιος* 900₁
 Homoloion, Mt, near Thebes in Boiotia
Cult: Zeus *'Ομολώιος* (?) 900₁
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Cult: Dorylaeion 280₁
Epithet: Σεβαστή 280₁
 Homoroka 558₀
 Honos
Type: with sheathed sword and captured armour 99
 — on column of Mayence 96 100
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 Horaes
Associated with Ianus 336₀
 Horai
Genealogy: daughters of Zeus by Themis 37₁ 94₂
Functions: attendants of Zeus 94₂ seasons 479 year 94₂
Etymology: 94₂
Types: four Seasons pass over starry globe beside Tellus reclining under vine 373 four Seasons sent forth from the *orbis annuus* held by Iupiter 372 f.
Associated with Apollon and Pan (?) 165₀ Zeus 94₂
 — as attribute of Zeus 1138₅ symbols of 1054
 Horatii 363 f.
 Horatius Cocles, statue of, struck by lightning 9
 Horkos
Genealogy: s. of Eris 723₀ s. of Zeus 723₀
 Horomazes See Ahura Mazda
 Horos
Cults: Athens 985₀ Denderah 773₀ Egypt 255 Koptos 450₀
Myths: eye swallowed by Typhon 450₀ nursed by Isis 986₀
Genealogy: s. of Isis 126
Etymology: 255
Types: child seated on lotos 773₀ hawk on lotos 774₀ holding genitals of Typhon 450₀
Identified with Apollon 252 255
 — ladder of 126 soul of, identified with Orion 450₀
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 Hrinnir 682
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Cult: Sardeis 1227 f.
 But see *Παδάνς*
 Hulda 66₀
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 Hungary, prince with golden sun and princess with golden moon in folk-tale from 1012₁
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Myth: sword of Mars 548₀
 Hyades 274 f.
 Hyades, the constellation 477
 Hyakinthia 246₁
 Hyakinthos
Myth: slain by *diskos* of Apollon 1156
In relation to Apollon 491₀₍₆₎ (?) 1042 (?)
 Dioskouroi 435 (?)
 Hyde, old name of Sardeis 1228
 Hydisos
Cult: Zeus *'Απειος* 705 f. 848
 — coins of 705 f.

- Hydra
Myth: Herakles 665₃
- Hygieia
Cults: Oropos 1072 Philadelpheia in Lydia (?) 1229
Epithet: *θεσπεσιή* 954₀
Attributes: sceptre 1077 snake 1075
Type: seated 1072 1077
Identified with Salus 94₃
Associated with Amphiaraios and Pan 1072 Asklepios and Telesphoros 1078
Compared with Herkyna 1075
- Hyllos 902₂ (?)
- Hymenaios 1164₀
- Hymettos, Mt
Cults: Apollon *Πρόβριος* 897₅ Zeus 873₁ Zeus *Ὀμβριος* 897₅, 1226 Zeus *Τμήτριος* 897₅
- Hynnaron, Mt
Cult: Zeus *Ἰνναρείς* 987₁
Etymology: 987₁
- Hypaipa
Cult: youthful hero with double axe and bay-branch in guise of Apollon *Τέρμνος* 564
- Hypata
Cults: Hermes 1155₅ Polis 1155₅
- Hypatios, St 32 f.
- Hypatos, Mt
Cult: Zeus *Ἰπτατος* 875₁₍₁₎ 898₂
- Hyperbios 712
- Hyperborean Land 465
- Hyperborean Maidens, arrival of, in Delos 453₃ bring bronze tablets to Delos 1226 grave of, in Delos 466 names of 452 f.
- Hyperboreoi 493 ff.
Cults: Apollon 501 844 Artemis *Ὀρθία* (?) 501
Epithets: *δάμων*... *Ἀπόλλωνος θεράποντα* 465 *χιλιερείς* 465 500₁
Rites: offerings sent to Apollon at Delos 497 ff. with pl. xxvi *περφερέες* 495₆ sacred things wrapped in wheat straw 497 498₂ 500 f. sacrifice of asses to Apollon 463 f. 843
Myths: Apollon 459 ff. 484 493 843 Delos 452 f. Delphoi 169 452 499 844 Herakles 466 1041 (?) Kroisos 465
Etymology: 494 ff. 495₆
In relation to *Agyieüs*-pillars 169 499 f. amber-routes 493 f. 497 ff. China (?) 495
- Hyperes, king of Troizen 414₂
- Hyperion
Epithet: *ἠλέκτωρ* 499₂ 947₀
Function: sun 947₀
- Hyperoche 452 f. 466 501
- Hyperochos 452
- Hyperphas 1122₇
- Hypnos
Cult: Sikyon 321₁
Epithet: *Ἐπιδώτης* 321₁
- Hypnos (*cont.*)
Genealogy: b. of Thanatos 317
Attribute: horn 1127₀
Types: 1127₀
- Hypseus 1123
- Hypsistarioi 885₀₍₂₈₎
- Hypsistianoi 885₀₍₂₈₎
- Hypsistos
Cults: Ak Tash (Temenothyrai?) in Lydia 881₀₍₂₀₎ Ioudaia 888₀₍₃₂₎ 889₀₍₀₎ Kappadokia 885₀₍₂₈₎ Sari-Tsam in Lydia 881₀₍₂₀₎
Epithet: *Παντοκράτωρ* 885₀₍₂₈₎
Rite: lamp-lighting 881₀₍₂₀₎
Worshippers: *Ἰψιστάριοι* or *Ἰψιστιανοί* 885₀₍₂₈₎
 See also Eliou, Theos Hypsistos
- Hypsouranios 715₄ 981₁ 1037
- Hyria 30
- Hysmine 1141
- Hysminias 1141
- Ia, betrothed to Attis 970₀
- Iakchos
Epithet: *Νέος* 97₀
Personated by Antinoos 97₀
- Ialysos
Cult: Elektryone (Alektрона) 499
- Iambe
Myth: Demeter 821 851
- Ian
Identified with Zan 341 344 353 842
 — in the Salian hymn 330₀ 331₀ 341
 See also Ianus
- Iana
Epithet: *Arquis* 339₆
Functions: arches 339₆ moon 339₆
Etymology: 338₀ 340₂
 See also Diana
- Ianiculum 368₃
- Ianos See Ianus
- Ianus
Cults: Aenona 325 Corinium in Dalmatia 325 Etruria 378 Falerii 373 Iulia Apta 325 Lambaesis 369₀ Noricum 324 Ouxenton (?) 386₁ Philadelpheia in Lydia 374 Rome 364 ff. Salonae (?) 325 Tusculum (?) 368₂ Volaterrae (?) 383
Epithets: *anni origo* 336₁₀ *annorum nitidique sator pulcherrime mundi* 336₁₀ *antiquissimus divom* 335₁ *Augustus* 325 *biceps* 336₁₀ *Cameses* or *Camises* (?) 330₀ 331₀ *Conseruator* (?) 327 327₁₁ *Culsanés* 378 *Curiatius* 364 *deorum deus* 337₄ *divom deus* 337 *duonus* (*duenos*?) 330₀ 331₀ *duonus Cerus* (*duenos Ceros*?) 330₀ 331₀ 724₀ *εφόρος πάσης πράξεως* 338₃ *εφόρος του παντός χρόνου* 336₈ *Geminus* 324 337₄ 338₃ 358 360 365 *lucifer annorum* 336₁₀ *Iunonius* 336₈ *Matutinus* 338 *Pater* 325 335₁ 336₅ 337₄ 338 369₀ 377₁ *Pater Augustus* 325 *Ποπάνων* 338₃

Ianus (cont.)

προπάτωρ 328₇ πρώτος τῶν ἀρχαίων θεῶν 335₃ quadrifrons 360₃ Quirinus 364₁ 377₂ temporis auctor 336₆ θεὸς ἀρχαίτατος τῆς Ἰταλίας 335₂ ἕπατος Ζεὺς 328₇ (See also Ζεὺς ἀφθίτος) Vaeosus 325 veterum promerios recum (vetesom promesios recon?) 330₀ 331₀ Zeu Loidorie (Ieu Loidosie?) 330₀ 331₀ Ζεὺς ἀφθίτος 328₇ (See also ἕπατος Ζεὺς)

Festivals: Kalendae Ianuariae 336₀
Kalendae Octobres 364

Rites: archway at entrance of Roman Forum closed in peace, opened in war 341₀ 358₅ cakes (κόπανα) offered on the *Kalendae* 338₃ *Ianuli* chanted by *Salii* 375 f. passing under the yoke (?) 359₆ twelve altars to suit twelve months 336₃

Personated by Caracalla 371 *Commodus* 370 *Cn. Pompeius Magnus* 371 *Salii* (?) 375 f.

Myths: drives Sabines out of Rome by flood of water 394₃ first king of Italy 368₃ founds *Ianiculum* 368₃

Genealogy: f. of Aion 337 f. of *Canens* 394₃ f. of *Fontus* 368 394₃ f. of *Tiber* 394₃ h. of *Iuturna* 368₃ 394₃ s. of *Caelus* and *Hecate* 368₃

Functions: air 335 archway 330₀ bright sky combined with dark sky (?) 378 chaos 335 cosmic power 336 day 336 doorway 340₂ eternity 336 *initiator* 1090 *Kalendae* 336₈ king 330₀ months 336 an older *Iupiter* 335 ff. oldest god of Italy 335 seasons 336 sky 335 337 ff. 338₀ 354 f. 842 sun 336 time 336 universe 335 year 336

Etymology: 335₀ 338 ff. 340₂

Attributes: p̄ctasos 383 (?) 386 staff 385

Types: archway 354 ff. 405 842 bearded bifrontal head 326 ff. 331 ff. bearded and beardless bifrontal head 387 (?) cp. 842 beardless bifrontal head 331 334 368 ff. bifrontal god 341₀ 367 ff. 378 bifrontal god standing beneath arch 365 f. 842 face of *Alexander* combined with face of *Antoninus* 371 face of *Commodus* combined with face of *Iupiter* (?) 370 quadruple 373 triple (?) 373₅ vault (See archway)

Identified with Aion 337 *Apollon* 339₀ Celtic Janiform god 324 ff. *Chaos* 335₀ *Iupiter* 328 365 *Kronos* 374 *Llyr* 326 *Saturnus* 374 *Zeus* 328₇

Associated with Horae 336₀

In relation to Iupiter 328₆ 331 335 ff. 353 842 *Penates* 335 *Zan* 842

Superseded by January 373 f.

— and *Iupiter* on coins 331 ff. and *Iupiter* in the *Salian* hymn 328 ff. archway of, at entrance of Roman

Ianus (cont.)

Forum 341₀ 355 ff. in the plural (=anni) 336₁₀ significance of the double face of 378 ff. transformed into *Persephone* 370

See also *Ani*, *Anigemius*, *Ian*

Ianus, an Italian king 330₀

Iao

Identified with Adonai 889₀₍₁₀₎ *Deus Altissimus* 889₀₍₃₄₎ *Theos Hypsistos* 889₀₍₁₀₎

Iaon, river in *Peloponnesos* 413₁

Iapetos 894₀

Iapheth (*Japheth*) 694₀

Iapodes tattooed 123₀

Iapyges 29 ff. 559

Iapygia 29 f. 559

Iapyx

Genealogy: s. of Daidalos 30

Iardanos, river in *Crete* 1025

Iardanos, river in *Elis*, 1025

Iardanos, river in *Lydia* 1025

Iarebolos

Cult: Emesa 814₃

See also *Iaribolos*

Iaribolos

Cult: Palmyra 885₀₍₂₉₎

See also *Iarebolos*

Iason

Myths: caldron of apotheosis 211 *Hera* 1088 *Kirke* 1097₂

Genealogy: descended from Aiolos 1088

Type: swallowed by snake 222₂ 1217

Iasos

Cults: Zeus 879₀₍₁₇₎ *Zeus Ἰψιστος* 879₀₍₁₇₎ 963₅

Iasos, b. of *Dardanos* 317

Iberians 340₃

Idaeon Cave, excavation of 935₀ ff. in relation to *Hagia Triada* 522₁ rock crystal from 927₀ *tympana* from 697₀ 770₂

See also *Ide*, *Mt*, in *Crete*

Idaeon Daktyloi See *Daktyloi*

Idaia, as name of *Crete* 940₀

Idaia, w. of *Zeus* 940₀

Idalion, silver bowl from 553

Idas

Myths: Leukippides 438₂ *Marpessa* 439₁₄ *Tyndaridai* 437 ff.

Genealogy: b. of Lynkeus 317

Ide, *Mt*, in *Crete* 932₁

Cults: Daktyloi 232₀ 929₀ *Holy Cross* (*Timios Stauros*) 935₀ *Zagreus* 838 934₀ *Zan* 934₀ *Zeus* 941₀ *Zeus B-daras* 934₀ *Zeus Ἰδαίος* 549 838 932₁ ff. 980₅

Festival: trieteric 934₀

Rites: annual dance of modern Cretans on summit 939₀ funeral offering to *Zeus* 934₀ 942₀ thrice nine days spent in *Idaeon Cave* 934₀ 942₀ throne thrown annually for the god 934₀ 942₀ cp. 940₀ wearing of black wool 934₀ 942₀

Ide, Mt. in Crete (*cont.*)

Myths: Hermaphroditos reared by Naiades 933₀ Kouretes 549 Kronos 549 Telchines 933₀ Zeus 230 932₁ 933₀

Etymology: 932₁

— Arkesion, a cave on 549 939₀ ascent of 939₀ fruitful poplar (or willow) in mouth of Idaean Cave on 932₁ Idaean Cave on 230 933₀ ff. 935₀ ff. Idaean Cave on, visited by Epimenides 933₀ 934₀ Idaean Cave on, visited by Pythagoras 933₀ 934₀ plateau of Nida on 935₀ 937₀ summit of called Psiloriti 935₀

See also Daktyloi, Idaean Cave

Ide, Mt. in Phrygia 949₅ ff.

Cults: Kybele 950₀ Mater *Idaea* 950₀ Meter *Idaia* 950₀ Zeus 855₂ Zeus *Idaios* 297₅ (?) 950₀ ff. Zeus *Πατρώος* 950₀

Epithets: *μητέρα θηρών* 950₀ *πολυπίδαξ* 949₅ 950₀ *πολύπτυχος* 950₀ *σκολο-πενδρώδης* 949₅

Myths: birth of Daktyloi 949₅ Daktyloi sons of Aigesthios (Agdestis?) by Ide 970₀ *Διὸς ἀράτη* 1021 Ide, d. of Melisseus 949₅ judgment of Eros 949₅ judgment of Paris 949₅

Etymology: 932₁ 949₅

— in relation to Hyperboreoi (?) 453 solar phenomenon on 949₅

Ide, personification of Mt Ide in Phrygia

Type: wreathed with fir 949₅

Ide, d. of Melisseus 949₅

Ide, m. of Idaean Daktyloi 970₀

Idmon 471

Idomenus

Myth: Phaistos 947₀

Genealogy: descended from Helios 947₀ s. of Deukalion, s. of Minos, s. of Zeus 793₇

Idrieus 715

Iguvium

Cult: Iupater *Sancius* 724₀ f.

Iki kilisse in Galatia

Cult: Zeus *Βροντών* 835₅

Ikonion

Cults: Agdistis (Angdistis) 970₀ Meter *Βοηθηγή* 970₀ Meter Theon 970₀ Theoi *Σωτήρες* 970₀

— *stéle* from 799

Iliia 1016

Ilion

Cults: Athena *Ἰλιάς* 950₀ Zeus *Ἰδαίος* 950₀ f.

— coins of 950₀

Iliisos 1115 ff. 1123 1135 1138₅ 1139

— small Ionic temple on 1118₄ 1119₀

Iliisos-‘island’ 1119₄

Illyrioi

Cults: Apollon 458 sky-god (Ianus, Zan) 349 (?) 353 (?) 842 (?)

In relation to Dorians 341 Leleges 354₀ Ligures 340₃

Illyrioi (*cont.*)

— *Agytēis*-pillars of 165 f. eight-year cycle of 440₂ tattooed 123₀

Ilos

Myths: foundation of Troy 349 Pal-ladion 8

Genealogy: gf. of Priamos 8

Imbros

Cults: Bendis 314₀ Dionysos 314₀ Zeus *Ἰψίστος* 878_{0(s)} 922₁

Inachos

Myth: drives Io from home 503

Genealogy: f. of Kasos and Belos 981₁

India

Cults: Brahmā 774₁ Çiva 790 f. iron tridents and stone axes 790 792 850 Kāma 774₁ Krishna 774₁ Lakshmi 774₁ Rudra 791 Sarasvatī 774₁ Vishnu 774₁

Myths: cosmic egg 1035 f. Egyptian Herakles and Dionysos 7₂

— pillars of Herakles and Dionysos in 423

Inessa 908₁

Inhissar in Phrygia

Cult: Zeus *Βροντών* 835₄

Ino

Myths: lashes Mænads with ivy-sprays 1041 plots death of Phrixos 904₁

Type: Bacchant milking herself 347₀ (?)

Inōnū in Phrygia

Cults: Zeus *Βροντών* 835₄ Zeus *ἐξ Ἀλλῆς* 249₂ Zeus *ἐξ Ἀλλῆς Ἐπήκοος* Θεός 836 ff. 1226 Zeus *Τελεσφόρος* 838 1089

— altars from 836 ff.

Intercidona 643₃

Invidia 505₂

Io

Myths: bride of Zeus 961₀ driven from home by Inachos 503 pursued by Zeus as fly (?) 782₁

Genealogy: m. of Epaphos by Zeus 961₀

Types: heifer 379 horned maiden 379

Ione

Cults: fire (*πῦρ ἀθάνατον*) 1187 Zeus *Ἐπικάρπιος* 1186 Zeus *Κεραύνιος* 1187 Zeus *Νέμειος* 1186

Myths: Perseus 1186 f. Triptolemos 1186

Iopolis 1187₂ 1188

Ioudaia

Cults: Hypsistos 888₀₍₃₂₎ 889₀₍₀₎ Jehovah 888₀₍₃₂₎ 889₀₍₀₎ Theos *Ἰψίστος* 888₀₍₃₂₎ 889₀₍₀₎

— coins of 1202

Iovilae See Iūvilas

Iovis

Cult: Gallia Luguduncensis 547₀ 619 *Associated with Esus and Volcanus* 619

Iphikles

Genealogy: b. of Herakles 317 1017

- Iphikles (*cont.*)
In relation to Herakles 445 447₅
 See also Iphiklos (=Iphikles)
- Iphiklos (=Iphikles) 451 f.
 See also Iphikles
- Iphiklos, s. of Phylakos
Myth: cured by Melampous 452 684 f.
- Iphithea (?) 353₃
- Iphitos, king of Elis 466 f.
- Ipsara See Psara
- Irbo (=Virbius?) 421
- Iring
Identified with Ziu (?) 51 f.
 — road of 52
- Iris
Type: with spread wings and out-stretched arms 473
- Irmin
Etymology: 52₀ 1212
Identified with Ziu 52 114
In relation to Armenios (?) 54 114
- Irminsúl 50 ff.
 — as effigy of sky-god 57 as link between earth and heaven 82 as prototype of column at Mayence 109 as support of sky 56 as vehicle of sky-god 56 f. as wooden trunk 74 1212 compared with *Agyieús*-pillar 166 178 compared with Diana-pillar 157 166
- Isauroi 973₁
- Ischys, s. of Elatos 1089
- Isinoe (?), d. of Danaos 1150₂
- Isis
Cults: Athens 985₀ Delos 922₀
Epithets: *Pharia* 928₀ *Τανροειπιάς* 985₀
Rites: effigy of Osiris buried in pine-tree 303₂ libation of milk from golden bowl shaped like female breast 347₀
Myths: founds Pelousion 986₀ nurses Diktys 986₀ nurses Horos 986₀ nurses Pelousios 986₀
Function: earth 557₁
Attributes: leafy spray (?) 1129₀ *modius* (?) 1129₀ poppy 1165₁
Types: bust on couch 1171₃ double bust (with Apis) 392 enthroned under arch 362
Identified with Demeter 252 Tethys 481₀
Associated with Sarapis (Serapis) 1128₀ (?) 1171₃ Zeus *Κίνθιος* and Sarapis 922₀
 — soul of, identified with Kyon by Greeks, with Sothis by Egyptians 450₀
- Isityche 1128₀ (?)
- Islands of the Blest 36 117 465
- Isodaites (=Plouton) 1113₀₍₂₎
- Isopata, gold ring from 49₁
- Ištar
Attribute: axe (*i.e.* woodpecker?) 696₀
Associated with Sin and Sibitti 545₀
 Isthmia, the festival 490₀₍₁₅₎ 951₀
- Istia See Hestia
- Istros, springs of 465 494
- Italy
Cults: Lares 1059 Penates 1059 Picus 696₀
Rite: burial within the house 1059
 — coins of 1063
- Itanos
Cults: Apollon *Ίθθιος* 929₀ Athena *Πολιάς* 929₀ Hera 929₀ Zeus *Ἀγοραῖος* 929₀ Zeus *Δικραῖος* 929₀ ep. 930₀ Zeus *Ἐπὸψιος* 1130₇
 — coins of 1130; oath of 929₀
- Ithake, coins of 706₅ the cave in 42
- Ithomaiä (Ithomaiä, Ithomais) 741₃ 890₆
- Ithome, Mt
Cult: Zeus *Ἰθωμάρας* 741 ff. 890₆ 1222
Festival: Ithomaiä (Ithomaiä, Ithomais) 741₃ 890₆
Rites: human sacrifice 890₆ water from Klepsydra brought daily to sanctuary of Zeus 890₆
Myth: Zeus brought up by nymphs Ithome and Neda 890₆
- Ithome, the nymph 890₆
- Iulia Apta
Cult: Ianus *Vaeosus* 325
- Inno
Cults: Aquincum 68₂ Blatsche 1084 Mogontiacum 96₁ 96₂ Rome 364 Thibursicum Bure 68₂ Urbs Salvia (?) 803
Epithets: *Augusta* 61₀ *Caelestis* 68₂ *Cinxia* 899₀ *Lucetia* 61₀ *Lucina* 59₃ 60₆ 61₀ 1226 *Promuba* 61₀ *Regina* 59₃ 87₃ 95₁ 96 96₁ 96₂ 98 *Sancta* 96 98 *Sororia* 364
Festivals: *Kalendae Martiae* 61₀ *Kalendae Octobres* 364
Rite: brandishing torches 61₀
Metamorphosed into Berce 1031
Functions: *Kalendae* 336₈ light 61₀ marriage 61₀ motherhood 1226 procreation 1226 spring 59 61₀ 94₁
Attributes: flower 61₀ girdle (?) 61₀ iris (?) 61₀ lily 61₀ peacock 60₆ 67 sceptre 98 f. torch or torches 59 61₀ two snakes (?) 61₀
Types: bearing babe and flower 61₀ bearing babe and lily or iris (?) 61₀ bearing babe and torch 60₆ bearing *patra* and sceptre 60₆ bearing torch or torches 59 clad in goat-skin (?) 60₆ grouped with children 60₆ 61₀ standing on cow 99₀ veiled 60₆ with foot on head of cow 98 f. with foot on head of ox 98₃
Identified with Frija 59 94₁ Luna, Diana, Ceres, Proserpina 256
Associated with Hercules and Minerva 89 Iupiter *Optimus Maximus* 96₁ 96₂ Mercurius and Ceres 1181₀ Mercurius, Hercules, Minerva 57 ff. Mercurius and Minerva 89

Iuno (cont.)

In relation to Fria 67

— breasts of 37₂ of a woman corresponds with Genius of a man 1059

Iupiter

Cults: Iguvium 724₀ f. Umbria 724₀

Epithet: Sancius 724₀

Rite: calf offered by man holding wheel 724₀ f.

See also Diespiter, Iupiter

Iupiter

Cults: Aizanoi 968₀ Alban Mt 46₃ Allmendingen 619 1221 Allobroges 570₀ Antiocheia on the Orontes 1188 Apulum 754₁ Aquileia in Venetia 328 842 Blatsche 1084 Brixia in Cisalpine Gaul 726₀ Clunia in Spain 1102₈ Corinth (?) 1214 Mt Dikte 927₁ 928₀ Mt Gerizim 887₀(31) 888₀(0) 983₀(?) Gothia 620 Heliopolis in Syria 745₁ Jerusalem 984₁ Kassiope 906₃ Mt Ladicus in Galacia 320₀ Lambaesis 369₀ Luxovium in Germania Superior (?) 1213 Matilica 401₀ Mogontiacum 96₁ 96₂ Naissos 948₁ Napoca 754₁ Pannonia 823₁(2) Patrai 1214 Pergamon 1179 f. Pompeii 1158 Ravenna 1091 Rome 45 46 46₀ 111₀ 369₀ 400₁₁ 401₀ 403₀ 546₀ 601 708 708₅ 835₆ 838 f. 1102₈ 1103₀ 1172₀ 1181₀ 1195₁ Salonae 69₀ 401₀ Mt Silpion (?) 1188 Sirmium 1194₄ Spolegium 803₂ Tiber-island 726₀ Tomoi 823₁(1) Urbs Salvia 803 ff. Venafrum 69₀ 401₀ Vichy 285₀

Epithets: *Aepilofius* (= *Ἐπιλόφιος*) 948₄ *Aezanensis* 968₀ *Aezaniticus* 968₀ *Ambisagrus* (= *Ambisacerus* rather than *Ambisager*) 328 421₀ 673₃ 842 *Amicalis* (= *Zeus Φιλίος*) 1177₂ 1179 f. 1186₀ *Ataburius* 588₁ *auctor bonarum Tempestatum* 94₂ *Augustus Ultor* 1102₈ *Buginas* 570₀ *Bronton* 835₆ *Caelestinus* 369₀ 401₀ *Caelestis* 69₀ 400₁₁ 401₀ *caelipotens* 401₀ *Caelius* 400₁₁ *Caelus* (?) 400₁₁ *Capitolinus* 601 1188 *Casius* 588₁ *Casius* (*Cassius*) in Korkyra 906₃ *Cenaeus* 902₂ *Conservator* 88₁ 327 328 369₀ 1195₁ *Custos* 367₁ (?) 1181₀ *Dapalis* 1172 *Deus* 958₀ *deus unus et idem* (?) 1060 *Dianus* 328 842 *Dictaeus* 927₁ 928₀ *Dictaeus rex* 928₀ *divom pater atque hominum rex* 1070 *Dolichenus* 99₀ 609 614 f. *Epulo* 1172₀ *Fagutalis* 403₀ *Farreus* 1172 *Feretrius* 111₀ 546₀ 601 613 *Fulgur* 46₀ *fulgurator* 815₄ *Genetaeus* 616₅ *Heliopolitanus* 745₁ *Heros* 823₁(1) 823₁(2) *Hospitalis* (= *Zeus Ἐπίσιος*) 1101₃ 1177₂ *Idaeus* 950₀ *Imperator* 708 848 917₀ *Iurarius* 726₀ *Iutor* 803 ff. 850 *Labryandius* 588₁ *Ladicus* 320₀ *Lapis* 260₀ 546₀ *Laprius* 588₁ 599 *Lattaris* 46₃ *Liberator* (Nero) 1214 *mativinus*

Iupiter (cont.)

338₁ *Milichius* 1158 *Militaris* 706 848 *Molio* 588₁ *omnipotens rerum regumque repertor* (?) 1060 *Optimus Maximus* 10 87₂ 87₃ 88₁ 88₂ 89₀ 89₈ 90 f. 91₁ 93 95₁ 96 96₁ 96₂ 328 361 620 1194₄ 1196 *Optimus Maximus Caelestinus* 401₀ *Optimus Maximus Celestis Patronus* 401₀ *Optimus Maximus Conservator* 88₁ *Optimus Maximus Heros* 823₁(1) 823₁(2) *Optimus Maximus Paternus Aepilofius* 948₄ *Optimus Maximus Tavianus* 754₁ *Paternus Aepilofius* (= *Zeus Πατρῶος Ἐπιλόφιος*) 948₄ *Patronus* 401₀ *Peregrinus* 887₀(31) *Pistor* 260₀ *prodigialis* 19₀ *progenitor geneticusque deum* 1060 *Propagator* 369₀ 706₈ (?) *Propugnator* 707₀ *Ruminus* 365₄ *Sabasius* (= *Subazius*) 285₀ *Sabazius* 1197 *Sanctus Bronton* 835₆ 836 838 *Sarapis* 888₀(0) (?) 983₀(?) *Stator* 46₀ 422₁ 708₅ *Summanus* (?) 319 725₀ *Summus* (?) 319 *Svelsurdus* (?) 822₁₃ *Tanarius* 32 *Tarnicus* 32 *Tavianus* 754₁ *Tempestativum divinarum potens* 94₂ *Terminalis* 1090 f. 1133₁(?) *Terninus* 1090 *tertius* 940₀ *Tigillus* 110₅ 363 365 *Tonans* 39₁ 60₀ 111₀ 505₂ 811 835₆ 1041 (?) *Triumphator* 706₈ *Tropaeophorus* 706₈ *Ultr* 1102₈ 1103₀ *Urius* (?) 822₁₃ *Velsurus* (?) 822₁₃ *Victor* 708 848 *Zbelsurdus* (?) 1226

Festivals: *Epula Iovis* (Sept. 13 and Nov. 13) 1172₀ May 94₂ *Quinquennialia* 601

Rites: feast of roast flesh and wine 1172₄ *lectisternia* 1170₀ 1171 oath by Iupiter *Lapis* with flint in hand 546₀ ox as *piaculum* 803₂ *spolia opima* 601 *summanalia* 725₀ table swept with vervain 395₂ 397₀ treaty struck with flint of Iupiter *Feretrius* 546₀

Priest: *flamen Dialis* 341₀ 828

Personated by Antoninus Pius 811 Augustus 1091 Diocletian (*Iovius*) 903₂ 1194₄ Domitian 338₁ 811 emperor 100 ff. forefather of family 1059 Galerius 1194 king 633 847 1059 Licinius 1195 Licinius Iunior 1195 Maximinus ii 1194 f. Nero 1214 Romulus Silvius 24₁ Titus (?) 810 Trajan 810 f. triumphing general 361 Vespasian (?) 810

Myths: consorts with Semele 1031 drives Saturnus from his kingdom 448₁ mutilates Saturnus 448₁ *Pallicus* 909₀

Genealogy: f. of Genius 1060 f. of Liber by Proserpina 1031 f. of Olympus (?) by the nymph Chalcea 973₁ gf. of Tages 1060 s. of Caelus 941₀ s. of Saturnus 940₀ 941₀

Iupiter (cont.)

Functions: aether 1090 celestial 1090 (See also sky) chthonian 1090 container and sustainer of the world 110₅ earth 803 father and mother of the gods 1060 flesh, wine, and bread 1173(?) good weather 94₂ holder of scales 734₃ lightning by night 725₀ nocturnal sky 725₀ nurture 365₄ oak-tree 570₀ sea 803 sky 337 340 f. 373 803 (See also celestial) thunder 830₀ Thursday 70 treaties 725₀ universe 335₅ a younger Ianus 335 f.

Attributes: bay-wreath 751₂ dog(?) 367₁ dolphin 803 f. double axe 609 eagle 400₁₁ 751₂ 812 eagle on globe 95₂ *feretrum* 601 f. 613 fork 850 mallet 620 sceptre 400₁₁ 812 spear 711 f. 848 thunderbolt 803 f. 810 ff. 850 trident 803 f. 850 trophy 1195₂ two-pronged fork 803 ff. violet mantle 803 wheel 57₀ 1213

Types: advancing with thunderbolt, trident, and fork 803 f. bearded head 331 334 bundle of herbs clothed as puppet 1171 bust 1133₁ bust with thunderbolt in right hand and spear in left 712 on column 46 eating sacrificial meal(?) 1172₀ enthroned on a pillar 47 flint (unhafted neolithic celt?) 546₀ grasping or hurling thunderbolt in chariot 82 831₁ ep. 76₀ handing thunderbolt to Trajan 1181₀ on horseback with uplifted bolt 82 Janiform 326 ff. protecting emperor 104₁ seated with thunderbolt in right hand and sceptre in left 1103₀ 1194₁ 1214 seated with Victory in right hand and sceptre in left 1103₀ (fig. 940) sending forth the four Seasons from the *orbis annuus* 372 f. standing with eagle on right hand and sceptre in left 1214 standing with sceptre in raised right hand and thunderbolt in lowered left 751 standing with spear (sceptre?) in raised right hand and thunderbolt in lowered left 708₅ standing with thunderbolt in lowered right hand and sceptre in raised left 70₁ standing with thunderbolt(?) in outstretched right hand and spear in raised left 711 f. standing with thunderbolt, sceptre, and eagle 285₀ 1194₄ standing with thunderbolt and sceptre under arch 367 standing with thunderbolt and sceptre in four-horse chariot driven by Victory 331 334 831₁₍₂₎ tree-trunk 109

Identified with Donar 64₀ 95₂ Genius 1060 Ianus 328 365 Jehovah 1197 Suaeclus 620 Theos Hysistos

Iupiter (cont.)

886₀₍₃₀₎ Thor 620 Vediovis(?) 726₀
Assimilated to Hercules 95₂
Associated with Fontes 369₀ Fontes and Minerva 401₀ Fortuna 1195₂ Genius Fontis 369₀ Genius huius loci 1194₄ Hercules 1194₄ Iuno Regina 96₁ 96₂ Lares 751 Mater Phrygia 950₀ Victoria 1195₂
In relation to emperor 708 Erinys 1102₇ Furiae 1102₇ Hercules 95₂ Ianus 323₀ 331 335 ff. 353 842
 — acorn of (walnut) 775₀ beard of (silver-bush) 775₀ chariot of 76₀ 82 331 334 830₀ 831₁ flame of (a flower) 775₀ footprints of 37₂ *statuas Iovis* 35₀ *regalia* of 811 f. statue of, made of armour 46₃ throne of 1102₇ and Ianus on coins 331 ff. and Ianus in the Salian hymn 328 ff.

See also Diespiter, Iupater

Iupiter, the planet 480₅

Iustitia 99₁

Iuturna

Genealogy: w. of Ianus 368₃ 394₃

Iūvilas 823 1226

Ivrtz 564 f.

Ixion

Myths: Hera 1088 Zeus 1098₄

Genealogy: descended from Aiolos 1088 s. of Antion s. of Periphas s. (or f.) of Lapithes 1122 f.

Jachin 426 f.

Jacob and Esau 451₁ ladder of 127 f. 129₁ 136

Jains, sacred column of 150₂

James, St, b. of the Lord

Type: on chalice of Antioch 1202₀

James, St, s. of Zebedee

Type: on chalice of Antioch 1200₄ 1202₀

Janina

Etymology: 350

— folk-tale from 678 f.

Jehovah

Cults: Mt Gerizim 887₀₍₃₁₎ Ioudaia 888₀₍₃₂₎ 889₀₍₁₎

Epithets: Κύριος Ἰψίστος 888₀₍₃₂₎ Theos Ἰῶν 1102₈ Theos Ἰψίστος 888₀₍₃₂₎ 889₀₍₁₎ Ἰψίστος 888₀₍₃₂₎ 889₀₍₁₎

Rite: θυσία ἐντελεῖς ὀδκαιοι... καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν 888₀₍₃₂₎

Priest: ἀρχιερεὺς 889₀₍₁₎

Function: hills 887₀₍₃₁₎

Identified with Bacchus 1197 Dionysos 1197 'El 'Olām 1037 Iupiter Sabazius 1197 Liber Pater 1197 Zeus Ἰψίστος 889

Jerusalem

Cults: Aphrodite (Venus) 984₁ Liber Pater (supposed) 282₀ Zeus (Iupiter) 984₁

— Antiochos iv Epiphanes and 1189₁ 'cup-marks' at 793₄ golden vine

- Jerusalem (*cont.*)
 at 281₄ pyramids built by Helene
 of Adiabene near 1146₀ tomb of
 'Zechariah' near 1146_{0(d)}
- Jews
Cult: Theos "Ἰψιστος 884₀₍₀₎
 — of the Dispersion propagate the
 cult of Theos Hypsistos 889 f. use
 gentile formula ὑπὸ Δία, Γῆν, "Ἡλιον
 884₀₍₀₎
- Jodute See Tiodute
- John, St
Type: on chalice of Antioch 1200₄
 1202₀
Supersedes Zeus Ἀραβύριος in Rhodes
 923₀
 — on the marriage supper of the
 Lamb 1168
- John Klimax, St 134 f.
- Jordan, as name of Milky Way 480
- Jude, St
Type: on chalice of Antioch 1202₀
- Juktas, Mt
Cults: Authentēs Christos 945₀ Pan-
 agia 945₀ Rhea (?) 944₀
Festival: Transfiguration (Aug. 6) 945₀
Rite: annual pilgrimage to church on
 summit 945₀
Myths: Britomartis pursued by Minos
 939₁ burial of Minos (?) 944₀
Etymology: 939₁
 — profile of Zeus (originally Minos?)
 on 939₁ 940₀ remains on summit of
 943₀ 944₀ tomb of Zeus on 940₀ ff.
- Kabeirion, apsidal temple of Theban 900₀
- Kabeiro
Identified with Bendis 314₀ Hekate
 314₀
- Kabeiroi
Cults: Lemnos 663 ff. Pergamon 953₃ f.
 Phoinike 314₀ Samothrace 313 842
 Thrace 313 ff.
Epithet: Μεγάλοι Θεοί 313 f. 954₀
Rite: mysteries 314₂ 953₃ f.
Myth: witness birth of Zeus 954₀
Genealogy: sons of Ouranos 954₀
Functions: control storms 953₃ Father
 and Son 317 Mother (Axiokersa),
 Father (Axiokersos), and Son (Axi-
 eros) conceived as rebirth of the
 Father 314
Etymology: 313₁₁ 313₁₂
Attributes: double axe 953₃ ram's head
 954₀ sword 953₃
Types: two youthful males 953₃ two
 youthful warriors 953₃
Identified with crabs 664 f. Zeus and
 Dionysos 664₁
Associated with Zeus Σαβάζιος (?) 664₁
- Kabeiros, a Pergamene *prytanis* 953₃
- Kadmilos
Cults: Phoinike 314₀ Samothrace 314₀
Identified with Ešmun 314₀
 See also Kasmilos
- Kadmos
Myths: helps Zeus against Typhoeus
 449₀ seeks Europe 449₀ takes charge
 of Semele's child 28 f.
- Kadoi
Cult: Artemis Ἐφεστὰ 408₀
 — coins of 408₀
- Ka-Hegal 483
- Kaikias 488₀₍₂₎
- Kaineus
Myth: sets up his spear as a god 547₂
- Kairos 859 ff.
Cult: Olympia 859
Genealogy: youngest s. of Zeus 859
 861
Etymology: 860 f.
Attributes: butterfly 860 globe 860
 mirror (?) 863₁ razor 859 f. 861 f.
 rudder 862 wheel 863 863₁ whip
 863₁
Types: bearded runner 860 f. female
 figure (Occasio) on little wheel 863
 Lysippos 859 f. 864 Pheidias (?)
 862 f. winged runner in military
 dress (?) 863₁ youthful runner 859 f.
 861 f.
Identified with Bios 864 Chronos 861
 864
Assimilated to Kronos 861
- Kaisareia in Kappadokia
Cults: Mt Argaios 977₁ ff. Sarapis 978₀
 Tyche (Tranquillina) 978₀
 — coins of 978₀ ff. 983₀ earlier names
 of 978₀
- Kalaïs
Genealogy: s. of Boreas by Oreithyia,
 d. of Erechtheus 444
Etymology: 444
- Kalaos, f. of Attes 444
- Kalaureia
Cult: Zeus Σωτήρ 728₀
- Kalchas, of Siris in Lucania
Myth: slain by Herakles 490₀₍₀₎
- Kalchas, s. of Thestor
Myth: contest with Mopsos 489₀₍₄₎
- Kalchedon
Cult: Zeus Βουλαῖος 259₀
 — coins of 461₀
- Kalchedonia, m. of Solymos 973₁
- Kalchos, king of Daunia 490₀₍₀₎
- Kaldene, d. of Pisias (Pisides?) 973₁
- Kalikantzaraioi See Kallikantzaroi
- Kallikantzaroi
Myth: attack the tree or column or
 columns supporting the earth or
 sky 56₂
- Kalliope
Genealogy: m. of Orpheus 1024
- Kallirrhoe, spring adjoining Ilissos 1116
 1119 1119₄
- Kallirrhoe (Kalliroe), d. of Acheloius
Cults: Athens 1117 (?) Phaleron 183
Attributes: cornu copiae and *phiale*
 1117 (?)
Type: Caryatid 184

- Kallirrhoe (Kalliroe), d. of Acheloios (*cont.*)
Associated with Acheloios and Zeus
 Μειλίχιος (?) 1117 Hestia, Kephisos, Apollon *Ἰὺθῖος*, Leto, Artemis *Λοχία*, Eileithyia, Acheloios, the Geraistian birth-nymphs, Rhapsod 183
- Kallirrhoe, d. of Okeanos 716
- Kalliste (= Hekate) 1114₍₄₎
- Kallisto
Cult: Arkadia 1114₍₆₎
Myth: Zeus 228₃, 228₇, 1217
Metamorphosed into bear 228 f.
Function: bear-goddess (?) 1114₍₆₎
- Kalydon
Myth: Kalydonian boar 799
- Kalymna
Cults: Apollon 808₍₁₁₎ Zeus *Κεραύνιος* 808₍₁₁₎
- Kāma
Cult: India 774₁
Function: love 774₁
- Kamares, Mt
Cults: Rhea (?) 934₀ Zeus *Ἰδαῖος* (?) 935₀
 — Maurospeiaion on 934₀ 935₀
 Kameiros, relief-ware from 614 f.
- Kamikos 30
- Kamise, st. and w. of Iauos 330₀
- Kanachos 1165₁
- Kanai (Kane)
Cult: Zeus *Καναῖος* 902₂
- Kanake 684₂
- Kandaules 559
- Kane See Kanai
- Kanobos (Kanopos)
Cult: Sarapis 985₀
Myth: Io, touched by Zeus, becomes m. of Epaphos 961₀
- Kapaneus
Myth: struck by lightning 23 824 f.
Genealogy: f. of Sthenelos 824₅ 892₅
- Kappadokia
Cults: Mt Argaios 977₁ ff. Hypsistos 885₍₂₈₎ Zeus *Δακηνός* 616 Zeus *Στράτιος* 594₃ 595₀
 — coins of 296₀ Kyklops in folk-tale from 992 f.
- Kar, s. of Phoroneus 168₁ 257₄
- Karbina 29
- Karia
Cults: Apollon 573₁₀ 574₁ 574₂ 574₃ Dionysos *Μάσαρις* 565₂ Ge 729₀ Helios 729₀ Zeus 573 f. 705 729₀ 745₁ Zeus *Ἐλευθέριος* 763₁ Zeus *Κάριος* 577 Zeus *Λαβραδεύς* 559 f. 572
 — coins of 573 f.
- Karia, *akropolis* of Megara 168₁ 257₄
- Karia, personification of the district 320₀
- Karien, near Mt Pangaion
Cults: Zeus *Ἐρκείος Πατρῶος* 1066 Zeus *Κρήσιος* 1066
- Karkinar 666₂
- Karko 666₂
- Karmania
Cult: Ares 464
- Karmanor 190₀
- Karme 190₀
- Karneades 237₀
- Karneia 237₀
- Karousa
Cult: Zeus *Δικαίουσνος Μέγας* 1092₈
- Karyanda
Festival: bull-sports 582₅
- Karystos
Rite: Hyperborean offerings 497
- Kasion, Mt, in Egypt 984₁ f.
Cult: Zeus *Κάσιος* 907₀ 984₁ f.
Myth: temple founded by descendants of Dioskouroi 984₁
Etymology: 981₁
- Kasion, Mt, in Syria 981₁
Cults: Triptolemos 981₁ Zeus *Κάσιος* 907₀ 981₁ ff. 1191 f.
Rites: hecatomb 982₀ incubation 982₀ (?)
Myths: Kyparissos 981₁ *Seleucides aves* 981₁ Zeus fights Typhon 449₀ 981₁
Etymology: 981₁
 — injured by earthquake 1191
- Kasion, town in Egypt 984₁ f.
- Kasios, eponym of Mt Kasion in Egypt
Cult: Pelousion 986₀ 987₀
Epithet: *ὁ ναύκληρος* 987₀
- Kasios, eponym of Mt Kasion in Syria 981₁
- Kasiu, an Aramaean god 983₀
- Kasmilos
Identified with Hermes 314₂
 See also Kadmilos
- Kasos, f. of Kleomachos 981₁
- Kasos, one of the Kyklades 981₁
- Kasos, s. of Inachos 981₁
- Kassiope
Cults: Inpiter *Casius* (*Cassius*) 906₃ Zeus (?) 907₀ Zeus *Κάσιος* (*Κάσσιος*) 906₃ 907₀
- Kastabos
Cult: Hemithea 670
Myth: Staphylos and his daughters Molpadia, Rhoio, Parthenos 670 f.
- Kastalia 460
- Kastalios 190₀
- Kastor
Epithet: *ἰππόδαμος* 436
Genealogy: b. of Polydeukes 317 1015₇ ep. 1097₂ s. of Zeus by Leda 1015₇
Type: fights Calydonian boar 799
 See also Dioskouroi
- Katabasion of Trophonios at Lebadeia 1075 f. 1088
- Katane 908₁
Cult: Apollon 486₅
 — coins of 486₅
 See also Aitne
- Kato Zakro, clay seal-impression from 623 652
- Katreus
Myth: 923₀ 924₀
Genealogy: s. of Minos and f. of Althaimenes and Apemosyne 923₀

- Kaukasos, the giant 694₀
 Kaulon or Kaulos 1042 (?)
 Kaulonia
Cults: Agon (?) 1042 Apollon 1042 f.
 Demos (?) 1042 Dionysos 1041 (?)
 Herakles 1041 f. (?) Hermes Ἑρμῆς
 Ἰωνίου (?) 1042 Hermes Διόμυθος (?) 1042
 wind-god (?) 1042 Zephyros (?) 1042
Festival: Hiketesia 1040
Myth: Kaulon or Kaulos 1042 (?)
 — coins of 1040 ff.
- Kebrenioi 130
 Kekrops
Myth: founds altar of Zeus Ἰσθμίου
 875₁₍₂₎
Genealogy: s. of Ge 1121
 Kelaino 176₁
 Keleos, a Cretan 929₀
 Keltoi
Cult: Zeus 570₀
Myths: Apollon sheds tears of amber
 484 843 Kyknos 477
In relation to Sabines 340₃
 — poplar in land of 468
- Kenaion, Mt
Cults: Zeus Κηναῖος (Κηναῖος) 902₂
 Zeus Πατρῴος 902₂
Myth: Herakles 902₂
- Kenchreai 1145₁₍₆₎
 Kenelm, St 116 f.
- Kentauros
Genealogy: s. of Apollon by Stilbe
 1134 f.
Type: marine, with head-dress of
 crab's-claws 665₃
 See also Centaurs, Centaurus
- Kentoripa (Kentouripai)
Cult: Agathos Daimon (?) 1129₀
 — coins of 784₇
- Keos
Myth: Oidipous 1152
- Kephallenia
Cult: Zeus Αβηθῆσιος 907₂
- Kepheus, s. of Aleos 1083 1148
- Kephisos, river in Attike near Athens
 1091 1139₅
- Kephisos, river in Attike near Eleusis 1103
- Kephisos, the river-god
Cult: Phaleron 183 f.
Type: horned (?) 184
- Kephissos, river in Phokis 460
- Ker
In relation to Eros 315₃
- Keramos in Karia
Cults: long-haired god (Zeus?) with
 double axe and sceptre or spear
 575 f. Zeus 575 f. Zeus Ααβράνδος (?)
 599₂
 — coins of 575 f. 599₂
- Keraunia 807₃₍₁₎
 Keraunios
Cult: Kition 807₃₍₁₎ Mytilene 807₃₍₃₎
 Syria 807₃₍₂₎
Epithet: Ἰσθμίου 807₃₍₃₎
 See also Zeus *Epithets* Κεραύνιος
- Keraunos
Cult: Emeša 814₃
Epithet: ἀστρεοβλήτης (?) 119₁
Types: god in oriental military cos-
 tume 814₃ small male figure em-
 bodying thunderbolt (?) 784
Identified with Zeus 12 f. 119₁
 See also Index II s. v. 'Thunderbolt'
- Kerberos
Myths: Dionysos 256 Herakles 469
 899₁
Rite: offering of honey-cake 1142₁₀
Type: three-headed 802
Compared with golden hound 1227
- Kerberos, a Cretan 929₀
- Kerdylion
Cults: Theos Ἰψιστος 878₀₍₉₎ Zeus
 Ἰψιστος 906₂
- Keres
Functions: avenging deities 1101 souls
 1101
- Kerkidas 290₀
- Kerkopes
Myth: Herakles 1041 f. (?)
- Kerkops, the Pythagorean 1024
- Keteus 228₅
- Keyx, St 117
- Keyx
Myth: claims that his w. Alkyone is
 Hera 1088
- Khem
Type: ithyphallic 772₁
- Khnemu
Attribute: snake 1084
Type: lion-headed snake with radiate
 crown 1084
- Khonsu 126
- Kibuka 450₁
- Kibyra
Cult: Zeus 771
 — coins of 771
- Kierion
Cult: Zeus 743₇
 — coins of 743₇
- Kilikia
Cult: Zeus Βόρειος 380
 — coins of 1210
- Kinyras
Myths: buried in sanctuary of Aphro-
 dite at Paphos 944₀ Myrrha and
 Adonis 680 848
Genealogy: f. of Adonis 694₀ f. of
 Myrrha 680
- Kios
Cults: Demeter Καρποφόρος 815₅ Zeus
 Ὀλύμπιος καὶ Ἀστραπαῖος 815₅
- Kirke
Myths: Jason 1097₂ Medeia 1097₂
 Odysseus 18₆
- Kithairon, Mt
Cults: Hera Κιθαιρώνια 898₆ 899₀ Pan
 899₀ Sphragitides 899₀ Zeus 581
 Zeus Κιθαιρώνιος 898₆
Festival: Daidala Megala 977₀
Rites: burning of oaken images (δαλ-

Kithairon, Mt (*cont.*)

δαλα) on altar of wood piled with brushwood 898₆ 977₀ sacrifice of bulls to Zeus and cows to Hera, these victims being filled with wine and incense 898₆

Myths: singing-match with Mt Helikon 899₀ Zeus pretends marriage with Plataia, d. of Asopos 898₆

Kithairon, king of Plataiai 898₆

Kition in Kypros

Cults: Aphrodite 807₅₍₄₎ Esmun 1095₀ Keraunios and Keraunia 807₃₍₁₎ Theos "Τψιστος 879₀₍₁₅₎ 980₃ Zeus Κεραύνιος 807₅₍₄₎ (Zeus?) Κεραύνιος and (?) Κεραυνία 807₃₍₁₎

Klareotis, a Tegeate tribe 1148 cp. 1149₀

Klaros

Cults: Apollon Κλάριος 489₀₍₄₎ Zeus Κλάριος 873₂

Myth: contest of Kalchas with Mopsos 489₀₍₄₎

Klazomenai, *sarcophagi* of 521₅

Kleagoras 1106

Kleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus* 854 ff.Klearchos of Rhegion 739 875₁₍₄₎Kleinis 463₁ 501

Kleite, m. of Kaulon or Kaulos 1042

Kleomachos, s. of Kasos 981₁Kleonai, coins of 892₄ 1079Kleophrasma, w. of Phlegyas 488₀₍₆₎

Kleophrades 733

Kleostratos 1151

Klepsydra, spring on Mt Ithome 890₀Klodonos 133₀Klotho 212₅ 1023Klymene, m. of Phaethon 473₃ 479 (?)Klymenos (= Hades) 1113₀₍₂₎

Klymenos, f. of Erginos

Function: hypostasis of Zeus (?) 1075

Klytaimestra

Genealogy: d. of Zeus by Leda and st. of Helene 1015₇

— ghost of, seen in mirror 206₂

Kneph

Cult: Egypt 1127₀

Type: hawk-headed snake 1127₀

Identified with Agathos Daimon 1127₀ 1128₀

Knidos

Cults: Apollon Λύκιος 729₀ Ge 729₀ Zeus 729₀ Zeus Μέγιστος (?) 1157₅ Zeus Μελίχιος 1157

— Triopion at 684₂

Knossos

Cults: Elchanos (?) = Velchanos 948₀₍₃₎ Rhea 520₅ 548 Theos "Τψιστος 879₀₍₁₄₎ two double axes 537 Zeus Έλχάδος (?) = Φελχάδος 948₀₍₃₎

Myths: founded by Hestia 940₀ founds Brundisium 30₃

— ancient grove of cypresses at 520₅ clay seal-impressions from 552₁ 652 coins of 491₀₍₆₎ gold ring from 49 f. incised gem from 623 oath of 731₀

Knossos (*cont.*)

road from, to Idaean Cave 933₀
— tomb of Zeus at 695₀ wall-painting from 528 f.

Kodros

Myth: dressed as woodman with double axe or bill-hook 627₆

— on trophy at Delphoi 1137₂

Koios 915₀ (?)

Kokkygion, Mt

Cults: Hera Τελέια 893₂ Zeus 893₂

Myth: Zeus married to Hera 893₂
— formerly called Thronax (Thronax?), later Kokkyx 893₂

Kokynthos, headland of Brutti 1042 (?)

Kolchis

Cult: Phasis 471

Myth: Phrixos 904₁

Kolchoi

Cult: Diana 411

Myth: Orestes 421₃

— Egyptian *khrbeis* of 1095₀

Kolikantzaroi See Kallikantzaroi

Koloë

Cults: Apollon Βοζηνός 568 Apollon Ταρσεύς 568 f. Theos "Τψιστος 881₀₍₂₀₎ Zeus Κτήσιος 1067 Zeus Σαβάγιος 285₀

Kolonai

Myth: Kyknos, s. of Poseidon 669

Kolonos

Cults: Athena Πολιούχος 1152₅ Demeter 1152₅ Zeus (?) 1152₅ Zeus Χθόνιος 1154 f.

Myth: Oidipous 1152₅

Kolophon

Myth: Polytechnos 693

Kolotes 1078

Komana in Kappadokia

Cult: Ma 616

— priestly kings at 965₀

Komana in Pontos, priestly kings at 965₀

Koptos

Cult: Horos 450₀

Korakoi (= Philioi Daimones)

Cult: Skythia 1179₁

Etymology: 1179₁ (?)

Kore

Cults: Eleusis 314₀ 314₂ Megalopolis 1178 Megara 1117₇ Nysa in Lydia (?) 564 Paros 131 Phlyeis 1066 Samothrace 314₀ 314₂ Selinous 489₀₍₆₎ Tegea 1140₅

Epithets: Μελίβοια (?) 1113₀₍₃₎ Πασικράτεια 489₀₍₆₎ Πρωτογόνη 1066

Rite: bridal hymn 132₂

Myths: carried off by Plouton 345₀₍₂₎ consorts with Zeus 1029 Herkyna 1075 Plouton 1103

Genealogy: d. of Zeus by Rhea or Demeter 1029 m. by Zeus of the chthonian Dionysos or Zagreus 1029 w. of Klymenos (= Hades) 1113₀₍₃₎

Function: Corn-maiden 295₂

- Kore (*cont.*)
Attributes: double axe (?) 564 pig 1140₅
 snake (?) 564 torches 1117₇
Type: horned, four-eyed, two-faced 1029
Identified with Persephone 1029
Associated with Demeter 1113₀₍₃₎ 1178
 Dionysos 120₁ Zeus and Demeter 258₃ 259₀ Zeus, Hera, Demeter
 Θεσμοφόρος, Baubo 259₀
 — *Κόρης θήρα* (?) near Lebadeia 899₂
 See also Persephone, Phersephone, Proserpina
- Koressos, Mt
Cult: Zeus 962₂
 — rock-cut throne on 962₂
- Koretas 190₀
- Korkyra
Cults: Apollon 730₀ Artemis 457 Demeter 730₀ Zeus 675 f. 730₀ Zeus
 "Τυσιρος 879₀₍₁₂₎ 907₁
 — coins of 906₃ 907₀ coins struck in 675 f. 'Corcyraean whip' at Dodona 826 851
- Koronis
Myths: bears Asklepios to Apollon at Lakereia 484 bears the second Asklepios to Ischys s. of Elatos 1089 cp. 210₀
Genealogy: d. of Phlegyas 463₁ m. of Asklepios 833₀
- Korybantes (Kyrbantes)
Cults: Gortyna 723₀ Hierapytna 723₀ Priansos 723₀
Myths: drown cries of infant Zeus 928₀ hide Zeus from Kronos 940₀
- Korybas
Cult: Haimonioi 295
Rite: Eleusinia 133₀
Identified with Attis 295
- Korykia 901₂
- Koryphon (Koryphaion), Mt
Cult: Artemis Κορυφαία 869₁
- Kos
Cults: Asklepios Καῖσαρ (= Claudius) 1088 Hestia (Histie) Ταμία 19₀ 238₀ Theos Τυσιτος 880₀₍₁₈₎ 964₁ Zeus Ἰκέσιος 1095₀ Zeus Πολιεύς 238₀
Rite: wearing of white-poplar 470
Myth: Merops 1132₁
- Kosingas 130 505₅
- Kosmos
Cult: Orphists 141₁ 827
Type: four-pillared 141₁ 827
- Kotiaieion
Cult: Zeus Βροντῶν 835₄
- Kottos 1023
- Kotys, s. of Manes 311 f. with Atys as Dioskouroi (?) 312
- Koujounlou in Bithynia
Cult: Zeus Βροντῶν 835₅
- Koula See Koloe
- Kounados, Mt, in Paros
Cults: Aphrodite 875₁₍₅₎ Histie Δημητή
- Kounados, Mt, in Paros (*cont.*)
 875₁₍₅₎ Zeus Καραβάτης 20₁ (Zeus) "Τπατος 875₁₍₅₎ 918₂
- Koures
Rite: Eleusinia 133₀
 — Epimenides as 191 934₀
- Kouretes (Koretēs)
Cults: Gortyna 723₀ Hierapytna 723₀ Lyttos 723₀ Mylasa 586 f. Priansos 723₀
Epithet: Ἰδαῖοι 296₄
Rites: personate Zagreus 549 sacrifice children to Kronos 548
Myths: clash shields about infant Zeus 961₀ clash weapons to aid Leto against Hera on Mt Solmissos 962₂ drown cries of infant Zeus 928₀ flee from Kronos 549 Labrandonos, Panamoros, and Palaxos or Spalaxos 587 rear Zeus on Mt Dikte 929₀ receive infant Zeus from Rhea 931₀ taught to dance by Athena 1029 Mt Sipylos 956₂ wreathed with olive 1029
Genealogy: sons of Zeus 940₀
Function: δαίμονας ἢ προπόλους θεῶν 931₀
Types: Assyrian 938₀ grouped about the child Zeus or Dionysos 1210
Associated with Zeus 938₀ Zeus Κρηταγενής 587
- Kourion in Kypros, silver-gilt bowl from 553
- Kragaleus 163₀
- Kragasos 669
- Kragos, Mt 971₂
Cults: Kragos 971₂ Theoi "Αγριοι 971₂
- Kragos, eponym of Mt Kragos
Cults: Mt Kragos 971₂ Lykia 972₀
Epithet: ἀστεργής 972₀
Genealogy: f. of Cheleidon 971₂ s. of Tremilos (Tremiles?) by the nymph Praxidike, b. of Tloos and Pinalos 971₂
Identified with one of the Theoi "Αγριοι 971₂ f. Zeus 972₀ 974₀
- Krannon
Cult: Zeus 833
Rite: rain-charm 831 ff.
Myth: two ravens 832
 — coins of 832 f.
- Krariotai See Klareotis
- Krastonia
Cult: Dionysos 114 f.
 Krataiis (= Hekate) 1114₀₍₄₎
- Krateuas, herbal of 395₂
- Kres, eponym of Crete, hides Zeus on Mt Dikte 928₀
- Kresion, Mt 1147₆
- Kretenia 922₅ 923₀
- Krishna
Cult: India 774₁
Function: solar (?) 774₁
Attribute: lotos 774₁
- Kroisos 311₈ 465

Kronia, island in Ionian Gulf 555₀
 Kronia, later called Hierapolis 554₃
 Kronion, in Sicily 555₀
 Kronion, Mt, at Olympia 554₂
 Kronion, Mt, in Lakonike 554₂
 Kronos

Cults: Athens 554₂ Byblos 887₀₍₀₎
 Crete 548 f. Delos (?) 920₀ Gaza (?)
 675 Mt Kynthos (?) 920₀ Lebadeia
 899₂ Olympia 554₂ Phrygia 1155 f.
 Sicily 910₀ Solymoi 972₀

Epithets: ἀγκυλομήτης 549 845 Ἀκρι-
 σίας 1156₁ ἀστράπτων καὶ βροντῶν (?)
 558₀ 558₁ βροντοκερανοπάτωρ 558₁
 ἡερόεις 557₁ Πέας πόσι, σερμὲ Προ-
 μηθεῦ 549₇ ὑψίπολος 557₁ ὑψίπορος (?)
 557₁

Rites: human omophagy (?) 549 sacrifi-
 ce of children by Kouretes 548
 sacrifice at spring equinox by Ba-
 σίλαι 554₂

Priests: Βασίλαι at Olympia 554₂
 Personated by magician (?) 558₀

Myths: bound beneath oak-trees by
 Zeus 1027 buried in Sicily 555₀
 consulted by Zeus 1027 devours
 his children 549 928₀ 933₀ driven
 out by Zeus 941₀ 942₀ driven out of
 Assyria by Zeus, reigns over Italy
 693₄ 694₀ 943₀ founds Byblos in
 Phoinike 552 founds Kronia (= Hie-
 rapolis) 554₃ made drunk on honey
 by Zeus 1027 mutilated by Zeus
 448₁ 685 1027 mutilates Ouranos
 447₃ pursues Kouretes 549 receives
 from Rhea stone instead of Zeus
 793₃ 901₁ reigns over Italy, Sicily,
 most of Libye, and the west 554₃
 reigns over the west 695₀ seeks to
 destroy Zeus 928₀ slays Arsalos,
 Dryos, and Tosobis 972₀ swallows
 stone in place of Zeus 191₁₀ thrust
 down by Zeus below earth and sea
 1020 yields the kingship of Italy to
 Zeus 694₀

Genealogy: f. of Aphros and Cheiron
 by Philyra 695₀ f. of Attis 294 f. of
 Cheiron by Philyra 871₀ f. of Zan
 940 f. of Zeus 943₀ f. of Zeus by
 Rhea 941₀ f. of Zeus, Poseidon,
 Hades 785 forefather of Pikos who
 is also Zeus 695₀ h. of Rhea 548
 673 845 s. of Okeanos by Tethys
 1020 s. of Ouranos by Gaia 447₃
 s. of Phanes by Nyx 1026

Functions: dark air 557₁ lightning 558
 mountain 554 pole 557₁ rain 557
 557₁ 558₀ rain, hail, wind, and
 thunderstorms 558₀ sea 557₁ 558₀
 sky 601 1156₂ solar (?) 552 thunder
 and lightning 558₁ water 557₁ winter
 557₁

Etymology: 549 557₁ 660₁ 845 861
Attributes: bulls 553 f. corn-grains (?)
 558₁ disk 552 double axe 553 f.

Kronos (cont.)

601 ἀρέπανον 448₀ ἡάρπε 447₀ 549 f.
 550 553 f. 845 861 head-dress of
 feathers 552 f. sceptre 552 thunder-
 bolt (?) 558₁

Types: aged 861₅ 1030 bald-headed
 861 four-winged 552 f. Janiform 552
 lion-headed (See Ahriman) six-
 winged 552 stabbing lion 553 stand-
 ing with double axe and ἡάρπε
 between two bulls 553 f.

Identified with Adonis (?) 886₀₍₃₀₎ Ba'al-
 hammân 554₃ Bel 558₀ Chronos 861
 El 558₀ Ianus 374 Prometheus 549;
 Saturnus 555₀ Tholathes (?) 558₀

Compared with Zeus 554 f.

Confused with Chronos 374

Superseded by Saturnus 550 Zeus 554
 601 845

— imitated by Marcus Aurelius 105₀
 laws of 933₀ pillars of 422 sceptre
 of 1026 sweat of 558₀ tear of 557₁
 tomb of 555₀ 556₀ tower of 36
 52

Kronos, the planet

Functions: δάκρυ 558₀ rain, hail, wind,
 and thunderstorms 558₀ 558₁

Identified with Nebrod (Nimrod) and
 Orion 693₄ 694₀

Kroton

Cults: Hera Λακωία 1021 Muses 1021
 Pythagoras as Apollon Ὑπερβόρειος
 223

Rite: sacrifices to Apollon on seventh
 day of month 237₀

Myth: Pythagoras' eagle 222₄

In relation to Pythagoreans 45

— coins of 225 f. garden of Hera
 Λακωία at 1021

Kteatos

Genealogy: b. of Eurytos 317 s. of
 Molione, nominally by Aktor, really
 by Poseidon 1015₈

Ktesios (?) 1066

Kurshumlu in Phrygia

Cults: Phoibos 839 Zeus Βροντῶν 839

Kurtkõi in Phrygia

Cult: Zeus Βροντῶν 835₄

Kyaneai

Cults: Ares Μέγας 101₁ Eleutheria
 Ἀρχηγέτις Ἐπιφανής 101₁ Zeus
 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Τίτος Αἰλιος
 Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβαστὸς Εὐ-
 σεβής (= Antoninus Pius) 101₁

Kybele

Cults: Mt Ide in Phrygia 950₀ My-
 kenai (?) 1221

Rites: effigy worn by votaries 299 f.
 tat'ooing 123₀

Priests: Archigallus 299 ff. Gallus
 298 f.

Priestesses: chief priestess 301 f.

Genealogy: w. of Zeus 298

Function: mountain-mother 298

Attributes: lion 299 lions 970₀ 1221 (?)

- Kybele (*cont.*)
 mural crown 300 pine-tree 951₀
 timbrel 300
Types: seated in *aedicula* with two lions 970₀ standing between two lions with double axe and ritual horns (serpentine?) on her head 1221 (?)
Identified with Agdistis 970₀ Meter Theon 970₀ Rhea 970₀
Associated with Attis 301₁
In relation to Attis 293 842
- Kyklopes
Myth: slain by Apollon 241₄
Genealogy: sons of Ouranos by Ge 1023
Function: underground smiths 784 805₆
Attribute: lightning 805₆
Types: one-eyed 828 four-eyed 999 monstrous giants 851
 — two, in Albanian folk-tale 999 f.
- Kyklops
Myth: Odysseus 990 997
Functions: sky (?) 989 f. sun (?) 989 f.
Compared with Zeus 990
 — in folk-tales 988 ff.
- Kyknos, king of Liguria 477 ff.
 Kyknos, s. of Ares
Myth: Herakles 274₀
- Kyknos, s. of Poseidon
Myth: Hemithea (Leukothea) and Tennes (Tenes) 669 ff.
Genealogy: h. of Philonome 669 h. of Prokleia 669
- Kylikranes tattooed 123₀
- Kyllene
Cult: Asklepios 1078
- Kylon 1138
- Kymak in Phrygia
Cult: Zeus Βροντων 835₄
- Kynados, Mt See Kounados, Mt
- Kynon (*leg.* Κυνων, *sc.* πόλις)
Cult: dog 987₀
- Kynortion, Mt 487₃₍₁₎
- Kynosoura in Lakonike 1088 f.
- Kynosouris in Thessaly (?) 1089
- Kynthos, Mt
Cults: Athena Κυνθία 919₀ 920₀ 921₀ 922₀ Kronos (?) 920₀ Rhea (?) 920₀ 921₀ Zeus Κύνθιος 919₀ 920₀ 921₀ 922₀
 — cistern-mosaic on 919₀ 920₀ 922₀
- Kyparissos
Myth: 981₁
- Kypris
Epithet: Διωνάλα (Διανάλα) 351₀
Function: maddens the lover 1164₀
- Kypros
Cults: Aphrodite Παφία 424 Apollon 246, Ba'al-ḥammán 1208₂ Dionysos Σαώτης (?) 599₂ Janiform god and goddess 673 tree 157₁ Zeus Ζητήρη 444₇ 1102₃ Zeus Σαώτης (?) 599₂ Zeus Τιμωρός 874₂ 1099₀
- Kypros (*cont.*)
 — coins of 424 three-eyed ogre in folk-tale from 995 f.
- Kypselos, chest of 451 739₀ golden Zeus dedicated at Olympia by 737 vow of 737₆
- Kyrene
Cults: Artemis 'Αγροτέρα 1177₃ Zeus Εὐβουλεύς 259₀ (Zeus) Φίλιος 1177₃
Festival: Karneia 237₀
 — coins of 708₂ leaden anchor from 876₀
- Kyrene, eponym of the town
Myth: carried off by Apollon 460₂
- Kyrios Sabaoth 884₀₍₀₎
- Kyrrhos
Cult: Zeus Καταιβάτης 15 f. 745₁ 983₁
- Kys
Cult: Zeus 'Ελευθέριος (= Augustus) 97₀
- Kytissoros 904₁
- Kyzikos
Cults: Hermes 834 Theos "Υψιστος 953₁ Zeus 743₇ Zeus Βρονταίος 833 ff. 852 Zeus "Υψιστος 881₀₍₂₁₎ 953₁ Zeus "Υψιστος Βρονταίος 833 ff. 882₀₍₀₎
Myth: nurses of Zeus 227 f.
 — coins of 180 319₅ 460₂ 743₇
- Kyzikos, personification of the town 319₅
- Labaro (?)
Cult: Norba in Lusitania 609₃
- Labranda
Cults: Zeus Λαβράνδος (Λαμβράνδος, Λαβράνδος, Λαβραίνδος (?), Λαβραίνδος (?), Λαβραίνδος (?), Λαβράενδος, Λάβρενδος, Λάβρανδος (?), Λαβραν-δεύς, Λαβραεύς, Λαβρανδηνός) 576 f. 585 ff. 597 846 Zeus Στρατίος 576 ff. 585 591 594 713 722 846 976₀
Priests: distinguished citizens priests for life 576 f.
Etymology: 586 600
 — remains of temple at 588 ff. sacred plane-trees at 590 976₀
- Labrandos, the Koures 587
- Labrantidai 881₀₍₂₀₎
- Labrayndos, god of Mylasa 586 ff.
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- Labryandos, the king 588
- Laburus
Cult: Emona 609₃
- Labyadai
Etymology: 629
 — oaths of 233 233₇ 730₀ sacrifice of 243 f.
- Labyrinth
Myth: Daidalos 600 f.
Etymology: 600 846
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 — as circular maze-like structure 943₀ as mediaeval maze 601
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- Lachesis**
Genealogy: d. of Ouranos by Ge 1023
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- Lactora** in Aquitania
Rites: *vires escepit* 306₄ *vires tauri*
consacravit 306₄
- Ladicus**, Mt, in Gallacia
Cult: Iupiter *Ladicus* 320₀
- Ladon**, the dragon 1017
- Lagina**
Cults: Hekate 714₂ Zeus "Υψιστος 963₆
 Zeus "Υψιστος και Θεός ο βασιλικός
 879₀₍₁₇₎
- Laïos**, a Cretan 929₀
- Laïos**, f. of Oidipous
Myth: Oidipous 923₀ 1154₃
- Lairbenos**
Cult: Hierapolis in Phrygia 566
Types: radiate bust 566 youthful hero
 on horseback bearing double axe (?)
 566
Identified with Apollon 566 ff. 845
- Lairmenos**
Cults: Badinlar, in Phrygia 567 Dionysopolis
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Type: youthful hero on horseback
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Identified with Apollon 566 ff. 845
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- Lakereia** 484
- Lakonike**
Cults: Apollon Κουρβιδίος 322₆ Apollon
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- Lakshmi**
Cult: India 774₁
Genealogy: w. of Vishnu 774₁
Attribute: lotos 774₁
- Lambaesis**
Cults: Fons 369₀ Genius Fontis 369₀
 Ianus Pater 369₀ Iupiter Propagator
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- Lamia** 666₂ 828 f. 994₂ 1131
- Lamis** 694₀
- Lammas** 325₃ 326₄
- Lamponeia** 951₀ f.
- Lampsakos**
Cults: Meter Theon Τηπέη 697 Priapos
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 — coins of 674₁ Xenophon at 1106 f.
- Laodike** 452 f. 466 501
- Laodikeia** Katakekaumene
Cult: Zeus Βροντών και 'Αστράπτων
 817
- Laodikeia** on the Lykos
Cults: Caracalla 1186 Gaia 1186 Thalassa
 1186 Theos "Υψιστος (sic)
 882₀₍₂₃₎ Theos "Υψιστος 968₃ Zeus
 319 f. 319; 745₁ Zeus (= Caracalla)
 1186 Zeus 'Ασείς 321₀
Festivals: Deia 320₀ Deia Sebasta Oikoumenika
 320₀
Myth: Zeus nursed by Rhea under
 protection of Kouretes 968₃
 — coins of 319; 571 f. 933₀ 1186
- Laodikeia**, personification of the city on
 the Lykos
Types: seated with statuette of Zeus
 in right hand and cornu copiae in
 left 320₀ seated with statuette of
 Zeus in right hand and sceptre in
 left 319; standing with *phiale* in
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- Laodikeia** on the sea
Cult: Zeus 1192
Myth: shepherd struck by lightning
 886₀₍₃₀₅₎
 — coins of 1192 formerly called
 Leuke Akte, and before that Ramitha
 886₀₍₃₀₎
- Laodokos** 452
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- Lapersai**
Cult: Zeus 'Αγαμέμνων 1069
- Laphystion**, Mt, in Boiotia
Cults: Dionysos Λαφύστιος 899₁ Herakles
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- Lapithai**
Myths: Ixion 1088 Periphas 1122 f.
Type: fighting Centaurs 615₂ (?)
 — migration of (?) 1123
- Lapithes**, eponym of the Lapithai
Genealogy: f. (or s.) of Periphas 1122
 1134 s. of Apollon by Stilbe 684₂
 1134 f.
- Lapps**
Cult: Thor (?) 423₃ 533₂
Rites: erection of beam pierced by
 iron nail 423₃ 533₂ sacrifice of bare
 bones 423₃ world-pillars 57₁
- Lar**
Epithet: *familiaī...pater* 1059
Rite: meal 19₀
Genealogy: Larunda progenitus 1059
Identified with Genius 1059
- Larasa** in Media 958₀
- Lares**
Cults: Italy 1059 Rome 401
Epithets: *familiares* 1059 *Querquetulani*
 401
Festival: Compitalia 1171₂
Rite: corn-ears 19₀
Function: souls of deified ancestors
 1159₁
Etymology: 1159₁
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- Larisa** at Argos
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Myths: Akrisios slain by Perseus 1155 Gargaros, s. of Zeus 950₀
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Cults: Hermes 1155₅ Polis 1155₅
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Genealogy: m. of Lar 1059
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Cults: Apollon 899₂ St Christopher 1076 chthonian Zeus (or Hermes) 233₀ St Elias 899₂ Hera 899₂ Herkyna 1073 1075 Kronos 899₂ Trophonios (Trephonios) 899₂ 1073 ff. Zeus 899₂ Zeus *Βασιλεύς* 899₂ 900₀ 1073 f. 1076 Zeus *Τρεφώνιος* or *Τροφώνιος* 1061 1073 ff.
Festival: Basileia 900₀
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 1041
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 See also Mater deum, Meter, Mother of the gods
- Mater deum**
Cults: Liternum 306₄, Rome 301 f. 306₅
Epithets: *Idaea* 302₁, *Magna* 302₁
Priest: *sacerdos* 306₄
Priestess: *sacerdos maxima* 302₁
Associated with Attis 306₅
- Mater divum**
Identified with Virgo 734₃
- Matilica**
Cult: Iupiter *Caelestis* 401₀
- Matres**
Cult: Allmendingen 619
- Matronae**
Cult: Allmendingen 619
- Matthew, St**
Attribute: city-gate with coin above it (?) 1200₃, 1200₄
Type: on chalice of Antioch 1200₄, 1202₀
- Matutinus** 74
- Maximinus I**, lance of, struck by lightning 10
- Maximinus II**
Personates Iupiter 1194 f.
- Mayence**, column of 93 f. 1213 f.
- Mazaka**, old name of Kaisareia in Kappadokia 978₀
- Medeia**
Epithet: *ἑψάνδρα* 211₂
Myths: Kirke 1097₂, wooed by Zeus 1088
- Medesigiste** 270₅
- Mediomatrici**
Cult: Janiform god 324
 — coins of 324
- Medousa**
Epithet: *Γοργάς* 1148₃
Myth: Perseus 716 f. 1018
Genealogy: m. of Chrysaor 457
Type: winged 457
Identified with Artemis, Rhea, Kybele, Demeter, etc. as a form of the Great Mother (?) 457
Compared with Tzitzinaina 1018
 — hair of 191₁₀, 1148
- Médum** 1145_{1(a)}
- Megala Dionysia** 250₁
- Megala Panhellenia** 1120₀
- Megalai Theai**
Cult: Megalopolis 1178
- Megaloi Theoi** See Kabeiroi
- Megalopolis**
Cults: Agathos Theos 1125₁, Aphrodite 1178, Apollon *Ἀγυεύς* 160₅, 163 As-
- Megalopolis (cont.)**
 klepios 1090, Athena *Ἐργάνη* 164₇, Demeter 1178, *Ἐργάται* 164₇, Kore 1178, Megalai Theai 1178, Zeus *Φίλιος* 1178 f. 1183
- Megara**
Cults: Acheloius 1117₇, 1138₅, Agathos Daimon (?) 1117₇, Aphrodite *Ἐπι-στροφία* 257₄, Apollon *Καρῶς* 165₃, 168₁, Demeter (?) 1117₇, Dionysos *Νυκτέλιος* 257₄, Eileithyiai 168₁, Heros 896₀, 897₀, Kore 1117₇, Megaros (?) 1117₇, Muses 1139₀, Nyx 257₄, Pan 1117₇, Plouton (?) 1117₇, Saron (?) 414₁, Sithnides 1117₇ (?) Zeus 257₄, 1138₅, Zeus *Ἀφείσιος* 895₁, 896₀, 897₀, Zeus *Κρόνιος* (not *Κρόνιος*, nor *Κώνιος*, nor *Σκόδιος*, nor *Χθόνιος*) 257₄, 1139₀
Festivals: *Πυθάρεια* 185₂, *Πυθάρεια Σε-βαστάρεια* 185₂
Myth: deluge 1138₅
 — coins of 163, 168₁, 185 f. 1139₀, votive relief from 1117₇
- Megareus** See Megaros
- Megaros**
Cult: Zeus *Ἀφείσιος* 179
- Megaros (Megareus)**, s. of Zeus by one of the Sithnides 897₁, 1117₇ (?)
- Meidias**, the potter 244₄
- Meilichia** 1091 f. 1092₅
- Meilichieion** at Alaisa (Halaesa) 1158
- Meilichioi**
Cult: Thebes in Boiotia 1154₆
- Meilichion** at Orchomenos in Boiotia 1149
- Meilinoe (?)** 1114₀₍₅₎
- Mekone**
Etymology: 1165₁
- Melaina** 176₁
- Melampous**
Myths: cures Iphiklos, s. of Phylakos 452, 684 f. rears snakes in oak before his house 1087
Etymology: 1153₁
Type: anguiform (?) 1153₁
Compared with Oidipous 1153₁
- Melanis** 176₁
- Melantheia** 176₁
- Melantho** 176₁
- Meleagrides** 497
- Meleagros**
Myth: *meleagrides* 497
- Meles**, river near Smyrna 998₂
- Meliai**, nymphs of Mt Dikte 933₀
- Meliboia (?)** (= Kore) 1113₀₍₃₎
- Melichios** See Zeus *Μηλίχιος*
- Melikertes**
Myth: caldron of apotheosis 212
Identified with Melqart or Melgarth 1109₀
- Melindia (?)** (= Persephone) 1113₀₍₃₎
- Melindia**, m. of Persephone by Aides king of the Molossoi 1113₀₍₃₎
- Melinoe (?)** 1114₀₍₅₎
- Melinoia (?)** (= Persephone) 1113₀₍₃₎

Melissa

Metamorphosed into bee 928₀

Melissens 928₀ 949₅

Melissos

Genealogy: f. of the nymphs Adrasteia and Eide (Ide) by Amaltheia 933₀ ep. 928₀

Melitodes (= Persephone) 1113₀₍₃₎

Melitone (?) (= Persephone) 1113₀₍₃₎

Melos

Cults: Theoi Ouranioi 808₀₍₁₂₎ Tyche 1136₄ Zeus *Kαραϊβάτας* 16 f. Zeus *Κεραύνιος* 808₀₍₁₂₎
— coins of 788₀ 1136₄ incised gem from 544 622 terra-cotta relief from 717

Melqart or Melqarth

Identified with Herakles 762 Melikertes 1109₀ Zeus *Μελίχιος* (?) 1109₀

Memnon, s. of Heos

Myths: golden vine 281₄ *psychostasia* 733 f.

Memphis

Cults: Nefer-Tem 774₀ ox 987₀

Priest: Ostanes 701₀

Men

Cult: Eumeneia in Phrygia 970₀

Epithet: *Ἀσκαρνός* 970₀

Function: lunar 285₀

Attributes: moon 285₀ starry pilos 386 winged *caduceus* 285₀

Identified with Attis 295 298

Associated with Zeus *Σαβάζιος* 285₀

Menelaos

Myth: Helene 1044

In relation to Agamemnon 447₅

— sceptre of 1132₅

Menestratos 1151

Mercurius

Cults: Allmendingen 619 Divitia 64₀

Gallia Belgica 547₀ Praeneste 397₀

Epithet: *secundus* 1088

Genealogy: b. of Aesculapius *secundus* 1088

Functions: summer 62 94₁ Wednesday 70

Attributes: *caduceus* 70₁ cock 94₃ goat 70₁ purse 70₁ 94₃ winged cap 70₁ (?)

Types: running 69₃ running on pillar 69

Identified with Wodan 59 63₀ 69 94₁ 386₀

Associated with Diana 67 (?) Iuno and Ceres 1181₀ Iuno, Hercules, Minerva 57 ff. Maia (?) 94 96 Minerva and Iuno 89 ep. 57 ff. Rosmerta 94₃ 547₀ (?) Venus 67

Meridies 74

Merops, king of Kos

Myths: Hera (?) 1132₁ Rhea (?) 1132₁

Zeus 1132₁

Metamorphosed into bee-eater (?) 1132₁ eagle 1132₁ 1134₀

Merops, seer of Perkote 1072

Mesraim See Mizraim

Messana

Cult: Poseidon 795

— coins of 794

See also Zankle

Messapians 30 31₁ 1159₁

Messene

Cults: Apollon *Κόρυδος* 458 Hera 728₀

Zeus 1223 Zeus *Ἰθωμάτας* 728₀ 741 ff.

Festival: Ithomaia 741₄

— coins of 741 f. 1222 1223

Messenians of Naupaktos 741

Messogis, Mt

Cult: Meter *Ἰσοδρόμη* 957₃

Metaneira 821₃

Metanoia 862 f. 863₁

Metapontum

Cult: Hermes *Εἰκόλος* 118₃

In relation to Pythagoreans 45

— coins of 667₃

Meter

Cults: Agra 554₂ 1142₃ (?) Athens 1119₀

1142₃ Mt Ide in Phrygia 950₀ Ikonion

970₀ Magnesia ad Sipylum 729₀ Mt

Messogis 957₃ Mt Sipylos 956₂

Smyrna 729₀

Epithets: *Βοθημένη* 970₀ *Δνδυμήνη* 970₀

ἐν Ἄγρας 1119₀ 1142₃ (?) *Ἰδαία* 950₀

970₀ *Ἰσοδρόμη* 957₃ *Πλαστήνη* 956₂

Σιπυληνή 729₀ 970₀

Associated with youthful páredros, at

once her consort and her child 294

Zeus 950₀ Zeus *Μελίχιος* 1142₃

See also Mater, Mater deum, Meter

Theon, Mother of the gods

Meter Theon

Cults: Eumeneia in Phrygia 970₀

Ikonion 970₀

Epithets: *Ἀγγιστις* (= *Ἀγδιστις*) 970₀

Ἀνγδιστις (= *Ἀγδιστις*) 970₀

Identified with Kybele 970₀

See also Mater, Mater deum, Meter,

Mother of the gods

Methydrion

Cult: Zeus *Ὀπλόσμιος* 290₀

Myth: Hopladamos (Hoplodamos?)

protects Rhea against Kronos 291₀

Metion 1146

Metis

Myth: swallowed by Zeus 12 348₂

Genealogy: d. (?) of Erebus and Nyx

315₄

Metis (masc.)

Epithet: *πρώτος γενέτωρ* 1028

Function: *βουλή* 1024

Etymology: 1025

Identified with Erikepaios 1024 1039

Eros 1039 Phanes 1024 1026

1032 1039 Protogonos 1039 Zeus

1028

In relation to Protogonos (?) 1025 Zeus

1025

Meton, the astronomer 1130;

Metrodoros, portrait-herm of (with Epi-

kouros) 390

- Michael, St
Epithets: "Άγιος Άσώματος 894₃
Myth: cleft of Chonai 115
Types: pillar of fire 115 weighing
 souls 138₀
Supersedes Zeus 894₃ 895₀
 — well of 115
- Midas
Myth: Attis 969, 970₀
Etymology: 312₅
 Midgardh-serpent 305₀
 Mid-Lent, folk-celebrations of 863
 Miletos
Cults: Apollon 457 Apollon Βραχιά-
 της 255 Apollon Δελφίνιος 237₀
 Apollon Διδυμείς 1220 Apollon
 Δρύμας 486₅ Apollon Θύσιος 250
 Artemis Χιτώνη 410₁ Asklepios 1228
 Demos of Rome 1228 Διός Έλπίδες
 962₀ Άγιώτατος Theos "Τψιστος
 Σωτήρ 879₀₍₁₇₎ Hestia 1220 Hestia
 Βουλαία 317₂ Roma 1228 Zeus
 Βουλαίος 317₂ Zeus Δουσάρης
 Σωτήρ (?) 317₂ Zeus Καταιβάτης
 962₀ Zeus Κεραίνιος 1228 Zeus
 Κεραίνιος Σωτήρ 962₀ Zeus Λαβραϊν-
 δείς 1228 Zeus Λαβραϊνίδιος 962₀
 Zeus Λαβραϊνίδος 1228 Zeus Λαβρέν-
 ιδος 962₀ Zeus Λαράσιος 962₀ Zeus
 Λέψυνος 962₀ Zeus Νόσιος 317₂ Zeus
 Όλύμπιος Πεισαίος 962₀ Zeus Όμο-
 βούλιος 962₀ Zeus Σωτήρ 317₂ Zeus
 Τελεσιουργός 1228 Zeus Τερμινθεύς
 962₀ Zeus "Τψιστος 879₀₍₁₇₎ 963₂
Festivals: Διός βούς 318₀ Ebdomaiā
 237₀
Myth: Neleus, s. of Kodros 405 ff.
 See also Didyma near Miletos
 Miletos in Crete, *lárnaξ* from 49 f.
 Miliche
Cult: Thespiāi 1151
 Milichus
Genealogy: s. of a Satyr by the nymph
 Myrice 1110₀
Type: horned 1110₀
Identified with Ba'al Milik (Melek,
 Molok) (?) 1110₀
- Milky Way 37 ff.
Myths: Furious Host 62₁ golden rope
 1211 Gwydion 52 Iring 52 Kyknos
 477 ff. milk-white lily 49₁ Phaethon
 476 ff.
Types: hoop 39₀ starry circle 39₀ wavy
 band 48 f.
Identified with Hades 42 43
In relation to sky-ladder 476 sky-
 pillar 476 sun 40₃
 — conceived as celestial counter-
 part of terrestrial road 497 844
 conceived as celestial river 479 ff.
 516 1219 conceived as celestial road
 36 ff. 476 f. 1028 conceived as celestial
 tree 482 f. 1219 conceived as crown
 119 f. conceived as original course
 of sun 40 conceived as path for
- Milky Way (*cont.*)
 gods 117 conceived as path for
 souls 37 ff. 840 conceived as reflec-
 tion of solar rays 40 conceived as
 road of the birds 38 462 conceived
 as rope 44 1211 conceived as source
 of all rivers 481 conceived as track
 made by falling star 40 40₁ 43₁
 476 conceived as two golden bull's-
 horns 117 1028 constellations tra-
 versed by 477₈ names of 37 f. 52 62₁
 66₀ 119 f. 464 479 ff. 480₀ 482 482₂
 484 497₁
- Milon, the physicist 11
 Miltiades
Associated with Athena and Apollon
 1137₂
 Mimallones 133₀
 Mimir 305₀
 Min
Cult: Egypt 767₂
Functions: heaven 767₂ thunder 767₂
 Minerva
Cults: Allmendingen 619 1221 Rome
 369₀ 401₀ Urbs Salvia 803
Personated by Saliī (?) 376₁
Assimilated to Athena 66₀
Associated with Fortuna 95₁ 96 Her-
 cules and Iuno 89 Iuno, Mercurius,
 Hercules 57 ff. cp. 89 Iupiter
Optimus Maximus Caelestius and
 Fontes 401₀ Liber and Hercules
 1181₀ Mercurius and Iuno 89 cp.
 57 ff.
Functions: spinning 65 66₀ weaving
 66₀ winter 65 94₁
Identified with Holda 65 66₀ 94₁
In relation to Fortuna 95
 — helmet of 95₁
 'Minoans' in Iapygia 30 f. snake-goddess
 of, compared with Gorgon 930₀
 thalassocracy of 830₁
- Minorca 541
 Minos
Epithet: Διός μεγάλου δαριστής 940₀
Myths: buried in precinct of Rhea on
 Mt Juktas (?) 94₀ dedicates cup to
 Athena Πολιάς and Zeus Πολιεύς at
 Lindos 923₀ descends into Dictaeān
 Cave and returns with laws of Zeus
 929₀ killed at Kamikos 30 prays
 Zeus for an omen 8 pursues Brito-
 martis 939₁
Metamorphosed into Mt Juktas 939₁
Genealogy: f. of Glaukos 1087 f. of
 Katreus and gf. of Althaimenes and
 Apemosyne 923₀ s. of Zeus 8 793₇
 s. of Zeus by Europe 342₀ 929₀
Functions: human Zan (?) 945₀ human
 Zeus (?) 940₀ 944₀ lawgiver 929₀
 940₀ priestly king of Knossos 944₀
Superseded by Zeus 940₀
 — tomb of 940₀ 945₀
- Minotaur
Type: stone-throwing 491₀₍₆₎

Minyans as Aeolians 1149₂ at Orchomenos in Boiotia 924₀

Minyas

Cult: Orchomenos in Boiotia 1150₀
Personates Zeus (?) 1150
Myth: Orchomenos in Boiotia 1150
Genealogy: f. of Orchomenos 1150₅ s. of Aleos 1150₅ s. of Ares 1150₅ s. of Eteokles and b. of Orchomenos 1150₅ s. of Orchomenos 1150₅ s. of Poseidon by Chryso gone d. of Halmos 1150₄

— *thēlos*-tomb of 1150

Misa 131

Mithras

Cults: Borcovicium 1053 Carnuntum 1194₄ Persai 255 Rome 307₀ 835₆ 838 f. Sahin in Phoinike 886₀₍₃₀₎
Epithets: *Deus Sol Invictus* 835₆ 1194₄
Rites: ladder 129₁ women excluded 1053
Worshippers: *heliodromus* 312₅ *pater* 312₅ *pater patrum* 307₀ *Perses* 312₅
Attribute: starry *pilos* (?) 386
Types: emerging from rock with egg-shell above him, knife in right hand, torch in left, all within oval zodiac 1053 slaying bull 511 (fig. 390)
Identified with Apollon 255 Helios (?) *Ἀνίκητος* (?) 886₀₍₃₀₎ *Sol Invictus* 307₀ 1194₄

Mizraim 35

Mneme

Cult: Philadelpheia in Lydia 1229

Mnemon 670

Mnemosyne

Genealogy: m. of Muses by Zeus *Ὀλύμπιος* 1157₀

Mochua, St 214₀

Modena, Orphic relief at 1051

Modin 1146₀

Moesia

Cult: Theos *Ἐψιστος* 878₀₍₁₁₎ 949₁

Mogontiacum 93

Cults: Genius 96₂ Genius loci 620₂ Iuno *Regina* 96₁ 96₂ Iupiter *Optimus Maximus* 96₁ 96₂ Suceaelus 620

Moirā

Function: cosmic 316₀
Attribute: roll 479
Type: reading roll 479
Associated with Keraunos 119₁ Zeus and Erinys 1102₇

Moirai

Cults: Athens 231₈ Delphoi 231 Olympia 231₈ 878₀₍₅₎
Myths: Dictaeān Cave (?) 929₀ Themis 37₁
Genealogy: daughters of Ouranos by Ge 1023
Type: two standing figures 231
Associated with Apollon 231 Themis 37₁ 929₀ Zeus 231
 — as attribute of Zeus 1138₅

Molione

Genealogy: d. of Molos 1015₈ m. of Kteatos and Eurytos, nominally by Aktor, really by Poseidon 1015₈

Moliones

Epithets: *λευκίππους κόβρους... ἄλικας ἰσοκεφάλους* (A. Meineke cj. *ἰσοφάλους* J. M. Edmonds cj. *ἰσοκαρπῆας*), *ἐνιγυίους* 1015

Myth: born in silver egg 1015

Genealogy: sons of Molione, nominally by Aktor, really by Poseidon 1015₈

Type: with two heads, four hands, four feet, one body 1015₈

Moloch

Cult: Byblos 887₀₍₀₎
Rite: sacrifice of first-born 1108₂
Functions: human king regarded as divine (?) 1108₂

Molos, f. of Molione 1015₈

Molpadia

Myth: Kastabos 670 f.

Molpos 670

Moneta 99₁

Monimos

Cults: Arabia 428 f. Baitokaike 431 Edessa 428

Etymology: 428

Identified with Hermes 428

Mopsion (?) in Pelasgiotis

Cult: Zeus *Περφερέτας* or *Φερφερέτας* 496₀

Mopsos

Myths: contest with Kalchas 489₀₍₄₎ fights Amphilochos 489₀₍₄₎ 490₀₍₀₎ 1130₁ founds Mallos in Kilikia 489₀₍₄₎

Morges 934₀

Morsynos 260₀

Morychos 1093₀

Mosa See Mousa

Moses 889₀₍₀₎ 972₁

Mossynoikoi tattooed 123₀

Mostene

Cults: Demeter (?) 564 Hermes *ψυχοπομπός* (?) 563 f. youthful hero on horseback bearing double axe, with cypress-tree before him, sometimes radiate, or flanked by sun and moon, or escorted by Hermes 563 f.
 — coins of 563 f. 657₅

Mot

Genealogy: child of Acr and Chaos 1038 parent of Zophasemin 1038

Etymology: 1023 1038

Mother of the gods

Cults: Athens 985₀ Dorylaeion 281 Hierapolis in Phrygia 306₁ Pessinous 310 f. 310₂ Phrygia 697 970₀
Epithets: *Διὸς σύνδωκος* 298₂ *μεγάλη* 298₂ *παρθένος ἀμήτωρ* 298₂ *Πεσσυνουρίς* 970₀ *Ἐρηβή* 697
Festivals: *arbor intrat* 303₂ Hilaria 306₁
Priests: *ἀρχιερεῖς* 311₃ Attis and Baktakes 310 f. *ιερεῖς* 311₃

- Mother of the gods (cont.)**
Worshippers: Ἄραβοκαοί 310₂
Myth: instructs Idaean Daktyloi in iron-working 949₅
Genealogy: m. and w. of Zeus 298₂
Identified with Agdistis 970₀ Rhea 970₀
 — mysteries of 310₂
 See also Mater, Mater deum, Meter, Meter Theon
- Motos (?)**
Genealogy: child of Aer and Aura 1036 1038
- Mounychia**
Cults: Artemis 115 Bendis 115
- Mousa**
Cult: Thespiai 238₀
 See also Muses
- Mouth**
Cult: Egypt 1038
Etymology: 1038
- Muhammed** 793₄
- Mukasa** 450₁
- Muses**
Cults: Arkesine 1157₀ Kroton 1021 Makedonia 255₃ Megara 1139₀ Mt Pelion (?) 870₀
Genealogy: daughters of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος by Mnemosyne 1157₀
Type: Lysippe 1139₀
Associated with Zeus 898₅
 See also Mousa
- Myiacoires**
Cult: Elis 783
- Myiagros**
Cult: Aliphera 782
Myth: Hercules 783
- Myiagrus** See Myiagros
- Myiodes**
Cult: Olympia 783
- Mykale** See Panionion
- Mykenai**
Cults: Hera 515 Kybele (?) 1221 Rhea (?) 515 525 1221
Rite: cannibalism 1021
 — gold *bucrania* from 538 652 654 gold rings from 47 ff. 49₁ 652 head from 123₀
- Mykonos**
Cults: Acheloius 1092₂ Apollon Ἐκατόμβαιος 1092₂ Zeus Βουλεύς 258₃ 1105
- Mylanteioi Theoi** 260₀
- Mylasa**
Cults: Hera 592 Kouretes 586 f. Tyche Ἀγαθή 879₀₍₁₇₎ Zenoposeidon (Zanopoteidan) 578₄₍₁₁₎ 582 663 846 963₇ Zeus 574 1220 Zeus Ἀρσηλῆς (?) 559₆ Zeus Κάριος 577 Zeus Κρηταγενής 586 f. Zeus Λαβράνδος 663 848 963₇ 1220 (See also Labranda *Cults*) Zeus Ὀσογῶα 576 ff. 578₄₍₃₎ 579₀₍₈₎ (10–12) (14–16) (1–5) 580₀₍₇₎ 663 846 963₇ 1220 Zeus Ὀσογῶα Ζηνοποσειδῶν (Ζανποσειδῶν) 578₄₍₂₎ (4) Zeus Ὀσογῶα Zeus Ζηνοποσειδῶν
- Mylasa (cont.)**
 578₄₍₃₎ (5–7) 579₀₍₉₎ Zeus Ὀσογῶα Σωτήρ καὶ Εὐεργέτης τῆς πόλεως 579₀₍₁₃₎ (?) Zeus Ὀσογῶος (?) or Ὀσογῶου (?) 579₀₍₁₁₎ (1) Zeus Ὀσωρονδέων 579₀₍₂₎ 580 f. 580₁₀₍₁₁₎ 581₀₍₅₎ (1–5) Zeus Στράτιος (Στρατεῖος) 591₂ 963₇ (See also Labranda *Cults*) Zeus Ὀψιστος 879₀₍₁₇₎ 963₇
Festival: Taurophonía 582
Priests: dedicate temple-columns 580 νεωκόρος 582
Myth: sea-water appears inland 581 — as Carian place-name 958₀ coins of 572 ff. 577 f. 592₄ 597₃ 1220 head of Zeus from 597 f. relief at 592 stepped tomb at 1146₀₍₆₎
- Mylasos** 715 720₄
- Mylitta** 960₀
- Myndos**
Cult: Zeus Ἀκραῖος 872₀₍₆₎ 963₄
- Myra**
Cult: Artemis Ἐλευθέρα (?) 681₁
Rite: tree threatened 680 ff.
Myth: Myrrha (?) 681 f.
 — coin of 680 f.
- Myrice**, m. of Milichus 1110₀
- Myrike**, d. of Kinyras 681₁
- Myrmidones**
Cult: Zeus Ἐλλάδιος 894₃
- Myron** 742 1078
- Myrrha**
Myth: Kinyras 680
- Myrrhinous**
Cults: Apollon 730₀ Demeter 730₀ Zeus 730₀
- Mysia**
Cults: Phanakes 1025 Zeus Κάριος 577
- Mystis** 346₀
- Mytilene**
Cults: Apollon Μαλόεις 488₀₍₂₎ Asklepios 259₀ 1079 Dionysos 1022 Dionysos Ἐβδομεύς 238₀ Theoi Akraioi (?) 873₀₍₁₀₎ Theos Κεράνιος "Ὀψιστος 807₃₍₃₎ 882₀₍₂₂₎ Theos Ὀψιστος 882₀₍₂₂₎ Zeus 882₀₍₂₂₎ Zeus Ἀκραῖος 922₃ Zeus Βουλαῖος 259₀ 873₀₍₁₀₎ (?) Zeus Ἐλευθέριος Φιλόπατρος (= Theophanes) 97₀
Rite: human sacrifice 1022
 — coins of 259₀ 1079 votive ladders at 130
- Naassene hymns** 294 ff.
- Nabu**, statue of, at Calah 1089
- Naiades** See Nymphs: Naiades
- Naiisos**
Cults: Iupiter *Optimus Maximus Pater-nus Aepilofius* 948₄ Zeus Ἐπιλόφιος 875₀ Zeus Πατρόφος Ἐπιλόφιος (?) 948₄
- Nakoleia**
Cults: Theos Ὀψιστος 882₀₍₂₂₎ 969₁ Zeus Ἀβοζήρνος 570 Zeus Βροντῶν 835₄ Zeus Βροντῶν καὶ Πατῆρ Θεός

Nakoleia (*cont.*)

836₂ Zeus Βροντῶν Νευήτωρ Πατήρ
836₃ Zeus Πάπας or Παπᾶς 292₄

Nana, d. of Sangarios 969₄

Nandi 791₂

Nanna, w. of Baldr 305₀

Napoca

Cult: Jupiter *O*(*ptimus*) *M*(*aximus*)
Tavianus 754₁

Narce in the Faliscan district, celt from
509

Narona

Cult: Aesculapius 1086

Násatia 313

Nástrand 305₀

Nauplia

Cult: Zeus Κραταιβάτης 32 1211

Nauplios 691

Naxos

Cults: Dionysos Βακχεύς 1093₀ Dio-
nyos Μελίχιος 1092₀ 1093₀ Dio-
nyos Μουσαγέτης 250 Zeus Μηλώ-
σιος 918₁

Festival: Megala Dionysia 250₁

Neapolis in Campania

Cults: Apollon 486₅ Virbius 421

— coins of 486₅

Neapolis in Karia

Cult: Zeus 260₀

— coin of 260₀

Neapolis in Samaria

Cults: Artemis' Ἐφεσία 408₀ f. Asklepios
1080

— coins of 408₀ f. 887₀(31) 1080

Neapolis in Skythia (?) 925₀

Neaule (= Nea Aule)

Cult: Zeus Σαονάξιος (= Σαβάξιος) Νε-
αυλείτης 285₀

Nebrod See Nimrod

Neda, the nymph 890₅

Nefer-Tem

Cult: Memphis 774₀

Function: rising sun 774₀

Attribute: lotos 773₀ 774₀

Type: with lotos-flower on head 774₀

Nehemäuit 409₀

Neilos

Epithet: πολύγονος 1023

Identified with Eridanus the constel-
lation 1025 Okeanos 1025

— as seed of Osiris 482₀

Nekhen, spirits of 126

Neleus, b. of Pelias 317

Neleus, s. of Kodros

Myth: Miletos 405 ff.

Nemausus, ham-shaped coins from foun-
tain at 1141₀

Nemea

Etymology: 892₄

Nemea, the festival 490₀(5) 1226

Nemeseis

Cults: Alexandria 889₀(33) Smyrna
524 864₀

Type: drawn by griffins 524 two draped
females touching bosom of dress

Nemeseis (*cont.*)

with right hand and holding short
rod in left 863₁ 864₀

Nemesis

Cults: Alexandria 864₀ Daphne, near
Antiocheia on the Orontes 1191₅
Sinope 363

Epithets: *multiformis* 695₀ ὑπέρδικος
464

Metamorphosed into goose 1015 1131₁

Genealogy: m. of Helene by Zeus
1131₁

Function: *stádion* 1191₅

Attributes: crown with stags 146 grif-
fin 146₇ knife 863₁ scales 860 f. 863₁

stag 146₇ wheel 863₁ 1095₀

Types: trampling on Hybris 863₁ under
arch 363

Identified with Semiramis 695₀

Assimilated to Kairos 863₁

Compared with Spes, Amor, Furor,
Occasio, Fortuna, Fata 862₁₀

Nemi

Cults: Diana 393 399 f. 403₁ Diana
Nemorensis 149 417 ff. 842 f. Virbius
392 ff.

Rite: rule of succession to office of
king-priest 394 f.

Priest: *rex Nemorensis* 394 f. 399 f.
Ξιφήρης 680₃

— Diana's tree at 417 ff.

Nemroud Dagh

Cults: Tyche Νέα 1136₄ Zeus 'Ωρο-
μάσδης 930₀

Neo-Platonists 41 f. 256 f. 557₁

Neoptolemos

Myth: Delphoi 170₂

Neo-Pythagoreans 1032 f.

Neptunus

Cult: Allmendingen 619

Associated with Vires 306₄

— on column of Mayence 96 99

Nereus

Attribute: trident 788₀

Nero

Cult: Alexandria 1128₀

Epithets: 'Απόλλων 98₀ 'Απόλλων Κρι-
στης 98₀ 'Ιρακλής 98₀ νέος 'Αγαθός
Δαίμων 98₀ 1128₀ νέος 'Ηλιος 98₀
δ' 'Αγαθός Δαίμων τῆς οἰκουμένης 98₀
1128₀

Personates Agathos Daimon 98₀ 1128₀

Apollon 98₀ 254 1128₀ Dionysos 96₃

97₀ 254 1128₀ Zeus 97₀ 1194

— contorniate medal of 1128₀

Nerthus 82

Nerva

Personates Zeus 1194

Nestor 1203₃

Netteia

Cults: Zeus 'Αταβύριος 925₀ (Zeus)
[Ικέ]σιος (?) 1096₀

New Year's Day, pagan rites of, denounced
by Christians 374₂

Nida See Ide, Mt, in Crete

- Nikaia in Bithynia
Cults: Pan 349 Zeus Ἄσ(σ)τραπαῖος 815₅ Zeus Αἰταῖος 1099₂ 1100₀ Zeus Μῆλιος 918₁
 — coins of 349 918₁ 1099₂
- Nike
Cults: Heleia 931₀ Olympia 1100₁ Philadelphieia in Lydia 1229
Attributes: palm 866 wreath 866 1082
Types: bearing wreath 964₂ fastening helmet to trophy 110₆ flying with fillet 197₁ hovering 261 multiplied for decorative purposes 309 on globe 860₃ 964₂ on ship's prow 254₁ Paionios 86 Pheidias 758 849 wreathing city's title 1193₁
Associated with Zeus 853 1100₁
In relation to Zeus 982₀
 — of gold 1190
- Nikolaos, St
Cult: Palaikastro 931₀
Function: sea-faring 997
- Nikomedeia
Cult: Glykon 1084
 — coins of 1084
- Nikopolis in Moesia
Cults: Souras (?) 818₂₍₂₎ 822₁₂ Zeus Κεραύνιος 808₀₍₉₎
- Nile See Nilos, Nilus
- Nilus, the constellation 481
- Nimrod (Nebrod)
Myth: Zoroastres 33 f.
Identified with Orion and the planet Kronos 693₁ 694₀
- Nineui (Nineveh) 693₁
- Ninos
Genealogy: h. of Semiramis Rhea 693₄ 694₀
Identified with Pikos who is also Zeus 695₀
- Niobids 475 475₇
- Nisaia, port of Megara
Cult: Demeter Μαλοφόρος 488₀₍₃₎
- Nisyros
Cults: Aphrodite 1157₃ Dionysos 1157₃ Hermes 1157₃ Zeus Μιλίχιος 1157₃
Worshippers: Ἀφροδισιασταὶ Σύροι 1157₃ Διονυσιασταὶ Εὐρυθεμίδιοι 1157₃ Διοσμυλιχιασταὶ 1157 1157₃ Ἐρμαῖζοντες 1157₃
Myth: Poseidon 713
- Noah, axe of 609 f.
- Nomos
Associated with Zeus 1029
- Norba in Latium, celt from 509
- Norba in Lusitania
Cult: Labaro (?) 609₃
- Noricum
Cult: Anigemius 338₃ Ianus Geminus 324
- Norsemen 57₁
- Notion 958₀
- Notos
Type: horse 830₇
 — in Phoenician cosmogony 1037 f.
- Nox 74
- Nuada *Argat-lám* 224₁ 450₀
- Numa Pompilius 23₂
- Numina Angustorum
Cult: Borcovicium 51₁
- Nuserat in Mysia
Cult: (Dionysos) Βρόμιος 882_{0(w)}
- Nut 1035
- Nykteus
Genealogy: f. of Antiope 1013 f. of Kallisto 228₃
- Nymphs
Cults: Athens 1118 Gortyna 723₀ 731₀ Hierapytna 723₀ Lyttos 723₀ Priansos 723₀ Sybrita 731₀
Associated with Acheloius 1118 Vires 306₄
 — Dodonides: Polyhymno 1022 Dryades 276 683 f. Epimelides 31₁ Forrinae 808₀₍₁₇₎ Geraistian 183 f. Hamadryades 486 Heliades 42 485 (?) Hesperides 134₁ 1017 1021 1030 Hyades 274 f. Ithome and Neda 890₀ Meliai 447₃ 933₀ Naiades 124₁ 394₃ 933₀ Naiades: Amaltheia 932₁ Nysai 272 f. Okeanides 473₃ Phryxonides 928₀ Querquetulanae Virae 402₀ Sithnides 897₁ 1117₇ Sphragitides 899₀ Thourides 255₃ Tritonides 898₀ as nurses of Dionysos 1030 as nurses of Zagreus 1030 transform two maidens into fir-trees 486
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- Nysa, Mt 449₀ cp. 272
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- Nysai 272 f.
- Nysaia 273
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- Nysus
Myth: rears Liber 1031
- Nyx
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Epithet: μελανόπτερος 1020 1050
Myths: consulted by Zeus 448₁ 1027 1029 cosmic egg 1039 1050 Delphoi 238₁ Kronos 448₁
Genealogy: d. and w. of Phanes 1026 m. by Erebos of Aither, Eros, Metis 315₄ m. of Eros 1020 m. of Eros by Aither 1051 m. of Eros by Erebos (?) 1050 f. m. of Furies 825 m. by Phanes of Ge or Gaia and Ouranos, Rhea and Kronos, Hera and Zeus 1026
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 Oche, Mt
Cult: Zeus superseded by St Elias 902₁
Myth: union of Zeus with Hera 902₁
- Ocerisia
Etymology: 1156₅
- Octavianus See Augustus
- Odessos in Thrace
Cult: Theos Megas 1126₀
 — coins of 1126₀
- Odhin
Myths: fights the fire-demon Surtr 305₀ hangs on the tree as a sacrifice to Odhin 305₀ overcome by Fenrir 305₀ rides down to Mimir's well 305₀ rides through the hall of serpents on Nastrand 305₀
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Attribute: broad hat 386
Type: one-eyed 682
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Cult: Dionysos 269₁ 661 f. (?)
 — coin of 661 f.
- Odyseus
Myths: axes as marriage-test 690 Kyklops 990 997 offers meal to dead 18₀ prays Zeus for omen 8 Telegonos 676 923₀ Telephos 1184₃ tree-bed 690
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- Oea in Tripolitana 360₂
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- Ogygos 824₀
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 — grave of 1154
- Oineus 1137₂
- Oinoanda
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- Oinomaos, house of, at Olympia 706 808₀₍₁₅₎ sacrifice of 706
- Oistros (?) 1041
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- Olaf, St 135
- Olbia
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- Olbia, m. of Astakos 665₃
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- Olen 455
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Cult: Zeus 933₀
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 — oath of 730₀ treaty of 934₀
- Olymos
Cults: Apollon 586₂ Artemis 586₂
- Olympe, coins of 161 ff. 499
- Olympia
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Olympia (*cont.*)

- Rites*: altar of Zeus made of ashes from thighs of victims 955₀ at first no victor received wreath 466 bull sacrificed to Myiodes 783 oath on cut pieces of boar 726 f. ox sacrificed to flies 782 victor receives wreath of wild-olive 467
- Priests*: μάντεις 466₀ ξυλεύς of Zeus 471
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- Olympia, the festival at Daphne, near Antiocheia on the Orontes 1191 f.
- Olympia, the festival at Olympia 490₀₍₆₎
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- Olympieion at Athens 1118 ff. 1135 1229 f.
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- Olympion at Agrigentum 911₀ ff.
- Olympos, Mt, in Arkadia 761
- Olympos, Mt, in Elis
Cult: Zeus (?) 758 891₁
- Olympos, Mt, in Kilikia 980₂
- Olympos; Mt, in Kypros 980₄
- Olympos, Mt, in Lykia, fire springing from ground on 972₁
- Olympos, Mt, in Makedonia 904₆ 905₀ 906₀ 1227
Cults: St Elias 906₀ Zeus 904₆ 1227 cp. 760
Epithet: μακρός 1026
Myths: heaven and earth once met on its summit 905₀ Otos and Ephialtes 129 stars come down at night upon it 905₀ 1211 Zeus binds golden rope to it 1211
— gods on summit of 853 remains of altar on 1227
- Olympos, Mt, in Mysia
Cult: Zeus 'Ολύμπιος 953₂
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- Olympos, town in Lykia
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- Olympus (?), s. of Iupiter by the nymph Chalcea 973₁
- Omichle
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- Omphale
Myth: Herakles 559 560₈
- Omphalian Plain 190
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- Onatas 947₀
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- Onnes 569₂
- Onomakritos 1229
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- Ophiouchos See Ophiuchus
- Ophis, king of Salamis 1087
- Ophites 307₂ 558₀ 653
— double axe in diagram of 610 f.
- Ophiuchus 241₄ 1087
- Ophrynon
Myth: Hektor's bones 961₀
— Xenophon at 1107 1157
- Opis (fem.) 452 501 1226
- Opis (masc.) 452 f.
- Orchia (?) in Lakonike
Cult: Apollon 'Ορχιεύς 439
- Orchomenos in Arkadia, coins of 228₅
- Orchomenos in Boiotia
Cults: Asklepios 1085 Charites 238₀ 1150₁₀ Dionysos 899₁ Hera Τελεία 1150 Hermes 1150₀ Minyas 1150₀ Zeus Καραύς 873₂ 898₄ Zeus Μείλιχος 1149 Zeus Σωτήρ 1151 Zeus Τέλειος 1150
Festival: Agrionia 164₀ 924₀
Rite: burial within the house 1060
Myth: Minyas 1150
- Orchomenos, eponym of Orchomenos in Boiotia
Genealogy: f. of Minyas 1150₅ s. of Eteokles and b. of Minyas 1150₅ s. of Minyas 1150₅
- Orchomenos, s. of Zeus by Hesione or Hermippe 1149 f.
- Ordion 1015
- Oreithya
Myth: Boreas 380
Genealogy: d. of Erechtheus 444 m. of Zetes and Kalais by Boreas 444
- Oresteia near Megalopolis 1178 in Skythia 1178 f.
- Orestes
Epithet: ξιφήρης (?) 680₃
Myths: Apollon 206₂ 1042 (?) Artemis 680 Athena 1098₄ Delphoi 206₂ exile in Oresteia near Megalopolis 1178 Kolchoi 421₃ pursued by Furies 206₂ Rhegion 680 848 Telephos 1179₀ 1183
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Etymology: 453 1179
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- Orestia, a division of Megalopolis 1178
- Orgas, river-god 408₀
- Orikos, coins of 161 ff. 499
- Orion
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Identified with Nebrod (Nimrod) and the planet Kronos 693₄ 694₀
- Orion, the constellation 430 483₂ called Σκεπαρνέα 547₀

- Ornelle
Cult: Zeus Κτήσιος 1067
 — astragalomantic inscription from 807₅₍₅₎ 1067
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Myth: Kyparissos 981,
 — formerly called Drakon 1187
- Oropos
Cults: Amphiaraios 1070 ff. Apollon (?) 1071 Hygieia 1072 Pan 1072 Zeus Ἀμφιάραος 232 1061 1070 ff.
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- Orpheus
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Types: death 121₃ head 290₀ in Christian art 1208 Polygnotos 122₀ with Eurydike and Hermes 211₂
- Orphic Dionysos See Dionysos
- Orphic Eros See Eros
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- Orphic Zeus See Zeus
- Orphists 117 ff. 131 ff.
Cults: Anemoi 141, 827 Brontai 141₁ 827 Kosmos 141, 827
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Myth: Zagreus 838
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 — gold tablets of 118 ff. numerical speculation of 236₅ soul-path of 114 117 ff. theogonies of, shown in conspectus 1033 f.
- Orthosia, coins of 572 572₂
- Ortygia near Ephesos
Myth: birth of Artemis 962₂
- Ortygios, s. of Kleinis 463₁
- Oscan road-makers' tablet 1158
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- Osiris
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Rite: effigy buried in pine-tree 303₂
Myths: attacked by Titans 1030 cut up by Typhon 1030 head floats to Byblos 290₀ ladder of Râ 126 wooden phallós 224₁
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- Osiris (cont.)
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- Ossa the messenger of Zeus 904₃
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- Ostanes 699₇
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- Otorkondeis 581
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- Ouiaros, Mt See Viarus, Mt
- Oulomos
Genealogy: f. of Chousoros 1037 f. s. of Aither and Aer 1037 f.
Etymology: 1037
- Oupis = Opis (fem.) 452₁₁
- Ourania, the Carthaginian goddess
Cult: Epidauros 487₃₍₁₎
- Ouranos 889₀₍₆₎
- Ouranos
Epithets: ἀστυάριος 1023 μέγας 1023
Myths: flings his sons into Tartaros 1023 mutilated by Kronos 447₈ Titans 1023
Genealogy: b. of Zeus 940₀ f. of Aphrodite 1029 f. of Eros by Ge 315₄ f. by Ge of Klotho, Lachesis, Atropos, the Hekatoncheires Kottos, Gyges, Briareos, and the Kyklopes Brontes, Steropes, Arges 1023 f. of Kabeiroi 954₀ f. of Kronos 447₈ f. of Okeanos and Tethys by Ge 1020 f. of Titans by Ge 1023 h. of Gaia 447₃ s. of Phanes by Nyx 1026
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 — sceptre of 1026
- Ousoös 981₁ (?)
- Ouxentou
Cults: Ianus (?) 386₁ Janiform Athena (?) 386₁ Janiform Roma (?) 386₁
 — coins of 386
- Oxylos 486
- Oxyrhynchite nome
Cult: Athena 625
- Padus 476
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- Pagai, port of Megara
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 Demeter (?) 488₀₍₃₎
 — coin of 488₀₍₃₎

- Pagasai**
Cults: Dionysos Πέλεκυς (not Πελεκῆς or Πελεκῆνος, nor Πελάγιος) 660
 Epidotai 321₁
- Pagasos** the Hyperborean 169
- Paiones**
Cults: Dionysos Αἰαλός (?) and Δύαλος 270
- Paionia**
Cults: Artemis Βασίλεια 500 Bendis 500f. Dionysos Δύαλος 250₄
- Paionios** 86
- Palaia Gargaros** 951₀ f.
- Palaikastró**
Cult: St Nikolaos 931₀
 — excavations at 930₀ 931₀ 932₀
 hymn to Zeus Δικταῖος from 931₀
 932₀ *lárnaξ* of painted earthenware from 524 529 845 stone moulds from 623 ff. 654
- Palaimon** 490₀₍₅₎
- Palaistinos**, s. of Malkandros 986₀
- Palamedes** 691 902₀
- Palaxos** or Spalaxos, the Koures 587
- Palazzola** (Palazzuolo) 1146₀
- Pales** (masc.)
Function: one of the Penates 1059
- Palestine**
Rite: burial within the house 1059
- Palicus**
Metamorphosed into eagle 909₀
Genealogy: s. of Volcanus by Aetna 909₀
- Palikoi**
Cult: Sicily 909₀
Rite: human sacrifice 909₀
Myth: 909₀
Genealogy: sons of Adranos (the Syrian Hadran) 910₀ sons of Hephaistos 910₀ sons of Zeus by Aitne 909₀ sons of Zeus by Thaleia, d. of Hephaistos 909₀
Functions: *nautici dei* 909₀ volcanic springs 909₀
Etymology: 909₀
 See also Palicus
- Palladion** 963₀ 1044
- Palmyra**
Cults: Iaribolos 885₀₍₂₉₎ Theos Μέγας Σαλλοντος (? J. H. Mordtmann cj. 'Αμμουδάτω: see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 290) 'Ενεούαρης (?) 885₀₍₂₉₎ Zeus Μέγιστος Κεραίνιος 807₅₍₁₎ Zeus Μέγιστος "Υψιστος 983₂ Zeus "Υψιστος 885₀₍₂₉₎ 983₂ Zeus "Υψιστος καὶ 'Επήκοος 885₀₍₂₉₎ 886₀₍₁₎ 983₂ Zeus "Υψιστος Μέγιστος 'Επήκοος 885₀₍₂₉₎ 983₂
- Palodes** 348
- Pan**
Cults: Aule 249₂ Mt Kithairon 899₀ Megara 1117₇ Nikaia in Bithynia 349 Pelousion 986₀
Epithets: Μέγας 347 ὀρειβάτης 869₀ death of Pan 347 ff.
- Pan** (*cont.*)
Genealogy: s. of Hermes by Penelope 691
Types: androgynous with golden wings and heads of bulls and snake 1022 f. double bust (boy-Pan with girl-Pan) 392 double bust (with Maenad) 392 goat-footed 270₃ with goat's legs and horns 124₂ horned 1117₇ playing lyre 157₀
Identified with Attis 296 Phanes 1051 Protopogon 1023 1039 Zeus 349 1023 1024 1039
Associated with Amphiaraios and Hygieia 1072 Harpokrates 986₀
In relation to Erinys 1102₇
Supersedes Zan (?) 347 ff.
 — cave of, at Aule in Arkadia 249₂
- Panakra** 933₀
- Panamara**
Cults: Asklepios 1066 Hekate Σώτειρα 879₀₍₁₇₎ Tyche 1066 Tyche of Antoninus Pius 879₀₍₁₇₎ Zeus Καπετώλιος 879₀₍₁₇₎ Zeus Κτήσιος 1066 Zeus Πανάμαρος 587 963₈ Zeus Πανήμερος 963₈ Zeus Πανήμερος 963₈ Zeus "Υψιστος 879₀₍₁₇₎ Zeus "Υψιστος 963₈
- Panamoros**, the Koures 587
- Panathenaia** 1121₀ 1135 ff.
- Pandion**
Genealogy: f. of Teuthras 1151
- Pangaion**, Mt
Myth: Orpheus taught by Kalliope 1024
 — oaks on 411₆
- Panhellena** 1119₄ See also Megala Panhellena
- Panionion**
Cults: Hera 259₀ Zeus Βουλαῖος 259₀
- Pannonia**
Cult: Iupiter *Optimus Maximus Heros* 823₁₍₂₎
 — coin of 323₂ (?)
- Panope** in Phokis 1132₆
- Panormos** near Kyzikos
Cults: Apollon 882₀₍₁₀₎ Artemis 881₀₍₂₁₎ Dionysos (?) 882₀₍₁₀₎ Hekate (?) 882₀₍₁₀₎ Persephone (?) 881₀₍₂₁₎ Zeus "Υψιστος 881₀₍₂₁₎ 882₀₍₁₀₎
- Pantikapaion**
Cult: Angistis (= Agdistis) 970₀
Etymology: 1025
 — leaden *bucrania* and double axes (?) from 540
- Pantikapes**, river in Sarmatia 1025
- Pantokrator**, Mt
Cult: Zeus (?) 907₀
- Papaïos**
Cult: Skythia 889₀₍₁₀₎
 See also Zeus *Epithets* Παπαῖος, Πάπας or Παπᾶς, Παπᾶς, Παπᾶως
- Papanios**, a Scythian river 293₀
- Papas**
Cult: Phrygia 292 ff. 313 836

- Papas (cont.)**
Identified with Zeus Βροντῶν 836 883₀₍₁₀₎
In relation to Attis 317 *Kybele* 842
 See also Zeus *Epithets Παπαῖος, Πάπας*
 or Παπᾶς, Παπίας, Παπῶος
- Paphlagonia**
Cults: Augustus 729₀ Ge 729₀ Helios
 729₀ Zeus 729₀
- Paphos**
Cult: Aphrodite 783₃ 944₀
Myth: Kinyras 944₀
- Pappas** 296₄
 See also **Papas**
- Papylos** 1101₃
- Paramythia**, bronze statuettes from 503₀
 746₂ 752 f.
- Parašu-rāma** 660₁
- Paris**
Myths: judgment 262 266 Mt Gargaron
 (Gargara) 950₀
In relation to Hektor 447₅
Parmenides 120₂ 315₁ 316₀ 432
 — journey of 42 f. 43₁ 476
- Parnassos, Mt**
Cults: Apollon 257 453 **Dionysos** 257
 Zeus *Λυκῶρειος* 901₂ 902₀ Zeus
 Φύξιος 902₀
Myths: Deukalion 902₀ Semnai 19₀
 — view from summit of 901₂
- Parnes, Mt**
Cults: Zeus 'Απήμιος 897₆ 898₀ Zeus
 Ὀμβριος 897₆ 898₀ Zeus *Παρνήθιος*
 897₆ Zeus *Σημαλέος* 4 897₆
 — Harma on 831₀
- Paros**
Cults: Aphrodite 875₁₍₅₎ Athena *Κυβ-
 θία* 922₀ cp. 1227 Baubo 131 **Demeter**
 Θεσμοφόρος 131 St Elias 875₁₍₅₎
 Hera 131 *Histic Δημήτη* 875₁₍₅₎ Kore
 131 Zeus *Εύβουλεύς* 131 259₀ Zeus
 Καταβάτης 19 f. (Zeus) Ἵππαρος
 875₁₍₅₎ 918₂
Rite: uninitiated persons and women
 may not enter precinct of Zeus
 Ἵππαρος 875₁₍₅₎
 — Delion at 1227 rock-carvings at
 1117₇
- Parthenon**, east frieze of 1135 ff. east
 pediment of 261 710₁ 753 f. metope
 from north side of 1044
- Parthenopaios**
Myth: swears by his spear 13₁ 547₂
- Parthenos** = Virgo, the constellation 399₁
- Parthenos**, d. of Staphylos
Myths: Boubastos 671 Kastabos 670
- Pas (Pa?)** as equivalent of Πατήρ, *Pater*
 293₄
- Pasargadaī** 974₁ 1145_{1(c)}
- Pasianax** (= Hades) 1113₀₍₂₎
- Pasikrateia** See *Kore Epithets Πασι-
 κράτεια*
- Pasiphae (Pasiphaa)**
Cult: Thalamei 31
Genealogy: d. of Helios 947₀
- Pasiteltes** 1101₃ (?)
- Passaron**
Cult: Zeus Ἄπειρος 706
- Passienus Crispus** 403₁
- Patara**
Cults: Apollon 210 921₀ Zeus 921₀
 — coin of 186 *omphalos* at 167 votive
 lions at 921₀
- Patrai**
Cult: *Iupiter Liberator (Nero)* 1214
 — coins of 1214
- Paul, St**
Types: 'Dioseuric' 606 1209₂ on cha-
 lice of Antioch 1202₀ on gilded
 glass 1207
Associated with St Peter 606 1207 1209₂
 — alludes to Sandas (?) 571₂ is taken
 for *Hermes* 1096₄
- Pautalia**
Cult: Zeus 743₇
 — coins of 743₇ 821
- Pax**
Attributes: *caduceus* 98 olive-branch 98
Identified with Virgo 734₂
 — on column of Mayence 96 98
- Paxoi** 347
- Pe**, spirits of 126
- Pedasa** 958₀
- Pegasos**, the horse
Myths: Bellerophon (Bellerophontes)
 721₂ 1018 birth from neck of Me-
 dousa 716 ff. flight upward to Zeus
 716 718
Genealogy: b. of Chrysaor 317 716 ff.
 1018
Functions: bearer of thunder and
 lightning for Zeus 716 721 828 830-
 1017 rain 721₅ thundercloud (?) 721₆
Types: winged horse 1040 winged
 horse approaching constellation
 1017₄ winged horse with Eros
 emerging from its head 1040 wing-
 less horse 717₂
- Pegasus**, the constellation 1017₄ 1018₀
- Peion**, Mt 962₂
- Peiraieus**
Cults: Agathe Tyche 1104 f. Apollon
 487₃₍₁₎ Asklepios 487₃₍₁₎ 1105
 1107₅ (?) 1107₆ (?) 1173 *Hermes*
 487₃₍₁₎ *Maleates* 487₃₍₁₎ Zeus *Κρή-
 σιος* 1065 f. Zeus *Λαβράωνδος* 585₃
 Zeus *Μειλιχίος* 1104 ff. 1117 1142
 1173 ff. Zeus *Φίλιος* 1104 1173 ff.
- Peirene** 1018
- Peisistratidai** 1229 f.
- Peitho**
Associated with Aphrodite 261 1044
 (fig. 893)
- Pelagones** 588₀
- Pelargus** or **Pelargus**
Myth: 1096₄
- Pelasgians**
Cult: Zeus Ἐρεχθεύς (?) 793₈
Etymology: 588₀
 — at Dotion 683 at Knidos 683 in
 Thessaly 683 681₂

- Pelagos**
Myth: buried at Argos 114₂
Genealogy: f. of Lykaon 109₆₄
- Pelagus** See Pelargus
- Peleg** 588₀
- Pelegon**, s. of Axios 588₀
- Pelethronion** 1087
- Peleus**
Myths: fights Calydonian boar 799
 teaches Achilles to use double spear
 799 Thetis tests his sons in caldron
 of apotheosis 212
- Pelias**
Myth: caldron of apotheosis 211
Genealogy: b. of Neleus 317
- Pelinnaion**, Mt
Cult: Zeus Πεlinnaίος 922₄
- Pelion**, Mt 869₂ 869₃ 1226
Cults: Cheiron 869₂ 871₀ Muses (?)
 870₀ Zeus Ἀκραίος 869₃₍₁₎ (on p.
 871) 904₂ Zeus Ἀκραίος 869₂ 870₀
 904₂
Rite: procession of men clad in fleeces
 to sanctuary of Zeus Ἀκραίος 870₀
Myths: Asklepios 1087 Otos and Ephialtes
 129
 — remains on summit of 870₀ 871₀
- Pella** in Makedonia
Cult: Zeus 1187₄
 — Alexandros of Abonou Teichos at
 1083 coins of 1187₄
- Pelops**
Cult: Olympia 471
Rite: wood of white-poplar used for
 sacrifices at Olympia 471
Personates Zeus (?) 1147
Myths: caldron of apotheosis 211
 ivory shoulder 224 224₁ sceptre of
 Zeus 547₂ 956₂ f. Mt Sipylos 956₂
Genealogy: f. of Atreus 957₀ f. of
 Sikyon 1146 f. of Thyestes 1021 f.
 of Troizen and Pittheus 414₂ s. of
 Tantalos 438 957₀
 — sceptre of 956₂ 1132₄ 1132₆ throne
 of 956₂
- Pelousion**
Cults: Harpokrates 986₀ Kasios 986₀
 987₀ onion 987₀ Pan 986₀ Zeus
 Κάσιος 985₁ ff. Zeus Κάσιος Μέγιστος
 (?) 985₁
Rite: taboo on onions 986₀ f.
Myth: founded by Isis 986₀
 — coins of 986₀
- Pelousios**, eponym of Pelousion
Myth: nurtured by Isis 986₀
Genealogy: s. of Malkandros 986₀
- Penates**
Cults: Italy 1059 Lavinium 1068 Rome
 1181₀
Epithet: *Publici Populi Romani* 1181₀
Rite: meal 19₀
Function: divinised ancestors (?) protecting
 the *penus* 1068
Type: *caducei* of iron and bronze
 together with Trojan pottery 1068
- Penates** (*cont.*)
Identified with Fortuna, Ceres, Genius
 Iovialis, and Pales (masc.) 1059
Compared with Agathos Daimon 1127₀
 Hermes 1068 Zeus Κτήσιος 1068
In relation to Ianus 335
 — rendered by θεοὶ Πατρώοι or Γενέθλιοι
 or Κτήσιοι or Μύχιοι or Ἐρκιοὶ
 (*leg.* Ἐρκείοι) 1068
- Penaios**, f. of Stilbe 684₂
- Penelope** (Penelopeia)
Cult: Mantinea (?) 691 f.
Myths: axes as marriage-test 690 848
 rescued from sea by wild ducks 691
Genealogy: m. of Pan by Hermes 691
Functions: a divinised duck 691 f. 697
 a form of Artemis (?) 691 heroine
 698
Etymology: 691
Identified with Artemis (?) 691 f.
- Penelope** (Penelopeia), a nymph 691₆
- Penteskuphia**, votive *pinakes* from 786
- Penthesileia** 303₂
- Pentheus**
Function: divine king 303₂
Etymology: 303₂
- Penthilos** 303₂
- Pepomene** 1138₅
- Peratai** 558₀
- Perephonia** See Persephone
- Pergamon**
Cults: Aphrodite Παφία 424 Apollon
 729₀ Ares 729₀ 955₀ (Artemis) Ταυροπύλος
 729₀ 955₀ Asklepios 954₀ 956₀
 1077 1079 f. Asklepios Σωτήρ 956₀
 Athena 882₀₍₀₎ 954₀ 955₀ Athena Ἀρεία
 729₀ 955₀ Athena Νικηφόρος 287₂
 955₀ Augustus 1179 1182 Commodus
 1185 Demeter 729₀ 955₀ Dionysos
 954₀ Dionysos Καθηγεμῶν 287₂
 288₀ (?) 1184₁ Gaia 1185 Ge 729₀
 955₀ Geta 1186 Helios 729₀ 955₀
 1185 Hestia Βουλάτα 259₀ Iupiter
Amicalis (= Zeus Φίλιος) 1179 f. Kabeiroi
 953₂ f. Poseidon 729₀ 955₀ Roma
 1179 1182 Selene 1185 Thalassa
 1185 Theos Ἐψιστος (= Zeus?) 882₀₍₀₎
 956₀ Trajan 1179 ff. Zeus 729₀
 882₀₍₀₎ (?) 954₀ ff. Zeus (= Commodus)
 1185 Zeus (= Geta) 1186 Zeus Ἀσκληπιός
 1061 1077 f. Zeus Βάκχος (= Zeus
 Σαβάξιος) 287 287₂ 288₀ 954₀
 1184 Zeus Βουλαίος 259₀ Zeus
 Εὐαγγέλιος 956₀ Zeus Κεραύνιος
 808₀₍₈₎ 956₀ Zeus Κτήσιος 1067 Zeus
 Μέγιστος 956₀ Zeus Μέγιστος Σωτήρ
 956₀ Zeus Ὀλύμπιος 956₀ Zeus
 Σαβάξιος 287₂ 954₀ 1184 (See also
 Zeus Βάκχος) Zeus Σωτήρ 955₀ Zeus
 Τροπαῖος 110₀ 956₀ Zeus Φίλιος
 956₀ 1178 1179 ff.
Festival: Traianeia Deiphileia 1180
Rites: altar of Zeus made of ashes
 from thighs of victims 955₀ sacrifice
 of two-year-old heifer to Athena,

Pergamon (*cont.*)

three-year-old ox to Zeus, to Zeus Βάκχος, and to Asklepios, and feast of bull's flesh 287₂ 954₀

Priest: ιεροφάντης 1067

Myths: birth of Zeus 954₀ Pergamos 1184 Telephos 1179

— aqueducts of 956₀ art of 862 Asklepieion at 1077 coins of 260₀ 424 633₂ 953₃ 955₀ 956₀ 1079 f. 1082 1181 f. 1184 ff. great altar at 399₁ 684 831₁₍₄₎ 953₃ 1179₆ open-air altar of Zeus Φίλιος at 1180 paraphernalia of diviner from 512 riddance of plague at 954₀ temple of Zeus' Δσκληπιός at 1077 Traianum at 1179 ff.

Pergamos, eponym of Pergamon 1184

Perikles

Personates Zeus 816₁

Periklymenos (= Plouton) 1113₀₍₂₎

Periklymenos, f. of Erginos

Metamorphosed into eagle 1134₀

Function: hypostasis of Zeus (?) 1075

Periklymenos, s. of Poseidon 1071

Perillos 924₀

Perinthos

Cults: Zeus Λοφέιτης 874₁ 949₃ Zeus Σάραπης 773₀

— coins of 560₃ 665₃ 773₀

Periphas

Personates Zeus 1121 ff.

Myth: 24₁ 1061 1121 ff.

Metamorphosed into eagle 1122 1131 1134₀

Etymology: 1122 1122₅ 1122₇

— both Attic autochthon and Thesalian king (?) 1123

Periphas, s. or f. of Lapithes 1122 f. 1134

Perkúnas

Cult: Romové 93

Perpetua, St 133 f.

Persephassa See Persephone

Persephatta 132₂

See also Persephone, Phersephone, Proserpina

Persophone

Cults: Eleusis 132₂ Emporion 1040

Panormos near Kyzikos (?) 881₀₍₂₁₎

Sicily 1040 Tarentum 1141₀

Epithets: ελαρινή 295₃ έπανή 893₀ Με-

λυνδία (?) 1113₀₍₃₎ Μελίνια (?) 1113₀₍₃₎

Μελιτώδης 1113₀₍₃₎ Μελιτώνη (?)

1113₀₍₃₎ ξανθή 1164₀

Rites: tree decked as maiden, brought into town, mourned forty nights, and then burnt 303₂ union with Zeus 132₂

Myth: consorts with Zeus 132₂ 1029

Genealogy: d. of Zeus by Rhea or

Demeter 1029 m. by Zeus of Meilinoe (?) or Melinoe (?) 1114₀₍₆₎ m.

by Zeus of the chthonian Dionysos

or Zagreus 1029 m. by Zeus of the

Persephone (*cont.*)

first three Dioskouroi (Tritopatreus, Enbouleus, Dionysos) 1135₄

Functions: chthonian queen 132₂ spring 557₁

Etymology: 295₂

Attributes: corn-wreath 370 pig 1141₀ vervain 395₂

Types: bifrontal 370 head with flowing hair 110₆ rape by Plouton 801

Identified with Axiokersa (?) 314₂

Associated with Zeus καταχθόνιος 893₀

In relation to bees and honey 1142₇

Demeter 501

— marriage with 1164 ff. name of,

taboo 1114₀ plant of (vervain) 395₂

woods of 472

See also Persephatta, Phersephone,

Proserpina

Perses 108

Perseus

Myths: Akrisios 1155 1155₇ Danaë

671 1018 Hyperboreoi 463 f. Ione

1186 f. Medousa 716 ff. 1018 sacri-

fices to Zeus 'Απεσώντιος 892₄ Tar-

sos 570₁ teaches Persians to worship

fire 1187

Genealogy: s. of Danaë 464 s. of Pikos

by Danaë 1187₂ s. of Pikos who is

also Zeus 694₀ s. of Zeus 665₁ s. of

Zeus by Danaë 694₀

Function: solar 1156

Attributes: disks 1155 f. hárpe 721-

1084 kíbisis 718 lobster 665₁ sickle

721; sword 721; winged caduceus 718

winged cap 718 winged sandals 718

Assimilated to Hermes 718

Perseus, the constellation 464 477₈

Persia

Cults: fire 33 ff. Mithras 255 sky 354 Zeus 33

Rite: sacrifice of horses 890₂

Myth: cosmic egg 1036

— kings of, regarded as divine 853

r for l in 588₀

Perun

Attribute: iris 774₄

Pessinous

Cults: Agdistis 970₀ Attis 970₀ Magna

Mater 969₄ Mother of the gods 310 f.

310₂

Myths: Agdistis 969₄ 970₀ Attis 969₄

970₀

— priestly kings at 965₀

Petelia

Cult: Zeus 708 f.

— coins of 708 f.

Peter, St

Attribute: keys 1200₃ 1200₄

Types: 'Dioscuric' 606 1209₂ in Cata-

combs 1200₄ on chalice of Antioch

1200₄ 1202₀ on gilded glass 1207

Associated with St Paul 606 1207 1209₂

Petrachos, Mt

Cult: Zeus 901₁

Petrachos, Mt (*cont.*)

Myth: Kronos receives from Rhea stone instead of Zeus 901₁

Petrus and Marcellinus, Catacomb of 1207
Phaethon

Myths: fall from chariot of Helios 40 43₁ 484 Milky Way 40 43₁ 476 ff. parallel from Pomerania 483 f. sisters turned into larches 402₀

Genealogy: s. of Helios by Klymene 473₃

Type: fall from chariot of Helios 473 478 479

Identified with Phanes 1026 1051

In relation to Milky Way 40 43₁ 483

Phaiakia

Myths: called *Δρεπάρη*, *Δρέπανον*, "*Άρπη*" after the *δρέπανον* of Kronos or Zeus, or after the *δρέπανον* or *Άρπη* of Demeter 448₀, peopled from blood of Ouranos 448₀

Identified with Korkyra 448₀

— river in 481₆

Phaidra

Myth: Theseus and Hippolytos 1043

Phaistos

Cults: Velchanos 946₀ 947₀ Zeus *Φελ-χάριος* 946₀ 947₀

Myth: Idomeneus 947₀

— celt from 509 coins of 491₀₍₆₎ 946₀ 947₀ double axe at 600₃

Phalakrai, a promontory in Euboeia 874₂ (on p. 875)

Phalakron, a mountain near Argos (?) 874₂ (on p. 875) 893₁

Phalakron, a promontory in Korkyra 874₂ (on p. 875) 1226

Phalakron (Phalakra, Phalakrai), the summit of Mt Ide in Phrygia 874₂ (on p. 875)

Phalaris, bull of bronze made for 910₁ 924₀

Phalces, the Corallian 108 f.

Phalces, s. of Temenos 110₄

Phalces, the Trojan 110₄

Phaleron

Cults: Acheloios 183 f. Apollon *Ψύθιος* 183 Artemis *Λοχία* 183 Eileithyia 183 f. Geraistia birth-nymphs 183 f. Hestia 183 f. Kallirhoe (Kalirroe), d. of Acheloios 183 Kephisos 183 f. Leto 183 Rhapsos 183 f.

Phallagogia 1022

Phanakes

Cult: Mysia 1025

Phanes

Cult: Thracο-Phrygians (?) 1025

Epithets: *αὐρόγονος* 1026 *μονογενής* 1026 *πρωτόγονος* 1026 (See also Protogonos)

Myths: sprung from cosmic egg 1023 f. swallowed by Zeus 1027

Genealogy: f. by Nyx of Ge or Gaia and Ouranos, Rhea and Kronos, Hera and Zeus 1026 f. of Zeus 1051 parent and h. of Nyx 1026

Phanes (*cont.*)

Functions: creator 1026 1033 *εφόρος* τῆς ζωογένου *δυνάμεως* 1025 light 1024 1026 light or daylight or sunlight 1025

Etymology: 1025

Attributes: sceptre 1051 thunderbolt 1051

Types: *αἰδοῖαν ἔχων ὀπίσω περὶ τὴν πύγην* 1024 f. androgynous 1026 nude youth standing in oval zodiac with egg-shell above and below him, wings on his shoulders, crescent on his back, heads of lion, goat, ram attached to his body, cloven hoofs, and snake coiled about him, bearing thunderbolt and sceptre 1051

Identified with Antauges 1026 1051 Dionysos 1026 1051 Erikepaïos 1024 1039 Eros 1026 1039 Eubouleus 1026 Helios 1051 Metis (masc.) 1024 1026 1032 1039 Pan 1051 Phaethon 1026 1051 Priapos 1026 Protogonos 1026 1039 1051

Assimilated to Dionysos (?) 1051 Helios 1051 Pan (?) 1051 Zeus 1051

Compared with Christ 1026

In relation to Zeus 1051

— sceptre of 1026

Phanotos 217₂

Phaselis

Cults: Ge 729₀ Helios 729₀ Zeus 729₀

Phata in Lydia

Cult: Theos "Υψίστος 881₀₍₂₀₎

Phaunos

Genealogy: s. of Zeus 694₀ 943₀

Identified with Hermes 694₀ 943₀

Pheidias 475₇ 479₀ 598 737 746₀ 753 757 ff. 760 f. 849 862 f. (?) 916₀ 921₀ 1078 1135 1137₂ 1138₅ 1188 f.

— career of 757₈

Phe-monoe 350₁

Phene

Metamorphosed into vulture 1122 1122₄

Etymology: 1122₅

Pheneos

Cult: Demeter *Κίδαρρα* 1136₄

Festival: *τελετή μελζων* 1136₄

Rite: beating of Underground Folk with rods 1136₄

Pherekydes of Syros 315 f. 344₀ 351 852

Phersephone

Cult: Anazarbos 14₃

Type: horned, four-eyed, two-faced 1029

Identified with Kore 1029

— bridal chamber of 1164₀ 1164₂

See also Persephatta, Persephone, Proserpina

Phigaleia

Cult: Dionysos *Άκρατοφόρος* 244₄

Philadelpheia in Lydia

Cults: Agathos Daimon 1229 Agdistis (Angdistis) 1228 f. Aphrodite 363 Arete 1229 Charites 1229 Eudai-

Philadelphëia in Lydia (*cont.*)

monia 1229 Hestia 960₀ 1229
Hygieia (?) 1229 Ianus 374 Mneme
1229 Nike 1229 Ploutos 1229 Theoi
Σωτήρες 960₀ 1229 Theos "Υψιστος
881₀₍₂₀₎ Tyche 'Αγαθή 1229 Zeus
Εὐμένης (= Eumenes i) 960₀ 1229
Zeus Κορυφαῖος 285₀ 869₁ 957₁
1217 f. Zeus Σωτήρ 1228 f.

Rite: procession of Ianus on *Kalendae
Ianuariae* 374
— coins of 363 869₁

Philai

Cults: Osiris 773₀ Zeus 'Ελευθέριος
(= Augustus) 97₀

Philandros, s. of Apollon 218₀

Philemon

Myth: 1096₄

Philia

Cult: Athens 1163

Genealogy: m. of Zeus 'Επιτέλειος
Φίλιος 1163 1169

Associated with Zeus 'Επιτέλειος Φίλιος
and Tyche 'Αγαθή 1163

Philioi Daimones (Orestes and Pylades)

Cult: Skythia 1179

Philioi Theoi 1177₂

Philip of Macedon

Associated with the twelve gods 1137₁

Philippopolis in Thessaly See Gomphoi

Philippopolis in Thrace, coins of 490₀₍₅₎Philoktetes 903₀

Philomela

Metamorphosed into swallow 693

Philonome 669

Philyra

Genealogy: m. of Aphros and Cheiron
by Kronos 695₀ m. of Cheiron by
Kronos 871₀

Phlegyai

Etymology: 1134

Phlegyas 463₁ 488₀₍₀₎

Phlious

Cults: Asklepios 1090 Zeus Μειλιχίος
1106 f.

Phlox 981₁

Phlyeis

Cults: Apollon Διονυσιοδότης (less prob-
ably Διονυσόδωτος) 251₂ Athena
Τιβρωνή 1066 Demeter 'Ανησιδώρα
1066 Kore Πρωτογόνη 1066 Semnai
1066 Zeus Κτήσιος 1066

Phobos

Cult: Selinous 489₀₍₀₎

Phoenicians

In relation to 'Minoan' culture 662

— sacred pillars of 423 425

See also Phoinike

Phoibe

Cults: Delphoi 500 Sparta 1015₇

Function: earth 500

Type: Gigantomachia 399₁

Associated with Hilarëia 1015₇

In relation to Gaia and Themis 500

Phoibe, one of the Heliades 500₁₁

Phoibos

Cults: Delphoi 839 Kurshumlu in
Phrygia 839 Lykoreia 901₂

Epithets: 'Απόλλων 500 844 Λυκώρειος
or Λυκωρέως 901₂ 902₀

Functions: interpreter of Zeus 500 sky
500

Etymology: 500 500₁₂

In relation to Zeus 500 844 Zeus Βρον-
τῶν 839

Supersedes Helios 500

Phoinike

Cults: Agathos Daimon 1127₀ Ba'al

Milik (Melek, Molok) 1108 bene-

factors of society 1132₀ Esmun

314₀ Kabeiroi 314₀ Kadmilos 314₀

Rešef (Rešup) 630 Theos "Υψιστος

886₀₍₃₀₎ Zeus "Ορειος 868₈

Myth: cosmic egg 1036 ff.

— snake sacred in 1111₁

Phoinike, old name of Tenedos 662

Phoinikous, a name of Mt Olympus in
Lykia 972₁

Phokis

Cults: Athena 731₀ Hera Βασιλεια 731₀

Poseidon 731₀ Zeus Βασιλεύς 731₀

Phol 844₀

Etymology: 110₅

Identified with Apollo (?) 110₅ 844

Balder (?) 110₅ 844 St Paul (?) 110₅

Pholoe, Mt 894₀

Phorkys

Genealogy: s. of Okeanos by Tethys
1020

Phoroneus 168₁ 257₄Phos 981₁Phosphoros 430₄ 430₅ 478₂ (?) 609₁

Proteine, St 1116

Phrixos

Myths: golden ram 890₁ 904₁ received

by Dipsakos 904₁ Zeus Λαφύστιος

904₁ Zeus Φύξιος 902₀

Genealogy: s. of Athamas and f. of

Kytissoros 904₁

— tomb 471

Phrygia

Cults: Agdistis 970₀ Akrisias 1155 f.

Attis 313 Deos (Dios) 278 ff. Kronos

1156 Mother of the gods 970₀

Mother of the gods Τηρείη 697

Papas 292 ff. 313 836 Rhea 970₀

Semele 279 Zeus Βαγαῖος 294₀ (?)

295₂ 569 Zeus Βέννιος or Βεννέως

883₀₍₀₎ 969₃ Zeus Βροντῶν 835 f.

838 f. 852 Zeus Δίος 836 Zeus

Κεραύνιος 807₅₍₅₎ Zeus Ηάπας or

Ηαπᾶς 292₄ Zeus Σαβάξιος 252

Zeus Τετράωτος 322 842

Festivals: arbor intrat 303₂ Ballenaion

270₅

Rite: man bound in sheaf 498₂

Priests: Βενεΐται 883₀₍₀₎

Myth: Lityerses 295₂

— coins of 296₀

Phrygia, Mt, pyre of Herakles on 903₂

- Phrygia, personification of the district 320₀
- Phrygians conceive of the Father as re-born in the Son 294
- Phrynos, the potter 785 788₀
- Phryxonides 928₀
- Phthonos (?) 1098₅
- Phylake in Phthiotis
Myth: Melampous cures Iphiklos 684 f. 848
- Phylakides, s. of Apollon 218₀
- Phylakos, f. of Iphiklos 452 684 f. 848
- Phyle 815 897₆ 898₀
- Phyleus 1137₂
- Phyllis, the river-god
Cult: Bithynia 904₁
Myth: receives Phrixos 904₁
Genealogy: f. of Dipsakos 904₁
- Phyromachos 1079
- Phytalidai 291₂ 1091 f. 1103 1114
- Phytalos
Myth: Demeter 291₂ 1092₀ 1103
- Picti tattooed 123₀
- Pictones, coins of 1040
- Picus
Cult: Italy 696₀
Myth: Canens 394₃
Types: king 696₀ woodpecker 696₀
Associated with Faunus 400
Compared with Benhadad (?) 697₀
- Pikos who is also Zeus 693₁ 694₀ 695₀ 696₀ 697₀ 1222
Cult: Crete (?) 697₀
Myths: buried in Crete 696₀ 697₀ 943₀ king of Assyria 694₀ 695₀ king of Italy 694₀ 695₀ reigns over the west 695₀ 696₀ 942₀ 943₀
Genealogy: b. of Belos, Ninos, Hera, and Aphros 693₁ 694₀ f. of Belos by Hera 695₀ f. of Hermes 942₀ f. of Perseus by Danaë 1187₂ great-gs. of Kronos 695₀ s. of Nebrod (Nimrod) Orion Kronos by Semiramis Rhea 693₁ 694₀
Functions: deceiver 694₀ 695₀ magician 694₀ 695₀ tie between east and west 696₀
Identified with Ninos 695₀ Plouteus 'Αἰδώνιος 695₀ Poseidon Χθόνιος 695₀ 'Seraphin' (Serapis?) 695₀ Zeus 'Ολύμπιος 695₀
Compared with Hadadrimmon (?) 697₀
— tomb of 220₆ 342₀
- Pikùlas
Cult: Romove 93
- Pilumnus 643₈
- Pinalos, eponym of the Lycian town Pinara 971₂
- Pindos, Mt
Cult: Zeus 'Ακραῖος 871₃₍₂₎ 904₅
- Pirot
Cult: Theos 'Επήκοος "Γψιστος 878₀₍₁₁₎ 948₅
- Pisces 43₁ 103₀ 664₁
- Pisias (Pisides?), eponym of Pisidai 973₁
- Pisidai 973₁
- Pisidia
Cults: Zeus Ποσειεύς (or Πόστης or Πότις) 285 287₁ Zeus Σολυμεύς 973₁ f.
- Pithoigia 1139
- Pittakos 130
- Pittheus 414₂ 1091
- Plain of Zeus 1021
- Plakia
Cult: Theos "Τψιστος 882₀₍₀₎
Etymology: 588₀
- Plakiane 588₀
- Plarasa
Cults: Eros 572₁₀ Zeus 573
— coins of 572 f.
- Plastene 956₂
- Plataia, d. of Asopos 898₆
- Plataiai
Cults: Hera Κιθαιρωνία 899₀ Zeus 'Ελευθέριος 238₀ 763₁
Festivals: Daidala Megala 898₆ Daidala Mikra 898₆ Eleutheria 1121₀
- Platon 505₁ 672₁ 840 852 1015₈ 1033 1033₁ 1060 1065 1118 1132₃ 1167 f. 1168₂
— as s. of Apollon 237₀ portrait-herm of (with Sokrates) 390 (?)
- Παδᾶνς (= Apollon?)
Cult: Sardeis 1228
- Plouteus
Epithets: 'Αἰδώνιος 695₀ κόρανος 1164₀
Identified with Pikos who is also Zeus 695₀
See also Plouton
- Plouton
Cult: Delos (?) 1128₀
Epithets: 'Αγέλαστος (?) 1113₀₍₂₎ 'Αγγελίασος or 'Αγγελίασος 1113₀₍₂₎ Εὐβουλεύς 259₀ 'Ισοδαίτης 1113₀₍₂₎ Κλυμένιος 233₀ Περκλύμενος 233₀ 1113₀₍₂₎ Πολυδαίμων 1113₀₍₂₎
Myths: Kore 345₀₍₂₎ 1103 Leuke 468 f.
Attributes: cornu copiae 1117_{7(?)} fork (?) 801 f. four-horse chariot 801 modius with oak-leaves and acorns 802 sceptre 801
Types: rape of Persephone 801 seated with Kerberos beside him 802
Associated with Zeus and Poseidon 802 (?)
Compared with Hermes 385₀ Zeus 1105 Zeus Πλουτοδότης 385₀
— palace of 1226 tomb of 348
- Ploutos
Cult: Philadelpheia in Lydia 1229
- Pnyx 876₁₍₁₎
- Podaleia 451₁
- Podaleirios
Genealogy: b. of Machaon 317
Function: physician 451₁
Etymology: 451₁
- Pogla
Cult: Artemis Περγαία (?) 363
— coins of 363

- Poinai 1101
 Pola
Cult: Venus *Caelestis* 68₂
 Polichna 916₀ 917₀
 Poliss
Cults: Larissa in Thessaly 1155 Skiathos 878₀₍₆₎
Associated with Hermes 1155₅ Zeus Μελαγχίσιος and Enhodia 1155 Zeus "Τψιστος 878₀₍₆₎
 Pollux 96
 See also Polydeukes, Dioskouroi
 Polyarchos 317
 Polyarchos (=Hades) 1113₀₍₂₎ 1168₅
 Polybios, the Giant 713
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 Polydaimon (=Plouton) 1113₀₍₂₎
 Polydegmon (=Hades) 1113₀₍₂₎
 Polydektes (=Hades) 1113₀₍₂₎
 Polydeukes
Epithets: ἀεθλοφόρος 439₁ ἕως Ἄρηος 438₃ πύκτης 1097₂ πύξ ἀγαθός 436
Genealogy: b. of Kastor 317 1015₇ s. of Zeus by Leda 1015₇
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 Polygnotos, the painter 122₀
 Polygnotos, the vase-painter 197₁
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 Polyhymnos
Myth: 1022
 Polykleitos 389₂ 711₃ (?) 742 749 749₁ 893₂ 1143 f. 1178
 Polykleitos, the younger 1143₁ (?) 1178 (?)
 Polyktor 384₀
 Polymnia 1022
 Polyneikes
Genealogy: s. and b. of Oidipous 825₂
 Polypemon 627
 Polyphas 1122₇
 Polyphemos
Myth: Mt Aitne 909₀
Functions: sky (?) 989 f. sun (?) 989 f. — in folk-tales 988 ff.
 Polyphemos, s. of Elatos 471
 Polyrrhenion
Cult: Hermes Δρόμιος 1042
 — coins of 342₀
 Polytechnos
Myths: presented with double axe by Hephaistos 693 pursues Aëdon and Chelidonis 693
 — *Metamorphosed* into woodpecker 693
 Polyxene 117
 Polyxenos (?) (=Hades) 1113₀₍₂₎
 Pompeii
Cult: Iupiter *Milichius* 1158
 Pontos
Cults: Poseidon 975₀ Zeus Σπράτιος 974₁ ff.
Rite: sacrifices to Zeus Σπράτιος on mountain-tops 974₁ ff.
 — pillars of Herakles in 422
 Popoi
Cults: Dryopes 293₀ Skythai 293₀
Type: underground effigies 293₀
 Poros
Myth: drunk on nectar sleeps in garden of Zeus 1027
 Porphyriion, s. of Sisypchos 1150₄
 Porsenna, tomb of 1219
 Poseidon
Cults: Aigina 184₀ Aixone 730₀ Athens 729₀ 730₀ Boiotia 583₃ 731₀ Delphoi 176₁ 177₀ Dorylaeion 281 Heleia (?) 931₀ Mantinea 581 Messana 795 Pergamon 729₀ 955₀ Phokis 731₀ Pontos 975₀ Praisos 731₀ Selinous 489₀₍₁₀₎ Skythia 292₄ Sparta 729₀ Stelai in Crete 731₀ Syracuse 916₀ Cape Tainaros 890₅ Tralleis 959₀ Zankle 795
Epithets: ἀπότροπος 959₀ ἀργής 959₀ ἀσφάλιος 959₀ εἰνάλιος...Κρονίδης 959₀ ἐνοσίχθων 789₃ Ἴππιος 581 Ἴππιος 959₀ Ἴππιος πόντομέδων ἀναξ 786₁ κορυφαῖος ἐπ' Οὐλύμπιοι καρήνων 869₁ ναυμέδων 793₀ Σεισίχθων 959₀ τεμενοῦχος 959₀ Χθόνιος 695₀
Rites: chariot with white horses plunged into sea 975₀ sacrifice of two bulls 902₂ sacrifice of wheat and crops 959₀
Myths: Aithra (?) 800 Amymone (?) 800 Erechthens 794 Kleinis 463₁ strikes with trident the Akropolis at Athens 793
Genealogy: f. of Althepos by Leis, d. of Oros 414₂ f. of Astakos by the nymph Olbia 665₃ f. of Boutes 793₁₂ f. of Hyperes and Anthas by Alkyone, d. of Atlas 414₂ f. of Kteatos and Eurytos 1015₈ f. of Kyknos 669 f. of Minyas by Chryso-gone d. of Halmos 1150₄ f. of Triopas by Kanake 684₂ h. of Demeter 584₀
Functions: earthquakes 959₀ lightning 794 ff. 850 originally a specialised form of Zeus 31₈ 582 786 846 850 893₀
Etymology: 582 ff. 1220
Attributes: bident 806₀ eagle 798 Nike 798 rock 713 sealed cuirass 713 sea-monster 798 sword 789 thunderbolt 794 ff. 798 trident 713 785 786 ff. 850 tunny 786
Types: advancing with thunderbolt in raised right hand and left outstretched 794 f. 850 advancing with trident in raised right hand and left outstretched 795₃ Gigantomachy 713 syncretistic 850 with attributes of Zeus 796 ff.
Identified with Erechthens 793 Pikos who is also Zeus 695₀ Thammasadas (Thagimasada) 293₀ Zeus 582 ff. Zeus and Ares 1225

- Poseidon (*cont.*)
Associated with Ge 176, Zeus 959,
 Zeus and Hades 785 Zeus and
 Plouton 802 (?)
In relation to Zeus 582 ff. 850
 — crabs sacred to 665₂ 'sea' of, on
 Akropolis at Athens 793 trident-
 mark of, on Akropolis at Athens
 789 792 ff.
 Poseidonia, coins of 795₃
 Poseidonios 805₆
 Pothos
Genealogy: f. of Aer and Aura by
 Omichle 1036 1038
 — in Phoenician cosmogony 1038
 1039
 Potrympus
Cult: Romove 93
 Praeneste
Cults: Aesculapius 1086 Mercurius
 (Mircurios, Mirquorios) 397₆
 Praetextatus, Catacomb of 1206
 Praisos
Cults: Apollon Πῦθιος 731₀ Athena
 731₀ pig 782₅ Poseidon 731₀ Zeus
 Ἀκραῖος 871₃₍₄₎ Zeus Δικραῖος 731₀
 871₃₍₄₎ 930₆
Myth: golden hound 1227
 — coins of 871₃₍₄₎
- Prajāpati
Myth: birth 1035 f.
Identified with Hiranyagarbha 1035
 Prasiai in Attike
Rite: Hyperborean offerings 497
Myth: Erysichthon 497
 Prasiai in Lakonike
Cult: (Apollon) Μαλέατας 487₃₍₁₎
 Praxidike, w. of Tremilos (Tremiles?) 971₂
 Praxiergidai 1137₀
 Praxiteles 196 598 599₂ 749 1018 1101₃
 1127₀
 Priamidai 1102₇
 Priamos
Myths: death 1069 golden vine 281₄
 1184₃ prays to Zeus Ἰδαῖος 8 950₆
 three-eyed Zeus 892₅
Genealogy: gs. of Ilios 8
 Priansos
Cults: Aphrodite 723₀ Apollon Πῦθιος
 (Πύθιος) 723₀ Ares 723₀ Artemis 723₀
 Athena Ὠλεῖρα 723₀ Eileithyia
 Βαράρα 723₀ Hera 723₀ Hermes
 723₀ Hestia 723₀ Korybantēs (Kyr-
 bantes) 723₀ Kouretēs (Koretēs)
 723₀ Leto (Lato) 723₀ Nymphs 723₀
 Zeus Βιδάτας 723₀ 934₀ Zeus Δικ-
 ραῖος (?) 723₀ Zeus Ὀράριος 723₀
 Zeus Σκύλιος 723₀
- Priapos
Cult: Lampsakos 464
Epithet: ἀνάξ 1026
Rite: sacrifice of asses 464
Type: double bust (with Maenad) 392
Identified with Phanes 1026
 — shrine of 154₀
- Priene
Cult: Zeus Κεραῖνιος 808₀₍₇₎
 Prinophoroi 411₆
 Prinophoros
Cult: Thessalonike 411₆
Priestesses: ἐβέλα 411₆ θύσα 411₆
Worshippers: πρηνόφοροι 411₆
 Proculus Iulius 24
 Procyon 477₈
 Prognaos (?) 353₃
 Proitos
Myth: Akrisios 1146₀
 Prokleia 669
 Prokne
Metamorphosed into nightingale 693
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 Prometheus
Epithet: ἀγκυλομήτης 549₇
Myths: receives ring from Zeus 990
 thrusts torch into solar wheel 990
Identified with Kronos 549₇
 — in folk-tale from Zakynthos (?)
 505₅ picture of 986₀
- Pron, Mt
Cult: Hera 893₂
 Pronnoi
Cult: Zeus Αἰνήσιος 907₂
 — coins of 907₂
- Pronoia 863₃ (?)
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Genealogy: m. of Liber by Iupiter 1031
Identified with Luna, Diana, Ceres,
 Iuno 256
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 Phersephone
 Prostanna
Cults: Demeter (?) 973₀ Mt Viarus (?)
 972₂ f. Zeus 973₀
 — coins of 972₂ f.
 Proteus, pillars of 422
 Protogonē 131
 Protogonos
Epithets: πολύμηγος 1025 ταυροβόας
 1023
Myth: swallowed by Zeus 1027
Type: androgynous with golden wings
 and heads of bulls and snake 1022 f.
Identified with Erikepaios (Erikapaios)
 1027 1039 Eros 1039 Metis (masc.)
 1039 Pan 1039 Phanes 1026 1039
 1051 Zeus 1039 1051 Zeus or Pan
 1023
In relation to Metis (masc.) (?) 1025
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Cults: Zeus Ὀλύμπιος 964₂ Zeus Παπ-
 πῶος 292₄
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 Prousius, eponym of Prousa ad Olympum
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Cult: Zeus Βροντῶν 835₄
 Psara, blind Kyklops in folk-tale from
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Cult: Lindos 1044
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Cult: Athens 1044
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In relation to Eros 315₃
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Function: fire 34₁
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Cult: Venus *Caelestis* 68₂
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 Pyr 981₁
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 Pyrkon 176₁
 Pyrrha, w. of Denkalion 971₀
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 Pythaeus 173₄
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Myths: brought up with Astraios 230 eagle at Kroton 222₄ eagle at Olympia 222₄ exhibits golden thigh at Kroton 223 purified with thunderstone 835 934₀ visits Idaean Cave 933₀ 934₀ 942₀
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Rites: human consort in Crete (?) 522 524 mysteries of Zeus 'Ιδαίος 932₁ sacrifice of bull 565₂ torches carried over mountain 934₀
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Function: earth 515 548 557₁
- Rhea (*cont.*)
Etymology: 557₁
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Identified with Agdistis 970₀ Demeter 1029 1032 Kybele 970₀ Ma 565₂ Mother of the gods 970₀ Semiramis 693₄ 694₀ 695₀ Tyche 675 (?)
In relation to Zeus 552₁
Superseded by Apollon 921₀ Hera 515 — thickets of, in Crete 941₀
- Rhegion
Cults: Apollon 680 Artemis Φακελίτης or Φακελήνη 680
Myth: Orestes 680 848
- Rheneia
Cult: Theos Ἐψιστος 880₀₍₁₉₎
- Rhipai 495
- Rhithymna
Cult: Apollon (Στρακίτης?) 492₀₍₀₎
 — coins of 492₀₍₀₎
- Rhizenia 934₀
- Rhodanus 476
- Rhode, in Spain
Cult: axe-bearing god (?) 547₀
 — coins of 547₀
- Rhodes
Cults: Althaimenes 923₀ Athena (?) 923₀ Dionysos Σμίνθιος (?) 250 Elektryone (Elektrona) 499 Helios 469 Herakles 469 Hermes Καταιβάτης 14 Hermes Χθόνιος 14 Tlepolemos 469 Zeus 615 Zeus Ἀταβύριος 922₅ 923₀ 924₀ 925₀ Zeus Ἐνδεδρόπος 946₀
Festival: Tlepolemeia 469
Rites: human sacrifice to Zeus Ἀταβύριος (?) 924₀ statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton invited to banquet 1172
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In relation to 'Minoan' Crete 923₀
 — coins of 253 f. 469₇ 924₀ colossus of 254₅
- Rhodes, the town
Cults: Agathos Daimon 925₀ Zeus Ἀταβύριος 924₀ 925₀
Worshippers: Διοσαραβυριαστὰι 924₀ Διοσαραβυριαστὰι Ἀγαθοδαιμονιαστὰι 925₀
- Rhodos, w. of Helios 684₂
- Rhoikos 1021
- Rhoio, d. of Staphylos
Myth: Kastabos 670
- Riqqeh 1145_{1(a)}
- Rit-
Cult: Magrè 1220
Etymology: 1220

Robigus 630

Roma, the personification of Rome

Cults: Miletos 1238 Ouxenton (?) 386₁
Pergamon 1179 1182 Teos 1066

Types: Janiform (?) 386₁ seated 103₀
standing 361₅, 1181₀

*Associated with Penates Publici Populi
Romani* 1181₀

Rome

Cults: Aesculapius 1080 1083 1086

Asklepios 1088 1090 Attis 306₅
Attis *Menotyranus* (*Menoturanus*,
Minoturanus) 303₂ Attis *Meno-*

tyranus Invictus 303₂ Attis *Sanctus*
Menotyranus 303₂ Diana 400 f.

421 *Dius Fidius* 724₀ ff. *Divus Pater*
Falacer 1226 Falacer (See *Divus*

Pater Falacer) Fontes 369₀ 401₀

Fortuna 1195₂ Furrina 808₀₍₁₇₎

Genius Caeli Montis 400₁₁ Genius
Iovii Augusti 1194₄ Hecatae 307₀

Hecate 835₀ Herakles Ἡράκλειος 783

Hercules 469 783 Hercules *Iulianus*

400₁₁ Ianus *Curvatus* 364 Iuno

Sororia 364 Iupiter 45 46 Iupiter

Caelius 400₁₁ Iupiter *Capitolinus*

601 Iupiter *Conservator* 1195₁ Iu-

piter *Custos* 1181₀ (Iupiter) *Deus*

Bronton 835₀ Iupiter *Epulo* 1172₀

Iupiter *Fagutalis* 403₀ Iupiter *Fer-*

etrius 111₀ 546₀ 601 Iupiter *Fulgur*

46₀ Iupiter *Lapis* 546₀ Iupiter

Optimus Maximus Caelestinus 369₀

401₀ Iupiter *Sanctus Bronton* 835₀

836 838 f. Iupiter *Stator* 46₀ 708₅

Iupiter *Tonans* 111₀ 835₀ Iupiter

Ultor 1102₃ 1103₀ Iupiter *Victor*

708 Lares *Querquetulani* 401 Liber

307₀ Magna Mater 969₄ Mater deum

301 f. 306₅ Minerva 369₀ 401₀ Mith-

ras 307₀ 838 f. Mithras *Deus Sol*

Invictus 835₀ Penates *Publici*

Populi Romani 1181₀ Quirinus 1165₁

Seno Sancus Sanctus Deus Fidius

725₀ spear of Mars 547₂ Theos

Ἐπισητος 879₀₍₁₃₎ *tigillum sororium*

363 ff. Venus *Caelestis* 68₂ Vesta

1148₀ 1172₄ Victoria 1195₂ (Zeus)

Θεός Ἐπισητος Βροντων 835₀ 836

(Zeus) Θεός Μέγας Βροντων 835₀

836 Zeus Κεραυνος 808₀₍₁₇₎ Zeus

Ἠλιος (= *Dius Fidius*) 724₀ Zeus

Ἰπταρος 876₀₍₉₎

Festivals: Epula Iovis 1172₀ Ludi

Plebei 1172₀ Ludi Romani 1172₀

Rite: sacrifice to *tigillum sororium*

364

Myths: Asklepios arrives as golden

snake on shipboard 1083 Horatii

and Curvati 363 f.

— bronze plaque from 664₁ coins of

105 f. 110₈ 331 ff. 336₈ 357 f. 360 f.

362 366 ff. 631 ff. 707₀ 708 708₅

810 f. 850 f. 903₂ 1080 1082 1083

1091 1102₈ 1103₀ 1126₀ 1133₁ 1134₀

Rome (cont.)

1171 1194₄ 1195₁₋₃ 1214 Columna

Rostrata at 9 Dianium on Aventine

at 400 Dianium on Caeliolus (Mons

Querquetulanus) at 400 Dianium

on Clivus Virbii at 400 f. Kyklops

in folk-tale from 1001 f. Mons

Caelius at 400₁₁ Mons Querquetu-

lanus at 400₁₁ pyramids of 1145₁₍₁₀₎

Tigillum Sororium at 363 ff.

Romove

Cults: Perkuanas 93 Pikulas 93 Potrym-

pus 93

— oak of 92 f.

Romuald, St 135

Romulus

Myths: birth 1059 1089 caught up to

heaven 24 dedicates spoils to Iupiter

Feretrius 111₀ infancy 1016 nursed

by she-wolf 46 443 1016 reigns with

Remus 440 reigns with Titus Tatius

441 thrown into Tiber 671 1016

Function: one of the Roman Dios-

kouroi 1014

Attributes: star 443 f. wolf 46 443

Identified with Quirinus 24

See also Remus

Romulus Silvius 24

Roodmas 325₃ 326₄

Rosarno, pinax of terra cotta from 1043

Rosmerta

Cult: Gallia Belgica 547₀ (?)

Identified with Maia 94₃

Associated with Mercurius 94₃

Rudra

Cult: India 791

Rugiwit 386

Rural Dionysia 236

Russia

Festival: Feast of the Golden-reindeer-

horn 465

Sabaoth 889₀₍₁₀₎

Epithet: ὑψικεραυνος 1212

Identified with Adonaïos 1212

Sabas, St, founder of monastery near Jerusalem 116

Sabas, St, the Gothic martyr 1104₃

Sabas, St, the Greek martyr 1104

Sabazios

Epithets: Ἰσας 275₈ Ἰεύς 275₀ Ἰης 275₇

Rites: ἐφηνγον κακόν, εὐρον ἀμεινον 1166₁

mysteries 133₀

Function: dreams 283₀

Etymology: 1217

Type: on horseback 283₀

Identified with Dionysos 275₀ Zeus

275₅ 1184

— as link between Zeus and Kyrios

Sabaoth 884₀₍₁₀₎

Sabians 129₂Sabines 340₃

Saboi

Cult: Dionysos Σάβος or Σαβάσιος 270

Sabus, s. of Sancus 724₀

- Sadoth, St 134
 Saeculum Aureum 373₂
 Sæhrimnir 214₀
 Sagittarius 477₈
 Sahin in Phoinike
Cults: Helios (?) Ἡλῖος (?) Mithras 886₀₍₃₀₎ Theos Ἡψίστος Οὐράνιος Ἡρώτος 886₀₍₃₀₎ 983₈
- Sahsnot
Cult: Saxons 51
Identified with Ziu 50 f.
- Salamis
Cult: Zeus Τροπᾶιος 110₀
Myth: Ophis 1087
 — full moon at battle of 854
- Salapia, coins of 1159₁
 Salia, m. of Salios 338₃
 Salii 375 ff. 470
Rites: azamenta 376₁ lunonii 376₁ Minervii 376₁
 — hymn of 294₀ 328 ff. 337
- Salios, eponym of Salii 338₃
 Salmakis 872₀₍₅₎
 Salmones
Personates Zeus 24₁ 1122
Myths: comes from Thessaly to Elis 825 1088 imitates thunders of Zeus 8 833
Genealogy: s. of Aiolos 1088
- Salmoxis (Zalmoxis)
Cult: Getai 227 822 851
Rite: messenger sent once in four years 227
Myth: underground retreat in Thrace 226
Etymology: 227
Identified with Gebeleizis (Zibeleizis) 227 822
- Salonae
Cults: Ianus Pater Augustus (?) 325
 Iupiter Caelestis 69₀ 401₀ Iupiter Optimus Maximus Celestis Patronus 401₀
- Salus 94₃
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- Samaritans
Cult: summit of Mt Gerizim 888₀₍₁₀₎
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 Šamaš 49₃ 483
 Same or Samos in Kephallenia 354₀
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- Samos
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Etymology: 354₀
 — second Heraion at 1230
- Samos or Samothrace 354₀
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- Samos in Karia 354₀
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- Sandas
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Identified with Herakles 560
 — pyramid of 983₀
- Sandon 560 See Sandas
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- Sappho 8
 Saqqāra 1145_{1(a)}
- Sarapis
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Function: healing 127
Attribute: kálathos 1171₃
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Identified with Pikos who is also Zeus (?) 695₀ Zeus 714₃ (?) 745₁ 773₀ 1158
Associated with Isis 1171₃ Zeus Κύνθιος and Isis 922₀
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- Sardopator See Sardus Pater
- Sardus Pater (Sardopator)
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Augustus 555₀ Balcaranensis (Bal-
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haranensis) 554₃ deus magnus Bal-
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Associated with Helios 1171₃
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960₀
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869₁ thunderbolt 809 Zeus 1192
Zeus Κάσιος 810₀ (?) 981₁ f. Zeus
Κεραύνιος 807₅₍₃₎ 809 Zeus Κορυ-
φαίος 869₁ 983₃ (Zeus) Νικηφόρος
(Νεικηφόρος) Κεραύνιος 1225 Zeus
"Ολύμπιος 869₁
Priests: κεραυνοφόροι 809
Myth: eagle guides Selucos i Nikator
to site 981₁ f. 1188
— coins of 809 f. 850 982₀ f. 1192
- Selge
Cults: Herakles 492₀₍₁₀₎ Zeus 492₀₍₁₀₎
— coins of 492₀₍₁₀₎
- Selinous
Cults: Apollon 489₀₍₁₀₎ Athena 489₀₍₁₀₎
(Demeter) Μαλοφόρος 489₀₍₁₀₎ Hera-
kles 489₀₍₁₀₎ (Kore) Πασικράτεια
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Cult: Theos "Άγιος "Τψιστος 878₀₍₁₁₀₎
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- Sem (Shem) 693₄ 694₀
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- Semele
Cults: Synnada (?) 362 f. Thraco-
Phrygians 842
Epithets: Θυώνη 251₀ "Τη 274
Myths: Brasiai 671 brought up from
spring at Lerna by Dionysos 1022
drinks potion containing heart of
Zagreus and thereby conceives
Dionysos 1031 Iupiter 1031 struck
by lightning 24 ff. 1031 Zeus 187₈
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Genealogy: m. of Dionysos 220
Function: earth 279₃
Etymology: 279₃

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Type: carrying Dionysos (?) with goat at her feet 363
Identified with Ge 279₃
Associated with Deos (Dios) 279 f.
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- Semiramis
Cult: Emesa (?) 814₃
Identified with Hekate Χθονική (*sic*) 695₀ Hera Ζωγία 695₀ Nemesis 695₀ Rhea 693₄ 694₀ 695₀
 — and Stabrobates 7
- Semiramis Rhea
Genealogy: w. of Nebrod (Nimrod) Orion Kronos 693₄ 694₀ w. of Ninus 693₄ 694₀
- Semites
Cult: snake 1111₁
- Semnai
Cult: Phlyeis 1066
 — as euphemistic title of Erinyes 1112₇ 1113₉₍₁₁₎
- Semnai of Parnassos, the three mantic 19₀
- Semo Sancus See Dius
- Seneca, portrait-herm of (with Sokrates) 390
- Senones
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- Sept 126
- Serapis See Sarapis
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- Serea in Phrygia
Cult: Zeus Βροντων και Βεννης Σερεανός 883₀₍₁₀₎
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Rite: burial of lobster 665₁
Myth: Akrisios slain by Perseus 1155₇
 — idol from 122₀ lobster held sacred in 665
- Servius Tullius
Myth: birth 1059 1089
- Set, ladder of 126
- Sethlans
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- Shi-Dugal 483
- Sibitti
Associated with Ištar and Sin 545₀
- Sicily
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Myths: burial of Kronos 555₀ burial of Kronos' sickle 448₀ 555₀
 — Kyklops in folk-tale from 1000 two sons with apples and daughter with star in folk-tale from 1008 ff.
- Siculo-Punic coins 1040
- Siderons, harbour in Lykia
Cult: Hephaistos 972₁
- Sidon
Cult: Astarte 869₀(?)
 — coins of 869₀
- Sidyra
Myth: founded by Sidymos, s. of Tloos by Cheleidon d. of Kragos 971₂
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- Sikanoi
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- Sikeloi 795 908₁
- Sikyon
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 — coins of 1145₀ formerly called Mekone 1165₁
- Sikyon, the eponymous hero
Genealogy: s. of Erechtheus 1146 s. of Marathon s. of Epopeus 1146 s. of Metion s. of Erechtheus 1146 s. of Pelops 1146
- Silandos
Cult: Theos "Γψωτος 881₀₍₂₀₎
- Silchester, diminutive bronze axes from 699
- Silenoii
Types: kneeling 190₂ with wreaths of ivy and vine 95
Associated with Dionysos 661
- Silenos
Cult: Aitne (formerly Katane) 908₁ 909₀
Myth: Polyphemos 909₀
Genealogy: f. of Apollon 221 252
Attributes: ass 464 ivy-wreath 388 909₀
Types: double bust (with Apollon) 388 Janiform (archaistic + Hellenistic) 387 vintager 270₃
- Sillyon
Cult: Zeus 572₁₁(?)
 — coins of 572(?)
- Sillyos, in Pamphylia 573₀
- Silpion, Mt
Cults: fire (πῦρ ἀθανάτων) 1187 Iupiter Capitolinus (?) 1188 Zeus 'Επικάρπιος 1186 Zeus Καπετώλιος (= Iupiter Capitolinus) (?) 1188₁₄ Zeus Κεραύνιος 428 1187 Zeus Νέμειος 1186
- Silvanus 64₀
- Silvii 417₅

- Sima 814₃
 Simon Magus
Personates Zeus 726₀
Associated with Helene as Zeus and Athena 726₀
Confused with Semo Sancus 726₀
- Sin
Associated with Istar and Sibitti 545₀
- Sinis
Myth: Theseus 627₀ 1091
- Sinjerli, Hittite relief from 767₀ *stèle* of Esar-haddon from 769₀
- Sinope
Cults: Nemesis 363 Theos Μέγας "Τψιστος 883₀₍₂₅₎ Theos "Τψιστος 883₀₍₂₅₎ Zeus Σάραπις 1171₃
 — coins of 363 493₀₍₇₎ 1171₃
- Siphnos
Cult: Zeus Ἐπιβήμιος 897₃ 1180₄
- Sipyrene 970₀
- Sipylos, Mt
Cults: Meter Πλαστήνη 956₂ Zeus Ἰταρος (?) 876_{0(s)} 956₂
Myths: Kouretes 956₂ Pelops 956₂ Tantalos 956₂ Zeus born 956₂ Zeus consorts with Semele 956₂
 — throne of Pelops on 956₂
- Sipylos, personification of the mountain 957₀
- Sirens 178₁
- Siris, town in Lucania
Myth: Herakles and Kalchas 490₀₍₀₎
- Sirmium
Cults: Genius huius loci 1194₁ Iupiter Optimus Maximus 1194₁
- Siscia, coins struck at 604
- Sisyphos
Genealogy: f. of Halmos and Porphyryon 1150₁ s. of Aiolos 1150₄
- Sithnides 897₁
- Skamandria, coins of 949₅
- Skamandros 481₀
- Skarphe See Eteonos
- Skephros 164₀ 455₃
- Skepsis
Cult: Zeus Ἰδαῖος (Εἰδαῖος) 951₀
 — coins of 949₅ 951₀
- Skias in Arkadia (?)
Cult: Apollon Σκιαστής 439
- Skiathos
Cults: Polis 878₀₍₀₎ Zeus Ἰψιστος 878₀₍₀₎ 922₂
- Skiron
Myths: Theseus 627₀ tortoise 895₁
- Skirtos 430₁
- Skoll 305₀
- Skopas 405₃ 469 476₃ 594 1206
- Skopeloi Kronioi 554₂
- Skylla 407₀
- Skyllis 739
- Skythai, deities worshipped by, with their Greek equivalents 292₁ 293₀ divination of 635 driven out of Thrace 107₀ underground effigies of the gods called πόποι 293₀
- Skythia
Cults: Achilles 'Lord of the Island' (sc. Leuke) 925₀ Aphrodite Οὐρανία 292₄ Apollon 292₄ Ares 292₄ 547₃ Athena Λωδία 925₀ Herakles 292₄ Hestia 292₄ iron scimitar 547₃ 680 Korakoi (= Philioi Daimones) 1179₁ Papias 889₀₍₀₎ Philioi Daimones (Orestes and Pylades) 1179 Poseidon 292₄ Zeus Ἀραβύριος 925₀ Zeus Παπαῖος 292₄
Rite: Hyperborean offerings 497
Myth: Erysichthon 684
 — axe-heads from 632₀
- Sleipnir 305₀
- Slingsby and the Snapping Turtle 1151
- Sminthe 250₂
- Sminthia 250₂
- Smyrna
Cults: Aphrodite Στρατονικής 729₀ Ares 729₀ (Artemis) Ταυροπόλος 729₀ Athena Ἀρεία 729₀ Ge 729₀ Helios 729₀ Meter Σειπυληνή 729₀ Nemeseis 524 864₀ Zeus 729₀ Zeus Ἀκραῖος 319 873_{0(s)} 962₁ Zeus Πατρῶος 280₁
Festival: Hadrianeia 1121₀
 — bronze medallion from 629 f. coins of 319 873_{0(s)} in folk-tale from Psara 997 f.
- Smyrna, old name of Ephesos 962₂
- Smyrnaioi, old name of Ephesians 962₂
- Soa
Cult: (Zeus) Βενεύς 883₀₍₀₎
- Sokrates and Phaidros 1118 and Strep-siades 2 portrait-herm of (with Platon ?) 390 portrait-herm of (with Seneca) 390
- Sol
Epithet: Invictus 307₀ 1194₄
Function: Sunday 70
Types: colossal 254₅ driving chariot 96 radiate bust 555₀
Identified with Apollo and Liber Pater 256 f. Mithras 307₀ 1194₄
Associated with Luna 59₀ 98 1050
 — in hymn of Sallii (?) 329₀₍₁₎₍₃₎₍₅₎₍₀₎
- Solmissos, Mt
Myth: Kouretes aid Leto against Hera 962₂
- Solomon sends golden pillar to Souron 424₀
 — temple of 425 ff. 888₀₍₀₎ 1204₀
- Solon, oath of, by (Zeus) Ἰκέσιος, Καθάριστος, and Ἐξακεστήρ 1093₁
- Solyma See Solymos, Mt
- Solymoi
Cults: Kronos 972₀ Zeus Σολυμείς 973₁ f.
- Solymos, Mt
Cult: Zeus Σολυμείς 973₁ f.
- Solymos, eponym of Solymoi 973₁
Genealogy: s. of Ares by Kaldene d. of Pisias (Pisides?) 973₁ s. of Zeus by Chaldene 973₁ s. of Zeus by Kalchedonia 973₁
Identified with Zeus (?) 974₀

- Sophokles, portrait-herm of (with Euripides) 389
 Sosias, the potter 1167
 Sosipolis
Cult: Elis 1151
 Sotades, the potter 346₀ (?)
 Soteria 232 f.
 Souras (?)
Cult: Nikopolis in Moesia 818₂₍₂₎ 822₁₂
 Sousa
Cult: god with bovine horns, axe, and double lightning-fork 769₀
 Spain, celts from 509
 Spalaxos or Palaxos, the Koures 587
 Sparta
Cults: Apollon 246₁ Apollon Ἀκρότας 487₃₍₁₎ Apollon Ἀμυκλαίος 255 Apollon Μαλεάτης 487₃₍₁₎ Ares 729₀ Artemis 457 Artemis Αυγοδέσμα 421₅ Artemis Ὀρθία 421 f. 640₀ 647 Asclepius 1085 Athena Ἀμβουλία 261₀ Athena Ἀρεία 729₀ Athena Ξενία 1101₃ Athena Ὀπτιλέτις or Ὀπτιλία 502₂ Athena Ὀφθαλμίτις 502₂ Athena Χαλκίους 739₁ Auxesia and Damoia 890₂ Demeter 729₀ Dioskouroi 1062 Dioskouroi Ἀμβούλιοι 261₀ Ge 487₃₍₁₎ 729₀ Helios 729₀ Hera 515 Hestia [Βουλαία] 259₀ Hilaieira and Phoibe 1015₇ Poseidon 729₀ Zeus 729₀ Zeus Ἀγαμέμνων 1061 1069 Zeus Ἀμβούλιος 261₀ Zeus Βουλαίος 259₀ Zeus Ἐλευθέριος 1096₁ Zeus Ἐλευθέριος (= Antoninus Pius) 98₀ Zeus Ἐλευθέριος Ἀντωνείνος Σωτήρ (= Antoninus Pius) 101₁ 343₀ Zeus Ἐλευθέριος καὶ Ὀλύμπιος Ἀντωνείνος Σωτήρ (= Antoninus Pius) 101₁ Zeus Ἐπιδάτας 321₁ (Zeus) Ἐπιδάτης (Ἐπιδότης) 321₁ Zeus Ἐρκείος 728₀ (Zeus?) Ἰκέσιος 321₁ Zeus Ἰκέτας 1096₁ Zeus Λακεδαιμῶν 436 Zeus Ξένιος 1101₃ Zeus Οὐράνιος 436 Zeus Ταλειτράς 890₂ 948₁ Zeus Τροπαίος 110₀ Zeus Ἰππατος 739₁ 875₁₍₄₎ 890₃
Festival: Hyacinthia 246₁
Rites: kings sacrifice to Apollon 237₀ octennial probation of kings 440₂
Myths: Astrabakos and Alopekoi 421 Dioskouroi 436 ff.
 — idol from 122₀
 Spercheios 481₆ 486
 Spes 862₁₀
 Sphinx 407₀ 409₀ (?) 718 1082
 Sphragitides
Cult: Mt Kithairon 899₀
 Spoletium
Cult: Iupiter 803₂
 Stabrobates 7
 Staphylos 670
 Stektorion, coins of 566
 Stelai in Crete
Cults: Apollon Πύθιος 731₀ Athena 731₀ Poseidon 731₀ Zeus Δακταίος 731₀
 Stephen, St 924₀
 Stepterion 240 242
 Sterope, d. of Kepheus 1147₁₁
 Sterope, horse of Helios 828 851
 Sterope, personification of lightning 828 851
 Steropes 784 828 851 1023
 Sthenelos 824₂ 892₅
 Stheno 718
 Sthenoboiia 1129
 Stilbe, d. of Peneios
Genealogy: m. of Kentauros by Apollon 1134 f. m. of Lapithes by Apollon 684₂ 1134 f.
 Stoics 256 432 852 854 ff.
 Straton, the sculptor 1079
 Stratonikeia
Cults: Agathos Angelos 880₀₍₀₎ Hekate 714₂ Hekate Δαδοφόρος 714₃ Theios Angelos 880₀₍₀₎ Zeus Λαβράνυδος 585₃ (cp. 586₃) Zeus Νάκρασος (?) 714₃ Zeus Παναμαρος 714₃ Zeus Ῥεμβήνοδος (?) 714₃ Zeus Σέραπις (?) 714₃ Zeus Ὑψιστος 879₀₍₁₇₎ 880₀₍₀₎ 963₀ Zeus Ὑψιστος καὶ Θεῖος 879₀₍₁₇₎ 880₀₍₀₎ Zeus Χρυσαιορέις or Χρυσάριος 714 ff. 848
 — coins of 573 714₂
 Strepsindes 2
 Strongyle 824₇
 Struppearia 1171₁
 Stymphalos
Cult: Artemis Στυμφαλία 692
 Styrakion, Mt 492₀₍₀₎
 Suceelus
Cult: Mogontiacum 620
Attribute: mallet 620
Identified with Iupiter Optimus Maximus 620
 Šurdh, St 822
 Surtr 305₀
 Surus (?) 822 823₀
 Sutekh
Cult: Hittites 621 f. 623
 Suwasa, in Kappadokia
Cult: Zeus Σπράτιος (?) 594 f. 846
 Svayambhû 1036
 Sybrita
Cults: Apollon Πύθιος 731₀ Athena Πολιοῦχος 731₀ Nymphs 731₀ Zeus Κρηταγενής 731₀
 Sykaiboi 130
 Sykea
Myth: Sykeas or Sykeus 1103₈
 Sykeas or Sykeus 1103₈
 Syllion, in Kibyratia 573₀
 Symaitchos, eponym of the river Symaitchos 909₀
 Symaitchos, the river in Sicily 909₀
 Synaos, coins of 566
 Synesios, hymn of 307₂
 Synnada
Cults: Dionysos (?) 362 f. Dioskouroi 313 Semele (?) 362 f.
Myth: Zeus nursed by Rhea 969₂
 — coins of 313 362 f.

Syracuse

Cults: Artemis *Αναία* 1140₃ Hestia 916₀ Poseidon 916₀ Zeus 'Ελευθέριος 763, Zeus 'Ολύμπιος 915₂ 916₀ 917₀ Zeus Οὔριος 708 917₀ 918₀

Rite: contest of rustic singers wearing stag-horns 1140

Priest: ἀμφίπολος of Zeus 'Ολύμπιος as eponymous magistrate 916₀

— celt from 509 coins of 110₀ 708 918₀

Syria

Cults: Hadran 910₀ Kerannios 807₃₍₂₎

Zeus 745₁ Zeus Καταιβάτης 15 f.

(Zeus ?) Κεραύνιος 807₃₍₂₎ Zeus

"Υψιστος 880₀₍₀₎

— coins of 761 816₄ 1189 f. Sun, Moon, and Morning-Star in folk-tale from 1004 f.

Syrna 451₁

Sytos

Cult: Zeus Κτήσιος 1066

Taanotos See Thoth

Tabai

Cult: Zeus 743₇

— coins of 743₇

Tabala

Cult: youthful hero, radiate, on horse-back bearing double axe 564

Tabiti, the Scythian Hestia 293₀

Tabyris See Atabyris

Tachnepsis

Cult: Delos 985₀

Tacitus, M. Claudius, statue of, struck by lightning 10

Tages

Genealogy: s. of Genius and gs. of Jupiter 1060

Tainaros, Cape

Cults: Poseidon 890₅ Zeus (?) 890₅

Tainaros, s. of Zeus 890₅

Taleton, Mt 890

Cult: Helios 890₂

Rite: sacrifice of horses to Helios 890₂

Tallala range

Cults: Hermes 948₁ Zeus Ταλλαῖος (?) 948₁

Talos

Cult: Crete 890₂ 948₁

Myth: nail and vein 645₀

Function: sun 890₂ 948₁

Type: stone-throwing 491₀₍₀₎

Compared with Zeus 948₁

Talthybios

Myths: Agamemnon and Briseis 726

Tegea in Crete 1147₀

Tammuz

Cults: Bethlehem 984₁ Eridu 483

Associated with Aphrodite (Venus) 984₁

Samaš 483

Compared with Adonis and Zeus 345

Zeus 347

Tan

Cults: Crete 662 Hierapytna 342₀ Polyrrhenion 342₀

Tan (cont.)

— tomb of 342₀

See also Zeus

Tanagra, vases from 123₀

Tanais

Cults: Theos "Υψιστος 884₀₍₀₎ 948₃

Theos "Υψιστος 'Επήκοος 884₀₍₀₎

Tanit

Cult: Carthage 69₀

Identified with Iuno Caelestis 68₂ Venus Caelestis 68₂

Tantalos

Myths: Ganymedes 953₂ golden hound

212₅ Pelops 212₅ perpetual thirst

134₁ Mt Sipylus 956₂

Genealogy: f. of Aizen 964₃ f. of Pelops

438 957₀ s. of Zeus 957₀

Taoioun See Tauiou

Taranis 32

Tarantos in Bithynia

Cult: Zeus Ταρανταῖος 32₃

Taranucus 32

Taras

Etymology: 31 f.

Tarentum 31

Cults: Apollon 1064 Dioskouroi 1064

Persephone 1141₀ pillar 29 45 131

161 166 Venti 464 Zeus 762 ff. 1064

Zeus 'Ελευθέριος 763₁ Zeus Καταιβάτης 29 ff. 45 131 161 559 845

Festival: Theoxenia 1064

Rite: sacrifice of asses to the Winds 464

— cake-moulds (?) from 131 802 1064

1215 coins of 763₁ 1064 compound

seals (?) from 1215 Dioscuric reliefs

from 1064 disk from 462₀ gold

sceptre from 763₁ persistence of

'Minoan' cult at 543

Tarentum in the Campus Martius 32

Tarraco (Tarragona), coins struck at 604

painted tablet from 2₄ 481₀ 1039 1211

Tarragona See Tarraco

Tarsos

Cults: Apollon Ταρσεύς 570 Ba'al-tars

761 f. Herakles (Sandas) 560 845

Sandas (Herakles) 560

Rite: sword of Apollon washed in water from the Kydnos 570 f.

Myths: Herakles 570₄ Persens 570₄

Titanes 570₄

— coins of 101₁ 550₃ 571 761 f.

Tartaros (Tartara) 827; 1023 1032

Epithet: εὐρώετρα 1028

Tartaros

Genealogy: f. of Typhon by Ge 448₂

Tat (= Thoth)

Genealogy: s. of Hermes Τρισμέγιστος 943₀

Taoioun

Cults: Dioskouroi 1064 Zeus 754₁

— coins of 754₁ 789₀ 1064

Taurini

Cult: Aeternus 306₄

Rite: viribus Aeterni taurobolio 306₄

- Taurophonia 582
 Tauros, Mt 449₀
 Taurus, the constellation 103₀ 664₁
 Tavium See Tauion
 Tavrásá (= Zeus?)
Cult: Sardeis 1227 f.
Epithet: *Hūdānḥ* (= 'Υδηνός?) 1227 f.
 Taygeton, Mt 890₂
Myth: Lynkeus 437 f.
 Tchatal Tepe in Lydia
Cult: Theos 'Υψιστος 881₀(20)
 Tefēnet
Cult: Egypt 626₀
Identified with Athena 626₀
 Tegea
Cults: Apollon 'Αγυειός 163 Athena 'Αλέα 593 f. 1147 Demeter 1140₅ Eileithyia (?) 1148₃ Kore 1140₅ Zeus Κεραυνοβόλος 807 Zeus Κλάριος 807₂ 873₂ 892₁ 1148 f. Zeus Μέγιστος 807₂ Zeus Μελλάχιος (= Μελλάχιος) 1147 1149 Zeus Στορπάας 815 850 Zeus Τέλειος 1147
Festivals: ἀγῶνες 'Ολυμπιακοί 807₂ of Apollon 'Αγυειός 164₀ of Skephros 164₀ 455₃
Myths: Aelos 1147 Skephros and Leimon 164₀ Sterope, d. of Kepheus 1147₁₁
 — coins of 1147 common hearth of Arcadians at 1148 four tribes at 1148 pyramid-on-pillar as form of deity at 1147 relief from 593 talisman of 1148
 Tegea in Crete 1147₆
 Tegeates, f. of Skephros 164₀
 Teiresias 488₀(2) 489₀(4)
 Tektaios 232₀
 Telamon in Etruria, coins of 383
 Telauges 1024
 Telchines
Myth: work 'in Idaean caves' 933₀
 Telegonos
Myth: slays Odysseus 676 923₀
 — a parallel to the story of, from the Torres Straits 676₄
 Telephidai (= Pergamenes) 954₀
 Telephos
Myths: Achilles 1184₃ Auge 671 Dionysos 1184₃ Odysseus 1184₃ Orestes 1179₆ 1183 Pergamon 1179
Genealogy: h. of Astyoche 281₄
Etymology: 1183₃
 Telesphoros
Function: procreative power of Asklepios 1089
Etymology: 1229
Types: child 1082 *phallós* draped as man or boy 1089
Associated with Asklepios 1082 Asklepios and Hygieia 1078
 Telete Meizon at Pheneos 1136₄
 Tellus
Epithet: *stabil(ita)* 373₃
Type: reclining beneath vine, while
 Tellus (*cont.*)
 four Seasons pass over starry globe 373
 Tembrogios or Tembrios, river in Phrygia 969₃
 Temenothyrai
Cult: Dioskouroi 313
 — coins of 313 566
 See also Ak Tash
 Temnos
Cult: Zeus 'Ακράϊος 873₀(19) 956₁
 — coins of 873₀(19)
 Tempe 457₁₃ 458
 Tempestates 94₂
 Tempus 862
 Tenedos
Cults: Dionysos (?) 658 ff. Dionysos 'Αρθρωποραλίστης 522 662 Dionysos ('Ωμάδιος?) 667 f. double axe 522 Hemitheia 670 f. 847 Hera (?) 662 sky-god passing from older (Dionysiac Zeus) to younger (Zeus-like Dionysos) form 663 Tennes (Tenes) 673 847 two axes 668 Zeus (?) 662
Rites: human sacrifice 667 f. sacrifice of bull-calf 522
Myths: Hemitheia 669 ff. Tennes (Tenes) 669 ff.
Etymology: 662
 — coins of 654 ff. 668 673 847 double axes of 654 ff. formerly named Leukophrys 669 formerly named Phoinike 662 proverbs *Τενέδιος ἀρθρωπος*, *Τενέδιος ξυνήγορος*, *Τενέδιος πέλεκυς* 668 f. seal-stone from 663 weights of 658
 Tenedos, on borders of Lykia and Pamphylia 662
 Tenes 662
 See also Tennes (Tenes)
 Tennes (Tenes)
Cult: Tenedos 673 847
Myths: Achilles 669 f. Tenedos 669 ff.
Function: sky 673
Etymology: 662
Types: handsome statue 673 Janiform head (with Hemitheia) 673
 Tennes, king of Sidon 662
 Tenos
Rite: Hyperborean offerings 497
 Teos
Cults: Agathos Daimon 1066 Roma 1066 Zeus Καπετώλιος 1066 Zeus Κτήσιος 1066
 Terentium in the Campus Martius 32
 Tereus
Myth: pursues Prokne and Philomela 692 f.
Metamorphosed into hoopoe 693
Attributes: shield and lance 693₁ spears 693₁ sword 693₁
 Termessos (Termessus Maior)
Cults: Augustus 973₁ Dione 974₀ Theos 'Επήκοος 'Υψιστος (?) 879₀(16) Zeus Δωτήρ (?) 'Ιδαίος (?) 321₁ Zeus 'Ελευ-

- Termessos** (Termessus Maior) (*cont.*)
θέριος 974₀ Zeus Σολυμεύς 973₁ f.
 Zeus Σόλυμος 974₀
Festival: Eleutheria (?) 974₀
 — coins of 973₁ 974₀
- Terminus**
Rite: offerings placed in hole 1090
Function: terminator 1090
- Terra**
Myth: Palici 909₀
- Tesub**
Cults: Hittites 766₁ 767₀ 910₁ list of 910₁
Attributes: axe 767₀ lightning-fork 767₀
Type: standing with axe and lightning-fork 766₁ 767₀
- Tethys**
Myth: nurses Hera 343₀
Genealogy: d. of Ouranos by Ge 1020 m. of Phorkys, Kronos, Rhea, etc. by Okeanos 1020 w. of Okeanos 473
Identified with Isis 481₀
- Tetraotos**, a god
Cult: Sikanoi (?) 322
 See also Apollon Τετράωτος, Zeus Τετράωτος
- Tetraotos**, a Phoenician freebooter 322₆ 323₀
- Teukros** 472
- Teuthras**
Genealogy: f. of Thespios 1151 s. of Pandion 1151
- Thagimasada** See Thamimasadas
- Thalamai**
Cults: Asklepios 1085 Pasiphaa 31 Zeus Καβάρας 17. f. 31
- Thalassa**
Cults: Laodikeia on the Lykos 1186 Pergamon 1185
Attributes: crab's-claws 665₃ 1185 dolphin 1186 steering-paddle 1185
Types: androgynous 558₀ recumbent 1185 standing 1185 f. with head-dress of crab's-claws 665₃ 1185
- Thalath** 558₀
- Thaleia**, d. of Hephaistos
Genealogy: m. of Palikoi by Zeus 909₀
- Thales** 1021
- Thalna** 709 f.
- Thamimasadas** (Thagimasada), the Scythian Poseidon 293₀
- Thanatos**
Genealogy: b. of Hypnos 317
Type: Eros with crossed legs and torch reversed 309 1045 1166
- Thanr** 709 f.
- Thargelia** 237₀
- Thasos**
Cults: Bendis 314₀ Dionysos 314₀ Zeus Κεραύνιος 808₀₍₁₀₎
 — antefix from 123₀ coins of 388₀ relief from 863₁
- Thea Hypsiste**
Cult: Gjöle in Lydia 881₀₍₂₀₎
- Theai Megalai** See Megalai Theai
- Theanor** 1024
- Thebarma**
Cult: fire 34₁
- Thebes in Boiotia**
Cults: Artemis 412 Demeter 'Ομολώφα 900₁ ep. 901₀ Hektor 961₀ Hera Κιθαιρωνία 899₀ Meilichioi 1154₆ Zeus 'Ομολώιος 900₁ Zeus "Υψιστος 878₀₍₂₎ 898₃
Festivals: Daphnephoria 455₈ Homoloia 900₁
Myths: Drakon 1087 Ogygos 824₆ Oidipous 1152
 — coins of 110₇ 'Ομολώιδες πύλαι at 900₁ 901₀ 904₄ "Υψισται πύλαι at 878₀₍₂₎
- Thebes in Egypt**
Cults: Amen 774₀ Zeus Θηβαιεύς 960₀
Rite: παλλακίδες of Zeus Θηβαιεύς 960₀
 — relief from 863₁
- Theios Angelos**
Cult: Stratonikeia 880₀₍₀₎
 See also Agathos Angelos
- Thelpousa**
Cult: Asklepios 1090
- Themele** (= Semele) 279₃
- Themis**
Cult: Delphoi 176₁ 500 1216
Epithets: ἀρχέγονος 954₀ Βουλαία 258₃ εὐβουλος 37₁ 258₃ εὐκταία 723₀ εὐπλάκαμος θεά 1216 Ικεσία 873₂ καλή (?) 931₀ ὀρθόβουλος 258₃ ὀρκία 723₀ οὐρανία 37₁ πινυτή 258₃ προφήτης καρτερόβουλος 954₀
Rite: leap 931₀
Myths: Boucheta 267₅ 348₃ consorts with Zeus 37₁ Delphoi 230₀ Deukalion 267₅ 348₅ 971₀ gives oracle to Kronos 928₀ impregnated by pillar of light (= Apollon) 1217
Genealogy: m. of Horni by Zeus 37₁ 94₂
Function: supports orator 893₃
Etymology: 268₁
Types: riding on ox 348₅ seated on tripod 206₁ 1217
Identified with Ge 176₁
Associated with Moirai 929₀ Zeus 258 723₀ Zeus and Apollon 730₀ Zeus and Dike 897₃ Zeus and Dionysos 261 f.
Compared with Europe 267₅
In relation to Zeus 873₂
 — a possible doublet of Thetis 268
- Themisonion**
Cults: Dioskouroi (?) 313 Lyk(abas?) Σώζων 312₅ 313₈
 — coins of 312₅ 313
- Theodaisia** 948₀₍₄₎ 1021
- Theodoric the Great** 1071
- Theodoros**, sculptor of *tabula Iliaca* 45₁
- Theodotos**, St 1186₁
- Theognetos**, the Thessalian 1024
- Theoi Agnostoi** See Agnostoi Theoi

- Theoi Agrioi
Cult: Mt Kragos 971₂
Identified with Kragos and his kin
 971₂ f. Titanes 971₂
- Theoi Akraioi
Cult: Mytilene (?) 873₀₍₁₁₀₎
- Theoi Ktesioi 1068
- Theoi Ouranioi
Cult: Melos 808₀₍₁₂₎
- Theoi Skirroï See Theoi Skleroi
- Theoi Skleroi
Cult: Lykia 972₀
- Theoi Soteres
Cults: Ikonion 970₀ Philadelpheia in
 Lydia 960₀ 1229 Seleukeia Pieria
 869₁
- Theophanes
Personates Zeus 97₀
- Theos
Etymology: 234₁
- Theos Agnostos See Agnostos Theos
- Theos Basileus Eumenes Soter (= Eumenes ii)
Cult: Elaia in Aiolis 960₀
- Theos Epekoös See Theos Hypsistos
Epithets 'Επήκοος
- Theos Hagios See Theos Hypsistos
Epithets 'Αγιος
- Theos Hypsistos
Cults: Aizanoi 882₀₍₂₃₎ 968₀ Akmonia
 882₀₍₂₃₎ 968₁ Alexandria 889₀₍₃₃₎
 984₂ Amathous 879₀₍₁₅₎ 980₃ Arslan
 Apa in Phrygia 883₀₍₀₎ 969₃
 Athribis 889₀₍₃₃₎ 984₃ Berytos 983₅
 Bithynia (?) 883₀₍₂₄₎ Bosphoros Kim-
 merios 883₀₍₂₇₎ 884₀₍₀₎ 885₀₍₀₎ Gol-
 goi 879₀₍₁₅₎ 980₃ Gorgippia 883₀₍₂₇₎
 884₀₍₀₎ 948₂ Hephaistia in Lemnos
 878₀₍₇₎ Hierokaisareia in Lydia
 881₀₍₂₀₎ Ioudaia 888₀₍₃₂₎ 889₀₍₀₎
 Kerdyllion 878₀₍₉₎ Kition 879₀₍₁₅₎
 980₃ Knossos 879₀₍₁₄₎ Koloe 881₀₍₂₀₎
 Kos 880₀₍₁₈₎ 964₁ Kyzikos 953₁
 Laodikeia on the Lykos 882₀₍₂₃₎
 968₃ Miletos 879₀₍₁₇₎ Moesia 878₀₍₁₁₎
 949₁ Mytilene 882₀₍₂₂₎ Nakoleia
 882₀₍₂₃₎ 969₁ Oinoanda 879₀₍₁₆₎ Per-
 gamon 882₀₍₀₎ 956₀ Phata in Lydia
 881₀₍₂₀₎ Philadelpheia in Lydia
 881₀₍₂₀₎ Phoinike 886₀₍₃₀₎ Pirot
 878₀₍₁₁₎ 948₅ Plakia 882₀₍₀₎ Rheneia
 880₀₍₁₀₎ Rome 879₀₍₁₃₎ Sahin in
 Phoinike 886₀₍₃₀₎ 983₃ Sari-Tsam
 in Lydia 881₀₍₂₀₎ Sebastopolis (?)
 883₀₍₂₆₎ Selymbria 878₀₍₁₀₎ 949₄
 Silandos 881₀₍₂₀₎ Sinope 883₀₍₂₅₎
 Tanais 884₀₍₀₎ 948₃ Tchatal Tepe
 in Lydia 881₀₍₂₀₎ Termessos (?)
 879₀₍₁₆₎ Thyateira 881₀₍₂₀₎ Tralleis
 880₀₍₀₎ 962₀
Epithets: 'Αγιος 878₀₍₁₀₎ 949₄ 'Αγιώ-
 τας 879₀₍₁₇₎ 'Επήκοος 878₀₍₇₎ 878₀₍₁₁₎
 879₀₍₁₆₎ (?) 884₀₍₀₎ 948₅ Εύλογητός
 883₀₍₂₇₎ 884₀₍₀₎ 'Ιάω 'Αδωναί 889₀₍₀₎
 Κεραυνίος 807₃₍₃₎ 882₀₍₂₂₎ κύριε ὁ
- Theos Hypsistos (*cont.*)
πάντα ἐφορῶν 880₀₍₁₀₎ κύριον τῶν
πνεύματων καὶ πάσης σαρκός 880₀₍₁₀₎
Μέγας 883₀₍₂₅₎ Οὐράνιος 886₀₍₃₀₎ Οὐ-
ράνιος 'Τπατος 983₃ Παντοκράτωρ
 883₀₍₂₇₎ 884₀₍₀₎ πάντων 'Επόπτης
 889₀₍₃₃₎ 984₂ Σωτήρ 879₀₍₁₇₎ 'Τπατος
 886₀₍₃₀₎
Rite: lamp 879₀₍₁₆₎
Priests: ἱερεὺς 879₀₍₁₇₎ προφήτης 879₀₍₁₇₎
Worshippers: ἀδελφοί 883₀₍₂₅₎ θιασοί or
σύνοδοι, comprising πρεσβύτεροι and
εἰσπονητοὶ ἀδελφοί, under control of
ἱερεὺς, πατήρ συνόδου, συναγωγός,
φιλάγαθος, παραφιλάγαθος, γυμνασι-
άρχης, νεανισκάρης, γραμματεὺς
 883₀₍₀₎
Attribute: eagle 884₀₍₀₎ 889
Identified with Adad or Ramman,
 the Zeus or Iupiter of Heliopolis
 886₀₍₃₀₎ Adonai 889₀₍₀₎ Helios 882₀₍₀₎
 Iao 889₀₍₀₎ Zeus 882₀₍₂₂₎ 883₀₍₀₎
 884₀₍₀₎ Zeus Βέννιος or Βεννεύς 969₃
Superseded by Christ 879₀₍₁₇₎
 — cult of, propagated by Jews of
 the Dispersion 889 f. sacred light
 (φῶς) of 889₀₍₀₎
 See also Hypsistos, Zeus *Epithets*
 'Τψιστος
- Theos Kataibates 14₃
- Theos Megas
Cults: Delos 985₀ Odessos in Thrace
 1126₀ Palmyra 885₀₍₂₀₎
Epithets: Σαλλυντος (? J. H. Mordt-
 mann cf. 'Αμμονῶταρ see O. Höfer
 in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 290)
 'Ενεοάρης (?) 885₀₍₂₀₎
Attributes: cornu copiae 1126₀ *phiale*
 1126₀
- Theos Zon 1102₃
- Theoteknos introduces cult of Zeus Φίλιος
 at Antiocheia on the Orontes 1186
 1196
- Theoxenia 243₂ 244₂ 1064 1136₀ (?) 1170
- Thera
Cults: Apollon 920₀ 921₀ Melichios
 (See Zeus Μηλιχίος) Zeus Βροντῶν
 καὶ 'Αστράπτων 817 (Zeus) 'Ικέτιος
 1095₀ Zeus Καταιβάτας 17 Zeus
 Κτήσιος 1066 Zeus Μηλιχίος τῶν
περὶ Πολύξενον 1156₁₀ Zeus τῶν *περὶ*
Λάκιον 1156₁₀ Zeus τῶν *περὶ* 'Ολυμ-
πίδωρον 1156₁₀
 — archaic inscriptions of 1226 votive
 lions in 920₀ 921₀
- Therapia 996 998 f.
- Therapne
Cult: Dioskouroi 1064
Myth: Dioskouroi 437
- Therma (s? -ios?), river-god 408₀
- Thermos in Aitolia
Cults: Ge 72₀ Helios 729₀ Zeus 729₀
- Theseus
Festivals: Melichia 1091 f. Oscho-
 phoria 1092

Theseus (cont.)

Myths: clears road to Delphoi 628
 Damastes 626 f. Phaidra and Hippolytos 1043 Phyalidai 291₂ 1091
 1103 Prokoptes 626 f. Prokroustes
 626 f. Sinis 627₆ 1091 Skiron 627₆

Genealogy: f. of Hippolytos 1087 gs.
 of Pittheus 1091

Attributes: double axe 626 ff. 847
 sword 627₆

Type: attacking Centaur 628

Associated with Kodros and Phyleus
 1137₂ Peirithoos and Herakles 211₂

Thespia, d. of Asopos 1151₃

Thespiain

Cults: Agathos Daimon (Demon)
 1125₁ 1161 St Charalambos 1150₀
 Daimones 1150₀ Dionysos Σαώτης(?)
 599₂ Hera Κιθαίρωνα 899₀ Hermes
 1150₀ Miliche 1151 Mousa (Mosa)
 238₀ Zeus Κρήσιος 1061 1066 Zeus
 Μιλίχος 1151 Zeus Σαώτης 599₂
 1151

Myth: snake slain by Menestratos 1151

— apsidal temple of 900₀

Thespios, eponym of Thespiain

Genealogy: s. of Erechtheus 1151 s.
 of Teuthras s. of Pandion 1151

Thesprotia, caldron of 133₀

Thessalonike

Cults: Hercules Augustus 1194₁ Prino-
 phoros 411₆

— coins of 411₆

Thessaly

Cults: pillar 166₂ (?) Zeus Κάριος 873₂
 Zeus Αφύσσιος 899₁ Zeus Όμολώσιος
 900₁ Zeus Τραπος (?) 876₀₍₇₎ Zeus
 Φύσιος 902₀

Rites: burial within the house 1061
 φοιβονομείσθαι 500₁₂

Myth: Salmoneus 825 833 1088

— kings of, personate Zeus 1087 ff.

Thetis

Myths: Mnemon 670 supplicates Zeus
 45₁ 753₃

Etymology: 268₂

Type: with head-dress of crab's-claws
 665₃

Compared with Metis 12

Thibursicum Bure

Cult: Iuno Caeclestis 68₂

Thimouis

Cult: he-goat 987₀

Thoas 421₃

Tholathes (?) 558₀

Thor

Cults: Gothia 620 Lapps (?) 423₃ 533₂
Rite: erection of beam pierced by iron
 nail (?) 533₂

Myths: brings to life his goats when
 cooked in caldron 63₁ 213₀ leads
 Thorolfr Mostrarskegg to Iceland
 533₂

Genealogy: f. of Magni 64₀ s. of
 Hlódyn 66₀

Thor (cont.)

Functions: fertility 63₁ thunder 547₀

Etymology: 32

Attributes: club 64₀ hammer 547₀
 mallet 620 sword 305₀ thistle 775₀

Type: bearded 64₀

Identified with Jupiter 620

— carved on high-seat pillar 533₂
 temple of 533₂

Thorikos

Rite: burial within the house 1060

Thornax, Mt, in Lakonike

Cult: Apollon Θορνάκιος or Πυθαεύς
 893₂

Thornax, w. of Iapetos 894₀

Thoth

Epithet: Astennu 700₀

Myth: gives wings etc. to the gods
 553

Identified with Hermes Τρισμέγιστος
 611

See also Tat

Thoukydides, portrait-herm of (with
 Herodotos) 389 f.

Thourioi 118₂ 119

Thouros

Identified with the planet Ares and
 Baal or Bel 694₀

Thrace

Cults: Apollon 458 Artemis 411
 Artemis Βασίλεια 500 f. Axieros
 314 f. Axiokersa 314 f. Axiokersos
 314 f. Bendis 303₂ 314₀ 411 501
 Boreas 380 Bousbatos 501₃ Dionysos
 269 ff. Dionysos Βάλων 270 (Diony-
 sos) Ταμβαδούλης 820₃ 821 851
 Dionysos Σαβάξιος 314₀ Dios 277 ff.
 288 313 824 842 Dios Νύσος 313
 Erikepaïos (Erikapaïos) (?) 1025
 Kabeïroi 313 ff. Κύριος Θεός Προγον-
 κός Ζηβελσοῦρδος 1225 Κύριος Zeus
 Ζηβελσοῦρδος 1225 rider-god 821 823
 Zeus Δόννοςος 282 (Zeus) Ζάλλμο-
 ξις (?) 230 822 Zeus Ζηβελσοῦρδος
 817 ff. 833 851 Zeus Ζηβελσοῦρδος ó
 Κύριος 1225 (Zeus) Ζηβελείζις (?) 822
 (Zeus) *Ζηβελσοῦρδος (?) 822

Rite: human omophagy 1022

Myths: Kosingas 130 Salmoxis 226

Tereus 692 f.

— as link between Germany and
 Greece 114 coins of 1133₁ (?) kings
 of 271₀

See also Thracians, Thraco-Phrygians

Thracians tattooed 121 123₀

Thraco-Phrygians

Cults: Dionysos 268 ff. 663 673 Dios
 277 ff. 663 842 Dios Νύσος 842
 Erikepaïos (Erikapaïos) (?) 1025
 Father and Son 313 Phanes (?)
 1025 Semele 673 842 Zeus 1111

Myth: death and burial of Dionysos
 at Delphoi 218 ff.

— prepared to accept Christianity
 288

- Thrakidai 231 268
 Thrasyllos, monument of 245₅
 Thrasymedes of Paros 1078 f.
 Thronax (Thornax?), Mt, in Argolis 893₂
 Thunders See Brontai
 Thunor 32
 Thyateira
Cults: Apollon Τύριμνος 562 Theos
 "Τυσισρος 881₀₍₂₀₎ Tyrimnos 561 f.
 Zeus 'Αέριος 808₀₍₀₎ Zeus Κεραύνιος
 808₀₍₀₎ Zeus Φίλιος (= Trajan) 1184 f.
 — coins of 561 f. 845 coin of, in
 alliance with Pergamon 1184 f.
- Thyellai
Cult: Bathos 827
 Thyestes, a storm-god (?) 1022
 Thyestes, f. of Enorches
Myth: 1021
Etymology: 1022
 Thyestes, s. of Pelops
Myths: banquet 1021 sceptre of Zeus
 547₂ 956₂
Etymology: 1022
 — sceptre of 1132₄ 1132₆
- Thyiad, the principal 242
 Thyiads 242
 Thymaitis, an Athenian phratry 1229
 Thyone 29 279₃ 1022
 Thyonianus as rebirth of Dionysos (?) 893₀
 Tiamat 1038
Type: lion-headed monster (?) 769₀
- Tiberis, the river-god
Genealogy: h. of Ilia 1016 s. of Ianus
 394₃
Attributes: reed 1083 urn 1083
Type: reclining 1083
- Tiber-island
Cults: Aesculapius 1083 1086 Dios
 Fidius 726₀ Iupiter Iurarius 726₀
 Simon Magus 726₀
- Tibur
Cult: Hercules 328₃
- Tifata, Mt
Cult: Diana 404
Etymology: 404
- Tifis, *kántharos* found near 1204
 Tigillum Sororium See Rome
 Tilphossa
Cult: Apollon Τιλφούσιος 439
- Time
Attributes: hour-glass 867 f. scythe
 867 f.
Types: ancient, medieval, and modern
 868₁
- Tina (Tinia)
Cult: Etruria 338₃ 662
Identified with Iupiter 338₃ Zeus 709
 Tina See Tina
 Tiodute (Jodute) 1212
 Tiora Matiene
Cult: Mars 1133₁ 1230
- Titanes
Myths: attack Dionysos or Zagreus
 218 f. 251₂ 549 1030 f. attack Liber
 1031 attack Osiris 1030 flung into
- Titanes (*cont.*)
 Tartaros by Zeus 1032 men made
 from their ashes 1032 reduced to
 powder (*τρῆραρος*) 1032 smear their
 faces with gypsum 1030 struck
 with thunderbolt by Zeus 1031
 Sykeas or Sykeus pursued by Zeus
 1103₈ Tarsos 570₁ Titanomachia
 827₇
Genealogy: sons of Ouranos by Ge
 1023 cp. 1103₈
Function: chieftains or kings 971₂
Etymology: 1023
Identified with Theoi Agrioi 971₂
In relation to the Cretan Zeus or
 Zagreus 352
- Tithonos 281₄
 Tiu See Ziu
 Tiv
Cult: Etruria 339₀
Function: moon 339₀
- Tiw See Ziu
 Tlapolemeia 469
 Tlepolemos 469
- Tloos, eponym of the Lycian town Tlos
Genealogy: f. of Sidymos by Cheleidon
 d. of Kragos 971₂ s. of Tremilos
 (Tremiles?) by the nymph Praxi-
 dike, b. of Kragos and Pinalos 971₂
- Tmolos, Mt
Cults: Zeus Δεῖσιος (?) 957₂ Zeus
 Κορυφαῖος (See Philadelphieia in
 Lydia) Zeus 'Υέτιος 957₂
Myths: birth of Zeus 957₂ 1228 Zeus
 Σαβάξιος brings the babe Dionysos
 thither 957₂
 — place called Γοβαί Διὸς 'Υερίου,
 later Δεῖσιον (? Δεωσίον) on 957₂
- Tomaris in Lydia
Cult: youthful hero on horseback
 bearing double axe 563
 — coins of 563
- Tomis (Tomoi)
Cult: Iupiter *Optimus Maximus Heros*
 823₁₍₁₎
 — coins of 114₀
- Torcello, relief at 865 f.
 Tosobis 972₀
 Tottes 569₂
- Trachis
Myths: Alkyone 1088 Keyx 1088
 Traianeia Deiphileia 1180
 Traianeum at Pergamon 1179 ff.
 Traianopolis in Kilikia, coins of 101₀
 Traianopolis in Phrygia, coins of 566
 Trajan
Cults: Hermione 1180₄ Pergamon
 1179 ff.
Epithet: *Optimus* 1181₀
Festival: Traianeia Deiphileia 1180
Personates Zeus 100₆ 1180 1180₄
 — Arch of, at Beneventum 1181₀
- Tralleis 957₃ ff.
Cults: Apollon 958₀ Athena 958₀
 Dionysos 960₀ Poseidon 959₀ Theos

Tralleis (cont.)

"Τύστος 880₍₀₎ 962₀ Zeus 958₀ Zeus Εὐμένης (= Eumenes i) 960₀ Zeus Λαράσιος 958₀ ff. Zeus Λαράσιος Σεβαστὸς Εὐμένης (= Hadrian) 959₀ f.

Festival: Pythia 959₀
Rites: ἀμπτόποδες 959₀ f. παλλακίδες 959₀ f.

Priests etc.: θεοκῶλοι 958₀ ἱεροί 958₀ ἱερομνήμονες 958₀ priest of Zeus Λαράσιος (?) has brick palace 958₀
— coins of 491₀₍₀₎ 957₃ 960₀ 961₀ f. jewelry from 638 f. reliefs or frescoes at 961₀

Tralleus, eponymous founder of Tralleis 957₃

Tralioi, a Thracian tribe 957₃

Tranquillina as Tyche of Kaisareia in Kappadokia 978₀

Transfiguration (Aug. 6) 945₀

Trapezous in Arkadia

Cult: Zeus Ἀκραῖος 871₃₍₃₎ 892₂

Tremilos (Tremiles ?), eponym of Tremile (= Lykia) 971₂

Trephon (?) 1074 1076

Trikke

Cults: Apollon Μαλεάτας 487₃₍₁₎ 1088

Asklepios 1079 1088

Myths: Asklepios 833₀ Koronis 833₀
— coins of 1079 underground ἀδυτον at 1088

Triopas (Triops), f. of Erysichthon 683

Genealogy: s. of Helios by Rhodos 684₂ s. of Lapithes, s. of Apollon by Stilbe, d. of Pencios 684₂ s. of Poseidon by Kanake 684₂

Triopidai 683

Triops See Triopas, f. of Erysichthon

Triphyllia

Cult: Hera Ὀπλοσμία 291₀

Tripolis in Lydia See Apollonia (Tripolis)

Triptolemos

Cults: Antiocheia on the Orontes 981₁
Mt Kasion in Syria 981₁

Myth: Ione 1186

Genealogy: s. of Polymnia 1022

Triton

Types: double bust (with Libye) 392 with head-dress of lobster's or crab's claws 665₃

Tritonides 898₀

Tritopatrens as one of the first three Dioskouroi 1135₄

Troilos 475

Troizen

Cults: Aphrodite Ἀκραία 872₀₍₅₎ Aphrodite Κατασκοπία 944₀ Artemis Σαρωνία 413₇ Artemis Σαρωνίς 413 ff. Asklepios 1085 Athena Σθενιάς 416₃ Dionysos Σαώτης 599₂ Hermes Πολύγυος 466

Myths: Hippolytos 414 ff. 944₀ Saron 413 f.

— coins of 416 797 kings of 414

Troizen, s. of Pelops 414₂

Trokmoi 754₁

Tropaeum Traiani 114₀

Trophonios (Trophonios)

Cult: Lebadeia 232₄ 899₂ 1073 ff.

Rite: incubation 232₄

Myths: sleep at Delphoi 232₄ swallowed by earth 1075

Genealogy: descended from Aiolos 1088

Function: hypostasis of Zeus (?) 1075

Attribute: snake coiled round staff 1075

Identified with a chthonian Hermes 1075 Zeus 1075

Associated with Agamedes 232₄ Zeus Βασιλεύς 1073 f.

Compared with Amphiaraios 1075 Asklepios 1075

In relation to Zeus 900₀

Superseded by St Christopher 1076

Troy

Cults: Apollon 453 Artemis 453 Zeus 8 950₀

Myths: birth of Zeus 951₀ capture 911₀ Ilos founds the city where cow lies down 349 wooden horse 625
— axe-hammers from 635 f.

Trygaios 909₀

Turin, relief at 861 f.

Tusculum

Cults: Castor 1170 f. Diana 403 Dioskouroi (?) 368₂ Fontus (?) 368₂ Ianus (?) 368₂

Tyana

Cults: Apollon Βοζήνιος (?) 570 Zeus Ἀσβαμαῖος 569 Zeus Ὀρκιος (?) 569₄ 722₅

Tychai

Cult: Epidauros 487₃₍₁₎

Tyche

Cults: Antiocheia on the Orontes 1196₂ 1197 Athens 1163 Edessa 429 f. Kaisareia in Kappadokia 978₀ Magnesia ad Sipylum 729₀ Melos 1136₄ Mylasa 879₀₍₁₇₎ Nemroud Dagh 1136₄ Panamara 879₀₍₁₇₎ 1066 Peiraieus 1104 f. Philadelpheia in Lydia 1228

Epithets: Ἀγαθή 879₀₍₁₇₎ 1104 f. 1163 1229 (See also Agathe Tyche) Νέα 1136₄

Personated by Antiochos i of Kommagene 1136₄ Arsinoe ii 1216 benefactor of Melos 1136₄ Tranquillina 978₀

Attribute: pillar 1136₄

Types: holding infant (Ploutos?) 1136₄ seated with Orontes at her feet 1209₅

Identified with Rhea 675 (?)

Associated with Zeus 879₀₍₁₇₎ Zeus Ἐπιτέλειος Φίλιος and Philia 1163
— of Antoninus Pius 879₀₍₁₇₎ of Seleukos ii Kallinikos 729₀

Tyndareos

Genealogy: f. of Dioskouroi and Helene 918₀

- Tyndaridai**
Cults: Selinous 489₀₍₆₎ Sparta 436
Myths: buried at Therapne 437 feued with Idas and Lynkeus 437
Genealogy: affiliated to Zeus 918₀
Type: supporters of sky 432
- Tyndaris**
Cults: Dioskouroi (Tyndaridai) 918₀
 Helene (Tyndaris) 918₀ Zeus 917₁ 918₀
 — coins of 917₁ 918₀
- Tynnichos** 906₃
- Typhoeus** 826 839₆
 See also Typhon
- Typhon**
Myths: Arima 826 909₀ crushed by Zeus under Mt Aitne 909₀ cuts out sinews of Zeus 228 448₂ cuts up body of Osiris 1030 fight with Zeus 448₂ 722₂ 731 826 839₆ Hermes uses his sinews as lyre-strings 450₀ pursued by Zeus to Mt Kasion in Syria 981₁ swallows eye of Horos 450₀ tastes mortal fruit 449₀
Genealogy: s. of Ge by Tartaros 448₂
Functions: chthonian 805₆ warmth 557₁
Attribute: thunderbolt (?) 805₆
Types: three-bodied 805₆ winged 448₂ with serpent-legs 448₂ with two wings and snake tails 731₁
Identified with Arktos 450₀
- Tyr**
Myth: Fenrir 450₀
 See also Ziu
- Tyre**
Cults: Herakles 423 f. Zeus 424₀
 — coins of 665₃ 1036 f. 1209₅
- Tyrimneia** 561
- Tyrimnos**
Cult: Thyateira 561 f. 845
Epithets: ὁ προπάτωρ 561₇ ὁ προπάτωρ θεός 561₈
Festivals: Tyrimneia 561 τῶν μεγάλων Σεβαστῶν Τυριμνήων ἀγῶνων 561₉
Priest: ἱερεὺς 561₈
Type: youthful rider with double axe 561
Identified with Apollon 561 f. 845
 Helios 562 845
- Umbria**
Cults: Fisos (or Fisovios) *Sancios* 724₀
 Iupater *Sancius* 724₀
- Underworld** See Index II
- Uni** (= Iuno)
Cult: Etruria 338₃
- Urbs Salvia**
Cults: Iuno(?) 803 Iupiter *Iutor* 803 ff.
 Minerva 803 Victoria 803
 — painted tiles from 803 ff.
- Ursa Maior** 336 928₀ 1017₄
- Ursa Minor** 336 928₀
- Usil**
Cult: Etruria 339₀
Function: sun 339₀
- Valc(h)anos** (?) (= Velchanos)
Cult: Golgoi 948₀₍₅₎
 See also Velchanos
- Van**, axe-head from 632₆
- Vaphio**, incised gem from 621
- Varpelev**, *skýphos* from 1204 f.
- Vediovis**
Identified with Iupiter *Iurarius* (?) 726₀
- Velchania** (?) 947₀₍₂₎
- Velchanos**
Cults: Gortyna (?) 947₀₍₂₎ Hagia Triada 947₀₍₁₎ Phaistos 946₀ 947₀
Etymology: 947₀
Identified with Apollon 948₀ Volcanus (?) 947₀ Zeus 946₀ ff.
- Venafrum**
Cult: Iupiter *Caelestis* 69₀ 401₀
- Venasa**
Cult: Zeus 616
- Venti**
Cults: Kaulonia (?) 1042 Lithuania 445₁ Tarentum 464
Epithet: *bonarum Tempestatium potentes* 94₂
Attributes: cock 445₁ fish 445₁ small cask 445₁
Types: four winged heads 1051 Janiform 445₁
- Ventina** (sc. Aqua)
Associated with Fons and Vires 306₄
- Venus**
Cults: Bovianum Undecimanorum 68₂
 Jerusalem 984₁ Pola 68₂ Puteoli 68₂
 Rome 68₂
Epithets: *Caelestis* 68₂ *Libitina* 1165₁ *Verticordia* 98 f.
Myth: sprung from blood of Saturnus and foam of sea 448₁ cp. 448₀
Function: Friday 70
Attributes: mirror 70₁ scales 98 f. 100 tortoise 68₁ water-mint 1166₀
Types: standing with foot on footstool 67 f. with apple in hand 491₀₍₆₎ with apple, sceptre, star, and child 68₂
Associated with Mercurius 67 Tammuz (Adonis) 984₁
In relation to Frija 67
 — mirror of 609₁ on column of Mayence 96
- Venus**, the planet, symbol of 608 f.
- Verbio** (= Virbicus) in folk-tale of the Romagnoli 420
- Verelde** 66₀
- Vespera** 74
- Vesta**
Cults: Agedincum 99₃ Lugdunum 99₃
 Rome 1148₀ 1172₄
Festival: Vestalia 20₀
Rites: feast of roast flesh and wine 1172₄ meal 19₀ perpetual fire of oak-wood 417₅
Priestesses: *virgines Vestales* 1148₀
Attribute: ass 99₄
Identified with Diana *Nemorensis* 417₅

Vesta (cont.)

Associated with Mars and Volcanus
99₃ Volcanus 99
— on column of Mayence 96 99 100
Vestalia 20₀
Vettiersfelde, celt from 509 f.
Vettii, frescoes from house of 1047 f.
Vetulonia, 'Tomb of the Lictor' at 1221
'Tomb of the Trident' at 1225
Via Egnatia 495
Viarus, Mt.
Cult: Zeus (?) 973₀
— on coins of Prostanta 972₅ f.

Vichy

Cult: Iupiter Sabasius (= Sabazius)
285₀
— silver bratteae from 285₀

Victoria

Cults: Divitia 64₀ Rome 1195₂ Urbs
Salvia 803
Attributes: palm-branch 99 811₅ wreath
811₅
Types: on globe 1196₀ writing on
shield 57₀ (fig. 22, 3b)
Associated with Iupiter 1195₂
— on column of Mayence 96 98 on
Iupiter-columns 57₀ 59₀ 71

Vidharr 305₀

Virae

Epithet: Querquetulanæ 402₀

Virbius

Cults: Neapolis in Campania 421 Nemi
392 ff.
Priest: flamen Virbialis 421₁
Myth: Diana 393
Functions: consort of Diana 392 ff.
842 growth 421 f. mythical proto-
type of rex Nemorensis 399
Etymology: 397₀ 398₀ 399 399₅ 421 f.
Type: Janiform (with Hippolytos)
392 ff. 420 f. 842
In relation to Diana 414 417 842
Irbos (?) 421

Virbius, Clivus, at Rome 400 f. 421

Virbius, river in Lakonike (?) 394₂ 421

Vires

Function: testicles personified 306₄
Associated with Deus Magnus Pantheus
306₄ Fons and (Aqua) Ventina 306₄
Lymphæ 306₄ Neptunus 306₄ Nym-
phae 306₄

Virgin, the

Cults: Athens 1119₀ 1119₃ Chartres
1213 Mt Gerizim 888₀₍₀₎ Mt Juktas
945₀ Zaragoza 1213
Epithets: δειπάθροσ 888₀₍₀₎ del Pilar
1213 du Pilièr 1213 ἡ ὑπεργία
Θεοκόκος 1119₄ Θεοκόκος 888₀₍₀₎
1150₁₀ Παργία 891₀ 945₀ Παργία
eis τὴν ἱέρπην 1119₀
Festival: Aug. 15 891₀
Supersedes Charites 1150₁₀

Virgins, the Seven, of Ankyra 1186₄

Virgo

Epithets: spicifera, iusti inventrix,

Virgo (cont.)

— urbium conditrix, ... lance vitam et
iura pensitans 734₃
Identified with Mater divum, Pax,
Virtus, Ceres, dea Syria 734₃

Virtus

Type: with banner 99
Identified with Virgo 734₃
— on column of Mayence 96 100

Virvinus, spring in Lakonike (?) 394₂

Vishnu

Cults: India 367 774₁
Myths: Brahṇā 774₁ in bubble as
Brahma 1036 Paraśu-rāma 660₁
Rāma-āndra 660₁
Genealogy: h. of Lakshmī 774₁ h. of
Sarasvatī 774₁
Function: solar (?) 774₁
Attribute: lotos 367 774₁
Types: four-handed 774₁ seated be-
neath starry arch 367
— sixth incarnation of 660₁ seventh
incarnation of 660₁

Vitellia, goddess 404₀

Vitellia, town in Latium 404₀

Vitellii 404₀

Volaterrae

Cults: Hermes (?) 383 Ianus (?) 383
— coins of 382 f.

Volcanus

Cults: Agedineum 99₃ Gallia Lugdun-
ensis 547₀ 619 Lugdunum 99₃
Genealogy: f. of Palicus by Aetna 909₀
Function: elemental fire 100
Etymology: 947₀
Identified with Donar 63₁ Velchanos (?)
947₀
Associated with Esus and Iovis 619
Mars and Vesta 99₇ Vesta 99
— on column of Mayence 96 100
on Jupiter-columns 57₀ 59₀ smithy
of 784

Volsung 682

Vulci, tomb-painting at 641

Vulturinus 368₃

Weaving Damsel 66₀

Wind-gods See Venti

Winds See Anemoi

Wodan

Rite: sacrifice at beginning of summer
62₁

Myth: contest with Fenris-wolf 62₁

Functions: leader of Wild Hunt or
Furious Host 62₁ sky-god 62₁

Attributes: chariot or coach 62₁ gold
helmet 62₁ gold ring 62₁ 990 throne
62₁

Type: one-eyed 62₁

Identified with Mercurius 59 63₀ 69 94₁
386₀

In relation to Ziu 62₁

Woodchester, statuette from 98₃ 1214

Xenioi Theoi 1177₂

- Xenokles, the potter 785 789₀
 Xenokrateia, dedication of 182 ff. (pl. x)
 Xenokrates 222
 Xenophilos, the sculptor 1079
 Xerxes
 Personates Zeus 853₁
- Yahwe See Jehovah
 Yggdrasil 305₀
 Yorkshire, Kyklops in folk-tale from 1002 f.
- Zagreus
 Cults: Crete 352 667 Hagia Triada (?)
 522 Mt Ide in Crete 838 934₀ 938₀
 Mt Zagros (?) 980₅
 Rites: 932₁ devoured by Thracian
 kings 271₀ 667 omophagy 934₀
 thunder-making 934₀ cp. 838 f. 852
 torches carried over mountain 934₀
 Worshippers: Bakchoi 934₀ Kouretes
 934₀
 Personated by Cretan prince (?) 522
 Kouretes 549
 Myths: 1030 ff. attacked by Titans
 549 1030 f. guarded by Apollon and
 Kouretes 1030 his heart placed in
 gypsum image by Zeus 1031 his
 heart rescued by Athena 1031 his
 limbs arranged by Apollon 1031
 nursed by Nymphs 1030 put to-
 gether again by Rhea 1032 reborn
 as Dionysos 1031 resurrection 1032
 sits on throne of Zeus 838 1030
 slain in bovine form 1030
 Metamorphosed into Zeus, Kronos,
 babe, youth, lion, horse, horned
 snake, tiger, bull 1030 cp. 861₅
 Genealogy: s. of Zeus by Phersephone
 or Kore 1029
 Function: annual rebirth of Zeus 934₀
 938₀
 Etymology: 268₁
 Types: Assyrian 697₀ horned babe
 1029
 Identified with Dionysos 234 1029
 Associated with Zeus 1113₀₍₂₎ (?)
 Compared with Zeus Βροντῶν 852
 In relation to Titans 352 Zeus 522 980₅
 — derived from Mesopotamia (Mt
 Zagros) 938₀ reaches Crete by same
 route as Aigokeros 938₀ toys of
 1030
- Zagros, Mt
 Cult: Zagreus (?) 980₅
- Zakynthos, Gigantes in folk-tale from
 505 f. golden crab in folk-tale from
 666₃ Kyklops in folk-tale from 994 f.
- Zalmoxis See Salmoxis
 Zalmoxis See Salmoxis
 Zamama 938₀
 Zamis, b. of Rhea 694₀
 Zan 344₀ 353 f.
 Cults: Crete 344 f. Mt Ide in Crete
 934₀ 942₀ Olympia 349 Samos (?)
 354₀
- Zan (*cont.*)
 Epithet: Μέγας 341₆ 344 f. 842
 Rite: eaten annually by his wor-
 shippers in form of a divine bull
 354
 Myth: buried in Crete 345
 Genealogy: f. of Minos by Europe 344
 s. of Kronos 940₀
 Functions: an older Zeus 340 ff. sky
 353 f. 842 thunder 341₆ 344
 Type: Ζᾶνες at Olympia 343₀ 349 354
 Identified with Great Ox 354 Jan 341
 344 353 Zeus 220₆ 341₆ 342₀ 345
 942₀
 In relation to Ianus (Ian) 842 Zeus 353
 Superseded by Pan (?) 347 ff. Zeus
 349 f. 842
 Survives as Zanos (Ζᾶνες) in modern
 Crete 353
 — in the plural (Ζᾶνες) 343₀ 349 354
 tomb of 341₆ 354 934₀ tower of 178
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 See also Zeus
 Zanes, consecrated men despatched to the
 gods 343₀
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 Zanides, Roman empresses (?) so called
 343₀
 Zankle
 Cult: Poseidon 794 f. 850
 Myth: called Δρέπανον after δρέπανον
 of Kronos 448₀
 — coin of 794 f. 850
 See also Messana
 Zanos 353
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 Cult: Our Lady del Pilar 1213
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 Zbelsourdos
 Etymology: 822 ff. 824₁ 851
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 Zelos 1029
 Zemela See Semele
 Zen 259₀ 293₀ 341 344₀ 582₁ 855₂ See also
 Zeus
 Zenoposeidon
 Cults: Corinth (?) 878₀₍₃₎ Mylasa 582
 663 846 963₇
 Festival: Tauriphonia (?) 582
 Priest: νεωκόρος 582
 Zephyros
 Cult: Kaulonia (?) 1042
 Myth: Kyparissos 981₁
 Type: horse 830₇
 Zes 344₀ 352₁ See also Zeus
 Zeter See Zioter
 Zetes
 Genealogy: s. of Boreas by Oreithyia,
 d. of Erechtheus 444
 Etymology: 444
 In relation to Zethos 445
 Zethos
 Cult: Antiocheia on the Orontes 428

Zethos (cont.)

Myths: Dirke 1013 1015 1019 Lykos 1019₂

Genealogy: b. of Amphion 317 s. of Zeus by Antiope 1013 s. of Zeus or Epopeus 445

Functions: herdsman 1013 one of the Theban Dioskouroi 1014

Etymology: 445₂

Type: on column 428

In relation to Zetes 445

Zeus

Cults: Abédan in Phoinike 886₍₃₀₎ 983₄ Achaeans 458 Adrianoi in Mysia 127 Aeolians 901₀ Azra 1142₃ (?) Agrigentum 911₀ ff. 1227 Aigai in Aiolis 259₀ Aigai in Makedonia 878₀₍₉₎ 906₂ Aigina 894₃ 895₀ 895₁ Aigion 742 f. 749 826₀ Ainianes 869₀ Mt Ainos 907₂ Mt Aitne 908₁ 909₀ 910₀ Aitne (formerly Katane) 908₁ 909₀ Aixone 730₀ Aizanoi 882₀₍₂₃₎ (?) 965₀ ff. Akarnania 743₇ 1226 Akmoncia 312₅ Akrai in Sicily 915₁ Akraiphia 97₀ 1074 Alaisa (Halaesa) 1158₀ Alban Mt 808₀₍₁₀₎ Alexandria 1158 1187₀ Alopeke 1115 Altyntash in Phrygia 883₀₍₆₎ Mt Alysis (?) 945₁ Amaseia 975₀ f. Amastris 707 848 918₀ 1067 Amathous 598 f. 869₀ Ambrakia 1222 Amorgos 258₃ Anaphe 1066 Anazarbos 980₁ Mt Anchesmos 897₁ Anchialos in Thrace 878₀₍₁₀₎ 949₂ Andros 1156 Ankyra in Galatia 754₁ 835₅ 971₁ Antandros 815 Antigoneia on the Orontes 1188 Antiocheia in Chrysaoris (= Alabanda) 714₂ Antiocheia on the Maiandros 259₀ Antiocheia on the Orontes 428 1178 1186 ff. 1188₁₄ 1196 f. Apameia on the Orontes 1192 Mt Apesas 892₄ Aphrodisias in Karia 585₃ 1220 Arabia (?) 1224 Mt Arachnaion 894₁ Mt Arbios 945₂ 946₀ Ardetos 1135 Mt Argaios 980₀ Mt Argarizon (See Mt Gerizim) Argos 164₅ 164₀ 179 808₀₍₁₄₎ 874₂ 878₀₍₄₎ 892₅ 893₀ 893₁ 1099₀ 1143 f. 1143₅ 1144₂ 1230 Arkadia 760 f. 793 849 Arkesine 1156 1156₁₃ 1157₀ Arslan Apa in Phrygia (?) 883₀₍₆₎ Assos 728₀ 857₀ Mt Atabyrion in Rhodes 922₅ 923₀ 924₀ 925₀ Mt Atabyrion in Sicily 910₁ Athens 20 f. 97₀ 98₀ 111₀ 231₈ 259₀ 729₀ 730₀ 793 815 875₁₍₂₎ 876₁₍₁₎ 897₂ 897₃ 903₀ 976₀ 985₀ 1061 (?) 1065 1078 1091 f. 1100₁ 1103 f. 1114 ff. 1121 ff. 1135₄ 1147 1149 1151 1161 ff. 1169 1229 Mt Athos 906₁ Attaleia in Pamphylia 111₀ Attike 291₂ 1069 (?) Attouda 743₇ Axos 816₄ Babylon 128₄ 675 714₁ Bejad in Phrygia 292₄ Benyuk Evlia near Amascia 974₁ ff. Bithy

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nia 271₀ 292₄ 815 835₅ 1180₁ Blaudos in Mysia 284₀ Boiotia 238₀ 731₀ 873₂ 875₁₍₁₎ 900₁ Bosporos 707 Bosporos Kimmerios 729₀ Böttia on the Orontes 1187₄ Bouthroton (Bouthrotos) 348 Bruttii 709 Bunarbashi in Phrygia 835₄ Byblos 887₀₍₆₎ 983₆ Celts (See Keltioi) Chaironeia (sceptre of Zeus) 547₂ Chalkis 1098₇ Chalkis in Euboia 1157 Chalkis sub Libano 981₀ Chersonesos Taurike 729₀ Chios 922₄ 1157₁ Corinth 869₁ 878₀₍₃₎ 892₃ 916₀ Crete 230 344 f. 352 354 599 697₀ 727 743₇ 925 ff. 1169₅ 1187₄ (?) Damaskos 807₅₍₂₎ 886₀₍₆₎ Daphne, near Antiocheia on the Orontes 1191 Delos 259₀ 907₀ (?) 919₀ 920₀ 921₀ 922₀ 985₀ 1095₀ 1096₀ 1105 1217 Delphoi 179 f. 231 ff. 244 816 841 901₂ 902₀ Demotionidai 728₀ Denderah 97₀ Didyma near Miletos 317 317₂ 318₀ Mt Dikte 927₁ 928₀ 929₀ Diokaisareia in Kilikia (?) 810 Dion in Makedonia 1111 Dionysopolis in Phrygia 285 Divlit near Koloë 975₀ Dodona 214 350 350₀ 353 693₃ 763₁ 826 855₂ 960₀ Doliche 745₁ Dorylaeion 280 f. 280₁ 292₄ 835₁ 836 Dreros 948₁ Mt Drios 918₁ Ebimi near Amaseia 976₀ Egypt 1023 Elaia in Aiolis 955₀ Mt Elakataion in Thessaly 397₀ Elasson in Thessaly 808₀₍₁₃₎ Elis 728₀ 783 Emathia, hill at Antiocheia on the Orontes 1187 f. Ephesos 728₀ 743₇ 962₂ Epidauros 894₂ 1061 1066 1076 f. 1144₃ (?) 1157₀ 1177 f. Eresos 729₀ Eretria 901₀ Erythrai in Ionia 730₀ 1157₀ Essir-keui in Bithynia 835₃ Eumeneia in Phrygia 970₀ Euromos 572₇ 573₄ 574 f. 589₀ (?) 1220 Galaria or Galarina 1131₁ Galatia 835₅ Mt Gargaron (Gargara) 950₀ ff. Gaza 675 1187₀ Genetaean headland 616 f. 1097₀ Cape Gerastos (?) 903 Mt Gerizim 887₀₍₃₀₎ 888₀₍₆₎ 983₀ Ghel-Ghiraz near Amaseia 976₀ Golgoi (?) 948₀₍₆₎ Gomphei 871₃₍₂₎ 1099₀ Gortyna 723₀ 731₀ 947₀₍₂₎ (?) Graeco-Libyans 1111 Gūmbet in Phrygia 835₄ Günjarik in Phrygia 835₄ Gythion 31 259₀ Hagia Triada 947₀₍₁₎ Halikarnassos 585₃ 872₀₍₅₎ 963₃ 1228 Halos 904₁ 1226 Heleia 930₀ 931₀ 932₀ Mt Helikon 898₅ Hephaestia in Lemnos 878₀₍₇₎ (?) Herakleia ad Latnum 585₃ Herakleia Pontike 976₀ Hermione 100₀ 1061 1077 Hierapolis in Phrygia 570 571₀ Hierapytna 342₀ 723₀ 929₀ cp. 930₀ 1157₄ Mt Homole (Homolos) (?) 904₄ Homo-

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lion 1227 Mt Homoloion near Thebes in Boiotia (?) 900, Hydissos 705 f. Mt Hymettos 873, 897, 1226 Mt Hynnaron 987, Mt Hypatos 875₍₁₎ 898, Iasos 879₍₁₇₎ 963, Mt Ide in Crete 549 838 932, ff. 941, 980, Mt Ide in Phrygia 855, 950 ff. Iki kilisse in Galatia 835, Ilion 950, f. Imbros 878₍₈₎ 922, Inessa (?) 908, Inhissar in Phrygia 835, Inönü in Phrygia 249, 835, 836 ff. 1226 Ione 1186 f. Itanos 929, ep. 930, 1130, Mt Ithome 741 ff. 890, 1222 Jerusalem 984, Kalaureia 728, Kalchedon 259, Kalymna 808₍₁₁₎ Mt Kamares (?) 935, Kanai (Kane) 902, Kappadokia 594, 595, 616 Karia 559 f. 572 ff. 705 729, 745, 763, Karien near Mt Pangaion 1066 Karousa 1092, Mt Kasion in Egypt 907, 984, f. Mt Kasion in Syria 907, 981, ff. 1191 f. Kassiope 906, 907, Katane (See Aitne) Keltioi 111, 570, Mt Kenaion 902, Kephallenia 907, Keramos 599, Kerdylion 878₍₉₎ (?) 906, Kibyra 771 Kierion 743, Kilikia 380 Kios 815, Mt Kithairon 581 898, Kition in Kypros 807₍₁₎ (?) 807₍₄₎ Klaros 873, Knidos 729, 1157 Knossos (?) 948₍₃₎, Mt Kokkygion 893, Koloë in Lydia 285, 1067 Kolonos 1152, (?) 1154 f. Korkyra 675 f. 730, 879₍₁₂₎ 907, Kos 238, 1095, Kotiaëion 835, Koujounlou in Bithynia 835, Mt Kounados 918, Krannon 833 Kurshumlu in Phrygia 839 Kurtköi in Phrygia 835, Kyaneai 101, Kymak in Phrygia 835, Mt Kynthos 919, 920, 921, 922, Kypros 444, 599, (?) 874, 1099, 1102, Kyrene 259, 1177, Kyrros 15 f. 745, 983, Kys 97, Kyzikos 743, 833 ff. 852 881₍₂₁₎ 882₍₀₎ 953, Labranda 576 f. 585 ff. 594 597 713 722 976, Lagina 879₍₁₇₎ 963, Laodikeia Katakekoumene 817 Laodikeia on the Lykos 319 f. 319, 745, 1186 Laodikeia on the sea 1192 Lapersai 1069 Mt Laphystion in Boiotia 899, Larisa at Argos 892, 893, Larisa on Mt Messogis 957, f. Larissa in Thessaly 1155 f. Lebadeia 233, 899, 900, 1061 1073 ff. Leuktron or Leuktra in Lakonike 891, Mt Libanos 983, Lindos 923, 925, Lucania 709 Lydia 312, 577 807₍₆₎ 872₍₅₎ 1228 Mt Lykaion 423 761 891, Lykaonia 835, Lykia 972, Lykoreia 901, Mt Lykoreion 901, 902, Lyttos 723, 934, 948₍₄₎ (?) Magnesia ad Maeandrum 873₍₇₎ 963, Magnesia ad Sipyllum 729, 957, Magnesia in Thessaly 730, 871₍₁₎ Maionia 745, Make-

Zeus (cont.)

donia 878₍₀₎ Cape Malea (Maleai) 488₍₀₎ 890, Mantinea 12 f. 259, 321, 807 Marathon 875₍₁₃₎ 898, Mastaura 587 Megalopolis 1178 f. 1183 Megara 179 257, 895, 896, 897, 1138, 1139, Melos 16 f. 808₍₁₂₎ Messene 728, 741 ff. 1223 Methydrion 290, Miletos 317, 879₍₁₇₎ 962, 963, 1228 Mopsion (?) in Pelasgiotis 496, mountains 868 ff. Mykonos 253, 1105 Mylasa 559, 574 576 ff. 663 879₍₁₇₎ 963, 1220 Myndos 872₍₀₎ 963, Myrmidones 894, Myrrhinous 730, Mysia 577 Mytilene 97, 259, 873₍₁₀₎ (?) 882₍₂₂₎ 922, Naïssos 875, 948, (?) Nakoleia 292, 570 835, 836, 836, Nauplia 32 Naxos 918, Neapolis in Karia 260, Neaule (= Nea Aule) 285, Nemroud Dagh 980, Netteia 925, 1096, (?) Nicopolis on the Danube 808₍₀₎ Nikaia in Bithynia 815, 918, 1099, 1100, Nisyros 1157, Mt Oche 902, Ogur (Ogut) in Galatia 835, Mt Oite 903, Olenos in Aitolia 933, Olous 948, Olympia 21 231, 349 706 722 726 f. 757 ff. 758, 761 783 808₍₁₅₎ 849 878₍₆₎ 891, 916, 947, 955, 1078 1100, 1222 1224 Mt Olympos in Elis (?) 891, Olympos in Lykia 972, Mt Olympos in Makedonia 904, 1227 Mt Olympos in Mysia 953, Orchemenos in Boiotia 873, 898, 1149 1150 1151 Ormelle 1067 Oropos 232 1061 1070 ff. Mt Ossa (?) 904, Palmyra 807₍₁₎ 885₍₂₉₎ 886₍₀₎ 983, Panamara 587 879₍₁₇₎ 963, 1066 Panionion 259, Panormos near Kyzikos 881₍₂₁₎ 882₍₀₎ Mt Pantokrator (?) 907, Paphlagonia 729, Mt Parnassos 901, 902, Mt Parnes 4 873, 897, 898, Paros 19 f. 131 259, 875₍₅₎ 918, Passaron 706 Patara 921, Pautalia 743, Peiraiëus 585, 1065 f. 1104 ff. 1117 1142 1173 ff. Mt Pelinnaion 922, Mt Pelion 869, 870, 871, 871₍₁₎ 904, Pella in Makedonia 1187, Pelousion 985, ff. Pergamon 110, 259, 287 287, 729, 808₍₈₎ 882₍₀₎ (?) 954, ff. 1061 1067 1077 f. 1178 1179 ff. 1184 Perinthos 773, 874, 949, Persia 33 Petelia 708 f. Phaistos 946, 947, Phaselis 729, Philadelpheia in Lydia 285, 869, 957, 960, 1217 f. 1228 f. Philai 97, Phlious 1106 f. Phlyeis 1066 Phoinike 868, Phokis 731, Phrygia 282 ff. 292, 295, 322 569 807₍₅₎ 835 ff. 842 852 883₍₀₎ 964 ff. Mt Pindos 871₍₃₎ 904, Pisidia 287 Parasa 573 Plataiai 238, 763, Pontos 974, ff. Praisos 731, 871₍₃₎ 930, Priansos 723, 934, Priene 808₍₇₎ Pronnoi 907, Prostanta

Zeus (cont.)

973₀ Prousa ad Olympum 292₄ 964₂
 Prynnessos 835₄ Rhodes 615 922₅
 923₀ 924₀ 925₀ 946₀ Rhodes the
 town 924₀ 925₀ Rome 724₀ 808₀₍₁₇₎
 835₆ 876₀₍₆₎ Salamis 110₉ Sardeis
 1227 f. Seleukeia Pieria 807₅₍₃₎ 809
 869₁ 981₁ f. 983₃ 1192 1225 Selge
 492₀₍₁₀₎ Selinous 489₀₍₁₀₎ Selymbria
 878₀₍₁₀₎ (?) Serdike 744₀ Serea in
 Phrygia 883₀₍₁₀₎ Sicily 808₀₍₁₈₎ 812 ff.
 Sikyon 97₀ 1144 ff. Sillyon 572₁₁ (?)
 Mt Silpion 1186 f. 1188₁₄ (?) Sinope
 1171₃ Siphnos 897₃ 1180₄ Mt Sipy-
 los 876₀₍₈₎ 956₂ (?) Skepsis 951₀
 Skiathos 878₀₍₆₎ 922₂ Skythia 292₄
 925₀ Smyrna 280₁ 319 729₀ 873₀₍₈₎
 962₁ Mt Solymos 973₁ f. Sparta 98₀
 110₀ 259₀ 261₀ 321₁ 436 728₀ 729₀
 739₁ 875₁₍₄₎ 890₂ 890₃ 948₁ 1061
 1069 1096₁ 1101₃ Stelai in Crete
 731₀ Stratonikeia 585₂ (cp. 586₃)
 714 ff. 714₃ 963₉ Suwasa in Kappa-
 dokia 594 f. Sybrita 731₀ Syracuse
 708 763₁ 915₂ 916₀ 917₀ 918₀ Syria
 745₁ 807₃₍₂₎ (?) 886₀₍₁₀₎ Syros 1066
 Tabai 743₇ Cape Tainaros (?) 890₅
 Tallala in Rhodē (?) 948₁ Tarantos in
 Bithynia 32₃ Tarentum 29 ff. 45 131
 161 559 762 ff. 763₁ 1064 Tavium
 754₁ Tegea 807 815 850 873₂ 892₁
 1147 ff. Temnos 873₀₍₉₎ 956₁ Tene-
 dos (?) 662 Teos 1066 Thermessos
 (Thermessus Maior) 321₁ 973₁ f. the
 tetrapolis of Marathon (See Mara-
 thon) Thalamai 17 f. 31 Thasos
 808₀₍₁₀₎ Thebes in Boiotia 878₀₍₂₎
 898₃ 900₁ Thebes in Egypt 960₀
 Thera 17 817 1066 1095₀ 1156 Ther-
 mos in Aitolia 729₀ Thespia 599₂
 1061 1066 1151 Thessaly 873₂
 876₀₍₇₎ (?) 899₁ 900₁ 902₀ Thrace
 230 (?) 282 817 ff. 833 851 1225
 Thracio-Phrygians 1111 Thyateira
 808₀₍₁₀₎ 1184 f. Mt Tmolos 957₂
 Tralleis 958₀ ff. Trapezous in Ark-
 kadia 871₃₍₃₎ 892₂ Troy 8 950₀
 Tyana 569 722₅ Tyndaris 917₁ 918₀
 Tyre 424₀ Venasa 616 Mt Viarus (?)
 973₀

Epithets: 'Αβοξήνρος 570 'Αγαμέμνων
 1061 1069 f. 1112 'Αγαμήδης (?) 233₀
 1075 'Αγιος 1092₈ ἀγκυλομήτης 549₇
 ἀγρός 1122₉ 'Αγοραῖος 51₁ 260₀ 929₀
 1177₂ 'Αγνιεύς 165 'Αγχεύμιος 897₄
 'Αέριος 808₀₍₁₀₎ 'Αθῶς 906₁ αἰγολοχος
 830₇ Αθέριος 727₃₍₃₎ Αίνηςιος 907₂
 Αἰτιαῖος 908₁ 909₀ ἀκαμάτου πυρός
 ὀρχή 1027 ἀκοντιστήρ κερανού 705₃
 'Ακραῖος 319 730₀ 869 871₃ 872₀ 873₀
 892₂ 904₂ 904₅ 915₁ 922₃ 956₁ 962₁
 963₁ 963₃ 963₄ ἀκρολοφίτας (See also
 Λοφέλιτης, 'Επιλόφιος) 343₀ 'Ακταῖος
 899 904₂ ἀλάστωρος 1098 ἀλάστωρ
 1098 1101 'Αλδήμιος or 'Αλδος 675

Zeus (cont.)

1187₀ ἀληθής Ζεὺς ὁ κεράστης (= Pan)
 1023 'Αλσειος (?) 945₁ 'Αλύσιος (?)
 945₁ 'Αμβούλιος 261₀ ἀμβροτος (ἀφ-
 θιτος) νύμφη 1027 f. 'Αμυρος 388 986₀
 1136₄ 'Αμφιάρως 232 794 1061
 1070 ff. 1076 1112 ἀμφιθαλής 1072
 ἀναδωδωναῖος (sic) 855₂ 'Αναδῶτης
 321₁ 1157₀ ἀναξ 855₂ 950₀ 956₂ 960₀
 ἀναξ ἀνάκτων 337₄ 'Απεσάντιος 892₄
 'Απέσας 892₄ 'Απήμιος 897₆ 898₀
 'Απόμνιος 781 ff. 850 'Αποτρόπαιος
 1157₀ ἀποτρόπαιος 1099₁ 'Αρβιος 945₂
 946₀ 'Αργαῖος (?) 980₀ ἀργής 980₀
 ἀργικέρανος 806₈ 858 1027 f. 'Αρειος
 705 ff. 848 ἀριστοτέχνης 693₃ 'Αρειος
 918₁ 'Αρσηλῆς (?) 559₆ ἄρσην 1027 f.
 ἀρχή 1033₁ ἀρχὸς ἀπάντων ἀργικέ-
 ραννος 1027 'Ασβαμαῖος 569 'Αρεῖς
 321₀ ἀσελγής 348₂ 'Ασκληπιός 1077
 'Ασκληπιός 794 1061 1076 ff. 1112
 'Ασκληπιός Σωτήρ 1076 f. 'Ασκραῖος
 872₀₍₅₎ 'Αστέριος 230 ἀστεροπητής
 723₀ 727₃₍₁₎ 806₈ 954₀ 1177₂ 'Αστρα-
 παῖος 815 850 'Αστράπιος 1122
 ἀστράπιος 806₈ 815₄ 1100₁ 'Αστράπ-
 των 817₂ 817₃ 850 ἀστράπτων 817₃
 'Αταβύριος in Rhodes 922₅ 923₀
 924₀ 925₀ Ataburius 588₁ αἰζητής
 1100₁ αὐτὸς ἀπάντων ἀρχιγένηθος
 1028 'Αφείσιος 179 266 f. (?) 841 892₄
 895₁ 896₀ 897₀ 1144₂ ἀφίκτωρ 1096₂
 1098 1101 Βαγαῖος 294₀ (?) 295₂ 569
 Βάκχος 287 954₀ 1184 Βάληος 271₀
 βαρύγδουπος 204₁ Βασιλεύς 727₃₍₁₁₎
 730₀ 731₀ 869₁ 899₂ 900₀ 1073 f.
 1076 1135 1135₄ (?) βασιλεύς 954₀
 1027 f. 1095₉ βασιλεύς μέγιστος (= Ψε-
 βασιλικός 879₀₍₁₇₎ Βελγάνος (?) 1122₉
 βελγάνος 948₀₍₄₎ Βεννεῖος 883₀₍₁₀₎ 969₃
 Βέννιος 883₀₍₁₀₎ 969₃ Βῆλος 128₄ 210₂
 675 Βιδάτας 723₀ 934₀ Βοζῖος (Βωζῖος)
 570 Βόλλαιος 259₀ Βόρειος 380 Βορ-
 τιαῖος 1187 f. Βουλαῖος 259₀ 260₀
 317₂ 824₄ 824₈ 873₀₍₁₀₎ 897₃ 1076
 1177₂ Βουλεύς 258₃ 1105 Βρονταῖος
 833 ff. 852 882₀₍₁₀₎ 1100₁ 1177₂ Βρον-
 τήσιος (= Iupiter Tonans) 111₀ 835₈
 βροντοποιός 807₂ Βροντῶν 280₁ 805₈
 835 f. 838 f. 852 883₀₍₁₀₎ Βροντῶν
 (= Iupiter Tonans) 835₈ Βροντῶν καὶ
 'Αστράπτων 817 Βροντῶν καὶ Πατῆρ
 Θεός 836₂ Βροντῶν Νεικήτωρ Πατῆρ
 836₂ Βωζῖος (Βοζῖος) 570 Βώττιος
 1187₄ 1188 Γαιβόλος (?) 18₃ Casius
 588₁ γενέτης (sc. Διονύσου) 616₄
 γενέτωρ 1177₂ Γενηταῖος 616 Γεγαν-
 τοφόδος 449₀ Γογγυλάτης 260₀ 824₄
 824₇ Γοναῖος (?) 961₀ Δάης (?) 312₅
 δαίμων 856 Δακηνός 616 Δακῆς (?)
 616₁ Δάκιος (?) 616₁ Δρος 312₅ Δει-
 πάτωρος (See Δειπάτωρ) Δειδυμαῖος
 317 Δειδύμων γενάρχης 317₂ Δικαιό-
 σσνος 1092₃ Δικαιοσύνος Μέγας 1092₃
 δικηφόρος 806₁ Δικταῖος 342₀ 723₀

Zeus (cont.)

731₀ 871₃₍₄₎ 927₁ 929₀ 930₀ 931₀
 1227 Δινδυμαῖος (?) 317₁ (See Διδυμαῖος) Διόνυσος 282 Δίος (rather than Διός) 280 f. 836 842 Δελιχαῖος 614-745₁ Δουσάρης 317₂ Δωδωναῖος 693₃ 855₂ 960₀ 1121₀ Δωδωναῖος (=Hadrian) 959₀ Δωτήρ (?) 321₁ δῶτορ ἀπημονίης 321₁ δῶτορ ἑάων 321₁ ἐγχειέρανος 704 Εἰδαῖος (See Ἰδαῖος) εἰς δαίμων 1028 Ἐκτωρ 8₇ ἐλασιβρόντης 830₂ ἐλατήρ ὑπερτατε βροντᾶς ἀκαμαντόποδος 94₂ 830₄ Ἐλάφριος 599₇ Ἐλαφρός 599 Ἐλευθέριος 97₀ 118₁ 238₀ 343₀ 344₀ 763₁ 974₀ 1096₁ 1135₄ 1158₆ Ἐλικάνος 898₅ Ἐλλάμιος 984₃ Ἐλλήμιος 887₀₍₃₁₎ 895₀ 983₉ Ἐλχάνος (?) = Φελχάνος 948₀₍₃₎ Ἐμβατήριος (=Trajan) 100₆ 1180₄ ἐνάλιος 878₀₍₃₎ (?) 893₀ ἐν δέμας βασιλείων 1028 Ἐνδένδρος 946₀ ἐν κράτος 1028 ἐξακέσας (?) 1095₄ Ἐξακεστήρ 1093₁ Ἐξακεστήριος 1093₁ ἐξ Αὐλῆς 249₂ 836 f. 1226 ἐξ Αὐλῆς Ἐπήκοος Θεός 837₁ Ἐπάκριος 873 Ἐπερνύτιος (See Ἐπιρνύτιος) Ἐπήκοος 249₂ 837₁ 885₀₍₂₉₎ 886₀₍₁₀₎ 880₀₍₃₀₎ 983₂ 983₄ Ἐπήκοος Βροντῶν 835₆ 836 Ἐπιβήμιος 897₃ 1180₄ Ἐπιδήμιος 1180₄ Ἐπιδότης (?) 321 Ἐπιδῶτας 321₁ Ἐπιδῶτης (Ἐπιδότης) 321₁ Ἐπικάρπιος 260₀ 1065 1177₂ 1186 Ἐπιλόφιος (?) 875₀ 948₄ Ἐπιρνύτιος 946₀ Ἐπιστάσιος (=Jupiter Stator) 708₅ Ἐπίστιος 311₈ (See also Ἐφέστιος) Ἐπιτέλειος Φίλιος 1163 1169 ἐπιτιμήτωρ ἱκετῶν τε ξέλων τε 1097₀ Ἐπόπτης 878₀₍₁₀₎ (?) cp. 889₀₍₁₃₎ 949₂ (?) Ἐπόπιος 697 1121 1123 1130 f. 1130₃ 1130₇ 1159 ἐπόπιος 1130₄ 1130₅ Ἐρεχθεύς 793 1146 ἐρίγδουπος 723₀ 727₃₍₁₎ 1099₂ 1177₂ ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἥρης 584₁ 728₀ ἐρισμάρατος 954₀ 1122₀ Ἐρκείος 723₀ 728₀ 730₀ 808₀₍₁₅₎ 893₀ Ἐρκείος Πατρῶος 1066 Ἐταιρείος (Ἐταιρείος) 1175₄ 1176₄ 1177₁ ἔταιρείος (ἔταιρείος) 260₀ 723₀ 727₃₍₁₎ 1177₂ Ἐταιρήσιος 311₈ (See also Ἐταιρείος) Εὐαγγέλιος 956₀ Εὐβουλεύς 119₀ 131 258₃ 259₀ 1076 1105 Εὐβουλος (?) 1076 Εὐβουλεύς 259₀ Εὐεργέτης τῆς πόλεως 579₀₍₁₃₎ (?) Εὐκλείος 118₃ Εὐμένης (=Eumenes i) 960₀ 1229 Εὐμένης (=Hadrian) 959₀ f. Εὐξείνος 617 1097₀ εὐρύ ἀνάσσω 271₀ εὐρυνέδων 1069 εὐρυνεφής 902₂ εὐρύοπα 1089 Εὐρωμέυς (?) 589₀ Εὐνυπτος 231 f. Ἐφέστιος 1176₄ ἐφέστιος 723₀ 727₃₍₁₎ 1177₂ Ἐφόρκιος 723₀ Ἐφόρος 1130₁ Φαλκάνος (?) or Φαλχάνος (?) = Φελχάνος 948₀₍₁₅₎ Φελχάνος (?) 947₀₍₁₂₎ Φελχάνος or Φελχάνος 599₇ 947₀ Φενχάνος 947₀₍₁₎ Ζάλμοξις (?) 230 822 Ζηλοθύριος 819 Ζηλοθύριος 817 ff.

Zeus (cont.)

822₂ 833 851 Ζηλοθύριος ὁ Κύριος 1225 (See also Κύριος Ζηλοθύριος and Κύριος Θεός Προγονικός Ζηλοθύριος) Ζηλοθύριος (?) 818₂₍₁₎ Ζηροθύριος 820₃ 821 Zberturdus 822₄ Ζητήρ 444₇ 1102₃ Ζηβελείτις (?) 822 *Ζηβελειοθύριος (?) 822 Ζηβελειοθύριος 822₂ Ζηλοθύριος 822₃ ζῶων ἐκ ζῶων 1028 f. Ἥλακαταῖος 397₀ Ἥλακατεὺς 397₀ 1219 Ἥλιοδρόμος 312₅ ἥλιος ἠδὲ σελήνη 1027 Θεῖος 879₀₍₁₇₎ Θεός 958₀ θεός ἐκ θεῶν 1028 f. Θεός Ἐπήκοος Βροντῶν 835₆ 836 Θεός Μέγας Βροντῶν 835₆ 836 θεὸν βασιλῆα καὶ ἀνδρῶν 1070 Θεῶν τὸν ἄριστον... ἠδὲ μέγιστον 1089 Θωβαίετις 210₂ Θουέστης (?) 1022 Ἰδαῖος 321₁ (?) Ἰδαῖος in Crete 549 838 932₁ ff. 980₅ Ἰδαῖος in Phrygia 950₀ ff. Ἰδηθεν μέδων 728₀ 855₂ 950₀ Ἰθωμάτας 728₀ 741 743 890₆ 1222 Ἰκέσιος 321₁ (?) 1093 1093₁ 1095₀ 1096₀ (?) 1097₀ 1098₄ 1101 1176₄ 1177₁ ἱκέσιος 1097 1097₁ Ἰκέτας 1096 1101 ἱκετήσιος 1040 f. 1097 1101 ἱκεταῖος (?) 1098 1101 ἱκτήρ 1098 1101 ἱκτιος (?) 1098₁ Καβάτας 17 f. 31 Καθάρσιος 311₈ 1093₁ 1095₀ 1097₂ 1099 f. 1103₇ Καναῖος 902₂ Καπετώλιος 879₀₍₁₇₎ 941₀ 1066 1188₁₄ Καπετώλιος (=Κορυφαῖος) 869₁ Καραῖς 873 893₄ Καραῖς 1226 Κάρσιος 577 591₁ 598₁ 873₂ καρπῶν τροφεὺς 1074 Κάσιος 941₀ Κάσιος in Egypt 984₄ ff. Κάσιος at Epidaurus 894₂ Κάσιος (Κάσιος) in Korkyra 906₃ 907₀ (See also Iupiter Casius (Cassius)) Κάσιος (Κάσιος) in Syria 810₀ (?) 982₀ 983₀ 1191 f. Κάσι(ο)s Σῶξ[ων] 987₀ Κάσις (See Κάσι(ο)s) Καταιβάτας 16 f. Καταιβάτης 13 ff. 45 131 161 502₂ 559 745₁ 793 840 845 869₁ 962₀ 983₁ 1075 καταχθόνιος 582₄ 893₀ Κατεβάτης (=Καταιβάτης) 16₁ κελαινεφής 858 950₀ 982₀ κεράστης (=Pan) 1023 κεραινεγχής 704 κεραινέιος 9₅ 806₈ 807₄ Κεραινέιος 428 807 ff. 850 941₀ 956₀ 983₀ 1100₁ 1187 1225 1228 Κεραινέιος Σωτήρ 962₀ Κεραινοβόλος 807₅ 805 κεραινοβόλος 807₂ κεραινοβρόντης 806₃ Κεραινός 11 ff. 807 814 840 850 κεφαλή 1027 f. Κήριος (Κηραιός) 902₂ 903₀ Κιθαιρώνιος 898₆ Κλάριος 807₂ 873₂ 892₁ 1148 f. Κλάριος 873₂ Κλύμενος (?) 1075 κοίρανος ἀθανάτων 982₀ Κόνιος (not Κρόνιος, nor Κώνιος, nor Σκότιος, nor Χρόνιος) 257₄ 1139₀ Κορυφαῖος 285₀ 868 f. 869₁ 957₁ 983₃ 1218 f. (See also Καπετώλιος) κορυφαῖος τῆς τῶν ἄστρον περιφορᾶς καὶ διηγήσεως καὶ χορείας καὶ δρόμων 869₁ κουρίζων 928₀ κοῖρος 928₀ (See also Μέγιστε Κούρε...Κρόνιε) Κράγιος 972₀ Κραταιβάτης 32 1211 κρείων 1089 Κρατα-

Zeus (cont.)

γενής 238_c 587 675 731₀ Κρονίδης 204₁ 321₁ 954₀ 1095₀ Κρόνιος (See Μέγιστε Κοῦρε... Κρόνιε) Κρονίων 734₃ 831₀ 950₀ 956₂ 1028 1099₂ 1219 Κρόνου παῖς 908₁ Κρόνου υἱός 957₂ Κρεβάτης (= Καταβάτης) 16₁ Κτήσιος 3₀ 321 384₀ 1054 ff. 1112 1140 κύδιμε δαῖμον 957₂ κύδιστ' ἀθανάτων 855 κύδιστος 728₀ 950₀ Κύνθιος 919₀ 920₀ 921₀ 922₀ Κύριος Ζβελσοῦρδος 1225 Κύριος Θεός Προγονικός Ζβελσοῦρδος 1225 Κώμνος 1228 Λαβραδεύς 559 f. 572 Λαβράνιος 598 f. Λαβραῦνδῆς 1228 Λαβραῦνδιος 962₀ Λαβράνδος (Λαμβράνδος, Λαβραῦνδος, Λαβραῦνδος (?), Λαβραῖνδος, Λαβραῖνδος (?), Λαβρανδῆς, Λαβρανδῆς, Λαβρανδῆς) 576 f. 585 ff. 585₃ 597 ff. 598₁ 614 663 846 848 884_{0(a)} 963₇ 1220 1228 Λαβρένδιος 962₀ Labrios (?) 599₅ Labryandius 588₁ Λακεδαίμων 436 Laodicensis (?) 320₀ Laodicenus (?) 320₀ Λαοδικεύς (?) 320₀ Λαοδικηνός (?) 320₀ Λαπέρσιος 599 Larpius 588₁ 599 Λαράσιος 958₀ ff. 962₀ Λαράσιος Σεβαστός Εὐμενής (= Hadriani) 959₀ f. Λαριασίος 892₅ 958₀ 1144₂ Λαρίσιος 957₃ f. Λαρισσεύς 893₀ 1144₂ Λατάρσιος 941₀ Λάφριος (?) 599 Λαφύστιος in Boiotia 899₁ Λαφύστιος in Thessaly 904₁ 1226 Λέψινος 962₀ Λῆθος (= Iupiter Laris) 546₀ Λιμενοσκόπος 343₀ Λιταῖος 1099 1100₀ Λοφέτης 873 f. 949₃ Λύκαιος 187 761 849 891₃ 927₁ 1013 1092 1105 1167 Λυκάρσιος 901₂ 902₀ Μαζεύς (?) 294₀ 570₀ μάκαρα 954₀ 955₀ μακάρων μακάρτατε 337₄ Μαλειαῖος 488_{0(a)} 890₄ Μάνης 312 312₅ μαντικός 1097₂ μεγαβρόντης 727₃₍₁₁₎ Μέγας 344 f. 350₁ μέγας 295₂ 298₂ 321₁ 342₀ 569₇ 727₃₍₃₎ 925₁ 940₀ 1099₂ 1122₀ 1130₁ 1160 1160₄ μέγας ἀρχός ἀπάντων 1028 μέγας βοῦς 345₄ Μέγας Βροντῶν 835₈ 836 μεγασθενής 693₃ Μέγιστος 585₃ Μέγιστε Κοῦρε... Κρόνιε 931₀ Μέγιστος 807₂ 885₀₍₂₉₎ 956₀ 983₂ 985₁ (?) 1157₅ (?) (See also Μέγιστε Κοῦρε... Κρόνιε) μέγιστος 728₀ 950₀ Μέγιστος Κεραύνιος 807₅₍₁₁₎ Μέγιστος Σωτήρ 956₀ Μέγιστος Ἐψίστος 886_{0(a)} 983₂ Μελίχιος 291₂ 321 (?) 715 1037 1061 1091 ff. 1154 1155 1156 ff. 1159 f. 1161 1173 ff. 1177₂ Μελίχιος 1149 1160 μείλιχος 1092₃ Μεληνός 280₁ Μεμισαῖος 928₀ 1112₆ Μελῆχιος (= Μελίχιος) 1147 1149 μέσσα 1027 f. 1033₁ Μηθεύς (Μηθινεύς) 312₅ Μήλιος 918₁ Μηλῆχιος (= Μελίχιος) 1156 1157₄ Μηλώσιος 918₁ μητίετα 1025 1147 μητιέτης 259₀ μητιέεις 716 721₃ 1017 1147 Μητιῶν (?) 1146 Μηχανεύς 1144₂

Zeus (cont.)

Μελίχιος (= Μελίχιος) 1105 1108 1115 1142 1144₂ (?) 1157₁ Μελίχιος (= Μελίχιος) 1151 Μοιραγέτας 231₅ Μοιραγέτης 187₁ 231 1137₀ Molio 588₁ Μοννίτιος 723₀ Μόριος 20₄ 502₂ Μυλεύς 260₀ 824₄ 824₉ Νάσιος 350₆ 763₁ 826 869₀ 1117 (?) Νάκρασος (?) 714₃ Νεανλείτης 285₀ 1217 f. Νεικήτωρ 836₃ Νέμειος 259₀ 1143₅ 1186 1187₀ νεφεληγερέτα 723₀ 727₃₍₁₎ 950₀ 1177₂ Νικηφόρος (Νεικηφόρος) Κεραύνιος 1225 νόμιος μέτα πάντα κυβερνῶν 855 Νόσιος 317₂ Νωδαῖος (?) 932₁ ξένιος 1097₂ ξένιος, ὅς ξένιος ἐν αἰ' αἰδοῖσιον ὀπηδεῖ 1097₀ 1101 Ξένιος 260₀ 617 723₀ 727₃₍₁₎ 887₀₍₃₁₎ 983₉ 1097₂ 1101 1102₀ 1102₇ 1142 1169₅ 1176₄ 1177₂ 1229 Ξένιος καὶ Φίλιος 1177₂ οἰκοφύλαξ ὄσων ἀνδρῶν 1125₀ δλβιος 337₄ 955₀ ὀλοπίσιος 1030 Ὀλύβριος οἱ Ὀλύβρις 980₁ Ὀλύμπιος 343₀ 695₀ 723₀ 727₃₍₂₎ 941₀ 1074 1157₀ Ὀλύμπιος at Akragas 911₀ Ὀλύμπιος at Athens 1078 1118 1121₀ 1123 Ὀλύμπιος in Bithynia 815₅ Ὀλύμπιος in Chios 1157₁ Ὀλύμπιος at Corinth 916₀ Ὀλύμπιος at Daphne, near Antiocheia on the Orontes 1191 Ὀλύμπιος at Elis 728₀ Ὀλύμπιος at Ephesos 962₂ Ὀλύμπιος in Lykia 972₁ Ὀλύμπιος in Mysia 953₂ Ὀλύμπιος at Olympia 18 758₀ 761 1188 Ὀλύμπιος at Pergamon 956₀ Ὀλύμπιος at Prousa ad Olympum 964₂ Ὀλύμπιος at Seleukeia Pieria 869₁ Ὀλύμπιος at Syracuse 915₂ 916₀ 917₀ Ὀλύμπιος (= Hadrian) 959₀ Ὀλύμπιος Πεισαῖος 962₀ Ὀμβριος 897₅ 897₈ 898₀ 1226 Ὀμοβοῦλιος 962₀ Ὀμόγριος 1176₃ 1176₄ 1177₂ ὀμόγριος 723₀ 1177₂ Ὀμολώσιος 857₆ 900₁ 901₀ 904₄ 1227 Ὀμολώσιος 857₆ Ὀμονώσιος 857₆ Ὀμόριος (?) 1090 ὁ πᾶς κόσμος 1028 f. Ὀπλόσιος 290₀ Ὀπωρεῖος 1074 Ὀράτριος (= Φράτριος) 342₀ 723₀ Ὀρειος 868 Ὀρέστης (?) 1179 1183₃ Ὀρθώσιος (= Iupiter Stator) 422₁ 708₅ Ὀριος (= Iupiter Terminus or Terminalis) 1090 Ὀρkiος 569₄ 722 722₅ 726 f. 727₃₍₁₎ 1176₄ 1177₂ ὄρkiος 723₀ Ὀρομπάτας 869₀ Ὀσογῶα 578₄₍₃₎ 579₀₍₃₎ (10-12(14-16)(1-5) 580₀₍₇₎ 598₁ 616₁ 663 715 790₀ 846 963₇ 1220 Ὀσογῶα Ζηνοποσειδῶν (Ζανοποσειδῶν) 578₄₍₂₎₍₄₎ Ὀσογῶα Σωτήρ καὶ Ἐνεργέτης τῆς πόλεως 579₀₍₁₃₎ (?) Ὀσογῶα Zeus Ζηνοποσειδῶν 578₄₍₃₎₍₅₋₇₎ 579₀₍₉₎ Ὀσογῶσιος (?) οἱ Ὀσογῶσιος (?) 579₀₍₁₁₎₍₁₎ Ὀσσαῖος 904₃ ὁ τὰ περὶ τῆς φιλίας ἐπισκοπῶν 1176₅ 1177₀ ὁ (τῆς) φιλίας ἐφορος 1176₅ 1177₀ ὁ τῆς φιλίας προστάτης 1177₀ ὁ τῶν θεῶν κορυφαῖος 1188₇ ὁ τῶν θεῶν ἵπατός τε καὶ ὑπέρατος 891₀ Ὀτωρkonδῶν

Zeus (cont.)

579₍₂₎ 580 580₍₁₀₎ 581₍₅₎(1-5) Ουδαίος (=Plouton) 343₀ Ουράνιος 436 869₁ 1065 1158 Ουράνιος Ὑψιστος Σααρναίος Ἐπήκοος 886₍₃₀₎ 983₄ Ουρίριος 707 f. 917₀ 918₀ πᾶ (?) 294₀ 570₀ παγγενέτης 1122₉ παγκρατῆς ἀλεῖ 855 παγκρατῆς γάνος 931₀ Παγχαίος 342₀ (?) Παῖς 742 f. 749 826₆ Παλαμναίος 260₀ 1097₂ 1098 1098₅ 1099₁ 1101 παλαμναίων τιμήρον ἱεσιδίων 1097₂ Παλάμιος 1099₀ πόμεγας 349₂₀ Πανάμαρος 587 714₃ 963₈ 1195₃ (See also Πανήμεριος, Πανήμερος) πάνωρος 858 Πανελλήνιος 894₃ 895₀ 895₁ 1119₄ 1120₀ Πανήμεριος 963₈ Πανήμερος 963₈ (See also Πανάμαρος) Πανκτησίος 1067 Παννύχιος 941₀ Πανομφαῖος 1097₂ 1211 Πανόπτης 1130 παντοτινάκης 1100₁ πάντων διατάκτωρ καὶ ἔδου τοῦ κόσμου 1023 1051 πανπέρτατος 321₁ Παπαῖος 292₄ Πάπας or Παπᾶς 292 Παπίας 292₄ Παππῶς 292₄ Παρηθῖος 897₆ πασι-ἀναξ 1113₍₂₎ Πίσσιος 1095₀ πάτερ (voc.) 271₀ 584₁ 693₃ 728₀ 855₂ 858 922₅ 950₀ 957₂ 1094₀ 1130₁ πάτερ εἰρήνης βαθυκά[ρομα] 875₍₂₎ Πατήρ 836₂ 836₃ πατήρ 1023 1030 πατραλοῖας 942₀ Πάτριος 1141 Πατρώος 233 244 280₁ 723₀ 902₂ 950₀ 1066 1095₀ Πατρώος Ἐπιλόφιος (?) 948₄ παυσίλυπος 1123₃ 1124₀ Πεισαῖος 962₀ Πελασγικός 960₀ Πελινναῖος 922₄ Περικλύμενος (?) 1075 Περιφάντος 1122 Περιφας (?) 1122 Περιφρέτας 496₀ 1220 Πίκος 697₀ (See further Pikos who is also Zeus) Πίσσιος (= Fidius) 724₀ Πλουτοδότης 251₂ 385₀ πνοιή πάντων 1027 Πολιεύς 260₀ 869₁ Πολιεύς at Athens 897₂ 897₃ Πολιεύς at Delphoi 231 Πολιεύς in Kos 238₀ Πολιεύς at Lindos 923₀ Πολιοῦχος 941₀ πολύξενος (?) 1113₍₂₎ πολυξενώτατος 1113₍₂₎ πολύσταυρος 295₂ 569₇ Πολύτεχος (?) 693 πολυώνυμος 855 πόντου βίβα 1027 Ποσειεύς (or Πότης or Πότις) 285 287₁ Ποτηος (accent unknown) 285 πρευμενής 1098₄ Προγονικός 1225 Προπάτωρ 941₀ προστρόπαιος (προστροπαῖος) 1097₂ 1098 f. 1099₀ 1101 πρώτος 1027 f. πυθμῆν γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερβεντος 1027 f. Ῥεμβήνοδος (?) 714₃ Σαάξιος (for Σαάξιος = Σαβάξιος) 284₀ Σααρναῖος 886₍₃₀₎ 983₄ Σαβάξιος 282 285₀ 287₂ 664₁ (?) 745₁ 954₀ 957₂ 975₀ 1184 1217 Σαονάξιος (= Σαβάξιος) 285₀ 1217 f. Σάραπτις 1171₃ sp. 773₀ (See also Σέραπτις) Σαώτης 599₂ 1151 Σεβαστός (= Hadrian) 959₀ f. σείσιχθων 1100₁ Σέραπτις 714₃ (?) (See also Σάραπτις) Σεραναῖος 883₍₁₀₎ Σημαλέος 4 897₆ Σημαντικός 280₁ σκαταβότης (?) 15₁ 1211 Σκύλιος 723₀

Zeus (cont.)

Σκυλοφόρος (= Iupiter Feretrius) 111₀ Σολυμεύς 973₁ f. Σόλυμος 974₀ Σπάλαξος (less probably Σπάλωξος) 1220 Σπάλωξος 587 Σπάτωρ (= Iupiter Stator) 708₅ στεροσηγερέτα 806₃ Στήσιος (= Iupiter Stator) 708₅ Στορπάσιος 815 850 1099₀ Στρατιεύς 591₂ Στρατηγός 707 f. 848 918₀ Στράτιος 111₀ 585 591 591₂ 594 594₈ 595 (?) 595₀ 598₁ 705 713 715 722 846 848 884₍₁₀₎ 963₇ 974₁ ff. Συκάσιος 1103 σχέλσιος 727₃₍₁₎ Σώζων 987₀ Σωσιπόλις (?) 1151 (cp. i. 58) Σωτήρ 233 292₄ 317₂ 321₁ 343₀ 434₃ 727₃₍₃₎ 728₀ 763₁ 884₍₁₀₎ 955₀ 962₀ 970₀ 1121 1123 1129₀ 1133₁ 1141 1142₁ 1144₂ 1147 1151 1156₃₍₃₎ 1159 1162 1169 1191 1228 f. [Σωτήρ ἀπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους] 280₁ [Σωτήρ] τοῦ συμπαντος ἀνθρώπειου γένους] 280₁ Σωτήρ Τέλειος 1123₇ σωτήριος 1123₇ 1124₀ Ταλαῖος 948₁ Ταλειτίας 890₂ 948₁ Ταλλαῖος 948₁ ταυρίας πολέμοιο 734₃ Ταουανός 751 Ταρανταῖος 32₂ Τέλειος 1076 f. 1089 1123₇ 1124₀ 1147 1150 1156₁₃ 1159 1162 1163₂ 1175 Τέλειος Σωτήρ 1124₀ Τελεσιουργός 1228 Τελεσφόρος 838 1089 τέλεσφόρος 1089 τέλειος τελεῖστατον κράτος 337₄ Τεράστιος 31 1211 Τερμυνθεύς 962₀ τερπικέραντος 502₂ 779 ff. 806₃ 822 1067 1070 1097₀ Τετράτωρος 322 842 Τηρεύς (?) 693 697 Τιμωρός 874₂ 1099₀ 1101 τοῦ κατὰ χθονός | Διός νεκρῶν Σωτήρος 1125₀ Τρεφάνιος or Τροφάσιος 233₀ 794 1061 1073 ff. 1112 Τριφύλιος 1095₀ Τροπαῖος 110₀ 111₀ 956₀ Τροπαιοῦχος 111₀ Τροπαιοῦχος (= Iupiter Feretrius) 111₀ Τροπαιοφόρος (= Iupiter Feretrius) 111₀ Τροφάσιος (See Τρεφάσιος) Τρώσιος 571₆ τῶν περὶ Λάκων 1156₁₀ τῶν περὶ Ὀλυμπιόδωρον 1156₁₀ τῶν περὶ Πολιξενον 1156₁₀ τῶν φιλικῶν καθηκόντων ἔφορος 1177₀ Ὑδρῆος (?) 1227 f. Ὑτέτιος 164₅ 164₈ 318₀ 869₁ 1144₂ ὕετιος 276₁ Ὑμήτιος 897₅ Ὑνναρεύς (Ὑνναρεῖος;) 987₁ Ὑπατος 163₄ 737 875 890₃ 897₂ 898₁ 898₂ 956₂ (?) ὕπατος 271₀ ὕπατος βασιλεύς διὰ παντός 856 ὕπατος θεῶν 1125₁ *Ὑπερβερέτας 496₀ ὕπερμενής 1028 Ὑπερφερέτης (= Iupiter Feretrius) 111₀ 496₀ ὕστατος 1027 f. ὕψιβρεμέτης 830₁ 838 ὕψιδρομον (Pierson ej. ὕψιδρομον) πυριανγία κόσμον ἐλαάνων 830₁ ὕψιζυγος 830₁ ὕψιμέδων 875₍₂₎ 907₂ Ὑψιστος 231₈ 293₀ 876 876₁ ff. 891₂ 892₃ 897₃ 898₃ 906₂ 907₁ 922₁ 922₂ 953₁ 956_(?) 963₂ 963₅₋₉ 983₂ 983₄ 983₆ 983₉ 1144₂ ὕψιστος 890₁ Ὑψιστος Βρονταῖος 834 f. Ὑψιστος καὶ Ἐπήκοος 885₍₂₀₎ 886₍₁₀₎ 983₂ Ὑψιστος Ἐπόπτης (?) 949₂ Ὑψιστος Μέγιστος

Zeus (cont.)

Ἐπήκοος 885₀₍₂₂₎ 983₂ Φαλακρός 874₂ 893₁ 1099₀ 1144₂ 1226 Φερέτριος (= Iupiter *Feretrius*) 111₀ Φερέτρας 496₀ 1220 Φηγός (?) 413₂ φιλάνθρωπος 1177₂ Φίλιος 260₀ 723₀ 727₃₍₁₎ 727₃₍₂₎ 728₀ 956₀ 1061 1092₅ 1119₀ 1141 1160 ff. 1173 ff. 1186 1196 f. φίλος 1167 φιλτατος 1167₅ φουικοσπερόρας 806₃ Φράτριος 723₀ 728₀ 730₀ 1177₂ Φύξιος 902₀ 1097₂ 1144₂ 1177₂ φύσεως ἀρχηγέ 855 φουτάλιος 1100₁ φυτάλιμος 260₀ 1177₂ Χαριδότης 1065 Χθόνιος 829 878₀₍₃₎ 1100₁ 1119₀ 1155 Χρυσασαρεύς or Χρυσασάριος 714 ff. 722 848 Χρυσασαρεύς 884₀₍₀₎ ὠδαίος (?) 932₁ Ὠρομάσσης 386 980₃

Festivals: Aitnaia 908₁ Basileia 900₀ Boukatia 235 Daidala Megala 977₀ Deia 320₀ Deia Sebasta Oikoumenika 320₀ Diasia 1138 ff. Διὸς βοῦς (See *Rites*) Eleutheria (?) 974₀ Homoloia 900₁ Ithomaia (Ithomaiis) 890₆ Megala Panhellenia 1121₀ Meilichia 1091 f. 1092₅ New Year's Day 931₀ Olympia 964₂ Panhellenia 1119₄ *pentacteteris* 1179 Traianeia Deiphileia 1180 *trieteteris* 934₀ Xanthikos 23 981₁ f. yearly sacrifice and *panegyris* 576₂

Rites: altars at Olympia and Pergamon made of ashes from thighs of victims 955₀ ἀνιπτόποδες at Tralleis 959₀ f. banquet for all present at sacrifice to Zeus Στράτιος 974₁ bovine omophagy 539 cp. 934₀ burial of bull 345 539 ceremonial purity 934₀ communion-feast 1173 daily oblation to sceptre of Zeus at Chaironeia 547₂ Διὸς βοῦς 318₀ Διὸς κώδιον 1065 effigy worn by votaries 299 ff. first-fruits 872₀₍₅₎ funeral offering in Idaean Cave 934₀ 942₀ god killed and eaten in form of bull 345 hecatomb sacrificed to Zeus Κάσιος on Mt Kasion in Syria 982₀ 1192 hecatomb sacrificed to Zeus Νέμειος at Argos 1144₂ human consort 128₄ 210₂ (See also *infra* παλλακίδες) human sacrifice to Zeus Ἀταβύριος in Rhodes (?) 924₀ human sacrifice to Zeus Ἰθωμάτας 890₆ human sacrifice to Zeus Λαφύστιος at Halos 904₁ (?) human sacrifice to Zeus Λαφύστιος on Mt Laphystion 899₁ human sacrifice to Zeus-like deity Θυέστης at Mykenai (?) 1022 incubation 232 982₀ (?) initiation 1186 jars of Zeus Κτήσιος 1054 ff. libation from first *kratér* to Zeus and Hera 1123₇ 1124₀ libation from first *kratér* to Zeus Ὀλύμπιος and the Olympians 1123 libation from third *kratér* to

Zeus (cont.)

Zeus Σωτήρ 1123₇ 1124₀ 1125₀ libation from third *kratér* to (Zeus) Σωτήρ and Ὀλύμπιος 1124₀ libation from third *kratér* to Zeus Σωτήρ or Τέλειος 1123 libation from third *kratér* to Zeus Σωτήρ Τέλειος 1123₇ libation to Zeus Διδυμαίος with ivy-leaves 317₁ libation and prayer to Zeus Ἰδαίος 950₀ libation to Zeus Κτήσιος 1058 libation to Zeus περπικέρανος 1097₀ love-feast 1197 lying prone 835 mysteries at Antiocheia on the Orontes 1186₃ mysteries in Crete 345 mysteries at Pergamon 288₀ new fire (?) 1149₂₍₁₎ νηφάλια 1142₃ no wine- or animal-offerings on altar of Zeus Ἰπτατος at Athens 875₁₍₂₎ oak-brides burnt on Mt Kithairon 977₀ oath taken over boar 726 f. 728₀ offering of meal (?) 18 omophagy 934₀ cp. 539 παγκάρπεια 1058 παλλακίδες at Thebes in Egypt 960₀ παλλακίδες at Tralleis 959₀ f. (See also *supra* human consort) πέλανος 1058 procession up Mt Pelion 870₀ processions at Pergamon 288₀ purification by figs (?) 1103₄ 1103₇ purification in cult of Zeus Φίλιος 1186 sacrifice by Labyadai (Boukatia) 235 sacrifice of bull to Zeus Βρονταίος 835 sacrifice of bull to Zeus Στράτιος 975₀ sacrifice of nine bulls to Zeus Κήραιος 902₂ sacrifice of cakes moulded into forms of animals 1138₂ 1140 sacrifice of seven cakes to Zeus Πολιεύς 238₀ sacrifice of goat to Zeus Ἀσκραίος 872₀₍₅₎ sacrifice of humped bull to Zeus Σολυμείς 973₁ sacrifice of milk, honey, wine, oil, incense to Zeus Στράτιος 974₁ 977₀ sacrifice of ox to Zeus Ἐρκείος 728₀ sacrifice of three-year-old ox to Zeus 287₂ 954₀ sacrifice of three-year-old ox to Zeus Βάκχος 287₂ 954₀ sacrifice of pig to Zeus Βουλεύς 1105 sacrifice of pig to Zeus Εὐβουλεύς 1105 sacrifice of pig to Zeus Λύκαιος 1105 sacrifice of pig to Zeus Μειλίχιος 1105 ff. 1140₂ (?) 1142 1157 sacrifice of pig to Zeus Φίλιος 1161 sacrifice of ram to Zeus Λαφύστιος 904₁ sacrifice of ram to Zeus (?) Μειλίχιος ? Φίλιος 1175 sacrifice of sheep to Zeus Μειλίχιος 1138₂ 1140 sacrifice of white ox to Zeus Κτήσιος 1065 1067 (See also white victims) sacrifice of singled victim to (Zeus) Μηλίχιος 1156 sacrifice to Zeus at Olympia on logs of white-poplar 467 sacrifices to Zeus Στράτιος on mountain-tops 974₁ ff. taboo on onions among devotees of Zeus Κάσιος at Pelou-

Zeus (*cont.*)

sion 987₀ thigh-pieces of oxen burnt for Zeus at Ephesos 962₂ thigh-pieces of oxen burnt for Zeus on Mt Ide in Phrygia 950₀ thigh-pieces of oxen burnt for Zeus at Troy 950₀ throne strown annually in Idaean Cave 934₀ 942₀ cp. 940₀ thunder-making 838 f. 852 934₀ *θησια ἄνυρος παγκαρπείας* 1058 torch-lighting 1158 uninitiated persons and women may not enter precinct of Zeus "Ἰπταος in Paros 875₁₍₅₎ union with Deo and Persephatta at Eleusis 132₂ water from Klepsydra brought daily to sanctuary of Zeus 'Ιθωμάτας 890₆ white victims sacrificed to Zeus 'Ακραίος 871₃₍₁₁₎ (See also sacrifice of white ox)

Priests: ἀμφίπολος of Zeus 'Ολύμπιος as eponymous magistrate of Syracuse 916₀ ἀρχιερεύς 579₀₍₁₆₎ 973₁ at Adrianoi in Mysia 127 at Dodona go with unwashen feet and sleep on ground 960₀ at Mylasa dedicate temple-columns 580 at Mylasa distinguished citizens priests for life 576 f. Βεννεῖται 883₀₍₁₀₎ ζακῆρος 921₀ 922₀ head of priest of Zeus 'Οπλόσμος denounces murderer 290₀ *τερεῖς* 578₄ 921₀ 922₀ *τερεῖς διὰ βίου* 111₀ 616₁ 973₁ 976₀ cp. 576 f. *ιεροποιοί* 921₀ *κλειδοῦχος* 921₀ 922₀ *νεωκόρος* 967₀ 976₀ *νεωκόρος διὰ βίου* 967₀ cp. 1225 *ξυλεύς* at Olympia 471 of Zeus 'Ακραίος as eponymous magistrate of Magnetes 871₃₍₁₁₎ of Zeus Βῆλος 128₄ of Zeus 'Ιθωμάτας 743 890₆ of Zeus Ηλαῖς 743 of Zeus Τροπαιούχος 111₀ Onetor 950₀ ὀμικῶν κάλλει 742₅ πατήρ *ιερέων* 1177₃ Σελλοί 960₀ Spartan kings 353 τόμαροι (τόμουροι) 693₃ ὑποφῆται 960₀

Priestesses: buried near temple of Zeus "Ἰψιστος 878₀₍₁₄₎ Diotima 1167 'Fly' at Dodona 215₁ *κανηφόρος* 900₀ *πελειάδες* 350 693₃ *προφήτης* 214 ff.

Worshippers: akin to Zeus 950₀ Βάκχοι 934₀ Διοσαταβυριασταί 1157₃ Διοσμυλιχιασταί 1157₃ ἑρανισταί 1161 θιασῶται 585₃ ἱερῶδουλοι 616₁ Κουρήτες 934₀ Salií (?) 328 ff. *συμύσται* 282₁

Personated by Agamemnon 1069 f. Aleos (?) 1147 Amphiaros 1070 ff. Amphitryon 1072 Antiochos iv Epiphanes 1188 f. Antoninus Pius 101₁ 343₀ Athenian kings 1135 1142 Augustus 97₀ 260₀ Caracalla 1186 1209 Commodus 1185 Cretan prince (?) 522 Domitian 97₀ 1194 cp. 811₅ (fig. 777 = Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 48, 4, ii. 229) Epepeus (?) 1146 Eumenes i 960₀

Zeus (*cont.*)

1228 forefather of family 1061 Germanicus Caesar 260₀ Geta 1186 Hadrian 260₀ 280₀ 343₀ 956₀ 959₀ f. 962₂ 1120₀ 1121₀ Ixion (?) 1088 Keyx 1088 king 24 192 192₅ 794 833 897₀ 940₀ 944₀ 945₀ 1061 1065 1069 f. 1070 ff. 1073 f. 1076 1088 ff. 1121 ff. 1159 f. 1185 f. kings descended from Aiolos 1159 kings of Delphoi (?) 192₅ kings of Orchomenos in Boiotia (?) 1150 kings of Sparta (?) 353 kings of Thessaly 1087 ff. kings struck by lightning 24 local champion 1070 Marathon (?) 1146 Minos (?) 940₀ 944₀ 945₀ Minyas (?) 1150 Nero 97₀ 1194 Nerva 1194 Pelops (?) 1147 Perikles 816₁ Periphas 24₄ 1121 ff. Roman emperors 100 ff. 320₀ (?) 1209 Salmoneus 24₄ 1088 1122 Simon Magus 726₀ Theophanes 97₀ Trajan 100₆ 1180 1180₄ 1209₅ Xerxes 853₄

Myths: Aetos 933₀ Amphiaros 1071 Asklepios 23 Auriga 477, bids Apollon to serve Admetos 241₄ binds Kronos beneath oak-trees 448, 1027 birth of Athena 721₂ 1029 born in a cave of Mt Aigaion 925₁ 932₁ born in a cave of Mt Dikte 928₀ 932₁ 986₀ born in a cave of Mt Ide in Crete (?) 230₆ 932₁ 951₀ born in a cave of Mt Ide in Phrygia 951₀ born at Dios Gonai in Boiotia 961₀ born at Dios Gonai in Lydia 961₀ born on Mt Sipylos 956₂ born on Mt Tmolos 957₂ brings the babe Dionysos to Mt Tmolos 957₂ brought by Kouretes to Idaean Cave 932₁ cp. 928₀ buried in Crete 219 345 556₀ 694₀ 943₀ causes Trojan war 261₁ his chariot followed by procession of souls 63₀ childhood 899₀ chooses the eagle 752₄ comes from Crete to Naxos 187₈

consorts with Aigina d. of Asopos 187₈ 894₃ Aitne 909₀ Amaltheia 229₁ Chaldene 973₁ Danaë 694₀ 1131₁ Demeter 1029 Deo (= Demeter) 132₂ 345₈₍₂₎ Dia 1088 Dione 1029 Europe 187₈ 348 929₀ 947₀ 1131₁ Euryodeia (Euryodia) 1152₄ Hera 343₀ 893₂ 902₁ 950₀ 1020 1029 Hermippe d. of Boiotos 1150 Hesion d. of Danaos 1150 Hippodameia d. of Danaos 1150₂ Idaia 940₀ Io 961₀ Kalchedonia 973₁ Kallisto 228₄ 228₅ 1217 Lamia 1130 f. Leda 1015₇ 1131₁ Magna Mater 969₄ Manthea (?) 229₁ Medeia 1088 Nemesis 1015 1131₁ Persephatta (= Kore) 132₂ Persephone 1114₀₍₅₎ Phersephone or Kore 1029 Pluto 449₀ Rhea 1029 Semele 187₈ 956₂ one of the Sithnides 897₁ Thaleia

Zeus (cont.)

909₀ Themis 37₁ willow-goddess (?)
947₀

consults Nyx 1029 consults Nyx and Kronos 1027 creates the world anew inside himself 1027 deposited by Typhon in Corycian Cave 449₀ Deukalion builds altar of Zeus 'Αφείσιος 892₄ Deukalion sacrifices to Zeus Φύξιος 902₀ Dionysos sewn up in thigh of Zeus 957₂ Διὸς ἀπάρη 1020 f. Dirke 1019 drives out Kronos 933₀ 941₀ 942₀ drives Kronos out of Assyria 693₄ 694₀ Erechtheus 24 794 exiles Apollon to land of Hyperboreoi 484 493 Flumen 477₇ founds city on Mt Dikte 928₀ 929₀ Ganymedes 188₀ 189₀ 281₄ 933₀ Gigantomachia 752₄ 830₇ gives Dionysos to Ma to nurse 565₂ gives golden vine to Tros 281₄ gives ring to Prometheus 990 golden hound 1227 golden ram 899₁ golden rope 1029 1211 golden vine 281₄ has Aigokeros or Capricornus for foster-brother 932₁ 933₀ has sinews of his hands and feet cut out by Typhon and hidden in a bear-skin under the care of Delphyne 228 449₀ Hektor 950₀ helped by Aigokeros or Capricornus against Titans 933₀ hidden from Kronos by Korybantēs 940₀ hidden from Kronos by Kres 928₀ infancy in Dictæan Cave 928₀ 929₀ infancy on Mt Ide in Crete 932₁ infancy on a Phrygian mountain 968₁₋₃ 969₂ Io 782₁ Ixion 1098₄ jars of good and evil 1067 f. Kapaneus 23 824 f. Kasios 981₁ Kekrops founds altar of Zeus "Υπαρος 875₁₍₂₎ Korybantēs drown cries of infant Zeus 928₀ Kouretēs drown cries of infant Zeus 928₀ 961₀ 968₁₋₃ leaps upon Phanes and swallows him 1027 Leda 941₀ lets fall drops of blood, from which men arise 1032 lets fly eagles from west and east 179 makes cosmic mantle 351₁ makes Kronos drunk on honey 448₁ 1027 Melissa 928₀ Merops 1132₁ mutilated by Typhon 448₂ mutilates Kronos 448₁ 685 1027 nurses transformed into bears 227 f.

nursed by Adrasteia 933₀ Amaltheia 928₀ Ithome and Neda 890₀ Nymphs on Mt Ide in Crete 932₁ Ithea 961₀ 968₁₋₃ 969₂

nurtured by bears 928₀ 939₀ bees 928₀ 929₀ 1112₂ doves 928₀ eagle 928₀ goat 928₀ 961₀ 968₀ goat Amaltheia 932₁ 933₀ pig 928₀

Oidipous 829 Omphalian Plain 190 Ophiuchus 1087 Periphas 1121 ff. Perseus sacrifices to Zeus 'Απεσάντιος 892₄ piles Mt Aitnè on

Zeus (cont.)

Enkelados 909₀ piles Mt Aitne on Typhon 909₀ places heart of Dionysos or Zagreus in gypsum image 1031 Polytechnos 693 pounds heart of Zagreus into potion and gives it to Semele to drink 1031 prince slain by wild boar and buried in Crete 522 cp. 727 *psychostasia* 733 ff. quitting Assyria follows Kronos and becomes king of Italy 694₀ 943₀ reared by Kouretēs on Mt Dikte 928₀ 929₀ refitted with his sinews by Hermes and Aigipan 449₀ Rhea gives Kronos stone instead of him 793₈ 901₁ Rhea, pregnant with him, is protected against Kronos by Hopladamōs (Hoplodamos?) 291₀ Rhea rescues him from Kronos 928₀ Salmoneus 833 1122 *Seleucides aves* 981₁ Semele 24 ff. 731 ff. (?) succeeds Kronos as king of Italy 694₀ swallows Metis 12 348₂ Sykeas or Sykeus 1103₂ Thetis 45₁ thrusts Kronos down below earth and sea 1020 Titanēs 218 1031 f. 1103₂ transforms Aigokeros or Capricornus and his mother Aix into stars 953₀ transforms Aigolios into owl 929₀ transforms himself into Eros when about to create the world 316 transforms Kallisto into bear 228₇ transforms Keleos the Cretan into green woodpecker 929₀ transforms Kerberos the Cretan into bird 929₀ transforms Laŷos the Cretan into blue thrush 929₀ Typhon (Typhoeus) 228 448₂ 722₂ 731 826 839₆ 981₁ Ursa Maior 928₀ Ursa Minor 928₀ visits Hera clandestinely 1020 wraps *aithēr* round the world and ties up the bundle with golden cord 1029

Metamorphosed into Apollon 228₇ Artemis 228₇ 1217 bear 229 bull 348 449₀ 929₀ 1131₁ 1167₅ cuckoo 893₂ 1144₂ eagle 187₈ 228₇ 752 909₀ (?) 941₀ 1133 f. Eros 316 fly 782₁ gold 1131₁ hoopoe 697 1130 f. human lover 941₀ snake 941₀ 1029 1061 1151 stranger 1096₄ swan 941₀ 1015 1015₇ 1131₁ vulture 909₀ woodpecker 524 693 (?) 693₄

Genealogy: b. of Ouranos 940₀ f. of Aiakos by Aigina d. of Asopos 894₃ f. of Aphrodite 1029 f. of Apollon and Artemis by Leto 453 f. of Apollonios of Tyana 569₄ f. of Arkas by Kallisto 228₅ f. of Arkeisios by Euryodeia (Euryodia) 1152₄ f. of Artemis 164₂ 342₀ 453 f. of Athena by Koryphe 869₁ cp. i. 155 f. of Attis 294 f. of Atys and Kotys (?) 312 f. of Chryseus by Hesione d. of Danaos 1150₂ f. of Dardanos 8 f.

Zeus (cont.)

of Dionysos 317 1098₀ f. of the chthonian Dionysos or Zagreus by Phersephone or Kore 1029 f. of the first three Dioskouroi (Tritopatreus, Eubouleus, Dionysos) by Persephone 1135₄ f. of Epaphos by Io 961₀ f. of Eros by Aphrodite 316₀ f. of Gargaros at (by?) Larissa in Thessaly 950₀ f. of Geraistos and Tainaros 903₁ f. of Helene 343₀ f. of Helene by Leda 1015₇ f. of Helene by Nemesis 1131₁ f. of Herakles 343₀ f. of Hermes 385₀ f. of Horai by Themis 37₁ 94₂ f. of Kairos 859 861 f. of Kastor 437 f. f. of Kastor and Polydeukes, Klytaimestra and Helene, by Leda 1015₇ f. of Kouretes 940₀ f. of Litai 1097₂ 1098₀ 1099₂ 1100₀ f. of Malos 488₀₍₁₀₎ f. of Manes by Ge 312 f. of Megaros (Megareus) by one of the Sithnides 897₁ 1117₇ f. of Meilinoe(?) or Melinoe(?) by Persephone 1114₀₍₅₎ f. of Metis 348₂ f. of Minos by Europe 8 342₀ 344 929₀ f. of Minos, f. of Deukalion, f. of Idomeneus 793₇ f. of Muses by Mnemosyne 1157₀ f. of Olenos by Hippodameia, d. of Danaos 1150₂ f. of Orchomenos by Hesione, d. of Danaos, or by Hermippe, d. of Boiotos 1149 f. f. of Palikoi by Thaleia, d. of Hephaistos 909₀ f. of Perseus 665₁ f. of Perseus by Danaë 694₀ f. of Phaunos 694₀ 943₀ f. of Phersephone or Kore by Rhea or Demeter 1029 f. of Polydeukes 437 f. f. of Solymos by Chaldene 973₁ f. of Solymos by Kalchedonia 973₁ f. of Tainaros 890₅ f. of Tantalos 957₀ f. of Zethos and Amphion 445 f. of Zethos and Amphion by Antiope 1013 gf. of Eros 316₀ h. of Ge 292₄ h. of Hera 584₁ h. of Hera *Zwyla* 954₀ h. of Idaia 940₀ h. of Kybele 298 h. of Tyche *Αγαθή* 1104 f. s. of Aither 941₀ s. of Ge 294₀ s. of Kronos 943₀ s. of Kronos by Rhea 941₀ s. and h. of the Mother of the gods 298₂ s. of Phanes 1051 s. of Phanes by Nyx 1026 s. of Rhea 830 1029 youngest child of Rhea 925₁

Functions: *aēr* 351₀ *aithēr* 557₁ allotments 873₂ all-seeing 258₂ ancestral god of Attic nobility 730₀ ancient king 1135₄ author of days and years 94₂ avenger of impious deeds 1130 bees 1112₆ bright sky 1 840 bringer of a curse 1098 bringer of young folk to maturity 1159 buried king 1139 1142 1159 celestial lights 840 chthonian 18(?) 31(?) 119₀ 233₀ 258₃ 836 893₀ 1058 1105 1107 1113₀₍₂₎ 1117 1118 1124₀ 1125₀ 1125₁ 1126₀

Zeus (cont.)

1131 1142 1149 1150 1155 f. 1157₀ 1159 1161 1169 f. 1175 1178 chthonian (Zeus *Οὐδαίος* = Plouton) 343₀ clear air 557₁ clouds 3 corn and wine(?) 1178 cosmic 117 855₂ 1028 f. 1185 cosmic law 855₂ cosmogonic 1230 counsel 317₂ creator of the world 316 1027 crops 1065 1074 1187₀ daylight 436 1013 day-light sky 840 deceased founder of club 1162 deceased kinsman 1163 deceiver 694₀ 695₀ destiny 231 Dionysiac 281 ff. 836 847 852 dispenser of good and evil 1067 f. divinised ancestor 1068 dreams 283₀ 1175 1228 dust 257₄ earth 823 father 292 ff. father of mankind 855 fertility 591 1142 1149 fighter 590 f. figs 291₂(?) 1092 f. 1103 f. 1112 1114 food and drink 754₂ food-supply 434₃ forefather 258₃ forefather of clan 1162 generous giver 321₁ giver of animal and vegetable life 1139 giver of wealth 1065 good tidings 956₀ government 855 ff. guardian of friendship 1176 guardian of harbour 343₀ hail 1 healing 877₀₍₁₀₎ 1061 hearth 873₂(?) 1149₂₍₁₎(?) holder of scales 734₃ inspirer of orator 1181₀ justice 852 justice and injustice among men and animals 1130, law-giver 1095₀ life 352₁ 352₄ 1023 lightning 1 4 385₀ 502 ff. 722 ff. 815 ff. 840 850 f. 954₀ 1146 lot 1148 f. (?) love 1176 magician 258₃ 694₀ 695₀ 1147 mills(?) 260₀ mind 258₃ 1028 f. moisture 351₀ 352₄ moon 840 mountains 554 868 ff. 1149 1179 1183 nourishment 594 oak 570₀ 872₀₍₅₎ oaths 233 569₄ 706 722 ff. 727₃ 849 955₀ 1175 f. observer of right and wrong 1130 1130₁ old corn(?) 295₂ omniscience 763 the one God, of whom all other Gods are but parts and manifestations 855₂ oracular 1061 1073 ff. pantheistic 1027 ff. 1051 *πνεῦμα* 1023 prayers 1099 preserver of the tribe 1159 primeval power 315 f. protector of the bloodguilty 1098 f. protector of descendants 1130 protector of his people 1159 protector of laws and treaties 723₀ protector of suppliants 1093 1097 f. 1130 protector of suppliants and strangers 1097₀ 1101 providence 764 849 purification 1099 f. 1103 purifier of the bloodguilty 1092 ff. 1104 1112 1114 1143 rain 1 3 4 179(?) 274(?) 275 f. 318₀ 351₀ 591 833 894₁ 897₅ 897₆ 898₀ 941₀ 957₂ re-creator of the world 1033 ruler 731 848 ruler of gods 266 ruler of sky, sea, and earth 893₀ rumour 904₃ sea 663 893₀ sea-

Zeus (cont.)

faring 987₀ sender up of souls 1058
sky 298 344 353 458 601 663 823
sleep 231 f. snow 1 343₀ solar 285₀
840 948₁ 1130 1130, specialised into
Poseidon 786 850 spinner of fate
1219 starry sky 436 stars 840 869₁
storm 267 591 705 848 streams
869₀ sun (See solar) suppliant 1096
1098 1101 suppliant-boughs 1149₂₍₂₎
thunder 1 4 344 833 ff. 851 f. 941₀
945₂ 1155 thunder and lightning
280₁ 817 thunderbolt 179 722 ff.
850 f. trees 946₀ trophy 110₀ 111₀
turnips (?) 260₀ underworld 1158
(See also chthonian?) universe (See
cosmic) upper world 1158 victor 758
victory 489₀₍₀₎ 812₁ 813₂ violence
1098 war 705 ff. 848 water 1117₃ (?)
weather 1 ff. 840 894₃ wind 444₇ (?)
witness 728₀ f. world (See cosmic)
a younger Zan 340 ff.

Etymology: 259₀ 855₂ 928₀ 1102₃ 1228

Attributes: *agrenón* 574 592 *agis* 781
1187₀ apple (?) 831₁ bay-wreath 266
597₃ 714₂ 756₁ 924₀ 1187₄ 1192 f.
1223 bronze bulls 924₀ bronze
oxen 924₀ buskins 1178 1184 car
(*benna*) (?) 883₀₍₀₎ chariot 436₁ 851
Charites (Moirai? Horai?) 232₀
chitón 597 f. 744 744₄ *chlamýs* 731₁
744 ff. cock 946₀ 947₀ corn-ears 754₁
cornu copiae 1105 1162 crab 577 f.
cup 1178 cypress 932₁ dagger 714₁
722 diadem 597₃ double axe 283₀
559 ff. 601 614 615 (?) 664₁ (?) 705
714₁ *drépanon* 448₀ eagle 283₀ 575 f.
577 f. 707 751 f. 808₀₍₀₎ 833 836 838
956₀ 961₀ 968₀ 1133₁ 1143 1161 1185 f.
1188 1208 eagles 231 239 841
Egyptian head-dress (?) 987₀ female
breasts 592 ff. flower 1224 (?) goat
987₁ (?) globe 980₀ golden ball 933₀
golden calf 354 golden *líknon* 933₀
golden vine (?) 281₄ grapes 281 287₁
883₀₍₀₎ hammer 945₂ *hárpe* 449₀ hel-
met 705 f. *himátion* 1082 *himátion*
of gold 916₀ *himátion* of wool 916₀
Horai 1138₅ jar 1054 ff. jug 1117
kálathos 577 592 f. 593 (?) 597 597₃
598 *kratér* 283₀ leaf-shaped lance
709 *líknon* 933₀ lily-wreath 740
lion (?) 575 f. lioness (?) 575 599₂
lion-skin (?) 947₀ lotos 771 1224
mattock 806₁ Moirai 1138₅ moon
980₀ necklace 593 Nike 873₀₍₀₎ 1143
1145₀ 1190 1192 1193₁ oak-branch
1177 (?) oak-wreath 348 388 763₁
1187₄ olive-branch 1177 (?) olive-
wreath 323₁ palm (?) -tree 284₀
panther (?) 575 599₂ pectoral 574
phiale 881₀₍₂₁₎ 906₃ 1105 1116 (?)
1143 1145₀ 1161 f. 1175 1184 pillar
818 pine-wreath 951₀ plane-trees
590 976₀ plough 281 836 pome-

Zeus (cont.)

granate 986₀ radiate crown 980₀
scales 734₃ sceptre 258 266 547₂
709 731 ff. 763 788₀ 1105 1116 1143
1145₀ 1188 *sélinon* (?) -wreath 1187₀
shield 578 705 712 silver knife 354
skýphos 754₁ snake 283₀ 284₀ 285₀
819 820 823 1111 spear 577 f. 704 ff.
722 848 957₀ stag 575 1220 star
980₀ 1187₀ stars 980₀ stick 1102₀
sun 980₀ sword 591 615 (?) 705
712 ff. 722 848 tall head-dress 980₀
(See also tiara) thunderbolt 283₀
722 ff. 785 848 ff. 1145₀ *thýrsos* sur-
mounted by eagle 1178 tiara 386
(See also tall head-dress) tortoise
895₁ trident 577 798 two doves (?)
872₀₍₅₎ two eagles 179 f. two oaks
872₀₍₅₎ two ravens (?) 872₀₍₅₎ two
spears 283₀ two thunderbolts 722
726 f. vervain 396₀ 397₀ vine 836
838 vine-staff 909₀ whip 851 willow
946₀ 947₀ winged chariot 43 321₁
woodpecker 518₃ (See further Pikos
who is also Zeus)

Types: advancing with thunderbolt in
lowered right hand and eagle on
outstretched left 745 advancing
with thunderbolt in raised right
hand 26₀ 795₃ advancing with
thunderbolt in raised right hand
and eagle on outstretched left 739 ff.
818 f. 963₀ 1139₀ 1143 1222 f. ad-
vancing with thunderbolt in raised
right hand, eagle on outstretched
left, and snake at his feet 851 advanc-
ing with thunderbolt in raised right
hand and sceptre as well as eagle
in outstretched left 1223 advancing
with thunderbolt in raised right
hand and sceptre in outstretched
left 25₀ 26₀ 27₀ 709 733 advancing
with thunderbolt in raised right
hand and spear (?) in left 708 f.
amours with Leda, Semele, Kallisto,
and Ganymedes 228₇ androgyn-
ous (?) 292₄ 594 androgynous with
golden wings and heads of bulls
and snake 1022 f. archaistic 744₁
Aristonous 1222 Assyrian 697₀ 938₀
bearded head as pendant 302 bearded
head at either end of whip-handle
301 beardless 285₀ 742 748 946₀ f.
1224 (?) birth of Athena 709 f. 753₃
785 boy with whip (?) 826₆ bronze
statuette of 'Geometric' age repre-
senting Zeus fulminant (?) 1222
bronze statuettes inlaid with silver
eyes 503₀ Bryaxis (?) 921₀ bull (?)
924₀ bust as medallion on wreath
301 bust as support for arm of Attis
297 bust between horns of crescent
712₃ bust facing, with thunderbolt
and sceptre to his right and left
887₀₍₀₎ bust supported on eagle

Zeus (cont.)

with spread wings 1209 in chariot drawn by two eagles 462₀ in chariot drawn by one horse 830 in chariot drawn by two horses 820 823 cp. 285₀ in chariot drawn by four horses 436₁ 825 830₆ 831₁ (See also driving) in *chiton* and *chlamys* 283₀ in *chiton* and *himation* 574 577 597 f. 745₀ 745₁ 881₀₍₂₁₎ 887₀₍₀₎ 957₀ colossal 754₁ conical stone 981₀ Dionysiac 1178 double 316 ff. with double axe and sceptre 573 ff. with double axe and spear 574 ff. double bust (with Dionysos) 388 double bust (with Hermes?) 388 double bust (with Sarapis?) 388 double bust (with Satyr) 388 driving chariot 950₀ (See also in chariot) driving two-horsed vehicle 285₀ driving winged chariot 321₁ duplicated on coin (standing and seated) 319 duplicated on gem (both seated) 318 ff. with female breasts 592 ff. 846 1220 (?) fighting Centaur (?) 614 f. four-armed 322 842 fulminant in two-horse chariot 820 851 fulminant in four-horse chariot 825 831₁ fulminant on pillar 45 Gigantomachia 712 f. 777₂ 820 825 831₁ 973₁ gilded eagle 423 with golden bay-wreath 258 with golden bull's-horns 1028 grasping or hurling thunderbolt in (sometimes beside) chariot 831₁ grasping thunderbolt in each hand 722 726 f. Hageladas 741 ff. 749 890₆ 1222 f. hero-feast 1163 holding cult-image in his hand 950₀ 962₂ holding eagle and thunderbolt 741₃ (See also advancing) on horseback 664₁ (?) infant asleep on mountain 961₀ infant carried by Amaltheia (?) 363₁ infant seated on ground 957₂ instructing Apollon 265 introduction of Herakles to Olympos 735 ff. 771 Janiform 322 ff. 326 ff. Janiform head (with Hera) (?) 662 Janiform head (with Hermes) 1219 with *kálathos* 597 f. 597₃ with *kálathos*, double axe, and sceptre 592 with *kálathos*, double axe, and spear 577 593 (?) linked to ground by means of fillets 574 long-haired 573 575 f. (?) Lysippos 45 762 1139₀ 1143₅ 1145₀ Myron 1078 oak-tree 111₀ 570₀ with olive-wreath 323₁ Papylos 1101₃ Pheidias 475₇ 598 757 ff. 849 921₀ (?) 1078 1138₅ pillar capped by pyramid (See pyramid-on-pillar) Polykleitos 1143 f. 1178 Polykleitos the younger (?) 1178 pot 3₀ pouring rain from right hand and holding thunderbolt in left 962₂ *psychostasia* 734₀ 734₃ pursuit of

Zeus (cont.)

Semele 731 ff. 735₃ pyramid 1144 ff. pyramid-on-pillar 814 f. 1095₀ 1147 (?) radiate 872₀₍₅₎ raising hand in attitude of *benedictio Latina* 291 recumbent on couch 1162 1171₃ recumbent on eagle 102₀ rushing forward with thunderbolt in raised right hand 731 sacred stone 982₀ f. (?) seated as child amid Kouretes 1210 seated on eagle 102₀ 462₀ (See also upborne on eagle) seated on mountain 853 962₂ 982₀ seated on rock 983₁ seated on rock with eagle flying from right hand and sceptre leaning against right shoulder 758 seated on tree 946₀ f. seated to hurl thunderbolt 473 475 seated to pour rain 962₂ seated with Artemis 'Eφesia in right hand and sceptre in left 962₂ seated with three Charites (Moirai? Horai?) in right hand 232₀ seated with eagle flying from him 757 758 seated with eagle flying to him 757 seated with eagle in hand 1139₀ 1143 seated with eagle in right hand and sceptre in left 871₃₍₄₎ seated with flower in right hand and sceptre in left 1224 (?) seated with jug in both hands above head of Acheloius 1117 seated with Nike in right hand and sceptre in left 319₄ 758 760 (?) 873₀₍₁₈₎ 956₀ 961₀ 1139₀ 1143 1189 1192 1192₆ 1220 seated with *phiale* in right hand 1161 seated with *phiale* in right hand and *cornu copiae* in left 1105 seated with *phiale* in right hand and sceptre in left 1105 1116 f. (?) 1143 1145₀ 1175 seated with *phiale* in right hand, sceptre in left, and eagle behind 280₁ seated with right hand raised to head 762 849 seated with sceptre in left hand 737 1173 seated with sceptre in left hand and *phiale* in right 736 seated with sceptre in right hand 755 f. (?) seated with sceptre in right hand and Athena 'Ιλιάς in left 950₀ seated with sceptre in right hand and Nike in left 964₂ seated with sceptre in right hand and sometimes *phiale* in left 906₃ seated with sceptre in right hand and thunderbolt in left 756 seated with thunderbolt in right hand and sceptre in left 280₁ 318 753 ff. 757 f. seated with thunderbolt in right hand, sceptre in left, and eagle flying before him 1224 seated with thunderbolt and sceptre in right hand and *phiale* in left 735 seated with vine-staff in right hand and thunderbolt in left 909₀ shouldering axe 621 (?) snake

Zeus (cont.)

1061 1107 ff. 1174 soldier 705 f. standing with Artemis Ἐφεστία in right hand 962, standing with eagle in left hand 751₅ standing with eagle in right hand 751₅ standing with eagle in right hand and sceptre in left 319₄ 951₀ 957₀ 968₀ standing with Nike in right hand and sceptre in left 1145₀ standing with *phiale* in right hand and sceptre in left 280₁ 881₀₍₂₂₎ standing with sceptre (?) in raised right hand and *phiale* (?) in left 752 f. standing with sceptre in raised right hand and thunderbolt in lowered left 749₁ 820 f. standing with sceptre in right hand and eagle beside him 1143 1230 standing with spear or sceptre in raised right hand and left covered by *himation* 918₀ standing with spear in right hand and eagle at his feet 707 standing with spear in right hand and thunderbolt in left 957₀ standing with thunderbolt in lowered right hand 280₁ standing with thunderbolt in lowered right hand and sceptre in left 734 f. 745 ff. 1145₀ standing with thunderbolt in outstretched right hand and sceptre in left 917₁ standing with thunderbolt in raised right hand and eagle on outstretched left 737 739 819₀₍₅₎ standing with thunderbolt in raised right hand and sceptre in lowered left 833 standing with wreath in outstretched right hand 1192 statuette held by Laodikeia 319₇ 320₀ with supported foot 266₁ surrounded by seven stars 238₀ syncretistic 850 *τετράγωνος* 1147₈ Theokosmos 1138₅ theriomorphic 1151 three-eyed 892₅ 1144₂ traveller 1102₀ with trident, eagle, and crab 577₂ with trident, thunderbolt, and eagle 798 with trident, thunderbolt, and sea-monster 798 trophy 111₀ upborne on eagle 951₀ (See also seated on eagle) upborne on eagle between horns of crescent 712₃ winged 1028 *xóanon* 1196 youthful 861₅ 1030 1185 youthful figure holding pomegranate 986₀ *Zâves* at Olympia 349

Identified with Adad 933₇ Adonaios 293₀ Agamemnon, the god (?) 1069 Ahura Mazda 976₀ Amen-Râ 926₀ Amoun 293₀ Asklepios 1076 ff. Attis 292 Baal 869₀ Ba'al Milik (Melek, Molok) (?) 1108 Ba'al-šamin 886₀₍₀₎ 889 Bakchos 287 1184 Celtic Janiform god 323 Chryisor, the Phoenician Hephaistos 715 1037 Daimon 1160₄ Dionysos 282 287 f. 288₀ Epopeus 445 Erechthos 793 Eros

Zeus (cont.)

1028 Great Ox 354 Hades 582₄ 1058 Hephaistos 715 Ianus 328₇ Jehovah 889 elder Kabeiros 664₁ Kasiu 983₀ (?) Keraunos 12 f. 119₁ Kragos 972₀ 974₀ Mars 50 Melqart or Melgarth (?) 1109₀ Metis (masc.) 1028 Pan 349 1023 1024 1039 Papas 836 Pikos 220₆ 342₀ 693₄ 694₀ 695₀ 696₀ 697₀ Poseidon 582 ff. Poseidon and Ares 1225 Protogonos 1023 1039 1051 Roman emperors (See *Personated by*) Sabaoth 293₀ Sabazios 275 1184 Sarapis 714₃ (?) 745₁ 773₀ 1158 Solymos (?) 974₀ Theos Hypsistos 882₀₍₂₂₎ 883₀₍₀₎ 884₀₍₀₎ 886₀₍₃₀₎ 969₃ Trophonios (Trophonios) 1075 Velchanos 946₀ ff. the world 1028 f. (See also *Functions* cosmic) Zan 220₆ 341₆ 342₀ 345 942₀

Assimilated to Apollon 986₀ Chaos 1051 Dionysos 1178 Poseidon 327₂ (?) (See also *Identified with*) Zagreus 980₅

Associated with Acheloios 1092₂ 1138₅ Acheloios and Kallirrhoe (?) 1117 Agathos Daimon 925₀ Agdistis and Attis 1229 Aigokeros 938₀ Apollon 317 317₂ Apollon and Themis 730₀ Artemis and Athena 1144₂ Athena 259₀ 920₀ 923₀ 955₀ 1101₃ Athena Νικηφόρος 287₂ Athena Σώτεια 1169₄ Athena and Apollon 458 1094₀ Athena and Herakles 1078 Athena, Herakles, Apollon 875₁₍₂₎ Boule (?) 260₀ *daimones* 931₀ Demeter and Kore 258₃ 259₀ Dike 1029 1033₁ Dione 974₀ 1029 Dionysos and Athena 925₀ Dioskouroi 1209₂ Enhodia and Polis 1155 Ge 266 f. 292₄ Ge and Athenaia 1115 Ge and Helios 729₀ 884₀₍₀₎ Ge, Helios, and Erinyes 728₀ f. goddess bearing wheat-ears (*cornu copiae*?) and torch (sceptre?) 820 hearth 728₀ Hekate 714₂ 714₃ 835₆ 838 Helios 1114 Helios, rivers, earth, and chthonian powers 728₀ Helios, Selene, Asklepios, Hygieia, etc. 259₀ Hephaistos 972₁ Hera 259₀ 592 707 776₃ 893₂ 894₁ 900₀ 1137 1144₂ 1150 1157 Hera and Athena (= Capitoline triad) 319₇ Hera, Demeter Θεσμοφόρος, Kore, Baubo 259₀ Herakles 492₀₍₀₎ 1157₁ Herakles Ἄνικηρος 292₄ Herkyna 1073 1075 Hermes (?) 957₀ Hestia 259₀ 317₂ 960₀ 1228 Horai 94₂ Kabeiroi 664₁ (?) Kouretes 587 938₀ Men 285₀ Meter 950₀ Meter ἐν Ἄργας (?) 1142₃ Moira and Erinyes 1102₇ Muses 898₅ Nike 853 1100₁ Nomos 1029 οἱ Σεβαστοὶ 951₀ Persephone 893₀ Philia and Tyche Ἄγαθή 1163 Polis 878₀₍₀₎

Zeus (*cont.*)

Poseidon 959₀ Poseidon and Hades 785 Poseidon and Plouton 802 (?) Sarapis and Isis 922₀ table 728₀ Themis 258 723₀ Themis and Dike 897₃ Themis and Dionysos 261 f. Trophonios (Trephonios) 1073 f. Tyche 'Αγαθή 879₀₍₁₇₎ Zagreus 1113₀₍₂₎

Compared with Adonis and Tammuz
345 Agathos Daimon 1161 1163 Apollon 201 ff. Argos 379 Boreas 444 Hermes 384₀ 385₀ 1068 Kronos 554 ff. Kyklops 990 Oidipous 1154 Penates 1068 Plouton 385₀ 1105 Talos 948₁ Tammuz 347 Thyestes, a storm-god (?) 1022

Contrasted with Asklepios 1081 f. Charon 641₂

In relation to Apollon 267 730₀ Aristaios 1112₆ Asklepios 1178 Dionysos 267 ff. 522 1210 Eleos 875₁₍₂₎ Erinys 1102; Hera 693 kings 1074 Kyrios Sabaoth 884₀₍₉₎ men 855 Metis (masc.) 1025 Nike 982₀ Oidipous 1154 f. Orphic Eros 316₅ Pepromene 1138₅ Phanes 1051 Phoibos 500 839 Poseidon 582 ff. 846 850 Pythagoras 225 Rhea 552₁ 'Schwanfrauen' 51 Semele 663 table 1141₅ Themis 873₂ thunder 827 ff. 851 f. Trajan 1179 ff. tripod 1216 Trophonios (Trephonios) 900₀ 1073 ff. twins 422 ff. 843 Zagreus 522 980₅ Zan 353

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417₅ bough on which all birds sing
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699₄ bull's head with double axe be-
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806₁ *mitra* 459 moon 1012₁ Nike 290₀
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853 ram 899₁ ring from Isopata 49₁
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525 543 652 ring of Wodan 62₁ 990
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- Olive-trees at Epidaurus Limera 1082 on Greek *sarcophagus* 417₃

- Olive-wreath 165₀ 261 323₁ 902₂ 1029 1155
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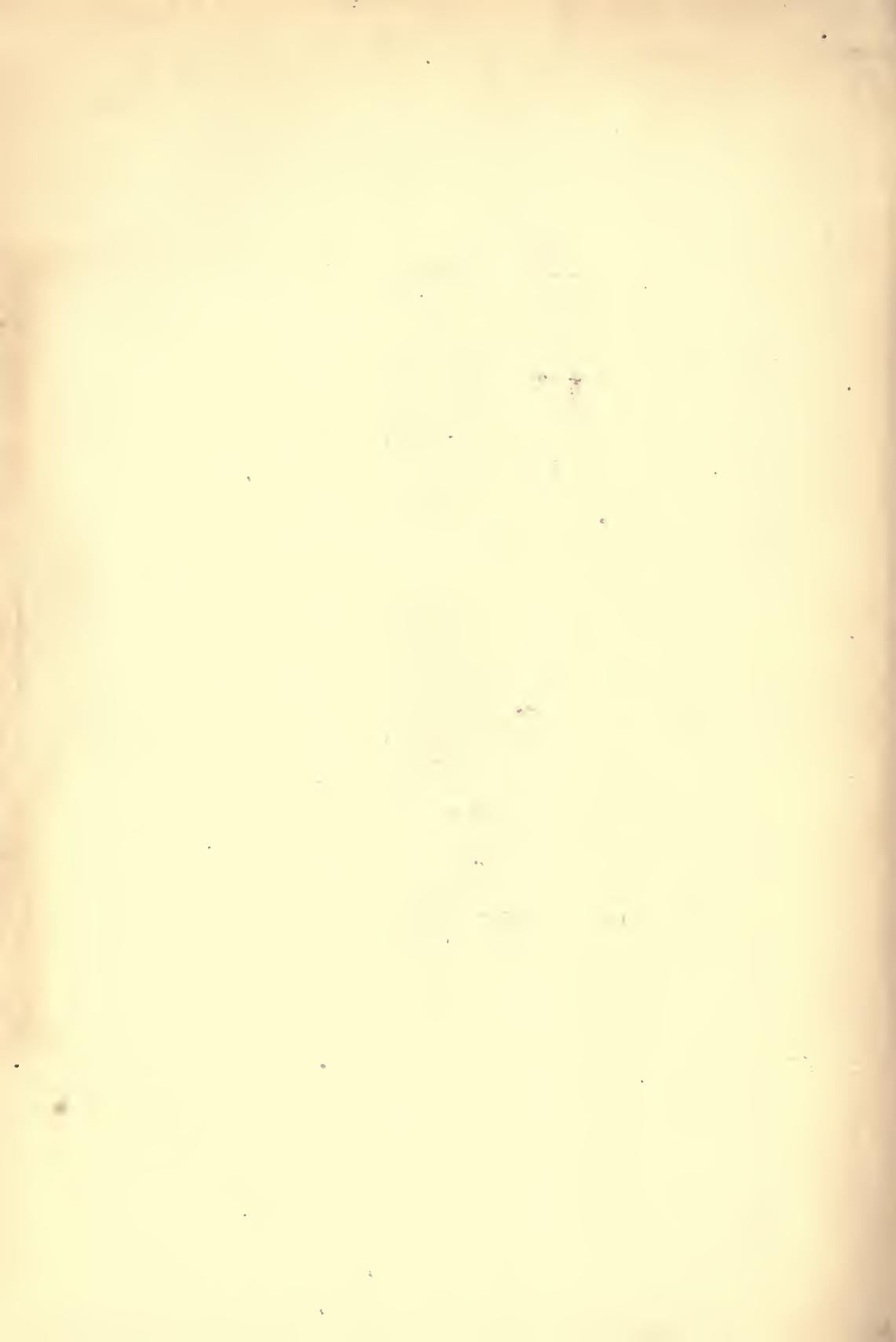
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