ZEUS
A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

BY
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VOLUME III
ZEUS GOD OF THE DARK SKY
(EARTHQUAKES, CLOUDS, WIND,
DEW, RAIN, METEORITES)

χῶς Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἰθρίος, ἄλλοκα δ' ἕει
Theokritos 4. 43

PART I
TEXT AND NOTES

Cambridge
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VOLUME III with its two Parts comprises the third, and final, instalment of my work on Zeus: *numero deus impare gaudet*. It may be thought that a task taken in hand as far back as 1907 ought to have been completed long before 1939. But kindly critics will remember that the task itself was one of formidable complexity, that the leisure left to a teacher occupied throughout with College and University duties is necessarily limited, and that the commotions of our time have hardly been conducive to a peaceful investigation of the past. This at least I can claim that, year in, year out, I have steadily pursued the plan originally laid down for the scope and contents of the book. Volume I was to deal with Zeus as god of the Bright Sky, Volume II with Zeus as god of the Dark Sky—an arrangement of essentials approved by the high authority of Otto Weinreich (*Archiv f. Rel.* 1937 xxxiv. 138). Accordingly, Volume I included not only the Hellenic worship of the Bright Zeus, god of the Upper Sky, but also the Hellenistic attempts to connect him with Sun, Moon, and Stars, while Volume II was devoted to the Dark Zeus, god of Thunder and Lightning, in all his multifarious aspects. Thunder and Lightning proved to be so wide-spread and far-reaching that much had perforce to be left over for a third, at first uncontemplated, volume. This concerns itself with Zeus in his relations to a further series of cosmic phenomena—Earthquakes, Clouds, Wind, Dew, Rain, and Meteorites. But I need not here enter into a detailed account of sections and subsections, as I have later endeavoured to trace in sequence the whole evolution of the cult of Zeus (pages 943 to 973), concluding with a statement of what I conceive to be its ultimate significance (pp. 973, 974).

The work as a whole sets out to survey the range and influence of the Greek Sky-god. It would, I suppose, have been possible to do this in less discursive fashion by means of tabulated statements and statistics—a list of his cult-centres, an index of his appellations, a classified catalogue of his representations in art—in short, to adopt the dictionary-method, admirably carried out by E. Fehrle, K. Ziegler, and O. Waser towards the end of Roscher's great *Lexikon* (vi. 564—759). But my notion of a survey is somewhat different. I find a road-map less helpful than an ordnance-sheet.
The former may simplify things and enable you to get more directly to your destination. But the latter invites you to explore the neighbourhood, marks the field-paths, puts in the contour-lines, colours the water-ways, and prints in Gothic lettering the local antiquities. Time is lost, but knowledge is gained, and the traveller returns well-content with his trapesings. So I have deliberately chosen the more devious method, and I can only fall back on Herodotos' plea that 'my subject from the outset demanded digressions.' Indeed, it was just this need for latitude that led me to widen the title Zeus by adding the subtitle 'a Study in Ancient Religion.' That is the real justification for long-winded footnotes and a fringe of Appendixes.

With regard to the Appendixes I regret, not so much the fifteen that I have written, as the three that I have failed to write—letters C, D, and O. Ideally C should have dealt with Zeus at Corinth, D with Zeus at Dodona, O with Zeus at Olympia. I did indeed pen a screed on 'Korinthos son of Zeus,' but I suppressed it because the aetiological myth that I thought to detect implied the existence of customs for which I could produce no adequate evidence. As to Dodona, I have made certain interim observations in the Classical Review for 1903 xvii. 178—186, 268 f., 278; but the problems presented by the oracular cult cannot be securely solved till the oracle itself has been fully excavated (infra p. 1131). On Olympia too I have said my say both in the Classical Review for 1903 xvii. 270—277 and in Folk-Lore for 1904 xv. 397—402. To describe the material remains of the famous temenos was no part of my programme. Dr E. N. Gardiner has covered the ground (Olympia Oxford 1925), and Dr W. Dörpfeld dug deep beneath it (Alt-Olympia Berlin 1935).

The quarter-century that has intervened between the publication of Volume I and that of Volume III has of course brought an annual harvest of discoveries and discussions bearing on the subject of Zeus, all grist to my mill. Hence the mass of miscellaneous Addenda from page 1066 onwards—'1066 and all that'! It was a cheer to find that these additions, almost without exception, fitted well into the framework of the book and very seldom called for the retraction of a definitely expressed opinion.

As before, I write with a sense of profound obligation to others. First and foremost stands my debt of gratitude to the Syndics of the University Press, who once again have borne the whole financial
burden of publishing, despite all difficulties, this costly and unprofitable work.

Zeus, I am happy to say, has been begun, continued, and ended under the auspices of two old friends, old in years but young in outlook—Sir James Frazer and Dr Rendel Harris. It was they who first welcomed the inception of the work, and, though quite aware that I often dissent from their findings, they have wished me well from start to finish.

I have further been able to count on the co-operation of many loyal helpers. Where my enquiries have trenched upon unfamiliar ground I have not hesitated to call in expert advisers. On points of Semitic lore I have consulted Professor S. A. Cook (p. 1072), the late Professor S. Langdon (p. 550 n. o), and the Reverend H. St J. Hart (p. 891). In Mesopotamian matters I have been assisted by Mr Sidney Smith (p. 832 ff.) and Dr H. Frankfort (p. 1196). Egyptian usages have been made plain to me in conversations with Mr Sidney Smith, Mr P. E. Newberry, and the late Mr J. E. Quibell (p. 305). Sir John Marshall gave me his opinion on the origin of Çiva's trident (p. 1156). Professor H. W. Bailey has reported on Sanskrit and Persian etymologies (pp. 916 n. 1, 925 n. 3). Mr A. Waley identified the source of a Chinese inscription and translated it for me (p. 1138). Dr B. F. C. Atkinson allowed me to rifle his unpublished work on Illyrian names (p. 364 n. 8).

Lastly, Dr F. R. C. Reed enabled me to determine the material of an ancient cameo, while Dr F. C. Phillips as official mineralogist and petrologist made analyses on my behalf (p. 898 n. 4).

Reviewers in general have been benevolent, but superficial and sometimes woefully misunderstanding. Signal exceptions have been the detailed and very helpful critique of Charles Picard (Revue de l'histoire des religions 1926 xciii. 65—94) and a most heartening notice by Otto Weinreich (Archiv f. Rel. 1937 xxxiv. 137—139). For such shrewd objections and penetrating judgments I can but feel immense respect. Critics of this type are all too rare.

Among friends that have put an active shoulder to my wheel I would name first my colleague Mr C. T. Seltman, who with his amazing knowledge of ancient art and modern art-collectors has been endlessly useful. It was, for example, through his good offices that I secured the unique double axes from Crete and Athens (figs. 894, 895), the new Orpheus-vase published in pl. xvi, and that most notable of all Greek coppers the Mytilene-medallion
Preface

of pl. i. But Mr Seltman has no monopoly of kindliness. Not a few of my former pupils, while engaged on quests of their own, have spared time to forage on my behalf. In particular, Mr A. D. Trendall, Fellow of Trinity College and our foremost authority on South Italian vases, has sent me a flight of valuable photographs from Athens (pl. xlvi, 2), Capua (pl. Ixxv), Rome (pl. lii), Taranto (pls. xiii, xv, 2, lxxi), Berlin (pls. liv, lx), Bonn (pl. xiii, 3), Gotha (pl. lxiii), Leipzig (pls. lxii, lxx, 1), and Vienna (fig. 476). Mr J. D. S. Pendlebury, Fellow of Pembroke College, has more than once put his intimate knowledge of modern Crete at my service (pp. 1070, 1143) and himself photographed for me an early Greek stámmos from Knossos (pl. xxv). Mr E. J. P. Raven procured for me photographs of an interesting pithos-lid from the same place (pl. lxxxvi) and of the relief-plaque from Athens representing a primitive form of Athena (pl. xxvi). And Mr R. M. Cook furnished me with the photograph of a small bronze statuette recently found in Bulgaria and important as being clearly inspired by Pheidias' Zeus Olympos (pl. lxxxii).

Others have gone far afield to record mountain-scenes difficult of access. Dr N. Bachtin gave me prints of Mount Ossa and of the chapel on its summit from photographs taken by Mrs Bachtin in 1934 (figs. 908, 909), and three times over climbed Mount Pelion to investigate the alleged discoveries of Arvanitopoulos (p. 1161). Ossa, Pelion, and—to complete the proverbial pile—Olympos. Mr C. M. Sleeman, Fellow of Queens' College, ascended Olympos twice, in 1926 and 1929, bringing home with him a wonderful series of views, which included not only the actual summit (pl. lxviii) but all the principal peaks (figs. 911, 912) and the little chapel of St Elias (fig. 913). Mr Sleeman in 1926 also photographed the summit of Parnassos (fig. 907), and, being an indefatigable mountaineer, in 1936 climbed Mount Argaios and supplied me with striking photographs of the top (fig. 915) and of a rock-pinnacle beneath it (fig. 916). Mr W. K. C. Guthrie, Fellow of Peterhouse and now Public Orator, in 1932 discovered and photographed a double rock-cut throne on Findos Tepe (figs. 858—860). Mr N. G. L. Hammond, Fellow of Clare College, in 1931 told me of Mount Emertsa on the Albanian frontier, which he had found to be locally identified with Dione in repose (p. 1173). But of all these mountain-exploits none is more arresting than the narrative dictated to me by Mr H. Hunt, who in 1929 went on pilgrimage
with Bektashite monks to the summit of Mount Tomori near Berat and there actually witnessed the sacrifice of a white bull to ‘Zefs’ (p. 1171).

For other photographs, too numerous to specify in detail, I am indebted to a host of contributors both at home and abroad. My debt has, I think, always been acknowledged in a footnote. But I cannot refrain from mentioning here certain cases of outstanding interest. Mr Sidney Smith, Honorary Fellow of Queens’ College and Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, presented me with a magnificent photograph of the newly-discovered ‘Lilith’ and added to his kindness by discussing with me her status and attributes (pl. lxi). The late Dr A. H. Lloyd gave me an exquisite plate of the golden barley found amid the dust and débris of a grave near Syracuse (pl. xxxi). Professors G. M. Columba and E. Gabrici supplied a fine photograph of the Oknos-vase at Palermo (pl. xxxvi); Professor D. M. Robinson, several views of the Bouzyges-vase at Baltimore (pl. xliv); Professor P. P. Jacobsthal, the print of a vase at Marseilles representing, he holds, the oracle of Orpheus’ head (pl. xviii).

Casts of coins and gems have again been sent me without charge and without stint by the authorities of the British Museum, to whom I am further indebted for much encouragement and helpful talk. I am particularly beholden to Mr H. Mattingly, Mr E. S. G. Robinson, and Mr Sidney Smith, of whose prompt aid I have availed myself time after time with shameless persistence. Mr R. B. Whitehead also was good enough to send me a series of choice impressions from his own unrivalled store of Bactrian coins (figs. 369, 371). Monsieur le Comte Chandon de Brialles supplied the cast of a gem representing Kroisos on the pyre (fig. 329), and Mr C. D. Bicknell that of a gem in the Lewis Collection showing Athena as a human-headed bird (fig. 608).

Permission to produce or reproduce plans and illustrations has been generously granted by Messrs F. Bruckmann and Co. of Munich (pls. vi, vii, xxiii, xxxvii), by Sir Arthur Evans (figs. 202, 265), by Mr N. Glueck of the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem (fig. 876), by the Council of the Hellenic Society (figs. 578, 579), by Dr F. Matz of the Staatliches Lindenau-Museum at Altenburg (fig. 619), by Dr H. Meier of the Warburg Institute (pl. xi), by the late Mr J. E. Quibell (fig. 195), by Monsieur Richard, Conservateur des Musées at Abbeville (fig. 888), by Miss G. M. A.
Richter of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (pl. xxxv, figs. 776, 883, 897), by Professor Homer A. Thompson (figs. 923, 924), by Professor A. J. B. Wace (fig. 193), by Dr C. Weickert of the Museum at Munich (pl. 1), and by the Direktor of the Badisches Landesmuseum at Karlsruhe (pl. li).

In the matter of text-figures I have been lucky enough to retain the services of Miss E. T. Talbot, the artist to whom I owe the bulk of the drawings in Volumes I and II. Her work has throughout maintained a high level of exactitude. Her coins, for instance, are not merely faithful transcripts of originals or casts, but actually 'stilgetreu'—a rare achievement of draughtsmanship.

The cameo in malachite portraying the bust of a Ptolemaic Zeus (pl. xlv) was drawn from the original by Miss F. E. Severs and produced as an experiment in lithography by the Cambridge Press. But most of the colour-plates have been specially painted for me by another artist of quite exceptional powers, Mrs D. K. Kennett. She sketched the Corfu pediment from a full-size cast in the Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology (pl. lxiv) and the Sulis Minerva pediment from the original at Bath (pl. lxvi). But her feeling for colour is better shown by the little head of Hera in blue glass from Girgenti (pl. lxxiii), the bust of Sarapis in lapis lazuli (pl. lxxiv), or the bronze mace from Willingham Fen (pl. lxxviii). These are veritable triumphs of sympathetic rendering.

And here I must add a word on another of Mrs Kennett's plates, the neolithic pounder from Ephesos (pl. lxvii). That remarkable object—given me as a souvenir of Sir William Ridgeway by the President of Queens' College and Mrs Venn—has, if I am right in my interpretation of it, presented us for the first time with a prehistoric Greek baltulos, a stone believed to have fallen from heaven and worshipped accordingly. Not the least of its claims upon our attention is the incidental light that it throws on a passage in the New Testament (Acts 19. 35).

The passage in question sets in sharp contrast the old 'Zeus-fallen image' with the new Gospel proclaimed by St Paul. These were in effect the two extremes. Between them lay the whole history of Greek religion with its gradual development, now slower, now faster, from primitive paganism towards complete Christianity—a long story, for the telling of which three volumes would scarce suffice. My contention is that in that development the cult of the
Sky-god was one main factor, leading the minds of men upwards and onwards to ever greater heights till Zeus at his noblest joined hands with the Christian conceptions of Deity. If I have succeeded in proving that, I shall feel that the labours of half a lifetime have been well worth while.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

19 CRANMER ROAD, CAMBRIDGE.

22 July 1939.
## CONTENTS OF VOLUME III

### PART I. CHAPTER II

**ZEUS AS GOD OF THE WEATHER**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>§ 5.</td>
<td>Zeus and the Earthquakes</td>
<td>1—29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 6.</td>
<td>Zeus and the Clouds</td>
<td>30—103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) Zeus and the Clouds in Literature</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Zeus and the Clouds in Art</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) Nephelokokygia</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(d) The Clouds personified in Cult and Myth</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 7.</td>
<td>Zeus and the Wind</td>
<td>103—165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) Men believed to control the winds</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Aiolos Hippotades</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(d) Zeus Ourios, ikmenos, Eudhenos, Böreios</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 8.</td>
<td>Zeus and the Dew</td>
<td>165—283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) The Arrhephoroi</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i. The birth of Erichnions</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii. Hephastios and Athena</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) The Daughters of Kekrops</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) Zeus Ærhos, Erarsos, Ikmatos, Ikmos, Aphrios</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(d) Zeus Thalathios</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 9.</td>
<td>Zeus and the Rain</td>
<td>284—881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) Rain-magic</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i. Rain-magic in modern Greece</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii. Rain-magic in ancient Greece</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii. Rain-magic in the cult of Zeus</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Prayers to Zeus for rain</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) The relation of rain to Zeus</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(d) Rain as water poured through a holed vessel or sieve</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i. The holed vessel in Egypt</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii. The holed vessel in Greece</td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) Water-carrying in the myth of the Danaides</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Water-carrying in connexion with marriage</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(γ) Water-carrying in connexion with the mysteries</td>
<td>397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(δ) Conclusions with regard to the myth of the Danaides</td>
<td>425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii. The holed vessel in Italy</td>
<td>427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv. The holed vessel elsewhere</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(e) Rain as the seed of Zeus</td>
<td>451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i. Zeus identified with rain</td>
<td>451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii. Zeus descends in rain to fertilise the earth</td>
<td>452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii. The myth of Danaë and analogous myths</td>
<td>455</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. III.
## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(f)</td>
<td>Ominous rain sent by Zeus</td>
<td>478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>Rain of blood</td>
<td>478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii.</td>
<td>Rain of stones</td>
<td>482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii.</td>
<td>Rain of food</td>
<td>495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv.</td>
<td>Pyre-extinguishing rain</td>
<td>506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g)</td>
<td>Zeus Ombrios</td>
<td>525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h)</td>
<td>Zeus Hyetios</td>
<td>561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>The Ox-driving of Zeus Hyetios at Didyma</td>
<td>563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii.</td>
<td>The Ox-slaughter of Zeus Polieus at Athens</td>
<td>570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>Ritual of the Dipolieia</td>
<td>577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>Myths of the Dipolieia: Sopatros</td>
<td>590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>Myths of the Dipolieia: Diomos</td>
<td>593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d)</td>
<td>Myths of the Dipolieia: Thaulon</td>
<td>596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e)</td>
<td>Purpose of the Dipolieia</td>
<td>598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f)</td>
<td>Zeus as an ox; Zeus Olbios</td>
<td>605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g)</td>
<td>Zeus struck with a double axe. The birth of Athena</td>
<td>656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h)</td>
<td>The birth of Athena in art</td>
<td>662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i)</td>
<td>Significance of the birth of Athena</td>
<td>726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k)</td>
<td>The superannuation of Zeus</td>
<td>739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(l)</td>
<td>The attributes of Athena</td>
<td>747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>The olive of Athena</td>
<td>749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>The snake of Athena</td>
<td>764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>The owl of Athena</td>
<td>776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>The aigis and Gorgoneion of Athena</td>
<td>837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>The aigis of Athena transferred to Zeus</td>
<td>866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>The thunderbolt of Zeus transferred to Athena</td>
<td>867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i)</td>
<td>Zeus Hyes</td>
<td>873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(j)</td>
<td>Zeus and the Hail</td>
<td>875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 10.</td>
<td>Zeus and the Meteorites</td>
<td>881–942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>The cult of meteorites</td>
<td>881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>Baityloi, Baityemia, and Zeus Betylos</td>
<td>887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>Kybele and meteorites</td>
<td>893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d)</td>
<td>The stone of Elagabalos</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e)</td>
<td>The stone of Dousares</td>
<td>907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f)</td>
<td>The stone siderites or oreites</td>
<td>920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g)</td>
<td>Akmon</td>
<td>924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h)</td>
<td>The stone of Kronos</td>
<td>927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i)</td>
<td>Zeus Kapphotas</td>
<td>939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§ 11.</td>
<td>General Conclusions with regard to Zeus as god of the Dark Sky</td>
<td>943–974</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Contents

**PART II**

**APPENDIX P.** *Floating Islands* . . . . . . . . . 975—1015

**Q.** *The Prompting Eros* . . . . . . . . . 1016—1025

**R.** *The Hieròs Gámos* . . . . . . . . . 1025—1065

1. The *Hieròs Gámos* at Samos . . . . . . . . . 1027
2. The *Hieròs Gámos* at Knossos . . . . . . . . . 1032
3. The *Hieròs Gámos* on Mount Ide . . . . . . . . . 1032
4. The *Hieròs Gámos* on Mount Oche . . . . . . . . . 1041
5. The *Hieròs Gámos* at Elymnion . . . . . . . . . 1041
6. The *Hieròs Gámos* on Mount Kithairon . . . . . . . . 1042
7. The *Hieròs Gámos* in the Cave of Achilleus . . . . . . . . 1043
8. The *Hieròs Gámos* at Argos . . . . . . . . . 1043
   a. Zeus and Hera at Hermione . . . . . . . . . 1043
   b. Zeus and Hera at Argos . . . . . . . . . . . 1043
9. The *Hieròs Gámos* at Athens . . . . . . . . . 1047
   a. Zeus with Hera behind him . . . . . . . . . 1048
   b. Zeus with Hera beside him . . . . . . . . . 1048
   c. Zeus with Hera facing him . . . . . . . . . 1049
   d. Zeus with Hera on the frieze of the Parthenon . . . . . . . . 1053
   e. Zeus with Hera in archaistic reliefs . . . . . . . . 1055
10. The *Hieròs Gámos* in the Far West . . . . . . . . . 1062
11. Inferences concerning the *Hieròs Gámos* . . . . . . . . 1064

**ADDENDA** . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1066—1197

**CORRIGENDA** . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1198—1199

**INDEX I (PERSONS, PLACES, FESTIVALS)** . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1201—1263

**INDEX II (SUBJECTS, AUTHORITIES)** . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1265—1299
# LIST OF PLATES IN VOLUME III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLATE</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Bronze medallion of Mytilene showing Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades as Theoi Akraioi</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Amphora</td>
<td>From Vulci, now in the Vatican: Poseidon, shouldering the island, attacks a Giant</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| III   | Kylix | From Vulci, now at Paris:  
(A) Poseidon, shouldering the island, attacks a Giant  
(B) Apollo (?), Dionysos, and Ares (?) attack Giants  
(C) Hephaistos, Poseidon, and Hermes (?) attack Giants | 16 |
| IV    | Fresco | From Herculaneum, now at Naples: Zeus reclining amid the clouds | 36 |
| V     | A frescoed ceiling from a room in the Golden House: Zeus enthroned in heaven, surrounded by gods, goddesses, Tritons, etc. | 39 |
| VI    | Kylix | From Vulci, now at Berlin:  
(A) Poseidon attacks Polybotes in the presence of Ge  
(B) Ares v. Mimon, Apollo v. Ephialtes, Hera v. Phoibos  
(C) Artemis v. Gaion, Zeus v. Porphyrius, Athena v. Enkelados | 56 |
| VII   | Amphora | From Melos, now at Paris: the Gigantomachy—Zeus, descending from his chariot, attacks Porphyrius | 56 |
| VIII  | Krater (amphora?) | From Ruvo, now at Petrograd: the Gigantomachy—Porphyrius blasted by the thunderbolts of Zeus | 56 |
| IX    | Reliefs from the eastern frieze of the great Altar at Pergamon, now in Berlin: Zeus contends with Porphyrius, Athena with Enkelados | 57 |
| X     | Hydria | From Vulci, now in the British Museum: Athena v. Enkelados, Zeus v. Porphyrius (?) | 57 |
| XI    | Lekythos | From Ruvo, now in the British Museum: The Judgment of Paris with the Argive Hera as prize-winner | 67 |
| XII   | Krater | In the British Museum: the death of Prokris | 73 |
| XIII  | (1) Krater | From Ceglie, now at Taranto  
(2) Detail of same vase: the birth of Dionysos  
(3) Vase-fragment at Bonn: the birth of Dionysos | 82 |
| XIV   | (1) Gold bulla | From Vulci, now at Paris: Birth of Dionysos  
(2) Gold bulla | 88 |
| XV    | (1) Lekythos | Of early Apulian style from Anxia, now in the British Museum: Herakles suckled by Hera  
(2) Lekythos | 94 |
| XVI   | Hydria | At Queens' College, Cambridge: Apollon visits the Lesbian oracle of Orpheus | 99 |
List of Plates

XVII Etruscan mirrors representing the oracular head of Orpheus:
(1) A mirror from Clusium, now in the Casuccini collection at Chiusi
(2) A mirror now in Paris
(3) A fragmentary mirror formerly in the Borgia collection and now at Naples (?) 102

XVIII Early 'Campanian' amphora in the Musée Borely at Marseilles:
a youth consulting the oracle of Orpheus' head (?) 102

XIX A stucco-relief in the semi-dome of the subterranean basilica at Rome:
the last voyage of the soul over the waters of death to the Islands of the Blest [with transparent overleaf]. 135

XX Bronze statuette from Ephesos, now at Queens' College, Cambridge:
a praying Negro 151

XXI Plan of the American excavations on the north slope of the Akropolis 170

XXII Hydria from Chiusi (?), now in the British Museum:
Ge hands Erichthonios to Athena in the presence of Zeus, Nike, and Hebe (?) 182

XXIII Stamnos from Vulci, now at Munich:
Ge hands Erichthonios to Athena in the presence of Hephaistos 184

XXIV Krater from Chiusi, now at Palermo:
Ge hands Erichthonios to Athena in the presence of Hephaistos and Kekrops 187

XXV Stamnos from Knossos, now at Candia:
(a) and (b) the Snake-goddess repeated as a proto-geometric motif. 189

XXVI Painted terra-cotta plaque from Athens:
the Snake-goddess (Athena ?) of late geometric art 189

XXVII Kylix from Nola, now in the British Museum:
Anesidora fashioned by Hephaistos and adorned by Athena 201

XXVIII Votive relief in island marble, found on the Akropolis at Athens:
a husband, with his wife and three children, brings a sow for sacrifice to Athena 225

XXIX Pelike from Kameiros, now in the British Museum:
(a) Athena finds Erichthonios in his basket guarded by two snakes
(b) Aglauros (?) and Herse (?) make off 248

XXX An amphora at Petrograd:
(1) A kerôton containing five stalks of bearded wheat, flanked by conventional figures bearing garlands and gifts
(2) A young warrior, wreathed by Nike, between two companions.
A domestic scene (his homecoming ?)
(3) The whole vase (4) Head of Kore (5) Palmette 306

XXXI Three gold ears of barley found in a grave near Syracuse:
and now in the Loeb collection at Murnau 307
List of Plates

XXXII Reliefs from the Column of Marcus Aurelius at Rome:
  Jupiter Pluvius and the rain-storm 330

XXXIII The so-called 'Canopic jars' of Egypt, surmounted by the heads of the four children of Horos:
  (1) A typical set 345
  (2) A set in veined alabaster, now at Queens' College, Cambridge

XXXIV Amphora from the Basilicata, now in the British Museum:
  (1a—1b) Evocation of the Greek Earth-goddess 353
  (2a—2b) Consultation of an Isiac 'Canopus'

XXXV Loutrophoros in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York:
  (1) Whole vase showing mourners with loutrophoros above, mourners at prothesis below, and subsidiary zones of lions and horsemen 375
  (2) Detail of same vase

XXXVI Lekythos from Monte Saraceno, now at Palermo:
  the uninitiated in the Underworld, together with Oknos and his ass 400

XXXVI I Krater from Canosa, now at Munich:
  Orpheus leads a family of initiates into the presence of Hades and Persephone, whose palace is surrounded by the stock denizens of the Underworld 402

XXXVII Hydria at Boston: the carpenter completes the chest in the presence of Akrisios, Danaë, and the nurse holding the infant Perseus 458

XXXIX A Roman mosaic from Palermo: the amours of Zeus—Antiope, Danaë, Leda 467

XL Das Schlaufaffenlandt, 'The Country of Cokaygne,' from a woodcut printed by W. Strauch of Nuremberg 502

XLI Krater from Santa Agata dei Goti, now in the British Museum:
  Alkmene rescued from a fiery death at the hands of Amphitryon and Antenor by the intervention of Zeus 511

XLII Relief from the eastern frieze of the great Altar at Pergamon, now in Berlin:
  Zeus fighting Porphyreon 534

XLIII A sardonyx cameo from Ephesos, now in Venice:
  Zeus with oak-wreath and aigis 538

XLIV A malachite cameo, now at Queens' College, Cambridge:
  Zeus with oak-wreath and aigis 538

XLV Krater from Vari, now at Baltimore:
  (a—d) Bouzyges ploughing in the presence of Athena and an elderly male spectator 607

XLVI (1) Terra-cotta plaque from a tomb at Hadra (?), now at Queens' College, Cambridge:
  Europe on the Bull 618
  (2) Bronze mirror from Athens (?), now in Rome:
  Europe on the Bull
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List of Plates</th>
<th>to face page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XLVII Amphora from Canosa, now at Naples: Europe playing with the Bull</td>
<td>620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLVIII A Roman mosaic from Aquileia: Europe on the Bull, escorted by Eros and Poseidon</td>
<td>627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLIX (1) Amphora at Munich: Io as a heifer with Argos and Hermes (2) Stámmos from Caere, now at Vienna: Io as a steer (!) with Argos, Hermes, and Zeus.</td>
<td>631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L Amphora at Munich: Zeus in labour, flanked by two Eileithyiai</td>
<td>663</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LI Amphora from Girgenti, now at Karlsruhe: Zeus in labour, with two Eileithyiai and Hermes in attendance</td>
<td>665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LII Amphora from Vulci, now in the Vatican: Zeus in labour, with one Eileithyia and two gods in attendance</td>
<td>667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIII Amphora from Caere, now in the Vatican: Zeus in labour, with one Eileithyia and Hermes (?), Poseidon, Ares in attendance</td>
<td>667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIV Amphora from Caere, now at Berlin: Athena born from the head of Zeus, with two Eileithyiai and other deities in attendance</td>
<td>673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LV Amphora from Vulci, now in the British Museum: Athena born from the head of Zeus, with two Eileithyiai, Hermes, and Hephaistos in attendance</td>
<td>675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVI Pelike from Vulci, now in the British Museum: (a, b) Athena born from the head of Zeus, with one Eileithyia and other deities in attendance</td>
<td>675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVII (1) Drawing of the east pediment of the Parthenon by J. Carrey (?) (1674) (2) Restoration by E. A. Gardner (1902) (3) Restoration by K. Schwerzek (1904)</td>
<td>689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVIII (1) Restoration by J. N. Svoronos (1912) (2) Restoration by Rhys Carpenter (1933) (3) Restoration by A. B. Cook (1917)</td>
<td>689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIX Pelike in the British Museum: (A) Zeus and Nike (B) Hera and Hebe (?)</td>
<td>733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LX Amphora from Nola, now at Berlin: a spectator stands before the Owl on the Akropolis</td>
<td>777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXI A Sumerian relief in baked clay: Lilith (?), a possible ancestress of the Owl-Athena</td>
<td>832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXII Kráter at Leipzig: Perseus presents Athena with the Gorgon's head for her aigis</td>
<td>843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXIII Kráter at Gotha: Perseus presents Athena with the Gorgon's head for her shield</td>
<td>843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXIV The west pediment of the temple of Artemis at Palaiopolis, Corfu</td>
<td>845</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Plates

LXV (1) Etruscan kylix at Leipzig: Pegasos born from the blood of the Gorgon
(2) Etruscan kylix in the British Museum: Pegasos born from the blood of the Gorgon

LXVI Pedimental relief from the temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath

LXVII A bautylos(?) from Ephesos, now at Queens' College, Cambridge

LXVIII The highest peak of Mount Olympos (Mitka, the 'Needle')

LXIX Coins, struck by Hadrian, representing the Zeus Olympos of Pheidias:
(1, a, 1 b) Two differently lighted views of bronze coin now at Paris
(2) Bronze coin now at Florence
(3) and (4) Bronze coins now at Berlin

LXX (1) A bronze mirror-case in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge:
Ganymedes feeds the Eagle in the presence of a Nymph
(2) A similar mirror-case in the Lloyd collection, Cambridge

LXXI (1)—(3) Details of krater from Ceglie, now at Taranto:
a group of kalathiskos-dancers

LXXII Fresco from Pompeii, now at Naples: the Hieros Gamos of Zeus and Hera on Mount Ida in the Troad

LXXIII A head of Hera Labania (?) in blue glass, c. 400 B.C., from Girgenti, now at Queens' College, Cambridge

LXXIV A bust of Zeus Sarapis in lapis lazuli, c. 300 A.D., now in the British Museum

LXXV (a) and (b) Amphora in the Museo Campano di Capua:
Ixion on his fiery wheel

LXXVI Antefixal ornament from Italy, now in the British Museum:
head of Zeus Ammon

LXXVII (a) and (b) Terra-cotta group in the British Museum,
possibly connected with the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus(?)

LXXVIII (a—c) A bronze mace from Willingham Fen,
now in the Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology,
Cambridge

LXXIX (a) and (b) Marble head of Iuno Lucina (?), now at Queens'
College, Cambridge

LXXX (a) and (b) Marble head of Pan from Greece, now in the
British Museum

LXXXI Plithos-lid from Knossos, Cretan work of c. 700 B.C.:
Zeus advancing with triple lightning-fork and bird

LXXXII Bronze statuette of Zeus Olympos from Bulgaria,
now in the Museum of the Augusta Trajana Society at
Stara Zagora

LXXXIII Marble head from Jerash:
a third-century Zeus (?), which perhaps served as a fifth-century Christ
ABBREVIATIONS

The following additions should be made to the List of Abbreviations printed in Vol. I pp. xxv—xliii and Vol. II pp. xxi—xliii.

Albizzati *Vasi d. Vaticano* = C. Albizzati *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano* Fasc. 1—6 (pls. 1—60) Roma 1925—1932.


*Am. Journ. Arch.* From 1932 (vol. xxxvi) onwards the *American Journal of Archaeology* has been issued in larger format.


*Berl. philol. Woch.* So-called from 1884 to 1920. Before (1881—1883) and after (1921—) that period the title is simply *Philologische Wochenschrift*.


*Brit. Mus. Quart.* = *British Museum Quarterly* 1926—.


*Corpus poëtic pombarum antiquorum* = *Corpus poëtic pombarum antiquorum* i Parodorum epicorum Graecorum et Architecturae reliquiae, ed. P. Brandt Lipsiae 1888, ii Sillographorum Graecorum reliquiae, ed. C. Wachsmuth Lipsiae 1885.

*Corpus vas. ant.* = *Corpus vasorum antiquorum*. This great international publication, started by E. Pottier at Paris in 1921, has already (1939) run to 63 parts, of which Belgium
Abbreviations

has contributed 2, Denmark 6, France 14, Germany 3, Great Britain 11, Greece 1, Holland 2, Italy 13, Poland 3, Spain 1, the United States 6, and Yugoslavia 2.


ix Description des Revêtements peints à sujets religieux par M. Bulard. Paris 1926.


(Delos Planches).


ix (Planches).


Ebert Reallex. = Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgelehrter herausgegeben von Max Ebert i—xiv Berlin 1924—1929, xv (Register) Berlin 1932.


Farnell Gk. Hero Cults = L. R. Farnell Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality Oxford 1921.

Fouilles de Delphes

iii Épigraphie. Texte. Fasc. 5 par Émile Bourguet Paris 1932.


Gneaf Ant. Vasen Athen iv Berlin 1925, II. Band i Berlin 1929, ii Berlin 1931, iii Berlin 1933.


Abbreviations

Inscr. Gr. ed. min. = Inscriptiones Graecae editio minor
ii—iii Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores ed. Ioannes Kirchner. Pars quarta: Indices 1 Berolini 1918.
ix. i Inscriptiones Phocidis Locridis Aetoliae Acarnaniae Insularum Maris Ionii.
1 Inscriptiones Aetoliae ed. Guentherus Klaffenbach Berolini 1932.
Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. From 1918 (vol. xxxiii) onwards the Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts has been entitled the Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
L’Antiquité Classique = L’Antiquité Classique Louvain 1933—
i Western Europe, Magna Graecia, Sicily.
ii The Greek Mainland, the Aegean Islands, Crete.
iii Asia Minor, Farther Asia, Egypt, Africa.
Mendel Cat. Fig. gr. de Terre Cuite Constantinople = Musées Impériaux Ottomans. Catalogue des Figurines grecques de Terre Cuite par Gustave Mendel Constantinople 1908.
Milet
i. 9 Thermen und Palaestren von Armin von Gerkan und Fritz Krischen mit Beiträgen von Friedrich Drexel, Karl Anton Neugebauer, Albert Rehm und Theodor Wiegand Berlin 1928.
ii. 2 Die mileische Landschaft von Theodor Wiegand mit Beiträgen von Kurt Krause, Albert Rehm und Paul Wilski Berlin 1929.
iii. 4 Das islamische Milet von Karl Wulzinger, Paul Wittek, Friedrich Sarre unter Mitwirkung von Th. Menzel, J. H. Mordtmann, A. Zippelius Berlin—Leipzig 1935—.
iii. 5 Das südliche Jonien von Alfred Philippson Berlin—Leipzig 1936.
Muller Altital. Wörterb. = Altitalisches Wörterbuch von Dr Frederik Muller Jzn Göttingen 1926.
Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica = Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica Firenze 1885—.
Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek = Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Billedtavler til Kataloget over antike


Pergamon


Reinach Rés. Stat. vi Mille trois cent cinquante statues antiques Paris 1930. This handy Répertoire (apart from its first volume, the 'Clara de poche') claims to have published in all no fewer than 19750 statues.


Sardis

i The Excavations. Part i (1910—1914) by Howard Crosby Butler Leyden 1922.
ii Architecture. Part i The Temple of Artemis by Howard Crosby Butler Leyden 1925.
vii Greek and Latin Inscriptions. Part i by W. H. Buckler and David M. Robinson Leyden 1922.

x Terra-cottas. Part i Architectural Terra-cottas by Theodore Leslie Shear Cambridge 1926.

xi Jewelry and Gold Work. Part i (1910—1914) by C. Densmore Curtis Roma 1925.


Syll. num. Gr. = Sylloge nummorum Graecorum

ii. 1—2 The Lloyd collection (Etruria to Thurium). London 1933.
ii. 3—4 The Lloyd collection (Velia to Eryx). London 1934.
ii. 5—6 The Lloyd collection (Galaria to Selinus). London 1935.
ii. 7—8 The Lloyd collection (Syracuse to Lipara). London 1937.
iii. i The Lockett collection (Spain—Italy (gold and silver)). London 1938.
iii. 2 The Lockett collection (Sicily—Thrace (gold and silver)). London 1939.

Tiryns


Woch. f. klast. Philol. = Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie 1884—1920 (then united with the Berl. Philol. Woch. and continued as the Philologische Wochenschrift).
CHAPTER II (continued)

ZEUS AS GOD OF THE WEATHER.


GREECE is a land of many earthquakes. Reckoning great with small, Count de Montessus de Ballore, our foremost authority in seismic geography, computes a yearly average of at least 275. C. Davison in a recent monograph states that 3187 were recorded during the six years 1893—1898, and adds that, for every shock felt in Great Britain, 50 are observed in Japan and no less than 158 in Greece. Similarly J. Partsch, after consideration of Julius Schmidt’s earthquake-catalogue for 1859—1878, concludes ‘that

\[1\] F. de Montessus de Ballore Les tremblements de terre: Géographie séismologique Paris 1906 p. 164.
\[4\] F. de Montessus de Ballore ‘Introduction à un essai de description sismique du globe et mesure de la sismicité’ in the Beiträge zur Geophysik Leipzig 1900 iv. 357 gives the following statistics for the various divisions of Greece (repeated by C. E. Dutton Earthquakes in the light of the new Seismology London 1904 p. 296):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCALITIES</th>
<th>PERIODS OF OBSERVATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thessaly</td>
<td>1863 1867—1868 1895—1897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euboia and N. Sporades</td>
<td>1228 (Euboia) 1857—1878 1895—1897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attike, Parnassos, and Lokris</td>
<td>1979 1858—1878 1895—1897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akarnania</td>
<td>13 1895—1897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ionian Isles</td>
<td>41 1825—1868 1875 1892—1893 1895—1897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achaia</td>
<td>22 308 1860—1876 1882—1883 1887—1888 1895—1897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korinthia and Argolis</td>
<td>311 1858—1878 1886—1888 1895—1897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakonike</td>
<td>12 54 1858—1861 1867—1877 1892—1897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Messene</td>
<td>21 93 1895—1897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkadia</td>
<td>20 75 1895—1897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crete</td>
<td>8 100 1858—1888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyklades</td>
<td>14 141 1860—1863 1867—1874 1895—1897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General or ill-defined (eastern)</td>
<td>9 32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOTALS</th>
<th>71</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>280</td>
<td>10306</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[6\] J. F. Julius Schmidt Studien über Vulkane und Erdbeben Leipzig 1881 ii. 166—360.

C. III.
Zeus and the Earthquakes

in this land hardly a week, in many years hardly a day, goes by without the ground being noticeably shaken at one point or another, while a second eminent geographer, A. Philippson, puts it even more forcibly: 'In Greece the soil trembles somewhere almost every day.'

Greek earthquakes, being tectonic, not volcanic, in character, occur normally along certain well-marked structural lines, which correspond with prominent features of the country—the base of a mountain-range, a straight river-valley, a rocky coast-line. These seismic zones may be enumerated as follows: the northern half of the Straits of Euboia together with the Malian Gulf and the islands Skiathos and Skopelos; an elliptical land-tract including Phokis, Lokris, and Boiotia; the northern coast of the Peloponnese from Corinth to Patrai; the western coast of the Peloponnese with Zakynthos, Kephallenia, and Leukas; the valleys that form the heads of the Messenian, Laconian, and Argolic Gulfs—the principal southerly indentations of the Peloponnese. The distribution thus indicated for modern times is fully borne out by the record of ancient earthquakes, of which a well-arranged and critical list for the period 600 B.C.—600 A.D. has been drawn up by W. Capelle.

Since most of the seismic lines traceable in Greece are definitely maritime and the rest within easy reach of the sea, it is not surprising to find that the Greeks of the classical age commonly

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1 A. Philippson Das Mittelmeergebiet, seine geographische und kulturelle Eigenart Leipzig 1904 p. 28.
5 Not invariably. Pythagoras taught that earthquakes were due to a concourse (conflict?) of the dead (A. eur. hist. 4. 19 καὶ τῶν σωμάτων θεματοφόρων οὐδὲν ἄλλο εἶναι ἐὰν σῶν ἑνῶν τῶν τεθνητῶν = II. Diels Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker 2 Berlin 1912 i. 357, 21 f.)—presumably a folk-belief (Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 814 n. 2).
6 The frequent notion that earthquake-shocks are occasioned by the movements of a subterranean monster or giant or god (J. Grimm Teutonic Mythology trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 815 f., 1888 iv. 1542, E. B. Tylor Primitive Culture* London 1891 i. 364 ff., Frazer Golden Bough* i. 197 ff. ('The Earthquake God'), K. Weinhold 'Die Sagen von Loki' in the Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum 1849 vii. 61 f., P. Sébillot Le Folk-Lore de France Paris 1904 i. 423 f., F. Legge Fore-runners and Rivals of Christianity Cambridge 1915 ii. 277 (citing F. Cumont Recherches sur le manichéisme i La cosmogonie manichéenne d'après Théodore bar Khéni Bruxelles 1908 Append. ii), P. Alfaric Les écritures manichéennes Paris 1918 i. 40) is found also
Zeus and the Earthquakes


In the upper-pliocene beds of Samos are extensive deposits of fossil bones—Samotherium, Hipparion mediterraneum, Mastodon longirostris, etc. (L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i A. 2168, 2171). These bones were attributed by Euphorion to primeval monsters called Neêtes, who broke the very ground with their cries and occasioned the Samian proverb 'He bawls louder than the Neddes' (Euphor. frag. 25 Meineke ap. All. de nat. an. 17. 28 and Apostol. q. 51). The statement goes back to the early local historian Euagon of Samos frag. 1 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 16 Müller) ap. Phot. lex. s.v. Νέδες and Herakl. Pont. frag. 10. i (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 215 Müller)=Aristot. frag. 611. 30 Rose, who however used the form Νεῖδες, not Νεῖδες. Νεῖδες, which means 'Witless Ones' (cp. h. Dem. 256), must of course be distinguished from Νεῖδες or Νηώδες, the Naiad nymphs, and may be an attempt to make sense of some pre-Greek name. W. R. Halliday in the Class. Rev. 1927 xli. 59 acutely restores Plout. quaest. Gr. 56 (Panaima in Samos was so named after a bloody battle between Dionysos and the Amazons) τῶν θυρίτων ἀποθανόντων τινι λέγεται περὶ τὸ θεοῦ καὶ τὰ ὄστη δείκνυσαι αὐτῶν τινί δὲ λέγεται καὶ τὸ θεοῦ επ᾽ ἐκέκραγον, φθεγμένων μέγα τι καὶ διάπροσ (see further Halliday ad loc. p. 297 ff.). S. Reinach in the Rev. Arch. 1928 ii. 161 quotes with approval Sir A. Evans The Palace of Minos London 1928 ii. i. 334: ‘The delight of the Earth-shaker in bulls, referred to in the Homeric passage [II. 20. 405 ff.], may itself find a reasonable explanation in the widespread idea...that earthquakes are produced by some huge beast beneath the Earth. Sometimes, as in Japan, it is a monstrous fish, sometimes an elephant or other animal of prodigious size, but, amongst all of these, the bull is the most natural agent. According to the Moslems of Tashkend [J. Troll in the Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 1892 xxiv. 537 ff.], Almighty God set to support the Earth a bull of such monstrous size that from his head to the end of his tail was five hundred years’ journey, and the space between his two horns another two hundred [and fifty]. The bull, thus heavily laden, prompted by the Devil, shook his head and tried to throw the Earth off him with his horns. Thereat, a midge was sent to sting him in the nostril, and he set up a mighty bellowing, so that he is known unto this day as “the bellower”.'

Again, there is an earthquake when the giant Briaureus under Mt Aitne shifts to his other shoulder (Kallim. h. Del. 141 ff.), or when Enkelados beneath the same burden changes his weary side (Verg. Aen. 3. 578 ff.). All Sicily trembles when Typhoeus, crushed by its weight, struggles to thrust it from him (Ov. met. 5. 346 ff., Val. Flacc. 2. 23 ff.). A like commotion was caused when Kauneus, buried beneath a huge mound of stones and stones, tried in vain to lift his head (Ov. met. 12. 514 ff.). Giants laid low by Herakles—Mimas beneath Prochyte, Iapetos beneath Inarime—made the earth shake above them and blasted the soil of Campania (Sil. It. 12. 143 ff., cp. ib. 539). In particular, Alkyoneus (Claud. de rapt. Pros. 3. 184 f.) and other giants with him were thought to lie beneath Mt Vesuvius (Philost. her. 2. 7), and during the eruption of 179 A.D. many gigantic phantoms appeared by day and night on the mountain, in the neighbouring towns, and in the sky—a prelude to periods of severe drought and appalling earthquakes (Dion Cass. 66. 22). We may venture to compare the happenings described in Matthew 27. 51—53. Analogous beliefs still linger in Greek lands: a short, sharp earthquake accompanied by a peculiar crash occurred in Zakynthos on Aug. 4/16, 1862, and the next day a peasant employed over the currant-crop in the village of Hagios Kyrikos observed with regard to it ‘Some building of the giants must have collapsed’ (B. Schmidt Das Volksthein der Neugriechen Leipzig 1871 i. 33, 201 κάρπο τοῦ γιγαντιοῦ θά ἔσωσ. Cp. supra ii. 505 f.). It should, however, be recognised that the express connection of earthquakes with buried giants or the like is Hellenistic, not Hellenic. Earlier sources (e.g. Hes. theog. 830 ff., Pind. Pyth. 1. 29 ff., Pherekyd. frag. 14 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 72 Müller) =frag. 54 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 76 Jacoby) ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 190 ff.) emphasise volcanic rather than seismic effects.

Other gods could on occasion produce a quake. Athena did so at Troy when

The epithet ῥῆξεθων (ῥηξεθων), the ‘land-breaker,’ has reference in all probability to the disruptive effect of earthquakes, and is applied in Orphic hymns to Dionysos (Orph. h. Λυσ. Λεχ. 50. ῥῆξεθων (E. Abel cf. ῥήξεθων), ἀρχαῖα, μεγασθεντές, αὐλολόρες, h. τριτ. 52. ῥῆξεθων (E. Abel cf. ῥήξεθων), πυροφόρει, ἐπάφει, καὶ διμυθόρ (so E. Abel for διμυθόρ) and in magical spells etc. to a variety of cthonian powers including Hekate (C. Wessely Griechische Zauberpapyri von Paris und London Wien 1888 p. 88 pap. Par. 2723 f. τῶν ῥήξεθων συμφάσκονε (A. Nauck cf. συμφάσκονε) συμνάδταμερα, Babelon—Blanchet Cat. Bronzes de la Bibli. Nat. p. 701 ff. no. 2196, 10 ff. = W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2646 = R. Wünsch in the Corp. inscr. Att. App. defix. p. x = A. Audollett Defixionum tabellae Luteciae Parisiorum 1904 p. 69 ff. no. 38, 10 ff. (a leaden devotio-tablet of a.) A.D., found at Alexandria) ἐπὶ καλείδωμα σφ τῶν πάνων ἄνθρωπων διανύστατα, παραφράξα (ῥήξεθων—from ῥηξπ, ὡς καὶ ἄνευκαμήν τὰ τοῦ μελλομένου μέλα καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν μελλομένον, ἔμχειγαλ λειτουργοναλθῃ δρεβεβε, ἤρκεσα νεκών ἢκάτω, ἢκάτω ἀληθῆ, άληθείσα θελείσαι με τὴν παρεμαζεια ταύτην (on the identification of Ερίτσικαλ with Hekate and the allusion to the dismemberment of Osiris or Adonis?) see W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1524 f. 2645 ff.), Miss L. Macdonald in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaology 1891 xiii. 174 no. 1, 30 ff. = W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2646 = A. Audollett op. cit. p. 41 no. 32, 30 ff. (a leaden devotio-tablet of late date, found at Kourion in Kypros) ἀγαθὴ σφικτὴν (of the graveyard ἀγαθὴ σφικτὴν), an unnamed goddess who holds the keys of Hades (Miss L. Macdonald loc. cit. p. 175 no. 2, 12 ff. = A. Audollett op. cit. p. 44 no. 23, 12 ff. (a leaden devotio-tablet of late date, found at Kourion in Kypros) καὶ τῷ ἀδιάπληκτῳ νεφελοειδίῳ—a formula repeated in Miss L. Macdonald loc. cit. p. 176 no. 3, 16 ff., p. 178 no. 5, 20 ff., p. 179 no. 6, 18 ff., p. 180 no. 7, 21 ff., p. 181 no. 8, 18 ff., p. 183 no. 9, 21 ff., p. 184 no. 10, 19 ff., p. 185 no. 11, 18 ff., p. 186 no. 12 f., 21 ff., p. 188 no. 15, 18 ff., p. 190 no. 17, 19 ff. = A. Audollett op. cit. p. 45 no. 24, 16 ff., p. 47 no. 26, 20 ff., p. 49 no. 27, 18 ff., p. 51 no. 28, 21 ff., p. 53 no. 29, 19 ff., p. 54 no. 30, 23 ff., p. 56 no. 31, 18 ff., p. 59 no. 32, 18 f., p. 62 no. 33, 22 ff., p. 64 no. 35, 18 ff., p. 67 no. 37, 19 ff.), Brinno (C. Wessely Neue griechische Zauberpapyri Wien 1893 p. 45 pap. Lond. 121, 757 f. = F. G. Kenyon Greek Papyri in the British Museum London 1893 i. 106 no. 121, 691 ff. (of s. lvi. a.d.) δός δι' ἄνθρωπος [ἵππευξον] [Βριμοὶ ῥῆξεθων], an unnamed goddess who holds the keys of Hades (Miss L. Macdonald loc. cit. p. 175 no. 2, 12 ff. = A. Audollett op. cit. p. 44 no. 23, 12 f. (a leaden devotio-tablet of late date, found at Kourion in Kypros) [καὶ τῷ ἀδιάπληκτῳ νεφελοειδίῳ—a formula completed from Miss L. Macdonald loc. cit. p. 174 no. 1, 53 f., p. 176 no. 5 a, 39, p. 182 no. 8, 35, p. 186 no. 11, 4 Zeus and the Earthquakes
attributed earthquakes to Poseidon. A memorable passage in the *Iliad* is explicit on the point:


... 

The fact is that any and every subterranean deity invoked by the magician might be expected to cause an earthquake. Jehovah himself is conjured as the god who renders the mountains and breaks the rocks in pieces (1 Kings 19. 11), who makes the earth to tremble and shake (Ps. 77. 18), the hills to move to and fro (Jer. 4. 24) (A. Audollent *op. cit.* p. 374 no. 271, 17 ff., 34 ff. = R. Wünsch *Antike Fluchtafeln* Bonn 1907 p. 22 no. 5, 17 ff. (a leaden *deusio*-tablet of s. iii A.D., found at Hadrumetum) ὀρίος εἰς τὸν συντρίβοντα τὰ πέτρας: ὁ δὲ ἱερὸς τὸν ἀπορρίπτοντα τὰ ὄρη, p. 24 no. 5, 34 f. δι' ὅθεν... καὶ τὰ ὄρη πέρασε... καὶ τῇ ἱερᾷ θάλασσα...
The sire of men and gods thundered on high
Horrific, and beneath Poseidon shook
The boundless earth and the tall mountain-tops.
Yea, all the feet of many-fountained Ide
And all her crests were swaying to and fro,
Troy-town to boot and the Achaean ships.
Deep underground Aidoneus, king of the dead,
Trembled and, trembling, sprang from his throne and shouted
Lest o'er his head Poseidon, shaker of land,
Should cleave the very earth and bring to the ken
Of mortals and immortals his grim realm,
A mouldering realm that ev'n the gods abhor.

This passage is well illustrated by a bronze medallion of Mytilene, struck by Valerianus, and hitherto unpublished (pl. i and fig. 1). The reverse type is an attempt to visualise the foregoing scene. On the left Poseidon, holding a dolphin (?), threatens the ground with his trident. On the right Hades, a rod or sceptre in his hand, springs from his throne in terror. Zeus, standing between them, with himation and sceptre, raises his hand to quell the tumult. The whole must refer to some historic earthquake, and may have been struck to commemorate it.

The Homeric lines, however effective, are not improbably a late

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2 My specimen came from the cabinet of a Greek collector on May 14, 1928. Obv. AVT·Κ·Π·ΛΙΚ·Β ΑΛΕΠΙΑΝΟC. Bust of Valerianus to right. Rev. ΘΕΟΙΑ ΚΠΑΙ ΟΙΙΜΥΤΙΑΗΝΑ ΙΩΝ. Scene as described above. Pl. i shows the reverse to a scale of 4. L. Holstein's coin (supra ii. 873 n. o (10)) had apparently the same reverse combined with an obverse resembling supra ii. 860 fig. 172.
Bronze medallion of Mytilene showing Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades as Theoi Akraioi.

See page 6 n. 2.
Zeus and the Earthquakes

interpolation¹. But in cantos of earlier date Homer calls Poseidon 

1 R. C. Jebb Homer: an Introduction to the Iliad and the Odyssey² Glasgow 1887

² The epithet ἐνωτήθαι is used of Poseidon 32 times in the Iliad, 18 times in the Odyssey (A. Gehring op. cit. p. 288). The common phrases are γαῖρος ἐνωτήθαι (nom. 4 times, acc. once, dat. twice)—extended in II. 13. 43 Ποσειδῶν γαῖρος ἐνωτήθαι (cp. Hom. ἐνωτήθαι twice). Ποσειδῶν ἐνωτήθαι—and λύστο ἐνωτήθαι (nom. 7 times, acc. twice). Ἐνωτήθαι alone occurs 6 times (nom. twice, voc. thrice, ace. once). Ἐνωτήθαι ἐνωτήθαι thrice. The word mostly occupies the end of the line, but not in II. 7. 455. 8. 201, 12. 27, 20. 20, 20. 310, 21. 462, Od. 11. 102, 13. 140, H. Pos. 4 (H. Ebeling lexic. i. 424).

¹ Hence it may be inferred that the old pre-Homeric tags (supra i. 444, ii. 384 n. 0) for dactylic tripodies with anacrusis were Ποσειδῶν ἐνωτήθαι and γαῖρος ἐνωτήθαι, for dactylic dipodies with anacrusis κρέμα ἐνωτήθαι and λύστο ἐνωτήθαι. In view of the extreme antiquity of such tags we can hardly expect their interpretation to be free from doubt.


*ἐνοτηθ—ἐνοτηθ—would have produced, not ἐνοτηθ, but ἐνοτηθ—ἐνοτηθ— ἐνοτηθ (L. Meyer Handb. d. gr. Etym. i. 410, K. F. W. Schmidt in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 1913 xiv. 234 n. 3. Boisaec op. cit. p. 1109 and Walde—Pokorny op. cit. i. 355 adduce unconvincingly ὣς ὄντος, ἐνοτηθ—ἐνοτηθ— ἐνοτηθ—Besides, ἐνοτηθ is a late compound (Ap. Rhod. 4. 1243, Plout. v. Lucull. 28) and yields no tolerable sense.

Impressed by these difficulties I endeavoured years ago to divide ἐνοτηθ—γαῖρος (a compound like ἐνωτήθαι), 'the earth-god in the water,’ cp. Poll. i. 238 γαῖρος ἐνοτηθ—ἐνοτηθ—ἐνοτηθ, if not also Eur. I.T. 161 γαῖρος ἐνοτηθ—ἐνοτηθ— (so A. Kirchhoff for ἐν νότοσ) | παρασ. On this showing ἐνοτηθ—ἐνοτηθ— would be a later form due, like ἐνωτήθαι, to a misconception (Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 176). The occurrence of Zeus Ἐνοτηθ for Νότος at Miletos (supra i. 233 n. 6, ii. 317 n. 2) might indeed be held to support the connexion with νότος, νοτήθαι, etc. and perhaps Νεπτῦνας (Walde Lat. etym. Wörterb. pp. 358 s.v. 'Neptũnus,' 521 s.v. 'no'). But the suggestion really makes shipwreck on the sense, which I now see to be nonsense. Dr B. F. C. Atkinson improved upon my notion by pointing out to me (Dec. 1925) that ἐν—might be a prothetic vowel, the epithets ἐνοτηθ—ἐνοτηθ—, ἐνοτηθ—ἐνοτηθ— denoting
follows suit with *Ennosidas*¹, and coins fresh compounds to express

the god ‘that waters the earth.’ But, unknown to us both, A. Goebel of Magdeburg had already tried that tack fifty years ago. In a remarkable paper ‘Über den homerischen Poseidonos γαύχος ἐννοσίας’ (Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasiens 1876 xxvi. 241—252) he had argued that there is in truth no Homeric evidence for Poseidon as an earthquake-god. II. 50. 56 ff. being a ‘späteres Einschiebel’ and ἐννοσίας, ἐννοσίθωσ, ἐννοσίφολος involving prothetic e and the root stoa of φιόντοι, φιόλητος— to be rendered ‘erdendetenet,’ ‘Erdbewässerer,’ ‘feuchtlaubiger.’

Another possibility suggested to me by Dr Atkinson (Dec. 1925) is that ἐννο-α-χθώς, ἐννο-σί-γας, ἐννο-σί-φίλλος may be related to omnis < *enon, ‘burden’ (Walde op. cit. s.v. ‘omnis’), and mean ‘burdened with the ground,’ ‘burdened with earth,’ ‘laden with leaves.’ The suffix -ον is frequent in epic compounds (D. B. Monro A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect Oxford 1891 p. 118 ff.).

But against all these fancies must be set the solid fact that the said epithets are traditionally interpreted ‘shaking the ground,’ ‘shaking the earth,’ ‘shaking the leaves’ (so all lexicons, ancient or modern). And this tradition must be as old as Hesiod, since ἐννος is applied by him to a ‘shaking’ of the earth (Hes. theog. 681, 706) or sea (Hes. theog. 849). Euripides similarly uses the word of an earthquake (Bacch. 382) or a city’s overthrow (Pro. 1326) or the whirling of ῥόμβου (Ibid. 1363). Goebel loc. cit. p. 249 of course maintains that we have here to do with a learned, or unlearned, misunderstanding of ἐννο-σίων. On the whole, it is safer to accept the traditional rendering and to assume a verbal stem *ἐννο-* without recognised cognates (L. Meyer op. cit. i. 410).

Zeus and the Earthquakes

the same idea—*elasichthon*¹, 'who smiteth the land,' *ellichthon*², 'who
γ γ ὄ χ ἔ τε ι τος, άνων Ἀμφιπόλης Ἑρμής (Schafer transp. Ἐρμής Δημήτρη, γεράφος δήφος, γραφείων διήλευσαν. In corn. rep. 9 Bergk⁴, 50 Diehl ap. Prokl. in Hes. o. d. 389 τριπολίων δή (cod. A), where T. Bergk prints τρίς πολέμους and E. Diehl τριπολίων δή, J. M. Edmonds cf. τριπολίων ὧ δή). It should, however, be observed that the ancient grammarians in general are by no means committed to this view.

With the dawn of modern philology scholars began to doubt the equation δᾶ = γῆ. L. H. Ahrens De dialecto Dorico Gottingae 1843 p. 80 f. definitely denied it. He explained *'Ewosídas either as a simple derivative of *Euvos, or as a blundered form of *'Ewosídas, or as equivalent to *'Ewosídas, δᾶ being in this case an ancient but unrelated name of the goddess Γ' (L. H. Ahrens in Philologus 1866 xxiii. 207 n. 20). Later, on the strength of Cypriote δᾶ = Attic γῆ (W. Deecke and J. Siegismund in the Studia zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik herausgegeben von G. Curtius Leipzig 1875 vii. 21 f., O. Hoffmann Die Griechischen Dialekte Gottingae 1891 i. 221, A. Thumb Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte Heidelberg 1909 p. 202, C. D. Buck Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects Boston 1910 p. 55, F. Bechtel Die griechischen Dialekte Berlin 1921 i. 411), Ahrens admitted δᾶ as a Doric form of γῆ (L. H. Ahrens in Philologus 1876 xxv. 21)—an admission in which he was followed by J. Schmidt in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 1881 xxv. 145 ff. and R. Meister Die griechischen Dialekte Gottingen 1889 ii. 221, 254, cp. G. Meyer Griechishe Grammatik Leipzig 1896 p. 268 (delta ist wohl blass für die Erklärung von δᾶπαρμφ erfunden). But the normal Doric form of γῆ was γᾶ (E. Boisacq Les dialectes doriens Paris 1891 p. 48 f.), and no recent philologist—even when confronted with Laconian δίφαιρα (Hesych. s.v. δίφαιρα (M. Schmidt corr. δίφωρα) · γέφωρα. Δικώνες) and Gortynian δήφων (D. Comparetti in the Mod. d. Linc. 1893 iii. 293 ff. no. 154, II 14 ff. with facsimile = F. Blais in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Diat.-Inschr. ii. 2. 286 f. no. 5000, II 14 ff. τάν δὲ ἰδιότερον κατέχει δῆφωρ—would support the claim that δᾶ is a legitimate Doris for γῆ.

That being so, we must abandon the attempt to make *'Ewosídas a dialect form of *'Ewosídas. For all that, it may amount to much the same thing. Personally I incline to the view that δᾶ was an ancient name of the earth-mother (supra ii. 584 nn. 1, 585 n. 1), δᾶς an ancient name of the sky-father, ultimately related to Zeus (L. H. Ahrens in Philologus 1866 xxiii. 206 f.) and found as second element in the compounds τοι-δᾶς, 'Lord Zeus' (supra ii. 582 ff.), and αὐ-δᾶς αὐ-δᾶς, 'Zeus of the Earth' (Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 175 f., Folkt-Lore 1904 xv. 280 f.); and I should interpret *Ewosídas as *'He that shaketh Da, the Earth' rather than as *'Das or Zeus of the earthquake' (cp. Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 175). The later accentuation *Πωδίας, αὖδᾶς, *'Ewosídas was due—I conceive—to the false analogy of patronymics.

Others prefer to suppose that in the tragic exclamation δᾶ we have the vocative and in the bucolic abjuration οὐ δᾶ we have the accusative case of δᾶ, 'Zeus' (so L. H. Ahrens in Philologus 1866 xxiii. 206 f., R. Kühner—F. Blass Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache Hannover 1890 i. 144, 459).

Zeus and the Earthquakes

maketh the land to reel,’ seīsichthon1, ‘who maketh the land to quake.’ Sophokles speaks of him as tináktor gálas2, the ‘agitator of the earth.’ And the poets in general conceive of him as stirring both land and sea with his trident.3

But behind the poets lay old-world tradition. The Homeric epithet gaiéochos4 was an actual cult-title of the god in Lakonike at

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1 Pind. Isthm. 1. 76 Κρόνος σείσιχθην’ ὑλόν (sc. Poseidon), Bakchyl. 16. 57 ff. ἐτὶ δὲ καὶ θέ (sc. Theseus) Τρομηρία σείσιχθην | φέτευεν Δίθρα Ποσειδώνι, κ.τ.λ., 17. 21 ff. Κροίδα Λατυίου | σείσιχθην τέκος (sc. Sinis son of Poseidon Lautois (cp. Steph. Byz. s.v. Lautoí, χώριον Θεσσαλίας, διὸ τὸ λίθο τὰ Τρεμή Ποσειδώνα καὶ σκέδασα τὸ ἄπο τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ θῶρ, Hesych. s.v. Λατουί—Ποσειδώνι)), Dion. Hal. ant. Kom. 2. 31 καλεῖται δὲ ὁ θεός, Ὑπαίτι μετέτοιον, Κώνως ὑπὸ τοῦ Ρωμαίων· δὲ ἐξερευνήστησε τὴν ἡμέραν γῆλιπτικαί, Ποσειδώνα σείσιχθην βασιλ. ἐναὶ τιμές, καὶ διὰ τὸντο ὑπογράφεται ἄγαμο λέγομεν, ὅτι τὴν γῆν ὁ θεός οὗτος ἐχει. κ.τ.λ., Cornut. theol. 22 p. 42, 1 f. Λαγὸν ἐτὸ σείσιχθην καὶ ἐνοσίγας καὶ σείσιχθην καὶ τινάκτορα γαῖας κ.τ.λ., Gell. 2. 28. 1 antiquissimi Graecorum, qui Neptunum seissichthon appellaverunt, Amm. Marc. 17. 7. 12 Neptunum humentis substantiae potestatem Ennosigaeon et Sisichthonea poetae veteres et theologn nuncupaverunt, Orph. Arg. 345 f. ἀυτὸν τὸ Κροίδα seissichthon, καινοαιτήτην, | κύριοι ἐκπροδότα μοιεν ἐπιτρέφοντα δρόκων, Cougny Anth. Pae. Append. 4. 47 i f. ὁ = Orph. frag. 2. 1 f. Αβελ, 285, 1 f. Κερν βαδίζει δὲ καὶ τόδε λέγει, τέκος, ὅπποτε καὶ δὲ γαῖας καῖγετη | σεισιχθην καινοαιτητη (Cougny and Abel print seissichthon Kainoaietithi), | κ.τ.λ., oracil. Sib. 3. 402 ff. (cp. i. 184 ff.) Gellikon ὅπποτε καὶ Πείρης μερικὸς γένους ἐν χθονί κυμα (sc Wilamowitz for δήμουs, cp. i. 184) | ἄνων μὲν ἄρωμα ἀδύνατος τεθῆλη | αὐτῷ προμενεῖ ἀμῶν ἵς ἐν νυκτὶ γίνεται | ἐν τούτῳ αὐτόνθρη σεισιχθον (sc Castalio (S. Chateillon) for δρακόντι), [But in oracil. Sib. 2. 16 ff. Gellikon ὅπποτε σεισιχθον ἀποτροπητὴς | ξεδώμων ξίδων θραύσει λαός τα τινάξει, | Ράφης ἐπταλάφω τὸν τεριδίῳ the reference is to the supreme Deity of the Jews or the Christians.] Cp. et. mag. p. 668, 54 σείσω, σείσιχθην.

Schöll—Studemund anoci. i. 267 Ἐπίβεντα Ποσειδώνων (10) καινοαιτητῆς perhaps originated in a gloss, cp. Hesych. s.v νεοσιγαῖος νεοσιγαῖος. ἐπιθέτος Ποσειδώνων.


4 Homer uses this epithet sometimes with (II. 13. 43, 20. 34, Od. 1. 68, 3. 55, 8. 322, 8. 320, 9. 528, h. Po. 6), sometimes without the name of the god (II. 9. 183, 13. 59, 13. 83, 13. 125, 13. 677, 14. 355, 15. 174, 15. 201, 15. 222, 23. 584, Od. 11. 241, h. Herm. 187), but always of Poseidon. Later poets, misconceiving the second element in the compound, applied it to other deities (Aisch. supp. 813 ff. σεϊσιχθον δ’ ἱετας οἶνον, γαιάδω ταγκρατεῖ θεῖ, Soph. O. T. 159 ff. πρώτα σὲ κεκλάμενος, θύγατερ Δίος, ἀμβροτ’
Therapne in Attike at Athens, and in the archi-

Zeus and the Earthquakes 11

Adana, [γαδόχος] τὸ ἄδελφες ["Απρεμικ, κ.τ.λ.] in the sense of ‘holding’ or ‘guarding our land.’ Nonnus makes it mean ‘dwelling on earth’ (Nonn. interpr. ev. Io. 1. 5 line 11 f. (xiii. 749. A Migne) ἐν ἄξινεν ἐπὶ κόσμῳ [οὐρανίς σελαίγυ βολαὶς γαδόχος οὐλή]. Another and less pardonable blunder in etymology accounts for Bekker anec. i. 230, 2 γαδόχος ίσως, ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῦ ὀξύματι χαίρειν.

In Hen. theog. 15 ἦταν Πολυδειάδων γαδόχος ηὐσίγυμνος cod. ὁ δὲ γαδόχος, which is accepted by K. W. Goetting—J. Flach and H. G. Evelyn White. But the vulgate is defensible as an example of internal shortening (R. Köhner—F. Blass Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache Hannover 1890 i. 312 f). The supposed derivation from ἕξω gave rise to various forms in -οξος (Hesych. s.v. γαδόχως τὸν τὴν γῆν ὡςον, καὶ συνεχότα, γαδόχως ὅ τὴν γῆν ἔχων, γαδόχως ὅ τὴν γῆν συνεχόμενον, Squid. s.v. γαδόχως ὅ τὴν γῆν ὃν, γαδόχως ὅ Πολυδέιδης, ὅ τὴν γῆν ἔχων, Scholl—Studemund anec. i. 267 Ἐπίθετα Πολυδέιδου (4) γαδόχου. γαδόχον δὲ, Eustath. in Od. p. 1392, 23 ff. σημειώσαμε ὅ ὅ γαδόχος μὲν μοναχὸς διὰ διδυμοῦ, γαδόχως δὲ καὶ γαδόχος καθ’ Ἱσραήλ μὲν καὶ Δίδυμον διὰ ἐκ πτωλαὶ παρὰ τὴν φυλογραφίαν ἡ δὲ καὶ συνεχόμενον ὡς γή: Ἀλλὰ δὲ τὰς ἢ διδυμοὺς παρὰ τὸν λαόν γαών ἢ καὶ ὁ γαδόχος.

Scholl—Studemund anec. i. 267 Ἐπίθετα Πολυδειάδων (3) γαδόχου. γαδόχως δὲ πά τις παραπάτεων genuine preserves a appellative of Poseidon, though the glossator—according to O. Jessen ιιερεῖος τοῦ τοῦ ὀξυματί χαίρειν.

1 Near Therapne was a sanctuary of Poseidon Γαδόχος (Paus. 3. 20. 2 τοῦτω δὲ οὗ ό Πολυδέιδης ἀδέλφης ιερὸν ἐπίλεγον Γαδόχου) with a hippodrome, which was visited by Epameinondas’ cavalry in 369 B.C. (Xen. Hell. 6. 5. 30 ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἡμέρα τρίτη ἡ τετάρτη προήμνθη ὁ Πολυδέιδης τοῖς ἑπτάδομοι εἰς Γαδόχου κατὰ τάχης, οἱ τῇ Θεοί τάς πάστες καὶ οἱ Πάλαι καὶ διοὶ Φεοῖς ὁ Θεοί τῆς Πολυδέιδου παράστασιν. The festival of the god Γαδόχου is mentioned repeatedly on a stèle of white marble, which was found in two portions—one in the monastery of the Ἁγίας Τεσσαρόποτα or Ζαράπη between Sparta and Chrysapha (W. M. Leake Travels in the Morea London 1839 ii. 531 with pl. 71 at end of vol. iii. Roehl Inscr. gr. ant. n. 79, id. Imagines inscriptionum Graecarum antiquissimorum Berolini 1907 p. 100 no. 17, Roberts Gh. Epigr. i. 363 ff. no. 264, R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. dial.-inschr. iii. 2. 109 no. 4416, Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 946, M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum Oxford 1906 p. 64 f. no. 440), the other in the ruined temple of Athena Λακείων at Sparta (H. J. W. Tillyard in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1906—1907 xiii. 174—182 with photographic fig., A. M. Woodward ib. p. 178, W. Kolbe in Inscr. Gr. Arc. Misc. i. no. 213). Beneath a spirited, though much damaged, relief of a four-horse chariot driven from right to left (M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace op. cit. p. 176 no. 440) comes a long inscription in Doric, to be dated shortly before 431 B.C. The opening lines (1—5) contain a metrical dedication: Δαμώνων | ἀνέθέκες Αιάθαλι[α] Πολύχαρος κ.τ.λ. Then four lists of victories: (6—34) those of Damonon in chariot-races; (35—49) those of Damonon’s son Enymakratidas; (49—65) those of Damonon as a boy; (66—96) those of Damonon and Enymakratidas at the same contests. The record includes various events ἐν Γαδόχῳ, ‘at (the festival) of Gaidochos’ (Inscr. Gr. Arc. Misc. i. no. 213, 6 ff. τάδε ἐνίκησε Δαμων[ῶν] τοῦ αὐτοῦ τεθησίποτα [αὐτὸς ἀνίχνευε] εν Γαδόχῳ τετράκις, 49 ff. καὶ Δαμώνων ἐνίκη παρὰ ὅν οὗ Γαδόχῳ στάδιον καὶ [ἐν Πολυδέιδου, ὥν ὁ ἀριστοφόρος τάδε ἐνίκη Δαμώνων] ἐν Γαδόχῳ ἑνδῆθαι [ἡπταῖος αὐτὸς ἀνίχνευε] καὶ όκληξις σὺν ἀριστοφόρῳ καὶ διάλογος μιᾷ ἀδέρας ἐνίκη πάντες λαμά, 90 ff. ὡς ὁ ἐνίκησε βοῦρον τάδε ἐνίκη Δαμώνων εν Γαδόχῳ ἑνδῆθαι [ἡπταῖος αὐτῷ ἀνίχνευε] καὶ λαμά μιᾷ ἀδέρας ἐνίκη πάντες λαμά, 90 ff. οὗτο δὲ ἐνίκησε βοῦρον τάδε ἐνίκη Δαμώνων εν Γαδόχῳ ἑνδῆθαι [ἡπταῖος αὐτῷ ἀνίχνευε] καὶ λαμά μιᾷ ἀδέρας ἐνίκη πάντες λαμά, 90 ff. οὗτο δὲ ἐνίκησε βοῦρον τάδε ἐνίκη Δαμώνων εν Γαδόχῳ ἑνδῆθαι [ἡπταῖος αὐτῷ ἀνίχνευε] καὶ λαμά μιᾷ ἀδέρας ἐνίκη πάντες λαμά, 90 ff. οὗτο δὲ ἐνίκησε βοῦρον τάδε ἐνίκη Δαμώνων εν Γαδόχῳ ἑνδῆθαι [ἡπταῖος αὐτῷ ἀνίχνευε] καὶ λαμά μιᾷ ἀδέρας ἐνίκη πάντες λαμά. Cf. Hesych. s.v. γαδόχως: τὸν τὴν γῆν συνεχόμενον, ἡ δέ τὴν γῆν ὀχυρωμένον (so M. Schmidt for ὅπο τὴν γῆν συνεχόμενον cod.). ἡ δ’ ἀληθευ, ἡ δὲ τοῦ ὀξουμενοῦ ἡ ὑμαῖσι χαίρειν (so J. V. Pergier for ἀληθευ, ἡ δὲ τοῦ ὀξουμενοῦ χαίρειν cod.). Δέκων.

2 There was at Gythion a sanctuary of Demeter and, adjoining it, a statue of Poseidon in Pyly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 484—was thinking of the phrase Γαδόχος ὑδ. (Od. 7. 374, Anth. Pal. 14. 23. 1).
Zeus and the Earthquakes

The tribe Erechtheis is careful to distinguish its eponymous hero from Poseidon (Corpus inscriptions Attica i. 2 no. 556, 6, 1 ff. = J. v. Pratt and L. Ziehen, Leges Graecorum sacrae i. 679). A. Reinach, Textes grecs et latins relatifs à l'histoire de la peinture ancienne (sc. ii A.D. (Paus. 3. 21. 8 &reiK&<ri 5e)), before 350 B.C. (Corp. inscr. Att. ed. min. i. 1 no. 1146, 1 ff. a decree of the tribe Erechtheis), before 350 B.C. (Corp. inscr. Att. ed. min. i. 679). Poseidon standing, naked, with dolphin in outstretched right hand and trident in raised left, on a bronze coin struck by Caracalla (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, Num. Comm. Paris. i. 62 no. 5, p. 20 f. no. 18 (a fragmentary marble base inscribed in s. ii (?) A.D. and built into a buttress on the southern wall of the akropolis at Athens) [cf. Paus. 11. 34. 2, 5, 11. 12. 6, 11]).

The inscriptions imply a rather half-hearted identification of Erechtheus with Poseidon. Other available evidence points in the same direction; for, whereas in s. iv B.C. the tribe Erechtheis is careful to distinguish its eponymous hero from Poseidon (Corpus inscriptions Attica i. 2 no. 556, 6, 1 ff. = J. v. Pratt and L. Ziehen, Leges Graecorum sacrae i. 679), the result being a syncretistic god called Poseidon 'Epex#ei/s (Lebas — Foucart). Athens had a priest of Poseidon 'Epex#ei/s (Corp. inscriptions Attica iii. 1 no. 805 = Dittenberger, Inscriptiones Graecae iii. i no. 268 a theatre-seat inscribed shortly before the Christian era). 

The orator. A. Reinach, Textes grecs et latins relatifs à l'histoire de la peinture ancienne (sc. ii A.D. (Paus. 3. 21. 8 &reiK&<ri 5e)), before 350 B.C. (Corp. inscr. Att. ed. min. i. 1 no. 1146, 1 ff. a decree of the tribe Erechtheis), before 350 B.C. (Corp. inscr. Att. ed. min. i. 679). Poseidon standing, naked, with dolphin in outstretched right hand and trident in raised left, on a bronze coin struck by Caracalla (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, Num. Comm. Paris. i. 62 no. 5, p. 20 f. no. 18 (a fragmentary marble base inscribed in s. ii (?) A.D. and built into a buttress on the southern wall of the akropolis at Athens) [cf. Paus. 11. 34. 2, 5, 11. 12. 6, 11]).
Zeus and the Earthquakes

pelago at Thera. The meaning of the epithet has been the subject of much discussion; but there can nowadays be no doubt that it denotes the 'earth-bearer,' just as aiglochos is the 'aigis-bearer.'

A rough stone, about a foot long, dug up a little below the great wall which supports the eastern side of the agora at Thera, is inscribed in lettering of s. vi (?) B.C. (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Philologus* vi. 1899 arch. an. p. 183, id. in *Inscr. Gr. Inschr.* iii suppl. no. 1371 with fig. = my fig. 2, F. Blass in *Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 169 no. 4723).

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3 In view of the form πασισκόσ (supra p. 11 n. 1), philologists are all but unanimous in deriving the compound from γαία + -ισσός and in referring the second element to ἔρχω = Lat. *volo* (A. Beeszenberger in *Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* i. 367 ff. no. 1267, 24 (Sillery in Pamphylia) ἐκεῖρω 'let him bring,' R. Meister *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1889 ii. 168 f. no. 14, 2 (cp. p. 244 -εῖχεν 'darbringen') = O. Hoffmann *Die Griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1891 i. 46 no. 66, 2 (Chytroi in Kypros) ἑνέρχετο 'he brought' an offering), δεσδόν neut. (for *δέσδον, cp. Hesych. *δέσδον.* ἔρχοντας, with ἐ under the influence of ἐρχομαι masc., ἐρχεῖσθαι). See J. Schmidt in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1895 xxviii. 456, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb.* d. Gr. *Spr.* p. 88 'die Erde
Zeus and the Earthquakes

bewegend, erschütternd,' Boisacq Dct. éym. de la Langue Gr. p. 139 'qui secoue la terre,' F. Bechtle Lexilogus zu Honer Halle a.d.S. 1914 p. 17 'der die Erde bewegt,' M. F. Meyer in Philologus 1923 Suppl. xvi. 3, 71 n. 1 'erdbewegend,' Walde—Pokorny Vergl. Worterb. d. indogerm. Spr. i. 249 'der die Erde bewegt.' The history of oxos > δεξηφον is—pace the pundits—decisive for the meaning 'earth-carrier' as against 'earth-shaker.'

P. Kretschmer ploughed a lonely and fruitless furrow, when he sought to take the epithet as the equivalent of Παῦς δεξηφόν 'mating with Gaia' (Glotta 1914 v. 303 and 1924 xiii. 279).

Poseidon appears as 'earth-carrier' in ceramic illustrations of the Gigantomachy (Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Poseidon pp. 332—331 Atlas pl. 4, 6, 8, 12 b, pl. 5, 11b, c, pl. 12, 25—27, pl. 13, i, B. N. Staes in the 'Eph.' 1886 p. 88 pl. 7, 2, M. Mayer Die Giganten und Titanen Berlin 1887 pp. 316—319, H. Dibbelt Quaestiones Coae mythologae Geryphiwaldiae 1891 p. 14 f., Preller—Robert Gr. Myth. i. 70, 84, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 338 n. 16, Frazer Pausanias ii. 48—50, E. H. Meyer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2815 f., H. Bulle ib. iii. 2867, O. Waser in Fauly—Wissauf Real-Enc. Suppl. iii. 659, 669, 686, 754 f., J. Six in the Ath. Mitth. 1915 i. 117 ff. pl. 1). According to the oldest accessible form of the myth 'Polybotes, chased through the sea by Poseidon, came to Kos; whereupon Poseidon, breaking off a piece of that island now called Nisyros, hurled it upon him' (Apollod. r. 6. 2, cp. Strab. 489, Eustath. in Dionys. per. 535, Plin. nat. hist. 5. 133 f.). A variant version tells how Polybotes, when struck by Zeus, started to swim, and how Poseidon flung a trident at him but failed to hit, the missile becoming the island Nisyros or Porphyris (Steph. Byz. s.v. Νισύρος (= Eudok. viol. 764, Favorin. lex. pp. 1311, 14 f., 1536, 15 ff.)). Black-figured vases regularly show Poseidon moving from left to right and bearing on his left shoulder the mass of rock with which he is about to overwhelm his opponent (Overbeck op. cit. p. 338 ff. enumerates fourteen such vases). But only one vase, an Ionian amphora, adds the name Polybotes (supra ii. 713 pi. xxx). Red-figured vases of the strong style (c. 500—460 B.C.) give Poseidon in the same attitude, but further characterise his rock as the island by representing on it an assortment of land- and sea-creatures (Overbeck op. cit. p. 330 f. lists eight such vases. Typical are (1) an amphora from Vulci, now in the Vatican, referred by J. D. Beazley Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 52, Attische Vasenmaler des rosfugigen Stils Tübingen 1923 p. 111 no. 2 and by Hoppin Red-fig. Vases i. 206 f. no. 4 to 'the painter of the Diogenes amphora,' a contemporary of Myson and of 'the Eucharides painter' (Mus. Etr. Gregor. ii pl. 56, 1 a (=ii* pl. 60, 1 a), Overbeck op. cit. p. 331 no. 8 Atlas pl. 12, 25, W. Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klasischer Altertämer in Rom Leipzig 1912 i. 308 no. 489, with photographs by Moschioni (no. 8575) and Alinari (no. 35754=my pl. iii)): (2) a klyix from Vulci, now at Berlin (Furtwängler Vasensamml. Berlin ii. 580 ff. no. 3293), attributed to 'the Brygos painter' (supra ii. 777 n. 2, J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rosfugigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 176 no. 6. R. Zahn in Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmaler iii. 257 f. pl. 160 (part=my fig. 3) supersedes E. Gerhard Griechische und etruskische Trinkschalen des königlichen Museums zu Berlin Berlin 1843 pl. 10—11 (part=Overbeck op. cit. p. 330 no. 1 Atlas pl. 4, 12 b)): (3) a klyix from Vulci, now at Paris, assigned by Hoppin to 'the Brygos painter' (Hoppin Red-fig. Vases i. 136 no. 80), by Beazley to a dexterous but mechanical imitator of his style (J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rosfugigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 176 no. 1) (De Ridders Cat. Vases de la Bibli. Nat. ii. 439 ff. no. 573, P. Milliet—A. Girandon Vases peints du Cabinet des Médailles & Antiques (Bibliothèque Nationale) Paris 1891 vii classe, xi série ii. pl. 70 interior, pls. 71, 72 exterior, Overbeck op. cit. p. 330 no. 2 Atlas pl. 5, 14, 1 b (=my fig. 4), 1c. My pl. iii is from fresh photographs. The rock on (1) shows a scorpion, a polyp, a hedgehog, and two fronds; on (2) a running fox (so Furtwängler and Zahn: Overbeck represents it as a galloping horse surrounded by a fringe of seaweed (?) etc.); on (3) exterior a hedgehog, a scorpion, a snake, and a goat (?); on (3) interior a snake (?), a fox, and tertium quid.)

Only one of the red-figured vases names the Giant, and this calls him not Polybotes
Amphora from Vulci, now in the Vatican:
Poseidon, shouldering the island, attacks a Giant.

See page 14 n. 0 (i).
Zeus and the Earthquakes
Kýlix from Vulci, now at Paris:

(A) Poseidon, shouldering the island, attacks a Giant.
(B) Apollon (?), Dionysos, and Ares (?) attack Giants.
(C) Hephaistos, Poseidon, and Hermes (?) attack Giants.

See page 14 n. 0 (3) and page 16 fig. 4.
It implies the ancient cosmological idea that the earth rests upon water—an idea perpetuated on the one hand by the popular belief in floating islands, on the other hand by the philosophic belief that the world or the earth is a ship and that earthquakes are due to waves of the nether sea.

but Ephialtes (a kraτερ at Vienna published by J. Millingen Ancient Unedited Monuments London 1822 i. 17—20 pls. 7 (=my fig. 5) and 8, Lenormant—de Witte Él. mon. cér. l. 10ff. pl. 5, A. de La Borde Collection des vases grecs de M. le comte de Lamberg Paris 1813—1824 i. pl. 41 = Reinsch Rép. Vases ii. 188, 1, Overbeck op. cit. p. 330 no. 3 Atlas pl. 13, 1. The rock shows a polyp, a dolphin, etc., a prawn (τ), a goat, a snake, and a scorpion). The change of name is ingeniously explained by O. Benndorf in the Arch.-ep. Mitth. 1893 xvi. 106 (followed by O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1784 f.), who conjectures that, just as Nisyros was believed to have been broken from Kos (probably from Cape Chelone: see Paus. i. 2. 4) and flung by Poseidon at the Giant Polybotes, so Saros was believed to have been broken from Cape Ephialtis (Ptol. 5. 2. 33) in Karpathos and flung by Poseidon at the Giant Ephialties. It is noteworthy that Nisyros occurs, not only as the name of the island off Kos, but also as that of a town on Kalydna (Plin. nat. hist. 5. 133) and as that of a town on Karpathos (Strab. 489, cp. an inscription from Tristomo in Karpathos published by M. Beaudouin in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1886 iv. 262 ff. no. 1, 1 ff. = Inschr. Gr. ins. i no. 1335, 1 ff. Μενεκράτεις Μενεκράτεις Παντος Νίσυρος, Σωστός Νίσυρος, Αρχάκρατες Βρυκνώνιαν, αἴρεθτες λεγοντες κυριοτέρας της τοῦ οὐσίας δαμος Ποσειδόνας Ποσειδόνας). A. Fick Vorgriechische Ortsnamen Göttingen 1905 pp. 51, 119 (Carian), 164 (Hittite, perhaps Lelghan).


For the cosmic ἀόρατοι of the Pythagoreans see Philolaos frag. 12 Diels (supra i. 338 n. 3, ii. 44 n. 2). Cp. Philolaus op. Stob. ecl. 4. 12, 6a p. 186, 27 ff. Wachsmuth=H. Diels Doxographi Graeci Berolini 1879 p. 332 b 19 ff. = id. Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker Berlin 1914 i. 306, 26 f. τὸ δὲ ἕγεμονον ἐν τῷ μεσαίῳ τῷ πουλ., διην τρόπον διην προϊόντος τῆς τοῦ πατῆρα <οἱφαίνας (suppr. A. H. L. Heeren) > δ ἐνυσώργος βοις. Miss H. Richardson in an important paper on 'The Myth of Er (Plato, Republic, 616 n) makes it
probable that Platon’s picture combining a straight axis of light with a curved periphery of light [supra ii. 44] was derived from the Pythagorean doctrine, which combined a fire at the centre of the universe with a fire girdling the sphere of the universe, and further that Platon’s phrase ofon tα ὑποβείματα τῶν θεών presupposes the Pythagorean ὅλας (Class. Quart. 1906 xx. 113—133).

Georgios the Pisidian, who was deacon of St Sophia and record-keeper at Byzantium under the emperor Herakleios (610—641 A.D.), has introduced the same conception into his ἐξήγησις ὁς κοινογραφία, a philosophico-theological poem in iambics on the creation of the world (K. Krummacher Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Ostromischen Reiches München 1897 p. 710). The passage is as follows: οὕτως ὑποτηκάρης τυγχάνων ὄγορος, ἵνα τοῖς δὲ τῷ ἀρχαίοντος αὐτῶν βάσει, ἢ ἐβάθμιον αὐτῆς προχείλον τῶν ἀέρων, ἵνα ὁ ὁδὸς παῖ σθῇ δυσάσσει ἄλλῳ βάσει, ἵνα τὸ τε λαέτη δημιουργῶν πεθαίνῃ, ἵνα μὴ ἄδυνθῇ τοῦ μετ’ αὐτῶν πυθῆναι, συνεφαίς δὲ μᾶλλον ἥγησισκαίς δοκεῖς, ποιῶν κρεμαστὴ τὴν πάνωρον ὅλαδα, ὅ γὰρ ἐγείρει διότι εἰς ὑδατά τάχα, ἄστρα ποταμοὺς, ὄμοιον τε πείχιον τῇ θαλάσσῃ συνδόξῳ, καὶ λεπτὸν ἀντίφραγμα τῇ ἱλῇ πλεκόν, καὶ κτίσμα ἐν βραχίνη, ἀντίστοια ἐν θεσπίσει ἐκ τῶν ἁπάνθρωπον εὐκακέων (Georg. Pisida hexam. 498—512 Hercher (printed in R. Hercher’s ed. of All. vari. hist. ii. 618 f.), a better text than xii. 1474 A—1475 A Migne). 4

If held that the earth was afloat like wood upon the water (Aristot. de caelo 2. 13. 294 a 28 ff. of B’ ed. ὅταν κατέχεται (viz. the γῆν φιλι)), τούτων γὰρ ἔρχεται παρεκλήματος τῶν λόγων, ὅ φαιον εἰσὶν Θάλης τῷ Μίλησιον, ὅταν τὸ πλωτὸν εἶναι μόνοις ὡστε ξύλων ἢ τοῖς τούτοις ἔτερον (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτον ἐπ’ ἄδεστος μὲν ὀόθον πέρακε μένει, Λ’ ἐπ’ ἐδιαται), ὡστε οὖ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων ἔτα σε εἰς τῆς γῆς ἂν τοῦ ἄδεστου τοῦ ὑποκοῦσι τῆς γῆς, Simpl. in Aristot. de caelo p. 522, 14 ff. Heiberg ὧν ἐπ’ αὐτῆς τὴν θάλασσαν τοῦ Μίλησιον ἡμέραν (καὶ δόξαι) ἐπὶ ὡστε κατέστησε τὴν γῆν οὕσω πέρακε ξύλων καὶ ἄλλο τῶν ἀνεπίκεςθαι τῆς πλωτῆς πεθαίνων, πρὸς ταύτην δὲ τὴν δοκεῖ ὅ ἀρατολέγη ἀντιλείπει μᾶλλον Ἰωάνη ἔκερατον διὸ τὸ καὶ πρὸς Αὐγίστοις ὀφθεῖν ἐν μέσῳ σχῆματι λέγεσθαι καὶ τὸν θάλασσαν εἰς τὸν Καλλικράτη τῶν λόγων νεκροκείων, τ. Aristot. met. 1. 3. 983 b 10 ff. ἄλλο Θάλικὴς μὲν οὗ τοῦτον ἀρχηγὸς φιλοσοφίας ὄγορος εἰπάν φημαν (καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ ὡστε οὖσα παρέατο ἐπεικεῖσθαι), Simpl. in Aristot. phys. p. 23, 28 f. Diels διὸ πάντων ἀρχήν ὑπελάβον (κακ. δ. ε. ἔχει ὑπελάβον, but the reference is to Thales and Hippol) εἶπα τὸ ὄγορο καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ ὡστε ἐπεικεῖσθαι κεῖσθαι).

Artemidoros of Ephesos, who c. 100 B.C. issued his Γεωγραφοφιμενa in eleven books, utilizing the results of the Peripatetic Agatharchides and others (H. Berger in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 1329 f., W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1920 ii. 1. 423), seems to have described the earth as floating on the ocean (Plin. nat. hist. 2. 242 pars nostra terrarum, de qua memoro, ambienti, ut dictum est, oceano vel innatis longissime ab orto ad occasum patet, hoc est ab Indiæ ad Herculium columnas Gadibus sacratas [LXXXV], LXXVIII p., ut Artemidoros auctori placet, etc., Dicellius liber de mensura orbis terræ 5. 1 (ed. G. Parthey Berolini 1870 p. 18, 1 ff.). Jdem dicit in tertio (Letronne ci. secundo): pars nostra terrarum de qua commemoró, ambienti ut dictum est oceano vel innatis, longissime ab orto ad occasum patet, hoc est ab Indiæ ad Herculium columnas Gadibus sacratas, centum mil. sexagies et sexies et XXXta [simpliciter triginta (uncis inclusi A. B. C.)] milia passuum, ut Artemidoros auctori placet).

But it is not quite certain that the phrase 'floating on the ocean' goes back beyond Pliny to Artemidoros, nor, if it does, that we should see in it more than a rhetorical flourish.

Somewhat similar in expression, though diverse in origin, is Io. Chrys. hom. in Genes. 12. 2 (iii. 100 Migne) ταύτων αὐτῆς τὴν βαρέαν, καὶ τὸν τοσοῦτον κόσμον ἐπὶ τῶν ὀξεῖς νύχτων φέροντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὀδίων ἐθημελιά, καθὼς ὁ προφήτης φησί, ἢ ἤθεμελιά ἐπὶ τῶν ὀδίων τῆς γῆς (Ps. 135. 6).

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Sen. nat. quaest. 3. 14. 1 quæ sequitur Thaletis inepta sententia est. ait enim terrarum orbea aqua sustineri et vehi more navigii mobilitateque eius fluctuare tune, cum dictur tremere. non est ergo mirum, si abundet humor (so F. Haase. H. Diels Die Fragmente der Vorsozialistik Berl. 1912 i. 11. 7 follows Gercke in reading si abundant humor) ad fluminia profundenda, cum in humore sit totus.

2—2
Now we have already seen reason to suppose that Poseidon was but a specialised form of Zeus, his trident being originally the lightning-fork of a storm-god. We should therefore expect to find at least some traces of the conviction that earthquakes were ultimately caused and controlled by Zeus.

In point of fact, the earliest extant description of an earthquake attributes the phenomenon, naively enough, to the action of Zeus, who nods his head, shakes his hair, and thereby makes the mighty mass of Mount Olympos to tremble. That is pure magic, and none the less magical because the magician was a god. Later epic writers imitate the scene, which must have appealed to folk-belief of a deep-seated and permanent sort. Indeed, the same belief still lurks in the background of the peasant's brain. B. Schmidt pointed out that in Zakynthos, an island peculiarly liable to seismic vibrations, people explain them by saying 'God is nodding his head towards the earth' or 'God is shaking his hair'—both expressions being virtually identical with those used in the Homeric episode.

Other poets, classical and post-classical, associate the most awe-inspiring of nature's moods with the anger of the greatest nature-
god. At the close of Aischylos' Prometheus bound the defiant Titan challenges the Almighty and bids him do his worst:

Let his blast rock the earth, roots and all, from its base1.

And when the answering thunderstorm bursts, the very first symptom of the wrath of Zeus is an earthquake-shock:

Lo, now in deed and no longer in word
The earth is a-quake2.

Similarly in the brilliant exodos of Aristophanes' Birds Pithetairos, who is clearly conceived as the new Zeus3, wields the nether thunders and thereby causes an earthquake4. The same feeling that the failure of the solid ground can be ascribed to no power lower than the highest prompts the Orphic hymn-writer boldly to transfer the epithet seisichthon, 'who maketh the land to quake,' from Poseidon5 to Zeus6 and the author of a Sibylline oracle to use the like language of his supreme Deity7.

The fact is that, as the centuries went by, Poseidon lost while Zeus gained in religious significance. Earthquakes came to be connected less and less with the former, more and more with the latter. A short series of examples will here be instructive. In 464 B.C. a great earthquake laid waste the town of Sparta: the Spartans themselves believed that this was because they had once put to death certain Helot suppliants, who had fled for refuge to the sanctuary of Poseidon at Cape Tainaros8. In 387 B.C.9 the Spartans under Agesipolis i were invading the Argolid, when they were overtaken near Nemea by an alarming earthquake: they at once raised the paean to Poseidon, and most of them were for beating a retreat; but their commander, putting the best construction he could on the ominous incident, offered sacrifice to that god and pushed on into the territory of the Argives10.

1 Aisch. P.v. 1046 f. 2 Id. ib. 1080 f.
3 I have elaborated the point in Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway Cambridge 1913 pp. 213—221, infra p. 59 f.
4 Aristoph. av. 1750 ff. ὃ μέγα χρόνος ἀστερικῆς φασι, ὃ δὲ Αἰθήρων ἀυγὸς πυρὸφόρος (supra ii. 704), ὃς χθεσις βαρακάντες ὑμβριοφόρος θ' αἷμα βρωταὶ (supra ii. 805 n. 6), 
5 alis ἐνδ νῦν χθένα κεῖσαι. Ἰδίῳ δὲ πάντα (ἰδίῳ δὲ πάντα κοδ. P. D. Dobree c. 4a πεζωτρικα. A. Meineke, followed by B. B. Rogers, c. lαὶ ἐν δὲ πάντα) κρατῆςα καὶ πάρεθνον 
6 Barthol. 15. 8 f. σεισμόθων, αἰθήτα, καθάρειε, ταυτοτικάκα, ἀντράτης, βρωταῖς, 
7 κεφαλινε, φωτάλει Ζεύ. 8 Orph. h. Ζεὺς 15. 8 f. σεισμόθων, αἰθήτα, καθάρειε, 
8 ταυτοτικάκα, ἀντράτης, βρωταῖς, 
9 E. Meyer Geschichte des Alterthums Stuttgart—Berlin 1902 v. 271. 
10 Xen. Hell. 4. 7. 4 f. For the sequel see supra ii. 7.
Zeus and the Earthquakes

near the coast of Achaia were swallowed in a single night\(^1\) by the most appalling of all Greek earthquakes: the catastrophe was attributed to the vengeance of Poseidon, who was angry because the men of these towns had refused to allow their colonists in Ionia to carry off or copy their statue of him or even to sacrifice unmolested on the ancestral altar\(^2\). Apameia in Phrygia was repeatedly devastated by earthquakes—a fact which, according to Strabon, explains the honours granted to Poseidon by that inland city\(^3\). But Poseidon was not the only deity concerned. In the days of Apollonios of Tyana (s. i A.D.), when the towns on the left side of the Hellespont were visited by earthquakes, Egyptians and Chaldaeans went about collecting ten talents to defray the cost of sacrifices to Ge as well as to Poseidon\(^4\). An interesting transitional case is afforded by an earthquake at Tralleis (s. ii A.D.), which was authoritatively set down as due to the wrath felt by Zeus for the city's neglect of Poseidon: the Trallians were ordered to make ample atonement to both gods\(^5\). But when in 115 A.D. Antiocheia on the Orontes was severely shaken, the survivors of the disaster ignored Poseidon altogether and founded a temple at Daphne for Zeus Soter\(^6\). Again, in or about the year 178 A.D. Smyrna was overthrown by an earthquake. P. Aelius Aristeides\(^7\), who was living in the neighbourhood, received divine injunctions to sacrifice an ox in public to Zeus Soter. At first he hesitated to do so. But he dreamed that he was standing beside the altar of Zeus in the market-place and begging for a sign of the god's approval, when a bright star shot right over the market and confirmed his intention. He carried through the sacrifice, and from that moment the dread disturbances ceased. Moreover, five or six days before the first shock he had been bidden to send and sacrifice at the ancient hearth adjoining the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios (at Dios Chorion in Mysia\(^8\)) and also to set up altars on the crest of the Hill of Atys. No sooner were these precautions taken than the earthquake came and spared his estate Laneion, which lay to the south of the Hill\(^9\).

Frequently, of course, an earthquake is recorded without explicit mention of any deity. Neither Poseidon nor Zeus is named as subject of the vague reverential phrases 'He shook\(^10\)' or, more often, 'God

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\(^1\) Henkl. Pont. (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 200 n. 2 Müller) ap. Strab. 384.
\(^2\) Id. ib. 385, Diod. 15. 49, Paus. 7. 24. 5 with slight divergence in detail.
\(^3\) Strab. 579.  
\(^4\) Philostr. v. Apoll. 6. 41 p. 252 Kayser.
\(^5\) Supra ii. 959 n. o.  
\(^6\) Supra ii. 1191.  
\(^7\) Supra ii. 127.  
\(^8\) L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xii. 677.  
\(^9\) Aristeid. or. 25. 317 ff. (i. 497 ff. Dindorf).
\(^10\) Thouk. 4. 52 ἄρχει, cp. Aristeid. or. 25. 318 (i. 499 Dindorf) πρότερον ἢ σέβομαι τὸ ἄρχει.
Zeus and the Earthquakes

shook. Scholars have assumed that the god in question was Poseidon. But the analogy of similar expressions relating to the weather points to the possibility that the name suppressed was that of Zeus. And certainly in late times earthquakes were reckoned as a particular variety of Zeus-sign (Diosemid).

The Romans exhibited, on the whole, a more marked tendency towards cautious anonymity. They said that once during an earthquake a voice was heard from the temple of Iuno on the Capitol directing them to sacrifice a pregnant sow—a direction which earned for the goddess the title of Moneta. A pregnant sow was on other occasions sacrificed to Tellus or Terra Mater or Ceres or Maia.

1 Xen. Hell. 4. 7. 4 θεον ο θεῖον ἔχει θεός, Paus. 3. 5. 8 θεοὺς τῇ Διόνυσε, cp. Aristoph. Lys. 1142 ἐπὶ τῇ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῆν ἐκείνην τοῦ θεοῦ τῆν σύντομον. 3. 5. 9 οἱ τοίοι σέλεόν ἐστι θεός, 3. 4. 9 τοῦ θεοῦ σελαντος, Dion Cass. 68. 25 σελαντος τοῦ θεοῦ.


3 Supra ii. 1 ff.

4 Supra ii. 5.

5 Cic. de div. 1. 101 (cp. 2. 69) with a useful note by A. S. Pease ad loc. The derivation of Moneta from monoe (Cic. ib. 2. 69, Isid. orig. 16. 18. 8, cp. Soud. s. v. Motra). Hence also Moneta as Latinised Mnemosyne in Livius Andronicus frag. 25 ap. Priscian. inst. 6. 6 (i. 198 Hertz), Cic. de nat. deor. 3. 47, Hyg. fab. praef. pp. 10, 4 and 12, 7 Schmidt) is merely folk-etymology. The attempt to connect it with the Semitic machanat, 'camp,' a legend found on silver Carthaginian coins current in Sicily and Italy before the Punic wars (E. Assmann 'Moneta' in Klio 1906 vi. 477—488, V. Costanzi 'Moneta' ib. 1907 vii. 335—340, G. F. Hill Historical Roman Coins London 1909 p. 8, A. W. Hands 'Juno Moneta' in the Num. Chron. Fourth Series 1910 x. 1—12) is more ingenious than probable. Relation to Gothic ménōþ, Old High German mōnō, 'month,' implying that Moneta was a moon-goddess (K. F. Johansson Beiträge zur griechischen Sprachkunde (= Upsala Universitets Årsskrift 1890 Abb. iii) Upsala 1891 p. 129 f.), does not adequately account for her ß. Walde Lat. etym. Wörterb. p. 493 concludes: 'Wohl vielmehr eine Bildung vom Namenstemme, der in Monnius, Monianius usw. (Schulze Eigenn. 195) vorliegt, zum Suffix Ora, etr. urata, Lepta, Valutius: Val(tius) (ibd. 195, 396), so dass eine Sondergöttin einer etrus. gens Moneta vorliegt im Sinne Otto’s Rh. Mus. LXIV, 449 ff.

6 Fest. p. 238 a 28 f. Müller, p. 274, 6 Lindsay plena sue Tellus <c sacrificabatur (suppl. J. J. Scaliger)>, Ov. fast. i. 671 f. placentur frugum matres, Tellusque Ceresque, furre suo gravidae visceribusque suis. officium commune Ceres et Terra tuerunt: haec praebet causam frugibus, ilia locum, Arnob. adv. nat. 7. 22 Telluri, inquiunt, matri scrofa inciens (sic vet. lib. Ernesti, marg. Ursini. ingens codd.) immolatur et festa, etc.


8 Verg. georg. 1. 345 ff. terque novas circum felix est hostia frugis, | omnis quam chorus et soelī comitantur ovantes, | et Ceresem clamore vocent in tecta, Serv. in Verg. georg. 1. 345 'felix hostia' id est secunda. dicit autem ambivalare sacrificium, quod de porca et saepe fecunda et gravida fieri consetuerat, Macrob. Sat. 3. 11. 10 notum autem
Zeus and the Earthquakes

as a means of communicating fertility to the ground, so that it had probably come to be regarded as a victim suited to the earth-goddess and therefore appropriate to a grave disturbance of the earth. Again, in 268 B.C., when Rome was waging war in Picenum, the battlefield was shaken by a seismic crash, whereupon P. Sempronius Sophus, the Roman general, vowed a temple to Tellus and in due time paid his vow. But such cases were exceptional. As a rule the Romans were studiously vague and non-committal. Aulus Gellius, who brought out his *Attic Nights* in 169 A.D., has some interesting remarks on the point:

THAT IT HAS NOT BEEN DISCOVERED TO WHAT GOD SACRIFICE SHOULD BE MADE ON THE OCCASION OF AN EARTHQUAKE.

The ostensible cause of earth-tremors has not been discovered by the common experience and judgment of mankind, nor yet satisfactorily settled by the various schools of natural science. Are they due to the force of winds pent
Zeus and the Earthquakes

in caverns and clefts of the ground? Or to the pulsation and undulation of waters that surge in subterranean hollows, as the ancient Greeks, who called Poseidon \textit{seisichthon}, seem to have supposed? Or to any other specific cause, or to the force and will of another deity? As I said, belief does not yet amount to certainty. Accordingly the Romans of yore, who in all the affairs of life and above all in the ordering of religious ritual and the tending of immortal gods displayed the utmost propriety and prudence, whenever an earthquake had been perceived or reported, proclaimed by edict a solemn holiday on account of it, but refrained from fixing and publishing as usual the name of the god for whom the holiday was to be kept, lest by naming one in place of another they might bind the people in the bonds of a false prescription. If the said holiday had been polluted by any man and need for a piacular sacrifice had therefore arisen, they slew the victim \textit{‘to god or to goddess’ (si deo, si deae)}; and this regulation was strictly observed in accordance with the decree of the pontiffs, as M. Varro\textsuperscript{2} states, because it was uncertain to what force and to which of the gods or goddesses the earthquake was due.

Two centuries later Ammianus Marcellinus, \textit{à propos} of a devastating earthquake at Nikomedeia in 358 A.D., observes that, when

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\item The usage of this formula may be illustrated from Cato \textit{de agricult.} 139 lucum conlocare Romano more sic oportet. porco piaculo facito, sic verba concipito: \textit{‘si deus, si dea es, quoium illud sacrum est,’ etc., Macrob. Sat. 3. 9. 7 est autem carmen huiusmodi quo di evocantur, cum oppugnagione civitatis singitur: \textit{‘si deus, si dea est, cui populus civitatis Carthaginienis est in tutela,’ etc., Corp. inscr. Lat. i\textsuperscript{1} no. 653 = vi no. 110 (ib. no. 3694) = Orelli \textit{Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 2135 = Wilmanns Ex. inscr. Lat. no. 48 = Dessau \textit{Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4015 sei deo sei deive sac(rum). | C. Sextius C. f. Calvinus p(raetor) | de senati sententia | restituit (on a large altar now standing at the southern angle of the Palatine (H. Jordan—C. Huelsen \textit{Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum} Berlin 1907 i. 3. 47 n. 31b)), Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 111 = Orelli \textit{op. cit. no. 2136 = Dessau \textit{op. cit. no. 4018 sive deo | sive deae, | C. Ter. Denter | ex voto | posuit (formerly in the church of St Ursus at Rome), Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 2099, ii 3 f.= Orelli \textit{op. cit. no. 2170 = Wilmanns \textit{op. cit. no. 2984 = Dessau \textit{op. cit. 5047 sive deo sive deae, in cuius tutela hic locus usque | est, oves II, Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 1599, ii 10 = Orelli \textit{op. cit. no. 1798 = Wilmanns \textit{op. cit. no. 2984 = Dessau \textit{op. cit. 5047 sive deo sive deae oves II (from the \textit{acta fratrum Arvalium} for 183 A.D.), Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 2104, a 2 sive deo sive deae ov(es) numero n(s) = Dessau \textit{op. cit. 5048 sive deo sive deae vereb(eces) II (from the \textit{acta fratrum Arvalium} for 224 A.D.), J. Schmidt in the \textit{Ephem. epigr.} 1884 v. 480 f. no. 1043 = Corp. inscr. Lat. viii Suppl. 3 no. 21567, B 7 ff. Genio summ[o] in Thasuni et deo sive deae [nu]mini sancto) etc. (found at \textit{Aphrodisias} in Mauretania Caesariensis and referable to the date 172—174 A.D.), Corp. inscr. Lat. i\textsuperscript{1} no. 1114 = xiv no. 3572 = Orelli \textit{op. cit. no. 2137 = Orelli—Henzen \textit{Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 595 = Dessau \textit{op. cit. no. 4017 sei deus | sei dea (found at Tibur on a \textit{cippus} of local stone), G. Gatti in the \textit{Not. Scavi} 1890 p. 218 = Dessau \textit{op. cit. no. 4016 si deo si deai, | Florianus rex (found at Lanuvium: Florianus was presumably \textit{rex scourorum}.

See further D. Vaglieri in Ruggiero \textit{Dision. epigr. ii. 1752 and \textit{Wissowa Rel. Kult. Röm.}} p. 38. The \textit{‘sive...sive...’ invocations are discussed by E. Norden Agnostos Theos Leipzig—Berlin 1913 p. 144 ff.).

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such things happen, the priests prudently abstain from mentioning any deity by name, lest they should indicate some god not really responsible and so incur the guilt of sacrilege.

While the clash of creeds was in progress, pagans of course blamed Christians and Christians blamed pagans for all the horrors
of a quaking world. But ultimately men in general and moralists in particular settled down to the belief that an earthquake as such was a divine visitation meant to vindicate the power of the Creator or to chasten and reform his erring creatures.

Painters and poets, who from time to time personified the Earthquake, naturally reverted to earlier mythological conceptions. Raphael in one of the marvellous tapestries designed by him (1515—1516) for the Sistine Chapel at Rome and woven by Pieter van Aelst of Brussels represented the imprisonment of St Paul at

tempus sollicitaret et deciperet fraternitatem, admirabilia quaedam et portentosa perficiens et facere se terrain moveri polliceretur: non quod daemon! tanta esset potestas ut terram moveare aut elementum concutere vi sua valeret, sed quod nonnumquam nequam spiritus praesciens et intellegens terrae motum futurum id se facturum esse simularet quod futurum videret. etc.). See further J. E. Mayor's notes on Tertull. apol. 40.

Obviously two could play at that game, and of the two the Christians were likely to compile the bigger score. Cp. the leges novellas ad Theodosianum pertinentes ed. adiutore Th. Mommsenso Paulus M. Meyer Berolini 1905 p. 10 de Jud. Sam. haer. et pag. 3. 8 an diutius perferremuti temporum vices irata caeli temperie, quae paganorum exacerbata peridia nescit naturae libramenta servare? unde enim ver solitam gratiam aburavit... nisi quod ad inpietatis vindictam transit legis suae naturae decreatum?

1 E.g. Io. Chrys. in terrae motum etc. 1 (xlvii. 1027 Migne) έδεηε Θεού δόμαμι, έδεηε Θεού φιλανθρωπίαν; δόμαμι, διί έτιναζέ τήν οικουμένην· φιλανθρωπίαν, διί πίντουσαν αυτήν έτηςε· κ.τ.λ. (perhaps in allusion to the earthquake which shook Antioch in the Orontes in 396 A.D.: W. Capelle in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. Suppl. iv. 356).

2 E.g. Io. Chrys. ad papalum Antiochenum hom. 3. 7 (xliii. 57 Migne) μὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἡδύνατο καλύσαι τά γεγονότα τῷ Θεῷ; ἀλλ' ἀφήκες, ἵνα τοῦ σαφειρωθήσαται αὐτώ η ὁ τοιε ὁψαλμός σφαλματείρων ἐργάζαται, id. in Acta Apost. hom. 7. 2 (lx. 56 Migne) εἰ μέμνησθη ὦ κύριε, ὅτι τῇ τῶν ἡμῶν ἡμέραν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πάντες ἡ συνεκταλμόνως, ὅσσον τότε ἐκεῖνο διέκειτό· οἴδεις θυώλους ἥν, οἴδεις πονηρός. καὶ γὰρ τοιούτον φόβος, τοιοῦτον ἡ θλίψις, κ.τ.λ. (during the earthquake at Constantinople in 400 or 401 A.D.), id. in Acta Apost. hom. 41. 2 (lx. 291 Migne) εἴτε γὰρ μοι, ὥσ πέραν έτιναζέ τῷ Θεῷ τὴν πόλιν παῦσαν; τί δαι; οἴδας πάντες ἐπί τὸ φῶς μαμώριον; κ.τ.λ. (at Constantinople in 399 A.D.), Philastrius diversarum hereseon liber 102. 1—3 Fabricius (74, 1—3 Marx) alia est heresis quae terrae motum non de iussione et indignatione fieri, sed de natura ipsa elementorum opinatur,... quod etiam in huiusmodi rebus debra indignatione et de potentia operatur et suam commoverat conversionis causa et utilitatis quippe multorum peccantium ac redeuntium ad dominum salvatorum atque creatorem (written c. 385—391 A.D.): M. Schanz Geschichte der römischen Litteratur München 1904 iv. 1. 359), Philostorg. eccl. hist. 12. 9 (lxv. 617 c Migne) καὶ ἄλλα δὲ τουσκότοσα πάθη πνευματα ἐπεκυμόθηδε, διεκυμόθη μὴ φυσική τινα ταύτα ἐπελευθέρα ἀκολούθη, ὡς Ἐλλήνως παῖδες ληφθούσι, ἀλλὰ θεῖας ἀγανακτηθεσίς μάκτικας ἐπαφεθήσει, id. id. 12. 10 (lxv. 620 A Migne) καὶ διαφόρους εχθρίσχησις κατασκευάζεις πετάες τοὺς σεισμοὺς μὴ δὲ διὰ πελατός διάκτης συνβάλλουσας, μὴ σε νευματὸν ἐναπαλματικῶς τοὺς κόλπους τῇ γης, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῆς τοιαύτης (αν δε γόργη) δυνατῆς συμβαλλεμενοῦς (published c. 425—433 A.D.): W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur ii. 2. 1433).

3 Not so Chrysostom, who in purely rhetorical vein personifies the Antiochene earthquake as a herald announcing God's anger (Io. Chrys. in terrae motum etc. 1 (xlvii. 1027 f. Migne)) and even makes him on another occasion quote Ps. 103. 8 (Io. Chrys. hom. post terrae motum 1. 714 f. Migne).


Zeus and the Earthquakes

Philippoi (fig. 6). Above we see the gaol and the gaoler about to kill himself; below, the earth cracking as a gigantic nude bearded figure emerges breast-high with scowling forehead and uplifted fists. In the Second Part of Goethe's Faust (1827—1832) an earthquake suddenly disturbs the peace of the upper Penelos. Seismos, 'rumbling and grumbling down below,' groans out:

Heave again with straining muscle,
With the shoulders shove and hustle,
So our way to light we justle,
Where before us all must fly.

He is however conscious that he makes the mountains picturesque, and claims that by so doing he benefits the very gods:

Apollo now dwells blithely yonder,
With the best Muses' choir. 'Twas I
For Jove himself, with all his bolts of thunder,
That heaved the regal chair on high.

Less intelligent, but more intense, and quite refreshingly direct is the attitude of the modern Greek peasant in regions where the earthquake is no theme for artistic representation or academic interest. Natives of Zakynthos, when the shock is felt, will cry out in deprecation 'My God, cease thine anger!' And the inhabitants of Arachova on Mount Parnassos fancy that God in rage and fury 'rolls his eyes and is minded to ruin the world, only the Blessed Virgin beseeches him and stays his wrath.'

1 E. Müntz Les tapisseries de Raphaël au Vatican Paris 1897 p. 20 fig. (=my fig. 6). P. Oppé Raphael London 1909 p. 160 f. pl. 115, 2. The cartoons are now in the South Kensington Museum, the tapestries themselves in the Vatican.
3 Ib. Part ii. 139. See further P. Piper Mythologie und Symbolik der christlichen Kunst Weimar 1851 i. 2. 481—489 ('Erdbeken').
4 A small marble frieze found on the base of a lararium in the house of the auctioneer L. Caecilius Iucundus at Pompeii (J. Overbeck—A. Mau Pompeji Leipzig 1884 p. 69 f. fig. 31 = my fig. 7, C. Weichardt Pompeji vor der Zerstörung Leipzig s.a. 81 f. fig. 102) has a relief representing the north side of the Forum. We see the façade of the temple of Jupiter, flanked by two equestrian statues, with a commemorative arch to the left and an altar etc. to the right. The slanting forms of the temple and arch have been supposed to show the dire effects produced by the earthquake of 69 A.D. (M. Neumayr Erdgeschichte Leipzig 1886 i. 139 cited by C. Weichardt op. cit. p. 82 n.*), W. H. Hobbs Earthquakes New York 1907 p. 9 fig. 3), but are of course merely due to a careless craftsman who stood too far towards the right in carving the relief (J. Overbeck—A. Mau op. cit. p. 70 'ein ungültlicher Versuch, die perspektivische Verschiebung wiederzugeben' does him too much honour).
5 B. Schmidt Das Volksleben der Neugriechen Leipzig 1871 i. 34 (Θε ου, πάφε τήν ὄργαν σου).
6 Id. ib. i. 34 n. 1 (γουρλώνει τά μάτια τού κυ τη θέλε να πολάξει τούν κόσμου, ἀλλ' ἡ Παναγιά τού παρασκεύει κυ ποι' τήν οπλήρωσί τ').
7 D. H. Kerler Die Patronate der Heiligen Ulm 1905 p. 86 f. gives a list of saints
Zeus and the Clouds.


One of Homer's favourite epithets for Zeus is *nephelegereta*, 'the cloud-gatherer.' This arresting compound, which occurs eight times in the *Odyssey* and twenty-eight times in the *Iliad* is in reality whose business it is to protect their votaries against earthquake. They include: (1) St Agatha of Catania (Feb. 5), during whose martyrdom in 251 A.D. a fearful earthquake occurred. (2) St Emygdius of Ascoli (Aug. 5), whose father, a prominent citizen of Augusta Trevirorum, tried to make him forswear his faith before a heathen altar till the very ground gave way beneath his feet. Others said that the saint averted an earthquake from Ascoli, where he was martyred in 303 or 304 A.D. (3) St Justus of Catalonia (May 28), bishop of Urgel from before 527 until after 569 A.D., whose body was found uninjured beneath the ruins of a wall that had collapsed above his grave. (4) St Petrus Gonzales, better known to Spanish sailors as Sant Elmo (April 15), who died in 1540 A.D. He was once preaching in the open air near Bayonne, when an earthquake threatened. The congregation was for fleeing into the town; but the preacher detained it, and all ended well. (5) St Petrus Paschalis (Dec. 6), bishop of Jaen, who was martyred by the Moors at Granada in 1300 A.D. Soon after his death the town was plagued with famine, pestilence, earthquakes, and storms. (6) St Albertus of Trepano (Aug. 7), who died in 1307 A.D. and is reckoned as patron of all Sicily, an island much given to seismic shocks. (7) St Francesco Borgia (Oct. 10), duke of Gandia, who died in 1572 A.D. In 1625 A.D. he was chosen as a recent and popular saint to protect the new realm of Granada against earthquakes. (8) St Philippus Neri of Rome (May 26), who died in 1595 A.D. When, on June 5, 1668 A.D., an alarming earthquake visited Beneventum, Pope Benedict xiii escaped by lying directly under the saint's reliquary. (9) St Franciscus Solanus of Lima (July 24), who died in 1610 A.D. Seven years before his death he predicted the downfall of the town Truxillo. It was destroyed by earthquake on Feb. 14, 1618 A.D.

1 *Od*. i. 63, 5. 21, 9. 67, 12. 313, 384, 13. 139, 153, 24-477 *nephelegereta* Zeus (always at the end of the line). Of these passages two have a noteworthy context: 9. 67 ff. γεροί δ' ἐτώρα ἄνεμοι θεὸν τούτου *nephelegereta* Ζεὺς | λαλάτα θεοτεκτήν, σὺν δὲ νεφέσσι κάλυψι | γαίας ὠμοὶ καὶ πύτων· ὄρμες δ' ὀφαραθέν τοῖς 12. 313 ff. ἄνεμοι ἔπες ζυγὸς θεοτεκτήν *nephelegereta* Ζεὺς | λαλάτα θεοτεκτήν, σὺν δὲ νεφέσσι κάλυψι | γαίας ὠμοὶ καὶ πύτων· ὄρμες δ' ὀφαραθέν τοῖς. Much the same is said of Poseidon in *Od*. 5. 291 ff. ὅν ἐνεκαίσαν νεφέλας, ἐτάραξε δ' τοῦτον | χεριὶ τρίαιημα ἔλαιαν· πᾶσαι δ' ὀρμαθεῖ ἄλλοι | πατωτὸς ἄνεμοι, σὺν δὲ νεφέσσι κάλυψι | γαίας ὠμοὶ καὶ πύτων· ὄρμες δ' ὀφαραθέν τοῖς, on which Eustath. in *Od*. p. 1538, 7 ff. remarks that ἐνεκαίσαι δὲ τοὺς ἀνέμους τοῦν θεοτεκτήν καὶ τοῦν Ποσειδῶν οὐκ ὑποδηλοῖ. ἐπείσθερε δὲ ὅθαρ θὴν τοῖς νεφέσσι, εἰς δ' ἔμμαθομαῦται ὁ Ποσειδῶν, ὅκι μὲν ὡς ὁ παγεῖς τῶν τε νεφέσσι συνάγωνται Ποσειδῶν καὶ νεφέληγερετάς συνθέτεις ἐνεκαίσαι. ἀπεκληρώθη γάρ τοῦτο Δίῳ τῷ παγεῖσι τῶν νεφέσσι αἰτίᾳ.


Nonnus alone places the word in the first half of his hexameter (*Dionysos to Hydaspes*) έν νεφέσσι βάλαστρας ἐμοὶ Κροίδαο τοῦκος, ἵππος νεφέληγερέτασ Δίῳ βραχτηία διδείκει; 38. 202 f. οὐ νεφέλας Ἡφαιστός ἐως γεννηθήσεται ἄγειρες, οὐ νεφέλη- 
nelegéretas kalhseontos ois Krouivos).
Zeus and the Clouds

a pre-Homeric tag originally descriptive of Zeus as a rain-making magician. In Greece, as elsewhere, the primitive rain-maker, probably clad in a sheep-skin to imitate the fleecy vapours, mounted some neighbouring height and did his puny best to allay the midsummer heat by calling the clouds to draw their welcome veil across the sky. This at least seems a plausible inference from one curious Greek custom, the procession of men clad in thick sheep-skins which on the very hottest day of the year toiled up the slopes of Mount Supra i. 444 n. 6.


2 Supra i. 14 n. 1, 728, ii. 258 n. 3, 694 n. o, 695 n. o, 1146 f. Ὅπερ Medea in Óv. met. 7. 201 f. nubila pelle | nubilaque induce.

3 Supra i. 397, Var. Atac. frag. 21 Baehrens ap. anon. ñov. expos. Verg. geog. 1. 397 (in the ed. of Servius by G. Thilo and H. Hagen iii. 2. 265, 3 f.), Lucan. 4. 124 f., cp. Mart. ep. 4. 3. 1 ff., Prosp. Aquil. in psalm. 147. 16 (li. 420 C Migne)—a usage hardly to be paralleled in Greek.

4 It is possible that the dappled fawnskin of the Bacchant, trimmed with tufts of white wool (Eur. Bacch. 171 f. κτικτῆς τοῦ ἐνυδότα νεφελῶν | ὥπετε λευκόριζον πολυχωμάτων | μαλλάκι and Sir J. E. Sandys ad loc.), was intended as a rough imitation of the starry, cloud-flecked sky, just as the fawnskin of Dionysos himself, bespangled with pearls (Claud. de quarto cons. Honor. 606 f. talis Erythressae intextus nebrida gemmis | Liber agit currus), seems to have borne a cosmic character (R. Eisler Weltenmantel und Him- melszelt München 1910 i. 76, 256 n. 4, who cites Nonn. Dion. 40. 577 f. Ἡρακλῆς δὲ | ἄγραφος Διός μοι ἄθλουσαν χιτῶνι and cp. the vase-painting figured supra ii. 462 pl. xvii).

5 Attic vases signed by the potter Brygos (c. 505—475 B.C.) or attributed to his painter (lists in Hopfin Red-fg. Vases i. 106 f., J. D. Beazley Atticke Vasenmaler des rothfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 175 ff.) often show garments decorated with dots (O. S. Tonks 'Brygos: his Characteristics' in Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences 1908 xiii. 95, 95, Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. i. 460). In view of Brygos' name with its northern connexions (Βρυγός, Βρέφος=Βρέφες: see W. Pape—G. E. Benseler Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen2 Braunschweig 1875 i. 231, E. Oberhammer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 920 ff) it is just conceivable that this craftsman was popularising at Athens a custom which originated in Thraco-Phrygian ritual. But the hypothesis would be risque, since dotted garments are not strictly confined to the output of Brygos (P. Hartwig Die griechischen Meisterschalen der Blühzeit des strengen rothfigurigen Stils Stuttgart—Berlin 1893 p. 310 n. 4).

6 Supra i. 420 n. 3, where I was perhaps unduly sceptical of O. Gilbert's conclusions.
Zeus and the Clouds

Pelion to the sanctuary of Zeus Aktaios on its summit. And the sheep-skin of the human magician would be readily transferred to his divine counterpart—witness the title of Zeus Metosios, Zeus 'Clad in a sheep-skin' (melote). It is, however, reasonable to suppose that already in Homeric times the word nephelegereeta had lost something of its early import and had taken on a meaning half-religious and half-picturesque. But worse was in store, for in the fifth century B.C. it was frankly travestied. Perikles as the greatest man of his age was dubbed Zeus by the comedians and figures in a brilliant fragment of Kratinos, not as nephelegereeta, 'the cloud-gatherer,' but as kepha-

1 Supra i. 420, ii. 869 n. 2. 2 Supra i. 11 ff. 3 Supra i. 104 ff. The boundary-inscription of Zeus Μήλωνοι is more accurately published by F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 48 ὄψος Δίως Μήλωνοι. To the literature there cited add E. Preuner in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1924 xlix. 144.

Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 302.


Telekleides fab. *incert.* frag. 6 (Frag. com. Gr. ii. 373 f. Meineke) ap. Plout. v. Per. 3 θηλελήσε δὲ ποτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πρωγμάτων ὑπορημένων καθῆκανος φασιν αὕτω ἐν τῇ πόλει 'κορηφαρώνα' (cp. Poll. 2. 41 καὶ καρδιάκων τὸ πάθος θηλελήσες), ποτὲ δὲ 'μόνον ἐκ κεφάλης ἐνθέκαιλον | κάρβους πολύν ἐξαντέλλετο.'

Aristoph. *Ach.* 530 f. ἐπεεδεύε ὄργη Περικλῆς οὐλόμαιοι | ἄτρατοί' (so R. Bentley, K. W. Dindorf, etc. cp. Plin. ep. i. 20), ἔβροντα, ἕξωκα τίνα Ἑλλάδα—a passage to which later writers make frequent allusion (see F. H. M. Blaydes ad loc.).


Similarly Aspasia was styled Hera by Kratinos (Chirones frag. 4 (Frag. com. Gr. ii. 148 Meineke) ap. Plout. v. Per. 24 ἐν δὲ ταῖς κωφωμοῖς ὁμφάλης τὸ καὶ Δήλωνα ἔμεθε καὶ πάλιν Ἡρα προσαργοῦντα. Κρατίνος δ' ὀντεικὼς παλακόν αὐτὴν ἑρέμοιν εἴν τούτοις ὁμφάλης τὸν Ἕρα· τέ οἱ Ἀσπασίας τίκτει Καταγυνούση (καὶ καταγυνούσῃ codd. T. Bergk del. κα. A. Emperius cjj. Καταγυνούση) | παλακόν καυσάτω,| σχ. Plat. Menex. 235 e p. 923 b 37 ff. Κρατίνος δὲ ὁμφάλης αὐτὴν καλεί Χείρων, τόπρανυν (τὸν θυσιοδοθήματα cpr. Hesych. s.v.) δὲ Ἐθόποις Φίλοις (so A. Meineke for Κρατίνος δὲ ὁμφάλης τόπρανυν αὐτὴν καλεί, χείρων Εὖς τοίοις Φίλοις. T. Bergk cjj. Κρατίνος δὲ τόπρανυν αὐτὴν καλεί Χείρων, ὁμφάλης Ἐθόποις Φίλοις) ἐν δὲ Προσταλτῆς Ἐλεύθερον αὐτὴν καλεί δ' ἐν Κρατίνος καὶ Πραγματίως Ἰδραίῳ καὶ Περικλῆς ὁμφαλωτοῦ προσωροερεύοντος) and perhaps by Eupolis (Hesych. s.v. βωσία—μεγάλωθαμος, εὐθάμας. μεγάλωθαμος. Εὐπολὶς τὸν ἔρων (Eupol. fab. *incert.* frag. 81 (Frag. com. Gr. ii. 571 Meineke)), possibly also by Aristophanes (yet schol. Hermog. περὶ τῶν στάτων 72 (C. Wals Rhetores Graeci Stuttgartiae et Tubingae 1833 iv. 185, 14 ff.) καὶ ἐκχυμισμένα· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὸν μεταχειρίζομεν ὄλο μὲν λέγειν, ἄλλο δὲ διὰ τοῦ ἢδου εμφαίνειν· ὧν τῷ Περικλέους Ὀλυμπίου κληθέντος, ἐνιγνίσται Ἀριστοφάνης Ἡρα τὴν Ἀσπασίαν καλεῖν may be a mere slip).
Zeus and the Clouds in Literature

legerēta, ‘the crowd-gatherer.’ Truth to tell, a parody of the old appellative can still raise a laugh. Does not Clough in the immortal Bothie speak of his cheery, cigar-loving friend Lindsay as ‘the Piper, the Cloud-compeller?’

Of course, on occasion, magic might be employed, not to collect the clouds, but to scatter them. If for example hail threatened, old-fashioned farmers had recourse to magicians who chased the clouds away and were known as *nephodioktai*. Nowadays magic or ancient science has joined hands with science or modern magic, and on many a Swiss hillside may be seen the mortar from which maroons are fired when hail-clouds are gathering above the vineyard.

Less magical but more majestic is a second stock epithet of the epic minstrel—*kelainephēs* Kronion, Kronos’ son ‘of the dark clouds.’ For, though sundry scholiasts and lexicographers attempt to render it ‘he who gathers the black, or dark, clouds together’ and expound

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1 Kratin. *Chirones frag.* 3 (Frag. com. Gr. ii. 147 f. Meineke) ap. Plout. v. *Per.* 3 τῶν δὲ κομικῶν ὁ μὲν Κρατίνος ἐν Χείλῳ. ‘Στάσας δὲ’ (φησί) ἀρκουρίνην Κρόνος (so apom. for χρόνος vulg.) ἄλλης αὐτής μεγάτον | πίκτητο τόρανας, | δὴ δὴ κεφαλαγείην θεοί καλέως (A. Meineke prints καλόων).’ I have assumed that Kratinos meant ‘collector of heads, crowd-collector,’ but there is of course a further hint at the peculiar shape of Perikles’ cranium, as is clear from the context. With Kratinos, as with Aristophanes (e.g. *supra* ii. 2 n. 4, 118 n. 3, 1166 n. 3), word-play tends to produce harmonics.


3 E. Fehrle *Studien zu den griechischen Geoponikern* (STOIXEIA iii) Leipzig—Berlin 1920 p. 8 cites a text parallel to *Geopon.* i. 14 from cod. Parisin. 2313 (Anatolios) περί χαλάζης ἀποστροφήν. ἷ τε διὰ τῆς ἱδίας θεραπείας καὶ ἢ διὰ τοῦ αἰφάλλακτος καὶ ἡ διὰ τῶν αἰθρώπων τῶν διωκόντων τὰ νέφα τῆς χαλάζης καὶ ἦλα πολλὰ παρὰ πολλοῖς πόθηνα. ἂ δὲ εὐκολότερα καὶ πάγκωσα καὶ εὐκατάλησα δοκεὶ εἶναι, εὐνάγομεν.

4 Pseudo-lust. *Mart.* quaestt. et respons. ad orthod. 31 (vi. 1277 c—D Migne) Εἴη νεμάτω θείῳ αἱ νεφέλαι τὸν ὕπνον τῇ γῇ καταπέμπουσι, διὰ τὰ περὶ νεφέλας οἱ καλόμενοι νεφωδίωσαν ἐπαυσίας τις κατακεκυκάζεται, ἐνθα βοηθᾶται, χαλάζει καὶ ἀμέτρους ὕπνους ἀκουτίζειν. Τάτοι ἐπείδη κατὰ τὰς ἄγας Γραφῶς μαρτυρεῖν, τοὺς ὕπνους εἶναι εἰκ τῶν ἐπαυσίων ἀνίσταντ. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ ταῦτα περὶ τόσον ἐφησίην τὴν ἑρώτησιν, οὐκ αὖ δὲ ἑκάστων γνωστών τὴν ἑρώτησιν πεποίησα, ἄλλ' αὖ ἔν ἑκοῦσα. Clearly the nephowdios claimed the ability to divert the clouds from their course and to precipitate them as hail or drenching rain in any desired direction. Stephanus *Thes.* *Gr.* *Ling.* iv. 1466 a quotes from the *Synod. in Trullo* can. 61 καὶ οἱ τρόχην καὶ εἰμαράθην καὶ γενελαγηναί φωνεύετε καὶ οἱ λεγόμενοι νεφωδίωσα, from which we conclude that in s. vii A.D. the superstition was yet living. More, from Latin sources, in Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf.* *Lat.* s.v. ‘tempestarii, tempestrarii.’


6 Hesych. s.v. *kelaων* ‘...ὁ (M. Schmidt cj. 5 (π)) κελαωνιν σύνγων τὰ νέφο, schol. D. *II.* 2. 412 κελαωνινι μελαωνιν, μέλανα νέφη σύνγων πρὸς κατάπληξιν.

C. III.
it as meaning 'the rain-maker', yet the title itself calls up no such primitive picture, nor has it quite the same claim as *nephelegéreta* to be recognised as a poetic heirloom of fixed and unalterable pattern. A point deserving of notice is its constant association with Kronion or Kronides. It is seldom, if ever, used of Zeus pure and simple till long after classical times. Normally Zeus is *kelainephes* as being the son of Kronos; or, more rarely, both the divine names are dropped and *kelainephes* stands as an independent appellative. It looks as though this particular title had been attached to Zeus in early Homeric days as affiliated successor of the 'Minoan' storm-god Kronos.

According to the *Iliad*, the three sons of Kronos divided the world between them and Zeus' portion was

> Broad heaven in the aithēr and the clouds.

Zeus sits on the peak of Mount Olympos and, when he is visited by Hera and Athena, the Horai fling wide a cloudy portal to admit them:

> Then Hera with the lash swift smote the steeds,
And of their own accord the gates of heaven
Groaned, held by the Horai. These are they who keep
Great heaven and Olympos; theirs the task
To ope the thick cloud or to close the same.
So through the gateway guided they their steeds
Patient o' the goad, and Kronos' son they found
Sitting apart from all the other gods
On the topmost peak of many-ridged Olympos.

2 At the end of a hexameter we find *kelainephes* Kronwn (Π. 1. 397, 6, 267, 24, 290 (cp. Tzetz. allog. II. 24. 161), h. Dem. 91, 468, h. Herakl. Latt. 15. 3, h. Diosk. 17. 4, h. Diosk. 33. 5, Hes. sc. Her. 53), *kelainephes* Kronwn (Π. 1. 17. 7, h. Aphr. 250), ζητεῖ κελανεφές Κρόνων (Π. 1. 3. 316), ζητεῖ κελανεφές Κρόνων (Π. 1. 3. 356).
3 At the beginning of a hexameter the *formula* is ζητεῖ κελανεφές Κρόνων (Od. 9. 552, 13. 25, but never in the *Iliad*). Κρόνων is not omitted except by late authors (Maximus παρ' καταρχῶν 665 ζητεῖ κελανεφές refers to the planet Zeus and is followed immediately by a lacuna (see A. Ludwig ad loc.). Tzetz. allog. Od. 9. 118, 13. 7 (in P. Matrunga Aneclota Graeca Romae 1850 i. 277, 293) ζητεῖ κελανεφές is more ad rem). After the caesura κελανεφές occurs either in conjunction with other vocatives (Π. 7. 417 Ζεύ κόιδος, κέδυστε, κελανεφές, 22. 178 ὁ πάτερ ἄργυρος, κελανεφές) or standing by itself (Π. 15. 46, Od. 13. 147 where Nikanor read διαφέρεις of Artemis (schol. L.T. Π. 9. 538), Anth. Pal. Π. 6. 332. 7 (Adrianos) cited supra ii. 982 n. 6). Π. 21. 520 κἀδ ὅ ξυν παρὰ πατρί κελανεφές (with variants πάρ ζητεῖ κελανεφές καὶ κελανεφές πάρ ζητεῖ) is an isolated dative.
4 Supra ii. 554 ff., 601, 845.
5 *II. 15. 192* (cited supra i. 25 n. 5), cp. *II. 15. 20* (supra i. 25 f.).
6 *II. 5. 748 ff.* The first half of the passage is repeated in *II. 8. 395 ff.*
Zeus and the Clouds in Literature

Similarly Apollon and Iris, when sent by Hera to Mount Ide, discover Zeus seated on the summit of Gargaron—

And ringed about him was a fragrant cloud.

It was on the same mountain-top that Zeus, succumbing to the wiles of Hera, promised privacy within a cloud:

Hera, fear not: nor god, nor man shall see it;
So thick the golden cloud that I will wrap
Around us, Helios himself could ne'er—
Though keen his radiance beyond all—espys us.

And Zeus was as good as his word. The sequel tells how

o'er them spread a cloud magnificent
And golden: glittering dew-drops from it fell.

Clearly cloudland is characteristic of the sky-god. Later poets harp on the theme. Aischylos says simply ‘the clouds of Zeus.’

Pindar more suo mints fresh and ringing epithets for Zeus himself—
or'sinephès, 'he that causeth the clouds to rise,' hypsinephès, 'he of the towering clouds?'; polynéphes, 'the many-clouded' ruler of the sky. There is a would-be return to Homeric naïveté in the Birds of Aristophanes, when the Chorus of songsters chant:

Then take us for Gods, as is proper and fit,
And Muses Prophetic ye'll have at your call
Spring, winter, and summer, and autumn and all.
And we won't run away from your worship, and sit
Up above in the clouds, very stately and grand,
Like Zeus in his tempers: but always at hand
Health and wealth we'll bestow, as the formula runs,
ON YOURSELVES, AND YOUR SONS, AND THE SONS OF YOUR SONS—
or when Prometheus, much in awe of his Aeschylean persecutor, asks in a scared tone:

What's Zeus about?
Clearing the clouds off, or collecting them?

1 Supra ii. 950 n. o.
2 Il. 15. 153 ἄμφὶ δὲ μὲν τὸν νέφος ἑστεφάνωσον.
3 Il. 14. 342 ff.
5 Aisch. suppl. 780 μὲλας γένομαι κατὰ τὸν νέφος γειτωμένος Δίος.
6 Find. Nem. 5. 62 ff. ὃ β' εἶ δραμάθη κατέπευεν τὸ οἴον δραμάθης ἐξ οὐρανοῦ: Ζεὺς ἀθανάτων βασιλεὺς.
7 Find. Ol. 5. 39 f. σωθήρ ὑφώρεις: Ζεῦ.
8 Find. Nem. 3. 16 f. οὐρανοῦ πολυμελέα κράτειν θύγατερ.
10 Aristoph. av. 1501 f. τῇ γαρ Ὁ Ζεῦς ποιεῖ | ἀπαθράξει τὰς νεφέλας ἡ ἐκφερεῖ.
Zeus and the Clouds in Art

Latin poets likewise associate the clouds with the sky-god—Statius for instance speaks of 'cloudy Jupiter'—and the notion passed into the common poetic stock.

(b) Zeus and the Clouds in Art.

This canonical conception of the sky-god sitting among his clouds can be illustrated from early imperial art. A fine fresco from Herculaneum, now in the Museo Nazionale at Naples (pl. iv, fig. 8),

shows a fair-haired Zeus reclining amid the clouds. He wears an oak-wreath on his head, a reddish himation round his left shoulder and both legs, and a sandal on his foot. His right hand grasps a double lotiform thunderbolt, his left a long sceptre. His face, backed by a whitish nimbus, expresses serious thought, and a small winged

Fig. 8.

1 Stat. Theb. 12. 630 f. qualis Hyperboreos ubi nubilus institit axes (axe cod. F) | Jupiter et prima tremefecit sidera bruma, | etc.
3 This detail I owe to Miss P. E. Mudie Cooke (Mrs E. M. W. Tillyard), who kindly inspected for me all the frescoes representing Zeus that are in the Naples collection.
4 B. Quaranta loc. cit. 'un pallio di color bianco livido,' but W. Helbig loc. cit. 'Ein röthlicher Mantel.'
Fresco from Herculaneum, now at Naples:
Zeus reclining amid the clouds.

See page 364, with fig. 8.
Eros appearing behind his right shoulder points downwards to some cause of interest, not improbably to Ganymedes or some other of the god's numerous flames. Above the pair stretches the arc of a rainbow, beyond which, half-hidden by the clouds, is perched an eagle looking towards its master. So much is certain. But further, a comparison of this fresco with 'Apulian' vase-paintings or with the relief by Archelaos of Priene raises a suspicion that here, as there, Zeus is really couched on a mountain-top, say the cloudy summit of Olympos. Be that as it may, the painter has managed to combine a variety of Hellenistic motifs—the recumbent Zeus, the prompting Eros, the expectant eagle—in a fairly consistent and effective whole.

Somewhat similar is the design that adorned the central medallion in the barrel-ceiling of Room 60, the famous Volta Dorata, of Nero's Golden House (fig. 9). Here against a circular field of blue is seen

1 F. G. Welcker loc. cit. p. 104 held that Eros is directing attention to the sceptre of Zeus, O. Benndorf loc. cit. p. 444 that he is indicating the heart as the seat of the god's malady. E. Braun loc. cit. had come nearer to the truth, when he assumed that Eros is pointing downwards to some human fair.

2 Supra i. 127 fig. 96, i. 128 f. pl. xii.

3 Supra i. 131 fig. 98 pl. xiii.

4 With the works of art recorded in the two preceding notes cp. a numismatic type supra i. 116 fig. 85. See further Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 161, supra i. 125 ff.

5 The history of the type is worth tracing. Its several stages are enumerated and exemplified infra Append. Q.

6 Supra i. 34 Frontispiece and pl. i, 35 pl. ii, 42 pl. vi, 131 pl. xiii and fig. 98, 598 n. 1 fig. 461, 752 fig. 552, ii. 15 f. figs. 4—6, 285 n. o fig. 184 f., 400 n. i i fig. 303, 575 fig. 481, 576 fig. 484, 705 fig. 635, 707 figs. 639, 640, 754 n. 2 fig. 694, 771 fig. 735, 798 fig. 761, 833 fig. 793, 895 n. 1 fig. 821, 956 n. o fig. 846, 1125 n. 1 fig. 951, 1143 fig. 964, 1161 fig. 969, 1230 fig. 1024, 1232 tailpiece. Sometimes the eagle hovers (ii. 708 fig. 643), or is perched on a cornu copiae (ii. 1225 fig. 1023) or grape-bunch (i. 596 fig. 457) or tree (ii. 285 n. 2. pl. xix) or on the reins of a car (ii. 285 n. o fig. 180) or in the pediment of a temple (ii. 285 n. o fig. 186) or on a globe (ii. 95 fig. 54, a, 578 n. 1 fig. 491 (?)) or holds a wreath (i. 42 fig. 12, 276 fig. 202 (?), ii. 232 n. o fig. 160 (?), 754 n. 2 fig. 695), or is duplicated to flank a throne (ii. 754 n. 1 fig. 693, cp. 1105 n. o fig. 939), or mounts guard over the regalia (ii. 811 fig. 778), or appears in relief on an altar (i. 713 fig. 528). The same bird attends upon Sarapis (i. 188 fig. 137) and Jupiter Dolichenus (i. 611 f. figs. 480,

7 P. S. Bartoli—G. P. Bellori Le pitture antiche del Sepolcro de Nasonii nella Via Flaminia Roma 1680 p. 6 ('In un foglio si rappresenta la testidinie di una Camera divisa in ripartimenti di vari colori, nel cui manto in una fiera celeste sono dipinte le Nuse di Giove, il quale sopra una nubbe, abbraccia Giunone con Amore che scocca verso di lui uno strale. Eroi incontro Pallade, e Mercurio col vaso dell' ambrusia'), G. Turnbull A treatise on ancient painting London 1740 p. 176 pl. 10 ('Jupiter on his Eagle caressing Juno, probably, because Minerva is there; yet he was wont to receive his Daughter
Zeus seated on a cloud with a crimson himation wrapped about his legs. He turns to embrace the naked and rather effeminate form of Ganymedes, who wears turban-wise his Phrygian cap (?) and has a wind-swept chlamys fluttering from his shoulder. The great eagle, which has just arrived with the beauteous boy, is already nestling—


1 Other identifications (see the preceding note) are much less probable. Iuno would not have been represented as a naked woman, and Venus could at most claim a parental kiss. Besides, the eagle spells Ganymedes.
A frescoed ceiling from a room in the Golden House: Zeus enthroned in heaven, surrounded by gods, goddesses, Tritons, etc.
Zeus and the Clouds in Art

its wings still spread—beneath the left foot of Zeus, to serve him as a living footstool. Eros hovers near at hand with welcoming arms. Hermes in winged petasos and loosely draped chlamys holds up, from a lower level of cloud, a phidle—possibly that from which Ganymedes had fed the eagle1. In the background to the left Athena, equipped with helmet, spear, and Gorgon-shield, turns her head to address another goddess imperfectly seen behind her. The painting no doubt has merits. The choice of subject suits its position of central importance. The blue circle overhead suggests the sky and helps the spectator to realise that this is no mountain-top but the heaven above it2. Hermes' gesture secures uplift3. Detachment from earth is complete. Yet the composition in general is not very well adapted to fill the circular space. The fusion of three types—Zeus enthroned, Zeus on the eagle4, Ganymedes on the eagle—is decidedly awkward. Hermes' action after all is a little meaningless. And the two goddesses, perhaps intended for those of the Capitoline triad, are obviously de trop.

These weaknesses disappear in a third fresco, which again formed the ceiling-decoration in a room of the Golden House (pl. v)5. The circular design, according to a sketch of it made by that consistently careful draughtsman P. S. Bartoli, depicts Zeus seated on a cloudy throne with a himation wrapped about his legs, a thunderbolt brandished in his right hand, and an eagle perched at his side. The medallion was surrounded by a triple row of gods and goddesses with, beyond them, a series of sportive Tritons.

An engraved onyx in my collection (fig. io)6 represents the whole company of heaven as conceived in Roman imperial times.

1 Infra Append. P.
2 Supra ii. 115.
3 Cp. the attitude of Ganymedes himself, not to mention the eagle and the dog, in the Vatican group after Leochares (supra ii. 281 n. 4).
4 Supra ii. 103 f. n. 6 figs. 55—64, ii. 462 n. 0.
6 The stone, which is circular and plano-convex (here figured to a scale of ½), possibly served as a pendant or ear-ring. On such purely ornamental phalerae see E. Saglio in Darenberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iv. 427. This one is from the Wyndham Cook and Sir Francis Cook collections. It does not appear in the privately printed Catalogue of the Wyndham Cook Collection, but was in the Sale of Humphry W. Cook (July 1925), who inherited from Sir Francis Cook. There is an impression of the same intaglio in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge, no. 473 in the Impressions of Engraved Gems (Ancient and Modern) got together by John Wilson (1790—1876). It is described in the MS. Catalogue as 'Jupiter between Juno & Minerva to witness a Chariot Race'!
The convex circular field is admirably suggestive of a cosmic scene. Above a thick stratum of cloud sit the Capitoline three. Jupiter in the centre, with a *himation* draped round his knees and over his left shoulder, has a small twisted thunderbolt in his right hand and a long sceptre in his left. At his right side Minerva, in *chiton*, *himation*, and helmet, holds a short sceptre in one hand and raises the other as if she grasped a spear. At his left side is Iuno, in *chiton*, and helmet, holds a short sceptre in one hand and raises the other as if she grasped a spear.

1 The thunderbolt, though present in the position indicated *supra* ii. 754 ff., is minimised and liable to confusion with the lines of the arm and hand.

2 Cp. e.g. a terra-cotta lamp of i. iii. A.D., which figures the Capitoline deities all seated and puts a spear in the raised right hand of Minerva (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Lamps* p. 167 no. 1110 fig. 234). The *motif* is normal in the standing type of the Capitoline Minerva (e.g. *supra* i. 44 fig. 13, 45 fig. 14). The omission of the spear on the onyx may imply that the pose was modified into a gesture of entreaty or the like (C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 pp. 51, 188 ff.).
chiton, himation, and veil. She too holds a short sceptre in one hand and with the other extends a patera towards Jupiter. The triad is flanked by a pair of nude beardless wind-gods blowing conch-shells as they emerge from the cloudy band. Beneath the clouds Sol in a quadriga pursues Luna in a biga: he is distinguished by his chlamys and radiate crown, she by her arched drapery and crescent. Lowest of all reclines Oceanus portrayed as an elderly river-god with water flowing from his urn. The Capitoline group as here represented resembles so closely—even to the modified gesture of Minerva's hand—the same group as it appears on bronze medallions of Antoninus Pius (fig. 11) and of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (fig. 12) that we may fairly attribute the intaglio to a period not much later than the middle of the second century A.D. Similar in age and motif are two, if not three, gems in our national collection. Ultimately the deities, seated or standing, are accompanied by their favourite birds—graphic labelling of the usual sort (figs. 13, 14). It is interesting to observe that the whole subject was used with happy effect in the decoration of a terra-cotta lamp, now at Berlin (fig. 15), which—to judge from its heart-shaped nozzle—can be referred to the third century A.D.
Zeus and the Clouds in Art

In Greece and Italy the belief that the gods were enthroned above the cloud-belt goes back, through a long line of literary tradition, to Homer and the Homeric Olympos. Further east even earthly monarchs laid claim to a like exaltation. Thus Kushāņa kings of the Kabul valley, during the first two centuries of our era, issued numerous gold coins on which their supramundane position was duly indicated. Vima Kadphises, son of Kujula Kadphises and conqueror

1 Supra i. 101 f. pl. ix, 1 and 2.
Zeus and the Clouds in Art

of northern India, whose reign ended in 78 A.D., appears either half-emergent from a pile of clouds (fig. 16) or sitting cross-legged upon them as on comfortable cushions (fig. 17). Kanishka, his successor from 78 A.D. onwards, raises his head proudly above a thick mass of clouds (fig. 18). Huvishka, who probably followed Kanishka on the throne c. 111—129 A.D., repeats the types of Vima Kadphises and either emerges half his height above the clouds (figs. 19, 20) or sits cross-legged on the top of them (fig. 21).

Finally, in mediaeval times, the cloud-stratum was stylised into the nebuly of ecclesiastical and heraldic art.

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3 *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 124 pl. 25, 7 (=my fig. 17), C. J. Brown *The Coins of India* Calcutta 1922 p. 35 pl. 4, 3 ("the king seated cross-legged on a couch").
4 E. J. Rapson *loc. cit.* V. A. Smith *op. cit.* pp. 274, 286 makes Kanishka succeed Kadphises ii and reign c. 120—c. 160 A.D. L. D. Barnett *op. cit.* p. 41 had placed Kanishka's reign 58—c. 34 B.C.
5 *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 132 pl. 26, 16 (=my fig. 18) and 17.
6 *Supra* ii. 791 n. 2. V. A. Smith *op. cit.* p. 286 ff. dates Huvishka's reign c. 160—c. 182 A.D. L. D. Barnett *op. cit.* p. 42 had placed it c. 25 B.C.—c. 2 A.D.
7 *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 136 ff. pl. 27, 9 (=my fig. 19), 11, 16, pl. 28, 9, V. A. Smith *op. cit.* p. 76 coin-pl. figs. 4, 5. Fig. 20 is from a specimen in my collection.
8 *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 145 pl. 28, 10 (=my fig. 21).
9 *Supra* ii. 137 n. 9 pl. viii.
It remains to consider in greater detail the most famous conception of Cloud-land bequeathed to us by classical antiquity, the Nephelokokkygia of Aristophanes' *Birds*. That remarkable drama raises many problems, some of which we must attempt to solve. Why did the poet choose *Birds* for his theme? Why lay such stress on the Hoopoe, the Woodpecker, the Cuckoo? Who is Pithetairos? Who is Basileia? And what light does the whole *fantasia* throw on the relation between Zeus and the Clouds? I begin by passing in review the relevant incidents of the play.

Two typical Athenians, Pithetairos and Euelpides, tired of Athens and its perpetual lawsuits, set out, under the guidance of a crow and a jackdaw, to seek the hoopoe Tereus. They would learn from him, since he too had been a man and suffered like troubles, where they may find peaceful quarters—

*Fleecy as a rug and soft to lie upon.*

They want something more comfortable than their own Rock Town, but scout his suggestions of the Red Sea in the east, Lepros down south, Opous up north. Euelpides thinks there is much to be said for staying where they are, with the Birds. And Pithetairos is struck by a grand idea. If Tereus and the Birds would but hearken to him, they might take possession of the Clouds—why not—and transform the very *pōlos* into a *pōlis*. This would enable them to starve out the gods, who could receive no savoury sacrificial smoke without first paying tribute to them! Hereupon Tereus and his mate, Prokne the nightingale, summon an assembly of the Birds, a suspicious and hostile crowd.

To allay their fears, Pithetairos in a persuasive speech develops his scheme. He tells them that the Birds were formerly lords of creation, being of older lineage than Kronos, the Titans, or Earth herself—witness Aesop’s fable of the Lark which, before earth existed, had to bury her father in her own head.

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1 The first draft of this section appeared as ‘*Nephelokokkygia*’ in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway* Cambridge 1913 pp. 213—221 with pl. It is here re-published with considerable alterations and additions.

2 Aristoph. *av.* 121 f.

3 *Id. ib.* 1—450.

4 *Id. ib.* 451—538.

5 This fable, which is of a type still common in the Balkans (cp. M. Gaster *Rumanian Bird and Beast Stories* London 1915 p. 236 f. no. 78 ‘Why has the lark a tuft?’, p. 238 f. no. 79 ‘Why is the tuft of the lark dishevelled?’), is not found in any ancient collection of Aisopika. F. de Furia (Lipsiae 1810) *fab.* 415 and C. Halm (Lipsiae 1860) *fab.* 211
more ancient than the gods, and Zeus ought to relinquish his sceptre to the Woodpecker.\(^1\) Again, the Birds are the rightful rulers of mankind. The Cock with his upright tiara was once king of Persia, and still summons men to their labours.\(^2\) The Kite lorded it over

merely paraphrase or transcribe Aristophanes. Galen *de simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus* \(n. 37\) (xii. 360 f. Kühn) likewise cites Aristophanes and rightly cp. the ἐπτυμβίθαις κορυθελίδες of Theokr. 7. 23 (see O. Crusius on Babr. 72. 20 κορυθάλλος ὄν τάφος πάθων). *Ail. de nat. an. 16. 3* (copied by the paroemiographers Apostol. 7. 74, *Arsen. viol.* p. 239 *Watz s.v.* ἐκπονος Ἴνδοκ στροφή) thinks that the Greeks got their story of the Lark from one told by the Brachmanes about the Hoopoe, a bird which the Indians deem the right pet for royalty. The story is as follows. A certain Indian king had a son, whose [two?] elder brothers grew up lawless and violent. They scorned their brother as too young and scoffed at their father and mother as too old. So the parents took their youngest boy and fled. Their journey was too much for them and they died. But the boy, far from despising them, split his own head with a sword and buried them in it. The Sun, who sees all, amazed at this remarkable instance of filial piety, turned the boy into a beautiful and long-lived bird. On his head is a crest, which keeps his exploit in memory.... An Ogygian length of time has elapsed since the Indian Hoopoe was a boy and treated his parents thus. A. Hausrath in *Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc.* vi. 1727, 1730 f. makes it probable that the simple Greek tale is not actually derived from the more rhetorical Indian tale. Nevertheless the two are so similar that they cannot be regarded as wholly unrelated. There is of course a superficial resemblance between the crested lark (e.g. R. Lydekker *The Royal Natural History* London 1894—95 iii. 420 f. with fig. on p. 418) and the hoopoe (id. ib. 1895 iv. 57 ff. with col. pl.), and it is reasonable to suppose that Greeks and Indians, distant cousins by race, elaborated analogous stories to account for parallel features. But D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 97 is in danger of going too far when he says: 'The κορυθός and ἐκροφ (both crested birds) are frequently confused: the very word *Alauda* is possibly an Eastern word for the Hoopoe, Arab. *al hudhud.*' This etymology, first found in, or rather implied by, the Pandectarius Arabicus Matthaei Sylvestri (an Arab commentator on the *Pandectae* of Mattheus Sylvaticus, physician of Salerno, published at Naples in 1474) quoted by S. Bochart *Hierozoicon* rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1796 iii. 115, is nowadays commonly rejected in favour of a Celtic origin (Plin. *nat. hist.* 11. 121 Gallico vocabulo, Suet. *Iul.* 24 vocabulo...Gallico. Marcell. *de medicamentis* 28. 50 p. 299, 1 Helmreich Gallice): see L. Dienesbach *Origines Europaeae* Frankfurt am Main 1861 p. 210—222, C. W. Glück in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1866 xii. 166 f., A. Holder *All-celsicher Sprachschutz* Leipzig 1896 i. 75 ff., Walde *Lat. etym.* Wörterb.\(^2\) p. 23.

\(^1\) *Supra* ii. 697 n. 0. May we infer that the woodpecker, like the wren (first in Aristoph. *av.* 569 βασιλεὺς ἐντ' ἄρχεις ὅρνης, cp. its later names βασιλακας (Aisop. *ap. Plout. præc. gerend. rei publici, 12, alibi.), τραχων (Aristot. *hist. an.* 8. 3. 592 b 23), ἐγγαλιου (Suet. *Iul.* 81 regaliolium with v.l. regaviolium, on which see De Vit *Lat. Lex.* s.v. 'regaliolus'), ἐγγαλιος (carm. *de philomel. 43* in *Poet. Lat. min.* v. 366 Baehrens), 'kinglet' (C. Swainson *The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* London 1886 p. 25)) and sundry other birds (Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 203 dissident...aquila et trochilus, si credimus, quoniam rex appellatur avium, cp. 8. 90 parva avis, quae trochilos ibi vocatur, rex avium in Italia, with the remarks of D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 171 f.), was popularly held to be a king? Keleos the Green Woodpecker (*supra* i. 226) was one of the 'kings' at Eleusis (*supra* i. 211).

\(^2\) F. Baethgen *De vi ac significatione galli in religionibus et artibus Graecorum et Romanorum* Gottingae 1887 pp. 6, 8, 11 (somewhat slight). The best account of the cock in Persian religion is still that of K. Schwenck *Die Mythologie der Perser* Frankfurt am Main 1850 pp. 304—307. See also F. Orth in *Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc.* viii. 2521 ff.
Hellas: Hellenes grovel yet at the sight of him. The Cuckoo was sovereign of Egypt and Phoinike, and his cry sent the circumcised to reap their plains: young stalwarts still follow their example. Tragedy-kings bear a bird-tipped sceptre. Zeus himself has an eagle on his head, Athena an owl, Apollon a hawk. No wonder men swear 'by the Goose.'

1 The kite was in general a bird of ill omen (L. Hopf Thierorakel und Orakelthiere in alter und neuer Zeit Stuttgart 1888 p. 94 f. ('Weihen'), whose advent shortly before the vernal equinox (Gemin. calendarium: Pices p. 228, i f. Manitius: Gemin. calendarium: Pisces p. 228, i f. Strijd): Gradeso warf sich im alten Griechenland rücklings (Virrios) nieder und walzte sich auf dem Boden, wer zum erstenmale im Frühling eines Weihen (if/crtj'oj) ansichtig ward. (Aristophan. av. 498ff. c. schol.) See further Seemann in the Handworterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens Berlin—Leipzig 1933 v. 713, 721 n. 170.

2 We have no reason to think that Egyptians and Phoenicians were specially devoted to the Cuckoo. But it is likely enough that they regarded his cry in the spring-time as a signal for returning to work in the fields (cp. J. Hardy ' Popular History of the Cuckoo' in: The Folk-Lore Record 1879 ii. 56 ff.). Aristophanes uses words with a double meaning: κόκκων suggests at once 'cuckoo' and 'cuckold' (W. Mannhardt 'Der Kukuk' in the Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde 1855 iii. 246 ff. 'Vor allem stand der kukuk den functionen der zeugung vor.'); ψειδως means both circumcisi and verpi; irediov is not only 'plain' but also pudendum (schol. Aristoph. av. 507 aXXws. r6 aldotov, cp. ἐιφῖατον, Κρίς, Αόρτος, and the like).

3 E.g. supra l. 251 pl. xxii (Keon).

4 The type is so unusual that the scholiast ad loc. is reduced to saying δέων εἰσένειν ἐπὶ τοῦ σκύπτρου εἰσένειν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλῆς! His alternative explanation ἠκτηθοῦ καὶ ἔδωκαν ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς ἱδρύεσαι is simply untrue. Hieratic effigies of the sort are all pre-Hellenic, e.g. the faience goddesses surmounted by snake and lioness (?leopard) from the temple-repository of 'Middle Minoan iii' date at Knossos (Sir A. J. Evans in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1902—1903 ix. 74 ff. figs. 54—57, id. The Palace of Minos London 1921 i. 500 ff. with col. Frontispiece and figs. 359—362, H. T. Bossert Altkreta Berlin 1923 pp. 22, 71 ff. figs. 103—106) or the terra-cotta goddess with a dove on her head from the small shrine of 'Late Minoan iii' date on the same site (supra ii. 536 fig. 406 c). We need not suppose that such archaic forms had survived into classical Greece. If a bird on the head was modified into a bird on the helmet, that would lend point enough to Aristophanes' lines. And of this usage we have some few traces. There was a chrysele-
phantine statue of Athena with a cock on her helmet, said to be the work of Pheidias, on the akroteria of Elis (Paus. 6. 26. 3. cp.-Plin. nat. hist. 35. 54 where the same (?) statue is attributed to Kolotes the pupil of Pheidias: see further H. Hitzig—H. Blümner on Paus. loc. cit.). A bronze formerly in the cabinet of St Germain des Préz represents Athena wearing a helmet the crest of which is supported by a cock (Montfaucon Antiquity Explained trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 82 f. pl. 39, 19 ('Herathemata') = Reinach Rép. Stat. ii. 276 no. 10). Another bronze at Agram makes her crest-support an owl (J. Brunsmid 'Monuments du Musée d’Agram' in the Viestnik 1914 [Vjesnik N. S. xiii 1913/1914 p. 212 cited by Reinach Rép. Stat. v. 120 no. 9). A third, in the Bammeville collection, repeats the motif (W. Fröhmer Collection de feu M. Joly de Bammeville Paris 1893 pl. 19 = Reinach Rép. Stat. ii. 278 no. 9).

E. von Lasaulx Der Eid bei den Griechen Würzburg 1844 p. 27 f. and R. Hirzel Der Eid Leipzig 1902 pp. 96 n. 2, 100 n. 3 collect most of the passages that bear on this curious practice. From them we learn (a) that Rhadamanthys would not suffer his subjects to take an oath by the gods, but bade them swear by goose, dog, ram, etc., and (b) that Sokrates confirmed to the same usage, swearing by dog, plane-tree, etc. Cp. Plat. aph. 21 E, Gorg. 466 c, Phaedr. 238 B, rep. 399 E, Phaed. 98 κ. ν. τον κόνα, Gorg. 482 B μ. τον κόνα, Gorg. 483 B μ. τον κόνα των Αιλιστώτων ἱερόν, Phaedr. 236 D—E ἵππον... τὶν πλατάνον ταυτιστη. Sokrates (on whom see Laqueur in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii A. 1160—1165) Κρητικ. frag. 5 (frag. hist. Gr. iv. 501 Müller) αφ. σχολ. Aristoph. at. 121 Δέσιν μ. ἰδέων τῶν πάντων. δι' (F. Dübner ed. s. l.) πρόων αἱ Σωκρατικοὶ ἐπηθέοντας ὀνόματα ὤντος ὄνομα. Σωκράτης (so J. Meursius and L. Kistler for Σωκράτης) γὰρ ἐν τὸ β' (so W. Dindorf ed. s. l.) τῶν Κρητικῶν ὄνων ὄνομα. "Παραδεμάζεις δὲ δοκεῖ διαδεξάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν διαυξάματος γεγενέσθαι πάτων ἀνθρώπων. Ἀγίατε δὲ αὐτῶν πρῶτον ὁδόν ἡν ἄνευ τινοῦς κατὰ τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλ' ὄνομαν κελέσαν χήρα καὶ καῖρα καὶ ἄτομα τὰ ἄτομα") (goose, dog, ram). This is abridged by Sonid. s. v. Δέσιν ὄνων τὶν χήρα, ὅταν ἔκτατα τίνα (goose, dog, ram) and s. v. χήρα ὄνων (goose, ram).

Schol. Plat. aph. 21 E ν. τοῦ κόνα. "Παραδεμάζεις δροκὸς ὄνος τὸ κατὰ κόναν ἡ χήρας ἡ κριμὶ ἡ τὸν δίδον τούτου ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἴτωσ εἰς χήραν, | ἐπειδὴ χήραν ἄττια πρὸς ἔτημα," Κρητικ. Ξείρας (frag. 11 [frag. com. Gr. ii. 135 f. Meinecke, who with T. Gaisford would divide the lines λόγῳ κόσμω, not κόσμω, | ἐπείρα.) κατὰ τῶν ὁδών δὲ χήρα ἐκεῖνα, ἦν μὴ κατὰ θεὸν οἱ δροκὸς γίγνονται. τούτου δὲ καὶ οἱ Σωκράτους δροκὸς (dog, goose, ram). This is copied by the schol. V.G. Loukian. vit. auct. 16 (dog, goose, plane, ram), Phot. lex. s. v. Παραδεμένους δρόκους (goose, dog, plane, ram), Sonid. s. v. Παραδεμένους δρόκους (goose, dog, plane, ram), Apostol. 15. 17 (goose, dog, plane, ram), Arsen. p. 423 f. Walz (goose, dog, plane, ram), and in part by Ζενορ ι. 81 (goose, dog), Heyc. s. v. Παραδεμένους δρόκους (goose, dog) and s. v. χήρα ὄνων (goose), Makar. 7. 49 (ram, swan, vegetables), cp. Append. prov. 2. 91 Εὐριπίδεως δρόκος: ἦν δὲ κατὰ κόναν ἡ χήρας (where E. L. von Leutsch notes: 'Euripides Socraticus hoc imitatus est') (dog, goose).

Further allusions in Loukian. vit. auct. 16 Σ. καὶ μὴν χόρον γε ὅσι τοῦ κόνα καὶ τοῦ πλατάνου ὡς ταύτης ἐξελεύσονται. ΠΙΝΗΤΗΣ: Ἰδράλεις τὴν ἀτοπία τῶν θεῶν. Σ. τις αὖ λέγεις; ἀν δείκει σοι ὁ κόπως εἶναι θέως; αὐτὰς δρόμος τὸν Ἀνυνδών ἐν Λεγέττῳ δούλο; καὶ τὸν ἐν ὑπαρκτή Σείραν καὶ τὸν παρὰ τὸ κέτω Κέβρεων; (dog, plane), Ιασίου. δὲ κατὰ κόναν καὶ χήραν καὶ πλατάνου ἐπικόμιτον (dog, goose, plane), Theophil. ad Autol. 3. 2 p. 152 Humphry τι ψηφίσθησαν. "Σωκράτης τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κόνα καὶ τὸν χήραν καὶ τοῦ πλατάνου καὶ τοῦ κεραυνοῦ λεκέσαν καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια ἐκπεκλείπτων; (dog, goose, plane), Tert. aph. 14 τακες de philosophis, Socate contentus, qui in contumeliam deorum quercum et hircum et canem deierabat (oak, goat, dog) = ad nat. 1. 10 taceo de philosophis, quos nonnullus etiam affluat veritatis adversus deos erigit: denique et Socrates in contumeliam eorum quercum et canem et hircum iurat (oak, dog, goat), Athen. 370 Α—C (Nik. frag. 11 a description of the κράμαθυ) "ὅτι μάλιν λαχανίους παλαιάνετο ἑντεστονοῦν." μήποτε δὲ ὁ Νικάνθος μάλιν κέλληκε τὴν κράμαθυ, ἵππον οὕων, ἑντε ταρταρωκαὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς ἄθλους (frag. 37 Bergk, 40 Diehl) ἄφη τι λεγόμενον τούτων "ὁ δ' ἔξολονθεν ἐκεῖνε τὴν
Nephelokokkygia

κράμβην | τὴν ἐπιφάλλον, ἡ θάνκε Πανδώρη | Θαρυγλοσαν | (T. Bergk prints ἤθελεν Πανδώρη from his own cj. and Παργγλοσαν from that of F. W. Schneidewin) ἔγχυσεν πρὸ φαμακοῦ (so Schneidewin for φαμάδι) "καὶ Ἀνάνια δὲ φησὶν (frag. 4 Bergk, 3 Diehl) "καὶ εἰ παλλὺ ἀνθρώπων | ἐγὼ δὲ θλήσα μάλατα, να μὴ τὴν κράμβην." καὶ Τηρήδελτην Πρωτάνην (frag. 4 | (Frag. com. Gr. ii. 368 Meinecke)) "καὶ μὴ τὰς κράμβατες" ἔφη. καὶ Ἐπίχριμος ἐν Τῇ καὶ Θάλασσα (frag. 25 Kaibel) "καὶ μὴ τὰς κράμβατες." Εὐκλείδος Βάσκου (frag. 13 | (Frag. com. Gr. ii. 451 Meinecke) Αφ. Priscian. de metr. Ter. 23 (ii. 427, 25 f. Hertz)) "καὶ μὴ τὰς κράμβατες" ἔδοκε δὲ Ἰωάννης κινεῖ ὁ δρόκος. καὶ οἱ παράδοκοι εἰ κατὰ τὰς κράμβατες τινὲς ὡμοίνι, ὅπερ καὶ Ζήρων ὁ Κριτικὸς ὁ τῆς Στοιχείων κτῆσιν (συμπλήρωμα 48 Pearson, de vita testim. 32 a von Arnim) μιμοῦμενοι τὸν κατὰ τὰ διὸ δρόκον Σωκράτους καὶ αὐτὸς ὄρμων τὸν κάπαρα, ὡς· Ἐπιείκες (so Kaibel and J. von Arnim, after C. Müller, for Ἱεραπόστολος cod.) φησὶν ἐν Ἀπολλονιοῦ λώμασιν (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 403 f. Müller) (cabbage; dog; caper), Diog. Laert. 7. 32 ὡμοί δὲ (sc. Ζεύς), φασι, καὶ ἀπάντωσον, καὶ ἀπαντάτην τὸν κύιαν (dog; caper), Φιλοσ. ν. Ἀφ. ο. 19 p. 232 Καυσές πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Θεοτόκος, "ἐγόντες τις," ἐφη, "Σωκράτης Ἀθραῖος ἀνήστος, ὅπερ ἤμεν, γέρων, ὃν τὸν κύιαν καὶ τὴν ἀραίη τὸς θεὸς τε ἤγειτο καὶ ὡμοί." "οὐκ ἀνήστε," εἶπεν (sc. Απολλωνίος), "Ἀλλὰ τοὺς καὶ ἀντίγραφο δορὶ, ὡμοὶ γὰρ ταῦτα οὐς ὃς θεοὺς, ἀλλὰ ἐν μὴ θεοὺς ὁμοί." (dog, goose, plane), Porph. de abst. 3. 16 Σωκράτης δὲ καὶ ὡμοίνες κατὰ αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν ζῴων), καὶ ἔτι πρὸς αὐτὸν Ραδάμανθος... Κορινθιακὸς ὁ νόμος ὃν Ραδάμανθος, ὁρκόν ἐπέκαθε τὰ τὰ ἡμέρα, ὀδυ Σωκράτης τὸν κύιαν καὶ τὸν χήραν ὁμοί ἐπέαι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Δίκης καὶ Δίκης παρά (sc. Καθαναμάθησας) ἐπεοίκε τὸν δρόκον, ὀδυ παίζων ὁμοὐδολοὺς αὐτοῦ δέλεγω τοὺς κύονοις (dog, goose, swan), Lact. div. inst. 3. 10 p. 247, 10 f. Brandt verum idem (sc. Socrates) per canem et anserem deierabat (dog, goose), Lact. inst. epist. 32 p. 708, 7 f. Brandt quam (sc. religionem) quidem Socrates non modo repudiavit, verum etiam derisit per anserem canemque iurando (goose, dog, swan). But we have yet to determine the origin and significance of the oath by goose, dog, ram, etc. No one nowadays is likely to share the view of Tertullian and Lactantius (nomen, Xanthippe per felem iurare scripsit: "Cum autem frequenter ei in mandamus et anserem iurare sacrificaret, dissidiumque sit felem inter canes, Italus quidam, cuius excidit mihi motet (Plat. Phaedr. 375 b). The Platonic Sokrates, to be sure, says μᾶ τὸν κύιαν τοῦ Ἀτρικάντης θεὸν (Plat. Gorg. 482 b). But then the Platonic Phaidros can retract ὁ Σωκράτης, ῥαδώς οὖν Ἀτρικάντης καὶ ὑπάθανοι ἵνα θέλησι λόγους ποιεῖ (Plat. Phaedr. 275 b). The Lucianic Sokrates, who identifies the ‘dog’ with Anoubis or Seirios or Kerberos (Loukian. vit. auct. 10); would presumably have interpreted the ‘ram’ as Ammon. A μάντις like Lampom might swear by the ‘goose’ as a mantic bird (schol. Aristoph. av.
Nephelokokkygia

49

531 ο δὲ Δάμων θύεται ἵππα καὶ χρυσομαλάγας καὶ μάντις... ὃμοιο δὲ κατὰ τοῦ χνῶς ὡς 

καύτης δράμει.) And a little mythological ingenuity could doubtless discover some spark of 
sanctity in the 'plane-tree,' the 'cabbage,' the 'popsy' (Soud. τ.ν. μάκανων χλόην

“τα ειται μάκανων χλόην” and τ.ν. κατ’ μάκανων χλόην—δρόκος έτείχεμενος,) and 

what not? All the same, there was sound sense in the dictum of Apollonios that 

Sokrates swore by these things ὃς ἐν θεῶς, ἈΛΛ’ ἔνα μᾶθη θεῶν ὤμοιο (Philos. loc. cit.) Finally, 

we shall not subscribe to the well-meant but unconvincing claim of St Augustine, that 

Sokrates' attribution of divinity to natural objects was an expedient intended to deter 

men from the worship of artificial objects and to direct their thoughts toward the one 

tru God (Aug. de vera religione 2 (i. 1207 c ff. ed. 2 Bened.) credo, intelligebat qualia

cumque opera naturae, quae administrae divinae providentiae gignerentur, multo quo

nominem et quorumlibet opificem esse meliora, et ideo divinos honoribus digniora, quam 

quaes in templis celebrantur. non quod vnde lapis et canis essent colenda septentribus, 

sed ut hoc modo intelligent quia possint, tanta superstitione demoresse esse homines, ut 

ergentemlibic esset tam turpis demonstrandus gradus, ad quem venire si puderet, viderent 

quanto magis pudendum esset in turpore consistere. simul et illos qui mundum istum visi

bilem, summum deum esse opinabantur, abpondebat turpitudinis suae, docens esse conse-

quens ut quilibet lapis tanquam summii de partiícula iure coletur. quod si exsecrarentur, 

mutarent sententiam, et unum deum quarerent, quem solum supra mentes nostras esse, 

et a quo omnem animam et totum istum mundum fabricatum esse constaret. etc.).

What then, after all, is the explanation of these strange oaths? J. Vendryes Language 

trans. F. Radin London 1925 p. 221 observes: 'In many languages oaths undergo a 

conventional alteration which allows them to be introduced into the best society; thus; 

for example, bêge, or fêche. The French say: paissambieu, parbiem, pargnieu, paridienne 

instead of pa le sang de Dieu or par Dien, just as the English turned "By Mary" into 

"Mary," “By God’s Little Body” into “Odds Boddikins.” Similarly E. Weekley The 

Romance of Words London 1912 p. 60: 'In atat, formerly 'ad rot, sounds, for God’s 

wounds,'death, oddsakin, etc. and Ger. Pota in Potsaus-

send, etc.' Accordingly W. A. Becker long since conjectured that χήρα in this connexion 

was a distorted form of Ζήρα (W. A. Becker Charikles2 Leipzig 1854 i. 154 'Es kann 

fast scheinen, als ob man ausweichend τὸν χήρα statt τὸν Ζήρα gesagt habe, wie auch bei 

uns dergleichen Verdrehungen nicht ungewöhnlich sind'). The same view was advocated 

by K. Lehrs Plato Phãdrus und Gastmahl Leipzig 1870 p. 142. K. Hirzel Der Eid 

Leipzig 1902 p. 96 n. 2 objects that nobody said οὐ τὸν Ζήρα (despite Il. 23. 43 and Od. 

20. 339 ὃ μᾶλ Ζήρα, Soph. Trach. 1188 ὃμοιο ἐγορε, Ζήρα ἔχων ἐπιώμορον, Phil. 1324 

Ζήρα δ’ ἄρκνω καλῆ, Eur. Hêr. 1025 ἐν δ’ ἄρκνω σοι Ζήρα καὶ πέδο χθόνος (ἐμμα 

κ.τ.λ.) and consequently nobody would have altered it into οὐ τὸν χήρα. But this objection 

ignores the fact that in Crete—the very home of Rhadamanthys—oaths were regularly 

taken at Deros by τὸν Δήρα (Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr.2 no. 463 (ib. 3 no. 527), 14 ff. 
cited supra ii. 729 n. 2), at Priansos, Gortyna and Hierapytta by Τρήρα (F. Blass in 

Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inschr. iii. 2. 301 ff. no. 5074, 59 ff. cited supra ii. 723 n. 0), at 

Hierapytta and one of its colonies by Τήρα (F. Blass ib. ii. 3. 311 ff. no. 5039, 11 f. 
cited supra ii. 733 n. 0), at Lyttos by Τήρα (F. Blass ib. iii. 2. 386 f. no. 5147 b, 5 cited, 
cited supra ii. 934 n. 0) and by Ζήρα (Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 49, 13 f. cited supra ii. 

733 n. 0).

I conclude, therefore, that in Crete, where men swore officially by τὸν Δήρα or Τρήρα 
or Τήρα or Ζήρα—so many ways of representing the initial Δ— in the name of Zeus 


1910 pp. 31, 67, 86)—a popular distortion οὐ τὸν χήρα arose and was in due course fathered 
on Rhadamanthys. R. Hirzel loc. cit. aptly observes that in Crete people still say 

μᾶλ τὸ θερό, 'by the beast, dragon, giant,' or μᾶλ τὸ χλῦ, 'by the sap,' for μᾶλ τὸ θεό, 'by 

God' (A. Jeannaraki [= A. N. Jannaris] ΑΣΜΑΤΑ ΚΡΥΠΤΙΚΑ Leipzig 1876 p. 327 'μᾶ 

λ τὸ θεό, statt μᾶλ τὸ θεό, bei Gott, ἀδέλεμα statt ἀδέλεμα, verflucht etc.); ib. p. 379 'Da

C. III.

4
The Birds, flattered and fluttered by this speech, are willing to accept the plan of Pisthetairos, to build a great wall round the air, sich das Wort χιλόν mit dem Worte θεός reimt, so sagt man sehr oft μά το χιλό statt μά το θεό um die Gottesslästerung zu vermeiden. Gleichfalls sagt man μά το θεόν, μά το νῦν, auch διάθεμας statt διάθεσις (vgl. hole mich der Kukuk'). Perhaps κοῦν in turn was a substitute for χίλσα, if not κρινόν for Κρίνον (supra ii. 548 ff.). But successive links soon become impossible to trace.

1 The notion of a cosmic wall is found in the teaching of Parmenides (Aet. 2. 7. i (H. Diels Doxographi Graeci Berolini 1879 p. 335 a 11 ff., b 8 ff.) ap. Plont. de plac. phil. 3. 7 und τό περέχον αί πάσαις (sc. τός οστεφάσις) τέχνου διεν ωτηρών υπάρχειν καὶ απ. Stoic. ecl. 1. 22. 19 p. 195, 7 ff. Wachsmuth = H. Diels Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker Berlin 1912 i. 144, 16 ff. καὶ τό περέχον αί πάσαις διεν ωτηρών υπάρχειν, υφ’ ὧν φύσις οστεφάσις). It reappears in the Epicureanism of Lucretius (Lucr. 1. 73 flammancia moenia mundi, cp. 1. 1102, 2. 1045, 1148, 3. 16, 5. 119, 454, 1213, 6. 123), and as a Lucretian touch in the poems of Ovid (Ov. met. 2. 401 f. at pater omnipotens ingentia moenia caeli | circuit) and Manilius (Manil. 1. 150. summaque complexus stellantis culmina caeli | flammarum vallo naturae moenia fecit, 486 f. quod primus moenia mundi | seminibus struxit mininis inque illa resolvit). Hence the imitations of later poets, e.g. Milton Paradise Lost 3. 721 'The rest in circuit walls this universe,' R. Browning Easter-Day 15 fn. ‘Leaving exposed the utmost walls | Of time, about to tumble in | And end the world,’ Epilogue to Dramatis Persona 3. 11 ‘Why, where’s the need of Temple, when the walls | O’ the world are that?’

Analogous conceptions are found here and there in the religious imaginings of the ancient world. R. Eisler Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt München 1910 ii. 627 notes that the cosmic wall figures in a cuneiform text (an astronomical document of 138 B.C. published by J. Epping and J. N. Strassmaier in the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete 1891 vi. 243 Sp. i. 131, 30). The Manichaens recognised a whole series of such walls (Epiphan. adv. haer. 3. 66. 31 (iiii. 53 f. Dindorf) οἱ δὲ προβαλλαὶ πάσαι, ὡς ὁ προβαλλόμενος στός μικρῷ πλοῖῳ, καὶ ἡ μέγιστη τῆς ζωής, καὶ οἱ διάλεκτα τυποφορικύττερα, καὶ ἡ πάρθενος τοῦ φωτός, καὶ ὁ προσβοτὴς τὸ γέτος τοῦ νῦν μεγάλῳ πλοῖῳ, καὶ τὸ γέτον πνεύματι, καὶ τὸ τέχνου τοῦ μεγάλου πυρός, καὶ τὸ τέχνου τοῦ ἀνέμου καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ τοῦ δύνατος καὶ τοῦ λουθεν πυρός τοῦ θωτός πρὸς τὸν μικρὸν φωτῆρα ὁλοένος, ἥχος ὡς τὸ πῦρ καταναλώσῃ τὸν κόσμον διὸν ἐν κοσμίοι ποτε έτεκνα, οὐκ οὐκ ἔμαθον τῷ τοσότητα | Hegemonios acta Archetyp 13. 2 (p. 21 f. Beeson) prolataiones autem omnes Iesus est in modice navi, et mater vitae et duodecim gubernatores et virgo lucis et senior tertius. unde et maiori in navi vivens spiritus adhibetur, et murus ignis illius magni, et murus venti et aëris et aquae et interioris ignis vivi, quae omnia in luna habitabant, usquequo totum mundum ignis absumat; in quot autem annis numerum non didici. On this Latin version C. H. Beeson ad loc. remarks 'eine ziemlich ungenaue Paraphrase' and F. Legge Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity Cambridge 1915 ii. 326 n. 1 'which appears to be nonsense'—five in number, according to the fragments in Estrangelo script from Turfan, which mention one of αἰθήρ, one of wind, one of light, one of water, and one of fire, together with twelve or fourteen heavenly gates (F. W. K. Müller in the Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1904 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 38 f. frag. M. 98, 7 ff. 'Sie ferner auf zur Grenze und | dem Obersten des Lichtes führte er hinauf und | aus Wind und Licht, Wasser und Feuer, | welches aus der Mischung gelautert war, hat er Licht- | Fahrzeuge? zwei jenes der Sonne aus | Feuer und Licht mit fünf Mauern, | einer ätherischen, windigen, leuchtenden, wässerigen | und einer feurigen und zwölf Toren und | Häusern fünf und Thronen drei und | seelensammelnden Engeln fünf sc. in | der feurigen Mauer, und jenes [Fahrzeug] | des Mond-Gottes aus Wind und Wasser | mit fünf Mauern, einer ätherischen, windigen | leuchtenden, feurigen und wässerigen und | vierzehn Toren und Häusern fünf und | Thronen drei und seelensammelnden Engeln fünf, sc. in der wässerigen Mauer, | hat er gemacht und angeordnet'). Somewhat similar is the vision of 'the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming
Nephelokokkygia

down out of heaven from God' (Rev. 21. 2, cp. 31. 10), ‘having a wall great and high; having twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels’ etc. (Rev. 21. 12).

Later the church fell to a lower level and was content with would-be scientific speculation. So Kaisarios, brother to Gregorios of Nazianzos, in his περί τούς θεωρήσεως (on which see W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1924 ii. 2. 145 n. 6) διάλογος i interrogation oxxviii. 95 Migne) πως ανθ σκέφτεται τον θεον, είμι ουδέν γνίμφα, κα τις τούση διά το τάκτιον αυτού σκαμάντ: τερτοιον υποκαθίσταται τα οδόντα τέρματα, κατά τα τούχα τό βραήν τυγχάνον κλίμα, ὑπεραναστήκον τοῦ Κασπίδοικος ἐξήκοντα, ἀνασκάδισεται κατά τὴν ἀπράγματα τῶν τάκτων ταῖς λόγωσι, κατα τούδε, τῷ ἐπερ, τερατών τῷ στερεώματι, διαλυμένους τῶν μαμαρμυρῶν ὑπὲρ τὸ πλέγμα, κα τῇ ὑψηλῇ τῆς χείρος τῶν φανῶν εἰρήμενοι, κατὰ τὴν προεκδόθησιν εἰδώλα τῆς παρ ἦρων λαμπάδως καὶ Σεβερίνους τό Βαβαλας (on whom see Lietzmann in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii a. 1930 ff., W. Christ op. cit. iv. ii. 2. 145 ff.) de mundi creatione 5. 5 (Ivi. 452 f. Migne) θεούς ἀνατλούσι, καὶ μελῶν δόνων αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς δόξας ἐξήκοντα τῶν ἄνθρωπον τρέχει εἰς τὰ βορρά (βορράδια cod. Vat. Sir H. Savile c. βόρεια) μέρη, ὄσπριν ὅταν τὸ τούχα κρυπτόμενος, μὴ συνυποστών τῶν ὠδῶν διαιναί αὐτοῦ τὸν ὄρομον, καὶ τρέχει κατὰ βορρά (βορράδια cod. Vat. Sir H. Savile c. βόρεια) μέρη καὶ καταλαμβάνει τὴν ἀνάλυσιν. Crp. Kosmas Indikopleustes tophi. Christ. 4. 186 (Ixxviii. 185 Migne) τούτο πλέον τὸ τούχα τῆς γῆς, τὸ ἐπερίκεισθαι, ἐνάθα διατρέχουσα ἀπὸ δόσεως διὰ τοῦ βορρά ἀνατάλει, ὄρομ ὡς ἐκ τούχου ὕπαρχε σε ὑς ἑνομένου τὸ θεούς εἰς τὸ ἄλλα μέρος αὐτοῦ τὸ οὐκομένων νῦκτα ἀστερογράφηται καὶ τὸ ὅλον τούχον τὰ στοργεία καὶ τῶν νομῶν μὲν ᾃος τὸ κάτωθεν, ἐνός ἐφαρμὸν κατὰ τὸ τόπον ὄντος κακῶς ἄκηρως, ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀνατλίδος εἰς τὸ ἐκστάσιος, ἄνθρωπον τῆς ὑπάρχους, ἀνατάλει καὶ πρότα σφηνον τολλάκι, τὸ στερέωμα μὲ τὸ τόπον ἐξήκοντα, τὸ ὄρομον πάσης πάντων ἀνατάλει, ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀνατολίδος εἰς τὸ τόπον ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀνατολίδος εἰς τὸ τόπον ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀνατολίδος εἰς τὸ τόπον ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀνατολίδος εἰς τὸ τόπον ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀνατολίδος εἰς τὸ τόπον ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀνατολίδος εἰς τὸ τόπον ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀνατολίδος εἰς τὸ τόπον ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀνατολίδος εἰς τὸ τόπον ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀνατολίδος εἰς τὸ τόπον ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀνατολίδος εἰς τὸ τόπον ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀνατολίδος εἰς τὸ τόπον ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀνατολίδος εἰς τὸ τόπον ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀνατολίδος εἰς τὸ τόπον ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀνατολίδος εἰς τὸ τόπον ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀνατολίδος εἰς τὸ τόπον ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀνατολίδος εἰς τὸ τόπον ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀνατολίδος εἰς τὸ τόπον ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀνατολίδος εἰς τὸ τόπον ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀνατολίδος εἰς τὸ τόπον ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀνατολίδος εἰς τὸ τόπον ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀνατολίδος εἰς τὸ τόπον ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀνατολίδος εἰς τὸ τόπον ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀνατολίδος εἰς τὸ τόπον ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀνατολίδος εἰς τὸ τόπον ἄνθρωπον, ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀνατολίδος εἰς τὸ τό π
and to demand the submission of Zeus. If he refuses, they will proclaim a holy war against him and forbid the gods to traverse their realm in search of fresh amours. A herald will be sent to inform men that in future all must worship birds before gods—the coot before Aphrodite, the duck before Poseidon, the sea-gull before Herakles, the wren before Zeus. Birds have wings, good evidence

‘walls’ (id. ib. ii. 64). P. Sébiliot Le Folk-lore de France Paris 1904 i. 118 f. adduces French examples. Sailors in the Channel regard certain big black clouds as dangerous and speak of them as les Châteaux (id. in the Archivio per lo studio delle tradizioni popolari v. 531). In Provence black clouds brushing past the horizon are called an emparo or ‘wall.’ A long stretch of emparo is termed bôrri, ‘ramparts.’ A small coloured cloud rising above these ‘ramparts’ is dubbed tourello, a ‘turret.’ A big cloud may tower up charged with thunder and hail; it is then called tourrougat a ‘keep.’ Finally, when black threatening clouds begin to break up, with their towers and ramparts, they are known as castru, ‘castles’ (G. de Montpavon ‘Mistral’ in Armana Prouven$au 1877 p. 45).

This was at least one reason for the first element in Aristophanes’ Nephelo-kokkygia—a typical ‘castle-in-the-air.’


2 This is not religion, but common sense. Athen. 325 B λῆ ρον δὲ καὶ τὴν θέραν δὲ καλομένην Ποσειδόνιν τινας οἰκείων, as is clear from the previous clause (cited supra n. 1), depends on Aristoph. av. 566.

3 The λάρων is assigned to Herakles merely because of its notorious greed (schol. Aristoph. av. 557 τὸν λάρων διὰ τὴν ἄδηφαγίαν Ἡρακλῆι προσάκτει, cp. Aristoph. av. 926, nub. 591).

4 Aristoph. av. 567 ff. κῶν οὖν ἔλεγεν Βασιλείς κρῶν, βασιλεῖς ἔτοι ὄρχηλος δρῶν, ὡς προτέρῳ δεῖ τῷ Δίῳ άφθονος ἄρροφον ἐνήρχεται σφαγάμεας. | ETALII. πούθεν στήρη σφαγαμετουργον ‘ἐπιστάτην τὸν ἄμαχον Ζαίου’ with schol. ad loc. ὄρχηλος δρῶν διὰ τὰς μοχέσσας τοῦ Δία τοῦ δρῶν παραλήμπημ (the clause διὰ—παραλήμπημ is absent from codd. R.V.). ἐκλάσατο το ἄλογον τοῦ δρόμου. ἐκεί καταφερόμεν ὁ Ζεῦς καὶ μοχής, διὰ τοῦ ὄρχηλον παραλήμπηχα διὰ τῶν ὄρχηλον δὲ στήρυν ἄρροχον, ὡς κρῶν ἄρροχον. This again is not a case of ritual usage, but of comic invention. There is no special link between Zeus and the wren beyond the fact that, as Zeus was Βασιλεύς, so the wren was βασιλεῖς ο ο βασιλείσσων (supra n. 45 n. 1). On the wren as king of birds see further C. Swainson The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds London 1886 p. 56: ‘The tradition of the sovereignty of the wren over the feathered race is widely spread. Hence we find the Latin name for the bird to be Regulus, the Greek βασιλέας, the French Roitelet, Rois des oiseaux, Rois de frouiture, Rois de guille, Rois Berlaut, the Spanish Realeño, the Italian Reatino or Re di siepe (king of the hedge), the Swedish Kungs fogen, the Danish Fugle Konge or Elle Konge (sadder king), the German Zaunkönig (hedge king), Schneekönig (snow king).’ E. Rolland Faune populaire de la France Paris 1879 ii. (Les oiseaux sauvages) 288 ff., 301 f. collects a vast number of such names applied to the wren (both the Troglodytes Europaeus and the Regulus cristatus) in the various districts of France. It would seem reasonable to suppose that the kingship in question properly belonged to the fire-crest (Regulus ignicapillus) or gold-crest (Regulus cristatus). Both species occur in Greece (D’Arcy W. Thompson A Glossary of Greek Birds Oxford 1895 p. 174) and both on the crown of the head have a conspicuous streak of reddish orange bordered by bright lemon yellow (good illustrations in J. L. Bonhote Birds of Britain London 1907 p. 50 f. col. pl. 15). The flame-coloured
Tereus next invites the two friends into his nest, promising to find them a magic root\(^1\) which will enable them too to grow wings. Meantime his wife Prokne comes out and together with the Choros chants the *parábasí*, a brilliant vindication of the claims put forward by the Birds. It tells the old Orphic tale\(^2\), how Eros sprang from the wind-egg laid by black-winged Night, the egg which split into Ouranos and Ge, primaeval parents of all the gods. Birds declare the seasons, birds utter oracles, birds give omens; birds in short are manifestly divine and must be worshipped as such without more ado.

That conclusion reached, out come Pisthetairos and Euepides in their fine feathers and at once set about naming the new town—no Sparta this, but something splendid and sonorous, say Nephelokokkygia\(^3\). Heralds are despatched to gods and men. Euepides must lend a hand in the actual building. Pisthetairos will fetch a priest to sacrifice to the newfound gods.

The novel foundation of course attracts the usual influx of busy-bodies—a needy lyrical poet, an itinerant soothsayer, the astronomer Meton, a pompous commissioner, a statue-seller. At last they are all got rid of and Pisthetairos quits the stage to sacrifice the goat within.

Then follows a second *parábasí*, in which the Birds appropriate epithets formerly belonging to Zeus\(^4\) and justifiably put a price on the head of the bird-catcher Philokrates.

crest at any rate accounts for the belief in the wren as a fire-bearer (E. Rolland *op. cit.* ii. 293 f., C. Swainson *op. cit.* p. 42).


\(^2\) *Supra* ii. 1020, 1034, 1050 f.

\(^3\) Aristoph. *av.* 818 ff.

Pisthetairos announces that the sacrifice has proved to be most auspicious, and a Messenger brings word that the great wall is now completely built—six hundred feet high and broad enough for two chariots to pass.

After this, enter Iris. She has been sent by Zeus to bid men sacrifice to the gods. But Pisthetairos scares her off with threats reminiscent of Zeus himself:

Knowest thou this? If Zeus keeps bothering me, his halls palatial, yea Amphion's house, will I burn down with eagles bearing fire, and up against him to the sky I'll send six hundred stout Porphyrian-gallinules, all clad in leopard-skins. Yet I remember when one Porphyrian gave him toil enough.

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1 Aristoph. av. 1230 ff. Earlier and cruder is the conception of 'the Brygos painter,' who on a kylix in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 87 ff. no. E 65 Mon. d. Inst. ix pl. 46, 1 (coloured and gilded), Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei i. 238 ff. pl. 47, Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art x. 560 ff. fig. 373, Hoppin Red-fig. Vases i. 110 f. no. 4 fig., F. Ducati Storia della ceramica greca Firenze s.a. ii. 318 ff. fig. 242, J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rotsfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 176 no. 5) represents Iris ambushed by the Silenoi Echon, Lepsis (Nepsis?), and Dromis (on these names see Charlotte Frankel Satyr- und Bakkhenamen auf Vasenbildern Halle a. S. 1912 pp. 23, 25 ff.) just as she has collected an oxtail from the altar of Dionysos. The scene, which recurs in abbreviated form on a red-figured skyphos from Nola, now at Berlin (Furtwängler Vasensamml. Berlin ii. 732 no. 2591, Gerhard Ant. Bildw. p. 294 ('Irene')! pl. 48, Welcker Alt. Denkm. iii. 243 ff. ('Eirene')! pl. 16, 2, J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rotsfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 276 no. 58) was presumably taken from some Satyric drama, though hardly from the Iris of Achaios (W. Helbig in the Bull. d. Inst. 1872 p. 41, F. Matz in the Ann. d. Inst. 1872 xlvii. 299 ff., C. Robert Bild und Lied Berlin 1881 p. 28 n. 29) or the Inachos of Sophokles (K. L. von Urlichs Der Vasenmaler Brygos Wuerzburg 1875 p. 5 on the strength of Soph. Inachos frag. 250 Nauck, 273 Pearson ap. schol. Aristoph. av. 1203), these plays being of later date (Furtwängler—Reichhold op. cit. i. 241, L. Séchan Études sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique Paris 1926 p. 41).

2 Aristoph. av. 1246 ff. ἀφ' οὖν δυσί τοι ἔσθι τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἔθνος τῶν Ἀμφιώνων καὶ καταλέλοιπον τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ αὐτῶς: J. van Leeuwen, observing 'alienum hinc est nomen Amphionis, quod ante me sensisti qui dūmon 'Ολυμπιονος propositum,' rewrites καὶ ἄμφιώνων dūmow, cp. Soph. Ant. 283 f. But G. Setti in the Rivista di filologia 1903 xxxi. 112 f. justly defends the text in view of Soph. Ant. 1155 Κάθων πάροικον καὶ dūmow Ἀμφιώνων — dwellers in Thebes. Aristophanes, according to his scholiast, is quoting Aisch. Nicho frag. 160 Nauck. Apparently in that play Zeus threatened to burn the palace and walls of Amphion, husband of Niobe (H. W. Stoll in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 314, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1946, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 509, 1251 n. o), whose house had notoriously come to a bad end (Paus. 2. 21. 10 ἁπλοὶ μὲν δὲ (sc. Homer) τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν Αμφιώνων καὶ βασιλέως ἄθροιστα oide). Here Pisthetairos threatens to turn the tables on Zeus by burning his 'palace and Amphionian walls.' The whole phrase μελαρθα...καὶ dūmow 'Αμφιώνων must be taken with the possessive αὐτῶς, sc. Διός.
Nephelokokkygia

55

3 Supra ii. 777.

4 On the porphyrophos or ‘purple gallinule’ (Porphyrio hyacinthinus or vulgar) see D'Arcy W. Thompson A Glossary of Greek Birds Oxford 1895 p. 150, A. Newton A Dictionary of Birds London 1896 p. 291, and the enthusiastic description in O. Keller Die antike Tierwelt Leipzig 1913 ii. 209: ‘Wenn die wundervoll mettalglänzenden blauen Hühner truppenweise durch die reifen goldglöbenden Ahrenfelder streifen, entsteht eine ganz einzige Farbenwirkung.’ Dionys. de aed. i. 25 (prose paraphrase in Didot’s Porta Bucolicci et Didacticci p. 111) ὅτι δὲ καὶ πορφυρός ἀπὸ τῆς χραίας καλόμελους ἀρτοὺς ἔφιώκει αὐτῷ τὸ βάμφος ἑστὶ, καὶ κατὰ κεφαλής ἔχει ὡσπέρ τεῦχο δίκω, ὅπως οἳ τοῖς ἄραι Περσικοὶ φοροῦσι: κ.τ.λ. Despite this warlike appearance, the bird is easily captured (id. ib. 3. 21 (p. 124 Didot))—a piquant contrast to the Porphyrophos of verse 1252, cp. Mart. ep. 13. 78. 1 nomen habet magni volucris tam parva gigantis?

5 The villagers of Athmonon (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀθμώνος) or Athmonia (Harpokr. s.v. Ἀθμώνος, Bekker anecid. i. 349, 30 s.v. Ἀθμώνος, Souid. s.v. Ἀθμώνος (sic)), an Attic deme, identified with the modern Marousi (from Artemis’ Ἀμφαρων: see O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1745, K. Wernicke ib. ii. 1386, 1402 with W. Judeich’s map ib. ii. 2304) on the way from Athens to Marathon, declared that Porphyrion, who was king in the days before Aktaios, had founded a sanctuary of (Aphrodite) ὸπωρφάλων in their midst (Paus. 1. 14. 7). From this local legend C. Wachsmuth Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum Leipzig 1874 i. 413 f. inferred that Porphyrion, the prehistoric introducer of an oriental cult, was ‘identisch mit Phoinix, und gleich diesen Repräsentant der Phöniker.’ This inference, even if supported by the plea that Porphyrophos means the ‘Periphrann’ (E. Curtius Pilopennios Gotha 1852 ii. 517), is very precarious and has been definitely rejected by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff Aus Kydathen Berlin 1880 p. 134 n. 57. There is more to be said for the view (J. Ilberg in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2779) that Porphyrion’s connexion with Athmonon points to his pedigree as the son (Nunn. Dion. 9. 317) or brother (schol. B.L. //. 2. 511, cp. schol. D. //. 2. 499, schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 1094) of Athamas. It is possible too that Porphyrion’s relation to Aphrodite hangs together with the belief that she was his opponent in the Gigantomachy (schol. Aristoph. av. 553 1252).

But the outstanding fact is that Porphyrion, like Periphas (supra ii. 1121 ff.), was a very ancient Attic king. If he was son or brother of Athamas, he too was one of those kings descended from Aiolos who played the rôle of Zeus (supra ii. 1088, 1122). And his name, ‘the Purple-clad,’ may well have been an epithet of Zeus himself (supra i. 56 ff.). Naevius frag. 20 Baehrens, to Vahlen ap. Priscian. 6. 6 (i. 100, 1 Hertz) calls him Purpureus (so the second hand in cod. B. pur cod. R. with pur added in margin by second hand. purporeus codd. B.H. purporeus codd. G.L.K.), and we have already met with a Jupiter Purpurio (supra i. 58, 781). On this showing, Zeus Porphyrion gave rise to Zeus versus Porphyrion just as Athena Ἐγκέλαδος (Hesych. s.v. Ἐγκέλας: ἦ Ἀθηναί) gave rise to Athena versus Enkelados (Frelle—Robert Gr. Myth. i. 69 n. 5 ‘Nach dem Giganten ist angeblich Athena Ἐγκέλας genannt’ inverts cause and effect).

If Porphyrion was thus ab origine a prehistoric king who claimed to be Zeus incarnate, we can understand better the curious tradition that in the Gigantomachy Zeus inspired versus gave rise to Athena versus Enkelados (schol. Aristoph. av. 553 1252).

Representations of the Gigantomachy from the close of the fifth century onwards
make Porphyrion the main antagonist of Zeus: (1) a kylix by the potter Erginos and the painter Aristophon, found at Vulci and now at Berlin (Furtwängler Vasensamml., Berlin ii. 709 ff. no. 2531, E. Gerhard Trinkschalen und Gefäße des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin und anderer Sammlungen Berlin 1848 i. 3 ff. pl. 2—3 (coloured), Overbeck Gr. Kunsthym. Zeus p. 333 f. no. 16 Atlas pl. 5, 3 a, 3 b, 3 c, F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser Gr. Vasenmalerei iii. 38—41 pl. 127 (= my pl. vii), Hoppin Red-fg. Vases i. 50 f. no. 1 fig., P. Ducati Storia della ceramica greca Firenze s.a. ii. 394 ff. fig. 287, Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. ii. 589, 600, J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmalerei des rothfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 465 no. 1), on which the combatants are grouped in symmetric pairs as on the parapet of Athena's peplos (F. G. Welcker in K. O. Müller Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst Breslau 1848 § 396, F. Hauser op. cit. iii. 40). (2) An amphora with twisted handles, found in Melos and now in the Louvre (no. S 1677, F. F. Ravaison in the Monuments grecs publiés par l'Association pour l'encouragement des Études grecques en France No. 4 1875 p. 1 ff. fig. 1 and pls 1, 2 = A. Conze Wien. Vorlegbl. viii pl. 7, Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei ii. 193—206 pls 96 (= my pl. vii), 97 (attributed to the painter of the Talos-vase [supra i. 721 pl. xii]), P. Ducati in the Jahrb. d. oest. Arch. Inst. 1907 x. 256, ii. 1908 xi. 135—147 figs. 35 a, 35 b, H. Bulle Der schoene Mensch im Altertumii Maechnen—Leipzig 1912 p. 649 ff. figs. 198, 199, P. Ducati Storia della ceramica greca Firenze s.a. ii. 430—433 figs. 301, 302 (first quarter of s. iv b.c.), J. D. Beazley Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 184 (later than 'the Meidias painter'), Hoppin Red-fg. Vases ii. 450 no. 3, Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. ii. 588 f., iii. 234 fig. 584). (3) Fragments of a krater ox amphora from Ruvo, now at Naples (Heydemann Vasensamml. Neapel p. 435 ff. no. 2883 (Overbeck Gr. Kunsthym. Zeus p. 371 denies that Heydemann op. cit. p. 365 no. 2664 belonged to the same vase), O. Jahn in the Ann. d. Inst. 1869 xi. 184 ff., Mon. d. Inst. ix pl. 6, Overbeck op. cit. p. 369 ff. no. 25 Atlas pl. 5, 8 and 8 a, P. Ducati in the Jahresh. d. oest. Arch. Inst. 1907 x. 255 figs. 83—85 (photographs), Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei ii. 195 ff. fig. 72 and figs. 73—75 (photographic), E. Buschor Greek Vase-painting trans. G. C. Richards London 1921 i. 150 pl. 90 figs. 149—151, Hoppin Red-fg. Vases ii. 449 f. no. 2, Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. ii. 588, 600, iii. 235 fig. 585), which appears to be more careful work by the same artist (Furtwängler—Reichhold op. cit. i. 196). Vases (2) and (3) presuppose a famous original, probably the Gigantomachy painted inside the shield of Athena Parthenos (cit. ib.). The semicircular band of báskhos, which on vase (3) denotes the arch of heaven, may well perpetuate the rim of Athena's shield (Sir C. Smith in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1896—1897 iii. 135 ff., Pfuhl op. cit. ii. 588). (4) A red-figured krater ox amphora from Ruvo, now at Petrograd (Stephani Vasensamml. St. Petersburg i. 263 ff. no. 523, G. Minervini in the Bull. Arch. Nap. 1844 ii. 105 ff. pls 5, 6 (= my pl. viii), 7, 7 = Reinach Rep. Vas. i. 467, 1 ff., Overbeck Gr. Kunsthym. Zeus p. 337 ff. no. 24 Atlas pl. 5, 4, H. Heydemann Zeus im Gigantenkampf (Winckelmanns Fest-Progr. Halle i) Halle a.S. 1876 p. 9, P. Ducati in the Jahresh. d. oest. Arch. Inst. 1908 xi. 141), which again shows the sky as an arch, yellow-painted and radiate, but represents Zeus in a four-horse chariot (cp. supra ii. 84 fig. 46) with Nike as charioteer and Porphyrion already blasted beneath him. (5) The great altar of Pergamon (supra i. 118 ff. pl. x figs. 87, 88) has as the culminating scene of its eastern side a magnificent composition, in which Zeus contends with Porphyrion and Athena with Alkyoneus (H. Winnefeld in Pergamon iii. 2 Atlas pl. 24). Zeus with wide stride brandishes a thunderbolt in his right hand, while a serpent-fringed aigis, scaly without and leathery within, is wrapped about his left. Porphyrion, a stalwart stiff-necked giant, as yet unvanquished, advances his left fist outlined beneath a lion's skin against the aigis. His eye, of some glittering substance, was separately inlaid. His legs are serpentiform— an innovation which dates from the beginning of s. iv b.c. (first on a gilded arýballos at Berlin [inv. no. 3372] published by H. Winnefeld in the Festschrift für Otto Benndorf Wien 1898 pp. 72—74 pl. 1, O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. Suppl. iii. 690 ff. no. 131, 733 f.)—and the left serpent winds up till its head rises above the giant's left
Kylix from Vulci, now at Berlin:

(A) Poseidon attacks Polybotes in the presence of Ge.


See page 56 n. 6 (I).

[From Furtwängler-Reichhold Griechische Vasenmalerei pl. 127 by permission of Messrs F. Bruckmann A.-G., Munich.]
Amphora from Melos, now at Paris:
the Gigantomachy—Zeus, descending from his chariot, attacks Porphyryion.

See page 56 n. 0 (2).

[From Furtwängler-Reichhold Griechische Vasenmalerei pl. 96 by permission of Messrs. Bruckmann A.G., Munich.]
A krater (amphora?) from Ruvo, now at Petrograd: the Gigantomachy—Porphyreon blasted by the thunderbolts of Zeus.

See page 56 n. 6 (a).
Reliefs from the eastern frieze of the great Altar at Pergamon, now in Berlin:

Zeus contends with Porphyriorion, Athina with Enkeladoes.

See page 56 n. 9 (6), cp. page 53.
*Hydria* from Vulci, now in the British Museum:
Athena v. Enkelados, Zeus v. Porphyron (?).
The herald sent to men now returns with a golden crown voted by the states to Pisthetairos; for every one has gone bird-mad and is eager to obtain wings. Accordingly, in comes a second group of visitors, bent on getting them,—a father-beater, Kinesias, an informer, and lastly Prometheus, who wants to know whether Zeus is clearing the clouds off, or collecting them.

He is desperately anxious to escape notice from above and produces an umbrella, under cover of which he explains that Zeus is ruined by the Birds' blockade, that the Triballian gods, yet higher up, are threatening to come down upon him, and that envoys are now on their way to treat for peace. But the Birds must make no peace unless Zeus restores the sceptre to them and hands over Basileia, the 'Queen,' a beautiful girl who keeps his thunderbolts and other belongings, to be the bride of Pisthetairos.


A comparison of these representations will show that Porphyry is normally (so in (1), (2), (3), (5)) conceived as a sturdy antagonist, full of fight and seen from the back as he stands up to Zeus (Hor. od. 3. 4. 54 minacit Porphyrion statu), but that on occasion (so in (4)) he borrows the type of a vanquished giant (cp. the youthful figure in the centre of (3)). His leopard-skin or lion-skin is of course parodied in Aristoph. av. 1249 f. πορφύρινας...παρθαλαι ηγημένεος.

The giant defeated by Zeus on a red-figured hydria from Vulci, now in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 149 f. no. E 165, Lenormant—de Witte Ein mon. chr. I. 8 f. pl. 3, O. Jahn in the Ann. d. Inst. 1869 xli. 183, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 363 f. no. 20, J. D. Beazley in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1910 xx. 149 no. 9 (assigned to the Tyszkievicz painter), id. Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 55, Hoppin Red-fig. Vases ii. 460 no. 8, J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rostfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 116 no. 29. My pl. x is from a photograph taken by the Official Photographer), appears to be wearing a wolf-skin (J. Overbeck loc. cit. says 'das Fell eines wilden Thieres, eines Wolfs oder Luchses(?') and, as he collapses, is heaving a rock on which is a vine-leaf (Lenormant—de Witte loc. cit. suppose 'une feuille de platane'). This would constitute an earlier type of Porphyry, if we could but be sure that it is he.

1 Supra p. 35.
2 Triballos (on whom see J. Schmidt in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 1102 f.) could claim some connexion with the Birds, for a Thracian myth told how his granddaughter Polyphonte had been transformed into an owl (στριγης), her two sons by the bear—Agrios and Oreios—into a vulture (γυφη) and a sort of swallow (?) (λαγυσ) respectively, and their maid into a woodpecker (πυγμη) (Ant. Lib. 21 after Boios ὁμοιηγωνιας β). Not improbably Aristophanes regarded Τριφάλλος as the north-Greek form of Τριφάλλας, cp. Σωίδ. s.v. Τριφάλλης, Τριφάλλης θρομα κεφαν παρα 'Αριστοφάνεις with Gell. 2. 19. 6 Naevius in Triphallo (Com. Rom. frag. p. 27 Ribbeck), Non. Marc. p. 191, 27 f. Lindsay Varro
and will listen to no proposals, unless Zeus consents to restore the sceptre to the Birds. In that case, he invites all the envoys to his feast. Herakles, greedy as usual, jumps at the offer and interprets in his own sense the Triballian's barbarous growl. Poseidon gives in, but when Pisthetairos claims Basileia too, is for walking off and wants Herakles to go with him as the prospective heir of Zeus. Pisthetairos, however, proves by Attic law that Herakles as a bastard has no right of inheritance and undertakes to feed him all his days on 'birds' milk.' Upon this, Herakles agrees to hand over Basileia and once more puts his own construction on the doubtful utterance of the Triballian. Poseidon is silenced, and Herakles invites Pisthetairos to ascend to heaven with them and claim Basileia as his own. The feast in preparation will serve as his wedding banquet.

The play ends with the appearance of the new bridal pair in a blaze of glory. The Birds, parting on either hand, greet them with a chorus of exuberant delight:

Chor. Back with you! out with you! off with you! up with you!
Flying around
Welcome the Blessed with blessedness crowned.
O! O! for the youth and the beauty, O!
Well hast thou wed for the town of the Birds.
Great are the blessings, and wondrous, I ween,
Which through his favour our nation possesses.
Welcome them back, both himself and his Queen,
Welcome with nuptial and bridal addresses.

Mid just such a song hymenaeain
Aforetime the Destinies led
The King of the thrones empyrēan,
The Ruler of Gods, to the bed
Of Hera his beautiful bride.
Hymen, O Hymenaeus!
And Love, with his pinions of gold,
Came driving, all blooming and spruce,
As groomsmen and squires to behold
The wedding of Hera and Zeus,
Of Zeus and his beautiful bride.
Hymen, O Hymenaeus!
Hymen, O Hymenaeus!
Pisth. I delight in your hymns, I delight in your songs;  
Your words I admire.

Chor. Now sing of the trophies he brings us from Heaven,  
The earth-crashing thunders, deadly and dire,  
And the lightning's angry flashes of fire,  
And the dread white bolt of the levin.  
Blaze of the lightning, so terribly beautiful,  
Golden and grand!  
Fire-flashing javelin, glittering ever in  
Zeus's right hand!  
Earth-crashing thunder, the hoarsely resounding, the  
Bringer of showers!  
He is your Master, 'tis he that is shaking the  
Earth with your powers!

All that was Zeus's of old  
Now is our hero's alone;  
His the Queen, fair to behold,  
Partner of Zeus on his throne,  
Now and for ever his own.  
Hymen, O Hymenaeus!

Pisth. Now follow on, dear feathered tribes,  
To see us wed, to see us wed;  
Mount up to Zeus's golden floor,  
And nuptial bed, and nuptial bed.  
And O, my darling, reach thine hand,  
And take my wing and dance with me,  
And I will lightly bear thee up,  
And carry thee, and carry thee.

Chor. Raise the joyous Paean-cry,  
Raise the song of Victory.  
Io Paean, alalalae,  
Mightiest of the Powers, to thee!

Throughout this splendid ἔξοδος Pisthetairos is clearly conceived  
as the new Zeus. He is no longer referred to by his old name, but  
always by some phrase descriptive of the Olympian king. He comes  
Wielding the winged thunderbolt of Zeus.  
The chorus at his approach sing of 'the fiery lightnings of Zeus,' 'the  
immortal spear of Zeus,' etc., and salute their leader himself as  
line or two to avoid his rendering 'Miss Sovereignty,' which, I fear, implies a confusion  
of βασίλεια, 'queen,' with βασίλεια, 'kingdom.' That the former, not the latter, word  
was intended by the poet is clear from the metre of verses 1537, 1753. The same slip is  
made by G. Caramia in his article on βασίλεια in the Birds of Aristophanes (Rivista indo-  
greco-italica di filologia—lingua—antichitá 1925 ix. 3—4. 51 ff. cited by H. J. Rose in The  
1 Aristoph. av. 1714 πάλαιν καρανθὶν, πετασφόρον Δίος βέλος. Στρατά. 777 ff.  
2 Id. ib. 1746 τὰς τε πυρόδεις ἔδω αἵτεροντας.  
3 Id. ib. 1749 Δίος αἰμβροτον ἐγγέντο (Στρατ. ii. 704 n. 5).
Nephelokokkygia

‘having won all that belonged to Zeus.’ The scholiast is puzzled, and comments on the verse—

He is your Master, ’tis he that is shaking the Earth with your powers!—

‘He means Zeus of course, or Pisthetairos now that he has got Basileia?’ But the meaning of the chorus is quite unmistakable. When Pisthetairos, bride in hand, is escorted ‘to Zeus’ floor and marriage-bed, they acclaim him with all the emphasis of a farewell line as ‘highest of the gods.’

Pisthetairos is Zeus. And Basileia is—who? Scholars ancient and modern have given a variety of answers to the question. An

1 Id. ib. 1752 Δία δὲ πάντα κρατήσας | κ.τ.λ.
2 Schol. Aristoph. av. 1751 ὁ Ζεὺς διδωτικὴ ἢ ὁ Πισθεταῖρος λαβὼν τὴν Βασιλείαν (sic).
3 Aristoph. av. 1757 ἡ ἐπὶ πέδων Διὸς | καὶ λέχος γαμήλιον.
4 Id. ib. 1765 δικαίως ἐνέπηρε.
5 (1) Schol. Aristoph. av. 1536 σωματοσώμει τὴν Βασιλείαν αὐτὸ τὸ πράγμα ὀς γυναῖκα in defiance of metre (supra p. 59 n. 2) made her a personification of Royalty.
(2) Euphronios the Alexandrine grammarian of s. iii. n.C. (L. Cohn in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 1220 f., W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur Munich 1920 ii. 1. 150 ap. schol. Aristoph. av. 1536 regarded her as a daughter of Zeus—probably an inference from Aristoph. av. 1537 ff.
(3) Others held that she dispensed immortality, as Athena in Bakchyl, frag. 45 Jebb was about to dispense it to Tydeus; and some actually called her Anthasia (schol. Aristoph. av. 1536). This was perhaps one of the many (Cornutt. theol. 20 p. 36, 1 ff. Lang) etymologies suggested for Athena (so even in Prellwitz Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr. 3 p. 11).
(4) F. Wieseler Adversaria in Aeschylus Prometheum Vinctum et Aristophanis AvesGottingae 1643 p. 124 ff. contends that she was Athena, cp. Tzetze in Lyk. Al. 111 Αθηνὴ τινι βασιλέα τῇ καὶ Ἡλενίκη λεγομένη, θυγατρὶ δὲ Βορείου (supra ii. 833 n. 7).
(5) Others cite Dionysios Skytobrachion (E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 673) ap. Diod. 3. 57, who in his romantic vein told how Basileia, a daughter of Ouranos by Titaia (Ge) and a sister of Rhea (Pandora), brought up her brothers the Titans and hence was known as the Megale Meter, inherited her father’s kingdom, and ultimately became by her brother Hyperion the mother of Helios and Selene.
(6) Others again equate the Aristophanic Basileia with the goddess worshipped at Athens under the name Basilea or Basilea (O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 41 ff., Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rei. pp. 108 i. 5, 1521 n. 1), whom some take to be a ‘Queen’ of Heaven (H. Usener Götternamen Bonn 1896 p. 227 ff.), some a ‘Queen’ of the Underworld (G. Loeschcke Vermutungen zur griechischen Kunstgeschichte und zur Topographie Athens Dorpati Livonorum 1884 pp. 14—24).
(7) C. Pascal Dionysio Catania 1911 pp. 99—110 argues that the Basileia of the play is ‘Queen’ of the Underworld and at the same time goddess of the mysteries and of fertility, in fact a variant of Kore. Marriage with her means death (supra ii. 1163 ff). Pisthetairos the pretender, after a career of hitherto unbroken success, is thus at the last politely handed over to the other world (E. Wüst in the Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft 1916—1918 clxxiv. 135).
(8) J. T. Sheppard ʻɪs ἡ Βασιλεία;ʼ in the Fasciculus Ioanni Willis Clark dicatus Cantabrigiae 1909 pp. 529—540, after rightly insisting that the solemnity of the final scene in the Birds implies a clear reference to the sacred marriage of Zeus and Hera,
Athenian audience in the days of Aristophanes could hardly have hesitated. The partner of Zeus must needs be Hera. And Hera in that very capacity was often called Basileia. Besides, on the present occasion there was a special reason for picking out just this title and no other as appropriate to the goddess. For it would seem that the political circumstances in which the play was first planned prompted the author to the better part of its nomenclature—Euelpides, Pisthetairos, Nephelokokkygia, and finally Basileia.

Aristophanes brought out his Birds at the City Dionysia of the year 414 B.C. But B. B. Rogers has shown that in all probability the play had been ‘long in incubation,’ indeed that it had been taken turns aside to the sacred marriage of Dionysos and the Basileia (supra i. 672 n. o, 686, 709 f. pl. xi, 3), and concludes that Basileia is an imaginary goddess, whose name suggests the consort of the god of comedy. ‘Peithetairos, on this hypothesis, recalls to the audience Zeus, with a touch of Dionysos. Basileia recalls the Basilissa, not without a touch of Hera’ (J. T. Sheppard op. cit. p. 540). The lepota and the yepapi attendant on the Basileia (Dem. c. Naera. 78) may be found in the messenger of Aristoph. av. 1706 ff. and in the conjectural bridesmaids of Basileia. Mr Sheppard’s article marks a real advance in the interpretation of this difficult scene; but—to quote his own words—that Basileia has been caught in her true shape at last would be a bold assertion.

Zeus Basileia is associated with Hera Basileia in a federal oath of the Phocians and Boeotians (H. G. Lolling in the Ath. Mitth. 1878 iii. 19 ff. line 14 f. cited supra ii. 731 n. o (i)). Zeus Basileia at Lebadeia (supra ii. 899 n. 2, 1073 f., 1076) appears to have had as his consort Hera Basileia (W. Dittenberger in Inscr. Gr. sept. i no. 3097, 1 f. ‘Hρα Βασιλεία καί τῇ πόλει Λεβαθέων Μενανθος Χρησίμου | ιεροταξίαν περατηρήδα | ἐκ τῶν Ἵλων ἄνθηκεν | ιερατόασι ἔτη τῆς γυναῖκος | αὐτοῦ Παρθέας τῆς ‘Οσσαμιβράου—a series of well-known names): so Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 78 n. 17, supra ii. 900 n. o. There was a cult of Hera Basileia at Lindos (P. Foucart in the Rev. Arch. 1867 ii. 30 ff. no. 71, 13 ff.= F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Inscr. Gr. ins. i no. 786, 13 ff. Φαι(δος) Φαι(νυς) | Δέσποτος ἱερὸς ὑπὸ Κορεία (cp. Orelli—Henzen Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 5793) Ἐρασύλως Κλά(σιος) ἀπὸ γόνυς τετειλμένος ὡς τὸ δικαίον ὑπὸ τῶν | ἐν θεὸς Ἀιττοκράτωρ καὶ τῶν τῆς | ἵππας βουλῆς συγκλήτων δοριάτων (sc. sensati consiliati), | ὑποταξιῶν [καὶ] συνικλήτων συγγενεσί[ς] | Ἐρα Βασιλεί[α] τῇ ταφῇ βομβ[α] [τα] (στραβάδας ἔδοξον). On such στράβιδαις or στραβίδαι see A. Wilhelm in the Ath. Mitth. 1892 xvii. 190 ff. and Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr.3 no. 1109, 52 f. n. 36), and perhaps at Sikinos (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Inscr. Gr. ins. v. i no. 30, 2 ff. in lettering not older than s. iii a.D. εἴδος μὲν παράκλησις εἰς τὸ ‘Ἡραί | βασιλείαν); and there was another of Hera Basileia in Pisidia (A. H. Smith in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1887 viii. 256 f. no. 41, 1 f. from Pogla (Foula) ἡ βασκλη καὶ δ θῆκος ἔτειοις Ἀρκιά[ί] | Ἀφρ[ί]τον, [τή] καὶ [Τή]ρ[ί]αν, | Μ[φ[φ]]τος, Ἀρτεμίδος γυναῖκα | σοφορα, γένοι | τοῦ πρωτεύουσος, | ἵππας Βασιλείδος, δημουργήσασαν, | ἀρχαιαρασμήνει, | καὶ πάντα τὰ τόπους | γεωμετρία | ποιήσασαι, κ.τ.λ., cp. Corp. inscr. Gr. iii no. 4367 f.).

Literary allusions include the following: h. Her. 1 ff. Ἱρη... | ἀνασκευασμένης | ἄφιεν ἐφένειν Ἀφροδιττήν Ἀλκάδος τε, Ap. Rhod. 4. 382 ὡς τὸ γε παμβασιλεία Δίῳ τετείλας Αἰώνιος, Oorph. Ἀ. Ἡρ. 16. 2 Ἰρη (so J. G. J. Hermann for Ἱρά) παμβασιλεία, Δίῳ σύλλεκτα μικρὰ, 9 μικρὰ θέα, πολυάρισται, παμβασιλεία, Prokl. in Plat. Tim. iii. 191, 12 ff. Diehl διὰ δὴ τοῦτο τῷ Δίῃ συνέχεται ἡ βασιλεία Ὁρα. See further Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1132 n. 2.

in hand soon after the production of the Peace in 421\(^1\). Now the
events of the period immediately succeeding the peace of Nikias
had turned all eyes towards Argos, which then became the centre

\(^1\) B. B. Rogers *The Birds of Aristophanes* London 1906 p. v f.: ‘It is by far the
longest of the extant comedies; and dealing as it does with a subject outside the ordinary
range of the poet’s thoughts and language...it is obviously a comedy which must have been
long in incubation, and could not (as was the case with the Peace) have been hastily put
together to meet a particular emergency. Indeed there are not wanting indications from
which we may surmise that it was taken in hand, if not immediately after the production
of the Peace, at all events whilst the mind of Aristophanes was still filled with the topics
and ideas which possessed it while he was engaged in the composition of the earlier play.
In the vagrant Oracle-monger (χρησμολόγος) of the Birds, with his prophecies of Bakis,
his lust for a share of the σάλπάγγα, and finally his ignominious expulsion, we cannot fail to
recognize the exact counterpart of Hierocles, the χρησμολόγος of the Peace. The
description which Cinesias gives of the sources from whence the dithyrambic poets derived
their inspiration is merely an amplification of a sarcasm placed previously in the mouth of
Trygaeus; whilst the whole scheme of the proposed sacrifice on the stage, its preparation,
interruption, and final abandonment, with the allusion to the predatory habits of the Kite,
and to the unwelcome pipings of Chaeris, is substantially identical in the two plays.

So again the two plays have an idyllic character which belongs to no other of the poet’s
comedies: the innocent charms of a country life are depicted as they are depicted nowhere
else; in each of them, and in them only, we hear the “sweet song” of the τετειχις, and in
each is it designated by its Doric name ὀ δῆλαθα, the chirruper. Here too, and no-
where else in Aristophanes, the coaxing address ὀ δεκλαρχω is employed; and although
the Aeschylean phrase ἐτοίθα ἐπαληττρων is found also in the Frogs, yet it there occurs
in its natural place as part of a criticism on the style and the language of Aeschylus, while
in each of these two plays it is introduced, apropos of nothing, in the Parabasis, as the
sarcastic description of a showy military officer. And possibly the germ of the present
drama may be discovered in the determination of Trygaeus μετ’ θηρίων ἐς ἱράκες
μαθῆτα [cp. av. 155, 753]. Minor coincidences, such as ποδαπὸς τὸ γένος, are very
numerous, but are hardly worthy of mention.

So again, although the Athenian dependencies on the coasts of Macedonia and Thrace
were in a chronic state of disturbance, and were giving some trouble at this very time,
yet the advice to the reckless young Athenian to “fly off to Thrace-ward regions and
fight there” would seem more naturally adapted to a time when those regions were the
chief seat of Athenian warfare, than to a time when the entire attention of the Athenian
people was directed to the military operations in Sicily. And the very remarkable verbal
allusions to the History of Herodotus would seem more suitable to a period when that
History was still fresh in the hands and thoughts of the poet and his audience.

But whatever weight may be due to these considerations, the comedy would of course
not receive its final touches until it was about to be sent in to the Archon, in the winter
of 415—414 B.C.

I have quoted at length the wise words of Mr Rogers because they form the best
reply to an objection raised by E. Wüst in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der
klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1923 cxxv. 151, who urges against me the contention of
A. Ruppel *Konzeption und Ausarbeitung der Aristophanischen Komödien* Darmstadt 1912
‘dass der Dichter immer nur 3—4 Monate mit der Ausarbeitung eines Stückes beschäftigt
war’ (E. Wüst loc. cit. 1916—1918 cxxiv. 133). But such a rule was obviously open to
exceptions. U. von Willamowitz-Moellendorff ‘Über die Wespen des Aristophanes’ in
Labes trial of 894 ff. travestied the Kleon ν. Laches trial of the year 425 B.C., infers
that the play was planned three years before its performance in 422 (E. Wüst loc. cit.
1916—1918 cxxiv. 132, 155).
Nephelokokkygia of more than one new political combination. The Argives in a sense held the balance between Athens and Sparta, a fact that the playwright fully appreciated. And at Argos there had been a deal of wobbling. The successive alliances of the Argives with the Athenians (420), with the Spartans (418), and with the Athenians again (417) must have been received at Athens with alternate outbursts of enthusiasm and disgust. What the Athenian ‘optimist,’ the Eupides of the moment, really wanted was a staunch and loyal ally, a ‘trusty comrade,’ a Pisthetairos.

More than that. If, while the play was being drafted, popular attention was thus directed to Argos, it may fairly be surmised that Aristophanes’ castle-in-the-air Nephelokokkygia contained—inter alia, no doubt—an allusion to the Argive Mount Kokkygion with its myth of Zeus the cuckoo. Aristotle tells the story.

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2 Aristoph. pax 475 ff.
3 That this is the true form of the name appears from Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 3 no. 173 on an architrave of Pentelic marble in the church of St Theodores near the village of Marousi ΠΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ: ΠΙΣΟΕΤΑΙΡΟ: ΑΘΟΜΟΝΕΥΣ (K. Meisterhans Grammatik der attischen Inschriften Berlin 1900 p. 54). E. Wüst loc. cit. 1923 cxcv. 151 deems this evidence ‘nicht zwingend.’ He is hard to please.
4 A. Todesco ‘ΚΟΚΚΥΓΙΑ’ in Philologus 1914—1916 lxxiii. 563—567 (an article which Prof. A. D. Nock kindly brought to my notice) thinks that Νεφελοκοκκυγία was a name invented by Aristophanes (Loukian. ver. hist. 19), in accordance with Greek usage, to denote a chaos of clouds and a babble of political intriguers (Ach. 598). ‘Ganz vernünftig würde auch diese neue Erklärung sein: Νεφελοκοκκυγία sei die Idealstadt der schlauen Feiglinge, welche auf Kosten des Nachsten leben wollen. Wenn man besonders den Begriff der Schlaueheit betont, so sind diese κόκκυγες die Demagogen, und wir sehen im Hintergrund die anderen Leute, die Athener, welche κεφυρίστες alle Pralhereien ernst nehmen.’
5 A similar allusion to Argive topography occurs in Aristoph. av. 399 ἀποθεώνεται ἐν Ὄρεασι, where again the name is selected partly because it suggests birds (ὄρεα) and partly because the town was uppermost in the thoughts of the people owing to its capture by Athenians and Argives in 416 B.C. Miss R. E. White (Mrs N. Wedd) in the Class. Rev. 1904 xviii. 100 f. finds the same point in av. 15 f. ἐν τῷ δόλῳ ἐρασε κυρίαν φάνει τὸν Τυρήν τὸν ἐμπόρον, ἐν δρας Στράτης ἐκ τῶν ὄρεων and aptly defends the variation in the use of the article by citing Thouk. 6. 7 τῶν ὀρέων Ὁρέασι...οἱ ἐκ τῶν ὄρεων.
6 Does the oracle in av. 967 f. ἄλλαν οἶκονυσθο τὸν στοιχεὰ το δια μεταξά Κόρηνον καὶ Σεικών,—κ.τ.λ. refer to the alliance of Argos, whose symbol was the wolf, with Corinth (Κόρηνον—κορών?)?
7 F. Creuzer Symbolik und Mythologie Leipzig and Darmstadt 1841 iii. 248 n. 2 saw that Nephelokokkygia stood in some relation to Mt Kokkygion or Thornax in Argolis (supra i. 135, ii. 893 n. 2), but thought that the topic might have been suggested to Aristophanes by the existence of another Mt Thornax near Sparta (supra ii. 893 n. 2).
8 Nilsson Min.-Myc. Rel. p. 481 contributes an acute surmise: *Zeus often appears as a lover in the guise of a bird. As a swan he begot the Dioscuri at Sparta, at Argos it was said that in the shape of a cuckoo he deceived Hera and won her love on the Mountain of*
64 Nephelokokkygia

the Cuckoo. I venture to guess that these myths, which appear in old Mycenaean centres, are remains of the Minoan belief that the gods appeared in the shape of birds.1

It must not, however, be forgotten that in the Old Slavonic area there was, or is said to have been, a fairly close parallel to the cuckoo-Zeus of Mt Kokkygion. J. Grimm 

Teutonic Mythology trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 679 cites from the Polish chronicle of Prokosz the following remarkable account of a Slavic god Zywie: Chronicon Slavo-Sarmaticum...Procosii ed. H. Kownacki Varsaviae 1827 p. 113 ‘divinitati Zywie fanum exstructum erat in monte ab ejusdem nomine Zywiec dicto, ubi primis diebus mensis Maji innumerus populus pie precebatur ab ea, quae vitae auctor habebatur, longam et prosperam valetudinem. Praecipue tamen eis libatur abi iis qui primum cantum cuculi audissent, omnibus superstitione tot annos se victuros quotem repetisset. Opinabantur enim supremae hunc universi moderatorem transfigurari in cuculum ut in ipsius annuntiaret vitae tempora: unde crimini ducebatur, capitaleque poena a magistratibus afficiebatur, qui cuculum occidisset.’ This chronicle, which professed to be the work of Procosii sec. X scriptoris,1 was denounced by Dobrowski in the Wiener Jahrbücher d. Liter. xxii. 77-80 as a pure fabrication and is described by A. Potthast Bibliotheca historica medii aevi2 Berlin 1896 ii. 940 as ‘Ein unsauberer Machwerk des Prybyslaw Dyamentowski (saec. xvi).’ But J. Grimm op. cit. ii. 679 n. 1 protested that Dobrowski had gone too far: the chronicle, though not so old as s. x, ‘is at any rate founded on old traditions.’ Partial confirmation of the alleged statements of Prokosz may be found in those of J. Dlugosz, a canon of Cracow who died in 1480 A.D. and has left partial confirmation of the alleged statements of Prokosz may be found in those of J. Dlugosz, a canon of Cracow who died in 1480 A.D. and has left what purports to be an account of the ancient Polish pantheon. According to the careful critique of A. Brückner in the Archiv für slawische Philologie 1892 xiv. 170 ff., Dlugosz did not invent the names of his divinities, but took them from old ritual folk-songs still current in the fifteenth century, dignifying inferior powers with the rank of gods and comparing them with the gods of Greece and Rome. Thus Jezsa = Iupiter, Lyada = Mars, Dzydzilelya = Venus, Nya = Pluto, Pogoda = Temperies, Zywiec = Deus vitae, Dzewana = Diana, Maruyana = Ceres (L. Niederle Manuel de l'antiquité slave Paris 1926 ii. 152). Other Polish chroniclers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries complete the list by adding from a similar source the names Lej and Polel, which M. de Miechow Chronica Polonorum a Lecho usque ad annum MDvi Cracoviae 1521 equated with Castor and Pollux (L. Niederle op. cit. ii. 153 n. 1). The relevant passages in Dlugosz are as follows: Io. Dlugossus historia Polonica Lipsiae 1711 i (i. 34 A) ‘SABRA, mons altissimus supra fluvium Solia, herbas multiferas germinans, & oppido Zywiec imminens’ (sc. Zywiec on the Sola, some 40 miles south-west of Cracow), ib. i (i. 37 B) ‘Item Deus vitae, quem vocabant Zywiec.’ The fuller, but less authoritative, account of Prokosz is quoted, with various comments, by W. Mannhardt in the Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde 1855 iii. 230, J. Hardy in The Folk-Lore Record 1859 ii. 85, C. Swainson The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds London 1886 p. 121, O. Keller Die gantike Tiernoom Leipzig 1913 ii. 66. C. de Kay Bird Gods New York 1898 p. 116 speaks of ‘a goddess Zywie’ etc.: he has misconstrued the Latin of Prokosz. Other considerations, which deserve to be weighed before the testimony of the chroniclers is rejected, are these. The name Zywie, which is akin to živ, vevere (Boisacq Diet. étym. de la Langue Gr. p. 110, Walde Lat. étym. Wörterb.3 p. 846 f., F. Muller Jen Altitalisches Wörterbuch Göttingen 1926 p. 211 f.), recalls the Thracian or Thraco-Phrygian Eripepios, whose name was interpreted as meaning živodorž (supra ii. 1024 f.). Again, the notion that the cuckoo is an ominous bird, which declares to men how many years they have to live etc., is widespread in Europe (see W. Mannhardt loc. cit. p. 231 f., J. Grimm op. cit. ii. 676 ff., J. Hardy loc. cit. p. 86 ff., C. Swainson op. cit. p. 115 ff., L. Hopf Thierorakel und Orakelthiere in alter und neuer Zeit Stuttgart 1888 p. 154 f., O. Keller op. cit. ii. 66). Typical are the folk-lines of Lower Saxon Kukuk vom hüben, wo lange salir ik leven? (J. F. Schuetze Holsteinisches Idiotikon, ein Beitrag zur Völksansgeschichte Hamburg 1801 ii. 363), or those of Guernsey Coucou, cou-cou, dis mi | Comblain d'ans je vierai (Sir E. MacCulloch Guernsey Folk Lore ed. Miss E. F. Carey London 1903 p. 505, P. Sébillot Le Folk-lore de France Paris 1906 iii. 200), or those of
Zeus, seeing Hera all by herself, was minded to consort with her. To secure her by guile, he transformed himself into a cuckoo and perched on a mountain, which had previously been called *Thorónax*, the 'Throne,' but was thenceforward known as *Kókkýx*, the 'Cuckoo.' He then caused a terrible storm to break over the district. Hera, faring alone, came to the mountain and sat on the spot where there is now a sanctuary of Hera *Teleta*. The cuckoo flew down and settled on her knees, cowering and shivering at the storm. Hera out of pity covered it with her mantle. Thereupon Zeus changed his shape and accomplished his desire, promising to make the goddess his wedded wife. Pausanias\(^1\) adds that Mount Kokkygion and Mount Pron over against it were topped by sanctuaries of Zeus and Hera respectively. Further\(^2\), he brings the myth into connexion with the famous cult of Hera at Argos. The temple-statue was a chryselephantine masterpiece by Polykleitos. The goddess sat enthroned. On her head was a band decorated with figures of the Charites and the Horai. In one hand she held a pomegranate, about which a tale not rashly to be repeated was told; in the other she had a sceptre surmounted by a cuckoo, the subject of the foregoing myth. Strabo\(^3\) says of this statue that, though in point of costliness and size it fell short of the colossal works of Pheidias, yet for sheer beauty it surpassed all others. Maximus Tyrius\(^4\) in a few well-chosen epithets records the

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\(^1\) Paus. 2. 36. 2 quoted supra ii. 893 n. 2.

\(^2\) Paus. 2. 17. 4 ἄνθισεν ἐν ὅψιν Ηρας ἔτει θρόνων καθάτις μεγάθες μέγα, χρυσοῦ μὲν καὶ ἀλέφατος, Πολυκλήτου δὲ ἥργων—εξατά τι δὲ ἀλέφατος Χάρτας έχων καὶ Ἡράς ἔπειραις ἱδέας, καὶ τῶν χειρῶν τῇ μὲν καρπῶν φέρει σημασία, τῇ δὲ σκέπτρων. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ ῥόον—ἀποφθέγματος γὰρ ἐστιν στράτευσεν ἄργος—ἀφελεῖσθαι μοι· κόκκινα δὲ ἐν τῇ σκέπτρῳ καθαράς φασι λήγοντες τῶν Δίας, ἄν θραυσμένον τὴν Ηρας, ἐν τούτων τῷ δριθα ἀλλαγήναι, τῇ δὲ υἱόν ταῦτα ἄραβων. Supra ii. 893 n. 2.

\(^3\) Strab. 372.

\(^4\) Max. Tyr. 14. 6 τῷ Ἡρας, οἶνον Πολυκλήτου Ἀργείους ἔθειε, λευκόλευνον, ἑλεφατο-πήχους, εἰδόπρο, ἐσείμων, βασιλικήν, ξυρεμένην εὶς χρυσὸν θρόνου.
effect produced by the ivory arms, the exquisite face, the gorgeous drapery, the queenly bearing, and the golden throne. Greek and Roman writers vied with each other in praising the sculptor’s creation. To cite but a single epigram, Martial\(^1\) wrote:

> Thy toil and triumph, Polykleitos, stands—
> Hera, beyond the reach of Phideas’ hands.
> Had Paris this sweet face on Ida seen,
> The judge convinced, the rivals scorned had been.
> Loved he not his own Hera’s form divine,
> Zeus might have loved the Hera that is thine.

I need not labour the point. The myth was well known, and the statue immensely famous. What concerns us at the moment is the fact that the Argive Hera herself was worshipped expressly as Hera Basileia\(^2\). Aristophanes, true to a long-established tendency of the mythopoetic mind, has split off the cult-title Basileia and transformed it into a new and brilliant personality—the quasi-Hera of Athens\(^3\). This bold stroke of genius\(^4\) was necessitated and justified by the

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\(^1\) Mart. ep. 10. 89.


3 There appears to have been no temple of Hera at Athens till the time of Hadrian (Paus. 1. 18. 9), unless we reckon the ruined temple on the way from Phaleron to Athens, said to have been fired by Mardonios (Paus. 1. 1. 5, 10. 35. 2).

4 Possibly not so original as we might suppose. I incline to think that Kratinos had hit upon a very similar idea. He is known to have dubbed Perikles Ἑλέας (supra i. 289, iii. 3f. cp. ii. 816 n. 1) and Aspasia Ἡρα, if not also Τέραντος οἱ Τυραννοδαίμων (Meineke Frag. com. Gr. ii. 61 ff., 147 ff., supra iii. 32 n. 5). When, therefore, we read in schol. Aristoph. *av. 1556 ἔτι δὲ καὶ ταπέ Κρατίος Ἡ διότας Ἑλέων | κ.τ.λ., it is tempting to conclude that Kratinos spoke of Perikles and Aspasia as the Zeus and the Hera Basileia of Athens.
A lkythos from Ruvo, now in the British Museum: the Judgment of Paris with the Argive Hera as prize-winner.

See page 651.
whole plot of the bird-comedy. The bird-Zeus was the mate of Hera
Basileia: Pisthetairos must follow suit. The sceptre, of which we
hear so much in the course of the play¹, was perhaps directly sug-
gested by the cuckoo-sceptre of the Argive Hera².

I end by anticipating an objection. Aristophanes (it may be
urged), lover of old-fashioned Athens as he was, would not have
appealed to an Athenian public by thus dwelling on a virtually
foreign cult. Still less (I shall be told) could he have assumed in
his work-a-day audience familiarity with or appreciation of a cult-
statue carved by an alien sculptor. The objection may be met, or at least minimised, by the consideration
of a certain red-figured lekythos from Ruvo, now in the British
Museum³, which—if I am not in error—makes it probable that this
very statue was known and admired by ordinary folk at Athens in
the days of Aristophanes. The vase-painting (pl. xi)⁴, which is
contemporary or nearly contemporary with our play, represents
a frequent subject—the judgment of Paris. To our surprise, however,
the central goddess is not Aphrodite but Hera, who sits on a throne
raised by a lotos-patterned base. As befits a ‘Queen,’ she wears
a high decorated stephdne and holds in her left hand a long sceptre
tipped by a cuckoo with spread wings. Her feet rest on a footstool,
and beside the further arm of her throne is an open-mouthed panther
sitting on its hind legs⁵. Advancing towards her comes Nike with

G. Loeschcke Vermutungen zur griechischen Kunstgeschichte und zur Topographic Athens Dorpati Livonorum 1884 pp. 14—24, followed by O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 44 f., would identify the Basileia of Kratinos and Aristophanes with the Meter of the Athenian market-place, protectress of the Bouleuterion.

¹ Aristoph. av. 480, 635 f., 1534 f., 1600 f., 1626 f., 1631.
² Cp. Aristoph. av. 508 ff. ἡρχον δὲ σφόδρα τῷ ἄρχῳ διότ', εἰ τις καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἄγαμόμενος ἢ Μενέλαος, ἢ τις τῶν σκηνών καθήγη δριμὺς μετέχον δὲ τῇ διωροδοκοῇ ἤθελον. ib. 504 Λαύρας δ' αὐτ καὶ Φοινίκης πάνηγυρίς κόσμος βασιλέως ἦν.
⁴ The vase, when I first saw it, had been very skilfully repainted so as to appear quite complete. My friend Mr H. B. Walters kindly had it cleaned for me with ether (Sept. 29, 1910), and thus fixed the exact limits of the restoration. I was therefore enabled to publish in the Ridgeway volume (supra p. 44 n. 1) for the first time an accurate drawing of the design by that excellent draughtsman, the late Mr F. Anderson. The present plate is reproduced from his coloured drawing to a larger scale.
⁵ The panther appears to be a variant of the lion, which on other vases representing the judgment of Paris precedes (Welcker Alt. Denkm. v. 388 no. 22) or is carried by Hera (id. ib. v. 398 f. no. 52 pl. 9, 9, Furtwängler Vasensamml. Berlin ii. 716 ff. no. 1556,
a palm-branch. In front of her sits Paris; behind stands Hermes; above are Athena and Aphrodite—all with their usual attributes. It seems clear that the vase-painter, wishing to give an individual turn to a common type, has made Paris award the prize of beauty, not—as tradition prescribed—to Aphrodite, nor even—as patriotism might suggest—to Athena, but to Hera, the Hera of Polykleitos. The rival goddesses are relegated to the far corners of the scene, and the chef-d'œuvre of the sculptor queens it in the centre. Doubtless the vase-painter showed his ingenuity by treating the pomegranate in Hera's hand as if it were the apple of discord that Paris had just presented to the fairest. In short, the vase as a whole forms an amusing parallel to the epigram by Martial already quoted.

But whether the second half of the name Nephelo-kokkygia was or was not inspired by the Argive cult, it is certain that the first half owed much to the common Greek conception of Zeus enthroned above the clouds. Above them rather than upon them. Prometheus, arriving in Cloudland, is terribly afraid that Zeus will see him 'from above.' Hence his ludicrous umbrella. And Pisthetairos, aspiring to the home and the very couch of Zeus, must needs bear his bride upwards from the celestial city on pinions that soar to yet higher heights. After all, that is as it should be. The clouds, if strictly described, are of the aër; and the aër is a lower stratum than the aithér. The realm of the sky-god was rightly pictured by Homer as

Broad heaven in the aithér and the clouds.

(d) The Clouds personified in Cult and Myth.

From the ritual of Zeus Aktaios we have inferred that in early days Greek rain-makers clothed themselves in sheep-skins by way

Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Hera p. 141 ff. (M) Atlas pl. 10, 7, Türk in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1615 fig. 6) and is usually explained as symbolising the sovereignty of Asia (Eur. T. r. 927 f., Isokr. Hel. 41, aith.). These adjuncts recall another statue of Hera at Argos: Tert. de cor. mil. 7 Iunoni vitem Callimachus induxit (perhaps the seated Hera Νηφελοκόκκυγια at Plataiai, made by Kallimachos (Paus. 9. 2. 7)). ita et Argis signum eius palmite redimitum, subiecto pedibus eius corio leonino, insultantem ostentat exuviis utriusque privigni (sc. Dionysos and Herakles).

1 Mr H. B. Walters in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iv. 61 says: 'Before Hera hovers Iris or Nike, with wings spread,' etc. But, if Nike were hovering in the air, her feet would point downwards: see e.g. F. Studniczka Die Siegesgöttin Leipzig 1898 pl. 3, 19 ff.
3 Aristoph. av. 1551 †vouer, cp. ib. 1509.
4 Id. ib. 1759 ff.
5 Supra l. 101 f. pl. ix, 2.
6 Il. 15. 192 (cited supra l. 25 n. 5, iii. 34).
The Clouds personified in Cult and Myth

of copying the fleecy clouds. Such a usage goes some way towards explaining another drama of exceptional brilliance, the Clouds of Aristophanes; for he, in common with all the writers of old Attic comedy, was largely indebted for his choruses to the mimetic dances of the past. The Clouds, however, to whom the Aristophanic Sokrates would introduce his elderly pupil and initiate, Strepsiades, are not mere masses of vapour that the magician can coax into sending a shower, but rather august, and indeed divine, personifications of the same:

Old man sit you still, and attend to my will, and hearken in peace to my prayer,
O Master and King, holding earth in your swing, O measureless infinite Air;
And thou glowing Ether, and Clouds who enwreathe her with thunder, and lightning, and storms,
Arise ye and shine, bright Ladies Divine, to your student in bodily forms.

Sokrates speaks of them as 'our deities,' and again as 'heavenly Clouds, great goddesses.' Strepsiades, taking his cue, salutes them

1 Supra p. 31 f.
2 When first exhibited at the Dionysia of 423 B.C. the Νεφέλαι of Aristophanes gained only the third prize, being beaten by the Πυρός of Kratinos and the Κόνυος of Ameipsias—a judgment hard to understand. We have the play in part rewritten, a second edition which was never staged (W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1914 i. 423 f.), being either 'composed to be read and not to be acted' (B. B. Rogers in his ed. 1916 p. xii), or planned for performance some time after 421 B.C. (G. M. Bolling 'The two recensions of The Clouds' in Class. Philol. 1920 xv. 83 ff., reported in the Berl. philol. Woch. Juli 30, 1921 p. 736).
3 So at least I have argued in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1894 xiv. 163 ff. Note that the choreutai impersonating the Clouds are likened to spread fleeces (nub. 343 εἴδησι τούν ἱλασμὸν πεπανταμόνιον). Why attention is drawn to their noses (ib. 344 αὐτὰ δὲ μύτας ἔχουσαι), is not quite clear. The schol. ad loc. says εἰσπεράζεσθαι γάρ οἱ τοῦ χοροῦ προφυλακίζοντες μεγάλα ἔχουσα μύτας καὶ ἄλλως γελοῖο καὶ ἀσχήμωνα. The sequel (nub. 346 ff.) of course shows that the Greeks, like other children, formed fancy-pictures in the sky and took the clouds to be a Centaur, a leopard, a wolf, a bull—in fact, as Lowell puts it, 'Insisted all the world should see | camels or whales where none there be!' But that is hardly the import of μύτας. I should rather suppose that the Nephelai are entirely wrapped in fleeces except for their nostrils. Cp. the use of νέφελα in Greek (Hesych. s.v. φάρον) and nebula in Latin (De Vit Lat. Lex. s.v. 'nebula' § 9) for a thin, flowing garment, or of 'cloud' in English for a voluminous woollen scarf (J. A. H. Murray A New English Dictionary Oxford 1893 ii. 506 s.v. 'Cloud' § 8).
4 Aristoph. nub. 263 ff. trans. B. B. Rogers ΣΤ. εἴδησιν χρῶν τὸν προσβεβή καὶ τῆς εἴχει ἐκακοῦσθαι. | ὃ δὲστοι ἄνας, ἀμέτρητος 'Ἄρης, δὲ ἔχει τὴν γῆν μετέφερον, | λαμπρός ὁ ἄρθρος, σεισμὸν τε θεᾶς Νεφέλαις βροντησκείραν, | ἄρθροτε, φώνατε, ὁ δέσποτα τοῦ φροντίστη μετέφερον.
5 Id. ib. 232 f. ΣΤ. καὶ ξυγγενεῖσθαι ταῖς Νεφέλαισιν ἐς λύγους, | ταῖς ἱμετραιοῖς διαίμοιον;
6 Id. ib. 315 f. ΣΤ. μῶν ἤρωιν τινὸς εἶχον; | ΣΤ. ἄκτισθε, ἀλλ' οὐράνιος Νεφέλαις, μεγάλαι θεαὶ ἀνδραῖς ἄργοις.
as ‘Queens over all’. Sokrates outdoes even this by declaring that the Clouds are ‘the only goddesses’, the rest being pure rubbish. Zeus? There’s no such person. But the Clouds themselves are more orthodox, and in their parábasí begin by invoking four gods with whom they are specially concerned—Zeus, Poseidon, Aither their father, and Helios. It would seem that Aristophanes, who throughout the play is presenting the grossest caricature of Sokrates, has foisted upon him a worship of the Clouds more properly belonging to Orphic votaries. The comedian of course accounts that way for Sokrates’ nebulous notions and shifty morals. But the Orphists, who from of old had been devotees of nature, were perfectly serious. Their hymns to Zeus Keraúnios and to Zeus Astrápios are immediately followed by another to the Clouds, which is prefixed by the rubric that the proper burnt-offering to be made is myrrh, and continues:

Clouds of the air, that nurture the crops, and that roam in the sky, Parents of rain, driven wide o’er the world by the blasts of the wind, Brimful of thunder and fire, loud-roaring, of watery ways, 
Ye that make horror of sound in the echoing bosom of air, Rent by the winds or charging amain with a crash and a clap, 
You I beseech, that are clad in the dew, and that breathe in the breeze, 
Send us the showers to nurture the crops of our Mother the Earth.

Adoration of the Clouds, though perhaps connectible with other
The Clouds personified in Cult and Myth

points of Orphic doctrine and apt to recrudesce in popular practice was naturally ridiculed as fatuous and futile. But that was a reproach which it shared with the highest conception of the Hebrews. Christianity itself has cherished, not only the recollection of 'a cloud that overshadowed them' and 'a cloud' that 'received him out of their sight,' but also the anticipation of 'another mighty angel come down from heaven, clothed with a cloud,' and the final vision of 'a white cloud, and upon the cloud one...like unto the Son of man.'

1 The Rhapsodic theogony spoke of the world-egg as 'the cloud' (Orph. frag. 60 Kern ap. Damask. quaest. de primitis principiis 123 (i. 317, 2 f. Ruelle) quoted supra i. 1024, where P. R. Schuster's cj. is clever, but improbable). The Justinian recension of the Orphic AiaOrjKat (Qriph.frag. 245 Kern ap. pseudo-Iust. Mart. de monarchia 2. 105 A—B (i. 116 Otto) = pseudo-Iust. Mart. cohortatio ad gentiles 15. 15 K (i. 50, 52 Otto)) has the following impressive passage: 13 ff. οὐδὲ τι θεὸς χαρὶς μεγάλων βασιλέων (so Clem. Al. strm. 5. 14 p. 416, 4 Stählin and most codd. of the cohortatio. μεγάλων θανάτων most codd. of the de monarchia and codd. C. E. of the cohortatio).

2 Tert. apol. 24 colat alius deum, alius lovem, alius ad caelum manus supplices tendat, alius ad aram Fidei, alius, si hoc putatis, nubes numerat orans, alius lacunaria, alius suam animam deo suo voveat, alius hirci. Cp. ib. 40 caelum apud Capitolium quaeritis, nubila de laquearibus exspectatis.

3 Hor. ars poet. 230 aut, dum vitat humum, nubes et inania captet, Pers. sat. 5. 7 grande locuturi nebulas Helicone legundo.

4 Liv. 14. 96 f. quidam sortiti mentemuebbae bibaeta capterr, niil praeeter nubes et caeli numen adorant. J. Rendel Harris St. Paul and Greek Literature (Woodbrook Essays, No. 7) Cambridge 1927 p. 17 f. would correct Col. 2. 23 εν θεολοφρασία και ταπείνωφανία και ἀφθονία σώματος: ‘if we restore εν θεολοφρασία in ενθεολοφρασία we shall have an expression capable of explanation from Aristophanes; the worship of angels is, like the new religion in the Greek comedy, a worship of the clouds.’ Infra p. 432 n. 9. See further Ducange Gloss. med. et inf. Graec. i. 994 s.s. φεσματελα, who cites from Damask. v. Iud. ap. Phot. bibl. p. 340 b 13 ff. Bekker the queer tale of the cloud-seer Anthousa, of Aigai in Kilikia, who saw a cloud like a Goth swallowed up by a cloud like a lion and divined that Asper leader of the Goths would be slain by Leon.

5 Mark 9. 7.

6 Acts 1. 9.


The Clouds personified in Cult and Myth

For, after all, a cloud may symbolise mystery as well as mystification; and what began as a nimbus may end as a glory.1 Nephele, the personified Cloud, figures in one or two Greek myths which deserve attention. Pherekydes of Athens (or Leros2), the earliest Attic prose-writer (floruit 454/3 B.C.), tells the tale of Kephalos and Prokris in the following form3:

Kephalos, the son of Deioneus, married Prokris, the daughter of Erechtheus, and dwelt at Thorai.4 Wishing to make trial of his wife, he went abroad—it is said—and left her for the space of eight years5 while she was yet a bride. After that, he adorned and disguised himself and, coming to his house thus tricked out, persuaded Prokris to receive him and consort with him. Prokris, eyeing his adornment and seeing that Kephalos was a very handsome man, lay with him. Thereupon Kephalos revealed himself and took Prokris to task. However, he made it up with her, and sallied forth to the chase. As he did this repeatedly, Prokris suspected that he had intercourse with another woman. So she summoned the serving-man and asked if he knew aught of it. The thrall said he had seen Kephalos repair to the top of a certain mountain and often exclaim ‘O Nephele, come to me!’—that was all he knew. Prokris on hearing it went to that mountain-top and hid herself. Then, when she heard him saying the same words, she ran towards him. Kephalos, seeing her, was seized with sudden madness and, on the spur of the moment, struck Prokris with the javelin in his hand and slew her. Then he sent for Erechtheus and gave her a costly burial.

Schwenn7 in a recent discussion of the myth very justly observes that Nephele here must be a flesh-and-blood personification, not a mere amorphous vapour. Ovid8 goes off on a wrong tack, when he

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2 W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1912 i. 454 ff.


5 A significant period, one ‘great year’ (supra i. 540 n. 1, ii. 240 ff.).

6 Cod. M. V. of schol. Od. ii. 321 reads ἐν ἴηρα, which is accepted by F. Jacoby. Eustath. in Od. p. 1688, 27 has ἐν ἴηρα, and so P. K. Buttmann in schol. Od. ii. 321. C. Müller prints ἐν ἴηρα.

7 Schwenn in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 218.

8 Ov. ars am. 3. 697 ff., met. 7. 811 ff.
Krater in the British Museum: the death of Prokris.

See page 73 n. 5.
substitutes *aura*, the cool breeze beloved by the hunter. And Hyginus\(^1\) makes confusion more confounded by importing *Aurora* from the myth of Heos. Schwenn, however, has not perceived that the story as a whole involves a modified mixture of two folk-tale *motifs*. J. G. von Hahn\(^2\) long since pointed out that Prokris, who first succumbs to the trinkets of a stranger and later lives with him as his wife, illustrates one variety of *weibliche Kündlichkeit*. This has been crossed with the 'Melusine'-*formula*\(^3\) of a mortal man, who is unfaithful to a more-than-mortal woman and is therefore deserted by her and punished for his offence. Such stories ultimately go back to a very primitive type of tale which, according to Sir James Frazer\(^4\), has its roots in a totemic taboo. Be that as it may, it certainly seems probable that in the original version Nephele the cloud-goddess bestowed her favours upon Kephalos and was jealous of his relations to the mortal wife Prokris. Her death was his punishment—a scene graphically portrayed on a red-figured *krater* with columnar handles now in the British Museum (pl. xii)\(^5\).

Essentially similar is the myth of Athamas\(^6\). He too deserted the goddess Nephele for a mortal wife, and was punished by a drought for his desertion. Again the tale has come down to us with

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\(^1\) Hyg. *fab.* 189.

\(^2\) J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 47 gives as his sixth *formula*: 'Eine Jungfrau giebt für Kostbarkeiten in dreimaliger Steigerung ihre Reize Preis und verliert dabei ihr Magdthum a) durch Ueberlistung, ß) bewusster Weise, und muss sich mit dem Käufer vermählen.'


\(^5\) Brit. Mus. Cat. *Vases* iii. 204 no. E 477, Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* iii. 18 ff. pl. 205, J. Millingen *Ancient Unedited Monuments* Series i London 1822 p. 35 ff. pl. 14, Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. lxixf. fig. 14, A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1103 fig. 3, G. Weicker *Der Steinsvogel* Leipzig 1902 p. 167 fig. 86, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des räumigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 416 no. 7 (attributed to the painter of the Naples Hephaistos-*krater* (Heydemann *Vasenamml. Neapel* p. 285 f. no. 2412)). My pl. xii is from a photograph by the Official Photographer. In the centre Prokris collapses on the mountain-side. She wears a short *chiton*, and attempts to pluck the unerring javelin from her bare breast. As her eyes close in death, a soul-bird escapes from her into the air. From the right advances her father Erechtheus, wearing *himation* and wreath, one hand holding a long sceptre, the other outstretched in dismay. On the left stands Kephalos with *chlamys* and *pttaspis*. He raises his left hand to his forehead with a gesture of despair, and rests his right on a club, while he holds his hound Lailaps by a leash. No other representation of the scene is known.

\(^6\) *Supra* i. 414 ff.
74 The Clouds personified in Cult and Myth

much admixture and amplification. A. H. Krappe¹ has analysed it, in my opinion successfully, and has shown that it combines, not only the old Greek belief in the king’s responsibility for the crops and the old Greek custom of sacrificing him or his son in time of famine, but also a whole bunch of folk-tale *motifs*—the jealousy of the heavenly wife (‘Melusine’²), the wicked step-mother (‘Brüderchen und Schwesterchen’³), and the helpful animal (‘Einäuglein, Zweiauglein und Dreiauglein’⁴).

A curious modification of this union between a mortal man and the cloud-goddess may be detected in sundry other myths. It would seem that the ancient mating of man with goddess struck the later Greeks as blasphemous. They therefore said that such and such a hero had become enamoured of such and such a goddess, but that Zeus had substituted for her a phantom made out of cloud. Thus Endymion, in the Hesiodic poem entitled *The Great Eoiai*⁵, was raised to heaven by Zeus and fell in love with Hera, but was deluded by a cloud-phantom and cast down to Hades⁶. Similarly, when Ixion paid court to Hera, Zeus, according to the usual version⁷, or

¹ A. H. Krappe ‘The Story of Phrixos and Modern Folklore’ in *Folk-Lore* 1923 xxxiv. 141—147. ⁵ *Id.* ‘La légende d’Athamas et de Phrixos’ in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1924 xxxvii. 381—389 discusses some remaining difficulties in this complex tale and proposes (ib. p. 385) to reconstitute its final form as follows: ‘Athamas répudie Néphélé et épouse une femme mortelle, qui lui donne plusieurs enfants. Jalouse de sa rivale qu’elle hare, Néphélé provoque une famine, sachant que par ce moyen le fils de sa rivale sera immolé à l’autel. Pour sauver son enfant d’une mort terrible, la pauvre mère se suicide et devient une divinité bienveillante.’

² Supra p. 73 n. 3.


⁴ A. Aarne *op. cit.* p. 23 no. 511, J. Bolte—G. Polivka *op. cit.* Leipzig 1918 iii. 60 ff. no. 130.


‘Hemi λέγεται τῶν ἑνωνουμάν άνευχήθησαι υπὸ τοῦ Δίου εἰς οἰκόνομον. ἔρασθαι δὲ η’ Ηρας εἶδώλω παραλογοθύρησεν [τῷ έρωτα (οτ. Η. Keil)] νεφέλης καὶ έκβληθηνα κατέλειν εἰς ’ ’’ Άδου = Eu-

⁷ P. Weitzsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 766 ff., R. Wagner *ib.* iii. 180 f. The principal sources are: Pind. *Pyth.* 2. 25 ff. εὐμενέσσοι γὰρ παρὰ Κρόνοις | γλυκὸν ὀλύν βίσων, μακρὸν οὐς ὑπέμεινεν ὀδύον, μακροπώμως ὀρέσσι | 'Ηρας δὲ' ἔρασατο, τὸν Δίου εὐηλάχον | πολυγάθεις· ἀλλὰ νῦν ὄριον εἰς ἀνάστα ὑπεράφανον | ὄροις, 36 ff. ετεί νεφέλα παρε-

The Clouds personified in Cult and Myth 75
Hera herself, according to some1, fashioned a cloud-figure, by whom
Ixion became the father of Kentauros2.
An instructive case is that of the hero3 lasion, who lay with
ayvlfa avrbv Kal ayvurBels iipaffOv) Trjs "Upas. 6 5e Zeus ve<f>e\riv o/uwwo-as "Spa Trapa/cot/xt'fet
ai/Tif, Diod. 4. 69 TeXos 5' virb TOV Aids Kara TOVS /J,v6ovs dyvurOeis, r/paffOT) /j.ev T??s"Hpas
/cat Karer6XyU77<re»' virep avvovirias \6yovs iroieiffdai. lireira TOV fJ.ev Ala. etduiXov iroir/o-avTa
TTJs'Hpas ve$t\t)v ^curooretXat, rbv 5k 'I^iova rfj ve<pe\rj fuyevra, yevvrjffai. TOVS dvof^a^o^vovs
"Kevravpovs dvQpuiro<pve'is, 70 rivts de \eyovffi TOI>S IK Ne^A^s Kal 'I!-lovos yevvr/BevTas
KevTavpovs Trpi&rous lirireveii' eirixeiprio~avTas 'IiriroKevravpovs d)t>oiMo~0ai K.T.\., Loukian.
dial. dear. 6. 4 (Zeus to Hera) etdw\ov IK vetpeXifs ir\affafj.ei>oi atfrij croi opoiov . . . irapaKaraKXlvwfifv avT$ QepovTes /c.T.X. with schol. ad loc. (i. 216 T. Hemsterhuys—J. F. Reitz)
OVTOS de cUiXaoros <3v r/pdff9ri "Upas, 17 av^yyet^-e r<? Ad. 6<d£ (ins. M. du Soul) > SoKi/uafaw
adrbv direiica.<re j>e<j>£\Tjv rrj "Spa, rj p.lyvvra.1. "L£i<av, /cat TTOI« iralda rd /j£v av&p&irov ^-xpvTO.
rh. 5^ iV7rou, a<j>' oS 'IviroK^vravpoi, schol. V. Od. 21. 303 'l^iuv 6 At6s TraTs . . . §ta T^S
eiut>tirov /casias eirelpafe rbv rrjs "Hpas yafiov. i>iroTrTe^<ra<ra 5£ TJ 6eos avfyeyice r<£ Au TTJV
'I!-lovos Xtjffcrav. 6 de ev0vfjio!jjj.ei>os f)J\<fj ird,\iv TOVTO raijrijv 8pa,v 5iaj3d\\ovaav TOI>S ££ ai)roC
IK TWOS 8/j.us eiriTe-)(yr)<reus TTJS 'I^iovos eireipaTo yvd}/j.r)s. ffKoir&v d£ evpe TO
s. ve<f>£\r)i> yap "Spa. irapeiKdffas fi,6vt\v ev ry 0a\d/j.<t> TOV 'I^tovos Kare'XtTrei', 6 de ws
tpidffaro . . . ylveTai 8t e/c TTJS vetp^Xrjs Trais 'I^iovos St0i/r;s ra fjxv /carcirepa nepr] Trjs
^ *yi/> ve<p^\ai ?7T7rots toiKao-f TO, de av&repa. f^py dirb TOV 6fjL<f>a\ov p.exp<- TTJS
ice<f>a\ijs TOV ira.Tpbs 'li-iovos. K.T.\.
1
H.yg.fat>. 62 luno lovis iussu nubem supposuit, quam Ixion lunonis simulac[h]rum
esse credidit. ex ea nati sunt Centauri, Myth. Vat. i. 162 Centauri autem Ixionis et nubis
filii sunt; quae nubes ipsi a lunone in sui forma est opposita, 2. 106 Ixion, Phlegyae
filius, ...lunonem de stupro interpellare ausus est. quae de audacia eius conquesta lovi,
suadente ipso, pro se nubem ei opposuit, cum qua Ixion concubuit ; unde geniti sunt
Centauri, 3. 4. 6 Ixion lunonis coniugium petiit; ilia nubem in speciem suam ornavit,
cum qua Ixion coiens Centauros genuit, schol. C. Eur. Phoen. 1185 o'I£lwv ...tip pure TT?I>
row Aids <pt\iav. 4Tre6vfji.rjo-e yap Tr)s"Hpas Kal \6yovs irpoffriyayev avrfj' i] de 0ed vefaXijv
airrtf irapeKoi/j-iffev fit eavTrjv vxynaTlgovcra, •g di) ffvyKaBevdricras 6 'Ii;iui> 4ireKavxv)o-aTo TTJ
ffwovffiq. (but other scholia on the same line give the more usual account : schol. A. C. M .
8$ A.KO\affTalv(ov Id&v fr/v"Hpai> fjpdffBr) avTrjs- /JLT) (pepovffa, de ^"Hpa rrfv /naviav avTov <f>rjcn
Ttf Ati- ^0' $ dyavaKTrfffas 6 Zevs, /3ov\6nej>6s re yvuvai (so cod. M. So/ct/xacrat codd. A. C.)
el ye d\i)6£s effTiv, direLicaffe TTJ "Hpq, ve<f>£\iiv, T)v Idtav 6 'H-luv, vofj.io~o.s TTJI* "B.pav elvai,
fdyvvrai avTy Kal iroiei iraida di<pvri, TO, fj^ev avOpdnrov eyovTO. rd de 'lirirov, d<p' o5 Kal ol \onrol
Kevravpoi yey6i>acriv, schol. Gu. Bar. OVTOS 6 'Ii;l<av . . . e^wpdOr) TTJS "Hpas epSiv. Oe\ti)v ovv
6 Zevs yvwvai -rbv Ipwra ve<pe\if)i> irapetKafei T-Q "Hp^t, et'j rjv 6p/u.^cras 6 'I^itav drjXov eiroiriffe
rf Ati rbv epwra . . . eK de Trjs irpbs TTJV ve<t>e\Tiv TOV 'I^lovos fjil^eus yiyovev 6 'iTriroKevTavpos,
(te^aXV uev Kal ffTrjffos Kal %eipas dvBpttnrov ex&v, TO de Xonrbv <rwua 'iirirov, K.T.\.), schol.
Loukian. pise. 12 p. 132, 23 ff. Rabe <f>a<rl ydp TOV 'I^lova TTJS "Hpas Ipa<r6fjvai,
SI TTp>"Spa.v xapifrfjitvqv at/rip vetf>e\riv els eavrijv direiKacracrav eav 'I£i'oi»i
a<j> 06 Kal ol K^vTavpot dpxijv Trjs yeveffews eo"nov. Kal TO crvaTTTUfjia els ovo/jia i-Xaflov • Trapa
7dp TO TT/V atipav Kevreiv rbv 'li^lova iirl Trj yeveo~ec K^vraupos r6 dirb TOVTOV e'K\i!j0ri — an effort
of etymological imagination which it would be hard to beat !
But it is a serious mistake to infer from such passages that Hera was a rain- or cloudgoddess (Wide Lakon. Kulte p. 26 'Eine alte Vorstellung von der Hera als Regen- bez.
Wolkengottin birgt sichin dem Mythos von Hera-Nephele und Ixion').
2
Cp. Aristoph. nub. 346 ve<pe\f]v ~KevTavpig bpalav, supra p. 69 n. 3.
3
There is not the least reason for supposing that lasion was a heroi'sed sky-god
(Gilbert Gr. Gotterl. p. 337 n. i ' Die Verbindung der Dem. mit Jasion. . .stellt diese Ehe der
Erde mit dem Himmelsgotte dar, da beide...hier heroisirt erscheinen,' ib. p. 473 n. r
'ich halte 'lao-'uav fiir einen heroisirten Poseidon larpos') or a form of Zeus (E. Thraemer
Pergamos 1888 p. 102 n. 2 'e 125 wird Jasion, der Buhle der Demeter, von Zeus aus


76 The Clouds personified in Cult and Myth

Demeter on a thrice-ploughed field in Crete, became by her the father of the infant Ploutos, and was thunder-struck by Zeus (fig. 22) for his presumption. This ancient myth, though it had the sanction
The Clouds personified in Cult and Myth

of both Homer¹ and Hesiod², and was almost certainly based on actual agrarian usage³, nevertheless could not escape the charge of derogating from the dignity of the goddess and was therefore modified by the later Greeks in one of two directions. Either, as the logographer Hellanikos⁴, the historian Idomeneus⁵, and the geographer who passes under the name of Skymnos⁶ agree, the hero had outraged a statue (ágalma) of Demeter; or, as the rhetorical mythographer Konon⁷ preferred to put it, the hero had consort ed with a mere phantom (phásma) of the goddess.

Konon's expedient was in all probability suggested by Stesichoros' solution of a similar problem. Having penned an ode about Helene on the traditional Homeric lines he, like Homer, had lost his eyesight. But, unlike Homer, he recovered it when, realising the nature of his offence, he wrote his famous palinode:

The tale's untrue!
Thou didst not go on board the well-planked ships,
Nor ever earnest to the towers of Troy⁸.

¹ Od. 5. 125 ff. ὡς δ’ ὅποτ’ Ἰασών ἐνπλάκαμος Δημήττρη, | ἵπ τιμω εἴδασα, μιγὰ
φιλοτητί καὶ εἰδή | νεὼ τι πραξθή - οὐδὲ δὴ ἦν ἄνωτος | Ζεὺς, δὲ μὲν κατέκεφε βαλὼν ἀργήν κεραυνόν.

² Hes. theog. 969 ff. Δημήττρη μὲν Πλοῦτον ἔγεινατο ὑπὸ θεῶν, | Ἰασών ἦρε μυγείὸ
ἐφιξά φιλοτητί | νεὼ τι πραξθή, Κρήτης ἐν πῶς δημί, | κτ.κ.λ.

³ Frazer Golden Bough*: Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 208 f. compares 'the West Prussian custom of the mock birth of a child on the harvest-field [ib. p. 150 f.]. In this Prussian custom the pretended mother represents the Corn-mother (Zytniamatka); the pretended child represents the Corn-baby, and the whole ceremony is a charm to ensure a crop next year.' See also Nilsson Min.—Myc. Rel. p. 346.

⁴ Hellanik. frag. 129 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 63 Müller) = frag. 23 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 112 f. Jacoby) ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 916 ἐγήνεικε δὲ (ὅσ. Ἐλεκτρώνδης) τρεῖς παίδαι, Δάρδανον τὸν εἰς Τροϊαν καταδύσατο, δι καὶ Πολυάρχη φασὶ λέγεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἑγέρων, καὶ Ἡσίων, δι’ Ἰασών ωὐμάζοντο, καὶ φασὶ κεραυνωθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑβρίσατα ἄγαλμα τῆς
Δήμητρος. τρίπτη δὲ ἔσχεν Ἀρμοίων, ἢ γάγατο Κάδμος· καὶ ἀπ’ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς Ἐλεκτρώνδης πῖλεν τῆς Θήρῃς ωὐμαζάτα ἑστρεφε Ἐλλάνικοι ἐν πρώτῳ Τροϊκῷ καὶ Ἰδομενέος [ἐν πρώτῳ Τροϊκῷ (οἳ. Κ. Η. F. Sintenis)]. Cp. Hellanik. frag. 38 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 53 Müller) = frag. 135 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 139 Jacoby) ap. schol. Od. 5. 125 ὁπὸς (ὅσ. ὁ Ἰασών) Κρής τὸ γένος, Κατρέος (σο. G. Kramer for κρατ(τ)ρέος) καὶ Φρονίων ὕδις. ὃς δὲ Ἐλλάνικος, Ἐλεκτράς καὶ Δίος ὑδ. παρ’ ὁ μὲν μετὰ τὸν κατακλισιον ἐφέθη σπέρματα. οὐ καὶ Δήμητρος ὁ Πλοῦτος κατὰ Ἡλλάδον (ὕμπρα n. 2).


⁶ Skymn. Chi. per. 681 ff. (Geogr. Gr. min. i. 223 Müller) πρότερον γὰρ εἶχαν ἐν τῇ
τάφῳ (ὅσ. τῇ Σαμοθρακῇ) ταῖς | τοῖς Τρώασ, Ἐλεκτράς τεκόσθην Ἰασών | τῆς λεγομένης Ἀτλαντῶν Ἰασώναλα τε, ὃν τὸν μὲν Ἰασώνα δυσυνήθη ἡπὶ πράξαι περὶ Δήμητρος Λέγου ἰαμα καὶ πληγής κεραυνωθέντα δαμωδός θανέει, | τὸν Δάρδανον δὲ κτ.κ.λ. F. Gisinger in Pauly—Wissowa Real—Enc. iii λ. 674 f. dates this pseudepigraphic poem c. 100 B.C.

⁷ Konon narr. 21, writing between 36 B.C. and 17 A.D. (E. Martini in Pauly—Wissowa Real—Enc. xi. 1335), says: Δάρδανον καὶ Ἰάσων παῖδες ἦσσεν Δίος ἐξ Ἐλεκτράς.
Stesichoros now asserted that Greeks and Trojans fought one another for the sake of a mere wraith (eidolon), in ignorance of the genuine Helene. What, in his reconstruction, the genuine Helenewas doing all the time, we do not know: perhaps she never left Sparta. Herodotos gives a different turn to the story. According to him, Helene was stolen from Menelaos at Sparta by Alexandras, driven by a storm out of the Aegean to Egypt, and there taken from her paramour by Proteus and kept at Memphis for the coming of her lawful husband. Euripides in his Helene combines the two versions. Like Stesichoros, he preserves the innocence of Helene by making the truant a wraith (eidolon), fashioned of ouranos or cloud or aither and substituted by Hera for the faithful wife. Like Herodotos, he sends the real Helene to Egypt, whither she is conducted by Hermes.
The Clouds personified in Cult and Myth 79

at the command of Zeus. Menelaos, escorting the phantom home from Troy, arrives in Egypt and is there confronted with the true Helene. He is desperately puzzled. But, just as he begins to think himself either a bedlamite or a bigamist, the misty Helene evaporates—a sufficiently whimsical situation.

If Euripides’ Hera outwitted Paris by making a phantom Helene of *aither*, Euripides’ Zeus outwitted Hera by means of a similar trick—witness a curious passage of the *Bacchae* in which Teiresias attempts to explain the story of Dionysos being sewn up in the thigh of Zeus as due to a verbal confusion of *himeros*, ‘hostage,’ with *meros*, ‘thigh’:

And dost deride the tale that he was sewn
I’ the thigh of Zeus? I’ll tell it all aright.
When Zeus had caught him from the lightning-fire
And borne him, babe divine, to Olympos’ height,
Hera was fain to cast him forth from heaven.
But Zeus, a very god, met plot with plot:
Breaking a portion of the *aither* off,
Which rings the earth, he made that same a hostage
Against the strifes of Hera and sent out
Dionysos elsewhere. Thus in course of time
Man said that he was sewn i’ the thigh of Zeus—
Changing the word, since once he served as hostage
To Hera, god to goddess,—such their tale.

1 Eur. Hel. 44 ff. Laban dē μ’ ῥεμάην ἐν πνεύμασιν αἰθέρος κατούθανε, οὐ γὰρ ἡμέστην μοι | Zeis, τόδε ἐστι οὐκ Παρθένου ἴδρυσα, | κ.τ.λ.


3 Eur. Bacch. 286 ff. καὶ καταγελήσας νῦν, ὡς ἑνεργάθη Δίως | μηρὰς, διδάξα τ’ ὡς καλῶς ἔχει τοῖς, | ἐγώ νῦν ἤρθα ἐν πυρὸς κεραυνίῳ | Ζεὺς, εἰς δ’ Ὀλυμπον βρέφος ἄνθραγχον θεοῦ, | Ἦμα μν’ θάλαξιν ἐκβάλλειν ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ | Ζεὺς δ’ ἀντενηχασθάναι οὐ δ’ θεόν, | μῆνια μέρος τι τοῦ χέριν ἐγκυκλουμένοι | αἰθέροις, θεώς τῶν ἀθρόν, ἐκδίδωσ | Δίωνος, Ἦμα νεκταμιν’ ἤλθον δε νυν | ῥατοῖ φαβριά (so J. Pierson, followed by F. A. Paley, for τραφηρα | φασάν | ὡς τοί Δίως, θεών μεταστρόφητες, ὡς θέα θεῶν Ἦμα ποθ’ ἀμέμνησεν, συνένεες λόγων with the notes of Sir J. E. Sandys ad loc.

4 Cp. Hoppin 707 n. 2 fig. 524 a vase now attributed to ‘the Syleus Painter’ (c. 480 B.C.) (Hoppin Red-fig. Vases ii. 438 no. 9. J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rothfigurigen Stils Tubingen 1925 p. 162 no. 23).
The real explanation of the story is of course very different from the sophisms of Teiresias. The pretended birth from the thigh of Zeus, which from the sixth, if not the seventh, century onwards is attested by vases, frescoes, reliefs, and other works of art,
The Clouds personified in Cult and Myth
Alkimachos painter' of the late archaic period (Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 18 no. 2, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 208 no. 25).

(4) A south-Italian vase, now lost, but seen by A. L. Millin at Naples in private possession (Vaso che si trova in casa del S. d. Genn. Patierno, restauratore, alla salita de’ Regg Studj, n. 63: altezza, palmi 2½; diametro, 1 palmo, 3 oncie’) and drawn for him (drawing extant in the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale), is described by R. Rochette *Choix de peintures de Pompei* Paris 1848—1856 p. 81 with n. 4, recorded by L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu S.t. Pét.* 1861 p. 13, and published by F. Lenormant in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1860 vi. 72—74 with two figs. (of which the first = my fig. 25). In the upper register is Zeus, seated on a throne with a footstool. He wears a himation (scaled aigis!:) and a bay-wreath, and holds a thunderbolt in his right hand, an eagle-tipped sceptre in his left. From his right thigh emerges a diminutive Dionysos. The boy stretches out his arms to Eileithyia, who bends towards him, holding in readiness a cloth or garment. Behind Zeus stand a Bacchant (?thyrsos) and a Maenad (panther-skin, torch (?))—hardly Apollon and Artemis. In the lower register, on rocky ground, is Athena (Gorgóntion, helmet (?), shield, spear) conversing with two Maenads (thyrsos, torch)—hardly Demeter and Hekate. Athena was perhaps made out of a third Maenad (timbre (?), thyrsos). The reverse of the same vase depicts the madness of Lykourgos, who brandishes a club (?) in the midst of four Satyrs. Both designs have been copied ‘par une main singulièrement maladroite et inexpérimentée’.

(5) A volute-krater of c. 415 B.C. from Caelia (Ceglie), now at Taranto, fully published in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1934 liv. 175 ff. pls. 8 and 9 by A. D. Trendall, to whose kindness I owe my pl. xiii.

(6) A red-figured fragment at Bonn (inv. no. 1216. 19) (Trendall *loc. cit.* fig. 1 = my pl. xiii, 3).

is not clear (Philos. mai. *imag. * 1. 14. 2 f. πόρος νεφήλη περιχώσα τό θήρας εἰς τήν τοῦ Κάδμου στέγην ῥήγνυται κομπανάτος ἐπὶ τήν Σεμέλην τοῦ Δίως, καὶ ἀπὸλύεται μὲν, ὁδὸς δεκώμενη, ἡ Σεμέλη, τίτκηται δὲ Δίωνους οἷς (O. Benndorf cf. oἱμα, < και >) νῇ Δία πρὸς τὸ πόρον τοῦ τούτῳ καὶ τὸ μὲν τήν Σεμέλην εἴδος ἀμβορὸν διαφαίνεται ισός ἐς οἷον αὐτής ἄνω ἠκούσα, ὅ ὁ δὲ Δίωνους τήν μὲν ἐκφόρτηκε βασίλεια τῆς γαστράς, τὸ δὲ πῶρον ἀκήλωτος ἔφερε κρατῶντας φαίνοντας (C. L. Kayser καὶ φαίνοντας) αὐτὸς δὲν ἀτέλεις τὰς ἀπαστράτων (so codd. F. P. ἀπαστράτων vulg.). διαφωνοῦσα δὲ τῆς φαλῆς ἀντρώ τοῦ Δίωνους σκακηγαφείς παντί ηὐδίκιος 'Δαιφρύλου τε καὶ Διόλου κ.τ.λ., A. Bougot *Philistre l’ancien* Paris 1881 p. 265 f.)

cites for comparison and contrast a fresco said to have been found in Rome and formerly owned by Prince Gagarin (*Memorie Romane di Antichità e di Belle Arti* ed. L. Cardinali Roma 1824—1837 iii pl. 13): Zeus, with gray beard and hair, sits enthroned on a cloud. His head is surrounded by a halo of rays; his legs are wrapped in an ample wind-swept himation of flame-coloured fabric. His eagle is perched beside him. With his right hand he grasps a thunderbolt, with his left he reaches towards the undersized babe ('als Embryo gekrümmt,' says Gerhard) of Semele, who half-clad in a yellow robe lies dead on the couch before him. This painting, accepted without hesitation by E. Gerhard (Hyper-
(1) *Krater* from Ceglie, now at Taranto.
(2) Detail of same vase: the birth of Dionysos.
(3) Vase-fragment at Bonn: the birth of Dionysos.

*See page 82 n. 6 (5 f).*
The Clouds personified in Cult and Myth 83

boreisch-römische Studien für Archäologen Berlin 1833 i. 105—107, written from Rome on Oct. 8, 1832 after careful inspection of the original) and by F. Lenormant (in Daramberg-Saglio Act. i. 601 fig. 677 (= my fig. 26), on the strength of Gerhard's testimony), was doubted by F. Wieseler (in C. O. Müller Denkmäler der alten Kunst Göttingen 1835—1836 ii. 2. 13 pl. 34, 391) and L. Stephani (Nimbus und Strahlenkrone St Petersburg 1859 p. 14 no. 3 (extr. from the Mémoires de l'Academie des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg, vi Série. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie. ix. 361 ff.), id. in the Compte-rendu St. Plt. 1861 p. 13), and decisively rejected by J. Overbeck (Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 418 with n. 6 'Man beachte nur den einen Umstand, dass Zeus' Haar und Bart grau gemalt sind und vergil. Anmerkung 71 zu S. 68.' Yet see infra § 9 (h) ii (e) The superannuation of Zeus) and H. Heydemann (loc. cit. p. 4).

Long. post. 4. 3 ἐξει δὲ καὶ ἑνδυθεὶς ὁ νέως Διονυσιακὸς γραφάς, Σεμελὴν τίκτεναι, κ.τ.λ. may or may not be purely imaginary, and in any case says nothing of Zeus.

4 (i) A marble frieze, found in front of the Porta Portese at Rome and now preserved in the Vatican (W. Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom3 Leipzg 1912 i. 168 f. no. 259), has the following scene (Visconti Mus. Pie-Clém. iv. 165 ff. pl. 19 (= my fig. 27), L. Millin Galerie Mythologique Paris 1811 i. 51 no. 223 (wrongly described) pl. 53, H. Brun in the Bull. d. Inst. 1858 p. 128, Welcker Gr. Götterl. ii. 580 n. 20, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus pp. 171 no. Χ, 178, H. Heydemann Dionysos Geburt und Kindheit (Winckelmannfest-Prgr. Halle 1883) p. 15 f., Baumeister Denkm. iii. 1289 vignettn. F. Hauser Die neu-äthiischen Reliefs Stuttgart 1889 p. 72 no. 102, id. in the fahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1903 vi. 103 n. 22, Reinach Rép. Reliefs iii. 362 no. 2). Zeus, with bent head, is seated on a rock. He leans heavily, not to say painfully, on his right hand and grasps a long sceptre with his left. His himation is so arranged as to leave bare the further leg, from the upper part of which emerges the infant Dionysos and leaps with outstretched arms towards Hermes. That god (πέτασος, chlamýē, boots, but no caduceus) advances with a panther-skin in which to wrap the babe. Behind him are three stately female figures bearing long sceptres and variously interpreted as Eileithyia, Kore, and Demeter (E. Q. Visconti, A. L. Millin, and S. Reinach loc. cit.), as the Charites (H. Brun loc. cit.), as Nymphs (H. Heydemann loc. cit.), or as the Fates (F. Hauser loc. cit.). The identification of the third female with Demeter is borne out by the bunch of corn-ears held stiffly in her right hand. Heydemann's conjecture that all three are the Nymphs of Nysa ready to receive their nursling might claim the support of Nonn. Dion. 9. 16 ff. καὶ μω δὲ θαλάκα (E. Maass in Hermes 1891 xxvi. 189 n. 2 equates Δρακάνων here with τοῦ Δρακάνων in the south of Kos (Strab. 657, cp. Agathem. geogr. 18 (Geogr. Gr. min. ii. 479 Müller), L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 1646, xi. 1471), and loc. cit. p. 178 ff. explains in like manner h. Dion. 1 Δρακάνη, Theokr. 26. 33 ἐν Δρακάνη μυθεῖται. Others have supposed that Nonnos was alluding to Δρακάνων a town and promontory (now Cape Phanart) at the north-east end of the island Ikaros (Nikaria) (R. Köhler Über die Dionysiaka des Nonnus von Panopolis Halle 1853 p. 17 f., Preller—Robert Gr. Myth. i. 677 n. 9), or to Δράκανων (Trapani) Gr. Gbtterl. Halle 1853 P. 7 f. Preller—Robert’s Conjecture that all three are the Nymphs of Nysa ready to receive their nursling might claim the support of Nonn. Hermes 1891 xxvi. 186. 16 ff. καὶ μω δὲ θαλάκα (E. Maass in Hermes 1891 xxvi. 189) n. 2 equates Δρακάνων here with τοῦ Δρακάνων in the south of Kos (Strab. 657, cp. Agathem. geogr. 18 (Geogr. Gr. min. ii. 479 Müller), L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 1646, xi. 1471), and loc. cit. p. 178 ff. explains in like manner h. Dion. i Δρακάνη, Theokr. 26. 33 ἐν Δρακάνη μυθεῖται. Others have supposed that Nonnos was alluding to Δρακάνων a town and promontory (now Cape Phanar) in the north-east end of the island Ikaros (Nikaria) (R. Köhler Über die Dionysiaka des Nonnus von Panopolis Halle 1853 p. 17 f., Preller—Robert Gr. Myth. i. 677 n. 9), or to Δράκανων (Trapani) the promontory in the north-west of Sicily (B. Graef De Bacchi expeditione Indica monumentis expressa Berolini 1886 p. 10 f. n. 15) λαβόντι άρδην κολώνων | πτέρες κολωθέντι λαβών Μαχίου 'Ερμής | ἰερόθεν, πεντάττηςρος, λοχευομένη καὶ ἐναρκ, ταρτόν ἐνθείης ἐπωμομένη τεκτόνων | κυκλήσεως Δίανυσος, ἐπεὶ τοῖς φόρτον ἀείνων | διὰ χαλάρωσιν Κρονίδης βεβηθοῦσι μοίρας, | νόσος ὄν τῆς μυθολογίας ἡμαθήναι χωλόν αἰκόνι (νόσος, ἑνδυματός?) might be akin to Schürer etc., cp. Walde Lat. etym. Wörterb.2 p. 530 f. s.v. 'nurus': | καὶ θεόν ἀπέλεγοντο έρωμαν Εἱραφώτων, | ὅτι μοι εὐδόκει πατὴρ ἐρφάσατο μοίρα (lines 17, 19—24 are quoted in st. mag. p. 280, 13 ff.). | καὶ μοι ἀνυπνότως διατηματήσα ἵλετε | πτερεί θαλάκων ἐκολοφίσες θυγγόντος 'Ερμής, | καὶ βρέοσ εὐκεράφως φύτη ἐκθάλη Σελήνη (sc. horned like the Moon) ἡμέρας θυγατέρεσι Λάδον ποταμών Νέμφαι (= the Hyades): see H. W. Stoll and W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1882, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rez. p. 1435 n. 1), | πάντα Δίωυς κομένων σταφυλεκήνων αἱ διὰ κορόσκει | Βάκχων ἐπιστράτευσαν, καὶ εἴς στόμα παῖδος ἐκάνατο | ἀθλήματος γλυκέσαντας ἄνω θαλάτται μαζών. But the corn-ears are ill-suited to Nymphs. Besides, Hauser rightly insists on the points of similarity between this relief and that of the Madrid puteal (infra § 9 (h) ii (γ)). Dionysos springs
The Clouds personified in Cult and Myth
from the seated Zeus much as Nike does on the puteal; and here, as there, the three females grouped on the right must be the Fates. If so, the corn-ears are a later modification of the lots held by Lachesis (pace Helbig loc. cit.: 'Indes hat eine erneute Untersuchung ergebeh, dass an den Ahren von Uberarbeitung keine Spur zu finden ist'). What purpose was served originally by this frieze (Visconti loc. cit.: 'Haut. trois palmes, un tiers; longueur dix palmes moins deux onces'), and whether it was continued by means of other figures to the right, we cannot say.

(2) A child's sarcophagus of late Roman date (White marble. Height 0'29m: length 0'69m), in the collection formed by Field-marshal Count Lavall Nugent, was found at Minturnae (?), was exhibited at the Palazzo Pisani in Venice, and is now preserved in Ternato Castle near Fiume. Its front represents the birth of Dionysos in a series of three scenes separated by herms (E. Wolff in the Bull. d. Inst. 1831 p. 67, C. Lenormant in the Ann. d. Inst. 1833 v. 210—218, Mon. d. Inst. i pl. 45. a (=my fig. 28), F. Wieseler in C. O. Muller Denkmäler der alten Kunst Göttingen 1835—1856 ii. 2. 13 f. pl. 34, 392, Welcker Gr. Götterl. ii. 580 n. 20, F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 662 fig. 679, O. Benndorf in Wien. Vorlegebl. A pl. 12, 8, R. Schneider in the Arch.-op. Mitth. 1881 v. 167—169 no. 36, H. Heydemann Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit (Winkelmannsfest-Progr. Halle 1885) pp. 8 f., 16 f., P. V. C. Baur Eileithyia (The University of Missouri Studies i. 4) University of Missouri 1902 p. 86). To the right Semele lies exhausted on a couch, her left hand propping her head, her right drooping as if she held flowers (Schneider, Heydemann). Beneath the couch a jug and bowl are in readiness for the bath of the expected infant. Zeus appears above a wall in the background, lays his left arm on Semele's neck (Schneider, Heydemann), and brandishes a thunderbolt in his right hand. To the left Zeus sits erect on a chair with a footstool, upon which is set a large urn. His right hand presses hard on the chair; his left grasps a long sceptre. A winged goddess, presumably Nike playing the part of Eileithyia (E. Gerhard in the Bull. d. Inst. 1831 p. 67 n. 1, followed by Wieseler, Schneider, Heydemann, Baur, was content to describe her as a winged Eileithyia), touches with her outstretched left hand the right leg of Zeus, which is bandaged (Schneider, Heydemann), not bare: the god has been already delivered. In the centre Hermes, looking round towards Zeus, carries off the newborn babe to the Nymphs, one of whom is seen reclining behind him (so E. Wolff loc. cit. C. Lenormant, Wieseler, and Schneider would recognise Gaia). Similar in type, but with sides reversed, is a fragmentary relief (Luna marble. Height 1'30m: length 0'44m) found on the Esquiline in 1874 and now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (C. L. Visconti 'Frammento di rilievo rappresentante la nascita di Bacco' in the Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma 1874 ii. 89—96 pl. 1, 3 (=my fig. 29), H. Heydemann op. cit. p. 177, G. Lafaye in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. ii. 983 fig. 388, P. V. C. Baur op. cit. p. 86, Stuart Jones Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome p. 85 Galleria no. 16 pl. 31). Zeus is seated to the left. His left leg, covered by a
himation, uses a globe as a footstool (cp. supra i. 47 ff.). His right leg is bare and is being bandaged by the same winged goddess (wings broken away), on whose shoulder he rests his hand. This relief too perhaps formed part of a sarcophagus. C. L. Visconti loc. cit. p. 94 describes the work as mediocre and dates it about the end of s. ii A.D.

A less considerable fragment of the same design, which has been worked into a patchwork sarcophagus now in the Loggia Scoperta of the Vatican, shows the veiled head and powerful body of Zeus sitting on a rock to the right and leaning hard on his right hand (Visconti Mus. Pie-Clem. iv. 269 ff. pl. 37 ('le fleuve Isménus'), A. L. Millin Galerie Mythologique Paris 1811 ii. 20 ff. no. 430 pl. 109 ('le fleuve Iseminus'), J. G. Zoega in the Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Auslegung der alten Kunst Herausg. von F. G. Welcker 1848 i. 402 ff. (first critical account: 'Okeanos'), F. Matz in the Bull. d. Inst. 1870 p. 70 ff. (first identification as 'Giove nell' atto di sgravarsi da Bacco bambino'), H. Heydemann op. cit. pp. 10 n. 28, 12, 17).

H. Heydemann op. cit. p. 15 draws attention to a lost relief, of which a cast has been for over a century at Bonn. F. G. Welcker Das akademische Kunstmuseum zu Bonn1 Bonn 1844 p. 115 no. 353 describes it as follows: 'Eileithyia, die Lende des Zeus vom Dionysos entbindend. Nur das einen Bein des Zeus bis an das Knie ist erhalten und ein Flügel des Adlers, der über ihm schwebte, vielleicht angstvoll ihn umflatterte [the wing of a winged Eileithyia. A.B.C.], und von dem Kinde nur das Handchen angelegt an dem Knie der Eileithyia. Hermes, als Kinderwärter der Götter und insbesondere des Dionysos bekannt, steht seines Berufes gewißt daneben und sieht aufmerksam und wie verlegen zu.'

This second series of reliefs is perhaps derived, though not without modification, from the painting by Ktesilochos (supra p. 82 n. 3). The rebirth of the infant was a subject admirably suited to a child's sarcophagus and, doubtless, often repeated (cp. supra ii. 309, 47).

1 An Etruscan mirror, of unknown provenance, at Naples (A. Sogliano in the Guida del Mus. Napoli p. 328 no. 1523), long cited under the misleading name of the 'Patera Borgia,' represents the actual birth-scene in early fourth-century style (A. (H. L.) Heeren Expositio fragmenti tabulae armoriae...Musei Borgiani Velitris Romae 1786 p. 9 n. (6), L. Lanzo Saggio di lingua Etrusca e di altre antiche d' Italia per servire alla storia de' popoli, delle lingue, e delle belle arti Roma 1789 ii. 195—198, Visconti Mus. Pie-Clem. iv. 361 ff. pl. B 1, 1 and 2, A. L. Millin Galerie Mythologique Paris 1811 i. 50 ff. no. 222 pl. 71, F. Inghirami Monumenti etruschi o di etrusco nome Poligrafia Fiesolana 1824 ii. 277—297 pl. 16 (good), id. Storia della Toscana Poligrafia Fiesolana 1841 ii. 519, 523, 524, 529 pl. 39, 1, B. Quaranta in the Real Museo Borbonico Napoli 1839 xii pl. 57 with text pp. 1—5, Gerhard Etr. Spiegel iii. 84—87 pl. 82 (=my fig. 30), id. Über die
The Clouds personified in Cult and Myth

Fig. 30.
The Clouds personified in Cult and Myth


In the centre sits Zeus (Tinia) wearing a wreath of lilies (supra i. 622 f., 736 n. o, ii. 740) and a himation, which leaves his right leg bare. He leans with his right hand on a long sceptre surmounted by an eagle (Gerhard wrongly took this to be a Dodonaean dove) and holds a winged thunderbolt in his left. From his right thigh emerges Dionysos as a nude baldish infant with a string of bullae across his chest. The child carries in his left hand a narthex with umbelliferous head (so Heydemann). Gerhard made it a ferule and grape-bunch. Visconti, followed by Wieseler, in a small pedum) and raises his right to greet the birth-goddess (Thalna) who, arrayed in Ionic chiton and himation with stephane, ear-ring, and necklace, stoops forward to receive him. Behind Zeus is a winged goddess (M[ex], on whom see W. Deecke in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2481) wearing an Ionic chiton with girdle and cross-bands; she too has stephane, ear-ring, and necklace. She uplifts a dipper in one hand and grasps an alabastron with the other (not a pen and ink-bottle, as though about to inscribe the child's destiny). To the left of the group stands Apollon (Apulu), his long hair rolled round a fillet, a chlamys over his shoulders, a bay-branch in his left hand, and a doe behind him. To the right, room is found beneath the wings of Mean for the infant's cradle or, more probably, swaddling-clothes (so Heydemann). Inghirami had spoken of a vannus, Gerhard of a mystic cista). The whole composition, probably derived from some Greek vase-painting, is enclosed between two purely decorative figures—above, a wild bearded head with streams or streamers flowing from the mouth (Gerhard thought of Phobos, or of the Dodonaean Zeus! Visconti saw a lion's head and a snake!!); below, a winged goddess swathed in a himation. Over her runs an inscription, which has lately been read by C. Pauli loc. cit. as

\[\text{NVT]\text{CCKV IEPAC}\]

Fig. 31.

The reverse of the handle shows a pair of scantily draped dancers, male and female.

C. Lenormant in the Ann. d. Inst. 1833 v. 215 ff. and J. de Witte in the New. Ann. 1836—1837 i. 369—371 pl. A 1837, 1—2 published two bullae of thin gold foil (diameter c. 1/4 inches), found in a tomb at Vulci and preserved in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris. They are both decorated with a repoussé design representing the birth of Dionysos (cp. the series of sarcophagus-reliefs described supra p. 85 n. o (2)). Zeus with bowed head sits to the left on a rock (?). He wears a himation round his loins and over his left shoulder. His right hand clasps his right knee. His left hand rests on the rock. From his right thigh emerges the infant god, uplifting both arms. He is received by a winged Athena, clad in a Doric peplos with long overfold, aigis, and Gorgoneion. Between Zeus and Athena is a lotiform thunderbolt (?). J. de Witte's description of the scene is full of bad blunders. My pl. xiv, 1 is from a fresh photograph by Giraudon. Another gold bulla from Italy, of third-century work, shows Zeus in labour flanked by two winged Eileithyiai (Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery p. 262 f. no. 2285 pl. 46 with fig. 75 (= my pl. xiv, 2)).

Lastly, a bronze coin of Nysa Skythopolis, the ancient Beth-Shan and modern Beisdn, struck by Gordianus Pius in the year 304, i.e. some year between 240/1 and 243/4 A.D., has for reverse type Zeus standing to the left and the city-goddess standing to the right. Zeus is clad in a himation, which passes like a veil over the back of his head. His right foot is raised on some uncertain object (? a rock), while the head and shoulders of the infant Dionysos emerge from his right thigh. He rests his left hand on a long sceptre and extends his right towards the goddess. She is dressed in chiton and himation, and wears a turreted crown and a veil (?). She holds a long sceptre in her right hand and the babe Dionysos in her left. The legend is [NV]\[\text{CCKV IEPAC}\] and in the exergue [$\Delta$]T (G. F. Hill in...
(1) Gold *bulla* from Vulci, now at Paris: Birth of Dionysos.

(2) Gold *bulla* from Italy, now in the British Museum: Birth of Dionysos.

*See page 88 n. o.*
reflects a very ancient ritual of adoption\(^1\). The detail of the sewing (erahphthai) is probably to be connected with the office of the birth-

the **Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins** Palestine pp. xxxvi, 77 pl. 8, 5. Fig. 31 is from a cast kindly supplied by Dr Hill).

\(^1\) So first J. J. Bachofen *Das Mutterrecht* Basel 1897 pp. 243, 256, 259, though he confused the issue by importing a reference to the *couvade* (hence *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 904 goes off on a wrong path). Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 110 keeps a clearer head: 'The old attempts to interpret this as nature-symbolism have failed ludicrously. The first to strike the right track was Bachofen, who, following the anthropological method, explained the myth as the reflex of some primitive social institution; but his suggestion that we have here a divine example of the *couvade* was not altogether happy, though the *couvade* was practised by primitive peoples of the Mediterranean area. The travail of Zeus is more naturally explained by him as a primitive mode of adoption, wherein the father pretends to actually [(sic)] give birth to the adopted son; and this would be the natural method for a people passing from the rule of the matrilinear to that of the patrilinear descent\(^2\). We hear of the same fashion of adoption among the Haidas of North America who are in the transition-state between the two systems.] Dionysos, therefore, was accepted and affiliated in this wise to Zeus by some Hellenic tribe who were still in that stage, and whom we cannot discover, for we do not know whence the story first radiated, though we may surmise that it arose in Boeotia.' The latter part of this statement, however, will have to be modified by those who accept the recent attempts of H. J. Rose ('On the alleged Evidence for Mother-right in Early Greece' in *Folk-Lore* 1911 xxii. 277—291, 'Prehistoric Greece and Mother-Right' *ib.* 1926 xxxvii. 213—244) to disprove the existence of mother-right in early Greece.

Frazer *Golden Bough*\(^3\): The Magic Art i. 74 f. illustrates 'Simulation of birth at adoption' from a wide area, including one classical myth: *Diod. 4. 39* (from an older handbook of mythology (E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 674)) *proothen* δ' ἥμιν τοῖς εἰρήμενοι ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἀποθέωσιν αὐτοῦ Ζεύς Πρᾶσ μὲν ἐτειοῖν ὑποστηθασεν τὸν Ἡρακλῆς καὶ τὸ λατον εἰς τὸν ἅπασα χρόνων μητρὸς εὐθανὰ παρέχεσθαι (παρέκδωσεν cod. D.), τὴν δὲ τικωνιῶν γενέσθαι φασὶ τιαυτὴν τὴν Ἡραν ἀναβάσαν εὔι (ἐπὶ τὴν νυκτ.) ἐλθὼν καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλῆς προελαμβάνειν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα διὰ τῶν ἐνθυματῶν ἀφεῖναν πρὸς τὴν τῇ, μιμομενὴν τὴν ἀληθινὴν γένεσιν: ὅπερ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ποιεῖν τοὺς βασαρόν τινας ἧποιν ὁδὸν τιοῦσαν βοηθῶσαι, Λυκ. Αἰ. 39 δ δευτέρους τεκώσκων κ.τ.λ. ὧν Τzetz. ad loc. τὴν Ἡραν λέγει: διὰ τοῦ κόλπου γὰρ ἀπὸν ἤγεν (φρέγειν cod. a) ὡς πικουτα καὶ τεκνοποιοῦμεν. 

Cp. three important mirrors which represent Hera suckling a full-grown Herakles: (a) An early fourth-century mirror in the Museo Civico at Bologna (F. Schiassi *De Pateris, ex sententia J. T. Bianchini sermo Bononie* 1888 pl. 10, Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* i. i12 pl. 126 (=my fig. 32), E. Brizio in the *Guida del Museo Civico di Bologna* Bologna 1883 p. 24 Sezione antica, Sala viii, E Vetrina di fronte, Sezione di mezzo, J. Bayet *Hercle Etude Critique des principaux monuments relatifs à l’Hercule Étrusque Paris* 1926 p. 150 ff. no. D) shows Herakles as a well-grown youth, with his lion-skin round his neck and a smooth club at his side, bending forward to be suckled by Hera. She sits on a throne, the footstool of which is seen in perspective, and holds up her bared right breast to the hero’s lips. Behind her and leaning on her shoulder is Iolaos (Gerhard says Ares), with *chlamys* and lance. The whole is surrounded by a beautiful ivy-wreath; and the reverse has a frilled (—rayed) solar (?) head. A similar design on a terra-cotta medallion in relief was reported by W. Helbig in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1866 p. 65 f. It was found probably at Palestrina and was then in the possession of Castellani. Helbig took the medallion to be a model for a *bulla*. But A. Kluegmann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1871 xliii. 21 regarded it with more likelihood as the centre of a bowl. The group of Hera suckling Herakles was flanked by two standing youths clad in *chlamys*—apparently a duplication of Iolaos. (b) A fourth-century mirror from Volterrae (Volterrae), now in the Museo Archeologico at Florence, elaborates the subject (G. Körte in Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* v. 73—78 pl. 60 (=my fig. 33), A. B. Cook in the *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 416 f. fig. 4, J. Bayet *op. cit.* p. 150 ff. no. E
Fig. 32.
The Clouds personified in Cult and Myth 91

Fig. 33.
In the centre sits Hera on a handsome throne, the seat of which is seen from below (cp. supra ii. 738 fig. 668), with a footstool. She is attired in an Ionic chiton and a himation drawn over her head. She has a profusion of trinkets (stephané, ear-ring, finger-rings, necklace, bracelet) and is shod with strap-work shoes. Her right hand pulls forward her himation; her left, with spread fingers, presses her naked breast, which is being sucked vigorously by Herakles. He is a bearded man with a broad fillet on his hair, a lion-skin round his neck, a short chiton about his waist, and a knotty club in his right hand. He leaps over the goddess' lap to play the infant's part. To the right of these two stands Zeus, with himation, shoes, and sceptre, signing to a young undraped goddess, who wears a large necklace with pendants of three drops (cp. II. 14. 183, Od. 18. 298 τριξων κορνστρα) and, like Zeus, displays two leaves stuck in her hair. To the left stands Apollo with chlamys, bay-wreath, and bay-branch. In the background an older goddess appears in three-quarter position: she wears a stephané, a necklace with pendants, and a himation like that of Hera (there is indeed some confusion between the two) drawn over her head. Behind Hera's throne is an Ionic pillar supporting a tablet inscribed eca: srœi : | ταύ : ix/α | c : hercle : | umial : clan : θεα : sce. The only words at present intelligible to us, hercle : umial : clan, denote 'Hercules son of Uni (Hera)' and certainly suggest that the inscription is a label explaining the scene rather than a votive dedication involving other names. They do not of course justify Ptolemy Chemos of Alexandria (c. 100 A.D.) in his paradoxical notion that Herakles was the son of Zeus and Hera (Ptol. nov. hist. 3 p. 186, 28 ff. Westermann ap. Phot. bibl. p. 148 a 38 ff. Bekker τίμων θωρίν ὁ βώμος ὥστε θυσίαν (I. Bekker cf. Θήβαις εἰς Ἀθηνά, ἐν τῷ λόγῳ (either read λέγει or, less probably, supply the author Μάρπος ὁ Θήβαις ἵππον ἱπποδήμος from the context and suppose a direct quotation of the following words) Δίας κατ' Ἱππα σῖόν). The whole composition is enclosed between an upper and a lower band of herring-bone pattern. Above is a bald Silenos, with pig's ears, drinking from a phiale. He sprawls along the upper line, and from his incredibly clumsy neck I should infer that the artist had at first intended him to be an upright head (cp. Gerhard Ét. Spiegel pl. 212) or one of two (cp. ib. pl. 291, A), but had later altered him into a recumbent figure (cp. ib. pl. 323). Below is Eros, crouching almost en face, with a bulb slung round his throat and an ovoid object (egg? ball?) in either hand. (c) An early third-century mirror from Vulci, now at Rome, introduces some variations and adds names (C. Robert in the Arch. Zeit. 1882 xl. 173, A. Furtwängler ib. 1883 xli. 271, Gerhard Ét. Spiegel v. 72 f. pl. 59 (=my fig. 34)). J. Bayet ap. cit. p. 151 f. no. F). Herakles (hercle) sits on a low stool, beardless but adult and equipped with lion-skin and club. He is about to suck the right nipple of Hera (Uni), who stoops towards him with bared breast, clasping him with her right hand and holding a horn (cp. supra ii. 347 fig. 241) in her left. Behind Herakles sits Mean raising two sprigs of olive, bent to form a wreath for the hero. In the background stands Zeus (Tina), his head surrounded by two streamers and a lotiform bolt visible at his right side. He is flanked on his right by Aphrodite (Tiran), on his left by Athena (Merva, a mistake for Mercuria) with aigis, Gorgoneion, and shield bearing a star. Below is a large female head between two stars. These three mirrors clearly postulate a common original, perhaps a fifth-century fresco, from which is also descended—with sundry important modifications—a lóythos of 'Apulian' style found at Anxia (Ansi di Basilicata) and now in the British Museum (G. Minervini in the Bull. d. Inst. 1842 p. 160, id. in the Bull. Arch. Nap. 1842—1843 i. 6 f., id. il mito di Ercole che succhia il latte di Giunone Napoli 1854 pp. 1—34 with pl. (extr. from the Memorie della Regale Accademia Ercolanense Napoli 1853 vi. 317 ff.), Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Hera p. 141 no. A, G. Körte in Gerhard Ét. Spiegel v. 75 ff., Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iv. 60 no. F 107). Herakles is here reduced to the proportions of a boy and has lost his lion-skin and club. But that he and no other is meant appears from the presence of his patroness Athena (aigis, spear), who offers Hera a lily—not, as Minervini thought, in allusion to the later legend of the Milky Way (supra i. 624 n. 5), but merely as the favourite flower of the goddess (supra i. 624 n. 2, ii. 515 n. 10) and a fitting reward for her services. Hera herself is a queenly figure, seated with a floral stephané on her head and a lily-topped sceptre in her hand. She presses
The Clouds personified in Cult and Myth 93
goddess Rhapso\(^1\), but was presumably stressed as a means of explaining the obscure appellative *Eiraphiotes\(^2\). The same etymologising tendency dates the whole hostage-episode, with its play on the boy to her right breast, where he drinks his fill. Behind her stands Iris in short *chiton* and high boots. She has wings on her shoulders, and a knotted or studded staff by way of *caduceus*. She talks with a seated wreath-bearing goddess, who is difficult to identify,—probably not Peitho (G. Körte), certainly not Alkmene (G. Minervini, H. B. Walters). This couple is balanced by a standing Eros (*wreath, *sphendō*) and a seated Aphrodite (mirror) on the left. A. D. Trendall cp. a *lythmos* of ‘early Δπαλίαν’ style, by the same hand, at Taranto (my pl. xv, 2), which substitutes Aphrodite and *'Επωρόδοι* for Athena and Herakles.

It is noteworthy that in the case of Dionysos the simulated birth is from the god (Zeus), in the case of Herakles from the goddess (Hera). Parallels to both forms of the rite can be adduced.  

1 *Supra* ii. 184 n. 3.  

Expert philologists have advanced widely different explanations. W. Sonne in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1861 x. 103 connected *elφαὼς*, Aeolic *ēlφαω-, with the Sanskrit *ṛṣabha* ‘bull,’ so that the word would mean ‘Befruchter.’ R. Meister *Die griechischen Dialetke* Göttingen 1883 i. 146 followed suit. W. Prellwitz in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1897 xxii. 99 was still inclined to agree (‘Sonnen…vielleicht mit recht,’ etc.), and F. Solmsen in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1897 viii. 46 ff. definitely accepted the same view, not only connecting Lesbian *'Ερφαφωτάς*, Ionic *'Ερφαφών*, with the Old Indian *ṛṣabha* ‘bull,’ but (after A. Meillet *ib.* 1895 v. 328 f.) bringing into relation with them *τρόφος*, which meant either ‘ram’ (Lyk. *Al.* 1316 with Tzet. *ad loc.*) or ‘boat’ (Kallim. *frag.* 335 Schneider *Ap. Tzet.* *in Lyk.* *Al.* 1316, Hesych. *s.v.* *τρόφος* (so M. Schmidt for *ἔρπας* cod.) *κρόβος*, and drawing attention to *'Ἁρδαίων τὸν Ἑρμομόθ, Ἀγνυκτοῦ Μακεδῶν Βασιλέα* (Thouk. 4. 83), a man who was τοῦ Βακχικῶν γένους (Strab. 326)—an obviously Dionysiac group of names. F. Frochde in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1896 xxii. 199, while not doubting the possibility of *'Ερφαφώτας*, *'Ερφαφών* being related to the Sanskrit *ṛṣabha* ‘bull,’ regarded the word as another form of *'Ερφαφές*, the goat too being a ‘Verkörperung des lebenerzeugenden Numens des Gottes’ (F. A. Voigt in *Roscher* *Lex.* *a ‘Verkörperung des lebenerzeugenden Numens des Gottes’ (F. A. Voigt in *Roscher* *Lex.* *a ‘Verkörperung des lebenerzeugenden Numens des Gottes’ (F. A. Voigt in *Roscher* *Lex.* *a ‘Verkörperung des lebenerzeugenden Numens des Gottes’ (F. A. Voigt in *Roscher* *Lex.* *a ‘Verkörperung des lebenerzeugenden Numens des Gottes’ (F. A. Voigt in *Roscher* *Lex.* *a ‘Verkörperung des lebenerzeugenden Numens des Gottes’ (F. A. 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(1) *Lkythos* of early Apulian style from Anxia, now in the British Museum:
Herakles suckled by Hera.

*See page 92 n. o and page 94 n. o.*

(2) *Lkythos* of early Apulian style, now at Taranto:
Herakles suckled by Hera.

*See page 94 n. o.*
hómeros and méros, as the effort of Prodikos or some other fifth-century sophist, though the particular incident of the aither-phantom, with its further play on méros, 'portion', is attributable to Euripides himself.

χρονος. Dionysos ἑραφιότης "in the tufted skin" was a kid, cp. Hesych. s.v. ἑραφιότης... καὶ ἔριφος παρὰ θάλασσων. [Observe, however, that ἑραφιότης 'wrapped in a tufted garment' might equally well, or even better, describe the Bacchant garbed in an artificial skin (Eur. Bacch. 111 ff. οὐκετίων τι ἐνδάπεδον στέφεσθε λευκοτρίχων πάλαιυς with Sir J. E. Sandys ad loc.). F. Bechtel Die griechischen Dialekte Berlin 1921 i. 128 f. approves this derivation, but notes two difficulties: 'Die eine ist die, dass, wenn ἐφαρμόν die Grundlage des Gottesnamens bildet, dieser bei den Lesbiern die Gestalt ἑραφιότης haben müsste, da, wie speziell ἔριφος lehrt, ἐν hinter Consonanten spurlos untergegangen ist. Man kann ihr mit dem Einwande begegnen, dass die Verdopplung des θ die metrische Dehnung der ersten von drei auf einander folgenden Kürze bezeichnet, wie in περιώνυμ θεοκρ. 298. Nicht beseitigen aber lässt sich die zweite Schwierigkeit. Nach den Ausführungen Wackernagel's Glotta IV 243 f. kommt den Deminutiven auf ἐφαρμόν langes θ zu, dem im Ionisch-Attischen θ entspricht: εὐθάφω σ im Corpus der Hippokratischen Schriften und bei Alex. Also müsste die Namenform bei den Lesbiern ἑραφιότης, bei den Ionien ἑρμφιότης lauten. Hier kann man nur mit einer auf unsichriger Grundlage ruhenden Hypothese helfen: da das Erscheinen der Länge in ἐφαρμόν von Wackernagel selbst als "Rätsel" bezeichnet wird, darf man vielleicht annehmen, dass neben ihr die Kürze gelegen habe, die kein Rätsel sein würde.' K. Brugmann Griechische Grammatik München 1913 p. 232 pronounces the verdict: 'Ἐφαρφιότης λεσβ. ἑρμφιότητα...ιστειβελησθαυντοι ουστρω. Possibly fresh evidence may yet be forthcoming—from Hittite sources?

The month Ἐρφιότης at Arkesine in Amorgos (Inscr. Gr. insc. vii no. 63, 28 = F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.—Inscr. iii. 2 558 f. no. 5371, 28 = Dittenberger Ἐρμφιότης v. 531, 28, ib. no. 963, 28 μυρὶ ἑρμφιότητι) probably corresponds with the Ionic Lenaion and the Attic Gamelion (J. Delamarre in the Rev. Philol. N.s. 1901 xxv. 180 f., W. Dittenberger in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 2118 f.).

1 ὃ μυρθι = ἐφαρμόν.
2 Euripides is said to have been a pupil of Prodikos (v. Eur. i in schol. Eur. i. 2, 7 f. Diadorm, Soud. s.v. ἑραφιότης, Gell. 15. 20. 4), who was interested on the one hand in linguistic discussions (E. Zeller A History of Greek Philosophy trans. S. F. Alleyne London 1881 ii. 489 ff., 512), on the other in the origins of Dionysiac worship (id. ib. p. 482 f.).
3 The foregoing paragraph must not be taken to imply that mythical birth from the thigh always betokens the ritual of adoption. F. Liebrecht Zur Volkskunde Heilbronn 1879 p. 490 f. (= id. in Germania 1860 v. 479 f.) compiles a list of such births from the leg, the foot, the hand, etc., each of which calls for separate investigation. They include the following:

(1) A. Kuhn Die Herkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks Gütersloh 1886 pp. 13 f., 148 f. draws attention to Aurva, son of Cyavana (son of Ćukra son of Bhṛgu) by Arushi daughter of Mana, who was sprung from his mother's thigh (Mahabhārata trans. M. N. Dutt Calcutta 1895 i. 93 = Mahabh. i. 66. 47 'Arushi, the daughter of Mana, became the wife of the wise Cyavana, and the greatly illustrious Aurva was born in her, ripping open her thighs,' ib. 1896 iii. 453 = Mahabh. 3. 314. 17 'O sinless one, you have further heard how the Brahmanic sage Aurva at one time remaining concealed in his mother's thighs served the purpose of the celestials.' On Aurva see further S. Sorensen An Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata London 1904 p. 100 f.).

(2) A. Kuhn op. cit. p. 149 ff. compares the case of Vena, son of Anga and Sunithá, who produced Nisháda from his thigh and Prthu from his arm (Mahabhārata trans. M. N. Dutt Calcutta 1903 xii 86 = Mahabh. 12. 59. 94 'Vena, a slave of anger and malice, became impious and tyrannical towards all creatures. The Brahmacadand Rishis killed him
with Kusha blades inspired with Mantras. Uttering Mantras all the while, those Rishis pierced the right thigh of Vena. Thereupon, from that thigh, sprang a short-limbed person on earth, resembling a charred brand, having blood-red eyes and black hair. Those Brahmavadins said to him,—Nishida (sit) here. From him have originated the Nishadas, those wicked tribes who live in the hills and the forests, as also those hundreds and thousands of Mlechas, living on the Vindhyha ranges. The great Rishis then pierced the right arm of Vena. Thence originated a person who was a second Indra in form.' (see Prithu). H. H. Wilson *Works* London 1864 vi. 181 ff. = *Vishnu Purâna* i. 13 'And they fell upon the king, and beat him with blades of holy grass, consecrated by prayer, and slew him, who had first been destroyed by his impiety towards god....The sages, hearing this, consulted, and together rubbed the thigh of the king, who had left no offspring, to produce a son. From the thigh, thus rubbed, came forth a being of the complexion of a charred stake, with flattened features (like a negro), and of dwarfish stature. "What am I to do?" cried he eagerly to the Munis. "Sit down" (nishida), said they: and thence his name was Nishâda. His descendants, the inhabitants of the Vindhyha mountain, great Muni, are still called Nishâdas, and are characterized by the exterior tokens of depravity. By this means the wickedness of Vena was expelled; those Nishâdas being born of his sins, and carrying them away. The Brahman then proceeded to rub the right arm of the king, from which friction was engendered the illustrious son of Vena, named Prithu, resplendent in person, as if the blazing deity of Fire had been manifested. There then fell from the sky the primitive bow (of Mahâdeva) named Ájagava, and celestial arrows, and panoply from heaven. At the birth of Prithu, all living creatures rejoiced; and Vena, delivered, by his being born, from the hell named Put, ascended to the realms above.' H. H. Wilson *ad loc.* cites the parallel passage in the *Bhágavata-purâna* 4. 14. 43—46 with the rendering of E. Burnouf *Le Bhágavata Purâna* Paris 1844 ii. 2. 78: 'Ayant pris cetteresolution, les Richis secouerent rapidement lacuisse du roi qu'ils avaient tue, et il en sortit un nain. Noir comme un corbeau, ayant le corps d'une extreme petitesse, les bras courts, les machoires grandes, les pieds petits, le nez enfonce, les yeux rouges et les cheveux cuivres. Prosterne devant eux, le pauvre nain s'ecria: Que faut-il que je fasse? et les Brahmanes lui repondirent: Assieds-toi, ami. De là lui vint le nom de Nishâda. C'est de sa race que sont sortis les Nâichadas qui habitent les cavernes et les montagnes; car c'est lui dont la naissance effa$e la faute terrible de Vena,' ib. 4. 15. 1—6 (ii. 2. 79 Burnouf) 'Mâtrêya dit: Les Brâhmanes ayant ensuite agité les bras du roi Vêna, qui était mort sans postérité, en firent sortir deux enfants, un fils et une fille. A la vue de ces deux enfants, les Richis qui expliquent le Veda, y reconnaissent une portion de la substance de Bhagavat, s'écrièrent, pleins d'une extreme joie: Celui-ci est une portion de la substance du bienheureux Vichnu, qui est faite pour purifier le monde; celle-là est une creation de Lakchmt, la compagne fidele de Purucha. De ces deux enfants, le mûle deviendra le premier roi; ce sera le Maharâdjâ, nommé Prithu, dont la gloire et la renommee seront repandues au loin. Celle-ci sera sa royale épouse; douée d'une taille parfaite et de belles dents, faite pour rehausser les ornements et la vertu elle-même, elle sera, sous le nom d'Arcthis, inviolablement attachee à Prithu. Cet enfant est sans contredit une portion de Hari, qui est né dans le desir de sauver le monde; et cette fille est certainement Çt son épouse dévouée, compagne inséparable du Dieu qu'elle a suivi [sur la terre].' H. H. Wilson *op. cit.* vi. 182 n. 1 further remarks: 'The Padma (Bhûmi Khânda) has a similar description [of Nishâda]; adding to the dwarfish stature and black complexion, a wide mouth, large ears, and a protruberant belly. It also particularizes his posterity as Nishâdas, Kirâtas, Bhillas, Bankahâs, Bhrâmaras, Pulîndas, and other barbarians or Mlechchhas, living in woods and on mountains.' A. Kuhn *op. cit.* p. 149 f. refers to the *Harivamsha*, a supplement to the *Mahâbhârata*, for the same tale.

(3) Mândhâṣṭ, an ancient king, son of Yuvanâcva, was born from his father's side. Yuvanâcva, when hunting, had drunk sacrificial butter and so become pregnant (*Mahâbhârata* trans. M. N. Dutt Calcutta 1896 iii. 187 = *Mahabh.* 3. 126. 24—31 'O great king, as you, being very thirsty, have drunk the water prepared with sacred hymns which was
filled with the virtue of my religious labours, you must bring forth out of your own body a son as described above. We shall perform for your sake a sacrifice of wonderful effect, so that you will bring forth a son equal to Indra. You will not feel any pain at the time of the delivery. When one hundred years passed away, a son, as effulgent as the sun, came out by riving the left side of that high-souled king. The greatly effulgent child came out, but king Yuvanashwa did not die—it was no doubt a great wonder. Then greatly effulgent Indra came there with the desire of seeing him. Thereupon the celestials asked Indra, “What is to be sucked by this boy?” Then Indra gave his own fore finger into his mouth (to suck), and the wielder of thunder said, “he will suck me.” Thereupon the dwellers of heaven with Indra gave him the name “Mandhatta,” H. H. Wilson op. cit. London 1866 viii. 267 = Vishnu Purana 4. 2 ‘When the Munis rose, and found that the water had been drunk, they inquired who had taken it, and said: “The queen that has drunk this water shall give birth to a mighty and valiant son.” “It was I,” exclaimed the Raja, “who unwittingly drank the water”: and, in due time, it ripped open the right side of the Raja, and was born: and the Raja did not die. Upon the birth of the child, “Who will be its nurse?” said the Munis; when (Indra,) the king of the gods appeared, and said, “He shall have me for his nurse” (mām ayaṁ dhāsyati); and, hence, the boy was named Māndhātṛ. Indra put his fore-finger into the mouth of the infant, who sucked it, and drew from it (heavenly) nectar.’

(4) The Buddha-karita of Auvaghosha (c. 100 A.D.) narrates the birth of Buddha from the side of queen Māyā: Buddha-karita trans. E. B. Cowell r. 25, 26, 29 (The Sacred Books of the East Oxford 1894 xlix. 5 f.) ‘At that time the constellation Pushya was auspicious, and from the side of the queen, who was purified by her vow, her son was born for the welfare of the world, without pain and without illness. Like the sun bursting from a cloud in the morning,—so he too, when he was born from his mother’s womb, made the world bright like gold, bursting forth with his rays which dispelled the darkness.... As was Aurva’s birth from the thigh, and Prīthu’s from the hand, and Māndhātṛ’s, who was like Indra himself, from the forehead [but see supra (3)], and Kakshvat’s from the upper end of the arm,—thus too was his birth (miraculous).’ The Fo-sho-hing- tsan-king, a translation of the Buddha-karita into Chinese made by the Indian priest Dharmaraksha (c. 420 A.D.), repeats the narrative: Fo-sho-hing-tsang-king trans. S. Beal i. r. 9—ii (The Sacred Books of the East Oxford 1883 xix. 2 f.) ‘While she (thus) religiously observed the rules of a pure discipline, Bodhisattva was born from her right side, (come) to deliver the world, constrained by great pity, without causing his mother pain or anguish. As king Yu-līu [sc. Aurva] was born from the thigh, as king Pi-t’au [sc. Prīthu] was born from the hand, and Māndhātṛ was born from the upper end of the arm,—thus too was his birth (miraculous).’

(5) F. Liebrecht Des Gervasius von Tilbury Otia Imperialia Hannover 1856 p. 72 notes that, according to an Old French legend, Phanuel once peeled an apple and wiped the knife on his thigh. The juice soaked into and impregnated his thigh, from which nine months later a girl—the mother of the Virgin Mary—was born (J. von Lassberg Ein schon alt Lied von Grave Friis von Zolre, dem Oettinger, und der Belagerung von Hohen Zieren, nebst noch etlichen andern Liedern [Constanz 1842] p. 76 f.: ‘Sainz fanoel se sist un Jour | Emmi sa sale ala froideur | Seur vn coulstes de cendaul | Il apela son senechaul | Des pomes li fit apourter | Es melades en veut doner | Ses seneschauz laut apourtra | Et a ses piez sa genoilla | Trois des pomes et un coutel | Mit en la main sainz fanoel | Ly rois les prit sy les tailla | Et es melades en dona | Quant ly rois ot taille la pome | De la seue qui tant fut bone | Entint vn poy a son coutel | Or oiez de saint fanoel | Quant il vit son coutel moille | De la pome quil ot taille | A sa cuisse le ressuia | Et la seue ly engenra | Vne mont gentil demoiselle | Qui mout parfut cortoise et belle. || Quant ly rois vit la grand meruoille | A cui nulle ne sa peroille | Il hamende tous ses amis | Et les mires de son pais | Il ny vint mires tant senez | Ne fectein tant letrez | Qui seht dire la

C. III.
The Clouds personified in Cult and Myth

doleur | De la Jambe lempereur | Tant furent esbahy ly mire | Ly plus saige ne sot que dire | Quant vint au iour que dieux imit | Sy commen lescriture dit | Ly rois melades accoucha | Et de la cuisse deliura | Qui tant fut cortoise et belle | Ce fut sainte anne don ie dy | D la meire thesu nasqui'). Liebrecht loc. cit. thinks that this may conceivably be 'eine Reminiszenz der Dionysius{sag}e.' Hardly so.

(6) S. Baring-Gould Legends of Old Testament Characters London and New York 1871 p. 20 f. 'The inhabitants of Madagascar have a strange myth touching the origin of woman. They say that the first man was created of the dust of the earth, and was placed in a garden, where he was subject to none of the ills which now affect mortality; he was also free from all bodily appetites, and though surrounded by delicious fruit and limpid streams, yet felt no desire to taste of the fruit or to quaff the water. The Creator had, moreover, strictly forbidden him either to eat or to drink. The great enemy, however, came to him, and painted to him in glowing colours the sweetness of the apple, the lusciousness of the date, and the succulence of the orange. In vain: the first man remembered the command laid upon him by his Maker. Then the fiend assumed the appearance of an effulgent spirit, and pretended to be a messenger from Heaven commanding him to eat and drink. The man at once obeyed. Shortly after, a pimple appeared on his leg; the spot enlarged to a tumour, which increased in size and caused him considerable annoyance. At the end of six months it burst, and there emerged from the limb a beautiful girl. The father of all living was sorely perplexed what to make of his acquisition, when a messenger from heaven appeared, and told him to let her run about the garden till she was of a marriageable age, and then to take her to himself as his wife. He obeyed. He called her Bahouna, and she became the mother of all races of men.' The relation of this and similar Malagasy tales to Biblical teaching is discussed by J. A. MacCulloch in J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1912 v. 708 b. F. Liebrecht Zur Volkskunde Heilbronn 1879 p. 490 n.** (=id. in Germania 1860 v. 479) cites a variant from J. W. Wolf Deutsche Märchen und Sagen Leipzig 1845 p. 599 (on no. 198): 'Die Einwohner von Madagaskar erzählen, Adam habe stark gegessen und in Folge dessen einem natürlichen Bedürfnisse genügen müssen, was sich aber gleich im Paradiese durch den Geruch verrathen. Darob sei er vom Teufel verklagt worden und Gott habe ihn aus dem Paradiese geworfen. Einige Zeit nachher wäre sein Bein aufgeschwollen und man habe ein jung Mädchen heraus geholt, welches er geheirathet.'


(8) Persephone Ἡερωποία (Hesych. Ἡερωποία = Περσεφόνη) has been variously explained. I. Vossius in the notes to J. Alberti's edition of Hesychios (Lugdani Batavorum 1766) ii. 1546 n. 30 asks: 'An quod manuum labore nascantur fruges?' M. Schmidt in Philologus 1858 xiii. 230 replies: 'Vielmehr Ἡερωπόνεια, was aus Ἀχειρόγενες entstanden sein könne; doch hängt vielleicht Ἀχειρό- γενες von Ἡερωπόνεια ab.'
Plate XVI

Hydria at Queens’ College, Cambridge:
Apollon visits the Lesbian oracle of Orpheus.

See page 99 f.
Phantoms were in fashion. The Platonic Phaidros, perhaps taking a hint from Stesichoros¹ or Euripides², tells how the gods, indignant that Orpheus was unwilling to die for love, sent him back empty-handed after showing him a mere phantom of his wife, not her very self³.

In this connexion the design on a red-figured hydria in my possession is deserving of notice (pl. xvi)⁴. It is Attic work dating from the last quarter of the fifth century B.C. In the centre stands a slender, youthful Apollon. He wears a bay-wreath on his flowing locks and a chlamys with weighted corners over his left arm. In his right hand he holds a long bay-branch; in his left, a lyre. Both hands are lowered, and the god looks downwards at the head of Orpheus, which holds a long bay-branch; in his left, a lyre.
chanting an oracle from the ground. Behind Orpheus stands a young woman, presumably the Pythia. She too looks down, and holds her right hand with a deprecatory gesture above the head. She has a beaded fillet and upright bay-leaves in her hair, and she is clad in a peplos with long overfold and girdle. Behind Apollon stands another woman, closely swathed in chiton and himation. She also gazes at the head of Orpheus, but with loosened hair and a look of such obvious distress that we must surely identify her with Eurydike. I take the whole design to portray the visit of Apollon to the Lesbian oracle of Orpheus—a scene graphically described by Philostratos the Athenian early in s. iii A.D.:

Hitherto the only available illustration of this narrative was the design on a red-figured kylix now in the Lewis collection at Cambridge, published many years ago by G. Minervini (fig. 35) and noted by A. Furtwängler as Attic work referable to the time of the Peloponnesian War. The obverse of this vase shows Apollon's

1 Philostr. her. 6. 4 ἡ κεφαλὴ γὰρ μετὰ τὸ τῶν γυμνῶν ἑρυμῶν ᾦς Δέσμον κατασχοῦσα ῥήμα τῆς Δέσμου ὄνειρον καὶ κοίλη τῇ γῇ ἐχρησμοῖσε. δῆν ἐχρώστε θ′ αὐτή τὰ μακρὰ Δέσμοι τε καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τῶν Ἀδικίων καὶ Ἰωτῆς Ἀδικίως πρόσθες, ἐχρησμικός δὲ τοῦ μαστικοῦ τοῦτοι καὶ ἐς Βαβυλώνα ἀνατίθηκε. πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐς τὸν δῶν βασιλέα ἡ κεφαλὴ δῆλη, Κύρη τε τὴν ἀρχῶν χρησμὸν ἐντέθη ἐκδόθη γεγένηται, "τάμα, ὅ Κύρη, σά," κ.π.λ.

2 The only other possibility would be to regard her as 'the Muse herself that Orpheus bore,' whether Kalliope or another (O. Gruppe in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1073 f.). But this is not the type of any known or recognisable Muse.


4 Sc. Delphoi.

5 The concluding words are ἐφάταται τὸ χρησμῳδοῦστι στὸ θεός καὶ "πέτανσε" ἄφο "τῶν ἐμῶν, καὶ γὰρ δὴ (καί) ἔδωσα σὲ λεικῶν ἰηρέγκα." Possibly the original source of the story (Damis of Nineveh? Maximus of Aigai? see Philostr. v. Apoll. 1. 3 p. 3f. Kayser) had a hexameter passage such as χρησμῳδοῦστι θεὸς ποτ' ἐφάτατο κατ' ἀρετῆς | 'παύσας ἐμῶν, καὶ γὰρ ὀ' λεικῶν ἰηρέγκα' ἰηρέγκα | ο' τῶν δ' ἀρ' ἐμῶν—καὶ γὰρ ὀ' λεικῶν ἰηρέγκα—πέτανσε.' But the later oracles of Apollon tend to drop verse for prose (Frazer Pausianias v. 238). It is curious, if no more, that the words τὰ ἔμα occur again in the oracle spoken by Orpheus' head to Kyros the Elder (Philostr. her. 6. 4 τάμα, ὅ Κύρη, σά.)

6 G. Minervini 'Oracolo di Orfeo e dell' Apollo Napeo in Lesbo: vaso dipinto di fabbrica nolana' in the Bull. Arch. Nap. 1858 vi. 32—39 pl. 4. 1 (= my fig. 35) held that on one side Pelops is taking down an oracle pronounced by the head of Orpheus under the protection of Apollon Napeos (schol. Aristoph. nud. 144), and that on the other Kalliope has picked up her son's lyre and a second Muse the strap from which it hung. Reinach Rép. Vases i. 493, 2 is more cautious: 'A) La tête coupée d'Orphée rend des
visit to the oracle of Orpheus’ head; its reverse, the finding of Orpheus’ lyre by a couple of Lesbian women (hardly Muses). The new vase also amplifies the oracular visit by the addition of two women, but lends a far greater significance to them by making one the devotee of Apollon, the other the wife of Orpheus. And, if that
The Clouds personified in Cult and Myth

is the case, Eurydike must necessarily be present in phantom form—a figure comparable with the ghost of Klytaimestra as she appears on more than one Greek vase. Mr C. T. Seltman further points out to me that both these Orpheus-vases presuppose an interest at Athens in the sacra of Lesbos and handle the theme with a light-hearted semi-humorous touch understandable enough during the Athenian domination of the island in 427—412 B.C. Lastly, there is the phantasmal Aeneas, whom Iuno in Virgil's epic fashions out of 'hollow cloud' and decks with Dardanian armour

oracles, qu'un éphebe (Pélops?) transcrit sur un apotique en présence d'Apollon (?). (B) Deux femmes, tenant l'une la lyre d'Orphée, l'autre le baudrier auquel elle était suspendue. A. Furtwängler in the Winchelmannfest-Progr. Berlin i. 163 'a figure comparable with the ghost of Klytaimestra as she appears on more than one Greek vase'. Mr C. T. Seltman further points out to me that both these Orpheus-vases presuppose an interest at Athens in the sacra of Lesbos and handle the theme with a light-hearted semi-humorous touch understandable enough during the Athenian domination of the island in 427—412 B.C. Lastly, there is the phantasmal Aeneas, whom Iuno in Virgil's epic fashions out of 'hollow cloud' and decks with Dardanian armour.


2 Mr Seltman also suspects that the story told by Philostratos about Kyros the Elder (supra p. 100 n. 1) belongs more properly to Kyros the Younger. If the former captured Babylon in 538, the latter had designs upon it in 401. If the corpse of the one was beheaded by Tomyris, that of the other was beheaded by Artaxerxes. Confusion might result, and some points of the story suit the Younger better than the Elder. Be that as it may, Philostratos' mention of Babylon suggests that he may have he indebted to Damis of Nineveh.

Fig. 36.
Etruscan mirrors representing the oracular head of Orpheus.

(1) A mirror from Clusium, now in the Casuccini collection (no. 176), Villa Marcianella, Chiusi. The head of Orpheus (Ὠπευς) looks up from the ground with parted lips, while a young man on the right takes down the oracle (B. Bandinelli in the *Mon. d. Liné.* 1925. 547—552 fig. 10. W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* London 1935 p. 542—552 fig. 6).


(3) A fragmentary mirror, formerly in the Borgia collection and now presumably at Naples, which had once a similar design (E. Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 196 pl. 196, B. Bandinelli loc. cit. p. 548).

See page 102 n. o.
Early 'Campanian' amphora in the Musée Borély at Marseilles:
a youth consulting the oracle of Orpheus' head (?)..

See page 102 n. o.
Men believed to control the winds 103

in order to lure Turnus from the fight. The Roman poet probably based his figment on a passage of the *Iliad*, in which Apollon rescues Aineias from Diomedes by carrying off his *protégé* and substituting a phantom resembling him in person and equipment. We are not, however, told that the Homeric phantom was made of cloud; indeed, it would appear that in genuine Greek myth, as distinct from the inventions of a Euripides or a Virgil, the cloud-effigy was always female, since the cloud itself was feminine.

§ 7. Zeus and the Wind.

(a) Men believed to control the winds.

The Greeks, like other imperfectly civilised nations, credited certain persons with the power of controlling the winds. At Athens the *Heudánemoi* or ‘Lull-winds’ had an altar near the Metroon: they seem to have been a clan tracing their descent from an eponymous founder *Heudánemos*, who was revered as an angel in Christian times. At Eleusis too there was a well-known altar of

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1 Verg. *Aen.* 10. 653 ff. haec ubi dicta dedit, caelo se protinus alto | misit agens hiemem nimbo succincta per auras, | Iliacamque aciem et Laurentia castra petivit. [turn dea nube cava tenuem sine viribus umbram | in faciem Aeneae (visu mirabile monstrum)] | Dardanis ornat telis, clipeumque iubasque | divini adsimulat capitis, dat inania verba, | dat sine mente sonum gressusque effingit euntis; | etc. After enticing Turnus to follow him on board the ship of Osinius, the phantom disappears: *ib.* 663 f. tum levis haud ultra latebras iam quaerit imago, | sed subline volans nubi se immiscuit atrae.

2 *Il.* 5. 449 ff. *aItov b eikolov teiv' árphordóto'v* *Aiónn* (interp. *Serv. in Verg. Aen.* 2. 501 says inadvertently: Aeneas a Neptuno opposita nube liberatur) | *aItov t' Aiónia | kávov kai teúchov tovov, | ámfiv b' *ap' eídólo Tróes kal éko 'Acháio | dímov allhímov ámfiv | stíthos bolas | *apóthos eúkólon kathedía te pterónta.* W. Leaf ad loc. comments: ‘The mention of the “wraith” is not like Homer, nor does it appear on other occasions when a hero is snatched away by a god. It plays no further part in the action, nor does there seem to be the least surprise shown at the reappearance of the original Aineias in the field, l. 514. Thus 449—453 are probably interpolated; the last two lines come bodily from M 425—6.’

On heroes etc. wrapped in a cloud and carried off by god or goddess see F. von Duhn *De Menelai itinere Aegyptio* Bonnæ 1874 p. 38, A. von Premerstein in *Philologus* 1866 lv. 536, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 996 n. 1, 1153.

3 Frazer *Golden Bough* 1. 319—331 (‘The Magical Control of the Wind’), The Scapegoat pp. 176, 178 ff., Balder the Beautiful ii. 232 f.


5 Hesych. *Eííanémov*: áγγελος, παρά *’Athpíais, H. Usener* *Götternamen* Bonnæ 1896 p. 125 n. 28 cj. γένος for áγγελος. *Alih ailer*: see C. Wachsmuth *Die Stadt Athen im
Men believed to control the winds

Heuddnemos¹; and that the Heuddnemoi had something to do with
Eleusinian ritual appears from the title of a speech fathered upon
Deinarchos, *viz.* 'The Heuddnemoi *v.* the Kerykes in re
the Basket²—presumably the sacred basket of Demeter³. At Corinth
there was a similar clan of Anemokoitai or ‘Wind-layers,’ whose
business was to hush the winds to sleep⁴. Even in the days of
Constantine Sopatros of Apameia, a pupil of Iamblichos⁵,
was accused of having bound the south winds and so prevented
the corn-ships of Egypt, Syria, and Phoinike from reaching Byzantion
*his enemies actually induced the emperor to order his execution⁶.*

With regard to the precise rites practised by the wind-layer
there is a dearth of evidence. Perhaps the harmful gale was conjured
into a jar⁷ or bag⁸. Empedokles of Akragas was surnamed

Alcirimuth Leipzig 1890 ii. 1. 441 n. 3. Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 209 n. 0 con-
cludes: 'Hesych. Eiddanemos bleibt uns dunkel. Ob der Glossator Eiddanemos geschrieben,
das für ethos eiddes genommen und nach Anleitung von Hebr. 1, 7 δ τοις τοις ἄγγελοις
αυτών πνεύματα interpretiert hat, oder wie er sonst zu seiner Glosse gelangt ist, lässt sich
nicht sagen.' Hesychios seems to imply that the pagan eponym became a Christian angel
without losing his special function of tempering the wind.

¹ Supra p. 193 n. 3.
² Dion. Hal. de Dinarch. 11 (= J. G. Baiter—H. Sauppe Oratores Attici Turici 1850
ii. 323 b 9 f.) Diadakasia Eiddanemous πρὸς Κήρυκας ὑπὲρ τοῦ καωῦ' η.π.λ.
³ Infra Append. P, cp. i. 530 n. 2. J. Töpffer Attische Genealogie Berlin 1889 p. 112
would detect 'eine Anspeilung auf irgendwelche mit den Heudanemen in Beziehung
stehende liturgische Handlungen' in Hermesianux frag. 2. 17 ff. Diehl, 7, 17 ff. Powell,
h. Athen. 597 ε ή το ποιων μόστριν (so C. J. Blomfield for ποιωνστησιν cod. A.
E. Diehl prints ποιο μόστριν) 'Bleesiusv parà πέξαν | εισαμον κρυφών εξεθερε
λογών, | 'Ρώμων ὄργων ἄνεμω διακοινοῖν | Δήματρη γρωτή δ' θυσία | εἰς άθλον. But
in the crucial line 19 the reading of cod. A. ὄργησανεμα was corrected by J. G. J.
Hermann into ὄργησανεμμ νόμω, by C. J. Blomfield into ὄργησανεμμ νόμων. Hermann is followed
by Diehl, Blomfield by J. U. Powell: in either case the allusion to wind-laying disappears.

⁴ Hesych. 'Ἀνεμοκοίται' οι ἄνεμοι κομίζοντες. γένος δ' τιμοῦσας φασιν ὑπάρχειν ἐν
Κορίνθῳ = Soud. s. v. Ἀνεμοκοίται, cp. Eustath. in Od. p. 1645, 41 Ν. χρήσεως δ' εἰς τὸ
ἄνεμου παύειν (Od. 10. 21) καὶ τὸ ἄνεμοκοίτα, γένος ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἄνεμου κομίζοντες.
⁵ O. Seeck in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii A. 1066 f.
⁶ Eunap. v. Aedes. 41 καὶ οἱ τάλαι βασκαλιῶντες, εὑρέθησαν καὶρόν ἡγομένον κάλλιστον,
"ἀλλὰ Σαῦπτρος γε," έφασαν, "οὶ παρὰ σου τιμώμενοι κατέθησαν τοὺς ἄνεμους δ' ἐπεχεῖρηθη
σοφίας, ἢ καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπανείς, καὶ δ' ἢ θεί τὸς βασιλέως ἐγκαθίστατο θρόνον," καὶ ὁ
Κωνσταντῖνος τὰ τὰ πάλαι καὶ συμπεπεθεὶς κατακοπήν κελεύει τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ἐγώντο
διὰ τῶν βασιλαίνων ταῦτα ἅτιον δ' ἐδέχοτο.
⁷ Cp. the Indian 'jar of the winds' (infra § 7 (b)). It was believed that a toad
emprisoned in a new jar and buried in the field would safeguard the crops against stormy
weather (Plin. nat. hist. 18. 294 Archibius (on whom see M. Wellmann in Pauly—Wissowa
Real-Enc. ii. 466) ad Antiochum Syrieum regem scripsit, si fictili novo obbrutur rubeta
rana in media segete, non esse noxias tempestates). The same remedy served to protect
millet against sparrows and worms (Plin. nat. hist. 18. 158 multi ad mili remedia rubetam
notce arvo circumferri iubent, priusquam sariatur, defodique in medio inclusam fictili.
ita nee passerem nee vermes nocere, sed eruendam, priusquam metatur; alioquin amarum
fieri, Geopon. 2. 18. 14 Απολύτως δ' φρες (see L. von Schwabe in Pauly—Wissowa Real-
Enc. ii. 249, E. Oder id. vii. 1221 f.), πρὶν σκαφῆναι τὴν ἄρωμα, φρένω, τουτεστι βάτραχον
χερσαίων, νυκτὸς ἐπὶ αὐτὴν περιενεκτόνα κατακλίζει εν σκεῦει κεραμιῶ χεῖ καὶ ἐν μύσιν
Men believed to control the winds

Alexanemas, ‘Averter of Winds’, or Kolysanemas, ‘Preventer of Winds,’ because once, when the Etesian Winds were spoiling the crops, he had asses flayed and bags made of their skins: these bags he proceeded to set round the hills and mountain-tops in order to catch the wind.

His choice of the ass was certainly not accidental, for at Taras a sacred ass was allowed to run wild till it was sacrificed.
Aiolos Hippotades

to the Winds. And his employment of bags recalls the methods used by unsophisticated folk to capture souls.

The same power of controlling violent winds was ascribed by the Greeks to Pythagoras, Epimenides, and Abaris. Indeed, any and every wonder-worker could claim the prerogative—even Sophokles. Nowadays, it would seem, the mere mention of the great man’s name will suffice. In the Macedonian district of Liakkovikia, during an anemosplada or ‘whirlwind,’ people often mutter the charm: ‘Alexander the Great liveth, aye he doth live and reign.’

(b) Aiolos Hippotades.

A figure interesting in this connexion is that of Aiolos Hippotades. He appears in the Odyssey as Lord of Aiolie, a floating island with sheer rocky sides crowned by a wall of unbreakable bronze. Here he feasted with his six sons, whom he had united in wedlock with his six daughters. Here too he entertained Odysseus for a month, at the end of which time he slew an ox, made a bag of its skin, bound the blustering winds within it, and gave it as a parting gift to the hero, fastening it with a silver cord on board his ship. He also supplied him with a west wind to waft him on his way homewards. But later, while Odysseus slept, his comrades, under the belief that the bag was full of treasure, untied it and, to their own discomfiture, let loose the warring winds.

Now Aiolos is said to have been established as keeper, or king,
of the winds by Zeus. And Aëthlios, son of Aiolos, was reputed to be the son of Zeus. There is therefore something to be urged for Usener's suggestion that Aiolos himself was 'a sort of Zeus.' Perhaps the same thought occurred to Ovid, when he made Jupiter shut Aquilo in the caves of Aeolia and send forth Notus to cause a deluge.

Others, however, have rightly insisted that the Homeric Aiolos is not as yet fully defined. Hence his description as 'dear to the immortal gods.' Rather, he is a subordinate power, not improbably a dead tribal chieftain, who lives on in his Otherworld island and is conceived as a superhuman magician, the wind-controller par excellence. His bag of winds recalls an old superstition recorded by Tzetzes and the scholiast on the Odyssey:

'Artful contrivers and those who write on infamous practices declare that, if a man flays a dolphin and makes its skin into a bag and then keeps it at home, he will cause to blow whatever wind he may choose.' Somewhat similar is Philostratos' account of Indian weather-magic.

Apollonios of Tyana and his party are visiting the cloud-capped hill of the Brachmanes, four days' journey from the city Parax:

'And they say that they saw two jars of black stone, filled with rains and winds respectively. The jar of the rains is opened, if India should be oppressed.

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1 Od. 10. 21 ταμής ἀνέμων τοὔσης Κρώνιων, Verg. Aen. 1. 52 rex Aeolus, 65 f. divom pater atque hominum rex | et mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere vento.
2 Paus. 5. 8. 2 εἶναι γὰρ φασὶ καὶ 'Δηλων Ἀιόλον, Δίὸς δὲ ἐπικήρυξιν. It is clear from the context that this Aiolos was the father of Kretheus. It is an assumption that he was one with Aiolos Hippotades.
3 H. Usener in the Rhein. Mus. 1898 liii. 346 ff. (= id. Kleine Schriften Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 275 ff.): 'wie eine Art Zeus' (p. 346 (= p. 275)). We need not, of course, subscribe to Usener's view that Αἰολος was the 'Zig-zag' lightning of Zeus (cp. Find. OL 9. 42 aiodophōrōn Δίως σύγγενε, or that his six pairs of children were the twelve months of the year. G. Libertini Le sole e foli nell' antichità greca e romana Firenze 1921 p. 61 f. argues that Hippotes was a degraded form of Poseidon 'πριός, Aiolos an ex-appellative of Zeus (Pind. OL. 9. 42 aiodophōrōta, Orph. h. Zeus 15. 10 aiodörorn) or perhaps rather of Poseidon, the ever-changeful.
4 Od. met. 1. 369 ff.
6 Od. 10. 2.
7 Cp. supra i. 239, 243.
8 Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 738=schol. Od. 10. 2 φασὶ γὰρ οἱ μηχανικοὶ (J. Potter cyp. μηχανικοὶ G. F. Thryllitsch cyp. μαθητακῳ M. C. G. Müller prints μάγοι, but notes: 'Vitrumque tamen, mágum et μηχανικοὶ, bene se habet') καὶ οἱ πάντες γράφοντες ὡς, ἡ τις δεξίων νομίζησι ἄκοντα καὶ ἱδεῖσαν παρ' ἄντον καὶ ἱδεῖσαν παρ' ἄντον ἢ καὶ ὄνομα ἢ καὶ ἱδεῖσαν παρ' ἄντον παρ' ἄντον (E. Scheer ad loc. cp. Eustath. in Od. p. 1645, 55 f. par' ois καὶ δεδομένα δήμαρος τοῦ Αἰολοῦ ἀκόντων δεξιώτων ἄκοντα καὶ ἱδεῖσαν παρ' ἄντον τοῦ ἄντον). E. Scheer ἢ καὶ δεδομένα δήμαρος τοῦ Αἰολοῦ ἀκόντων δεξιώτων ἄκοντα καὶ ἱδεῖσαν παρ' ἄντον τοῦ ἄντον τοῦ ἄντον.
by drought, and sends up clouds to moisten the whole country; but if rains should be in excess, it is shut up and puts a stop to them. The jar of the winds, I suppose, plays the same part as the bag of Aiolos; for they open the jar ever so little and let one of the winds blow in season, whereby the country is refreshed.'

Other parallels to Aiolos Hippotades are collected by Sir James Frazer. The closest hails from the Slavonic area:

'It is said that Perdoytus, the Lithuanian Aeolus, keeps the winds enclosed in a leathern bag; when they escape from it he pursues them, beats them, and shuts them up again.'

Certain features in the myth of Aiolos invite further investigation. His bag full of winds, opened by the prying followers of Odysseus, bears at least a superficial resemblance to the pithos or 'jar' containing evils opened by the inquisitive woman in Hesiod's *Works and Days*, or to the pithos of Zeus containing good things opened by the over-curious man in a fable of Babrius.

The resemblance is increased if, with Miss J. E. Harrison, we accept O. Gruppe's conjecture that the pithos in question was that

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1 Frazer *Golden Bough*, p. 326 f.
2 Id. ib. i. 326 n. 5 after E. Veckenstedt *Die Mythen, Sagen und Legenden der Zamalten (Litauer)* Heidelberg 1883 i. 153. Sir James Frazer adds: 'The statements of this writer, however, are to be received with caution.'
4 If Perdoytus was really a wind-god, his name might be related to the Russian *perdići*, Slovenian *pradići*, *prdöwai*, etc. [Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.* p. 352, Boiacaq *Dict. etym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 771, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 569] and imply a very crude and primitive conception of the wind as 'flatus ventris.'

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1 Hes. *od. 94 ff.
2 Babr. 58. 1 ff. *Zeus en tivn tæ xerstta tauta syllæzxas* | *theksen autivn pumäsas par* *ávelwv*. | *b autv* *ríkrii ádwrwos eíthvn speixov* | *tiv pot* *inv en autiv*, *kal tô pùma kefæs*, *dhu* *áplexh auta próthwv olov*, *kækæ* *néthvthw* *tiv* *tiv* *tiv Æwvn* *kewvynv*. | *m乎v* *rímiv eukpiv*, *inv katalekrei* | *tevhu tô pùma*. *tageh eukpiv* *ádwrwos*, *m乎v* *sucrent, tavn* *pevnonhôv hwh* | *ágwv Ækavos* *égwvnemh eðwsvn*. This rewriting of the Hesiodic myth was obviously prompted by the later estimate of eukpiv as a good, not an evil.
3 or the concept of a celestial store-house or treasury see H. Usener *Die Sintflutha* ä 1. 1899 p. 182 ff.
of the earth-goddess Pandora opened once a year at the festival of the Pithoigia for the temporary release of souls. For winds are notoriously akin to souls. Indeed, Greeks of the mythopoetic age probably have assented to the direct equation winds are souls. It may even be that the very name Aiolos is cognate with the Gothic saiwala and the English soul. The island of Aiolos would on this showing too be an island of souls—a typical Otherworld island, as we had already seen reason to suspect.

Aiolos Hippotades has both in ancient and in modern times been identified with Aiolos, the eponymous ancestor of the Aeolians. K. Tümpele thinks that the Hesiodic Catalogue described the latter

1 See e.g. Rohde Psyche i. 248 n. 1, ii. 123 n. 2, 264 n. 2, K. Tümpele in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 2176 ff., R. v.d. Meulen Über die litauischen Völte in the Archiv f. Rel. 1914 xvi. 125 ff., L. Weber Androgeos ib. 1926 xliii. 249 ff., supra ii. 61 n. 1 (the Furious Host), and the history of such words as ἰνύμος, ἀνίνος, ἀνίμα; πνεύμα, πνεύμα; ψυχή, ψυχή, etc.


3 G. Gerland Althriechische Märchen in der Odyssee Magdeburg 1869 p. 38 ff., F. Hommel Die Insel der Seligen in Mythus und Sage der Vorseit München 1901, infra Append. P.

4 Hyg. fab. 125 ad Aeolum Hellenis filium, cui ab Iove ventorum potestas fuit tradita. Schmitke ad loc. obelizes Hellenis, remarking ‘imo Hippotae’! Euripides in his Melanippé desmiktis (Hyg. fab. 186), if not also in his Melanippé sophé (Gregor. Kor. in Hermog. περί μεθών θεώργων 28 in C. Walz Rheinis Græciia Scientiaria et Tubingae 1834 viii. 2. 1313, 6 ff.), made Melanippé the daughter of one Aiolos and the mother of another. Dio. 4. 67 went further in the same direction. His Aiolos, son of Hippotes and Melanippé, was great-grandson of Aiolos son of Hellen, and in turn grandson of Aiolos brother of Boiotos. On these fictitious genealogies see further W. H. Roscher in his Lex. Myth. i. 192 ff., K. Tümpele in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1037, 1040, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 398 n. 3, 1323 n. 2.

5 K. Tümpele in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1040 f.

6 Id. ib. i. 1036, 1039, 1041.

as hippoclármenes, ‘fighting with chariot and horses,’ in obvious imitation of the patronymic Hippotádes applied in the Odyssey to the former. And both epithets might conceivably have reference to the frequent conception of the winds as horses. I should, however, prefer to stress another point of contact between Aiolos Hippotádes and Aiolos son of Hellen, I mean the abnormal endogamic character of the marriage-custom that obtained among their descendants.

According to Homer, the six sons of Aiolos Hippotádes married their six sisters. Greeks of the Hellenistic age, perhaps jibbing at the idea, felt it necessary to invent some explanation. Thus Parthenios, Virgil’s tutor, making a précis of Philetas’ Hermes for the benefit of Virgil’s friend Cornelius Gallus, told how Odysseus in the course of his wanderings round Sicily had reached the island of Meligounis (later called Lipara) and there fallen in love with Polymele, one of Aiolos’ daughters; how, after his departure with the bag of winds, she had been found in love-sick plight weeping over certain spoils of Troy; how Aiolos had reviled the absent Odysseus and resolved to take vengeance on Polymele; and finally how her brother Diores, who was enamoured of her, had begged her off and persuaded his father to give her to him as his wife.

Now the same peculiar usage occurs again in connexion with the other Aiolos, eponym of the Aeolians. For he was king of Thessaly; and the marriage of brother with sister is expressly stated to have been an ancient custom among the Thessalians. Moreover, Makedon the ancestor of the Macedonians was, in the opinion of Hellanikos, a son of Aiolos. Hence the fact that the

1 Supra p. 106.
3 Supra p. 106.
4 Macrobi. Sat. 5. 17. 18 with L. Jan ad loc.
5 Hellanik. frag. 46 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 51 Müller) = frag. 74 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 126

10 Archinos Theosoliká frags. 1, 2 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 319 Müller) ap. scholar. T. Od. 10. 7 ἄρχοιν ἥλθος, ὥσει ἄρχοιν (so W. Dindorf for ἄρχοιν cod.) ἐν Θεσσαλίκοι, πρώτα δὲ Αἰολος ἰδομεντρά καὶ ἀλκεφάς συνοικεῖα (so W. Dindorf for συνοικεῖαι cod.). Cp. schol. B. Q. Od. 10. 7 ἄρχοιν ἥλθος τὸ συνοικεῖαν ἀλκεφάν, καὶ ἐν ἐνα ἀλκεφά ὠμίγρ συνοικεία τῇ Ἐρχ. κ. τ. λ. For Archinos see E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 541.
Ptolemies married their own sisters is probably to be explained, not merely as a concession to Egyptian feeling\(^1\), but also as a survival or revival of a practice proper to an old Macedonian family of Aeolic extraction. It will be observed that the spelling of the Ptolemies’ name—\textit{Ptolematos}, not \textit{Polemaios}\(^2\)—certifies their Aeolic descent\(^3\). Finally, H. D. Müller sought to prove that Hera was originally a goddess of the Aeolians\(^4\). If so, the conception of her as sister and yet wife of Zeus may have arisen on Aeolic ground.

Be that as it may, I am disposed to conclude that Aiolos Hippotades was in pre-Homeric days\(^5\) none other than Aiolos Jacoby) \textit{ap. Const. Porphyrog. de thematibus} 2. 2 (iii. 48 Bekker) \textit{Δίδυμος Αἰολοῦ} (\textit{sc.} derive the name \textit{Μακεδόνος} \πρὸς \Αἴολον, \ὅτι \'Ελλάνικος 'Ισραήλ πρῶτος τῶν \ἐν 'Αργείσι \'του \Μακεδόνος \τῆς \Αἴολος, \<\	extit{άφ} (\textit{ins.} A. Meineke) \Δίδυμος, \<\	extit{άφ} (\textit{ins.} C. Müller) \\πά\ (\textit{στω} cod. F., whence C. Müller prints \\το\\ν) \νων \Μακεδόνες καλοῦσαν, \μόνοι \μετὰ \Μοσῶν τότε οἴκουσαν.\(^3\)


Frazer \textit{Golden Bough}\(^3\): \textit{The Dying God} p. 193 f. comments: ‘On this hypothesis we can understand why the custom of marriage with a full or a half sister has prevailed in so many royal families. It was introduced, we may suppose, for the purpose of giving the king’s son the right of succession hitherto enjoyed, under a system of female kinship, either by the son of the king’s sister or by the husband of the king’s daughter; for under the new rule the heir to the throne united both these characters, being at once the son of the king’s sister and, through marriage with his own sister, the husband of the king’s daughter. Thus the custom of brother and sister marriage in royal houses marks a transition from female to male descent of the crown\(^1\)’ [This explanation of the custom was anticipated by McLennan—\textit{The Patriarchal Theory, based on the Papers of the late John Ferguson McLennan}, edited and completed by Donald McLennan (London, 1885), p. 95]. In this connexion it may be significant that Cronus and Zeus themselves married their full sisters Rhea and Hera, a tradition which naturally proved a stone of stumbling to generations who had forgotten the ancient rule of policy which dictated such incestuous unions, and who had so far inverted the true relations of gods and men as to expect their deities to be edifying models of the new virtues instead of warning examples of the old vices\(^3\)’ [\textit{Compare Cicero, De natura deorum}, ii. 26, 66; [Plutarch], \textit{De vita et poesi Homeri}, ii. 96, Lactantius, \textit{Divin. Inst.} i. 10; Firmicus Maternus, \textit{De errore profanarum religionum}, xii. 4].\(^1\)


\(^3\) H. D. Müller \textit{Mythologie der griechischen Stämme} Göttingen 1857 i. 251 ff.

\(^4\) E. Forrer ‘\textit{Vorhomeriche Griechen in den Keilschrifttexten von Boghazkoi}’ in the
The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis

Eponym of the Aeolians, a great tribal chief who after his death was believed by his people to live on in his island of souls. Such an one might well supply the hero of the Otherworld visit with the souls or winds that he needed to waft him back to Ithake.

(c) The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis.

The results of the last section throw a new and welcome light on one of the outstanding problems of Greek religion—the true character of the mysterious powers known to the ancients as Tritopatores or Tritopatreis.

Phanodemos, a Hellenistic historian interested in religious

Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin März 1924 Nr. 63 pp. 1-22 makes out a strong case for an Aeolian occupation of Pamphylia in Hittite times: p. 10 'Der dritte Name ist der Name des Volkes, dem Tavag(a)lavas angehört; er wird nämlich einmal genannt: a-ja-va-la-as-König und dies ist offensichtlich atpoXos "Aolier-König".

P. Kretschmer in Glotta 1920 x. 41 showed that TπιΤοιρατείς was originally a verse-form of TπιΤοιράτως ('Wenn Tπιτοτατός in daktylischem Versmaass gebraucht werden sollte—möglicherweise wurde der Name in Hymnen, Gebeten oder Epigrammen genannt—so war diese Form mit ihren fünf Kürzen selbst bei metrischer Dehnung der ersten Silbe noch nicht anwendbar und mag daher durch Ττιοτατάτης Ττιοτατατείς ersetzt worden sein, wobei man die auch im Epos nicht ganz seltene Kürze vor Muta cum Liquida mit in Kauf nehmen musste').

The attempt of M. Budimir, a Serbian scholar, to invalidate this conclusion, reported by L. Radermacher in the Berl. philol. Woch. März 4, 1922 p. 199 f. ('Dass diese Form nur eine epische Bildung aus ττιοτατάτως sei des Hexameters wegen, wie P. Kretschmer meint, ist nicht anzunehmen, da Cicero und attische Inschriften, die Prosa schreiben, ausschliesslich die Form Ττιοτατατείς—Ττιοτατατείς [sic] kennen. Es ist also auch aus diesem Grunde der Name der attischen ἀνάκες von dem gutbürgerlichen Verwandtschaftsnamen ττιοτατάτως zu trennen... und die attischen Ττιοτατατείς haben mit ττιοτατάτως nichts zu tun'), fails to reckon with the fact that an epic appellative may pass into popular parlance and acquire ritual (e.g. Ταύρεια: Supra p. 10 ff.) or mythical (e.g. Τιτανοειδεια) importance. The point is one deserving of further investigation.
The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis

The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis antiquities\(^1\), states that the Athenians alone offered sacrifices and prayers to the Tritopatores, when about to marry, for the procreation of children\(^2\). This statement is, in part at least, confirmed by tangible traces left by the cult in question.

Excavations in the Kerameikos at Athens, conducted by A. Brückner and G. Oikonomos from February 1909 to September 1910\(^3\), led to the discovery of an important group of remains in the angle between the Road to Eleusis and the Street of Tombs. A

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1. W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* München 1920 ii. i. 110 n. 3.

C. III.
The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis

broken boundary-stone, found at the north-eastern corner of the truncated triangle (fig. 37, no. 1) and inscribed

[HABATON] ‘Not to be trodden,’

showed that the spot was taboo¹. Behind it were vestiges of a low circular tomb marked out by large stones. Beyond that in turn was a four-walled enclosure roughly trapezoidal in shape. In front of its two eastern corners stood a pair of similar boundary-stones (fig. 37, nos. 2 and 3), both inscribed in lettering of c. 450–400 B.C.

ΤΡΙΤΟΠΑΤΡΕΩΝ ‘of the Tritopatreis.

HABATON ‘Not to be trodden.’

Yet another ancient stone, built into the southern wall of the precinct, reads:

ΗΙΕΠΟΝ [ΤΡΙΤΟΠΑΤΡΕΩΝ] ‘Sanctuary of the Tritopatreis.

Here, then, in immediate juxtaposition with the Street of Tombs, was the simple ἀβατόν of the fifth-century Tritopatreis. Within a stone’s throw of it stood till recently the modern Church of the Hagia Trias (fig. 37), which by a curious coincidence, if no more², recalls the triple character of the local νομινα.

U. Kohler³ in 1879 published a similar but somewhat later boundary-stone, which he had copied years before in the Central Museum at Athens. It is inscribed in letters of c. 400–350 B.C.

ΟΡΟΣΕΙ ‘Boundary of the sanctuary

ΡΟΓΡΙΤΟ ‘of the Tritopatreis

ΓΑΤΡΕΩΝ ‘of the Zakyadai;²

¹ A. Brückner loc. cit. p. 104 suggests that the actual apex, where the road forked, was probably consecrated to Hekate.

² A. Struck Griechenland Wien u. Leipzig 1911 i. 131 f. (supra i. 171).


³ U. Köhler ‘Horosstein der Zakyaden’ in the Ath. Mitth. 1879 iv. 287, id. in the Corp.
The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis

Whether the Zakyadai, whose name does not occur elsewhere, formed a genos or a phratria, has been disputed. But it is clear that the addition of the last word was meant to limit the circle of worshippers to members of a specified tribal division, bound together by real or fictitious community of descent.

The sacrificial calendar from Koukounari in the Epakria district, which again belongs to the earlier part of s. iv B.C., mentions among the annual rites of Marathon that in Skirophorion before the Skira a sheep was offered to the Tritopatreis and another to the Akamantes, also among the trieteric rites of the same place that at the same time of year a table was set for the Tritopatreis. The context in both cases is suggestive of fertility and fertilisation.

P. Maas claims that the Tritopateres are again connected with the Akamantes in an important ritual text of s. iv B.C. found at Kyrene and first published by S. Ferri in 1927 (fig. 38) and

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1 J. Topffer Attische Genealogie Berlin 1889 p. 313 says: 'Die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass letztere ein ἑνὸς waren, ist meiner Meinung nach mindestens ebenso gross, wie die, dass sie eine Phratrie bildeten.' G. Lippold in the Ath. Mitth. 1911 xxxvi. 106 n. 1 decides for a ἑνὸς on the ground that the Ἴππαξιδα (infra p. 118) certainly were such. On the other hand, U. Köhler loc. cit., U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff Aristotles und Athen Berlin 1893 ii. 268 n. 11, W. Larfeld Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik Leipzig 1898 i. 187 ('woll einer Phratrie'), and W. Dittenberger loc. cit. prefer to assume a φρατρία.


5 P. Maas in the Deutsche Literaturzeitung 1927 xlviii. 1933 ('Ἀκαμάντες von Heilig tümern der Ἀκαμάντες').

6 Reading and rendering are alike in dispute. S. Ferri 'La "Lex Cathartica" di Cirene' in the Notizario Archeologico 1927 iv. 91—145 with pls. 14—17 and a facsimile (part of which = my fig. 38) § 4, 21 ff. [ἢ] καὶ μαρτίων ὅσια παντὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ἱεροὶ[ eius] τὸν ἄνδρῳ ἐπὶ ἔβαλε τῷ τῷ Ἀρχαγέτα κα[ὶ] τριτοπατρεῖς καὶ ἄπο Ὀνειμάντῳ τῷ
K. Latte suggests that these ‘Unwearied Ones’ might be either wind-spirits or else a euphemistic expression for the dead (kamontes).

One other example of actual cult has been furnished by the French excavations in Delos. Close to the south-east angle of the great precinct of Apollon, at a spot where three roads meet, G. Leroux in 1906 uncovered a paved triangular place of small size (25m by 12m). Towards its southern end was a circular structure of white marble consisting of curved slabs (0'54m high), which rest on a raised course of masonry and carry a projecting cornice with bevelled top (fig. 39). The ring-wall is broken on the north-west by an aperture (0'80m wide). Inside is a pavement of gneiss, from which sundry slabs are missing. Above this pavement were found sherds of coarse vases, a piece of stag’s antler, ashes and fragments of carbonised wood. Below it, excavations pursued down to the

Δελφο[νείας] (?), ἄνθρωποι άνθρoποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνομοι άνθρωποι πλατύνο,
level of the virgin soil discovered not only ashes and charcoal, but also the bones of small cattle. Trial pits sunk outside the ring-wall beneath the paving of the triangular place brought similar débris to light. It was obvious that the cult here celebrated was older than the construction of the circular edifice. And an inscription (fig. 40) incised on the inner surface of one of the curved slabs, beneath the cornice, reads as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{T} & \text{ποταπόρ} & \text{T} & \text{ποταπέρ} \\
\text{Π} & \text{υρρακίδων} & \text{of the Pyrrhakidai} \\
\text{A} & \text{γιλίων} & \text{from Aigilia.}
\end{align*}
\]

The first two lines are engraved stoichedón in careful lettering of c. 400 B.C. The third line is less well cut and appears to have been crowded, as an afterthought, into the narrow margin left by the other two. M. Holleaux notes that the Pyrrhakidai were an Attic génos, familiar to us from Delphic records of the Athenian Pythiae, and P. Roussel points out that their archegetes Pyrrhakos is described as a contemporary of Erysichthon, who went from Athens to

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1 M. Holleaux loc. cit. p. 354: 'Des huit lettres qui la composent, on n'a pu jusqu'à présent déchiffrer sûrement que la première et les trois dernières.' But P. Roussel 'Deux familles athéniennes à Délos' in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1929 liii. 166 ff. (167—179 Pyrrhakidai, 179—184 Erysichthonidae) gives fresh photographs of the monument (figs. 1—4, of which 2 and 4 = my figs. 39 and 40) and makes it clear that the inscription should be read as here printed. He rightly connects the génos with the Attic deme Agyila (v. Schoeffer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 39 f.). Τριτοπάτωρ in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1931 xxxv. 179 is a mere blunder.

2 See Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr, no. 711 D', 30 f. n. 13.

3 Hesych. Πορρακός: ήρως κατ' Ερυσίχθονα γεγονός.
The Tritopatores or Tritopatresi

Delos¹ and there set up the first wooden statue of Apollon². On this showing the circular structure found by Leroux would be in the nature of a Delian family herdon³. Immediately to the south of it are the remains of a Byzantine church. Was this another case of the pagan Tritopatores being replaced by the Christian Trinity?

Putting together these various indications of popular worship, we perceive that the Tritopatores from the fifth century onwards had been established at the cross-roads (Kerameikos, Delos), where a hypaethral enclosure, either trapezoidal (Kerameikos) or circular in plan (Delos), was set apart for them in a roughly triangular space. The cult there carried on might be limited to members of a particular clan (the Zakyadai at Athens, the Pyrrhakidai in Delos) and involved the sacrifice of sheep etc. (Marathon, Delos). In some respects, therefore, the Greek Tritopatores recall the Lares Compitales, who were likewise worshipped at the cross-roads—that immemorial rendez-vous of family-ghosts⁴. This disposes us to see in the former, as in the latter⁵, ancestral spirits watchful over the welfare of their descendants.

Literary evidence with regard to the nature of the Tritopatores follows two lines of tradition, one supporting, the other supplementing, the inferences drawn from the monuments.

¹ Phanodemos frag. 1 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 366 Müller) ap. Athen. 393 D.
² Plout. ap. Euseb. praep. ev. 3. 8. 1.
³ P. Roussel in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1929 liii. 177 : "D'après les observations faites par G. Leroux, un culte était célébré depuis longtemps sur l'emplACEMENT où s'éleva le monument du Tritopator. Tout le quartier a été si profondément remanié jusqu'à la basse époque romaine qu'il est difficile de déterminer l'aspect qu'il pouvait présenter au Ve siècle ou précédemment; mais l'hypothèse n'est point exclue qu'il ait jadis fait partie d'une vaste nécropole dont on a retrouvé des traces, d'une part dans la région à l'Ouest de la partie septentrionale de la rue du Théâtre, d'autre part dans la partie Sud-Est du sanctuaire même d'Apollon, près de l'autel de Zeus Polieus. On imaginait volontiers que les Pyrrhakidai eurent la tombe réelle ou fictive d'un ancêtre en cette région et qu'au moment de la purification de 426, on y substitua le monument d'un culte héroïque."
The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis

On the one hand, the Tritopatores are described as remote and mythical ancestors. The author of the work known as the Exegetikon, who has been plausibly identified with Kleidemos or Kleitodemos, the oldest of all writers on the local customs of Athens, and would thus be referable to the middle of the fourth century B.C., stated that the Tritopatores were sons of Ouranos and Ge, named Kottos, Briareos, and Gyges. Philochoros, the most important of the Atthidographers, followed suit with the assertion that the Tritopatreis were the earliest offspring of Ge and Ouranos, and the first to begin generation. Elsewhere he gave a slightly divergent account. The Tritopatreis were the first of all. At that time men believed that the earth and the sun, Ge and Apollo as they called them, were their parents, and that the offspring of these were Tritoi Pateres. The meaning of these two passages is not over-clear. But C. A. Lobeck makes it probable that, in Philochoros' view, the earth fructified by the sun produced the Tritopatreis, who acting as procreators for the first time thereby became the parents of all mortal men. Cicero, quoting from a Greek Catalogue of the gods which seems to have been drawn up in the second or first century B.C., makes Zeus, 'a very ancient king,' the father by Persephone of the first Dioskouroi—a triad of brothers known as Anaktes at Athens and named Tritopatreus, Eubouleus, and Dionysos. These varying versions agree in attributing the names Tritopatores, Tritopatreis, Tritopatreus to prehistoric progenitors of a more or less superhuman sort. It is possible that behind them

1 See A. Tresp Die Fragmente der griechischen Kultschriftsteller Giessen 1914 p. 110 f.
2 Paus. 10. 15. 5.
3 F. Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 591.
4 Harpocr. s.v. Τριτοπάτορες = Phot. lex. s.v. Τριτοπάτορες = Σουίδ. s.v. Τριτοπάτορες...οὶ δὲ τὸ Ἴδρητα ποιήσας Ὀδρανοῦ καὶ θαλάσσας αὐτοῦ εἶναι, δύοματα δὲ αὐτῶν Κόττος, Βράχων καὶ Γέγηρ. Cp. et. mag. p. 768, 10 ff. = Favorin. lex. p. 1775, 49 ff.
5 Philochor. frag. 3 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 384 Müller) ap. Phot. lex. s.v. Τριτοπάτορες...Φίλοχορος δὲ τούτων τέκνων ἐκ Ήθυ καὶ Ὀδρανοῦ, ἀρίστας δὲ γενεαίως.
6 Philochor. frag. 2 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 384 Müller) ap. Harpocr. s.v. Τριτοπάτορες = Phot. lex. s.v. Τριτοπάτορες = Σουίδ. s.v. Τριτοπάτορες...Φίλοχορος δὲ τούτων τρίτων πατέρων γεγονέσθαι πατέρας τὴν μὲν γαρ γῆν καὶ τὸν ἥδιον φηνεῖν, δο καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα τότε καλεῖν, γενέσα αὐτῶν ἐπίστασται οἱ τότε θερμοί, τούτου δ' ἐκ τοστόν τριῶν πατέρας. Cp. et. mag. p. 768, 1 ff. (Selene substituted for Ge), Favorin. lex. p. 1775, 45.

If this passage is rightly assigned by C. Müller to the Atthis, it may be surmised in view of the inscription from Epakria (supra p. 115) that the other passage (supra n. 5) occurred in Philochoros' treatise on the Attic Tetrapolis (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 410 f. Müller).
7 Lobeck Aglaophamus i. 761 f.
8 Supra ii. 1135 n. 4.
9 Cic. de nat. deor. 3. 53 cited supra ii. 1135 n. 4.
The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis

all lay the greater authority of Aristotle, who is said to have used the word *tritopátor* in the sense of 'great-grandfather'.

On the other hand, somewhat to our surprise, the Tritopatores are identified with, or at least brought into close connexion with, the winds. Demon in his *Atthis* (c. 300 B.C.) roundly declared that the Tritopatores were the winds—a statement implicitly traversed by his critic and rival Philochoros. The author of the Orphic *Physika*, which was attributed (no doubt, wrongly) to Brontinos of Metapontum, explained that the Tritopatores were 'door-keepers and guardians of the winds' and gave their names as Amalkeides, Protokles, and Protokreon—a trio well adapted for hexameter.

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But M. Budimir, the Serbian scholar reported by L. Radermacher in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* März 4, 1922 p. 199, comes to a very different conclusion: 'Demnach kann τριταπάτωρ "tertium pairem, das heisst πρόπατος" und "eum cui tres patres sunt" (wie τρίμαρος), was aber keinen Sinn hat, und wie τρετέρων τριάδοις trifers trio scouts triscurrens, den Erzvater, πρόπατον, ἀρχηγός γενόσας, δ ἱστομικός ἀρχηγείτης.' On which showing Aristotle's name may stand.


3 Harpokr. s.v. Ητευώσια, Souid. s.v. Φιλόχορος: see E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 142.

4 W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* München 1924 ii. 2. 984.

5 Souid. s.v. Ὄρθρος (p. 1175, 11 Bernhardy).


7 Phot. lex. s.v. Τριταπάτωρ...ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ὄρθροις ἄνεμοι παιδάς is presumably a blunder for ἀνέμους φύλλακας.

8 Orph. *Physik* *frag.* 240 Abel, 318 Kern *ap.* Harpokr. s.v. Τριταπάτωρ = Phot. lex. s.v. Τριταπάτωρ = Souid. s.v. Τριταπάτωρ...ἐν δὲ τῷ Ὅρθρῳ Φιλοχορὸς ὁνομάζεταί τοῖς Τριταπάτωρας Ἀμαλκείδης καὶ Πρυτακλέα καὶ Πρυτοκρεόντα (Πρυτοκλέοντα Souid.), θυρωρὸ ὑπο-
verse. Others went on to compare them with Aiłos Hippotades, and in so doing all but reached the only satisfactory solution of the whole problem.

For, if the Tritopatores on the one hand are ancestral spirits and on the other hand are winds, that is but another proof of our contention that to naive Greek thinking winds are souls and souls are winds. The Tritopatores, the 'Great-grandfathers,' were naturally invoked for the procreation of children. It was they who gave life to each succeeding generation in the form of wind or breath. Nay more, it was they who were the life of each generation. Every infant lived just because there had entered into its body the breath or wind that was the soul of some long-buried ancestor. That—I take it—was the original function of the Tritopatores, dimly remembered in fifth-century Athens, but still lingering in the background of popular belief, and strong enough to assert itself here and there, in a suburb like the Kerameikos, in a country-town like Marathon, in a distant island like Delos.
The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis

So much for the main point. Sundry side-issues have yet to be settled. If *tritopátor* meant strictly a 'father in the third (ascending) generation' and so, more generally, a 'lineal ancestor,' its correlatives would be represented by such words as *tritogenés*¹ and *tritokoiós.*² G. Lippold³ has ingeniously suggested that an echo of the prayer addressed before marriage to the Tritopatores⁴ may be heard in the first half⁵ of the proverbial line:

Grant me a child that is *tritogenés,* not *tritogeneia*⁶...

in other words, a boy of true descent in preference to a girl of true descent. In this connexion the old problem as to the meaning of Athena *Tritogenés*⁷ or *Tritogeneia*⁸ simply solves itself. The epithet

1 Mostly found as an epithet of Athena (infra n. 7).
3 G. Lippold 'ΤΡΙΤΟΠΑΤΡΕΙΣ' in the Ath. Mitth. 1911 xxxvi. 105.
4 Supra p. 113.
6 Schol. B. L. T. V. ί. 8. 39 ὅ ὅτι τρίτη φόλιοτος ἐπέκρυσεν καὶ παραμία παῖς μου τριτογενής τίνος, μὴ τριτογενείας. ἥρπεθεῖς γὰρ ἀλ γονατίσας γυναίκισ. The scholiast's explanation of τριτογενεία is, of course, late and worthless (G. Lippold loc. cit. p. 107 f.), but his citation of the proverb is important.
7 P. Kretschmer in Glotta 1920 x. 43 f. 'Wie erklären sich nun aber hierbei τριτογενής und τριτογενεία?—Das ist eine Schwierigkeit, die im ersten Augenblick unüberwindlich scheint; denn τριτογενής müßte der in der 3. Generation geborenen bedeuten, und so konnte der junge Ehemann doch nicht den Sohn nennen, den er sich wünscht, und auch die Tochter des Zeus konnte so nicht heissen. Die Lösung des Rätsels ergibt sich aus dem Prinzip, das Sommer "Konträrbildung" genannt hat und das ich kürzlich in der Anzeige seines Aufsatzes, Glotta vii. 266 f. erörtert habe. Nach τριτοσάρσεις, das nicht mehr wörtlich, sondern nur als Stammvater verstanden wurde, wurde τριτογενής im Sinne von 'Stammsohn,' τριτογενεία oder τριτοκόην 'Stammtochter' gebildet (cp. προαυς—προγενεις, Großvater—Großsohn, Großmutter—Großmutter, etc.).
8 G. Lippold's attempt in the Ath. Mitth. 1911 xxxvi. 106 to explain the element τριτο- in Τριτοπατρεις, τριτογενης, τριτογενεία, Τριτοκόην as = γενέας, γνησία breaks down through lack of any etymological cognates.
9 Τριτογενής as an epithet of Athena is not Homeric (T. W. Allen and E. E. Sikes on ά. Αθ. 4 Τριτογενής), but becomes fairly frequent in later verse (Bruchmann Επιθ. ιουν. p. 15). The earliest examples of it are Aristoph. eq. 1189 ἑ Τριτογενής (where Τριτογενής is a not very probable conjecture; see F. H. M. Blaydes ad loc.) and ορισμ. απ. Ἡλικ. 7. 141 = Anth. Παλ. 14. 93. Σ Τριτογενής.
10 Τριτογενής is an appellation of Athena, used normally without her name. It is frequent in Homeric and post-Homeric verse (not, however, in tragedy) (Bruchmann Επιθ. ιουν. p. 15), and occasional even in prose (Stephanus Τε. Εγ. Λιγ. vii. 2472 c—d).

The significance of the titles Τριτογενής, Τριτογενής as applied to Athena is discussed by T. Bergk in the Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Fin. 1860 xxvi. 305—309 = id. Kleine philo-
The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis

claims that the goddess was the genuine descendant of Zeus, Kronos, and Ouranos—a claim whose validity we shall later have occasion to test.

Again, the use of such a term as Tritopatores to signify a line of remote ancestors implies the primitive view that ‘three’ is a typical plurality\(^1\). And the successive ‘three’ (= many) generations naturally enough leads to the simultaneous ‘three’ (= many) generators. Accordingly, when names are given to the Tritopatores, they are a triad such as Kottos, Briareos, Gyges\(^2\), or Amalkeides, Protokles, Protokreon\(^8\), or Tritopatreus, Eubouleus, Dionysos\(^4\). But this last and latest specification offers quite inadequate support to S. Eitrem’s hypothesis that the Tritopatores were originally, like the Dioskouroi, two in number, the addition of a third being due to a mere misconception of their name\(^9\).

Misconception, however, of a sort there certainly was, and indeed still is. For as soon as the prose Tritopatores became the poetic Tritopatreis, the way was open for the whole group of Trito-names to overlap and get entangled with an entirely different group of Trito-names, represented by the sea-god Triton, the sea-goddess Amphitrite, a river Triton, a spring or lake Tritonis, etc. These names presuppose triton or the like as an early word for ‘water’.


\(^1\) Supra ii. 893 n. a.
\(^2\) Supra p. 120.
\(^3\) Supra p. 121.
\(^4\) Supra p. 120.
\(^7\) E. Windisch in the Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur 1877 iv. 268, id. Kurzgefasste irische Grammatik mit Lesestücken Leipzig 1879 p. 39 § 155.
\(^8\) H. Osthoff—K. Brugmann Morphologische Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen Leipzig 1881 iv. 195.
\(^9\) A. Fick Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen Göttingen 1894 ii\(^6\). 137.
\(^10\) K. Brugmann Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen Strassburg 1906 ii\(^2\). 1. 298.
\(^11\) H. Pedersen Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen Göttingen 1909 i. 179.
The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis 125

Triton the god to the Old Irish triath, genitive trethan, the ‘sea.’ This formidable array of philologists may be supposed to have fixed with some certainty the derivation of the names in question. And their assumption, that a word once existing in common speech may have survived only in a handful of proper names, is fully justified by analogous examples\(^1\). Confusion between the stems Trito- and Tribto- undoubtedly modified the meaning of the appellative Tritogèneia, which ceased to be thought of as ‘Great-granddaughter,’ the pendant of Tritopdtor, ‘Great-grandfather,’ and was re-interpreted as ‘Born beside the Triton,’ a river variously located in Libya\(^3\), Crete\(^4\), Arkadia\(^5\), Boiotia\(^6\), and Thessaly\(^7\). This

\(^1\) E.g. bach or bache, a variant of bach, in the place-names Bacup, Comberbach, Sandbach, etc. (J. B. Johnston The Place-Names of England and Wales London 1915 pp. 130, 211, 431) and the surnames Bache, Batch, Bage, Greatbatch, Huntbach (E. Weekley Surnames London 1916 p. 23). Similarly Old High German aha, Middle High German ahe, ‘running water’ (cp. Lat. aqua), survives as a, aa, aeh, ach, etc. in a great variety of place-names (W. Sturmfels Eiyiomologisches Lexikon deutscher und fremdländischer Ortsnamen Berlin—Bonn 1925 p. i).

\(^2\) Supra p. 123.

\(^3\) This is the usual version in lexicographers, scholiasts, mythographers, etc.: e.g. Phot. lex. s.v. Τριτογένεια = Σωτίδ. s.v. Τριτογένεια: ‘Ανθρα’...δή παρά < τού (ισχυρ& ν. e. c.) τριτών του ποταμού Λίβθης έγεννήθη...δή επί παρά Τρίτων έγένετο...δή έθελόσαντο εν τις Τρίτων τοις Λίβθης ποταμοί. Κρ. Χεσυχ. s.v. Τριτογένεια: έπειτετοιος ή ‘Ανθρα’...δή παρά Τρίτων, τοις ποταμοί ποταμίς, εμφανισθήκαν, επ. mag. p. 767, 40 ff. Τριτογένεια, ή ‘Ανθρα’...δή παρά το τριτών ποταμό τέγνενεν, επ. Gud. p. 535; 32 f. Τριτογένεια, ή ‘Ανθρα, από το ποταμόν, όπου γεννήθη έθελόσαντο, Οριον p. 151, 10 ff. Τριτογένεια: ήτοι παρά το Τρίτων (P. H. Larcher corr. Τρίτων) ποταμό γεννήθεια, ... Ευστάθ. in Dionys. per. 257 δή ή Τριτω, εύρεια ομώπα, μετά Λίβθης ουκεία: περί δή και τι νοθίδων ιστοροίδων εύρεια. επί ταύτης ο μύθος της Τριτογένειας ‘Ανθρα παραμόρφωθαι βοηθείαν, ώς γεννηθήσαν, επί αὐτήν, επ. in Π. p. 666, 38 f. (= Favorin. lex. p. 1775, 30 f.) ό δέ και από το τριτών Λίβθης ποταμό καλείται ουν (κυ.), αλλαχοί δηλαδή, επ. in 1665, 7 Π. Τριτογένεια δέ κατάβαθνα, ή Άνθρα, κατά τι μεν καλείται, αλλαχοί δεδόμενοι. δή καί παρά το τριτών ποταμό ή λέγεται, ώς εκεί γεννήθηκε της ‘Ανθρα, της Κρητης εις τούτον νυν εκείνου και μόνον, ώς κ.τ.λ., επ. in Od. 1473, 11 f. Τριτογένεια δε...δή έκ τριτών Λίβθης ποταμόν, schol. a.D. Π. 8. 39 α δέ νοοτέρως φαίνεται παρά το τριτών ποταμό γεννήθεια, ός εστί της Λίβθης. Καί ένεργος ορισμός το τριτών ποταμό καλείται κατά τις γεννήθηκε, ουκεία ποταμόν είναι τριτών ποταμό αυτήν όπου γεννήθηκε, ουκεία άκριβος άκριβος άκριβος. Α λάθος παρά της Ευστάθ. Α ενίοτε δέ πουτάν της Τριτογένειας βοηθείαν, αλλα στα παρά του Τρίτων ποταμού ζωής έμελλεν, ώς εκεί γεννήθηκε της ‘Ανθρα, της Κρητης εις τούτον νυν εκείνου και μόνον, ώς κ.τ.λ., επ. in Od. 1473, 11 f. Τριτογένεια δε...δή έκ τριτών Λίβθης ποταμόν, schol. a.D. Π. 8. 39 α δέ νοοτέρως φαίνεται παρά το τριτών ποταμό γεννήθεια, ός εστί της Λίβθης. Α λάθος παρά της Ευστάθ. Α ενίοτε δέ πουτάν της Τριτογένειας βοηθείαν, αλλα στα παρά του Τρίτων ποταμού ζωής έμελλεν, ώς εκεί γεννήθηκε της ‘Ανθρα, της Κρητης εις τούτον νυν εκείνου και μόνον, ώς κ.τ.λ., επ. in Od. 1473, 11 f. Τριτογε

\(^4\) This is largely based on Apollod. i. 3. 6—a passage discussed infra §9 (h) ii (e).
tactus or celebrant, Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 2. 722 Tritone: fluvis vel palus in Libya, in qua Minerva dictur nata, sicut Lucanus (Lucan. 9. 354) affirmavit. unde Graeci eam Minervam Tritogeniam vocant. Myth. Vat. 1. 124 haec et Tritonia dicitur quia circa Tritonium lacum dictur apparuisse in virginali aetate. 3. 10. i nam quod a Libyca palude hoc nomen (sc. Tritonia) meruerit, quia illic a caelo descensum et ad caelum ascensum celebraverit, poetica esse constat. nam legitur (Lucan. 9. 354): 'et se dilecta Tritonia (lag. Tritonida) dixit ab unda.'


4 Diod. 5. 72 μεθολογεῖτο δὲ καὶ (sc. as well as Zeus: see Diod. 5. 70 cited supra ii. 190 p. 2) τον 'Αδηνῇ κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην ἐκ Δίω, ἐν τοῖς πυγμαῖς τοῦ Τριόνους πτώματα γεγενήσθαι: δό καὶ Τριογένειαν ἀνωμαλθῆναι. δό καὶ καὶ νῦν ἐνι πρὶν τὰς πυγμαίς ταῦτας ἵππας ἔγειν τῇ θεῷ τάσσεται, ἐν τὸ ἄκρα τὴν γένεσιν αὐτῆς ἀπέραντα μεθολογεῖτο (for Diodorus' Cretan sources see E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 678).

Diod. 3. 70 (Ammon bid Dionysos, his son by Amalthea, in a (Cretan?) cave) πρὶν δὲ ταῖς ἀκοῖς τοῦ μυθουργά Παν ἑπιτυμάδευσε φθάναν τοῦ παιδοῦ καταστήσας τὴν 'Αδηνήν, μικρόν πρὸ τοῦτο λέγειν χρόνος γεννησθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ Τριόνου πτώματος, δι' ὧν Τριογένεια προσγεγερθη—σα (the source here is the 'Phrygian poem' of Thymoites (Diod. 3. 67), on which see J. Carcopino La Basilique pythagorienne de la Porte Majeure Paris 1927 p. 301 ff.).

These Cretan legends are of little or no authority. They were possibly prompted by the fact that coins of Itanos from c. 460 to the beginning of s. iv b.c. have for obverse type a sea-god, probably one with the 'Dagon' of Arados (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia pp. xx f., 1 ff. pl. 1, 1—10, E. Babelon Les Peres Achéménides Paris 1893 p. 123 ff. pl. 22, 1—9, id. Monn. gr. rom. ii. 2. 511 ff. pl. 116, 4—18, since the eponym Itanos is described as a Phoenician (Steph. Byz. s.v. Παν ὁ τόις εἰς Κρήτην, ἐν Ιτανοῦ φωικος, ή τῶν Κορνέων ὅσοι μεγάδοι), but in aspect indistinguishable from Triton (J. N. Svoronos Numismatique de la Crête ancienne Macon 1890 i. 201 ff. pls. 18, 21—37, 19, 1—9, Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 3. 895 ff. pl. 244, 1—16, Head Hist. num. 2. p. 469 f. fig. 251, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc. p. 51 pls. 12, 6—8, 13, 1—4; Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 189, McClain Cat. Coins ii. 499 ff. pl. 244, 1 f., Weber Cat. Coins ii. 533 nos. 4499—4503 pl. 163, Bement Sale Catalogue 1924 ii. 19 no. 1306 f. pl. 45), while from c. 376 to the middle of s. iv b.c. the sea-god is replaced by the head of Athena, surviving c. s. 376 to the middle of s. iv b.c.

A somewhat similar deity on an unpublished bronze coin of Karystos in my collection (fig. 48) is presumably Glaukos, from whom the athlete Glaukos of Karystos traced his descent (Paus. 6. 10. 1). ὘ν. head of Zeus; ἐν ΚΑ Sea-god to right, grasping fish (holed).
The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis

The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis 127

Τριτόπατορεῖς ταῖς κατὰ τὴν Λέγοντας καὶ Διὸς τε Ιδρύσαν τοῖς Λεχάτοις (Γέολογον εἰς
Δεσπόταν) βοηθεὶς ἔτη κατά τὴν Ἀθηναίων τεκνώσον, καὶ κρήνην καλούσι Τριτώλια, τὸν έπὶ
tοῦ πυταμώ τις Τρίτωνος οἰκείον μοι Λόγου. κ.τ.λ. (συντρ. ii. 782). W. M. Leake Travels in
the Morea London 1830 ii. 79 with plan on p. 73 identified this Tritonis with a spring on
the north-eastern side of the hill of Aliphera.

Fig. 41.
Fig. 42.
Fig. 43.
Fig. 44.
Fig. 45.
Fig. 46.
Fig. 47.
Fig. 48.

* Paus. 9. 33. 7 ἕτε καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο μοι ἔντατα (καὶ Εὔκλειδαιοι) οὐ μέγας χείμαρρος
ἀλλοιώσοντες τὸ τρίτωνος αὐτῶν, ὅτι τὴν Ἀθηναῖαν τραφήναι παρὰ τοῦτον Ἰτόμον ἔχει λόγος, ὅτι
τοῦ πυταμῶν τὸ Τρίτωνος δότα καὶ οὐχὶ τὸν Διόξων, ὃς ἐς τὴν πέραν Διόξων (50 F. Sylburg for
Rhod. 1. 109, 4. 1311 (= Favorin. lex. p. 1776, 5 ff.), interp. Serv. in Verg. Aen. 2.
171, all cited supra p. 156 n. o. The Boeotian towns Athenai and Eleusis (Paus. 9.
24. 2, Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Αθῆναι) were situated on the banks of the Triton (Strab.
492), which W. M. Leake Travels in Northern Greece Cambridge 1835 ii. 135 l.
identifies with the stream near the village of Sulinari. K. O. Müller Orchomenos und die
The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis

re-interpretation, a commonplace of classical mythology, is not expressly recorded till the Graeco-Roman period, though there are stray hints of it as early as the fifth century B.C.\(^1\)

Whether the same confusion of Trito- with Trito- ever brought the Tritopatores or Tritopatreis into relation with the water-powers seems to me more problematic. M. Budimir, who claims that the Tritopatreis had something to do with wells, quotes from the Epakria calendar certain ‘priestly dues on account of the well for the Tritopatreis’.\(^2\) Unfortunately—as may be seen from J. von Prott’s edition of the text—the priestly dues and the well belong to one clause, the Tritopatreis to another. The two are juxtaposed, but not connected. Apart from this, Budimir has to fall back on the somewhat remote analogy of the Vedic god Trita, who sits in wells and presses some.\(^3\)

No doubt, the deities of wind and water do draw together in late classical belief. Horace\(^5\) describes the South-wind as the

\textit{Mightiest power that Hadria knows,}

\textit{Wills he the waves to madden or compose.}

\footnote{Minyer\(^2\) Breslau 1844 p. 349 ff. argued that the ‘Ursitz’ of Athena Tragophoria was Boiotia, whence the myth spread with the Minyai to Libya. Similarly Farnell \textit{Cults of Gk. States} i. 266 ff. holds that Athena Tragophoria originated in Thessaly or Boiotia, and thence passed to Kyrene.}


\footnote{Aisch. \textit{Eum.} 292 ff. αδελεχαλεσσον χαρακτι (so Auratus for \textit{Διμαυακος} codd.) | Τριτόωνος αμβιθέρι γενεθλίου πόρου | τίθεσαν δρόμος η καταρκή πόθα (εκ.'\textit{Αθηνα}',) | \textit{k.t.l.}, Hdt. 4. 180 τούτων δε \textit{ἐξονται} τῶν Μακεδῶν Ανήθες οὕτω δε καὶ οἱ Μάχηνες περὶ τὴν Τριτονίδα Λίμνην οἰκέων, τὸ μέσον δε \textit{σφι} οὐδέξα ὅ \textit{Τριτων...οὐτή δὲ ἐνεαυισί' Αθηναῖς} αἱ παρθένων αὐτῶν δέχε θεσθήσα εγγόνα πρὸς ἀλλήλας Μίσωσι τα εἰς καθόλου, τῷ αὐθηναίῳ δερέ λέγονται τὰ πάρτα ἀποστελεῖν, τῇ 'Αθηναίην καλεόμεθα. τὰ δὲ ἀποθυροκούσι τῶν παρθένων καὶ τῶν τρωμάτων ψυσσαρθένους καλεόμεθα. πρὸ δὲ ἀνέναι αὐτὰς μάχεσθαι, τάδε φοίτου κυρίοις παρθένοις τὴν καλλιστσαν πάντως κοιμήσασθαι κυνήγει τῷ Κορινθῷ καὶ πανούχθῃ Ελληνικῷ καὶ ἐν ἀρμα ἀναβάζονται περαγόμεθα τῇ Λίμνῃ κυκλῷ. ὀντεύοις δὲ τὸ πάλαι ἐκόμουν τὰ παρθένων πρὶν ὡς Ελληνας παρουσιασθήσαι, ὥσ τι εἰσίν, δεκάι δὲ ὧν Ἀλεπτοταῖος ἐπισκέψασθαι αὐτὰς· τὴν δὲ 'Αθηναίην φασὶ Ποτευδόσσων εἶναι ψυσσαρθένα καὶ τῇ Τριτονίδος Λίμνῃ, καὶ μὲν μεμβρέθαια τὶ τῷ πατρὶ δούναι ὑπερήφανα τῷ Δίνῳ, τὸν δὲ Δία εὐνόμου μὲν ποιεσθαι ψυσσαρτῆ, Eur. \textit{Icorr.} 871 ff. καὶ τὴν ἐν ἀρμα πεδίαν ποιεῖ καλαίτως θεάν | Λίμνῃ τη' ἐνδώρου Τριτωνάδων | πότνιαν ἀκτάν, Aristoph. \textit{Lys.} 346 ff. καὶ σε καλὶ σύμμαχος, \textit{ὅ} | \textit{Τριτοψαρεῖ}, ἐν τις ἐκείνης ὑποτιμάσσον ἀνὴρ | φέρειν θῶρ μεθ' ἤμων.}

\footnote{M. Budimir reported by L. Radermacher in \textit{Berl. philol. Woch.} März 4, 1921 p. 202 \textit{Tεράσσωσα} \textit{φρεάτας} \textit{Τριτοσαρεῖς}.}

\footnote{The text is given \textit{supra} p. 115 n. 4.}


\footnote{Hor. \textit{ed.} 1. 3. 15 ff. trans. J. Conington.}
In art, as H. Steinmetz pointed out, wind-gods approximate to the Tritonian type. Lucian touches in the portrait of Thrasykles the philosopher with a few effective phrases:

"Here he comes—beard all a-spread, eyebrows arched, arrogance in the air, an up-against-Olympos look, the tresses waving over his forehead, a very Boreas or Triton in the manner of Zeuxis."

En revanche Triton, blowing a blast with his sonorous conch, easily takes on the duties of a wind-god. A mosaic found in 1833 at Saint Rustice, north-west of Toulouse, among the ruins of a Roman bath, represents a huge head of Okeanos surrounded by various marine subjects. These include sea-divinities mounted on Tritons, all labelled in Greek lettering of the third century A.D. Adjacent bays on the right show Théitis carried by Triton, Panópea by Bórrios; on the left, Dotó by Nymphogenès, Palémon and Iné by Glaiôkos. The artist's signature is incomplete—... génios Sikilístês. Here then we have a genuine Triton wearing a fish-skin as a chlamys, but actually bearing the name of a wind-god Bôr(e)tos. More than that, one interesting monument made Triton in a sense the ruler of all the winds that blow. The Horologion of Andronikos Kyrkhestes, built at...

2 Loukian. Tim. 54 ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτο; οὐ τραυμαλθῆς ὁ φιλόσοφος οὕτω ἔστω; οὐ μὲν οὖν ἄλλος ἔκπεπτας γοῦν τῶν πάγων καὶ τῶν ὄμοις ἀντιλίκτον καὶ βραχυφυλετῶν τι προτο ἀοῦν ἐρχέται, τιναπαθὲς μελητέας, ἀνασφοβηθημένος τὴν ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου κλώμην, Ἀδαφορᾶς τις ἡ Τρίτων, οἷος ὁ Θεός ἑγαρέας.
4 P. Gauckler in Duremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 2115 n. 10.
5 Insr. Gr. Sic. ii. no. 2519 a ΓΕΝΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ, b ΤΙΡΙΤΩΝ, d ΔΩΤΩΝ, e ΘΕΤΙΚ, f ΠΑΛΕΜΩΝ, g ΝΥΜΦΟΓΕΝΗΣ, h ΛΑΥΚΟΤΩΝ, i ΤΙΡΙΤΩΝ, j ΤΙΡΙΤΩΝ, k ΠΑΛΕΜΩΝ, l ΙΝΩ.
6 J. Stuart and N. Revett The Antiquities of Athens London 1762 i. 13—25 with pls. 1 (view), 2 (plan), 3 (restoration), 4 (vertical section), 5—9 (architectural detail), 10 f. (sundials), 12—19 (wind-gods), J. Matt in Baumeister Denkm. iii. 2112—2115 figs. 2365 (chart), 2366 (restoration), 2367 (vertical section), 2368 (plan), 2369 (hypsýdra), Harrison Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath. pp. 190—203 fig. 9, Collignon Hist. de la Sculpt. gr. ii. 615 f. fig. 324 (Boreas), Frazer Pausanias ii. 187 f., E. A. Gardner Ancient Athens London 1902 pp. 24, 488—491 (date either s. i or early in s. i B.C.) with fig., W. Judeich Topographie von Athen München 1905 pp. 92 no. 11 (date s. i B.C.), 333 f. with fig. 41, id. 1931 pp. 97, 374 f., Reinach Rép. Reliefs i. 57.
7 P. Graindor in Le Musée Belge 1906 x. 353 ff. and in Byzantion 1916 iii. 29 ff. notes the discovery in Tenos, about the year 1906, of a tower like that of the Winds at Athens. This new tower has an inscription (Inscr. Gr. ins. v. 2 no. 901, cp. A. Rehm in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 2447) which shows that Andronikos, the constructor of both, was a native of Kyrrhos in Makedonia (not Kyrrhos in Syria) and that the tower at Athens must be dated in the time of Iulius Caesar.
The Tritopatres or Tritopatreis

Athens in the first century B.C. and better known to us as the 'Tower of the Winds,' was an octagonal structure of white marble containing a water-clock. The upper part of its exterior was decorated with eight reliefs of the wind-gods, arranged in accordance with the wind-rose of Eratosthenes\(^1\),—Boreas, Kaikias, Apeliotes, Euros, Notos, Lips, Zephyros, Skiron. And the roof was crowned by the bronze figure of a Triton, who swung round in the wind and pointed with his rod to the appropriate deity\(^2\).

\(^1\) H. Steinmetz *De ventorum descriptionibus apud Graecos Romanosque* Gottingae 1907 pp. 42 ff., 80, *id.* 'Windgötter' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv. 34 f.
\(^2\) Vitruv. 1. 6. 4, cp. Varro. *rer. rust.* 3. 5. 17.
The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis

Fig. 50.

Fig. 51.
If Triton thus played the part of Aiolos, can we go further and maintain that the former, like the latter, was a keeper of souls in some island of the Otherworld? It must, I think, be admitted that Tritons on occasion were viewed as protectors of the dead. A stele of Pentelic marble in the Peiraieus Museum (fig. 49), assigned by A. Brückner to the end of the second or the beginning of the first century B.C., represents the dead man standing in an architectural niche (naiskos?) with his left hand on the head of a Siren at his side. Below this group are carved in slight relief two bearded Tritons, wreathed with reeds (?), who confront one another, each blowing a conch and shouldering a paddle. Why are they there? Brückner describes them as ‘das mythologische Ornament,’ which is true but not particularly helpful. I take it that Triton with his echoing horn, like the cock with his lively din, was believed to keep maleficent spirits at a distance. And this may well account for the persistent popularity of Tritons on sarcophagi and other sepulchral monuments of Graeco-Roman and Etruscan art. They are often accompanied by a train of Nereids and sea-beasts, with diminutive Erotes here, there, and everywhere. I figure a couple of sarcophagi, one made for a Roman lady in the third century A.D. (fig. 52), the other made

4 T. L. Shear in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1931 xxxv. 428 ff. figs. 5—10 reports the finding of Roman chamber-tombs cut out in the hard clay of a hillside S.E. of Cheliotomylus near Corinth. One of these, originally constructed towards the end of s. i A.D. (fig. 5 = my fig. 50), had a circular well-shaft (0.95 m across, 2.30 m deep) in the floor of its inner chamber—perhaps to quench the thirst of the departed (Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 831 n. 1, infra § 9 (d) ii (a))—and was decorated with several paintings. That on the tympanum of the niche in the S. wall of the outer chamber (fig. 6 = my fig. 51) shows a large kratir (orange ground, red lines) flanked by a pair of plunging dolphins, above which are two Tritons (orange and red bodies, greenish-blue tails), each blowing a long reed and holding a wand. Wavy blue strokes below the dolphins indicate the sea. On the N. wall of the outer chamber, at the E. end of the grave is a large trident painted on the transverse wall.
5 Clarac Mus. de Sculpt. pl. 107 fig. 196 (= Reinach Rép. Stat. i. 95 no. 3) with Texte ii. 502, Fröhner Sculpt. du Louvre i. 405 f. no. 440, F. R. Dressler in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 1194 f. fig. 25. A sarcophagus-front of Luna marble. Height 0.55 m. Length 2.15 m.
The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis about the same time but used for a Christian burial perhaps two centuries later (fig. 53).¹

The significance of this marine cortège has been differently conceived by different critics. F. Buonarroti² in 1698 held that graceful Oceanic figures were believed to escort deserving souls to the Islands of the Blest. His view, accepted by archaeologists of the eighteenth century, was extended by E. Q. Visconti³, who remarked that sea-processions of the sort were suggestive of a Bacchic thiasos. E. Petersen⁴ caught at the notion and regarded the riot of sea-creatures as an attempt to symbolise the joyous revels of pious souls on entering the Otherworld. He observed that the movement of such groups is centripetal, not processional, and consequently abandoned the idea of an escort to the Islands of the Blest. He failed, however, adequately to explain why ordinary mortals should thus suffer a sea-change. Neither Ino⁵ nor Enalos⁶ is typical of commonplace humanity. W. H. Roscher⁷ suspected that the clue lay in the Samothracian mysteries. Sundry myths of the

¹ C. L. V(visconti) 'Sarcofago con rappresentanza di Nereidi e Tritoni' in the Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma 1873 i. 192—200 pl. 4 (=my fig. 53). Found near the western side of the large square porticus to the right of the Basilica of S. Lorenzo at Rome. Height 0'65 m. Length 2'10 m. The acclamation PROMOTE | HABEAS (for Promote, aveas) is followed by a Latin cross with spread ends.

² F. Buonarroti Osservazioni istoriche sopra alcuni medaglioni antichi all' Altezza serenissima di Cosimo III, gran duca di Toscana Roma 1698 pp. 44, 114.


⁵ Find. Ol. i. 28 ff., cp. supra i. 674.

⁶ Supra i. 170.

The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis
A stucco-relief in the semi-dome of the subterranean basilica at Rome: the last voyage of the soul over the waters of death to the Islands of the Blest.

See page 135 ff.
The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis

Tyrsenian Pelasgoi, who founded these mysteries, told how mortals were transformed into sea-deities or sea-creatures—witness Ino Leukothea, Halia, Kombe, Palaimon, Glaukos Pontios, Enalos, and the Tyrsenian pirates metamorphosed into dolphins. Accordingly Roscher conjectured that any Samothracian mystic drowned at sea was said to have become a deity or a denizen of the deep. Hence the frequency of these ‘Samothracian’ designs. H. Steuding replied that, if so, we ought to see the deceased himself portrayed as one of the marine powers rather than his effigy borne aloft in their midst. The matter is still in dispute. Personally, I am impressed by F. G. Welcker’s claim that these sarcophagi are descended from the famous group by Skopas, of which Pliny says:

‘But most highly esteemed of all his works is the group in the temple built by Gnaeus Domitius in the Circus of Flaminius: it comprises Poseidon himself with Thetis and Achilles, Nereids riding on dolphins and sea monsters or on sea horses, and Tritons and the train of Phorkos, with sea beasts and a tumult of creatures of the deep, the whole by the same hand, a wondrous work, even were it of that a life-time.’

If, as is commonly supposed, the Scopaic group—almost certainly a pedimental group—represented the passing of Achilles to the Islands of the Blest, or more precisely to Leuke or Borysthenis in the Black Sea, it is at least legitimate to interpret the scene on the sarcophagi as that of a safe and superhuman convey moving forward to some Otherworld island. And here it will be remembered that the magnificent stucco-relief, which fills the semicircle of the subterranean basilica outside the Porta Maggiore at Rome, depicts an analogous scene (pl. xix). Before us lies a stormy

2 Welcker Alt. Denkm. i. 204—206.
6 This escapes E. Petersen’s objection that the movement of the group is centripetal, not processional (supra p. 133).
7 Mrs A. Strong Apotheosis and After Life London 1915 p. 215 ‘The dolphins and marine monsters, another frequent decoration, form a mystic escort of the dead to the Islands of the Blest, and at the same time carry with them an allusion to the purifying power of water and to the part assigned to the watery element in Mithraic and solar cults.’ I am not satisfied that we need to assume any such further implications.
8 Good photographs of the relief were published by E. Strong and N. Jolliffe in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1924 xlv. 193 ff. pl. 4 and by J. Carcopino La basilique pythagoricienne de la Porte Majeure Paris 1927 p. 371 ff. pl. 24. Better still is the definitive publication
The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis

sea with threatening breakers. A rock-bound coast looms up on either hand. From the headland on the right, where a tree is growing, a veiled woman with a lyre steps down towards the water, attended by Eros. In front of her a Triton, or perhaps rather a personification of the Wind, holds a mantle to serve as her ferry-boat across the flood. On the cliff to the left sits a man, who leans his head on his hand in an attitude of deep dejection. In front of him a second and unmistakable Triton turns away, blowing a blast on his horn. Finally, in the distance is seen a rocky island, on which stands Apollon holding out his hand as if to welcome the woman. F. Fornari, one of the two scholars first privileged to publish this wonderful composition, saw at once that the subject must be the last voyage of the soul over the waters of death to the Islands of the Blest. Much has been written on the relief since then, and, though various points of content and style remain uncertain, it by G. Bendinelli in the Mon. d. Linc. 1926 xxxi pls. 11 (= my pl. xix), 12 (centre), 13 (right side), 14 (drawing). To photograph well an apsidal relief in such a position is something of a technical triumph.


3 It is à priori probable that the conch of the apse represented a myth rather than a belief. There was therefore something to be said for the suggestion of C. Denzmore Curtis ‘Sappho and the “Leucadian Leap” in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1920 xxiv. 146—150 that the stucco portrays a well-known story, namely the famous “Leucadian Leap” of Sappho in her attempt to be freed from her hopeless love for Phaon (Ov. her. 15. 157—184). F. Cumont ‘La basilica soterranea presso Porta Maggiore a Roma’ in the Rassegna d’Arte 1921 pp. 37—44 held that this explanation of the scene was possibly compatible with his own Pythagorean hypothesis. J. Carcopino ‘Encore la Basilique de la “Porta Maggiore”’ in the Rev. Arch. 1923 ii. 1—23 turned possibility into something very like certainty by pointing out that the Pythagoreans were much concerned with the myth of
Sappho and Phaon (Plin. nat. hist. 22. 20 ob hoc (sc. male root of white eryngo) et Phaonem Lesbium dilectum a Sappho, multa circa hoc non Magorum solum vanitate, sed etiam Pythagoricorum). E. Strong and N. Jolliffe 'The Stuccoes of the Underground Basilica near the Porta Maggiore' in Journ. Hell. Stud. 1924 xliv. 65—111 justly observe (p. 103 f.):

'It is true that Pliny says nothing about the death or leap of Sappho, nothing therefore bearing on the subject of the apse stucco, yet we may now reasonably assume that the whole Sappho legend entered into Pythagorean lore, and that M. Carcopino by this timely discovery has disposed of any doubt as to the Pythagorean character of the basilica, or as to Sappho's leap being the subject of the apse stucco.' They themselves go further and, taking a hint from H. Stuart Jones (ib. p. 103 n. 124 a), interpret the relief as a scene of apotheosis by water (cp. G. Glotz L'ordalie dans la Grèce primitive Paris 1904 pp. 34—50 ('Le saut de Leucade'))—'the root idea of baptism.' See further F. Boyancé 'Leucas' in Rev. Arch. 1929 ii. 211—219—an interesting discussion of Pliny's candida erynge = Topy6veiov, /v, 1/j, /u, etc. (Dioskor. 3. 11 (24) p. 363 f. Sprengel), aelipos (Mart. Cap. 141, where cod. A has λεκυς with gloss herba albula ut quidam lilium).

Whatever be thought of this catena of interpretations, it can hardly be denied that Ovid's description of Sappho and the Leap does fit the design of the relief with remarkable aptitude. The single tree overlooking the water (Ov. her. 15. 159 f. quem supra ramos expandit aquatica lotos, | una nemus), Apollon on his rock (165 Phoebus ab excelso, quantum patet, adspicit aequor), the woman stepping down from the cliff (172 nec saxo desiluisse time), the personification of wind with a mantle for a boat (177 f. aura, subito: | et mea non magnum corpora pondus habent), the attendant Eros (179 tu quoque, mollis Amor, pennas suppone cadenti), the lyre carried by the woman (181 inde chelyn Phoebio, communia munera, ponam),—almost every point in the picture can be paralleled from the poem.

4 The art-type of Sappho stepping off the rock for love of Phaon was, I think, derived from the earlier art-type of Aphrodite stepping on to the ferry-boat of Phaon, as shown by a red-figured krater found in 1909 'nella proprietà Tamburini fuori Porta Castiglione' and now at Bologna (Pellegrini Cat. vas. gr. dipint. Bologna pp. 133—135 no. 288bis fig. 77 (= my fig. 54).

Apollon, according to C. Densmore Curtis in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1920 xxiv. 150, appears to be the Apollon ηευκάρης of a coin of Nikopolis struck by Trajan (supra i. 345 n. 8).

The dejected man on the rocks to the left has been compared by F. Cumont in the Rassegna d'Arte 1921 p. 39 with analogous figures on Attic sepulchral stelai.

But much has yet to be done by way of investigating the antecedents of these and other individual motifs.
The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis
is now generally admitted that the whole design illustrates the entrance of the soul into the Otherworld as conceived by some Pythagorean sect in the middle of the first century A.D. But we are concerned with the Tritons only, who here as on the sarcophagi are present to control the winds and waves, thereby averting the perils of the last dread voyage. If on the sarcophagus in the Galleria Corsini at Rome (fig. 55)\(^1\) they are exceptionally equipped with the thunderbolt of Zeus\(^2\), the helmet sword and shield of Ares, the arrows and torch of Eros, etc., that is tantamount to saying that Tritons and the like in this connexion are not merely graceful gambollers but the equivalent of a whole heavenly host.

To sum up, it would seem that the Tritons came to be regarded as, like the Tritopatores, at once controllers of the wind and guardians of the soul. But this was a matter of similarity, not of identity. If *Tritogéneia* meant first ‘Great-granddaughter’ and then ‘Born beside the Triton’\(^3\), that was a case of sheer verbal confusion. Nor have we the right to infer from it a real relationship between the Tritopatores and the Tritons. And, in the absence of any inward identity, I find no sufficient reason for thinking that the Tritopatores were ever outwardly figured as Tritons with fishy tails; still less, for supposing that they already had the Tritonian type in the sixth century B.C. Accordingly, I definitely reject the view of Furt-

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\(^2\) E. Vinet in the *Rev. Arch.* 1853 p. 100 ff. with fig. (=my fig. 56) published a gem-impression, obtained from T. Cades, which shows a Triton equipped with thunderbolt and trident. Vinet thought him Aigaion.

\(^3\) *Supra* p. 125.
wängler, who gave the name of Tritopatore to the three-bodied snake-tailed giant of the earliest Hekatompedon at Athens. That view, though it has commended itself to M. Budimir, B. Schweitzer, and others, seems to me far less probable than the older identification of the giant with the ‘three-bodied Typhon’ of Euripides.

(d) Zeus Oúrios, ikmenos, Euánemos, Bóreios.

The primitive fancy that winds are the souls of ancestors dead and buried was followed, and largely superseded, by the more intelligent notion that winds are atmospheric forces controlled by a sky-god.

This transition from a lower to a higher view was, it would seem, facilitated by long-standing local beliefs. The Aeolians held that the winds were kept by an eponymous forefather Aiolos, who dwelt in Aiolie a floating island perhaps originally located in the Black Sea, like Leuke or Borythenis the final abode of Achilles. Further,

3 B. Schweitzer *Herakles* Tübingen 1922 pp. 74 ff. (summarised by E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1909 f.), *supra* p. 122 n. 5.
4 Eur. *H.f.* 1271 f. τρισωμάτους Τυφώνας, where P. Elmsley would not have conjectured Τυφώνας, had he lived to see the triple monster of the Hekatompedon (*supra* ii. 805 n. 6) or that of the black-figured κύλις at Florence (T. Wiegand *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen* Cassel and Leipzig 1904 p. 76 ff. figs. 84 a and b).
5 *Supra* p. 106 ff.
6 *Infra* Append. P (1).
7 This is nowhere stated. But the early connexion of Aeolians with Asia Minor (V. G. Childe *The Aryans: A Study of Indo-European Origins* London 1926 p. 47 f., *supra* p. 111 B. 4) and that of Achilles with Leuke (first in the *Athenäion of Arktinos ap. Prokl. chrestomath. gramm. 2* in *Epic. Gr. frag.* i. 34 Kinkel—a source referred by W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* München 1912 i. 63 and 97 to s. VIII B.C.) combine to give the surmise some measure of probability. Later, of course, Aiolie was located in the west, being identified with one of the Liparenses Insulae. But K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1932 ff. makes it clear that this transference from Aegean to Sicilian waters was the work of Chalcidian colonists.

W. W. Merry in his note on *Od.* 10. 3 writes: ‘May not the whole story of the floating island with its precipitous sides be a poetical reproduction of the story of some Phoenician sailors, who had voyaged far enough to the north to fall in with an iceberg? The sheer face of ice and the glittering summit seem to be perfectly described by the words κύλις καὶ τείχος καὶ λοφός ἀνάθεμα πέτρης.’ When it comes to the interpretation of an ancient myth, rationalism is usually wrong (*supra* i. 418). Nevertheless Merry’s suggestion should not be scouted; for a perusal of Append. P will suffice to show that the floating islands of the Greeks and Romans have almost invariably some foundation in fact. Moreover, icebergs in the Black Sea are not beyond the pale of possibility. W. B. Carpenter in *The Encyclopedia Britannica* Edinburgh 1875 iii. 797 says: ‘It is reported...that in 401 A.D. the surface of the Euxine was almost entirely frozen over, and that when the ice broke up enormous masses were seen floating in the Sea of Marmora for thirty days [Chron. Pasch. 307 B (i. 568 Dindorf)].’ In 762 A.D., again, the sea is said to have been frozen from the
there is good reason to think that Aeolian kings (Salmoneus, Keyx, Ixion, etc.) were at one time regarded as human embodiments of Zeus\(^1\). Indeed, modern mythology is inclined to conjecture that Aiilos himself began life as an appellative of the same god\(^2\). It would not, therefore, be surprising to find that in saga expanded from Aeolian lays a favouring wind was deemed the special gift of Zeus, or that the cult of Zeus as sender of such a wind persistently clung to the Aeolian coast-line.

In point of fact both expectations are justified. It is often and, in my opinion, rightly supposed that the Homeric poems were essentially the dactylic lays of Aeolian Thessaly put together in hexameter form by a poet or poets who somewhere on the fringe of Asiatic Aiolis, not improbably at Chios, used an Ionic dialect with an inevitable admixture of Aeolisms\(^3\). Hence Homer, true to Aeolic terminal cliffs of the Caucasus to the mouths of the Dniester, Dnieper, and Danube; and contemporary writers assert that the quantity of snow which fell on the ice rose to the height of from 30 to 40 feet, completely hiding the contour of the shores, and that on the breaking up of the ice in the month of February, the masses of it carried by the current into the Sea of Marmora reunited in one immense sheet across the Hellespont between Sestos and Abydos [Theophan. chron. l. 670 Classen, Zonar. 15. 7; Glykas ann. 4 p. 537 Bekker]. No similar occurrence has been subsequently recorded.\(^4\) According to Chambers's *Encyclopedia* London and Edinburgh 1923 ii. 266 s.v. 'Black Sea,' 'All the coasts are high, with good harbours, except between the mouths of the Danube and the Crimea; there the land is low, and the danger of navigation greatly increased in winter by the presence of floating ice... The shores from Odessa to the Crimea are ice-bound during January and February; and although the harbour of Odessa is never frozen up, yet the drift-ice frequently renders the entrance to it dangerous.' See further Hdt. 4. 28 (cited Gell. 17. 8. 16, Macrob. *Sat.* 7. 12. 31), Verg. *georg.* 3. 349 ff., Strab. 73 and 307, Ov. *trist.* 3. 10. 31 f., ex *Pont.* 3. 1. 15 f., 4. 9. 85 f., *Sen. H.f.* 539 f., *Mela* 1. 19. 115, Macrob. *Sat.* 7. 12. 32 f.

\(^1\) *Supra* p. 135. \(^2\) *Supra* ii. 1088, 1122 f. \(^3\) *Supra* p. 107 n. 3.

\(^4\) Literature on the subject is cited and in part criticised by W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* München 1913 i. 68 f., K. Witt in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2220 f., Lübker *Reallex.*, p. 473, P. Cauer *Grundfragen der Homerkritik* Leipzig 1921 i. 136—179. The topic is dealt with here and there by D. Müller 'Bericht über die Literatur zu Homer (Höhere Kritik) für die Jahre 1912—1919' in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1920 clxxii. 1—164 and 'Bericht über die Literatur zu Homer (Höhere Kritik) aus den Jahren 1920—1924' ib. 1926 ccvii. 1—90, 171—255. I follow the lead of my friend Dr P. Giles in the *Cambridge University Reporter* for March 9, 1915 p. 696, as does that trenchant critic T. W. Allen *Homer: the Origins and the Transmission* Oxford 1924 p. 103 (who, however, will not admit any 'Aeolic lays'). But see now M. P. Nilson *Homer and Mycenae* London 1933 p. 167 ff., who argues afresh that the Homerica language is a 'Kunstsprache' and concludes a most temperate discussion thus: 'We may surmise that the first Ionic minstrels took over Aeolic epics—but not the songs which we read to-day—perhaps rather mechanically substituting their own dialect and admitting chiefly such Aeolic stock expressions, words, and forms, for which metrically equivalent Ionic forms were wanting. As the songs were constantly rehandled and even new songs composed, the close fusion of Aeolic words and forms with an Ionic basis was the ultimate result. It is impossible to guess how long a time such a process may have taken. We can only be certain that it must have been long,
Zeus Oúrios, ikmenos, Euánemos, Bóreios

tradition, recognises Zeus as natural lord and master of the winds. The *Odyssey* speaks of ships ‘delighting in the fair breeze of Zeus’\(^1\) or ‘driven by the fair breeze of Zeus’\(^2\), and tells how ‘Zeus sent a fair breeze’ to certain Phoenician mariners\(^3\). Similar expressions occur in later poetry\(^4\), sometimes with special reference to a westerly gale\(^5\) or to the etesian winds\(^6\).

Again, Zeus as sender of the fair breeze (oários) bore the cult-title Oúrios at least as early as 475 B.C. For, writing about that date, Aischylos makes the suppliant Danaídes appeal to Zeus Oúrios?.

They had travelled far and would fain reach the haven of their desires. Who should waft them on their way, if not the great Argive god from whom through Æpaphos they traced their descent?\(^8\)

Zeus Oúrios had a sanctuary on the Asiatic side of the Thracian Bosporos\(^10\). This was known to the Greeks as Ἡλερών, the ‘Sanctuary’ par excellence\(^11\). The *tabula Peutingeriana* at Vienna, a road-map of the Roman world drawn and painted at the beginning of the

because the evolving of such an artificial language is a slow process. We have further to admit that this formation of a traditional epic language took place twice, first in Aeolic dialect and for a second time in the Ionic dialect, the creation of the fundamentally Ionic language of Homer with an Aeolic admixture.’ Etc.

1. *Od.* 5. 176 ἄγαλλομεναί Δίως ὀφρώ.
2. *Od.* 15. 297 ἐπειγομένη Δίως ὀφρώ. Strab. 350 quotes the passage as reading ἄγαλλο-

mένη Δίως ὀφρώ, in which form the line recurs in *A. Ap.* 427.
6. *Ap.* Rhod. 2. 498 f. ἰδο δ' ἔθησαι (so G. W. Mooney with one of the Paris codd. ἔθησαν vulg.) ὀφραὶ ἐπέχρασαν, αἱ δ' ἀνὰ πάσαν | γαῖαν ὀμιὸς τοῖς ὀφρώσιν ἄρμῃ (A. H. Matthiae's cf. ἄρμῃ can claim the support of four Vatican codd.), 2. 524 ff. τοῦ δ' ἔκτε | γαῖαν ἐπιβυθόμενον ἔθησαι (so G. W. Mooney for ἔθησαν vulg.) ἐκ Δίως ἀραῖ | ἡμα ταπαρακοτα.
8. The word μέχαρ in Aisch. *loc. cit.* hints at the Argive cult of Zeus Μηχανές (*supra* ii. 1144 n. 2).
9. So the context definitely asserts. For detailed proof see the *stemmata* in Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* ii. 234.
thirteenth century, but based on an archetype of 130—150 A.D.,
duly records the place as Iouis urius (fig. 57). The cosmographer
of Ravenna, whose seventh-century work, perhaps composed in
Greek, is extant in a ninth-century Latin version, terms it both
Ieron and Urion, while the Italian geographer Guido in 1119 A.D.
borrows from him the name Ieron or Hieron. P. Gilles (Gyllius)
in his learned commentary on Dionysios of Byzantion, whose
Voyage up the Bosporos he had discovered c. 1549, gives for the
first time a detailed description and history of the spot. E. D. Clarke
in 1816 notes that a town in the vicinity bears the name Joro or
Joron. And the Genoese castle at Anatoli Kavaghi is still called

Fig. 57.

1 M. Schanz Geschichte der römischen Litteratur München 1899 ii. 1. 288.
2 K. Miller Die Weltkarte des Castorius genannt Die Peutingersche Tafel: Einleitender
Text Ravensburg 1887 p. 96, id. Weltkarte des Castorius genannt Die Peutingersche Tafel
Ravensburg 1888 segmentum ix. 2 (a full-sized reproduction in the original colours, from
which my fig. 57 is taken). Note the proximity, in segmentum ix. 3, of the Ins. Achillis
sive Leuce dicta.
3 H. Funaioli in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i A. 305—310, M. Schanz Geschichte der
römischen Litteratur München 1920 iv. 2. 126. The Thes. Ling. Lat. Index p. 89 says :
'sae. fere IX ex exemplo graeco saec. VII versa.'
4 Ravenn. anon. cosmogr. 1. 17 p. 38, i Finder—Parthey.
5 Id. ib. 5. 9 p. 364, 1 Finder—Parthey.
6 Guido geogr. 100 p. 519, 21 Pinder—Parthey.
7 Id. ib. 121 p. 548, 13 Pinder—Parthey.
8 A work formerly believed to have been written before 196 A.D. (E. Oberhummer
in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 745), but more probably of later date (H. Berger
ib. v. 971).
9 Gyllius in Dionys. Byz. frag. 47 (Geogr. Gr. min. ii. 57 Müller) and frags. 58, 59
(Geogr. Gr. min. ii. 75—81 Müller). The same fragments are printed in the editions of
Dionysios the Byzantine by C. Wescber (Parisii 1874 p. 27. 8 ff. (lxxv) and p. 29. 16 ff.
(xcil, xculi)) and by R. Güngeregh (Berolini 1927 p. 27. 16 ff. (75) and p. 29. 30 ff. (92, 93))
without the remarks of Gyllius.
10 E. D. Clarke Travels in various countries of Europe Asia and Africa London 1816
i. 439 n. 4.
by the Turks Ioros Kalessi\textsuperscript{1}. Here on a bold promontory, commanding both the sequestered bay of Beuyukdere and the broad waters of the Black Sea, J. Millingen brought to light substantial remains of Greek architecture, which he attributed to the temple

\textsuperscript{1} E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa \textit{Real-Enc.} iii. 752.
Zeus Ourios, Ikmenos, Euánemos, Bóreios

(fig. 58)¹. These comprise a fine gateway of Parian marble flanked by two columns some 18 ft high; they rest on a great marble threshold and are spanned by a lintel 12 ft 6 ins long and 6 ft broad. Above this rises an archway in the castle-wall, topped by a Byzantine cross; and finally a marble slab on the right-hand tower is inscribed with the ancient formula ‘The light of Christ shineth over all.’² It is possible that a large Ionic capital found by E. D. Clarke on the neighbouring headland of Argyronion came, as he supposed³, from the same site. Philostratos of Lemnos in the first half of the third century A.D. describes a picture of the Bosporos, and bids us notice various details of its coast-scenery ‘until we reach Hieron. And’—he continues—‘I think you can see the temple there and stelai set round it and the beacon at the mouth of the straits, hung aloft as a signal to ships sailing from the Pontos.’⁴ One at least of the said stelai⁵ has come down to us—a marble base found by J. Spon and G. Wheler on their Levantine tour (1675—1676) in a house near the church of Kadi-Kioi (Kalchedon), and now preserved

² R. A. S. Macalister The Excavation of Gezer 1902—1905 and 1907—1909 London 1912 p. 357 pl. 104, 3 (tomb 147), p. 366 f. pl. 110, 10 (tomb 160), p. 375 f. pl. 118, 16 (tomb 190) and C. M. Kaufmann Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie² Faderborn 1913 p. 606 publish lamps from Gezer, Jerusalem, etc. with the liturgical phrase φως Χριστοῦ φένου (= φαίνει) πᾶσιν ἥμιν variously distorted, abbreviated, and amplified. Cp. F. Miltner in the jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1929 xxiv Beiblatt p. 175 f. no. 77 fig. 74 (φως Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς). This legend is accompanied by a stylised form of the seven-branched candlestick. I add two similar lamps in my possession, one (fig. 59, a, b, c) said to have come from Samaria, the other (fig. 60) from Ain el Sultan on the site of Jericho. Such lamps suggest that the inscription recorded by Millingen had reference to a cresset or beacon—perhaps the πυρός mentioned by Philostr. mai. imagg. 1. 12. 5 (infra n. 4) and handsomely illustrated in the tabula Peutingeriana ( supra p. 143 fig. 57).
³ E. D. Clarke op. cit.⁴ ii. 440 f.: ‘We there found the capital of a very antient column, of the Ionic order, not less than two feet and an half in diameter. It was now hollowed; and it now serves as a vase, near to the residence of the Dervish, who relates the idle superstitions of the country concerning the mountain, and the giant supposed to be there buried’ [sc. Amykos, as Clarke notes, citing Val. Flacc. 4. 200 gigans. See further H. W. Stoll in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 327, K. Vernicke in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 2000, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 370 n. 5, 570 n. 2, Preller—Robert Gr. Myth. ii. 842 ff.]. Clarke ib.⁴ p. 444 n. 6: ‘During a subsequent visit to the same place, the author was accompanied by Mons. Preaux, artist in the service of Mr. Spencer Smith, late Minister at the Porte. Mons. Preaux made a drawing of this Ionic capital; which is now in Mr. Smith’s possession.’
⁴ Philostr. mai. imagg. 1. 12. 5—ὅτα 'Εσσόν διδάχω δείκνυε τόν ἐκείνων οἷα μὲν καὶ στήλας, τὰ περίπτερα (so C. L. Kuyser for περίπτερα Ludwig alt. περίπτερα cet.) αὐτῷ, καὶ τῶν τοιοῦτον πυροῦ, ἐν ἑρωτείᾳ (J. J. Reiske and H. A. Hamaker cijj. ἑρωτείᾳ) ἐστὶν ἐπειτὸν τῶν νεὼν, καὶ πληούσῳ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου.
⁵ For another see Michaelis in the Arch. Zeit. 1864 xxii. 198—202 pl. 192. This slab is now at Berlin (Am. Skulpt. Berlin p. 383 f. no. 945 fig., R. Kekulé von Stradonitz Die griechische Skulptur² Berlin 1907 p. 173 fig.).
Zeus Oýrios, ikmenos, Euánemos, Bóreios

Fig. 59, a

Fig. 59, b.

Fig. 59, c.

Fig. 60.
Zeus Oúrios, Ikmenos, Euánemos, Bóreios

in the British Museum (fig. 6i). It once supported a votive statue of Zeus Oúrios, and still sings his praises in passable elegiacs:

The mariner who sets his sail
For the Blue Eddies, where the gale
Rolls a big breaker on the sand,
Or backward bound for fatherland
Would cross the Aegean—let him call
From poop to Pilot of us all,
Zeus of the Fair Breeze, aye and put
His cakes before this statue's foot;
For here above the watery waste
Antipatros' son Philon placed
The god who meets us as we roam
With promise of safe voyage home.

As to the foundation of this popular cult, tradition was twofold. Polybios (c. 201—c. 120 B.C.) describing the Asiatic shore of the Bosporos begins with 'Hieron, at which place they say that Iason

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2 F. Bticheler in the Rhein. Mus. 1881 xxxvi. 338 ff. identifies this Philon with the Philon Antas of a sepulchral inscription at Brundisium published by G. Fiorelli in Not. Scavi 1880 p. 255, a: Philon | Antas Antipatri | Tyri filius vix(it) a(nnos) LX | h(ic) s(itus) | Marcia C. l. Syntyche. His father, Antipatros of Tyre, was presumably the Stoic philosopher who died at Athens shortly before 44 B.C. (H. von Arnim in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1916). He in turn appears to have been descended from Antipatros of Sidon, the epigrammatist, who was born at Tyre (Anth. Pal. 7. 428. 11 f. Meleagros) and flourished c. 150—120 B.C. (W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1920 ii. 1. 327). On this showing the inscription from Chalkedon may be dated at the end of 1 B.C. or the beginning of 2 A.D. Hence too the poetic merits of Philon, who perhaps—as Bticheler conjectured—chose to describe Zeus by the rare epithet ἐθάντης on account of his own name 'Ἀρτάς.
on his return from Kolchis first sacrificed to the twelve gods'. Pomponius Mela (c. 43/4 A.D.) puts it more curtly: 'The god of the temple is Zeus, its founder Iason.' But Timotheus of Rhodes, who commanded the fleet of Ptolemy II Philadelphos, makes the altar to the twelve gods a dedication of Phrixos. And Dionysios of Byzantium recognises two sanctuaries, one on the European, the other on the Asiatic, side of the strait. Of the former he notes: 'They say that here Iason sacrificed to the twelve gods.' Of the latter he states: 'Hieron, the “Sanctuary,” was built by Phrixos, son of Nephele and Athamas, on his voyage to Kolchis.' The founder, then, was either Iason or Phrixos. Both attributions amount to much the same thing. For Iason was son of Aison, son of Kretheus, son of Aiolo; while Phrixos was son of Athamas, son of Aiolo. The cult was essentially Aeolian, and Zeus Oúrios was but a later religious manifestation of Aiolo himself.

If Zeus Oúrios may thus be traced back to a buried tribal ancestor, we can understand an otherwise puzzling feature of his art-type—its markedly heroic character. The Zeus Oúrios whose statue Verres carried off from Syracuse was known to the Romans as Imperator, and is almost certainly represented on a Syracusan coin as a dignified male figure leaning upon his spear. As such he closely resembles the Zeus Strategos of Amastis in Paphlagonia. We divine that the old warrior-king, who had led his Aeolians to victory during life, continued to supply them with favouring winds after death, and sent the same from his island-home in the Black Sea.

1 Polyb. 4. 39. 2 Mela 1. 101.
4 Dionys. Byz. frag. 47 (Geogr. Gr. min. i. 57 Müller).
5 Dionys. Byz. frag. 58 (Geogr. Gr. min. i. 75 Müller).
6 Stemmata in Gerhard Gr. Myth. ii. 233 f.
7 Cic. in Verr. 2. 4. 128 quoted supra ii. 917 n. o. Cic. in Verr. 2. 4. 129 f. knew of three statues representing Zeus Othoros = Jupiter Imperator: (1) a statue brought from Makedonia c. 197 B.C. by T. Quinctius Flamininus and dedicated on the Capitol at Rome (Liv. 6. 29 makes it brought from Praeneste to Rome in 380 B.C. by T. Quinctius Cincinnatus—an obvious blunder copied by the so-called P. Victor de regionibus urbis Romae reg. 8. 49 signum Iovis imperatoris a Praeneste deuctum (in H. Jordan Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum Berlin 1871 ii. 308)); (2) the statue on the shore of the Bosporus; (3) that stolen by Verres from Syracuse.

The cij. Iovis IMPSTRATORIS (cp. Apul. de mundo 37), IMP. (= Impulseris), Temperatoris, and Indulutoris, recorded by A. Drakenborch on Liv. 6. 29, are all examples of ingenuity misplaced.

5 Supra ii. 708 fig. 643. 6 Supra ii. 707 figs. 639—641, ii. 918 n. o.
It is not difficult to imagine the prayers that would be addressed to this helpful deity. Somewhere in his precinct stood the bronze effigy of a boy with outstretched arms, about which gathered a variety of idle tales. It is probable that a copy of it, if not the original, has come down to us in the 'Praying Boy' of the Berlin Museum—a masterpiece justly identified with the adorans by Dionysos' gossiping explanations run from bad to worse. The third, and worst, works in reminiscences of Agamemnon at Aulis, Abraham and Isaac, Zeus and Ganymedes!


1 Dionysos. Byz. frag. 59 (Geogr. Gr. min. ii. 78 f.) 'in fano...statua aerea est antiquae artis, aetatem paerilum praee se ferens, tendens manus. causae multae afferuntur, cur haec statua sit in hanc figuram conformata. quidam...aiunt audaciae signum esse navigantium, deterrens temeritatem navigationis periculis plenam, atque ostendens redeuntium salutis felicitatem et Pietatem: non enim sine terrore utrumque est. aliil dicunt puere in littore erantem alquanto post venisse quam e portu navis soluta esset, salutisque desperacione affectum manus ad caelum tendere; navarcho autem preces ob exclusione reluxisse navem in portum. aliil aiunt in magna maris tranquillitate, omni vento silente, nave diu retardata, nautas inopia potus laborasse; navarcho autem visionem insidisse iubentem ut navarchus filium suum sacrificaret, non enim alio modo posse assequi commutam et ventos: navarcho necessitate coacto et parato puere sacrificare, manus quidem puere tendisse, deum vero misericordia motum ob absurdum pueri supplicium obque pueri aetatis sustulisse puere et ventum secundum immisisse. haec quidem et his contraria, ut cuique placuerit, credibilia existimentur.'

2 Ant. Skulpt. Berlin p. 2 ff. no. 2 with fig. (bibliography to 1891). Good illustrations are given by Brun—Bruckmann Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt. pl. 283, H. Bulle Der schöne Mensch im Altertum München und Leipzig 1912 p. 132 pl. 04, F. Winter Kunstgeschichte in Bildern 2 Leipzig (1925) i. 340 fig. 3. See also Collignon Hist. de la Sculpt. gr. ii. 483 f. fig. 252, R. Kekulé von Stradenitz Die griechische Skulptur Berlin 1907 p. 269 ff. fig., C. Picard La sculpture antique Paris 1926 ii. 200 with figs. 82, 229. My fig. 63 is from the Brun—Bruckmann photograph, but a fresh restoration of the arms (infra p. 151 n. 4) is needed, which should square with J. D. Ramberg's drawing of the unrestored statue as published by A. Conze in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1886 i. 9 fig. (=my fig. 62).


The history of the Berlin bronze is discussed by A. Conze 'Der betende Knabe in den königlichen Museen zu Berlin' in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1886 i. 1—13 with 3 figs., id. 'Zum betenden Knaben' ib. p. 223, A. Furtwängler 'Zum betenden Knaben' ib. pp. 217—219 with fig. (=my fig. 64), O. Fuchstein 'Zum betenden Knaben' ib. pp. 219—
Bronze statuette from Ephesos, now at Queens' College, Cambridge: a praying Negro.

See page 151 n. 4.
Zeus Οὔριος, ἰκμενός, Εὐάνεμος, Βόρειος 151

Boïdas¹ of Byzantion², son and pupil of Lysippos³. The boy uplifts his face towards Zeus and, with hands turned outwards in the customary attitude of prayer⁴, asks for the fair breeze to speed him on his way. This, the most spiritual of all extant Greek bronzes⁵, is of course a votive offering, public or private, and stands for the success of some venturesome quest. One thinks of Pindar's Iason⁶:

A golden bowl he took, and at the stern
Called on the Father of the Sons of Heaven—
Zeus of the Lightning-Lance,
Called on quick waves and winds' advance,
Called on the nights and tracks thro' deep seas driven,
For friendly days and fortune-blest return.

Nevertheless it would be rash to identify the 'Praying Boy' with Iason, or—as L. Stephani suggested⁷—with Phrixos. He is a Lysippian modification of an earlier athletic type⁸. More than that

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³ Vit. 3 praef. 2.
⁴ Plin. nat. hist. 34. 66, cp. 72.
⁵ E. Voullieme (sic) Quomodo veteres adoraverint Halis Saxorum 1887 p. 21 ff. ('De gestu manuum sublatarum') gives a very full collection of literary passages and concludes: 'Precantes brachiis in eandem regionem ita ad caelum sublatis, ut palmae inter se aspicient, eas pariter resupinabant, quo modo ita vertuntur, ut ad caelum spectunt.' Id. ib. p. 25 ff. adds a survey of the monumental evidence and a pl. of the Berlin 'Praying Boy' with arms correctly restored. See also C. Sittl (Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer) Leipzig 1890 p. 305 ff. and the bronze statuette (height 4½ ins) of a Praying Negro, from Ephesus, now in my collection (pl. xx).
Zeus Oürios, tkmenos, Euánemos, Bóreios

we do not know. Yet it may be permitted us to wonder whether the fame of this solitary figure standing with outstretched arms on the shore of the strait reached the ears of Virgil and prompted one of the most wonderful couplets in the Aeneid, his description of the souls on the banks of Acheron:

*stabant orantes primi transmittere cursum*
*tendebantque manus ripae ulterioris amore*.  
They stood and prayed to be first ferried o'er,  
Yearning with outstretched hands for the further shore.

Be that as it may, there was inspiration both literal and metaphorical about Zeus Oürios, and the poets were duly impressed. The epigram of Philon can be capped by another of Meleagros:

> Sea-going ships that thread the Dardanelles
> Deep-laden, while the north your canvass swells,
> If on the Coan shore ye chance to see
> My Phanion looking o'er bright waves for me,
> Say this to her, good ships.—Love speeds me fast:
> I come afoot, waiting no other blast.
> Should you thus bear my message without fail,
> Zeus of the Fair Breeze fill your every sail.

Merchants trading with the Euxine introduced the cult of Zeus Oürios to Delos, where it acquired an almost cosmopolitan character. Worshippers from far and near linked the name of this Zeus with those of their own special deities and recorded their vows in primis to him. Thus a citizen of Askalon, who had escaped from pursuing pirates, attested his gratitude by erecting a neat little cylindrical altar inscribed in lettering of s. i B.C. (fig. 65):

> which gives us 'die Vorstellung von einer älteren Stufe derselben Composition.' Scale: rather less than ½.

1 Verg. Aen. 6. 313 f.
2 Supra p. 147.
3 Anth. Pal. 12. 53. 1—8 Meleagros. In the last two lines W. R. Paton prints εἰ γὰρ
τοὺς' εἰσορ', εὐθυγέλα (so N. Piccolos for εἰ τέλος cod. with space after εἰ), αὐθίκαι καὶ
Zeus | ὁδροσ ὑμεῖς προσέπτεται εἰς ὠδώνας. Other emendations are discussed by F. Dübner
ad loc.
4 P. Roussel Les cultes égyptiens à Delos du IIIe au Ier siècle av. J.-C. Nancy 1916
5 On the prevalence of these pests in the Aegean during s. ii—i B.C. see J. M. Sestier
La piraterie dans l'antiquité Paris 1880.
6 C. Clermont-Ganneau in the Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres 1909
pp. 307—317 with fig., G. Leroux in Delos ii. 1. 58 fig. 81 (= my fig. 65). The altar (height 0'53m: lower diameter 0'41m), found during August 1907 in a Byzantine wall to the south of the 'Hypostyle Hall,' is inscribed: Δι Όρφου καὶ Ἀφροδίτης Παλαμώτης,
(Clermont-Ganneau here wrongly inserts καὶ Ἀφροδίτης Οὐράνιας, thesos ἀσχολος, | Δήμων
Δωμητρίου Ἀσκαλώντης, | οὐδείς ἀπὸ πειρατῶν, | εὔχεται and in smaller lettering οὗ θεματῶν
δὲ προσέγειν | αγίεσιν, ιερὰν, βοῶς θηλίσσια.)
To Zeus Oũrios and Astarte Palaisthēne,
Aphrodite Ouranía, Hearers of Prayer,
Damon, son of Demetrios, an Askalonite,
being saved from pirates
(paid) this vow.

It is not lawful here to bring
goat's flesh, swine's flesh, or aught of the cow.

The associates of Zeus Oũrios are two goddesses, who in function
must have borne a rough resemblance to each other, Astarte
Palaisthēne and Aphrodite Ouranía. The former appears for the
first time in this inscription: she was perhaps the patron-deity of the
port (Iamneia? Ioppe?) to which Damon's ship belonged, or possibly
Zeus Oůrios, ἰκμενος, Euánemos, Bóreios

the figure-head of the good ship herself. The latter goddess had a celebrated temple at Askalon, Damon's native city.

Dedications to Zeus Oůrios, which date from the closing years of the second century B.C., have been found in the Egyptian sanctuary on a terrace to the north-west of Mount Kynthos. There two Athenian brothers, about the year 112—111 B.C., erected a cylindrical base to Zeus Oůrios, Sarapis, [Isis,] Anoubis, Harpo-krates. Of greater interest was another dedication—

To Zeus Oůrios on behalf of King
Mithradates Eupator
and his brother
Mithradates Chrestos
and their
fortunes.

The bluish marble slab thus inscribed was discovered, in front of a small marble pedestal or altar of irregular shape, to the east of the paved way leading through the precinct. Mithradates vi Eupator (120—63 B.C.) was associated in the government of Pontos first with his mother Laodike and then, for a short while in 111 B.C., with his younger brother Mithradates Chrestos. But being of a bloodthirsty and cruel disposition he let his mother die in prison and murdered his brother. The prayer to Zeus 'of the Fair Breeze' for one who was heading straight towards family shipwreck sounds to us almost grimly ironical. A third dedication, by a native of Velia in Lucania, is a white marble base of the year 107—106 (?) B.C., which was found on the eastern slope of the Inopos ravine,

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1 Hdt. i. 105, Paus. i. 14. 7.
3 P. Roussel Les cultes égyptiens à Délos du IIIe au Ier siècle av. J.-C. Nancy 1916 p. 152 no. 129 ['Ἄθραμα Αἴανθα Αἰείς'] και Αἰείωνι ['Ἄθραμα Αἴανθα Αἰείωνι'] Αἴα Αἰείων, Σαράντα, Αἰείων Αἴπρα, Αἴπρα, Αἴπρα[
5 The pedestal is K, the paved way V, on the plan (Bull. Corr. Hell. 1882 vi. 301 ff. pl. 11).
below the sanctuary of the foreign gods. A fourth is a small base of white marble with a square hole for insertion or attachment. It is dated to the year 105—104 or 104—103 B.C., and was set up by a citizen of Nymphaion (Eltegen) on the western shore of the Bosporos Kimmerios as a thank-offering to Zeus Oúrios, Sarapis, Isis, Anoubis, and Harphokrates (sic) on behalf of himself, his son, and—a noteworthy touch of altruism—all that go down to the sea in ships.

At a point near the south-west angle of the 'Hypostyle Hall' was found the fragment of a circular altar, bearing a dedication to Zeus Oúrios in letters of c. 100 B.C. Lastly, a wall of late date built against the south wall of the 'Hypostyle Hall' contained a quadrangular block of white marble with two square holes for insertion on its upper surface. The front of the block bore a carefully cut bilingual dedication of c. 110 B.C. by the Hermai'stai, Apolloniastai, and Poseidonastai to Zeus Oúrios or—as his name was translated by the Roman merchants—Jupiter Sequundanus.


C. Heius T.f. Libo L. Pompilius [L.f.]
Q. Saufeius P.f. Treb. A. Cottius N.f.
L. Veturius P.f. M. Umbricius M.f.
D. Ampius Q. l. L. Aufidius L.C. 1. Dorot. minor
This curious title was known already from a passage of Martianus Capella, which assigns Jupiter *Secundanus* together with Iovis Opulentia and Minerva to the third of the sixteen regions of the sky recognised in Etruscan lightning-lore. Since the series commences with the north, the third division of the first quarter would correspond with the sector N.E. to E.N.E. of our mariner’s compass, and this (north-east by east) is just the direction of a wind blowing down the Dardanelles. The inscription equating Jupiter *Secundanus* with Zeus *Oúrios* explains in fact Capella’s epithet, which had previously puzzled the commentators.

Moreover, it adds point to a well known phrase of Catullus. He is telling how his yacht brought him safely from Bithynia to Italy in 56 B.C.:

And thence through all the seas that break.
She bore her master well,
Whether the breeze her sail would shake
And left or right compel,
Or Jove who followed in her wake
Full on the canvas fell.

The poet’s use of Jupiter *Secundus* is obviously a variation on the more prosaic and technical Jupiter *Secundanus*. The homeward journey through the Bosporos was sped, appropriately enough, by the god whom we have seen identified with Zeus *Oúrios*. And the

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1 Mart. Cap. 47 nam Iovis Secundani et Iovis Opulentiae Minervaeque domus illic (sc. in tertia regione caeli) sunt constitutae. sed omnes circa ipsum Iovem fuerant in præsenti.
4 See U. F. Kopp’s n. on Mart. Cap. 47. He cp. Mart. Cap. 51 sed etiam Liber ac Secundanus Pales vocantur ex septima (sc. regione caeli).
5 Cat. 4. 18 ff. et inde tot per impotentia freta | erum tulisse, laeva sive dextera | vocaret aura, sive utrumque Jupiter | simul secundus incidisset in pedem.
6 The stages marked are Mt Kytoros (11 ff.), Amastris in Paphlagonia (13), the Pontos (9), the Propontis (8 ff.), Rhodes (8), the Kyklades (7), and the Adriatic (6 ff.). But we know that Catullus *en route* for home made offerings at his brother’s tomb in the Troad (Cat. 65. 5 ff., 68a. 19 ff., 68b. 49 ff., 101. 1 ff.).
7 *Supra* p. 155.
Zeus Oürios, tkmenos, Euánemos, Bóreios 157

religious interest of the passage lies in the fact that the wind astern is distinctly conceived as Zeus or Jupiter in person. The wind is his spirit, the spirit—let us say—of a tribal chief, long since dead and buried, but rightly named Aiolos.

It is possible that some such conception underlies the remarkable epithet of Zeus tkmenos, 'who follows in our wake'. The Homeric poems apply this participle exclusively to the euros or 'fair breeze' sent by Apollon, Athena, and Kirke, which is on occasion personified and described as 'a good companion'. But Eustathios goes further and quotes from an unspecified source the significant expression 'Zeus tkmenos', perhaps the product of some late epic poet, who had in mind Jupiter Sequandanus or Secundus.

Again, a parallel may be found in the case of Androgeos. L. Weber has drawn attention to the very ancient character of this mythical figure, whom he believes to have been originally a Cretan god, transplanted to Attike and there transformed, first into a hero possessed of chthonian powers, and last into a human prince affiliated to Minos. I should prefer to invert the sequence god, hero, man, and to regard Androgeos as ab initio a mortal, heroified after death and worshipped in the Kerameikos under the name Eurygyès. Such an appellative was, not improbably, employed from the outset, as a means of avoiding the actual name of the dead.

1 Supra pp. 141, 148.
3 II. I. 479.
4 Od. 2. 420=15. 292, cp. 15. 34 f.
5 Od. 11. 6 ff. = 12. 148 ff.
6 Od. 11. 7=12. 149 tœmeno ophros lêx plēsias, ésthein ètairos.
7 Eustath. in II. p. 964, 63 f. òthne tœmenos òstai, òstai èi èkamado kai tounouthei òlous tìn sústasan éxhne. òthne kai tœmenos ophros kai Zeis pásas tœmenos. It is tempting to infer from the first sentence that Zeus tœmenos is a mere blunder for Zeus 'Itpaios (infra §§ 8 (c)). But in view of Jupiter Sequandum or Secundus the inference would be precarious.
9 Hesych. s.v. èt' òfrugyèn ègwn. Melasagoras (Amelesagoras frag. 3 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 22 Müller)) tòv 'Aphròdión òfrugyèn (so Musurus for òfrugyèn èfírín cod.) èfírín fòri tòn Mínwos, èfì èi èi tòn ògwna tithènai<etón (interius)> èntatífori 'Aphròdión en tòv Kerameikòv. kai Pòsides (frag. 106 Flach, 104 Racek) 'Òfrugyèn òi èi kòdros (K. W. Goettling cj. èfrugyèn, R. Peppmüller cj. èfrugyèn cp. II. 13. 450) 'Aphròdión (so J. G. Hermann for 'Aphròdión cod.) èfrugyèn (cp. Od. 11. 313). Melesagoras was a legendary Eleusianian seer (Max. Tyr. diss. 38. 3), on whom was fathered an Athtis perhaps composed as early as s. v. B.C. (E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1822, W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Littratur München 1912 i. 454 n. 1).
10 Frazer Golden Bough Taboo p. 349 ff. ('Names of the Dead tabooed'), E. Clodd Magic in Names London 1920 p. 121 ff. ('Mana in Names of the Dead').
Andrógeos, ‘The man of earth’¹, might fairly be dubbed Eurygéys, ‘He of the broad acres’². It should also be noticed that the names Andrógeos and Eurygéys are Greek, not pre-Greek; which means that we have to do with a genuine Hellenic, not ‘Minoan, hero. It is therefore interesting to find that at Phaleron, where he had an altar, he was worshipped not only as a nameless ‘hero’³, but also more definitely as ‘the hero astern’⁴. This expression might no doubt be taken to imply that an actual effigy of Andrógeos was fixed on the vessel’s poop⁵, like that of the bifrontal Lithuanian Wejopatis⁶ or those of the dwarfish Phoenician Pátaikos⁷(figs. 68, 69).⁸

¹ W. Pape—G. E. Benseler Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen³ Braunschweig 1873 i. 85 ‘Erdmann.
³ Paul. i. 1. 4 ἐττὶ δὲ (ις. at Phaleron) καὶ Ἀδρόγειος βομίς τοῦ Μίνω, καλεῖται δὲ Ἡρως Ἀδρόγειος δὲ ὠντα ἀπασφάλεις τὰ ἐγχώρια σαφέστερον ἄλλως ἐπισταθήναι.
⁴ Clem. Al. proo. 2. 40–2. 30, 30 Stählin τιμᾶται δὲ τις καὶ Φαθριοι κατὰ πρόμαχα ἡμῶν with schol. ad. loc. p. 309, 13 ff. Stählin Φαληρὸι λιμὴν τῆς ‘Λητικῆς’ ὡς κατὰ πρόμαχα ἡμῶν Ἀδρόγειος ἄστω, ὡς Μίνω, οὕτως οὐκομοθεοὶ διὰ κατὰ τὰ πρόμαχα τῶν νηών ὃποτα. καὶ Καλλίμαχος εἰ δὲ τῶν Ἀντίοις μεμνηστα (frag. 33b Schneider = Aitia 4 frag. 3 Schneider, A. W. Mair).
⁵ So schol. Clem. Al. loc. cit. (supra n. 4).
⁶ Supra ii. 445 n. 1.
⁷ Hdt. 3. 37 ἐττὶ γάρ τοῦ Ἡραῖστου (ες. Πταχ at Memphis: supra l. 433, ii. 34 n. 1) τῶν ἀνακοίνων Πάταικοι ἐμφατικότατος, τοὺς οἱ Φοίνικες ἐν τῷ τρόπῳ πρῶτος τῶν τριών περαγοντες. δὲ τοῖς μὴ διεργεῖ, ὅπερ σημανοῦν τοὺς τριών μέρες μερὲς ἐττὶ.
⁸ The lexicographers place these little figures on the poop, not the prow (Hesych. s.v. Πάταικοι (so M. Schmidt for Παθάκοι cod.,.cp. Herodian. περὶ καθολικῆς προφοδίας ὧς κατὰ πρόμαχα ἡμῶν Ἀδρόγειος ἄστω, ὡς Μίνω, οὕτως οὐκομοθεοὶ διὰ κατὰ τὰ πρόμαχα τῶν νηών, Σοῦνδ. s.v. Πάταικοι: θεὸς Φοίνικος ἐν τοῖς πρόμαχοι ἰδομεύον). But Herodotos’ statement is borne out by the numismatic evidence (infra n. 8).

Pátaikos appears to have been the Phoenician form of the Egyptian Πταχ (see J. Ilberg in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1675 ff.) in the misspelling, but negrillo rather than ‘embrionyck,’ type Ptah-Seker (Lanzone Discion de Mitol. Egiz. p. 243 ff. pl. 98, i. 99, 1–4, 100, 1–5, 101, 2, Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art iii. 418 ff. fig. 293), which from the eighteenth dynasty down to Ptolemaic times often occurs as an amulet (A. Erman A Handbook of Egyptian Religion trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 p. 76 fig. 51, Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie Amulets London 1914 p. 38 pl. 31 fig. 176 a—m, pl. 46 fig. 176 n, p, pl. 47 fig. 176 o. I illustrate a single and a double amulet of Ptah-Seker, in green glaze, from my collection (figs. 66, 67) and presumably served a prophylactic purpose. On Ptah-Seker as a dwarfish deified ancestor see further H. R. Hall in J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1908 i. 441 b, D. MacRitchie ib. 1912 v. 123 a, 126 a, Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie ib. 1912 v. 249 a, G. Foucart ib. 1912 v. 855 a, 856 a. Such an apotropaion would be useful on land as well as at sea, cp. Hesych. s.v. Γυγροῖν (so M. Schmidt for Γυγρῶν cod., cp. Eustath. in Od. p. 1599, 1 Γυγρῶν, p. 1880, 64 Γυγρῶν, οἱ δὲ Γυγρῶν Πάταικοι ἐπιτραπέζοι (so J. Selden for παταϊκοὶ ἐπιταϊκοὶ τραπεζίς cod.), οἱ δὲ Αὐτοίος Ηράκλεα and Βοράδίτι. Πάταικοι ἐπιτραπέζοι (so M. Musurus for παταϊκοὶ ἐπιταϊκοὶ τραπέζοι cod.).

⁸ Double shekels of Sidon, struck in z. iv b.c., show as their obverse type a Phoenician
Zeus Oýrios, ikmenos, Euánemos, Bóreios 159

war-galley with a small armed figure at the prow (good specimens are Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia p. 145 pl. 19, 5 p. 150 pl. 20, 2, E. Babelon Les Perses Achéménides Paris 1893 p. 38 pl. 6, 15, p. 53 pl. 9, 2 f., id. Monn. gr. rom. ii. 2. 597 f. pl. 121, 7, 601 f. pl. 121, 17, Weber Cat. Coins iii. 2. 782 no. 8057 pl. 207). But a more certain representation of the dwarf Pataikos is seen on statères of Arados, struck in s. iv B.C., which have for reverse type a galley with a small effigy on the prow (e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia p. 6 pl. 2, i. p. 9 pl. 2, 11 f., Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 225 pl. 75, 11, E. Babelon Les Perses Achéménides Paris 1893 p. 130 pl. 22, 20 = Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art iii. 419 fig. 292, Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 2. 533 f. pl. 116, 23 f., 537 f. pl. 117, 2 and 4. I give Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 2. 537 f. pl. 117, 2 (= my fig. 68) and a specimen in my possession (fig. 69)). On coins of Arados struck in s. iii—ii B.C. this

is replaced by a figure-head of Athena fighting (Brit. Mus Cat. Coins Phoenicia p. 13 ff. pl. 3, 1, 3—8, 16 f., Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 226 f. pl. 75, 15 f., 228, 231 ff. pl. 75, 20—22, E. Babelon Les Perses Achéménides Paris 1893 p. 132 ff. pl. 23, 1, 3, 5—7, 13, 15—17, 19, 23 f., pl. 24, 4, 7, cp. pl. 24, 16 and 20). Figure-heads of this sort would be gilded (see F. H. M. Blaydes' n. on Aristoph. Ach. 547 Παλλαδίων χρωσμένων—a fact which perhaps explains the comic fragment χρωσι' ἐντ' ἀνεφθα τοῖς Παταίκους άμφοθ' (frag. com. anon. 364 (Frag. com. Gr. iv. 693 Meineke) cp. Soud. s.v. ἀνεφόβα χρωσι'). Much material with regard to apotropáta on ships will be found in D. Ruhnkenii Opuscula varii argumenti, oratoria, historica, critica² Lugduni Batavorum 1823 i. 412—416 ('Disputatio de tutelis et insignibus navium'), C. Torr Ancient Ships Cambridge 1894 pp. 65—69, M. Hoernes Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europe Wien 1898 p. 383 ff., H. Usser Die Siebfütssachsen Bonn 1899 p. 248 ff., Ch. Tsountas in the 'Eph. 'Apx. 1899 p. 90 ff. figs. 16—21 = Schrader Reallex.² ii. 301 pl. 81 fig. 1, J. N. Svoronos in the Journ. intern. d'Arch. Num. 1914 xvi. 81—152, H. Diels 'Das Aphlaston der antiken Schiffe' in the Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde 1915 xxv. 61 ff., A. Köster Das antike Seewesen Berlin 1923 p. 58 f. fig. 10 f., p. 64 fig. 18, G. Contenau La civilisa-
But to my ear it suggests rather that Androgeos unseen followed the ship's trail and supplied her with a steady breeze, much as Boreas with puffed cheeks blows along the raft of Odysseus on a grotesque vase from the Theban Kabeirion (fig. 70). In either case it is clear that in the Ionian, as in the Aeolian, area the wind following aft might be attributed to, nay more, might be identified with, an ancestral spirit.

Nor were the Dorians wholly untouched by the same superstition, for at Sparta there was a sanctuary of Zeus Eudnemos, the 'Giver of a Good Wind.' But here an obvious difficulty must be met. How comes it that this deity, appropriate to a seafaring folk, was worshipped so far inland? A reasonable answer is given by S. Wide, who observes that beside the sanctuary of Zeus Eudnemos

Fig. 70.

met. How comes it that this deity, appropriate to a seafaring folk, was worshipped so far inland? A reasonable answer is given by S. Wide, who observes that beside the sanctuary of Zeus Eudnemos

1 P. Gardner Cat. Vases Oxford p. 18 f. no. 262 pl. 26 (= my fig. 70), M. Bieber Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum Berlin and Leipzig 1920 p. 154 fig. 134, Pühl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. ii. 717. The subject is a parody of Od. 5. 291 ff.; but note that here the trident is transferred from Poseidon to Odysseus!


Εὐνήμων, the appellative of Zeus, = εὐνήμων (Schöll—Studemund anec. i. 264 f. 'Εὐνήμων Δίος...no. 38 (37) εὐνήμων, 266 'Εὐνήμων Δίος...no. 37 (38) εὐνήμων).

A modern parallel to Zeus Eudnemos may be found in Buenos Aires, 'Good Winds' (W. Sturmfels Etymologisches Lexikon deutscher und fremdländischer Ortsnamen Berlin—Bonn 1925 p. 28). The town owes its name to 'Our Lady of the Favourable Wind' (A. J. Lamoureux in The Encyclopaedia Britannica 11 Cambridge 1910 iv. 754 notes that it was first founded by P. de Mendoza in 1535 as Santa Maria de Buenos Ayres).

stood a shrine of the hero Pleuron\textsuperscript{1}, eponym of Pleuron in Aitolia\textsuperscript{2}, and infers that the cult of Zeus the wind-god had been brought from Pleuron, a town adjoining the Calydonian Gulf, to Sparta. I accept Wide's explanation, but go one step further. When we remember that Pleuron stood in a district called Aioli\textsuperscript{3}, it becomes at least possible that the original 'Giver of a Good Wind' was, in accordance with Aeolian thinking\textsuperscript{4}, none other than Pleuron the local hero. It is tempting, though perhaps over-venturesome, to suppose that his very name meant, or was taken to mean, the 'Wind-Blower'\textsuperscript{5}. Be that as it may, a happy coincidence led Theokritos, writing in the Aeolic dialect, to say of his journey from Syracuse to Miletos:

For hither we pray Zeus grant the way with a capful of good wind (euánemos)\textsuperscript{6}.

Zeus Euánemos, then, like Zeus Oúrios, was on this showing an Aeolian god evolved out of an Aeolian hero. But though Zeus as a wind-god thus presupposes the primitive conception of wind as the soul of a tribal ancestor, we must not imagine that the civilised Greek of the classical period was mindful of origins. He thought of Zeus as a sky-god. The wind blew in the aeror or lower sky\textsuperscript{7}. Clearly therefore Zeus was responsible for the wind. Accordingly the rock-cut inscription from Thera which commemorates Boreatos\textsuperscript{8} may well be understood of Zeus Boreios, god 'of the North Wind.' Indeed, an altar dedicated to Zeus Boreios has actually come to light near Seleukeia in Kilikia (fig. 71)\textsuperscript{9}. When Herodes Attikos

\textsuperscript{1} Paus. 3. 13. 8 τοῦ Διονύσου δὲ οὖν μακρὸν Δίου υπὸ τοῦ Βιανέμου, τοῦ δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ Πιερών ήρων, γεγένατο δὲ οἱ Τυνάρεωι παιδεῖς τὰ πρὸς μητέραν ἀπό τοῦ Πιερώνωι. Θέατοι γὰρ τῶν Λήδας πατέρα Αἰαίος (so Palmerius for 'Αρείος codd. = Asios frag. 6 Kinkel) φησιν ἐν τοῖς Πειραίοις Ἀγαθορων παιδα ἐλευς τοῦ Πιερώνωι.

\textsuperscript{2} Daimachos of Platàiai (on whom see E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv. 2008 f.) frag. 8 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. p. 442 Müller) ἀπ. σχολ. H. 13. 218, Apollod. i. 7. 7.

\textsuperscript{3} Thouk. 3. 102, cp. Strab. 464 f. See further G. Hirschfeld in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1035 and 1115.

\textsuperscript{4} Supra pp. 106 ff., 140 f., 148, 157.

\textsuperscript{5} Πιερών is certainly a cognate of πλευρόν, πλευρά, 'side', and πλευρόν, πλευρά are possibly related to πλευρέω, 'lung' (Prellwitz Etym. Wörterbuch. d. Gr. Spr. 2nd ed. 1926 p. 374, F. Muller Altitalisches Wörterbuch Göttingen 1926 p. 345. Boisacq Diction. etym. de la Langue Gr. p. 794 disagrees: 'Un rapport avec πλευρό...se justifie mal'). Presumably in the first instance Πιερόν meant 'Seitler' (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen Braunschweig 1875 ii. 1211), but it is conceivable that the name was re-interpreted as 'Wind-Blower.'

\textsuperscript{6} Theokr. 28. 5 παῖς γὰρ πλευράν εὐάνεμου αἰτήμεθα πάρ Διός.

\textsuperscript{7} Supra i. 101 ff. For philosophical views see O. Gilbert Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums Leipzig 1907 pp. 511—539 (Windgenese).

\textsuperscript{8} Supra i. 143 n. 10.

\textsuperscript{9} R. Heberdey and A. Wilhelm in the Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien 1896 vi. Abh. p. 102 no. 182 on a round altar (height 1.17 m, circumference 2.27 m) in the village of Budakli, about a mile from Seleukeia up stream on the right bank of the Kalykadnos Δι | Βασελύ | Θεόδσεσ | Δίκου | Θεόδσεν | θεόδσε | with facsimile = my fig. 71, E. Maass in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1910 xiii. 121.
lost his wife Annia Regilla (160 A.D.), he constructed a precinct known as the Triopion on the Appian Road, and there set up the ambitious inscription in which Marcellus of Side described the lady, neither a mortal nor a goddess, as dwelling with the heroines in the Islands of the Blest:

\[
\begin{align*}
\Delta & \quad \text{Zeus bade the Elysian breezes of the West} \\
\text{Bo} & \quad \text{Bear that proud consort to her ocean rest.}
\end{align*}
\]

Scattered allusions to Zeus as a power controlling the winds may be found throughout Greek literature, even as late as Byzantine times. Eumathios Makrembolites in his Romance of Hysmine and Hysminias makes the lovers, eloping from Eurykomis, pray both Zeus and Poseidon to favour their voyage:

"So to the harbour we came, and stretching our hands toward the bright sky said—"Father Zeus, yielding to thee and thy mystic omens we embark on this journey. Thy son Eros has laid siege to our hearts and is dragging us as his booty away from our fatherland. And do thou, Poseidon, blow from our back, not in our face. Oppose not with thy breath the calm breath of Zeus, oppose not the west wind of Eros, whose well-tempered help has brought us to the haven."

Finally, there is some slight reason to suppose that whirlwinds (stróbiloi by land and átuoí by sea) were specially connected with Zeus. His approach at the close of Aischylos' Prometheus Bound is heralded by an earthquake, a roar of thunder, spiral flashes of lightning, spinning dust-storms, and a windy warfare that confuses

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2. W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Literature München 1924 ii. 2. 678 n. 6.
6. Eumath. 7. 6.
7. Supra ii. 1141.
8. The passage ends thus: εἰ δ', ὦ Πόσιιδοι, ἐν μεταφρήσει πνεύσων, μη κατὰ μέτωποι· μη πρὸς πυρὸν παναίδων ἀντιπέντεσθαι (τε) Δίος, μη πρὸς ἕριτος ξίφος, οὐ γὰρ κόρας περὶ τοῦ λιμῷ γέγαμεν. The sequel shows that Poseidon is not so accommodating: id. 7. 7. ὦ Ἕρως ἄλληλα (αὐταὶ ἄλληλος λεγομενος) ἡμᾶς ἔδωκεν καλάτισθαι, καὶ Ζεὺς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τὴν ἄραγεν ὑπηρετεῖ. ὁ δὲ ἐκ θρασύς καὶ ἄγροι Ποσειδῶν δὴ κυμάτων ἐγέρει καὶ πρὸς αὐτόματα δίως ἀντιπέντε καὶ βοῶς διηλυσάμεν ἐγέρθην τοῖς κύμαιν.
11. Ιδ. ib. 1085 στρόβιλοι δὲ κἀκεῖ ιλλασσόμενοι. Nikephoros Basilakes fragm. 7. 10 (i. 489, 12) στρόβιλοι πνεύματος είσαι είτεν e a Byzantine (c. 1150 A.D.) echo.
Zeus Ourios, ikmenos, Euánemos, Bóreios

sky with sea. Aristophanes in the *Clouds* personifies Dénos in a manner highly suggestive of Zeus¹. Nay more, in the *Lysistrata*² he virtually identifies Zeus with the tornado that is to sweep the perfidious Myrrhine to perdition:

> Sweet, sweet, do you call her? Vile, vile, I repeat.
> Zeus, send me a storm and a whirlwind, I pray,
> To whisk her away, like a bundle of hay,
> Up, up, beyond human aid,
> And toss her and swirl her, and twist her and twirl her,
> Till, tattered and torn, to the earth she is borne,
> Astride of an unsheathed blade.

In many parts of the globe whirlwinds have been regarded as demons or witches or wandering souls³. And not least in modern Greece, where they are commonly attributed to the Nereids⁴ or

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¹ *Supra* ii. 2 n. 4.
² Aristoph. *Lys.* 777 ff. Άριστοφανης *Ποίησις* 1111, 1112,"μακρά μακρά δήγα. Ὅ Ζεὺς θεός (συναγώγας Ζεὺς θεός ἐπιτυχεῖται δήγα). I have adopted the translation of B. B. Rogers, but have altered his rendering of lines 976 and 979. In the parallel passage, *Thesm.* 56 ff., the diction again suits a whirlwind or waterspout (56 ἱγγαῖα, 57 ἐνεδρας, 61 ἱγγαῖα καὶ ἱγγαῖας), though of course other meanings are attached to every phrase. It may be suspected that Aristophanes had recently (411 B.C.) witnessed some striking example of a *στροφόλος* or *δίων*.
⁴ B. Schmidt *Das Volkstheben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 133 ff. (‘Die Neraiden gelten gemeinsamlich auch als Urbeiberinnen des alles mit sich fortreissenden Wirbelwindes, ἀνεμοπρόβλος,’ (‘Auf Zakynthos ist das Wort corruptirt in ἀνεμοπρόβλος und ἀνεμοπρόβαλες, auf Kephalonia in ἀνεμοπρόβαλες...’) welcher in Griechenland zurnal im Sommer häufig ist. In diesem Winde schreiten sie einher, und wen sie auf ihrer Bahn antreffen, den heben sie auf und führen ihn mit sich durch die Luft. Auf Zakynthos sagt man beim Wehen des Wirbelwindes: ‘die Neraiden tanzen,’ χορεύουσα καὶ ἀντίλυνται, und hält die Kreise, welche derselbe im Staube oder im Sande bildet, für die Spuren ihrer Füsse. Die Kinder werden zu solcher Zeit ängstlich gehütet und nicht aus dem Hause gelassen. Wer vom Wirbelwinde überrascht wird, muss sich decken, um von den daher stürmenden Unholdinnen verschont zu bleiben. (Vgl. die episotische Sage bei Hahn Nr. 81, wo ein Mädchen, das sich nicht decken will, von den Neraiden hinweggerafft wird.) Auch hat man für diesen Fall bestimmte Beschwörungsformeln. In Athen pflegen alte Frauen bei entstehendem Wirbelwind den Kopf erdwarts zu beugen und leise zu murmen: μέλι καὶ γάλα στὸν ἄρθρο σας, d. i. Honig und Milch auf eurem Weg! (Pittakis in der ‘Εφημ. Αρχαίων. 1852, φ. 30, p. 647 s. Derselbe fügt hinzu, dass dies namentlich in der Nähe des sogenannten Nymphenhügels beobachtet werde: ein Umstand, dem eine dunkle Erinnerung an den ehemaligen Cultus der Nymphen auf der Höhe dieses Hügels... zu Grunde zu liegen scheint.) Ganz ähnlich in anderen Gegenden. Auf Kephalonia, im Bezirk Samos, wird folgender Spruch gesagt, der seine Erklärung in dem hier bestehenden,
Nymphs¹ or other supernatural agencies². Indeed, the word *Anemos*, 'Wind,' is nowadays a frequent synonym of the Devil³. But the most remarkable parallel to the ancient Greek equation of Zeus with the whirlwind has yet to be stated. The *vocabularius sancti Galli*, a vellum manuscript of the seventh or eighth century in the Library of Saint-Gall⁴, glosses the Latin *turbines*, that is *turbines*, 'whirlwinds,' by the Old High German *ziu*. If this word has been rightly transcribed⁵, it must—as J. Grimm long since pointed

schon oben von mir erwähnten Glauben findet, nach welchem die Oberste der Nera'iden die Schwester Alexanders des Grossen ist: Xαυρίκεια, καλλικαρδία, | μήλι καὶ γάλα | σ' τοῦ βασιλέα τὴν τάξην | Στὴν ψυχή τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ 'Αλέξανδρου, | καὶ μὴ μοῦ κάρτες!'

1 J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 150 ('The habit of travelling on a whirlwind, or more correctly perhaps of stirring up a whirlwind by rapid passage, has gained for the nymphs in some districts secondary names—in Macedonia άνεμοια, in Gortynia άνεμουσοüδες' (Παροδοσία, IV. p. 755. The origin of the second part of the compound is unknown.)—which might almost seem to constitute a new class of wind-nymphs. But so far as I know the faculty of raising whirlwinds, though most frequently exercised by Oreads, is common to all nymphs').


3 F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 p. 30 n. 2 ('Auch den Neugriechen ist *aneuos* der Teufel, z. B. entsprechen die Redensarten ἐγὼ εἰς ἄνεμον, πῆγαι εἰς ἄνεμον ganz unserem "Geh' zum Teufel!") E. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 175 ("Sicher ist dieses Wort in einer Anzahl von Redensarten, wie να πάει στὸν ἄνεμο, ἔγει στὸν ἄνεμο (Arachoba, Kallipolis), ganz gleichbedeutend mit δαύδαλος").


5 On this point there has been divergence of opinion. J. C. H. Büchler SG. 913. *Vocabularius St. Galli aus dem 8. Jahrhundert* Brilon 1869 transcribes p. 36 *turbines zui* and comments p. 81 *turbines, turbines, zui?* R. Henning *Über die samtgallischen Sprachdenkmäler* Strassburg 1874 transcribes p. 18, 232 *turbines zui* and conjectures p. 57 *zu[bila] *weil eine frühere Handschrift hier am Rande beschädigt war.' E. Steinmeyer—E. Sievers *Die alt hochdeutschen Glossen* Berlin 1895 transcribe iii. 4, 41 *Turbines zui*, adding the note 'Henning ergänzte zu zu[bila]; mir wenig wahrscheinlich.'

6 *E contra* J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 i. 203: 'A remarkable gloss in the old Cod. sangall. 913, p. 193, has "turbines=zui" (we have no business to write zui), which may mean the storm of war, the Mars trux, saevus, or possibly the literal whirlwind, on which mythical names are sometimes bestowed; so it is either Zio himself, or a synonymous female personification Ziu, bearing the same relation to Zio as diu (ancilla) to dio (servus).' *Id. ib. i. 285 n. 1, à propos* of the story that the head of John the Baptist, when Herodias would have covered it with tears and kisses, blew hard at her and whirled her off into empty space (Reinardus Vulpes (c. 1150 A.D., ed. F. J. Mone Stuttgart—Tübingen 1834) i. 1153 f. oscula captantem caput aufugit atque resufflat, | ilia per impluvium turbine flantis abit) : 'This reference to the *turbina* (the whirlwind of his blast), looks mythical and of high antiquity. Not only did Zio or Zio, once a deity, become with the christians a name for the whirlwind, p. 203... but to this day such a wind is accounted for in Lower Saxony (about Celle) by the dancing Herodias whirling about in the air.' *Id. ib. 1883 ii. 632: 'The OHG. ziu, turbines, we have traced to Zio, pp. 203. 285.'

Dr B. F. C. Atkinson kindly consulted on my behalf Dr A. Fäh, the librarian of Saint-Gall, who reports (Nov. 1, 1928): 'In Cod. Ms. 913 p. 193 lautet die Glosse ganz deutlich zui nicht ziu.'
out—be connected with *Ziu or *Zlo the early Germanic sky-god, and presumably implies that Ziu in popular fancy took shape as the whirling wind-storm—a perfect parallel to the case of Zeus.


(a) The Arrhephoroi.

Like most atmospheric phenomena, dew had for the Greeks a certain sanctity. The wide-spread belief that, if gathered on the first of May (May Day) or the twenty-fourth of June (Midsummer Day), it beautifies or cures the human body, makes the cattle yield more milk and butter, multiplies the hay, etc., will serve to explain a somewhat mysterious Athenian rite known as the Arrhephoria.

The fullest account of this rite is given by Pausanias, who after discoursing on the Erechtheion at Athens continues:

‘What surprised me very much, but is not generally known, I will describe as it takes place. Two maidens dwell not far from the temple of the Polias: the Athenians call them Arrephoroi. These are lodged for a time with the goddess; but when the festival comes round they perform the following ceremony by night. They put on their heads the things which the priestess of Athena gives them to carry, but what it is she gives is known neither to her who gives nor to them who carry. Now there is in the city an enclosure not far from the sanctuary of Aphrodite called Aphrodite in the Gardens, and there is a natural underground descent through it. Down this way the maidens go. Below they leave their burdens, and getting something else, which is wrapt up, they bring it back. These maidens are then discharged, and others are brought to the Acropolis in their stead.’

Now the Arrhephoria took place in the month Skirophorion, which corresponds roughly with our June-July. Moreover, there can be little doubt that the name Arrhephoroi means the ‘Dew-
bearers.' Inscriptions show that the earlier form of the word was *Errhephoroi* or *Ersephdroi* rather than *Arrhephoroi*, and that the cognate verb was *errhephorein* far more often than *arrhephorein*. This enables us to derive the terms in question from *trse* or *herse*, 'dew.' And conformably with this derivation the ancient grammarians state, on the authority of Istros of Kyrene (c. 200 B.C.), that the *Ersephoria* was a procession for *Erse* or *Herse*, the daughter of Kekrops, while Moiris the Atticist (c. 200 A.D.) expressly declares that the *Errhephoroi* are 'those who bear dew for *Erse*, one of Kekrops' daughters.'

But, if the business of the *Arrhephdroi* was only to carry dew, why did the Greeks make such a song about it? At Athens four girls of noble birth were elected by show of hands. Of these four two were chosen to start the weaving of Athena's peplos. Their own garments were white, and any gold worn by them *ipso facto* became the property of the goddess. The final selection of the girls was made by the 'king,' who is known to have had special responsibilities in connexion with the mysteries. Once appointed, these

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28 f., Favorin. *lex.* p. 287, 53 f., and even L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 266). But this is a piece of false etymology, perhaps occasioned by the fact that the *Theumphora* in Pyanopis were called also *Σκιρφόφα* (schol. Loukian. *dial. mer.* 2. 1 p. 275 f. Rabe) and *Ἀρφρόφα* (Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 17. 1 p. 14, 4 ff. Stählin): see Mommsen *Peste d. Stadt Athen* p. 510 n. 1, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 34 n. 2.

Lobeck *Aglaothamus* ii. 872 f. held that *ἀρρηφόροι* meant 'basket-bearers,' the first part of their name being connected with the root of *ἀρρῃχος*, 'basket.' This view too has found defenders, e.g. F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Palmy—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 551. But it is altogether too hypothetical.

Miss J. E. Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. xxxiv derived the name from *ήρης*, in the sense of a 'young animal,' and compared the use of *δρόσος* in Aisch. *Ag.* 141. But later, in her *Proleg. Gk. Rel.* p. 122 n. 2, she abandoned this ingenious suggestion and *ib.* p. 131 speaks of 'the Arrephoria or Arretophoria,' *et al.* See also her *Themis* 3 p. 266.

Personally, I see no sufficient reason for discrediting the explicit statements of Istros, Moiris, etc.


3 *Moir.* 141 p. 104 Pierson *Ἀρρηφοροί, Ἀττικίς, αἱ τῷ δρόσῳ φέρουσαι τῇ Ἁρπᾷ ὑπὲρ μαὶ τῶν Κερατίδων.*


little maids, who were mere children from seven to eleven years of age\(^1\), enjoyed sundry peculiar privileges. They were housed near the Erechtheion\(^2\). They had a tennis-court (sphairistra) on the Akropolis, which could boast a bronze figure of Isokrates as a boy on horseback\(^3\). And they were fed on cakes that were specially ‘risen’ (anástatos)\(^4\)—possibly in view of the Arrhephoria, that great ritual for the proper performance of which they had been set apart. Again, an Athenian inscription of Hellenistic date (c. 137/6 B.C.) tells how a certain priest of Asklepios and Hygieia gave his own daughter to serve as Arrhephros at the Epidauria\(^6\), which had by that time become a recognised part of the Eleusinian mysteries\(^7\). Finally, an Aeolic inscription from Mytilene, referred to s. iii A.D., commemorates Aurelia Artemisia as priestess of the goddesses Etephilai (that is, Demeter and Persephone\(^8\)) and Karissai\(^9\) and Ersphoros of the most holy mysteries\(^10\).

\(^1\) Et. mag. p. 149, 19 f. τέσσαρες δὲ ταῖς ἑξειριστοῦτο καὶ ἐγγείωσιν ἀρρηφόρους ἀπὸ ἔτων ἕττα μέχρις ἑδύκη, cp. Aristoph. Lys. 641 f. ἔττα μὲν ἐκ τῆς γεγονοῦ εὖδος ἀρρηφόρων. Τινες ἀληθές δὲ δεκτές ὦ σῦνα τάρχησεν.

\(^2\) Paus. i. 27. 3 παρθένοι δέ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Πολιάδος οἰκούν οὐ πόρρω, καλοῦσι δὲ Ἀρηναίοι σφές ἀρρηφόροι. ἐστὶν χρόνον μὲν τινα διαίταν ἔχουσι παρὰ τῇ θεῷ, κ.τ.λ. (μετρ. p. 165).

\(^3\) Plout. v. dec. orat. 4 Isocr. 839 c.


\(^5\) Leaven is symbolic of rapid growth in Matthew 13. 33 = Luke 13. 20 f. More often it is regarded as a type of corruption and therefore forbidden in ritual (e.g. Gell. 10. 15. 10 farinam fermento inbutam adtingere ei (sc. flamini Diali) fas non est). See C. F. Kent in J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1914 vii. 889 a—890 a. But O. Broneer in Hesperia 1925 iv. 128 cp. Poll. 6. 73 ἐ γὰρ ἀρδεύσατο λείφει ἄργον τι δόθην and perhaps rightly assumes that such cakes were of phallic shape.

\(^6\) Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 1 Addd. no. 453 b, 13 f. = Insocr. Gr. ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 974, 18 f. = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr.\(^3\) no. 587, 18 f. देवके देव तथा देवो तदनुव दुष्टविष्णु —— देव ताज़ आर्यर्थरूपवस्तु के तल।

\(^7\) O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 45 f.

\(^8\) Hesych. Ἐραυφώλη (so W. R. Paton for 'Εραυ... φιλη... cod.) ἡ Περσεφόνη. F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 712: 'Die Ἐραυφώλαι waren also Demeter und Kore. Sicherlich bezeichnet sie der Name als freundliche Göttinnen, wie Ἐφευρίδες u. a. wohlbekannt. Dies wird auch in dem ersten Namenselement enthalten sein, das zu ἔρα Αγήγορίε (vgl. J. Schmidt bei L. Meyer Handb. d. gr. Etymol. i 374 oben) zu stellen ist; sie beschützen also die Sippschaft. Wenn die Form Ἐραβφώλη bei Hesych. neben dem inschriftlichen Ἐραμφῶλα richtig ist, haben wir eine Parallele zu den gleichzeitig auf Thera vorkommenden Personennamen Πασει— und Πασει—μένης.'


\(^10\) F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inschr. i. 92 no. 232, 3 f. = Insocr. Gr. ins. ii no. 255. 3 f. ἔρας(ν) τῶν θεῶν Ἐρα(μφώλων) καὶ Καιροσαν καὶ ἐρ(μ)φόρων τοῦ δυνάμεων μυ(τρα)πλων. The inscription, which is throughout ill-spelt, actually reads ἘΤΙΦΙΛΑΝ and ΕΡΓΟΦΟΡΩΝ.
To understand these honours and prerogatives we must, I think, bear in mind the general similarity subsisting between the Thesmophoria and the Arrhephoria. The latter, like the former, appears to have been a ceremony intended to promote fertility. In the Thesmophoria we have the worship of Demeter and Kore, the two Thesmophoroi. The Arrhephoroi at Eleusis and the Ersephoroi at Mytilene were at least connected with the cult of the same pair of deities. An Athenian inscription of Roman date commemorates 'Aristokles' daughter, who served as Ersephoros for Demeter and Kore. Seats in the theatre at Athens were in imperial times reserved for two Hersephoroi of Ge Themis (fig. 72) and, immediately behind them,

![Fig. 72.](image)

![Fig. 73.](image)

for two Hersephoroi of Eilithyia at Agrai (fig. 73). It would seem, therefore, that Dew-bearers stood in some relation to Mother Earth; and it is probable that they were regarded as fertilising agents. This squares with the fact that their rite took place near the sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Gardens. The Thesmophoria too

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3 *Supra* p. 167, n. 6 f.
4 *Supra* p. 167, n. 10.
6 *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 318 (with facsimile on pl. 1 = my fig. 72) ἕρσεφόρος β' [Τῇν Θέμων] in late careless script, W. Larfeld *op. cit.* ii. 1. 266 pl. 1.
7 *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 319 (with facsimile on pl. 1 = my fig. 73) ἕρσεφόρος β' Ἐλθόθαδας[ε]ν Ἄριστο[κ]λοι[ς] ἐν Ἀργο[υ] in late careless script, W. Larfeld *op. cit.* ii. 1. 266 pl. 1.
8 *Supra* p. 165. The precise route followed by the Arrhephoroi is a matter for conjecture. If they lived 'not far from the temple of the Polias' and 'lodged for a time with the goddess' (Paus. 1. 27. 3), we may assume that their official quarters were in or near the Pandroseion. On the occasion of the Arrhephoria they may, no doubt, have quitted
the Akropolis by way of the Propylaia and the western slope (A. Mommsen *Hortolodie Leipzig 1864* p. 447—an idea tacitly dropped by the same writer in his *Peste d. Stadt Athen* p. 509). But, in view of the close connexion between Aglauros, Pandrosos, and Herse (infra § 8 (b)), it is highly probable that the *Arrhephoroi* went *via* the Aglaourion. If so, their most direct and also most secluded exit would have been, not the *póros*-walled stairway in an angle of the north wall 200 ft west of the north porch of the Erechtheion (J. H. Middleton *Plans and Drawings of Athenian Buildings* London 1900 pl. i no. 38), as has been maintained by various critics (W. Dörpfeld in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1887 xii. 59 pl. 1, H. G. Lolling *Hellenische Landeskunde und Topographie* in J. Müller's *Geographie und politische Geschichte des klassischen Altertums* Nördlingen 1889 p. 351, Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 163), but the stairway of later construction which led (by means of a hanging ladder?) right down into the cave at a point some 50 ft east of the *póros*-stairway (J. H. Middleton op. cit. pl. i no. 42), as is urged by P. Kabbadias in the *Eph.* 1897 p. 26 ff., M. L. D'Ooge *The Acropolis of Athens* New York 1908 pp. 10, 197 with plan 7, and O. Broner in *Hesperia* 1932 i. 51 f., 1935 iv. 129 with figs. 14 and 15. C. Belger *Der Abstiegswege der Arrhephoren, der Aufstieg der Perser* in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Sept. 25, 1897 pp. 1212—1214 (followed by W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 170 n. 4) is non-committal: 'Wir können also mit unseren Mitteln nicht konstatieren, welchen Weg die Arrhephoren wirklich gingen.'

Equally beset with uncertainties is the other end of their journey. Their destination, according to Paus. 1. 27. 3, was *περίβολον εν τῇ τόπη τῆς καλομείνης εν Κύπρῳ 'Αρρηφοθῆς* of *θόρρος*. But Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 16 (probably copying Varro, [? who copied Pausanias (born c. 108 B.C.),] who copied Antigonus of Karystos (born c. 295 B.C.), who copied Douris of Samos (born c. 340 B.C.).) see E. Sellers *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art* London 1896 p. xlii f.) describes the same Aphrodite as being outside the city-wall: he speaks of Alkamenes 'cuius sunt opera Athenis complura in aedibus sacris praeclara, runque Veneris extra muros, quae appellatur 'Αρρηφοθῆς εν Κύπρῳ. huic summam manum ipse Phidias inposuisse dicitur.' The discrepancy between *εν τῇ τόπῃ* and *extra muros* was explained by C. Wachsmuth *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum* Leipzig 1874 i. 228 f., who pointed out that in the time of Pausanias the brick wall of Athens (Vitr. 2. 8. 9) had been cleared away to make room for the Hadianic town (the *novae Athenae* of Corp. *inscr. Lat.* iii no. 549 = Orelli *Inscr. Lat.* sel. no. 511 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat.* sel. no. 337, cp. Ael. Spart. *v. Hadrian.* 20. 4 multas civitates Hadrianopolis appellavit, ut ipsam Kurfürst et Athenarum parterem, Phlegron frag. 21 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 607 Müller) cp. Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ολυμπείων* τόπον εν Άδη, ὃν κτίσαντες Ἀθηναίοι χρημάζων Ἀδριανῶν νέας *Αθήνας* ἁδριανάς ἐκάλεσαν, ὡς θεόν εν Ὀλυμπιαδῶν πεντεκακέκατα). The precinct, on this showing, adjoined the garden-quarter on the right bank of the Ilissos (H. Hitzig and H. Blümmer on Paus. 1. 19. 2), and somewhat in that neighbourhood must have been the natural underground descent, through which the girls went to leave their burdens and bring back something *wrapt up* (Paus. 1. 27. 3 καὶ δ' αὐτῷ [sic. τοῦ περίβολου] κάθοδος ὑπόγας αὐτοῦτος ταύτης κατασκευήν αἱ παρθένοι. κατ' μὲν δὲ τὰ φερόμενα λειτουργοί λαβοῦσαι δὲ Αδολ τι κομίζουσιν ἐγκακαλυμμένον). The actual chasm or fissure has not yet been located. But E. A. Gardner *Ancient Athens* London 1902 p. 351 n. 1 throws out an interesting suggestion: 'It seems probable that the shrine in question may have been that of earth (Ge Olympia), and the cleft may be the same one by which the waters of Deucalion's deluge were said to have disappeared!' (Paus. 1. 18. 7 ἦστε δὲ ἀρχαῖα εν τῷ περίβολῳ ζευτυχικοὶ καὶ νάος Κρόνου καὶ Πέλας καὶ τέμνων Τής (so J. A. Letronne for τὸν θρόνον). F. Clavier c.f. γῆς τῆς, W. M. Leake c.f. τῆς Θῆς) εἰς πέλας *Ολυμπείων. οὕτως δάκρων οὐ πέραν τὸ θέρ κολλότατα, καὶ λέγουσιν, μετὰ τὴν ἐπιμίβασιν τὴν ἐπὶ Δεκακόλοιοι συμβάουσαν ὑπορροές ταύτης τὸ θέρ, ἀρρεάσαντες τῇ οὐκ οὕτω δέντη πορφυρίων μέλη μείζων (I. Bekker, followed by H. C. Schubart and H. Hitzig—H. Blümmer, c.f. Δακικόλοιοι cp. 5. 15, 10, 9. 39. 11)).

Recently O. Broner of the American School at Athens has found on the N. slope of the Akropolis, E. of the Erechtheion, 'directly below the point where the Acropolis wall makes the obtuse angle at which are the traces of the Mycenaean postern gate,' a small
sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite attested by numerous niches in the rock and two rock-cut inscriptions dating from the middle of s. v B.C. (Hesperia 1932 i. 31—55 with figs. 1—17, of which fig. 2 gives a ground-plan and figs. 10 and 11 facsimiles of the inscriptions on rock B: (1) τῶν Ἐρωτῶν καὶ ἀντίκηται τοῦ ἔρωτος] Μοιχαίοι μεν[ός] and (2) Ἀφροδίτηι[ρα]. Adjoining the sanctuary, on the west was a small area (Z) which yielded a Hellenistic relief of Eros; on the east, a cave in which were found a small votive shield of painted stone and fragments of undecorated shields in terra cotta, also the figurine of a sleeping babe. North-east of the cave was a space dotted with small stuccoed altars (?) of various shapes (a—π), oval, rectangular, triangular, or like a low wall, poorly built and resting on loose earth. These had carried small stones (phallos?) set upright in mortar—one was still in situ—and, further east, close to another group of niches (N) was a phallos of island marble (id. ib. 1933 ii. 329—417 with pl. xi (extended plan) and figs. 1—91, of which figs. 9, 14, 18 = my fig. 74 a, b, c, id. ib. 1935 iv. 109—188 with pl. i (= my pl. xxi) and figs. 1—77, of which figs. 8 and 9 show the ‘altars.’ See further infra § 9 (h) ii (b)

Fig. 74.

It is highly probable that the relief-frieze with a procession of Erotes, c. 350—300 B.C. (Svoronos Ath. Nationalmus. p. 453 ff. nos. 1451, 1452 pl. 102), and the relief of a draped woman, with a child, sitting on a rock with a cave in it (National Museum no. 3257) came from the same sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite (O. Broneer loc. cit. 1938 iv. 143 ff. no. 17 figs. 18—35 and 36).

As to the bearing of these finds on the Arrhephoria, Broneer loc. cit. i. 52 (cp. iv. 126) writes: ‘The whole action of the ceremony becomes clear if we admit that the sanctuary just discovered is the peribolos mentioned by Pausanias. Below the underground stairs to the Aglaurion a modern path leads eastward to the new sanctuary, and it is reasonable to suppose that the same path may have existed in ancient times, connecting with the rock-cut πεδίναριον below. The immense chasm, through which the descent from the Acropolis began, might well have lent color to Pausanias’ weird description of the place. The only inaccuracy which remains is the impression which the Greek text gives that the subterranean passage and the sanctuary are immediately contiguous, while actually one must first pass through the one and hence by a short path reach the other a (?) Doubtless the passage in the sanctuary itself was somehow used in the ceremony; but until we know how it connected with the cave to the east it is unsafe to make any definite statement about it. It can hardly be a coincidence that a sanctuary of Aphrodite which fits so well the account

sub fin.).
Athens
Excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis
1932-1934

Plan of the American excavations on the north slope of the Akropolis
(from Hesperia 1935 iv pl. i).

See page 169 ff. n. o.
The Arrhephóroi

in Pausanias should be found close to the place where we would naturally expect the Arrhephoroi to have descended. We can only conclude that there were two sanctuaries of Aphrodite ov Kýròs, a more ancient one, which we have just discovered on the Acropolis slope, and a later one, with a temple containing the famous statue of Alkamenes, near the Ilissus. Bronner ib. p. 53 f. adds: 'The objection will naturally be raised that the text of Pausanias does not admit of such an interpretation.' He replies that most probably 'Pausanias himself confused the two sanctuaries.' Vix liquet.

Aphrodite ov Kýròs is seldom mentioned by the classical authors. But an inscription of c. 430—417 B.C. informs us that during the years 426/5—423/2 the expenses of the Peloponnesian War were in part met by money borrowed from her temple-treasury at a nominal rate of interest—two biennia of drachmë per mnd per day (Corp. inscr. Att. i. no. 273 f. 12 f. = Michel Recueil d'Inschr. gr. no. 561, 78 = Roberts—Gardner Gr. Epigrafi ii. 299 ff. no. 109, 78 ['Aphroditès én Kýròs ΤΤΕΗΔΔΗΓ']'.

Near her temple stood a square herm of Aphrodite, which bore an inscription stating that Aphrodite Ophoria was the eldest of the Moirai (Paus. i. 19. 2, cp. Loukian. dial. 4. 7. Π τῆς Ὀφορίας διὰ τῆς ἐν Κύρως δαμαλό: some notion of this herm may be had from the Darcos-brakte (supra ii. 854 pl. xxxvii).


Among other examples of the type are collected and discussed by H. Schrader Phidias Frankfurt am Main 1924 pp. 205—210 with fig. 189 = Michel 258—260 ('Je pense que ce motif a été créé par Alcamène, rajeuni par Praxitele et repris de nouveau par Arcésilas'), A. Furtwangler in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 412 f., id. in the Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1888 iii. 212, id. Masterpieces of Gr. Sculpt. pp. 19 f., 82, 275 n. 10, E. von Mach A Handbook of Greek and Roman Sculpture Boston 1905 p. 121 f. pl. 108, H. Bulle Der schöne Mensch im Altertum München und Leipzig 1912 pp. 163 ff., 682 f. pl. 124. Other examples of the type are collected and discussed by J. J. Bernoulli Aphrodite Leipzig 1873 pp. 86—98 ('Der Typus der ungedübertierten, ihren
The Arrhephóroi

probably included a visit to the goddesses of Cape Kolias, that is, to Aphrodite and the Genetyllides\. Aphrodite in particular was the maker of morning dew; and her altar (figs. 84, 85) on Mount Mantel lüfenden Aphrodite\), S. Reinach 'La Vénus drapée au Musée du Louvre' in the *Gas. Arch.* 1887 xii. 250—262, 271—285 pl. 30. A. Conze 'Zur sogenannten Venus Genetrix' in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1889 xiv. 199—204 pl. 4. Miss C. G. Harcum 'A statue of the type called the Venus Genetrix in the Royal Ontario Museum' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1927 xxxi. 141—152 pl. 7 figs. 1—4.

Equally persistent, and hardly more encouraging, have been the attempts made to discover representations of the Arrhephóroi. Many have identified them with the two stool-bearing girls on the eastern frieze of the Parthenon (supra ii. H35f. pi. xliv. So J. Stuart—N. Revett *The Antiquities of Athens* London 1787 ii. 12 f. with ch. 1 pl. 24 ('The young figures are the two Arephoroe, or Canephore, etc.'), C. O. Müller *Minervae Poliadis sacra et aedem in arce Athenarum...Gotttingae 1820* p. 14 ('Puellae sunt eresphoro... matrona sacerdos Poliadis'), E. Beulé *L’Acropole d’Athénes* Paris 1854 ii. 142 ('La grande prétesse reçoit des les deux vierges Erébophores les objets mystérieux...'), E. Petersen *Die Kunst des Phaidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia* Berlin 1873 p. 304 f. ('Wo finden wir denn im athenischen Cultus überhaupt und speciell in demjenigen Athenas, an welchen hier jeder zu denken gehalten ist, haltbarwesen Mädchinen, wie die beiden Stuhlträgerinnen offenbar sind, die bei hohem Feste eine so bevorzugte Rolle spielen könnten? Es giebt keine ausser den Arephoren. Auf diese aber passt alles; etc.'), Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 211 n. 0 ('Die beiden Errehphoren sind vielleicht auf dem Osterfries des Parthenon dargestellt'). See further A. Michaelis *Der Parthenon* Leipzig 1871 p. 264).


Personally, I suspect that the Arrhephóroi in attendance on Athena were an extremely ancient institution, dating back to 'Minoan' times and comparable with the two hand-maidens of the 'Minoan' goddess (Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xiv. 11—14 figs. 11—15).


2 *Pervig. Ven.* 15 ff. ipsa roria lucidi, | noctis aura quem relinquit, spargit uementis | aquas. | gutta preceps orbe parvo sustinet casus suos, | et micant lacrimae trementes de
caduceus pondere (so F. Bachelier, transposing lines 17 and 18, and retaining et codd., for which E. C. F. Schulze, followed by E. Bährrens, cf. en, while O. Müller, followed by J. W. Mackail, cf. emicant). | ... umor ille, quem serenis astra rorant noctibus, | mane virgines (so J. Lipsius, followed by J. W. Mackail, for virgineas codd.) papillas solvit umenti peplo. Cp. what is said of the planet Venus in Auson. append. 2. 17 f. Evelyn White (p. 410 Peiper) ros unus, color unus, et unum mane duorum; | sideris et floris nam domina una Venus.

A late red-figured hydria from Euboia (Collignon—Couve Cat. Vases d'Athènes p. 589 no. 1852. Harrison Proleg. Gl. Rel.2 p. 635 fig. 170 (from a sketch by Mrs Hugh Stewart)) shows Eros watering slender flowers that spring from the ground. A female figure with bare breast (Aphrodite?) directs his efforts. On the left sits a young man with a thyrsos. On the right stands a young woman with a tympanon. Apparently Aphrodite and Eros are gardening with a Dionysiac entourage.

Differently conceived but somewhat similar in effect is the design found on a bronze medallion of Faustina Junior (Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions p. 16 no. 2 pl. 24, 1 ('Venus Genetrix?...in a garden') = Gnecchi Medagl. Rom. ii. 40 no. 13 pl. 68, 1 ('Venera') = my fig. 75. The specimen has been retouched. Venus, half-draped, stands to the front, her right hand raised to hold a small tree, which rises from (behind?) a base. On the left of her two Cupids are playing, on the right four more, one of whom leans over the battlements of a wall or tower. Above it appear other trees. The scene recurs with some variations on a bronze medallion of Lucilla, daughter of Faustina Junior (Fröhner Med. emp. rom. p. 92 f. fig. (= my fig. 76) ('Venus dans un jardin'), Gnecchi op. cit. ii. 51 no. 11 pl. 76, 8 (= my fig. 77) Bologna ('Donna...in un giardino'). A girl is added, filling her pitcher from a stream in the foreground. These medallions are probably time-serving attempts to identify first Faustina and then her daughter with Venus. Faustina at least was actually worshipped along with her husband M. Aurelius in the temple of Venus and the Dea Roma (Dion Cass. 71. 31 τῷ Ἐκάρω καὶ τῇ Φαυστίνῃ ἐπήφοιτο ἡ μουλή ἐν τῇ τῷ ἱεροδίῳ τῷ τῷ 'Ρομαίῳ ἐκθάτα ἄριστα ἀναδεθήναι καὶ Βοῦμον ἱδρύθηναι, καὶ τῇ ἀὐτοῦ πάσας τὰς κόρας τὰς ἐν τῇ δύσει γαμουμέναι μετὰ τῶν νυμφῶν θῶν, and had coins inscribed VENVS, VENVS FELIX, VENVS GENETRIX, VENVS VICTRIX OR VENERI AVGVSTAE, VENERI FELICI, VENERI GENETRICI, VENERI VIRTVSTIC (Rasche Lex. Num. iii. 921, Cohen Monn. emp. rom. iii. 154 ff. nos. 126—283). Here are a few examples: fig. 78 from the Vaillier—Collignon Sale Catalogue 1922 p. 52 no. 980 pl. 35, fig. 79 from the Bement Sale Catalogue 1924 iii. 59 no. 1066 pl. 39, fig. 80 from Gneccchi Medagl. Rom. ii. 39 no. 8 pl. 67, 6, fig. 81 from the Lewis Sale Catalogue 1925 p. 40 no. 632 pl. 26, fig. 82 from the Bement Sale Catalogue 1924 iii. 59 no. 1068 pl. 39, fig. 83 from the Hirsch Sale Catalogue 1908 p. 10 no. 117 pl. 7. Since coins of this sort are apt to reproduce previous art-types (e.g. fig. 78 recalls the Aphrodite of Fréjus (?), fig. 83 is an adaptation from the Aphrodite of Capua, and fig. 80 owes something even to the Zeus of Olympia), I incline to think that the
Eryx (figs. 86, 87) was 'covered with dew and fresh grass'—medallions representing Venus in the Garden presuppose a Greek fresco of Aphrodite and Kypre. The trees, the river, the wall or tower with battlements would all suit the famous sanctuary beside the Ilissos.

Silver litrai of Eryx, struck c. 480—413 B.C., have obv. EPVLNON (retrograde) or ERVKAIB (partly retrograde) a female figure (? hierodule) sacrificing, with or without a phidike, at a lighted altar; the space behind her is sometimes filled by a floral pattern: rev. a hound beneath a four-spoked wheel, or ivy-branch, or honeysuckle ornament, once with volutes in exergue (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily p. 62 nos. 6, 7 with fig. (=my fig. 84), 8, 9, G. F. Hill Coins of Ancient Sicily London 1903 p. 90 fig. 11, Weber Cat. Coins i. 274 no. 1305 pl. 50, Naville Sale Catalogue 1923 p. 36 no. 878 pl. 26 (=my fig. 85), Head Hist. num. 2 p. 138).

A denarius struck by C. Considius Nonianus c. 60 B.C. shows obv. c • CONSIDI • NONIANI || s • c head of Venus Erycina to right, with ear-ring, stephane, and wreath; rev. mountain with fortified gateway, inscribed ERVC, below and tetraestyle temple above.
The Arrhephoroi


2 This striking expression occurs in the remarkable account of Aphrodite's precinct included by Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 50 ἀνδρὶ πῶς ἔτος καὶ ἡμέραν πᾶσαν θύιει τῇ θεῇ καὶ οἱ ἐνχώροι καὶ οἱ ἔξω. καὶ ὃ μὲν βωμὸν ἐν τῷ ὄμορφῳ ὁ μέγιστος ἄντι, πολλῶν δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς καθαραμένων δυνάμεων δὲ πανομήριος καὶ ἕνα ἕκατεν. ἦπε δὲ ὑπὸλαμψει, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ὡς ἀνθρεθάνε, ὡς ἑπόθεν, ὡς ἁμαρτών τρόφε χαλῶν ὑπόφανε, δρόσου δὲ ἀνάπλωσ ἐστι καὶ πᾶσαν νυκτά, ἤπειρ αὐτόν ἀναράφαται δωκαὶ νύκτες. τὰ γε μὲν λευρία ἐκάστος ἀγάλη αὐτάματα φοίτῃ καὶ τῷ βωμῷ παράσημοι, ἀγία δὲ ἄρα ἀπάντωτι μὲν ἡ θεός, ἔτι καὶ δόμων τε καὶ τῶν θιωτὸς βοσκής, κ.τ.λ. We gather that every morning the open-air altar of the goddess, despite the numerous burnt-offerings of the previous day, was found—or was said to be found—overgrown with dewy verdure. Anent this miracle E. Ciaceri *Culti e miti nella storia dell' antica Sicilia* Catania 1911 p. 87 notes the beneficent influence of dew on Sicilian vegetation and adds: 'Nella divina rugiada si vedeva la protezione della dea; ed è forse degno di riscontro che sino ai nostri giorni nel popolo di Trapani si è serbata fedele alla brezza notturna; onde si è creduto che essa scenda come benedizione del cielo sugli abiti e vestiti che si espongano all' aria aperta durante la notte' (Π' Π ιέ Ρί Ρ ε Βι βι λο Π λι Π Π ι Π ε λλ της τραδ. pop. sic. XII (Palermo 1881) p. 261.'

That Aphrodite *'Ερώτη (Inscr. Gr. Sic. It. no. 281 Eryx [Κάρ]πεγμον 'Αρτοτωμας[| [Ἀ]ρτοτωμας] 'Ερυς[εις[α], Diod. 4. 83, Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Ερύς, cp. Paus. 8. 24. 6 and Strab. 272. For Venus Erycina see Dessa *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 939, 3163—3165, De Vit *Onomasticon* ii. 766, Carter *Epith. deor.* p. 101, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 362 ff.) was in some sense a goddess of vegetation appears also from the fact that on *litrai* of c. 413—400 B.C. she is seated with a dove on her hand and a tree behind her (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 62 f. nos. 10 ff. and 12, G. F. Hill *Cat. Coins* London 1903 p. 136 pl. 9, 10 (= my fig. 88), *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 181 pl. 13, 8, *Weber Cat. Coins* i. 275 nos. 1310 pl. 50, 1312 pl. 50, 1313 pl. 50 (= my fig. 89), *McClean Cat. Coins* i. 263 no. 2234 pl. 72, 7, *Head Hist. num.* 3.138). Note too the frequency of floral ornaments, volutes, etc. on the various *litrai* (e.g. figs. 85, 91). The plant *νικής*, 'rose-campion,' which flourished on Mt Eryx, was said to have sprung from the bath of Aphrodite after sleeping with Hephaistos (Amerias Ριζομωκος ap. Athen. 681 Φ; on Amerias see O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 2 ff.).

The dove had a special significance in this cult and was in all probability viewed as an
embodiment of the goddess (F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 2765)—witness Ail. de nat. an. 4. 2 έν Έρημε της συκελας ἐστίν, ἐν καλοιδίων Ἀναγόμεα Εφικόνο τε αὐτοῖ καί μέντα καί δου ἐν τη συκελά πάγο, ἢ δε αἰτία, την Ἀφροδίτην λέγουσα ἐνναίδευσα διὰ λήφθην ἀπαίρειν ἐν ταοῖδε παίς ἡμέρας. διὸ ἄφηνε διʻ ἄρα πατή ταπήν τεκμαράμουσαν. περίστερον πλῆθος ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα πάμπλευστον. οὖν δόι μὲν οἱ οὐκ ἐρωτῶσιν, λέγοντες ἐκ Εὔρυκαι την θεον δυσμορφοδίας ἀπελέθεν· ἀθορμάτα γὰρ Ἀφροδίτης περίστερα ἐστι φωτείνη καὶ πεντεπέκκαι πάντες ἀμφρωτοὶ. διελθοῦσιν δὲ ἡμερῶν ἕνεκα μὲν μὲν διαπρετή την ἥραν ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους τοῦ κομίσεως ἐκ την λήφθην ὑποκείμενων, οὐκ οὖν κατὰ τὰ ἄγαλμα ταλθᾶν σὰ ταῦτα εἶναι, πορφυρὰ δὲ, διότι ἀν την Ἀφροδίτην ἡ ΘΗΣ ἢ ἦν Ἀναξερέων ἄναι, πορφυρὴν ποὺ λέγων (frag. 2 Bergk 4, 2 Edmonds, 2 Diehl). καὶ χρυσὸς δὲ εἰκοσιμηθῆς φανεὶ ἐκ, καὶ τούτῳ γε κατὰ την ὄμοιον θεὸν την αὐτὴν, ἐν ἐκείνοις ἀναμέλετα χρυσῆν (U. 3. 64, 5. 427, 9. 389, 19. 262, 23. 470, 24. 699, Od. 4. 14, 8. 337, 342, 17. 37, 19. 54, h. Aphr. 93). ἑκτὰ δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν περιστέρων τὰ νέφα τῶν λαυτῶν καὶ ἐρημὲ πάλιν Εὐρυκαί καὶ πανηγύρες τὰ Καταγώγεια, ἐκ τοῦ ἤργου καὶ τούτῳ τὸ δομα.

With Aphrodite was associated a youthful consort, presumably Eryx her son by the local king Boutas (Diod. 4. 23, 83, Hyg. fab. 260, Serv. in Verg. Am. 1. 570, 5. 24, 413, Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἑρώς, Myth. Vat. 1. 53, 2. 156, cp. schol. vet. Theokr. 15. 101) or by Poseidon (Apollod. 2. 5. 10, Dion Cass. frag. 4. 2 Bekker, Serv. in Verg. Am. 5. 24, interp. Serv. in Verg. Am. 1. 570, Myth. Vat. 1. 94, 1. 107, 2. 156, Tzetze in Lyk. Al. 866, 958, 1232), rather than Aineias (Diod. 4. 83, Strab. 608, Cic. in Verr. 2. 4. 72, Ver. Am. 5. 759 ff., Fest. p. 340, 3 ff. Muller, p. 458, 31 ff. Lindsay, Hyg. fab. 260, cp. Serv. in Verg. Am. 5. 760): see F. Dümmler loc. cit. A rare ultra of c. 413—400 B.C. shows Aphrodite drawing towards herself a naked youth, whom I take to be Eryx (H. Riggauer in the Zeitschr. f. Num. 1881 viii. 72 f pi. 1, 2 ‘Sollten wir hier vielleicht Eryx zu erblicken haben...oder haben wir hier den Nachklang einer früheren mythologischen Entwicklungsphase des Eros...?,' Imhoof-Blumer Monn. gr. p. 17 pi. A, 19 'figure virile,' Head Hist. num. 5 p. 138 'wingless Eros'. Fig. 90 is from a specimen in my collection). Another, of the same period, turns Eryx into Eros—an easy transformation (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily p. 63 no. 13, Wehler Cat. Coins l. 375 no. 131 p. 50, Head Hist. num. 5 p. 138. Fig. 91 is from a specimen of mine); and this type is comparable with that of a unique tetradrachm inscribed ΛΤΣΑΤΒ retrograde (G. F. Hill Coins of Ancient Sicily London 1903 p. 136 pl. 9, 11 (= my fig. 92), Head Hist. num. 5 p. 138).

A further point of interest in the cult was its ancient service of hierodules (Strab. 272 οὐ καὶ μετὰ εἰς τουχῦνδην συνεφόρων, ιερων ἅγιων Ἀφροδίτης τιμωρεμένον διασφερομένου, ιερωδοσίων γνωικῶν πλῆθες το παλαιὸν, ἄν άθεταν καὶ εὐθύνον δε τε ἐκ της συκελᾶς καὶ ἔξεδεν πολλαῖς νυν δι-ώσσερόν αὐτή κατακτά λευκανδέρι καὶ το ἱερὸν (so the second hand in cod. B. η το ἱερὸν codd. A. Koraes marked the whole phrase as suspicious. H. L. Jones simply omits η), καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν σωμάτων ἐκλάησεν το πλῆθος) and their later equivalents (Diod. 4. 83, Cic. in Q. Cæcili. divin. 55).

Lastly it should be observed that Eryx, who is described as king of the Elymnoi (Apollod. 2. 5. 10, Dion Cass. frag. 4. 2 Bekker, Tzetze in Lyk. Al. 1323) or Sikanoi (cp. Paus. 8. 24. 2) or at least of some part of Sicily (Diod. 4. 23, 83, Paus. 4. 36. 4,
The *Arrhephóroi* 177

a phrase that reminds us of Demeter Chlóe, Demeter the 'Grass,' at Athens.  

Myth. Vat. i. 94, 1. 107), not only founded the town and temple of Eryx (Diod. 4. 83, Myth. Vat. ii. 156), but was also buried on the mountain (Hyg. fab. 260, Serv. in Verg. Aen. i. 570, Myth. Vat. ii. 156).

All these traits are consistent with the view (R. v. Scala in the *Historische Zeitschrift* 1912 viii. 18, Lübker *Reallex.* p. 344) that Aphrodite *Erykion* was a mountain-mother of the 'Minóan' kind, who as such would have her sacred tree and doves and πάξαρος. In a long-established cult sundry features may well have been imported from alien sources. The service of hierodules is suggestive of oriental influence (H. Hепding in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1467, D. G. Hogarth in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 671 b—672 b), and many scholars have been content to regard this Aphrodite as a Hellenised form of the Phoenician Astarte (e.g. W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 396, T. G. Pinches in J. Hastings *op. cit.* 1908 i. 767 a, L. B. Paton 1899 ii. 118 a, W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Eumen* Leipzig 1911 pp. 18 f., 23 n. 1, 26, 38, 272); even Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 374 dismisses her as 'ganz semitisch.' But the hound on coins of Eryx should hardly be compared with the sacred dogs of Hephaistos (Hradan) on Mt Aitna (supra ii. 630): it is simply due to the dependence of Eryx on Segesta, whose city-badge was a similar hound (C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 633).

The tradition that the eponymous Eryx was defeated by Herakles (Hdt. 5. 43) in a wrestling-match for the kingdom (Paus. 3. 16. 4 f., 4. 36. 4), or for possession of the bull which had broken away from the cattle of Geryones (Apollo, 2. 5. 10, cp. Lk. Al. 866 f.; see further K. Tampil in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 604 ff.), appears later in a slightly different form. Eryx is a wrestler or pentathlete, who challenges strangers and slays them till he is himself slain by Herakles (Tzetz. in Lk. Al. 866, 938). In any case this ranges him with Phorbas, Kyknos, Kerkyon, Antaios, Amykos, and other early kings (I have discussed the series in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xxv. 376 ff.), whose primitive rule of succession is the starting-point of Sir J. G. Frazer's *Golden Bough*. It is not impossible that Eryx king of the Elymoi and Virbius the rex Nemorensis belonged to the same (? Ligurian: C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2457) stratum of the population of Italy.

1 At the western end of the southern slope of the Akropolis at Athens there was in the time of Pausanias a joint-sanctuary of Ge Κουροτρόφω and Demeter Χλόη (Paus. 1. 23. 3 ἐνί τέ θαυματορίτη καὶ Κυνοτρόφω καὶ Δημήτριος ἱερό Χλόης. τα ἔστε ἔτι ἐπαυγάζεται βεβαι αὐτῶν ἀδαχθέραι τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἔλθοντα ἐπὶ λόγοι). Originally, however, the two cults had been distinct. The enclosure of Ge Κουροτρόφω was called the Κουροτρόφω, as we know from three boundary-stones, one early (Corp. inscr. Att. iv. 1 no. 555 Κ[εφουσε] τάξις [οίνου], the others later (S. A. Kousanoudes in *Ἔρυξ* 1877 vi. 147 f.). Adjoining it was the shrine of Blau (Corp. inscr. Att. iii. 1 no. 411 εἶναι πρὸς σηκὼν Βλαύτης καὶ Κουροτρόφω αὐτή[μεθ] τὰ δήμων, cp. Hesych. Βλαύτης τόπον Αἴθηρος: and perhaps Poll. 7. 87 ἡ δὲ βασιλεία σαλαβίων τι εἴδος, καὶ ἠρωτ Αἴθηρος δὲ ἐπὶ βασιλεύς ἀντίθεσις γὰρ τις συντόμως βλαύτης λίθων τόπον: see further O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 560 f. and Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* no. 2565 p. 484 ff. pl. 60 with figs. 231—235, no. 669 p. 509 pl. 184).

The Arrhephóroi

inventory of her property at the end of s. iv B.C. is extant (Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 2 no. 722, 18=Inter. Gr. ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 1472 B. 39 [Δήμωτρος τοῦ Ἰλώρι]) Her priestess had a reserved seat in the theatre (Corp. inscr. Att. iii. 1 no. 349 (with facsimile on pl. 3) (a) Δήμωτρος Ἰλώς in part obliterated by (b) Δοκή[φ]νων. So W. Dittenberger loc. cit. and W. Larfeld Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 366 pl. 1).

Her festival in spring, when the fresh verdure began to appear, was an occasion of jesting and jubilation (Cornut. theol. 28 p. 55, 13 ff. Lang πεῖρα περί τὸ δορ Συλλαιχῆς Δήμωτρα θυσίας μετὰ διαδέως καὶ χαρᾶς, ἰώτας χολαζωτίας (sc. τῶν σπόρων) καὶ ἀφθονίας αὐτῆς ἐπίδημοι ὑποδιδουντα). She also received the sacrifice of a ram on Thargelion 6 in the early summer-time (Ευνολίς Μαρκέας frag. 7 [Frag. com. Gr. ii. 502 f. Meineke] ap. soph. O.C. 1600 Εὐχάλων Δήμωτρος ἱερὸς ἑστὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀκροπόλιν καί Ἐπισκόποι Μαρκέας "Ἀλλὰ εἴθι πᾶλιν ἔμει ὧθεταί γάρ με δεῖ κρῶν Συλλαχῆς Δήμωτρα," ὅθ' ἀπολύνοντι ὅτι καὶ κρᾶς ἀκραίᾳ τῇ βίῳ ταύτῃ θέτεται (F. Steockey's cf. θηλη, though accepted by Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 477 n. 4, does not care the passage. R. F. Bruck prints a θήλη μόνον διὰ αὐτὴν, οὐδὲ διὰ τιμᾶται <α> (εἰς. J. Lascaris) τῇ κατὰ τῶν κηφῶν χαλέπος θυσίας τε θεραπευτῶν ἐκτῷ, Philochorus (in a frag. omitted by Müller) ap. soph. Aristoph. Lys. 835 Συλλαχῆς Δήμωτρος ἱερὸς ἐν ἀκροπόλιν ἐν ὧθεταί τῇ Ἀριστοκράτης θυσίας μετὰ θεραπευτῶν <Δ> (ins. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff) τῇ ἀκραίᾳ φησίν ἐν Σελόμ (Mommsen loc. cit. cf. φησί, τῇ ἐκτῷ construing θεραπευτῶν...τῇ ἐκτῷ). This sacrifice may have been purificatory (cp. Apollod. ηρεμ. frag. 85 [Frag. hist. Gr. i. 446 Müller] ap. Diog. Laërt. i. 44 ἀγαπηθέντ' ὑπὸ Σοκράτους, καθ' ἐφ' Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Χρυσάκοις, ἔτι Ἀριστοκράτης (so C. Müller for Ἀριστοκράτους codd.) ἐν τῇ τεταρτῇ ἐτεί τῇ ἐξοδομηστηρίᾳ ἐξοδομή Ὀλυμπιάδος θεραπευτῆς ἐκτῷ, ὅτι καθαύρισε τῇ πλῆθῳ τῇ Ἀριστοκράτῃ, καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι γενεάς Ἀρίστου φαίνεται). Whether Athens, like Mykonos (infra), made a winter-offering to Demeter Χώρα, is not known.

The cult husted into Roman times (F. Foucart in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1889 xiii. 167 f. no. 4, published more fully by H. G. Lolling in the Δελτ. Ἀρχ. 1889 p. 129 f. no. 4, a long slab of Pentelic marble with a dedication in red letters of Roman date Ἀρχιπετός Ἰλώς ἢ ἱερεία Νεοφηδράς ἢ καὶ Πάρα Θεοσεμίου εἰς Ευνολίας ἀνέθηκε, cp. Corp. inscr. Att. iii. 1 no. 1530, 44 Τεχνεύτου Θεοσεμίου Ρώφωνος | κ. τ. λ. a. προσιονίας 165/1—167/8 A.D.), when Kore was associated with Demeter (H. G. Lolling in the Δελτ. Ἀρχ. 1889 p. 130 no. 5 a small pillar of Hymettian marble, inscribed in red letters of Roman date and originally used as the base of a statue of Δήμωτρος Ἰλώς | καὶ Κόρη | τῇ Κοινοφόρβεια Eἰσόδοτος | ἀνέθηκεν | καὶ ἀνέφερον). A Delphic oracle of s. ii A.D. speaks of their precinct as the spot where the forefathers of the Athenians first grew corn (O. Kern 'Demeter ἠρρηφόροι' no. 661, 6 ff. Gr? d'appr., ἱερὸς ἱερείας Ἀριστοκράτης ἀνέθηκε, ἐν τῇ τεταρτῇ ἐτεί τῇ ἐξοδομηστηρίᾳ ἐξοδομή Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐκτῷ, ὅτι καθαύρισε τῇ πλῆθῳ ἡ Ἀριστοκράτη, καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι γενεάς Ἀρίστου φαίνεται). Whether Athens, like Mykonos (infra), made a winter-offering to Demeter Χώρα, is not known.

There are one or two indications that the same cult was practised elsewhere in Attike. At Eleusis a festival Ἰλώς was observed in s. ii B.C. (D. Phillios in the Ἔπαρ. Apol. 1890 p. 125 ff. no. 60, 6 ff. = Michel Recueil d'Inscr. Gr. no. 135, 6 ff. = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr.3 no. 661, 6 ff. ἐνέκτην ἄρα ἐπορευθέν τῷ δήμωτρῷ τῷ Ἐλλευσαίῳ ἀπὸ τῶν θυσίων, ἦν ἐφεκαν τοῖς τῷ Ἀλάωοι καὶ τοῖς Ἰλώοις τῇ τῇ Δήμωτρᾳ καὶ τῇ | Κόρῃ καὶ τοῖς ἅλλοις θεοῖς, οἷς
Perhaps we can go a step further. O. Gruppe\(^1\) has conjectured with much probability that the Arrhephoria was performed on the night of the Dipolia, that is, on the occasion of the last full moon in the Attic year. He recalls the Greek belief—a belief based upon accurate observation\(^2\)—that the dew lies thickest on the night of a full moon\(^3\), and Alkman’s statement that Herse the ‘Dew’ was

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\text{πάρων ἦν, συνεντέλεσεν δὲ καλὰ τῶν | Καλαμαίων θυγατρικὰ κ.τ.λ.). This accounts for Hesych.}
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\[
\text{Χλω (Meursius cjr. Χλωες, A. Meineke cjr. Χλωίς)} - \text{εὐρή ἀπὸ τῶν καλῶν (Meursius and Meineke cjr. καρπῶν). Again, the sacrificial calendar from Kαουκομαρί (supra p. 112) notes among the trieritic rites of Marathon that in Anthesterion a pregnant sow is sacrificed to Ελευσία and another to Χλω παρὰ τὰ Μειδύλου, i.e., Χλω ‘next door to Meidylus’ (J. de Prott Leges Graecorum sacrae Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 46 ff. no. 26 ii, 48 ff. Ανθρωπινόσε κ.τ.λ. Ελευσίνιαι δι κοῦσα ΔΔ, [εἰρεώνω -]). Χλω παρὰ τὰ Μειδύλου έσ κοῦσα] | ΔΔ, εἰρεώνω [ε, άλφην έκτεε [|||, άνυ χις...)]. In Mykonos a calendar of c. 200 B.C. fixes Poseidon 12 as the mid-winter day when a fine white ram must be sacrificed to Poseidon θεμινή, a white male lamb to Poseidon θειός, and two fine sows, one of them pregnant, to Demeter Χλω (J. de Prott Leges Graecorum sacrae Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 13 ff. no. 4, 11 ff. = Michel Récueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 714, 11 ff. = F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.—Inscr. iii. 2. 577 ff. no. 5416, 11 ff. = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. no. 1024, 11 ff. τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν Δήμητρα Χλω ἔσε [δύο καλατεύοντας, ἥτε τέρσα ἐγκαθέων’] κύττορο καλατεύτα[ι] | τὴν ἐγκαθόμον. τὰ δὲ Μεύλη [κρεαίνου] μαζίγραφοι ἀριστοτεῖς | ἅθρισαν οὐρανό καὶ καλώ τὴν ἑαυτὴν τὸν ἐφέτος, ἀλφήνου] | δύο χωλικα, οὐδ’ τεῖς κοῦσα[λα]].
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But the real interest of Demeter Χλω lies, not so much in the details of her cult, as in the fact that her very name identifies the goddess with the verdure. Farnell Cults of Gr. States iii. 33 says of her worship: ‘Its chief claim on our attention is that it seems to reveal a glimpse of the pre-anthropomorphic period when the natural object itself might be conceived as animatic and divine, and the personal deity had not yet clearly emerged; thus such religious perceptions as “Demeter the Verder” or “Zeus the Thunder” on the one hand, and Demeter the Verder-giver or Zeus the Thunderer on the other, may be the products of widely different strata of religion.’ The second stage is attested partly by the cult of Demeter Εὐχλος at Kolonos (Sohp. O. C. 1600 f. τὸ Εὐχλόν Δήμωτρος εἰς προσώπους | πάγων μολίσιαν with schol. ad loc. cited supra. On the topography of the site see Sir R. C. Jebb’s ed. p. xxxi with map and Svoronos Ath. Nationalmus. pp. 389 ff., 392, 402, 405 pls. 124 (photographs) and 125 (plan). The broken base of Pentelic marble believed by the uncritical K. S. Pittakis to record a dedication to Demeter Εὐχλος (Corp. inscr. Att. iii. 1 no. 191) is now known to contain no such record (U. Kohler in Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 3 no. 1415). Her name should be struck out in Pauly—Wissowa inscr. Att. iii. 2347, vi. 884), partly by the poetic usage of such epithets as Χλωήσ (Orph. Χλωήσ προπον αναπόφαση | τὸν θεύν την θεύν την θεύν την θεύν την την θεύν την την θεύν την χωλικά | δύο χωλικα, οὐδ’ τεῖς κοῦσα|la]).

1 Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 34.


the daughter of Zeus by Selene the ‘Moon.’ Now Plutarch, commenting on the passage from Alkman, remarks that the meaning of the poet was as follows: Zeus, the air, under the influence of Selene, the moon, turned himself into dew. Plutarch’s comment is a physical speculation of the usual sort; but it suggests a possibility. It may be that the dew was regarded as the actual means whereby the sky-father impregnated the earth-mother. Rain was certainly so regarded; and dew was held to be a gentler form of rain. Homer says that, when Zeus embraced Hera on the summit of Ide, ‘glittering dew-drops’ fell from the golden cloud that encompassed them and earth put forth ‘the dewy lotus-bloom.’ Pliny in plainer terms tells us that the planet Venus, called by others the star of Iuno or Isis or the Mother of the gods, makes the earth to conceive by means of generative dew and rouses the procreative powers of all living things. Besides, it is a significant fact that ἐρση, ἀρση, ἀρρην, the Greek word for ‘male,’ is obviously related to ἐρή, ‘dew.’ Perhaps, then, when the Dew-bearers brought dew down the underground descent, they were simply conveying the sacred seed of Father Sky into the womb of Mother Earth.

And, if so, it may well be that in the ‘something wrapt up,’

1 Supra i. 732 n. 5. Gruppe might have added Lucian’s whimsical notion that the Moon-dwellers agreed to pay the Sun-dwellers by way of tribute 10,000 amphorae of dew (Loukian. ver. hist. i. 20).

2 Plout. de fac. in orb. lun. 25 διὸ πῦρ οὖ ἐξερήμενος μᾶλλον, ὥς ὁ θεὸς ὁ λέγεις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐξερήμενος ταῦτα τὸ Ἀλκμάνος ἤδη θυγάτηρ; ἡρα ἐξερήμενος καὶ Ἑλένας [θην] ἢ ἦν τὸν ἄρα καλεῖ καὶ Δία φθόνον αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς Σελήνης καθυγραυμένον εἰς δρῦσον τρέπεται.

3 Supra i. 29 f.

4 Infra § 9 (e) i and ii.

5 Plout. quaest. nat. 24 ἢ γὰρ δρῦσος καθενής τις καὶ ἄρανης διμήρος.

6 Supra i. 154, iii. 35.

7 Plin. nat. hist. 2. 36—38 ending with the words: ‘itaque et in magno nominum ambitu est. alii enim Iunonis, alii Isidis, alii Matris Deum appellavere. huius natura cuncta generatur in terris. namque in alterutro exorta genitali rore conspersus non terrae modo conceptus inplet, verum animantium quoque omnium stimulat.’ Cp. Plout. de Is. et Os. 41 οἱ δὲ τῶν τῶν φυσικῶν καὶ τῶν ἀπ’ ἀστρολογίας μαθηματικῶν ένα περίπτερον οὐφώνια μίαν οὐκότα τὸν ἥλιον κόσμον, ’Οσιμ όι τῶν σεληνικῶν πέρασθαι τὴν μὲν γὰρ σελήνην, γίγνομαι τὸ φῶς καὶ ἐγοροποιοῦν ἄκουαν ἐκμενή καὶ γονεῖς γόνων καὶ φύον πλαθέσθαι τὸ δὲ θελον ἀκράτη τυπον εκπληκτότας τε καὶ καταναλώσας τὰ φιλόμανα καὶ τεθυλάτα, κ.τ.λ., Nonn. Dion. 44. 220 ff. Γαία φυτῶν ὤδίνα πεπαινει | μαραμαρην δρόσισσον ἀκομάθημον Σελήνης | δεχμένη.


How are we to explain Souidas’ ἀρρηνοφορεῖν (certified by the order of letters) in the sense of ἀρρηνοφορεῖν, ἀρρηνοφορεῖν? Two manuscripts of Harpokrt. s.v. ἀρρηνοφορεῖν have the same reading.

9 Supra p. 169 n. o.
The birth of Erichthonios

which they brought back, we should recognise a new-born babe, the fruit of that momentous union. Dare we call him Erichthonios ‘very child of the Ground’?

i. The birth of Erichthonios.

Where the texts are silent the monuments may be allowed to speak. A terra-cotta relief of the ‘Melian’ type, said to have been found in a grave beyond the Ilissos on the road to Halimous and now at Berlin, shows the head and shoulders of Ge emerging from the ground. She presents the infant Erichthonios to his foster-mother Athena, who, wearing a helmet but no aigis, approaches from the left. Kekrops, with snaky tail, faces her on the right: he raises the forefinger of one hand in token of respect and with the other holds a spray of olive. Stylistic considerations would refer the relief to the first half of the fifth century, while the four olive-leaves in Athena’s helmet suit some date after the fight at Marathon.


Cp. Harpokr. s.v. αὐθέρχθως ὁ θεὸς (frag. 253 Bergk) καὶ ὁ τὸν Δαμάδα πεντακόλουθον (frag. 2 Kinkel) φασὶν Ἠθερχθώνιος καὶ Παλαιότον ἐκ γῆς φασιν. In Nomn. Dion. 37. Ἐριχθεώνιος is κώπος... Γαρθος.

2 No. 2537.


The birth of Erichthonios

design, if genuine\(^1\), probably falls within the period 490—470 B.C. What purpose it served in the grave is more doubtful. Possibly the rising of the boy from the depths of the dark earth to light and life was felt to be of good omen for the future of the buried dead\(^2\).

Be that as it may, vase-painters of the fifth century took this old art-type and amplified it by the addition of other interested spectators. A red-figured hydria from Chiusi (?), now in the British Museum (pl. xxii)\(^3\), makes a full-breasted Ge emerge waist-high from

\(^1\) P. Jacobsthal *Die melischen Reliefs* Berlin—Wilmersdorf 1931 p. 96 ff. pl. 75 a notes that the head, shoulder, and breast of the child, parts of Kekrops' fore-arm and of Athena's right hand, together with a bit of the base beneath the snaky tail, are due to a restorer (fig. 21 shows the relief unrestored). After frequent inspection R. Zahn and Jacobsthal decided 'es endgültig für eine Fälschung zu erklären, allerdings für eine sehr intelligente und für die siebzig Jahre recht gelungene und gelehrte.' But could a forger over sixty years ago have been so successful?

\(^2\) Cpr. supra ii. 417.

Hydria from Chiusi (?), now in the British Museum:
Ge hands Erichthonios to Athena in the presence of Zeus, Nike, and Hebe (?).
See page 182 ff.
The birth of Erichthonios

The ground, while Athena, armed with helmet, aegis, and spear, receives the babe in a striped mantle. She is confronted, not by Kekrops, but by Zeus, who, clad in a himation of like pattern and wearing a wreath, stands with his right hand resting on his hip, his left holding the thunderbolt. Behind Athena, Nike hastens forward with a large fillet in her outstretched hands. Behind Zeus and leaning familiarly on his shoulder is a female figure in a long chiton, over whose head is inscribed the name Oinanthe. The presence of this Dionysiac name led E. Braun, F. Wieseler, C. Robert, and Sir C. H. Smith to interpret the whole scene as the birth of Dionysos. But in this they were certainly wrong. The vase cannot be isolated from others of closely similar design, which beyond all question represent the birth of Erichthonios. And the name Oinanthe, accompanied as it is by the word kalē, is better explained by W. Klein, W. Drexler, and H. B. Walters as a Lieblingsinschrift of a not very unusual sort. After all, Oinanthe was a name occasionally borne by Attic women. This leaves the youthful...
The birth of Erichthonios

goddess on the left anonymous. From her position and attitude I should judge her to be Hebe, whose title Δηλτια might be adduced as a further justification of her proximity to Zeus.

A red-figured stamnos from Vulci, now at Munich (pl. xxiii), repeats the central group of Ge presenting the babe to Athena in the

1 Cp. the pose of Hebe (inscribed) on two kraters by 'Der Kadmosmaler' (J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rothen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 451) (i) a klyxe-krater at Petrograd (Stephani Vasensamml. St. Petersburg ii. 339 ff. no. 1807, id. in the Complerevd St. Pl. 1861 p. 33 ff. Atlas pl. 3, 1 and 2 = Reinach Rép. Vases i. 7, 5 and 6, J. D. Beazley op. cit. p. 451 no. 5), figured infra 89(h) ii(8) mod., on which HZH standing furthest to the left rests her right hand on her hip and leans her left elbow on the shoulder of Hera; (2) a volute-krater at Ruvo (Jatta collection no. 1093, F. Gargallo-Grimaldi in the Ann. d. Inst. 1867 xxxix. 160 ff., Mon. d. Inst. viii pl. 42 = Reinach Rép. Vases i. 175, A. Baumeister in his Denkm. ii. 890 ff. fig. 965, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Apollon p. 426 ff no. 6

Fig. 94.

Atlas pl. 25, 5, O. Jessen in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2454 with fig. 5, J. D. Beazley op. cit. p. 451 no. 1) on which HZH, again on the extreme left, stands with her right hand resting on her hip and her left raised towards the shoulder of Hera (so Overbeck op. cit. p. 429: Reinach loc. cit. says 'une Ménade,' while Baumeister loc. cit. makes her the mother of Marsyas conversing with [Kßfîflû]). Somewhat similar, but unnamed, is the goddess standing on the left of another krater in the Jatta collection (infra i. 459 n. 5 fig. 318. To the bibliography add O. Benndorf in the Wien. Vorlegebl. 1890—1891 i. 459 ff. on which HZH, again on the extreme left, stands with her right hand resting on her hip and her left raised towards the shoulder of Zeus: I took her, perhaps wrongly, to be Aphrodite.

2 Strab. 382 τῷάρατι θ' εν Φιλονθή καλ Σκιννών το τῆς Διας λεφών· καλοίν μ' οὖτω την Ηθήν. On Dia as consort of Zeus I have said my say in the Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 177 ff., 1906 xx. 367, 377 ff., 416, 419.

3 Even if the name Oinante be interpreted as belonging to the personage above which it is placed, she need not be Dionysiac. Athena herself seems to have been worshipped at Athens as Οινάνθη, the 'Vine-flower,'—an unremarked, but interesting, parallel to Demeter Chlōe (Corp. inscr. Att. iii. 1 no. 353 (with facsimile on pl. 3 = my fig. 94) lep(au)[ις Αοθνής Οινάνθης], W. Larfeld Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 566 pl. 1). The epithet, however, is at best uncertain.

4 No. 2413 = Jahn Vasensamml. München p. 108 ff. no. 345, T. Panofka in the Ann. d. Inst. 1829 i. 262—298, Mon. d. Inst. i pls. 10 and 11 (Reinach Rép. Vases i. 66, 1 and 2), Inghirami Vas. sitt. i. 115 ff. pls. 73 and 74, Lenormant—de Witte Él. mon. cfr. i. 167 ff. pl. 84, iii. 34 ff. pl. 11, Müller—Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst i. 38 ff. pl. 46, 211a and 211b, F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerrei iii. 95—98 pl. 137 (= my pl. xxii), Hoppin Red-fig. Vases ii. 32 no. 14, J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rothen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 300 no. 16.

J. D. Beazley Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums: Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 123 ff., followed by Hoppin loc. cit., identified this vase as the work of the late archaic painter Hermonax—indeed as that artist's masterpiece ('Sound and able as Hermonax's
Stómmos from Vulci, now at Munich:
Ge hands Erichthonios to Athena in the presence of Hephaistos.

See page 184 f.

[From Furtwängler-Reichhold Griechische Vasenmaleret pl. 137 (part) by permission of Messrs F. Bruckmann A.-G., Munich.]
The birth of Erichthonios

presence of an interested god, but substitutes Hephaistos for Zeus. In lieu of himation, wreath, and thunderbolt Hephaistos has but a chlamys and a long knobbed staff. Zeus himself is accommodated on the other side of the vase, where he sits on a handsome folding stool, clad in chiton and himation. In his left hand he holds a lotiform sceptre; in his right, a metal phiale, which Nike standing before him has just filled. On the tendrils that spring from the handle-palmettes are poised four of the daintiest Erotes to be found in the whole range of Greek art. Their presence may be taken to indicate that obverse and reverse form a single scene and one which has the multiplication of young life for its ultimate meaning.

Hephaistos is definitely established in the room of Zeus on a red-figured kylix from Corneto, preserved in Berlin. This magnificent vase (fig. 95), which has been attributed to 'the Kodros-painter,' fortunately adds names to all the persons concerned. The external design shows again the familiar type of Ge presenting Erichthonios to Athena. Behind Athena stands a dignified, not to say Zeus-like, Hephaistos wearing a bay-wreath on his head and a chlamys over his shoulder: he holds a long staff in his right hand and rests his

work generally is, he only once shows himself a remarkable artist, and that is not on any of his signed vases, but on the Munich stamnos with the Birth of Erichthonios'...)

1 So most critics, including Panofka, Inghirami, Jahn, Müller—Wieseler, Hauser loc. cit. together with Welcker Alt. Denkm. iii. 422 n. 7; B. Sauer Das sogenannte Theesion Leipzig 1899 p. 58 f., etc. C. Lenormant op. cit. i. 276 sees 'Neptune frappant la terre avec son trident' (trident-head missing!). Gerhard Auserl. Vasenb. iii. 3 n. 4 hesitates between Hephaistos and Poseidon, but ib. p. 5 decides for Poseidon. A. Flasch in the Ann. d. Inst. 1877 xlix. 427 ff. is for Kekrops or Hephaistos, preferably the latter; C. Robert Archaeologische Muenchen aus alter und neuer Zeit Berlin 1886 p. 192 n. 2, for Kekrops. E. Braun in the Ann. d. Inst. 1841 xiii. 92 f., bent on recognising the birth of Dionysos (supra p. 183), is forced to interpret the standing god as Zeus.

2 Almost all exponents from Inghirami loc. cit. onwards have identified the seated personage as Zeus. Yet Panofka loc. cit. says 'Neptune,' and C. Lenormant op. cit. i. 285, iii. 34 ff. 'Jupiter Polieus' or 'Zeus Eleutherius' as a deity akin to 'Neptune Erichtheus.' Jahn loc. cit. is content with 'ein bärtiger Mann.' And Müller—Wieseler loc. cit. suggest 'Erichthonios als Herrscher und Richter des Landes, neben ihm die Göttin Dike' (1).


4 B. Graef 'Die Zeit der Kodroschale' in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1898 xiii. 65, 73, Hoppin Red-fig. Vases ii. 153 no. 1 ('The artist belongs to the first period of the Free Style and may have been the teacher of Aristophanes'), J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 426 no. 6 ('Sehr feine Schalen mit Anklängen an Parthenonisches').
The birth of Erichthonios

left hand on his side. Behind Ge is Kekrops with serpentine tail. Beyond Hephaistos we see Herse. Then—for the scene continues—, other figures likewise moving to the left, Aglauros followed by Erechtheus, Pandrosos full-front, next Aigeus, and lastly Pallas.

Fig. 95.

1 Kekrops and his daughters Herse, Aglauros, Pandrosos supplement the theme of Erichthonios' birth by a suggestion of its sequel, the incident of the basket (infra p. 237 ff.). Erechtheus, Aigeus, and Pallas are later kings of Athens (Gerhard Gr. Myth. ii. 231 stemma H) 'here, by a pleasant anachronism, interested in the birth of their great ancestor' (Harrison Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath. p. xxx).
Krater from Chiusi, now at Palermo:

Ge hands Erichthonios to Athena in the presence of Hephaistos and Kekrops.

See page 187 f.
The birth of Erichthonios

The central medallion has Heos as a winged goddess bearing off Kephalos. Finally, Hephaistos ceases to be reminiscent of Zeus and appears in his own right on a krater from Chiusi, now at Palermo, to be dated c. 400 B.C. (pl. xxiv). Ge, who emerges more and more from the soil, as usual hands Erichthonios to Athena. This takes place beneath a conspicuous olive-tree, three young shoots of which spring from the earth in the foreground. Behind Athena is Kekrops with coiled tail. Behind Ge Hephaistos, with supported foot, shoulders


The reverse design (inset on pl. xxiv) shows Heos in pursuit of Kephalos, one of whose brothers (Apollod. i. 9. 4 παιδες δε Ανατόρ, Ἀκτωρ, Φιλακοσ, Κέφαλος) escapes towards the left.

2 Possibly the famous olive-tree on the Akropolis, called by the comedians the δαρειά (Poll. 9. 17, Hesych. s.v. δαρεία, Eustath. in Od. p. 1383, 7 f.) or πάγωνος δαλα (Aristoph. fab. incert. frag. 234 (Frag. com. Gr. ii. 1217 Meineke) ap. Poll. 6. 163, Hesych. s.vv. δαρεία and πάγωνος), together with the μολόν, which were believed to be offshoots from it (Aristoph. nud. 1005 with schol. ad loc., Istrós frag. 27 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 422 Müller) and Aristot. frag. 345 Rose ap. schol. Soph. O.C. 701, Apollod. frag. 34 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 434 Müller) = frag. 120 (Frag. gr. Hist. ii. 1076 Jacoby) ap. schol. Soph. O.C. 705 cited supra ii. 20 n. 4, Poll. i. 241, 5. 36, Bekker anec. i. 280, 16, Hesych. s.v. μολόν, Phot. lex. s.v. μολόν, Souid. s.v. μολόν, et. Gud. p. 398, 23 ff., et. mag. p. 590, 43 ff., Zonar. lex. s.v. μολόν, Favorin. lex. pp. 85, 7 f., 611, 31, 1273, 53, 1643, 18 ff.). See further Boetticher Baumbkultus pp. 107—111, L. Stephani in the Compte rendu St. Pit. 1872 p. 5 ff. with figs. 1—4 and Atlas pl. 1, Frazer Pausanias ii. 343 f., 393 f.

The sacred olive appears in various forms on the imperial bronze coinage of Athens (see e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc. p. 96 ff. pls. 16, 7, 8, 11, 17, 12, 2, 4—6, McClean Cat. Coins ii. 365 pl. 211, 1, 4, 5, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner Num. Comm. Paus. iii. 129 ff. pl. Z, 8, 11—19, pl. AA, 16, 21, and for longer series J. N. Svoronos Les Monnaies d'Athènes Munich 1923—1926 pls. 84, 8, 30—40, 85, 32—37, 87, 15—43, 89, 1—25, 90, 1—34). Figs. 96—99 are from specimens in my collection.

Hephaistos and Athena

his tongs. A couple of little Victories, hovering in the air, offer wreaths to father and son; for it is as father of Erichthonios that Hephaistos has at length wholly dispossessed Zeus.

ii. Hephaistos and Athena.

So far we have seen reason to think that the Arrhephoria was an annual rite in which a couple of Dew-bearers conveyed the very seed of the sky-god down into the womb of the earth-goddess, and we have surmised that they brought up thence a new-born babe named Erichthonios. Moreover, a review of monuments known to represent the birth of Erichthonios has made two points clear—that the group of Ge handing over the child to Athena was constant from first to last, and that Zeus as interested spectator was gradually ousted by Hephaistos. Vases distributed along the fifth century showed us in succession a Zeus of normal type, a Zeus-like personage probably to be called Hephaistos, a Zeus-like personage certainly called Hephaistos, and a Hephaistos of normal type.

How are these ritual and mythological data to be interpreted?

I should infer (1) that the rite of the Arrhephoria as performed in the precinct (of Ge Olympia?) near the Ilissos found apt expression in the Hellenic myth of Ge and Erichthonios, and (2) that in the course of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. the Hellenic myth was forced (by popular pressure?) to find room for the long-established persons of pre-Hellenic cult. Thus Ge the original mother must hand over her babe to Athena as foster-mother, while Zeus Olympus, the natural consort of Ge Olympia, is displaced by Hephaistos the primitive partner of Athena.

This reading of the story is of course in part conjectural, but it fits well with certain important facts in the history of Attic religion and it deserves to be weighed in relation to them.


2 Supra p. 169 n. 0.

3 The régime of Peisistratos and his successors did much to enhance the prestige of Athena (see e.g. C. T. Seltman Athens: its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion Cambridge 1924 pp. 48 ff., 46 ff., 61, 68, 94 and F. E. Adcock in The Cambridge Ancient History Cambridge 1936 iv. 63, 66 f.), and pride in the city-goddess would tend to make men jealous for the credit of her partner Hephaistos (infra pp. 200, 223, 236). The 'Theseion,' if that be his temple (infra p. 223 n. 6), was no unworthy sequel to the Parthenon.
Stámnos from Knossos, now at Candia:
the Snake-goddess repeated as a proto geometric motif.

See page 189 n. 1.
Painted terra-cotta plaque from Athens: the Snake-goddess (Athena?) of late geometric art.

See page 189 n. 1.
The Athenian Akropolis had from time immemorial been the home of Athena, a goddess comparable with, if not actually descended from, the snake-goddess of the early Cretans. Her


E. Kalinka in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1932 xxi. 31 f. regards Athena as ‘eine jener vorgriechischen Muttergottheiten, die sowohl in Kleinasien wie in vielen Landschaften Griechenlands verehrt wurden.’

In this context we cannot ignore the goddess twice figured on a stâmnos from Knossos found by H. G. G. Payne and published by S. Marinatos in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xlviii Arch. Anz. p. 310 fig. 19. My pl. xxv is from fresh photographs of the jar kindly taken for me by J. D. S. Pendlebury. This personage has spirals like snakes starting from her hips, uplifted hands, and a pâlos on her head—‘offenbar eine Göttin, und zwar eine missverstandene Weiterbildung der spät- und submykenischen Schlangengötinnen von Gurnià und Prinià.’ She may be dated c. 700 B.C.

A kindred, but further developed, figure occurs on the remarkable terra-cotta plaque found by the American excavators of the *Agora* at Athens and published by Dr T. L. Shear in *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 3, 1932 p. 345 with a col. pl., Y. Béquignon in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1933 lii. 243 f. fig. 7. My pl. xxvi is from a photograph obtained for me from Dr Shear by E. J. P. Raven, who tells me (Jan. 30, 1934) that a full publication with a col. pl. is shortly to appear in *Hesperia.* The plaque (9â × 5 ins., with two holes above for suspension) formed part of a dump near the base of the N. slope of the *Aretos Pagès,* and was associated with other objects in terra-cotta—primitive figurines, gaily coloured horses with their riders, votive shields, etc.—also with ‘late Geometric’ vases and a ‘Proto-Corinthian’ *lêkhthos.* It has therefore been referred to the latter part of t. viii b.c. and regarded as a votive offering brought from the adjacent shrine of the Eumenides. It shows a goddess facing the spectator, with raised arms and spread hands (cp. *infra* ii. 536 fig. 406, c). Her head and neck are in relief; the rest of her is on the flat, painted in dull red and blue. She stands between two snakes, rendered in the same colours amid a vertical framework of lotos-flowers and rosettes. Dr Shear finds it hard to say whether this unique figure should be interpreted as a snake-goddess (‘possibly a survival of the Minoan tradition into later times in Athens’) or more definitely as ‘one of the Furies.’ Perhaps the spotted transverse garment worn across her chest is meant for an *aígis.* If so, she is a primitive pre-warlike Athena. After all, Athena Γοργών (Zwickert in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1668) or Γοργώ (K. Zeiger *ib.* 1664 f.) is near akin to the original Γοργώ or Γοργών. Cp. Palaihèr. 31 (32) καλός ἀλήθεια τῆς Ἀθηνῆς Γοργώ, ἤτοι τῆς Ἀρχαῖας θρήκης μὲν Βένδυ, Κρητῆς τῆς Δίκτυαν (δίκτυαν κοι. φ), Δακτυλιάμοιοι δὲ Οὐκα. Athena in due course was Christianised and appears on medieval leaden seals as ΜΡ ΘΥ (sc. Μίτρα Θεό) Η ΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ ΓΟΡΓΟΠΙΝΚΟΟΣ *infra* § 9 (b) ii (a) sub fn. The Panagia Gorgopinkos of modern Athens has a long and interesting pedigree.
Hephaistos and Athena

snakes, her owl\(^1\), her olive-tree\(^2\), her relations to the priestly king Erechtheus\(^3\), in whose palace she had from the outset been housed\(^4\), are indefeasible proofs of her ancient lineage. Even in the Periclean age Pheidias’ great statue of the Parthenos, with a snake at her side, snakes round her waist, a snaky aigis over her shoulders, and a pillar beneath her hand\(^5\), still perpetuated the essential traits of a ‘Minoan’ prototype\(^6\).

Another pre-Greek deity of the Akropolis was Héphaistos, whose name\(^7\), equally unintelligible with that of Athena\(^8\), presumably

\(^{1}\) *Infra* §9 (h) ii (l).

\(^{2}\) *Supra* p. 187 n. 2.

\(^{3}\) *Supra* ii. 794.


\(^{5}\) *Supra* ii pl. xlv (in pocket at end).

\(^{6}\) On coins of the Oxyrhynchite nome showing Athena with the double axe see *supra* ii. 623 f. figs. 529, 530. In fig. 100 I add another of these rare pieces from a specimen, struck by Antoninus Pius, now in my collection.


R. Pettazzoni ‘Philoktetes—Hephaistos’ in the *Rivista di filologia e d’ istruzione classica* 1909 xxxvii. 170—189 (criticised by R. Wünsch in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1911 xiv. 576 f.) holds that Philoktetes and Hephaistos were originally different forms of the same non-Hellenic deity (their identity had already been asserted by F. Marx ‘Philoktet—Hephaistos’ in the *Neue fahrh. f. klass. Altertum* 1904 xiii. 673—685) and that the name of the former throws some light on the nature of the latter. Philoktetes was healed by Pylios son of Hephaistos (Ptol. Hephaist. *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 153 b 13 f. Bekker), and the priests of Hephaistos in Lemnos had curative powers (Eustath. *in II.* p. 330, 12). Philoktetes, like Hephaistos, went limping. Philoktetes, like Hephaistos (*supra* i. 328 fig. 259), wore the *ploutos*. The pre-Hellenic god, who lies behind Philoktetes and Hephaistos, was equated by the Phoenicians with their Ešmun-Kadmilos. The name Kadmillos covers a Semitic word for ‘gold’—Kadmos discovered the gold-mines of Mt Pangaios (Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 197, Clem. *Al.* strom. i. 16 p. 49, 6 ff. Stählin, cp. Aristot. *frag.* 459 Rose; Strab. 680, Steph. *Byz.* s.v. Μαυρία—and the names *Philoktēs* and *Χρυσός* both point in the same direction. Thus Philoktetes = Hephaistos = Kadmillos, and we can understand the equivalence of Hephaistos and Chrysor (*supra* ii. 715, 1937). In fact, Kadmilos : Kabeiro
A. Fick as a great philologist merits a more patient hearing. In his *Vorrigische Ortsnamen* Göttlingen 1905 p. 66 he quotes with approval Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀθάνανος...ἀπό τῆς μεγάλης λεγομένης θεοῦ, ἃν Ἀθήνανος φασι ταύτῃ ἀν καὶ παρθένους θεότατι καὶ καλύτερον, and continues: 'Ganz fremdartig klingt auch Ἀθάνανος...ob der Name des Gottes 'Ἀθάνανος griechisch ist, kann man stark bezweifeln, jedenfalls waren die grosse Göttin, der Feuergott und der Phallos (Hermes) die Hauptgottheiten der Tyrrhenen.' In *Hattiden und Dannubier in Griechenland* Göttlingen 1909 p. 46 he returns to the charge: 'Hephaistos gehört durchweg den vorgriechischen Pelagonen—Pelasgern—Tyrrhenern an. Mittelpunkte sein Dienstes sind Lemnos und Attika. Andere Namen des Gottes sind Palamaon und Palamedes, in Attika und Phokis heist er Prometheus, in Boeotien als Wildfeuer Typhaon, dessen Kampf mit Zeus um die Welt herrschaft [supra ii. 448 n. 2, 731, 868] religiösgeschichtlich als Versuch der Verehrer des Feuergottes, diesen zum Allgott zu erheben, zu denken ist. Auch der Name Hephaistos ist wohl pelasgisch; gleichgeformt ist Gerasitos, vielleicht der pelasgische Name des Wassergottes, der als Buhle der Demeter d. i. der Allmutter entschieden den Pelasgern Astadieni angehort. Die Gottheiten der Pelasger waren also: Allmutter und Phallos, und die zwei elementaren Feuer- und Wassergötter, denen sich vielleicht Hermes als Luffgottheit zugesellt.'

Attempts to explain the name, which appears in Ionic as ᾿Αθήνανος ᾿Αθηναῖον, in Æolic and Doric as ᾿Αθάνανος ᾿Αθναία, in Attic as ᾿Αθηναία ᾿Αθάνανος ᾿Αθηναῖον, are collected by Peeler—Robert Gr. Myth. i. 185 f., F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2007 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1194 nn. 1–6.

The most interesting hypothesis so far advanced is that of another famous philologist P. Kretschmer. In *Grave 1921* xi. 282–284 he treats the name as Pelasgian or Tyrsenian and relates it on the one hand to the place-name 'Ἄθανανος' ᾿Αθανάσιος ᾿Ατανάσιος (Atanum) in Phrygia with the characteristic suffix -aon (Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (Royal Geographical Society: Supplementary Papers iv) London 1890 p. 136 no. 26, id. *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1895 i. 241 ff., 249 ('Bishops of...Atanassos...Philadelphus πόλεως ᾿Αθανάσιος (Atanassi) Conc. Chaled. 451. Christophorus ᾿Αθανασίου Conc. Nice. II 787. Φιλοθεος ᾿Αθανασίου Conc. 869 (†'), ii. 355 ff., 395 ('Philadelphius ᾿Ατανάσιον...48'), W. Ruge in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2180), on the other hand to a group of Etruscan (?) words denoting a ritual vessel of terra cotta (Paul. ex Fest. p. 18, 11 Müller *Athanassium* est poluci fictilis genus, quo in sacrificiis utebantur sacerdotes Romani (W. M. Lindsay p. 17, 9 prints *Athanassium* with cod. L. Th. Mommsen in the *Ephem.* epigr. 1899 viii. 254 n. 2 gives atanum), G. Goetz Corpus gloriætorum Latinorum Lipsiae 1888 ii. 22, 25 ff. = 1899 vi. 108 f. Atena ἐθνος θεοῦ ὀφθαλμόν (ὀφθαλμὸν?) θρόνον ἐν ταῖς θυατηρίας, ᾿Ατανασίος (Atanum), ii. 47 f. =vi. 108 Atanumus (atnanum) cod. A. Swoboda in his ed. of P. Nigidius Figulus (Vindobonae 1889) p. 16 n. 6 cjt. atanumus, which is accepted by P. Kretschmer ἄγων (ἄγγειος) cod. d, Vulcanius ej. σφαίρων ιερής σκέφτως, κειμένως, 1889 iv. 406, 33 =vi. 108 atanumus; vasis, 1894 v. 591, 18 =vi. 108 atanumus genus vasis, 1894 v. 591, 46 =vi. 108 attamabe genus vasis, Nigid. frag. 9 Swobody op. Non. Marc. p. 58, 15 f. Lindsay in *Grave 1921* xi. 234 at atalla to be the diminutive of atanuma, attanu, atanum) and perhaps to ἀττάνον an Asian Minor (?) word for 'pan' or 'pot' (Hesych. s.vv. ἄτανα, ἄτανδὲς, ἄταναις from *Hippox frag. 36. 3 Bergk*, frag. 39. 9 Diehl). Kretschmer suggests that the pre-Greek *Ἀτάνανος = ἀτάνανος gave rise to ᾿Αθάνα ᾿Αθαναῖα as 'eine Töpfergöttin,' the later Athena Ἐραήμων (Faus. 1. 24. 3 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ᾿Αθηναίοι ἐνομίσαν Εραήμων σε. oi ᾿Αθηναῖοι). Further, he hints that the clay vessel from which the goddess got her name may well have been regarded 'als Fetisch und Symbol...Die Glosse atanumus ἄγων ιερῆς σκέφτης, κειμένως lässt doch fast an ein gralartiges heiliges Gefäß denken.'

Hephaistos and Athena 191
Kretschmer's ingenious speculation could, I think, fairly claim the support of certain extant types of sacred or ritual vases: (a) Gesichtsurnen or 'face-urns' from the second city at Troy, c. 2500—2300 B.C. (H. Schliemann *Troy and its remains* London 1875 p. 34 f. nos. 10—13, *id.* *Illos* London 1880 pp. 290—292 nos. 157—159, 339—345 nos. 227—229, 231—241 (of which 235 = my fig. 102), C. Schuchhardt *Schliemann's Excavations* trans. E. Sellers London 1891 p. 68 fgs. 66—68 (= my figs. 103, 105, 101), Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 361 fig. 247, 807 fig. 376, 903 ff. figs. 454, 455, W. Dörpfeld *Troy und Ilios* Athen 1902 i. 2; 255—257 pl. 33. 1—7 (of which 4 = my fig. 104), M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bilden Kunst in Europa* Wien 1915 pp. 338—362 figs. 5—8, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* i. 12 no. A 68 pl. 2, E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* Paris 1897 p. 4 no. A 4 (1 pl. 5). These urns begin by being distinctly human in appearance. The upper part, or the lid, has a projecting nose, arched eyebrows, and round prominent eyes. Mouth, ears, and a peaked cap may also be added. Some specimens have the ears bored for metal earrings. Others indicate in relief a necklace and a transverse band across the chest, or make the head support a bowl and the hands a two-handled cup. The body is rounded and, as a rule, equipped with rudimentary arms, conical breasts, and a flat disk (navel? womb?) occasionally marked with a cross or swastika. Later the jars become less truly anthropomorphic; the peaked cap turns into a handle, the brow sinks to a straight line, the eyes dwindle into dots, the arms may be duplicated as a pair of spirals.

Now H. Schliemann was certainly wrong, when in *Troy and its remains* p. 113 and *Ilios* p. 281 ff. he took such vases to represent Athena in the shape of an owl (\(\delta e\kappa \gamma \alpha \nu \kappa \omega \varepsilon \nu\) \(\overline{\alpha \beta \eta \varsigma \nu}\), *infra* § 9 (h) ii (l)). Similar face-urns, of the Early Iron Age, found in Pomerania, East and West Prussia, Posnania, Silesia, Poland (J. Schlemm *Worterbuch zur Vor
geschichte* Berlin 1908 pp. 173—176 figs. a—i, H. Seger in M. Ebner *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* Berlin 1916 iv. 1. 295—304 pls. 110—122, A. Götte *ib.* 1926 vi. 384 ff. pl. 96 f.), Etruria (J. Marth *L'art italique* Paris 1889 p. 468 fig. 305, E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* Paris 1897 p. 33 no. 709 pl. 28, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* i. 2. 256 f. nos. H 213 pl. 17, H 214 pl. 17, H 215, H 216 pl. 17), and Kypros (Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iii. 692 f. figs. 503, 504, and col. pl. 4. J. L. Myres *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* New York 1914 p. 104 no. 793 fig., p. 113 no. 931 fig.) are purely human in design. Their significance is probably apotropaic. The figure shown is the guardian, who protects the contents of the urn. At Troy this figure is always female. It is, then, very possibly to be identified with the city-goddess Athena, but not as \(\gamma \alpha \nu \kappa \omega \varepsilon \nu\) (M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa* Wien 1898 p. 175, *ib.* Wien 1915 p. 362). A custom of this sort does not easily die out. A thousand years later those who dug the first shaft-grave at Mykenai put in a globular vase still decorated with a pair of outstanding breasts (A. Furtwängler—G. Löschcke *Mykenische Thongräber* Berlin 1879 p. 3 pl. 1, 1, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 912 fig. 464).

(b) A vase from tomb xiii at Mochlos, which Sir A. J. Evans refers to the 'Early Minoan iii' period, c. 2400—2100 B.C. (R. B. Seager *Explorations in the Island of Mochlos* Boston—New York 1912 pp. 64 figs. 33, 34, G. Karo—G. Maraghiannis *Antiquités Crétoises* Deuxième série Candia 1911 iv. viii pl. 10, 6, Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 115 fig. 84, O. Montelius *La Grèce prétclassique* Stockholm 1924 i. 27 fig. 116 a, 116 b = my fig. 106). This remarkable vessel, painted with yellowish white on a dark ground, represents a female figure wearing a kind of turban and holding her breasts, which are pierced to serve as spouts. Both Seager and Evans infer that she is a primitive mother-goddess. It is but a step from this *Alma Mater* to some of the Cypriote vases noted above (e.g. Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iii. col. pl. 4 = my fig. 107), which being furnished with a single spout probably did duty as feeding-bottles for infants. A mother-goddess would be a wholly suitable type. A late Egyptian (?) specimen in my collection is no less appropriately topped by the head of young Horos (fig. 108. Height 4 inches).

(c) Tubular vessels from various cult-centres in Palestine, Crete, and Rhodes. At Beth-Shan (Beisdn], the Hellenistic Nysa Skythopolis (supra p. 88 fig. 31), the excavations of the University of Pennsylvania Museum brought to light an earthenware cylinder, from one side of which projects a crudely modelled head wearing a crown of feathers. This
Fig. 106.

Fig. 107.

Fig. 108.
Hephaistos and Athena

object, found in the Amenophis iii level (1411—1375 B.C.), seems to have been connected with the cult of the serpent-goddess Astoreth or Anaitis, who at Beth-Shan bore the Egyptianised name Antit: the head presumably represents the goddess herself (L. B. Holland in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1929 xxxiii. 198 f. fig. 10 = my fig. 109). Somewhat later are the bottomless tubular stands from the same site published by A. Rowe in the Museum Journal. University of Pennsylvania 1926 pp. 296, 297, 299. I figure one which has two handles surmounted by birds in the round and windows in its sides penetrated by snakes in relief (G. Contenau Manuel d'archéologie orientale Paris 1931 ii. 1049 f. fig. 729 after S. A. Cook in the Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1926 p. 30.

A. Rowe ib. 1927 p. 74, A. T. Olmstead History of Palestine and Syria New York—London 1931 p. 154 fig. 74). Professor S. A. Cook The Religion of ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology London 1930 p. 98 comments: 'The name Shaḥ or Shaḥān may be directly connected with Shahan or Sakhan, the Semitic name of an old Sumerian serpent deity. Upon a bowl is depicted an undulating serpent; and a pottery model of a serpent has female breasts, and a cup below for collecting the milk.' Etc. The burial ḫīḥ from Beth-Shan (c. 1300 B.C.), which have their upper part adorned with the mask of the dead man or woman and a pair of rudimentary arms (C. L. Fisher in the Revue biblique internationale 1923 xxxii. 435 ff. fig. 9, P. Thomsen in Ebert Reallex. ii. 5 pl. 1, a, b), are hardly ad rem. A shrine of 'Middle Minoan' date (c. 2100—1580 B.C.) on one summit of Mt Korakies, a two-peaked hill at Koumasa in southern Crete, yielded four cylindrical clay vessels open at the bottom. Two of these have snaky handles formed of four loops vertically arranged on either side (S. Xanthoudides The Vaulted Tombs of Mesard trans. J. P. Droop Liverpool
At Prinia in central Crete F. Halbherr in 1900 found two very similar vessels, one of which has an additional snake coiling upwards and encircling its mouth, together with a terra-cotta goddess emergent from a cylindrical base and the fragmentary arms of another entwined with snakes—clearly the contents of a small 'Minoan' shrine (S. Wide in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1901 xxvi. 247—257 figs. 1—5 (of which 4 and 5 = my figs. 113 and 114) and pl. 12, Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* pp. 369 f., 271, 275, 385). Renewed excavations of the site by the Italians in 1906 led
to further finds—the head of a terra-cotta figure and another tube-shaped vessel with vertical loops or handles, a ridge resembling a snake, and oval holes or apertures in the sides. But the objects associated with the new finds belong to the archaic Greek period and point to a local survival of the 'Minoan' cult (L. Pernier in the *Bollettino d'arte* 1908 ii. 455 ff. fig. 11 cited by R. Zahn in K. F. Kinch *Fouilles de Vroulia (Rhodes)* Berlin 1914 p. 28 and by Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* p. 386). The shrine of the snake-goddess at Gournia in eastern Crete (supra ii. 538), believed to be of the 'Late Minoan i' period, c. 1580—1475 B.C., had five tubular vessels still *in situ*. One, of which the base only remained, stood on the low plastered tripod. Round it were ranged four others. Three of these, practically complete, supplement the snaky loops by an extra handle surmounted by ritual horns; one adds a disk above the horns, another a pair of snakes crossing under the handle, the third a symbol now missing—possibly a bird (Mrs B. E. Williams in H. Boyd Hawes, B. E. Williams, R. B. Seager, and E. H. Hall *Gournia, Vasiliki and other prehistoric sites on the Isthmus of Hierapetra*, Crete Philadelphia 1908 p. 47 f. pl. 11, Fig. 115. Fig. 116. Fig. 117.

11—13=my figs. 115—117, L. Pernier in G. Maraghiannis *Antiquités Crétoises* Vienne (1907) i p. vii pl. 36, 1, 2, and 4, R. Dussaud *Les civilisations préhelléniques dans le bassin de la Mer Égée* Paris 1910 p. 200 with fig. 143, G. Karo in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religiongeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1925 vii p. viii fig. 51, Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* pp. 74 ff. fig. 3 b, 267, 271). Lastly, a tubular vessel, found in Rhodes, probably at Kameiros, and now in the Antiquarium at Berlin (inv. no. 4563), is of roughly similar shape. It is 0.285 m high, and again has no bottom. A ribbed handle on either side is flanked by four bosses and two snakes in relief. Three of these snakes have tongues serrated like an oak-leaf; the fourth has a tongue small and pointed. The neck of the vessel is decorated with a number of birds, separately modelled and attached, several of which are missing. The light brown clay is painted rather carelessly with meanders, zig-zags, etc. of dark brown glaze in the geometric style—an indication that here too we have a 'Minoan' usage surviving into post-'Minoan' times (R. Zahn 'Kulturgerät aus Rhodos' in K. F. Kinch *Fouilles de Vroulia (Rhodes)* Berlin 1914 pp. 26—34 fig. 13 a, b, and c (=my fig. 118 a, b, and c), E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und...
Hephaistos and Athena
belonged to the same language as the place-name Phaistos. Now if—as we have argued—the ‘Minoan’ earth-goddess (Rhea) had for consort a ‘Minoan’ sky-god (Kronos) armed with a double axe, it is tempting to guess that Hephaistos, whose double axe of bronze is mentioned by Pindar as a ‘holy axe’ and is often figured on sixth-century vases, was in the remote prehistoric past the veritable husband of Athena. On which showing Hephaistos and Athena

Religion Giessen 1913 p. 41 f. fig. 31 (inexact), Nilsson Min.-Myc. Rel. pp. 273, 386 f.). Bottomless vases are in the nature of funnels, and sometimes certainly, as in the Dipylon cemetery at Athens, conveyed liquid offerings through the earth to the dead below (supra ii. 1056). It is therefore reasonable to think that the tubular vessels used in the cult of the Minoan snake-goddess served a similar purpose and prove her to have been ab origine an earth-mother (R. Zahn loc. cit. p. 34, Nilsson Min.-Myc. Rel. pp. 271 ff., 386 f.). However, Sir A. J. Evans The Palace of Minos London 1935 iv. i pp. xii, 138 ff., having found in a Minoan house at Knossos three clay tubes with cups attached to their sides, thinks that these were receptacles for domestic snakes, derived from common drain-pipes. He offers the same explanation of all the ‘snake tubes’ mentioned above, comparing their loops with the looped variety of water-pipe. Ingenious, but far from convincing.

(d) Hellenistic relief-ware of Graeco-Egyptian style has sometimes by way of prophylactic (?) decoration an emblem or emblems of Athena. I figure three small vases in my collection, which are made of salmon-coloured unglazed (?) clay and were found at Ephesus. They exhibit the following designs: (1) on the one side a helmeted head of Athena, on the other a Gorgonion of beautiful type (fig. 119. Height 3 4 inches); (2) a Gorgonion with dishevelled hair and a large six-rayed star beneath an inverted lotos-pattern round the rim (fig. 120. Height 1 2 inch); (3) two snakes with crossed tails above a single larger snake encircling the lower part of the vase (fig. 121. Height 4 8 inches).

It is perhaps not too hazardous to conjecture that Trojan Gesichtsumen and the like point backwards to a primitive belief that earthen vessels should take the form of the earth-mother of whose very substance they were made. Be that as it may, in view of the varied types of these sacred or semi-sacred vases it is quite conceivable that—as Kretschmer supposed—Athena drew her name from a clay vessel used in her service, though I should prefer to conclude that the vessel drew its name from the goddess.

1 I do not propose to treat Παιατός and Φαιστός as etymologically connected, though many years ago I toyed with the notion (Class. Rev. 1904 xviii. 85 n. 1). I now agree with Farnell Cults of Gk. States v. 390 n. 5: ‘There is no vraisemblance in the supposition.’ Platon, who might be cited in its support, though a giant in philosophy, was but a dwarf in philology (Plat. Crat. 407 c EPM. τι δὲ δὴ τὸν Ἡπείρον; πὴ λέγει; ΣΠ. ἢ τὸν γενναίον τὸν φάεον ἱστορα ἐρωτάτες; EPM. δοκικα. ΣΠ. ὅπως οὖν οὗτος μὲν παρὶ δηδος Φαιστός άν, τὸ ἦτα προσελκασάμενος). Nevertheless it remains probable that the language which produced the word Φαιστός produced also the word Πhaiatος.

2 Supra ii. 548 ff.

3 Pind. Ol. 7. 35 ff. ἀνίχ' Ἀφαίτων τέχνην | χαλκελάτων πελάκη πικρός Ἀθανά | κορυφαῖς καὶ ἄκραν | ἀνειθώσαν ἀδίήλθην υπερμάκει βοὸν and frag. 34 Bergk 4, 34 Schroeder ap. Hephaist. 15. 13 p. 51, 16 Consbruch δὲ καὶ τυνεῖ τινεῖ ἀγρυ πελάκη τέκτῳ ξυνήλ Ἀθανά (quoted also, less exactly, by Marius Plotius Sacerdos de metris in H. Keil Grammatici Latini vi. 545, 5). Later writers commonly use the term πέλεκυ (Apollod. i. 3. 6, Loukian. dial. deor. 8, Philostr. mai. imagg. 2. 27. 1, Philon. Dion. 27. 324, 42-250, schol. Plat. Tim. 23 d—e p. 948 a 12), sometimes βουλῆς in the sense of ‘an axe for felling an ox’ (Nonn. Dion. 8. 83. 27. 325, et. mag. p. 371, 41). Cp. the πέλεκυ presented by Hephaistos to Polytechnos of Kolophon (supra ii. 693).

4 Supra § 9 (h) ii (θ).
Klysix from Nola, now in the British Museum:

Anesidora fashioned by Hephaistos
and adorned by Athena.

See page 201 n. 7.
would be but local equivalents of Kronos and Rhea. Some such assumption at least accounts for their persistent juxtaposition in classical times. Homer's cunning craftsman, who overlays gold on silver, is 'the man that Hephaistos and Pallas Athene have taught all manner of art, and full of grace are the works of his hand.' The Homeric *Hymn to Hephaistos* opens on the same note:

Sing, tuneful Muse, Hephaistos and his craft,
Who with bright-eyed Athena taught mankind
All splendid work on earth, whereas of yore
Men dwelt like brute beasts in their mountain-dens.

Solon's description of the artificer owes something to these epic writers:

Taught by Athena and Hephaistos' skill
Another learns his trade and earns his meal.

Platon too with curious frequency insists on the partnership of Hephaistos and Athena.

Their association is further attested by mythology, art, and actual cult. If Hephaistos fashioned woman, Athena adorned her—a story as old as Hesiod and brilliantly illustrated by the Anesidora-cup (pl. xxvii).

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1 This squares with the fact that in Crete, where Kronos and Rhea bulked big, Hephaistos (Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 389 and L. Malten in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 314 f., 341; both rightly attach little weight to Diod. 5. 74 and Paus. 8. 53. 5) and Athena (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in the *Sitzungsb. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1921 p. 952. On Athena *Kvdwta* see Prehn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 3308) were nobodies.

2 Od. 6. 233 f. ὅτι Ἡφαίστος δέδωκεν καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθηνᾶν τέχνην παρούσην, χαριέντα δὲ ἔργα τελείει.

3 H. Heph. 1 ff. Ἡφαίστου κλωτόμην ἁλείδοι, Μοῦσα λείγει, | δὲ μεὶ 'Αθηνάις γλαυκώτισσα ἄγαλα ἔργα | ἀνθρώπους εἶδίδαξεν ἐπὶ χιονίς, οἶ τὸ πόσον περὶ ἄντρος ναϊετάσκον εὐρέως, ὣτε θῆρες.

4 Sol. frag. 13. 49 f. Diehl Ἐλλὸς Ἀθηνᾶς τε καὶ Ἡφαιστοῦ πολυτέχνευ | ἔργα δαίσις χεριῶν ἐξελέγχεται βιστόν.

5 Plat. Prot. 331 b (Prometheus) κλέστε Ἡφαίστου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τὴν ὄστεχον σωφρόν σοι πυρ (συμφ. i. 324), ρομφ. 274 c τῷ μὲν παρὰ Πρωμήθεως, τέχνηι δὲ παρ᾽ Ἡφαιστοῦ καὶ τῇ σωτέχνῃ, Κρίτιας 109 c—d Ἡφαίστος δὲ κοινῇ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ φῶς ἔχοντες, ἀμα μὲν ἀδαλφὴν ἐκ ταῦτα πατρός, ἀμα δὲ φιλοσοφὴν φιλοτεχνία τε ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὰ θλύνεις, οὕτω μὲν ἄμφοι λίθων τὴν τὴν χώραν ἐπιθέμας ὧν οἰκεῖαν καὶ πρόσφορον ἄρετα καὶ φρονήσεις τεχνών, ἄθροι δὲ ἀγαθῶς ἐποιηθήσατε αὐτόχθονας ἐπὶ νόης θέσας τὴν τὴν πολιτείας τάξιν, ἐγγ. 320 ὁ Ἡφαιστοῦ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἑρῴδω τὸ τῶν δημοσίων γένους, οἶ τὸν βλέπω χρῆν ἐγκακεύεσθαι τέχναις.

6 Hes. theog. 571 ff., o.d. 60 ff., 70 ff.

Hephaistos and Athena


Found at Nola in 1828 or 1829, this great *kýlix* (height 5 inches; diameter 12¼ inches) passed through the Hope and the Bale collections before being purchased in 1881 for the British Museum. The exterior is red-figured and shows scenes in the *palæstra* (?). The interior has black outlines on a white ground, with inner markings in brown. Anesidora’s *chiton* and Hephaistos’ *himation* are brown with details in purple and white. Athena has a *chiton* with a purple girdle, and a dark brown *aigis* with purple border and *Gorgonion* in white. The head-dresses and the top of the hammer are moulded and gilt on a raised ground. Substantial parts of the design are missing. The heads of Anesidora and Athena together with the right arm of the latter have been added in pencil, while part of the former’s *chiton* has been restored in water-colour. The names are ΔΕΘΕΝΑΑ, ΔΑΝΕΙΔΟΡΑ, ΗΕΘΑ[ι]ΣΤΟΣ (P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vasenschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 203 f. no. 187, correcting the *Corpus inscr. Gr.* iv no. 7416).

The moment represented is that described by *Hes. theog.* 573 ff. ἦσε δὲ καὶ κλώμεος θεὰ γλυκαίσκων Ἀδηρὴν | ἧρανεθές ἑσθήν... | ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ στραφάντας χρυσὰν κεφαλὰς ἔθεσεν, | τὴν αὐτὸς πόλις περιλυσον Ἀμφιψυκής | ἀκόρον παλάμωρο, χαρᾶρισμὸν δὲ πατρὶ. And the composition as a whole is comparable with that of the Triptolemos-relief from Eleusis (Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 106 ff. pls. 24 and 25 with bibliography, Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 7, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt.* gr. ii. 140 ff. fig. 68, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 339 no. 3).

‘Ανησιδώρα, like Παυλόρα, was an epithet of the earth-mother (Hesych. ‘Ανησιδώρα- | ἡ γῆ, διὰ τὸ τοῦ καρπου ἀνείκοσ, εἶθα Παυλόρα- | ἡ γῆ, διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὸ γῆ χάλα δωρεῖται, ἄφ' οὐ καὶ ξείδωρο καὶ ανησιδώρα = chsl. Aristoph. *av.* 271 Παυλόρα- τῇ γῇ, ἐκεῖθ' πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὸ γῆ δωρεῖται, ἄφ' οὐ καὶ ξείδωρο καὶ ανησιδώρα, et. *tag.* p. 108, 31 'Ανησιδώρα- | ἡ γῆ, Eustath. in *Hr.* p. 1057, 47 ff. ἐτέρω δὲ Διώνυσῳ ἄλληρα τεθέντωσεν ἄνοιξα τὴν γῆν ψευτομᾶσθαι (ins. A.B.C.) παρὰ τῇ δῶ δώσον, ὃς δείκνυαι καὶ ἀνησιδώρα καὶ ξείδωρα (cf. the Dodonaean chant Γα καρπός ἄνεικς κ.τ.λ. cited supra i. 524 n. 8, ii. 350 n. 1). In *Aischyr.* εἰκ. 1. 3 χρήστον ἥ γῆ καὶ ἡ βασάνος ἀκίνδυνον, οὐ μάντρα γοῦν ἀνησιδώρας ταύτην ἀνωμάλων ἄθροιαν ἀνείκων δώρα, δ' ἄν ἐκεί γῆ καὶ σφάζθαι. R. Hercher omits the second sentence (as a gloss?)). From Ge it passed to her ‘offshoot’ (supra i. 396 f.) Demeter, who was likewise empowered γῆν καρποῦ ἀνείκων (H. *Dem. 332*). Thus in the Attic deme Phyla the cult of Ge called Μηγήθη Θεὸς was supplemented by that of Demeter Ανησιδώρα and by that of Kore *Proswogon* (Paus. i. 31. 4 cited supra ii. 251 n. 2 plus ii. 1666). Demeter ‘Ανησιδώρα was perhaps worshipped in Melite, another deme of the tribe Kekrops (Plout. *symp.* 9. 14. 4 καὶ γὰρ ὕμνον (εἰς τοὺς Μελιτεῖον ὡς Δημήτρην Ανησιδώρα), and her appellative figures in the lists drawn up by the grammarians (Schöll—Studemund *antiq.* i. 270 Ἐπιθετα Δημήτρια 3 ἀνησιδώρας, 277 Ἀτ τῆς Δημήτριος κλήσει ...ἀνησιδώρα, ep. 282 Κλήσεις Δημήτριος...στηράδωρα (sic)).

Starting from this fact archaeologists, in *primis* C. Robert *Archaeologische Mauern aus alter und neuer Zeit* Berlin 1886 p. 194 ff. pls. 4 and 5, ‘Pandora’ in *Herms* 1914 xlix. 17—38 with 2 figs.), J. E. Harrison (Myth. *Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 451 f., ‘Delphika’ in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 232 ff. figs. 11, 12, *Protag. Gk. Rel.* p. 276 ff. figs. 67—71), and P. Gardner (‘A New Pandora Vase’ in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 1 ff. pl. 1), have gone far towards explaining the origin of the Anesidora-type. The story shapes itself as follows. The ancients seem to have regarded the earliest agricultural operations of the year as a kind of *eocaiia*, by means of which the earth-powers were wakened from their winter’s sleep and summoned to help the farmer in his work. When
the _ager Tarquinianus_ was being ploughed and the furrow was driven deep, up came on a sudden Tages, a boy in appearance but an old man in wisdom, scared the ploughman and delivered his auguries to the Etruscans (Cic. _de div._ 2. 50, Ov. _met._ 15. 553 ff.: see Fig. 122.

Fig. 122.

further C. Pauli and W. Schultz in Roscher _Lex. Myth._ v. 3 ff.). Similarly in Greek belief, when the hard earth is broken up by men with mallets or mattocks,—and it must be remembered that the most primitive form of agriculture was _Hackbau_ (E. Hahn in M. Ebert _Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte_ Berlin 1926 v. 12 f. pl. 11)—up comes Mother Earth herself in answer to their summons. Her epiphany, though nowhere noted in literature, is given on a series of vases (C. Robert _Archaeologische Maerchen_ pl. 5,
But the Anesidora-cup is not the only witness. The fact is that from the beginning of the fifth century onwards classical art shows a well-marked tendency to bring together the craftsmen's god and the craftsmen's goddess. A fragmentary design from the outside of a red-figured kylix painted in the style of Euphronios (fig. 125) has Hephaistos seated with a phidyle in his right hand and a double axe or hammer in his left. By his side stands Athena with helmet, aigis, and spear. Her hair and bracelet, like his phidyle, are in gilded relief, and suggest that this is no trivial occasion. Equally impressive is the eastern frieze of the Parthenon (supra ii pl. xliii), which again shows Hephaistos seated, but this time with Athena seated too. He turns towards her, as Hera towards Zeus, the pre-Hellenic exactly balancing the Hellenic pair. A broken relief from Epidaurus, carved in Pentelic marble c. 400 B.C. and now preserved in the National Museum at Athens (fig. 126), has another masterly composition.

A, B, C). Of these I reproduce the earliest, a black-figured lekythos at Paris (De Ridder Cat. Vasen de la Bibl. Nat. i. 197 f. no. 398, Lenormant—de Witte Ét. mon. gr. i. 162 ff. pl. 52, Welcker Alt. Denkm. iii. 201 ff. pl. 15, i. W. Fröhner Les Musées de France Paris 1873 p. 72 (L) col. pl. 23 (= my fig. 121), which shows the head and lifted hands of Ge rising from the ground in response to the hammerers, and the most elaborate, a red-figured hydria in the Louvre (W. Fröhner Chois de Vases grecs inédits de la Collection du Prince Napoléon Paris 1867 p. 24 ff. pl. 6, id. Les Musées de France Paris 1873 p. 68 ff. col. pl. 21 = my fig. 123), which transforms the men with mallets into Silenoi with mattocks and makes Ge emerge from the broken soil as a great white head in three-quarter position, welcomed by a pair of hovering Erotes and a sudden growth of leaf and tendril. Such a scene could be easily re-interpreted as the making of a large female figure, cp. the title of Sophokles' Satyr-play Πανδώρη τη οφροποίου (Soph. frag. 441—445 Nauck2, 482—486 Jebb). It was in fact modified to express the making of Pandora out of earth (Hes. theog. 571 γαιῆς, o.δ. 61 γαιῶν δὲς φορῶν, 70 ἐκ γαίης) or clay (Soph. frag. 441 Nauck2, 482 Jebb καὶ πρῶτον ἔρχον πληθὸν ὑδάτων κρηστὶν, cp. Apollod. i. 7. 2 ἄθλος, Hyg. fab. 142 ex lato), as may be seen from a red-figured volute-krater at Oxford (P. Gardner in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1901 xxi. i ff. pl. 1 (= my fig. 124), J. E. Harrison Proleg. Gr. Rel.2 p. 280 ff. fig. 71, C. Robert in Hermes 1914 xlix. 17 ff. fig.), on which Pandora emerges from the ground quite in the manner of Ge, and her maker Epimetheus—a somewhat cynical doublet of Prometheus (supra i. 329 n. 4)—still holds a large-sized mallet; the hovering Eros marks Pandora as Epimetheus' bride. All the figures named on this vase, Zeus, Hermes, Epimetheus, Pandora are Hellenic. The British Museum kylix (pl. xxvii) is of interest because it transfers the Hellenic myth to the pre-Hellenic deities Athena and Hephaistos. In the process Pandora, re-named Anesidora, becomes less like the emergent Ge, while the gilded hammer of Hephaistos is less reminiscent of the countryman's rude tool.

1 L. Malten in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 348 cites in this connexion a black-figured sherd from the Akropolis at Athens noted by W. Dörpfeld in the Ath. Mitth. 1888 xiii. 104 f. But this is not ad rem: see Graef Ant. Vasen Athen p. 67 no. 601 b pl. 28 ('wahrscheinlich von einer Athenageburt').


Fig. 125.

Fig. 126.
Hephaistos and Athena

Hephaistos leaning on his staff presents a helmet to Athena, who stands before him in the pose of the Dresden 'Lemnia.' An archaistic relief from Greece now in the Jacobsen collection (fig. 127) repeats the motif of Hephaistos presenting the helmet, but combines him awkwardly enough with an Athena in the 'Promachos'-attitude. A fresh turn is given to the kaleidoscope by the artist who designed a well-known sarcophagus in the Villa Albani. A procession of deities bringing gifts for the marriage of Peleus and Thetis is.

Furtwängler took this relief to represent the Athena Lemnia of Pheidias receiving a helmet from Hephaistos the natural protector of Athenian kleruchoi in Lemnos. To account for the relief having been found at Epidauros, he suggested that it may have decorated the base of a stele bearing some decree of the said kleruchoi.

Reisch and Sauer regard the subject as reflecting the Hephaistos and Athena Hephaistia made by Alkamenes for the Hephaisteion (the so-called 'Theseion') at Athens. See further E. A. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 6 ff.

Löwy holds that the god is not Hephaistos at all, but a common type of Asklepios. He thinks that Athena, paying a friendly visit to Asklepios, here doffs her armour in token of the guest-friendship enjoyed by Athenians at Epidauros, while Asklepios extends his right hand towards her with a gesture of greeting (cp. an Attic relief of 398/7 B.C. published by P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1878 ii. 37 ff. pl. 10, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 145 fig. 71, E. Löwy in the text to *Einzelaufnahmen* v. 2 f. no. 1212). But the absence of a snake (unless indeed it was added in paint, which is just conceivable) tells heavily against the identification of the god as Asklepios (contrast e.g. Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* no. 2985 pl. 197, 1; and his right hand was certainly touching the helmet, not greeting the goddess.

Svoronos, ingenious as ever, agrees with Löwy in naming the god Asklepios, but argues that Athena is offering him her helmet and shield. In this we are to see a symbolic allusion to the events of the year 338 B.C., when Philip after the victory of Chaironeia marched against Sparta at the head of an irresistible force. In the nick of time Asklepios came to the rescue from Epidauros (Isyll. F 65 f. Powell, E 60 f. Diehl τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ <ἡ> λειβάτοις ἐκ 'Επιδαύρου | μιμὴ Ἡρακλῆσσε γενέσθαι | καὶ φθεῖσθαι θράυσις) and appeared to the boy Isyllos clad in golden armour (Isyll. F 68 f. Powell, E 63 f. Diehl τῶν τύχων παντελῶς συναντηθάντων σὺν ἰπτάσιον | ἱματίσματος ἅρματον, 'Ἀσκληπιᾶ). Svoronos surmises that Athens sent arms to Sparta through the agency of Epidauros, and that this relief was set up in Epidauros to commemorate the fact as soon as the death of Alexander made an anti-Macedonian dedication possible. Accordingly he would date the relief c. 322 B.C., comparing a very similar relief of that year (*Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 246 f. no. 1351 pl. 36, 1). The whole hypothesis is clever, but frail.

1 P. Arndt *La Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg* Munich 1896 p. 31 f. pl. 20, c (= my fig. 127), *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* i no. 35 pl. 3. E. Reich in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch.* Inst. 1898 i. 82.

Fig. 127.

Fig. 128.
headed by Hephaistos and Athena, the former bearing sword and shield, the latter helmet and spear. Since the whole composition is ingeniously built up of pre-existing types, we must suppose that Hephaistos and Athena as armourers were already sufficiently familiar. In this capacity we can trace them further afield. Crude provincial reliefs from Heddernheim (figs. 128, 129) show a group...
Hephaistos and Athena

of three standing deities—Volcanus with Minerva at his right hand and Mercurius at his left—surmounted by busts representing the days of the week. Volcanus is here possibly a Roman substitute for Donar, Minerva for Holda, Mercurius for Wodan. In any case Volcanus and Minerva patronise arts and crafts, while Mercurius encourages trade. A contrast to these poor efforts is provided by the handsome numismatic types of Rome and Romanised Greece. Magnificent medallions issued by Antoninus Pius in his own name

(fig. 130) and in that of his wife Faustina the Elder portray the ambitious scene of Hephaistos forging a thunderbolt for the Thunderer's daughter. She stands before him, her right hand outstretched to take the bolt, her left resting on her hip. Behind

der antiken Welt Berlin 1902 p. 233 f. with figs. 25 (= my fig. 128) and 26 (= my fig. 129), Reinach Rép. Reliefs iii. 526 no. 4, 528 no. 8, Germania Romana Bamberg 1922 p. xvi pl. 53, 3.

1 Supra ii. 69 f.
2 Supra ii. 63 n. 1. But see on the other side G. Wissowa in Roscher Lex. Myth. vi. 367.
3 Supra ii. 65, 66 n. o, 94 n. 1.
her we perceive shield, snake, and olive-tree—the insignia of the Athenian goddess. Another medallion of Antoninus Pius (fig. 131)\(^1\), followed by imperial coins of Samos\(^2\), Thyateira (fig. 132)\(^3\), and Magnesia ad Maeandrum\(^4\), harks back to older models by combining the pillar of the Parthenos with the helmet of the 'Lemnia.' Yet another of Antoninus' numerous medallions (fig. 133)\(^5\) shows Hephaistos holding a hammer and forging a shield on his anvil. Before him is a helmet set on a tall cippus, behind him a shield, and in the background uplifted on a pedestal the statue of Athena Parthenos. Finally, a white paste of the Graeco-Roman period (s.i B.C.—s.i A.D.) now at Berlin has the head of Hephaistos eclipsing that of Athena, both heads being in profile on disks resembling coins\(^6\).

**Fig. 131.**

**Fig. 132.**

**Fig. 133.**

Of greater importance than these artistic variations of a common theme is the evidence supplied by definite religious usage. Hephaistos and Athena appear to have had a joint festival, the Chalkeia, on the last day of Pyanopsion\(^7\) at the very beginning of

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1 Fröhner *Med. emp. rom.* p. 51 fig., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.* ii. 384 f. no. 1144 fig. (= my fig. 131).
2 Head *Hist. num.* ii p. 606.
5 Fröhner *Med. emp. rom.* p. 63 f. fig., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.* ii. 387 f. no. 1155 fig., Gnecci *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 18 no. 82 (152 A.D.) pl. 53, 7 (= my fig. 133).
7 Harpokr. s.v. *Hephaistos* (...) Ἀθηναίωσ < τῇ 'Αθηναίωσ (ins. Meursius)> ἅγους πανανθεόνων ἕνα καὶ νέα, χειρώσας κοινή, μάλης δὲ χαλέυειν, ως φοῖν Ἀπολλόνιος ὥστε Ἀρχαῖος (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 313 Müller, Apollonios of Acharnai (c. 100 B.C. according to E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 134 no. 72) περὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκτὸς frag. 3 (Tresp *Frag. gr. Kultschr.* p. 99 f.)). 'Ἀθηναίων φοῖν ἄγεσθαι τὴν κορνὴν ἀλλ' Πηλαῦνι (Phanodemos (on whom see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* München 1920 ii. 1. 110 frag. 72 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 369 Müller)).

14—2
Hephaistos and Athena

winter. Apollonios of Acharnai, a writer on Athenian festivals, states that the rite was observed by all the craftsmen, especially the coppersmiths, of Athens. Souidas remarks that some called it the Athenaia, while others described it as a festival of the whole folk. It was, he adds, an ancient festival once celebrated by all the people, which had come to be viewed as an affair of the artisans only, since Hephaistos had wrought bronze in Attike. Phanodemos the Atticist even denied that Athena had any part or lot in it. But here, as V. von Schoeffer points out, he must have been mistaken, for this was the day on which the priestesses with the Arrhephoroi began to weave Athena's peplos. Moreover, we have no sufficient

[Diagrams: Fig. 134, Fig. 135]

monn. gr. 1 pl. 6, 194 (= my fig. 134), id. Monn. gr. p. 413 no. 157, Weber Cat. Coins iii. 2 no. 7181 pl. 256) or CVNNA ΔΕΩΝ Amaltheia holding infant Zeus with goat at her feet (Imhoof-Blumer Monn. gr. p. 413 no. 158) and imperial bronze coins of the same town with rev. Zeus enthroned with Nike in right hand and sceptre in left ΠΕΥΣΠΑΝΔΗΜΟΣ ΕΥΝΝΔΕΩΝ (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia p. 399 no. 39 Domitian (= my fig. 135 from a cast)), ZΕVCC ΠΑΝΑΘ[MON] ΚVNΝΑΔΕΩΝ Ν (Imhoof-Blumer Kleinas. Münzen i. 294 no. 14 Nerva, now at Berlin), or ΔΙΑ ΠΑΝΔΗΜΟΝ ΕΥΝΝΑΕΙΔΙΟΝ Ν (Mionnet Descr. de méd. ant. iv. 368 no. 987 Nerva) or ΕΥΝΝΑΕΙΔΙΟΝ (id. ibid. and Suppl. vii. 632 no. 593 Nerva, after D. Sentini Descrizione di altre monete greche del Museo del Signore Carlo d'Ottavio Fontana di Trieste Firenze 1839 ii. 80. For the legend see supra ii. 950 f. fig. 842 ΔΙΑ ΙΔΑΙΟΝ ΙΛΕΙΟ) (Mionnet Descr. de méd. ant. iv. 368 no. 987 Nerva) or ΕΥΝΝΑΕΙΔΙΟΝ (id. ibid. and Suppl. vii. 632 no. 593 Nerva, after D. Sentini Descrizione di altre monete greche del Museo del Signore Carlo d'Ottavio Fontana di Trieste Firenze 1839 ii. 80. For the legend see supra ii. 950 f. fig. 842 ΔΙΑ ΙΔΑΙΟΝ ΙΛΕΙΟ)

1 See the diagram supra i. 691 fig. 511.
3 Cp. Poll. 7. 159 Χαλκεία ἀρχὴ ἐν τῇ Αττικῇ Ἡφαίστου λεπτ.
4 V. von Schoeffer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 1067.
5 Souid. s.v. Χαλκεία bις (cited supra p. 212 n. o) = et. mag. p. 805, 46 f.
reason to doubt Souidas' statement that the festival itself was sometimes called the Atheniaia. Indeed, a fragmentary inscription found on the Akropolis might be held to connect the goddess with the Chalkeia. On the whole we are justified in concluding that the festival was common to both deities, but that Hephaistos bulked bigger at it than Athena. En revanche, in the Erechtheion, where Athena Polias had the whole of the eastern chamber, Hephaistos was content with a mere altar. The two obtained full and equal recognition in the Hephaisteion on the Market Hill, at the foot of which the copper smiths plied their trade. A decree of the year 421/0 B.C. concerning the celebration of the Hephaistia mentions the sanctuary "of Hephaistos and Athenaia" and enacts "that the Council set up 'the altar for Hephaistos' and 'make his' statue."
Hephaistos and Athena

His statue must be taken to include the whole cult-monument; for another decree\(^1\) has preserved the accounts of a state-commission appointed in the self-same year and charged with the duty of erecting two statues on a single base in the Hephaistion, which statues—it would seem—were completed four years later in 416. The accounts specify a great quantity of bronze as purchased for the

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2 ευστάται ἁγιασμοῦ ἐστὶ τὸ Ἑρμομάτων (list of names). No. 371, 2 Ἀχαλίτως ἑσπερι[τ] — — τάλα-
αρτα — — | καλέσι καὶ ἀνωθεν δή[ξ]. τῷ μέ [τὸ ταλάστρο τρι]άκοντα πέντε δραχμαί. || κατά
τεροι ἑσπέρι[τ] ἐστὶ τὸ ἄνθεμο[ν] τάλαστρον λόγον. καὶ ἑμιτάλαστον καὶ μακρά ἑκοῖ[τ] ἤρετ καὶ] | ἡμι-
μαυεῖ, τὸ τάλαστρον διακόσιον μιᾶκ[όστα δραχμαί. τιμέ. νασαί] || μαθώ τοῦ ἐργασαμέρου τὸ
ἀν[θέμον ἄστερό| τὴν ἀστί[δα καὶ τὸν] τεταρτὸν τὸν ἅ[φεγ]έρων | προορισμοῦντον. || μόλυβδος
tὰ ἄνθεμοι καὶ τοῖς δεσμοῖς τῶν | λίθον τὸ βάθρο, κρατεῖται δόξει, τιμέ.] || χρῆλα καὶ ἄνθρακς
tοὺς νεῖσι. || κ.τ.λ.
Hephaistos and Athena

215

statues and note that tin was bought for 'the floral ornament (anthemon) beneath the shield.' Hence E. Reisch\(^1\) concludes that the statues in question were two bronze effigies of Hephaistos and Athena. Further, since a famous statue of Hephaistos, standing and so draped as to minimise his lameness, is known to have been made for Athens by Alkamenes\(^2\), and since Athena with her shield supported on a floral ornament is a type existing in several replicas\(^3\) which are held to reflect more or less closely the style of that great sculptor, Reisch not unreasonably attributes the whole group to him\(^4\). B. Sauer\(^5\), accepting these results, goes further and attempts a restoration on paper (fig. 136), which may at least give us some notion of Alkamenes' group. Athena thus linked with Hephaistos came

\(^{1}\) E. Reisch loc. cit. p. 56 ff.
\(^{2}\) Cic. de nat. deor. 1. 83, Val. Max. 8. 11. ext. 3.
\(^{3}\) E.g. the Athena of the Musée Cherchel (Reisch loc. cit. p. 64 ff. fig. 33), the Athena from Crete in the Louvre (id. ib. p. 72 f. fig. 35), the Athena of the Villa Borghese (id. ib. p. 74 ff. fig. 36).
\(^{4}\) E. Reisch in the Eranos Vindobonensis Wien 1893 p. 21, id. 'Athene Hephaistia' in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1898 i. 55—93 with pl. 3 and figs. 32—38.
\(^{5}\) B. Sauer Das sogenannte Theseion Leipzig 1899 p. 246 ff. ('Rekonstruktion') with fig. on p. 250 (= my fig. 136).
to be called by the curious\(^1\) appellation \textit{Hephaistia}\(^2\). In 343/2 B.C. Phanodemos son of Dyllos, jealous as ever for the credit of Hephaistos\(^3\), proposed a decree\(^4\) which directed that a certain 'statue be dedicated to Hephaistos and to Athena \textit{Hephaistia}. After this we hear no more of the temple-deities for a good five hundred years. But they were still there in Pausanias\(^5\) time:

'Above the Kerameikos and the King's Portico as they term it is a temple of Hephaistos. Knowing the tale told about Erichthonios, I was not surprised to find that a statue of Athena stands beside the god; but observing that her statue has glaucous eyes I recognised the myth as Libyan. For the Libyans say that she is a daughter of Poseidon and the lake Tritonis and that therefore her eyes are glaucous like Poseidon's.'

A bronze statue might, as Reisch\(^6\) suggests, have had eyes inlaid with silver; more probably they were of precious stone\(^7\) or vitreous

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1. E. A. Gardner in the \textit{Journ. Hell. Stud.} 1899 xix. 8 n. 1: 'It has been suggested to me by Mr G. F. Hill that Athena Hepaestia is a title very difficult to parallel in Greek mythology, if the name be derived directly from Hephaestus; such epithets are more commonly local in origin, and this one suggests Hephaestia in Lemnos, where there was a prominent cult of the goddess, attested by coins, and where she was associated in worship with Hephaestus. He further suggests that the famous Athena Lemnia of Phidias, whose association with Athenian cleruchs is a mere conjecture, was but another form of this Athena Hephaestia. In both alike the goddess was represented in her more peaceful aspect, as patroness of art and handicraft. The suggestion of a Lemnian association is peculiarly appropriate in a work attributed to Alcamenes, who was himself a Lemnian.'

A parallel to Athena \textit{Hephaestia} is Herakles \textit{Hephaistos} (Hesych. \textit{Hephaistos}. \textit{Hephaestos}). Cf. perhaps Hera \textit{Ephoria} (\textit{supra} i. 532).

2. Hesych. \textit{Hephaestia}. \textit{Athena}, καὶ τόξο τῆς Δήμου. E. Reisch \textit{loc. cit.} p. 89 ff. fig. 38 (= my fig. 137) recognised the appellative on the fragment of a painted terra-cotta πίνακας from Athens, now at Berlin (Furtwängler \textit{Vasensamml. Berlin} ii. 784 f. no. 2759, O. Benndorf \textit{Griechische und sicilische Vasenbilder} Berlin (1868) p. 18 ff. pl. 4, 2, Wien. \textit{Vorlegebl.} iii pl. 2, 3), which dates from the latter part of 3. v B.C. and is inscribed ο\textit{H}Ω\textit{H}Α\textit{N}Α\textit{IA}: Η\textit{ΦΑ}[\textit{ΣΙ}Τ\textit{ΙΑ}].

3. \textit{Supra} p. 211 n. 7.


5. Paus. i. 14. 6.


7. Pheidias made the pupils of Athena \textit{Parthénos} in precious stone (Plat. \textit{Hipp. mai.} 290 c τοῦ θεοῦ \textit{θηκα}, 
φοίνικι, οὗ καὶ τὰ μέσα τῶν χειμῶν ἔλθον εἰρήκατο, ἀλλὰ λίθων, ὡς οὖν τὸν θεοῦτα τοῦ λίθου τὸ \textit{διάφανο} ἐξερήμων), and his pupil Alcamenes may well have followed suit. The bronze statuette of a \textit{kôre} from Verona (height, without pedestal, 6 inches) in the British Museum (\textit{Brit Hist. Cat. Bronzes} p. 17 no. 192 pl. 1. A. S. Murray \textit{Greek Bronzes} London 1898 p. 38 pl. 1 Frontispiece, H. B. Walters \textit{British Museum}:
Select Bronzes London 1915 pi. 2 with text), archaistic rather than archaic (Miss G. M. A. Richter The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks Yale University Press 1929 p. 137 with fig. 523, Miss W. Lamb Greek and Roman Bronzes London 1929 p. 223 pl. 88, a), has the pupils of her eyes inlaid with crystals of diamond, though the date of their insertion is now regarded as doubtful. I take this opportunity of publishing another small bronze (height 6½ inches) in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 175 f. no. 960 'Poseidon Hippios'), formerly in the Blacas collection. It represents Poseidon, laureate, with a chlamys over his left arm and a horse's head on his right hand. His left hand may have held a trident with the prongs downwards. The pupils of his eyes are garnets. My fig. 138 is from a photograph taken for me by Mr W. H. Hayles. See also Plin. nat. hist. 37. 66 ferunt in ea insula (sc. Cypro) tumulo reguli Hermiae iuxta cetarias marmoreo
Hephaistos and Athena

One last allusion to Hephaistos and his partner is made two hundred and fifty years later by Saint Augustine. After detailing the story of Erichthonios, the reputed child of Hephaistos and Athena, he continues:

‘But it must be admitted that men of learning deny the charge and wholly exonerate their gods. They say this fanciful tale arose from the fact that in the temple at Athens, which is shared by Hephaistos and Athena, an exposed boy was found with a snake coiled about him. The snake signified that he would be famous. Accordingly, since the parents were unknown, his discovery in the joint temple led to him being called the son of Hephaistos and Athena. Yet,’ adds Augustine with a sudden flash of shrewdness, ‘it is the mythical fancy rather than the alleged fact that accounts for the child’s name.’

There is little doubt that the myth of Erichthonios, whenever and wherever it originated, had as early as the fifth century B.C. become attached to the Hephaisteion. Variations on the type of Athena Hephaistia represent the goddess with a kindly maternal air, either bearing a basket from which a snake creeps over her bosom (fig. 139), or dandling the infant on her arm (fig. 140). The myth itself—a crude, not to say ugly, narrative—is told as follows by Apollodoros:

‘Some state that he (sc. Erichthonios) was a son of Hephaistos and Aththis, daughter of Kranos; others, that he was a son of Hephaistos and Athena on this wise. Athena came to Hephaistos, wanting him to make weapons. But he, being forsaken by Aphrodite, fell in love with Athena and began to pursue her. Thereupon she fled from him. And he, when he drew near to her with much
Hephaistos and Athena

Fig. 139 - Fig. 140.
Hephaistos and Athena

ado (for he was lame), attempted to consort with her. But she, being a chaste virgin, would not brook it, and he dropped his seed on the leg of the goddess. In disgust thereat she wiped off the seed with wool and flung it on the earth. So as she fled and the seed fell upon the earth Erichthonios was born.¹

This narrative, as appears from a scholion on the Iliad², was drawn from the Hekale of Kallimachos². Its far-fetched etymology is characteristic of the Alexandrine school. An older version, which involves a somewhat less fantastic étymon, is attributed by Eratosthenes³ to Euripides⁴, who certainly had leanings toward sophistic mythology⁵:

'With regard to the birth of Erichthonios, Euripides tells the following tale. Hephaistos being in love with Athena was minded to unite with her. But she turned her back upon him and, choosing rather to keep her virginity, hid herself in a certain spot of Attike⁶, which they say was called after him Hephaistégon. He, thinking to master her by assault, was struck by her spear and let drop his desire, the seed falling on the earth. Therefrom, they say, was born a child, who for this reason was called Erichthonios.'

The three derivations of the name Erichthonios, which connected it successively with éros 'love,' érion 'wool,' and éris 'strife,' are of course all wrong. But their very variety proves that they are not an essential element in the tale. It existed before them; for one of the scenes represented by Bathykles the Magnesian on the throne of Apollo at Amyklai is described by Pausanias as 'Athena fleeing from Hephaistos, who is pursuing her.'⁸ Bathykles made the throne

¹ Schol. A. D. lI. 2. 547.
³ Pseudo-Eratosth. catast. 13 λέγει δὲ καὶ Εὔριπίδης περὶ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ τῶν τρίσεων τούτων: Ἕφαστος ἑρωθέτα Ἀθηνᾶς βουλεύοντα αὐτῇ μιμῆσαι, τὴν δὲ ἀποτρεψών καὶ τὴν παρθέναν μάλλον αἱρομένην θα τῷ τόπῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς κρύπτοντα, διὸ λέγουσι καὶ ἄν ἐκείνου προσαγωγεῖται Ἑφαστείος (so F. C. Matthiae, followed by A. Olivieri, for Ἡφαστείον codd. C. G. Heyne cJ. Ἡφαιστείον οὐ Ἡφαίστου) δὲ (C. Robert cf. διὰν A. Nauck cJ. δὲ δῦνα αὕτην κρατήσει καὶ ἐπιθέμενος πληγείς οὕτω αὐτῇ τῷ δόρῳ ἁρθήνε τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, φορεῖν ἓν τὴν γιὰ τὴν σπέτας· Εἶ δὲ γεγενήθαι λέγουσι παίδα, δὲ ἐκ τούτου Ἐριχθέον ἐκλήθη, κ.τ.λ.
⁵ Supra p. 94 f.
⁶ J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly — Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 441 would identify the spot as Marathon on the strength of Nonn. Dion. 27. 317 ff. καὶ ὁ, τελεστήνων φιλοτάραν μυρίαν Γάλης, προμίστῃ, Ἡφαίστε, καὶ οἷς ἀλέγεις Μαραθῶνος. ἢ χάεις αὐξάνου γάμου σελας;
⁷ Supra p. 181 n. 1.
⁸ Paus. 3. 18. 13 καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ διάκριτα ἀποφεύγουσα ἐστὶν Ἡφαίστων.
Hephaistos and Athena

perhaps in the middle of the sixth century B.C.', perhaps rather in its last quarter', and we have here either—as C. Robert suggested—the record of an ancient Ionic myth concerning Hephaistos' love for Athena or—as L. Malten contends—the first appearance of the Attic myth in which Erichthonios figured as the earthborn offspring of Hephaistos' frustrate desire. Bathykles' design certainly included Hephaistos and Athena; but it hardly justifies us in inferring the Erichthonios-sequel. Athena pursued by Hephaistos was a sixth-century motif, which seems for some time to have existed independently and later to have been supplemented by the episode of Erichthonios. Thus an early red-figured amphora from Bologna (fig. 141) has on the one side Athena pursued by Hephaistos, on the other a bearded male with a long sceptre—presumably Zeus. But Lucian describes a picture in which 'Hephaistos in love is pursuing Athena, she is fleeing from him, and

Fig. 141.

1 Frazer Pausanias iii. 351.
4 L. Malten in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 349.
5 A. Zannoni Gli Scavi della Certosa di Bologna Bologna 1876 p. 353 pl. 102, 5 (shape of 'anforetta'), 6 (obverse), 7 (reverse) (of which, 6 and 7 = my fig. 141). Obv.: Hephaistos, clad in a chlamys, pursues Athena, who is wearing her aigis and holds her spear in the right hand, her helmet in the left. Rev.: a bearded male figure ('Giove?') standing to the right with a long staff or sceptre.
from his pursuit Erichthonios is born. Elsewhere he insists that the pantomime must be familiar with the whole range of Attic mythology—"all that is told of Athena, all that is told of Hephaistos and Erichthonios, etc. The attempt of Hephaistos on Athena might no doubt shock those who worshipped the Virgin goddess, and that sufficiently accounts for the evasive versions of Euripides and Kallimachos. But mythological apologists had facile answers to all questionings. Athena had been given to Hephaistos but had vanished at the critical moment. Athena was Hephaistos' reward for freeing Hera from the magic throne that he had made. Athena was the price paid by Zeus to Hephaistos for his manufacture of the thunderbolt, or for his services in cleaving the celestial head.

1 Loukian. de domo 27 είτα μετά πάντων ἄλλη 'Αθηνᾶ, οὐ λίθος αὐτὴ γε ἄλλα γραφὴ πάλιν. ὁ Παυσανίας διὰ τοὺς ἀρχγ. ἢ δὲ φιλοξενεῖ, κακῇ τῆς διάβολος Ἔριχθονίου γίγνεται.

2 Loukian. de salt. 39 καὶ δεῖ περὶ ' Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ δεῖ περὶ Ἡρακλείου καὶ Ἐριχθόνιου, κ.τ.λ.


4 Hyg. fab. 166 Vulcanus lovi e[a]terisque diis solia aurea (so J. Scheffer for soleas aureas cod. F. T. Muncker cj. also sellas aureas) ex (J. Perizonius cj. nexa) ademantum cum fecisset, luno cum sedisset subito in aër pendere coepit. quod cum ad Vulcanum missum esset, ut matrem quam ligaverat solveret, iratus quod de coelo praecipitatus erat negat se matrem ullam habere. quern cum Liber pater ebrium in concilio (B. Bunte cj. concilium) deorum adduxisset, pietati negare non potuit: tum optionem a love accepti, si quid ab is petitisset, impetraret. tunc ergo Neptunus, quod Minervae erat infestus, instigavit Vulcanum Minervam petere in coniugium. qua re impetrata in thalamum cum venisset, Minerva monitu lovis virginitatem suam armis defendit, interque luctandum ex semine eius quod in terram decidit natus est puer, qui inferiorem partem draconis habuit; quern Erichthonium ideo nominarunt, quod ἔρις Graece certatio dicitur, ἔρις autem terra dicitur. etc.

5 Fulgent. myth. 2. 11 Vulcanus cum Iovi fulmen praebuit et ille Minervam in coniugium petit; Iuppiter imperavit ut Minerva armis virginitatem defendisset. dumque cubiculum introirent, certando Vulcanus semen in pavimentum iecit; unde natus est Erictonius (ericthonius codd. R. D. G.) cum draconibus pedibus (only in cod. Marc.); eris enim Graece certamen dicitur, cithara autem terram dicitur. etc.

6 Et. mag. 371, 35 ff. ὅ τε Ζεὺς βουλόμενος ἀποκείμενος εἴτε τὸν ἔρικελόν αὐτοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔθετεν συνεργοῦ τοῦ πλήρους τὴν κεφαλὴν ἵνα ἀποκυψῇ (so F. Syllburg ἀποκυψῇ codd.) χαὶ δὲ λόγος προφέρει τῇ Ἡρακλείῳ τῆι ὁποίᾳ, ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας οὖς ἀλώνιος εἴτε σχειρὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ ὄμος, ἐκ τῆς τὴν γεννημένην διαπαιπαίης. χαὶ ἤφαγεν ὁ Ζεὺς. καὶ λαβὼν τὴν βουκλήτηρα τῆι τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔξεχε σῇ Ἡρακλείῳ, καὶ ἐπεδίωκες αὐτὴν ὁ Παυσανίας ὑπαγόμενος καὶ ἐπεδίωκες ἔπιστρεφομεν τῶν μηροῦ τῆς ' Ἁθηνᾶς. χαὶ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ λαβὼν ἐρώτησε εἴτε το σέρρεια καὶ ἐξαίρετο εἰς τῇ γῆι καὶ ἐξέφυγεν εἰκ τῇ γῆι καὶ τοῦ ἔρως ἄνθρωπος δρακόντων, χαὶ ἐκαίετο Ἔριχθονίου ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔρως καὶ τῆι χειρος λαμψά τὸ δόμα τοῦτο—Nonnos Abbas in Greg. Naz. c. Julian. 2. 27 (xxxvi. 1550 Migne) printed as Append. narr. 3 p. 359, 24 ff. Westermann=Eudok. viol. 1. The theme is first handled by Loukian. dial. deorv. 8 δύτη, ὁ Ζεὺς, παλαιρμὸς μοι ἀπὸδος ἔγγυνης ἄνὴρ ἀνθρωπος κ.τ.λ.
Such explanations are the expiring efforts of the mythopoeic mind; but at least they imply that there was something to be explained. And that something was the startlingly blasphemous, but ancient, orthodox, and wholly irrepressible, conviction that Hephaistos was the mate of Athena.

Now the pairing of Hephaistos with Athena has often been regarded as a mere juxtaposition of two deities drawn together by their common patronage of the arts and crafts. And doubtless that community of interest did much to strengthen their union. But the root of the matter goes deeper. When we remember that the grouping together of these two occurs already in Homeric verse and Hesiodic myth, that it is attested by the ancient pandemic festival of the Chalkeia, that it produced the Hephaisteion, one of the noblest fifth-century buildings of Athens, and finally that the cult-statues of Hephaistos and Athena Hephaistia, in all probability the work of Alkamenes, were there worshipped side by side for more than half a millennium, it becomes increasingly difficult to resist the impression that in the remote prehistoric past Hephaistos and Athena were simply husband and wife.

1 See e.g. Harrison Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath. p. 119 f., F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 1991, Farnell Cults of Gk. States v. 377 (a more cautious statement: 'his association in Attica with Athena, which may have been devised originally to connect some prominent tribe that worshipped him with the national religious polity, was regarded as the natural fellowship of the divinities of art').
2 Supra p. 200 f.
3 Supra p. 201.
4 Supra p. 211 ff.
5 Supra p. 213 f.
7 Supra p. 215.
8 Supra p. 218.

Ancient systematisers declared that the first Apollon was the son of Hephaistos by Athena (Cic. de nat. deor. 3. 55 Vulcani item complures: primus Caelo natus, ex quo et
224 Hephaistos and Athena

My own opinion—if I may be allowed to state it with dogmatic brevity—is this. The Akropolis at Athens was originally called Athēne, a place-name comparable with the pre-Greek Mykēne, Pallēne, Mitylēne, Priēne, etc. The old singular Athēne, thanks to its locativa form *Athenai, gave rise to the new plural Athēnai, just as Mykēne came to be replaced by Mykēnai or Thēbe (Thebaigenēs) by Thēbai. The goddess was named Athēne like the rock, because at the outset she was the rock, a mountain-mother of the usual Anatolian sort. In classical times her motherhood, at first perhaps compatible with renewed virginity, had passed into perpetual maidenhood. But the Elean women, tenacious of archaic beliefs, when their land was bereft of men, prayed that they might conceive so soon as they met their husbands, and on their prayer being heard


2 So K. F. Johansson in the Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen 1888 xiii. 111 ff. followed by K. Brugmann Griechische Grammatik München 1890 p. 122. Particular points are criticised by L. Grasberger Studien zu den griechischen Ortsnamen Würzburg 1888 p. 147 ff. and F. Solmsen in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 1893 x iii. 521 n. 1, while A. Thumb in K. Brugmann Griechische Grammatik München 1913 p. 267 pronounces the whole contention 'sehr unsicher.' But the principle seems sound and is of wide application. Examples near at hand are Coton (W. W. Skeat The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire Cambridge 1901 p. 8: probably 'A. S. cotum, dative pl. of cot, a cottage...the prep. at (the) being understood') and Newnham (id. ib. p. 22 and J. B. Johnston The Place-Names of England and Wales London 1915 p. 380 f.: 'an O.E. dat., “at the new home”').

3 Hera recovered her virginity every year by bathing in the spring Kanathos near Nauplia (Paus. 2. 38. 2 with Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner ad loc.). It was perhaps with the same intention that the Argive women once a year took the image of Athena and the shield of Diomedes (Pallădon) to the river Inachos and washed them there (Kallim. lavacr. Pall. i ff. with schol. on lines 1 and 37). On the Athenian Plyteria as implying a λέπος γυναικός of Athena see the important discussion by E. Fehrle Die heidnische Kastheits im Altertum Giessen 1910 pp. 171—177. P. Saintyves Les Vierges Mères et les Naissances Miraculeuses Paris 1908 pp. 1—280 ignores the topic.

4 Cp. supra ii. 823 n. 1 (Plout. quaestt. Gr. 36).
Votive relief in island marble, found on the Akropolis at Athens: a husband, with his wife and three children, brings a sow for sacrifice to Athena.

See page 225 n. 1.
Hephaistos and Athena

founded a sanctuary of Athena Meter. And at Athens, though Athena was Parthenos, yet even in the Parthenon her cult-image with its snakes and its pillar was, as we have seen, distinctly

1 Paus. 5. 3. 2. Farnell Cults of Gr. States i. 303 comments: 'Athena Meter need mean little more than Athena the nurse or fosterer of children, just as the nurses who reared the infant Zeus in Crete were worshipped under the name of Matar (Diod. Sic. 4. 79). But see K. B. Stark in the Mem. d. Inst. 1865 ii. 243—275 and Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1206 n. 2, who cite Nonn. Dion. 48. 91 ff. (Dionysos entrusts the babe Baxhos or Iakchos, one of the twins borne him by Aura, to Athena as nurse) λαβὼν δὲ μὲν ὑφώθη δίφωρον νύστοις εἰδέναι Βάκχος ἐπώομαν ναὶ τοκῷ. | Ἀθηνία μοντιτόλῳ παρακάτω Βάκχος Ἀθηνή. | Ἑδοι πατητάζοντα: θελὲ δὲ μὲν ἐνδοθογόρῳ Παλλᾶς ἀνωμεῖρῳ θεολόγμου δέξατο κόλπῳ. | παῦλο πάρα μαζὶ δρέξε, τὴν ἑσπερᾶς μοῦν' Ἑρεθείτης, | αὐγογονὸν στέρνον νόθον γλάγος ὑμακκί μαζὶ καὶ Dion Cass. 59. 28 (Caligula named Caesonia's daughter Drusilla) ητῖ τὸν Καστυλώνον ἀνήγαγε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων γυνῶν ὡς καὶ παιδί ἀνέθη ὀδον ἀνθρηκαί, καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνῇ τηρήθηναι παραγγέλοντο. An Etruscan statuette of a winged Athena carries a naked infant (infra § 9 (h) ii (L)).

H. von Prot's dictum in the Archiv f. Rel. 1906 ix. 87 'Die Akropolis-Athena ist Meter, ihr Opfertier eine trächtige Sau' is justified by an early (first quarter of s. v B.C.) votive relief of island marble, found to the east of the Parthenon (G. Dickins Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum Cambridge 1912 i. 118 ff. no. 581 fig., B. Stues in the Εφ. Αργ. 1886 pp. 179—182 pl. 9, Collignon Histoire de la Sculpture, gr. i. 380 f. with fig. 166, Perrot—Chipiez Histoire de l'Art viii. 618 ff. with fig. 314, E. Pfuhl in the Ath. Mitth. 1923 xviii. 131—136 fig. 4), in which a family of husband, wife (pregnant), and three children (one holding a round object, perhaps a disk or aστίσθων) bring a sow (Farnell Cults of Gr. States i. 290, P. Baur in Philologus 1899—1901 Suppl. viii. 484, 499, O. Walter Beschreibung der Reliefs im Klein Akropolismuseum in Athen Wien 1913 p. 34 f. no. 48, cp. p. 70 f. no. 120 (f) for sacrifice to an archaistic Athena (helmet carved, crest painted). K. Lehmann-Hartleben 'Athena als Geburtsgöttin' in the Archiv f. Rel. 1906 xxv. 19—28 fig. 1 (=my pl. xxviii)—an interesting article to which my attention was drawn by Mr A. D. Nock—concludes: 'Es handelt sich also offenbar um einen Bittgang für eine bevorstehende Geburt.' O. Weireich ib. p. 28 acutely suggests that the 'foolish stories' told by Euhemeros and Varro with regard to the proverb τὴν Ἀθηνὰ, σὺς Μινερβαν (Fest. p. 310 ὄ 18 ff. Müller, p. 408, 14 ff. Lindsay) in reality gave the atrhos for a pig-sacrifice to Athena.

In this connexion it may be noticed that Niket. Chon. 359 B p. 739 Bekker says of a colossal statue in the Forum of Constantine at Constantinople—a statue almost certainly to be identified with the Bronze Athena of Pheidias (W. Gurlitt 'Die grosse ehernen Athena des Pheidias' in Analecta Graeciana Graz 1893 pp. 101—121. E contra S. Reinach in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1907 xx. 399—417)—εἴπε δὲ κατί τοῖς στέρων ὀμφάλων πρὸς τουκάκια ἀγάλματοι ἐπώομα. Athena is ὀμφάλορινοι in many archaising reliefs and vase-paintings (e.g. supra pl. xxviii, E. Schmidt Archaische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom München 1922 pl. 8, 1—3, pl. 9, 3, Mon. d. Inst. x pls. 47 a, 47 c, 47 f, 47 g, 48 a), markedly so on certain large flat gems of the Augustan period—where however her full breast is a late Aphroditesque modification rather than an early maternal trait (i) a sardonyx at Florence (Reinach Pierrre gravées p. 61 no. 55, 1 pl. 61, Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i pl. 39, 29 (=my fig. 144 from a cast), ii. 188 ('Der Kopf ist ohne Helm' is wrong; the helmet imitates chevelure), Lippold Gemmen p. 170 (same mistake) pl. 21, 9; (2) a brown sard formerly in the Marlborough collection (Reinach Pierees gravées p. 117 no. 6 pl. 113, Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i pl. 65, 24 (=my fig. 145), ii. 300).

2 Supra p. 189. Note also the part played by the priestess, apparently impersonating the goddess, at Athens (Soud. 8. v. aijís ... ἣ δὲ ἱερεία Ἀθηνᾶς τὴν ἱεράν αἰγίδα φέρονα πρὸς τὰς νεογάμους έλεγχοτα—Zonar. lex. 8. v. aijís ... ἥ δὲ ἱερεία Ἀθηνᾶς τὴν ἱεράν αἰγίδα φέρονα τοὺς νεογάμους έλεγχοτα, cp. Plout. cent. 2. 21 not. crit. [ἡ γαλή] ἱερεία τὴν ἱεράν C. III. 15
Hephaistos and Athena

reminiscent of a 'Minoan' mother-goddess. Indeed, when Alexander the Great struck his magnificent gold coins (figs. 142, 143) showing the head of Athena with a coiled snake on its helmet, we may detect a last unconscious echo of the Cretan goddess with a snake twined about her head-dress. What the name *Athēne* actually meant, we do not know and it is idle to guess. But if any reliance may be placed on Kretschmer's ingenious comparisons, the word was Pelasgian or Tyrsenian and probably hailed from Asia Minor.

Fig. 142. Fig. 143.

Hephaistos too appears to have been Pelasgian or Tyrsenian. The two chief centres of his worship on Greek soil were admittedly Lemnos and Athens, both at one time in Pelasgian occupation.

Fig. 144. Fig. 145.

Words in square brackets added from cod. A): *supra* i. 14 n. 1.

1 *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 296 ff. nos. 4—7 pl. 21, 2 distatera, nos. 8—22, 24—35 pl. 21, 3 f. stateres, no. 36 f. pl. 21, 5 quarter-statares, *McClean Cat. Coins* i. 51 ff. no. 3424 pl. 125, 1 distateron, nos. 3405—3408 pl. 125, 2—5 stateres, no. 3410 f. pl. 125, 7 f. quarter-statares, *Weber Cat. Coins* ii. 57 ff. nos. 2073—2078, 2080 pl. 79 statares, nos. 2072, 2079 pl. 79 quarter-statares, G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 103 ff. no. 58 pl. 7 statér. Figs. 142 and 143 are from specimens in my collection.

*Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 298 no. 23 and *McClean Cat. Coins* i. 52 no. 3409 pl. 125, 6 stateres have a griffin in place of the serpent. *Head Hist. num.* p. 256 says 'serpent, griffin, or sphinx.'

2 *Supra* p. 191 n. 8.
Hephaistos and Athena

Herodotos, quoting Hekataios, tells how the Pelasgians, who had built the wall round the Akropolis at Athens, on being driven out by the Athenians went and settled in Lemnos. And Thoukydides in his description of the Chalcidian peninsula Akte says: ‘Most of the inhabitants are Pelasgians, belonging to the Tyrsenians who once dwelt in Lemnos and Athens, together with Bisaltai, Krestones, and Edones.’ I agree, therefore, with L. R. Farnell who in 1909 expressed himself as follows: ‘It is a reasonable hypothesis...that the presence and prominence of Hephaistos in Attica and Lemnos is due to the settlement of a Pelasgic population in those localities.’ A. Fick in the same year had independently reached the same conclusion: ‘Hephaistos from first to last belongs to the pre-Greek Pelagonian-Pelasgian-Tyrsenians. Centres of his cult are Lemnos and Attike....His name Hephaistos too is certainly Pelasgian.’ Further, I accept the common view that Hephaistos was essentially a fire-god. When Agamemnon and the Greek leaders sacrificed an ox to Zeus, Homer relates how—

Piercing the entrails with spits they held them over Hephaistos.

This is no late rhetorical trope or academic allegory, but an early animistic usage. It meets us again rather unexpectedly in Aris-

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2 Hekat. frag. 362 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 29 Müller) = frag. 117 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 24 Jacoby).
4 Farnell Cults of Gk. States v. 388 f.
6 Il. 2. 426 σπλάγχνα δ’ ἡμ’ ἀμπειρατὶς ὑπέρεχον Ἡφαιστοιο...
8 U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff Der Glaube der Hellenen Berlin 1931 i. 20 is inadequate: ‘Wenn Hephaistos schon in der Ilias B 426 metonymisch für Feuer gesagt wird, so ist er kein hellenischer Gott, übrigens auch eigentlich nicht das Feuer, sondern der Schmied, der es zu seiner Kunst braucht.’
10 P. Cauer Grundfragen der Homerkritik Leipzig 1923 p. 351 ‘So ist φλές Ἡφαιστοῦ...nicht die dem Hephaistos heilige Flamme, sondern die Flamme, in der Hephaistos selbst brennt’ etc.
Hephaistos and Athena

totle's treatise on meteorology. The philosopher compares thunder to 'the crackle heard in the flame, which some call Hephaistos laughing, others Hestia, others again their threatening.' Hephaistos, then, was ordinary fire, the fire that burns and crackles on the hearth. He was also the jet of flaming gas that leaps like a fountain from the rocky vent. For not only did such jets give rise to the Lycian place-names Hephaistion, Hephaistia, or the Mountains of Hephaistos, but the lambent flame was worshipped as the very god. L. Malten justly lays stress on the well-informed words of Maximus Tyrius: 'For the Lycians Olympos sends up fire, not like that of Aitne, but peaceful and mild; and this fire is at once the place and the object of their cult.' It must not, however, be forgotten that earthly fire was commonly conceived as stolen or fallen from heaven. Hesiod, Aischylus, and others speak of Prometheus' theft. Homer tells how Hephaistos, flung from heaven by Zeus because he had dared to help Hera, fell on Lemnos and was there tended by the Sinties, or how after his fall (due to the unkindness of his mother who wanted to conceal her lame offspring) he was hidden for nine years in a hollow cave by Eurynome and Thetis. The descent of Hephaistos on Lemnos gave curative

1 Aristot. meteor. 2. 9 369 a 29 ff. γίνεται δ' ἡ πλυγὴ τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπων, ὥς παρεικάσαι μείζων μικρῶν πάθων, τῷ ἐν τῇ φλάμῃ γυμνάζειν ψόφην, δι' καλούσιν οἱ μὲν τῶν Ἡφαιστον γελῶν, οἱ δὲ τῆς Ἑστίας, οἱ δ' ἀπειλήν τούτων.
2 Supra ii. 972 n. 1.
4 Max. Tyr. dis. 8. 8 Dübner Lukios ὁ Ὀλυμπός πῦρ ἔκδιδο, οἷς δρωμον τῷ δικαίω, ἀλλ' εἰρυμένῳ καὶ σύμμετρῳ· καὶ ἐστὶν αὐτὸς τὸ πῦρ τοῦ καὶ ἱερὸ καὶ δαίμονα.
6 Supra i. 323 f.
8 Il. 18. 394 ff. Cp. the refuge of Dionysos as described by Eumel. frag. 10 Kinkel ap. schol. a.d. Il. 6. 131 paraphrased δὲ αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν Θηρᾶν Δικόβρυος ὁ Δίκας λυπήσας Ἡρας μακραί, μικρῶς ἄκλειαν αὐτῶν τῆς γῆς καὶ καθάπτεται αὐτὸς καὶ τῶν διηρήνων· ἐνθάξασιν γὰρ αὐτῷ· συνοργάζοντας· ἰθάνατε δὲ ἐλαυνόμενος μάτης τὸν θέου δέκτην τιμωρήσας. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ διός εἰς τὴν θηλασίαν καταδίωκε, καὶ ὑπὸ Θέσδοις υπολαμβάνεται καὶ Διφώτης. ὁ δὲ Δικόβρυος σὺν ἀμαθι διωριζόμενος ἐθωκε τῇ ἐξ ἄνθρωπος δίκῃ· αἱρήθη γὰρ τῆς τοῦ Δίὸς τῶν ὄψων. τῆς ἱστορίας πολλὰ ἐνδιήθησαν, προγιγυμένοι δὲ ὁ τῶν Διφώτων περιττικῆς Ἐδμηλος.
properties to the soil. Dioskorides\(^1\) of Anazarbos, a contemporary of the elder Pliny, states that Lemnian earth was obtained from a tunnel in a marshy spot, mixed with goat's blood, moulded, stamped with the image of a goat, and hence called the goat's seal. It was drunk in wine as an antidote to poisons, and it countered the bites of poisonous creatures. Certain persons used it also in religious rites. And it was good for dysentery. Galen visited the island twice (162 and 166 A.D.\(^2\)) to test the accuracy of Dioskorides' remarks\(^3\). On the second occasion he reached the hill near the town of Hephaistias and observes\(^4\) that its burnt colour and barren nature\(^5\) account for the myth of Hephaistos' fall. He found the priestess scattering wheat and barley on the ground, and performing

A Roman relief of blue-flecked Italian marble, formerly owned by G. Piranesi and now at Berlin (Gerhard Ant. Bildh. p. 320 f. pl. 81, 6 (=my fig. 146), Ant. Skulpt. Berlin p. 369 f. no. 913 fig., Reinach Rép. Reliefs ii. 31 no. 1. Height 0.18\(m\), length 0.84\(m\)), shows Hephaistos, in the garb and with the tools of a smith, falling through mid air. Above is heaven represented by Zeus with a thunderbolt and Hera with a sceptre (faces restored) appearing over clouds. Below is a sea-goddess (Theiss? Thalassa?)\(^6\) reclining with her left arm propped on a \textit{pistrix}, beneath which are waves. Close by is the rocky island of Lemnos, on which stands Athena holding a branch of her olive tree—"als auf attischem Besitze" (Ant. Skulpt. Berlin p. 370). The female figure on the left with a shield at her feet and a helmet (added by the restorer) belongs to a different scene, as does the canopy suspended on the right.

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1 Dioskor. 5. 113 p. 778 f. Sprengel \^dε Λημνία γεννημένη γη ἔστιν ἐκ τινος υπούμου ἀντρόδους (cp. Plin. nat. hist. 35. 31), ἀναφερομένη ἀπὸ Λήμνου τῆς γῆς, ἐχόμενη ἐλάδη τότον, κάθετον ἐκλεγέται καὶ μηγνυται αἰματά αἰγείρι: ἢ οὐ ἔκει ἀνθρώπου ἀναπλάσσεται καὶ σφραγίζεται εἰκόνι αἰγός σφραγίζων καλλύνον αἰγός. δύσαμων δὲ ἔχει ἀντίδοτον θανασίμων φαρμάκων θεοὺς, πεισμένη οὖν οὖν καὶ προληψιθεία ξεμειώθη άναγκαζά τῇ δηλητηρίᾳ ἀρμάζει δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰ τῶν θανασίμων ὁμόλογον πληγᾶς καὶ δήθεις μηγνυται δὲ καὶ ἀντίδοτος χρύσων δὲ τινες καὶ εἰς τελείας αὐτῆς ἔστι δὲ καὶ δυσευεραιας χρυσίμοις.

2 C. Fredrich in the \textit{Ath. Mitth.} 1906 xxxi. 73 n. 1.

3 Galen. \^pέρι κράσεως καὶ δυνάμεως τῶν ἀπλῶν φαρμάκων 9. 1 (xii. 171 Kühn), \cp. \^pέρι διάτομων 1. 2 (xiv. 8 Kühn).

4 Galen. \^pέρι κράσεως καὶ δυνάμεως τῶν ἀπλῶν φαρμάκων 9. 1 (xii. 173 f. Kühn) καὶ τὸ γε ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λεγόμενον (II. 1. 593) ἐπὶ τοῦ Περροκτύου, κάπεσεν ἐν Λήμνῳ, διὰ τὴν φόνον τοῦ λόφου δοθεὶς μοι τὸν μιθὸν ἐπίστασθαι. φαίνεται γάρ ὅταν μιθότα τεκνομάκρον κατὰ γὰρ τὴν χρῶν καὶ δίδα μοὴν ἐν αὐτῷ. φαίνεται: εἰς τούτον οὖν τὸν λόφον ἤ τε ἡρεια παραγεγομενή, καὶ οὖν ἐγὼ καίρων ἐκβάθη τῆς γῆς, καὶ τῶν πυρῶν καὶ τῆς κρύσιν ἀρμῶν ἐμβαλλόμενος τῇ γῇ καὶ ἄλλα τινα ποιήματα κατὰ τὸ ἑνεχώρων σβασίμως, ἐπίλυσαν μὲν δὴν ἄμαξαν τῇ γῇ, κομίσας δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὦς ἔπεισα ἀρτίον ἐσκέφθασα τὸ πολυπληθέστης Λημνίας σφραγίδας.

5 ἔδοξον οὖν μοι παραδέχεσθαι μὲ τῆς πρότερος πτυχῆς ἑαυτοῦ αἰματὰ αὐτῆς, ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ ταχὺ μεγάλου ἐν ἰστορίᾳ παρελήφθαι. εἰ δὲ πεντεῖ πάντως οἱ ἀκούσαντες ἐγέλασαν, οὐχ οἱ τυχόντες ἀνδρεῖς ῥήσει, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντὶ πεπαιδευμένοι τῇ ἄλλᾳ καὶ τῇ ἑνεχώρῳ ἰστορίᾳ ἀπασάθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ βιβλίον Ἐλαμβάνα παρὰ τινος αὐτῶν, γεγραμμένον ὑπὸ τοὺς τῶν ἑνεχώρων ἀνδρῶν εμπειροῦσαν, εἰ καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν ἀπασάθαι ἑδίδασκε τῇ Λημνίας γῆς, οδεν οὐκ ἄκριμας κάσιν πειραθῆναι τοῖς φαρμάκων, δοξομαί λαβοῦν σφραγίδας. κ.τ.λ.

6 Ὁποιον καὶ διὰ τὴν χρᾶσιν ἐνοικία Λημνίαν μιλτίων (ἐς ὀνομαζοντας), ἔχει μὲν οὖν τὴν χρᾶσιν τὴν αὐτὴν τῇ μιλτίῳ, διαφέρει δ' αὐτῆς τῷ μὴ μιλτίων ἀντιμένειν καθάπερ ἐκίσσω, καὶ κατὰ τῆς λόφου τῆς ῥυόμεν ὕδων ἄντα ὑψὶ τῇ χρῶς τῇ χρὸνε, καθ' οὖν οὐσὶ δενδρῶν ἐστίν οὐσί πετρα οὔτε φυτόν, ῥώση δ' ἡ τοιαύτη γῆ.
sundry other rites, after which she filled a whole waggon with the earth, took it to the town, and made it into the famous Lemnian seals. He asked if there was anything in the tradition that the blood of he-goats or she-goats had been first mixed with the earth, but was laughed at by those who heard him. One of them, a prominent citizen of Hephaistias, furnished him with a treatise setting forth all the virtues of Lemnian earth, and said that he himself used it in cases of wounds, snake-bites, bites of savage beasts, poisonous drugs, etc. So Galen, much impressed, got 20,000 of the seals and did not scruple to try them. Elsewhere he complains that dangerous imitations of the real seals were put on the market. Philostratos of Lemnos (c. 235 A.D.) informs us that Philoktetes, when left on the island, was promptly healed by means of Lemnian earth, a sovereign remedy for madness, hemorrhage, and the bite of the water-snake. F. W. Hasluck has traced the further fortunes of this specific from the pharmacopoeia of Paulos the Aeginetan through medieval to modern times. C. Fredrich in his valuable

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1 Id. ib. (xii. 169 f. Kühn) describes in detail their manufacture: ταύτην γὰρ τοῦ τῆς γῆς ἡ ἴδρα λαμβάνεται μετὰ τοὺς ἐπικυρίους τοὺς, αὖς χωρίως καὶ κριμών ἀντίδοκους τὸ χωρίῳ, καυμαίρει μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀναφηματίζει ἄδατοι καὶ πληθὺς ἔργα ἑργασμένων καὶ τοῦτον ταρακάζει σφοδρῶς, εἰ' ἠδαπάται καταστήματος, πρώτον μὲν ἀρματεῖ τὸ ἐπιστήθη ἔδωρ, εἰ' ὑπ' αὐτῷ τὸ λεπαρὸν τῆς γῆς λαμβάνει καὶ μόνῳ ἀπολεπίστα τὸ ὄφισσιν λιθίζει τε καὶ ψάμμαδες, διὸ καὶ ἄχρηστόν ἔτεισεν. ἄχρι τοσοῦτον ἔργαις τοῦ λεπαροῦ πῆλαν ἄρχει καὶ εἰς σώτατον ἀφίκεται μαλακόν κηρυκάει, καὶ τοῦτον λαμβάνεται μέρα μερὰ τῆς ιερᾶς τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπιβάλλει σφραγίδα, κάπετα τάλιν ἐν σκίᾳ ἔροις, μέχρις ἄν ἀκριβῶς ἀνικώς ἀποτελεσθῇ καὶ γένηται τοῦτο δὴ τὸ γεωσκέρνων ιατροῖς ἄσπει φάρμακον ἡ λημνία σφραγίς.

2 In addition to the immediate sequel cp. Galen. τῆς ἱερᾶς θεραπευτικῆς 4, 7 (x. 298 Kühn), 5, 5 (x. 329 Kühn), περὶ ἀντερμαλλομένων (xix. 734 Kühn).

3 Galen. περὶ ἀντιδότων 1—2 (xiv. 8 Kühn).

4 Philostr. her. 6, 2 καταλειψθῆναι μὲν γὰρ ἐν λήμνω τῷ Φιλοκτῆνη, αὐτῷ ἀπουρεμόμενος τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ...λαθῆναι δ' αὐτόν ἀδικεῖ ὑπὸ τῆς βάλου τῆς Λημνίας, ἐς τὸ λέγεται τετελεῖ τῆς 'Αρηαστοῦ. δ' ἐλαλεῖ μὲν τὰς μακρὰς κόσμους ἔργαν ἐκατον 6 αἵμα ποιεῖ, ἔδωρον δ' ἂντα ἄδατον σφραγίς.τῶν.


7 H. F. Tozer The Islands of the Aegean Oxford 1890 p. 260 'In Western Europe it was known from an early period as terra sigillata; but the original Greek term sphragis also found its way into the pharmacopoeias of the West, where it appears in such corrupt forms as lempnia frigidos, and even imma fragis' ('Alphita, a Medico-Botanical Glossary, ed. Mowat, in the Anecdota Oxoniensia, pp. 96, 219. The compiler of the Glossary remarks, 'Lempnia frigidos terra est sigillata.' 'Frigdos' is a corruption of σφραγίς, the genitive case being used, as Mr Mowat has pointed out to me, on account of the form employed in a doctor's prescription.') Bartholomaeus Anglicus (s. xiii A.D.) London 1555 Lib. 15. 139, 98 has more to say: 'A sorten veyne of the erthe is called Terra Sigillata, and is singularly cold and drie. And Dioscorides calleth it Terra Saracenica and argentea, and is someade white, well smellynge and clere. The chief virtue thereof byndeth and stauncheth.' Etc.

8 C. Fredrich 'Lemnos' in the Ath. Mitth. 1906 xxxi. 72 citing A. Conze Reise auf
monograph on Lemnos notes that Oriental apothecaries still sell packets of Lemnian earth, dug before sunrise on August 6 (the Transfiguration) in the presence of Greek and Turkish clergy, and guaranteed as genuine by the impress of a Turkish seal. I may add that the well-stocked medical cabinet of J. F. Vigani, the first Professor of Chemistry at Cambridge, now preserved in the Library of Queens' College, contains various samples of earth (c. 1700 A.D.) distinguished on their labels as *Terra sigill. Lemnia, Terra sigill. alb.,* and *Terra sigill. rubr.* (fig. 147 a, b, c). Their colours are respectively light red, white, and dark red. The first and third have stamped in relief the Turkish crescent and star on a shield together with a bunch of grapes and the legend *TERRA SIG(L)|LEH(H)IA.* The second shows a seven-headed dragon, with wings and a twisted tail, and reads *TERRA || SIGILLATA (?).* It may be a rival earth of alien manufacture. Fredrich holds that this whole business of a Lemnian medicament points backwards to a marriage of the fire-god

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1 Other details are given by P. Belon du Mans *Les observations de plusieurs singularitez & choses memorables, trouv'es en Grece, Asie, Iudee, Egypte, Arabie, & autres pays estranges* Paris 1555 p. 29 f. (Greek mass celebrated in small chapel of Sotira, after which the monks fill ‘petits sacs de poil de bestes’ with the earth, etc.). He figures a selection of the seals, which bear in Arabic letters the words *tin imachton,* ‘sealed earth’ (= *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1909—1910 xvi. 221 fig. 1, cp. id. p. 230 fig. 5).

2 On which see E. S. Peck in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 1934 xxxiv. 34—49.

Hephaistos with the earth-goddess Lemnos*(fig. 152)*,
consummated 1

Steph. Byz. *s.v. Λήμνος* (cited *supra* p. 191 n. 0) asserts—perhaps on the authority of Hekataios (H. Diels in *Hermes* 1887 xxii. 442, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 225 n. 15)—that maidens used to be sacrificed to this μεγάλη θεός. Since Aristophanes in his Lemnian *frag.* 8 (*Frag. com. Gr. ii. 110 Meineke*) ορ. Phot. *lex. s.v. μεγάλη θεός*, cp. Hesych. *s.v. μεγάλη θεός* uses precisely the same phrase of the Thracian Bendis, who is often Hellenised as Artemis (e.g. *supra* ii. 115, 501), it seems highly probable that the Lemnian goddess was in historic times regarded as a form of Artemis and that goats had come to be substituted for her girl-victims. This at least would account for the persistent tradition of goat's blood mixed with Lemnian earth and for the goat as the sacred seal of the local Artemis.

Moreover, an exact parallel may be found in the story of Embaros who, after promising to sacrifice his daughter to Artemis *Mounychia*, substituted a she-goat clad in the daughter's garments (*supra* i. 711 n. 9). This is indeed more than a mere parallel. Since Embaros was the reputed founder of the sanctuary of Artemis *Mounychia* (Pausanias the lexico-grapher *ap. Eustath. in H.* p. 331, 25 ff. ὁ Ἄμπαρος Παυσανίας ἱστορεῖ καὶ τίνα Ἐμπαροῦ ἐπὶ εἰσὴν φιλοσοφεῖ. ἱδὼνάτο γάρ, φορὶ, Μούνυχιας Ὄμηρομος ἱερὸν· ἄρα τε γεγομένης ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀρτεμίας ἀναπολείπτω, λαμίῳ ἐνεφύγετο, ὃς ἀκαλλάχην ὁ θεὸς ἔχρημομόθηκεν, εἶ τοι τὴν θυγατέρα θώσε τῇ Ἀρτεμίδι. Βάρας δὲ ἦ Ἐμπαροῦ ἐπομενόμενοι οὕτω πολλάκις ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς Ιμβρῶνης τῷ γένοις αὐτοῦ διὰ βίου ἔχειν, διακοσμημα τῆν θυγατέρα, αὐτὴν μὲν ἀντικείμενον ἐν τῷ ἄβασε, αὐτῷ δὲ αὐθείς κομματιά ὡς τὴν θυγατέρα θώσεν. δὲν εἰ παραμιάς, φορὶ, περιότητα ἔμπαρος εἰ, πνεύτει νουεκχήτη, φρόνιμος), who stood in the closest relation

to the Thracian Bendis (*supra* ii. 115), it seems likely that he came from the Thracian area. And, if so, his name *Embaros* may well be the would-be Greek form taken by a name really akin to *Imbros*. A mountain in Kilikia Tracheia was called *Imbarus* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 93), and A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 55 ὁ προς Ἐμπαροῦ writes: Ἰμβρός ist ein echt karisches Namenwort, wie schon G. Meyer in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1886 x. 193, comparing however imber, ὤμβρος, etc., erkannte, und [P.] Kr[ü]echner *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 135 f. weiter belegt; wir entnehmen daher Ἰμβρός Gebirg und Kastell in Karien, die Insel Imbros, Ἰμβρόμος der karische Hermes und die karischen Personenennamen Ἰμβρασία, Ἰμβρός und Ἰμβρόνδος. Auch in lykischen Personen-, doch nicht Ortsnamen weist Kr. a. a. o. das Element Ἰμβρό nach.

The further parallel between the sacrifice of *Embaros' daughter (bear killed, girl condemned, goat substituted)* and that of Iphigenia (girl condemned, deer or bear (schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 645, *et. mag.* p. 748, 2 f.) or bull (*et. mag.* p. 748, 3 f.) substituted) is of course obvious.

I figure five imperial bronze coins of Hephaistia. Of these, the first two are from casts of unpublished specimens now in the British Museum. One has *obv.* ἩΦΑΙϹ ΤΙΕΩΝ bust of Hephaistos to right, with slight beard, *πιλος* and *χιτίον* over one shoulder; *rev.* Athena, helmeted, standing to left with Nike in right hand, spear in left (fig. 148). The other has *obv.* bust of Hephaistos to right, with full beard, *πιλος* and
Hephaistos and Athena

in early days on Mosychlos, the mountain of volcanic vents. Be that as it may, we have in Lemnos ample evidence of the belief that the fire which leaps up from the ground had erstwhile leapt down from the sky. Nor in Lemnos only. For what else but this popular conception underlay the fiery cycle of Herakleitos, in which 'the way up and down is one and the same'? The Stoics, influenced as usual by Herakleitos, identified Zeus with a single great continuous fire, which transformed itself into all the vast variety of the visible world. In a special sense Zeus was equated with fire in heaven, Hephaistos with fire on earth; and the myth which told

Fig. 149.  Fig. 149.  Fig. 150.  Fig. 151.  Fig. 152.

*chiton over one shoulder; rev. ΗΦΑΙϹ ΤΙΕΩΝ a flaming torch (fig. 149). A third shows obv. bust of Hephaistos to right, with full beard, pilos, and no *chiton; rev. [H]ΦΑΙϹ ΤΙΕΩΝ a flaming torch between two stars (to Kabeiros or Dioskouroi) (Ant. Münz. Berlin Taurische Chersonesos, etc. i. 282 no. 22 fig. (= my fig. 150). Another has obv. bust of Hephaistos to right, with slight beard, pilos, and *chiton over one shoulder; rev. ΗΦΑΙϹ ΤΙΕΩΝ Athena, helmeted, standing to left with Nike in right hand, spear in left (Imhoof-Blumer Gr. Münzen p. 5 no. 2 pl. 1, 2 (= my fig. 151)). The last gives obv. ΛΗΜΗΝ bust of Lemnos to right as city-goddess, with turreted crown and veil; rev. ΗΦΑΙϹ ΤΙΕΩΝ a flaming torch between hammer and tongs (Imhoof-Blumer Gr. Münzen p. 6 no. 4 pl. 1, 3 (= my fig. 152), Weber Cat. Coins ii. 141 no. 2489 pl. 95). See further Head Hist. num.* p. 263.

2 We have more than once found Herakleitos refining upon popular beliefs (supra i. 28 ff., 358 n. 3, ii. 12, 13 n. 1, 130 n. 7, 805 n. 6).
3 HenkI. frag. 69 Bywater, 60 Diels (cited supra ii. 130 n. 7).
4 Supra i. 29 f., ii. 855 n. 2, 856 n. 9, 858 n. 6.
5 Plout. de fac. in orb. 112 δέ Ζεύς ἡμῶν οὐκ ὤν τῷ μὲν αὐτῷ φοίνει χρώματος ἐν ἔτοι μεγά λίπι καὶ σωκεῖται, νυν δ' ὀφείται καὶ εἰκάσωται καὶ διεχομάσταται, πάν χρώμα γεγόνως καὶ χρώματος ἐν τοῖς μεταβολαῖς: = Chrysippos frag. 1045 von Arnim.
Hephaistos and Athena

235

how Zeus had flung Hephaistos down to Lemnos was taken to mean that fire terrestrial was derived from fire celestial. On which showing Hephaistos might be interpreted as the lightning-flash—a fitting end for a god who began with a double axe. In short, it would appear that the Stoics by pursuing the plaguy and quite illegitimate

\[ \text{supra n. 6. Cp. Lyd. de mens. 2. p. 25, 9 ff. Wünsch edn. o. m.} \]

\[ \text{Verg. 8. 414. Vulcanus...} \]

\[ \text{Serv. Aen.} \]

\[ \text{epetv}, \text{irvp}. \]

\[ \text{ovdev ixrrepovv fei} \]

\[ \text{Sc trap' rb irepl yijv dt)ov6n,} \]

\[ \text{ws} \]

\[ \text{ovdev ixrrepovv fei} \]

\[ \text{Sc trap' rb irepl yijv dt)ov6n,} \]

\[ \text{ws} \]


\[ \text{μέθοδος} \]

\[ \text{εν όποια θεωρηματη} \]

\[ \text{Hephaistos as a 'Blitzgott.'} \]

\[ \text{2 Comn. theol. 19 p. 34, 3 ff. Lang µηθηρα 8' έπ' τον Δίος είς γην είς φιλοκός λέγεται} \]

\[ \text{δι' τον πρώτον ίων άρισκός χρήσατα πυρικ έκ κεραυνωβολίου καλών άφη περιτεχείς,} \]

\[ \text{μπλέκτων} \]

\[ \text{των πυρὸν} \]

\[ \text{επιστευ} \]

\[ \text{διαμοείς}, \text{Serv. in Verg. Aen. 8. 414. Vulcanus...} \]

\[ \text{ignis est, et dictus Vulcanus quasi Volicanus, quod per aerem volet; ignis enim e nubibus...} \]

\[ \text{ignis est, et dictus Vulcanus quasi Volicanus, quod per aerem volet; ignis enim e nubibus...} \]

\[ \text{sed quoniam luno hoc est aer subiectus est igni id est lovi,} \]

\[ \text{cecidisse Vulcanus (cp. Myth. Vat. 2. 40, 3. 10. 4, Isid. 8. n. 39 f.), id. in...} \]

\[ \text{etiam Homerus dicit eum de aere praecipitatum in terras, quod omne...} \]

\[ \text{etiam Homerus dicit eum de aere praecipitatum in terras, quod omne...} \]

\[ \text{ Sed etiam Vulcanus quasi Volicanus, quod per aerem volet; ignis enim e nubibus...} \]

\[ \text{sed quoniam luno hoc est aer subiectus est igni id est lovi,} \]

\[ \text{cecidisse Vulcanus (cp. Myth. Vat. 2. 40, 3. 10. 4, Isid. 8. n. 39 f.), id. in...} \]

\[ \text{sed quoniam luno hoc est aer subiectus est igni id est lovi,} \]

\[ \text{cecidisse Vulcanus (cp. Myth. Vat. 2. 40, 3. 10. 4, Isid. 8. n. 39 f.), id. in...} \]

\[ \text{sed quoniam luno hoc est aer subiectus est igni id est lovi,} \]

\[ \text{cecidisse Vulcanus (cp. Myth. Vat. 2. 40, 3. 10. 4, Isid. 8. n. 39 f.), id. in...} \]

\[ \text{sed quoniam luno hoc est aer subiectus est igni id est lovi,} \]

\[ \text{cecidisse Vulcanus (cp. Myth. Vat. 2. 40, 3. 10. 4, Isid. 8. n. 39 f.), id. in...} \]

\[ \text{sed quoniam luno hoc est aer subiectus est igni id est lovi,} \]

\[ \text{cecidisse Vulcanus (cp. Myth. Vat. 2. 40, 3. 10. 4, Isid. 8. n. 39 f.), id. in...} \]

\[ \text{sed quoniam luno hoc est aer subiectus est igni id est lovi,} \]

\[ \text{cecidisse Vulcanus (cp. Myth. Vat. 2. 40, 3. 10. 4, Isid. 8. n. 39 f.), id. in...} \]
method of allegorical conjecture had come curiously near to divining the original significance of Hephaistos.

Hephaistos and Athena—if I am right—were at first the sky-father and the mountain-mother of a Pelasgian or Tyrsenian race, which had its prehistoric home in Asia Minor. And in the rude tale of their attempted union I should detect a popular survival of their old Asiatic myth. The earliest allusion to it is à propos of a sixth-century craftsman from Magnesia on the Maiandros. That may be accidental. But it can hardly be accidental that the closest parallels to the myth are found on Mount Agdos in Galatia and among the peasants of the Caucasus. All the evidence, linguistic, religious, mythological, really points in one direction—towards Asia Minor as the cradle of both deities alike.

The worship of Hephaistos and Athena, proper to the Pelasgian or Tyrsenian population of Athens, was complicated by that of other gods and goddesses as soon as Hellenic settlers entered Attike. An influx of Aeolians, who had swarmed off from Thessaly and settled on the north bank of the Ilissos (let us say, with Periphas as their king), brought with them from Mount Olympos the cult of Zeus Olympios and Ge Olympia. With Ge Olympia was in all probability connected the rite of the Arrhephoria and the mythical birth of Erichthonios. These purely Hellenic powers never quite dispossessed their Pelasgian predecessors, who in the sixth and fifth centuries recovered something of their former prestige thanks to the Panathenaic policy inaugurated by Peisistratos. Hence the gradual intrusion of Athena and Hephaistos into representations of a myth, which was strictly concerned with Ge as fructified by the fertilising dew of Zeus. Erichthonios, instead of being the child of Zeus by Ge, is the child of Hephaistos by Ge or,

1 Supra p. 330 f. 2 Supra ii. 969 n. 4.
3 Miss E. M. Dance, in an unpublished treatise (An Analysis of the Orphic Myths 1933 p. 127 f.) which she kindly allowed me to read in type-script, compares the myths of Mithras born of a rock (F. Cumont in Darm. Dict. Ant. iii. 1952), Agdistis, and Hephaistos with A. Dirr Kaukasische Märchen (Märchen der Weltliteratur) Jena 1922 p. 182: 'Eines Tages wusch Satána ihre Hosen und breitete sie auf einem Steine zum Trocknen aus. Da kam Uastyrdji und sagte: "Deine Hosen kommen mir nicht aus", naherte sich und liess seinen Samen auf sie ausstromen. Davon wurde der Stein, auf dem die Hosen lagen, schwanger.' After nine months Satána split the stone and a child, the hero of the Märchen, came forth.
4 Supra ii. 1123, iii. 169 n. o. 5 Supra p. 188 n. 3.
6 Supra ii. 1121 ff. 7 Supra p. 188 n. 3. 8 Supra p. 188.
9 Isokr. 12 Panathenaeicus 136 'Eiríxhónos mév γὰρ ὁ φόν ἐξ Ἡφαιστον καὶ Γῆς κ.τ.λ., Ρους. 1. 2. 6 πατέρα δὲ 'Ἐρίξθωνος λέγουσιν ἄνθρωπον μετ' οὐδένα εἶναι, γονέας δὲ Ὁφαιστων καὶ Γῆς, cp. Kallim. Hekale frag. 1. 2. 7 Mair (supra p. 320 n. 2) ὃς ἔθεσεν ὅπ' Ἡφαιστος τέκνα Ἀτα and Nonn. Dion. 41. 63 f. cited infra p. 237 n. 1.
more often, of Hephaistos by Athena. But to the last an occasional poet describes him as his father’s ‘dew’.

(b) The Daughters of Kekrops.

The three daughters of Kekrops were Aglauros, Pandrosos, and Herse. All of them alike bore names suggestive of the dew. Aglauros denotes ‘the Sparkling One’; Pandrosos, ‘the All-bedewed’; Herse, quite simply ‘the Dew’.

The oldest accessible version of their myth is that given, perhaps as early as 5th B.C., by Amelesagoras in his *Atthis*.

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1 Kallim. *Hekale frag.* 1. 2. 2 f. Mair ἀλλὰ ἐ Παλλᾶς ἐς τῆς λέω ὡσα ὅν ἄρῃ ἀφέων Ἰπαῖστανον | κ.π.λ., Nonn. *Dion.* 41. 63 f. ό τίτων ἀγρόν εἰκὼν Ἐρεχθέως (by confusion with Eriachthonios: *supra* p. 181 n. 2), ὅ τέκε Παλίς ἀδιακε νυμφεύσας γαμήν Ἰπαῖστανον ἔρην.

2 The simplest and most satisfactory derivation of Ἀγλαύρως is from ἀγα-γάλα-ως; see Prellwitz *Etym. Worterb.* d. Gr. Spr.* p. 4) and the common suffix -pos. Nik. *ther.* 62 uses Ἀγλαύρος, ‘sparkling,’ as an epithet of rivers, and Ἁ. 441 as an epithet of a snake.

H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 136 f. inferred from the masculine ending that Ἀγλαύρως was a compound of ἀγα(α)- (ἀγάλλων, ἀγάλλα) and ἀφρα: ‘a glistening heather luft, hellen immelt’s,’ cp. Ἀγάλλα. A. Fick in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1910 xxvi. 112 similarly derives Ἀγλαύρως from ἀγαλός + ἀφρα (taking ἀγαλός πάνθρως ἔρηθα to have been a dactylic line or half-line, ‘die bei heiterer luft...alles betrüfende...bethauung’). E. Maass ‘Ἀγλαύρως’ in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1910 xxxv. 337—341 does the same, but holds that ἀφρα (connected with ἄφρα) was an old word for ‘water’ (hence ἄφρος ‘mountain-torrent,’ Hesych. ἐπάφρος: τοις χειμάρροις ποταμοῖς, Hes. *theog.* 353 Πνεύμαρης ἡ Γαλαξάρης τ’ as Nereids, and perhaps ἄγανως ‘abundant, affluent’), which came to mean ‘moist, cool air’ and so ‘breeze.’ On this showing Ἀγλαύρως would be a water-nymph (cp. Ἁ. 2. 307 ἄγαλαν ὄδωρ, Hom. *ep.* 4. 7 ἄγαλαν... ὄδωρ) and Ἀγλαύρως a *Nymphaeum.*

Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 7 n. 3 thinks that Ἀγλαύρως may refer to the dew (’blinkende Tauperlen’), but proposes no etymology.

In any case Ἀγλαύρως, not Ἀγαναύρως, is the inscriptive form (K. Meisterhaner *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften* p. Berlin 1900 p. 83 n. 712). Both are found in literary texts (J. Toepffer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 826). *Ἀγαναύρως* seems to have been taken by popular etymology from an epithet of Pan, to whose flute the Dew-sisters danced (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1196 n. 3 sub fin., 1394 n. 4).

3 *Supra* pp. 166, 179 f. 4 *Supra* p. 157 n. 9.

5 Amelesagoras *frag.* 1 (Frag. *hist.* Gr. ii. 22 Müller) ap. *Antigon.* *hist. mir.* 12 ἀμελθεσαγόρας δέ ἐ ὁ Ἀθηναῖς ἐ τῆς Ἀθήνας συνηγεγράφου ὁ φήμης κορώνῃ προσετασθαί πρὸς τήν ἀκρόπολιν, οὖ ἔχειν ἐν εἷς ἐυρικτὸς ὁδὸς. ἀποδίδοντι δέ την αἰτίαν κυβικός. φήμην γάρ Ἱπαίστῳ δομαί τῆς Ἀθήνας συγκατάλειπθαι αὐτήν ἀφανεθῆγα, τόν δέ Ἰπαίστος εἰς γῆν πεπόνθα προκεισθαι τὸ σπέρμα, τήν δέ γῆν ὑπέτερον αὐτήν ἀναδόθαι Ἐρεχθέως, ὃν τρέφειν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ εἰς κοίτην καθεῖρει καὶ παραθέθαι ταῖς Κέρκυρας οἰωνίοι, Ἀραχόλη καὶ Πανδρόσου καὶ Ἥρας, καὶ εἰς ταὐτὰ μὲ ἄνοιξεν τήν κοίτην, εἰς δὲ αὐτήν ἑπίθη. ἀφικομένου δέ εἰς Πελλήνην φόρως ὄρος, ὅ ἐρμία πρὸ τήν ἀκροπόλεως ποίηση, τάτοι δὲ Κέρκυρας υγειοντας τᾶς δῶς, Ἀραχόλην καὶ Πανδρόσου, τήν κοίτην ἀνοίξας καὶ οἰωνίδρακος δώ ρῶν τῆς Ἐρεχθέων τὶς δέ ἄθηνας ἄμοισά τάς ὄρος ὄροι τοῖς τῶν ὅτα, τῇ δὲ κορώνῃ διὰ τὴν κακαγγέλιαν εἶτεν ὥς εἰς ἀκρόπολιν οὖ θέμεις αὐτήν ἔσται ἀφικομέναι.
The Daughters of Kekrops

'Amelesagoras of Athens, author of the *Atthis*, asserts that no crow flies to the Akropolis and that nobody can claim to have seen one so doing. He adds a mythical explanation. He states that, when Athena was given to Hephaistos, she lay down with him and vanished. Hephaistos fell to earth and spent his seed. The earth afterwards produced Erichthonios, whom Athena nurtured and shut up in a basket and entrusted to the daughters of Kekrops—Agraulos, Pandrosos, and Herse—charging them not to open the basket until she returned. She then went to Pellene and fetched a mountain to serve as a bulwark in front of the Akropolis. The daughters of Kekrops, two of them, Agraulos and Pandrosos, opened the basket and saw two snakes coiled round Erichthonios. As Athena was carrying the mountain, which is now called Lykabettos, a crow—he states—met her and said "Erichthonios is exposed." She on hearing it threw down the mountain where it now is, and told the crow as bearer of evil tidings that never thereafter would it be lawful for it to go to the Akropolis.'
Euripides, who likewise mentions the two snakes placed by Athena as guards over Erichthonios, further hints at the fate of the maidens: having opened the ark they must needs perish and stain the rocky cliff with their blood. Apollodoros is more explicit:

'Athena, wishing to make him (sc. Erichthonios) immortal, reared him in secret without the knowledge of the other gods. She laid him in a basket and entrusted it to Pandrosos, daughter of Kekrops, forbidding her to open the basket. But Pandrosos' sisters out of curiosity opened it and saw a snake coiled beside the babe. Then, as some say, they were destroyed by the snake itself, or, as others declare, by reason of Athena's anger they were driven mad and flung themselves down from the Akropolis.'

According to Hyginus, the sisters maddened by Athena hurled

\[\text{(trans. for clarity)}\]

According to Pliny, the Promontory of Chalkidike (Plin. nat. hist. 4. 36) is thought to be Pallene, the promontory of Chalkidike. See further Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 498 n. 1. Pelene—Akte (i) Akropolis and Pallene—Lykabettos—Akropolis were alternative versions of the myth.

1 Eur. Ion 21 ff. κείνη γάρ ἡ Δίως κόρη | φρούριον παρατεθέασα φίλακεν φώματος | διοΰσιν δράκοντα παρθένους Ἀγελαυρίοι | δίδουσι σῶμα: δέν ἐσεὶ 'Ἐρεχθείδες ἔτι (so J. Barnes for κείνει, codd.) τάμος τίς εἶστι δρακόν τινὰ χρυσάτον | τρέφειν τέκνα' (on which custom see ib. 1427 ff. with the remarks of E. Küster Die Schlangen in der griechischen Kunst und Religion Giesen 1913 p. 113 n.: 'so haben diese Schlangen zweifellos eine apotropaische Bedeutung, die Kinder vor Unheil zu schützen; es scheint aber hinter dieser Sitte als tieferer Kern die sehr alte Vorstellung verborgen zu sein, wonach eigentlich zwischen Schlangen und dämonischem Kind kein grosser Unterschied besteht,' cp. Soisipolis at Elis (Paus. 6. 20. 4 ff., supra i. 58, ii. 1151), Zeus Soisipolis at Magnesia on the Malandros (supra i. 58) if it be he who on a coin of the town is seated above a basket and snake (supra i. 153 fig. 118, O. Kern in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1894 ix. Arch. Anz. p. 81), the snake born and suckled by Klytaimestra in her dream (Aisch. cho. 526 ff.), and the modern Greek custom of calling an unbaptised child δράκος, δράκοντας or δράκωνα, δρακοῦλα, δρακοντύσα according to sex (C. Wachsmuth Das alte Griechenland im neuen Bonn 1864 pp. 34, 62, W. Mannhardt Wald- und Feldkulte Berlin 1905 ii. 64, Harrison Proleg. Gk. Rel. p. 331 n. 2).
themselves from the citadel at Athens, while the snake fled for refuge to the shield of Athena and was reared by the goddess. But the same author elsewhere informs us that the maidens, when maddened by Athena, hurled themselves into the sea. The tale was popular, and later writers repeat it with other unimportant variations. Under the empire the versions degenerate till Fulgentius (c. 500 A.D.) makes the fateful basket entrusted ‘to two sisters, Aglauros and Pandora’! Even Ovid, following some Hellenistic source (Nikandros?) and himself followed by a prose compiler misnamed Lactantius Placidus, rewrites the whole narrative in absurd romantic vein.

Miss J. E. Harrison in an ingenious but hardly convincing passage claimed that the story of the Kekropides was invented to account for the ritual of the Arrhephoria. It may indeed have been an aetiological myth; for the Athenians are said to have performed mysterious rites for Agraulos and Pandrosos, who had sinned in opening the chest. But it was the Kallynteria and the Plynteria.

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1 Hyg. fab. 166 (continuing the passage cited supra p. 232 n. 6) quem Minerva cum clam nutiret, dedit in cistula servandum Aglauro Pandroso et Hersae Cecropis filiibus. hae cum cistulum aperissent cornix indicavit (supra p. 238 n. 1); illae a Minerva insaniam obiecta ipsae se in mare praeceptaverunt.

The same alternative versions were given in the case of Aigeus’ suicide (K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 924, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 31 n. 13). The attempt to harmonise them was a failure (Nikokrates frag. 2 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 466 Müller) ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 831 Νικοκράτης δὲ φησι ὅτι ἀπὸ λέγεται κατακρυμμαστὸς ἐαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως εἶ τὴν θάλασσαν. οὐκ εὐδ. πολὺ γάρ ἀπέχει ἡ ἀκρόπολις τῇ θαλάσσῃ παρακλέσῳ).

2 The literary evidence was diligently collected and arranged by B. Powell Erichthonius and the three Daughters of Cecrops (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology xvii) Ithaca, New York 1906 pp. 1—7, 56—63.

3 Fulgent. myth. 2. 11 (continuing the passage cited supra p. 222 n. 7) quem Minerva in cistam abscondidit draconeque custode opposite duabus sororibus Aclauro et Pandorae commendavit.

4 Ov. met. 2. 708—835.

5 W. Vollgraff Nikander und Ovid Groningen 1909 i. 118.

6 Lact. Plac. narr. fab. 2. 12 Athenis virgines per solenne sacrificium canistris Minervae ferunt pigmenta (B. Powell op. cit. pp. 5 n.², 40 n.³ ej. figmenta): inter quas a Mercurio eminis specie conspecta est Herse Cecropis filia. itaque agressus est sororem eius Aglauron, precatusque ut se Hersae sorori suae iungeret. at illa cum pro ministerio aurum eum poposcisset, Minerva graviter offensa est avaritia eius, ob quam cistulam etiam traditam sororibus eius custodiendam adversus suum praedictum aperiisse: Invidiae novissime imperavit eam sororis Herses exacerbare (so A. von Staveren, after Giselin, in sorori Hersae exacerbavit cod.) fortunio: diuque excruciatam saxo mutavit.


8 Athenag. supplicatio pro Christianis i p. 1 Schwartz ο ν ἀθηναῖοι ἔχοντες Ποσείδων θεῖοι καὶ Λαρνακῶν Αἴδηρα καὶ τελεῖται καὶ μαντήρα Αἴθραν ἄγουσι (sec. E. Schwartz) καὶ Παιδόφων, οἱ εὐμελεθηκόντες δέσμευσι ἀνάξαρτη την λάρωνα. Athenagoras, like Ameles-agoras (supra p. 237 f.), makes Agraulos and Pandrosos the guilty sisters. J. Toepffer in
rather than the Arrhephoria that were connected by the ancients with the life and death of Agraulos\(^1\) or Aglauros\(^2\). And naturally so; for the Kallynteria fell on the nineteenth, the Plynteria probably on the twenty-fifth of Thargelion, and modern meteorological records taken in the Botanical Garden at Athens show that heavy dews begin to fail in May, are lacking throughout June, July, and August, and begin to return in September\(^3\). In mythological parlance, Aglauros, 'the Sparkling One,' dies. Her death was associated with the Plynteria, a very ill-omened day in Thargelion (May—June). Three weeks later, in the middle of Skirophorion (June—July), when the dew was rarer still, it became necessary to fertilise Mother Earth, not only with white clay (skiros) used as a manure, but also by means of a ceremonial dew-bearing. This was done in the Arrhephoria, as we have already seen.

Closer investigation\(^4\) makes it probable that Aglauros, Pandrosos, and Herse were not originally a triad of sisters. Of the three, Aglauros appears to have been the eldest and most venerable. Euripides speaks of them all as 'the Aglaurid maidens\(^5\)' or, again, Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 828 identifies these tēlerās και μυστήρια with the ὅρμα...

\(^1\) Phot. lex. s.v. Κάλλυντηρια καὶ Πλυντήρια: ἐστών ὀψιμάτα: γίνοντα μὲν αὐτῷ θαρρηλόσως μυρὸ, ἐνάγη μὲν ἐπὶ δέκα Κάλλυντηρια, δευτέρα δὲ φθειρῶς τὰ Πλυντήρια· τὰ μὲν Πλυντήρια φησὶ διὰ <τοῦ μετὰ> τὸν θάνατον τῆς Ἀγραύλου ἐνώπιον μη πληθύνῃ <τὰ λεπτὰ> ἔσθηται: εἰδ' ὅστις πληθείας τὸν νόμον ἐκπαιδευτέραν· τὸ δὲ Κάλλυντηρια, ὡς πρώτη δοκεῖ ἢ Ἀγραύλου γενομένη ἡραία τοὺς θεοὺς κομβύσα: διὸ καὶ Κάλλυντηρια αὕτη ἀπέδειξαν· καὶ γὰρ τὸ <καλλωνεῖν> κομπίων καὶ λαμπρῶν ἐστὶν. The words inserted are due to S. A. Naber, who cp. Bekker anec. i. 270, 1 ff. ἀνό τοῦ καλλώνου καὶ κομπίων καὶ λαμπρῶν. Ἀγραύλου γὰρ ἡραία πρώτη γενομένη τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκκόμισε. Πλυντήρια δὲ καλεῖται διὰ τὸ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τῆς Ἀγραύλου ἐνώπιον μὴ πληθύνῃ τὰ λεπτά ἔσθηται.

\(^2\) Hesych. s.v. Πλυντήρια: ἐστών Ἀθῆρήμων, ἦν ἐκ τῆς Ἀγλάρου τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς τιμῇ ἄγονου.

\(^3\) Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 8 n. 2, cp. *infra* § 9 (h) ii (e).

\(^4\) Miss J. E. Harrison 'The Three Daughters of Cecrops' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1891 xii. 350—355 was, so far as I know, the first to attempt any general investigation of the subject. She was followed by H. Usener *Güternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 133 ff. And he, by B. Powell *Erichthonius and the three Daughters of Cecrops* (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology xvii) Ithaca, New York 1906 pp. 1—86 figs. 1—12.

The Daughters of Kekrops

as 'the three daughters of Agraulos (Aglauros?)', and later writers state that their mother Agraulos or Agraunis had for sire Aktaios or Aktaion. But this duplication or distortion of her name is, of course, a mere genealogist's device. In unsophisticated times there was but one Aglauros, she whose precinct lay beneath the steep northern side of the Akropolis. Here the Athenian youths assembled to swear that they would fight till death on behalf of their country. This solemn oath took a curious and unexpected form. The young soldiers swore that they would regard wheat, barley, the vine, and the olive as the boundaries of Attike, deeming their own all the tamed and fruitful earth. The emphasis thus placed on earth as 'fruitful' (karpophoros) recalls the rock-cut inscription of Ge Karpophoros still legible on the summit of the Akropolis. It is, indeed, probable that Aglauros herself was, to begin with, none other than the earth-goddess 'Sparkling' with the dew which enabled her to bring forth in their season corn and oil and wine. And on these things human life depended. Demeter Kourotróphos, 'Who rears the young,' was worshipped, and rightly worshipped, in the precinct of Aglauros.

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1 Eur. Ion 496 Λγραύλως (A. W. Verrall prints Λγλαύρου) κόρη τρέγγουη.
2 Euseb. Praep. ec. 4. 16. 2 τή 'Αγλαύρω τή Κέκροπος καὶ νύφη 'Αγραυλίδος.
3 Apollod. 3. 14. 2 Κέκροψ δὲ γῆμας τήν Ακταίοι κόρην Ἀγλαύρων παῖδα μὲν ἔχειν Ἕρωις, δὲ άτεκνος μετήλαξε, θυματέρας δὲ Ἀγλαύρων Ἰβρην Πάνθροιαν, Paus. 1. 2. 6 ἀνωθαναντος δὲ 'Ακταίου Κέκροψ ἐκδέχεται τήν ἀρχήν θυματία σαυνοίκων Ακταίου (ср. 1. 14. 7), καὶ οἱ γίνονται θυματέραι μὲν Ἰβρην καὶ Ἀγλαύρως καὶ Πάνθροιαν, οὐδὲ Ἕρωις.
5 Paus. i. 18. 2, cp. Eur. Ion 497 f.
7 Philochor. frag. 14 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 386 Müller) ap. Ulpian. in Dem. de fals. leg. 303 (p. 95 b 32 f. Baiter—Sauppe) "Ἀγλαύρας καὶ Ἐρώτη καὶ Πᾶνθρος θυματέρες Κέκροπος, ὁς γένος ὁ Φυλόχροος. λέγομεν δὲ ὅτι πολέμου ευμάρτοσα παρ' Ἀθηναίοις, δεὶ τὸ θερμαλὸν ἐστράτευε κατὰ Ἑρέχθεας, καὶ μηκομείρων τοιῶν ἔχοσεν ὁ Ἀκτάλλος ἀπαλαγήσειςθαι, ἐὰν τις ἀνελθήσαι ὑπὲρ τῆς τόλμου. ἡ τῶν Ἀγλαυρῶν ἡκοίνα αὐτὴν ἐξοδάκτοι καὶ ἰσαθανὸν ἔχοσαν ἐκ τῶν τέχνων. ἔτα ἀπαλαγηνός τοῦ πολέμου ἤστω ὑπὲρ τοιῶν ἀντίστοιο αὐτήν περί τὰ Προπόλεια τῆς τόλμου· καὶ ἔκειν ὄμων οἱ ἐφθασάντοι μέλασται ἐξέδωκαν εἰς πόλεμον.
8 Plut. v. Alcib. 15 οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ τῆς γῆς συνεκλείμενον ἀντέχεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ τὸν εἰν 'Αγλαύλων προβαλλομένον ἀεὶ τοῖς ἑρμήνδῳ δρόκον ἑρμήνδον ἤμωνον, γὰρ δρόκος χρησάτων τῆς Ἀττικῆς πυρῶν, κραυάς, ἄμυλόν, ὀλιγίας, ὄσεσα ποιμανθα διδακτόμου τῆς ἱερῶν καὶ καρποφόρων. Cp. Cic. de rep. 3. 15 Atheniensis iurare etiam publice solebant, omnum suam esse terram, quae oleam frugesve ferret.
9 Supra ii. 21 n. 4.
10 Corp. inscr. Att. iii. 1 no. 372 (with facsimile on pl. 4) Κουροτρόφος ἡ 'Αγλαύρου |
The Daughters of Kekrops

Pandrosos too had a sanctuary of her own, called the Pandroseion, immediately adjoining the Erechtheion at its western end. Here grew the sacred olive, beneath which stood the altar of Zeus Herkeios. And, just as the youths of Athens in the fourth century B.C. swore in the precinct of Aglauros that they would defend their country and preserve the fruitful earth, so in the first century B.C., when about to take the field, they offered a sacrifice on the Akropolis.

Δήμητρα Καράφη, W. Larfeld Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 266 pl. 1 (note the proximity of no. 371 Δεινοφόρος, cp. supra p. 241 n. 0). Hesych. s.v. Κορωνόφόρος, ἄφετερον ἢ Δήμητρα.

1 Pass. i. 27. 2 τῷ ναῷ δέ τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς Πανδρόσου καὶ συνεχέται ἐστιν.


3 (2) Corp. inscr. Att. iv. i. 3 p. 148 ff. no. 321 ii 19 f. and 3, 6, iv. i. 2 p. 74 ff. no. 321 iii 31 ff. = Inschr. Gr. ed. min. i. no. 373 ii 74 f. iii 114 f., 251 f. = Caskey loc. cit. no. 10 i 19 f. ἐπὶ τοὺς τοίχους τούτου τούτου | τ' [Πανδρόσουν], ii 27 f. ἐπὶ τοῦ | πρὸς τὸ Πανδρόσου, i aieiν, 40 f. ἐργασίας τό | [πρὸς] τὸ Πανδρόσου αὐτοῦ, no. 11 iii 31 ff. ἐπαφθάνειν τα μετακίον, τέταρτα ἄτομα, τα | πρὸς τὸ Πανδρόσου (409/8 B.C.).

4 Supra p. 187 n. 2.

5 Philoch. frag. 146 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 408 f. Müller) ap. Dion. Hal. de Disarch. 3 ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑλόρῳ φησὶν (ἐν, ὃ Φλόχορος) | τούτῳ δὲ ἐναυστοῦ τοῦδε (307/6 B.C.) δεσπότου, ἐτέρου δὲ ἐλαστοῦ, ἐν ἀκροπόλει στημένον ἐγένοτο τούτοις. κόινω εἰς τὸν Πολιάδος νεόν εἰσελθον, καὶ δύνα εἰς τὸ Πανδροσον, ἐπὶ τοῖς βασιλέως ἀνάβασις τοῦ Ἐρέχθου Δίος τοῦ ὑπὸ τῇ ἐλάρα κατέκειτο. πάτρων δὲ ἐστὶν τοῦ Ἀθηναίων κόη μὴ ἀναβαίνειν εἰς ἀκρόπολιν. The topographical bearings of this passage are discussed by J. M. Paton op. cit. p. 747 f. On the cult of Zeus Ἐρέχθεως or Μοσχέρεως (schol. B.L.T. Ἰ. 16. 231, Hesych. s.v. Μοσχέρεως) see O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 686 f. Plout. quaest. Rom. 111, ἀ πρότος de the rule that the Ἰαμνὸς Ἀδιάς must neither touch nor mention a dog or a goat, says φαθαν ἐπομενε ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλεως καταβαίνειν κόη μήτε τῇ Δηλικᾶς ἔρημος, διά τὴν ἐμαρταὶ μὲν κ.τ.λ. Similarly dogs would not enter the island of Sygaros (Plin. nat. hist. i. 125), nor the temple of Hercules in the Forum Boarium at Rome (supra ii. 783). Any dog that entered the market-place at Argos during the days called ἀργυδίας was killed (Klearch. frag. 79 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 327 Müller) ap. Ail. de nat. an. 12. 34, cp. Athen. 99 εὐ—ἐν μὴ ταῖς Κυκλοφόροις ἐφόροις πυγμώμεθα ἀντὶ τῆς τοῦ Ἀργείων ἐπιτελουμένης)—a custom explained by the story that dogs had torn to pieces Linos the son of Apollo by Psamathe daughter of Krotopos (Konon narr. 19). S. Bochart Hierosolvm rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1793 i. 781 ff., L. Hopf Thierorakel und Orakeltiere in alter und neuer Zeit Stuttgart 1888 p. 55 ff., and F. Orth in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 2573 ff. collect facts bearing on the significance of dogs in ancient religion. And Frazer Golden Bough: Tabo p. 13 n. 6 has a parallel to the avoidance of dogs drawn from the Kafirs of the Hindoo Koosh.

6 Supra p. 242.
It is reasonable to infer that Pandrosos, like Aglauros,2 was only another name for Ge.3 Kourotrôphos too was, at Athens, an epithet of the same goddess.4 Ge Kourotrôphos was worshipped near the western approach to the Akropolis,5 and Souidas6 dwells on the importance of her cult:

'They say that Erichthonios was the first to sacrifice to her on the Akropolis and to build her an altar, in gratitude for Earth having reared him. He also made it customary that those who sacrificed to any god should sacrifice first to her.'

Details are of interest. When a cow was sacrificed to Athena, a sheep was first sacrificed to Pandrosos or, as others would have it, to Athena Polídos and to the Kourotrôphos and to Pandrosos.7 It is reasonable to infer that Pandrosos, like Aglauros, was only another name for Ge.8 Kourotrôphos too was, at Athens, an epithet of the same goddess. Ge Kourotrôphos was worshipped near the western approach to the Akropolis, and Souidas dwells on the importance of her cult:

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to Pandora, this preliminary sacrifice being known as *epiboion*. Pandrosos had a circular garment called *podynychon* or *podonychos*. Her priestess, according to Pollux, wore the same sacred attire. But Photios and Souidas are apparently alluding to the same vestment when they state that the *protōnion* is a small *himation* worn by the priestess and from her transferred to the man slaying the victim. They add that it was named *protōnion* because Pandrosos, or Pandora, with her sisters was the first (*prote*) to make woollen raiment for men. The etymology, as usual, is naught, but the rite of the transferred garment is of value as providing a parallel to the custom implied by the *peplos*-scene on the eastern frieze of the Parthenon.

The case of Herse is different. She is definitely a personification of the Dew, and as such must be comparatively late. Hence, though Athenian youths swore by Agraulos, who indeed heads their list of witnessing deities, and though Athenian women might swear either by Agraulos or, less frequently, by Pandrosos, nobody swore by Herse. Nor had she, unless we can credit an unsupported statement of Ovid, any sanctuary set apart for her. Again, Athena—

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1 Souid. *s.v. epitìsboon* ὣτιν τιν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἔδωκεν βοῶν, ἔδωκε καὶ τῇ Πανδώρᾳ ἄν μετὰ βοῶν· καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο τῇ θυμῷ ἐπιβίοιον. Favorin. *lex.* p. 701, 7 ff. combines Philochor. *frag.* 32 (*supra* p. 244 n. 8) with Souidas’ ἄν μετὰ βοῶν, adding ἀπὸ σου καὶ ἔπιβιοιον τῇ θυμῷ βοῦ θυμεῖν.

2 Phot. *lex.* *s.v. podynychon* (ποδύνυχον *cod.*). ἐσθή τῇ Πανδώρᾳ κυκλοτέρησι.

3 Hesych. *s.v. podonychos* (ποδόνυχος *cod.*). ἐσθή λεπά τῇ Πανδώρᾳ.

4 Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 3 no. 1160 (a broken base of Pentelic marble found on the Akropolis) ἄτριφλοι – | – – Δημοχάρου | [– – – -]γιάτέρα | [ἴερειν (?) Πανδώρους, επ. ἑώ. no. 1369 (a round base of Hymettian marble found on the Akropolis) Ἀγαθοῦ ἱερα Πειθοστάτη | Πειθοστάτου Αἴτιαλίδου θυγατέρα.

5 Poll. 10. 191 εἰ δὲ βοῦλῃ καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν σκευῶν, έστι μὲν ὁφάρματα, καλέσται δὲ ἱεράμων, προτόνων, ἱερήμων. ποδύνυχος ἡ ἐσθή τῆς ιερείας τῆς Πανδώρου.

6 Phot. *lex.* *s.v. protōnion* ἰματίδου δ ἡ ιερεία ἀμφιενήναι· ἐπιτίθεται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ιερείας τῆς σφάττοι. προτονίων δὲ ἐκλήθη δι' ἑπράτωτη Πανδώρου μετὰ τῶν àδελφῶν κατεσκέασι τοὺς ἀθρόκοις τῆς ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἑσθήτα. This hangs together with the attempt to derive Ἐπιθόνιος from ἔραω (συμφρα p. 230).

7 Souid. *s.v. protōnion* ἰματίδου δ ἡ ιερεία ἀμφιενήναι· ἐπιτίθεται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ιερείας τῆς σφάττοι. προτονίων δὲ ἐκλήθη δι' ἑπράτωτη Πανδώρου μετὰ τῶν àδελφῶν κατεσκέασι τοῖς ἄθρόκοις τῆς ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἑσθήτα.

8 *Supra* ii. 1136 (pl. xlvii).

9 *Supra* p. 242 f.

10 Poll. 8. 106 ἱστορεῖς θεοῦ, ᾿Αγαθοῦ, ᾿Ευανδρίου, ᾿Αρης, Ζεὺς, Θαλλός, Δίξ, Ἡγιασθένη.

11 Aristoph. *thesm.* 533 ὧν τοῦ μὲ τὴν Ὀμομίλου (R. F. B. Brunnck ej. ᾿Αγαθοῦ), ὃ γεναίας, ἐξ φρονείτε with schol. ad loc. κατὰ (so I. Bekker for εἰκ codd.) τὴν ᾿Αγαθοῦ ἀμομίλου, κατὰ δὲ τῇ Πανδώρου σκαμώτερον, κατὰ δὲ τῇ Ἔρησιν νόθος εὑρίσκειν.


13 Schol. Aristoph. *thesm.* 533 (quoted *supra* n. 11).

14 *Ov.* met. 2. 737 ff. pars secreta domus ebore et testudine cultos | tres habuit thalamos,
The Daughters of Kekrops

originally an earth-goddess\(^1\) or mountain-mother\(^2\)—absorbed into her all-prevailing cult the worship of both Aglauros and Pandrosos, and was occasionally called Athena Aglauros\(^3\) and Athena Pandrosos\(^4\); but she never came to be equated with Herse. We may, then, subscribe to Usener's opinion that Herse is later than Pandrosos, Pandrosos than Aglauros, the three names being progressively clearer expressions for a single religious idea\(^5\).

Aglauros\(^6\) and Pandrosos\(^7\), if not Herse also, were—we have seen—intimately associated with a goddess dubbed Kourotróphos. What better guardians could Athena have found for the infant Erichthonios? Perhaps they fed him, shut up in the basket, on dew\(^8\).

Some support for this surmise might be found in the myth that the Muses fed Komatas, shut up in a chest, on honey\(^9\), or in the tale of Meliteus, son of Zeus by the nymph Othrei's, who through fear of Hera was exposed in a wood, but was there fed and fattened by bees\(^10\). For honey, as W. H. Roscher\(^11\) has well shown, was held by most Greeks and Romans to be a sort of dew, which fell from the sky on trees and flowers and was thence collected by the bees.

Another case of confinement and dew-diet is that of Tithonos. Herse, some said, became by Hermes the mother of Kephalos\(^12\). Kephalos, they added, was carried off by Eos, the 'Dawn,' to Syria

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1. Supra p. 200 n. o.
2. Supra pp. 224, 236.
5. H. Usener Götternamen Bonn 1896 p. 139.
7. Supra p. 244.
8. It is on record that Herse, Pandrosos, and Agraulos had a popular festival called Deipnophória, at which a dinner was served for them with much pomp in accordance with a mystic tale (supra p. 240 n. 8); and it is known that certain Deipnóphōroi occupied a seat in the theatre adjoined that of the Kourotróphos worshipped in the sanctuary of Aglauros (supra p. 242 n. 10). But of the nurture supplied by the Kekropides to their kóras nothing explicit is said.
9. Theokr. 7. 78 ff. with schol. ad loc.
12. Apollod. 3. 14. 3. Hermes' union with Herse is hardly older than the Hellenistic age (supra p. 240 nn. 4 and 5). In Hyg. Fab. 160 he becomes the father of Kephalos by Kreousa, daughter of Erechtheus. Other pedigrees are noted by A. Rapp in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1089 ff. and F. Schwenn in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 217 f.
and there begat Tithonos the father of Phaethon\(^1\). Some such sequence of mythical events must have been known to the painter of the red-figured kylix from Corneto, now at Berlin (supra p. 186 fig. 95); for, whereas on the outside of the cup Herse witnesses the birth of Erichthonios, on the inside Heos is carrying off Kephalos. Be that as it may, we are concerned with the fortunes of Tithonos. The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite (s. vi (? B.C.)\(^2\)) says that, when Tithonos despite his Zeus-given immortality began to get gray-headed, Eos refrained from union with him, but tended him in her halls with food and ambrosia (i.e. honey) and, as downright old age crept upon him till he could not stir, shut him up in a chamber (thulamos), where his voice flows on unceasingly\(^3\). The poet is hinting, discreetly enough, at a tale that later writers tell with more directness. When Tithonos grew so old that he rolled himself round in a wool-

basket or a basket-cradle (liknon) and slept like a baby (fig. 153)\(^4\), the goddess transformed him into a cicala (tettix)\(^5\). Confusion

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\(^{1}\) Apollod. 3. 14. 3. But the parentage of Tithonos is variously given. He is also described as the son of Laomedon (II. 20. 237) by Strymo (schol. A.B.D. II. 11. 1, Tzet. in Lyk. Al. 18) or Trymo (schol. V. II. 20. 237) or Rhoio (schol. and Tzet. in Lyk. Al. 18).


\(^{3}\) H. Aphr. 218 ff.

\(^{4}\) E. Gerhard Über die Lichtgottheiten auf Kunstdenkmälern Berlin 1840 pp. 8, 16 pl. 4. 4 (id. Gesammelte akademische Abhandlungen und kleine Schriften Berlin 1866 i. 149, 347 pl. 8, 4)=my fig. 153. J. Schmidt in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 1929 fig. 4 an Etruscan relief in stamped gold foil, found at Vulci, then in the Campana collection, and later at Petrograd (?). It represents Eos pouring the contents of a jug (?) over Tithonos, who lies on a concave couch or cradle.

\(^{5}\) Tzet. in Lyk. Al. 18 ἀδὰνατον δὲ τὸν Τιθώνων ποιήσασα ἐπελάθετο ποιήσαι καὶ ἄγηρω, γεράσασα δὲ τοσοῦτον ὅστις ἐν τάλαρω καὶ λίκνῳ (Eudok. vpio. 920 has ὅστις ἐν τάλαρω καὶ λίκνῳ, ἢ δὲ κυνή ἀνήρ περί Τιθώνοι, καὶ ὅτι διὰ γῆς ἐν τάλαρῳ ἡ καρδίαι τῷ δηλομένῳ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ κυμακοῦ ἐκπεμάθηται, ὡς ἐν θηλαθῇ μη φαίνοντο τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἡ εἰς τέττιγα μετεβλήθη.)
between the ἵλκον and the κέρνος, which figured in similar rites, may account for the later tradition that the couch of Eos and Tithonos was on Kerne, an island off the west coast of Libye or, as mythographers and poets declared, at the ends of the habitable earth. Two points appear to justify the comparison of Tithonos with Erichthonios. We have seen that Athena, wishing to make Erichthonios immortal, kept him as an infant in a basket (pl. xxix and fig. 154). Similarly Eos, bent on making Tithonos not only deathless but ageless, tended him like a babe in a basket. Again, we


3 Lyk. Al. 16 ff. with Tzetza. ad loc., cp. 1084 with solv. and Tzetza. ad loc.

4 C. T. Fischer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 315 f.

5 Supra p. 238.

6 Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 243 no. E 372 a red-figured ἡλλεικόν from Kameiros showing (a) Athena and Erichthonios, who sits up in his basket to greet her. The wicker lid (cp. Ov. met. 2. 554) is off, and from the rock (Akropolis) rise two spotted snakes (Eur. Ion 23 cited supra p. 239 n. 1), one bearded, one beardless. (b) Two draped figures moving to the right, probably Aglauros and Herse, but possibly two youths by mistake of the artist (so Harrison Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath. p. xxiii). See further R. Engelmann in the Ann. d. Inst. 1879 li. 62 ff. pl. f., id. in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1306 f. fig., H. Heydemann in the Ann. d. Inst. 1879 lii. 113 ff., Harrison op. cit. p. xxxii f. fig. 4, J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio Dicț. Ant. ii. 808 fig. 2766, Reinsch Ῥεπ. Vases i. 342, 2. Existing illustrations being inadequate, I have given both a photographic plate and a development of the design by Miss E. T. Talbot.

7 Supra p. 247.
Pelike from Kameiros, now in the British Museum:

(a) Athena finds Erichthonios in his basket guarded by two snakes.

(b) Aglauros (?) and Herse (?) make off.

See page 248 n. 6 and page 249 fig. 134.
Fig. 154.
The Daughters of Kekrops

have conjectured that the Dew-sisters fed the infant Erichthionios on dew. So with Tithonos. Eos fed him on ambrosia, that is honey, a species of heavenly dew. Moreover she changed him into a cicala, and that little creature was popularly believed to subsist on dew. The transformation was apt, for the cicala, once more like Erichthionios the ‘very child of the Ground’, was notoriously earth-born and the traditional badge of an autochthonous Ionian people (figs. 158—161). It may even be surmised that Tithonos

1 Supra p. 245.
2 Supra p. 247.
3 Supra p. 246.
J. T. Kakridis ‘TITHONE’ in the Wiener Studien 1930 xlviii. 25—38 makes it probable that the transformation of Tithonos into a ἕτερων kept in a cage was an early myth, purposely ignored by the author of Ἀφρ. 218 ff., but presupposed by certain of his phrases (231—238) and resuscitated by later writers. See also F. Dornseiff ‘Der homerische Aphroditehymnos’ in the Archiv f. Rel. 1931 xxix. 203 ff.

6 Hes. sc. Her. 393 ff., Aristot. hist. an. 4. 7. 533 b 10 ff., 5. 30. 556 b 14 ff., Theokr. 4. 16, Anacreont. 32. 3 Bergk, 32. 3 Hiller—Crusius, Plout. 2. 3. 7 Hiller—Crusius, Plin. nat. hist. 11. 94, All. de nat. an. 1. 20, Phil. de nat. propr. 500.

In Loukian. Icaromen. 13 Empedokles, speaking as an inhabitant of the moon, says στοώμα δρόσων.

8 Supra p. 181.

7 Plat. symp. 191 c, Anacreont. 32. 16 Bergk, 32. 16 Hiller—Crusius, Plout. symp. 2. 3. 3. The Athen. 525 E—F (Samians visiting the precinct of Hera) χαίτω δ' ἄμφοτερον ἄμφωροι οὐδεὶς δεμός, χρώσεια δέ κρύμαβα ἐπ' αὐτῶν τέττυρες ὄψεις, Aristoph. af. 1331 68' ἐκεῖσος (sc. the Athenian Demos) ὁ ποιητὴς τετείρια, ἀρχαίως σχῆμα ἅλαμπως with schol., παρ. 984 ἄφρασι γε καὶ ἀναλαμβάνει καὶ ἀνάκλητα ἵππους καὶ σκυλάκιαν with schol. ἄλλως: οἱ ἀρχαίοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τέττυρες χρωσυνά καὶ τῶν τριχῶν πέντε μέραν εἴχον, διότι αἱ τέττυρες μοιχεῖοι δοτεῖ ἐκεῖ σωσάσθαι τῇ 'Απόλλου, δὴ ἄνομοι τῇ πόλει καὶ σχολ. ὃ τοίς τέττυρις παρέλαβεν, ἐπειδή ὁ παλαιὸς κατὰ τὴν ἀνάκλησιν τῶν τριχῶν χρωσυνὰ τέττυρα, τεκμηρίων διὰ τὸ φαίνεται ὅτι αὐτόχθων εἰσί, Thoug. 1. 6 καὶ οἱ προσβλέποντες αὐτοῖς (sc. the Athenians) τῶν εὐάγρων διὰ τὸ ἀκριβοστράτου ὡς τοις χρώσεις ἐπειδή τιμῶν ταύτης συμμετοχαὶ καὶ χρωστῶν τεττυρίων ἐνέργεις κρυμβολῶν ἀναδομοῖν τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τρικάι τοῖς δ' εἴπο τίλλων τοῖς προσνύμιοι κατὰ τὸ ἐνέργεια ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἢ σχῆμα ἀνάκλησις, Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 2 no. 645, 12 = Inschr. Gr. ed. min. ii—iii. 1 no. 1377, 13 (an inventory of the Parthenon 399 ff. B.C.) χρωστῆδα διάλεγε συµµέτρη μετὰ πλωθαίρει καὶ τεττυρίων, C. Curtius Inschriften und Studien zur Geschichte von Samos Lübeck 1877 p. 10 ff. no. 6, 50 ff. pl. i = Michel Recueil d'Inschr. gr. no. 831, 50 ff. (an inventory of the Samian Heraion 349/5 B.C.) γωνὴ ἐπὶ βήματος ἔξω, χεῖρες προσώπων
The Daughters of Kekrops


The name τέττιγας applied to a small species of τέττιξ (Stephanus Thes. Gr. Ling. iv. 1476 A—B) is noteworthy on account of its possible relation to Κέκροψ (cp. F. Kretschmer in Gliotta 1913 iv. 309).

Various views have been taken in modern times with regard to the precise nature of these τέττιγες:

(1) W. Hellbig in the Bull. d. Inst. 1874 pp. 61—63, id. 'Über die goldenen Cicaden der alten Athenen’ in Commentationes philologae in honorem Theodoroi Mommseni Berolini 1877 pp. 616—626, id. in the Rhein. Mus. 1879 xxiv. 484—487, id. Das homerische Ἐπος aus den Denkmälern erläutert Leipzig 1884 pp. 169 f., id.2 Leipzig 1887 p. 246 put forward the view that they were gold spirals wound round the hair. F. Studniczka 'Crobylos und Tettiges' in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1896 xi. 248—291, combining Hellbig's hypothesis with that of A. Conze 'Crobylos' in the Mem. d. Inst. 1865 ii. 408—420, maintained that τέττιγες were gold spirals wound round the back-hair (krobylos) to keep it in position. This view was advocated also by H. Lechat in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1897 x. 342—344, id. 'Σχοινεύς τέττιγες’ in the Revue des études anciennes 1899 pp. 19—22, who noted that such metallic spirals in the hair might produce a sound reminiscent of the cicala, and by A. Boulander in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. v. 164.
The Daughters of Kekrops

Similarly L. Kjellberg 'Zur τέττιγες der alten Athener' in Eratos 1909 ix. 164—175 explained the τέττιγες as threads of thin bronze or gold twined in the hair and rustling like an Aeolian harp in the wind. W. Bremer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 2124 concludes that they were thin gold leaves sewn on to a fillet or soldered on to a metal band.

(2) F. Hauser 'Tettix' in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1906 ix. 75—130 would identify the τέττις with the στήνης, a gold diadem covering the front hair (κρυστάλλῳ). This hypothesis roused much controversy. An attack by E. Petersen ib. 1906 ix Beiblatt pp. 77—86 elicited a reply by Hauser 'Tettix 11' ib. 1907 x Beiblatt pp. 9—32, and a renewed attack by Petersen in the Rhein. Mus. 1907 lxii. 540 ff. called forth a further reply by Hauser 'Tettix 111' in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1908 xi Beiblatt pp. 87—96. Another opponent of Hauser was W. Bremer Die Haartracht des Mannes in archaisch-griechischer Zeit Giessen 1911 p. 60 ff., id. in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 2121 ff. The reader is inclined to quote 'Katy-did, Katy-didn't,' etc.

(3) Meantime the old view that the τέττιγες really were golden cicalas can claim the support of much archaeological evidence. H. Schliemann Mycenae London 1878 p. 176 nos. 259, 260 (= my fig. 155) illustrated two out of 'ten golden grasshoppers with chains' from the third shaft-grave: these he took to be 'ornaments of the breast or hair'; Staß Coll. Mycénienne: Athènes p. 20 nos. 77, 78 calls them, with less likelihood, 'des jouets d’enfants.' Sir A. J. Evans, however, in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1925 xlv. 55 with fig. 52, 4 points out that these pendants are 'intended for chrysalises' and compares a better-marked chrysalis-bead of gold (ib. fig. 47 = my fig. 156) found by A. J. B. Wace in a chamber-tomb (no. 518 of the Kalkani cemetery) at Mykenai (A. J. B. Wace in The Times Literary Supplement for Oct. 26, 1923 p. 684, id. in The Illustrated London News for Feb. 24, 1923 p. 300 fig. 4, id. 'Chamber Tombs at Mycenae' in Archaeologia 1924 lxxvii. 87 no. 76, 194 pl. 38). L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu S. Pl. 1877 p. 28 ff. Atlas pl. 2, 15 (= my fig. 157: scale c. 3, F. Hauser in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1906 ix. 89 f. fig. 30) published a small gold pendant representing the larva of a cicala, which was found in the fourth barrow of the 'Seven Brothers' group near Temrjuk on the Sea of Azov, a tomb dating from s. v B.C. (E. H. Minns Scythians and Greeks Cambridge 1913 p. 210, M. Rostovtzeff Iranians &* Greeks in South Russia Oxford
The Daughters of Kekrops 253


A more satisfactory téttix in the form of a gold brooch (length 0.066) came from the earliest Artemision at Ephesus (D. G. Hogarth Excavations at Ephesus London 1908 p. 98 pl. 4, 33 and pl. 3, 3 (= my fig. 158: scale 1)). Another téttix-brooch of gold was found by A. N. Skias in a cave of Pan and the Nymphs, known as Lychnospélia, on Mt Parnes at the depth of half a metre below the surface (A. N. Skias in the Ib. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1896 xi. 282 fig. 13 (of no. 20). Fibulae of late Roman and early mediaeval date found in Hungary again represent the

Fig. 158.

Fig. 159.

Fig. 160.

Fig. 161.

insect’s body. The other, pointed, end of the pin was caught by the hook on the lower part of the body. The axis having dropped out or been broken, the owner, lest he should lose the little gold pin, had twisted it up as best he could through the other two rings. A couple of téttiges in gold foil, sent by Count Peroffsky in 1853, were figured in the Antiquités du Bosphore cimmérien St.-Pétersbourg 1854 i. 155, iii pl. 22, 20 (= my fig. 160: scale 1) and 21 (= my fig. 161: scale 1). Id. ed. S. Reinach Paris 1892 p. 69 pl. 22, 20 and 21, cp. L. Stephani in the Mémanges gréco-romains tirés du Bulletin historico-philologique de l’Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg St.-Pétersbourg 1855 ii. 215, id. in the Compte-rendu St. Pétersbourg 1879 p. 54 n. 2, E. Beulé Fouilles et découvertes, résumées et discutées en vue de l’histoire de l’art Paris 1873 ii. 411, V. Duruy Histoire des Romains Paris 1883 vi. 413 fig. (of no. 20), T. Schreiber in the Ath. Mitth. 1883 viii. 272, F. Studniczka in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1896 xi. 282 fig. 13 (of no. 20).
The Daughters of Kekrops

cicala, though with less approximation to nature (F. Studniczka in the *Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1896 xi. 283 f. fig. 15 (= my fig. 162)).

On the whole it may be concluded that the ἱλιτίτις of Thouk. i. 6 was a golden fibula shaped like a cicala, that being the traditional, perhaps the tribal, badge of Ionian autochthones.

We are not, therefore, surprised to find that the ἱλιτίτις occurs as a private badge on tetradrachms of Athens with two monograms struck c. 240—197 B.C. (*Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 59 no. 73 pl. 34, 6, nos. 74, 75, J. N. Svoronos* *Les monnaies d' Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 37, 6—15) and again on tetradrachms and drachms with the names of the brothers Lysan[dros] and Glaukos issued in 159 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc.* pp. xliii, 62, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 64 no. 114, J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 48, 21—31. On the date see J. E. Kirchner 'Zur Datierung der athensischen Silbermünzen' in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1898 xxii. 84, J. Sundwall *Untersuchungen über die attischen Münzen des neueren Stiles* Helsingfors 1908 p. 96, Head *Hist. num.* 2 p. 383. Fig. 163 is from a specimen in my collection). On bronze pieces the ἱλιτίτις is sometimes a 'symbol' ((i) obv. head of Athena *Parthénos*; rev. owl on amphora *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc.* p. 78)
The Daughters of Kekrops

nos. 525, 526, J. N. Svoronos op. cit. pl. 71, 17, 18 and pl. 79, 38—42. (3) obv. head of Athena Parthénos; rev. statue of Apollon at Delos by Tektaios and Angelion (supra ii. 232 n. o fig. 161. To the bibliography there given add J. N. Svoronos op. cit. pl. 56, 26, 27 and pl. 86, 8—14. Fig. 164 is a further specimen from my collection), sometimes a 'type' ((1) obv. head of Artemis; rev. cicala (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc. p. 87 pl. 15, 9, J. N. Svoronos op. cit. pl. 107, 28—35 and 42—45. In fig. 165 I append a specimen of mine). (2) obv. cicala; rev. owl on thunderbolt (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc. p. 85 pl. 15, 5, J. N. Svoronos op. cit. pl. 107, 50—54, cp. Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 74 no. 201 pl. 34, 17). (3) obv. cicala; rev. amphora and branch (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc. p. 88 nos. 618—620 ('palm'), 621—626 ('branch'), J. N. Svoronos op. cit. pl. 107, 55—69. Fig. 166 is from a specimen in my collection). (4) obv. cicala; rev. quiver and bow (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc. p. 88 no. 627, J. N. Svoronos op. cit. pl. 107, 70—74). (5) obv. cicala; rev. letter, monogram, or simple type (J. N. Svoronos op. cit. pl. 18, 26, 38, 106, 117 (? kolybæi)).

A creature with such a record behind it would serve as an excellent amulet to keep off mischief (L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pl. 1860 p. 91, 1864 p. 130 f., 1865 p. 84, 1869 p. 130, 1877 pp. 28—31, 91, 1880 p. 99 f.). Two engraved chalcedonies of early Roman date at Berlin show cicadas equipped with shield, sword, lance, etc. (Furtwängler Geschnit. Steine Berlin p. 239 nos. 6524 and 6523 pl. 45, id. Ant. Gemmen i pl. 29, 41 (= my fig. 167) and 43 (= my fig. 168), ii. 144). Prophylactic virtue probably attached to the terra-cotta models of the tettix, of which sundry specimens are extant. One from Tanagra, in our national collection, has its upper side coloured black, with markings in...
red, on a white slip (Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas p. 83 no. B 72 fig. 17 = my fig. 169 (scale 4), O. Keller Die antike Tierwelt Leipzig 1913 ii. 404 fig. 125). Another, in my possession, is a child’s rattle and by means of a pellet within makes a noise more or less resembling that of its original (fig. 170: scale 4). A ϕιάλε μεσόμφαλος by the potter

Fig. 169.

Fig. 170.

Sotades, now at Boston, has perched upon its central boss a most life-like tēttix in pale terra cotta (W. Froehner Collection van Brantechem Bruxelles 1892 no. 139 pl. 35, H. B. Walters History of Ancient Pottery London 1905 i. 445 pl. 40, t, Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l’Art x. 724 fig. 395, Hoppin Red-fig. Vases ii. 428 no. 1 fig., J. D. Beazley Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 129). Was this prophylaxis or a practical joke?
was ab origine a personification of the cicala, and that he bore a name which was primarily onomatopoeic. In any case Tithonos

1 The personification of the cicala is by no means an unexampled effort of the imagination. The Laconian town Tainaros was called 'the seat of Tettix' because it had been founded by Tettix the Cretan (Hesych. s.v. 'Tettixos òbranos'). When the Naxian Kalondas, surnamed Korax, had killed Archilochos in battle, he was hidden by the Pythian priestess to go to 'the dwelling of Tettix' and appease the soul of Archilochos. 'The dwelling of Tettix' meant Tainaros because Tettix the Cretan had come thither with his ships, founded a town, and dwelt beside the pychochopetos (Plout. de ser. num. vind. 17, cp. Ail. frag. 80 Hercher ap. Soud. s.v. 'Arkhlochos'). O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 403 rightly infers from Archil. frag. 143 Bergk ap. Loukian. pseudolog. ε τέττια τοιο περο ωσεληφας that the poet had spoken of himself as a τέττια, and this lends the needed point to the anecdote.

A folk-tale from Naxos says that the cicala (ό τύφθικας), the ant, the bee, and the spider were brothers and sisters. Their mother lay dying and bade them all come to receive her blessing. The bee alone came. So her mother wished that she might make wax for the saints and honey for men. The rest were cursed. The spider should spin all night and unravel her web by day. The ant should drudge the year through and eat but a single grain. The cicala should chirp, chirp till he burst (N. G. Polites ILapaSoo-eis Athens 1904 i. 194 no. 353, ii. 943, O. Dähnhardt Naturasen Leipzig and Berlin 1910 iii. 468). In northern Greece the cicala is held in greater honour—witness G. F. Abbott Macedonian Folklore Cambridge 1903 p. 60: 'The farmers of Macedonia out of the newly ground corn make a large thin cake, which they take to the village fountain or well. They sprinkle it with water and then distribute it among the bystanders, who in return wish them "a happy year."' This cake is called "Grasshopper-Cake" (τυφθικέλεον), and is supposed to be a kind of offering to their favourite insect. The following rhymes express the insect's satisfaction at the sacrifice: 'Δωνίθετε, δονίθετε κ' μένα κλαίε κάνετε, | Καλ βίκε τ' α τ' θυσίνα πα το πάρει, | Να κήπω τα το φαίθε μαζε με τα παιδα μου, | Να πέσω τα πέθανα.' [2] A. A. Tovoiov, "'Η κατά τ' Πάγγακος Χώρα," p. 47 "Thresh and mow and make a cake for me. | Throw it into the fount that I may go and fetch it, | And sit and eat it with my children, | And then lay me down and die."'

A popular Tuscan song tells how the grasshopper (grillo) married the ant. After the wedding he became first a greengrocer and then an innkeeper, but finally went bankrupt, beat his wife, and died in misery (A. de Gubernatis Zoological Mythology London 1872 ii. 48 f.).

See further B. Laufer Insect Musicians and Cricket Champions of China (Anthropology Leaflet 23) Chicago 1927 (reviewed in Folk-Lore 1928 xxxix. 112: 'A champion cricket is looked on as the incarnation of a great warrior or hero of the past, and fetches the price of a good horse. If he has won many victories, his burial will be in a small silver coffin, for good luck, and in the neighbourhood of his grave excellent fighting crickets are expected to be found in the following year').

The main objection to my view is that the evidence directly connecting Tithonos with the cicala is not older than s. v B.C. See, however, h. Aphr. 236 ff. and infra n. 2.

2 Names for the cicala regularly involve a reduplicated τ or κ together with an ι-sound (O. Keller Die antike Tierwelt Leipzig 1913 ii. 406). So with the ancient Greek τέττις, τεττιγόνας, τεττιγόνως (L. Dindorf in Stephanus Thei. Gr. Ling. vii. 1901 a—d), κίκιος (Hesych. κίκιος- τέττις), κίκως (Hesych. κίκως- δ' νέος τέττις. It is just possible that in h. Aφr. 237 f. το δ' η τo φωτ' μεί λαμπερος, οδη η κίκως | σφιθ' οδη πάροι εκεν εν γναφητοια μελανων the choice of the word κίκως was determined by a reminiscence of κίκως. Neither Welcker Gr. Götterl. i. 686 (A. Rapp in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1263) nor J. Schmidt in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 1025 (is convincing), the modern Greek τυφθικας or τυφθικας, τύφθικας, and the Latin cicada with its derivatives (G. Körting Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch Paderborn 1901 p. 238 notes Italian ciclida, cicala, Lombard ligada, Provençal cigala, French cigale, Spanish cigarra, chicharra, Portuguese cigarra, etc.

C. III.
The Daughters of Kekrops
and adds: 'Nach gewohnlicher Annahme soll die Benennung der "Cigarre" (span. ptg. *cigarro*, lat. *cigarrus*, frz. *cigare*) auf span. *cigarras* zuruckgehen, wegen einer gewissen Ahnlichkeit des Tabakrollchens mit der Cicade, sei es in Gestalt oder in Farbe.' Cp. E. Weekley An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English London 1921 p. 303. But these imitative formations are apt also to have an in-sound, as in the modern Greek *τινδρικάς, τινδριας, τινδρίκας* (Prellwitz Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr. II. p. 458), the Macedonian-Romanian chincali (Körting loc. cit.), and the Latin verb *frintinnire* (Suet. frag. p. 553, 2 Reifferscheid cicadalum frintinnire (frintinnire cod. V. freitinnire ali cod.), F. Buecheler—A. Riese Anthologia Latina² Lipsiae 1906 i. 2. 248 no. 762. 35 et cucci cuccant et rauca cicada frintitnire, late Latin *frintinnire* (Ducange Gloss. med. et inf. Lat. s.vv. 'baulare,' 'frintinnire').


There is some reason to think that the Etruscan Tinbud is still remembered by the peasants of north Italy. C. G. Leland Etruscan Roman Remains in Popular Tradition London 1892 p. 122 states that the Romagnoli regard *Tituno* or *Tiluno* as 'the spirit of thunder,' and ib. p. 215 asserts that, when it hails, people invoke *Tituno* or *Titania*. If his information be reliable (supra ii. 431 n. 0), it is possible to suppose that the *in-of* Tinbud led to confusion with the Etruscan Tinia. Be that as it may, *Tinia*, like Tinbud, is grouped with *Etheis* and *Okeos* on a mirror now in the Vatican (E. Braun in the Bull. d. Inst. 1837 pp. 73—80. Mus. Etr. Gregor. i. p. 31, 1, Gerhard Etr. Spiegel iv. 5. 44, 1837 pp. 396 (=my fig. 173), Fabretti op. cit. p. ccxv no. 2477), which presumably represents Zeus supplicated by Heos and Thetis (supra ii. 734, 753 n. 3 (3)). Leland op. cit. pp. 75—78 claims that Okeus too has survived as *Tisana, 'the Spirit of the Dawn,' and quotes a popular poem in which she appears as a dream to a sleeping *contadino* and promises to help him when he is weary.

More ingenious, but also more speculative, are the suggestions of S. Bugge Das Verhältnis der Etrusker zu den Indogermanen und der vorgriechischen Bevölkerung Kleinasiens und Griechenlands ed. A. Torp Strassburg 1909 p. 229 ff.—*Tobos* was a pre-Greek Anatolian name, borne e.g. by a brother of Priam (II. 20. 337). A cuneiform tablet found at Eyuk in Kappadokia mentions a town Tinunia, perhaps to be located in Armenia rather than in Asia Minor (E. Chantre Recherches archéologiques dans l'Asie occidentale. Mission en Cappadoce 1852—1894 Paris 1898 p. 45 ff. no. 1, 16 Ti-in-ī-tu-ū-ni-ia). With this agrees the form *Tinun*, which the Etruscans may have brought with them from their early home in Asia Minor. *Tinunia* (for *Tinunthia*) is to *Tinbud* as *Ἀπόλλωνια*
260 The Daughters of Kekrops

had by Eos a son Memnon; and here too the dew-connexion re-appears. When Memnon was slain by Achilles, his mother Eos wept for him, and in the morning dew-drops we still see her tears.1

Aglauros, Pandrosos, and Herse were alike associated with Zeus. Their mother was the daughter of Aktaios2; and Aktaios is a cult-epithet of Zeus3. Possibly Zeus Aktaios, Zeus 'of the Point,' was at one time worshipped on the high ground of Akte overlooking the harbours of the Peiraieus4. More probably he drew his title from Akte, the old name for the whole promontory of Attike5, which indeed represents an earlier Akte.6 Pandrosos, again, stood in close relation to Zeus. In the Pandroseion was his altar;7 and, though we must not with O. Gruppe8 assume the existence of a Zeus Pándrosos, yet we may feel sure that here Zeus the sky-father,

to 'Ἀπόλλων.' On this showing tīnθν was the god or godlike hero of Hittite-speaking Cappadocians. Memnon as son of Tithonos implies that Tithonos was known in Anatolia. Tithonos founded Sousa on the Choaspes (Strab. 728, Diod. 2. 22, cp. Hdt. 5. 53, 7. 151, Paus. 4. 31. 5) and was worshipped as a god by the Susians (Soud. s.v. Σωσίας: στόμα θνους. τὸν νεκρὸν καθώντες οἱ Σωσίαὶ τὰ ωτά κολύζοντι τῷ πατρὶ Θνωθεί): Further, Tithonos was a personification of the day (cp. mag. p. 728, 27 f. Θήνως, ἡ ἡμέρα: παρά τὸ θνωθέν τὸ σμηνών τὸ ἡμερο [Etymology at its most! A. B. c.]). Now it seems that the Etruscan stem tīn- denoted both the 'day' and the 'daylight-god' tīnθα or tīnα, the equivalent of Zeus or Jupiter (S. Bugge op. cit. p. 190 f.). Accordingly, Θήνως presupposes an Anatolian form in which in before θ became a nasal i (i). The Etruscan inscription on the wrappings of the Agram mummy speaks of the Dawn of the Day-god (G. Herbig in C. Pauli Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum Lipsiae 1919—1921 Suppl. i (liber linteus Zagrabiensis) col. vv. 19 tēsan-tīnθ with pl. 5: see further C. Pauli in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 676 f.). This makes it certain that tīnθn associated with tēsan, the Dawn (supra fig. 171), involves the syllable tīn- 'day.' The termination -θν is of doubtful origin, but may be a combination of θ the enclitic article with the suffix -θν (cp. -θνω- of Θήνως). The schol. A.L. II. 11. 1 equates Θήνως with Τήνω and both with Apollo. 'Θήνω [sic]...scheint mir ebenfalls vorgriechischen Ursprungs und auf dieselbe Grundwurzel wie Θήνως zurückzugehen.' C. Pauli in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 971 f. is likewise inclined to accept an original connexion between Tīnθn, *Tīnth, Θήνως, Tītuno on the one hand and Tīnθ, Τίνθ Τίτυνθ on the other. But the whole edifice is a house of cards.1

1 Ov. met. 13. 621 f., Stat. silv. 5. 1. 34 f., interp. Serv. in Verg. Aen. 1. 489. Cp. O. Fuchstein Epigrammata Graeca in Aegypto reperta Strassburg 1880 no. 18.2 Supra p. 343 n. 3.3 Supra ii. 869 n. 2, 904 n. 2.4 Supra p. 238 n. 3.5 Eur. Hec. 1673, Lyk. Al. 1339, Strab. 391, 397, Harpocr. s.v. 'Ακτή (Favorin. lex. p. 102, 43 ff.), Apollod. 3. 14. 1, Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Ακτή, et. mag. p. 167, 51.6 Prellwitz Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr. 2 p. 22 'Αττική= 'Αττική.' But W. Judeich in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 2184 f. had already derived 'Αττική 'offenbar gleich 'Αττική' from 'Ακτή and had cited in support, not only the lexicographers (supra n. 5), but also the marm. Par. cp. i. p. 3 Jacoby and Strab. 397 (cp. Paus. 1. 2. 6), in both of which the precise form 'Αττική occurs.7 Supra p. 343 n. 5.8 Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 29 n. 6, 111 n. 1, 1217 n. 3. Id. id. p. 29 says: 'ursprünglich wohl "Allbeter."' But πάτρας is at least as likely to be passive as active in meaning.
Zeus Érrhos

who distilled the fructifying dew, had as his consort Pandrosos the earth-mother ‘All-bedewed.’ Lastly, Herse was for Alkman the very daughter of Zeus.

(c) Zeus Érrhos, Ersaios, Ikmaios, Ikmos, Ἀφριος.

In view of the foregoing sections we are not surprised to find that Zeus had sundry titles characterising him as the god of dew, moisture, and the like.

It seems probable that Érrhos, an obscure name for Zeus quoted by Hesychios from some unknown source, meant simply the ‘Dew.’ Zeus, as Plutarch put it, turned himself into dew. If so, his appellation will be connected with those of the Athenian Errhephdros, the Lesbian Ersphdros, and the Attic Apollon Éros. Another

1 Even the honey-dew (supra p. 246) came from Zeus. When in summertime a cold night was followed by a hot day, and consequently trees and plants were found to be coated with a sweet exudation (μελατεία, ἀερματεία), Greek farmers exclaimed: πάντες προφαίνει δωμένους (vi. 739 Kühn). Virgil says of Jupiter: mellaque eussit foliis (georg. i. 131). See further infra p. 498 ff.

2 Supra i. 732 n. 5, iii. 179 f.

3 Hesych. Ἕρως ὦ Zeus. M. Schmidt is silent. J. Alberti, who records the guesses of G. Soping (cp. Hesych. Ἑρμος ὦ Zeus) and J. J. Reiske (‘An Heros?’), is not particularly helpful.

4 Supra p. 180.

5 Supra pp. 167 n. 10, 168.

6 Supra p. 166.

7 About an hour’s walk to the north-east of Vari (Anagyrous), some 290 m above the sea, near the top of one of Hymettos’ southern spurs—a height known formerly as Kapsela but now as Σπείλαιον—is a very remarkable cave, first thoroughly explored in 1901 by members of the American School at Athens. The best map of the neighbourhood is in E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert Karten von Attika Berlin 1904 Blatt 8 (Vari) with Text by A. Milchhöfer Berlin 1889 iii. 16 f. The official reports of the excavation were published by C. H. Weller in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1903 viii. 263—288 (description) with pl. 1 (plan) = my fig. 174, pl. 2 (sections) = my figs. 175, 176, and figs. 1—10, M. E. Dunham ib. 289—300 (a score of inscriptions), Miss I. C. Thallon ib. 301—319 (marble reliefs) with pls. 3—9, Miss L. S. King ib. 320—327 (vases) with pl. 10 and figs. 1, 2, 328—334 (terra cottas) with pl. 11, Miss A. Baldwin ib. 335—337 (coins), S. E. Bassett ib. 338—349 (lamps) with pls. 12—14 and figs. 1—5. The cave consists of an outer and an inner grotto, the former with a series of interesting rock-carvings and -cuttings, the latter dimly lit and containing a cold spring of water said to be ‘καθαρτής.’ The excavators failed to find any prehistoric remains. The evidence pointed to two periods of more or less continuous resort, c. 600—c. 150 B.C. and c. 300—c. 400 A.D. Inscriptions prove that during the earlier period the cave was devoted to the worship of the Nymphs, Pan, Charis, and Apollon Éros or Ηρεύς. Lamps etc. show that during the later period it was adapted for Christian usage.

We are concerned only with the shrine of Apollon, which is hewn out of the rock at the spot marked e on the plan (fig. 174). This shrine was arranged in two levels, each divided into halves by a low partition. The floor of the upper niche has a couple of D-shaped cavities (for libations or votive gifts? Cp. supra i. 140). The lower divisions lack such receptacles, but may have had fitted into them a pair of similarly concave stones. Two little holes on the left of the upper level, with corresponding holes on the right, perhaps imply pillars supporting a roof as a protection against the drip of water, which is here constant. Small fluted columns—two fragments were found—may or may not have been the pillars in question. Legible till lately was the rock-cut inscription
Zeus Êrhos


and H. van Herwerden Appendix lexici Graeci suppletorii et dialectici Lugduni Batavorum 1904 p. 90 assumes a nominative Ἐρος or Ἐρός (id. Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum Lugduni Batavorum 1910 p. 587 gives Ἐρος (Ἑρος?)). H. Stuart Jones in the new ed. of Liddell and Scott, Oxford 1929, has Ἐρος...perh. cf. Ἐρος. To the left of the shrine is a crude carving of a stone-cutter, who bears a hammer or pick and a square and is inscribed twice with the name Archedemos (Inscr. Gr. ed. min. i no. 787 Ἀρχέδημος Ἀρχέδημος). Inscriptions found elsewhere in the cave describe him as Archedamos of Thera (ib. no. 786 Ἀρχέδαιμος Ἀρχέδαιμος Ἡθαιός), who being possessed by the Nymphs was bidden to adorn their grotto (ib. no. 788 Ἀρχέδημος ὁ Θαιός ὁ ἐκμυθίζως θαιάνες Νύμφον τῇ κηργήσει = Cougny Anth. Pal. Append. i. 48), planted a garden for them (Inscr. Gr. ed. min. i nos. 784/785 'Αρχέδαιμος ὁ Θαιός κάποιος Νύμφαις ἐφότευτον = a sixth foot plus a complete hexameter), and constructed a

Fig. 174.

and H. van Herwerden Appendix lexici Graeci suppletorii et dialectici Lugduni Batavorum 1904 p. 90 assumes a nominative Ἐρος or Ἐρός (id. Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum Lugduni Batavorum 1910 p. 587 gives Ἐρος (Ἑρος?)). H. Stuart Jones in the new ed. of Liddell and Scott, Oxford 1929, has Ἐρος...perh. cf. Ἐρος. To the left of the shrine is a crude carving of a stone-cutter, who bears a hammer or pick and a square and is inscribed twice with the name Archedemos (Inscr. Gr. ed. min. i no. 787 Ἀρχέδημος Ἀρχέδημος). Inscriptions found elsewhere in the cave describe him as Archedamos of Thera (ib. no. 786 Ἀρχέδαιμος Ἀρχέδαιμος Ἡθαιός), who being possessed by the Nymphs was bidden to adorn their grotto (ib. no. 788 Ἀρχέδημος ὁ Θαιός ὁ ἐκμυθίζως θαιάνες Νύμφον τῇ κηργήσει = Cougny Anth. Pal. Append. i. 48), planted a garden for them (Inscr. Gr. ed. min. i nos. 784/785 'Αρχέδαιμος ὁ Θαιός κάποιος Νύμφαις ἐφότευτον = a sixth foot plus a complete hexameter), and constructed a
dancing-ground (ib. nos. 784/785 δ' Ἀρχεδ[ε]μῶς ἡ Γαῖας καὶ χορῶν ἑρίωτε[σ] Νήφας ἅμ[π]οοὶ χαμεῖν ἀπὸ t ἕξιστος ποιεῖ [o]n t χαμηθεῖ ἐπωνύμου a sixth foot plus the first half of a hexameter plus a complete hexameter). The date of Archedemos is uncertain. C. H. Weller places him c. 400 B.C. But his vagaries of dialect, lettering, and metre seem to me to indicate a much later (Hadrianic?) period, when archaism were in fashion.

In addition to the deities already mentioned there was the seated goddess, whose rock-cut effigy and omphalos are still to be seen at the point marked β on the plan (fig. 174. Cp. the sectional drawing in fig. 175). Her headless torso has been twice portrayed (E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert *Atlas von Athen* Berlin 1878 p. 30 pl. 8, 1 sketch by F. Adler
Zeus Ἑρρός

Fig. 177.

Fig. 178.
Zeus  

Ersaios  265

Title of kindred origin preserved by Hesychios is perhaps Ersaios, Zeus 'of the Dew.' Keos was once so well watered that, like certain others of the Kyklades, it was known as Hydroassa. Hither came Aristaios, one (= my fig. 178), C. H. Weller in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1903 vii. 267 ff. (fig. 4 photo) and is variously interpreted as Isis (R. Chandler Travels in Greece Oxford 1776 p. 150 'Isis, the Egyptian Ceres,' J. C. Hobhouse (Lord Broughton) A Journey through Albania London 1813 i. 403 'supposed to represent Isis, the Egyptian Ceres,' E. Dodwell A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece London 1819 i. 553 'probably a statue of Isis') or Demeter (L. Ross Reisen des Königs Otto und der Königinn Amalia in Griechenland Halle 1848 ii. 76 'vielleicht einer Demeter') or Kybele (A. Milchhöfer in the Ath. Mitth. 1880 v. 217 'offenbar...Kybele,' L. Bloch in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 531. This would agree with the lion's head carved in the rock at ξ on the plan (fig. 174). See also A. Kapp in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1642, 1644 or Rhea (A. Milchhöfer in E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert Karten von Attika Berlin 1836 p. 198, ib. London 1855 p. 170, was not very wide of the mark when he wrote: 'Ersus...appears to have been venerated here, as the beneficent power to whose influence—shed like dew (ὕδρος) upon the earth,—all rural produce in its infant state, the tender blade, the opening blossom, and the young firstling, were alike indebted for their preservation and increase.' More succinctly let us say that down here, in the dark womb of mother earth, Apollon Ερσός with his gentle moisture impregnates Ge for the benefit of mankind. And, if so, then the cave at Vari furnishes a noteworthy parallel to the Ersaphoria (supra p. 165 ff.) at the underground descent (of Ge Olympia? supra p. 188) beside the Ilissos.

Finally, if—as seems probable—the cave at Vari was the actual spot on Mt Hymettos to which the infant Platon was taken by his parents for a sacrifice to the rustic powers (Ail. var. hist. 10. 21 ἐν τῷ Πλάτωνῳ ἡ Παρθένοια ἔφερεν ἐν ταῖς ἀγκαλίαις: θόρυβος δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέου ἐν Ἱμήτῃ ταῖς Μάρσιαι ἦ ταῖς Νόμφαις, οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὴν λειωμένην θεᾶν, ἡ δὲ κατέλυσεν Πλάτων ἐν ταῖς τῆς ποσεῖδος μυρώναις δασεῖς οἰκεὶς καὶ τυμφαίς. καθέξοντι δὲ ἔπειδς μετέπειτα ἐν τοῖς χαλκέας αὐτοῦ καθίσασαν ὕπερ, τὸν τοῦ Πλάτωνος εὐγνωμιῶν μαστεύειν ἐνέθεσεν, Olympioid. v. Plat. v. 1, 14f. Westermann καὶ γεννήθη τοῦ τοῦ Πλάτωνος λαβόντες οἱ γυναικεῖς βραβεύσαντες τεθείσαις ἐν τῇ Ἱμήτῃ, βουλόμενοι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐκεί θεᾶς Παλώ καὶ Νόμφαις καὶ Ἀπόλλωνας Νεμίας τυθέναι, καὶ κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ μελετῶν προσθελόμενοι κεφαλῆς μελετῶντος τῷ κόσμῳ τρίον πραγμάτων μελέτος, ὥσ πληθὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ γίνεται τῷ τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γάλακτων μελέτοις γλυκεῖν δὲν αἴδη (II. 1: 249), it may be that the honey found on the babe's lips was accepted as the divine dew vouchsafed by the deities of the cavern.

1 Hesych. Έρσαιος ΄άριος Ζείης (cp. supra ii. 30, ii. 351 n. o, 808 n. o (o)). A. Meineke's ΟΤΕΡΣΗ is commonly approved and squares with Hesych. ἐρωτία...δροσώδης καὶ ἐρωτής. If this is right, Nonnos had the sanction of cult-usage, when he made Semele dream of herself as a fruit-tree in a garden 'Drenched by the nurturing dews of Kronos' son' (Dion. 7. 146 νυμφόσεως Κρώνου ἀνθρώπων ἑρώτου).  


of the great culture-heroes of Greece, who learnt the care of sheep and oxen from the Nymphs and of bees from the Brisai. But drought befell the island, for the Etesian Winds failed and plants and animals suffered\(^1\). At this point the narrative as told by Herakleides of Pontos, the pupil of Aristotle\(^2\), breaks off abruptly. It is continued by Apollonios of Rhodes\(^3\). Aristaios by his wisdom averted disaster. Gathering together the Parrhasian folk of Lykaon's lineage (presumably Arcadian settlers in Keos\(^4\)), he made a great altar for Zeus Ikmaios, Lord 'of the Damp\(^5\); and sacrificed on the mountains both to the star Seirios and to Zeus son of Kronos. Thereupon Zeus sent the Etesian Winds to blow for forty days and cool the earth. Hence the Cean custom that priests offer burnt-

\(^1\) Herakl. Pont. loc. cit.
\(^2\) Aristot. frag. 511 Rose\(^2\).
\(^3\) Ap. Rhod. 2. 519 f. Πλην θῇ πατρὸς ἤμετρν | θείων, ἐν δὲ Κῆπῳ κατενάθατο, λαῶν ἄγερος | Παράςεας, τόποι τε Δικνάον εἰς γενέθλια, | καὶ μιὰν νύσσα μέγαν Δίδυμον. Ικμαίοιον, | ζῶρα τοῦ ἐαρχῶν ἐν αἰείνς ἄντρας χείρ | Σειρίῳ ἀντί τε Κρωνίδης Δι. τῶν δ’ ἐνεκτ | γαλας ἐφιάσκουσιν ἐθάνατοι ἐκ Δίδυμος αἰείνς (σμήνα p. 142 n. 6) ὡματα τυςιακάκατον. Κήρ δ’ ἐτοι ιερεῖς | ἀντίληλεῖσαν προφόρων Κῦνον μέζους θυαλάτ. | Σος Θεοφρ. α. τεντ. 14 οὐ δ’ ἐποίησεν καὶ Ἀρισταιοί αὐτοῖς ἀνεκάδατος θόρυβος, τὰς ἐν Κῆρθι θυσίας τῆς Διδύμης κυθολογοῦσι, κ.τ.λ. and more fully Clem. Al. ieron. 6. 3 p. 444, 30 ff. Stählin πάλιν ιστοροῦσι "ἲλληνες ἐκλεισίνων πολύ τῶν ζητημάτων ἄνθρωπον Ἀρισταιοῖ καὶ Κῆρθι θυσίας "Ικμαίοι (so L. C. Valckenier for Iasihoi cod. L.) Δι’ τολλὴ γὰρ ἐν φοβο, φωνῇ διαπεραμένων πάσων καὶ δῆ καὶ τῶν ἐπιφάνειας τῶν καρπῶν εὐθείων ἄνθρωπος ἡ ἐπίκειται -ο θεο (ins. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff) ἐβάθμιοι αὐτοῖς ἀνεκάδατο. | Σρ. Ηυγ. poet. astr. 2. 4 πραγματεία Canicula exoriens aestu Ceorum (so B. Bunte for evanum cod. D.G.N.) loca et agrorum fructibus orabant et ipsos morbo adfectos poenas Icaro cum dolore suffrere coegerat, quod latrones recepissent: quorum rex Aristaeus Apollinis et Cyrenes filius, Actaeonis pater, petit a parente, quod facto calamitate civitatem posset liberare: quem deus luctet multis hostiis expiare Icari mortem, et ab Iove petere, ut, quod tempore Canicula exorietur, dies XL ventum daret, qui aestum Caniculae mederetur: quod iussum Aristaeus confecit et ab Iove impetravit ut etesiae flarent: quas nonnulli etesiae dixerunt, quod quotannis certo tempore exoriunt (ἕρος enim Graece annum Latine); nonnulli etiam aetesias (so A. van Staveren for etesias cod., ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰεί τινων) appellaverunt: quod expostulatae sunt ab Iove et ita conceassae.

\(^4\) A. Pridik De Cam insulae rebus Dorpati Livonorum 1892 pp. 19—21 would dis-credit this notion of an Arcadian settlement in Keos ('Quod veteres scriptores Aristaeum aut cum Parrhasis ex Arcadia venisse aut postea in Arcadiam se contulisse narrant, collegerunt nimirum ex Aristaei Jovisque cultu et Ceis et Arcadibus communi'). F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 853 is less sceptical ('Indessen hat eine Wanderung von Arkadern nach Keos an sich nichts Unwahrscheinliches; auch an der ionischen Wanderung nahmen nach Herodot. I 146 'Ἀρκάδες Πελαγοὶ tell').

\(^5\) Schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 522 'Ικμαίοι δὲ Δίδυς ἑκάτον ἐστὶν εἰς Κῆρων, τουτεστὶ Δίδυμων, ἐγενεὶ τῆς ἱεράς καὶ τῆς πνοῆς τῶν ἄνθρωπων. Σο cod. Par. The vulgate has Δίδυς 'Ικμαίοιον. ἐγενεὶ τῆς ἱεράς. ἐν τῇ Κ.ἡ (sic) δ’ ἐστὶν ἑκάτον Δίδυς Ικμαίοιον, τουτεστὶ Δίδυμων. ἐπὶ αὐτὸς γέγονε τῆς πνοῆς τῶν ἄνθρωπων. Κ. Manthos thought he could locate the temple of Zeus Ikmaios at a place called μικρὰ Ἕλληνικα, near Ἕλληνικα between Joulis and Karthia. There were remains of Cyclopean walls, which had been used as a quarry for building two neighbouring churches, one being that of the Taxiarchoi (Inscr. Gr. insc. v. 1 no. 543).
sacrifice before the rising of the dog-star. The poet's allusion to Arkadia and Lykaon suggests that the altar of Zeus *Ikmaios* resembled that of Zeus *Lykaios* on the summit of Mount Lykaion. We do not, however, hear that in Keos, as in Arkadia and Elis, a starving populace, when famine stared them in the face, resorted to the desperate expedient of human sacrifice. Milder methods had come into vogue. The priest of Zeus *Lykaios* made rain-magic with an oak-branch. And Aristaios, after sacrificing a bull, poured a libation of honey on the altar of Zeus *Ikmaios*—a libation thoroughly appropriate to the god that sent refreshing dew.

Aristaios, then, was famous as a culture-hero. But admittedly he was more than that. As early as 474 B.C. Pindar identifies him with Zeus *Aristaios* or with Apollon *Agreus* and *Nomios*—high gods of field and fold. Cheiron, foretelling to Apollon the destiny of Kyrene's son, says that Hermes shall receive him from his mother and bring him to the fair-throned Horai and to Gaia:

And they shall set the babe upon their knees, And nectar and ambrosia take, and these Upon his lips let fall, So make him once for all A power that shall endure— Zeus and Apollon pure, A present help to men upon their way, Of flocks a guardian sure, *Agreus* and *Nomios* named of some to-day, Of others *Aristaios*, as they pray.  

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1 *Supra* i. 81 ff.  
2 *Supra* i. 70 ff., 654.  
3 *Infra* § 9 (g) Molpis.  
4 *Supra* i. 76, 87, *infra* § 9 (a) iii.  
5 Nonn. Dion. 5. 269 ff. καὶ πυρὶ σειρὰμα κατεύθυναν ἄστρα Μάλης, ἵκα Δίος Ἰκμαῖοι προδόοι βομμὸν ἀνάφας ἀλμίνην ταυρείων γλύκειαν ἔπεχεσάτο λαοῖς. Πουκλέα φοταλέα ἐτείσιῶμα χίαρα μελάνησις, πλήσας ἄξιον κύτταρα μελικρότητι κυκενὸν. Ζεύς δὲ πατὴρ ἡκοσι καὶ ἱδών νὰ γεμαίρων.  
6 *Hesych.* s.v. ικαλή βασίλεια, ἵκα Δίος Ἰκμαῖοι προδόοι βομμὸν ἀνάφας ἀλμίνην ταυρείων γλύκειαν ἔπεχεσάτο λαοῖς. Πουκλέα φοταλέα ἐτείσιῶμα χίαρα μελάνησις, πλήσας ἄξιον κύτταρα μελικρότητι κυκενὸν. Ζεύς δὲ πατὴρ ἡκοσι καὶ ἱδών νὰ γεμαίρων.  
Pindar appears to be weaving together a warp and a woof of diverse origin. The one tradition, which we may call Boeotian since it was found in Hesiod, equated Aristaios with the pastoral Apollon. The other, which is rather Arcadian, identified him with Zeus. This is the version accepted by Kallimachos when, wishing to ascribe a noble pedigree to Akontios of Keos, he makes him descended 'from the priests of Zeus Aristaios Ikmiios'. Later writers repeat, with less precision, this twofold claim to divinity. We are left wondering whether Aristaios was a god who had faded into a hero, or a mortal who had put on immortality.

And here we must take into account an attractive hypothesis advanced by L. R. Farnell, who observes that Aristaios means 'sprung from Ariste* and that Ariste was an appellative of Artemis: 'His

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1 Hes. frag. 98 Flach, 139 Rzach ap. Serv. in Verg. georg. 1. 14 Aristaeum invocat, id est Apollinis et Cyrenes filium, quem Hesiodus dicit Apollinem pastoralem.
2 Interp. Serv. in Verg. georg. 1. 14 huic opinion! (sc. that Aristaios went from Thebes to Keos and thence to Sardinia) Pindarus refragatur, qui eum ait de Cea insula in Arcadiam migrasse ibique vitam coluisse: nam apud Arcadas pro love colitur, quod primus ostenderit qualiter apes debeant reparari, ut ait poeta de hoc ipso Aristaeo 'tempus et Arcadii memoranda inventa magistri pandere' (Verg. georg. 4. 283 f).
3 Kallim. aitia 3. 1. 32 ff. Mair Κοδείχς τοῦ γ’ ἄνθρωπον ῥηθεῖ ἄνθρωπον Κεῖς | ἑαυτὸς Ἀρισταῖος Ἀρισταῖον Ἡσ. | Ἡσ. frag. 98 Flach, 129 Rzach op. Serv. in Verg. georg. i. 14 Aristaeum invocat, id est Apollinis et Cyrenes filium, quern Hesiodus dicit Apollinem pastoralen.
6 Farnell Gk. Hero Cults p. 49 ff.
name implies a powerful goddess and her son. Are we transported back once again to the domain of Cretan religion, with its great goddess and youthful companion-god? Artemis certainly bulked big in Keos. She had a sanctuary at Ioulis, as we gather not only from the myth of Ktesylla but also from extant inscriptions. Her head appears on bronze coins of the town struck in s. iii B.C. And her name at least is perpetuated by that of Saint Artemidos, the Cean protector of ailing children. If, then, we may assume that in Keos, as at Athens, Artemis was Aristē, it is possible to plead that Aristaios was a theophoric name—possible, but precarious.

On the whole, I am disposed to see in Aristaios another example of those early kings of Greece (Agamemnon, Amphiaraos, Trophonios, Asklepios, etc.), who bore the title of the sky-god because they were regarded as his human embodiment. Hyginus—was it only a lucky

1 Ant. Lib. 1 (after Nikandros ἑρωικὴ μῦθον book 3) Hermochares of Athens saw Ktesylla, daughter to Alkidamas of Ioulis, as she danced round the altar of Apollon at Karthaia on the occasion of the Pythian festival. Falling in love with her, he inscribed an apple and let it drop in the precinct of Artemis. Ktesylla picked it up and read thereon a vow to marry Hermochares of Athens. Thereupon, moved by modesty and anger, she flung the apple away. When Hermochares pressed his suit, Ktesylla’s father consented and, laying hold of the bay-tree, swore by Apollon to that effect. But after the Pythia Alkidamas forgot his oath and gave his daughter to another. The wedding was at hand, and the girl was already offering her sacrifice in the precinct of Artemis, when Hermochares indignant at losing his bride burst in. Ktesylla was smitten with love for him and, helped by her nurse, eloped with him by night to Athens, and there married him. Fate ordained, however, that she should die in childbirth, because her father had broken his word. When she was being carried out to burial, a dove flew up from the bier. Hermochares consulted the oracle about it and was bidden to found at Ioulis a sanctuary of [Aphrodite (see J. G. Schneider) Ktesylla. The Ceans still worship her

2 Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 781 = Inscr. Gr. ins. v. i no. 617 (‘fragmentum deforme lapidis communis, olim in casa G. F. Depastae in regione Δαιμονια τοῦ Ὀξεία inaedificatum’) Απρέμιας ἐπώ in lettering of s. iii B.C.


4 Supra ii. 172.

5 Examples of the name as borne by men are collected in W. Pape—G. E. Benseler Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen Braunsweg 1875 i. 128 and in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 859.

6 Supra ii. 294 ff.

Aristaios
guess?—dubs him 'King' of the Ceans\(^1\). Diodoros, probably drawing
upon Timaios\(^2\) (c. 346—c. 250 B.C.), is aware that he left descendants
in Keos, and states that in Sardinia he begat two sons called
Charmos and Kallikarpos\(^3\). The well-omened\(^4\) jingling names are
suggestive of a Dioscuric pair. Firstly, Aristaios, identified by the
poets with Zeus\(^5\), appears as a Zeus-like head, bearded and often
laureate, on Hellenistic coins of Keos (figs. 179—182)\(^6\) and of the

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\(^1\) Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 4 (quoted supra p. 266 n. 3).
\(^2\) Supra p. 268 n. 4.
\(^3\) Diod. 4. 82.
\(^4\) With Χάμος cp. Pind. Pyth. 9. 64 ἀνδρός Χάμων φίλου of Aristaios himself.
\(^5\) Supra p. 267 f.
\(^6\) Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc. p. 89 pl. 21, 1—5 'Aristaeus?,' Hunter Cat. Coins
ii. 203 pl. 43, 14 'Zeus (Aristaios),' Weber Cat. Coins ii. 557 nos. 4632—4634 pl. 168
'Aristaeos,' McClean Cat. Coins ii. 518 pl. 245, 26 f. 'Aristaeos,' Head Hist. num.\(^2\)
p. 482 f. 'Aristaeos represented like Zeus.' Rev. KEI or KEIΩN Seirios. I figure two
bronze coins in the Leake collection and two in the McClean collection.
Zeus Ἄφριος

Cean towns Ioulis (fig. 183), Karthaia (figs. 184, 185) and Koresia (fig. 186).

In this connexion a word must be added on a Thessalian cult about which we are very imperfectly informed. Three out of the four tetrarchies of Thessaly recognised a month Ἄφριος, which belonged to the second half of the year but cannot as yet be more nearly defined. B. Keil, K. Tümpe; and J. W. Kubitschek held that its name implied the worship of Aphreia, a clipped form of the Thessalian Aphrodite. But N. I. Giannopoulos has done good service by publishing a couple of inscriptions from Pherai, which afford a

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1 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc. p. 961. pl. 22, 18 'Bearded head,' Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 204 nos. 2—4 'Zeus (Aristaios),' McClean Cat. Coins ii. 518 pl. 245, 24 'Aristaeos,' Head Hist. num. p. 484 'Aristaeos.' Rev. IOYAI or IOYAI Bee. My fig. 183 is from a silver didrachm, now in the British Museum, published by W. Wroth in the Num. Chron. Third Series 1891 xi. 129 no. 25 'Aristaeus,' which reads IOY and has in the field a dog's head and H.


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Zeus Ἄφριος 271

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Fig. 187.

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1 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc. p. 961, pl. 22, 18 'Bearded head,' Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 204 nos. 2—4 'Zeus (Aristaios),' McClean Cat. Coins ii. 518 pl. 245, 24 'Aristaeos,' Head Hist. num. p. 484 'Aristaeos.' Rev. IOYAI or IOYAI Bee. My fig. 183 is from a silver didrachm, now in the British Museum, published by W. Wroth in the Num. Chron. Third Series 1891 xi. 129 no. 25 'Aristaeus,' which reads IOY and has in the field a dog's head and H.


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4 Hestiaiotis: Aigion (Inscr. Gr. sept. ii. no. 323, 1 μηνὸς 'Αφριο[ν]'), Chyretai (ib. no. 349 b, 4 'Α[φριον]'), Pelasgiotis: Azoros (ib. no. 1295 a, 5 μηνὸς 'Αφριον), Gonnos (ib. no. 1043, 13 Λ[φριον], Larissa (ib. nos. 543, 9 μηνὸς 'Αφριον[ν]'), 544, 2 Λ[φριον] δὲν[τέ]νεξ[ε]ντων, 11 'Αφριον, 546, 16 γουν(ν) 'Αφριον, 547, 7 μηνὸς 'Αφριον, 556, 10 Λ[φριον] δὲν[τέ]νεξ[ε]ντων, 568, 4 μηνὸς 'Αφριοισιν? ('�[Αφριον] legit Krensch' and 'Αφριοσιος nikil est; v'Αφριον'). Thessaliotis: Pharsalos (ib. no. 256 b, 11 'Αφριο[ν]?).

5 ib. no. 544, 2 Λ, 11 (supra n. 4).

6 B. Keil in Hermes 1855 xx. 630.

7 K. Tümpe in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 2724 and 2796.

8 J. W. Kubitschek ib. i. 2724.

9 J. Franz in the Ann. d. Inst. 1842 xiv. 136 ff. no. 1 published a metrical inscription from Gallipoli (Kallipolis) on the Thracian Chersonese, of which a revised transcript was given by J. H. Mordtmann in the Ath. Mitth. 1881 vi. 260 ff. beginning 'Αφριος νιψι τετελο[ν] λεον ἄριον | ἄρωμα ἄρωμα κ.τ.λ. Kailb Eīgra. Gr. no. 1034 printed the poem from Franz' copy, but omitted the opening word as an obvious error. Later, in Hermes 1884 xix. 261, he suggested that 'Αφριος might be a stone-cutter's slip for 'Αφρος in the sense of 'Αφρογενεῖα. Lastly B. Keil ib. 1885 xx. 630 supported Kailb's suggestion by noting the month 'Αφριος, which according to him implied a Thessalian 'Αφριος to match the Thracian 'Αφρος.
more likely explanation. Both are engraved on marble stelai topped by a small pediment. The first to be found read ΔΙΑΦΡΙΟΥ, which Giannopoulos\(^1\) shrewdly interpreted as a dedication (in dialect\(^2\)) 'to Zeus Αφριος.' Various scholars shook sapient heads over this new-fangled epithet\(^3\). But all doubts as to its authenticity were dissipated when Giannopoulos produced a second inscription from the same town, containing the god's name in full—ΔΙΑΦΡΙΟΥ, 'to Zeus Αφριος.'\(^4\)

It remains to determine the sense of Αφριος, and that is no easy task. Indeed, we are reduced to pure conjecture. I should assume derivation from the Greek Αφρος, 'foam.' Significance might attach to bubbles on the local spring\(^5\), froth on the river, foam on the sea, and any or all of these things might be attributed to the action of the sky-god. An Indian story tells how Indra—the thunder-god who

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\(^1\) N. I. Giannopoulos in the Εξαιρον Φελραξιον 'Εγκαειας 'Οδρων 1901/2 p. 47, id. in the Εφ. Αρχ. 1913 p. 220. Height o'38\(^m\), width o'25\(^m\).

\(^2\) For -ου = -φ in Thessalian see e.g. A. Thumb Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte Heidelberg 1909 p. 242 and in greater detail F. Bechtel Die griechischen Dialekte Berlin 1921 i. 179.


\(^4\) N. I. Giannopoulos in the Εφ. Αρχ. 1913 p. 219 f. no. 4. Height o'84\(^m\), width o'35\(^m\).

\(^5\) At Pherai this would be the fountain of Hyereia (F. Stahlin Das hellenische Thesalian Stuttgart 1924 p. 107 with fig. 5 chart of Velestino (Pherai)), who appears on silver drachms (W. Froehner Collection Photiadis Pacha: Monnaies grecques Paris 1890 p. 14 no. 165 pl. i (=my fig. 188), Head Hist. num.\(^2\) p. 307. Obv. Head of the nymph

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Fig. 188. Fig. 189.

Hyereia crowned with reeds; behind, lion's head spouting water. Rev. ΦΕΡΑΙΟΥΝ Hekate, with two torches, on galloping horse; in the field, a wreath containing the name ΑΣΤΟΜΕΔΟΝ and hemidrachms of s. iv B.C. (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessaly etc. p. 48 pl. 10, 15 bad, McClean Cat. Coins ii. 212 pl. 175, 25 worse, F. Imhoof-Blumer in the Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num. 1908 xi. 65 cp. 75, Head Hist. num.\(^3\) p. 307. Fig. 189 is from a specimen of mine. Obv. Head of Hekate, wreathed with myrtle; behind, torch. Rev. ΦΕΡΑΙΟΥΝ The nymph Hyereia, in chiton and himation, placing her right hand on a lion-head fountain; in the field, a wreath containing the name ΑΣΤΟ. Cp. M. Leumann "Δοστο- für 'Αροστο- auf thessalischen Inschriften' in Gliotta 1929 xviii. 65 f.)
conquered the demons of drought\(^1\)—swore to the Asura Namuk\(^3\) that he would slay him neither by day nor by night, neither with staff nor with bow, neither with the palm of the hand nor with the fist, neither with the wet nor with the dry. So he killed him in the morning twilight by using as a thunderbolt the foam of water\(^3\).

1 A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 54.

2 *Id. ib.* p. 161 f. concludes: "The etymology of the name is according to Pāṇini (6, 3, 75) *na-muci*, "not letting go." In that case it would mean "the demon withholding the waters" [\(^{10}\)Cp. Kuhn, *KZ.* 8, 80]." F. Max Müller *Vedic Hymns* Oxford 1891 p. 111 says: "na-muci, not delivering rain."

3 *The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa* trans. J. Eggeling Part V (*The Sacred Books of the East* xlv) Oxford 1900 p. 222 f. 12. 7. 3 f.: "1. By means of the Śūrā-liqūr Namukī, the Asura, carried off Indra's (source of) strength, the essence of food, the Soma-drink. He (Indra) hasted up to the Aśvinīs and Sarasvatī, crying, "I have sworn to Namukī, saying, "I will slay thee neither by day nor by night, neither with staff nor with bow, neither with the palm of my hand nor with the fist, neither with the dry nor with the moist!" and yet has he taken these things from me: seek ye to bring me back these things!" 2. They spake, "Let us have a share therein, and we will bring them back to thee."— "These things (shall be) in common to us," he said, "bring them back, then!" 3. The Aśvinīs and Sarasvatī then poured out foam of water (to serve) as a thunderbolt, saying, "It is neither dry nor moist;" and, when the night was clearing up, and the sun had not yet risen, Indra, thinking, "It is neither by day nor by night," therewith struck off the head of Namukī, the Asura. 4. Wherefore it has been said by the Rishi (Rīg-veda S. viii, 14, 13 [cited *infra*]), "With foam of water, Indra, didst thou sever the head of Namukī, when thouwert subduing all thine enemies." Now, Namukī is evil: having thus, indeed, slain that evil, his hateful enemy, Indra wrested from him his energy, or vital power."

W. H. D. Rouse 'Baldur Story' in *The Folk-Lore Journal* 1889 vii. 61 notes the *Taittirya Brāhmaṇa* i. 7. 1. 7 ('He moulded this foam of the waters: that, you know, is neither dry nor wet. It was dawn, the sun had not risen: that, you know, is neither day nor night. He cut off his head with the foam of the water in this world').

M. Bloomfield in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 1893 xv. 155 ff. collects other allusions: 'At Rāmāyana iii. 30. 28 (Bomb.; iii. 35. 94 Gorresio) we read:..."Khan fell down slain...as Vṛtra was slain by the thunderbolt, as Namucī by the foam." At Mahābh. ix. 2436..."the lord Vāsava, perceiving a fog, cut off his (Namucī's) head with the foam of the waters." Nīlakaṇṭha in his commentary on Mahābh. i. 7306 ff. (Calc.; i. 197. 31 Bomb.) says:..."just as when Namucī was to be slain (Indra's) thunderbolt entered into the foam of the waters"...*' (*A variation of this story at Mahābh. v. 318—330 tells how the great Rṣis had promised Vṛtra that they would not slay him with anything dry or wet, with a stone or wood, with a knife or arrow, neither by day nor by night. This promise was kept until at dawn one day Indra saw "foam in the sea similar to a mountain"; this along with his thunderbolt he threw upon Vṛtra; Viṣṇu entered the foam and slew Vṛtra...). Mahādhara at VS. x. 33 says: "the Aśvinīs and Sarasvatī gave to Indra a thunderbolt in the form of water-foam. With that Indra cut the head of Namucī." And at xix. 71..."with the foam of water did you take off the head of the Asura Namucī." Sāyaṇā at R.V. viii. 14. 13: "Indra...cut off his head at the junction of day and night, with foam, which is different from dry and wet. This purport is set forth in this verse: O Indra, with the foam of the waters, turned into a bolt, did you take off the head of the Asura Namucī." The Brāhmaṇas are more explicit. At MS. iv. 3. 4 we have..."having spread a fog at sunrise, he cut off his head with the foam of the waters."... The Pañc. Br. xii. 6. 8 has:..."he cut off his head at dawn before the sun had risen with the foam of the waters. For at dawn before the sun has risen: that is neither night nor day; and foam of the waters: that is neither wet nor dry."
Sir James Frazer\(^1\), who cites the tale as a parallel to the myth of Balder, adds: 'The foam of the sea is just such an object as a savage might choose to put his life in, because it occupies that sort of intermediate or nondescript position between earth and sky or sea and sky in which primitive man sees safety. It is therefore not surprising that the foam of the river should be the token of a clan in India\(^2\).'

The Greeks apparently looked upon foam as one manifestation of the sky-god's seed, and thus in a manner akin to dew or rain. Nonnos\(^3\) states that Hephaistos, when enamoured of Athena,

Shot forth the hot and self-sped foam of love.

The same poet elsewhere\(^4\) tells how a dolphin once carried Aphrodite to Kypros,

What time the gendering dew of Ouranos,
Down-streaming with his manhood's gore, gave shape
To the foam of childbed and brought forth the Paphian.

The Orphic Rhapsodies\(^5\) used similar language in narrating the birth of Aphrodite from the foam that arose when the seed of Zeus fell into the sea. Both incidents of course involve the naïve derivation of *Aphrodite* from *aphrēs*. But the idea of seminal foam is as

Bloomfield \(ib\). further contends that this legend of Indra and Namūki gave rise to a class of magical practices in which demons were routed by means of river-foam, called 'river-lead,' or some surrogate such as lead, iron-filings, and even the head of a lizard. See e.g. *Hymnus of the Atharva-veda* trans. M. Bloomfield (*The Sacred Books of the East* xlii) Oxford 1897 p. 65 f. i. 16. 1—4 with p. 25b, *The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa* trans. J. Eggeling Part iii (*The Sacred Books of the East* xlii) Oxford 1894 p. 92 5. 4. 1. 9 f.

\(^1\) Frazer *Golden Bough*\(^3\): Balder the Beautiful ii. 280 f.

\(^2\) E. T. Dalton 'The Kols of Chota-Nagpore' in *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London* 1868 New Series vi. 36—again cited by Frazer *Totemism and Exogamy* i. 24 ('the foam of the river is an Oraon totem and not to be eaten by the clansmen'), ii. 290 ('The Amdiar will not eat the foam of the river').

\(^3\) Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 179 θερμόν ἀσκοτίζων αὐθάσσον ἀφρόν Ἐρώτων.

\(^4\) *Id.* ib. 13. 439 ff. ὑπνήτη γὰρ γονήσα κατάρροτος ἄρσει λόθρη | Ὑφανίη μάρφωσε λέχων ἀφρόν ἀφήν | καὶ Παρθένῳ ἀδει, κ.τ.λ.


\(^6\) Modern adherents of this time-honoured view include the following:

(1) L. Meyer *Vergleichende Grammatik der Griechischen und Lateinischen Sprache* Berlin 1884 i. 3. 64: 'Αφρο-δή-γη ("die im Schaum leuchtende (?)"); *ib.* 990 'Αφρο-δή (eigentlich "im Schaum glänzend" oder "im Gewölk glänzend?"); *id.* Handb. d. gr. *Etym.* i. 160 f. aus *āphōs* 'foam' + a participial form of the root *āl* 'to shine' (cp. Sanskrit *su-dūtī*), "im Schaume glänzend." So also H. Hirt *Die indogermanische Ablaut* Strassburg 1900 p. 99 § 364 'idg. déjà "scheinen"...Αφροδήη.' I pursued the same will-o'-the-wisp in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 177.

(2) L. v. Schroeder *Griechische Götter und Herzen* Berlin 1887 i. 7 f. assumes an Indo-European *abhṛadītīd* or *abhṛadītī* from Sanskrit *abhṛa* 'cloud' (*āphōs*) + the root
Zeus Ἀφρίως

_to hasten_ (δίων, διόντως, etc.) "im Gewölk sich bewegend, im Gewölk dahineilend oder fliegend."

(3) F. Kretschmer _Die Griechischen Vasenschriften Güterslohn 1894 p. 156 n. 1 "Ἀπφοίρια enthalte in seinem ersten Teil unzuverlässig ἄφριος, in seinem zweiten wahr-
scheinlich *ἀφιός, das sich zu ἀφίότας verhält wie ταύτης zu ταυτής, id. in the Zeitschrift für
ergänzende Sprachforschung 1895 xxxiiii. 267 ἄφρο-ἄδη "Auf dem Schaume dahin-
wendelnd." So F. Dümmel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 2773 "auf dem Schaum
hinwendelnd," O. Kern _Die Religion der Griechen Berlin 1926 i. 106 "die auf dem
Schaume wandelnde" ("Sehr anschaulich dazu E. Oberhummer, Die Insel Cypern I, S. 108 ff.").

ennent 
κεφαλάς 
οἰκεῖον Κοτονών | οἴσχευος κόσμος ἅρμη, Πικερ. or. i. 20 τιν 
κεφάλοι πλάκων σκιάσων.

Others treat the name as non-Greek (e.g. A. Fick _Die Griechischen Personennamen_ 
Göttingen 1894 p. 439 ‘Der Name Ἀφροῖρια ist wohl kaum griechisch’ etc.) and 
advocate a variety of Semitic etymologies (listed by K. Tümpel in the _Jahrh. f. class. 
Philol. Suppl. 1888 xi. 696 f. and Gruppe og. cit. p. 1348 n. 3). A couple will serve as 
examples, or at least as warnings:

(1) E. Röth _Geschichte unserer abendländischen Philosophie Mannheim 1846 i. 263 with 
n. 453 and L. Preller _Griechische Mythologie_ Berlin 1861 i. 263 note the Semitic 
aphrodeth, 
dove’ (Aramaic ḳווח, Phoenician with article (工作方案 ṣin) ḳווח. This is to some extent 
138. See further W. Muss-Arnolt _A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language Berlin 
1905 ii. 827 s.v. πυριδύ, ‘a bird,’ C. Bezdol_Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar Heidelberg 
1926 p. 316 s.v. πυριδύ, πυριδύ, πυριδύ, ‘f. Vogel,’ W. Gesenius _Hebräisches und 
aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das alte Testament_ rev. F. Buhl Leipzig 1915 p. 657 
σῦρ τῆς [pered] (derived from παρά ‘to flee’—ass. paradigm probably ‘to flee,’ πυριδύ 
‘leg’ [properly ‘goer’]—in Hebrew = ‘mule’), J. Levy _Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches 
Wörterbuch Leipzig 1889 iv. 101 s.v. ἀφροῖρια [peryklah] (arab. فریدī) syn. mit 
טב וית [pered] ‘ein Stück von dem Taubenpaar, das (nach Lev. 1. 14 f.) geopfert werden 
soll, einzelne Taube.’ But all this fails to justify the initial ‘A-’ of Ἀφροῖρια.

(2) F. Hommel _‘Aphrodite-Astarte’ in the Jahrh. f. class. Philol. 1882 xxvii. 176 
contends that Ἀφροῖρια is a direct loan-word from the Phoenician name Ashthōrēt: 
‘das 
sh dieses wortes (wie auch seiner babylonischen nichtsemitschen urform ἰσχαρ) wurde 
dem folgenden ἰ in der aussprache moglichst angeglichen, so dass dieselbe eher 
Ashthōrēt als Ashthōrēt lautete; das wird unwiderleglich bewiesen durch die form Ἀσταρ 
bei den Sidōbarben, welche…die Astarte von Babylonien entlehnten. auf diese aussprache des 
sh in Ashthōrēt wie engl. th nun gründet sich meine identification: bekannt ist, dass in 
etymologisch verwandten, um so mehr aber in lehnwörtern, ursprünglichen ἦ 
(εγγ. ἔνας) durch ἦ in alter zeit wohl auch ἷ (griech. φι) ersetzt wurde4 (wenn mir entgegen 
dass φi ältestere zeit noch nicht den laut f gehabt habe, den verweise ich darauf, dass 
as Ashthōrē—die Griechen hatten ja überhaupt kein f—schon des anklangs an 
Aphrodeth halber ganz unangewohnt v Αρρηθι centrifugen konnte, ja muste. für fremdes f war der 
nachstliegende griechische laut eben nur φ); vgl. nur russisch Fedor aus griechisch 
Θεόφιτος. Die Griechen hörten nun Ashthōrē wie Aphrodeth, was mit einer bei lehnwörtern 
so überaus häufigen metathesis umgestellt wurde zu Aπrhōdēth—Ἀφροῖρια.4 Id. _Aufsätze und 
Abhandlungen arabisch-semelitischen Inhalts München 1892 i. 14 n. 1 ‘Auch die 
Griechen hörten ja Asthoret (vgl. ἰσχαρīu neben ἰσχαρ und zur Länge ἰνατναρ aus 
Ἀμναταρ) als Ἀσταρ, da sie (vgl. russ. Marfa aus Martha) Aphthoret und weiter Aphroret 
(Ἀφροῖρια) draus machten.’ Id. _Etnologie und Geographie des alten Orients München 1926 p. 194β adheres to his view Ἀφροῖρια aus Ἀσταρ (Astarte, Mittelform Aproet)5 
and cites in support H. Grimm in _Glottha 1925 xiv. 18 with n. 1. See also Schrader 
_Realllex._ i. 168, who cp. as a doubtful parallel γεφώρα = a Semitic ፳፲. 18—2
Zeus Ἄφριος

old as Hesiod¹, reappears in fifth-century science², and quite conceivably accounts for the existence of Ἄφριος as an appellative of Zeus.

On the whole, I incline to accept Hommel’s hypothesis that Ἀφροδίς (F. Blass in Collits—Bechtel Gr. Dial.—Inscr. iii. 2. 239 ff. no. 4952 A. 27 Ἀφροδίς) = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr.² no. 527 a, 27 Ἀφροδίς in an oath from Deros in eastern Crete, c. 220 B.C., quoted supra i. 729 n. 2) really was a Greek attempt to pronounce Ἀστρεθ and at the same time to make sense of a foreign name by assimilating the first part of it to ἄφρος. G. Meyer Griechische Grammatik³ Leipzig 1896 p. 246 n. 1 summarises the process: ‘F. Hommel...nimmt die Entwicklung Ἀστρεθ *Ἀστρεθ (sudarab. Ἀσταρ) *Ἀφροδίς und daraus mit Metathesis im Anklang an ἄφρος Aphrodit an.’

See further V. Costanzi ‘Zeis Ἀφρος e il nome Ἀφροδίς’ in the Atti d. r. accad. di sci. di Torino 1913—1914 xlix. 315—321.

¹ Hes. theog. 190 ff. (supra ii. 447 n. 8). This and many other literary allusions are collected by L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pet. 1870—1871 p. n ff.

Late chroniclers, by way of providing an eponym for the Africans, personified the Hesiodic ἄφρος and put together the following pedigree:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kronos = Philyra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aphros = Astynome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forefather of the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aphrooi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aphrodite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So Sex. Julius Africanus (c. 200 A.D.) ap. Ke'dren. hist. comp. 15 D (i. 38 Bekker), Io. Antioch. (i.e. Malalas, s. vii) frag. 4. 4 (frag. hist. Gr. iv. 347 Müller), cp. the Chronicon Patarchae (early in s. vii) 36 D—37 A (i. 66 Dindorf) which speaks of Ἰ' ἄφρος, ὡστι ἄγαμος τὸν Ἀστρον τὸν Ἀκραίας νέαν (K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 2706). On this whole genealogy see supra ii. 693 n. 4.

² Diogenes of Apollonia frag. 6 Diels ap. Aristot. hist. an. 3. 2. 512 b 8 ff. autē δὲ (sc. αἱ φήλεσι) στερματοῖς καλοῦται. τὸ δ' ἀλὰ τὸ μὲν παρατόμα ὑπὸ τῶν σερκοδῶν ἐκτίναται: ὑπερβάλλω δὲ εἰς τούτοις τούτοις λεπτὸν καὶ θερμὸν καὶ ἄφροδίς γίνεται, cp. Clem. Al. peded. i. 6 p. 119, 2 ff. Stahlin τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὸ στέρμα τοῦ ἄφρος ἐνεάν τους αἵματος κατ' Ὑστιν ἐπιστίθησαν, δὴ τῇ ἐμφρότῳ τοῦ ἄρρητα παρὰ τὰ συμφοράς ἐκπαρασ-θέν ἐκτισάραξαν ἐξοφύτωσαν καὶ τὰ στερματικά (L. Dindorf) cp. στερματικά παρατίθεν εἰς ἀλλοι λέγεται γὰρ ὁ Ἀπολλωνίατος Διογένης τὰ ἀφροδίαια κακουθῆται βοήθηται. The same idea is found in the medical writers, e.g. Galen, περὶ χρέας τῶν ἐν ἀφρόσω ὑπομαρμένων μορίων 14. 9 (iv. 183 Kühn) autē δὲ τὸ στέρμα πνευματῶδες ὥστε καὶ οὖν ἄφροδίς, id. perì στέρματος 1. 5 (iv. 351 Kühn) εὐ γὰρ (sc. Aristotle) εἰς δὲ καλῶς εἰσαγὰς ἄφρος τὸ στέρμα,

Vindician. frag. Bruxell. de semine 1 (in M. Wellmann Fragmentsammlung der griechischen Arzte Berlin 1901 i. 208, 2 ff.) Alexander Amator veri (sc. Φαλαξῆς) appelatus, discipulus Asclepiadis, libro primo De semine sanguinis eius essentiam dixit Diogenis placitis consentiens... 3 (ib. p. 210, 8 ff.) Diogenes autem Apolloniates essentiam <seminis > similiter sanguinem sanguinis dixit libro physico: etiam spiratione adductus spiritus sanguinem suspendit, cuius alia pars carne bibitur, alia superans in seminales cadit vias et semen facit, quod <non > est aliquid quam sanguis sanguinis spiritu collisii. It occurs also in theological and exegetical authors such as Cornut. theol. 24. p. 45, 3 ff. Lang Ἀφροδίς δὲ ὡστιν ὑπάγονα στὸ ἄρρητα καὶ τὸ θῆλυ δύναμις, τάχα διὰ τὸ ἄφροδίς τὰ στέρ-ματα τῶν ζῴων ἐναι ταῖς ἄρρηται τῆς ἀνομίας, schol. Eur. Τον. 990 τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἐνυμολογοῦσιν οἱ μὲν παρὰ τὸν ἄρρητον ἐπὶ τὴν δυνάμειν, οἱ δὲ κ.τ.λ., Isid. orig. 8. 11. 77 quod autem Saturnum fingunt Coelo patri genitalia absidiscisse et sanguinem fluxisse in mare, atque ex spona maris concreta Venus nata est, illud alium quod per coitus salsi humoris substantia est, et inde Ἀφροδίτην Venerem dici, quod coitus spona est sanguinis quae ex succo viscerum liquido salsore constat.
Zeus Thaúlios

That, however, is guesswork, and other guesses are almost equally permissible. For instance, philologists have shown that *aphrós* is related both to *ombrós*, 'rain,' and to *néphos, nephéle*, 'cloud.' We might, therefore, without deserting the Greek area, conjecture that Zeus *Aphrios* was originally a Thessalian rain-god or cloud-god. Further evidence is much to be desired.

(d) Zeus Thaúlios.

Some twenty minutes west of Pherai (*Velestino*), on the right bank of a small torrent known as *Michali-Revma* 2, A. S. Arvanitopoulos located a large and important cult-centre. Since 1919 he has been at work, helped latterly by Y. Béquignon and P. Collart of the French School, uncovering the area and determining its history 3. No fewer than six successive epochs are involved. The site was already occupied in neolithic times—witness numerous sherds and a marble idol. Then came a 'Mycenaean' sanctuary 4, evidenced


2 Was Zeus here as elsewhere (*supra* ii. 894 n. 3) superseded by St Michael?


by terra-cotta figures and vase-fragments. Next, a necropolis of the 'geometric' period. Over a score of graves, rectangular in shape, built of and covered with large stone slabs, were but poorly furnished; they contained a few vases, small bronze vessels, and iron weapons. The cist-graves had, however, been left undisturbed by later builders. Immediately above them was placed the Hellenic temple, or rather a sequence of three Hellenic temples. The first, which appears to have been constructed, in part at least, of timber, dated from s. vii B.C., to judge from the fragment of an early Doric capital. To it belonged a mass of votive offerings in bronze, silver, gold, ivory, and other materials. These had been deposited in two bothroi or favissae, one about 11.50 m to the south, the other to the west of the temple: the contents of the latter were thrown in with the earth as filling for a retaining-wall of the next temple. The offerings included many bronze animals (horses, cocks, geese, etc.), a bronze handle in the form of a griffin's head, the bronze statuette of a warrior; gold and silver ornaments of 'orientalising' date; an Egyptian head of good style, scarabs with bogus hieroglyphs; terra-cotta figurines of kórai seated or standing, some being fragments of almost life-sized figures, sundry types of kotároi, statuettes of sick or deformed persons, several ex-voto effigies of hands and feet; carved ivory seals and couchant beasts recalling those from Sparta. The second temple, built c. 550—500 B.C., and burnt c. 400 B.C., is represented by many architectural remains found underneath the south-east corner of its successor. Here were four Doric columns in poros with fragments of archaic Doric capitals and frieze-blocks in the same material, showing traces of painted stucco—all used as foundations of the latest edifice. Within the temple was the base of a bronze statue, inscribed in lettering of 450—400 B.C. 'Strongylion made me.' Parts of a female statue in marble were also found, half-life-sized and of good fifth-century work. The third temple was erected in the first quarter of s. iv B.C.

7 A. M. Woodward in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1926 xlvi. 247 n. 26 [——]ov μ' ερματεσθν: 'The discoverer would restore the name Strongylion.'
8 Id. ib. p. 247.
Zeus Thaúlios

and in its turn destroyed by fire c. 200 B.C. It was approximately 26.50 m long by 16.82 m broad. On the east side the stylobate is preserved, with the two lower steps of white local marble. The building itself was a hexastyle peripteral temple of the Doric order. Its columns, of póros coated with stucco, carried an entablature of which portions have come to light. Among them may be noted a marble metope with the relief of a lion killing a bull; also various fragments of the cornice with carved and painted decoration. To the east of the temple are the foundations of six structures differing in date: one at least of these seems to have been a nátskos, the rest bases or altars of rectangular plan, built of póros in massive blocks. The finds comprise many pedestals and fragments of statues, bronze phidai for libation, and broken vases ranging as late as s. iii or s. ii B.C. Of greater moment are the inscriptions. There are ten bronze plaques preserving the terms of twenty-five laws or proxeny-decrees. There is the fragment of a decree in the Thessalian dialect. And there are other records of interest. For instance, five large and five small pieces of inscribed stélai, which include a fresh dedication to the Thessalian goddess Enhodia. Finally, in post-classical times the temple-area was used as a Christian cemetery.

It would seem, then, that from the neolithic age down to our own era the spot was in some sense holy ground. It is not, however, quite obvious what deity or deities were here worshipped by the Greeks. On the one hand, the prevalence of female terra-cotta figurines in the archaic period points to the possibility that the sanctuary was then devoted to a female divinity. On the other hand, A. S. Arvanitopoulos, on the strength of certain inscriptions actually found at some distance from the temple, believes that it was the cult-centre of Zeus Thaúlios. Perhaps it may be suggested that at Pherai, as at Larissa, the cult of Zeus was associated with that

6 Supra ii. 1155 n. 4.
of **Enhodía**, whose head indeed appears on the coinage of the town (fig. 190). Her ritual—if we can trust a tale told by Polyainos—might require the sacrifice of a choice bull with gilded horns, fillets, and blue gold-spangled draperies.

**Zeus Thaúlios** undoubtedly had a cult at Pherai. A votive stèle of marble, found there by Arvanitopoulos, has a small pediment
Zeus Thaúlios

above, a space left blank for a painted portrait below, and in the middle a Thessalian\(^1\) inscription:

\[
\Delta\lambda\iota\iota \Theta\alpha\upsilon\alpha\gamma\upsilon\iota\iota\sigma\nu\iota\upsilon\iota \ 'To Zeus Thaúlios.'
\]

A second stèle from Pherai, published by N. I. Giannopoulos (fig. 191)\(^2\), bears a relief representing a stèle with pediment, akrotéria, and central disk\(^3\), beneath which is the fragmentary inscription:

\[
\Delta\lambda\iota\iota \Theta\alpha\upsilon\alpha\gamma\iota[OY] \ 'To Zeus Thaúli[os].'
\]

Yet another dedication to the same god has recently been found at Pherai, but is still unpublished\(^4\).

Zeus Thaúlios was worshipped also at Pharsalos\(^5\). Above the springs of the Apidanos, in a quarter called Tampachana, rises a fair-sized hill commanding a wide prospect\(^6\). Remains of isodomous masonry suggest that the place was fortified in ancient times\(^7\). The

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\(^1\) Supra p. 272 n. 4.
\(^2\) N. I. Giannopoulos in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1913 p. 218 fig. 3 (= my fig. 191) Pherai no. 1 Δι Θαυλίου]. Height 0.37 m, breadth 0.21 m.
\(^3\) Supra i. 292 ff.
\(^5\) A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the Πρακτ. 'Αρχ. έτ. 1907 pp. 151—153 (''Ιερόν Δίος Θαυλίου').
\(^6\) F. Stählin Das hellenische Thessalien Stuttgart 1924 p. 138 fig. 9 gives a small plan.
\(^7\) Id. ib. p. 136 reports that he found on this hill ('auf dem Hügel der Fatihmoschee an der Apidanosquelle') prehistoric sherds and one of geometric date. He conjectures that it was the site of Phthia, the town of the Myrmidones.
rocky surface of the hill-top has been so worked as to leave outstanding sundry breast-shaped knobs, meant presumably to fit into corresponding hollows on the under side of votive bases. One such patch of tooled rock at the north-eastern edge of the summit exhibits a carefully incised dedication

\[ \Delta \Theta \Lambda \Theta \Lambda \Theta \] "To Zeus Thaúlios"

by certain 'kinsfolk of Parmeniskos'. The hill (fig. 192) is crowned by an old Turkish mosque, founded—so it is said—centuries ago on the site of an older church. The minaret fell and could not be set up again till a cross was fixed on its highest point. So here the Turks must needs reverence the cross! This mosque is built of ancient materials: many statue-bases, architectural blocks, and a very early Doric capital of \( \rho \delta \rho \) are still to be seen in its walls. A trial excavation west of the mosque proved unproductive. But the inhabitants aver that here inscriptions and marble statuettes and numerous coins have come to light. Again, in the quarter of Pharsalos known as \( \text{Koloklompas} \) N. I. Giannopoulos found an altar inscribed in lettering which dates from the latter part of 5. iv B.C.:

\[ \Delta \Omega \varepsilon \Theta \Lambda \Lambda \Theta \] 'Of Zeus Thaúlios'.

The apppellative has been traced further afield. Hesychios gives \( \text{Thaúmos} \) or \( \text{Thaúlos} \) as a title of the Macedonian Ares, and \( \text{Thaúlia} \) as the name of a festival held by Kteatos and the Dorian. Lastly, the clan \( \text{Thaulonidai} \) at Athens had an eponymous ancestor \( \text{Thaúlon} \), who figures in a myth relating to the cult of Zeus Polieus.

It looks as though \( \text{Thaúlos}, \text{Thaúlios}, \text{Thaúlon} \) had been in early days a divine epithet used by more than one Greek community.

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1 A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the \( \text{Prakt. dph. et. 1907} \) p. 153 \( \Delta(\iota) \text{Thaúlios} \) — \( \text{άγκυρων ήπερ Παρμενίσκος} \). Cp. \( \text{Kallimáki} \) | \( \text{Παρμενίσκος} \) (\( \text{ιωφά p. 280 n. 1} \)).
2 See the view in the \( \text{Prakt. dph. et. 1910} \) p. 177 fig. 1 (= my fig. 193).
3 F. Stahlin \( \text{Das helleinische Thessalien} \) Stuttgart 1924 p. 143 n. 10.
4 F. Hiller von Gaertringen in \( \text{Hermes} \ 1911 \) xlvi. 154, N. I. Giannopoulos in the \( \text{Eph. dph.} \ 1913 \) p. 218 n. 1.
5 See V. Costandi 'Zeus Thaúlios' in the \( \text{Athenaeum Pavia} \ 1913 \) i. 406—411 and O. Höfer in \( \text{Roscher Lex. Myth. v.} \) 533—535.
6 Hesych. \( \text{Θαύμως} \) (O. Hoffmann \( \text{Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum} \) Göttingen 1896 p. 94 n. 127 cf. \( \text{Θαύλως} \). F. Hiller von Gaertringen in \( \text{Hermes} \ 1911 \) xlvi. 154 cf. \( \text{Θαύλως} \), which is better) \( \text{θαύλως} \) \( \text{Άρης Μακεδώνος} \) (so M. Schmidt for \( \text{Μακεδώνος} \) cod. Stephanus \( \text{Thes. Gr. Ling. iv.} \) 203 n, against Hesychian usage, cf. \( \text{Μακεδώνικας} \). Musurus cf. \( \text{Μακεδός} \)).
7 Hesych. \( \text{Θαύμως} \) (so Stephanus \( \text{Thes. Gr. Ling. iv. 257 A} \) for \( \text{Θαυλώς} \) cod.) \( \text{τήρη} \) [\( \text{Ταραντίνος} \) (referred to the preceding gloss by J. V. Perger)] \( \text{δύσασα} \) \( \text{ὄπο Κτεάτου} \) (I. Voss cf. \( \text{ἐν ὁκταετοῖς} \) \( \text{παρ' δ καὶ θαυλίαμ < φασι (ins. T. Hemsterhys)} \) \( \text{λέγει τοῖς Δωρικῖς} \). Even thus emended, the gloss remains obscure. The allusion to Kteatos (the son of Molióne (\( \text{ιωφά ii. 1015 n. 8} \)) is not found elsewhere, and perhaps postulates \( \text{εἰσαχθεῖσα} \).
8 \( \text{Infra} \ § 9 (b) ii (d). \)
Zeus Thatilios

With regard to its original meaning nothing is known. Conjectures have been advanced by W. Tomaschek, F. Hiller von Gaertringen, F. Bechtel, and F. Solmsen. But none of these is convincing. I venture therefore to add to their number the suggestion that Thatilios denotes 'god of the Dew,' being in fact a word akin to the German Tau, the Dutch dauw, and the English dew.


2 F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Hermes 1911 xlvii. 156 considers the possibility of connexion with θαλλων, θαλλόν, θαλὼν, but rightly observes that the αυ of θαλloid, θαλλων is quite incompatible with the ά of θεόλα: θαλλω.

3 Id. ib. cites a suggestion of F. Bechtel: 'Nur als einen Einfall will es Bechtel gelten lassen, dass θαλλων den Töter bedeute: ταυ-, zu kombinieren mit germanischem dau im gotischen daufs, ahd. töf, nhd. tolt. Dann würde θαλλω dasselbe wie θυθωρος, θαλλων=θυθωρος sein, und Zeus θαλλος der Gott, dem die θυθωρος gelten. Sachlich dürfte hiergegen nichts einzuwenden sein; das Verschwinden des Wortstammes im täglichen Sprachgebrauche der Griechen wäre ein Beweis für das hohe Alter der religiösen Sitte und Vorstellung.'

4 F. Solmsen 'Zeus Thaulios' in Hermes 1911 xlvii. 286—291 criticizes Bechtel's view: 'So verführerisch die Deutung erscheint, so erheben sich doch gegen sie lautliche Bedenken von gotischer Seite her. Neben daujs "tot" daufts "Tod" nämlich steht hier θωρος "sterblich." Dessen -au- geht auf -eq- zurück, also muss...das -au- von daufs daufts älteres -au- fortsetzen, und damit lässt sich das -au- von θαλλως usw. schlechterdings nicht vereinigen.' Solmsen further propounds a conjecture of his own: 'Οθαλ- kann sich Laut für Laut mit -daul- decken, dem zweiten Bestandteil des lydischen, genauer lydisch-phyrgischen Namens Κασαθαλας. Über das eigentliche Wesen dieser Figur belehrt uns der bekannte Hippoxanters Ερυμη κόναγχα [leg. κυνόγχα], Μινωστη Κασαθαλα' (Hippoxant frag. 1 Bergk, Diehl, 45 Knox). On this showing θαλως would denote 'Throttler' ("Würger"), θαλα the Throttling-festival ("Würgefest"), and θαλως the god served with such rites. Sacrifice effected by, or at least accompanied with, strangulation appears to have been an early institution: Solmsen addsuces the bull-dragging for Poseidon Έκκοδών (I. 20. 403 f. cited supra i. 506 n. 1), the bull-hanging for Athena at Ilion (supra i. 533 fig. 406), the slaughter of a bull for Poseidon at intervals of five and six years alternately, on the top of a pillar made of 'mountain-bronze' (? brass) and inscribed with the laws, by the natives of Atlantis (Plat. Cr. 119 c—e), and the yearly hanging of a young kid for Aspalis Ameilete Hekaerge in the precinct of Artemis at Melite in Phthia (Ant. Lib. 13 after Nikandros ἀνεποιήθη). Analogous cases are mentioned by W. Robertson Smith Lectures on the Religion of the Semites London 1927 p. 343 n. 3. But, unfortunately for Solmsen's view, Thaulon is expressly said to have slain his ox with an axe (infra § 8 (h) ii (8)).


If it be objected that the Macedonian Ares θαλως (supra p. 282) can hardly have been a dew-god, we must remember that at Athens an early myth made Ares the husband of Agraulos the dew-sister (Hellen. frag. 69 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 54 Müller)=frag. 38 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 119 Jacoby) αφ. Σοιδ. s.v. Δροσος πάγως=et. mag. p. 139, 14 f.=Bekker anecd. i. 444, 12 f.; cp. Paus. 1. 21. 4, Apollod. 3. 14. 2: see K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 650, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 33, 1204 n. 1, Farnell Cults of Gk. States v. 401). It is by no means certain that Ares was ab origine only a war-god, and Macedonia is the sort of place in which we might expect to find traces of wider functions.
Rain-making by means of magic, with some admixture of prayer, is practised even nowadays in the less frequented parts of Greece. Mr J. C. Lawson¹ tells us that in Thera (Santorini) he found the local rain-maker high busy with her spells:

'I chanced one day upon a very old woman squatting on the extreme edge of the cliff above the great flooded crater which, though too deep for anchorage, serves the main town of the island as harbour—a place more fascinating in its hideousness than any I have seen. Wondering at her dangerous position, I asked her what she was doing; and she replied simply enough that she was making rain. It was two years since any had fallen, and as she had the reputation of being a witch of unusual powers and had procured rain in previous droughts, she had been approached by several of the islanders who were anxious for their vineyards. Moreover she had been prepaid for her work—a fact which spoke most eloquently for the general belief in her; for the Greek is slow enough (as doubtless she knew) to pay for what he has got, and never prepays what he is not sure of getting. True, her profession had its risks, she said; for on one occasion, the only time that her spells had failed, some of her disappointed clients whose money she had not returned tried to burn her house over her one night while she slept. But business was business. Did I want some rain too? To ensure her good will and further conversation, I invested a trifle, and tried to catch the mumbled incantations which followed on my behalf. Of these however beyond a frequent invocation of the Virgin (Παναγιά μού) and a few words about water and rain I could catch nothing; but I must acknowledge that her charms were effectual, for before we parted the thunder was already rolling in the distance, and the rain which I had bought spoilt largely the rest of my stay in the island. The incantations being finished, she became more confidential. She would not of course let a stranger know the exact formula which she employed; that would mar its efficacy: she vouchsafed to me however with all humility the information that it was not by her own virtue that she caused the rain, but through knowing "the god above and the god below" (Τὸν θεὸν ταύτα καὶ τὸν κάτω θεό). The latter indeed had long since given up watering the land; he had caused shakings of the earth and turned even the sea-water red. The god above also had once rained ashes² when she asked for water, but generally he gave her rain, sometimes even in summer-time.'

The names of Zeus and Poseidon have long since passed into oblivion³. But, in view of this remarkable confession, who shall say that their memory does not in some sense linger yet?

¹ J. C. Lawson Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion Cambridge 1910 p. 497. Supra ii. 829.
² In the drying-up of the springs and in the rain of ashes Mr Lawson sees an allusion to the great eruptions of 1866, which were graphically described to him by the old crone.
³ Supra i. 165.
Rain-magic in modern Greece

Better known is the rain-magic of northern Greece and the Balkans. In times of prolonged drought a girl is dressed up in flowers and, with a troop of children at her heels, is sent round to all the wells and springs of the district. At every halting-place she is drenched with water by her comrades, who sing this invocation:

Perperik, all fresh bedewed,
Freshen all the neighbourhood;
By the woods, on the highway,
As thou goest, to God now pray:
O my God, upon the plain,
Send thou us a still, small rain;
That the fields may fruitful be,
And vines in blossom we may see;
That the grain be full and sound,
And wealthy grow the folks around;
Wheat and barley
Ripen early,
Maize and cotton now take root;
Rye and rice and currant shoot;
Gladness be in gardens all;
For the drought may fresh dews fall;
Water, water, by the pail;
Grain in heaps beneath the flail;
Bushels grow from every ear;
Each vine-stem a burden bear.
Out with drought and poverty,
Dew and blessings would we see.

At Shatista in south-west Makedonia the song is alliterative:

Perperuna perambulates
And to God prays:
'My God, send a rain,
A right royal rain,
That as many (as are the) ears of corn in the fields,
So many stems (may spring) on the vines;' etc.

Similarly on the island of Imbros a girl dressed up with leaves and

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2 Text and translation in G. F. Abbott Macedonian Folklore Cambridge 1903 p. 119 Περπερώνα περπατά | Κ' τ' ν' θ' περικαλά | 'Ωθ' μυν, βρείξε μ'λ βροχή | Μ'λ βροχή βασιλική, | 'Ον' δυνάμων τ'ν' χωράμα, | Τόσα κοβτσώρα 'ν' 'άμελεια, ι.τ.λ.
flowers goes round the village and at every house is drenched with water, while her comrades sing:

The Walker walks her ways
And God the Lord she prays.
God, send the rain
On us again,
That strong the corn may grow
And strong the laddies too.

The name Perperid has many variations. At Kataphygi it has been corrupted into Piperid, 'Pepper-tree':

Piperia, dew-collecting piperia, etc.

In Zagorion, a district of Epeiros, it has become Papparoúna, 'Garden-poppies,' and the chief actor in the ceremony must be largely dressed in poppies. Other forms used by the Greeks are Perperitía, Perperitíta, Purperoúna, Purpirouá. In Bulgaria we hear of Preperuga or Peperuga; in Wallachia, of Papaluga or Papaluga:

Papaluga, climb into heaven,
Open its doors,
Send down rain from above,
That well the rye may grow.

E. Gerard gives the following account of Papaluga:

'When the land is suffering from protracted and obstinate droughts, the Roumanian not unfrequently ascribes the evil to the Tziganes [sc. gypsies], who by occult means procure the dry weather in order to favour their own trade of brick-making. In such cases, when the necessary rain has not been produced by soundly beating the guilty Tziganes, the peasants sometimes resort to the Papaluga, or Rain-maiden. This is done by stripping a young Tsigane girl quite naked, and dressing her up with garlands of flowers and leaves, which entirely cover her, leaving only the head visible. Thus adorned, the Papaluga is conducted round the village to the sound of music, each person hastening to pour water

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2 G. F. Abbott Macedonian Folklore Cambridge 1903 p. 119.
3 J. C. Lawson Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion Cambridge 1910 p. 24 (after Lamprides Zayopaid p. 172 ff.).
4 B. Schmidt Das Volksleben der Neugriechen Leipzig 1871 i. 30.
5 Id. ib., J. C. Lawson op. cit. p. 24.
8 W. R. S. Ralston op. cit. p. 328, W. Mannhardt op. cit. i. 329.
10 J. Grimm op. cit. ii. 593 n. 2, W. Mannhardt op. cit. i. 329.
Rain-magic in modern Greece

over her as she passes. The part of the Papaluga may also be enacted by Roumanian maidens, when there is no particular reason to suspect the Tziganes of being concerned in the drought. The custom of the Rain-maiden is also to be found in Servia, and I believe in Croatia.¹

Sir James Frazer¹ notes:

¹In Roumania the rain-maker is called Paparuda or Babaruda. She is a gypsy girl, who goes naked except for a short skirt of dwarf elder (Sambucus ebulus) or of corn and vines. Thus scantily attired the girls go in procession from house to house, singing for rain, and are drenched by the people with buckets of water. The ceremony regularly takes place all over Roumania on the third Tuesday after Easter, but it may be repeated at any time of drought during the summer.²

In Dalmatia those who take part in the procession are called Prporushe and their leader Pripat³ or Prpats⁴. The origin of the word Perpēriā has been much discussed. It is often derived from a Slavonic root meaning ‘to flutter’ and taken to denote a ‘butterfly’. Butterflies were believed to spring from dew-drops⁵, and this would suit the opening words of the rain-song: ‘Perperiā, all fresh bedewed,’ etc.⁶ But a butterfly, even if we identify it with the soul,⁷ has no essential connexion with the present form of rain-magic. More probable by far is Mr J. C. Lawson’s⁸ contention that perperia (for periporeia) began by meaning any ‘procession round’ the village, then acquired the special force of ‘procession in time of drought;’

¹ Frazer Golden Bough; The Magic Art i. 273 f. (citing inter alios W. Schmidt Das Jahr und seine Tage in Meinung und Brauch der Romanen Siebenbiërgens Hermannstadt 1866 p. 17).
² W. Mannhardt op. cit. i. 330, Frazer op. cit. i. 274.
³ W. R. S. Ralston op. cit. p. 228, Frazer op. cit. i. 274.
⁵ Plin. nat. hist. ii. 112, cp. Aristophanes of Byzantion hist. an. epit. i. 36 p. 8, 10 ff. Lambros (cited supra ii. 646 n. 0).
⁶ A. Passow Popularia carmina Graeciae recentioris Lipsiae 1860 no. 311. 1 f. Περπερα δροσολογα | βρασα τρ γετονα.
⁸ J. C. Lawson op. cit. p. 24: ‘But the most general, and, as I think, most correct form is περπερα (or περπεραια). With the ancient word περπερα, derived from the Latin perperus and used in the sense of “boasting” or “ostentation,” it can, I feel, have no connexion; and I suggest that it stands for περπεραια, with the same abbreviation as in περπατω for περπατω, “walk,” and subsequent assimilation of the first two syllables.’ Etc.
and lastly became the title of the leader in that procession. The Macedonian *Perperotina*¹ and the Imbrian *Porpatéra*² are both expressly said to 'go their round.'

Another Bulgarian name for the chief performer is *Djuldjul*, corresponding with the Serbian *Dodola*³. The Serbian usage is as follows. A girl called the *Dodola* is stripped naked, but so wrapped up in grass, herbs, and flowers that nothing of her can be seen, not even her face. Escorted by other girls, she then passes from house to house. Before each house her comrades form a ring. She stands in the middle and dances alone. Out comes the goodwife and empties a bucket of water over her. But still she keeps dancing and whirling, while her companions sing⁴:

To God doth our Doda call, oy Dodo oy Dodo le!
That dewy rain may fall, oy Dodo oy Dodo le!
And drench the diggers all, oy Dodo oy Dodo le!
The workers great and small, oy Dodo oy Dodo le!
Even those in house and stall, oy Dodo oy Dodo le!

Sometimes they sing, not a prayer for rain, but a rain-charm of a simple order⁵:

We go through the village,
The clouds go across the sky;
We go faster,
Faster go the clouds;
They have overtaken us
And wetted the corn and the vine.

Or:

We go through the village,
The clouds go across the sky;
From the clouds fell a ring,—
Our leader seized it.

At Melenik in Makedonia, where the surrounding rustics speak Bulgarian, the corypheyus is saluted as *Ntountoulé*⁶:

Hail, hail, Dudule,
(Bring us) both maize and wheat,
Hail, hail, etc.

It should be added that, whereas in Serbía and Bulgaria the principal part in this performance is always assigned to a girl, in

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¹ *Supra* p. 285 n. 2.
² *Supra* p. 286 n. 1.
³ W. Mannhardt *op. cit.* i. 329 f.
⁶ G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 119.
Makedonia and Dalmatia it is given to a boy or a young unmarried man. The name Dodola is unfortunately of unknown origin.

As to the significance of the rites here noticed, W. Mannhardt held that the leaf-clad girl personifies vegetation, and his lead is followed by Sir J. G. Frazer and Mr J. C. Lawson. W. R. S. Ralston, however, regarded her as representing the earth, and so do B. Schmidt and G. F. Abbott. The two lines of explanation are not widely divergent; indeed, they practically coincide. For in Greek lands the corn-mother seems to have been but a differentiated form of the earth-mother. Accepting Ralston’s interpretation, I think it not improbable that the girl clad in greenery, who is supposed to catch a ring falling from the clouds, really plays the part of the Earth married to the Sky amid a mock shower of fructifying rain. Be that as it may, this at least is clear, that the drenching of the maiden with water is intended as a rain-charm, potent enough according to the principles of imitative magic, and that the company

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1 B. Schmidt op. cit. i. 30 n. 3, W. R. S. Ralston op. cit. ii. 593 ff., G. F. Abbott Macedonian Folklore Cambridge 1903 p. 118 ff., W. Mannhardt op. cit. i. 328 ff.

2 For guesses see J. S. Stallybrass in J. Grimm op. cit. ii. 594 n. 2 (‘Slav. dozdh is rain, and zh represents either gd or dd; if this be the root, dodo-la may be a dimin.’), W. R. S. Ralston op. cit. p. 229 (‘The name of Dodola is by some philologists derived from dezd = to give milk, Dodola being looked upon as a bountiful mother, a type of teeming nature. Others connect it with Did-Lado, from the Lithuanian Didis = great, and Lado, the Slavonic Genius of the spring’).

I risk yet another suggestion—Hellenic, not Slavonic. F. Bechtel in the Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Classe 1890 pp. 29—31 and in his recent work Die griechischen Dialekte Berlin 191 i. 64 has established the fact that the Aeolic name for Demeter was Δαυ-μάρη, with a clipped form Δάς (first restored by J. G. J. Hermann in h. Dem. 122 for δας ημαρ' δαζ' εντι of cod. M.). R. Meister Die griechischen Dialekte Göttingen 1881 i. 75 had already cited in this connexion the place-names Δωνιο πεσόν and Δωδών. O. Hoffmann Die Griechischen Dialekte Göttingen 1893 ii. 374 f. concludes that the North Achaeans in general originally worshipped the goddess under the title Δαυ-μαρη. On this showing Dodona was the town of Δωδω, a reduplicated *Δω, op. Sim(m)ias of Rhodes (c. 300 B.C.) op. Steph. Byz. s.v. Δωδών...Συμμίας δ’ Ρώδων: ‘Ζηρός δῖς Κρωνίδακα μάκας’ οπεθέκατο Δωδω.’ The same reduplication might, I conceive, account for the Serbian Dodo, Dodola, etc.

3 W. Mannhardt op. cit. i. 331.

4 Frazer Golden Bough: The Magic Art i. 272, 274 f.

5 J. C. Lawson Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion Cambridge 1910 p. 25.


7 B. Schmidt op. cit. i. 31.

8 G. F. Abbott Macedonian Folklore Cambridge 1903 p. 120.

9 Supra i. 396 f.

10 Supra p. 288.

11 Infra § 9 (e) ii.

C. III.
of maidens moving through the village is in like manner what it
definitely claims to be—a cloud-charm.

Similar in character, but more obviously suggestive of a wedding,
is the May-day ceremonial of the Kledona. Miss M. Hamilton (Mrs G. Dickins) says of it:

‘In Thessaly in the district of Karankunia the day is dedicated to the blessing of the wells and springs, and the festival is called the Kledona, which means omens. Little girls go round singing in bands of five during the early morning, the smallest being dressed as a bride. Two carry a water-vessel, and
the other two are bridesmaids. From the vineyards they take twigs, and drop these into the vessel along with tokens from the youths and maidens of the place. Then they visit all the wells and pour in half of the water, afterwards refilling the vessel, while they sing a petition for blessing on the waters and crops.’

I am indebted to Professor A. J. B. Wace for the following description of the rite as performed by the Vlachs at Midsummer:

‘In the summer of 1910, while travelling in South-west Macedonia, I had the opportunity of seeing how the girls of the Vlach (Macedo-Roumanian) village of Sâmáriná celebrated the festival of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist on 24th June (O.S.) with the custom of the klidhone (sing. klidhona) and other...

1 Supra p. 288. W. R. S. Ralston op. cit. p. 228: ‘The people believe that by this means there will be extorted from the “heavenly women”—the clouds—the rain for which thirsts the earth, as represented by the green-clad maiden Dodola.’ Frazer Golden Bough: The Magic Art i. 275: ‘The words of the Servian song...taken in connexion with the constant movement which the chief actress in the performance seems expected to keep up, points [sic] to some comparison of the girl or her companions to clouds moving through the sky. This again reminds us of the odd quivering movement kept up by the Australian rain-maker, who, in his disguise of white down, may perhaps represent a cloud (See above, pp. 260 sq. This perpetual turning or whirling movement is required of the actors in other European ceremonies of a superstitious character. See below, vol. ii. pp. 74, 80, 81, 87. I am far from feeling sure that the explanation of it suggested in the text is the true one. But I do not remember to have met with any other).’ Whatever the explanation of the flutter, the flutter accounts for the confusion of Treptiropeia, ireperepeia, Trepirepia, ‘procession’ (supra p. 287 n. 8), with irepwtpia, irepireplvais, ‘butterflies’ (supra p. 287 n. 4).


3 Βοτία 1890 p. 268.

4 M. Hamilton op. cit. p. 158 on St John’s Eve: ‘The consultation of oracles belongs to the magic of the Eve. The usual ceremony in Greece is called kledonas, which is worked by the νεφόδολογο—speechless water. A water-vessel is filled at the spring and carried to the house by some maiden without speaking. Into it are thrown tokens of all kinds, which are drawn out next morning, and from them each forms his conclusions as to future fortunes. Usually it is merely a case of marriage-questions on the part of the village girls.’ Etc.

5 Prof. Wace appends a brief bibliography including L. M. J. Garnett—J. S. Stuart-Glennie The Women of Turkey and their Folk-lore The Christian Women London 1890 p. 20 (‘The procession of the Perperuda...is also an institution among the Vlach women...The third Thursday after Easter is the day chosen for this propitiation of the Water Deities.’ ‘The ceremony of the Klidhona, observed by the Greeks on St. John’s Eve, is also performed by the Vlach youths and maidens under the same name, but with
observances. On the eve of the festival (the evening of June 23rd O.S.) the girls collected in bands and went about the village singing songs from conduit head to conduit head, putting water in the crock containing the klidhone and pouring it out again. Finally, at the last conduit visited, the water is left in. The klidhone are trinkets, one contributed by each girl and tied up with a flower or sprig of basil or some other herb, so that each can easily recognise her own again, and are placed in an earthenware crock. The trinkets remain in the water over night; and the next day after church the bands of girls collect together again and go about the village with one of their number dressed up as a bride called Romand, singing songs as before and with the crock containing the klidhone. In the evening about sunset they go to a retired spot just outside the village, and joining hands and singing suitable songs pour away the water and take out the klidhone one by one. They tell fortunes by the condition of the trinkets: for instance, if one has gone yellow, the omen is good; if black, the omen is bad. It seems possible that the dressing up of a girl as a bride and the visiting of the conduits is connected with a rain-charm. This is in brief the custom at Sămărînă; but it was difficult slight differences of detail), p. 120 ff. (the Klithona on St John's Eve in Thessaly and Macedonia, Perperâ during drought in the same districts), G. Weigand Die Aromunen Leipzig 1894 ii. 130 (Pirpiruna or Dudula in South Roumania, etc.), 136 f. no. 80 (a Pirpiruna-song in Vlach with German rendering), G. F. Abbott Macedonian Folklore Cambridge 1903 pp. 53—57 (a minutely careful account of ô klidovas on St John's Eve and Day in Macedonia, with text and translation of the songs appropriate to the occasion), Cosmulei Datiui, Credinte, și Superstiiții Aromănești, p. 42 (St John's Day brides etc. among the Vlachs).

P. Carolidis Bemerkungen zu den alten kleinasiatischen Sprachen und Mythen Strassburg i. E. 1913 p. 142 f. (‘Das Fest des Klidovas’) gives a good account of the festival as observed in western Asia Minor, in the Aegean islands, and in some parts of European Greece on June 24, the Birthday of St John the Baptist.

1 Prof. Wace translates the Pirpiruna-song from G. Weigand op. cit. ii. 136 no. 80 (Krušev) ‘Pirpiruna | saranduna | give rain, give, | that the fields may grow, | the fields and the vineyards, | the grasses and the meadows.’
to get any detailed information as the girls, especially the older ones, are shy, and only the smaller girls go through their observances in the light of day. The others prefer the screen of night, which shelters them from the prying eyes of the boys.'

G. F. Abbott¹ points out that this picturesque custom, which is now little more than a pastime, had once a serious purpose. Behind the water-jar with its sprigs of basil and talk of sweethearts lies the old-world endeavour to bring about fertility. The hydromancy presupposes rain-magic; and the little girl in her bridal veil, who goes the round of the conduits, is—if I am not much mistaken—the playful and unconscious representative of Mother Earth herself.

Another group of festivals that imply rain-magic is characterised by much mutual drenching of the celebrants with water, salt or fresh. For instance, off the coast of Lykia lies Megiste (Kastellorizo), an island destitute of springs and exposed to serious droughts. Miss M. Hamilton² (Mrs G. Dickins) has given a graphic account of the way in which its inhabitants keep the festival of Saint Elias (July 20):

'St Elias is considered lord of rain, and at the time of his festival in July a great amount of reciprocal drenching takes place. For many days before the feast the children throw each other clothed into the sea, and get drenched head to foot; they go round the roads calling aloud r' af' Άλα, making the saint's name their cry, and drag along everyone whom they find dry. This they do with the impunity which comes from ecclesiastical support. On the feast-day no one can go dry through the streets, and sponge-fishers even drag people from their houses to the sea. The whole village is drenched as if with rain.'

Miss Hamilton³ justly compares the chief celebration in Kypros:

'At Pentecost the seaports, such as Larnaka and Lemesso, are frequented by large assemblies of country people. Every one bathes in the sea, where they call it the Holy Shore ("Αγίος Υδάτος). Then they take little boats and sail near to the shore all day long, amusing themselves with music and such pleasantries as mutual drenchings. It is unlucky not to get wet on this day, and they have the custom of sprinkling water all over their houses also. In inland districts they go to rivers and springs, and bathe and splash each other. The festival is officially called the Deluge (Κατακλυσμός), but in common talk the islanders speak of it as the festival of Aphrodite, for they cherish the memory of the goddess of Paphos.'

¹ G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 53.
Dr J. Rendel Harris has drawn attention to analogous rain-charms practised throughout Armenia and Syria:

'Amongst the Armenian people it is the custom, on a particular day in the year, to throw water over one another. The day of this exercise is the Feast of the Transfiguration, and the festival itself is called by the name of Vartevar. Although in its modern form the custom of water-throwing is little more than a sport of boys, the evidence is abundant that the throwing of water was originally a religious exercise, and that it goes back to very early times. Its religious character is attested by the fact that in the Armenian Churches there is an aspersion of the people by the priests on the Transfiguration festival; while the boys are throwing water out of doors the priests are throwing water indoors....The custom can be verified all over Armenia; we found it at Moush, at Pirvan, at Egin, at Harpoot, at Ourfa, and practically in every place where we made enquiry ... we were told that at Sivas, Erzeroum, and some other places, it was the custom to let a pigeon fly, in remembrance of Noah. This is not done at Egin, nor could we verify it in other places visited. At Aintab we found that they not only threw water over one another, but that they made a special point of throwing water upon the graves....Upon enquiry from the Jacobite Syrians as to whether they had a Vartevar like the Armenians, the reply was in the affirmative, only they differed from the Armenians in keeping the custom upon the Feast of Pentecost instead of the Transfiguration....The more intelligent amongst the Armenians said that they thought the custom had come down to them from the worship of Anahid, which preceded their conversion to Christianity.'

Dr Rendel Harris further notes that at any time of drought the Armenians may have recourse to the primitive practice of making a puppet and immersing it in water:

'At Egin, when rain is wanted, the boys take two sticks in the form of a cross, and with the addition of some old clothes and a cap they make a rain-dolly. This figure they carry round the town, and the people from the roofs of the houses throw water on it. They call the dolly the “Chi-chi Mama,” which they interpret to mean “the drenched mother.” As they carry the dolly about


2 F. Macler in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 804 b: ‘The festival of the Transfiguration (Vardavar) is called the Festival of Roses, after an old heathen festival which was celebrated on the same day. On the day preceding this festival, the commemoration of the Tabernacle of the Jews is held. On that day people sprinkle each other with water when they meet in the streets; and in certain provinces of Armenia pigeons are set free, either in recollection of the Deluge, or as a symbol of Astlik, the Armenian Venus.’

Was the famous type of Noah in the ark on coins of the Phrygian Apameia Kibotos (literature supra ii. 610 n. 9) occasioned by a local festival of this sort?

they ask, "What does Chi-chi mother want?" The reply is, "She wants wheat, *boulgour* (cracked wheat), &c. "She wants wheat in her bins, she wants bread on her bread-hooks, and she wants rain from God." The boys take up contributions at the rich houses. At Ourfa the children, in times of drought, make a rain-bride, which they call Chinché-gelin. They say this means in Turkish "shovel-bride." They carry the bride about and say, "What does Chinché-gelin want?" "She wishes mercy from God; she wants offerings of lambs and rams." And the crowd responds, "Give, my God, give rain, give a flood." The rain-bride is then thrown into the water. At Harpoot they make a man-doll and call it "Allah-potik." I cannot find out the meaning of the last half of this name. The doll is carried about with the question, "What does Allah-potik want?" "He wants rain from God; he wants bread from the cupboard; he wants meat from dish; he wants *boulgour* from bins; salt from the salt-cellar; money from the purse." Then they all cry out, "Give, my God, rain, a flood." At Trebizond, as we were told, they make a rain-dolly. The children dress it up as a bride and veil its face. They ask money from the people. I was unable to find out whether the dolly was thrown into the sea, which is what one would expect from parallel cases.

Professor R. M. Dawkins¹ and Miss M. Hamilton² (Mrs G. Dickins) have shown that the universal Greek custom of immersing the cross and blessing the waters at Epiphany is not merely an ecclesiastical commemoration of Christ's baptism in the Jordan but also a popular rain-charm of the usual mimetic kind. Professor Dawkins³ observes:

'At Epiphany a priest goes in procession to a spring, river, cistern, or to the sea, and immerses a cross three times. At the same time a white dove is released. The cross is fetched out by a man who dives for it.'

Miss Hamilton⁴ records numerous local varieties of the custom. A few samples will suffice:

'At Athens an imposing procession goes from the church of St. Dionysios to the large reservoir on the slope of Lykabetos, and the bishop there performs a ceremony similar to that at the Piraeus. Some of the city churches, too, celebrate the Blessing of the Waters, either within their walls or outside on an erected shrine. The seaports and island towns have great celebrations. At Syra, the chief commercial island, an urn of water is first blessed in the church, and then a procession marches down to the harbour, where all the boats and steamers are waiting. After the ceremony is finished, the ships are free to sail away. At Nauplia also the ceremony is interesting, and it differs in a few respects from the preceding. The archbishop in full regalia proceeds to the harbour, and amid a great assembly throws in the wooden cross, to which no ribbon is attached. The local fishermen, as divers, are stripped ready to find it, and a struggle

¹ R. M. Dawkins in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 214.
² M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 pp. 112—127 ('Epiphany. The Blessing of the Waters and its connection with Rain-charms').
³ R. M. Dawkins loc. cit.
⁴ M. Hamilton *op. cit.* p. 112 ff.
ensues among them. When the cross is successfully found, all the surrounding people are sprinkled with the water. The successful diver has the right of visiting all the houses of the town to levy a contribution on that day. He may gain a large sum of money thereby, and sometimes companies are formed on the agreement that all the members shall share in the profits of the successful one. This commercial spirit prevails at Phaleron also.

The village of Lytochoro in Thessaly gives an elaborate and curious version of this ceremony. The name of Sichna is given to the festival, on account of the tall standards used. Each church of the district possesses one of these Sichna with a gilt cross at the top, and on the Eve of Epiphany they are conveyed to the two central churches of the town. During the vigil which is held all wait for midnight, when the heavens are believed to open and the Holy Spirit descends upon the head of Christ. Then at dawn they leave the churches, taking the ikons of the saints and the flags and standards, and go to the river Lakkon to baptise the cross and bless the water. The priests line up on the banks, and round about are half-naked divers as at Nauplia. On the rising ground stand the citizens. At sunrise a song is sung calling on St. John to baptise the Christ Child, and a priest prays. Then three times the tall standards are bent and dipped in the water, and three times they are raised in the air, in imitation, it is said, of the trees by the Jordan banks. It is a common belief that all trees on Epiphany Eve bow down in adoration of Christ.

To continue the Sichna. The cross itself is cast into the river, and the divers struggle for it. The successful diver returns to town and gathers up contributions from the houses. All drink of the holy water, and after general blessings they march back in procession to the two churches, where Benediction is held. Next day the Sichna are restored for another year to their respective churches.

In Samos Epiphany is celebrated in the following way. All the women send on Epiphany morning a vessel full of water to the church, and the priest blesses the water. The same day a servant is sent into the fields with this blessed vessel to sprinkle the ground and the trees, singing meanwhile the song of Christ’s baptism.

An Epiphany song from Imbros connects the Jordan water used for baptism with the rain which blesses the earth:

‘There came the day of lights and baptisms. There came great rejoicings and our Lord. Down to the river Jordan went [leg. Down by the river Jordan was sitting] our Lady the Panagia. She took water and washed herself, and with a gold kerchief dried herself, with the Gospels in her arms and the censer in

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1 Παπασάββα, 1881, p. 582.
2 Ζαμαξάρ, p. 48 [E. Stamatiadis Ζαμαξάρ].
3 M. Hamilton εφ. οιτ. p. 126 f. citing Σέλληνος ix. 341 ‘Ηλάθη τά φώτα κ’ ολ φωταμι | κ’ ή χαράς μεγάλας τ’ Αδφένη μας. | Κάτω τ’ τού Ορθάνθ τον ποτάμιον | κάταν ή κυρά μας ή Παναγία | Έπαινε νεφάκι και ένιβοταν | και χρωμά μακράθη λεφτές βαφόταν | Με τά Κελαγγέλια τ’ την άγιαλα | και τά θυματοφύλα τά δάκτυλα | Και τόν άγιο Γάννην παρακαλεί. | Άγιο Γάννην Δρέφνη και πρόδρομε, | Δίνασαι και σώσει και πρόδρομε | Δία να βαπτίζῃ το Νά Γριφόν. | Γιά κοντοκαρτιέρει οι πορείς | Γιά κάναλια Κόλομαβίαν | τά να πλάτσια τού δίκτυον | Γιά να λάμπει δίκτυο κάτω την γη | Νά δροθή Δρέφνη με τήν κυρά | Νά δροθοθείν | (leg. οι) βόρειευ με τά νεφα | Νά κατά προϊσον [leg. καταπραίσον] τα ζουξουλα | Και να καταπίσουν τα Γείβολα.
Rain-magic in ancient Greece

her hands, and she called on St. John: “St. John, Lord and Forerunner, thou art mighty; thou savest and goest before to baptise the young Christ.” “Wait for the dawn that I may go up into Heaven, and may throw down refreshment on the earth, that our Lord with our Lady may be refreshed, that the springs and waters may be refreshed, that the flocks may prosper and the idols fall.”

Even more explicit is another song from the neighbourhood of Mount Olympos, which represents the baptism in Jordan as accompanied by a deluge of rain:

‘At the river Jordan, the holy place, the Lord is baptised and saves the whole world. And a dove came down, white and feathery, and with its wings opened; it sent rain down on the Lord, and again it rained and rained on our Lady, and again it rained and rained on its wings.’

ii. Rain-magic in ancient Greece.

No description of a ceremony exactly resembling the rites of modern Greece has come down to us from classical times. But points of similarity are not wanting. Thus we have seen reason to conjecture that the early Greek rain-maker, probably clad in a sheep-skin to copy the fleecy clouds, worked his magic on the nearest hill. Some such ritual was, we thought, presupposed by the Homeric epithet *nephelegereta* and by the Aristophanic chorus of Cloud-maidens, if not also by the Orphic hymn that bade the Clouds send showers to fertilise Mother Earth.

Usage, no doubt, differed from place to place. In Rhodes the Telchines are said to have been charlatans who by their magical arts could produce at will clouds, rain, hail, and snow. Unfortunately no details of their procedure are on record.

At Kranion in Thessaly drought was cured by the shaking of the

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1 M. Hamilton op. cit. p. 177 citing Παρμασάς, 1882, p. 580; Λασποπούλος, "Ολυμπος και οι κατοίκοι αὐτῶν: — Στὸν Ἰορδάνη ποταμό, στὸν ἅγιο τὸν τόπον | ὁ Κόριος βαφτίζεται καὶ σὺς ὁδον τὸ κόσμον. | Καὶ καταβάθοι μᾶ πέρικε, ἄστη καὶ πλούμπωμένη | κε [ἐπ. με] τὰ φτερά της ἀνοίξατα καὶ βρέχει τὸν ἄρθρον | καὶ πάλιν ἑναπρέπεται καὶ βρέχει τὸν κυρα ἡς | καὶ πάλιν ἑναπρέπεται καὶ βρέχει τὰ φτερά της.

2 Supra pp. 31 ff., 68.

3 Supra p. 30 ff. Cp. i. 14 n. 1.

4 Supra p. 69 f.

5 Supra p. 70. Cp. Orph. h. Νοή, 81 ΝΟΤΟΤ, θυμίαμα μίμονον. η. λαγηνόν πτημα δὲ ἕφερε ἐγκορυδίνωτα, ὑπελεῖας πτηρέγειοι δοομισμον ἑθᾶ καὶ ἑθὰ, ἠθοῖς σῖν νεφέλαις νοτιας, δήμαρον γέγρακα. τοῦτο γάρ ἐκ Δώρι έστι σήμερον γέρας τρόφοντο, | δύστηρας νεφέλας ἔν ἑρώτε ἐς (σ. Α. Αβέλ for εἰς) χθόνα πέμπεσεν. | τονόρθο τοι λιπόμενα, μάκαρ, ἱερόπι χαρέντα | πέμπειν καρποτρόφους δήμαρου ἐπὶ μητέρα γαῖαν.

6 Zenon of Rhodes frag. 1 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 175 Müller) op. Diod. 5. 55 λέγονται δ’ οὖν τοι (σ. οἱ Τέλχιναι) καὶ γόβες γεγονέναι καὶ παράγειν ὅτε βολῆουντο κέφη τε καὶ ὀμβρος καὶ χαλάζει, ὑμῖν δὲ καὶ χιόνα ἐφέλκεσθαι: ταῦτα δὲ καθαπέρ καὶ τούς μάγους τοιούς ἱστροφένες. ἀλλάττεσθαι (ἀλλάττειν codd. C.F.G. ex silentio Wesselingi) δὲ καὶ τὰς ὑδάς μορφᾶς, καὶ εἶναι φθονεροὺς ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῶν τεχνῶν.
Rain-magic in ancient Greece

a bronze car and the recital of a prayer for rain. Coins of the town show this car, always with an amphora or a fluted bowl resting upon it, and often with a raven or two perched on its wheels.

At Eleusis the first formal act of the yearly festival was the proclamation, on Boedromion 16, 'To the sea, initiates!' On hearing this, the assembled multitude hurried down to bathe in the nearest salt water. Passing through a gate, which adjoined the Dionysion in the south of the town and is possibly to be identified with the Itonian Gate, they made their way to two lagoons called the Rheitoi, sacred to Demeter and Kore respectively.

More than one notorious incident was connected with their wholesale immersion. It was said that Phryne, who habitually wore a clinging chiton and scorned to use the public baths, nevertheless at the Eleusinia and at the Poseidonia laid aside all her garments, loosened her hair, and stepped into the sea before the whole concourse of people—a sight which inspired Apelles to paint his Aphrodite Anadyomène.

Again, it was remembered that in 339 B.C., when the initiates had gone down to purify themselves in the sea, a shark carried off one—some said two—of their number. This curious happening, whether fact or figment, seems to have provoked imitation. For we are told that on another occasion, when an initiate was washing a pig in the harbour of Kantharos at the Peiraieus, a shark seized and bit off the lower half of his body. The Eleusinian bath has been commonly regarded as a rite of purification, and as such

1 Supra ii. 831 ff. figs. 788—792. S. W. Grose in the McLean Cat. Coins ii. 203 no. 4566 pl. 171, 20 (= my fig. 791) says oddly 'insect on r. wheel.'


4 Corp. inscr. Att. iv. 1. 2 no. 53 a, 34 ff. = Michelin Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no. 77, 34 ff. = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. 3 no. 550, 34 ff. = ib. 3 no. 93, 34 ff. (Attic decree of 418/7 B.C.) καὶ τέσ τάφρο καὶ τὸ ὅθατο κρατέω τὸ ἐν Δίνω καὶ μαθοδέμημαν, ὅπως ἔτοι μεῖ 

τὸ Διονυσίου καὶ τῶν τυλίκων ἐ(;) ἄδας ἔτελε ἰδίας κόλπωσι εἶ ἰδίας.

5 Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 215 n. 1, P. Foucart op. cit. p. 315.

6 Paus. 1. 38. 1, Hesych. s.v. 'Petró, Phot. lex. s.v.'Petrà (citing Soph. frag. 936 Dindorf, 1089 Jebb), et. mag. p. 705, 13 f., Favorin. lex. p. 1617, 7 ff.

7 Athen. 590 ff.

8 Overbeck Schriftenquellen p. 349 ff. nos. 1846—1863, A. Reinach Textes grecs et latins relatifs à l'histoire de la peinture ancienne Paris 1921 i. 332 ff. nos. 425—445 (id. ib. p. 332 n. 1 dates the incident 'avant 340').


10 Plout. v. Phoc. 3.

compared with Christian baptism\(^1\). Other views, however, might be defended. G. Glotz has shown that to be plunged in the sea was a not infrequent form of popular ordeal\(^2\). Mrs A. Strong and Miss N. Jolliffe have much to say on ‘Apotheosis by Water\(^3\). But in any case the resemblance of the ancient to the modern custom of a communal dip makes it probable that the opening rite at Eleusis, which came ‘at the end of the long drought of summer and before the first rains of autumn\(^4\)’ served the purpose of a powerful rain-charm.

Again, on the closing day of the mysteries, Boedromion 23\(^5\), two top-shaped bowls of terra cotta known as the _plemochôai_ or ‘flood-pourers’ were first filled and then turned upside down, one towards the east, the other towards the west, with the addition of a mystic formula\(^6\). Since Kritias or Euripides in his _Perithous_\(^7\) described these _plemochôai_ as emptied into a cleft in the ground, it may fairly be suspected that at Eleusis as at Athens\(^8\) an attempt was made to fertilise Mother Earth by means of an obvious rain-charm. What the mystic formula was, we do not know. Possibly it consisted in the enigmatic saying _kônx, ômpax_, the meaning of which is still to seek\(^9\).


2. G. Glotz _L’ordalie dans la Grèce primitive_ Paris 1904 p. 11 ff. (‘Les ordales par la mer’).

3. E. Strong and N. Jolliffe in the _Journ._ _Hell._ _Stud._ 1924 xliv. 103 ff.


5. Mommsen _Feste d. Stadt Athen_ p. 242 ff.

6. Athen. 496 a—b ΠΛΗΜΟΧΟΧ. σκέδος κεραμεοῦ βεμβλίκους ἐδραίων ἡνιχίρ, ὁ κοτυλικός ἐνίοι προσαγορεύοντι, ὁ δ’ Μάκμολος. χρώνται δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν Ἐλευσίνῃ τῇ τελευταίᾳ τῶν μοστρᾶν ἡμέρᾳ, ἣν καὶ ἄλλα αὐτοῦ προσαγορεύοντο Πλημοχάις· ἐν ἦ δὲ πλημοχάις πληρώσαντες, τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς, τὴν δὲ πρὸς δύσιν ἀνατείμασιν ἀνατέταντον, ἐπιλέγοντες βρέταν μυστικήν, μυθοποιεῖ τι καὶ τὸν Πορίδιον γράφας, έτει Κριτίας ἑτέρον ἔντονον ἡ Ἑρώκις (frag. 592 Nauck\(^2\)), λέγων ὅτι: ‘τὰ πλημοχάις τάσοι εἰς χθόνιον | χάμοι εἰσφόροι προσέκειται.’

7. _Supra_ n. 6.

8. _Supra_ pp. 179 ff., 188.

9. Hesych. _kôngi, ômpax_ (C. A. Lobeck _cj._ _kôngi_ ὁμοίοις, πάλι)· ἐπιφώνημα τετελεσμένους καὶ τῇ διακατικῇ ψφου ἄξιοι, ὡς ὁ τῆς κλεφύρας, παρὰ δὲ _Ἀπτικόις βΟΥ_. The witty polemic of Lobeck _Agleapholmata_ i. 775—783 hardly suffices to establish his emendation (which is printed as a certainty in both editions by M. Schmidt) and in any case should not absolve us from the duty of seeking an explanation for the formula. I should infer
Rain-magic in ancient Greece

But there is more definite evidence than this of a rain-ritual at Eleusis. Hippolytos\(^1\) (c. 235 A.D.) mentions ‘the great unspeakable mystery of the Eleusinians ἱφτρυ’, that is “rain—conceive.” And Proklos\(^2\) (438 \text{ A.D.}) states that at the Eleusinian rites they looked up to the Sky and shouted ἱφτρυ, “rain,” then down to the Earth and added κυρή, “conceive.” The words have at once the directness of primitive thought and the jingle of primitive magic.\(^4\) Dr L. R. Farnell\(^5\) is right when he comments:

‘This genuine ore of an old religious stratum sparkles all the more for being found in a waste deposit of neo-Platonic metaphysic. The formula savours of a very primitive liturgy that closely resembled the famous Dodonaean invocation to Zeus the sky-god and mother-earth; and it belongs to that part of the Eleusinian ritual “quod ad frumentum attinet.”’

For, if the culminating act of the mysteries was the exhibition to the initiates of a corn-ear reaped in silence,\(^7\) we can well believe that rain-magic was essential to the performance.

from Hesychios' gloss that κύφε, δοματις or the like was a purely onomatopoeic phrase—‘splosh, splash!’—meant to imitate the sound of falling rain-drops. This might fitly terminate the naive rain-magic of the ‘flood-pourers.’

F. M. Cornford’s ‘Κύφε ρια, “Sound the conch—enough’” (Harrison Proleg. Gk. Rel.\(^3\) p. 161 n. 2) is open to Lobeck’s objection: ‘quid ab Hierophantae persona magis alienum esse potest, quam hoc ludicum vocabulum Pax? quod non minore audientium risu exceptum fuisse, quam si hoc alioq; sacrae cathedrae orator pro eo quod in fine concionis pronunciari solet Amen, diceret Basta!’

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1 Hippol. ref. hares. 5. 7 p. 146 Duncker—Schneidewin TOVTO, $>i\clv, earl T&£ya.
2 Prokl. in Plat. Tim. iii. 176, 26 ff. Diehl 8 δη και ο ανθραϊς εδότες προστατικον φωσακας και γη μπροτελων τοις γάμοις, ελς δε τοις ακπλητοις και εν τοις ἔλευσινι λειποι ελς μην τοις φωσακας ακπλητοτες εβδομ ‘θε’ (so C. A. Lobeck for οι codd.), καταβλήσαντες δε ελς την γη τον κυρή (so C. A. Lobeck for κυρε codd. Q.D.), δια τοιον ος πατρος και μηρος την γένεσιν ελαμ πατρος γειοσκοτες. Infra § 9 (e) ii.
3 W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur\(^6\) ii. 1059.
4 See R. Heim ‘Incantamenta magica graeca latina’ in the fahrb. f. class. Philol. Suppl. 1893 xix. 544 ff. (citing e.g. Varr. rer. rust. i. 2. 27, Verg. ecl. 8. 80 f., Pelagon. 19, Marcell. de med. 15. 11) and, for a modern parallel, supra i. 413 n. 0.
5 The relation of such an ‘uralte Wunschausdruck’ to actual prayer is considered by F. Schwenn Gebet und Offer Heidelberg 1927 pp. 1–8 (‘Ein Stück der Liturgie von Eleusis’).
6 Farnell Cults of Gk. States iii. 185.
7 Aug. de civ. Dei 7. 30 in Ceres ritam sacris praedicatull illa Eleusinia, quae apud Athenienses nobilissima fuerunt. de quibus istic (sc. Varro, cp. frag. 140a Funaioli) nihil interpretatur, nisi quod adinet ad frumentum, quod Ceres invenit, et ad Proserpinam, quam rapiente Oreo perdidi; et hanc ipsam dicit significare secunditatem seminum... dicit deinde multa in mysteris eius tradi, quae nisi ad frugum inventionem non pertineant. Farnell op. cit. iii. 358 gives a misleading reference and an erroneous text.
8 Hipp. ref. hares. 5. 8 p. 163 Duncker—Schneidewin (cited supra ii. 295 n. 3). Farnell op. cit. iii. 183 n.\(^8\) takes the phrase in νουφεργ to go with the words before it, not with those after it, but admits that its position in the sentence is against him and can only plead that ‘Hippolytus is not careful of the order of his words.’ The same view had long
300 Rain-magic in ancient Greece

ago been expressed by C. Lenormant in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions* 1861 xxiv. i. 374 f., who was followed by S. Reinach in *L'Anthropologie* 1903 xiv. 356 f. ('l'épi de blé, présenté en silence à la foule assemblée'), *Frazer Golden Bough* 8: The Magic Art ii. 139 n. i (τὸ ἐπί τοῦ θεοτόκου τὸ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸ καὶ τελευταίως ἐπιτόκιον ἐκεί νυμφῆς ἐν σωτρύ, τελευταίως στάχυν (so punctuated by Duncker—Schneidewin)), P. Foucart *Les mystères d'Éleusis* Paris 1914 p. 434 ('Cette explication me paraît beaucoup plus satisfaisante, et je n'aurais pas hésité à l'adopter s'il ne fallait admettre dans la phrase de saint Hippolyte une construction fautive. Après tout, mieux vaudrait s'y résigner, si l'on y gagnait une interprétation plus conforme au mode d'enseignement qui fut en usage dans l'initiation'). S. Reinach, however, in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1906 xix. 344 n. i pointed out that 'le silence est très souvent nécessaire à l'accomplissement de rites comme celui de couper une plante sacrée': accordingly in his *Cultes, mythes et religions* Paris 1906 ii p. xi he renders 'l'épi de blé, moissonné en silence.' Classical scholars in general have concurred in this opinion, e.g. *Harrison Proleg. Gk. Rel.?* p. 549 'an ear of grain reaped in silence,' *M. P. Nilsson A History of Greek Religion* trans. F. J. Fielden Oxford 1925 p. 108 'the reaping of a few ears in silence,' *J. M. Edmonds Lyra Graeca* London 1927 iii. 517 'an ear of corn reaped in silence.'

With regard to the significance of the rite, we are ill informed and widely diverse hypotheses have been propounded:

(1) The context in *Hippolytos* asserts that the Athenians in their Eleusinian usage were following the lead of the Phrygians, who spoke of God as 'a green ear reaped' (*συστρεφών στάχυν τεθηραμένων*). The allusion is to a Naassene hymn describing Attis in very similar terms (*συστρεφών νεότατος φωτιής τελείων μέγας, καθάπερ αὐτός ὁ λειοφάντης, οὐκ ἄποκεκομισμένος μέν, ὃ ὁ Ἀττις, εὐνομομένος δὲ διὰ κοινωνίαν καὶ πάσαν παρρησίαν τῷ σαφήνει γένεσιν, νυντεῖ ἐν Ἑλεοῦσιν ὡς πολύς τῷ τελείῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἄρρητα μυστήρια βοῦ καὶ κέκραγε λέγων, ἵππον ἤςε κόρην κυρίου Βρεμίου Βρεμίου, τούτην κοῖνον ισχυρά ἰχνών*).

(2) According to F. B. Jevons, the corn-car exhibited at Eleusis implies a corn-totem in the remote past. 'Originally every ear of corn was sacred to the tribe which took corn for its totem....Then some one particular ear or sheaf of ripe corn was selected to represent the Corn-Spirit, and was preserved until the following year, in order that the worshippers might not be deprived during the winter of the presence and protection of their totem. The corn thus preserved served at first unintentionally as seed, and suggested the practice of sowing; and even when a larger and proper stock of seed-corn was laid in, the one particular sheaf was still regarded as the Corn-Mother, which, like the Peruvian Mother of the Maize, determined by her supernatural power the kind and quantity of the following harvest. In Eleusis this sheaf was dressed up as an old woman (*συστρεφών n. 4), and was preserved from harvest to seed-time in the house of the head-man of the village originally, and in later times in a temple. This sheaf was probably highly taboo, and not allowed to be touched or even seen except on certain occasions....This manifestation of the Corn-Goddess afforded not merely a visible hope and tangible promise that the sowing of the seed should be followed by a harvest of ripe corn, but in itself constituted a direct communion with the deity...' (F. B. Jevons *An Introduction to the History of Religion* London 1902 p. 364 ff.). 'When, then, we find that in later times an ear of corn was exhibited, we may fairly infer that it was an ear of corn which was exhibited in the primitive agricultural rites, and that it was originally the embodiment of the Corn-Goddess' (*id. ib.* p. 381). Cfr. S. Reinach *Cultes, mythes et religions* Paris 1906 p. xi
Rain-magic in ancient Greece

'Recourant aux textes, nous y trouvons une trace certaine non seulement du culte, mais de l'adoration et de l'exaltation (au sens chrétien) de l'épi de blé.'

(3) Elsewhere Reinach treats the corn-ear as the offspring of a priest and a priestess, representing Zeus and Demeter, whose union ensured the fertility of the soil by means of sympathetic magic (S. Reinach in the Rec. Ét. Gr. 1906 xix. 344 'Cet épi que montre l'hierophante représente, à mon avis, le produit du mariage du prêtre et de la prêtresse qui constitue un des actes mystiques les plus importants du rite; le prêtre et la prêtresse, dans cet épisode, figurent le dieu céleste et la déesse chthonienne—en langage mythologique, Zeus et Déméter—dont l'union assure la fécondité des champs'). A very similar account of the rite is given by Harrison Proleg. Gk. Rel. p. 548 ff. and Frazer Golden Bough; The Magic Art i. 138 ff., who further equate the corn with the child Brimos. Now the union of Zeus and Demeter, impersonated by the hierophant and the priestess, is certainly attested by several late authorities (Tertull. ad nat. 2. 7 cur rapitur sacerdos Cereris, si non tale Ceres passa est? (J. Töpffer Attische Genealogie Berlin 1889 p. 94 n. 4 thinks that here Demeter is not to be distinguished from her daughter), Clem. Al. prot. 2. 15. 1 ff. p. 13. 2 ff. Stühlin (cited supra i. 392 n. 5), Arnob. adv. nat. 2. 20 f. 37 (cited supra i. 393 n. 0), Asterios bishop of Amaseia (dated c. 330—c. 410 A.D. by W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1914 ii. 2. 1499) hom. io exeminum in sanctis martyris (xl. 324 B Migne) οὐ κεφαλὰς τῆς αὐτής θρησκείας τὰ τὸ Ἑλεσίου μοντέρνα καὶ δῆμος Ἀττικῆς καὶ Ἡ Θῆλη πάντα συναίνει, ἢ τοῦρος ματαιοτάτης; οὐκ εἰς τὸ καταβάδας τὸ σκοτεινὸν καὶ αἱ σημαίνοντο τὸ ἱερόπαθον πρὸς τὴν τερατον συνομίαν μένουν πρὸς μονήν; οὐχ αἱ λαμπάδες σθένουσαν, καὶ ὁ πόλος καὶ ἀναρίθμητος δήμος τὴν θερμήνα αὐτῶν εἶναι κυκλοφοροῦν τὰ τὸ σκότος παρὰ τῶν δῶν πραξιῶνα; schol. Plat. Symp. 207 C p. 913 A 27 ff. ἔνειλεν τῇ ταύτῃ καὶ Δήσι καὶ Κύρη, ἵππο ταύτῃ μὲν Πλατώνιοι ἀρισταίοι, Δήσι μὲν διδασκό Κυρῆν ὡς πολλὰ μὲν ἐπίμαντο αὐτῶν, ἑλέγετο δὲ κ. κ. λ., Σελεσίον τὸν πείρα βασιλέων δοξάζοντος Ἀθηναίους; p. 39 f. (cited supra ii. 132 n. 2)). It is probable that in early days this union was a real one, the hierophant having actual intercourse with the priestess, but that later it became merely symbolic, the hierophant using an application of hemlock as an antaphrodisiac (Hippol. ref. haeret. 5. 8 p. 164 Duncker—Schneiderin cited supra p. 300 n. 0 (i), with the remarks of Frazer Golden Bough; The Magic Art ii. 139 n. 1). But though the ceremonial marriage of the hierophant (Zeus) with the priestess (Demeter) has some claim to be regarded as fact, yet it must be admitted that not one of the ancient writers called in evidence describes the offspring of this marriage as an ear of corn. At most we can say that in the Sabazian myth Zeus became by Deo Brimos or Demeter the parent of Pherecphatta or Kore (supra i. 392 ff.). It might also be maintained—the hypothesis is not extravagant—that Kore was at Eleusis represented by a bunch of wheat-ears, possibly arranged in the form of a corn-daughter or harvest-maiden (supra i. 392 n. 4 pl. xxviii).

(4) F. M. Cornford 'The ἄτταρχα' and the Eleusinian Mysteries' in Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway Cambridge 1913 pp. 153—166 likewise identifies the ἄτταρχοι as a brother and sister with Kore. His argument may be briefly resumed as follows. The ἄτταρχοι or 'first-fruits,' sent by the Greek states to Eleusis, were in accordance with Orphic thought identified with the corn-ear as the offspring of a priest and a priestess (supra i. 392 n. 0). The ἄτταρχοι therefore brings into being the Corn-Corn that is the personification of the corn-ear. Now the union of Zeus and Demeter, impersonated by the hierophant and the priestess, is certainly attested by several late authorities (Tertull. ad nat. 2. 7 cur rapitur sacerdos Cereris, si non tale Ceres passa est? (J. Töpffer Attische Genealogie Berlin 1889 p. 94 n. 4 thinks that here Demeter is not to be distinguished from her daughter), Clem. Al. prot. 2. 15. 1 ff. p. 13. 2 ff. Stühlin (cited supra i. 392 n. 5), Arnob. adv. nat. 2. 20 f. 37 (cited supra i. 393 n. 0), Asterios bishop of Amaseia (dated c. 330—c. 410 A.D. by W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1914 ii. 2. 1499) hom. io exeminum in sanctis martyris (xl. 324 B Migne) οὐ κεφαλὰς τῆς αὐτής θρησκείας τὰ τὸ Ἑλεσίου μοντέρνα καὶ δῆμος Ἀττικῆς καὶ Ἡ Θῆλη πάντα συναίνει, ἢ τοῦρος ματαιοτάτης; οὐκ εἰς τὸ καταβάδας τὸ σκοτεινὸν καὶ αἱ σημαίνοντο τὸ ἱερόπαθον πρὸς τὴν τερατον συνομίαν μένουν πρὸς μονήν; οὐχ αἱ λαμπάδες σθένουσαν, καὶ ὁ πόλος καὶ ἀναρίθμητος δήμος τὴν θερμήνα αὐτῶν εἶναι κυκλοφοροῦν τὰ τὸ σκότος παρὰ τῶν δῶν πραξιῶνα; schol. Plat. Symp. 207 C p. 913 A 27 ff. ἔνειλεν τῇ ταύτῃ καὶ Δήσι καὶ Κύρη, ἵππο ταύτῃ μὲν Πλατώνιοι ἀρισταίοι, Δήσι μὲν διδασκό Κυρῆν ὡς πολλὰ μὲν ἐπίμαντο αὐτῶν, ἑλέγετο δὲ κ. κ. λ., Σελεσίον τὸν πείρα βασιλέων δοξάζοντος Ἀθηναίους; p. 39 f. (cited supra ii. 132 n. 2)). It is probable that in early days this union was a real one, the hierophant having actual intercourse with the priestess, but that later it became merely symbolic, the hierophant using an application of hemlock as an antaphrodisiac (Hippol. ref. haeret. 5. 8 p. 164 Duncker—Schneiderin cited supra p. 300 n. 0 (i), with the remarks of Frazer Golden Bough; The Magic Art ii. 139 n. 1). But though the ceremonial marriage of the hierophant (Zeus) with the priestess (Demeter) has some claim to be regarded as fact, yet it must be admitted that not one of the ancient writers called in evidence describes the offspring of this marriage as an ear of corn. At most we can say that in the Sabazian myth Zeus became by Deo Brimos or Demeter the parent of Pherecphatta or Kore (supra i. 392 ff.). It might also be maintained—the hypothesis is not extravagant—that Kore was at Eleusis represented by a bunch of wheat-ears, possibly arranged in the form of a corn-daughter or harvest-maiden (supra i. 397 n. 4 pl. xxviii).}
302 Rain-magic in ancient Greece

the áραρχαι were taken up from the subterranean store-house. The best part of them, made into a peltáni, was offered in sacrifice, the rest would be sold (the Athenian decree already quoted continues 36 f. δεν δὲ ἀνομία τοῦ πελάνου καθώς ἦν Ἐμοὶ αὐτὸς [ἐνέκλη] τρίτοις δὲ βάρχους χρυσόκορον τοῖς θεοῖς λεκατέρητον εἰς Ἀττικῶν καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἔμπιστολοι καὶ τοῦ [θεόν] οὐ καὶ τεῖ的颜色 καὶ τοῦ Ἐβίθος λευκοῦ λεκάστων τελέσον καὶ | τεὶ Ἀραταία βασιλεῖσκον τὰς δὲ ἄλλα κράσσα καὶ πυρὸς ἀφοδιομένας τοῦ λειτουργοῦ μετὰ τέτ τοῖς ἀνάθεματι ἀναστηθήναι τοῖς θεοῖς, πουσσιμένοις ἀπὸ τοῦ δενὰ τοῖς ἄνωνας δοξῆς, καὶ πεναράφαν τοῖς ανάθεμασι, λόγῳ ἀπὸ τὸ καρπὸ τέλεσκεν ἀνεβώθε, καὶ διὰλλον τὸν ἀπαρχημένον)—presumably not to be eaten, but to be mixed with the grain for sowing. The áραρχαι thus became veritable ‘starting-points’ of the κόκκος γενέσεως. All this was aptly expressed in mythological parlance. Kore is carried off and wedded to Plouton in his underground abode. ‘She re-emerges as the potential mother of the new crop’ (p. 163). And ‘When we are told that the Eleusinian epoptes was a στάχυς τεθερμομένως, is it possible that we may see in this στάχυς the epiphany of Kore herself as represented by the áραρχαι?’ (p. 162). Lastly, the ‘redistribution of the áραρχαι...is reflected in the myth of Triptolemus, charged by Demeter with the dispersal of the seed-corn to all the civilised world’ (p. 164).

(5) Count Goblet d’ Alviella Eleusinia Paris 1903 pp. 71—73 holds that the nature of the deities worshipped at Eleusis facilitated the coming of higher hopes for a future life. Demeter received into her bosom both the sown corn and the buried dead. She would extend her protection not only to the former but also to the latter—witness their name Δημητρείου (Plout. de fac. in orb. lun. 28 καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν Ἀραταίος Δημητρείου ὁμόμαχον τὸ παλαίον). Kore too, the very personification of the sown corn, descended every autumn into the underworld only to come up again in the springtime young and fresh as ever. Thus the grain was taken as a fit emblem of human existence, and in Attikè was sown on graves (Cic. de legg. 2. 63 nam et Athenis iam ille mos a Cecrope, ut aiunt, permanebat, ovis terra humandi: quam cum proximi ineicerant, obtusaqua terra erat, fragibus ossesatur, ut sinus et gremium quasi matris mortuo tribueretur, solum autem frugibus expiatum ut vivis redderetur). Similarly in Egypt Osiris or the Osirised dead was assimilated to wheat or barley germinating in the earth when watered from above. Indeed it seems likely that in s. ix—viii n. c. such Egyptian beliefs found their way to Eleusis, lending point and precision to the hopes already inspired by the Greek agrarian cult. ‘Le rite final de l’époptie, c’est-à-dire la présentation de l’épi de blé, moissonne en silence, que l’hierophante exhibait aux neophytes comme le dernier mot des Mystères, ne constituait, sans doute, qu’un rite agricole; il n’y avait rien à y changer pour en faire un symbole de palingénèse humaine’ (p. 72).

(6) P. Foucart, the father of this Egyptising hypothesis, in his final work on the subject Les mystères d’Eleusis Paris 1914 p. 432 ff. would identify the cut corn, not with Kore, but with Dionysos, who had of old been associated with Demeter (Plout. quaest. de Arati signis frag. 7. 1 Dübner ap. schol. Arat. phain. 1568 διὸ καὶ οἱ παλαίον τῶν Διόνυσος τῇ Δημητρῇ συνανδείρον, αἰνιτόμοι τὸ τῆς ὑγιοντος καὶ τῆς ἑκατέρτος ἡ διάηλετος καὶ τῆς Ἰσίου ἀνακελεῖναι, καὶ τοῦτο πράττει γίγνεται ἀνανεουμένη τῇ ββ τῶν εὐρήμων κατὰ τῶν ἀργίτας τῆς εὐρήμος κατορθών, cp. Firm. Mat. 2. 6 f. defensores eorum voluit addere physicam rationem, frugum semina奥斯iricos decit esse, Isim terram, Tyfonom calorem: et quia maturae fruges calore ad vitam hominum colliguntur et divisiæ a terræ consortio separantur et rursus adpropinquante hieme seminantur, hanc voluit esse mortem Osiridis, cum fruges recon-duct so K. W. A. Reifferscheid for redant cod. J. F. Gronovius cj. condunt, F. Oehler
Rain-magic in ancient Greece
Rain-magic in ancient Greece 305

cj. residu), inventionem vero, cum fruges genitali terrae fomento conceptae annua
rursus coeperint procreatione generari. pone hanc veram esse sacrorum istorum rationem...
cur plangitis fruges terrae et crescentia lugetis semina?) as they mourned for Osiris,

Foucart pursues the theme of corn as an emblem of Osiris, and draws attention to the
curious ‘Osiris beds’ found in 1905 by the late Theodore Davis, in a tomb dating from
the reign of Amenhotep iii (1412—1376 b.c., according to H. R. Hall), and now preserved
in the Museum at Cairo (T. M. Davis The Tomb of Iouia and Touitou London 1907 p. 45,
J. E. Quibell Tomb of Yuua and Thuiu Le Caire 1908 p. 35 no. 51022 pl. 16, p. 36
no. 51023). Quibell says of no. 51022: ‘This object consists of a wooden frame, on
which was laid a papyrus mat: over this was stretched a double cover of coarse cloth,

Quibell says of no. 51022: ‘This object consists of a wooden frame, on

This aspect of Osiris-worship has been more fully exploited by Sir James Frazer
and Prof. A. Moret. Frazer Golden Bough3: Adonis Attis Osirisii. 89 ff. describes
inter alia the decoration of a chamber dedicated to Osiris in the Ptolemaic temple of Isis
at Philai (cp. supra ii. 773 n. 0): ‘Here we see the dead body of Osiris with stalks of
corn springing from it, while a priest waters the stalks from a pitcher which he holds in
his hand. The accompanying inscription sets forth that “this is the form of him whom
one may not name, Osiris of the mysteries, who springs from the returning waters’”

Champollion Le jeune Monuments de l’Égypte et de la Nubie Paris 1835 i. 6 pl. 90
south wall of the hall of Osiris (second and third registers=my fig. 196), Lanzone
Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz. p. 705 f. pl. 261, 31 f., E. A. Wallis Budge Osiris and the
Egyptian Resurrection London—New York 1911 i. 58 fig., A. Moret Kings and Gods of
Egypt New York—London 1912 p. 84 ff. fig. 7 f. pl. 11, id. in J. Hastings Encyclopedia
of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1917 ix. 75b, id. Le Nil et la civilisation égypienne
Paris 1926 p. 104 fig. 22, H. Haas op. cit. p. vii fig. 353. Frazer op. cit. ii. 89 n. 2
adds: ‘Similarly in a papyrus of the Louvre (No. 3377) Osiris is represented swathed as
a mummy and lying on his back, while stalks of corn sprout from his body’ (Lanzone
op. cit. p. 801 f. pl. 303, 2 (=my fig. 197)). A. Moret La mise à mort du dieu en Égypte
Paris 1927 deals in detail with ‘La passion d’Osiris, dieu agraire’ (p. 17 ff.), ‘Rites de
la moisson’ (p. 19 ff.: illustrations of Diod. 1. 14; evolution of the Osirian fetish stat,
306 Rain-magic in ancient Greece

'that which is drawn along,' later mert 'bride' or mert stat, from a portable granary (?), 'Les larmes d'Isis et la crue' (p. 31 f.), 'Rites des semailles' (p. 32 ff.), 'Fécondation de la terre par des statues' (p. 35 ff.), with an appendix 'Sur le culte particulier de la gerbe en Egypte' (p. 54 ff.: corn-maidens in ancient and modern Egypt, after Miss W. S. Blackman 'Some occurrences of the Corn-ariseh in ancient Egyptian tomb paintings' in the Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 1922 viii. 235 ff.). Now Frazer op. cit. ii. 89 f. expressly compares the corn-stalks that represent the resurrection of Osiris on Egyptian monuments with the reaped ear of corn exhibited to the worshippers at Eleusis. But he nowhere makes the mistake of supposing, as Foucart did, that the latter custom was derived from the former. They were analogous rites, that is all.

(8) Thus the way is left clear for the conclusion enunciated years ago by Dr L. R. Farnell. All the evidence, he says, goes to prove that among the sacred things reverentially displayed at Eleusis there was a corn-token. 'And,' he continues, 'it may have also served as a token of man's birth and re-birth, not under the strain of symbolic interpretation, but in accordance with the naive and primitive belief in the unity of man's life with the vegetative world' (Farnell Cults of Gk. States iii. 184). N.B. the occasional use of kaladun in the sense of 'old, withered body' (Od. 14. 214 f., Aristot. rhet. 3. 10. 1410 b 13 ff., Anth. Pal. 11. 36. 5 f. (Philippous), Cougny Anth. Pal. Append. 6. 250. 3 ff.=oracl. ap. Polyain. 6. 53, Loukian. Alex. 5).

In this connexion special interest attaches to two finds from the west of the classical area and to one literary record in the east.

An Apulian amphora, formerly in the Barone collection, then in the Museo Campana, and now at Petrograd (Stephani Vasensamml. St. Petersburg i. 244 ff. no. 428), has the following designs: A (i) Zeus, with Hermes as charioteer, in a car drawn by four horses, and Dionysos (wrongly restored) in a car drawn by two panthers or lynxes, enter the Gigantomachy, led by a Fury between them. (ii) Within a herdion, surrounded by conventional figures bearing garlands and gifts, are seen five stalks of bearded wheat. B (i) A young warrior is wreathed by Nike between two of his companions. (ii) A domestic scene of man, woman, and maid—perhaps the homecoming of the successful warrior. The vase has been published and discussed by G. Minervini Monumenti antichi inediti posseduti da Raffaele Barone Napoli 1852 i. 99 ff. (mystical interpretation) pls. 21 and 22, 1—5 (=my pl. xxx), F. Lenormant in the Gaz. Arch. 1879 v. 31 ff. with 2 figs. (follows Minervini), id. in Darenberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 1666 fig. 1308 ('Adoration des epis à Éléusis!'), Farnell Cults of Gk. States iii. 216 f. pl. iii, b ('the first-fruits or oblations consecrated to the local Apollo or Demeter or Persephone'), R. Pagenstecher Unteritalische Grabdenkmäler Strassburg 1912 pp. ix fig., 100 (E. Fehrle cp. A. Dieterich Mutter Erde Leipzig—Berlin 1905 p. 48 f.), P. Wolters 'Die goldenen Ähren' in the Festschrift für James Loeb München 1930 pp. 123—125 figs. 13 and 14 (photographic) (the old Attic custom of sowing grain on the fresh-made grave, cp. Demetrios of Phaleron ap. Cic. de legg. 2. 63 nam et Athenis iam ille mos a Cecrope, ut aiunt, permansit, oculis terra humandi: quam cum proximi iniecerant, obductaque terra erat, frugibus obserebatur, ut sinus et gremium quasi matris mortuo tribueretur, solum autem frugibus expiatum ut vivis redderetur). The point to notice is that, in the lower register of the obverse, the herdion instead of containing the customary representation of the dead (H. B. Walters History of
An amphora at Petrograd:

(1) A heronion containing five stalks of bearded wheat, flanked by conventional figures bearing garlands and gifts.
(2) A young warrior, wreathed by Nike, between two companions. A domestic scene (his homecoming?).
(3) The whole vase.
(4) Head of Kore.
(5) Palmette.

See page 306 n. 80.
Three gold ears of barley found in a grave near Syracuse and now in the Loeb collection at Murnau.

See page 307 n. o.
Rain-magic in ancient Greece

The Eleusinian formula hyē kyē occurs in an extended version on the inner surface of three curved terra-cotta blocks, which together made up a well-mouth outside the Dipylon gate at Athens. This

Ancient Pottery London 1905 i. 476 f. fig. 106, ii. 158) substitutes a small crop of wheat. Cp. an Apulian hydrē in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iv. 175 no. v 353) on which the herōdion contains a large acanthus-plant in lieu of a stele, and an Apulian krater formerly in the Coghill collection (J. Millingen Peintures antiques de vases grecs de la collection de Sir John Coghill Bart Rome 1817 p. 42 f. pls. 49 and 51, 2, Reinach Rép. Vases ii. 17, 1 and 18, 2) on which the herōdion has within it nothing but a hay-branch.

In a grave near Syracuse was found (c. 1900) a veritable triumph of the goldsmith's art, which I am able here to re-publish (pl. xxxi), thanks to the kind offices of Dr A. H. Lloyd. It has already been figured by S. P. Noe The Coinage of Metapontum (Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 32) New York 1927 p. 9 and, more adequately, by P. Wolters 'Die goldenen Ähren' in the Festchrift für James Loeb München 1930 pp. 111—129 pl. 16 and figs. 1—15, id. 'Gestalt und Sinn der Ähre in antiker Kunst' in Die Antike 1930 vi. 284—301 pl. 1 and figs. 1—10, who refers it to the fourth or third century B.C. The jewel itself, now in the Loeb Collection at Murnau, consists of three superb ears growing on a single stalk. Wolters, accepting the opinion of Prof. G. Gentner, says: 'Dargestellt sind Weizenähren; wahrscheinlich die des Binkel- oder Igel-Weizens, Triticum compactum...Heutigen Tags werden noch verschiedene Varietäten in Sizilien gebaut; Möglicher wäre allerdings auch, dass ein besonders kurzahriger Hartweizen vorliege, von dem hauptsächlich die Varietät Triticum durum affine, ebenfalls in Sizilien gebaut wird; sie ist vermutlich identisch mit dem πυρός ρυμωνίας Theophrasts und heisst im heutigen Sizilien Timilia oder Tremilia.' Sir R. H. Biffen, however, has informed me (Jan. 14, 1930) that these gold ears are barley, not bearded wheat, and certainly not a cross between the two. He notes that some details in the arrangement of the shields at the base of the ear are not true to nature. And he adds that the ears represented on Greek coins are regularly, not wheat, but barley (e.g. the hordeum hexastichon on coins of Metapontum (F. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller Tier- und Pfanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums Leipzig 1889 p. 54 pl. 9, i, p. 56 pl. 9, 74, p. 58 pl. 9, 39)). In any case we are at once reminded of the 'golden harvest' sent by the Metapontines to Delphi (Strab. 264 oOs ourws dwo yeupyias eirrevραρια (f>ao-iv ware Otpos Xpvcrovv ev AeXος avaoeivcu). This, though very different in intention, must have been very similar in technique.

Finally, it is not, I think, irrelevant to compare a well-known incident in the Gospel narrative. When certain Greeks, proselytes of the gate attending a Jewish festival, came to Philip of Bethsaida saying 'Sir, we would see Jesus,' Philip sought out Andrew and together with him told Jesus. Thereupon Jesus made answer: 'The hour is come, that the Son of man should be glorified. Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth by itself alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit' (John 12. 20 if.). The Master here hints at his own impending Passion as the supreme example of the law that Life must be reached through Death. That much is certain. But, in view of the fact that the fourth Gospel was written primarily for Greek readers, it is further probable that these profound words were meant to convey some message specially appropriate to the Greeks. And, if so, it is at least possible that the symbolism employed aimed at recalling the great lesson taught by the hierophant to the mystics of Eleusis.

deeply incised inscription reads:

\[ \text{ὄΝΩΜΗΝΧΑΙΡΕΤΗΝ} \text{ΝΦΑΙΚΑΛΑΙ} \text{ΝΡΕΥΕ} \]

Pan, Men, and ye fair Nymphs, all hail!—
Rain! Conceive, conceive abundantly!

The association of Men with Pan and the Nymphs is noteworthy.
The same triad appears on a votive relief of Pentelic (?) marble found
in or near Athens (fig. 198)\(^2\), which might almost serve as an illustra-

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1 A mistake for ἐπέρχετε. H. Günert, however, in his interesting treatise Über Reimwörterbildung im arischen und altgriechischen Heidelberg 1914 p. 217 f. holds that ἐπέρχετε was a new formation from εἶπον on the analogy of εἴπε and under the influence of κατα, κατά, etc. In any case we can hardly infer, with F. Lenormant, that this word formed part of the original Eleusinian formula.

tion of our text. For it arranges the divinities in the same order—Men in the centre between Pan on the left and a sample Nymph on the right. Pan and the Nymphs are natural protectors of grottoes, springs, and the like. Men is present partly because he was assimilated to Hermes, partly because in his own character of moon-god he would be responsible for the dew, which in Attike meant so much to the cultivator of the thirsty ground. We may take it, then, that the owner of this particular well sought to ensure his water-supply by a silent and undemonstrative invocation of appropriate deities, coupled with the old magical cry 'Rain! Conceive, conceive abundantly!'

That cry was addressed to the divine Sky above and to the divine Earth below. No names were used, but it is probable that these powers had long been anthropomorphic. I should venture to identify them with the nameless Theos and Thea of Eleusinian inscriptions, who elsewhere emerge into clearer light and more

1 Supra ii. 285 n. c. 2 Supra i. 193 fig. 142, 642 fig. 501, 731 fig. 540.
3 W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2765.
4 (1) An Athenian decree of c. 423/2 B.C., found at Eleusis, mentions in line 38 (cited with context supra p. 302 n. 0 (4)) gifts τοῦ θεῶ (sc. Demeter and Kore), Ἐρυθλέως, τῶ θεῶ, τῇ θεᾶ, τῷ Ἐρυθλέωι, τῇ Ἀδαμάει.
5 (2) The votive relief of Lysimachides, found in 1885 during the excavation of the 'Ploutonion' at Eleusis (D. Philios in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1886 p. 19 ff. pl. 3, 1, A. Bouché-Leclercq in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 1008 fig. 4380, Farnell Cults of Gk. States iii. 135 f., 258 pl. 1, Svoronos Ath. Nationalmus. p. 554 ff. no. 1519 pl. 88, Reinaich Ῥεπ. Reliefs ii. 412 no. 2), renders in the style of 350—300 B.C. a Totenmahl or hero-feast inscribed (Corp. incsc. Att. ii. 3 no. 1620 ὅτα Θεῶ | Δαιμωνίδοις ἀνέβηκα. The dead man, here represented as a chthonian Zeus (cp. Zeus Epiteleus Philios supra ii. 1162 f. fig. 970), holds rhyton and bowl. His consort, the chthonian goddess, has apparently a ἑκοθόνη or garland for the neck. Beside them are seated the Eleusinian deities Demeter (sceptre) and Persephone (wreath with leaves added in paint, pair of torches burning). Demeter's seat is round and consists in four courses of stone, perhaps meant for the well-mouth of Kallichoron (Kallim. h. Dem. 15, Nik. ther. 486, Apollod. 1. 5. 1).
6 (3) The fragmentary relief of Lakrateides, the greater part of which was found on the site of the same 'Ploutonion' (D. Philios in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1886 p. 24 ff. pl. 3, 2, O. Kern in the Ath. Mitth. 1891 xvi. 3, 4 n. 1, R. Heberdey 'Das Weiherelief des Lakrateides aus Eleusis' in the Festschrift für Otto Benndorf Wien 1898 pp. 111—116 pl. 4 (collotype of fragments), H. von Pratt in the Ath. Mitth. 1899 xxiv. 256—266 (on Θεᾶ, Θεᾶ at Eleusis), J. N. Svoronos in the Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num. 1901 iv. 487—507 pl. 1H—K' (restoration = my fig. 200), D. Philios Τά ἄνεκα Ἀκαρτῆλην ἀνάγαλφον in the Ath. Mitth. 1905 xxx. 183—198 with two figs. and a careful line-drawing of the fragments (= my fig. 199), Farnell Cults of Gk. States iii. 135 ff. pl. 2, Reinaich Ῥεπ. Reliefs ii. 348 no. 1, A. W. Lawrence Later Greek Sculpture London 1927 pp. 46, 124 pl. 79, id. Classical Sculpture London 1939 p. 319), was dedicated c. 100—90 B.C.—the dedicator being presumably the themothetes of 97/96 B.C. (Corp. incsc. Att. ii. 2 no. 1047, 41 Λακαρτηλῆς Σωστράτου Ἡλεια, cp. the Pythagaites of 106/105 B.C. in Corp. incsc. Att. ii. 2 no. 955, 7 = Dittenberger Syll. incsc. Gr.3 no. 711 D2, 7 Σωστράτου Λακαρτηλῆς Ἡλειανίν). It bears an inscription, which has been variously completed. (a) R. Heberdey loc. cit. p. 115:
3.10 Rain-magic in ancient Greece

Fig. 199
Rain-magic in ancient Greece

Fig. 200.
Rain-magic in ancient Greece

specific function as Zeus and Ge. Eubouleus was ab origine an appellation of the former¹, Demeter and Persephone a bifurcation of the latter².

Other evidence of rain-magic in Attike is of very doubtful value, though it may be granted that in a district notoriously 'light-soiled' the rain-maker must sometimes have been in request.

[Λακρατείδης Ζωστράτου Ἰκαρέυς Ιερεύς Θεοῦ καὶ Θεᾶς καὶ Βούλωνος καὶ Διογένους] καὶ τῶν [συμβιβασμὸν τοῦ | Ἀθηναίων δήμου εὐφράγιαν ὑπὲρ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν θόου Ζωστράτου και Διογένους καὶ τῆς [γυναῖκος Διονυσίας (filiation, deme) καὶ τῆς θυγατέρας χαρατήρων Δήμητρα καὶ Κόρης καὶ Θεᾶς καὶ Θεῶν καὶ Βούλωνος | άνέθρηκε. (δ) J. N. Svoronos loc. cit. pl. 1H—Κ'. [Λακρατείδης Ζωστράτου Ἰκαρέυς Ιερεύς Θεοῦ καὶ Θεᾶς καὶ Βούλωνος καὶ Δήμητρας καὶ τῶν [Διὸς διοπτῶν τού| | τῶν θεῶν τῶν εὐφράγιαν ὑπὲρ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν θόου Ζωστράτου καὶ Διογένους καὶ τῆς [γυναῖκος Διονυσίας καὶ Κλεοῦς τῆς εὐαίσθητας χαρατήρων Δήμητρα καὶ Κόρης καὶ Θεᾶς καὶ Βούλωνος | άνέθρηκε. Svoronos p. 495 adds that the fourth line may have started with καὶ Τριπτολήμηρον, for which there would be space above the head of Kleo. (c) D. Philios in the Ath. Mitth. 1905 xxx. 186: [Λακρατείδης Ζωστράτου Ἰκαρέυς Ιερεύς Θεοῦ καὶ Θεᾶς καὶ Βούλωνος [.........] καὶ τῶν [συμβιβασμὸν τοῦ | ....... θεῶν τῶν εὐφράγιαν ὑπὲρ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν θόου Ζωστράτου καὶ Διογένους καὶ τῆς [γυναῖκος Διονυσίας (filiation, deme, e.g. Κλεοῦς Ἰκαρέως) θυγατέρας χαρατήρων Δήμητρα καὶ Κόρης καὶ Θεᾶς καὶ Βούλωνος | άνέθρηκε. The centre of the relief is occupied by an assemblage of the Eleusinian powers. Θεος (Θεός), in the guise of Zeus, is seated, sceptre in hand, on a throne, the arm of which rests upon a small Sphinx. Θεα (Θεία, a matronal figure, lifting the back fold of her πτερός, stands at his side. Further to the left, Plouton (Πλούτων) leans upon a sceptre and looks toward the group of Kore and Demeter. The former stands, holding a pair of torches. The latter sits, with a veil over her head. Her left hand holds a sceptre; her right, a bunch of corn-ears. These she presents to Triptolemos (Τριπτόλημος[1]), who receives them as he sits on his serpent-car. In the background is seen the dedicator (Λακρατείδης | Ζωστράτου | Ἰκαρέυς). The remaining persons are harder to identify. Those who take them to be divine regard the long-haired youth on the right as Eubouleus bearing a vine-branch in one hand, a torch in the other, the female behind Demeter as a personification of Eleusis (so O. Kern in the Ath. Mitth. 1892 xvii. 127, R. Heberdey loc. cit. p. 116), and the boy carrying myrtles in front of her as Iakchos (A. N. Skias in the Βιβλ. Αθη. 1901 p. 34) or Ploutos (R. Heberdey loc. cit. p. 116). But, in view of the fact that Eubouleus (see D. Philios in the Ath. Mitth. 1905 xxx. 188 ff.)—not to mention Ploutos—is sufficiently represented by Plouton, there is more to be said for the view (J. N. Svoronos, D. Philios) that the flanking figures are purely human and belong to the family of Lakrateides—Sostratos with vine-branch and torch on the right, Dionysia and her son Dionysios with myrtles on the left.

(4) Two lists of Athenian officials, dating from the period 117—129 A.D. (W. Larfeld Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 334), mention as κοσμεῖς or 'marshal' of the ἐφέβων (F. Preisigke in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 1490 ff.) a certain priest of Theos and Thea ((a) Corp. inscr. Gr. i Add. no. 274 b, 4 ff. = Corp. inscr. Att. iii no. 1108, 4 ff. κοσμείτων εἰρήκος Θεοῦ καὶ Θεᾶς Εὐρυνακίου Πλατανίως. (b) Corp. inscr. Gr. i no. 274, 3 ff. = Corp. inscr. Att. iii no. 1109, 3 ff. κοσμεῖτων ἐφέβων Ἰερεύς Θεοῦ καὶ Θεᾶς Εὐρυνακίου Παναυσίως (on ὁ as an arbitrary sign for an identical patronymic see Larfeld op. cit. Leipzig 1902 ii. 2. 535 f.)).


¹ Supra i. 669 n. 2; 717 n. 3, ii. 131, 258 n. 3, 259 n. 0, 1076, 1105.
² Supra i. 396 f.
³ Thouk. 1. 2, Alkiphr. ἐπίστ. 3. 35, schol. Aristoph. Ach. 75.
Rain-magic in ancient Greece

Miss J. E. Harrison's recognition of a rain-making scene on a 'Dipylon' jug from Athens (fig. 201), though plausible, is far from certain. And little importance can be attached to Marinos' statement that Proklos was an adept in Chaldean charms, who by spinning his *iynx* aright caused a downpour and so freed Attike from drought.

Lastly, the lapidary tradition perpetuated a belief (originating when and where?) that polished green quartz or 'plasma,' if worn during religious rites, would conciliate the gods and ensure a good shower on the thirsty fields. A stone resembling water might well cause water to fall.

Fig. 201.

3 Supra i. 512 n. o. I was there inclined to accept Miss Harrison's hypothesis. But it is undeniably frail. The alleged rattles are perhaps not rattles at all; and, if they are, they may represent thunder rather than rain (C. Clemen in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1914 xvii. 157 f.). The shield need not be on the altar; and, if it is, the scene may be one of *Palladium*—worship, or even of mere hoplolatry (cp. supra ii. 544 ff.).
4 Supra i. 764 n. 6.
Rain-magic in the cult of Zeus

iii. Rain-magic in the cult of Zeus.

Primitive rain-magic was in Greece commonly taken up into the cult of Zeus. The epic appellative nephelegereta implies that already in the second millennium B.C. Zeus was conceived as a rain-making magician. And a like inference may be drawn from his constant epithet aigiochos. Indeed, in more than one passage of the Iliad we can detect a literary reminiscence of the weather-maker's devices; for instance, in Agamennon's ominous words—

The day shall come when holy Illos,
Priam, and Priam's folk (stout spearmen he),
Shall be destroyed, and Zeus the son of Kronos,
Seated on high, dwelling in light divine,
Shall shake his darkling aigis at them all,
Wroth for this guile.

or, later, in the poet's description of the fighting over Patroklos—

Then Kronos's son caught up his tasselled aigis,
Gleaming, and hid Mount Ide under cloud,
Lightened and thundered and made quake the ground.

Clearly, to shake the aigis is to cause a storm—a thoroughly magical procedure.

If it may be assumed that such poetic phraseology was founded on cult-usage, the actual rain-maker was probably the priest of Zeus impersonating his god. It is tempting to interpret in that sense a curious statement in the Aeneid. Virgil, concerned to derive Roman antiquities from Greece, is hinting apparently at a supposed connexion between the Arx and the Arcades, when he makes Evander say to Aeneas à propos of the wooded Capitol—

This grove, this hill with leafy top some god—
We know not who—inhabits. My Arcadians
Believe that they have seen the very Jove
Oft shake the darkling aegis in his hand
And call the rain-clouds.

1 Supra i. 14 n. 1, iii. 30 ff., 296.
2 Supra i. 14 n. 1.
3 ll. 4. 104 ff. θησαυρός ἡμῶν ἄρ' ἐν τοῖς ἀλαγέν Τινός ἵβη | καὶ Πρώμως καὶ λαῖς ἐπιμελεῖν Πράμων, | Ζεὺς δὲ σφι Κρονίδης ψηφίσας, αἰθήνει ναίων, | αὐτὸς ἐκποτάμου ἐρέμων αἰγίδα πάλαι | τῆς ἀπάτης κοτέων. Cp. ll. 15. 229 f. where Zeus lends his aigis to Apollon and says: άλλά σιν' ε' χιλείς ἀλαβ' αἰγίδα θυσαίδεσσα, | τῇ (with variant τὴν) μᾶλ' ἐκποτάμου φοβεῖν ἄρας Ἀχαίοι.
4 ll. 17. 593 ff. καὶ τότ' ἄρα Κρονίδης ἔλευ' αἰγίδα θυσαίδεσσαν | μαρμάρην, Ἱδὴν δὲ κατὰ νεφώσι κάλυφεν, | ἀποτράγας δὲ μᾶλα μεγάλ' ἐκτύπει, τὴν (Zenodotos read γῆν) δὲ τίμαξε.
5 Solin. i. 1 quam (sc. Romam) Arcades quoniam habitassent in excelsa parte montis, derivatum deinceps, ut tutissima urbsiam arces vocarentur.
6 Supra i. 711 ff. (Vediovis, the youthful Iupiter).
7 Verg. Aen. 8. 351 ff. 'hoc nemus, hunc,' inquit, 'frondosum vertice collem, | quis deus
Virgil may, of course, be drawing upon sources no longer accessible to us. And presumably he was familiar with the fact that in Arkadia the priest of Zeus Lykaios regularly made rain for his neighbours. Pausanias, speaking of the spring Hagno on Mount Lykaion, says:

'If there is a long drought, and the seeds in the earth and the trees are withering, the priest of Lycaean Zeus looks to the water and prays; and having prayed and offered the sacrifices enjoined by custom, he lets down an oak branch to the surface of the spring, but not deep into it; and the water being stirred, there rises a mist-like vapour, and in a little the vapour becomes a cloud, and gathering other clouds to itself it causes rain to fall on the land of Arcadia.'

It would seem then that on Mount Lykaion the magical practice was preceded by a prayer, which—as M. H. Morgan has observed—

etceterum est, habitat deus; Arcades ipsum credunt se vidisse Iovem, cum saeppe nigrantem aegida concuteret dextra nimbosque cieret.' Serv. ad loc. ipsum credunt se vidisse Iovem in hoc scilicet nemoire. sane ad illud addidit quod primi dicuntur Iovi templ[a] et rem divinam festisse—[Aeacus enim primus in Arcadia templum Iovi constituisse dicitur]—nec enim longe sunt a Iove Olympico: unde eos dicit Iovem vidisse, et quod ipsi sunt προδύναμοι, ut [aet] Statius 'Arcades astra lunaque priores' (Stat. Thib. 4. 275): licet dicit Sallustius Cretes primos invensisse religionem, unde apud eos natus fingitur Juppiter (Sall. hist. 3. 60 Dietsch, 63 Kritz. Cp. Myth. Vat. 3. 3. 9).


1 Supra i. 65, 76 f., 87.
2 On the identification of this spring see Frazer Pausanias iv. 383 and Bolte in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 2210. It is now known as Kopires—a name given to small stone, or more often wooden, troughs, through one of which the water at present runs. The inhabitants of the district declare that here there was once a regular river (υπερ νοραύμα), but that, when the son of Hellenopoula was drowned in it, they dammed it up with twelve woollen fleeces and twelve caldrons, each caldron having forty handles. When in 1903 K. Kouroumianes was digging beside the spring, they believed that the water would burst out again. He found near by the ruins of a large ancient cistern ( Ἐφ. Αρχ. 1904 p. 152). Perhaps we have here a lingering belief in the water-magic of the sacred spring.

3 Paus. 8. 38. 4 trans. Sir J. G. Frazer.

4 M. H. Morgan 'Greek and Roman Rain-Gods and Rain-Charms' in the Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association 1901 xxxii. 95: 'The prayer, though offered by the priest of Zeus, was obviously offered not to Zeus, but to Hagno, the nymph of the spring (προεξάθεντος διὰ τὸ δῆος). The sacrifice (καὶ θεῖος) may have been offered to Zeus, but Pausanias gives us no information on this point.'

When Diotima as priestess of Zeus Lykaios (supra ii. 1167) postponed the plague at Athens for a decade by means of prayer (schol. Aristeid. p. 468, 15 ff. Dindorf ἧ ἰδίως ἱερὰ γέγονε τοῦ Ἀθηναῶν Δίῳ τοῦ ἔν Αρκαδίᾳ. ἀπὶ δὲ, μελοῦσα τῆς φόνου, ἦ τινι ἰδινίᾳ ἰμιτορίᾳ, ἐπικατήρτει τοῦ Ἀττικῶν, εὔμετρα ἐκζωλοῦσιν ἀπὸν εἰσελθέων (so cod. B. εἰσελθέων cod. D) ἔπει δέκα ὡρα, she must be assumed to have prayed to her namesake deity. See further T. Zielinski in the Archiv f. Rel. 1906 ix. 43.
Rain-magic in the cult of Zeus

was apparently directed to that old-world sanctity, the sacred spring.

Similarly in Thessaly magic was eked out by prayer. When the men of Krannon in time of drought shook their bronze car, they likewise 'prayed the god for rain'. And 'the god' concerned was almost certainly Zeus.

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Other cults that gave the sanction of religion to the rites of rain-magic were the worship of Zeus Áktawson on Mount Pelion in Thessaly and the worship of Zeus Polieus on the Akropolis at Athens. The ritual of the former presupposed a procession of rain-makers clad in sheep-skins by way of copying the clouds. The ritual of the latter included the significant action of the Hydrophóroi, who poured water over axe and knife at the Dipolieia.

The vitality of such usages is amazing. I conclude with an instructive example noted by Sir A. J. Evans in the Balkans:

'Ibrahimovce itself is a small Bulgarian village, but it contains a monument of antiquity, interesting in itself, and of greater interest in its connexion with a local cult which has at least all the superficial appearance of being a direct inheritance from Roman times. Lying on its back on the village green was a large block, which proved on examination to be a Roman altar, erected to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, by an Ædile of a Colonia, of which we learn no more than that its name began with CO..., who was also Duumvir of the Colony of Scupi.

'To my astonishment, I learnt that this monument of Roman municipal piety towards the "cloud-compeller" is still the object of an extraordinary local cult. I was informed by one of the inhabitants that in time of drought the whole of the villagers, both Christian and Mahometan, with a local Bey at their head, go together to the stone, and, having restored it to its upright position, pour libations of wine over the top, praying the while for rain. The language of the villagers is at present a Slavonic dialect, and the name of Jove was as unknown to them as the inscription on the stone was unintelligible. Nevertheless, it was difficult not to believe that in this remote Illyrian nook some local tradition of the cult of Jupiter Pluvius had survived all historic changes.'

(b) Prayers to Zeus for rain.

Marcus Aurelius has preserved the Athenian equivalent of our prayer 'In the time of Dearth and Famine.' It runs as follows:

Rain, rain, dear Zeus,
On Athens' tilth and Athens' plains.

1 Supra pp. 31 f., 68 f.
2 Infra pp. 583, 603 ff.
3 Sir A. J. Evans in Archaeologia 1885 xlix. 1. 104 f. fig. 48 (=my fig. 202), id. in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1925 xlv. 19 n. 44.

The address ὃ φίλε Ζεῦ is appropriate to a simple, not to say primitive, prayer (infra ii. 1167. Cp. also Strattis Φοίνισσαι frag. 2 (Frag. com. Gr. ii. 781 Meineke) ap. Poll. 9. 123 f. εἰς ἂν μὲν πειθήσαι τοῖς παρθένοις | ἵνα λέγων "Εξεχέ, ὃ φίλε ἥλιον" = Zonar. lex. s.v. ἔχειν and Aristoph. Νῆσου frag. 4 (Frag. com. Gr. ii. 1110 Meineke) ap. Souil. s.v.
318  Prayers to Zeus for rain

A parallel to this was published by A. Körte. Near Tschukur-hissar, a village in Phrygia, he found an inscribed marble stele now used as the doorstep of a house. The inscription (fig. 203), so far as it can be restored, gives us three or four passable hexameters and is dated in the consulship of Salvius Iulianus and Calpurnianus (sic) Piso, that is, in 175 A.D. We may render it:

Wet thou the ground
That with thick crops and corn it may abound.
Zeus Kronos' son, thus Metreodoros prays
And victims fair before thine altar slays.

Fig. 203.

Alkiphron, a later contemporary of Lucian, pens a graphic little sketch of an Attic village distressed by lack of rain. His description takes the form of a letter from Thalliskos to Petraios:

'The drought is now on. Not a cloud above the horizon. What we want is a real downpour; for the absolute dryness of the soil shows the fields to be suffering from thirst. It would seem that our sacrifices to the Rain-god have been addressed in vain to deaf ears. And yet all the inhabitants of our village fairly vied with each other in their offerings. We contributed, according to our ability or our abundance, one man a ram, another a he-goat, a third a boar. The poor man brought a cake, the poorer still a pinch of frankincense. Nobody could manage a bull, since we who occupy the thin-soiled part of Attike are not well off for cattle. However, the money we spent has done us no good. It looks as
though Zeus has turned his attention to foreigners and is neglecting the folk at home."

Of course the god that could send the rain was also the god that could stop the rain. An epigram by Asklepiades of Samos (s. iii b.c.) tells how a lover, wet to the skin at his loved one’s door, appealed to Zeus for a cessation of the deluge.

(c) The relation of rain to Zeus.

Apart from general phrases such as ‘Zeus rains’, ‘Zeus drizzles’,

1 Alkiph. epist. 3. 35 αἰδήμα τὰ νῦν ἀδαιμόν τέφρα ἐπὶ θαλάσσας δεινὸς ἄγγλῳ ἔπιθεν ταῦτα καὶ ταύτα. οἱ δὲ ἐπομηνίως δυσμὲνα γὰρ τὰς ἀργοῖς τὸ κατάστροφον τῆς βιολὶ δείκνυσι. μάταια ἦσαν, ὡς βακχικὴ καὶ ἀνθρόποι τῆς Υπηρετείας. καύσαν γε ἐς αὐτήν ἐκαλλιεργήσατε τάπτος οἱ τῶν κόμης ὀλυμπιάς, καὶ ὅτι ἐκατοστο ὑπολείμμα γενόμενον ἐνεστεραγμένον, ὁ μεῖκος, ὁ τεῦχος, ὁ δὲ κάτωπος, ὁ τέφρος κάθωπος, ὁ δὲ κτέριον, τοῦ πολυτελείου. τοῦτον ὃς ἐρᾶ ὁ πολυτελείος βουκεροῦ λόγους, τότε ἐκεῖ παντελῶς κυκλάμενος ἤνωσεν οὐ πάντες τῶν δοκιμασίων.

2 Anth. Pal. 5. 166. 5 f. (Asklepiades) τῇ τῇ (J. F. Dübner ed.) H. Stadtmüller οἰκίας τῷ ἀναπαύσαται θεῷ φιλίᾳ καὶ στείρα ἤμαθες.

3 Il. 12. 25 f. (supra ii. 1 n. 4), Od. 14. 457 f. ὁ θεὸς Ζεὺς ἀκριβώς θεὸς ἄριστος ἔφη 

4 Philoct. v. Apoll. 4. 45 p. 164 Kayser (Apollonios recalls a Roman girl to life) καὶ ἔτη ἐπιπάθεια τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκείνης ἐν αὐτῇ, δὲ ἐξελάθη τὸ θεραπεύοντας—λέγεται γάρ ὡς ἐκέφαλο μὲν ὁ Ζεῦς, δὲ δὲ ἀθάνατο ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου—ἐτεῖς ἀπεμβαίνει τῇ ψυχῇ ἀνθρώπου τε καὶ ἀνθρώπος, ἀρρητός ἡ καταληψίας τοῦτον γένοις ὥς ἐμοῖς μαίνεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς παρατεθοῦσι.
The relation of rain to Zeus

'the shower of Zeus', 'rain from Zeus', etc. There is good evidence to prove that the Greeks of the historical period regarded rain as essentially connected with this god. Philosophers and grammarians even made a misguided attempt to derive his name in its dialectal form *Deus* from the verbal *detein*, 'to moisten', because he moistened the ground with his rain or gave living creatures the dampness without which none could live.

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2 Ηδ. τ. 13 εἷς μὴ ἔθελεν ὧν δὲν ὦ θεὸς ἄλλ' αὐξῶν δακρύσανθαι, λυμὶ ὀ Ελληνες αἰρεθῆσθαι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ φήμι ἔστι θάνατος οὐδείς ἄλλη ἀποστροφὴ ὑπὶ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Δίδω μοιχίας, Plut. legg. 761 τῶν ἐκ Δίδω ὑδάτων, 844 αὐτὸ ἐκ Δίδω ἤστα... κόμας, Crit. II 111 τὸ κατ' ἐναντίῳ ὄθρῳ ἐκκροσθῆναι ἐκ Δίδω, Theophr. hist. pl. 2. 6. 5 ἐπίγεις δὲ κλάρων τὸ καταστάσιον ὄθρῳ ὑπὸ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Δίδω, 7. 5. 2 ἀγάθη δὲ τὰ ἐκ Δίδω (εἰς ἡδάν), 8. 7. 3 τὸ καταστάσιον συμβρέχει μᾶλλον αὐτὸς τῶν ἐκ Δίδω, eais. pl. 1. 19. 5 γυναικῶν ὑδάτων ἐκ Δίδω, 2. 6. 1 ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκ Δίδω ὑδάτων, 3. 8. 3 διὰ τὴν στάψιν τῶν ἐκ Δίδω (εἰς ἡδάν), 3. 9. 5 μὴ ἐπισυμφέρων τῶν ἐκ Δίδω (εἰς ἡδάν), Ar. Rhod. 2. 1100 εἰ τὸ μὴ ὄθρῳ ἐκ Δίδω ὄθρῳ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου, Plut. quaest. nat. 2 ἄρα ὡς κοινῷ ἐστὶ ἐκ τοῦ Δίδω ὄθρῳ καὶ ἀρέθω, καὶ πνεύματι μεγερίων ὀδηγεῖται ταῦτα καὶ ἀναπληθεῖται ταχὺς εἰς τὸ φωτὸν ὑπὸ λέκτηπτος;


4 Cornut. theol. 2 p. 3, 10 f. Lang para δὲ τοι καὶ Δίδω λέγεται, τάχα ἀπὸ τοῦ δεινὸν τὴν γῆν ἀνατελάνον τοὺς φυλετικὰς (σωματικὰς codd. Χ. Λ.) ικανοὶ, εἰ. mag. p. 409, 2 f. ἡ παρά τὸ δεινὸν τὸ βρέχος, δεινὸς, Δίδω καὶ Ζεὺς· δεινὸς γὰρ ὦ θεὸς (ἀγνὸς γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι codd. V.), Eustath. in II. p. 153. 34. δεινὸς τὸ βρέχος Δίδω καὶ Ζεὺς ὦ δόρο. On the summit of Mt Tmolos was a place called Ταυάλ Δίδω Τεριάου and later Δέσιον, whence K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 281 inferred the existence of an appellative Δέσιος = 'Τέριος; but see supra ii. 95 n. 2.

The notion that the name of Zeus implies moisture has been revived in modern times. I possess the abstract of a paper written by Prof. T. G. Tucker of Melbourne and dated June 3, 1912, but not—as far as I know—published, in which the following propositions were advanced. Religion begins with the obtaining of food and drink. Where there is insufficient moisture, there is not enough to eat. Hence the earliest religious efforts of Mediterranean man aimed at rain-making, or rather water-getting. His *numina* were practically all concerned with human maintenance—the Earth-mother and her cognates associated with the food-supply, the rest with the water-supply. *Dēus* in particular was the 'Moistener,' the 'Wetter,' not the 'Shiner' [supra i. ff., 14 ff., 776], cp. δεμπρός 'wet,' δεινῶς 'I moisten.' Thus Παῦλοι is the equivalent of Πάν-δεμπρός; the festivals Δία, Πάνθεα, Δίασε, Διώτια all involved rain-making ceremonies (as did the *Θυρήμα*, from *ιεράς = ἵερ-της, 'rain-maker,' in spite of Athen. 95 γ—96 ἄρα δὲ τῶν Ἡφαιστών Ἀφροδίτης ἐν θεσίας μαρτυρεῖ Καλλιμάχος (frag. 100 n. 1 Schneider) ἡ θηρεμίας ἐν ἱεροτοικίω ἀναμίασι (frag. 2 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 134 Jacoby) γράφον καθέν ἄριστον: "Ἀργείων Ἀφροδίτην ἐν θέσιν, καὶ ἐν ἱερᾷ καλεῖται 'Θυρήμα;' ); and Ιερόπιτερον (Dierpiter) stands beside the fountain-goddess Ιιτέρνα (Diertrina) [Latte in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. x. 1349]. Various cult-epithets of Zeus are cited in support of this interpretation, not only Οὐμπρός, 'Τέριος, 'Ικανός, but also Νάνος (cp. νάνα [supra i. 359 n. 2, ii. 351 n. 0, 869 n. 0]).

Παυλυφάιος ('of the Voice') [supra ii. 1107 n. 2, 1211], but originally 'of the Rain.' The composite root *iēh-θ* has for Ablian-grades *iēh*-, *oμih-*, *θήθ* in *θής, ἄμφαλος, ἀφρός. The *θήθ* was a 'rain-gathering' stone, cp. δεμπρός), Οὐμπρός ('Ομπρός meant
The relation of rain to Zeus

But, though rain was always referred to Zeus, its exact relationship to him was variously conceived.

'Cloud-collector,' so that νεφελογενέας Ζεύς in a sense was the mountain—just as the Mexican rain-god Tlaloc was also Mt Popocatepetl. The Mysian flute-player Olympus [P. Weizsäcker in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 860 f.] whistled for the wind. A Cretan Olympus was 'teacher' of Zeus [Ptol. Hephast. ap. Phot. hist. p. 147 b 38 f. Bekker] in control of the rain-power. On this showing τὰ Οὐλόμενα would be ceremonies of cloud-gathering, Μαίακτης (not 'Raging' [Plout. de colib. ινα 9 δα καί τῶν θεῶν τῶν Βασιλεία Μελίχων, Αθηναίων δι' Μαίακτης, οὕτως, καθότι: τὸ δὲ κολαστικὸν ερωτεύεται καὶ δαιμονικόν, οὐθέν δὲ οὐδὲ Οὐλόμενον, Ηαρπακτ. s.v. Μαίακτης... ἀνθρωπαις δὲ ἀντὶ Δαῖμαίακτου. Μαίακτης δὲ τοῦ ἐνθυσάμενον καὶ παραστικόν, οὐ φησί Λαυκαχίδης (Λαυκαχίδης cod. Ven.) (I.ysimachos of Alexandria frag. 22 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 341 Müller)) ἐν τῷ πέρ ὁμὲν 'Ἄθηνας μηνῶν ἔχει, σκέφτετο τὸν χειμώνας ἐν τοιῷν τῷ μηνὶ οὗ ἄρρηται καὶ μεταβάλλεται λειχεῖ = Soud. s.v. Μαίακτής. Alter Phot. lex. s.v. Μαίακτής... ὠμοιότατο δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μαίακτης τῆς πειρ ὡς ἰδέων: μαίακτης γὰρ, δὲ ἐπὶ ἄρρητας, ἐτέργησεν ἰδέων καὶ ἐσόθ ἐκτόμωσεν. H. W. Stoll in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2242 f. notes that the 'Raging' god might be appeased (Hesych. Μαίακτης; Μελίχων, Καθάριον) and cp. Corp. inscr. Att. iii. 1 no. 77, 12 ff. cited supra i. 176 n. 2, but 'Giving Increase.' The root *makan* meant 'enlargement' (μακρός), 'increase,' 'benefit,' 'blessing' (μακρὰς θεὰς = δυνάμεις ἐκώς, cp. μακτε κτίσται). The reduplication is of a common type (μακτελλοῦντα etc.). Zeus Μαίακτης was probably developed from human μαίακτησια, whose rain-making rites *μαίακτησια* gave their name to the month Μαίακτησιά. With this *mak*—goes φαρμακοῖς καί φαρμακῶν, 'promoters of bearing (or produce),' cp. Φάρμακον. The by-form *μακη* is found in μακηχ [Zeus Μακηχ: supra ii. 1144 n. 2, infra § 9 (h)], Maius the month of increase, Iupiter Maius [Macrobr. Sat. i. 12. 17 sunt qui hunc mensem ad postros fastos a Tusculanis transisse commemorent, apud quos nunc quoque vocatur deus Maius qui est lupiter, a magnitudine scilicet ac maiestate dictus. See further Link in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xiv. 613 f., etc.), μακάκος (Zeus μακάκος [supra ii. 875 n. 2, 1245] or rather Φαλακρός was god 'of the Swelling Tips' on plants, fruit-trees, oaks, and beeches. The compound φαλε+άκος has for its first element the φαλε (οὐκαί. *νθα*) of φαλέσι (the 'growth-making,' a magic instrument), etc., as in the case of Hermes Φαλάνθης [Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 3 no. 1165 Λυκίλης Ναυκλέων | [Ἐβρίμαι Φαλάνθης ἄνθρωπος, where however the god's epithet may be Φαλάνθεος, an ethnic from Mt Phalanthus in Arkadia: see d. Höff er in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2327), who makes the flower or bloom of things to grow, cp. Hesych. Ερυφόλων (A. Meineke c. Ερυφόλων) τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν Ἐρυθών, Δαφνιοῦτος (If this title of Zeus [supra ii. 899 n. 1, 904 n. 1] had anything to do with λαφησια, 'to devour,' it meant 'who enables men to gorge,' not 'who gorges himself'; but the connexion is somewhat doubtful). It is contended also that Νέις (later Νείκη but this is merely a Byzantine mis-spelling), the attribute of Zeus, meant 'Bearing' or 'Winning'—originally what the season 'brought' or 'bears' for you, what you 'win' or 'carry off' in the way of produce,—being thus in form akin to ινέκατα [Boisacq Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr. p. 251 notes that the root ινέκα had reduced forms εικακτικος, *εικακτικος*, cp. Walde Lat. etym. Wörterb. p. 506 f. s.v. 'nanciscor') and in sense comparable with Fors, Fortuna (fere) [supra i. 272].

But Prof. Tucker's reading of Greek religion is simple and so far attractive. But the etymologies on which he relies vary in value from the certain (e.g. "Ομήρου") or highly probable (e.g. "Ναίο") to the highly improbable (e.g. "διμαλός") or impossible (e.g. "Ολυμποσ"), and I doubt whether any tenable position can be constructed out of such miscellaneous materials.

1 E.g. Eur. Tho. 78 f. (cited supra ii. 1 n. 6), Hdt. 2. 13 πολεμεοῦσιν γὰρ (sc. οἱ Λαγιάται) ὡς ἂν τὰ πάντα ἁρκά τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἄλλῳ πολεμεόντοι ἄρεται κατὰ πόλις ἢ σφετερά, ἐκείνου Ἑλληνος φειδοτάτος κατὰ εἰλίδος μεγάλης κακοῦς πεζήσων. τὸ δὲ ἐπί τοῦτο ἐθέλει λέγειν ὅτι, εἰ μὴ ἑθελεί σοι δει τὸ θεῖα ἄλλα αὐχμῖ διαχρόσαι, λαμβὼ ὦ! Ἑλληνος αἰρεθήσονται. C. III. 21
The relation of rain to Zeus

Matron, a parodist of Homer in the days of Alexander the Great, dubbed it ‘the child of Zeus.’

Orphic writers spoke of it as ‘the tears of Zeus.’ Ovid’s story

...
The relation of rain to Zeus

that the Kouretes sprang from a heavy rain-shower\(^1\) is paralleled by the anonymous statement that they sprang from the tears of Zeus\(^2\). And Herakleitos the Stoic (s. i A.D.\(^3\)) interprets the blood-rain sent by Zeus in the *Iliad*\(^4\) to portend the death of Sarpedon\(^5\) as the tears, not indeed of Zeus, but of the *aither*\(^6\)—which amounts to the same thing\(^7\).

Artists of Roman date represent rain as falling in large gouts or drops from the hand of Zeus. A bronze coin of Ephesos, issued by Antoninus Pius, shows Zeus enthroned on Mount Koressos, with a thunderbolt held in his left hand and a shower descending from his right upon the recumbent figure of Mount Peion\(^8\). To the example

in the British Museum (*supra* i. 134 fig. 100) must be added others in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris (fig. 204)\(^9\) and in the Löbbecke (fig. 205)\(^10\) and Gréau (fig. 206)\(^11\) collections—all apparently from the same dies. Again, an engraved chalcedony of the Graeco-Roman

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\(^{1}\) Ov. *met.* 4. 281 ff. te quoque, nunc adamas, quondam fidissime parvo, | Celmi, Iovi largoque satos Curetas ab imbri | ... | praetereo. The section is discussed by W. Vollgraff *Nikander und Ovid* Groningen 1909 i. 141. See also O. Immisch in *Roscher Lex. Myth.* ii. 1598.


\(^{3}\) C. Reinhardt in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 308.

\(^{4}\) *II.* 16. 458 ff.

\(^{5}\) *Infra* p. 478.

\(^{6}\) Herakleitos the Stoic * quaest.* *Hom.* p. 64, 1 ff. Soc. Philol. Bonn. τὸ τούτον δή τῶν φόνων διαβρων ἀλλογενιῶν εἶπεν αὐθερίοις δάκρυαι, Δίῳ μὲν οὖ—ἀδελαυτος γὰρ—, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὑπὲράνω τῶν ὑπετείρι πτερύγων μεριμμένοι καταρριχέγοντο δυτοῖ.

\(^{7}\) *Supra* i. 27 ff.

\(^{8}\) *Supra* i. 134, ii. 962 n. 2.

\(^{9}\) O. Benndorf *Forschungen in Ephesos* Wien 1906 i. 56 fig. 18d (= my fig. 204).

\(^{10}\) A. Löbbecke in the *Zeitschr.* *f.* *Num.* 1890 xvii. 10 no. 2 pl. 1, 17 (= my fig. 205), O. Benndorf *op. cit.* i. 56 fig. 18a.

\(^{11}\) H. Cohen *Description des médailles grecques de M. J. Gréau* Paris 1867 no. 1767 pl. 4, O. Benndorf *op. cit.* i. 56 fig. 18d (= my fig. 206).
The relation of rain to Zeus

period, formerly in the Castellani collection and now in the British Museum (fig. 207), has Zeus in a car drawn by a pair of eagles. His left hand holds one of the reins, his right lets fall a shower of drops. Above and below are Sagittarius and Pisces, which—as H. B. Walters observes—stand for two of the rainy winter months. The god so figured would presumably have been called Jupiter Pluvius or Pluvialis by the Romans. No other certain representa-

Fig. 207. Fig. 208.

tion of him is known. But it is probably he who appears on the column of Marcus Aurelius in connexion with the campaign against the Quadi (174 A.D.).

For our knowledge of that famous episode we are mainly


3 Tib. i. 7. 25 f. te (sc. Father Nile) propter nullos tellus tua postulat imbres, arida nec Pluvio supplicat herba lovi. The last five words are cited, but wrongly attributed to Ovid, by Sen. nat. quaestt. 4. 2. 2. Stat. Theb. 4. 758 f. tu (sc. Hypsipyle) nunc ventis Pluvioque rogaris pro Iove. Anth. Lat. 395. 46 Riese (in a description of December) Pluvio de love cuncta madent.

4 Corp. Inscr. Lat. ix no. 324 = Orelli—Henzen Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 5641 = Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 3043 (found at Naples) lovi | Pluvia[li]. See further Preller—Jordan Röm. Myth. i. 190 n. 2, Wissowa Rel. Kult. Röm. p. 120 n. 10.

5 Babelon Monn. rep. rom. i. 426 fig. describes the obverse design of a denarius struck by L. Cornelius Lentulus c. 49—47 B.C. at Ephesus (?) as 'Tête nue et barbue de Jupiter Pluvius à droite' (my fig. 208 is from a cast of the specimen in the British Museum). But this description, presumably suggested by the fact that the reverse type shows the cult-statue of Artemis Ephesia, is highly conjectural. And other conjectures have been made. Morell. Thes. Num. Fam. Rom. i. 120 pl. Cornelis 3, 6 says: 'Caput senile barbatum Hereulis, ut credidit Uninus, Jovis Olympii, ut sentit Vaillantius, ut nobis videtur, Jovis Eleutherii sive Liberators.' H. A. Gruieber in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Rep. ii. 467 pl. 110, 15 has merely: 'Head of Jupiter r., with long beard.' Equally illusory is the coin said to bear the legend ZEYC OOMPIOC (Rasche Lex. Num. iv. 1223, xi. 1261)—perhaps a misreading of ZEYC OAYMTIOC.

6 On this great Germanic tribe see the monograph of H. Kirchmayr Der altdeutsche Volkstum der Quaden Wien 1890 (pp. xv, 173 with 13 figs.) and L. Schmitz in Smith Dict. Geogr. ii. 689, M. Schönfeld Wörterbuch der allgermanischen Personen- und Völker- namen Heidelberg 1911 p. 131 f. s.v. 'Quadi,' Lübker Reallex. p. 878, R. Much in Hoops Reallex. iii. 431 f. s.v. 'Quaden.'
The relation of rain to Zeus 325
dependent on the account given by Cassius Dio (c. 210—222 A.D.),
or—to speak more strictly—on an abridged version of it made by
the monk Ioannes Xiphilinos of Trapezous for the Byzantine
emperor Michael vii Parapinakes (1071—1078 A.D.). The epitome reads:

'So Marcus subdued the Marcomani and the Iazyges after many hard
struggles and dangers. A great war against the people called the Quadi also fell
to his lot and it was his good fortune to win an unexpected victory, or rather it
was vouchsafed him by Heaven. For when the Romans were in peril in the
course of the battle, the divine power saved them in a most unexpected manner.
The Quadi had surrounded them at a spot favourable for their purpose and the
Romans were fighting valiantly with their shields locked together; then the
barbarians ceased fighting, expecting to capture them easily as the result of the
heat and their thirst. So they posted guards all about and hemmed them in to
prevent their getting water anywhere; for the barbarians were far superior in
numbers. The Romans, accordingly, were in a terrible plight from fatigue,
wounds, the heat of the sun, and thirst, and so could neither fight nor retreat, but
were standing in the line and at their several posts, scorched by the heat, when
suddenly many clouds gathered and a mighty rain, not without divine interposi-
tion, burst upon them. Indeed, there is a story to the effect that Arnuphis, an
Egyptian magician, who was a companion of Marcus, had invoked by means of
enchanted various deities and in particular Mercury, the god of the air, and
by this means attracted the rain.

(This is what Dio says about the matter, but he is apparently in error,
whether intentionally or otherwise; and yet I am inclined to believe his error
was chiefly intentional. It surely must be so, for he was not ignorant of the
division of soldiers that bore the special name of the "Thundering" Legion,—
indeed he mentions it in the list along with the others)—a title which was given

1 Dion Cass. 71. 8—to trans. E. Cary.
2 Dion Cass. 71. 8 ...τετράθη πολλά ἐξαίφησις συνέθραμε καὶ ὄστὸς πολύς οὐκ ἀδελφ
caterpάγη· καὶ γὰρ τὸ λόγος ἔχει Ἀρνουφίου τινα μάγον Αἰγυπτίων σωφρόνα τῷ Μάρκῳ
ἀλλοιον τὲ τινας διάμομας καὶ τὸν Ἱσραήλ τὸν ἄρην διὶ μᾶλλον μαγγανείς τὸν ἑπικαλέσασθαι
καὶ δὲ ἀτόμων τὸν δύμαν ἐνεπτάσασθαι.
3 Ib. 71. 9 οὕτω δὲ τὸ πλέον ἐκώς καὶ τῶς γᾶρ οὐθ ὅτις οὐκ ἥγησε τὸ τάγμα τῶν
στρατιωτῶν τὸ κεραυνοθλόν ἰδίως καλομένων (ἐν γὰρ τῷ τῶν λοιπῶν καταλαγῇ καὶ αὐτῶν
μημονεύει), διὰ τοῦτο κ.τ.λ. The reference is to 55. 23 καὶ τὸ διδακτικὸ τὸ τὸ Ἐν Κασσαδοκία τὸ
κεραυνοθλόν. But neither κεραυνοθρόνον, 'bearing a thunderbolt,' nor κεραυνοθλόνον, 'hurling
a thunderbolt,' is a correct rendering of the Latin epithet leg. xii fulminata (E. Ritterling
in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xii. 1710), which must mean either 'struck by a thunderbolt'
(Thes. Ling. Lat. vi. 1533, 10 ff.) or 'hurled like a thunderbolt, quick as a thunderbolt'
(ib. p. 1531, 48 ff.). The latter interpretation, which is commonly assumed as correct (cp.
Rufin. hist. eccl. 5. 4 legionem...vocitatum...fulmineam, anon. notitia dignitatum in
partibus orientis 38. 14 (ed. O. Scheck Berolini 1876) praecextus legionis duodecimae
fulmineae (fulmine coed. C. V. fulmineae coed. P. M. fulminatae edd.), is supported only
by Stat. silv. 2. 7. 93 ff. sic natum Nasamonii Tonantis | post ortus obitusque fulminatos
angusto Babylon premit sepulcro with F. Vollmer's note ad loc. The former is in accord
with the normal usage of fulminatus, and presupposes that on some definite occasion the
legion was literally struck by lightning—a manifest token of divine favour (supra ii. 8 ff.,
22 ff., 33 ff.).
The relation of rain to Zeus

It is for no other reason (for no other is reported) than because of the incident that occurred in this very war. It was precisely this incident that saved the Romans on this occasion and brought destruction upon the barbarians, and not Arnuphis, the magician; for Marcus is not reported to have taken pleasure in the company of magicians or in witchcraft. Now the incident I have reference to is this: Marcus had a division of soldiers (the Romans call a division a legion) from Melitene; and these people are all worshippers of Christ. Now it is stated that in this battle, when Marcus found himself at a loss what to do in the circumstances and feared for his whole army, the prefect approached him and told him that those who are called Christians can accomplish anything whatever by their prayers and that in the army there chanced to be a whole division of this sect. Marcus on hearing this appealed to them to pray to their God; and when they had prayed, their God immediately gave ear and smote the enemy with a thunderbolt and comforted the Romans with a shower of rain. Marcus was greatly astonished at this and not only honoured the Christians by an official decree but also named the legion the "Thundering" Legion. It is also reported that there is a letter of Marcus extant on the subject. But the Greeks, though they know that the division was called the "Thundering" Legion and themselves bear witness to the fact, nevertheless make no statement whatever about the reason for its name.

Dio goes on to say that when the rain poured down, at first all turned their faces upwards and received the water in their mouths; then some held out their shields and some their helmets to catch it, and they not only took deep draughts themselves but also gave their horses to drink. And when the barbarians now charged upon them, they drank and fought at the same time; and some, becoming wounded, actually gulped down the blood that flowed into their helmets, along with the water. So intent, indeed, were most of them on drinking that they would have suffered severely from the enemy's onset, had not a violent hail-storm and numerous thunderbolts fallen upon the ranks of the foe. Thus in one and the same place one might have beheld water and fire descending from the sky simultaneously; so that while those on the one side were being drenched and drinking, the others were being consumed by fire and dying; and while the fire, on the one hand, did not touch the Romans, but, if it fell anywhere among them, was immediately extinguished, the shower, on the other hand, did the barbarians no good, but, like so much oil, actually fed the flames that were consuming them, and they had to search for water even while being drenched with rain. Some wounded themselves in order to quench the fire with their blood, and others rushed over to the side of the Romans, convinced that they alone had the saving water; in any case Marcus took pity on them. He was now saluted imperator by the soldiers, for the seventh time; and although he was not wont to accept any such honour before the senate voted it, nevertheless this time he took it as a gift from Heaven, and he sent a despatch to the senate.

This passage together with other ancient allusions to the same event has in modern times given rise to a lively, not to say acrimonious, controversy. The upshot of the matter appears to be as

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1 In reality the name goes back to the time of Augustus (see D. Vaglieri in Ruggiero Dision. epigr. iii. 335, E. Ritterling in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xii. 1710).
The relation of rain to Zeus

follows. A certain historic happening lent itself to two different interpretations, the one Christian, the other pagan, in character. The kernel of fact was the rescue of the Roman army from dire straits by means of a timely rain-storm, which on the one hand refreshed the fainting legionaries and on the other did serious damage to the enemy. The dramatic escape of his troops was expressly mentioned by the emperor in a letter to the senate and was by him attributed

2 I subjoin a précis of the positions taken up by the various disputants:

E. Petersen 'Das Wunder an der Columna M. Aurelii' in the Röm. Mitth. 1894 ix. 78-89 collects and criticalises most of the evidence for the alleged miracle. He cites as literary sources Apollinarios ap. Euseb. hist. eccl. 5. 5. 4, Tertull. apol. 5, ad Scap. 4, Dion Cass. 71. 8-10 (including Xiphilinos, who is followed by Zonar. epil. hist. 12. 2 and Kedren. hist. comp. 250 c-1 (l. 439 Bekker)), Iul. Capit. c. M. Ant. philos. 14. 4, Euseb. chron. p. 172 Schoene (=Chron. Pisc. 360 a-361 A (i. 486 f. Dindorf) and vers. Armen. ann. Abr. 2188), Themist. or. 15 p. 191 B, Oros. 7. 15. 7-11, Claud. de Vic cons. Honor. 339 ff., and a forged letter of M. Aurelius (printed as an appendix to Just. Mart. (ed. J. C. T. Otto Iena 1876 i. 1. 246 ff.). Recent texts by A. Harnack in the Sitzungsb. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin 1894 p. 878 ff. and by J. Geffcken in the Neue jahrh. f. klass. Altertum 1899 iii. 253-269). Dion's account (helpful rain, renewed fight, hail and thunderbolts destroying the foe) is distinguished from the Christian version, in which (1) lightning plays as big a part as rain, (2) both being due to the prayers of Christians in the Twelfth Legion, (3) hence called προσωσθείς; (4) a letter of M. Aurelius recognises these services of the Christians and (5) prohibits their persecution. Since Apollinarios gives (2) and (3), but not (4) and (5), and since the legio fulminata had already acquired its name under Augustus, it is clear that Aurelius' letter either never existed or existed only as a Christian forgery. Granted, however, that (4) and (5) are an addition to the story, we have yet to reckon with (1)+(2)+(3) as an independent version. Dion and Themistios are in general agreement, though the latter makes the emperor Antoninus Pius, not M. Aurelius, and says that he had seen the incident represented in a γραφή (Themist. loc. cit. και εἶδον ἐγὼ ἐν γραφῇ εἰκόνα τοῦ ἔργου, τὸν μὲν αὐτοκράτορα προσιστάμενον ἐν τῇ φάλαγγι, τοὺς στρατιῶτας δὲ τὰ κράνα τῇ δύμμα συνιστάτας καὶ ἑπικαλώμενος τοῦ πάντως τὸν θεοῦ δόθησον). Now this γραφή may well have been the extant column of M. Aurelius. In short, it appears that both Dion and Themistios are describing the column, but describing it wrongly. The Romans were not catching the rain in order to drink it, but using their shields as umbrellas in the attempt to protect themselves against it. The winged god, hovering like a cloud, is a simple personification of Rain, comparable with Ovid's Notus (infra p. 333) and not at once suggestive of any figure in Greek or Roman mythology. The Christians, accepting him as a mere personification, would further note the cruciform shield-signs of the legionaries and misinterpret the attitude of the barbarians, kneeling to prevent the Romans from crossing the river, as that of Christians at prayer. Finally, in the adjacent scene of enemy-defences fired by a thunderbolt they would see the punitive lightning and its effect upon the foe.

The relation of rain to Zeus

who seems to be preserving a Cappadocian oral tradition of the same event. Accordingly Harnack constructs the following stemma:

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Letter of M. Aurelius to the Senate
  Melitian tradition
    X
      The prodigy seen by Theonistos
  Gregory of Nyssa
    Nikephoros
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Apollinarios, who was bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia and probably wrote only one or two years after the event, Tertullian, who composed his *apologeticus* in 197 A.D., and Dion, an exact contemporary of Tertullian, are independent of each other, but all three go back to a genuine letter of the emperor to the Senate—a document used by the author of the extant forged letter. Tertullian implies that this genuine letter, perhaps ironically, spoke of the prayers of the Christian soldiers as having brought down the rain (*apol. 5* at nos e contrario edimus protectorem, si litterae M. Aureliigravissimi Imperatoris requirantur, quibus illam Germanicam sitim Christianorum forte militum protectionibus impetrato imbri discussam contestatur). Christians of the east soon quoted the letter, putting their own construction upon it, and Dion half-polemically retorts with the story of the mage Arnouphis. Later writers refer to the prayers of the emperor himself. Petersen's hypothesis of the scene on the column as misconceived both by pagans and by Christians is unacceptable ('die Überlieferung, wie sie Apollinaris, Tertullian und Dio bieten, kann nicht auf die bildliche Darstellung zurückgeführt werden'). We are forced to admit the historicity of the thirst which brought the Roman army into dire straits, the sudden relief effected by a rain-storm, the prayers of the Twelfth Legion, the Christianity of part of that Legion, the letter of the emperor, and its mention of the prayers of the Twelfth Legion.

L. Duchesne 'Le miracle de la Légion Fulminante' in the *Bulletin critique* 1894 xv. 476 and P. H. Grisar 'Il prodigio della legio fulminata e la Colonna di Marco Aurelio' in *La Civilta Cattolica* 1895 i. 205 ff. are in substantial agreement with Harnack.

A. von Domaszewski 'Das Regenwunder der Marc Aurel-Säule' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1894 xlix. 612—619 would completely discredit the Christian tradition. He holds with Petersen that the column shows, not the rescue of the Roman army from death by thirst, but the bursting of a thunderstorm. He notes that the column places this storm at the beginning of the war, whereas the Christian tradition places its marvel at the close; and that all the legions had the lightning on their shields and the eagle on their standards simply as a symbol of Jupiter *Optimus Maximus*, protector of the army. He contends that Apollinarius was no contemporary of M. Aurelius, but as like as not was Eusebios himself (!); that during the war with the Marcomanni the *legio XII fulminata* was stationed in Melitene to guard the crossing of the Euphrates; and that, to judge from sepulchral inscriptions of s. iii, no Christians would have been likely to enlist voluntarily in the Roman army. Finally, he accepts Petersen's conclusions with regard to the origin of the whole legend.

K. Weizsacker *Einleitung zu der akad. Preisverteilung, Tübingen 6. Nov. 1894 also*
agrees with Petersen. Dion Cass. 71. 10 was in part a Christian forgery by Xiphilinos. Had the emperor’s letter really ascribed the miracle to the prayers of Christians, the sequel would have been very different. The figment was but a Christian anticipation of final victory.


Th. Mommsen ‘Das Regenwunder der Marcus-Säule’ in Hermes 1895 xxx. 90—106 steers a mid course between Skylla and Charybdis. The alleged miracle is neither pure fiction (Petersen and Domaszewski) nor absolute fact (Harnack). Domaszewski’s chronology is wrong: the miraculous rain must be dated in the summer of 174, not 171. Equally wrong is Domaszewski’s assumption that Dion Cass. 71. 10 is a Christian interpolation. The imperial letter cited by Tertullian was genuine and did actually tell—though without Dion’s extravagant rhetoric—how a great thunderstorm saved the Romans, man and beast, when they were perishing of thirst, and did much damage to their foes. This reliable literary tradition agrees well enough with the scene represented on the column. The lightning is there omitted because the principal agent was the rain, and the rain appears as a divine figure intervening to rescue the Roman host (‘Die Darstellung des Regengottes ist eine so eigenartige und so ungewöhnliche, dass der Bildhauer unzweifelhaft damit die offizielle Auffassung des Vorganges, den Regen παρὰ τὸν θεόν έρέσιν bringen wollen. Wenn die Blitze vermisst werden, von denen der Kaiserbrief wahr-scheinlich auch sprach, so ist die Ursache einfach die, dass, wenn als leitende Gottheit der Jupiter fulminator dargestellt worden wäre, der Regen zur Nebensache werden musste und das Wunder seine Sonderart eingebüsst hätte’). The emperor attributed his victory to God (Dion Cass. 71. 10 ὡς καὶ παρὰ τὸν θεόν λαμβάνων, Euseb. chron. p. 172 Schoene= Chron. Pasch. 161 a (i. 487 Dindorf) δύσφος εἰ τούτον θεόν εγένετο, not to a specific god, and made no mention of Christian prayers. Later writers particularised according to their own beliefs. Pagans would naturally think of magic (Lamprid. v. Ant. Heliogab. 9. 1 per Chaldaeos et magos) and suggested Arnouphis (Dion Cass. 71. 8f., Soud. s.v. ‘Ἀρνουφις’) or Iulianus (Soud. s.v. ‘Ἀρνουφις, Ἰουλιανὸς (i. 2. 1007, 14 ff. Bernhardi)). Christians of course thought otherwise. Tertullian supposes an answer to the prayers of Christian soldiers (apol. 5 Christianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbrī). Apollinaris was really an early writer (not a mere invention of Eusebios, as Domaszewski would have it), but one of little credibility—witness his blunder about the origin of the name κεραυνόφθος (Euseb. hist. eccl. 5. 5. 4: supra p. 325 n. 3, p. 326 n. 1).

E. Petersen resumes the fight with a second article, ‘Blitz- und Regenwunder an der Marcus-Säule’ in the Rhein. Mus. 1895 i. 453—474, adding three photographic cuts. He now admits that he was mistaken in regarding the Christian tradition with all its five points (supra p. 327 n. 2) as having arisen merely from a misunderstanding of the column. He does not deny the existence of an imperial letter, but treats the one cited by Christian authors as a forgery (‘Nur den Brief, auf welchen sich die christlichen Autoren, besser solern sie sich darauf beziehen, habe ich für gefälscht erklärt’). He launches a sharp attack against both the method and the results of Harnack’s investigation, and he certainly scores some successes. For instance, according to Euseb. chron. p. 172 Schoene vers. Armen. ann. Abr. 2188 and Hieron. in Euseb. ann. Abr. 2189 M. Aurelius was not present in person at the rain-storm, but only his legate Pertinax, and this is borne out by the evidence of the columnar relief. Petersen goes on to give a more exact description of the scenes on the column. He shows that the Romans were represented first as suffering from drought, then as drinking, and later still as trying to protect themselves against the storm, while their foes were overwhelmed by the flood. The notion that the enemy was
The relation of rain to Zeus

simultaneously struck by lightning was prompted by another incident, recorded by Jul. Capit. v. M. Ant. philos. 24. 4 and portrayed on the column, the destruction of a wooden tower by a thunderbolt. Euseb. hist. ecl. 5. 5. 2 spoke of a single flash (σκερτός) before the rain, as does Xiphilinos ap. Dion Cass. 71. 9 (κερασός). But Dion Cass. 71. 10 already turns this into numerous flashes (κερασοί οἱς δύοι) with the downpour. And Greg. Nyss. or. in al. mart. 2 (xlv. 150 A—B Migne) has both βροντάς έξασώσι...καὶ διστάσας φυγοδέος and also τών σκερτών τινς ανέχεις amid a deluge of rain. Tertullian, the Sibylline oracle, and Themistios mention the rain only, thereby preserving the true tradition. Themistios' γραφή may have been the extant column, but was probably some more accessible representation now lost.

Next appeared the great official publication E. Petersen—A. von Domaszewski—G. Calderini Die Marcus-Säule auf Piazza Colonna in Rom München 1896 with text and two vols. of 128 photographic pls. (supra ii. 106 n. 1). In the text Petersen sketches the history of the column (pp. 1—20), Mommsen traces the course of the war against the Marcomanni (pp. 21—28), Calderini deals with the architecture of the column (pp. 29—38), Petersen describes its sculpture (pp. 39—104), and von Domaszewski—still differing from Mommsen in regard to chronology—discusses the historical and geographical aspects of the relief (pp. 105—125). On pls. 17, 18, α the enemy's siege-tower, struck by a thunderbolt, collapses, while the emperor looks on at the fallen foe. On pls. 22, 23, λ (= my pl. xxiii) the Romans, advancing in the formation known as agmen quadratum, are overtaken by the rain-storm. The cattle in their midst are thrown into confusion: one ox has fallen, another springs over it. A soldier in the uppermost row raises hand and eyes to heaven; and next moment down comes the rain. Another soldier, behind the artillery-wagon (carroballista), is giving his horse a drink.

We gather that here it is a case of heat and thirst rather than of hostile attack, and that the rain is helping the Romans. It does not, for artistic reasons, reach those in the foreground; and most of those in the top tier are raising their shields to serve as umbrellas (nos. 22, 23), not buckets. But one man at least (no. 20) is drinking the rain. Then comes the personification of the storm, a bearded pathetic face recalling that of Neilos in the Vatican. From his hair and beard, from his outstretched wings and arms, as in Ovid's conception of Notus (met. 1. 264 ff.), the rain is streaming, to the detriment not of the Romans but of the enemy. In the mountain-gorges we see horses struggling with the flood—a flood not actually shown—or collapsing in it, while barbarians great (no. 40) and small (nos. 38, 41) lie dead and weapons are swept into a heap. On pls. 20, 21, a one of the soldiers (no. 6) has his helmet decorated with a griffin in relief, from which detail von Domaszewski (p. 112 f. with fig.) infers the presence of the legio XV Apollinaris, a Cappadocian legion. The inference is brave. However that may be, the treatment of the whole episode is realistic. We must certainly conclude that the Roman army was parched with thirst and relieved by a sudden downpour, which proved too much for the foe.

J. Gefcken 'Das Regenwunder im quadennande' in the Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum 1899 iii. 253—269 begins by passing in review the previous disputants in this 'antik-modern Streitfrage' (pp. 253—258) and ends by reconstructing the probable course of events (pp. 258—269). M. Aurelius himself witnessed the 'Blitzwunder,' his general the 'Regenwunder.' The emperor wrote to the Senate a straightforward unrhetorical letter, in which he made no mention of Christians. Apollinaris was the source of Euseb. hist. ecl. 5. 5. 1—4 (apart from one Eusebian gloss διὰ πτερωτὸς ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ ἐς δόρον συνεπότως). He gave a wrong explanation of the legio fulminata, but a right account of the single lightning-flash followed by the rain. An antichristian ripost attributed both flash and rainfall to the prayers of the emperor (Jul. Capit. v. M. Ant. philos. 24. 4 fulmen de caelo precibus sua contra hostium machinamentum extorsit suis pluvia impetrata, cum siti laborarent, orat. Sib. 12. 156 ff. Gefcken ὤρτοναν μέγα εὔμα θεόν | ἀνεκβαίνει τροφήν | καὶ τ' ἀνδρας χαλκοκορτᾶτα | τριγυμένους στέψει δ' εὐσέβειν μακρότητα | αὐτώ γὰρ θείας οἰράντως μελαν τάντα ὀτυπακότας | ἐξαύλιμεν (so C. Alexandre for ἐξέρμενος codd. Q. V. H.) βρέφες (Wilamowitz cij. βρέφες) παρακαταίων (so C. Alexandre for παρὰ καταίων codd. Q. V. H.) ὄμηρον οὐκορ' ὄμηρον). Dion, a superstitious narrator and himself the author of a book on dreams.
Reliefs from the Column of Marcus Aurelius at Rome:
Jupiter Phoebus and the rain-storm.
See page 330 n. 0.
to divine interposition. Later tradition went further and busied itself over an attempt to discover whose prayers had been thus signally answered. Christians asserted that it was the prayers of converts from Melitene belonging to the ‘Thundering’ Legion. Pagans retorted that it was the prayer of the emperor himself, whose piety was well-pleasing to the ‘Thunderer,’ or else the and portents (Dion Cass. 72. 23: W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1924 ii. 2. 796 n. 11), referred the rain to the magic arts of Arnouphis. Christians retorted with the assertion that the emperor had prayed, yes, but had prayed in vain. If it be asked where this statement is made, Geffcken points us to the forged letter in which M. Aurelius says ἡ ἐπίστασα οὖν ἐμαυτὸν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἔμων πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τὸν κυβέρνητα κατάθηκαν εἰς τὸ θεόν σχετικεὶ πατριώτης ἀμέλειες δύνατ’ αὕτη καὶ τὴν στεφανοφορίαν μου θεωρήσῃ τῆς δυνάμεως παρεκάλεσα τοῦ παρ ἑμῖν λεγεμόνοι Χριστιάνοι, κ.λ. This document, sometimes dated as late as s. xii A.D., belongs to a much earlier period: it perhaps emanated from Asia Minor at the beginning of s. iv (‘Auf Kleinasien deutete Mommsen hin, hier mag es, Galerius’ Edikt benutzend, in der bösen Zeit entstanden sein, als Licinius mit neuer Verfolgung drohte, als das Schicksal der 40 Legionare den christlichen Osten erregte, als Konstantin die θεία της Γειτονίας für sich in Anspruch nahm—ein letztes Stück Apologie angesichts der letzten grossen Gefahr’)—a hypothesis consistent with its diction and structure, not to mention an apparent allusion to its contents in Rufus. hist. ecl. 5. 5 tradunt historiae cum siti eius (sic. M. Aurelli) perplicitaretur exercitus aetuanetem et quarenem quid facto opus esset, reperisse in legione quadam milites Christianos. Euseb. chron. p. 172 Schoene (= Chron. Pasch. 250 D—251 A (i. 486 f. Dindorf) and vers. Armen. ann. Abr. 2188) followed S. Julius Africanus rather than Apollinaries: hence his omission of the story as to the name λεγίο λυμινίτα. Gregory of Nyssa too omitted that story, but believed that the soldiers came from Melitene. His account (or. in xi mart. 3 (xlvi. 757 c ff. Migne)) was not, as Harnack claimed, a local tradition, but a rhetorical and in part ridiculous amplification of Dion’s description. The pagans too could exaggerate.Themistios, Gregory’s contemporary, professes to quote the very words of the imperial prayer (or. 15 p. 191 B ἀνασχων τῷ χιλεῖ ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, ταύτη, ἐφε, τῇ χείρι προτρεπόμενι σε καὶ ἑπέτευ καὶ τῷ ὑπὸ δοθήκα, ἐπὶ δὲν ὑπὸ ἀφελίσθη, cp. or. 34. 21). Claudian, the last of the heathen to tell the tale, after describing the storm in a crescendo of high-falutin’ phrases (de VIcons. Honor. 342 ff. laus ibi nulla ducum; nam flammeus imber in hostem | decidit; hunc dorso trepidum fumante ferebat | ambustus sonipes | hie tabescente solutus | subsedit galea | liquefactaque fulgure cuspis | canduit | et subitis fluxere vaporibus enses | et naves) attributes these remarkable effects either to Chaldaean magic or, preferably, to Marcus’ blameless life—a conclusion more improving than impressive.

In fairness to British scholarship it should be added that, long before the start of this continental controversy, a full list of the sources had been got together and critical notes appended by H. Fynes Clinton Fasti Romani Oxford 1850 ii. 23 ff. 1

1 So Th. Mommsen (supra p. 329 n. 0). Cp. Dion Cass. 71. 8 ὀνειδοτότα πολλα ὀφθηκε κατεργαγμένη, 71. 10 ἐδείξατο τε αὐτῷ ὁ καὶ παρὰ θεοῦ λαμβάνων, καὶ τῇ γεροσίας ἐπιστευεῖ, Euseb. chron. p. 172 Schoene (= Chron. Pasch. 261 A (i. 487 Dindorf) διαβρος εἰς τοῦ θεοῦ ἑγένετο et vers. Armen. ann. Abr. 2188 pluvia missa est (venit a Deo)), p. 173 Schoene (= Hieron. in Euseb. ann. Abr. 2189 pluvia divinitus missa est).

2 Apollinarios ap. Euseb. hist. ecl. 5. 5. 4, Greg. Nyss. or. in xi mart. 2 (xlvi. 757 cff. Migne), Xiphilinos ap. Dion. Cass. 71. 9, Kedren. hist. comp. 250 c—d (i. 439 Bekker).

incantation of some magician in the imperial retinue, Arnouphis the Egyptian\(^1\) or Iulianus the Chaldaean\(^2\). But it can hardly be maintained that the great commemorative column, which aims at furnishing a realistic representation of the incident, figures either the God of the Christians or the Hermes \textit{Aéries} (Thoth\(^3\)) invoked by

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\(^1\) Dion Cass. 71. 8 f. (supra p. 325 n. 2), Soud. s.v. *Ἄρνουφις, Eadok. vid. 177.


\(^3\) The Egyptian Thoth from the time of Herodotos, if not earlier, had been equated with the Greek Hermes (Hdt. 2. 67, 2. 138. More explicitly Aristoxenos of Tarentum περὶ ἀρχαίους ἔργας frag. 81 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 289 Müller) ap. Stob. ecl. 1. procem. coll. 6 p. 20, 8 f. Wachsmuth Ἀγάστας δὲ Ἑρμοῦ φαντ ἑσμα, δν καλοῦσι Θάδ). He appears in late Greek mystical and magical texts as Hermes Τρισμέγιστος (supra ii. 611) with Tat, a shortened form of his Egyptian name (W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 792, G. Roeder in Koscher Lex. Myst. v. 861), as his son (supra ii. 943 n. 0. Hermes Τρίσμεγιστος κύριος κιβρῶν της Στομ. ecl. i. 49. 44 p. 387, 1 f. Wachsmuth = Stob. Herm. exc. 23. 32. 6 (l. 458, 24 f. Scott) ἀλλ' ἰν' αὐτὸς διάδοχος ὁ Τατ, ἡδ ἡμῶν καὶ παράλληλων τῶν μαθητῶν τοιῶν (A. Meineke cjt. τοῦτον or would insert Ἑρμοῦ before ἡμᾶς. W. Scott inserts τοῦτον after ἡμᾶς and omits τοῖς). On the Egyptian antecedents of this title Τρισμέγιστος see R. Pietschmann Hermes Τρισμέγιστος nach ägyptischen, griechischen und orientalischen Überlieferungen Leipzig 1875, W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 793, P. Boylan Thoth the Hermes of Egypt Oxford 1922 pp. 118 ff., 129, 182, W. Scott Hermetica Oxford 1924 ii. 5 n. 1.

The appellative \textit{ἀέρος} is not elsewhere used of Hermes; but it might easily be attached to him in his capacity of ὕψιστος, since it was common Pythagorean doctrine that the \textit{ἄνθρωπος} was full of souls (Diog. Laërt. 8. 32 εἶναι τὰ πέντε τὸν ἄρι ὕψιστος ἐμπλοῖ· καὶ τοῖς δαίμονας τα καὶ ἦρωα ὄνομάζονται: ...εἷς τοῦ τοῦτον ἱνάσαι τὸν τὸ καθάρος καὶ ἀποτροπαμεράς μαντική τὰ πάναν καὶ κληρόναι καὶ τὰ ὄνομα, Philon de gigantibus 2 οὗ ἄλλοι φιλόσοφοι δαίμονας, ἀγγέλους Μωϋσῆς εὐθυνον ὄνομάζειν· ψυχαῖ δὲ εἰσὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄρα πετρόν. The Testament of Benjamin, a Greek translation of a Hebrew or Aramaic original dating from s. i n.c. (W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1920 ii. 382 f.), calls Beliar τὸ ἄρεον πνεῦμα (Test. Benj. 3. 4 p. 217 Charles 6 γὰρ φοβομένους τὸν Θεόν καὶ ἀγαπῶν τῶν πληρῶν (so cod. c. cord. a. b. d. e. f. g. and S3 add αὐτοῦ) ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος (so cod. c. τοῦ ἄρεον πνεῦματος cord. b. d. e. f. τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ πνεύματος cord. g) τοῦ Βελίαρ αὐτόν πληγήσατο. And a passage in the late Platonic \textit{epinomis} shows how readily such daemonic powers might be associated with Hermes (epinom. 984 D—E TOV Ἐπιμονίων ἕνεκεν τοῦ τοῦτον καὶ ἐν τοῖς πνεύμασι τοῦ Ἀμφαίου τοῦ Ἐφεσοὶ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ τοῦ Ἡρμουτιβίτος καὶ τῆς ἱερουσαλημίας, καὶ τῶν ἱεροσυνελήμνων καὶ μονῶν, τῆς ἐτερείειας αὐτῶν, ἐκεῖνα τιμῶν καὶ μᾶλλον χρῆμα τῆς ἑσφήνης διατρείλον). In this connexion we may venture to compare Eph. 2. 2 κατὰ τὸν ἄλων τοῦ κάμερος τοῦτον, κατὰ τὸ ἄρχων τῆς ἔσωσια τοῦ ἄρου, τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἐν ἐνέργειαν ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτὸν τοῦ ἔτερου καὶ τοῦ ἐὰν τοῦτον τοῦτον πρὸς τὸν κυρίαρχον τῶν πνευμάτων ἐν τοῖς ἐνέργειαῖς ἐν τοῖς ψυχομακρουσίαις with the wording of a fourth-century invocation of Hermes: Ἐρμής κοσμοκράτωρ, ἥθηδης, κύκλω κείλης, | στρογγύλη καὶ τετράγωνη, λέγων ἀρχετής γλαύσσει, | πεδοδιακώνοις, χλαμύδωροις, στρατηγηθές, | αἰθάλους ἵπποις ἔλεσαν ὡρὰ τάρατα γιαῖς, πνευμάτων ἱπποτῆς, κ.τ.λ. (F. G. Kenyon Greek Papyri in the British Museum London 1893 i. 78 no. 46. 401 ff. = K. Preisendanz Papyri Graecae magicae Leipzig—Berlin 1918 i. 104 no. 5. 401 ff. = J. Dieterich Abraxas Leipzig 1891 p. 63 ff., Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1230 no. 4, F. Logge Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity Cambridge 1915 ii. 98 ff.) The same hymn in a third-century papyrus reads παντοκράτωρ instead of κοσμοκράτωρ (Kenyon op. cit. i. 105 no. 121, 668 ff. = Preisendanz ii. 30 no. 7. 668 ff.). Ephesos had long been a hot-bed of magic (supra ii. 410 n. 0 Βῆθέσια γράμματα).
The relation of rain to Zeus

Arrouphius. We should rather suppose that the sculptor was endeavouring to personify and portray the actual rain-storm. Details of his new artistic type were presumably borrowed from Ovid’s description of the South Wind as a winged figure with water streaming from his beard and pinions. But the face is that of Jupiter, and in view of the close parallelism between the column of Marcus Aurelius and the column of Trajan, which in a like position had placed Jupiter fulminant, we are practically compelled to identify this novel personage with Jupiter Pluvius.

Rain, then, was conceived sometimes as the child of Zeus, sometimes as the tears of Zeus, sometimes as water falling from the hand of Zeus—a conception which the Romans shared with the Greeks. One other image is notorious. Aristophanes in a line already cited spoke of rain as the water of Zeus passed through a sieve.

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1 Ov. met. 1. 264 ff. madidis Notus evolat alis, | terribilem picea tectus caligine voltum. | barba gravis nimbis ; canis fluit unda capillis ; | fronte sedent nebulae ; rorant pennaeque sinusque. | utque manu late (lata cod. e) pendentia nubila pressit, | fit fragor: hinc (et codd. A.e.X) densi funduntur ab aethere nimbi. The rain-god of the column bears so close a resemblance to Ovid’s Notus that A. von Domaszewski did not hesitate to call him by that name (supra p. 329 n. o). The source of met. 1. 244—312 is unknown (W. Vollgraff Nikander und Ovid Groningen 1909 i. 104).

2 E. Courbaud Le bas-relief romain à représentations historiques Paris 1899 p. 185 f.

3 Supra i. 60 fig. 34.

4 This is in fact the common identification (e.g. W. Ramsay in Smith Dict. Biogr. Myth. i. 441, Reinach Rép. Reliefs i. 300. no. 23 f.).

5 Aristoph. nud. 373 κατα τον πρότερον τον Δι’ ἀλήθως ψέπην διὰ κοσκίνου οὐρέων (supra ii. 2).
The relation of rain to Zeus

The line in question is put into the mouth of Strepsiades, an old-fashioned and simple-minded peasant, and must not be discounted as a mere Aristophanic jest. At most Aristophanes has combined two separate notions current among the lower classes in his day.

That rain was explained as Zeus making water is likely enough. Not only is this homely notion common to the unsophisticated folk of Asia\(^1\) and Europe\(^2\) in general, but it survives


I. Goldzieher *Mythology among the Hebrews and its historical development* trans. R. Martineau London 1877 p. 73 f. ‘The clearest evidence of a worship of the rainy sky and the storm among the Arabs is furnished by the name Kazaah, to which storms and rainbows were attributed [ib. pp. 169, 423]… But it is probable that this name Kazaah is derived from the signification “mingere,” which belongs to the corresponding verb (used specially of beasts), and that it is due to a mythological conception of the Rain.’ R. Eisler in *Philologus* 1909 lxviii. 132 n. o and in his *Wetternmantel und Himmelseilt München* 1910 ii. 385 n. o, accepting this derivation, would connect Kazaah with the Idumean god Kofe [Joseph. ant. Jud. 15. 7. 9 Κοστόβαρος το γένει μεν Ιδομαιοι, δεξιωτεσ τον προώς παρ αυτοι και προώς λεπτευσωτας τη Κοτε' θεον δε τοιον Ιδομαιοι νομιζουν with the remarks of C. Steuernagel in *Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 1555*], the Syrian Zeus Kastos [supra ii. 906 n. 3, 981 n. 1, 985 n. 1], and a variety of place-names. The same ingenious scholar in *Philologus* 1909 lxviii. 131 n. 60 writes of the Arabian god Hobal: ‘M. E. ist er vor allem als Derivat der ßala, jabulu, = “pissen,” übertr. “regnen” aufgesagt worden (cf. bal, mabbul = “Flut” bab. bubbulu aus wubbulu [Meissner], arab. “wabi” Regenguß und, nach Hommel [F. Hommel *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen arabistisch-semiotologischen Inhalts München* 1901 iii. 1. 473] “bala sahail” = “Sternenurin” = Regen; endlich “bul” als Bezeichnung des achten, bab. “Fluch des Regens” genannten Monats 1 Kön. 6 38 und auf kyprisch-phoenizischen Inschriften C I S 1 86 a). Hobal, der “Pisser” würde den Mondgott (vgl. die Zischlautaussprache von Sin = Mond, als ^ Sin = “Urin” in den Neräbsinschriften, als Buchstabe Ϝ = ( durch das abnehmende Mondseichen ausgedrückt, Hommel Grundr. 100) als Beherrscher von Wasser, Regen und Flut bedeuten.’ Etc., etc.

2 W. Mannhardt *Roggenwolf und Roggenhund* Danzig 1865 (ed. 2 1866) p. 10 has collected instances from Germany and France. Thus in the Oberpfalz, when it rains for long together, people say ‘Nu pissen sie da oben all wieder’ [F. X. von Schönwerth *Ausz der Oberpfalz. Sitten und Sagen* Augsburg 1859 iii. 20]. In the Tirol St Medardus, since his festival on June 8 often brings rain, is called ‘Heubrunzer’ (I. V. Zingerle *Sitten, Brauche und Meinungen des Tiroler Volkes* Innsbruck 1871 p. 157 no. 1336). In Picardy too ‘Saint Médard est un grand pissard’ [O. Freiherr von Reinsberg—Düringsfeld *Das Wetter* 2138 p. 157]...
The relation of rain to Zeus 335

among the modern Greeks in particular, at least in out-of-the-way places.

The mention of the sieve also points to a popular conception, which appears to have left its traces on more than one language of the Indo-European family. It can indeed be exactly paralleled from modern phraseology. The Greeks still say 'It's drenching with the sieve' or 'God is drenching with the sieve,' and use the proverb 'God's sieve has big holes.' In the district of Parnassos it is believed that Borras, the north wind, possesses a sieve with which he prepares and sifts the hail. Notos, the south wind, has skin bottles, which he

im Sprichtwort Leipzig 1864 p. 141). At Cologne, if it rains on July 13, 'Margriht hat en de Nöss gepes.' Elsewhere on the Rhine, if it rains on June 10, 'Margarete piss in die Nüsse.' In the former case the rain will last four weeks; in the latter, a fortnight, and will spoil the nuts (Id. ib. pp. 145, 154). So in the Mark district, if it rains on June 22, 'Sünde Magdeleina pisset in de Nuet.' (J. F. L. Woeste Volksüberlieferungen in der Grafschaft Mark Iserlohn 1848 p. 61).

1 B. Schmidt Das Volksleben der Neugriechen Leipzig 1871 i. 31 illustrates Aristoph. nub. 373 by certain locutions heard at Arachova near Delphi. When it rains, people there say κατούραξ ὁ θύος. When it rains hard or continuously, they say τσοφρ, τσοφρ, τσοφ (σποσαφρ), κατούραξ ὁ θύος μᾶζ σάτας (=σάσω, 'er hat uns faulen gemacht,' d. h. ganz eingeweicht). Even more remarkable is the parallel adduced by N. G. Polites Δημώδες μεταφορολογικοι μυθα (extract from Παρασοφος) Athens 1880 p. 20: 'Εψι νευχούι καὶ αδιαλέπτων βροχής οι χυδαίστεροι λέγοναι ἀστείζωμεν "κατούραξ ὁ Θέα." ήν Ἀραχώβη μάλατα προφτασίας "μὲ τὸ κόκκων" (1 N. Ελλ. σφ. 35). 'Εν Μεσοπάρ τὸ ιοῦσνο καιρὸ καλεῖς "Καταυρλάξ" καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ "Καταυρλάξ."'

2 F. L. W. Schwartz Der Ursprung der Mythologie Berlin 1862 p. 7 first drew attention to this.

3 O. Schrader in J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1909 ii. 40: 'In Greece the phrase Ζεύς βευ is used for "it rains," which, when traced back to an older stage of the language, can only mean "The father (heaven) presses grapes" (Skr. skandmi "I press," sōma, "the pressed," "the soma drink"). It is also customary to charm the rain by an offering of honey, where the rain which drops on the trees and branches is likened to honey. Exactly corresponding to these ideas we find in India the belief that by letting the soma, which itself is called a son of the rain-god Parjanya, drip through the strainer, rain is enticed to fall. Thus the very fact that the man "presses" the juice on the earth, incites or rather compels the god in heaven to "press," i.e. to cause the rain to fall (cf. [E. Windisch in the Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth zum Doktor-Jubilaum 24. August 1893 Stuttgart 1893 p. 140 f., H. Oldenberg La religion du Ve"da Paris 1903 p. 392, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 819]).' Id. in Schrader Realex. ii. 277: 'Eine mythologische Vorstellung liegt vielleicht dem griech. βευ, verbis zugrunde (vgl. tochar. A. W. su,- swds "regnen," swasv "Regen," B. swawm "es regnet," swesv "Regen.") Sie gehören zu scrt. su, skandmi "keltene," specz. den Soma (scrt. sōma, vgl. auch ahd. swu, lit. sfaw "Saft", scrt. suasv "Kelterung"). Das homerische Ζεύς βευ kann daher ursprünglich nur bedeutet haben: "der Himmel keltert", indem die Erzeugung des Regens auf gleiche Stufe wie die Auskelterung des idg. Rauschtranks (Mets,...) gestellt wurde, eine Vorstellung, die in dem Verhältnis zwischen Soma und Regen dem vedischen Altertum noch durchaus lebendig ist.' Etc.

4 N. G. Polites Δημώδες μεταφορολογικοὶ μύθοι (extract from Παρασοφος) Athens 1880 p. 18 τὸ βρήχεις μὲ τὸ κόκκων.

5 Id. ib. ἀ Θεὸς τὸ βρήχει μὲ τὸ μεμάλοι (a large-sized sieve).

6 Id. ib. τὸ μεμάλοι τῷ Θεοῦ ἔχει μεγάλας τρύσασ.
The relation of rain to Zeus

flings through the clouds into the sea, fills with water, carries up to the sky, and empties in turn on the earth through sieves of varying size. His finest sieve produces a drizzle, his ordinary sieve rain, his wide-meshed sieve heavy rain, while his skin bottles poured out all at once cause a regular deluge. The interval between ancient and modern times may be bridged by a passage from Michael Psellus, who states that in his day (s. xi A.D.) most people ignorantly supposed rain to be water strained by God through a sieve-like sky. In view of this long-lived superstition it is probable that a primitive Greek rain-charm consisted in pouring water through a sieve. And that may well have been one reason for the use of a sieve in divination (koskinomanteia). In any case the matter calls for

1 Id. ib. after N. 'EXX. dp. 35.
2 Psell. πρὸς μαθητὰς ἄμελουσας p. 150 f. Boissonade τοιούτου γὰρ αὐχώς σοφίας ἐτι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίου ἔγνετε, καὶ ὅθως τάκτει ἐτι τὴν τοῦ ἀμφεθάνου ταύτην ἐπιτήμην κοινώς συγκατάθησαι, ὥστε τὸς τούλινος θεάθη καὶ τὸν λειτο ἐκ τῶν νεφών καταράνοντι, ἀλλὰ, κατά τὸ Ἑρατοθένους λεγόμενον κόκκινον, διαταραχθαὶ τὸν οὐρανὸ, κάκειθεν τοῖς ἄρησι ἀποθήκηστα < τὸν θεόν > τὸ ὅθερ δηθείν. 'The sieve of Eratoshenes' was an arithmetical table for the discovery of prime numbers (F. Hultsch in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 1094, G. Knackeb ib. vi. 364) and is here merely a learned allusion brought in by association of ideas. J. F. Boissonade ad loc. says justly: 'aptius et opportunius poterat alludere Psellus ad cribrum Strepsiadai.'

3 E. O. James in J. Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1920 xi. 506 quotes modern parallels from the Ainu, Russian peasants, Buddhist monks, etc. (after Frazer Golden Bough: The Magic Art i. 251 and 285).


5 G. Pictorius Villinganus 'De speciebus magiae caeremonialis, quam astrologi vocant, Epitome' in H. Cornelii Agrippae ab Nettesheym Opera Lvdigvni s.a. (1531 ?) i. 472 cap. xxv 'Hec etiam Coscinomantia scribenda venit, quae damone vigente, per cribrum diuinationem suscitarit docet, quis rei patratae author sit, quis hoc commiserit fortunam, quis hoc dederit vulnus, aut quicquid tale fuerit. Cribrum enim in medius duorum digitos, per forcipem suspendunt, ac deieratione facta per sex verba, nec sibi ipsis, nec alis intellecta, quae sunt: DIES MIES IESCHET, BENEDOEFET, DOVVINA, ENITEMAVS, dedit nonem in hoc compellunt vt reo nominato (nam omnes suspectos nominare oportet) confestim circumagatur, sed per obliquum instrumentum et forcipe pendens, ut reum prodat: iconem hie ponimus [= my fig. 210]. Annis ab actis plus minus triginta, ter huius diuinationis genere sum ipse vsus, primò furti patrati causa: secundò propter rei causam, et quinque in obliquis, et arboribus et lucibus, et in quinque alius, et in obliquis, ut clamatilio. Erat etiam, id est derelictum, ad divinationem casuariarum arbitratantur, sicut etiam Erasmus scribit in proverbio: Cribro diuinare. 'The charm here quoted probably belongs to that 'crazy assemblage of formulas no longer understood even by the reciter himself... obviously debased learned materials, taken from Mediterranean collections which may well go back to the magic-saturated last days of the Roman Empire' (A. Haggerty Krappe The Science of Folk-lore London 1930 p. 189). On this showing it would be
The relation of rain to Zeus

the débris of a late Latin incantation, say Deus meus Iesus Christe, | benedicta fiat divinatio ista or some such jingle: possibly the enigmatic ENITEMAVS contains the neo-Latin tems, 'sieve' (Schrader Reallex. 2 ii. 390), which is a loan-word of Germanic origin (Dutch tems, tems, provincial English tems, tense, tempe [J. O. Halliwell A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words London 1901 ii. 857 'Temse A sieve North.'], French tems [A. Brachet An etymological Dictionary of the French Language trans. G. W. Kitchin Oxford 1883 p. 379]). J. Pretorius De Coscinomantia, Oder vom Sieb-Lauff diatribe curiosa Curie Variscorum 1677 devotes 86 small quarto pages to a collection and discussion of earlier authorities, e.g. C1 'Delrio [M. Delrio Disquisitionum Magicaum libri sex Lugduni 1612] p. 606. coxwoarweia, qua usurpata veteribus (Theocrito [3. 31], Luciano [Alex. 9.], Polluci[7. 188.]) unde & Adag: cribro divinare. Cribrum imponebatur

forcipi, forcipem binis digitis comprahendeabant, & elevant, & premissis conceptis verbis subjiciebant nomina eorum, de quibus suspicabantur cos furtū, vel aliiig occultum crimen patrāse: cum verò judicabant illum; quò nominatō cribrum tremebat, nutabat, movebatur [sic], vel convertebatur: quō quot digitis forcipem tenebat arbitratu suo cribrum movere non potuerit. Quōd formulam Pictorius proponat verborum pronunciandorum, fecit inconsulte: quōd ea sit usus ter, & quōd eventum certum prædicet, fecit impiè & mentitur pollicendo.' Here and there Pretorius reports local usage, e.g. C2 'in Poloniā hunc habent morem patriam quōd tot Schedulas sumant, quōt personas in suspicione habent, & singulis inscribant singula nomina, imponantique cribre, & hoc superimponant cupæ cum aquā repletæ: ubi hinc maximè omnes schedas oportet madidas fieri, sed illum tamen, non, dicunt, quā verum Reum sustinet inscriptum: hanc enim haud tingu aquā ferunt.'

Apart from this monograph, which is tough reading, the topic has been handled by A. Bouché-Leclercq Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité Paris 1879 i. 183 (slight), J. Grimm Teutonic Mythology trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1885 iii. 1108 f. ('sieve-driving,' 'sieve-turning,' 'sieve-running,' 'sieve-chasing,' 'sieve-dance'), ib. 1888 iv. 1635 ('sieve-running'), C. Kiesewetter Die Geheimwissenschaften Leipzig 1895 pp. 375—377 (examples from ss. xvi and xvii), Frazer Golden Bough 3; Balder the Beautiful i. 236,

C. III.
The holed vessel in Egypt

further enquiry, as it has important bearings on both ritual and mythology.

(d) Rain as water poured through a holed vessel or sieve.

i. The holed vessel in Egypt.

On the west bank of the Nile, south of Memphis, lay the town of Akanthos, famous for its sanctuary of Osiris and its magnificent grove of Theban acacias. Here, according to Diodorus, it was the


1 The essential facts are indicated by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 831 f.

Several Christian saints have a sieve as their attribute. M. and W. Drake *Saints and their Emblems* London 1916 p. 215 connect it with St Benedict (March 21), St Amalberga (July 10), and St Hippolytus (Aug. 13). Greater detail will be found in C. Cahier *Caractéristiques des saints dans l’art populaire* Paris 1867 i. 276 (‘Crible, tamis, etc.’): ‘SAINT BENOIT DE NORCIA...Pres de lui un crible brisé. Saint Grégoire le Grand raconte que sa nourrice ayant emprunté un crible en terre cuite, et l’ayant brisé par mégarde, l’enfant rétablit cet instrument dans son intégrité première. Les hymnes et proses en l’honneur du saint ne manquent guère de rappeler ce premier miracle d’un homme qui en fit tant d’autres...’ Id. ib.: ‘SAINTE AMALBERGE, vierge; 10 juillet, v. 772....On lui met parfois en main un tamis[4] [AA. SS. Jul. iii. 80], ou je crois bien pouvoir signaler un simple rebus; car elle possédait la terre seigneuriale de Temsche sur l’Escaut, dont le nom est en latin Tamisia, et Tamise en français. Sur cette espèce d’armes parlantes, qui d’ailleurs ne disaient pas grand’chose à la population flamande de l’endroit, on aura construit plus tard l’historiette que voici: Les gens de Temsche (Tamise) se plaignaient à la sainte d’être réduits à une seule fontaine, laquelle se trouvait au milieu d’un champ dont le propriétaire leur créait toutes sortes d’embarras. Pour terminer une bonne fois les contestations, Amalberge se rendit à la fontaine, armée d’un tamis qu’elle remplit d’eau; puis transportant le contenu dans un lieu plus accessible, elle y renversa l’eau qu’elle avait apportée de la sorte. En ce nouvel endroit s’establir cette source qui donnait plus d’eau que l’ancienne, mais l’autre tarit immédiatement. On dit que cette fontaine est celle qui se voit aujourd’hui près d’une petite chapelle dédiée à sainte Amalberge, et qui est visitée par beaucoup de pèlerins à cause des guérisons qu’elle procure[5] [Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Calendrier belge*, t. II, p. 31, sv.].’ See further S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 iii pl. opposite p. 388 (St Benedict with the broken sieve at his feet, after Cahier), viii. 263 f. (St Amalberga at Temsche, where an annual procession is held in her honour on the third day in Whitsun week).


3 Diod. 1. 97 ἐν μὲν γὰρ Ἀκανθῷ πολεί, πέραν τοῦ Νείλου κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην ἄνω σταδίων ἐκισίων καὶ ἐκείνος τῆς Μέριμνος, πίθων τίνων τετραμένων, εἰς ἦν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξέρχοντα καὶ τραχοστῶς καὶ ἐκατάθη ἡμέραν ὧδηρ φόρμων εἰς αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου τὴν δὲ (τὴν τε νυκτὶ) περὶ τῶν ὄχυρων (so H. Stephanus for ὄνων codd.) μυθολόγια διεκνυθαί πληροὺς κατὰ τινὰ
custom for three hundred and sixty priests to empty Nile-water day by day into a holed pithos: presumably one priest was told off for the task every day in the year. Diodoros’ statement was almost certainly transcribed from Hekataios of Teos or Abdera, whose account of Egypt was composed under priestly influence in the time of Ptolemy I Soter (323—285 B.C.). It would seem, then, that early in the Hellenistic age the Egyptians, rightly or wrongly, claimed to be keeping up a religious custom strictly comparable with the mythical water-carrying of the Danaïdes.

Alongside of this Egyptian rite we may place a story, which can be traced back to the fourth century A.D. and connected with the

2 Infra § 9 (d) ii (a).
3 Rufin. hist. ecl. a. 26 iam vero Canopi quis enumeret superstitionis flagitia? ut praetextu sacerdotialium litterarum—ita etenim appellat antiquas Aegyptorum litteras—magicae artis erat paene publica schola. quem locum velut fontem quemdam atque originem daemonum in tantum venerabantur pagani, ut multo ilii maior celebratas quam apud Alexandriam haberetur. sed de huius quoque monstrui errore, cuilitsumdi originem tradant, absurdum non erit paucis exponere: ferunt aliquando Chaldaeos ignem deum suum circumferentes cum omnium provinciarum diis habuisse conflictum, quo sicelcit qui vicisset, hic esse deus ab omnibus crederetur. reliquarum provinciarum dix aeris aut auti argentei aut ligni vel lapidum vel ex quacumque materia constant, quae per ignem procul dubio corrumperet. ex quo fecit, ut ignem locis omnibus obtineret. haec cum audisset Canopi sacerdos, callidum quoddam excogitavit. hydriae fieri solent in Aegypti partibus fictiles undique crebris et minutis admodum foraminibus patulae, quibus turbida aqua descendit defaecatio ac pluvior reddetur. harum ille unam cera foraminibus pictam, aqua repletam statuit ut deum. et excisum veteris simulacrle, quod Menelai gubernatoris furebat, caput desuper positum avida propitiavit. adsunt post haec Chaldaei, itur in conflictum, circa hydriam ignis accenditur, cera, qua foramina fuerant obturata, resolvitur. inmodum hydria ignis extinguitur, sacerdotis fraude Canopus Chaldaeorum victor ostenditur. unde ipsum Canopi simulacrum pedibus perexiguis adtracto collo et quasi suggillato, ventre tumido in modum hydriae cum dorso acquiliter tertei formatur et ex hac persuasione velut deus victor omnium celebatur. sed fecerit haec fortasse aliquando Chaldaei, nunc vero adventante sacerdote Dei Theophilo nullus profuit sed nec caris fraudes subveniret: vastata sunt omnia et ad solum deducta. Rufinus’ narrative is repeated in Greek by Souid. s.v. Κάνωτος ὁ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. ίτε, ὥς λόγος, Ἀράμδαι ἐν τῷ θεω τῶν. ὅπερ (ὁστεν cod. E.) ἐστί τὸ πῦρ, ἀποκαταλυώμενοι παλαιόν περιήφορον. ὡς τοις θεοῖς παροῦσι (πάνι cod. E. ed. Med.) τῶν ἐπαρχειῶν συμβεβληκόμενα, καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν ἵππων παρὰ πάντων κυμιζόμεθα τεθν. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι ἐπαρχεῖς οἱ θεοὶ ἀπὸ αὐτὸ ῥηχύς ἢ ἄργυρον ἢ ἄργυρον ἢ ὕλῃ ἢ ἄλλο ταύτα ἀνάθεται ἁλριηνοῦ, ἢ ἐν ταύτῃ ἁλριηνοῦ ἀνάθεται ἔνωπι τοῦ πῦρ ἐδεξίερετο. ὡς ταῦτα παλαῖον τό τῆρον ἀναγεννῶμεν ἄκινα, τούτῳ αὐτοῖς ὁ ἱερὸς τοῦ Κανῶτου (ἰτοι τοῖς τοῦ Κανῶτου ἱερῶν vulg.) παυροῦν τι πως ἐντεῦθεν ἐκεῖνον ἐκαθισκόμεν. οὐδεὶς οὖν μέρεις τῆς ἐνεσθεν ἄνευθη ὡς τρίτης τρίτης ἐξεκίνησε τοῖς τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων μίας λαβοῦν ὁ τοῦ Κανῶτου ἱερὸς τοῦ τῶν τρίτης ἐκείνου ἀναφέρασα καὶ διαφέρουσα διαφόροις ἐκαθισκόμεν. τρισθίας ἐξεκίνησε ἀναποφάσα τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἀποτελεῖς παλαιὸς ἀνάθεται τῷ τῆρον, ὅπερ θλίγειτο Μεσσαύνι τῶν κυβερνητῶν γεγονότα, ἔκειμεν ἔκειμεν ἡμοῖος αὐτῆς τῷ
The holed vessel in Egypt

town of Kanobos or Canopus near the most westerly mouth of the Nile. The Chaldaeans—we are told—endeavoured to prove that their god, Fire, was superior to all other gods by subjecting cult-images of bronze, silver, wood, stone, etc. to the action of fire and pointing triumphantly to the result. They were, however, outwitted by the priest of Kanopos. He took a terra-cotta strainer, such as were used by the Egyptians for clarifying muddy water, that is to say a *hydrria* with many small holes in it, stuffed these holes with wax, painted the surface of the jar with various figures, filled it with water, and set it up as a god. He completed his work by cutting off the head of an old image, regarded as the helmsman of Menelaos, and fixing the same carefully on the top of his jar. The upshot of these preparations was that, when the Chaldaeans came and kindled a fire round the *hydrria*, the wax melted, the jar appeared to sweat, and the water issuing forth from the holes put out the fire of the unbelievers! Hence the figure of Kanopos has tiny feet, a thin neck, a body swollen like that of a *hydrria*, and a rounded back.

This curious narrative can be illustrated by certain amulets of

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1 H. Kees in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1869 f.

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*Fig. 211.* *Fig. 212.*
The holed vessel in Egypt roughly contemporary date, published long since by J. Chiflet (fig. 211) and A. Capello (fig. 212). Kanopos, from whose perforated body thin jets of water are streaming, is here associated with the pentagram.

1 J. Chiflet Miscellanea Chifletiana Antverpiae 1657 vi. 134 pl. 25 fig. 103 (= my fig. 211), Montfaucon Antiquity Explained trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 ii. 233 pl. 51 no. 15 (redrawn from Chiflet).

2 A. Capello Prodromus Iconiopum sculptilium Gemmarum, Basilidiani, Amuletticati, atque Talismani generis de Museo A. C Venetiis 1702, Montfaucon Antiquity Explained trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 ii. 239 pl. 53 no. 20 (redrawn from Capello = my fig. 212).

3 During the last twenty years the pentagram or pentalpha has been the subject of much fruitful investigation. F. Hommel in R. Eisler Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt Münche 1910 i. 304 n. 5 shows that the old Babylonian ideogram AR [F. Hommel Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients Münche 1926 p. 1031 'besser ar zu umschreiben'] or UB meaning 'steps of heaven' (UB = 'tubbati') or 'space' (F. Jensen Die Kosmologie der Babylonier Strassburg 1890 p. 165 ff., J. Hehn in the Leipziger semitische Studien 1907 ii. 5. 7) is represented in a fragmentary archaic votive inscription on the relief of a lion couchant (V. Scheil in the Délégation en Perse: Mémoires Paris 1900 ii. 66 'Texte du Lion,' line 16) by the pentagram \[\bigstar\] and on the obelisk of Manistus (sign no. 115 in Scheil's list) by a pentagram with open top \[\bigstar\]. Hommel further points out that already in the Gudea inscriptions we find the ideogram consisting of five cunei \[\bigstar\], whose recumbent form \[\bigstar\] must have given rise to the old Babylonian UB \[\bigstar\].


Das Pentagramm als planetarisches Zeichen ist in der ganzen Welt als Schutzmittel gegen die bösen Geister in Gebrauch, als Drudenfuss, Pentalpha, Alpenkreuz, salus Pythagorae. In alten Kirchen gilt es als Riegel gegen Dämonen (vgl. Otte, Kirchl. Archäologie, 479). "Das Pentagramma macht mir Pein." (See further S. Seligmann, Der böse Blick und Verwandte Berlin 1910 ii. 10 (with fig. 23), 234, 251, 254, and especially 293 f. (with figs. 212, 213). I append a few numismatic examples: (1) A silver statér of Melos, struck in s. v. B.C., has obv. a pomegranate with traces of two leaves, rev. ΝΥΑΛΙΩΝ a pentagram (R. Jameson in the Rev. Num. iv Série 1909 xiii. 192 no. 13 pl. 5, 13 (=my fig. 213), Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. 3. 883 f. pl. 241, 31, Head Hist. num. 8 p. 892). (2) Bronze coins of Pitane, struck in s. iv. B.C., have obv. the head of Zeus Ammon, rev. ΠΙ, ΠΙΤΑ, ΠΙΤΑΝΙΩΝ or the like and a pentagram with central pellet (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia p. 171 f. pl. 34, 5 (=my fig. 214), 6—8, Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 226 no. 1, McClean Cat. Coins iii. 72 pl. 267, 8, 9 f., Weber Cat. Coins iii. 1. 125 nos. 5337—5240 pl. 191, Anson Num. Gr. vi. 87 nos. 969—972 pl. 19, Head Hist. num. 8 p. 537). Under the empire the pentagram is placed on a shield (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia p. 172 pl. 34, 9 (=my fig. 215), 10, McClean Cat. Coins iii. 73 pl. 267, 11, Imhoof-Blumer Monn. gr. p. 258 no 145, id. Kleinas. Münzen i. 33 no. 1, Anson Num. Gr. ii. 92 no. 1019 f. pl. 21, vi. 87 no. 973 f., Head Hist. num. 9 p. 537) or used as a symbol (Imhoof-Blumer Gr. Münzen p. 95 no. 186). (3) Bronze coins of Nuceria (Nocera) in Bruttii, struck c. 350—270 B.C. have obv. a horse standing to left with a pentagram beneath it (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy p. 369 no. 1, Weber Cat. Coins i. 120 no. 1101 pl. 42, Babelon Cat. Monn. gr. de Luynes i. 150 no. 779 pl. 28, Garrucci Mon. It. ant. p. 168 pl. 116, 29, Head Hist. num. 8 p. 105. Fig. 218 is from a specimen in my collection). (4) Uniciae of central Italy in cast bronze have obv. a club with pellet in field, rev. a pentagram with pellet in centre (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy p. 59 nos. 29—31, Garrucci Mon. It. ant. p. 22 pl. 42, 6 (=my fig. 217), E. A. Sydenham Aes grave London 1926 pp. 83 f., 105 no. 117 pl. 13, 7 (regards the pentagram as obv., the club as rev. type), or obv. a swastika in relief, rev. a pentagram deeply incised (Sydenham op. cit. p. 105 n. 1). A semuncia of the same region has obv. a scallop-shell, rev. a pentagram with pellet in centre (Garrucci Mon. It. ant. p. 22 pl. 42, 7 (=my fig. 218), Sydenham op. cit. p. 105 no. 118 (regards the pentagram as obv., the scallop-shell as rev., type)). (5) The pentagram occurs as a symbol...
and a variety of magical marks, including Θ and perhaps scattered letters of the word Ἥγιετα

also on coins of Aesernia (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Italy p. 67 no. 5), Beneventum (ib. Italy p. 68 no. 1 fig.), Teanum Sidicinum (ib. Italy p. 126 no. 11), Velia (ib. Italy p. 315 no. 101), Bruttii (ib. Italy p. 321 no. 23), the Mamertini (ib. Sicily p. 111 no. 30), Syracuse (ib. Sicily p. 190 no. 323), Leukas (ib. Corinth, etc. p. 131 no. 75 pl. 36, 5), Rhodes (ib. Caria, etc. p. 246 no. 173), Seleukos i in Alexandriae empire of the East (ib. Arabia etc. pp. exiii, 187 f. pl. 22, 4 (= my fig. 219)), Kyrene (ib. Cyrenaica p. 61 no. 202 pl. 26, 1), and Rome (Babelon Monn. epig. rom. i. 25, 48, 49, 101 (gens Aciilia), ii. 182 no. 140 (gens Papia). Rasche Lex. Num. vi. 837.

F. Dornseiff Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie Leipzig—Berlin 1922 p. 84 n. 3: 'Das Pentagramm ist Ideogramm für "Weltwurm."' Id. ib. goes on to connect the Babylonian pentagram and heptagram with Pherekydes' πεπτώμων and ἐπτάμωχος.

S. A. Cook in his important book The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology London 1930 p. 215 f. collects examples of the pentagram as a Jewish symbol: 'It is found at (a) Nerab, (b) Gerar, (c) a jar-handle from Ophel, and a curious type with Hebrew letters in the angles found at (d) Tell Zakariya, (e) Gezer, and (f) Ophel1. (a) Syria, ix. 306; (b) Petrie, p. 19, pl. xiii. no. 10; (c) F. E. F. Annuall, iv. fig. 202, no. 5; (d) Bliss and Macalister, pl. lvi. no. 44; (e) Q.S., 1904, p. 211 sq., Macalister, Gezer, i. 205, fig. 359, and (f) Annual, iv. p. 191, fig. 203, no. 7. Cf. also the late inscribed (Arabic) stone from Latron (Q.S., 1919, p. 174.) The legend has been acutely taken to be Shelemiah of Neh. xiii. 13. (So Albright, J.P.O.S., vi. 100 sq.) The Pentagram is also used as a potter's mark.2 (Bliss and Macalister, pl. xxix. no. 42; cf. pl. lvi. no. 53 (from Tell Sandahannah, ib. p. 122 sq.), Gezer, pl. exc. no. 59.' Etc.

Sir W. R. F. Flinders Petrie Decorative Patterns of the Ancient World London 1930 pl. 48 has a short comparative series of pentagons from Egypt, Asia Minor, Crete, Greece, Italy, etc.

1 Θ was a character, which would commend itself to all who dabbled in Egyptianising magic. As a letter, it was the beginning and end of Thoth (ἔτυμολογία τοῦ ἀλφαβήτου printed in st. Gud. p. 597 Θῆτα πίθου ἔτυμολογεῖται; πάρα τῷ Θῶ). ὖν δὲ λέγεται τὸ πέταλον (cp. K. B. Hase in Stephanus Thes. Gr. Ling. vi. 1009 τὸν παλαιόν ἱερόν). As a numeral, it stood for the great Egyptian ennead (F. Dornseiff Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie Leipzig—Berlin 1922 p. 23). As a symbol, it represented the universe (Philon Bybl. frag. 9 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 571 ff. Müller) ap. Euseb. praep. ev. i. 10. 51 ἦτι μὲν ὁ Διὸς ἐν τῇ ἀοίδῃ ἐγκάλυπτο τὸν κόσμον γραφομένοι πειραματικῶς κάκα καὶ καῦσας καὶ μέσῳ τακτομένοι διὸν ιερακόμφορον, καὶ ἀεὶ τὸ πάντα ἐκ τὴς θεᾶς θεοῦ, τὸν μὲν κόσμον κόμῳ μυστηρίῳ, τὸν δὲ μέσον διὸν συνεκτικῶς τοῦτον ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα σημαίνοντες (σύμφωνα ιη. 1172 f.) = Lyd. de mens. 4. 161 p. 177, 16 ff. Wünsch ὅτι σχημάτωσεν τὸ κύκλον τελειωτάτον δὲν Διὸς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ γραφόμενον πειραματικῶς κάκα καὶ καὖσας καὶ μέσῳ τακτομένοι διὸν ιερακόμφορον, οὐκ οὖν συνεκτικῶς 'ἀγαθὸν δαιμόνιον.' καὶ ἀεὶ τὸ πάντα ἐκ τῆς θεᾶς θεοῦ, τὸ πάντα ἐκ τῆς θεᾶς θεοῦ. Dornseiff loc. cit. cp. schol. Dionys. Thrak. p. 321, 37 and 488 Hilgard ὅτι ὅτι τοῦ πατρὸς θείον μυείτα ἢ δὲ τῷ πατρῷ θείῳ ἔστω ὁ οἰκονός, δὲ τὸ κυκλοτέρες ἔξει καὶ τὸν διὰ μέσον ἔξων τῇ κατὰ μέσον χαρακτηρισθήναι μακρὰ. Lobeck Aglaophamus ii. 1341 had already quoted et. mag. p. 441, 3 ff. Θῆτα τὸ στοιχεῖον, παρὰ τῷ τῆς θεᾶς τοῦ πατρὸς μυείταν ὅτι τοῦ οἰκονομοῦ τὸ κυκλοτέρες ἔξων (κυκλοτέρες cod. V. marg.), καὶ τὸν διὰ μέσον ἔξων τῇ κατὰ μέσον μακρὰ < ἀνάλογον (ins. Lobeck) ἔξει. Add et. Gud. p. 262, 45 ff. Θῆτα, ἐστραγάλω, ὅτι τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς θείον μυείταν. ἢ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς θείον οἰκονόμον ἐστὶν, δὲ τὸ κυκλοτέρες ἔξων κατὰ γέγον στὶν μέσον ἔξων (ἔξων ἔξων) τῇ κατὰ μέσον ἔξων μακρὰ < ἀνάλογον ἔξει (inscrib) ὀνομίζων καὶ δικαίως ἐμφανίζων ὀνομισμάτων. That was the initial of ἥθατος and was itself transfixed with a dart (schol. Pers. sat. 4. 13, Isid. orig. i. 3. 8, i. 23. 1, cp. Pers. sat. 4. 13, Mart. ep. 7. 37. 1 ff., Auson. ep. 87. 13 Peiper, Rufin. apol. adv. Heir. 2. 36 (xxii. 615 Migne), Sidon. carm. 9. 334 ff. See also Sir J. E. Sandys Latin Epigraphy Cambridge 1919 p. 63 with n. 2) is hardly ad rem: an infelix littera would be out of place.

2 Supra i. 109 n. 3.
The holed vessel in Egypt

The story of Kanopos implies the local cult of an actual man, who died and was buried near the river-mouth. As a dead man he would of course be identified with Osiris, and—from the position of his grave—with Osiris as god of the Nile. Nile-water was in fact regarded as the very seed of Osiris and credited with generative and fertilising powers of the highest order. Apparently the divinised Kanopos was represented by a terra-cotta strainer full of Nile-water. Its holes were caulked with wax. Its surface was painted with divers figures. And its neck was completed by the addition of a human head. This peculiar, but not impossible, image must have served some practical purpose; and it lies near at hand to conjecture that in the hottest weather the wax would melt, the image would stream with water, and a fertility-charm of exceptional potency would automatically protect the neighbourhood from drought. The alleged rencontre with the Chaldaeans is on this showing a later moralising version of the previously existing rite.

1 Heliod. 9. 9 θεοπλαστότοι τῶν Νείλου Διόνυσιοι καὶ κρειτῶν καὶ κριτῶν λόγοι άγαθοι, αντίθενναν άρωνοι τῶν ποταμῶν ομηροφοροῦσαν, οία δὲ δίχα εκρείναν καὶ ιστῶν άρρηών την άρωμένην αύτος άρδαντα καὶ εἰς έκεις τεταγμένην καθαράματα. καὶ ταύτα μὲν ὁ πολύς λεώς, ἡ δὲ εκθέτουσαν, δεκάων. τοῦ εἰς καί ζην ἄνθρωπον, την άρωμα τε καὶ ζηράς οὕτως σύνωδα αύταν μάλιστα ομυούσι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα στοιχεῖα τοῦτοι συνυπάρχει τε καὶ συναφάσθεῖσθα λέγοντες (αν λέγομεν;) καὶ τὴν μὲν ἄραν, τὸν Νείλον, θατέρας τε τῇ γῆν την αὐτῶν εμφάνει, καὶ ταύτα μὲν δημοσιώσεως. πρός δὲ τοῦ μέσας Ἰσημένη τῇ γῆν καὶ Οσιρᾶ τὸν Νείλον καταγγέλλων, τὰ πράγματα τοῦ οὐκαίμασι μεταλαμβάνοντες. Στην εύθυγραμμα των το υπάρχοντων. 

2 Supra ii. 482 n. 0, infra n. 6.

3 Aisch. suppl. 853 άι. μύστι τοιούτου πάτων | δραστίσκων θέωρ | έςθεν δέξιμων | τόξωσαν αλλὰ βροτοί βάλλει καί σχολ. 854 τὸ ξωτοιούν τὰ θρήματα, ἢ έστιμα, μεταφοράς. λέγει δὲ <τὸ> τοῦ Νείλου καί 856 ἀρμογοῦν γὰρ τὸ τὸπ τοῦ Νείλου. θέων ζενζ πάν τών ετέκεν Αρα. Αυτή αυτή το καταγγέλλων. τὰ πράγματα τοῦ οὐκαίμασι μεταλαμβάνοντες. Στην εύθυγραμμα των το υπάρχοντων. 

4 Heliod. 9. 9 καὶ γάρ ποιος εὐευθεὶς καὶ τὸ Νείλω ζῆτε τὴν μεγίστην παρ᾿ Διόνυσιοι ἔτηρίζεται ἐνεστηκόντα, κατὰ τραγανὸν μὲν τὰ θερμά μάλαμα καὶ δὴ ἄρχεται τὴν καθαράς ο τοπαμός ἐμφανείς τελομένης, κ.τ.λ. Στην εύθυγραμμα των το υπάρχοντων. 

5 Sweating or weeping statues, whether ancient (e.g. Cic. de div. t. 74, 2. 58, Iul. Obs. 31, Loukian. de dea Syr. 36 (supra i. 585), ep. supra ii. 428) or modern (e.g. P. Sélèbillo Le Folk-lore de France Paris 1907 iv. 165), are dolos λέγοντος. 

6 W. Weber Drei Untersuchungen zur ägyptisch-griechischen Religion Heidelberg 1911 pp. 42, 48 summarised by G. Roeder in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. x. 1872 f.) comes to the conclusion that the god Kanopos was a local type of Osiris-Neilos worshipped at the mouth of the Nile. Osiris was hidden inside the jar in the form of Nile-water, which is known to have played a considerable part in late religious rites (e.g. Flout, de Is. et Os. 36 οο μίνων δέ τον Νείλον άλλα τὸν ούραν άπόλλον Οσιρᾶθον ἀνομοῦν καλοῦσαι καὶ τῶν ιερῶν δε προσωπεῖται τὸ θέρεων ἐπὶ τῆς τούτος). More exactly, according to Weber, Kanopos was the Osiris-Neilos of fresh water: Set-Typhon, his opponent, stood for
The so-called 'Canopic jars' of Egypt, surmounted by the heads of the four children of Horos:

(2) A set in veined alabaster, now at Queens' College, Cambridge.

See page 345 n. 1.
The holed vessel in Egypt

The nearest parallel to the effigy of Kanopos is to be found, not in the so-called ‘Canopic jars’ used to contain the *viscera* of the deceased and commonly topped by the heads of the four children of Horos\(^1\), but in certain remarkable *simulacra*, which may be seen the salt water of the sea, which as the river sank forced its way up the river-bed. Thus the old conflict between Osiris and Set was interpreted at Kanopos as a struggle between the river-water and the sea-water. When the priests of Kanopos found fresh water streaming into their holy vessel, they celebrated with joy the finding of Osiris. Weber seeks support for his reconstruction in Plout. *de Is. et Or.* 39 (Typhon’s drought attacks and masters the moisture that generates and nurtures the Nile. Typhon’s ally is the Queen of the Aithiopes, *i.e.* south winds that master the etesian winds, which were driving the clouds towards Aithiopia and so bringing rain to increase the Nile. Typhon and his ally send a weakened and lowered river to the sea—a fact represented by the enclosure of Osiris in his coffin. This happens in the month Athyr, when the nights grow longer and daylight declines. The priests then drape a gilded cow in a black *himation* of fine linen—the cow representing Isis or the earth—and exhibit it for four days from the 17th of the month (= Nov. 13—16: see *Frazer* *Golden Bough*:* Adonis Attis Osiris* ii. 84). But on the 19th they go down by night to the sea, and the drapers (*oroAioTcd*) and priests bring out the sacred ark (*icu;em;) containing a golden casket (*Kipdmov*), into which they pour drinkable water. A shout is raised by the people present, who cry that Osiris has been found! Then they mix fruitful soil with the water (*tòv karpimov* [Xylander and others cjj. *tòv karpimov* *foiropoi; tòv oibai*], add costly spices and incense, and mould a little moon-shaped image (*ypouevoi; ápalllúmenoi*), which they clothe and adorn, thereby indicating their belief that these deities are essentially earth and water.

\(^1\) E. A. Wallis Budge *The Mummy* Cambridge 1893 pp. 194—201 states that four such jars were regularly employed by the Egyptians to contain the principal intestines of the dead. They were dedicated respectively to the man-headed Mestha or Amset, the dog-headed Hapi, the jackal-headed Ṭumāutef, and the hawk-headed Qebsennuf. These four gods of the dead are described as the children of Horus or the children of Osiris and themselves stood under the protection of four goddesses, *viz.* Isis, Nephthys, Neith, and Selket or Serqet. G. Elliot Smith—W. R. Dawson *Egyptian Mummies* London 1924 pp. 144—147 (‘The Canopic Jars’) point out that down to the end of the eighteenth dynasty the jars had human heads, but that later they were made to resemble the four children of Horus (human, hawk, jackal, ape), the liver being protected by Imsety, the stomach by Duamutef, the lungs by Hapy, and the intestines by Qebeh-snewef. A. Erman *Life in Ancient Egypt* trans. H. M. Tirard London 1894 p. 317 describes and ib. p. 306 figures (= my pl. xxxiii, i) a typical set of the four jars. Pl. xxxiii, i is from a set, made of alabaster, in my possession. See also H. R. Hall in *J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1911 iv. 459, A. H. Gardiner *The Tomb of Amenemhet* London 1915 p. 113. In no case is there any justification for the current term ‘Canopic.’

Forrer *Reallex.* p. 392, without citing his authority, says that such jars served ‘zur Aufbewahrung des Nilwassers und der Mumieneingeweide.’ In this connexion note Aristead. *or. 48. 364* (ii. 485 Dindorf) μύσω δή ὅπως ἱεραις λαίμηται κεράσα βάτας δόσας ἄλλοις ὁμοί πυμάλαις, καὶ ἑρνοὺς τριάδος καὶ τετάρτων ἑτῶν ἑνδόκα τις πλεῖσθαν καὶ τῷ χρώμα σειμάνουν, δόσας ἡμίς τοῦ ἄλλου. ἢ καὶ τούτου φάσει τις αὕτων εἶναι δετικές ἀδέσποται; In view of the fact that corpses or parts of corpses, e.g. the head, are frequently drenched with water as a rain-charm (*Frazer* *Golden Bough*:* Adonis Attis Osiris* ii. 84 ff., J. Rendel Harris in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 431 (‘At Ourfa...we were told that in dry seasons they dig up the body of a recently buried Jew, abstract the head and throw it into the Pool of Abraham’)), it is presumably possible that ordinary intestine-jars may on occasion have been used for the same purpose; but evidence is lacking.

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on the imperial coinage of Alexandreia (figs. 220—232). R. S. Poole¹ said of them:

'The Canopi represent Osiris and Isis, Osiris being probably Sarapis. The Canopus of Osiris is of two forms, (1) draped and wearing the atef-crown, which consisted of the crown of Upper Egypt, between two plumes, above the rams' horns [fig. 220²]; and (2) adorned with figures and wearing the crown with disk and plumes above the ram's horns with uraei [figs. 221³, 222, 224⁴, 223⁵]. The Canopus of Isis is draped, with a uraeus in front of the body of the vase, and wears the headdress of cow's horns and lunar disk [fig. 225⁶]. These types cannot as yet be further discriminated. The two headdresses of Osiris are indiscriminately used by the ancient Egyptians, and therefore we cannot assign them to particular forms. No doubt in Alexandrian usage they designated such forms, or they would not occur together in one coin-type [figs. 226⁷, 227⁸, 228, 229⁹, 230¹⁰, 232¹¹].'

These joint representations show the two ‘Canopi’ of Osiris set on a couple of cushions and facing us upon a garlanded base

The ‘Canopic’ shape might be given to a variety of gods and goddesses. J. G. Milne in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1901 xxi. 286—290 published a limestone stile in the Ghizeh Museum (no. 3965), which on each of its four faces had a sunk panel with reliefs, flanked by a verse quotation, below the panel a row of ‘Canopic’ figures, and lower again a metrical inscription: (a) A helmeted bust with a circular shield and crossed spears beneath it, flanked by II. 5. 31, then from right to left ‘Canopi’ of Osiris, Horus, Isis, Nephthys (?), and the lines εἰς μὲν ἔνθ’ ἵππος στατάτης ἵπποισιν ἄραμάς Ἐδώραν Ἰασόν τό τε θεράπων; ἑν πολλά δὲ ἐν εὐθείᾳ(ν)θείον ἄργυρος μεμψθήκα | Καβανός ἐν πολεμίου ἦν ἴλ européen | Αἰγίπτιον | ἔπνυσ Καβανός τοῖς ἄνωθεν ἔπνυσ | ἐν τεκτόνων ἐπὶ ἕτοιμον τοῖς ἄνωθεν ἔπνυσ. (b) A helmeted bust with a sea-horse beneath it, flanked by Od. 59. 528, then ‘Canopi’ of Thoth, Amon, Mut, and in lieu of an epigram II. 15. 187—191. (c) A helmeted bust with an eagle on a thunderbolt beneath it, flanked by II. 2. 412, then ‘Canopi’ of some missing deity, Shu, Tefnut, Hathor, and the lines εἰς Καβανός, μὲνας αὐτοκράτωρ, εἰς κάμαρος ἑτού, ἔπει δὲ καθαρά | Θεοὺς Καβανός τοῖς ἄκαλλα τῆς—(an adaptation of II. 2. 204 f. On such formulæ see E. Petersen ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ Göttingen 1926 passim) | δὴν μὲνας Καβανός ψηλήνης ἵπποι σιν αὐτοκράτωρ | ἔπνυσ Καβανός τοῖς ἄνωθεν ἔπνυσ | ἐπὶ ἀνήρ ἔπνυσ. (d) A helmeted bust (?) with a doubtful creature beneath it, flanked by lettering now lost, then ‘Canopi’ of Ra, Atum, Nut, and the lines Ἀτόσ τοῖς εἰς ἄκαλλα | Παῦσ σερενισώματο κατ’ ἐπὶ γῆς ἔπνυσ | ἀνήρ δὲ ἐπὶ τό ἄκαλλα | Παῦσ σερενισώματο κατ’ ἐπὶ γῆς ἔπνυσ | ἀνήρ δὲ ἐπὶ τό ἄκαλλα | Παῦσ σερενισώματο κατ’ ἐπὶ γῆς ἔπνυσ. The stile dates from the end of 2. 1 B.C. and comes from Alexandria. F. Ll. Griffith suggests 'that the underlying idea is probably astrological: thus, the opposite sides (4) and (2) are headed by Ra and Thoth for Sun and Moon; (1) has Osiris, possibly for the planet Jupiter, and the lost figure in the front of (3) may have been Geb, the planet Saturn. To each of these leaders were then added his usual associates in Egyptian religious tradition.'

² Ib. p. 75 no. 635 pl. 18 (=my fig. 220, from a cast) Hadrian.
³ Ib. p. 32 no. 568 pl. 18 (=my fig. 221, from a cast) Vespasian.
⁴ Ib. p. 91 no. 775 pl. 18 (=my fig. 222, from a cast) Hadrian. Fig. 224 is from a specimen in my collection, likewise struck by Hadrian.
⁵ Ib. p. 289 no. 2714 pl. 18 (=my fig. 223, from a cast) Gallienus.
⁶ Ib. p. 75 no. 633 pl. 18 (=my fig. 224, from a cast) Hadrian.
⁷ Ib. p. 54 no. 452 pl. 18 (=my fig. 225, from a cast) Trajan.
⁸ Ib. p. 75 no. 632 pl. 18 (=my fig. 227, from a cast) Hadrian.
The holed vessel in Egypt

Fig. 220. Fig. 221. Fig. 222.

Fig. 223. Fig. 224. Fig. 225.

Fig. 226. Fig. 227. Fig. 228.

Fig. 229. Fig. 230. Fig. 231.

9 Fig. 228 is from a specimen in my collection (Hadrian [L] I H) = 133—134 A.D. Cp. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 92 no. 779 pl. 18 (= my fig. 229).

10 Ib. p. 134 no. 1133 pl. 18 (= my fig. 230, from a cast) Antoninus Pius.

11 Ib. p. 134 no. 1134 pl. 18 (= my fig. 232, from a cast) Antoninus Pius.
The holed vessel in Egypt

(fig. 226), or more often confronting each other (figs. 227—231), sometimes with a flaming thymiaterion between them (fig. 230) or housed in a common shrine with papyrus-headed columns (fig. 231\(^1\)), or finally upborne side by side on the spread wings of an eagle (fig. 232)\(^2\). The numismatic 'Canopi' of Osiris resemble the legendary effigy of Kanopos more closely than do the ordinary 'Canopic' jars, and that in two respects. For one thing, there can be no doubt that the Osirian 'Canopi' were definitely worshipped as deities. For another, they were not only surmounted by a human head, but also decorated with various figures. It is even possible that the series of dots seen on the Osiris-‘Canopi’ (figs. 224, 228, etc.) were holes stuffed with wax like those of Kanopos himself.

A further possibility is deserving of mention. Since Nile-water was in effect the equivalent of snow and rain, the Nile was popularly regarded as in some sort a copy of the sky\(^3\). Parmenon of Byzantion\(^4\) (s. iii B.C.) ventured to equate the river-god with the sky-god, when he penned a choliambic address to—

1 Nile, Zeus of the Egyptians.'


2 An engraved cornelian at Florence shows the Canopus of Isis carried by a female griffin, which rests its right paw on a four-spoked wheel (A. V. Gori *Museum Florentinum* Florentiae 1731 i pl. 58, 9, Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 33 no. 58, 8, 9 pl. 29).

3 *Heliod.* 9. 9 (cited *supra* p. 344 n. 1).


A coin of Alexandria already figured (*supra* i. 361 fig. 277) equips Zeus with the *cornu copiae* of Neilos.
At Silsilis (Djebel Selseleh), on the right bank of the Nile in Upper Egypt, a stele was found bearing an inscription flanked by two reliefs—one on one side a sacred tree, on the other a bull and a young man holding a torch or stick in his left hand. This was 'the salutation of Leonidas the helmsman to Neilos Zeus called Nephotes the Greatest' and is dated in the year 106/7 A.D. Now Nephotes, as A. H. Sayce pointed out, is a Grecised form of the Egyptian Neb-pet, 'Lord of Heaven.' There was, moreover, a long-standing belief that the Nile was a celestial river, and sundry mythographers identified it as such with Eridanos or Okeanos. Kanobos the helmsman gave his name to a star appearing low down beneath this constellation. It is therefore quite conceivable that the rounded body of Kanopos was treated as a quasi-sky, and that the figures with which it was adorned were those of stars or constellations. Support for the conjecture is not far to seek.

If Kanobos was thus identified with Osiris, his wife Theonoe or Eumenouthis seems to have been equated with Isis. In this connexion a small Nolan amphora once belonging to the Museo Vivenzio must be taken into account. An old drawing here reproduced (fig. 233) shows the two sides of the vase as one continuous

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1 C. R. Lepsius *Denkmaler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* Berlin 1849—1859 xii. 82 no. 188 (inscription only).
2 A. H. Sayce in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1894 vii. 297 f. no. ix (inscription only) = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 678 = F. Preisigke *Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Agypten* Strassburg 1915 i. 7 no. 23 τὸ προσκήνιον [Λε]τείων κυβερνήτην Νείλου· Δῶσ καλοῦ[μένου] Νεφοτέον τοῦ [μ]εγίστου. | Λί Τραίανος Καί[εραπός τοῦ κυρίου. Sayce and Dittenberger assume that κυβερνήτην Νείλου should be taken together as 'helmsman of the Nile.'
4 *Supra* i. 349 n. 2.
5 Supra ii. 1035.
6 Plout. de Is. et Os. 22.
7 Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 32 Canopos, whose source (see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* München 1930 ii. 1. 148 n. 4) was pseudo-Eratost. catast. 37 Kânôbos.
8 Konon narr. 8 τὰ περὶ Πρωτίου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου μάρτυρος, οὖ θυγατὴρ Θεοκτόνιος ερωτεύει Känobos (ἡ δ' αὖτον κυβερνήτην Μεσιδίου τοῦ Τρόφου (D. Hoechel c. 'Αρτέμις) ἀποτυχάτην κ.τ.λ."
9 Epiphanius, ancor. 106 (i. 209 Dindorf) Kânôbos τοῦ Μεσιδίου κυβερνήτης καὶ τοῦ τοῦτον γενν. Νικηφόροις ἑκατομμύριοι τεκμηρίων πρὸς τῇ δημαρχίᾳ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἀν ἀθέτησαν σκελων διακόσια.
The holed vessel in Egypt design. The obverse gives a scene from Greek cult; the reverse, a corresponding scene from Egyptian cult. In the one case we have the evocation of the Greek earth-goddess: she starts up at the very feet of a youth, who has just struck the ground with his mattock\(^1\). In the other case a bearded and somewhat deformed man with a staff in his right hand is consulting a 'Canopus.' The jar, as on sundry Alexandrine coins (fig. 225) and gems of imperial date\(^2\), has its cover shaped like the head of Isis. It is decorated with two stars—a feature in which it is not unique\(^3\); for Isis was the 'Queen of Heaven' and wore a robe glittering with stars\(^4\). It is surrounded by rosettes and circles, the meaning of which is doubtful. The object lying on the ground between the Isis-jar and the worshipper is (if we may put faith in Angelini's drawing) probably not a spiked crown\(^5\), but cult furniture of some sort. It might conceivably be the


\(^2\) W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 471 ff.

\(^3\) A. F. Gori *Gemme antiquae ex thasiauro medico et privatorum dactyliothecis Florentiae exhibentes tab. C* etc. *Florentiae* 1731 i. 49 pl. 59, 2 = Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 33 no. 59, 2 pl. 29, cp. C. W. King *Antique Gems and Rings* London 1872 ii. 46 pl. 7, 9 ('Canopus, with the head of Athor, flanked by two Asps; on the belly of the vase is the solar disk').

\(^4\) *Apul. met.* ii. 11. 2 regina caeli, ii. 4 per intextam extremitatem et in ipsa eius planitie stellae dispersae coruscabant carumque media semenstris luna flammes spirabat ignes. See W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 433 ff. and R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelzel* München 1910 i. 69 ff.

mountain-emblem of HA, one of the most ancient gods of the Delta, whose priest purified the king at his coronation with the ‘waters of all-satisfying life’1. But I incline to think that rosettes, circles, and quasi-crown are merely loaves and cakes set out before the goddess. In any case the Egyptian scene balances the Greek scene; for Isis too was an earth-power2—indeed Plutarch says that the Egyptians spoke of the earth, when flooded and fructified by the Nile, as ‘the body of Isis’3. That a Greek potter should thus combine home ritual with foreign ritual is certainly exceptional4, but not altogether surprising. If an early Ionic hydria could represent the sacrifice of Bousiris with some approach to Egyptian vraisemblance5, a late local Italian (?Oscan) amphora may well have reflected the growing familiarity of the Greek world with the observances of the Delta. In after days Egyptian spells came to be much valued in Greek lands6. But this vase has a special interest as affording the earliest extant Greek or quasi-Greek representation of a ‘Canopic’ divinity.

The Vivenzio vase, after being drawn by Angelini in 1798, disappeared from view. But thirty years later Raoul Rochette published an amphora of remarkably similar aspect (fig. 234)7—so similar in fact that it must be the self-same vase—and this in 1865

1 See the important paper by P. E. Newberry ‘Two Cults of the Old Kingdom’ in the Ann. Arch. Anthr. 1908 i. 24 ff.
3 Plout. de Is. et Os. 38 ὡ δὴ Νεῖλον Ὀσιρίδος ἀπορροήν, οὗτος Ἰσίδος σώμα γενὴν ἔχοναι καὶ νομίζωσιν, ὥσ πάναν ἄλλ' ἂν δὲ Νεῖλος ἐπιβάλει σπερμαίων καὶ μαρτυρίους.
4 R. Hackl ‘Mumienverehrung auf einer schwarzfigurig attischen Lekythos’ in the Archiv f. Rel. 1909 xii. 195—203 with 3 figs. (Am. Journ. Arch. 1909 xiii. 498 with fig.) publishes a black-figured lekythos at Munich (height 0'17 m: provenance unknown), which in the clear but slightly careless style of c. 500 B.C. shows three men prostrating themselves with gestures of grief before and behind a narrow vertical oblong, covered with a network- or trellis-pattern and surmounted by a male head in profile with wreath (?) and pointed beard. The men wear loin-cloths only: two cloaks are hung in the background. Leafy sprays are visible to left and right of the pillar-like figure. Hackl argues that this figure cannot be a herm (no arm-stumps, no phalê), nor yet a Dionysos Perikleinos (tree-stem or pillar usually clothed, Dionysos-mask above adorned with vines), but must be the mummy of some Greek, who dying in the Delta was embalmed and lamented by his friends in Egyptian fashion (προσκύνησιν, loin-cloths)—possibly as a divinised Osiris-Dionysos.
5 Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei i. 255 ff. pl. 51, Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. i. 179 ff. iii. 35 figs. 152, 153, M. H. Swindler Ancient Painting Yale University Press pp. 126, 134, 153 figs. 214, 257. Supra i. 513 n. 1 with fig. 381.
6 Loukian. philos. 31.
7 Raoul-Rochette Monumens inédits d'antiquité figurées Paris 1833 p. 369 ff. pl. 64 (=my fig. 234). The learned author interprets the vase-painting as a combination of two analogous scenes—‘necyomancie homérique’ (Odysseus evoking the soul of Antikeles) and ‘à se comtoucher’ near Cumae (Diod. 4. 22, Strab. 244) at which Demos or Chores is consulting the oracle of a ‘Canopic’ jar.
The holed vessel in Egypt

passed from the Pourtales collection\textsuperscript{1} to a permanent home in the British Museum\textsuperscript{2}. It is a red-figured amphora of late, coarse style, and is officially stated to have come from the Basilicata in South Italy. Its design is identical with that of the Vivenzio vase, apart from the fact that the decorative details about the ‘Canopus’ (stars, rosettes, circles, ‘crown’) are now missing. Mr H. B. Walters, however, who kindly examined the vase afresh on my behalf, reports as follows (May 15, 1911):

\textit{F 147.} R.-Rochette’s publication seems to be fairly adequate and accurate. I should like to know if there is any record of the history of this vase before it came into the Pourtales collection, where it evidently was about 1825—1830.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig234.png}
\caption{Fig. 234.}
\end{figure}

It must surely be the same as the Vivenzio vase though Miss H[arrison] hasn’t realised the fact. As to the stars and circles I can only suppose they were restorations which were subsequently removed. I had no knowledge of the Vivenzio publication when the Catalogue was made.

\textit{P.S.} Since writing the above I have again carefully examined F 147, and find the marks as given by Miss H[arrison] are all there, but very faintly engraved in the varnish. I doubt if they are original. There is also a crown on the other side of the vase, not given in the drawing. Any way this proves its identity with our vase.'

\textsuperscript{1} T. Panofka \textit{Antiquités du cabinet du comte Pourtales-Gorgier} Paris 1834 p. 72 pl. 22. \textit{Id.} in the \textit{Ann. d. Inst.} 1829 i. 302 f. (Gaia emerges, disturbed by a grave-digger: a father views with grief the ‘Canopic’ jar of his dead child).

\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases} iv. 71 no. F 147. Mr Walters takes the subject to be ‘Probably a representation of digging a spring’ (\textit{a}) Bearded male figure...looking...towards a Canopic jar resting on a plinth, which terminates in a female head. (\textit{b}) Part of the same scene: A female figure... (probably representing the Nymph of a spring)... extending r. hand to a beardless male figure...’). The explanation is unconvincing.
Amphora from the Palatine, now in the British Museum:

1a—2a. Evocation of the Greek Earth-goddess.
1a—2b. Consultation of an Isis 'Canopus.'

See page 349 ff. with figs. 233, 234.
The holed vessel in Egypt

Finally Mr F. N. Pryce has furnished me with recent photographs of the four figures (pl. xxxiv), on which the faint markings have been added in white paint.

The use of holed vessels as a rain-charm agrees well with what we know of Libyan beliefs concerning the sky. According to Herodotos, the Libyans who planted the followers of Battos beside the fountain of Apollon at Kyrene addressed them in these words: ‘Men of Hellas, here it is fitting for you to dwell, for here the sky is bored through¹.’ My friend and colleague the late Dr A. Wright pointed out that this description furnishes us with an answer to the conundrum propounded by Virgil’s Damoetas:

Say in what lands—and be my great Apollo—
There is a hole in heaven three ells across².

Eustathios takes Herodotos’ words to mean that the sky resembled a reservoir, which though sound elsewhere was holed over Libye and so dropped abundant rain to the advantage of Libyan vegetation³. It would seem then that the Libyans thus naively accounted for the torrential rain, which in point of fact commonly falls at Kyrene during the rainy season from the middle of November onwards⁴. It is also noteworthy that, according to Theophrastos, the wood near Kyrene sprang up as the result of a heavy pitchy rain, and that silphion had been produced for the first time from

¹ Hdt. 4. 158 ἀνδρεῖς Ἑλληνες, ἑῳδαύτα ὑμῖν ἐπιτήδεων οἰκεῖων· ἑῳδαύτα γὰρ ὁ ὀμρανὸς τέτρεγται.

² On the analogous Semitic conception of ‘the windows of heaven’ (Gen. 7. 11, 8. 2, 2 Kings 7. 2, Is. 24. 18, Mal. 3. 10) see I. Benzinger Hebräische Archäologie² Leipzig 1927 p. 163.

³ It is possible that some such significance was attached to the louver or circular opening in the dome of the Pantheon at Rome. For the coffered ceiling of that remarkable structure (Durm Baukunst d. Röm., p. 550 ff., especially fig. 645. A fuller bibliography will be given infra p. 441 n. 7), spangled with rosettes or stars (?) of gilded bronze (Durm op. cit.² p. 565, W. J. Anderson—R. F. Spies The Architecture of Ancient Rome rev. by T. Ashby London 1927 p. 81), must have produced and been intended to produce much the effect of a miniature sky (cp. supra l., 751 f., ii. 354 f., 360 f., 1150).

⁴ Verg. ecl. 3. 104 f. dic quibus in terris—et eris mihi magnus Apollo—| tris pateat caeli spatum non amplus ulnas. Wright’s solution of this well-known problem (in the Class. Rev. 1901 xv. 258) appears to me much more probable than either of those advanced by Serv. ad loc. (the grave of Caelius, the well at Syene—the former the guess of a would-be wit, the latter a pedantic attempt to improve upon the claims of Libye), let alone the follies recorded in J. Conington’s note.

³ Eustath. in II. p. 742, 22 ff. ὃ ἐὰν τῷ Δισυκην γῆν τετρήσθαι τὸν ὀμρανὸν φάμενος ἀλλοις γγρυπικὸν ἔτρεφεται. ἐθέλει γὰρ εἰκάων τὸν ὀμρανὸν ὡς ὅλα καὶ τὰς θεαμαζόντες ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις γαλαις ἐπισκάπωσαν, ἐρᾷ τῷ τότε ἐκείνῳ ὅτι οὐνεπιτήθησα ὡς ὅτοι πυρὸν ἐξερευνήσαντα καὶ ἄρδεν ὃτ εκεὶ πρὸ τροφήματα.

⁵ See H. Stein on Hdt. 4. 158, and A. W. Lawrence on Hdt. 2. 14, 22, 3. 10, 4. 185.
The holed vessel in Greece

a similar shower of pitch\(^1\) seven years before the date (c. 611 B.C.\(^2\)) of Kyrene's foundation\(^3\).

ii. The holed vessel in Greece.

The custom of pouring water into a holed \textit{pithos} or \textit{hydria} by way of a rain-charm has left traces of itself, not only in the rites and myths of northern Egypt, but also in those of Greece. Nor is this to be wondered at, if—as I incline to surmise—the said custom belonged to a race, which at an early date occupied both regions, the Graeco-Libyans or Libyo-Greeks postulated by Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie\(^4\). It is even permissible to use less general terms and to refer the practice to a particular tribe, the \textit{Daanàu} or \textit{Danauna}, who along with other maritime allies are known to have attacked the kingdom of Rameses iii at a date shortly after 1200 B.C.\(^5\) For there can be little or no doubt that this tribe has been correctly identified with the Danaoi\(^6\) of Homer; and they in turn cannot be separated from their eponym Danaos\(^7\), or his daughters the Danaides, whose water-carrying furnishes the best parallel to the alleged ritual of Akanthos in Lower Egypt\(^8\).

\(^3\) Theophr. \textit{hist. pl.} 6. 3. 3, Plin. \textit{nat. hist.} 19. 41. The schol. Aristoph. \textit{eq.} 894 states that Aristaios, son of Apollon and Kyrene, was the first who discovered how to cultivate \textit{silphion} and to produce honey.

The latter \textit{loc. cit.} p. 83 n. 1 is tempted 'to see some connection, in name at least, between the Danuna and Dan...Perhaps Danite sea-farers [Judges 5. 17] were in the service of the Philistines and migrated with them,—the tribe disappears from later Hebrew history,—or possibly one section of the Philistines occupied territory that had belonged to Dan, and so were called Danuna.' Such speculations are rash, though far less so than those of the Abbé E. Fournier concerning 'the emigrant tribe of Dan' (discreetly abbreviated in the \textit{Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions} Oxford 1908 ii. 183, cp. the same writer in the \textit{Revue d'exege èse mythologique} vii no. 39 pp. 313—318).

\(^7\) Bernhard in Roscher \textit{Lex. Myth.} i. 952—954, O. Waser 'Danaos und die Danaiden' in the \textit{Archiv f. Rel.} 1899 ii. 47—63, \textit{id. in Pauly—Wissowa \textit{Real-Enc.} iv.} 2094—2098.
\(^8\) Supra p. 338 f.
(a) Water-carrying in the myth of the Danaïdes.

The story of the Danaïdes is told as follows by Apollodorus¹. Danaos and Aigyptos were twin-brothers. Belos, their father, settled Danaos in Libya, Aigyptos in Arabia. Aigyptos, however, conquered the Melampodes and named their land Egypt after himself. The two brothers had, by various wives, a numerous progeny—Danaos fifty daughters, Aigyptos fifty sons. They became rival claimants to the throne; and Danaos, fearing the sons of Aigyptos, at Athena's instigation put his daughters on board a ship², which he devised for the purpose, and fled. He touched at Rhodes, where he set up the image of Athena Lindia³. Thence he came to Argos, and Gelanor the Argive king abdicated in his favour⁴. > Having thus become master of the country, he named the inhabitants Danaoi after himself⁵. > The country was then suffering from a drought; for Poseidon had dried up its springs, being wroth with Inachos for

³ On whom see a valuable paper by C. Blinkenberg 'La déesse de Lindos' in the Archiv f. Rel. 1930 xxviii. 154—165 with figs. 1—11.
⁴ On the succession of Danaos to Gelanor see Paus. 2. 16. 1 and the interesting omen in Paus. 2. 19. 3 ff. (wolf kills bull = Danaos deposes Gelanor, and founds sanctuary of Apollon Δάκιος). Plout. v. Pyrrh. 33 locates the omen near Pyramis in Thessaly, and speaks of Gelanor as driven out by a σταῖνα. Interp. Serv. in Verg. Aen. 4. 377 makes Apollon give an oracle to Danaos 'ut profectus ubi invenisset taurum et lupum inter se pugnantes, spectaret exitum pugnae, et si taurus vicisset, Neptuno templum construeret; si vero lupus, Apollinia delubrum sacraret. sed cum Danaus lupum videret vicisse, Apollonius Lycio templum deliti.' This famous encounter is commemorated on a late autonomous bronze coin of Argos, which has οὐδὲν. the forepart of a bull to the right, rev. ΠΡΑΚΛΗ ΤΩΝ the forepart of a bull to the right. This is usually described as 'running' (P. Gardner) or 'charging' (S. W. Grose), but may rather be moribund (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus p. 147 pl. 28, 9 (= my fig. 235), McLean Cat. Coins ii. 460 pl. 232, 31, Head Hist. num.² p. 440).
⁵ These words were added to the text of Apollodorus by B. Aegius in the editio princeps of 1555 from the concluding sentence of schol. A. D. II. 1. 42 αὐτὸς δὲ κρατήσας τὴν χώραν ἄφθασεν τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντας Δαναοῖς ἄνθρωπον. ισορεῖ 'Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν τῇ'.

Fig. 235.
Water-carrying and the Danaïdes

declaring that the land belonged to Hera. Danaos therefore sent his daughters to seek for water. One of them, Amymone by name, while going on this errand, shot at a stag, but hit a sleeping Satyr, and was saved from his embraces by the appearance of Poseidon. To him she yielded; and he showed her the springs at Lerna. Meantime the sons of Aigyptos came to Argos, demanding the restoration of peace and a marriage with their fifty cousins. Danaos, who distrusted these professions and bore a grudge on account of his exile, agreed to the proposals and distributed the damsels by lot. The names of grooms and brides are duly recorded.

Danaos made the wedding-feast, but secretly supplied his daughters with daggers. They, when their bridegrooms fell asleep, slew them all, with a sole exception—that of Hypermnestra, who saved Lynkeus for respecting her virginity and was for that reason imprisoned by Danaos. The rest of his daughters buried the heads of their bridegrooms at Lerna and performed funeral rites over the bodies in front of the city. They were purified themselves, at the bidding of Zeus, by Athena and Hermes. Danaos subsequently bestowed Hypermnestra upon Lynkeus, and offered his other daughters as prizes in a gymnastic contest.

The tale thus told is long and clearly composite. It is not difficult to pick out certain parts of it and to bracket them as being mythical accretions or embellishments of no central significance. The explanation of the Argive drought as due to Inachos' partisanship of Hera was hardly an original feature, at least of this story.

The incident of Amymone, the Satyr, and Poseidon is an obvious
Water-carrying and the Danaïdes

excrescence. The catalogue of one hundred names reads like a didactic (Hesiodic?) addition. And the suitors' race was not the only method of rounding off the tale.

But, *subtractis subtrahendis*, the residue of the myth has been handled in more ways than one. F. G. Welcker took the Danaïdes to be the fifty weeks of the year—an opinion that remained his own. K. Schwenck had suggested that they were the fifty moons which composed the cycle of the Olympian festival; and this notion, since with a little ingenuity it could be made to fit the case of other fifties, especially the fifty daughters of Endymion and Selene, and even the fifty daughters of Theseus, found considerable favour and is still hardly extinct. Symbolism of another sort, topographical rather than chronological, appears in the picturesque but highly improbable view of L. Preller. Making the most of a few particular cases—Amymone, Physadeia, Polydora—he argued that all the Danaïdes were fountain-nymphs of the Argolid. The Aigyptiadai, descendants of the mighty Aigyptos (that is, of the Nile), could then be explained as torrents and rivers, which in winter rushed headlong

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2. They are interestingly discussed in Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* ii. 267 ff. C. Robert argues that the list preserved by Apollodoros goes back to an epic source, probably to Hesiod (hence the epic character of the names, their epic prosody, often their Ionic dialect, and their suitability to hexameter verse. Peculiarly Hesiodic is their use of alliteration and even rime), but that the list given by Hyg., *fab.* 170, which has only 22 or perhaps 23 names in common with Apollodoros, is derived from some prose author (hence such names as Themistagora, Demarchus, Demophile, Pamphilus).
3. C. Bonner in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1902 xiii. 162 f. shows that the suitors' race (Pind., Paus., Apollod.) and the Danaïdes' punishment in the Underworld (Hyg., etc.) 'belong to distinct traditions which are not easy to reconcile.' *Id.* ib. p. 133 holds that the latter version squares with that of schol. Eur. *Hec.* 886 (perhaps cp. Ov. *her.* 14. 115—118), in which Lynkeus avenges his brothers by slaying Danaos and all the Danaïdes except Hypermestra.
4. F. G. Welcker *Kleine Schriften zur griechischen Literaturgeschichte* Bonn 1867 v. 50.
like importunate suitors, but in summer sank low or were dried up altogether, their head-waters cut off by the local nymphs. Thus decapitated they were buried in the Lernaean marsh, where alone moisture yet lingered. Preller’s explanation, accepted as sound by Bernhard¹, N. Wecklein², O. Waser³, etc. and described as ‘Ein geistvoller Erklärungsvorschlag’ by C. Robert⁴, is of course open to serious objections, which have been forcibly put by C. Bonner⁵ and G. A. Megas⁶. Nor is the case materially strengthened, if, with V. Henry⁷, we pronounce the Danaïdes to have been rain-goddesses.

These attempts at explanation, however ingenious, must be discarded. There is more to be said for the folk-tale comparisons made by L. Laistner and C. Bonner. Laistner⁸, who regarded the race of the Argive suitors as the most important feature of the myth and combined it with the endless labour of the Danaïdes, took the whole story to exemplify the following mythical formula: ‘A water-carrying field fairy is freed from an enchantment by a man who, in order to accomplish her deliverance, has to perform some feat involving bravery, strength, or endurance, as well as mortal danger in case of failure⁹.’ The Danaïdes are enchanted maidens, nymphs of the rain or the dew. The endless water-carrying is the magic spell. The sons of Aigyptos fail to free them, and lose their own lives in consequence. Now Laistner’s comparison is not only forced and far-fetched, but—as C. Bonner¹⁰ points out—definitely vitiated by taking for the original core of the myth two different and alternative endings to it!

¹ Bernhard in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 950.
⁵ C. Bonner in Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 1902 xiii. 146 ff. notes that ‘the use of κεφαλή, meaning source, is very scantily attested’ (Hdt. 4. 91, cp. Strab. 377. Latin caput and Modern Greek κεφάλη are quoted in support); that Paus. 4. 24. 2 gives, apparently as a genuine Argive myth, a very different account of the decapitation (infra p. 356 n. 4); that the alleged invention of wells by Danaos or his daughters does not prove the latter to have been spring-spirits; that the numeral fifty is not necessarily an indication of a nymph-like nature, but rather suggestive of a folk-tale family; that the river of Egypt, though known to Homer as Ἀτυφρός, is already Νεάντης in Hes. theog. 338; etc.
⁸ L. Laistner Das Rätsel der Sphinx Berlin 1889 i. 283—292.
¹⁰ Id. ib. p. 162 f.
Nevertheless Laistner deserves credit for suggesting\(^1\) that the incident of Lynkeus being saved by his bride was borrowed from some other folk-tale such as an Icelandic version\(^2\) of the *Hop o' my Thumb* formula\(^3\). Acting on this hint, C. Bonner\(^4\) went further and reached the conclusion that the whole episode of the Danaïdes murdering the Aigyptiadai was comparable with a folk-tale still current in Greece\(^5\) and in many other parts of Europe from the Caucasus to the Pyrenees: 'A band of brothers lose their way in a forest, and take refuge in the hut or cavern of an ogre or witch. The youths pass the night with the daughters of their host. The youngest and shrewdest of the brothers suspects that treachery is intended, and by a trick, such as an exchange of head-dress or a shifting of positions\(^6\), causes the ogre to cut off the heads of his own daughters. Thus the youths escape\(^7\).' Sundry variants of the folk-tale assimilate it more closely to the Greek myth, for instance the Icelandic version mentioned above\(^8\) in which a captive maiden warns the visitors of their danger, or again a Milanese version\(^9\) in which the father of the youths is their companion and himself suggests the stratagem. Nevertheless it is distinctly unfortunate for Bonner's hypothesis that in the folk-tale all the brothers escape and all the sisters are killed, whereas in the myth all the brothers but one are killed and all the sisters escape\(^10\).

The foregoing criticisms must not be taken to imply that both Preller and Bonner were wholly off the track. The former at least saw that the Danaïdes had some essential connexion with water. And the latter maintained with success that their myth bore much

\(^1\) L. Laistner *op. cit.* ii. 88 f.

\(^2\) J. C. Poesion *Islandische Märchen* Wien 1884 p. 397 ff. no. 36 (‘Thorstein, der Häuslerssohn’).

\(^3\) C. S. Burne *The Handbook of Folklore* London 1914 p. 346 no. 13 (‘Hop o' my Thumb type. 1. The parents, very poor, desert their children. 2. The youngest child leads the rest home several times, but at last fails to do so. 3. They fall into the power of a supernatural being, but the youngest robs him and they all escape’).


\(^5\) J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 75 ff. no. 3 (‘Von dem Schönen und vom Drakos’), ii. 178 ff. (four variants, and notes).


\(^7\) C. Bonner in *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 1900 xxxi. 31.

\(^8\) Supra n. 2.

\(^9\) V. Imbriani *La Novellaja Milanese* Livorno 1877 no. 1.

\(^10\) C. Bonner in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1903 xiii. 151 notes, however, that in schol. Eur. *Hec.* 886 Lynkeus avenges his brothers by slaying all the Danaïdes but Hypermestra (*supra* pp. 356 n. 3, 357 n. 3).
Water-carrying and the Danaïdes

resemblance to a folk-tale. But I do not think that either Preller or Bonner sufficiently realised the complexity of the story. Symbolists on the one hand and folklorists on the other largely ignored its legendary, not to say historical, basis. This factor of legend was indeed suspected in 1893 by W. Schwartz, who urged that the myth of the Danaïdes, like that of the Argonauts, was a mariner’s or merchant’s epos. But suspicion became virtual certainty, when it was perceived that the Danaoi of Homer were none other than the Daänin or Danauna of Egyptian records. And the ground thus won was still further consolidated by L. B. Holland in 1928.

1 J. Vürtheim Aischylos’ Schutzflehende Amsterdam 1928 p. 17 prefers to speak of it as a Pelasgian saga: ‘Das Sagenmotiv kennt die beiden streitenden Brüder; der eine hat Söhne, der andere ebensovielle Töchter. Eine Ehe würde den Hader beendet haben, aber die Schonen mochten ihre Vettern nicht. Auch die Zahl fünfzig ist in der Sage gegeben: Priamos’ Haus kannte sie. Dann folgt der Mord, und hier denkt man gleich an ἔφρα Ἀχώνα. Auch die lemnischen Weiber töteten ihre Männer (Herod. VI, 139 [138]); auch hier geschah es auf pelasgischem Gebiete; auch hier war eine, die den Mord nicht vertübe und eine Ausnahme bildete. Diese Jungfrau—Hypsipyle—wurde schuldig erklärt, wie in Argos Hypermestra. Fast möchte man von einem pelasgischen Sagenmotiv reden; denn bringen nicht lemnische Pelasgen mit eigener Hand die athenischen Frauen um, bei denen sie bereits Kinder gezeugt hatten (Herod. VI, 139 [138])?’ It may be conjectured that the Lemnian myth has been partially assimilated to the Argive. The resemblance of the two was already remarked by F. G. Welcker Die Aischylische Trilogie Promethens Darmstadt 1824 p. 594 f.

2 W. Schwartz in the Jahresb. f. class. Philol. 1893 xxxix. 101 (‘es ist die Danaiden-sage...ein schifferepos wie die Argonautensage, man könnte fast sagen ein handelsepos’), cp. 105 (‘etwa um 900, eher vorher als nachher, musz demnach unsere sage entstanden sein, die einer der austreibungen griechischer seehändler und -räuber aus Ägypten ihren ursprung verdankt’).

3 On the historical element in the myth of the Argonauts see now the admirable treatment of Miss J. R. Bacon The Voyage of the Argonauts London 1925 p. 107 ff. (ib. p. 168 ‘In its original form the Argonaut story was a narrative of a real voyage in the Euxine Sea, made by Minyans of Thessaly in the late fourteenth or early thirteenth century B.C.’).

4 O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 2089 aptly quotes E. Meyer Forschungen zur alten Geschichte Halle a.S. 1892 i. 79. The context runs: ‘Wir sind, und mit Recht, gewohnt, die “hesiodeische” Poesie als unmittelbare Vorgängerin der Logographen zu betrachten; aber die Danaïden stehen den letzteren mindestens ebenso nahe—wie sie denn auch durch das starke Hervortreten des genealogischen Elements mit Hesiod sich eng berühren—und zeigen, dass auch die “ homerische” Poesie der allgemeinen Strömung Rechnung getragen hat. Das Interesse an Ländern und Völkern, an der Erweiterung der geographischen Kenntnisse, an Urgeschichte und Wanderungen bildet den Inhalt der Danaïden wie der Schriftstelleri des Hekataeos; ihm verdankt das Epos die grosse Wirkung, die es nicht formell aber durch seinen Inhalt erzielt hat. Gleich zu Anfang boten die Schicksale der Io die Gelegenheit dazu. Io konnte von Argos nach Ägypten nur auf dem Landwege gekommen sein, musste also so ziemlich die ganze im siebenten Jahrhundert den Hellenen bekannte Welt (mit Ausnahme Italiens) durchwandert haben. So konnte das Epos gewissermassen einen Abriss der Geographie geben.’

5 Supra p. 354.

Epic tradition, which not improbably rested on Argive folk-memory, associated Danaos and his daughters with the discovery of a water-supply. This trait, and it alone, is involved in our earliest reference to their myth. The \textit{Iliad} speaks of Argos as \textit{polydipsion}, \textit{very thirsty}¹, and Euripides calls it \textit{dipsian...chthóna}, a \textit{'thirsty land}². Both phrases presumably allude to the fact that the streams Inachos (\textit{Panitza}) and Charadros (\textit{Xerias}), which traverse the Argive plain, run dry for the greater part of the year³, so that there is need to make up for their lack of water by means of irrigation. But ancient critics, finding Argos well-watered and fertile, were perplexed by the Homeric epithet⁴. Eustathios⁵ finally offers us a choice of explanations: \textit{Either because the Greeks thirsted for it}; or because the myth says that it was once ill-watered but afterwards became well-watered, when Poseidon caused the springs at Lerna to burst forth through his love for Amymone, the namesake of the Amymonian Waters⁷ at Argos; or it may be on account of the Danaïdes, who came from Egypt and taught the digging of wells, as Hesiod⁸ observes—

Waterless Argos Danaos made well-watered.'

Strabon⁹, without naming the author, cites another version of the line, in which the \textit{‘Danaan maids’} take the place of Danaos:

Waterless Argos Danaai made well-watered.

It appears, then, that a Hesiodic line mentioned Danaos as the cause

¹ \textit{Iliad} 4. 171, cp. Hesych. \textit{s.v. δίψων’} Ἀργος, Eustath. \textit{in Dionys. per.} 419.
² Eur. \textit{Alc.} 560.
⁴ Strab. 370 peri δὲ τῶν μεθυσμένων πηγῶν εἰσηνε, διὸς πλασμάτα ποησῶν ἐστὶ· πλάσμα δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἀργος ἄνθρωπον—τεκν 6 a ἀδ θέσαν Ἑρμος ἄνθρωπον (A. Meineke accepts T. Tyrwhitt’s bj. \textit{Arigos Ændρων—θεοί δ’ αδ θέσαν Ἑρμος ἄνθρωπον})—Strab. 371 quoted \textit{infra} n. 9)—τῆς τε χώρας κοίλης ὀδησ καὶ ποταμός διαρροέμενα καὶ ἔλαι καὶ χλωρία παρεχομένης, καὶ τῆς πόλεως εὐπορούμενης ἰδας φρέστας πολλῶν καὶ ἐπιπολαίων. αἰτιώναι δὴ τῆς ἀπάτης τὸ “καὶ καὶ ἐλέγχωςτος πολυόμενος Ἀργος κοίλης” (\textit{Iliad} 4. 171). τὸ δ’ ἰεγο ἀντὶ τοῦ πολυόμενον εἶναι, ἢ χιφὶ τοῦ δ’ πολυόμενοι, κ.τ.λ.
⁶ A desperate guess of Aristarchos (Hesych. \textit{s.v. δίψων’} Ἀργος quoted \textit{infra} n. 8, cp. Athen. 433 B).
⁷ Eur. \textit{Phoen.} 188 f. 8
⁸ Hes. frag. 47 Kinkel, 24 Ῥαχ ’Ἀργος ἄνθρωπον ἐὼν Δανᾶς ποίησεν ἄνθρωπον, cp. Hesych. \textit{s.v. δίψων’} Ἀργος—Ἱσίωδου μὲν τὸ ἄνθρωπον, Ἀρισταρχος δὲ τὸ πολυόμενον (διήν γὰρ τὸ ἐπιπολαί) ἢ ὑπὸ Δώδε βεβαλλ(μένοι) ἢμαι γάρ τὸ βάθασι. M. Schmidt in his ed. min. tentatively suggests the insertion of Ἑλόδωρος (?) after the word Ἑσίωδος.
⁹ Strab. 371 Ἐρμος ἄνθρωπον ἐὼν Δανᾶς ποίησεν Ἀργος ἄνθρωπον, cp. \textit{id.} 370 quoted \textit{supra} n. 4.
Water-carrying and the Danaïdes

of Argos' fertility, while a variant and perhaps later reading spoke of the 'Danaan maids' rather than Danaos himself.

It is not unreasonable to contend that this ancient tradition was, in the main, true. Immigrants from Egypt—let us say the Danauna—came by sea to Rhodes and settled at Argos. They called themselves Danaoi—a name which would be appropriate to desert-dwellers if, as Herakleides of Kyme asserted, it really meant the 'Dry' or 'Parched ones.' But etymology is capable of a volte-face, and modern scholars have maintained that Danaoi should rather be connected with the Sanskrit dānu meaning 'fluidity, dampness, drops.' Be that as it may, Gelanor the reigning king of Argos was, owing to

1 W. Schwartz in the Jahrh. f. class. Philol. 1893 xxxix. 105 infers that "Argos άνυδος ετών Δαναώ θεοιν" Argos άνυδος is a later recension of Hesiod's line from the fact that "Argos is repeated as a mere 'flickwort.' It might be added that Δαναώ, though a metrical necessity, is a somewhat unsatisfactory substitute for Δανάθεσ.


I would suggest confusion with δραύς, 'ancient,' in its Doric form δαύας (Aisch. Eum. 845, 879).

3 V. Henry in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1892 v. 284 ff. Cp. H. Usener Götternamen Bonn 1896 p. 206: 'Unter den bezeichnungen, welche die hymnen des Rigveda für den von Indra bekämpften dämon anwenden, erscheint auch Dānu, theils mit Vṛtra oder Ahi zusammengestellt, theils für sich, und in patronymischer fortbildung Dānavā...Einmal...wird Dānāvā sichtlich identifiziert mit Vṛtra. Die mehrzahl Dānavās kommt im Rigveda noch nicht vor, wohl aber zweimal im Atharvaveda, und heit bereits gleichbedeutend mit den Asuren, der allgemeinen bezeichnung der bösen dämonen. Diesem plurl. Dānāvās entsprechen die gr. Δαναώ auf das vollkommenste, ausgenommen die quantitat der ersten silbe. Aber derselbe übergang zur kürze hat sich im sanskrit vollzogen; schon im Čatapathabrahmana wird das grundwort dānu, obwohl der hochton auf diesem vocal ruht, mit a angewandt, und so bei späteren durchweg. Noch begreiflicher ist die kürzung in der fortgebildeten form Dānāvās als wirkung des vorgeschobenen hochtons. Man versteht jetzt das gebet des alten Chryses ρασιαν Δαναώ ἵππο δάκρυα (A 42).' On the Dānāvās see further H. Jacobi in J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1900 ii. 809, id. ib. 1911 iv. 390—392, A. A. Macdonell ib. 1921 xii. 610. As to Dānu, id. Vedic Mythology Strassburg 1897 p. 158 says: 'Vṛtra's mother is called Dānu and is compared with a cow (1, 32). This name seems to be identical with the word dānu, which is several times used as a neuter meaning 'stream' and once as a feminine to designate the waters of heaven. The same term is applied as a masculine, apparently in the sense of a metronymic, to Vṛtra or the dragon (5, 26; 4, 30), as well as to the demon Aurāvābha (2, 11), and to seven demons slain by Indra (10, 120). The regular metronymic Dānava is used five times to designate a demon combated by Indra and doubtless identical with Vṛtra. Indra casts down the wiles of the wily Dānava (5, 11), he struck down the snorting Dānava (5, 29), to release the waters (5, 33).' Infra p. 366 n. 4.
Water-carrying and the Danaïdes

a season of drought, forced to abdicate; and the chief of the newcomers took his place. Why? Because he or his women-folk succeeded in getting water and so saved the Argive crops.

L. B. Holland has argued with much cogency that this dynastic change corresponded with the transition from shaft-graves to tholos-tombs. The shaft-graves, on his showing, belonged to the Achaioi, the tholos-tombs to the Danaoi. He even ventures upon an approximate dating of the events:

'The marble chronicle from Paros, compiled in Athens in the third century B.C., probably from older official Athenian documents, specifically states that the penteconter of Danaus arrived in the year 1510—1509 B.C. Archaeology shows that the change from the “shaft-grave” to the “tholos-tomb” dynasty at Mycenae occurred about 1500 or a little earlier, and that the great fortification walls, with the Lion Gate and the existing court and megaron of the palace there, were all built about 1400. Since these dates agree so perfectly with the traditional dates for the coming of the Danaans and the “founding” of Mycenae by Perseus, is it not reasonable to accept the traditions as substantially historical?'

The people who dug the rectangular shaft-graves (the Achaioi?) dug also rectangular wells. Two such were found by A. J. B. Wace cut in the soft rock at Mykenai, one by the north-western angle of the ‘Warrior Vase House,’ the other below its eastern wall: neither of them can be more recent than the beginning of the ‘Late Helladic iii’ period. But the people who constructed the far more elaborate tholos-tombs (the Danaoi?) may fairly be credited with the introduction of tholoid reservoirs or wells, whether carved out of the native rock like the bottle-shaped cisterns of later date to be seen on the site of Melite at Athens, or lined with concentric courses of masonry like the beautifully built and still serviceable Fountain of

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1 This is not actually stated in our sources (supra p. 355), but is implied by the sequel (Apollod. 2. 1. 4).

2 L. B. Holland ‘The Danaoi’ in Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 1928 xxxix. 74 f.: ‘Collating these literary traditions with the archaeological evidence at Mycenae, we should naturally equate the rulers of the fifteenth to the twelfth centuries, the tholos-tomb kings, with the Danaoi; the earlier shaft-grave dynasty would then be Achaioi, whose tribal ancestors first occupied the land at the beginning of the Middle Helladic period, “long before human memory” to classical Greeks; and the still earlier inhabitants, the Aegean people of Early Helladic days, might be the Pelasgians whose scattered remnants still persisted in historic times.’

3 Id. ib. p. 78.

4 [Marm. Par. ep. 9 p. 5 Jacoby.]


6 [Paus. 2. 15. 4.]


8 E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert Atlas von Athen Berlin 1878 p. 18 ff. description, with plans but no sections, W. Judeich Topographie von Athen München 1925 p. 347.
Bourina in Kos. The underground chamber of bronze in which Akrisios king of Argos imprisoned his daughter has been aptly compared by W. Helbig and others with the bronze-decorated *tholoi* of the Argolid. And, in view of the connexion presumed to exist between such *tholoi* and the Danaoi, the name of Akrisios' daughter, Danaë, is significant.

F. Chabas the Egyptologist half a century since proposed to equate the *Daanaou*, not with the Danaoi, but with the Daunioi; and this equation, though it has not attracted much notice in recent times, raises further questions of considerable interest. To begin with, it seems possible that the Daunioi were nothing but a branch of the Danaoi, which crossed over from northern Greece to southern Italy. According to Festus, Daunus was an Illyrian chief, who quitted his own land and settled in Apulia. His *provenance* suggests that *Danf-aoi*, a name with true Illyrian suffix, became by legitimate compensatory lengthening *Daun-aoi*, whence *Daunioi*, its

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2. *Supra* i. 414, infra § 9 (e) iii.


8. So Dr B. F. C. Atkinson, who from his great and as yet unpublished work on Illyrian names has kindly furnished me with the following examples: *Annaus* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* i. no. 1518, v no. 8288 Aquileia) *Annaus* (*ib.* v no. 1072 Aquileia) *Annaus* (*ib.* v no. 8973 Aquileia), *Avallaus* (*ib.* iii no. 4558 Vindobona), *Balans* (*ib.* iii no.
normal form in Greek writers. Had Virgil tradition behind him, when he made Danaë found Ardea\(^1\), the capital of Turnus the son of Daunus? Danaë—Daunus may be more than a mere assonance. But, if the Daunioi were really akin to the Danaoi, we might look to find the former like the latter associated with the irrigation of a waterless region. In point of fact the Roman poets do emphasise the arid character of Daunia. Horace\(^3\) speaks of it as the land

Where Daunus, scant of water, ruled
The rustic tribes.

And Ovid\(^4\) mentions

the parched fields
Of Iapygian Daunus.

That the Daunioi, like the Danaoi, constructed thblos-tombs is a possible, though precarious, inference from a few lines in Lykophron\(^5\). This writer of prophetic rigmarole sets out to tell how the Daunioi shall bury alive certain Aetolian envoys, sent to recover the quondam possessions of Diomedes\(^6\):

Within a darksome grave that savage folk
Shall hide them, living yet, in the inmost nooks
Of a hollow passage. Aye, for them the Daunites
Shall build a tomb, with never a funeral rite,
Roofed over by a pile of rounded stones.

But whether the Daunioi had tholoid wells, we cannot even conjecture. Surviving examples of the type on Italian soil are the

\(^{4890}\) Virunum), Cariaus (ib. v no. 3922 Arurnates near Verona), Cnodanuus (ib. iii no. 10934 Mursella in Upper Pannonia), Licanus (Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 2577 Dalmatia) Licius (Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 26528 Rome, ix no. 42 Brundisium) Licauus... (ib. iii no. 3244 Lussonium), Lomothianus (ib. v no. 450 Fiquentum), Opiaus (ib. iii nos. 10121, 13929 Dalmatia) Opiana (ib. iii no. 2900 Corinium), Pàrpaus (Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 1 no. 312, 37 Ἀπολλόνια Πάρπα ό Πάιονα [cp. the silver coins of Paonia, struck c. 340—315 B.C., with legend ΠΛΑΡΑΟΥ (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia, etc. p. 2 f. figs., Hunter Cat. Coins i. 348 pl. 14, 8, McClean Cat. Coins ii. 81 f. pl. 137, 12—20, Head Hist. num.² p. 236 f. fig. 149])], Quassanuus (Corp. inscr. Lat. v no. 3463 Verona), Ridaus (ib. iii no. 5905 Raetia), Temauus (ib. i² no. 2198 near Aquileia) god of the river Tinnawus in Venetia, Tisus (cited by F. Ribecco La lingua degli antichi Messapii Napoli 1907 p. 6 from Manduria in Calabria), Virraus (Corp. inscr. Lat. v no. 3842 a Verona). Add Zavaüs or Ζαβαύς πόλις, a town in Phrygia near Laodikeia (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen² Braunschweig 1875 ii. 1338).

\(^1\) Verg. Aen. 7. 409 f., Serv. in Verg. Aen. 7. 372, 410.
\(^2\) O. Rossbach in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv. 2234.
\(^3\) Hor. od. 3. 30. 11 f. qua pauper aquae Daunus agrestium | regnavit populorum.
\(^5\) Lyk. Al. 1061 f. τοῖς δ' ἐς ἐρεμοῦς σῶτας ὑμηταὶ τάφοι | ἐφούσι κοίλη ἐν μιχοὶς διασφάγοι. | τοῖς δ' ἀκτήμοιν οὖμα Δαυνία τεκρῶν | στῆγοις χωρὶς τροχάδις κατηρέσονται.
\(^6\) Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 1056. The story is told, with some variation (Brundisium, not Daunia), in Iust. 12. 2. 7 f.
366 Water-carrying and the Danaïdes

Tullianum at Rome\(^1\) and—perhaps one should add—the well-chamber at Tusculum\(^2\). In neither case have we the slightest reason to connect the structure with the Daunioi. It cannot, therefore, be claimed that the rôle played by the Daunioi in Italy answers to that played by Danaos and his daughters in Greece.

But here a further possibility has to be faced. If the Danaoi were indeed Illyrian \(^*\) **Dan-f-aoi**, and if the Daunioi were a branch of the same stock transplanted to Apulia, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that both tribal names are akin to that of the great river **Dānuvius** (Danube), which in turn—as O. Schrader\(^3\) points out—is certainly related to the river-names **Dānapris** (Dnieper) and **Dānastris** (Dniester), and probably to the Thracian **Sān-danos**, the Thessalian **Api-danos**, the Italian **Eri-danos**, and the Celto-Ligurian **Rho-danos**, if not also to the Scythian **Tānaïs**. **Dānuvius** and its cognates must moreover be connected with the Avestan dānu-, ‘river,’ and the Ossetic don, ‘water’ (whence Don, the modern name of the Tānaïs). On this showing, the Danaoi and the Daunioi both bore a name that meant the ‘River-folk’ or ‘Water-folk.’ That, one imagines, would have signified, at least primarily, the folk that dwelt along the River or beside the Water. Secondarily such folk, since they lived beside the water-ways, might be expected to know the ways of water, and would thus come to be regarded as good water-magicians or experts in irrigation. Now it is commonly admitted that the name **Dānuvius** is of Celtic origin\(^4\). And, this being so, it

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4. C. G. Brandis in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2105 ‘In der That ist aber, was
lies near at hand to surmise that the whole group of congeners stands in some relation to the Celtic *Tuatha Dé Danann*, the 'Folk or Tribes of the goddess Danu', a curious title more suggestive of men than gods. In fact, it begins to look as though, far back in the Middle Bronze Age, some proto-Celtic tribe or tribes had traversed Europe along the great river-routes and appeared at places as widely separated as Argos and Ireland, nay more, that this adventurous race, everywhere expansive and intrusive, had pushed on to the very confines of Egypt. Nor is that a fantastic impossibility. After all, if in the third century B.C. Celts could force their way into the heart of Asia Minor and leave a permanent population in Galatia, for aught we know, in the second millennium B.C. their ancestors...
may have penetrated yet farther south and as Danauna have occupied, at least for a time, some portion of the Egyptian coast.

Returning now to the myth of Danaos and the Danaides, we are in a position to understand better the early Hesiodic line—

Waterless Argos Danaos made well-watered.

A tribe that bore an Illyrian name and at one time dwelt as ‘River-folk’ or ‘Water-folk’ along the banks of the Danube would be just the right tribe to cure a ‘very thirsty’ land of its drought. The Danube itself was at a later date believed to gather clouds and cause incessant rain. The fact that the Danaids bulk bigger in the myth than the Danaoi is, however, suggestive of magic rather than scientific irrigation; and here there were various possibilities. To begin with, Danaos son of Belos was a twin; and twins are notorious as rain-makers, especially if their father is, like Belos, a

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1 ib. ib. p. 24 ‘The only certain result that has emerged as yet is that there was a centum element somewhere within the Hittite realm just after 1500 B.C. About that date the Taurus ranges seem to have represented in a sense a frontier between satem and centum Indo-European speech.’

2 Supra p. 361 f.
3 Supra p. 364.
4 Supra p. 366.
5 Supra p. 361.
6 Lyd. de magistr. 3. 32 p. 121, 1 ff. Wünsch bei θην θρακιδων ολοκληρων αποβάλλει μέν (sc. δ’ισταρα παρά τοις επιχειρήσεπ τοις εσπροθεν θιρμας, Δαναέβας μετακελθείς· επει δέ αυτῶν οι Θρακῶν ἔκλεψαν, διότι ξει <τὰ> πρὸς ἄρκτων ὅρη καὶ θρακικόν ἄκρων ἰσοφθείς ἄρα ἐκ τῆς ἴσακελήνης τῶν ἐγρήν ἀμετρίας σχεδὸν διὰ παντὸς ἀποτελομένου αἰτίος αὐτοῦ συνεχῶς ἐπομή&

7 Supra p. 355.
8 Frazer Golden Bough i. 91 f., ib. The Magic Art i. 262 ff., J. Rendel Harris The Cult of the Heavenly Twins Cambridge 1906 p. 26 ff., E. S. Hartland in J. Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1921 xii. 498. Especially noteworthy in its bearings on the myth of the Danaides is the practice of the Baronga in south-east Africa. When a drought threatens, the women strip and put on girdles and head-dresses of grass, or short petticoats made of the leaves of a certain creeper. Thus attired they go from well to well, cleansing the well-holes of mud. They must also repair to the house of a woman who has given birth to twins (such a woman is called Tilo, ‘Sky’; her twins are Bana ba Tilo, ‘Children of the Sky’ [supra ii. 434]) and drench her with water, which they carry in little pitchers. Then they go on their way shrieking loose songs and dancing immodest dances, which men may not witness. They also pour water on the graves of their ancestors in a sacred grove, and on the graves of twins who are regularly buried near a lake (Frazer and Rendel Harris loc. cit.).

9 On Belos see K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 2129 ff.
Water-carrying and the Danaïdes

Again, O. Gruppe detects a rain-charm in the tradition that the heads of Aigyptos' sons were buried by Danaos' daughters at Lerna or dropped into the spring there as offscourings (apo-katharmata) by Danaos himself. Lastly, we note the side-issue or inserted tale that Poseidon showed Amymone the Lernaean springs in consequence of her union with him. I am disposed, therefore, to conjecture that the wholesale endogamic marriage of the Danaïdes with the Aigyptiadai was regarded as a most potent fertility-charm.

So far little or nothing has been said about a point which to the later Greeks and to the Romans after them became the point of the whole story—I refer of course to the punishment of the Danaïdes in the world below. Here they must for ever carry water to fill a holed pithos, and so atone for the murder of their cousins. This water-carrying on the part of the Danaïdes cannot, however, be traced back in literature beyond the pseudo-Platonic Axiochos, which betrays Epicurean influence and has been assigned to the Alexandrine

3 J. Rendel Harris in Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 431 ('Occasional Rain-charms'): 'At Ourfa ... we were told that in dry seasons they dig up the body of a recently buried Jew, abstract the head and throw it into the Pool of Abraham.' O. Janiewitsch 'Durstige Seelen' in the Archiv f. Rel. 1910 xiii. 627 cites several examples of Russian peasants in time of drought pouring water on the corpse or grave of one who had committed suicide or who had been hanged, such persons being held responsible for the lack of rain. On the dry, thirsty dead see further O. Immisch 'ΑΛΙΒΑΝΤΕΣ' ib. 1911 xiv. 449—464 and two interesting articles by J. C. Lawson 'ΠΕΡΙ ΑΛΙΒΑΝΤΕΑΣ' in the Class. Rev. 1926 xl. 52—58, 116—121. Supra p. 362 n. 2, infra p. 440 n. 9.
4 Supra p. 356.
5 Zenob. 4. 86, Apostol. 10. 57, alib. (supra p. 356 n. 4).
6 Supra pp. 356, 357.
7 Frazer Golden Bough: The Magic Art ii. 97 ff. ('The influence of the sexes on vegetation') notes that parents of twins sometimes exercised a fertilising influence in Uganda on the plantains (ib. ii. 102), in Peru on the beans (ib. i. 265 f., ii. 101 n. 1), and collects many cases in which the intercourse of the sexes, promiscuous or otherwise, was and is believed to quicken the growth of the crops.

If I am right in my interpretation of the myth, it is easy to see why Danaos cast Hyperestra into prison. She had saved Lynkeus because he spared her virginity (supra p. 356): the love-motive was merely a poetic recasting of the prosaic fact (supra p. 356 n. 3).

9 Plat. Axioch. 371 Ε ἐκείνη τον γόνατον ἐπέβαλεν καὶ Δαναόων ὦρθρῳ ἔτηλες.

C. III.
370 Water-carrying in connexion with marriage

age\(^1\); nor in art beyond the great Under-world vases of 'Apulian' style\(^2\), which belong to the second half of the fourth century B.C.\(^3\) And in the myth as related by Apollodoros there is no question of punishment except for the one Danaid who did not slay her lover!\(^4\) Whence—we may ask—came the idea that the Danaides deserved to be punished? And what above all is the significance of their somewhat peculiar punishment?

(\(\beta\)) Water-carrying in connexion with marriage.

In attempting to answer these questions we must first turn our attention from mythology to ritual. Athenian custom prescribed that, when a wedding had been arranged and the wedding-day had come, the bridegroom must bathe in water from the fountain of Kallirrhoe—Enneakrounos, as it was styled at a later date\(^5\). The

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1 W. Christ op. cit. München 1920 ii. 1. 53.
2 *Infra* p. 423 ff.
4 *Supra* pp. 356, 369 n. 7.
5 The situation of this fountain has been the subject of long and lively debate. Till the closing decade of last century it was commonly held (see *e.g.* W. Smith in *Smith Dict. Geogr.* i. 292 'The Fountain of Callirrhoe, or Enneacrunus') that Kallirrhoe was the spring, which flows from the foot of a broad ridge of rocks crossing the bed of the Ilissos due south of the Olympieion, and that it was re-named Enneakrounos, when fitted with nine pipes by the Peisistratidai (Thouk. 2. 15 καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ νείλ τῶν τυφάνων οὕτως σκευασάτων Ἑσπεριαίοις καλομένη, τὸ δὲ πάλαι φανερὰ τῶν πηγῶν ὀνόματι Καλλιρρόη ὀνομασαμένη ἐκείνοι τε ἐγγὺς οὖν τὰ πλέοντα ἄβα ἕρωμα, καὶ νῦν ἄτο τοῦ ἀρχαῖον πρὸ τε γαμμῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τῶν λείων τουτεσταύτα τῷ ἵδαι κρηθέναι). The name Kallirrhoe still attaches to this spring. But an excavation by A. N. Skias in 1893 failed to discover any evidence of Peisistratid construction (E. A. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 226), and the excavator concluded that the modern Kallirrhoe was neither Kallirrhoe nor Enneakrounos (T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 624).

Meantime W. Dörpfeld, as the result of excavations carried out from 1891 to 1894, was able to show that in antiquity several natural springs rose at the foot of the Pnyx hill, that here at least seven tunnels and six cisterns (still containing water) had been cut in the rock, that one large cistern immediately above the site of an ancient fountain was built of polygonal masonry dating from s. v or vi B.C., that a great rock-cut conduit which could be traced from the upper valley of the Ilissos along the southern slope of the Akropolis probably ended at this cistern, and that two sets of water-pipes diverging from it, made of a yellowish clay with a red glaze inside, exactly resembled those of Eupalinos' aqueduct in Samos and could therefore be dated to s. vi. Hence Dörpfeld concluded that Kallirrhoe was the name originally given to the open springs on the Pnyx hill, that these when enclosed with masonry and formed into a fountain with nine jets by Peisistratos were re-christened Enneakrounos, and that the old name Kallirrhoe was from s. v onwards transferred to the spring on the Ilissos (W. Dörpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1892 xvi. 444 ff., 1892 xvii. 92 ff., 439 ff., 1894 xiv. 143 ff., 504 ff., id. "Ἡ Ἐννεακρονος καὶ ἡ Καλλιρρόη")
in the 'Er. 'Arch. 1894 pp. 1—10, id. in the Berl. philol. Woch. Aug. 28, 1907 pp. 940—945. Dörpfeld's conclusions have been widely accepted (e.g. by J. E. Harrison Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath. pp. 87—91, Primitive Athens as described by Thucydides Cambridge 1906 pp. 111—131, 153—158, and by W. Jüdelich Topographie von Athen München 1905 pp. 179—185), and embodied in the final publication by F. Gräber 'Die Enneakrunos' in the Ath. Mitth. 1905 xxxi. 1—64 with 32 figs. and 3 plans.

But Dörpfeld's hypothesis, however attractive, is far from being unassailable. Sir James Frazer, after a patient hearing of both sides, can sum up thus: 'On the whole the evidence of all ancient writers except Pausanias goes to show that the names Callirrhoe and Enneakrunus were always applied to one and the same spring, and that this was the spring in the bed of the Ilissus which still bears the ancient name of Callirrhoe' (Pausanias ii. 116). Twenty-one years later W. Kroll, despite the fact that Gräber's persuasive article had appeared in the interim, again pronounces the same verdict (in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. x. 1669—1672 'Daher muss man denen Recht geben, die wie neuerdings noch [A.] Malinin [Hat Dörpfeld die Enneakrunos-Episode bei Pausanias tatsächlich gelöst oder auf welchem Wege kann diesel gelöst werden? Wien 1906 pp. 1—35, cp. id. Zwei Streitfragen der Topographie von Athen Berlin 1901 pp. 21—43 'Die Enneakrunosepisode') and [E.] F. Fuhl [in the Gött. gel. Anz. 1907 clxix. 472 die Dörpfeldsche Hypothese ablehnen, während Jüdelich Topogr. von Athen (München 1905) 179 und Baedeker Griechenland 29. 37 sich ihr angeschlossen hat. Ungelöst bleibt nach wie vor das Rätsel der Pausaniasstelle. Vgl. Frazer Paus. ii. 112'). It amounts to this. Dörpfeld is justified by the spade. But the literary evidence is almost all against him; and at any moment discoveries might be made on the Ilissos-bank. Supra ii. 1116 'the later Kallirrhoe' follows the view of A. N. Skias.

1 Harpocr. s.vv. μορφος και λουτροφορευ — θεος ἦν τοῦ γαμουν λυτρά μετατέμνειν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ γάμου ἡμέραν, ἔπεμψεν δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτα τῶν ἑγώντα γένος παίνα ἄρρενα, καὶ οὕτως λουτροφορέουσαι. ἔθεν δὲ ἦν καὶ τῶν ἀγάμων ἀποθανόντων λουτροφόρους ἐπὶ τὸ μύθος ἐφάπαξ ἤργαζατο: τοῦτο δὲ ἦν πάντα ὑδάτων ἔχων. Λέγοι περὶ τοῦτος Δειμαρχος ἐν τῇ τῇ πάντας Θεοῦν καὶ ἐν τῇ τῇ Καλλακθένους <εἰς (ins. P. J. de Maussac)> αγγελίας (Deinarch. or. 82 frag. 1 Baiter—Sauppe and or. 18 frag. 5 Baiter—Sauppe). διε τὰ τοῦ λυτρά ἐκείμον ἐκ τῆς τῶν μὲν Ἐννεακρούνον καλομνημῆν κρήσις, πρότερον δὲ καλλιρρόης, Φιλοτέφανος (so M. H. E. Meier für Poliocteros) ήτα τοῦ Ἐθος οἱ κομικοί = Σουίδ. s.vv. λουτροφόρος καὶ λουτροφόροι, who omits to mention his sources. Favorin. lex. p. 1192, 27 ff. copies out Harpocr. loc. cit.

2 Hesych. s.vv. λουτροφόρος· κυριος μὲν ἡ ὕδατα τοῦ παλαιοῦ εἰς τὰ λυτρά ἀπονεῖν(γε)ν—μένην (so M. Schmidt für Musurus' ἀπονείμεθαι); ἐκάλουν δὲ οὕτω καὶ τῶν ψεύτων τῶν λυτράτων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ὑδάτων. οὕτως δὲ ἦν καὶ τῶν παίσα ὑδάτα. έπεμπὸ ἔπει ἐπεμπὸς εἰς τῶν γάμου λουτροφόρους, καὶ τούτῳ ἀγάμως ἀποθανοῦν τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπόλαυ (id. s.vv. λουτροφόρα ἄγγιν τὰ ὑδάτα τούτου ἀποθανοῦν ἄγαμος ἔπεμπεν). ἐπεμπὸς δὲ καὶ (εἰς) τῶν γάμων, cp. Phot. lex. s.vv. λουτροφόρος· τὸ ἄγγελον ὅπως ἡ ὕδατα· καὶ λουτροφόροι οἱ θέροι η θέροντα τὸ λυτρόν, Bekker Ascld. i. 276, 23 ff. λουτροφόροι· ὁ ἐν τῇ τοῦ γάμου ἡμέρα πελαγοῦν, παρασκευάζειν τοῖς γαμουτεῖ τοὺς λυτρομένους. Λουτροφόροι δὲ τὰ τῶν ὑδάτων εἶναι καὶ ὑπηρετῶν ἐν τῷ λυτρῷ τοῦ γαμοῦ. Πολ. 3. 43 (quoted ἤθνη p. 372 n. 2).

3 Phot. lex. s.vv. λουτρά· θέος ἐπιτίμησεν εἰς θεοὺς (αἰ. θεοὺς, cp. Steph. Thes. Gr. Ling. iv. 19 B) τοῖς γαμομενέσι καὶ τοῖς γαμοῦσι· ἐφερόν δὲ τὸ μὲν παλαιό αὐτὸ τῆς 'Ἐννεακρούνου λεγομένης κρήσις ὑδρον' νῦν παντόθεν λουτροφόρους εἰς τοῖς γάμοις ἔστησεν καὶ λουτροφόροι ἐπετείθαον τοῖς ἀγάμοις ἐπὶ τῶν τάφων.

24—2
372 Water-carrying in connexion with marriage

pair of animals. The custom was observed in other places besides Athens: at Thebes the water was drawn from the river Ismenos; elsewhere from any convenient source.

If a man died unmarried, his relatives still performed the 'bath-carrying' for him and—we are told—set up over his tomb the representation of a boy with a pitcher, known as a loutrophoros. Similarly, if a woman died unmarried, a girl with a pitcher, that is to say a female loutrophoros, was erected over her tomb. But, since no such statues or reliefs or paintings have come down to us, the testimony of the old grammarians has been discredited. Other ancient authorities, however, state that pitchers called loutrophoroi were placed over those who died unmarried, or that black pitchers called 'Libyans' were set upon their tombs. And these statements

2 Poll. 3. 43 καλουσα δε κα δδες νυμφικα κα τεσπονια κα τοδη κα λουτρα τις κοιμ- ξουνα λουτροφος, 'Αθήνης μεν ει της Καλλιρρής εις αδες 'Εσπερακονθον κληθεται, άλλαχθε δε δεδε και τηχυον έκαλετο δε ταυτα κα νυμφικα λουτρα, cp. Phot. lex. s.v. λουτρα (infra p. 371 n. 4).
4 Beckler anec. i. 276, 27 ff. λουτροφόροι εν το μνήματι πάντας (cp. Dem. adv. Leoch. 30 quoted infra p. 373 n. 1). Εδοι ην 'Αθηνας ταις εφαμαδοι λουτροφοροι επι το μνημα καθιστανειν. τουτο δε ην παις υδριαν έξων, εκ λιθον πεποιημενον.
5 Poll. 8. 66 των θ' αγαμων λουτροφοροι το μνημα φυσιτα, κορη αγαμου έξωνα υδροφορον, υδριων ε σκοχων ε κροσα κα καλια. την δε εφαπτομενη εικας, ετε λουτροφορος ετε ετε άλλη την, εαπτημα 'Ισαίοις κεκληκεν (Isaios απαράγμα frag. 31 Baiter—Sauppe).
6 A. Herzog 'Eine Lutrophoros' in the Arch. Zeit. 1882 xl. 131 ff. supposes that Harpokration and Pollux are confusing the marriage-rite (boy or girl carrying pitcher) with the funeral-rite (pitcher set up on tomb). Furtwängler Samml. Sabouroff Vasen pl. 58 f. p. 3 n. 1 regards Herzog as over-sceptical. But Nachod in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xiii. 2098 says with some justice: 'diese Erklärungen (sc. of Pollux and Harpokration) beweisen nur, wie wenig die späten Lexikographen von solchen Gebrauchen noch wussten.'
7 Eustath. in II. p. 1293, 8 ff. και του παιδου γάμου δε τελευιτων δι λουτροφορος, φασιν, επειτετο καλια ειν ειδειαν τοι δι αλουσ τα νυμφικα κα άγουνος αφειον (context cited infra p. 396 n. 3).
8 Hesych. s.v. λιβαν (L. Dindorf in Stephanus Thes. Gr. Ling. v. 277 ii cj. Αίτια) τας μελανας ιδιας, επι τους ταφοι τεθεμεναν. The name probably refers in primis to the black colouring of these pitchers (Nachod in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xiii. 2099 admits 'Das ziemlich lange Festhalten an der sf. Bemalung,' but demurs to Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. i. 342 'der technische und teilweise auch stilistische Archaismus der schwarzfigurigen Lutrophoren und panathenaischen Amphoren hat unkünstlerische, religiöse Gründe'). But there is, to my thinking, an Aristophanic touch about the phrase, which suggests a secondary allusion to libations (λιβαν etc.), if not also a tertiary allusion (see e.g. supra ii. 2 n. 4) to the Libyan custom of pouring water into a holed jar (supra pp. 358 f. 354. Note also the grave of Antaios, shown at Tingis in Mauretania: it was a hill resembling a man lying on his back; and it was said that, whenever a hole was made in it, rain fell till the hole was filled up again (Mela 3. 106)).
Water-carrying in connexion with marriage 373

can fortunately be confirmed, at least in part, both by literary and by monumental evidence.

Over some of the graves in the 'Dipylon' cemetery at Athens stood a huge sepulchral jar, measuring from three and a half to nearly six feet in height. Such jars might be kratres, but were more often four-handled or two-handled amphorae. They are regularly decorated with scenes representing obsequies or funeral sports, and— an important feature—they have either no bottom or a bottom with a hole left in it. A. Brückner and E. Pernice, after a careful study of the subject, came to the conclusion that the jars were holed in order that libations might filter through the earth beneath and so reach the dead. This may well be. Yet A. Milchhöfer was certainly right when he claimed kinship between the 'Dipylon' amphorae and the black-figured or red-figured loutrophdros of later Athenian times— vases of an elongated and graceful shape, from ten to forty inches in height, usually furnished with a hole through the bottom, and painted with scenes of prothesis or of marriage-rites according as they were intended to play their part at a funeral or a wedding. Surviving specimens of the loutrophdros, listed by Nachod, range in date from the last decade of the sixth century.

1 Dem. adv. Leoch. 18 oδ ό τολµός δὲ χρόνων δασητων... ἡρώφητεν ὁ Ἀρχίςτης, καὶ τελευτῶν βων ἀπότομο τοῦ Μεσαλίδου ἐγαμοί ὑσ. τι τοῦτον σημεῖον; λουτρόφορον ἐθέτετον ἕν τῷ τοῦ Ἀρχίςτης τάφῳ, 30 καὶ ἡ λουτρόφορος ἐθέτετε πάντα τῷ τοῦ Ἀρχίςτης ∼μήκεις.


4 E.g. S. Wide in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1899 xiv. 201 ff. no. 22 fig. 69, Collignon—Couve Cat. Vases d'Athènes p. 42 f. no. 200 pl. 11, Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. iii. 1 fig. 10.

5 Supra ii. 1056 with fig. 911.

6 Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art vii. 60.


8 See the important monograph of G. P. Oeconomus De profusionum receptaculis sepulcralibus Athenis 1921 pp. 1—60 with 17 figs. (especially p. 22 ff. ‘Vasa funebria perforata,’ p. 33 ff. ‘Sulcra perforata,’ p. 37 ff. ‘Sulcra tubum exhibentia’).


11 Nachod in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xiii. 2100 records 25 loutrophoros, of which he assigns 5 to the last decade of s. vi, 7 to the first third of s. v, 5 to the middle of s. v, 8 to the last third of s. v. See also Graef Ant. Vasen Athen p. 128 ff. nos. 1144—1198 pls. 68—70, H. B. W[alters] in the Brit. Mus. Quart. 1938—1939 iii. 43 f. pl. 24 a, b, R. H[inks] ib. 1930—1931 v. 11 f. pl. 4 a, b.
374 Water-carrying in connexion with marriage

Fig. 236.

Fig. 237.
Loutrophóros in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York:

(1) Whole vase showing mourners with loutrophóros above, mourners at próthesis below, and subsidiary zones of lions and horsemen.

(2) Detail of same vase.

See page 375 n. 1.
Water-carrying in connexion with marriage 375
to the last third of the fifth century B.C. (pl. xxxv, figs. 236—239). A point connecting them with the 'Dipylon amphorae' is that some early examples have their handles adorned with snakes, while many have rims and handles marked with a snaky pattern. The usage of loutrophóroi lasted on into the fourth century, and late examples, made on a smaller scale, acquired a third handle under the influence of the three-handed hydria. Other evidence of the shapes taken by fourth-century loutrophóroi may be found in the magnificent series of marble stelai yielded by Attic graves. These extend in

1 W. Zschietzschmann 'Die Darstellungen der Prothesis in der griechischen Kunst' in the Ath. Mitth. 1928 lii. 17—47 pls. 8—18 includes useful lists of Attic black-figured loutrophóroi (pp. 40—43 nos. 44—83) and Attic red-figured loutrophóroi (p. 44 ff. nos. 95—117). The finest example of the former is that in New York published by G. M. A. Richter in the Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art 1928 xxiii. 54—57 figs. 1—3 and dated c. 525 B.C. My pl. xxxv is from the official photograph, kindly lent by Mr C. D. Bicknell. I also figure :

(a) Three broken specimens found together at Trachones near Athens and now at Berlin (Furtwängler Vasensamml. Berlin i. 371 ff. nos. 1887—1890; G. Henzen in the Ann. d. Inst. 1843 xv. 276 ff., Mon. d. Inst. iii pl. 60 (a composite drawing, of which my fig. 236 a, b is a part), O. Benndorf Griechische und sicilische Vasenbilder Berlin 1877 p. 6 nos. 3—5). The main design on each vase is a black-figured prothesis, with mourners on the neck and animal-zone or horsemen below.

(b) A vase in the Louvre (CA. 453) (M. Collignon 'Loutrophore attique à sujet funéraire' in the Mon. Piot 1894 i. 49—60 with figs. 1 and 2 and pls. 5—7, Perrot-Chipiez Hist. de l'Art x. 674 ff. figs. 365, 370, 371, Corp. vas. ant. Louvre iii i pl. 56, 1—3 (=my fig. 237 a—c) with text p. (45) by E. Potter). The main design is a red-figured prothesis, with red-figured mourners on the neck and black-figured horsemen towards the foot. J. D. Beazley in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1910 xxx. 67 no. 35, id. Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 71 no. 19 assigns the vase to the Kleophrades painter ('Schüler des Euthymides'), cp. Leonard in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 803 no. 35 ('Zeitgenosse des Euphronios oder Euthymides').

(c) A vase from Athens, now at Berlin (Furtwängler Vasensamml. Berlin ii. 645 ff. no. 2372, id. Samml. Sabouroff Vasen col. pls. 58 main subject, 59 ensemble (=my fig. 238). The body-design is a red-figured bridai procession, with an elongated female figure on either side of the neck.

(d) A vase found at Athens and now in the Schliemann collection (P. Wolters 'Rotfigurige Lutrophoros' in the Ath. Mitth. 1891 xvi. 371—405 figs. 2 (=my fig. 239)—4 and col. pl. 8). The main design is a red-figured scene of dedications at a sepulchral stèle, the dead man being apparently represented as an equestrian statue.

2 Supra ii. 1055 fig. 911. 3 Supra pl. xxxv. 4 Supra pl. xxxv and figs. 236—239.

A last term in the series may perhaps be found in a fluted hydria of red ware from Kourion in Kypros, formerly in the Pierides collection and now in mine (fig. 240 a—d. Height: 144 inches). This vase too has no bottom to it, and is further pierced under its three handles by three holes, the purpose of which is not clear (? to prevent contents rising above the level of the handles, even if foot were blocked).

376 Water-carrying in connexion with marriage
Water-carrying in connexion with marriage 377

Fig. 240.

"a"

Fig. 240.
378 Water-carrying in connexion with marriage

Fig. 240.
Water-carrying in connexion with marriage 379

Fig. 241.

Fig. 242.
380 Water-carrying in connexion with marriage

stately sequence from the close of the fifth century down to the year 317 B.C., when Demetrios of Phaleron passed a sumptuary law that no monument should be erected on a grave-mound but a small pillar, not exceeding three feet in height, or a table-like slab, or a bath-basin. Accordingly we see loutrophoroi in the round, sometimes quite plain and presumably painted (fig. 242), sometimes exquisitely carved with a profusion of motives—vegetable (fig. 243), animal (fig. 244), human (figs. 244, 250), divine (fig. 245)—and further

1 Demetrios of Phaleron περὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων νυομοθέσεως (Diog. Laert. 5. 80) frag. 9 (Frag. gr. Hist. ii. 963 f. Jacoby) ap. Cic. de legg. 2. 65 sepulcris autem novis finivit modum: nam super terrae tumulum noluit quid statute, nisi columellam, tribus cubitis ne altiorem, aut mensam, aut labellum: et huic procurationi certum magistratum praefecerat. The columellae, of which there is a large collection in the National Museum at Athens (the tallest specimen, that of Poplios Memmios Syntrophos, measures 1'63 m in height, or 1'76 m inclusive of its rough end) and very few elsewhere (e.g. that of Thrason in the British Museum (E. L. Hicks The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum i. 144 Oxford 1874 no. 85, Corp. inscr. Gr. i no. 658, Corp. inscr. Att. iii. 2 no. 174 Θράσος | Θρασοφώτωρ | Κεκυρωθείς in lettering of 100—50 B.C. A. Conze Die attischen Grabreliefs Berlin—Leipzig 1911—1922 iv. 18 no. 1793 gives bibliography and photograph), are usually of Hymettian marble. They are cylinders that taper slightly towards the bottom, and were either stuck in the ground or inserted in a holed stone socket. Near the top they have a projecting collar, which sometimes shows traces of fillets painted in red. The mensae are solid plinths, oblong in plan, with upper and lower mouldings. They originally served as bases for sepulchral vases or stelai (A. Bruckner Der Friedhof am Eridanos Berlin 1909 p. 99 f. fig. 64 three mensae still supporting portions of marble vases on their flat tops, A. Conze op. cit. iv. 14 f. no. 1769 a mensa decorated, exceptionally, with a loutrophoros in relief on the front and traces of a stèle let into the top). The labella are best represented on a South Italian hydria at Bari (inv. no. 1369, A. Conze op. cit. iv. 6 f. with fig. (=my fig. 242)), as no complete examples have come down to us. But numerous short fluted pillars with spreading foot, obviously basistands, are known. See further A. Conze op. cit. iv. 5 ff.

2 From the Elgin collection, now in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture i. 325 no. 683, E. L. Hicks The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum i. 151 Oxford 1874 no. 105, Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 3 no. 3239, A. Conze op. cit. Berlin 1906 iii. 364 no. 1715 pl. 367, 1 (=my fig. 241)). The circular plate on the top is, as usual, missing. The roughened foot was meant for insertion in a stone base. Details must have been added in colour. And there was presumably a painted design, to which the name ΦΑΙΔΙΜΟΣ : ΝΑΥΚΡΑΤΙΤΗΣ inscribed on both sides in neat fourth-century lettering has reference. White marble. Height 1'035 m.

3 Still in situ outside the Dipylon at Athens (C. Curtius in the Arch. Zeit. 1871 xxix. 30 no. 76, Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 3 no. 3754, A. Conze op. cit. Berlin 1893 i. 49 no. 208 pl. 56 (=my fig. 243)). On the left side of the πόρος base is inscribed ΗΥΡΗΡΩ | ΚΥΦΟΣΟΔΟΡΟ (sic) : on the vase, over the man, ΗΥΡΗΡΩ; over the woman, ΠΑΜΦΙΛΗ. Under the relief is a strip painted red. White marble. Height 1'54 m.

4 Fragment found at Spata in Attike, now at Constantinople (Mendel Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople ii. 91 f. no. 335 fig., A Milchhöfer in the Att. Mith. 1887 xii. 92 no. 49, A. Brueckner Ornament und Form der attischen Grabreliefs Strassburg 1886 p. 33 no. 3, A. Conze op. cit. Berlin 1906 iii. 367 no. 1730 pl. 374 (=my fig. 244), Reinach Rép. Reliefs ii. 177 no. 1). The handle is formed by a πίστρις with dragon’s head, spiky body, and fish’s tail. On a large leaf is a young Satyr dancing to the left with a chlamys thrown loosely round him. He raises his right hand, which is open, and lowers his left, which
Water-carrying in connexion with marriage 381

Fig. 243.
adorned with a sepulchral subject (fig. 243). Or, again, we have loutrophóroi in low relief represented, with varying degrees of complexity, on upward tapering tombstones (figs. 246—250) and, holds a lagobolon. Pentelic marble. Height 0'57 m. The same type recurs in A. Conze op. cit. Berlin 1906 iii. 307 f. nos. 1730 a and 1731, cp. 1732.

8 G. A. S. Snijder 'Une représentation eschatologique sur une stèle attique du iv e siècle' in the Rev. Arch. 1924 ii. 37—45 pl. 3 has proved (1) that the youthful figures on the handles mentioned supra n. 4, with which must be grouped those of the relief shown infra fig. 250, are not mere mortals, but dancing Satyrs as conceived in the second half of s. iv b.c.; and (2) that they are present, not as purely decorative features, but as significant symbols of the Dionysiac faith (p. 43 f. 'Sans doute, leur caractère symbolique n'est pas accusé; mais un "bon entendeur," c'est-à-dire un initié comprenait sans hésiter leur langage. Ils expriment à la fois l'espoir et le voeu que le jeune défunt...soit reçu, sous les traits d'un bienheureux Satyre1 (Cf. Dieterich, Nekyia, p. 78), dans le thiasé de Dionysos et les champs fréquentés par les bienheureux2 (Suivant l'Anthologia Palat., vii, 37, on voyait sur le tombeau de Sophocle un Satyre tenant à la main un masque. On se demande si c'était seulement une personification du drame et non pas une allusion à l'ordre d'idées étudié dans cet article...').

6 Fragment found en thèse Μονομάχι δήμων Φολης, now in the National Museum at Athens (no. 2546) (A. Conze op. cit. Berlin 1906 iii. 309 no. 1733 a pl. 375 (= my fig. 245)). The handles enclose two crudely worked Sirens beating their heads and breasts. Pentelic marble. Height 0'52 m.

1 (a) Found near the church of Hagia Trias in the Kerameikos at Athens (K. Schoell in the Bull. d. Inst. 1870 p. 146 ff. no. 4, Kaibel Epigr. Gr. no. 34, Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 3 no. 2339, Congny Anth. Pal. Append. 2. 48, A. Conze op. cit. Berlin 1906 iii. 295 no. 1357 pl. 285 r (= my fig. 246)). The akroterion or pediment of the stèle is missing. The decoration of the loutrophóros was doubtless ecked out in paint. Right and left of the vase, from above downwards, runs a four-lined epigram, which U. Köhler transcribes.
Water-carrying in connexion with marriage

Fig. 246.

Fig. 247.
384 Water-carrying in connexion with marriage

πότεν Σωφρόνη, θύγατερ μεγαλόφρονος Αιδών, πελώτα σε τιμήσας εὐπάθεμον τε
Αρετήν || Κλεόδημος Μελαντεύς Κλεόδημδον ἑυθάδε κεύσω [Ἰὸς] πατρι - μη — — — — — —
Hymettian marble. Height 1'40m.

(θ) From Athens, now the property of Trinity College, Cambridge (J. Stuart—
pl. 2, 4, A. Michaelis Ancient Marbles in Great Britain trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge

Fig. 248. Fig. 249.

1882 p. 270 Cambridge no. 111, Kaibel Epigr. Gr. no. 49, Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 3 no.
1994, A. Conze op. cit. Berlin 1900 ii. 214 no. 1006 pl. 195 3 (= my fig. 247)). The sunk
relief on the vase shows an older man, who wears a himation, advancing from the left to
clasp the hand of a younger man, who has a chlamys round his arm. Each man is
accompanied by a dog. The flat cornice of the pediment is inscribed [Ἰόθεκρατος
ΗΛΙΑΙΟΣ (?) (P. P. Dobree), ΔΙΑΙΟΣ (K. O. Müller), [ΟΙΝ]ΑΙΟΣ (?) (A. Boeckh),
ΛΒΑΙΟΣ (?) (A. Conze), ΛΕΙΑΙΟΣ (A. Michaelis), [ΕΙΤΙΕΛΙΟΣ (U. Köhler). On
the stele, above the vase, is the epigram ἑυθάδε τῷν πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ τέρμα μοιλότα]
Water-carrying in connexion with marriage 385

[Ἐνθικρατεῖ τατρα βάλν ἐκάλαμε τάφων, μητρὶ διλος καὶ πτατρί, κασα[γ]ήταις τε τοιθείων ταυτηροι τοιαυτον ηλικίας. Pentelic marble. Height 1'22m.]

(a) From Γονδι near Ambelokipi, now in the National Museum at Athens (A. Milchhofer in the Ath. Mitth. 1888 xii. 355 no. 693, Corp. inscr. Alt. ii. 3 no. 1810, A. Conze op. cit. Berlin 1906 iii. 293 no. 1350 pl. 283 (=my fig. 248)). The rounded akrotérioν is decorated with finely wrought ἄκανθος-leaves, palmettes, and central lotos-

Fig. 250.

bud (symbol of resurrection). The highly ornamental loutrophóros has a tainta slung from its handles. Above the vase is the inscription Ἀριστογέταν Νικίου Αλεπεκήβεε. Pentelic marble. Height 0'95m.

(d) Found to the west of Καλύβια Κουβάρας, now in the National Museum at Athens (A. Milchhöfer in the Ath. Mitth. 1887 xii. 283 no. 181 pl. 9, A. Conze op. cit. Berlin 1900 ii. 904 pl. 178 (=my fig. 249), Reinach Rép. Reliefs ii. 409 no. 3). The akrotérioν shows in relief a Siren beating her head and breast. The handles of the loutrophóros terminate below in inverted ducks'-heads (swans'-heads?), and must have been finished in colour. The sunk relief on the body of the vase represents a woman with long hair, in

C. III.
386 Water-carrying in connexion with marriage

finally, on the downward tapering pillars prescribed by Demetrios (fig. 251)\(^1\).

\[\text{chiton} \text{ and } \text{himation}, \text{ bringing a } \text{tainia to tie on a large one-handled } \text{loutrophoros.}\]  
Beyond it are seen a second woman with long hair, who is followed by a third woman, both similarly clad. White marble. Height 1\text{.5}8\text{m}.

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\(^1\) Found near the church of Hagia Trias in the Kerameikos at Athens (\textit{Corp. inscr.})
Ceramic evidence further assures us that a *loutrophoros* might be carried by a mourning maiden in the funeral procession (fig. 237), and set up on the summit of the grave-mound—a custom traceable from the early fifth to the late fourth century (fig. 253). Again, we

1. From a red-figured *loutrophoros*, dating from the first third of s. v, in the Louvre (supra p. 375 n. 1 (b)).
2. *Supra* ii. 1056 ff. fig. 912.

M. Mayer in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 310 n. 2 and P. Wolters *ib.* p. 389 ff. with fig. (= my fig. 252) draw attention to an early yellow-ground *kythos*, from Eretria, at Athens.

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Fig. 252.

(Collignon—Couve *Cat, Vases d’Athènes* p. 330 no. 1061), on which, behind a woman with a basket of funeral offerings, is a large *amphora* set on a rectangular base and decorated with a cavalier in black-figured technique. The black figure and the long handles strengthened with struts indicate that the *amphora* is of terra cotta.

3. Extract from the reverse design of a red-figured *amphora*, careless in style, found at Ruvo, now at Naples (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 204 no. 2147, R. Pagenstecher *Unteritalische Grabdenkmäler (Zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslands xcv)* Strassburg 1912 p. 27 f. pl. 13 a, id. in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1912 xxvii. 103 n. 1, G. P. Oeconomus *De profusionum receptaculis sepulcralis Athenis* 1921 p. 25 f. fig. 4 (= my fig. 253)). As is often the case, the vase shown resembles in shape the vase upon which it is painted. Pagenstecher rightly infers from the black figure that the vase shown is of terra cotta, not metal, and observes that its foot is firmly planted in the grave-mound.

Oeconomus *op. cit.* p. 27 f. fig. 5 cp. the reverse design of a red-figured neck-*amphora*, careless in style, found at Nola, now in Petrograd (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Ptt.* 1866 p. 38 no. 25 with fig. on p. 67 (= my fig. 254), *id. Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 220 no. 1598). Between two Ionic columns, on which are perched a soul-bird (Siren), and an owl, is seen a large one-handled jug half-sunk in the ground.
Water-carrying in connexion with marriage

gather from vases that a *loutrophoros* might be borne by a young girl in the bridal cortège (fig. 255), or decked with myrtle-sprays (fig. 256) and set beside a pair of similarly decked *lebetes* (figs. 257, 258).

1 A red-figured *loutrophoros* at Athens (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d' Athènes* p. 391 f. no. 1225), assigned to 'Der Frauenbadmaler' (J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rothfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 431 no. 6), who flourished c. 430—420 B.C. (M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* New Haven: Yale University Press 1929 p. 193), has (a) a wedding procession, in which the bride (bowed head, myrtle-wreath above, Eros hovering near) is preceded by a young girl bearing a *loutrophoros* and accompanied by women with torches to the sound of the double flute; (b) a conversation between two women, of whom one holds up a decorated coffer (T. Sc(h)reiber in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1876 xlvi. 333 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* x pl. 34, 1 (= my fig. 255), O. Benndorf in the *Wien. Vorlegebtl.* 1888 pl. 8, 2, P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 381 no. 18 with fig., Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 206, 3, M. Collignon in *Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant.* iii. 1318 fig. 4558).

2 A fragmentary three-handled vase, of red-figured technique, found at Athens (P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 382 no. 21 with fig. (= my fig. 256)), shows among other bridal preparations a woman holding a three-handled *loutrophoros*, which has a row of white dots round its shoulder and three sprigs of myrtle in its mouth.

3 (a) A red-figured *pyxis* from Athens, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 366 f. no. E 774, Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 289 pl. 57, 3 (= my fig. 257), C. Lécivain in *Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant.* iii. 1649 fig. 4862, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 346 no. 4, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rothfigurigen Stils*...
Water-carrying in connexion with marriage 389

which presumably contained water for the bath of bride and bridegroom.1

Tübingen 1925 p. 429 no. 2), attributed—first by Furtwängler—to 'Der Eretriamaler,'
who flourished c. 430—420 B.C. (M. H. Swindler Ancient Painting New Haven: Yale
University Press 1929 p. 193), depicts preparations for a wedding. These include a one-
handled, black-figured loutrophoros, visible behind a rouge-pot of alabaster (?) on a coffer,
while two black-figured bridal lebeses are set on stands near by—all three vases being
similarly adorned with myrtle-sprays.

(b) A red-figured epinetron or énas by the same painter, from Eretria, now at Athens
(Collignon—Couve Cat. Vases d'Athènes p. 503 ff. no. 1588, P. Hartwig in the 'Eph. 'ApX
1897 pp. 139—142 pl. 9—10 (of which the second half=my fig. 268), C. Lécridain in
Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 1649 ff. fig. 4863, Hoppin Red-fig. Vases i. 345 no. 1,
Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. ii. 567, 570, iii. 220 fig. 561, J. D. Beazley Attische

Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 439 no. 1), again introduces a black-
figured loutrophoros and a pair of black-figured lebeses on stands, decorated with sprigs
of myrtle by women, while the bride and the bridal bed are seen through the open door
of the thalamos.

1 A black-figured amphora from Kameiros, now in the British Museum (Brit. Mus.
Cat. Vases ii. 131 no. B 197 pls. 5 (=my fig. 259) and 6), and sometimes attributed to
Amasis (L. Adamek Unsiegarte Vasen des Amasis Prague 1895 p. 41 ff., Hoppin Black-
its obverse design the nuptials of Zeus and Hera (R. Foerster Die Hochzeit des Zeus und
390 Water-carrying in connexion with marriage
Water-carrying in connexion with marriage

Fig. 258.

Fig. 259.
392 Water-carrying in connexion with marriage

What is the meaning of these customs, and why should a ceremony performed at a wedding also be performed, or at least imitated, at the burial of a bachelor or spinster? A typical case may serve to point the question. Here, for example, is a stele in the Ny Carlsberg collection (fig. 260). Hippon, son of Agonippos, has died unwed...
Water-carrying in connexion with marriage 393

and will leave no children to carry on the proud tradition of knightly names. His mother Philostrate, seated in the foreground, looks with steadfast gaze at the young man's face, while she clasps his hand for the last time. His father, a bearded figure with furrowed forehead, stands in the background leaning on a staff and lays a detaining hand on the lad's shoulder. And in the centre of the little gable above their heads is carved in low relief the wedding-vase. Now, how is this seemingly inappropriate addition to be explained?

Is it to be regarded as a pathetic reminder of all that might have been? Hardly so. That would be modern, not ancient, sentiment. The Greeks did not care to be reminded of their sorrows, and we never find in their graveyards such a poignant symbol as a broken column. M. Collignon, taking a more practical, not to say prosaic, view, holds that the vase commemorates the 'chthonian bath'—a final act of the obsequies, in which water for washing the dead was brought to the tomb. But, if so, we are left wondering how a rite once common to all the dead ever came to be restricted to those that died unmarried.

More to our purpose is an explanation advanced by Sir J. G. Frazer:

'It may be suggested that originally the custom of placing a water-pitcher on the grave of unmarried persons...may have been meant to help them to obtain in another world the happiness they had missed in this. In fact, it may have been part of a ceremony designed to provide the dead maiden or bachelor with a spouse in the spirit land. Such ceremonies have been observed in various parts of the inscription on the cornice is ΠΝΩΝΑΩΝΙΓΟΕΙΡΑΕΥΣΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΗ. The termination of 'Λουρίππο points to a date in the first half of 5. iv B.C. Pentelic marble. Height 1'40m.

For the loutrophoros thus placed Poulson cp. the stele of Silenis, daughter of Myiskos, at Berlin (no. 1492, R. Kekulé von Stradonitz Die Griechische Skulptur Berlin—Leipzig 1922 p. 186 f. with fig., Reinach Rép. Reliefs ii. 40 no. 3), which has for abrötrëia a Siren flanked by a loutrophoros on its right and a Sphinx on its left.

2 Hdt. 6. 31.
3 M. Collignon in Darmberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 1379.
5 Frazer Pausanias v. 389 ff.
water-carrying in connexion with marriage

world by peoples who, like the Greeks, esteemed it a great misfortune to die unmarried.'

The examples quoted in support of this explanation prove beyond all doubt that *post mortem* marriage is or has been a widely prevalent custom.

But marriage with whom? O. Schrader, who more than once attacked the problem, summarised his contentions as follows:

'It is only by comparing the Greek customs with those of other Aryan peoples that we can discover the meaning of this custom. We then find that the placing of the bridal *λουτροφόρος* on the grave of unmarried people represents the symbolical preservation of a custom...still very wide-spread among the Slavonic races...a ceremonial imitation-marriage was celebrated at the graves of unmarried men and maidens, during which a bride or a bridegroom was there and then assigned to the dead person* (*Remains of this custom are found also in Germany; for in Hesse the coffins of single men who have died must be accompanied by "wreathed girls," who must wear mourning for four weeks, etc. (cf. [C.] Hessler [Hessische Landes- und Volkskunde Marburg 1904 ii. 152]). The third and last stage of the custom under discussion is presented to us in the accounts of the Arabs regarding the oldest Slavonic and Russian conditions of life. According to them, not only...was the wife of the dead *married man* given to him as a companion in death, but the single man too was, after his death, *married in regular fashion* to a young girl, who also was therefore doomed to die (cf. Mas'ūdī, *Les Prairies d'or*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, Paris, 1861—1865, ii. p. 9, n. 7). One of these "death-weddings" is described in detail by the Arab Ibn Fosslan (text and translation ed. by C. E. Frähn, St. Petersburg, 1823 [See now Miss H. L. Lorimer 'A Scandinavian Cremation-Ceremony' in *Antiquity* 1934 viii. 58—62, an article which includes a fresh and full translation made from the text of Ahmad bin Fudhlan by Miss C. Waddy]). But it follows from isolated traces that the custom of the wife dying along with her husband was prevalent also in Greece in prehistoric times (cf. Pausanias, ii. 21. 7), and in the story of the Trojan maiden Polyxene, sacrificed at the grave of Achilles, there exists also on classical soil a case of the barbarian custom of "death-marriage".'

Thus, on Schrader's showing, the death of a bachelor or spinster once involved the provision and actual killing of a human consort—a grim practice, which had indeed left lasting traces of itself in mythology, but in real life had long since decayed into a mimetic ceremony and thence into the mere symbolism of the marriage-vase.

Mr J. C. Lawson viewed the matter from a somewhat different standpoint. He too regarded the *loutrophóros*-rite as implying that

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1 First in his monograph *Totenhochzeit* Jena 1904 pp. 1—38, then in his book *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte* Jena 1906, 1907 ii. 219 f., ii. 335 n. 3, 531, lastly in his *Reallex*. ii. 558—561 s.v. 'Totenhochzeit.'


3 J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 pp. 556, 560.
a definite marriage awaited the dead bachelor or spinster. But he treated it as one out of many facts tending to establish the important conclusion that, in Greek belief, every man might look forward to becoming the groom of Persephone, every woman to becoming Hades' bride:

'Custom past and present, ancient literature, modern folk-song, all agree in their presentation of death as a marriage into the house of Hades.'

To me it seems that the opinions of Schrader and Lawson are not mutually exclusive. It may well be (though the evidence for it is slight) that in prehistoric times the dead bachelor demanded—like Achilles (?)—a bride to keep him company. And, when this savage custom had dwindled into a set of merely mimetic rites and symbols, it may well have left behind it the feeling that the prematurely dead must needs be married somehow in the world beyond the tomb. If so, the great wave of oriental influence which swept the Mediterranean c. 600 B.C. and the subsequent (or consequent?) growth of Greek mysticism very possibly intensified a latent belief in the divinity of the dead. The Egyptian identification of the mumified man with Osiris is at least paralleled by the Orphic declaration:

Happy and blest one, a god thou shalt be in place of a mortal.

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1 Supra ii. 1164 n. ii.
2 See the objections raised by P. Stengel in the Woch. f. klass. Philol. Mai 3, 1905 pp. 489—491 and by F. Kauffmann in the Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie 1907 xxix. 138f. and answered by O. Schrader Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte Jena 1906, 1907 i. 220 n. 1, ii. 335 n. 3, 532. Stengel loc. cit. p. 490 n. 3 aptly quotes Loukian, de luctu τοιούτης...καὶ ἀνάθεμας...ἐνικηθήσαν...διὸς χρησμοῦν ἑκέν καὶ ἀπολαύσωσιν αὐτῶν κάτω;
3 Supra ii. 760 f.
4 See e.g. A. Erman A Handbook of Egyptian Religion trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 p. 95 ff., H. R. Hall in J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1908 i. 440 b—443 a, A. M. Blackman ib. 1920 xi. 132 a—b ('Identification with Osiris'), Frazer Golden Bough: Adonis Attis Osiris ii. 16 ('Thus every dead Egyptian was identified with Osiris and bore his name'). Supra p. 343.
5 One of the gold tablets from Orphic graves of s. iv—iii B.C. near Thourioi (Supra ii. 118 n. 2) gives the verse διὰ τοὺς καὶ μακαριστεῖ, θέλε δι' ἑαυτόν ἄνωροφον (Inscr. Gr. Sic. It. no. 641, 1, 14 ff., G. Murray in Harrison Proleg. Gk. Rel. 2 p. 667 no. 5 (with facsimile), H. Diels Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker Berlin 1912 ii. 176 Orph. frag. 18, Orph. frag. 32 c, Orph. frag. 23 c, Orph. frag. 32 d, 4 Kern), which seems to have been spoken by the mystagogos or hierophantas of Persephone (so J. H. Wieten De tribus laminis aureis quae in sepulcris Thuriniae sunt inventae Amsterdam 1915 p. 118). Another tablet of the same date and provenance substitutes the prose formula θέλες ἔγγεντος ἐκ ἄνθρωπου (Inscr. Gr. Sic. It. no. 642, 4 ff., G. Murray loc. cit. p. 662 no. 3 (with facsimile), H. Diels op. cit. ii. 175 Orph. frag. 20, 4, Orph. frag. 32 f, 4 Kern). Cp. yet another, of s. i or more probably s. ii A.D., from Rome, which has the would-be hexameter Καταφύγα Σκοποῦσα, ὦ βασιλεῦ | ὧν ὁ δᾶς γένωσα (G. Murray loc. cit. p. 672 no. 8 (with facsimile) reading θαὶ for δᾶ, H. Diels op. cit. ii. 176 f. Orph. frag. 19 a, Orph. frag. 32 g, 4 Kern).
Water-carrying in connexion with marriage

Final felicity for the divinised, but unmarried, dead would be felt to imply a marriage-union in the house of Hades. The Orphic initiate in fact carried with him to the tomb, engraved on a golden tablet, the assurance that he had become the very consort of Despoina. And such hopes in less tangible form were certainly entertained by wider circles.

But, if the sepulchral loutrophoros is thus reducible to a nuptial loutrophoros, we have yet to enquire what meaning attached to them both. Eustathios, though he does not reach a satisfactory solution of the problem, at least goes some way towards one.

'The ancients,' he says, 'treat river-water as something solemn....Bridegrooms had their bath fetched from a river as an omen of fertility....And over those that died before marriage the so-called bath-carrying pitcher was set, to show that the deceased took his departure unbathed of the bridal bath and unfertile withal.'

This insistence upon the idea of fertility is right. Water-carrying, whether for the married living or for the unmarried dead, was a fertility-charm of a simple and intelligible sort. As such it can be paralleled by a variety of popular customs. But the employment of a holed vessel for the purpose justifies us, if I am not mistaken, in defining the fertility-charm more nearly as a rain-charm. Rain, as we shall have occasion to note, was the very means by which Father Sky impregnated Mother Earth.

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1 Supra i. 650 n. 0, ii. 119 n. 2, 132 f.
2 Supra ii. 1163 f.
3 Eustath. in II. p. 1293, 6 ff. οί δὲ παλαιοί σημαίνοντο τὸ ποτάμων ὕριστον, καὶ ταῦτα λέγοντες τὸ λοτρόφον ἐκ ποταμοῦ τοῦ νυμφώς ἔκμετάλλευσαν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ ὕμιλον τὸ στράτου ταῦτα δέχοντο εἰς τὰς πηγὰς. γώμα γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἄρρανα καὶ τοῖς πρὸ γάμου δὲ τελευτῶν ὁ λουτρόφορος, φασί, ἐπεῖθε τὸ κάλεσαν εἰς ἐνδεικνύσιν τὸν ὅτι ἄλοντο τὸ νυμφώδα καὶ ἄγνωστο ἀπεθανεί (supra p. 372 n. 7).
5 Infra p. 452 ff.
Water-carrying in connexion with the mysteries.

Water-carrying in a holed vessel reappears in connexion with the mysteries. Polygnotos in his famous fresco of the Underworld (painted shortly after 458 B.C.\textsuperscript{1}) represented certain women bearing water in broken pitchers: one of them was in the bloom of youth, the other advanced in years; and an inscription common to them

\textsuperscript{1} So A. Reinach \textit{Textes Peint. Anc.} i. 86 n. 1, 90 n. o followed by Miss M. H. Swindler \textit{Ancient Painting New Haven}: Yale University Press 1929 p. 202 n. 20.
both set forth that they were of the uninitiated. Further, the same picture showed a *pithos*, an elderly man, a boy, and a couple of women—one young, the other elderly. They were all bearing water; but the old dame’s pitcher seemed to be broken, and she was emptying into the *pithos* such water as was left in her crock. Pausanias¹, who saw the fresco in the Cnidian Lesche at Delphi, adds: ‘We inferred that these persons also were of the number of those who held the Eleusinian rites of no account.’ In thus connecting the two groups of water-carriers and assuming one label for the lot Pausanias was almost certainly correct². An approximate arrangement of the contiguous figures may be seen in C. Robert’s clever reconstruction (fig. 26i)³.

Platon in his *Gorgias* (written between 399 and 388 B.C.⁴) likewise states that in Hades the uninitiated carry water in a sieve to a holed *pithos*⁵. Indeed, their punishment became proverbial⁶, and can be illustrated from more than one extant vase-painting.

¹ Paus. 10. 31. 9 ff.  
² With lithographic pl., drawn by H. Schenck (part of which = my fig. 26i).  
⁴ W. von Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* München 1912 i. 670.  
⁵ Plat. *Gorg.* 493 a—c  
⁶ The circumstance that the intervening figures are said to have been on a higher level than the first group removes all difficulties in the way of bringing the two groups of *daimonoi* together.
An archaic black-figured amphora, formerly in the Canino collection and now at Munich\(^1\), has for obverse design (fig. 262)\(^2\) four winged souls emptying pitchers into an enormous pithos partly sunk in the earth: the presence of Sisyphos rolling his stone up a hill shows that the scene is laid in the Underworld, as does the reverse design (fig. 263)\(^3\) of Herakles dragging off a two-headed Kerberos. Both sides of the vase may be indebted to some sixth-century fresco, 

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\(^1\) Jahn Vasensamml. München p. 49 f. no. 153.  
\(^2\) Inghirami Var. fitt. ii. 56 ff. pl. 135, E. Gerhard Über die Flügelgestalten der alten Kunst Berlin 1840 pp. 5 n. 3, 17 pl. i, 8, Müller—Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst ii. 4. 40 pl. 69, 866, A. Baumeister in his Denkm. iii. 1924 fig. 2040, W. H. Roscher in his Lex. Myth. i. 952 with fig. on p. 950, Harrison Proleg. Gk. Rel.\(^2\) p. 616 f. fig. 164, ead. Themis\(^2\) p. 539 f. fig. 151.  
\(^3\) Inghirami loc. cit. pl. 136.
not recorded in literature, but very possibly illustrative of Orphic teaching.1

Again, a black-figured lekythos, which was found in 1820 beneath the feet of a skeleton buried on the slope of Monte Saraceno near Ravanusa in southern Sicily and is now preserved in the Museo Nazionale at Palermo (pl. xxxvi and fig. 264)2 depicts men and women hastening to empty vessels of various shapes into a huge

Fig. 263.

1 The late Orphic poem xαρδάθανς εἰς Ἀιδοῦ (on which see A. Dieterich Nekyia Leipzig 1893 pp. 128 ff., 136 ff., Ganschietz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. x. 2400 f., O. Kern Orphicorum fragmenta Berolini 1922 pp. 304—307, W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* München 1924 ii. 2. 984 n. 7) may well have had metrical fore-runners; and Orphic influence is already traceable at Athens in s. vi B.C. (L. Malten 'Altorphische Demetersage' in the Archiv f. Rel. 1909 xii. 417 ff.).

2 T. Panofka in the Arch. Zeit. 1848 ii. 284 ff. ('eine Parodie des Gemäldes des Polygnot...sowohl der Scene in der Frauen und Jünstlinge als Hydrophoren sich einem grossen Fass nähern zur Anspielung auf die Strafe der Danaiden, Sterbliche darstellend, die während ihres Lebens die 'Mysterien nicht achteten, als der Fabel des Ocnos'), H. Heydemann ib. 1870 xxvii. 42 f. no. 22 with pl. 31 (= my fig. 264) ('Wir haben eine Parodie der Danaiden und des Oknos vor uns'), A. Furtwängler in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1890 v Arch. Anz. p. 24 f. ('eine sehr ernste Darstellung...Es sind eben noch nicht die Danaiden..., sondern allgemeine Bilder der Seelen und ihrer Pein, weshalb auch nicht auffallend ist, sie auch männlich gebildet zu finden. Ferner ist Oknos mit dem Esel dargestellt,...'), Harrison Proleg. Gk. Rel.2 p. 617 f. fig. 165 ('emphatically not Danaides...but "Uninitiated"... The ass and...Oknos'), Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. i. 311 ('Schwerlich mit Recht hat man...eine Mythenparodie in dem Unterweltbild...finden wollen.... Die allzu schmächtigen Körper und grossen Köpfe, einzelne lange Nasen und drollige Bewegungen wirken zwar in diesem Zusammenhang auch auf den geschulten Betrachter leicht komisch, sind aber schwerlich so gemeint'). Pl. xxxvi is from a photograph kindly supplied to me by Prof G. M. Columba and E. Gabrici.
Lekythos from Monte Saraceno, now at Palermo:
the uninitiated in the Underworld, together with Oknos and his ass.

See page 400f. with fig. 264.
with the mysteries

πθός, as before planted deeply in the ground. Here Oknos and his ass\(^1\) serve to fix the locality. The lively and humorous rendering of the whole scene makes it difficult to resist the impression that there is present an element of intentional caricature. And if so, the artist was conceivably inspired by some actual pre-literary performance of a mimic or comic sort, though when and where escapes us\(^3\). Be that as it may, of these two vases the first probably, the second certainly, shows the penance of the uninitiated in general, not that of the Danaides in particular.

The same may perhaps be said of a splendid 'Apulian' krater, which came to the Munich collection from a grave near Canosa\(^3\). This famous vase dates from the second half of s. iv B.C.\(^4\) and is

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1 A. Furtwängler *loc. cit.* rightly interpreted the lame ass and the lame driver looking stupidly at the sticks, which have fallen from his pack, by a reference to Apul. *met.* 6. 18 iamque confecta bona parte mortiferae viae continueris (so J. van der Vliet for *continuaueris* codd. F. g. *continuaveris* codd. φ g (man. rescript.) claudum asinum lignorum gerulum cum agasone similii, qui te rogabat decidentis sarcinae fusticulos aliquos porrigas ei; sed tu nulla voce deproperta tacita praeterito (a variant version of Oknos and his ass). F. Boll 'Oknos' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1916—1919 xix. 151—157 holds that this curious figure originates in a 'Traumphantasie' of the sort known as 'Behinderungstraum' (cp. *II*. 22. 199 ff. (=Verg. *Aen.* 12. 908 ff.), 23. 99 ff., *Einn. ann. frag.* 28. 6 ff. Baehrens). He cites (after A. Grünwedel in the *Original-Mittheilungen aus der ethnomologischen Abtheilung der königl. Museen zu Berlin* 1885 i. 42, W. H. D. Rouse in *Folk-Lore* 1890 i. 409, Frazer *Pausanias* v. 377 f.) a Buddhist parallel from the seventh dream of the king of Kosala (*Jataka Tales* edd. H. T. Francis and E. J. Thomas Cambridge 1916 p. 84 f.: "A man was weaving rope, sir, and as he wove, he threw it down at his feet. Under his bench lay a hungry she-jackal, which kept eating the rope as he wove, but without the man knowing it. This is what I saw." Etc.).

2 O. Gruppe and F. Pfister in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 43 f. discuss the appearance of the Underworld in the comic and satyric drama of s. v B.C.

3 The same grave yielded the Medeia-krater, described and illustrated *supra* i. 251 f. pl. xxii.

4 *Supra* p. 370.

C. III. 26
decorated with an essentially Orphic design (pl. xxxvii). Hades, sceptre in hand, sits on a sumptuous throne in his nether palace, while before him, holding a cross-topped torch, stands his bride Persephone. Round them are grouped the stock denizens of their realm. To the right appear the judges of the dead—the kingly figure of Aiakos, Triptolemos wreathed with the springing corn of Eleusis, Rhadamanthys with hoary hair and a brow furrowed by thought. Above these is Dike, who executes their sentence. She guards with drawn sword Peirithoos; for he must remain a prisoner, though his friend Theseus, thanks to Herakles, is about to return to the upper air. Below we see Herakles himself dragging a three-


3 Supra p. 299 n. 7.

4 The three judges of this vase have been variously identified:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tantale</th>
<th>Cronos</th>
<th>Rhadamanthys (F. Creuzer in the Heidelbergerische Jahrbücher der Litteratur 1817 ii. 798)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lyceus</td>
<td>Kronos</td>
<td>Radamanto (Inghirami op. cit. i. 144 f.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tantalo</td>
<td>Crono</td>
<td>Minos (E. Gerhard in the Arch. Zeit. 1843 i. 202)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhadamanthys</td>
<td>Aeakos</td>
<td>Minos (C. O. Müller op. cit. i. 55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minos</td>
<td>Aiakos</td>
<td>Rhadamanthys (A. Winkler Die Darstellungen der Unterwelt auf unteritalischen Vasen Breslau 1888 pp. 10, 25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minos</td>
<td>Triptolemos</td>
<td>Rhadamanthys (Harrison op. cit. p. cxlv f.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aiakos</td>
<td>Triptolemos</td>
<td>Furtwängler—Reichhold op. cit. i. 48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eaco</td>
<td>Trittolemo</td>
<td>Radamanto (P. Ducati op. cit. ii. 458.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An analogous group on the vase from Altamura (Heydemann Vasensamml. Neapel p. 510 ff. no. 3222, infra p. 423 n. 2 (a)) is inscribed ΤΡΙΟΡΤΟΛΕΛΟΣ, ΑΙΑΚΟΣ, ΠΑΔΑΙΜΑΝΟΥΣ. The only reasonable doubt is, therefore, whether on our vase the series should be called A + T + R or R + T + A. I have followed Furtwängler and Ducati, though with some hesitation.

Krater from Canosa, now at Munich:

Orpheus leads a family of initiates into the presence of Hades and Persephone whose palace is surrounded by the stock denizens of the Underworld.

See page 401 ff.

[From Furtwängler-Reichhold Griechische Vasenmalerei pl. 109 by permission of Messrs F. Bruckmann A.G., Munich.]
Headed Kerberos away from Hekate and her torches towards some folk-lore motif of the inimmobilised hero and thinks that it may have originated in dream-phenomena [cp. II. 22. 199 f.] ultimately occasioned by paralysing fear.

1 Both in literature and in art there was a natural tendency to make the monster more monstrous still. Heads could always be multiplied, and tails turned into snakes. It must, however, be borne in mind that a dog with fifty or a hundred heads could hardly be visualised unless, as Acr. and Porphyry in Hor. od. 2. 13. 34 long since suggested, the heads were those of snakes. Similarly J. P. Postgate in his preface to M. Bréal Semantia trans. Mrs H. Cust London 1900 p. xvii ff. (id. in the Class. Rev. 1905 xix. 412) argues that such polycephalism connotes a frill of serpentine heads, like those of Typhoeus (J. Schmidt in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 1429 f.) or the Hydra (Bötle in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ix. 45 f.).

Hes. theog. 767 ff. gives the dread of the under-world god a tail and two ears, presumably therefore one head. But the same author (according to F. Jacoby ed. Berolini 1930 p. 87, a rhapsode of s. vii—vii) ib. 310 ff. describes ravening Kerberos, the bronze-voiced hound of Hades, as fifty-headed. Hor. od. 2. 13. 34 f., perhaps in imitation of Pind. frag. 249 Bergk 4 ap. schol. A. B. V. 11. 368 (though schol. Hes. theog. 311 suggests some confusion with the Typhos of Pind. Pyth. 1. 16 or the Typhon of Pind. frag. 93 Bergk 4 ap. Strab. 627), makes him a beast with black ears and a hundred heads. Aristophanes more than once paints Kleon as a Kerberos (ep. 1017, 1030, paœ 313) whose head was fringed by a hundred flatterers with flickering tongues (vesp. 1029 ff. = paœ 751 ff.). Hor. od. 2. 19. 39 ff. mentions Kerberos' tail and his three-tongued mouth, 'trilinguis' or—curious phrase, which does not mean (as A. F. Nauck supposed) a single mouth with three tongues, or a triply forked tongue, in it, but (as J. C. Orelli—J. G. Baiter—W. Hirschfelder urge) three mouths with a tongue in each. Horace was pleased with the conceit, for he repeats it in od. 3. 11. 15 ff., where the hound has a hundred snakes about his head and a three-headed mouth, 'ore trilinguis'—again a precious description of the three-headed type (pace S. Ettrem in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 272). Soph. Trach. 1097 ff., normal in this as in so much besides, calls him "Διόν τρίκαρον σκύλα ..." [dei] 'Εχιδνας θρέμα, and Eur. Hf. 24 f. βιβεκής 'εσ' Αδον τόν τρισώματον κόνα | ές φώς ἀνάζων, 611 καὶ θήρας ζές' ές φώς τόν τρίκαρον φάγαν, 1277 f. 'Αδον πυροφόρον κόνα τρίκαρον ές φώς | διόπτο πορεύωμαι follows suit. Latin writers in general settled down to the belief that he was three-headed (Cic. Tusc. 1. 10 trices apud inferos Cerberus, 2. 22 (in a rendering of Soph. loc. cit.) tricipitem...Hydra generatum canem, Verg. Aen. 6. 417 latratu...triafaci, Tib. 3. 4. 88 cui tres sunt linguae tergeminumque caput, Prop. 4. 7. 52 tergeminumque canis, Ov. trist. 4. 7. 16 tergeminumque regnum tuetur, (R. Peiper cf. latera) concubitions sono | regnum tuetur, Ovid. 594 trices...cerberus, Sil. It. 6. 629 triplicis monstri, Stat. Theb. 2. 53 f. Letique triformis | ianitor, sen. 3. 3. 27 tergeminus custos, Hyg. fab. 151 canis Cerberus trices, Aug. 151 canis inferorum canis, Fulgent. myth. 1. 6 tria habere capita). Hence he was Τριάκρος par excellence (Loukian. philopatr. 1. cp. pseudolog. 29). But the title Τριάκρος, which frequently figures in late sources (Serv. in Verg. Aen. 1. 133, Fulgent. myth. 1. 6, Myth. Vat. 1. 92, 102, 108, 2. 11, 2. 154. 10. Malal. chron. 3 p. 62 Dindorf, Kedren. hist. comp. 81 c (i. 143 Bekker), Soud. i.v. Köpp. Tetz. chil. 2. 751, Kosmas of Jerusalem ad carm. Greg. Naz. index 64 (xxxvii. 676, cp. 493, Migne)), is of less certain interpretation: the rationalists at least took it to mean merely a dog of monstrous size.

On the 'ring of Nestor,' a handsome gold signet found in the ancient tholos-tomb at Kakovatos above the Pylian Plain, Sir A. J. Evans claims to detect 'the solitary glimpse that we possess of the Minoan Underworld, and of the admission of the departed into the realms of bliss' (Sir A. J. Evans in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1925 xlv. 43—74 figs. 42, 44, 45, 55 [= my fig. 265: scale f], pl. 4, 2 intaglio, col. pl. 5 restoration as fresco (1), id. The Palace of Minos London 1928 ii. 2. 481 fig. 292, 1930 iii. 146—157 figs. 94, 95, 96, 104, col. pl. 20 a, S. Reinach in the Rev. Arch. 1925 ii. 302 f. fig. 16, 26—2
P. Couissin, ib. 1926 ii. 81 ff. (is sceptical of ‘le Hadès avec Hermès psychopompe et Cerbère, et l’arbre sacré qui rappelle de si près l’ulmus opaca de Virgile2 (2Entédé, vi, 283’)), J. Charbonneaux in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1926 xxxix. 100 fig. 1, Nilsson Min.-Myc. Rel. pp. 549—556 (compares the ‘Tree of Life’ in the garden of the Hesperides protected by the snake Ladon, but thinks that the whole ring ‘may merely represent some cult scenes performed in an open-air sanctuary beneath the shadow of an aged tree’). The chief feature in the design is an old, leafless tree, with wide-stretched boughs, sprouting from a mound, on which couches ‘an animal, apparently intended for a dog.’ Here Sir Arthur sees a parallel to the Scandinavian world-tree, the ash of Odhin’s steed, Yggdrasil, whose roots were gnawed by the serpent Nithöggr (K. Simrock Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie5 Bonn 1878 p. 36 ff. (‘Die Weltesche’), J. Grimm Teutonic Mythology trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 796 ff., 1888 iv. 1331, 1535 ff., E. H. Meyer Germanische

Fig. 265.

with the mysteries

paraphrase of Genesis and Exodus by Georgios Choumnos of Chandax (Candia) in Crete (F. H. Marshall Old Testament Legends from a Greek poem on Genesis and Exodus by Georgios Choumnos Cambridge 1925 p. 24 ff. 471 ff. kědēn δένημι, όλλά φίλον σωμά πρός τό πατάμιν, ὧν ὁ διὸς εὐδέλεσα ὁ φίλος σάτο καλάδιν. κάθεν δέρα δένημι καὶ τραγούλα, αὐτοῦ τός φίλον δενήμι, ἀποκοιτά σαν, τὰ μήσια. ἀραγχασμένον ὁτον δότα φιλοδέκτε υπεραμένου, ἢτον ἐκ τοίν παντερήμων, τὰ φόλλα μαστιχέμον. ἐγένετο τίς μήσις τοῦ δένημος, μέκα τῆς παράδεισου, καὶ αὐτοῦ εῖνώς ξυνέρχουσιν ὀποία βάθη τῆς ἀβσοῦν. καὶ ἔτει παθέκεις φασκοτόν εἰς τὴν κορήν τοῦ δένημος, ὃς νύμφας μεγάλομος ἰδένεσθε δίκοις μέτρον, 'Hard by the river-banks there rose a tree exceeding tall, Wherewith the serpent had deceived his (sc. Seth's) mother to her fall. | Wild beasts of every tribe and kind were gathered all around, | About the roots of that high tree they couchèd upon the ground. | The barks had fallen to the earth o'erspun with spider's weft; | The tree was dry and desolate and of all leaves was reft. | . . . . There in the midst of Paradise he looked at the tree's roots, | Down to the bottom of the abyss its fibres deep it shoots. | And lo! on the tree-top a babe, and swaddling bands he wears. | That babe incessantly did weep unmeasurable tears'), and compares for some details the Arab fable of Kalila and Dimna (of which a Greek version was made c. 1080 A.D. by Symeon Seth: K. Krumbacher Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur München 1897 pp. 615, 617, 896) (Kalila and Dimna, or the Fables of Bidpai trans. W. Knatchbull Oxford 1819 p. 80f. cap. 4 'I therefore compared the human race to a man, who, flying from a furious elephant, goes down into a well; he suspends himself from two branches, which are at the brim of it, whilst his feet rest upon something projecting out of its sides, which proves to be the heads of four serpents appearing out of their holes; at the bottom he discovers a dragon with its mouth open ready to swallow him if he should fall; and raising his eye towards the two branches, he sees two rats, one white and the other black, which are incessantly gnawing their stems; at the same moment his attention is arrested by the sight of a bee-hive, and beginning eagerly to taste the honey, he is so taken up with its sweetness, that he forgets that his feet are resting upon the serpents, that the rats are gnawing the branches to which he is hanging, and that the dragon is ready to devour him; and thus his inconsiderateness and folly only cease with his existence,' cp. Io. Damask. (more probably a Greek monk Ioannes writing c. 600—650 A.D. in the ancient Palestinian monastery of S. Sabas: see K. Krumbacher op. cit. p. 888) v. Bartlaam et Iosaph 12 (xcvii. 976 A—C Migne, p. 186 ff. ed. H. Mattingly)). A harvest of relevant material is garnered by U. Holmberg in the Annales Academiæ Scientiarum Fennica Series B xvi. 3 ('Der Baum des Lebens') Helsinki 1921—1923 pp. 1—157 with 50 figs. and in The Mythology of all Races: Finno-Ugric, Siberian Boston 1927 pp. 333—360 with pl. 42 and figs. 13—15. See also supra ii. 88 n. 3. Sir A. J. Evans concludes: 'The hound that on the ring is seen acting as guardiau of the World Tree may legitimately be regarded as the Minoan forerunner of

Fig. 266.
4.06 Water-carrying in connexion
with the mysteries
Cerberus.’ If so, on a ring which Evans would refer to the period ‘Late Minoan i’ (c. 1550—1500 B.C.) Kerberos has but a single head.

H. B. Walters in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 296 f. draws up a list of 49 vases representing the subject of Herakles and Kerberos. Of these—

1 Corinthian *skyphos* shows Kerberos with 1 head and a frill of snakes.
2 ‘Caeretan’ *hydriai* show 3 heads and a frill of snakes.
1 Attic black-figured vase shows 2 dogs’ heads and 1 snake’s head.
31 Attic black-figured vases show 2 heads.
5 Attic red-figured vases show 2 heads.
1 Attic red-figured vase shows 1 head.
6 ‘Apulian’ vases show 3 heads.
1 relief-vase shows 3 heads.

I illustrate the main ceramic types: (1) the Corinthian *skyphos* from Argos (A. Conze in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1859 xvi. 36 f. pl. 125, 32 (half of which = my fig. 266), 36, 3 = Reinach Rep. Vases i. 389, 1, 2, 5. F. A. Furtwängler in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 2205, O. Immisch ib. ii. 1121 with fig. 1. Hades, threatened with a stone by Kerberos, springs up from his throne in alarm and leaves Persephone to face the intruder, whom Hermes has conducted in safety past the entrance of the underground palace and its ravening watch-dog). (2) a ‘Caeretan’ *hydria* (E. Pettier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 2ème Série Paris 1901 p. 66 no. 701, A. Conze in the Ann. d. Inst. 1859 xxxi. 398 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* vi pl. 36 ( = my fig. 267) = Reinach Rep. Vases i. 153, 3. F. Dürnbach in Darenberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 98 fig. 3711. Herakles brings Kerberos to Eurystheus, who takes refuge in his palace. (3) an Attic black-figured amphora from Aigina, now in the British Museum (H. B. Walters in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 292 ff. fig. 6 (= my fig. 268). Herakles, escorted by Hermes, drags Kerberos from the palace of Persephone. The monster has 2 heads, a leonine mane, and a snaky tail). (4) the ‘Apulian’ *krater* from Canosa (supra pl. xxvii).

On coins there is a like variation. An electrum *stater* of Kyzikos, struck c. 450—400 B.C., shows two heads, with a collar round either neck, and a snaky tail (B. V. Head in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1876 xvi. 284 pl. 8, 24, W. Greenwell ‘The electrum coinage of Cyzicus’ ib. Third Series 1887 vii. 116 f. no. 141 pl. 6, 3, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia p. 31 pl. 8, 2 (= my fig. 269), Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1443 f. (wrongly described) pl. 176, 8 (cp. ib. 9 a similar hétée at Paris), Head *Hist. num.* 5 p. 525). A unique silver *drachme* of some Etruscan town, now in the British Museum, has for reverse design a three-headed hound with a snaky tail (F. Bompois ‘Drachme inédite frappée dans l’Étrurie’ in the Rev. Arch. 1879 i. 28—38 with fig., Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 49 f. pl. 71, 30 (= my fig. 270), Sambon *Monn. ant. It.* i. pl. 21, Head *Hist. num.* 5 p. 15). Bronze coins of Italy inscribed RVB and possibly issued by the gens Rubria (J. Millingen *Considérations sur la numismatique de l’ancienne Italie* Florence 1841 p. 233, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 13 no. 50 have obv. bearded head of Hercules with club, rev. three-headed Cerberus (Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 59 pl. 77, 1 and 2 (= my fig. 271), Babelon *Cat. Monn. gr. de Lugnese* i. 6 no. 18 pl. 1). Similarly bronze coins of Capua have obv. beardless head of Hercules with club, rev. three-headed Cerberus (Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 88 pl. 86, 28, Head *Hist. num.* 5 p. 35). At Sebastopolis in Pontos, a town so devoted to Herakles that it was also known as Herakleopolis (W. Ruge in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii A. 956), Caracalla struck a bronze piece with rev. Herakles, wearing lion-skin and grasping club, as he drags after him a three-headed Kerberos (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 57 no. 68 pl. 5, 4 Berlin, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d’As. Min.* i. 194 no. 15 pl. 15, 3 (= my fig. 272) Berlin). Other renderings of the same scene on bronze coins of Germe (Head *Hist. num.* 5 p. 650) and Saittai in Lydia (Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinasi. Münzen* i. 182 no. 1 pl. 6, 14). See further Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 477 f., Suppl. i. 1738 f., Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 454 f., F. Gnechi in the *Rivista italiana di numismatica e scienze affini* 1916 xxix. 38 (‘Cerbero’).

The variation in gem-types is even greater. A cornelian scarab in the British
with the mysteries

Museum, early Ionic rather than Etruscan in character (A. Furtwängler in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 2212 fig.), shows Herakles carrying off the Delphic tripod: the hero is accompanied by Kerberos, a hound with a single head, snakes starting from his back, and a snaky tail (Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems p. 75 no. 620 pl. 11, Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i. pl. 8, 9, ii. 38, Lippold Gemmen pl. 38, 13 p. 173 ('Archaïsch (italisch-griechisch)'). My fig. 273 is after Lippold: scale \( \frac{1}{2} \)). A cornelian scarab of late Etruscan style, formerly in the Durand collection, gives the hound three heads (E. Braun in the Bull. d. Inst. 1839 p. 103 no. 38, Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i. pl. 18, 49 (= my fig. 274: scale \( \frac{1}{2} \)), ii. 90, Lippold Gemmen pl. 83, 6 p. 180). Another Etruscan scarab, of the same material and style, now at Berlin, shows the three heads facing, not in profile (Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums Leipzig

1889 p. 151 f. pl. 25, 36 (= my fig. 275: scale \( \frac{1}{2} \)), Furtwängler Gesch. Steine Berlin p. 27 no. 263 pl. 5), and yet another, of the same description, in the British Museum, makes Herakles lead Kerberos by a triple leash fastened to a collar on each of his three necks (Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems p. 89 no. 723 pl. 12, A. S. Murray and A. H. Smith in The Encyclopædia Britannica Cambridge 1910 xi pl. 2, 48, H. B. Walters The Art of the Greeks London (1906) pl. 93, 17). But a fourth scarab of the same sort, likewise in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery p. 258 f. no. 2273 fig. 73, 19 pl. 46 = Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems p. 105 no. 895 fig. 42, 19. My fig. 276 is from a cast: scale \( \frac{1}{2} \), and a convex chalcedony of early Roman date in the Berlin collection (Furtwängler Gesch. Steine Berlin p. 104 no. 2153 (cp. no. 2154 paste) pl. 19, id. Ant. Gemmen i. pl. 29, 2 (= my fig. 277: scale \( \frac{1}{2} \)), ii. 143) give the hound two heads only. A sardonyx of late imperial style at Berlin (Furtwängler Gesch. Steine Berlin p. 322 no. 8792 pl. 62

Fig. 269.  
Fig. 270.  
Fig. 271.  
Fig. 272.  
Fig. 273.  
Fig. 274.  
Fig. 275.
Water-carrying in connexion

(= my fig. 278: scale 1) and a jasper of like kind in the British Museum (Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller 1889. Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums Leipzig p. 151 pl. 25. 35 (= my fig. 279: scale 1)) figure him with a canine body, but three serpentine heads.

It would thus appear that Kerberos started with one head, and that in Attic art he normally has two, but that in old Ionic art he had already acquired three, and that this threefold type ultimately prevailed. J. P. Postgate in M. Bréal Semantics trans. Mrs H. Cust London 1900 p. xx ff. rightly insists on his snaky adjuncts (for which see especially O. Immisch in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1133 (citing Hekataios frag. 346 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 27 Muller) = frag. 27 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 14 Jacoby) ap. Paus. 3. 25. 5 Εκαταίων μὲν ὁ Μιλτηρός λόγον εἰρεν ελεύθ., ὁδον ὄφθασα ἐπὶ Τάυναρμο προφήται διενέργ. κυκλῆθη τῇ Ἀιδών κώνα, διὸ ἔδω τὸν δηλιθέντα τεθύνα τεραμικὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ λόθ. καὶ τοῦτον ἔφη τὸν ἄφιν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἐκθέθαι παρ' Ἑλεοσθέα) and S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 274),

but ib. p. xxiv wrongly explains his double and treble heads (‘Let us hazard a conjecture. May not the double head of the κλων Ἀιδών, the iaminor Ori, whose duty it was to keep the threshold of the lower world from being trespassed on from either side, be compared to the double aspect of the god of the doorway, upon which his triple head is a later refinement to symbolize the ῥόδος or forking of the ways, the one leading to Elysium and the other to Tartaros [Plat. Gorg. 524 A]?’). We should rather conceive of the duplication and triplication as early efforts at multiplication, implying intensified power to watch and to bite.

Single, double, and treble heads are found again in the case of Orthros or Orthos, the hound of Geryones (O. Hofer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1217 f.), who had the same mother as Kerberos, viz. Echidna (id. ib. iii. 1215), and appears in fact to have been his doublet.

At this point we must note the ingenious view of M. Bloomfield ‘The Two Dogs of Yama in a New Rôle’ in the Journal of the American Oriental Society 1893 xv. 163—172,
with the mysteries 411


Gruppe Cult. Myth. orient. Rel. i. 114 summarises its case thus. In a prayer interpolated into the Rig-Veda and in several of the more recent Vedic poems (see especially Rig-Veda 10. 14. 10—12) Yama is invoked to protect the deceased from the two spotted four-eyed dogs of Suśrāma, watchers that with wide nostrils and ravening mouths roam the world as the dark messengers of death. These dogs in the Rig-Veda have no names, but in later Indian writings are called respectively Sārma 'the Black' and cabala 'the Motley'—epithets presumably drawn from the aforesaid passages of the Rig-Veda. The dictionary of Amara [Amarasipha Amarakosha] gives also karbara, karvura, karvara as meaning 'dappled,' and this according to Kuhn was the form from which cabala arose. Karvara, Karbura is to be compared with Κέφεψος. See further Monier Williams A Sanskrit-English Dictionary Oxford 1872 p. 995 ('kabala... darkness—[cf. probably Gr. Κέφεψος]), J. van den Gheyn Cerber, Etude de mythologie comparée Bruxelles 1883, E. W. Hopkins The Religions of India Boston etc. 1895 p. 132 n. 3 ('Κέφεψος (= Cabala) = Čarna'), Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 408 ('Kerberos, der "Bleiche," cp. Hesych. s.v. κέφεσος = künduos, τάρατος, ψηφίς. και κώσ τειχίδιον (τραχήδων). Doubts are expressed by H. Oldenberg La religion du Vida Paris 1903 p. 459 n. 3, Rohde Psyche i. 306 n. o, A. A. Macdonell Vedic Mythology Strassbourg 1897 p. 173, J. P. Postgate in the Class. Rev. 1905 xix. 412, Schrader Reallex. ii. 501 ('Jedenfalls haben sich alle sprachlichen Gleichungen wie griech. Κέφεψος = sct. āvarana-, cālīta- (Beiname eines indischen Totenhunds), griech. Tārατος = sct. talttala- (später Name einer bestimmten Hölle), griech. Έπελας = sct. sramelýa- (von den Hunden der indischen Totenwelt gesagt), griech. Mvως = sct. māmhu u. a., von denen man früher auf das Bestehen derartiger und zwar schon sehr ausgebildeter lgd. Toten- und Höllereiche geschlossen hat, als hinfällig erwiesen').

Uncertainties abound; but on the whole I incline to accept as probable the following conclusions: (1) The two hell-hounds of Yama, at first nameless, then called Cyama 'Black' and Cabala 'Motley' (cp. āvarana 'dappled, dark'), came to be viewed as Night and Day respectively, and even as Moon and Sun (F. Max Müller Contributions to the Science of Mythology London 1897 ii. 628 ff. 'Thus in the Kāthaka-sūkṣmā XVII, 14, it is simply stated that the two dogs of Yama were day and night. And in the Kāth.-brāhmaṇa we read: "Sabala, the speckled, is the day, Sārma, the dark, is the night." Sometimes these two dogs represent not only day and night, but even sun and moon... Thus we read in Ath.-veda vi, 80——'He (the sun) flies through the air, looking down upon all beings, we desire to do homage with havis to thee (who art) the majesty of the heavenly dog.'...
But the moon also was called the heavenly dog. In Sat.-br. xi, 1, 5, 1, we read: "He (the moon) is the heavenly dog; he watches the animals of the sacrifice." See further M. Bloomfield in J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1910 iii. 317-8). (2) The name Kerberos is akin to πόρφα 'dappled, dark.' But we can hardly suppose that Kerberos and Orthros formed an original pair resembling the dogs of Yama. And that for two reasons. In the first place, Kerberos and Orthros belong to different myths, and are brought together only by a pedigree-making rhapsode of the seventh or even sixth century B.C. (Hes. theog. 309 ff. ὃρδον μὲν πρῶτον κύνα γένατο Γηρμονήν: | δεύτερον αὐτίς ὕπτευν διάχασαν, οὗ τὰ φατέκια | Κέρβερον ὀρμητή, Ἀἴδεα κύνα χαλκεό- | φωνών, | k. t. l. with the comments of F. Jacoby ed. 1930 p. 87). In the second place, if Kerberos corresponds with Ἑβαλα (cp. πάνα), he ought to be the dog of daylight. And, if Orthros is analogous to Ὄχαμα, he should be the dog of darkness. But, of the two, Kerberos is the more suggestive of darkness, and Orthros of dawn. I accordingly infer that the Greeks had but one hell-hound—Kerberos, of whom Orthros or Orthros was a mere variant or doublet.

Kerberos is still remembered by the peasants. At Koiliméno, a village in Zakynthos, B. Schmidt Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder Leipzig 1877 pp. 178 ff., 266 f. heard a song containing a graphic description of the three-headed hound that keeps guard over the dead (no. 39. 13 ff. Charon says ἔχω ὄρτρο ἑώρω σκυλῆ, π' ὀδοὺς μᾶς μᾶς φοίλει, κ' ἄντας μὲ ἵππο, ταρατεία τε καὶ θελε νὰ μὲ φάρ. | εἶναι σκυλῆ τρίκεφλο, τόσοι καϊ σά φωτία, | ἔχει τὰ νίκην πυντυρα καὶ τὴν ὁδὰ μακρά. | βγάνει φωτία 'φ' τὰ μάτια του, ἀπὸ τὸ στόμα λάβρα, | ἡ γλώσσα του εἶναι μακρά, τὰ δόντια του εἶναι μακρά. | κ' ἄντας πενιάει, τὰ δόντια τοῦ τ' ἔνα μὲ τ' ἄλλο σκάει, | ἄν νὰ ἴδουν ἑκεῖ κάτω φάβρος τοῦ πελακε). Schmidt's suspicion that this song was not an 'echtes Volkslied' (id. Das Volksleben der Neugriechen Leipzig 1877 i. 245 n. 2) is countered by J. C. Lawson Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion Cambridge 1910 p. 99 f., who notes (a) that in a folk-tale from Zakynthos the hero, enamoured of the Mistress of Earth and Sea (τῆς κυρᾶς τῆς γῆς καὶ τῆς θαλασσῆς), has to obtain the skin of the three-headed snake and the crest (?) (τὸ κόκκαλο, literally 'bone') that it wears on its heads (B. Schmidt Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder pp. 79 ff., 227 no. 7 'Die Herrin über Erde und Meer' translation of an unpublished text, J. C. Lawson op. cit. pp. 91 ff. summary and identification of ἡ δίσεωσα with Demeter, 99 'This is Cerberus without doubt; and if the story calls him "serpent" rather than "dog," ancient mythology and art alike justify in part the description'); (b) that in an Albanian tale from Riza the hero, who descends into the Underworld to get a golden hair from the hero, who descends into the Underworld to get a golden hair from the beauty of the earth, finds her guarded by a three-headed hound that sleeps neither by day nor by night (J. G. von Hahn Griechische und albanesische Marchen Leipzig 1877 pp. 1786 f., 266 f. Carmina Graeca medii aevi (Oct. 1498 A.D.) 210 ff. (W. Wagner Carmina Graeca medii aevi Lipsiae 1874 p. 39) πολλοὶ εἶναι τοῦ ψυχῆς τῆς συνεργοῦν καὶ κάθεις τὰ πάραν — ἰμμένῃ ἑωρῶ θυρώντα σε ἔμαθε διὰ ν' ἀνάθηκε, | καὶ ἐν σκιαστῷ τρομάσει σε—νῶται ἁρμὸν τὸν τρομάσχεν, | ἐκάνεις τὸν Κέρβερον κατασταδιασάλατος, | πρὸσωπον ξενοχάραγα, κορμά καὶ ἄκτα πράσιγμα, | μετά γυμνά τὰ πράσισσα σου, νὰ τῇ διὸ σύνε γράμμα, | ταϊς εὔμορφαις καὶ κληλή σου νὰ ἥξεις βασιλεία σου, | κρατῶν ταῖσεν ἄρματα καὶ μὲ τὰ δράτανα σου). Endlich sei noch an ein Lied bei Passow n. 467 b erinnert, das ich indessen auch nicht für ein wahres Volkslied halte, wo v. 16 die Wörter ἐγγενὸς ἐπάτης (ἡ σκύλη τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν schwerlich anders als auf den Hellenhund bezogen werden können (vgl. Pass. Ind. Verb. p. 633 u. Σκύλα ['canis Tartari']), wiewohl die Art seiner Erwähnung seltsam genug ist [A. Passow Popularia carmina Graeciae recentiores Lipsiae 1860 p. 350 no. 467 δὲ ἀνίκους ἀνθρώπους (after
with the mysteries

T. Kind) 11 ff. ἢθελε καὶ ἀγόρασε τὸ ἱππομο ψαμμίτικον, | στὴν κάμπρα της τῷ βαλε, σφαλιάνει μονοχές, | μοῦνα στὴν κότα τῷ βαλε μὲ τὸν γλυκανθάνα, | τὸ ἱππόκαι καὶ τοῦκενα τὰ κύπερνα χωμάδα. | μὲ σταῖς εἰκοσισικάνερει ἔθεμεν ἦ τῷ ψυχή της, | στὴν κόλασαν ἐπέκαθεν ἦ σκόλα τῷ ψυχή της, | ἐπέκαθα της καὶ τὰ μαλάκα ἀπὸ τὴν κεφάλα της).


G. Loeschecke Aus der Unterwelt Dorphai Livonorum 1888 pp. 1—12 with fig. argues from the fragment of a Clazomenian sarcophagus in the British Museum (not in A. S. Murray Terracotta Sarcophagi Greek and Etruscan in the British Museum London 1898, but published by F. Winter in Ant. Demh. i. 34 frags. e pl. 45, 3, copied by P. Perdrizet in the Revue des études anciennes 1904 p. 14 fig. 2 and thence by C. T. Seltman in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1894 xviii. 116 which would relate Zeus Σκυλλάτος to σκύλα, σκόλα, σκόλα, contending that coins of Kydonia (id. Numismatique de la Crète ancienne Mâcon 1890 i. 104 pl. 9, 22—26, 107 pl. 10, 2, 109 pl. 10, 10, 111 ff. pl. 10, 12—14, 21, 26,
414 Water-carrying in connexion

Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 1029 ff. pl. 261, 5—8, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 28 ff. pl. 7, 4, 7, 15, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 179 ff. pl. 41, 8 (= my fig. 280), 11, 12 (= my fig. 281), 14 (= my fig. 282), *McLean Cat. Coins* ii. 492 f. pl. 239, 9, 13, *Weber Cat. Coins* ii. 521 f. nos. 4437, 4446 pl. 161, *Head Hist. num.* ii. p. 463 f. fig. 247 have for reverse type, not Miletos, son of Apollon by Akakallis daughter of Minos, suckled by a wolf (Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 1134 "lupa infantem lactans, vel cerua est, Mileto vbera praebens"). Ant. Lib. 30 (after Nikandros ἐπιρομοιωμένων β') τοῦτον ἀκακαλλα κλέασα Μίνω ξέβαλεν εἰς τὴν θλήνην, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιφοινίσκετο λεκοὺς μοιλήν ἁπόλλωνος ἐφόλλατον καὶ ὀργεῖν παρὰ μέρος γάλα, nor yet Kydon, the eponymous founder of the town, suckled by a bitch (so first W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. xxxiii, followed by most modern authorities. Wroth notes that Kydon, like Miletos, was a son of Akakallis by Apollon (Steph. Byz. s.v. Κυδώνια, cp. schol. *Od.* 176. Schol. *Theokr.* 7. 12 c p. 83, 1 f. *Wendel* says, by Hermes, cp. *Alex. Polyhist.* frag. 33 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 231 f. *Müller* ap. schol. *Ap. Rhod.* 4. 1493), though admittedly 'no legends of his infancy are related in the Authors'), but Zeus nurtured by a hound—a contention insufficiently supported by the thunderbolt, which on certain specimens (e.g. fig. 281) appears as a symbol beside the type. W. Aly in *Philologus* 1909 lxviii. 450 n. 8 proposes to connect Zeus Σκῆλλος of Crete, Dionysos Σκῆλλατας of Kos, and Σκῦλης the mythical diver of Skione (Hdt. 8. 8) with Σκῦλα. This amounts to the same thing, if Skylla was early interpreted as σκῆλακ (Od. 12. 85 ff. ἐνθα δ' ἐν Σκῆλλῃ μαλαθεῖν ἔλεον λελακίαν τῆς ἄρης φως ἐν δη θάλασσα ναογνήθη | γίνεσται, αὐτὴ δ' αὕτη πέλαρκακων κ.τ.λ.) and perhaps represented as a dog (on a clay seal-impression of the Middle Minoan iii period (1700—1580 B.C.) from Knossos published by Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 57 f. fig. 36 (= my fig. 283: scale ½) and *da capo* in his *Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 597 f. fig. 520 as 'Prototype of Skylla'). Even in her later semi-human form she remains essentially connected with dogs (O. Waser *Skylla and Charybdis in der Literatur und Kunst der Griechen und Römer* Zürich 1894 p. 78 ff. I figure a few characteristic examples: (a) a 'Melian' relief from Aigina now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 135 no. B 374, E. Vinet in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1843 xv. 194 f., *Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 53, 2, P. Jacobsthal *Die melischen Reliefs* Berlin—Wilmersdorf 1931 p. 54 f. no. 71 pl. 34 (= my fig. 284)). Height 4½ ins. Length 7 ins.). (b) A silver tetradrachm of Akragas, struck 413—406 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 12 no. 61 fig., *McLean Cat. Coins* i. 239 pl. 65, 13, Imhoof-Blumer and
with the mysteries


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Fig. 284.

Fig. 285.

Fig. 286.

nos. 18—20 pl. 120, 13—15, G. F. Hill *Historical Roman Coins* London 1909 p. 126 ff. no. 79 pl. 13. Fig. 286 is from a specimen in my collection). It should be noted that other tetradrachms of Akragas replace Skylla by a large fish (Head *Hist. num.* p. 121. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *op. cit.* p. 44 pl. 7, 3, after E. v. Martens, say 'Polyprior cernium, ital. cernia' [our 'stone-bass']. S. W. Grose *McClean Cat. Coins* i. 239 pl. 65, 14, after Sir A. E. Shipley, says 'a Gurnard, *Genus Trigla*') perhaps called σκόλαυ or σκόλα (?), but not to be confused with the σκόλαυ or 'dog-fish' (H. Bonitz *Index Aristotelicius* p. 686 a 37 ff.), and that the 'Campanian' hydra attaches to her the head of this fish in lieu of a
exit pointed out to him by Hermes. On the left Sisyphos, lashed by an Erinys, vainly pushes his great stone up a hill. On the right Tantalos suffers perpetual terrors on account of an overhanging rock, which threatens to crush him. At their feet flows the river Acheron, with a duck pecking here and there and asphodel growing (dog's head). Indeed, it is not impossible that Σκόλα ab initio meant 'Dog' (O. Waser in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 1971, J. Schmidt in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii A. 658. Cp. Hesych. s. v. κόλα: σκόλας (so O. Voss for κόλλας, κόλας cod.). Ἡλέιος and σκόλλος: τὴν κύων λέγοντων, et. mag. p. 720, 19 f. σκόλος: κυρίος ἐνι κυνικογνών: ἀλλ' τοῦ ἐπισκην ἐτὶ το θλαστήν, σκόλας τις ὑώ. Ὑπερ=Zonar. lex. s. v. σκόλλος=Favorin. lex. p. 1663, 18 ff. (reading, rightly, σκόλας τις ἑυ) and Tzetz. chil. 6. 482 τὸ δὲ Κακοϊλη Δωδοκ ρίν σκόλαντικνθη λέγει with schol. ad loc. in Crames anec. Oxford iii. 341, 5 ff. citing Hipponax frag. 4 Diehl, 45 Knox ἔρωτ κυνάγκα Μηνατι κανδαλα (cited also by Tzetz.

Fig. 287.

in II. p. 843 Bachmann), and that as a mythical monster she was 'eine Abart des Totenhundes' (Pfister Rel. Gr. Röm. 1930 p. 166). Be that as it may, E. Maass in Hermes 1891 xxvi. 188 derives Dionysos Σκυλλάς from σκόλλας 'die Hunde, besonders die Seehunde, von denen die griechischen Gewässer wimmelten,' cp. W. Aly in Philologus 1909 lxviii. 430 n. 8. But that Zeus Σκόλλας had anything to do with dogs is at best a remote possibility. And Dionysos Σκυλλάς is explained with far greater probability by W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks The Inscriptions of Cos Oxford 1891 p. 86, H. Dibbelt Quaestiones Caeo mythologicae Gryphiswaldiae 1891 p. 62 f., Nilsson Gr. Festp. p. 365, who quote Hesych. σκυλίστι: κληρίτις=Favorin. lex. p. 1663, 18.


It is within the bounds of possibility that Tantalos began his career as an actual man. G. Poisson 'Tantale, roi des Hittites' in the Rev. Arch. 1925 ii. 75—94 seeks to identify him with Todhalijas (S. A. Cook in The Cambridge Ancient History Cambridge 1923 i. 236: 'The name of Tidal of Gomir ('people, hordes') [Gen. 14. 1, 9] may be the Hittite Dudkhalia, known in the thirteenth century'), and R. J. H. Jenkins, accepting Poisson's identifica-
Tantalus' grave was shown in two localities, both Hittite centres. He had a shrine at Polion in Lesbos (Steph. Byz. s.v. Πέλος, ἐν Λεσβίῳ τόπος, ὅπου τὸ ἱερόν Ταντάλων), where a mountain bore his name (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ταντάλων, δόρος Λέσβου, ἀπὸ Ταντάλων). The mountain has not been identified with certainty (L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xii. 2116), but is probably the height near Cape Plagus in which stands the modern Polis (id. ib. xii. 3131), despite the reported absence of ancient remains (A. Conze Reise auf der Insel Lesbos Hannover 1865 p. 30 pl. 1 map). Again, Tantalus had a famous grave on Mt Sipylos in Lydia. In view of Paus. 2. 22. 3 τὸν δὲ λεγομένον Δίον τὸ ἔδωκε καὶ Πλούτωνος (πλούτως cod. M. Πλούτως cod. Vab. M. L. R. Pa., the last two with πλούτως in marg. Supra i. 150 n. 13) ὧν όδα στὰ Σιπυλὶ τῆς θέας ἔδωκαν and 5. 13. 7 Πέλοσος δὲ καὶ Ταντάλων τῆς παρ' ἐμίνυ εὐκοινοφωρίας σημεία ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸν λείπεται, Ταντάλων μὲν λίμεν τῇ ἄντων γαλαμβένῃ (cp. 8. 17. 3) καὶ οὐκ ἄφησιν τάφος, Πελοπόννησος δὲ τὸν Σιπυλὴν μὲν θρόνος κ.τ.λ. (Supra i. 137 ff., ii. 956 n. 2) Harrison Proleg. Gr. Rel. 2 p. 607 justly concludes: 'Tantalos is a real king, with a real grave. Pausanias...mentions no cult, but a grave so noteworthy would not be left untended.' It must also be remembered that the bones preserved in a bronze cista (?) close to the tomb of Pelasgus in the precinct of Demeter Πελασγίς at Argos were by some taken to be those of Tantalus (Supra ii. 1144 n. 2). P. Friedlaender Argolia Berolini 1905 p. 74 with n. 17 holds that Tantalos was originally connected with Lesbos, later located 'a poeta aliquo' on Sipylos, and never had any substantial existence in the Peloponnesse.

Tantalos in Greek times became almost a doublet of Atlas (F. Creuzer Symbolik und Mythologie Leipzig and Darmstadt 1836 i. 9 'einem Astros des Morgenlandes,' G. Dunézl Le festin d'immortalité Paris 1924 p. 91 'Atlas, où l'on a depuis longtemps deviné un doublet de Tantalos,' cp. ib. p. 121, J. Karst Die vorgeschichtlichen Mittelmeervolker Heidelberg 1931 p. 433 'Der "Phryger-Lyder" Tantalos ist eine Doppelfigur des hesperidischen Atlas'). How this happened is far from clear. Conceivably the Lesbian mountain Tantalos was locally regarded as a sky-pillar, and the place Polion mistakenly connected with Lesbos, later located 'a poeta aliquo' on Sipylos, and never had any substantial existence in the Peloponnesse.

Tantalos is a real king, with a real grave. Pausanias...mentions no cult, but a grave so noteworthy would not be left untended.' It must also be remembered that the bones preserved in a bronze cista (?) close to the tomb of Pelasgus in the precinct of Demeter Πελασγίς at Argos were by some taken to be those of Tantalos (Supra ii. 1144 n. 2). P. Friedlaender Argolia Berolini 1905 p. 74 with n. 17 holds that Tantalos was originally connected with Lesbos, later located 'a poeta aliquo' on Sipylos, and never had any substantial existence in the Peloponnesse.
Water-carrying in connexion on either bank. In sharp contrast with these doleful surroundings is a group of three persons approaching the palace. They are not mythical characters at all, but just a typical human family—father, mother, and child. The father sets a myrtle-wreath on his brow as disciple of Anaxagoras, is referring to the sun, and the schol. A.B.M.I. Eur. Or. 981 agrees with him. That may be so (Diog. Laer. 2. 8 oistros ἔχει τὸν ἥλιον μύδρον ἐίναι διάμων ἔναν καὶ μεῖζον τῆς Πελοπόννησου. οἱ δὲ φαίνει Τάνταλος, 10 τῶν δὲ Ἀναξαγόρας εἰσίν ώς ψαλὴ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς ἐκ Λήων συγκέκριμη· τῇ σφόδρᾳ δὲ περιεβάλει συνεστάσαι καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ κατευχήνεται. κ. τ. λ., cp. Ioseph. c. Ap. 2. 265, Harppkr. s.v. Ἀναξαγόρας, Plout. de glac. phil. 2. 20 and Stob. cit. i. 25. 3° p. 209, 21 ff. Wachsman= H. Diels Doxographi Graeci Berolini 1879 p. 349 a 6 f., b 6 f., Olympiod. in Aristot. meteor. p. 17, 19 ff. Stüve).

In any case, the notion of Tantalos terrified by the rock about to fall is a moralising version of Tantalos as supporter of the sky and involves the old-world dread of a collapsing heaven (supra ii. 54 ff.). Morality bulks bigger still in John Bunyan's allegory of Christian under Mount Sinai. Nonn. Dion. 18. 32 Τάνταλον ἡφαίστει (the Count de Marcellus wrongly accepted C. F. Graefe's εἰς ἡφαίστειν) and 35. 295 ὅς ἀλήθεια Ἰ Τάνταλος ἡφαίστεις is trying by means of a single allusive epithet to recall both Pind. Ol. 1. 58 εὔφροσυνα διάλαται and Eur. Or. 7 δέρα πάνταί. The epithet is of course modelled on Homer's ηφαίστεια Εὔνοια (II. 9. 571, 19. 87).

The change from the world above to the world below probably hangs together with the conception of Tantalos as a Giant or Titan (M. Mayer Die Giganten und Titanen in der antiken Sage und Kunst Berlin 1887 p. 88 ff., Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 277, 434 n. 2, W. Scheuer in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 78, H. J. Rose A Handbook of Greek Mythology London 1918 p. 97 n. 12). As such, he was buried beneath Mt Sipylos (J. E. Hylen De Tantalo Upsalise 1896 pp. 44 ff., 54), and S. Reinach in the Rev. Arch. 1903 i. 172 ff. (=id. Choses, mythes et religions Paris 1906 ii. 177 ff.) explains the Homeric description of Tantalos agonising among the shades (Od. 11. 582 ff.) by reference to local conditions (Demokles of Pygela or Phygela (s. v or iv B.C.) frag. (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 20 Müller) cited by Demetrius of Skepsis (s. v B.C.) ap. Strab. 58 μεμιστεὶς δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τῶν ὑπὸ Δημοκλέους λεγομένων, σωματίων τινάς μέγας τούτος μὲν πάλαι περὶ Διονίου γενομένος καὶ Τοντλαί μὲν τὸν Τρόώδος ἐποροῦσα, ὅψιν καὶ κόμαι κατέπλησαν καὶ Σίπυλος κατεσφάγη, καὶ εἶξεν Tανταλὸς βασίλειαν, καὶ εἶξεν Ἐπιπλοῦν (S. Reinach cj. v τοῦ) Ἠρώδα ἱεράς τῷ ἱερατικῷ, τῷ δὲ Τροῖας ἐπέκλεισεν κύμα, id. 579 καὶ τὰ περὶ Σίπυλον δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀνατολῆς ἀμπόλις μέθον οὐ δεῖ τίθεσθαι...ἀκολούθει δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν παλαίων συγγραφέων, οἷα φησὶν ὁ τὰ Λόδεα συγγραφέας Ξάνθος, δηνομόλοκος, οἷα μεταβολὰς κατάφυσις τὸν ὅρμον τούτον, ὁμοσδαβλίδην Ποντίων καὶ τὸ τοῦ πρόσθεν (ib. 49) =Xanth. frag. 2 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 36 f. Müller), cp. Plin. nat. hist. 2. 205, 5. 117). Reinach concludes: 'Le roi Tantale est l'éponyme de la ville de Tantalis. Cette ville fut engloutie dans un lac à la suite d'un tremblement de terre qui ébranla toute la montagne du Sipyle. Donc, l'image funéraire de Tantale pouvait le représenter dans un lac, ayant de l'eau jusqu'au menton et cherchant vainement à se raccrocher à des branches d'arbres; ou elle pouvait le figurer sous des rochers du Sipyle prêts à l'écraser sous leur masse. Ces deux images ont dû exister et les supposées de Tantale, tels qu'ils sont décrits par les textes et reproduits par les monuments de l'époque classique, ne sont que des traductions de ces formules graphiques beaucoup plus anciennes.' But it is dangerous to assume that the details of a Greek myth originated in the misunderstanding of an earlier representation, if no example of such a representation has come down to us.

1 Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei i. 49 ('der Styx oder der Acheron. An dem Uferrande spriessen Pflanzen, wobei wohl an Asphodelos zu denken ist, und Enten suchen ihre Nahrung').

2 This is well argued by Furtwängler op. cit. i. 48 with n. 3.

3 Cp. Plat. rep. 363 c κατατριφομένους (of Orphic μύσται feasting in Hades). The initiate at Eleusis wore a myrtle-wreath, perhaps as prospective consort of a chthonian
as he turns unconcernedly to his wife, who is followed by her little
son with his toy. They are in fact the souls of the blest, Orphists
who can claim intimacy with ‘the Mistress, the Queen of the
Underworld’; and Orpheus in person, making music on his kithara,
conducts them into her presence. Led by him, they have escaped
the ‘well-spring to the left of the house of Hades’, from which the
deity (supra ii. 1165 n. 1), the ἁδόσις καὶ στεμμάτων ἐπίθειος being the penultimate stage
of initiation (supra ii. 1168 n. 3).

1 Supra ii. 132 f.
2 Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei i. 48 f.
3 A gold tablet of s. iv—iii B.C., found at Petelia on the east coast of Bruttium and
now in the British Museum (G. Kaibel Inscr. Gr. Sic. Il. no. 638, Cougny Anth. Pal.
Append. 6. 102, Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 1332, Harrison Proleg. Gr. Rel. 3 p. 573 ff.,
G. Murray ib. p. 699 f., H. Diels Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker 3 Berlin 1912 ii. 175
(Orph. ‘Altbezeugte Fragmente’ 17). See also supra ii. 118 n. 2), is engraved with a

Fig. 288.

text (fig. 288 is the facsimile published by D. Comparetti in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1882
iii. 112 ‘slightly larger than its real size’) printed by O. Kern Orphicorum Fragmenta
Berolini 1922 p. 104 f. (‘Fragmenta veteriora’ 32 a) as follows:

εἰρήσσεις δ’ Ἀδεία δόμων ἐκ’ ἀριστερὰς κρήνης,

παρ’ δ’ αὐτήν λευκὴν ἑττεὶδαν κυπάρισσαν;

ταύτῃ τῆς κρήνης μήδε σχεδὸν ἐμπλάσεισι.

εἰρήσσεις δ’ εὔεραν, τῇ Μηνομονήν ἀπὸ λίμνης |

5 ψυχῶν δώρῳ προφέρουν· φώκάσκες δ’ ἐπίπερσθέν ἐκαστος. |

eἰτείναι· ‘Τῇ παῖς εἰμι καὶ Ὀρθιανὸ ἀποσκυνοῦν,

ἀδιπὸ ἡνὸν ὀφθαλμον· τῶν δ’ ὕπτε καὶ αὐτοί. |

dιπηθεὶς δ’ εἰς[ι] ἀθῆ καὶ ἀπολλυμεν· ἀλλὰ δῶν ἀλήφα

ψυχῶν δώρῳ προφέρου τῇ Μηνομονήν ἀπὸ λίμνης. |

10 καῦτα(ι) σ’(ο)ῦδεοςι· πεῖζῃ ζεύς ἀπὸ(ό κρήνης)’,

καὶ τῶν ἔκακη ἀλλοιοι μεθ’ ἄρδεσθιν ἅνάξεις(ι). |

......................(τς το δεῖς... 16 lttt. | Þερασθ(α)η)

............................. ε’δ’ ἐϕαράκα(κτ’)........................................

τοῦ 436 εἰσα. σκοτὸς ἀφεικαλψις.

1 Suppl. Goettling, ἀπὸ Μηνμῆν Φρανζ. 2 ἐϕαράκα supp. Diels, ἐϕαράκα (sc. ὀ[φθεὶς] Comp[alettii]. 3 τὸ κλῆς (=notitia) Ol[ivieri]. Sententia versuum 12—14
obscura; tentamina invenies ap. [A.] Ol[ivieri] Lamellae aureae Orphicae Bonn 1915
p. 13].
The Otherworld landscape, here described in language of haunting beauty and profound significance, includes the palace of Hades, with a white cypress standing beside it, and a fountain on either hand. The soul must avoid that on the left—the water of Lethe—and beg a draught from the other, the water of Mnemosyne. Guardians are set before it; but he is to challenge them boldly with the words:

I am the child of Earth and starry Sky.
Sky-born—ye know it of yourselves—am I.
Now parched with thirst I perish; cool the cup
Of Memory's water—let me drink it up.

At this the Guardians will suffer him to drink from the fountain divine, and thereafter he shall live as a king among heroic peers.

The same scenery appears in the Celtic Elysium—the palace, the silver apple-tree beside it, the shining well with its five streams (Folk-Lore 1906 xvii. 144 ff.). Much the same is implied by the quests undertaken in south-European 'Expulsion' Tales—the golden seat, the apple-tree beside it, the Dancing Water with its formidable guardians (supra ii. 1016). Nay more, the self-same landscape furnishes not a little of the imagery in The Revelation of St John—the throne of God, the tree of life, the river proceeding out of the throne (Rev. 2. 7, 22. 1 ff.). All such pictures, if I am not mistaken, presuppose in a more or less sublimated form the essential features of the old-world king; as Sir James Frazer first described him. He is the local champion, the strongest man of the district, who is prepared to defend his title against all comers. He is found at an appropriate centre, beneath a sacred tree, beside a sacred river. He must keep up his strength by feeding perpetually upon the fruit of his tree. He fights, indeed, with a branch of it in his hand. And if he feels faint with the effort, there is the magic water gushing at his feet.

Last but not least, he is a divine personage, at once mortal and immortal, a priestly king, a kingly priest. In such an one we recognise not only the Orphic votary, but the Otherworld visitor, the folk-tale hero, and 'him that overcometh.'

As to details, the λευκὴ κυπάρισσος is hardly to be explained as a white-poplar (D. Comparetti Laminette orfiche Firenze 1910), despite the name (λευκή) and chthonian associations of that tree (supra ii. 457 ff.). One recalls, by way of warning, Joshua Barnes' comment on Eur. Hel. 384 'figura Leaenae, i.e. Ursae,' or for that matter Sir John Sandys' note on Eur. Bacch. 1017 'It is highly probable that by the 'lion' in these passages a panther is really meant!' That κυπάρισσος was not used at random appears from its recurrence on the three gold tablets of ii B.C., found at Eleutherae in Crete and now in the Museum at Athens [A. Joubin in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1893 xvii. 121 ff., T. Gomperz ib. p. 124, J. L. Myres ib. p. 619, F. Blass in Collite—Bchel Gr. Dial.—Inschr. iii. 2. 245 no. 4959 a, Harrison Proc. Gl. Rel. 3 p. 574, G. Murray ib. p. 660 f., H. Diels Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker Berlin 1912 ii. 176 (Orph. ‘Altebezeugte Fragmente’ 17)), A. Olivieri Lamellae aureae Orphicae Bonn 1915 p. 14 f., O. Kern Orphicorum Fragmenta Berolini 1912 p. 105 f. ('Fragmenta veteriora' 32 b)), of which the archetype as restored by Olivieri runs: 'δῆλα αἰδος εὔω κατά εὐθύλλαμα.' 'ἀλλ’ πιε μουν [κράνας αλείαν ἐπὶ δεξιά, τήν] κυφάρισσον. [τή δ' ἔσι; τῆ] ἴμιν ἐμίνι' 'Γὰς νόσος ἡμι καὶ Ὄραν ἀντέφεισον.' But why should a cypress be described as λευκή? F. Lajard Recherches sur le culte du cyprès pyramidal Paris 1854 pp. 156 ff., 311 f., observes that the oracular trees of the Sun and Moon consulted by Alexander the Great in Prasiae are said to have been cypresses (pseudo-Kallisthenes hist. Alex. Magn. 17. 27 ff. Krall and εἰσίνεγκαν ἡμᾶς ἐς τον παραδέσων, ἑνα...ehicles καί [ἡ] σελήνῃ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παραδεσου· τά κατ’ ἄροιν φοράν· ἐρείπ. ἤλιον καὶ σελήνην. δοῦ δὲ τὴν θέραμα το προερυμένα, ἃ δὲ παραλέθει κυπάρισσος...κυκλῳ δὲ τὴν ἐνθράμισα παράκολον τήν ἐν ἄγυρτῳ μυθάλασι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱματίων. προφοραῖς τοῦ μὲν ἀρρένων ἀρρένων λογοστίων, τὸ δὲ θρικοῦν θηλειῶν. δομῳ δὲ την τοῦ ἐνὸς θλίον, τῆς δὲ θηλειάς σελήνην, (ἐξ) ἐλεγαν τῇ ἴδιᾳ φωιτὶ μονοθν εὐμαθίας. ταῦτα δὲ περιεβάλει θρικοῦν παντοίων (θεριῶν), τοῦ μὲν ἀρρένων τὸ δὲ θῆλον θηλειῶν. παρ’ αὐτοῖς δὲ εἵρηρος σοὶ ὑπήρχεσθε οἷσθε ἀλλαὶ ὅστε καταστεῖτο οἴσθε πυρὸς (ἐκ) πλάνων. ἐμοὶ δὲ εἰρωτοῦσι τούτοις αἱ σοι δοκεῖσθε ἐναι, ἔφεσαν λέεισθαι καὶ παραθλαίειν. οἷος ἔξεσί δὲ ὀδὸν τάφῳ ἐκ εὶ μη
with the mysteries

τὸν τοῦ ὄλυν καὶ τῆς σέληνος (ἱππας), περιβαλθεὶς δὲ ἐξιτωτὸς τῶν ὑδάτων ταῖς δοράσις, cp. Iul. Val. 3. 24 ff.), that the Florentine priest Jacopo di Carlo in his poem Alessandro Magno or Alessandrède describes the Sun-tree as having leaves red like burned gold, the Moon-tree as having them white like pure silver (canto 10 ed. Venezia 1627 'L'arbor del Sole le sue foglie hauna | Rosse si come lo oro lustrante; | Quello della luna bianche le tenis | Si come argento chiare, candidante'), and that in Chinese—according to the Sinologue Stanislas Julien—the pyramidal cypress is called *pe*, the ‘white’ tree, because, while other trees turn towards the south, it alone turns towards the west and white is the western colour. Lajard concludes that the *λεύκη κυπάρισσος* was 'à la fois symbole de la lune et emblème funéraire' (cf. cit. p. 312). O. Gruppe in *Berl. phil. Woch.* Jan. 27, 1913 p. 105 f. makes no such attempt to link up Europe with Asia, but is content to say: 'Zwar nicht von der Farbe ihres Laubes, wohl aber nach dem weissen Stamm.' Another line of explanation is suggested by the fact that the tablets mentioning *κυφάρισσος* hail from Eleuthernaï. Coins of the town show Apollo flanked by storax-trees (* supra* ii. 491 f. fig. 377), which bear some resemblance to the pyramidal cypress but, like the λέυκη, have a white under-surface to their leaves (Steier in *Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc.* iv. 1065 'das Blatt des St[orax]-Baumes...länglich, lederartig und unterseits weissfilzig ist'). Hence O. Gruppe's conjecture that on Greek soil λέυκη was a surrogate of στέρας (* supra* ii. 492).

Yet another possibility would be to suppose that the *λεύκη κυφάρισσος* was in fact the East Indian species *Cupressus glauca* (J. Lindley—T. Moore *The Treasury of Botany* London 1884 i. 363, *The Encyclopedia Britannica* Cambridge 1910 vii. 694), or the *Cupressus nivea* (R. Thompson—W. Watson *The Gardener's Assistant* London 1900 i. 2. 330).

On the whole, however, it seems most likely that the tree of the tablets was a miraculous cypress, its peculiarity consisting in its assimilation to that other Borderland tree, the white-poplar. It would thus come into line with such marvels as the silver apple-tree of the Celts or the two-fruited tree of *The Revelation*.

On the waters of Lethe and Mnemosyne see an interesting section in M. Ninck *Die Bedeutung des Wassers im Kult und Leben der Alten* Leipzig 1921 p. 104 ff. together with the comments of W. Kroll in *Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc.* xii. 2141—2144. It seems to me probable (a) that the two fountains of the Petelia tablet were an Orphic conception (Orph. h. *Mnem.* 77, 9 τὸ ἄνθος, μάκρα χρώμα τοῦ, μόνος μιχήμιν ἐπέγειρε | εὐφράω τοῦτον, λήθην δ' ἀπὸ τῶν' (so G. Hermann for τῶν codd.) ἀπόντευμεν), traceable back to the time of Pindar (*Fid. frag.* 129, 130 Bergk ap. Plout. *de occulto viv.* 7 καὶ τὸ τῆς γε οὖν καὶ τὸ ἑώνις φῶς (D. Wytenbach cf. φῶς εὐφράω χρώμα). I should prefer φῶς μετέχων or the like) εὐφράων χρώμαν, 'τούτη λάμπει' κ. τ. λ., καὶ σταματί τοις ἔκλεισει καὶ λευχεὶ διερεῖσθαι, καὶ διαγαῖα ἔχοντον ἐν μιχύμεα καὶ λόγος τῶν γεγονότων καὶ διπλασίωτές αὐτῶν καὶ αὐστίτης. <...> ἦν δὲ τῶν ἀναγο καὶ καρπάκην ὡς ἐκρηφός τι καὶ βραχύτερον ὀδοντό τὰ ὑψάει, ἵνα τὰν ἀνεφρο ἐργοῦνται αἰκονα | βλαστηροί διέφρασε νυκτὸς ποταμῶν,' δεχόμεθα καὶ ἀποκτέστεται ἄγνοια καὶ λήθη τῶν κολαζήσεων), (b) that this conception presupposes a folk-belief in two contrasted fountains of Death (Forgetfulness) and Life (Memory) (*cp.* *Theopomp.* *frag.* 76 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 289 ff. Müller) = *frag.* 75 c (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 55 f. Jacoby) *ap.* *Ait. var. hist.* 3. 18 rivers of Ἰδρωσήν καὶ Δίσεις near Anostos in the land of the Meropes, *Theopr.* *ap.* *Plin. nat. hist.* 31. 19 springs called *Κλων* and *Γέλων* near Kelainai in Phrygia, Meli 3. 102 springs causing death from laughter and restoration to health in one of the Fortunatae Insulae, *Plin. nat. hist.* 2. 231 in Carrinensi Hispania* agro duo fontes iuxta fluvium, alter omnía respuesat, alter absorbens, *Isid. orig.* 13. 13. 5 in Sicilia* fontes sunt duo, quorum unus sterilem fecundat, alter fecundam sternilem facit. In Thessalia duo sunt fluminia: ex uno ibibentes ovos nigrae sier, ex altero autem albas, et ex utroque varias (from *Plin. nat. hist.* 31. 13), 7 in India Sidoen vocati stagnum, in quo nihil innatam sed omnía merguntur. At contra in African lacu *Apuscidamo* omnía fluitant, nihil mergitur (from *Plin. nat. hist.* 31. 21 f.), 10 in Epiro esse fontem, in quo fauces extincturum accessae et accenduntur extinctae. apud Garamantes fontem esse ita algetem die ut non bibatur, ita ardentem nocte ut non tangatur (* supra* ii. 368)—a list which could easily be lengthened, and (c) that the said folk-belief was itself an extension of the very ancient (and originally oriental?) belief in the Fountain of Life...
water of Lethe can be seen gushing. These happy ones have no sorrows to forget. But beside that fountain the vase-painter has placed another family—Megara and her murdered boys. Despite the bandages bound tightly about them, the blood still trickles from the wounds inflicted by their father in his madness. No wonder that they linger beside the waters of oblivion. Finally, on the brink of the infernal river is an object interpreted by A. Furtwangler as a large sieve with many holes in its upper surface. Rather, perhaps, we should see in it the mouth of a gpithos, sunk in the soil and riddled with holes. The context in which it is found favours (A. Wünsche Die Sagen vom Lebensbaum und Lebenswasser Leipzig 1905 pp. 71—90 ‘Das Lebenswasser in seiner eigentlichen Bedeutung in den verschiedenen Kulturreligionen,’ 90—104 ‘Das Wasser des Lebens als Zaubersbrunnen in den Märchen der Völker’). Local appropriations and adaptations of the idea are found at Lebadeia (Paus. 9. 39. 8 ἤπαθα δὴ χρῆ πεῖν αὐτῶν Ἀφρίδης τε ὕδωρ καλοίμενον, ὥστε ἄλλη γενεται οἱ πάντως ὁ τέως ἔφορμέντε, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ ἁπήθα άπαρ πίνειν Μηνημόσθηνα’ ἀπὸ τοῦτον τι μεμοικεῖται τὰ ὀφθαλμά τα καταβαίνει, Plin. nat. hist. 31. 15 in Boeotia ad Trophonium deum iuxta flumen Hercynnum e duobus fontibus alter memoriam, alter oblivionem adfert, inde nominibus inventis, Isid. orig. 13. 13. 3 in Boeotia duo fontes alter memoriam, alter oblivionem adfert), at Ephesos (E. L. Hicks The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum ii. 2. 221 f. Oxford 1890 no. 600, a 2 f. [τὰ ἑρᾶ τοῦ παντοκράτορος θεοῦ Διονυσίου] [ναὶ Διὸς Παναπληρήσγεν καὶ Πρασίνου, ε 28 f. [Μηλαίσις Μέσαισάρα] [Ἀνδρικὴς Ἀλέξ. . . . . . Τίτων], This inscription, discovered by J. T. Wood on the site of the great theatre, gives a list of persons who on a certain occasion in honour of Dionysos, Zeus Παναπληρήσιος (i.e. Hadrian: supra ii. 1120 f. n. 0) performed a mystic play, taking the parts of Μνησίς, Λεθή, etc.: see W. Quandt De Baccho ab Alexandri aetate in Asia Minore culto Halis Saxonum 1913 p. 36 f.), and perhaps in Lusitania, where the river Limia (the modern Lima) was identified with Lethe (Strab. 153, Appian. Iber. 71 f.) or Oblivio (Mela 3. 10, Plin. nat. hist. 4. 115 (112), Flor. i. 33. 12, Liv. perioch. 55, cp. Sall. hist. 3. 44, Sil. It. i. 235 f., 13. 555, 16. 476 f.), if not also in Kyrenaike, where the river Lethon was similarly explained (Lucan. 9. 355 f., Solin. 27. 54). O. Kern in Hermes 1916 li. 555 infers from lines 6 f. of the Petelia tablet that the mystic, though a child of Gaia as well as Ouranos, claims to be essentially ὀμοίωτος and as such contrasted with the χρέονος (Orph. h. Th. 37. 6 ff. ἦς ὧν ὑμῖν τὸ πάντα πέλει γενέθ κατὰ νόμους, ἦς κυκλητῶς μηνὶς χαλυπθῆναι ἀποτειμένως, ἐς τοῦ ἀνυ χρέωμα προγογύν οἰκοι πελάθησι). Id. ib. 1917 lii. 475 interprets in the same manner the epigram on a temple of the Meter Theon at Phaistos (F. Hallherr in the Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica 1890 iii. 735 f. no. 183, E. Maass in the Ath. Mitth. 1893 xviii. 272 ff., K. Wernicke ib. 1894 xix. 290 ff., E. Maas Orpheus München 1895 p. 309 ff., G. de Sanctis in the Mon. d. Linc. 1901 xi. 543 ff. with a facsimile (the inscription is not earlier than s. ii B.C.), F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial. Inschr. iii. 2. 360 no. 5132 δῶμα μὴ ἀθρακτὸς πάντων μάντη πυθθήναι τοῖς δοῦσι δικαίως καὶ ὁ γενέθ ὑπέχωτα · κ.τ.λ. (‘die ihren Adel (ihre Abstammung von Uranos) nachweisen können’).

1 Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei i. 50.

2 This explanation is dismissed by Furtwängler op. cit. i. 50 n. 1 (‘...noch das Fass der Danaiden, das im Boden stecken müsste, auch nicht das umgekehrte Fass, das ganz andere Form haben müsste...’). But the analogy of the Munich amphora (supra p. 399 fig. 262) and of the Palermo lekyhos (supra p. 400 pl. xxixiii) affords the strongest presumption that the doubtful object is really meant for the mouth of a great jar buried in the ground. And how else should the vase-painter have indicated that it was leaky except by the native expedient of adding dots to represent the leaks?
with the mysteries

the supposition that by means of it the artist wished to suggest the pains awaiting any who would not undergo initiation into the Orphic mysteries.1

Other 'Apulian' vases of a similar kind substitute the Danaïdes with their hydriai for the aforesaid pithos 2. For example, a fine krater

Fig. 289.

1 The allusion may, of course, be to the punishment of the Danaïdes. But if so, one or more of them would surely have been shown beside the pithos, as on the vases mentioned in the next paragraph.

2 (1) Hermitage (Stephani Vasensamml. St. Petersbourg i. 223 ff. no. 424, Raoul-Rochette Monuments intâts d'antiquité figurée Paris 1833 p. 179 no. 3 pl. 45, E. Gerhard in the Arch. Zeit. 1844 ii. 223 f. pl. 13 = Reinach Rép. Vases i. 355, O. Benndorf in the Wien. Vorlegebl. E pl. 4 and 5, 1). Six Danaïdes with their pitchers—four of them hastening from right to left, the fifth and sixth seated with two mirrors and a casket.


(3) Karlsruhe (Winnefeld Vasensamml. Karlsruhe p. 99 ff. no. 388, E. Braun in the Ann. d. Inst. 1837 ix. 219 ff. pl. II, i = 5, Mon. d. Inst. ii pls. 49, 50 = Roscher Rép. Vases i. 108, F. G. Welcker in the Arch. Zeit. 1843 i. 177 ff. pl. 11, C. Scherer in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1805 with fig. on p. 1809 f., O. Benndorf in the Wien. Vorlegebl. E pl. 3, 1). One of the Danaïdes, listening to Orpheus, holds her empty pitcher (Hor. od. 3. 11. 22 f., Ov. met. 10. 43 f.), while two others—one of whom originally carried a hydria in her
Fig. 390.

Water-carrying in connexion
from Campania, now in the Hermitage collection (fig. 289)\(^1\), shows four Danaïdes sitting or standing on the further bank of the Acheron. They have their hydriai with them, but seem more intent on talking together or surveying their charms in a mirror than on drawing water from the river. A fifth sister, busier than the rest, empties her vessel into a large unburied pithos.

Comparable with these 'Apulian' vases both in subject and in style, and referable to approximately the same period (350—300 B.C.\(^2\)), is a limestone relief from Apulia now in the Glyptothek at Munich (fig. 290)\(^3\). It probably formed the left-hand half of a frieze decorating the plinth of a naiskos-tomb at Tarentum\(^4\). In the centre of the extent portion sit Hades and Persephone. On the left stand two Danaïdes emptying their pitchers into a large half-sunk jar. On the right Hermes hastens towards Herakles, whose lion-skin flutters in the breeze. Beyond the break would come Kerberos, Erinys, and other familiar figures of the Underworld.

(8) Conclusions with regard to the myth of the Danaïdes

In view of the foregoing evidence, both literary and monumental, E. Rohde\(^5\) and A. Dieterich\(^6\) drew the following conclusions. The mysteries and marriage are analogous, for both involve rites of lustration. Those that neglect such rites in the world above must perform them in the world below. Hence on the one hand the uninitiated, and on the other hand the unmarried, are bound to carry

lowered left hand (J. Overbeck in the Arch. Zeit. 1884 xlii. 261)—stand idly by, facing in the same direction.


(5) Infra n. 1.

It should be noticed that, where Orpheus is present ((2), (3), (4)), the Danaïdes are idling; where he is absent ((1), (5)), some at least of them are at work.


\(^2\) Supra p. 370.

\(^3\) P. Wolters in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1914 xxix Arch. Anz. p. 453 f. (no. 1) with fig. Id. Führer durch die Glyptothek König Ludwigs I. zu München München 1922 p. 38 no. 494 with fig. (= my fig. 290). Cp. A. W. Lawrence Later Greek Sculpture London 1927 p. 54 pl. 90, b for 'a limestone version of the floral decoration common on painted Apulian vases.'

\(^4\) R. Pagenstecher Unteritalische Grabdenkmäler (zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslandes) xciv Strassburg 1912 p. 22.

\(^5\) Rohde Psyche i. 326—329.

\(^6\) A. Dieterich Nekyia Leipzig 1893 p. 70 n. 1.
water themselves after death, or at least to have it carried for them by others. The Danaïdes undergo this post mortem penalty because they died unmarried.

The explanation advanced by Rohde and Dieterich is not, in my opinion, altogether satisfactory. It assumes that the Danaïdes were typical spinsters. But this is not the case. They were duly married to the Aigyptiadai, and Hypermnestra was the only one of them who retained her virginity. Rather, their marriage was, as I have suggested, in the nature of a fertility-charm, the operation of which would be hindered, indeed absolutely nullified, by the guilt that they incurred through murdering their husbands. The guilt of murder would suffice to bring drought upon the land. Thebes, for instance, stricken for the unavenged death of king Laios, is described as—

Blighted in fruitful buds and grazing kine,
Blighted in throes of barren womanhood,
While, lo, the fiery god, the fever dread,
Has fallen and makes havoc of the town.

If the Danaïdes thus frustrated an all-important fertility-charm, they deserved to be punished. And the punishment meted out to them consisted, appropriately enough, in the perpetual performance of a similar charm.

1 Somewhat different, but exposed to a like objection, is the view taken by H. J. Rose in the Class. Quart. 1925 xix. 143: 'the half-married are clearly in a very perilous state, belonging neither to one class nor to another, and therefore in a taboo condition, from which they can release themselves only by fulfilling the rite they have begun. This, doubtless, is the reason why in Hades we find not only the Danaïdes, who on the most plausible explanation of their punishment spend eternity in trying to get married, but also a host of unhappy lovers, who have nearly all this in common, in Vergil (Aen. vi. 444 sqq.), that at the time of their death they were betwixt and between in some way or other.'

2 Supra p. 369.

3 Supra p. 369.

4 Soph. O. T. 25 ff. Similarly when Lykourgos, king of the Edonoi, slays his son Dryas in a frenzy-fit, his land remains barren and, according to an oracle, cannot recover its fertility till he himself be put to death (Apollod. 3. 5. i, supra i. 73). Again, when Orestes kills Klytaimestra and is acquitted of the deed, the Erinyes (supra ii. 206 n. 2 with fig. 146, a) threaten to bring a blight upon the land (Aisch. Eum. 778 ff.).

5 There is, of course, no need to bring in the far-fetched symbolism of the schol. Aristeid. p. 158, 13 ff. Dindorf τῶν δὲ Δαναίδων ὁ τετημένος πίθος (sc. αὐλίττεσαι) τὸ μῆπος ταῦτα μετὰ τὸν φόνον τῶν φιλτῶν τὴν ἀναψύχουσαν ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρώπου κηδεμονίας χάριν παρὰ ἄλλων τυχόντων πᾶσι γενομένα ὑπόπτων διὰ τὸ ἄγος, καὶ μηδαμόθεν ταῦτα πληρωμένην εὑρεῖν.

6 In the Swiss canton of Valais it is believed that old bachelors, when they die, are bound to live in a certain place and there spend their time bringing up sand from the Rhone in baskets with holes in them (E. L. Rochholz Deutscher Glaube und Brauch im Spiegel der heidnischen Vorzeit Berlin 1867 i. 155, Haberland in Globus 1878 xxxiv. 205 cited by O. Waser in the Archiv f. Rel. 1899 ii. 61).
iii. The holed vessel in Italy.

In the preceding sections it has been argued that certain phrases and beliefs current among the modern and Byzantine Greeks, taken together with the wording of a well-known Aristophanic verse, point backward to the existence of a primitive rain-charm, which consisted in pouring water through a sieve. It has been suggested that such a custom would fitly explain the use of a sieve in divination and of a holed vessel in various myths, rites, and doctrines—the water-carrying of the Danaides, the nuptial and sepulchral loutrophoroi, and the punishment of the uninitiated in Hades, who are doomed to bear water in broken pitchers, or in a sieve to a leaky pithos.

Now it seems à priori probable that the same ancient fertility-charm was at one time practised in Italy as in Greece. But that this was actually the case, cannot be proved. At most we may suspect that the usage underlies a few proverbial phrases and popular traditions.

Plautus, for example, makes a slave say to a lover, who is moping for his mistress:

Unless you weep for her with tears of silver,
That which you claim to prove by these your tears
Is worth no more than rain-drops caught in a sieve.

Doubtless this is, as it is commonly assumed to be, a proverb for futile effort after the unattainable. But whether Plautus was here simply writing Latin or—as is certainly possible—translating from a Greek original (say, by Menandros), we have no means of deciding. In either event the form of the expression is peculiar and

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1 Supra p. 335 f.
2 Supra ii. 2, iii. 333 f.
3 Supra p. 336.
4 Supra p. 336 n. 5.
5 Supra p. 370 ff.
6 Supra p. 370 ff.
7 Plaut. Pseud. 100 ff., where for the vulgate 'non pluris referit quam si imbrem in cribrum geras' G. Götz and F. Schöll, following the cod. Ambros., read 'legas.'
8 M. Schanz Geschichte der römischen Litteratur München 1898 i. 53.
9 There are several Greek variants of the proverb, but all of Roman or Byzantine date: (1) Plout. prov. 8 κοσκίνω ὁδόρ πτηλείς, Makar. 5. 20 κοσκίνω υγήλεις ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ μάτηρ τοιούτων. (2) Plout. prov. 50 κοσκίνω φέρει ὁδόρ, Apostol. 9. 91 κοσκίνω ὁδόρ φέρει ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, Souid. i. p. κοσκίνησαν (Loukian. Tim. 3. εἰς Σατύρ. 24)...καὶ οἰκομεία κοσκίνων ὁδόρ περιφέρεις ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. (3) Loukian. Demon. 28 ὑδάτες ὑδατοῦ, ἐφη, ἡ φίλαι, ὃ μὲν θέρεσ τούτων τράγον ἀμέλεις, ἡ δὲ αὐτῶν κλαδών ἐποιήσαταί; 
10 A similar locution substitutes a net for a sieve: (4) Plout. prov. 31 παρὰ δικτύων ὁδόρ κομίζεις, Georgides gnomologiai in Boissonade anec. i. 29 δικτύῳ κομίζεις ὁδόρ ἡ πλῆθος πλέκει εὐτέρες, ἡ κακίας πονοθείσων χρίς τολλῷ ἐν ἀνθρώπων ψυχὶ ἐξελεύν ἀναστών.

Both images are already combined in Sen. de benef. 7. 19. 1 ‘reddere est’ inquit
The holed vessel in Italy

may well have been derived from the rain-charm aforesaid. For, when men had once begun to distrust the magician and his magic, a charm to produce rain might easily pass into a proverb for labour wasted in the attempt to compass impossibilities.

Further, a typical impossibility of this sort would furnish the ideal test for an early ordeal, since the performance of it implies the manifest interposition of the gods in favour of the accused. Thus, when the Vestal Tuccia was charged with violation of her vows, she proved her chastity by successfully carrying water in a sieve from the river Tiber to the house of Vesta in the Roman Forum. The event, which is said to have occurred in the year 235 B.C., has repeatedly furnished artists with a theme. Count Clarac published a couple of marble statues representing Tuccia with her sieve, one in the Museo Chiaramonti, the other at Dresden. Montfaucon had previously made known a statuette belonging to a M. Boisot and an engraved gem from the cabinet of M. de la Chausse, not to mention a print communicated by Baron Crassier, all of which portrayed the same subject with minor variations. M. P. Lévesque de Gravelle was able to figure another gem illustrating the scene. There are, however, grave doubts as to the authenticity of any of these representations. They appear to be nothing but modern

accepturo tradidisse. quid enim? si cui vinum debeas et hoc ille te infundere reticulo iubeat aut cribro, reddidisse te dices? aut reddere voles, quod, dum redditur, inter duos pereat?

5 Clarac Mus. de Sculpt. iv. 359 f. pl. 771 figs. 1918, 1921, Reinach Rép. Stat. i. 456 nos. 1, 2.
7 Ameinig Sculpt. Vatic. i. 780 no. 686 pl. 84.
8 H. Hetten Die Bildwerke der königlichen Antikensammlung zu Dresden Dresden 1881 no. 168.
9 M. P. Lévesque de Gravelle Recueil de pierres gravées antiques Paris 1732 i pl. 88 (Pierres de Stosch p. 434 no. 179), Reinach Pierres Gravées p. 77 no. 88 pl. 77.
10 In both the statues published by Clarac the sieve is a restoration: they may have portrayed priestesses carrying baskets (Clarac loc. cit.). The statuette and gems figured by Montfaucon and Lévesque de Gravelle do not inspire confidence, and seem to have vanished.

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clarac and the same are a restoration: they may have portrayed priestesses carrying baskets (Clarac loc. cit.). The statuette and gems figured by Montfaucon and Lévesque de Gravelle do not inspire confidence, and seem to have vanished.
restorations or copies, just conceivably based upon some genuine antique which has since disappeared.

The probability that a holed vessel was formerly used as a rain-charm in Italy would be strengthened, if it could be shown that the Italians ever believed rain to fall through a hole or holes in the sky. Unfortunately direct evidence to that effect is altogether wanting, and indirect evidence is at best disputable. Nevertheless certain facts connected with the mundus and the manalis lapis at Rome appear to presuppose some such belief.

The mundus\(^3\) was an underground dome or tholoid structure, Lippold Gemmen pl. 159, 7—9 p. 186 are eighteenth-century works by L. Pichler and G. Pichler. The cut that appears even in the third edition of Smith—Wayte—Marindin Dict. Ant. ii. 943 has no more authority: it is a redrawing of Crassier’s print (infra p. 428 n. 8) as seen in a mirror, i.e. with right for left and left for right.


\(^1\) During the last decade there has been much discussion of this difficult topic. The disputants include the following:

E. Täubler ‘Roma quadrata und mundus’ in the Röm. Mitth. 1926 xlii. 212—226 (Roma quadrata was the early settlement on the Palatine surveyed as a templum with its decumanus extending from the supercilium Scalarum Caci to the summa Sacra Via. The mundus, an opening to the lower world, enclosed by a square stone wall, formed the centre of this Roma quadrata. When the Palatine settlement was enlarged into the city of the Four Regions, Rome ceased to be quadrata in the original sense, but antiquarians perpetuated the old name for the new foundation. Summary and criticism in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1927 xxxi. 494), id. ‘Terremare und Rom’ in the Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1931/2 Abh. ii especially pp. 43—63 (the mundus was the central point of Roma quadrata, a templum or sacred square on the Palatine: it is therefore comparable with the ritual pits within the square Terremare settlements).

S. Weinstock ‘Mundus patet’ in the Röm. Mitth. 1930 xlv. 111—123 (most ancient authors speak of the mundus as connected with cult-usage: Ovid and Plutarch alone associate it with the legend of Rome’s foundation by Romulus. Mundus must be carefully distinguished from Roma quadrata: there was no mundus on the Palatine—Boni’s find was a mere cistern—nor is there the least reason to connect mundus with templum either square or round, with the ritual pits of Terremare villages, with the dedication of boundary-stones and the like. There was a mundus on the Comitium at Rome, and another at Capua (Corp. inscr. Lat. x no. 3926, infra p. 438 n. 5). The mundus was essentially a pit in sacro Ceres (schol. Bern. in Verg. ecl. 3. 105, infra p. 438 n. 5), the said sacrum being a small chamber built to contain it. Analogous structures are noted by F. Studniczka ‘Altäre mit Grubenkammern’ in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1903 vi. 123—186. But the Ceres in question need not be the old Roman goddess: she might be the Latinised Demeter; she might be an Etruscan deity—F. Ribezzo in the Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica di filologia, lingua, antichità 1928 xii. 89 draws attention to Etr. mutna=‘sepolcro, cassa, ossuario’), id. ib. 1932 xlvii. 110 n. 1 (criticises Täubler’s view that Roma quadrata was not identical with mundus, nor yet the special name of the Palatine settlement, but originally the square or templum round the mundus, and hence applied to the Palatine town. Weinstock reaffirms his belief that the mundus must be
sought neither on the Palatine, nor in Terremare, and that its sacred functions—Ovid and
Plutarch notwithstanding—had nothing to do with the foundation of Rome).

L. du Jardin ‘Mundus, Roma quadrata et lapis niger’ in the Rendiconti della Pontificia
Accademia 1930 vi. 47 ff. (mundus and Roma quadrata were originally on the Palatine,
but, when built over by Domitian’s palace, were removed to the Comitium).

115—127 (largely in agreement with Weinstock puts forward the following contentions:
(1) The word mundus, in the sense of a pit or underground shrine of some kind, is
probably not Latin. (2) So far as we know, it was applied to at least two underground
structures in Rome, one in the Comitium, the other of unknown locality, which were, or
had been, used for wholly different rites. (3) Neither of these had anything to do with
Roma Quadrata, or with the lapis manalis. (4) Neither of them had anything to do with
the so-called mundus found on the Palatine in 1914. (5) The connection of either
with the pit to be found in terremare is possible, but unproved.’

W. Kroll ‘Mundus’ in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xvi. 560—564 (the mundus was
a chthonian cult-centre, probably close to the Comitium. It was a circular pit opened thrice
a year, on days that were all comitiales, for the emergence of souls of the dead (cp. the
Greek Anthesteria: supra i. 687)—no concern of Ceres or any other deity. The lapis
manalis of Festus (infra p. 432) must have been the famous lapis manalis outside the
Porta Capena (infra p. 432 ff.) and should not—with E. Samter in the Archiv. f. Rel.
1922 xxi. 332 ff. and in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xii. 784—be assumed to have closed the
mundus. Weinstock and Rose rightly rejected the identification of this mundus with the
Roma quadrata of the Palatine and doubted the analogy of the Terremare pits. As to
etymology, the Etruscan goddess mundus (E. Fiesel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xvi.
643 f., infra p. 439 n. 3) is better ignored. P. Kretschmer suggests connexion with German
Mund, Gothic mundi.

L. Deubner ‘Mundus’ in Hermes 1933 lxviii. 276—287 (Ov. fast. 4. 821 ff. describes
three successive rites: (1) fruges thrown into a deep fossa; (2) earth from the neighbouring
soil likewise thrown in; (3) an altar placed above the filled-in fossa and kindled. The
parallel in Plout. v. Rom. 11 proves that Ovid’s pit was the mundus. Ovid’s altar above
the pit is due—as C. O. Thulin Die etruskische Disziplin iii (Göteborgs Högskolas
Årsskrift 1909 i) p. 20 saw—to contamination with the rites of Terminus. Ovid’s earth
thrown in was another accretion wrongly connected by him with the mundus: the clods
really symbolised Rome’s mastery over all the neighbourhood (Lyd. de mens. 4. 73 p. 124,
21 ff.). Ovid’s fruges thrown in were a gift to chthonian powers made at the moment of
founding the town. Kroll and Weinstock dismiss this association of the mundus with the
founding of a town as an antiquarian figment. Deubner sees no ground for their scepticism:
town-foundations, the planting of boundary-stones, the erection of buildings, all involved
breaking into the earth and the earth-powers must in each case be propitiated by gifts.
Ovid does not definitely state that the mundus was on the Palatine; but he is speaking of
Romulus as the founder of Rome, and everyone knew that Romulus’ foundation was on the
Palatine. Weinstock wrongly refuses to admit the real existence of a Palatine mundus.
Plutarch errs in locating Romulus’ mundus on the Comitium. Probably there
was a mundus there; but, if so, it was the mundus of a new foundation—the Etruscan
town of Four Regions (Plout. v. Rom. 11 brings the experts from Etruria). Deubner
thinks it likely that this mundus on the Comitium, though described by Plutarch as βῆθις καιτορηθῆς, should be identified with the quadrangular pit for offerings in the Grave
of Romulus: Plutarch may well have blundered here also and attributed to the mundus
on the Comitium the shape of the mundus on the Palatine. As to the phrase mundus patet,
that refers to the Palatine mundus. Weinstock misunderstands schol. Bern. in Verg. ecl.
3. 105 mundus in sacro Cereris: this might mean, not a mundus in a small chamber built
to contain it, but a mundus in the sacred precinct of Ceres; more probably, however, it
was a mere guess of the scholiast or his source. Roma quadrata too was on the Palatine
and had something to do with the founding of the town (Fest. p. 316, 35 ff. Lindsay,
infra p. 436 n. 9). Thulin op. cit. p. 20 n. 1 already compared it with the quadrangular
concerning which M. Porcius Cato—the jurist perhaps rather than his more famous father— in his Notes on Cases of Civil Law remarks: 'The mundus gets its name from the “sky” above our heads; indeed in shape it resembles the sky, as I have been able to ascertain from those who have entered it.' Another jurist C. Ateius Capito, the consul suffectus of 5 A.D., in his work On Pontifical Law states that thrice a year, on August 24, October 5, and November 8, the mundus was left open. Festus adds that the lower part of it was consecrated to the Di Manes and kept closed except on these days, when their secrets were brought to light. Varro emphasises the solemn character of the said days: ‘When the mundus is open, it is as though the gate of gloomy underworld gods were left ajar. Hence it is taboo, not only for a battle to be joined, but even for a military

templa of the Terremare settlements. F. von Duhn in Ebert Reallex. ii. 286 remarked that their east-to-west trench had five pits in it containing sherds, pebbles, mussel-shells, and animal-bones—sacrale Dinge, die mit der Inauguration der Siedelung und dem, was die Römer später mundus nannten, in Zusammenhang stehen werden, etc. Taubler was justified therefore in emphasising the resemblance of Roma quadrata and the mundus to the Terremare templa and their pits. Weinstock again was over-sceptical. My own account of the mundus, which was penned before I had read any of the foregoing articles, is in the main compatible with Deubner’s cautious and convincing conclusions. Deubner keeps clear of the manalis lapis, and ignores Boni’s alleged mundus. Perhaps he was wise. At any rate I alone must bear the responsibility of conjecturing that the mundus on the Palatine was originally the Bronze-Age tholos of a Palatine king, and of seeking a parallel to it on the adjacent Capitul.  


2 Fest. p. 154 b 33 ff. Müller, p. 144, 17 ff. Lindsay qui quid ita dicatur sic refert Cato in commentaris iuris civilis (frag. 18 Funaioli): ‘Mundo homen impositum est ab eo mundo, qui supra nos est; forma enim eius est, ut ex is qui intraverit cognoscere potui, adsimilis illae.’  


5 Fest. p. 157 a 4 ff. Müller, p. 144, 21 ff. Lindsay eius inferiorem partem veluti consecratam Dis Manibus clausam omni tempore, nisi his diebus qui supra scripti sunt, maiiores c. . . m (K. O. Müller cj. consuerunt habedam); quos dies etiam religiosos indicaverunt ea de causa, quod quo tempore ea, quae occultae et abditae religionis Deorum Manium essent, veluti in lucem quandam adducerentur et patreferrent, nihil eo tempore in republica geri voluerent. itaque per eos dies non cum hoste manus conserebant: non exercitus scribatur: non comitia habebat < ntu: non > alius quicquam in republica, nisi quod ultima necessitas admovebat, administratur.
The **mundus**, then, was in some sense the gate of the Underworld. But Paulus epitomizing Festus, himself the epitomator of Verrius Flaccus, says that the portal of Orcus, through which souls of the dead (**Manes**) streamed up to join the living (*ad superos manarent*), was known as *manalis lapis*. Unless we are to suppose that Rome boasted of rival entrances to the nether regions, we are driven to conclude that this *manalis lapis* was a single stone by which the mouth of the bottle-shaped **mundus** was corked or stoppered. Paulus obviously connects the word *manalis* both with *Manes*, ‘the dead,’ and with *manare*, ‘to stream.’ The former connexion is possible, but improbable; the latter alone is valid. He continues: ‘They used the term *manalis lapis* also of a certain block (*petra*), which was outside the Porta Capena close to the temple of Mars. When in time of severe drought they dragged this block into the City, a shower immediately followed, and since the block streamed

1. *Macrob. Sat. i. 16. 16ff. nam cum Latiar, hoc est Latinarum sollemne, concipitur, item diebus Saturnaliorum, sed et cum Mundus patet, nefas est praelium sumere: quia nec Latinarum tempore, quo publice quondam inducias inter populum Romanum Latinisque firmatae sunt, inchoari bellum debeat, nec Saturni festo, qui sine ullo tumultu bellico creditur imperasse, nec patente Mundo, quod sacram Diti Patri et Proserpinae dicatum est: meliusque occlusa Plutonis fauce eundum ad praelium putaverunt. unde et Varro ita scribit: “Mundus cum patet, deorum tristium atque inferum quasi ianua patet: propterea non modo praelium committo, verum etiam dilectum rei militaris causa habere, ac militem proficisci, naven solvere, uxorem liberum quaerendorum causa ducere, religiosum est.”
2. *Supra* i. 1170.
6. *Supra* n. 4.
9. *Cp. Paul. ex Fest. p. 3, 13 f. Müller, p. 3, 24 ff. Lindsay Aquaelicum dicitur, cum aqua pluvialis remediis quibusdam elicitor, ut quondam, si creditur, manali lapide in urbem ducto. Since rain was sent by Jupiter, the old magical rite was attached to his cult (*Petron. sat. 44. 18 anteae solatae ibant nudis pedibus in clivum, passis capillis, mentibus puris, et Lovem aquam exorabant, itaque statim urecatim plovenebo; aut tunc aut nuncquam: et omnes redilant udi tanquam mures, Terr. *ap. 40 denique cum ab imbris aestiva
hiberna suspendunt et annus in cura est, vos quidem cotidie pasti statimque pransuri, balneis et cauponis et lupanaribus operantibus, aquilicia Jovi immolatis, nudipedia populo denuntiatis, caeleum apud Capitolium quaeritis, rubila de laquearibus expectatis, aversi ab ipsi et deo et caelo, ep. de sicium. sed et omnem ταυρεινοφθαλμους ethnici agnoscent, cum stupet caeleum et aret annus, nudipedia denuntiatur, magistratus purpuras ponunt, fases retro avertunt, precem indigitant, hostiain instaurant). The stone was drawn by the priests (interp. Serv. in Verg. Aen. 3. 175 ‘manabat,’ flevabat. hinc et lapis manalis quem trahebant pontifices, quotiens sicutess erat, cp. Var. ap. Non. Marc. p. 877, 8 ff. Lindsay (cited infra p. 435 n. 21), and was perhaps drenched with water as a magical or quasi-magical cure for the drought (Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 268 f.). This why this particular stone was chosen, we do not know. Was it the sepulchral stèle of some once famous Etruscan water-finder (Varr. Menipp. frag. 444 Bücheler ap. Non. Marc. p. 97, 16 Lindsay at hoc pacto utile te Tuscus aquilex) or rain-maker (Frazer Golden Bough? The Magic Art i. 310 n. 4) 

G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 310, id. Rel. Kult. Röm. 2 p. 121 approves the connexion of aqua-elicium with Jupiter Elicius propounded by O. Gilbert Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum Leipzig 1885 ii. 154 and accepted by E. Aust in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 658, id. in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 2566 f., despite the objections of M. H. Morgan 'Greek and Roman Rain-Gods and Rain-Charms' in the Transactions of the American Philological Association 1901 xxxii. 100 ff. (especially p. 105 f.). I was formerly attracted by this view (Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 269), but am now satisfied that Jupiter Elicius was essentially a lightning-god, not a rain-god (pace J. B. Carter De dorum Romanorum cognominibus Lipsiae 1898 p. 43, P. P. Sedgwick in Daremburg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 710). He had an altar on the Aventine (Varr. de ling. Lat. 6. 94) founded by Numa, whom he had instructed in lightning-lore (Liv. i. 20). About this altar an odd tale was told by Valerius Antias (frag. 6 Peter ap. Arnob. adv. nat. 5. 1, cp. Ov. fast. 3. 385 ff., Plout. v. Num. 15). Numa, at the advice of Egeria, posted a dozen chaste youths in ambush beside a spring, from which Faunus and Martius Picus were wont to drink, and further mixed much wine with the water. The gods drank deep, fell into a stupor, and were bound fast by the young men (Sir J. G. Frazer in his note on Ov. fast. 3. 289 regards the incident as ‘probably modelled on’ the ruse by which Midas captured Silenos). Faunus and Martius Picus were thus forced to disclose to the king the means by which Jupiter could be enticed from heaven to earth. The king thereupon offered sacrifice on the Aventine, enticed Jupiter to come down, and pressed him to reveal the right method of expiating thunderbolts. ‘With the head...’, said Jupiter: ‘...of an onion,’ added Numa. ‘With a human...’, said Jupiter: ‘...hair,’ put in Numa. ‘With a living creature,’ said the god: ‘With a sprat,’ concluded the king: And so surrogates for the head and hair of a live man were found in an onion, a hair, and a sprat (apparently the ‘hair’ suggested a small fish, cp. the use of τρυχις, τρυχιας, τρυχιδον, etc.), which things continued to form the ingredients of a lightning-spell (Plout. v. Num. 15) (in the Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 269 and 270 n. 1 I have discussed the similar mitigation of human sacrifice to Dis and Saturn (Varr. ap. Macrobi. Sat. 1. 7. 28 ff., 1. 11. 48 f., cp. Dion. Hal. ant. Rom. 1. 19) and to Mania (Macrobi. Sat. 1. 7. 34 f.)). Jupiter returned to heaven in a ‘gracious’ mood and the place was called Ilicium in consequence (Plout. v. Num. 15 κα τον μεν θεον ἄπελθεν τινα γενόμενα, τόν δὲ τόπον ἰλικίων ἀπ’ ἑκείνου παραγωγοφθήναι). Later, however, he slew with a thunderbolt Numa’s successor, Tullus Hostilius, who had made some slip in the due performance of these rites (L. Calpurnius Piso frag. 10 Peter ap. Plin. nat. hist. 2. 140 and frag. 13 Peter ap. Plin. nat. hist. 28. 14, Liv. i. 31, Aur. Vict. de viris illust. 4. 4).

Since the wooded slope of the Aventine (A. Merlin L’Aventin dans l’antiquité Paris 1906 p. 110) was ‘black with the shade of the ilex’ (Ov. fast. 3. 299), I conjectured years ago (Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 370, ib. 1904 xviii. 365 f.) that Jupiter Elicius should rather be Jupiter Ilicius, god of the Oak’ (ilex, ilicium, ilignum, ilignum). Prof. Goldmann tells me that he had independently hit upon the rendering Elicius, ‘of the Oak.’ He kindly drew my attention to a paragraph by H. Schuchardt in the Zeitschrift für romanische
with water they called it *manalis lapis*. Once more we hear of *manales lapides* or *petrae* in a suggestive context. Fulgentius (c. 480—550 A.D.)¹ in his *Explanation of antiquated Phrases* asks what *manales lapides* are, and answers: ‘Labeo, who expounded the Etruscan lore of Tages and Begoë (?)³ in fifteen volumes, has the following observation: “If the lobes of the liver prove to be coloured like red arsenic, then you need to trail the *manales petrae*.” These are blocks which the ancients used to draw like rollers round their boundaries with a view to curing a dearth of rain.⁴ G. Wissowa denounced the extract from Labeo as a forgery, but there is no real ground for doubting the accuracy of Fulgentius’ explanation.

It is quite possible, indeed highly probable, that the *manalis lapis* outside the Porta Capena was an old sepulchral pillar of the Etruscan sort: the *via Appia*, bordered with tombs, skirts the hill on which stood the temple of Mars. Similarly the *manales petrae* mentioned

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³ G. Wissowa ib. iii. 194.
⁷ H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae* Berolini 1912 tab. 1.
by Fulgentius were in all probability Etruscan tomb-pillars or boundary-stones\(^1\), which in time of distress would be trundled round the area under their especial protection. Finally, Varro informs us that *aquae manale* meant a small water-jug\(^2\). The term had an interesting history, and seems to have been re-interpreted as a basin for the hands in the *aquimanile* or *aquiminarium* of Christian ritual\(^3\).

Early in 1914 Commendatore Boni, digging on the Palatine under the north-eastern part of the peristyle of the *domus Augustiana*, discovered a *tholos*, which he identified with the *mundus*. This identification was promptly accepted by T. Ashby\(^4\), O. L. Richmond\(^5\), A. L. Frothingham\(^6\), and others\(^7\) on grounds that seem *prima facie* plausible\(^8\). Ashby reports\(^9\): 'a chamber with a bee-hive roof was found, the sides of which are lined with blocks of cappellaccio (a soft tufa); in the centre of it a circular shaft descends to two underground passages cut in the rock...which diverge but (after forming a right-angled triangle with a hypotenuse of 12 metres) meet again in a rock-cut domed chamber, half of which has been destroyed by Domitian's foundations.' Some further details are given by Richmond\(^10\) and L. A. Constans\(^11\), but so far no complete ground-plan or section has been published.

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1 Supra i. 53, ii. 1090.
8 H. J. Rose, however, in *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 1931 vii. 134 f. argues that Domitian, being 'pious to the point of religiosity,' would never 'have allowed his architects to build over, far less break into, a monument so venerable and at the same time so ill-omened as the *mundus Cereris*.'
9 S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 347-
Now à priori a tholoid structure underground might be one of three things—a granary, a well, or a tomb. And arguments are not wanting in support of each identification.

K. O. Müller¹ long since drew attention to Plutarch's² account found that the ancient "mundus" had been excavated at the augural centre of the hill, on the true summit, and that the direction of the caverns followed the lines of “cardo” and “decumanus,” Domitian covered it with indestructible concrete several feet thick, over which was his area Palatina. The position is to the east of the Apollo temple. It is thought that the mouth had been covered over and disused not later than the fourth century B.C. In 1913–1914 the excavators discovered over the round mouth of the ancient "mundus" on the Palatine a square depression, and a rectangular block of specially hard stone fitting one half of it. There were fragments of a second such block near by.

Richmond naturally claims that these facts confirm his restoration of Fest. p. 258 b 5 ff. Müller, p. 310, 35 ff. Lindsay Quadrata Roma in Palatio ante templum Apollinis dicitur, ubi reposita sunt, quae solent boni ominis gratis in urbe condenda adhiberi, quia saxo < mundus > munitus est initio in speciem quadratam. eius loci Ennius meminit cum ait (annm. 2 frag. 75 Baehrens, frag. 3 Steuart): ‘et ququis est erat+f Romae regnare quadratea’ (E. Baehrens and the latest editor Miss E. M. Steuart both accept C. O. Müller's cj. qui and Salmasius’ cj. se sperat—a brilliant combination involving the change of but a single letter. J. Vahlen² prefers M. Hertz' cj. qui sextus erat). Sir J. G. Frazer in his note on Ov. fast. 4. 821 (p. 386 n. 3) says: 'Perhaps we should insert locus after Quadrata Roma or after saxo to correspond with munitus.' But Richmond's emendation is more attractive.

¹ L. A. Constans in the Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres 1914 pp. 109—111: 'M. Boni a trouvé... une voûte à tholos, faite d'une superposition de blocs quadrangulaires, ouverte, et inclinée vers le midi, en telle sorte qu'elle ne forme pas une circonférence parfaite. Là s'ouvre un nouveau puits, creusé dans le tuf; au fond de ce puits, à 12 mètres au-dessous du niveau du sol, deux couloirs bifurquent: l'un, le plus étroit, est droit; l'autre, plus large, est coudé, au bout de quelques mètres, à angle droit, en telle sorte qu'il rejoint l'extrémité du premier, déterminant avec lui un triangle rectangle dont l'hypoténuse, formée par le couloir étroit, a une douzaine de mètres de long. M. Boni imagine que lorsqu'on portait dans le mundus, grenier sacré, les grains, prémices de la saison, on allait par le couloir large et revenait par le couloir étroit. On suivait la marche inverse quand on voulait chercher du grain dans le mundus pour les semaines. Ces deux couloirs aboutissent l'un et l'autre à une chambre circulaire, tout entière taillée dans le tuf, avec une coupole haute au sommet de laquelle un trou circulaire laisse voir le jour; sur les parois, des ouvertures à sommet formant angle aigu semblent être l'accès d'autres couloirs. Une banquette est ménagée à une assez grande hauteur en face de l'aboutissement des deux couloirs. Les couloirs et la chambre circulaire sont tapisés d'un enduit argileux; à la rencontre du sol et des parois, le tuf est taillée de façon à former une baguette arrondie; M. Boni prétend que, d'après un texte de Columelle [de re rust. 1. 6], ce serait une particularité de la construction des greniers, destinée à éviter des angles où des animaux pourraient faire leur nid. Le mundus en question se trouve à peu près sous l'emplacement du trône impérial, dans le fond du tablinum du palais des Flaviens.... M. Boni pense qu'au-dessus du mundus, et non dans la Regia, devait être le sanctuaire de Mars, protecteur de l'agriculture: les Saliens auraient conservé les armes sacrées dans la chambre à tholos du premier étage. On a recueilli au cours des fouilles un objet conique en bronze, avec des ornementations en fer, formant douze lignes, qui rayonnent à partir du sommet. M. Boni y voit un casque.'

² Plout. 2. Rom. 9 'Ρωμαίους μὲν ὃν ἡ τῆς καλομένης 'Ρώμης κονδράτης, ὅταν ἐστι ηττάγμανοι, ἔκτυος, καὶ ἐκείνοι ἠδύνατο πολίζων τὸν νόμον, 'Ρώμης δὲ χρυσόν τι τοῦ 'Αθηναίου καρπουτρ, δὲ ἐκείνου μὲν ἀνομασθῆ 'Ρεμάνων, νῦν δὲ 'Ρεγάραν καλεῖται..... 11 δὲ 'Ρωμίους
of the foundation of Roma Quadrata and inferred from the casting of first-fruits into the pit that the mundus was the larder or store-house of the new city. W. Warde Fowler urged that, if it was used for storing grain, we can see why it should have been opened on August 24. That date 'follows the Consualia [Aug. 21], a festival which almost beyond doubt has reference to harvesting, and immediately precedes the Opiconsivia [Aug. 25], which almost as certainly represents the storage of the grain as completed.' Warde Fowler further conjectured that on August 24 'the seed-corn for the autumn sowing was separated from the rest of the grain, and deposited in an underground storing-place, the mundus. Since the rough old-fashioned wheat called far was sown throughout October, whereas the better wheat called triticum was not to be sown till after the setting of the Pleiades (on or about Nov. 9), the other two days for the opening of the mundus—October 5 and November 8—are equally intelligible. When the city ceased to be a practical centre of agriculture, and the Etruscans established their dominion in Rome, 'the mundus took on a new meaning connected with the Etruscan ideas of a nether world' and the lapis manalis was wrongly linked with the Manes. The transition would be facilitated by the fact, duly noted by Sir J. G. Frazer, that 'the spirits of the dead are often supposed to watch over or further the growth of the crops: that is why the firstfruits are often presented to them.'

\[\text{\textit{Verg. Georg. i. 219 fl., cp. Colum. de re rust. 2. 8.}}\]

1. I take it that ἄθρως ... ἀφήνῃ περὶ τὸ νῦν Κομιτίων κυκλοτερήσι means 'a round hole was dug in the neighbourhood of what is now called the Comitium,' not 'a circular trench was dug round what is now called the Comitium.' A. L. Frothingham in the \textit{Am. Journ. Arch.} 1914 xviii. 315 and, apparently, Sir J. G. Frazer in his note on \textit{Ov. fast.} 4. 821 (p. 386) mistranslate the passage.


4. \textit{Id. in the Journ. Rom. Stud. 1912 ii. 27 = id. Roman Essays and Interpretations Oxford 1920 p. 27.}


6. \textit{Verg. georg. i. 219 fl., cp. Colum. de re rust. 2. 8.}


8. \textit{Id. in the Journ. Rom. Stud. 1912 ii. 30 n. 1 = id. \textit{Roman Essays and Interpretations Oxford 1920 p. 32 n. 6.}}
Warde Fowler’s explanation of the *mundus* as essentially a subterranean granary for the seed-corn commended itself to Professor F. M. Cornford, who worked out an interesting parallel in Eleusinian usage. Boni too regarded the *mundus* that he found on the Palatine as the sacred granary of early Rome and sought to elucidate its arrangements on that assumption. This granary-hypothesis, which obviously suits the name *Cereris mundus* used by Festus, Apuleius, etc., and can at least be made to fit the accounts of *Quadrata Roma* given by Festus and Plutarch, is in fact the accepted solution of the problem.

Still, it must be borne in mind that other *tholoi* on the Palatine are beyond question in the nature of early cisterns, and that the

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1 F. M. Cornford ‘The *ATTAPXAI* and the Eleusinian Mysteries’ in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgetway Cambridge* 1913 pp. 153–166. The seed-corn first buried in an underground granary (*opola*, cp. Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* no. 83, 10 ff. (c. 423/2 B.C.) cited *supra* p. 301 n. 0 (4)) and then taken out for sowing = Descent and Ascent of the Corn-maiden or Kore (*supra* ii. 295 n. 2).

2 *Supra* p. 436 n. 11.

3 *Supra* p. 431 n. 4.

4 Apul. *apol.* 13 magis piaculum decernis speculum philosopho quam Cereris mundum profano videre.


6 *Supra* p. 436 n. 0.

7 *Supra* p. 436 n. 2. There is an important discrepancy here between Plutarch and Ovid. Plutarch places the *mundus*, into which at the foundation of the city first-fruits and earth were thrown, somewhere in the neighbourhood of the later Comitium. Ovid puts his corresponding *fossa* on the Palatine (*fast. 4. 815 alter adit nemorosi saxa Palati... 821 ff. fossa fit ad solidum, fruges iaciuntur in ima | et de vicino terra petita solo. | fossa repletur humo, plenaeque imponitur ara, | et novus accenso fungitur igne focus*). It is usually assumed that Plutarch has blundered. But A. L. Frothingham in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1914 xviii. 316 f. notes ‘the transfer to the Comitium of so many of the *sacra* and traditions of the Palatine’ and concludes: ‘When the city of the Four Regions was established and the new classification of the population was made that is associated in one tradition with the famous augur Attus Navins, it is reasonable to suppose that the founding of the new and larger *urbs* of Rome with its single and extended pomerium, centring in or near the Comitium, would be celebrated by a new *mundus* in the centre of the new *urbs*. It is curious that it is precisely with Attus Navins that tradition connects the transfer from the Palatine to the Comitium of the Ficus Ruminalis of Romulus and Remus, and also with him the establishment of the *puteal* or circular sacred enclosure in the Comitium. It seems probable that when Plutarch wrote, the old *mundus* of the Palatine had long ceased to be used, and may even have been forgotten; and that in speaking of the *mundus* as in the Comitium he was not making any blunder.’

8 *Supra* p. 366 n. 1.
The holed vessel in Italy

rock-cut chambers and channels of Boni's *mundus* could, not unreasonably, be explained as a somewhat more extensive reservoir. Besides, such an explanation would make sense of the *manalis lapis*. The well-mouth would be appropriately closed by a 'streaming stone.' They suggest that *mundus* the adjective denoted successively 'watered, washed down, clean, clear, neat;' and that *mundus* the substantive continued the series 'neatness, adornment, order, cosmic order, world.' But on this showing it is thinkable that *mundus* the substantive at an early stage in its history meant 'place washed down, cistern' or the like, being perhaps a *Reimwortsbildung* to pair

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1 So S. Weinstock in the *Rom. Mitth.* 1930 xlv. 121 with n. 3. Viewed in this way, some of the details mentioned supra p. 436 n. 11 become more understandable, e.g. the "ouvertures à sommet formant angle aigu" in the walls of the "chambre circulaire."


See, however, F. Muller Jan Altitalisches Wörterbuch Göttingen 1926 p. 277 ff., who distinguishes *mundus* "mude(n)des orbis." Schon die Alten stellten es zu *movere*: Varro Ll. 6, 3, Paul. 125 L., Isid. 3, 2, 8; 13, 1, 1 and *mundus*, -i "sauber, rein: schmuck..." Zur W. mey (+ d): "waschen," also *μῦνικα- alter Gerundiv oder *μῦνικο- (wie χῦ-βαφός: χῦo (Schulze QE. 170 ff., 469, KZ. 45, 235), vgl. I. s. 11, 1, 138: quod eo (sc. lotis) lata id est munda vestimenta efficientur..." Wenn <μῦνις, dann zur erweiterten W. meu + d: gr. μῦδος "feucht," μῦδος M. "Nässe," air. μῦδ "Wolke," nld. motregen "feiner Regen," li. *mudayti* "baden")—Hierher und identisch *mundus*, -i M. "Schmuck," seit Fest, nicht rom.; genau wie d. *Schmuck: schmuck.* Ernout—Meillet Dict. étym. de la Langue Lat. p. 608 f. likewise separate *mundus* the adjective from *mundus* the substantive meaning 'world,' but identify *mundus* the substantive meaning 'adornment' with the latter, not with the former, 'à l'imputation du gr. κόσμον.' They sum up: 'Pas d'étymologie claire. L'hypothèse d'une origine étrusque a été avancée (une déesse munðhix, munðix, munðh, dont le rôle est de parer et d'orner figure sur plusieurs miroirs étrusques; v. Deecke, dans Roscher, Lexicon, II, 2, p. 232.) Sur le groupe de *mundus*, voir Kroll, Festzhr. Kretschmer, p. 120 sqq., qui conclut par un "non liquet."'
The holed vessel in Italy

with *fundus*. The *mundus* on the Palatine may in fact be a religious survival, perpetuating the equipment of a primitive homestead.

Neither the granary-nor the well-hypothesis will quite adequately explain the dreadful sanctity that in Roman belief attached to the Palatine *mundus* or justify its description as ‘the jaws of Pluto’, ‘the gate of gloomy underworld gods’, and ‘the portal of Orcus’. These expressions point rather to a third possibility. Was the *mundus* originally neither a granary, nor a well, but a tomb—say the Bronze-Age *tholos* of the Palatine king? As such it might fairly be dubbed *mundus* by a later generation and held to imitate the celestial vault. Offerings of food and other necessaries brought to the buried king might in Italy as in Greece lead to his grave being deemed a *thesaurōs* and even, in post-regal times, being treated as a real or symbolic store-house for the seed-corn of the community.

Lastly, the stone that formed the apex or finial of the tomb would doubly deserve its name *manalis*. For, while some would think of the Manes returning from the Underworld to help their people in distress, others might remember that to open up the grave of a buried king was one method of inducing a deluge of rain.

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1 Not included as such by H. Güntert *Über Reimwortbildungen im Arischen und Altgriechischen* Heidelberg 1914. J. Vendryes ‘La famille du latin *mundus* “monde”’ in the Mémoires de la société de linguistique de Paris 1914 xviii. 305—310 regards *mundus* as a dialect-form of *fundus* (‘C'est d'un ancêtre commun *bundo* que *mundus* et *fundus* seraient sortis...On peut d'abord recourir à l'hypothèse d'une distinction dialectale et d'un *fundus* rural opposé a un *mundus* urbain; mais ce *mundus* urbain lui-même est peut-être d'origine étrangère (ombrienne)’) etc.), and both as related to a Celtic *dubno-* preserved in the Irish *doman* ‘world,’ the Gallic *Dubnotalos, Dubnecoueros, Dumnoirix, etc.* But all this is highly speculative.

2 *Supra* p. 432 n. 1.

3 *Id.*

4 *Supra* p. 432 n. 4.

5 *Supra* ii. 1150.

6 In the epitaph on Cn. Naevius preserved by Gell. i. 24. 2 I should take *Orcho traditus thesauro* to mean ‘handed over to Orchus as store-house.’ F. Skutsch would render ‘handed over to Orchus for a treasure,’ cp. *dono dare*. E. Bährens in *Post. Lat. min.* vi. 296 attributes the epigram to M. Terentius Varro and prints his own cj. *Orcho traditus thesaurus* (‘coffer,’ i.e. coffin). Cod. Buslidianus gives *orchi* and *thesauri*. Hence the restorations *Orci traditus thesauro* (possible) and *Orcino, Orcio, Orcivus traditus thesauro* (highly improbable): see De Vit *Lat. Lex.* s.v. ‘Orcinus.’

The term *thergaplos* as applied to the *tholos*-tombs of Greece is criticised by Perrot—Chipiez *Histoire de l'Art* vi. 356 f., *Frazier Pausanius* iii. 126, H. Hitzig and H. Blümner on Paus. 2. 16, J. L. Myres *Who were the Greeks?* Berkeley, California 1930 p. 384, and many others.

7 *Cp. Sir J. G. Frazier on* *Ov. fast.* 4. 821 (p. 390).

8 On the Manes I have said my say in *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 193 ff.

9 *Frazier* *Golden Bough* (‘Making rain by means of the dead’), *supra* p. 369 n. 3.

A striking case is that of Antaios king of Mauretania: *Mela* 3. 106 hic *Antaeus regnasse dicitur, et signum quod fabulae clarum prorsus ostenditur collis modicus resupini hominis imagine iacent, illius ut incolae ferunt tumulus: unde ubi aliqua pars eruta est solent imbres spargi, et donec effossa repleantur eveniunt. Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* ii. 105 n. 75, 133 n. 18 and K. Wernicke in Pauly—*Wissowa* *Real-Enc.* i. 1340 think that the myth of Antaios
The holed vessel in Italy

The assumption that the *mundus* was a prehistoric tomb is found to cover the whole spread of usages connected with it in historic days. Nor have we far to look for a somewhat analogous case. Adjoining the Palatine was the Capitol, and we have already seen that in the Capitoline temple, side by side with Jupiter on his throne, stood an ancient grave-*stèle* or boundary-stone, which was viewed as an appanage of the sky-god and in art portrayed as a blue globe resting on a square plinth—a *mundus* of the celestial sort. Roman writers called it the stone of Terminus. But such a stone, at its erection, had the blood of a burnt sacrifice along with incense, corn, honeycombs, wine etc. placed in the hole prepared for it. In other words, it was treated as the tombstone of a man and received the offerings normally brought to the Manes. Nor is the notion of an early tomb on the Capitol beyond the pale of possibility. The story of Aulus' head dug up on that very spot is more than a mere piece of bad etymology.

In this connexion it is impossible to ignore that most impressive of all Roman temples, the Pantheon. For its amazing dome, while

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1 *Supra* i. 53.
2 *Supra* i. 47 pl. vi.
3 *Supra* i. 53 n. 5.
4 Siculus Flaccus in the *Grom. vet.* i. 141 Lachmann cum enim terminos disponerent, ipsos quidem lapides in solidam terram rectos conlocabant proxime ea loca in quibus fossis factis defixuri eos erant, et unguento velaminibus et coronis eos coronabant. in fossis autem (in *om. cod. G.*) quibus eos posituri erant, sacrificio facto hostiaque inmolata adque incensa facibus ardentibus, in fossa cooperti (‘an cooperta?’ K. Lachmann) sanguinem instillabant, eoque (eis qui cod. B.) tura et fruges iactabant. favos quoque et vinum, aliaque quibus consuetude est Termini (terminis codd. E.G.) sacrum fieri, in fossis adiciebant. consumptisque ignibus omnibus dapibus super calentes reliquias lapides conlocabant ‘adque ita diligenti cura confirmabant. adiectis etiam quibusdam saxorum fragmentibus circum calcabant, quo firmius starent. tale ergo sacrificium domini, inter quos fines dirimbantur, faciebant.
5 H. B. Smith in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* i. 893 f. See also E. Samter (*supra* ii. 1096).
The holed vessel in Italy

obviously comparable in shape with the *mundus*, seems to have been in the nature of a vast imperial *herdion* built for the glorification of the gens Iulia, and...dedicated in particular to Mars and

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1 In some respects the closest parallel might be found in the *Philippelon* at Olympia (Paus. 5. 20. 9 ff., cp. 5. 17. 4), on which see F. Adler in *Olympia* ii. 118—133 pls. 79—82, E. N. Gardiner *Olympia Its History & Remains* Oxford 1925 pp. 131—135 figs. 41, 43—45.
Venus, the most prominent among the ancestral deities of that family. So much, indeed, is clear from Dion Cassius’ account:

‘Also he (sc. Agrippa) completed the building called the Pantheon. It has this name, perhaps because it received among the images which decorated it the statues of many gods, including Mars and Venus; but my own opinion of the name is that, because of its vaulted roof, it resembles the heavens. Agrippa, for his part, wished to place a statue of Augustus there also and to bestow upon him the honour of having the structure named after him; but when the emperor would not accept either honour, he placed in the temple itself a statue of the former Caesar and in the ante-room statues of Augustus and himself.’

Fig. 292.

2 Dion Cass. 53. ὁ τὸ Παντεῖον ὄνομασμένον ἔξετελεσε: προσαγορεύτοτα δὲ οὗτω τάχα μὲν οὐ πολλάκις θεῶν εἰκόνας εν τοῖς ἁγάλμασι, τῷ τε τοῦ Ἀρκεω καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀδριανῆς, θαμεῖν, ὡς τῇ γωνίᾳ, οὐδὲ ταλαιπῶς ἐν τῷ αὐταρχῇ προσέπεμεν. ἦπειρολήθη μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἀγριπ- παῖς καὶ τῷ Ἀγριππᾶς ἐνταῦθα ἑξῆκεν, τῷ τε τοῦ ἐργοῦ ἐπέλεην αὐτῷ δοῦναι. μὴ δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἀρχαιοῦ ἐκεῖ μὲν τοῦ πρώτου Καίσαρος, εν δὲ τῷ προφάρο τοῦ τοῦ Ἀγριππᾶς καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνδράκτας ἐτησός. E. Cary.
3 Opinions differ as to the character and general aspect of Agrippa’s Pantheon. In 1892 the architect G. Chedanne, from careful examination of the consoles etc. in the existing portico, concluded that Agrippa’s building was a decastyle, peripteral hall, originally facing south and covering the whole space now occupied by the Piazza del Panteon (H. Jordan—C. Hülsen Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum Berlin 1907 i. 3. 589). Further, by means of brick-stamps taken from many parts of the extant rotunda, he showed that this was constructed by Hadrian in 120—124 A.D. (ib. p. 587 n. 81).

Subsequent investigations have been held to establish the following points: (1) that the temple built by Agrippa consisted of an oblong cella with a portico of ten columns facing the south; (2) that in front of this temple, viz., on the south side, was an immense circular piazza, of which a portion of the enclosing wall concentric with and contiguous to the rotunda has been found; (3) that this circular piazza was uncovered, as its pavement, found 8 feet below the floor of the Pantheon, sloped downwards from the centre to the circumference. It is probable that this piazza was surrounded with a portico, the founda-
The hole vessel in Italy

The resemblance of the whole edifice (fig. 291)\(^4\) to the sky would be enhanced by its ceiling coffered with bronze flowers\(^2\) or stars (fig. 292)\(^8\), and perhaps also by its seven niches tenanted—if Mommsen's conjecture is sound\(^4\)—by the seven gods of the week.

tion walls of which were uprooted when the rotunda was built); (4) that the rotunda was built on the site of the circular piazza, some 7 or 8 feet above the pavement of the same; and (5) that at a subsequent period Agrippa's temple and its portico were taken down and rebuilt at a higher level, to form the portico of the existing Pantheon facing north. In rebuilding the portico it was made octostyle instead of decastyle, the eight columns of the front resting on what must have been the rear wall of Agrippa's cella. The entablature, with the inscription on the frieze, and the pediment also belonged to Agrippa's temple' (W. J. Anderson—R. P. Spiers The Architecture of Ancient Rome rev. by T. Ashby London 1927 p. 79 f.).

Recently, however, the pendulum has swung back. G. Cozzo Ingegneria romana Roma 1928 pp. 255—297 ('La costruzione del Pantheon') with pls. 96—117 figs. 185—214 argues that the Pantheon of to-day is essentially the structure raised by Agrippa in 27 B.C.; that its original entrance was on the south through a great outer hall; that later this hall became part of the Thermæ, the rotunda-entrance being then transferred to the north; and lastly that the solid projection and porch of the Pantheon were added, perhaps in the time of Septimius Severus, on the site of a quite separate pre-Agrippan building.

D. S. Robertson A Handbook of Greek & Roman Architecture Cambridge 1929 p. 248 d\(^2\) pro\(^4\) pos\(^1\) of Cozzo's view concludes: 'This bold theory, which is supported by many arguments of detail, could perhaps be adapted to fit a Hadrianic date for the rotunda, but, even so, it seems very unlikely that it will win general acceptance.' Id. in the Class. Rev. 1934 xlvi. 219 demurs also to F. Granger's contention, 'most fully explained in J. R. I. B. A. 26 November 1934,...that the Pantheon is a huge sundial, designed to show the summer solstice by the passing of the sun's rays through the centre of the imaginary sphere of which the dome forms the upper half.'

An item of evidence hitherto, I think, unnoticed may be found in the fresco-work illustrated above (fig. 292). Wall-decoration of the 'Third Pompeian Style' (c. 25 B.C.—c. 50 A.D.) might well be inspired by Agrippa's Pantheon, a recent architectural triumph just finished in 27 B.C. No doubt, the quasi-architecture of the 'Third Style' was often fantastic and unreal. Still, the occurrence of this novel and striking motif demands some explanation. It is fittingly explained, if we admit that Agrippa's building was a domed structure like its Hadrianic successor.

2 W. J. Anderson—R. P. Spiers The Architecture of Ancient Rome rev. by T. Ashby London 1927 p. 81: 'The coffers of the vault were all gilded with bronze flowers in the centre, and M. Chedanne found the bronze bolts in the vault.'
3 A. Mau Geschichte der decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji Berlin 1882 p. 414 pls. 13 and 14 (=my fig. 292: scale \(\frac{1}{4}\)) from the right side-wall of the tablinum in the house of the banker L. Caecilius Iucundus (v. 1. 26), id. Führer durch Pompeji bearbeitet von A. Ippel Leipzig 1928 p. 54 ff. fig. 19. The design shows a spacious dome as seen from below. Seven concentric rows of lacunaria in diminishing perspective lead the eye up towards the zenith of a cupola crowded with whitish stars on an imbricated ground of dull blue and purple. The whole rests on a widely spaced Ionic colonnade, and is cleverly illuminated by slanting shafts of sunlight. The Ionic columns, the concentric lacunaria, the stars, and the imbricated cupola are all suggestive of the Pantheon.
4 H. Jordan—C. Hülser Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum Berlin 1907 i. 3. 581 n. 61: 'Mommsens Vermuthung, in den sieben Nischen hätten die sieben Planetengötter gestanden, hat, wenn man an das jetzige Pantheon denkt, viel Bestechendes, begegnet aber Schwierigkeiten für das ursprüngliche,' S. B. Platner—T. Ashby A Topo—
Saturnus, Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercurius, Iupiter, Venus. Now at the very summit of this great rotunda, at a height of 43.20 m (144 ft.) above the coloured pavement, was a circular opening some 9 m (29 ft.) across, surrounded by an ornamental cornice of bronze. Through that opening rain fell, and still falls, unheeded. Is it fanciful to suggest that such an arrangement of the louver points to, or at least accords with, a long-standing belief that rain habitually fell through a hole in the sky?

iv. The holed vessel elsewhere.

An analogous Semitic conception, the 'windows of heaven' ("rubboth hashshamayim"), has been mentioned in a foot-note, but is deserving of Fuller treatment. The Hebrew phrase is rendered by some the 'lattices of heaven'; and the late Dr A. Wright reminds us 'that in Egypt and Libya the open windows of the harem are regularly fitted with lattice work containing minute perforations.' The transition in meaning from a window to a sieve was therefore not difficult. Hence we may explain the vulgate version of an obscure passage in the Old Testament: 'He made darkness a hiding-place round about him, sending waters from the clouds of the skies as through a sieve.' Hence too Theodoret in 5 A.D. could describe God as 'raining from the clouds...and separating the drops and letting them fall now in fine rain, now in copious streams, and parting as it were with a sieve the offspring of the clouds.' The

graphical Dictionary of Ancient Rome Oxford 1929 p. 382 f.: 'Mommsen's conjecture that the seven niches were occupied by the seven planetary deities is attractive, and Hülsen is now in favour of it.'

1 Supra ii. 69 f.
2 Supra p. 353 n. 1.
3 I have already touched upon ceilings made to represent the sky in the case of Babylonian palaces (supra i. 261 ff.), Egyptian tombs (supra i. 752 n. 1), Mycenaean tholos (supra ii. 150, iii. 364, infra 458), Greek temples (supra i. 751, 752 n. 1) and porticoes (supra i. 752 n. 0), Roman arches (supra ii. 354 ff., 359 ff.), temples, and palaces (supra i. 751 n. 8). The subject could readily be expanded into a monograph (R. Eisler Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt München 1910 has shown the way and collected much relevant material); for such treatment, losing its significance, passed into the repertory of renaissance and modern decorative art. To give but a single instance, the hall of Queens' College, Cambridge, has a timbered roof painted blue and spangled with stars of lead-gilt round its central louver.

4 Supra p. 353 n. 1.
5 See S. R. Driver on Gen. 1. 6. The views of the early church fathers are collected by J. A. Letronne 'Des opinions cosmographiques des pères de l'Église, rapprochées des doctrines philosophiques de la Grèce' in the Revue des deux mondes 1834 i. 616 f.
6 So Prof. A. S. Peake on Is. 24. 18.
7 A. Wright in the Class. Rev. 1901 xv. 258.
8 Supra p. 355 ff.
9 2 Sam. 22. 12 (= Ps. 18. 11) possuit tenebras in circuitu suo latibulum, cribrans aquas de nubibus caelorum.
10 Theodoret, de providentia i. 34 (lxxiii. 572 Migne) δων ἐν νεφών...καὶ τὰς ψεκάζαι διακρίνων καὶ νῦν μὲν ωμέγας ἀφέων καὶ δὲ μεγάλας καὶ προφηθῶν φερόμενα καὶ ἀλὸν τινὶ κοσμίκῳ διαιρῶν τῶν νεφών τὰ ὀψίν.
alleged examples of rain-charms in Scripture\(^1\) do not, however, illustrate the actual usage of a holed vessel or sieve\(^2\).

A remarkable instance of rain-making through a celestial sieve is recorded by Major S. C. Macpherson in his account of the Khonds' religion. A great Janni with two smaller priests and some of the principal elders address the following prayer to the rain-god Pidzu Pennu:

'Oh, give us abundant rain, enough to melt the hill-tops. Go and fetch water for us, if need be, by force or fraud, from the stores of your friends the gods of rain. Bring it in brass vessels, and in hollow gourds, and resting on the sky above our land, pour the water down on it through your sieve until the sambur, unable to live in the forests, shall seek shelter in our houses, and till the soil of the mountains shall be washed into our valleys\(^3\).' Etc.

In the Finnish Kalevala Louhi, the lady of the north country Pohjola, prays thus:

Maiden of the Clouds, Mist-Maiden,
Scatter from thy sieve the cloudlets,
And the mists around thee scatter,
Send the thick clouds down from heaven,
Sink thou from the air of vapour,
O'er the broad lake's shining surface,
Out upon the open water,
On the head of Väinämöinen,
Falling on Uvantolainen\(^4\).

Over a great part of Germany we find the recognition of a supernatual and commonly beneficent being called Frau Holda (Hulda, Holle, Hulle, Holl, etc.\(^5\)). She is a sky-power of some sort\(^6\);
The holed vessel elsewhere

for, when it snows, she is making her bed and the feathers fly¹. She
geneigter oder an. huldr verborgen, wofür die jedenauf welensverwante dän. norweg.
Hulla, Huldra, Huldr spreicht ... ‚Wahrscheinlich gehört auch die engl. Madame Gould
hieher, eine weisse Frau, die auf einem Pfluge sitzt und ihr Haar kämmt ([§ 366. [W.]
Henderson Notes [on the Folk-lore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders
London 1879 p. 330 [ff.]), 282 ff. („Der Frühlingsmythus von der Erbissig der weissen
Frau”), E. Mogk in the Grundriss der germanischen Philologie⁶ herausgegeben von
H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 278 ff. („Deutscher Volksgläube des späten Mittelalters und
der Gegenwart weiss von einer Frau Holda oder Holle und Perchta zu erzählen, die mit
ihren Scharen durch die Lüfte fahren, besonders zur Zeit des grossen winterlichen Seelen-
estes sich den Menschen zeigen und sie bald belohnen, bald bestrafen ....’ Nun findet sich
für die seelischen Wesen neben unhold schon frühzeitig der Name holden. Die Wasser-
geister erscheinen als Wasserholde, Brunnenholde ([J. Grimm Teutonic Mythology trans.
J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 268 with n. 31], als Hollen erscheinen die Zwerge
([A.] Kuhn Sagen, Gebräuche und Märchen aus Westfalen Leipzig 1859] t, 193 f.,
200 u. öft.), überhaupt die Seelen Verstorbener (ebd. ii. 124) ....’ Überall sehen wir auf
germanischem Gebiete den engsten Zusammenhang zwischen den Holden und den Seelen
Verstorbenen, und wir brauchen deshalb das holdam des Correctors des Burchard von
Worms nicht in unholdam (F. Kaufmann „Dea HuIná” in Beiträge zur Geschichte der
deutschen Sprache und Literatur 1894 xvii. 150]) zu ändern, wo es von der Schar der
nachtfahrenden Dämonen heisst “quam vulgaris stultitia holdam vacant [leg. vocat].”
Dies holda gehört aber etymologisch zu ahdl. helan „verbergen” und berührt sich so mit
an. hel, unserem Holle. Dennoch sind die Holden von Haus die Unterirdischen, die
nach dem Tode noch ihr Wesen treiben. Wie das sprachliche Verhältnis dieser zu den
Unholden gewesen ist, dünkt mich noch nicht genügend aufgeklärt. Aus dieser Schar
der Holden ist nun in später, vielleicht erst in christlicher Zeit und z. T. unter dem
Einfluss fremden Volksglaubens eine Führerin entstanden, der die Volksphantasie das
nomen propium aus dem Kollektivbegriff geschaffen, die aber im Laufe der Zeit die von
ihr geführten Wesen zurückgedrängt hat. Das ist die Frau Holle oder Holda unserer
Märchen und Sagen⁷), id. in Hoops Reallex. ii. 556 f. s.v. „Holden; Frau Holda, Holle,”
R. M. Meyer Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte Leipzig 1910 p. 114 („Frau Holle as eine
Kollektivierung” of the Holden, originally „freigewordene Seelen Verstorbener”), P. A.
(„The name of the Huldre or Hill-Lady, heldr, probably comes from at hyldja, “to hide,”
„to cover.” The Germans are conversant with a somewhat similar being, Holle, Frau Holle,
Mutter Holle oder Holde, whose name appears at an early period to have been associated
with the adjective held, Old Norse holdr, “kind,” “amiable,” “friendly” .... Our Huldre,
on the contrary, bears a name which linguistically has always been kept distinct from the
adjective holr”).

¹ See, however, A. H. Krappe Etudes de mythologie et de folklore germaniques Paris
1928 p. 107 ff., id. Science of Folk-Lore London 1930 p. 90 („Dame Holle is an old
chthonic divinity, the Teutonic parallel of the Greek Persephone and the Roman bona
Dea and at the same time a divinity of the fertility of the soil. Wherever her procession
passes the fields will produce twice their usual harvest”), id. Mythologie universelle Paris
1920 pp. 196 („Hol, apparentée à Holda, est une ancienne déesse de la terre, l’équivalent
exact de la Perséphone hellénique. Seulement, son aspect purement chthonien et sinistre
a prévalu sur ses qualités plus aimables. Dans le cas de Holda, d’autre part, les deux
aspects de son caractère, l’affable et le terrible, se sont maintenus dans la tradition. Ce
qui est encore plus intéressant, de même que sainte Agathe vint prendre la place de
l’ancienne Perséphone chez les populations méditerranéennes, sainte Lucie prit celle de
la Holda germanique”), 352 („la Holda germanique (dont le nom est dérivé de l’adjectif
hold)”).

² J. Grimm Teutonic Mythology trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 267 f., where
parallels are cited to Hdt. 4. 7 and 31.
also haunts lakes and fountains, where she may be seen at noon as a fair white lady. In the Harz district it is believed that, between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, she carries water in a vessel without a bottom. Or again, in the same locality she appears as a black woman with two buckets that have no bottom to them.

The motif of the holed bucket is worked into the German folk-tale of 'Master Awl' (Meister Pfriem). This tells how a shoe-maker, who grumbled at everything, once dreamt that he was knocking loudly at the door of heaven. Saint Peter let him in, provided he gave up his grumbling ways and found fault with nothing inside.

'So he went in, and walked up and down the wide expanses of heaven. He looked around him, to the left and to the right, but sometimes shook his head, or muttered something to himself. Then he saw two angels who were carrying away a beam. It was the beam which some one had had in his own eye whilst he was looking for the splinter in the eye of another. They did not, however, carry the beam lengthways, but obliquely. "Did any one ever see such a piece of stupidity?" thought Master Pfriem; but he said nothing, and seemed satisfied with it. "It comes to the same thing after all, whichever way they carry the beam, straight or crooked, if they only get along with it, and truly I do not see them knock against anything." Soon after this he saw two angels who were drawing water out of a well into a bucket, but at the same time he observed that the bucket was full of holes, and that the water was running out of it on every side. They were watering the earth with rain. "Hang it," he exclaimed; but happily recollected himself, and thought, "Perhaps it is only a pastime. If it is an amusement, then it seems they can do useless things of this kind even here in heaven, where people, as I have already noticed, do nothing but idle about." He went farther and saw a cart which had stuck fast in a deep hole. "It's no wonder," said he to the man who stood by it; "who would load so unreasonably? what have you there?" "Good wishes," replied the man. "I could not go along the right way with it, but still I have pushed it safely up here, and they won't leave me sticking here." In fact an angel did come and harnessed two horses to it.

"That's quite right," thought Pfriem, "but two horses won't get that cart out, it must at least have four to it." Another angel came and brought two more horses; she [leg. he] did not, however, harness them in front of it, but behind. That was too much for Master Pfriem, "Clumsy creature," he burst out with, "what are you doing there? Has any one ever since the world began seen a cart drawn in that way? But you, in your conceited arrogance, think that you know everything best." He was going to say more, but one of the inhabitants of heaven seized

1 J. Grimm op. cit. i. 268.
3 H. Prohle op. cit. p. 135 quoted by A. Kuhn op. cit. i. 203.
5 'Alle Hagel!' platze er heraus.
him by the throat and pushed him forth with irresistible strength. Beneath the gateway Master Pfriem turned his head round to take one more look at the cart, and saw that it was being raised into the air by four winged horses. At this moment Master Pfriem awoke.  

J. Bolte and G. Polívka in a thorough-going commentary on this tale regard it as composed of two distinct elements—an early legend involving symbols of fruitless labour, and a popular story about an impudent fellow who pushed his way into heaven. They trace the former element back to a date c. 800 A.D., when it is found in a Greek legend of Saint Arsenios the Great, ex-tutor of Arcadius and Honorius (c. 334—449 A.D.). This anchorite saw in a vision three successive symbols of human vanity—(1) an Ethiopian trying to lift a pile of wood, but adding logs to his burden instead of subtracting them from it; (2) a man baling water out of a pit into a cistern, which had holes in it; and (3) two men on horseback carrying a pole between them, but endeavouring to enter the door of a sanctuary side by side, because neither of them was willing to let the other enter first.

Such symbols for labour lost may occur singly and give rise to proverbial phrases. Thus the Germans say:

Wasser in ein lücheriges Fass schöpfen.

Wasser in ein sy beckin schöpfen.

Wasser schöpfen mit einem Siebe.

Often the emptying of a lake or pool with a sieve is an impossible task laid upon a human by a superhuman being. In a folk-tale from Haute-Bretagne Blue Beard bids a man, who enters his service, drain a pond with a sieve. In another from central Germany


4 Id. ib. no. 795.

5 Id. ib. no. 799.

the ghost of a dead woman is put under a ban to empty a pool with
the same utensil. In an English tale a girl is ordered by her step-
mother to fill a sieve at the Well of the World's End, and succeeds
in so doing thanks to the advice of a friendly frog:

'Stop it with moss and daub it with clay,
And then it will carry the water away.'

The performance of manifest impossibilities was throughout
the middle ages held to be a signal proof of divine favour or at least
of superhuman powers. As late as 1209 A.D. the Poles were confident
of victory because a certain sorceress (Pythonissa) marched at the
head of Duke Wlodislaus' army bearing water in a sieve.

In general it may be maintained that the frequent connexion of
witches with sieves depends on the belief that witches are rain-
makers, and that rain can be made by pouring water through a
sieve. It is not, however, easy to cite unequivocal evidence of a sieve

1 E. Sommer Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Sachsen und Thüringen Halle 1846 Sagen no. 10 quoted by A. Kuhn Sagen, Gebräuche und Märchen aus Westfalen Leipzig 1859 i. 204.
2 J. Jacobs English Fairy Tales London 1898 p. 215 ff. ('The Well of the World's End') with note on p. 260 ('The sieve-bucket task is widespread from the Danais of the Greeks to the leverets of Uncle Remus, who, curiously enough, use the same rhyme: "Fill it wid moss en dob it wid clay."').
3 Cp. supra p. 428.
5 Cp. J. Michelet Origines de droit français cherchées dans les symboles et formules du droit universel Paris 1837 p. 350 'Les Indiens croient qu'une vierge peut serrer l'eau en pelote, ou la porter dans un tamis.'
7 On sieve-superstitions in general see supra p. 336 n. 5 and G. F. Abbott Macedonian Folklore Cambridge 1903 pp. 96, 101, 219 n. 2.
Zeus identified with rain

being actually used in a rain-charm within the confines of Europe. Perhaps the clearest case is one quoted by Sir James Frazer:

'In 1868 the prospect of a bad harvest, caused by a prolonged drought, induced the inhabitants of a village in the Tarashchansk district to dig up the body of a Raskolnik, or Dissenter, who had died in the preceding December. Some of the party beat the corpse, or what was left of it, about the head, exclaiming, "Give us rain!" while others poured water on it through a sieve.'

The last stage in the history of such a conception is reached, when it ceases to be serious and becomes merely jocular. Verbally there is not much to choose between the threat of the witch in Shakespeare's Macbeth—

But in a sieve I'll thither sail—

and the performance of Edward Lear's Jumblies—

They went to sea in a Sieve, they did,
In a Sieve they went to sea.

Yet the two are poles asunder. Three centuries have intervened and brought with them the momentous change from belief to disbelief.

(e) Rain as the seed of Zeus.

i. Zeus identified with rain.

That rain was regarded by the Greeks as the water of Zeus, we have already seen. It may next be shown that Zeus himself was thought to descend in the falling shower and thereby to fertilise Mother Earth.

Euripides speaks of rain as 'Zeus-drops' in the opening lines of the Helene:

See the fair virgin streams of Neilos, who—
Instead of Zeus-drops—waters all the plain
Of Egypt, fed by the white melting snow.

Similarly Greek magical papyri found in Egypt refer to rain more than once as 'Zeus-water.' These curious adjectival phrases are

1 Frazer Golden Bough: The Magic Art i. 284.
2 Shakespeare Macbeth i. 3. 9.
3 E. Lear Nonsense Songs and Stories London and New York 1889 p. 25.
4 Supra p. 333 f.
5 Eur. Hel. i ff. (cp. Aristoph. theim. 855 ff. and Aristeid. or. 48. 334 (ii. 442 Dindorf)) Νείλου μὲν αὖθι καλλιμάραθεν θαλά, | ή δὲ γιὰρ ψακάδος Αλεξάντου πέθον | λειχήν ταχεῖςις χίλια τριή_VERBOSE:
noteworthy, because they seem to imply that Zeus was in a very special sense connected with, perhaps even identified with, the rain that fell from the sky.

Direct identification of Zeus with the rain is, however, a product of philosophizing thought, and is not expressed in literature till Roman times. Thus Varro writes: 'These same deities, sky and earth, are Jupiter and Juno; for, as Ennius puts it,—

There is the Jupiter for me: the Greeks
So name the air. He's wind and cloud, then rain,
From rain turns cold, then once again thin air.
Yes, the same things are Jupiter just because
He helps both mortal crowds and all the beasts.'

Again, Arnobius makes a hypothetical opponent explain away the pagan belief in a union between Jupiter and Ceres by saying that 'Jupiter' really means the rain and 'Ceres' the earth—an easy method of allegorical interpretation, which he goes on to apply to other cases also.

ii. Zeus descends in rain to fertilise the earth.

More genuinely Greek is the conception of rain that occurs in a beautiful passage of Virgil's Georgics. The poet is describing the spring-time:

Spring helps the leafy grove; spring helps the wood;
Spring makes Earth swell and crave the seeds of birth.
Then the omnipotent sire, the Burning Sky,
Into the bosom of his joyous wife
With fruitful rain comes down, and mightily
Himself commingled with her mighty body
Nurtures all life that thence originates.  

1 Ennius frag. 507 Bährens ap. Varr. de ling. Lat. 3. 65 idem hi dei Caelum et Terra Jupiter et Juno, quod ut ait Ennius: 'istic est is Jupiter quem dico, quem Graeci vocant aerem, qui venus est et nubes, imber postea, | atque ex imbre frigus, ventus post fit, aer (Bährens cj. tennis post fit aer) denuo. | haec (L. Spengel cj. haec) propter Jupiter sunt ista quae dico tibi, | qua mortalis atque urbes (Bährens cj. acque turbas) belusque omnis iuvat.' The etymon 'lupiter...qua...iuvat' is untranslatable.

2 Arnob. adv. nat. 3. 32 itaque qui dicit: cum sua concubuit Iuppiter matre, non incestas significat aut propudiosas Veneris complexiones, sed Iovem pro pluvia, pro tellure Cererem nominat. et qui rursus perhibet lascivias eum exercuisse cum filia, nihil de foedis voluptatibus loquitur, sed pro imbris nomine ponit Iovem, in filiae significacione sementem.

3 Verg. georg. 2. 323 ff. With 325 f. tum pater omnipotentis secundis imbribus Aethere coniugis in gremium laetae descendit cp. pet. 7. 60 Iupiter et laeto descendent plurimum imbris. Similarly persig. Ven. 59 ff. cras erit quem primus Aethere copulavit nuptias | vel pater totum creavit vernis annum nubibus: | in sinum maritus imber (ib. 4) fluxit almae coniugis, unde fetus mixtus omnis aleret magno corpore—a passage containing obvious echoes of Virgil.
Zeus descends in rain to fertilise the earth

Virgil's description, according to J. Conington\(^1\), was evidently suggested by certain lines of Lucretius:

Lastly rain perishes
When downward dropped by the sire, the Burning Sky,
Into the bosom of mother Earth.\(^2\)

Lucretius in turn, according to H. A. J. Munro\(^3\), may have had in view a remarkable fragment from the *Danaides* of Aischylos, in which Aphrodite says:

The pure Sky yearns to pierce the soil, and Earth
Yearns likewise for that wedlock. Whereupon
Rain falls from the bridegroom Sky and wets the Earth;
And she brings forth her brood for mortal men—
Grass for their sheep and grain, Demeter's gift,
While trees from that same watery brilliance grow
Their fruits to fullness. And I help them all.\(^4\)

But indeed the thought was a commonplace in classical poetry\(^5\).

Euripides in words often cited by ancient writers expresses it thus:

Earth yearns for rain, whenever her parched field
Lacks moisture and a drought destroys the corn.
The great Sky filled with rain is fain to fall
Into the Earth through Aphrodite's might.
Soon as the two are one, they generate
And nurture for our sake all things whereby
The race of mortal man may live and thrive.\(^6\)

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1 J. Conington on *Verg. georg.* *2.* 325.
2 *Lucr.* 1. 250 f. postremo pererunt imares, ubi eos pater Aether | in gremium matris Terrae praecipitavit. Cp. the Lucretian colouring of a fine passage in *Colum. de re rust.* 10. 204 ff. maximus ipse deum posito iam fulmine fallax | Acrisioneos vetere imitatitur amores | inque sinus matris violento depluit imbre. | nec genetrix nati nunc aspersione amorem, | sed patitur nexus flaskata cupidine tellus. | hinc maria, hinc montes, hinc totus denique mundus | ver agit: etc. (note 218 rerum causas).
3 H. A. J. Munro on *Lucr.* 1. 250.
5 *Plout. amorat.* 24 ὁπτα γὰρ ἐραν δῆμον γαῖαν οἱ ποιηταί λέγουσι καὶ ἅγιον ὀφρανὸν.
Zeus descends in rain to fertilise the earth

An equally famous passage from the *Chrysippus* of the same poet expands the idea:

Mightiest Earth and Burning Sky of Zeus—
He was the sire of men and gods alike,
And she from him received
The pelting watery drops
And mortals bare, bare too both blade and beast,
Wherefore aright we deem her mother of all.
Yea, and the things that spring
From Earth to Earth return,
But such as grow from seed aetherial
Home again go to the very height of heaven.

Nothing that lives shall die,
But, scattered now by this and now by that,
Put on fresh forms of immortality.

Vitruvius informs us that Euripides took these views—views which left a lasting trace on the poetic thought of Rome—from the philosopher Anaxagoras. But if so, it is merely one more case of Greek philosophy starting from the premises of folk-belief. And that belief I take to have been that the rain falling from the sky was in very truth the seed of the sky-god.

Nowhere, perhaps, is this put more simply than in Proklos’ commentary on the *Timaios* of Platon. After remarking that Orpheus speaks of the Earth as the first bride and of her union with the Sky as the very first marriage, he proceeds: ‘The ordinances of the Athenians were aware of this, when they bade the preliminary marriage sacrifice be offered to Sky and Earth. It was with the same intent that at the Eleusinian rites they looked up to the Sky and shouted *hýe*, “rain,” then down to the Earth and added *kýe*, “conceive”: they realised, in fact, that all things spring from Sky and Earth as from a father and a mother.


2 Vitri. 8 præf. 1. See also Aët. 5. 19. 3 = H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci Berolini* 1879 p. 430 § 10 ff., id. *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* Berlin 1912 i. 398, 9 ff.

3 *Supra* i. 11, 37 ff., 282 n. 7, 310 f., 357 n. 4, ii. 223 n. 1, 505 n. 1, 672 n. 1, 805 n. 6, 1132 n. 3, etc. For a fine expansion of the theme see Prof. F. M. Cornford’s stimulating book *From Religion to Philosophy* London 1912.


5 Prokl. in *Plat. Tim.* 40 ε (iii. 176, 26 ff. Diehl) cited *supra* p. 399 n. 2.
iii. The myth of Danaë and analogous myths.

The belief enunciated in the foregoing paragraph explains more than one incident belonging to an early stratum of Greek mythology\(^1\).

Thus it was as a fall of golden rain that Zeus visited Danaë\(^2\). Apart from a few stray allusions\(^3\), the oldest version of her myth is that given by Pherekydes of Athens, an ancient logographer who drew from epic sources\(^4\). His narrative is preserved by the learned scholiast on Apollonios Rhodios in the following form\(^5\):

‘Pherekydes in his second book tells how Akrisios married Eurydike, daughter of Lakedaimon. They had a child, Danaë. But when her father consulted the oracle about male offspring, the god at Pytho replied that a son would be born, not to him but to his daughter, and that he himself would be slain by that son. Thereupon Akrisios returned to Argos and made an underground chamber of bronze in the courtyard of his house\(^6\). Here he brought Danaë with a nurse, and kept watch over her lest she should give birth to a son. But Zeus was enamoured of the maiden and poured from the roof in the likeness of gold. She received it in her bosom; and Zeus manifesting himself had intercourse with the maiden\(^7\). They had a son, Perseus. Danaë and the nurse reared him unbeknown to Akrisios. But when Perseus was three or four years old, Akrisios heard the voice of the child at play, and sent his servants to fetch Danaë and the nurse. The latter he slew. The former with the child he brought to the altar of Zeus Herketos, and asked her privily whence came the boy. She said “From Zeus.” He did not believe it, but put her and the boy into a chest, shut the lid, and cast it into the sea. They drifted to the island of Seriphos, and there Diktys the son of Peristhenes when fishing with a net (\(\delta\dot{i}\kappa\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron\omicron\)) drew them to land. Then Danaë begged him to open the chest. He did so, and on hearing who they were took them to his home and brought them up as his own kith and kin.’

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\(^4\) Precise date uncertain: see W. Schmid—O. Stählin *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* München 1939 i. i. 711 n. 1.


\(^6\) ὥ δὲ ἀναχώρησαν εἰς Ἀργοὺς θάλαμον τοὺς χαλκοῦς ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τῆς οἰκίας κατὰ γῆς, εὐθα κ.τ.λ.

\(^7\) Ἰροθῖνης δὲ Ζειδ τῆς παιδός ἐκ τοῦ ὀρόφου χρωμὶ παραπλῆσιοι μελ. ἢ δὲ ὑποδέχεται τῇ κόλπῳ, καὶ ἐκφέρειν αὐτόν ἢ Ζειδ τῇ παιδί μισηταῖ.
The myth combines the episode of the golden rain with that of the floating coffer—a folk-tale motif which we have already had occasion to notice. Both subjects are represented (figs. 293, 294) on a red-figured krater in the Hermitage, found at Caere and attributed to the ‘Foundry Painter’ or to the ‘Triptolemos Painter.’ In either case the artist must have been at work between 490 and 470 B.C., a period when the relations of Athens to Persia might well quicken Athenian interest in the story of Perseus. The obverse shows Danaë sitting at the foot-end of a richly decorated couch and looking up in amazement as the long brown drops descend upon her. Mirror and sakkos hanging on the wall imply that this is her private bower.

The reverse gives the moment when the carpenter with mallet and bow-drill (?) is putting the last touches to the chest, and...

In Soph. frag. incert. 1906 Nauck, 1 127 Jebb ap. Clem. Al. Strom. 5. 14 p. 401. 10 ff. Stahlin (quoted by Euseb. prosop. et. 13. 13. 38) Zeus as consort of Danaë is xρωβλατης. Was it a confused subconscious reminiscence (see the Class. Rev. 1902 xvi. 258 ff.) of this epithet that led Lyk. Al. 838 to call Perseus τὸν χρωβλατητὸν μόρφων?

1 Supra ii. 671 n. 4. See also A. Taylor ‘Aussetzung im Boot’ in the Handworterbuch des deutschen Mdrchens Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1933 l. 155 ff.

2 Stephani Vasensamml. St. Petersb. ii. 281 f. no. 1733. To the bibliography given supra ii. 1155 n. 9 no. (i) add J. E. Harrison & D. S. MacColl Greek Vase Paintings London 1894 p. 25 (Brygos) pl. 34, i and 2, P. Perdrizet in Darmenberg—Saglio Dicr. Ant. iii. 706 fig. 4229. My figs. 293 and 294 are reproduced from E. Gerhard Danaë ein griechisches Vasenbild (Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin xiv) Berlin 1834 pp. 1—10 with col. pl. But note the express statement of Stephani op. cit. ii. 282 ‘Von der angeblich vorhandenen Namensbeischrift des Akrisios ist auch nicht die leiseste Spur zu bemerken’.


The myth of Danaë and analogous myths
Akrisios bids him close the lid upon the protesting mother and her unheeding child. The starry decoration of the chest was perhaps traditional, for it occurs with equal insistence on other representations of the same scene (pl. xxxviii, figs. 295, 296). Indeed, it is tempting to conjecture that the star-spangled coffer was, by those who first designed it, felt to be the equivalent of a gilded coffin, fitting sequel of the star-spangled vault in which Akrisios had confined his daughter.

A red-figured oinochoe in the Louvre again has Danaë sitting alone and looking upwards at the shower that falls upon her. 'scheint mit einem Maasstab die Grösse der Lade zu messen.' Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 412: 'mit einem in seinen Einzelheiten unaufgeklärten Apparat an dem Kasten arbeitet, entweder Mass nehmend...oder den Verschluss herrichtend.' H. de Villefosse in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. v. 120 with fig. 453: 'un menuiser creuse un trou dans une des traverses du coffre en bois' etc., cp. H. Heydemann 'Zur Danaevasse (No. 1773) der Petersburger Ermitage' in the Arch. Zeit. 1872 xxx. 37 f., who makes out a strong case for regarding the disputed tool as a 'Drillbohrer' or 'wimble'—Campana’s original interpretation.

There is a further difference of opinion as to whether mother and child are standing behind the chest (Welcker op. cit. v. 279) or already within it (R. Rochette op. cit. p. 191, Gerhard op. cit. p. 2, Stephani op. cit. ii. 281 f., Overbeck op. cit. Zeus p. 412). The former view is supported by the analogy of a red-figured stattmaas from Caere now in the Hermitage (Stephani op. cit. ii. 139 ff. no. 1357. Bibliography supra ii. 1155 n. 9 (2). My fig. 295 is from the Mon. ed Ann. d. Inst. 1896 pl. 8) and a red-figured hydria at Boston (Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts Boston 1914 xii. 6 fig., J. D. Beazley Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 51 f. (attributed to the ‘Painter of the Diogenes Amphora’) fig. 32 = my pi. xxxviii, Hoppin Red-fig. Vases i. 206 no. 1, J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rosvfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 111 (attributed to the Painter of the Munich Amphora 2303): both vases belong to the decade 490—480 B.C. and involve the same personnel—Akrisios, the carpenter, Danaë, Perseus, the nurse (hardly Eurydike). The latter view relies on another red-figured hydria at Boston (P. Hartwig in the Mon. Piot 1903 x. 55—59 pl. 8, R. Engelmann in the fahrzht, d. oest. arch. Inst. 1909 xii. 166 fig. 75, J. D. Beazley Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 162, id. Attische Vasenmaler des rosvfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 364 no. 5 (attributed to the ‘Danaevaser’), on the fragment of a red-figured bell-krate (?) formerly in Deepdene (E. M. W. Tillyard The Hope Vases Cambridge 1923 p. 132 pl. 22 ‘Danae and Perseus in the chest...The fragment dates about 450 B.C. Beazley approaches it to the work of the Painter of the Boston Phiale’), and on the vase recorded in the following note.


The word lárnai can mean ‘coffin’ as well as ‘coffer.’

Hydria at Boston:
The carpenter completes the chest in the presence of Akrisios, Danaë, and the nurse holding the infant Perseus.

See page 458 n. 1.
The myth of Danaë and analogous myths
The myth of Danaë and analogous myths

an aryballos of late, crude style, found in Kyrenaïke and now in London (fig. 297), complicates the scene by the addition of Eros moving away with a gesture of encouragement on the right, and an attendant woman—presumably the nurse of Pherekydes’ narrative—struck with wonder on the left. The painter has here used actual gilding to denote the golden drops.

Nikias of Athens, an artist who flourished c. 350—300 B.C. and was famous at once for his careful rendering of women and his skilful chiaroscuro, must have found in Danaë a congenial subject. Tiberius is said to have dedicated this masterpiece, along with the same artist’s Hyakinthos, in the temple of Augustus at Rome. Not improbably Danaë was depicted sitting on the nuptial couch and receiving the gold in her lap, as she did in a painting described by Terence (or by Menandros whom Terence copied). Martial’s epigram

improbable Danaë was depicted sitting on the nuptial couch and receiving the gold in her lap, as she did in a painting described by Terence (or by Menandros whom Terence copied). Martial’s epigram

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2 A. Reinach Textes Peint. Anc. i. 286.

3 Plin. nat. hist. 35. 130f.

4 Plin. nat. hist. 35. 131.

5 A. Reinach op. cit. i. 288 n. 1.

6 Ter. Eun. 583 ff. dum adparatur, virgo in conclavi sedet | suspectans tabulam quandam pictam | ibi inerat pictura haec, Iovem | quo pacto Danae misisse aiunt quondam in gremium imbrem aureum. | ego met quoque id spectare coepi: et qui consimilem luserat | iam olim ille ludum, inpendio magis animus gaudebat mihi, | deum sese in hominem convortisse atque in alienas tegulas | venisse clanculum per pluvium fucum factum mulieri. | at quem deum! qui templ aedil summa sonitu concutit. | ego homuncio hoc non facerem? ego illud vero item feci ac lubens.

7 M. Schanz Geschichte der römischen Litteratur München 1898 i. 81.
The myth of Danaë and analogous myths

Fig. 297.
The myth of Danaë and analogous myths on a picture of Danaë\(^1\) may well refer to the work of Nikias, with which the poet must have been familiar. But certainty is unattainable.

Variations on the same theme occur in Pompeian art\(^2\). The simplest and finest of these, which—I should suppose—perpetuates the scheme of Nikias with the addition of a conventional\(^3\) landscape background, is a fresco from the Casa di Pansa (fig. 298)\(^4\). Danaë, recumbent, is half-draped in a purple garment. Zeus is represented.

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\(^1\) Mart. ep. 14. 175 Danaë picta. cur a te pretium Danaë, regnator Olympi, | accepit, gratis si tibi Leda dedit?

\(^2\) F. Knatz Quomodo Perset fabulam artifices Graeci et Romani tractaverint Bonnæ 1893 p. 7 gives a list of four paintings, which—along with others of more doubtful interpretation—are figured in Reinach Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom. p. 10 nos. 2, 4, 7 and p. 11 no. 1.

\(^3\) Hardly to be explained from Hyg. fab. 63 Acrisius eam in muro lapideo praeculisit.

only by the golden drops that fall from the sky upon her bare body. Another fresco, in the Casa della Regina Margherita (fig. 299)\(^1\), shows Danaë seated on a couch within her chamber. She has a golden fillet in her hair, a bosom-band round her breast, and wrapped about her right leg a *himation*, which she lifts with both hands to catch the descending shower. Side by side with her on the same couch

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\(^1\) E. Petersen in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1900 xv. 167 f. with fig. 4 (in half-tone), Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 187 (=my fig. 299), Text p. 254 f., cp. A. Mau *Führer durch Pompeji* Leipzig 1928 p. 43 (Reg. v. 2. 1).
sits a youthful beardless (?) Zeus with golden bay(?)-wreath, long sceptre, and reddish violet himation— a kingly presence, but illogically combined with the rain into which he had transformed himself. Perhaps he is to be thought of as not yet made manifest; for he
The myth of Danaë and analogous myths

does not look at Danaë, nor Danaë at him. A third picture, from the Casa della Caccia, now at Naples (fig. 300), imports fresh motifs. The advent of the god is symbolised by a great winged thunderbolt, which falls upon a neighbouring block. Danaë—to match a pendant figure of Leda—stands erect, while a hovering Eros shoots the golden rain at her out of a big amphora on his shoulder. These innovations are not too happy. The painter, however, had an eye for colour: the heroine's hair is dark, her snood rosy-red, her fluttering

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Fig. 300.

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2 A point noted by Herrmann op. cit. p. 256 n. 1.
The myth of Danaë and analogous myths

himation yellow with green lining and deep violet shadows. Yet another fresco, in the House of M. Gavius Rufus (fig. 301), unites the standing Danaë and the hovering Eros with the youthful (?) seated Zeus in a novel, but thoroughly unsatisfactory, whole.

Zeus changing himself into a lapful of gold in order to win his innamorata was a subject not likely to escape the notice of comedians, rationalists, and moralising expositors. Terence (or Menandros?) already makes capital of the situation. Latin poets, both Greek and Roman, follow suit. Prudentius at the beginning of the fifth century talks roundly of the crafty god turning himself into hard cash (nummi). Indeed, the gibe had long been a commonplace with the Christian fathers and is the accepted explanation of belated allegorists. Small wonder, then, that Renaissance and post-Renaissance art perpetuated the libellous tradition. Titian harped on the theme

2 Supra p. 460 n. 7.
3 Anth. Pal. 5. 30. 5 f. (Antipatros of Thessalonike), 5. 32. 1 f. and 5. 33. 1 f. (Parmenion), 5. 216. 1 ff. (Paulus Silentius).
4 Hor. od. 3. 16. 1 ff. with Acr. and Porphyrr. ad loc., Astina 90, Ov. am. 3. 8. 29 ff., Petron. sat. 137. 9, Mart. cf. 14. 175 (quoted supra p. 462 n. 1), Sulpic. Luperc. de cupiditate 7 f. (Pest. Lat. min. iv. 108 Bahrens), Rutil. Namat. de reditu suo i. 360 (Pest. Lat. min. v. 17 Bahrens).
5 Prudent. c. Symm. 1. 78 et nummos fieri et gremium penetrare puellae.
6 Tert. apol. 21 anatorem in auro conversum Danaidis with J. E. B. Mayor ad loc., Lact. div. inst. 1. 11 Danaen violaturus aereos nummos largiter in sinum eius infudit, haec stupri merces fuit, Epiphan. ascor. 105 (i. 208 Dindorf) προς Δαναην δε χρυσον ηπερκον, ινα παρεθηναι εφορμα δαλαμανουμενη φθειρη, χρυσον δε εκείνοι αοι ηπαταντα γενεθηναι ποτε, αλλα γοητη δε δια χρυσου δαμανοκοκη την παρεθηναι ηνμερης, Hieron. adv. Rufin. 3. 4 (xxiii. 481 A Migne) habes enim, per quod Danaes est victa pudicitia, Aug. de civ. Dei 18. 13 (=Isid. orig. 8. 11. 35) vel Danaes per imbre aureum adpetisse concubitum, ubi intellegitur pudicitia muliebris auro fuisse corrupta, Fulgent. myth. 1 praef. 20 nec imbre mendaci lusae [Danae] virgo cantatur, i. 19 dum et Danae imbre aurato corrupta est non pluvia, sed pecunia, Columbanus (abbot of Luxeuil and Bobbio, died 615 (?) A.D.) carm. 3. 61 ff. (in M. H. Goldast Paraeneticorum veterum pars i Insulae, Ad lacum Acronium 1604 p. 54 f.)

On the other hand, F. Piper Mythologie und Symbolik der christlichen Kunst Weimar
A Roman mosaic from Palermo: the amours of Zeus—Antiope, Danaë, Leda.

See page 467.
The myth of Danaë and analogous myths

and attempted several variations of it. At Naples\(^1\) Cupid raises a deprecating hand as he escapes across the foot of the couch. At Madrid\(^2\) and Petrograd\(^3\) the face of Jove is half-seen amid the clouds and an attendant duenna tries to catch some of the gold in her apron. At Vienna\(^4\) (fig. 302) the god's face again peeps through the clouds, while the old crone holds an alms-dish to take the collection. Finally, Van Dyck's Danaë at Dresden\(^5\) (fig. 303) extends her arms towards a shower, not only of coined money, but of chains, rings, and trinkets. So the heroine, who began by adorning a tale, ends by pointing a moral.

Little is added to our understanding of the myth by other representations of it in ancient art\(^6\). A fine Roman mosaic, found at Palermo in 1869 and dating perhaps from the early part of s. ii A.D., figures side by side three amatory exploits of the sky-god: on the left he woos Antiope as a Satyr (\textit{supra} i. 735 fig. 541), on the right he courts Leda as a swan, and in the centre he falls as a golden shower upon Danaë (pl.xxxix)\(^8\). Another great mosaic, at Ouled Agla

\(^{1847}\) i. 155 f. draws attention to the \textit{Defensorium inviolatae virginis b. Mariae virginis}, a work compiled by the Dominican Franciscus de Retza (professor of theology at Vienna in 1388), in which various classical parallels to the immaculate conception are adduced and illustrated: 'So erscheint in dem einen Bilde die Danaë hinter einem vergitterten Fenster stehend, wie sie von den goldenen Strahlen des Halbmondes beschienen wird,—mit der Unterschrift: Si Danaë auri pluvia praegnans a Jove claret, | Cur spiritu sancto gravida virgo non generaret.' See F. Jacobs—F. A. Ukert \textit{Beiträge zur alten Litteratur oder Merkwürdigkeiten der Herzogl. öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Gotha} Leipzig 1835 i. 112 (leaf T fig. 1 of this xylographic work).


\(^4\) J. A. Crowe—G. B. Cavalcaselle \textit{op. cit.}\(^8\) ii. 229 f. ('perhaps not carried out without assistance from Cesare Vecelli, or Girolamo'), J. Addison \textit{op. cit.} p. 40 f. ('The finest, in modelling, chiaroscuro, and atmosphere'), C. Ricketts \textit{op. cit.} p. 132 ('perhaps by Orazio'), O. Fischel \textit{op. cit.}\(^6\) pl. 187, 1. Fig. 302 is from the \textit{Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des allerkürzesten Kaiserhauses: Die Gemälde Galerie Alte Meister} Wien 1896 p. 55 no. 174 with pl.

\(^5\) J. Addison \textit{op. cit.} p. 44 f. Fig. 303 is from H. Knackfuss \textit{Van Dyck} London 1899 p. 40 with fig. 27.

\(^6\) F. Knatz \textit{Quonodo Persei fabulam artifices Graeci et Romani tractaverint} Bonnæ 1893 p. 7 f.

\(^7\) H. Heydemann in the \textit{Arch. Zeit.} 1869 xxvii. 38—40.


30—2
The myth of Danaë and analogous myths

Fig. 302.

Fig. 303.
The myth of Danaé and analogous myths

(Equizetum?)¹ in Mauretania Sitifensis, again shows a series of the canonical amours: Zeus with Ganymedes and eagle occupies the middle of an oblong composition, being flanked on the left by the swan with Leda (mostly missing) and the Satyr with Antiope, on the right by the golden rain with Danaé and the bull with Europe (fig. 304)².

Intaglias with their smaller field have room only³ for the isolated

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¹ P. Gauckler in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 2109. But see H. Dessau in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 324.


The myth of Danaë and analogous myths

figure of Danaë receiving the celestial shower. A silver ring at Boston, Greek work of s. v B.C., shows her standing with upturned face as she holds out her himation to catch the falling drops: behind her is inscribed her name (fig. 306). A fifth-century scaraboid of red jasper with white stripes, formerly in the Tyszkwicz collection and now likewise at Boston, makes her sit the while on a two-cushioned bed (fig. 307). An amethyst from the cabinet of Baron von Gleichen has her, almost nude, in the attitude of a crouching Aphrodite, raising her hands to the small rounded rain-drops (fig. 308). And a fourth-century chalcedony of unknown ownership

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1 Lippold Gemmen pl. 47, 2 (=my fig. 306) p. 175.
2 Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i pl. 61, 36, ii. 275, Lippold Gemmen pl. 47, 3 (=my fig. 307) p. 175.
The myth of Danaë and analogous myths

leaves the drops to our imagination, but gives us a Maenad-like Danaë sitting on a stool, with bare breast and wide-flung mantle, as she turns her face towards the sky (fig. 309)\(^1\). The last two gems attest the all-pervading influence of such popular types as those of Doidal's Aphrodite and Skopas' Maenad.

Finally, a bronze coin of Argos, struck by Hadrian (fig. 311)\(^2\), represents Danaë seated on a throne, her head thrown back, her breast bared, and her garment held wide in the same significant manner.

The episode of the floating coffer found its highest expression, not in art\(^3\), but in literature\(^4\). Simonides of Keos, perhaps in one of his *thrēnē*\(^5\), limned the scene with exquisite skill:\(^6\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{When in the well-wrought chest} \\
\text{She felt the blowing wind and moving mere,} \\
\text{She cowered in tearful terror and} \\
\text{Round Perseus cast a loving hand:} \\
\text{'Child, I am sore distrest.} \\
\text{But thou, a baby-boy, art slumbering here} \\
\text{In this same comfortless bronze-bolted bark,} \\
\text{Stretched out heath starlit night and the blue dark.} \\
\text{The brine that passes higher than thy hair} \\
\text{Thou heedest not, nor dost thou even hark} \\
\text{The whistling wind; but lo, thou liest there} \\
\text{To the crimson cloak turning thy forehead fair.} \\
\text{If terrors had been terrible to thee,} \\
\text{Thy tiny ear had listened unto me.} \\
\text{But now sleep babe, sleep surging sea,} \\
\text{Sleep all our trouble infinite.} \\
\text{Yet, Father Zeus, some better plight} \\
\text{Send; and if overbold this prayer I pray,} \\
\text{Forgive each wrongful word I say.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\(^1\) Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 14, 25, ii. 68 ("Wohl Danaé?"); Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 47, 1 (= my fig. 309) p. 175.

G. Sangiorgi in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1933 xlvi. 284—288 pl. 48, 4 (=my fig. 310) publishes an oval carbuncle, on which is engraved another half-draped Danaë, leaning on a pillar and holding out the upper part of her garment to catch the shower. Good work of c. 300 B.C.


\(^3\) *Supra* p. 456 ff. See further F. Knatz *Quamodo Persei fabulam artifices Graeci et Romani tractaverint* Bonnæ 1893 pp. 8—10.

\(^4\) P. Schwarz *De fabula Danaeia Halis Saxonom* 1881 p. 10 ff.

\(^5\) W. Schmid—O. Stählin *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* München 1929 ii. i. 516.

Simonides' verses are of course merely a poet's elaboration of a mythical theme. But the Greek mind, even in the fifth century B.C., passed readily from myth to moral; and the tale of Danaë, like many another\(^1\), could on occasion be made the vehicle of serious thought\(^2\). Later, it was not without its influence upon Christian legends\(^3\).

\(^1\) For an instructive example see W. Stechow *Apollo und Daphne* Leipzig—Berlin 1932 pp. 1—76 with 34 pls.

\(^2\) Supra p. 466 f.

\(^3\) A. Wirth *Danae in christlichen Legenden* Wien 1892, reviewed by C. Schmidt in the *Göt. gel. Anz.* 1892 pp. 867—889 who agrees (p. 877) that the Danaë-myth has influenced the legends of S. Irene and S. Barbara. Cp. *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiae 1686 Maius i. 721 f (Symposarium ex Menologio ss. Basili Imperatoris collecto Mai. 5) Β'ρασσα, ἡ τοῦ Χρυσοῦ Μάρτης, ἡ θεοτόκος Δαιονίου Βασιλείου· εὐφορφος δὲ ἐνάρχουσα, ἀπεκλείσα ταῖς τὴν πατρὸς αὐθέν ἐν πύργῳ ὦσφη, ὡς ἐτῶν οὖσα, μετὰ διαδῆλου δέκα καὶ τριῶν· ἐν θεῖᾳ ἀνάθεσιν τὰ μνημεία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐτ. Λ. (When baptised by Timothy, a disciple of S. Paul, she broke up her idols and cast them down. Her father in anger bound her to a wild horse, which bit off his arm but did not hurt her. Etc.), ib. Antverpiae 1688 Maius ii. 4 f 'celebrata Constantinopolis;' F. G. Holweck *A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints* St. Louis, Mo. 1924 p. 508 ('a Byzantine martyr of the first century. According to a worthless legend she was instructed by angels and baptized by S. Timothy; she converted her parents, for which reason she was beheaded by command of the Propraetor Ampelianus at Ephesus, under Domitian or Trajan. Her relics were brought to Constantinople, where she once had three churches and was highly venerated. She may be identical with the "Irene" of Lecce and Southern Italy. The Greeks call her "Megalomartyr"...[May 5, full office in the Greek Church]'), N. Nilles *Kalendarium manuale utriusque Ecclesiae Orientalis et Occidentalis* Eniponte 1896 i. 153, 1881 ii. 413 n. o. S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 xv. 25 ff. Dec. 4 ('S. BARBARA, V. M. (A.D. 235)....Usuardus and Ado in their martyrologies make S. Barbara a martyr in Tuscany; Metaphrastes says she suffered at Heliopolis; Baronius, in the Roman Martyrology, sets her down as a martyr at Nicomedia. One authority is just as right as the other, for S. Barbara is a wholly mythical personage. There was once upon a time a very wealthy and noble Greek named Dioscorus, an idolater, who had a daughter so beautiful in face and form that he shut her up in a tower, very lofty and inaccessible, so that no man might see her, and that thus she might be kept out of mischief. According to one account, however, he allowed her to take lessons of masters, of advanced age, or, no doubt, of disagreeable appearance.' Her father, before departing on a long journey, built her a bath at the basement of her tower with two windows high up in the wall. On his return he was indignant to find that Barbara had insisted on the workmen making a third window. Taking these windows as her text, she preached to him the mystery of the Trinity. Dioscorus was furious; but, when he attacked her with his sword, the rock opened and received her into its bosom. Afterwards, directed by a wicked shepherd, her father found her and haled her by the hair to the chief magistrate, Marcian. When she refused to sacrifice to the gods, Marcian had her stripped and beaten, torn with iron combs, and hammered on the head. Juliana, a girl who pitied her, was arrested and treated in the same manner. Marcian then had the breasts of Barbara cut off, and gave orders that she should be led naked round the town. But Christ, in answer to her prayer, came from heaven and clothed her. Marcian finally gave sentence that Barbara and Juliana should be executed with the sword. 'On reaching the destined place, her father cut off her head, and Juliana suffered likewise. A flash of lightning fell and consumed Dioscorus, another flash reduced Marcian to a smoking ash-heap. Accordingly S. Barbara is held to be the patroness of firearms, and is invoked against the lightning') with pl. of S. Barbara after the painting by Hans...
The myth of Danaë and analogous myths

All this, however, does not help us to grasp the original significance of Danaë and her golden shower. Recent investigators have attempted to explain the myth in terms of sun or shooting stars. Thus Sir James Frazer\(^1\) writes:

'It has its counterpart in the legend which the Kirghiz of Siberia tell of their ancestry. A certain Khan had a fair daughter, whom he kept in a dark iron\(^2\) house, that no man might see her. An old woman tended her; and when the girl was grown to maidenhood she asked the old woman, "Where do you go so often?" "My child," said the old dame, "there is a bright world. In that bright world your father and mother live, and all sorts of people live there. That is where I go." The maiden said, "Good mother, I will tell nobody, but shew me that bright world." So the old woman took the girl out of the iron house. But when she saw the bright world, the girl tottered and fainted; and the eye of God fell upon her, and she conceived. Her angry father put her in a golden chest and sent her floating away (fairy gold can float in fairyland) over the wide sea\(^3\). The shower of gold in the Greek story, and the eye of God in the Kirghiz legend, probably stand for sunlight and the sun.'

Sir James goes on to quote other legendary examples of impregnation by the sun\(^4\). But he does not meet the obvious objection that Holbein the elder, one of the wings of the altarpiece of S. Sebastian, now in the Pinakothek at Munich, N. Nilles op. cit. i. 341, 464 f., 486, ii. 606, M. and W. Drake Saints and their Emblems London 1916 p. 16.

But it should be observed that neither the tower of S. Irene nor the tower of S. Barbara was an underground structure of bronze or iron, and that the sequel did not in either case involve the *motif* of the Floating Coffer. The Danaë-myth was but one ingredient of the hagiographer’s stirabout.

\(^1\) Frazer *Golden Bough*:

Baldar the Beautiful i. 74.

\(^2\) [For the same variation from bronze to iron see *supra* i. 632 n. 3 (the sky), 719 n. 2 (Talos). Alluding to Danaë, Prop. 2. 20. 11 f. has 'in te ego et aeratas rumpam, mea vita, catenas, | ferratam Danaes transilamque domum' and Loukian. *Tim.* 13 says ἐν χαλκῷ ἤ σιδηρῷ τῷ θαλάμῳ καθάπερ τὴν Δανάην παρθενεύσας (id. dial. *marin.* 13. 1 ἐκπαρθένους ἐν χαλκοῖς των θάλαμων ἐμβαλλόν). Cpr. *Nomn.* *Dion.* 8. 136 ff. ὁ δὲ Δανάη παραλείπει τὸ δείπνον θέτος Ζεὺς, ἢ ἀλλὰ σιδηροφόρου (ἐπὶ σιδηροφόρου λεγένδα) Λ. B. C. μετὰ σφυρίζων μελάθρου | μεμφυωμένη χρυσέως γάμαις παντίληπτο κόμφη (but id. ib. 47. 543 ff. χαλκοφόρου (C. F. Graefe cf. χαλκοφόρου) ὃ μυκὸς παρθενεύως, ὅτε Δανᾶς δὰ κολύνω | χρυσὸν δύμαρα ἤξεν γαμοκλέων θέτας Ζεὺς), *Tzet.* *in Lyk.* 4. 38 Ζανᾶ, ἤ 'Ακρίαν ὁ πατὴρ σιδηρόν τοίχας θάλαμον ἐθέλειν τῆς θάλαμος τρόπον ἤ τρόπῳ μικρὰς παρθενεύσω.]

\(^3\) W. Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibirien*, iii. (St. Petersburg, 1879) pp. 82 sq. E. S. Hartland *The Legend of Perseus* London 1894 i. 139—142 gives the story at greater length, drawing upon the same source.

\(^4\) *Frazer Golden Bough*:

Baldar the Beautiful i. 74 f.

The myth of Danaë and analogous myths

Danaë is invariably said to have been impregnated by a golden rain, and that rain is not a very natural description of sunlight or the sun.

L. Radermacher contends that the Greeks believed in impregnation by a falling star. In support of his contention he quotes the story told by Nikephoros Skeuophylax about Saint Theodoros Sykeotes, archimandrite of Galatia and bishop of Anastasiopolis (590—613 A.D.). His mother Maria kept a public hostelry at Sykeon, where she met the magistrate Kosmas. On the night of her child’s conception, a glittering star fell from the sky and entered her womb, symbolising—the pious Nikephoros—the purity of his actions. The Greek life of the saint and its Latin version both vouch for the miracle. On the strength of this, and of sundry modern matum. eadem Atia prius quam pareret somniavit, intestina sua ferri ad sidera explicarique per omnem terrarum et caeli ambitum. somniavit et pater Octavius, utero Atiae lubar solis exortum (cp. Rev. 12. i ff.), Konon narr. 33 kal δέ σωματεία των τῶν ἐν Μυλησίῳ εὐδόξων θυγατέρα γαμέτι, καὶ αὐτῇ τήσαυσα ὑπὲρ φως τῶν ἥλιων αὐτή διὰ τοῦ στράματος εὐδοκίας διὰ τὴν γαστρός καὶ τῶν αἰδών διεξελθήσας· καὶ ἦν τὸ δρόμα τῶν κάτω τῶν ἀγαθῶν. καὶ ἦρεν κόρον, Βράχων ἀντὶ τοῦ θυερίου καλέσας, διὸ ὁ ἥλιος αὐτῆς διὰ τοῦ βράχου (καὶ βράχου; a.b.c.) διεξελθήσεται καὶ ἦν τὸ παῖς κάλλιστος ἀθροίσμων, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐφίλησεν ἐραθεῖς Ἀπόλλων, εἰρήνης πνεύμονα θεός βωμός Ἀπόλλων Ἐλευθαῖον ἔργασεν.

L. Radermacher in the Archiv f. Rel. 1927 xxv. 218 notes also Artemid. oneirocr. 2. 36 ἢλιος ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἀνίσχων λαμπρὸς καὶ καθαρὸς καὶ καταδύομενος εἰς διόν ἀγαθόν πάσιν· οὐ μὲν γὰρ πρᾶξις πνευματεία...οὐ δὲ πάθων γονήν· ἥλιον γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἀρέσκαι τεκνὰ οἱ γονεῖς ὑποκορίζομεν καλοῦσιν, ἦν. ἢλιος εἰς τῇ κόητι τινὸς καταδύομενος καὶ ἄπελει πόσων μεγάλην καὶ φλεγμώνας πνευματείας, λέγων δὲ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ οἰκίας εὐπορίας ἐπεί τι θηλείας, πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ πάλιν ἑκάστην προηγήμεναι. Add Achines oneirocr. 166 p. 127, 26 ff. Drexl ei δὲ δὲ, ὅτι ὁ ἢλιος ἑτοῖ καὶ λύκου εἰς τῷ οὐρα ἄντων, εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ βασιλεὺς, γεννᾷ βασιλέα, εἰ δὲ μέγατος καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ, ὑπωθήται καὶ χαρήσεται, τἄχα τοῖς καθαροῖς ὑποθέσεται. See also Soph. frag. dub. 1017 Nauck 2= frag. 752 Jebb 'Ἡλι', σωσίποι ἐμὸν | <ὁ> o> σοφόλ οἴκους γεννηθήν θεῶν | καὶ πατὴρ πάνω πρὸ ἀν. αὐτοῦ de Arati interp. p. 28, 17 ff. Maass (supra i. 461 n. 7). Dreams, visions, and philosophemes may equally rest on a basis of popular belief. ‘Happy is the bride the sun shines on.’

The myth of Danaë and analogous myths 475

superstitions about meteors1, Radermacher suggests that Danaë's golden rain was essentially just a fine display of shooting stars. His suggestion would indeed account well for the curious persistence with which stars appear in connexion with Danaë's coffer2. But shooting stars, after all, were a phenomenon familiar enough to the Greeks, and were never confused by them with rain, golden or otherwise.

Looking further afield we find that ordinary rain is sometimes credited with procreative powers. H. H. Bancroft3 in his account of the Pueblo religion describes the birth of 'the great leader, teacher, and god Montezuma':

1 L. Radermacher in the Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien Phil.-hist. Classe 1916 clxxxii. 3. 69 (Basileios, Bishop of Seleukeia in Isauria c. 435—460 A.D., de vita ac miraculis D. Thelae e. 10 (lxxxv. 581 A Migne) notes that S. Thekla attended her yearly festival at Seleukeia, and that any one who on the vigil of the feast kept watch upon the heights above Dalsandos might see her cross the sky in a fiery chariot (δῆμος πυρίνη θρατι οφθαλμον τον ἄρσον βεβαιώσαν (leg. βεβαιώσαν) την παρνάθινα και διφφηλάτωναν, cp. Il. 5. 745 ff., 8. 380 ff.), A. Wuttke Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart2 Berlin 1869 p. 183 (in Germany, Switzerland, etc. a shooting star implies the death of a man), id. ibid. p. 94 (in Oldenburg 'Bewiste sind ausgebrannte Sternschnuppen...u. machen die Kühe brünstig...'), W. Gundel Sterne und Sternbilder im Glauben des Altertums und der Neuzeit Bonn—Leipzig 1922 p. 29 f. ('Die Griechen bezeichneten einzelne Sternschnuppen als Böcke und Geissen, und die Deutschen sahen besonders in den Kometen, aber auch in den Meteoren, Schlangen und das dämonische Fabeltier, den Drachen'), N. G. Polites Δαιμόνια μετεωρολογικοί ρύθου (extract from Παρασσόμενο Athens 1880 p. 12 ('Ο λαὸς πιστεύει ότι δόνες καταπίπτει κεραυνός σχηματίζοντα λίθους, θαμνάζων κεκτημένοι ιδιότητας, οὐ κατεί δάστροπληκέ ἀ δάστροπληκέ' k.t.L. Supra ii. 506, 844).


2 H. H. Bancroft The Native Races of the Pacific States London 1875 iii. 175 n. 0 (after Fremont). E. S. Hartland The Legend of Perseus London 1894 i. 136 n. 3 regards this version as more primitive than that given by A. W. Bell in The Journal of the Ethnological Society of London New Series 1868—69 i. 250 f. 'Two good-sized ruins are situated near the Pima villages; one is known as Casa Montezuma, the other as Casa Grande.... Long ago a woman of exquisite beauty ruled over the valleys and the region south of them. Many suitors came from far to woo her, and brought presents innumerable of corn, skins, and cattle to lay at her feet. Her virtue and determination to continue unmarried remained alike unshaken; and her store of worldly possessions so greatly increased that, when drought and desolation came upon her land, she fed her people out of her great abundance and did not miss it, there was so much left. One night, as she lay asleep, her garment was blown from off her breast, and a dawdrop from the Great Spirit fell upon her bosom, entered her blood, and caused her to conceive. In time, she bore a son, who was none other than Montezuma, and who built the large casas and all the other ruins which are scattered through the land. After instructing his people in the arts of civilization he departed for the south and then disappeared.'
The myth of Danaë and analogous myths

"His mother was, it is said, a woman of exquisite beauty, admired and sought after by all men, they making her presents of corn and skins and all that they had; but the fastidious beauty would accept nothing of them but their gifts. In process of time a season of drought brought on a famine and much distress; then it was that the rich lady showed her charity to be as great in one direction as it had been wanting in another. She opened her granaries and the gifts of the lovers she had not loved went to relieve the hungry she pitied. At last with rain, fertility returned to the earth; and on the chaste Artemis of the Pueblos its touch fell too. She bore a son to the thick summer shower and that son was Montezuma."

The same story is current among the Pimas of California, the Mojave of the Rio Colorado in Arizona, and the Apaches. Indeed, the belief in conception through magical contact with water is of world-wide distribution.

We are justified, then, in the surmise that Danaë's golden shower was but a mythical expression for the rain whereby the sky-god fertilises the earth. But what of Danaë herself? She is hardly to be regarded as an earth-goddess, for she has no cult. Rather she is a heroine, whose name stands in obvious relation to that of the Danaï or Danaïdes. Her myth too is in some points analogous to theirs.

If Akrisios, king of Argos, imprisoned Danaë in an underground chamber to safeguard her virginity, his action bore an odd resemblance to that of his forefather Danaos, likewise king of Argos, who had imprisoned Hypermestra, the one Danaïd that remained a virgin. And if Zeus descended upon Danaë in the form of a golden rain, we cannot forget that the Danaïdes stood for the performance of a mimetic rain-charm. It may well be that Danaë's complex tale includes at least one episode of an aetiological sort, and that the princess secluded, drenched with rain, and even sent adrift in a coffer was a mythical prototype of actual human happenings.

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1 E. S. Hartland Primitive Paternity London 1909 i. 24, citing [E. J.] Payne [History of the New World called America Oxford 1892] i. 414 n. 4 and [J. G. Bourke] in the Journal of American Folklore 1889 ii. 178. E. J. Payne loc. cit. says: "Exceptionally, as in the beautiful legend told by the Pima Indians concerning the inhabitants of the deserted Casas Grandes, the maize-spirit appears as an actual mother of mankind. They describe her as a maiden living in isolation, unmoved by the addresses of suitors, and giving maize to the hungry Indians in times of dearth. One day, as she lay asleep, a raindrop fell on her naked bosom, and she became the ancestress of the maize-growing Pueblo Indians." J. G. Bourke loc. cit. tells the Mojave myth: "This Earth is a woman; the Sky is a man... the Earth was asleep and a drop of rain fell upon her causing conception... two gods were born in the west... They were Ku-ku-matz and his brother, To-chi-pa."


3 Supra p. 364. See also A. H. Sayce in the Journal of Hell. Stud. 1925 xlv. 162.

4 Supra p. 356.

5 Supra p. 368 ff.

6 Supra p. 455 f.
The myth of Danaë and analogous myths 477

Be that as it may, two similar epiphanies of the sky-god are recorded by Pindar, whose knowledge of the details of mythology was equalled only by his appreciation of their beauty. The poet in an Isthmian ode asks his native town of Thebes on what local scene her memory most delights to dwell. On the birth of Dionysos (at whose nativity Zeus rained ambrosia 2)?

Or when at midnight in a snow of gold
Thou didst receive the greatest of the gods,
What time he stood
Before Amphitryon's door
And wooed Amphitryon's wife
To bear him Herakles.

Again, in an Olympian ode Pindar speaks of Rhodes—

Where once the mighty king of the gods,
With golden snow-flakes rained upon the town,
When by Hephaistos' craft
The crown of the Father's head
Was cleft by a bronze-wrought axe,
And lo, Athena leapt to light
And cried aloud with a far-carrying cry —
Whereat Heaven shuddered, ay and Mother Earth.

Pindar does not expressly assert that Zeus was in this wondrous shower. But that such was the original concept is almost certain; for another Rhodian tale made Zeus consort with the earth-born Himalia 'by means of rain'.

1 Pind. Isthm. 7. 1 ff. τίνι τοῦ πάρος, ὅ μάκαιρα Θήβα, | ἐνεχθαίρων μάλιστα θυμὸν τεῦχον εὕφραμος; ἥμα ταχυκρότον πάρκραμον | Δαμάτερος ἀνίκει εὐρυχατάν | ἄντειλας Δίανυσον; ἣ χρυσὰ μεσούντων πάντων δεξαμενὴ τοῦ φέρτατον τιθέν, | ὡς ἰματρέων ἐν θυράτροπον | σταθεὶς ἄλοχον μετῆθην Ἡρακλείας γυναῖκας, | with schol. vet. 5 a. ἤ χρυσὸς μεσούντων; ὧ δὲ τὸ μεσούντων χρυσὸς καταστάσεως ἔλεξιν τῶν τοῦ θεῶν ἔξωροι Δίας.

2 Supra ii. 275 n. 12. Infra § 9 (i) Zeus Hyes.

3 Pind. Ol. 7. 34 ff. θῦβα ποτὲ βρῆξαι θεῶν βασιλεύς ὁ μέγας χρυσών, ποράδος στήλην, | ἄνεξ ἀφαστοῦ τέχνασιν, | ἀρακλετὴν πολέμων πατέρος Ἀθηναίας κορυφαίν κατ' ἄκραν ἀναγεννοίαν ἐλάζανεν ὑπερμάκει βοῶς; Οὐρανὸς δ' ἐφάρη εἰς καὶ Γαία μάρτηρ. The schol. vet. ad loc. (63 a, 63 b, 64 Drachmann) and Strab. 654 ff. wrongly supposed that Pindar was embroidering Il. 1. 670 καὶ σφαὶ θεσπέραν πλούτου κατέχειν Κροκόν (Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1212 n. 2, L. Radermacher in the Archiv f. Rel. 1927 xxv. 216). With the sequel in Pind. Ol. 7. 49 f. κείσας ὁ μὲν (ἐκ Ζεὺς) λατρευθαί ἄγαγγών ψεῦδαν | πολὺν ὑπὲρ χρυσῶν στήλης. Philogr. mai. immigr. 3. 27. 3 Ροδίας δὲ λέγεται χρυσὸν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἔρχεσθαι καὶ διαψάλειν ἐφ' ἀκίς καὶ τοῖς στενωτοῖς νεφέλην εἰς αὐτῶν ῥέσαντο τοῦ Διὸς κ.τ.λ. See further for this favourite theme Strab. 655. Aristid. or. 43. 546 (i. 807 Dindorf), Menandros περὶ ἐπιδιδακτικῶν 3. 2 (ix. 200 Walz), Liban. or. 31. 6 (vii. 10 Foerster), progymn. 9 νεομ. 6. 3 (viii. 312 Foerster), epist. 351. 11 (x. 330 Foerster), Himer. orl. 13. 34, Ioul. frag. epist. 230 b.

4 Diodoros, probably drawing upon Zenon of Rhodes (W. Christ Geschichte der
A similar belief underlies the statement of Ovid that the Kouretes were ‘sprung from an abundant shower of rain’; if not also the tradition preserved by the same author that at Corinth ‘in the far past mortal bodies were born of rain-begotten mushrooms’.

(f) Ominous rain sent by Zeus.

i. Rain of blood.

At critical moments Zeus expressed his mood by sending some abnormal shower. Specially ominous was the fall of blood-red rain. The *Iliad* makes it the prelude to a battle between Achaeans and Trojans:

Then Kronos’ son sent evil strife among them
And from aloft, out of the burning sky,
Let fall drops dank with blood; for he was fain
To hurl to Hades many a valiant head.

Again, when Sarpedon the Lycian was about to be slain, Zeus—

Shed gouts of blood upon the ground to honour
His own son, whom Patroklos was to kill
In fertile Troyland far away from home.

The Hesiodic author of the *Shield* (c. 650—600 B.C.) has a similar description of the fight between Herakles and Kyknos:

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3. This singular tradition perhaps implies the folk-etymology of Μυκήναι from μύκης (W. Pape—G. E. Benndorf *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* Braunschweig 1875 ii. 958). Note especially Paus. 2. 16. 3 ἥκοινα δὲ καὶ ὀς δυσφωτί (sc. τῆς Περσεί) ἐπιλήθην ἄνελθεν οἱ μύκης ἐκ τῆς γῆς, μαῦρον δὲ ἄθατο πῖον καὶ ἠδέως Μυκήναι ἔθετο τὸ δυναμὶ τῆς χωρί—an obvious piece of folk-lore. The inhabitants of prehistoric Mykenai might well pass for the earliest race of men. On the mushroom’s womb see Plin. *nat. hist.* 22. 93 vulvam enim terra ob hoc prius gignit, ipsum postea in vulva, ceu in ovo est luteum. nec tunicae minor gratia in cibo infantis boleti.
Rain of blood

With fearsome battle-cry
They closed; and wise Zeus, thundering aloud,
Let gouts of blood drop from the very sky—
War’s signal to his own high-hearted son.

Silius Italicus, therefore, is following in the beaten track, when he makes Jupiter portend the death of Marcus Marcellus (in 208 B.C.) by the downfall of blood-drops from a clear sky. With other writers, Greek, Roman, and Byzantine, the portent passes into a commonplace and Zeus or Jupiter is ignored. The same prodigy was repeatedly chronicled during the dark ages. It has, indeed, attracted the

p. xxvi. W. Schmid—O. Stählin Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1929 i. 271 argues for a date nearer to 600 than to 500 B.C.

1 Hes. sc. Her. 382 ff.
2 Sil. It. 15. 363 ff. with N. E. Lemaire’s note ad loc.
3 I subjoin in tabular form the time and place of each fall of blood-rain recorded by classical writers:

718 B.C. At Rome and at Laurentum after the murder of the Laurentine ambassadors and of Titus Tatius (Plout. v. Rom. 24).
214 At Rome in the Forum Boarium (Liv. 24. 10).
194 At Rome in the Forum, in the Comitium, and on the Capitol (Liv. 34. 45).
184 At Rome for two days on the Area Volcani (Liv. 39. 46. Iul. Obs. 59 = 4 under the date 183).
183 At Rome for two days on the Area Concordiae (Liv. 39. 56, Iul. Obs. 59 = 4).
181 At Rome on the Area Volcani and on the Area Concordiae (Liv. 40. 19. It seems probable that the portents of 184, 183, 181 were in reality the same occurrence variously dated).
172 At Saturnia in Etruria for three days (Liv. 42. 20).
169 At Rome by day on the temple of Fortuna Primigenia (Liv. 43. 13).
166 In the territory of Praeneste (Iul. Obs. 71 = 12).
134 At Amiternum (Iul. Obs. 86 = 27).
128 At Caere (Iul. Obs. 88 Lycothene).
114 (Plin. nat. hist. 2. 147, Lyd. de ostent. prooem. 6 p. 13, 2 f. Wachsmuth).
106 (Iul. Obs. 101 = 41).
104 At Luna in Etruria (Iul. Obs. 103 = 43).
102 Round the river Anio (Iul. Obs. 104 = 44).
52 At Rome (Dion Cass. 40. 47).
43 At Rome (Cic. de div. 2. 58, ep. Ov. met. 15. 788).
37 At Aspis on the north coast of Africa (Dion Cass. 48. 53).
30 In Egypt portending the subjugation of its inhabitants (Dion Cass. 51. 17).
54 A.D. At Rome (?) portending the death of Claudius (Dion Cass. 60 (61). 35).
68 In the Alban territory portending the death of Nero (Dion Cass. 63. 16).
599 Before the downfall of the eunuch Eutropius (Claud. in Eutrop. 2. 41).

The following list will suffice:

541 A.D. In France (Sigebertus Gemblacensis chronographia ed. L. C. Bethmann in G. H. Pertz Monuments Germaniae historia Hannoverae 1844 viii (Scriptores vi). 317).
570 In Italy, when the Lombards under Alboin invaded the land (C. Lycothene (K. Wolfhart) Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon Basileae 1557 p. 308).
attention of serious scientists, who point out that it reposes upon a substantial basis of fact. Thus we get the usual *diminuendo* of classical religion—the definite naming of Zeus or Jupiter, the vaguer concept of God or Heaven, the mediaeval portent, the modern scientific phenomenon.

1. First in the field was C. G. Ehrenberg 'Passatstaub und Blutregen' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1847 Phys. Abb. pp. 260—460 with tables and 6 col. pls. This admirable monograph includes a chronological list of all comparable phenomena.

2. Stegemann 'Blutregen' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 1445—1447 with bibliography (Reddish dust from the Sahara, composed of silicic acid, argillaceous earth, iron- and copper-oxides, is sometimes swept by strong winds into the upper regions of the air and carried over southern or even northern Europe, with or without an admixture of rain: the water evaporating, there remains a deposit of reddish or yellowish dust. Again, bees and butterflies, when quitting the chrysalis, leave behind them some drops of blood. Finally, masses of red seaweed and ‘Wundermonade’ may also occasion a precipitate of red liquid).
Rain of blood

There was an awful rainbow once in heaven:
We know her woof, her texture; she is given
In the dull catalogue of common things.

Different in character is a mystic and possibly Orphic anthropogony quoted by Julian in his Letter to a Priest—

"the saying of the gods, which has been handed down to us by the theurgists of bygone days, to wit that, when Zeus was ordering all things, there fell drops of sacred blood, and that from these sprang the race of men."

This rather isolated notion seems to have arisen, in some more or less philosophical milieu, from an attempt to combine two passages of Hesiod. In the Theogony, when Kronos mutilated Ouranos, Gaia received the blood-drops and in due course gave birth to the Erinyes, the Gigantes, and the nymphs called Melitai, ‘Ash-trees.’ In the Works and Days Zeus produces the men of the Bronze Age from meliai, ‘ash-trees.’ It followed, or seemed to follow, that the men of the Bronze Age were sprung from the blood-drops of Ouranos himself. Alkaios too and Akousilaos, presumably remembering that Phaiakia was named Drepánē after the drépanon or ‘sickle’ used by Kronos, had claimed that the Phaeacians likewise were sprung from the blood of Ouranos.

1 J. Keats Lamia 231 ff.
2 Ioul. frag. 183 a—b ... εἰς τὸν τῶν θεῶν φύμαν, ἡ παραδέδοται διὰ τῶν ἀρχαλῶν ἡμῶν θεουργῶν, ὡς, διὰ ζεύ γίνωσθαι τὰ πάντα, σταγώνων αἰματος ιεροὶ πεσούσιν, εἴ διὸ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βλαστήσει γένος. Miss W. C. Wright in the Loeb edition (London 1913) renders: ‘when Zeus was setting all things in order there fell from him drops of sacred blood.’ But the words ‘from him’ are not in the Greek and may be misleading.
3 The clause ὧς ζεύ γίνωσθαι τὰ πάντα recalls the phraseology of Anaxagoras (frag. 12 Diels ap. Simplic. in Aristot. phys. p. 156, 26 Diels πάντα διεκόσμησεν νοῦς, ib. p. 177, 5, cp. Plat. Phaed. 97 b—c, Philodem. peri ἐσεθέσεως 4 = H. Diels Doxographi Graeci Berolini 1879 p. 532 b 4 ff., Diog. Laert. 2. 6, etc.), who moreover held that plants and animals had arisen from seed dropped by the sky upon the ground (Theophr. hist. pl. 3. 1. 4, Eirenaios adv. haer. 2. 1. 2 (vii. 751 A Migne)).
4 Hes. theog. 154 ff.: supra ii. 447 n. 8.
5 Hes. o. d. 143 ff. That theog. 187 was early brought into connexion with o. d. 145 appears likely from theog. 583, where the right reading μελίσας (codd. D. E.) has the curious variant μελίσας (codd. F. K. L.) with schol. μελίσας δὲ ἦν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἢ διὰ ἐκ Μελίων ἐγένοτο νυμφῶν ὅ ἄν γενόμενοι ὀρατῶσα ἑκ τῶν μελίας, δὲ ἔστι δύναμιν.
6 Supra ii. 448 n. o.
7 Schol. Αρ. Rhod. 4. 991 f. (ὁ δὲ καὶ ἀστὸν ἄν ψαλτός ὄραμαι γένος Φαίακες θαυμάζω) Ἀκούσας ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ (frag. 29 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 103 Müller) =frag. 4 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 49 Jacoby)) φαίνει δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐκμυγμός τοῦ ὄραμας ψαλτῆς ἐν πέπησθαι, τοῦτο τάς σταγώνας, κατὰ τῆς γῆς, εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι τοῦς Φαίακας: οἱ δὲ (sc. Hes. theog. 183 ff.) τῶν Φαίακας καὶ Ἀλκάδων ((frag. 116 Bergk (‘Nescio an Ἀλκάδως sit legendum’)) =frag. 96 Edmonds (e.g. Φαίακες ὄραμας σταγώνων γένος)) δὲ λέγει τοὺς Φαίακας ἔχειν τὸ γένος ἐκ τῶν σταγώνων τοῦ ὄραμας.

C. III.
Rain of stones

ii. Rain of stones.

Equally portentous was the rain of stones, which in early times men attributed to the direct intervention of the sky-god. A good example is furnished by La Crau, a large plain in the south of France, occupying the western portion of the department Bouches-du-Rhône. The name Crau is said to have come from a Celtic stem meaning 'cairn' or 'heap of stones,' being akin to our own word 'crag.' The arid surface of this plain is in fact covered with boulders and has been described by a French authority as a 'véritable mer de cailloux.' Strabon calls it the 'Stony Plain'; Pomponius Mela, Pliny, Solinus, and Martianus Capella—not to mention later writers—the 'Stone Fields.' Attempts to explain along scientific lines such an enormous outcrop of stones were made by Aristotle and by Poseidonios. The former thought them thrown

1 J. F. Cerquand Taranis lithobole (Mémoires de l'Académie de Vaucluse 1888) Avignon 1881 argued for the recognition of an Indo-European god, who was at once a hurler of stones and wielder of a hammer, the hammer being a later substitute for the stone. As evidence of such a lithobolic deity in Gaul Cerquand quoted Aisch. frag. 199 Nauck (infra p. 483 n. 3) and, more doubtfully, Paus. 10. 23. 1 ff. But see Reinach Bronzes Figurès p. 159 ff. Other stone-throwers (Talos, Minotaur, Kyklops) are possibly solar or stellar (supra i. 720 f., ii. 491 n. 6 (6)).


4 F. Diez Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen Bonn 1887 p. 556.

5 P. Joanne op. cit. i. 1147, cp. ib. 1148 'Ce plan raboteux de galets avait étonné les anciens, comme il surprend aux jours les voyageurs que le ch. de fermene d'Arles à Marseille.'

6 Strab. 181 f. metaxo γύρω τῇ Μαυσολαία καὶ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Ῥοδανίου πεδίου έστι τῇ ταλάντῳ διέχων εἰς ἑκάστω στάδιον, τονότων δὲ καὶ τὸν δάμαστον, κυκλοφέρτο τὸ σχήμα· καλείται δὲ άλωδίς ἀντὶ τῶν συμβαθμάτων. μεστόν γὰρ ἴστι κακίων χειροκροτών, κ.τ.λ.

7 Mela 2. 78 alloqui litus ignobile est, Lapideum (lapidies cod. A, whence Keune in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xii. 777 'vielleicht ist campus ausgefallen') ut vocant, in quo Herculem contra Alebiona et Dercyon (so C. Bursian for albiona et bergyon cod. A. But see O. Gruppe in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. Suppl. iii. 997) Neptuni liberis dimicantem cum tela defeicient ab invocato Iove adiutum imbre lapidum ferunt. credas pluvisse, adeo multi passim et late iacent.

8 Plin. nat. hist. 3. 34 Campi Lapidei, Herculis proelierum memoria, 21. 57 Lapideos Campos in provincia Narbonensi.

9 Solin. 2. 6 in Liguria quoque Lapidarios Campos, quod Iovi eo (sc. Hercule) dimicante creditur pluvisse saxa.

10 Mart. Cap. 642 ex cuisi laboribus in Liguria Campi Lapidarii sunt appellati, quod eodem dimicante saxis ferunt pluvisse caelum.

11 Cited by Keune in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xii. 777.

12 Aristot. ap. Strab. 182.
Rain of stones

up by earthquakes of the type termed *brástai*. The latter held that they were a sort of beach resulting from the solidification of a previous lake. But Aischylos in his *Prometheus Unbound* had given a mythical explanation of the scene, which concerns us more closely. Prometheus, telling Herakles of the route from the Kaukasos to the Hesperides, had said:

Then shalt thou come to the undaunted host
O' the Ligyes, where, fighter as thou art,
Thou shalt have fights enow. For here Fate bids
Thine arrows fail thee; nor shalt thou avail
To get a stone from the ground—the ground is soft.
Howbeit Zeus, in pity for thy plight,
Will send a cloud to cover the whole land
With rounded stones, thick as the snowflakes fall.
These hurling, thou shalt thread that Ligyan host.

The incident appealed to certain astromythologists of the Hellenistic age as providing a plausible account of that much-disputed constellation Engonasin or Ingenicus. In the northern hemisphere, midway between Lyra and Corona, Draco and Ophiuchus, appears a male figure on bended knee. The Babylonians had named him *ilu kamāli*, 'the fettered god,' and had regarded him as one of the seven astral powers called *da-šē AN.KI*, 'Breakers of Heaven and Earth.' It is tempting to suppose that some transmitted memory of Mesopotamian lore led to the identification of him with Prometheus chained to the Kaukasos, or again with Ixion fastened to his wheel. The neighbouring constellation Corona

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1 Aristot. *de mundo* 4. 396 a 2 f.


4 A. Rehm in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2563—2565 devotes a succinct article to this constellation, including its various names, identifications, descriptions, etc. See also F. Boll *Sphaera* Leipzig 1903 pp. 100—104 and Index p. 555.


6 Hyg. *poet. astr.* 1. 76 hunc etiam nonnulli Ixionis brachiis victis esse dixerunt, quod vim Iunoni voluerit adferre; alii Promethea in monte Caucaso vincunt, schoel. *Arat. phaen.* 74 οὐ δὲ Προμηθέα λέγοντο...τωσὶ δὲ Ἴσιονα αὐτῶν λέγοντι εἶναι.
Rain of stones might pass in the former case as the ring of Prometheus\(^1\), in the latter as the wheel of Ixion\(^2\). These, however, were stray opinions of doubtful date. More persistent is the idea that Engonasin was a nameless sufferer—toiling, says Aratos\(^3\), at some unknown task; tired and mournful, says Cicero\(^4\); weary and pitiable, says Germanicus\(^5\). Teukros of Babylon (c. \(100 \text{ A.D.}\))\(^6\) went so far as to call him Talas\(^7\) the Man of Sorrows.

Others attempted to identify the kneeling figure with a definite mythical supplicant or the like and in so doing took further constellations into account. Araithos of Tegaea (s. iv B.C.)\(^8\) made him out to be Keteus, son of Lykaon and father of Megisto (= Kallisto), lamenting the transformation of his daughter into Ursa Maior and beseeching the gods to restore her to him\(^9\). Hegesianax (c. \(200 \text{ B.C.}\))\(^10\) saw Theseus raising the rock at Troizen beneath which lay his father’s sword\(^11\) (fig. 312): Lyra could then be viewed as the lyre of

\(^1\) Supra i. 319 n. 0.

\(^2\) A. Rehm in F. Boll Sphaera Leipzig 1903 p. 149 n. 4 and in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 2564.

\(^3\) Arat. \(\phi h a e n.\) 63 ff. τῷ αὐτῷ μορφώσα κυλίνδεται ἁμάρτη δουκές [ellwlon]. τὸ μὲν οὗτος ἐπισταταὶ ἄμφοτερ εἰπέν, [οὔ φυτον κράταται κεῖον πόνῳ, ἀλλὰ μν ἂντων] ἙΓΩΝΑΣΙΝ καλόντα.


\(^5\) Germ. Arat. 74 succiduis genibus lassum et miserabile sidus, \(633\) miserabile sidus.

\(^6\) Teukros of Babylon was an astrologer who at the end of \(1\) A.D. wrote περὶ τῶν παραστελλόντων, a work dealing with horoscopes (W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1920 ii. 1. 416, 448).

\(^7\) F. Boll Sphaera Leipzig 1903 p. 278 τῇ θεῷ τῖς κατακέφαλα χείμανος, καλλίτας ἐν Τάλας, καλ ἄρας ψαλεῖ αὐτῷ τῇ κεφαλῆς κούδ. Τ. R. (two MSS. of Rhetorios, an Egyptian astrologer of s. vi), who has preserved extracts from Teukros περὶ τῶν δύδεκα [βδώλων]. Teukros as a native of Babylon appears to perpetuate the old Babylonian tradition of a ‘fettered god.’

\(^8\) E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 374.

\(^9\) Araithos frag. 1 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 318 Müller) ap. Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 1 Aranthes autem Τεγέατες historiarum scriptor non Callisto, sed Megisto dicit appellatum, et non Lycaonis, sed Cetei filiam, Lycaonis neptem; praeterea Cetea ipsum Engonasin nominari, ib. 2. 6 Aranthes autem, ut ante diximus, hunc Cetea Lycaonis filium, Megistus patrem, dicit; qui videtur, ut lamentans filiam in ursae figuram conversam, genu nixus palmas diversas tendere ad caelum, ut cam sibi dii restituant.


\(^11\) Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 6 Hegesianax (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 523 Jacoby) autem Thesea dixit esse, qui Troezen saxum extollere videtur, quod existimatur Aegaeus sub eo ellopium (ellopium cod. D. J. Molsheimy cj. Pelopium. Heinsius, with more genealogical justification (see Gerhard Gr. Myth. ii. 231), cj. Cecropium. B. Bunte says: ‘fortasse legendum est ellopum ex Gr. ἐλλόπος’ (quid?). But, if Ellopia was a district in northern Euboia
extending as far as Chalkis (R. Philippson in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 2.438), it may be that we should keep Ellopium to denote a sword 'of true Ellopian bronze.' A.B.C.)

Theseus raising the rock was a subject in vogue with artists for some five hundred years. The hero is regularly represented with bent knee, a modification of the archaic Knielauf. His attitude is awkward, and even unreasonable, on an Etruscan scarab at Vienna (R. von Schneider Album ausserlesener Gegenstände der Antiken-Sammlung des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses Wien 1895 pl. 40, 3, Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i pl. 17, 55 (= my fig. 312: scale 1:4, ii. 85. Inscribed These), more natural on a relief from Trysa, to be dated c. 420—410 B.C. (O. Benndorf—G. Niemann Das Heroon von Glücksburg-Trysa Wien 1889 p. 173 pl. 19, 11 (= my fig. 314), Reinach Rép. Reliefs i. 459), on a small pedimental relief surmounting a αίτος of Hymettian marble inscribed c. 136—133 (? B.C. with a decree in honour of the Troezenian Telesias (Corp. inscr. Att. iv. 2 no. 428 b, W. Larfeld Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 139, F. von Duhn in the Arch. Zeit. 1877 xxxv. 171 f. no. 104, Svoronos Ath. Nationalmus. pl. 217, 5), and on Roman mural reliefs in terra cotta surmounting a stele of Hymettian marble inscribed c. 136—133 (?) B.C. with a decree in honour of the Troezenian Telesias (Corp. inscr. Att. iv. 2 no. 428 b, W. Larfeld Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 139, F. von Duhn in the Arch. Zeit. 1877 xxxv. 171 f. no. 104, Svoronos Ath. Nationalmus. pl. 217, 5), and on Roman mural reliefs in terra cotta referable to the period c. 30 B.C.—c. 140 A.D. (G. P. Campaña Antiche opere in plastica Roma 1843—1851 pl. 117, Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas p. 398 no. 5 594 pl. 39, H. von Rohden—H. Winnefeld Architektonische römische Tönerleifs der Kaiserzeit Berlin 1911 i. 98, ii pl. 12 (= my fig. 315). Inscribed ΘΕΕΕΟΥC=Θ(ό)ςειν. Beneath the rock lie the shield, the sheathed sword and the quiver (?) of Aigeus. Aithra points to them. A marble relief from Ostia, now in the Villa Albani, has a similar rendering of the scene complicated by the presence of other onlookers (G. Winckelmann Monumenti antiichi inediti Roma 1811 ii. 130 pl. 96, Einselauftnahmen no. 1126 with Text iv. 35 by W. Amelung. Reinach Rép. Reliefs iii. 146 no. 1, W. Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom Leipzig 1913 ii. 445 f. no. 1924), and so has a white marble tripod-base from Mt Gerizim, now at Constantinople, Attic work of Roman date (Mendel Cat. Sculpt. Constantinoplii i. 385 ff. no. 638 fig., O. Brendel in the Jahrb. d. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1932 xvii. 201 f. fig. 2 (= my fig. 316) inscribed Θόριής ψωλήματα. Theseus raises the rock in the presence of Aithra and two maidens). Pausanias c. 150 A.D. saw on the Akropolis at Athens a bronze statue of Theseus pushing up an actual rock, beneath which were the shoes and sword of Aigeus (Paus. i. 27. 8). This curious work of art is shown on imperial bronze coins of Athens (E. Beule Les monnaies d'Athènes Paris 1858 p. 397 f. fig., Brit. Mus. Cat. Coin Attica etc. p. 105 pl. 18, 8, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner Num. Comm. Paus. iii. 145 f. pl. 20, 2, J. N. Svoronos Les monnaies d'Athènes Munich 1923—1926 pl. 95, 25—36, McClean Cat. Coins ii. 366 no. 5963 pl. 21, 11. Fig. 313 is from a well preserved specimen in my collection). At Troizen too, where the original rock of Theseus was to be seen (Paus. 2. 32. 7 cited supra i. 519 n. 2, cp. Kallim. Hekale frag. 66 Schneider, 20 Mai το μήν γάρ ἢρμην κολωναγια ῥατό τέραμα τὸ ἄνω ἄρισταν), the same type reappears on bronze coins of imperial date (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus p. 167 no. 20 pl. 31, 5 Commodus, p. 168 no. 24 Geta, no. 25 pl. 31, 9 Philippus Junior. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner Num. Comm. Paus. i. 49 pl. M, 11 Commodus, Weber Cat. Coins ii. 487 no. 428 Caracalla), See farther F. Wieseler 'Die erhaltenen Denkmäler mit Darstellungen der Troezensisch-Attischen Sage von Aegaeus, Aethra und Theseus, soweit diese die zu Troezon vorgefallenen Ereignisse betrifft' in the Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Classe 1886 pp. 65—72 (numerous other gems and pastes representing Theseus and the rock are listed ib. pp. 69—71) and H. Steuding in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 680—682 fig. 1.
Rain of stones

Fig. 314.

Fig. 315.
Rain of stones

Fig. 316.

Fig. 317.
Theseus. The vicinity of Lyra justified two other interpretations—Thamyris at the knees of the Muses who had blinded him, and Orpheus slain by the women of Thrace for intruding upon the Dionysiac rites.

But such attempts too often involved a misconception of the old starry schema. E. Bethe has done well to urge that Engonasin was first represented on some Ionic globe of the sixth century B.C. as an anonymous man in the attitude of *Knielauf* dear to archaic art. Hence Aratos' professed inability to expound 'the mysterious phantom.' Hence also the total absence of attributes both in the detailed descriptions given by Aratos, Hipparchos, Ptolemaios, and in the clearly cut relief that adorns the Farnese globe (fig. 317).

Since, however, the attitude of *Knielauf* was frequently employed by early artists to express the energetic action of Herakles, it was

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1. Our earliest evidence for the lyre of Theseus is the *krater* of Klitios and Ergotimos, c. 600—550 B.C. (supra i. 481 n. 9). Next in date is the fragment of Anakreon, c. 530 B.C. (supra p. 485 n. 0). Theseus with the lyre seems to have been an Ionian rival of the better known lyre-playing Herakles (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 500 n. 1).


3. *Hyg. poet. astr.* 2. 6 ali Orpheas a Thraciis mulieribus interfici, quod viderit Liberi Patris initia. *Suida* l. 111 n. 1, ii. 121 fig. 76 with n. 3.


5. Supra i. 204 n. 4, 296 fig. 219, ii. 544 fig. 419, 731 fig. 663, etc.

6. W. Deonna *Dédale* Paris 1930 p. 249 'Certaines attitudes mêmes, qui jadis paraissaient anormales, sont justifiées par la chronophotographie...et cette course "agenouillée" est l’attitude exacte du saut, le corps étant saisi au moment où il se rassaisit sur lui-même pour franchir l’obstacle' (id. ib. nn. 2 and 3 adds a useful bibliography).


9. Hipparch. in *Arati et Eudoxi phaen. comment.* i. 2. 6 Manitius with the translation of Sir T. L. Heath *Greek Astronomy* London & Toronto 1932 p. 119.


12. E. Schmidt 'Der Knielauf' in the *Münchener archäologische Studien München 1899* p. 309 fig. 28, p. 312 fig. 31, p. 313 fig. 32 (Herakles attacking Centaurs on a bronze plate from Olympia (A. Furtwängler in *Olympia* iv. 101 no. 696 pl. 38), on a 'Laconian' *dinos* in the Louvre (O. Puchstein in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 xxxix. 219, 240 pl. 11, 1 and pl. 12, 1 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 433, 8 and 435, 6), on an Ionian amphora at Munich (Sievenga—Hackl *Vazensamml. München* i. 103 no. 836 fig. 106). A modification of this attitude
easy to equip the nameless figure with club and lion-skin and to make him fight the snake of the Hesperides (Draco), as was done by Eratosthenes and his followers\(^1\) (figs. 318, 319)\(^2\), or to imagine him groping for stones in his contest with the Ligyes, as was done by other Alexandrine scholars\(^3\). Both interpretations occasioned further

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\(1\) Pseudo-Eratost. catast. 4, cp. ib. 3. Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 6.

\(2\) Fig. 318 is from a twelfth-century MS. of Germanicus at Madrid (cod. Matrit. A 16 fol. 56\(^{v}\) published by G. Thiele Antike Himmelsbilder Berlin 1898 p. 145 fig. 62). Fig. 319 is from the edition of Hyginus printed by Erhard Radtolt at Venice in 1485 fol. d\(^{v}\).

\(3\) Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 5 Aeschylus autem in fabula quae inscribitur Πρωμηθείτ ύλήμενος (subp. p. 483) Hercules ait esse, non cum dracone, sed cum Liguribus depugnante. dicit enim, quo tempore Hercules a Geryone boves abduxerit, iter fecisse per Ligurum fines; quos conatos ab eo pecus abducere manus contulisse et complures eorum sagittis confixisse, sed postquam Hercules tela deficerent, multitudine barbarorum et inopia armorum defossum se ingeniculasse multis iam vulneribus acceptis. Iovem autem misertam fili curasse ut circa cum magna lapidum copia esset, quibus se Hercules defendisse et hostes fugasse. itaque Iovem similitudinem pugnantia inter sidera constituisse, schol. Arat. phalan. 74 (wrongly attached to the description of Ophiuchus) Ἀλων δὲ φαελ τινες αὐθων εἴναι τὸν Ἡρακλῆα τοῦ Ἀδαμ. (A. Rehm in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 964 makes the obvious correction Ἀργον) ὄλεμουσα. ἐπικεφαλὲς αὐθω τῶν τοξωτῶν ἐπὶ γάν τοῦ πεσὼν λίθων βαλεῖ, οὔτα αὐθω ζεῖν ὑπὸν ἐξαμένων.
Rain of stones

Fig. 320.

Fig. 321.
Rain of stones

misunderstandings. Herakles grasping his club was confused with Boötes grasping his *lagobolon*—witness the Carolingian paintings (figs. 320, 321) in the *codex Vossianus*. Herakles throwing stones was equated with the stone-thrower Talos, whose name bore a convenient resemblance to that of the sufferer Talas. It was altered by some wiseacre into Tantalos, the hero who lived in dread of the falling rock, and by some fool of a copyist into Taos the Peacock! A final muddle, prompted perhaps by Tantalos under his rock, perhaps by Herakles fighting his snake, produced the name Atlas. Modern sky-charts are content with the label Hercules. But rival claimants have been numerous, as may be seen from the appended stemma:

![Stemma diagram](image)

1 A ninth-century MS. of Germanicus at Leyden (cod. Voss. Lat. q 79 fol. 6v Hercules (=my fig. 320) and fol. 12v Boötes (=my fig. 321) published by G. Thiele *Antike Himmelsbilder* Berlin 1898 p. 93 fig. 19 and p. 96 fig. 22).

2 By Antiochos of Athens (s. ii A.D.), author of a famous astrological poem *Thesauroi*, of which one fragment in hexameters is quoted by the astronomer Palchos (s. v A.D.) and other parts survive in an old prose paraphrase given by various MSS. (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* München 1924 ii. 2. 678). See further F. Boll *Sphaera* Leipzig 1903 p. 279, who restores Ταλώς from Τάλως ὑπὸ τοῦ λίθου cod. V and ταῶς cod. A.

3 *Supra* p. 484.
Having thus seen that certain anonymous Alexandrines used the Aeschylean myth of Zeus sending a rain of stones to Herakles as a plausible explanation of Engonasin, we must next enquire whether the myth itself was a mere figment on the part of an imaginative poet or an episode strictly in accordance with popular classical belief. And here I shall at once cite a remarkable parallel recorded by Livy as having taken place in the reign of Tullus Hostilius (672—640 B.C.):

'After the defeat of the Sabines, when King Tullus and the whole Roman state were at a high pitch of glory and prosperity, it was reported to the king and senators that there had been a rain of stones on the Alban Mount. As this could scarce be credited, envoys were dispatched to examine the prodigy; and in their sight there fell from the sky, like hail that the wind piles in drifts upon the ground, a thick shower of stones. They thought too that they heard a great voice issuing from the grove on the mountain-top, which bade the Albans offer sacrifices after the fashion of their fathers: these they had in fact given over to oblivion, as though they had forsaken their gods along with their country, having either adopted Roman rites or in anger at their fortune, such as men sometimes feel, abandoned the worship of the gods. The Romans also, in consequence of the same portent, undertook an official nine days' celebration, whether so commanded by the divine voice from the Alban Mount—for this too is handed down—or on the advice of soothsayers. At all events it remained a regular custom that, whenever the same prodigy was reported, there should be a nine days' observance.'

The great voice heard from the grove on the mountain-top was that of Jupiter Latiaris, whose temple on the summit of the Alban Mount (Monte Cavi) was the earliest religious centre of the

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1 Schol. Arat. phaen. 7. 4 ol δε Ταυραλων.
2 F. Boll op. cit. p. 278 with n. 2.
5 Supra p. 483. The Hercules Lapidarius worshipped in the neighbourhood of Nikaia (Nizza, Nice) (Orelli Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 2012 = Corp. Inscr. Lat. v. 2 no. 7869 a small pedestal, found near the monastery of S. Ponzio and thence transferred to a vineyard adjoining the Cappuccini of Nizza, inscribed HERCVLI [ LAPIDARI | ALMANICENSES | ] is hardly to be connected with this myth, but may be a local variety of Hercules Saxonius, the god 'of Quarries' (De Vit. Onomasticon iii. 354, 355), on whom see now the exhaustive article by Keune in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii A. 306—307.
6 Liv. i. 31 trans. B. O. Foster altered.
Latins. And, since the Alban Hills were certainly prehistoric volcanos, which even in historic times continued to give intermittent proof of their smouldering fires, it is permissible to suppose that a


1 C. Hulsen loc. cit. ‘die höchste Erhebung des vulkanischen Albanergebirges, jetzt Monte Cavi (weniger correct Monte Cavo), 954 m. über dem Meer.’


3 Sir W. Gell The Topography of Rome and its Vicinity London 1846 p. 38: ‘Albano has been at different periods subject to earthquakes; these, however, have hitherto been productive of no serious mischief. Shocks were felt here in the year 1829, and in many of the villages around. After continuing for a considerable period, during which they were at times repeated as often as thrice in one day, they ceased in the autumn. The strange stories then current among the people, of flames breaking forth from a chasm, and of trees withering from volcanic effluvia, give an air of probability to the showers of stones and other prodigies, said to have occurred in ancient times on the Alban Hill. These phenomena may be referred to the volcanic nature of the mountain, which, at the time that they are said to have happened, was so much nearer the epoch of its vigour and activity.’

4 C. Daubeny A Description of active and extinct Volcanos, of Earthquakes, and of Thermal Springs London 1848 p. 169 f.: ‘To the south of Rome the whole of the country for several miles round Albano abounds in volcanic appearances. Amongst the mountains in this group are several lakes which appear originally to have been craters, as for instance that of Albano, Vallariccia, Nemi, and Juturna, to which we may add, intermediate between the Alban mountains and the Anio, the Lake of Gabii, noted for a particular variety of Peperino called the Gabian stone, and the singular hexagonal one of Cornufelle, near Frascati, supposed by Gell to be the Lake Regillus. . . . In proof that the volcanic action had not entirely ceased even in modern times, I may state that Pliny [nat. hist. ii. 240] mentions a report which had reached him as to the ground round the lake [of Ariccia or Vallariccia] being hot enough to set fire to charcoal; and Livy [22. 36] notices a shower of stones that fell there, as well as the bursting out of a warm spring, having its water mixed with blood, which Heyne supposes to have been bitumen († Heyne, Opusc. Acad. vol. ii. p. 263). There are indeed some passages in ancient writers, which might lead us to suppose a volcano to have existed among these mountains even at a period within the limits of authentic history, for Livy [25. 7] notices a shower of stones which continued for two entire days from Mount Albano during the second Punic war, and Julius Obsequens in his work “De Prodigis” [98 = 35] remarks, that in the year [641] A.U.C. [= 113 B.C.] the hill appeared to be on fire during the night. . . . These accounts indeed, if not confirmed by other testimony, might be rejected as fabulous, but they may perhaps suffice to establish the comparatively modern date at which the volcanic action continued, when viewed in connexion with the physical structure of the lake itself. . . . This however, and the other lakes above-mentioned, if even they be considered as volcanic craters, are but the dependencies and offsets, as it were, of the great extinct volcano, the traces of which still remain upon the summit of the Alban hills.’

To these contentions E. H. Bunbury in Smith Dict. Geogr. i. 92 opposes a dogmatic denial, difficult to accept: ‘Numerous prodigies are recorded by Roman writers as occurring on the Alban Mount: among these the falling of showers of stones is frequently mentioned, a circumstance which has been supposed by some writers to indicate that the volcanic energy of these mountains continued in historical times; but this suggestion is sufficiently disproved by historical, as well as geological, considerations.’
Rain of stones

fall of pumice or scoriae thrown up from some re-opened vent would be viewed as an omen directly indicating the will of Jupiter.

Later showers of stones¹, ashes², or the like³, though on occasion

¹ 217 B.C. Hot stones fell from the sky at Praeneste (Liv. 22. 1).
² 216 A rain of stones on the Aventine at Rome and at Aricia (Liv. 22. 36).
³ 215 A rain of stones round the temple of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium (Liv. 23. 31).
⁴ 213 A rain of stones for two days on the Alban Mount (Liv. 25. 7).
⁵ 211 A rain of stones at Eretum (Liv. 26. 23).
⁶ 207 Stones fell from the sky at Veii, and again there was a rain of stones on the
Armilustrum at Rome (Liv. 27. 37).
⁷ 194 A rain of stones in the territory of Hadria (Liv. 34. 45).
⁸ 188 Showers of stones on the Aventine (Iul. Obs. 56 = 2).
⁹ 186 A rain of stones in Picenum (Iul. Obs. 59 = 4).
¹⁰ 169 A rain of stones at Reate (Liv. 43. 13). At the close of the same year stones fell simultaneously in the ager Romanus and in the ager Veins (Liv. 44. 18).
¹¹ 152 A rain of stones at Aricia (Iul. Obs. 77 = 18).
¹² 141 A rain of stones on a farm of the Vestini (Iul. Obs. 111 = 51).
¹³ 124 Infra n. 3.
¹⁴ 897 A.D. A rain-storm followed by the fall of white and black stones at Ahmed-dad near Koufah (an Arabic MS. of Ibn-al-Athir quoted by E. Quatremère Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l’Égypte, et sur quelques contrées voisines Paris 1811 ii. 487).

So far as Italy is concerned, the decreasing number of entries rather suggests that this particular form of volcanic activity had petered out before the beginning of our era.

² 87 B.C. A rain of ashes at Athens (Paus. 9. 6. 6).

³ 473 A.D. A rain of fiery dust or ashes at Byzantion (Kedren. hist. comp. 350 c (i. 614 Bekker), Glykas ann. 4. 26 A (p. 489 Bekker), Zonar. 14. 1 (iii. 253 Dindorf). Theophran. chronogr. p. 103 (i. 185 Classen) refers this rain of fiery dust to the year of Leon i’s death, which he places in 466 A.D. C. Lycosthenes (K. Wolffhart) op. cit. p. 296 dates it in the second year of Leon i, 461 A.D. (!), cp. Nikephor. eccl. hist. 15. 20 (cxlvi. 60 ff. Migne). Prokop. de Bell. Goth. 6. 4. 27 and Marcellin. Comes chron. ann. 472 (li. 931 c Migne) attribute the fall to an eruption of Vesuvius.

The menologium Basilianum for Nov. 6 p. 170 (cxlvi. 147 A-B Migne) says that the ashes fell glowing hot and burnt up πάντα τὰ φυτά).

³ 214 B.C. A rain of chalk at Cales (Liv. 24. 10).
¹⁴ 194 A rain of earth on several occasions at Rome (Liv. 34. 45).
¹⁵ 190 A rain of earth at Tusculum (Liv. 37. 3, Iul. Obs. 55 = 1).
¹⁶ 172 A rain of earth at Auximum (Liv. 42. 20).
¹⁷ 167 A rain of earth at Anagnia (Liv. 45. 16, Iul. Obs. 70 = 11).
¹⁸ 166 A rain of earth at many places in Campania (Iul. Obs. 71 = 12).
¹⁹ 133 A rain of earth at Ardea (Iul. Obs. 86 = 27 a).
²⁰ 101 A rain of clay on the Aventine at Rome (Iul. Obs. 104 = 44 a).
²¹ 98 A rain of white chalk in the theatre (Iul. Obs. 107 = 47).
²² At Rome ‘many thunderbolts, many clods, stones, shards and blood went flying through the air’ (Dion Cass. 40. 47).
²³ 50 A rain of baked tiles at Rome (Plin. nat. hist. 2. 147, cp. Lyd. de ostent. procem. 6. 13, 12 ff. Wachsmuth καταρρίχθησαν δὲ πάθητον πολλάκις ὀπταὶ καὶ κόμις, ὄσποροι ἐπὶ Ζήνωνος τοῦ καθ ἡμᾶς).

860 A.D. Blood-red dust fell from the sky at Byzantion ([Georg. Monachos] chron. 5. 3. 15 (ex. 1048 C—1049 A Migne)).
attributed to divine agency\(^1\), are more often recorded as a purely anonymous portent.

iii. Rain of food.

Another form of abnormal shower is the alleged fall of actual food from the skies. Thus in the book of *Exodus*\(^2\) it is stated that the children of Israel on entering the wilderness of Sin, between Elim and Sinai, were distressed with hunger:

> ‘Then said the **Lord** unto Moses, Behold, I will rain bread from heaven for you\(^3\)....At even ye shall eat flesh, and in the morning ye shall be filled with bread; and ye shall know that I am the **Lord** your God. And it came to pass at even, that the quails came up, and covered the camp: and in the morning the dew lay round about the camp. And when the dew that lay was gone up, behold, upon the face of the wilderness a small round thing, small as the hoar frost on the ground\(^4\)....And the house of Israel called the name thereof Manna: and it was like coriander seed, white; and the taste of it was like wafers made with honey\(^5\).’

This timely provision of tamarisk-droppings\(^6\) and migrating quails\(^7\) made a profound impression upon the people and is the subject of repeated allusions by other writers throughout the canon\(^8\). Indeed, it came to be regarded as frankly miraculous: *e.g.*

\(^1\) Paus. 9. 6. 6 λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἦσαν τέφραιν ὁ θεὸς ἐναισθητός πρὸς τρόπον πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον τῶν ἴππων ἵππων ὡς σύλλα τὰ μεγάλα σφῶν ἐνεχεθησαν, Προκόπ. de bell. Goth. 6. 4. 27 καὶ ποτὲ μὲν φανερὰς ἔνεπεσοὺς (i.e. the ashes from Vesuvius) οὕτως ἔκπληκτε τοὺς ταύτης ἀνθρώποις ὡς τε πανδημεὶς ἐξ ἐκείνου δὴ καὶ ἐς τὸν χρόνον 

\(^2\) Ex. 16. 1

\(^3\) Ex. 16. 4.

\(^4\) Ex. 16. 12—14.

\(^5\) Ex. 16. 31.


\(^8\) Num. ii. 6ff., 31ff., Deut. 8. 3, 16, Josh. 5. 12, Neh. 9. 20, Ps. 105. 40, 106. 15, John 6. 31ff., 49, 58, Heb. 9. 4, Rev. 2. 17.
Rain of food

‘Yet he commanded the skies above,
And opened the doors of heaven;
And he rained down manna upon them to eat,
And gave them of the corn of heaven.

Man did eat the bread of the mighty:
He sent them meat to the full.
He caused the east wind to blow in the heaven:
And by his power he guided the south wind.

And winged fowl as the sand of the seas:
And he let it fall in the midst of their camp,
Round about their habitations.
So they did eat, and were well filled;
And he gave them that they lusted after’.

‘He rained down manna...’; ‘He rained flesh also...’ It may be doubted whether classical authors can furnish a complete parallel to the Hebrew tradition. There is, however, reason to think that the same naive belief in food, at first let fall by the sky-god, and later simply dropping from the sky, long haunted the imagination of Greeks and Romans alike.

W. H. Roscher, in a dissertation published half a century since, succeeded in proving two relevant points. In the first place, the Greeks and Romans, the Indians, the Germans, and the Finns all held that honey falls as a dew from the sky on trees and flowers, and consequently viewed it as a sort of celestial diet. In the second place, ambrosia, the gods’ food, and nectar, the gods’ drink. (or vice versa)

1 Ps. 78. 23—29.
3 Hence the names ἀερόμελα (Amyntas frag. 1 (Script. hist. Alex. Mag. p. 135 Muller) = frag. 1 (Frag. gr. Hist. ii. 617 Jacoby) ap. Athen. 500 D, Galen. περὶ τροφῶν δόμαμων 3. 39 (vi. 739 Kühn), cp. Verg. georg. 4. 1 aērīi mellis caelestia dona), ὀξεομελή (Galen. loc. cit., cp. Verg. etti. 4. 30 roscida mella, Plin. nat. hist. 16. 31 rores melleos e caelo, ut diximus (ib. 11. 30), cadentes), μέλη ἄγριον (Diod. 19. 94, Matthew 3. 4, Suid. s.v. ἄγριον), ὄνο μέλη (Polyain. 4. 3. 32, cp. Ael. de nat. an. 15. 7 7657 ἦν ἐν ἄνδρον ἵνα διὰ τοῦ ἄγριον μέλη τινὲς ὑπηρετῆ),

A curious story is told by Hadrianus Junius (Adriaan de Jonghe) in his Animadversa Roterodami 1708 p. 170f. (lib. 3, cap. 9): ‘Locum accepi fuisse in regno Neapolitano, præstantissimi mellis aërii (quod ἄγριον μέλη Suidas, ἄγριον Galenus, vulgus hominum Manna nominat à voce Hebræa Man, quæ genericè donum significat) proventu nobilem, quem Neapolitani reges perpetuo muro claudendum curaverant, incertam ob causam, sive superior proventus atque inde opimus reditus, sive purior ejus collectio eos hue stimulavit: quacunque tandem de causa denegato illius contactu, coeleste illud καλὸν δωμέτρης donum in universum cadere desiit: mox quam juvenis Regum interrupta fuisse muri series, denisco labi affluenter, & à pube rustica colligisse passim cepit. Repetitur itum magnus studio cingendi loci propositionem, sed temerarium: siquidem circumque praecusa muri loricā, stetit melius ille imber, neque manavit amplius, donec, dissipata disjectaque macerī illius crate, libero ingressu potitus rusticus coetus, avidissime defluviwm illud manu cc colligere permisssu regum potuit.’
Rain of food

versa), were originally identical, both being forms of the self-same substance honey. This identification is borne out by etymology: a-mbrosia, the 'non-mortal' food, and nēk-tar, the 'death-vanishing', or perhaps rather nēktar, the 'not-dead', are obvious equivalents.

1 Athen. 39 A αὖδα δ' ἤτη Ἀναξαμέδριδης (fab. incert. frag. 7 (frag. com. Gr. iii. 198 Meinecke)) τὸ νέκταρ οὐ ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ τρόφην εἶναι λέγει θεόν: 'τὸ νέκταρ ἔσθεν πάντων | μάτων διατίναι τὴν ἀμβροσίαν καὶ τῷ Δίῳ | διακομένω καὶ σεμνῶς εἰς' ἐκάτοτον | 'Ἡρα λαλῶν καὶ Κυττρίδι παρακαθέμενος, | καὶ Αλκέαν (frag. 100 Bergk, 88 Edmonds, 3 Diehl) δέ φησιν 'τὸ νέκταρ ἔδομεν, | αἰτοῦσι καὶ Ἁπάφω (frag. 51 Bergk, 146 Edmonds) δέ φησιν 'ἀμβροσίας μέν | κρατήρ έκέρατο, | Ἓμας δ' ἔλεν ὄλων | θεοῦ οὐνομασαν.' Eustath. in Od. p. 1632, 61 ff. abbreviates this passage of Athenaios. The same conception underlies Eur. Ηηρ. 248 ff. κρήνης τ' ἀμφιθείαν χουντίν | ἆνυσ (W. Dindorf cf. Ζανός) μελάθρων παρὰ κόσμον, | το' α βιβάδορος (so L. C. Valckenaer from δικαὶ ἐνθατα | ἱερὸν ἐδαμονιαν θεοῦ.


3 So Prellwitz Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr. p. 308 (* nēk (Tod; lat. nec-em, s. νέκυος) + tar 'uberwindend,' ai. tara-s, s. τέρα. Also in die Deutung habe ich mich mit Jac. Grimm Dtsch. Mythologie I, 294 (necem avertens) berührt'), Boisacq Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr. p. 360 f. (cf. Lat. nec-em et voy. s. νέκυος) + tar 'qui triomphe de,' cf. skr. tārd-h 'qui triomphe de,' cf. skr. tārati 'traverser, franchir, surmonter, vaincre,' lat. tr-ans 'qui triomphe de.'...Aber auch der Zarlegung von νέκταρ in νέκταρ 'necem superans' haftet meiner Ansicht nach die Vollstufe der Negation, die wir in so üblichen Formen, wie lat. ne-scio, ne-fas, n'-nullus, ne-scius, ne-cesse, ne-cessarius, nemo aus *ne-hemo. Im Griechischen ist solche Kontraktion aber war re nicht durch *ne aus *ne-hemo, ..., Im Griechischen selbst ist re- erhalten bei volkischem Anlaut, da sonst das alte re durch i' er setzt wurde; vgl. ό τι, όκ εἶδος: lat. nolo. In solcher Kontraktion aber war re - nicht durch *ω zu ersetzen, und so begegnet es in Fällen wie νστῆρ, νέφυμος, ντέρας, ντέρας, ντένος, ..., ντερεῖς, ντερεῖς. Sohst kann re- also nur in Wörtern mit undurchsichtiger Bedeutung von der Ersetzung durch ϊ' verschont geblieben sein; ein solcher Fall ist meiner Ansicht nach νέκταρ, aus dem wohl schon die Griechen den Stamm nēk aus νέκταρ. *Tod' in νέκταρ, νέκτα, nēkōs herausgeührt haben werden. Der zweite Teil dieses also sehr altertümlichen Kompositums, dessen eigenbedeutende Bedeutung die Hellenen nachweislich selbst nicht mehr kannten, gehört in tiefstügigem Stammesgestalt nach der Haupton zu hom. κτέρεα 'Beigabe an Tote.' Hesych. glossiert κτέρεα: νέκροι, καὶ κτέρεισιν: οἱ ἄραφοι. Ferner gehören hierher κτέρεα, hom. κτερεῖς τυα 'jeen, die letzte Ehre erweisen,'
Rain of food

The facts on which these fancies rested are partly botanical, partly entomological. On the one hand, a sweet, sticky exudation, usually caused by a superfluity of sap, is to be found during hot weather, in small drops resembling dew, on the leaves of sundry trees and herbs, especially the oak, the ash, the kryptomata. "Totenfeier, Leichenbestattung." Daher ist auch die Kryptomata der Beiname des Hermes in seiner Eigenschaft als ψυχοσωτός heranzuziehen [συμφρα ii. 384 n. o]. Ο 397 sagt der Totengott zu Hektor: πατήρ δέ μοι ἐστι Πολύ-κτωρ [συμφρα ii. 384 n. o]. Dies ist also deutlich ein redender Name für Hades, dem alles Irdische anheimfällt, wie πολυδέκτης usw [συμφρα ii. 1113 n. o (2)]. Wenn es an der Stelle weiter heisst: ἄφες μὲν δ' γ' ἐστι, so erinnert man sich an Πολύων [συμφρα i. 50, ii. 385 n. 0]; τὸ τέσταρ "Nicht-totsein" ist also mit ἀμβροσία völlig gleichbedeutend. άπετατώς sind ἄφες, solche, die nicht bestattet werden, über die der Hades also keine Macht hat, und dies Wort deckt sich mit ἀ-θάνατοι.1

1 M. J. Berkeley in J. Lindley—T. Moore The Treasury of Botany2 London 1884 i. 296.

2 Theophr. frag. 190 Wimmer ap. Phot. bibl. p. 539 b 16 ff. τίπτει δέ τό τὸν αέρος μελι καί ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καί ἐπί τὰ προστεχέστα τῶν φυτῶν. σφυρηκτεῖ δὲ μάλατα ἐπὶ τῶν φύλλων τῆς δρόσου καί ἐπὶ <τοῖς (ineserim A. B. C. I)> τῆς φύλας, διότι πυκνότητα ἔχει ταῖστα καὶ ένυκρία ἐστί. δεὶ δὲ μῆτρα τελείας ἐτύχει ἔξω, ὅπω τις αὐτὰ ἐληξ, μήτρα μανά, ἵνα μη διηγότασθαι καὶ ἐνυκρία καὶ πυκνότητα ἔχει, τα (so F. Wimmer for τὸ τό codd.) δὲ τῆς φύλας καὶ γλυκύτητα. ἔχει δὲ τῶς ἡ μέλιτα (so F. Wimmer for μέλισσα codd.) οἰκεῖον τινα πρὸ τὸν δρόσον, id. hist. pl. 3. 7. 6 φαίνεται δ' αὖ δ καὶ διελθώμεθα οὕτως χυλὸ ἐκ τῶν αέρων ἐπὶ ταῖστη (sc. τῇ δρόσῳ) μάλατα προσέλθων, Diod. 17. 75 οὕτῳ δὲ καὶ διδύμῳ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχομενοῖς (sc. τοῖς Ἠρακλείῳ) παραπλήθει δρόσῳ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιθεώσιν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν φύλλων ἀπολείβοι μέλι καὶ τοῦτο τινες σύναγωγος δολιβῇ τὴν ἄπλασιν αὐτὸν τοιοῦτον = Curt. 6. 4. 21 frequens arbor faciem quercus habet, cuius folia multo melle tinguntur: sed, nisi solis ortum incolae i. 596. solche, die nicht bestattet werden, liber die der Hades also keine Macht hat, und dies Wort deckt sich mit ἀ-θάνατοι.3

3 A. Kuhn Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks Gütersloh 1886 p. 121 ventures to connect μελι 'honey' with μελα 'ash-tree,' citing in support the Hesychian interpretation. A. Meineke cj. μελίνα (sc. μόρα) for μελίσσα codd. οὐκ ἐλθέσατε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ μέλισσα, οὐκ ἠκούσατε τὸν τὸ στόμα (H. Stadtmitler: 'malis fort. έπιμέλαιος') μελιτι is of doubtful interpretation.
Rain of food

lime\(^1\), and some sorts of reeds\(^2\). On the other hand, certain insects, such as the *aphides*, secrete a sugary liquid, which is often spread in a shiny layer over the upper surface of leaves\(^3\). Both saccharine substances are known to us as 'honey-dew\(^4\)', to our neighbours as *miellat*\(^5\) or *Honigthau*\(^6\).


\(^1\) Theophr. *frag.* 190 Wiminer (quoted supra p. 498 n. 2)

\(^2\) Sen. *epist.* 12. 2. 4 aint inventiri apud Indos mel in arundinum foliis, quod aut rus illius coeli aut ipsius arundinis humor dulcis et pinguis giginit, Philstr. *her.* 20. 43

\(^3\) R. Lydekker *The Royal Natural History* London 1896 vi. 198 'The sticky substance known as honey-dew, which is often spread in a shiny layer over the upper surface of leaves, is, in most cases, nothing but the liquid dropped by the crowds of plant-lice living above on the under side of other leaves.'

\(^4\) *The Encyclopedia Britannica*™ London 1929 xi. 715 'The exudation of a nectar-like or saccharine fluid is a function exclusively of flowers but may be found as a secretion or excretion on all parts of various plants which occur above ground. A sweet material, *manna*, is produced by leaves and stems of a species of ash, and nectar-secreting glands are found on leaves, petioles, stipules, bracts and even on the outer surfaces of corollas and calyces of various plant species. The origin of nectar-secretion manifested specially by flowers among the several parts of plants has been carefully considered by Darwin, who regards the saccharine matter in nectar as a waste product of chemical changes in the sap.... The secretions or excretions of nectar from parts of plants other than the interior of flowers are commonly called plant honey-dews.'

\(^5\) *La grande encyclopédie* Paris (1808) xxiii. 956 s.v. *MIELLAT, MIELLÉE ou MIELLURE.*

\(^6\) J. Grimm—W. Grimm *Deutsches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1877 iv. 2. 1793 s.v. 'Honigthau' ('von blattläusen herrührt').
Rain of food

Country folk in the second century A.D., when they observed such honey-dew on the leaves, would say with a smile 'Zeus has been raining honey!' And what they said in jest, their forefathers had said in earnest. Hence the curious belief that Dionysos was called Hyes because at his begetting 'Zeus rained ambrosia upon him'—a point to which we shall recur.

But if honey, why not honey-cakes? Why not dainties of all sorts? The comedians caught at the notion. Pherekrates in his Persians (towards the close of s. v B.C.5) imagines a happy land in which rivers of black broth with rich spice-nuts and best barley-bread shall flow from the springs of Ploutos, all ready to be ladled up.—

While Zeus rains wine, well-smoked and fine, in one tile-drenching sputter (A bathman's souse), till every house massed grapes and cheese-cakes clutter, And soup all hot and Lord-knows-what goes gurgling down the gutter.

Nikophon, a later contemporary of Aristophanes, in his Sirens pictures a similar scene, but omits the name of Zeus:

Then let it snow with meal, Drizzle with loaves, and rain with lentil-soup; Let broth roll tit-bits all adown the streets, And cake invite us to consume itself.

From such classical Utopias it is not a far cry to the mediaeval

1 Galen. peri tropofon dinamos 3. 39 (vi. 738 ff. Kuhn) ἡ τῶν τροφῶν Ὠη πᾶσα μέχρι δεύω διατοι γένεσι σεριληθεῖα, τὸ μὲν ἔτερον αὐτῶν ἐκ φυτῶν εἶχε, τὸ δὲ ἔτερον ἐκ ζωνοι ἐκατέρας δ' αὐτῶν ἀφορίστι τὸ μέλι. γίνεται μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς φύλλοις τῶν φυτῶν, ἓτι δὲ ὑπὲρ χύλου αὐτῶν, ὑπὲρ καρπῶν, ὑπὲρ μορίων, ἂλλ' ὁμογένες μὲν ταῖς δρόσοις, οὐ μὴν οὔτε αὐτοῖς οὔθ' ὁμοίως ἐκείναις γίνεται δαφέλεις. οὔτα δὲ ποτὲ θέρους ὠρα πλασάτων διότι ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν δέντρων καὶ θάμνων καὶ τυφών βοτανῶν φύλλων εὑρέθη, ὅτι ὧν τῶν γεωργῶν λέγεται παιδώντων, ὃν Ζεὺς ἔβρεξε μέλι. προφητεύοντ' ἐτ' ὑπὲρ μὲν εὐφαγητῆς, ὡς ἐν θέρει (θέρους ὧρα ὄρη τῆς τῆς θυκαία ἐρήμων) ἐκμέν' δὲ καὶ ἕξα κράσια ἄδεος ἐπὶ τῆς προτεραιας... τοῖς ἤμιων μὲν οὐκ ἐπάσαντες φαινότατο γεωμένων, ὡς δὲ τῷ δρεῖ τῷ Διήθω καὶ ἐκατόν ὕφα οἷς ὀ λόγων. ὡστε εκπαννεύσετε ἐπὶ γῆς δέρματα καὶ σεῖντο τὰ δέντρα δέχονται τὸ ἀπορρέον ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τυφών καὶ κράσια πληροῦντ' τῶν μέλιτος. ὁμολαξάμενος δ' αὐτὸ δροσαίμει τε καὶ ἀερόμελε (supra p. 416 n. 3). πρόδοθοι μὲν οὖν ἢ θλή τῇ γεωμένῃ τοῖς μέλιτος ὁμογενῇ τε ὡρα ταῖς δρόσοις, κ.τ.λ. Supra p. 261 n. 1.

Galen's statement that on Libanos men spread skins upon the ground to catch the honey-dew may throw some light on Judges 6. 36 ff., where Gideon says to God: 'If thou wilt save Israel by mine hand, as thou hast spoken, behold, I will put a fleece of wool on the threshing-floor; if there be dew on the fleece only, and it be dry upon all the ground, then shall I know that thou wilt save Israel by mine hand,' etc.

2 Bekker anec. i. 207, 26 ff. (quoted supra ii. 275 n. 11). 3 Infra § 9 (i).


The relevant lines are ὁ Ζεὺς δ' Ἰων ὁλη κατακατατακατακατα κατὰ τοῦ κεράμου βαλανεῖσα, ἀπὸ τῶν δὲ τεχνῶν ἀθετοῦσαν μετὰ ναυτικῶν πολυτικῶν ὁχετεύοντας θερμὴν σῶν ἔτεις καὶ λεπησιδοφανεμένως.

5 W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1912 i. 411 f.


Rain of food

Land of Cokaygne in its English, French, Italian, or Teutonic varieties. A frequent element in these Wonderlands is the fall of


2 J. E. Wells A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1030—1400 Yale University Press 1916 p. 288 f. 'THE LAND OF COCKAYNGE...consists of 95 short couplets of 1250—1300 in MS. Harley 913 f. 3. The MS. was written probably between 1308 and 1318, at latest before 1325...possibly...from a lost French source.' Bibliography ib. p. 798 f. The text was first published by G. Hickes Linguarum Vett. septentrionalium thesaurus grammatico-criticus et archæologicus Oxonise 1705 i. 231—233, then e.g. by T. Wright in M. Haupt—H. Hoffmann Altdeutsche Blätter Leipzig 1836 i. 396—401, and with revised readings and useful notes by E. Matzner Altenglische Sprachproben Berlin 1867 i. 147—151.

3 Similar fancies crop up here and there in much later verse (cp. T. Crofton Croker The Popular Songs of Ireland London 1839 p. 76 'Then let it, ye powers, | Rain whisky in showers,' or T. Hood's 'I've heard about a pleasant land, | Where omelettes grow on trees, | And roasted pigs run, crying out, | "Come eat me, if you please").

4 The earliest allusion occurs in one of the Carmina Burana (ed. J. A. Schmeller Stuttgart 1847 p. 254) entitled Confessio Goliae, which was written at Pavia c. 1162—1164 by a wandering cleric and addressed to Reinald von Dassel, Archbishop of Cologne (W. Giesebrecht in the Allgemeine Monatschrift für Wissenschaft und Literatur 1853 p. 364). The author states: 'Ego sum abbas Cucaniensis et consilium meum est cum bibulis et in secta Decii voluntas mea est.' But the first detailed description is found in Boccaccio's Decamerone. G. Boccaccio The Decamerone trans. J. M. Rigg London 1920 ii. 187 (Eighth day, Novel iii): 'Chiefly in Berlinzone, in the land of the Basques. The district is called Bengodi [sc. ubi bene gaudetur], and there they bind the vines with sausages, and a denier will buy a goose and a gosling into the bargain; and on a mountain, all of grated Parmesan cheese, dwell folk that do nought else but make macaroni and raviuoli (A sort of rissole.), and boil them in capon's broth, and then throw them down to be scrambled for; and hard by flows a rivulet of Vernaccia, the best that ever was drunk, and never a drop of water therein.' Dr H. Meier draws my attention to A. Bertarelli L'imaginerie populaire italienne Paris 1929 pp. 50 fig. ('Le Pays de Cocagne des femmes.' Rome. Taille-douce vers 1650) and 51 fig. ('Description du Pays de Cocagne.' Taille-douce colorée au pinceau, de Remondini à Bassano. xviiie siècle).

comestibles in a shower from the sky. The gap between ancient and modern examples is filled, on the one hand, by folk-tales that tell of eatables and drinkables falling like rain\(^1\), on the other hand, by would-be historical happenings\(^2\), sometimes susceptible of a scientific explanation, sometimes exaggerations or distortions of residual facts.


The first modern examples is filled, on the one hand, by folk-tales that tell of eatables and drinkables falling like rain, on the other hand, by would-be historical happenings, sometimes susceptible of a scientific explanation, sometimes exaggerations or distortions of residual facts.

\(^1\) See the tales cited by J. Bolte—G. Polivka Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm Leipzig 1913 i. 537 f.

Das Schlaurassenlandt, 'The Country of Cokaygne',
from a woodcut printed by W. Strauch of Nuremberg.
Rain of food


I add two recent examples. The Daily Telegraph Saturday 17 March 1934 p. 11: 'The inhabitants of Pistoia, a Tuscan hill town forty miles from the sea, were amazed to find red rain falling. It contained small fishes swept up from the sea by the gales.' The Cambridge Daily News Tuesday 13 March 1934 p. 1: 'Cambridge is still puzzling over the showers of fish which fell on the Market-place on Monday morning and Monday afternoon. On two distinct occasions it was found small fish of the stickleback breed, and anything up to two inches in size, were scattered about the cracks in the cobbles on Market-hill....At least one of the fish found on the Hill was alive this morning and browsing around in a jar in a private laboratory in the town. Others were taken away by passers-by or by interested students of natural phenomena....No one apparently saw
The Land of Cokaygne was represented, not merely by mediaeval tales of a far country where viands of the choicest sort were to be had for the asking, but also by popular customs in which a determined effort was made to get there and feast to heart's content. Thus at Naples the name *Cuccagna* was given to a yearly merry-

the fish actually fall, but when the sun dried up the water which filled the crevices between the cobbles after the heavy showers, it was found that a large number of small fish were lying there. Some were silver, some red, and some of an entirely different colour. With them was found a small quantity of vegetation...one stallholder recalled that three years ago he had a similar experience on the road between Foxton and Shepeth, when a multitude of small frogs suddenly descended. The Superintendent of the Cambridge Botanical Gardens also recollected a similar experience with minnows and tadpoles on the Bath—London road some years ago.  

In speaking of fish, frogs, and meal as dropped from the sky, Athenaios and his sources used throughout, not the name *Zeobs*, but the vaguer term *θέθεις*. The Roman historians omit even that acknowledgement of the divine, when they record—

(1) a rain of flesh:


(2) a rain of milk:

274 B.C. (Oros. 4. 5. 1.)

209 (Liv. 27. 11.)

194 (Liv. 34. 45 *Interamnae lac fluxisse* with many variants, for which see A. Drakenborch *ad loc.* J. F. Gronov *cj.* Nare amni.)

163 (Iul. *Obs.* 73 = 14 Gabii.)

130 (Iul. *Obs.* 87 = 28 Romae in Graecostasi.)

125 (Iul. *Obs.* 90 = 30 in Veiente.)

124 (Iul. *Obs.* 91 = 31 in Graecostasi.)

118 (Iul. *Obs.* 95 = 35.)

117 (?) (Iul. *Obs.* 96 = 36 Praeneste.)

114 (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 147.)

106 (Iul. *Obs.* 101 = 41 in agro Perusino et Romae locis aliquot.)

104 (Iul. *Obs.* 103 = 43 in Lucanis.)

95 (Iul. *Obs.* 110 = 50 Caere.)

91 (Iul. *Obs.* 113 = 53 Romae.)

(3) a rain of oil:

125 B.C. (Iul. *Obs.* 90 = 30 in Veiente.)

Rain of food 505

making, which has been traced back to the early part of the sixteenth century¹: on the last Thursday before Lent a pyramid stacked with poultry, sausages, and eatables of every kind was taken in procession through the streets and, on reaching the big marketplace, was handed over to the mob, which scrambled for the prize. In Spain a similar celebration was called Cucaná²: comestibles and other things were fastened to the very top of a tall well-soaped pole, up which competitors clambered to the amusement of all. The same sport, which in Italy is known as the Giuoco della Cuccagna³, was introduced into France in 1425, and thenceforward the mât de cocagne became a frequent feature of public festivities⁴. It seems never to have obtained much footing in Germany, where its equivalent was to be found in such rites as the thirteenth-century Gral at Magdeburg⁵. But it was certainly the ancestor of our own Greasy Pole⁶, still a favourite item on the programmes of provincial regattas. Indeed, it is not a little curious to reflect that a ceremony,

² J. Poeschel loc. cit. 1878 v. 410, J. Bolte—G. Polivka op. cit. iii. 248. See also the Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana por la Real Academia Española¹⁴ Madrid 1914 p. 320c ‘Cucaná...f. Palo largo, unitado de jabón o de grasa, por el cual se ha de trepar, si se hincá verticalmente en el suelo, o andar, si se coloca horizontalmente a cierta distancia de la superficie del agua, para coger como premio un objeto atado a su extremidad. || 2 Diversión de ver trepar por dicho pelo.’
³ A. Hoare An Italian Dictionary Cambridge 1925 p. 196b ‘Cuccagna f. ...Giuoco della —, climbing a greasy pole for a prize fastened at the top of it.’
⁴ La grande encyclopédie Paris (1890) xi. 755 s.v. ‘COCAGNE’... ‘Un terme très employé, mât de cocagne, désigne un mât rond, lisse et élevé, planté en terre, dressé pendant les rejoignissances publiques; il porte à son sommet des objets de toutes sortes, des prix qui appartiennent à celui ou ceux qui parviennent à grimper jusqu’en haut sans secours. Ce mât est soigneusement savonné, ce qui complique encore la difficulté des ascensions. Ce divertissement populaire a été, semble-t-il, introduit pour la première fois à Paris en 1425, ainsi qu’on le voit par le Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris sous Charles vii’ [A. Potthast Bibliotheca Historica Medii Aevi² Berlin 1896 i. 686 f.], Dictionnaire de l’Académie Française⁸ Paris 1932 i. 250 s.v. ‘COCAGNE’... ‘Mât de cocagne, Mât rond et lisse, planté en terre, au haut duquel sont suspendus des prix qu’il faut aller détacher en grimpant sans aucun secours. On plante ordinairement des mâts de cocagne les jours de fête publique.’
⁵ J. Grimm—W. Grimm Deutsches Wörterbuch Leipzig 1873 v. 1880 s.v. ‘Krales’... ‘es muss aus Niederdeutschland gekommen sein, dort hiess gral m. ein fest, wie z. b. die Magdeburg schöppenchronik [A. Potthast op. cit.² Berlin 1896 ii. 1002 f.] um 1280 als in Magdeburg gefeiert schildert... denn bei jenem feste, z. b. in Magdeburg, bildete den mittelpunkt ein auf einer Elbinsel errichteter Bau, der gral, in dem heiden hausten und zum kampfe daraus hervor kamen, eine darstellung des graltempels, gedacht als inbegriff aller herlichkeit; der name des kleinods gral ging dabei auf das gebäude über, das ihm diente, eigen bei FISCHART ‘den Gral oder Venusberg besuchen’ Garg. 414 Sch. ...er ist da in Italien gedacht.’
⁶ The Spanish Cucaná was sometimes, like our Greasy Bowsprit, a pole projecting horizontally above the water (supra n. 2).
Rain of food

which began as a serious attempt to climb up into heaven and share the food of the gods, should end as a comic failure to carry off the coveted ham.

iv. Pyre-extinguishing rain.

On sundry occasions Zeus by means of a timely rain extinguished a pyre and saved the life of a victim.

A case in point is furnished by the myth of Alkmene, at least in its later and fully developed form. The Homeric Nékyia includes among the list of dead heroines Alkmene, the wife of Amphitryon, who became by Zeus the mother of lion-hearted Herakles. An excerpt from the Hesiodic Catalogue of Women, now serving as proem to the Shield of Herakles, gives further detail. Amphitryon might not consort with his wife till he had avenged the death of her brothers, who had been slain by the cattle-raiding Taphians and Teleboans. Meantime Zeus quitted Olympus, and came by way of Typhaonion (the mountain of Typhon) and the top of Phikion (the mountain of the Sphinx) to Thebes, where he lay with Alkmene. The self-same night Amphitryon returned from the fighting, and likewise consorted with his wife. Thereafter she bore twins, Herakles the stronger to immortal Zeus, Iphikles the weaker to mortal Amphitryon.

Thus far the myth is a typical tale of Boeotian twins. The extra birth, abnormal and hard to understand, was regarded as due to the action of some god. And since Amphitryon as king stood in a special relation to Zeus and even bore a name suggestive of the lightning, it was natural to assume that the god in question was Zeus, and to view the superior twin as his son, the inferior as that of the human father.

1 Od. 11. 266 ff.
3 Hes. sc. Her. 1—56.
4 Cp. Hesych. Τυφίον—ὁρος Βοιωτίας.
5 Apollod. 3. 5. 8. Steph. Byz. Φίκειον, Hesych. e. v. Φίκειον, Tzetz. in Lyk. Ait. 7, 1468. On Φίξ, acc. Φίγα (Hes. theog. 316), as the Boeotian form of Ζηφύρις see R. Meister Die griechischen Dialekte Göttingen 1882 i. 267.
8 Supra ii. 1074. 1088.
9 Supra ii. 1072. Christodoros' expression Αμφιπτέρων ζήτουσαν (Anth. Pal. 2. 367) is a coincidence, but no more.
10 Supra ii. 445 ff.
The story passed early into the repertory of the mythographical artist as well as into that of the mythological poet. The famous Chest of Kypselos, dedicated at Olympia not later than 582 B.C. when the dynasty of the Kypselidai came to an end, represented Zeus in the form of Amphitryon offering gifts to Alkmene. He, clad in a chiton, was bearing a cup in his right hand, a necklace in his left; she was taking hold of them both—a simple, significant group. Pindar more suo adds one glittering touch. The epiphany of the god at midnight was accompanied by a snow of gold. Neither the gifts nor the snow-storm should be dismissed as meaningless adjuncts. 

The golden downpour here, as elsewhere, betokens the advent of the impregnating sky-god.

But the theme lent itself to further elaboration. Apollodoros,
Pyre-extinguishing rain

in all probability following Pherekydes of Athens (floruit 454/3 B.C.), re-tells the story thus:

‘Now before Amphitryon reached Thebes, Zeus had come by night and, making that one night three times its length, had taken upon him the likeness of Amphitryon and bedded with Alkmene and related to her what had befallen the Teleboans. But Amphitryon, when he arrived and saw that he was not welcomed by his wife, enquired the cause. She told him that he had come the night before and slept with her; and he learned from Teiresias that her bedfellow had been Zeus. So Alkmene bore two sons, Herakles—the elder by one night—to Zeus, and Iphikles to Amphitryon.’

1 Sir J. G. Frazer Apollodorus London 1921 i. 175 n. 0 quoting Pherekyd. frag. 27 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 77 Muller)=frag. 13 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 63 f. Jacoby) ap. schol. H. 14. 325, schol. Od. 11. 266. Cp. Athen. 474 f (infra p. 507 n. 5).

2 W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1912 i. 454 f.

3 Apollod. 2. 4. 8 τὴν μακρὴν τριπλασίαν θηκῃ. But Apollod. εἴπ. Ε ἔσταν τὴν μίαν νύκτα πεπλασμέναν ἦ κατὰ τινα τριπλασίαν, αἱ καὶ δὲ τοῦτο τριστρίβων ἐξαφνεῖ λέγετεν τὸν Ἡρακλῆς. Cp. Lyk. Al. 33 τριπλασίαν λέγων των Τητεῖοι, Ἀθήνη κατασκευασμένη τῆν. Τριπλασίαν, τῷ πρὶν τὴν τελευταίαν ψυχήν τῆς τοῦ Ἡρακλῆς, ὅπως ἀναθάνετο Ζέην | Ἀλκμήνης τριπλασίαν ἔχων παιδοστρώξεν εἰς, Anth. Pal. 9. 441. 3 (Palladas) Αλεξίακαι τριστρίβων. The protracted night, once accepted, of course tended to grow longer and longer: see e.g. Plaut. Amph. 112 ff. MERC et meus pater nunc intus hic cum illa cubat, | et haec ob eam rem nox est facta longior, | dum cum illa, quacum voluit, voluptatem caperit, 268 sos. credo ego hac noctu Nocturnum obdormisse ebrium, 275 sos. neque ego hac nocte longiore me vidisse censeo | ... | credo edepolo equidem dormire Solem, atque adpotum probe, Prop. 2. 22. 25 f. Iuppiter Alcemae geminas requievat aetos, | et caelum noctu bis sine rege fuit, Οv. am. 1. 13. 45 f. ipse deum genitor, ne te (sc. Αυραορ) tam saepe videret, | commisit noctes in sua vota duas, her. 9. 9 f. at non ille velit, cui nox—sic creditur—una | non tanti, ut tantus conciperere, fuit, trist. 2. 402 noctes cui coiere duae, Sen. Ag. 853 ff. magnus Alcides cui lege mundi | Iuppiter rupta geminavit horas | rosceae noctis celeresque iussit | tardius currus agitare Phoebum | et tuas lente remeare bigas, | pallida Phoebe, 870 f. violentus ille | nocte non una poterat creari, Stat. Theb. 12. 299 ff. da mihi poscenti munus breve, Cynthia, si quis | certe lovis improba iussu | ter noctem Herculeam—, veteres sed mitto querellas, Loukian. dial. deor. 10. 1 ΕΠΜ. καὶ Ἔλεε, µὴ ὑδράντης τῆς, ὁ Zeus φιλὴ, µὴ διὰ ἄφθος µὴ δὲ τριτών ἡμῶν, ἀλλ’ ἄνθρωποι µὲνε, καὶ τὸ μετάξι μία τι ἔστω νυξ μακρὰ. κ.τ.λ., schol. Τ. Π. 14. 324 φασὶ δὲ τὶν τὸν γὰρ θεοῦ πολύμονον Ἀλκμήνη πείθει τὸν Ἡλιοῦ µὴ ἀνατίλει ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας: οἶνος ὥστε τρεῖς νύκτας εὐνυκομιὰς οὕτω τὸν τῶν τριστρίβων Ἡρακλῆς ἔστησον, Orph. Αργ. 118 ff. πρώτα δὲ εἶσα βίοι Ἡρακλῆς θεῖον, | ὅτι τέκνων Ἀλκμῆνις παρὰ Κρονίων μακρά, | ήματο δὲ τρεῖς ἡμέρας µὲν εὐελπίστων Ἴκλειτο Ζεύς αὐτῇ | Πάριος, δολοχῇ δ’ ἐπεμαυεῖτο πάντωθεν.
This tale was perhaps that dramatised by Sophokles in his *Amphitryon*, and it reappears with some variation in the works of later mythographers.

Euripides, the great innovator, substituted a more romantic version. Of his play, the *Alkmene*, we have little direct knowledge. A few tantalising fragments, like stray bits of a jig-saw puzzle, show us a dense growth of ivy with nightingales singing in it—a pine-torch fetched by somebody from somewhere—rescue from a desperate plight by the help of heaven—day and dark night bringing many things to birth—again a reference to the gloom of

cubitus minueretur voluptas, iussit Iuppiter illam noctem triplicem fieri, qua triplices cursus
Luna peregit. The Christian Fathers, bent on aggravating the enormities of Zeus, even
turned three into nine: Clem. Al. *profr.* 33. 3 p. 24, 14 ff. Stâlinin *eis δων β' ολόκληρων
άνελγειας ο Ζεὺς έκάνει υ μετ' Άλκμηνς τοποθεταί διάπλατην νύκτας· οὐδὲ γάρ αι νύκτες αι
νύκτες τρ' ακόλουθοι μακράλ (άπαν δὲ έποιει λ οίος κρατών βραχίς έδρα), ἵνα δὴ ἡμῶν τῶν
ολεξίλοιον στόρερ θέον, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 36 quis illum (sc. Iovem) in Alcmena novem
nictibus fecit pervigilasse continuà? non vos...ille nictibus vix novem unam potuit
800 A—B Migne) γεγονόθα δι' αἱ Άλκμηνς, μεθ' εὔ τάς εὐφέρ διατελεῖε νύκτας δε καὶ εύ
tοίς δέαν αλέξωις κόρου πέθαν οἷς τόις.

The successive steps in this mythical extension appear to have been as follows:

| Night + Night = 1 night, longer than usual. |
| Night + (Day) + Night = 2 nights. |
| Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night = 3 nights. |
| Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night = 4 nights. |
| Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) = 5 nights. |
| Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night = 6 nights. |
| Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) = 7 nights. |
| Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) = 8 nights. |
| Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night = 9 nights. |

The terms τριτεκπερος, τριτεερνος would be justified by the third step, when the sun ceased
to shine for one day and so produced three continuous nights. See further A. Winter
Alkmene und Amphitryon Breslau 1876 p. 34 ff. and K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa
Real-Enc. i. 1571 f.

1 K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1573.
2 In Hyg. *fab.* 29 and interp. Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 8. 103 Oichalia appears in place of
the Teleboans.

According to C. B. Lewis *Classical Mythology and Arthurian Romance* Oxford 1932
p. 295, "Try as we may, we cannot avoid the conclusion that stories of classical mythology
had penetrated everywhere in the early Middle Ages... and the transformation of Uther
into the likeness of Gorlois in order that he might consort with Igerma... is a reminiscence
of the story of Zeus, who assumed the likeness of Amphitruo in order to deceive Alcmena'
(id. ib. p. 252 n. 1 after J. D. Bruce *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance from the
Beginnings down to the Year 1300* Göttingen—Baltimore 1923 i. 135, 145)—a passage
quoted with approval by H. J. Rose in *Folk-Lore* 1933 xliv. 24.

93, Souid. *s.v. χελίδων λυμοεια.*


Gaisford iii. 355, ed. Hense v. 1006).

Gaisford iii. 249, ed. Hense v. 833).
night—and of course the usual crop of moralising maxims. These scattered hints have been put together with the utmost acumen by R. Engelmann, who supplements them from two important sources, on the one hand Paestum and Campanian vase-paintings, on the other hand the plays of Plautus.

I begin with the vases, since they are the earlier. A bell-*krater*, found at Santa Agata dei Goti and now in the British Museum, was painted by the ceramic artist Python (c. 320 B.C.) with the following

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3 On Python see G. Patroni La ceramica antica nell’ Italia meridionale Napoli 1897 pp. 65—70 figs. 40 and 41, F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser Gr. Vasenmalerei iii. 66, Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. ii. 719, M. H. Swindler Ancient...
A *krater* from Santa Agata dei Goti, now in the British Museum: Alkmene rescued from a fiery death at the hands of Amphitryon and Antenor by the intervention of Zeus.

*See page 510 fl.*
Pyre-extinguishing rain

Alkmene sits as a suppliant on an altar, a handsome structure built with fenders and a triglyph-frieze. In front of it is stacked a pyre of round logs. Amphitryon on the right and Antenor on the left are even now firing the logs with torches. But at the last moment Alkmene raises her hand to Zeus, whose figure, closely resembling that of Amphitryon, is visible in the upper air. In answer to Alkmene's cry Zeus sends an instant storm. Two thunderbolts

Fig. 323.

Painting Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 295. He was successor and imitator of Assteas (c. 350—330 B.C.).

1 Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iv. 72 f. no. F 149, A. S. Murray 'The Alkmene Vase formerly in Castle Howard' in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1890 xi. 225—230 with 1 fig., col. pl. 6 (obverse) and pl. 7 (reverse) (=my pl. xli and fig. 322), C. Dugas in DAREMBERG—SAGLIO Dict. Ant. v. 653 fig. 7320, P. DUCATI Storia della ceramica greca Firenze s. a. ii. 444 ff. fig. 321, HOPPIN Black-fig. Vases p. 452 f. no. 1, Corp. vas. ant. Brit. Mus. iv E. a pl. 1, 2 a (reverse) and 2 b (obverse) with text p. 3 f. by A. H. SMITH and F. N. PRYCE.
have already fallen, one beside Amphitryon, the other at the feet of Antenor. Moreover, two Hyades from above are drenching the pyre with streams of water from their *hydria*. And (a remarkable trait\(^1\)) the black air thick with white raindrops is spanned by a rainbow of reddish purple and white. The presence of Aos, the dawn-goddess, who holds a mirror in the top right-hand corner, marks the time of day and seems to promise a fairer future. An *amphora* from Capua, also in the British Museum, repeats the scene with some modifications (fig. 323)\(^2\). Alkmene on the altar raises both hands, appealing to Zeus, who is not seen. Antenor approaches with a torch in either hand: Amphitryon is omitted. Over both figures in the foreground extends a rainbow painted in three colours, red, white, and black, while the Hyades, as before, are employing their *hydria* to extinguish the flames. These attendant nymphs furnish an interesting case of adaptation from an earlier art-type. Python, wanting to represent the extinction of a theatrical pyre, recalls the cremation of Herakles\(^3\) as shown in Satyric drama. An *Apulian krater* from Ruvo, formerly in the Caputi collection (fig. 324)\(^4\), has Herakles in full vigour stepping on to the chariot of Nike, who will drive him up the slopes of Olympos. Above, the gods are represented by Aphrodite and Eros. Below, the blazing logs are drenched by three damsels, perhaps fountain-powers\(^5\). And a dancing Silenos sufficiently indicates that the scene is taken from some Satyr-play. A *pelike* at Munich (fig. 325)\(^6\) in the style of ‘the Kadmos Painter’ (c. 420—410 B.C.)\(^7\) gives the fire consuming the

\(^1\) This appears to be the earliest naturalistic representation of a rainbow in ancient art. For another remarkable rendering see *supra* p. 36 f. pl. iv.


\(^3\) *Supra* ii. 903 n. 2.


\(^5\) S. Reinach *loc. cit.*: ‘les Hyades apportent de l'eau pour éteindre le bûcher.’


\(^7\) M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 193.
hero's breastplate. On the left two Silenoi, Skopas\(^1\) and Hybris\(^2\), are stealing his club and lance. On the right two water-nymphs,
Pyre-extinguishing rain
Pyre-extinguishing rain

Arethousa\(^1\) and Premnousia\(^8\), are quenching the fire with their *hydriae*. Above, that is beyond\(^3\), the pile is Herakles himself, a youthful bay-wreathed form, borne off to Olympos in the chariot of Athena. Behind such a vase in turn lies the more serious representation of the myth. A late Attic *krater* published by E. Gerhard (fig. 326)\(^4\) makes Philoktetes carry off the quiver and arrows from the pyre, while a mere handmaid\(^5\) does her best to put out the flames\(^6\). Above, Nike drives the hero up to the pillarated palace of Olympos\(^7\). Hermes leads the way towards a seated Apollon, and Zeus—it must surely be he\(^8\)—waits in the background to welcome his divinised son.


3. F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 256 points out that the ground-line beneath chariot and horses together with the tree behind them quite excludes the notion of "Luftfahrt....Also auch hier wieder Kavalier-Perspektive" (cp. id. ib. p. 253).

4. Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 275 pl. 31, H. Blümner in Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 307 fig. 321 (= my fig. 326), Türk in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2328 no. (3) fig. 1, F. Hauser loc. cit. ii. 256 with fig. 90.

5. Yet Gerhard loc. cit. says: ‘die Nymphe des Oeta.’

6. Wine was used to quench the ashes (H. 23. 237 f., 230 f., 24. 791 f., Verg. Aen. 6. 227, Stat. *silv.* 2. 6. 90 f.)—a practice prohibited by Numa (Plin. *nat. hist.* 14. 88, cp. Cic. de legg. 2. 60). But the usage was certainly not a matter of mere luxury. Wine was presumably employed on account of its life-giving properties (*supra* i. 1023 Dionysos Ἑπειδὴ τὰ ποτήρια τῆς μακραίας τὴν ζωήν πληροῦσι. Cp. our whisky for *usquebatigh* = Irish *uisge beatha*, ‘water of life,’ or the French *eau-de-vie*). Also its red colour would be a surrogate for blood (*supra* i. 58 n. 2, i. 532 n. 2. See now E. Wunderlich *Die Bedeutung der roten Farbe im Kultus der Griechen und Römer* Giessen 1925 pp. 1—116 and a review by S. Eitrem in Gnomon 1926 ii. 95—102), and ashes steeped in it would in a sense be revitalised. Was this the reason why, even in palaeolithic times, skulls and other parts of skeletons were overlaid with iron oxide (G. Wilke s.v. ‘*Ockerbestattung*’ in Ebert *Reallex.* ix. 156 f.: ‘Der gründliche Grund einer der ältesten Sagen, eine der ältesten Sagen, die uns von den alten Griechen überliefert sind, ist diejenige, der in dem Kulte der Griechen und Römer Giessen 1925 pp. 1—116 and a review by S. Eitrem in Gnomon 1926 ii. 95—102), and ashes steeped in it would in a sense be revitalised. Was this the reason why, even in palaeolithic times, skulls and other parts of skeletons were overlaid with iron oxide (G. Wilke s.v. ‘*Ockerbestattung*’ in Ebert *Reallex.* i. 156 f. : ‘Oder endlich—und diese Erklärung ist am wahrscheinlichsten—man wollte dem bleichen Toten durch den Ocker die Farbe und belebende Kraft des Blutes wiedergeben und ihm dadurch ermöglichen, als “lebender Leichnam” (s.d.) weiter zu existieren’?)

7. *Supra* i. 114.

8. The dignified bearded figure with *chlamys* and *ptiasos* has been variously explained. Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 275 says: ‘hinter ihm ein Mann in Reisetracht zunächst für seinen Waffengefährtten Jolaos uns gilt.’ J. Roulez in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1847 xix. 271: ‘Je préfère regarder ce personnage barbu comme la *personnification du mont Oeta*, ou bien, avec M. Gerhard, comme *Iolas.*’ Türk in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2339: ‘ein Berggott.’ But a mountain-god pure and simple which would rather have been recumbent (e.g. *supra* i. 116 n. 8 fig. 85, ii. 962 n. 2 with i. 134 fig. 100), or at least seated (F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1888 iii. 289 f. pl. 9, 18 (= my fig. 327) a bronze coin of Laodikeia on the Lykos (Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 105 appellata primo Diospolis), struck by Caracalla and now at Berlin, which shows a kneeling woman (Rhea?) offering her child (Zeus?) to a seated mountain-god in the presence of a nymph (Adrasteia?) ; *ibid.* p. 291
Pyre-extinguishing rain
So much for the evidence of the vases. They portray the crisis of the drama, when Alkmene appeals from Amphitrion to Zeus, and a helpful thunderstorm extinguishes the pyre. But Plautus' *Amphitruo* at once clears up the antecedents of the scene and provides it with a satisfying sequel. Hercules, returning in triumph to Thebes, first rebukes his wife for her chilling reception of him¹ and afterwards attempts to punish her for supposed infidelity by bursting into the house and killing her on the spot². Just in the nick of time Alcumena, already in travail with twins, calls on the gods to aid her; whereupon—

Roar, rumble, crash, and thunder:
Sudden, swift, strong the wonder³.

The whole house reels and glitters as though it were made of gold⁴. Jupiter has come to the rescue of Alcumena; and Amphitruo falls senseless to the ground. Finally, as *deus ex machina*, the god explains the situation and all ends well. Plautus' comedy, based of course on a Greek exemplar, almost certainly preserves the main outline of

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¹ Plaut. *Amph.* 705 f.
² Id. ib. 1048 ff.
³ Id. ib. 1061 f.
⁴ Id. ib. 1095 f.
the Euripidean *Alkmene*. Indeed, in another play Plautus actually uses Euripides' title as a synonym for a prodigious storm\(^1\), and makes Labrax threaten to burn alive Palaestra and Ampelisca who have taken refuge on the altar of Venus\(^2\).

Accordingly we may without reservation accept Engelmann's\(^3\) view that the argument of the *Alkmene* was as follows. Amphilothyon, angered at the reception given to him by Alkmene, resolves to take vengeance on her. She flies for sanctuary to an altar, followed by him and his friend Antenor. Instead of dragging her away from the altar, they proceed to sacrifice her upon it. They build a pyre of wood in front of it and fetch torches to kindle it. Alkmene in her extremity appeals to Zeus, who comes to her aid, hurling his thunderbolts and sending a tempest of rain to put out the fire.

One further point. Vases and comedies alike prove that the original purpose of the golden shower, still discernible in Pindar's ode\(^4\), was completely misconceived by later Greeks and Romans. Pindar made Zeus come to Alkmene 'at midnight in a snow of gold,' just as he consorted with Danaë\(^5\) or Himalia\(^6\). Python used the downpour merely as a convenient method of putting out the fire: his Hyades might be well-drilled members of a modern fire-brigade. Plautus, or his Greek source, transforms the procreative shower into a punitive thunderstorm, and works in the Pindaric gold as a touch of unearthly glamour.

Another example of a pyre extinguished by timely rain occurs in the story of Kroisos, king of Lydia. According to Herodotos\(^7\), when the Persians captured Sardeis, Kyros built a great pyre and

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\(^1\) Plaut. *rud.* 86 non ventus fuit, verum Alcmena-Euripidi.

\(^2\) *Id.* ib. 761 ff.

\(^3\) *Supra* p. 510 n. 2. See further the admirably careful chapter of L. Séchan *Études sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique* Paris 1926 pp. 242–248 ('*Alcmène*') with pi. 5 and fig. 73. He holds with Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* ii. 614 that, in Euripides' version, Amphilothyon's wrath was roused, not by the coldness of Alkmene, but by her all too apparent infidelity. He also insists, in view of Plaut. *rud.* 86, that the Euripidean thunderstorm was represented on the stage rather than reported by a messenger. And, with regard to the contention of N. Wecklein in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1890 i. 39 that, whatever Aischylos might have done, Euripides would not have tolerated an actual apparition of Zeus, he remarks: 'Zeus n'apparait jamais, en effet, dans aucune tragédie subsistante d'Euripide non plus que, d'ailleurs, dans les œuvres conservées d'Eschyle et Sophocle. Mais ce peut être à un pur effet du hasard.' For Zeus on the *theologion* in Aisch. *Ωγωσματικα* see *supra* ii. 734 n. 3, and for Zeus in Phrynich. *Ilpeia* (?) *supra* ii. 853 f. pl. xxxviii.

\(^4\) *Supra* pp. 477, 507.

\(^5\) *Supra* p. 476.

\(^6\) *Supra* p. 477.

\(^7\) *Hdt.* i. 86 f. See also O. Meiser *Vom Ende des Königs Kroisos* Speyer 1907 pp. 1–43, P. Soedel *De fabellis ad Croesus pertinentibus* Gottingae 1911 p. 1 ff., F. Hellmann *Herodots Kroisos-logos* Berlin 1934 p. 103 ff.
placed upon it Kroisos bound with fetters and twice seven Lydian boys beside him. On hearing Kroisos recall the warning of Solon, Kyros repented of his purpose. But the fire was already kindled, and his servants tried in vain to stay the flames. Kroisos as a last resource called upon Apollon, ‘and suddenly in a clear and windless sky clouds gathered and a storm burst and there was a deluge of rain insomuch that the pyre was put out.’ Now this, though romantic enough and edifying to boot, was from a strictly theological standpoint all wrong. Apollon had no business to control the weather: that was the essential prerogative of Zeus. Herodotos’ account, admittedly drawn from a Lydian informant, perhaps the logographer Xanthos (465—425 B.C.), has points in common with the narrative of Ephoros as preserved by Diodoros and was certainly the main source of the long rhetorical description given by Nikolaos of Damaskos. Ktesias too, though he says not a word about the pyre, like Herodotos makes much of Apollon’s aid. Bakchylides, however, an older contemporary of Herodotos, in an ode which commemorates Hieron of Syracuse as victor in the chariot-race at Olympia (468 B.C.), puts a somewhat different complexion on the whole affair. Here it is not Kyros who dooms Kroisos to the pyre, but Kroisos who, on witnessing the sack of Sardeis, bids a pyre be built in front of his palace and of his own will mounts thereon with his wife and daughters. Here, again, Kroisos’ appeal, though obscurely worded, is addressed to Zeus

1 Supra ii. 1 ff.
2 Hdt. 1. 87 λέγεται υπὸ Διοδών.
3 W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1912 i. 454.
5 Dioch. 9. 34.
6 F. Jacoby Frag. gr. Hist. ii c. p. 252: ‘zweifelhaft nur, ob das auftreten der Sibyle (vgl. F 67, 2) und die erwähnung Zoroasters (§ 12), die allein nicht aus Herodot genommen oder entwickelt sein können, als “antiquarische gelehrsamkeit der hellenistischen zeit” (E. Meyer Gd A i 503) anzusehen sind. Zoroaster kam bei Xanthos vor (Diog. L. i 17; möglicher weise also auch bei Ktesias); und was hier von ihm gesagt wird, passt nicht schlecht für einen lydischen autor, der die wichtigkeit seiner heimischen geschichte übertriibt.’ Etc.
8 Ktes. frag. 29. 4 (p. 46 Müller) ap. Phot. bibl. p. 36 b 7 ff. Bekker ὅσοι τὰς ἀδιάφορας τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τὸν Τρυτώνα τοὺς Ἀπόλλωνος καταρρέετο ὁ Κρόιος, καὶ ὄμοι ἐν ἔν τοῖς ἱεραῖς περιθεῖαι ὑπὸ Κόρου λέοντα ἐμπόρους ἀφέλωσα, καὶ ὡς σφαγία χαρίζει γιὰ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπεκεκάμενοι καὶ τοῦτον τὸν φιλακτὸν Οὐθέρα ἐμπεπειτευμένον: ὅσοι τὰ συνδομῶν ὁ Κρόιος τὰς κακολαθήσεις τῆς τοῖς Κρόιοις καὶ τοῖς ἀραδάλκετοις, ψυχοῖς τῆς καταρρέετο ἔτι ἐπεκεκαμένους, λέοντα τὰς ἐπεκαμένας, ὑπὸ Κόρου ἄφησεν.
Pyre-extinguishing rain

rather than to Apollon: lifting his hands to the high heaven the king exclaims—

O Spirit of surpassing might,
Where is the gratitude of the gods,
And where is Leto's lordly son?  

In the event it is Zeus who sends the saving storm:

He spake, and bade a softly-stepping thrall
Kindle the wooden pile. The maidens shrieked,
To pray their mother's aid,
A fate foreseen being bitterest of all.
But, when the shining strength
Of that dread fire
Would spread apace,
Zeus brought a black cloud over it
And quenched the yellow flame.

After which we are told that Delos-born Apollon carried off the aged king to the Hyperboreoi and there caused him to dwell with his daughters as a reward for his generous gifts to Pytho. So, even in the earlier version of Bakchylides, Apollon plays a noteworthy part, as was but fitting in view of the previous relations between Kroisos and the Delphic oracle. Yet the actual rain-sender is Zeus—a fact remembered for centuries. The famous amphora at Paris attributed to the painter known as Myson (fig. 328) carries the story

1 Bakchyl. 3. 37 ff. ὕπέρβης δαίμον, | ποῦ θεῶν ἐστὶν χάρις; | ποῦ δὲ Δαυείδας ἀναξ;
2 Id. 3. 48 ff.
3 Supra ii. 465.
6 E. Pottier Vases antiques du Louvre 3ème Série Paris 1922 p. 201 f. no. 6 197 pl. 138 (obverse and reverse). See also the due de Luynes 'Crésus' in the Ann. d. Inst. 1833 v. 237—251, Mon. d. Inst. i pls. 54 (obverse) and 55 (reverse) = Reinch Rép. Vases i. 85 (obverse) and 87, 1 (reverse), Inghirami Vasi. fit. iv. 38 f. pls. 319 (obverse) and 320 (reverse), Welcker Alt. Denkm. iii. 481—487 ('Krösos auf dem Scheiterhaufen') pl. 33
back to the decade 500—490 B.C. and is in general agreement with the poem of Bakchylides, but drops no hint either of Zeus or of

Fig. 328.

(obverse), A. Baumeister in his Denkm. ii. 796 f. fig. 860 (obverse), A. H. Smith in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1898 xviii. 267 f. fig. 1 (obverse), F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei ii. 277 f. figs. 97—100 and pl. 113, 1 (reverse) and 2 (obverse =my fig. 328), Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art x. 638 ff. fig. 355 (obverse), Hoppin Red-fig. Vases ii. 209 no. 16, J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rothfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 97 no. 1. Inscribed ΚΡΟΕΞΩΕ = Κροείως, ΕΥΘΥΜΟΕ = Εθύμως, etc. (Corp. inscr. Gr. iv no. 7756). With the name Εθύμως cp. Xen. Cyrop. 7. 2. 29 ἀκοόμας δ' ὅ Ἐθύμος τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ ἑθαμάσας μὲν τὴν εὐθυμίαν, κ.τ.λ.

1 M. H. Swindler Ancient Painting Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 191.
Pyre-extinguishing rain

Apollon. The same is true of an engraved gem in the cabinet of Monsieur le Comte Chandon de Briailles, of which by the courtesy of Mr C. T. Seltman I am enabled to figure an impression (fig. 329). According to the very late Vatican mythographers, Kroisos subsequently boasted of his escape and was rebuked by Solon. The same night he dreamed that Zeus drenched him with water and that the Sun dried him. His daughter Phania explained the dream to mean that her father would be crucified and so exposed to the effects of rain and sun—a fate which ultimately overtook him at the hands of Kyros.

A third case of a pyre opportunely extinguished by rain is to be found in the Love Stories of Parthenios, who writes in the first century B.C. and is professedly quoting from local histories by Theagenes and Hegesippus. Sithon, king of the Odomantoi, had a beautiful daughter Pallene, to win whose hand men came from far and near. At first Sithon bade each suitor take the girl and fight him—the unsuccessful fighter to be slain. In this way he slew many; but, when his strength failed him, he resolved to give his daughter in marriage. He bade two suitors, Dryas and Kleitos, fight each other—the successful fighter to receive both the kingdom and the bride. Now Pallene herself was in love with Kleitos, and an old servitor of hers bribed the charioteer of Dryas to omit the linchpins of his master’s chariot. Thus Dryas was thrown, and slain unless indeed the sign £ in the field is meant for the initial of Zeus, or for a thunderbolt falling in response to the king’s uplifted hand. But neither suggestion is probable.

Unless indeed the sign £ in the field is meant for the initial of Zeus, or for a thunderbolt falling in response to the king’s uplifted hand. But neither suggestion is probable. At La Cordelière, Chaource (Aube). Scale 1:2. The mythographers, as A. Mai and G. H. Bode ad loc. saw, are transferring to Kroisos the fate of Polykrates narrated in lldt. 3. 124 f.

The story is told, with slight variations, by Konon narr. 10. Nonn. Dion. 48. 90 ff. makes Dionysos beat Pallene in a wrestling-match and afterwards slay Sithon with a blow of his thyrsos. In Theophil. ad Autol. 2. 7 we should perhaps read ἀρχάνεις ἀπὸ τῆς θυρατος Μήνῳ γνωσικός δὲ Δωνόσων ἐπὶ Παλληνης ἀπὸ Παλληνης πατροφίνας τῆς μιχθείης Δωνόσων ἐν μορφῇ γυμνάτις: Theatrie k.t.l. (see the Class. Rev. 1894 viii. 246 ff.).

On the name Δρῶς as implying the cult of an oak-Zeus in northern Greece see the Class. Rev. 1904 xviii. 80 ff.

An obvious doublet of the Myrtilos-myth at Olympia (supra i. 225 n. 4).
Pyre-extinguishing rain by Kleitos. Sithon, perceiving his daughter's guile, made a great pyre and placed upon it the body of Dryas. He was about to slay Pallene as well, when a divine apparition was seen and a sudden deluge fell from the sky. Thereupon he changed his mind, gave a wedding-feast to all the Thracians present, and suffered Kleitos to marry his daughter. We are not here told that the rain was due to Zeus, the agency of the god being vaguely implied, not definitely expressed.

There were, therefore, mythical antecedents to a miracle recorded in the Acts of Paul and Thekla. According to this romantic narrative—one section of a much longer document, the Acts of Paul, originally drafted by an Asian presbyter before the close of the second century A.D. —Thekla the daughter of Theokleia, a woman of rank at Ikonion, was betrothed to a young noble named Thamyris, but becoming a convert to Paul was filled with zeal for virginity. Thamyris brought both Paul and Thekla before the

1 According to Konon narr. 10, Aphrodite visited all the townsfolk by night and saved the girl from her doom.

2 The words of Parthenios are: "οἷς οὖν γενομένων καὶ ἡγασταίως ὤδας ἐξ ὦρανος πάλλον καταρράγητοι μετέχον τε καὶ γάμως ἀνεσάμενος τὸν παῦλον θερικῶν ὄμιλον ἔφης τῷ Κλέαθρι τῇ κόρῃ ἄγειςαί.


The pyre-extinguishing rain recurs in a modified form at Nikomedelis in connexion with the martyrdom of SS. Adrian, Natalia, and others (304 A.D.). S. Baring-Gould The Lives of the Saints Edinburgh 1914 x. 116: 'According to the orders of Maximian, the bodies of the martyrs were placed on a pile of wood to be burnt, but they were so many that the burning was not perfectly carried out, and a heavy rain during the night having extinguished the smouldering pyre, the Christians were able to recover the remains of the martyrs before they were completely reduced to ashes.'
Pyre-extinguishing rain

judgment-seat of the proconsul Kastelios, and, when Thekla would give no answer to his interrogation,

'ther mother cried aloud "Burn the lawless girl, burn the unmarried maid in the midst of the theatre, that all the women taught by this man may be afraid." The governor, deeply moved, scourged Paul and cast him out of the city, and ordered Thekla to be burned. He then went straight to the theatre, and all the multitude came out to see Thekla. She, like a lamb in the desert looking round for its shepherd, sought to see Paul. In the crowd she saw the Lord seated in the guise of Paul and exclaimed "Lo, when I can endure no longer, Paul has come to behold me!" And she fixed her eyes on him, till he went up to heaven. But now the girls and virgins brought logs to burn Thekla. She came in stark naked, whereupon the governor burst into tears and marvelled at the power that rested upon her. She made the sign of the cross and set foot on the logs, while the attendants kindled them below. A great fire blazed up, but did not touch her. For God in his mercy caused an underground rumbling, and a cloud full of water and hail overshadowed her from above, and poured forth all its contents insomuch that many persons were like to be drowned, and the fire was extinguished, and Thekla was saved.'

Finally, a downpour, if not in time to save life, might at least indicate divine disapproval of the victim's death. When Britannicus, poisoned by Nero, was being carried to a pyre hastily built on the Campus Martius, so fierce a rain-storm fell that the common folk held it to portend the anger of the gods at a crime which most men were prepared to excuse. So Tacitus¹. Dion Cassius² adds lurid detail: Nero, to hide the ravages of the poison, had smeared the body with gypsum; but, as the procession passed through the Forum, the heavy rain washed off the gypsum and left the tell-tale discoloration for all to see.

In Egypt the place of Zeus the rain-god was taken, as we have had occasion to note³, by the Nile, which in Hellenistic times was actually worshipped as Neilos Zeus. Hence in the novel by Xenophon of Ephesos⁴ (s. ii or iii A.D.⁵), when the hero Habrokomes is condemned by the governor of Egypt to be burnt alive, the pyre in answer to his prayers is extinguished by a miraculous rise of the river Nile.

¹ Tac. ann. 13. 17. ² Dion Cass. 61. 4. ³ Supra p. 348 f. ⁴ Xen. Ephes. 4. 2. ᵅ W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1924 ii. 2. 810 n. 3 assigns the work, with some hesitation, to the half-century 250—300 A.D. But J. U. Powell New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature Third Series Oxford 1933 p. 254 n. 3 is content to place it between 98 A.D. and 263 A.D.
Zeus Ómbrios

(g) Zeus Ómbrios.

Lykophron in his *Alexandra* speaks of Elis as—

the rock of Molpis,

Whose body was cut up for Zeus the Showery.

This enigmatic allusion is expounded as follows by the scholiast and by Tzetzes. Elis once suffered from a prolonged drought, till the inhabitants consulted an oracle and were bidden to offer Zeus a human sacrifice. The victim was to be a boy of noble parentage. Thereupon a young Elean named Molpis volunteered for the post. No sooner was he slain than a copious rain fell. So the Eleans in memory of the event set up a sanctuary of Zeus Ómbrios, ‘the Showery,’ in which was to be seen a statue of Molpis.

Is this to be taken as serious fact or sensational fiction? F. Schwenn in his monograph on human sacrifice among the Greeks and Romans simply ignores the case of Molpis. But the antiquarian lore of Alexandrine scholars was in general trustworthy, and we have already found traces of human sacrifice in the cult of Zeus at Lyttos in Crete, of Zeus *Atabyrios* in Rhodes and Sicily, of Zeus *Laphystios* in Thessaly and Boiotia, of Zeus *Ithomáta* in Messene, and of Zeus *Lykaios* in Arkadia. Indeed, it is precisely in connexion with Zeus that such primitive traits were likely to linger. For the rain-supply, vital to every early community, was given or withheld by him. It was on account of a persistent drought that Athamas proposed to sacrifice Phrixos and Helle, and after their escape was himself all but immolated at the altar of Zeus. Again, it was when the crops failed and famine stared them in the face that the Arcadians had recourse to human sacrifice at the sanctuary of Zeus *Lykaios*, whose priest was official rain-maker for

\[\text{Zeus Ómbrios} 525\]

\[\text{Lyk. Al. 159 f.} \quad \text{Mólptios pétra, \(\tau\) \(\zeta\) \(\gamma\) \(\varpi\) \(\alpha\) \(\rho\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\gamma\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\mu\) \(\eta\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\eta\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\mu\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\alpha\) \(\nu\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\mu\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\eta\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\mu\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\mu\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\mu\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\mu\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\mu\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\mu\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\mu\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\mu\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\mu\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\mu\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\mu\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\iota\) \n
1 Lyk. Al. 159 f. Mólpitíos pétra, \(\tau\) \(\zeta\) \(\gamma\) \(\varpi\) \(\alpha\) \(\rho\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\gamma\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\mu\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\mu\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\mu\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\mu\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\iota\) \(\nu\) \(\alpha\) \(\iota\) \(\mu\) \n
2 Schol. Lyk. Al. 160 ἀθυμοὶ κατασχέσας τὴν "Hellin ōνα ὑμην ὑμαῖς αὐτὸς ἐτί τῇ πάτῃ ἀθυμοῦ πάιδα εὐγενής, καὶ εὐφαγίασαν ἐκεῖνα Μόλπις τινά λεγόμενα, καὶ εὐθέως ἑράγη ὑπότος· οἱ δὲ Πλέων ἐπόθησαν οὔμπροιν Διὸς ἵππον, ἐν ὑπὸ ἄδριάς τοῦ Μόλπιδος. Μόλπιδος οὖν πέτρα τὴν "Hellin φησι, κ.τ.λ. = Tzetzes in Lyk. Al. 160 Μόλπις γάρ τις ἰδοί 

3 F. Schwenn *Die Menschenopfer bei den Griechen und Römern* Giessen 1915 pp. 1—201.
Zeus Ómbrios

the district\(^1\). It may well be, then, that in Elis too the same desperate means were on occasion adopted to propitiate the reluctant rain-god. And if in Arkadia King Lykaon was said to have served up his son or his grandson as a dish at the table of Zeus\(^2\), we can hardly rule out the possibility that Molpis' body was likewise cut up in the rites of the Elean Zeus Ómbrios. His noble birth\(^3\) and his well-omened name\(^4\) would make him a most suitable victim. Perhaps in Elis, as in Arkadia\(^5\), blood-guiltiness was avoided by the expedient of a communal meal.

On Mount Parnes in Attike stood an altar at which sacrifices were made, sometimes to Zeus Ómbrios, but sometimes also to Zeus Apémios\(^6\), the god 'who Saves from Harm'. Mount Hymettos too had an altar of Zeus Ómbrios. And a large round base of marble, found in 1900 on the site of the Agora at Corinth, still bears in late lettering part of an elegiac couplet in which one Heliodoros honours Zeus Ómbrios.\(^8\) To these or other such monuments Plutarch is alluding, when he protests that the abolition of food would involve the abolition of agriculture, and asks what would then become of

\(^1\) Supra i. 76, iii. 315.
\(^2\) Supra i. 78 f.
\(^3\) Cp. Lamprid. v. Helieg. 8. i cecidit et humanas hostias lectis ad hoc paeris nobilibus et decoris per omnem Italiam patrimis et matrimis, credo ut maior esset utique parenti dolor.
\(^5\) Supra i. 76, 80.
\(^6\) Supra ii. 897 n. 6.
\(^7\) On the strength of this Attic cult A. Boeckh in the Corp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 2374, 6 f. read Δευκαλίων τοις | άμβρω τραγων ευ γε λυγαφειας ειτ’ θηνας πρὸς Κραναλην (Palmerius c. πρὸς[κροπ]) kal τοῦ Διώτι τοῦ ιΔινύου Αναγιαλού [καὶ] τα σωφρακτικὸ ϊθωνετ [\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\.\)
the altars and sacrifices of Zeus Ómbrios, Demeter Proërosta, and Poseidon Phytalimios. Zeus Ómbrios here heads the list of agricultural deities: it was doubtless in that capacity that he was worshipped.

Gods that sent rain, wherever they were recognised, were apt to be identified with Zeus Ómbrios. Examples may be drawn from Phrygia, India, and Palestine.

Phrygia had a legend of the flood, which has come down to us in two somewhat different versions. Zenobios, who taught at Rome under Hadrian and published an epitome of the proverbs collected by Didymos (s. i B.C.) and Tarraios, states that ‘the tears of Nannakos’ was a phrase used of ancient happenings or of persons making loud lamentation—

‘for Nannakos was a king of Phrygia, as Hermogenes asserts in his Phrygian History, before the days of Deukalion. Having foreknowledge of the deluge that was to be, he gathered all men into the sanctuaries and made supplication with tears. Herodes the iambic poet says

‘Though I should weep the tears of Nannakos?’

Stephanos of Byzantion (s. v A.D.) in his account of Ikonion pursues the story further:

‘They say that there was a certain Annakos, who lived for over three hundred years. His neighbours asked an oracle how long his life would last. The answer

1. Plout. sept. sap. conviv. 15.

2. F. Lenormant Les Origines de l’histoire d’après la Bible Paris 1880 i. 440–442 (Apameia Kibatos, Ikonion, Mt Baris, etc. attest a Phrygian tradition of the deluge fused later with a Judaeo-Christian account). T. Reinach Les monnaies juives Paris 1887 p. 71 f. = id. Jewish Coins trans. M. Hill London 1903 pp. 61—63 pl. 11 (a Phrygian myth fused with Jewish tradition), E. Babelon ‘La tradition phrygienne du déluge’ in the Revue de l’histoire des religions 1891 xxiii. 174—183 (the supposed Phrygian myth was not original, but merely a Jewish tradition brought to Apameia by Jewish settlers under the early Seleucid kings), H. Usener Die Sinnschlüssepon Bonn 1899 pp. 48—50 (already in the time of Agrippa and Augustus Asia Minor was overrun by Jews, whose Noah displaced the local Nannakos or Dardanos), A. Reinach Noé Sangario Paris 1913 pp. 1—95 (à propos of a Thasian epitaph Nøy | Σαγγαρίου | γυνῇ argues that a Phrygian water-power ‘Na-Nana-Naé-Noé’ was daughter of ‘Nannakos-Annakos,’ hero of the Phrygian flood. When the latter was confused with ‘Hénoch-Noah,’ the former became ‘Naéra, fille de Noé’), Frazer Folk-Lore in the Old Testament i. 155—157 (‘I confess that the arguments adduced in favour of an aboriginal flood legend at Apamea appear to me to carry little weight, resting rather on a series of doubtful combinations than on any solid evidence’).


4. Souid. s.v. Ζναφίδιον.

5. Hermog. ἑνὶ Φρυγῖσας frag. 2 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 524 Müller).

6. Herond. 3. 10 εὖ τὰ Ναυνάκου κλασομεῖν with W. Headlam ad loc.

7. Zenob. 6. 10 s.v. τὰ Ναυνάκου (cod. B reads ἀνὰ Ναυνάκου· ἐπὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ ἄρχων. Νάνακου γὰρ θαλάσσων καὶ ἄρχων βασιλέως γενεσθαί Φρυγίων ἐτε Πανθρότατοι, εἰς ἐν τῇ κατανύσασθαι· καὶ ταῦτα λέγειν αὐτοῖς Τὰ ἀνὰ Ναυνάκου). Cr. Makar. 2. 23 s.v. ἀνὰ Ναυνάκου, 8. 4 s.v. τὰ ἐν Ναυνάκου, Souid. 1.s.v. Νάνακος, τὰ ἀνὰ Ναυνάκου, and τὰ Ναυνάκου κλασομεῖν.
Zeus Ómbrios

given was that, when he died, all men would be destroyed. The Phrygians
hearing it made great lamentation. Hence the proverb “to cry as in the days
of Annakos” used of those who mourn overmuch. When the flood came in
Deukalion’s time, all were destroyed. But when the ground was dry again, Zeus
bade Prometheus and Athena to make images of clay, and calling upon the
winds he bade them to breathe upon all these and so bring them to life. The
place got its name Ikónion from the fact that the “images” were designed
there1.'

It seems probable that neither of these versions was wholly
independent of Jewish tradition. Indeed, Buttmann2 more than

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2 P. Buttmann Mythologus Berlin 1828 i. 176, citing W. Baxter ‘Philological letters’
in Miscellaneous Tracts on Antiquity London 1779 i. 206.
3 Gen. 5. 23.
4 H. Leclercq in F. Cabrol Dictionnaire d’archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie Paris
1912 i. 2. 2513–2518 figs. 835–837 discusses these coins and in pp. 2521–2523 appends
a full bibliography of them, which ranges from O. Falconerius Dissertatio de numo
issued by Septimius Severus (fig. 330), Macrinus (fig. 331), and Philippus Senior (figs. 332, 333). The design unites two consecutive scenes. On the right, an ark inscribed NOE floats on the waters of the flood. Its lid is open, and from it Noah and his wife look out. Upon the lid perches the raven, and towards it flies the dove with an olive-twig in its claws. On the left, Noah and his wife stand on dry ground, uplifting their hands in gratitude to God for their escape. This pictorial type presupposes some famous original, perhaps a frescoed Stoa, perhaps an illustrated Pentateuch.

But, though Jewish influence was undeniably strong at Apameia,
it remains at least possible that the Jews had there fastened on
native names and myths, adopting or adapting them to suit their
own tradition. The town was called Kibotos, apparently the
Grecised form of some Phrygian name, whose significance escapes
us. Another coin of Apameia, struck by Hadrian, shows (figs.
334—337) Marsyas with *cornu copiae* and flutes seated in a
rocky grotto: beneath him water streams from an inverted vase;
above him are several chests and the legend *kibotōi*. F. Imhoof-
Blumer cites this coin-type in support of G. Hirschfeld's
conjecture that Apameia was nick-named Kibotos on account of its
commercial importance. To me it seems more likely that *Kibotoi*
was the name of some local festival. But, whatever be the
explanation, Jewish settlers would be quick to discover an allusion
to their own ark and would probably claim that it had grounded
on some neighbouring mountain. Again, we may conclude that

1 Sir W. M. Ramsay *op. cit.* i. 2. 671, V. Schultze *op. cit.* ii. 1. 456 n. 2. \* cp. Kibotos in Phrygia (*supra* ii. 771).


3 Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* i. 211.


5 Strab. 576 Απάμεια ἡ Κιβωτός λεγόμενη καὶ Λαοδίκεια, αὐτὴ εἰς μέγαν τοῦ κατά τὴν ἑφεραν πόλιν, 577 Ἀπάμεια δ' εἰς ἐμπόραν μέγα τῇ ἱδίᾳ λεγόμενης Δήσας, διωτερον μὲτα τῷ Ἐφεσον.

6 For numismatic parallels see *supra* i. 534 n. 8. Our own Boxing Day is roughly analogous.

7 G. Hirschfeld *loc. cit.* p. 15 n. 4 remarks: 'Es ist auffallend genug, dass der nördlich gelegene türk. Ort Sandýkly dasselbe bedeutet: sandýk heist Kiste.'

L. Grasberger *Studien zu den griechischen Ortsnamen* Würzburg 1888 p. 117 notes that an artificial harbour at Alexandria was called *Kibos* (Strab. 795).

a genuine Phrygian flood-myth underlies the story of Priasos, which Nonnos\(^1\) relates as follows. When Zeus *Hyetios* flooded the plain of Phrygia with his showers and submerged both oak-trees and thorn-brakes, Priasos left his water-logged home and went off to the land of Aonia (sc. Boiotia), avoiding the deadly rain of Zeus. But amid strangers he ever shed tears as he thought of the Sangarios and longed for his familiar spring. At length Zeus *Hypatos* quelled the flood and drove the waters back from the peaks of Sipylus, while *Ennosigaios* with his trident turned the whole stream into the depths of the sea. Then Priasos hastened to quit the soil of Boiotos and hied him back to his native land. His strong arm supported his aged father in the flood, and Zeus the Great in return for his piety brought him in safety from a watery grave—Zeus whom men call *Brömbios*. The meaningless title brings us up with a jerk. It is taken by C. F. Graefe, H. Köchly, and A. Ludwich from the manuscripts' *Brömbios*. But there can be little doubt that Count de Marcellus was right in restoring the appellative of Zeus *Ömbrios*, 'the Showery.'

Strabo\(^2\) states that, according to 'the historians' (Kleitarchos?)\(^3\), the Indians reverenced Zeus *Ömbrios*, the river Ganges, and local divinities. He is presumably fitting a Greek name to Indra, son of Dyaus, who fought *Vītra*, the demon of drought, and released the waters pent up by him\(^4\).

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\(^2\) Strab. 7. 17. 580 legetae de calu sārisā purūnā pradānāyā purūnā pradānāyā, dē tiṣābānā purūnā purūnā pradānāyā pradānāyā.


Zeus Ōmbrios

In this connexion space must be spared for a few words regarding the Zeus-types of early Indian coinage. Diodotos ii, satrap of Baktriane, c. 261—250 B.C. struck for his suzerain Antiochos ii Theos of Syria both gold *statérēs* and silver tetradrachms (fig. 338) bearing as obverse type his own portrait, and as reverse his canting badge—Zeus fulminant\(^1\). The god strides from right to left with a thunderbolt in his uplifted hand, an *aigis* on his outstretched arm, and an eagle at his feet. On attaining independence, c. 250 B.C.,

![Fig. 338.](image)

![Fig. 339.](image)

![Fig. 340.](image)

Diodotos ii continued to issue gold and silver coins of the same types (figs. 339 and 340), but of course substituted his own name for that of Antiochos\(^2\). The Zeus-type proved popular and


was repeated, perhaps by Demetrios i c. 190 B.C.\(^1\), certainly by Agathokles c. 150 B.C. (figs. 341, 342)\(^2\) and his contemporary Antimachos i Theos (fig. 343)\(^3\).

The type itself was a Hellenistic modification of the old Hellenic striding Zeus\(^4\). By displacing the eagle on the hand of the god it had found room for the aigis, which in those days of intensive

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\(^1\) G. Macdonald *loc. cit.* i. 450 f., 465 pl. 3, 9 silver tetradrachm in the British Museum: ΔΙΟΔΩΣΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.


\(^3\) *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings pp. xxviii f., 164 pl. 30, 6 (= my fig. 343).

\(^4\) *Supra* ii. 739 ff.
Homeric study had become one of his most essential attributes—witness e.g. Zeus fighting Porphyryion on the great Pergamene frieze (pl. xlii) or such lesser works as the Zeus from Kyrene.

Relief from the eastern frieze of the great Altar at Pergamon, now in Berlin:
Zeus fighting Porphyreon.

See page 534, cp. page 56 n. 0 (5).
Zeus Ómbrios


The same subject, but without the aigis, is already found on the Gigantomachy-amphora with twisted handles, from Melos, now in the Louvre (no. S 1677) (bibliography supra ii. 435 nn. 4 and 5, iii. 56 n. 6). This handsome vase, attributed by Furtwangler to the Talos Painter (Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei ii. 193 ff. pls. 96 (=my pl. vii) and 97), is referred by Beazley to the post-Medias period (J. D. Beazley Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 184), but even so must be more than two centuries earlier than the Pergamene frieze.

Vase and frieze presuppose a common original, perhaps the Pheidias painting inside the shield of Athena Parthenos ( supra ii. 435 n. 5).


On a terrace south of the Akropolis at Kyrene the Italians, in Aug. 1915, excavated the ruins of a temple overthrown by an earthquake in the second half of the iv A.D. The temple, a tetrastyle prostyle building of the Corinthian order (26 m long x 12.50 m wide), contained the remains of an oblong mosaic pavement and a large statue-base (350 m wide x 150 m deep) set against the back-wall of the cela. On the pavement lay the figure of Zeus, broken but almost all there. The same site, in 1861, had yielded two female figures, a Hera (?) and an Athena (R. Murdoch Smith—E. A. Porcher History of the Recent Discoveries at Cyrene London 1864 p. 106 nos. 120 and 121). The three together appear to have formed the favourite Capitoline triad ( supra i. 45 fig. 14, 60 f. fig. 35, 781 fig. 566). Zeus now stands in the Museo di Bengasi (E. Ghislanzoni loc. cit. p. 171 fig. 11; his partners, in the British Museum (A. H. Smith in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture ii. 355 nos. 1478 and 1479).

Zeus, an imposing statue (2.18 m high) in crystalline Parian marble, wears his aigis like a chlamys over the left shoulder. His raised left hand rests on a long sceptre; his lowered right held a thunderbolt, as attribute rather than weapon. A tree-trunk (oak?) at his side and an eagle at his feet complete the figure, which should be regarded as an original of late Hellenistic times. Two inscriptions were found on the statue-base. One, of 138 A.D., occupies the broad side with a dedication to Hadrian and Antoninus Pius: αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρα, Θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Πατρικοῦ, νῦν, Θεοῦ Νεφέλων Νεφελός, Τραϊανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, αὐτοκράτορος τὸ β’, ἀρχιερεῖ μεγάλω, δημοφιλῆς ἔσοδος καὶ, ὕστατο τὸ γ’, πατρὶ πατρόδο, εὐσήμη καὶ κινήττε, καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Ντιο Αὐτοκράτορα Δυναστεύκει, νῦν Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, ἢ Κυρρακων πόλις κομμηθείσα ἐν’ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγάλλημαν (E. Ghislanzoni loc. cit. p. 197 fig. 1 gives a photographic facsimile, cp. ib. p. 205 fig. 8. G. Bagnani loc. cit. p. 338 has an inaccurate transcription). The other, on the narrow end of the base, reads Ρηγίλαν | Ρηγίλαν (E. Ghislanzoni loc. cit. p. 200 fig. 4)—sculptor? magistrate? priest? in any case a well-omened name (cp. supra ii. 921 n. 6). Bagnani loc. cit. p. 241 concludes:

‘My own theory is that when the temple of the Capitoline Triad was built or extensively restored by Hadrian, the people of Cyrene took as cult images a Zeus and an Athena of
Zeus Ómbrios

Fig. 346.
Zeus Ómbrios

(fig. 347). Zeus as conceived by the great cameo-artists of the Hellenistic age (pls. xliii, xlv and fig. 348) wore an oak-wreath the same late Hellenistic sculptor which stood in different buildings in Cyrene but were both of suitable size... To complete the Triad they executed a statue of Sabina and dedicated the whole to the glory of the Emperor who had shown such signal interest in their welfare.' L. Mariani loc. cit. p. 10 fancies 'un’ intenzionale somiglianza del Dio rappresentato coll’ imperatore.'


2 A splendid Arabian sardonyx of two layers, whitish grey on opaque black, found at Ephesos towards the close of the eighteenth century, is now preserved in the Archaeological Museum of the Ducal Palace at Venice. It shows a majestic bust of Zeus, in three-quarter position, wearing oak-wreath and aigis. Furtwängler noted the Scopatic character of the design, but reached the right conclusion—'Ein herrliches Werk gewiss hellenistischer Zeit.' This is borne out by the abundant curling tresses of the head, its expression of
round his head and an aigis over his left shoulder. Even the


Hardly less remarkable is a cameo of mottled green malachite, now in my collection and here published for the first time (pl. xliv: scale 1). Zeus appears as a noble full-face head, again wearing an oak-wreath (with three acorns) and a scaly aigis (in deeper green). This masterpiece may be placed somewhat later in the Hellenistic age than the sardonyx

above recorded, though earlier than such degenerate works as the mask from Otricoli in the Rotunda of the Vatican (Overbeck op. cit. Zeus p. 74 ff. no. 1 Atlas pl. 2, 1 f.), the bust from Pompeii in the Museum at Naples (id. ib. p. 81 f. no. 13 Atlas pl. 2, 3 f.), or the colossal head at Florence (id. ib. p. 86 f. no. 17 Atlas pl. 2, 5 f.). Malachite, obtained from mines between Suez and Sinai, was known to the Egyptians at a very early date (G. F. Kunz The Curious Lore of Precious Stones Philadelphia & London 1913 p. 97), and amulets made of it have been widely credited with protective and curative powers (S. Seligmann Der böse Blick und Verwandlten Berlin 1910 ii. 30, id. Die magischen Heil- und Schutzmittel Stuttgart 1917 p. 261, cp. W. M. Flinders Petrie Amulets London 1914 p. 52, Sir E. A. Wallis Budge Amulets and Superstitions Oxford 1930 p. 318). Pliny speaks of it as highly prized for making seals (Plin. nat. hist. 37. 114), though extant examples seem to be of the greatest rarity. Possibly malachite, like ‘plasma’ (supra i. 357 n. 4), was a rainy stone and as such deemed appropriate to Zeus.

Later still (c. ii B.C.?) and of much less merit is a grandiose circular sardonyx of three layers, now at Petrograd, which represents Zeus as a profile head with exaggerated frontal furrow and occipital curve: oak-wreath (one acorn) and aigis as before (Overbeck op. cit. Zeus p. 243 ff. Gemmentaf. 3, 4, L. Stephani in the Compté-rendu St. Plé. 1881 p. 77 ff.)
A sardonyx cameo from Ephesos, now in Venice:
Zeus with oak-wreath and aigis.

See page 537 n. 1.
A malachite cameo, now at Queens’ College, Cambridge:

Zeus with oak-wreath and aigis.

See page 538 n. o.
Zeus Ómbrios

Fig. 349.
human Zeus was not complete without at least some hint of the aigis.

Demetrios I, the son and successor of Euthydemos I, expanded the kingdom of Baktria to include the Indus valley. About 190 B.C. he struck silver tetradrachms (fig. 350) bearing on the obverse his own bust, on the reverse Zeus standing with thunderbolt and sceptre. The Greek legend of the one side is translated by the Kharoshthi legend of the other. And it is at least possible that the figure of Zeus the storm-god was intended as the Greek equivalent of the ancient native god Indra. The reverse subject was repeated half a century later on the silver coins of Heliokles, both those struck in Baktria with a Greek legend and a purely Greek type.

It should be added that all three cameos owe something to the ever-popular type of Alexander, especially the thick neck, the upward glance, and the leonine hair above the forehead. If Alexander was figured in the likeness of Zeus (supra i. 57, 279), Zeus in turn borrowed an occasional trait from Alexander (see e.g. the Alexander-like Zeus in the Casa dei Vettii (supra i. 57 n. 4)). The ancients played on the parallel (supra i. 6 f.).

1 E.g. supra ii. 811 n. 5 (Domitian), 1194 (Nero, Domitian, Nerva).

A bronze statuette in the Fouquet Collection—of which several replicas are extant (Reinach Rép. Stat. v. 311 no. 7, 312 nos. 1, 4, 5, 6)—shows Alexander the Great wearing the aigis as his chlamys (P. Perdrizet ‘Un type inédit de la plastique grecque’ in the Mon. Piot 1913 xxvi. 59–72 figs. 1–7 pls. 4 and 5 (=my fig. 349). See further I. I. Bernoulli Die erhaltenen Darstellungen Alexanders des Grossen München 1905 pp. 113 f. fig. 38, 126 ff. pl. 9, 1, 133 f. pl. 8, 3, C. C. Edgar ‘A statue of a Hellenistic King’ in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1913 xxxiii. 50–52 (Ptolemy II Philadelphos?) pl. 2).

2 Strab. 576, citing Apollodoros of Artemita frag. 5 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 308 f. Müller)—a historian dating from the first half of 5. i B.C. (W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1920 ii. 1. 399, 412 n. 2). See also G. Macdonald in The Cambridge History of India Cambridge 1922 i. 444 ff.


4 Supra i. 190 n. 3, 741 n. 4.
and those struck in India with a bilingual legend and a slightly orientalised type. The latter coins have for obverse design the king's bust, wearing sometimes a helmet marked with the head and wing of Medousa, sometimes a helmet with the horn and ear of a bull and an aigis over the left shoulder (fig. 352). Tetradrachms of the Indo-Scythian Azes are marked by progressive decadence (fig. 353). On the one side is the king on

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2 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ = Maharajasa dhramikasa Heliyakreyasa.


5 *Id.* The Pre-Mohammedan Coinage of Northwestern India (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs* No. 13) New York 1922 pl. 6, 2 (=my fig. 352 from a cast), *id.* in the *Num. Chron.* Fifth Series 1923 iii. 322 pl. 14, 10.

horseback with lance at rest; on the other, a radiate Zeus standing, with bolt and sceptre, in an attitude of oriental slackness. The pompous superscription is again bilingual.

Archebios, who reigned in the upper Kabul valley, gives more animation to his Zeus by making the god not merely hold but brandish the bolt (fig. 354) and in some cases substituting the aegis for the sceptre (fig. 355). He also, following the example of Antialkidas (fig. 356), issued square bilingual pieces in bronze with a dignified bust of Zeus on one side and the caps of the Dioskouroi on the other (fig. 357).

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3 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Greek and Scythic Kings p. 27 pl. 8, 2. I figure a specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum.
4 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Greek and Scythic Kings pl. 31, 5 (= my fig. 357), G. Macdonald in The Cambridge History of India Cambridge 1922 i. 591 pl. 8, 44.
No less dignified is the Zeus who appears on a silver coin of Peukolaos, another king in the upper Kabul valley. The god stands erect holding a long sceptre in his left hand and making a gesture with his outstretched right (fig. 358). The type recurs on a few rare tetradrachms of the Indo-Scythians Maues (fig. 359) and Azes (fig. 360).

A fresh and somewhat perplexing aspect of Zeus is found about 150 B.C. on tetradrachms of two contemporary and perhaps

1 R. B. Whitehead in the *Num. Chron.* Fifth Series 1923 iii. 324 f. pl. 15, 4 ('The right hand may with outstretched finger and thumb be making a gesture of benediction or command. But I appear to see in the hand a small object in the shape of horns or a crescent...not a lotus'), Head *Coins of the Greeks* p. 81 pl. 45, 22 (= my fig. 358). E. J. Rapson in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 558 observes: 'The association of Peucolaus with Pushkalavati is proclaimed by his name, which is simply the adjective of Peucolaitis, an alternative form of the Greek Peucelaotis.'


Zeus Ómbrios

associated Bactrian rulers, Agathokles and Pantaleon. Agathokles has for reverse design Zeus holding Hekate as a torch-bearer on his extended right hand and leaning on a spear with his left (fig. 361). Pantaleon has Zeus holding the same Hekate and leaning on the same spear, but seated on a throne (fig. 362). Now the combination of Zeus with Hekate, though occasionally met with in the classical area, is hardly to be explained from Greek sources. It is far more likely that we have here to do with the Hellenised version of a native Indian cult. Indra as a storm-god controlled both fire and water. Fire in the Vedic religion is Agni, and according to the Ṛṣcrapatha Brāhmaṇa Agni had three

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3 Supra i. 14 f. fig. 106 (double rock-cut throne on Chalke, inscribed Διός. Ἐκάρης), ii. 714 n. 3 (inscription at Stratonikeia honouring ιῃρα τοῦ Παρμάνδου Διός καλ) τῷ Ἐκάρης τῆς (Δισιδέρου), ii. 835 n. 6, 838 (inscription at Rome by sacerdos dei Brontontis et Aecate (sic)).
4 Supra i. 543 n. 1 Zeus and Hekate as parents of Britomartis (?)
5 Ṛṣcrapatha Brāhmaṇa 1. 2. 3. 1 f. (*The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa* trans. J. Eggeling Part i (*The Sacred Books of the East* xii) Oxford 1882 p. 47): 1. Fourfold, namely, was Agni (fire) at first... [ib. 1. 3. 3. 13 ff. relates that the three former Agnis fled from fear of the thunderbolt] Thereupon the one who still constitutes the fire in our own time, concealed himself from fear. He entered into the waters. Him the gods discovered and brought forcibly away from the waters. He spat upon the waters, saying, "Bespitten are ye who are an unsafe place of refuge, from whom they take me away against my will!"
sons Ekata, Dvita, and Trita. Their names simply betoken 'First,' 'Second,' and 'Third.' But it certainly seems possible that Ekata child of the fire-god, was Grecised into a torch-bearing Hekate.

Further proof that in the upper Kabul valley Zeus was but another name for Indra may be had from the coinage of Eukratides and his successor Antialkidas. Certain square coppers of Apollo-dotos i Soter, re-struck by Eukratides c. 165 B.C., show the king's bust with a Greek legend on the obverse, a seated Zeus with a Kharoshthi legend on the reverse (fig. 363)\(^1\). The latter describes the god as 'the divinity of the city of Kāpiçī,' i.e. Kapisa\(^2\) a city of the Paropanisadai visited in 630 A.D. by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsiang\(^3\):

'To the south-west of the capital was the Pi-lo-sho-lo Mountain. This name was given to the mountain from its presiding genius who had the form of an elephant and was therefore called Pi-lo-sho-lo\(^4\). It will be seen that the forepart of the elephant in front of Zeus and the conical mountain behind him are alike appropriate to the god of Kapisa, here figured as Zeus enthroned with wreath and

Thence sprung the Āptya deities, Trita, Dvita, and Ekata. 2. They roamed about with Indra, even as nowadays a Brāhman follows in the train of a king....' Eggeling ib. p. 48 n. 0 comments: 'Trita, the Āptya (i.e. probably "sprung from, or belonging to the a, or waters of the atmosphere"), seems to have been a prominent figure of the early Indo-Iranian mythology, the prototype, in many respects, of Indra, the favourite god of the Vedic hymns.... Dvita (the second) and Ekata are no doubt later abstractions suggested by the etymology of the name Trita (the third), although the former, Dvita, occurs already in the Vedic hymns.' See further Hymns of the Atharva-veda, etc. in J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1921 xi. 604\(^5\).


\(^2\) J. Takakusu in J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1921 xii. 841a—843b.

\(^3\) T. Watters On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India 629—645 A.D. London 1904 i. 129. On the Sanskrit jyū, 'elephant,' see Schrader Reales.\(^2\) i. 245a.
Zeus Ómbrios

palm. A handsome tetradrachm of Attic weight issued by Antialkidas has room for greater detail (fig. 364). On the obverse is the royal bust within a fillet-border. On the reverse, surrounded by a Greek legend, a radiate Zeus clad in chiton and himátion sits on a decorative throne holding a long sceptre in his left hand and a Nike with wreath and palm in his right. In front of him appears the forepart of an elephant, which wears a bell round its neck and uplifts its trunk in salutation. A rare tetradrachm of the same ruler, struck on the Indian standard with bilingual legend, shows

Fig. 364.

Fig. 365.

Zeus parading with his elephant, which carries Nike on his head, wears a bell on his neck, and again raises his trunk at the salute (fig. 365). It will be remembered that Indra’s famous elephant, Airávata or Airávana, played a prominent part in the battles of

1 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Greek and Scythic Kings p. 25 pl. 7, 9 (=my fig. 364). E. W. Hopkins The Religions of India etc. 1895 p. 431 f. quotes from the Book of Peace, a late addition to the Mahá-Bhárata, the famous episode of the White Island (12. 337. 20 ff.): ‘Three priests with the insignificant names “First, Second, Third,” [*Ekata, Dvita, Trita*] go to the far North (diś uttara) where, in the “Sea of Milk,” they find an Albion called “White Island,” perhaps regarded as one of the seven or thirteen “islands,” of which earth consists; and there Vishnu is worshipped as the one god by white men of extraordinary physical characteristics.’


Zeus Ombrios

his master\(^1\). The elephant that occurs so frequently on the Indian and Graeco-Indian coinages of the Kabul valley and north-western India— I figure bronze pieces struck by Menandros c. 165 (?) B.C. (fig. 366)\(^2\), Maues c. 72 B.C. (fig. 367)\(^3\), and Azes i.c. 58 B.C. (fig. 368)\(^4\)—must be identified with, or at least derived from\(^5\), this same redoubtable beast, is in fact ultimately none other than the theriomorphic storm-god.

Fig. 366.

Fig. 367.

Fig. 368.

Fig. 369.

\(^1\) A. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology* London 1872 ii. 92.


\(^4\) *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 87 pl. 19, 7 (= my fig. 368).

\(^5\) So Professor Rapson *loc. cit.* p. 557.

35—2
Zeus Ómbrios

Quasi-Greek in effect is a unique tetradrachm of Amyntas (c. 100—50 B.C.), which shows on one side a helmeted bust of the king wearing the aigis and thrusting a lance, on the other a radiate Zeus clad in chiton and himation, who sits on a decorative throne with a long sceptre and a palm-branch in his left hand and Athena (not Nike) in his right (fig. 369).

Finally tetradrachms of Hermaios (figs. 370, 371), successor of Amyntas and last Yavana prince of the house of Eukratides, from

Fig. 370.

Fig. 371.

Fig. 372.

1 R. B. Whitehead in the Num. Chron. Fifth Series 1923 iii. 332 pl. 15, 7. My fig. 369 is from casts kindly sent to me by Mr Whitehead, who loc. cit. points out that even on the drachms of Amyntas (e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Greek and Scythic Kings p. 61 pl. 14, 10) the tiny figure carried by Zeus is not the usual Nike, but the exceptional Athena.


Square bronze pieces issued by Spalirises have obv. the king standing with battle-axe and bow, rev. the same type of Zeus enthroned (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Greek and Scythic Kings p. 101 pl. 22, 2. I figure a specimen in the Fitzwilliam collection). BACÌΛÆΩΝ BACÌΛÆΩC ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΣΠΑΛΙΡΙΣΟΥ = Maharajasa māhātakasa Spalirisasa.
c. 50 B.C. onwards combine the enthroned type of Zeus with the gesture first seen on the coin of Peukolaos. This gesture, if I am not mistaken, is simply one variety of that ancient world-wide superstition, the prophylactic use of horns.

Another example of a local rain-god identified by the Greeks with their Zeus is that of the Philistine Marna or Marnas. Bronze...
Zeus Ὄμβριος

coins of Gaza struck by Hadrian (figs. 374\(^1\), 375\(^2\)) and again by Faustina Junior and Lucilla\(^3\), Septimius Severus\(^4\), Caracalla\(^5\), Plautilla\(^6\), and Geta\(^7\) show the façade of a temple within which stand two youthful deities, apparently Apollo with his bow confronting the huntress Artemis. Fortunately for our understanding of the scene, the Apolline figure is expressly named Μάρνας (or more often Μάρνα), and Sir G. F. Hill\(^8\) has made out a strong case for regarding this divine pair as Marnas, the young Cretan Zeus, who—be it remembered—was himself a hunter\(^9\), with Britomartis, a Cretan form of Artemis\(^10\). The pair bore names of kindred origin and significance; for if Marnas recalls the Cretan marna, 'virgin\(^11\),' and denotes simply 'young man,' Britomartis is said to have been a Cretan term for 'sweet maid\(^12\).' Consorts could hardly have been better matched. Naturally, however, among a Semitic people the name Marnas was re-interpreted as Marna, 'our Lord,' and tended to drop its final sibilant\(^13\).

incised in an archaic alphabet of Graeco-Phoenician character (see e.g. Roberts Gk. Epigr. p. 4 § 4), and Professor S. Langdon has suggested to me that the second line of the impression (fig. 373, c) contains in retrograde script the name Μάρνας (嶷(Msg \in (Fig. 373)). But the first line, though perfectly legible, remains obscure ( Oversight (or g)?).\(^14\)


\(^2\) Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Palestine pp. lxxv n. 3, 146 f. pl. 15, 11 (\(=\)my fig. 375).

\(^3\) Jb. p. 158 pl. 16, 6.

\(^4\) Jb. p. 161 no. 119.

\(^5\) Jb. p. 164 no. 133.

\(^6\) Jb. p. 165 no. 135.

\(^7\) Jb. p. 166 no. 137.


\(^9\) Supra i. 157 n. 3, 645, 652, 663 n. 2, ii. 523, 737.

\(^10\) Supra i. 543 n. 4.

\(^11\) Supra i. 149 n. 1.

\(^12\) Supra i. 542 n. 3, cp. 543 n. 1.

\(^13\) The point is contested (K. Preisendanz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xiv. 1899 f.). Sir G. F. Hill Some Palestinian Cults p. 16 f. concludes that the two deities, looking like Apollo and Artemis, in the temple at Gaza, are Marnas and his consort Britomartis,

Fig. 374.

Fig. 375.
Markos Diakonos¹, writing c. 420 A.D.², tells how in 395 the people of Gaza ascribed a two months' drought to the presence in their midst of Saint Porphyrios. They therefore offered sacrifices and prayers to Marnas, whom they took to be 'lord of showers' and identified with Zeus³, or more particularly with Zeus *Kretagenês⁴. For a week they continued reciting hymns and resorting to a place outside their city called the place of prayer. But, when nothing happened, they gave up the attempt to coerce their god and returned to their usual avocations. The Christians then, men, women, and children, to the number of 280 came together and besought Saint Porphyrios to go out with them and pray for rain. He agreed to do so, proclaimed a fast, and bade all keep a night-long vigil in the Holy Church. This they did, with thirty prayers and as many genuflexions, not to mention choruses chanted and the lessons read. At dawn they took the standard of the Cross and, the saint at their head, proceeded with hymns to the Old Church, founded by Bishop Asklepas, on the west of the city, where again they offered the

the Cretan Zeus and the Cretan Artemis, connected in name in the same way as Zeus and Dione; and that the name Marnas is probably Cretan in origin, its Syrian appearance being fortuitous.¹ Contrariwise Prof. S. A. Cook *op. cit.* p. 182 ff. argues that Marna, primarily a Semitic name, was later etymologized to suit the Cretan Marnas. However, that the god was really of Cretan extraction seems clear, not only from the statements of Epiphanios (ancor. 106 [l. 209 Dindorf] καὶ Μαρνᾶς δείκνυς Ἀστερίων τοῦ Κρητῶν παρὰ Ταγαλοῦ), Markos Diakonos (*infra* p. 553 n. 1), and Stephanos of Byzantion (*infra* i. 149 n. 1), but also from other mythological evidence (*Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 248 ff.) and above all from a mass of archaeological data (see e.g. F. B. Welch 'The Influence of the Aegean Civilisation on South Palestine' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vii. 117—124 (ceramics), H. Thiersch in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1908 xxiii Arch. Anz. p. 378 ff. (ceramics), A. J. Evans *Scripta Minoa* Oxford 1909 i. 77—94 ('Cretan Philistines and the Phoenician Alphabet'), R. A. S. Macalister *The Philistines: their History and Civilisation* London 1913 pp. 106—113, *id.* in *J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1917 ix. 840b ff., H. R. Hall in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1924 ii. 283—295, J. L. Myres *Who were the Greeks?* Berkeley, California 1930 pp. 146—151.


³ Mark. Diak. *v. Porphyrii* 19 ὥσ ὑδὲ ἐπιλαύνετο μὴ βρέχον ὁ θεός τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς πρωτῶν μὲνα καλοίμενοι Διὸν, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ τῷ δεύτερῳ Ἀπελλαίοι, πάντες θείοις. σωκράθητες δὲ ἐς τῆς εἴδουσμας εἰς τὸ Μαρνᾶς, πολλὰς θυσίας καὶ εὐλαβεῖς ἐποίησις τοῖς ἑορταῖς ὕλαις γὰρ τὸν Μάρανα κόρον ἐναίων τῶν βρέχον, τῶν ὡς Μάρανα λέγουσιν ἐναίων τὸν Διὸ.

⁴ *id.* ib. 64 (quoted *infra* p. 553 n. 1).
Zeus Ómbrios

same number of prayers. Then on to the shrine of the martyr Timotheos, which contained also the relics of the martyr Maior and the confessor Thea. Once more they offered the same number of prayers and genuflexions. After which they returned to the city, with three prayers and three genuflexions on the way. But here a hitch occurred. They found the city-gates closed against them by the jealous heathen, and a two hours' wait ensued. Thereupon God, beholding their patience, in his mercy stirred up a strong south wind. The sky clouded over, lightnings and thunders began at sundown, and so heavy a rain fell that it looked more like hail. Sundry Greeks, beholding these marvels, believed and opened the gates. They joined the Christians, shouting: 'Christ alone is God—He alone has conquered.' The saint had them into the Holy Church, where he baptised 78 men, 35 women, and 14 children of whom 5 were girls. That night and the next day rain fell in such abundance that all men feared the collapse of houses, most of which were of crude brick. 'Our Lord Jesus Christ'—we read1—'spent from the 8th to the 10th of Audynaios (January 3—5) in raining,' and on the 11th his followers celebrated the Epiphany with hymns and thanksgivings. Indeed, the same year witnessed the accession of another 105 to their numbers.

The sequel is too long to quote in detail. But it appears that Porphyrios was vexed with the ungodly conduct of the idolaters; for at Gaza they still dealt in divinatory dreams, especially at the Marneion2. So he wrote a letter of protest to Ioannes Chrysostomos, Bishop of Constantine, who informed Eutropios the Chamberlain, who in turn brought his influence to bear upon Arkadios. The upshot was an edict that the temples of Gaza be closed and the traffic in divination stopped. Hilarios, an imperial commissioner, was sent to Gaza to carry out this decision. He did close the temples in general and overthrew their idols. But, in return for a substantial bribe, he allowed the traffic of Marnas to continue. Porphyrios then went in person to visit Ioannes the metropolitan of Kaisareia in Palestine; and together they repaired to Rhodes, where the anchorite Prokopios informed them that Chrysostom was not a persona grata at court and commended them to Amantios, Chamberlain of the Empress Eudoxia. The two Bishops reached Constantinople on 7 January 401. Eudoxia received them favourably

1 Id. ib. 21 έκπλησαν δε βρέχων δο κύρος ημῶν Ίησούς Χριστός άκαλέστους από της ορθος Αδύναμοι μέχρι της δεκάτης. κ.τ.λ. The naive phraseology would be hard to parallel. ο κύρος ημῶν is, of course, the Christian rendering of Marna (supra p. 550).

2 Id. ib. 26 το γάρ εχομάτισσιν εν Γάζῃ, μάλιστα το καλόμενον Μάρναιον.
and herself broached the matter to Arkadios, who at first was unwilling to take action. The Bishops, however, prayed that Eudoxia, then pregnant, might bear him a son; and she promised that, if this should befall, she would do all they wanted and further found a Christian church in the heart of Gaza. And so it fell out. Theodosios ii was born, and Arkadios, moved by gratitude, granted the Christian petition. The Bishops returned vid Rhodos, reached Gaza on 1 May 401, and were followed ten days later by the arrival of the commissioner Kynegeios and a large body of troops. These at once set about the task of demolishing the eight idolatrous temples of Gaza—those of Helios, Aphrodite, Apollon, Kore, and Hekate, the Heroeion, the Tychaion of Tyche, and, most famous of all, the Marneion of Zeus Kretagenes. But the priests of Marnas, getting wind of this attack, barricaded the doors of the inner temple with big stones, brought all valuables down into the *adyta*, concealed there also the effigies of the gods, and themselves escaped through the same *adyta* by a variety of ways leading upwards. The attackers thus repulsed turned their attention to the other temples, overthrew some, fired others, and plundered all their treasures. Saint Porphyrios, however, strictly forbade the Christians to partake in such looting. For ten days the crowd laid waste the temples. There was some doubt as to the fitting treatment of the Marneion—should it be demolished? should it be burnt? should it be purified and consecrated as a church?—till the Bishop proclaimed a fast and a solemn evening service. At this a boy, seven years old, who stood there with his mother, suddenly cried aloud: 'Burn the inner


Proklos the neo-Platonist, who held that the philosopher should be the hierophant of all mankind, composed a special hymn in honour of Marnas (Marin. v. *Procl. 19* ὅπλα δὲ ἡ τῶν Ἱερῶν αὐτῶν πραγματεία, οὐ τῶν παρά τοῖς Εὐληπτοί μέχρι τιμωθέντων ἐγκώμια περιέχοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μάρνας Γαζᾶν ἡμοῦ καὶ Ἀσκληπίου Λεωντῖου Ἀσκληπίου καὶ Θαναδέτην Ἀλλος Ἀρβίας πολυστήρου θεὸν καὶ Ἰσων τὴν κατὰ τὰς Θελας ἐγκυμονήν καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου ἄπλοις άπαντας. καὶ γὰρ πρέσβευς ἐκείνοις ἐγκέφαλοι καὶ Εὐληπτοί τὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἐκείνοις ἄγνωστος ἀγώ, δὶ τῶν πολιούχων προσηχεὶ ὡς μᾶς τῶν πόλεως οὐκ ἄν καὶ τῶν παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ παράθεται (πολιούχων ἐν θεραπεύειν τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσίαν ιεροφάντην).

temple down to the ground, for many dreadful things have happened there, and, most dreadful of all, the sacrifices of men! Burn it on this wise. Bring liquid pitch and sulphur and pigs' lard. Mix the three and anoint therewith the doors of bronze. Then set fire to them, and so the whole temple is burnt: otherwise, it cannot be. But leave the outer temple with its precinct. And after the burning purify the place and there found a Holy Church. This inspired utterance he repeated, first in the Syrian tongue, later in Greek. The Christians, accordingly, with the help of Kynegios and the magistrates followed the boy's advice and burnt the Marneion to the ground. The conflagration, which lasted many days, was succeeded by a house-to-house search for idols and books of magic used in the idolaters' initiatory rites. So the great pagan temple was utterly destroyed in June 402, and a Christian church, which took five years to build, was erected on the site of it. Some advised the preservation of the old circular plan; but Porphyrios, accepting the plan furnished by Eudoxia, preferred a cruciform structure and dedicated the same on Easter Day 407, calling it Eudoxiane after its illustrious patroness.

Incidentally we learn various details about the old Marneion. It was circular, it was surrounded by two concentric colonnades, and it had by way of centre an elevated dome. It had also a veneer of marble incrustations, which were regarded as sacred and restricted

Mark. Diak. v. Porph. 65 καὶ πρῶτον βουλήθητες καταστρέψας [τὰ εἴδωλα καὶ] τὸ Μαρνείον ἀνεκρούσθης· οἱ γὰρ ἱερεῖς τοῦ εἴδους εἴκοσι προσκούσαντες ἐσωθήν τὰς θύρας τοῦ ἱεροτέρα ναοῦ ἄθεοι μεγάλου προέφραξαν καὶ καταγιγνότες εἰς τὸ λεγόμενα ἐδύεσσαν δοκι σῦ τῷ λεγομένῳ σχῆμα, ὅτι δὲ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ βίβλια τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν ἐκεῖ τερμάθαν καὶ διὰ (II. Usener c. 1) τῶν αὐτῶν ἄδειων ἔφυγον δὲ ἄλλων ἄνδρων. Ηλεγον γὰρ τὰ εἰρήμενα ἄδεια ἐκεῖν πολλὰς ἀνθίες εἰς διαφόρους τόπους.

1 Id. ib. 66 (επὶ 68) καὶ ἐποίησε τῶν ναῶν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκαθάρισε· πολλὰ γὰρ δείκνυτο γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ, μάλιστα αἱ ἄθροισις ἄθροισις. τοιούτῳ δὲ τρόπῳ καθέσατε αὐτῶν. ἀγάγετε ἐν γράμμα πιάσας καὶ ἰσοπλησίας ἐκεῖν ἔθεσαν καὶ στέπαν χορέων καὶ κηρύκην τὸ τρία καὶ χρόνον τός καὶ χαλάζων δύσαις καὶ ἐκ τὰς ἐκεῖν τοὺς τῆς περιβόλους καὶ μετὰ τὸ καὶ ἐκεῖν ἐκεῖν τῶν τόπων ἐκεῖ κτίσατε ἄγιον ἱερόν. All this, and more, in the Syrian tongue. Porphyrios adjured the boy's mother to tell him whether the utterance was due to any trickery. She most solemnly denied it and suggested that the saint should examine the boy with threats. So the Bishop had a whip fetched and the boy hoisted up, while the whip-holder bade him confess or be beaten on the spot. The boy at first remained silent, but suddenly repeated exactly the same advice in the Greek language, which neither he nor his mother had learned!

2 Id. ib. 71 εὐγερασμένοι δὲ καὶ μεταθετὶς ὁτέρας ἐς ἔκκολα ὑπερήφανος· παραλαμβάνεις μετὰ τῶν εἰς ἐδαρδομανίας καὶ αὐτὴ δὲ ὅμοιος θεοὶ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν ἑσπαχον.

3 Id. ib. 75 εὐμετακολουθοῦνοι οὖν τιμὴς κωνήθηκα αὐτὴν κατὰ τὴν θείαν τοῦ εἴδωλου· στρογγυλοῖς γάρ ὑπήρχει, περιβληθέντος διοικοί στοιχοί ἀλληλοκοινωνίας, τὸ δὲ μέσον
to a place that no man, and certainly no woman, might enter: Porphyry set them in the pavement outside the new Church on purpose that they might be trodden under foot, not only by men, but by women, dogs, pigs, and cattle—an outrage which offended the idolaters more deeply than the burning of their temple; indeed most of them, particularly the women, thenceforth refused to walk on those marble slabs. Within the precinct were certain wells, one of considerable depth, equipped with buckets, ropes, and a wooden top, being at the west end of the Christian Church.

Finally, it is tempting to conclude that this round building, with concentric colonnades, underground chambers, and secret means of egress, dedicated moreover to Zeus Kretagenes in whose service human victims were slain, really did—as we have already suggested—bear a significant resemblance to the Cretan Labyrinth. Gaza Minos presupposes Minos.

Be that as it may, Marnas was admittedly equated with Zeus. A stone embedded in a modern wall at Kanatha (Kanawāt) in the Haurān reads:

‘Annelos, son of Kamassanos, made this for Zeus Marnas the Lord.

Further, it is on record that a certain Septimius Arabianus (whose name points to his nationality), a man notorious for alleged thefts but set at liberty by Heliogabalus, once came among the senators
Zeus Ómbrios

to salute Alexander Severus. The indignant Emperor cried out: ‘O Marnas, o Jupiter, o gods immortal, Arabianus is not only alive, but actually ventures into the Senate and, like as not, hopes to get something out of me: does he deem me such a fatuous fool?’ The combination ‘O Marna, o Iupitter’ amounts—as Friedländer saw—to a virtual identification. It is probable that Marnas, like other oriental deities, had a cult-centre as far west as Ostia. An inscription found at Portus Traiani states that the men of Gaza, at the bidding of their ancestral god, were honouring their benefactor the Emperor M. Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix by the hand of Ti. Claudius Papirius custodian of the sanctuary.

Marnas as ‘lord of showers’ must also have been a god responsible for the fertility of the land and for the very life of its inhabitants. As such he seems to have acquired a fresh appellation, Aldémiós or Áldos. Perhaps he had a specialised cult on the hill Aldíoma, which lay on the east side of Gaza and furnished great stones for the foundation of the Christian Church.

Zeus Kretagenés was conceived sometimes as an infant, sometimes as a youth, sometimes as a full-bearded god. Marnas too had his variations of type. On coins of Gaza from the time of

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1 Friedländer, Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von August bis zum Ausgang der Antonine, Leipzig 1910 iv. 151 n. 2.
2 G. Calza, Odisseia Roma (1933) p. 18.
3 Inscr. Gr. Sic. ill. no. 936 ἄγαθος τῶν | ἀστυγόρων Καλλάρα | Μ. Ἀντίοχου | Γαλατάνων Εὐσεβῆ | Εὐσεβῆ Εὐσεβίων, τῶν θεοφάλων | κοσμοκράτωρ ἡ τῶν | ἑτῶν θεοφάλων ἡ και | ἔστω καὶ αὐτόνομον, | πιστὴ (καὶ?) εὐσεβῆ, λαμπρὰ | καὶ μεγάλη ξέ | ἐπεξεργαστὶ τοῦ θεοῦ | τῶν δικτικῶν | ἐδώρερα | ἀνθελοῦντος | ἡ ἐκ τῆς Κλαὐλίδος | ἔπεξεργαστὶ τοῦ θεοῦ. The restoration is due to P. Wesseling. G. Kaibel ad loc.: ‘Deus patrius Marnas est.’
4 Supra ii. 675 n. 4, 1187 n. 0.
5 Mark. Diak. v. Porph. 79.
6 Supra 1. 51 f. figs. 27 and 28, 150 figs. 116 and 117, 401 fig. 398 (?).
7 Supra p. 530 n. 9.
8 Supra 1. 149 figs. 113—115.
Hadrian to that of of Geta (figs. 374, 375)\textsuperscript{1} he is a youthful hunter. Under Gordianus Pius (fig. 376)\textsuperscript{2}, though still youthful, he approximates more closely to the normal aspect of Zeus; for, while raising his right hand, he holds a thunderbolt on his left arm and sometimes has an eagle at his feet\textsuperscript{3} or else is crowned by Nike standing on a column behind him. On bronze pieces issued c. 250—

- 150 B.C. (fig. 377)\textsuperscript{4} he appears as a mature man half-draped in a himation and uplifting a wreath. On other bronze pieces struck in s. ii or i B.C. (fig. 378)\textsuperscript{5} a laureate head with a bushy beard is aptly described by Sir G. F. Hill as 'Zeus, that is to say Marnas.'\textsuperscript{6}

The same god is represented on a colossal scale by a figure found near Gaza in 1879 and now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople (fig. 379)\textsuperscript{7}. In a sand-dune known as Tell el Ajoul ('Hill of the Calf') on the left side of the Wadi Gazze, some two hours to the south-west of Gaza, Arab masons had dug up certain well-cut blocks of stone and sold them in the town. Prospecting for more they discovered, lying on its back in a pit 2\textsuperscript{m} deep, the floor of which showed remains of a mosaic pavement, the upper half of

\textsuperscript{1} Supra p. 550.
\textsuperscript{2} Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Palestine p. 168 pl. 17, 9 (=my fig. 376 from a cast).
\textsuperscript{3} G. F. Hill Some Palestinian Cults p. 17.
\textsuperscript{5} Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Palestine pp. lxxi f., 143 pl. 15, 1 and 2 (=my fig. 378 from a cast).
Zeus Ōmbrios

a statue in white crystalline marble. The god is seated on a throne with no elbow-rests but a high back adorned at its base with two large rosettes. He wears a himation in Olympian fashion over his left shoulder and round his legs, which were carved in a separate block. His right arm, to judge from its mortise, held out some attribute, probably a thunderbolt or a phiale, hardly a Nike. His left was raised and the hand must have rested high up on a long sceptre. The head has abundant but irregular locks of hair and a full beard. The forehead is marked by two deep furrows, and the eyes are sunk beneath troubled brows. G. Mendel, after a careful analysis of the style, concludes that we have here mediocre work of s. ii A.D. No doubt the sculptor aimed at being impressive and, with that end in view, sought to combine a Pheidias arrangement of the drapery with Scopatic eyes and post-Lysippian hair. But above all he—like his predecessors of Pergamon or Rhodes—relied on sheer size. The actual height of the fragment is c. 3'20", and it must rank as at least the largest of all extant statues of Zeus.

It is possible that before this fusion of the Philistine Marnas with the Greek Zeus there had been an earlier rapprochement of the Philistine god with the Hebrew Jehovah. The famous quarter-shekel of the Philisto-Arabian series, which represents Jahhu as a solar Zeus on a wheeled and winged seat, places in his hand a hawk(?) instead of an eagle (supra i. 232 f. fig. 171, b and pl. xxi)¹. And a hitherto unpublished coin of the same series, struck at Gaza in s. v B.C., shows for obverse design the profile head of a grave bearded god wearing a wreath, and for reverse a hawk and an olive-spray (fig. 380)². Have we here, in this obvious copy of Athenian mintage, not Athena and her owl, but Jahhu and his bird?

At Halikarnassos rain was connected with Dionysos, for there was a local cult of Bakchos Ombríkos, 'god of Showers.'³ The date


³ Bekker anecd. i. 235, 21. οί δὲ Ὠμβρίκως (leg. Ὠμβρικός) ὑπὸ Δικαρπασσών (leg. Δικαρπασσάων) Βάκχος.
of this cult is unknown, but the appellative is already found in a Dionysiac context as early as the first half of the sixth century B.C. F. Dümmler many years ago published a Corinthian krater, found at Caere and now preserved in the Louvre, which illustrates two successive scenes (fig. 381, a and b) from a Dorian farce. The one shows a flute-player and a masked man dancing to the sound of the flutes, while two companions are surprised by their master in the act of carrying off a full wine-jar. The men are named Eînño(ε),

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1 F. Dümmler in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1885 Ixvii. 127—131 pl. d, 1 (=my fig. 381, a), 2, 3 and pl. e, 1, 2 (=my fig. 381, b).
2 E. Pettier *Vases antiques du Louvre* Paris 1897 p. 55 no. k 632.
4 E. Pettier *loc. cit.* 'un compagnon barbu à masque de Satyre.'
'Kindly,' and *Ophélandros*, 'Helpful'; the master, *Omrigós*, that is *Om(b)rikós*, 'he of the Showers.' He grasps a couple of lissom sticks and has the naked men at his mercy. The other scene gives the sequel—the two misdemeanants confined in the wine-cellar, with their ankles in fetters and their heads in a sort of cangue or pillory (*xýlon, kýphon*), dependent for their food on the services of a small handmaid. Laconian *deikeltktai* are known to have represented fruit-stealers or the like; and there can be little doubt that H. Schnabel was right in claiming a ritual origin for such burlesque. If so, the master of the wine-bin began by representing Dionysos and naturally continued to bear his name.

Finally, we may note that in Kypros the part of Zeus *Ombrios* was played by a goddess, not a god. An interesting terra cotta sketched by Cesnola at Salamis (fig. 382) portrays a naked and nymph-like female kneeling on her left knee as she empties a large pitcher borne on her shoulder. Behind her is a rock with a lion's-


2 H. Payne *Necrocorinthia* Oxford 1921 p. 123: 'No one has ever doubted that the scene on the back is connected with that on the front.' That is wrong: A. Korte in the *Fahr. d. kais. deutsch. arch.* Inst. 1893 viii. 91 n. 61 doubts it.

3 Sosibios *Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 627 Müller *Ap. Athen.* 61 D—E.

4 Poll. 4. 104 f.

5 H. Schnabel *Kordax* München 1910 p. 53 'Der ursprünglich sakrale Raub der Opfergaben wird zur mimischen, burlesken Diebesszene, die in der Posse fortlebt durchs ganze Altertum bis auf unsere Tage.'

6 A. Korte in the *Fahr. d. kais. deutsch. arch.* Inst. 1893 viii. 90 ff. fig. 8 regards *Béoton*, *Ophélas*, and *Omphros* as Bacchic daímatos, not men. C. Fränkel 'Korinthische Posse' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1912 lxvi. 94—106 with 2 figs. takes all three to be slaves and *Omphros* in particular to mean 'the Umbrian' (cp. *Θράξ, Θρές, Λαόθ*)—a view which H. Payne *Necrocorinthia* Oxford 1921 p. 122 n. 3 pronounces to be 'the only reasonable suggestion'! But Miss Fränkel admits that the misshapen Corinthian dancers are in general daemonic ('Ein sicheres Ergebnis der Forschung ist gleichfalls, dass jene Vorbilder der attischen Schauspieler dämonischer Natur sind, da sie auf mehreren Darstellungen mit mythischen Personen gruppiert werden') and that the performers represented on this exceptional vase are drawn and costumed in their likeness ('Und damit ergibt sich überraschender Weise, dass der Dümmerles Krater ein Zwischenglied zwischen der korinthischen Dämonenwelt und den attischen Schauspielern. In Gestalt und Tracht der korinthischen Dämonen wird eine korinthische Posse gespielt, und diese enthält bereits die Grundelemente der attischen Komödie, ohne dass freilich das Bühnenbild konsequent festgehalten wurde'). She demurs to a divine appellative in -IKOS ('denn eine Bildung auf -IKOS ist unter der Fülle altertümlicher Götter-Epiklesen bis jetzt unerhört'). But, apart from Bakkhos *Omphros* (*supra* p. 558 n. 3), we can at least quote *Zeul òna, Δωδώνως*, *Πελαγικέ* (*I*. 16. 233).

7 A. P. di Cesnola *Salaminia* London 1882 p. 200 with fig. 203 (=my fig. 382), iv. 2 London 1884 p. 183 f. fig. 219.
head spout, from which gushes a stream of water still coloured green. The base is inscribed ‘The Goddess of Showers.’ This terra cotta combines, cleverly enough, two Hellenistic motives—that of the crouching Aphrodite and that of the lion’s-head fountain. Perhaps we are meant to conclude that the pitcher-bearing goddess was mistress of some neighbouring spring. If so, we can hardly forget that Chytroi, the ‘Pitchers,’ with its well-known double spring, was within easy reach of Salamis.

![Fig. 382.](image)

(h) Zeus Hyétios.

Essentially similar to Zeus Ómbrios, ‘the Showery,’ was Zeus Hyétios, ‘the Rainy.’ We have already seen that Nonnos applied both names to one god; and, whereas Plutarch’s list of agricultural

1 The inscription ΘΕA Η OMBRIOS (sic) is given in the text as ΘΕA Η OMBRIOS. The discrepancy may be due to mere carelessness, but rouses our suspicion. Where is the terra cotta in question?
2 Winter Ant. Terraboten ii. 205 no. 1.
3 A. Cartault Terres cuites grecques Paris (1890) p. 75 f., pl. 22 collection Lecuyer (modern?).
4 E. Oberhammer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 2531.
6 Supra p. 531.

C. III.
Zeus Hyetios

deities was Zeus Ombrios, Demeter Proærosia, Poseidon Phytâlmios, that of Themistios includes Demeter's daughter, Zeus Hyetios, and Poseidon Phytâlmios.

The cult of Zeus Hyetios was fairly wide-spread. He was said to have been born on the summit of Mount Tmolos in Lydia. At Antimacheia in Kos the members of the local deme and any who cared to join them used to go in procession and offer sacrifices on an altar of Zeus Hyetios. The same god had an open-air altar in

1 Supra p. 537.
2 Themist. or. 30, 349 Λ εἰ δὲ καὶ Δίωνων παρακαλοῦμεν καὶ Νίκωμα καὶ Δίμητρος Κόρην Τέτιον τε Δία καὶ Ποσειδήνα Φυταλίμιον, πλησίâξων ὅθε ταῖς τελευταίς κ.τ.λ.
3 Supra ii. 957 n. 2.

G. W. Elderkin in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1933 xxxvii. 393, moved by the analogy of the Cretan Zeus, conjectures 'that somewhere near the Lydian birthplace of the god was also his tomb' and that this may be referred to in the late Homeri et Hesiodi certamen

A M. W. Christ Miiachein Geschichte der griechischen Literatur (München 1929 i. 253 L.) He holds that the Roman custom of the magistrate presiding at the games in the attire of Jupiter (Plout. 10. 154 A attributes the passage to Lesches, but see

H. W. Rüsemann and M. W. Stahlin Geschichte der griechischen Literatur Munich 1929 i. 253 L.) He holds that the Roman custom of the magistrate presiding at the games in the attire of Jupiter (Plout. 10. 154 A attributes the passage to Lesches, but see

Elderkin's article moos many interesting possibilities, but hardly amounts to a rigorous demonstration of any one.
Zeus *Hyêtios*

the grove of Trophonios at Lebadeia. And it was at his altar in Argos that Polyneikes’ friends swore to capture Thebes or perish in the attempt.

i. The Ox-driving of Zeus *Hyêtios* at Didyma.

Alkiphron informed us that Attic villagers in time of drought presented Zeus *Hyêtios* with a ram, or a he-goat, or it might be a boar; failing these, a cake or even a pinch of incense would serve. But admittedly the most desirable victim for him was a bull.

This squares with a couple of inscriptions from Didyma near Miletos, which describe one Theon, son of Theon, a personage of importance, as ‘driver of the ox to Zeus *Hyêtios*.’ The official in question cannot have been prior to the first century B.C.; but by the help of other inscriptions from the district B. Haussoullier has shown that the ceremony of ‘ox-driving’ at Didyma was an institution of earlier date, and has made it probable that it was an old rite celebrated before a statue or altar of Zeus *Hyêtios* in the precinct of Zeus Sotér—a rite which had fallen into neglect and had been restored subsequently at some date impossible to determine with accuracy but hardly before the second century B.C.

then been renewed by Nikagoras and Lykaithos, who had also at the same time made up the sacrificial arrears (so W. Dittenberger *ad loc.*).

1 Paus. 9. 39. 4 with Sir J. G. Frazer’s *ad loc.*

2 Paus. 2. 19. 8. But see *infra* p. 566 n. 3.


4 Βοῦγὸς παρὰ Δία 'Τέτιον. The first inscription was published by B. Haussoullier in the *Rev. Philol.* N. S. 1897 xxi. 42 and, with corrections, in the *Mélanges Henri Weil* Paris 1898 p. 148 Προφήτης Θεω[ν] Θεω[ν], δήμου Δερων, στεφανοφόρησας, γυμνοστραχίας νέων, γυμνοστραχίας τῶν[ν] πατέρων, παιδομορίας, χορήγησι, παιδὸς τῶν χορηγῶν μεθυτῆς, κοτάρχης (see A. Boeckh on the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2880 and H. Keil in Stephanus *Thes.* Gr. Ling. iv. 2112 c—d), βοῦγος παρὰ Δία 'Τέτιον, ἀγωθεθ[ην] Δ[η]δυθῆναι, ἀνὴρ εὐεσθῆς. The second inscription was added by Haussoullier in the *Mélanges Henri Weil* p. 148 Προφήτης | Θεῶν Θεωνος τὸ δεσποτερον, στεφανοφόρησας, γυμνοστραχίας τῶν τριῶν γυμναίων, παιδομορίας, ἀγωθεθῆναις, χορήγησι, παιδὸς τῶν χορηγῶν μεθυτῆς, κοτάρχης, βοῦγος παρὰ Δία 'Τέτιον, ἀνὴρ εὐεσθῆτατος. Theon, son of Theon (an auspicious name), was the right man to run up the steps of office and pass rapidly from εὐεσθῆς to εὐεσθῆτατος.


6 Haussoullier in the *Mélanges Henri Weil* pp. 149—154 citing (1) *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2858, 5 ff. (Miletos) Ἀθηναλω τοῦ Τ[ηρ][ης] φίλη βοῦγος μικήσαντος, ἕπ' ἄτι ἐπιγραφῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ βοῦγος τῶν οἰκίων τῆς Μιλήτου, (2) *Rev. Philol.* N. S. 1898 xii. 128 no. 2853 bis, 9 f. Καλλίδακτος | τοῦ Σωστράτου φίλη βοῦγος γλυκήσαντος, (3) ib. no. 2853 ter, 8 f.
The Ox-driving of Zeus

In this context Haussoullier aptly cites from Hesychios the following gloss: 'Zeus' ox, i.e. the sacred ox, set free for Zeus; this is a festival of the Milesians.' He further attempts to reconstruct some details of the 'ox-driving' from a consideration of analogous customs elsewhere. Thus in the neighbouring island of Kos on

1. Hesych. ἄγιος βοῦς· ὁ τῶν Διωνίου βοῦς, ὁ ιερός. ἰδίων ἐφ᾽ Ἱερή.  
2. W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks The Inscriptions of Cos Oxford 1891 p. 27 ff. no. 37 = J. de Prott Les Genres sacrés Lipsiae. 1896 Fasti sacri p. 19 ff. no. 5. = P. Müllen- 
sieben in Collitz—Bechet Gr. Disc. Inscr. iii. 1. 89 ff. no. 5633, 1 ff. — [-] τοῦ ἔλλος θεοῦ μέστην, ὡς ἐκείνη[πασ—] [-] τῶν τεῦχων. ἀπελεῖ τί ἀπότομοι ἑώρα καὶ ἱεράς[ῶν καὶ] [ἴεννος].  
4. Pli εἰς πάντα τοῖς ἔλεγον.  
5. Hesych. ἄγιος ἦν τῶν Διωνίου βοῶν, ὁ ιερὸς. ἰδίων ἐφ᾽ Ἱερή.
the twentieth day of the spring month Batromios there was a sacrifice to Zeus Polieus. The victim was an ox chosen the previous day with due solemnity. Seven and twenty oxen, given by the nine subsections of each of the three Dorian tribes, were led in procession to the market-place. Here nine of the beasts were set apart and mixed before presentation. A table was placed, presumably in the precinct of Zeus, whose priest sat beside it with the sacrificial attendants near him. He had or held something sacred; but what it was we do not know for certain, because unfortunately the text at this point is illegible. The most probable conjecture makes him dressed in a sacred garment. Each tribe in turn then presented three of the nine oxen to the priest. First the Pamphyloi drove up the three finest; next the Hylleis, another three; lastly the Dymanes, the remaining three. If none of these were chosen, the process recommenced; and so on, till the whole number of twenty-seven oxen had been driven up to the table. If all these proved unsatisfactory, a further selection of nine oxen, one from each of the three sections of each tribe, were made. These were mixed with the rest and driven up to the table as before, when the final choice took place. The ox that bowed its neck (and so signified its willingness to die) was sacrificed to Hestia by a priest described as the 'prerogative-bearer' of the kings,' that is, of the tribal kings. The ox chosen for Zeus was brought by the heralds into the market-place, where its owner or his representative declared: 'I present the ox to the Coans; let the Coans pay the price thereof...'

1 Cp. the heifer sacrificed to Artemis Hiproia by Lucullus (Plout. v. Luc. 24) and the filly sacrificed to the daughters of Skedasos by Pelopidas (Plout. v. Pel. 23).

2 H. von Prott ad loc. cp. an inscription from Pserimos near Myndos (W. R. Paton in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1888 xii. 382 no. 7, 3 ka τον γεραφθον άληρ. δημοκριτου τον β'). This official carried the χρήματα, i.e. those parts of the sacrificial victim that were the perquisite of the priests (P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 1245 f.).

3 Aristot. pol. 7 (6). 8. 1332 b 26 ff. ἕχομεν ἔδε ταύτην ἡ πρὸς τὰ θεῶν ἄφωσεν τῶν κοσμίων κάτας, δεῖσα μὴ τοῖς ιερέων ἀπαθεῶς ὁ νόμος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἐοικεῖ τὴν τιμήν· καλοῦσα δὲ αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦτον, αὐτὸ δὲ βασιλεῖα, αὐτὸ δὲ πρυτάνεια, Poll. 8. 111 αὐτὸ δὲ φυλασσεῖ, ἐξ ἐπαγράφων ἄτοστο, μᾶλλον τῶν ιερῶν ἐπεμελεῖτα, συνεφοίτει αὐτῷ τὰς βασιλείας τῷ παρὰ τὸ βουκόλιον. See further Fraser Golden Bough: The Magic Art i. 44 ff. ('Priestly kings in ancient Italy and Greece').
The Ox-driving of

to Hestia.’ With the further details of the sacrifice we are not here concerned; but it is clear that the driving up of the cattle (to ensure the self-selection of the victim) was an essential part of the ceremony. In similar fashion an ox was chosen every alternate year by the Coans for Zeus Machaneus². The animal was selected

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1 Partly cited supra ii. 238 n. o.
2 W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks The Inscriptions of Cos Oxford 1891 p. 88 ff. no. 38 = J. de Prott Leges Graecorum sacrae Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 25 ff. no. 6 = P. Müllensiefen in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inschr. iii. 1. 361 ff. no. 363 = Michel Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no. 717 = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. iii. 1026 a further part of the same marble calendar. 11 ff. ed. de Prott Zaph Max[Iu]θ[α]τερας, και θε[δι]πος τηρεί το άτρον ἐτερον και ην πνεύματος εἰς τοὺς Καρνακίας, το τῇ ἀνθρώπων τῶν Δίδημος, καὶ λογ[ικός], τοῦ τοῦ βαλεγόν τῶν Ζηνίκ τῶν Πολιτών κατεταίη, καὶ τῆς τούτων προκατεπάντα, καὶ προκαταγότα, καὶ διήθεται τῷ Πολιτικά. ἀναθέτες ἡ Ζηνίκ Μαχανής ἔδω τοὺς γέλεις καὶ καὶ θεός τῆς ἐν τῷ Καρνακιας, το τῇ ἀναθέτες ἔδω τοὺς γέλεις τῇ ἀνθρώπων τῶν Δίδημοι, καὶ λογ[ικός].

Zeus Machaneus is here associated with Athena Machaneus. At Argos near the tomb of Pelasgos was a vessel of bronze supporting archaic figures of Artemis, Zeus, and Athena: Lykeas took the second figure to be that of Zeus Machaneus and said that the Argives who went to Troy had here sworn to capture the city or die in the attempt; others declared that the vessel contained the bones of Tantalos (Paus. 2. 22. 2. See further supra ii. 1144 n. 2, but observe that the words ἣν εἶχε τὸν ἀνθρώπων τῆς Ζηνίκ τῶν Δίδημος, καὶ λογ[ικός], τοῦ τοῦ βαλεγόν τῶν Ζηνίκ τῶν Πολιτών κατεταίη, καὶ τῆς τούτων προκατεπάντα, καὶ προκαταγότα, καὶ διήθεται τῷ Πολιτικά. ἀναθέτες ἡ Ζηνίκ Μαχανής ἔδω τοὺς γέλεις καὶ καὶ θεός τῆς ἐν τῷ Καρνακιας, το τῇ ἀναθέτες ἔδω τοὺς γέλεις τῇ ἀνθρώπων τῶν Δίδημοι, καὶ λογ[ικός].

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Zeus *Hyetios* at Didyma

on the eleventh day of some month later than Pedageitnios (=Poseideon) and Batromios (=Anthesterion), possibly Karneios (?), and was sacrificed on the twelfth.

With the examples of ox-driving adduced by Haussoullier

At Tanagra Zeus Maxapefis and Athena Zucrreipta were worshipped together (Corp. inscr. Gr. sept. i no. 548 (with facsimile = my fig. 384) = Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 766 a) phoros slab in the Museum at Tanagra (Skilataris) [Δωρέ 5 Μαξαντος, Αθανάτις Ζαντος] At Megalopolis there was a cult of Athena Maxanitis (Paus. 8. 36. 5 Ἐκ τῆς ἅλθης ἑρῴων ἐπίκλησιν Μαξανίτιδος, ὑπὸ βουλευτῶν ἑτέρων καὶ ἐπιτηρητῶν ἐξήκοντος) and an acrolithic image of Aphrodite Maxavoris (Paus. 8. 31. 6 ἀγάλματα δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ Δαμαθόν ἐποίησεν Ἐρμῆν ξίλου καὶ Ἀφροδίτην ἥλιον: καὶ ταύτης χείρας εἶναι λίθου καὶ πρώτων τε καὶ ἄρα ἄρκει. τῆς δὲ ἐπίκλησιν τῇ θεῷ Μαξανίτιν ὁρθότατα ἔθνως, ἐμὸν δοκεῖ] Ἀφροδίτης τε ὑπὲρ (ins. Clavier) > ἕκκει καὶ ἄργαν τῶν ταύτης πλεῖσται μὲν ἐπιτηρῆσαι, πανταὶ δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἀνευρήματο καὶ λόγους ἑστῶν). On the

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Fig. 384.

Dorian month Μaχανεὶς or Μαχάνας, which in Korkyra was the equivalent of the Attic Ταυρίων, at Kalchedon and Byzantion of the Attic Μαυναχητῶν (?), see Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* 2 no. 594 n. 19, J. de Frott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 26, and the cautious statements of W. Sontheimer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiv. 141.

The meaning of Maxapefis as an appellative is uncertain. Lykeas' attempt to connect it with μάχεσθαι (Paus. 2. 22. 2) involves a false quantity. The usual rendering 'Gott der Belagerung (?)' (Prediger—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 142 n. 0, W. Dittenberger in *Hermes* 1881 xvi. 164 ff., W. Sontheimer loc. cit.) assumes a relation to ἀκανθα, 'engines of war,' which could hardly be earlier than s. iv B.C. Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* Rel. p. 1215 thought that Zeus derived his title from Athena 'die Erfinderin auf dem Olympos': this would at least square with Pindar's conception of Zeus as patron of the arts, cp. Pind. *frag.* 57 Bergk4, 57 Schroeder ap. Dion. Chrys. or. 12 p. 239 Dindorfer *Δωδώνας μεγάθενες* ἄρσατα χείραν τάταν (id. *Pyth.* 1. 41 ἐκ τῶν γὰρ μαχάνατο πάνω βροταῖς ἄρσαται), and with Pausanias' explanation of Athena Maxaviris (Paus. 8. 36. 5 cited supra). But Pausanias elsewhere gives a broader sense to Aphrodite Maxavoris (Paus. 8. 31. 6 cited supra) as 'Contriver' of devices and wiles; and E. Maass *De Aeschylis Supplendus commentatio* Gryphiswaldiae 1890 p. xxxiii, aptly citing h. *Herm.* 436 μαχαῖας, holds that an allusion to the Argive cult of Zeus Maxavoris underlies Aisch. *suppl.* 594 τὸ πῶς μὴχαρ, ὁδὸς ζεύς and 1072 καὶ δίκᾳ δίκαι ἑπτασίαν ἐξ ἐφαινόμενοι μαχαῖαις θεοῖς πάρα. Personally I incline to think that the title is an old one, 'Contriver' in the sense of 'Crafty' (note Aisch. *P.* v. 980 f. ᾠάν ἐν γάρ αἰσχρῷ οὐκέτα μιμάντιον ὥραν προφητεύει με ζεύς γεγονός τάδε), and very possibly goes back to the early belief in Zeus as a magician (cp. the myth of Zeus and Metis or the epic tag μαχαῖα ζεύς (supra i. 14 n. 1, ii. 1147)).

1 See Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* 3 no. 1036, 11, 15, 22 with n. 1.
should be grouped two or three other cults from the same district of Karia. A bronze coin of Stratonikeia, struck by Septimius Severus and Iulia Domna, has for its reverse type a very similar rite (fig. 385)*. A humped bull of its own accord approaches a garlanded altar or platform, on which stands a man wearing a short chiton, a chlamys, and endromides. This personage in his left hand holds a sceptre, in his right a dagger, which he is about to plunge into the neck of the bull. Other coins of Stratonikeia, issued by the same imperial couple or by their immediate successors Caracalla and Geta, show Zeus himself attired in the self-same costume (figs. 386, 387)*. I infer, therefore, that the sceptre-bearing slayer of the bull was a priestly king, who acted the part of the god. It will be noticed that the rite takes place in front of a fine spreading oak, the sacred tree of Zeus. An interesting confirmation of this coin-type may be read in an inscription from Panamara. It appears that on one occasion, during the procession of the Panamareia, the free ox went before the priest to the council-chamber at Stratonikeia and actually showed him the way.

1 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria etc. p. 157 pl. 24, 8. My fig. 385 is from a drawing made by the late Mr F. Anderson and published in the Class. Rev. 1903 xviii. 417 fig. 14.
2 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria etc. p. 156 no. 55 Septimius Severus and Iulia Domna; Weber Cat. Coins iii. 1. 382 f. no. 6168 pl. 291 (=my fig. 386) Septimius Severus and Iulia Domna; Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria etc. p. 158 pl. 24, 10 (=my fig. 387) Caracalla and Geta (the bust of the latter purposely obliterated). See also supra i. 19 figs. 4 and 5.
3 Supra i. 20.
Again, at Halikarnassos the cult of Zeus Askraios, who—as we have already seen1—was likewise essentially related to the oak, involved a strictly analogous sacrifice. A herd of goats used to be driven up to a certain spot in front of the god’s sanctuary. Prayer was offered, and on its conclusion one of the goats under no constraint advanced to the altar. The priest thereupon took hold of it and slew it as being an acceptable sacrifice2.

Not unlike the ritual of Zeus Askraios at Halikarnassos was that of Zeus at Pedasa. Here the custom was that a great concourse of people assembled to witness a strange procession. A goat bound with a cord and followed, not led, by the priest passed through the midst of the crowd and, turning neither to right nor to left, went straight along the road to its destination seventy furlongs away3.

It seems, then, that the ‘ox-driving’ of Zeus Hyétios at Didyma finds its explanation, not as an attenuated form of ‘Minoan’ bull-grappling sports4, but as a rite analogous to those of Zeus Polieus and Zeus Machaneús in Kos, Zeus at Stratonikeia, Zeus Askraios at Halikarnassos, and Zeus near Pedasa. Further, these Carian cults may be found to throw light on that mysterious service, the Athenian Bouphonia. For it is known that the Carian Zeus had some foothold in Attike5; and it is to be observed that the nearest

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1 Supra ii. 872 n. 0 (5) figs. 807—811.
5 The kinsmen of Isagoras, son of Tisandros, sacrificed to Zeus Károp (Hdt. 5. 66 ἐν δὲ ἀκριβῶς οὖς at Athens) δύο ἀνδρεῖς ἔθνοις, Κλεοπάτρης τε ἐκή Ἀλκεμέωσης...καὶ 'Ισαγόρης Τεσαρῶν οἰκίας μὲν ἐν ἡμέραις, ἄδρα τα ἀνέκαθεν οἴκ ἐξω φόδους· θύναι δὲ οἱ συγκεντρωθεὶς αὐτῷ Δι Καιρω. Frau Adler in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. x. 1949 comments: 'Herodot. v 66 erzählt, dass die Familie des Isagoras dem Zeus K. opferte, als Beweis der unveränderlichen Herkunft derselben (vgl. v. Wilamowitz Kýdathen 143, 64). Jedenfalls ist dies eine der frühesten Nachrichten von einem eingeführten orientalischen Kulte, nicht ein Überbleibsel einer "karischen" Urbevölkerung, deren Vorhandensein übrigens auf andere Weise gesichert scheint.’ C. T. Seltman Athens its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion Cambridge 1914 p. 88 f. would find a trace of the Isagorean cult on certain Eupatriad coins, which he believes to have been struck by Tisandros (ib. pl. 4, P 66, P 67) and by Isagoras during his brief supremacy at Athens (ib. pl. 14, P 260, P 261). These coins, didrachms and tetradrachms respectively, show on their reverse the facing head of a panther—the sacred beast of Zeus Károp (cp. supra ii. 575 fig. 483, 599 n. 2).

On the other hand it must be borne in mind that Attike was ravaged by Carians before Kekrops’ foundation of the dodecapolis (Philochoros frag. 11 [Frag. hist. Gr. i. 386 Müller] ap. Strab. 397). The akropolis of Megara was called Kapla after Kar, son of Phoroneus (Paus. i. 40. 6, Steph. Byz. s.v. Kapla): on it stood a roofless temple of Zeus Kéno (L. C. Valckenier cj. Κενο, Welcker Gr. Götterl. i. 642 n. 75 cj. κενο 'kēgel-formig, metae modo,' K. F. Hermann cj. σηστροφ or χρωνο—all unconvincing), a melagron of Demeter erected by king Kar, etc. (Paus. loc. cit.).
The Ox-slaughter of Zeus Polieus at Athens.

On the Akropolis at Athens, north of the north-eastern angle of the Parthenon, stood the altar and statue of Zeus Polieus; and close to it, another statue of Zeus, by the sculptor Leochares. The form and fashion of these two statues can hardly be determined with certainty. But Otto Jahn has made it at least probable that both of them were represented on the bronze coinage of Athens. The relevant types are as follows.

Of coins issued during the Hellenistic age, from c. 322 B.C. onwards, one group, and that the most numerous, shows Zeus as a nude figure striding forward with his left foot in advance: his right hand is uplifted and brandishes a bolt; his left is thrown out before him as if to secure balance (figs. 388—390). If we stress the analogy of bronze statuettes made during the early decades of the

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2 *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 249 (a base of bluish local marble built into the outer gateway of the monastery of the Panagia Kalamiotissa, on the site of the temple of Apollo *'Asgelátas* at Anaphes, and inscribed in lettering not earlier than s. i. B.C.), 18 ff. θεοφανέων τὸν προειρημένον | Ἀρχώνων χρυσάνθεσις σεφάφων ἄρει [τ]ού εὐσεβείας τιν ηθοποιίας. On the other hand, ἄρει τοῦ θεοῦ, ἄρει τοῦ πατρίδα, καὶ ἄνωκαρπον τοῦ καταγεγραμμένον ἵππον παγάμορος [τ]οῦ βασιλεύματος ταύτας (καὶ τοίς Θυγατέριοις τοῦ Ἱπποῦ) καὶ ἄρει τοῦ θεοῦ ταύτας (καὶ τοῖς Θυγατέριοις τοῦ Ἱπποῦ) καὶ ἄρει τοῦ θεοῦ ταύτας (καὶ τοῖς Θυγατέριοις τοῦ Ἱπποῦ) καὶ ἄρει τοῦ θεοῦ ταύτας (καὶ τοῖς Θυγατέριοις τοῦ Ἱπποῦ) καὶ ἄρει τοῦ θεοῦ ταύτας (καὶ τοῖς Θυγατέριοις τοῦ Ἱπποῦ). (cf. *Ziehen* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. A. 24—27.


4 Paus. i. 24. 4 καὶ Διὸς ἔστω ἄγαλμα τὸ τε Λεώχαρου καὶ τὸ ἄνωκαρπον Πολιείου, ὃ τὰ καθηγετικά ἐν τῷ θεσιαν γράφων τῷ ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶις λεγόμενον αὐτικόν ὡς γράφων. (cf. supra ii. 577 n. 4.)


fifth century\(^1\), it is tempting to suppose that the statue here portrayed had originally an eagle poised on its left arm. Indeed, this would account well for the fact that many of the coins add an eagle seated at the god's foot (figs. 391, 392)\(^2\), and some an eagle actually resting on his outstretched arm (fig. 393)\(^3\). Zeus as omnipotent antagonist might be thought to need both thunderbolt and lightning-bird. Nevertheless the eagle was hardly an essential adjunct\(^4\), and the evidence of the coins, on the whole, tells against it.

A second group represents Zeus in milder mood. He no longer strides forward against the foe, but stands erect with left foot less advanced. Instead of brandishing the bolt, he merely holds it in his lowered right hand. This leaves his left arm extended in a rather meaningless manner (fig. 394)\(^5\) and beneath it the diesinker found room for a variable symbol— an owl (fig. 395)\(^6\), an ear

\(^1\) Supra i. 84 ff., ii. 739 ff.
\(^2\) Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc. p. 80 nos. 541—547, Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 72 pl. 34, 14, McClean Cat. Coins ii. 363 pl. 210, 12, J. N. Svoronos Les monnaies d'Athènes Munich 1923—1926 pl. 72, 25, pl. 73, 13, pl. 75, 13, pl. 81, 17—31. My fig. 391 is from a specimen of mine, fig. 392 from E. Beulé Les monnaies d'Athènes Paris 1858 p. 301 fig.
\(^3\) J. N. Svoronos Les monnaies d'Athènes Munich 1923—1926 pl. 80, 25 (= my fig. 393), 26—28.
\(^4\) See e.g. P. Gardner Types of Gk. Coins p. 159 pl. 8, 42.
\(^5\) J. N. Svoronos Les monnaies d'Athènes Munich 1923—1926 pl. 80, 22 (= my fig. 394), 23, 24.
The Ox-slaughter of barley (fig. 396)\(^1\), a ship's prow (figs. 397, 398)\(^2\). If this group too, as seems probable, shows an actual statue of bronze still existing on the Akropolis at the time of issue, that statue must have been a later and somewhat clumsy modification of the old militant figure, and may perhaps be assigned to the second or third decade of the fifth century B.C.\(^3\)

In imperial times a fresh set of bronze pieces (figs. 399—402)\(^4\) presents us with a refined and amended version of the foregoing type. The stance of the god is more springy and natural, and his

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\(^1\) J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 81, 7 (=my fig. 396) and 8.


\(^3\) Supra ii. 745 f. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 24 f.: "Die Formen, soweit sich über dieselben bei der Kleinheit des Bildes und der massigen Erhaltung des Exemplars urteilen lässt, gehören dem reifen Archaismus an, der freilich bei der Darstellung in einem später Stempel von seiner Scharfe verloren haben mag, dennoch aber bestimmt genug hervortritt, um es wenigstens glaublich zu machen, dass die Figur nicht für die Münze erfunden, sondern von einer Statue copirt ist."

\(^4\) Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc. p. 104 pl. 18, 5, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner Num. Comm. Paus. iii. 137 pl. BB, 3. J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 92, 5 and 6. My figs. 399, 400 are from Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 54 fig. 7 a, b, id. Gr. Plastik ii. 93 fig. 165; Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 12 pl. 2, 23, all of which depend on the drawings in E. Beule *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 396 fig. and T. Combe *Veterum populorum et regum numi qui in Museo Britannico adserantur* Londinii 1814 p. 131 no. 99 pl. 7, 1. But, since in these drawings the *phidle* appears with much greater distinctness than in the photographs of the coins, I have for honesty's sake added fresh drawings taken from J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 93, 5 (=my fig. 401) and from a cast of the specimen in the British Museum (=my fig. 402). If the alleged *phidle* is discredited, it might be possible to explain the outstretched hand of the god as a gesture of welcome. He is hardly putting a pinch of incense on his own altar.
outstretched hand is better employed in holding a phidle(?) over a conspicuous altar. One specimen (fig. 403)¹ shows an eagle on the extended arm—another case of intrusive adjunct, but useful as serving to connect the latest with the earliest statue.

Fig. 399.  
Fig. 400.  
Fig. 401.  
Fig. 402.  
Fig. 403.

I gather that the three series of coins represent three successive statues of Zeus Polieus, the third being Leochares' improvement, not—as Jahn² supposed—upon the first, but—as Overbeck³ saw—upon the second. If so, we have to recognise in Zeus Polieus a development at once external and internal, aesthetic and ethical, to be compared with that which transformed the sixth-century Pallás advancing with uplifted lance⁴ into the fifth-century Parthenos standing with lance at rest.

¹ J. N. Svoronos Les monnaies d'Athènes Munich 1923—1926 pi. 92, 7 (= my fig. 403).  
² O. Jahn in the Nuove Memorie dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica 1865 ii. 23 f.  
⁴ Whether this was the type of Athena Πολιάς is a moot point. O. Jahn De antiquissimis Minervae simulacris Atticis Bonnæ 1866 p. 10 ff., citing both literary and monumental evidence, pronounced in favour of the fully armed fighting goddess in the so-called 'Palladion' pose, and his verdict has been accepted by the majority of subsequent critics (see e.g. Farnell Cults of Gk. States i. 332 ff., E. Petersen Die Burgtempel
The Ox-slaughter of

Sundry dedications to Zeus Polieus are on record. A base of Pentelic marble found on the Akropolis was put up for him by a member of the deme Paiania. And a silver bowl belonging to him was kept among the treasures of Athena.

The importance of his cult at Athens may be judged from the fact that in the theatre his priest occupied a marble throne immediately adjoining the splendid central seat of the priest of Dionysos Eleutheretis.

The festival of the god was known by a variety of names as der Athenaia (Berlin 1907 p. 40 ff.). Others, however, have argued cogently in favour of a seated figure (e.g. E. Gerhard Über die Minervenidole Athens Berlin 1844 pp. 4—6 ('Athena Polias') pl. 1, id. Ausserl. Vaseh. iv. 6 ff. pl. 242, 1, R. Schöne Griechische Reliefs aus athenischen Sammlungen Leipzig 1872 p. 12 pl. 2, 1, A. Furtwängler in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 689 ff.), and A. Frickenhaus 'Das Athenbild des alten Tempels in Athen' in the Ath. Mitth. 1908 xxiii. 17—32 has proved from inscriptions that for some thirty years in the course of the fourth century B.C. the goddess of the όρασιος νόησις wore a στεφάνη, πλάτατα ('ear-rings'), σχίσμιος ἐπὶ τῷ τραχύματι οἱ περὶ τῷ τραχύματι ('necklace'), δραμα πίντε, γιάουτι χαρατή, αἰγὸς χρυσός, γοργυέονος (χρυσώσει), ἄρα κρασύ ἐν τῷ χείλε— a continuity of garb which allows us to suppose that it was an old traditional costume and is at least compatible with the monumental evidence for a seated weaponless Athena. Accordingly G. von Braunitsch Die panathenäischen Preisamphoren Leipzig—Berlin 1910 pp. 167—180 ('Das Bild der Athena') concludes that the standing armed goddess was the Athena of Peisistratos, the cult-statue of the Hekatompedon, to whose care Athens was entrusted during the Persian invasion, when the older and more sacred seated goddess, Athena Polias, was temporarily withdrawn from her sanctuary in the then existing Erechtheum.

This καρφίαν was an object of value, which is frequently mentioned in the temple inventories—first in 428—427 B.C., when it weighed 300 drachmas (Corp. inscr. Att. i no. 149, 10), last about 390—389 B.C., when its weight had fallen to 199 drachmas (Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 2 no. 661, 4). See further O. Jahn—A. Michaelis Arx Athenarum Bonnae 1901 p. 52 on Paus. 1. 24. 4.

Zeus Polieus at Athens

575

the Dipoleia\(^1\) or Diipoleia\(^2\), the Dipôleia\(^3\) or Dipóleia\(^4\), the Dipólia\(^5\) or Diipólia\(^6\), and even the Diospólia\(^7\). The ancient grammarians derive these names from that of Zeus Polieus\(^8\), and we have every reason to accept their derivation\(^8\). The same festival, or rather the

\(^1\) Zonar. p. 275, i f. From an equally impossible lex. s.v. Auir6\(\epsilon\)ia (p. 518, i ff.), et. mag. ii. 3 no. 1387, inscr. Att. no. 1006, 30 and 78 (122/1 B.C.), CV?r^.
\(^2\) ii. 3 no. 1358, 15, ib. ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 1008, 21 (Corp. inscr. Att. Inschr. Gr. ii. i no. 469, 21 = Aiierwnjpia orthogr. ii. 192, 29.
\(^4\) Aristoph. nub. 984 and M. H. E. Meier De gentilitate Attica Halis 1835 p. 46 no. 19) is supported by A\(\delta\)opolis (sic), the manuscript reading of Bekker anec., ed. Proleg. Gk. Rel pp. 424—429 ('Bouphonia or Dipolía'), Frayer Golden Bough: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 4—7 ('bouphonia, o...Dipólia'), F. Schwenn Gebel und Offen Heidelberg 1927 pp. 99—119 ('Baphonien'), L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 pp. 158—174 ('Dipóleia'), 253, and other literature to be cited later.


3. Διώταλεια Hesych. s.v. (cod.). M. Schmidt ad loc. assumes a fusion of two forms, viz. Διώταλα. In favour of this is the reading of cod. V. in the et. mag. p. 275, i Διώταλεια Against it is the evidence quoted supra n. 1.


6. Διώταλεια Hesych. s.v., cp. Aristoph. nub. 984 Διώταλθυ. Διώταλεια was wrongly restored by A. Kirchhoff in Corp. inscr. Att. iv. 1 no. 555 a, 7 [ιερονιον, of Διώταλεια], cp. ib. no. 531, 12 f. Διώταλθυ[=]; see supra n. 1.


576 Ox-slaughter of Zeus Polieus at Athens

most impressive portion of it, was called the Bouphonia or 'Ox-slaughter'. It took place on the fourteenth day of Skirophorion, a month corresponding roughly with our June—July.

contends that the old dative Δι Πολείς gave rise to the form Διυσλεία, which was subsequently changed into Διυσλεία to suit the later dative Δι Πολείς. He holds that in like manner the *Δισωτήρα became the Δισωτήρα. The earlier form may be inferred from the name of the god's temple Δισωτήριον (Bekker anec. i. 91, 6 f. Δισωτήριον καλουσ 'Αθηναίον τόν ναό τοῦ Σωτήρος Δα. ἵπτι δὲ 'Αιτικῶ τὸ σχήμα. Δισλία γαῦν καλεῖται ἑορτή, κ.τ.λ.); the later form naturally occurs in the inscriptions, which are all of Hellenistic date. As to the successive terminations Δισπολεία, Δισωτήρα, Δισόλα, Wackernagel loc. cit. p. 481 compares the series ὑγεία, ὑγεία, ὑγεία (F. Blass Pronunciation of Ancient Greek trans. W. J. Purton Cambridge 1890 pp. 18, 61, K. Meisterhans Grammatik der attischen Inschriften Berlin 1900 p. 49 n. 362, G. Meyer Griechische Grammatik 2 Leipzig 1896 p. 132 n. 2, A. Thumb in K. Brugmann Griechische Grammatik 3 München 1913 p. 76).

E. Curtius Attische Studien Göttingen 1862 i. 247 proposed to connect Δισωτήρα with the root σαυ- and to regard it as the festival of the Δισλία or 'Zeus-worshippers.' But the term Δισλία is nowhere found.

Harrison Proleg. Gr. Rel. i. 111 n. 2 would render 'the festival of the Flough Curse' (ib. p. 23 διο- for διο=δίο.). But she later abandoned this derivation.

Hesych. s.v. Boophia (Favorinus lex. p. 385, 8) ... δ τοῦ Διπολειοῦ τὸ Βουφόνια δρῶν. The two names occur together also in Aristoph. nub. 984 f., All. var. hist. 8. 3 Δισλία τὴν ἐορτὴν καλοῦσα καὶ Βουφόνια, Hesych. s.v. Βουφόνια=Soud. s.v. Βουφόνια, school. Aristoph. nub. 985=Soud. s.v. Βουφόνια bi.

That the Βουφόνια was, to speak strictly, a definite rite which took place at the festival of the Δισλία, is recognised by J. Toepffer Attische Genealogie Berlin 1889 p. 149, F. Stengel in Hermes 1893 xxviii. 489, in the Rhein. Mus. 1897 i. 407, in his Οφρυνόταρα τῶν Εριθρίων Λειτάριον—Berlin 1910 p. 203, and in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 1055, Suppl. iii. 339 f., L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 p. 158 f., and the great majority of modern scholars. Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 512 (cp. ib. p. 517 n. 1) thought that the festival might have been called Δισλία in official language, Βουφόνια in popular parlance. H. von Prantt in the Rhein. Mus. 1897 ii. 197 inferred from All. loc. cit. 'dass zwei Berichte über zwei Feste zusammengeworfen sind.' U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff Der Glauke der Hellenen Berlin 1932 ii. 172 (cp. ib. p. 353) 'die altattischen Δισλία, Μαμακτηρία, Βουφόνια' is doubly inexact.

2 Βουφόνια Aristoph. nub. 985 with schol. ad loc., All. var. hist. 8. 3, Harpokr. s.v. Βουφόνια, Hesych. s.v. Βουφία (Favorinus lex. p. 385, 8), et. mag. p. 210, 30, Soud. s.v. Βουφόνια, Eustath. in II. p. 611, 64. Βουφόνια Hesych. s.v. (cod.), Bekker anec. i. 221, 22. Βουφόνια Soud. s.v. Βουφόνια (cod. E.).


4 Schol. Aristoph. pax 419, et. mag. p. 210, 30 ff. The only divergent statement is found, among other blunders, in Bekker anec. i. 238, 21 f. Δισλία γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐορτή μὲν Δια, ἤ καὶ Δείδα (Bekker cj. Δίδα) καλεῖται, γένεται δὲ ἐκτετρά (A. Mommsen cj. ἐκτετρά) ἐκτετρά τοῦ Σαλπηροφορίων (Bekker cj. Σελπηροφορίων) μπόλ.
The ritual of the Dipolieia is known to us primarily from passages in Porphyrius² and Pausanias.² Porphyrius appears to be

Ritual of the Dipolieia

(a) Ritual of the Dipolieia.
quoting *verbatim* from Theophrastos' treatise *On Piety* (c. 332 B.C.); and Pausanias writes (c. 170 A.D.) as one who has visited the Akropolis and taken a personal interest in its cults. The following account is in the main that of Porphyrios, words enclosed in square brackets being additions from Pausanias:—

[Barley and wheat] made up into semi-solid porridge and solid cakes, were placed on the bronze table or altar of Zeus Polieus.}

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1 That Porphyrios is transcribing from Theophrastos, was detected by J. Bernays *Theophrastos' Schrift iiber Frommigkeit* Berlin 1866 p. 122 ff.

To me it would seem that to accept von Prott’s hypothesis is practically to charge Porphyrios, a very learned and honest man, with incredible ignorance or deliberate misrepresentation of the facts. For he had himself lived and studied at Athens under Apollonios and Longinus, so that he certainly ought to have known the ritual of one of the chief Athenian festivals, and he asserts in perfectly explicit terms that he knew of the offerings of the Dionysia, and that he knew them well. I cannot, therefore, adopt von Prott’s assumption that Porphyrios is contaminating Attic with non-Attic elements.

3 Paus. 1. 24. 4 κράσια...μεμιγμένα πυρός, described in the sequel as τῶν σπειρατῶν.

Ritual of the Dipolieia

s.v. Διπολεία, ad. mag. p. 275, 4. A more substantial cake is implied by Hesych. s.v. Βουφώνια...ποσανω...όον πλακόφτιων εξ ἄρτων. Πόσανω is the word also in schol. Aristoph. nub. 985 (άλλως) = Souid. s.v. Βουφώνια, θαλάσσον, Favorin, lex. p. 395, 23 ff. See further O. Band De Dipoliorum sacro Atheniensium Halae Saxorum 1873 p. 19 n. 14.

Porph. de abst. 2. 30 ἐπὶ τὴν χαλκὴν τραπέζαν (cp. ib. 2. 29 ἐπὶ τὴν τραπέζην), but Paus. 1. 14. 4 ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν. (1) P. Stengel in Hermes 1893 xxviii. 493 n. 1 denies that there is any incongruity, since the altar would have been covered with a bronze plate: this was commonly done by way of preparation for burnt-offerings, and always in the case of valuable altars—see Lolling in Ἀθηνᾶ 1891 p. 395. The same view is taken by Mommsen Peste d. Stadt Athen p. 319. But H. von Prött in the Rhein. Mus. 1897 liii. 193 n. 1 justly objects that such an altar would not be called τράπεζα. Stengel Ὑποβερβάσεις der Griechen Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 208 n. 1 is content to conclude: 'Die χαλκὴ τράπεζα wird sich freilich von einem βωμῶν wenig unterschieden haben; τράπεζα

Fig. 404.

sind grosse altarförmige massive Basen (Brückner, Ornament und Form der att. Grabstelen i fi). Die Form beider geht ineinander über (Fühl, Athen. Mitt. xxviii 336).'

(2) H. von Prött himself loc. cit. regards the discrepancy as evidence that Pausanias is describing an Attic, Porphyrios, or rather his source Theophrastos, a non-Attic cult. But see supra p. 578 n. 2. (3) H. Mischkowski Die heiligen Tische im Götterkultus der Griechen und Römern Königsberg i. Pr. 1917 pp. 1—3 ('Das Verhältnis von Tisch und Altar') holds that table and altar served the same purposes and ends by asserting: 'Wie in der Darstellung so werden auch in der Sprache die beiden Kultgegenstände miteinander vermengt. βωμὸς—ara bezeichnete mehr den allgemeinen Zweck, τράπεζα—mensa die besondere Form.' But his premises are far from secure. He thinks that the Naples vase noted below (fig. 404) represents two tables, on one of which a fire is burning; that the use of a table for animal burnt-offerings is proved by Diog. Laert. 4. 56 = Cougnuy Anth. Pal. Append. 5. 37. 7 ff. ὅπολες χλευάσας βρωτοῖς, ὅπει θεοῖ θυσίαι, ὁ θυμὸς ἵππος ὅπερ βωμῶν τε καὶ τραπέζην κενὴν, λιπαρά, θυλήμασιν θεῶν θαλαμῶν βότα; that the silver βωμὸς of Paus. 2. 17. 6 and the bronze βωμὸς of Loukian. de des Syr. 39 were really metal τράπεζα; etc. etc.—a string of highly disputable contentions. (4) I have elsewhere urged that an altar for the presentation of vegetable offerings was normally shaped like a table and called τράπεζα, whereas an altar for the burnt-sacrifice of animals was a solid structure called βωμὸς (Class. Rev. 1895 ix. 370 ff.). If so, it is natural to suppose that
Ritual of the Dipolieia

the barley and wheat were set out ἐν τῷ χαλέπῃ πραγεῖς (Porph. de abst. 2. 30), while
the ox was slain ἐν τῷ βοῦν (Paus. 1. 28. 10). Zeus Πολεμος, in short, like Zeus
Ἄκασος (Paus. 8. 30. 2), had both kinds of altar, doubtless close together—perhaps even
in actual contiguity (cp. the τραγεῖα + βουνόδ of Dionysos on a volute-amphora from Ruvo,
d. Inst. 1866 xxxii. 5 ff.; Mon. d. Inst. vi pls. 37 and 38 = Reinsch Rép. Vases i. 154,
1 and 4, E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 349 fig. 417. My fig. 404 is
an extract from Jahn's pl. 37, illustrating the juxtaposition of the cult-statue with both
types of altar)). On this showing the statement that the cereals were placed ἐν τῷ
βουνόδ (Paus. 1. 24. 4) is inexact.

I take this opportunity of publishing (fig. 405) a votive table in terra cotta, found in
the Kabeirion near Thebes and now in my collection. Oblong top, 4½ x 2½ inches; legs

Fig. 405.

(one restored), 1½ inches high. The clay is covered with a white slip, which shows many
traces of paint: the table itself was yellow, the offerings on it were red. In the centre is
a phiale omphalōtēs. In each corner is a cake (or cup?—μαστός, μαστός supra ii. 346
n. 0) shaped like a female breast with central nipple. Smaller circular cakes, some of
which may be meant for fruit, are scattered about. And there are two slices of meat
(eels?). For Egyptian, Assyrian, Syro-Phoenician, Persian, and Hittite parallels see
K. Gallinger Der Altar in den Kulturen des alten Orients Berlin 1914 p. 9 ff. (‘Altartische’)
pl. 2 figs. 14—17, p. 49 ff. (‘Der löwenfüssige Altartisch’) pl. 10 fig. 24, p. 50 ff. (‘Die
privaten Altartische’) pl. 10 fig. 25, a—p, pp. 64 ff. (‘Der Tischaltar’), 77 (‘Tischaltäre :
1—16’), p. 83 ff. (‘Der Tischaltar’) pl. 15 figs. 9—15, 16—19, p. 92 ff. (‘Der chettische
Tischaltar’) pl. 15 figs. 8, 11, pl. 16 fig. 12. Recently W. Deonna in a clearly conceived
1—90 with 61 figs.) has traced the whole evolution of ‘la table d’offrandes’ from earliest
pagan beginnings up to latest Christian usage. His series includes food set out on the bare
soil or mound or rock; the platter; the platter with low feet; the platter with legs; the
table; the table with rings or hollows; the table with vases and viands in relief; etc.
Oxen assigned for the purpose\(^1\) were then driven round\(^2\), and the ox

One piece of evidence must be examined with special care. In the eastern frieze of the temple of Athena Nike (Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 127 Archit. pl. 9, A, B = Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 15 nos. 1, 2) the central group of assembled deities (fig. 406) comprises, from left to right, Poseidon seated and Athena standing, balanced by Zeus enthroned and, in front of his footstool, certain traces on the background of the relief. B. Sauer *Das Göttergericht über Asia und Hellas* in *Aus der Anomia* Berlin 1890 p. 96 ff., relying on a sketch by Gilliéron, took these traces to represent a 'Zählstisch' like that on the Dareios-vase (*supra* ii. 853 pl. xxxviii). Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 449 saw in them, not a table for votes, but a table for wreaths to indicate the victory bestowed by Zeus 'Ελευθέρος. 'It was,' he says, 'a sacred table, like that brazen trapeza which stood in front of Zeus Polieus on the Akropolis, and upon which the

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\(^1\) *Porph. de abst. 2. 30 τοὺς καταμετέχεις βοῶν.* P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1056 translates (after J. Bernays) 'sattgeweidete Stiere,' full-fed oxen. But Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 516 n. 2 with more reason prefers 'die zuge-wiesenen Rinder.'

\(^2\) This part of the ceremony—a moment of tense anticipation—is, if I am not mistaken, represented on two Attic vases of late black-figured style, very probably the work of the same artist: (1) An *amphora* at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 367 f. no. 1882, Gerhard *Ausserl. Vasenb.* iv. 8 pl. 242, 3 (= my fig. 407) and 4, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 132, 7 and 8) shows a rectangular altar, surrounded by four oxen, with an olive(?)-tree
that [drew near the altar and] tasted of the meal was slain. Minute regulations were observed in connexion with its slaughter. Chosen virgins called Hydrophoroi or ‘Water-carriers’ brought water, with which certain men whetted an axe and a knife. This done, another man handed the axe. Another [, named the Bouphōnos, used the axe and] struck the ox. Yet another slit the animal’s throat, presumably with the knife. After that, it was flayed. Its flesh was distributed to all and tasted by all. Next they sewed up the skin, stuffed it with hay, raised up the would-be ox, and yoked it to a plough as though it were alive again and at work. [Meantime the Bouphōnos, having struck the first blow, dropped his axe beside the altar, left it there and fled the country. The axe was at once tried (presumably in the Prytaneion) and definitely acquitted.] At the

in the background. One of the oxen, seen against the black altar, is necessarily painted white. Two others, emerging to right and left, face outwards. A fourth, on the far side of the altar, is by the law of early perspective raised above it, though not completely so.

1 Paus. i. 24. 4 ó bòivs de, θν τον θυσιαν ἐτομάσαντες φιλάσφοσαν, ἀπετεῖ τῶν οπεράφων φοινῶν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν. I should endorse the opinion of L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 p. 159 n. 4: ‘Dabei wird weniger daran zu denken sein, dass man ihn hungern liess (Prott, Rh. Mus. 52, 1897, 194), als an die übliche Säuberung und Schmückung des Opfertieres. Der griechische Ausdruck ἐτομαζέων setzt eher eine positive Handlung voraus.’ It is, however, possible that in Pausanias’ day the finest ox was at the critical moment induced to come forward, apparently of its own accord.

2 The neatest mend of this defective passage (supra p. 577 n. 2) is certainly A. Michaelis’ insertion of <δε κτείνα τῶν βωμῶν> after the word bouphōnos. This was an improvement on F. Sylburg’s <οὔτοι τοῦ βωμοῦ τῶν βωμῶν κτείναι> . Michaelis also suggested εἰς τὸν βωμόν. <τούτων δὲ κτείνα βουφών> (καθιστῶ των τριῶν βουφων) καὶ ταύτη κ.τ.λ. All attempts to fill the lacuna must, of course, rely on Paus. i. 28. 10 (supra p. 577 n. 2).

3 Porph. de ast. 2. 30 ἐτάσατε τῶν βοίων, ἄλλως ἐτάσαν. So in Od. 3. 447 ff. Thrasymedes struck (θλασεῖ) the ox for sacrifice with an axe, and Peisistratus then cut its throat (σφάξει) and let the blood run out, so that it died; after which it was cut up, etc.


5 Paus. i. 24. 4 (context supra p. 577 n. 2) ói δὲ ἄρε τὸν ἀνδρα διὰ ἔρρασε τὸ ζευγγον οὐκ εἰδότας, ἐς βλεπν ὑπάγουσι τὸν πέλεκυν. 1. 26. 10 (context supra p. 577 n. 2) ó δὲ πέλεκυν
trial all that had shared in the bad business were charged with bloodshed and forced to plead in defence of their action. So the Water-carriers blamed the men that whetted the axe and knife. The men that whetted the axe and knife blamed the man that handed the axe. The man that handed the axe blamed, not indeed the man that first struck the ox for he had left his axe and fled, but the man that completed the slaughter with his knife. The man that completed the slaughter with his knife blamed the knife. Finally the knife, since it could not say a word in its own defence, was condemned as guilty of the bloodshed and cast into the sea.

It thus appears that the real culprits, the man that first struck the ox and the man that completed the slaughter, were acquitted. Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 514 n. 2 justly remarks that αφελθη must here mean ‘was acquitted’ because a few lines before, in the clause προ τον θηρειν αφελθη, Pausanias had used the same word in that sense. B. Tammaro also in the Annuario della r. scuola di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente 1921—1923 iv.—v. 5 (cp. id. ‘La Boupheonia’ in the Cronaca delle Belle Arti 1920 p. 10 f.) accepts that meaning. Even H. von Prott, who holds that the axe was really cast out of the country, does not deny that Pausanias meant ‘the axe was acquitted’ and is reduced to supposing that he must have misunderstood his authority (Rhein. Mus. 1897 lli. 194 n. 1). L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 p. 159 f., while admitting that von Prott’s solution is possible, inclines to adopt an emendation proposed by E. Pottier in Darmember—Saglio Dic. Ant. ii. 170 n. 24 and printed in the text as a certainty by H. Hitzig αφελθη (cp. Paus. i. 3. 1 (cp. Hitzig aπελθης θηρειν θιαλασσαν Σκηλωμα). But this expedient confuses the axe with the knife and misses the whole point of the situation.

1 In Porph. de abst. i. 30 (context supra p. 577 n. 1) ὅδε ἀλλὰ μὲν ὁδοφόροι τοὺς ἀκοφήναται αὐτῶν ἴτιωτο μάλλον, οἱ δὲ ἀκοφήνατε τὸν ἐπίδιοτα τὸν πελεκα, οὗτος δὲ τὸν ἐπισφάζαμαι, καὶ ὁ τῷ ὀντί ῥάσα τὴν μάχαιραν, καθ’ ἡς οὕτως ἀφόσων τὸν φόνον κατέγνωσαν the text is sound. A. Nauck wanted to read οὗτος δὲ «τὸν πατάζασ» δὲ τὸν ἑπάφαντα, ὁ δὲ τὸν πατάζασ» τὸν αὐτόπταντα. But obviously δὲ τὸν πατάζασ could not blame anybody, for he had made good his escape. In fact Pausanias says: οὐ δὲ ἔργα τὸν ἀνδρα τὸν ἔργαν οὐκ εἶδον ἐκεῖ τῆς θυσίας τοῦ πελεκῶν (1. 24. 4). P. Stengel in Hermes 1893 xxviii. 494 takes this to mean that the bystanders did not know where the doer of the deed was to be found. But, strictly speaking, we can only render the phrase, as H. von Prott in the Rhein. Mus. 1897 lli. 198 insists, ‘not knowing the man that had done the deed.’ Probably Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 514 is right in saying: ‘Die übrigen Versammelten than so, als wenn sie den, der das Kind erschlagen, nicht kannten, und führen das am Orte gebliebene Beil vor Gericht.’ Yet Stengel Opferbrüche der Griechen Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 205 is dissatisfied: ‘Der Erklärung Mommsens...steht das αὐτὸ entgegen:-man wird zu verstehen haben, sie wissen weder den Namen noch sonst etwas Näheres von dem Mann, der plötzlich erscheint, den Stier tötet und sofort wieder verschwindet ist.’

2 Porph. de abst. i. 30 (context supra p. 577 n. 1) πληρώσατε δὲ τὴν μυγάκιαν, δην πρὸς τὴν κρόνην ἀνήθησαν, κατεντίσωσαν τὴν μυχαιραν. J. Bernays cp. κατατίθομεν; but H. von Prott loc. cit. p. 193 ingeniously suggested that the aorist κατέτισαν, like the preceding aorist κατέγνωσαν, was taken over from the text of Theophrastos. L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 p. 169 agrees.

Cp. Ait. var. hist. 8. 3 καταγινώσκοις δὲ τῆς μαχαιρας, καὶ λέγοντι ταύτην ἀποκτειναί αὐτῶ.
ox and the axe with which he did it, both escaped, the blame being transferred from them to the knife. Why the Athenians took such elaborate precautions to ensure the safety of the assailant and his tool, is a question that must be considered in due course.

Those that took part in the ritual of the Dipolieia belonged to three sets of persons known from their respective duties as the Boutýpoi or 'Ox-strikers,' the Kentriddai or 'Goad-men,' and the Daitroi or 'Carvers.' Theophrastos seems to have described them as γένε, 'clans.' But Photios speaks of the Kentriddai as 'a patria of Kerykes;' and this may well be taken to mean 'a family of the clan Kerykes.' Further, as J. Toepffer pointed out, the Kerykes are said on good authority to have performed the solemn functions of Mágéiroi (another name for Daitrois) and Boutýpoi. Hence in all probability A. Mommsen is right, when he contends that the Boutýpoi, Kentriddai, and Daitroi, who discharged the priestly duties connected with the cult of Zeus Polieus, were three families all belonging to the great clan of Kerykes.

The Boutýpos, then, was a priest, whose business it was to strike

1 Infra p. 604 f.
2 Theophr. φθ. Porph. de abst. 2. 30 (context supra p. 577 n. 1) καὶ γένη τῶν ταύτα δρόμων έτών νῦν. ὁ μὲν ἀνύ τοῦ παράξεντος [Συνάγρου] Βοτύσων καλομένου πάντες, οἱ δὲ ἀνύ τοῦ περιφάζοντος Κεντρίδαις· τοῖς δὲ ἀνύ τοῦ ἐπιφάζοντος Δαιτρών δοκιμάζουσιν δα τῷ ἐκ τῆς κραυματίας γεγονότων διατά.
3 Phot. lex. Κεντρίδαις πατριάς κηρίκων (ιεγ. Κηρίκων).
4 The Delphian Labydai, who seem to have been a phratry rather than a clan (L. Ziehen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xii. 308)—at any rate they swore by Poseidon Φάρτας as well as by Apollo and Zeus Παρφές (supra p. 233 n. 7)—, comprised several πατράς or 'families' (J. Baumack in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inschr. ii. 718 ff. no. 2361, Λ 26 n., Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. ii. no. 438, α 26 N 19 on πατράς (sic), H. van Herwerden Lexicon Graecum supplementum et dialecticum Lagundi Batavorum 1910 p. 1130). H. von Prott in the Rhein. Mus. 1897 ii. 195, 197 was mistaken in regarding πατράς as necessarily an Ionic word for γένος (on the strength of Hdt. 2. 143, 2; 5). H. S. Jones' new ed. of Liddell and Scott p. 1348 distinguishes the two uses of the term as 'clan' and 'family,' but unfortunately assigns the Labydai inscription to the former, not the latter, heading.
5 J. Toepffer Attische Genealogie Berlin 1889 p. 151 f. cited Athen. 660 A δύτες σεμών ἢ μηνείας μαθαῖς κατοικότων ἑτῶν εἰς τῶν 'Αθηνῶν Κηρίκων. οἴδα γὰρ Μαγείρων τοῦ Βοτύσου ἑτείχος τάφον, ὡς φησὶ Κλείδημος τοῦ Πρωγονίας πρόφυς (frag. 17 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 361 f. Müller)), cp. ib. 425 Κλείδημος δε τοῦ Μαγείρου Κηρίδας φησι κελεύθαι (frag. 3 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 359 Müller)). On Kleidemos of Athens (Tertull. de an. 59), the oldest Atthidographer (Paus. 10. 15. 5, cp. Plout. de glor. Athen. 1), see F. Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 591 ff.
6 Hesych. s.vv. Δαίτρος ...οί δὲ Μάγειροι, Δαίτροι. Μάγειροι διαρρότι κράτος, δὴ ἐν τοῖς πάρισι πόλιν τά μηρ. Διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τούτωι.
7 Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 521 f. J. Toepffer op. cit. p. 149 ff. had supposed that the three γένη of Porph. de abst. 2. 30 were merely three 'classes' of officials taking part in the Bouphonia. But H. von Prott in the Rhein. Mus. 1897 ii. 195 f. points out that this view is incompatible with the use of ἄροι in Porphyrios' sentence (supra n. 2).
the first blow. It follows that he must be identified with the Bouphónos; for he, as Pausanias informed us, was a priest who struck the ox with his axe. It seems likely that Bouýpos was a euphemistic equivalent of Bouphónos. The one meant ‘Ox-striker’; the other, ‘Ox-slaughterer.’ However that may be, we have inscriptional evidence of Boutýpoi both early and late. A narrow stèle of white marble, found by R. Chandler built into a wall at Athens and now preserved in the British Museum (fig. 409), mentions a Bouýpos in connexion with the Dipolia. To judge from its lettering, this important fragment must be dated as far back as the seventh century B.C. Fully eight hundred years later, in the decade 190—200 A.D., one Lakrateides son of Eutychides the Azenian is thrice recorded as Bouýpos priest and Kosmétês or ‘Marshal’ of the Athenian épheboi. The tenacity with which Athens clung to its old-world rite—a rite already antiquated in the time of Aristophanes—is indeed remarkable. Doubtless the Bouýpos was an impressive...
figure. Armed with his axe\(^1\) and rising on his toes to deliver a crushing blow\(^2\), he furnished the Alexandrine poet with more than one effective simile\(^3\). Nevertheless the cause of his longevity is to be sought, not in his stirring of the artistic imagination, but in his appeal to deep-seated religious instincts, than which nothing on earth is more permanent.

1 Souid. s.v. Βοῦτσες (supra p. 586 n. 1), et. mag. p. 210, 18 ff. Βοῦτσες: 'ιερεύς τις δι τούς βούς ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις τῷ πελέκει τόπτων ἔθιεν. Βοῦτσες οἳ πόδα ταυόν, Ἀπόλλωνιος (infra n. 2).

2 Ap. Rhod. 2. 90 ff. ξύνεται ὁ ἐπηκό Αμικος μὲν ἐν' ἀκροτάτων ἀκροθέα 
| Βοῦτσες οἳ, πόδεσι ταῦτατο, καθ’ ἐς μαρμάρον | χειρ’ ἐπὶ οἱ πελέμιες υπὸ τούς πελέκει τόπτων κατὰ τοῦ αἰχμέας. οὕτος δὲ ἐν’ ἀκροθέα 

Archaising hieratic reliefs frequently represent deities, heroes, priestesses, etc. on tip-toe (e.g. supra ii pl. xii the Chigi base). This peculiarity is explained by Overbeck Gr. Plastik\(^4\) i. 201 f. as ‘eine sehr mangelhafte und durchaus manierirte Nachbildung des eigenthümlich gebundenen Rhythmus der Bewegungen echt alterthümlicher Kunstwerke.’ Mr C. D. Bicknell tells me (20 December 1934) that he too views the tip-toe attitude as a stilted and stagey attempt to reproduce the old-time stiffness, which struck a later, looser age as mere affectation. E. Schmidt Archaisitische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom München 1922 pp. 73, 29 speaks of ‘Zehengang’ as a processional gait characteristic of a late period, and ib. p. 35 suspects that a step devised for dancing (cp. supra i. 150 figns. 110, 177) became fashionable for quieter persons also (cp. supra i. 767, 769 figns. 565—569). Probably a variety of causes contributed to produce the mannerism, in the vogue of which the popular figure of the Βοῦτσες may have played its part.
Ritual of the Dipolieia

Even when paganism succumbed to Christianity room was still found for the Boutypos. On the ancient calendar-frieze of the Panagia Gorgoepekoos, the metropolitan church at Athens, he stands facing us to this very day (figs. 410, 411). The Bouphonia is here represented by a priest wearing a short chiton, endromides, and a wreath, who is about to strike with his double axe a diminutive

1 In the eighth century of our era the Christianised Parthenon had in the conch of its apse a famous mosaic of the Virgin, which had taken the place of Pheidias' chryselephantine Athena and was known by the titles of that goddess—Γεργώ and 'Βυθός. The Virgin was in fact Athena herself to all intents and purposes: indeed, on late leaden seals she is often described as ΜΠ ΟΥ Η ΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ ΓΩΡΓΟΕΠΗΚΟΟΣ or ΜΠ ΟΥ Η ΑΘΗΝΙΩΤΙΚΑ (K. Michel and A. Struck 'Die mittelbyzantischen Kirchen Athens' in the Ath. Mitth. 1906 xxxii. 318 after Neroutsos 'Ἀθηνα Χρυσαυγή' in the Δικτάν τῆς λατρείας καὶ θεολογίας τῆς παρεδρομενῆς 1889 ii. 24, 39, 41). The church of the Panagia Gorgoepekoos (St Eleutherios), probably erected by Eirene, empress of Constantinople, c. 800 A.D. on the site of a ruined temple of Sarapis (Paus. i. 18. 4) and Isis, or of a temple of Eileithyia (ib. i. 18. 5) transformed into a church of St Eleutherios (Michel—Struck loc. cit. p. 330), thus directly perpetuates the name and fame of Athena. Athenidissa appears c. 1175 A.D. on a lead seal of Michael (Akominatos?), Metropolitan of Athens, in the Photiades collection (S. Lambros 'Αθηναίτσια, Αθήνα 1878 p. 36 pl. r, 2, F. Gregorovius Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter Stuttgart 1889 i. 50 f., 68, 164 with n. 2. * Friederichs-Wolters Gipsabgusse p. 755 f. nos. 1909, 1910, C. E. Ruelle in Daremberg—Saglio Dikt. Ant. i. 813 f. fig. 1030, E. Pottier ib. ii. 270 f. fig. 2453, F. Cumont ib. v. 1964 f., Lebas—Reinach Voyage Arch. p. 58 f. Mon. Fig. pls. 21, i—iii, 22, iv—vi, C. Robert in the Gott. gel. Anz. 1899 clxi. 544 ff., Reinach Rép. Reliefs i. 7 nos. 1—3 and 8 nos. 1—3.)

Fig. 412.

See further A. Mommsen Athenae Christianae Lipsiae 1868 p. 115 with nn. ad loc., p. 118 n. *, F. Gregorovius Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter Stuttgart 1889 i. 50 f., 68, 164 with n. 2. * Supra p. 189 n. 1.

2 The frieze has been well published and discussed several times during the last forty years: see G. Thiele Antike Himmelsbilder Berlin 1898 pp. 57—64 (Der Tierkreis im attischen Bilderkalender') with figs. 8 and 9 (from photographs of the cast at Vienna), J. N. Svoronos 'Der attische Volkskalender' in the Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num. 1899 ii. 21—78 pls. 2—6 (from drawings by Gilliéron, whose pl. 5 nos. 35—37=my fig. 410), and L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 pp. 248—254 (Der Kalenderfries von Hag. Eleutheros') with pls. 34—40 (from fresh photographs of the original: pl. 39 nos. 27—29=my fig. 411).

Other publications include those by C. Boetticher in Philologus 1865xxii. 412 ff. figs. 30, 31, Friederichs—Wolters Gipsabgusse p. 755 f. nos. 1909, 1910, C. É. Ruelle in Darmenberg—Saglio Dikt. Ant. i. 813 f. fig. 1030, E. Pottier ib. ii. 270 f. fig. 2453, F. Cumont ib. v. 1964 f., Lebas—Reinach Voyage Arch. p. 58 f. Mon. Fig. pls. 21, i—iii, 22, iv—vi, C. Robert in the Gott. gel. Anz. 1899 clxi. 544 ff., Reinach Rép. Reliefs i. 7 nos. 1—3 and 8 nos. 1—3.
Ritual of the Dipoleia 589

bull. The costume of the celebrant recalls that of the official who slew a humped bull in an analogous rite at Stratonikeia. And the sign of the Crab, above the bull, denotes the hottest time of year.

Whether the Boutýpos should be identified with the priest of Zeus Polieus, is a moot point. On the one hand, according to Porphyrios the first man that ever slew an ox was Diomos, a priest of Zeus Polieus, sacrificing at the Dipoleia. On the other hand, Boutýpos is beyond question a synonym of Bouphónos, and Pausanias describes the Bouphónos as 'one of the priests.' Is this description suitable to so exalted a personage as the priest of Zeus Polieus, who in the second century B.C. sat in the forefront of the Athenian theatre next to the priest of Dionysos himself? On the whole I conclude that, whatever may have been the case in the Hellenistic age, originally and in good Hellenic days the Boutýpos or Bouphónos was one and the same with the priest of Zeus Polieus.

Still more puzzling is a gloss of Hesychios, which states that the performer of the Bouphonia was known as Boutes, the 'Ox-herd.' If, as it seems reasonable to suppose, this Boutes is to be identified with the Boutýpos or Bouphónos, then—inasmuch as the Boutypoi were a family of the clan Kerykes—he cannot be connected with the hero Boutes, from whom the clan Eteoboutadai traced their descent. If, conversely, we start by assuming that this Boutes was a member of the Eteoboutadai, we must regard him as a priest, or priest's attendant, distinct from the Boutýpos or Bouphónos; and in that case it will not be easy to find a Bouphonic function that he can appropriately discharge. The first horn of the dilemma is, I think, the less precarious. A priest armed with a double axe or

1 Supra p. 568 fig. 385.
2 Arat. phaen. 149 ἐνθα μὲν ἰδίῳ ὑπερτιναί εἰσὶ κλήτους with schol. ad loc. and Hipparch. in Arat. et Eudox. phaen. 2. 1. 18.
3 J. Toepffer Attische Genealogie Berlin 1889 p. 159 identifies the priest of Zeus Polieus with the Bouphónos, but regards the Bouvónos as an underling. H. von Prött in the Rhein. Mus. 1897 iii. 197 n. 2 identifies the Bouvónos with the Bouphónos, but distinguishes the Bouphónos from the priest of Zeus Polieus. L. Deubner Attische Festfe Berlin 1931 p. 161 f. sides with von Prött: 'Der Bouvónos ist nicht mit dem Priester des Zeus Polieus identisch, sondern ein Gehilfe von diesem. Er kann aber auch die Bezeichnung Priester führen...Dass Bouvónos und Bouphónos miteinander identisch sind, geht aus ihrer gleichen Funktion deutlich hervor.'
4 Porph. de abst. 2. 10 (infra p. 577 n. 1, infra p. 593 ff.). Deubner op. cit. p. 162 is reduced to saying: 'An Stelle des Bouvónos erscheint hier inkorrekt der Zeus-priester selbst, Diomos mit Namen, als der Töter des Ochsen.'
5 Supra p. 585 f.
6 Paus. i. 24. 4 καλοῦσι δὲ τὰ τῶν λειών βουφῶν.
7 Supra p. 574.
8 Hesych. s.v. Boutes (cited supra p. 576 n. 1).
9 Supra p. 585.
11 Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 532 n. 1.
Myths of the Dipolieia: Sopatros

bouplex might perhaps, for shortness' sake, be called Boûtes. But, again, Hesychios, or our manuscript of his work, may be blundering.

(β) Myths of the Dipolieia: Sopatros.

To account for the singular ritual of the Dipolieia various tales were told. They are attached to three names—those of Sopatros, Diomos, and Thaulon.

According to Theophrastos, time was when men offered to the gods the fruits of the earth and abstained from sacrificing, or even eating, animals. But once, during a common sacrifice at Athens, a certain Sopatros—an alien occupying a farm in Attike—had set out barley-meal and cakes for the gods on a table-altar, when one of his oxen came in from the field and partly ate, partly trampled on his oblation. Sopatros in anger caught up an axe, which was being whetted near by, and struck the ox a fatal blow. On his anger abating he realised what an impious deed he had done, buried the ox, and fled as a voluntary exile to Crete. At home a drought ensued, and the land yielded no crops. Thereupon men consulted the Delphic oracle. They were told that the exile in Crete would put an end to their evil plight and that, when they had taken vengeance on the slayer and raised up the dead in the very sacrifice in which he had been killed, it would be better for them to taste of the dead and not refrain from so doing. Search was made therefore, and the guilty party was discovered. Thinking

1 A. Mau in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 1058.
2 O. Jahn in the Nuov. Mem. d. Inst. 1865 ii. 4 n. 3 ‘Una terza denominazione presso Esichio, Boûta... sembra riposare su un equivoco,’ W. W. Hyde in the Am. Journ. Phil. 1917 xxxviii. 135 n. o ‘The Bourtháes can have had nothing to do with the Bouáchia or Bourïwos, as Hesychius affirms,’ L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 p. 162 ‘Wenn Hesych die gleiche Person Boûta nennt, so kann nur eine Verwechslung oder Nachlässigkeit vorliegen.’
3 Theophr. ap. Porph. de abst. 2. 29 (cited supra p. 577 n. 1).
5 Id. ib. p. 164 n. 3 compares Leukippos, son of Xanthios, who having unintentionally killed his father retired to Crete (Parthen. narr. am. 5 (l’eroe’s ‘Εκθατορ Αττορί)) (‘dem klassischen Lande der Mordsühne’ (see e.g. supra ii. 934 n. 0).
6 Supra p. 426.
7 A. Nauck (supra p. 577 n. 1) of course accepts the convincing emendation of Lobeck Agramannus ii. 1093, who from the meaningless ἀναστησάντων εὖ ἢπερ ἵππθαινεν σύλλα των (or δια) ἐκεῖ θα ἐναστήσαντων εὖ ἢπερ ἵππθαινεν δοσια ληψεν κεδαθά.
8 So F. Stengel in Hermes 1893 xxviii. 499 n. 1.
9 H. von Prott in the Rhein. Mus. 1897 iiii. 189 n. 2 retains the manuscript reading ῥό
that he might be rid of his offence with its attendant curse, if all acted in common, Sopatros told those who had come to fetch him that an ox must be cut up by the city. And, when they could not say who should strike the beast, he undertook to do it himself, provided they would make him a citizen and so take their share in the slaughter. They agreed, and, on returning to Athens, arranged the ceremony, which has been performed there ever since.

This story is undeniably constructed with ancient materials. In particular, the treatment of the ox as sacrosanct and the alleged necessity for common action in the slaying of it are features that look backwards to a very remote past. Nevertheless the story as

\[\text{Σωπάτρος μετὰ τὴς πράξεως ἀνευρέθηστος.}
\]

But the Greek is so unusual as to be almost certainly corrupt. A. Nauck, after J. J. Reiske, prints τοῦ [Σωπάτρου] μετατίμη τῆς πράξεως ἀνευρέθηστος. L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 p. 164 n. 5 desiderates μετὰ τοῦ ὀργάνου τῆς πράξεως. I suspect the word πράξεως and suggest τοῦ Σωπάτρου μετα τοῦ πελέκεως (οτ τῆς ἀξίως) ἀνευρέθηστος.

1 Aristoxenos of Tarentum frag. 7 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 273 Müller) ap. Diog. Laert. 8. 20 § τὸ γε μὴν Ἀριστοκέρκος πάντα μὲν τέλα συνήχωρευκό τοῦ (sc. τοῦ Πυθαγόρα) εὐθείᾳ ἀνυφρίᾳ, πῶς δ[α][τόν] ἀνέσχεσιν ἀστρυγὸς βοῦς καὶ κρωτι, Ἀθ. βλαστ. 139 fl. ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τῆς κάκευσις εὐθέματος, οἱ ἐγένοντο, χαλκεὶς γενητίς, προτέρους ὅλοντος ἀνδρέας, οἱ πρῶτοι κακέυσιν ἐχαλκεύσαντο μαχαίρι | εὐνοίᾳ, πρῶτοι δὲ βοῦν ἐπάσαντ' ἀστρυγόν, καὶ τότε μαχαίρα Ἀθήνης κενὸν ἀνδρῶν | ἔτασθ' ὑποφανεία with schol. ad loc. (Maass p. 360, 14 fl.) ((οἱ) ἀρχαῖοι ἐφολίσαντο τοῖς ἐργάταις βοῦς καθερσάνθεν... ἀσθενή γὰρ θυγή τούτο ेव αὐτό μὲν ἀσθενῆ ἀστρυγόν. πρῶτοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐγένοντο τῶν τουσῶν βοῶν, ἐπι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀγουμένης πίνακα κατέφευγε (sic), Vari. reg. rust. 2. 5. 3—4 hic (sc. bos) socius hominum in rustico opere et Cereris minister, ab hoc antiqui manus ita abstineri voluerunt, ut capite sanxerint, si quis occidisset, Verg. georg. 2. 536 fl. ante citam sceptrum Dictaei regis, et ante | impia quam caesa gens est epulata iuvencis, aureus hanc vitam in terris Saturnus agebat, Colum. de re rust. 6. praef. 7 (expanded from Varro loc. cit.) quod item Athenis Cereris et Triptolemii fertur minister... quod deinde laboriosissimus adhuc hominis socius in agricultura: cuius tanta fuit apud antiquos veneratio, ut tam capitalet esse bovem necasse quam civem.

Fraser Golden Bough*; Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 6. n. 1 (cp. his Pausanias ii. 304) suggests that 'Varro’s statement may be merely an inference drawn from the ritual of the bouphonia and the legend told to explain it.' So, no doubt, may be the allusion of Aratos, to judge from the schol. ad loc. But the tradition concerning the Pythagorean taboo is of a different order and certainly implies the sanctity of the ploughing ox and the ram. Further evidence of that sanctity may be found in Plin. nat. hist. 8. 180 socium enim laboris agricole culturae habemus hoc animal tantae apud priores curae ut sit inter exempla damnatus a populo Romano die dicta, qui concinbui proxaci rure omaunam edisse se negante occiderat bovem, actusque in exustum tamquam colono suo interempto, if not also in Hor. de abst. 2. 11 parà γονός Αἰτωμαίοις καὶ θησαυρὸς βατόν ἀν ὁς ἀνθρωποκτόνων κρέων γενόσαντα ἤ θηλέας βοῦς. αἴτων δὲ ὅτι χρέωσιν τὸ βοῦς τοῦ ἐστάξαντο παρὰ αὐτῶν. δὸ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ ἀνθρώπων, τῶν δὲ θηλεῖν φαδέμενοι τῆς γοιοῦ ἑκα, ἐν μίας το ἄσπασθ' ἑνομιθέσαν. W. W. Hyde in the Am. Journ. Phil. 1917 xxxviii. 163 n. 2 remarks: 'The old idea has survived in some parts of Greece into modern times; see G. Mariti, Travels through Cyprus, Syria and Palestine (1791—2) 1, 35.' [M. l'Abbé Mariti Voyages dans l'isle de Chypre, la Syrie et la Palestine, avec l'histoire générale du Levant traduits de l'italien Neuvi. 1791 i. 39 'Les boeufs sont petits & maigres. Les Grecs n’en mangent jamais; ils ont pour maxime, que l’animal qui
Myths of the Dipolia: Sopatros

a whole is unsatisfactory. The circumstances of the original ox-slaying do not tally with those of the ritual that they ought to explain. Sopatros slew his ox in a fit of passion, on his own responsibility, and apparently without witnesses. The occasion, too, is described in the vaguest of terms, no mention being made of Zeus Polies from start to finish. Besides, the burial of the ox in the story has no counterpart in the ritual. Again, why did Sopatros, who *ex hypothesi* was an alien, flee into voluntary exile, thereby behaving as though he had slain a member of his own tribe or city? Finally, is it likely that a sacrilegious metic would be trusted to arrange the ritual of Zeus Polies, the very god whose service he had himself profaned? No doubt strangers as such could claim divine protection, and perhaps special virtues were ascribed to foreigners fetched fromCrete. Also, the principle that the doer of a deed is best able to undo the same will assuredly explain much.

Still, these considerations can hardly be stretched to cover the present case; for Athenian law expressly ordained that the alien, even if he were made into a citizen by a formal vote of the people, should not hold any office as priest, though the embargo was removed from his children. These objections are serious and suffice to justify the opinion expressed by J. Toepffer, P. Stengel, and L. Deubner, *viz.*, that the tale of Sopatros as told by Theophrastos was a moralising version, which aimed at showing that in the good laboure la terre, que le serviteur de l'homme & le compagnon de ses nobles travaux, ne doit point servir à sa nouriture."

As to Nikol. Damask.


1 See H. E. Seebohm *On the Structure of Greek Tribal Society* London 1895 p. 41 ff. ('The Liability for Bloodshed').

2 *Supra* ii. 1101.

3 One thinks of Thaletas invited to Sparta, of Epimenes invited to Athens, and of Phemonoe's advice to the Delphians (Paus. 10. 6. 7); see K. Hoeck *Kreta* Göttingen 1829 iii. 164, 257.

4 H. Hubert in Darmemberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1508, K. F. Smith in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 274, W. Heiligendorff in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Mährern* Berlin—Leipzig 1930—1933 i. 565, etc. The principle is of world-wide application, but has not, so far as I know, been made the theme of a separate article or monograph.


8 L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 169.
old days men and gods alike were content with vegetables and abstained from animal food. Further, I think we may infer that the philosopher, or his unknown authority, anxious to explain a bizarre custom of immemorial age, and aware perhaps that axe and bull played an important part in ancient Cretan Zeus-cults¹, hazarded the conjecture that the Bouphonia had been introduced into Athens from Crete².

(γ) Myths of the Dipolieia: Diomos.

A second aetiological tale is given by Porphyrios in the following form³. The first man to slay an ox was Diomos, a priest of Zeus Polieis. The Diipolia was being held, and the fruits of the earth had been prepared in accordance with ancient custom, when the said ox drew near and tasted the sacred barley-meal. Diomos then⁴ took all that were present as partners in his deed, and killed the ox.

This recital is one of four, which profess to explain how the pig, the sheep, the goat, and the ox came to be sacrificed⁵. Klymene struck a pig unintentionally and killed it: her husband, wishing to avoid the consequences of this unlawful act, consulted the oracle at Pytho and obtained the sanction of the god⁶. Episkopos, a descendant of the Theopropoi, was minded to offer up the

¹ Supra i. 648 ff., ii. 516 ff., 518 f., 535 ff.
² H. von Prott in the Rhein. Mus. 1897 ii. 193 ff. urged that the Sopatros-tale of Porph. de abst. 2. 29 f. should be connected with some Ionian cult, probably that of the ἐβραμι βυκός in Delos, which had been actually mentioned ib. 2. 29 theòrēma δὲ ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Δήλου ἐν τῶν σφαλμένων βυκόν, πρὸς ὑπὸ οὐδὲν προσαγωμένον παρ' αὐτῶν ὀθέθθεθεν εὐτ' αὐτὸ τού ἀρχον ἐβραμίων κύκλημα βυκόν. Von Prott (p. 200 n. 2) recalled the fact that the Delians had a festival ζωοτρίπεια (T. Homolle in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1882 vi. 144 = Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. no. 588, 54 ειδάς ιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιιii

³ Porph. de abst. 2. 10 (cited supra p. 577 n. 1).
⁵ Porph. de abst. 2. 9 f.
⁶ Κλύμενες was perhaps an appellative of Persephone (so H. Dibbelt Quaestiones Conu mythologyae Gryphiwakalae 1891 pp. 36—42 (‘De Clymene et Clymeno’) and W. H. Roscher in his Lex. Myth. ii. 1127. For Κλύμενες = Hades see supra ii. 1113 n. o (4)), whose connexion with the pig is well-established (Frazer Golden Bough²: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 16 ff. Supra i. 784, ii. 1140 n. 5).
firstlings of his flock, and was permitted to do so with all due caution by the oracle, which said:

It is not right, son of the Theopropoi,
For thee to slay the sheep, a faithful breed;
But that which bows the head of its own accord
Towards the lustral-water sacrifice,
Episkopos,—'twill be a righteous deed.1

A goat was killed first in the Attic deme Ikaria, because it cropped a vine2. The story of Diomos must have been added to this series by some quasi-philosophical writer; for it exhibits the same moralising tendency that we have noticed in the story of Sopatros.

Again, J. Toepffer3 has drawn attention to the fact that the tale of Diomos and the ox bears a suspicious resemblance to another attion, in which Diomos figures with better right. He was the favourite of Herakles and eponym of the Attic deme Diomeia, where a famous festival of the like name was held in Herakles' honour4. According to the lexicographers, Diomos was once sacrificing on a hearth to Herakles, when a white dog came and caught up the thigh-pieces and carried them off to a certain place. Diomos in alarm consulted an oracle. The god bade him build an altar to Herakles on the spot where the dog had deposited the flesh. This was done, and the place called Kynosarges, the place 'of the White Dog,' in memory of the event5. Toepffer concludes that the name Diomos has made its way into the Bouphonia-tale from that of the Kynosarges.

This conclusion, though challenged by subsequent investigators6,

1 Porphy. de abst. 2. 9 ob σε θείας κτητινων χίων γένος ἐστι θέαπωσιν, ἃ γὰρ Θεοπρόπων. ὡμένοι τα κατανείνετο, τὸ χεριστὶ ἐπεθεοί τὸ δ' ἔπισκοπε, φημι διακοιν. Cougny Anth. Pal. Append. 6. 263 accepts G. Wolff's cj. χεριστὶ ἐστι, θεὸν τὸν in preference to A. Nauck's χεριστὶν θεὸν τὸν τὸν τ' σ'.

2 Supra i. 689 n. 1, cp. i. 678, 709 (pl. xlv, 2). Porphy. de abst. 2. 10 ἐν 'Ικάρῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. Nauck adopts Meursius' cj. Ικαρίῳ, but the correction should be itself corrected into Ἰκαρίῳ.


4 P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 831.

5 Phot. lex. and Soud. s.v. Κυνόσαργες. That the sacrifice was to Herakles, is stated by Steph. Byz. and Hesych. s.v. Κυνόσαργες. Phot. loc. cit. says Διομός ὁ Ἀθηναῖος θάνατος τῇ Βηθίᾳ, but cp. Soud. loc. cit. Διόμος (which Meursius corrected to Διομός) ὁ Ἀθηναῖος θάνατος τῇ Ἱεράπη (cod. V. omits Ἱεράπη).


Maass loc. cit. p. 820 f. supposes that Diomos was priest of Zeus Πολιεύς before
seems to me to be essentially sound. Indeed, I am disposed to go a step further in the same direction. Bearing in mind that the Bouphonia-tale shows traces, on the one hand of vegetarian doctrine, on the other of Kynosarges tradition, I would infer that it emanated originally from Antisthenes or some other teacher of the Cynic school. The inference becomes stronger still, when we look into the parallel case of sheep-sacrifice connected with the Theopropoi. For Menedemos of Eretria, a member of that noble clan, was scorned by his fellow-citizens as a Cynic and, like the Cynics, was a free-thinker in matters of religion.

Thaulon, and that the Diomeies gave up the cult of Zeus to the Thaulonidae at a comparatively late date, when they themselves took over the cult of Herakles. But this hypothesis involves more than one improbable assumption, notably that the cult of Herakles at Diomea was of recent importation, and that a long-standing and popular cult such as that of Zeus Polieus could be transferred from clan to clan. See further L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1933 p. 162.

H. von Prott in the Rhein. Mus. 1897 lii. 191 ff. (followed by G. Wissowa in Pauly— Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 832) denies the resemblance between the two sociological tales told of Diomos. In his view Diomos is the rightful priest of Zeus Polieus and the original hero of the Bouphonia-story, which marks the change from a bloodless to a bloody sacrifice at the Dipolieia. The name Diomos, a derivative of Zeos, Dios, suits the connexion between the priest and his god. The derivation here propounded was already recognised by Byzantine scholars: Cramer anec. Oxon. i. 83, 1 ff. (Ὁμήρου ἐπιμερσιον, on which see L. Cohn in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 180) ἀνὴρ ἄνδρος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ἐν ἑτέρα παραγωγῇ κτητικῇ ἀνθρώπου, ὡς παρὰ τὴν Δίσ τε γενικὴν Διόμος (sic) ὃς ὁ πατὴρ Ἱππαλέος, ἄρ' ὁ Διόμειος ἐστή. κ.τ.λ., et. mag. p. 103, 44 ff. ἀν τοῦ ἂνδρου ἄνθρωπος, ὡς Δίσ τε Διόμος, κυρίως ὁ πατὴρ Ἱππαλέους, καὶ ἐν ἑτέρᾳ παραγωγῇ κτητικῇ ἀνθρώπου, τ. p. 277, 24 ff. Διόμος: ὁμοιός κυριός ἄρως Ἀθηναίος ἅφ' ὁ Διόμειος ἐστή. παρὰ τὴν Δίσ τε γενικὰ τῶν Διόμος, ὡς ἂνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος (A. Meineke Analecta Alexandrina Berolini 1843 p. 177 f. σαξ.) in the sense of παιδική, for πατήρ. Further Usener op. cit. p. 213 n. 110 remarks that there was a cult of Zeus Diomeus (Eustath. in II. p. 444, 21 εἰ τοῦ Διομέδος Ζεὺς Διομέως τὰ Δίομεα).

Diomeia the deme lay, not to the east (A. Milchhöfer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 830 ff.), but to the south of Athens (W. Judeich Topographie von Athen München 1931 p. 169 f. with fig. 14 map).

1 When, however, Toepffer proposes to substitute Θαβδών for Διομοῦ in the text of Porph. de abst. 2. 10 (supra p. 577 n. 1), I can no longer follow him: see E. Maass loc. cit. p. 828.

2 Antisthenes not only taught in the gymnasium of Kynosarges (Diog. Laert. 6. 13) and took Herakles for his ‘patron-saint’ (E. Zeller Socrates and the Socratic Schools trans. O. J. Reichel London 1885 p. 307), but also—like other Cynics—lived ordinarily on a simple vegetarian diet (τι. ib. p. 318 n. 3) and treated the popular religion with considerable freedom (τι. ib. p. 328 ff.). Such an one may well have been the author of our tale.

3 Supra p. 593 f.


5 Diog. Laert. 2. 140 τὰ μὲν οὖν πρώτα κατεφυέται, καὶ καὶ λήσας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐπετρεπτών ἄκουος κ.τ.λ.

6 E. Zeller op. cit. p. 284.
We come now to the third version of the Bouphonia-legend, that associated with the name of Thaulon. Our earliest source is Androtion, the author of a fourth-century *Atthis* or 'History of Attike' much quoted in antiquity. He states that once on the occasion of the Diipoleia an ox ate the cake prepared for sacrifice and that thereupon a certain Thaulon, just as he was, killed the beast with his axe. Souidas, drawing from the same source, says that Thaulon killed it with his own axe.

Sundry other details we owe to Agallis, a learned lady of Korkyra, who is known to have expounded Homer in the third century B.C. A *propos* of the shield made by Hephaistos for Achilles she argued that Hephaistos, being the father of Erichthonios, represented on the said shield a whole series of scenes drawn from the early history of Attike. Following out this whimsical notion, she maintained that the two cities portrayed on the shield were Athens and Eleusis. The ploughing and harvesting took place in the neighbourhood of Eleusis; and the king, who sceptre in hand watched the reapers and binders at their work, was Triptolemos. We are bidden to note that some copies of the text insert an extra line describing

The crops of Eleusinian Demeter,
Giver of bright gifts.

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1 He is probably to be identified with the Athenian orator of the same name (E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2173 ff.).
6 *II.* 18. 551 (Ludwich) καρπὸν Ἐλευσινῆς Διυπόλεως αὐλαδόδωρον. G. M. Bolling *The External Evidence for Interpolation in Homer* Oxford 1925 p. 182 was perhaps
And lastly, when the poet goes on to tell how

Heralds apart beneath an oak made ready
A feast and sacrificed a mighty ox¹,

Agallis has once more a local interpretation: 'Here first, they say, Thaulon sacrificed an ox after his exile².' Agallis, then, was aware that Thaulon had been in exile—a point in which his tale recalls that of Sopatros³. Further, the whole context shows that she connected Thaulon with Eleusis and the harvest of the Eleusinian plain. And, since her allusion to him comes in by way of comment on the action of the Homeric kérýkes or 'heralds,' it is highly probable, that she regarded him as a member of the great Eleusinian clan Kérýkes.

Indeed, thanks to Agallis, it seems possible to define Thaulon's relation to the Kérýkes even more closely. We have already seen that three families belonging to this clan—the Boutýpoi, the Kentríddai, and the Daitroi—performed the rites of the Athenian Dipolieia. If Thaulon, as Agallis states, was the first man to sacrifice an ox, he must have been, as A. Mommsen⁴ surmised, the ancestor of the Boutýpoi. In short, the Boutýpoi are to be identified with the Thaulonidai, a noble clan resident at Athens⁵. This identification, in which L. Deubner⁶ concurs, is supported by a curious and apparently mutilated gloss of Hesychios⁷: 'Boutýron, a base at Athens <on which stood the Boutýros> appointed by the clan Thaulonidai.'

over-hasty in saying 'The only interest of the interpolation is its obvious Attic origin. Its purpose is to supply for θησον [of line 551] an object.'

¹ II. 18. 558 f. Κηρύκες δ' ἀπάνευθεν ὑπὸ δρότ δαίτα τίνος, ἵλθεν δ’ ἵνα σώσαντες μέγαν ἄμφετον.

² Eustath. in II. p. 1156, 59 διότι πρῶτον ἔκει, φασίν, έθυσε βασιλεύς θάλων (sic) φυγαδέυματι, scholl. T. V. II. 18. 483 ἔκειτε γὰρ πρῶτον έθυσαν βασιλεὺς θάλων φυγαδέυματι. Wilamowitz would emend the reading of schol. T. into φυγαδέυματι <όδ’ αὐτῷ>. But that insertion lessens the resemblance of Thaulon to Sopatros.

³ supra p. 590 f.

⁴ Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 521 f.

⁵ Hesych. Θαυλωνίδαι γένος ἱθυγενὼν Ἀθηναίοι.

⁶ L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 p. 161 'Jedenfalls sind die Thauloniden als kultische θαυλώνιοι gesichert; aus ihnen erwuchs mit Notwendigkeit der Επώνυμος Θαυλον als der βουτύσων der ιτιολογischen Legende.'

⁷ Hesych. Βούτυσων πιθηρῆς Άθήνησι έκαλείτο, ἐκ τοῦ θαυλωνίδων γένους καθιστάμενος (cod.), for which J. Toepfner Attische Genealogie Berlin 1889 p. 156 proposed Βουτύσων πιθηρῆς Άθήνησι έκαλείτο, <οδ’ είσ’ οἱ ιτείς> ἐκ τοῦ θαυλωνίδων γένους καθιστάμενος. H. von Prött in the Rhein. Mus. 1897 lii. 198 improved upon this by reading <οδ’ τὸν βασιλέα ιτείς ὁ Βουτύσων ἔ> ἔκαλείτο. But he wrongly supposed that πιθηρῆς was a pit into which the body of the stricken ox was flung. Adopting von Prött's insertion, I should rather take πιθηρῆς to have been a base like that in use at Stratonikeia (supra p. 568 fig. 385). L. Deubner op. cit. p. 161 prefers the suggestion of M. Schmidt that the words 'Αθήνησι —καθιστάμενοι are properly the end of the next gloss, which should read θαυλώνιον ὁ βασιλεύς...
598 Myths of the Dipolieia: Thaulon

It would seem, then, that the Dipolieia was properly a clan-festival belonging to and jealously guarded by the Kerykes of Eleusis. Tradition told of a war between Eumolpos king of Eleusis and Erechtheus king of Athens, in which the former had been defeated by the latter: peace was made on condition that the Eleusinians should perform the mysteries by themselves, but should in all other respects be subject to the Athenians. In historical times Eleusis, though treated as one of the Attic demes, continued to be called a polis. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the cult of Zeus Polieus was brought by the Kerykes from Eleusis to Athens. Nor shall we be disconcerted if on the Athenian Akropolis itself we find traces of an analogous but yet different cult—a cult essentially connected with the foremost clan of Athens, not Eleusis.

(e) Purpose of the Dipolieia.

Before taking leave of the Dipolieia we have yet to ask what meaning the festival had for its original celebrants. It would be tedious and, I think, needless here to discuss the whole welter of opinions held by critics ancient and modern with regard to this much-debated business. But, for convenience' sake, I add in a footnote a conspectus of recent views concerning its most im-

1 Hdt. i. 30, Thuk. 2. 15, Paus. i. 38. 3. See further C. Picard 'Les luttes primitives d'Athènes et d'Éleusis' in the Revue historique 1931 clxvi. 1–76.
2 Strab. 395.
3 Hesych. Kevpiddai των περὶ τὰ μυστήρα and the schol. Aristoph. nub. 985 τὰ δὲ Βουφόνα παλαιά ἔστη, ἵνα φαινή ἔγερσαι μετὰ τὰ μυστήρα (supra p. 596 n. 3) both possibly point towards Eleusis, though the latter involves a direct misstatement since the Bouphonia took place in Skirophorion, the Eleusinian Mysteries three months later in Boedromion ( supra i. 691 fig. 511). But see infra p. 603 n. 9.
4 One wonders whether any buphonic traits still linger in the folk-beliefs of the district. When E. D. Clarke in 1801 played Verres and attempted to carry off the marble κατσωφίας known as St. Demetra, an ox butted the statue and ran bellowing into the Eleusinian plain, nor would the villagers be appeased till the priest of Eleusis in full canonicals struck the first blow with a pickaxe ( supra i. 173 n. 1). Coincidence, or survival?
6 (1) W. Robertson Smith Lectures on the Religion of the Semites London 1917 p. 304 ff. treated the Bouphonia as a typical case of totemic ritual. 'In the totem stage of society each kinship or stock of savages believes itself to be physically akin to some
natural kind of animate or inanimate things, most generally to some kind of animal. Every animal of this kind is looked upon as a brother, is treated with the same respect as a human clansman, and is believed to aid his human relations by a variety of friendly services (ib. p. 124). Robertson Smith was followed by Farnell Cults of Gk. States i. 88 ff., S. Reinach in the Revue scientifique 13 octobre 1900 (= id. Cultes, mythes, et religions Paris 1905 i. 18 ff.), and Harrison Themis i. p. 141 ff. But 'it is not yet certain that the Aryans ever had totemism' (Frazer Golden Bough: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 4, cp. id. Totemism and Exogamy iv. 12 ff.), and Robertson Smith's theory of sacrifice has been severely handled (W. Schmidt The Origin and Growth of Religion trans. H. J. Rose London 1931 p. 108 ff.).

(2) H. von Prott 'Buphonia' in the Rhein. Mus. 1897 iii. 187 ff. held that the ox slain at the Bouphonia was an animal surrogate for a man. 'Ich sehe nur eine Möglichkeit: der Stier ist an die Stelle eines Menschen getreten.... In der heissen, den Unterirdischen geweihten Jahreszeit nach der Ernte ist in alter Zeit dem Stadtgeschirmer Athens ein Mensch erschlagen (1) Wahrscheinlich vom Zeuspriester, wie die Diomoslegende ja auch keinem θυτήριον kennt) und in eine Grube geworfen worden. Der Priester muss mit Blutschuld beladen fliehen, die That wird im Prytaneion untersucht.... Als für das Menschenopfer wie in so vielen Fallen das Thieropfer eintritt, dauert die alte Sitte in Athen fort, der Stier wird als Mensch behandelt' (ib. p. 201). B. Laun Das Eisengeld der Spartaner Braunsberg 1924 p. 47 goes further in the same direction, maintaining that originally a mystic garbed as a θυτήριον was killed and eaten. Such views receive some support from the Tenedian cult of Dionysos Ἀνθρωποποιότης (supra i. 659 ff.), the Chian and Tenedian cult of Dionysos Ὑμάδαιος (supra i. 656), the Ephesian cult of Poseidon served by human θυτήρια (supra i. 443), etc. and hardly merit the curt dismissal of L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 p. 171 'Prott's Deutung...schwebt ganz in der Luft und ist fast allgemein abgelehnt worden.'

(3) W. Mannhardt Mythologische Forschungen Strassburg 1884 p. 68 ff., arguing that the date of the festival (Skirophorion 14: supra p. 576) corresponded with the close of threshing in Attike, took the ox killed at the Buphonia to be the 'Vegetationsdämon' in animal form. His interpretation has been widely accepted, e.g. by Nilsson Gr. Feste p. 27 ('Wenn nun das Stieropfer an Zeus Sosipolis [supra i. 717 n. 2] mit Recht durch das koiische Opfer an Zeus Polieus [supra p. 564 ff.] mit dem Stieropfer der Buphonia in Verbindung gebracht worden ist, kann man sich doch zuletzt gegenüber den widerstreitenden Meinungen über dieses Fest entscheiden; denn wenn der Stier des Zeus Sosipolis ein Korngeist ist, muss der des Zeus Polieus es auch sein') and Frazer Golden Bough: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 6 ff. ('The ox sacrificed at the bouphonia appears to have embodied the corn-spirit.' 'The mode of selecting the victim suggests that the ox which tasted the corn was viewed as the corn-deity taking possession of his own'... The time of the Athenian sacrifice, which fell about the close of the threshing, suggests that the wheat and barley laid upon the altar were a harvest offering; and the sacramental character of the subsequent repast—all partaking of the flesh of the divine animal—would make it parallel to the harvest-suppers of modern Europe, in which...the flesh of the animal who stands for the corn-spirit is eaten by the harvesters. Again, the tradition that the sacrifice was instituted in order to put an end to drought and famine is in favour of taking it as a harvest festival. The resurrection of the corn-spirit, enacted by setting up the stuffed ox and yoking it to the plough, may be compared with the resurrection of the tree-spirit in the person of his representative, the Wild Man (See The Dying God, p. 208). Still more clearly, perhaps, does the identification of the corn-spirit with an ox come out in the sacrificial ritual which the Greeks of Magnesia on the Maeander observed in honour of Zeus Sosipolis, a god whose title...marks him as the equivalent of Zeus.
600 Purpose of the Dipolia

Polieus'). H. von Prött, however, in the Rhein. Mus. 1897 lii. 200 rejects Mannhardt's hypothesis as 'unhaltbar, weil das Fest gar nicht in die Ernte- oder Dreschzeit fällt', cp. P. Stengel Opferbräuche der Griechen Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 210 n. 2; and L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 p. 171 will have none of it ('Auch hier fehlen alle zwingenden Analogien: namentlich erscheint das Toten des Vegetationsdamons nie als eine bedenkliche Angelegenheit. Die Parallele des Sosipolisfestes in Magnesia kann nichts beweise. Denn einmal ist es keineswegs gesichert, dass es sich hier wirklich um das Töten und Verzehren eines Vegetationsdamos handelt, zum zweiten aber lässt sich wegen der verschiedenheit der beiden Feste keine Brücke vom einen zum anderen schlagen, auch nicht auf dem Wege über das Zeußfest in Kos').

(4) P. Stengel Opferbräuche der Griechen Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 212 ff. held that the change from an old-established bloodless cult of Zeus Pausios to the ritual of animal-sacrifice was an innovation demanding at least a make-believe punishment. He laid weight on Hesych. Δις θάνοι και πεσοὶ τειτεράφοινα ψηφοι. φασὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἀθηναίων διαφώνεται, τὴν ἡμοραθήτικαν' ἄθων καὶ Παιαίδων, τὴν Ἀθηναίων Διὸς δευθησθαι ὕπερ αὐτῆς τὴν ψήφον ἐνεγεγέναι καὶ ὑποσχέσθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῦ Πολιούτων ἱερῶν πρῶτον θόοςαθα ἐκλ βαυακ (= Favorin. lex. p. 515, 56 ff.), cp. Souid. s.v. Δις ψηφοὶ. οὗτος καλεῖται, ἐν ὧν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Παιαίδων ἱεράθησα. Κατά τῶν Ἀρχιδήμων ἐκθα τὸν Διὸς μεγάλην θάνοι πεσου τε καλοῦσαν. ὡ γὰρ τότος, ἐν ἕκρηθεσα, Διὸς ψήφος καλεῖται. τάττεται δὲ η ταρμομα ἐκλ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ ἄδικων (supra i. 147). Id. Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer München 1920 p. 249 adheres to his opinion ('Der Sinn der eigentiümlichen, schon im 5. Jahrhundert als sonderbar empfundenen Zeremonie, ist wohl, dass es einer besondern Entschuldigung, einer fortgesetzten wenigstens scheinbaren Bestrafung dafür bedürfe, dass man einen Kult, der nach alter Überlieferung unblutige Opfer verlangte, in einen blutigen umgewandelt hatte').

(5) K. F. Hermann Lehrbuch der gottesdienstlichen Alterthümer der Griechen Heidelberg 1858 p. 420 ff. falls back on the Varronian idea (supra p. 591 n. 1) that the ox was sacrosanct as socius hominum and thinks that the Bouphonia 'die Heiligkeit des Ackerstieres als des wesentlichsten Gehilfen zum Landbaue symbolisch zu veranschaulichen bestimmt waren.' Similarly G. F. Schoemann Griechische Alterthümer Berlin 1902 ii. 250: 'Das Schlachten des Pflugstieres, des Gehilfen des Menschen bei der Bearbeitung des Feldes, war vor Alters verboten, und dass man auch nachher dazu nicht ohne Gewissensscrupel geschritten, sprechen einige alterthümliche hier und da übliche Opferbräuche aus.' Etc. But the most persuasive exponent of this somewhat sentimental view is U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf Euripides Herakles Berlin 1889 i. 60: 'der mensch, der sich zu der hohen culturstufe des ackersmanns erhoben hat, empfindet eine innere scheu, den stier, seinen arbeitsgenossen, zu schlachten und zu essen, den er doch als jäger und hirte ohne anstand getötet hatte, und er kann und will doch den genuss des rindfleisches nicht entbehren. weilen wir nur daran denken, dass wir unsere näherstehenden gefährten, ross und hund, auch nicht essen mögen, und auch ein rind, das uns als individuum wert geworden ist, schwerlich fiir unsern tisch schlachten lassen mochten. aus diesem widerstreit der empfindungen entsteht der ritus der Buphonien, die symbolische ceremonie, entsteht die geschichte vom ersten rinderschlachter Thaulon, auf den die befeckung des mordes abgewalzt wird.' Cp. id. Der Glaube der Hellenen Berlin 1931 i. 296. The same explanation contents Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 12 f. and even L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1933 p. 172.

(6) F. Schwenn Gebet und Opfer Heidelberg 1927 p. 99 ff. takes his stand on the firmer ground of anthropology. Primitive man commonly dreads a great strong beast that he has killed, because he thinks it may still harm him after death. Accordingly he makes elaborate attempts to appease it and in some cases even flees into hiding and is mourned as if he were himself dead (J. Spieth Die Religion der Eweer in Süd-Togo Leipzig 1911 p. 139 ff. [Frazer Golden Bough: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 228 ff., 244]). 'Wenn die Eweerpriester den Schuldigen scheinbar suchen, um an ihm für das Tier, für „unseren Vater,” die Strafe zu vollziehen, so verurteilen die Athener das Beil, das den Stier getötet hat, und werfen es ins Meer; der Täter selbst aber muss in Afrika wie in Athen
Purpose of the Dipolieia

pressive feature, the bizarre ritual of the Bouphonia. I shall approach the problem from a somewhat different angle, endeavouring to keep in mind the probabilities and improbabilities of the various contentions.

The statues of Zeus Polieus, if I am not mistaken, represented him as a storm-god, at first with uplifted bolt and impetuous advance, later with lowered weapon and in milder mood. Close by was the remarkable group of Ge beseeching Zeus to rain upon her, ‘either,’ says Pausanias, ‘because the Athenians themselves needed rain, or because there was a drought all over Greece.’

vor dem Zorn des Tieres fliehen. Die Grundgedanken sind beidemal dieselben’ (Schwenn op. cit. p. 108). The parallel is certainly striking, and Schwenn goes on to explain that the setting up of its stuffed hide was an admirable means of propitiating the dead beast (op. cit. p. 109). He supposes that the tasting of the corn originally aimed at strengthening of the creature’s magic powers (p. 110 ff.), that the communal feast enabled the participants to absorb those powers into themselves (p. 109), and that the whole procedure was later attached, appropriately enough, to the cult of the sky-god Zeus Hylateos (p. 111). Schwenn, in fact, has put together a hypothesis which explains much. At the same time we should do well to note the judicious comment of Deubner op. cit. p. 171: ‘Er musste freilich zugeben, dass diese historische Stufe im Ritus des Zeusfestes, das mit dem Ackerbau zu tun hat, nicht mehr sichtbar sei, und nahm daher an, das der Buphonienseuche ursprünlich ein Jagdtier gewesen sein müss [Schwenn p. 109]. Auf diesen schwachen Punkt der Beweisführung hat denn auch Nilsson mit Recht hingewiesen und die Erklärung Schwenns abgelehnt (Deutsche Lit.-Zeit. 1928, 1748 f.).’ I doubt whether this ‘weak point’ is really fatal to Schwenn’s hypothesis. The same difficulty besets the earliest phase of the ‘Minoan’ bull-fights, which may likewise have originated in the hunting stage of the community (supra i. 497).

1 Supra p. 570 ff.
2 Paus. i. 24. 3 f. (supra ii. 21 n. 4). Not much is known concerning this group.
C. Lenormant in the Ann. d. Inst. 1832 iv. 60—68, Mon. d. Inst. i pl. 45, a, b, attempted to connect it with the statue of a kneeling woman in Parian marble brought by Blouet from Mykonos and now in the Louvre (Reinach Rep. Stat. ii. 683 no. 2). H. Heydemann in Hermes 1870 iv. 380 ff. (followed by Harrison Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath. p. 414 ff.) assumed that there was a half-length statue of Ge emerging from the ground in front of the rock-cut inscription Ψῆς Καωφόρου | κατά μανε(υ) | ἐκείνου (Corp. inscr. Att. i. 1 no. 166 ‘Hadriani fere actati titulum adscribemus,’ Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 754. Facsimile in Harrison op. cit. p. 415 fig. 31. Supra ii. 21 n. 4, iii. 242). R. Förster in the Arch. Zeit. 1874 xxxii. 165 cp. the type of Gaia recumbent with hand uplifted in supplication on sarcophagi representing the rape of Kore (Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Demeter—Kora pp. 590, 607 ff. Atlas pl. 17). E. Kuhnert in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1581 says: ‘Mir scheint allein ein Relief, Gaia vor Zeus der Erde entsteigend, möglich.’ Furtwängler Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt. pp. 468—471 reverts to Heydemann’s view of a half-length figure of the goddess rising out of the rocky ground. He cp. the impression of a seal on a little pyramid of terra cotta, which came from Athens to Berlin (Antiquarium, T. C. inv. 6787) and may belong to s. iv or iii B.C. It shows (fig. 185 = my fig. 413) the upper part of an undraped female form bending backwards and looking up to heaven with raised hands and dishevelled hair: her body rises from a car covered with cut grass, corn, or the like and drawn by an old-fashioned wheel. Furtwängler supposes that this singular vehicle was used for country processions and supplications in time of drought, being a more advanced analogue of the bronze car at Krannon (supra ii. 831 ff. figs. 788—792).
602 Purpose of the Dipolieia

O. Jahn, C. Robert, and G. F. Schoemann infer from the proximity of this monument that by means of the Dipolieia men sought to propitiate Zeus as the god who sent rain and dew with their attendant fertility.

But more certain indications may be drawn from the date of the festival. It was celebrated during the very hottest days of the year at a season when, according to modern meteorological observations, the dewfall is at its minimum. In this respect it resembled the Arrhephoria or ‘Dew-bearing,’ which appears to have been a ceremony intended to fertilise Mother Earth. The same intention undoubtedly accounts for the Skirophoria, which took place on the twelfth of Skirophorion, two days before the Dipolieia, and on the calendar-frieze of the Panagia Gorgoepekoos (supra figs. 410, 411) is represented by a young man holding a couple of corn-ears. To judge from these data, it would seem that the Dipolieia probably aimed at enabling the Sky-father to impregnate the Earth-mother aright by ensuring an adequate dewfall and rainfall at a critical time of year.

That we are on the right track in adopting this explanation will appear from a further consideration of the personnel and ritual of the feast. Those that took an active part in it belonged, as we have seen, to the Kerykes of Eleusis. The Kerykes of Eleusis claimed that Keryx the founder of their clan was a son of Hermes by

1 O. Jahn in the Nuov. Mem. d. Inst. 1865 ii. 7 f.
3 G. F. Schoemann Griechische Alterthümer Berlin 1902 ii. 528.
4 Supra p. 588.
5 Supra p. 241 n. 3.
6 Supra p. 165 ff.
7 Was the use of the Δίδω κάδων at the Skirophoria (supra i. 423 n. 1) comparable with the Palestinian use of fleeces spread to catch dew (supra p. 500 n. 1)? The question is easier to ask than to answer.
9 The belief of A. Mommsen Griechische Heortologie Leipzig 1864 p. 445, id. Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 509 and O. Band De Diipoliorum sacro Atheniensium Halae Saxonum 1873 p. 14 that the Arrhephoria too was held shortly before the Dipolieia must not be based on Soud. s.v. Bufofía bíς ἐτητη παλαιό, ἵνα φασίν ἄγεσθαι μετὰ τὰ μοστία (＝schol. Aristoph. nud. 984). For it is improbable that τὰ μοστία alludes to the Arrhephoria. Almost equally improbable is the cj. of J. Toepffer Attische Genealogie Berlin 1889 p. 153 that we should emend μετὰ τὰ μοστία into μετὰ μυστήριον. There is more to be said for the suggestion of H. von Prött in the Rhein. Mus. 1897 iii. 187 n. 1 that Soudas’ source is confusing the Dipoliea with the Diasia. See, however, supra p. 598 n. 3.
11 Supra p. 585.
Aglauros, daughter of Kekrops. Androtion, however, the fourth-century historian who linked the Dipolieia with Thaulon, made Keryx the son of Hermes by Pandrose; and so did the grammarian Polydeukes in the time of Commodus, except that he gave the mother’s name its usual form Pandrosos. Whether Keryx was the son of Aglauros or of Pandrosos makes little difference, for we have already found that Aglauros, ‘the Sparkling One,’ and Pandrosos, ‘the All-bedewed,’ were but successive names of the Earth-mother fertilised by the dew. Such being their lineage, the Boutýpoi, Kentriádai, and Daitroi were better qualified than any other Athenians to obtain from heaven ‘the nurturing dews of Kronos’ son.’ Indeed, Thaulon the forefather of the Thaulonidai or Boutýpoi, bears a name which stands in obvious relation to that of Zeus Thaúlión, and seems, as we have conjectured, to denote ‘the Dew-man’ and nothing more sinister.

The ritual of these moisture-makers was complex. The beginning and the end of it appear to have been magical rather than religious ceremonies.

Virgins called Hydrophóroi brought water, ostensibly for the sharpening of axe and knife. But this may have been an afterthought or later interpretation. The only other Hydrophoria that took place at Athens had a very different significance. Souidas describes it as ‘A mourning festival, which, according to Apollonios, was celebrated over those that perished in the deluge.’ The funereal aspect of this Hydrophoria suggests comparison with the sepulchral loutrophoria, which we traced back to the vogue of a primitive rain-charm. If the Hydrophoria too was a rain-charm, associated

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1 Paus. i. 38. 3. 2 Supra p. 596. 3 Androt. (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 351, iv. 645 Muller) in frag. Lexici rhet. p. 671, 16 ad calcem Photii p. 20 ed. M. Meier Kêpôntes,...ώς Ἀνδροτίων ἐν πρώτῃ Ἀρδίδωσι, Κέρυκος γενεθεὶς τρεῖς θυγατέρας, Ἀγαυλὸς, Ἀρην καὶ Πανθρόσου, ἀφ’ ής ἐγένετο Κέρυς, ἱερὰς συγγενεμενη. Meier would omit ἀφ’ and restore Ἐρην καὶ Πάνθροσον. 4 Poll. 8. 103. 5 Supra pp. 237, 241 ff. 6 Supra p. 365 n. i. 7 Supra p. 597. 8 Supra p. 277 ff. 9 Supra p. 283. 10 Supra p. 583. 11 Souid. s.v. Θηροφόρα: ἑορτὴ πένθιμος Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τοῦ τοῦ κατακλυσμὸν ἀπολογο-μένου, ὃς Ἀπολλώνιος (Apollon. Ascal. in Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 313 Muller)=Phot. lex. s.v. Θηροφόρα. The gloss is abbreviated in the et. mag. p. 774, 56 f. s.v. Θηροφορία (=Favorin. lex. p. 1790, 57 ff.), and still more so by Hesych. s.v. Θηροφορία (cod.). 12 Similarly Nilsson Gr. Feste p. 172 f. concludes that the Θηροφορία of the Aeginetans (schol. Pind. Nem. 5. 81), which he justly identifies with the Ἀμφορεῖς et al. (Kallim. frag. 80 Schneider ap. schol. Pind. Ol. 7. 156) instituted by the Argonauts (Ap. Rhod. 4. 1763 ff., Apollod. i. 9. 60) and with the Δελφίνα (schol. Pind. Pyth. 8. 88), is to be connected with a cult of the dead. 13 Supra p. 372 ff. 14 Supra p. 427.
in the popular mind with Deukalion's downpour, we can better understand certain circumstances attending Sulla's capture of Athens in 86 B.C. He entered the city on the Kalends of March, at a time when, as Plutarch¹ says, the Athenians 'do many things to recall the disastrous deluge of rain and the destruction that it caused, believing that the flood happened just about that time of year.' It has been conjectured with much probability that the rites here referred to were those of the Hydrophoria.² Shortly after Sulla’s entry, when Ariston on the Akropolis capitulated through thirst, 'heaven at once gave a portent. On the very day, and at the very hour, when Curio was bringing him down, the clouds gathered in a clear sky and there descended such a quantity of rain that it filled the Akropolis with water.'³ Now, if we may argue from the Hydrophoria to the Hydrophoroi, it seems at least likely that the opening rite of the Dipolieia was the fetching of water by way of a rain-charm. The water so fetched was poured over an axe and a knife. A civilised age of course jumped to the conclusion that the water was required simply for the sharpening of the tools. But I shall venture to read a deeper meaning into the ceremony. May we not fairly surmise that the axe—a double axe, as the frieze of the Panagia Gorgopékoós shows⁴—was the weapon of the storm-god Zeus, was in fact an Attic counterpart of the lábrys? Perhaps, after all, the Sopatros-legend, which spoke of the Boughonias as introduced from Crete,⁵ was not so wide of the mark as some have supposed.⁶ To wet such an axe with water would be a method of

To the 'Tērophoria may be added the Κύρος of Anthesterion 13, when a pot of mingled seeds was boiled over the fire and offered to Dionysos and to Hermes Ξθόως on behalf of the dead (Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen pp. 391 n. 4, 397 f., Harrison Proleg. Gk. Rel.² p. 36 f., L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 pp. 93 f., 112 ff., 118, 121. Supra i. 684, ii. 1139), and also the annual ceremony of unspecified date (Mommsen op. cit. p. 474 n. 5), when wheaten meal kneaded with honey was cast into a cleft in the precinct of Zeus Ολύμπιος (supra p. 170 n. 0) near the grave of Deukalion (supra ii. 1118).
⁶ Supra p. 590 ff.
obtaining a rain-storm quite in accordance with the recognised rules of magic.\(^1\)

An Attic counterpart of the Cretan läbrys would be of course an object of special sanctity—a 'holy axe' as Pindar\(^2\) called it. An example of the sort, found near Athens a few years ago and now in my possession, is decorated with all the resources of Hallstatt art.\(^3\) Accordingly, at the Bouphonia the utmost pains were taken to transfer the guilt of bloodshed from the axe to its accomplice the knife, while all present agreed to ignore the escape of the axe-bearing priest. Even the knife, when condemned, was not, like any ordinary inanimate object that had caused death, flung beyond the frontier\(^4\), but was sunk at sea—presumably one more rain-charm to complete the performance.

(ξ) Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios.

It remains to consider the central act of this yearly drama—the real death and simulated resurrection of an ox among worshippers who partake of his flesh.

The ox is throughout treated as divine. Nothing short of this will fully account for the ritual rule that the botis must be a voluntary victim as it were consenting to his own death, for the feeling of Himmels.’ L. Malten in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1928 xliii. 138 is convinced: ‘Dabei ist an einer Reihe von Einzelkulten beobachtet worden, wie in ihnen der Stier ursprünglich noch Eigengestalt war, dann aber dem Vater Himmel zuwuchs. Einen Eckpunkt bilden die attischen Buphonien, die mit ihren Wurzeln in vorhellenistische Zeit zurückreichen; in ihnen unterliegt der “Mord” an dem Stierdämon einer besonderen Sühne, wobei das Doppelbeil eine Rolle hat.’ Another convert is B. Schweitzer in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1928 exc. 17: ‘So sind...die Buphonien...ein vorhellenistisches Bauernfest.’

L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 remains dissatisfied: ‘Bei der Beurteilung der Zeremonie des Zeusfestes ist nicht zu übersehen, dass dieses keineswegs in das graueste Altertum hinaufführen kann.... Es sollte doch klar sein, dass Zeus Polieus auf der Burg von Athen unbedingt jünger sein muss als Athena und erst später zu dieser hinzutreten sein kann; und auch dann erhielt er nur einen Altar. Ich glaube nicht, dass man mit seinem Kult über die archaische Zeit hinaufgehen kann.’ But Deubner ignores the possibility (which I hold to be the truth) that the cult of Zeus Πολιεύς came to Athens in archaic times from Eleusis, where with its peculiar personnel and ritual it had survived the passage from Mycenaean to post-Mycenaean conditions.

\(^1\) See e.g. [Frazer](http://www.gutenberg.org/files/29785/29785-h/29785-h.htm#32) *Golden Bough*: The Magic Art i. 247 ff. (‘The Magical Control of Rain’).

\(^2\) *Supra* p. 200, *infra* § 9 (h) ii (γ).

\(^3\) Published *infra* Addenda on ii. 635 ff. (‘The decoration of the double axe’). Since the decoration of this specimen consists in pointillé designs of a four-spoked wheel, a bridled and branded horse, a waterfowl, and a man—symbols all suggestive of a solar interpretation (*supra* i. 333 ff.)—it is probable that we have here a sacred axe, and remotely possible that it once belonged to a Bouphônios, who wielded it at some forgotten Bouphonia when the sun was at its hottest (*supra* p. 588).

\(^4\) Poll. 8. 110.

\(^5\) *Supra* p. 584.
utter guilt that drove the actual Bouphónos into immediate exile, and for the solemn communion of those who together devoured the sacred flesh and so—at Athens as in Crete—absorbed into their own bodies the very substance and virtues of the divine beast. When we remember that in Mesopotamia, in Asia Minor, and all round the shores of the Levant the sky-god with his bellowing thunder and his fertilising rain has been from time immemorial conceived as a bull, we cannot but conclude that the ox of the Dipolia was one more example of this universal concept, in a word was the embodiment of Zeus Polieus himself—slain that he might live again in younger and more vigorous form, stuffed with hay and yoked to a plough that he might work as of yore for the benefit of his polis.

A plough on the Akropolis-rock seems déplacée. Yet Plutarch in his Advice to Bride and Groom goes some way towards explaining it:

‘The Athenians,’ he says, ‘observe three sacred ploughings: the first at Skiron, in memory of the most ancient of sowings; the second in Raria; and the third near the base of the Akropolis, the so-called Bouzygios.’ Bouzygés, ‘Yoker of Oxen,’ was an old-time Athenian, the first who ever ploughed with such a pair. In token of his achievement the plough that he used was dedicated on the Akropolis. And he himself may be seen using it on a red-figured bell-crater, said to

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1 Supra i. 650, 663 ff., ii. 345, 354, 539.
2 Supra i. 633 ff.
3 Thus far I find myself in agreement with B. Schweitzer Herakles Tubingen 1922 p. 43 (‘Der Stier war das geweihte Tier sowohl des vorderasiatischen Himmelsgottes wie des kretischen Zeus gewesen, sie selbst waren sicherlich einst in der Gestalt des Himmelsstieres gedacht worden, wie der Europamythos zeigt. Es ist vor allem das Stieropfer, das durch die Doppelaxt dargebracht wird. In dieser besonderen Bedeutung kann sie bukhlê heissen... Der pêleus...spielt eine merkwürdige, auch von P. Stengel noch nicht befriedigend erklärte Rolle in den düsteren ἑρμοι...der attischen Buphoniun’). But the further contentions of B. Laum Heiliges Geld Tubingen 1924 p. 123 (‘Aus der sakralen Funktion erklärt sich also die Verehrung des Doppelbeiles. Zunächst ist es das Beil, mit dem der Priester das Opfertier niederschlägt; dann wird es Symbol der Stiertotheit und ist als solches Kultgegenstand und Weihegabe.’ Etc.) seem to me to outrun discretion.
4 Plout. consig. praecpt. 42 Αθηνάιοι τρεῖς ἄρπαν τι ίερόν άγνον τρόφι, τρόφι τῷ Σχίρῳ, τῷ καλαμάταν τῶν πόρων ἐνοφείμα, δευτέρον ἐν τῷ Ραφίῳ, τρίτον ἐν τῷ χλόῳ (so Froben in the ed. Basel 1542 for πέλος) τῶν καλαμίων Βουζίγιων, τῶν τῶν ἱεραιτότων (Madvig cj. λεκτός) ἄτων ἐν γαμήλιοι στήριος καὶ ἄρρητος ἐν τάδαινα ὑγιέσεως. κ.τ.λ.
6 Schol. Aischin. de fals. leg. 78 τοῦ Βουζίγιου τοῦ δότος ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν Βουζίγων. ἐν γὰρ ἥν καὶ τοῦτο γένος τυμμέλους γενομένα παρά τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, εἰ δὲ ἐγκέκοτο ἡ ἱερατεία τῆς Ἀθηναίων Βουζίγεως ἐκέληθη ξυλωσμένη...(H. Sauppe cj. Βασιλείας, cp. infra p. 610) Ἀθηναίων τῶν κῆλας, δοτές πρῶτος ηὔγος βωβίων έξεύον. ὡς καὶ τὸ ἄρτος ἅπατος ἅκεκοτο ἐν τῇ ἄκροπόλει πρὸς μνήμην.
Bouzyges ploughing in the presence of Athena and an elderly male spectator.

See page 606 ff.
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

have been found in pieces near Vari and now in the collection of Professor D. M. Robinson at Baltimore (pl. xlv)\(^1\). This interesting vase, which has been attributed to ‘The Painter of the Naples Hephaistos Krater\(^2\)’ and may be dated c. 430 B.C., shows Bouzyges successfully driving his yoke of oxen in the presence of two spectators. One of these, wearing *stepháne* and Doric *péplos*, is characterised as Athena by the spear in her right hand and the olive-tree at her side. But she holds in her left hand six\(^3\) ears of corn and turns to encourage the ploughman. So does a bald-headed white-bearded man, who stands in the background, wearing a *himáttion* and leaning on his staff. He has been called Kekrops\(^4\) or Boutes\(^5\); but neither appellation is probable and we must be content to leave him anonymous. It is of more importance to note that the whole vase-painting was designed for an Eleusinian, not an Athenian, myth. Compare it with the Berlin *skýphos* illustrated *supra* i. 224 fig. 165 and you will realise that Athena and Bouzyges are simply adaptations from Demeter with her corn-ears and Triptolemos with his plough. Or set it beside the Palermo *krátér* *supra* i. 218 pl. xviii and you perceive that Athena and the elderly male spectator have been substituted for Demeter and Keleos, or possibly for Persephone and Hippothon. In short, the Baltimore *krátér* drops more than one broad hint that behind the Athenian ploughman at the base of the Akropolis lurks a half-obliterated figure, his Eleusinian predecessor on the Rarian Plain. Athena holding corn-ears at a plough-scene is quite unconvincing unless we see that she has stepped into the shoes of Demeter and that the type appropriate to the earlier discovery of the thrice-ploughed

\(^{1}\) D. M. Robinson ‘Bouzyges and the First Plough on a Krater by the Painter of the Naples Hephaistos’ in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 152—160 with figs. 1 (obverse) and 2 (reverse). I am indebted to Professor Robinson for the large-scale photographs, lent to me by Mr C. T. Seltman, from which my pl. xlv was made. Height of vase 0'41 m. Height of main scenes 0'175 m.


\(^{3}\) D. M. Robinson *loc. cit.* p. 155 says: ‘In her left hand she holds the promised harvest consisting of eight (sic) ears of corn, the stems of which, once in white paint, have vanished.’

\(^{4}\) Id. ib. p. 156. A graffito, of which the first two words are scratched on the reverse, the third on the obverse of the vase, reads \(\Delta \Theta \Theta \Theta [\xi] \, \Lambda \Lambda [\xi][\xi]\) \(\lambda \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \xi \x
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

field had been borrowed to depict the later discovery of the yoked oxen. The transference from Demeter to Athena as ploughman's patroness was perhaps eased by a knowledge of such cults as that of Athena Boarmia in Boiotia and that of Athena Botideia in Thessaly. The former appellative is said to have meant 'She who fits the Oxen' to yoke and plough; the latter, 'She who binds the Oxen' to plough and yoke.

I pass on to observe that Bouzyges was the eponymous ancestor of a noble Athenian clan, the Bouzygai, who dwelt on the

1 Supra i. 224 f.
2 Cp. the curious tale told by interp. Serv. in Verg. Aen. 4. 402: in Attica regione quaedam puella Myrmix nomine fuit, Minervae ob castimoniam et sollertiam dilecta, quae postea hoc modo (H. A. Lion prints loco) Minervae in se odium concitavit. namque cum visisset Minervam Cererem segetes invenisset, minime ipsa ostendere Atticis quos expeditius segetes parerent, aratum dictur invenisse. quod cum manu aegeret, et Myrmix ei adhaereret, aea est occulte aratri stivam subripere, et apud homines se iactare, infructuosum esse Cereris munus, nisi suo uterentur resulata expeditius ederet fructus. quod cum proditum aegeret tulisset Minervam, Myrmicem illam virginem in formicam convertit eamque, ut proditricem, adversam frumenti, quae semper in suis iussit easque in homines commutavit: unde Myrmidones appellati sunt. See further J. Schmidt in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xvi. 1106.


4 Lyk. Al. 359 f. (Kassandra) ἡ πολλὴ δὲ Βοϊαμίαν Ἁθηνὰν Κόρην | ἄρωγον ἀκάτασα τάρατον γάμων with Tetzl. ad loc. οὐκ εἰς τιμᾶται Βοϊαμία ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ (=Steph. Byz. s.v. Βοϊαμία, who is cited also by Eustath. in H. II. 1976, 18 Βοϊαμίαι νέων Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ). Βοϊαμία γὰρ ἡ φρύγης, διὶ τοῦ βῶς ἀρότρως καὶ γυνῶς ὄποδες καὶ τέως ἄσσακας. This etymology has found favour, not only with K. O. Müller op. cit. p. 181, Gerhard op. cit. i. 226, 231, 243, Welcker op. cit. ii. 301, Preller—Robert op. cit. i. 222 n. 1, O. Jessen op. cit. iii. 988, Gruppe op. cit. p. 1205 n. 8, etc., but with expert philologists such as P. Kretschmer Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache Göttingen 1896 p. 419, who holds that similar place-names are derived from the name of the goddess (Endeite der Name der Göttin selbst auf -as, so konnte er unverändert als Ortsname dienen: Βοϊαμία in Thessalien nach der Athena Βοϊαμία der 'Ränder anschirrenden', daneben Βοϊαμία (II. II 572). Cp. F. Stählin Das hellenische Thessalien Stuttgart 1924 p. 78 n. 2 (4)). It is, however, equally possible and—to my thinking—decidedly more probable that the goddess drew her appellative from an old place-name of unknown meaning, the appellative being later re-interpreted as 'Oxen-binding.'

Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

Akropolis\(^1\) and were entrusted with the discharge of several sacred duties. It is said that the priestess of Athena was drawn from their number\(^2\). More certainly, they provided the priest of Zeus Teleios\(^3\), who as a marriage-god yoked man and wife together\(^4\). They also furnished the priest of Zeus at the Palladion\(^5\). In Roman times both these functionaries had seats reserved for them in the theatre. And on one occasion the latter, at the bidding of the Pythian Apollon, had a new image of Pallas made at his own expense and dedicated to the gods and to the city\(^6\). Why the cult at the Palladion should have been in the hands of the Bouzygai appears from a story told by Polyainos\(^7\):

\(^{1}\) Demophon received the Palladion in trust from Diomedes and took care of it. When Agamemnon asked it back, Demophon gave the genuine image to an Athenian named Bouzyges to take to Athens, but made another of the same size and shape and kept it in his tent. When Agamemnon attacked him with a strong force, Demophon for a long time put up a great fight and so created the impression that he was defending the genuine image. But when many men had been wounded, the followers of Demophon gave way, and Agamemnon seized the false Palladion and, falling into the trap, went off with it.\(^7\)

We gather from other writers that Demophon was the first person tried by the court at the Palladion, which dealt with cases of involuntary homicide, though several versions of his crime are extant\(^8\). The noteworthy point is that the name Demophon again directs our attention to Eleusis, where he was Demeter’s nurseling even before Triptolemos\(^9\). We are not, therefore, surprised to find

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\(^{1}\) Aristeid. or. 2. 13 (i. 20 Dindorf) kal Bouýgye ris υπήλθε με τών εξ ἀκροπόλεως, κ.τ.λ.

\(^{2}\) Schol. Aischin. de fals. leg. 78 (quoted supra p. 606 n. 6). Does this in reality refer to the priestess of that Athena who was worshipped εἰς Παλλαδίου (Inscr. Gr. ed. min. i no. 324, 78 ['Ἀθηναίαι εἰς Παλλαδίον, 95 'Ἀθηναίαι εἰς Παλλαδίον']?

\(^{3}\) Supra ii. 1163 n. 2 fig. 971.

\(^{4}\) Cp. Hesych. s. v. Ζεύς: η' Παρ,..., θεός: Ζεύς.... Supra i. 458 n. 8 and ii. 60 n. o, 695 n. o, 723 n. o, 924 n. o.

\(^{5}\) Corp. Inscr. Att. iii. i no. 273 = Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 860. 34 = Roberts—Gardner Gr. Epigr. ii. 467 ff. no. 271 Bouýgye | λειψων Δίος ἐν | Παλλαδίῳ on a seat in the Theatre, in lettering later than Hadrian.

\(^{6}\) Corp. Inscr. Att. iii. i no. 71 [ὁ δείκτα - - - λειψων Δίος τῷ ἐν Παλλαδίῳ καὶ Βουύγγης, Ποιμανου(?) Μαραθωνων, | χρησαστος τοῦ Πανθεόν Απόλλωνος, οὐ χρη ἐτερου | Παλλαδίου καταμεικταιέας ικ τῶν ἦλιον ποταμος του τε θεου καὶ 77 πτερρ] | ἀνθρωπον. A. Boeckh in the Corp. Inscr. Gr. i no. 491 had proposed to read Μαραθωνων[5], but W. Dittenberger replies: 'ne ita quidem omnis difficilis removetur, cum admodum mirum sit nomen patris hoc demum loco positum.'


\(^{8}\) Paus. i. 28. 8 f. with Sir J. G. Frazer ad loc.

\(^{9}\) Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 53, 65 f. Supra i. 211. c. III.
that ultimately the Bouzygai were responsible for keeping the sacred oxen that ploughed at Eleusis. Probably J. Toepffer is right in his contention that, when the Eleusinian state ceased to be an isolated priestly power, all three ploughings passed into the control of the Attic Bouzygai. O. Gruppe too attributes these changes to political movements in progress at the end of s. vii and during the first half of s. vi B.C.—the temporary predominance of Megara and the permanent union of Eleusis with Athens. Indeed it is likely enough that the original home of the Bouzygai was not Athens, but Eleusis. The Eleusinians, says Pausanias, 'assert that the Rarian Plain was the first to be sown and the first to bear crops, and therefore it is their custom to take the sacrificial barley and to make the cakes for the sacrifices out of its produce.'

Not only Eleusis, but Crete also is involved in the legend of Bouzyges. A tradition which goes back to Aristotle boldly declared that Bouzyges was none other than Epimenides, the famous Cretan prophet who is known to have visited Athens c. 500 B.C. That is a very remarkable identification, which—so far as I can see—must have been propounded by somebody bent on tracing an analogy between the sacred ox of Athens and the sacred bull of Crete. We have already insisted on the resemblance of the communal feast at the Bouphonia to the communal feast in Crete. And we can hardly help wondering whether there had ever been at Eleusis, as there certainly was in Crete, an earlier phase of bovine

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1 Aristeid. or. 46. 129 f. (i.e. 174 f. Dindorf) cites Eupol. Δήμων frag. 7 μήτωρ γάρ ἐστι νῦν τις, ἐν 'Γ' ἐστὶν λέγειν; ἐν δὲ Βουξύγης ἀριστως ἀληθής (Frag. comm. Gr. ii. 490 f. Meineke), and schol. A. ad loc. (iii. 473 Dindorf) comments ὁ Περιλῆς ἐστιν ἀριστος ὁ Βουξύγης ὁ ἀληθής. Βουξύγης μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν φησὶ κατὰ τὸν τοῦτον (ἐγ. τούτου τῶν) τρόπων· διὰ τούτων τρέφοντας ἐν Ἑλευσίνῃ τοὺς Ιέρους βιοις ἀπορρύωτας Βουξύγας ἐκάλεσα. τοῦτο δε οὐκ ἐξήν παντὶ τῇ βουλαμένῃ ποιειν, εἰ μὴ μόνοις τοῖς ἱερεῖαι. παράδειγμη οὖν εἰ τῶν τοιοῦτων ἔλθε τὸ γένος ὁ Περιλῆς· καὶ διὰ τούτῳ Βουξύγην αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσα, κ.τ.λ., while schol. B. D. Oxon. (ib.) has Βουξύγαι καλοῦνται οἱ τὰς ἱερας βιομεν τὰς ἐν Ἑλευσίνῃ ἀπορρύομαι τρέφοντες. ἐκ τοιοῦτοι δὲ ὁ Περιλῆς κατήγγει. τὸ γένος δὲ τοῦτο ἐν ἱερας. κ.τ.λ.


4 Paus. 1. 38. δ το τὸν τό 'Ράμων παράνειν πρῶτον λέγοιν καὶ πρῶτον αὐθεῖαι καρποῖς, καὶ διὰ τούτο ὁπλαις δὲ αὐτοῦ χρήθαι αφαι καὶ ποιεῖσθαι πέμματα ἐς τὰς θυσίας καθήγεσθς.

5 Aristot. frag. 386 Rose 2 ap. interp. Serv. in Verg. georg. i. 19 'unicque puer monstrator arati', vel Epimenides, qui postea Buxyges dictus est secundum Aristotelem, op. Hesych. s.v. Βουξύγης άττικος, δ (§ cod.) πρῶτος βιος ὑπὸ ἀκροβρον ζεῖσθαι· ἐκάλεσον δὲ Ἐμυκενίδης, schol. T. V. II. 18. 485 καὶ ἀκροβρον δὲ πρῶτος Ἐμυκενίδης (καὶ Μαλίμδος cod.) ὑπὸ Βουξύγας ήκεινος.

6 Plat. lagg. 642 b—e, on which see J. Toepffer op. cit. p. 141 and O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 177.

7 Supra p. 606.
omophagy\textsuperscript{1}, not to mention a yet more primitive stage of sheer cannibalism in which the local king or some human substitute was killed and eaten\textsuperscript{4}, the ox being—as H. von Prott\textsuperscript{3} and B. Laum\textsuperscript{4} imagined—a later surrogate for the man. Definite evidence of such a grim past is lacking\textsuperscript{5}, but the legends concerning the cult of Zeus

\textsuperscript{1} Supra i. 659 ff. (‘The Cretan Zeus and Bovine Omophagy’).

\textsuperscript{2} Supra i. 651 ff. (‘The Cretan Zeus and Human Omophagy’).

\textsuperscript{3} ib.

\textsuperscript{4} id.

\textsuperscript{5} At first sight it seems tempting to detect a faded trace of it in the story of Demophon, the infant child of Keleos and Metaneira, whom Demeter 'hid by night like a brand in the blazing fire’ (\textit{A. Dem.} 239) and would have made immortal had not his mother by an untimely shriek broken the spell (supra i. 211). This appears to have been an aetiological myth used to explain an actual custom (J. Toepffer \textit{op. cit.} p. 108 n. 3, Mommsen \textit{Stadt Athen} p. 274, G. Knack in Pauly—Wissowa \textit{Real-Enc.} v. 149). At Eleusis a boy or girl, chosen by lot to expiate the sins of the people and propitiate the gods, was known as the infant child of Keleos and Metaneira, whom Demeter 'hid by night like a brand in the blazing fire’ (\textit{A. Dem.} 239) and would have made immortal had not his mother by an untimely shriek broken the spell (supra i. 211). This appears to have been an aetiological myth used to explain an actual custom (J. Toepffer \textit{op. cit.} p. 108 n. 3, Mommsen \textit{Stadt Athen} p. 274, G. Knack in Pauly—Wissowa \textit{Real-Enc.} v. 149). At Eleusis a boy or girl, chosen by lot to expiate the sins of the people and propitiate the gods, was known as the infant child of Keleos and Metaneira, whom Demeter 'hid by night like a brand in the blazing fire’ (\textit{A. Dem.} 239) and would have made immortal had not his mother by an untimely shriek broken the spell (supra i. 211). This appears to have been an aetiological myth used to explain an actual custom (J. Toepffer \textit{op. cit.} p. 108 n. 3, Mommsen \textit{Stadt Athen} p. 274, G. Knack in Pauly—Wissowa \textit{Real-Enc.} v. 149). At Eleusis a boy or girl, chosen by lot to expiate the sins of the people and propitiate the gods, was known as the infant child of Keleos and Metaneira, whom Demeter 'hid by night like a brand in the blazing fire’ (\textit{A. Dem.} 239) and would have made immortal had not his mother by an untimely shriek broken the spell (supra i. 211). This appears to have been an aetiological myth used to explain an actual custom (J. Toepffer \textit{op. cit.} p. 108 n. 3, Mommsen \textit{Stadt Athen} p. 274, G. Knack in Pauly—Wissowa \textit{Real-Enc.} v. 149). At Eleusis a boy or girl, chosen by lot to expiate the sins of the people and propitiate the gods, was known as the infant child of Keleos and Metaneira, whom Demeter 'hid by night like a brand in the blazing fire’ (\textit{A. Dem.} 239) and would have made immortal had not his mother by an untimely shriek broken the spell (supra i. 211). This appears to have been an aetiological myth used to explain an actual custom (J. Toepffer \textit{op. cit.} p. 108 n. 3, Mommsen \textit{Stadt Athen} p. 274, G. Knack in Pauly—Wissowa \textit{Real-Enc.} v. 149). At Eleusis a boy or girl, chosen by lot to expiate the sins of the people and propitiate the gods, was known as the infant child of Keleos and Metaneira, whom Demeter 'hid by night like a brand in the blazing fire’ (\textit{A. Dem.} 239) and would have made immortal had not his mother by an untimely shriek broken the spell (supra i. 211). This appears to have been an aetiological myth used to explain an actual custom (J. Toepffer \textit{op. cit.} p. 108 n. 3, Mommsen \textit{Stadt Athen} p. 274, G. Knack in Pauly—Wissowa \textit{Real-Enc.} v. 149). At Eleusis a boy or girl, chosen by lot to expiate the sins of the people and propitiate the gods, was known as the infant child of Keleos and Metaneira, whom Demeter 'hid by night like a brand in the blazing fire’ (\textit{A. Dem.} 239) and would have made immortal had not his mother by an untimely shriek broken the spell (supra i. 211). This appears to have been an aetiological myth used to explain an actual custom (J. Toepffer \textit{op. cit.} p. 108 n. 3, Mommsen \textit{Stadt Athen} p. 274, G. Knack in Pauly—Wissowa \textit{Real-Enc.} v. 149). At Eleusis a boy or girl, chosen by lot to expiate the sins of the people and propitiate the gods, was known as the infant child of Keleos and Metaneira, whom Demeter 'hid by night like a brand in the blazing fire’ (\textit{A. Dem.} 239) and would have made immortal had not his mother by an untimely shriek broken the spell (supra i. 211). This appears to have been an aetiological myth used to explain an actual custom (J. Toepffer \textit{op. cit.} p. 108 n. 3, Mommsen \textit{Stadt Athen} p. 274, G. Knack in Pauly—Wissowa \textit{Real-Enc.} v. 149). At Eleusis a boy or girl, chosen by lot to expiate the sins of the people and propitiate the gods, was known as the infant child of Keleos and Metaneira, whom Demeter 'hid by night like a brand in the blazing fire’ (\textit{A. Dem.} 239) and would have made immortal had not his mother by an untimely shriek broken the spell (supra i. 211).
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Olbios

Ómbrios in Elis, that of Zeus Lykaios in Arkadia, and that of Zeus Eilapinastes or Splanchnotomos in Kypros look ominously like it.

A further point of doubtful significance may here be set down. Pausanias, describing the statues on the Akropolis, says:

'There is Athena rising from the head of Zeus. There is also a bull dedicated by the council of the Areiopagos for some reason or other: one might make many guesses on the subject, if one cared to do so.'

This 'bull on the Akropolis' was of bronze and passed into a proverb for a thing to be admired. It has, as Pausanias anticipated, given rise to a whole crop of more or less plausible explanations, none of which however can pretend to certainty. More ad rem is a possible, indeed probable, vase-painting of the bull itself. The facts are as follows. E. Gerhard in 1858 published a black-figured hydria of c. 500 B.C., which he had found in possession of the

The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology London 1930 p. 29 n. 2), the phrase ο ἄφι' έστις μωμεθής would take on a very sinister meaning. But that is obviously an unjustifiable assumption.

Nor can human sacrifice be invoked to account for the Βαλλητός or 'Stone-throwing,' by which the Athenians commemorated Demophon (Hesych. Βαλλητός ἤρθην Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπὶ Δημοκρίτου τοῦ Κέλεου ἀγομένη, cp. Athen. 406 η τῆς ἀρχής ἡ λείψανος μεταχείται; ἐλευθερών γάρ της ἐμπόδια τανάκια ἀγομένην καὶ καλομείτων Βαλλητόν· περὶ ης οίκου ἔτη οὐκ ἀν τις εἰσώμαι μὴ παρ' ἑκάστου μισθόν λαβών,—a 'Scheinkampf' (cp. d. Dem. 265 ff.) resembling the Αἰδώλῳς of Damia and Ausexia at Troizen (Paus. 2. 32. 2 with Frazer Pausanias iii. 266 f.) or the stone-throwing on the Nonae Caprotinae at Rome (Plut. v. Rom. 29, v. Cam. 33). See further O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 2830 f., Scherling sb. xiii. 760 f., Nilsson Gr. Fest. p. 413 ff., Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 901 n. 3.

1 Συγγ. p. 523 f. 2 Συγγ. i. 70 f. 3 Συγγ. ι. 623 f. ο. ο. 4 Paus. i. 24. 2 Ἀθηναίοις τε ἐκείνον ἀνείθεν ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Δίας. ἐστι δὲ καὶ ταύτως ἀνάθημα, τῆς μελέτης τῆς εἰς 'Δρεῖα νάνγη, ἐφ' ὅτι δὴ ἀνάθηκεν ἡ βουλή: πολλὰ δ' ἂν τὸς ἐθνοῦς εἰλαχίου.


In Plut. com. fab. incerti. frag. 24 (Frag. com. Gr. ii. 688 with v. 50) ap. Hesych. κρᾶς αὐστρόπηκας · ἐκ τῆς αὐστρόπηκας κρᾶς ἀνάπληκτος μέγας χαλευὸς. αὐστρόπηκας δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπι Πλάτων ὁ κοιμικὸς διὰ τὸ μέγαν εἰσα, καὶ συναρπασθείς αὐτῶ τὸν τε δόρου ὑπονο.) Meineke plausibly fills the blank by inserting <καὶ τὸν χαλευὸν βοῦν>, a conjecture that has been well received.

6 See Hitzig—Blümmer on Paus. loc. cit.
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

dealers Basseggio and Depoletti at Rome. This noteworthy painting (fig. 414)\(^1\) shows Athena Poliás\(^2\) seated on the left with helmet, spear, phyláde, and attendant snake. In front of her\(^8\) is a blazing altar with Ionic volutes and a prothysis or wide base. Between them stands a priestess, barefoot like her goddess and holding an olive-branch. She looks toward Athena, but raises her hand to salute a stately bull, the forepart of which is seen standing apparently on the stylobate of a flat-roofed Doric structure\(^4\). Gerhard after mooting various possibilities was disposed to identify this bull with the votive gift of the Areiopagos\(^5\), which—he thought—might have some connexion with the city-goddess and perhaps also with the Zeus of the Bouphonia. Gerhard’s interpretation was taken up and carried further by over-zealous followers. Miss J. E. Harrison\(^6\), in discussing the Dipolieia, ventured the view ‘that the sacred ox, about whom so much ado was made, may have had a sort of shrine on the Acropolis, or that he may have lived in a shrine belonging to Zeus Polieus.’ She went on to suggest ‘that the votive gift of the Areopagus may have been connected with this Polieus hieron, and that the much-disputed naos mentioned by Pausanias may have been a small shrine set up in connection with the Bouphonia.’ Thirty-seven years later Miss Harrison\(^7\) had dropped Zeus overboard. ‘Now it is,’ she says, ‘of course impossible

\(^1\) Gerhard \textit{Ausserl. Vasenb.} iv. 6 ff. pl. 242, 1 (=my fig. 414) and 2, Reinach \textit{Rpt. Vases} ii. 122, 5 and 6. The present whereabouts of the vase, to me at least, is unknown. But there is not the smallest reason to doubt its antiquity.

\(^2\) \textit{Supra} p. 573 n. 4.

\(^3\) Gerhard \textit{op. cit.} iv. 123 rightly connects the altar with the ‘Götterbild.’

\(^4\) \textit{Id. ib.} notes that the building looks more like a hall than a temple.

\(^5\) \textit{Supra} p. 612. T. Bergk in the \textit{Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft} 1845 iii. 979 ff. held that the Bronze Bull of the Akropolis was of colossal dimensions. Gerhard \textit{op. cit.} iv. 123 f.says that O. Jahn, like himself, was inclined to view the bull on the \textit{kydion} as ‘ein Standbild.’ T. Panofka too in the \textit{Arch. Zeit.} 1852 ii. Arch. Anz. p. 158 decided that the bull in question must be meant for ‘eine ehrenweihgeschenk’ and compared it with the small bull standing on a pedestal to be seen on tetradrachms of Selinous struck c. 466–415 B.C. (\textit{Hunter Cat. Coins} i. 217 pl. 15, 20 f. See now \textit{Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins} Sicily p. 140 f. fig., p. 142 fig., \textit{Weber Cat. Coins} i. 331 f. nos. 1534, 1535 pl. 58, no. 1536 pl. 59, and above all the splendid series in the Lloyd collection (\textit{Sylloge nummorum Graecorum} vol. ii) with the important re-interpretation of A. H. Lloyd in the \textit{Num. Chron.} Fifth Series 1935 xv. 86 ff. pl. 4, 14, 16, 18, 20–24, pl. 5, 25, 27 (the river-god Selinos, sacrificing at the altar of Apollo, protects Himera (the cock) against Akragas (the bull of Phalaris)). Panofka thought that the Athenian bull, like the Selinunte, might have been a votive offering to avert plague, grouped with the seated figure of Athena ‘Tyria. Failing that, he suggested a ‘Standbild des Stier-Dionysos oder des Achelous.’


\(^7\) \textit{Ead. Themis} p. 148 fig. 25.
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Olbios

to be certain that we have here the ox of the Bouphonia. What is certain is that we have a holy ox, holy on his own account with a sanctuary of his own, and that this holy ox is associated with not Zeus, but Athena. Whatever Olympian was dominant at the moment would take over the intrinsically holy beast.’ F. Schwenn, who held that the Bouphonia was later attached to the cult of Zeus Polieus, likewise regards the bull as the essential centre of the rite and assumes that a bronze effigy of it was set up to perpetuate the blessings believed to stream from it.

Without attempting further to investigate the prehistory of the Bouphonia—a task for which the evidence available is hardly sufficient—we may at least admit that Greeks of the classical and post-classical periods commonly recognised the bull as an animal form of Zeus. They were familiar from their youth up with the story of him and Europe. The Hellenic age loved to portray the god metamorphosed into a bull and bearing his venturesome rider across the sea, in the west from left to right, in the east from

1 Supra i. 535 n. 1, 736, 740, Deo or Demeter (supra i. 393), Europe (supra i. 464, 544, ii. 930 n. 0, 1131 n. 1), Io (supra i. 438 f., 458 f.), Pasiphae (supra i. 544, 739 f.), Typhoeus (supra ii. 449 n. 0 (a)).
2 Supra i. 526 n. 1 (bibliography).
3 So during s. vi and the early decades of s. v B.C. in the art of Sicily and central Greece. Typical examples are the following:

(1) An archaic metope from temple ‘F or S’ at Selinous, which was at first dated as far back as the end of s. viii or the beginning of s. vi (A. Salinas ‘Nuove metope arcaiche Selinuntine’ in the Mon. d. Linc. 1889 i. 928 ff. pl. 1, T. Homolle in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1896 xx. 670, J. Escher in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 1296 f.), but is now more reasonably placed c. 560 (Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l’Art viii. 488 ff. fig. 248, D. S. Robertson A Handbook of Greek & Roman Architecture Cambridge 1929 p. 325) or even c. 540 B.C. (W. J. Anderson—R. P. Spiers The Architecture of Ancient Greece rev. by W. B. Dinsmoor London 1927 p. 193). The bull combines profile body with full-face head, horn ear and knee breaking the framework to convey a sense of motion. His back is unduly depressed to secure approximate isocephaly. His tail is too long, but serves to lend interest to the flat monotonous flank. The whole effect is awkward, since Europe’s far hand grasps the near horn of her mount: if he turns his head, she will be pulled off his back. Two dolphins below the group betoken the sea (Brunn—Bruckmann Deukm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt. pl. 288, b = my fig. 415). The metope is carved in ‘tufo bianco di Menfi’ (Salinas loc. cit.).

Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

right to left. The Hellenistic age, tiring a little of this hackneyed

id. ib. 1866 p. 106 no. 3 remarks that the said 'Rehzwege' are laden with white fruit, not grape-bunches, and concludes, on account of the fish in the water and the rocks on either side of it, that after all Europe must be meant. G. Minervini loc. cit., followed by O. Jahn Die Entführung der Europa auf antiken Kunstwerken Wien 1870 p. 21, supposed that the rocks in question were merely high-flung waves and quoted Η, 13. 29 γειτονίας δὲ ὄρας καὶ λίθους of a similar scene. Overbeck loc. cit. hedges. Returning to sanity, we note the impression of speed given by the five dolphins hurrying in the opposite direction to the bull, the daring though unsuccessful attempt to show the bull's legs underwater, Europe's hand thrown up in astonishment at sight of the further shore even at the risk of letting go that horn—altogether a brilliant little picture. The apple-tree need be no more than a conventional background, though Stephani loc. cit. 1866 p. 119 may be right in regarding it as a substitute for a flower held in the hand: Europe was certainly a tree-and-flower goddess (supra i. 525 ff.).

3 A late black-figured oinochoe with trefoil mouth, now in the possession of Mr C. T. Seltman and as yet unpublished, shows on a red panel Europe, draped, riding to right (cp. Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases ii. 242 no. B 486). Her left hand grasps the bull's horn; her right hand is empty. Behind her is seen the apple-tree with white fruit. Beneath her the sea is rendered by a wash of thinned glaze with white curved lines to indicate the waves—an early example of naturalism in colour (cp. supra i. 335 figs. 267, 268, where the undulations are in thinned glaze without white contours).

4 A red-figured amphora at Petrograd (supra i. 531 fig. 403), attributed by Hoppin Red-Fig. Vases i. 288 no. 98 to Douris, by J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rothfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 108 no. 3 to 'Der Maler der münchener Amphora 230'.

5 The famous Europe-kylix at Munich (supra i. 526 n. 1 with col. pl. xxxii), on which alone the bull was inscribed ΕΙΕΒΞ, details were gilded, and the sea was simply ignored—the result being a simultaneous appeal to our interest in mythology, our appreciation of splendour, and our imaginative powers. As often as the kyxix was filled at least or festival, the god and his glittering consort would be visible, an appropriate group, in the midst of a wine-dark sea.

6 The red-figured fish-plates at Petrograd (supra i. 547 with fig. 414) supply the anticlimax. The galloping bull and the floating Europe, with her train of fish, dolphins, and sea-powers, would all be literally submerged in the brine that formed a popular sauce (γδπος).

1 (1) By far the earliest example of this arrangement is found on a 'Caeretan' hydria in the Louvre (supra i. 471 fig. 347), produced by a brilliant Ionic artist in some Asia Minor town c. 550 B.C. (Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. i. 180 ff., M. H. Swindler Ancient Painting Yale Univ. Press 1929 pp. 126, 193 fig. 250 (detail of trees, hare, etc.).

2 Next in order of seniority is the group that appears c. 500 B.C. on the oldest stater of Phaistos. Of this crude and dumpy coin only one specimen has been published
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Olbios

type, sought to vary the traditional pose, imported fresh elements

which shows some features of the obverse more clearly. The reverse has an incuse square containing a lion's scalp surrounded by the inscription ΔΛΩΣ ΠΟΓΩΝΙΟΝ. Analogous types occur on the oldest coins of Gortyna; but on these the bull more often moves towards the right. Sundry specimens on which the movement is towards the left seem to be of slightly later date (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc. p. 42 pl. 9, 4, J. N. Svoronos op. cit. p. 128 no. 4, p. 150 no. 11, 12, no. 9 pl. 12, 25. Babelon op. cit. ii. 3, 979 ff. no. 1811 pl. 255, 2, no. 1652 pl. 255, 3 assigns these coins to Phaistos: on their reverse the legend surrounding the lion's scalp has either, been replaced by a border of dots or disappeared altogether). For further light on the relations between the series of Gortyna and Phaistos we await the forthcoming study of the subject by Mr E. J. P. Raven.

(3) The terra-cotta plaque here published (pl. xlvi, 1) is said to have formed part of a frieze from a tomb at Hadra, the eastern suburb of Alexandria, which passed into the collection of Florence Lady Ward and thence into mine. Excavations carried on at a great depth in 1898—1901 led to the discovery of two cemeteries, ‘that of Hadra on the east of the city containing Hellenic graves, and that of Gabbari on the west, which is late Hellenistic and Roman’ (R. C. Bosanquet in the journ. Hell. Stud. 1901 xxi. 351 f. See further E. Breccia Alexandrea ad Aegyptum Bergamo 1931, and for details id. ‘Fouilles de Hadra’ in the Municipalitè d'Alexandrie. Rapport sur la marche du service du musee 1913 pp. 15—33 pls. 10—23, id. ‘Nuova esplorazione nella necropoli di Hadra’ in the Bulletin de la societe archéologique d'Alexandrie 1914 xv. 56—58, A. H. Tubby—H. E. R. James ‘An account of excavations at Chatby, Ibrahimieh, and Hadra’ ib. 1918 xvi. 79—90 pl. 3). Height 5ins., width 4ins. There is one hole for attachment. The relief is throughout covered with a delicate white slip, on which Europe's mantle is touched in with light blue pigment. The design shows a magnificent bull turned towards the left and pawing the ground, on which flowers are springing. Couched on his back in an easy attitude is Europe, looking towards the right. Her feet are crossed, and her body is half-draped in a light wrap which she holds as a sail with either hand. The forms of the bull, the spacing of Europe's breasts, the rendering of the flowery meadow, are all characteristic of the fourth century B.C. and suggest a fine original dating from the period of Ptolemy i Soter or, at latest, Ptolemy ii Philadelphos.

Mr A. D. Trendall, however, draws my attention to a bronze mirror (pl. xlvi, 2) now in the possession of Mr Bisset in Rome. This mirror, which measures 15m by 16m (or 19m, if the handle be included) is said to have been found at Athens, where it was bought from a dealer in February or March 1935. The design of its relief is obviously identical with that of the terra-cotta plaque.

How is this identity to be explained? Is the plaque a forgery, or the mirror, or both? Or should we point to the fact that a bronze mirror-case of c. 300—250 B.C. at Paris (M. Collignon in the Bull. Curr. Hist. 1885 ix. 322 ff. pl. 7), no. 1455 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, is similarly duplicated, or at least closely paralleled, by a terra-cotta mould found in the Peiraieus and now at Berlin (Babelon—Blanchet Cat. Bronzes de la Bibli. Nat. p. 544 f. no. 1355 fig.)?


1 Europe floating (supra i. 547 fig. 414), recumbent with front to spectator (supra n. 0 (3) pl. xlvi, 1, 2), recumbent with back to spectator (infra p. 616 figs. 425, 426), standing (supra i. 530 n. 2 fig. 401), stooping (infra p. 619 n. 2 (1) pl. xlvi, cp. p. 620 n. 0 (2) figs. 419, 420), sitting (infra p. 622 n. 0 fig. 421), etc.
(1) Terra-cotta plaque from a tomb at Hadra (?), now at Queens' College, Cambridge: Europe on the Bull.
(2) Bronze mirror from Athens (?), now in Rome: Europe on the Bull.

See page 518 n. 4 (5).
of interest into the scene, or changed the time of action by showing
the bull still on terra firma while the meadow broke into flowers at
his feet. Europe, fully draped to begin with, then semi-draped,
and finally in Roman art frankly naked, was from first to last

1 Basket (supra i. 530 fig. 403, i. 531 fig. 405), Asterion (supra i. 531 fig. 405,
i. 547 fig. 414), Erotes (supra i. 547 fig. 414, infra n. 2 (1) pl. xlvii, p. 527 n. 0 (3)
pl. xlviii), sea-powers (supra i. 547 fig. 414, infra p. 527 n. 0 (3) pl. xlviii), etc.
A good example of the sort is a 'Lucanian' amphora in the British Museum (Brit.
Mus. Cat. Vases iv. 95 no. F 184), which has for its main design Europe on the bull riding
towards the left. The sea is indicated by a dolphin (mostly repainted), a fish, a lobster,
and a cuttle, seen above a rocky bottom on which are sea-urchins and seaweed. Behind

Fig. 418.

Europe flies Eros with a tainia, and on the shore she has quitted stands a bearded male
figure with bay-wreath, embroidered kimation, and staff—presumably Phoinix or Agenor
(J. V. Millingen Peintures antiques et inédites de vases grecs tirées de diverses collections
Rome 1813 p. 44 f. pl. 25 (=my fig. 418), Reinach Vases Ant. p. 105 f. pl. 25,
Lenormant—de Witte Él. mon. clt. i. 60 ff. pl. 27, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus
p. 438 f. (no. 19) Atlas pl. 6, 11, J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. ii. 863
fig. 3847). The suggestion of Overbeck op. cit. p. 439 that the bearded figure is Zeus strikes
me as a little tactless. Zeus should at least be advancing towards his bride's arrival (op.
supra i. 531 fig. 405, i. 547) rather than speeding her departure.

2 A small group of South-Italian vases combines this representation of Zeus as a bull
with that of Zeus in propria persona:

(1) An Apulian amphora, found in 1851 in a rich rock-cut grave at Canosa (E. Gerhard
in the Arch. Zeit. 1857 xv. 56 ff. pl. 104, 2 shows the tomb) and now at Naples (Heydemann
Vasensamml. Neapel p. 495 ff. no. 3218), has the upper zone of its body decorated with
two scenes in which Zeus plays a part: (A) Europe and four of her companions are playing
at ball in a flowery meadow, watched by an old paidagogos, when the great bull, yellow
above and white below, appears in their midst and kneels at the feet of Europe. One Eros
on his back urges him forward, another holding a tainia hovers above her. A dove brings
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

up a wreath as omen of successful love. And four stars indicate the sky, which is the true home of the metamorphosed god (G. Minervini in the Bull. Arch. Nap. 1853 ii. 46 ff., 57 ff., O. Jahn Die Entführung der Europa auf antiken Kunstwerken Wien 1870 p. 1 ff. pl. i, a (=my pl. xlvii), Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 434 ff. (no. 16)). Overbeck op. cit. p. 435 n. (a) illustrates the colour of the bull from Didymos ap. Eustath. in Od. p. 1430, 63 f. καὶ ταῦτα ἄργυρηθα ἤγουν λευκός φασί παρὰ Φρουρίῳ, ὅ διακορίας τὴν Ἐθώπην, Hesych. ἄργυρηθα ταῦτα· ταχισθης ἡ λευκός παραγώγων· λέγεται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ διακοριας τὴν Ἐθώπην, Loukian. dial. mar. 15. 2 ὁ Ζεὺς δὲ ταῦτα εἰκάτας εὐάντων συνεταίνει αὐταῖς κάλλυτος φαυάδμαν· λευκός τε γάρ ἦν ἀκρίβεια καὶ τὰ κέρατα εὐκομήθη καὶ τὰ πλέμμα ἁμεροί· κ.τ.λ., Ov. met. 2. 852 quippe color nivis est, 861 flores ad candida porrigit ora, 865 nunc latus in fulvis niveum deposit harenis, Sil. It. 14. 568 f. ardet et Europe, nivei sub imagine tauri | vecta Iove, Anth. Lat. cod. Salmas. 14. 3 (i. 1. 49 Riese) Europam nivei solatur amore iuvenci, and—for the admixture of yellow—from Mosch. 2. 84 f. τοῦ δ’ ἦτοι τὸ μὲν ἄλλο δέμας ξαυθύχωρον ἔξεκεν, | κόκλος δ’ ἄργυρος μέσῳ μάρμαρε

Fig. 419.

μετώψε. (B) Zeus, half-draped in a himation, with a bay-wreath on his head and shoes on his feet, is seated on a rock, holding an eagle-sceptre in his left hand, a phidle in his right. This he extends towards Eros, who stands in a four-horse car. The horses are led by Hermes, with caduceus and palm-branch. He is preceded by a small horned Pan, who shoulders his lagobolon with the right hand and holds his syrinx with the left, turning his head to glance at Hermes. Before both, leaning on a rock over which his chlamys is thrown, stands a young man with horns, wearing a broad band round his head: he holds a lagobolon in his right hand, a phidle in his outstretched left (quis? Heydemann op. cit. p. 499 n. 8 suggests 'Diopan im Gegensatz zum kleinen Aigipan' and quotes in support O. Beudorf in the Ann. d. Inst. 1866 xxxviii. 111 ff. Better, perhaps, Pan as opposed to Aigipan, op. supra i. 375 fig. 287). Below, flowers and grasses. Above, four stars. The significance of the scene is doubtful. But the recurrence of these four stars justifies us, I think, in linking the reverse (B) with the obverse (A). L. Stephani was perhaps on the right tack when in the Compl. rendus St. Pits. 1866 p. 121 he wrote: 'in einem dritten Gemälde derselben Vase sieht man Zeus, umgeben von anderen Gottheiten, auf seinem Throne sitzen und daneben ein Viereimann, auf welchem er sich wahrscheinlich nach Kreta begeben wird.'

(1) An Apulian amphora in the Museo Gregoriano of the Vatican has the upper zone of its body decorated with an analogous design (A. F. Gori Museum Etruscorum Florentiae 1737 i pls. 162 (whole vase), 163 (obverse), 164 (reverse), ii. 316 ff., J. B. Passerius Picturae Etruscorum in Vasculis Romae 1767 i. 5 ff. pls. 4—6 (coloured but inadequate), O. Jahn op. cit. p. 4, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 436 f. (no. 17) Atlas pl. 6, 15.
An amphora from Canosa, now at Naples: Europe playing with the Bull.

See page 619 n. 2 (4).
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Olbios

a vegetation power¹ and as such associated with flowers and fruit. The fertilising god must needs have a fertile bride.

The Greek type of Europe with her flowers seated on the back of the bull Zeus seems to have originated in the Hittite type of Chipa with her flowery kirtle standing on the bull of Teşub², and (from a tracing of the original) = my fig. 419, Alinari's photo no. 3573 = my fig. 420). Europe stoops to attach a cord to the horns of the submissive bull (cp. Ov. met. 2. 867 f., Anth. Lat. cod. Salmas. 14. 17 f. (i. 1. 49 Riese), while one of her playmates holds him by the tail. The bull is painted white. Eros with a tainia and a flower in his left hand extends his right with a wreath towards Europe. The rest of the figures are divine, and correspond with those on the reverse of the preceding vase. On the left Aphrodite, uplifting a mirror, leans over a pillar to watch the scene. On the right Hermes, with pētasos, chlamys, caduceus, and wreath, awaits the issue in his favourite attitude of the supported foot (supra ii. 479 n. 6, infra p. 706). Finally, seated at a higher level and half-draped in a fine aimation, with a wreath in his hair, is the bridegroom looking towards his bride. The sceptre in his hand marks him as Zeus. Jahn loc. cit. speaks of it as crowned with an eagle. Overbeck too calls it an 'Adlerscepter' and figures it as such, though in the modern photograph the bird is hard to trace. Jahn further describes Zeus as 'unbärtig.' Overbeck says 'in seltener Erscheinung jugendlich' and compares Zeus as a beardless lover on an Io-amphora of the Coghill collection (Lenormant—de Witte El. mon. cit. i. 55 ff. pl. 26, Overbeck op. cit. Zeus p. 408 f. (no. 1) Atlas pl. 7, 7, infra p. 638 n. o (fig. 435)) but Overbeck's own tracing shows that the god's face is modern and Gori op. cit. pl. 163 gives it a beard!

(3) A South-Italian krater (hydria?), likewise in the Museo Gregoriano, simplifies the scene (O. Jahn op. cit. p. 5, Overbeck op. cit. Zeus p. 437 (no. 18) Atlas pl. 6, 13 (from a tracing of the original) = my fig. 421). Europe hurries forward to caress the white bull, which stands erect before her on the flowery plain. Her old nurse (?) turns away with a gesture of astonishment. Above Europe is seen a tainia. Above the bull's head, a long-winged Eros with mirror and dulcimer. On a higher level, left and right, sit two deities facing each other—Zeus with phile and long sceptre, Aphrodite with mirror and toilet-box.

An Apulian krater in the Louvre represents a slightly earlier moment in the action and gives no hint of Zeus in human shape (Overbeck op. cit. Zeus p. 434 (no. 15) Atlas pl. 6, 12 (from a tracing of the original) = my fig. 422). The treatment is interesting and was perhaps inspired by some such painting as that described in Ach. Tat. 1. 1 ekóma pōlloús anēthos o leimós. dèndram aistros anēmēmato fálalikex kai phytōn. swenikex tò dèndra, swufereb tò pētalá: swinipos ois pēlpho tò phyllo, kai ἑγκατο τοῖς αὖθεν ροδοσ ὅ τὸν φύλλων συμπλήκ. Ἐγραψεν ἡ τεχνή ὅπω τὸ pētalá kai τὴν σκιὰ...dòdor ἐκα κατὰ μέσον ἔρρει τοῦ λειμῶν τῇ γραφής, τὸ μὲν ἄναβλεψαν κάτωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, τὸ δὲ τοῖς ἄνθει καὶ τοῖς φυτοῖς περιχέιμενον. Here too in the midst of the meadow is a spring welling from a hollow rock, on which sits Europe beneath two overarching trees. On the left a swathed woman bears a large pitcher. On the right a great bull, coloured white and red, lowers his head before Europe, who looks longingly at him and toys with her veil. Higher up Aphrodite is seated, with Eros standing beside her. And above the horizon are seen a male and a female (two females) conversing together.

¹ Supra i. 534 ff.
² Supra i. 536 n. 2, 606, 644 figs. 503 and 504.
with sundry modifications\textsuperscript{1} to have lasted on well into Roman

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig421.png}
\caption{Fig. 421.}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig422.png}
\caption{Fig. 422.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{1} A possible Europe—we can hardly rate the evidence higher—hails from the tholos-tomb at Dendra, near Midea on the Argive Plain, excavated by A. W. Persson in 1926 and dated by him and A. J. B. Wace \textit{c. 1400-1350} B.C. (A. W. Persson \textit{The Royal Tombs at Dendra near Midea Lund} 1931 pp. 57, 143). Among its rich contents were eight metope-like plaques of glass paste, six light blue, two violet in colour, but all bearing a design in relief described as follows by their discoverer: "An animal with head borne
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

times—a total duration of nearly two thousand years. The theme
high moves swiftly towards the right; on its back sits a woman (there is a fastening hole
on each side of her waist) with both legs at one side, the knees very much bent... The
representation naturally recalls those dating from a later period, showing Europa on the
bull, especially that on the archaic metope from Selinus, with a beading on the upper
edge [supra p. 615 fig. 415]—our plaques have one also on the lower edge. On the small
glass plaques from Midea we have the first illustration of the Europa legend, an illustration
of the Mycenaean period' (Persson op. cit. pp. 36, 65 fig. 43, pl. 25, 1 (part of which = my
fig. 423: scale 1/2) and pl. 26, 2). Persson's view was adopted by M. P. Nilsson The Mycenaean
Fig. 423.

Der Glaube der Hellenen Berlin 1931 p. 112 ('Bronzerelief'!?) and A. Roes in the Journ.
Hell. Stud. 1934 liv. 25 call for caution. If the plaques in question really represent
Europe, this is by far the earliest trace of her myth on Greek soil, and the bull—as we
should have anticipated (supra p. 615)—moves from left to right. But Europe, though
the likeliest, is not the only possible bull-rider. What of Artemis Taurokéttos (supra i.
417 n. 7, 538 fig. 409, ii. 729 n. 0, 955 n. 0, 1214 (?)? Or, for that matter, what of Chira
herself?

1 Roman wall-paintings and floor-mosaics of Europe are listed by Helbig Wandgem.
Camp. p. 36 ff. nos. 122—130, p. 454. Sogliano Pitt. mur. Camp. p. 22 f. nos. 79—82,
1—6. One painting and a couple of mosaics will serve to illustrate the range and variety
of these later representations:

(i) The finest of the wall-paintings was found in a house at Pompeii (Reg. ix. 5. 18,
room f on the plan by A. Mau in the Bull. d. Inst. 1879 p. 22 pl.) and is now at Naples
(A. Sogliano in the Guida del Mus. Napoli p. 303 no. 1296, G. Rodenwaldt Die Kompos-
tion der pompéjiischen Wandgemälde Berlin 1909 p. 69 ff. fig. 11, Herrmann Denkm.
d. Malerei pl. 68 (= my fig. 434) Text p. 89 f., L. Curtius Die Wandmalerei Pompejis
Leipzig 1929 p. 189 f. pl. 4 (a good reproduction in colours), O. Elia Pitture murali e
mosaici nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli Roma 1932 p. 37 no. 47 fig. 12). Europe, half-
draped in a violet himation with sea-green border, is seated, not to say enthroned, on
the back of a splendid brown bull, which stands steady though his eye is turned seaward
and he is already thinking of the perilous transit. The heroine's right hand raises her mantle;
her left is laid on the bull's head and holds a red riband (to twine about his horns, cp.
Ov. met. 2. 867 f.). Of Europe's playmates, in wine-red, golden yellow, and greenish
blue, the first stoops to embrace the bull, the third has set down her pitcher—a detail
which implies the proximity of a spring (supra p. 623 n. 0 fig. 422), as perhaps does the
squared structure on the right. The landscape background shows a wooded mountain,
cleft by a ravine in which are seen a stately fir-tree (?) and before it a tall sacred column.
to indicate that this is holy ground. The whole composition, with its clear-cut contours and sharp sculpturesque qualities, belongs to Mau's Third Style of mural painting (25 B.C.—50 A.D.). But the mysterious glow, which lights up the rock-face, the column, the further

Fig. 424.

legs of the bull, and glints on the breasts of Europe, is a light-and-shade device already heralding the advent of the Fourth Style (50—79 A.D.). The work in general presupposes a good Greek original of the Hellenistic age, to which the Roman copyist has added a conventional background and accessories.

C. III. 40
(2) A mosaic, found at Praeneste (Palestrina) towards the end of the seventeenth century and now preserved in a bedroom of the Palazzo Barberini at Rome, raises several problems of interest (O. Jahn *Die Entführung der Europa auf antiken Kunstwerken* Wien 1870 p. 7 ff. pl. 2 (= my fig. 425) from a drawing by Schulz, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 454 ff. (no. 41) Atlas pl. 7, 20, W. Helbig *Untersuchungen über die
A Roman mosaic from Aquileia: Europe on the Bull, escorted by Eros and Poseidon.

See page 627 n. 0 (3).
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios 627

appealed, not only to artists and craftsmen, but to poets¹ and

campanische Wandmalerei Leipzig 1873 p. 324 ff., id. in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 141 ff. figs., id. Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümmer in Rom² Leipzig 1913 ii. 395 ff., Reinach Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom. p. 12 no. 1. The bull (white, shaded with brown) is already in the sea, escaping towards the left, with Europe scantily draped in a himation (deep orange, shaded with red) on his back. Her adventure is watched with astonishment and interest by two female figures (local Nymphs?) on the sea-shore. Above are seen five of Europe’s playmates fleeing in alarm towards the right. Some of them look back as they run. And finally from behind a rock advances a grave bearded man in a himation (red) with a long staff (yellow) in his hand. Overbeck op. cit. p. 456 would see in him Zeus, at whose sudden appearance the nearest of the maidens is collapsing in a swoon! Jahn op. cit. p. 8 had more sensibly taken him to be Agenor the father of Europe or Kadmos her brother. Helbig Führer³ p. 395 f. notes that, apart from minor injuries and repairs, there is something wrong about the whole composition. Europe’s companions are not looking at the elopement, but forwards or backwards; nor is Europe herself being carried off from their midst. All would be well, if the mosaic were bisected and rearranged with its lower half on the left, its upper half on the right (fig. 426). Accordingly he conjectures that the original design was an oblong fresco, which the Praenestine craftsman compressed into a square (0.82 m²) to fill a given space. The lively attitudes and the fine colouring point to an artist of marked ability. We are thus led towards the conclusion that this mosaic is a modified copy of the famous painting by Antiphilos, a rival of Apelles, whose ‘Kadmos and Europe’ was to be seen in the Porticus Pompeia at Rome (Plin. nat. hist. 35. 114, cp. Mart. ep. 7. 14. 3. 5, 15 ff., 3. 20. 13 f., 11. 1. 11). See further A. Reinach Textes Peint. Anc. i. 385 n. 2.

(3) Of almost equal interest and of even greater beauty is the mosaic found in 1860 near the Cathedral at Aquileia on the estate of Count Cassis and thence removed on rollers to his Museum in the Castle of Monastero (O. Jahn op. cit. p. 52 ff. with pl. 10 (=my pl. xlviii)) from a coloured drawing carefully executed on the spot by the painter Aguari under the direction of von Steinbüchel, Overbeck op. cit. Zeus p. 456 ff. Atlas pl. 7. 23. O. Fasiolo I mosaici di Aquileia Roma 1915 pl. 1, 2, Reinach Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom. p. 12 no. 2). The divine bull is here figured as a sea-beast, brown to grey in colour: his forefeet plunge in the brine; his headquarters end in two fish-tails flung aloft as he frisks along. Europe, wearing a blue fillet on her blond hair, but otherwise stark naked, sits gracefully on his back, resting one hand on his head, the other on his flank. Eros, with short wings coloured blue and red, leads the way, holding a flowery halter in his right hand and a burning torch in his left. Lastly, Poseidon, a wreath of green weed on his dark brown hair, rides on a big grey dolphin and is followed by a second of smaller size as he accompanies the bridal cortège and calms the sea for his brother. His right arm is seen, as if swimming, through the clear water (cp. Nonn. Dion. i. 74 f.)—an effect made possible by a clever use of blue glass tesserae. The mosaic, badly cracked and damaged, must have seen service for many years before Attila captured Aquileia in 452 A.D. Indeed, von Steinbüchel and Jahn assigned it, reasonably enough, to the palmy days of the town under Trajan and Hadrian. Jahn poses the question whether this rider on a marine bull might not have been meant for Aphrodite or some Nereid, say Galateia, rather than for Europe (Nonn. Dion. i. 57 ff.; cp. supra p. 133 f. figs. 52, 53), but decides rightly for the last; and even Overbeck says ‘eine sichere Entscheidung ist nicht möglich.’ I do not share their hesitation. The obvious intention to represent a wedding train and the general agreement with other pictures of Europe really leave no room for doubt, not to mention such confirmatory details as those recorded by Ach. Tat. 1. 1*Eros elxē tōn bavōn. Ἐρως, μικρὸν παιδίον, ἠτάκα τοῦ πτερόν...ἐκφερέται τῷ πύρι: ἐκποταμτῷ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐν τῷ Δίᾳ καὶ θηραμέλι, ἄσπερ αὐτοῦ καταγελῶ, ὅτι δὲ αὐτὸν γέγονε βαῦς.¹

¹ The only allusion to Europe in the Homeric poems occurs in the Διὸς ἀπάτη (II. 14. 321 f. ὄψιν ἦτε θυρίων κόιρῳ τρικλειταῖο, ἥ τε ξένω μίν ἡμῶν τε καὶ αὐτίδων Ψάλταμον). This bowdlerizing (?) episode omits the actual name of the heroine and ignores the bull.

40—2
prose-writers also. And I suggest that its long-lived appeal implies a deep-seated belief among the Mediterranean peoples that the sky-god could and on occasion did take shape as a bull. If so, it may well be that—as we conjectured above—the ox of the Dipolieia was originally held to be the visible form or embodiment of Zeus Polieus himself.

Here we may pause to note a partial parallel from northern Greece. A stele of Proconnesian marble, found at the village of Kavak between Panderma (Panormos near Kyzikos) and Gunen and acquired in 1908 by the Imperial Ottoman Museum, is shaped like a chapel with gable and akroteria (fig. 427). The gable is adorned with an ox-head, round which is a garland tied between the horns. In the chapel stands Zeus Olbios. He wears a chiton

They are found first in Hes. frag. 209 Flach, 52 Kinkel, 30 Rzach ap. schol. A. B. II. 12. 292 θηριόντων τον Φοίνικα Ζεὺς θεαθήμενον τοις λειματία μετα νυμφῶν άνθη ανάλεγονας ἁρανθή κατελθὼν φιλαῖς αὐτῶν εἰς ταύρων καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος κρόσου ἐκεῖνη: οὕτως το τθηρίον ἀναπερασάμενον ἑρμήν εἰς βασιλείαν εἰς Κρήτην ἐμένη αὐτῇ· εἰ δ' οὕτως συνελάθη εὑρήν τις αισθήτως θεὸς ἱππότης διὰ κεκυκλοθεὶ τρις παίδες ἐγένετος, Μίνωος Ξαρπηνίδας καὶ Παθάμανθος. ἤ ἱστορία παρὰ Πολυδώρου καὶ Βασυλίδην, cp. schol. T. II. 12. 292 Ἰππείδος δὲ Θηρίων καὶ Δίως αὐτῶν (ἐκ Σαρπηνίδος) φησίν, schol. Eur. Hes. 28 ὁ δὲ Ἰππείδος Θηρίων νῦν φησίν αὐτῶν (ἐκ Σαρπηνίδος: lacunam indicavit Schwartz) ὁ Ἑλλάνως (Frag. 94 [Frag. gr. Hist. i. 131 f. Jacoby]): supra i. 546 n. 5. Eumelos of Corinth, whose floruit (supra i. 738) should have been fixed later than c. 740 B.C. (W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1912 i. 131, W. Schmid—O. Stahlin Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1929 i. 1. 290 f.), wrote a Θηρίωνia dealing with the tale of Europe, but the three extant fragments are not ad rem (Epic. Gr. frag. i. 192 f. Kinkel). Other Greek poets that handled the theme include Eur. Krētes frag. 472 Nauck (cited supra i. 648 n. 1) cp. Io. Malal. chron. 3 p. 31 Dindorf καθὼς καί Θηρίωνδα δ' σαφώτατο ποιητικώς συνεργάτης, διὰ φησὶν, Ζεύς μεταλληθεὶς εἰς ταύρων τὴν θηρίων ἡράρησε, Mosch. 2. i—166, Aнакреон. 52 Bergk, 52 Hiller, [Hom.] Βατρ. 78 f., Nonn. Dion. i. 46 ff., 330 ff.

Among Latin poets treating of the same subject the following deserve notice: Hor. od. 3. 27. 25 ff., Od. met. 2. 386 ff., fast. 5. 503 ff., Germ. Art. 536 ff., Anth. Lat. cod. Salmas. 14. 1—34 (l. 1. 49 f. Riese).

1 First in Akousilaos of Argos frag. 20 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 102 Muller)=frag. 29 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 55 Jacoby) ap. Apollod. 2. 7. 5 ἐκτάται δὲ ἄνθρωπον τὸν Κρήτην ἀγαγεῖν ταύρων· τοῦτον Ἀκουσίλαος μὲν εἶναι φησὶν τὸν διαπρομαχάτων θηρίων Δίως· τινὶς δὲ τὸν ἄπο Ποπειώνου ἀναποδηλάτα εἰς βασιλεύς, διὸ καταβιοῦν Ποπειώνου Μίνωος εἰσὶ το φῶνει εἰς τὴν βασιλείας: supra i. 544 n. 6. Then follow Theophr. hist. pl. i. 9. 5 (cited supra i. 526 n. 4), Apollod. 3. 1. 1, Loukian. dial. mar. 15. 1—4, Apul. met. 6. 29, Ach. Tat. 1. i. 1—1. 2. 2.

2 Supra p. 506.

3 Edhem Bey in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1906 xxxii. 521—528 pls. 5 (=my fig. 427) and 6 (lower part of stèle on larger scale), Reinach Rép. Reliefs ii. 108 no. 1 (whole) and 175 no. 1 (lower part), Mendel Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople iii. 39 ff. no. 836 fig., Harrison Themis p. 148 f. fig. 26.

4 The inscription at the foot of the stèle, apparently composed in imperfect hexameters, runs: Εὐόξων κερίδως Δίως Ὀλβίοις ἡ ὁρὰ τῶν ὀξόν τῶν πάντων καθὼς ἐκελεύην ἀνθοελαχλήτωριν ψ. Others, listed by F. W. Hasluck in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1905 xxv. 56 ff. and in his Corpus Cambridge 1910 p. 272, all came from the same
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

and a himation. His left hand grasps a sceptre, the lower end of which disappears behind an eagle with spread wings. His right hand holds a bossed phidilé, from which he is pouring a libation above the flame of a small altar. But the most noteworthy feature of the design is that the head of the god with its full beard and long hair combines two bovine horns. Below the figure of Zeus is a sacrificial scene. In the centre is a flaming altar. Before it, and represented on a small scale so as not to conceal the altar, a man with a double axe is about to strike a bull, whose head is bound by a cord to a ring fixed in the ground. On one side stand a boy and a man. Their raised right hands held objects of an oval shape (fruit?). The boy’s lowered left hand is holding a bunch of grapes. On the other side stand a girl and a woman. The girl carries in her left hand a dish of fruit and flowers. The woman has fillets in her left hand, and raises her right with open palm in a gesture of invocation.

Zeus Ólbios, the god ‘of Welfare,’ was evidently a giver of fertility; and his bovine horns were due, not to a late confusion with other deities, but to an early conception of him as tauromorphic.

district, having been found near Gumen, presumably at Kavak: (1) a block, used later for a capital, inscribed [Δ]τοις [Ο[ν]βιο], supp. 1. 490 ff. fig. 354. 496. But the assumption is too precarious. Edhem Bey in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1908 xxxii. 521 says merely ‘la tête barbue, à long (sic) cheveux flottants sur le cou, est surmontée de deux cornes, recourbées comme celles d’un bovidé,’ and Mendel Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople iii. 39 echoes him: ‘la tête est barbue, avec de longs cheveux flottants et deux cornes de taureau.’ Neither suggests a mask.

1 Harrison Themis: p. 149 n. 2: ‘Miss M. Hardie [Mrs F. W. Hasluck], of Newnham College, kindly examined the original of the relief and writes to me that, so far as it can be made out, there is all the appearance of a bull-mask worn by a human head. If this were certain we should have the figure of a priest impersonating a bull-god, which would be of singular interest.’ It would indeed (cp. supra i. 490 ff. fig. 354. 496). But the assumption is too precarious. Edhem Bey in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1908 xxxii. 521 says merely ‘la tête barbue, à long (sic) cheveux flottants sur le cou, est surmontée de deux cornes, recourbées comme celles d’un bovidé,’ and Mendel Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople iii. 39 echoes him: ‘la tête est barbue, avec de longs cheveux flottants et deux cornes de taureau.’ Neither suggests a mask.

2 So on a fragmentary relief from Tralleis (Edhem Bey in the Rev. Arch. 1904 ii. 361 pl. 15, 1, ed. in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1904 xxviii. 71 ff. pl. 7, 1908 xxxii. 526 ff., Reinaich Rép. Reliefs ii. 169 no. 2, Mendel Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople ii. 266 ff. no. 547 fig.), which showed a similar sacrifice about to take place at the foot of an old plane-tree.

3 Edhem Bey in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1908 xxxii. 522 says ‘ils ont...la main droite relevée et tenant un objet indistinct, de forme ovale, peut-être une torche.’ Mendel Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople iii. 40, ‘un homme debout...lève la main droite en signe d’adoration; à côté de lui, un jeune garçon...dans la même attitude,’ etc.

4 Edhem Bey loc. cit. ‘un plat chargé de fruits et de fleurs.’ Mendel loc. cit. ‘un plateau chargé de fruits.’

5 Cp. Apollon Ólbios in Anth. Pal. 9. 525. 16 Ólbios, Ólbiosévov.

6 Edhem Bey loc. cit. p. 525.
(1) Amphora at Munich:
   Io as a heifer with Argos and Hermes.
   \textit{See page 631 n. 3.}

(2) Stámnos from Caere, now at Vienna:
   Io as a steer (!) with Argos, Hermes, and Zeus.
   \textit{See page 633 n. 0.}
Aischylus in the first of his extant plays makes the chorus of Danaides at Argos appeal to Zeus Olbios as the god who had touched Io and thereby become the forefather of their race. But it was in the form of a bull, as the same play shows, that Zeus came into contact with Io, who from that time forward is figured as a heifer.

1 Aisch. suppl. 524 ff. Wilamowitz ὥς ἀνάκτων, μακάρων | μακάρους καὶ τελῶν τελεσίστατο κράτος, Ὀλβιός Ἡσ., πιθώθε τε καὶ γένει εἰς | ἄλεων ἀνδρῶν θεῖιν εἰς στεγήσαι | ἂντίθεν ἰδαίον πορφυρωείς | τῶν μαλακῶν ἀπεικόνισθαι. | ὦ μέγας ἄντιθεν ἔστιν ἔκειν | τοῦ πρῶτος γυναικῶν <δ' ἐπίθεν | καλαβρότας ἀμέτρον γένους φιλίας προγόνον γυναῖκος, | τῶν θεών εὐφρον' αἴνοι, | γένος πολυμυρίντορ εὐαίστορ Ἡσ. | Δίας τοῦ γένους εὐχήμερο' εὔναι | γάς ἀπὸ τάσσαν' θροίκαι.

2 Supra i. 438 f.

3 Representations of Io are collected and discussed in primis by R. Engelmann De lione commentatio archaeologica Berolini 1868 (first as cow, then under the influence of tragedy as cow-horned maiden, finally as cow once more), id. in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 170—180, id. 'Die Jo-Sage' in the Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1903 xviii. 37—88 fgs. 1—10 and pl. 2 (pp. 51—57 groups the extant monuments as follows: (i) 'Liebeswerben des Zeus um Jo' = nos. 1—3; (ii) 'Jo von Argos bewacht' = nos. 4—8; (iii) 'Tötung des Argos' = nos. 9—17; (iv) 'Jo's Ankunft in Ägypten' = nos. 18, 19; (v) 'Einzeldarstellungen der Jo' = nos. 30—50, and p. 57 f. concludes: 'Bis zum Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts, ja man kann auf Grund der Neapler Vase (Taf. 2) noch bestimmter sagen, bis in die siebziger Jahre des 5. Jahrhunderts, wird Jo nur als Kuh dargestellt; nach der Vorführung des Prometheus dagegen erscheint Jo nur als boikeros παρθένος; zwischen beide Darstellungsweisen schiebt sich...die durch das Bostoner Gefäss vertretene Mischbildung einer Kuh mit menschlicher προτομή. Dass schon vor Aischylus die menschliche Bildung der Jo bestanden haben kann, ist wegen der Gleichung mit der ägyptischen Isis zuzugeben. Wenn man aber bedenkt, dass der Wechsel in der Darstellungsweise der Jo chronologisch genau mit dem Dithyrambus (Kuhform), den Supplicies (Kuh mit menschlicher προτομή) und dem Prometheus des Aischylus (boikeros παρθένος) zusammenfällt, und dass weder ein monumentales, noch ein literarisches direktes Zeugnis für einen anderen Entwicklungsgang vorhanden ist, dann wird man sich doch sehen lassen, die nachgewiesene Abänderung, die mit den Bedürfnissen der Tragödie übereinstimmt, auch als durch die Tragödie veranlasst annehmen'. See also Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus pp. 465—488 ('Jo,' distinguishing (i) 'das Liebesabenteuer des Zeus und der Jo,' (ii) 'Jo von Argos bewacht,' (iii) 'die Überlistung oder Einschläferung des Argos durch Hermes,' (iv) 'Hermes gewaltthätig gegen Argos,' (v) 'Jo in Ägypten,' (vi) 'Monumente, welche keiner bestimmten Situation angehören').

4 Thus already before the close of 5. v. B.C. (supra p. 211) on the throne of Apollo at Amyklai (Paus. 3. 18. 13 Ἡπειρός ἡ ἄφορος πρὸς 'Ἰον τὴν Ἡδονὴν βωίνων ὑπον), an amphora of the 'Northampton style' at Munich (Jahn Vasensamml. München p. 189 no. 573), akin to the Clazomenian variety of Ionic ware, shows the heifer Io held in check by a monstrous Argos, with an extra eye on his chest, while Hermes, with πέτασος and winged shoes, advances stealthily to free her from the tether. Argos' dog looks round at the intruder; and in the background is a palm-tree, to which Io should be fastened (T. Panofka 'Argos Panoptes' in the Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1837 Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 43 ff., 47 col. pl. 5, E. Braunn in the Ann. d. Inst. 1838 x. 349, Mon. d. Inst. ii pl. 59, 8, Reinach Rép. Vases i. 111, 2, Lenormant—de Witte Ét. mon. cér. iii. 239 ('positivement comique') pl. 99, Overbeck Gr. Kunsthym. Zeus p. 474 (no. 10) ('offenbar komischer oder parodisch') Atlas pl. 7, 19, Wiem. Vorlegel. 1890—1891 pl. 12, 18 and 19 (= my pl. xlix, 1), Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. i. 173, 178, iii. 34 fig. 148). An Attic black-figured panel amphora, now in the British Museum (Br. Mus. Cat. Vases ii. 115 f. no. 164), depicts a later moment in the attack (supra ii. 379 fig. 286 from a reversed drawing by E. Vitet. R. Engelmann in the Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1903 xviii. 52 f. fig. 7
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

Fig. 428.

Fig. 429.
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

(=my fig. 428) was the first to publish the correct design and to include a point noticed by A. S. Murray, that in front of the heifer’s head stood the letters [O]l for ‘Io. An early red-figured plate by ‘the Cerberus Painter’ c. 520—510 B.C. (M. H. Swindler Ancient Painting Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 191), found at Chiusi and later in the Pizzati and Blaydes collections, makes Hermes administer the coup de grâce, while Io as a heifer bounds away on her wanderings (E. Gerhard in the Arch. Zeit. 1847 v. 17 ff. pl. 2 (= my fig. 429), Reinach Rép. Vases i. 36, 1, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 479 (no. 17) Atlas pl. 7, 18, Hoppin Red-fig. Vases i. 145 no. 7, J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rothfigurigen Stils Tubingen 1925 p. 30 no. 5). A red-figured stāmmos from Caere, now at Vienna (Masner Samml. ant. Vasen u. Terracotten Wien p. 52 no. 338), by ‘the Argos Painter’ c. 480 B.C. likewise has Hermes slaying Argos, here covered with eyes, but by a slip represents Io as a steer (!), and adds a seated and sceptred Zeus, completing the picture by an olive-tree on the left and a palm-tree, with a doe behind it, on the right (R. Schöne in the Ann. d. Inst. 1865 xxvii. 147—159 pl. 1—K (interprets the gesture of Zeus as a hint of his ultimate intervention, cp. Aisch. P. v. 848 f. ἐπειδὴ δὲ σὲ Ζεὺς πίθηκον ἐμφάνισεν ἐπηφάνων ἀπαραθεὶς χειρὶ καὶ δοχὺς μέσῳ, Mosch. 2. 52 f. ἐν δὲ ἦν Ζεὺς Κρονίδης ἐπαφώμων ἡρῶα χερῶν | πόρτας ἑγανδρινῆς, τὴν δ’ ἐπηφάνων παρὰ Νείλῳ | ἐκ βοδί εἰκόναν πάλιν μετάμεθε γενάκα), Reinach Rép. Vases i. 314, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus pp. 38 (c), 477 f. (no. 12) Atlas pl. 7, 10, Wien. Vorlagebl. 1890—1891 pl. 11, 1 (=my pl. xxx, 2), J. D. Beazley op. cit. p. 110 no. 1). A red-figured hydria by ‘the Girgenti Painter’ c. 475 B.C., formerly in the Pascale collection at Santa Maria di Capua and now at Bryn Mawr, has a finely painted design of Argos, with eyes all over his body (even one between the straps of his right boot and another under his left boot), leopard-skin cape, fur pilos, club, and sword, pursued by Hermes (wreath, pēlasos, chlamys) in the act of drawing his sword. Io as a heifer bounds away to the left. The Doric column, the altar, and the priestess with temple-key and poppy-headed sceptre, mark the scene as taking place in the Argive Heraion. The four small bushes are its sacred grove (Apollod. 2. 1. 3 says of Argos oδός ἐκ τῆς ἀθλίας ἐδείκητο αὐτῷ, ἦς ἐν τῷ Μοισέας υπήρχον δοξα). Finally, Zeus and Hera balance each other on the left and right (E. Petersen in the Röm. Mitth. 1893 viii. 328 no. 17, J. C. Hoppin ‘Argos, Io, and the Prometheus of
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Olbios

as a heifer with human face, as a maiden with heifer's ears and horns, as a horned maiden, or at least as a maiden with a heifer at her side.


Graeco-Roman gems revert to the animal form of Io. A brown chalcedony from the Blacas collection, now in the British Museum, shows Hermes on the left holding the heifer by her horns and Zeus on the right standing with left hand raised and an eagle at his feet (T. Panofka loc. cit. pp. 18 f., 46 pl. 1, 2, G. P. Secchi in the Ann. d. Inst. 1838 x. 315, E. Braun ib. 339, Mon. d. Inst. ii pl. 39. 4 (=my fig. 431: scale 1) from an impression by T. Cades, Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems p. 143 no. 1261 pl. 18). See also the gem noted supra i. 440 n. 4 fig. 312, of which there is a photograph in Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums Leipzig 1889 p. 132 no. 28 pl. 21.

1 R. Engelmann in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1903 xviii. 38 ff. fig. 1 (=my fig. 432) was the first to publish and discuss an important vase at Boston, on which Io appears as a heifer with human face. This red-figured oinochoe came from south Italy and is described as 'wahrscheinlich apulisch, in direkter Nachahmung attischer Ware aus der Mitte des V. Jahrhds.' Engelmann adds: 'Meiner Meinung nach dürfte man mit der Zeitbestimmung noch etwas höher hinaufgehen.' The vase represents a beardless Hermes, with chlamys, petasos, caduceus, and sword, advancing against Argos, who wears chiton, ox-hide cape (supra i. 458 f.), leather cap, and brandishes a club as he turns to face his pursuer. Io moves off towards the right: her body is that of a heifer, but her head has bovine horn and ear combined with the features of a maiden, and a veil the folds of which serve to conceal the ungraciously combination. Engelmann acutely remarks that the same quasi-oriental 'Mischbildung' is presupposed by the earliest of the extant Aeschylean tragedies (Aisch. suppl. 565 ff. Wilamowitz borcol δ' αϊ γας των ίπων έννοια | χλωρια δειματι θυμων | παλλων, δ' ανθή | βοσκας ορφετε διεχρει μειξεμποτον, | ταν μη βος, | ταν δ' αλ γυναικας τηροα δ' εθαμβου). But S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ix. 1739 replies: 'Aber Aischylus braucht ja nicht absolut an ein solches Mischwesen zu denken, Io mag auch in den Hik[etides] nur als kuhhörnig gedacht worden sein, um als ein "wunderbares Mischgeschöpf" bezeichnet zu werden.'


A good example of Io with cow's horns and cow's ear is the Jatta kratér already figured (supra i. 459 n. 5 with fig. 318), of which Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 489 (no. 19) says: 'Den Mittelpunkt bildet Io, welche als kuhgehörnte und daneben, als
Antefixes of terra cotta, semi-elliptical in shape and adorned with the head of Io in relief, have been found in some numbers at Tarentum. The British Museum has two, one certainly, the other possibly, from that town (Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas p. 415 no. D 665 Tarentum 1884 (height 6½ ins.), p. 419 no. D 692 Towneley collection (height 7½ ins.)). The Museum of Fine Arts at Boston has other specimens of the same sort.
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Olbios

(Annual Report Boston 1901 p. 63 n.). There are several in Berlin, and many in the Tarentine Museum (A. Furtwängler in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1888 iii. 213 n. 1 = id. Kleine Schriften München 1913 ii. 216 n. 1). One of the Berlin examples, found at Tarentum, is figured by R. Engelmann in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1903 xviii. 55 no. 34 fig. 8. I add one of the same type, likewise found at Tarentum in 1919, and now in my collection (fig. 433: height 7½ ins., breadth 8 ins.). It represents Io *en face* with budding horns and bovine ears. Between her horns is seen part of a veil (Engelmann *loc. cit.* says 'Zwischen den Hörnern Binde'); and Walters *loc. cit.* D 692, 'over the forehead, indications of cow's hide (?)'), and from her ears hang earrings of one drop. Lastly, round her throat is a necklace of fourteen pendants. She is in fact figured as the beloved of Zeus in full bridal array. Furtwängler *loc. cit.* remarks: 'Der stilistische Charakter dieses Typus auf den Stirnziegeln... ist derjenige der Zeit gegen 400.' I agree. But I dissent from his further contention, that we have here a goddess—say Artemis Tauropolos—rather than the heroine Io. It must not be forgotten that Io, as priestess of Hera, was herself in some sense divine (*supra* i. 453 ff.). I am disposed therefore to think that these antefixes came from a sanctuary of Hera, whose head with transparent veil (Tapavrīdos), earring, and necklace appears c. 340—c. 302 B.C. on the splendid gold coinage of Tarentum (M. P. Vlasto in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1899 ii. 303 ff. pis. IB', 1—9, 17 f., 15', 1—5, C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 195 f. pl. 45, 11, 12, 15).
Bovine ears, an unnecessary deformation, are discarded in most representations of Io as a horned maiden, e.g. on a red-figured krater from Ruvo in the Barone collection (supra ii. 379 f. fig. 387), and as time goes on even her horns tend to be minimised (supra i. 237 n. 3) until they are scarcely, if at all, discernible (infra figs. 434, 438 f.).

Nikias of Athens, the famous contemporary of Praxiteles (Plin. nat. hist. 35. 133), is known to have painted a large picture of Io (id. ib. 35. 132). Pliny, describing his technique, says that he "devoted special attention to women, was careful in his treatment of light and shade, and took particular pains to make his figures stand out against the background" (id. ib. 35. 130 f.). This inter alia justifies W. Helbig Untersuchungen über
638  

Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ὄλβιος


On the right Argos, a young man equipped with spear, sword, and spotted panther-skin (in lieu of extra eyes), leans forward in the favourite Lysippian attitude of the supported foot (supra p. 612 n. o (2), infra p. 706) gazing intently at Io. On the left Hermes (his name is given in Greek lettering), with caduceus, winged πέπτας, and χιλιάμηδες, approaches to carry out the behest of Zeus. The theme was popular, for it occurs not only in this picture, which is of Mau’s ‘Second or Architectural Style’ (s. i n.c.), but—with omission of Hermes and Hera—in sundry Pompeian paintings (Heilig Wandsch. Camp. p. 38 f. nos. 131—134, Reinch Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom. p. 15 nos. 4 and 6, p. 16 no. 2), of which the best are one from Reg. ix. 7. 14 in the ‘Third Style’ (c. 25 B.C.—c. 50 A.D.) (Herrmann Denkm. d. Malerei Text p. 67 f. fig. 16, L. Curtius op. cit. p. 258 ff. fig. 156) and one from the Macellum in the ‘Fourth Style’ (c. 50—79 A.D.) (Herrmann op. cit. pl. 53 Text p. 67 f., L. Curtius op. cit. p. 260 ff. fig. 157). Pictures of the sort were certainly known to Propertius (i. 3. 19 f. sed sic intentis haeremus fixus occulis, | Argus ut ignotis cornibus Inachidos), if not also to Statius (Theb. 6. 276 f. Io post tergum, iam prona dolorque parentis, | spectat inocciduis stellatum visibus Argum).

Nikias’ masterpiece exerted a powerful influence over the vase-painters of South Italy, who borrowed its main features and used them, inappropriately enough, to express the happy ending of Io’s sad story—the moment when in far-off Egypt Zeus at long last would by his touch restore her to her senses and claim her as his bride (Aisch. suppl. 310, P. v. 848 ff. Wilamowitz). A red-figured amphora of ‘Lucanian’ style, found at Anzi, Basilicata, and later in the Coghill collection (J. Millingen Peintures antiques des vases grecs de la collection de Sir John Coghill Rome 1817 pl. 46, T. Panofka loc. cit. pp. 20 ff., 47 col. pl. 4, 1 (= my fig. 435), Lenormant—de Witte El. mon. cér. i. 55 ff. pl. 26, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 466 f. (no. 1) Atlas pl. 7, 7, Müller—Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst ii. 15 f. pl. 3, 37, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke Ant. Denkm. i. 73 ff. pl. 7, 12, Reinch Rép. Vases ii. 16, 2), shows Io after her wanderings seated on the altar of Hera, while Eros empties his perfume above her. On the right, Zeus, beardless (originally bearded, but repainted: cp. supra p. 612 n. o (2) fig. 419) and half-draped, draws near, holding his eagle-sceptre. On the left, Hermes, with supported foot, watches the issue. Behind Hermes is a big rock.

The scene is repeated and amplified on another ‘Lucanian’ vase, a red-figured hydria from Anzi, now at Berlin (Gerhard Ant. Bildw. p. 366 ff. pl. 115, T. Panofka loc. cit. pp. 22 ff., 47 col. pl. 4, 2 (= my fig. 436), Lenormant—de Witte El. mon. cér. i. 47 ff. pl. 25, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 467 ff. (no. 2) Atlas pl. 7, 8, Furtwangler Vasensamml. Berlin ii. 873 ff. no. 3164), which makes Io sit on the pedestal of the goddess (here treated as Artemis with bow and wheel-torch: cp. supra i. 408 f. fig. 304) holding a casket and lotos-fillet. These are the love-gifts of Zeus, who approaches coyly from the right, shouldering a long lotiform sceptre. On the left, Hermes, his foot supported as usual, rests one hand on a club and holds tablets in the other. Behind Hermes is Hera in person, now reconciled to her rival. Behind Zeus, dove on finger, stands Aphrodite, present to bless the lovers. Eros, with hoop and hoop-stick, spreads his pinions above them. Trees, plants, a tripod, and a hydria mark the spot as a sacred precinct, while
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

Fig. 435.

Fig. 436.
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

Artemis' fawn in the foreground shows to whom that precinct belongs. Finally, in the top right hand corner, partly concealed by a hill, is Pan with his pipes, a frequent adjunct on South-Italian vases (e.g. supra i. 223 pl. xix, i. 375 fig. 287, ii. 416 with fig. 322).

On comparing these two vases with the Palatine copy of Nikias' painting it becomes clear that they have taken over much from the Athenian original—(a) the central figure of Io herself, seated, half-draped, and with budding horns on her brow; (b) the statue of Hera on a pillar or pedestal, unsuitable to its new Egyptian context and therefore transformed into a more barbaric Artemis; (c) the helper Hermes on the left, who having now slain Argos is free to appropriate his attitude—an exchange the more pardonable because that attitude had belonged to Hermes in fifth-century art (supra ii. 738 fig. 668) long before it was borrowed by Argos. On this showing we shall not agree with H. Bulle loc. cit. that the statue of Hera on a pillar was a stagey addition due to the Roman copyist, nor with L. Curtius loc. cit. that Hermes (carefully inscribed, remember, in Greek letters) was merely 'eine Zutat des Malers des zweiten Stils.' Curtius is, however, right in contending that in other Pompeian frescoes representing Io, Argos, and Hermes (Helbig op. cit. p. 39 f. nos. 133 and 137, Curtius op. cit. p. 263 f. figs. 158 and 159) the figure of Io was copied or modified from the type first devised by Nikias. Modification has gone further and fared worse in paintings of her arrival in Egypt (Helbig op. cit. p. 40 f. nos. 138 and 139, Curtius op. cit. p. 215 ff. figs. 127 and 129).

The popularity of this seated Io may be gauged from the fact that she is found as an isolated and purely decorative figure, surrounded by a fantastical floral arabesque, on a hydria from Basilicata now at Naples (Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 487 f. (e), Heydemann Vasensamml. Neapel p. 443 no. 2921, O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 279 with fig. (=my fig. 437)).
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ὄλβιος

A cornelian signed by Dioskourides, the supreme glyptic artist of the Augustan age (Plin. nat. hist. 37. 8, Suet. Aug. 50, cp. Dion Cass. 51. 3), shows a deep-cut head of Io, again with budding horns, earrings, and necklace. This gem, admittedly the loveliest of his works, is said to have been found in 1755 on the estate of the Duca di Bracciano, from whose possession it passed into the Poniatowski collection. In 1839 that collection was sold in London, and the present owner of the gem is unknown (S. Reinach in the Chronique des Arts jan. 5 and 17, 1895, pp. 2 and 11, E. Babelon in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. ii. 1478 n. 1). Publications include Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 486 (b)

Gemmentaf. 5, 10 (inadequate), A. Furtwangler in the Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1888 iii. 222 ff. no. 6 pl. 8, 15 (= id. Kleine Schriften München 1913 ii. 215 ff. no. 6 pl. 26, 25), id. Ant. Gemmen i. pl. 49, 9 and pl. 51, 17 (enlarged), ii. 234, J. H. Middleton The Engraved Gems of Classical Times Cambridge 1891 p. 78 f. My fig. 438 is from a fine impression of the original by T. Cades Collezione di N° 1400 Imprenti delle migliori pietre incise, ò antiche, ò moderne, ricavati dalle più distinte Collezioni conosciute dell' Europa 1" Classe, A no. 42.

Fig. 438.

Copies of this masterpiece have, of course, been made in modern times (A. Furtwangler loc. cit.). But ancient copies also exist. One such is a sard from Kalchedon, formerly in the Tyskiewicz collection and now in that of Mr E. P. Warren (J. D. Beazley The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems Oxford 1920 p. 94 f. no. 113 pl. 6). Another, which came to me in 1926 from Mr A. P. Redy and was previously in the Evans collection, is a clouded cornelian, very deeply cut and still set in its ancient gold bezel (fig. 439 : scale 1). Common to these two stones is the unusual depth of the intaglio and the series of straight cuts by which the bust is terminated below.

Copied by (1) A painting of Io with a cow, Hermes, and Argos, from the temple of Isis at Pompeii (Helbig Wandgem. Camp. p. 39 no. 135, Herrmann Denkm. d. Malerei pl. 57 C. III.)
By a natural play upon names Zeus Olbios was taken as the patron-deity of such towns as Olba in Kilikia and Olbia on the

Text p. 72 f.). (2) A variant of the same subject from the Casa del citarista (Helbig op. cit. p. 40 no. 137, Herrmann op. cit. pl. 58, 1 Text p. 73 f.). Herrmann ib. p. 73 n. 1 says of (1): 'Ob Io selbst an der Stirn die Kuhhörner trägt, wie Helbig im Katalog angibt, ist bei der mangelhaften Erhaltung des Bildes nicht mehr sicher zu erkennen. Wahrscheinlicher ist mir, dass sie fehlen, und dass durch die Kuh selbst neben Io die Verwandlung der Jungfrau angedeutet wurde, so dass die Kuhhörner an der Stirn ein unnützer Pleonasmus wären. Auch auf dem Bilde der Casa del citarista [(2)]...kann ich keine Kuhhörner bei Io entdecken.'

For the coins of Gaza see supra i. 236 n. 3 figs. 176, 177.

1 For recent investigations on the site see J. T. Bent in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1891 xii. 220—222 (visit and description), E. L. Hicks ib. 261—270 (inscriptions), R. Heberdey—A. Wilhelm in the Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien 1896 vi. Abh. 'Reisen in Kilikien' pp. 83—91 (mainly inscriptions) with figs. 14 (temple of Zeus) and 15 ('Hallenstrasse'), E. Herzfeld in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1915 xviii Beiblatt pp. 33—41 with figs. 8 (tower), 9 (temple of Zeus), 10 (temple of Tyche), 11 (gateway), 12 (inscription), and especially J. Keil—A. Wilhelm in Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua 1931 iii. 44—79 ('Uzundja Burdjt—Diokaisareia') and 80—89 ('Ura—Olba') with figs. 66—116, numerous facsimiles of inscriptions, and pls. 1 (map), 20 figs. 64 and 65 (tower). 21 f. (plans), 23 f. (temple of Zeus), 25 (architectural details), 26 f. ('Torbau'), 28 (gateway), 29 (temple of Tyche), 30—34 (other monuments etc. at Uzundja Burdjt), 35 (plan of Ura), 36—39 (other monuments etc. at Ura). I append a brief summary of their conclusions with regard to the temple of Zeus.

On a limestone plateau in southern Kilikia, which rises to a height of 1100m or more (J. T. Bent in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1891 xii. 222 says 3800 ft. above sea-level), there is an impressive pile of ruins known as Uzundja Burdjt, 'Tall Tower.' It gets its name from a Hellenistic five-storeyed fortress (built c. 200 B.C. and restored c. 150—100 B.C.), which is represented apparently on a bronze coin of Olba struck in the time of Hadrian (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia etc. p. 124 no. 21 pl. 8) and still dominates the scene. It was there to protect the oblong temenos of Zeus 'Olbios, whose temple has been identified from an inscription on the back wall of its western stoa recording repairs to the stoa-stoa of 60—50 B.C. (fig. 440 = part of Herzfeld’s sketch in Mon. As. Min. 1931 iii. 50 fig. 71, cp. Heberdey—Wilhelm loc. cit. p. 85 no. 166 = Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 1231 d'epes νεότατος Τάκαρος Ίωνοναονος του Τριών | Τεόβολος Διή Ολόβια τας [ερυγα τακατων | τατα πιθοταμα γεν(ερυγα του βασιλεως | Σφαιρου Νεκταρας). The temenos-wall and the temple itself, to judge from the style of their architecture, were erected under Seleukos I Nikator (312—281 B.C.). The temple is remarkably well preserved (fig. 441 is from the photograph in Mon. As. Min. 1931 iii pl. 24, which shows the temple as seen from the S.W.). Its thirty-two Corinthian columns are all standing, though only four of them retain their capitals (fig. 442 = Herzfeld’s elevation and sections
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios 643

in Mon. As. Min. 1931 iii. 47 fig. 67). The rest were removed in Christian times, when the walls of the naos were demolished, the columns of the periástasis built in, and an apse added to transform the temple into a fifth-century church (fig. 443 = Herzfeld's plan in Mon. As. Min. 1931 iii. 49 fig. 68).

The temple was the main sanctuary of 'Oλβα or 'Oλβα (Ura), which lay on lower ground a few miles to the east and was connected with it by means of a plastered and partly rock-cut road running between ancient tombs—one of many cases in which the local hérōn was at some distance from its town. But little by little the hérōn of Olba grew to be a town in its own right, till at length—probably in the reign of Vespasian—it acquired, as we infer from an inscription found by W. Bauer on the north front of the town-gate, the name Diokaisarea (Mon. As. Min. 1931 iii. 44 ff, 71 no. 73, 1 ff. εἰς τὴν εὐνοεστάτην βασιλείαν τῶν ἄγιων [τῆς οἰκουμένης] Φιλαβίου Ἀρκάδου καὶ Φιλαβίου Ὀν [ο]ίου τῶν εὐωνίων Διοκα[βαρέων] εἰς θεμελίον ἑπτάκαισκες [Δ][Θ] [Δρό[ν]ος τοῦ λαοπροστάτου [κο]θ[ν]μασιοστάτου κύριος πρῶτων τάγματας | καὶ δυοῖς Ἱεράρχαις] Φιλαβίου Λεω[σ]τίου. The first three words of line 3 might also be restored as τού [τίγαυς τῆς or τοῦτο πόλης τῆς, but the general sense is clear).

The cult is said to have been established by Aias, son of Teukros; and the whole district was ruled in historical times by priestly dynasts, most of whom were named Teukros or Aias (Strab. 672). This is largely borne out by epigraphic evidence. An inscription, in letters of the third century B.C., built into a fortress of polygonal masonry, on which is carved the triskeles symbol, at a place variously called Kanidiwan or Kanideli (Kanytelis: see W. Ruge in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. x. 1886) three miles from the
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

Fig. 442.

Fig. 443.

ΔΙΟΛΒΙΩΙ
ΙΕΡΕΥΣΤΕΥΚΡΟΣ
ΤΑΡΚΥΑΡΙΟΣ

Fig. 444.
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

coast at Ayash (Elioussa Sebastae: W. Ruge ib. v. 2228 f. and J. Keil—A. Wilhelm in Mon. As. Min. 1931 iii. 220 ff.), has been claimed as the oldest Cilician document yet discovered: E. L. Hicks in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1891 xii. 226 no. 1 with cut (my fig. 444) = Michel Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no. 1130 Διός Οἶλβος Τεύχους Ταρκύνιος (‘son of Tarkyaris’). Other inscriptions of the sort, collected by J. Keil—A. Wilhelm in Mon. As. Min. 1931 iii. 67 ff. nos. 63—71, include p. 69 no. 68 pl. 34 a limestone base from the valley of tombs at Uzundja Burdj reading Θηρόπος ο δήμος και Καρκάτι Ζηρόφανης Τεύχους τοῦ Ζηρόφανου ἀρχιερέας της και εὐνοιας ἐξ ἔχουν εἰς αὐτοῖς διατελεῖ. The name Zenophanes, which occurs repeatedly in these inscriptions, was of excellent omen for a priest of Zeus (cp. Ζατ as priest of Zeus at the Corycian cave (Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 418 n. 2) and supra ii. 921 n. 9).

The name Aias, son of Teukros, is further attested by the coinage of Olba. The earliest coins, referable to the end of 5 B.C., have a throne as their obverse, a winged thunderbolt as their reverse type (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia etc. pp. lii. 119 pl. 21, 7). Later coins, struck from 10/11 A.D. onwards by Aias, son of Teukros, high-priest and toparch of Kennatis and Lalassis (ἈΙΑΝΤΟΣ ΤΕΥΚΡΟΥ || ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙΣ ΤΟΠΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΕΝΝΑΤ' ΆΛΑΣΣΩΣ etc.), have obv. head of Aias as Hermes with cap, ear-ring, chlamys, and caduceus, rev. triskel (ib. pp. lii f., 119 pl. 21, 8, McClean Cat. Coins iii. 291 pl. 327, 1 f., supra i. 304 fig. 234) or winged thunderbolt (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia, etc. p. 120 pl. 21, 10) or inscription (ib. p. 120 pl. 21, 12); or obv. triskel (ib. p. 119 pl. 21, 9) or thunderbolt (ib. p. 120 pl. 21, 11), rev. inscription. Similar types occur with obv. head of Augustus (ib. p. 120 f. pl. 22, 1—3, McClean Cat. Coins iii. 291 pl. 327, 3), Tiberius (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia, etc. p. 122 f. pl. 22, 4 f.), and M. Antonius Polemo (ib. p. 123 f. pl. 22, 6 f.).

Imperial coins of Diokaisareia, apart from variations of such types as the head of Hermes with caduceus (ib. p. 71 pl. 12, 11), the thunderbolt (ib. p. 71 f. pl. 12, 13), and the throne (ib. p. 73 pl. 13, 1), make some positive additions to our knowledge of the cult. Bronze pieces issued by Septimius Severus (ib. p. 72 pl. 11, 14 = my fig. 445 from a cast) show obv. the emperor's bust wearing cuirass and paludamentum (countermarks: eagle and winged thunderbolt), rev. the hexastyle temple of Zeus 'Ολβος, with a bucramion in its pediment, two Nikai (?) as akrottria, a thunderbolt upright in the central intercolumniation, and on the left an altar in front of a tree (or possibly a tree in a square vase, cp. the shrub in a pot beside the temple of Hera on a coin of Samos struck by Gordianus Pius (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Ionia p. 382 no. 294. Fig. 446 is from a specimen in my collection) and the storax-trees of Selge (supra ii. 497 n. o figs. 378—381)). The remarkable coins of Julia Domna showing a winged thunderbolt erect on a high-backed throne have been already illustrated (supra ii. 810 fig. 773 f.), and I have ventured to infer from their leonine arm-rests that Zeus had here taken over the throne of the Anatolian mother-goddess or her consort. The inference may be strengthened by the fact that other coins, struck by Philippus Senior, represent the city as a veiled and
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios
turreted goddess seated towards the right, while Tyche—her second self—with kálathe, rudder, and corum copiae stands before her right, and a river-god swims at her feet (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia, etc. p. 71 f. pl. 13, 3 = my fig. 447 from a cast). Substantial remains of the Tychaion (E. L. Hicks in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1891 xii. 264 no. 50 "Óπτιος Ὀβλίου καὶ Κυρία Λεωνίδου ἡ γυνὴ Ὀπτίου τὸ Τυχαῖον 79 πόλεσ") a temple dating from the second half of 5th a.d., are still to be seen at Uzundja Burdj (Mon. As. Min. 1931 iii. 36 with pl. 29 and figs. 80, 83).

It seems likely that the temple of Zeus at Olba, founded by Aias, son of Teukros, was a filial of the earlier and more famous temple of Zeus at Salamis in Kypros, founded by Teukros himself (Tac. ann. 3. 62 excip Cyprii tribus de <ins>Bezzenberger</ins>) delubris, quorum vetustissimum Paphiae Veneri auctor Aetias, post filius eius Amathus Veneri Amathusiae et Iovi Salaminio Teucer, Telamoni patris ira profugus, posuissent). Not much is known of the Salaminian Zeus. Ampelius, drawing from some Alexandrine source (G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1880), mentions among the wonders of the world a Cyprian colossal of the god (Ampel. 8. 20 Cypro signum Iovis Olympii aereum, facies ex auro, quem fecit Phidias) (C. H. Tzschucke altu m cubitis centum quinquaginta et latum cubitis sexaginta) with a marginal list of the seven wonders (signum Iovis Olympii quem fecit Phidias). Justin in his third-century abridgement of Pompeius Trogus (whose historiae Philippicae, written under Augustus, were in all probability the Latin version of a Greek original by Timagenes, itself based on the Philepicas of Theopompos and on other historical works by Ephoros, Timaios, Kleitarchos, Polybios, Poseidonios, Deinon, etc.: see W. S. Teuffel—L. Schwabe History of Roman Literature trans. G. C. W. Warr London 1891 i. 532 f.) M. Schanz Geschichte der römischen Litteratur 2 München 1899 ii. 1. 278 f.) tells how Elissa, after her husband Acerbas had been murdered by her brother Pygmalion, fled from Tyre to Cyprus and was there joined by the priest of Iupiter, who bargained that he and his descendants should hold the priesthood in perpetuity (Iust. 18. 5. 1—3 primus illis adpulsus terrae Cyprus insula fuit, ubi sacerdos Iovis cum coniuge et liberis deorum monitu comitem se Elissae socique praebuit, pactus sibi posterisque perpetuum honorem sacerdotii. condicio pro manifesto omine accepta). Ammianus Marcellinus, writing shortly after 383 a.d. (M. Schanz ap. cit. München 1904 iv. 1. 90), notes the fame of Iupiter's shrines at Salamis and Venus' temple at Paphus (Amm. Marc. 14. 8. 14 Cyprum itidem insulam...inter municipia crebra urbes duae faciunt claram, Salamis et Paphus: altera Iovis delubris, altera Veneris templo insignis). A curious legend told about Epiphanios, bishop of Salamis, who died an old man in 403 a.d. (R. A. Lipsius in Smith—Wace Diet. Chr. Biogr. ii. 152), proves that in Christian times the temple of Zeus, though closed and of evil repute, was still standing and known as the 'Security' (or 'Strong Room') of the god, apparently because it contained much treasure within sealed doors. The story, which exists in a longer (Polybios v. Epiphan. 53 in Dindorf's ed. of Epiphanios Lipsiae 1849 i. 88 f.) and shorter form (v. Epiphan. epit. 53 in Dindorf's ed. v. xx), is to this effect. Once during a sore famine a certain rich man named Faustinianus sold wheat and barley to the people. Epiphanios begged him for corn to feed the hungry poor and undertook to repay him for it. Faustinianus bade him go and ask his God to supply their need. So Epiphanios went out one night, as was his wont, to pray among the tombs of the martyrs and besought God to succour the needy. Now there was an ancient temple called the Security of Zeus, and people believed that, if any man approached it, he would be promptly carried off by death. But while Epiphanios prayed God's voice was heard saying: 'Go to the temple called the Security of Zeus, and the seals of the doors shall be loosed, and entering in thou shalt find gold in abundance. Take it and buy all the wheat and barley of Faustinianus, and give food to the needy.' Thereupon Epiphanios went to the temple and, as he approached it, the seals fell, the doors flew open, and he found gold enough to buy up
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

all the corn that Faustinianus possessed. The longer version of this narrative says ὅτι ὁν ἡὶ λείπον ἐστιν ἡμών, ὅτι εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν τῶν ἄνθρωπῶν, ἐλέγετο εἰς τὸν θυσίαν λαμβάνεται καὶ ἀρχαῖ ἐπεστήκαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ θεῷ. 

The epitome would explain away the difficult name by writing ἀσφάλεια ἀνάκτησιν ἐν μιᾷ φωνῇ φύσιν, κατελεῖν ἐν τῷ Ἑλληστικῷ πατράπει τῶν Διῶν ὁντος ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ πολίς, καὶ ἀρχαί ἐπεστήκαν αὐτοῦ ἀράτως τὰ κληθρά διηροτήσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς καὶ εἰς στηθοὶ ἐνδοὺ εἰς ἄλλον χρόον πολίς. But ἀσφάλεια is probably concrete, cp. Hesych. s.v. κληθραμ. μοχλοί. ἀσφάλεαι (ἀσφαλειὰς cod.). πόλιν = Favorin. lex. p. 1062, 55. There can be little doubt
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Olbios

that the building in question was the old heathen temple of Zeus Sālaμίνος (E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i s. 1842), not the much later tomb still extant as the 'Prison of Saint Catharine' (on which see J. L. Myres in Archaeologia 1915 livi. 179—194 with fig. 1 and pl. 31 f.).

The remains of the old temple have not yet been found. But a large oblong precinct, first located in 1882 by M. Ohnefalsch-Richter (Kyper p. 23 ff.) and partially excavated

in 1890 by J. A. R. Munro and H. A. Tubbs (Journ. Hell. Stud. 1891 xii. 66, 106—120 with four figs. and pls. 5 (map) and 6 (plan=my fig. 448)), seems to have been sacred to Zeus. For a fragmentary plaque of white marble, built into some masonry at its south-eastern angle, records in lettering of s. iii or perhaps s. ii the dedication of a slave to the service of Zeus, no doubt with a view to his emancipation (ib. pp. 78, 119, 193 f. no. 48 fig., F. H. Marshall in The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum London 1916 iv. 2. 138 no. 986 with fig. (=my fig. 449)

\[\text{Fig. 449.}\]

\[\text{Fig. 450.}\]

\[\text{Fig. 451.}\]
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

Other inscriptions referable to the same deity include a fragment of white marble found more than a mile away on 'Michael's Hill' (J. A. R. Munro—H. A. Tubbs loc. cit. pp. 104 ff., 188 no. 35 fig., F. H. Marshall loc. cit. p. 138 no. 582 with fig. (a) fig. (b) fig. (c) fig. (d) fig. (e) fig. (f) fig. (g) fig. (h)), a large blue marble pedestal from a neighbouring field, bearing socket-holes for the feet of a bronze statue and an honorific inscription (J. A. R. Munro—H. A. Tubbs loc. cit. pp. 105, 190 f. no. 44 fig. (a) fig. (b) fig. (c) fig. (d) fig. (e) fig. (f) fig. (g) fig. (h)), three fragments of a white marble slab found in the agora and dealing with the produce of the temple lands (J. A. R. Munro—H. A. Tubbs loc. cit.

Fig. 452.

Fig. 453.

Fig. 454.

Fig. 455.

Fig. 456.

Less uncertainty attaches to the art-type of the Salaminian Zeus, who appears on imperial coins of Kypros as an erect bearded god, clad in chiton and himation, holding a phiale in his outstretched right hand and resting his left on a short sceptre, with an eagle perched on his left wrist (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Cyprus pp. cxvii f., 73 pl. 14, 4 Augustus, 75 pl. 14, 9 Drusus Ilius Caesar, 77 ff. pl. 15, 5, 6 (a fig. 452), 10 (a fig. 453), and 11 Vespasian, 79 f. pl. 16, 1 and 3 Titus, 81 pl. 16, 5 Domitian, 83 pl. 16,
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Olbios

10 (=my fig. 454) Trajan, Head Hist. num.² p. 746). His effigy, on pieces struck by Drusus Iulius Caesar, usually stands side by side with the cone of the Paphian Aphrodite, thus combining in one the two most famous cult-figures of the island (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Cyprus pp. cxii, 74 pl. 14, 6 and 7, McClean Cat. Coins ii. 313 pl. 321, 38 and pl. 322, 1. Figs. 455 and 456 are from specimens in my collection).

Salamin was said to have been founded by Teukros son of Telamon (so first Pind. Nem. 4, 45 ff. melos peleunikou | Oliwn (sc. Aigina) te kal Kopphe, an2a Teukros aparxi | o Telamoniadov. Arist. Telakwv' eis patrnavn with school. ad loc. etp. Ach. Pers. 894 ff. with schol. ad loc., Soph. Al. 1919 ff., id. Teukros frags. 576—579 Jebb with A. C. Pearson’s introductory note, Eur. 144 ff., Isokr. 3 Nikokles Hel. 28, parvae regionis fines coercitam, ipse quoque minor haberetur.... neque reticuimus opini- sum Aiaces, quales in carmine epico depinguntur, ab origine fuisse unum Aiacem, lo- ilium, qui, cum altero comparatus, minora ob facta minorem ob gloriam, utpote intra Coniecimus hunc daemonem, cum formam humanam induisset et notitia eius ad sinum existence of armed gods’ (Nilsson p. 353). J. Virtheim op. cit. De Aiacis origine, cultu, Min.-Myc. Rel. p. 349 ff., after shrewdly criticising the views of both Girard and Reinauch, concludes: ‘the evidence is not sufficient for the assumption that the shield was a cult object in the Minoan age and that it was anthropomorphized and became a war goddess. Neither is the assumption necessary in order to explain the existence of armed gods’ (Nilsson op. cit. p. 353). J. Vurtheim De Aiacis origine, cultu, patria Lugduni Batavorum 1907 pp. 1—134 sums up as follows: ‘Demonstrare conatus sum Aiaces, quales in carmine epic6 depinguntur, ab origineuisse unum Aiacem, lo- crense, non hominem, sed daemonem quendam gigantum una natura non absimilem. Coniecimus hunc daemonem, cum formam humanam induisset et notitia eius ad sinum Saronicum pervenisset, ibi factum esse Aiacem maiorem, sed apud Locenses remansisse illum, qui, cum altero comparatus, minora ob facta minorem ob gloriam, utpote intra parva regionis fines coercitam, ipse quoque minor haberetur.... neque reticuimus opinio- onem nostram Teucrum quoque tertia figuram pro re haberent explorata, arguments hau- debilibus eo ducti sumus, ut statueremus hunc Telamoneum, quasi alterum Atlantem,
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ōlbios

numen fuisse marinum circa Salaminem calatum' (H. Steuding in the Woch. f. klass. Philol. Okt. 9, 1908 p. 1105 applauds: O. Gruppe in the Berl. philol. Woch. Mai 30, 1908 p. 686 ff. is also, with some reservations, favourable). A useful sequel to this work is J. G. Vürtheim Teukros und Teukrer Rotterdam 1913 pp. 1–44 (summarised by J. Schmidt in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 427–429). The same author here argues that the Teukroi were a historical folk, probably of Lelegian stock. Pushed southwards by tribes entering Greece from the north, they occupied both Troas and Lokris, left traces of themselves here and there on the coast of Asia Minor, and passed from Kilikia to Kypros. Their eponym Teukros, according to one tradition, came to Troy from Crete; according to another, from Attike. Again, a Teukros who wandered from Troy to Kypros was later confused with Teukros son of Telamon. Teukros' son Aias founded the cult of Zeus and a priestly dynasty at Olba in Kilikia. Teukros is the Hellenised form of Tarku, a god of the Leleges in Asia Minor, whose name was borne by his priests likewise. The oldest stratum of the Haid was Locrian-Thessalian in origin and recognised a triad of Locrian heroes, the two Aiastes and Teukros. Homer knows nothing of Teukros' banishment to Kypros; but later writers extend his wanderings to Egypt (Eur. Hel. 89 ff.), Phoinike (Verg. Aen. i. 619 ff. and Serv. ad loc.), and even Spain (Asklepiades of Myrlea frag. 5 [Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 301 Müller] ap. Strab. 157; Ins. 44. 3. 2 ff., Sil. It. 3. 368, 15. 192 ff.; Philostr. v. Apoll. 3. 5 p. 167 f. Kayser). Of this and other such reconstructions F. Schwenn in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. A. 1124 remarks rather grimly: 'das meiste bleibt hier stark hypothetisch.' Cp. Oldfather ib. xiii. 1172. It is, however, commonly admitted that, at least in Asia Minor, Teukros was the Hellenised form of Tarku, the name of a native (? Hittite) deity. Frazer Golden Bough?: Adonis Attis Osiris? p. 62 f. says: 'Teucer (Teukros) may be a corruption of Tark, Trok, Tarku, or Troko, all of which occur in the names of Cilician priests and kings. At all events, it is worthy of notice that one, if not two, of these priestly Teucers had a father called Tarkuaris, and that in a long list of priests who served Zeus at the Corycian cave, not many miles from Olba, the names Tarkuaris, Tarkumbios, Tarkimos, Trokoarbas, and Trokombigremis, besides many other obviously native names, occur side by side with Teucer and other purely Greek appellations [E. L. Hicks in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1891 xii. 243 ff. no. 27, Michel Recueil d’Inscr. gr. no. 878]. In like manner the Tarcrids, who traced their descent from Zeus and reigned at Salamis in Cyprus, may well have been a native dynasty, who concocted a Greek pedigree for themselves in the days when Greek civilisation was fashionable.' Id. ib. p. 65: 'If, as many scholars think, Tark or Tarku was the name, or part of the name, of a great Hittite deity, sometimes identified as the god of the sky and the lightning, we may conjecture that Tark or Tarku was the native name of the god of Olba, whom the Greeks called Zeus, and that the priestly kings who bore the name of Teucer represented the god Tark or Tarku in their own persons.' Id. ib. p. 78: 'On that hypothesis the Olbian priests who bore the name of Ajax embodied another native deity of unknown name, perhaps the father or the son of Tark.' Similarly E. Herzfeld in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1909 xxiv Arch. Anz. p. 435 observes that the names of priests in the list from the Corycian Grotto include Ταρκόποσ, Μαντής, Τοκοκάρμας, Ταρκόποσ, and comments: 'Dass die ersten Halften dieser Namen, Tarku und Jan, auch den Namen Teukros und Aias zugrunde liegen, ist deutlich.' H. Hirt Die Indogermanen Strassburg 1905 i. 56, ii. 569 further compares the Etruscan Tarœna, Tarœna, Tarœnna, Tarœnius, Tarœnius, Tarœnius, Tarœnius, and the Latin Tarœnius. F. Schachermeyr in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv. A. 2348 says of Tarœnius: 'Der Name geht letzten Endes zurück auf den des kleinasiatisch-agäischen Gottes Tarku (so im östlichen Kleinasiens; vgl. [J.] Sundwall Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier nebst einem Verzeichnisse kleinasiatischer Namenstämmen [Leipzig 1913] [Klio Beiheft 11, 1913] 212 ff.), der uns in Lydien als Ἰνώς Ταρκονός auf Kreta als Ταρκόνως entgegentritt. Von den aus Kleinasiens nach Italien einwandernden Etruskern wurde der Gott nach Etrurien verpflanzt... Hier trat er als Tarchon...immer mehr zurück und wurde schliesslich nur mehr als Heros verehrt' etc. Zeus Ταρκονός is attested by two inscriptions of s. i A.D. (J. Keil—A. v. Premerstein in the Denkschr. d.
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

_Akad. Wien_ 1910 ii. Abh. p. 26 f. no. 37 with fig. 17 (= my fig. 457) the lower part of a white marble _stile_ from Philadelphiæ in Lydia (_Alasehîr_). Διὰ Ταργυνῆς ὁποικήν | Φιλοτοιμημέν τόμος εἰς τοὺς ἀρχαίους _stile_ from Philadelphiæ in Lydia (Alashehir) _Abh. i. 1914_ p. 61 f. no. 78 on the lower part of a white marble _stile_ from _Ideli_ Ἰδεῖλι | Ἀκαδ. Ἱeron. _Abh._ 1914 i. Abh. p. 61 f. no. 78 on the lower part of a white marble _stile_ from Philadelphiæ in Lydia (_Alasehîr_). Διὰ Ταργυνῆς ὁποικήν | Φιλοτοιμημέν τόμος εἰς τοὺς ἀρχαίους, _Abh._ 1914 i. Abh. p. 61 f. no. 78 on the lower part of a white marble _stile_ from Philadelphiæ in Lydia (_Alasehîr_). Διὰ Ταργυνῆς ὁποικήν | Φιλοτοιμημέν τόμος εἰς τοὺς ἀρχαίους, _Abh._ 1914 i. Abh. p. 61 f. no. 78 on the lower part of a white marble _stile_ from Philadelphiæ in Lydia (_Alasehîr_). Διὰ Ταργυνῆς ὁποικήν | Φιλοτοιμημέν τόμος εἰς τοὺς ἀρχαίους, _Abh._ 1914 i. Abh. p. 61 f. no. 78 on the lower part of a white marble _stile_ from Philadelphiæ in Lydia (_Alasehîr_). Διὰ Ταργυνῆς ὁποικήν | Φιλοτοιμημέν τόμος εἰς τοὺς ἀρχαίους, _Abh._ 1914 i. Abh. p. 61 f. no. 78 on the lower part of a white marble _stile_ from Philadelphiæ in Lydia (_Alasehîr_). Διὰ Ταργυνῆς ὁποικήν | Φιλοτοιμημέν τόμος εἰς τοὺς ἀρχαίους, _Abh._ 1914 i. Abh. p. 61 f. no. 78 on the lower part of a white marble _stile_ from Philadelphiæ in Lydia (_Alasehîr_). Διὰ Ταργυνῆς ὁποικήν | Φιλοτοιμημέν τόμος εἰς τοعراض الأرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبيلين في سفريات أرخبил
Hypanis\(^1\), whence his cult spread still further afield\(^2\), even to central Italy\(^3\) and Germany\(^4\).

(Steph. Byz. s.n. Κύπρος), Kypartia (Menandros of Ephesos frag. 7 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 448 Müller) and Xenagoras frag. 8 (ib. iv. 527 ap. schol. and Teetz. in Lyk. Al. 447 = et. mag. p. 738, 51 ff. He recalls Ovid’s allusion to the horned Cerastae of Amathus, who used to sacrifice a stranger to Jupiter Hostes (i.e. Zeus Ólbios) till Venus in indignation transformed them into savage bulls (Ov. met. 10. 222 ff. Illos, gemino quondam quibus aspera cornu; frons erat, unde etiam nomen tranxere Cerastae. | ante fores horum stabat Iovis Hospitis ars; | ignarus sceleris (so J. N. Madvig for in lugubris sceleri (sceleris N.) codd. J. P. Postgate cf. lugubris; incesso) quam siquis sanguine tinctam | adversa vidisset, mactastos credere illic | lactantes vitulos Amathusiacas bidentes: | hospes erat caesus! 
\[\text{sacrif offensae nefandae | ipsa suas urbes Ophiussiaque arva parabat | descere alma Venus, 235 ff. durn dubitat, quo mutet eos, ad cornua voluta | flexet et admonita est haec illis} \]

posse reliqui | grandiaque in torvos transformat membra iuvencos), and finally remarks that Bouseiris’ sacrifice of a stranger to Zeus (Hdt. 2. 45: see further F. Hiller von Gaerttingen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 174 ff.) is derived from this Cypriote practice through Pygmalion (interp. Serv. in Verg. georg. 3. 5 Busiris, Aegypti rex, omnibus annis Iovi hospites immolabat: num per octo annos sterilitate Aegypti laborante, Pygmalion Cyprium finem futurum non ait, nisi sanguine hospitis litatum fusisset. primus autem Thyesis alienigena immolatus originem sacrificio dedit) or his brother Phraisios (Apollod. 2. 5. 11 ταύτης ἔσαλεν δεύτερης Ποσειδώνος παῖς καὶ Διοκτάνθεσιν τὴν Ἑπάφους. ἠτρός τοῖς ἑξαφθοὺς ἐπὶ βωμῷ Δίος κατὰ τὶ λόγους: ἤλεγχό το γὰρ ἐπὶ ἀφοραὶ τὴν Ἀιγυπτίου καταλαβεῖ, φαίνεσθαι ἐκ Κύπρου, μάντις τὴν ἐποίησιν, ἐφ’ τὴν ἀφοραῖα παιδαθαῖτα, ἄν ἐξαφθούς ᾿Ιερὰς τοῖς σφάζει κατ’ ἄτομο. Βουσίριοι δὲ ἐκείνος πρώτου σφάζει τὸν μάντιν τοῖς κατώτατοι χέρισσοι ἑσεφαλίζοντα, cp. Hyg. fab. 56 who calls him Thrasius, as does Ov. ars am. i. 647 ff.). J. J. G. Vürtheim Teukros und Teukrer Rotterdam 1913 p. 40 and Frazer Golden Bough\(^2\): Adonis Attis Osiris\(^3\) i. 145 f. apparently refer to Teukros also the Salaminian rite of spearing a man for Agraules or Diomedes (Porph. de abst. 2. 54 f. = Euseb. praep. ev. 4. 16. 2 ἐν δὲ τῇ νίῳ Σαλαμίῳ, πρὸτερον δὲ Κορωπίν (κορωπίνοι codd. Κορωπίν Κύρρης. l. i. 128 (lxxvi. 697 c—d Migne). Κορωπίν Εὐσέβ. praep. ev. 4. 16. 2 and 24, cp. Steph. Byz. s. n. Κορώπηα...τεταρτή τόλμη Κύρρου, Κορώπη...λατει καὶ Κορώπη μοῦρα τῆς Σαλαμίνος τῇ ἐν Κύρρῳ ὁμογενεῖς, μην κατὰ Κυπρίον Ἀλασσαίῳ ἔθνους ἄνθρωπον τῇ Ἀγαριλῷ τῇ Κέρκυρᾳ τῷ Ἀργαλέῳ καὶ νόμῳ Ἀργαλέως. καὶ διέμενε τὸ ἐθνὸς ἄρσι τῶν Διομήδων χρώμων...ἔθη μετέβαλεν, ὅτε τῷ Διομήδῃ τὸν ἀνθρώπων δόξαν; ὃς ἔνα ἐνῆ περιβόλον δε τῇ Ἀθῆναι σεῖος καὶ ὅ τῇ Ἀγαριλῇ καὶ Διομήδων. ὁ δὲ σφαγομε workshops ἕτο τῶν ἐφόδων χρώμων τρὶς περιβολὴ τοῦ βασιλίον: ἄτεπτα ἄτεραι λόγιος ἐπεκτε ταῦτα τοῦ στομάχου, καὶ οὕτως ἀτομο τοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν νυκτὶς (νυκτὶς codd. νυκτὶς Euseb. ev. 4. 16. 2 and de laude Const. 13. ἀφθαρσίας Κύρρης. l. c.) πυρὰ ὀλοκληρώσε—a rite later modified εἰς βουθώναις (ὑπὸα i. 659 n. 4). F. Schwenn Die Menschenaufnahme bei den Griechen und Römern Giessen 1913 pp. 11, 70 f., 186 discusses this Salaminian rite, but entirely ignores all the foregoing evidence for human sacrifice in the Cypriote cults of Zeus.

On the worship of Zeus at Olbia and in the neighbourhood see Miss G. M. Hirst in Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios 653

\(^1\) B. Latyschev Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Foni Eusitini Petropoli 1885 i. 61 ff. no. 24 assigns to the reign of Septimius Severus (193—211 A.D.) a slab of grey marble framed by Corinthian pilasters and a pediment, which contained the relief of a man on horseback, his horse held by a naked boy. The inscription below is a decree in honour of a public benefactor, Callisthenes son of Callisthenes, who is described thus: 16 ff. Λέγων τὰ ἄρατα καὶ πωμὰτα τὰ συνφέροντα παρήκεφήθη τῇ τόλῳ: λέγεις δὲ γενεαίοι τοῦ προστότοι τῆς τόλους ἡμῶν θεοῦ Δίῳ Ὀλβίου (καὶ ... θύσιας (E. H. Minns suggests ʻa compound of λόβος, a natural rain charm.’ Perhaps rather a slip for ἄρτης(για) λόβος τῆς τόλους αὐτοῦ δασμένος) ἑπτάκεχων δεῦτερα: τῆς τὸ ὁδόν τίτσας ἐξαρθῆς, τοῖς | [βεβαιτά] ἐπιπλώου χρήστα, δυσιν ἂν ἔθεστο (θ...)

1 Hypanis, whence his cult spread still further afield, even to central Italy and Germany.

2 On the worship of Zeus at Olbia and in the neighbourhood see Miss G. M. Hirst in Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios 653.
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Olbios

the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1903 xxiii. 36—39 and E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. 476. Professor Minns remarks: 'Evidently Zeus Olbios was the god of Olbia and the giver of Olbos: especially in the form of a good harvest. The two ideas were inextricable. Surely it was in the temple of this Zeus that the council met and before it the open space into which Dio's hearers crowded [Dion Chrys. *or.* 36 p. 53 Dindorf].

A priest of his in Roman times made a dedication to Achilles Pontarches' (*Trans. Od. Soc.* xxvii. Minutes, p. 11), *id. ib.* p. 456 (with plan on p. 450 fig. 331): 'The opening up of the walls described above gives us the position of the acropolis and the limits of the Roman town. In the middle of the triangle have been found the remains of a considerable building apparently a temple, and further work may tell us where were the temples [sic] of Zeus Olbios and the chapel of Achilles Pontarches.'

Zeus Σωτῆρ is represented at Olbia by three inscriptions, one of s. iv B.C. (Latyschev *op. cit.* i. 25 ff. no. 12 a decree granting 1000 gold pieces and a statue to Kallinikos son of Euxenos and ending with the words ὁ δήμος Διὸ Σωτῆρι), another of s. ii A.D. (Latyschev *op. cit.* i. 124 f. no. 97 i ἘΔΕΙ ΣΟΛΟΠΟΙ ἐχαριστήριον | ἦν ἕρω

Another fragment, assigned by Latyschev to the first half of s. iii, by Miss Hirst to s. iii, and by Professor Minns to s. iv B.C., is from a dedication to Zeus Ἐλευθέριος (Latyschev *op. cit.* 1901 iv. 299 f. no. 458 ὁ δέ ἡ Θεσσαλία [εἴη ἐκείνη] | [. . . . . . . . . . . .] Εὐρώπον ἔκφορον Διὸ 'Ἐλευθέριος'[w]).

A large statue-base in veined grey marble, which had probably supported an equestrian figure, was originally, in s. iii B.C., dedicated to Zeus Βασιλεύς (Latyschev *op. cit.* i. 137 no. 105 ὁ δήμος Ἐβραίων Δημοκρίτης Διὸ Βασιλεί | [δρεπτή] ἔκτο καὶ εὐδοκίας τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν), but was later, perhaps in s. ii A.D., used for a long decree passed ἐκὶ ἄρχητι τῶν περὶ Ὀμβρίων Ἐλπίδων (id. *ib.* i. 32 ff. no. 21, cp. 94 ff. no. 58). See further E. H. Minns *op. cit.* Index p. 697 s. v. 'Heuresibius.'

A tower built in s. ii A.D. was dedicated to Zeus Πολιάρχης and the Demos (Corp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 2081, Latyschev *op. cit.* i. 134 f. no. 101 with facsimile (=my fig. 458) ἐκὶ ἄρχητι τῶν περὶ | Σωτῆριον | Νεομάρτυρι | Ἀναμμένη | Πολιάρχης | Ἑπισκόπου μείζων τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐποίησεν τῶν περὶ διὸ τὸν Διὸ | Πολιάρχης καὶ τῷ | δήμῳ ἐκ τιθετείσῃ.
Zeus as an ox; Zeus Ólbios

As to Zeus Αραβόσος, see supra ii. 925 n. o.

Zeus appears occasionally on the bronze coins of Olbia, usually as a bearded head in profile to the right, with a sceptre or more often an eagle on the reverse (Ant. Münz. Berlin Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 22 nos. 63–65, 27 nos. 125–127, Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands i. i pl. 11, 5–6 (=my figs. 459–461), E. H. Minns op. cit. p. 476 n. 8 pl. 3, 12 f.), rarely in imperial times as a seated figure holding a sceptre, with Tyche erect grasping cornu copiae and rudder on the reverse (B. de Koehne Description du Musée de feu le Prince Kotschouéy St.-Pétersbourg 1857 i. 88, Ant. Münz. Berlin Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 28 no. 134 fig. (=my fig. 462) ‘Sitzender Apollo,’ Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands i. i pl. 11, 22 (=my fig. 463). Miss Hirst in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1903 xxiii 39 n. 103: ‘If the attribution to Zeus is accepted, might it be considered as a representation of Zeus’ Ολβος, in consideration of the reverse type?’).

Fig. 459. Fig. 460.

Fig. 461.

Fig. 462. Fig. 463.

It is undeniably curious that Zeus Ολβος, as namesake and paramount deity of the Greek town, does not bulk bigger on its coinage. I am tempted to suggest a further possibility. E. H. Minns op. cit. p. 478 f. writes: ‘The commonest coins of Olbia, coins which were issued for many generations to judge by the varieties of style, bore on their obverse a horned head with long rough hair and sometimes ox ears (Pl. III. 4, 5). There has been some doubt whom this might represent: the Russian peasants recognise the Devil and call the place where they are mostly picked up the Devil’s Dell; others find him, as they put it, like a Scythian or a Russian peasant; to others he is Poseidon. But no doubt he is really a river god Hypanis or Borysthenes. It is a less crude version of such an idea as the god Gelas on the coins of that city.’ However, it is a far cry from Sicily to Sarmatia, and a much closer analogy is at hand. A ‘horned head with long rough hair’ is precisely what we saw on the stèle found near Kyzikos (supra p. 629 fig. 427), which was fortunately inscribed with the name of Zeus Ολβος. I conjecture, therefore, that the horned head on the Olbian coins (e.g. Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands i. i pl. 11, 26–29, E. H. Minns op. cit. pl. 3, 4 f., McClean Cat. Coins ii. 155 f. pl. 159, 12–15. My figs. are from Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands i. i pl. 11, 26 (=my fig. 464), 37 (=my fig. 465),
Zeus struck with a double axe

The bovine form of Zeus familiar to us from the myths of Europe and Io, together with the semi-bovine type of Zeus Ὀλίβιος, suffice to prove that Zeus as a god of fertility might be represented by an ox, not only in prehistoric times, but far on into the classical period. Yet, fully to justify our reading of the Dipolieia, more is needed than that. In the Attic rite the divine ox was struck by the Bouphónos, who thereupon dropped his double axe and fled for his life.

From McLean Cat. Coins ii. 155 pl. 159, 12 (= my figs. 466 and 467), and from two other specimens in the Fitzwilliam Museum (= my figs. 468 and 469) is after all not a river-god but Zeus Ὀλίβιος himself, partly human, partly bovine in type.

Two more dedications θεῷ Ὀλίβῳ were found at Sestos (Marcopoulos in the Μονάστειρα καὶ Βενετικαὶ τῆς Βουκολίδος Σχολῆς ἦν Σαμῶν Σμύρνας 1878 ii. 12 f. nos. 206 and 204 = A. Dumont Mélanges d’archéologie et d’épigraphie Paris 1892 p. 456 no. 11112 a sepulchral relief inscribed θεῷ Ὀλίβῳ, Θάλαμε Τυ. . . . . | εὔχαριστήριον (sic) and no. 11112 a similar dedication θεῷ Ὀλίβῳ, Εὔτυχος ὑπὲρ ιδίας ἑαυτοῦ τῶν βουῶν | (sic) εὐχαριστήριον (sic). Hence J. H. Mordtmann in the Ath. Mitth. 1881 vi. 254, 1882 vii. 255 attributes to Sestos an inscription from the Thracian Chersonese (correctly copied but incorrectly emended in the Corp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 2017) Καυσίζ(αῖο) ὑπὲρ τοῦ | νόμου Ἀλέξανδρον Δι | Ὀλίβῳ εὐχαριστήριον = A. Dumont op. cit. p. 431 no. 100. Eutychos’ thankoffering for his cattle would have special point, if Zeus Ὀλίβιος at Sestos also was quasi-bovine.

3 Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4085 (found at Capua in 1885) pro salute | August. M. Aur. Commod. | Iovi Olbio | Sabaeo | ... Longus | [mil.] leg. | . . . . . (with carved thunderbolt and eagle). The words M. Aur. Commod. are in smaller letters than the rest and seem to be a later addition. As to Sabaeo, Dessau remarks: ‘Plane incertum utrum a Sabaecis Arabiae derivatum sit cognomen, an componendum cum Sabazio.’

4 Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4084 (found at Hedderheim, cp. supra ii. 71 n. 6, 89 n. 6) Iovi Olbio | Seleucus | Hermocrates qui et Diogenes d. d. (preceded by carved thunderbolts). Hermocrates = Ἑρμοκράτους.
The birth of Athena

life. Can we really suppose that at Athens, the chief centre of Hellenic civilisation, Zeus Polieus himself was conceived as struck by a double axe? Or that the sacrilegious striker, after poleaxing his god, was allowed to flee from the spot and escape into safety?

Pausanias emboldens us to answer Yes. For no sooner has he described the ceremony of the Dipolieia than, in the very next sentence, he goes on to say: ‘All the figures in the gable over the entrance to the temple called the Parthenon relate to the birth of Athena.’ And it may be shown that the birth of Athena as there represented involved exactly the situation stated above—Zeus Polieus struck with the double axe, the escape of the striker, and the acquiescence of the bystanders.

The middle group of the figures in question is lost beyond hope of recovery. But its main features are in all probability preserved by the relief-frieze of a marble puteal or ‘well-mouth’ in the Madrid collection (fig. 470, 1 and 1 a), and partly also by a marble replica of its left end formerly in the Palazzo Rondinini (fig. 470, 2 and 2 a) and by another of its right end found in the Villa Palombara—both now transferred from Rome to the Schloss Tegel near Berlin (fig. 470, 3). The puteal as a whole portrays Zeus sitting quietly upon his throne. He is draped in a himation and holds a sceptre in

1 Paus. i. 24, 5.
2 These reliefs were published together and discussed in detail by R. Schneider Die Geburt der Athena Wien 1880 pp. 32–45 pl. 1, 14, 2, 2 a, 4 (= my fig. 470, 1, 14, 2, 2 a, 3). Further references in Reinach Rep. Reliefs ii. 193 no. 5 and ii, 87 f. nos. 6–8.

The puteal was for long in the Moncloa near Madrid, where sunk deep in the ground it served as a flower-pot for the Royal Gardens. Previously, it had belonged to the Dukes of Alba. Earlier still, its history is uncertain: Schneider thinks that it was originally found in Italy, probably at Rome, that it formed part of the collection owned by Queen Christina of Sweden (1626–1689), and that it was purchased by Philip V of Spain to adorn his castle (1724)—see E. Hübner Die antiken Bildwerke in Madrid Berlin 1862 p. 14. In consequence of these vicissitudes it had received some injuries and had at one time—perhaps in the seventeenth or eighteenth century—been prepared for restoration. It was virtually rediscovered by J. de Dios de la Rada y Delgado, director of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, and published with good illustrations by J. de Villa Amil y Castro ‘Puteal griego encontrado en la Moncloa’ in the Museo español de antigüedades Madrid 1875 v. 235–246 pl. 1 f. There is a cast in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge, and another at Berlin (Friederichs—Wolters Gipsabgüsse p. 735 f. no. 1862). Height 0’99 m.

The two slabs from the collection of the Marchese Rondinini belong together and were still one when published by G. Winckelmann Monumenti antichi inediti Roma 1831 ii. 5 with Frontispiece. Subsequently they were sawn in two and separately framed as a pair of mural reliefs. They passed into the possession of W. von Humboldt (1767–1835) and are now in his castle at Tegel. See further G. F. Waagen Das Schloss Tegel und seine Kunstdenkmäler Berlin 1859 p. 13. The restorations, which can be well seen in the Einzelaufnahmen nos. 2988 (Zeus) and 2989 (Prometheus) with Text x. 90 by W. Amelung, include Zeus—left forearm, most of left leg, front part of right foot, most of footstool;
Zeus struck with a double axe
The birth of Athena

his raised left hand, a thunderbolt in his lowered right. His head has just been cleft with the double axe; for behind him a youthful god or demi-god, still grasping his weapon, starts to flee from the scene of his sacrilege and yet in the very act of flight looks back to note the marvellous issue of his blow. In front of Zeus Athena, already full-grown and clad in her panoply, speeds forth into the world, but as she goes glances towards the sire from whose head she has sprung. Nike, hovering between them, presents her with a victor’s wreath. Adjoining her are the three Fates.

Prometheus—forehead, nose, mouth, half the right forearm with the right hand, front parts of both feet. There are casts at Berlin (Friederichs—Wolters op. cit. p. 736 no. 1863 f.). Height 0’685 m.

The remaining slab, of a different marble and in a finer style, was discovered about 1770 in the Villa Paionbbara behind the church of S. Maria Maggiore at Rome, and in 1809 was sold by its possessor, Prince Massimi alle Colonne, to Fr. von Humboldt, who handed it over to A. B. Thorvaldsen and C. D. Rauch to be packed up and made presentable. Rauch in 1816 had the luck to find the head, breast, and left hand of the seated Fate, which had been treated as a medallion and set in a gilded frame, in the studio of the sculptor A. Malatesta at Rome. The fragments are now reassembled at Tegel. See further G. F. Waagen op. cit. p. 16, Einzelauflaufnahmen n. 2990 with Text x. 90 f. by W. Amelung. Modern parts: right arm, right hip, and lower body of the seated Fate; nose and part of the right upper arm of her neighbour; fingers of right hand and lower left arm of the third figure together with roll, globe, and pilae. There is a cast at Berlin (Friederichs—Wolters op. cit. p. 736 f. no. 1863). Height 0’3 m.

F. Hauser in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1903 vi. 79—107 attempts to combine these slabs (figs. 46—48) with neo-Attic fragments of reliefs, now in Rome, Florence, and Munich, representing the three Horai and the three Agrauleides (pl. 5—6). Since all the fragments were found, though at different times, in the Villa Paionbbara, and since they all correspond in size or nearly so, he holds that the whole composition was a series of four oblong altar-reliefs, copied from a fine work of the Attic school to be dated near the end of i. iv B.C. Lastly, he conjectures that they were copies of bronze reliefs by the younger Kephisodotos, which—he thinks—adorned the altar of Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira in the Peiraieus. See, however, the objections raised by P. Arrat and G. Lippold in the Einzelauflaufnahmen vi. 44, W. Amelung ib. x. 90.

J. N. Svoronos in the Journ. Intern. d’Arch. Num. 1902 v. 16—188, 285—377 (=id. Tà καυχήθα τῶν Μονεταίων θού Athens 1904 pp. 9—40) and again in his Ath. Nationalmäus. pp. 179—236 nos. 215—217 pls. 30, 31 and 37, ventres another combination, arguing that the design of the Madrid puteal and the Tegel reliefs, incomplete towards the right, can be completed by that of the Apollon-and-Marsyas slab from Mantinea. The resultant frieze (fig. 134 and fig. 140 = my fig. 471 representing the musical victory of Apollon once decorated the front of a thymele or platform for singers assumed to have stood in the orchestra of the local theatre. The two remaining slabs from Mantinea with their six ‘Praxitelean’ Muses could then have formed the two sides of the same platform (figs. 141, 142 = my fig. 472). The whole to be dated c. 250—150 B.C. On this showing, the Fates (?the three missing Musei (p. 265) foretold the doom of Marsyas, while Zeus watched the issue from afar and Nile with her wreath flew to crown the victorious Apollon (op. the puteal from Ruvo figure, supra i pl. xil); ‘Prometheus’ was a second Satyr (?*ein Quelldämmung (p. 213 f.)) equipped with an axe and inserted as a sympathiser with Marsyas; and Athena, a figure identical with the Athena of the Finlay vase (Svoronos Ath. Nationalmäus. pp. 135 ff. no. 127 pl. 36, Collignon Hist. de la Sculpt. gr. i. 466 with fig. 242, Harrison Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath. 42—2
Zeus struck with a double axe

The only uncertainty in this design relates to the axe-bearing figure. Orthodox writers from Pindar downwards said that the head of Zeus had been cleft by Hephaistos; and such was the

Fig. 471.

Fig. 472.

Fig. 473.

p. 408 with fig. 29, G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 157 with fig. 586, was hastening to warn Marsyas of his fate. Svoronos finally completes the embellishment of his hypothetical thymele by adding a back-frieze (fig. 143 = my fig. 473) formed of Hauser's Horai and 'Agraulides' (?Hyades) arranged left and right of a Pan between two dancing Nymphs (?Hyades) taken, with variation of order, from a slab in the Lateran (O. Benndorf—R. Schoene *Die antiken Bildwerke des lateranensischen Museums* Leipzig 1867 p. 123 no. 202 pl. 4, 3, A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2721 f. fig., Reinach *Kp. Reliefs* iii. 280 no. 1).

Reconstructions of this sort are undeniably ingenious and come within the pale of possibility. But unfortunately they leave so large a part to mere conjecture that they seldom carry conviction. In any case, whether they are right or wrong, we should be justified in assuming that the Madrid puteal and the Tegel reliefs were adaptations, mediate or immediate, of the Parthenon pediment. Even Svoronos is forced to admit that his axe-bearing Satyr was 'von dem Hephaistos oder Prometheus des Pheidias kopiert' (*Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 215).

1 Pind. *Ol.* 7. 35 ff. with schol. *ad loc.* To the references given supra p. 200 n. 3 add Philodem. *πελεκείας* 59 p. 31 Gomperz (cited *infra* p. 661 n. 4).
The birth of Athena

tradition followed by the vase-painters of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Others, including Euripides, ascribed the blow to Prometheus—the first, according to Pliny, who ever felled an ox. A poem that passed under the name of Eumolpos or Mousaios called the striker Palamaon. Lastly, Sosibios, a Lacedaemonian scholar of the third century B.C., spoke of him as Hermes; and some early artists, as might be seen for example in the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos at Sparta, represented Hermes, axe in hand, standing beside Zeus.

But, whatever name we give to the axe-bearer on the Madrid puteal, it is clear that the Athenians even of the Periclean age were prepared to tolerate the conception of Zeus as struck on the head by an axe—a ‘holy axe’ said some, an ‘ox-striker’ said others. This they would never have done, unless behind the myth there...
The birth of Athena in art

had been some ritual practice of immemorial sanction; and it is
difficult to resist the conclusion that the practice concerned was
that of the Dipolieia.

The matter calls for careful investigation. Fortunately we know
that the subject of Pheidias' pediment was no new thing. Rather it
was the last term of a whole series, which, mainly by the help of
numerous extant vase-paintings, can be traced back to the early
part of the sixth century B.C. Our business therefore is to classify
the vase-paintings and, adducing any collateral evidence that is
found, to consider how far they may be based upon underlying
cults either at Athens or elsewhere.

(θ) The birth of Athena in art.

Vases representing the birth of Athena fall into five groups,1
according as they depict (1) Zeus in labour helped by the Eileithyiai;
(2) Athena emerging from the head of Zeus, which has been cleft
by Hephaistos; (3) a fusion of these two types—Zeus attended

1 R. Schneider Die Geburt der Athena Wien 1880 p. 8 ff. distinguishes four types:
(a) the moment of birth; (b) the moment before birth; (c) the moment after birth;
(d) a later moment. These correspond with my types as follows: (a) = (2) + (3)2;
(b) = (1) + (3)2; (c) = (4); (d) = (5). Schneider's useful list of vases and Etruscan mirrors
(op. cit. pp. 9—16) is extended by P. Baur 'Eileithyia' in Philologus 1899—1901 Suppl.
vii. 503 (= P. V. C. Baur 'Eileithyia' in The University of Missouri Studies 1902 i. 4.
78), who adds a fine, though fragmentary, black-figured pinax belonging to my type
(3), found on the Akropolis at Athens (F. Studniczka in the 'Eph. 'Apx- 1886 p. 117 ff.
pl. 8, 1 (=my fig. 484), Graef Ant. Vasen Athen iv. 251 f. no. 2578 pl. 109), and a
black-figured vase of my type (4), now in the Museo Municipale at Orvieto (G. Karo in
the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1899 xix. 140 n. 3). The most important addendum to the lists of
Schneider and Baur is the black-figured vase of my type (1) lately found in Rhodes
(infra fig. 475).

See farther E. Gerhard Athenens Geburt auf Vasenbildern und auf dem Parthenon-
giebel Berlin 1838, P. W. Forchhammer Die Geburt der Athene Kiel 1841, O. Jahn Die
Geburt der Athene Kiel 1841 pp. 1—18 with pl., T. Bergk 'Die Geburt der Athene' in
the Jahrb. f. class. Philol. 1860 lxxxi. 289—319, 377—424 (=id. Kleine philologische
Schriften a. S. 1886 ii. 635—722), G. Loeschcke 'Über Darstellungen der Athena-
Geburt' in the Arch. Zeit. 1876 xxxiv. 108—119, P. Stengel 'Die Sagen von der
Geburt der Athene und Aphrodite' in the Jahrb. f. class. Philol. 1885 cxxxi. 77—86,
H. B. Walters in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases ii. 11 and in his History of Ancient Pottery
350—354 ('un simple mythe iconographique'? cp. the Karlsruhe' statuette (Perrot—
Chipiez Hist. de l'Art vi. 740 fig. 332), which implies primitive belief in birth from
parent's head), id. Dédale Paris 1930 p. 263 n. 5 with fig. 17, 4. G. Ancey 'La naissance
d'Athéna' in the Rev. Arch. 1913 i. 209—211 (Athena the sneeze of Zeus!).

Collections of vases for comparative study are given by Gerhard Auserl. Vasenb.
i pls. 1—5 and by Lenormant—de Witte Él. mon. étr. i. 174 ff. pls. 54—65 A ; of mirrors,
Amphora at Munich:
Zeus in labour, flanked by two Eileithyiai.

See page 663 n. 1.
The birth of Athena in art

both by the Eileithyiai and by Hephaistos; (4) Athena, armed but not yet fully grown, standing on the knees of Zeus; (5) Athena, armed and fully grown, standing before Zeus.

(1) The first type, which is confined to black-figured vases, shows a sceptred Zeus sitting on a throne towards the right, at first (fig. 474 and pl. l)1 with an Eileithyia in front of him and another Eileithyia behind him. They are by their gestures aiding2 the birth of Athena; but the goddess is not yet born, nor is there the least indication that her birth will be brought about by a blow from an axe—the type being simply the older representation of an accouchement3 applied to the particular case of Zeus. One interesting

![Fig. 474](image)

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1 A ‘Nolan’ amphora at Florence published by J. B. Passerius Picturae Etruscorum Romae 1779 ii. 38 f. col. pl. 151 as red-figured (!)—a blunder corrected by Lenormant—
de Witte El. mon. cér. i. 190 fig. (=my fig. 474), R. Schneider Die Geburt der Athena Wien 1880 p. 13 no. 29. A black-figured amphora at Munich (Jahn Vasensamml. München p. 29 no. 101) likewise shows a seated Zeus, with a sceptre in his left hand, flanked by two Eileithyiai. My pl. I is from a photograph most kindly sent to me by Dr C. Weickert (June 3, 1935).

2 R. Schneider op. cit. p. 17, C. Sittl Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer Leipzig 1890 p. 312 f. On Persephone Xευγωνία see supra p. 98 n. o (8). Similarly Lucina, to lighten the throes of Myrrha, ‘admovitque manus et verba puerpera dixit’ (Ov. met. 10. 511). Here the Eileithyiai extend the open hand in token of delivery (cp. Paus. 7. 23. 5 f. the acrolithic xóamon of Eileithyia at Aigion ταῖς χερσὶ τῷ μὲν ἐς κοίλος ἐκτύτατοι, τῷ δὲ δέμας δήδει) or point with the forefinger—a gesture copied by Zeus. On the other hand, Lucina, wishing to delay the birth of Hercules, ‘subedit in illa ante fores ara, dextroque a poplite laevum presa genu et digitis inter se pectine inunctis sustinuit partus’ (Ov. met. 9. 257 ff., cp. Ant. Lib. 29 after Nikandros ἐτραπούσαντον ῳ)4.

3 Supra p. 80 n. 2 (1) fig. 23 or the supporters of a goddess on an archaic pítches with reliefs from Boiotia (P. Wolters in the 'Eph. 'Αρχ. 1892 p. 215 ff. pls. 8, 9, A. de Ridder in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1898 xxii. 410 ff. fig. 1, Collignon—Couve Cat. Vases d'Athènes
The birth of Athena in art

example from Rhodes (fig. 475)\(^1\) marks the divinity of the persons concerned by giving wings to the Eileithyiai. Others, now at

Fig. 475.

\(^1\) G. Jacopi in *Clara Rhodos* Rodi 1929 iii. 175 ff. (tomb clxxix, 3) with col. pl. C (=my fig. 475) and fig. 177. This black-figured *hydria* has a shoulder-decoration of a hen flanked by two cocks, beneath which in a metope bounded by sprays of ivy is the main design. Zeus, wearing a purple head-band, a purple *chithôn*, and a short black *himation*, sits on a stool towards the right and holds a tall slender sceptre. Before and behind him stand two winged females (whom Jacopi calls ‘Arpie?’) in short purple *peploi* and black *endromides*: they make magical passes, raising the left hand and lowering the right with open palms—a gesture thoroughly characteristic of the Eileithyiai. It is tempting to conjecture that the painter by giving them wings was anticipating W. Prellwitz'
Amphora from Girgenti, now at Karlsruhe:
Zeus in labour, with two Eileithyiai and Hermes in attendance.

See page 665 n. 1.
The birth of Athena in art

Karlsruhe (pl. li)\(^1\), Vienna (fig. 476)\(^2\), and Florence (figs. 477, 478)\(^3\), produce the same effect by adding to left and right one or more deities as spectators of the great event. Sometimes, as on a vase in

![Image of a vase showing the birth of Athena](image-url)

notion that Εἰλείθυια, from εἰλ'ξενιον + θυν, means 'in der Bedrangnis schnell herbeieilend' (Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.\(^2\) p. 129). But that notion is itself improbable, and the wings may be explained as in the text. The same explanation fits the Etruscan Eileithyiai, who appear as winged women (Thanur and Ethausva) on a mirror from Praeneste given below (infra p. 676 fig. 487).

\(^1\) A black-figured amphora from Girgenti, now at Karlsruhe (Winnefeld Vasensamml. Karlsruhe p. 31 f. no. 161), has Zeus flanked by two Eileithyiai, while Hermes on the left moves towards the right. The sceptre of Zeus is surmounted by a ram's head (cp. supra i. 406 fig. 308). My pi. li is from a photograph kindly supplied by the Direktor of the Badisches Landesmuseum.

\(^2\) Masner Samml. ant. Vasen u. Terracotten Wien p. 30 f. no. 237 pl. 4, a black-figured calix-krater formerly in the Castellani collection. The group of Zeus and the two Eileithyiai is amplified by the addition of Ares on the left, Hermes and a gesticulating goddess on the right. For a fresh photograph of this lower register (my fig. 476) I am indebted to the kind offices of Mr A. D. Trendall.

\(^3\) A black-figured amphora found near Vulci, later in the possession of Dr Guarducci at Florence (Inghirami Vas. fitt. i. 117 f. pls. 75, 76, Gerhard Auserl. Vasenb. i. 25 f. pl. 5, 1, 2, Lenormant—de Witte Él. mon. clô. i. 7 pl. 1 and 185 ff. pl. 54, Reinach Rép. Vases ii. 21, 1—3), adds Hermes (?) and Apollon on the left, Herakles (?) and Ares on the right. My fig. 477 is from a photograph by C. A. Bonelli.

Another black-figured amphora, likewise in the Museo Archeologico at Florence, has a seated Zeus flanked by a bearded god and Eileithyia on the left, Hermes departing and a second Eileithyia (?) holding a tendril on the right. The sceptre in the hand of Zeus is topped by the forepart of a winged horse; a gecko creeps up behind his seat; and a wreath fills the blank beneath him. My fig. 478 is again from a photograph by Bonelli.
The birth of Athena in art

Fig. 477.

Fig. 478.
Amphora from Vulci, now in the Vatican:
Zeus in labour, with one Eileithyia and two gods in attendance.

See page 667 n. 1.
Amphora from Caere, now in the Vatican:
Zeus in labour, with one Eileithyia and Hermes (?). Poseidon, Ares in attendance.
The birth of Athena in art

the Vatican (pl. liii)\(^1\), there is but a single Eileithyia. And once, on
a second vase in the same collection (pl. liii)\(^2\), the approaching birth
is heralded by the appearance of a small owl which has the temerity
to perch on the very sceptre of Zeus.

A similar scene is shown on a marble slab found in 1900 at
*Haidar-pacha* near *Kadi-Keui* and now preserved in the Museum
at Constantinople (fig. 479)\(^3\). The relief, surmounted by a dedica-
tion in lettering of 550—500 B.C.\(^4\), portrays Zeus seated on a high-
backed throne and facing—an unusual circumstance—towards the
left. An Eileithyia standing behind him places her right hand on

![Fig. 479.](image)

his head, her left on his left shoulder. Another Eileithyia standing
before him apparently clasps both his hands with hers. The group
is flanked by two further figures. A female personage on a some-
what smaller scale holds out her hands on the left: another female,

\(^1\) A black-figured amphora from Vulci, found in 1835, and now in the Vatican (*Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii. 8 pl. 39, 12), shows Zeus seated, sceptre in hand, on a folding-stool
towards the right, while a single Eileithyia stands before him. On the left a draped god
gesticulates, on the right another draped god stands still. My pl. lii is from a photograph
kindly procured for me by Mr A. D. Trendall.

\(^2\) A black-figured amphora from Caere, found in 1836, and now in the Vatican (*Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii. 9 pl. 48, 2), Albizzati *Vasi d. Vaticano* p. 139 f. no. 353 pl. 45 (part
of which = my pl. lii)), renders a similar scene with somewhat greater elaboration.
The throne of Zeus has its back ending in a swan’s-head and its seat resting on a small
draped male. The god’s left hand grasps a sceptre with curved top, to which a small
owl is clinging. Eileithyia in patterned peplos gesticulates before him. Behind Zeus
stand Poseidon and Hermes (?); behind Eileithyia stands Ares.

\(^3\) S. Reinach in the *Comptes rendus de l’Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1900 p. 699,
id. in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1901 xiv. 127—137 pl. 1 (= id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions Paris
1906 ii. 274—284 with fig.), id. *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 165 no. 4, Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Con-
stantinople* ii. 277 f. no. 524 fig. (= my fig. 479).

\(^4\) S. Reinach restored [N]rō[... patronymic] ἐκατέβ[πεν].
still smaller, raises her right hand to her head on the right. S. Reinach, who first published this monument, observed that Kadi-Keui occupies the site of Kalchedon, a colony of Megara\(^1\), and that Pausanias mentions a sanctuary of the Eileithyiai at Megara itself\(^2\). Hence he inferred that the relief was an ex-voto dedicated to the Eileithyiai, whose cult had been carried by the colonists from Megara to Kalchedon. Reinach indeed contended—and his contention is prima facie plausible—that the type of Zeus accouche by the Eileithyiai originated in connexion with their cult and ultimately hails from Megara. Other evidence cited by him will be mentioned later\(^3\). Meantime it may be conceded that in general a definite art-type does pre-suppose a definite belief and not infrequently a definite cult.

(2) The second type, which shows Zeus delivered without the aid of the Eileithyiai by the axe-bearer alone, is so far as I know represented by a single black-figured kylix (fig. 480)\(^4\). This fine


\(^2\) Paus. i. 44. 2 καὶ Εἰληθυιῶν ἐστιν ἐπαιδεύσασθαι ἵππον.

\(^3\) Infra p. 671 ff.

The birth of Athena in art

vase, which J. D. Beazley dubs 'the best of all little-master cups', was found at Vulci in 1867, passed from the Durand into the Blacas collection, and is now to be seen in the British Museum. It is signed by the maker Phrynos, one of the minor Athenian artists at work in the middle of s. vi B.C. Zeus in a purple chiton and an embroidered himation is seated, facing to the right, on a decorated throne. Its back ends in a swan's head, its legs are leonine, and its arm is supported by four small Doric pillars. The god, as J. Overbeck pointed out, has dark hair but a grey beard—an indication of old age most unusual in the case of Zeus. His long locks are bound by a fillet. He raises both arms, brandishing a lotiform bolt in his right hand and making the gesture of delivery with his left. Before him a male figure, clad in a short purple chiton and endromides, starts to make his escape, but looks backward as he goes. He raises his right hand with open palm and holds in his left the double axe, with which he has just cleft the head of Zeus. From the cleft emerges the upper half of Athena, a long-haired goddess wearing a purple chiton and armed with lance and shield.

The birth of Athena as here portrayed has, if I am not in error, been strongly influenced by the ritual of the Dipolieia. Zeus with uplifted bolt is Zeus Polteus. The axe-bearer with double axe, short chiton, and endromides is the Boutypos, who—armed with just this weapon and clad in just this costume—struck the sacred ox and then fled for his life. This is indeed no mere starting back in terror or surprise: other vase-paintings show Hephaistos running off as fast as his legs will carry him. And, if the Dipolieia was celebrated to ensure an adequate dew-fall and rain-fall, it must not

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3 M. H. Swindler Ancient Painting Yale Univ. Press 1939 p. 191.
4 Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 29, supra i. 2 n. 2.
5 Supra ii. 769 ff.
6 Supra p. 663 n. 2.
7 Lenormant—de Witte El. mon. cér. i. 192 'Ce geste d’Héphestus répond à celui d’Ilithie, dont il remplit ici le rôle.' Cp. supra p. 664 ff. figs. 475—477.
8 Not visible on the photograph.
9 Supra p. 577 ff.
10 Supra p. 570 ff.
11 Supra p. 585 ff.
12 Supra p. 583.
be forgotten that in the Rhodian myth Zeus sent a shower of golden snow-flakes, when his head was cleft by the bronze axe of Hephaistos for Athena's birth. Whether our vase-painter was conscious of any relation between the scene he has given us and the ritual of the Bouphonia, is questionable. But is it merely by accident that he has placed upon Athena's shield a blazon which it nowhere else exhibits—an ox-head in relief with projecting horns?

(3) Thirdly, the type of Zeus delivered by the Eileithyiai was fused with that of Zeus delivered by Hephaistos. This fusion was effected in the early part of s. vi B.C.—hardly earlier—and thence-
The birth of Athena in art

forward remained the dominant type for Athenian vase-painters. It was perhaps first brought about by some Megarian resident in Athens; for S. Reinach has given reasons for thinking that the names painted on the two oldest specimens of it imply a knowledge of the Megarian alphabet and dialect. The said specimens are here

Behind him stands a similarly draped Eileithyia, raising her left hand with open palm to his head—a gesture repeated by Zeus with his extended left hand. Before him a male god (Hephaistos?), wearing a cap and a short chiton, departs towards the left, but turns to face Zeus. He too holds his left hand with open palm, but downwards—perhaps another variety of the same gesture. His right hand was raised and may have held the axe, though this is uncertain as the relief here passes beyond the limits of the metope. T. Homolle was the first to recognise the scene as the birth of Athena. Payne op. cit. p. 143 n. 2 says 'the figure of Athena is almost obliterated': but is she there at all?

Fig. 482.

Kleanthes of Corinth (early in s. vi B.C.: M. H. Swindler Ancient Painting Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 144 ff.) is known to have painted a 'Birth of Athena,' which was preserved in the temple of Artemis 'Aphelonia near the mouth of the Alpheios (Strab. 343). But our only clue to his treatment of the theme is the obtuse remark by Demetrios the antiquarian of Skepsis (c. 180—140 B.C.) that in it Ποιεῖται θεοί γεννῶν τῷ Δίῳ καὶ ἐν οἰκίᾳ Τιτάνων (Demetr. Skeps. frag. 5 ed. R. Gaede (Gryphiswaldiae 1880) ap. Athen. 346 b—c)—of course a mere attribute as often on black-figured vases (A. Reinach Textes Peint. Anc. i. 67 n. 7).

1 R. Schneider Die Geburt der Athena Wien 1880 p. 9 ff. So on Etruscan mirrors: Gerhard Etr. Spiegel pls. 66, 284, 1, 2, 285, 1, 2.


3 Ben. d. Inst. ix. pl. 55 (=my fig. 485) ΔΒΕΥΣ and ΚΩΒΕΛΙΟΥ, ib. vi. pl. 56, 3, 4 (=my fig. 491) ΤΙΔΕΥΣ. ΔΒΕΥΣ shows Corinthian and Megarian B = e followed by an explanatory Athenian E. ΚΩΒΕΛΙΟΥ shows a similar juxtaposition
of the alternatives Athenian Κ and Corinthian (and Megarian?) Ω. ΞΔΕΨΣ may be accounted for by the hypothesis that a Megarian, accustomed to the form ΔΕΨΣ, was working at Athens, where the name was written ΖΕΩN.

The theory advanced by G. Kaibel in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873 xlv. 113 and by G. Loeschcke in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1876 xxiv. 110 (cp. H. B. Walters in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 284), viz. that the Attic vase-painter was copying Corinthian models, on which ΖΕΩΣ was spelled ΔΒΨΜ and ΚΟΛΛΗΡΟΣ had an initial Ω, makes shipwreck— as P. Kretschmer *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 103 points out— on the fact that the Corinthians said ΖΕΩΣ, not ΔΕΨΣ. Two of the archaic inscribed *pínakes* found in 1879 at *Ponte Skouphia* near the Akrokorinths and referable to a date c. 600 B.C.

![Fig. 483.](image-url)

*Fig. 483.*

put the form of the name beyond doubt (E. Pernice in the *Fahrbb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1897 xii. 13 and 20, *id.* in the *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 6 pl. 30, 12 (=my fig. 483) and pl. 29, 13 (=my fig. 483), P. Kretschmer in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1897 xxii. 343 f., *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i nos. 263 fig. and 264 fig., F. Bechtel *Die griechischen Dialekte* Berlin 1923 ii. 235. The first and better preserved of these two is further published by Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 20, 66, *id.* *Imagines inscriptionum Gracarum antiquissimarum* Berolini 1907 p. 43 no. 5, r, Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 61 no. 490, Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 124 no. 90, 66). True, Megarian inscriptions too give the forms ΖΕΩΣ, ΖΩΝΙΑΣ, ΖΩΝΙΟΣ, ΖΩΝΙΧΟΣ, etc. (cp. E. Schneider *De dialeto Megarica* Gissae 1882 p. 71 f.); but that ‘ne prouve rien, ces textes étant relativement récents’ (S. Reinach in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1901 xiv. 134 n. 3 (id. *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1906 ii. 281 n. 4)).

A *pínax*-fragment found on the Akropolis at Athens preserve the head of Zeus, the body of Athena, and the hands of Eileithyia (F. Studniczka in the *Bph.* *Aph.* 1886 p. 117 ff. pl. 8, 1). Graef *Ant. Vasen Athen* iv. 251 f. no. 2578 pl. 109 (=my fig. 484) comments: ‘Obwohl die Inschrift attisch ist, darf an dem korinthischen Ursprung des *Pínax* nach Stil, und Farbe des Tons, der dem der protokorinthischen Ware entspricht, nicht gezweifelt werden.’
reproduced, because they illustrate the two possible forms of compromise between the Megarian and the Athenian type, according as Athena is, or is not, visible.

The first is a 'Tyrrenian' amphora from Caere, now at Berlin (fig. 485 and pl. liv). Zeus in a chiton and patterned himation is seated on a throne of which the back ends in a swan's head, the legs in lion's claws. In his left hand he grasps a thunderbolt. From his head emerges Athena armed with a lance, a circular shield, and a high-crested helmet. Hephaistos, then, has already struck his blow; indeed he is to be seen hurrying off on tip-toe towards the left. Nevertheless two birth-goddesses are still standing, Eileithyia behind Zeus, Demeter before him, and are lifting their hands with

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2 Supra p. 587 n. 2.

3 A cameo published by A. L. Millin Pierres gravés inédites Paris 1817 i pl. 56 (=Reinach Pierres Gravés. p. 128. fig. 56 pl. 122) shows Hephaistos with his mallet standing still to watch Athena received by the hands of the two Eileithyiai. But E. Braun in the Arch. Zeit. 1849 vii. 112 pl. 6, i justly pronounced the gem to be a forgery.

4 G. Kaibel in the Ann. d. Inst. 1873 xlv. 107 takes this figure to be a second Eileithyia, and refers the name [ΔΕ]ΜΕΤΕΠ to the fragmentary figure next to it on the right. But on this vase most of the names are well towards the right of the persons named. Moreover, on this vase most of the names are well towards the right of the persons named. Moreover, the fragmentary figure is certainly male, and holds an object with a long handle—presumably Poseidon with his trident.

C. III.
The birth of Athena in art
Amphora from Vulci, now in the British Museum:
Athena born from the head of Zeus, with two Eileithyiai, Hermes, and Hephaistos in attendance.

See page 676 n. 3 (1).
Pelike from Vulci, now in the British Museum:

(a, b) Athena born from the head of Zeus, with one Eileithyia and other deities in attendance.

See page 676 n. 1 (a) and page 710 with fig. 336.
open palms as though they would conjure the new-born maiden to appear. Other deities are present. To the left of the central group, and separated from one another by the rapidly retreating figure of Hephaistos, are Dionysos and Hermes. The former wears an ivy-wreath and holds a κάνθαρος. The latter, in festal attire, bears a καδuceus of unusual form and announces his presence with the naïve remark—'I am Hermes of Kyllene.' To the right of Zeus and his attendant goddesses is a god, probably Poseidon, conversing with a goddess, probably Aphrodite, while behind them stands Apollon with bow and arrow in his hands.

1 So G. Loeschcke in the Arch. Zeit. 1876 xxxiv. 109, R. Schneider Die Geburt der Athena Wien 1880 p. 9, and with a query Reinach Rép. Vases i. 197. The mutilated word

\[\text{\Large \text{(1)}}\]

is probably an appellative of Poseidon; Furtwängler loc. cit. says 'am ehesten wol Ἐπόμελην wenn man ein schiefgestelltes Δ zulässt,' cp. O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 1334. Less likely is θηράδα—there is not much room for one. More improbable still, Wilamowitz' reading Ταύραθρας. Quite impossible, a hovering Ταύραθρος.

2 Furtwängler loc. cit. proposes Α(μ)ιφεράρην, which is accepted, again with a query, by Reinach loc. cit. But Poseidon is more than once paired with Aphrodite (Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1145 n. 4 f.), and the initial Αφ( — — ) is beyond question.

3 Noteworthy variations on the theme of this vase include the following:

1) A black-figured amphora from Vulci, now in the British Museum (Gerhard Auserl. Vasenb. i. 6 ff. pl. 2, 1, Lenormant—de Witte Él. mon. écr. i. 196 f. pl. 58, Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases ii. 155 no. B 244 with fig 21 on p. 11, Reinach Rép. Vases ii. 20. 3—5, H. B. Walters History of Ancient Pottery London 1905 ii. 16 fig. 113), which J. D. Beazley in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1927 xlvii. 78 f. fig. 16 f., 82 attributes to his 'Antimenes painter' c. 530—520 B.C. My pl. lv is from the official photograph. Zeus and Athena are flanked by a pair of Eileithyiai with Hermes on the left and Hephaistos on the right.

2) A red-figured hydria from Nola, now in Paris (De Ridder Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat. ii. 337 ff. no. 444 fig. 74 (=my fig. 486), Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. ii. 542 (‘karikaturenhafte Schlankheit’) iii. 196 fig. 518), which J. D. Beazley assigns to his
The birth of Athena in art

manneristic 'Nausikaa painter' c. 470 B.C. (Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 112 no. 9, Attische Vasenmaler des roßfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 253 no. 13, Hoppin Red-fig. Vases ii. 213 no. 8). This gives Zeus an unexpected phidias and makes Athena jump the wrong way to the manifest surprise of Hephaistos and the two Eileithyiai. De Ridder names the figures from left to right Iris (?), Hera (?), Zeus, Athena Prómachos, Hermes, 'Déesse (?).

Fig. 487.

(3) A red-figured pelike from Vulci, now in the British Museum (Gerhard Auserl. Vaseb. i. 6 ff. pl. 3—4, P. W. Forchhammer Die Geburt der Athene Kiel 1841 with pl., Lenormant—de Witte Él. mon. cbr. i. 271 ff. pls. 64 and 65. Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 256 f. no. E 410, Reinach Rép. Vases ii. 20, 6), which is attributed either to Hermonax c. 465—455 B.C. (Hoppin Red-fig. Vases ii. 31 f. no. 12, but see Leonard in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 901) or to a painter closely resembling him (J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des roßfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 304 no. 1). My pl. iv is from the official photographs, cp. infra fig. 526. Zeus, enthroned en face, makes the gesture of delivery with his right hand as Athena rises from his head. Eileithyia and Artemis on the right are balanced by Hephaistos and Poseidon on the left. The design is that
amplified by the addition of other immortals. Under the left handle Nike hastens towards the right followed by a draped youthful male wearing a wreath (Apollon?), Dionysos, a bald and bearded deity also wreathed (Hades??), and a white-haired personage resting on a staff (Nereus??). The identification of the last two figures is quite uncertain: provisionally I follow Gerhard. For other guesses see R. Schneider Die Geburt der Athena Wien 1880 p. 11 f.

Etruscan mirrors, under the influence of imported red-figure vases (W. Lamb Greek and Roman Bronzes London 1929 p. 129 f.), repeat the design with additions and subtractions:
(1) A mirror from Arezzo, now at Bologna (supra ii. 709 ff. pl. xxix), shows Tinia delivered by Thanr and Thalna, while Sethlans with his double axe stands aloof.

The birth of Athena in art

by Thanr and Ethausva—the former fastening a bandage round his head, the latter laying her hands on his head and shoulder—gives birth to an armed Menerva. All the goddesses more Etrusco (supra p. 665 n. 0) are winged. On Thanr see C. Pauli in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 527—529. On Thalna, C. Pauli ib. v. 459—462, cp. 442, E. Vetter in Glotta 1924 xiii. 146—148, Eva Fiesel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. A. 1237—1238. On Ethausva, W. Deecke in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1390, E. Samter in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 717. It must be remembered that Strab. 226 says of

Pyrgoi, the port of Caere: ἐχει δὲ Εὐθύδης ἱερὸν, Πηλαγὼν θώμα, πλοῖατων ποτε γενόμενοι, κ.τ.λ.

(3) A third, now at Berlin (no. 2979) (E. Braun in the Ann. d. Inst. 1851 xxiii. 141 ff. pl. 6—H, Gerhard Etr. Spiegel iv. 12 f. pl. 284, 1 (=my fig. 488), A. Fabretti Corpus inscriptionum Italicarum Aug. Taurinorum 1867 p. cxxv no. 2478, C. Pauli in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2933 f.), has Tinia sitting on a throne with lowered bolt and Menerva in armour rising from his head. Left and right of him, leaning on the back of his throne, are Thalna and Uni (Unea)—both appropriate as birth-goddesses. These in turn are flanked by two young warriors described as Lalan and Preale. Lalan is an obvious slip for Laran, the Etruscan Ares (W. Deecke in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1866 f.). Preale occurs here only, but must be a deity akin to Mars (C. Pauli loc. cit.). Finally, in
The second form of compromise between the Megarian and the Athenian type is exemplified by another ‘Tyrrenian’ amphora from Caere, now in the Louvre (fig. 491). Zeus, clad in a white chiton and a red himation, is seated on a throne—carefully inscribed as such—with swan’s-head back and lion’s-claw legs. His left hand holds the thunderbolt, his right a lotos-topped sceptre. His feet rest on a footstool, upon which stands one of the birth-goddesses with a wreath in her uplifted right hand. Her fellow, definitely named Eileithyia, stands behind the throne of Zeus and the background is seen a temple-front with four Ionic columns, which is hardly to be identified with the newly built Parthenon (J. Roulez in the Ann. d. Inst. 1861 xxxiii. 318), but suggests that the scene is being enacted in Olympus (Gerhard p. 17).

(4) Very similar is the design of another mirror, now in London (Gerhard Etr. Spiegel iv. 13f. pl. 284, 2 (=my fig. 489), A. Fabretti op. cit. p. ccxiv no. 2471 bis, Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 116 no. 696). Tinia and Menrfa are again supported by Thalna and Uni. On the left is Laran, on the right a bearded Maristiusta (so H. B. Walters, who thinks he ‘may be meant for Poseidon.’ C. Pauli in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2933 f. reads mars...usta and, with more probability, assumes some relationship to Mars). In the background, as before, is a temple-façade with four Ionic columns (cp. also Gerhard op. cit. iv. 14 f. pl. 485, 1).

(5) Yet another mirror, formerly in the Museo Campana, now in the Louvre (J. Roulez in the Ann. d. Inst. 1861 xxxiii. 314 ff., Mon. d. Inst. vi pl. 56, 1, Gerhard Etr. Spiegel iv. 16 f. pl. 285 A (=my fig. 490), De Ridder Cat. Bronzes du Louvre ii. 51 no. 1738), makes Tinia beardless and surrounded by three goddesses—one with wings (Than or Uni (Roulez) rather than Nike (Gerhard, De Ridder)), a second with Phrygian cap (Thalna (Roulez), Artemis (Gerhard), Artemis? (De Ridder)), a third with veil (luna (Gerhard) or Hera? (De Ridder) rather than Venus (Roulez)). A sketchy pediment still marks the background.


2 ΘΩΝΟΝ. 3 HILEIOVF.
The birth of Athena in art

The birth of Athena in art raises both arms to his head. Athena is not yet born; but owing to the fusion, or rather confusion, of types Hephaistos with his double axe is already making off to the extreme right of the spectator. Left of the central scene is a group of interested deities—Dionysos with a garland of vine-leaves, Aphrodite draped and veiled, Ares with lance and shield, and lastly Leto. Right of the central scene appear other deities—Poseidon leaning on his trident as he talks to Amphitrite, and a nude bearded god, perhaps meant for Hermes, who holds a long-handled caduceus with one hand and gesticulates with the other.

(4) The fourth type, which represents Athena standing—a half-grown maiden—on the knees of Zeus, is again but a special application of a much older mother-and-child motif. As applied to Zeus and Athena, it occurs on several black-figured amphorae and one red-figured pelike.

The earliest of the black-figured vases is an amphora in the style of Amasis noted by G. Karo in 1899 as being then in the Museo Municipale at Orvieto. It seems probable that this is the vase published by Miss E. H. Hall (Mrs Dohan) as ‘excavated from an Etruscan tomb at Orvieto in 1907 [sic] by Mr A. L. Frothingham’ and now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum at Philadelphia (fig. 492). It has been to some extent repainted, but the original parts can be well made out from the official line-drawing. Zeus, holding a lotiform bolt, sits stiffly erect on a throne towards the right. Its back ends in a ram’s head. Its seat rests on a Nike with spread wings and gesticulating hands. On his lap stands Athena in her panoply. Before Zeus is Eileithyia with ex-

1 So Pettier loc. cit. S. Reinach loc. cit. supposes that the female figure on the footstool is Athena. But F. Durrbach loc. cit. justly observes that on a black-figured amphora from Chiusi representing the same scene (Lenormant—de Witte Ét. mon. cir. i. 1946 pl. 57) one of the Eileithyiai is carrying a wreath. Besides, the figure on the footstool has no attribute distinctive of Athena.

2 A gold ring from one of the later tombs at Thisbe in Boiotia, published by Sir A. Evans The Palace of Minos at Knossos London 1930 iii. 470 ff. and by him assigned at latest to ‘a Mainland-Mycenaean phase equivalent to L. M. IIIa,’ shows a draped goddess sitting on a throne with a nude boy standing on her knees. Behind the throne is a small female attendant; in front of it, two armed worshippers approach with offerings.


4 E. H. H[all] in The Museum Journal 1912 iii. 68 ff. figs. 33 (photo of whole), 34 (=my fig. 493), and 35 (drawing of reverse). The date 1907 is possibly a slip for 1897: it is in any case inconsistent with Miss Hall’s statement in the same paragraph that A. Furtwängler saw the vase at Philadelphia in 1904 and, upon his return to Europe, made a report of it to the Munich Academy of Science [see the Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1905 p. 287 no. 16].
The birth of Athena in art

Fig. 491.

Fig. 493.
The birth of Athena in art

pressive fingers. Behind him, Apollon with kithára and pléktron. On the right, Ares in full armour is accompanied by a hound¹. On the left are traces of Poseidon(?). Finally a few blanks are filled by a couple of soul-birds and sundry meaningless inscriptions. Another amphora, now in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire at Geneva, is included in the Genevan series of Giraudon's photographs². A third, here given (fig. 493)³, was found at Vulci and passed from

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¹ On the use of dogs in war see F. Orth in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 2366 f.; and on their relation to Ares, id. ib. viii. 2575 f. (cf. the same author's monograph Der Hund im Altertum Schlesingen 1910). The subject had been already handled by O. Keller Die antike Tierwelt Leipzig 1900 i. 136 ff., 141.

² R. Schneider Die Geburt der Athena Wien 1880 p. 14 no. 32 ('Genf: musée Fol. (Kat. n. 154)'), P. Milliet Vases antiques des collections de la ville de Genève Paris 1892. (Text to A. Giraudon's plates.)

³ G. Micali Monumenti per servire alla storia degli antichi popoli italiani Firenze 1832 pl. 86, 1, Lenormant—de Witte Él. mon. cér. i. 197 ff. pl. 59 (= my fig. 493), Müller—Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst ii. 164 pl. 21, 22b, L. Urlich Vorschriften der Antikensammlung der Universität Würzburg Würzburg 1872 iii. 44 f. no. 748.
The birth of Athena in art

the Feoli collection to Würzburg. Zeus is seated on a stool, which has decorated legs and a central support in the shape of a bearded and draped male figure. The god holds a thunderbolt in his right hand, and uplifts his left with open palm. On his lap stands Athena, not yet fully grown, but armed with \textit{aigis} and shield. Before Zeus, with one hand raised and open, the other lowered and shut, stands a birth-goddess, presumably Eileithyia. Behind him Apollon with \textit{kithāra} and \textit{plektron} makes music. To the right of all stands a bearded and draped god, perhaps Poseidon—though no attribute is visible; to the left, a bearded and nude god with a peaked and pointed \textit{pētase}s—probably Hermes, but possibly Hephaistos.

The red-figured vase, a \textit{pelike} from Nola now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna (fig. 494), is referred by J. D. de La Borde \textit{Collection des vases grecs de M. le comte de Lamberg} Paris 1813 i. 88 pl. 83, Lenormant—de Witte \textit{Ét. mon. cér.} i. 19 pl. 55 (= my fig. 494), R. Schneider \textit{Die Geburt der Athena} Wien 1880 p. 14 no. 33, Reinach \textit{Rép. Vases} ii. 207. 3.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig495.png}
\caption{Fig. 495.}
\end{figure}
The birth of Athena in art

Beazley to his 'Geras Painter', a minor artist of c. 480—470 B.C. It depicts the middle group of deities only, and rather clumsily exaggerates the size of Eileithyia at the expense of Zeus.

Fig. 496.


2 It may be noticed in passing that this mother-and-child motif was applied by Athenian vase-painters not only to Zeus and Athena, but also to Zeus and Dionysos. A black-figured example of the latter has already been given (supra ii. 273 n. 3 with fig. 177, which having suffered an accidental exchange of right for left is here replaced by the more correct fig. 497): in it Zeus kept his own thunderbolt and sceptre, 'Zeus' boy' brandished torches, and the original Eileithyia was transformed into Hera. A red-figured *krater* found, full of ashes and small vases, in tomb no. 311 of the Val di Trebbia necropolis near Comacchio (A. Negrioli in the *Not. Scavi* 1927 p. 166 pl. 16 (=my fig. 496), M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Mystic Italy* New York 1927 Frontispiece, C. Dugas in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1929 xlii. 89 fig. 5) has a noble long-haired Zeus sitting on a high-backed chair. He wears an olive (?)-wreath, a tagged or embroidered *chiton*, and a plain *himation*. But the painter has given him a distinctly Dionysiac character by making him shoulder a *thyrsos* by way of sceptre and use a fawn-skin as his antimacassar, while he supports the infant Dionysos already equipped with ivy-wreath, vine-stem, and *kantharos*. In this
The birth of Athena in art

(5) The fifth and final type, in which Athena has reached her full stature, is attested by a couple of vases, a black-figured *hydria* from Vulci now at Würzburg and a red-figured *stamnos* from Vulci now in the Vatican.

The *hydria* (fig. 497)\(^1\) shows Zeus seated on a throne, facing towards the left. He holds a sceptre with a curious Janiform head\(^2\) in one hand, but no thunderbolt in the other. Athena, armed and fully grown, stands before him. She has issued from him, as we might infer from the position of her feet, but she turns her face directly towards him while adjusting her high-crested helmet. To either side of this group stand the two Eileithyiai, and beyond them Poseidon and Hermes. Hephaistos is not there.

The *stamnos* (fig. 498, \(a\) and \(b\))\(^3\), regarded by J. D. Beazley as case the two Eileithyiai have become stately Nymphs holding flowers or clothing for the new-born god.

It is possible, though not certain, that Dionysos borrowed the type from Athena, who—to judge from our few examples—appears to have been first in the field. In any event his adoption of the scheme was very understandable: it is but a step from some vase-illustrations of Dionysos emerging out of his father's thigh (*supra* p. 81 fig. 25 and pl. xiii, 1—3) to these of Dionysos standing upon it.


\(^2\) The conjoined profiles are respectively bearded and beardless (cp. *supra* ii. 387 ff. on the differentiation of the sky-god's faces), and two arms are attached to the common torso. But Urlichs *loc. cit.* says: 'ein Scepter, worauf ein Doppelgesicht (modern?).'

\(^3\) *Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii. 5 pl. 21, 1 (=my fig. 498, \(a\) and \(b\)).
The birth of Athena in art

a late 'Schularbeit' of his 'Berlin Painter', may be dated c. 465 B.C.
Front and back of the vase are decorated with sections of the same scene, in which the familiar figures are regrouped with sundry infelicitous variations. On the obverse, Zeus is standing not seated, having vacated his chair for Hera, who sits there raising her right hand as if to greet the hasty arrival of Nike from the left. Nike presumably brings tidings of Athena's birth. And meantime Athena herself, armed and fully grown, stands holding out her helmet behind Hera's back. In short, a complete rearrangement of the traditional scheme. No less wilful is the artist's treatment of

\[ \text{Fig. 498.} \]

The birth of Athena in art

de reverse. The divine witnesses are not relegated to the left and right as flanking figures, but are paired off as conversing couples—Poseidon with Hermes (?), Kore (?) with Hades (?).

The fifth type of vase-painting leads up to and culminates in the great complex of sculptural decoration employed by Pheidias for the eastern pediment of the Parthenon. The ultimate dependence of this complex on actual cults may be seen from the following diagram:

Vase-type (1): Zeus in labour helped by the Eileithyiai.
Vase-type (2): Athena emerging from the head of Zeus, which has been cleft by Hephaistos.
Vase-type (3) due to Megarian potters resident in Athens:
Zeus in labour helped by the Eileithyiai: his head has been cleft by Hephaistos, and Athena either (a) is, or (b) is not, visible.

Developments of the theme due to Athenian potters:
Vase-type (4): Athena, armed but not yet fully grown, standing on the knees of Zeus.
Vase-type (5): Athena, armed and fully grown, standing before Zeus.

Pheidias' Design for the Eastern Pediment of the Parthenon.

The foregoing enquiry has brought us to the threshold of a difficult, not to say dangerous, enterprise. If Pheidias' design was indeed the climax of certain pre-existing ceramic types, which can

1 Chlamys, pētasos, and endromides suggest Hermes. Is the rather obvious pair of pincers a caduceus repainted by somebody who thought the presence of Hephaistos essential?

2 Mus. Etr. Gregor. ii. 5 'Venere o meglio Proserpina con fiore in mano.'

3 Ib. 'Plutone.' The wish to work all three of the Kronidai into the company of heaven is understandable, though Hades is quite out of place dans cette galère.

4 G. Bendinelli in Ausonia 1921 x. 109—130 claims that the seated Zeus from a prōs pediment of the sixth century at Athens (supra i. 2 n. 2) should be combined with a standing Athena, like the duplicated goddess of an archaic relief (Svoronos Ath. Nationalmus. p. 101 ff. no. 82 pl. 26, Reinach Rép. Reliefs ii. 331 no. 1), to form a pedimental composition representing the Birth of Athena. But his fig. 6 is far from convincing. See further C. Picard La sculpture Paris 1935 i. 599 ff.
Drawing of the east pediment of the Parthenon by J. Carrey (1674), and attempted restorations by E. A. Gardner (1902) and K. Schwerzek (1904).

See page 589 ff.
Attempted restorations of the east pediment of the Parthenon by J. N. Svoronos (1912), Rhys Carpenter (1933), and A. B. Cook (1917).
be determined and arranged in an intelligible series, we are thereby encouraged to play Childe Roland and, undeterred by the fate of our predecessors, once more attack that Dark Tower of Athenian archaeology—the time-honoured problem of reconstructing the eastern pediment of the Parthenon.

Two factors in the situation make the attempt less foolhardy nowadays than it was a century since in the time of Christopher Wordsworth\(^1\). On the one hand, R. Schneider\(^2\) in 1880 justly emphasized the importance of the Madrid puteal\(^3\) and inferred from it that Pheidias' Zeus was seated in profile\(^4\) to the right with the axe-bearer behind him and Athena before. On the other hand, B. Sauer\(^5\) in 1890—1891 published and discussed the first minutely accurate chart of the \textit{Standspuren} or actual traces left by the sculptures on the floor of the gable\(^6\). His investigation corrected Schneider's idea that Zeus occupied the middle of the pediment\(^7\)

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\(^1\) C. Wordsworth \textit{Athens and Attica} London 1836 p. 116 'The attempt to infer the treatment and details of the altorilievo group which once occupied the eastern pediment from the fragments of it which remain, would be as futile an enterprise as that to reconstruct an Athenian Tragedy from a few broken lines.'

\(^2\) R. Schneider \textit{Die Geburt der Athena} Wien 1880 p. 42.

\(^3\) Supra p. 657 ff. Others have attached little or no weight to the puteal, on the ground that its figures were neo-Attic—'eine Compilation älterer Typen' (P. Arndt in \textit{Einzelaufnahmen} nos. 1724—30 Text vi. 42 ff.) or 'klassizistische Einzeltypen' (E. Pfuhl in the \textit{Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.} 1926 xli. 170). Thus, for example, W. Amelung \textit{Die Basis des Praxiteles aus Mantinea München} 1895 p. 13 ff. maintains that the Fates of the puteal were taken from fourth-century prototypes closely resembling the Muses of the Maninean base, and that they are therefore non-Pheidias in character and post-Parthenonian in date—a view sufficiently refuted by Rhys Carpenter in the \textit{Am. Journ. Arch.} 1925 xxix. 123 ff. Most critics, however, would admit that the puteal-groups, even if they were mediate rather than immediate copies of the pediment, are yet highly relevant to a reconstruction of their lost originals (supra p. 660 n. 9).

\(^4\) This would not necessarily preclude the slightly oblique position assigned to the throne and body of Zeus by K. Schwerzek \textit{Erläuterungen zu einem Versuch einer Rekonstruktion des östlichen Parthenongiebels Wien} 1904 p. 17: 'Wegen der geringen Tiefe des Giebels ist es nämlich aus technischen Gründen ganz unmöglich, die Zeus-Statue in der reinen Vorder- oder Seitenansicht anzuordnen.'

\(^5\) B. Sauer in the \textit{Ant. Denkm.} i. 48 ff. pl. 48, 8 and c, id. 'Untersuchungen über die Giebelgruppen des Parthenon' in the \textit{Ath. Mitt.} 1891 xvi. 59—94 pl. 3.

\(^6\) Rhys Carpenter in the \textit{Am. Journ. Arch.} 1925 xxix. 130 ff. fig. 7 and pl. 3. A was still operating with Sauer's floor-plan, but in 1931—thanks to the great scaffoldings erected by M. Balanos—he was able to pay repeated visits to the actual floor and in various points to control or supplement the observations of his predecessor (\textit{Hesperia} 1933 ii. 2—12 with pls. 1 (photograph of floor-blocks 19—11) and 2 (= my pl. lviii, 2: restoration of pediment and revised plan of floor)).


C. III.
The birth of Athena in art

by showing that the central marks required, not one colossal figure, but two large-sized figures of about equal weight. E. Pfuhl in 1926 improved upon this by arguing from a fresh consideration of the same data that, of the two central figures, the left was heavier than the right and apparently rectangular in plan.

It will be observed that the citation of the *Standspuren* was by no means fatal to the relevancy of the Madrid puteal. Indeed it

Rhys Carpenter, deaf to derision, revives Six' central group in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1925 xxi. 131 f. pl. 3, a with a drawing which E. Pfuhl in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1926 xlii. 168 n. 2 condemns as incompatible with the floor-traces 'und such sonst unmöglich.' Unperturbed by hard words, Rhys Carpenter returns to the charge in *Hesperia* 1933 ii. 34—39 with fig. 7 and pl. 2 (= my pl. Iviii, 2), where he still advocates a colossal Zeus sitting in quasi-profile to the right on a central throne 'not set quite parallel to the tympanon but at this slight angle of about 3°. By this minute turn the throne was swung sufficiently to suggest that the pose was not a pure profile, and the torsion in the upper body of Zeus was made more natural. The narrowness of the pediment prevented a more thoroughgoing displacement. On the Madrid puteal relief the throne of Zeus is drawn with exactly this slight but indispensable obliquity.'

Many of the older authorities assumed a central Zeus enthroned *en face* with Athena either emergent above his head (R. Schneider *op. cit.* pl. 2 Quatremère de Quincy, pl. 3 E. Gerhard) or in close proximity to him (*ib. pl. 5 C. R. Cockerell, pl. 6 L. Drossis*). The model exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum of New York is of this latter type (W. H. Appleton in *Art and Archaeology* 1916 iv. 11 with pl. on p. 20).

1 Rhys Carpenter in *Hesperia* 1933 ii. 30—39 discusses in great detail the floor-marks of the pediment, which he regards as pointing clearly and unmistakably to the existence of a single central statue of formidable weight—Zeus enthroned to the right as on the Madrid puteal. This arrangement is plausible and, I suppose, possible. But it suffers from three serious drawbacks. It involves a grave discrepancy with the scheme of the western pediment, which had two central figures, not one. It makes Zeus bulk too big in a temple that belonged to Athena. And it is eked out by a grouping of the Fates, etc., which to me at least is very unconvincing (see e.g. the criticisms of C. Picard in the *Rev. Arch.* 1933 i. 272).

A. Furtwänglers *Interness* Leipzig—Berlin 1896 p. 23 f. had likewise disputed Sauer's conclusion, arguing that the two stout iron bars converging on block 13 were intended to support the plinth of a heavy central figure. He proposed to find that figure in the 'torso Medici' of the École des Beaux Arts at Paris. But later (*Aegina München 1906 i. 331 f.*) he confessed himself convinced by further argumentation on the part of Sauer (*Der Weber-Laborddsche Kopf und die Giebelgruppen des Parthenon Giessen 1903*) and reverted to his original view that the 'torso Medici' is a copy of the so-called 'Promachos' of the Akropolis.

was with an eye to both sources of evidence that the sculptor K. Schwerzek in 1904 produced the first really satisfactory filling of the central space—Zeus enthroned to the right, Athena moving away from him but facing left, and Nike hovering between them wreath in hand. A. Prandtl in 1908, following the poteal with more absolute fidelity, went further in the same direction. He plotted in, not only Zeus, Athena, and Nike, but also the axe-bearing god behind the throne of Zeus. Moreover, taking a hint from Sauer, he added next to Athena the extant torso of a god starting back in surprise or alarm. This fine figure on the right aptly balances the retreating axe-bearer on the left.


2 A. Prandl 'Fragmente der Giebelgruppen des Parthenon' in the Ath. Mitth. 1908 xxxiii. 1 ff. fig. 1 (= my fig. 499). Prandl would recognise, among the fragments attributed to the Parthenon pediments, the right heel of the axe-bearer, the left hand and part of the drapery of Zeus, also two fragments from the right wing of Nike.

Frag. 36 in A. H. Smith The Sculptures of the Parthenon London 1910 p. 23 pl. 14 A (fig. 500), a right male thigh, to the knee (height 0'41 m), is on a scale large enough to suit this axe-bearer.

3 E. Pfuhl, like B. Sauer, regards a hovering Nike as 'undenkbar' and postulates at most a Nike held in the god's hand (Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1926 xli. 170).

The birth of Athena in art

Approaching the matter by a different route Sir Cecil Smith had in 1907 arrived at substantially similar results, at least in so far as the three central figures were concerned. He based his argument on the acute observation that Attic vases painted within a decade or so of the erection of the pediment 'are full of suggestions of motives directly or indirectly borrowed from the Parthenon.' In parti-

Fig. 501.

cular he referred to the magnificent krater of the Villa Giulia (supra ii. 737 with fig. 668) as evidence that Pheidias filled the central space by Zeus seated towards the right, Athena standing before him, and Nike with a wreath hovering between them in the apex (fig. 501).


2 He contends that the types of Zeus and of Athena (with her crested helmet and gorgeous πέπλος) are precisely what we should expect of Pheidias, that a hovering Victory
He also cited the polychrome *pelike* from Jüz Oba (*supra* ii. 258 ff. pl. xvi) as another vase reminiscent of the Parthenonian design.

We may take it, then, that this disposition of the central group is so highly probable as to be practically certain. But, before attempting to extend it right and left, I would draw attention to one or two details.

It is surely hard to believe that Pheidias would have left, as on the Madrid *puteal*, a large blank rectangle beneath the throne of Zeus. K. Schwerzek in his reconstruction (pl. lvii, 3) tries to minimise this objectionable feature by inserting a cross-bar and a sunk panel between the legs of the throne. The effect is not good: Zeus appears to be seated on a pile of boxes. It occurred to me¹ that a simple

![Image of the birth of Athena in art](image)

would admirably fill the apex of the pediment, and that the vase-painter observing the statuary-group from below might well indicate, as he has done, the under-surface of the throne of Zeus. The last of these arguments is, I think, the weakest: the drawing of the throne may be merely an effect of pseudoperspective (see *supra* p. 92 with fig. 33 and *e.g.* Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 604 f., Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 145 ('Was ganz besonders auffällt, ist die stark betonte Unteransicht verschiedener Gegenstände, *z. B.* sieht man unter die Kline, unter Laomedons Chiton hinein, von dem Schemel sogar sämtliche Querleisten seiner Unterfläche')).

¹ I first put forward my reconstruction in a paper read to the Hellenic Society on 13 Feb. 1917 (*Journ. Hell. Soc.* 1917 xxxvii p. xliv ff.). But years afterwards I found that already in 1912 J. N. Svoronos had hit upon the same solution of this particular problem (*Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 274 pl. 10') and had sought to justify it by sundry parallels drawn from coin-types (*e.g.* Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 15 no. 53).
The birth of Athena in art

way out of the difficulty would be to place an eagle below the throne. There were ancient religious reasons for fixing an eagle in the pediment of a temple, and it seemed natural to put the lightning-bird in immediate juxtaposition with the thunderbolt of Zeus. My conjecture was confirmed by the design of another puteal (fig. 502), clearly a later variation on the Pheidiac theme, which transposes left for right but retains the bird beneath the throne.

A second detail in regard to which I should differ from Sauer, Schwerzek, and E. A. Gardner is that they all make Athena hold her lance in the right hand. But, thus held, it endangers the well-meaning Nike; or, if Nike be absent, at least it interposes a weapon of offence between the new-born goddess and her sire, while it creates an ugly parallel or quasi-parallel with his sceptre. Besides, Athenian bronze coins of imperial date (figs. 503—510) represent an

pl. 48, 8 a bronze medallion of Antoninus Pius) and votive reliefs (Svoronos Ath. Nationalmusc. pl. 142 no. 2357, pl. 143 no. 2383, pl. 219 no. ii. 1330, cp. O. Kern in the Ath. Mitth. 1891 xvi. 25, O. Walter in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1910 xiii Beiblatt p. 229 ff. figs. 141—143 [supra ii. 1161 fig. 969]).

1 Supra i. 259. It may be added that the Zeus enthroned in the eastern pediment of the old Hekatompedon held an eagle in his hand (T. Wiegand Die archaische Form-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen Cassel and Leipzig 1904 p. 105 fig. 108, p. 106 fig. 109).


3 E. A. Gardner Ancient Athens London 1902 p. 308 'Sketch Restoration of East Pediment.'

The birth of Athena in art

Athena identical, as Schneider\(^1\) points out, with the goddess of the Madrid puteal and therefore, as Svoronos\(^2\) saw, clearly derived from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon\(^3\): this Athena is shown proceeding from Zeus\(^4\) but looking back towards him with a gesture of uncertain import\(^5\); she carries her shield and commonly her spear too in the left hand. The same type occurs on engraved gems

Fig. 511. Fig. 512. Fig. 513.

are from Beulé loc. cit.; fig. 503, from Svoronos pl. 85, 24 Paris; fig. 505, from Svoronos pl. 85, 19 Athens; fig. 507, from Svoronos pl. 85, 8 Gotha; fig. 509, from Svoronos pl. 85, 35 McClean.

\(^1\) R. Schneider *Die Geburt der Athena* Wien 1880 p. 39 pl. 1, 3.

\(^2\) J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 274 pl. 15', 4, 9, 10.

\(^3\) C. Robert in *Hermes* 1881 xvi. 68 f., E. A. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1881 iii. 251 ff., and Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 389 f. no. 1176 traced this type of Athena to the west, not the east, pediment. But, apart from the fact that Athena is moving in the wrong direction, her right arm should then have been raised to hold the spear. These critics were misled by the presence of the olive and the snake—variable attributes, which, like the owl, were useful for filling a blank on the circular field of the coin.

\(^4\) J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 273 pl. 15", 2 and 1 (=id. *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 91, 3 Athens and 4 A. Romanos) thinks that certain rare Athenian bronze coins of imperial date, which represent Zeus enthroned towards the right with a sceptre in his right hand and an eagle on his left, were likewise copied from the Zeus of the eastern pediment. He modifies his restoration accordingly (*Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv pl. 16'), but is inconsistent enough to accept the sceptre in the god's right hand while he rejects the eagle on his left as 'προσθήκῃ τοῦ ἐφφαγμένου.' It seems wiser to follow throughout the pattern of the puteal.

\(^5\) S. W. Grose in the *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 364 f. no. 5949 'patera in extended r. hand,' no. 5950 'patera not clear.' But is there any patera, clear or otherwise, on either specimen? Cp. supra p. 573 n. 4.

On a bronze medallion of Commodus, struck in the year 191 A.D., a very similar Minerva holds a sprig of olive in her outstretched hand (Fröhner *Möll. emp. rom.* p. 137 f. fig., Gnechi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 57 no. 47 pl. 81, 6 Paris. The specimen, formerly in the Weber collection and now in the British Museum, figured by Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 139 pl. Z, 13 shows Minerva plucking the sprig from the olive, but is unfortunately 'troppo ritoccatto' (Gnechi loc. cit.).
The birth of Athena in art

(fig. 511)\(^1\), sometimes in an architectural surround which to some extent confirms our attribution of the original to the Parthenon (figs. 512, 513)\(^2\).

The central group thus determined is flanked by the axe-bearer starting to escape behind the throne of Zeus and a male deity recoiling in astonishment from Athena. If the axe-bearer was Hephaistos or Prometheus, some other name must be found for this god. Following Furtwängler\(^3\), I have identified him with Poseidon\(^4\) and restored him in an attitude somewhat resembling that of Myron’s Marsyas\(^5\). I do so with some confidence, partly because

\(^1\) A cornelian of Graeco-Roman date, from the Hertz collection (C. W. King \textit{Antique Gems and Rings} London 1872 ii. 52 pl. 19 B, 9 (= my fig. 511), Furtwängler \textit{Ant. Gemmen} i pl. 42, 45, ii. 207).


\(^3\) A. Furtwängler \textit{Intermezzi} Leipzig—Berlin 1896 p. 28 f.

\(^4\) Note that Poseidon occupied a similar position to the right of the central group in several of the vase-paintings already considered (\textit{supra} figs. 485, 491, 493 (?)), though in others he was placed on the left (\textit{supra} figs. 492 (?), 497).

\(^5\) J. N. Svoronos in his restoration (\textit{Journ. Intern, d’Arch. Num.} 1912 xiv. 383 f. pl. 19) completes this figure as Ares carrying a trophy—a numismatic type for which he would have done better to substitute Ares the shield-bearer (\textit{supra} fig. 477 and pl. liii. Cp. Reinach \textit{Rep. Vases} i. 116, 3, ii. 20, 1).

\(^6\) Furtwängler \textit{Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.} p. 465. His observation \textit{ib.} n. 3 ‘Only the right arm was lifted up, not both as is generally stated. The difference in the marking of the muscles on back and breast between the two sides shows this indubitably’ is traversed by K. Schwerzek \textit{Erläuterungen zu dem Versuch einer Rekonstruktion des östlichen Parthenongiebels} Wien 1904 p. 25 ‘beide Achseln zeigen, dass die Arme erhoben waren... der rechte Arm viel höher kommt als der linke, obgleich beide fast gleichmässig in die Höhe streben.’ The question is one for anatomists to decide.

Among the extant fragments attributed to the pediments by A. H. Smith \textit{The Sculptures of the Parthenon} London 1910 p. 21 ff. I have found two (figs. 514, 515) which may fairly be referred to this Pheidiac Poseidon. One (\textit{frag.} 34 pl. 13) is part of a colossal right hand (Smith inadvertently says ‘left’), held up, thrown back, and spread open. The other (\textit{frag.} 39 pl. 14 A) is part of a colossal right foot, of which Smith justly remarks: ‘The hinder part of the foot seems to have been slightly raised from the ground.’ Both fragments are of the right size to form the extremities of that splendid body, which we commonly call Torso H. They help to assure me that H does not spell Hephaistos. And here I part company with my friend Mr Smith, who in the \textit{Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture} i. 111 attributed the torso to Hephaistos or Prometheus, adding: ‘Perhaps both hands held an axe above the head, as if about to strike.’ That was a plausible suggestion, but surely mistaken; for not one of our vase-types showed Hephaistos in act to strike—he was always consistently running away with lowered axe. Eighteen years later in \textit{The Sculptures of the Parthenon} p. 35 Mr Smith modified his opinion: ‘It is probable that
The birth of Athena in art

the west pediment also places a Marsyas-like Poseidon next to an impetuously moving Athena—the result being a sort of echo from front to back of the temple,—and partly because the Finlay relief on a vase of Pentelic marble now at Athens combines the Athena of the east pediment with Marsyas himself in a Hellenistic reproduction of Myron's group. It may be added that energy and movement, actual or potential, is thoroughly characteristic of Poseidon in all periods of Greek art.

Continuing our reconstruction we next note that immediately beyond Hephaistos on the left and Poseidon on the right broad iron bars were set askew in, or rather just over, the floor of the gable. These, as Sauer pointed out, were meant to support (on the cantilever principle) two heavy seated figures; and, ceteris paribus, it may be presumed that the said figures faced towards the centre in three-quarter position, i.e. along the lines of the supporting bars.

the figure was represented as drawing back, after the stroke by which the cleaving of the head of Zeus was accomplished. It is more probable still that Torso H was Poseidon, not Hephaistos at all.


6 Sauer loc. cit. p. 87 thought otherwise ('Die Figuren wären dann wie Zeus im Profil zu denken').
The birth of Athena in art

They probably sat on rocks¹, not on thrones²; for the presence of other thrones would inevitably have detracted from the majesty of Zeus.

But have we definite evidence as to the name and nature of any such figure? I make bold to maintain that we have. In 1901 C. Waldstein³ (Sir Charles Walston) published two marble statuettes, which had been bought at Rome in 1892 for the Dresden Albertinum. They are of the same uncommon dimensions⁴; and, since they were bought together, they had in all probability been found together—a couple of figures from the pediment or pediments of a small-sized shrine. One of them is a free copy of the reclining god (‘Ilissos’ or ‘Kephisos’) from the west pediment of the Parthenon, not uninfluenced by the corresponding figure (‘Theseus’) of the east pediment. The other (fig. 516)⁵ represents a goddess half-draped in an ample himation, which, as the folds at the back indicate, covered her head behind like a veil and was drawn upwards by her right hand. Beyond all question she is an Aphrodite, and an Aphrodite of Pheidiac type⁶. We need not,

¹ So in the restoration proposed by E. A. Gardner Ancient Athens London 1901 p. 308.
² A. Furtwängler Intermessi Leipzig—Berlin p. 29 flanked his central Athena (supra p. 690 n. 1) by Zeus enthroned on the left and Hera enthroned on the right. J. N. Svoronos in the Journ. Intern. d’Arch. Num. 1912 xiv pl. 16 has Dionysos enthroned on the left, Poseidon rock-seated on the right—a clumsy, lop-sided expedient.
⁴ The male figure measures o‘35 m long by o‘20 m high; the female figure, o‘31 m long by o‘31 m high. Cp. the marble statuettes, one-third of full size, found at Eleusis and similarly derived from the west pediment of the Parthenon (D. Philios in the Παρθενών Αντίπαθρα Ελευσίνας 1888 p. 27 (cp. ib. 1887 p. 51)), id. in the Εθνική Αρχαιολογική Συλλογή Αθηνών 1890 p. 144 n. 1, p. 218 ff. pl. 12 f., E. A. Gardner in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1889 x. 271, Staïs Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes² p. 59 nos. 200—201, Rhys Carpenter in Hesperia 1932 i. 11 ff., 22 ff., C. Picard in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1932 xlv. 457).
⁵ From a photograph of the cast at Cambridge.
⁶ The broad treatment of the body with its widely-spaced breasts, the easy yet dignified pose, the simple, harmonious drapery, and the action necessarily attributed to the right hand, all go to prove the Pheidiac character of this little figure. It is, therefore, of considerable interest as evidence of a semi-draped Aphrodite in the fifth century B.C.

After my paper to the Hellenic Society (supra p. 693 n. 1) I received a letter (Feb. 19, 1917) from my friend Mr (now Sir George) Hill containing the politest of demurrers: ‘Are you sure about the semi-nude Aphrodite? It looks to me, fine as it is, far too sensuous, not to say sensual, to be a Pheidian type. Is there any other case as early, except under Oriental influence, of a semi-nude Aphrodite? It struck a jarring note to me in what was otherwise a concord of sweet sounds. And how do you reconcile her with the Aphrodite of the frieze? Are those statuettes genuine??’

It has not, I think, been noticed that evidence for half-draped female figures in Attic sculpture at least as early as 425—423 B.C. (the date of the play: see G. H. Macurdy The Chronology of the extant Plays of Euripides Lancaster, Pa 1905 pp. 51 ff., cp. W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1912 i. 301 n. 2) may be drawn from
The birth of Athena in art

therefore, hesitate to accept Waldstein's contention that she has preserved to us one of the missing figures from the east gable of the Parthenon. And, since she is seated on a rock in precisely the position that we require, I have restored her\(^1\) as occupying the block adjacent to Poseidon\(^2\). We have already seen a probable case of Aphrodite ranged next to Poseidon in the right-hand half of a

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\(^1\) Supra ii pl. xxxiii.

\(^2\) C. Waldstein loc. cit. p. 18 originally gave her a different position: 'I should place her in the left half of the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, immediately following the extant figure of Iris, the body turned towards the Iris, the head towards the centre... and I should call her Aphrodite.' But this position will not suit the marks in the gable-floor, which at that point demand two standing figures, not one seated figure. Later, in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1913 xxxiii. 295 fig. 20, Waldstein was willing to accept my restoration of the goddess, whose head he thought to identify with the 'Aphrodite' of Holkham Hall—a notion promptly and properly scoured by G. Dickins *ib.* 1914 xxxiv. 122 ff. Waldstein's rejoinder *ib.* p. 312 ff. is unconvincing.
The birth of Athena in art

vase-picture showing the birth of Athena; and it will be granted that this association of the foam-born goddess with the sea-god was reasonable enough. The amount of rock visible at her left side makes it likely that here, as on the frieze, she was grouped with an Eros standing at her knee.

As a counterpoise to Aphrodite we need another figure seated on a rock in three-quarter position towards the right. A suitable personage would be Hera, who in sundry vase-illustrations of the birth appears behind the throne of Zeus, and is expressly mentioned

1 Supra p. 675 n. 2.

2 A fragment of this figure perhaps survives in a left thigh of marble (fig. 518: height 0.32 m) attributed by A. Michaelis Der Parthenon Leipzig 1871 p. 202 pl. 8, 39 to the nude seated female S in the west pediment, but by A. H. Smith in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture i. 1961 no. 335 (cp. id. The Sculptures of the Parthenon London 1910 p. 12 frag. 6 pl. 13) to the boy E in the same pediment.


(2) A black-figured amphora from the Campana collection, now in the Louvre (J. Rouleau in the Ann. d. Inst. 1861 xxxiii. 307 ff., Mon. d. Inst. vi pl. 56, 2 (=my fig. 530), E. Pottier Vases antiques du Louvre 2me Série Paris 1901 p. 80 no. E 861 pl. 60 (reverse), Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l’Art x. 107 f. figs. 76 and 77), Hera, not named but carrying sceptre, stands next to Dionysos.

(3) A black-figured amphora from Italy(?), formerly in the Fould collection, now in the Louvre (G. Céneville in the Bull. d. Inst. 1861 p. 214 f., K. Schneider Die Geburt der Athena Wien 1880 p. 10 no. 11, Pottier Cat. Vases du Louvre iii. 728 no. F 31, id. in the Corp. vas. ant. Louvre iii H. e pl. 14, 8 (obverse), pl. 15, 2 (reverse), pl. 16, 3 (detail) with text p. 12 no. 8). Hera (?), not named and without attributes, stands next to Poseidon.
The birth of Athena in art

by Philostratos of Lemnos (born c. 190 A.D.) in a rhetorical description of the scene as portrayed in a picture-gallery at Naples. Schwerzek has restored her as enthroned in the right place. But we want a rock-seat, not a throne. And it so happens that on the east frieze of the Hephaisteion ('Theseion'), a temple whose sculptures owe much to direct imitation of the Parthenon, we find Hera sitting on a rock in just the requisite attitude. I have transferred her bodily from Sauer's drawing of the 'Theseion' frieze to my restoration of the Parthenon pediment, not of course as a certain, but at least as a possible or even probable, figure in the composition.

1 Sir J. E. Sandys A History of Classical Scholarship Cambridge 1906 i. 336.
2 Philostr. mai. imagg. s. 27. 2 καὶ οὐδὲ τῇς Ἡρᾶς τῇ δειρὶ ἐκτραῦθα, ἐγενέθη δὲ, ὦς ἂν καὶ οὐδὲς εὕλεντο.
4 Supra p. 223 n. 6.
6 Sauer op. cit. pl. 5, 7 with over-leaf.
7 Supra ii pl. xxxiii.
8 Again I would draw attention to three fragments of the pedimental sculptures extant at Athens (figs. 519—521).

One is a large female head (height 0.35 m), which J. Six in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1911 xxxi. 66 f. fig. 2 described as 'a nearly formless block.' That is a bit too severe. A. H. Smith in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture i. 198 no. 339, 2 and in The Sculptures of the Parthenon London 1910 p. 22 frag. 15 pl. 14 A had been content to say 'much defaced.' Points deserving of emphasis are these. It was certainly a veiled female head. It appears to have worn a head-band or stephane. And in both respects it resembles the Hera of the Hephaisteion ('Theseion').
The birth of Athena in art

At this point prudence would perhaps pause, content with probabilities, for in what follows the element of conjecture is necessarily larger. Nevertheless a bow drawn at a venture has before now hit the mark. So I proceed with as much circumspection as the facts allow.

Between Hera and the first of the extant figures from the southern angle is a gap, which—as the floor-traces suggest—was once filled by two standing persons. But, since these persons have entirely disappeared, how are we to identify and restore them? Our only clue will be the fact noted above: that Attic vases painted within a few decades from the completion of the pediment are full of motives derived from the Parthenon. Now a splendid krater at Petrograd (fig. 522), attributed by J. D. Beazley to his 'Kadmos

The other two fragments possibly derived from the same figure are a left breast (height 0.185 m) with close-fitting chiton (Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture i. 201 no. 339, 29. The Sculptures of the Parthenon p. 24 frag. 87 pl. 14 b) and the front part (width 0.35 m) of a sandalled right foot (The Sculptures of the Parthenon p. 23 frag. 40 pl. 14 A).

Fig. 520. Fig. 521.

So far as I can judge, these three fragments fall well into place on my drawing, which was—I may say—completed before I began my search for confirmatory remnants. On the other hand, Six loc. cit. p. 66 claims that the veiled head was found by Ross before the western front of the Parthenon. If that be so, it of course tells against the assignment of frag. 15 to my seated Hera. But the statements of Ross himself are not quite so explicit and leave some room for doubt (L. Ross Archdologische Aufsätze Leipzig 1855 i. 89 f. 'Die Ausgrabung ist jetzt (sc. 1835) schon bis an die Mitte der Westseite [des Unterbaus] des Tempels fortgeführt....Die Menge der gefundenen Bruchstücke von Bildhauerarbeit und Inschriften ist gross....Unter den übrigen Bruchstücken sind noch viele sehr schöne, namentlich ein Paar Fragmente von Köpfen, die aber wohl nicht (A. Michaelis Der Parthenon Leipzig 1871 p. 196 on nos. 8 and 9 asks: 'warum nicht?') zu den Figuren des Giebelfeldes gehören möchten; von einer der Metopen der Südseite ist ein sehr schön erhaltener Centaurenkopf ausgegraben worden,' etc.). Such a dump of fragments as he reports, some sculptured, others inscribed, may well have yielded a stray piece from any part of the building. Smith in the British Museum publications simply ignores the alleged find-spot.

1 Supra p. 692.

2 Supra ii. 262 n. 4, iii. 184 n. 1 (1). The obverse of this vase is published in the Compte-rendu St. Petit. 1861 Atlas pl. 3 (= my fig. 522); the reverse, ib. pl. 4 (= my ii pl. xvii).
The birth of Athena in art
The birth of Athena in art

Painter (c. 420—410 B.C.), depicts the judgment of Paris in terms, so to speak, of the eastern pediment. The scene is flanked by two quadrigae. In the centre an armed Athena stands before her judge. To the right is a seated Aphrodite grouped with Eros; to the left, a seated Hera with Hebe standing behind her. I submit that in Pheidias' design too Hebe stood behind Hera. And, if so, her companion was almost certainly Herakles, whose presence at the birth of Athena is attested by vases of our first and third types. This conjecture is strengthened by the fact that on the krater of the Villa Giulia, which demonstrably borrowed its three central figures and very possibly borrowed all its figures from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, Herakles and Hebe stand side by side. In my restoration I have adopted from that krater the gesture of Hebe's right hand, which may be characteristic as it occurs in another vase-representation of her, and also the entire figure of Herakles, including his club and lion-skin.

1 J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rofffigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 451 no. 5. Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 191 no. 44 had been content with a more general attribution to the circle of Meidias.

2 M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 193. If this dating is sound, I have placed the vase somewhat too late supra ii. 262.

3 Supra p. 665 n. 3 (fig. 477).

4 Supra p. 700 n. 3 (1) (fig. 517).

5 Supra ii. 737 with fig. 668.

6 Supra p. 692 (fig. 501).


8 In order to make Herakles approach from the left, not from the right, I had a racing of the vase-figure turned back for front.

*Fig. 523.*

The birth of Athena in art

The gap between Aphrodite and the extant marbles from the northern angle is wider, and requires three figures to fill it. At first sight this might seem a yet more hopeless task. But in point of fact we are here much helped by the floor-traces and by certain *à priori* reasonings. The traces in the floor appear to show\(^1\) that the two blocks behind Aphrodite were occupied by one figure standing and another advancing from right to left. The remaining block was covered by a mass of marble supporting a third figure, which probably faced right, since the drawing attributed to Carrey and now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale has the head of the nearest seated goddess turned towards the left as if in conversation\(^2\) (pl. ivii, i).

Now the vase-paintings regularly represent two witnesses of the birth for whom room has not so far been found—Hermes holding his *caduceus* and Apollon playing his *kithâra*. Several modern critics accordingly have suggested that Hermes should be installed next to the extant figures on the north: he would thus balance the hasting female (*Iris*) on the south. To this position he has been relegated by A. Furtwängler\(^3\), E. A. Gardner\(^4\) (pl. lvii, 2), K. Schwerzek\(^5\) (pl. lvii, 3), J. N. Svoronos\(^6\) (pl. lviii, 1), and Rhys Carpenter\(^7\). It has not, however, been noticed how admirably the Hermes of the Villa Giulia vase is adapted to fill the space.

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Praxitéle Paris 1907 p. 34 cp. F. P. Johnson *Lysippos* Duke Univ. Press 1927 pp. 53 f., 308 ff. pl. 41). But Lysippos, as P. Gardner *loc. cit.* has urged, was alike in style and in date closer to Skopas than is commonly assumed. And both sculptors appear to have been influenced strongly and permanently by the Parthenon marbles. It is therefore by no means improbable that the Lansdowne Heraclies is a Lysippean or Scopaic modification of an original to be sought among the missing figures of the east pediment. If we may judge from the Villa Giulia vase on the one hand and the Lansdowne statue on the other, the Pheidias Heraclies turned his head towards the *Standbein*, whereas the Lysippean or Scopaic modification looked towards the *Spielbein*. But that is a change characteristic of the transition from fifth-century to fourth-century sculpture in general.

\(^1\) *Longe aliter* Rhys Carpenter in *Hesperia* 1933 ii. 68 ff., 81. He holds that on block 17 was a standing Muse, on block 18 a seated Apollon (both recoverable, the latter with a right-for-left turn, from the Mantineian base), and on block 19 probably a Hermes (less probably an Iris) running or moving rapidly towards the right.

\(^2\) L. de Laborde *Athènes aux xvi\(^{ème}\), xvi\(^{ème}\) et xvii\(^{ème}\) siècles* Paris 1854 i. 132 pl. (a lithographic facsimile in red and black, the colours of the original). Fraenkel in the *Ant. Denkm.* i. 2 pl. 6 a, 2 and 3, H. Omont *Athènes au XVIII\(^{ème}\) siècle: Dessins des Sculptures du Parthenon* Paris 1898 pl. 1.

\(^3\) A. Furtwängler *Intermezz* Leipzig—Berlin 1896 p. 78 f. fig.


\(^6\) J. N. Svoronos in the *journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 238 ff. pl. 10'.

\(^7\) Rhys Carpenter in *Hesperia* 1933 ii. 81.

C III.
If the painter of that vase was indeed, as we have supposed, copying the recently erected Parthenon pediment, then it follows that the beautiful device of giving wings to Hermes' head—a device with a future before it—a must be ascribed to Pheidias himself. Again, it has long been known that the restful attitude of the supported foot, a favourite motive with Lysippus, is found in the west frieze of the Parthenon, where twice over a youth wearing a chlamys is seen raising his left foot on a rock to tie his shoe-string or fasten his sandal-strap. But now we perceive that Lysippus, who employed the same stance for his wonderful multifacial Hermes, was inspired not by a Pheidiac relief but by a

1 Supra pp. 692, 704.  
2 It came to be used, not only for Hermes (C. Scherer in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 2400, 2472), but also for the Gorgon (J. Six De Gorgone Amstelodami 1885 p. 70 ff.), Perseus (on cap or helmet, but not head: see F. Knatz Quomodo Persef fabulum artifices Graeci et Romanoi tractaverint Bonae 1893 pp. 28 ff., 43, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc. p. 119 pl. 27, 3), Hypnos (B. Sauer in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 2849 ff.), the wind-gods (H. Steinmetz in the Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1910 xxv. 35 ff. pl. 3), etc.  
4 K. Lange Das Motiv des aufgestützten Fusses in der antiken Kunst und dessen statuarische Verwendung durch Lysippus Leipzig 1879 passim.  
6 Collignon Hist. de la Sculpt. gr. ii. 420 ff. fig. 220, id. Lysippe Paris 1905 p. 71 ff. fig. 16, E. Loewy The Rendering of Nature in early Greek Art trans. J. Fothergill London 1907 p. 87 f. fig. 40, F. P. Johnson Lysippus Duke Univ. Press 1927 p. 170 ff. pl. 30 f., G. Lippold in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xiv. 58. The bronze original stood in the gymnasium called Zeuxippos at Byzantion shortly before 532 A.D., when the building was destroyed by fire (Anth. Pal. 2. 397 ff. (Christodoros)). W. Klein Praxitelische Studien Leipzig 1899 p. 4 ff. distinguished two varieties of the sandal-binding 'Hermes.' The statue in the Lansdowne collection (A. Michaelis Ancient Marbles in Great Britain Cambridge 1882 p. 404 ff. no. 85 with pl., Farnell Cults of Gk. States v. 58 f. pl. 30) and the torso at Athens (F. Studniczka in the Ath. Mitth. 1886 xi. 362 ff. pl. 9, 1, Einseilnäme nus nos. 733 and 734 with Text iii. 28 by P. Arndt, Reich Nach. Stat. ii. 153 no. 10) he compares with the sandal-binding Nike of the Nike-balustrade and assigns to Lysippus. The copies at Munich (Furtwängler Glyptothek zu München p. 297 ff. no. 287, id. 2 p. 309 ff. no. 287, id. Ein Hundert Tafeln nach den Bildwerken der kgl. Glyptothek zu München 1903 pl. 63, P. Wolters Führer durch die Glyptothek König Ludwigs i. zu München München 1912 p. 43 f. no. 287 with pl.) and Paris (Fröhner Sculpt. du Louvre i. 210 ff. no. 183) he regards as representing an athlete, compares with the figures on the west frieze of the Parthenon, and attributes to a pre-Lysippian master. Klein's results were accepted by E. von Mach A Handbook of Greek and Roman Sculpture Boston 1905 p. 249 ff. pl. 238 a, b, but by nobody else (see e.g. Furtwängler Glyptothek zu München p. 294 n., id. 2 p. 312 f. n., F. P. Johnson op. cit. p. 172 f.), and later were abandoned by Klein himself (W. Klein Geschichte der griechischen Kunst Leipzig 1905 ii. 364 f.).
The birth of Athena in art

Pheidian sculpture in the round, not by the épheboi of the west frieze but by the Hermes of the east pediment. The abiding influence of Pheidias' representation may be judged from the fact that in the pediment of Domitian's Capitoline temple a similar figure of Mercurius occupied almost the same relative position.

The two blocks next to Aphrodite were filled, we have said, by one figure standing and another advancing from the right. If the former was Apollon kitharoidos, the latter was presumably Artemis. Brother and sister thus formed a good pendant to the pair of lovers, Hebe and Herakles, in the opposite wing of the gable. They are restored in this position by Schwerzek (pl. lvii, 3) and in the corresponding position behind Zeus by Furtwängler.

Apollon would almost certainly have been wearing the long chiton customary with kithara-players. His type is, I believe, preserved with slight modifications by the Munich statue of Apollon kitharoidos, which Furtwängler attributed to Agorakritos, the pupil

It may be observed that one copy of the sandal-fastening Hermes, a statuette in the Vatican (Clarac Mus. de Sculpt. pl. 814 fig. 1947), makes the god stand towards the right and raise his left foot. But this inversion of the established pose can hardly be viewed as a survival of the Parthenon motive.

1 Of the actual statue one possible portion (fig. 524) remains, two fragments at Athens which together make the right knee and leg of a male figure suitable in size (height 0'58 m) (A. H. Smith in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture i. 199 no. 339, 16, id. The Sculptures of the Parthenon London 1910 p. 23 frag. 58 pl. 14 A).


3 Supra p. 705.

4 K. Schwerzek Erläuterungen zu dem Versuch einer Rekonstruktion des östlichen Parthenongiebels Wien 1904 p. 29 f. with pl. (= my pl. lvii, 3).

5 A. Furtwängler Interneszi Leipzig—Berlin 1896 p. 28 f. fig.

and intimate of Pheidias. L. R. Farnell says of it: ‘The pose is that of the musician pausing in his music. The stately and elaborate drapery...has much of the solemnity and arrangement of the folds found in Pheidian works: only, if we may trust a replica discovered at Rome some years ago, the lower folds of the mantle on the left side were inflated as if the wind had caught them.’ In my restoration (pl. lviii, 3) I have copied this replica. The peculiar treatment of

Fig. 525.


2 Farnell Cults of Gk. States iv. 347 pl. 41.

3 L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pl. 1875 p. 122 f. argued that this form of drapery, a long χιλίτην with a large χλαμύς fastened either under the chin or on both shoulders so as to cover the back only, was not introduced till the second half of the fourth century B.C. See also Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Apollon p. 182 ff. and Farnell loc. cit. K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 98 rejects the opinions of Stephani and Overbeck, accepting Furtwängler’s view that the Munich Apollon goes back to a fifth-century original and ‘steht in enger Beziehung zur Kunst des Pheidias.’ C. Picard La sculpture antique Paris 1926 ii. 43 includes it in his list of anonymous works referable to ‘Le cinquième siècle après Phidias.’ P. Wolters loc. cit. puts it later (‘Gute und wirkungsvolle Kopie eines Originals des 4. Jahrhunderts, das wohl als Kultstatue geschaffen viel von der würdevollen Haltung älterer Zeit bewahrt hatte’).

4 C. L. Visconti in the Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma 1887 p. 336 ff. pl. 29—31, ib. 1888 p. 44 ff., L. Savignoni ‘Apollon Python’ in Ausonia 1907 ii. 21 ff. fig. 4. The statue, discovered in 1887 in the Prati di Castello (Via Orazio) at Rome, is now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (W. Heilig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom Leipzig 1912 i. 514 no. 907, Stuart Jones Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conservo Rome p. 116 f. Galleria no. 69 pl. 42 ‘The Conservatori statue is the severer in style and represents a work not much later than the Pheidian period; whereas the
the said folds may be due partly to what Furtwängler called the 'processional gait' of the god, but partly also to the proximity of Artemis hastening up from the right. A very similar figure of Apollon appears in later works of art¹, e.g. on a pelike found near Barberini Apollo in Munich represents a later more fluid version of the same or a similar type, which Flasch (A.B. 836, 837), followed by Amelung (A.B. 1169), refers to the period immediately preceding Praxiteles'¹.

The birth of Athena in art

Kerch and now at Petrograd, which represents his contest with Marsyas (fig. 525)\(^1\) and obviously borrows most of its ideas from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon.

For Artemis we must depend on a red-figured pelike from Vulci, now in the British Museum (fig. 526 and pl. lvii)\(^2\). This handsome vase, attributed by Ducati\(^3\) to Hermonax and by Beazley\(^4\) to a painter akin to Hermonax, should be dated c. 460 B.C.\(^5\). Its Artemis cannot, therefore, have been copied from the pediment, but may well, I conceive, preserve for us the type adopted by Pheidias. The goddess is seen advancing hastily from the right towards the central group: she raises her right hand in surprise and holds a bow with her left. This type in the course of the fifth century made its way from painting to sculpture. For the Artemis Colonna at Berlin\(^6\)—to mention but one out of many replicas\(^7\)—gives the goddess approximately the same attitude and is regarded by Furtwängler\(^8\), Bulle\(^9\), Kekulé\(^10\), and more recently by Schröder\(^11\), as a fifth-century creation\(^12\). L. R. Farnell\(^13\) says of her: ‘The pose and action are

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\(^2\) To the literature cited supra p. 676 n. 0 (3) add Harrison Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath. p. 433 f. fig. 39, A. H. Smith The Sculptures of the Parthenon London 1910 p. 7 fig. 10 (= my fig. 526).

\(^3\) P. Ducati in the Röm. Mitth. 1906 xxii. 114.

\(^4\) J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rothfigurigen Stils Tubingen 1925 p. 304 no. 1 (‘Der Maler der Londoner Athenegeburt. Dem Hermonax verwandt’).

\(^5\) M. H. Swindler Ancient Painting Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 192 f.

\(^6\) Ant. Skulpt. Berlin p. 30 f. no. 59 fig.


\(^9\) H. Bulle in the Röm. Mitth. 1894 ix. 159 places it ‘noch ins v. Jh.’

\(^10\) R. Kekulé von Stradonitz Die griechische Skulptur Berlin 1907 p. 133 ff. fig. says: ‘Diese ist keine originale Arbeit, sondern eine spätere Nachbildung, aber sie führt uns, während der ihr aufgesetzte Kopf einen oft wiederholten Typus aus dem vierten Jahrhundert widergibt, in die erste Hälfte des fünften Jahrhunderts oder wenigstens in nicht viel jüngere Zeit zurück…. Wie sehr noch in der Artemis Colonna die altertümliche Sinnesart und Formensprache vorwaltet, kann der Vergleich mit der sogenannten Iris aus dem Ostgiebel des Parthenon lehren.’


\(^12\) For attempts to refer the ‘Typus Colonna’ to the fourth century see F. Studniczka in the Röm. Mitth. 1888 iii. 278 and K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 1425 f.

\(^13\) Farnell Cults of Gk. States ii. 544 pl. 36.
somewhat difficult to explain. She is hurrying forward, with both
arms partly stretched out; the right hand certainly held nothing,
but the left was grasping something that must have been either a
torch or a bow.' He suggests 'that she has just discharged an
arrow...and that the action of the archer still lingers, so to speak,
in the hands.' I should prefer to think that the original type, taken
over by Pheidias from the painters’ tradition, represented Artemis
hastening to greet the new-born goddess.

We come now to the extant marbles—a topic less precarious
but almost equally problematic. And first for the maidenly figure
(‘Iris’) escaping towards the left. Iris she cannot be; for, as
A. H. Smith\(^1\) points out, she has neither the wings nor the regular
costume of that goddess. Besides, her action is not that of a steady
flight through the air, but rather that of a person starting aside in
alarm. Latterly the opinion has been gaining ground that she is
Eileithyia. This was conjectured in 1876 by G. Loeschcke\(^2\), and
was for some time maintained by A. S. Murray\(^3\). J. Overbeck\(^4\) was
inclined to follow suit, but doubted whether Eileithyia could be so
juvenile in appearance. W. R. Lethaby\(^5\), to whose restoration of
the figure I am much indebted, speaks of her as ‘Ilithyia?’ What,
to my thinking, makes this identification practically certain is the
fact that the vase-paintings of Athena’s birth show two and only
two persons flying from the scene. One is Hephaistos; the other,
Eileithyia (fig. 526)\(^6\). If, then, Pheidias designed his gable with
reference to the existing ceramic tradition, an escaping female
figure must be Eileithyia. Overbeck’s objection that this figure is
too youthful loses its force when we remember that, according to
Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, and half a dozen later writers\(^7\), Eileithyia
was the daughter of Hera, indeed—if we may argue from the
Hesiodic genealogy—was younger even than Hebe\(^8\).

\(^1\) A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 110 f. no. 303 G, *A Guide to
the Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1908 p. 23 f. no. 303 G, *id. The Sculptures of the
Parthenon* London 1910 p. 11 fig. 19 and pl. 3. Other good photographs in M. Collignon
*Le Parthenon* Paris 1909—1912 pl. 49.

\(^2\) G. Loeschcke in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1876 xxxiv. 118.

\(^3\) A. S. Murray *A History of Greek Sculpture* London 1883 (ed. 2 London 1890) ii.
70 ff. pl. 4. *Id. The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1903 p. 39 f. regards her as a
third Hora.

\(^4\) Overbeck *Gr. Plastik* i. 408.

\(^5\) W. R. Lethaby *Greek Buildings represented by fragments in the British Museum
(iii The Parthenon)* London 1908 p. 129 fig. 128.

\(^6\) *Supra* p. 709 fig. 526 and pl. iv.

\(^7\) I have collected and sifted the literary evidence in the *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 367.

\(^8\) ‘Iris’ has been identified with Hebe by H. Brunn in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr.*
The naming and restoring of the two seated goddesses beyond Eileithyia is an easy task, thanks to F. Studniczka and G. Dickins. Studniczka\textsuperscript{1} in 1904 showed that the goddesses are sitting, not on stools or low thrones, but on square hinged chests, so that they must be identified, not as P. O. Bröndsted\textsuperscript{2} in 1830 suggested with Pindar's 'well-throned Horai\textsuperscript{3}', but with Demeter and Persephone on their mystic boxes (\textit{kibotoi})\textsuperscript{4}. Dickins\textsuperscript{5} in 1906—1907 after a brilliantly successful\textsuperscript{6} restoration of Damophon's group at Lykosoura observed that the Messenian sculptor's Demeter and Despoina were direct adaptations of the seated goddesses in the Parthenon pediment\textsuperscript{7}. This discovery not only enables us to decide with regard to the Parthenon pair that Demeter is the goddess on our left, Persephone the goddess on our right, but further justifies us in restoring Persephone with a long sceptre. Enough of Demeter's right hand remains to make it certain that she was not grasping a torch but, at most, holding a bunch of corn-ears and poppies as in the Chiaromonti statuette\textsuperscript{8}. Damophon, transforming the pediment-group to a cult-monument, put a long torch into the hand of Demeter in order that it might balance the long sceptre in the hand of Persephone. I have given Persephone corn-ears in her right hand rather than a basket (\textit{kiste} \textsuperscript{9}) like that of Despoina because I conceive that Despoina's basket was the equivalent of the box on which Persephone is sitting. Damophon had to make his

\textit{Akad. d. Wiss.} Phil.-hist. Classe 1874 ii. 19, by Furtwangler \textit{Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.} p. 465, and by C. Picard \textit{La sculpture antique} Paris 1926 ii. 18 fig. 9, 21 ('Iris ou plutôt Hébé sans doute').

\textsuperscript{1} F. Studniczka in \textit{Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.} 1904 xix. 3 ff. figs. 1—6 pl. 1.

\textsuperscript{2} Cp. Furtwangler—Reichhold \textit{Gr. Vasenmalerei} i. 215.

\textsuperscript{3} P. O. Bröndsted \textit{Voyages dans la Grèce accompagnés de recherches archéologiques} Paris 1830 ii p. xi ('des trois Heures (Saisons)').

\textsuperscript{4} Pind. \textit{Pyth.} 9. 105 \textit{eadhósumai} (for context see \textit{supra} p. 267).

\textsuperscript{5} Paus. 10. 28. 3 (Polygnotos' painting of the Underworld in the Cnidian Lesche at Delphi showed Tellis and Kleoiba on board Charon's boat) \textit{Kléôbòa dè ëti pàrphènòs, ëxè dè ën tòi γνώσις κιβοτόν δηοίας τοιούτοι νομίζωσι Δήμητρι... Kléóbòa dè ët Òçhão tà ëgôia tòi ðàmòtòs ènègykwv pòòtèn ëk Òçhòu ðaòwv}.


\textsuperscript{7} Damophon's group had already been brought into connexion with the Parthenon figures by E. Petersen \textit{Die Kunst des Pheidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia} Berlin 1873 p. 125 n. 3 and by Overbeck \textit{Gr. Kunstmyth.} Demeter—Kora pp. 423 n. 5, 431.

The birth of Athena in art

Despoina, in accordance with her cult-title, a ‘Queen’ seated on a throne, he therefore found room for the sacred receptacle on her lap and ipso facto displaced the corn-ears of his original. The restoration of the Parthenon Persephone with corn-ears in her right hand and a sceptre in her left is supported by the existence of a similar type on the imperial bronze coinage of Athens (fig. 527).1

The reclining god next to Demeter is Dionysos. This identification, first mooted by F. G. Welcker2 in 1817, doubted by W. M. Leake3 in 1821, but re-affirmed by E. Gerhard4 in 1840, admitted with a query by A. Michaelis5 in 1871, and then more definitely established by E. Petersen6 in 1873, is accepted nowadays by most critics and has in fact become the official view7. The main reasons advanced on its behalf are that the skin over which the young god has spread his mantle appears to be a panther-skin not a lion-skin8, that the soft seat and comfortable sandals suit a lover of ease9, and that Dionysos occurs in a very similar pose on a dramatic relief from the Peiraieus10, on the choragic monument of

2 F. G. Welcker in the Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Auslegung der alt. Kunst 1817 i. 208 f. ‘Iacchos.’  
3 W. M. Leake The Topography of Athens London 1821 p. 255 n. 2 ‘To those who are inclined to think that this figure is Bacchus, reposing upon the skin of a panther, it may be observed, that Bacchus was a deity of too much importance among the Athenians not to have had a place nearer the centre of the composition.’ But see infra p. 714 nn. 4, 5.  
6 E. Petersen Die Kunst des Pheidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia Berlin 1873 p. 116 ff.  
8 E. Petersen op. cit. p. 119 (the skin can hardly be leonine, since no mane is visible; hence ‘kann man füglich ein Pantherfell drin sehen, das unter den Göttern im Olymp nur einem, dem Dionysos, eigenthümlich ist’), A. H. Smith in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture i. 107 and in A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon London 1908 p. 20.  
9 E. Petersen op. cit. p. 120 f.  
The birth of Athena in art

Lysikrates, on a moulded askos in the British Museum, and as a recumbent figure forming the lid of a Roman sarcophagus in the Louvre. It should further be noticed that vase-painters introducing Dionysos into the scene of Athena's birth regularly place him at the extreme left of their composition. I have restored him with a thyrsos in his right hand and nothing in his left, partly because the muscles of the left fore-arm, so far as it is preserved, suggest an attitude of simple repose and are inconsistent with his holding a phidle as on the Peiraieus relief, and partly because this type for the god passed into the repertoire of later ceramic art (fig. 528). No doubt analogous types were used by the die-sinkers of Magna Graecia c. 400 B.C. to represent Herakles at Kroton, Herakleia, and Tarentum, and to represent Pan at Pandosia.

Fig. 528.

1 A. H. Smith in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture i. 253 no. 430, i, Overbeck Gr. Plastik ii. 120 ff. fig. 174, Collignon Hist. de la Sculpt. gr. ii. 365 ff. fig. 188, Reinach Rép. Reliefs i. 13 f.
3 Clarac Mus. de Sculpt. pl. 273 fig. 1592 = Reinach Rép. Stat. i. 138 no. 2, Fröhner Sculpt. du Louvre i. 240 f. no. 228.
4 Supra p. 674 fig. 485.
5 Infra p. 716 fig. 530; supra p. 680 fig. 491; supra p. 677 n. o.
6 Compte-rendu St. Pld. 1875 Atlas pl. 4. 2 (=Reinach Rép. Vases i. 40, 2), ib. 1875 Atlas pl. 4. 4 (=Reinach Rép. Vases i. 47, 1) reproduced in my fig. 528, etc.
The birth of Athena in art 715

But we have seen reason to put Herakles elsewhere in the pediment; and Pan is a god who never appears in vase-paintings of Athena's birth. The claims of Dionysos to be identified with 'Theseus' are indeed so strong that we may fairly dispense with a detailed discussion of other hypotheses.

Corresponding with the deities of corn and wine we have another triad in the opposite wing of the gable. Here again Pheidias took a hint from ceramic tradition; for a black-figured amphora in the Louvre (fig. 530) shows three goddesses in a row to the extreme right of the birth-scene. F. G. Welcker held that the Parthenon

Fig. 529.


(3) Kephalos (P. O. Brondsted Voyages dans la Grèce accompagnés de recherches archéologiques Paris 1830 ii. xi. n. 3, Furtwängler Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt. p. 468, A. S. Murray The Sculptures of the Parthenon London 1903 p. 35 ff.).

(4) Kekrops (E. Falkener in The Museum of Classical Antiquities 1851 i. 394 f., Welcker Alt. Denkm. i. 81).


2 Louvre F 861, on which see supra p. 700 n. 3 (2).

3 Welcker Alt. Denkm. i. 77 ff.
The birth of Athena in art

triad was Aglauros, Herse, and Pandrosos; and J. Roulez was inclined to give the same explanation of the three goddesses on the Paris vase. Their view is attractive and the title 'die "Thauschwestern"' still finds some defenders. Nevertheless the discovery of the Madrid puteal has gone far towards proving that the old name, 'the Fates,' is right. Even F. Hauser, who argues that the Fates of the puteal were not taken from the same model (Vorbild) as its other figures, yet admits that they too may well go back to the east pediment of the Parthenon as their original. Further, while granting that their attributes have not yet been found on pre-Roman works of art, he urges that Roman reliefs here as elsewhere presuppose Greek prototypes. Fate as a spinner is Homeric: cleromancy was no discovery of the Romans: oracle-
The birth of Athena in art

rolls can be quoted from older Greek sources. I have not scrupled, therefore, to use the Madrid puteal and the Tegel replica for the restoration of these goddesses, assuming that the first designer of such reliefs adapted the pedimental group to the requirements of his frieze by the simple expedient of making two of the figures stand up. In the pediment the Fate sitting on a separate rocky seat is Klotho, the ‘Spinner.’ She holds a distaff in one hand, a spindle in the other, and—a thoroughly natural touch—has drawn back her right leg to leave room for the spindle to twirl. Lachesis too is seated (Platon speaks of her lap) and holds the lâche or ‘lots,’ of which Atropos the left-handed has just drawn the one that she is reading. She lies on the knees of Lachesis and thereby declares herself a personification of that irreversible fate which, as Homer has it, ‘lies on the knees of the gods.’ Intentionally or not, Pheidias conceived her in accordance with the strange Hesiodic description—literally lower than her sisters and yet the eldest and in a sense the most exalted of the three. Details apart, the common interpretation of this most familiar triad as the Fates is so apt that we may again without scruple jettison a cargo of divergent and sometimes fantastic misunderstandings.

1 E.g. supra i. 128 pl. 12, cp. 130 pl. 13.
2 Rhys Carpenter in his restoration (supra pl. lviii, 2) has contrived to work in the Fates of the puteal as three standing figures, but at the expense of more than one improbability. He has to place this triad in the left wing of the gable, whereas the vase-painter relegated it to the extreme right of the scene (supra fig. 530). Again, Carpenter must represent his Fates as three figures on an ascending scale, large, larger, largest—a variation which might be tolerated in the case of three diverse deities but becomes grotesque if applied to three powers of equal prestige. And lastly, the aesthetic effect of so many single figures standing erect in parallel, pillar-like lines is architectural rather than sculptural: it recalls indeed the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, but is in flat and flagrant contradiction of Pheidias' closely knit and subtly balanced design.

3 In the Platonic image (ib. 617 c) Klotho uses her right hand, Atropos her left, Lachesis either hand alternately. Platon is probably Pythagorising (J. Adam ad loc.), and where that is the case we may well suspect a basis of popular belief (to the passages cited supra ii. 222 n. 1 add i. 283 n. 9, ii. 233 ff., 354, 649, 1129, etc.).
The whole scene of Athena's birth is flanked by two angle-groups representing daybreak and nightfall. On the left Helios drives his team of four horses up from the sea. On the right Selene drives hers down behind the hills. The rising Sun thus synchronises with the setting Moon and fixes the time as that of a full moon. Pheidias has indicated this with subtlety and success by making

1. Amphitrite with Kirke (Aphrodite?) on the lap of Perse (Thalassa?) (L. de Ronchaud *Phidias sa vie et ses ouvrages* Paris 1861 p. 260 ff.).


3. Hestia with Aphrodite in the lap of Peitho (E. Petersen *Die Kunst des Phidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia* Berlin 1873 p. 128 ff.).


9. Artemis with Aphrodite in the lap of Peitho (Rhys Carpenter in *Hesperia* 1933 ii. 86 ff.).

1. The juxtaposition of these groups with Dionysos on the left and the Fates on the right was more or less defensible on religious grounds. Dionysos had points of contact with Helios (supra ii. 253 with n. 4), and the Fates were sometimes reckoned daughters of Nyx (frag. lyr. adesp. 140 Bergk, 5 Diehl, 70 Edmonds ap. Stob. ecl. 1. 5. 10—12, 6 f. p. 76, 14 ff. Wachsmuth *Leia και Κλωδιά Λάξεως ττ' [κυθήριοι Νυκτός κόραι]. But the main idea was, no doubt, to provide the Olympian event with a cosmic setting.

2. A. S. Murray *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1903 p. 32 f. ‘An Athenian standing at dawn before the east front of the Parthenon and looking towards the pediment might see the sun rising from the sea on his left and the moon passing on his right away over the hills.... With equal justice to the natural phenomena the sculptor could have imagined himself facing in the opposite direction. The sun would then have been on his right hand and the moon on his left, as on a beautiful vase in the British Museum about contemporary with the Parthenon (E 466) [Furtwangler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmaler* iii. 33 ff. pl. 126].... It is true that the Greeks generally and Pheidias in particular regarded the east as on their left hand. On the base of his statue of Zeus at Olympia, representing the birth of Aphrodite, the sun was seen rising on the extreme left, the moon retiring on the right (Pausanias, v. 11, [8]), and on the base of his Athene in the Parthenon itself the same phenomenon occurs, if we may judge from the Lenormant copy of the statue.... But granting that this was a mere habit on his part, we must still regard it as a happy coincidence that on the Parthenon the sun rises exactly as in the sky at Athens.' See further Schrader *Reallex.* i. 500 f. s.v. ‘Himmelsgegenden,’ T. D. Atkinson in J. Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1918 x. 73 f. s.v. ‘Points of the Compass.’
The birth of Athena in art

Selene look round towards the new-born goddess and so reveal the full beauty of her face. Here, however, a certain difficulty must be met. Scholiasts and lexicographers attempt to explain the ancient epithet *Tritogeneia* by asserting that Athena was 'born on the third' day from the end of the month, which would be quite incompatible with a full moon. August Mommsen held that the Pheidias combination of rising sun with setting moon might have meant that Athena first saw the light on the morning of a 'setting day' (*phthinas heméra*), i.e. a day towards the end of the month. August Mommsen was a learned man, but foolish at times. H. Nissen would reject the testimony of the late grammarians as a worthless etymological speculation and accept Pheidias' grouping as evidence that Athena was born on the morning of a full-moon day. I incline to a modification of his view. We have seen reason to believe that the myth of Athena's birth presupposes some such rite as the Dipolieia; in fact we have derived thence the startling motive of Zeus struck on the head by a double axe. Moreover we observe this: the ceremonies of the Dipolieia aimed at securing an adequate dewfall and rainfall at a critical time of year; and the story of Athena's birth told how, at the moment when Hephaistos cleft the head of Zeus, a golden shower descended upon Rhodes.

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1 E. Petersen *Die Kunst des Pheidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia* Berlin 1873 p. 107 'Selene wandte, wie noch am Ansatz des Halses zu erkennen, den Kopf um, wie um vor ihrem Scheiden noch einen Blick auf diese Welt zu thun, wohl ohne bestimmtes Ziel.'

2 Supra i. 738 n. 11.

3 On which see supra p. 123 ff.

4 Schol. B. L. T. V. II. 8. 39 Τριτογενεία ἐκλήθη... ἣ τῇ τρίτῃ φθινόστος ἐκέχει, Phot. lex. s.v. Τριτογενής... ἣ τρίτῃ φθινόστος ὡς καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἄγουσιν (cp. Souid. s.v. Τριτο- γενής).

5 Other sources merely mention the 'third of the month': so Harpokr. s.v. τριτόμηρος: ὅποιος ἐν τῇ περί τῆς λεπαλα ἑτερα (frag. 19 p. 266 Baiter—Sauppe). τῷ τρίτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς τριτομηρίδα ἔκαλουν. δοκεὶ δὲ γεγεννηθαι τότε ἡ Ἀθηνα. Ἰστροι δὲ (frag. 25 (frag. hist. Gr. i. 422 Müller)) καὶ Τριτογενεῖαι αὕτην φθινὸς διὰ τοῦτο λέγεισαν, τὸν αὐτὴν Σελήνην κομψίμενην, Bekker anecd. i. 306, 32 Τριτόμηρος· ἐστὶ ἀγοράσθη Ἀθηνᾶς (Jessen c). Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγουσιν) τῇ τρίτῃ (cp. Hesych. s.v. τριτόμηρος, Souid. s.v. τριτομηρίδα), Orion p. 151, 10 ff. Τριτογενεία... ἦ εἰσιθεὶς αὕτη ἐστὶ τῇ σελήνῃ... αὕτη δὲ τριταία ὀβελά φάνερα γίνεται, τοῦτόν τε τῶν δρόμων (F. G. Sturz c. διὰ τῶν ἱματών ἐστὶν), et mag. p. 767, 40 ff. Τριτογενεία, ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ... ἦ εἰσιθεὶς τριταία γέγονεν, δοκεῖ δὲ γεγονομένη τριταία: καὶ γὰρ τὴν αὕτην εἶναι τῇ σελήνῃ καὶ τῷ τρίτῳ τοῦ μηνὸς τριτομηρίδα ἐκάλουν: δοκεὶ δὲ γεγονομένα τότε ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, Eustath. in Il. p. 504. 24 ff. Τριτογενεία... ἦ ὡς ἐν τρίτῃ μηνῶ δεμοτήσι, ἐν Ὁδ. p. 1473, 11 ff. Τριτογενεία... ἦ ὡς ἐν τρίτῃ μηνῶ (sc. γεγονομένη), Favorin. lex. p. 1775, 23 ff. Τριτογενεία... δὲ μίθῳ οὕτως λεγεῖ αὕτην, ὡς ἐν τρίτῃ μηνῶ γεγονομένην.

6 Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 346 n. 1.

7 Supra p. 661 f., cp. p. 588.

8 Supra p. 602 ff.

9 Supra p. 477.
The birth of Athena in art

We may, then, perhaps assume that the birth of Athena, whatever its original date, was early brought into connexion with the cult of Zeus and celebrated at the time of the Dipolieia, i.e. on the occasion of the last full moon in the Attic year. But the ever-growing importance of the Great Panathenaia would predispose men to identify this festival rather than the obscure and old-fashioned Dipolieia with the real birthday of the goddess. And, since the Great Panathenaia was held on the third day from the end of Hekatombaion, the way was open for ingenious etymologists to explain the title Tritogéneia.

The rocky summit compassed about by the Sun and Moon is the Akropolis itself: Athena must needs be born in Athens. The local setting is further shown by the personnel of the assembled gods. The central group comprised Zeus the thunderer and Athena his armed daughter, together with Hephaistos and Poseidon the gods of fire and water. We think at once of Zeus Polieus, who

1 Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 513 'Wir entscheiden uns danach für den 14. [sc. of Skirophorion: supra p. 602]; die Dipolienfeier hat am letzten Vollmond des attischen Jahres stattgefunden; im Vollmond hat man auch zu Olympia den Zeus gefeiert.'
2 Prokl. in Plat. Tim. i 26, 18 f. Diehl.
3 A. Michaelis Der Parthenon Leipzig 1871 p. 166 f., after a review of previous opinions, concludes that the scene is laid der Ort für die syrische Gottheit. E. Petersen Die Kunst des Phidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia Berlin 1873 p. 110 ff. likewise argues for the rocky summit of the 'Götterberg.' Mt Olympus. C. Waldstein Essays on the Art of Pheidias Cambridge 1885 also assumes 'the summit of Mount Olympus.' Others are less precise and incline to make Olympus mean, not the mountain, but the sky above it (supra i. 115). So e.g. Furtwängler Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt. p. 465 'The whole space enclosed within the border of the pediment is in fact Olympos' etc., Collignon Hist. de la Sculpt. gr. ii. 22 'Le lieu de la scene est le ciel des Olympiens,' II. Lechat Phidias n.d. p. 98, 16 Paris 1924 p. 115 'alors, à ces pensées, comme la scène s'élargit! comme grandit ce fronton de moins de 30 mètres, qui contient tout l'Olympe peuplé de dieux, et à ses extrémités, en bordure de l'Olympe, l'Océan, et, sur la divine assemblée, la courbe lumineuse du ciel entier, de l'horizon du matin à l'horizon du soir!'
4 Dissent is expressed by that sturdy independent A. S. Murray The Sculptures of the Parthenon London 1903 p. 31 f. Urging that the western pediment admittedly portrays the gods as 'invisibly present in the atmosphere of the Acropolis' and that the eastern frieze does much the same, he claims 'at least a strong presumption that the same principle had applied to the central deities of the east pediment....Let us call the invisible sphere where she was born Olympus, but define it as for the moment just over Athens.'

I would go even further in the same direction. If the olive-tree and the salt well were represented in the west gable, why not the hollowed theatre and the rocky stairway in the east? Many localities could boast their own Olympos (supra i. 100) : was Athens unworthy of the like honour?

4 No adverse argument can be based on the authority of h. Ath. 28. 4 ff., which may in fact be of very recent composition (W. Schmid—O. Stählin Geschichte der griechischen Literatur München 1929 i. 1. 243 'ob der Dichter an die Bildwerke vom Ostgiebel des Parthenon gedacht oder der Künstler das Gedicht im Sinn gehabt hat oder ob beide von Stesichoros (fr. 62 B.) abhängen, ist nicht auszumachen').
The birth of Athena in art

stood beneath the open sky, of Athena Polides in the neighbouring Erechtheion, and of Poseidon and Hephaistos with whom she shared her ancient dwelling. In a word, we have before us all the most important deities worshipped in the eastern half of the Akropolis.

Again, the same local significance attaches to the extreme figures on the south and on the north. On the south Dionysos sits at ease upon his rock spread with panther-skin and mantle, a spectator as it were in his own theatre\(^1\). Was it not hollowed out of the hill-side immediately below him? On the north the three Fates are seated on rocks, which—to quote A. H. Smith's description—are 'levelled on the top, and...cut in step form to suit the composition\(^2\). This surely suggests the ancient rock-cut steps leading down through the cave of Aglauros towards the Gardens\(^3\), where the Fates were\(^4\), and for that matter still are\(^5\), worshipped.

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\(^1\) Cp. the fourth slab inserted in the stage of Phaidros (supra i. 710 pl. xl, 4).


\(^3\) Not, of course, the postern-steps of the Helladic fortress (L. B. Holland in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1924 xxvii. 143 ff. with pl. 7 and figs. 2 and 3, W. Judeich Topographie von Athen\(^6\) München 1931 pp. 118, 259), for that exit had been long since blocked and filled in, but the underground stairway by which the Arrêphoroi went down through the Aglaorion (supra p. 169 n. 1).

\(^4\) Paus. i. 19. 2 (cited infra p. 722 n. 3). P. Weizsäcker in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 309 notes that these Moirai were associated in cult with Zeus Moirophagos (supra ii. 131 n. 8 (a)).

\(^5\) B. Schmidt Das Volksleben der Neugriechen Leipzig 1871 i. 217 ff. cites two items of evidence, which may refer to the same locality. (1) J. Galt Letters from the Levant London 1813 p. 109 f. an Athenian friar mentions that at Athens young girls, when they become anxious to get husbands, on the first evening of the new moon, put a little honey, a little salt, and a piece of bread on a plate in a certain spot on the bank of the Ilissos, near the Stadion, and on setting it down mutter some ancient words of forgotten meaning in which they beg Fate to send them 'a pretty young man': after this they return home eagerly awaiting the fulfilment of their charm. (2) F. C. H. L. Pouqueville Voyage de la Grèce Paris 1827 v. 66 f. states that women at Athens who long to bear children and also those who are already pregnant come and rub themselves on a rock near Kallirhoe and invoke the Moirai to be gracious to them, using the formula 'Ελάθε, Μοίραι τῶν Μαρωτῶν, να μοίρατε κ' ἐμένα (Schmidt cf. μοράνετε for κα μοίρατε). See further N. G. Polites Melêthai tòυ τῶν Νεωτέρων'Ελλήνων Athens 1874 ii. 227 ('ἐν τῷ Παπαθανατίκῳ σταθμῷ ἐν τῇ ἕττῃ τῶν λόφων τοῦ λεγομένου „τρίαις βουνοῖς”), J. C. Lawson Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion Cambridge 1910 p. 120 with n. 4 ('Apparently the old subterranean passage by which competitors entered the stadium'). Lawson ib. p. 130 notes the modern belief that the Fates invariably visit each child that is born in order to decree its lot,' adding: 'I do not wish to engage in the controversy which has raged round the identification of the figures in the east pediment of the Parthenon; but those who would recognise among them the three Fates may fairly draw a fresh argument from the strength of this popular belief.'
E. Petersen and F. Studniczka contend that the lovely reclining Fate of the Parthenon gable must be Aphrodite and none other. But close to the temple of Aphrodite in the Gardens stood a herm-like statue of Aphrodite Ourania with an inscription declaring that she was the eldest of the so-called Fates. And, as Furtwängler points out, the Fates are repeatedly represented with the chiton slipping from the shoulder—a motive manifestly Aphroditesque.

It seems probable that this principle of local significance applied not only to the central and side-figures of Pheidias' composition, but to the rest of it as well. Certainty is of course unattainable; yet a few tentative suggestions may be made.

The deities between Dionysos and Hephaistos were, from left to right, Demeter, Persephone, Eileithyia, Herakles(?), Hebe(?), and Hera(?). Demeter and Persephone represent the cult at Agra, where the Lesser Mysteries were celebrated. Pheidias has made Persephone slightly larger in scale and decidedly more prominent in pose than Demeter. Why? Because the daughter, not the mother, was the chief goddess of Agra. As such she appears, sceptre in hand, on the painted tablet of Ninnion (fig. 531).

1 E. Petersen Die Kunst des Pheidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia Berlin 1873 p. 130 ff.
2 F. Studniczka in Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1904 xix. 8 f.
3 Paus. 1. 19. 2 οτι το Κηπους δομαζοντα και την Αφροδιτη την παιδ οιδειν λεγονον σφαιν ουτο λογος. ου μην οιδει την Αφροδιτην η του ραι αληθον άιτης ταυτης γαρ σχιμα μην τετραγωνον κατα ταιτα και του έμματι (cp. supra ii. 854), το δε εστραμα σημαινει την Όλυμπιαν 'Αφροδιτην των καλουμένων Μουρών ετησον πρεσβυτατης.
6 Farnell Cults of Gk. States iii. 169, 242 f.

This tablet of painted terra cotta (height 0'30", width 0'15") was found by Skias in 1895 during his excavations at Eleusis and is now in the Museum at Athens. Its lower edge bears, in lettering of s. iv b.c., the dedication Νιννίων τοις τεκτονίκην. Who Ninnion was, we do not know. Svoronos tries to identify her with the βεταφρα Nannion (Athen. 567 E—Π Ναννίων, 587 ν Ναννίων). But this—though Miss Harrison op. cit.
The birth of Athena in art

p. 558 n. 2 agrees—is quite impossible, and very gratuitous. 

Niρρων is the affectionate diminutive of νιψη, 'aunt' (F. Bechtel Die Attischen Frauennamen Göttingen 1902 p. 66), and nobody would have been more shocked at Svoronos' identification than 'Auntie' herself!

The tablet is shaped like a temple-front with pediment and akroterion. The decoration of its pilasters and triglyph-frieze is peculiar and certainly symbolic; the pilasters suggest ɸεχς; the frieze, cymbals (?) or basins (?), hardly phases of the moon.

The main design has two registers. To the right of each is a seated goddes., towards
The birth of Athena in art

Eileithyia too had a sanctuary at Agra and a couple of Hersephoroi for whom seats were reserved in the theatre. These Agraean goddesses are admirably placed between Dionysos on the left and Herakles on the right. For on the one hand the Lesser Mysteries are described as a representation of Dionysos' story, and on the other hand their first initiate is said to have been Herakles. However, a more famous centre of Herakles-worship was that at Kynosarges in the north-easterly suburb Diomeia, where he had a temple and an altar. His consort there was Hebe, daughter of

whom three and four figures respectively are advancing. Presumably the two seated goddesses are Demeter above, Persephone below, since Demeter is larger and coloured red, Persephone smaller and coloured white. If so, there is a suggestion that the upper register shows the mysteries of Eleusis, the lower those of Agra, which were a preliminary purification for the greater rites to follow. This agrees with the indications of landscape. Above we see the groundlines of a rocky floor and a pillar standing at the foot of a hill, suggestive of the Telestethion at Eleusis (cf. supra i. 218 pl. xviii, 321 fig. 164). Below we have again a hilly surface. The omphalos and the crossed bôkkoi perhaps imply that at Agra the omphalos was deemed to be the grave of Dionysos (supra lii. 219 n. 4).

Demeter is approached by a female daidôchos, who bears a couple of blazing torches, and a girl who carries the kérchon or kérhos, a vessel containing lamps, fitted with a lid having apertures in it, decked with myrtle-twigs, and attached to the bearer's head by means of white ribbons (see the literature cited supra p. 248 n. 1, especially O. Rubensohn in the Ath. Mitth. 1898 xxiii. 205 f. with fig.). The kernôphoros is followed by two men, big and little. The big man has a staff in his right hand, the little man has a jug. I take the scene to be the initiation of Herakles: the staff is his club, the jug hints at the banquet of the blest.

Finally, in the pediment we see the same personnel in a scene of final felicity—the kernôphoros in the centre, a flute-girl making music on the left, Herakles draining his jug on the right, with a couple of other feasters in the angles.

1 Kleidemos frag. i (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 359 Müller) ap. Bekker anec. i. 326, 36 ff., Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 3 no. 1590 = Inscr. Gr. ed. min. ii—iii. 3 no. 4682 (on a small column of Hymettian marble, found on the bank of the Ilissos to the east of Kallirrhoë and assigned to s. iii B.C.) Εὐκόλη (perhaps an appellative of Eileithyia (O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 1955), cp. supra ii. 118 n. 3 and 1114 n. o (4)) || Θέσσαλι. Φιλομένη | Αμφιμάχου | γυνὴ ἀνέθηκε | ἐν Ἀρχέσια | ἱερείας.

2 Supra p. 168 fig. 73.

3 Steph. Byz. τ. καιν. "Ἀγα καὶ Ἀγραι (quoted supra i. 692 n. 5).


5 O. Gruppe in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. Suppl. iii. 926 ff.
The birth of Athena in art

Zeus, who had an altar of her own, and again special seats in the theatre. Hera's temple stood somewhere on the road from Phaleron to Athens. In the Parthenon pediment, as restored, she is turning round to encourage her timorous daughter Eileithyia, with whom indeed she was actually identified at Thorikos and Argos.

The deities between the Fates and Poseidon were, from right to left, Hermes(?), Artemis(?), Apollon(?), Eros(?) and Aphrodite. Hermes sets foot on a rock at the top of the stepped seats, on which the Fates are sitting. He presumably represents the oldest Hermes-cult of Athens, that of the Erechtheion, hard by the top of the Aglaurion staircase. Artemis will probably be Artemis Agrotéra, the divine huntress of Agra, whose statue was equipped with a bow.

Apollon the kithára-player is Apollon Pythios of the Python adjoining the great Olympieion. Finally, Eros and Aphrodite had a joint-sanctuary among the rocks on the north-east slope of the

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1 Paus. i. 19. 3.
2 Corp. inscr. Att. iii. 1 no. 370 (with facsimile on pl. 4). *Hῆς* and no. 374 (with facsimile on pl. 5). *Hῆς = Inscr. Gr. ed. min. ii—iii. 3 nos. 5150, 5154. For the exact position of these seats see the annotated plan in W. Larfeld Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik Leipzig 1898 ii. 1 pl. 1.
3 Paus. i. 1. 5, 10. 35, 2.
5 Paus. i. 27. 1 κατά δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος Ἐρμῆς ἔβαλον, Κέκροπος ἔλας λεγόμενον ἀνάθεμα, ὅπερ ἐλάθαν μεταφθα τὸ σάλσατον. I suspect that the original intention was, not so much to consult decency by the concealment of a rude feature, as to promote fertility by the application of leafage (supra ii. 244 n. 4) credited with quickening powers (supra ii. 1165 n. 1).
The birth of Athena in art

citadel\textsuperscript{1}, and Aphrodite was also goddess of the Gardens, which are believed to have occupied the low ground on the right bank of the Ilissos\textsuperscript{2}.

On this showing every figure in the east pediment of the Parthenon corresponded with an actual cult, either on the eastward half of the Akropolis itself, or at any rate in some easterly suburb of Athens. The gods of the town had assembled, as it were, on their local Olympos to witness with joy and wonder the epiphany of the all-conquering goddess.

\textbf{(i) Significance of the birth of Athena.}

The myth represented in the Parthenon pediment is so peculiar in character that it has evoked a great variety of interpretations from critics both ancient and modern.

The Stoics of course allegorized\textsuperscript{3}. Chrysippus\textsuperscript{4} explained that Athena meant Wisdom, located her in the breast, and said that she issued from the head as Voice, being delivered by Hephaistos, since Wisdom was produced by Skill, and rightly named \textit{Athena\textsuperscript{5}}, that is \textit{Athren\textsuperscript{6}}\textsuperscript{‘} Observation,' and \textit{Tritons} or \textit{Tritogena} as comprising the triad of Physics, Ethics, and Logic. Diogenes the Babylonian\textsuperscript{6},
Significance of the birth of Athena

a philosopher from Seleukeia on the Tigris, born c. 240 B.C., identified Zeus with the universe or the universal soul and Athena with its highest part, the aither, and was thus enabled to work in the Stoic clichés ‘from the head’ and ‘Zeus male and female.’ Lastly Cornutus in his Compendium of Theology offered a blend of Chrysippos and Diogenes.

Aristokles the historian, presumably in his Theogony, went off on a different tack. He declared that Athena was born in Crete, where she lay hidden in a cloud till Zeus cleft it and so brought her to light. This mention of the cloud recalls the Theogony of the Orphic Rhapodies, in which the cosmic egg containing Metis was called ‘the cloud’; and it may be that Aristokles was here indebted to Orphism.

Where the ancients left off, the moderns began. P. Buttmann,
728 Significance of the birth of Athena

E. Rücker 1, and G. Hermann 2 early in the nineteenth century, following the lead of the Stoics, accepted Athena as a personification of divine Wisdom and laid stress on the myth of Metis 3. Dictionaries and handbooks spread the edifying doctrine, until no gentleman’s library was complete without a bust of Pallas.

The second half of the century rebelled against excessive moralising and substituted a string of so-called ‘physical’ interpretations 4. F. G. Welcker 5, like Diogenes, took Zeus to be the supreme spirit and equated Athene with aither, the divine effluence that issues forth from him as, in Philon’s theology, the Logos proceeds from the Godhead. Others, obsessed by equally impossible etymologies, spent much eloquence in maintaining that Athena, daughter of the sky-god, must needs be the Dawn 6, or at least the Morning Twilight 7.

Such vagaries gradually gave way before the advance of another ‘physical’ school, the advocates of Storm-cloud and Lightning. They too founded upon classical lore, since they claimed the support

1 E. Rücker Der Dienst der Athena, nach seinen örtlichen Verhältnissen dargestellt Hildburghausen 1839 pp. 63 ‘Athena ist ja die Klugheit, die Weisheit, Metis, des Vaters Zeus, und darum, nach der Theogonie, aus dessen Haupte entsprungen,’ 193 ‘Dies auf Athenen angewendet, müssen wir es streng verneinen, dass in ihr irgend menschliche Weisheit, Klugheit oder Tapferkeit verehrt worden sei. Vielmehr, wenn wir die mannichfaltigen Formen ihres Kultus überblicken, werden wir zu der Ueberzeugung geleitet, dass es die allwaltende göttliche Macht, Weisheit und Güte, die göttliche Vorsehung gewesen sei, die man als die gewaltige, hochsinnige, huldreiche Tochter des Himmelsherrschers, als Pallas Athena anbetete.’
3 Cp. L.-F. A. Maury Religions de la Grèce Paris 1857 i. 425 ff. ‘Dans le principe, personification des eaux ou tout au moins des vapeurs qui, des eaux, s’élèvent dans l’air, elle n’est plus guère, à l’époque de Périclès, qu’une hypostase de la sagesse divine et de la providence de Zeus’ (‘Arnob., Adv. gent., iii. 31...). De déesse de l’élément humide, elle devient déesse de l’air pur, de l’éther, et par là elle se confond avec le roi des dieux, Zeus, qui personifie le firmament... Athéné représente en conséquence la sagesse, la pensée de Zeus... Déjà, dans Hésiode, on a vu Métis représenter, sous une forme analogue, la sagesse divine ; mais, en passant dans Athéné, cette idée s’épure et s’agrandit. Toutes les vertus, toutes les perféctions qui s’attachent à l’idée de l’intelligence suprême, servent à composer le personnage de la déesse... Telle est l’origine du mythe qui nous montre la déesse sortant tout armée de la tête de Zeus.’
5 Welcker Gr. Götterl. i. 300 ff.
6 F. Max Müller Lectures on the Science of Language London 1864 ii. 503 (id. The Science of Language London 1891 ii. 623 ff.).
of Aristokles and his 'cloud.' J. F. Lauer in 1853 was the first to characterize Athena as mistress of the Clouds. F. L. W. Schwartz in 1860 elaborated the notion: he contended that the head of Zeus cleft by the axe of Hephaistos or Prometheus was the storm-cloud split by the lightning, Athena Sdåpinx being the trumpet-blast of the thunder. T. Bergk in 1860, W. H. Roscher in 1886, and C. Robert in 1894, with greater or less enthusiasm, rallied to the same standard. Even F. Dümmel in 1896 was still largely under its spell. But in that year L. R. Farnell showed convincingly that 'physical' explanations in general and storm-symbolism in particular must be abandoned in favour of some less arbitrary hypothesis.

Symbolism, however, dies hard. Birth from the heavenly height might be discredited; but birth from an earthly height took its place. O. Gruppe suggested that the Argive cult of Athena Akritas perhaps gave rise to the myth that Athena sprang 'from the summit (akrotita) of the head of Zeus.' U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in System der griechischen Mythologie Berlin 1853 p. 320 ff. ('Herrin der Wolken').
Moellendorff\(^1\), possibly taking a hint from T. Bergk\(^2\), claims that in a pre-Greek myth Athena issued from the crest of Mount Olympos, the 'Götterberg', for which the head of Zeus was the later Hellenic equivalent. O. Weinreich\(^3\) accepts Wilamowitz' view as well worthy of attention: F. Pfister\(^4\) attends, but is non-committal. O. Kern\(^5\) and A. H. Krappe\(^6\) are frankly convinced.

Apart from these typical explanations we have to reckon with a few more isolated and individual conjectures. Thus W. Deonna\(^7\), impressed by the fact that a Cycladic marble statuette at Karlsruhe


\(^{5}\) O. Kern *Die Religion der Griechen* Berlin 1926 i. 180: 'Denn nachdem Zeus den alten Berggott vom Olymp verdrängt hatte, wurde der Mythos erfunden, dass die alte vorgriechische Göttin Athene...gewappnet seinem Haupte entsprungen sei... Die Anthropomorphisierung war erfolgt: Zeus thronte auf dem Olympos, und aus dessen Gipfel wurde in der Sage von der Geburt der Göttin das Haupt.'

\(^{6}\) A. H. Krappe in *Litteris* 1928 v. 63: 'Zeus is most convincingly shown [sc. by Kern] to have taken the place of a proto-Hellenic mountain divinity, and Athena was born from its top, later identified with Zeus' head, a truly admirable solution of one of the most puzzling of mythological problems,' id. *Mythologie universelle* Paris 1930 p. 271: 'Le lien entre Athéna et Zeus est secondaire. Il n'était possible qu'après l'identification du dieu du ciel indo-européen avec le démon de l'Olympe. C'est que l'ancienne déesse crétoise et l'Athéna originelle étant toutes les deux des déesses de la montagne, comme la Cybèle asiatique, on imagina le mythe d'Athéna née de la tête de Zeus, c'est-à-dire de la cime de la montagne.'

Significance of the birth of Athena

shows a nude female standing erect with a similar but smaller nude female on her head (fig. 532), took this curious group to represent a mother-goddess and her daughter, compared the like arrangement of an Indo-Chinese father-god with his child (fig. 533), and suggested that the same method of figuration—presupposing a

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1 E. Gerhard Über die Kunst der Phönizier Berlin 1848 pp. 14, 37 ('Vielleicht als Geburt einer Gottheit zu fassen,' etc.) pl. 4, 3 = my fig. 532 (id. Gesammelte akademische Abhandlungen und kleine Schriften Berlin 1868 ii. 13 pl. 44, 3), Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art vi. 740 fig. 332 ('Ce que le sculpteur s'est proposé de montrer en disposant ainsi ses personnages, c'est que la déesse est une déesse mère; la figurine qui forme le sommet du groupe, c'est l'enfant par lequel se continuera la chaîne des générations'), H. T. Bossert Althreta Berlin 1921 p. 30 fig. 116 (photo), ib. Berlin 1923 p. 14 fig. 15 (photo), M. Hoernes Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa Wien 1925 p. 62 with fig. 8 on p. 60 ('wie an den Wappenpfählen der Indianer Nordwestamerikas und der Polynesier und an den Zauberstäben der Battaks. Der genealogische Charakter dieses barbarischen Bildwerkes ist vollkommen deutlich'), V. Müller Frühe Plastik in Griechenland und Vorderasien Augsburg 1929 p. 14 n. 27, C. Picard La sculpture Paris 1935 i. 95 fig. 13.

From Paros. Height: 0.213 m.


3 J. Deniker in L'Anthropologie 1890 p. 352 with fig. 14 on p. 358 (= my fig. 533) after E. Modigliani Un Viaggio a Nias Milano 1890 p. 245 fig. 48 ‘Un idolo’ in the Museo di Leida.
Significance of the birth of Athena

primitive notion of paternity— is to be found in the Greek type of Athena emergent from the head of Zeus (figs. 480, 484 ff., pls. liv, lv, lvi). The myth would then be of the purely iconographic sort, due, that is, to the misunderstanding of an early art-form. Such cases no doubt occur, though they are exceptional. It should, however, be observed that on this showing the relation of Zeus to Athena was primary, the intervention of Hēphaistos secondary. But we have already seen strong reasons for regarding Hēphaistos and Athena as the pre-Greek deities of the Akropolis, and Zeus as a later importation. If therefore Deonna's view is to stand, we must at least assume—a not impossible assumption—that the art-type of Athena's birth denoted her conventional adoption rather than her natural filiation.

That may be hazardous, but it is far less so than a rival explanation put forward the next year by G. Ancey. He holds that Athena, who ended by becoming a divine Thought (Mētis), began by being merely an oracular Voice or cephalic Sound. She was in effect the Big Noise, the awe-inspiring Sneeze of Zeus! We are bidden to reflect that the Laconian form of her name, Asāna, is obviously onomatopoeic, and that words connected with her—kōre, korrē, kōrys—are suspiciously like kōrysa, 'a catarrh.' Oddly enough, the learned author does not mention Athena Sālpinx, and fails to produce what might have been his trump card, the Aristotelian query 'Why do we regard a Sneeze as a deity?...Because, like reason, it issues from our head, the divinest part of us?'

Having thus run through the whole gamut of explanations, from the sublime to the ridiculous, we are in a position to affirm that the

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1 See the list of abnormal births cited supra p. 95 n. 3.
2 See W. Deonna L'archéologie, sa valeur, ses méthodes Paris 1912 i. 219 f., ii. 436 f., iii. 92 n. 11.
3 Examples of the sort may be found in the myths of Chimaira (Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art vi. 857, Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems p. 24 no. 183 pl. 4, p. 26 no. 208 pl. 5), Glaukos (supra i. 469 n. 2), Europe (supra i. 644), Talos (supra i. 723 f.), etc.
4 Supra pp. 189 ff., 234 ff., 236.
5 Supra pp. 236, 598.
6 Supra pp. 80, 89.
7 G. Ancey 'La naissance d'Athéné' in the Rev. Arch. 1913 i. 209—211.
8 Id. ib. p. 210 'Le névra célebre qui devait inspirer Phidias [supra i. 2 f.] n'aurait pas suffi à "faire osciller le grand Olympe." Zeus a délivré un πταμαθίς: Zeus a éternisé.' But see supra p. 20.
9 G. Ancey id. p. 210 'Athéna est la κόρη κεκορομένη, κόρης (υπὸ κόρου) ἐν κορώθη κεκορομένη.'
10 Supra p. 729 n. 3.
11 Aristot. probl. 33. 7. 962 a 21 ff. διὰ τὴν μὲν πταμαθίς θεῖαν ἡγομένα εἶναι, τὴν δὲ βίοχα καὶ τὴν καρπόν ὄντω λέως ἐμα ἡ τῆς κεφαλῆς, οἶνδε ὁ λογισμὸς ὄντω, γίνεται; κ.τ.λ.
Pelike in the British Museum:

(A) Zeus and Nike.  

(B) Hera and Hebe (?)

See page 733 n. 5.
Significance of the birth of Athena 733

myth of Athena's birth as set forth in the Parthenon pediment admits of no single, satisfactory clue. So far we have recognised certain elements in the design as drawn from the ritual of the Dipolieia—Zeus Polieus, like his representative ox, struck with the double axe, the escape of the striker, the acquiescence of the bystanders, and the intent to safeguard the fertilising power of the sky-god.

But that is not all. The rites of the Dipolieia on the animal plane were in a sense paralleled by the rules of royal succession on the human plane. Sir James Frazer has taught us that an early community is apt to regard its king as a god incarnate. Where this is the case, the king is not allowed to grow old, lest his divine powers should dwindle with the decay of their bodily vehicle. He must in fact—if society is still in a backward stage—be put to a violent death at the first symptom of physical decline: grey hairs may be his death-warrant. When he is slain, the immanent divinity, the potency that made him what he was, leaves his body to take up its abode in a younger and more vigorous frame. This rule is of world-wide validity, and the Greeks formed no exception to it. I have argued elsewhere that early Greek kings, honoured as embodiments of Zeus and actually called by his name, were within traditional memory killed as soon as they began to exhibit the signs of old age. Further, I have pointed out that, when they were killed, the indwelling divinity was believed to quit their bodies in the form of a bird. I am now emboldened to conjecture that the myth of Athena's birth reflects just this stage of social and religious development. At least it can be expressed in terms that are highly suggestive of the same. Zeus—say the vase-painters in effect—was king of the gods and sat, sceptre in hand, on a magnificent throne. But he had reached a mature age; indeed, according to Phrynos (supra p. 668 f. fig. 480) and the Villa Giulia Painter (pl. lix), he was already a grey-beard. So another god

1 Supra pp. 656 f., 661 f., 719.
3 In the Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 268 ff., 403 ff., ib. 1906 xx. 417, and especially in Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 385—393. 1905 xv. 386—385, 392—408.
4 In Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 385—393.
5 I am indebted to Mr C. D. Bicknell for the observation that Zeus on this important pelike is white-haired. The vase, which came from Athens and is now in the British Museum (95. 8—31. 1), is referred by Professor Beazley to his 'Villa Giulia Painter' (J. D. Beazley in the Röm. Mitth. 1912 xxvii. 288 no. 18, Hoppin Red-f. Vases ii. 468 no. 21, J. D. Beazley Atische Vasenmaler des rofigurigen Stils Tübingen 1912 p. 351 no. 27), an artist of the 'early free style,' at work c. 460—450 b.c. (M. H.
drew near and smote him on the head with an axe. Whereupon a divine power conceived as resident in his head flew forth and left him—Athena was born.

Yet a moment's reflection will convince us that, although the scene shown in the pediment corresponds well enough with the requirements of a royal succession, the correspondence is by no means absolute. Certain essentials are altogether missing. Had the situation been true to type, Zeus ought to have been killed, and the killer in virtue of marriage with the late king's daughter ought to have succeeded to her father's throne. Now it might indeed be claimed that Hephaistos mated, or attempted to mate, with Athena. But we never hear that Zeus was killed by Hephaistos, or that Hephaistos succeeded to the throne of Zeus. Why is this?

Swindler Ancient Painting Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 192 f.). Previous illustrations being inadequate (O. M. von Stackelberg Die Groeber der Hellenen Berlin 1836 p. 16 pl. 18, 2, Lenormant—de Witte El. mon. ctri. i. 28 pl. 14, 75 ff. pl. 30). I publish it here from the official photographs. Lenormant—de Witte op. cit. i. 75 f. comment quaintly: 'Peut-être Zeus figure-t-il ici comme un dieu-montagne, dont le sommet est couvert de neige; c'est ce que semblent indiquer sa chevelure et sa barbe blanches. Ainsi, Jupiter est identifié avec le mont Olympe, où il fait sa demeure, ou avec telle autre montagne sur laquelle il est l'objet d'un culte particulier. Mais comme il s'agit ici d'une peinture attique, le nom de Jupiter Hymentius nous semble devoir être préféré. D'un autre côté, la chevelure blanche (pale, blanc par l'âge), qui, sur ce vase, distingue Jupiter, nous fait souvenir encore du surnom Πολυαιρύ, le protecteur de la ville, que Jupiter portait à Athènes, et cette particularité si rare sur les monuments antiques, de voir Jupiter avec des cheveux blancs, puisque nous n'en connaissons pas d'autre exemple, tend également à faire accepter ici le dieu comme une divinité locale.' But, if justification were needed, the contrast with Hebe would suffice.

Mr Bicknell further notes Raphael's design of a white-haired Jupiter for the frescoes of the Villa Farnesina at Rome (A. P. Oppé Raphael London 1909 p. 172 f. pls. 121 and 123 ff.), which however was very possibly inspired by Dan. 7. 9 or Rev. 1. 14.

The worried, white-haired Zeus of the phlyakes is, of course, ἅλλος λόγος. See the South-Italian bell-bratir in the Vatican (M. Bieber Die Denkmaler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum Berlin—Leipzig 1926 p. 140 no. 101 pl. 76 (= my fig. 534), Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser Gr. Vasenmalerei iii. 182, 189 fig. 95. Earlier literature in W. Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertumer in Rom Leipzig 1912 i. 316 f. no. 510), which shows with considerable humour a love-adventure of the elderly but amatory god. Wearing a trumpery crownlet and carrying a ladder, he advances from the left, while Hermes on the right holds up an absurd little lamp. The young woman, prinked and preened, awaits her lover at the window, and betrays her eagerness by the finger-tips already resting on its sill.

1 The owl clinging to the sceptre of Zeus on a black-figured amphora from Caere (supra p. 667 n. 2 pl. lii) or perched on his wrist on a black-figured amphora at München (Jahn Vasensamml. München p. 307 no. 645, Lenormant—de Witte El. mon. ctri. i. 202 ff. pl. 60) is—as Miss E. M. Douglas (Mrs Van Buren) suggested (Journ. Hell. Stud. 1912 xxii. 176 f.)—perhaps significant. But we can hardly say the same of the soul-birds on another from Orvieto (supra p. 681 f. fig. 492), nor of the bird between Hephaistos and Hera on a fourth from Vulci (supra p. 700 n. 3 (1) fig. 517), nor yet of the eagle behind Thalna on the mirror from Arezzo (supra ii. 709 ff. pl. xxix).

2 Supra p. 318 ff.
The fact is, the myth represented in the pediment was a myth of accommodation. At this vital focus of Athenian worship allowance had to be made for the racial and religious changes through

Fig. 534.

1 The only critic who has perceived this important point with adequate vision is Professor H. J. Rose *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* London 1928 p. 50 f.: 'The close connexion between Zeus and Athena is probably due to historical causes. The chief god of the invaders must come to some sort of terms with the powerful and well-established
which the worshippers had passed. If the results of our somewhat scattered enquiry may be gathered up in the form of a diagram,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3</th>
<th>ZEUS</th>
<th>storm-god</th>
<th>thunderbolt and eagle</th>
<th>Attic from Eleusis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>POSEIDON</td>
<td>(by-form of Zeus) god of streams, lakes, sea</td>
<td>(lightning-fork) trident fishing-spear</td>
<td>Ionian from Boiotia (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>HEPHAISTOS</td>
<td>lightning-god fire-god</td>
<td>double axe hammer</td>
<td>Pelasgian or Tyrsenian from Asia Minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ATHENA</td>
<td>rock-goddess</td>
<td>olive, snake, owl</td>
<td>Pelasgian or Tyrsenian from Asia Minor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I should maintain that the cults of the Akropolis can be arranged chronologically in a threefold stratification. Athena and Hephaistos came first, being a pre-Hellenic pair, the rock-goddess and the fire-god of an Anatolian people best called Pelasgian or Tyrsenian. The next to arrive, perhaps *vid* Boiotia, was the Ionian Poseidon, originally a lightning-god to judge from his trident, though later taken to be a sea-god with a fishing-spear: at first in conflict with Minoan-Mycenaean goddess; but he cannot be her husband, since she, like the rest of her kind, has either no consort or an insignificant one; therefore he must be her father. But she can have no mother, for that would subordinate her to some other goddess, such as Hera or Persephone, and she is far too important for that. Hence her miraculous birth, which represents, if we could but recover the details, an interesting chapter in early diplomacy and ecclesiastical polity.

1 I first put forward this scheme in a course of Lectures on *The Gods of Athens, their Significance and Stratification*, which was given at Cambridge on the J. H. Gray Foundation, Feb. 14, 21, and 28, 1936.

A curious, but of course quite fortuitous, result of my arrangement is that we thus obtain deities of earth (Athena), air (Zeus), fire (Hephaistos), and water (Poseidon) comparable with the personified elements of Empedokles (supra i. 31).

2 *Supra* pp. 189 ff., 224 ff., 236.

3 *On Boiotia as an early centre of Poseidon-worship see supra* ii. 583 n. 3. If Boeotian Δᾶς = 'Zeus' (supra ii. 342 n. 0, 344 n. 0), then πωρη-Δᾶς = 'Lord Zeus' (supra i. 583), cp. πωρις Ηπ = 'Lady Hera' (supra i. 444 n. 5, 456 n. 8).

4 Poseidon, though coming from Boiotia, may still have been Ionian by descent. For Boiotia, as Professor Myres has recently proved, was overrun by Ionians in pre-Dorian days (J. L. Myres *Who were the Greeks?* Univ. of California Press 1930 pp. 158, 461 n. 133).

5 *Supra* ii. 786, 790 f., 850.
Significance of the birth of Athena

Athena, he was ultimately identified with her protégé Erechtheus, the ‘Cleaver,’ and accommodated in the Erechtheion. Last came the Attic storm-god Zeus, introduced by the clan Kerykes from Eleusis, and worshipped in his festival the Dipolieia with rites that go far towards explaining the pedimental design. The divine ox was struck with the double axe in order that he might come to life again with vigour unimpaired and work for his people as of old. Zeus is hit over the head for much the same purpose. The blow releases Athena, a further manifestation of his might. Three strata: but from the lowest to the highest it is Athena who really dominates the scene. Zeus himself lives on in her younger, fresher life.

If this sequence be conceded, several disturbing features in the pediment find a ready explanation. Room must be made in the central group for the predecessors of Zeus—Athena, Hephaistos, and Poseidon. At the same time Athena and Hephaistos cannot be regarded as the next occupants of the divine throne. And that for two reasons. On the one hand, as the original divinities of the Akropolis they were pre-Zeus and could not well be represented as post-Zeus. On the other hand, religious thought was beginning to outgrow its primitive phases and had by now reached a stage in which Zeus, as power supreme, could not conceivably be superseded by any other deity. Nor again could Zeus be affiliated to Athena, who, though originally a mother-goddess, had long since come to be viewed as a Virgin. It remained for Athena, by a daring device, to be affiliated to him. We must not, however, assume that the myth of Dionysos sprung from the thigh of Zeus here furnished the model; for in all probability the myth of Athena was the older. In any case the choice of the head rather than the thigh for this simulated birth involves the archaic belief that an indwelling spirit may be forcibly delivered by a timely crack on the crown.

1 Supra ii. 793 f.
2 Supra p. 598. Zeus ‘Ολόμυτρος, however, came from Mt Olympos to the north bank of the Ilissos (supra p. 236). The Zeus-cults of Athens call for careful distinction.
3 Supra p. 574 ff.
4 Supra pp. 656 f., 661 f., 720, 733.
5 Supra p. 234 ff.
6 Supra p. 234 with n. 3.
7 Supra p. 79 ff.
8 Welcker Gr. Gitterl. i. 301 rightly stresses the epic epithet δηρομοστήρη (II. 5. 747, 8. 391, Od. i. 101, 3. 135, 24. 540—always at the end of a line) as implying ‘Dass sie keine Mutter habe, sondern nur den Vater, aber den Gewaltigen,’ and notes that Ares is even more explicit (II. 5. 872 ff. Ζεύς πάτερ...σοι πάντες μαχίμουσα: σῶ γὰρ τέκες ἄφροσα κοίρην, ὡς έμφοι τόνδον ἔργα μάρτυρον). On the head as the seat of the soul see supra ii. 390 n. o.
9 Sir A. J. Evans in The Palace of Minos London 1935 iv. 2. 476 n. 5 remarks: ‘The Tibetans think that the soul issues from the top of the head, and that the cutting off of the hair there facilitated its escape on death. So, too, the Kânikârs, a mountain tribe of
Significance of the birth of Athena

The ancients, like ourselves, found the idea entertaining—witness a delightful parody of the Athena-myth on a phlyax-vase at Bari (fig. 535). Leda’s egg has been set carefully in a basket to hatch. But Zeus, who knows from experience what Hephaistos’ double axe...
Significance of the birth of Athena

can effect, sends him to crack the shell. Out pops Helen to the amazement of Tyndareos, while Leda herself, mindful of the celestial swan, peeps shyly through the doorway.

(κ) The superannuation of Zeus.

If the foregoing analysis be sound, one element in the complex myth of Athena's birth was the primitive persuasion that Zeus, king of the gods, must like all other kings in due course be superceded by a stronger than he. But—it will be said—what right have we to speak of Zeus being superannuated? Was he not looked upon as a power permanently supreme? To this the true answer is both Yes and No. Philosophical and quasi-philosophical writers certainly regarded Zeus as eternal, or at least everlasting, ruler of the universe. But the populace, heirs of the mythopoeic age, did not. Even Aischylos, who in his moments of deepest insight approximates to the philosophers' view, speaks of succession to the divine throne as the prize of a grand Olympian wrestling-match, and tells how Ouranos was overthrown by Kronos, and Kronos in turn by Zeus:

He who of yore was great
And boldly challenged all
Hath lost his former state
Nor cometh at the call.
And he who thereupon
Rose in his stead is gone—
He too hath met his fall.
But if a man with glad triumphant cries
Hail Zeus as victor, verily he is wise.

1 Soph. O. T. 903 ff. ἄλλον, ὃς κρατίσσω, εἴτε δρόθ' ἄκομεν, ἵππος λάβω | οὗ τάν τε σῶν ἄβαντων αἰῶν ἄρχαν is typical.
2 Lact. div. inst. 1. 11 has a trenchant passage on the subject of Zeus being superceded: 'atquìn divinum imperium aut semper inmutabile est aut si est mutable, quod fieri non potest, semper utique mutable est. potest ergo Iuppiter regnum amittere, sicut pater eius amisit? ita plane.'
3 I am not here concerned with the progressive senescence of art-types—a matter interestingly handled by E. Pottier 'La vieillesse des dieux grecs' in the *Annaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* 1934 ii (Mlanges Bides) 729—743. In a few well-put paragraphs (pp. 730—733) he traces the gradual change that comes over Zeus as conceived by sculptors etc. from early Hellenic to late Hellenistic times. We see successively a warrior brandishing his bolt or a king sitting on his throne, a man of fine physique attacking his foes or pursuing his amours, the more mature and pacific ruler imagined by Pheidias, the ideal of philosophers and poets, and the anxious thinker portrayed by the Otricoli bust. In short, brute force, youthful vigour, active benevolence, moral grandeur, providence, and at the last pensiveness deepening into melancholy, 'C'est un Zeus vieilli, en qui l'on aurait peine à reconnaître l'époux triomphant qu'Homère nous dépeint dans les bras de Héra, sur un lit de lotus et d'hyacinthées.'
4 Aisch. Ag. 167 ff.
Moreover, Aischylus is aware of the popular belief that Zeus holds his throne upon the same precarious tenure as his predecessors. That belief is involved in the plot of *Prometheus Bound*. Prometheus there says to Io:

> But now no limit is appointed me
> Of torment, till Zeus fall from his high throne.
> 
> Io Zeus fall! Comes there a time when that may be?
> 
> Prometheus. 'Twould gladden thee, I trow, to see that day.
> 
> Io Most surely, since from him are all my woes.
> 
> Prometheus. Then be assured the very truth is so.
> 
> Io What hand shall wrest from him the staff of power?
> 
> Prometheus. His own vain counsel, lorn of wisdom's light.
> 
> Io In what wise? tell me, so it bring no harm.
> 
> Prometheus. Winning a bride, whose wedding he shall rue.
> 
> Io Of Heaven or Earth? If not forbidden, tell.
> 
> Prometheus. Inquire no more. 'Tis not to be revealed.
> 
> Io Shall his new consort oust him from his throne?
> 
> Prometheus. Their son shall be more puissant than his sire.
> 
> Io And may he not avoid that overthrow?
> 
> Prometheus. Only when I, delivered from my bonds—

But the sentence is broken off, and Prometheus does not reveal how Zeus may escape the impending doom. Later in the same play he reverts to the subject in the presence of the Ocean nymphs:

> Prometheus. Yet Zeus himself, though stubborn be his will,
> Shall be brought low at last, through the marriage-bond
> He purposeth. For it shall hurl him down
> From power supreme to nothing. Then shall come
> To pass the curse his father Kronos cried
> In that same hour when driven from his throne
> Of primal sovereignty. To avert this doom
> No god but I can point him the sure way.
> I know each turn thereof. Then let him reign
> Securely, trusting to his thunder's noise
> And wielding there aloft his lightning brand!
> Naught shall they warrant him from that sure fall,
> Intolerable, unhonoured, unrerieved.
> So dire a wrestler he himself provides
> Against himself, a portent huge in might,
> The weapons of whose forging shall o'er-blaze
> His lightning and out-blare his thunder-blast.
> And the new sea-god's spear, the trident dread,
> Poseidon's arm that plagues the stricken lands
> With earthquake, shall be shattered by his power.
> Zeus, foundering on that rock, shall fathom then
> What space divides the ruler from the slave.

**The superannuation of Zeus**

**Cho.** Thou word'st thy wishes against Heaven's high king.

**Prom.** My wishes, and the truth of what shall be.

**Cho.** Must we then look for one to master Zeus?

**Prom.** Yea, with a yoke yet heavier than mine.

**Cho.** How can'st thou talk so rashly, and not fear?

**Prom.** Why should I fear, whose fate is not to die?

**Cho.** He might decree some doom more painful still.

**Prom.** Let him! Naught can surprise me, who foreknow.

**Cho.** Wisdom bids bow before Necessity.

**Prom.** Ay, bend and worship, fawn upon the strong!

Less than the least care I for Zeus's will.

Let him employ his strength even as he may,

For this brief hour. His reign will soon be o'er.¹

But despite this attitude of defiance and exultation the Titanic sufferer in the following play, *Prometheus Unbound*, consents at length to give up his secret—the oracle concerning Thetis—and thereby obtains release from his bondage². Thus in the end Zeus is saved by Prometheus, and Thetis the fateful bride is bestowed upon Peleus³.

The myth is set out more lucidly by Aischylos' contemporary Pindar:

> These things the immortals planned,
> When Zeus for Thetis' hand
> With great Poseidon strove,
> And either suitor vied
> To have her as his own, his comely bride,
> So learnt the power of love.
> Howbeit their deathless wisdom did not take
> The prize they purposed; for, lo, Themis spake
> And gave unerring counsel for their sake,
> How that by Fate's decree
> The mistress of the sea
> Should bear her lord a prince more potent yet—
> One who should launch a shaft
> By his consummate craft
> Swifter than lightning-flash,
> Fiercer than trident's dash—
> If she with Zeus or with Zeus' brethen met.

¹ Aisch. *P. v. 907 ff.* trans. L. Campbell (with a few alterations).

² Philodem. *epi eidosheias* p. 39 Gompers. *Διος θέα λόγως θεματικής* (οϰ)ολοθύμον (τοξοτέρον) οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου ἐν δόξῃ (τοῦ Προμηθέας) τό τοῦ Προμηθέας εὖ μιμητικόν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ὑποτελεί τοῖς εὐκόνοις της λόγου καταστολήν τοῖς πρώτοις ὑποτελεί τοῖς εὐκόνοις της λόγου καταστολήν τοῖς πρώτοις ὑποτελεί τοῖς εὐκόνοις της λόγου καταστολήν τοῖς πρώτοις ὑποτελεί τοῖς εὐκόνοις της λόγου καταστολήν τοῖς πρώτοις ὑποτελεί τοῖς εὐκόνοις της λόγου καταστολήν τοῖς πρώτοις ὑποτελεί τοῖς εὐκόνοις της λόγου καταστολήν τοῖς πρώτοις ὑποτελεί τοῖς εὐκόνοις της λόγου καταστολήν τοῖς πρώτοις ὑποτελεί τοῖς εὐκόνοις της λόγου καταστολήν τοῖς πρώτοις ὑποτελεί τοῖς εὐκόνοις της λόγου καταστολήν τοῖς πρώτοις ὑποτελεί τοῖς εὐκόνοις της λόγου καταστολήν τοῖς πρώτοις ὑποτελεί τοῖς εὐκόνοις της λόγου καταστολήν τοῖς πρώτοις ὑποτελεί τοῖς εὐκόνοις της λόγου καταστολήν τοῖς πρώτοις ὑποτελεί τοῖς εὐκό

³ Schol. vet. Find. *Isthm.* 8. 57 (ii. 495 f. Abel, iii. 273. 21 ff. Drachmann) ὁ Ζεύς βασιλέως Θῆτοι προειδώλησε εἰκολογή ὑπὸ τοῦ Προμηθήου· εἰτα Πηλεί ἔθαξεν ἀρήν
The superannuation of Zeus

‘Nay, strive not,’ Themis said,
‘But let some mortal bed
Receive her that she may
Behold a son to perish in the fray,
His hands like Ares’ own,
His feet like lightning flown.
I counsel you to give
This guerdon that a god might gain
To Peleus, who as Aiakos’ son doth reign,
The holiest man of all the men that live
On Iaolkos’ plain.\(^1\)

Pindar, it will be observed, speaks of two competitors for the hand of Thetis, Zeus and Poseidon\(^2\). Tzetzes adds a third, Apollon\(^3\). It is, however, probable that the original story recognised but one, Zeus himself\(^4\), and that his mythical association with Thetis arose

\(^1\) Find. Isthm. 8. 60 ff.
\(^2\) See does Apollod. 3. 13. 5, probably following Pindar.

For three as a typical plurality see supra ii. 893 n. o.

\(^4\) Schol. vet. Find. Isthm. 8. 57 b (ii. 496 f. Abel, iii. 273, 25 ff. Drachmann) διαφωνεῖται δὲ τοὺς λαοὺς καὶ ἰδιαίτερα δ Ἡνδραδο καὶ Ποσειδῶν φῶν ἀφορισθηκαί περὶ τοῦ γάμου ή Ἰανθήσετο, τίνι κατηκολοθήθησε δ Ἡνδραδος. The vulgate, then, recognised Zeus alone: cp. Ov. met. 11. 211 ff., Hyg. fab. 54, myth. Var. 2. 65, 2. 205, 2. 206, 3. 11. 20 f. In the Kypria it is Momos who suggests to Zeus τὴν Θήσιδος θυγατέρα (frag. 1 Kinkel ap. schol. Il. 1. 5 f.).
The superannuation of Zeus

at some Thessalian\(^1\) cult-centre where Zeus and Thetis chanced to be worshipped side by side\(^2\).

Different in origin, but similar in development, was the myth of Metis, which may be regarded as a Boeotian doublet of the Thessalian story. The Hesiodic, like the Homeric, Zeus is metteta?, metideis\(^3\), the 'Magician'.\(^4\) But, whereas metis in Homer was merely abstract 'prudence' or concrete 'counsel',\(^5\) Metis in Hesiod is a full-blown personality. She ranks as one of the many daughters borne by Tethys to Okeanos\(^7\), for supernatural wisdom belongs to the deities of the deep.\(^8\) If now we ask how Zeus came to be so full of Metis, Hesiod\(^9\) is ready with a naive explanation. Metis, the

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4. Supra i. 14 n. 1, ii. 1147.
5. H. Ebeling Lexicon Homericum Lipsiae 1885 i. 1101. The formula Δίο μήτις ἄνθρωπος is used of Odysseus (Il. 2. 109, 407, 636, 10. 137) and Hektor (Il. 7. 47, 11. 200) in the Iliad, but does not occur in the Odyssey.
8. Much the same idea underlies the negro plantation-song Old Man Ribber, the refrain of which runs: 'Old Man Ribber, | He must know somethin', | But don't say nothin', | He just keeps rollin' along.'
The superannuation of Zeus

first wife of Zeus, surpassed in wisdom all mortals and immortals, and was fated to bear children exceeding wise—Athena equal to her father in might and counsel, and after Athena a son of such prowess that he should become king of gods and men. Hence Gaia and Ouranos advised Zeus to deceive Metis with crafty words and swallow her, lest another god should deprive him of his kingly honours. Zeus accordingly did so, and himself bore Athena from his head. Others add some details that belong to the same context. It appears that Metis was wont to change her form with a view to escaping the embraces of Zeus: consequently he waited until she was small enough and then swallowed her—a barbaric expedient clearly copied from the ugly habits of Kronos.

Theological speculation. F. Jacoby in his edition of the Theogony (Berlin 1930, pp. 37, 186, 188 f.) takes the same view. And F. Schwenn Die Theogonie des Hesiodos Heidelberg 1934 p. 50 is inclined to acquiesce, though he objects that Zeus' marriage with Metis would then be left without offspring. But to assume that the swallowing of Metis by Zeus must necessarily be a late invention is quite unjustifiable. The episode in itself is thoroughly consonant with primitive thought (see e.g. S. Thompson Motif-index of Folk-literature (FF Communications No. 107) Helsinki 1933 ii. 276 D 1793 'magie results from eating or drinking'), and Zeus may well have been early credited with rivaling the digestive feats of Kronos. If it be borne in mind that the μῆτρα of the μυτερα was magical wisdom or cunning, theological speculation is seen to be out of place.

1 According to Hes. theog. 886 ff., Zeus wedded (1) Metis, whom he swallowed before producing Athena; (2) Themis, who bore the three Horai, Eunomia, Dike, Eirene, and the three Moirai, Klotho, Lachesis, Atropos; (3) Eurynome daughter of Oceanos, who bore the three Charites, Aglaia, Euphrosyne, Thalia; (4) Demeter, who bore Persephone; (5) Mnemosyne, who bore the nine Muses; (6) Leto, who bore Apollo and Artemis; (7) Hera, who bore Hebe, Ares, and Eileithyia.

I have discussed the marriage of Zeus and Hera in two articles published in the Class. Rev. 1906 xx. 365—378 and 416—419 under the title 'Who was the Wife of Zeus?'

2 Hes. theog. 924 ff.


4 Schol. Hes. theog. 886 λέγεται ὅτι η Μήτρα τοιαύτην ἔχει δόμαν ωστε μεταβαλλόμεθα εἰς ὅρασιν ἄν ἐξ οὐδείς. πληθήσας αὖ αὐτῆς ἢ Ζεὺς καὶ πικρᾶν (F. A. Paley would read πικρᾶν. I suspect that the scholiast meant πικρῶς, the antidote 'higry-pigry' (λαύτα πίκρα), which would suit κατέτειν A. B. C.) πικρᾶς κατέτειν.

Farnell Cults of Gk. States i. 283 says: 'According to a later legend she complacently took the shape of a fly.' But I quote no authority for the statement, and I am not aware of any such legend—unless indeed Farnell was confusing Metis with Periklymenos, son of Nelens and Chloris (schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 156 ἀνήρ σεν αὐτῶν ἡρμήθη εἰς μῶν μεταβληθήναι εἰ τῷ πρῶτοι Πολύνος πολύμορφος κατὰ συμβολὰς άθρωπός τῷ ποσάλῳ αὐτῶν πλήρας κ.τ.λ.).

5 F. Schwenn Die Theogonie des Hesiodos Heidelberg 1934 p. 50 cp. theog. 888 with 468, 891 with 463, 892 f. with 461 f.

6 Supra i. 154 (note that the myth is localised in Boiotia), 181 n. o, 299, 520 n. 3, ii. 191 n. 10, 549, 928 n. o, 933 n. o. See now the careful treatment of the theme by M. Pohlenz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 1991 ff.
The general resemblance between the myths of Metis and Thetis is unmistakable. Metis, like Thetis, was a sea-power. Metis, like Thetis, was a shape-shifter. Metis, like Thetis, was loved by Zeus. Metis, like Thetis, was destined to bear a son that should oust his father—a danger averted in either case by an oracular utterance and consequent guile. But the Metis-myth is more than a mere parallel to the Thetis-myth. For it definitely associates—at least in its present Hesiodic form—the birth of Athena with the superannuation of Zeus, and so justifies us in claiming that the superannuation-motif may be detected in the art-types of the birth.

The subsequent history of the Metis-myth is curious. In the Theogony of the Orphic Rhapsodies Metis is one of the names borne by the bisexual Phanes who, emerging from the cosmic egg, begat and consorted with Nyx, thus becoming the parent of Gaia and Ouranos, Rhea and Kronos, Hera and Zeus. This first creation was followed by a second creation. Zeus at the advice of Nyx leapt upon Phanes and swallowed him whole. Zeus was thus enabled to make afresh within himself the world and all its contents, gods and goddesses included: Athena, for example, in full armour sprang from his head. Zeus therefore as a pantheistic god comprises—

Fire and water and earth and aither, day too and night;
Metis the first forefather and Eros of much delight.

Metis is here boldly made masculine, perhaps as tantamount to metétera, the epic appellative of Zeus. But the license offended the neo-Platonist Syrianos, who quotes the same line with one small correction—

Metis the first foremother and Eros of much delight.

Apion in the Clementine Homilies sets forth a somewhat

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1 Supra p. 744 n. 2. It remains possible, and even probable, that a pre-Hesiodic form of the myth represented Zeus as swallowing Metis simply in order to acquire her magic, but that later, owing to some social or political exigency (supra p. 737) room had to be found for Athena, goddess of the old Pelasgian stratum. The Theogony, as it stands, is certainly a patchwork.
2 Supra p. 739.
3 Supra ii. 1024 ff. (conspectus on p. 1034).
4 Supra ii. 1028 πῦρ καὶ ὄξιν καὶ γαῖα καὶ αἰθήρ, νῦς τε καὶ ἡμαρ, καὶ Μήτης πρῶτος γενέσθαι καὶ έρως πολυτερήσης.
5 Supra ii. 1025.
7 Orph. frag. 56 Kern ap. Clem. Rom. hom. 6. 5—9 (ii. 200 c—204 B Migne).
similar Theogony, which may be described as a quasi-Orphic account with a strong etymological colouring. When the bisexual Phanes emerged from the cosmic egg, the rest of its material contents sorted themselves out. The heavier dregs subsided in time (chronos) and so were said to have been swallowed by Kronos: their abundance (plethos) caused them to be called Plouton. The fluid floating on the surface of this sediment got the name Poseidon. The highest and purest portion, consisting of translucent fire, was termed Zeus by reason of its heat (zeousa). This was not swallowed by Kronos, but in virtue of its own warmth drew upwards the finest and most divine element left in the fluid layer, a spirit named Metis. Absorbed by the aither and passing through its upper part or head, this spirit set up a perpetual agitation (palmos), in short produced Understanding or Pallas.

In Platon's Symposium, Diotima of Mantinea has a tale to tell about the parentage of Eros. When Aphrodite was born, Poros son of Metis ('Way' son of 'Wisdom') was feasting with the other gods. Being drunk with nectar—it was before the days of wine—he betook himself to the garden of Zeus and there fell asleep. Meantime Penia ('Poverty') got wind of the feast and came begging at the door. Anxious to cure her distress (aporia), she lay with Poros and became by him the mother of Eros, who is attached to Aphrodite because he was begotten on her birthday. He is poor (pennes) and homeless like his mother, but eager, ingenious, and fertile in resource (porimos) like his father. As a daemon, he is neither mortal nor immortal, but in a single day will live and die.

1 *Ib. 7–8* (ii. 201 b—204 a Migne) τὸ δὲ λουτρὸν τρόπον τὸ καθαρώσατον καὶ κυριακώτατον ἀρχής ἀναφέρεται γὰρ ἐδὲ τὸ πώς πρὸς τὸ κάτω ὂποιον χρῶμα τοῦ Κρόνου οὐ κατεύθυνα, ἀλλ' ὃς ἔφη, ἣ πυρόθων οὐδεὶς τε καὶ θαύματος οὐδαὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνέτη τὸν ἄρχον, δε καὶ κρυμμένατον ἐστὶ διὰ τὴν καθαρότητα. τῇ οὖν ἰδίᾳ θερμότητα τοῦ Ζεύς—τοιοῦτον ἡ ξένους οὐδαί—τὸ καταλειφθῆναι ἐν τῷ ὕποκειμένῳ ἴσηρό το ἱεράτησαν καὶ θεῖοι ἀνέμητι πνεῦμα, ἐπερ Μήτη αἰκάλεσαν. κατὰ κυριακὴ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔκλεισεν τοῦ αἰθέρος καὶ συμπόθηκεν ὡς αὐτοῦ ὑποκεφαλικὸν ἱερὸμην, τὸν αἰείκνητον παλάμος ἐμπυκόμη, γεννῆ τῷ σύνεσιν, ἢν καὶ Παλάμα ἐκπολυμαζόμενα διὰ τὸ πεσόμεθα, τεχνικωτάτην οὐκαὶ φρώνας, ἢ χρώμων τὸν πάντα ἐπετειχήσατο κύκλων ὁ αἰθέρος ἔκχυσε.

2 Plat. *sympr.* 203 b—e.

3 *Supra* ii. 1167. W. Kranz 'Diotima von Mantinea' in *Hermes* 1926 lxi. 437—447 argues that Diotima was historical and was in Athens to stay the plague by sacrifice (Plat. *sympr.* 201 b) about the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (Class. Quart. 1927 xxii. 209).


5 Orphic again? Cp. *supra* ii. 1011 (but also 1119).

6 For Eros as belonging to this category of betwixt-and-between see E. Hoffmann 'Methexis und Metaxy bei Platon' in *Jahresberichte des philologischen Vereins zu Berlin* 1919 xlv. 53 f. (at end of Sokrates 1919 vii).
The superannuation of Zeus

and rise again thanks to his father's nature. This transparent little allegory may or may not have been invented by Platon\(^1\). In any case it offered possibilities to the allegorists of a later age\(^2\), and was obviously susceptible of a Christian re-interpretation. A. von Sallet\(^3\) first drew attention to the fact that a medallion, finely struck by Giovanni Cavino 'the Paduan' (1500—1570 A.D.) in dark copper with a border of brass (fig. 536), has for obverse design a head of Christ inscribed PORVS CONSILII FILIVS, and acutely recognised in this legend the Latin rendering of the Platonic 'Poros son of Metis'.

Fig. 536.

So in the long run the oracle concerning Metis came true, and Zeus, despite his most desperate shifts, found himself superseded by a Son of divine 'Wisdom,' One who was indeed the 'Way'—and the Truth, and the Life.

(\(\lambda\)) The attributes of Athena.

The affiliation of the pre-Hellenic Athena to the Hellenic Zeus produced a goddess whose powers, as evidenced by her attributes,
The attributes of Athena

belonged partly to the old order, partly to the new, but contrived to reconcile both in the brilliance of a fresh and vivid personality.

The said attributes can best be understood as the direct outcome of certain conclusions already reached. The Akropolis, I have said, was originally called Athéné, a place-name whose locative *Athenai occasioned the plural Athénai habitual in later Greek. Homer—be it observed—in the *Odyssey, when speaking of Athens, can still use the singular form:

‘She came to Marathon and wide-wayed Athene.’

I further insisted that the goddess was named Athéné, like the rock, simply because at the outset she was the rock, a mountain-mother of the Anatolian kind.

No doubt objections will be brought against both these points of view. I shall be told that to use the same word Athéné at one moment of the goddess, at the next of her rocky abode, would have been intolerably confusing. Homer thought otherwise. The immediate context of the line quoted above tells how ‘Athen...left lovely Scherie, and came to Marathon and wide-wayed Athene.’ So Athene came to Athene! The poet is serenely unconscious of anything amiss.

Others may demur to Athena being treated as a mountain-mother. She was so notoriously a Virgin that to call her a Mother at all borders on the blasphemous. But we are apt to forget that in early illogical days the status lost might by appropriate means be regained. Pausanias, for instance, informs us that Hera recovered her virginity every year by bathing in the spring Kanathos near Nauplia. And it is not unreasonable to suppose that the same

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1 Supra p. 224.
4 Supra p. 224.
5 Dr B. F. C. Atkinson has suggested to me that a masculine parallel might be found in Ἀθών, a mountain which bore a name of Anatolian type (cp. Κεός, Κός, Θών), was addressed by Xerxes as Ἀθῶν θαύματα (Plout. *de cohib. ira* 5), was later personified as a giant (H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 704, K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2065 and 2069), supported a population of Macrobius (Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 37: cp. supra ii. 500 n. 4), and down to the present day is regarded as a Ἄγαν Ὄρος of the utmost sanctity (supra ii. 906 n. 1).
6 *Od.* 7. 78 ἁλκακώς Ἀθήνη, ἐστὶ εὐρύγυιαν Ἀθήνην—both at the end of the line and all the more likely to catch the eye.
7 Supra p. 224 n. 3.
thing happened to Athena, both in Argos and at Athens. The Argive women once a year took the image of Athena and washed it in the river Inachos. At Athens it was the old wooden statue in the Erechtheion that had the annual bath. It was escorted down to Phaleron by the éphébei, dipped in the sea by two loutrides or 'bathing-women,' and brought back in the evening with a torch-light procession—the whole business being termed the Plynteria or 'Washing Day.' Now we may be very sure that it was some strong religious reason—godliness rather than cleanliness—which prompted the Greeks to bathe their goddess in river or sea. And, if we may argue from what is told us of Hera, the object was to transform the Mother into a Maiden once more. Of course to all and sundry in up-to-date Athens Athena was Parthénos. But the women of Elis, country folk who clung to archaic beliefs, had a sanctuary of Athena Métére, a mother-goddess confessed.

I take it, then, that Athena was the pre-Greek mountain-mother of the Akropolis rock. As such she would stand in specially close relation to the rock-products, whether vegetable or animal. Any life issuing from crevices or holes in the rock would be her life. The flora and fauna of the place would be venerated as divine manifestations of herself. And of these manifestations there are three that claim our special attention.

(I) The olive of Athena.

Only one tree, so far as we know, grew on the Akropolis—the famous olive in the Pandroseion (fig. 537). The antiquary Philochoros mentions it in connexion with a curious happening of 306 B.C. He says:

'This year had ended and another begun, when the following portent took place on the Akropolis. A bitch got into the temple of the Polides and, diving into the Pandroseion, mounted the altar of Zeus Herkeios, which stands under the olive tree, and there lay down, though it is an old-established custom at Athens that dogs are not allowed on the Akropolis.'


3 Supra p. 224 f. 4 Supra p. 743.

6 Philochor. frag. 146 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 408 f. Müller) ap. Dion. Hal. de Dinarch. iud. 3.
7 Cp. Plout. quaestt. Rom. 90 with H. J. Rose ad loc. See further O. Keller Die
One fancies the scene—the dog dodging pursuit, the horrified bystanders, the fattish sacristan in full cry, but balked of his prey as the creature leapt into safety beneath the shade of Athena’s olive!

This was the tree said to have been planted by Athena as evidence that the Akropolis belonged to her and not to Poseidon. Apollodoros tells the tale:

"Poseidon...with a blow of his trident on the middle of the Akropolis produced a sea, which they now call Erechtheis. After him Athena, having summoned Kekrops as witness of her right, planted an olive-tree, which is still shown in the Pandroseion. But when the two strove for possession of the place, Zeus parted..."
The olive of Athena

them asunder and appointed as arbiters...the twelve gods. By their verdict the land was adjudged to Athena, because Kekrops bore witness that she had been the first to plant the olive. Athena, therefore, called the city Athens after herself, while Poseidon\(^1\) in hot anger flooded the Thriasian plain and laid Attike under the sea.\(^2\)

The story is related by Greek and Roman writers with some variety of detail\(^3\). But the main points are sufficiently clear. And it is the unanimous, or all but unanimous, opinion of modern scholars that this legend covers a historic fact—the attempted supersession of Athena-cult by Poseidon-cult\(^4\). Or, as I should venture to put it, the intrusion of the Ionian god upon the Pelasgian goddess\(^5\).

And here we must take into account the western pediment of the Parthenon, about which Pausanias\(^6\) says simply: 'The back gable contains the strife of Poseidon with Athena for possession of the land.' This pediment at once met the eye of all visitors to the Akropolis, and in ancient times lent dignity to a somewhat barren

\(^1\) Poseidon, despite his stormy strength, really seemed born to lose lawsuits! Similar legends told how he strove with Hera for Argos, lost his case, and in anger first drained the country of water and then swamped it with a flood (Paus. 2. 15. 5. 2. 22. 4); how he contended with Zeus for Aigina and again lost (Orph. frag. 335 Kern ap. schol. Pind. Isthm. 8. 92 ἀλλὰ ἐφελονείκεραν Ποσείδων τε καὶ Ζεὺς περὶ Λήσιος, ὅτε καὶ μεταβαλὼν δοκεὶ τῷ νέον Ποσείδων, καθά ἄλλοι τὰ φασί καὶ Ποσείδων (an addendum to Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 487 Muller) προσαγίσαντος Ὀρφέα. See further J. P. Harland Prehistoric Aigina Paris 1925 pp. 52. 81 ff.); how he disputed the possession of Trozen with Athena, but was forced to go shares, and vented his spleen by flooding the land with salt water (Paus. 2. 30. 6. 2. 32. 8). But, so far as Athens is concerned, notice the orderly and decorous nature of the proceedings—the two litigants, the rival claims, the production of evidence and material exhibits, the peaceful settlement by adjudicators on the ground of well-attested priority. I should infer that the legend took shape in comparatively recent times and I should be disposed to conjecture that the original dispute was a fight, not a lawsuit at all.


A conspectus of literary variants is given in A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon London 1908 p. 32.

\(^3\) To quote but one recent judgment, Prof. H. J. Rose op. cit. p. 68 sees here 'a local Attic legend, which perhaps reflects the contests between a Greek (Ionian?) people, coming, it may be, by sea, and the natives of the place with their ancient cult of a Minoan goddess.'

\(^4\) Supra p. 736 f.

\(^5\) Paus. 1. 24. 5.
The olive of Athena

rock by representing it as a bone of contention between two major deities. Nowadays the sculpture has almost completely vanished from the pediment-floor; but, so far as the principal antagonists are concerned, extant fragments suffice to prove the general trustworthiness of the fourth-century hydria from Pantikapaion, which gives us in gilded relief a close copy of the central group (fig. 538). Both claimants are in strenuous action, Athena striking downwards with her lance, Poseidon with his trident. Beside the former is her olive with a snake twined about it and a Nike hovering in the branches. Beside the latter is his sea with a couple of dolphins plunging in it. And the vase-painter has acknowledged his debt to the sculptor by adding a small temple in the top right-hand corner, as who should say 'I owe my inspiration to the Parthenon.'

1 Sir Cecil Smith in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1907 xxvii. 245 ff. with fig. 2.
2 L. Stephani loc. cit. Atlas pl. 1 (=my fig. 538), A. Conze Wien. Vorlegbl. vi pl. 9, A. Baumeister in his Denkm. i. 221, iii. 1394 f. fig. 1543; Harrison Myth. Mon. Ant. Ath. p. 441 f. fig. 44, Reinach Rép. Vases i. 37 f., H. B. Walters History of Ancient Pottery London 1905 ii. 24 pl. 50, Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. ii. 713 fig. 604, M. H. Swindler Ancient Painting Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 357 with fig. 476. The olive-tree is completely gilded. Athena (head broken away) and Poseidon are in high relief. The goddess wears a green peplos and carries a yellow shield, but her lance and adornments are golden. The god is brown-skinned and has a reddish chlamys, a gilded trident, and a white horse.

C. Robert in Hermes 1881 xvi. 60—87 argues that the scene shows Poseidon attempting to destroy with his trident the newly created olive-tree, which is protected both by the snake Erichthonios and by Dionysus Δευτηρίης (Plout. symp. 5. 3. 1), while Athena raises her lance to attack Poseidon himself. The remaining figures, from left to right, will be Pandrosos, Amphitrite, Kekrops. The vase, like the pediment, thus depicts the actual facts, of which no literary description has come down to us.

2 Two fragments of the tree are at Athens (A. H. Smith in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture i. 201 no. 339, 17 twigs of olive (height 0.17m) and 18 part of stem and sprays of olive (height 0.41m), id. A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon London 1908 p. 120 no. 339, 17 and 18, id. The Sculptures of the Parthenon London 1910 p. 25 figs. 148 pl. 14 D and figs. 149 pl. 14 D. The latter already in A. Michaelis Der Parthenon Leipzig 1871 p. 159 pl. 8, 13). See also A. H. Smith in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture i. 300 f. no. 339, 16, id. The Sculptures of the Parthenon London 1910 p. 23 figs. 25 pl. 14 A.

3 C. Robert loc. cit. p. 67 thought 'dass der kleine Tempel mit Stephani als Erechtheion, oder um es ganz correct zu sagen, als der Palast des Kekrops...zu erklären ist.'


The olive of Athena

striking downwards? Studniczka¹ suggested that to drive a spear into the ground was to claim possession of the soil—a piece of symbolism current in antiquity, like the modern hoisting of a flag. But the examples of the alleged custom quoted by him are not very convincing². More often we are told that Athena strikes the rock with her lance and so creates the olive, Poseidon strikes it with his trident and so makes the salt well. The action and its immediate result are combined in one simultaneous scene. That may be so. Only, it is not what Apollodoros said. According to him³, Athena never struck the rock at all! Poseidon with a blow of his trident on the middle of the Akropolis produced his sea, but Athena merely planted her olive-tree. What, then, are we to make of her action with that spear? It looks to me as though Pheidias or whoever designed the western pediment of the Parthenon had taken an old combat-motif, two people fighting one another, and modified it to suit a new situation—the more peaceable producing of proofs, right rather than might.

Imperial bronze coins of Athens (figs. 539, 540)⁴ are often cited in illustration of the pediment. But I doubt their relevance. For one

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¹ F. Studniczka in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2863.
² Studniczka (after W. Judeich) quotes Diod. 17. 17 (Alexander from his ship hurled a spear at the Troad and ἄπε[φάνετο τὴν Ἀδριαν δέξα[θαι δορ[λητήριον] and Serv. in Verg. Aen. 3. 46 (Romulus, captato augurio, hastam de Aventino monte in Palatinum iecit: quae fixa fronduit et arborem fecit). But how far was the hurling of the spear an essential part of the symbolism (cp. supra ii. 703 n. 3)? The Centumviral hasta (B. ten Brink De hasta præcipuo a[upd Romanos signo, imprims iusti dominii Groningae 1839 pp. 1—116) may or may not be in point (see E. Cuq in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 41 ff. and M. Wlassak in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 1935 ff.).
³ Supra p. 750 f.
Mrs J. P. Shear in Hesperia 1936 v. 296 connects the contest-type of Athena vs. Poseidon (her fig. 8, 1—11) with the Athenian festival of freedom, the Niketeria (L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 p. 235 n. 2).
thing, Poseidon and Athena are to the left and right of the tree: in the pediment their position was the reverse. Again, the coins put an owl on the tree, where the pediment had a hovering Nike. And lastly, the coins make Poseidon strike the rock, but Athena merely point to her tree: on no specimen known to Svoronos has she a lance. The inference is clear. The coins are presenting the myth as told by Apollodoros, not the myth as represented in the pediment.

Pausanias, when he visited Athens, noticed yet another memorial of the famous Strife. On the summit of the Akropolis, at a point closely adjoining the altar of Zeus Polieus, he saw 'Athena exhibiting the olive-plant and Poseidon exhibiting a wave.' It is commonly, but with no great certitude, maintained that the type of this group is attested by a series of minor antiquities including a silver buckle from Herculaneum (fig. 541), an imperial bronze coin of Athens.
The olive of Athena

(bronze medallions struck by Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius (fig. 543), together with sundry gems of which the most important is a late (c. 300 A.D.) cameo of sardonyx formerly owned by Prince Nikolas Gagarin (fig. 544). There is here no sign of...
hostility. Athena’s snake no longer hisses defiance, and Poseidon leans quietly on his trident. The two might be arranging, amicably enough, some modus vivendi. It was said that during the dispute Athena begged Zeus to give his vote for her, promising that, if he did so, a victim should for the first time be sacrificed on the altar to him as Zeus Polieus. A marble relief at Smyrna (fig. 545) and

Fig 545.

figures—on the left Apollon (Δελφίνοις (?)), who rests one hand with his lyre on a tripod and holds the other with a wreath (?) towards a swan; on the right Dionysos, who rests one hand with his thyrsos on a short pillar and holds the other with a cup (?) or grape-bunch (?) towards a panther. Clumsy, but symmetric.

1 Hesych. s.v. Διὸς φόροι καὶ πεσολ ἑνὶ γράφουσι ψῆφοι. φαί δὲ ἐν τῇ τῶν Δῆμων διαφελίσει, ὅτε ὁμοσαθήτητε Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ποσειδῶν, τήν Ἀθηνᾶν Διὸς δέχθραν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τὴν ψῆφον ἐνεκένω καὶ ἱπποχέθαι ἀντὶ τούτου τοῦ τοῦ Πολιέων ἱερείου (so L. Küster for ἱεροῦ cod.) πρῶτον θρόσον ἑπὶ βοβοῦ, Σούίδ. s.v. Διὸς ψῆφος· οὕτως καλεῖται, ἐν φ Αθηνᾶ καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἔκριθραι. Κρατίνος Ἀρχιδόχος (frag. 4 (Frag. com. Gr. ii. 18 f. Meincke)). ἔβα Θήρ τε καὶ τῆς μεγάλου θάλας πεσοῦ τε καλοῦραι, ἐν γὰρ τότοις, ἐν ὕ ἐκρίθραιν, Διὸς ψῆφου καλεῖται. τάπτεται δὲ ἡ παραμία ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ ἄλλων. Ἀναγγείλ. i. 147 with fig. 109 f.

2 C. Robert ‘Die Schiedsgericht über Athena und Poseidon’ in the Ath. Mitth. 1882 vii. 48—58 pl. 1, 2 (=my fig. 545) a relief in greyish marble (0.83 m high, 0.70 m wide)
The olive of Athena

another in the Villa Carpegna\(^1\) repeat the scene with the addition of Nike, who is drawing out the votes from the voting-urn. And a bronze medallion of Antoninus Pius (fig. 546)\(^2\) plays a variation on the same triumphant theme.

Athena had indeed won her victory, and henceforward Poseidon, abating his claim to sole possession, must be content with a very subordinate rôle, that of a mere lodger in the ancient temple of Athena Polias. To effect an entry into that august abode, he had to become as like as possible to Erechtheus, the acknowledged protégé of the goddess. The ‘strong house of Erechtheus’ seems to have had a rock-cut cistern, which would serve as his ‘sea’ under the respectable old name Erechtheis\(^3\). Above this ‘sea,’ which could be seen and heard through an opening in the pavement, was the west chamber of the later Erechtheion, and here stood three altars fortunately described by Pausanias\(^4\). ‘On entering the building,’ he says, ‘you find three altars, one to Poseidon on which at the bidding of a certain oracle they sacrifice also to Erechtheus, a second to the hero Boutes, a third to Hephaistos.’ Now Hephaistos we can understand: he was the original husband of Athena\(^5\). Boutes too had a right to be there: he was the ancestor of the Eteoboutadai, hereditary priests of the Erechtheion\(^6\). But Poseidon and Erechtheus must make do with a single altar. The fact is, Poseidon had long since been officially identified with Erechtheus\(^7\). As early as the

\(^1\) *Id. ib.* p. 58 ff. pl. 2 a rough Roman relief, probably a sarcophagus-lid, in the Villa Carpegna (Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Poseidon p. 306 fig. 8, Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 17 f. no. 3495), which on the extreme right includes part at least of the scene more completely shown on the slab at Smyrna.

\(^2\) *Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* p. 9 no. 12 (wrongly described) pl. 10, 3, Gnechi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 18 no. 79 (wrongly described) pls. 51, 1 (Bologna) and 52, 5 (Paris) (= my fig. 546).

\(^3\) J. M. Paton *The Erechtheum* Harvard Univ. Press 1927 pp. 169—171 with figs. 68 (plan), 106 (photo) and pls. 1 (plan), 15 (sections) identifies the ‘sea’ with a shaft about 0.90\(^m\) square, sunk in the rock about 1.72\(^m\), within the extreme south-west corner of the building, but admits that the original Erechtheis may have been a natural hollow in the rock still visible below the floor of the large mediaeval or Turkish cistern.

\(^4\) *Paus. 1* 26. 5.

\(^5\) *Supra* p. 188 ff.

\(^6\) *Supra* p. 589.

\(^7\) *Supra* ii. 793.
The olive of Athena

fifth century B.C. we have a dedication 'to Poseidon Erechtheus', and plenty of later inscriptions and texts bear witness to the blend. Now and again there is some consciousness that the two were not really one, as when in the first half of the fourth century the tribe Erechtheis sacrifices a bull 'to Poseidon and to Erechtheus'. But then, after all, the tribe Erechtheis would naturally be jealous for the credit of its namesake Erechtheus. For the most part, the populace acquiesced in this slight simplification of theology. Peaceful penetration had as usual succeeded.

The actual olive, token of Athena's triumph, rose from a cleft in the rock beside the altar of Zeus Herkeios (figs. 547, 548). A tree of immemorial sanctity would presumably be thick-stemmed and bent with age; and as such it is represented on Athenian coins of

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1 Corp. inscr. Att. i no. 387 = Inscr. Gr. ed. min. i no. 580 (cited supra p. 12 n. 3).
2 Supra ii. 793 n. 12, iii. 12 n. 3. See also Roberts—Gardner Gk. Epigr. ii. 468 no. 768 with n. on p. 473, E. H. Meyer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2849, Escher in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 404.
3 Corp. inscr. Att. iv. 2 no. 556, 1 ff. = Inscr. Gr. ed. min. ii—iii. 1 no. 1146, 1 ff. (cited supra p. 12 n. 3).
5 Theophr. hist. plant. 4. 13. 2 τὴν δὲ μακροβίοντα μαρτυροῦσιν ἐπὶ γάρ τινων καὶ ἀγείρων καὶ ἀρδεύσων καὶ ταφαῖς πάρα τῶν μεθόλων—θανάον γὰρ λέγουσι τὴν Ἀθηναίαν, κ.τ.λ., cp. Plin. nat. hist. 16. 234 durant in Lertino Africani prioris manu satae olea, etc.

The olive of Athena

imperial date\(^1\). In popular parlance it was dubbed sometimes ‘the Stunted or Writhen Olive\(^2\)’, but sometimes also ‘the Citizen Olive\(^3\)’—a very notable name, since it assured the citizens that the Olive was one of themselves. They were astai: it, or rather she, was astē. But this sympathy between tree and townsfolk went further than that. There is reason to think that the Olive of the Erechtheion was regarded as the life-tree\(^4\) of Athens, on whose preservation the very existence of the state depended. When the Persians sacked the Akropolis, this all-important tree was burnt. ‘But,’ says Herodotos\(^5\), ‘on the day after its burning, when the Athenians bidden by the king to sacrifice went up to the sanctuary, they saw a shoot of about a cubit’s length sprung from the stump and duly reported the matter.’ Pausanias\(^6\) tells the same tale, except that his olive, instead of one cubit in two days, grows two cubits in one day. Stories can grow as well as olives!

Clearly the tree was a hardy perennial, and the Athenians were well advised when they took twelve slips of it and planted them in the Akademeia. The resultant trees furnished the sacred oil for the Panathenaic victors and were known as moriā\(^7\), not because they
dasselle zu bestimmen, und wohl noch niemals ist die Dauer eines jener uralten Stämme
direct bestimmt und nachgewiesen worden. Die alten Oliven haben meist einen hohlen
Stamm, es fehlt meist der Holzkörper mit den Jahresringen, öfters theilen sie sich dann
auch in mehrere Stämme durch natürliche Spaltung. Mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit
wird angenommen, dass die Oliven auf dem Oelberge bei Jerusalem—acht an der Zahl—
noch dieselben sind, welche einst zu Christi Zeiten dort standen: sie hatten, als Bové
[N. Bové ‘Relation abrégée d’un voyage botanique en Égypte, dans les trois Arabies,
en Palestine et en Syrie’ in the Annales des sciences naturelles 1834 i. 173] sie mass,
”wenigstens 6 Meter” im Umfange; unsere attischen sind aber zum Theil noch viel
dicker und wenn man daraus auf ihr Alter schliessen darf, müssen diese lebenden
Denkmäler aus der hellenischen Vorzeit noch beträchtlich älter sein.’ C. Neumann—
J. Partsch Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland mit besonderer Rücksicht auf das
Alterthum Breslau 1885 p. 416 f. ‘Solcher uralter Oelbäume, von denen mancher
vielleicht noch die Blüthezeit Athens gesehen hat, gibt es in Attika noch mehrere;
Stämme von 1—1½ m Durchmesser sind nicht selten; im Oelwald am Kephisos
kommen Stämme von 2—3 m Durchmesser vor; die Höhenentwicklung ist indess nie
sehr bedeutend, auch bei den schönsten nur 7—10 m.’ See further A. Coutance L’olivier,
*l’olive et l’huile des olives* Paris 1877 pp. 1—456 with figs., H. Köbert Der raume Oelbaum
in der religiösen Vorstellung der Griechen München 1894 pp. 1—48, and L. Weniger
*Der heilige Olbaum in Olympia* Weimar 1895 pp. 3.

\(^1\) *Supra* p. 187 figs. 98 and 99.
\(^2\) ἡ πάγωτος δαία (*supra* p. 187 n. 2).
\(^3\) ἡ ἀστή δαία (*ib.*).
\(^4\) On life-trees in general see Boetticher *Baumkultus* p. 163 ff. (‘Schikksalsbäume’),
Mrs J. H. Philpot *The Sacred Tree* London 1897 p. 84 ff., Frazer *Golden Bough*:
Balder the Beautiful ii. 159 ff., E. S. Hartland in J. Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion
and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 44\(^{6}\) ff., H. Marzell in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen
\(^5\) Hdt. 8. 55.
\(^6\) Paus. i. 17. 2.
\(^7\) *Supra* p. 187 n. 2.
The olive of Athena

Fig. 519.
were fractions (μέρε) of the original stock, but because on them depended the fate (μόρος) of the people. A similar life-tree was the wild olive in the market-place at Megara: an oracle had announced 'that, if this were cut open, the city would be taken and plundered; which'—adds Theophrastos—came to pass when Demetrios took it.' Athena herself, as mistress of the fateful olives, bore the title Μόριος, therein resembling Ζεύς Μόριος. A red-figured amphora published by Gerhard (fig. 549) shows the goddess holding out her

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1 Theophr. hist. plant. 5. 2. 4, Plin. nat. hist. 16. 199.
3 Supra i. 196 n. 6, ii. 20, 592 n. 2. See also Kruse loc. cit., who notes that L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Pit. 1872 p. 33 n. 2 would identify Zeus Μώριος with Zeus 'Ελαιος (Hesych. 'Ελαιος ὑπέρ τοῦ Ζεύς. Musurus cfr. 'Ελαιος). O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 2218 would emend another Hesychian gloss 'Ελαιος, Δέω έρως ὑπέρ τοῦ Ζεύς into 'Ελαιός (or 'Ελαιώνιος). But Zeus 'Ελαιος may be an attempt to, extract Greek sense from a Semitic name. R. Meister Die griechischen Dialekte Göttingen 1889 ii. 208 thought to find the Phoenician 'Ελ (more correctly 'Ελ) in a whole group of Cypriote names, including Hesych. 'Ελαιοςς: αἰθάνης καὶ ή λείν ὑπέρ (cp. Hesych. 'Ελαιος ή λείν ὑπέρ Θηβάς) and such titles as Ελήνη (supra i. 527 n. 0) and Ελαιωνατής (supra i. 654 n. 4, ii. 652 n. 0). He related Zeus 'Ελαιες to 'Ελ-αίες a headland of south-eastern Kypros (Ptol. 5. 14. 3). H. Lewy in Philologus 1892 ii. 745 and in the Jahrb. f. class. Philol. 1892 xxxviii. 186 cp. the Phoenician deity 'Ελαίας mentioned in Philon Bybl. frag. 2. 12 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 567 Müller) ap. Euseb. praep. ev. i. 10. 14 Ελαίας καλογέρας τύπος (context quoted supra ii. 886 n. 0 (30)).
4 Gerhard Anserl. Vaseb. iv. 12 f. pl. 245 (=my fig. 549) a red-figured amphora formerly with the dealer Basseggio at Rome.
The olive of Athena

olive, while a priestess (?) or worshipper (?) extends an oinochoe towards her.¹

But the exact nature of the relationship between goddess and tree (figs. 550, 551)² is nowhere recorded. Jane Harrison³, never lacking in courage, and impressed by the fact that the olive is called Athena four times, the 'Athena-tree,' roundly declared 'that at Athens... Athene herself at one period of her development was' Athena four times, the 'sacred olive tree.' Miss Harrison went on to observe: 'The image of the goddess was made of her olive-tree... . But this is a second step on from the time when the goddess was the tree, dwelt in the tree, her life and that of the people intimately bound up, practically identical with it.' Those lines were written over forty years ago, and today they may stand in some need of revision. Personally I would

¹ Gerhard loc. cit. notes that the two sides of the vase must be regarded as forming a single picture, in which Athena and her priestess or worshipper face each other. He cp. Achilles and Briseis on the amphora by Oltos figured in his pl. 187 (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases ill. 194 f. no. E 248). In both cases the composition is illogical.

² For Athena standing beside her olive see e.g. J. N. Svoronos Les monnaies d'Athènes Munich 1923—1926 pl. 87, 15—32 (of which 15 Athens = fig. 550 and 25 J. Anderson = my fig. 551).

³ For Athena seated beside her olive see e.g. Svoronos op. cit. pl. 87, 33—37 (of which 34 Athens = my fig. 552). Fig. 553 is from a specimen in my collection (same dies as Svoronos pl. 87, 36 J. Anderson).

On a silver statér of Aphrodisias (?) or Nagidos (?) in Kilikia, struck in the time of Pharnabazos (379—374 B.C.), the local copy of Athena Parthénos appears. She rests her right hand, bearing Nike, on an olive-tree, which stands in place of the Athenian pillar (supra ii pl. xlv), and her left on a shield, of which the inside and snakes fringing the Gorgoneion on the outside are seen. Three specimens of the coin are known to exist in London (P. Gardner Types of Gk. Coins p. 170 f. pl. 10, 28, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycaonia, etc. pp. xlii n. 4, 112 pl. 19, 14, K. Regling Die antike Münze als Kunstwerk Berlin 1974 p. 132 pl. 29, 609. Head Coins of the Greeks p. 35 pl. 19, 48), Paris (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner Num. Comm. Paus. iii. 126 pl. Y, 22 (= my fig. 554), W. Lermann Athenayphen auf griechischen Münzen München 1900 p. 75 n. 1 pl. 2, 6), and Turin (Imhoof-Blumer Monn. gr. p. 372 ff. no. 76 pl. G, 15).

² J. E. Harrison in the Class. Rev. 1895 ix. 89.


The last gloss recalls a curious passage of Nonnos, in which apparently Athena's name is used as a simple equivalent of ελαία (Nonn. Dion. 15. 111 ff. of a sleeping Indian τον δε βαρύ κυσσαστα βαμματρωτών τι έλεκτρον | ακροκόμοι φολίκοι η εύδοσος Λύσης | μπισων άκμοιν ες έπετειραι δρπη). Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1198 n. α comments: 'Βλέπων Λύσης, die Bezeichnung des Olbaums bei Nonn. D 15 112 ist vielleicht ein alter formelhafter Ausdruck, der sich ursprünglich auf solchen Zauber bezogen haben könnte.' But, in place of δώτη cod., H. Köchly cj. 'ελαίης— a reading since confirmed by the papyrus (Berolinensis P. 10567), which has ελαίης[ε].
The olive of Athena

rather put it thus. Athena was the mountain-mother of the Akropolis. Everything that issued from its rocky surface was instinct with her vitality and must be accepted as a manifestation of herself. The rock is primary, the tree is secondary: it is the divinity of the former that makes the latter also divine.

(2) The snake of Athena.

But life emerging from the surface of the Akropolis might be animal as well as vegetable. There was a widespread belief in antiquity that snakes were the children of Mother Earth. Herodotos makes the Lycian priests tell Kroisos that the snake is the child of Earth. Centuries later the same thing is said by Artemidoros:

'A child of Earth he is, and in the earth he dwells.' Pliny too remarks: 'Some creatures will not harm natives, though they kill strangers. This is the case with the small serpents at Tiryns, which are said to be sprung from the earth.'

Now the Akropolis, since it abounds in crevices and holes, must in early days have harboured plenty of these reptiles, especially the *Tarbophis fallax*, a species that still haunts the rocks and ruins of Greece. A *pelike* from Kameiros already figured shows two such snakes, apparently male and female, creeping out of the Akropolis rock to protect the infant Erichthonios, who sits up in his basket and takes notice of Athena. The basket-lid has been lifted off by the disobedient sisters Aglauros and Herse. Scared by the snakes, they flee for dear life and are represented on the other side of the vase hurrying off to their death.

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1 Hdt. i. 78 λέγοντες δόμην έτι αυτή γης παίδα.
2 Artemid. *Oneirocr.* 2. 13 γης γόρ ἐστι καὶ αὐτός παις καὶ τάς διατράβας ἐν τῷ γη ποιεῖται.
4 My colleague Dr J. A. Ramsay kindly refers me to G. A. Boulenger *The Snakes of Europe* London 1913 pp. 217—219 fig. 32 (a poisonous species of the genus Turbophis, which grows to a length of 2 feet 10 inches.... The names Katzenschlange and Ailurophis, translated Cat-snake, probably originated from the way in which this snake stalks its prey, and suddenly pounces upon it.... Stony localities, old walls, and ruins, are the favourite abodes of this snake, which does well in captivity').
5 *Supra* p. 248 n. 6 with pl. xxix and fig. 154.
6 One bearded (!), the other beardless. For bearded snakes cp. e.g. * supra* ii. 1060, 1061 fig. 914, 1128 n. o fig. 926. See further the interesting observations of Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.* pp. 326—328, with the criticisms of E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 p. 76 n. 2.
7 *Supra* p. 239 f.
The snake of Athena

The scene recalls an early passage in the *Ion*¹:

To earth-born Erichthonios Zeus' daughter
Assigned as watchful guards a pair of snakes,
And bade the Aglaurid maidens keep their trust.
Wherefore Erechtheus' sons in Athens still
Are wont to rear their babes 'mid snakes of gold.

The sequel makes it clear that the last couplet alludes to prophylactic snakes hung round the necks of infants (*peridéraia*²). For the mutual recognition of mother and son at the close of the play turns largely on the preservation and production of such a gaud³:

*Ion*  Is there aught else,—or canst thou guess but once?
*Kreousa* Snakes all of gold, the custom of my race.
*Ion*  Athena's gift, and used by her command?
*Kreousa* Copied from Erichthonios of yore.
*Ion*  How is the trinket used and worn? Explain.
*Kreousa* As necklace for a new-born babe, my child.
*Ion*  The snakes are here!

Fig. 555.
Fig. 556.
Fig. 557.

No necklace of the sort, so far as I know, has come down to us. Anguiform bracelets (figs. 555, 556, 557)⁴, ear-rings (fig. 558)⁵, finger-

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¹ Eur. *Ion* 70 ff.
² *Supra* ii. 699.
⁴ Two specimens in my collection will serve: Fig. 555 is a slender bronze bracelet, of unknown provenance but exquisite Greek workmanship, representing a single snake complete from head to tail.
⁵ Fig. 556 is a thick silver bracelet, one of a pair found in a fourth-century grave at Sinope. Each bracelet ends in two snake-heads (δαφλοσταυρα) with neck-markings roughly rendered.
⁶ Fig. 557 is an armlet of solid gold, one of a pair from Pompeii (Roux—Barré *Herc. et Pomp.* vii Bronzes 3e Série p. 190 ff. pl. 91, 1 = my fig. 557 (scale ½)). Each elastic spiral is a single snake with garnets serving as eyes and a thin metal tongue inserted in the mouth.
⁷ Fig. 558 is a bronze ear-ring in my collection. It was found in Syria together
The snake of Athena

rings (figs. 559—562), etc., which served the same apotropaeic purpose, are common enough. But gold jewellery of the sixth and first half of the fifth century B.C. was probably made in large quantities.

1 Figs. 559—562 are gold finger-rings in the British Museum. Brit. Mus. Cat. Finger Rings p. 150 no. 979 fig. 24 (= my fig. 559) is a Graeco-Roman ring showing a single snake coiled. Ib. pp. xlv, 151 no. 935 fig. 121 (= my fig. 560) is another of the same period showing a single snake partially uncoiled. Ib. pp. xlv, 41 f. no. 241 fig. 49 (= my fig. 561) pl. 6 is a third of similar date, ending in busts of the two human-headed snakes Isis and Sarapis (cp. supra i. 360).

Brit. Mus. Cat. Finger Rings pp. xlv, 180 no. 1135 fig. 139 (= my fig. 562) is a Graeco-Roman ring of penannular shape, ending in two snake-heads. The whole hoop is silver, but the eyes are pellets of gold.

2 Examples abound in all Museums. The texts include Anth. Pal. 6. 206. 7 f. (Antipatros of Sidon) τὸν εὔπετον δὲ δράκοντα, χρυσοτρικάλων κόσμων ἐπισφυρωμένων, 6. 207. 7 (Archias) καλὺς στερέωμα περισφυρωμένος δράκοντας, Loukian. anor. 41 τοίς περὶ καρποῖς καὶ βραχίονις δράκοντας: ὃς δέθειον ὡς τοῖς χρυσοῖς δράκονται εἶναι, Moiris s.v. δρέπανα, 'Ἀττικὸν' τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἑλληνικὸν ψέλλα, Poll. 5. 99 περὶ τοῦ καρποῦ περικουρίας καὶ ἐκχύνον καὶ ἀλφαῖδες καὶ δρέπανα καὶ ψέλλα καὶ χλωδέως καὶ βουλώλα, ὡς εἶναι καὶ τοῖς περὶ τοῖς βραχίονις πετρομάξωσι καὶ τοῖς περὶ τοῖς πόδας, μᾶλλον δὲ τοὺς ἀλφαίδες καὶ τοὺς χλωδέως, Philostr. εἰπ. 22 (40) καὶ οἱ εὐπερίπτευσιν ὅφεις καὶ τοῖς χρυσαῖς τίσας, Clem. Al. ref. 2. 12. 123. 3 p. 231, 15 ff. Στῆθιν ὄτα γὰρ τὴν Παλρί ὃς τοὺς ἡμέρας ὅπως δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀλλὰ γωνίας ὃς κόσμως ὃς χρυσοῦς δελατάς προορίζομεν τοῦ δρέπανος τῷ χορήμα τῇ ἐξειρήσει ἐς τῆς ὅμοιας τίσας καὶ ὅφεις ἀποπλατομένας εἰς σώματες. Λέγει γὰρ τὸ κομμαὶ Νεοσκαρραγος, ἀλέεις, καθετῆς, δακτυλιῶς, βουλώλα, δρέπαν, | περακελίδα, ἕλλεδορον| (Nikostr. inc. fab. frag. 7 [Frag. com. Gr. iii. 289 Meineke]), Tent. de cor. mil. 15 quid caput strophiole aut dracontario damnas, diademati destinatunt? Hesych. s.v. δρέπαν τῷ δρακοτόντω γυνήμενα ψέλλα. Μεθυνόρος Παρακατάθεις τοὺς δρέπαν | λέγει 'καλῶς γε μα | ἐγγράφοις' (frag. 8 [Frag. com. Gr. iv. 184 Meineke]), Arist. de ip. 1. 15 οὐς δρέπαν, οὐς δέκτης, οὐκ δρέπαν (so J. Pierson for οὐκ ἀδέμος cod.) τὸ πολύτμων, οὐ περιβάλλων, Isid. orig. 19. 31. 2 monile...hoc etiam et serpentum dicitur quia constat ex amphoturis quibusdam aureis gemmisque in modum facturea serpentis, Phot. lex. s.v. δρέπαν ψέλλα δρακοτόντω.
The snake of Athena

fifth centuries is notoriously scarce. However, it is certain that Euripides, an antiquarian at heart, is here giving the action of an actual custom, which placed the young Athenian under the protection of Athena's snakes.

It is tempting to recognise the same two guardian snakes in a couple of fragmentary reptiles found in 1888 to the east and south-east of the Parthenon. They are the angle-figures of a pedimental group executed in painted phoros between 580 and 560 B.C.


E. Küster Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion Giessen 1913 p. 113 n. 2 put forward an interesting but perhaps over-venturesome conjecture (quoted supra

fig. 563.

Possibly the myth of the infant Herakles and the two snakes, familiar to us both in literature (Pherekyd. frag. 28 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 77 Müller)=frag. 69 a, b (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 79f. Jacoby) ap. Apollod. 2. 4. 8 and schol. Pind. Nem. i. 95, Pind. Nem. i. 33 ff., Eur. H. f. 1266 ff., Theokr. 24. 1 ff., Plaut. Amph. 1121 ff., Diod. 4. 10, Verg. Aen. 8. 287 ff., Paus. 1. 24. 2, Hyg. fab. 30) and in art (e.g. the decorative bronze (height 0.07 m) at Vienna published by von Sacken Ant. Bronzen Wien i. 96 pl. 49, 3 (=my fig. 563), Reinach Rép. Stat. ii. 238 no. 2, or the Pompeian wall-paintings noted in Reinach Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom. p. 186 nos. 3—5) implies the existence of a Theban custom comparable with that of the Athenians. A body-guard of snakes might easily be taken for foes, not friends. But see E. Küster Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion Giessen 1913 p. 108.

3 G. Dickins Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum Cambridge 1912 i. 74 f. figs.
The snake of Athena

T. Wiegand\(^1\) held that they came from the eastern gable of the old Hekatompedon, and thought to combine them with a central trio, of which he claimed to identify two figures—Athena seated full-front and Zeus seated in profile beside her (fig. 564)\(^2\). But Wiegand's arrangement of the centre, though accepted by H. Lechat\(^3\), is rejected by more recent critics. R. Heberdey\(^4\) assigned this Zeus and the seated goddess, whom he calls Hera, to a smaller pediment, 6\(^{60}\)m long, representing the introduction of Herakles to Olympos. In this he is followed by G. Dickins\(^5\), M. Schede\(^6\), and the majority of archaeologists. Heberdey then attempted to pack into the western Hekatompedon gable a central group of lion, lioness, and bull, flanked by the two big snakes, but later realised that the presence of a step in the gable left insufficient space for this menagerie\(^7\), and was content to assume a single lion holding down a hypothetical stag\(^8\). E. Buschor\(^9\), dissatisfied with Heberdey's results, combined the snakes with yet another leonine group, comprising an extant big lioness and a non-extant big lion, each at work on the body of a bull: this imposing circus he would regard

\(^1\) T. Wiegand *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen* Cassel and Leipzig 1904 p. 90 ff. with fig. 109 (= my fig. 564) and col. pl. 5, a and b.

\(^2\) *Supra* i. 2 n. 2, ii. 737 n. 1, iii. 688 n. 4.

\(^3\) H. Lechat *La sculpture attique avant Phidias* Paris 1904 pp. 53—58.


\(^5\) G. Dickins *op. cit.* p. 64 ff. fig.

\(^6\) M. Schede *Die Burg von Athen* Berlin 1922 col. pl. 1.

\(^7\) G. Dickins *op. cit.* p. 86.

\(^8\) R. Heberdey *op. cit.* pp. 109—113.

as the front gable of an early apsidal Parthenon! H. Schrader\(^1\) is much better advised when he reaffirms Heberdey's contention that the snakes belong to the second gable of the Hekatompedon, but makes no attempt to fill the space between them (fig. 565). Dickins\(^2\) had already drawn the sound conclusion: 'At present...the central group of this pediment is unidentified.' And here, at the risk of making confusion more confounded, I cannot help remarking that snakes in the angles of a pediment, though mythological in origin, may be merely decorative in usage—a feature due ultimately to Egyptian influence\(^3\). On this showing one might suppose that the blank between the pedimental snakes was originally occupied by some simple solar device, a disk or phialê or Gorgôneion.

More certainly connected with Athena is the pair of snakes, which on a red-figured pyxis at Copenhagen (fig. 566)\(^4\) are drawing

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2 G. Dickins *op. cit.* p. 86.
3 *Supra* i. 203 ff., 293 ff.
4 *Supra* i. 231 n. 8. My fig. 566 reproduces part of A. Dumont—J. Chaplain—E. Pottier *Les céramiques de la Grèce trogique* i pl. 10.

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Fig. 566.
The snake of Athena

the goddess in her chariot to face the judgment of Paris. A later vase, a gilded aryballos at Athens (fig. 567), shows the judge, here lettered Aléxandros, considering his verdict in much perplexity. On the one hand, a seductive Eros points out to him that Helen is already approaching from the left with open arms. On the other hand, between him and his promised bride is set the small but threatening figure of the Palládion, while from the right comes an indignant Athena accompanied by a single gigantic snake with forked and flickering tongue. Jane Harrison more suo observes: 'The artist seems dimly conscious that the snake is somehow the double of Athene

At Athens the relation of snakes to the city-goddess was emphasised, not only by myth, but also by cult. Kekrops the earth-born, who is at least half a snake (figs. 93 and 95), was buried in

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1 Supra i. 125 f. pl. xi, iii. 67 f. pl. xi. The theme is handled at large by P. Gardner (supra p. 68 n. 2) and, far more thoroughly, by Türk in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1586—1592 and 1607—1631 figs. 3—10.

2 Collignon—Couve Cat. Vases d'Athènes p. 635 f. no. 1942. The older publication by J. de Witte in the Arch. Zeit. 1867 xxv. 64 pl. 224, 2 (Reinach Rép. Vases i. 402, 3f.) is of course superseded by that of E. Pernice in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1896 xi Arch. Anz. pp. 36—38 with a careful drawing by E. Gilliéron (= my fig. 567).

3 The letters H F visible above the maiden are taken by Pernice to be the start of ἩΕΛΕΝΗ—a piece of old-fashioned orthography still possible at the end of s. v B.C. The completion "HPa is possible, but less probable (Collignon—Couve op. cit. p. 635).

C. Robert's conjecture ἩΕΛΕΝΗ τατος (ap. Pernice loc. cit. p. 38 n. 1, cp. O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1578 f., v. 477 ff.), a goddess of Persuasion akin to Peitho (Paus. r. 43. 6), fails to persuade me.

The choice between the claims of passion (Eros) and those of honour (Athena) is all the more piquant, if the third claimant (Hera) is suppressed.


5 Supra p. 182.

6 Supra p. 186.
The snake of Athena

the Kekropion at the south-west corner of the Erechtheion, 'close up against the Polioûchos herself,' as Theodoret puts it. Here he had a hieron and a hereditary priesthood. Erichthonios, another 'son of the soil,' was represented sometimes as an infant mothered by Athena, sometimes as a snake held by her in a basket—a pose suggestive of ritual usage. Again, there was the nameless snake,

1 M. Collignon 'L'Emplacement du Cécropion à l'Acropole d'Athènes' in the Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions 1920 xli. 1—17 (p. 13 ff. 'Il y avait, contre le mur Ouest, entre la porte du Pandroseion et le soubassement, un petit édifice dont la place est nettement déterminée par la niche qui s'ouvre obliquement dans le mur Ouest....')

2 A défaut d'autres renseignements sur le petit édifice, nous en connaissons au moins la hauteur...on peut l'évaluer à 3 mètres environ. Nous savons aussi...que le monument était de biais par rapport au mur Ouest, et qu'il s'engageait en partie sous le portique des Corès. Il est donc permis de songer à une construction basse et rectangulaire....

3 Le nom de Cécropion désignait à la fois le petit édifice et l'enceinte comprise entre le mur Sud du Pandroseion et le soubassement de l'Hécatompèdon...rien n'empêche de croire qu'il y avait là, tout près de l'Erechtheion, un tombeau remontant à une haute antiquité, et contemporain des vestiges de l'époque mycéniennne retrouvés sur l'Acropole. (Petersen, Die Burgtempe der Athanai, p. 36. M. E. A. Gardner suppose que c'était un tombeau voûté de petites dimensions (Ancient Athens, p. 36)).

4 J. M. Paton The Erechtheum Harvard Univ. Press 1927 pp. 127—137 (p. 136 f. 'On the north side of the Old Temple was a terrace or precinct having at its eastern end something which was later believed to be the tomb of Cecrops. The appearance of this monument is unknown, but it can hardly have been of stone on the outside, since it is improbable that the Erechtheum would have been so planned as to bring its corner on a spot already occupied by a solid structure of so sacred a character. It seems more likely that only a mound of earth was visible and that it was not until an attempt was made to lay foundations that something more solid was discovered—perhaps a corner of the old "Mycenaean" palace, etc.). Older views in W. Judeich Topographie von Athen München 1923 p. 283 n. 3.

5 Theodoret. Græcarum affectionum curatio 8. 30 (ixxiii. 1017 c Migne) καὶ γὰρ ἀδέρφην, ὡς Ἀντίοχος ἐν τῇ ἐκάτερτῃ γέγραφεν ἱεραγῇ, ἀνώ γε ἐν τῇ ἀκρόπολει Κέκροπος ἐτεί τάφος παρὰ τῶν Πολυδκέων αὐτῆς, cp. Clem. Al. probr. 3. 45. 1 p. 34. 10 f. Stahlin ἀδερφὴν δὲ ἐν ἀκροπολίς Κέκροπος (sc. τάφος ἀυτῆς), ὡς φασίν Ἀντίοχος ἐν τῇ ἐκάτερτῃ τῶν ἱεραγῶν (frag. 15) (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 184 Müller) =frag. 2 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 213 Jacoby) =Euseb. praep. ev. 2. 6. 2, Arnob. adv. nat. 6. 6 in historiarum Antiochus nono Athenis in Minervio memorat Cecropem esse mandatum terrae.

6 Inscr. Gr. ed. min. ii—iii. i no. 1156, 34 f. =Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. no. 957, 59 f. on the base of an offering dedicated by the ἐρημοί of the tribe Kekropis in 334/3 B.C. ἀποτάφα τῇ ἑδίκησιν καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κέκροπος ἑσπερίας.

7 Inscr. Gr. ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 2338, 1 ff. in a list of the Amyndridai, between 17/6 and 18/7 B.C. ἢγαθὴ τοῖς ἑπτὰ ἁρεία τοῦ Δωριάου Παπάντων ἱεραγῇ τῆς κόλως ἄρχον τοῦ γένους τοῦ 'Αμμανανδρίδος ἁρεία Δωριάου Παπάντων τοῦ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενεσίας ἐπιδείκνυτο τὰ διατύμημα ἐν τῶν ἱερῶν ἱεραγῆ τοῦ γένους. ("Ἁρείας Δωριάου Παπάντων ἱεραγῇ τῆς κόλως Κέκροπος" k. t. l., cp. Hesych. Αμμανανδρίδαι γένος, ἡ ἢπερὶ ἑδίκησιν ἀδερφῆν. J. Toepffer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 2003.

8 Supra p. 181.

9 Supra p. 218 n. 5 with fig. 140.

10 Supra p. 218 n. 4 with fig. 139.

which actually lived in the Erechtheion. Herodotos\(^1\), describing the eve of Salamis, writes as follows:

The Athenians say that a great snake dwells in their sanctuary\(^2\) and guards the Akropolis. So they say and in proof of their words set out for it a monthly offering, to wit a honeycake. This cake had always before been consumed, but was now left untouched. When the priestess made that known, the Athenians were more willing to leave their city, because they deemed that the goddess too had deserted the Akropolis.

Plutarch\(^3\) tells the same tale, except that he regards the whole business as a ruse on the part of the artful Themistokles. Other authors add nothing of importance, and the common assumption that the snake was Erechtheus or Erichthonios is a probability rather than a certainty. At most we know that Aristophanes\(^4\) called it 'the house-keeping snake,' masculine in gender and therefore not to be identified with the goddess herself.

The original significance of the snakes that figure so frequently in the myths and rites of Athens is by no means easy to determine. In view of the curious belief that the spinal cord of a dead man turns into a snake\(^6\)—a belief still current in Palestine\(^7\)—it would not so very curious, either. For there is, of course, a rough resemblance between the cord with its tapering end and the snake with its tapering tail, as my friend and colleague Dr F. Goldby assures me. The likeness of the vertebral column to a snake's skeleton is less pronounced.

\(^1\) Hdt. 8. 41.
\(^2\) On the actual haunt of this reptile see supra ii. 1148 n. 2, J. M. Paton *The Erechtheum* Harvard Univ. Press 1927 pp. 435 n. 3, 456, 486 n. 1 (3), 491 n. 1 ('It is perhaps allowable to see in the crypt beneath the North Porch and in its probable extension along the inside of the north wall the reputed dwelling-place of the sacred serpent...if indeed the serpent had any real existence, and was not a mere hypostasis of the chthonic divinity, Erechtheus (Petersen, *Burgtempel*, pp. 61—93)'). The obscure word ὑδάτων throws little or no light on the situation: see A. C. Pearson's excellent note on Soph. *frag.* 643 Jebb.

\(^3\) Plout. v. Them. 10.


\(^6\) Not so very curious, either. For there is, of course, a rough resemblance between the cord with its tapering end and the snake with its tapering tail, as my friend and colleague Dr F. Goldby assures me. The likeness of the vertebral column to a snake's skeleton is less pronounced.

\(^7\) J. E. Hanauer *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land* London 1907 p. 283 'According to
not be unreasonable to regard the single male snake as the soul of a buried king\(^1\). The pair of snakes, male and female, would then be the souls of the ancestral couple\(^2\). In the case of Kekrops\(^3\) and, according to some late authorities, in that of Erichthonios\(^4\) the half-snake would imply the tail-end, so to speak, of the snaky tradition\(^5\).

Even so it must be admitted that these Akropolis-snakes are a terrible tangle, and raise problems to which at present no sure solution has been found. Who or what, for example, was the bearded\(^6\) snake that Pheidias set beside Athena? Pausanias\(^7\) says 'He might be Erichthonios.' But was Pausanias right?\(^8\) Again, Jewish notions, "the spinal cord of a man who does not bend his knees at the repetition of the benediction, which commences with the word 'Modim,' after seven years becomes a serpent.'\(^9\)

\(^1\) Supra ii. 1061, 1087, 1111 f., 1148, 1152 ff., 1174.

\(^2\) The same variation between one snake and two (supra p. 772 n. 4) may be seen in the wall-paintings that decorate the lararia of Pompeii (collected conveniently by Reinach Rép. Peint. Gr. Com. pp. 102 no. 6 (one), no. 7 (two), 103 no. 3 (one), nos. 5 and 6 (two), 104 no. 1 (one), no. 2 (two), nos. 3 and 8 (one), cp. J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 942 fig. 4343).

\(^3\) The Varvakeion and Lenormant statuettes of the Parthenos both show a bearded snake (hence my restoration supra ii col. pl. xlv), as does Sir W. Cell's drawing of the lost Ambelokipi relief (P. Wolters in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1894 xviii. 488 fig., W. Amelung in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1908 xi. 187 f. fig. 69), which—unless I am mistaken—represents the Athena Areia of Pheidias at Plataiai (Paus. 9. 4. 1).

\(^4\) Frazer Pausanias ii. 169.

\(^5\) W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1920 ii. i. 429.

\(^6\) Frazer Pausanias ii. 169 'He may well have been right' (on the assumption that Erichthonios and Erechtheus 'were originally identical.' But see supra p. 181 n. 1). I should rather suppose that the snake beside the goddess was the animal form of her protégé Erechtheus.
what are we to make of a white-ground lékythos from Gela, now in the British Museum (fig. 568)? A female figure is seen standing by a column with a phiale in her right hand and a snake in front of her. H. B. Walters thought her perhaps a priestess of Athena accompanied by the Erechtheion-snake. A. Fairbanks suggested 'a simple scene of libation' and equated the woman with Artemis. But deities are rare on vases of this class, and Mr C. D. Bicknell is content to

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Fig. 568.

3 A. Fairbanks op. cit. i. 39.
4 So he tells me (19 June 1936).
suppose that we have here a dead woman ready to receive offerings in the presence of her ancestral snake. Of course the early date of our vase, c. 470 B.C., rules out any attempt to interpret the subject as Athena Hygieia beside the corner column of the Propylaia\(^1\) or Hygieia herself arriving with the divine snake in the newly-built Asklepieion\(^2\). But why, by the way, did Asklepios ever come to dwell on the southern slope of the Akropolis? Had the snakes of the rock anything to do with it (fig. )\(^3\)?

A final puzzle: what did Cyprian\(^4\), bishop of Antioch in the third century after Christ, mean by stating that as a boy of ten he had ‘performed the liturgy of Pallas’ snake on the Akropolis’? The empress Eudokia\(^5\) hitched into hexameters the recital of his various initiations and makes him say:

I wrought the snaky rites
Of Athenaia on the citadel.

But what exactly were these rites? We are reduced to blank conjecture.\(^6\)

The fact is, snake-myths and snake-cults of every kind fairly cluster round the Akropolis-rock, almost all of them in close association with Athena the rock-mother. Is it not fair to infer that

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1. Supra i. 727.

J. Tambornino in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ix. 94 concludes that Hygieia ‘schon vor der Zeit des Peloponnesischen Krieges in Athen verehrt wurde, zu einer Zeit also, wo Asklepios in Athen noch eine unbekannte Grösse war. Die Zeit, wann H. zur persönlichen Gottheit ausgebildet wurde, lässt sich selbstredend nicht genau angeben. Wir müssen uns mit der Tatsache begnügen, dass die Entwicklung im 5. Jhdt. ihren Abschluss erreicht hat.’


3. Sundry small bronze coins of late date have obv. the head of Athena, rev. ΔΘ and a rearing snake (J. N. Svoronos Les monnaies d’Athènes Munich 1925—1926 pl. 98, 17 Berlin (=my fig. 569), Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc. p. 102 no. 740). Is this the snake of Athena or that of Asklepios?

4. Confessio S. Cypriani ( supra i. 110 n. 6) 1 καὶ οὐκ Ἁθηναῖος ἐπίλυσας ὡς, ὡς δὲ τῶν γενεσίαν ὑπὸ διὰ στοιχεῖα πολύτιμος γενόμενος, ζητεῖ δὲν ἔτοι, ὡς διδαχθητήν ἄνθρωπος καὶ τῆς Ἐρήμου τὸ λευκὸν πέπλον ὑμάνθιτη τῆς ἐν τῷ ἀκρωτίῳ Παλάδου τῷ δράκωντι δεξαμενόμενος, εἰς προκοπίαν νεώτερον καταστάσεως.

5. Eudoka. ὡς S. Cypriani. 2. 20. 1. Ἁθηναῖος δ’, οὗτος πολὺς ἑκατὸν ἂν ἐκραυγᾶ, ὡς δὲ δρακοντικὸς τελετάς.

6. Possibly we should compare ὡς διὰ κόλπου θέαον ( supra i. 393 n. o, 394).
these daemonic powers drew their vitality from her? We must not, I suppose, at this stage prematurely assert that Athena herself was conceived as a snake at Athens, though I for one should not deny that elsewhere such may have been the case. An Orphic hymn does address her definitely as Drákaina, the ‘She-Snake’1. And on the road from Sparta to Arkadia Pausanias saw standing in the open an image of Athena Pareto2. That surely can mean one thing, and one thing only, Athena the ‘Adder.’

(3) The owl of Athena.

But snakes are not the only living things that slip silently out of holes in the Akropolis rock. Of an evening the owls come out. I have seen them in the dusk, and I dare say my readers have too, flitting with low undulatory flight across the roads and gardens to the south of the Akropolis. In antiquity their number gave rise to the proverb ‘an owl to Athens’3 in the sense of ‘coals to Newcastle’4. Another proverb, ‘an owl on the citadel,’ was explained as alluding to an owl dedicated by Phaidros on the Akropolis5. Ausonius6 describes it as ‘that owl on the citadel painted with colours of such magic power that it lures birds of all sorts and destroys them by its stare.’ A colossal owl of white marble has in fact been found on the Akropolis (fig. 570)7 together with a couple of pillars bearing

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1 Orph. h. Ath. 32. 11; αιολήμορφη, δράκαω, φιλένθεσιν, ἄγλασμεν.
2 Paus. 3. 20. 8 τὴν δὲ ἐπ’ Ἀρκαδίας λιόνιν ἐκ Σφαίρης Ἀθηνᾶς ἔτηκεν ἐπίληφθιν Παραλας δράκαμα ἐν ψαλείῳ.
3 This proverb occurs in various forms: ἡδαῖος Ἀθηνᾶς (Aristoph. av. 301, Hesych. s.v., Eustath. in ll. p. 88, ff., Apostol. 5. 46, Arsen. p. 162 Walz, append. prov. 2. 33), ἡδαῖος ἐτο Ἀθηνᾶς (Louitian. Νίκιν. praef., cp. schol. Aristoph. av. 301 τοῖς Ἀθηνᾶς ἡδαίος ἐνεργουσὶν ἢ δράκας ἐτο Ἀθηνᾶς (Gregor. Kypr. 2. 11, Apostol. 5. 55, Arsen. p. 164 Walz, cp. Diogeneian. 3. 57 Drakias ἐτο Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγας, schol. Aristoph. av. 1037 Drakias ἐτο Ἀθηνᾶς), ἡδαῖος Ἀθηνᾶς (Apostol. 5. 46, Arsen. p. 162 Walz), ἡδαῖος ἐτο Ἀθηνᾶς (Eustath. in ll. p. 87, 45, Zenob. 3. 6, Diogeneian. 3. 81, cp. Diogeneian. Vindob. 2. 13 ἡδαῖος ἐτο Ἀθηνᾶς).
5 Hesych. ἡδάιος ἐν ψαλείῳ: παμπαλαόν ἄνεξειτο γαρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Φαίδρου (append. prov. 1. 76 Φαίδρου Μενσίου η. Φελίδου ἐν τῷ ἀρχαγολείῃ).
6 Auson. Mos. 308 ff. vel in arce Minervae | Ictinus, magico cui noctua perlitae fuco | addict omne genus volubris perimitque tuendo. The owl was tantamount to a Gorgoneion.
Amphora from Nola, now at Berlin: a spectator stands before the Owl on the Akropolis.

See page 781 n. 1.
early inscriptions\(^1\): the carving of the bird is slight and must have

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\(^1\) Corp. inscr. Att. i no. 331, Roberts—Gardner Gk. Epigr. ii. 437 no. 188, Inschr. Gr. ed. min. i no. 579 'Εδρικος καί Ορφανος ἀνεβεσ | ἀπαρχὴν τάθειαν.

Corp. inscr. Att. i no. 393, Michel Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no. 1250, Dittenberger Syll.
The owl of Athena

been eked out by painting. L. Ross\(^1\) held that this owl was originally perched on the pillar that bears the name ‘Timotheos of Anaphlystos’ and has on its upper surface two bronze dowels run

\[\text{Fig. 571.}\]

\[\text{Fig. 572.}\]

\(\text{Inscr. Gr.}^2 \text{ no. 50, Inschr. Gr. ed. min. i no. 651 Tmōθoς [Κώνονς] }'\text{Αναφλύστως.}\)

Before c. 450 B.C. This Timotheos was probably the father of Konon the famous Athenian general.

\(\text{1 L. Ross loc. ctt.}\) This conjecture has been widely accepted, and is consistent with the known facts. Was Phaidros (\textit{supra} p. 776 n. 5) a local sculptor? Diog. Laert. 7. 1. 12 mentions a possible descendant in one Φαίδρος ’Αναφλύστως, who helped to build the tomb of Zenon in the Kerameikos.

J. N. Svoronos \textit{loc. cit.} fancied that the marble owl was perched on the olive-tree in the centre of the west pediment of the Parthenon and quoted in support the bronze coins, which certainly show such an owl (\textit{supra} figs. 96, 539, 540). But I have already argued that these coins do not represent the said pediment at all (\textit{supra} p. 754 ff.). Besides, owl-on-column was a familiar type in connexion with Athena. Ross \textit{loc. ctt.} justly compares a Panathenaic amphora, on which Athena is flanked by two Ionic columns with an owl on each (E. Gerhard \textit{Etruskische und kampanische Vasenbilder des Königl. Museums zu Berlin} Berlin 1843 pl. 8, 29. My fig. 571 is from Ross pl. 14, 5), and the Roman mural relief, in which Athena as she superintends the building of the Argo has at her back an owl on a round pillar (Von Rohden—Winnefeld \textit{Ant. Terrakotten} iv. 1. 12 ff. distinguish
with lead (fig. 572). S. Casson\(^1\) agrees that the owl was probably

(1) an older and better type in Louvre no. 4144 (G. P. Campagna \textit{Antiche opere in plastica} Roma 1842 p. 29 ff. pl. 5, E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio \textit{Dict. Ant.} i. 416 with fig. 504, Von Rohden—Winnefeld \textit{op. cit.} iv. 1. 13 fig. 14, Reinach \textit{Rép. Reliefs} ii. 250 no. 4) and

(2) a later, less satisfactory version of it in Villa Albani no. 181 (G. Winckelmann \textit{Monumenti antichi inediti} Roma 1821 i p. (ix) with pl. on title-page, Reinach \textit{Rép. Reliefs} iii. 133 no. 1) and British Museum no. D 603 (K. Seeliger in Roscher \textit{Lex. Myth.} i. 526 with fig. on p. 502, \textit{Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas} p. 400 f. no. D 603 pl. 43, Von Rohden—Winnefeld \textit{op. cit.} iv. 2 pl. 31)). To these should be added the owl-on-column that appears before Athena in the Lansdowne relief (\textit{Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of ancient Greek Art} London 1904 p. 31 f. no. 50 pl. 35 (\textit{=my fig. 576}), H. Schrader in the \textit{jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.} 1911 xiv. 68 ff. fig. 73, Reinach \textit{Rép. Reliefs} ii. 519 no. 3) and behind her on sundry imperial bronze coins of Athens (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner \textit{Num. Comm. Paus.} iii. 133 pl. AA, 1 Naples, J. N. Svoronos \textit{Les monnaies d'Athènes} Munich 1923—1925 pl. 84, 9 Berlin, 10 Athens (\textit{=my fig. 573}), 11 Athens, 12 f. Berlin, 14 J. Anderson, \textit{id.} in the \textit{Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.} 1912 xiv. 278 fig. 23 Athens), on a bronze medallion struck by Commodus in 191 A.D. (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner \textit{op. cit.} iii. 129 pl. Z, 13 British Museum (\textit{supra} p. 695 n. 5), J. N. Svoronos in the \textit{Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.} 1912 xiv. 275 f. pl. 15', 5 British Museum; Frohner \textit{Mitt. emp. rom.} 137 f. fig. (\textit{=my fig. 575}).

\[\text{Fig. 573.}\]

\[\text{Fig. 574.}\]

\[\text{Fig. 575.}\]

fig. 574) Paris, Gneechi \textit{Medagl. Rom.} ii. 57 no. 47 pl. 81, 6 Paris), and on one of the gold medallions from Abukir (H. Dressel \textit{Fünf Goldmedaillons aus dem Funde von Abukir} \textit{supra} i. 59 n. 6) Berlin 1906 pp. 15 f., 55, 74 f. pl. 3, 3 (\textit{=my fig. 575}), J. N. Svoronos \textit{loc. cit.} 1912 xiv. 278 ff. fig. 24. The column is inscribed \textit{OAVM | ΠΙΙΑ | ΔΟC}, which, as R. Mowat saw, must be read \textit{Oikήματα διότι i.e. the Olympic games held in the year 274 of the Actian era (\textit{=242/3 A.D.})}. \textit{Cp. supra} p. 258 fig. 254. These examples of owl-on-column recall the description in Longfellow's \textit{Hyperion} Liverpool 1848 p. 79: 'the owl is a grave bird,—a monk, who chants midnight mass in the great temple of Nature,—an anchorite—a pillar saint—a very Simeon Stilites of his neighbourhood.'

\(^1\) S. Casson in the \textit{Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum} Cambridge 1921 ii. 37, 253. My fig. 572 is from L. Ross \textit{Archäologische Aufsätze} Leipzig 1855 pl. 14, 2.
fixed on one or other of the pillars. And what Casson regards as probable is, I think, susceptible of proof. An unpublished *amphora*
The owl of Athena

781

at Berlin dating from the latter part of the fifth century (pl. lx)^1 shows a worthy citizen of Athens obviously fascinated by the uncanny bird! And well he might be, for the owl was the goddess herself in animal form—θηά γλαυκόπις Ἀθηνή[^4]. Whatever that phrase denoted or connoted to the readers and even to the writers of the Homeric poems[^4], it was certainly a line of pre-hexameter verse describing Athena in all probability as a 'goddess with the eyes, or face, or aspect, of an owl.' On this showing it points backwards to a time when it was believed that Athena could take shape as a bird. Homer makes her appear on sundry occasions as a pigeon[^5], a hawk[^6], a kite or a shearwater[^7], a vulture[^8], a

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[^1]: Furtwangler, Vasensamml. Berlin ii. 836 no. 2993 from Nola. Height 0'33 m.
[^2]: Furtwangler notes: 'L. eine eigentümliche Säule ohne Kapitell (Holz-Pfeiler); davor l. ein niederer Pfeiler, darauf eine Eule (Anathem?). R. gegenüber ein bärtiger Mann im Mantel nach l., mit Stock.' I am indebted to Mr A. D. Trendall for the photograph reproduced in my pl. lx. He tells me that the vase belongs to a group of local Campanian imitations of Attic ware, for a list of which see J. D. Beazley Greek Vases in Poland Oxford 1928 p. 77 n. 5.
[^3]: The tags γλαυκώπις 'Αθηνή and θέα γλαυκώπις 'Αθηνή are both frequent, alike in Iliad and Odyssey, but always at the end of the hexameter and normally in the nominative case. On occasion we find the accusative γλαυκώπις 'Αθηνή (Od. i. 156, h. Αφρ. 8) or γλαυκώπις 'Αθηνή (h. Αφρ. 312), the genitive 'Αθηναία γλαυκώπιδος (Il. 6. 88, h. Περ. 2), the dative 'Αθηναία γλαυκώπιδα (Il. 9. 390, 11. 729, 13. 769). Fuller phrases are Παλλαδ' 'Αθηναία... γλαυκώπια (h. Αθ. 25. 1 f.), Δίας γλαυκώπιδα κοφή (Od. 2. 453), κοφή γλαυκώπιδα και Δίω πατρί (Od. 14. 518), and even γλαυκώπιδα κοφή without mention of Zeus (Il. 24. 26). On the other hand, γλαυκώπις can be used by itself in nominative (Il. 8. 406, Od. 6. 47), vocative (Il. 8. 420, Od. 13. 389), accusative (Il. 8. 373, Od. 3. 135, 24. 540), and genitive (h. Αθ. 28. 10). See further H. Ebeling Lexicon Homericon Lipsiae 1885 i. 36 and 239.

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[^5]: Supra i. 444, ii. 284 n. 0.
[^6]: II. 7. 58 f. (with Apollon). D'Arcy W. Thompson A Glossary of Greek Birds Oxford 1895 p. 16 look αγνωστοι in Homer and later writers to mean 'vulture.' But Sir W. M. Ramsay Asianic Elements in Greek Civilisation London 1917 pp. 60—61 adduces strong reasons for thinking that the Homeric αγνωστοι were 'hawks,' not vultures at all.
[^7]: Il. 19. 350 f. The word ἀργυρί is equated with λευκόν, 'kite,' by Hesych. s.v. ἀργυρίς: εἴδος ἄργυρον... λευκόν. Κρίνης, Τzetz. chil. 5. 413 f. λευκόν ἄργυρο τῆς ἐστίν, ἄργυρο καλλίων ἀργυρί, ἀργυρίῳ τα νέατα τα τῶν ἀλεκτρολόων. But H. Stuart Jones in the new Liddell and Scott, on the strength of Aristot. hist. an. 9. 1. 609 a 23 f., etc., says 'unknown bird of prey, prob. shearwater.' More in D'Arcy W. Thompson op. cit. p. 35 f.
[^8]: Od. 3. 371 f. Ι render φυγή by 'vulture' as supra ii. 1122. So too D'Arcy
swallow\textsuperscript{1}, and a bird of indeterminate kind\textsuperscript{2}. The precise species would depend on local conditions. At Korone in Messenia, where Pausanias\textsuperscript{3} saw a bronze statue of Athena holding a crow, the goddess herself may have been symbolised by her attribute\textsuperscript{4}. At Megara, where a headland projected into the sea, there was a well-

Fig. 577.


\textsuperscript{1} \textit{Od.} 33. 239 f.  \textsuperscript{2} \textit{Od.} 1. 320.

\textsuperscript{3} Paus. 4. 34- 6. C. Robert in the \textit{Arch. Zeit.} 1882 xl. 173 mentions among objects recently found in Italy, especially in Hadrian's Villa, 'eine Bronzestatuette der Athene mit einer Krähe auf dem Arme.'

\textsuperscript{4} Gruppe \textit{Gr. Myth. Rel.} p. 844 n. 2 'Koronis, von Poseidon verfolgt, wird durch Athena in eine Krahe verwandelt (\textit{Ov.} M 2 356-63...): das ist wahrscheinlich der Rest einer Legende, in der die Göttin selbst die Gestalt des Vogels annahm.' To the same effect A. Klock in the \textit{Archiv f. Rel.} 1915 xviii. 127 f.

A Boeotian plate in the British Museum shows \textit{inter alia} the sacrifice of an ox to Athena. Behind the goddess is her snake, and a Doric column to indicate her temple. Before her is an altar from which flames are rising, while a bird—crow rather than cock—is perched proudly on the top of it (Sir C. Smith in the \textit{Journ. Hell. Stud.} i. 202—209 (‘a crow’) pl. 7 (part of which = my fig. 577), \textit{Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases} ii. 76 f. no. B 80 (‘either a crow, or a cock’), W. Reichel \textit{Über vorhellenische Götterculte} Wien 1897 p. 41 f. fig. 11 (‘der Krähe’), S. Wide in the \textit{Sertum philologicum Carolo Ferdinando Johansson oblatum} Göteborg 1910 p. 63 pl. 1, i (‘ein Vogel’) Pfuhl \textit{Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.} i. 207 with n. 1 iii. 39 fig. 169). Such a position no doubt implies that the bird stands in a special relation to the deity (Miss E. M. Douglas \textit{(Mrs Van Buren)} in the \textit{Journ. Hell. Stud.} 1912 xxxii. 174 f. well compares a black-figured \textit{amphora} in the Archaeological Seminar at Upsala (fig. 1= my fig. 578) and an engraved gold ring of c. 400 B.C. in the British Museum (\textit{Brit. Mus. Cat. Finger Rings} p. 13 no. 59 pl. 2) (fig. 2= my fig. 579). In the one case the owl on the altar betokens a sacrifice to Athena: in the other, the eagle on the altar spells a sacrifice to Zeus), but hardly amounts to a demonstration of ornithomorphism.
known cult of Athena *Aithyia*, 'the Gull'. The Megarians declared that Athena once took upon herself the form of a gull, hid Kekrops beneath her wings, and carried him across to Megara. At Athens


The appellation *Aithyia* denotes some species of gull (D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 17: 'Probably a large Gull, e.g. *Larus marinus*, the Black-backed Gull (Sundevall), or *L. argentatus*, the Herring Gull (Krüper), the former being rare in Greece'), perhaps the shearwater (D'Arcy W. Thompson in the *Class. Rev.* 1918 xxii. 94 f. with the very rash suggestion that the modern name for this sea-fowl *Fallante* (at Naples and Lucca) or *Fallante* (in the island of Giglio, S. Italy) 'can scarcely be other than the "Bird of Pallas," or Pallas herself,' while another Italian term for it, *Aipu*, may contain 'an echo of *aithyia*'). Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1385, 65 f.  καὶ εἰς ἄλλα ὄνομα *Aithyia* (Lyk. *Al.* 359 quoted *supra* p. 603 n. 4), ἵνα φωνήρος does not justify R. Hildebrandt *op. cit.* p. 19 in supposing an allusion to Athena's 'aetheria sive ignea natura' (*supra* p. 781 n. 3).

1 Paus. 1. 5. 3 καὶ δὴ καὶ Παιδίων ἐβασίλευσεν δ' τε (so Bekker for δ τοῦ codd.) Ἐρχθηνίων καὶ ὁ Κέκρως τοῦ δεύτερον τοῦτον Μητριόβηα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐξελάτωσεν, καὶ οἱ φιγώντες τὰ Μεγαρὰ — νεανικὰ γὰρ ἔχει Πολύ τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος ἐν Μεγάροις—συνεκ- πίστωσιν οἱ ταῖδε. καὶ Παιδίων μὲν αὐτὸν λέγεται νοσήματα ἀπόθεμεν, καὶ οἱ πρὸς θαλάσση μυθια ἐστίν ἐν τῇ Μεγαρᾶ ἐν 'Αθηνᾶς (so Xylander for ἄθραμα codd.) Ἀθηνᾶς καλομένης σκουτῆρα, 1. 41. 6 καὶ τούτον δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καταβάς Παιδίων εἰς τὸν ἱμάρον. καὶ ο፤ μὲν ἐτάφη Παιδίων ἐν Αἴθυιας (so Xylander for ἄθραμα codd.) Ἀθηνᾶς καλομένης σκουτῆρας, δεδηλωτέκνης τὸ λέγειν ὅτι μὲν τιμᾶς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει παρὰ Μεγαρῶν ἐχεῖ. The relations of Megara to Athens are discussed by K. Hanell *Megarische Studien* Lund 1934 p. 35ff. See further A. Klock 'Athene Aithyia' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1915 xviii. 127—133, who notes that Leukothea too after helping Odysseus dived into the sea *Aithyia* (Ap. Rhod. 4. 966).

The appellation *Aithyia* denotes some species of gull (D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 17: 'Probably a large Gull, e.g. *Larus marinus*, the Black-backed Gull (Sundevall), or *L. argentatus*, the Herring Gull (Krüper), the former being rare in Greece'), perhaps the shearwater (D'Arcy W. Thompson in the *Class. Rev.* 1918 xxii. 94 f. with the very rash suggestion that the modern name for this sea-fowl *Fallante* (at Naples and Lucca) or *Fallante* (in the island of Giglio, S. Italy) 'can scarcely be other than the "Bird of Pallas," or Pallas herself,' while another Italian term for it, *Aipu*, may contain 'an echo of *aithyia*'). Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1385, 65 f. καὶ εἰς ἄλλα ὄνομα *Aithyia* (Lyk. *Al.* 359 quoted *supra* p. 603 n. 4), ἵνα φωνήρος does not justify R. Hildebrandt *op. cit.* p. 19 in supposing an allusion to Athena's 'aetheria sive ignea natura' (*supra* p. 781 n. 3).
The owl of Athena

of course she was an owl. Hence the appearance of an owl was hailed as an omen of victory. In the *Wasps* the old dikasts attribute their repulse of the Persians to the timely arrival of an owl:

Yet we drove their ranks before us, ere the fall of eventide:

As we closed, an owl flew o'er us, and the Gods were on our side!

The scholiast—shrewd fellow—remarks: ‘He is here speaking of Athena as an owl.’ According to Plutarch, just before Salamis an owl came flying from the right, perched on Themistokles’ mast-top, and so induced the Greeks to follow that commander's advice. Posterity concluded that Themistokles was a man of resource. Agathokles too on one occasion (310 B.C.) routed the Carthaginians by the simple expedient of uncaging a few owls. They settled on the shields and helmets of his men, who with confidence restored promptly defeated the foe. An allusion to this incident has been detected on a unique gold statér of Agathokles, struck between

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6. Diod. 20. 11.

The owl of Athena

310 and 304 B.C., which has for its reverse type (fig. 580) Athena winged and weaponed advancing into the fray with an owl at her side. As a presage of victory the bird passed into a proverb. 'There goes an owl!' men said when there were obvious symptoms of a coming triumph.

If the owl was indeed regarded as Athena herself in bird-form, we can understand why the town-arms of Athens were an owl between two sprigs of olive. A good example, which came to light in 1839 at Palaiopolis (Korkyra), is now in the British Museum (fig. 581). An inscription in silver-filled letters of s. iv B.C. records a grant of proxenia made by the Corecyraeans to a certain Athenian named Dionysios, son of Phrynichos. It is incised on a bronze

![Fig. 580.](image)

1 The bird which portended victory to friends naturally portended defeat to foes. Consequently the owl had also a sinister significance, on which see P. Perdrizet 'Sur le folk-lore de la chouette dans l'antiquité' in the Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France 1903 pp. 164–170. I add a couple of contrasted examples. Hieron ii of Syracuse was entering on his first campaign, when an owl perched on his spear and an eagle on his shield: this meant that he would be both a prudent counsellor and a powerful king (Aist. 23. 4. 10). Pyrrhos i of Epeiros was riding towards Argos by night, when an owl perched on the top of his spear: this foretold his miserable death (Aist. de nat. an. 10. 37). We must remember that the Argives were protected by their goddess Athena 'Oειδης (Paus. i. 24. 2: supra ii. 501 n. 2), who may well have appeared to Pyrrhos as an owl.


2 Παραγωγα (Zenob. 2. 89, Diogencian. 3. 71, Apostol. 5. 54, Gregor. Kypr. cod. Leid. i. 83, Souid. s.v.); Παθενικιον (Bekker anecol. i. 232, 30 ff. cited supra p. 784 n. 5); Πατησιον (Diogencian. 3. 93).

The owl of Athena

plate, which takes the shape of a small temple surmounted by a pediment with akrotéria. In the pediment stands an owl between two olive-sprays, which form a sort of wreath round her. The same city-arms reappear on a whole series of red-figured skýphoi. Of these over one hundred and fifty specimens are known\(^1\), ranging from \(c.\ 490\) B.C. down to the end of Attic vase-painting\(^2\) and on

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1 D. M. Robinson—C. G. Harcum—J. H. Iliffe A Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology Toronto The Univ. of Toronto Press 1930 i. 183 f. nos. 373 and 374 pl. 65, no. 375 pl. 67 list some 106 examples. W. B. Dinsmoor in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1934 xxxviii. 420 n. 6 cites 35 more, and draws attention to yet others recovered from the Akropolis (Graef Ant. Vasen Athen ii. 47 . nos. 529—537 ('Eulenskyphoi') pl. 49).

2 W. B. Dinsmoor loc. cit. p. 420.
into the period of south-Italian imitations. I give an example from
my collection (fig. 582), in which the red is an opaque pigment
laid on the black glaze, the idea of the potter being to produce
a cheap copy of red-figured ware. Sir Cecil Smith maintained
that such cups were 'made for some special official or religious
occasion.' But, unless there is some further indication of solemn or
sacred usage, we should be ill-advised to assume it. It would be
wiser to compare the china mugs of our childhood inscribed in gilt
lettering 'A present from Brighton' or the modern souvenirs of
Goss ware adorned with local arms. Greater seriousness of intention

Fig. 582.

attaches to a broken kylix (fig. 583) found on the Akropolis at
Athens in the excavations of 1886 and referable to a date preceding
the Persian sack of 480 B.C. Owl and olive-sprays are painted
inside, brick-red on a black ground. But this time the potter,
a young man offering as in duty bound his maiden effort to Athena,
has encircled the design with an inscription: '[...]'os dedicated
(this) as his firstfruits.' Again, in 1867 the Museum at Athens
acquired a cylindrical vessel of red ware, made with the utmost

1 Id. ib n. 5.
2 Thick fabric. Height 3½ ins. The design on both sides is practically identical.
3 H. B. Walters History of Ancient Pottery London 1905 i. 394.
5 J. Six in the Gaz. Arch. 1888 xiii. 290 pl. 29, 9 (= my fig. 583).
6 [- -] OΣΑΝΕΟΕΚΕΝΑΠΑΔΕΝ.
The owl of Athena

Nicety to serve as an official *chotnix* or 'quart'. Half way up its outer surface is an inscription, which, though imperfect, can be read as *demósion*, 'a public (measure). Near the first letter of this word is stamped an owl looking towards the right with an olive-branch on its left: it is accompanied by the legend *Ath*[

Fig. 583.

These two reliefs, implying small stamps or seals of excellent work, were compared by A. Dumont with Athenian coins of the 'new style' (c. 220 B.C. and later). His comparison was most just; for coins, as T. Burgon pointed out long ago, are nothing but 'pieces of sealed metal,' and

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2 T. Burgon in the *Numismatic Journal* 1837 i. 118.
their types, as Sir George Macdonald has made abundantly clear, are for the most part simply badges of the issuing town or magistrate. I think we may go further and assert that, alike on the quart-measure and on the coins, the owl and Athena represent the animal form and the human form of the self-same goddess.

A similar explanation must be given of the owl stamped on the bronze tickets (figs. 584, 585) and on the bronze (figs. 586, 587).
The owl of Athena

587) or lead tokens (figs. 589, 590) of Athenian dikasts, of the owl branded on the bodies of Athenian slaves, and doubtless of other analogous cases.

Either a limited number of jurymen took the trouble to acquire this surcharge on their tickets, or the custom of surcharging all jurymen's tickets prevailed for a limited period."

1 J. N. Svoronos 'ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣΙΤΗΡΙΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΩΝ' in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1898 i. 37—120 pls. 3—6, *id. Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pls. 100—102, Babelon *Mnns. gr. rom.* i. t. 696—700. E. Caillemer in Darenberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 191 figs. 2411 Berlin and 2412 Meletopoulos (= my figs. 587 and 586) published two specimens, which have for reverse type four owls grouped about two sprigs of olive with the legend *ΘΕΟΙ ΘΕΟΙ*. They bear a curious, but presumably accidental, resemblance to a clay seal-impression found by Sir A. J. Evans in 1903 towards the bottom of the 'Eastern Repository' at Knossos and referred by him to his 'Middle Minoan iii' period, *i.e.* c. 1700—1580 B.C. (Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 55 ff. fig. 33 (= my fig. 588; scale 1/2), *id. The Palace of Minos* at Knossos London 1921 i. 695 f. fig. 518, *f.* cp. *ib.* 1935 iv. 2. 487 with fig. 410, *a—b* 'Early Minoan' breccia cup from Mochlos and fig. 410 bis, *a—d* ivory seal of similar date from Mesara—both cut into the shape of a little owl).

2 J. N. Svoronos 'ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣΙΤΗΡΙΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΩΝ' in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1900 iii. 319—343 pls. 17—20, Babelon *Mnns. gr. rom.* i. t. 700—705. E. Caillemer in Darenberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 192 f. figs. 2413 and 2414 (= my figs. 590 and 589) published two specimens, on which the owl appears between two spray of olive lettered *ΟΗ*.  

3 During the Samian War the Athenians branded their prisoners on the face with an...
The owl of Athena

We have said that the owl, as issuing from the Akropolis rock, was held to be a special manifestation or embodiment of Athena the rock-goddess. It is, however, possible that there was a further cause for its sanctity at Athens, and one which brings it into closer connexion with Zeus. O. Gruppe has pointed out that over a wide area of the ancient world birds of prey were believed to be filled with the fire of the celestial region from which they came darting down, a fire that blazed in the colouring of their beaks or glittered in their flashing eyes. Some birds indeed got their name from their fiery nature—the phlegyas, the phléxis, the incendiaria avis, the owl (Ail. var. hist. ii. 9), while the Samians branded theirs with a galley (Douris of Samos Σαμιων άπατον frag. 59 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 483 Müller)—frag. 66 (Frag. gr. Hist. ii. 153 Jacoby with n. ad loc.) ap. Phot. lex. and Souid. s.v. Σαμιων άπατον δημος). Plout. v. Per. 26 has inverted the facts.

1 Supra pp. 749, 764, 776 ff.  
3 Analogous modern beliefs are collected by N. W. Thomas in J. Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1908 i. 529 ff. (‘Thunderbird’), J. Rendel Harris Boanerges Cambridge 1913 pp. 20–30 (‘The Thunder-bird’), Harrison Themis p. 113 ff. (‘Mana of Birds,’ ‘Sanctity of Birds’).

4 Supra i. 199 and ii. 113 π. 9.  
5 Aristoph. av. 884 with schol. ad loc. D'Arcy W. Thompson A Glossary of Greek Birds Oxford 1895 p. 181 suggests relation of φλεγός to φλεγάς, from φλέγω, fulgeo, etc. The suggestion is highly probable.

6 Plin. nat. hist. 10. 36 inauspicata est et incendiaria avis, quam propter saepenumero lustratam urbem in annalibus invenimus, sicut L. Cassio C. Mario cos. (107 B.C.), quo anno et bubone viso lustratam esse. quae sit avis ea non reperitur nee traditur. quidam ita interpretantur, incendiariam esse quaecumque apparuerit carbonem ferens ex aris vel altaribus. alii spinturnicem eam vocant, sed haec ipsa quae inter alves qui se scire diceret non inveni.

Pliny's account of the incendiaria avis, which, some said, appeared bringing embers from the altars, leaves us guessing. On the one hand, we are reminded of the phoenix carrying its parent's body to the altar of the Sun at Heliopolis and burning it there (Tac. ann. 6. 28: see further Türk in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 3450 ff., supra i. 341). On the other hand, the name may cover some forgotten rite, perhaps comparable with the Scoppio del Carro on Easter Eve at Florence. The ‘Sacred Fire’ is then struck from flints brought by one of the Fazzi family from Jerusalem in the middle ages and kept in the church of the Holy Apostles on the Piazza del Limbo. A candle thus lit is taken in solemn procession to the high altar in the Cathedral. Meantime two splendid white oxen with crimson housings and gilded horns, wreathed with flowers and evergreens, have drawn the Carro, a four-sided erection tapering both towards the top and towards the base and covered with fireworks, to a point on the Piazza del Duomo between the Cathedral and the Baptistry. Here it is connected by a wire with a pillar set up in front of the high altar. ‘Precisely at noon the “Gloria” was reached, and as the first words were sung the sacred fire was applied to the pillar, which, like the “Carro,” was wreathed with fireworks. This was the supreme moment of the ceremony; with a hissing sound, amid a shower of sparks, a dove, apparently of fire, flew from the pillar along the wire,—it should have reached the “Carro,” and setting that alight, returned to the altar from whence it came, on the success or non-success of its flight depending, in the opinion of the Contadini, the fate of this year’s harvest. By some unhappy chance it flew no farther than midway down the nave, where, with a last despairing “fizzle,” it became extinguished,
The owl of Athena

spinturnix\(^1\). So charged with heat was the eagle that, had it not introduced a piece of cool jet into its nest, it would positively have cooked its own eggs\(^2\)! Viewed in this context the name \textit{Aithyia}\(^3\) becomes significant. It is best explained as an old participle of the verb \textit{aitho}, \textit{I burn}\(^4\), and suggests a burnt or fiery colour\(^5\). In point of fact the herring-gull is distinguished by its yellow, bill, which has a patch of bright red at the basal angle; the eye too is of a beautiful straw-colour set in a frame of vermicul formed by the rim of the eyelid\(^6\). Again, the little owl—\textit{Athene noctua}, as the ornithologists term it—certainly derived its name \textit{glalax} from the fiery glance of

revealing itself as a stuffed bird tied on to a bundle of squibs. Immediately the spectators rushed upon it, each trying to secure at least a feather.... That evening the walls were placarded with the announcement of a “Mala Pasqua,” and all sorts of misfortunes for the present year were freely prophesied’ (Jessie L. Weston in \textit{Folk-Lore} 1905 xvi. 182—184, Frazer \textit{Golden Bough}\(^3\): Balder the Beautiful i. 126 f.). I witnessed the ceremony myself on Saturday, 15 April 1922, when the fiery bird made its double flight in safety, the \textit{Carro} burst in fine style, and the crowd filling the Piazza scrambled for the smouldering fragments.


\(^3\) \textit{Supra} p. 783 n. 1.

\(^4\) K. Brugmann \textit{Griechische Grammatik} München 1900 p. 210 (cp. \textit{εγνα} and the like). Boisacq \textit{Diot. Æym. de la Langue Gr.} p. 23 doubts this derivation, being more impressed by the fact that so many bird-names begin with \textit{al-}, possibly to be identified with \textit{avī-s}.


The owl of Athena

its eyes. Such birds, swooping upon their prey by sea or land, would appeal to the imagination of a simple folk and might well be regarded as lightning-birds appropriate to Athena, who wielded the thunderbolt of Zeus. This is speculative, and of course uncertain. But, so far as the owl is concerned, further evidence is forthcoming. Columella, describing the rites by which the country people sought to avert wind and weather, says:

Hence Amythaon's son, whom Cheiron taught,
On crosses hung the night-birds and on roof-tops
Would have them cry no more their deadly dirge.

Palladius follows suit, and in his farmer's calendar, among other magic means of warding off hail-stones, gives the recipe: 'Or else an owl is nailed up with wide-spread wings.' The same cure is still popular in Germany and elsewhere. C. Swainson, a well-known authority on bird-lore, remarks: 'Owls are often nailed up on barn doors or walls. The meaning of this custom is now unknown in our own rural districts; but in Germany the peasants will tell you it is done to avert lightning. The owl, it is to be observed, is a lightning-bird.' If so, we get rid of one small difficulty. It might have been thought that the divine power resident in the head of Zeus would have been born as an eagle, not an owl. But the owl of Athena, as we now perceive, was virtually equivalent to the eagle of Zeus. The equation seems to have struck the Greeks themselves in

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1 Eustath. in II. p. 1201, 10 ff. τὸ δὲ γλαυκῶν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐμπυρού βλέπων κατὰ τοὺς πελαγίδας παρὰ τὸ γλασθὼν, ἢ τὸ ἐκ γλαυκώς δὲ μόνη τῶν γαμφωνίκων καὶ σαρκοφάγων φαίνει μή τίκτει τυφλά διὰ τὸ περὶ τούτων ὀφθαλμῶν τυρώδεις, ὁ ματικός δὲ διαφέρει τὴν θεάν, διὸ καὶ τοῖς σκοτουμαίοις ὑπὲρ. The source of this note was Demokritos of Abdera (H. Diels Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker Berlin 1912 ii. 52, 13 ff.), cp. et. mag. p. 333, 10 ff. Δημόκριτος, but Zonar. lex. p. 439 and Favorin. lex. p. 422, 16 ff. Δημόκριτος. Modern philology supports the ancient derivation: see L. Meyer Handb. d. gr. Etym. iii. 68, Prellwitz op. cit.p. 95, Boisacq op. cit. p. 150.

2 First in Aisch. Eum. 817 f., cp. Pind. frag. 146 Bergk, 146 Schroeder πῦρ τεχνώτως ἦ τε κεραυνόν ἣ ἤγχοντα δεξιὰν κατὰ χεῖρα πατρὸς ἣ ἄρης...; then on coins, gems, etc. See Preller—Robert Gr. Myth. i. 191, W. H. Roscher in his Lex. Myth. i. 677 f., Farnell Cults of Gr. States i. 330, and infra § 9 (h) ii (λ) (5).

3 Colum. de re rust. 10. 348 ff. Melampous. Pallad. i. 35. 1.


6 Supra p. 733 f.
The owl of Athena

Hellenistic times. Bronze coins of Pergamon (fig. 591) show an owl on a winged thunderbolt inscribed ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ, ‘of Athena the Bringer of Victory.’ A similar type occurs on gold and silver of Tarentum and on bronze of Herakleia in Lucania and Amastris in Paphlagonia, while small bronze pieces issued at Athens have two owls face to face on a thunderbolt. Finally, Zeus himself has an owl, not an eagle, as his attribute on imperial bronze coins of Akmoneia in Phrygia and on others struck by Alexandros i Balas at Kyrhrhos in Syria (supra ii. 15 n. 5 fig. 2).

The passage from the ornithomorphic to the anthropomorphic conception of Athena involves several successive stages:

1. Athena as a bird.
2. Athena as a bird with human arms.
3. Athena as a bird with human head.
4. Athena as a goddess with bird’s wings.
5. Athena as a goddess with a bird for her attribute.

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2 Hunter Cat. Coins i. 68 no. 24.
7 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phrygia pp. xxiii, 9 f. pl. 3, 3 (=my fig. 593) and 4 (=my fig. 594). Fig. 592 is from a specimen kindly given to me by Mr C. T. Seltman, who notes that the magistrates L. Servenius Capito and Iulia Severa are apparently husband and wife, both holding priestly office under Nero.
The owl of Athena

The first stage we have already considered. It was perhaps best exemplified by the Megarian cult of Athena "Aithyia, 'the Gull'. But there were substantial grounds for thinking that at Athens Athena took the form of an owl.

We have next to note how the bird becomes human-armed. A series of moulded terra-cotta pendants found in south Italy, especially in the neighbourhood of Tarentum, represents an owl that has not only wings but human hands as well and is spinning with distaff, yarn, and wool-basket all complete (figs. 595, 596). These odd-looking objects are always pierced with a couple of holes and seem to have served originally as loom-weights. There can be little doubt that the owl spinning is Athena Ergéne in her character as patron of women's handiwork.

The transition from bird to human-headed bird can be illustrated by an early Corinthian aryballos, found in Aigina and now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Breslau (fig. 597). This shows Herakles contending with the Lernaean Hydra. The hero has already cut off one of the monster's ten heads: it is to be seen above, that is beyond, the horses on the right. Undaunted by two

1 Supra p. 783 nn. 1, 2.
2 Supra p. 784 ff.
4 The examples so far known are two in the Museum at Bari—nos. 2910 (R. Engelmann in the Rev. Arch. 1906 ii. 453 fig. 1) and 1851 (id. ib. fig. 3), one in the Jatta collection at Ruvo, another at Brindisi (id. in the Rev. Arch. 1903 ii. 133 fig. 1 wrongly described), another belonging to C. Hülsen at Rome (id. in the Rev. Arch. 1906 ii. 453 fig. 2), a sixth in the Louvre (E. Pottier in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1908 xxxii. 541 pl. 7, 3 (the most complete and the most grotesque)), a seventh in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (P. Perdrizet in the Mélanges Perrot Paris 1902 p. 264 fig. 4, G. Fougeres in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 1915 fig. 5045), an eighth in the Museum at Lausanne (W. Deonna in the Angeiger für schweizerische Altertumskunde. Indicateur d'antiquités suisses. N.S. 1910 p. 46 fig. 17). I add a specimen from Tarentum now in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas p. 450 no. E 179, my fig. 595) and another in my possession (fig. 596).
5 So R. Engelmann in the Rev. Arch. 1903 ii. 122 f., 1906 ii. 453 f. But P. Wuilleumier ib. 1932 i. 47 still includes them among the religio-magical 'disques de Tarente' (on which see supra ii. 131 n. 1).
6 So first P. Perdrizet in the Mélanges Perrot Paris 1903 p. 264 f. 
7 O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi. 428—430. C. Swainson The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds London 1886 p. 124 records a (German?) tradition that the owl is an old weaver spinning with silver threads. Id. ib. p. 97 notes that the nightjar is called a 'Churr owl' in Aberdeen and a 'Spinner' in Wexford. Cp. G. Meredith Love in the Valley 35 f. 'Lone on the fir-branch, his rattle-note unvaried, / Brooding o'er the gloom, spins the brown evejar.'
8 O. Rossbach Fest-Graß... der vierzigsten Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schuleninner in Goerlitz Breslau 1889 pp. 5—19 with fig. (=my fig. 597) reproduced on a smaller scale by Harrison Proleg. Gr. Rel. 2 p. 393 fig. 81.
The owl of Athena
more heads, which are biting deep into his shoulders, and by a large
 crab, which is nipping his legs, Herakles has run a long sword
 through two of the snaky necks, wounded a third, and grasped
 a fourth by the throttle. Even so he would be in imminent danger,
 were it not for the presence of Iolaos, who, attacking the Hydra
 from the opposite side, reaps three of its heads with a single pull of
 his toothed sickle. To right and left, marked off from each other by
 a flying bird, stand the chariots of Iolaos and Herakles, four-
 horsed and two-horsed respectively. In the former a young
 charioteer, Lapythos by name, holds his goad and reins in readiness
 for flight, while he turns his head to watch the combat. In the
 latter Athena had escorted Herakles. She has now dismounted and
 stands close at his back, inviting him with a gesture of her left hand
 to refresh his strength with a draught from the cup that she holds
 in her right. On the reins of the chariot is perched her owl; on the
 goad, a woman-headed bird, beside which is inscribed the word
 *wous*. M. Mayer\(^1\) took this to be a variant form of *phɔyx* or *phyx*, an
 echoic name for 'gull.' The woman-headed bird would then be an
 *altera ego* of Athena *Aithyia*. But my friend the late Dr P. Giles
 informed me years ago that Mayer's explanation is phonetically
 impossible: the assumed interchange of an initial labial with an
 initial digamma depends on the mistaken view that digamma was
 pronounced like our letter *f*. Dr Giles himself suggested that *wous*
 might be a local onomatopoeic name for 'owl,' comparing the
 imitation of an owl's hoot, which in a poem by Thomas Nash\(^2\)
 appears as *to-witta-woo*! and in another by Shakespeare\(^3\) as
 *Tuwhit! Tuwhoo*! I gladly accept this suggestion, especially as the

\(^1\) M. Mayer in *Hermes* 1892 xxvii. 481—487, citing Aristot. *hist. an.* 9. 18. 617 a 9
 φως, Hesych. πώς: πώς ὤσης. ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ περὶ ἔως, et. mag. p. 699, 10 f.
 πώς ὤσης: αἱ ἄλωνι, αἱ ληθεὺσει βουγγεῖσ. παρὰ τὴν βοῦν καὶ τὴν ἴπτερα, concludes that
 ἔως was the Corinthian form of βουγγεῖς, φώς, πώς. Harrison *Proleg. Gr. Rel.* p. 303 f.
 follows him.

O. Rossbach *op. cit.* p. 14 leaves the word (ΜΥΟΣ) unexplained, but *ib.* n. 1 adds
 that Studemund proposed a connexion with the root βαό- of βαῖς.


\(^3\) *ib.* p. 17 *Winter* 8, 17.

\(^4\) Onomatopoeic names for 'owl' are common in the Indo-European languages
 (Schrader *Reallex.* ii. 216\(^4\), citing J. Winteler *Naturleute und Sprache* Aarau 1892
 p. 10 f.), e.g. Sanskrit *úlaka*, Latin *ulocus*, *ulula*, Old High German *úwila*, Lithuanian
 *úmas*; Armenian *bû’à*, Greek *πούς*, *βώσα*, Latin *băbo*. Cpr. Hesych. τυών - ἃ γαλάξ
 quae tu tu usque dicit tibi?

J. D. Beazley in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1937 xxxi. 348 no. 8 fig. 1 publishes a red-
 figured amphora on sale in Paris, which shows an owl with the letters KYYY scratched
 just below its beak (fig. 598 from a photograph kindly supplied by Mr C. D. Bicknell).
The owl of Athena

wous on the vase, except for its human head, resembles in all respects the unmistakable owl perched beside it. In short, I con-

Fig. 598.

Prof. Beazley cp. Aristoph. av. 261 κικκαβαθ κικκαβαθ, schol. ad loc. τάς γαλακτάς ὀσμεὶς λέγοντω. δὴ καὶ κικκαβάς αὐτάς λέγοντω. ἔστι δὲ ἐκεῖ τὴν Αθηνᾶν. κ.τ.λ. (more in Stephanus Thes. Gr. Ling. iv. 1551 c and in F. H. M. Blaydes on Aristoph. Λυσ. 760 f. ἐγὼ δὲ ὀπὸ τῶν γαλακτῶν τάλαν ψάλλων ἀπὸλλυμαι | ταῖς ἀγρυπτίαις κικκαβαϑῳ ὄντας), and the modern Greek κοκκοβαγή, κοβκος (where, however, we have to reckon with assimilation to the note of the cuckoo (Schrader Reallex. ii. 216 f.)). I would rather illustrate the graffito KYYY from Browning's line in Andrea del Sarto 'The cue-owls speak the name we call them by.'

E. Pernice 'Ein korinthischer Pinax' in the Festschrift für Otto Benndorf Wien 1898
receive that the Corinthian potter has here synchronised in an instructive series three distinct stages in the evolution of Athena—the ornithomorphic, the semi-ornithomorphic, and the anthropomorphic. Another Corinthian aryballos, in the Karlsruhe collection.

Fig: 599.

pp. 75—80 with fig. (= my fig. 599. Scale 1/8) puts together four fragments of a Corinthian pinax at Berlin (Furtwängler Vasensamml. Berlin i. 76 no. 683, 78 no. 757, 89 f. nos. 822 and 829 'Stil des Timoúdis'), on which a man named Δόρος stokes a potter's oven. Before it stands a small ithyphallic figure of the sort known as βασκάνων (Aristoph. fab. insert. frag. 39 (Frag. comm. Gr. ii. 1185 Meineke) cf. Poll. 7. 108, cp. Bekker anec. i. 30, 3 ff.), here named Δόρος—(? cp. λάσταφος, λακασσίς, or the like). Upon it is perched a large owl named φώκα (Roehl Inscr. Gr. ant. no. 29, 69, F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel Gr. Dial.-Inscr. iii. i. 66 no. 3119 h 69 Φώκα or φώκα, Inscr. Gr. Pelop. i. no. 313 φώκα), cp. Hesych. φακίων’h克里斯 τοιός. The word, like φωκή 'a seal,' may be a derivative of the Indo-European *phōu- 'to blow, puff': so φώδε (Prellwitz Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr. 2 p. 498 f., Boisacq Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr. p. 1044 f.), if not also our puffin (but see E. Weekley An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English London 1921 p. 1166).

It is interesting to see the same three stages combined on a red-figure kylix potted by Pamphaios, found at Todi, and now preserved in the Villa Giulia (G. Bendinelli in the Mon. d. Lince. 1916 xxiv. 874—880 pls. 3 and 4 (= my fig. 600), Hoppin Red-fig. Vases ii. 304 no. 19 biz fig., Corp. vas. ant. Villa Giulia iii i. e. pl. 25, 2 and 3, pl. 26, 2 with text p. 13 by G. Q. Giglioli), which represents another exploit of Herakles. While the hero wrests the tripod from Apollon, Iolaos holds in readiness his four-horsed chariot and Athena advances to his aid at once as owl, as human-headed bird, and as goddess. By this time, however, the human-headed bird has ceased to be conceived as an owl or labelled as such and has become a commonplace soul-bird of the Seiren sort (G. Weicker in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 617 ff.).
The owl of Athena
The owl of Athena

(fig. 601), represents a human-headed bird wearing a helmet. This can hardly be, as G. Weicker\(^2\) supposes, the soul of a valiant warrior; for in that case it would, according to custom\(^3\), have been bearded. Rather, it is Athena herself, no longer a bird, not yet a goddess.

This transitional conception lay dormant for centuries, while Greek art was in its prime, and then—like so many other half-forgotten ideas—awoke to a new lease of life in imperial times. Certain rare bronze pieces of small size—whether coins (\(\kappa\omega\lambda\lambda\beta\omicron\iota\iota\beta\omicron\alpha\) or counters we cannot say—were struck at Athens in the Roman period and have as their reverse device an owl en face with a female helmeted head (figs. 602, 603)\(^6\). The archaistic legend \(\Omega\Epsilon\) (fig. 602) suggests that we are here concerned with the restoration of an ancient type though, except for the \(\alpha\rho\gamma\beta\alpha\lambda\lambda\oslash\) just mentioned, no prototype is known. Again, \(\textit{denarii}\) of the \(\textit{gens Valeria}\), issued by L. Valerius Acisculus in the year 46—45 B.C., show for reverse a human-headed bird with helmet, shield, and

\(^1\) Winnefeld \textit{Vasensamml. Karlsruhe} p. 16 no. 81 from Siana in Rhodes.
\(^2\) G. Weicker \textit{Der Seelenvogel} Leipzig 1902 p. 35 fig. 15 (\(=\) my fig. 601).
\(^3\) Id. \textit{ib.} p. 137 ff.
\(^4\) Babelon \textit{Monn. gr. rom. i. i.} 146, K. Regling in Pauly—Wissowa \textit{Real-Enc. xi.} 1909 ff.
\(^5\) E. Beulé \textit{Les monnaies d' Athènes} Paris 1888 p. 391 with figs. (=my figs. 602, 603).
\(^6\) C. \textit{III.}
The owl of Athena

spear (fig. 604)\(^1\) or more often spears (figs. 605, 606)\(^2\). C. Lenormant\(^3\) and, after him, E. Babelon\(^4\) ingeniously explained this as a black eagle named *Valeria*\(^5\). But F. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller\(^6\), followed by M. Bahrfeldt\(^7\), observe that the feathers of the bird are spotted as in some species of owls. There can then be little doubt but that here too we see Athena as a *quasi*-bird. The same type, with sundry variations, occurs on a series of engraved gems and pastes of Roman date (figs. 607, 608)\(^8\), which were probably sup-

\(^1\) M. Bahrfeldt *Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Munzkunde* Wien 1897 p. 258 pl. 13, 271 (= my fig. 604) from a coin which passed from the Bunbury to the Haeberlin collection, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 535 no. 4105 pl. 53, 4. I have another specimen showing the single spear.

\(^2\) Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 519 f. no. 18 wrongly described with figs. of two spears crossed and two spears parallel, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 535 nos. 4106 pl. 53, 5 and 4107 with two spears crossed, i. 536 no. 4108 pl. 53, 6 (= my fig. 606) with two spears parallel. Fig. 605 is from an example in my collection.

\(^3\) C. Lenormant in the *Nov. Ann.* 1838 ii. 142 ff. pl. D, 2 with two spears parallel.

\(^4\) Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 516, 520.


\(^7\) M. Bahrfeldt *Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Munzkunde* Wien 1897 p. 258.

\(^8\) *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gemm* i. 248 no. 2484 pl. 28 a black jasper from the Towneley collection: bird to right, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield and one spear; inscribed with the owner’s name CHARITO (my fig. 607 is enlarged (†)) from T. Panofka *Gemmen mit Inschriften* Berlin 1852 p. 103 pl. 4, 12 ( = *Abb. d. berl. Akad. 1851 Phil.-hist. Classe* p. 487 pl. 4, 12).
The owl of Athena posed to bring good luck to their wearers, and is even found in the form of small bronze statuettes (figs. 609, 610) presumably designed to serve a like practical purpose. A refinement upon the owl-Athena was the cock-Athena, whose very absurdity would raise

Fig. 607. Fig. 608. Fig. 609. Fig. 610.

(2) Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems p. 248 no. 2485 pl. 28 (where it is wrongly numbered 2488) a burnt agate from the Towneley collection: bird to right, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield and two spears parallel.

(3) J. H. Middleton The Lewis Collection of Gems and Rings London 1892 p. 87 no. F 10 a pale blue paste: bird ('Siren') to right, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield with Gorgoneion and two spears parallel. Fig. 608 is from a cast of the original (scale 1).

(4) Furtwangler Geschnitten. Steine Berlin p. 147 no. 3340 pl. 27 a cornelian: owl to right, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield with Gorgoneion and two spears parallel; the owl stands on palm-branch and wreath.

(5) Id. ib. p. 219 no. 5928 pl. 40 a brown paste: owl to right, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield and spear.

(6) Id. ib. p. 264 no. 7290 pl. 53 a red jasper: owl to right, with helmeted head of Athena, shouldering a spear (id. Ant. Gemmen i pl. 46, 30, ii. 222).

(7) Furtwangler Geschnitten. Steine Berlin p. 317 no. 8660 pl. 61 a bloodstone: owl to right, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying two spears parallel (Furtwangler 'Doppel-flöte unter dem 1. Flügel'); the owl stands on a Gorgoneion, flanked by helmet and snake on the right, shield (?) and spear (?) on the left.

(8) P. S. Bartoli Museum Odescalchi Rome 1752 ii. 70 f. pl. 30 a bloodstone: owl to left, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield and spear; the owl stands on a Gorgoneion; to the left is an olive-spray, to the right a pillar, on which is set a one-handled vase, and to which is bound a quiver.

(9) F. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen Leipzig 1889 p. 161 pl. 26, 61 an onyx at Vienna (no. 1667): owl to left, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield and spear; the owl stands on a round base probably meant for a kistte.

(10) Eid. ib. p. 161 pl. 26, 62 a cornelian in the Postolacca collection at Athens: owl to right, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield and spear.

See further G. Weicker Der Seelenvogel Leipzig 1902 p. 35 n. 1.

1 Reinach Rép. Stat. iii. 207 no. 1 a bronze at Avignon: owl, with helmeted head of Athena.

Id. ib. no. 2 a bronze in the Bourguignon collection (Collection d'antiquités grecques et romaines provenant de Naples Paris 1901 pl. 6, 206): owl, with helmeted head of Athena.
The owl of Athena

a laugh and so heighten the prophylactic effect. A bronze in the Castellani collection (fig. 611) represented the goddess as a cock with human face, wearing by way of helmet the skin of a cock's head complete with comb, wattles, and beak. This singular fowl, perched on a winged skull, perhaps betokens the victory of vigilance over death or points some equally edifying moral.

The fourth stage in the evolution of Athena is that in which she appears as a goddess with the wings of a bird. It has indeed been maintained that the conception of a winged Athena is not found on Greek soil till the Hellenistic age and should be explained as a case of late syncretism—Athena and Nike rolled into one. But

1 Cp. the numerous examples of Athena's head wearing a helmet with the features of Sokrates, Silenos, etc. (Reinach *Pierres Gravées* pls. 24, 25, and 30), often misnamed *grylli* (J. H. Middleton *The Engraved Gems of Classical Times* Cambridge 1891 Append. p. xx, E. Babelon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1480 f., Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 113 f., 288, 353, 363).

2 *Castellani Sale Catalogue* Paris 1884 p. 43 no. 262 with fig. on p. 44 (=my fig. 611: scale ½). Height 0.17 m.

3 A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 704.
that is seriously to underrate both the quantity and the quality of the evidence for an Athena winged in her own right.

On the one hand, a winged Athena is familiar enough in Etruscan art. A cornelian scarab of careful archaic style shows the goddess without helmet, but with spear and aigis and two well-marked wings on her back. A bronze in the Museo Gregoriano (fig. 612) again represents her with wings: this time she wears a helmet and an aigis decorated with a Gorgoneion, apparently viewed as the sun, a crescent moon, and sundry stars. Her
The owl of Athena

right hand supports an owl, her left rests on her hip. A similar bronze, which once formed the handle of a patera, passed from the Greau\(^1\) into the Hoffmann\(^2\) collection and is now in the Louvre (fig. 613)\(^3\): Athena’s right hand raises her cheek-piece, her left holds a broken rod bearing the owl. Again, a bronze candelabrum from Chiusi, formerly owned by G. P. Campana and then by A. Castellani, is topped by the statuette of a winged Athena, who wears a helmet with cheek-pieces up and an aigts with Gorgòneion: her right hand is empty, her left carries a naked infant (fig. 614)\(^4\). Lastly, on the bronze mirrors of Etruria Athena is often winged\(^5\).

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2. W. Fröhner Collection Hoffmann Paris 1888 no. 376.
5. Gerhard Etr. Spiegel iii pls. 36, 4—9, 69, 87, 134, 146, 246 (owl as shield-sign), 254A, 2, iv pls. 286, 2, 305, v pl. 61, 2.
On the other hand, Ionian art of the sixth century B.C. does not hesitate to equip the goddess with wings. A scarab in banded onyx, set in a gold bezel attached to a bronze ring, came from Amathous to the British Museum and shows (fig. 615) Athena standing towards the right. Two recurved wings start from her back. Her breast is full and prominent. One hand grasps a spear, the other holds up her chiton. Behind her back are visible the snakes of her aegis and a Seilenos-mask, which appears indeed to form part of her crested helmet, but is better explained as her Gorgoneion seen in profile. Behind her feet are three lines of doubtful meaning. Again, a white-figured sarcophagus from Klazomenai, now at Berlin, has a frieze of late sixth-century style, in which a central Athena standing to the left with round shield and four recurved wings is flanked by two warriors with horses and hounds. Lastly, the west frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphoi (c. 525 B.C.) represents Athena setting foot on a chariot drawn by four winged horses, but pausing to adjust a large aegis on her shoulders. The goddess herself had recurved wings of the archaic sort: the end of one is still visible in the relief; the other was originally added in paint on the background.

Attic black-figured vases tell the same tale. A fine sixth-century bowl in the Faina collection at Orvieto (fig. 617) has

1 Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 6, 56, ii. 30, 76, iii. 93, 98, 115, Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 20, 5 (enlarged) p. 179, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 52 no. 437 pl. 8. My fig. 615 is drawn (scale 1) from a cast kindly supplied by Mr E. J. Forsdyke.

2 *Supra* p. 225 n. 1 sub fin.

3 J. D. Beazley *The Lewis House Collection of Ancient Gems* Oxford 1910 p. 8 'The helmet...is stated by Furtwängler to have a mask of silenesque type attached behind; but the mask belongs to the aegis and not to the helmet' (cp. ib. p. 19 f. no. 26 pl. 2). That is right: yet, Beazley's suggestion notwithstanding, G. Lippold and H. B. Walters *loc. cit.* still see what Furtwängler saw.

4 H. B. Walters *loc. cit.* says: 'In the field, three drops of blood (?). Snakes of aegis? Extra wings begun but left unfinished?'


6 C. Picard and P. de la Coste-Messelière in the *Fouilles de Delphes* iv. 2. 130 ff. pl. 7—8, 1 (with statement and criticism of previous views).

Fig. 616.

Fig. 617.
for obverse and reverse type an Athena advancing towards the right between two prophylactic eyes. On both sides she wears helmet, χιτών, and himation. But, whereas the one design shows her wingless, with shield and spear, the other shows her winged and bearing an outstretched aigis. Similar curled oriental wings are given to Athena on a small amphora found in Etruria and

now in the Louvre\(^1\). The goddess, wearing a high-crested helmet and carrying a spear, is seated on a folding-stool: her owl is beside her, perched on the tip of her left wing. Finally, on an oinochoe from Kameiros in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (fig. 618)\(^2\) we see Athena, armed with a spear and a long-crested Corinthian helmet, winging her way through the air as she bears

\(^{1}\) E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 2ème Série Paris 1901 p. 132 f. no. F 380 pl. 87, \(\text{id. Cat. Vases du Louvre}\) iii. 810.

\(^{2}\) De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibli. Nat.* i. 172 f. no. 260 fig. 23 (=my fig. 618).
The owl of Athena

a dead warrior (? Kekrops) across the sea. Her protective air recalls Aischylos' phrase at the end of the Eumenides: 'them that shelter beneath the wings of Pallas the Father honoureth.' Yet the same poet in the same play makes Athena come from Troyland 'without wings, flapping but the aigis-fold.' Clearly

Fig. 619.

1 This is possible, but far from certain. On the one hand, the representation suits the myth of Athena Atḷon (supra p. 783 f.). On the other hand, the myth does not say that Kekrops was actually dead when carried off by Athena to Megara; and, unless we accept Pausanias' assumption (i. 5. 3) that there were two kings named Kekrops, we should expect him to be serpentiform (supra pp. 181, 186 f., 770, 773).

2 Aisch. Eum. 1001 f. Παλλάδος δ' ὑπὸ πτεροίς ὑπὲρ ἄγιος.

3 Id. ib. 404 πτεροῖς ἄγιοι προβοῶσα κόλπων αἰγίδος. The expression πτεροῖς ἄγιοι suggests that Athena had only recently shed her wings (I am indebted for the observation to Miss D. Lamb of Newnham College: see also Harrison Proleg. Gk. Rel. p. 306 f.).
The owl of Athena

Aischylos, like the painter of the Orvieto bowl, could think of her either as winged or as wingless.

During the fifth century, when humanising tendencies were rife, Athena ceased to be treated at will as a semi-bird. We have reached the point at which Nike split off from Athena Nike and went her own winged way, leaving the older goddess wingless. But just here we encounter an obvious difficulty. If Nike with wings was indeed an abstraction from Athena Nike, how is it that Athena Nike had no wings, was indeed so notoriously 'wingless' that she came to be known as Nike Apteros? The texts describe her cult-effigy as a xoanon without wings, holding a pomegranate in its right hand, a helmet in its left. It was in all probability seated, for an Attic oinochoe of the later black-figured style, now at Altenburg and

1 So Harrison Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath. p. 366 'From Athenë Polias, invoked as Athena Polias Nike, the personality of Nike separated off and developed attributes of her own, impossible when she was only a form of Athéné. Such an attribute were her wings' etc., A. Baudrillart Les divinités de la Victoire en Grèce et en Italie d’après les textes et les monuments figurés Paris 1894 p. 7 'Simple don ou attribut d’Athéna, elle se détache d’elle, prend une personnalité distinctive, et apparaît bien réellement comme la seconde personne d’une sorte de dualité,' ib. p. 13 'C’est donc vers le commencement du cinquième siècle qu’a dû s’achever la séparation progressive de Niké d’avec Athéna et la conquête de son indépendance, fait qui d’ailleurs n’empêche point l’antique Athéna-Niké de subsister.'

E. E. Sikes, who does not accept this view, argues that 'if Nike is to be regarded as an abstraction from any greater deity, she must be an abstraction from Zeus' (Class. Rev. 1895 ix. 282). Mr Sikes' criticism is approved by H. Bulle in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 310. See, however, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1966 n. 3 (id. Myth. Lit. 1908 p. 566) 'Athenë Beziehungen zu Nike scheinen alt, älter als die spezifisch attische Kultur: darauf weist, dass Nike T. des Pallas und der Styx heisst, Hsd. θ 384 [383 ff. Στόξ θέτη τοίχου θυγατρίν Πάλλαντι συγγίους | Ζήλος καὶ Νίκην καλλισσφορον εν μεγάρωσιν | καὶ Κράτος δόθη Βίου ἀρδεῖσθαι γενώτω τέκνα: | τῶν οὖν ὑπ’ ἀνάπαυσιν Διὸς δόμου, οὐδὲ τις ἑξῆθεν, | οὐδὲ δοῦλοι, ὡς τίνος θῶν θήμωνεν, | ἄλλα ἔκει τὰ ἂπερ Βαρβάρων ἐδροινωσαντα. π. τ. η. Α. But in 384 codd. D.G.H.K.L. read νείκην. An leg. Νείκην? Νείκην is elsewhere personified as the equivalent of Ερς (Stephanus Thes. Gr. Ling. v. 1403 c, H. Stuart Jones in the new Liddell and Scott p. 1166), cp. 782 Ερς καὶ νείκης, and the sinister sense is perhaps more appropriate to a sister of Ζήλος, Κράτος, and Βίος. Dieser Pallas wird von Dion. Hal. i 33 dem Lykaionsohn gleichgestellt, der die Athena auferzogen habe, sodass diese Milchschwester oder Jugendgespielin der Nike wird. Hier scheinen altarkadische Ueberlieferungen wenigstens mitbenutzt.'


hitherto unpublished, shows Athena seated with a helmet on her head and a pomegranate in her left hand (fig. 619)\textsuperscript{1}. A white-ground \textit{lekythos} by a minor painter of the middle archaic period, about 480 B.C., gives head and hand only, helmet and pomegranate being the essential points (fig. 620)\textsuperscript{2}. The head is simply copied from the current coinage of Athens—its position in profile to the right, its scroll-pattern, its neck-plate, its leaves to commemorate Marathon\textsuperscript{3}—unless of course both vase and coins are copies of the cult-statue. Replicas of this vase exist, for the type was

\begin{figure}[h]
    \centering
    \includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure}
    \caption{Fig. 620.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{1} A. Furtwängler in Roscher \textit{Lex. Myth.} i. 689, \textit{id. Masterpieces of Gr. Sculp.} p. 445 n. 5. I am much indebted to Dr F. Matz of the Staatliches Lindenau-Museum at Altenburg for most kindly sending me the photograph of vase no. 203, from which my fig. 619 was made.


\textsuperscript{3} C. T. Seltman \textit{Athens its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion} Cambridge 1924 p. 103, \textit{id. Greek Coins} London 1933 p. 91.
The owl of Athena

plainly popular. In fact, some seventy years later, in 409 B.C., Sophokles in his *Philoktetes* can still make Odysseus invoke the same goddess:

'Nike Athena Poliás, saviour mine.'

On the whole, the available evidence seems to point to the following conclusions. The worship of Athena on the Nike-bastion was of ancient date. The goddess as an earth-mother was represented by a seated statue—Athena Poliás—holding a pomegranate, symbol of fruitfulness or life renewed. At some period of warlike achievement, say that of Marathon, the helmet was added and the

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1 An almost identical *lekythos* is published by W. Fröhner Burlington Fine Arts Club: *Catalogue of objects of Greek ceramic art* London 1888 p. 57 f. no. 135 with pl. (no pomegranate visible). And J. D. Beazley locc. cit. notes a red-figured replica at Bonn.

2 Soph. *Phil.* 134 Nike ΤA07)vS. IlloXtds, ἢ οὐφεὶ μ' ἐις

3 H. Buller in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 311 concludes with regard to this cult: 'Er ist als ein alteinheimischer auszusehen und zwar gerade auch wegen des ungewöhnlichen und altertümlichen Attributs des Granatapfels.' This sensible conclusion is substantiated by the recent excavations carried out by N. Balanos beneath the temple of Athena Nike (E. P. Blegen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 145—147 with 4 figs.: 'The work of taking down the Nike bastion is continuing. The temple itself has been entirely removed except for the foundations and lower step on the north side which it is hoped may be left undisturbed, as well as the north face of the bastion. Just inside the north foundation wall of the marble temple, blocks of an earlier, probably post-Persian, poros temple, were found in situ. This is orientated with the altar and bases found by Welter in the space between the marble temple and the Propylaea. The Turkish cistern which had been cut in the centre of the bastion had destroyed most of this earlier temple and no one had been sure of its existence').

4 *Supra* p. 374 n. o.

5 The significance of this pomegranate has been much discussed. O. Benndorf 'Über das Cultusbild der Athena Nike' in the *Festschrift zur 50jahr. Gründungsfest des deutschen archäologischen Instituts in Rom* Wien 1879 pp. 17—47 conjectured that Kimon organized the cult and built the temple of Athena Nike after the great Athenian victory on the Eurymedon (467 or 466 B.C.), and that he introduced the art-type of the goddess from the neighbouring town of Side in Pamphylia: σιδή means 'pomegranate' and coins of Σιδή from s. v onwards show a pomegranate, Athena, and Nike, though not Athena or Nike actually holding a pomegranate (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia, etc. p. 143 ff. pl. 25, 7 ff., *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 510 ff. pl. 58, 6 ff., *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 302 ff. pl. 317, 1 ff., Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 535 ff. pl. 24. 4 ff., ii. 2. 921 ff. pl. 143, 6 ff., *Head Hist. num.* p. 703 f.). But this ingenious hypothesis has to face two serious objections: (1) An inscription published by P. Kabbadias in the *Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1897 p. 173 ff. pl. 11 (Michel *Recueil d’Inscr.* gr. no. 671, A, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr.* Gr. no. 63, a, *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 24), which can be dated by its lettering to the period 460—446 B.C. and by the name [Ἀττικός], sc. son of Kallias, to the year 448 B.C., records a proposal (line 4 ff.) [761] [Ἑλεύθερον ἴσων ἱππαρκὸν ἵππον ἀργυρὸν ἱππότατον καθότι δὲ Καλλικράτης χαλιγχράφησι τόπον τοιούτον ἰσαίας (καθά ἤτοι τοῦ τοιοῦτον κρατείος ἰσαίας μεθαναίος ἴσων ἵππον ἵππαρκὸν διὰ τὴν ἔργα τούτων δραχμάτων καὶ τὰ κέδρος, καὶ τὰ δέρματα φέρει τῶν δεσμών τῶν τοιχοκόμων τῶν δέ αὐτοκόμπον καθότι ἐν τοῖς Καλλικράτιτοι χαλιγχράφησε καὶ βελών λίθων. (2) For some unknown reason the matter was long delayed. Indeed the architecture and sculpture of the existing temple are carried out in a style which points to a date c. 425 B.C. (Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 442 ff.). In that year the Athenians won
The owl of Athena

successes against the Ambraciotes and their Peloponnesian allies at Olpai, the Corcyraean insurgents on Mt Istone, and the inhabitants of Anaktorion. They testified their gratitude by dedicating a fresh statue of Athena Nike, and this in turn was restored at some date between 350 and 320 B.C. (Inscr. Gr. ed. min. ii—iii. i no. 403, a, Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. i no. 164, a). These considerations have led to a summary rejection of Benndorf’s hypothesis (E. Curtius in the Arch. Zeit. 1879 xxxvii. 97, C. Robert in U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff Aus Kythaken Berlin 1880 p. 184 n. 1, R. Kekulé Die Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike Stuttgart 1881 p. 25, A. Furtwängler in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 689, H. Bulle ib. iii. 310 f., Collignon Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.

Fig. 621.

ii. 99 n. 1, W. Judeich Topographie von Athen München 1931 pp. 218 n. 1, 222 n. 2), and indeed it is clear that Kimon cannot have had any hand in the building or equipping of the extant temple. It might, however, be contended that he built and equipped an earlier structure on the same site, especially in view of the ‘post-Persian’ blocks of pithos found by N. Balanos (supra p. 813 n. 3). Even so it remains highly improbable that the cult of Athena Nike was introduced from Pamphylia, or that the pomegranate in her hand was a piece of canting heraldry.

Assuming then, as we have every right to do, that the pomegranate in Athena’s hand was an ancient symbol, we have next to discover the nature of the symbolism. The Greeks were struck by two characteristics of the fruit—its red colour and its numerous seeds (cp. Kallim. Iaterv. Pall. 27 f. of Athena’s toilet before the Judgment of Paris τὸ δ’ ἔρευον ἀνέθραμεν, πῶρον ὄαν | θ’ ἔδων ἡ σίβάς κόκκοι ἐχει χρῶς). The first certainly suggested blood (Artemid. Oneiror. i. 73 μαί τῃ τραυματών εἰς σημαντικά διὰ τὸ χρῶς). The second possibly suggested fertility (Furtwängler Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt. p. 445, Farnell Cults of Gk. States ii. 696 n. 2), though of this we have no definite proof (yet P. Saintyves Les Vierges Mères et les Naissances Miraculeuses Paris 1908 p. 94 remarks that pomegranates occur in a Florentine spell against sterility in women). The two
The owl of Athena

together seem to have betokened the renewal of life after death. And this would agree well enough with the observed habits of the tree (Theophr. hist. pl. 4. 13. 3 ἦν δὲ γνωρίζεις καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ταχυώς, παραβλαστάνει δὲ τὰλν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν, ὡςπερ αἱ δάφναι καὶ αἱ πηλέας τε καὶ αἱ φυτᾶ τῶν φυλόδρων τὰ πολλά).

Thus pomegranates sprang from the blood-drops of Dionysos; whence women celebrating the Thesmophoria would not eat pips of the pomegranate that fell on the ground (Clem. Al. profr. 2. 19. 3 p. 15. 9 ff. Stählin, Euseb. proseφ. ev. 2. 5. 28. ὑπ. supra ii. 1129). The same fruit was taboo at the Athenian Haloia (schol. Loukian. dial. mer. 7. 4 p. 280, 22 Rabe), at the Eleusinian mysteries (Porph. de abst. 4. 16, cp. Artemid. omēνoνoρ. 1. 73), and in the Arcadian temple of Despoina (Paus. 8. 37. 7). Again, a pomegranate sprang from the severed member of Agdistis; and Nana, who placed some of its fruit in her bosom, thereby conceived and became the mother of Attis (supra ii. 969 n. 4). Attis has pomegranates in his wreath (supra ii. 268 with fig. 189), and his priest holds one together with three pomegranate(?)-twigs (supra ii. 300 with fig. 193).

On the common tomb of Eteoldes and Polyneikes grew a pomegranate, said to have been planted there by the Erinyes: its fruit bled, when plucked (Philostr. maj. imagg. i. 29. 4). On the tomb of Menoikeus near the Ne'istan gate of Thebes grew another pomegranate: when the rind of its fruit was broken, the inside looked like blood (Paus. 9. 25. 1). A pomegranate, therefore, was desirable food for the dead, and figures frequently on funeral monuments of the archaic period (Spartan stelai, 'Harpy'tomb, etc.).

A fragmentary Laconian kylix in the British Museum shows a woman presenting a pomegranate to a seated man (supra i. 95 fig. 68). A polychrome Attic lekythos at Berlin depicts a stele, and a woman holding out four pomegranates on a plate for Charon to take (Furtwangler Vasensamml. Berlin ii. 765 no. 2680, F. von Duhn in the Arch. Zeit. 1885 xliii. 20 ff. no. 6 pl. 3 (=my fig. 621), Reinach Rép. Vases i. 457, 4). A similar lekythos from Alopeke near Athens, also at Berlin, has the dead man seated by his stele leaning on a couple of spears. His chiton is decorated with a sprig of pomegranates (green leaves, purple fruit), and both chiton and himatión have a border of green leaves. On the left a maiden approaches with a basket of offerings. She wears peplos and himatión, the former decked with leafy borders and two large pomegranate-sprigs and with sundry separate leaves and fruits. On the right stands another man, whose himàtìon is adorned in the same way with two large pomegranate-sprigs and with sundry separate leaves and fruits. An engraven amethyst in my collection shows, according to A. S. Murray, Persephone holding a pomegranate over against Demeter. A bronze statuette from the Payne Knight collection represents Persephone with a pomegranate in her left hand and a torch (?) in her raised right hand (Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 179 no. 982). A bronze mirror at Paris makes her stand with a pomegranate held out in her right hand (Babelon—Blanchet Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat. p. 530 no. 1320). Persephone is often associated with a pomegranate in terra-cotta figures, the fruit or flower being regularly held against her bosom. Usually the fruit is in her right hand between her breasts (Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas p. 109 no. B 312 Kameiros, p. 110 no. B 223 Kameiros, p. 143 no. B 427 Sicily, R. Kekule Die Terrakotten von Sizilien Stuttgart—Berlin 1889 p. 89 fig. 121, cp. Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas p. 93 no. B 126 Kos, p. 234 no. C 474), occasionally in her left hand as well (ib. p. 87 nos. B 86 Melos, B 87 Melos); or a flower is in her right hand between her breasts and a fruit in her left under her left breast (ib. p. 149 no. B 462 Lokroi Epizephyrioi (?) (my fig. 622 is from E. Braun in the Ann. d. Inst. 1849 xxi. 114 ff., Mon. d. Inst. v pl. 9, 1), cp. p. 142 no. B 418 Kamara); or she is seated with the fruit in her right hand on her lap and the flower in her left hand on her left shoulder (ib. p. 137

The pomegranate as the food of the Underworld recurs in the myth of Persephone, who might not remain on earth with Demeter because she had eaten one (h. Dem. 372, 412, Apollod. i. 5. 3) or three (Ov. fast. 4. 607 ff., Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 3. 511) or seven (Ov. met. 5. 533 ff., cp. Serv. in Verg. georg. 1. 39, interp. Serv. in Verg. Aen. 4. 452, Myth. Vat. i. 7, 2. 109) pips of a pomegranate growing in Hades' domain. An engraved amethyst in my collection shows, according to A. S. Murray, Persephone holding a pomegranate over against Demeter. A bronze statuette from the Payne Knight collection represents Persephone with a pomegranate in her left hand and a torch (?) in her raised right hand (Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 179 no. 982). A bronze mirror at Paris makes her stand with a pomegranate held out in her right hand (Babelon—Blanchet Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat. p. 530 no. 1320). Persephone is often associated with a pomegranate in terra-cotta figures, the fruit or flower being regularly held against her bosom. Usually the fruit is in her right hand between her breasts (Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas p. 109 no. B 312 Kameiros, p. 110 no. B 223 Kameiros, p. 143 no. B 427 Sicily, R. Kekule Die Terrakotten von Sizilien Stuttgart—Berlin 1889 p. 89 fig. 121, cp. Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas p. 93 no. B 126 Kos, p. 234 no. C 474), occasionally in her left hand as well (ib. p. 87 nos. B 86 Melos, B 87 Melos); or a flower is in her right hand between her breasts and a fruit in her left under her left breast (ib. p. 149 no. B 462 Lokroi Epizephyrioi (?) (my fig. 622 is from E. Braun in the Ann. d. Inst. 1849 xxi. 114 ff., Mon. d. Inst. v pl. 9, 1), cp. p. 142 no. B 418 Kamara); or she is seated with the fruit in her right hand on her lap and the flower in her left hand on her left shoulder (ib. p. 137
The owl of Athena

no. B 390 Tharros in Sardinia). Her priestess or worshipper similarly has a shallow basket containing two pomegranates, which she holds in her left hand against her breast (ib. p. 281 f. no. C 798 Benghazi). A tomb-painting from Nola, now at Berlin, shows Persephone, or more probably a dead woman, seated on a throne, holding a pomegranate in her left hand against her breast and a flower in her uplifted right hand (E. Gerhard in the Arch. Zeit. 1850 viii. 145 ff. pl. 14 (=my fig. 523), Reimach Vases Ant. p. 88 f. pl. Millin ii. 78, 9, Farnell Cults of Gr. States iii. 228 pl. 11, F. Weege in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1909 xxiv. 130 (s. v or iv), M. H. Swindler Ancient Painting

Fig. 622.


In view of the foregoing evidence it is reasonable to conclude that a pomegranate in the hand of a deity implied perpetual regeneration and was virtually regarded as fruit from the 'Tree of Life. Polykleitos' chryselephantine Hera was enthroned with a pomegranate in one hand, a sceptre in the other (Paus. 2. 17. 4: supra i. 134, iii. 65 f.). A bronze statue representing Milon the Olympic victor as standing on a diskos with a pomegranate
The owl of Athena

grasped in his left hand and the fingers of his right hand raised and spread, while his head was bound with a fillet, was said by Apollonios of Tyana to portray the athlete as a priest of Hera (Philostr. v. Apoll. 4. 28 p. 76 f. Kayser, but cp. Paus. 6. 14. 6, All. de nat. an. 6. 55, var. hist. 2. 24). A statue of the youthful Zeus Kàsios at Pelousion held a pomegranate in its outstretched hand (supra ii. 986 n. 0).

Aphrodite is said to have planted the pomegranate in Kypros (Eriphos Meîiboia frag. 1, 11 f. (Frag. comm. Gr. iii. 556 f. Meineke) ap. Athen. 840). Her connexion with the fruit comes out also in the story of Melos. According to the interp. Serv. in Verg. ecl. 8. 37, a certain Delian named Melos fled to Kypros in the reign of Kinyras. Kinyras

made him companion to his son Adonis and gave him to wife Pelia, a relative of his own who was likewise a devotee of Aphrodite. Pelia bore Melos a son; called Melos after his father; and the boy was brought up in aras, i.e. in the precinct of Aphrodite. When Adonis was killed by the boar, Melos in his grief hanged himself on the tree from which he got his name Melos: Pelia, his wife, hanged herself on the same tree. Aphrodite in pity for their fate made perpetual lament for Adonis, transformed Melos i into the fruit that bears his name, Pelia into a dove (πελια), and bade Melos ii return with followers to Delos. He did so, and becoming powerful there founded the state of Melos (cp. Arrianos of Nikomediea frag. 71 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 596 Müller)=frag. 70 (Frag. gr. Hist. ii. 865 Jacoby) ap. Eustath. in Dionys. per. 330). It should be added that the χάλιων on coins of Melos is always a pomegranate, never an apple (see e.g. Babelon c. III. 52)
The owl of Athena

Monn. gr. rom. ii. 1. 1319 ff. pl. 62, 10—14, ii. 3. 847 ff. pls. 244, 8—21, 242, 1—19, 243, 1—23, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete etc. p. 103 ff. pl. 23, 16 ff., ib. Lycia etc. p. lxxxi. Supra i. 305 n. 14. An archaic Greek bronze in the British Museum shows a goddess assumed to be Aphrodite holding a pomegranate in her right hand, her drapery in her left (Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 18 no. 198 pl. 3). An Etruscan mirror-stand in the same collection repeats the motif (ib. p. 77 no. 549). Terra-cotta statuettes from Kition (Larnaka) in Kypros, which represent a goddess holding a pomegranate to her breast (Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas p. 47 nos. A 270, A 271, p. 89 no. A 397) or on her knee (ib. p. 47 no. A 269), may be meant for Aphrodite (see ib. p. xxxvii, and cp. supra ii. 807 n. 5 (4)). One of the Horai on the magnificent red-figured kylix by the potter Sosias (bibliography supra ii. 1167 n. 6: add J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 59) is holding a branch laden with pomegranates in either hand. An oval bronze tablet of Graeco-Roman date in the British Museum has

Fig. 624.

a high relief of three goddesses (Horai?), each of whom wears a triple-pointed crown with an inverted crescent in front of it and holds a pomegranate in her right hand: their left hands hold respectively a bird, a flower, and an indistinguishable object (Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 156 no. 863. My fig. 624 is from a new photograph). How Rhoio (O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 121 ff., Weicker in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i A. 1004 ff.) and the Rhoiai (O. Höfer loc. cit. iv. 119), nymphs of the pomegranate-tree, were represented, we do not know.

Older than any of these is a clay idol (c.80 cm high) found in a small circular hut of the latest 'Minoan' phase at Gazi between Tylissos and Herakleion. The half-length figure of a goddess with uplifted hands rises from a cylindrical base (cp. supra ii. 336 fig. 406, c): she wears, stuck upright in her hair, three pins topped by pomegranates. A similar, but smaller (c.53 cm high), goddess from the same sanctuary has on her head 'horns of consecration' flanked by a pair of doves (Elizabeth P. Blegen in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1936 xl. 371 f. figs. 1, 2 (= my fig. 625), 3).

A modern Greek folk-tale from Syros (Syra) makes a prince transform himself into a huge pomegranate growing on a tree in the king's garden (J. G. von Hahn Griechische und albanische Märchen Leipzig 1864 ii. 38 no. 68).
The owl of Athena

 appellative Nike became fixed. The rock-goddess had sent forth her owls, omens of victory, and henceforward these emissaries—the Nikai of her famous balustrade—must needs be winged, though she their source and origin remained wingless.

 However that may be, the winged Athena reappears in Hellenistic times. Comparable with the gold statér of Agathokles (fig. 580) are the bronze coins of Boiotia, struck c. 288—244 B.C.

1 A terra-cotta statuette in the Antiquarium at Munich, referred by Bulle to the middle of 5 v. B.C., represents a winged Nike standing with her left arm supported on a tree-stem. She holds a pomegranate in her left hand, an einochde in her right, being apparently conceived as a handmaid (cp. E. Bernert in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xvii. 293, 301) about to offer food and drink to some deity, perhaps to Athena Nike (H. Bulle in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 340 with fig. 18 = my fig. 626).

2 Supra p. 785 fig. 580.
The owl of Athena (fig. 627), on which a winged Athena advances towards the right, one arm outstretched and covered with the aigis, the other raised and brandishing the thunderbolt. Bronze coins of Prousias i (fig. 628), who was king of Bithynia from c. 228 to c. 183 B.C., vary the type. A winged and helmeted Athena with lowered left hand holds a shield bearing in relief a Gorgon's head, while with uplifted right hand she crowns the king's name (in place of himself). Bronze coins of Demetrios ii Nikator (fig. 629), king of Syria, to be dated

Fig. 627. Fig. 628. Fig. 629.

1 F. Imhoof-Blumer 'Die Flügelgestalten der Athena und Nike auf Münzen' in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1871 pp. 1 ff., 45 ff. pl. 5, 1 ('Geflügelte Pallas'), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Central Greece p. 39 pl. 6, 3 and 4 ('Winged Pallas or Nike'), *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 37 no. 12 ('Winged Pallas (or Nike)'), *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 327 no. 5626 pl. 203, 1 and no. 5627 ('Winged Nike'), *Head Hist. num.* 2 p. 353 ('Winged Athena'). Fig. 627 is from a specimen in my collection. The goddess intended is presumably Athena Itonia: see G. Fougères in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1917 f. fig. 5050.

Fig. 630. Fig. 631.


An example belonging to the French consul L. E. Cousinéry (1747—1833) showed wings on the helmet, not on the shoulders, of Athena (*Monnet Devir. de midd. ant.* ii. 508 ff. no. 47). Athena has a winged helmet also on a terra-cotta mural relief in the Louvre (G. Fougères in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1923 fig. 5060; see further infra Append. P p. 1006), and on coins of Iphakleia in Lucania, Metapontum, Arkasina in Amorgos, etc. (Imhoof-Blumer *loc. cit.* p. 44). The earliest instance occurs on a unique electrum statér of the Ionian revolt, 500—494 B.C., obtained by Jameson from the hoard at Vurla (Klazomenai) (R. Jameson in the *Rev. Num.* 1911 p. 60 no. 4 pl. 1, 4 H. Dressel—K. Regling *Die Münzen von Priene* Berlin 1927 pl. 17 ff. no. 1 pl. 1, 1 (=my fig. 631). C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 pp. 83, 88 pl. 12, 3).

144, 143, etc. B.C., introduce a further variation. Athena, winged and helmeted as before, supports with her left hand shield and spear, but on her right hand carries a small Nike, who extends a wreath towards her. *Denarii* of Domitian (fig. 630)\(^1\) issued in 95 and 96 A.D. show the same goddess winged and flying towards the left with helmet, spear, and shield.

The owl of Athena

Graeco-Roman gems likewise represent Athena winged and armed, carrying a Nike\(^1\), or holding a wreath and accompanied by her snake\(^2\), or grouped with a diminutive warrior\(^3\).

Among the finds made in a Scythian grave-mound at Alexandropol and now preserved in the Hermitage was the skeleton of a horse still wearing its *phálara* of gilded silver. The frontlet is embossed with a facing figure of the winged Athena—an excellent *apotrópaion*\(^4\). The goddess mounts guard with spear, shield(?), and *aigis*, her faithful owls beside her (fig. 632)\(^5\). L. Stephani\(^6\) and

F. H. Marshall\(^7\) referred these horse-trappings to the fourth century B.C., but E. H. Minns\(^8\), on stylistic grounds, assigns them with greater probability to late Hellenistic times.

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2 Furtwängler *Geschm. Steine Berlin* p. 127 no. 3779 a violet paste, and no. 2780 a red paste, both from the Uhden collection.
4 *Supra* i. 336.
5 *Recueil d'antiquités de la Scythie* St. Pétersbourg 1866 Atlas col. pl. 14, 8 (=my fig. 632).
6 L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1865 p. 167 f.
The owl of Athena

An ingenious application, or misapplication, of the type occurs in a Pompeian fresco (fig. 633)\(^1\), one of several which represent Auge the priestess of Athena pursued by Herakles\(^2\) and were presumably based on some Pergamene original\(^3\). Auge was the daughter of Aleos, king of Tegea\(^4\), and the scene is laid at the foot of Mount Parthenion. The artist personifies the mountain as Parthenos and, thinking of Athena *Parthenos*, equips her with the *Gorgoneion* and the filleted olive-branch of the goddess. Then, remembering that Parthenos was also the constellation Virgo\(^5\), he adds dark blue wings spangled with yellow stars and a blue *nimbus*\(^6\) with golden rays. Perhaps too he realised that Parthenos the constellation was by some identified with Dike\(^7\), the daughter of Zeus by Themis\(^8\), who might well be moved by this exhibition of lawless love.

Less learned, but more noble, is a fine Flavian goddess in white Italian marble, found at Ostia near the Porta Romana, of whose attic she once formed part (fig. 634)\(^9\). She has the three-crested helmet of Athena *Parthenos*, a circular shield with a central *Gorgoneion* at her right side, and a pair of splendid pinions on her back. Accordingly, G. Calza\(^10\), on the analogy of Athena *Nike*, calls her ‘Minerva Vittoria.’ *Minerva Victrix* would perhaps be better Latin; but that appellative is known almost entirely from coins\(^11\),

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\(^{1}\) C. Robert in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1884 i. vi. 75—87 pls. I and K (= my fig. 633) after drawings by Sikkard revised by A. Man, Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 83 no. 500 (Reg. ix. 5. 2).

\(^{2}\) Four examples of the subject are conveniently grouped by Reinach *Rep. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 188 nos. 2—5.

\(^{3}\) C. Robert *loc. cit.* p. 81 notes that the small inner frieze of the Pergamene altar (*supra* i. 119) included both the story of Auge and that of Telephos, her son by a later union with Teuthras, king of Mysia. On the myth in its relation to Pergamon see C. Pilling *Quomodo Telephi fabulam et scriptores et artifices veteres tractaverint* Halae Saxonum 1886 pp. 1—104, E. Thraemer *Pergamos* Leipzig 1888 p. 369 ff. (‘Auge und Telephos’), J. Schmidt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 266 ff., cp. *supra* ii. 1179.

\(^{4}\) *Supra* ii. 1147.

\(^{5}\) O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1655 ff. *Supra* i. 755 n. 10, ii. 734 n. 3.

\(^{6}\) *Supra* i. 40.

\(^{7}\) First in Arat. *phaen.* 96 ff., cp. pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 9 = Arat. Lat. in E. Maass *Commentariorvm in Aratum reliquiae* Berolini 1898 p. 201. Later authorities for the identification of Parthenos with Dike or Justitia are collected by O. Höfer *loc. cit.* p. 1656. Their ultimate source was a mere misunderstanding of *Hes. o. d. 256 ἕ ὑ ἐ τ ὑ ρ αθένος ἔλεγχω, δὸν ἐκεγενεία.*

\(^{8}\) *Hes. theog.* 901 f.

\(^{9}\) From a photograph by Alinari (no. 32721). Height 2'40". See further L. Savignoni in *Auszonia* 1910 v. 69—108 pl. 4 and figs. 13, 13 bis.

\(^{10}\) G. Calza *Ostia*\(^2\) Milano—Roma s.a. (? 1929) p. 32 with fig. 8 (showing shield).

\(^{11}\) C. W. Keyes ‘Minerva Victrix?’ in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1912 xvi. 490—494 with figs. 1 (from left) and 2 (from right), after adducing the evidence of coins (p. 493 n. 2)
Fig. 634.

The owl of Athena
The owl of Athena

The owl of Athena and the numismatic type is unfortunately wingless. Mrs Strong with greater caution speaks of 'the winged Minerva' as an 'adaptation of a Greek model of the fifth century' and in that respect compares the (wingless) Minerva of the Forum Transitorium. C. Picard too is content to recognise a 'Minerve ailée', aptly citing the similar goddess from Bulla Regia in Numidia.

Finally, in the fifth stage of her evolution Athena becomes purely anthropomorphic. But even then the owl is retained as an attribute or adjunct. Goddess and bird, originally connected by a bond which amounted to identity, were never wholly separated. Their association might of course be expressed in a great variety of ways. In point of fact, however, it commonly took shape in certain art-types of long-standing sanctity and significance, the bird appearing on the pillar, on the head, on the hand of the goddess, or duplicated and attached to her chariot.

Of the owl on a pillar I have already spoken. It conforms to the wide-spread type of bird-on-column, which can be traced back to 'Minoan' times and, as M. P. Nilsson justly claims, implies the epiphany or embodiment of the deity concerned.

The owl on the head of Athena is indeed attested by two and inscriptions (p. 494 n. 1) (add one literary reference, in Aetna 581) concludes: 'Briefly, the winged goddess of Ostia represents a fusion of the Parthenos type and the Victory motif, whether this fusion be derived from a Greek Athena Nike or be due to the originality of the Roman artist. In all probability it stands for Minerva Victrix and not for Roma Victrix. For the only other known Roman example of a winged Athena type represents Minerva and not Roma, and the conception of Minerva Victrix appears to have been more popular under the Empire than that of Roma Victrix, particularly from the reign of Domitian on.'

1 Unless it can be maintained that the winged but nameless figure on Domitian's denarii (supra p. 821 fig. 630) was also a Minerva Victrix.

2 E. Strong Art in Ancient Rome London 1929 ii. 67.


4 C. Picard La sculpture antique de Phidias à l'ère byzantine Paris 1926 ii. 446, 431 with fig. 178.

5 L. Poinsot in the Catalogue du Musée Alaoui (Supplément) Paris 1910 p. 57 no. 1017 pl. 33, 3 and no. 1018 pl. 33, 2, Reinach Rép. Stat. iv. 172 no. 8 ('Traces d'ailes'), L. Sagniogni in Ausonia 1910 v. 89 ff. with figs. 16, 17, and 18 (two marble statues found in a temple of Apollo at Bulla Regia represent Minerva. One gave her marble wings, a mural crown, a shield on her right arm, and a cornu copiae in her left hand. The other had bronze wings, now lost).

6 Supra p. 778 n. 1.

7 Supra i. 34 f., 66, 83, ii. 1133 n. 1.


The owl of Athena

Fig. 635.
The owl of Athena

passages of Aristophanes\(^1\), but remains unexampled. It was, I think, modified into the owl on her helmet, of which sundry specimens are extant\(^2\). W. Deonna\(^3\) illustrates the *motif* from a couple of Graeco-Egyptian terracottas at Geneva, a lamp at Berlin\(^4\), and a fine bronze statuette of Roman date found in 1916 at Avenches\(^5\) (fig. 635). He assumes an original emanating from the school of Phidias in the second half of the fifth century and dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis. But again we may reasonably suspect that the type had a long history behind it, being a late but lineal descendant of such figures as the Cnossian goddess with a dove on her head\(^6\).

[Fig. 636. Fig. 637. Fig. 638.]

Imperial coins of Athens presuppose other statues of Athena with an owl on her hand. She stands uplifting the owl in her left hand and holding out a *phidle* in her right (figs. 636, 637)\(^7\)—clearly a cult-image\(^8\). Or, bearing the owl and leaning on a spear (fig. 638)\(^9\).

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2 Supra p. 46 n. 4.

3 W. Deonna in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 i. 281—284 with fig. 1 (head of Athena in the Musée d’Art et d’Histoire, Genève, no. 10004), fig. 2 (do. do. no. 10005), fig. 3 (upper part of the Athena from Avenches), pl. 2 (the Athena from Avenches (=my fig. 635))—summarised in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1930 xxxiv. 205 f.


5 W. Cart in the *Indicateur d’antiquités suisses* 1917 p. 87 f. pl. 11, Reinach *Réf. Stat.* v. 131 no. 2.

6 Supra ii. 536 fig. 406 c, H. T. Bossert *Altkreta*\(^2\) Berlin 1923 p. 83 fig. 115, Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1928 ii. 1, 340 fig. 193 a 1 and a 2.


Fig. 639.

The owl of Athena
Fig. 640.

The owl of Athena
The owl of Athena

Or, holding the owl in her raised right hand and the spear in her lowered left (figs. 641, 642). This last pose occurs also in plastic art. An Attic bronze statuette of early fifth-century style, lent by the Earl of Elgin to the British Museum (fig. 639), represents Athena in the act of letting the bird fly. And a relief in Pentelic marble, dating from c. 465 B.C. and now preserved in the Lanckoroński Palace at Vienna (fig. 640), adds Gorgon-shield and boundary-herm to indicate that the scene is her own precinct on the Akropolis. Once more it is obvious that the owl sent forth from the hand of the goddess is comparable with the small running figure on the arm of the Cauloniate Apollon or with winged Eros on the arm of Aphrodite—in short, embodies the very soul of Athena.

An engraved cornelian at Berlin—good work of the Graeco-Roman period—shows Athena with helmet, spear, and shield, standing in a chariot drawn by a pair of owls (fig. 643). Just so Zeus was drawn by eagles and Apollon by swans. These (owl in left, spear in right); 39 and 41 Athens, 42 J. Anderson (=my fig. 638) (owl in right, spear in left); 38 and 40 Athens (with shield).

1 Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 77 no. 229 pl. 35, 5 (with snake), Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner op. cit. iii. 133 pl. 2A, 4 Rhoumphoulis (with snake) (cp. my fig. 641), J. N. Svoronos op. cit. pl. 84, 1 J. Anderson, 2 Berlin (=my fig. 642), 3 Athens, 4 Hirsch, 5 London, 6 Berlin (3—6 with snake). B. Pick in the Index to Svoronos p. vi says 'Archgetis'?


3 H. Schrader ‘Athena mit dem Käuzchen’ in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1913 xvi. 1—32 with a fine heliogravure (=my fig. 640).

4 Supra ii. 1040 ff. figs. 888—890.

5 Supra ii. 1043 f. fig. 892.


7 Supra ii. 462 n. 0 fig. 362.

8 Supra ii. 460 n. 2 (a) fig. 358.
Hellenistic fancies are not without some warrant in Hellenic literature and art. Apollon's swans go back to Alkaios¹, Aphrodite's sparrows to Sappho², and Athena herself on a fifth-century vase has a team of snakes³. But the Hellenic grouping of divinity and divine animal more often figures the former as riding on the latter—Apollon on his swan⁴, Artemis on her doe⁵, Poseidon on a dolphin⁶, Dionysos on a bull⁷, Aphrodite on a goat⁸, and so forth. At an earlier date Anatolian and Mesopotamian art made the god or goddess stand erect on the back of the sacred creature—Sandas on a lion⁹, Adad¹⁰ or Ramman¹¹ or Jupiter Dolichenus¹² on a bull, his consort on an ibex¹³ or a hind¹⁴. In such cases the anthropomorphic and theriomorphic representations of the deity are simply juxtaposed.

And here a point of some interest emerges. In the foregoing sections I have contended that Athena was a pre-Greek mountain-mother of the Anatolian kind, whose life was manifested in the flora and fauna of the Akropolis-rock¹⁵. The olive¹⁶, the snake¹⁷, the owl¹⁸ were all alike daemonic powers instinct with the vitality of Athena. The owl in particular was regarded as Athena herself in

¹ Supra ii. 459 f.
² Sapph. frag. 1. 5 ff. Bergk¹, 1. 5 ff. Diehl, 1. 5 ff. Edmonds. Edmonds translates στρόφω 'thy two swans' (cp. Hor. od. 3. 28. 15 oloribus, 4. 1. 10 oloribus, Stat. silv. 1. 2. 142 olores, 146 cygni, 3. 4. 22 cygnos, Sil. It. 7. 441 olores, and a terracotta from Egnatia in the Museo Nazionale at Naples (no. 6688) which represents Aphrodite drawn across the sea in a shell by a pair of swans (T. Panofka in the Arch. Zeit. 1848 ii. 300, J. J. Bernoulli Aphrodite Leipzig 1873 p. 409, Winter Ant. Terrakotten iii, i. 2. 196 no. 6)). But see Aristoph. Lys. 723 and Athen. 391 ff. Not improbably the swans were a later common-sense substitute for the sparrows.
³ Supra p. 769 f. fig. 566. ⁴ Supra ii. 460 n. 2 (§) with pl. xxv and figs. 339—361. ⁵ Supra ii. 854 with pl. xxxviii. ⁶ Supra p. 627 n. 6 (3) with pl. xlviii.
⁷ Supra ii. 661 fig. 600.
⁹ Supra i. 459 ff. figs. 462—468, ii. 500.
¹⁰ Supra ii. 769 n. 2 with fig. 730, n. 2 with fig. 732.
¹¹ Supra i. 476 with fig. 730, 606, ii. 765 n. 1 with figs. 715 and 716, 766 n. 1.
¹² Supra i. 606 ff. with pl. xxxiv and figs. 478, 480, 481, 484, 487, 488, 494.
¹³ Supra i. 617 with fig. 488. Cp. i. 610 f., ii. 99 n. o.
¹⁴ Supra i. 620 pl. xxxiv.
¹⁵ Supra pp. 224, 748 f., 764.
¹⁶ Supra p. 763 f.
¹⁷ Supra p. 775 f.
¹⁸ Supra p. 781 ff.
The owl of Athena

visible form. Indeed, we have traced in some detail the stages through which the bird was developed into the goddess.

A curious confirmation of these claims may be found in a Sumerian tablet of baked clay referable to the time of the Larsa dynasty (c. 2300—2000 B.C.), recently published by Mr Frank Davis, and now to be seen in the art-collection of Mr Sydney Burney (pl. lxi). This remarkable relief shows a nude goddess en face, standing erect on two lions and flanked by two owls. She herself has the wings and talons of an owl, and an additional spur on either leg. She wears a head-dress of bovine horns, bunches of hair that hang down over her shoulders, a broad necklace round her throat, and bracelets on her wrists. Lastly, in either hand she displays an emblem which Mr Sidney Smith interprets as a measuring rod and looped cord. As to technique, the eyebrows

Fig. 644. Fig. 645.

1 Supra p. 794 ff.
2 In The Illustrated London News for June 13, 1936 p. 1047 with a full-page photographic reproduction. D. Opitz 'Die vogelfüssige Göttin auf den Löwen' in the Archiv für Orientforschung 1937 xi. 350—353 fig. 1 seeks to discredit the relief as exhibiting sundry rare or unexampled features. But E. Douglas Van Buren 'A further Note on the Terra-cotta Relief' ib. pp. 354—357 figs. 2—6 aptly cites several parallels, e.g. fig. 3 the Louvre plaque AO 6501 (infra p. 833 f.). An authoritative discussion by H. Frankfort is shortly to be published.
3 Mr Burney, of 4 Bruton Street, Westminster, W. 1, kindly allowed me to examine the original at my leisure, while Mr Sidney Smith spared time to discuss its significance and furnished me with the fine photograph from which my pl. lxi is taken. The tablet itself measures 19½ inches in height, and is in a state of almost complete preservation.
4 Certainly not a 'snake head-dress,' as Mr F. Davis loc. cit. states. Cp. e.g. supra i. 263 fig. 190 Samaš (4 horns), i. 577 fig. 446 Ramman (1 horn) and Istar (1 horn), i. 578 fig. 447 Ramman? (4 horns), ii. 546 fig. 424 Adad (1 horn) and Istar (1 horn). Good examples in Ebert Realexx. vii pl. 143 Sun-god (4 pairs of horns) and pl. 145 b Sun-god (4 horns). Better still in the Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art Paris 1935—1936 L'Art de Mésopotamie ancienne au Musée du Louvre pp. 218 A, B, 226 A, 247, 258 A, 259 B, 260 A, 263 C, D, 286 A, B.
5 Sir E. A. Wallis Budge in his account of the Sippar relief (supra i. 263) spoke of this emblem, there held by the Sun-god, as 'a disk and bar, which may be symbolic of the sun's orbit, or eternity.' Mr Sidney Smith would recognise rather a measuring rod with a coil of cord. He compares part of the stèle of Ur-Nammu, on which the coil is rendered as having separate strands and a dependent loop (C. L. Woolley in The Antiquaries Journal 1925 v. 308 pl. 48 'I imagine that the staff and looped cord are the measuring-rod and line of the architect such as were held by the angel whom Ezekiel saw in a vision in Babylonia.
A Sumerian relief in baked clay:
Lilith (?), a possible ancestress of the Owl-Athena.

See page 831 ff. and page 1193.
are in relief, the lines on the palms incised; the eyes were inlaid, the whole body painted red, except perhaps for a darkened pubes; the wing-feathers are picked out in red and dark colouring. The nearest analogue to the entire figure is furnished by a similar, but much smaller, plaque in the Louvre, which again shows a nude

Fig. 646. Fig. 647.

(Ezek. xl. 31), L. Legrain in the Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale 1933 xxx. 111 ff. with pl. 1, and concludes (July 3, 1936): 'I suppose then, this Lilith holds the symbols of justice because she is executing the orders of some high god, carrying out fell designs only on those who have sinned.'

Mr C. T. Seltman has suggested to me (Nov. n, 1936) that the emblem in question is akin to the Cypriote form of ankh on coins of Salamis (e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Cyprus p. 30 nos. 23 and 26 pl. 10, 1 and 4 = my figs. 644 and 645), and that circle and bar may have symbolised the female and male organs. Such a combination would be suitable enough for Lilith, and there is much to be said for the view that the ankh was a sign of procreation (Sir E. A. Wallis Budge Amulets and Superstitions Oxford 1930 pp. 128 ff., 134 f., 339 f.). Yet other interpretations are still rife (see e.g. Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie Amulets London 1914 p. 14 pl. 3 fig. 30, a—g man's girdle-tie, A. H. Gardiner in J. Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1915 viii. 20 f. sandal-strap), and it should be noted that the ankh has almost invariably its oval or circle resting on a vertical as well as a horizontal bar.

An object of curiously similar shape is the navel-string or 'twin' (mulongo) of the king of Uganda, which was wrapped in bark-cloth, decorated with cowries and beads, and treated like a person in a special house built for it (Frazar Golden Bough: The Magic Art i. 196. Cp. supra ii. 193 n. 1). Fig. 646 is from an example in my possession. But the resemblance of the African relic to the Sumerian attribute is presumably quite fortuitous.

If guess-work were allowable, my own surmise would be that the bar-and-circle held by the goddess is a conventional snake, such as the Imoka Kamui or 'divine image' made out of sedge by the Ainu and used by them in their snake-worship especially at the time of childbirth (J. Batchelor in J. Hastings op. cit. i. 251ff. with fig. = my fig. 647). On this showing the Mesopotamian goddess would be a close counterpart of the 'Minoan' goddess, who brandished a snake in either hand (supra ii. 930 n. 0, cp. ii. 1221 fig. 1014) and has been already compared with Athena (supra p. 189 f.). However, from Larsa to the Kurile Islands is a far cry.

1 So in early 'Ionic' sculpture, e.g. the left hand of the rejoicing woman or of the lyre-playing youth on the Boston relief (F. Studniczka in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1911 xxvi pl. 1 and fig. 61, L. D. Caskey Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture Harvard Univ. Press 1925 p. 30 ff. no. 17, G. M. A. Richter The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 31 with figs. 477 and 478).

2 Picture-postcards of the plaque are procurable in Paris.
The owl of Athena
goddess *en face*, with bird’s wings, claws, and spurs, but makes her
stand on two goats and omits the two owls.

It is not easy to give a name to this singular personage. Her
nudity suggests a goddess akin to Aphrodite or Astarte or Istar.
Her lions recall Kybele, the mountain-mother of Asia Minor; and
we observe that the ground beneath the lions is marked with the
regular conventional design for mountains. A nude goddess stand-
ing erect on a lion occurs in Hittite art and—since she suckles an
infant—must be regarded as maternal. I am therefore emboldened
to surmise that in this unique, or all but unique, Mesopotamian
type we have—incredible as it sounds—the remote ancestress of
Athena, half-bird half-goddess, *thea glaukopis* as Homer’s forebears
called her.

To this venturesome view Mr Sidney Smith demurs. In a recent
letter to me (June 25, 1936) he puts forward a less precarious
hypothesis:

The plaque presents some very interesting problems in Sumerian religion.
The goddesses are very difficult to place, and many of the names merely
represent different aspects of one and the same conception—given at different
points in a ritual, or at different times of the day, or on different occasions.
The point is to decide the class of deity represented on the plaque; and this, I think,
can be done with some certainty. The claw-feet and the spur on the leg (a new
feature) place her in the demon class. Her obvious beauty consorts with that.
She is the kind which ravishes young men, in lonely places, by night, leaving
them unsexed. Finally, her association with the lions points to a connection
with the celestial Ishtar, the morning- and evening-star: and Ishtar was a
ravisher of men, see the Gilgamesh epic. What then are the owls (an entirely
new feature)? They are, as I guess, her night servants: they serve her fell
purpose as watchers.

1 E. Meyer *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* Berlin 1914 p. 109 pl. 11, 2, H. Zimmer
in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1925 v (Religion
der Hethiter) p. 11 with fig. 7, a and b, O. Weber in P. Westheim *Orbis Pictus* ix
(Die Kunst der Hethiter) p. 17 figs. 8 and 9 bronze statuette of c. 1750 B.C. at Berlin:
height 0.185m. 2 Supra p. 781.
3 Analogous Greek and Roman beliefs are very fully investigated by O. Crusius ‘Die
Epiphanie der Sirene’ in *Philologus* 1891 l. 93—107 with pl., W. H. Roscher *Ephialtes
H. W. Stoll and W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1818—1821, F. Schwenn in
4 A relief in Greek marble, which passed from the collection of J. Gréau into that of
W. Frohner, shows a Nightmare of the sort, assaulting her victim, in the guise of
a nude woman with a bird’s wings and talons (T. Schreiber *Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder
Leipzig 1889—1894* pl. 61 (= my fig. 648), Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.* 3 p. 203 f. fig. 38,
G. Weicker *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Litteratur und Kunst* Leipzig 1902 pp. 74, 181,
id. in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 609 with fig. 8).
5 For Germanic parallels see F. Ranke ‘Alp’ in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen
Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 l. 281—305 (especially p. 294 f.).
If this be right—it cannot be far wrong—the plaque is an apotropaic: the thing pictured drives away the thing immaterial, a well-established principle in Babylonian magic.

I turn back to your letter of the 18th with its very fascinating thesis....It seems to me that a difficulty immediately occurs. Athene was preeminently the virgin, and that is just the reverse of the character we may assume for the Babylonian goddess. You say that the Parthenos is later, that she was originally Meter, but recovered virginity yearly¹. But Meter also is very far from our demon, whose name may have been Lilitu (Lilith) Ardat Lili (the slave-girl of the Night) whose characters you can discover in R. C. Thompson, Devils and Evil Spirits². To establish a firm connection between Athene and the goddess of the plaque, will it not be necessary to show that the goddess was not originally, as later, representative of Law, Liberty, and Reason, but a local demon who fell upon the transgressor (witting or unwitting)?

Fig. 648.

¹ Supra pp. 224 ff., 748 f.
² R. Campbell Thompson The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia London 1903 i pp. xxvi f., xxxii, xxxvi ff., cp. p. li f. (on the owl as a bird of ill-omen among the Assyrians, etc.). See further S. Bochart Hierozoicon rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1796 iii. 829—831 ('De Lilith, Lamiiis et Strigibus').
The strongest point in favour of your argument would be the association of snakes and owls with the same deity. It might be possible to assume that the snakes who are associated with Ishtar are the snakes who carry out the commands of Shamash, the god of Law and Righteousness.

In answer to the friendly criticisms of Mr Sidney Smith I would urge that the formidable and rapacious aspect of the goddess desiderated by him is to be sought in Athena’s relation to the Gorgon, who sometimes at least was conceived as a ravening bird of prey (fig. 649). That this side of her nature made a strong appeal to the popular mind is sufficiently proved by the survival of her epithet Gorgoepékoos.

Fig. 649.

1 Supra p. 833 n. o sub fin.
2 Supra ii. 502 n. 2, iii. 189 n. 1.
3 A black-figured hydria of late, Etruscan, style, found by E. Gerhard at Vulci in 1834 and now at Berlin, shows a Gorgon-headed monster, with four wings and the talons of a bird, clutching two naked youths (Furtwängler Vasensamml. Berlin i. 477 no. 2157, R. Engelmann in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1886 i. 210 ff. fig. (=my fig. 649), id. in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1847 fig., G. Weicker Der Seelenvogel in der alten Litteratur und Kunst Leipzig 1902 p. 6 fig. 1, E. Sittig in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 2422 f.). The very similar figure, which appears twice as a decorative relief on a bronze Etruscan situla, found at Offida, Picenum, in 1877 and now in the British Museum, has a purely human face with dishevelled hair in place of the Gorgoneion (Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 107 f. no. 650 fig. 18). Weicker loc. cit. rightly assumes that the Etruscan hydria and the Etruscan situla presuppose a common source.
4 Supra pp. 189 n. 1, 588 n. 1.
The aigis and Gorgóneion of Athena 837

(4) The aigis and Gorgóneion of Athena.

If, then, Athena, originally the rock-goddess of the Akropolis at Athens, manifested herself sometimes as a Snake, more often as an Owl, we obtain at last a satisfactory explanation of that puzzling attribute, her aigis. For, when a sacred animal becomes anthropomorphic, the resultant deity tends to retain the old animal-skin as a relic charged with the virtues of his former estate. One thinks of the Hittite lion-god fairly covered with lions or lion-skins, of the Egyptian Zeus Thebaieus masquerading in a ram-skin, of the Italian Juno Sospita habitually garbed in a goat-skin, perhaps too of the Greek Dionysos Melanaigis and of Argos wearing his black bull's-hide. Now Athena's aigis, as represented by painters and sculptors, is a skin-cape either scaly (figs. 650, 651) or feathered (figs. 652, 653), and normally displaying the Gorgóneion, a fearsome head with staring eyes. My belief is that in both cases the humanised Athena is wearing the exuviae of the animal that once she was. As a Snake, she dons the scaly skin with its baleful head. As an Owl, the feathered skin with its round glittering eyes.

Further, since the skin most commonly worn was the rustic's everyday goat-skin, people would be apt to speak of any

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1 Frazer Golden Bough: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 173 f. ('Use of the skin of the sacrificed animal').
2 Supra ii. 550 ff. fig. 428.
3 Supra i. 347 f.
5 Supra i. 680 n. 5. See further H. W. Stoll and W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2574 f.
6 Supra i. 458 f.
8 Fig. 650 is from the aigis of the Varvakeion statuette; fig. 651, from that of the Cassel statue.
9 Supra i. 680 n. 5. See further H. W. Stoll and W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 2574 f.
10 The evidence for this is slight, but sufficient. P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 971 cites Eur. Cycl. 360 (of the Kyklops) διαμάλων ἐν αἰγίδι κηρομεθ' and Paus. 4. 11. 3 (of Aristodemos' Messenian and Arcadian levies in 716 B.C.) θῶρακα γὰρ ἡ ἄστιδα εἰκέν. F. Spiro o. v. after it) ἡκατος, δοσι
The aigis and Gorgoneion of Athena

skin-cloak as an aigis, regardless of its original species. Thus Athena's snake-skin or owl-skin would equally come to be designated as her aigis. And, when origins were forgotten, the way would be clear for ingenious enquirers to explain Athena's sacred attire as a glorified goat-skin. Accordingly Herodotos asserts that the aigis

1 Similarly, since the ordinary leather cap was made of dog-skin, we find the term kynē applied to caps made of bull's-hide (II. 10. 257 f. ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ κυνῆς κεφαλῆς θηρεῖν) or weasel-skin (II. 10. 335 κρατὶ δ' ἐπὶ κυνῆς κοινὴν, cp. galea from galeā) or goat-skin (Od. 24. 230 f. ὑπερθέν | αἰγίδης κυνῆς κεφαλὴ ἄγα).  

2 Hdt. 4. 189 τὴν δὲ ἄρα ἑσθήτα καὶ τὰς αἰγίδας τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐκ τῶν Δίδυμων ἐποίησαν οἱ Ἑλληνες. πλὴρ γὰρ ἦς ὅτι οὐκ ἑσθήτη τῶν Δίδυμων ἐστὶ καὶ οἱ θύσαις οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰγίδων αὐτῆς ὁμοία οὐκ ὁφείλει ἐστὶν ἄλλα ἰδίατα, τὰ γε ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐστάλτη. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ ὤνομα κατηγορεῖ οὐκ ἐκ Δίδυμης ἢ ἡ ἁλη τῶν Παλλαδίων αἰγίδων γὰρ περιβάλλεται. πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἑσθήτης θυσιαστάς αἱ Δίδυμαι καταχθῆναι ὁμοίαις ἔρευθα ἀν οἱ τῶν αἰγίδων τουτέστατα αἰγίδας οἱ Ἑλληνες μετωπίμασαν.
The aíghts and Gorgoneion of Athena 839

of Athena was derived from the fringed or tasselled goat-skins worn by Libyan women—a rationalistic view which A.W. Lawrence wisely pronounces to be ‘plausible but far from certain.’ It would entail our accepting Herodotos' highly improbable contention that Athena herself came from Libye. Nevertheless this Herodotean notion has met with some favour both in ancient and in modern times. An Etruscan mirror, of fourth-century style, found at Tarquinii and once owned by E. Gerhard, represents in mythological guise Prodikos' story of Herakles' choice between Virtue and Více (fig. 654). Within a flowery framework stands Herakles (Hércules) midway between Athena (Méreia) and Aphrodite (Turani). The artist, wishing to stress the simple hardihood of the more manly goddess, has given her by way of aíghts a mere goat-skin with pendent head and feet. He has, however, added the usual Gorgoneion on her breast, not to mention a griffin's head on her shield, while a single snake coiled on her shoulder hisses at Aphrodite's dove. Later mythologists, accepting the explanation of the aíghts as a goat-skin, toyed with the theme. Athena slew the earth-born fire-breathing monster called Aigis and used its skin as her breastplate in subsequent encounters. Or, Zeus at the advice of Themis flayed the goat Amaltheia, his foster-mother, and donned its skin as his protection in the war against the Titans. Recent

1 In his commentary ad loc. p. 420.
2 Hdt. 4. 180 (cited supra p. 128 n. 1), on which see Farnell Cults of Gk. States i. 167 ff.
3 Wilkinson the Egyptologist went further in the same direction, and fared worse. He stoutly maintained that Athena was but the goddess NHΘ written, as in Egyptian, from right to left and eked out with an A added fore and aft! (Sir J. G. Wilkinson Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians London 1837 i. 47 n. 8, Second Series London 1841 i. 284, ib. London 1878 iii. 41).
4 Gerhard Etr. Spiegel iii. 144 f. pl. 156 (=my fig. 654). Id. ib. v. 46 ff. pl. 398 describes and figures another mirror, from Caere, on which the Palladion wears an aíghts adorned with a Gorgoneion and ‘zwei den Brustharnisch abschliessende Ziegenköpfe.’ But H. B. Walters in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 96 f. no. 627 says: ‘The aigis is bordered by two snakes with rearing heads, crested and bearded.’
5 Xen. mem. 2. 1. 21 ff.
6 Mousaios frag. 7 Kinkel ap. pseudo-Eratosth. catast. 13 (cp. Hyg. poet. astr. 1. 13, schol. Caes. Germ. Aratus p. 394, 24 ff. Eyssenhardt) makes the infant Zeus entrusted by Rhea to Themis, by Themis to Amaltheia, and by Amaltheia to her goat: Μουσαίοι γὰρ φοροὶ Δίῳ γενόμενον ἐγχειροθθήκας ἵνα Θεά Θεοίδω, Θεών δὲ Ἀμαλθεία δούσαι τό βρέφος, τὴν δὲ ἥχωσαν αἰγα ὑποθείσαι, τὴν δ' ἐκφθέγασα Δίᾳ τὴν δὲ Αἰγα ἐβῆν Ἡλίου δυνάμεα φοβερὰ ὄτες ὁτὲς τοὺς κατὰ Κρόνον θεοὺς, μιθησάκωμεν τὴν μορφήν τῆς παιδός, ἐξώσω τὰ νυν (ins. C. Robert> Γῆς κρύφαι αὕτη εἰς τοὺς κατὰ Κρήτην ἀντρών καὶ ἀποκρυφαμένην επιμέλειαν αὐτῆς τῇ Ἀμαλθείᾳ...
This late recital includes some early traits. In particular, the monstrous Goat penned in a Cretan cave is analogous to the Minotaur in the Labyrinth and may rest on a bit of genuine ‘Minoan’ folk-belief. Cp. the goat-men on ‘Minoan’ gems (supra i. 703f. figs. 513—516) and on the clay-sealings from Kato Zakro in eastern Crete (D. G. Hogarth in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1902 xxii. 80 f. no. 34 fig. 12, no. 35 fig. 13, nos. 36, 38, 39).
advocates of the view that the aigis was from the first a goat-skin have sometimes been content to follow the lead of Herodotos¹, but have more often pointed out that the goat, normally taboo on the Akropolis at Athens, was once a year driven up there for a solemn sacrifice² and have urged that the skin of the victim so slain, being possessed of magical potency, was wrapped round the effigy of the goddess³. It must, however, be objected that any derivation of the

¹ Miss C. A. Hutton in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1897 xvii. 314 f. (citing W. Reichel Über homerische Waffen Wien 1894 pp. 65—72) says of Athena's aigis: 'Probably, it and the lion skin of Heracles were the sole survivals of a time when the only thing available for protective armour was a skin, worn as a cloak in time of peace, and brought round over the left arm in battle in προσβολή.'

² Sir W. Ridgeway, as reported in the Journ. Holl. Stud. 1900 x p. xlv, claimed 'that the primitive garb over a wide Aegean area at an early date was a goat-skin, worn in such a way that the head hung down in front of the wearer; the edges of this skin were either themselves frayed or adorned with a fringe of leather; and the scalp was decorated till it became γοργητή κεφαλή δευτοί πελάνων. A Dyak's skin-costume, trimmed with feathers and embellished with a plate of shell where the head should be, was exhibited in support of the argument.' Id. The Origin of Tragedy with special reference to the Greek Tragedians Cambridge 1910 p. 89 f.: 'Some years ago the present writer explained the aegis and gorgoneion of Athena as nothing more recondite than the primitive goat-skin covering used in ancient Athens as the ordinary dress. A slit was made in the back of the skin through which the wearer's head was put, and the grinning skin of the animal's face hung down on the breast of the wearer.' Id. The Early Age of Greece Cambridge 1931 ii. 481 repeats the same contention, but produces no proof that a goat-skin was ever 'the ordinary dress' at Athens.

³ Varr. rer. rust. i. 2. 19 f. contra ut Minervæ caprini generis nihil inmoleret properum quod eam quam lassaret fieri dicunt sterilem: eius enim salvam esse fructuosam venenum: hoc nomine etiam Athenis in arcem non inigibat, praeter quom mel ad semem necessarium sacrifictim, ne arbore olea, quae primum dicitur ibi nata, a capra tangi possit.

⁴ W. Robertson Smith Lectures on the Religion of the Semites London 1927 p. 437 'Herodotus, when he speaks of the sacrifices and worship of the Libyans, is at once led on to observe that the aegis or goat-skin, worn by the statues of Athena, is nothing else than the goat-skin, fringed with thongs, which was worn by the Libyan women; the inference implies that it was a sacred dress.' Id. ib. n. 1 adds 'that the victims were goats is suggested by the context, but becomes certain by comparison of Hippocrates, ed. Litteræ, vi. 336 [Hippocr. de morbis τινες μὲν δέρματαν ἀντί ιατρῶν, τίς ἔδει καλύφειν ἀντὶ θνείαν].

Farnell Cults of Gk. States i. 100 'It would be quite in accord with the ideas of a primitive period, when the divinity and the worshipper and the victim were all closely akin, that Athena should be clothed in the skin of her sacred animal, and that in this, as in many other cases..., the sacrificial skin should possess a value as a magical charm. Being used in the ritual of the war-goddess, it was natural that it should come to be of special potency in battle; but the skin of the sacred animal of the tribe ought also to have a life-giving power as well, and it is interesting to find that the aegis in an Athenian ceremony possessed this character also, being solemnly carried round the city at certain times to protect it from plague or other evil, and being taken by the priestess to the houses of newly married women, probably to procure offspring.' In the concluding lines Farnell presumably had in mind Plout. prov. Alex. 2. 21 (E. L. von Leutsch—F. G. Schneidewin Paroemiographi Graeci Gottingae 1839 i. 339 app. crit.) [Αἰγίς περι ψηλῶν... [ἡ γοῦν] ἑρεία τὴν ἱερὰν αἰγίδα Ἀθηνᾶς φέροντα ἄγειρε [ἀντὸ τῆς ἀκροτόλεως]
842 The aigis and Gorgoneion of Athena

*aigis* from an original goat-skin leaves quite unexplained the scaly or feathered character of its surface. This is so constant a feature that it cannot be lightly dismissed as mere decoration. Rather it points back to the snake-skin sloughed off, or the owl-skin laid aside, by the emergent deity.

Mythology has a word to say about both types of *aigis*, the scaly and the feathered. Apollodoros, in his account of the Gigantomachy, after mentioning that the Giants had 'the scales of snakes for feet', goes on to state that Athena flayed one of them named Pallas and used his skin to protect her own body in the fight. A variant and perhaps older version made Pallas the father of Athena by Titanis, daughter of Okeanos. When Pallas attempted to violate Athena, she slew him without mercy, wrapped his skin about her as an *aigis*, and fitted his wings to her feet.

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1 Preller—Robert Gr. Myth. i. 150 f. 'Als Thierfell erscheint denn auch die Aegis in der Regel auf den Bildwerken, während andererseits die schachbrett- oder schuppenartige Ornamentierung der Aussenseite an Metallverzierungen erinnert,' quoted by P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 971 f. Miss C. A. Hutton in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 315 says: 'An unsuccessful attempt to represent the tufts of hair on the skin may be the basis of the scales,. ..but the main reason for them arises from the combination of the aegis and the gorgoneion,' when 'the Medusa legend with its snakes dominated the conception.'

2 Apollod. i. 6. 1 έλυσον δὲ τὰς βίωσιν ψωλόπα δρακόντων (an iambic tag?). On Typhocus or Typhon as a 'Schlangenflüster' see M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen in der antiken Sage und Kunst* Berlin 1887 p. 274 ff.: we have already seen him represented as such on a 'Chalcidian' *hydria* of c. 550 B.C. (*supra* ii. 731 fig. 663). The earliest example of a Giant with serpent-legs occurs on an Attic *aryballos* at Berlin (inv. no. 33/5), which dates from the beginning of 5. iv rather than from the end of 5. v: it shows Dionysos, in a chariot drawn by a pair of griffins (cp. *supra* i. 370 fig. 197 Nemesis, ii. 523 pl. xxvii, d Rhea (?) and female companion), attacking two Giants, of whom one has human, the other serpentine, legs (H. Winnefeld 'Gigantenkampf auf einer Vase in Berlin' in the *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* Wien 1898 pp. 72—74 pl. 1, O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iii. 660 f. no. 134, 735 ('Nicht allzufrüh, wohl erst um die Wende des 5. and 4. Jhds. kommt für die G. der schlangenbeinige Typus auf, wahrscheinlich auf sie übertragen von Typhon').

3 Apollod. i. 6. 2 Πάλλαντος δὲ τὴν δορὰν ἐκεῖμον ταύτη κατὰ τὴν μάχην τὸ ἱδων ἐκέβασε {[loekén]to epit.} σῶμα.

4 *Cic.* de nat. deor. 3. 59 (last in the list of Minervas) quinta Pallantis, quae patrem dictur interemisse, virginitatem suam violare comanet, cui pinnarum talaria affigunt, Ampel. 9. 10 (last in the list of Minervas) quinta Pallantis et Titanidos filia; haec patrem occidit pro suae virginitatis observatione qui <a> eius cupidus fuit, Clem. Al. pror. 2. 28. 2 p. 21, 3 f. (last in the list of five Athenas) ἐπὶ πάσι τῶν Πάλλαντος καὶ Τιτανίων τῇ Μεταοι, ἢ τὸν πατέρα δυσφήμονα καθάδοσα τῷ πατρίῳ εκδέησιται δήματι ὅσοις καρφὶς, Arnob. adv. nat. 4. 14 (last in the list of Minervas) et quae Pallantem occidit patrem incestorum adpetitorem est quinta (cp. *ib.* 4. 16), Firm. Mat. 16. 1 f. (last in the...
Krater at Leipzig:
Perseus presents Athena with the Gorgon's head for her aigis.

See page 843 n. 2.
Krater at Gotha:
Perseus presents Athena with the Gorgon's head for her shield.

See page 843.
The aigis and Gorgoneion of Athena

More familiar is Pherekydes' story of Perseus, who, helped by Athena, slew the Gorgon and gave her head to the goddess to put on her aigis. An unpublished bell-krater at Leipzig (pl. Ixii) shows the hero, harpe in hand, peering down a well to glimpse the horror held aloft by Athena. The Silenos on the right turns away and hides his face. A kalyx-krater in Gotha (pl. Ixiii) gives Athena a blank shield and shows the head reflected upside down in the well. Such is the common tale. But Euripides in the Ion tells it...
844 The aigis and Gorgoneion of Athena

in a simpler and presumably Attic form. Athena herself, not Perseus, here slays the Gorgon and wears its skin as her aigis.

The evidence is incomplete, but it looks as though the feathered skin with its Gorgoneion went back to a Gorgon represented as a ravening bird of prey—precisely the representation that we have already seen on a black-figured vase at Berlin (fig. 649). It is noticeable too that the Gorgon of modern Greek folk-tales, who turns men into stone, is usually conceived as a bird, the Bird of Truth, the Speaking Bird, the Bird Dikjeretto, or the Tzitzinaina who knows the language of all birds. Anyhow, in view of the Berlin vase, it may well be maintained that the feathery type of aigis with its Gorgon-face points back to an Owl Athena. Homer called her glaukôpis: Sophokles, gorgôpis.

In claiming that Athena's aigis with its Gorgoneion was thus developed out of a snake-skin or owl-skin, the exuviae of her old animal self, I do not pretend to have tracked the Gorgon to its original lair. I maintain merely that the horrifying head of the snake or owl tended from the earliest Greek times to acquire the characteristics of that essentially pre-Greek horror, the Gorgoneion.

2 Supra p. 836.
3 Supra ii. 1010 f., 1016.
4 Supra ii. 1009 f., 1012 n. 1, 1016.
5 Supra ii. 1005, 1016.
6 Supra ii. 1004, 1016.
7 Supra p. 781 n. 2.
8 Supra ii. 1004, 1016.
9 Supra ii. 1005, 1016.
10 Supra ii. 1004, 1016.
11 Supra ii. 1004, 1016.
12 Supra ii. 1004, 1016.
13 Supra ii. 1004, 1016.
14 Supra ii. 1004, 1016.
15 Supra ii. 1004, 1016.
16 Supra ii. 1004, 1016.
17 Supra ii. 1004, 1016.
18 Supra ii. 1004, 1016.
19 Supra ii. 1004, 1016.
20 Supra ii. 1004, 1016.
21 Supra ii. 1004, 1016.
The west pediment of the temple of Artemis at Palaiopolis, Corfu.
The aigis and Gorgoneion of Athena

The earliest Gorgon's head known to me occurs on a signet-seal of black steatite now in my collection (fig. 659: scale f). It is Cretan work of the 'Middle Minoan ii' period (1900—1700 B.C.) and, though broken, shows clearly enough the broad full face with its emphasised eyes, gross ears, and bristling hair. The nearest contemporary parallels are afforded by the horned imp on a signet from Mochlos and one or two of the 'demonic' types on the clay-sealings from Kato Zakro.

On the primary significance of the Gorgoneion there has been much rash speculation. Scholars ancient and modern have elaborated not a few mutually destructive hypotheses. Plutarch dwells on the hideous face in the moon, and an Orphic fragment dubs it Gorgonion. Hence E. Gerhard, G. R. Gaedechens, and many more have identified the Gorgon's head with the moon, though on occasion it appears in a solar rather than a lunar context. Others,
The aigis and Gorgôneion of Athena

including J. F. Lauer\(^1\), F. L. W. Schwartz\(^2\), C. Dilthey\(^3\), and W. H. Roscher\(^4\), have equated its scowling features with those of the storm-cloud, partly because the word *aigis* is found in the sense of 'a rushing storm\(^5\)', partly because Quintus Smyrnaeus late in the fourth century A.D. compares the crash of Athena's *aigis* with the roll of thunder\(^6\). A. de Gubernatis\(^7\) in milder mood makes Medousa 'the evening aurora.' Others again drop from heaven to earth and offer a zoological explanation. F. T. Elworthy\(^8\) argues at length that the Gorgon must have been a cephalopod, the octopus, and L. Siret\(^9\) assures us that the *aigis* worn by god or goddess was his ubiquitous cuttle-fish\(^10\). T. Zell\(^11\) is equally insistent that the *Gorgôneion* was the face of a gorilla. K. Gerogiannes\(^12\) derives it from a lion's head. O. Jahn\(^13\), less daring but more discreet, stresses its use as an amulet potent to ward off the evil eye. Jane Harrison\(^14\) suggests that it was a ritual mask worn for prophylactic purposes, and R. G. Collingwood\(^15\) labels it 'an apotropaic mask.' Finally, H. J. Rose\(^16\) is inclined to think it 'a nightmare, a face so horrible that the dreamer is reduced to helpless, stony terror.' I am myself

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\(^3\) C. Dilthey in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1871 xiii. 214.
\(^5\) First in Aisch. *cho. 591 f. παντα δὲ και τεθησάμενα κάναμον ἅν | αἰγίδων φράσα κότων, then in Pherkr. *μυρινάκθρων frag. 9 (Frag. com. Gr. ii. 314 Meineke) ἀφ. Soud. s.v. αἰγίς καταγίς. Θεομάθη Μυρινακράς ομοι πολυδίμων, αἰγίς ἑρχεται (F. V. Frischke cj. αἰγίς, αἰγίς ἑρχεται, which is possible, but uncertain). See further H. Stuart Jones in the new Liddell and Scott s.v. αἰγίς.
\(^7\) A. de Gubernatis. *Zoological Mythology* London 1872 i. 305.
\(^8\) F. T. Elworthy. 'A Solution of the Gorgon Myth' in *Folk-Lore* 1903 xiv. 212—243 with pls. 6 and 7 and figs. 1—27, *id. ib.* 1905 xvi. 350 f. with two figs.
\(^9\) L. Siret. *Questions de chronologie et d'éthnographie ibériques* Paris 1913 i. 443.
\(^10\) *Supra* i. 87 n. 4.
\(^14\) J. E. Harrison in J. Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 330\(^{9}\)—332\(^{9}\).
more impressed by the platyrhine negroid aspect of early Gorgoneia, which prompts me to guess that their archetype came from north Africa. If so, Euripides was not far wrong when he spoke of ‘Libyan Gorgons.’

1 Eur. Bacch. 990 f. λεμνας δε τινας δι’ Ἡγηρίων ἤ Λιβυους γένος. W. H. Roscher Die Gorgonen und Verwandte Leipzig 1879 p. 27 n. 50 cp. Aristoph. Ran. 477 Γοργοῖς Θάρσοισι with schol. R. ad loc. Θάρσος: <Τάρσος> τότε τήν Δίσβης <κύθα αἰ Γοργοὺς διότιμον>, Hdt. 2. 91 οἰκονομία (εἰς τὸν Περσα) ἔκ Δισβῆς τὴν Γοργοῦς κεφαλῆς. Diod. 3. 55 ff. κατὰ τὴν Δίσβην...τὸ τε γὰρ τῶν Γοργοῦν θύσιν, ἐφ’ ἂν ληχεὶ τὸν Περσα στρατεύσαι, κ.τ.λ., Paus. 2. 21. 5 καὶ ἔτε μάχαι ἑγείσαι (εἰς τὴν Μέδουσαν) τοῦ Λίβους, 3. 17. 3 Περσα δ’ ἐκ Δίσβην καὶ τῆς Μέδουσας ὦρμησις, Iuv. 12. 4 πρόμαχοι (εἰς Μινερβας) Gorgone Maura, schol. vet. Pind. Pyth. 10. 72 ἢ δὲ Γοργοῦς κατὰ μὲν τινας ἐν τοῖς Λιβυκαίοις...κατὰ δὲ τινας ἐν τοῖς περάτων τῆς Δίσβης..., etc.

J. Six De Gorgone Amstelodami 1885 pp. 94—97 discusses, but rejects, the suggestion that the Gorgon was derived from the Egyptian Bes (cp. supra ii. 457). It remains, however, highly probable that this godling with his pygmy stature and Sudani traits (Lanzone Dizion. di Mitol. Egis. pp. 201—211 pls. 73—81, Sir E. A. Wallis Budge The Gods of the Egyptians London 1904 ii. 284—288 with two figs. and col. pl., id. From Fetish to God in ancient Egypt Oxford 1934 pp. 253—255 with two figs.), his apotropaic powers (W. M. Flinders Petrie Amulets London 1914 p. 40 f. nos. 188—190 pls. 33 and 34), and his curious attachment to the full-face view (supra ii. 674 figs. 611, 612) affords a real analogy to the Libyan Gorgon. His wrinkled forehead and nose, broad face, and hanging tongue are comparable features. And it must not be forgotten that Bes, like the Gorgon, was connected with snakes (Lanzone op. cit. p. 211 pl. 79, 2, K. Sethe in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 325 ‘als Abwehr der schädlichen Tiere,’ Sir E. A. Wallis Budge From Fetish to God in ancient Egypt p. 254 ‘a slayer of serpents and all kinds of noxious animals’) and on occasion was represented in female form
The *aigis* and *Gorgoneion* of Athena

Be that as it may, the Gorgon's head, thanks to the humanising tendency of Greek art, had an evolution of its own from lower to higher forms\(^1\). The archaic type (fig. 662)\(^2\) was a round face with formal curls and a wrinkled forehead. The mouth was wide, showing teeth and formidable tusks. The tongue was protruded. The ears often had circular earrings. Snakes were sometimes added, or even a beard.

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\(^1\) See the succession of types drawn up and discussed by A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1709—1718 ('Archaischer Typus'), 1718—1721 ('Der mittlere Typus'), 1721—1727 ('Der schöne Typus'), G. Glotz in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1622—1624 ('type archaïque'), 1624—1627 ('Le type moyen'), 1627—1629 ('Le type beau'), K. Ziegler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1652 f. ('Der archaische Typus'), 1653 f. ('Der mittlere Typus'), 1654 f. ('Der schöne Typus').

\(^2\) An antefix of terracotta found on the Akropolis at Athens. Lips, tongue, gums, and earrings are painted dark-red; hair, snakes, and pupils of eyes, black; face, buff. Seven fragments from a single mould survive, and date from the second half of \(\pm \) vi b.C. (L. Ross *Archäologische Aufsätze* Leipzig 1855 i. 109 pl. 8, t in colours (=my fig. 663), 2 side view, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1715 with fig., D. Brooke in the *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum* Cambridge 1921 ii. 289 f. nos. 78, 79 fig., 321 f., 420). The bronze *Gorgoneion* of Dreros, which anticipates the milder type, may be dated c. 600—575 b.C. (S. Marinatos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1936 li. 270 ff. pl. 39).
The *aigis* and *Gorgóneion* of Athena 849

The middle type (fig. 663)\(^1\) retained the round face, the furrowed forehead, the wide toothy mouth, and the lolling tongue, but made all these traits somewhat milder and less horrific. The snakes are apt to pass into snaky locks, and the beard vanishes. The whole effect is repellent rather than repulsive.

The beautiful type appears for the first time in the head grasped by Perseus on a red-figured vase dating from c. 475 B.C. (fig. 664)\(^2\) and then, mostly in Satyric scenes, on later Attic or early South Italian vases\(^3\). It was perhaps inspired, as

1 An antefix of terracotta found before the east front of the Bouleuterion at Olympia. The tongue is red; the teeth, white. To be dated 450—400 B.C. (R. Bormann in *Olympia* ii. 195 f. fig. 13 restoration, pl. 130, 1 in colours (=my fig. 663) with side view, A. Furtwängler *loc. cit.* p. 1720 f., E. N. Gardiner *Olympia Its History & Remains* Oxford 1925 p. 9 with fig. 69 opposite p. 216).

2 A *hydria* from Kyrenaike (De Ridder Cat. *Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* ii. 346 and 348 no. 456 fig. 79 (=my fig. 664)). Mr C. D. Bicknell notes the influence of Kritios’ Tyrannicides, set up in the Athenian Agora in 477 B.C. Head in profile.


(2) A *volute-krátér* from Ceglie, now at Taranto (figured infra Append. P p. 996), which gives the Satyric setting in completest form. Head full-face.


(4) A South Italian *krátér*?, probably from Bari, in the Fontana collection at Trieste (E. Curtius *Herakles der Satyr und Dreipassräuber* (Winckelmannfest-Progr. *Berlin* xii) Berlin 1853 pp. 1 ff., 14 n. 1 with col. pl. = *id.* in his *Gesammelte Abhand- C. III.

Fig. 664.
850 The aigis and Gorgôneion of Athena

Wuilleumier\(^1\) has suggested, by Pythagoras' bronze Perseus\(^9\), or, as Furtwängler\(^3\) and Glotz\(^4\) have maintained, by Myron's masterpiece on the Akropolis representing 'Perseus fresh from the slaughter of Medousa\(^5\),' though these sculptors themselves may have drawn their inspiration from the Pindaric Perseus 'bearing off the head of fair-cheeked Medousa\(^6\).'

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Fig. 665.

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1 P. Wuilleumier in the Rev. Arch. 1929 ii. 199.
2 Pythagoras of Rhegion made a bronze statue of Perseus with wings (on his feet?) (Dion Chrys. or. 37 (ii. 296, 3 f. Dindorf)). We have no right to assume that this is a blundered reference to Myron's Perseus.
4 G. Glotz in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. ii. 1627.
5 Name of the Gorgôn head in Berlin; Berlin 1894 ii. 215—230 pl. 6, O. Jahn in Philologus 1868 xxvii. 16 pl. t. 1.
6 Paus. i. 23. 7 καὶ ἄλλα ἐν τῇ Ἀθηνᾶς ἀκροπόλις θεανάμπειν οἶδα... καὶ Μέρωνος Περσέα τὸ ἐν Μέδουσαν ὤργον εἴργασάν τινι, Plin. nat. hist. 34. 57 fecit (sc. Myron)...ct Perseum.
7 Pind. Pyth. 12. 28 f. εἴσπαρόν εὔφαρμα συλλόγον Μεδοῦσαν | oλὲ Δάμας with schol. vet. on 24 ὁ εἴσπαρον δὲ φοια τήν Μέδουσαν, αὐχ ὅτι αὐτὴ φόνευε εἴχεν, ἀλλ' ὃτι τῷ ἐκατῆ Ἡ Μέδουσα ὡς εἰμόρφον διέκειτο· διὸ καὶ περὶ κάλλους τῆ Ἀθηνᾶ εὐδοκείεσθαι. This contest of beauty between Medousa and Athena was a commonplace of the later mythographers (Apollod. 2. 4. 3, schol. vet. Pind. Nem. 10. 6, interp. Serv. and Serv. in Verr. Aen. 6. 289 (citing Serenus (Sammonicus?) the poet), Lact. Plac. narr. fab. 4. 20, Myth. Vat. 1. 131, 2. 117, adh.). According to Ov. met. 4. 794 ff., clarissima forma | multorumque fuit spes invidiosa procorum | illa, nec in tota conspectior ulla capillis | pars fuit.
8 Cic. in Verr. 2. 4. 124 tells how Verres carried off from the gold and ivory doors of Athena's temple on the island of Ortygia at Syracuse 'Gorgonis os pulcherrimum, crinitum angibus.' Medousa as a beauty is παρὰ πρὸδοξίαν and calls for explanation. The epithet εἰςπάρος is clearly complimentary (Poll. 2. 87, 9. 162) and could hardly be taken as 'large-cheeked, broad-faced.' Nor would it be safe to see in it a mere euphemism as is Ἐδοξῆ, Ἐξατηρί, and the like (supra ii. 112 n. 7). We must fall back on the assumption
The *aigis* and *Gorgónion* of Athena

In any case, once introduced, the new type ran through a whole succession of phases, becoming in turn sinister (fig. 665)\(^1\), pathetic (fig. 666)\(^2\), and ultrapathetic (fig. 667)\(^3\), but at the last tranquillised that the Gorgon among her original (African?) folk was frankly regarded as a reigning beauty. Hence her name *Méðovtra*, the ‘Queen,’ her diadem, and her earrings. A modern parallel from an Epeirote tale is ‘the Beauty of the Land,’ who can turn men into stone (*supra* ii. 1007, 1016).

1 The Medusa Rondanini in the Glyptothek at Munich is a mask of Parian marble, copied in Roman times from a Greek original in bronze to be dated c. 400 B.C. or perhaps somewhat earlier (Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.*, pl. 239, A. Furtwängler—H. L. Urlichs *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur* München 1898 p. 43 ff. pl. 13, Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* pp. 156—161 (attributed to Kresilas) fig. 63, id. *Ein Hundert Tafeln nach den Bildwerken der kgl. Glyptothek zu München* München 1903 pl. 54, id. *Glyptothek zu München* p. 260 ff. no. 253, G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 177 (Kresilas?)). Apart from the cold and cruel beauty of this face, the sculptor has imported a fresh element of interest in the pair of small wings attached horizontally to the head. Buoyed on these, with her concentrated stare and half-open mouth, Medousa hovers before us like some keen-eyed maleficent night-bird.

2 An onyx cameo of two layers, milk-white on bluish white, found on the Via Appia near Rome and formerly in the Tyszkiewicz collection (W. Froehner *Collection d’antiquités du comte Michel Tyszkiewicz* Paris 1898 p. 32 pl. 32, 7, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i. pl. 59, 47 (= my fig. 666), ii. 244). A smaller and less finely worked cameo in my possession (fig. 669: scale 1) ivory white on dark grey, has the same troubled forehead and painful expression. Traces of subsequent gilding on hair etc.

3 An amethyst cameo of Hellenistic date, found on the Aventine at Rome and
The aigis and Gorgoneion of Athena

Fig. 670.

Fig. 671.
(1) Etruscan kylix at Leipzig:
  Pegasos born from the blood of the Gorgon.
(2) Etruscan kylix in the British Museum:
  Pegasos born from the blood of the Gorgon.

See page 853 n.
and dignified by death (fig. 668). It will be seen that this final type, under the influence of regal portraiture, discards the full-face for the profile view and thereby exchanges its old prophylactic quality for a new ideal value.

Where prophylaxis was still required, the older horrors survived, as on Greek relief-ware of the fourth century (fig. 670, a, b), or might be made yet more horrible, as on Etruscan bronze-work of the same period (fig. 671).

The entire range of these modifications could be illustrated by a sequence of Greek and Roman coin-types, of which a few samples are here given (figs. 672—693). And a similar series might equally well be made out for vases, or gems, or other products of minor art, formerly in the Laurent! and Blacas collections, now in the British Museum (C. Lenormant Nouvelle galerie mythologique (Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique) Paris 1850 p. 117 no. 1 pl. 28, Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i pl. 59, 2 (=my fig. 667), ii. 166 'von derb pathetischem Typus,' Lippold Gemmen pl. 77, 1 p. 179, Brit. Mus. Cat. Gemi p. 333 no. 3542 pl. 36). Even the eyebrows are writhen and snaky. C. Davenport Cameos London 1900 pl. 6 gives a fine coloured illustration of this amethyst and adds the conjecture that it was one of a pair of phaleræ.

1 A clouded chalcedony of Graeco-Roman date, found on the Caelian at Rome, later in the Strozzi (hence known as the 'Strozzi Medusa') and Blacas collections, now in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems p. 148 f. no. 1256 pl. H, ib. no. 1829 pl. 23, Reignach Pierres Graves p. 180 f. no. 63 pl. 137, Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i pl. 40, 18 (=my fig. 668), ii. 191 f., Lippold Gemmen pl. 77, 4 p. 179). The inscription ΣΟΛΩΝΝΟΣ behind the head is, as Furtwängler op. cit. ii. 192 concluded, a genuine signature of that Julian engraver (J. Sieveking in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii a. 978 f.). Medousa has twelve snakes in her hair.

2 Cp. the head of Alexander the Great on tetradrachms of Makedonia issued under Aesillas and Sura (93—88 B.C.) (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia, etc. p. 19 f. no. 84 fig. and no. 87 fig., Hunter Cat. Coins i. 355 pl. 24, 13, McLean Cat. Coins ii. 86 pl. 138, 10 and 11).

3 From a buff (? traces of black) moulded aryballos (height 4½ ins.) in my collection. Both sides, apart from the border-pattern, are alike. Cp. a series of black askoi with the mask of Medousa in relief (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iv. 246 nos. G 54—G 61).

4 From a bronze hēbe-handle in my possession. The plate at either end is protected by the relief of a Gorgoneion with flying hair (scale ½). Equally gruesome is the bearded and snake-fringed Gorgoneion on two Etruscan kylikes in Leipzig and London (pl. Ixv).

5 Fig. 672 a tetradrachm of Athens 510—507 B.C. (McLean Cat. Coins ii. 347 no. 5791 pl. 204, 23). On the Gorgoneion as official Athenian badge see C. T. Seltman Athens its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion Cambridge 1914 p. 50 ff. fig. 37 f. pl. 4, A 54—57, 60 f., v, 88 (c. 550—546 B.C.), p. 86 ff. fig. 52 pl. 14, A 208—213 (510—507 B.C.).

6 Fig. 673 a bronze coin of Olbia, probably cast in Δ vi—v B.C. (McLean Cat. Coins ii. 153 no. 4274 pl. 155, 6) in imitation of the Gorgon-type at Athens (E. H. Minns Scythians and Greeks Cambridge 1913 p. 484 pl. 2, 1, C. T. Seltman op. cit. p. 133 ff., id. Greek Coins London 1933 pp. 180, 303 pl. 40, 1). This was the earliest issue of Greek coinage in bronze.

Fig. 674 a bronze hemilitron of Karamarina c. 413—405 B.C. (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily p. 39 from a cast). Cp. the hemilitron of Himera before c. 413 B.C. (McClean Cat. Coins i. 272 pl. 75, 6 and 7).
The aigis and Gorgoneion of Athena

Archaic Type, without snakes.

Fig. 672.

Fig. 673.

Fig. 674.

Archaic Type, with snakes.

Fig. 675.

Fig. 676.

Fig. 677.

Transition to Middle Type.

Fig. 678.

Fig. 679.

Fig. 680.
The *aigis* and *Gorgóneion* of Athena

**Middle Type.**

Fig. 683.  
Fig. 684.

Fig. 685.  
Fig. 686.

**Beautiful Type.**

Fig. 687.  
Fig. 688.  
Fig. 689.  
Fig. 690.

**Assimilation of Helios to the Gorgon.**

Fig. 691.  
Fig. 692.

Fig. 693.
856 The aigis and Gorgoneion of Athena

Fig. 675 a billon statér of Lesbos c. 550—440 B.C. (McClean Cat. Coins iii. 103 no. 7955 pl. 275, 1).

Fig. 676 a silver statér of Neapolis in Makedonia c. 500—411 B.C. (McClean Cat. Coins ii. 2 no. 3075 pl. 113, 8).

Fig. 677 a silver hemidrachm of Neapolis in Makedonia c. 411—360 B.C. (McClean Cat. Coins ii. 3 no. 3078 pl. 112, 11).

Fig. 678 a silver drachm of Abydos c. 480—450 B.C. (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Troas, etc. p. 1 pl. 1, 2).

Fig. 679 a silver drachm of Apollonia ad Rhynicum in Mysia c. 450—330 B.C. (cp. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Mysia p. 95 pl. 21, 8).

Fig. 680 a silver hemidrachm of Parion in Mysia c. 400—300 B.C. or later (McClean Cat. Coins iii. 58 no. 7654 pl. 263, 8).

Fig. 681 a silver hemidrachm of Parion in Mysia c. 400—300 B.C. or later (from a specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum).

Fig. 683 a silver piece of ten units from Populonia in Etruria c. 450—350 B.C. (McClean Cat. Coins i. 18 no. 123 pl. 8, 1). On the Etruscan Gorgoneion as inspired by the early coinage of Athens see the illuminating remarks of C. T. Seltman Athens its History and Coinage p. 130 ff.

Fig. 684 a silver piece of twenty units from Populonia in Etruria c. 350—280 B.C. (ib. i. 19 no. 128 pl. 8, 6).

Fig. 685 (from a specimen of mine) and fig. 686 (from another in the Fitzwilliam Museum) are Roman denarii struck by L. Plautius Plancus c. 47 B.C. (Babelon Monn. rép. rom. ii. 323 ff. nos. 14—16 figs. [no. 16 in gold is a forgery], M. Bahrfeind Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde der römischen Republik Wien 1897 p. 305 ff. pl. 9, 217 and 218, Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Rep. i. 516 f. nos. 4005, 4006, 4009 pl. 50, 15, 16, 17). It appears that C. Plautius Venox, who was censor along with Appius Claudius Caecus in 312 B.C., had allowed the flute-players to wear masks at their festival the Quinquatrus Minusculae on the Ides of June, when they roamed about the city and assembled at the temple of Minerva (Ov. fast. 6. 651 ff. with Sir J. G. Frazer’s commentary ad loc.). The mask on the coins of L. Plautius is treated as a Gorgoneion of the middle type and often shows a couple of snakes in the hair.

Fig. 687 a bronze coin of Seleukos I Nikator (312—280 B.C.) (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 6 f. pl. 2, 14, P. Gardner Types of Gk. Coins p. 195 f. pl. 14, 6, cp. McLean Cat. Coins iii. 325 no. 9246 pl. 335, 9).

Fig. 688 a bronze coin of Amphipolis issued in imperial times but without emperor’s head (from a specimen of mine, cp. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia, etc. p. 48 nos. 44 and 45, McLean Cat. Coins ii. 29 no. 3227 pl. 117, 22).

Fig. 689 a bronze coin of Chabakta in Pontus issued in the time of Mithradates Eupator (120—63 B.C.) (McLean Cat. Coins iii. 8 no. 7382 pl. 251, 4, cp. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Pontus, etc. p. 27 pl. 5, 4, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach Monn. gr. d’As. Min. i. 77 pl. 11, 23, ib. i. 105 pls. 11, 23 and K, 3).

Fig. 690 a Roman denarius struck by L. Cossutius Sabula c. 54 B.C. (from a specimen of mine, cp. Babelon Monn. rép. rom. i. 437 f. no. 1 fig., Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Rep. i. 405 f. no. 3324 pl. 42, 22).

Fig. 691 a silver drachm of Rhodes c. 304—166 B.C. (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. 245 pl. 39, 2, cp. McLean Cat. Coins iii. 205 no. 8598 f. pl. 300, 20 f.). Magistrate’s name ГОРГΟΣ.

Fig. 692 a silver drachm of Rhodes c. 304—166 B.C. (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. 245 pl. 39, 1). Magistrate’s name ΑΙΝΗΤΩΡ. On this coin the hair of Helios is markedly snaky and two snakes are tied under his chin.

Fig. 693 a silver drachm (?) of Rhodes c. 87—84 B.C. (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. exil pl. 45, 3). Magistrate’s name ГОРГΟΣ. On this coin the assimilation of
The *aigis* and *Gorgóneion* of Athena 857

We are, however, concerned primarily with the *aigis* of Athena. And here it is interesting to see how, through contact with that dominant and yet gracious personality, the *Gorgóneion* was gradually converted from demon to angel. On the Albani statue⁴ (fig. 694),

Fig. 694.

Fig. 695.

Fig. 696.

Fig. 697.

Helios to the Gorgon—perhaps originally suggested by the name Gorgos—is completed by the addition of small wings in the hair.

858 The *aigis* and *Gorgoneion* of Athena

which presupposes a bronze original of *c.* 450 B.C., the negroid face with animal tusks and lolling tongue has already become less frightful. The tusks have gone; the tongue is going. On the Dresden ‘Lemnia’ (fig. 695), one of two marble copies of a Pheidian (?) Athena in bronze, *c.* 450—440 B.C., the cheeks are still too broad, but the tongue is pulled in, and the snakes are no longer knotted under the chin. On the Kassel statue (fig. 696), a later version of the same original, the tongue is just visible, but the face is a better oval, and the snakes are replaced by a tangle of snaky tresses. Finally, on the Varvakeion statuette (fig. 697), a Hadrianic reduction of the *Parthenos*, the head in the center of the shield develops a pair of winglets and might be mistaken for a mediæval cherub.

One other *Gorgoneion* remains to be considered—the expiring effort of Graeco-Roman accommodation in the west. The British goddess presiding over the hot curative springs at Bath was *Sul* or more correctly *Sulis*, whose name—probably akin to the Old Irish *süil* ‘eye’—was the Celtic equivalent of the Latin, *Sul*.

These hot springs at Aquae Sulis are unique in the British Isles, and the natives seem to have thought that the sun as it sank beneath the western waves warmed the waters below and sent them up hot and bubbling to the surface. Their healing properties would

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4 S. Marinatos in the *Ep. Äph.* 1927—1928 p. 17 f. fig. 7 (after Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 f. 276 f. fig. 207, c 2) ep. one side of a four-sided cornelian seal (‘Middle Minoan ii’) from central Crete, on which appears a facing head with apparent side-wings. But Sir Arthur is careful to explain these as ‘locks flowing out on either side and terminating in coils’ like those of Ishtar.
5 The only forms of the name at present known are the genitive *Sulis* and the dative *Suli*. But other inscriptions may yet be forthcoming, for much of the ground adjoining the Bath still awaits excavation. Prof. J. R. R. Tolkien in R. G. Collingwood—J. N. L. Myres *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* Oxford 1936 p. 264 n. 1 points out that the Celtic nominative must have been *Sulis*.
6 M. Ihm in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1592 and 1599. For the sun conceived as an eye see *supra* i Index p. 882, ii Index p. 1389.
then lead to the equation of Sulis the sun-goddess with Minerva, who at Rome and elsewhere bore the title Medica. The equation is attested not only by three out of the ten inscriptions so far discovered at Bath, but also by an interesting passage in Solinus who says:

1 The circumference of Britain is 4875 miles. Within this space are many great rivers, hot springs too equipped with luxurious arrangements for the


2 (1) Corp. inscr. Lat. vii no. 43 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 4660 (on a small altar figured by H. M. Scarth Aqua Salis London 1864 p. 47 pl. 13) deae Suli Minervae | Sulinus | Matris fili | v. s. 1. m. The name Sulinus, which recurs in Corp. inscr. Lat. vii no. 27, is no doubt theophoric. Cp. the Welsh saints Sul (Tysul), Sualian (Tysilius), Sulien (F. G. Holweck A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints St Louis, Mo. 1924 pp. 939-994).

2 (2) Corp. inscr. Lat. vii no. 39 (deeply incised on fragments of an architrave in lettering of s. ii A.D.) C. Protacius Libo Ti. Claudius Ligur (sacerdotes) restituto c]olegio longa seria [annorum abolo aedem] | deae Sul(is) Minervae n[imia vetus] ate conlapsam sua pecunia refici et reping| (3) Corp. inscr. Lat. vii no. 42 (on an altar figured by H. M. Scarth op. cit. p. 48 pl. 14) deae Su|li Minervae et nu|minibus Aug(ustorum) C. | Curitius | Saturninus | 7 (centurio) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) pro se su|isque | v. s. 1. m.

3 The fullest collection, though marred by a few misprints, is that of F. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv A. 723 f.


Galfridus Monmutensis (Geoffrey of Monmouth), writing between 1136 and 1139 A.D., works this passage of Solinus into his fabulous Historia regum Britanniae 2. 10 successit deinde Bladud fillius, tractavitque regnum viginti annis: hac aedificavit urbem Kaerbadum quae nunc Badus nuncupatuer, factoque in illa calida balnea ad usus mortalium apta. quibus praefecit numen Minervae: in cuius aede inextinguibiles posuit ignes, qui nunquam deficiant in favillas, sed ex quo tabescere incipiebant, in saxos globos verteabantur. H. M. Scarth op. cit. p. 3 (after T. D. Whitaker(?)) in The Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine 1801 x. 234 f. ‘loose coals fused into nodules’ offers a simple explanation of the concluding sentence in Solinus and Galfridus. The fire was not built of wood, which turned to white ashes, but of coal, which burnt into cinders. He adds that coal ‘is to the present day dug up at Newton St. Loe, three miles from BATH: a point which is the more noteworthy, since if the interpretation be correct, it is the first mention of the use of coal in Britain.’ To the same effect San-Marte (A. Schulz) in his edition of Geoffrey (Halle 1854) p. 220 and R. G. Collingwood—J. N. L. Myres Roman Britain and the English Settlements Oxford 1936 p. 232.

The aigis and Gorgoneion of Athena

Fig. 698.
The *aigis* and *Gorgoneion* of Athena 861
The aígis and Gorgóneion of Athena

service of mankind. The power presiding over these springs is Minerva. In her temple are perpetual fires which never pass into white embers, for as soon as the fire has died down it turns into stony nodules.¹

The local cult was, during the Roman occupation, thoroughly classicised, and a noble bronze head (figs. 698, 699)¹¹ found under Stall Street in 1727, close to the south-west corner of the Baths' may well be that of Sulis Minerva herself². It was originally fitted with a helmet, beneath which the hair escaped about the brows.

This, and the long neck clear of drapery, recall Niketas'² description of the great Bronze Athena on the Akropolis at Athens. Indeed, there are so many marks of Pheidias style here present—the long narrow eyes, the emphasised lower lid, the absence of overlap, the strong broad nose, the short upper lip—that we need not hesitate to recognise a Roman copy of that famous original. The surface bears numerous traces of thick gilding, and when first set up the whole statue must have been a resplendent sight, the sun-goddess in a glory of gold⁴.

Among the architectural remains of her temple⁵, discovered under the Pump Room in 1790, are large portions of a triangular relief (pl. lxvi and fig. 700) thus described by Mr A. J. Taylor⁶:

'The impression produced by golden statues see S. Eitrem in *Symbolae Osloenses* 1936 xvi—xvii. 122 f.'

¹ H. M. Scarth *Aqua Solis* London 1864 p. 25 ff. with Frontispiece, J. Hatton *The Book of Bath* s.l., s.a. p. 17 fig., A. J. Taylor *The Roman Baths of Bath* Bath 1933 p. 40 no. 31 with 2 figs. (full-face and profile). I am indebted to Mr Taylor for the photographs from which my figs. 698, 699 were made.

² This is the conclusion justly reached by Mr Taylor *op. cit.* p. 40. Mrs D. P. Dobson *The Archaeology of Somerset* London 1931 p. 50 is content to say 'the bronze female head, possibly that of Minerva.'

³ Niket. Chon. 359 C p. 739 Bekker (cp. *supra* p. 225 n. 1) ὥδε γε ἀφετέρων ἄχινων ὅς καὶ γράμμα τὸ διαλέγεισθαι ἀναπτυσσόμενος ἄμαχον εἰς ἑδωγήθη θέμα ἵν... ὡ δέ κόμη ἐς πλάγμα διεστραμμένη καὶ δεσμομοειν ἐπιπέδει, διὸ χέρυ ήκε μετάπως τριπή τις ἡ θεσμώμων, μὴ ἑκτένα τῷ κράτει συνεχώρησθαι, ἀλλὰ τι καὶ παρεμφαίνουσα τοῦ πλοχμοί.

⁴ On the impression produced by golden statues see S. Eitrem in *Symbolae Osloenses* 1936 xvi—xvii. 122 f.

⁵ A restoration of its tetrastyle Corinthian façade is given by S. Lysons *Remains of two Temples and other Roman Antiquities discovered at Bath* London 1807 p. 2 ff. col. pl. 5.

⁶ A. J. Taylor *op. cit.* p. 23 no. 1 with pl. (part of which = my fig. 700).
Pedimental relief from the temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath.

See Age 86 ff. with figs. 706, 707.
The *aigis* and *Gorgóneion* of Athena

variation on the common Medusa, whose head often appears on shields. This Medusa, if such it be, and the owl suggest that the temple was dedicated to Minerva, goddess of Bath.

The *Gorgóneion* of Sulis Minerva (fig. 701)\(^1\) has been diversely interpreted. G. Scharf\(^2\) in 1855 declared that it is not a *Gorgóneion* at all, but just a personification of the Hot Spring itself. Most critics admit that it is indeed the head of Medousa, but a Medousa of a peculiar, provincial type. F. Haverfield and H. Stuart Jones\(^3\), to account for the beard and moustaches, suggest the contamination of Medousa with Phobos. R. G. Collingwood\(^4\) derives the type, 'glaring, ferocious, apotropaic,' from 'the human or demonic masks of early La Tène art,' and hints at the possibility that the Bath sculptor may have been no Briton, but 'Priscus of Chartres\(^5\) or one of his Gaulish colleagues.' My own belief is that the *Gorgóneion* here as elsewhere\(^6\) is treated as a representation of the sun. Sulis was a sun-goddess. The centre of a pediment is the right place for a solar disk\(^7\). The head itself has 'locks standing out flame-wise' and a 'fiery suffering expression.'\(^8\) If in Rhodes the head of Helios could be assimilated to the *Gorgóneion*\(^9\), I conceive that at Aquae Sulis (Aquae Solis some called it\(^10\)) the *Gorgóneion* could be assimilated to the head of Sol\(^11\). Thus, in a sense, the Gorgon ends

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1 From a photograph by Mr S. R. Lewin kindly procured for me by Mr A. J. Taylor.
2 G. Scharf in *Archaeologia* 1855 xxxvi. 194 ff. The flowing locks are streams of water; the great hollow shield is the basin in which they collect; the two wreaths are oak-groves surrounding the spot. Etc. H. M. Scarth *op. cit.* p. 22 f. is inclined to follow suit.
5 Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4661 (found at Bath) Priscus | Touti f. | [l]apidariu[s], | civis Car[nui]tenus Su[li] | deae v.[s.].
6 *Supra* p. 845 n. 9.
7 *Supra* i. 293 ff. figs. 213—218.
9 *Supra* p. 855 figs. 691—693.
10 In *itin. Anton. Aug.* p. 486, 3 Wesseling (p. 74 Cuntz) Aquis Sulis m. p. vi cod. B (Parisinus Regius 4307, f. ix A.D.) reads solis. So also the *tabula Peutingeriana* (on which see *supra* p. 142 f.) segmentum i. 5 aquisolis.
11 This would be a concession to Roman sentiment. In any sun-cult the Romans would expect some indication of a masculine Sol. It is worth observing that fragments of two smaller pediments were found at Bath, one showing the bust of Luna in a concave panel (H. M. Scarth *op. cit.* p. 24 pl. 6, A. J. Taylor *op. cit.* p. 29 no. 5 fig.), the other three rays of a radiate Sol in a similar medallion (J. Carter *The Ancient Architecture of England* London 1775 (ib.\(^5\) London 1837) p. 9 pl. 9 fig. A, S. Lysons *Remains of two Temples and other Roman Antiquities discovered at Bath* London 1802 p. 8 col. pl. 9 fig. 6, G. Scharf in *Archaeologia* 1855 xxxvi. 198 f., H. M. Scarth *op. cit.* p. 24).
864 The *aigis* and *Gorgoneion* of Athena
where she began. For early Greek Gorgóneia, by way of added horror, were apt to grow a beard\(^1\); and here we have a late

\[\text{Fig. 701.}\]

Roman Gorgóneion producing the same effect by the self-same means.

\(^1\) A. Furtwängler in Roscher \textit{Lex. Myth.} i. 1707, 1715, 1718. \textit{Supra} p. 848.
The aigis of Athena transferred to Zeus

It would seem, then, that the aigis was, and had been from time immemorial, an attribute of Athena. That pre-Greek mountain-mother was wont to manifest herself as Snake or Owl, and on attaining human form continued to wear the old snake-skin or owl-skin as a potent relic of her animal estate. Further, the snake's head or owl's head tended from the first to take on the apotropaic features of the Libyan Gorgon: as a Gorgoneion it had, we saw, quite a history of its own.

If such was the story of the aigis, one point is still obscure. Should we not expect to find that in the earliest extant literature of the Greeks the aigis would be treated as the exclusive property of Athena? And yet that is far from being the case. Athena wears it, of course. But so also does Apollon, and even uses it to wrap round the dead body of Hektor. More than that. Among the pre-Homeric appellatives embedded in Homeric verse few are so frequent or so universally recognised as Zeus aigiochos, Zeus the 'aigis-bearer,' which in Iliad and Odyssey together occurs just fifty times, but is never once applied to Athena. How, we may well ask, did Zeus come thus to usurp the sacred prerogative of Athena? Fully to answer that question would demand a better knowledge than we possess of the momentous transition from Aegean to Achaean worship. Homer at most drops a single significant hint:

The copper-smith Hephaistos gave the same
For Zeus to wear and rout mankind withal.

2 I. 15. 307 ff., 318, 360 f.
3 I. 24. 20 f.
4 Supra i. 444, ii. 384 n. 0, iii. 781.
5 Supra i. 14 n. 1, iii. 13.
6 A. Gehring Index Homericus Lipsiae 1891 p. 23 (almost always in the gen. aigóchoi, but Od. 9. 275 gen. aigóchoi, and Ii. 2. 375 nom. aigóchos Κρόνιος Ζεύς and Ii. 8. 287, Od. 15. 245 nom. Ζεύς τ' 'aigóchoi).
7 The nearest she gets to it is in such phrases as 'Αθηναὶς κοφῆς Δῶς aigóchoi (Ii. 5. 733, 8. 384, Od. 13. 252, 371, 24. 529, 547 etc.), θύγατερ Δῶς aigóchoi (Ii. 5. 813). Zeus τ' 'aigóchoi καί Λήθη (Ii. 8. 287). See H. Ebeling Lexicon Homericum Lipsiae 1885 i. 41.
8 For what may be reasonably conjectured with regard to this transitional period see especially the works of M. P. Nilsson The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion Lund 1927, The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology Cambridge 1933, Homer and Mycenae London 1933. There is a helpful statement of its outstanding problems by A. W. Gomme in E. Eyer European Civilization Its Origin and Development Oxford 1935 i. 507—538.
9 I. 15. 309 f. ἦν δὲσι χαλκεὺς "Ηπατόσ Δι' δῶς φορμίσσει άτ φόβον ανθρώπων. Aristonikos of Alexandreia, a famous Homeric scholar who lived in the time of
Thunderbolt of Zeus transferred to Athena

So Zeus got his aigis from Hephaistos, the consort of Athena. Our problem begins to solve itself. We shall not be far wrong if we maintain the following positions: (1) The aigis belonged by right to the pre-Hellenic Athena. (2) When the Achaeans arrived with their all-conquering Zeus, he must needs take over the magical garb of the goddess, and the minstrels coined for him that persuasive epithet aigiochos. (3) For all that, the common people were not persuaded, and—apart from one half-hearted attempt on the part of an Ionian vase-painter—they artists never equipped Zeus with an aigis so long as Hellas was genuinely Hellenic. (4) But, when Hellenic art gave place to Hellenistic culture, Homer once more dominated the imagination of men and Zeus aigiochos regained his canonical supremacy.

(6) The thunderbolt of Zeus transferred to Athena.

If Athena in Hellenistic times ceded her aigis to Olympian Zeus, Olympian Zeus had not long before lent his thunderbolt to Athena. And indeed Athena was no unworthy recipient. The western part of her ‘ancient temple’ on the Athenian Akropolis was devoted to the lightning-powers—Hephaistos of the double axe, Erechtheus the ‘Cleaver’, Poseidon with his fork. Was this perhaps the point of Athena’s strange boast at the close of the Eumenides? I alone of the gods know the keys of the store-chamber in which the thunderbolt is sealed up?

Euripides is more outspoken than Aischylos. In the Troiades Athena, because Aias son of Oileus has torn Kassandra from her sanctuary, is minded to take vengeance on the Greeks.

Augustus and Tiberius (L. Cohn in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 964—966), was impressed by the passage, as we gather from schol. A. II. 15. 310 ἡ διήλ (i.e. the marginal mark >, which was tantamount to our N.B.) ἄριο σαφῶς Διήλ ἐκκινεῖται ἡ αἰγίς, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν Ἀθηνᾶς, καθὼς οἱ νεώτεροι οὐσίαν λέγουσιν.

1 Supra pp. 189 ff., 224 ff., 236, 736.
2 Supra ii. 712 f. pl. xxx.
3 Supra p. 533 ff.
4 Paus. i. 126, 5, on which see supra p. 758.
5 Supra pp. 200, 235, 736. For Athena herself holding the double axe see supra ii. 625 f. figs. 529, 530, 532, iii. 190 n. 6 fig. 100.
6 Supra ii. 793 f., iii. 737.
7 Supra ii. 785 ff., 850, iii. 736.
8 Aisch. Eum. 827 f. καὶ κλήδας οἶδα δόματος μόνη θεών | ἐν φ' κεραινός έστιν ἐφφαγαμφρήνος.
9 Eur. Tro. 77 ff.

55—2
The thunderbolt of Zeus

She discloses her design to Poseidon and explains what will happen

When homeward bound they sail from Ilios,
On them will Zeus send rain and endless hail
And darkling storm-winds from the upper sky—
Saith he will give me too his fiery bolt
To smite the Achaeans and to burn their ships.

Sundry later writers state that in the event Athena struck Aias with the lightning\(^1\), and Heron of Alexandrea\(^2\), taking his cue from the *Nauplios* by Philon of Byzantion\(^3\), describes how the story was staged for his marionettes. In the fourth scene of their little play Nauplios the wrecker raised his torch, while Athena stood beside him. In the fifth and concluding scene Aias was shown swimming towards the shore, when, with a crash of mimic thunder, the fatal bolt fell\(^4\) and the puppet hero disappeared in the waves.

It is not, however, till the third\(^5\) century B.C. that Athena is actually represented with the thunderbolt in her hand. Antigonos Gonatas (277—239 B.C.)—or, less probably\(^6\), his nephew Antigonos Doson (229—220 B.C.)—issued imposing tetradrachms with the reverse type (figs. 702, 703)\(^7\) of an archaistic Athena, seen from behind, who bears a Gorgon-shield on her left arm and brandishes

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\(^2\) Heron *abreplavonwAai 21. 3 ff. (i. 413 ff. Schmidt).

\(^3\) *Id. ib.* 20. 1 (i. 404 Schmidt), 20. 3 (i. 408 Schmidt).

K. Tittel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 996—1000 contends that Heron’s life should probably be dated in the beginning of 3rd B.C., *ib.* 997 f. that he was a younger contemporary of the mechanician Philon, and *ib.* 1051 that, with a few alterations, he simply took over Philon’s representation of the Nauplios-myth.

\(^4\) We are not told that Athena herself flung the bolt. But that is because the text at this crucial point is defective: *22. 6 (i. 414 Schmidt) ἡ τῶν νεῶν εκτομοι ἐφαίνετο καὶ ὁ Ἀιας ἐκίμωνος ἐὰ σὲ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐπὶ (suppl. H. Diels) > μιχανύς τε καὶ ἀνωθεν τοῦ πίνακος ἐξήρθη, καὶ βρωτή γενομένη ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ πίνακε κεραυνός ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πλάταν, καὶ ἐφάρμισε αὐτό τὸ ζύμιον.*

\(^5\) Browning was guilty of more than one slip when, confusing the third-century demagogue Lachares with the fourth-century sculptor Leochares, he made Aristophanes declare that ‘Lachares the sculptor’ had carved a naked Pallas and remark: ‘Moreover, Pallas wields the thunderbolt | Yet has not struck the artist all this while’ (*Aristophanes’ Apology* ed. 1889 p. 234). The whole context has been convincingly cleared up by C. T. Seltman in a paper on ‘The Dismantling of the Pheidian Parthenos’ read to the Cambridge Philological Society on Nov. 3, 1932 (*Cambridge University Reporter* 1932—1933 p. 337 f. = *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 1933 cl—cliii. 121 f.).

\(^6\) Head *Hist. num.* i. 231 f.

\(^7\) Hunter Cat. *Coins* i. 340 pl. 23, 19, McLean *Cat. Coins* ii. 70 pl. 344, 2 and 3, Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 75 pl. 41, 5, *id. Hist. num.* i. 231 fig. 144, *id. Coins of the Greeks* p. 62 pl. 35, 5, C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 pp. 223, 260 pl. 50, 8. Figs. 702 and 703 are from two specimens in my collection.
transferred to Athena

a thunderbolt with her right. An exceptional specimen at Florence (fig. 704), believed by Svoronos to have been struck at Athens, shows the same goddess as seen from in front, advancing to the right, not the left. On tetradrachms of Philip V (220—178 B.C.) she reappears, a comparatively clumsy figure in the usual stance.

She is commonly called Athena Alktis and identified with the Athena Alktos or, better, Alkidemos worshipped at Pella. But the goddess of Pella, to judge from the coins of her town (figs. 705, 706),

Fig. 702. Fig. 703. Fig. 704.

Fig. 705. Fig. 706.

1 J. N. Svoronos Les monnaies d’Athènes Munich 1923—1926 pl. 21, 23 (=my fig. 704). A similar reverse, but not from the same die, is found on another unicum at Berlin (W. W. Tarn Antigonos Gonatas Oxford 1913 Frontispiece and p. 174 n. 20). Two further specimens are noted by Imhoof-Blumer Monn. gr. p. 129 f. no. 69.

2 On account of the small k↓ α↓ tα↓ θ↓ os behind Athena (Imhoof-Blumer op. cit. p. 130 n. 21 a): but C. Seltman Greek Coins London 1933 p. 260 expresses himself with caution. We await an authoritative statement from Mr E. T. Newell.


4 So by numismatic writers in general (B. V. Head, Sir G. Macdonald, Sir G. F. Hill, S. W. Grose, etc.). W. W. Tarn Antigonos Gonatas Oxford 1913 pp. 177 n. 31, 200 says ‘Athena Alkis or Alkidemos.’

5 Liv. 42. 51 Pellae, in vetere regia Macedonum, hoc consilium erat...ipse (sc. Perseus, last king of Makedonia) centum hostiis sacrificio regaliter Minervae, quam vocant Alcidemon, facto cum purpuratorum et satellitum manu profectus Citium est. So W. Weissenborn (ed. 2 Lipsiae 1930). Older editors, e.g. A. Drakenborch (ed. Lugd. Batav.—Amstelaedami 1743), had printed Alcidem. The right reading was already divined by Turnebus (1512—1565).

6 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia, etc. p. 90 no. 5 fig. (=my fig. 705), Hunter Cat. Coins i. 362 pl. 25, 2, McClean Cat. Coins ii. 90 f. pl. 140, 4 and 5, Head Hist. num. p. 244. Fig. 706 is from a specimen of mine.
The thunderbolt of Zeus

brandished a spear, not a thunderbolt, and in this guise appears already on tetradrachms issued by Ptolemy I Soter c. 314 B.C. in the name of the young prince Alexander IV (figs. 707, 708)\(^1\) and copied by Demetrios Poliorketes\(^2\), Agathokles\(^3\), and Pyrrhos\(^4\). She was therefore a warlike goddess comparable with the Thessalian

\[\text{Fig. 707.}\]

\[\text{Fig. 708.}\]

\[\text{Fig. 709.}\]

\(^1\) McClean Cat. Coins iii. 419 f. pl. 263, 2—10 (‘Athene Promachos’), Head Coins of the Ancients p. 58 pl. 28, 21 (‘Pallas Promachos...perhaps a representation of the statue of Athena Alkis at Pella’), id. Hist. num.\(^2\) p. 848 f. fig. 374 (wrongly described as ‘Athena Promachos, hurling fulmen’), id. Coins of the Greeks p. 51 pl. 28, 19 (‘Athena fighting...a representation of the statue of Athena Alkis at Pella’), Sir G. F. Hill Historical Greek Coins London 1906 p. 107 ff. no. 62 pl. 8 (‘Athena...wielding spear in r.’), C. Seltman Greek Coins London 1933 pp. 223, 240 pl. 58, 2 and 3 (‘a fighting Athena...a thunder-weapon in her upraised right hand’). Figs. 707 and 708 are from specimens of mine which show clearly that the supposed thunderbolt is meant for a spear.

\(^2\) J. N. Svoronos in the Journ. Intern. d’Arch. Num. 1899 ii. 301 pl. 1A’, 9 a gold stater with obv. Nike on prow, rev. an archaistic Athena advancing to left in the Promachos-attitude with Gorgon-shield on left arm and spear in raised right hand.

\(^3\) Supra p. 784 n. 7 with fig. 280.


During the presence of Pyrrhos in Sicily the Syracusans, by way of compliment to their gallant ally, struck bronze coins which have for reverse type Athena advancing to the right with uplifted spear. But not unfrequently the compliment was intensified and the effect heightened by the substitution of a thunderbolt for the spear. See Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily p. 266 f. with fig., Hunter Cat. Coins i. 243 f. nos. 216 f. and 218 ff., McClean Cat. Coins i. 344 pl. 104, 6, 7 and 8—10, Sir G. F. Hill Coins of Ancient Sicily London 1903 p. 163 ff. fig. 46.
Athena Itonia (fig. 709). Perhaps we may claim that Antigonos sought to magnify the Athena of Pella by giving her the thunderbolt, just as his Boeotian contemporaries added a thunderbolt to their own winged form of Itonia.

Athena fulminant on the bronze coinage of Athens in pre-Roman times (fig. 710)\(^3\) may reflect some temporary rapprochement between the Athenians and Antigonos.

In any case the type was attractive and travelled far afield. It is found, under Attic influence, on a drachm of Phaselis in Lykia struck c. 190—168 B.C. (fig. 711).\(^5\) It was very popular with the Graeco-Indian kings from Menandros to Gondopharnes (figs. 712, 713, 714).

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\(^1\) The evidence, literary, epigraphic, and numismatic, for Athena 'Irwvía in Thessaly ("die Heimstätte der Göttin") is put together by Adler in Pauly-Wissowa Real-Enc. ix. 2374 f. For attempts to locate her temple see A. J. B. Wace, J. P. Droop, and M. S. Thompson in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1907—1908 xiv. 197, 199, W. Vollgraff ib. p. 224, F. Stählin Das hellenische Thessalien Stuttgart 1924 p. 175 f. Silver coins (double Victories) of the Thessalian League from 196 to 146 B.C. have obv. the head of Zeus wreathed with oak, rev. Athena Itonia, with spear and shield, advancing to right (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Thessaly etc. p. 1 ff. pl. 1, 1 and 2, Hunter Cat. Coins i. 486 ff. pl. 30, 12 and 13, and especially the fine series in McClean Cat. Coins ii. 225 ff. pl. 176, 13—180, 5, Head Hist. num.\(^2\) p. 311 fig. 177. Fig. 709 is from a specimen of mine).

\(^2\) Supra p. 820 n. 1 fig. 627.

\(^3\) J. N. Svoronos Les monnaies d'Athènes Munich 1923—1926 pl. 22, 53—58. Cp. for similar types in imperial times ib. pl. 84, 29, 39, 36—42. Fig. 710 is from Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc. p. 84 pl. 15, 2 = Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner Num. Comm. Paus. iii. 135 pl. AA, 14, cp. E. Beulé Les monnaies d'Athènes Paris 1858 p. 386 figs. 2 and 3.

\(^4\) See W. W. Tarn Antigonos Gonatas Oxford 1913 for the political situation in 282/1 (p. 127), in 276—273 (p. 218), in 270 (p. 290), and later (pp. 205, 223).

\(^5\) Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lycia, etc. pp. lxvii, 81 pl. 16, 13 (= my fig. 711).

87.2 Thunderbolt of Zeus transferred to Athena

713. And it appealed of course to Domitian (fig. 714), a notorious devotee of Minerva.

If Athena thus borrowed the thunderbolt of Zeus, while Zeus appropriated the aegis of Athena, small wonder that the populace came to regard the goddess as second self to the god, and associated the two in not a few Hellenistic cults. A sample will serve.

P. Aelius Aristeides, himself apparently a priest of Zeus and not likely to minimise the honour due to his deity, in 164 A.D. pronounced an encomium of Athena at Pergamon where Daughter and Sire were worshipped side by side. I translate a few sentences from beginning and end of the oration just to show his drift:

'It seems to me that she was the deity actually foremost in honour, or assuredly one of the few who then stood first. That is why Zeus could not have ordered all things aright, had he not set Athena by his side as partner and counsellor. She alone wears the aegis perpetually. She alone arrays herself for

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1 Fig. 712 is from the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 44 pl. 11, 7 Menandroös; fig. 713, from ib. p. 78 pl. 18, 2 Azes.


Mr C. T. Seltman first drew my attention to the seal-impression of Athena fulminant, found at Niya in Chinese Turkestan, which is figured on the title-page of several works by Sir Aurel Stein, e.g. M. A. Stein *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan* London 1903 p. 396 f. title-vignette and fig. A on p. 395 a Kharoshthi document on a double oblong tablet (N. xv. 166) with clay impress of a Hellenistic gem, which shows an archaising Athena to right with uplifted thunderbolt and Gorgon-shield.

2 *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Emp. ii. 447 Index. Fig. 714 is from an aureus of 83 A.D. published ib. ii. 306 no. 43 pl. 60, 10.


Among the passages quoted in support are Mart. *Hist.* 8. 1. 4 Pallas Caesarians, Suet. *Dom.* 15 Minervam, quam superstitiose colebat, somniavit excedere sacrariot negan-temque (Stephanus corr. negamem F. van Oudendorp ej. negantem quoque C. L. Roth assumes lacuna before negamtemque) ultra se tueri eum posse, quod exarmata esset a love, Dion Cass. 67. 1 ἡ θεῖα μὴ γὰρ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἄτι τὰ μάλιστα ἡγάλλε, κ.τ.λ., 67. 16 (Domitian dreamed) τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἣν ἐν τῷ κοιτῶν θρωμένη ἑξῆς, τὰ δὲλα ἀποβεβληθέναι καὶ ἐκὶ ὀριατῶν ἐπιών μελᾶν ἐσχάμα ἐστίπτειν, Philostr. v. *Apoll.* 7. 24 p. 142 Käser ἤτρον θ’ αὐτόφθασθον γραφήν φεύγειν, ἐπεὶ θάνον ἐν ἑαυτῷ, οὐ ἠρέξε, μὴ προεθέθηκε τοῖς ἐνεχομένων ἑχθαῖσι, ὅτι Δωμεταίοις Ἀθηνᾶς εἶπα παίς, "οὐ μὲν ὑψόθης," ἡφι, "οὐ μὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τεκνίᾳ, παρακληθέν οὖσαν τὸν ἄροις, ἡγώεις δ’, οἶμαι, ὅτι ἡ θεία ἀθηνᾶ Ἀθηνᾶν ποτὶ δρακοτὰ ἔτεκεν."

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4 Cp. supra p. 737.


6 *Supra* ii. 127.

7 W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* München 1924 ii. 2. 702, 1494.

8 *Supra* i. 116 f., ii. 955.
the Homeric warfare in her Father's armour. And as in a conjurer's hall Zeus
and the goddess appear together in the same equipment!'

'To sum up, Athena's portion is the agord of the gods, where all business is
transacted. Hence she is nearest to Zeus, and, whatever be the matter in hand,
the same decision always commends itself to both. Here I suppose I ought to
start; for my speech has returned to its starting point, nay rather has reached
its goal. If one claimed that she was the very Power of Zeus, one would not—I
contend—be far wrong. Why then go into detail by expounding her particular
activities? Enough to say that the works of Zeus are works common to Zeus
and to Athena."

(i) Zeus Hýes.

The whole topic of Athena and her relation to Zeus, which has
occupied us for the last two hundred pages, has been (I am well
aware) something of a digression. It arose naturally, indeed in-
evitably, from a consideration of the Parthenon pediment, the design
of which we found to be based, at least in part, on the curious
ritual of the Bouphonia, an Attic equivalent for the rites of Zeus
Hyetios.

If now we rejoin the high-road and pursue the main line of our
investigation, we have next to ask whether there is any further
evidence for the worship of Zeus Hyetios, 'the Rainy,' in the
Greek area.

A gloss of the lexicographer Hesychios, echoed by the
grammarian Theognostos, explains that Hýes (perhaps better

1 Aristeid. or. 2, 10 (i. 14 Dindorf) δοκεί δὲ μοι καὶ προσβούτα ἥτω φύναι, ἢ κομηθή
τινων εἰςαραβημένων καὶ τῶν πράξεων ὑπὸν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ· οὐ γάρ ἂν ἄλλος ἔκαστα ὁ Ζεὺς διέλειν,
ἐν μὴ παραθέναι τοι καὶ σῆμαβιλόν τῆς 'Ἄθηνας παρεκάθαλεν. Καὶ γάρ τοι μόνον μὲν τὴν
αὐτήν δὲ αἰόνων φόρος, μόνη δὲ τοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς θύλως εἰς τῶν ὁμορρομοί πόλεων κοσμεύμα-
τολα δὲ ἐν αὐτῆς ἐφακοτονωθὼν ημᾶς τούτοις δὲ τοίς ἡδον καὶ ἡ θεὸς χρῆσαι.

2 Id. ὁδ. 16 (i. 27 Dindorf) ὥστε εἰσέπε σε καπαλαίον, τῷ τῷ 'Ἄθηνῃ μέρος ἢ θέων ἄγορα
<οὶ (inc. Cassaubon)> βάρι' ἐστὶ τὰ πράγματα. ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ τοῦ Διός ἐστιν ἐγγονότατος καὶ
περὶ παντὸς δει ταύτην ἐν ἀμφότεροι δοκεί. κακοὶ πεπαθοῦντοι καλὸν ἐναθά νους. ἀνελθεὶ άν
ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρρηθον ὁ λόγον, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπέλθει πρὸς αὐτό τὸ ἔργον. σχέδον γὰρ δόμων τοῦ
Διός εἶναι λέγων τις αὐτήν ἐκ τούτων ὁς δὲ ἀμαρτών. ὥστε τι δει μικροβολείον τάς ἐν
μέρει πράξεις αὐτῆς διηγομένων, ἀπὸ τῆς διέθεσι τοῦ Διός ἐργά κακώς τοῦ Διός εἶναι φήσαι καὶ
τῆς 'Ἄθηνας;

With the description of Athena as ὁνάμως τοῦ Διός cp. the stone at Thyateira inscribed
Διός | Κεραυλόν | ὁνάμως (Supra ii. 808 n. o (o)).

and the literature there cited. Later developments of the 'Mana-Begriff' are discussed
by O. Schmitz 'Der Begriff ÆNAMIS bei Paulus' in the Festgabe für Adolf Deissmann
Tübingen 1927 pp. 139—167.

3 Supra pp. 636 f., 661 f., 720, 733, 737.
4 Hesych. Ὄης · Ζεὺς διμβρος. See M. Schmidt in ed.1 Id. in ed. prints Ὄης for
ὅς cod.
5 Theognost. can. 104 in Cramer am nd. Ov. iv. 18, 30 Ὅης Διός, διμβρος · νίς
-leg. Ὅης, Ζεὺς διμβρος · νίς).
accentuated Ὕες1) means Zeus Ὄμβριος, 'the Showery.' Hesychios, a trustworthy source, unfortunately omits to mention the locality where Zeus was called Ὅυες. But in the preceding gloss he states that Ὅυε was a name given to Semele 'from the rain.' And Ὅυε as a name for Semele is attested by Pherekydes as early as the fifth century B.C.4 It is therefore tolerably certain that Ὅυες and Ὅυε6 (perhaps Ὅυες and Ὅυε) were Thraco-Phrygian appellatives of the sky-god whom the Greeks named Zeus and of the earth-goddess whom they named Semele. The one rained, the other was rained upon.

But if this divine pair was really Thraco-Phrygian, we should expect them, in accordance with Thraco-Phrygian belief6, to have had a son bearing the same name and evincing the same nature as his father. And that is precisely what happened. Dionysos—as we have already had occasion to note7—was called Ὅυες, a name variously explained by the ancients from Kleidemos6 (c. 350 B.C.) onwards, but always in allusion to rain10. When Aischines, grown to manhood, capered through the streets, with a posse of Sabazian revellers behind him, shouting

'ไฮες Ἁττες, Ἀττες Ὅυες ;'

he was, I take it12, much like the mystics of Eleusis13, raising the old-world cry

'Rain Father,' Father Rain,' not, as Sir James Frazer15 conjectures, calling Attis a Pig!

1. Herodian. πέρι καθολικὴν προσφοβίαν 3 (i. 59, 20 f. Lentz) τῷ Ὁῆς περιστάται ἕκον τῷ δώτε θεῷ καὶ τῷ νωπῷ, Κυρὴ ἰσωσυλλάβως κλημόμενα.
2. Supra p. 255 ff.
4. Pherekyd. frag. 46 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 84 Müller) = frag. 90 a—e (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 84 f. Jacoby). Supra ii. 274 f.
5. H. Usener in his discussion of Sondergötter was the first to distinguish this primitive pair of rain-deities as 'Της, 'Τη (Götternamen Bonn 1896 p. 46 f.).
6. Supra ii. 275 f.
7. Supra ii. 275.
10. Supra ii. 275.
11. Dem. de cor. 260. F. Blass ed. (cited supra i. 392 n. 4, ii. 292 n. 3) reads θη θη θη θη θη θη θη without recorded variant.
12. My explanation was long since anticipated by Michael Psellus (supra ii. 292) περὶ τῶν ὄντων τῶν δικών p. 109 Boissoane (quoted supra i. 399 n. 3, cp. O. Jensen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xix. 88 θη δῶ θη θη θη ὄντη θη 'du mögest regnen').
13. Supra p. 299.
14. Supra ii. 292 f.
15. Frazer Golden Bough: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 22 Perhaps the cry of 'Hyēs
Zeus and the Hail

(j) Zeus and the Hail.

At this point something must be said about one special form of rain, the frozen pellets that we term hail. For hailstones provide an obvious transition from the soft beneficent raindrops to the harder and more formidable aerolites.

Hail bulks big in modern folk-lore. It could scarcely be otherwise: fruit-grower and farmer know what damage it may do and are quite ready to try any and every superstitious recipe that promises to avert the threatened mischief.

Similarly in ancient times the peasant had recourse to a singular variety of expedients, which have been admirably collected and discussed by E. Fehrle.

Pliny the elder (25—79 A.D.), a man of vast erudition, is shy about mentioning irrational or indecorous detail, but here and there drops a significant hint, while on occasion his love of the marvellous prompts him to include this or that item of folk-belief. He says, for example:

nat. hist. 17. 267 Most people hold that hailstones can be averted by a charm, the wording of which I should not seriously venture to quote.

28. 29 There are charms against hailstorms and against various diseases and against burns, some even attested by experience, but I am prevented from giving particulars by a feeling of extreme diffidence in view of the great variety of men’s minds. So each must form his own opinions about them as he may feel inclined.

Attes! Hyes Attes!” which was raised by the worshippers of Attis, may be neither more nor less than “Pig Attis! Pig Attis!” —hyes being possibly a Phrygian form of the Greek ἰής, “a pig.” 1 id. ib. n. 4 says that this suggestion was made to him in conversation by R. A. Neil of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

I note one scrap of evidence which might be pressed in favour of Frazer’s etymology. At the Weber Sale in 1919 the British Museum bought the bronze statuette (0.75 m long by 0.55 m high) of a boar standing on a thin base-plate. The figure is of poorish workmanship and is inscribed along the left side of the body in late lettering ΜΥΠΤΙΝΉΟΕ] ΩΚΑΒΑΖΙΩ. May we infer that Myrtine thought of Sabazios himself as a Boar?

1 Two monographs are deserving of special mention: (i) G. Bellucci La grandine nell’ Umbria, con note esplicative e comparative e con illustrazioni (Tradizioni popolari italiane no. i) Perugia 1903 pp. 1—136 (now out of print). (ii) The rich collection of classified facts contributed by Stegemann to the Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberrglaubens Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1931 iii. 1304—1320 (‘Hagel, Hagelzauber’).

Zeus and the Hail

28. 77 Hailstorms and whirlwinds, they say, are driven off if the monthly course be exposed to the actual lightning-flashes. Thus the violence of the sky is averted, and storms at sea even without the courses.

37. 124 It is said too that this stone (sc. the amethyst) averts hail, and locusts likewise if a prayer be added, which they show you.

More explicit are the directions given by the Geoponika¹, a farmer’s handbook, which devotes two chapters to the subject:

1. 14 Concerning Hail. By Africanus².

1. Let a woman in her courses exhibit her person to hail, and she turns it aside. All wild animals too flee such a sight³.

2. Or take a virgin’s first cloth and bury it in the midst of the place, and neither vine nor seeds will be injured by hail⁴.

3. And if a strap from the skin of a seal be hung from a single conspicuous vine, hail will do no damage, as Philostratos observes in his Heroikds⁵.

4. Some say that, if you show a mirror to the impending cloud, the hail will pass by⁶.

¹ This collection of excerpts on agriculture, made at the bidding of the Byzantine emperor Constantinus vii Porphyrogogennetos (912 — 959 A.D.), was based on an older compilation by Cassianus Bassus, a sixth-century scholar, who himself drew from two fourth-century sources, the comparatively rational and scientific οὐσαμογηθείς γεωργίαν ἐπιτηδευμάτων by Vindonius Anastolus of Berytos, and the more magical and mystical πέρι γεωργίας ἔκθεσια by the younger Didymos of Alexandrea (see K. Krumbacher Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur München 1897 pp. 261—263, L. Cohn in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv. 1036, E. Oder ib. vii. 1221—1225, W. von Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1920 ii. 1. 291 f.).

² From the κεφαλι of Sex. Julius Africanus (W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. x. 119), to be dated c. 200 A.D. (supra ii. 695 n. o).

³ E. Fehrle in Allemannia 1912 Dritte Folge iv. 15 cites Plin. nat. hist. 28. 77 (supra p. 875).

⁴ E. Fehrle ib. cites Plout. κυμηρ. γ. 2. 2 olay iddëke to peir twn kâlaâs evnai twn òn òwâe kâlaâs àkun aâsâlakos ñ bâkalos ðmâkalois àpotepâmânuvn.

Fehrle in ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ iii. 7 remarks that two manuscripts, a cod. Guelferbytanus and a cod. Palatinum in the Vatican, in place of the indecent recipes (1) and (2) substitute the following: (1) έτιφων λίθον χαλαζίν (cf. Plin. nat. hist. 37. 189), ἤξε. καὶ δώρω τὴν χαλάζαν, κρώσων αὐτὸν μετὰ ςίδηρων ἀνάθεμα, καὶ αποστραφθείσα. (2) καὶ δηδον πτερον τὸ μετὰ λαβὼν μέσον τοῦ χωρίου χώσαν, καὶ ὀστὲ ἡ ἀμπελών ὀστὲ τὰ σφέρατα οὐκ χαλάζης ἀδεικνύεται.

⁵ E. Fehrle in Allemannia 1912 Dritte Folge iv. 16 f. was the first to point out that for Φιλόστρατος ἐν τῷ λατρικῷ codd. we must read Φιλόστρατος ἐν τῷ ἱρωκῷ, the allusion being to Philostr. her. 3. 25 (Palamedes to the peasant) ‘σὸν δ’ ἐπειδή φίλε μου, τέλε περὶ αὐτών διδώμαι.’ ‘τι δ’ ἀλλὰ γ’, ἐστει, ‘ἱ ἡ τὰς χαλάζας, ὥστ’ ὀν ἐκτυφλοῦνται τε καὶ βγάζονται;’ ‘ἱ μάτα παίνει, ἐστει ὁ Παλαιός, ἰ περάπωμα μᾶ τῶν ἀμπελῶν καὶ βεβλήσαντα αἱ λουκαί.’

Pallad. i. 35. 15 item vituli marini pellis in medio vinearum loco uni superiecta viticulae creditur contra imminens malum (sc. grandinis) totius vineae membra vestisse.

⁶ Pallad. i. 35. 15 nonnulli ubi instare malum (sc. grandinis) viderint, oblato speculo imaginem nubis accipiant et hoc remedio nubem (seu ut sibi objecta displiceat, seu tanquam geminata alteri cedat) avertunt.
5. Again, if you carry the skin of a hyaena or crocodile or seal round your place and then hang it up before the doors of your house, hail will not fall!

6. Or, if you hang many keys of different rooms on a string round your place, the hail will pass by.

7. And, if you set wooden bulls on your buildings, that will help greatly.

8. And, if you take a tortoise found in the marshes and place it on its back in your right hand, you should then carry it all over your vineyard. When you have gone the round of it, then proceed to the middle of your vineyard, set the creature still alive on its back, having heaped a little earth round it in order that it may not be able to turn itself about and get away (it will not be able to do so, if the ground under its feet is a bit hollow, for having nothing to push against it must needs stay where it is), and if you do this, no hail would fall on your field or whole estate.

9. Some folk say that you should carry round and deposit the tortoise at the sixth hour of the day or night.

10. Apuleius of Rome asserts that, if you paint a bunch of grapes on a tablet and dedicate the same in the vineyard when Lyra is setting, the fruit remains free from injury. Lyra begins to set on the 23rd of January and sets completely on the 4th of February.

11. This is what has been said by the ancients. But I hold that some of their sayings are too unseemly and should be rejected, and I advise all and sundry to ignore them altogether. I have included them simply that I may not seem to be omitting anything said by the ancients.

12. And strips cut from the hide of a hippopotamus, placed at each of the boundaries, stop the threatening hail.

1. 15 More concerning Hail. By Africanus.

[The text of this chapter is brief, but so corrupt that little can be made of it.]

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1 Pallad. i. 35. 14 grandini creditur obviare, si quis crocodili pellem vel hyaenae vel marini vituli per spatia possessionis circumferat et in villae aut cortis suspendat ingressu, cum malum viderit imminere.

2 Pallad. i. 35. 14 item si palustrem testudinem dextra manu supinam ferens in vineas perambulet, et reversus eodem modo sic illam ponat in terra, et glebas dorsi eius obiciat curvaturae, ne possit inverti sed supina permaneat. hoc facto fertur spatium sic defensum nubes inimica transcurrere.

3 Apul. de mundo 3 and 8 mentions hail, but says nothing of this method of averting it. Is 'Ἀπολλωνίως δ' Παμικός a blunder for Θόδωρος (infra n. 4)? Confusion is worse confounded by the Armenian version 'Paulus der Römer' and the Syriac 'Theophilus Decimus,' on which see E. Fehrle in STOIXEIA iii. 13 n. 8.

4 Plin. nat. hist. 18. 294 Varro auctor est, si fidiculae occasu, quod est initium autumni, uva picta consecratur inter vites, minus nocere tempestates.

5 For τῇ τὸ πρὸ δέκα καλανδῶν Δεκεμβρίων codd. Fehrle restored τῇ τῷ πρὸ δέκα καλανδῶν Φεβρουάριοι from τῇ τῷ πρὸ δέκα καλανδῶν Φεβρουάριοι cod. Parisin. 2313.

6 Supra p. 876 n. 2.

7 H. Beckh in the Teubner ed. of 1895 prints without comment Ζώλα δαρφρῆς τραχέων κτήμα δέλτορρά: τῇ τῷ εκατόν κατ' εκατόν κλίμα κρή είναι τε καὶ χίοσι. He records but one variant—δέλτορραν cod. H.

Peter Needham (Cantabrigiae 1704) gave up the passage as hopeless. J. N. Niclas
Zeus and the Hail

Palladius in the fourth century gives several of the foregoing recipes (nos. 3, 4, 5, 8) and prefixes others of his own:

1. 35. 1 For the prevention of hail numerous remedies are current.—
   Meal is covered with a russet cloth.1
   Again, bloodstained axes are raised in a threatening manner against the sky.2
   Again, the whole garden is surrounded with white vines.3
   Or else an owl is nailed up with wide-spread wings.4
   Or the iron tools to be used are anointed with bears' suet.5

1. 35. 2 Some keep by them bears' fat pounded with oil and anoint the hooks with it when they are going to prune. But this cure must be worked in secret so that no pruner may be aware of it. Its efficacy, they say, is so great that no harm can be done by a frost or cloud or any wild beast. It is well to add that the thing, if bruited abroad, is useless.6

Magic of this sort might be worked by anyone. But for its proper performance some skill was needed, and the later Greeks had recourse to professional 'cloud-chasers' (nephodiiktai), who knew the right spells to use. At Kleonai in the Argolid official 'hail-guards' (chalamophylakes) were employed, as we gather from an interesting passage in Seneca:

'I will not refrain from exposing all the follies of our Stoic friends. They say that certain men are specially skilled at observing the clouds and can tell

(Lipsiae 1781) at first suggested Ζώλα δάφνης καὶ παρθένον κήρυς (a maiden's shin-bones) καθάρζον. Εἰς ξύστον Δη κλήμα χρῆ εἶναι τα καὶ χώσαι, but concluded in favour of Ζώλα δάφνης, τοὺς παρθένους μήσα (a virgin's menses), ἄλλως ἤσεϊ (or better ἄλλως, for ἄλλω ἄρες) εἰς ξύστον κλήμα χρῆ θεῖαν τα καὶ χώσαι. I should myself prefer ζώλα δάφνης, άποτάλαθον κήρυς (spires of thorn), ἄλλω μίαν τῇ δὲ ἄλοι ἁθρ' ξύστον κλήμα χρῆ θεῖαν τα καὶ χώσαι or the like (cp. Colum. de re rust. 8. 5 plurimi etiam infra cumbium stramenta graminis aliquid et ramulos lauri nec minus allii capita cum clavis ferreis subiciunt: quae cuneta remedia creduntur esse adversus tonitrus, etc.).

1 Supra i. 48 n. 2, ii. 522 n. 2. See now the careful study by Eva Wunderlich Die Bedeutung der roten Farbe im Kultus der Griechen und Römer Giessen 1925 pp. i—116 and an interesting review of her book by S. Eitrem in Gnomon 1926 ii. 95—102.
2 Supra ii. 704.
3 Colum. de re rust. 10. 346 f. utque Iovis magni prohiberet fulmina Tarchon | saepe suae sedes praecinxit vitibus albis.
4 Supra p. 793.
5 Geopon. 5. 30. 1 ἄρκειε τῷ τὰ ἰπὺτες στατή τῶν ἱππόρων ὑπώρει τῇ διάμετρο, καὶ ὃς τονεῖας φθέρεσ ἡ ἀμπελος, ἢ ἄρκειε στατή τὰ δρόπαρα χρῆ λυθεόν τεύτην, ἐν δὲ τὰ αμπελούς τέμνεις: ἡ γαρ τοῦ ἀλεύματος γεώσεις καταλέγει τὴν ὑφέλειαν καὶ ὠξεὺς φθέρεσ ὀστοῖ ταχείον ἀκυρίσει τὴν ἀμπελον.
6 Supra p. 33 with n. 4.

See further Frazer Worship of Nature i. 45 f.
Zeus and the Hail

When a hailstorm is likely to come. That they might have realised from experience pure and simple, having noted the colour of the clouds commonly followed by hail. But this is hard to believe, that at Kleonai were public officials called chalazophylakes, posted to look out for the coming hail. When these persons had signified the hail’s approach, what think you? That folk ran for their cloaks or leather capes? Not a bit of it. They offered sacrifice for themselves, one man a lamb, another a chicken. And forthwith the said clouds, having tasted blood, took themselves off! You laugh? This will make you laugh louder. If anyone had neither lamb nor chicken, he did what he could without serious damage—he laid hands on himself. Do not imagine that the clouds were greedy or cruel. No, he just pricked his finger with a sharp-pointed pen and made his offering with this drop of blood. And lo, the hail turned aside from his plot of ground quite as much as from that on which it had been begged off by greater sacrifices.

They want a rational explanation of this practice. Some, as befits truly wise men, declare that it is impossible to bargain with hail or buy off storms with trumpery gifts, though indeed gifts vanquish the very gods. Others affirm their suspicion that there is some virtue inherent in blood, which has the power to turn aside and rout the cloud. But how in a little drop of blood could a force reside potent enough to penetrate on high and influence the clouds? Far simpler to say, “This is a lie and utter nonsense.” But, if you please, the men of Kleonai1 passed judgment upon those who had been entrusted with the duty of foreseeing the storm, on the ground that through their negligence the vineyards had been beaten down and the crops laid low:

One step more, and magic passes upward into religion. A stone built into a wall at Amaseia in Pontos bears an inscription in late lettering2 (fig. 715), which H. Grégoire3 was the first to interpret as a dedication to Aither Alexichhalazos, ‘Averter of Hail.’ This is the only known case of an actual dedication to Aither, though the Orphic hymn to that deity4 prescribes saffron as an offering appropriate to him5. However, since Aither is invoked by the Clouds of Aristophanes6 as their father, he may well have been asked on occasion to ward off the cloud that threatened hail.

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1 F. Haase read decuriones with cod. E2. But A. Gercke restored Cleonaei from clone (or done) of codd. 9 and cleonis of codd. 8.
2 T. Reinach in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1895 viii. 84 no. 24 bis with facsimile on p. 78.
3 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. 138 f. no. 114 a with facsimile (=my fig. 715) ΕΩΕΡΙΑ ΕΗΣΙΧΑ ΑΛΖΩ. See further O. Kern in Hermes 1916 li. 356, id. Die Religion der Griechen Berlin 1926 i. 95 n. 3. Cp. the title Δεθιακας applied to Zeus (supra i. 422 n. 7; Plout. adv. Stoic, de commun. not. 33, Orph. Ath. i, Schöll—Studemund aned. i. 264 ‘Ενθέα Δίφος no. 7, ib. 266 ‘Ενθέα Δίφος no. 8) and other deities (see G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 146 f.).
4 Supra i. 33.
5 Orph. h. Aith. 5 lemma.
6 Aristoph. nub. 569 f.
Zeus and the Hail

Proklos¹ in his account of the Boeotian Daphnephoria states that the bay-bearing procession used to go to the sanctuary of Apollon Isménios and Chalásios. If the text be sound—and there is no real reason to doubt it—the second appellative implies that the Theban Apollon too was a god 'of Hail.'

But, of course, normally it was Zeus the weather-god who sent both rain and hail.² It is not surprising, therefore, to find that in Phrygia he was worshipped as Chalásios Sôson, the god 'of Hail, who gives Deliverance.' A stèle of white marble, found at Mahmun Keui (Thrakia Kome) near Panderma and now in the Museum at Constantinople, has an inscribed relief of perhaps the first century B.C. (fig. 716).³ A sunk panel between pilasters shows Zeus, in

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² Eur. Tro. 78 f. (quoted supra ii. 1 n. 6), Loukian. dial. deor. 4. 2.

³ F. W. Hasluck in the journ. Hell. Stud. 1904 xxiv. 21—23 no. 4 fig. 1, id. ib. 1906 xxvi. 29, id. Cysicus Cambridge 1910 pp. 223—225 fig. 21, 272 no. 23, Edhem Bey in
Zeus and the Hail

chiton and himation, standing with a phiale in his right hand, a long sceptre in his left. Beside him is his eagle. Beyond it, a small altar decorated with a bull sinking on its knees and held by a young attendant. A draped worshipper approaches the altar from the left. The background is occupied by a sacred tree, presumably an oak. On the architrave above the pilasters is inscribed:

Zeus Chalaios Sezon.

In the time of Dionysios—

Then below the relief the inscription runs on:

the Thrakiokometai consecrated this stele to the god to secure good crops and the safety of their fruits and the health and preservation of the land-lessees and those who repair to the god and reside in Thrakia Kome.

Meidias, son of Straton, as first mayor handed over the stele to the god and to the villagers at his own charges as a free-will offering.

It will be noticed that, in the matter of hail, Greek religion like Greek magic was throughout concerned to avoid damage, not to cause it. Things were otherwise with the vindictive witchcraft of the middle ages (fig. 717).


(a) The cult of meteorites.

It remains to mention what is in some respects the most amazing and terrifying of all celestial phenomena—the fall of meteorites. Scientifically speaking, we must of course group these


1 In this respect the Rhodian Telchines (supra p. 296 n. 6) were exceptional.

2 See V. Stegemann in the Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1931 iii. 1305—1311. My fig. 717 is reduced (§) from Ulricus Molitor De laniis et phitonicis mulieribus [Strassburg c. 1488—1493], where it is prefixed to cap. 3. Apparently the witch and two of her followers are travelling through the air, transformed into animals and mounted on a forked stick, while a hailstorm breaks from a dark cloud to injure the trees.

3 The facts with regard to meteorites are well set out and illustrated by O. C. Farrington Meteorites Chicago 1915 pp. 1—233 with 65 figs. There is also a series of 10 cards in monochrome (set D 1) issued by the British Museum (Natural History) to illustrate its collection at South Kensington.

The folklore of the subject is touched upon by H. A. Miers 'The Fall of Meteorites
882 The cult of meteorites

with the shooting-stars. But in popular belief they are very different, not soundless streaks of light moving across the nocturnal sky, but an explosive bombardment from above leaving the earth littered with visible débris. Hence shooting-stars are as a rule a good omen, meteorites a sign of downfall and ill-luck. Accordingly these mysterious bodies, when they were not dissipated into impalpable powder, but reached the ground in some bulk, were always viewed with peculiar veneration, their sudden arrival being attributed directly or indirectly to divine agency, most often that of a sky-god.

Much material said to bear on their cult in ancient Egypt has been collected in a series of important papers by Mr G. A. Wainwright. I shall therefore restrict myself in the main to evidence drawn from the Hellenic or Hellenistic area.


2 G. A. Wainwright 'The aniconic Form of Amon in the New Kingdom' in the Annales du service des antiquités de l'Egypte Le Caire 1928 xviii. 175—189 argues that the aniconic form of Amon—evidenced by a stèle from Asyut (fig. 1: dynasty xviii—xix), a couple of bronze plaques from Memphis (figs. 2 and 3: 593—588 B.C.), three models from Karnak (fig. 5 after G. Daressy 'Une nouvelle forme d'Amon' tb. 1908 ix. 64—69 pl. 1, a, b, c, d, of which a front + d right side = my fig. 718: Persian or early Ptolemaic period), and a Roman sculpture at Medinet Habu (fig. 4 after Daressy loc. cit. pl. 2)—is normally associated with Min the thunderbolt-god and may well have been a 'meteorite, or a fragment of one, which was kept as a sacred thing, on a stand or throne, wrapped up, and decorated with a feather on top and mystic figures on the wrappings' (p. 183).

Where an actual meteorite was not available, it might be represented by an omphaloid—witness the one found by G. A. Reisner in the inner part of Amon's temple at Napata (Gebel Barkal) (fig. 7 after F. Ll. Griffith 'An Omphalos from Napata' in The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 1916 ii. 355 with fig. =my fig. 719. Material: sandstone. Date: c. 1 A.D.) or the omphaloid fetish in the Ammunion (supra i. 355 ff.).

Id. 'The Relationship of Amun to Zeus and his connexion with Meteorites' in The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 1930 xvi. 35—38 restates his view 'that Amun of Thebes was a god of the air, a sky-god; that his sacred object at Thebes was a meteorite; that he was intimately connected with, if not actually derived from, his far older neighbour Min, the thunderbolt-god of Koptos; and that the omphalos of Zeus-Ammon at the Oasis of Ammonium (Siwah) had of itself certain characteristics which associate it with the weather.' He makes three further points in support of the same thesis. (1) Zeus was identified with Amun of Thebes as far back as 900 B.C., for D. G. Hogarth in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1899—1900 vi. 107 pl. x, 1 f. published a small bronze statuette of Amen-Ra, good early work of the New Empire, found by him in the Psyche Cave (supra ii. 926 n. 9). (2) At Kassandra on Pallene imperial coins show the head of Zeus Ammon (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia, Etc. p. 65 nos. 3
The cult of meteorites

Fig. 718.

Fig. 719.
The cult of meteorites

and 4 Claudius, 5 Vespasian, 6 Domitian, [Hunter Cat. Coins i. 273 f. nos. 1—3 Claudius, 4 and 5 Nero, 6 Vespasian, 7 pl. 19. 22 Titus and Domitian, 8 Caracalla, 9 Caracalla or Elagabalus, McLean Cat. Coins ii. 24 nos. 3164 and 3165 pl. 116, 15 Nero, 3166 pl. 116, 16 Caracalla] and a famous meteorite is known to have been worshipped (Plin. nat. hist. 2. 150, infra p. 886). (3) At Gythion again there was a cult of Zeus Ammon (supra i. 351) and the stone of Zeus Kappodas (infra p. 939ff.), 'clearly a meteorite.'

Id. ib. 1931 xvii. 151 f. in a trenchant critique of K. Sethe Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis (Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1929 Phil.-hist. Classe no. 4) Berlin 1929 demurs to Sethe's view that Yahweh originated in Egypt from Amun as a result of the Sojourn, and concludes: 'As a matter of fact there are other Egyptian gods who are as much, or more, like Yahweh than is Amun. The probability is that they, and Amun, and Yahweh himself, as well as many other gods of the Near East, were all local developments of the one primitive conception of the air-, storm-, or sky-god.'

Id. 'The emblem of Min' ib. 1931 xvii. 185—195 discusses the thunderbolt first recognised by F. E. Newberry as the symbol of Min (supra ii. 757 n. 2). Wainwright too traces its development chronologically from the middle prehistoric period, when it was an arrow-like weapon with triple or double or single barb at either end, through a time of transition (end of dynasty vi to beginning of dynasty xii), till from c. 3000 B.C. onwards it attained a final form identical with that of the normal Greek thunderbolt. 'Min thus comes into relationship with Zeus; and this is not unnatural, seeing he was the original of Amun, who was Zeus' (p. 188). Since coins of Seleukeia in Syria exhibit both the thunderbolt of Zeus Keraunios (supra ii. 809 figs. 771 and 772) and the omphaloid stone of Zeus Katsios (supra ii. 982 f. figs. 880—884), Wainwright is able to urge that the one is the Greek, the other the Semitic form of the same object. He recalls the contention of F. Lenormant 'Zeus Casios' in the Gaz. Arch. 1880 vi. 142—144 (id. in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1881 iii. 41, id. in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. ii. 933) that the Aramaean god Qasius was Hellenized into Zeus Katsios or Zeus Keraunios: 'Qasius = Zeus Casios était donc positivement un dieu-foudre ou un dieu-aérolithe, ce qui nous induit à tirer son nom de la racine originairement bilitère qui donne à l'hébreu qôšaš, "tailler, rompre," et qôšâš, "tailler, couper," au syriaque qôš, "briser," en rapportant le sens primitif à l'explosion qui accompagne et précède de quelques secondes la chute de tout aérolithe.' On this showing, as Wainwright says (p. 189), 'meteorite, omphalos, and thunderbolt were all one and the same thing in religion.' He further dwells on the close association of 'the three partners, Amun, Min, and Horus' (p. 190), and adopts Newberry's interesting suggestion (Ann. Arch. Anthr. 1911 iv. 99 n. 2) that Min's worship was established at Akhmîm just because the rocks there are full of Lithodomi, a fossil much like belemnites (supra ii. 767 n. 2, 932 n. 1).

Id. 'Letopolis' ib. 1932 xviii. 159—172 argues for the existence of a similar thunderbolt-cult at Letopolis and claims that 'the way into heaven, which was offered there by a rope ladder, was derived from the flight of a meteorite' (p. 169). The cult was established at Letopolis because another quasi-thunderbolt, the fossil Nerinea Requiniana, abounds in the rocks there and seems to be characteristic of the locality.

Id. 'The Bull Standards of Egypt' ib. 1933 xix. 42—52 contends that the bull, which occurs on the standards belonging to four of the nomes in the Delta (the sixth, Xois; the tenth, Athribis; the eleventh, the Cabasite; the twelfth, Sebennytus), in each case has reference to the sky- or storm-god, and that the symbols in front of the said bulls, vis. mountain, shield(?), sickle-shaped meteorite(?), calf, are at least consistent with this interpretation.

Id. 'Jacob's Bethel' in Palestine Exploration Fund: Quarterly Statement for 1934 pp. 32—44 applies the results gained from the foregoing investigation of Egyptian meteor-cults to a study of the Palestinian Bethel. Impressed by common features (the ladder set up from earth to heaven, the gate of heaven, the golden calf, etc.) and confirmed by the equation bethel = pârleblos, Wainwright concludes: 'Thus, there can be no reasonable doubt that Jacob's bethel was a sacred meteorite, or an omphalos its substitute.'
Classical literature, if we exclude the speculative explanations of philosophers, is seldom concerned with meteorites. But epic poetry has two possible allusions. The *Iliad* makes Athena dart from heaven to earth like a brilliant and scintillating star that Zeus sends as a sign to men—in short, like a meteor. And the *Hymn to the Pythian Apollon* represents that god as having landed at Krisa in the same meteoric form.

The most famous of all Greek meteors, the aerolite that fell at Aigos Potamos in 405 B.C., was perhaps associated with the Dioskouroi. A lurid account of it has been left by Daimachos of Plataiai, an early Hellenistic historian, who says:

Before the stone fell, for seventy-five days in succession, there was seen in the sky a fiery body of vast size like a flame-coloured cloud, not resting in one place but borne along with intricate and irregular motions, so that fiery fragments broken from it by its plunging and erratic course were carried in all directions and flashed fire like so many shooting-stars. However, when it had sunk to earth at that point and the inhabitants, recovering from their fear and amazement, had come together, no effect or trace of fire was to be seen—only a stone.

Id. 'Some aspects of Amun' in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1934 xx. 139—153 returns to the charge and considers further the relation of Amun to Min. 'Amun was derived from the much older Min, with whom he had much in common. Yet they differed somehow. Min had the thunderbolt, while Amun had the meteorite. Min became a fertility-god, while Amun became solarized. Min belonged to the bull-gods and was related to Horus, while Amun belonged to the ram-gods and inclined towards Seth. Amun also differed somewhat from the other ram-gods, for their ram was not his. They were Heryshef, Khnum, and the Lord of Mendes. They primarily controlled the waters on earth, a function not foreign to Amun, who came to do so as well. But from the beginning he had been an air-, sky-, and weather-god....He was the blue firmament, the heavenly counterpart of the earthly waters. His sacred object was clearly a meteorite which came to earth from his very self. Like other meteorites its representatives were omphaloi, of which one at least suggests a fallen star in its material.'

These articles, taken together, certainly present us with a consistent picture of meteorite-cult over a wide area of the ancient world. I feel bound, however, to enter two pleas for caution: (1) The equation of thunderbolt = meteorite = omphaloi is not universally valid. Other things beside meteorites might be reckoned as thunderbolts, *e.g.* flint implements (*supra* ii. 505 ff., 643). And other things beside meteorites might be represented as omphaloi, *e.g.* a tomb (*supra* ii. 219 n. 4), a mound of earth (*supra* ii. 187), a mountain (*supra* ii. 983 n. 6). (2) Apart from this assumed equation, we have no adequate proof that Min or Amun had any connexion with meteorites. That the aniconic form of Amun was a meteoric fragment is an attractive hypothesis, but hardly more.
lying there, a big one to be sure, yet little or nothing in comparison with the fiery mass observed in the sky.'

Plutarch ¹ states that the great stone was still shown in his day by the dwellers in the Chersonese, who held it in reverence, and adds that Anaxagoras had predicted the possibility of a fixed star becoming loosened and falling to earth as a heavy stone. Pliny ⁴ improves on this: Anaxagoras in 467/6 B.C. had predicted the days within which a stone would fall from the sun, a prediction fulfilled when this burnt-looking stone, a wagon-load in size, fell in the daytime at Aigos Potamos. Both Aristotle ³ and Pliny ⁴ remark that there was also a comet shining in the night at that time. Pliny ⁶ goes on to mention that in the gymnasium at Abydos another aerolite was worshipped. It was a smallish stone, but Anaxagoras was said to have predicted that it would fall in the middle of the earth. Yet another was worshipped at Kassandreia, the ancient Potidaia, which had been founded on the spot where it fell. Pliny ⁶ concludes by informing us that he had himself seen such a stone which had recently fallen in the territory of the Vocontii, a tribe of Gallia Narbonensis. One other incident of the sort is on record. Kedrenos ⁷ the Byzantine annalist notes that in the year 460 A.D. three huge stones fell from the sky in Thrace and Eudokia wife of Theodosios ii died at Jerusalem.

¹ Plout. v. Lys. 12. 1 f.
³ Aristot. meteor. 1. 7 344 b 31 ff.
⁴ Plin. nat. hist. 2. 149.

Bronze coins of Aigos Potamos, struck in the fourth century B.C., occasionally show a star beneath the goat which forms their reverse type (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 187 no. 4. My fig. 720 is from a cast of this specimen kindly supplied by Mr H. Mattingly). The said star very possibly represents the famous meteorite.

⁷ Kedren. hist. comp. 346 b—c (l. 607 Bekker).
Baityloi, Baitylia, and Zeus Bétynlos

(b) Baityloi, Baitylia, and Zeus Bétynlos.

Few terms in the nomenclature of Greek religion have been more loosely used than the word baitylos. It is so persistently misapplied to sacred stones in general\(^1\) that in 1903 Professor G. F. Moore\(^2\) of Harvard felt constrained to protest against its indiscriminate employment and quite rightly insisted that baityloi or baiylia formed a distinct class of holy stones endowed with the power of self-motion. Yet more than thirty years later Sir Arthur Evans still strews broadcast his allusions to 'baetylic' pillars and 'baetylic' altars.

Sotakos\(^6\), a well-informed lapidarist of the early Hellenistic age\(^4\), states that certain cerouniae, black and round, were sacred. Towns and fleets could be captured by their means. And they were called bætuli.

Sanchouniathon of Berytos in his Phoenician history\(^5\) had more to say. Ouranos married his sister Ge and had by her four sons—Elos called Kronos, Baitylos, Dagon that is Siton, and Atlas\(^6\). Later we read that Ouranos invented baiylia or living stones\(^7\).

The qualities of magic potency mentioned by Sotakos and animation recorded by Sanchouniathon both come out in Photios' extracts from Damaskios' Life of Isidoros\(^8\). The Isidoros in question


\(^3\) Sotakos ap. Plin. nat. hist. 37. 135.

\(^4\) Kind in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii A. 1211 ('lebte frühstens im Ausgang des 4. vorchristlichen Jhds').

\(^5\) Supra i. 191, ii. 553, 715, 886 n. 0 (30), 981 n. 1, 984 n. 4, 1021, 1023, 1037 f., 1109 n. 0. See now the excellent article by Grimm in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i A. 2232—2244.

\(^6\) Philon Bybl. frag. 2 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 367 Müller) ap. Euseb. praep. ev. i. 10. 16 παραλαβών δὲ ὁ Ὀρφανὸς τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς (on his father Ἐλευθ 'Τυμετος see supra ii. 886 n. 0 (30)) ἀρχὴν ἔγγησεν πρὸς γάμον τὴν ἀδελφὴν Γῆν, καὶ παῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς παῖδας τέσσαρας, Ἡλων τῶν καὶ Κρόνων, καὶ Βαυτύλων, καὶ Δαγών (εἰς Δαγών) δὲ ἐστὶν Σιτων (supra i. 238 n. 0), καὶ Αὐταντα.

\(^7\) Philon Bybl. frag. 2 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 368 Müller) ap. Euseb. praep. ev. i. 10. 23 ἔτι δὲ, φασίν, ἐκεῖνῷ ταῖς Ὀρφανῶς Βαυτύλων, Λίθου ἐμφάνισας μηχανημάτος.

was the neo-Platonic philosopher, who was in Athens at the time of Proklos' death (485 A.D.) and shortly afterwards for a while succeeded Marinus as chief of the Athenian school. The scornful and at times indignant Photios gives the following résumé of Damaskios' narrative.

'He says that at Heliopolis in Syria Asklepiades made the ascent of Mount Libanos and saw many of the so-called baitylia or baityloi, concerning which he reports countless marvels worthy of an unhallowed tongue. He declares too that he himself and Isidoros subsequently witnessed these things with their own eyes....

I saw, he says, the baitylos moving through the air. It was sometimes concealed in its garments, sometimes again carried in the hands of its ministrant. The ministrant of the baitylos was named Eusebios. This man stated that there had once come upon him a sudden and unexpected desire to roam at midnight away from the town of Emesa as far as he could get towards the hill on which stands the ancient and magnificent temple of Athena. So he went as quickly as possible to the foot of the hill, and there sat down to rest after his journey. Suddenly he saw a globe of fire leap down from above, and a great lion standing beside the globe. The lion indeed vanished immediately, but he himself ran up to the globe as the fire died down and found it to be the baitylos. He took it up and asked it to which of the gods it might belong. It replied that it belonged to Gennaios, the "Noble One." (Now the men of Heliopolis worship this Gennaios and have set up a lion-shaped image of him in the temple of Zeus.) He took it home with him the self-same night, travelling, so he said, a distance not less than two hundred and ten furlongs. Eusebios, however, was not master of the movements of his baitylos, as others are of theirs; but he offered petitions and prayers, while it answered with oracular responses.

Having told us this trash and much more to the same effect, our author, who is veritably worthy of his own baitylia, adds a description of the stone and its appearance. It was, he says, an exact globe, whitish in colour, three hand-breadths across. But at times it grew bigger, or smaller; and at other times it took on a purple hue. He showed us, too, letters that were written on the stone, painted in the pigment called tindabari, "cinnabar." Also it knocked on...
a wall; for this was the means by which it gave the enquirer his desired response, uttering a low hissing sound, which Eusebios interpreted.

After detailing these marvels and many others even more remarkable concerning the baitylos, this empty-headed fellow continues: "I thought the whole business of the baitylos savoured of some god; but Isidors ascribed it rather to a daimon. There was, he said, a daimon who moved it—not one of the harmful nor of the over-material kind, yet not of those either that have attained to the immaterial kind nor of those that are altogether pure." He adds in his blasphemous way that different baityloi are dedicated to different deities—Kronos, Zeus, Helios, etc.'

At this point codex A, the Venetian manuscript of Photios, appends a marginal note, which is worth translating.

'I too,' says the annotator, 'have heard of a daimonion of this sort in Greece. The people who live there told me that it appeared in the neighbourhood of Parnassos. They recounted other things concerning it even more singular, which deserve to be passed over in silence and not set forth.'

From Kefr-Nebo near Aleppo came a dedication, dated 223 A.D., 'to Seimios and Symbetylos and Leon.' Since the Syrian god Seimios appears to have had a consort variously spelled Seimia, Semea, Sima, it is possible that she is here designated by a Greek appellative Symbetylos meaning 'Partner in his Baitylos.' But the papyri of Elephantine in the fifth century B.C. repeatedly unite two divine names in a compound of which the second element is Bethel, e.g. 'Anathbethel, Ishumbethel, Herembethel.' It may be, therefore, that we have here a late Syrian parallel to the older formation, and that—as O. Eissfeldt—suggests—Symbetylos actually represents the Ishumbethel of Elephantine. In which case the first element Sym- would stand for the Babylonian fire-god Ishum. But Professor found near the valley of Virana a very ancient stone fallen miraculously from the sky. It was a 'ceramiq' of planispherical shape, four ounces in weight, and milky white in colour. Sundry lines like little veins of cinnabar made raised letters on its surface and were read by the learned as D. DE. SVPER on one side of the stone and IPRO on the other. To this apparent inscription some magical meaning was attached.

1 'Codex olim Bessarioneus, nunc inter Venetos S. Marci 450, membranaceus,' s. x.
2 The mention of Parnassos suggests that this curious note may contain a Byzantine reminiscence of the stone of Kronos, which was set up γόνας ὁμ Παρνήσιο (Hes. theog. 499) and is often called baitylos (infra p. 936 n. 4). But the whole district was, and is, grossly superstitious. For the beliefs of the peasants at Arachova beneath Parnassos see supra ii. 505 n. 6, 993 n. 2.
3 Supra i. 571 n. 2.
4 Supra ii. 814 n. 3.
6 Cfr. M. Lidzbarski Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik Giessen 1906 ii. 323 f., 1915 iii. 247 ('Der Name dieser Göttin ist nicht angegeben, aber da neben ihr noch ein Nest genannt ist, kann es die 'Anat sein, deren Tier der Löwe ist').
8 O. Eissfeldt 'Der Gott Bethel' in the Archiv f. Rel. 1930 xxviii. 20—22.
890 Battion, Baitylia, and Zeus Bétylos

S. A. Cook\(^1\) reminds us that Ishumbethel at Elephantine is strictly 's-m-bethel, where vocalisation and meaning are alike uncertain. For, while some take 's-m to be the Hebrew šem, 'Name,' a reverential substitute for a divine name, he would prefer to write Ashima-bethel\(^2\). The choice between the Greek and the Semitic interpretation of Symbétylos is indeed far from simple.

More to our purpose, however, is a quadrangular altar (0.72 m high) found in the sanctuary of the Palmyrene gods at Dura-Europos (fig. 721)\(^3\). It is dedicated by a Syrian legionary, Aurelius

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\(^2\) Id. in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Cambridge 1925 iii. 429, 1927 vi. 143, 180.

\(^3\) H. Seyrig in *The Excavations at Dura-Europos (Preliminary Report of Fourth Season of Work October 1930—March 1931)* ed. by P. V. C. Baur—M. I. Rostovtzeff—A. R. Bellinger) Yale Univ. Press 1933 pp. 68—71 no. 168 with pi. 15, 1 (==my fig. 721) Ὑπὸ πατρὸς | Διὶ Βετύλῳ | τῶν πρὸς τῷ Ὀροντὶ Δραγύλων | Διῳδούς στρατιῶτης | λεγ(εών) δ' Ἐκ(εύδης) Ἀρτ(οντευναβης) | εἰδάμενος | ἀνθήκερ, 'To [his] national' god Zeus Bétylos, [god] of the dwellers along the Orontes, Aurelius Diphilianus, soldier of the 4th Legion Seythica Antoniniana, in fulfilment of a vow dedicated [this altar].
Battyloi, Baitylia, and Zeus Bétylos 891

Diphilianus, to his national god Zeus Bétylos. And the lettering of the inscription points to a date early in the third century A.D. But whether the appellative implies that the Greek Zeus was here worshipped under the form of a battylos, or that he had succeeded to the position of some Semitic deity of the -bethel-type, is not clear. Sanchouniathon’s personified Baitylos is hardly decisive.

It is commonly assumed as self-evident that the Greek word battylos is an approximate transliteration of the Hebrew Bêthêl, ‘House of God.’ But the equation is not free from difficulties. My colleague Mr H. St J. Hart points out to me that in Scripture the name Bethel is attached to two quite distinct places. The better known one, twelve miles north of Jerusalem, is in Hebrew Bêthêl, in Greek Baithêl. The other, in the Negeb or ‘Dry’ plateau of Judah, is variously spelled—not only as Hebrew Bêthul = Greek Baithêl, but also as Hebrew Bêthûl = Greek Bathoul and Hebrew Bêthûlêl = Greek Bathoulêl. It may therefore be argued that the Hebrew Bêthêl had an alternative form Bêthûlêl, which gave rise to the Greek baiylos, bêtylos. Failing that, we are driven to posit some dialect (Phoenician?) in which the same connective u-sound occurred.

Whether Jacob’s stone at Bethel was an ordinary Massebhah, as I have supposed, or a meteoric block, as Mr G. A. Wainwright thinks possible, is a further problem. The name Bêthêl is intelligible on either hypothesis. But to cite in support of the latter view certain neo-Babylonian cylinders on which appear shield-shaped objects marked with a ladder and set upright on divine seats (figs. 722—724) is, I fear, to explain ignotum per ignotius.

2 H. Seyrig loc. cit. p. 71.
3 Supra p. 887.
4 L. Benzinger in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 363.
6 Sam. 30. 27.
7 cp. the man’s name Hebrew Bêthuel = Greek Bathoûel (Gen. 22. 22 ff.).
8 E. Meyer in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1224, followed by K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 2760, cp. ‘Ain-El ‘Eye of God’ = Αἴωνος or Έωνος (Arrian. 2. 20. 1) king of Byblos.
9 Supra ii. 127 n. 7.
10 Supra p. 884 n. 0.
12 W. H. Ward The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia 1910 pp. 192—195 figs. 544, 546—549, 550 (= my fig. 724), 559 (= my fig. 723), 552 (= my fig. 723), 555, 556: ‘The irregular oval object resting on the divine seats, and surmounted by a star or a crescent, is not easy to explain, but it is not itself important except as the support for
Battyloi, Baitýlia, and Zeus Bétylos

Yet, whatever be the case with the stone at Bethel, there can be little doubt that the Syrian bautéloi or bautélia really were—as G. F. Moore contended—either smallish meteorites or neolithic implements believed to have fallen from heaven.

The Syrian cult of meteorites is attested by one other record, which does not contain the actual word bautélos. Sanchouniathoí states that Astarté, 'as she travelled round the world, found a star fallen from the sky, picked it up, and consecrated it in the holy island of Tyre.' Sir G. F. Hill would bring this statement into connexion with an omphaloid stone in a portable shrine represented on imperial coins of Tyre. But we have already ventured to explain that stone as the emerald-block of Herakles, who at Tyre bore the star of Ishtar and the crescent of Sin. It may represent, in a corrupted form, the horned turban of the god as seen, two or three together, on kudurrus.


2 Supra ii. 505 ff.

3 Sanchouniathoí (supra p. 887 n. 5) ap. Philon Bybl. frag. 7 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 569 Müller) ap. Euseb. praep. ev. i. 10. 31 ἡ ἀστάρτη ἐκδηλεῖ τῇ ἑδρ κεφαλὴ βασιλείας παράσημον κεφαλὴν τάφον· περισσότερα δὲ τῷ οἰκουμένῳ εἶπεν ἄρρητα ἄστερα, ἐπὶ καὶ ἀνελομένη ἐν Τοῦρῳ τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἡθῳ ἁφρώδει.

4 On the Tyrian Astarte, who was identified sometimes with the moon, sometimes with the planet Venus, see F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 1777 f.


6 Supra i. 356 fig. 373.
the remarkable epithet *Astrochiton*, 'He of the Starry Robe'.
Since the Tyrians treated the celestial Herakles (Melqarth) as 
consort of the celestial Astarte, the two explanations are not 
necessarily irreconcilable.

(c) Kybele and meteorites.

An odd tale, which associates Kybele with the fall of a meteorite, 
is told by Aristodemos of Alexandria, a pupil of Aristarchos. 
It appears that a certain flute-player named Olympichos was being 
instructed by Pindar on the mountain where he used to practise. 
Suddenly there was a loud report, and a flame came flashing 
downwards. Pindar, perceiving it, discerned a stone image of the 
Mother of the gods falling at his feet. Whereupon he set up close 
to his house an image of the Mother of the gods and of Pan. 
Meantime the citizens sent to enquire of the god concerning the 
portent. He bade them build a sanctuary for the Mother of the 
gods. So, astonished at Pindar's anticipation of the oracle, they 
joined the poet in his cult of the goddess.

We have here, if I am not mistaken, an attempt to give 
historicity to a myth. Pindar teaching the flute-player Olympichos 
on a mountain-side is but Pan teaching the flute-player Olympos, 
eponym of the Mysian mountain. If historical happenings may 
give rise to myths, it is also true that myths may give rise to 
would-be historical happenings.

The story is of interest, however, because it suggests a meteoric 
origin not only for the sacred stone of the Mother in her temple on 
the Mysian Ide, but also for her 'Zeus-fallen image' at Pessinous in Phrygia. 
This celebrated image is expressly said to have dropped
Kybele and meteorites

from the sky\(^1\), and is described as a stone of sooty colour and black substance, of small size, easily carried in the hand, and rough with projecting angles\(^2\). The Romans in obedience to an oracle sought and obtained possession of it (205—204 B.C.)\(^3\). Appian\(^4\) serves up the traditional tale:

'Now at Rome certain direful signs sent by Zeus befell, and the Decemvirs on consulting the Sibylline books declared that at Pessinous in Phrygia, where

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\(^1\) Appian. *bell. Annib.* 56, Herodian. 1. 11. 1, Amm. Marc. 22. 9. 7.


the Phrygians worship the Mother of the gods, something would shortly fall from heaven and must be brought to Rome. Not long afterwards news came that the image had fallen, and to Rome it was brought. Indeed the day of its arrival is still kept as a festival for the Mother of the gods. The story goes that the ship bearing it stuck in the mud of the river Tiber and could by no means be floated off until the soothsayers predicted that it would follow only if drawn by a woman pure from intercourse with strangers. Claudia Quinta, who had been charged with adultery, but not yet tried, and on account of fast living was thought a most likely culprit, vehemently called the gods to witness her innocence and fastened her girdle to the hull. Thereupon the goddess followed, and Claudia passed from the depth of infamy to the height of fame. But before this affair of Claudia the Romans had been hidden by the Sibylline books to transport the image from Phrygia by the hands of their best man. So they had sent the man reckoned their best at the moment—Scipio Nasica, son of Cn. Scipio who had been general in Iberia and had fallen there. Nasica was cousin of the Scipio that had robbed the Carthaginians of their empire and first earned the title Africanus. In this way the goddess was brought to Rome by the best of their men and women. An altar of Luna marble dedicated to the Mother of the gods by one Claudia Syntyche was found more than two centuries since at the Marmorata on the Tiber-side and is now in the Capitoline Museum. A relief on the front face (fig. 725) shows the Vestal

1 Better Claudia Quinta, on whom see F. Münzer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 2899 no. 438.
2 L. Re—F. Mori Sculture del Museo Capitolino Roma 1866 i Atrio pl. 24, Müller—Wieseler Denkm. d. alt. Kunst ii. 4. 11 f. pl. 63, 816 (=my fig. 726), Stuart Jones Cat.

**Fig. 726.**

Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome p. 181 f. Sala delle Colombe no. 109 b pl. 43 (=my fig. 725), W. HELLIG Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom Leipzig 1912 i. 442 f. no. 798, H. Haas Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte Leipzig—Erlangen 1926 ix—xi p. xix fig. 157, E. Strong Art in Ancient Rome London 1920 i. 43 with fig. 38. Height 0'87 m. On the right face, a pedum and cymbals; on the left face, a Phrygian cap with lappets; on the back, pipes. The inscription is given in Orelli Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 1905, Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 492 = 30777, Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4066 Matri deum et Navi Salviae | Salviae voto suscepto | Claudia Synthyche | d. d. The second word Salviae is probably a mere case of ditography, though L. Bloch in
Claudia standing statue-like on a plinth as she draws the ship by her girdle. The sacred stone is not to be seen, unless we can identify it with the small object on deck in front of the seated goddess.

Once received at Rome the black stone of Kybele was treated with exceptional honours. A. Audin even contends that it was regarded as a second Palladium imported to replace the Trojan original, whose protective power would not last beyond the fated limit of a thousand years. The stone was housed at first in the temple of Victory on the Palatine, and subsequently in a temple of its own dedicated to the Magna Mater at the top of the Scalae

Philologus 1893 liii. 281 f. thought that it was a Greek freedwoman's indifferent Latin for pro salute Navis Salviae.

An inscription, brought from Rome to Verona (no. 131), is given in F. S. Maffei Museum Veronense Veronae 1749 p. 26 no. 1, Orelli Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 196, Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 493, Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4097. Navi Salviae | et Matri deu d. d. | Claudia Sinty[

A replica of this inscription, brought from Rome to Verona (no. 131), is given in Orelli Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 2403 ('Velitris'), Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 494, Wilmans Ex. inscr. Lat. no. 106, Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 4098 Matyi deum | et' Navi Salviae Q. Nunnius | Telephus mag. | col. culto. eius | d. s. d. d. (=mag[ister] collegi[um] culto- 

Maffei supposed that Navisalviae was a single word designating the divinised Claudia as 'Ship-saving' on account of her exploit. But Orelli with far greater probability took Navi Salviae to mean 'the Ship Salvia,' associated in cult with the goddess whom she carried. L. Bloch loc. cit. points out that a trireme in the praetorian fleet at Misenum was actually called Salvia (E. Ferrero L'ordinamento delle armate romane Torino 1878 p. 39), being presumably a namesake of Kybele's well-omened vessel. A ship built with timber from the pine-woods of Mt Ide (Ovid. Fast. 4. 273) was a fitting vehicle for the Mater Idaea (supra ii. 590 n. 0).

1 Iouli or. 5 p. 200 Hertlein speaks of these miracles as κοινή μὲν ὑπὸ πλειστῶν ἱστορογραφίων ἀναγραφόμενα, σωμάτω δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ χαλκῶν εἰκόνων ἐν τῇ κρατίᾳ καὶ θεοφανεὶ Υἱόι. A statue of Claudia in the vestibule of the temple of the Magna Mater on the Palatine survived two conflagrations of that edifice, in 111 B.C. and 3 A.D. (Val. Max. i. 8. 11, Tac. ann. 4. 64).

2 Not impossibly Claudia would be conceived as attaching her girdle to the sacred stone of the goddess, much as the Ephesians at the time of Croisios' invasion bound their gates and walls by cords to the columns of Artemis' temple (All. var. hist. 3. 26), or as Kylon and his men fastened a braided thread to the statue of Athena on the Acropolis at Athens (Plout. v. Sol. 12). The object in each case was to maintain close contact with the goddess. Cp. supra ii. 408 and perhaps ii. 657 figs. 591—593.

3 A. Audin 'Le Palladium de Rome' in the Rev. Arch. 1929 ii. 46—57 (a very venturesome article).

4 Herakl. frag. 12 Bywater, 92 Diels ap. Plout. de Pyth. or. 6 Σιβυλλα δὲ μανωμένη στόματα καὶ Πρᾶκτων δάκτυλα καὶ κακαλώπιτα καὶ ἄμφοτερα δευτερογένθη χιλιῶν εἰς τὸ εξεικέιται τῇ φως δὲ τὸν θεόν. Audin reckons that 1000 years from the fall of Troy (1184 B.C.), when Kassandra the Trojan Sibyl announced the migration of her countrymen to Rome, would expire in 184 B.C. The importation of the Mater Idaea in 205, at the advice of the Sibyline books, might secure a new lease of life for the state!

5 Liv. 29. 14.
Kybele and meteorites

Caci\(^1\). Here it remained for a good six hundred years, set in silver\(^2\) to serve as the face of a statue\(^3\), the base of which is still to be seen\(^4\). This black, quasi-human face, with its silver setting and its rich jewellery, must indeed have presented a singular sight, comparable with that of some black mediaeval Madonna\(^5\).

But its original form is imperfectly known. E. Beulé\(^6\), followed

Fig. 727.  
Fig. 728.

Fig. 729.  
Fig. 730.


\(^{2}\) Prudent. peristeph. 10. 156 f. lapis nigellus evehendus esedo, | muliebris oris clausus argento sedet.

\(^{3}\) Arnob. adv. nat. 7: 49 (after the passage cited supra p. 894 n. 2) et quem omnes hodie ipso illo videmus in signo oris loco postum, indolatum et asperum et simulacre faciem minus expressam simulacione praebent.

M. Mayer in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1525 thinks that the stone from Pessinous was placed in the mouth of the statue; but he appears to be mistranslating the words of Arnobius.

The statue was still existing in the time of Theodosios the Great (378—395 A.D.), for Serena his niece robbed it of its necklace (Zosim. 5. 38).

\(^{4}\) H. Jordan—C. Hülsen op. cit. i. 3. 53 with pl. 2, \(k\), S. B. Platner—T. Ashby op. cit. p. 325.


\(^{6}\) E. Beulé Les monnaies d’Athènes Paris 1858 p. 317 ff. with fig. (= my fig. 730: Munich).

C. III.

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at first by B. V. Head\textsuperscript{1}, made the interesting conjecture that it is represented on new-style tetradrachms of Athens bearing the names Kleophanes and Epithetes (figs. 727—730)\textsuperscript{2}. The magistrate's badge on these coins is an upright conical stone with projections suggestive of a face and seemingly with a kteis beneath it. Attached to its apex by a knot is a fillet or covering, which hangs down on either side and recalls Damaskios' description of the baitylos 'concealed in its garments'\textsuperscript{3}.

A possible parallel to the baitylos of Kybele, set in silver and decked with a necklace, may be found in a singular object here published for the first time (pi. lxvii and fig. 731). It is, essentially, a neolithic pounder (6½ inches high) of dull green stone, which has been subsequently faceted and inlaid with tin\textsuperscript{4}. Since faceted axe-hammers occur sporadically throughout central Europe towards the end of the stone age\textsuperscript{5}, and since tin-inlay is frequent on the contemporaneous pottery of the Swiss pile-dwellings\textsuperscript{6}, it may be inferred on technical grounds that this pounder was decorated c. 2000 B.C. Several of its features—green

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\textsuperscript{1} Head Hist. num.\textsuperscript{1} p. 334. But id. ib.\textsuperscript{2} p. 386 says merely: 'Conical stone (πατρόν) with knotted taenia hanging over it.' Date, shortly after Sulla's conquest ([J.] Sundwall [Untersuchungen über die attischen Münzen des neueren Stiles Helsingfors 1908] p. 114). And B. Pick in J. N. Svoronos Les monnaies d'Athènes Munich 1923—1926 Index p. xi is equally non-commital: 'BETYLE, entouré des deux côtés par une ténie.' Sir G. Macdonald in Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 68 had hazarded the curious idea that 'hanging down on either side, is a goatskin' [παιρνός from παλρον].

\textsuperscript{2} Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica etc. pp. iii, 60 nos. 431 pl. 13. 2 (=my fig. 727), 432, 433, Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 68 f. nos. 145 (cp. my fig. 728), 146, J. N. Svoronos Les monnaies d'Athènes Munich 1923—1926 pl. 73, 3 Berlin (=my fig. 729), 4 A. Romanos, 5 Munich (cp. my fig. 730), 6 Glasgow, 7 Glasgow, 8 Athens.

\textsuperscript{3} Supra p. 888.

\textsuperscript{4} On submitting this implement to the Department of Mineralogy and Petrology in the University of Cambridge, I received the following expert opinion from Dr F. C. Phillips (Feb. 24, 1937): 'The metal is tin, with a small amount of antimony. The rock is some kind of chloritic schist, much softer than nephrite, and easily worked and faceted.'

\textsuperscript{5} Forrer Realfex. p. 332, J. Schleimm Wörterbuch zur Vorgeschichte Berlin 1908 p. 139 f. figs. a—c, V. Gordon Childs The Danube in Prehistory Oxford 1939 pp. 146 fig. 90, 151 ff, 208, cp. O. Menghin Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit Wien 1931 p. 387 pl. 34.4

\textsuperscript{6} R. Munro The Lake-Dwellings of Europe London 1890 pp. 42 with figs. 193, 6
A *batylos* (?) from Ephesos, now at Queens' College, Cambridge.

*See page 898 ff. with fig. 731.*
stone, surface facets, projecting bands and bosses—are seen again in an axe-hammer from the second city of Troy and serve to confirm the suggested date. Even the tin-inlay, though not itself discovered at Troy, is at least postulated by the Homeric description of Achilles’ shield and Asteropaios’ corselet. However, the really remarkable thing about our pounder is the arrangement of its decoration, which transforms the neolithic tool into a quasi-human shape. The head is surmounted by a conical tin cap, secured by three tags or tenons of tin, any one of which might suggest a nose. The shoulders are covered by a broad tin cape. The waist is represented by a deep groove. Below this is a double belt of tin. Lower down, the faceted surface looks like folds of drapery encircled by a tin band, from which hang four pairs of tin pendants symmetrically placed. Finally, at the foot, opposite each pendant is a hole for the insertion of a stud, perhaps of amber or vitreous paste. In short, we may venture to recognise a primitive idol comparable with the bottle-shaped goddesses figured on coins of Asia Minor (figs. 732—737). Now neolithic implements are...
The stone of Elagabalos

often supposed to have fallen from the sky. It is therefore tempting to compare this humanised pounder with the 'Zeus-fallen' image of Artemis Ephesia. And all the more so, when we learn that, by an impressive coincidence, the pounder actually came from Ephesos.

(d) The stone of Elagabalos.

Akin to the stone of Kybele at Pessinous in Phrygia was the stone of Elagabalos the god of Emesa in Syria. This too was a 'Zeus-fallen' stone, of large size, conical shape, and black colour. It was marked with certain small projections and impressions;

1 Supra ii. 505 ff.
2 Supra ii. 963 n. o.
3 It was obtained by Sir William Ridgeway, through Mr H. Lawson of the consular service at Smyrna, together with a miscellaneous lot of arrow-heads etc. from Ephesos. Sir William acutely detected its true character and had intended some day to publish it as a good example of an aniconic deity. On his death it was passed on to me by Dr J. A. Venn, President of Queens', and Mrs Venn, Sir William's daughter, to whom I am greatly indebted for this opportunity of publishing a relic of rare interest.

The stone of Elagabalos and its worshippers regarded it as an unworked image of the Sun. The eagle, which on imperial coins of Emesa appears either upon (fig. 738) or in front of the stone (fig. 739), seems to have been an

1 Herodian. 5. 3. 4 f. Ιεροδάι το δε αυτώ την ήλιον τον γις οι επιχώρης απόθεμα, τη Φωκίδας φωτιή. Ελαγάβαλον καλούτες. νεώς δε αυτώ μέγιστος κατασκεύασε αυτόν, χωρίς πόλη και άργον κοκκαμάνου κάθε τον πολεμετήρ. Βρισκόταται δε ου μένον προς των επιχώρων, αλλά και πάντες οι γεγονότες σαράντας τα και βασιλείς βάρβαροι φιλοτιμούν τι να θύη ἐκτός του ἐθνον πολεμετήρ άναμήτα. Εὐλαμα μὲν οὖν, ἀνεφ παρ’ Ἐλαγάβος ή Ἰαβαλούς, οὔτεν ἔστηκε χιορηματικόν, θεον χάρων εἰκόνα τίνας δε τις ἐσφαλτός γόγγος, κάτωθι περιφέρεις, λήψιν ἐξ ἐξουσίας καις άνεφίκησι αὐτῷ σχήμα, μελαφατε τὴν ἡ χρον. Διενεκῆ το αὐτόν εἶναι συμμολογούν, ἐξοχά τέ τινας βραχείας καὶ τίποτο συνεκνύουν, εἰκόνα τε ἡλίου ἀνέφραστοι εἶναι δίδοντες, οὕτως δέχοντες.


2 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc. p. 237 no. 6 pl. 27, 9 (=my fig. 738) ΕΜ IC H ΝΩΝ a bronze coin struck by Antoninus Pius. The star on the stone is probably one of the marks noted by Herodian. 5. 3. 5 (supra p. 901 n. 1). Gold and silver coins issued by Elagabalus again show the stone ornamented with stars (Cohen Monn. emp. rom.2 iv. 325 no. 16 fig. (=my fig. 741) gold, Paris, no. 17 silver, Vienna, no. 18 gold, G. de Ponton d’Amécourt, Stevenson-Smith—Smith—Madden Dict. Rom. Coins p. 357). Cp. the star that appears in the field of his coins (e.g. infra p. 902 fig. 743) and medallions (e.g. infra p. 904 fig. 745).

3 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc. pp. lxiv f., 239 no. 15 pl. 27, 12 (=my fig. 739) ΕΜΙΚΩΝ ΚΟΛΩΝ with ZΚΦ (547 of Seleucid era=215 A.D.) a bronze coin struck by Caracalla, showing the stone of Elagabalos at Emesa in a hexastyle temple with an
The stone of Elagabalo

attribute plastically rendered in gold, and in any case is to be viewed as the solar eagle of Syrian art. It led the Romans to equate Elagabalo with their own supreme deity Jupiter.

This stone of the Emesenes, as F. Cumont insists, was in all probability an actual aerolite. It rose into sudden notoriety when its youthful high priest, Varius Avitus Bassianus, through the intrigues of his grandmother Iulia Maesa was proclaimed emperor by the troops in Syria (218 A.D.). He was saluted as Marcus Aurelius Antoninus; but, since the Syrian priest identified himself with his god, he was commonly called Elagabalo. On quitting Emesa for Rome he took his stone with him. A temple, which Marcus Aurelius had built for Faustina at the foot of Mount Tauros, Elagabalo dedicated to his own godhead. Wintering at Nikomedea, he appeared in public as a priest (figs. 742, 743); and before he reached Rome he sent a large picture of himself oblong in its pediment. The stone is set on a base, protected by a balustrade, with a wreath-bearing eagle before it and a parasol on either side of it. Bronze coins of Iulia Domna give the great altar at Emesa decorated with niches and sculpture (ib. p. 238 no. 9 pl. 27, 11, nos. 10—12. Fig. 740 is from a specimen of mine).

1 F. Studniczka in the Rom. Mitth. 1901 xvi. 275 f.
2 Supra i. 603 f. fig. 475, ii. 186, 431.
3 Spart. v. Caracall. 11. 7 Heliogabalo Antoninus sibi vel Iovi Syrio vel Soli—incertum id est—templum fecit, Lamprid. v. Heliogab. l. 5 fuit autem Heliogabalo vel Iovis vel Solis sacerdos, 17. 8 praeter aerem Heliogabali dei, quam Solem alii, alii Ioem dicunt.
4 F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 2219.
5 Herodian. 5. 5. 3 f. ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος ἀπέρας τῇ Συρίᾳ ἐλθὼν τε ἐς τὴν Νικομήδειαν ἔστησε, τῆς ὅρας τοῦ ἔθους ἀπαιτοῦσιν. εὐθείας τὸ εἰςδιάκεισθαι, τὴν τοῦ ἱερωστοῦ τοῦ ἑπίχωρου θεοῦ, ὃ ἀντιθέτατο, περιπεριεξακοηθέν, σχηματίζει τὸ ὀστήρος πολυπλε-

6 Στάτοις χρώμων, διὰ τὸ πορθμεῦ ὀξυοῦ ὀφειμαι περιπέτειαι τοῦ καὶ ψεύδους κοιμημένος, ἐς ἐδὼ δὲ τίμας στεφάνων ἐπικείμενος χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθους ποικίλων τιμίων. ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τοῦ σχήματον μεταξύ Φαύνουσας λατάς στολῆς καὶ ἤλιος Μηδικῆς. κ.τ.λ.

7 Cohen Monn. emp. rom. ii. 329 no. 58 fig. (=my fig. 742) silver, Paris, 330 nos. 59—65, 350 no. 276 f., Stevenson—Smith—Madden Dict. Rom. Coins p. 336. Fig. 743 is from a specimen of mine. The horn set on the ground behind Elagabalo in fig. 742 suggests comparison with the horn set behind the Kabeiros on coins of Thessalonice (supra. i. 108 f. figs. 79, 80). H. Cohen loc. cit. p. 339 n. 1 remarks that Elagabalo's head here and elsewhere is often surmounted by a horn-like projection, which he believes to be 'le symbole de la puissance.'
The stone of Elagabalos

officiating in front of the stone to be set up in the Senate-house over the statue of Victory and duly worshipped by the Senators.

At Rome Elagabalus erected two temples for his god, one on the Palatine close to his own residence, the other in some suburb by way of summer quarters. The exact position of both is disputed.

In the temple on the Palatine he surrounded the stone with the most venerated objects of Roman cult, including the stone from Pessinous and others of the like sanctity. He even imported the ancient image of Ourania from Carthage to be the consort of his stone, and thus celebrated a sacred marriage between the Sun and the Moon. A relic of this temple may be seen in a pilaster-cap of Carrara marble, part of which was found in the excavations of 1870-1872 on the east side of the temple of Castor, the rest in

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1 Herodian. 5. 6. 6. f. 2 Lamprid. v. Heliogab. 3-4. 3 Herodian. 5. 6. 6.
5 Lamprid. v. Heliogab. 3-4 eique templum fecit, studens et Matris typum et Vestae ignem et Palladium et ancilia et omnia Romanis veneranda in illud transferre templum et id agens ne quis Romae deus nisi Heliogabalus coleretur, cp. ib. 6. 7 ff., 7. 1.
6 Id. ib. 7. 8 lapides qui divi dicuntur ex proprio templo, <simulacrum (add. I. Oberdick. R. Unger <typum)> Dianae Laodiciae ex adyto suo, in quo id Orestes posuerat, adferre voluit.
7 Dion Cass. 80. 12. 1 f. (ix. 460 Cary), Herodian. 5. 6. 3 ff.
8 G. Wissowa in the Ann. d. Inst. 1883 lv. 164—167 pl. M (with additions id. Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte München 1924 pp. 73—77 with figs. (a), (b), (c)).
The stone of Elagabalos

1899 near the same spot. The cap, a work of Septimian date, shows (fig. 744, a, b) the conical stone set on a lion-footed stool, which is covered with a fringed cloth. On the left stands Minerva with aegis and helmet; on the right, Iuno (?). Both lay a hand caressingly on the stone. The third person of the Capitoline triad, Jupiter, is identified with the stone itself and attested by the eagle placed in front of it. The scene is completed by Victory sacrificing a bull, behind which is Tellus with cornu copiae and child.

Once a year, at midsummer, the stone was taken from the Palatine to the suburb temple. Elagabalus himself conducted it on a chariot resplendent with gold and jewels (figs. 741, 745, 746). But these vagaries were terminated by his death in 222 A.D. The

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1 C. Huelsen in the Röm. Mitth. 1902 xvii. 67 n. 1.
2 F. Studniczka 'Ein Pfeilercapitell auf dem Forum' in the Röm. Mitth. 1901 xvi. 273—282 pl. 12 (parts of which = my fig. 744 a, b), Mrs A. Strong Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine London 1907 p. 307 ff. pl. 94. The cap measures 0.56 m high and 0.37 m deep.

Studniczka loc. cit. thought that the block might have come from the temple on the Palatine. Huelsen loc. cit. p. 67 would rather refer it to a small sacellum in the Forum. A. von Domaszewski in the Situatix der. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1918 Abb. xiii. 150—153 held that the Palatine was full up and put the temple of Elagabalos in Regio xi on the site of the temple of Dis Pater (Lamprid. s. Heliogab. i. 6 Heliogabalus a sacerdotio dei Heliogabali, cui templum Romae in eo loco constitutum, in quo prius aedes Orci fuit, quem e Suriæ secum advexit). E. Strong Art in Ancient Rome London 1929 ii. 148 accepts the view that the capital came from the precinct of a large temple on the north-east side of the Palatine—a temple erected by Elagabalus to house the stone of Emesa and re-dedicated by his successor Severus Alexander to Jupiter Ultor (supra ii. 1102 n. 8 with figs. 940 and 941); but see the objections of S. B. Platner—T. Ashby A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome Oxford 1939 p. 307.

3 Herodian. 5. 6. 6 ff.
4 Supra p. 901 n. 2.
5 Cp. a denarius at Berlin (J. Leipoldt Die Religionen in der Umwelt des Urchristen- tums in D. H. Haas Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte ix—xi Leipzig—Erlangen 1926 p. xii fig. 93), a bronze medallion at Paris (Fröbner Monn. emp. rom. p. 167 fig. 18, Cohen Monn. emp. rom. 3 iv. 325 f. no. 20 fig.), Gnecci Medagl. Rom. ii. 79 no. 1 pl. 98, 2 (= my fig. 745) 'ritoccato') and Vienna (Gnecci ib.), and a billon coin struck by Elagabalus at Alexandrea in 221/2 A.D. (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria etc. p. 194 no. 1520 pl. 25 (= my fig. 746)).
The stone of Elagabalos

black stone was returned to Emesa\(^1\), and its cult at Rome by
degrees died out\(^2\).

At Emesa, however, the cult continued to flourish. The usurper
Uranius, whose full name was Lucius Iulius Aurelius Sulpicius
Uranius Antoninus, issued not only bronze coins showing the
temple (fig. 747)\(^3\) or the stone in the temple with its two parasols
and a lunar crescent in the gable (figs. 748, 749)\(^4\), and billon coins
showing the solar eagle with a wreath in its beak (fig. 750)\(^5\), but

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1 Dion Cass. 80. 21. 2 (ix. 478 Cary).
2 F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. ii. 531, F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 2222.
3 W. Fröhner 'Les monnaies d’Uranius Antoninus’ in the Annuaire de la société française de numismatique et d’archéologie Mâcon 1886 p. 194 no. 12 pl. 7, 11 (=my fig. 747) Berlin. The date $\Xi\Xi\Phi$ (565 of Seleucid era) = 253 A.D.
4 Id. ib. p. 193 f. no. 11 pl. 7, 10 (=my fig. 748) Paris, no. 10 pl. 7, 9 (=my fig. 749) the bezel of an ancient ring formerly in the Charvet collection. The date $\Xi\Xi\Phi = 253$ A.D.
5 Id. ib. p. 192 f. no. 8 pl. 7, 7 (=my fig. 750) London (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Galatia, etc. p. 240 no. 22 pl. 28, 1).
also gold pieces giving us the processional type (fig. 751)\(^1\) and—best of all—a detailed representation of the stone itself (figs. 752, 753)\(^2\). It stands between parasols, clad in drapery, with a three-pointed tiara above and a *kteis* below. The front is marked by three horizontal bands and three rows of points, the whole effect being that of a *quasi-face*.

Uranius’ domination was brief (248—253 A.D.). But a fresh fillip was given to the cult, when Aurelian in 272 routed the forces of Zenobia near Emesa and entered the town to pay his debt of gratitude to its guardian god. After founding temples on the spot and enriching them with vast donations\(^3\) he returned to Rome in 273 and there built the famous temple of the Sun, whose porphyry columns are still to be seen at Constantinople in the church of

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\(^1\) *Id.* *ib.* p. 191 no. 4 pl. 7, 4 (= my fig. 751) G. de Ponton d’Amécourt.

\(^2\) *Id.* *ib.* p. 189 f. no. 1 pl. 7, 1 (= my fig. 752) London (*Rapporté d’Orient par un consul anglais, acheté par Prosper Dupré et plus tard (1854) par Edouard Wigan, qui l’offrit au Musée britannique*), Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*\(^3\) iv. 503 no. 1 fig., F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 644 fig. 738, ii. 529 fig. 2618, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 908 f. fig. My fig. 753 is from a fresh cast of the original, kindly supplied by Mr H. Mattingly (scale \(\frac{3}{4}\)).

The stone of Dousares 907

Saint Sophia¹. The Sun worshipped by Aurelian was in all probability a fusion of several oriental Ba’alim, among whom not the least in importance was Elagabalos².

(e) The stone of Dousares.

Dousares³, the ancestral god of the Nabataean Arabs, was likewise represented by a black stone. Clement⁴ of Alexandria says simply: ‘The Arabs used to worship their stone.’ Our next witness, Maximus Tyrius⁵, is more explicit: ‘The Arabs worship I know not whom; but their image I have seen—it was a square stone.’ A century later Arnobius⁶, who cannot claim to be an eye-witness, calls it contemptuously ‘a shapeless stone.’ Finally Souidas⁷, drawing from some unknown source, writes as follows:

‘Theusares, that is the god Ares at Petra in Arabia. The god Ares is worshipped by them, for him they honour above all others. The image is a black stone, square and unshapen, four feet high by two feet broad. It is set on a base of wrought gold. To this they offer sacrifice and for it they pour forth the victims’ blood, that being their form of libation. The whole building abounds in gold, and there are dedications galore.’

The evidence of the texts is borne out by that of the coins. At Adraa in the Haurdan imperial bronze pieces show a hemispherical stone set on a cubical base (Arabic ka’ba) or seat (Aramaean motab⁸), which is approached by a flight of steps (figs. 754—756).⁹

³ A good account of Dousares is given by E. Meyer in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1866 f., and a yet better one by F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 1856—1857. T. Nöldeke in J. Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1908 i. 663, 665 is more sketchy.
⁴ Clem. Al. protr. 4. 46. 2 p. 35, 14 f. πέλας μὲν οὖν οἱ Σκύθοι τῷ Ακινάχτῳ, μὲν "Δραμεῖ τῷ Λίθῳ, οἱ Πέραι τὸν πτωμαν προσεκάνουν, κ.τ.λ.
⁵ Max. Tyr. 8. 8'Δράβιαν σέβομαι μὲν, δυτικα δὲ οὐκ οἶδα· τὸ δὲ Αγίλμα εἶδον, λίθος δὲ τετράγωνος.
⁶ Arnob. adv. nat. 6. 11 διετίς τοπορίβου προσίς Περσας διαφυς κολούσε, μεμονία τοι θείαν αρρηταν, ἐνδομεν Αραβικως, σφαλμα δὲ θεῖον 'Αρης παρ’ αὐτοῦ· τὸδε γὰρ μάλιστα τιμῶν· τὸ δὲ Αγίλμα λίθος ἄτι ἑλατι, τετράγωνος, ἀπτωματος, ψιφος ποῦδων τεσσάρων, ερυθρα διος· ἀκάκται δὲ ἀπὶ μάζων χρυσολάκτων. τοῦτο τούτου καὶ τὸ αἷμα τῶν λεησιων προχώρω· καὶ τοῦτο ἑτερ αὐτοῦ ἡ σπανθῇ. ὁ δὲ οἶκος ἄτις ἄτι τολάξιους, καὶ ἀναθηματα πολλά.
⁷ Souid. s.v. Θεὸς 'Αρης τούτου θεοὶ Ἀρης, ἐν Πέτρᾳ τῆς Αραβίας. σφαλμα δὲ θεῖον 'Αρης παρ’ αὐτοῦ· τὸδε γὰρ μάλιστα τιμῶν· τὸ δὲ Αγίλμα λίθος ἄτι ἑλατι, τετράγωνος, ἀπτωματος, ψιφος ποῦδων τεσσάρων, ερυθρα διος· ἀκάκται δὲ ἀπὶ μάζων χρυσολάκτων. τοῦτο τούτου καὶ τὸ αἷμα τῶν λεησιων προχώρω· καὶ τοῦτο ἑτερ αὐτοῦ ἡ σπανθῇ. ὁ δὲ οἶκος ἄτις ἄτι τολάξιους, καὶ ἀναθηματα πολλά.
The stone of Dousares

At Bostra other pieces represent a triad of stones, surmounted by flat disks (? shew-bread) and again put on a plinth or platform reached by steps (figs. 757—760). At Charachmoba a unique coin of Elagabalus has a figure seated before an erection, on which is

![Fig. 754](image)

![Fig. 755](image)

![Fig. 756](image)

![Fig. 757](image)

![Fig. 758](image)

![Fig. 759](image)

![Fig. 760](image)

![Fig. 761](image)

![Fig. 762](image)

The stone of Dousares

a pile or pillar between two smaller stones (fig. 761). All these are best interpreted as stones of Dousares, and it has been well suggested that on a coin of Petra struck by Severus the object held in the hand of the city-goddess is none other than Dousares' sacred pillar (fig. 762).

Dussaud remarks that the same triad of stones is to be seen on other Nabataean monuments. Thus at el-Umta'iyeh, some hours south-west of Bostra, the lintel spanning the main gate of an ancient pagan temple shows in relief the three stones on their stepped base with altars right and left, all visible between the pillars of a long arcade (fig. 763), while at Medain Sâlik (el-Hejr)

fig. 760) Elagabalus ΔΟΥ with ΟC (probably for ΘΕ[OC]), S. A. Cook op. cit. p. 35 pl. 33; 4:

1 Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Arabia etc. pp. xxxii, 27 no. 3 (my fig. 761 is from a cast)

ΧΑΡ ΑΚΜ[...]


3 Id. id. p. xxxviii n. 2 pl. 49, 21 ( = my fig. 762) ΑΔΡΙΑΝΗΠΕΤ ΡΑΜΗΤΡΟ-

ΠΟΛΙΣ.

4 R. Dussaud Notes de mythologie syrienne Paris 1905 p. 173 f. fig. 41 ( = my fig. 763).
rock-cut niches adjoining the hewn chamber called el-Diwdn offer similar groups of sacred stones (figs. 764—766)¹. Such triads of stones, massēbhdth, are indeed wide-spread throughout the Semitic world² and presumably stand in some relation to the 'āshērīm³—tree-stems or sacred posts frequently figured in Cypriote art⁴. Possibly the plurality of the 'āshērīm led to the pluralisation of the massēbhdth. But the problem is a complex one and still awaits solution⁵.

¹ C. M. Doughty Travels in Arabia Deserta² London 1921 i. 120 figs. 1—3 (=my figs. 764—766).
² See e.g. S. A. Cook The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology London 1930 p. 24 pl. 6, 2.
⁴ Ohnefalsch-Richter Kýpros pp. 172 ff., 410 pl. 69.
⁵ The analogy of Woodhenge and Stonehenge in the west suggests that the sacred tree or trees were genetically prior to the standing stone or stones. It seems not unreasonable to suppose that a tree, which in time became a leafless tree or bare trunk (e.g. supra ii. 681 figs. 621—624), might be conventionalised into a post or pole (supra ii. 157 n. 1). And, since any object of timber ultimately decays, it might—like the wooden columns of the oldest Greek architecture—be replaced by the substitution of a permanent stone pillar (supra ii. 56 ff.). If so, the earlier forms would of course continue to subsist alongside of their later equivalents. Some such evolution has in fact already been indicated and exemplified (supra ii. 149).

Nevertheless this pedigree remains, in part at least, conjectural. Confining ourselves to verifiable facts, we might conclude with A. Lods La croyance à la vie future et le culte des morts dans l'antiquité israélite Paris 1906 p. 201 f.: 'nous avons la preuve que la massēbhdh servait à un véritable culte des morts....Il serait pourtant possible aussi que, au temps de David, on regardât la massēbhdh funéraire comme destinée simplement à perpétuer le souvenir du defunt....Mais, même dans ce cas, la stèle n'était pas un simple aide-mémoire pour les vivants; c'était une sorte d'incarnation du defunt lui-même, lui permettant de "faire figure parmi les vivants" [F. M. J. Lagrange Études sur les religions sémitiques² Paris 1905 p. 199]....La massēbhdh a donc, au fond, le même sens lorsqu'elle est dressée sur une tombe et lorsqu'elle est érigée dans un sanctuaire; elle est le corps, la demeure d'un esprit.' Id. Israel from its Beginnings to the Middle of the Eighth Century trans. S. H. Hooke London 1932 pp. 87 f. with pl. 5, 1 and 2, 94 f., 116 n. 2, 277, 258—263 ("the most probable explanation seems to be that advanced by Robertson Smith: the purpose of the sacred stone was to provide the god who had manifested himself in a particular place, with an abode, a body, and to enable the worshippers to establish permanent relations with him. The reason why a stone was selected for this purpose was because it was the most suitable object to receive the sacrificial blood"). As such, the massēbhdh had a long history, not to say pre-history, behind them; for, whether they marked a sepulchre or a sanctuary, they cannot be separated from the megalithic erections of Palestine and Syria, and so take us back through the Bronze Age to Neolithic times (see now P. Thomsen in Ebert Reallex. viii. 106—115 pls. 34—37 and especially id. ib. pp. 139—143 pl. 44).

At a late stage in their evolution they began, like the standing stones of Sardinia or the menhirs-sculptés of France, Siebenbürgen, etc., to be shaped into quasi-human form—witness a curious block of grey, polished, stone (height 0'74²) found in 1922 on
Souidas' attempt to explain Dousares as a form of Ares is, of course, a piece of puerile etymology, though Cumont may be right in thinking that the same whimsy gave rise to the genitive Dousáreos found earlier in inscriptions. When viticulture was introduced into Arabia, Dousares as principal god of the country may have taken it under his protection: Isidoros of Charax on the Tigris, a geographer of s. i A.D., made Dousares a Nabataean name...
The stone of Dousares

for Dionysos. The same native god was perhaps Hellenized as Zeus Epikários at Bostra, for a Nabataean vizier is known to have erected a votive offering to Zeus Dousáres Soter (?) at Miletos.

A solar aspect of the god has also been deduced from the occurrence of Helios' epithet Aniketos in connexion with him.

As regards the ritual of Dousares, apart from Souidas our sole informant is Epiphanios, bishop of Constantia in Kypros. This

1 Hesych. s.v. Dousáres - του Δῖωνου. Naβασταία. ὡς φησιν Ἱστόρως.
3 Supra p. 317 n. 2.
4 Supra p. 911 n. 3. See also supra i. 193 n. 1.

Another form of Zeus recognised at Bostra was Zeus Ammon, who appears on the coins sometimes with a solar disk on his head (e.g. F. De Saulcy Numismatique de la terre sainte Paris 1874 p. 358 pl. 21, 9 (=my fig. 768) Iulia Mamaea COLONIA BOSTRA) as on a coin of Alexandria (supra l. 360 fig. 276), sometimes with a kalahos

Fig. 768.

(R. Dussaud Notes de mythologie syrienne Paris 1905 p. 179 f. fig. 43 (=my fig. 759) Philippus Senior COLMETRO POLISBOSTRA) as in another Alexandrian type (supra l. 361 fig. 277). Dussaud asks: 'Ne serait-ce pas Dusarès ayant emprunté les traits de Jupiter Ammon?'

Sun-worship pure and simple is attested for the Nabataeans by Strab. 784 ἡλιος τιμῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ δόματος ἱεροσάμων βαβων, σπεύδοντες ἐν αὐτῷ καθ ἡμέραν καὶ λιβανωτόβιστορες.

5 Supra p. 907.
6 Epiphan. panar. hæres. 51. 22. 9—11 πρῶτον μὲν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρεῖ ἐν τῷ Κορήλ <οβ> τοῦ καλομένου; καί δὲ ἐστὶ μέγυςντοι τούτοις τὸ τέμνον τῆς Κόρης. ὄλη γὰρ τὴν νύκτα ἀγνοπηγαντες ἐν δαμασ εἰς καὶ αὐθάλοις τῷ εἰδώλῳ θάντες καὶ πανοχιδα διασκεδαστε μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἀλεξανδρίων κλαγγὴν κατέρχονται λαμπαδηφούς εἰς σηκὼν των ὑπόχαιροιν καὶ αναφέρουσι εἴοντα τῇ έλεγκον <ἐν> φορέα καθεξήθεις γυμνούς, ἔχουν σφραγίζα του σταυροῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ μετάφθων διάχρονον καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἑκατέρων χερῶν ἄλλοι δύο τουάρτης σφραγίζας καὶ ἐν' αὐτοῖς τοῦ διούν γοτάτος ἄλλος δύο, ὡμοί δὲ [τάξιν] πέντε σφραγίζας ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ τεττυμισμένα καὶ περιερέουσιν αὐτό τὸ ίδιον ἐκτέλεσαν τοὺς μεσαίατον καὶ μετὰ αὐθάλων καὶ τυπάρχων καὶ θιάμων καὶ κυμάσας καταφέροντος αὐτό αὖθις εἰς τὸν ὑπόχαιρον τόπον. ἐρωτόμενοι δὲ ὅτι τί ἐστι τοῦτο τὸ μυστήριον ἀποκρίνονται καὶ λέγουσιν διὶ ταῦτα τῇ ὄρᾳ σήμερον Ἰ. Κόρη (τοιοῦτον ἤ παρθένον) ἐγέννησε τοῦ Ἀλώα.

toûtō δὲ καὶ εἰν Πέτρα τῇ πόλει (μετρόπολις δὲ ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας, ἦτε εἰστὶν 'Εβδομῆ
The stone of Dousares prelate in a noteworthy passage of his *pandrion*, 'A Medicine-chest to cure all Heresies' (374—378 A.D.), is concerned to record pagan parallels to the Christian Epiphany as celebrated on the night of January 5 to 6:

'First at Alexandria in the *Koreion* as they call it—a very large temple, the precinct of Kore. All night long they keep vigil, chanting to their idol with songs and flutes. The nocturnal service over, at cock-crow torch-bearers go down into an underground chamber and bring up a wooden image, sitting naked on a litter, with the imprint of a golden cross on its forehead, two similar imprints on its hands, and other two on its knees, all told, five golden marks impressed upon it. They carry the image itself several times round the central part of the temple with flutes, timbrels, and hymns. And after the procession they bring it down again to its underground quarters. If asked what they mean by this mystery, they make answer: “This day and hour Kore (that is, the Virgin) has given birth to Aion.”

In the graffito *γεγραμμένη* (written) "Εξάντα Ἀγία Θεοτόκος Κορή Αἰōν" (374—377 A.D.), W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* Munich 1924 ii. 2. 1448 (374—378 A.D.).


O. Puchstein in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1387.

For Aion at Alexandria K. Holl *ad loc.* cp. a billion coin of Antoninus Pius issued there in 138/9 A.D. (Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 459 no. 404 pl. 87, 27) and in 144/5 A.D. (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria etc. p. 117 no. 1004 pl. 26. Fig. 770 is from a specimen of mine): other examples of both issues are listed by J. G. Milne *Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins* Oxford 1933 p. 40 nos. 1600—1604 and p. 42 nos. 1734—1737. Holl also quotes Hippol. *ref. haeres. 5. 8* pp. 164, 166 Duncker—Schneidewin καθάπερ αὐτός ὁ ἑρμοφάντης, οὐκ ἀποκεκομένος μὲν, ὡς ὁ Ἀττις, εὐφυεσισμένος δὲ διὰ κοινοῦ καὶ πέντε παρθήματος τὴν σαρκετὴν γένεσιν, νυκτὸ ἐν Ἔλευσιν ὡς πολλὶ πυρὶ τῶν τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ἄραιτα μυστήρια βοῦ καὶ κλειρὰς λέγων: 'ἐξόρνευτο πάντα καὶ πρόην Βρισίων Βρισίων,' τοιτέον ἱγχρυς ἱγχρυόν..., ἀστὴ γάρ ὅτι ἡ παρθήνη ἐν γαστρὶ ἑξωνά καὶ συλλαμβάνουσα καὶ τίτουσα υἱὸν, οὐ ψυχικόν, οὐ σωματικόν, ἀλλὰ μακάρων Ἀλώνων Ἀλώνων, Λυδ. *de mens. 4.* p. 64, 6 ff. Wünsch (cited supra ii. 337 nn. 1 and 3), Souid. s.v. 'Ὑπακόους (of Egypt, a neo-Platonic connoisseur of deities, under Zenon emperor of the east (474—491 A.D.)...οἱ τινὶς ἀργυροὶ τὸ ἀρρητὸν ἀγαλμα τῶν Αἰῶνων ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κατεχόμενοι, ὃν Ἀλεξανδρείς ἐφιμήσασθαι, ὡς εἰς ἄρα καὶ Ἀδωνιν ὤμοι καὶ μυστήρια ὡς ἄλλων φάσαι διοκρασίαν, and an inscription of the Augustan age from Eleusis (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* no. 1125 Κύκλος Πομηνίου Ἀθηναίων ὑπὸ[ν] ἠνεῴς καὶ ἀνήθες[ν] σὺν ἀδελφῶις Αἰῶνι καὶ Σέβαστα[ν]. Ἀλώνα[ν] εἰς κράτος Ρώμῃς καὶ διαμονὴν ἐν μυστηρίων. Ἔλεος δὲ αὐτῶν οὐ τοῖς αὐτοῖς αἰεί | φῶτος θεὰς μένων κόσμου τε εἰς | κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ, ὅπως ἦν καὶ ἦν | καὶ ηταίρα, ἀρχὴν μεσοτητία τέλος | οὐκ ἔχων, μεταβαληθεῖν ἄμελεσον, | ἐτοιο τέφως ἐργαζόμεθα αἰωνίως πάντα, on which remarkable outburst of philosophic praise see O. Weinreich 'Aion in Eleusis' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1916—1919 xix. 174—190). As to the five golden crosses imprinted on Aion, Weinreich *loc. cit.*

C. III.

58
Again, at Petra (the metropolis of Arabia, that is the Edom mentioned in the Scriptures) in the idol-house there the same thing takes place. They hymn the Virgin in the speech of Arabia, calling her in Arabic Chaamou, that is p. 187 n. 2 approves a suggestion of F. Boll, that they represented the five 'Lebenssterne' of the Egyptians, i.e., the five planets, but also cites the oracle given by Ammon to Alexander (Cougny Anth. Pal. Append. 6. 178 from pseudo-Kallisth. 1. 35. 12). Φάβαζε δέ μοιδερος ἀγαθένι: | ἵνα καὶ οὐδέν ἀναγινάξαι νέας, | καὶ τέλος περίφρασις οὐ προκατέρχετ' <Διών> Προφήτα καὶ μάτων, ἢ πρόκειτ' ἄνωθεν τοὺς τυχόντας κορυφαίους ἄτρωμα κόσμου ἄλλους).


These lucubrations tend to show that the Hellenistic cult of Aion was a semi-philosophical synthesis of several elements, all derived from the near east—the Chaldaean connexion of eternity with astrology; the old Persian god Zervan, underlying the later Mithraic Kronos or Aion (supra ii. 1053); the Phoenician Oulomos 'Eternity' (supra i. 191); the Egyptian Heh, god of Eternity, who as Aion came to be equated with Osiris and Adonis, and appears not only as a sun-god (Osiris) but even as a moon-goddess (Isis); and finally the Gnostic series of Aiones, whose supreme summation was the absolute Aion. In short, it would appear that the cult of Aion was the product of a comprehensive religious movement, which in some ways recalls the all-embracing ontology of Neo-Platonism.

1 The text of Epiphanios, here dependent on a single manuscript (Marcianus 123) reads Χαβαβώ, which is kept by both K. W. Dindorf and K. Holz. The latter cites in support B. Moritz 'Der Sinaikult in heidnischer Zeit' in the Abh. d. gott. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1916 Abh. ii. 18, who records numerous inscriptions with such names as Χαβαβω, Χαβαβων, Χαβαβωνος, Χαβαβως, Χαβαβων, etc.

But E. Meyer in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1206 would read Xαβαβω, adding '...dagegen bedeutet Ka'abî allerdings eine blühende Jungfrau; dabei ist...der Nachdruck nicht auf die Jungfräulichkeit, sondern auf die strotzende Fülle zu legen. Ob diese Mutter des Dusares mit dem in Mekka verehrten Steinklotz, der Ka'aba, an die sich bekanntlich auch die Verehrung mehrerer Göttinnen, der Allat, der 'Uzza und der Manat, anschloss (Qoran 53, 19 f.), identisch oder nahe verwandt ist, muss bei dem ganzlichen Mangel genauer Nachrichten dahingestellt bleiben.'

F. Cumont, too, in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 1866 writes: 'Dieses Baetylion, das als jungfräuliche Mutter des Gottes angesehen wurde, wie die Petra genitrix der Mithrasmysterien, war Xαβαβω genannt, d. h. wohl Ῥῷη "der Würfel."'

The stone of Dousares

"Kore" or "Virgin," and her offspring Dousâres, that is "Only-begotten of the Lord."

In the town of Elousa also the same thing takes place that night as happens there in Petra and at Alexandria.

1 The derivation of Δουάρης is disputed. The name is commonly interpreted as Dhâ, 'Lord' (= north Semitic Ba'al), of Sharâb, a place-name. This might be one of several localities (J. Wellhausen *Reise arabischen Heidentums* Berlin 1897 p. 51), but was probably a mountain-range in Arabia (cp. Steph. Byz. Δουάρης (σκόπελος και κορώνη υψηλότατη Αραβίας. εἶχεν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δουάρου, θὰς δὲ ὦτοι πολλὰ Άραβῶν καὶ Δαχράρων τιμωμένοι. οἱ οἰκούσιν Δουάρην, ἣν Δαχράρην)—the scriptural 'mount Seir' (Smith *Dict. Geogr.* ii. 952). G. Dalman *Petra und seine Felshildigter* Leipzig 1908 i. 49 hazards a Sumerian etymology Di-sar-ra — 'Allbesieger.' In any case the notion that Δουάρης meant *novoyevris TOV SeairbTov* is absurd.

2 Elousa (Hâlás) was a town in Idumaea, 71 miles from Jerusalem (I. Benzinger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2457). The local cult is mentioned incidentally by Hieron. v. Hilarion. 25 (xxiii. 42 — C Migne) vadens (sc. St Hilarion) in desertum Cades ad unum de discipulis suis visendum, cum infinite agmine monachorum pervenit Elusam eo forte die, quo anniversaria solemnitas omnem oppidi populum in templum Veneris congregaverat. colunt autem illam ob Luciferum, cuius cultui Saracenorum natio dedita est...quos ille blande humiliiterque suscipiens, obsecrabat ut Deum magis quam lapides colerent.' R. Eisler in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 630 n. 0 comments 'Σαρακηνοι von Ἶρα „Morgenstern" wie Ἰαγγυον von Ἥαγαρ „Stein."'


58—2
The stone of Dousares

This curious passage, whatever else it implies, at least asserts that at Petra in the fourth century Dousares was viewed as the offspring of Chaamou, a goddess comparable with Kore, the Greek Queen of the Underworld, and further that his birth was the subject of an annual mystery-show. Of his sire we hear nothing except the improbable claim that Dousares meant the 'Only-begotten of the Lord.' Beyond these obvious pronouncements it would not be safe to speculate.

We are not then, so far as I can see, in a position to state definitely that the black stone of Dousares was an actual meteorite. At the same time we must concede that it is found in suspiciously stellar company. Its analogues at Alexandreia and at Elousa were both of the starry order. For Aion at Alexandria was marked

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1 R. Eisler in successive articles ('Kuba—Kybele' in Philologus 1909 lxviii. 118—131, 161—209, 'Kuba—Kybele' in the Revue des études anciennes 1909 pp. 306—372, 'Das Fest des "Geburtstages der Zeit" in Nordarabien' in the Archiv f. Rel. 1911 xv. 628—636) has maintained that throughout the near east the Semites worshipped a great matriarchal goddess under various connected or connectible names—Xaαβος, Χαμάρ, Χαβάρ, Χαβήρ, Χοβάρ, Κοβάρ, Καβάρ, Καβήρ. In Asia Minor she was the Mother of the gods, Kybele, the Ματάρ Κυβήλη of Phrygian inscriptions (F. Schwenn in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 2250), whose cult had spread to Greece by s. vi B.C. and reached Rome in 204 B.C.

These names, linked together 'durch das Band des Gleichklangs und der Buchstaben-gleichheit, die Basis aller morgenländischen Wortmystik und religiösen Begriffsbildung,' were associated with three distinct word-groups: (1) Arabic κα'αβ, Greek κύβος, Latin cubus, English cube—the goddess being represented by a stone block (cp. Lyd. de mens. 4. 63 p. 114, 8 Wünsch Κυβήλη ἀπὸ τοῦ κυβικοῦ σχήματος). (2) Arabic κα'αβa 'to have swelling, prominent, or protuberant breasts' (see E. W. Lane An Arabic-English Lexicon London and Edinburgh 1885 Book 1 Part vii p. 2615 f.), κα'αβ 'maiden with full breast,' κυβα 'bosom,' κυβα 'virginity.' Cp. the Hittite Mother of the gods, whose sign is ⃣<⃣>⃣ a pair of breasts (F. Hommel Ethnologie und Geographie des alien Orients München 1926 p. 52 n. 2), the Ephesian Artemis (supra ii. 405 n. 4 figs. 307—313), and the Persian Anahita from Arabic ناهاذا 'to be full-breasted' [E. Blochet 'Le culte d'Aphrodite-Anahita chez les Arabes du Paganisme' in the Revue de linguistique et de philologie comparée 1902 xxxv. 8 n. 1 'nāhidā désigne une "fille aux seins arrondis"; ce mot est très probablement une transcription du nom de la grande déesse perse Anāhīta, l'aspect iranien de l'Astarté sémitique.' But my colleague Prof. H. W. Bailey tells me that this derivation is frankly impossible: Anāhīta means 'Undefiled.' Again, Eisler blunders badly when in this connexion he speaks of 'der kleinasiatischen "Demeter" Μεγαλόμαζος und Δεκάμαζος': see Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 84 n. 2, 1178 n. 7). (3) Greek κύβη, κύβη, κύβελλος, Latin cùba, and other words for 'cup' or 'hollow.' The Meccan Ka'aba, a feminine substantive, was originally a goddess embodied as an aerolite and annually draped in accordance with an ancient marriage-rite. In her case the 'hollow' was of course the womb, cp. the kileš on the stone of Kybele (?)(supra p. 897 l. figs. 737—730) and on that of Elagabalos (supra p. 906 figs. 752, 753).

From μυρα Eisler passes on to ὁμφαλός, contending that the Lydian Omphale was a form of Kybele—witness her lion-skin etc.—and dealing with many other topics which do not immediately concern us. On the whole, his articles are brim-full of learning and abound in novel suggestions, some of which deserve to be followed up; but they are, to my thinking, largely vitiated by an admixture of doubtful or worse than doubtful etymologies.
The stone of Dousares

with five golden crosses, a star-spangled child; and Venus at Elousa was worshipped 'on account of the Morning Star.' The phrase recalls Astarte's discovery of a star dropped from the sky—Lucifer fallen from heaven. If we were right in regarding the dropped star of Tyre as a meteorite, the black stone of Dousares may have been meteoric too.

That conclusion was reached more than a century since by F. Münter and F. v. Dalberg, who went on to argue that the black stone still to be seen in the Ka'bah at Mecca was in pre-Islamic times the meteoric form of an Arab deity, either Dousares himself (Münter) or the Moon (V. Dalberg). They rightly drew attention to Arab beliefs concerning the origin of the stone and its early history. Of these the most important is contained in an extract from Niketas Choniates written between 1204 and

1 Supra p. 892.
3 F. Münter Antiquarische Abhandlungen Kopenhagen 1816 p. 281 f.
4 F. v. Dalberg Uber Meteor-Cultus der Alten, vorsätzlich in Bezug auf Steine, die vom Himmel gefallen Heidelberg 1811 p. 93 f.
5 F. v. Dalberg op. cit. p. 95 f. 'Die Araber behaupten, der Engel Gabriel habe ihn vom Himmel zur Erbauung der Ka'abah gebracht... Der Sage nach soll er anfänglich weiss und schimmernd gewesen sein (vielleicht weil er als ein glühender Stein herab fiel), nachher aber wäre er der Thränen willen, die er für die Sünden der Menschen vergoss, ganz schwarz geworden, und habe seinen ersten Glanz verloren.' So R. F. Burton Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Meccah and Medina London—Belfast 1879 p. 493 n. 3 'Moslems agree that it was originally white, and became black by reason of men's sins. It appeared to me a common aerolite covered with a thick slaggy coating, glossy and pitch-like, worn and polished. Dr Wilson of Bombay showed me a specimen in his possession, which externally appeared to be a black slag, with the inside of a bright and sparkling greyish-white, the result of admixture of nickel with the iron. This might possibly, as the learned Orientalist then suggested, account for the mythic change of color, its appearance on earth after a thunderstorm, and its being originally a material part of the heavens. Kutb el-Din expressly declares that, when the Karamitah restored it after twenty-two years to the Meccans, men kissed it and rubbed it upon their brows; and remarked that the blackness was only superficial, the inside being white.'
6 F. Münter op. cit. p. 281 n. 48 'Wenigstens sagt die Morgenländische Fabel: cum esse cum pretiosis Paradisi lapidibus cum Adamo in terram demissum; ac postea—igitur sie hínax—diluvii tempore rursus in coelum sublatum. Sim. Assemani Saggio sull'origine, culto, litteratura e costumi degli Arabi avanti Maometto. Padoua 1788. p. 21.'
7 F. Lenormant Lettres assyriologiques et épigraphiques sur l'histoire & les Antiquités de l'Asie antérieure Paris 1872 ii. 116 n. 1 cites an unpublished passage of Niket. Chon. θυσίας ὑφασμένος θρόαδοισας from cod. Graec. flor. xxiv, plut. ix, fol. 259 τον ἄνθρωπον καί αὐτὸν τὸν εἶς τὸ Ἡλιος ὅπως τὴν προσευχήν, ἐν ὃ φασί κείμεθα καὶ καὶ τὸν καινὸν μέγαν ἐκτύπωσα τῇ Ἀρμοδίῃ ἔχοντα, τιμᾶνθαι δὲ τοῦτον ὡς ἐπάνωθεν αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀγαρ ὄμλυσαντος τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, ή ὡς φανερωτός τῆς καμαρίδος προσδημότης δε τῶν Ἰσραήλ ἡμίλη ηθῶν: τοῦτο δὲ εἰς προσευχήν ἐκεῖ ἀπέκλεισα καὶ καὶ τὸν καινὸν μέγαν (ἐκ, μείναι) αὐτῶν χείρα πρὸς τὸν καινὸν ἐκτύπωσα, τῇ δὲ ἑτήρᾳ τὸ ὁσίον κατέχειν τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ αὐτῷ κυκλότος εἰσίν τερέστερους ὡς ὃν τῆς ἑκτάριας ἱστοκλυνάστερες καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναθεματίζω τοὺς προσκυνούσας τῇ τριῳδίῳ ἀγάμῳ ὣρᾳ τῷ ἀρεχρόνω καὶ τῇ Ἀρμοδίῃ ἦν καὶ τῇ τῶν Ἀρράβων γλώσσαν Χαμάρ ἐνεμάχωσε, τουτέστι μεγάλην.'
The stone of Dousares

1210 A.D.¹ but based on the earlier evidence of Euthymios Zigabenos (c. 1100 A.D.)². From this it appears that the stone was marked with the shape of Aphrodite, presumably a *kteis*³, and associated traditionally with the union of Hagar and Abraham. It was long since surmised by Falconnet⁴ that the allusion must be to a natural stone simulating the womb. Such stones were known to early naturalists as ‘hystérolithes’⁵, ‘Hysterolithen’⁶.

Sir Richard Burton, who made his famous pilgrimage to Mecca in 1853, has described and illustrated the Ka‘bah as decked in its annual attire, a covering of brilliant black with a golden band...
The stone of Dousares

bearing inscriptions (fig. 771). He adds a sketch of the Black Stone, which is now built into the south-east corner of the Ka'bah near the door and forms part of the sharp external angle at a height of four feet nine inches above the ground (fig. 772). He endorses the words of Burckhardt, who says:

'It is an irregular oval, about seven inches in diameter, with an undulating surface, composed of about a dozen smaller stones of different sizes and shapes, well joined together with a small quantity of cement, and perfectly well smoothed: it looks as if the whole had been broken into many pieces by a violent blow, and then united again... It appeared to me like a lava, containing several small particles of a whitish and of a yellowish substance. Its color is now a deep reddish-brown, approaching to black. It is surrounded on all sides by a border composed of a substance which I took to be a close cement of pitch and gravel of a similar, but not quite the same, brownish color. This border serves to support its detached pieces; it is two or three inches in breadth, and rises a little above the surface of the stone. Both the border and

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2 *Ib.* p. 494 ff. quoting J. L. Burckhardt, with sundry notes of his own by way of corrections or additions. My fig. 772 reproduces the sketch of the Black Stone given by Burton on p. 494.
3 On the injuries suffered by the stone at various times see D. S. Margoliouth in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 513ff.
4 Fig. 773, a and b, are reduced (scale 1/2) from the half-size section and elevation of the Black Stone and its border given by Sir William Muir *The Life of Mahomet from original sources* London 1894 p. 27. Muir says: 'This stone, which is semi-circular, measures some six inches in height and eight in breadth; it is of a reddish-black colour, and notwithstanding the polish imparted by myriads of kisses, bears to the present day in its undulating surface marks of a volcanic origin.' But see L. Beck *Die Geschichte des Eisens in technischer und kulturgeschichtlicher Beziehung* Braunschweig 1884 i. 18:
The stone *siderites* or *oreites*

The stone itself are encircled by a silver band, broader below than above, and on the two sides, with a considerable swelling below, as if a part of the stone were hidden under it. The lower part of the border is studded with silver nails.

The silver setting of the Black Stone is of interest, for it forms a point of comparison with the Black Stone of Kybele which was likewise set in silver.

(f) The stone *siderites* or *oreites*.

If the meteoric stone was sometimes regarded as a mother, marked with a *ktets*, and draped in a veil, it was also on occasion viewed as a babe, carried in the arms, and wrapped in swaddling bands. An example of the latter treatment is afforded by the stone known indifferently as *siderites* the ‘iron-stone’ or *oreites* the ‘mountain-stone.’

Of this Pliny, our earliest authority, has little to say. He is aware of its twofold name, but adds merely that the stone is globular in appearance and unaffected by fire.

Much more may be learnt from Damigeron the Mage, who wrote a lapidary attributed to s. ii A.D. Some fragments of the original Greek have come down to us, but the whole text is available only in a Latin version of s. v fathered upon an Arabian king Euax, who in a prefatory letter greets the emperor Tiberius. This prose work was rewritten in Latin hexameters by Marbode,

*Es ist dies das älteste aufbewahrte Meteorit, da sich das angebliche Meteoreisen von Pompeji durch die Untersuchung von Gustav Rose als künstliches Eisen erwiesen hat.*

1 Burton op. cit. p. 494 n. 3 observes: ‘Ibn Jubayr declares the depth of the stone unknown, but that most people believe it to extend two cubits into the wall. In his day it was three “Shibr” (the large span from the thumb to the little finger tip) broad, and one span long, with knobs, and a joining of four pieces, which the Karamitah had broken. The stone was set in a silver band.’

2 Supra p. 897.

3 Supra pp. 898, 906, 916 n. 1, 918.

4 Supra pp. 898, 906, 916 n. 1, 918.

5 Plin. nat. hist. 37. 176 *ortis globosa specie a quibusdam et sideritis vocatur, ignes non sentiens.*


The stone *siderites* or *oreites* 921

The bishop of Rennes, between 1067 and 1081, and in that form became the most popular lapidary of the middle ages. More than a hundred manuscripts of it are extant, not to mention versions in six or seven languages.

The Latin Damigeron distinguishes three varieties of *oreites* or *siderites*. The first is deep black and round. It is good for bites. If pounded and rubbed in with rose unguent, it quickly cures wounds made by wild animals. If tied on to the sufferer, it makes his sinews unite. Whoever takes it with him will foil any attack by wild beasts. Hence it is worn by the Magi when they cross the desert. The second sort is green with whitish spots. If genuine, it will not be consumed by the fiercest fire. It is invaluable as a protection against all dangers and alarms. The third kind looks like an iron plate smooth on one side but studded with sharp nails on the other. Great are its virtues. Kings bind it upon their concubines to prevent them from losing their good looks, or from producing imperfect offspring, or from failing to conceive at all. Indeed, so powerful is its effect on childbirth that, placed on a pregnant woman, it will at once bring on her delivery.

The ‘Orphic’ *Lithikd*, a work assigned on stylistic and other grounds to the latter part of the fourth century, expatiates in a tasteless way on the virtues of the stone as recorded by Damigeron, but prefixes a passage of much mythical and magical interest drawn from some unknown source—hardly Damigeron, certainly not Orpheus.

Helenos—we read—advised the Greeks to fetch Philoktetes from Lemnos to Troy, and the arrival of Philoktetes meant the

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1 For a detailed and documented account see Joan Evans *op. cit.* p. 33 ff.
2 Damig. *de lapid.* 16 Abel, 39 Evans.
7 The text of the last two sentences is defective and stands in need of emendation (see Abel *ad loc.*). But the general sense is clear from a passage in the prose epitome of Orph. *Ith.* p. 147, 2 f. Abel καὶ στείραι δὲ γυναῖκι περαδεσμωμένω εἰστι γὰρ παρέχειν. See E. Abel’s ‘praefatio’ pp. 1—4.
8 Orph. *Ith.* 390—473.
9 *Ib.* 357—389.
10 In spite of Tzetz. *posthom.* 571 ff. καὶ τότε μὲν Ἑλενος, θεόφωτος μάκτης ἀμύων, | ...ἐκ σιδηρίται, καὶ Ὄρφεα, μαντείῳκος, λίθῳ ἀνθρόπων, μαθὼν δέ τεῖχος Τροίης, | εἰπε Φιλοκτήτῳ βίων κομαίναν ἀπὸ λήμυσιν, κ.τ.λ. and chil. 6. 614 ff. ἡ σιδηρίτης λίθος τε γυρίχει, καὶ Ὄρφεα, | ἢ σεκαίρας ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῖς λοίοις ταῖς, ὥστε γράφει, | καὶ οἱ ἐτέροι δὲ φησιν ἀνεροτητὰς ταύτης, ὡσπερ παῖδος νεωτικοῦ ταύτης φωνήν ἀκούσει, μαντευομένης ἀληθῶς περὶ πραγμάτων τάστων. | εἰπε δὲ ἀποφύγεσαι, καθάπερ τεθηκίσσω. | ἐκ ταύτης καὶ ὁ Ἑλενὸς πόρθησε τῶν Τροίας ἐφι.
The stone siderites or oreites
dearth of Paris. But how came Helenos to give such fateful advice? It was because Phoibos Apollon had bestowed upon him—

A voiceful stone, the unerring siderites,
Which some the live oreites please to call,
Round, somewhat rough, strong, black of hue, and dense,
While over and about it every way
Stretch sinews like to wrinkles drawn upon it.¹

For ten days Helenos observed rules of ceremonial purity touching bed and bath and food. Meantime he washed the wise stone² in flowing water, and tended it like a babe with clean garments. He offered sacrifices to it as if it were a god, and brought breath into it by the use of potent spells³. He lit lights in his hall, and dandled the godfearing stone⁴ in his arms as a mother might dandle her infant. Anyone who does the same will at last hear the stone utter a cry like that of a new-born babe whimpering for milk. It will then and there answer truly any questions that you may choose to ask it. After which, if you lift it and look closely at it, you can see it die down in wondrous fashion⁵. It was through hearkening to this prophetic stone⁶ that Helenos told the sons of Atreus how his fatherland might be taken.

Helenos the seer was, like his sister Helene, a genuine figure of Trojan mythology. And Troy was dominated by the mountain-range of Ide, where iron was first discovered by the Idaean Daktyloi⁷—Kelmis, Damnameneus, and Akmon—servants of the mountain-mother⁸. It was, therefore, natural that the ‘iron-stone’ or ‘mountain-stone’ described by Damigeron should sooner or later be connected with Helenos. Moreover, it is often maintained that the earliest iron to be worked was meteoric iron⁹. That is doubt-

¹ Orph. lith. 360 ff. τὸ γὰρ Ἀπόλλων ὁ θάνατος ἐχεῖν λίθον ἀδόξαστον | διὸς σιδήρητα
νομερτεῖ: τὸν βαροσωρόν | ἠθανάτων ἀληθῶν καλεῖν ἐμφύλιν δρεῖν, | γυμνόν, ὑποποχοὺ, ὠμβροὺ, μελανώροι, τυκών | ἁμφὶ δὲ μιν κύκλῳ περὶ τ’ ἀμφὶ τὸ πάροδον ἔνεν | ἐμφερές μετὰθρῆσαι ἐπίγραφον ταῦτασι.
² Ἰβ. 369 πέτραν ἱχθύραν.
³ Iβ. 371 f. καὶ θεοὶ ἤς λυταρίσθη ἀρεσάμενος θεοτρόπος, | λαῖαν ὑπερμενέσσαις αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνον ἔρθεν.
⁴ Iβ. 374 θεοῦδε πέτροι.
⁵ Iβ. 381 τοῦτ’ ἐστὶν ἔρημην τοῦτ’ αὑτὸν εὐθεῖαν ἔσθερον, ἀλλ’ ἀκτινία ἔρρηκαν ἀκοφοίχαται ποιήσθεν.
⁶ Iβ. 387 θεσπεσωσ γὰρ ἀποφύχων κοιχεὶς.
⁷ Iβ. 391 φωβήτωρ λαῖς.
The stone *siderites* or *oreites* would be safer to say that sundry simple or unsophisticated communities are known to have used meteoric iron for making their tools and weapons. We cannot, then, decide offhand whether the stone called *siderites* or *oreites* came from a telluric outcrop brought to light by an accidental conflagration, or whether it was...

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1 L. Beck *Die Geschichte des Eisens in technischer und kulturgeschichtlicher Beziehung* Braunschweig 1884 i. 18, 30 (‘Da nun die Schmiedbarkeit des meteorischen Eisens erwiesen ist, könnte es nahe liegen, die kontroverse Frage, von der wir ausgingen, ob nämlich die Menschen der Urzeit zuerst das Meteoreisen aufgesucht und verarbeitet hatten, zu bejahen. Es hat auch diese Annahme bei oberflächlicher Betrachtung etwas Verführerisches. Je mehr man aber auf die Sache eingeht, je mehr muss man zu der Überzeugung kommen, dass diese Theorie falsch ist’), 33 (‘Die Thatsache, dass aus dem unbekannten Himmelsraume zuweilen Massen metallischen Eisens auf die Erde herabgefallen, war schon in sehr früher Zeit bekannt; doch bildete die Auffindung solcher Massen nicht den Ausgangspunkt der Eisenindustrie, vielmehr wurden sie erst als Eisen erkannt, nachdem die Ausschmelzung der Eisenerze bereits bekannt war’), W. Ridgeway *The Early Age of Greece* Cambridge 1901 i. 598 ff.


indeed a meteorite like others already found in the service of Kybele. It may be that the varieties distinguished by Damigeron include both the telluric and the meteoric sort. Certainly the epithets chosen in the Lithiké—somewhat rough, black, dense, covered with sinews like wrinkles—would be easy to parallel from actual meteorites of the kind called siderites.

(g) Akmon.

The name Akmon in this Idaean context raises a point of interest. In a familiar passage of the Iliad Zeus awakes on the summit of Ide and, angered at Hera's deception, threatens her with the lash. He goes on to taunt her with past punishment:

Dost thou not mind how thou wast hung aloft,  
While to thy feet I fastened anvils twain  
And bound thy hands too with a golden bond  
That none might break? In the aithí and the clouds  
Thou hangedst helpless, ay and all the gods  
In long Olympos were exceeding wroth,  
Yet could not take thy part or loose thy chain.

W. Leaf observes that the word rendered 'anvils' (ákmonas) 'originally meant large stones, especially meteoric stones, commonly known as thunderbolts.' And Eustathios informs us that some texts here added a couple of lines:

Till I unfettered thee and cast the clogs  
Down on Troy-land—for future folk to see.

This sounds like a piece of local lore. Two conspicuous blocks in the Trojan plain were pointed out as being the very 'anvils' dropped by Zeus. Moreover, since the term used of them (mydros) means properly 'a glowing mass of metal,' Leaf is justified in concluding that 'such blocks can only have been meteoric masses.'

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1 See O. C. Farrington Meteorites Chicago 1915 pp. 78 ff. ('Crust of meteorites'), 85 ff. ('Veins of meteorites'). L. Beck op. cit. p. 19 states that the earliest exact description of meteoric iron is in Plin. nat. hist. 2. 147 item ferro in Lucanis (sc. pluisse) anno ante quam M. Crassus a Parthis interemptus est (53 B.C.) omnesque cum eo Luciani milites, quorum magnus numeros in exercitu erat. effigies quo pluit ferri spongiam simulis fuit.
2 II. 15. 4 ff. 3 Supra i. 154, ii. 950 n. o, 1020, iii. 35, 180.
3 II. 15. 18 ff. 4 W. Leaf A Companion to the Iliad London 1892 p. 256.
5 W. Leaf A Companion to the Iliad London 1892 p. 256.
6 Eustath. in II. p. 1003. 13 ff. els δε τον τόπον τούτον προσγράφοντω τως και τούτων των στίχων: 'πρύ γ' θε' δης α' ἄπελυν ποδών, μόδρων δ' ἐν Τρογ' κάβαλον, δφρα πέλειον και οὐσιμάκης πυθθείς.1 καὶ δεικνυται, φασιν, ὑπὸ τῶν περιγγών οὐ τοιοῦτο μόδρον, οὐς ἄνωτέρω δίκμονας ἔπειν.
8 W. Leaf op. cit. p. 256.
F. Münter\(^1\) thought it not impossible that the meteorites in question might yet be identified.

But the philologists have more to tell us. R. Roth\(^2\) of Tübingen in 1853 first drew attention to a group of related words, which may be amplified as follows\(^3\):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greek</th>
<th></th>
<th>Sky</th>
<th>Thunderbolt</th>
<th>Pestle</th>
<th>Anvil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akmon</td>
<td>sky(^4)</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>stone missile, thunderbolt</td>
<td>hammer-stone</td>
<td>anvil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as̱man-</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>sky(^7)</td>
<td>stone missile, thunderbolt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>restan as̱man-</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>sky</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Æd Persian as̱man-</td>
<td>sky</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æw Persian as̱man</td>
<td>sky</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ægidian asm’n</td>
<td>sky</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Roth rightly inferred that there must have been a time when men of Indo-European speech thought the sky to be made of stone\(^8\),

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\(^1\) F. Münter *Antiquarische Abhandlungen* Kopenhagen 1816 p. 275 n. o.

\(^2\) R. Roth ‘Akmon, der vater des Uranos’ in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1853 ii. 44—46.

\(^3\) In arranging this table I have been helped by my friend Professor H. W. Bailey, whose own researches in the subject will shortly be published.

\(^4\) Hesych. s.v. ἄκμων...οὐρανός.

\(^5\) Hes. *Theog.* 722 ff. ἔνθα γὰρ νύκτας τε καὶ ἡματα χάλκεος ἄκμων...οὐρανόθεν κατίων δεκάτη κ’ (so Thiersch for δ’ codd.) ἐς γαῖαν ιεύγον...ἔνθα δ’ αὖ νύκτας τε καὶ ἡματα χάλκεος ἄκμων...ἐκ γαῖης κατίων δεκάτη κ’ (so Thiersch for δ’ codd.) ἐς Τάραπλον ίαον. The passage belongs to the ‘emblemata vetustissima,’ which F. Jacoby in his ed. p. 87 attributes to rhapsodes of ἱ. vii—vi\(^1\). Cp. F. Schwenn *Die Theogonie des Hesiodos* Heidelberg 1934 p. 17 n. 2. H. Stuart Jones in the new Liddell and Scott p. 51 says ἄκμων...orig. prob. meteoric stone, thunderbolt, and illustrates that meaning by quoting χάλκεος ἄκμων οὐρανώθεν κατίων from this Hesiodic passage. An Iapygian parallel has been considered supra ii. 30 f.


\(^7\) H. Grassmann *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda* Leipzig 1873 p. 139 recognises the following senses: ἄκμαν (i) Fels...; (2) der Stein als Werkzeug zum Schlagen, Hammer, Hammer und Ambos und andere, ursprünglich aus Stein gemachte Werkzeuge des Schmiedes; (3) der Donnerkeil; (4) der bunte Edelstein...; (5) der Himmel, der als steinernes Gewölbe gedacht ist.' Sir M. Monier-Williams *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* Oxford 1899 p. 114 says: ἅμιαν a stone, rock...any instrument made of stone (as a hammer &c.); thunderbolt...the firmament.'

\(^8\) Cp. the Chinese identification of the heavens with jade (A. E. Crawley in J. Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 591b), the Mohammedan belief in seven heavens made of emerald, white silver, large white pearls, ruby, red gold, jacinth, and shining light (G. F. Kunz *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones* Philadelphia & London 1913 p. 349), the Jewish belief in ‘a paved work of sapphire stone’ (Ex. 24. 10, cp. Ezek. 1. 26), and the like. See also supra i. 357 n. 4.
an inference now accepted by all philologists\(^1\). Further it may be contended that the weapon of the sky-god—whether the thunderbolt of Zeus, the vajra of Indra, or the hammer of Thor\(^2\)—was at first just a fragment of the stony vault broken off and hurled downwards. As such it would be essentially akin to a meteorite.

When the Stone Age passed into the Bronze Age, and the Bronze Age into the Iron Age, the thunderbolt—originally a stone missile\(^3\)—

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\(^2\) Schrader *Reallex.* i. 433–434. *Supra* ii. 64 n. 9 with fig. 26, 547 n. 2, 620.

\(^3\) The double axe of bronze, so frequent in Cretan cult (*supra* ii. 513 ff.), was preceded by the double axe in stone. The Tyszkiewicz axe-head with a Sumerian inscription (*supra* ii. 510 with fig. 389, E. Unger in *Ebert Reallex.* ii. 449 pl. 213, a–c) is strictly an axe-hammer rather than a double axe. But the British Museum possesses (no. 54429) a small votive double axe in brown flint, acquired at Luxor and certainly of pre-dynastic date (H. R. Hall in S. Casson *Essays in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Sir Arthur Evans in honour of his 75th birthday* Oxford 1927 p. 42 pl. 5 (= my fig. 774, a and b.)
took on metallic forms. But to the last a memory of the old thunderstone lingered in the by-ways of Greek mythology and odd corners of Greek folklore. The sky-dynasty comprised three successive sovereigns—Ouranos, Kronos, Zeus. Of these, Ouranos was reckoned as the son of Akmon, if not as Akmon himself. Kronos too was equated with Akmon. And Zeus himself (as we shall see in the next two sections) exhibits certain features of both cult and myth strongly reminiscent of the same tradition.

(h) The stone of Kronos.

The stone siderites or oreites, wrapped in swaddling bands and treated as a babe, recalls the stone swallowed by Kronos as a substitute for the infant Zeus. If the one myth was connected with Kybele and Mount Ide in the Troad, the other concerned Rhea and the mountains of Crete.
Hesiod\(^1\), our primary source, tells the tale in the following form:

'And Rhea, wedded to Kronos, bare splendid children—Hestia and Demeter and Hera of the golden sandals and strong Hades, who dwells beneath the ground with pitiless heart, and loud-sounding Ennosigaios\(^2\) and Zeus the magician\(^3\), father of gods and men, by whose thunder the wide ground itself is shaken.

And these great Kronos would swallow, as each came forth from the holy womb of his mother to her knees, with intent that none of Ouranos' proud children save himself should have kingly honour among the immortals. [For he learned from Gaia and starry\(^4\) Ouranos that it was fated for him, mighty as he was, to be overcome by his own son, through the designs of great Zeus. Wherefore he kept no blind vigil, but ever on the watch would swallow his own children; and grief unforgettable had hold of Rhea.] But when she was about to bear Zeus, father of gods and men, then straightway she besought her dear parents (Gaia, to wit, and starry Ouranos) to devise some counsel with her, that she might in secret bear her dear child and might require the vengeance of her own father\(^5\) (for the children\(^6\), whom great Kronos of the crooked blade\(^7\) was wont to swallow). And they verily heard and hearkened to their dear daughter, and told her all that was fated to happen touching Kronos the king and his stout-hearted son\(^8\)—So they sent her to Lyktos\(^9\), to the fat land of Crete, when she was about to bear the youngest of her children, Zeus the great\(^10\). Him huge Gaia received from her to nourish and to rear in wide Crete.[[Thither she came, carrying him through the swift black night, to Lyktos first; and taking

\(^1\) Hes. theog. 453—506 (cp. Apollod. i. 1. 5—1. 2. 1). I have given a rendering of the text as it stands in the critical edition of F. Jacoby (Berolini 1930). Sentences enclosed in square brackets are his 'emblemata vetustissima' (supra p. 925 n. 5), double square brackets being used for patches upon patches. Sentences in curved brackets are 'serioris aevi emblemata, interpolationes.' The letters a~b~a indicate 'singulorum versuum duplex recensio,' p~p a line condemned by F. A. Paley. See further the shrewd observations of F. Schwenn Die Theogonie des Hesiodos Heidelberg 1924 pp. 127—130.

\(^2\) Supra p. 7.

\(^3\) Supra p. 743.

\(^4\) Supra i. 8, ii. 1023.

\(^5\) Literally 'might get paid the Erinyes of her own father' (sc. Ouranos), whom Kronos had mutilated (supra ii. 447 n. 8). Cp. ll. 21. 412 φόρο κεφή μητρός Ερυμος Εξαποινος.

\(^6\) Reading παῖδων with the manuscripts. But the reason assigned for Ouranos' vengeance is not the true reason, and the line is rightly regarded as an interpolation. A. Rauch adopts G. F. Schoemann's θυ της Μητρος Ερυμος, 68' (sc. 'Ερυμος).

\(^7\) Jacoby says: 'post 476 lacu nam indicavi, cum ἐγγενάλεξεν 405 ne retentis quidem interpolationibus habeat quo referatur.'

\(^8\) Supra ii. 549, 845. C. Picard in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1936 xxxix. 194 n. 1 objects to my interpretation of ἀγκυλωμήτης that the ending -\(\tau\)η implies an agent, and cites in support of the orthodox view the epic word πουκλωμήτης. But nouns in -\(\tau\)η are by no means always nomina agentis (see e.g. K. Brugmann Griechische Grammatik München 1913 p. 236 f.), and πουκλωμήτης, which occurs once in the Iliad (11. 482, with variants πουκλημήτης, πουκλώμητιν), six times in the Odyssey, and always of Odysseus, may be a later formation based on a misunderstanding of ἀγκυλωμήτης. I should say the same of all the post-Homeric compounds of -\(\tau\)ής listed by E. Fraenkel Geschichte der griechischen Nomina agentis auf -\(\tau\)ή, -\(\tau\)ω, -\(\tau\)ης (10) Strassburg 1910 i. 46.

\(^9\) Cp. supra ii. 344 f., 350.

\(^10\) Rhea. The change of subject makes it clear that at this point we pass from a primary to a secondary patch.
him in her arms she hid him in a sheer cave beneath the coverts of earth divine, on Mount Aigaion thickly clad with woods. But to him she handed a great stone wrapped in swaddling bands, even to the son of Ouranos, ruling in might, the former king of the gods. That he then took in his hands and bestowed in his own belly, poor wretch, nor marked in his mind how that in place of the stone his own son was left behind, unvanquished and un vexed, who was soon like to overcome him by might and main and drive him forth from honour, himself to rule over the immortals.

[And quickly thereafter waxed the strength and splendid limbs of the prince; and as the year came round again, beguiled by Gaia's prudent promptings, great Kronos of the crooked blade brought up again his offspring, vanquished by the arts and might of his own son. And he vomited first the stone that he swallowed last. This Zeus set up in the wide-wayed earth at goodly Pytho beneath the glens of Parnassos, to be a sign thenceforward and a marvel to mortal men.

And he freed from their baleful bonds the brothers of his father, sons of Ouranos whom his father in the flightiness of his thoughts had bound. Grateful they were to him and mindful of his benefits, for they gave him thunder and the burning bolt and lightning, which ere that huge Gaia had hidden. Trusting in these he rules over mortals and immortals.]

The swallowing of the stone by Kronos was variously located. Some said that it happened on Mount Thaumasion in Arkadia; others, on a rocky summit called Petrachos at Chaironeia in Boiotia.

Be that as it may, the myth was accepted on the authority of Hesiod and made a lasting impression on the writers and artists of the ancient world.

The fifth century minimised the horrors. A red-figured krater with columnar handles, painted by one of the Attic ‘Manieristen’ c. 460—450 B.C., found in Sicily and now in the Louvre, has for obverse design (fig. 775, a) a noble figure of king Kronos, originally

1 Supra ii. 925 n. 1.
2 Praeternatural rapidity of growth is characteristic of gods (supra i. 647, 695) and heroes and even of divine trees (supra p. 760).
3 Of his previous digestive feats we hear only that he swallowed a horse, or at least a foal, in place of Poseidon (supra i. 181 n. 0). But a different account is given in Myth. Vat. 3. 15. 10 (infra p. 936 n. 5).
4 Supra i. 154 n. 10.
5 Supra i. 154 n. 10.
6 Supra i. 154, ii. 901 n. 1.
8 Pottier Cat. Vases du Louvre iii. 1092 no. G 366, id. Vases antiques du Louvre 3me Serie Paris 1922 p. 236 no. G 366, id. in the Corp. vases ant. Louvre iii i. d pl. 28, 5 (obverse), 6 (reverse), 7 (detail) with text p. 18 nos. 5—7.
9 J. de Witte ‘Cronos et Rhea’ in the Gaz. Arch. 1875 i. 30—33 pl. 9 (= my fig. 775, a), M. Mayer in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1551 ff. fig. 3, M. Pohlenz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 2017.
10 Cp. the fifth-century head of Kronos on a silver coin of Himera (supra ii. 558 fig. 436).

C. III.
93° The stone of Kronos

Fig. 775.
The stone of Kronos

white-haired\(^1\), who sceptre in hand and swathed in an ample *himátion* stands ready to receive from Rhea the well wrapped and carefully held substitute for the infant Zeus\(^2\). Rhea, like an epic queen, is accompanied by a couple of handmaids\(^3\), who, to judge from the obvious alarm of the first and the simulated stance of the second, are both quite aware of the plot. The reverse (fig. 775, \(b\))\(^4\) shows the sequel. Kronos in the same pose as before, only with staff instead of sceptre, has received the stone. And Rhea, her mission accomplished, turns herself about, partly to conceal her satisfaction, partly to give a message to the sympathetic Nike, who hurries from the presence of Kronos. Zeus, as Hesiod said, ‘was soon like to overcome him by might and main’\(^5\).

Again, a red-figured *pelike* of c. 460—450 B.C., said to have come from Rhodes and now at New York, represents the famous ruse as conceived by ‘the Nausikaa Painter’\(^6\) (fig. 776).\(^7\) On the left stands Rhea, one foot supported\(^7\) on a rock (was she not a mountain-mother?) while she holds out the stone, convincingly dressed and capped like a long-clothes baby, towards the expectant Kronos. He stands on the right, raising one hand in amazement and holding his sceptre in the other. Clearly this scene\(^8\) is but

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1 See E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 3\(^{\text{me}}\) Série Paris 1922 p. 236 no. G 366.

2 A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 95 is over-sceptical when he says: ‘Verfehlt ist auch der Versuch in den Vasenbildern *Gazette archéol.* 1 pl. 9 and 3 pl. 18 die Übergabe des Steins durch Rhea an Kronos zu erkennen; was de Witte für den Stein hält, ist eine eigentümliche Verhüllung der Arme (vgl. übrigens Petersen, *Arch. Ztg.* 37 S. 12).’

3 οὐκ ὁμοιόμορφον δὸν ἔκτυπον ἔριξεν (II. 3. 143, Od. 1. 331, 18. 207, and similar passages). J. de Witte loc. cit. suggested that the two attendants of Rhea were the nymphs Adrasteia and Ile, to whom along with the Kouretes she entrusted the infant Zeus (Apollod. 1. 1. 6).

4 E. de Chanot ‘Cronos, Rhéa et Nicé’ in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1877 iii. 116 pl. 18 (= my fig. 775, \(b\)). M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1553 f. attempts to cast doubt on the authenticity of this reverse design. But quite unjustifiably, as E. Pottier *op. cit.* p. 236 points out (‘des doutes non justifiés et non vérifiés, car il n’a pas examiné l’original’).

5 *Supra* p. 929.

6 J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 122 (either by the Nausikaa Painter or by an associate), *id. Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 254 no. 3 (‘Folgende Vasen sind den Werken des Oinanthemaler einerseits, andererseits denen des Nausikámalers eng verwandt und weisen vielleicht auf die Identität der beiden Maler. Nausikámaler = später Oinanthemaler?’), *id. Greek Vases in Poland Oxford* 1928 p. 44 n. 1 (such vases ‘can hardly be kept apart from those of the Oinanthé Painter’), G. M. A. Richter *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* Yale Univ. Press 1936 i. 100 f. no. 72 pls. 75 (= my fig. 776) and 173 (photograph of whole vase) (‘by Nausikaa Painter’\(^6\)).

7 An early example of ‘the supported foot,’ on which see *supra* p. 706 f. and P. Jacobsthal *Die Melischen Reliefs* Berlin—Wilmersdorf 1931 pp. 190—192 (‘Das Motiv des hochauftretenden Fusses in frühklassischer Malerei’).

8 The scene on the reverse side of the New York *pelike* is not mythological at all, but
The stone of Kronos

a slight elaboration of two figures on the contemporary Paris krater.

Later Greek art was almost equally reticent. Pausanias\(^1\) says:

'The Plataeans have a temple of Hera worth seeing for its size and its sculptural decoration. As you enter there is Rhea bringing to Kronos the stone wrapped in swaddling bands as if it were the child that she had borne. This Hera they call Teleia\(^2\). It is an upright figure of large size. Both are made in Pentelic marble, wrought by Praxiteles.'

![Fig. 776.](image)

The precise character and arrangement of these sculptures is matter for conjecture. To me it seems probable that the statue of

social. A woman talks with a youth, who leans on his staff and gesticulates. Between them stands a chair. On the wall hangs a bag.

\(^1\) Paus. 9. 2. 7 Πλαταικεῖαι δὲ ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἡρα, θέας ἄξιος μεγάθει τε καὶ ἐς τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τῶν κόσμων. ἑτελθοῦσα μὲν Ῥέα τὸν πέτρον κατασχεμένον σπαργάνοις, ἀλά δὴ τὸν παιδα ὃν ἔτεκε, Κρόνῳ κοιμώματο ἐστι· τὴν δὲ Ἡραν Τελείαν καλῶσι, πεπείησαι δὲ ὄρθων μεγάθει ἄγαλμα μέγα· λίθον δὲ ἀμφότερα τοῦ Πεντελησίου, Πραξίτελου δὲ ἐστὶν ἔργα.

\(^2\) Cp. supra i. 20, ii. 893 n. 2, 1150.
The stone of Kronos

Hera Teleta stood on a square plinth decorated in relief with the figures of Kronos and Rhea, both statue and plinth being, rightly or wrongly, ascribed to Praxiteles. Obvious parallels are afforded by Pheidias' statue of Athena Parthenos on its sculptured plinth, and Praxiteles' statues of Leto and her children on the Mantinean base. If so, it is likely enough that a Romanised copy of the Praxitelean relief survives in a beautiful composition on the ara Capitolina (fig. 778). Kronos, a kingly figure, enthroned on the right, rests one hand on the veil that covers his head and extends the other to receive the stone from Rhea, who, veiled likewise, advances with dignity from the left. H. Stuart Jones observes:


2 Furtwangler Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt. p. 102 argues that, since the temple of Hera at Plataiai was built in the year 427/426 B.C. (Thouk. 3. 68), its sculptures must be assigned to 'the elder Praxiteles,' whose floruit he would date c. 445—425. The same opinion is expressed by several modern critics, e.g. Collignon Hist. de la Sculpt. gr. ii. 175 n. o, G. M. A. Richter The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 241.

But the existence of this 'elder Praxiteles,' postulated by W. Klein in the Arch.-ep. Mith. 1880 iv. 1—25, is still highly problematic: see e.g. U. Koehler 'Praxiteles der ältere' in the Ath. Mith. 1884 ix. 78—81, P. Perdrizet 'Note généalogique sur la famille de Praxitèle' in the Rev. Et. Gr. 1898 xi. 82—95, C. Picard La sculpture antique Paris 1926 ii. 77 ('le pseudo-Praxitèle l'Ancien').

3 Supra ii pl. xlv.


5 In addition to the bibliography given supra i. 43 n. 1 see now Stuart Jones Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome p. 276 f. Salone no. 3 a (2) pl. 66 (=my fig. 778).

6 Not uninfluenced by the type of Zeus as conceived by Alexander the Great (supra ii. 760 f. figs. 704—707).

7 On the veiled Kronos see M. Mayer in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1558—1563 figs. 9—16, 18, M. Pohlenz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 2015—2017. To the examples cited by them may be added a malachite cameo (cp. supra p. 538 n. 9) of Graeco-Roman date in my possession (fig. 777: scale §). The engraver has, quaintly enough, tried to represent 'hunc maestum, senem, canum, caput glauco amictu coopertum habentem, filiorum suorum voratorem' (Myth. Vat. 3. i. i) by using the darkest part of the stone for the sinister face, a lighter green for the hair and beard, and a white streak for the top of the veil.

The significance of Kronos' veil is far from clear. A. Jeremias Der Schleier von Sumur bis heute (Der Alte Orient xxxi Heft 1/2) Leipzig 1933 pp. 1—70 omits Kronos altogether. M. Pohlenz loc. cit. p. 2017, after dismissing earlier views, suggests 'alte Kultelemente wie bei der Harpe.' A. H. Kruppe in his Balor With the Evil Eye Columbia University 1927 p. 23 ff. and in his courageous survey Mythologie universelle Paris 1930 p. 250 conjectures that the Greek Kronos and the Italian Saturn had, like the Irish Balor, a third eye in the back of the head, which being an evil eye 'had to be covered up lest it should strike innocent people with its destructive glance.'
The stone of Kronos

'The group is evidently composed for a relief. Its gentleness, and the absence alike of the barbarous and the ludicrous, may well indicate the Attic art of the fourth century as the source of the composition.'

Fig. 778.

Very different is the impression produced by a tomb-painting (fig. 779) which came to light in 1865 on the road from Ostia to

1 C. L. Visconti in the Ann. d. Inst. 1866 xxxviii. 312—319 (not earlier than c. 200 A.D., perhaps even later; but probably copied by an indifferent artist from a good exemplar), Mon. d. Inst. viii pl. 28, 3 (part of which = my fig. 779), M. Mayer in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1569 ff. fig. 18 (but see A. Rapp ib. iv. 95), B. Nogara Le nozze Altobrandine i paesaggi con scene dell' Odissea e le altre pitture murali antiche conservate nella
Laurentum. Kronos and Rhea, both veiled, are sitting side by side. Rhea, in blue chitón and red himátion, presses her hands nervously together. Kronos, completely draped in a large yellow himátion, bends forward to seize a naked boy, who flings up his arm in a gesture of frantic supplication. But the ogre, with grim face and horrible wide mouth, has him by hair and hand and leg. His fate is apparently sealed; for the old and terror-stricken paidagógos, who, clad in a yellowish chitón and a blue himátion, appears, stick in hand, from the background, will obviously arrive too late. But just in the nick of time a handmaid¹, in reddish chitón and yellow himátion, rushes forward to present Kronos with the stony substitute. There can, I think, be little doubt that this sensational picture—very possibly with some symbolic meaning²—presents the subject of Kronos' teknophagía, which we know to have been the theme of a late Greek pantomime³.

¹ I cannot agree with Visconti, who loc. cit. took the paidagógos and the handmaid to be Ouranos and Gaia! Nor yet with M. Mayer, who loc. cit. thought that the artist had combined two moments in the myth—Kronos about to rend and devour one of his sons in propria persona, and Kronos about to receive another of his sons in effigie. Least of all can I accept the verdict of A. Rapp, who loc. cit. includes this wall-painting in a list of monuments ‘Ohne Wahrscheinlichkeit...auf Rhea gedeutet.’

² The infant devoured to all seeming and yet escaping from death would make an appropriate decoration for a tomb. Cp. the subjects of sarcophagi noted supra ii. 417, 478, iii. 135.

³ Loukian. de salt. 80 οι δὲ εφεσία μὲν, τὰ πρᾶγματα δὲ μετὰχρονα ή πρόχρονα, οἷον ἐγώ ποτὲ ὁδὸν μέρμηματ. τάς γὰρ Διὸς γονάτας ὁρκομενον τίς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Κρόνου τεκνοφαγίαν παρορχεῖτο καὶ τὰς θεότου συμφοράς τῷ ὁμοίῳ παραγμένοι. κ.τ.λ.
The stone of Kronos

The myth as a whole is a complex involving two originally distinct elements. On the one hand, there is the folk-tale motif of the Unnatural Parent who eats his Children. On the other hand, the acceptance of a swathed stone as a substitute for Zeus suggests the ritual of litholatry and in particular recalls the draped meteorites worshipped in sundry Levantine cults. The stone swallowed by Kronos is described by late writers as bearing more than one significant name. It was diskos, perhaps with a solar connotation. It was baitylos because of its wrappings. It was abaddir, a Semitic term meaning 'mighty father.'


2 Supra pp. 888, 898, 906, 916 n. 1, 918, 922.

3 Supra i. 299.

4 Herodian. πέρι καθαρλίας προσώπων 6 (i. 163, 17 f. Lentz) βαίσιλος ὁ λίθος ὁ δ ὁ Κρώνος κατέσχε, Theognost. καν. 330 (Cramer aneccl. Olyn. ii. 61, 21) βαίσιλος ὁ λίθος ὁ δ ὁ Κρώνος κατέσχε, Hesych. βαίσιλοσ: οὐσις ἐκαλατό ὁ δοθεὶς λίθος τῷ Κρώνῳ ἀντὶ Διός, Bekker aneccl. i. 224, 10 f. βαίσιλος λίθος. οὐσις ἐκαλατό ὁ δοθεὶς τῷ Κρώνῳ ἀντί τοῦ ΔιΟ, παρὰ τὸ τέλος δυτικεράφων, et. Cud. p. 102, 47 βαίσιλος: ὁ ἐπαργάγμενος λίθος, et. mag. p. 192, 56 ff. βαίσιλος ἐκαλατό καὶ ὁ λίθος ἀντὶ ΔιΟ ὁ Κρώνος κατέσχε, εἰρημένος ὑπὸ ἡ RP βαίσιλο ἀγαν σταρηγανοῦσα τῷ Κρώνῳ δέθοκε (ἐκ. θόρυκ). βαίσιλο δὲ συμμένη τινα δαφθέρα, Apostol. 9. 24 καὶ βαίσιλον ὁν κατέσχε· ἀπὸ τῶν ἄγνωμων. βαίσιλος δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἐπαργάγμενος λίθος, ὁ Κρώνος κατέσχε αντὶ τοῦ ΔιΟ. G. F. Moore in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1903 vii. 202 says: 'A comparison of these passages plainly shows that they are all ultimately derived from one source.'

5 Priscian, inst. 2. 6 (i. 47, 9 Hertz) 'abaddir vel abaddier,' 5. 18 (i. 153, 10 Hertz) 'abaddir,' 6. 45 (i. 234, 16 f. Hertz) 'abaddir' quoque ('abaddier,' ὁ βαίσιλος), declinatum non legi, 7. 32 (i. 313, 24 ff. Hertz) quidam addunt 'bic abaddir,' ὁ βαίσιλος, 'huius abaddiris,' lapsa, quem pro Love devoravit Saturnus, sed in usu hoc non inveni, Myth. Vat. 1. 104 sed tunc quum natus esset Juppiter, ut partum ejus celaret mater, misit Saturno gemmam in similitudinem pueri celsam, quam ABIDIR vocant, cujus natura semper movetur. quam accipiens pater dentibus collisit et consumsit, 3. 15. 10 primo ergo tradidit ei Neptunum, quern in mare submersit, et factus est deus marinus. secundo dedid ei Plutonom, quem in foemae suffocavit, et factus est deus inferorum. tandem nato Iove mirae pulchritudinis, ipsius misiera misit Saturno lapidem nomine abidir, quem pulveratum devoravit. deinde egestus et formatus est in speciem humanam et vivificatus, cp. G. Goetz Corpus glossariorum Latinorum Lipsiae 1888—1901 iii. 8, 52 βαίσιλος abaddir, 83, 6 beutlylos abaddir, 289, 53 βαίσιλος auiaddir (with corr. abbadir), v. 589, 4 Abadir lapis, 632, 1 Abadir lapis, 615, 37 Abdir est lapis quem deoravit Saturnus pro ioue filio suo, vi. 1, 1 abderites id est Saturnus, 125 Baetolium (bellium cod.) lapis que <m>ferunt comedisse Saturnum pro filio suo Ioue (=v. 563, 3), Gloss. Pap. cited in the Thes. Ling. Lat. i. 45. 27 ff. abaddir deus dicitur, quo nomine lapis vocatur, quem devoravit Saturnus pro Love, dicitur quoque abaddir vel Abdina vel Abderites, quem Graeci badilion vocant.

We gather from Augustine that the term was used of certain deities by the Punic
The stone of Kronos

These two elements, the folk-tale motif of the child-devourer and the ritual usage of a baitylos, were perhaps first fused in ancient Crete. For, on the one hand, the Kouretes had of old sacrificed children to Kronos and saved the infant Zeus by deceiving his father, while, on the other hand, pillar-cults were admittedly rife and even natural stones might on occasion be treated as divinities.

Further, in view of the relations between ‘Minoan’ Crete and Pytho, it is not surprising to find that what purported to be the actual stone swallowed by Kronos was still to be seen at Delphoi in the second century of our era.

population of north Africa (Aug. epist. t. 17. 2 miror quod nominum absurditate commoto in mentem non venerit habere tuos et in sacerdotibus eucaddires (v.l. eucaddares) et in numinis abaddires). This is confirmed by an actual inscription found in Mauretanias (Millana) on the slopes of the Lesser Atlas (Corp. inscr. Lat. viii Suppl. 3 no. 21481 = Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 4478 Abaddiri sancto culto(res tuniores) suis sumtis | aram constitu., | pro[v.].)

6 S. Bochart Geographia sacra, seu Phaleg et Canaan Lugduni Batavorum 1707 lib. ii cap. 2 p. 708 ‘Abaddir אבaddir Hebrew est pater magnificus... Sed fallor aut Abdir vel Abaddir, cum pro lapide sumitur, corruptum ex Phoenicio רבי דיר doen dir vel aban dir lapis sphericus. Talis enim Batyli forma,’ F. Münter Antiquarische Abhandlungen Kopenhagen 1816 (supra p. 892 n. 1) p. 266 ‘Abdir oder Abaddir... eine Benennung, deren Ursprung ungewiss ist, da sie sich entweder von רבי דיר, der göttliche Stein, herleiten lässt, oder nach einer andern, wenn gleich weniger wahrscheinlichen Meinung, von רבי בת, der göttliche Vater; oder auch, dem Bochart zufolge, von רבי בת, der runde Stein, um die oft rundliche Form der Steine zu bezeichnen, worauf die Alten aufmerksam waren,’ F. v. Dalberg Ueber Meteor-Cultus der Alten (supra p. 892 n. 1) Heidelberg 1816 p. 73 ‘Abadir, der grosse machtige Herrscher,—Pater magnus,’ W. Gesenius Scripturae linguae Phoeniciae monumenta quotquot supersunt Lipsiae 1837 p. 384 ‘Vix dubitandum, quin sit רבי בת pater (deus) potens, cf. רבי בת de diis gentilium Jer. 2. 27, et נזרית בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל 1 Sam. 4. 8... non רבי בת lapis sphericus, quod magis placit Bocharto... nihil enim frigidius, quam lapidem, eunque talem in quo numen latere credebatur, lapidem appellare,’ G. F. Moore in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1903 vii. 204 ‘The natural interpretation of the name is “mighty or noble father”; the epithet addir is repeatedly applied in the Old Testament to God, and occurs in other Phoenician compound names; cf. Baliddir in a Numidian inscription (Ephem. Epigraph. vii. no. 79).’ There can, then, be little doubt that R. Thurneysen was wrong when in the great German Thes. Ling. Lat. 1. 16 f. he wrote: ‘voculum peregrinum inc. origin. incipit forasse a nomine semitico, quod hebraice sonat רבי בת “lapis.”’ 2 Supra ii. 548 f.

3 Supra ii. 647 n. 8.


5 S. A. J. Evans The Palace of Minos at Knossos London 1928 ii. 1. 343 ‘the late Shrine found in the Little Palace at Knossos with its grotesque fetishes consisting of natural concretions,’ 346 fig. 198, ib. ii. 2. 520, J. D. S. Pendlebury A Handbook to the Palace of Minos at Knossos London 1935 p. 52 ‘on the stone balustrade were placed the “fetish” figures of natural stone, the objects of adoration of the period of reoccupation (L.M. III.).’

'As you leave the tomb of Neoptolemos,' says Pausanias, 'and pass on up the hill you come to a stone of no great size. On this they pour olive oil every day, and as each festival comes round they put upon it wool of the unspun sort. There is also a belief with regard to it that this stone was given to Kronos instead of the child and that Kronos spewed it out again.'

The stone oiled and clad in wool was certainly a *baitylos* and possibly, as Sir James Frazer and others have conjectured, an aerolite. What it looked like we know from a silver *simpulum* with gilded details, found in 1633 at Wettingen near Basel, which is decorated with the seven deities presiding over the days of the week (fig. 780). Kronos, the god of Saturday, stands beside a pillar topped by an oval stone: this can be none other than his Delphic monument.

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1 Paus. 10. 24. Ἅρηνάδε δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μνήματος (sc. Νεοπτόλεμου τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως) λίθος ἄστιν ὃς μεγάς· τοῦτον καὶ θλιμένω δομήρει καταπαύει καὶ κατὰ ἐκτὸς ἡμῶν ἑρα ἐπιστήθωσε τὰ ἄργα· ἔτη δὲ καὶ δὰκα ἐς αὔτων, δοθήραι Κρόνος τὸν λίθον ἀνεῖ τοῦ παιδός, καὶ ὃς αὕτης θησαυρὸς αὐτῶν ἐς Κρόνος.

2 Frazer Pausanias v. 355 ('Perhaps the sacred stone at Delphi may have been meteoric.')


4 M. Merian Martini Zelleri Topographia Helvetica, Rhetia et Valcaia Franckfurt am Mayn 1654 p. 58 with fig. 6, F. Keller in the Mittheilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich 1864 xv. 133 ff. pls. 13 and 14. 1. J. de Witte in the Gaz. Arch. 1879 v. 1 f. pl. 1 (part of which = my fig. 780), M. Mayer in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 1522 and 1568 f. with fig. 17, W. H. Roscher iib. iii. 2539 fig. 2, Reinach Rép. Reliefs iii. 525 no. 1.

5 Supra i. 753, ii. 69 f. fig. 28, iii. 209 f. with figs. 128 and 129.
Zeus Kappotas

(i) Zeus Kappotas.

Pausanias¹ in his account of south-western Lakonike says:

'About three furlongs from Gythion is an unwrought stone. The story goes that Orestes sat upon it and was thereby stayed from his madness; wherefore the stone was named Zeus Kappotas in the Doric tongue.'

Attempts to determine the exact site of this famous stone have led to some divergence of opinion. On the one hand, E. S. Forster² in an article dealing with Laconian topography writes as follows:

'Near the modern Gymnasium, at the side of the Sparta road, is an abrupt face of reddish stone some ten metres high, cut into the side of the hill of Kumaro and now called Πελεκυρό. At a point about four metres above the level of the neighbouring road is the rock-cut inscription Μώρα Δύος Τεραστιος³. It was cut by hammering with a round-pointed instrument, which made dot-like incisions.

The distance from this spot to the centre of the ancient site agrees well with the "about three stades" of Pausanias, and it may, I think, be regarded as certain that this inscription marks the site of the sanctuary of Zeus Kappotas. Τεραστιος must then be regarded as the official title of the god, Kappotaos as a local popular epithet. The spot as figured by Le Bas—Waddington [(fig. 781)⁴] shows a rocky platform at the foot of the cliff, which perhaps was the "unwrought stone" mentioned by Pausanias.'

On the other hand, W. Kolbe⁵, writing six years later in his Inscriptiones Laconiae, reverts to the view put forward by W. M. Leake⁶, that the stone called Zeus Kappotas was to be seen in antiquity some two hundred yards further south at the point where the rock still shows an archaic inscription in small letters difficult to decipher and interpret, but possibly prescribing penalties for any who should shift or damage the sacred object⁷.

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¹ Paus. 3. 22. 1 Γυθλαν δε τρεις μακιστα ἀπέχει σταδίους ἄργος Αλβον. 'Ορέστην λέγουσι καθηθεθένα ἐν' αὐτῷ παύομενα. τῆς μυκῆς: διά τούτο ἃ λίθον ὄμολάθη Ζεὺς Καππώτας κατὰ γιλόσαν τὴν Δωρίδα.
² [Supra ii. 31 n. 7.]
³ Lebas—Reinach Voyage Arch. p. 33 pl. Itin. 25 (=my fig. 781). R. Well in the Ath. Mitth. 1876 i. 151 ff. compares this 'Felsanlage' with that of Zeus Hypsistos at Athens (supra ii. 876 n. 1 no. (1)).
⁵ W. M. Leake Travels in the Morea London 1830 i. 248.
Zeus Kappótas
Neither of these explanations is quite satisfactory. The first assumes that Zeus Kappotas was the popular name of the god officially called Zeus Terdstios. But it is not easy to find a strict parallel to such double nomenclature. Besides, Pausanias' phrase 'an unwrought stone' (argos lithos) suggests something isolated and smaller than 'a rocky platform at the foot of the cliff.' The second explanation is even more precarious. We are invited to think that a verb of unknown meaning in an inscription which does not mention Zeus at all perhaps referred to misdemeanants guilty of knocking bits off his sacred rock. I should sooner conclude that the relic in question was a comparatively small stone long since buried or lost.

The belief that 'Orestes sat upon it and was thereby stayed from his madness' recalls other curative stones, and implies a possible, but not very probable, derivation of Kappotas from katabainin, 'to stay.' Equally unconvincing is M. Mayer's con-

(Gythium). A. N. Skias loc. cit. suspected that avostruhetetai meant didotoer in or the like. L. Ziehen loc. cit. agrees that this gives the required notion. And W. Kolbe loc. cit. concludes: 'Neque vero de latomia cogitandum est, immo ne quis lapidem aedrnum laedat, interdictur. Hunc ergo in modum titulum verterim: 'ne quis decutiat; si quis decussirit, poenam dabat (sive ipse) sive servus.'

1 See E. Maass 'Heilige Steine' in the Rhein. Mus. 1929 lxxviii. 8 ff. and K. Latte in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii a. 1299. For the connexion of such stones with Orestes cp. Paus. 2. 31. 4 and 8. 34. 2.


Even portable stones might be possessed of great curative and preservative virtue, whether they were of natural origin like the oreites (supra p. 921), or artefacts such as neolithic celts (supra ii. 506 ff.). An interesting modern survival of the latter variety is recorded by T. G. Dexter The Sacred Stone New Knowledge Press, Treberran, Perranporth (1939) p. 37 §76: 'Captain William Thomas, of Perranporth, tells me that he knew an old Cornish woman named Fanny Francis who had a remarkable cure for a bad leg—to rub it in 'essence of thunder.' This precious liquid was obtained by boiling a 'thunderbolt' (apparently a neolithic implement) in a saucepan for twenty minutes. The owner of the 'thunderbolt' was a miner at Pool who 'lent it out' at 3d. a time! The Captain adds: 'I knew the woman well and have heard her prescribe.'

2 H. Hitzig and H. Bürner ad loc.: 'wie Ποσειδόνιος für Ποσειδόνιος, A. M. II 442. III 162.' [U. Köhler in the Ath. Mitth. 1878 iii. 163 published a base from Gythion, which in a list of names includes (line 12 ff.) Ποσειδόνιον τοῦ 'Αραστοκλήους κ.τ.λ. The name should be accented Ποσειδόνιος.]

3 The Dorians said πάωσαθα, not πώσαθα, to judge from Theokr. 15. 87 πάωσαθ', δ ἰδίστανοι, κ.τ.λ.

tention that *Kappotas* means ‘the Swallower.’ For though in the
Hesiodic myth Zeus swallowed Metis
1 and in the Orphic theogony
Zeus swallowed Phanes and all that in him was
2, yet where a stone is in question we should inevitably think of Rhea’s ruse and
desiderate either Kronos the Swallower or Zeus the Swallowed.

There is more to be said for S. Wide’s
3 suggestion that *Kappotas*
involves the root *pet- pót-* which appears in the verb *pót-á-omai*,
‘I fly.’ Only, we must not translate ‘the Down-flier’
4 or imagine
that the reference is to a winged thunderbolt. There is little or no
evidence to show that Greek thunderbolts were winged before the
fifth century
5, and this cult savours of a much hoarier antiquity.
Rather, it should be borne in mind that the same root *pet- pót-*
had another meaning, ‘to fall’ as well as ‘to fly.’
H. Usener
7 and F. Solmsen
8—a strong combination—between them went far
towards proving that Zeus *Kappotas* really meant Zeus ‘the
Fallen,’ and that his stone was in all likelihood a meteoric block.

If so, it must be conceded that among the peasants of Glythion
we are face to face with extremely archaic beliefs. Zeus is the
Sky 9. The Sky is made of stone
10. A bit of it breaks off and falls
11. That is Zeus ‘the Fallen.’ On this showing, our third volume ends
where our first volume began, with the primary and yet age-long
conception of the animte Sky.

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1 *Supra* p. 743 f.
2 *Supra* ii. 1027, iii. 745.
5 E. Maass in the *Rhein. Mus*. 1939 lxviii. 7 f.: Καππώτας = ‘Herniedergeflogen.’
6 *Supra* ii. 777, 780 f.
8 H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 12 ‘Vielmehr gehört πωτ- zu Wurzel πετ- (Aor. das. ἐπιτεων=ἐπίτεων) wie πατάθου zu πέταθαι, vgl. ἐπίθεος ἐπιφανής ἐπιφανεία. Es ergibt sich also mit Καππώτας “dem herabgefallenen” ein Synonymon zu Καταβάτης, und mit Ζεὺς Καππώτας eine neue Parallele zu Ζεὺς Κηραυνός. Der Stein, der diesen Namen trug, konnte nur ein Meteorstein sein, der als leibhafter Donnerkeil verehrt wurde.’
9 F. Solmsen in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1907 lxii. 337 ‘Morphologisch ist diese schöne... Deutung am leichtesten zu rechtfertigen, wenn man Καππώτας als Verkürzung von Καππωτάτας außasst und mit att. κυβέρτης aus *κυβερνήτης zu κυβέρταν (vgl. hom. κυβερνήτηρ) und Kretschmer Vaseninschr. 88) und προοίμην επαινεῖ απο προοίμην ἐπαινέται κυβέρταν...zusammenstellt.’
10 *Supra* i. 1 ff. and *passim.*
11 *Ib.*
The highest peak of Mount Olympos (*Mitka*, the 'Needle').

*See page 943 n. 3.*
§11. General Conclusions with regard to Zeus as god of the Dark Sky.

We have now gone the round of our subject, surveyed its main lines, and explored in detail some at least of its ramifications. It remains in a few concluding paragraphs to gather up results and attempt some estimate of their significance.

Starting from the primitive belief in an animate Sky, we surmised that already in remote pre-Homeric times Zeus, 'the Bright One', had developed from Sky to Sky-god and was conceived after the fashion of an earthly weather-making monarch. He dwelt in isolated splendour where the summit of Mount Olympos (pl. Ixviii) towers up through the cloudy aer into the cloudless aither. Universally recognised as head of the Hellenic pantheon, he came in the Hellenistic age to be connected more or less closely with sun, moon, and stars—other manifestations of the same celestial brightness.

Even when the sky was dark with a lowering storm, 'the Bright One' might be seen to flash downwards in a dazzling streak. This was regarded sometimes as his destructive glance, more often as his irresistible weapon—a double axe, a spear, a lightning-fork or thunderbolt. Zeus, who thus sent the lightning and the thunder, was naturally thought to send all kinds of weather, rain, snow, or hail. Indeed, any phaenomenon of a meteorological sort was apt to be dubbed Diosemtai, a 'Zeus-sign,' and viewed as an omen of serious import.

Prominent among such Diosemtai was the Earthquake, attributed either to Zeus or to Poseidon, a specialised form of Zeus, whose trident was originally the lightning-fork of a storm-god. Clouds, again, played a certain rôle in the ritual and mythology of Zeus, as Aristophanes was aware when he wrote and rewrote his Nephelai or elaborated that brilliant extravaganza his Nephelo-
General Conclusions with regard to *kokkygia*.

The Winds too were not unconnected with Zeus. Their guardian Aiolos was one with Aiolos forefather of the Aeolians, and perhaps began life as a tribal chieftain believed to embody the sky-god. Zeus' titles Ouirios, Ikmenos, Eunenemos, Boreios afford more definite proof of his power over the Winds. A further group of his epithets—Errhos, Ersatos, Ikmatos, and the like—associates him with the Dew. The Errhephori were 'Dew-bearers' who carried dew, conceived as the very seed of the sky-father, down into the womb of the earth-mother, while the dew-sisters Aglauros, Pandrosos, and Herse are best explained as successive names of the earth-mother herself. More obvious and constant is the relation of Zeus to Rain. Rain-magic is found at several of his cult-centres, in Arkadia, in Thessaly, on the Akropolis at Athens. Moreover, the belief was rife that Zeus descended in rain to fertilise the earth—witness the poets in general and the myth of Danaë in particular. His appellatives Ōmbrios, Hyetios, Hyes, Chaldzios speak for themselves. Lastly, Zeus on occasion let fall a meteorite, a fragment of the solid sky, or even himself fell in meteoric form. In which context we can cite, not only the Syrian Zeus Bētylos and the Arabian Zeus Dousères, but also the Laconian Zeus Kappotás and the stone devoured by Kronos.

Such in rough outline were the physical foundations of the cult of Zeus. I have used them throughout as providing a convenient framework for a somewhat discursive investigation of his worship. But the more nearly we study these aspects of it, the more clearly we perceive that they were after all just the ground-plan or lower storey of a greater and grander whole. Resting upon them and rising all the time, here a little and there a little, was a structure of fresh religious concepts, whose height and breadth—pinnacles of individual aspiration and prospects of interracial understanding—were quite without parallel in the pagan world. The fact is that always and everywhere the cult of a Sky-god has proved to be an

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1 Supra iii. 44 ff.
2 Supra iii. 103 ff.
3 Supra iii. 106 ff.
4 Supra iii. 140 ff.
5 Supra iii. 165 ff., 602.
6 Supra iii. 165 ff., 602.
7 Supra iii. 237, 241 ff., 603.
8 Supra iii. 261 ff.
9 Supra iii. 314 ff.
10 Supra iii. 284 ff.
11 Supra iii. 455 ff.
12 Supra iii. 525 ff.
13 Supra iii. 873 ff.
14 Supra iii. 875 ff.
15 Supra iii. 912.
16 Supra iii. 927 ff.
17 Supra iii. 927 ff.
18 Supra iii. 939 ff.
19 Supra iii. 525 ff.
20 Supra iii. 939 ff.
21 Supra iii. 106 ff.
Zeus as god of the Dark Sky

945

elevating and widening force. Inevitably so, for it tends to raise the thoughts of men from earth to heaven. And the quick-witted Greeks were prompt to seize the opportunity of such uplift and expansion.

Almost every section of this treatise serves to illustrate the process. Zeus Hýpsistos¹, for example, was 'the Highest,' not only literally, but metaphorically too. He may have started, like Zeus Hýpatos², as a Hellenic mountain-power. But he ended by becoming identified with the supreme deity of more than one non-Hellenic people, and not least of the Jews. This took place in the Hellenistic age, which also saw the rise of Zeus the Sun³ and his fusion with a variety of solar gods all round the eastern end of the Mediterranean—Amen-Rê⁴ at Egyptian Thebes, Sarapis⁵ at Alexandria, Ba'âl-ḥammân⁶ in north Africa, Ba'âl-šamin⁷ in Syria, not to mention the Mithras⁸ of Chaldean magic. Moreover, it was as a pure sun-god that at Tripolis in Phoinike Zeus acquired the striking appellative Hágios⁹, and on the coinage of Gaza was actually equated with the Hebrew Godhead and inscribed with the triliteral form of the name Jehovah¹⁰. These and other such lines converged and ultimately met in the solar monotheism of Aurelian¹¹.

Again, the ram¹² and the bull¹³, whose procreative powers were connected by pastoral and cattle-breeding peoples with all the fertilising agencies of sun and storm, both alike served to facilitate the union of the Greek Zeus with similar gods in contiguous areas. The ram linked him to the Graeco-Libyan Ammon¹⁴ and the Thraco-Phrygian Sabáziós¹⁵; the bull, to the Amorite Adad¹⁶, the Babylonian Ramman¹⁷, and the Hittite god who in Roman times figures as Jupiter Heliopolitanus¹⁸ or Jupiter Dolichenus¹⁹.

Of all the attributes ascribed to Zeus the most formidable was


¹ Supra ii. 876 n. 1.
² Supra ii. 875 n. 1.
³ Supra i. 186 ff.
⁴ Supra i. 347 ff.
⁵ Supra i. 188 ff.
⁶ Supra i. 353 ff.
⁷ Supra i. 190.
⁸ Supra i. 8, 101 f.
⁹ Supra i. 192, 400 n. 6, cp. ii. 1132 n. 9.
¹⁰ Supra i. 232 f. fig. 171, 6 and pl. xxi, iii. 558.
¹¹ Supra i. 166.
¹² Supra i. 428 ff.
¹³ Supra i. 638 ff., iii. 606, 615 ff.
¹⁴ Supra i. 348 ff.
¹⁵ Supra i. 350 ff., cp. ii. 275, 287 n. 2, 1184.
¹⁶ Supra i. 549 ff., 581 f.
¹⁷ Supra i. 576 ff., 633 ff.
¹⁸ Supra i. 550 ff., 576 ff.
¹⁹ Supra i. 604 ff.
General Conclusions with regard to the thunderbolt. Yet its terrors were not wholly terrific. Zeus might fall as a lightning-flash, but the Didbletos or 'Zeus-struck' man was deemed divine and even treated as a god. The spot where the fatal bolt fell was elysion and its victim enelysios, literally 'in Elysium.' He had entered upon the 'road of Zeus,' the Elysian track, which led up the steeps of heaven and was identified by Pythagorean sages with the Milky Way. He, like Er son of Armenios, could stand at last on the axis of the world, the central column supporting the very sky, there to witness all that heaven could show. The celestial ascent was sometimes conceived as a ladder—a conception which begins with Egyptian amulets, continues with Thracian and Orphic beliefs, only to end with the mediaeval Ladder of Salvation. Again, Zeus armed with a thunderbolt in either hand, a primitive storm-god, at Olympia was sublimated into Zeus Horkios, 'God of Oaths,' a terror merely to perjurers, just as on Italian soil Dius Fidius, 'the Cleaver,' a lightning-god, became, thanks to popular etymology, a peaceful 'Protector of Pledges.' In general it may be said that from the sixth century onwards the thunderbolt of Zeus begins to be replaced by his sceptre, surviving mainly as a symbol of omnipotence or continuous divine activity. Indeed, under Constantine its old Anatolian form, the lâbrys, was deliberately re-shaped into the labarum and adopted as the emblem of the all-conquering faith.

Omnipotence leads on towards omniscience and omnibenevolence. A Hellenistic type of Zeus enthroned and sceptred shows the god with serious deep-set eyes, brow furrowed by thought, and head propped on hand in an attitude of serene meditation. We can hardly fail to recognise the insight and foresight of the divine ruler, who takes a kindly interest in the affairs of men. His mood, best described by the Greek term prônoia or the Latin providentia, comes close to our own conception of Providence. Thus in imperial times Jupiter Conservator extends a strong protecting arm above the puppet emperor, while his Syrian counterpart Jupiter

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1 Supra ii. 853.  2 Supra ii. 22 f.  3 Supra ii. 36 ff.
4 Supra ii. 54, 114.  5 Supra ii. 44, 108, infra iii. 974.  6 Supra ii. 125 ff.
7 Supra ii. 125 ff.  8 Supra ii. 129 ff.  9 Supra ii. 135 ff.
10 Supra ii. 721, 726 f.  11 Supra ii. 724 ff. n. o.  12 Supra ii. 721, 731 ff.
13 Supra ii. 853.  14 Supra ii. 854.  15 Supra ii. 601 ff.
16 Mr H. Mattingly draws my attention to the fact that the same gesture of head propped on hand occurs also in the Roman numismatic type of a seated Securitas (Stevenson—Smith—Madden Dict. Rom. Coins p. 726, J. Ilberg in Roscher Lex. Myth. iv. 592 ff., Hartmann in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii A. 1000 ff.).
17 Supra i. 44 ff., ii. 762 f.  18 Supra i. 276 n. 5 fig. 201.
Zeus as god of the Dark Sky

*Dolichenus* ‘Best and Greatest, the Eternal’ is hailed as ‘the Preserver of the Whole Sky, a Godhead Pre-eminent, a Provider Invincible’.

More and more, as time went on and men’s sympathies widened, the cosmic character of such a god tended to find expression in poetry, philosophy, and art. Homer began his *Iliad* with the parenthetic hint that its plot was but the progressive fulfilment of the will of Zeus. Sophokles ended his *Women of Trachis* with the reflection—

In all which happenings is nought but Zeus—and we are left with that impressive monosyllable ringing in our ears. An Orphic fragment paraphrased by Platon said:

Zeus first, Zeus midmost, Zeus hath all things made.

And later Orphists under Stoic influence, or Stoics with a leaning towards Orphism, expanded the same theme into hymns of a definitely pantheistic sort. Theokritos and Aratos have echoes of the opening line, which for Cicero, Virgil, Ovid, and Calpurnius Siculus passes into a poetical commonplace. Aratos in his great exordium dwells on the ubiquity and helpfulness of the god. The haunts of men are ‘full of Zeus’—all the streets, all the markets, the sea and its harbours. Zeus distinguishes the seasons by his signs in the sky above and thereby determines the labours of the earth beneath. And all this with beneficent purpose. So men do well to worship him ever first and last; and the poet in a burst of gratitude cries—

Hail, Father, mighty marvel, mighty boon!

Even the dry-as-dust pedant with his faulty philology attempts to persuade us that Zeus gets his name *Zeusa* as being the giver of

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1 Supra i. 608, 633.
2 Supra i. 14 n. 1.
3 Soph. Trach. 1278 κοινὴς τῶν ὅνων ἡ μη Ζεύς.
4 Supra ii. 1023 n. 1.
5 R. Harder ‘Prismata’ 1 in Philologus N.F. 1930 xxxix. 243–247 argues that Orph. frag. 21 a Kern is not only not early (Kern), nor even merely Stoic in tone (Wilamowitz), but is actually a Stoic forgery (Class. Quart. 1931 xxv. 216).
6 Supra ii. 1027 f.
7 Theokr. 17. 1 f. ἐκ Δως ἄρχωμεσθα καὶ ἐκ Δια λήγετε, Μοῦσαι, ἄδυντων τοις δρατον ἐπι ταῖς ἰδιοίς.
8 Arat. phaen. 1 ἐκ Δως ἄρχωμεσθα (supra ii p. vi).
9 Cic. de legg. 2. 7 ‘a Iove Musarum primordia—sicut in Aratio carmine orsi sumus.
10 Verg. ecl. 3. 60 ab Iove principium, Musae, Aen. 7. 219 ab Iove principium generis.
11 Ov. met. 10. 148 f. ‘ab Iove, Musa parens,—cedunt Iovis omnia regno—| carmina nostra move.’
12 Calp. Sic. 4. 82 ab Iove principium, si quis canit aethera, sumat.
13 Arat. phaen. 1 ff. (supra ii p. vi).
General Conclusions with regard to

‘life’ to all things\(^1\), and *Día* as being the cause ‘through’ which they came to be\(^2\). Zeus enthroned as cosmic lord is a frequent theme of imperial art. So he appears, surrounded by all the host of heaven, in a fine ceiling-fresco of Nero’s Golden House\(^3\). And analogous designs were used to decorate minor works of art, an onyx phalera\(^4\), a terracotta lamp\(^5\), or what not? Anything circular would serve. Thus handsome bronze coins struck at Nikaia in Bithynia\(^6\) and Perinthos in Thrace\(^7\) show Zeus seated in the midst with smaller flanking figures of Sun and Moon, Earth and Sea, the whole enclosed by a broad band exhibiting all the signs of the zodiac—an irrefutable witness of his claim to world-dominion. Martianus Capella had indeed ample warrant for his hymn to Jupiter as ruler of the starry universe\(^8\). Small wonder that the type of the infant Zeus seated on a globe surrounded by stars\(^9\) was adapted for figures of the Father and the Son in church-mosaics of the fourth and following centuries\(^10\), or that the similar type of Zeus enthroned with the globe as his footstool\(^11\) is found on a fourth-century gold-glass simply lettered CRISTVS\(^12\).

Meantime morality was on the march, indeed was on the war-path. But reflexion shows that patristic satire on the chronique scandaleuse of Zeus\(^13\), however excusable in the heat of controversy, is not to be taken too seriously. It consists mainly of misdirected attacks on the alleged amours of the god with this, that, or the other mortal maiden. But in reality such liaisons point to the legitimate union of the sky-god with the earth-goddess, who in divers places had divers names and on occasion faded from goddess to heroine\(^14\). It might even be urged that this notorious characteristic of Zeus was a virtue rather than a vice, proving his permanence and adaptability in the face of changing conditions. The earth-mother ‘of many names\(^15\)’ took on a score of shapes: the sky-father remained constant to her in them all.

It was precisely this moral stability that made Zeus, not merely the wedding-god *par excellence* on account of his own *hieros gamos*\(^16\),

\(^1\) *Supra* i. 39 n. 4, ii. 259 n. o, 855 n. 2, 1103 n. 8.
\(^2\) *Supra* i. 39 n. 4, ii. 855 n. 2.
\(^3\) *Supra* iii. 39 ff. fig. 10.
\(^4\) *Supra* iii. 39 ff. fig. 10.
\(^5\) *Supra* iii. 39 pl. v.
\(^6\) *Supra* iii. 41 with fig. 15.
\(^7\) *Supra* i. 753 fig. 553.
\(^8\) *Supra* i. 753 f. fig. 552.
\(^9\) *Supra* i. 753 f. figs. 27 and 28.
\(^10\) *Supra* i. 50 f. figs. 23 and 24.
\(^11\) *Supra* i. 47 with fig. 20.
\(^12\) *Supra* i. 49 fig. 22.
\(^13\) *Supra* i. 167 n. 1.
\(^14\) *Supra* i. 779 f.
\(^15\) Aisch. *P.v.* 210 (cited *supra* ii. 176 n. 1).
\(^16\) *Souil.* s.v. *Teleia*. *Ĥa Teleia kal Zéús Teleios étiwotai en tois gamous, ói prwttaiés òntes toû gamou, têlos dé o gamos. Ía và protelêia ékaleito ò thosía ò þro toû gamou*
Zeus as god of the Dark Sky

but also the confessed patron of law and order. For as husband of Ge Thémis\(^1\) he was the natural guardian of thémistes or 'precedents\(^2\)' and the parent of Dike\(^3\) 'the Right Way of Things,' that is 'Justice.'\(^4\) It was his to judge between the lawful and the lawless, whether human or otherwise. Archilochos of Paros as far back as the middle of the seventh century\(^5\) could say:

Zeus, Father Zeus, thou reign'st in heaven above
Watching the works of mortal men,
Knavish or just; yea, all the beasts that move
Have rights and wrongs within thy ken.\(^6\)

There are grounds for suspecting that the laws inscribed on Solon's kyrbeis and dxones were held to be the very voice of Zeus\(^7\). Aischylos\(^8\) makes Dike a close ally of her father. Sophokles\(^9\) speaks of her as seated at his side.\(^10\) Euripides in the Melanippe

\(\gamma\omicron\mu\omicron\eta\eta\omicron\nu\sigma\tau\eta\) = schol. Aristoph. Theaen. 973. Cp. Dion. Hal. Ars rhet. 2. 2 θεός γὰρ καὶ 'Ημα, πρῶτοι γεννητοίς τε καὶ συνδιαφορέσσεται οὕτω τοι ὁ μὲν καὶ Πατὴρ καλεῖται πάνω δὲ Ζεὺς, ἀπό τοῦ γεννητοῦ τὸ θεῖο τῷ ὄρει (Poll. 3. 38 mentions Hera Thélæa, but omits Zeus). U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff Der Glaube der Hellenen Berlin 1932 ii. 143 n. 2 cites Inschr. Gr. sept. i no. 3217 (a fragment of white marble from Orchomenos in Boiotia) [........ Δι Θέλειψ, Προ Θελείψ as an inscription relating to a marriage. See further A. Klínz ΤΕΡΟΣ ΤΑΜΟΣ Halis Saxonum 1933 p. 109 ff.

1 Supra ii. 37, 267, 841. Hence, presumably, Plutarch's Zeus Θεωστος (infra p. 964 n. 2).

2 H. 1. 237 ff. νῦν αὐτὰ μὲν νῦς Ἀχαϊῶν ἐν παλάμη θροέσσει δικαστείου, ὥς τε θείωσας | πρὸς Δίος εἰρήνη, Od. 16. 403 εἰ μὲν κ' αἰνήσως Δίος μεγάλου δίκαιος.


5 W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur Munich 1912 i. 184.


7 Supra ii. 1093 n. 1.

8 Aisch. cho. 244 l.

9 Soph. Trach. 279, O.C. 1381 f.

10 O. Kern Orphicorum fragmenta Berolini 1922 p. 196 thinks that Sophokles was here following Orphic doctrine (infra p. 950 n. 4).
950 General Conclusions with regard to

Bound scoffs at the crude Hesiodic idea of Dike acting as court-assessor to Zeus, but in the *Troyades* still couples his name with hers:

O Earth's Upbearer on the Earth enthroned,
Who'er thou mayest be, hard to guess or know,
Zeus, be thou Nature's Law or Mind of Man,
To thee I pray; for stepping silently
Thou lead'st all mortal things on the path of Justice.

Orphic teaching represented both Dike and Nomos as pdredroi of Zeus. And the eclectic author of the pseudo-Aristotelian work *On the Universe* (s. i B.C.), after quoting with approval an Orphic hymn to Zeus, concludes his treatise with the words?

'God, then, as the old story has it, holding the beginning and the end and the middle of all things that exist, proceeding by a straight path in the course of

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1 Eur. frag. 506 Nauck ap. Stob. ecl. i. 3. 14 b. p. 54. ff. Wachsmuth doxeté ποιδὸν τάκτικαμαί εἰς θεός πετροφόρι, κάπης ἐν δίῳ δέλτους πνευματα | γράφων τόν αὐτά, Ζήρα ὧν ὀνομάτων ὅν | θυντών διακέφαλον ὃς ὁ πάς δικαστικός | δίῳ γράφον τός βροτῶν ἀμαρτίαν τῆς αἰράσεως ἐοῦ εἴκον ἐν σκοκῶν | κείμενων κεκλητὴ φημαῖ | ἄλλ᾽ ἡ Δίκη | ἐπιστήθη ποιτῶν ἐγγένη, εἰ θυλεῖ ἡ ὅραν. Cp. Deut. 30. 11 ff. 'For this commandment which I command thee this day....It is not in heaven, that thou shouldst say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, and make us to hear it, that we may do it?...But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it.'

2 W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1912 i. 736, München 1920 ii. 376.

3 [Aristot.] de mundo 7. 401 b 24 ff. trans. E. S. Forster.
Zeus as god of the Dark Sky

nature brings them to accomplishment; and with him ever follows Justice, the avenger of all that falls short of the Divine Law—Justice, in whom may he that is to be happy be from the very first a blessed and happy partaker!

Plutarch\(^1\) in his address \textit{To an uneducated Ruler} is dissatisfied with such conventional views and protests that Dike is no mere \textit{páredros} of Zeus but must, like Themis and the highest \textit{Nomos}\(^2\), be frankly identified with Zeus himself:

'Now it is true that Anaxarchus, trying to console Alexander in his agony of mind over his killing of Cleitus, said that the reason why Justice and Right are seated by the side of Zeus is that men may consider every act of a king as rightous and just; but neither correct nor helpful were the means he took in endeavouring to heal the king's remorse for his sin, by encouraging him to further acts of the same sort. But if a guess about this matter is proper, I should say that Zeus does not have Justice to sit beside him, but is himself Justice and Right and the oldest and most perfect of laws; but the ancients state it in that way in their writings and teachings, to imply that without Justice not even Zeus can rule well.'

When Antiochos i of Kommagene called himself by the bombastic title \textit{Thēs Dikaios Epiphanēs}, 'the Just God Made Manifest,' he was perhaps posing as \textit{Zeus Oromādes} incarnate\(^3\). In late times Zeus acquired the appellation \textit{Dikaiōsynos} as Judge of the just and unjust\(^4\), and at Karousa in Paphlagonia was worshipped as \textit{Dikaiōsynos Mégas}\(^5\).

But, before perfection can be reached, Justice must be tempered with Clemency, Mercy, and Love. Of which kindlier qualities there are stray hints and previsions in the cults of Zeus \textit{Meilichios}\(^6\), Zeus \textit{Hikésios}\(^7\), and Zeus \textit{Philios}\(^8\). Particularly impressive for its moral implicates is the attitude of Zeus towards the man-slayer. It would seem that the bloodguilty person, who fled from the vengeance of his victim's kin and appeared in some far off village as a suppliant stranger, was—according to ancient Greek usage—believed to be under the special protection of a divine escort\(^9\), nay more, was

\(^1\) Plout. \textit{ad princ. inerudit.} \textit{4 trans.} H. N. Fowler.
\(^3\) Supra i. 743 n. 5. \(^4\) Supra ii. 1092 n. 8. \(^5\) Ib. \(^6\) Supra ii. 1091 ff. (Append. M). \(^7\) Supra ii. 1093 n. 1, 1097 n. 2. \(^8\) Supra ii. 1160 ff. (Append. N). \(^9\) Supra i. 1097 n. 0.
General Conclusions with regard to originally regarded as himself a potential god. Hence we hear, not only of Zeus Ηικήσων ‘the God of Suppliants,’ but also of Zeus Ηικήτας, himself ‘the Suppliant,’ and even of Zeus alistor, Zeus ‘the curse’—a daring and desperate identification of the deity with the sinner. These things are strangely suggestive. Simple souls dwelling round the Mediterranean were prepared to believe that any day a god might appear in their midst in the likeness of a man. Why not as ‘the man Christ Jesus’? Further, it would not stagger them to think that such an one might somehow condescend to identify himself with the sinner and even to ‘become a curse for us.’

Other ‘august anticipations’ may be detected, by those who have ears to hear, in all parts of the ancient world. If for cultural and religious purposes Greece as a whole be divided into three zones, northern, central, and southern, it will naturally be found that of these the first and third were to a large extent independent and pursued their own lines of development, while the second lay open to influences received from either side. But in all three the same upward trend is observable.

Thus in the north the Thraco-Phrygians recognised a sky-god Dios, an earth-goddess Zemela, and their offspring Dios Νυσσός, Dios ‘the Younger.’ The son was held to be a rebirth of the father, whose name and nature he duplicated. Hence the ill-understood association of the Anatolian mother-goddess with a partner conceived at once as her husband and her child—Kybele, for example, having a youthful consort invoked as Άττις, ‘Daddy,’ or Πάπας, ‘Papa.’ And hence too the success with which Christianity was propagated in Phrygia and Thrace among a people who already believed in a Father manifesting himself anew in the person of his Son. Even the rites and formulae of Attis might pass muster as quasi-Christian.

In central Greece Dios, Zemela, and Dios Νυσσός became naturalised as Zeus, Semele, and Dionysos. But again there were

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1 Supra ii. 1996 n. 4. 2 Supra ii. 1996 n. 1. 3 Supra ii. 1998 n. 5, cp. ib. nn. 4 and 6. 4 Supra ii. 1996 n. 4. 5 1 Tim. 2. 6. 6 Gal. 3. 13. 7 R. Browning Paracelsus 5 sub fin. ‘But in completed man begins anew | A tendency to God. Prognostics told | Man’s near approach; so in man’s self arise | August anticipations, symbols, types | Of a dim splendour ever on before | In that eternal circle life pursues.’ 8 Supra ii. 277 ff., 842. 9 Supra ii. 294 with n. 1, 842. 10 Supra ii. 294, 842. 11 Supra ii. 292 ff., 842. 12 Supra ii. 388 ff., 303, 842. 13 Supra ii. 303 ff. 14 Supra ii. 277 ff., 842.
obvious points of contact between Dionysiac and Christian practice. The former like the latter made much of collective emotion\(^1\), treated the inspired devotee as one with his god\(^2\), transcended the narrow limits of Hellenism\(^3\), and taught the mystery of life through death\(^4\). It is notorious that the *Christus Patiens*, a play written in the middle ages on the supreme tragedy of Calvary\(^5\), was composed largely of lines and half-lines culled from the *Bacchae*\(^6\).

In the south we have a similar but older triad—the sky-god Kronos\(^7\), the earth-goddess Rhea\(^8\), and their youthful son Zagreus or the Cretan Zeus, whose death and resurrection were annually celebrated as a means of reviving the life of all that lives\(^9\). Zeus *Idatos* in the fifth century had mystics, who by their sacraments assimilated themselves to their god and thereafter, clad in white raiment, led a life of ceremonial purity\(^10\). Zeus *Asterios* of Gortyna seems early to have taken on a solar character, but in the Hellenistic age is viewed as god of the starry sky\(^11\). Aratos, when about to describe the whole series of constellations, starts with the Bears and tells how once in Crete they hid the infant Zeus in a cave and nurtured him there for a year, while the Dictaean Kouretes were deceiving Kronos\(^12\). Now Aratos was a native of Soloi or, some

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\(^1\) *Supra* i. 667, 672, 688, etc.
\(^2\) *Supra* i. 648 ff., 673, 675 ff., 705.
\(^3\) The Dionysiac nomenclature was syncretistic. *Dionysos* came from Thrace (*supra* i. 695, 780, ii. 268, etc.). *Bakchos* perhaps came from Egypt, where at Hermotitis men worshipped the bull *Bakha* (*supra* i. 436 ff., ii. 268 n. 4). *Zagreus* probably came from Mt *Zagros* or *Zagron* in Assyria, passing first through Phoinike and then through Crete (*supra* i. 651, ii. 268 n. 4). Thus elements drawn from north, south, and east combined to form a religion of well-nigh universal appeal.

\(^4\) Dionysos, the life-god of the Thracians (*supra* ii. 1024 ff.), dies only to rise again.

Those who took part in his *drômenon*, those who witnessed his *drôma*, thereby became partakers of his immortality (*supra* i. 663 f., 673).


\(^6\) K. Krumbacher *op. cit.*? p. 746 ‘Ein volles Drittel der 2640 Verse (ausser den vereinzelten Anapästen V. 1461 ff. nur Trimeter), aus welchen das Drama besteht, ist fremdes Eigentum. Den grössten Teil dieses Lehnstücks lieferten sieben Dramen des Euphorides, nämlich Hekabe, Medea, Orestes, Hippolytos, Troades, Rhesos und Bacchen; dazu kommen einige Dutzend Verse aus dem Prometheus von Aeschylus und Agamemnon des Aeschylus aus der Kassandra des Lykophrón.‘ As to the *Bacchae*, Sir J. E. Sandys in his edition of that play (ed. 3 Cambridge 1892 p. lxxxv) says: ‘a large number of its lines were appropriated by the compiler of the dreary cento known as the *Christus Patiens*, once attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus.’

\(^7\) *Supra* ii. 548 ff.
\(^8\) *Supra* i. 649 n. 3, ii. 515, 548.
\(^9\) *Supra* i. 646.
\(^10\) *Supra* i. 648.
\(^11\) *Supra* i. 547.
\(^12\) Arat. *phaen.* 30 ff. (cited *supra* ii. 928 n. 0).
General Conclusions with regard to

said, of Tarsos. It is therefore of interest to note that Paul of Tarsos in his speech before the Areiopagos actually quotes the words used by his fellow-countryman with regard to the Cretan Zeus—

"For we are also his offspring;"

and in the same context cites, perhaps from a lost poem by Epimenides, Minos' panegyric of the god—

"in him we live, and move, and have our being."

Paul must have been struck, and struck forcibly, by the Cretan parallel—a divine child born to be king, hidden in a cave from his enemies, apparently weak and helpless, yet able to control the stars in their courses, one with whom his worshippers the world over could claim kinship, while dependent on him for life, and breath, and all things. Truly the cult of Zeus Asterios has once more landed us on the very confines of Christendom.

Proofs might be multiplied, but I have said enough to show that the physical basis of the cult of Zeus involved mental, moral, and spiritual issues, which themselves rose to great heights and were prophetic of even greater things to come.

Many, if not most, of these sublimer aspects were caught and canonized when Pheidias at the very zenith of his fame made his statue of Zeus Olympios for the fifth-century temple in the Altis. For a detailed description of it we are in the main dependent on the dry paragraphs of Pausanias, eked out by allusions elsewhere. It appears that the god, a colossal figure in gold and ivory, sat enthroned with a Victory likewise of ivory and gold, bearing a fillet and wearing a wreath, in his right hand and a sceptre, embellished with various metals and topped by an eagle, in his left. He had an olive-wreath on his head and golden sandals on his feet, his himation

1 G. Knaack in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 391 f. (‘Wahrscheinlich war die Familie...von Tarsos nach Soloi ubergesiedelt; deshalb wohl nennt Asklepiades von Myrina Tarsos als Geburtsort (Vit. i p. 22, 5 [p. 76, 4 ff. Maas 'Aischypides de o Mylenas en to i 'Peri grammaticow Tarsos philon auton gegovnian allt' od Solua = Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 299 Muller)'), B. A. Muller De Asclepiade Myrleano Leipzig 1903 p. 43.
2 Acts 17. 28 (cited supra i. 664 n. 3).
3 Supra i. 157 n. 3, 663 n. 2, 664 n. 1.
4 Supra i. 664 f.
5 Supra ii. 757 f.
6 Paus. 5. ii. 1—11.
7 Overbeck Schriftenellen p. 125 ff. nos. 692—695, 697—754. A shorter set of extracts, with English rendering and brief notes, will be found in H. Stuart Jones Select Passages from Ancient Writers illustrative of the History of Greek Sculpture London 1895 p. 84 ff. nos. 111—114.
8 Paus. 5. ii. 1 τα δ' ἀριστερά τοῦ θεοῦ χεῖρι ἑνεστὶ (so Porson for χεῖρι εὐτι codd.) σχήματος μετάλλου τοῦ πάσαν ἡμεθισμένοι.
Zeus as god of the Dark Sky

of gold being inwrought with living creatures and lily-flowers. His throne, decked with gold and jewels, ebony and ivory, had upon it numerous figures painted and carved. It was surmounted by groups representing the daughters of Zeus—three Charites and three Horai. Each throne-leg showed four dancing Victories above, and two others below. On the two front legs were Sphinxes grasping Theban children, and beneath them Apollo and Artemis shooting down the Niobids. The throne-legs were connected by four bars. The front bar carried seven, originally eight, figures illustrative of ancient athletic contests. The other three bars had, all told, twenty-nine figures—Heraclès and his allies, Theseus among them, engaged in fighting the Amazons. The throne was supported not only by four legs, but by four pillars between them. The space beneath it, however, could not be entered, being pro

1 Ib. τῷ ἔμπλοτι ἱερών δεκα τε καὶ τῶν ἄνθρωπον τά χειρά τῶν ἄνθρωπων. The ἱερών perhaps typified fertility in the animal world; the κρίνα (supra i. 623 ff.), in the vegetable world.

2 Supra i. 155.

3 Supra ii. 37 n. 1, 94 n. 2.

4 H. Bulle in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 328 and 338 (’Es ist das erste bezeugte Beispiel einer ausgedehnten dekorativen Verwendung der Niken an einem monumentalen Kunstwerke, wofür die zahlreichen kleinen dekorativen Bronzefiguren von der athenerischen Akropolis und die Verdoppelung der Nike auf Vasenbildern kaum als Vorläufer angeführt werden dürfen.’ etc.).

5 F. Eichler ’Thebanische Sphinx’ in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1937 xxx. 75—110 figs. 19—32 has made it probable that two fragmentary groups in a blackish stone (’Diabastaff (’Schalstein’))’ found by the Austrians at Ephesus and now in the Depot at Vienna were copied from one of the ebony (?) arm-supports of Pheidias’ Zeus.

6 Supra ii. 475 n. 7.

7 Paus. 5. 11. 3 adds that the man binding his head with a fillet was said to resemble Pantarkes (cp. 6. 10. 6, 6. 15. 2), an Elean youth who won a victory in the wrestling-match of Ol. 86 (436—433 b.c.) and was the παιδα of Pheidias.

Later writers affirm that Pheidias inscribed Πανταρκῆς καλὸς on the finger of Zeus (Clem. Al. prodr. 45. 3. 4. p. 41, 18 ff. Stählin, Arnob. adv. nat. 6, 13, Phot. lex. and Soud. s.v. Ραουσωύνα Νεκταρία). But Gregory of Nazianzos tells the same tale of Athena Parthenos (Greg. Naz. paenula 1. 2. 10. 863 f. (xxvii. 742 A Migne)); and Libanius, of Aphrodite (Liban. ap. schol. Clem. Al. prodr. p. 313, 7 f. Stählin)—perhaps meaning the Nemesis of Rhamnous (supra i. 273) or Αφροδίτης σχήματι (Phot. and Soud. loc. cit.). Lastly, Eunapios, if his text be sound (v. Αἰσχυλ. 177 p. 101 Boissonade μητρὶ Θεότητος τό τοῦ δίκτυον παραλαβέναι καὶ τὸν παιδα πρὸς ἑπετοῖς τῆς θεᾶς), appears to connect the incident with a goddess; but D. Wytenbach’s cp. πῶς for παιδα may well be right (so J. F. Boissonade ed. 2 Paris 1878 and W. C. Wright ed. London 1922). On the whole, this famous anecdote, if not absolutely incredible (it might conceivably be argued that an Olympic victor was an embodiment of the Olympic god (Folk-Lore 1904 xv. 399 ff.), that Zeus mindful of Ganymedes might make allowance for the sculptor, that Πανταρκῆς could be explained away as πανταρκῆς—an epithet worthy of Zeus himself (Aisch. Pers. 855 f. πανταρκῆς ἀκάκεις διακόσια βασιλεύς, ἱερόθεοι Δαιρείας (cp. supra ii. 853), Hesych. s.vv. πανταρκῆς, παιδα βοῦθι, πανταρκῆς ὀ τὰν ἀδρακών, etc.), is at least highly improbable.

In any case Pheidias’ statue of a boy binding a fillet on his head (Paus. 6. 4. 5) is not ad rem (see Furtwängler Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt. p. 40 n. 1, Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner ad loc.).
956 General Conclusions with regard to
tected by barriers like walls\(^1\). Of these, the one that faced the door
was simply coloured blue; the rest were painted by Panainos the
brother of Pheidias with pictures of Atlas and Herakles, Theseus
and Herakles, Penthesileia and Achilles, and lastly two Hesperides.
The footstool had golden lions\(^2\) and a frieze showing Theseus'
Zeus as god of the Dark Sky

Contest with the Amazons. The pedestal was adorned with an elaborate composition in gold. In the centre Aphrodite rose from the foreparts of lions (i. 61 fig. 36), or it might have leonine legs (iii. 663 fig. 474, 664 fig. 475, 665 fig. 476, 668 fig. 480, 684 fig. 495, 716 fig. 530, 810 fig. 619) or leonine claws (i. 747 fig. 545, iii. 674 fig. 485, 680 fig. 491), or at least a footstool with leonine feet (i pl. i). And the usage could be traced further afield. Solomon's chryselephantine throne had lions standing beside the stays and on each of the six steps (1 Kings 10. 19 f.). Egyptian chairs of state often have leonine legs and arm-rests in the shape of lions (J. G. Wilkinson Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians London 1837 ii. 196 with col. pl. 11). The finest example is the throne of Tut-ankh-Amen, which has leonine legs surmounted by lion-heads of chased gold (H. Carter—A. C. Mace The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen London 1923 i. 117ff. with pls. 2, 63—64). In India too the lion is a symbol of royalty (A. de Gubernatis Zoological Mythology London 1872 ii. 153 ff.). Mr E. J. Thomas draws my attention to the Hindu Simhasana or 'Lion-seat' (Sir M. Monier-Williams A Sanskrit-English Dictionary Oxford 1899 p. 1213 'Simhasana, n. “lion’s-seat,” “king’s seat,” “a throne,” MBh.; Kav. &c. '), the thirty-two statuettes of which related to king Bhoja thirty-two tales about their former owner king Vikrama (F. Edgerton 'A Hindu Book of Tales: the Vikramarājāta' in the Am. Journ. Phil. 1912 xxxiii. 249 ff., id. Vikrama's Adventures or The Thirty-two Tales of the Throne Cambridge, Mass. 1926 vols. i and ii (Text, Translation, and Notes)). A Hittite god at Carchemish was enthroned on a pedestal representing two lions controlled by a servitor (G. Contenau Manuel d'archéologie orientale Paris 1931 iii. 1136 fig. 747). The archaic goddess from Prinia in Crete was similarly enthroned on a base adorned with a frieze of lionesses (E. Lowy in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1909 xii. 246 fig. 123, V. Chapot in Daremberg—Saglio Diet. Ant. v. 280 with fig. 6917). The huge gilded throne in the Magnaura at Constantinople was guarded by lions with moveable tongues, which could roar and lash their tails (Liudprand of Cremona antapodosis 6. 5 p. 154 J. Becker3 (cxxxvi. 895 A—to Migne)).

Such parallels are hardly fortuitous. Behind them all we can dimly discern that Felidenkultur of which L. Frobenius Kulturgeschichte Afrikas Zürich 1933 pp. 63—101 figs. 1—20 has much to say. Among the Baganda and allied tribes of Bantu speech the lion is a royal totem (J. Roscoe The Baganda London 1911 pp. 128, 187), and it is believed that kings after death are reborn as lions, their mortal remains breeding maggots which turn into lion-cubs (J. Roscoe The Banyankole Cambridge 1923 pp. 27, 54, F. H. Melland In Witch-bound Africa London 1923 p. 151 (chiefs of the Ba-Kaonde)). The king, then, as such was a lion. And I should conjecture that his throne with leonine legs originally emphasised his claim by transforming the human biped into the animal quadruped. Relics of these forgotten or half-forgotten beliefs may be found in prophecies (Aisch. Ag. 1213 ff., 1258 ff.), dreams (Hdt. 6. 13 r, Plout. v. Per. 3, Artemid. oneirocr. 2. 12, 3. 66, Aehines oneirocr. 267 (ει των Περσων και Διονυσίων περι Μέλων και Θηρών)) p. 218 ff. Drexel), and popular locutions (Aristoph. Thesm. 514 λεον λέω σι γέγωνον, cp. Plout. v. Lycois bεαλιδες ημα γέγωγον). Much ancient lore gathered about the birth of Alexander (Plout. v. Alex. 2 η μν σόν νομο, προ της νυκτός η συνείρχησαν εις των θάλαμων, εδοξε βρωμή γενομένη ἐμπέπτων αυτής τῇ γαστρὶ κερανί, εκ τῆς πληγῆς πολὺ πρὸ τοῦ αναθήματι, εὔξη γρήγορον εις φθόνος πάλτερ φερμομένα βαλανθεῖαι, οὗ δὲ Φίλεως οὐτερχρόν χρόνῳ μετά τῶν γαμών εἶναν διὸν αὐτῶν ἐκβάλλοντα σφραγῖς τῇ γαστρὶ τῆς γυναικὸς: ἡ δὲ γλυφὴ τῆς σφραγίδος, ἀπ χείτου λέοντος εἶχεν εἰκόνα. τῶν δὲ ἀλλων μεστῶν ὑφρόμενων τῆς δύνας, ἡ κατειρέταρας φύλακες θευμάτων τῷ Φίλεως περὶ τῶν γαμῶν, Αριστάνδρος ὁ Τελμισασίος κύκλι έπο τὴν ἄλλωστι, οὕτω γὰρ ἀποσφραγίζοντα τῶν κενῶν, καὶ κύκλων παῦλον καὶ λευκά τριστερὰ καὶ λευκάτῳ τῆς φως), whose leonine looks were successfully rendered by Lysippos (Plout. de Alex. Mag. fort. aut virt. 2. 2) and—it may be added—most unsuccessfully by the later numismatic die-sinkers (e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Macedonia, Etc. p. 19 no. 84 fig., p. 20 no. 87 fig., Hunter Cat. Coins i. 355 no. 1 pl. 24, 13, McClean Cat. Coins ii. 86 nos. 3716 and 3717 pl. 138, 10 and 11).
General Conclusions with regard to the sea, received by Eros and crowned by Peitho. On either side of this group were a dozen deities arranged in pairs—on the left, Zeus and Hera, Hephaistos and Charis, Hermes and Hestia; on the right, Apollon and Artemis, Athena and Herakles, Amphitrite and Poseidon. The whole assemblage was flanked on the left by Helios in his chariot, on the right by Selene riding her horse or mule.

In front of all this splendour, with its wealth of mythological meaning, was a bare black pavement of Eleusinian stone, which—whatever its practical purpose—aesthetically must have served, in the half-light of the temple, to isolate the statue from the spectator and to uplift the whole glittering vision towards the starry roof.

Pausanias' penultimate comment is worth quoting:

'I am aware that the measurements of the Zeus at Olympia in point of height and breadth are on record, but I cannot commend those who measured it. For even the measurements they mention fall far short of the impression made by the image upon such as have seen it. Why, the god himself, they say, bore witness to the art of Pheidias. When the image was finished, Pheidias prayed the god to grant a token if the work was to his mind. And, straightforward, they declare, he hurled a thunderbolt into the ground at the spot where down to my time stood a hydria of bronze.'

What this masterpiece really looked like in the full glory of its ancient setting, we cannot, of course, hope to know. Any attempt to reconstruct it on paper (supra ii pl. xlvi), partly from Pausanias' careful enumeration of details, partly from the small-scale copies of form and features on imperial coins of Elis.

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1 Infra p. 967.
2 Paus. 5. 11. 9.

These articles between them cover all the Zeus-types on the coinage of Olympia from the latter part of s. vi b.C. onwards.

Some at least of the earlier types (e.g. the seated Zeus supra ii. 727 figs. 700 and 701, 1224 fig. 1022) may well be reminiscent of a pre-Pheidian cult-image. I agree with
Coins, struck by Hadrian, representing the Zeus Olympos of Pheidias:

(1a, 1b) Two differently lighted views of bronze coin now at Paris.

(2) Bronze coin now at Florence.

(3) and (4) Bronze coins now at Berlin.

See page 989 n. 1.
Zeus as god of the Dark Sky

(pl. lxix), must remain almost laughably inadequate. But, after all, as Pausanias implies, the important thing about the Pheidian Zeus was not his dimensions but his dignity, not his physical greatness but his moral grandeur. And if we cannot recreate his vanished effigy with much assurance, we can at least recall the impression

Miss G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, Yale Univ. Press 1929, p. 169: 'For the long interval between the completion of the temple and Pheidias' statue we may be permitted to hazard an explanation. Can we not suppose that originally a marble cult statue was made for the temple and stood duly in its place when the building was completed in 456? The existence of such an earlier image is indeed suggested by recent investigations of the floor of the temple which have indicated the presence of a substructure with ex-votos beneath the Pheidian construction [K. Lehmann-Hartlieben, "Libon und Phidias" in the *Fahr. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix pp. 37—48]. Possibly the noble and severe head of Zeus (fig. 610) and the enthroned figure (fig. 611) which appear on the coins of Elis...were inspired by it. The expense of this statue—as well as of the temple—was defrayed from the spoils taken by the Eleans when they reduced Pisa and the other dependent cities which had revolted, just as Pausanias [5. 10. 2] tells us. Then thirty years later the same great earthquake which caused the mutilation of the crouching figures from the angles of the western pediment [cp. W. Dörpfeld in *Olympia* ii. 21]...also damaged this statue of Zeus. By this time the praise of the great gold and ivory statue of the Athena Parthenos was resounding throughout Greece; and Olympia determined to have a similar resplendent figure by the same master sculptor.'

But not till imperial times can we expect to find any accurate renderings of the Pheidian figure (P. Gardner, *Types of Gk. Coins* pp. 77 ff., 146, 176 ff., 197 with pl. 15). Under Hadrian, when art took an antiquarian turn (W. Weber in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1936 xi. 320 f. and G. Rodenwaldt, *ib. p. 800 f.*) and the emperor himself posed as Zeus *Olympios* (supra ii. 956 n. 0, 959 n. 0, 962 n. 2, 1120 n. 0, 1121 n. 0), we get our first really relevant copies of the final cult-statue.

1 Pl. lxix gives photographic reproductions, to the scale ½, of the four most important coins:

(1 a) and (1 b) are two differently lighted views of a unique bronze coin, struck by Hadrian, now at Paris. It was first figured by J. Friedlaender in the *Berliner Blätter* loc. cit. pl. 30, 2. See further Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus* p. 36 Münztaf. 1, 34.

(2) is another bronze coin struck by Hadrian, now at Florence, which has long been known. See Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus* p. 35 f. Münztaf. 2, 4. H. G. Evelyn-White in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1908 xxviii. 49 fig. 1 illustrates it to the scale ½. A second specimen, formerly owned by Queen Christina of Sweden (1626—1689), is lost. A third, from a slightly varied die, was found by H. Dressel, thickly oxidised, among the duplicates at Olympia and is published by R. Weil in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1912 xxix. 368 f. pl. 10, 3 a. The obv. bust of Hadrian is inscribed ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΠΑΝΑΙΩΝΟΣ ΑΙΣ ΑΙΩΝΩΝ. A very exceptional formula perhaps denoting an honour conferred on the emperor by the Panhellenes, when he was present in person at the Olympic festival of 129 A.D. (so Weil loc. cit. p. 370 f.).

(3) is a third bronze coin struck by Hadrian and secured by J. Friedlaender for the Berlin cabinet. H. G. Evelyn-White *loc. cit.* p. 51 fig. 2 illustrates it to the scale ½. Several replicas were found at Olympia, of which the best preserved, now at Athens, is published by R. Weil *loc. cit.* p. 370 pl. 10, 4 a.

(4) is a fourth bronze coin struck by Hadrian, also in the Berlin collection. H. G. Evelyn-White *loc. cit.* p. 51 fig. 3 illustrates it to the scale ½. This coin, like no. (2), shows small projections on the stile of the throne representing the ἀγάλματα of the xoanies (supra p. 956 n. 0), but the bared body of the god and his highly raised left arm (supra ii. 754) are concessions to the taste of a later age.
that it made on men of various tempers and types—the soldier, the
man in the street, the scholarly thinker, the religious reformer, the
eclectic moralist.

L. Aimilius Paullus after his brilliant Macedonian campaign
travelled through Greece (167 B.C.), and having long been anxious
to see Olympia made his way thither, only to find his expectations
utterly eclipsed by the reality. Livy puts it with dry, unconscious
humour:

'Passing through Megalopolis he went up to Olympia. Here he saw sundry
things worth seeing, and on beholding Zeus as it were face to face was moved
in his spirit. And so, just as if he had been about to offer victims on the Capitol,
he ordered a bigger sacrifice than usual to be made ready.'

It took much to 'move' a Roman general of the old school.

The popular verdict is voiced by Quintilian:

'As an artist Pheidias is held to have been better at making gods than at making
men, but as a worker in ivory to have been quite without a rival—even had he
made nothing beyond the Athena at Athens or the Olympian Zeus in Elis. The
beauty of the latter is thought actually to have added something to the received
religion; so far did the majesty of the work go towards equality with the god-
head.'

Reflective minds would want to know the source of a beauty so
striking that it could be described as a real contribution to Greek
religion. Cicero speculates along Platonic lines:

'I maintain that nothing is ever so beautiful as not to be beaten in beauty by
that from which it is copied as a portrait is copied from a face, that original
which cannot be perceived by eye or ear or any other sense but grasped only by

1 Polyb. 30. 10.
2 Liv. 45. 28 unde per Megalopolim Olympiam escendit. ubi et alia quidem spectanda
visa, et Iovem velut præsentem iuntens motus animo est. itaque haud secus quam si in
Capitoliio immolaturus esset, sacrificium amplius solito apparari iussit.
4 E. Klebs in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 578 f.
5 Quint. inst. or. 12. 10. 9 Phidias tamen diis quam hominibus efficiendis melior
artifex creditur, in ebore vero longe citra aemulum vel si nihil nisi Minervam Athenis aut
Olympium in Elide Iovem fecisset, cuius pulchritudo adieciesse aliquid etiam receptae
religioni videtur; adeo maiestas operis deum aequavit.
6 Lucian in cynical mood bears witness to the same effect on the mind of the populace:
6 Cic. orat. 8 f. The passage ends: nec vero ille artifex, cum faceret Iovis formam aut
Minervae, contemplabatur aliquem e quo similitudinem duceret, sed ipsius in mente
insidebat species pulchritudinis eximia quaedam, quam intuens in easque defixus ad
illius similitudinem ariem et manum dirigebat. Sir J. E. Sandys ad loc. quotes Platin.
g. 5. 1 etiaki kai o Pheidias ton Dia pròs oideis aisthetan pokras, alla laoubon olos en genwos,
et hain o Zein eli armatov ethalos fafnavai and an interesting parallel in a letter from
Zeus as god of the Dark Sky

thought or mind. Thus we can think of forms more beautiful even than the statues of Pheidias, the most perfect things of their kind that we can see, or than those paintings that I have mentioned. Yet that great artist, when he was fashioning the shape of his Zeus or Athena, did not fix his gaze on any individual whose likeness he drew. No, in his own mind dwelt an ideal of surpassing beauty. Beholding that and lost in the contemplation thereof he turned art and hand to the task of reproducing its likeness.

Platonic too in its essence is the remark attributed by Philostratos to that eccentric genius Apollonios of Tyana:

'When he saw the statue enthroned at Olympia he said “Hail, good Zeus, whose goodness consists in giving of thine own self to men.”'

In the summer of the year 97 A.D. Dion of Prousa delivered a semi-Stoic discourse to the Greeks assembled at Olympia. The greater part of it is concerned with the cult-effigy of Zeus, to which the orator returns again and yet again with an ever fresh ardour of devotion and an astonishing variety of encomiastic phrases. He describes it as being 'of all the images on earth the most beautiful and the most beloved of heaven.' And he calls upon Pheidias, 'this wise, inspired maker of a creation at once solemn and supremely beautiful,' to expound and justify his rendering of Zeus.

All would admit, says Dion, that it is 'a sweet and welcome vision, a spectacle of untold delight to Hellenes and barbarians alike.' Nay, even brute creatures, could they but observe it, would be impressed: bulls led to the altar would be content to suffer, if it pleased the god; eagles, horses, lions would lose their wildness and be soothed at the sight. ‘While of men, whosoever is utterly

Raphael to Baldassare Castiglione: ‘To paint a figure truly beautiful, it might be necessary that I should see many beautiful forms, with the further provision that you should yourself be near, to select the best; but seeing that good judges and beautiful women are scarce, I avail myself of a certain “idea” which comes into my mind (io mi servo di certa idea che mi viene nella mente).’

1 Philostr. v. Apoll. 4. 28 p. 167 Kayser ἐδών δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ θεὸν τὸ ἐν 'Ολυμπία «χαίρε,» εἰτερ, «ἀγαθός Ζεύς, οὐ γὰρ οὕνως τι ἀγαθός, ὦ καὶ σαυτὸς κοιμώμεθα τοῖς θεορόις? This is not the colloquial ὣ ἀγαθός, but a more serious use of the adjective as in Plat. Tim. 29 D—Ε λέγωμεν δὴ δε ἡμῖνα αἰτίας γένεσιν καὶ τὸ πῶς τόδε ὁ ξυστάς ξυστέστερον. ἀγαθὸς ἦν, ἀγαθὸ δὲ οὐδεὶς περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδέκτεστε ἐγγίζεται φθίνον τοῦτον δ’ ἐκτὸς ὧν πάντα δ’ τι μάλιστα γενόσθαι εἴρυθη παρακλήσια ἐστι. Cr. Mark 10. 17 f., Luke 18. 18 f. (Matth. 19. 16 f.).

2 W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1920 ii. 1. 361.

3 Dion Chrys. or. 12 p. 220 Dindorf πάντως, δει ἵστων ἐπὶ γῆς ἀγάλματα, κάλλωσιν καὶ θεοφάτοσιν.

4 Id. ib. p. 239 Dindorf τῶν σοφῶν τοῦτον καὶ δαμακῶν ἐργάσεων τοῦ στεμβὸ καὶ παγκάλου δημιουργήματοι.

5 Id. ib. p. 239 Dindorf ὡς μὲν ἦδο καὶ προσφελές δράμα καὶ τέρφων ἄλχαρον θέας εἰργάσων πάσων Ἐλληνες καὶ βαρβάροις, δει τοῦ δεισο νάκες τοῦτον πολλάς πολλάς, οὐδεὶς ἄντερει.

6 Id. ib. p. 229 Dindorf.

C. III. 61
weary in soul, having drained many sufferings and sorrows in his life without the solace of sweet sleep, even he, methinks, if he stood over against this statue, would forget all the terrors and hardships of humanity." Aforetime, adds Dion, in lack of clear knowledge we dreamed our several dreams and fashioned our individual fancies, or at most combined the unconvincing likenesses produced by previous craftsmen. 'But you,' he says turning to Pheidias, 'through the potency of your art have conquered and combined Hellas first and then the rest of the world by means of this marvel, a work so amazing and brilliant that no man who had once set eyes on it could afterwards readily form a different conception.'

Yet, granted all this, continues Dion, in making a human figure of more than human beauty and magnitude out of these pleasing materials, did you really select the right type and create a form worthy of the god? To which penetrating question Pheidias in his own defence replies, that he was not the first exponent and teacher of truth heard by Hellas in her infancy. He had to deal with a people already grown up and holding earnestly enough religious views already accepted and established. He would not stress the agreement of sculptors and painters in the past, but look rather to those other craftsmen, the poets, older and wiser than himself. They by virtue of their poems could lead men to form concepts, whereas his handiwork could at best raise a sufficient probability.... Mind and wisdom no modeller or painter can portray. Their task is to know the human body in which these qualities reside, and they attribute the same to God. In default of the original, they seek by means of that which is seen and imaginable to show forth that which is unimaginable and unseen, using a symbol superior to the animal types by which barbarians represent the divine.... Nor can we maintain that it would have been a better plan to have made no statue or semblance of the gods, but to have looked only upon the heavenly bodies. The wise man worships every one of these, deeming that he can see the blessed gods afar off. But all men are so disposed towards the divine that they feel a passionate
desire to honour and tend it near at hand, approaching it and touching it with conviction, offering sacrifices to it and setting wreaths upon it. Just as little children, when torn away from father or mother, are stricken with sore longing and yearning, and often in dreams stretch out their arms to the absent ones, so men, justly loving the gods because of their kindliness and kinship, are eager to associate with them in every way and to share their company. Hence many barbarians through poverty and lack of art give the name of gods to mountains, rough tree-trunks, and shapeless stones, things that are assuredly no more suitable than this form of ours. In choosing the human shape I have followed the lead of Homer...though handicapped by the limitations of my art. Poetry is opulent and can afford to lay down its own laws. It has such resources of language and phrase that it can express every wish of the heart and proclaim aloud any conceivable aspect or achievement, mood or magnitude.... Not so I, who am restricted to a special spot in Elis or Athens. You, Homer, wisest of poets, were admittedly the first to show the Greeks many fair portraits of all the gods, their greatest included, in shapes sometimes gentle, sometimes terrible and appalling. 'But ours is a god of peace and universal mildness, overseer of a Hellas free from faction and at harmony with itself. By the help of my art and the counsel of Elis, a state both wise and good, I have established him, gentle and solemn with untroubled mien, the giver of livelihood and life and all good things, the common Father and Saviour and Keeper of mankind, imitating so far as mortal thought can imitate the nature that is divine and beyond our ken. See, then, whether you will not find this his effigy aptly reflecting all his titles. For Zeus alone of the gods is called both Father and King, Polieis and Homógnios and Philios and Hetaireios and Hikésios and Phyxiós and

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1 Id. ib. p. 132 f. Dindorf ἄτυχως γὰρ ὅσπερ ἰπτιοὶ παῖδες πατρός ἢ μητρὸς ἀπεσπασμένοι δεῖκνων ίμερον ἔχοντες καὶ πόθον δρέγους χείρας οἵ παροδοὶ πολλάκις ὁμερώτωντες, οὕτω καὶ θεοῖς ἀνθρωποὶ ἀγαπῶντες διαλώσια διὰ τὰ ἐνέργεσια καὶ συγγένεια, προθυμομένοι πάντα πρόπον συνείδα τε καὶ διβλεῖν· ὅστε καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων πενία τε καὶ ἄποροι τέχνης ὄντες θεοῖς ἐπωνυμάζουσι καὶ δένδρα ἄργα καὶ ἁσίμων λίθους, οὐδ' αὐτάμοις εὐεργετήσατε <παράσσετε (ins. J. Geel ed. Lugduni Batavorum 1840 p. 105)> τὸ πορφὺς. Surely the most pathetic, and sympathetic, plea for idolatry ever put forward.

2 Id. ib. p. 236 f. Dindorf ὁ δὲ ἥμετερος εἰρημένος καὶ πανταχοῦ πρός, ὄλος ἀστασιάτου καὶ ἀοροοκόητη τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπισκότως· δὲ ἐγὼ μετὰ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ τέχνης καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πόλεως σοφῆς καὶ ἄγαθης βολοκείμαινος ἱδρυδέμαρι, ήμερον καὶ σεμενὸν ἐν ἀλέω σχήματι, τῶν βλεύ καὶ ἰδιῆς καὶ συμπότων δότηρά τῶν ἀγαθῶν, καυχών ἀνθρώπων καὶ πατρία καὶ σωτηρία καὶ φύλακα, ὡς δίκαιον ἢν θυγατρὶ διανοηθεῖται μιμήσαται τὴν θείαν καὶ ἀνέχουσαν φύσιν.
964 General Conclusions with regard to

Xénios and Kléstios and Epikárpios and countless other appellations, all of them good¹....

The speech, which had risen like a rocket, might have concluded with that burst of stars, lingering awhile in memory as a galaxy of glittering points. But the speaker, being Greek, prefers to end on a note of greater quietude and self-restraint. He does so very simply, very effectively, by contrasting the human workman, a Pheidias or a Polykleitos, who has made the most of his paltry materials and trumpery tools, with Zeus the creator of the universe, whom Pindar² addresses as—

'Very Lord of Dodona, Best of all Artificers, our Father.'

How comes it that this great statue, for centuries the acknowledged masterpiece of ancient religious art, has not, like many others of less merit, left behind it a trail of Greek and Roman copies? Apart from the wonderful Zeus of Mylasa (supra ii pl. xxviii), a fourth-century head of modified Pheidiac style³, there is hardly an extant marble or bronze in which we can trace with certainty the influence of the original at Olympia⁴.

¹ Id. ib. p. 237 Dindorf. L. François 'Dion Chrysostôme critique d'art: le Zeus de Phidias' in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1917 xxx. 105—116 regards this list of epithets as a Stoic cliché, comparing Kleanthes' Ἱμυνὴ τοῖς Ζεὺς [supra ii. 856 ff.] [Aristot.] de mundo 7. 401 a 13 ff., Dion Chrys. or. 1 p. 9 Dindorf, Aristeid. or. 1. 8 (i. 106. Diadöf). The theme is handled in greater detail by J. Amann Die Zeusrede des Aelius Aristides Stuttgart 1931 pp. 99—109 ('Die τιμήματα des Ζεύς').

² Pind. frag. 57 Schroeder ap. Dion Chrys. or. 12 p. 239 Dindorf διὰ πάντων καλῶς ποιητής προεικτικος ἔτερος, 'Διόδωρος μεγάλος [ἄρατοτέρα κατά] θεός. k.t.l. (as supra ii. 695 n. 3). Bergk ad loc. conjectured that the next line in Pindar's παίδις was Δίκαιος ἀναλόγους καὶ εὐθυμίας—a restoration based on Plout. praec. gen. reip. 13 δ ὅ πολεμικός, ἀριστοτέχνας τις Ὢ, κατά Πιθαδρόν, καὶ ἀναλογίας εὐθυμίας καὶ δίκης, k.t.l., de ser. num. vind. 4 καὶ Πιθαδρόν ἀμαρτόφθαι, αριστοτέχνας ἀναλόγους τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ κύρων ἄρσεως δικής, ὡς δὲ δίκης ἄνα δημιουργών, de sac. in ord. iun. 13 ή τῶν γέγονα ποιητής καὶ παῖδις δημιουργός Ζεῦς δ' ἀριστοτέχνας. The passage evidently haunted the memory of Plutarch, who quotes it again in his συμπ. 1. 2. 5 καὶ τῶν ὀικίων ὅλως Πιθαδρόν προεικτικός, k.t.l. and adv. Σιοῖ. 14 δ ὅ Πιθαδρόν καὶ θεμάτιος Ζεὺς, καὶ ἀριστοτέχνας κατά Πιθαδρόν, ὥς δράμα σφραγίς μέγα καὶ πολλὰς ἀναλογίας δημιουργῶν τῶν κόσμων, ἀλλὰ δικής καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀτάν κοίνου, συνομολογομένων μετὰ δικής καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἁριστοτέχνας καὶ μακροτρόμων, k.t.l. See also Clem. Al. strom. 5. 14 p. 395 b. 2 f. Stählin καὶ ἄνω τῶν τοῖς δημιουργῶν, ὅ τις ἀριστοτέχνας πατέρα λέγει (οτ. Σιοῖ Πιθαδρόν) = Euseb. praec. ev. 13. 13. 27 and C. B. Hase in Stephanus Thes. Gr. Ling. i. 2. 1972 λ—θ.

³ Supra ii. 597 f.

⁴ A marble head in the Hermitage (L. Stephani in the Comptes rendus St. Pet. 1875 pp. 187—200 Atlas pis. 6 and 7 i), the Otricoli head in the Vatican (Brunn—Bruckmann Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt. pl. 130, cp. pl. 605, G. Lippold in Ameling Sculpt. Vatic. iii. 1. 110—113 Sala Rotonda no. 530 pi. 36), the Jacobsen head at Ny Carlsberg (P. Arndt La glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg Munich 1896 p. 17 f. Atlas pl. 13, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek: Bildtaepler til Katalogen over Antike Kunstværker Kjøbenhavn 1907 pl. 17, 241), and a bronze head at Vienna (H. Schrader in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1911...
No doubt there were critics of its scale and proportions. Strabon\(^1\) says:

'It was wrought of ivory, and so huge was its size that, although the temple is very large, the artist is thought to have missed the proper symmetry; for he represented the god as seated but almost touching the roof with the crown of his head, and thus produced the impression that, if he arose and stood upright, he would unroof the temple.'

Others, as we might infer from Pausanias\(^2\), felt the force of the objection, and Caecilius the rhetorician, a contemporary of Strabon, even ventured—the blasphemer—to speak of 'the blundered colossus'.\(^3\) To which detractors Pheidias might well have retorted that the temple-roof was expressly designed to suggest the starry vault of heaven.

But the real reason for the comparative unpopularity of the statue was not a mere matter of measurements. The gravamen was this. Pheidias, seeking to express a beneficent supremacy, had deliberately omitted the thunderbolt, formerly the essential characteristic of the sky-god. The populace could not, or would not, understand the omission, and some writers who ought to have known better actually describe the figure as if it were equipped with the familiar attribute. Seneca\(^5\), for example, in defiance of plain fact, can say:

'Pheidias never saw Zeus, yet made him as it were thundering'.

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\(^1\) Strab. 353 (quoted by Eustath. in II. p. 146, 15 f.).
\(^2\) Supra ii. 760.
\(^3\) Longin. de sublim. 36. 3 πρὸς μέτοι γε τῶν γεράφων, ὡς ὁ Κολοσσός ὁ ἡμαρτηκένος ὁδ κρεῖττον ἐν Πολυκείτου Δορυφόρον, παράκειται πρὸς πολλοίς εἰσεῖν, ὡς ἐν μὲν τέχνη διαμάζεται τὸ ἀκροβάτειαν, ἐν δὲ τῶν φυσικῶν ἐργῶν τὸ μέγεθος, φύσει δὲ λογικῶν ὁ ἀνθρώπων. καὶ μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἢστεται τὸ δύσος ἀνθρώπη, ἐν δὲ τοῖς λόγοις ὁ ἐπεράξον, ὡς ἤρων, τὸ ἀνθρώπων. F. Granger in his recent translation (London 1938) p. 89 renders 'the Colossus which failed in the casting' and p. 113 notes 'The Colossus of Nero was a failure owing to the decline in the art of casting bronze, Plin. N.H., xxxiv. 46.' But U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 'Der verfehlte Koloss' in the Strena Heliogiana Lipsiae 1900 pp. 324—326 argues convincingly from the context: 'Caecilius also hat dem Doryphoros, dem Kanon, einen Koloss entgegengesetzt. Damit ist die auch sonst halitlose Beziehung auf den Koloss des Nero vornb beseitigt. Aber der Gedanken-zusammenhang fordert auch, dass der verfehlte Koloss ein berühmtes, von anderen als musterhaft anerkanntes Werk ist. Er muss sich zu Platon verhalten wie der Kanon Polykletes zu Lysias. Da kann man auch den Koloss des Chares nicht brauchen, der nicht der Vertreter eines erhabenen, aber incorrecten Stiles sein könnte. Wer es ist, lehrt ein Zeitgenosse des Caecilius, Strabon, der bei Gelegenheit der Hera sagt, dass "die Werke des Polyklet an Kunst die schönsten wären, wenn sie auch an Kostbarkeit und Grösse denen des Pheidias nachstünden" [Strab. 373].'

\(^4\) Supra ii. 760.
\(^5\) Sen. controvi. 10. 5. 8.
966 General Conclusions with regard to

while Lucian\(^1\) goes much further and in a passage of bitter sarcasm upbraids Zeus for failing to use the thunderbolt in his hand:

'O Zeus, where is now your resplendent lightning, where your deep-toned thunder, where the glowing, white-hot, direful bolt? we know now 'tis all fudge and poetic moonshine—barring what value may attach to the rattle of the names. That renowned projectile of yours, which ranged so far and was so ready to your hand, has gone dead and cold, it seems; never a spark left in it to scorch iniquity.

If men are meditating perjury, a smouldering lamp-wick is as likely to frighten them off as the omnipotent's levin-bolt; the brand you hold over them is one from which they see neither flame nor smoke can come; a little soot-grime is the worst that need be apprehended from a touch of it. No wonder if Salmoneus challenged you to a thundering-match; he was reasonable enough when he backed his artificial heat against so cool-tempered a Zeus. Of course he was; there are you in your opiate-trance, never hearing the perjurers nor casting a glance at criminals, your glazed eyes dull to all that happens, and your ears as deaf as a dotard's.

When you were young and keen, and your temper had some life in it, you used to bestir yourself against crime and violence; there were no armistices in those days; the thunderbolt was always hard at it, the aegis quivering, the thunder rattling, the lightning engaged in a perpetual skirmish. Earth was shaken like a sieve, buried in snow, bombarded with hail. It rained cats and dogs (if you will pardon my familiarity), and every shower was a waterspout. Why, in Deucalion's time, hey presto, everything was swamped, mankind went under, and just one little ark was saved, standing on the top of Lycoreus and preserving a remnant of human seed for the generation of greater wickedness.

Mankind pays you the natural wages of your laziness; if any one offers you a victim or a garland nowadays, it is only at Olympia as a perfunctory accompaniment of the games; he does it not because he thinks it is any good, but because he may as well keep up an old custom. It will not be long, most glorious of deities, before they serve you as you served Cronus, and depose you. I will not rehearse all the robberies of your temple—those are trifles; but they have laid hands on your person at Olympia, my lord High-Thunderer, and you had not the energy to wake the dogs or call in the neighbours; surely they might have come to the rescue and caught the fellows before they had finished packing up the swag. But there sat the bold Giant-slayer and Titan-conqueror letting them cut his hair, with a fifteen-foot thunderbolt in his hand all the time!' 

So Lucian, like Seneca, was labouring under the delusion that Zeus \(\text{Pheidias}^2\), as he came to be called, was fulminant. Roman rhetoric and Greek satire had equally failed to grasp the sculptor's new conception.

In truth that new conception was too exalted for a public which preferred truculence to tranquillity and could appreciate

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\(^2\) Schol. Greg. Naz. in Catalogus sive notitia manuscriptorum qui a E. D. Clarke comparati in Bibliotheca Bodleiana adservantur Oxonii 1812 l. 36 (Overbeck Schriftquellen p. 134 no. 739) Φείδιας...ἀγαλματισμὸς ἄροτος ὁ τῇ μὲν Διῷ ξάνθον ἔχετον ὡς ἐποωμασθέναι Δίι Ψειδικοῦ...
Zeus as god of the Dark Sky 967

a triumphant victor or even a threatening tyrant more readily than a peaceful, undemonstrative ruler. The god whose government was based upon right not might, love not fear, was an ideal for future ages, born five hundred years in advance of his time.

During those five centuries his statue experienced some surprising vicissitudes. The descendants of Pheidias, entrusted by the Eleans with the task of cleaning it, were called officially the Phaidryntai or 'Burnishers,' and before setting about their duties used to sacrifice to Athena Egerde. Oil was poured out in front of Zeus to preserve the ivory from decay, a dark oil made from pitch being regarded as best for the purpose.

H. C. Schubart, however, with the approval of the technologist H. Blümner,

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1 Paus. 5. 14. 5 ταύτη ἡ Ἑράνθη καὶ οἱ ἀτάγκηκα Φείδιον, καλοῦμεν δὲ Φαῖδρωντα, γέρας παρὰ Ἡλείων ελθόντες τῷ διὸ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀπὸ τῶν προσεπτῶν καθαρων, οὗτος δὲ ἥνως ἐναίθα πρὸς ἡ λαμπροῦν τὸ ἄγαλμα δροσεῖν. Αὐτὰ base found at Olympia records one of these Phaidrota (E. Loewy Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer Leipzig 1885 p. 357 f. no. 536, 3 f., W. Dittenberger—K. Purgold in Olympia v. 555 f. no. 466, 3 f. Titon Phaidonov 'Paideutos, τὸν ἄφε Φείδιον, Φαῖδρων | τῷ Δίῳ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου). Others are mentioned in inscriptions from Athens, where they had a special seat in the theatre (Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 1 no. 283 = Inscr. Gr. ed. min. ii—iii. 3 no. 2064 of Hadrianic date Φαῖδρων | Δίω ἐκ Πειραγιν) and might hold office as archon (Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 1 no. 1084, 2 ff. = Inscr. Gr. ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 1828, 2 ff. of c. 310 A.D. [ἐν] ἄρχοντος Φαῖδρωνος[πυ]| Δίω ἐκ Ὀλυμπίων Τηθείῳ | Καιλιδίων Παπάκλου [Ἀλτα]μπέρον). The corresponding official attached to the Athenian Olympieion had another reserved seat in the theatre (Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 1 no. 291 = Inscr. Gr. ed. min. ii. 3 no. 5072 of Hadrianic date Φαῖδρων | Δίω Ὀλυμπίου ὑπὸ ἄρχοντος) and dedicates a statue of his wife at Eleusis (Corp. inscr. Att. iii. 1 no. 928, 2 ff. = Inscr. Gr. ed. min. ii. 3 no. 4075, 2 ff. after 150 A.D. [ὁ] διά αὐτῆς ἡ ἐν Ὀλυμπίων | ἀγαθή δημοτική ἡ Ὀλυμπος [ὁ] διά Φαῖδρωνος | Δίω ἐκ τῆς [ὦ]' [where Demeter and Persephone had long had their own cleaner (Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. 3 no. 43, c 129 f. in an Attic decree of c. 450 B.C. καὶ τοῦ Φαῖδρου[ν] | τοῦ Δίου θεοῦ, ὡς no. 885, 16 f. in an Attic decree of c. 120 A.D. καὶ Φαῖδρους τοῖς θείοις]). On the Elean spelling Φαῖδρος, as opposed to the Ionic-Attic Φαῖδρος, see F. Solmsen in the Rhein. Mus. 1899 liv. 347 f. and 495 f. The duties of the office are discussed by E. Kuhnert 'De cura statuarum apud Graecos' in the Berliner Studien für klassische Philologie und Archäologie 1884 i. 336 ff.

2 Paus. 5. 11. 10 δοῦν δὲ τοῦ ἐδαφοῦς ἐστὶν ἐκτυπωθέν τὸ αἰγαλάματος, τοῦτο δ' οὐ λειψŷ, μελᾶν δὲ κατεσκεύασται τῷ λίθῳ. περὶ δὲ οὖς ἐν κόλπῳ τὸν μέλαν θάλασσαν εἰρήνης, ἐρᾶν εἰς τό ἐδαφὸς τῆς ἐκεχειρέως. Θαλαίν γὰρ τὸ αἰγαλάματος ἐστὶν ἐν Ὀλυμπία συμφέρων καὶ θαλαίν ἐτύχει τὸ ἀσέρειον μή γένεται τῷ ἐλέφαντι μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ ἐκλείπει τῇ Ἀλκτρ. k.t.l. Similarly Methodios, bishop of Olympia in Lykia, who was martyred under Maximinus Daia in 311 A.D. (W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1894 ii. 2. 1355), apha. Phot. obbl. p. 393 b 1 ff. Bekker ὅπως φησί Φείδιον τὸν αἰγαλαματοῦ τὸ Πυθαίων ἔδωκαν τοῦφαντά τι ἐλέφαντο προστάτας Θαλαίν ἐκτυπωθέν τὸ αἰγαλάματος ἐκεῖνος, ὡστε ἀδόκατον ἐν δώματι αὐτῷ φύλασσεται (cited also by Epiphan. panar. hærer. 64. 19 (ii. 619 Dindorf)).

3 Plin. nat. hist. 15. 31 ff. e pice fit quod pissimum appellant, cum coquitur, velleribus supra halitum eius expansis atque intus expressis...exstitinaturque et ebori vindicando a carie utili esse. cese simulacrum Saturni Romae intus oleo repleta est.


5 H. Blümmer Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern Leipzig 1879 ii. 374 n. 1.
suggests that the wooden core of the great chryselephantine figure was pierced by tubes or channels, which conveyed the oil in all directions and prevented the wood from being affected by changes of temperature. A similar device was employed for Endoios' xoanon of Artemis at Ephesos and for the cult-image of Saturn at Rome. Such precautions notwithstanding, by the middle of the second century B.C. the ivory of Zeus Olympos was cracked and had to be refurnished by the sculptor Damophon.

But graver dangers than slow disintegration were to follow. In the days of Iulius Caesar the statue is said to have been struck by lightning, we do not know with what effect. Worse than that, in 40 A.D. Caligula actually gave orders that it should be brought to Rome. P. Memmius Regulus, commissioned to carry out the sacrilege, was warned by the architects that the removal of the statue would entail its destruction, and was further deterred by the occurrence of incredible portents. Accordingly he abandoned the attempt and wrote to the emperor explaining his reasons. These scruples might have cost him his life, had it not been for the opportune assassination of the tyrant on January 24, 41 A.D.
Zeus as god of the Dark Sky

Caligula's intention had been to replace the head of Zeus by a portrait-head of himself. But whenever the workmen approached to lay hold of the pedestal, loud laughter burst from the lips of the statue and put them to instant flight. Also, the ship built to transport it was shattered by thunderbolts. So Caligula, after threatening Zeus, had perforce to substitute another effigy in his own temple on the Palatine. About the middle of the second century Lucian mentions that thieves, greatly daring, had recently cut off two of Zeus' golden tresses weighing six minas apiece. In 394 A.D. Theodosios i, pursuing his policy of suppressing all paganism, abolished the Olympic festival despite its unbroken record of 1169 years. And in the reign of his grandson Theodosios ii (408—450 A.D.) the temple of Zeus Olympios perished in a conflagration.

Not so the great statue, which had hitherto contrived to escape the successive threats of decomposition and lightning, mutilation and robbery. At some uncertain date, after the overthrow of its worship and before the destruction of its temple, it was removed to Byzantium and set up in the House of Lausos among such world-famous works as the Samian Hera of Athenis and Boupalos, the

1 Suet. Calig. 22 datoque negotio ut simulacra numinum religione et arte praeclara, inter quae Olympi Iovis, apportarentur e Graecia, quibus capite dempto suum imponeret, partem Palatii ad forum usque promovit, etc., ib. 57 Olympiae simulacrum Iovis, quod dissolvi transserant Romam placerat, tantum cunicum repente editid ut machinis labefactis opifices diffugerint; supervenitque ilico quidam Cassius nomine, iussum se somnio affirmans immolare taurum Jovis, Dion Cass. 59. 28 othw de etetw te nev n in xz Philatun stoubu xkodumfasto, kai xgama e autw hthlevse to to oaw to Olimpiwv to v eaxtw ede metaprovusasai. me dixeis de (to to gafis plaiw to prw to xwimi aubw naitugygethe ekperanwsthe, kai xgelwv, xdamw tei 0e kai to oawn epaphemoi prosbevov, palxe xepoueto) ekwos mev xtapelle, autw de etetw evxasthete.

This was the laugh of divine derision (cp. e.g. Psa. 2. 4, 37. 59. 8), very different from the unsympathetic exultation of Zeus in the late Homeric theomachia (II. 21. 388 ff. at the sight of the gods fighting, 508 at the plight of Artemis) or his rather undignified mirth over the post-Homeric pranks of Hermes (h. Herm. 389, Loukian. dial. deor. 7. 3).

2 Loukian. Tim. 4 (quoted supra p. 966), Supra trag. 25 et 7' etv' emol to prwmi 0e, edew m' en oew tois lepsouleis prwv apelthev ekperanwstov eis Xios, dio mou tois polkamwv apokiparwntos ex mias ekatwv Idouota;
3 Supra i. 167.
4 Kedren. hist. comp. 326 B—327 A (l. 573 Bekker) en toutos e te twv 'Olimpiadwv apenise panaghyma, xwis kai trepete xwrom evetelwto. hresto de to toutou panaghyma xteme tois xw households ejkoumen, kai epistolwto eis mia tin megala theosanov.
5 Schol. Loukian. rhet. praec. 9 (p. 176, 3 ff. Rabe) kai dixerases draqemos atop twn kai 'Ephraimwv krtwv merch tov mikrou theodoulov. 'Ejmeyhtovn ypar tov en 'Olimpiawv koiw ejxwv kai tois 'Hleion panaghyma, ib. (p. 178, 2 ff. Rabe) drakemos de atop tis <epoay> kai 'Ephraimwv en 'Idemwv ede < > dixerases merxh tov mikrou <theodoulov>, de 'Arkeawv ulw 0e, twv xhp <xwv. tov de> kai tov 'Olimpiawv Dlae emper <ephtovs ez> elwv kai tois 'Hleion panaghyma <kal o agw> o 'Olimpiadwv.
6 Supra ii. 864 n. 1.
General Conclusions with regard to Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles, and the Kairos of Lysippos. Its exile was of no long duration. The Lauseion in turn was burnt in 462 A.D., and with it disappeared for ever the masterpiece of Pheidias.

The statue had gone; its influence remained. Theodoros Anagnostes (c. 530 A.D.) tells a strange tale of a certain painter who ventured to portray the Saviour in the guise of Zeus. The hand with which he painted thereupon withered away, but was restored again in answer to the prayers of Saint Gennadios. Later writers repeat the incident, Theophanes and Kedrenos referring it to the year 463—just a twelvemonth after the destruction of the statue. Theodoros and most of the later authorities add the comment that the type with curly and short hair was the more authentic likeness.

We have here a clear recognition of two main types in the iconography of Christ—the one youthful and beardless, with comparatively short, curly hair, the other more mature and bearded, with moustache and flowing tresses. It used to be thought that the beardless type was considerably earlier than the bearded, the former alone being found till the end of the fourth century, the latter dating from the first half of the fifth. But we now know that the two had existed side by side.

1. Kedren. hist. comp. 322 b—c (i. 564 Bekker) ὅτι ἐν τοῖς λαώσις ἦταν... ἀπάντα ἄτ... καὶ ὁ Θεόλογος ἀπερχόμενος Ζεὺς, ὅπερ Περίκλης ἀνθίζοντος ἐν τοῖς Ὀλυμπίασ.

2. Kedren. hist. comp. 348 a—b (i. 609 f. Bekker) τῷ δ’ ἔτει γένοντο ἐπιτρήματα ἐν Κωνσταντινούπολε...σοφὸς γὰρ ἐκάθει ἐπί τρήματος ὅτος...ἐπὶ δὲ μενομερίας ἐν τῇ μέσῃ τῆς πάλαι ἀπὸ τῶν λαῶν μέχρι τοῦ Ταῦρου κάτω κατελυμένη, Ζονάρ. ann. 14 (ii. 6a B Ducange) πνεύματος δὲ σφηδροῦ πνεύματος τηρηκάτω, ἡ φλὸς ἄρτο ταχέως ἀέρος, καὶ πολλὰς μεγίστας τα ἐκαλλιότατα οἰκείοισι κατάθλαυσε, καὶ ἀγάλματα κατέβαλεν ἀρχαῖοι ἰσόμοιοι ἐκ τῆς σοφίας καὶ ἐκ' ἀνδρόν, κ.τ.λ.

On this and other conflagrations at Constantinople see E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv. 1000.


4. Theophan. chronogr. 97 b (i. 174 Classen) on ann. mund. 5955 = 463 A.D. τῷ 5’ αὐτῷ ἔτει ἡμαργάφασα τινὸς τῶν Σωτήρα γράφας τολμήσαντο καθ’ ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ Δίως, ἐξηράνθη ἡ χείρ. ὅτι ξεγορεθμένα δὲ εἰσήκοντο ἱερατὸν Γεννάδιον. φασὶ δὲ τινὲς τῶν ἱεροτομών, ὅτι τὸ ὄλον καὶ διεργάτων σχῆμα ἐκ τοῦ Σωτήρος οἰκείωτερον ἦντο.

5. Kedren. hist. comp. 348 d (i. 611 Bekker) τῷ 5’ ἐτεὶ ξημερώθη τινὸς τῶν Σωτήρα γράφας τολμήσαντο καθ’ ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ Δίως, ἐξηράνθη ἡ χείρ. ὅτι ξημερώθη τινὸς ἐπιτηρεθμένα δὲ εἰσήκοντο ἱερατὸ Γεννάδιον. φασὶ δὲ τινὲς τῶν ἱεροτομών, ὅτι τὸ ὄλον καὶ διεργάτων σχῆμα ἐκ τοῦ Σωτήρος οἰκείωτερον ἦντο—a verbal transcript from Theophanes.

6. V. Schultze Grundriss der christlichen Archäologie München 1919 p. 132 contends that, in the absence of authentic portraiture, throughout the first four centuries of our era the prevalent conception of Christ, derived alike from the Old Testament (Psa. 45. 2) and
Zeus as god of the Dark Sky 971

by side at least from the second half of the second century¹, though their relative frequency underwent continuous change. At first the


E. von Dobschitz Christusbilder Leipzig 1899 pp. 1—294 deals exhaustively with one special type of representation, the alleged ἄγενορόστη (p. 263 ‘Der christliche Achiro-pötten-Glaube ist die Fortsetzung des griechischen Glaubens an Diapetès’).

¹ See especially J. Sauer Die ältesten Christusbilder Berlin 1920 pp. 1—8 with 2 figs. and 13 pls., and the same scholar’s enlarged study ‘Das Aufkommen des bärtigen Christustypus in der frühchristlichen Kunst’ in the Strene Buliciana Zagrebiae 1924 pp. 303—339.

The bronze group at Kaisarea Paneas is described by Euseb. hist. eccl. 7. 18 ἀλλ’ ἐκτῆτι τῆς τὸν ζεύγος εἰς ἔνδήκτην ἔλθεν, ὃς ἐξος ἄγνωσις παραπάθεις διήγεται καὶ τοῖς μὲθ’ ἡμᾶς μηχανοενέχθεις ἄξιον. τὴν γὰρ αἰσχυροδοτά, ἣν ἐκ τῶν λευκῶν ἐγγυμέλεις πρὸς τοῦ ἐκτῆτος ἄγνωσα ἐπικαλαγηθεὶς εὐφραίνας μεμαθηκαμένη, ἔγενε εἰς ἅγια ἁμαρτήματι, τὸν τε ἐκκεντρικῆς ἐπικαλαγηθεὶς καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκτῆτος εἰς ἀνωτέρω εὐφραίνας βασιλεία τρόπων παραμένειν. εὐτάξα τὴν γὰρ ἐν ὑψίλοις λίθοι πρὸς μὲν ταῖς ποιεῖ τὴν ἀνωτέρω ὑγιείας ἐπικύρωσεν τὰν ἐπὶ γάζος ἐκείμενον καὶ τεταμένον εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ταῖς χειρίς, λεκτευόμενοι ἐκεῖνοι, τοῦτον δὲ ἀνωτέρω τὸν τὴν αὐτῆς ὑπόν άνδρος ὑποτής εὐσχῆν, διασώθα τον ζωομομαθήματον καὶ τὴν χειρὰ τὴ γυμναίς προετοί, αὕτη παρὰ τοῖς ποιεῖ ἐπὶ τῆς στῆθες αὐτῆς ἕκαν τν μονάς ἐπὶ θώμοις διὰ τοῦ τοῦ κρατέας τὰς τοῦ χαλεποῦ διαλύσεων ἀλλ’ ἀλεξάμμενα τὰ πολλὰς ποιμανῶν τυγχάνειν. τοῦτον τὸν ἀυπόκειται τοῦ Ἰησοῦ εἰς ἅγιον τὸν ψεύτη ἄνδρον ἡμῶν. ἐξελθεῖν δὲ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὅποι καὶ δέκια παραλαβεῖν ἐπιταχθήσατο αὐτὸς τῷ τῶν. Οπ. Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos hist. eccl. 6. 15 (ex xl. 1160 ε—1161 α Migne). J. Wilpert ‘Alte Kopie der Statue von Paneas’ in the Strene Buliciana pp. 295—301 has shown that this much-discussed monument was certainly Christian not pagan in character, but represented the Syrophoenician woman (Mark 7. 26) rather than the woman with an issue of blood (Mark 5. 25). He accepts the suggestion of R. Garrucci Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa Prato 1881 v. 44—47 pl. 223, 4—6 that a marble sarcophagus (no. 174) now in the Lateran Museum (O. Marucchi
972 General Conclusions with regard to

beardless type was by far the more common, the bearded was rare and exceptional. But scenes of judgment, law-giving, and teaching, in which stress was laid on the majesty of the central figure, gradually popularised the maturer type\(^1\) until it almost superseded the more youthful. It seems probable that both were to some extent influenced by pre-existing pagan types. I have already suggested that the bovish figure of Christ on the chalice of Antioch is reminiscent of the child Zeus or Dionysos\(^2\). And Furtwängler\(^3\),

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\(^1\) J. Sauer in the *Strena Buliciana* p. 319 ff.

\(^2\) Supra ii. 1209 ff. For other possible influences see L. Dietrichson *Christusbilledet* Kjøbenhavn 1880 p. 146 ff. (Zeus, Apollo, Dionysos, with their ‘Nebenfiguren’ Sarapis, Asklepios, Orpheus), H. Holtzmann in the *Jahrbiicher für protestantische Theologie* 1884 x. 93 ff. (Orpheus, Hermes), A. Furtwängler in the *Melanges Perrot* Paris 1902 p. 119 (Triptolemos or Eubouleus, Bonus Eventus).

no mean critic of art-pedigrees, has contended that the Byzantine bearded type had for its actual ‘Vorbild’ the Pheidian Zeus.

Be that as it may, Theodoros’ tale of the fifth-century painter, who drew Christ in the likeness of Zeus, is one more reminder that Pheidias’ ideal had gone far towards satisfying the aspirations of the new faith. Even the lower classical conception of Zeus as a threatening storm-god appealed to the barbarians of the empire and finally made its way into the religious art of the Renaissance (fig. 782).^1^ And what—it may be asked in conclusion—is the ultimate significance of all this coil—this cult of Zeus with its crude physical

Fig. 782.

And what—it may be asked in conclusion—is the ultimate significance of all this coil—this cult of Zeus with its crude physical

^1^ I give as an example (or warning) a woodcut which appears in Alberto da Castello Rosario della gloriosa Vergine Maria Venetiis 1521 p. 190. See V. Masséna prince d’Essling Les Livres à figures vénitiens Florence—Paris 1909 ii. 2. 426. The illustration
beginnings, its slow mental and moral growth, its adolescent complexities, its later multifarious advances, approaches, overlappings, fusions, and identifications? That is a grave question, which I find hard to answer unless, like Browning's Ixion,  

"Out of the wreck I rise—past Zeus to the Potency o'er him."

Let us be bold to assert that throughout all ages and in every clime God has been making his mute appeal to men, drawing them, Jew and Gentile alike, with the cords of love nearer and nearer to Himself. Progressive illumination has been given them from above as they were able to bear it. The poets and thinkers of Hellas were receptive souls, and to them were vouchsafed glimpses and more than glimpses of eternal truth. If Pherekydes¹ taught that Zeus transformed himself into Love when he created the world, if Aischylus² found in Zeus the only possible solution for the problem of evil, if Aratos³ said that 'always we all have need of Zeus,' if Dion⁴ described Zeus as 'the common Father and Saviour and Keeper of mankind,' then Pherekydes and Aischylus and Aratos and Dion were not far from the Kingdom. And, unless I am greatly in error, the cult of Zeus took them one stage, one long stage, on the road thither. Platon⁵ in the Phaidros speaks of those who follow Zeus and all the gods by an uphill path to the summit of the heavenly vault, the right view-point of the universe. What is the panorama that greets their purified eyes? A vista of ideal verities, says Platon⁶, such as 'no earthly bard has ever yet sung or ever will sing in worthy strains."

KEĪNÔN ĖPÂMAI, KEĪTHI ŠEÎNOÎMÂN.²

is entitled 'Maria vergine sempre prega el figliolo per gli peccatori.' Christ, seated on the globe of heaven (supra i. 50 f.), is distinguished from Zeus or Iupiter only by the wounds in his hands and feet. The virgin, baring her breast in a last appeal (supra ii. 206 n. 2), is almost equally pagan.

¹ Supra ii. 316. ² Supra i. p. v.
³ Supra ii. p. v. ⁴ Supra p. 963.
⁵ Supra ii. 43 f. ⁶ Plat. Phaedr. 247 B—C ἔνθα δὴ πόνος τε καὶ ἀγών ἔχατος φιλάται. αἱ μὲν γὰρ θάνατοι καλολεμέναι, ἤνικ' ἃν πρός ἀκρι βέβαιοι, ἥξι πορευθέναι ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τὴν βέλειαν νότια, στάσας δὲ αὐτὰς περαγείν ἡ περιφέρα, αἱ δὲ θεωροῦσα τὰ ἔξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κεραυνοῦ. τὸν δὲ περιπλῆγον τότων δὲ τὴν ζωην παρὰ τῶν ὑδάτων ζωή ποιητής ὁ τέ τε θεὸν ὁμοίος κατ' ἀξίαν. ἔχει δὲ ἡδή, τομηματικῶς γὰρ οὖν τὸ γε ἁλθής εἰσεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ πέρι ἁλθήσαι λόγων. The Christian equivalent will be found in 1 Cor. 2. 9 and 10.

⁷ Eur. ἀρ. Aristoph. νερ. 751. The schol. ad loc. says κεῖνον ἐραμαί· ἐκ ἰσπυλίτων ἑδωρίδων. F. H. M. Blydes, after L. C. Valckenaer, supposes a quotation from the earlier ἰσπυλίτων καινοτόμους. In any case the meaning of the original may be divined from Eur. Alc. 867 f. ζηλό φιλέμους, κεῖνης ἐραμαί, κεῖνης ἐπιθυμῶ δώματα ναίεσ.
Plate XL

1. The infancy of Dionysos
2. The advent of Dionysos
3. The marriage of Dionysos
4. The enthronement of Dionysos

Marble reliefs from the stage of Phaidros in the theatre at Athens.
Marble reliefs from the stage of Phaidros in the theatre at Athens (Restored).
ZEUS
A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

VOLUME III
PART II
ZEUS
A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

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VOLUME III
ZEUS GOD OF THE DARK SKY
(EARTHQUAKES, CLOUDS, WIND, DEW, RAIN, METEORITES)

ΤHEOKRITOS 4. 43

PART II
APPENDIXES AND INDEX

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APPENDIX P.

FLOATING ISLANDS.

Floating islands have not yet been made the subject of any monograph. But examples of them are given by Sen. nat. quaestt. 3. 25. 7 ff., Plin. nat. hist. 2. 209, and the anonymous author de aquis mirabilibus 37 ff. (formerly identified with Sotion (Phot. bibl. p. 145 b 28 ff. Bekker) and printed under that name by A. Westermann PARADOXOGRAPHI BRUNSVIGI 1839 p. 183 ff., but better edited as Paradoxographi Florentini anonymi opusculum de aquis mirabilibus by H. Oehler Tubingae 1913 and cited as such in W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur München 1920 ii. 420 f.). Fact and fable are so blended in their accounts that individual cases call for separate consideration:

1. Aiolos Hippotades lived on a floating island (Od. 10. 3 πλατή ἐν ὕφω as explained by Aristarchos ap. schol. H.M.Q.T.V. Od. 10. 3, Apollon. lex. Hom. p. 132, 18 f., Eustath. in Od. p. 1644, 51 ff., cp. Hesych. s.v. πλατή, Phot. lex. s.v. πλατών, Favorin. lex. p. 1523, 18 f., Souid. s.v. πλατη χόρας, Zonar. lex. s.v. πλωτή, and W. W. Merry ad loc.), which was perhaps originally regarded as an island of souls (supra p. 109). On it see further K. Tümpe1 in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 1032 ff.

2. The Homeric Planktai were beetling rocks against which the waves broke. No birds could pass them in safety. Even the doves that brought ambrosia to Zeus always lost one of their number, and another had to be sent by him in its stead. Never yet had any ship escaped these rocks, for billows of salt water and blasts of destructive fire overwhelmed ships and crews alike. The Argo alone, on its voyage from Aietes, had passed them, being sent past in safety by Hera for Iason's sake (Od. 12. 59—72, 23. 327). There is no question here of clashing rocks, between which Odysseus must go (schol. Pind. Pyth. 4. 370). The poet, anxious to eliminate incredible marvels (supra ii. 989), has substituted παρά for διά (62 παρέχεται, 69 παρέπλω, 72 παρέπεμψεν) and left us to suppose that the danger lay in being dashed against the rocks, not in being crushed between them. Nevertheless the name Πλαγκταί used of them by the blessed gods (61) implies that they were originally conceived as 'Wandering' rocks, and the sinister phrase ἀλλὰ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄφθορεσι λίο πέτρη (64) looks like a reminiscence of the clashing motif.

The Kyaneai (first in Soph. Ant. 966 or Hdt. 4. 85) or Symplegades (first in Eur. Med. 431) of the Argonauts' adventure were two living rocks which rushed together, rolling faster than the winds (Pind. Pyth. 4. 208 ff.). As early as s. v B.C., if not earlier, they were located on the Thracian Bosporos (Soph. Ant. 966 f. and Hdt. 4. 85) at the entrance to the Euxine (Eur. I.T. 124 f.), where they formed

1 Unless we concede the name to such articles as those by Mary Johnston 'Floating islands, ancient and modern' in the Classical Weekly 1925—1926 xix. 58, L. R. Shero 'The Vadimonian Lake and floating islands of Equatorial Africa ' ib. 1933—1934 xxvii. 51 f., J. W. Spaeth 'More floating islands' ib. p. 78, R. M. Geer 'Floating islands once more' ib. p. 152 or to such chapters as those of A. Breusing 'Nautisches zu Homer's 6. ΠΛΗΤΗ ΕΝΙ ΝΗΧΩΙ' in the jahrb. f. class. Philol. 1886 xxxii. 85—92 and E. Hawks The Book of Natural Wonders London 1932 pp. 192—198 ('Disappearing Islands').
the mouth of the Pontos (Theokr. 22. 27 ff., Nikeph. Greg. hist. Byz. 5. 4 (i. 134 Schopen)). Apollonios of Rhodes tells how the Argonauts on their outward voyage were warned by Phineus of the two Kyaneai, which were not firmly fixed with roots beneath but constantly clashed together amid boiling surf, and advised by him to send a dove in advance (Ap. Rhod. 2. 317 ff.); how they acted on his advice and saw the rocks shear off the tail-feathers of the bird; how they themselves making a desperate dash just got through, thanks to the helpful hands of Athena, with the loss of the tip of their stern-ornament; and how the rocks thenceforward were rooted fast and remained motionless (ib. 2. 549 ff.—a fine piece of writing). It should be observed that Apollonios is careful to distinguish the Kyaneai or Plegades, as he terms them (Ap. Rhod. 2. 596, 2. 645, and Καῦμνον κτίσων frag. 5. 4 Powell ap. Cramer anec. Par. iv. 16, 1 ff. and Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 1285), from the Homeric Planktai. For it is only on the return voyage that he works in an allusion to the Planktai, which are described as having surge at their bases and flame at their tops (Ap. Rhod. 4. 786 ff., 924 ff.) in obvious reference to the Lipari Islands (cp. Ap. Rhod. 3. 41 ff. ἀλ' ὁ μὲν (sc. Hephaistos) ἐπὶ χαλκέων καὶ ἄκρων ἔρημον βηθίκες, νῆσον πλαγιτῆς ἐν ἀνατολή μυχῶν with schol. ad loc.).

Many of the Greeks, however, identified the Kyaneai or Symplegades of the Bosporos with the Planktai (so first, perhaps, Hdt. 4. 85, then Asklepiades (? of Myrlia: see G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 1629) ap. schol. Od. 12. 69 and other νεῦραι (schol. Eur. Med. 2) listed by O. Jessen in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 2546). And sundry Roman poets, placing Scylla in Sicilian waters, associate her with clashing rocks (Ov. met. 7. 62 ff.) called Symplegades (Ov. her. 12. 121) or Cyaneae (Iuv. 15. 19 ff.).

The right conclusion is drawn by O. Jessen loc. cit., viz. that both the Planktai and the Kyaneai or Symplegades presuppose the ancient popular belief in a doorway to the Otherworld formed by clashing mountain-walls (T. Wäitz Anthropologie der Naturvölker Leipzig 1864 iv. 166 the Mexican dead 'hatten aneinander schlagende Berge...zu passiren,' Jülg 'über die griechische Heldensage im Wiederscheine bei den Mongolen' in the Verh. d. 26. Philologen-versamml. in Würzburg 1869 p. 64 in the Mongolian saga of Gesser Chan bk 4 'Von da weiterhin kommt du zu einer andern Verwandlung, nämlich zu zwei an einander schlagenden Felswänden; um zwischen denselben durchzukommen, musst du selbst ein Mittel ausfindig machen,' E. B. Tylor Primitive Culture London 1891 i. 347 f. the Karens of Burma 'say that in the west there are two massive strata of rocks which are continually opening and shutting, and between these strata the sun descends at sunset;' ib. i. 348 f. in an Ottawa tale Iosco and his friends after travelling eastward for years reached the chasm that led to the land of the Sun and Moon; as the sky rose, Iosco and one friend leapt through, but the other two were caught by the sky as it struck the earth, A. Leskien—K. Brugman Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen Strassburg 1882 p. 550 in a Slovenian tale the hero's mother 'stellt sich kränk und will Wasser von zwei zusammenschlagenden Felsen, die aber keine Felsen, sondern Teufel sind, und nur um Mitternacht zwei Minuten schlafen;' ib. p. 551 in a similar Slovak tale the mother 'stellt sich kränk und verlangt...das Wasser des Lebens und des Todes, das unter zwei Bergen ist, von denen der eine um Mittag, der andere um Mitternacht sich erhebt und gleich wieder zufällt;' ib. in a similar tale from Little Russia the mother 'stellt sich kränk und schickt den Sohn...nach heilendem und belebendem Wasser zu den zusammenschlagenden Bergen,' W. R. S. Ralston Russian Folk-tales London 1873 p. 235 f. cites stories of the
Floating Islands

same type. In one 'the hero is sent in search of "a healing and a vivifying water," preserved between two lofty mountains which cleave closely together, except during "two or three minutes" of each day...." Prince Ivan spurred his heroic steed, flew like a dart between the mountains, dipped two flasks in the waters, and instantly turned back." He himself escapes safe and sound, but the hind legs of his horse are caught between the closing cliffs, and smashed to pieces. The magic waters, of course, soon remedy this temporary inconvenience.... In a similar story from the Ukraine, mention is made of two springs of healing and life-giving water, which are guarded by iron-beaked ravens, and the way to which lies between grinding hills. The Fox and the Hare are sent in quest of the magic fluid. The Fox goes and returns in safety, but the Hare, on her way back, is not in time quite to clear the meeting cliffs, and her tail is jammed in between them. Since that time, hares have had no tails; M. Gaster Rumanian Bird and Beast Stories London 1915 p. 263 ff. in a Rumanian tale Floria, sent to fetch the Water of Life and the Water of Death, was helped by a lame stork, which went straight to the mountains that knock against one another, waited—at the advice of a swallow—till noon when they rest for half an hour, then plunged into their depth and filled two bottles, but lost his tail as the mountains closed furiously upon him. And that is why storks have no tails, J. G. von Hahn Griechische und albanesische Märchen Leipzig 1864 ii. 46 in a Greek tale from Syra (supra ii. 1004 ff.) the girl Moon, helped by the bird Dikjeretto, fetched the Water of Life from a spring in a mountain which opened at midday, but had to cut off a piece of her dress that was caught by the closing cleft, ib. ii. 280 ff. in another tale from Syra, akin to the group noted by Leskien and Brugman (=von Hahn's nineteenth formula 'Schwester- oder Mutter-Verrath oder Skyllaformel'), the hero's mother feigns illness and craves for the Water of Life (ἀθάνατος νερό): the young man is directed by an old dame, in reality his Fate (τὸ τηλέκυ τοῦ πατροκό), to a mountain which opens every day at noon and contains many springs; he is guided to the right one by a bee, ib. ii. 283 f. in a variant from Vitzu in Epeiros the prince's elder sister pretends to be ill and sends him for the Water of Life, which a lame crow obtains from a mountain that opens and shuts, ib. i. 238 in a tale from the Zagori district of Epeiros a prince, to win Goldylocks, must needs fetch the Water of Life from a mountain which opens only for a moment and then shuts to with a snap; he gets it from a helpful raven, who brings it to him in a gourd, ib. ii. 194 f. in another tale from Zagori the hero, to win the king's daughter, has to obtain the Water of Life from a mountain which opens and closes again with the speed of lightning; he borrows the wings of a helpful eagle and escapes with filled gourd, R. Köhler in the Gott. Gel. Anz. 1871 ii. 1403 ff. no. (3) =id. Kleinere Schriften Weimar 1898 i. 367 f. in a modern Greek tale a king's son sets out to find for his sick father the Water of Immortality (τ' ἀθάνατος νερό) 'welches sich am Ende der Welt hinter zwei hohen Bergen befindet, die nach Art der Symplegaden immer auseinandergangen und wieder zusammenstossen' [1]...ebenso bei Sakellarios No. 8. Vgl. auch Wenzig Westslaw. Märchenschatz S. 148. On the Water of Life see further A. Wünsche Die Sagen vom Lebensbaum und Lebenswasser Leipzig 1905 pp. 90—104 ('Das Wasser des Lebens als Zauberbrunnen in den Märchen der Völker'), J. Bolte—G. Polivka Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm Leipzig 1915 iii. 394—401 ('Das Wasser des Lebens'). A seafaring people might naturally conceive of such a portal as a pair of floating rocks or islets. Thus in a Greenland tale the hero Giviok 'continued paddling until he came in sight of two icebergs, with a narrow passage between them;
and he observed that the passage alternately opened and closed again. He tried to pass the icebergs by paddling round outside them, but they always kept ahead of him; and at length he ventured to go right between them. With great speed and alacrity he pushed on, and had just passed when the bergs closed together, and the stern-point of his kayak got bruised between them' (H. Rink Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo Edinburgh—London 1875 p. 158 f.). It would, however, be unsafe to infer from this tale that the Planktai were ‘an early attempt to reproduce some sailor’s story of the floating icebergs’ (W. W. Merry on Od. 12. 61) and that the Kyaneai or Symplegades presuppose a dim recollection of icebergs in the Black Sea (cp. for the facts E. H. Minns Scythians and Greeks Cambridge 1913 p. 6). Both alike are but mariners’ versions of the gateway to the Otherworld.


(3) As knowledge of the Mediterranean increased there was a tendency to put the clashing rocks further and further afield. Close to the Ceraunian mountains were two rocks which clashed together as often as any trouble threatened the natives (Dionys. per. 394 ff. έν άυτα σφυν τέρας ἄλλο θεόν θησαν· ἀμφί γάρ αἰαν | κύινην ἀμφιτρόπουν ἐρρέθδατι δίο πέτραι, | αὐτή ἀμφος ξυνίασε δονεῖμαι, εὐτέ τις ἀρχή | γίγνεται ἐνναέτησι κυλληδομόνου κακῶν μετ’ Eustath. ad loc. Tzetz. chil. 4. 707 ff. confuses these rocks with the graves of Kadmos and Harmonia noted by Dionysios in the same context): this reads like a bit of genuine folklore and may even be older than the location of the Homeric Planktai in the Lipari Islands. Others, impressed apparently by the fact that Tartessos sounds like Tartaros (Strab. 149), transferred both the Planktai and the Symplegades to the neighbourhood of Gadeira and identified them with the pillars of Herakles (Strab. 170, quoted by Eustath. in Dionys. per. 64). Others, again, declared that Homer etc. were speaking of rocks that lay between Kilikia (? Lykia A.B.c.) and Pamphylia (Tzetz. in Lyk. Al. 815—apparently by confusion with the Chelidonides Nesoi: see Ap. Rhod. Καύνων κτίων frag. 5. 3 f. Powell ap. Cramer anecd. Par. iv. 16, 4 f.).

(4) An oriental analogue to the Planktai may be found in the Ambrosiai Petrai of Tyre. Nonn. Dion. 40. 422 ff. relates that, when Dionysos was in Tyre, he enquired of Herakles Ἄστροχέταινον how the city came to be. The god replied that he had roused the original earth-born natives from slumber, bidding them build the first ship and cross the sea till they should reach the Ambrosiai Petrai. These were two floating rocks, on which grew an olive in the very centre of the rock. On its topmost boughs they would see an eagle perched and a well-wrought bowl. Fiery sparks sprang from the flaming tree, which, for all that, was not consumed. A snake was coiled about it, but neither hurt nor was hurt by the eagle (467 ff. εἰσάκει τῷ ὄρνον εἰσάκει μεμορμένον, ὅπερ θεός διοσκρέω | ἀντιθέτει πλόωνοι ἀλήμους εἰν ἀλί πέτραι, | ὡς θεοὺς Ἀμφροσία ἐπέθεμεν, αἰτέ ἦν θάλασσα | ἔμμελος αὐτόρμοδον ἐμώταν έρωτος εἰς, | πέτρης ἐγκυρισμένω | μετάμορφοι ἄγοραται δὲ | αἰτέν πάθεθη παρεθήσατον κυρίμμαισις | καὶ ἄφαι πτέτυκα | ἀπεὶ φλόγηρον ἰδένθρων | θαμβαλέων σπυρίδρας ἐρεγίζατο αὐτόμοσιν | πύρ | καὶ στέαν ἄφθεγος περιβάλλεται ἐρωτοὶ εἰς | καὶ φυτῶν ἐφιστάτης εἰς ὄψις ἀμφιφωρεῖεν | κ.τ.λ.). They were to capture the bird and sacrifice it to Kyanochaites, pouring its blood as a libation to the sea-roaring hills and to
Zeus and to the blessed ones. The rock would then stay rooted to the spot, and on both its peaks they would be able to plant their town. This remarkable description is borne out on the one hand by a passage in the novel of Achilleus Tatios, on the other by a modern Palestinian folk-tale.

Ach. Tat. 2. 14 quotes an oracle current among the Byzantines—νησίος τις πέλας ἄστι φυτώμων αὐτοί λαχοῦσα, | ἰσθμὸν ὄμοι καὶ πορθμὸν ἐτ' ἦπερόου φέρουσα, | ἕνων Ἡφαστεός ἔχων χαίρει γλαυκόπυρν Ἀθηνήν. | κείδε θυσιόλην σε φέρειν κέλωμε Ἡρακλεί (cp. Anth. Pal. 14. 34)—and explains that the island-city with inhabitants named after trees is Tyre occupied by the Phoinikes. Its isthmus-istrait is the narrow neck of land uniting it with the shore, since water flows beneath it. Here, too, Hephaistos in a sense enjoys Athena—witness the sacred precinct in which a flaming fire and an olive-tree are to be seen side by side, the soot of the former positively tending the branches of the latter.

A. J. Wensinck _Tree and Bird as cosmological symbols in Western Asia_ Amsterdam 1921 p. 45 draws attention to a tale published by H. Schmidt—P. Kahle _Volkserzählungen aus Palästina_ Göttingen 1918 p. 146 ff. no. 42, in which it is said of the hero: 'Er kam zu Schäms ed-Duhha und fragte sie nach dem Wasser des Lebens. Da sagte sie: "Hinter dem Garten der Jungfrauen eine Tagereise zwischen zwei Bergen! Wer hinuntersteigt, über dem schlagen die beiden Bergen zusammen. Sein Lebtag ist niemand, der hinunterstieg, wieder herausgekommen. Du aber schöpfe es (das Wasser) von oben aus." Er gelangte dorthin. Da war ein Baum, über dem schwebte ein Vogel, über seinem Wipfel. Er zog sein Schwert und ging auf den Baum zu. Da war dort eine Schlange, die wollte die Brut des Vogels fressen. Sie käm auf ihn zu. Er schlug auf sie ein und tötete sie. Dann band er dem Vogel eine Flasche an den Hals. Der flug hin, füllte die Flasche und flug auf. Und während er aufflog, schlugen die Berge hinter ihm zusammen und rupften ihm den Schwanz und die Flügel. Da nahm jener die Flasche und ging zurück zur Schäms ed-Duhha.' It will be observed that the two clashing mountains, behind which is the Water of Life, the tree, the snake, the helpful bird with the bottle attached to its neck, make up a picture curiously similar to that of the Ambrosial Petrae as described by Nonnos.

Bronze coins of Tyre, struck by a succession of Roman imperial persons from Caracalla (211—217 A.D.) to Salonina (253—268 A.D.), have for reverse type the ΑΜΒΡΟΣΙΕ ΠΕΤΡΕ or ΠΑΙΤΡΕ (sic). These are shown sometimes as two omphaloi on separate bases, with an olive-tree growing between them (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia p. 281 no. 430 Gordianus iii pl. 33, 15 = my fig. 783 from a cast, p. 284 no. 442 Trebonianus Gallus, p. 291 no. 473 Valerianus i, E. Babelon _Les Perses Acheménides_ Paris 1893 p. 328 no. 2241 Elagabalos, p. 330 no. 2255 Aquilia Severa pl. 37, 9, p. 331 no. 2258 Julia Maesa pl. 37, 11, p. 333 no. 2270 Gordianus iii, p. 340 no. 2302 Volusianus, p. 348 nos. 2349—2351 Gallienus pl. 38, 24 f., W. M. Leake _Numismata Hellenica_ London 1854 Asiatic Greece p. 140 f. Elagabalos = my fig. 784 from a cast), sometimes as two stelai on a single base, between crescent and star, with a flaming thymiaterion on one side and an olive-tree on the other (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia p. 281 no. 429 Gordianus iii pl. 33, 14 = my fig. 785 from a cast, Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 270 no. 58 Gordianus iii pl. 77, 9 = my fig. 786, E. Babelon _Les Perses Acheménides_ p. 334 no. 2271 Gordianus iii pl. 37, 16). Or, again, they appear in the field as a local background. Thus Herakles, with club and lion-skin, pours a libation from a phiale over a burning altar, above which are seen the two stelai, with streams issuing from their bases (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia p. 281 no. 427

Europe, standing to front, with basket or vase: on the left, Zeus in the form of a bull emerges from the sea; above him are the omphaloi with an olive-tree between them (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* p. 290 no. 468 Valerianus i pl. 34, 13 = my fig. 789 from a cast, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 347 no. 2348 Gallienus pl. 38, 23, *supra* i. 530 n. 2 fig. 402 Gallienus, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 20 pl. 3, 40 = Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 71 pl. 7, 6 = W. H. Roscher *Neue Omphalostudien* Leipzig 1915 pp. 15 n. 34, 71 fig. Gallienus).

These coins enable us to trace the Ambrosiai Petrae back to a date nearly a century earlier than Achilleus Tatios, our earliest literary authority; and some two centuries earlier than Nonnus. As is so often the case, the earliest conception
Floating Islands

is the simplest. Here are seen two *omphaloi* or *stelai* with rounded tops, from the base of which streams are flowing. Streams of what? Presumably of *ambrosia*. The rocks, to deserve their name, must themselves be the very source of that elixir (for the Water of Life as honey see e.g. *Kalevala* 15. 377 ff. trans. W. F. Kirby, cp. W. H. Roscher *Nektar und Ambrosia* Leipzig 1883 p. 46 ff., W. Robert—Tornow *De opium melissae apud veteres significacione et symbolica et mythologica* Berolini 1893 pp. 85—89, 122—126). I cannot, therefore, agree with Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.* ii. 390 ‘profluentes subitus aqua, nimimum quod

aqua maris perpetuo humectantur.’ Again, the coins give no hint of the eagle and the *phidæ*. These are not mentioned before the fifth-century epic of Nonnos and may be an accretion due partly to the popular concept of Zeus as an eagle fed on *ambrosia* from the *phidæ* of Ganymedes (e.g. Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 115, 190 no. 1, ii. 232 no. 3, iii. 231 no. 2, 370 no. 2, 489 no. 2. I add in fig. 790 a Roman lamp of Augustan date in my possession (scale †), cp. a similar but smaller lamp with bungled inscription published by R. Kekulé in the *Annu. d. Inst.* 1866 xxxviii. 121 f. pl. G, 1, and in pl. lxix, (1) the relief on a bronze mirror-case of early imperial date from Miletopolis (*Melide*) acquired in 1907 by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (diameter 6½ inches); (2) an exact
replica of it in the collection of the late Dr A. H. Lloyd, Cambridge. On comparison with the sarcophagus at Rome (Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke Ant. Denkm. i. 87 pl. 9, 19 = Amelung Sculpt. Vatic. ii. 277 f. no. 97 a pl. 24 = Reinach op. cit. iii. 370 no. 2) it becomes clear that the design is better suited to a circular than to an oblong space. The recumbent female figure, according to Amelung, is ‘wohl eine Personifikation des Berges Ida.’ I too should take her to be the Phrygian or Cretan nymph Ide (E. Neustadt in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ix. 880), or—less probably—the nymph Ambrosia (K. Wernicke ib. i. 1809), from whom Ganymedes has received the bowl. Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 546 f., W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. i. 1599, and P. Friedländer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 748, however, contend that the scene is laid in heaven, not on earth: cp. Val. Flacc. 2. 415 ff., partly to the fact that in Levantine art of the Graeco-Roman age an eagle on a sacred stone had a solar significance (supra i. 603 f. fig. 475, ii. 186 figs. 129 f. See also F. Cumont in the Revue de l’histoire des religions 1910 lxii. 119—164, 1911 lxiii. 208—241, republished with modifications and additions in his Études Syriennes Paris 1917 pp. 35—118 (‘L’aigle funéraire d’Hiera(poly et l’apotheose des empereurs’), S. Ronzevalle in the Mélanges de la Faculté orientale de Beyrouth ‘L’aigle funéraire en Syrie’ 1912 v. 2. 117—178, 221—231, L. Deubner ‘Die Apotheose des Antoninianus Pius’ in the Röm. Mitth. 1912 xxvii. 1—20, Mrs A. Strong Apotheosis and After Life London 1915 pp. 181—187). The snake is a further accretion, elsewhere connected with the solar eagle of the Phoenician Ba’al-šamin (supra i. 191 f. fig. 138) and comparable with the snake twined round an ovoid stone or omphalos on other bronze coins of Tyre (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia pp. cxli, 278 no. 413 Elagabalos pl. 33, 8 = my fig. 791 from a cast, E. Babelon Les Perses Acheménides p. 328 no. 2240 Elagabalos pl. 37, 5; p. 339 no. 2296 Trebonianus Gallus pl. 37, 29). This serpent-twined egg appears to have had a cosmic significance: cp. Epikouros ap. Epiphan. panar. haeres. 1. 8. 1 (i. 294 Dindorf) = H. Diels Doxogr. p. 589, 11 ff. εναί δὲ εἰς ἐπάρχεις φοι διήν τὸ σύμπα, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα δρακοντοειδὲς περὶ τὸ φῶς ὑπὸ αὔτανον ἤ ὑπὸ ὑψήν περισφίγγειν τῶν τῆς φώτ. θελόνων δὲ βασιλέω τινι (Diels cj. καὶ σφ. cp. Aristot. de caelo 4. 6 313 b 5) περισυστόρῳ φεῖξαν τῆς τάσιν ὕπνην εἰς’ οὖν φῶς τῶν πάντων, οὔτα διχάσαι μὲν τὰ ὄντα εἰς τὰ δύο ἡμοσφαίρα καὶ λοιπόν ἐκ τοῦτον τὰ ἱερὰ διάκεκριθαν. It does not appear with certainty on coins that represent the Ambrosiai Petraei (pace J. F. Vaillant Numismata arear Imperialorum, Augustorum, et Caesarum, in coloniis, municipiis, et urbis iure Latio donatis, ex omni modulo percussa Parisii 1695 ii. 101 fig., 151 fig., Eckhel Doctr. num. vet. 3. 389, Stevenson—Smith—Madden Dict. Rom. Coins p. 828. Sir G. F. Hill wrote to me (April 8, 1926) with regard to the specimens in the British Museum: ‘There is something twining (?) round the trunk of the tree between the stones, and I have no reason to suspect either Vaillant or Eckhel...’). Lastly, the fire, which Achilleus Tatios makes into a marvel and Nonnos into a miracle, figures on the coins only as a flaming thymiaterion or altar. The essential elements, present from the first, are the two rocks, the Water of Life or ambrosia that flows from them, and the olive-tree growing between or beside them.

Now the whole of this ambrosial business has a suspiciously Hellenistic look about it, and we may well surmise that it has been grafted on to older beliefs of indigenous growth. Sir G. F. Hill in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia p. cxli
very pertinently asks: 'Have these two baetyls any connexion with the two stelae dedicated by "Ousoos" to fire and wind?' Ousoos, the eponym of Usu or Palai-Tyros (F. Hommel Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orientalen München 1926 pp. 8, 166 f.), was the brother and rival of Samemroumos or Hypsouranios (supra ii. 981 n. 1). If Hypsouranios invented huts made of reeds, grasses, and papyrus, Ousoos invented clothing made of skins from beasts that he had captured. During a violent storm of rain and wind the trees at Tyre, rubbing against one another, kindled a fire and burnt the wood. Ousoos caught hold of a tree, stripped off the branches, and was the first who dared to put to sea. He dedicated two stelai to Pyr and Pneuma, worshipped them, and poured a libation to them the blood of the beasts that he had taken in the chase. When these persons died, the survivors dedicated rods to them and, celebrating a yearly festival for them, worshipped the stelai (Philon Bybl. frag. 2 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 566 Müller) ap. Euseb. frag. ev. i. 10. 10 f. δενδρον δε λαβόμενον τον οίνον και άποκαλαθίνατα πρώτον τολμήσαν είς θήλασιν έμβηναι. άνμερώτα δε δύο στήλας Πυρι και Πνεύματι, και προσκυνώσαν, αυτά τα στήλια αυτά είς δενδρα θήριων. τούτων δε τελευτησάντων, τόσο άπολυθήναν ψιθροί μάθουν αυτοί αμφιεύοντα, και τόσ αυτοί προσκυνούν, και τόσον ἔσχατον κατ' έτος). If, as seems probable, we have here a genuine echo of Phoenician cosmogony (supra ii. 1036 ff.), we may reasonably suppose at Tyre an actual cult of two cosmic stelai (cp. supra ii. 425 f.) later equated with the Ambrosial Petrai. Hence the abnormal representation of the Petrai on imperial coins as a couple of stelai. R. Eisler Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt München 1910 ii. 576 n. 5 asserts with confidence: 'Es sind die zwei Masseben, die Usoos... dem Wind und dem Feuer geweiht haben soll; d. h. die beiden Gipfel des Weltenberges, durch die zwei Stelen dargestellt, versinnlichen den Feuer- und den Windpunkt des Jahreskreises (oben S. 451 f.), die winterliche Wassertiefe ist durch das Meer vertreten, auf dem die dia-a-alTreypai schwimmen. Hinter dem Namen "ambrosische" Felsen steckt hier in Palaityrus natürlich eine semitische Bezeichnung, etwa 'ann brōth “Mutter der Quellen” oder dgl.'

On this showing there is a close parallelism between the Ambrosial Petrai of Tyre, perhaps identified with the pillars of Pyr and Pneuma, and the Planktai or Symplegades of Gadeira, certainly identified with the pillars of Herakles (supra p. 978 n. o (3)). Even the olive-tree of Tyre reappears at Gadeira (Philostr. v. Apoll. 5. p. 167 Καύσερ ἡ Πυγμαλίωνος δε ἑλια ἡ χρυσή, ἀνύκεισα δε κάκειν ας το Ἡράκλειον, ἀδία μέν, ἀς φασιν, και τοῦ βάλλου δυνάμεν, ἢ δὲκαντα, δυνάμεναν δ' αν ἐνι τῇ καρπῇ μᾶλλον, βρέχει γὰρ αυτὸν σμαράγδου λίθου—noted by A. J. Wensinck op. cit. p. 19).

(5) Bouts (Boutos, Boutoi), an Egyptian town in the north-western part of the Delta (K. Sethe in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 1087 f., H. R. Hall The Ancient History of the Near East London 1913 p. 97 f., F. Hommel Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orientalen München 1926 p. 903 ff.), gave its name to a neighbouring lake the Boutuken Limne (Strab. 802). The town was famous for its cult of Leto, the lake for a floating island called Chembis (E. A. Wallis Budge The Gods of the Egyptians London 1904 i. 442 'the Island of Khebit'), which was sacred to Apollon (Hekataios frag. 284 (Frag. hist. Gr. i. 20 Müller) = frag. 305 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 40 Jacoby) ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Χεμβιος). According to Herodotos, the lake near the sanctuary at Bouts was deep and wide; the island carried a great temple of Apollon with three altars, besides many palms, fruit-trees, etc.; and the local myth was as follows. When Typhon was searching high and low for the son of Osiris, Leto, one of the eight earliest deities, having
an oracle at Bouto, received Apollon in charge from Isis and hid him for safety in this island (cp. Plout. de Is. et Os. 38), which up to that time had been fixed but was thenceforward said to be afloat. Apollon and Artemis were children of Dionysos by Isis, Leto being their nurse and preserver: in Egyptian Apollon was Horos, Demeter was Isis, Artemis was Boubastis (Hdt. 2. 156, cp. Mela 1. 55 Chemnis, Eustath. in Od. p. 1644, 60 f. "Exeüs"). The goddess thus identified by the Greeks with Leto was the Egyptian Bouto, earlier Udô, on whom see K. Sethe loc. cit. i. 1086 f., H. R. Hall op. cit. p. 97. Hommel claims that she was originally the chief goddess of Punt and notes an Egyptian folk-tale, dating from the early part of the second millennium B.C., in which the serpent-king of Punt inhabits an Island of Ghosts that can suddenly sink in the waves (F. Hommel op. cit. p. 636, cp. id. Die Insel der Seligen in Mythus und Sage der Vorzeit München 1901 p. 18 ff.). Gruppe regards the Egyptian floating island Chemnis as, 'direkt oder mittelbar,' the source of the Greek floating island Delos (Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 813 n. 2, cp. ib. p. 239). But definite evidence of Egyptian cult in Delos is late (P. Roussel Les cultes égyptiens à Delos du iii au ii siècle av. j.-C. Nancy 1916 p. 239 ff., id. Delos colonie athénienne Paris 1916 p. 249 ff. ('Divinités égyptiennes')).

(6) When Leto was in travail with Apollon, she went round the coasts and islands of the Aegean seeking a home for her future son. No place would accept him save Delos, and even Delos at first feared to do so, since he was like to be a froward and masterful child, who might on seeing the rocky nature of the island overturn it with his feet and sink it in the sea. Such fears were set at rest by Leto, who swore that her son should have his cult established in Delos and honour it for ever (h. Ap. 14—88). This passage suggests that Delos was unstable, if not actually afloat—a notion far more clearly expressed by Pindar, who definitely states that the island was driven about by winds and waves till Leto, as her time drew near, set foot upon it: then and there four pillars sprang from the abyss and bore up the rocky isle, where the goddess gave birth to the god (Pind. frag. 87 + 88 Bergk, Schröder ap. Theophr. ap. Philon. de incorrupt. mundi 23 p. 511 Mangey + Strab. 485, schol. Od. 10. 2, Cramer anecd. Paris, iii. 464, 6 ff., Eustath. in Od. p. 1644, 54 f., cp. Arrian. frag. 73 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 599f. Müller) ap. Eustath. in Dionys. per. 525, Plout. de facie in orbe lunae 6, Sen. nat. quaestt. 6, 26. 3). L. Birchner in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv. 2462 holds that Pindar in the same context represents Delos as 'vom Himmel gefallen.' That is hardly so. Pindar loc. cit. says ἄν τε βροτοὶ | Δᾶλον κελλήκσουσι, μᾶκαρς δ' ἐν Ὁλύμπῳ τῆλεφατόν εκανάς κεφον ἄπτρον—hinting at the old name Ἀστερία (supra i. 543 n. 6) and working it into a metaphor of exceptional beauty (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff Sappho und Simonides Berlin 1913 p. 131 'Hier den Namen Asteria herauszuhören, ist etwas Rätselraten; aber wie grossartig ist die Vorstellung, dass die Erde für den Blick der Götter eine blaue Fläche ist, wie ihr Himmel für uns, auf dem ihnen dann Delos, so klein sie ist, als ein heller Stern lieblich aufleuchtet. Wer an sprachlicher Kunst als solcher Gefallen findet, wird hier ein Juwel, einen seltenen Edelstein in reichster Fassung anerkennen;' etc., quoted by Sir J. E. Sandys ad loc.). But the metaphor of the fifth century becomes the myth of the third: ἄλλ' ἀφεὶς πελάγισον ἐπέκλεις, οὐνομα δ' ἕν σου | Ἀστερίᾳ τῷ παλαιῷ, ἐνει βαθὺν ἤλαι τάφρον | οὐδαμόνον φεύγουσα Δᾶς γάμον ἀποτρύ νη (Kallim. h. Del. 36 ff.).

The story of Delos, once afloat but now fixed for ever, was popularised by Virgil and became a commonplace in later literature (Varro ap. Macrob. Sat. 1. 7. 29, Verg. Aen. 3. 73 ff. with Serv. and interp. Serv. ad loc., Prop. 4. 6. 27,
Floating Islands


Aristot. frag. 446 Rose ap. Plin. nat. hist. 4. 66 (Solin. 11. 18) thought that Delos was so called because it had appeared suddenly on the surface of the sea—a notion repeated in schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 308 and expanded in et. mag. p. 264, 23 ff. Δῆλος. η ἱερὰ (so F. Sylburg for η ἱερὰ codd. F. G. Sturz c. η ἱερὰ after Favorin. ex. p. 475, 21) τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, εἶναι δὲ κρυπτωμένου αὐτῆς εἰς τῇ θαλάσσῃ δήλην ἐποίησε καὶ ἀνέβακεν ἵνα τέκνη ἡ Λήτω (so, or with τέκνα, F. Sylburg for ἴνα ἡ Λήτω codd. A. Berkel c. ἴνα ἄνδρις Λήτω). Ζεύς γὰρ ἔρασθης Λήτῳ, τῆς Κόιν θυγατρὸς ἄνδρα τῶν Τιτάνων καὶ Φοίβης, ἔγκοιν αὐτῆς ἐποίησεν· ἄριστος, δεκαμνίων κρανίω δεξιομενέως, παρεγένετο διὰ θαλάσσης εἰς Ἀστερέων (Ἀστερέων Λ. Β. Κ.) τὴν νήσον, μᾶν αὐθαναί τῶν Κυκλάδων· ἐκεῖ τε θεοῦσα καὶ ἐναμία μοῦ φυτῶν ἕλαια καὶ φοίνικος, διδύμου ἀτεκνόσω παῦδας Ἀρτέμιν καὶ Ἀπόλλονα καὶ τὴν νησίου ἐκλάσει Δῆλον ὅτι εἰς ἄλλην Βάστοις ἐρροήθη. Plin. nat. hist. 2. 202 mentions Delos first in a list of islands that had so emerged, and Amm. Marc. 17. 7. 13 supposes that such islands were thrown up by earthquakes of a particular type (brasmaticiae, cp. brasiae (Apul. de mund. 18)).

(7) Delos set the fashion, and Patmos followed it (F. G. Welcker in the Rhein. Mus. 1843 ii. 338, ib. 1845 iii. 270. K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 1398, Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 813 n. 2). An inscription found there and first edited by L. Ross (Inscriptio Graecae ineditae Athenis 1842 ii. 72—74 no. 190) tells how Artemis appointed as her hydrophoros a girl named Vera, daughter of the physician Glaukias, who had crossed over from Argos (?), and adds that Patmos the island of Leto's daughter had remained hidden in the depths of the sea till Orestes came from Skythia (?) and established there the cult of the Scythian Artemis (Kaibel Epigr. Gr. no. 872. 1 ff. = Cougny Anth. Pal. Append. 1. 258. 1 ff. (after R. Bergmann Berolini 1860) ἀγάθη τοῖς ἀγώ τῷ παρθενικῇ ἐλαφή-θόλοις ἀφητετραῖον | δήκατο κυθωλίμπρᾳ Παλαθίων θύγατρα, | ἰδοραφοῖο Ἰβρήν Πανθύν παραβαμ' ἐφέβως (Kaibel prints παραβώμα μύθου | στραφώντων αὐγῶν ἐμβρύω καλλιθύσων. | [ἐν 'Αργεί θ' ἑτάρα θεία[α][θεία] π[αθεία, ἢδε τιθήνης (Kaibel prints ἦ δὲ
986 Appendix P

(8) Rhodes was another island that had risen from the sea-bottom. A tale already ancient in 464 B.C. said that, when Zeus and the immortals were dividing the earth among them, Rhodes lay hidden in the briny depths. Helios, who was absent from the division, complained that he was left without a portion. So Zeus was about to order a new casting of the lot. The sun-god, however, would not suffer it; for, as he declared, he could see a plot of land rising from the bottom of the sea and destined to prove fruitful for man and beast. He bade Lachesis and Zeus swear that it should be his. Thereupon from the sea sprang the island, where Helios wedded Rhodes and begat seven sons, one of whom became the father of Ialysos, Kameiros, and Lindos (Pind. Ol. 7. 54 ff. with scholl. ad loc.). Rhodes was thus included in the canonical list of islands that had emerged from the sea (Plin. nat. hist. 2. 202, Amm. Marc. 17. 7. 13), and C. Torr Rhodes in Ancient Times Cambridge 1885 p. 152 justifies its inclusion: 'Rhodes certainly rose from the sea. The great limestone mass of Mount Atabyros and the lesser limestone hills, Akramytis, Elias, Archangelo and Lindos, must once have formed a group of islands: and as these were gradually elevated, the lower hills were being formed round them by volcanic action. These facts were no doubt beyond the Rhodians of the mythopoetic age: but the elevated beds of sea shells at the base of the hills would readily have suggested the legend.' Perhaps in the Hellenistic age Isis, whose temple stood near the city-wall beside the sea (Appian. Mithr. 27), was believed to have raised the island from the watery abyss. That at least would square with the claim made on behalf of the goddess in an Isiac hymn of s. i. B.C. found in Andros (Lebas—Foucart Péléononné ii no. 1796. 4, 23 ff. = Kaibel Epigr. Gr. no. 1028, 70 ff. = E. Abel Orphica Lipsiae—Prague 1885 p. 301 h. in Isim 138 ff. = Cougny Anth. Pal. Append. 4. 32. 70 ff. = Inscr. Gr. Ins. v. 1 no. 739, 160 ff. ναύς δε βαθυνόμενα αὐτὸ τοῦ ἁμίπαν οἷον οἷον ἢ στήρο τοῦ ἄκρας | στηρικτικὰς ἐξακολουθοῦσαν ὑπερεπεινώσας, διάλοις | μαλακοῖς θ' ἀδεδικάνων. A. H. Krappen in Anglia Beiiblatt 1932 xliii. 236 ff. draws an interesting comparison between Pindar's description of Rhodes and James Thomson's Rule, Britannia (1740). In the former the emergent island becomes the personified Rhodos. In the latter
the same thing happens: the opening lines run 'When Britain first at Heaven's command Arose from out the azure main,' etc., yet the burden 'Rule, Britannia' and the succeeding stanzas bring the allegorical figure to the fore.

(9) The Strophades, two islets off the coast of Messene to the south of Zakynthos, were originally called the Plotai (Antimachos frag. 13 Bergk, l.c. 60 Wyss ap. schol. Paris. Ap. Rhod. 2. 296 ταῦτας δὲν φησίν τὰς νήσους 'Ἀπολλώνιος Στροφαίδας μετὰ ταῦτα κληρήσαν διὰ τὸ ἔκειθεν ὑποστρέφει τοὺς Βορεάδας καὶ κρητές διάκειν αὐτάς. παρὰ 'Ἀριστάρχου δὲ τούτω εἴληφεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος· ὅτι γὰρ ἔκεινον ἐν τῇ Λυκῆ περὶ αὐτῶν μέμητον, ἄλλος δὲ καὶ διὰ τούτο Στροφάδας φαίνων αὐτώς κληρήσαν ὅτι ἐν αὐτῶς ὑποστραφήτες ὁ Βορεάδας ἥξαντο τῷ Δίῳ λαβεῖν αὐτάς. κ.τ.λ. (cp. supra ii. 907 n. 2), Ap. Rhod. 2. 285 νήσους ἦς Πλοτάς κρητέσσας with schol. ad loc. = Favorinus. lex. p. 1523, 25 ff., Ap. Rhod. 2. 296f. Στροφάδας δὲ μετακλείοντα άνθρωπων νήσους τούτω γ' ἐκτει, πάρος Πλοτάς καλλότετες, Hyg. fab. 14 p. 47, 17 ff. quae inhabitabant insulas Strophadas in Aegeaco (sic) mari, quae Plotae appel- lantur, Mela 2. 110 olim Plotae nunc Strophodes, Plin. nat. hist. 4. 55 ante Zacynthum XXX in Eorum ventum Strophades duae, ab alis Plotae dictae). The names are significant. The two Turning Isles or Floating Isles, haunted by the Harpies (Apollod. i. 9. 21, Verg. Aen. 3. 210ff., Hyg. fab. 19, alib. see Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. pp. 398, 813 n. 8, 846 n. 5), are in all probability an early variant of the Plankta or Symplegades (Gruppe op. cit. p. 556 n. 3)—a perilous gateway of the Otherworld.

(10) The same name Plotai was given by Dionysios the geographer to the seven islands of Aiolos in the Sicilian Sea (Dionys. per. 465 f. ἐπὶ τὰ δὲ οἱ τα' γ' εὔσιν, ἐπαύωνα μὲν άνδράς Πλοτάς, ὡς ἡ μὲν άρα μέσον άρχον περίπλουν ἀμφιβλητων with Eustath. and paraphr. ad loc., cp. schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 297 ἄς δὲ Πλωτάι νήσου εἰσίνα ἐν τῷ Σικελικῷ πελάγει). Homer had made Aiolos live πνεύμα ἐν νησῷ (supra (1)), and Apollonios had perhaps spoken of Hiera or Lipara as νησίῳ πλούτης (so schol. Flor. on Ap. Rhod. 3. 42 (supra)). Theophrastos speaks of Ploades or 'Floating' Islands on the lake of Orchomenos, i.e. Lake Kopaïs in Boiotia, and compares them with others in the marshes of Eegnos, Thebes, etc. (Theophr. hist. pl. 4. 10. 2 φύεται δὲ οἱ πλείστοι [sic. δαίμονοι, 'goat-willow', salix capreol] μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν πλοῦτων νήσων: εἰς γὰρ τινες καὶ εναέαθα πλοῦσθαι, ὅπερ ἐν Αἰγύπτω περί ταῦ θης καὶ ἐν Θεσπρωτίᾳ καὶ ἐν Ἀλκαίοις λίμναις. 4. 12. 4 τῶν δὲ νῆσων τῶν πλοῦτων τῶν ἐν Ἑρμομανή ταῦτὰ μὲν μεγάθη παντοτᾶ ἀναγώμισαι τυγχάνει, τα δὲ μέγιστα αὐτῶν ἐστιν δούς τριῶν σταδίων τῆς περὶμετρον. ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ μάλιστα μεγάλα ὁμόθρα συνιστάται, ἕως ὅτι καὶ δὲ εἰς αὐτάς ἔγειρεται πολλοῦς, ὅσι καὶ κυκνητοῦσι διαβαινοῦτες, Hesych. Πλοῦτος τῶν ἐν Ἑρμομανῆ <νῆσων> τινες (so M. Schmidt 2 for πλοῦτων· τῶν ἐπερχομένων των cod.) ὡς καλοῦται, Theophr. hist. pl. 4. 11. 1 καλοῦσι δὲ τοῦτον μὲν ἰσχυρὸν καὶ παχύν (sc. κάλαμον) χαρακίαν τῶν δ' ἐπερχομένων καὶ ψυχῆς τοῦτον μὲν πλούκιον ἐπὶ τῶν πλούσιων τὸν δὲ χαρακίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς κόμμως ἐπὶ Phil. nat. hist. 16. 108 de Orchomeni lacus harundinetis accuratius dici cognitum admiratio antiqua. characian vocabant crassiores firmioresque, plocian (K. L. von Urichs cj. plocimon) vero subtilliores, hanc in insulis fluviantibus natam, illam in ripis exspatiatissimac lacus). O. Gruppe held that these Boiotian islands were connected with chthonian powers thought to issue from the Underworld in the form of winds (Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 813). If so, note the belief that reeds used for pipes grew in the lake only at intervals of eight years (Theophr. hist. pl. 4. 11. 2 ἐν εὐναρπίδος = Phil. nat. hist. 16. 169 nono...anno). But Gruppe's assumption is gratuitous. We are here dealing with purely natural phenomena. H. N. Ulrichs Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland Bremen 1840 i. 192 observes
that the river Melas (Mauroopotamos), which crosses the site of Lake Kopaïs, is surrounded by black vegetable fens and quotes the peasants of Skripou as saying 'dass das Land am Mauroopotamos schimme.' He identifies these patches of unstable ground with the πλοῖδες of Theophrastos and the insulae fluitantes of Pliny. A. Philippson 'Der Kopaïs-See in Griechenland und seine Umgebung' in the Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin 1894 xxix. 39 and Geiger in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 1348 follow suit. Frazer Pausanias v. 120 says: 'The fable was probably told of the islands in the bay of Tsamali, to the north of Orchomenus, whose banks overhung and quaked under the tread, as do the banks of the river Melas in some places.'

(12) Some five miles to the north of Sardeis lies the Gygaia Limne, later called the Koloē Limne, and now known as Mermerh-Gheul, the 'Marble Lake' (L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 1956, xi. 1107). Its brackish waters are fringed with dense beds of reeds (W. J. Hamilton Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia London 1842 i. 145), which dry up and mixing with other detritus form floating islands (G. Radet La Lydie et le monde grec au temps des Hermnades (687—546) Paris 1893 p. 13). A. H. Sayce, after a visit to the spot in 1879, writes: 'The foundations of the old temple of Artemis (?) are very visible on the southern shore of the lake as well as of a causey thrown out into the lake....The fish caught in it are carp, which are usually of a wonderfully large size. According to the local superstition every carp has a bitter stone in its mouth. If this is not removed before the fish is eaten fever will be the inevitable result. If, however, the stone is removed the fish is considered innocuous' (Journ. Hell. Stud. 1880 i. 87).

It is to this lake that we must attach a whole series of ancient notices about floating islands, dancing islands, dancing reeds, and poisonous fish. Attempts to distinguish the floating islands of Koloē from the dancing islands, reeds, etc. of the Nymphs (H. Oehler Paradoxographi Florentini anonyomi opusculum de aquis mirabilibus Tubingae 1913 p. 117 ff., cp. L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. x. 1532) are in my opinion unsuccessful.

The floating islands of Lydia are composed of light pumice-like stones (Theophrast. ap. Sen. nat. quaestt. 3. 25. 7 sunt enim multi pumicosi et leves, ex quibus quae constant insulae in Lydia, natam. Theophrastus est auctor). In Lydia the floating islands named Calaminae, which are shifted not only by the winds but by barge-poles in any direction you please, proved a refuge to many during the Mithridatic war (Plin. nat. hist. 2. 209 quaedam insulae semper fluctuantur, sicut...in Lydia quae vocantur Calaminae, non ventis solum, sed etiam contis quo liebat insulae, multorum civium Mithridatico bello salus). Lake Koloē near Sardeis breeds many fish and waterfowl: its floating islands have a deceptive appearance of stability, for they change their position with the winds (anon. de aquis mirabilibus (supra p. 975) 39 ἡ κατὰ Σάρδεις λίμνη καλουμένη δὲ Κολόε πλῆθος μὲν ὄψιν πάμπολον τρέφει· ἐξεῖ δὲ καὶ αὐτή νήσους ὁμοιόμενα πρὸς ἄγαντας· ἐπισκόπεται γάρ· καὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνέμων πρὸς συμμετοιχίσεις· πτηνῶν δὲ τῶν ἐνυδρῶν τοσοῦτο τρέφει πλῆθος ὡστε καὶ ταραξοῦνται). Varro claimed to have seen in Lydia the Islands of the Nymphs, which at the sound of flutes move out from the bank into the middle of the lake, go circling round, and return to the shore (Varr. ap. Mart. Cap. 928 in Lydia Nympharum insulas dici, quas etiam recentior asserentium Varro se vidisse testatur, quae in medium stagnum a continent] procedentes cantu tibiarum primo in circulum motae dehinc ad litora revertuntur). He further states that, when he sacrificed on the shore of the lake, fish came crowding towards the flute-player and the
habent piscinas, ubi dispares disclosus habent piscis, quos, proinde ut sacri sint
ac sanctiores quam illi in Lydia, quos sacrificanti tibi, Varro, ad tibicinem
[graecum] gregatim venisse dicebas ad extremum litus atque aram, quod eos
capere auderet nemo, cum eodem tempore insulas Lydorum ibi χωρεονομασ
vidisses, sic hos piscis nemo cocus in ius vocare audet). Pliny, after his account
of the Lydian Calaminae, goes on to say that in the Nymphaeum too are small
islands called Saliares because, when choruses are sung, they move in time with
the beating feet (Plin. nat. hist. 2. 209 sunt et in Nymphae parvae, Saliares
dictae, quoniam in symphoniae cantu ad ictus modulantium pedum moventur).
Elsewhere he asserts, on the authority of Ktesias (?), that the fish in the Lake of
the Nymphs are poisonous (Ktesias frag. 83 Müller ap. Plin. nat. hist. 31. 25
hoc idem et in Lydia in stagiio Nympharum tradunt) — a belief still prevalent
with regard to the carp of the Koloë Limne (supra).

Strabon mentions the sanctuary of Artemis KoXorjv, on the Gygaia or Koloë
Limne, where 'the baskets' are said to dance on festal days (Strab. 626 ἐν δὲ
στάδιοι τεσταράκοντα ἀπὸ τῆς πύλεως [sc. Sardeis] ἐστὶν ἡ Γυγαία μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ
ποταμοῦ λεγομένης <Λήμνη> (πόσ. Α. Κοραῖς)>, Κόλος δὲ ὑπερθεὶν μετονομασθείσα, ὡσπο
τὸ λεόν τῆς Κολοσσίας Ἀρτέμιδος, μεγάλην ἀγιοτέραν ἔχων. φαιο δὲ ἑνῴαθα
χωρεῖν τοὺς καλάδους (F. E. Ruhkopf, followed by G. Bernhardy and C. Müller,
cj. καλάδους. E. Müller cj. καβάλους. πιθήκους, a curious variant in coind. m, s
and edd. Ald. Cas., was altered by C. A. Lobec Aglaophamus Regimontii
Prussorum 1829 p. 226 into πιθάνας, but may imply some confusion with
καλλίας, 'apes,' which A. Westermann would restore to the text) κατὰ τὰς ἑορτὰς,
όπις ἄλλοι ὅπως ποτὲ παραθυσιογονοῦσιν μᾶλλον ἡ ἀληθεύσεις = Eustath. in Ἡ.
p. 305, 46 ff.).

Lastly, according to Isigonos the paradoxographer of Nikaia, whose floruit
probably falls in s. i a.D. (W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ix. 2082,
cp. W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur a ii. 1. 420 n. 5), in Lydia
there is a lake called Tala (?) sacred to the Nymphs. It bears a multitude
of reeds and in their midst one that the natives term king. A yearly festival is
held, at which sacrifices are offered and a chorus sounds on the shore of the lake.
Thereupon all the reeds dance, and the king dancing with them comes to the
shore. The natives wreath him with fillets and send him off, praying that both
he and they may come again another year; that is their sign of a fertile season
(Isigonos frag. 8 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 436 Müller) ap. anon. de aquis mirabilibus
43 ἐν Λυδίᾳ ἐστὶ λίμνη Τάλα μὲν (C. Müller, followed by L. Bürchner, cj. Καλωμήν.
But cp. Ἡ. 2. 865 τὸ Ταλαμένους, τὸ Γυγαία τέκε λίμνη, where Ταλαμένης may be a
Greek adaptation of the Lydian name) καλωμήν, εἰρά δὲ ὡσα νυκτῶν, ἡ φέρει
καλάδον (A. Westermann cj. καλλίων (?)) πλῆθος άφθονοι καὶ μέσον αὐτῶν ἐνα,
ὅν βασιλεία προσαγορεύοντων οἱ ἐπιχώροι· θυσίας δὲ καὶ ἑορτὰς ἑπτελοῦντο
ἐναναίοις ἐξηλάκονται· τούτων δὲ ἐπιτόραμών, ἑπείδαιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἱώσως κτύπου
συμφωνίας γένεται, πάντες οἱ καλάμοι χωρεύοντας καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς σὺν αὐτῶν χωρείον
παραγίνεται ἐπι τὴν ἱώσα· οἱ δὲ ἐπιχώροι πανίς αὐτῶν καταστάργοντο ἀπα-
πεντενάνων, εἰρήξαντες καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐπί τῶν αὐτῶν τε καὶ καταοῦντο παραγείνεται, ὡς
ἐκείρσι ἄντι σημεῖοι (F. Sylburg cj. ὃν τι σημεῖον· ὡς ἠστερεῖ Ἰσιγόνος ἐν ἀντίθερ
ἀντίστοι.*)

Isigonos' work was entitled "Ἀπιστα, but his statements here are by no
means incredible and may easily be reconciled with those of our other sources.
Artemis KoLorjv (on whom see Scherling in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi.
1108 f.) had a temple on a hill close to the southern shore of the lake: its ruins
are still to be seen, including walls of great basalt blocks, three Doric columns of weather-worn marble only 6 ft (?) high, and huge stone slabs with reliefs of an archer in a pointed cap, a lion’s head, etc. (E. Curtius in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1853 xi. 152, von Olleys *Über die Lydischen Königsgräber bei Sardes und den Grabbügel des Alyattes* in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1858* Phil.-hist. Class. p. 542 pl. 1 = Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l’Art* v. 267 fig. 157). Her cult involved a yearly festival, at which a dance known as *kalados*, ‘the baskets,’ took place. The beating feet of the dancers communicated their vibration to the floating reed-mats of the lake and set them in motion. The red reeds eddying round appeared to share in the dance. The tallest reed, called *δανιδα* by the countryfolk, would in time be drifted inshore, decorated by the worshippers, and pushed off into the lake again. The successful performance of this little ceremony was deemed a happy omen. The crowd at the lake-side and the prospect of altar-scraps would be quite enough to attract the carp. Naturally the fish were sacred to Artemis of the lake (see e.g. the large Boeotian amphora, found near Thebes, which represents Artemis with a fish on her robe (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d’Athènes* p. 108 f. no. 462, figured by P. Wolters in the *Εφ.* *Αρχ.* 1892 p. 219 ff. pl. 10, i = Reinaich *Rép. Vases* i. 517, 2, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l’Art* x. 40 f. fig. 30, R. Eisler *Orphée* the Fisher London 1921 p. 260 f. pl. 64, 1 (wrongly described), F. J. Dölger IXΘYC Münster in Westf. 1922 ii. 179 f., iii pl. 12, 2), and the facts cited by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1295 n. 1, 1536 n. 2, 1585 n. 2) and the reed-islands would be connected with her attendant Nymphs. The whole story is consistent and credible. After all, Varro was no visionary and Strabon is a serious authority.

Floating Islands

Variants in the text of Kallimachos are attested by Elias in Aristotelis categorias 27 a 24 ff. (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca xviii. 1. 125, 7 ff. Busse) and by by schol. Plat. symph. 218 b (960 b 47 f. ed. Turic.) επιθεῖν παράθονεν καλλίμαχον εν ύμων δήμητρος καλάθων το 'θύρας β΄ ἐπίθθεν διψήκαν. Ἐν 121 ff. χως αἱ τῶν κάλαθων λευκόριχες τιπαί ἀγονι ῥεῖσαι, ὅς ἀμή μεγάλα θεῶς εὐρυ-

ἄνασαν | λευκὸν ἑαυτών δε θέρου καὶ χείμα 

Furthermore, coinages of Alexandria show a κάλαθος containing corn-

ears and poppy-heads (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 66 no. 551 pl. 30 = Anson Num. Gr. i. 95 no. 931 pl. 16 = my fig. 792 Trajan), sometimes bound with a wreath of flowers and flanked by two torches with snakes (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 4 no. 29 pl. 30 = Anson Num. Gr. i. 97 no. 939 pl. 17 = my

fig. 793 Livia, Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 405 no. 21 Livia) or fillets (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 42 no. 345 pl. 30 = Anson Num. Gr. i. 97 no. 940 pl. 17 = my fig. 794 Domitian, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 42 no. 346 Domitian, p. 144 no. 1212 = Anson Num. Gr. i. 97 no. 942 Antoninus Pius) or ties of some sort (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 105 nos. 903, 904, 905 pl. 30 = Anson Num. Gr. i. 97 no. 941 pl. 17 = my fig. 795 Hadrian, Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 457 nos. 392—394. Fig. 796 Hadrian is from a specimen of mine). Once the κάλαθος is adorned with the rape of Persephone (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 105 no. 906 pl. 30 = Anson Num. Gr. i. 96 no. 932 pl. 16 = my fig. 797 Hadrian). More often, on large billon pieces, it appears drawn in procession by a quadriga of horses (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 67 no. 552 pl. 30 = Anson Num. Gr. i. 96 no. 935 pl. 16 = my fig. 798 Trajan) or a biga of humped oxen (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 67 no. 553 = Anson Num. Gr. i. 96 no. 934 pl. 16 = my fig. 799 Trajan) or of winged snakes wearing the skhent (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 67 no. 554 pl. 30 = Anson Num. Gr. i. 96 no. 933 pl. 16 = my fig. 800 Trajan, Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 67 no. 555 f. Trajan, Hunter Cat. Coins iii. 434 no. 245 Trajan). Exceptionally it rests on the top of a column flanked by two winged snakes, one of which wears the skhent, the other a poppy-

head as crown (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria p. 67 no. 557 pl. 30 = my fig. 801
Appendix P


tοῦ καλάδουν | ἀναφορά τοῦς κληροδέχαιας εἰς τὴν πομπὴν ἀνδρας | μετὰ τῶν ἀρχιοντῶν προβάζοντος εὐνυχεῖσθαι εἰς τῇ | οἶκία αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ | διὸν. | ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος τῆς κατοικίας | Δαυιδίων | Βερίου Βάσου φιλοσέβαστον καὶ | τῶν συναρχικῶν αὐτοῦ, cp. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 352 n. 2). K. Latte *De saltationibus Graecorum* Giessen 1913 p. 82 cites also Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1627, 49 f. καλάδους, ὅπως καὶ οἱ τῆς Δήμητρος, ἀλλὰ ἄρχησαν καὶ οἱ τῆς Δήμητρος, αὐτοὶ ἄρχησαν ἐν παντὶ τῶν τελετῶν Δημητρεικῶν, but fails to perceive that Eustathius is merely confusing the Lydian dance with the rites of Demeter as described by Kallimachus (Eustath. in *Il.* p. 1208, 38 f., in *Od.* p. 1488, 60 f.). More to our purpose is Usener's discovery that in Bithynia a certain yearly festival was known as δὲ καλάδος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος (H. Usener 'Übersehenes' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1893 l. 145 f. (=id. *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 195) quoting *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Iunius iii. 343 B—C Kallinikos *vita s. Hypatii* presb., monasterii Rufinianarum prope Chalcedonem in Bithynia hegumeni (died 30 June 446 A.D., commemorated June 17) 70 = *de vita s. Hypatii* 129 f. p. 96 f. edd. seminarii philologorum Bonnensis sodales notē δὲ γέγονεν αὐτῶν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν ἀδελφῶν εἰς τὴν ἐννοιαν χάραν τῶν Βιθυνίων.
Floating Islands 993

If the Lydian dancers represented the reeds of the Gygaia Limne, they might not show much sway and curtsy with mimetic motions. A tomb at Beni Hasan shows the dances performed at the funeral feast of the nomarch Chnemhotep in the twelfth dynasty (J. G. Wilkinson Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians London 1837 ii. 416 no. 291 fig. 1, R. Lepsius Denkmaeler aus Agypten und Aethiopien Berlin 1849—1859 iv. 2 pl. 126=my fig. 803, Text herausgegeben von E. Naville—L. Borchardt—K. Sethe Leipzig 1904 ii. 88, P. E. Newberry Beni Hasan London 1893 i. 68, 72 pl. 29 (tomb 3, west wall), P. Richer Le nu dans l'Art Egypte—Chaldée—Assyrie Paris 1925 p. 240 fig. 405 (after I. Rosellini I monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia Pisa 1834 ii pl. 101, 3)). 'One figure... parodies a royal group, one of the frequent victory reliefs, in which the monarch seizes the kneeling barbarian by the hair, and swings his sickle-shaped sword above his head. This group is called "Under the feet," the superscription over the relief being always, "all nations lie under thy feet." Another group in the same picture is called the wind: one woman bends backwards, till her hands rest on the ground, a second performs the same movement above her, a third stretches out her arms over them. Possibly the former represent the reeds and grasses bent by the wind.' (A. Erman Life in Ancient Egypt trans. H. M. Tirard London 1894 p. 248 f., with fig., cp. F. Weege Der Tanz in der Antike Halle/Saale 1926 p. 24 fig. 24 (=my fig. 804), A. Weigall Ancient Egyptian Works of Art London 1924 p. 258 fig. from a limestone fragment at Turin referable to the reign of Seti i (1313—1292 B.C.), H. Ranke The Art of Ancient Egypt Vienna 1936 fig. 268 assigned to Dynasty xx (c. 1180 B.C.), Sir A. J. Evans The Palace of Minos London 1935 iv. 2. 507 f. fig. 452 a, b, c ("Female Egyptian Tumblers of Social and Ceremonial Occasions"). A surer method, however, of identifying the dancers.
Fig. 803.

Fig. 804.
Floating Islands
with the reeds was to give them a head-dress of rushes or basket-work such as Laconian women called σαλία and others θυλία (Hesych. σαλία· πλέγμα καλάθυ\ν ὄμοιον, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς φοροῦν ἀν Λακεναιών. οἱ δὲ θυλία). It figures not infrequently on works of art and has been the subject of much speculation (L. Stephani Nimbus und Strahlenkranz St Petersburg 1859 p. 111 ff. (extr. from the Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg. vi Série. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie. ix. 471 ff.), id. in the Comptes-rendus St. Pé. 1865 pp. 27 ff., 57 ff. Atlas pl. 3, 2 and 3, T. Homolle in the Bull. corr. Hell. 1897 xxi. 605, L. Séchan in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iv 1037 f. fig. 6623 f., V. K. Müller Der Polos, die griechische Götterkrone Berlin 1915 pp. 28, 82 ff., Hug in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. x. 1549, F. Poulsen Delphi trans. C. G. Richards London 1920 p. 263).

The earliest ceramic example of kalathískos-dancers occurs on a red-figured hydria from Nola, now at Naples (Heydemann Vasensamml. Neapel p. 531 ff. no. 3232), which may be dated c. 450—440 B.C. (C. Watzing in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser Gr. Vasenmalerei iii. 319 ff. figs. 151—154 pl. 171, 1 (= my fig. 805)). It is decorated with four groups of female dancers and acrobats. The section of the shoulder-frieze here reproduced shows, on the right, a seated flute-player (ΕΛΓ'ΝΙΚΕ), before whom on tip-toe pirouettes a dancing-girl (...ΓΟΝΕ) with hand outstretched in the gesture known as συμ' χείρ (Poll. 4. 105 τραγικής δράχεσος σχήματα συμ' χείρ, καλαθίσκος, χείρ καταπαράθης, κ.τ.λ., Hesych. συμ' χείρ· σχήμα τραγικών). To the left of her, a second dancing-girl sinks on her knee, to show that her performance is finished. The musician who has accompanied her lays aside the double flutes and takes up a kithára. Behind her stands an interested youth leaning on his staff. Each dancer wears a short chitòn and a high crown of leaves painted white. A volute-brakte tér from Ceglie, now at Taranto, of early south-Italian style (P. Wuilleumier in the Rev. Arch. 1929 ii. 197—202 and at greater length id. 1933 ii. 3—30 with figs. 1—7, of which fig. 4 = my fig. 806. I am indebted to Mr A. D. Trendall for the photographs of detail reproduced in my pl. lxvi, (1)—(3)), represents the following subjects: A. Dionysos (nárrhex, κανθάρος) seated on a rock between a dancing Maenad (thyrsos) and a flute-girl (long chitòn) on the left, a female torch-bearer (short chitòn with sleeves, nebris, endromides) and a bearded Satyr (thyrsos) on the right. B. (1) Perseus dangling the Gorgon's head before five bearded Satyrs in dance-attitudes—apparently a scene from Satyric drama. (2) A square pillar inscribed ΚΑΡΝΕΙΟΣ (i.e. Apollo Kárenios in south-Italian aniconic form: cp. supra i. 36 ff. pl. iii, ii. 815 fig. 781), to the right of which is a group of kalathískos-dancers. One is about to put on his basket as ritual head-dress (cp. the figure in the lower left-hand corner of the pelike from Ruvo, wrongly interpreted by me supra i. 128 pl. xii). A second, crowned with palm-leaves (Sosibios of Sparta frag. 5 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 625 Müller)=frag. 2 Tresp af. Athen. 678 Θερατικοὺς οὖν καλούν· τα χαμηλά κατεδαγμένα, ὡς φησὶ Σωσίκος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ θυσίων, ψυλλόν (cp. Hesych. σατυρόν, ψυλλός στέφανος) αὐτὸς φάτων τοῦ ὁμάζεσθαι, δύναται ἐκ φοινίκων. φίρειν δ' αὐτοῖς ἅπομεμη τῆς ἐν
(1—3) Details of krater from Ceglie, now at Taranto: a group of kathiskos-dancers.

See page 996.
Floating Islands

The woman, wearing a crown and holding a large basket, stands between a basin and a draped flute-player. A third and fourth are dancing, with palm-leaf crowns and basket on head. A fifth, also wearing the basket, stands engaged in talk with a spectator. Mr Trendall compares an unpublished kalyx-krater from Scoglitti near Kamarina, now at Syracuse (no. 14626), which shows: A. A woman and a youth with basket head-dress. B. Two draped youths. The main scene is framed between two Ionic columns. The woman is elaborately draped, and holds up her hands as if to catch something thrown to her by the boy. He is nude with the large basket (in applied yellow, which has worn off) on his head, as on the Taranto Karneia-krater. Again, a bell-krater of early south-Italian style, purchased in Rome and now at Leyden (A. E. J. Holwerda Catalogus van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden. Afdeeling Griekenland en Italië. 1 Deel: Vaatwerk. Leiden 1905 i. 104 no. 28), has for obverse design a girl in a short chiton dancing between two naked youths. All three wear spreading kalathoi formed of reeds (?) arranged like rays. Two wreaths are hung in the background, and the scene is enclosed by a pair of simple pillars (V. K. Müller Der Polos,
die griechische Götterkrone Berlin 1915 p. 83 n. 3 pls. 6 and 7. My fig. 807 is from a photograph supplied by Mr Trendall. This must be the vase from Gnathia (Fasano) formerly owned by R. Barone and partially published by G. Minervini in the Bull. Arch. Nap. Nuova Serie 1854 ii. 184 pl. 14 facing head of dancer only). Another bell-krater of the same style, from Ruvo(?), now in the South Kensington Museum, and attributed by Miss Moon (Mrs Oakeshott) to 'the Sisyphus painter,' represents a similar scene—two naked youths wearing spread kalathoi of reeds (?) and gesticulating as they dance on either side of a bearded flute-player in a long chiton (Noël Moon in Papers of the British
Floating Islands

School at Rome 1929 xi. 30 ff. pl. 12 (= my fig. 808), C. Dugas in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1931 xliv. 101 with fig. 6). Mrs Oakeshott loc. cit. notes another bell-krater by the same hand and exhibiting the same subject in the collection of Dr A. Ruesch at Zürich (Ruesch Sale Catalogue 1936 no. 14 pl. 22. The vase is now in the Wolfensperger Collection, 23 Maienburgweg, Zürich. My fig. 809 is from a photograph kindly lent by Mrs Oakeshott: the man in the centre here pirouettes. Similarly on a red-figured bell-krater at Berlin (inv. no. 3326), which A. Furtwängler in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1895 x Arch.

Anz. p. 39 f. fig. 16 (inadequate) describes as being 'in schöner Zeichnung der Zeit des peloponnesischen Krieges' and R. Zahn in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser Gr. Vasenmalerei iii. 193 n. 84 calls 'attischen,' but C. Watzinger ib. iii. 323 takes to be 'wohl eher böotischen als attischen...aus der ersten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts,' a girl wearing a short chiton of foldless embroidered stuff suggestive of barbaric (? Lydian) attire and the reed-crown of a kalathiskos-dancer capers before young Dionysos, who is sitting on a broad three-stepped base or platform. Eros, leaning against his shoulder, points to the lively dancer. Behind her, an Ionic column painted white implies a sanctuary; and beyond it stands a Maenad equipped with nebris, thyrsos, and large tympanon (K. Latte De saltationibus Graecorum Giessen 1913 p. 57; like Furtwängler, thought it a
shield). The best available illustration of this ritual scene is a photographic cut in H. Licht Sittengeschichte Griechenlands Dresden—Zürich 1925 i. 122. With it should be compared a bell-krater of Paestum style in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iv. 97 no. F 188, P. F. H. d'Hancarville Antiquités étrusques, grecques et romaines, tirées du cabinet de M. Hamilton Naples 1767 iv col. pl. 118, Corp. vas. ant. Brit. Mus. iv E. a pl. 2, 3 a and 3 b with text p. 4 by A. H. Smith and F. N. Pryce), on which the youthful Dionysos holds out fruit to a male kalathiskos-dancer performing before him (my fig. 810 is from the official photograph), and an Apulian bell-krater from Rugge at Berlin (B. Schröder in the Röm. Mitth. 1909 xxiv. 119 fig. 6), on which is a male dancer of like aspect.

Once more, on a late red-figured bell-krater at Petrograd (Stephani Vasesamml. St. Petersburg ii. 299 no. 1778, id. in the Compte-rendu St. Pét. 1869 p. 236 Atlas pl. 6, 4 and 5 (=my fig. 811), Reinach Rép. Vases i. 32, 5 and 7) a girl wearing the short chitón and kalathiskos places the pinakiskion on the kóttabos-stand for a recumbent feaster (hardly Dionysos, as F. Hauser in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1890 v Arch. Anz. p. 68 supposed). Other early examples of the motif are to be found among the limestone reliefs of c. 420—410 B.C. that decorate the inner surface of the heróion at Trysa. The doorway on the southern side is here flanked by two female (?) dancers wearing a large kalathos perhaps originally painted with a design of reeds or rushes (cp. the dancing-girl with yellow krótalal and a white kalathos marked with red rays in a tomb-painting of s. iv (?) B.C. found in 1854 at S. Maria in Fondo Vetta, south of the amphitheatre at Capua, and published by G. Minervini in the Bull. Arch. Nap. Nuova Serie 1854 ii. 183 f. pl. 14, P. W. Forchhammer in the Mon.
Floating Islands

Ann. e Bull. d. Inst. 1854 p. 63, F. Weege 'Oskische Crabmalerei' in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1909 xxiv. 111, 130, 135 no. 25: 'A Lydian dance might well reappear at Capua, where the Etruscans held sway till 445 or 424 B.C. (C. Hülsem in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 1556)). The lintel above has a frieze of eight grotesque and Bes-like musicians wearing the same head-dress: they have been taken to be the eight Phoenician Kabeiroi (on whom see F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. i. 772 f. fig. 918 and 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. 672 ff.), and are commonly associated with the dancing figures below them (O. Benndorf—G. Niemann Das Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa Wien 1889 pp. 58, 95 f. pl. 6 = my fig. 812, S. Reinach in the Gazette des Beaux-Arts 1892 viii. 366 ff.)
Appendix P

Between c. 475 and c. 400 B.C. may be placed certain silver stateres of Abdera, which have as reverse type the magistrate's date ΕΠΙ ΜΟΛΑΓΩΡΕΙ and the canting badge of a similar dancing girl turned left (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins

Fig. 812.

Closely related to these numismatic examples are the dancers carved on two slabs of Pentelic marble, which were brought from Italy to Berlin in 1892 (figs. 815, 816) are from C. Blümel Staattliche Museen zu Berlin: Katalog der Sammlung antiker Skulpturen Berlin 1931 iv. 45 f. nos. K 184 and 185 pl. 77, cp. F. Weege Der Tanz in der Antike Halle/Saale 1926 p. 45 figs. 48 and 49). The more complete relief measures \(0'55\) high by \(0'34\) broad; the less complete, \(0'80\) high by \(0'56\) broad. It seems probable that, like three similar but fragmentary reliefs at Athens (H. Schrader Phidias Frankfurt am Main 1924 p. 346 figs. 315, 316), they were intended for mural decoration. The reliefs at Berlin exhibit such delicious freshness and abandon that R. Kekulé, who first published them in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1893* viii Arch. Anz. p. 76 with two figs., did not hesitate to regard them as Attic work dating from the earlier half of s. v B.C. (cp. M. Sauerlandt Griechische Bildwerke Düsseldorf—Leipzig p. x 'aus dem Anfange des v. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.', *Kurze Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen im Alten Museum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 90 no. 1456 f. pl. 26 'Griechische Werke des 5. Jh. v. Chr.', F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 45 'aus demselben Künstleratelier der 5. Jahrh. v. Chr.'). But Furtwängler Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpture p. 438 n. 3 with greater circumspection claims that they are only 'good specimens of the so-called later Attic school, by no means genuine archaic works' (cp. *id. Ueber Statuenkopien im Alterthum München* 1896 i. 4 n. 3 (= *Abb. d. bayer. Akad. 1896* Philos.-philol. Classe xx. 528 n. 3).

If so, they must be ranked with the *kalathiskos*-dancers of Arretine ware (c. 150 B.C.—50 A.D.) discussed by H. Dragendorff in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1895 xcvi—xcvii. 58 ff. *A skýphos* from Capua has four dancers grouped in pairs. Between the two pairs is a small Eros standing on a pillar, and between the dancers of the right-hand pair is a *thymialéron* (H. Dragendorff *loc. cit.* figs. 14, 14 a after Riccio *Notizie degli scavi velli nel suolo dell'antica Capua* Napoli 1855 pl. 5). A fragmentary mould found at Arezzo in 1896 and now in the British Museum shows four girls likewise dancing in pairs and wearing a head-dress of open wicker-work. Above them runs a wreath to which festoons are looped up with large bows. Between the pairs of dancers a flower springs from the ground (Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Pottery p. 34 no. L 108, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 493 f. pl. 66, 5). Another specimen, in the Loeb collection, has a very similar dancer standing between two bases (?) with a festoon fastened to *bucrania* behind her and a flower or flowering rush (?) at her feet (F. Weege *op. cit.* pp. 45, 48 with fig. 51 after G. H. Chase *Guide to Loeb Collection of Arretine Pottery* Harvard University no. 53 pl. 3). Another mould
in New York shows the dancer, once more between two bases (?) with a festoon of vine and ivy behind her (G. M. A. Richter in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 15 fig. 4). Again, fragments of a mould found near the church of S. Maria in Gradi at Arezzo and now in the museum of that town represent two such dancers facing left. In front of one is a Dionysiac herm, in front of the other a fighting Athena, each effigy set on the top of an Ionic column (G. F. Gamurrini reported by G. Fiorelli in the *Not. Scavi* 1884 p. 372 gruppo v nos. 1—3 pl. 7, 2). The moulds found with this bear the signature of that admirable craftsman M. Perennius, on whom see M. Ihm in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1898 ci. 114 ff., H. B. Walters *op. cit.* pp. 483, 492, 494 and in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Pottery* pp. xvii, xx, xxii.


Neo-Attic reliefs, which perhaps imply Attic originals of s. ¡ B.C. (F. Hauser in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1913 xvi. 53 f., Ada von Netolitzka *ib.* 1914 xvii. 132), make use of similar *motifs*. A three-sided base of Flavian date (69—96 A.D.) in the Museo Archeologico at Venice is adorned with two *kalathiskos*-dancers and an ecstatic Maenad. Each figure is framed by an elaborate and meaningless combination of ram's head, lion's leg, and bust of winged female Sphinx wearing a rayed *kalathos*, on which kneels Nike with spread wings (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Péth.* 1865 p. 60 no. 6, H. Heydemann *Mittheilungen aus den Antikensammlungen in Ober- und Mittel-italien* Halle 1879 p. 65 n. 154, F. Hauser *Die neu-attischen Reliefs* Stuttgart 1889 p. 100 f. no. 31, *Einseloufahmehmen nozs. 2460—2471* with Text ix. 13 by P. Arndt and G. Lippold, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 432 nos. 4—6, F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 46 with fig. 47). A second and exactly similar base in the same collection is due to a copyist of the Renaissance (*Einzeloufahmehmen nos. 2472—2474* with Text ix. 13 by P. Arndt and G. Lippold). Another three-sided base in the Louvre again couples the *kalathiskos*-dancers with a Maenad, whose head and right arm are a misleading restoration. The framework here with its rams' heads at the upper corners is of a simpler and more satisfactory sort (Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* ii. 343 f. pl. 167 fig. 77 and pl. 168 fig. 78 = *Reinach Rép. Stat.* i. 61 no. 3 and i. 62 no. 1, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 133 pl. 17, 188, F. Hauser *op. cit.* p. 100 no. 29. Height 101 f.") Yet another three-sided base, in the Villa Albani, shows three such dancers, of whom one uplifts a dish of fruit before a rude stone altar with fruit laid out upon it and a fire burning, a second stands before a similar altar, and a third before a reed-plant springing from the ground (G. Zoega *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma 1808 l. 111—118 pl. 20 = *Reinach Rép. Reliefs* iii. 152 nos. 1—3, Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* ii. 146—152 pl. 7, 12, L. Stephani *loc. cit.* p. 60 no. 2, F. Hauser *op. cit.* p. 96 no. 19, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 67 f. no. 816. Height of
A large krater of Italian marble with grey stripes, formerly in the Cook collection at Richmond, has on one side a snake-entwined tripod, from which flames are rising, flanked by a pair of Nikai filling phialai from their raised einochoai, on the other side an exact repetition of the central and left-hand dancers on the Villa Albani base described above—a repetition which includes both the altar with fruit and the reed-plant springing from the ground.

Under each handle are two thyrsoi laid crosswise. The handles themselves end in large ivy-leaves (A. Michaelis Ancient Marbles in Great Britain trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 638 no. 66, F. Hauser op. cit. p. 96 no. 18, Mrs S. A. Strong in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1908 xxviii. 24 f. no. 33 pl. 17 = Reinach Rép. Reliefs ii. 531 no. 3 f. Height o'8o"; diameter c. o'8o". The surface has been worked over, but the authenticity of the vase is above suspicion). A marble relief in the Villa Albani figures a couple of kalathiskos-dancers facing each other in front of an edifice with two ranges of pilasters (G. Zoega Li bassorilievi antichi di Roma Roma 1808 i. 111—118 pl. 21 = Reinach C. III. 64)
Rép. Reliefs iii. 151 no. 1, L. Stephani loc. cit. p. 60 no. 3, F. Hauser op. cit. p. 97 no. 21, Helbig Guide Class. Ant. Rome ii. 38 f. no. 769, W. Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* Leipzig 1913 ii. 422 f. no. 1867, F. Weege op. cit. p. 46 with fig. 52 from a photograph (my fig. 817, H. Licht Sittengeschichte Griechenlands Dresden—Zürich 1925 i. 73 fig.), which shows that—as Hauser observed—the kalathoi are largely restored. The restoration affects the left hand of the dancer on the right, both hands, the right foot, and the lower part of the left leg of the other dancer, together with the rocky foreground and portions of the architectural background. Height 0'85m. A finely worked relief of Pentelic marble in the Lateran collection preserves the single headless figure of a similar dancer turned towards the right in front of a wall with pilasters (Matz—Duhn Ant. Bildw. in Rom iii. 19 no. 3499). A fragment now in the Sala Lapidaria of the Arcivescovado at Ravenna also gives a single kalathiskos-dancer from the knees upwards with the remains of a flat pilaster and wall (H. Heydemann op. cit. p. 65 no. 5, C. Ricci in Ausonia iv. 258 with fig. 10). Another in the Palazzo Farnese shows a single dancer of the same sort (Matz—Duhn op. cit. iii. 19 no. 3499). Finally, a marble puteal in the Palazzo Doria represents two pairs of kalathiskos-dancers facing each other amid a fine growth of tendrils. They are here assimilated to Nikai by having large wings on their shoulders (Matz—Duhn op. cit. iii. 112 no. 3678, cp. Comm. Datti in the Bull. d. Inst. 1880 p. 98).

Looking back over the evidence thus detailed we gather that the kalathiskos-dancers of the Arretine sherds, the Roman mural terra cottas, and the neo-Attic reliefs are archaistic derivatives of similar types already existing in the second half of s. v B.C.—witness the Naples hydria, the door-jambs at Trysa, and the coins of Abdera. Furtwängler acutely conjectured that the original from which they are all descended was a famous masterpiece (in archaising bronze relief?) by Kallimachos, the saltantes Lacaenae described by Plin. nat. hist. 34. 92 as 'a work of faultless technique, but one which has lost all charm through over-elaboration' (Furtwängler Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt. p. 438). This conjecture has been widely accepted and is indeed highly probable. But the further attempt to name the dancers Karyatides and to connect them with architectural 'Caryatids' in general (P. Wolters in the Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst Neue Folge 1895 vi. 36—44 after Visconti Mus. Pie-Clém. iii pl. 8, ii, F. Weege op. cit. p. 44 ff.) is in my judgment a mistake (cp. supra ii. 535 n. 2). I incline to the following solution of the problem. Alkman, who came to Sparta Σαλατές ἡ γυνὴ ἀκατορίας ἡγεμόνια (Alkm. frag. 24. 5 Bergk¹, 2. 5 Edmonds, 13. 5 Diehl op. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἐφονίχη, cp. Anth. Pal. 7. 709. 1 ff. (Alexandros (of Aitolia?)), 7. 18. 3 ff. (Antipatros of Thessalonike), Krates (of Mallos?) op. Soud. s.v. Αλκμών), is known to have composed parthéneia for Artemis and other deities. Moreover, he wrote for the Spartan Gymnopaidiai songs to be sung by boys and men wearing 'Thyreatic' crowns made of palm-leaves (Sosibios of Sparta frag. 5 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 626 Müller) op. Athen. 678 b cited supra p. 996 f.). Such a poet can hardly have failed to import into Sparta the famous kalathiskos-dance of his own Sardeis. It was perhaps formerly figured on an inscribed but mutilated stele of s. iii B.C., found in the Amyklaion (B. Schröder in the Ath. Mitth. 1904 xxix. 29, 31 with fig. 2). Identical with it, or at least akin to it, was a dance performed at the Spartan festival of Promachēia (Nilsson Gr. Feste p. 470), when the Perioikoi as distinct from the Spartiatai wore a crown of reeds (Sosibios of Sparta frag. 4 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 626 Müller)=frag. 1 Tresp op. Athen. 674 Α καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἀκαταριόντων καλὰμων στεφανοῦνται ἐν τῇ τῶν Προμαχίων ιστή, ὡς φρετί
Floating Islands

The dancing-girls in like attire surmounted the very beautiful acanthus-column of Pentelic (not Parian) marble, which stood on the north side of the Sacred Way at Delphi, close to the votive offerings of the Syracusan princes. Arranged back to back round a central stem, the girls supported the lebes of the bronze tripod whose legs rested upon the leafy capital. This group of dainty light-footed damsels in some ways anticipates the art of Praxiteles. Indeed, T. Homolle in the Rev. Arch. 1917 i. 31—67 figs. 1—6 was prepared to regard it as a contemporary replica of the Praxitelean 'figures called Thyiades and Karyatides' later to be seen in the gallery of Asinus Pollio (Plin. nat. hist. 36. 23). But C. Praschniker Zur Geschichte des Akroters Brunn 1929 p. 48 f. has shown that the Dancers' Column was found in the same deposit as the Charioteer, i.e. in the débris caused by the earthquake of 373 B.C., and should therefore be accepted as pre-Praxitelean and referred to a date perhaps as early as the late fifth century (S. Casson in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1932 ii. 133). In any case we may admit that the Delphian dancers with their crowns of 'sharp-ribbed rushes' are a composition of infinite grace, which forms a later (c. 400 B.C.) variation on the saltantes Lacaenae designed by Kallimachos and owes its ultimate inspiration to the kalathiskos-dancers of the Lydian lake-side. See further the Fouilles de Delphes ii. 1 pl. 15 (the column restored by A. Tournier, with tripod-legs supported by dancers), iv. 2 pls. 60 (the dancers = my fig. 818), 61 (the dancers, another view), 62 (head of one dancer in profile), É. Bourguet Les ruines de Delphes Paris 1914 pp. 188—192 fig. 63 f., F. Poulsen Delphi trans. G. C. Richards London 1920 pp. 246—264 figs. 113—128, and especially H. Pomtow 'Die Tänzerinnen-Säule in Delphi' in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1920 xxxv. 113—128 with figs. 1 (= my fig. 819), 2—6, who is followed, by A. Rumpf in H. Haas Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte Leipzig 1928 xii—xiv fig. 128.

A gold earring in the F. L. von Gans collection of the Berlin Antiquarium further attests the popularity of the motif in the fourth century B.C. It represents a dancing-girl with short chiton and high kalathos: her left arm is raised, her right is missing (Amtliche Berichte aus den königl. Kunstsammlungen (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen) 1913 xxxv. 76 with fig. 37 C).

A bronze statuette, formerly in the Gréau collection, again shows a dancing-girl with short chiton and basket-like head-dress (Reinach Rép. Stat. iv. 242 no. 9) after W. Froehner Collection Julien Gréau. Bronzes Paris 1891 pl. 95, as does a Hellenistic terracotta in the Louvre (J. Charbonneaux Les Terres cuites Grecques London 1936 pp. 23, 59 fig. 54, Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art Paris 1937 ii. 199 with text by Mme Massoul). But examples of the type 'in the round' are rare, for terra-cotta dolls from Myrina with elaborate head-dress (Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas p. 243 no. C 522 pl. 35, Mendel Cat. Fig. gr. de Terre Cuite Constantinople p. 378 f. no. 2640 pl. 8, 6) are hardly to be classed as kalathiskos-dancers.
Similar figures are found on gems of imperial date, either alone as on a specimen in my collection (fig. 820: scale \( \frac{1}{4} \)), or else with a palm-branch (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 284 no. 7668 pl. 57 cornelian, no. 7669 cornelian) or a *hydria* containing a palm-branch (*ib. ib. p. 284 no. 7670 pl. 57 sardonyx*) before them. The palm-branch is here apparently a later substitute for the original reed-plant.

Important confirmation of this hypothesis is afforded by terracotta plaques of Hellenistic date found at Praisos in eastern Crete. They show a girl with short *chiton* and spread *kdalathos*, who is dancing in front of a tall, bending plant, apparently a reed (E. S. Forster in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1904—1905 xi. 255 with fig. 17 = my fig. 821 (height 23\(\text{\text prim}^{\prime}\)), cp. F. Halbherr in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1901 v. 390 pl. 12, 5).

In this connexion it may be noted that some would see a phallic significance

With the extension of the kalathiskos-type to runners in the Lampadedromia as represented on a series of vases c. 400 B.C. (Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 910 f. figs. 4328—4330) we are not here concerned. One such vase, that signed by the potter Nikias (Hoppin Red-fig. Vases ii. 218 f. no. 1 fig., J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rothyfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 466 no. 1), is reproduced on the five-drachma postage-stamp designed by J. N. Svoronos for the Greek government and issued at Athens in 1906 to commemorate the 'Olympic Games.'

(13) Floating islands are reported from various districts of Italy. Thus one or more of them existed in agro Caecubo (Plin. nat. hist. 2. 209). The allusion is probably to the Lacus Fundanus (Lago di Fondi) in the marshy plain between Fundi and the sea (C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 1244).

(14) In the country of the Sabines a lake known as Aquae Cutiliae, between Reate (Ricti) and Interocrium (Antrodoco), was reckoned 'the navel of Italy' (Varr. ap. Plin. nat. hist. 3. 109, Solin. 2. 23). It could boast a floating island (Varr. ap. Plin. loc. cit. and in de ling. Lat. 5. 71) covered with trees and grasses and so easily moved by the wind that it was never to be seen in the same place for a day and night together (Plin. nat. hist. 2. 209, Sen. nat. quaestt. 3. 25. 8 f., cp. anon. de aquis mirabilibus (supra p. 975) 37). If the Greeks dubbed it Kορύλη (oracle of Zeus at Dodona ap. Dion. Hal. ant. Rom. 1. 19, Macrobr. Sat. 1. 7. 28, Steph. Byz. s.v. Αἰσοβρήγυε =Cougny Anth. Pal. Appendix, p. 177), Paul. ex Fest. p. 51, 8 Müller, p. 44, 22 f. Lindsay), that was a well-meant etymology of the Aquae Cutiliae (Υἱᾶς Κορύληα). Of greater interest is the account given by Dion Hal. ant. Rom. 1. 15 (after Varro): 'At a distance of seventy furlongs from Reate is Kotylia, a famous town, situated at the base of a mountain. Not far from it is a lake, four hundred feet across, full of spring water which is always flowing and —so they say—has no bottom to it. This lake, having a touch of divinity about it, the natives deem sacred to Victory (sc. Vacuna). They enclose it round about with fillets, that nobody should approach the water, and preserve it as a spot unprofaned by human tread except on certain yearly occasions (for καροίς των διεύρροισιν κωθ. Vat. has καροίς των ἐγρήγοροις), when they offer customary sacrifices and particular persons charged with the office land on the small island in it. The island is some fifty feet in diameter and rises not more than one foot above the level of the water. It has no fixed position and floats round here there and everywhere, the wind turning it now hither now thither. A plant resembling sedge grows upon it and sundry bushes of no great size—a thing inexplicable to those who have not seen the handywork of nature and a marvel second to none.' On which E. H. Bunbury in Smith Dict. Geogr. i. 721 comments: 'It is evident that this marvel arose from the incrustations of carbonate of lime formed by the
waters of the lake, fragments of which might from time to time be detached from the overhanging crust thus formed on the banks: the same phenomenon occurs, though on a smaller scale, at the Aquae Albulae near Tibur. ([Sir W.] Gell [The Topography] of Rome [and its Vicinity] London 1834 i. 74, ib. 1846 i. 41.)...The Cutilian Lake still exists under the name of Pozzo di Ratignano or Latignano, though apparently reduced in size by the continual incrustation of its banks; but the floating island has disappeared."

(15) Two islands in the Lacus Tarquiniensis (more often called the Lacus Volsiniensis, nowadays the Lago di Bolsena, a quondam crater near Volsinii) are described as floating groves blown by the winds now into triangular, now into circular forms, but never into squares (Plin. nat. hist. 2. 209). It is not clear how these two islands (the Isola Martana and the Isola Bisentina (cp. Plin. nat. hist. 3. 52 Vesentini and Corp. inscr. Lat. xi nos. 2910 Honori Visentium, 2911 Virtuti Visentī = Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. nos. 3796, 3796)) could suggest either a triangle or a circle, let alone a square. G. Dennis The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria London 1883 ii. 29 shakes his head: 'Shall we not rather refer this unsteady, changeful character to the eyes of the beholders, and conclude that the propagators of the miracle had been making too deep potations in the rich wine of [the lake-side]? Now, at least, the islands have lost their erratic and Protean propensities, and, though still cap with wood, have taken determinate and beautiful forms, no longer plastic beneath the breath of Æolus.' Possibly Santa Cristina, the virgin-martyr of Bolsena (July 24), who was cast into the lake and touched bottom—witness her footprints on the rocks—but, despite the millstone round her neck, would not drown and, after gruesome sufferings, had to be bound to a tree and shot with arrows, should be regarded as the Christian successor of a pagan lake-goddess (Diana ?). On her see the Acta Sanctorum edd. Bolland. Antverpiae 1727 Julius v. 495 ff. 'De S. Christina virg. et martyri apud Lacum Vulsinium, ut volunt, in Tuscia' (Passio 2. 11 p. 526 f. Urbanus...jussit eam ligari ad saxum, & medio mari dare prsecepit: cumque hoc fieret, saxum disruptum est, & ipsa ab angelis suscpta est, & ita pedibus super aquas maris ferebatur, 2. 17 p. 528 A Julianus ira commotus jussit mammillas ejus abscindere. Christina dixit: Lapideum cor & abominabile, mammillas meas abscindere jussisti; respice & vide, quia pro sanguine lac in terram defluxit, & mammales suas contra latus ejus, & cum percuteatur, cum gaudio reddidit spiritum), S. Baring-Gould The Lives of the Saints Edinburgh 1914 viii. 527—531 (p. 530 'on this day [July 24], as we are solemnly assured, her head is seen to swim about the lake'), M. and W. Drake Saints and their Emblems London 1916 pp. 26, 143, 193, alib., K. Kïinstle Ikonographie der Heiligen Freiburg im Breisgau 1926 p. 153 f. The tradition that she walked the water and the belief that her head still swims recall the floating islands mentioned by Pliny. Such wonders die hard.

(16) The Lacus Statoniensis, identified by P. Cluverius Italia antiqua Lugduni Batavorum 1624 p. 517 with the Lago di Mezzano, a tiny sheet of water about five miles west of the Lago di Bolsena, had once a floating island (Plin. nat. hist. 2. 209, Sen. nat. quaestt. 3. 25, 8, and perhaps Strab. 614), but now has none, so that we must either reject Cluver's conclusion, or suppose that the island has since disappeared. As there is no other lake in central Etruria which can answer to the Statonian, we must take the alternative, and consider the island to have floated, as it is described, and to have become eventually attached to the shores of the lake' (G. Dennis The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria London 1883 i. 494 ff.).
(17) The Vadimonis Lacus, another lakelet of Etruria, lying on the right bank of the Tiber about four miles above Horta (Orte) and in modern times variously termed the Laghetto or Laggerello or even Lago di Bassano or Basanello from a village in the neighbourhood, could boast in antiquity not only one floating island (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209, Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 3. 25. 8, and perhaps Strab. 614) but several (anon. *de aquis mirabilibus* (supra p. 975) 38 τίτι δὲ καὶ λάκκος Ὀλυμπίαν καλομένη λίμνη οὐ μεγάλη ἐν ἤπατε γούσα ἡσσία πλείωνα πέση πνοῆς μετακυνούσα). An interesting account of them is given by Plin. *epist.* 8. 20 (trans. W. Melmoth rev. W. M. L. Hutchinson): ‘I went close up to this lake. It is formed exactly circular (in similitudinem iacentis rotae circumscriptus et undique aequalis); there is not the least obliquity or winding, but all is regular and even as if it had been hollowed and cut out by the hand of art. The colour of its water is a whitish-blue, verging upon green, and somewhat cloudy; it has the odour of sulphur and a strong medicinal taste, and possesses the property of cementing fractures. Though it is but of moderate extent, yet the winds have a great effect upon it, throwing it into violent commotions. No vessels are suffered to sail here, as its waters are held sacred; but several grassy islands swim about it, covered with reeds and rushes, and whatever other plants the more prolific neighbouring marsh and the borders of the lake produce. No two are alike in size or shape; but the edges of all of them are worn away by their frequent collision against the shore and one another. They have all the same depth, and the same buoyancy; for their shallow bases are formed like the hull of a boat. This formation is distinctly visible from every point of view; the hull lies half above and half below the water. Sometimes the islands cluster together and seem to form one entire little continent; sometimes they are dispersed by veering winds; at times, when it is calm, they desert their station and float up and down separately [at times the wind falls dead and they are left floating in isolation A.B.C.]. You may frequently see one of the larger islands sailing along with a lesser joined to it, like a ship with its long boat; or perhaps, seeming to strive which shall outswim the other; then again all are driven to one spot of the shore, which they thus advance, and now here, now there, diminish or restore the area of the lake; only ceasing to contract it anywhere, when they occupy the centre. Cattle have often been known, while grazing, to advance upon those islands as upon the border of the lake, without perceiving that they are on moving ground, till, being carried away from shore they are alarmed by finding themselves surrounded with water, as if they had been put on board ship; and when they presently land wherever the wind drives them ashore, they are no more sensible of disembarking than they had been of embarking. This lake empties itself into a river, which after running a little way above ground, sinks into a cavern and pursues a subterraneous course and if anything is thrown in brings it up again where the stream emerges.’ ‘But,’ says G. Dennis *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* London 1883 i. 144, ‘he who would expect Pliny’s description to be verified, might search for ever in vain. It is, indeed, no easy matter to find the lake; for it has so shrunk in dimensions, that what must have been a spacious tract of water in the olden time, is now but a small stagnant pond, almost lost in the tall reeds and bulrushes that wave over it. These we may conclude represent the islets, which either never had an existence, or have now clubbed together to stop up the lake.’

(18) A floating island in *agro...Mutinensi* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209) is mentioned but once and has not been further identified.

(19) Yet another, on the Lacus Benacus (*Lago di Garda*), the largest of all
Floating Islands

the lakes in Italy, is said to have been inhabited and to have been planted with trees (anon. de aquis mirabilia (supra p. 975) 37 έπι τῆς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ λίμνης καλουμένης μὲν Βηνάκου, ὅσης δὲ τὸ περίμετρον σταθὼν φ’ (on its real size see E. H. Bunbury in Smith Dict. Geogr. i. 389 or C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 268), ηδονός έστιν οἰκουμένη κατάφυτος διήνεχες ἡμέρας ἕπιπηκομένη καὶ μεταβάσιμον πρὸς τὰς τῶν πνευμάτων φοράς).

Lasty, at (Aquae) Salsulae in Gallia Narbonensis, the modern Salces or Salses on the western bank of the Étang de Leucate, was a whole plain, green with fine slender reeds and afloat on underlying water. The centre of it, detached from its surroundings, formed an island which could be pushed away from you or pulled towards you. Holes made in the surface of this plain showed the sea beneath; whence ignorant or lying authors had stated that fish were here dug out of the ground (Mela 2. 82 f., cp. Aristot. mir. ause. 89, Polyb. 34. 10. 2—4, and perhaps Liv. 42. 2, also Theophr. frag. 171. 7, 11 f. Wimmer, Plin. nat. hist. 9. 176, 178, Sen. nat. quaestt. 3. 16. 5, 3. 17. 3, Juv. 13. 65 f.). See further E. Desjardins Géographie historique et administrative de la Gaule romaine Paris 1876 i. 251 f., 256 f. and Keune in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i A. 2012.

It will be obvious from a survey of the foregoing passages that floating islands as such made a deep impression on Greeks and Romans alike and were almost always regarded with naive feelings of awe and veneration. Such phenomena attached themselves readily to the cult of the local deity, often a lake-goddess, and at least in one case gave rise to a popular ritual and an art-type of remarkable beauty. We must not, however, lend an ear to the persuasions of a latter-day mythologist, who would have us believe that the floating islands of Greek story were originally nothing but drifting clouds (F. L. W. Schwartz Der Ursprung der Mythologie Berlin 1860 p. 69 n. 1 ‘es sind immer ursprünglich die Wolkeninseln der Sage’). Earthly fact plus heavenly fancy will amply suffice to explain the whole flotilla (see e.g. the Celtic parallels in Sir J. Rhys Celtic Folklore: Welsh and Manx Oxford 1901 i. 171 f., W. C. Borlase The Dolmens of Ireland London 1897 ii. 591, H. Güntert Kalypso Halle a. S. 1919 p. 145 f.). Doubters should visit Derwentwater and enquire for the Floating Island near Lodore which ‘appears periodically about the middle of October at intervals of four years’ (M. J. B. Baddeley The English Lake District London 1906 p. 130 with Append. by E. D. Jordan p. 11). It has been studied with scrupulous exactitude by G. J. Symons The Floating Island in Derwentwater, its History & Mystery, with notes of other dissimilar islands London 1888 pp. 1—64 (Frontisp. map of the south-east portion of Derwentwater showing the position of three floating islands on Aug. 27, 1884, p. 19 ft. list of recorded appearances from 1753 to 1888 A.D., p. 23 ft. notice of other floating islands, etc.). Another interesting case is examined by Marietta Pallis ‘The Structure and History of Plav: the Floating Fen of the Delta of the Danube’ in the Linnean Society’s Journal Botany 1916 xliii. 233—290 pls. 11—25.
APPENDIX Q.

THE PROMPTING EROS.

The evolution of this artistic type deserves fuller treatment than it has yet received. Its successive stages may be exemplified as follows:


![Fig. 822.](image1)

![Fig. 823.](image2)

2. A bronze mirror-stand from Hermione, Greek work of c. 600—550 B.C., now in the Museum antiker Kleinkunst at Munich, represents a nude Aphrodite with two human-headed birds (Sirens) perched on lotos-flowers to left and right of her shoulders (J. Sieveking Antike Metallgeräte München s.a. pp. 9, 12 pl. 19 front (= my fig. 824) and back).

3. Towards the close of S. vi B.C. other variations were attempted. A bronze mirror-stand from Corinth, now at Athens, figures Aphrodite, draped in Ionic chiton and himation, holding a dove in her right hand, while two winged Sphinxes rest a forepaw on either shoulder of the goddess (Stais Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes p. 337 no. 11691 fig., C. D. Mylonas in the Arch. Zeit. 1875 xxxiii. 161 no. 1 pl. 14, t. E. Pottier in A. Dumont—J. Chaplain Les céramiques de la Grèce propre Paris 1890 ii. 249 no. 2 pl. 33). Another bronze mirror-stand, Greek (Corinthian? Argive?) work of c. 500 B.C., formerly in the Cook collection at Richmond, has Aphrodite in Ionic chiton and Doric péplos, but replaces the sou-
birds by two winged female figures (Nikai?), who fly towards the shoulders of the goddess with one hand outstretched and a small object (perfume-vase??) in the other (A. Michaelis Ancient Marbles in Great Britain trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 631 Richmond no. 39, Mrs A. Strong in Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art London 1904 p. 38 no A 8 pl. 45, a front, b back (wrongly described as ‘two hovering Erotes’), Sir C. H. Smith in Catalogue of the Antiquities (Greek, Etruscan and Roman) in the Collection of the late Wyndham Francis Cook, Esqre London 1908 ii. 114 Bronze no. 46 pl. 35 (=my fig. 825: ‘two hovering Victories’), K. A. Neugebauer Antike Bronze-statuetten Berlin 1921 p. 45 fig. 25 (‘zwei... Siegesgöttinnen’)).

(4) Numerous bronze mirror-stands of s. vi—v (listed by E. Pottier in A. Dumont—J. Chaplain op. cit. ii. 249—253; see also Mrs A. Strong loc. cit. p. 38) figure an archaic or at least severe Aphrodite flanked by a pair of Erotes hovering above her shoulders (e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 24 no. 241 pl. 4 Athens, p. 24 no. 242 Sounion, p. 24 f. no. 243 pl. 4 Corinth, De Ridder Cat. Bronzes du Louvre ii. 43 no. 1687 pl. 77 Hermione, ii. 43 f. no. 1689 pl. 77 Corinth, ii. 44 no. 1691 pl. 77 (=my fig. 826) Greece, ii. 44 no. 1692 pl. 77 Corinth, Stais Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes² p. 335 no. 7576 (6576 is apparently a misprint) with fig. on p. 336, J. Sieveking Antike Metallgeräte München s.a. pp. 9, 12 pl. 20 Boston).

(5) About the decade 450—440 B.C. Eros was represented on reliefs in terra cotta or marble as standing on the arm or stepping down from behind the shoulder of Aphrodite (supra ii. 1043 fig. 892, 1044). From this it is not a far cry to—

(6) a krater from Falerii, now in the Villa Giulia at Rome, which dates from the period of the Peloponnesian War and shows Eros whispering in the ear of Hebe (supra ii. 737 fig. 668), or again to a krater from Ruvo, now at Naples, which likewise belongs to the latter part of s. v B.C. and makes the small kindred figure of Himeros, kneeling beside the right shoulder of a goddess (Aphrodite? a Muse??), stretch out his arms to crown a tragic mask held in her left hand (Heydemann Vasensamml. Neapel p. 546 ff. no. 3240 (‘Muse’), J. de Witte in the Ann. d. Inst. 1841 xiii. 303 ff. (‘Aphrodite’), Mon. d. Inst. iii pl. 31, Reinach Rép. Vases i. 114, 1 (‘Muse’), B. Arnold in Baumeister Denkm. i. 388 ff. pl. 5 fig. 422, G. Nicole Meidias et le style fleuri dans la céramique attique Genève 1908 p. 120 ff. fig. 29, M. Bieder Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 91 ff. fig. 97 ff. 48 (‘Muse’), P. Ducati Storia della ceramica greca Firenze 1922 ii. 415 ff. fig. 298).

(7) This conception of Eros or Himeros as a small figure haunting the shoulder to proffer his amatory advice becomes a commonplace on vases produced during the earlier part of s. iv B.C. in the style of the Meidias-painter (G. Nicole op. cit. pl. 10, 6—8, pl. 11, 18), e.g. on a hydria from Ruvo at Karlruhe (Winnefeld Vasensamml. Karlsruhe p. 63 ff. no. 259, F. G. Welcker in the Ann. d. Inst. 1845 xvii. 172 ff. no. 59, id. Alt. Denkm. v. 403 ff. no. 59, E. Gerhard Apulische Vasenbilder des königlichen Museums zu Berlin Berlin 1845 p. 32 f. pl. D, 2, Overbeck Gall. her. Bildw. i. 233 ff. no. 67 Atlas pl. 11, 1, Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei i. 141 ff. pl. 30, G. Nicole op. cit. p. 65 ff. pl. 2, 2, Hoppin Red-fig. Vases ii. 185 ff. no. 20, Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. ii. 595 f. iii. 241 fig. 595, J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 459 no. 3, supra i. 125 f. pl. xi: Aphrodite and Alexandros), on a hydria from Populonia at Florence (L. A. Milani Monumenti scelti del R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze Firenze 1905 i pis. 4 and 5, 3, G. Nicole op. cit. p. 69 ff. pl. 3, 2, Hoppin op. cit. ii. 185 no. 17, P. Ducati
The Prompting Eros

o. cit. ii. 399 ff. fig. 290, Pfuhl o. cit. ii. 593 ff. iii. 240 fig. 594, J. D. Beazley o. cit. p. 460 no. 4: Eros with Chrysothemis, Himeros with Adonis), on an arýбаллос from Athens in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 345 f. no. E 697, Furtwängler—Reichhold o. cit. ii. 99 f. pl. 78, 2, G. Nicole o. cit. p. 97 no. 1 pl. 7, 1, Hoppen o. cit. ii. 196 no. 60, P. Ducati o. cit. ii. 401, 403 fig. 291, J. D. Beazley o. cit. p. 460 no. 14: Eros seated on the left shoulder of Aphrodite), on an arýбаллос from Ruvo in the Jatta collection (A. Michaelis Thanýris und Saţpho auf einem Vasenbilde Leipzig 1865 pp. 1—18 with pl., D. Comparetti in the Museo italiano di antichità classica Firenze 1888 ii. 59—64 no. 4 pl. 5 =Reinach Rép. Vases i. 526, 1, A. Baumeister in his Denkm. iii. 1727 f. fig. 1809, G. Jatta ‘La gara di Tamiri con le Muse’ in the Röm. Mitth. 1888 iii. 239—253 pl. 9, G. Nicole o. cit. p. 96 f. pl. 7, 4, Hoppen o. cit. ii. 192 no. 47 bis, J. D. Beazley o. cit. p. 460 no. 12: Eros seated on the right shoulder of Sappho (ΣΑΟ), two Erotes to right and left of Aphrodite, of whom one lets fly a bird, the other points). Cp. a hydria from Nola in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iv. 55 f. no. F 90 pl. 2: Eros stoops to touch the right shoulder of a seated female).

(8) The same conception persists throughout s. iv.b.c. on Attic vases of the ‘Kertch’ variety such as a hydria from Jiiz Oba at Petrograd (Stephani Vasen-samml. St. Petersburg ii. 383 ff. no. 1924, id. in the Compte-rendu St. Péit. 1861 pp. 124—127 Atlas pl. 5, 1 and 2 =Reinach Rép. Vases i. 9, 4 and 3, Furtwängler—Reichhold o. cit. ii. 102 f. pl. 79, 1: Eros leans on the right shoulder of Paris, a second Eros seated above the right shoulder of Helene looks towards him áπρωσκενδων), a krátér from Jiiz Oba at Petrograd (Stephani Vasensamml. St. Petersburg ii. 339 ff. no. 1807, id. in the Compte-rendu St. Péit. 1861 p. 33 ff. Atlas pl. 3, 1 and 2 =Reinach Rép. Vases i. 7, 5 and 6, L. Weniger in the Arch. Zeit. 1866 xxiv. 185 ff. pl. 211, supra ii. 262 pl. xvii: Eros, standing by Aphrodite’s right shoulder, touches her breast), an arýбаллос from Jiiz Oba at Petrograd (Stephani Vasensamml. St. Petersburg ii. 389 f. no. 1929, id. in the Compte-rendu St. Péit. 1861 p. 127 ff. Atlas pl. 5, 3 and 4 =Reinach Rép. Vases i. 9, 2 and 1: Eros hovers behind the shoulders of Paris, another Eros with torches hovers beside Helene), a pelíke from Kameiros in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 261 f. no. E 424, A. Salzmann Nécrepole de Camiros Paris 1875 col. pl. 59, A. Conze in the Wien. Vorlegebl. ii pl. 6, 2, 2*, P. Ducati o. cit. ii. 427 f. fig. 306: Eros hovers above Peleus as he seizes Thetis), a hydria from Kyrenakte in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 179 f. no. E 227, G. Dennis in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom Second Series 1870 ix. 181 f. pls. 3 and 4, Furtwängler—Reichhold o. cit. ii. 103 f. no. 2 pl. 79, 2: Eros standing on the right upper arm of Herakles offers him apples from the tree of the Hesperides), and finally a hydria from Alexandrae at Munich (Furtwängler—Reichhold o. cit. i. 204—208 pl. 40, P. Ducati o. cit. ii. 432 f. fig. 310, Pfuhl o. cit. ii. 712, iii. 244 fig. 598: Eros, reclining above the head of Paris, leans on the left shoulder of Aphrodite).

(9) B. Schroeder in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1925 xl Arch. Anz. pp. 364—367 figs. 1—6 and, at greater length, in the Zeitschrift für deutsche Volkskunde 1925 xxxv. 85 ff contends that the type of Lysippos’ statue in bronze representing Herakles deprived of his weapons by Eros (Anth. Plan. 103. 1—6 (Geminus), 104. 1—6 (Philippus): see Overbeck Schriftenzweilen p. 279 no. 1474, Collignon Hist. de la Sculpt, gr. ii. 425) can be recovered from a vase in the Louvre, a mirror at Athens, a bronze statuette in the British Museum, and sundry gems, which show the hero with a youthful Eros on his shoulder. Schroeder
further supports a suggestion first made by A. von Le Coq Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittel-Asiens Berlin 1925 pp. 26, 83 fig. 159 (Pāñcika and child) viz. that Herakles with Eros on his shoulder ultimately gave rise to the legend of St Christopher bearing the Christ-child (for bibliography etc. see K. Künstle Ikonographie der Heiligen Freiburg im Breisgau 1926 pp. 154—160 figs. 66—68). It is, however, far from certain that such was the motif of Lysippos' bronze; and another possible prototype for St Christopher and the Child is the Pompeian Polyphemos driven by the infant Eros (infra p. 1023).

(10) Eros at-the-shoulder was a motif obviously better suited to painting or to bas-relief than to sculpture in the round. Nevertheless Hellenistic art produced, not only such types as that of a marble statuette from Pella in Makedonia, now at Christ Church, Oxford, which shows Eros standing on a tree-trunk and leaning against the right shoulder of Aphrodite (Mrs A. Strong in Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art London 1904 p. 21 no. 28 pl. 27=Reinach Rép. Stat. iv. 231 no. 5), or that of a terra cotta from Myrina, now in the Albertinum at Dresden, which makes him stand on a pillar and rest his hand on her left shoulder (Winter Ant. Terrakotten iii. 2. 84 fig. 9), but also the type of the little fellow leaning forward all agog over his mother's left shoulder (e.g. the bronzes in Clarac Mus. de Sculpt. pl. 632 D figs. 1295 A Turin (A. Fabretti in the Atti della Società di archeologia e belle arti per la provincia di Torino 1880 iii. 99 f. pl. 15, 2) and 1295 B Paris=Reinach Rép. Stat. i. 342 nos. 4 and 5. Cp. the terracottas given by Winter op. cit. iii. 2. 46 fig. 3 (=Furtwängler Samml. Sabouroff Terres cuites pl. 133, 2), 195 fig. 7, 200 fig. 9, 202 fig. 4) or perched precariously on either shoulder (e.g. the terracottas in Winter op. cit. iii. 2. 85 fig. 8 Asia Minor (=C. Lecuyer Terres cuites antiques trouvées en Grèce et en Asie mineure Paris 1882 pl. H8 (modern?)), 101 fig. 1 Rudiae, cp. 82 fig. 7 Greece but not Tanagra (=Furtwängler Samml. Sabouroff Terres cuites pl. 133, 1), 88 fig. 4 Myrina (?), if not duplicated on both (e.g. a stone statuette from Beaune, now at Moulins (Catalogue du Musée de Moulins 1885 iii. 125, E. Tudot Collection de figurines en argile Paris 1860 pl. 75 =Reinach Rép. Stat. ii. 376 no. 7), and a gold pendant from south Russia, now at Petrograd (L. Stephani in the Compte-rendu St. Péi. 1867 p. 47 Atlas pl. 1, 6=Reinach Rép. Stat. ii. 377 no. 6)), and even ambitious statuary groups in marble like that from Delos, now in the National Museum at Athens, which represents a naked Aphrodite defending herself with uplifted sandal against the advances of Pan and a helpful Eros hovering over her left shoulder (M. Bulard 'Aphrodite, Pan et Éros' in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1906 xxx. 610—631 pls. 13—16 (of which pl. 14 =my fig. 827) (fig. 2 is a second Eros belonging to some similar group)=Reinach Rép. Stat. iv. 230 nos. 2 and 3, C. Picard La sculpture antique Paris 1926 ii. 263 fig. 103).

(11) Venus with a tiny Cupid on her shoulder appears on denarii struck by M'. Cordius Rufus (Babelon Monn. rép. rom. i. 383 no. 1 f. rev. fig. (c. 49 B.C.), M. Bahrfeldt Nachrichten und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde Wien 1897 p. 88 no. 1 pl. 4, 92, H. A. Grueber in Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Rep. i. 523 f. nos. 4037—4039 pl. 51, 11 and 12 (c. 46 B.C.), supra ii. 99 n. 1) and by C. Egnatius Maxsumus (Babelon op. cit. i. 473 f. nos. 1 obv. fig., 2 rev. fig. (c. 69 B.C.), H. A. Grueber op. cit. i. 399 nos. 3274, 3275 pl. 42, 15, i. 401 nos. 3285—3292 pl. 42, 17 (c. 75 B.C.): see further F. Münzer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 1997 no. (27)), and on others issued by Iulius Caesar (Babelon op. cit. ii. 11 f. nos. 11 obv. fig., 12 obv. fig. (c. 50 B.C.), H. A. Grueber op. cit. ii. 368 f. nos. 86—88 pl. 101, 9, nos. 89—92 pl. 101, 10 (c. 45 B.C.)).
The same type recurs on a fine fragment of relief in the church of San Vitale at Ravenna (Friederichs—Wolters Gipsabgüsse p. 762 no. 1023 f., J. J. Bernoulli Römische Ikonographie Berlin und Stuttgart 1886 ii. 1. 254 ff. pl. 6 ('Venus genetrix...eine Umkleidung der Livia'), Mrs. A. Strong Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine London 1907 p. 96 ('Venus Genetrix (or Livia?)'), Reinach Rép. Reliefs iii. 128 no. 1, C. Picard op. cit. ii. 390 ('Vénus genitrice'), on a relief in the Villa Medici at Rome (E. Braun in the Ann. d. Inst. 1852 xxiv. 338—345; Mon. d. Inst. v pl. 40, Matz—Duhn Ant. Bildw. in Rom iii. 29 ff. no. 3511. Mrs. A. Strong op. cit. p. 143 f. pl. 43, b, Reinach op. cit. iii. 313 no. 1) which represents the pediment of the temple of Mars Ultor (E. Petersen Ara Pacis Augustae, Sonderschriften des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien Band ii) Wien 1902 p. 58 ff. pl. 3, vii and figs. 26, 27) in the Forum Augustum.
Appendix Q


The Prompting Eros


Attendant Erotes multiply apace. We find two (e.g. with Aphrodite and Ares
Appendix Q


Fig. 828.

The Hieros Gamos


APPENDIX R.

THE HIEROS GÁMOS.

Greek literature from Homeric poetry to Byzantine prose links the name of Zeus with that of Hera. But this tradition, though practically universal, involves certain peculiar and even abnormal features, which, if carefully considered, make it difficult to believe that Hera was from the outset the wife of Zeus. The relations subsisting between them are deserving of detailed study.

Zeus, according to Kallimachos2 and Nonnos3, was courting Hera for a period of three hundred years. Homer4 states that they met 'without the

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1 Years ago I dealt with the topic, somewhat light-heartedly, in two papers contributed to the Class. Rev. 1906 xx. 365—378 and 416—419 (supra p. 744 n. 1).

2 Kallim. altis 2 frag. 20 Schneider ap. schol. A.D. H. i. 609 and Texte. in eund. loc. (P. Matranga anecdota Graecia Romae 1850 ii. 450, 11 ff.) δὲ τι Ζένει ἐγείρει τριγυαλόον ὕπατος.

3 Nonn. Dion. 41. 322 f. διτι πολυχρωμάτων πιθοὺς δεδομένων οἶνῳ (cp. supra p. 941 n. 1) "Ὑπερ κρετων ἡμών καταστήσασαν ὕμνους | εἰς χρόνον ἡμεῖς τριγυαλόουν ἐννατών | θάλα γάμου ἔξωέλι.

4 H. 14. 295 f. οἶον δὲ πρῶτον περ ἐμαγέλθην φιλάνθες, | εἰς εὐνυν φοιτώτε, φίλους λήσοντε τικάσα.
knowledge of their dear parents'; and later authors lay stress on their secrecy, which indeed passed into a proverb. But it must be remembered that such clandestine intercourse was in Samos and at Sparta, if not elsewhere in the Greek world, the recognised beginning of married life. Zeus and Hera were conforming to a custom, which savours of extreme antiquity, though it is not extinct even in modern Europe.

The union of Zeus with Hera, commonly known as the hieros gamos or 'sacred marriage,' involved at once a myth and a ritual, though evidence of the one or the other is often lacking.

1 Theokr. 15, 64 πάντα γυναῖκες ἱσαντι, καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ἤγαγεν Ἡραν 'Ἡρα with schol. ad loc., cp. Plaut. trin. 208 sciat quod Ίναο δουλατασ cum Iove.

2 In Samos the practice was referred to the example of Zeus (schol. B.L.T.V. II. 14. 296, Eustath. in ll. p. 987, 9 ff.).

3 Plutt. v. Lycurg. 15, Xen. de rep. Lac. 1. 5, Hermippus frag. 6 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 37 Müller) o. Αθήνας 555 c.

4 The Lydian practice of prenuptial free love (All. var. hist. 4. 1 Λυδοῖς ἦν θέος πρὸ τοῦ συνοικίων τὰς γυναῖκας ἀνδρὰς ἐναρέων, ἀπαξ δὲ καταξυνθεῖσας σωματικῶν· τὴν δὲ ἀμφιβολίαν ἐν étερον συγγένεια τιχικά ἀδύνατον ἐστι) is hardly analogous. And the Naxian custom of placing a baby boy in the bride's bed on the eve of her wedding (Kallim. aitia 3. 1. 1. Mair = B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt The Oxyrhynchus Papyri London 1910 vi. 12 ff. no. 1011 ὥσε καὶ κόθρον παρθένοι ὠνάστο | τῆμον ὡς ἐκκεῖνον προφίλημα υπ' αὐτὰ | δεινεί τιν τάλων παιδί συν ἀμφιθαλεῖ | Ἡρα γὰρ κοτές φαίρει·) though adduced as a parallel by Kallim. loc. cit. and schol. B.L.T.V. II. 14. 296, is better explained as a piece of mimetic magic by A. E. Housman in the Class. Quart. 1910 iv. 114 f., D. R. Stuart in Class. Philol. 1911 vi. 302 ff., E. Samter 'Ein naxischer Hochzeitsbrauch' in the Neue Jahrh. f. klass. Altertum 1915 xxxv. 90—98. Cp. E. Westermarck The History of Human Marriage London 1921 ii. 468 'in some parts of Sweden she should have a boy-baby to sleep with her on the night preceding the wedding day in order that her first-born shall be a son.'

6 P. Wilutzky Vorgeschichte des Rechts Breslau 1903 i. 201 argues that monogamy, since it involved the infringement of earlier communal rights, was at first viewed as an offence to society and its practice carefully concealed.


7 For the subject in general see P. H. Larcher 'Memoire sur la noce sacrée' (read in 1790) in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 1808 xviii. 223 ff., R. Foerster Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera Breslau 1867 pp. 1—38, W. H. Roscher Τεύκρος Ηάμος Halis Saxonum 1933 pp. 1—134 of wider scope (p. 118 'Gravisimás res breviter complectens affirmaverim me demonstravisse notionem sacrarum nuptiarum in religione Miniores et notione juris materni originem atque principium habere, inde in sacra Graecorum sollemnia transalata esse, antiquissimis quidem religiosis Graecae temporibus numina cthonia fertilitatis et inferorum confinibus inter se coniungi, sed postea pro iure paterno Indogermanorum tempore religiosis Olympiae lovem ut caeli lucidi deum, qui sacris matronibus cum veteribus terrae deabus connectitur, auctoritate plurimum posse'), but in pp. 89—111 deals systematically with 'Διάτ γάμου.'
The Hierós Gámós

The Hierós Gámós 1027

(1) The Hierós Gámós at Samos.

In the case of Samos both are to hand. Parthenia, an old name of the island\(^1\), was connected with the maidenhood of Hera, who here grew up and was married to Zeus\(^2\). This myth corresponded with a definite ritual. A statue of Hera in the Samian Heraion—presumably the wooden image made by Smilis of Aigina\(^3\)—was dressed as a bride\(^4\); and at an annual festival the goddess was married to Zeus\(^5\). Terra-cotta groups found in Samos show Zeus and Hera

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\(^1\) The island was formerly (Strab. 637 θάνειαν θάνειαν Καμόνον) named Παρθένια (Aristot. frag. 570 Rose\(^a\) ap. Plin. nat. hist. 5. 135. Herakleid. resp. Sam. frag. 10. 1 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 215 Müller), Kallim. h. Del. 48 f., Ap. Rhod. 1. 187 f. with schol. ad loc., Strab. 457, 637, Steph. Byz. s.v. Σάμος, Eustath. in Dionys. ser. 533) after Parthenia the wife of Samos (Loukillos of Tarrha frag. 10 Linnenkugel ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 187), or after the river Parthenios (Strab. 457, Eustath. loc. cit.), which was so called because Hera had been brought up there as a virgin (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 187).

\(^2\) Varr. frag. 399 Funatoli ap. Lact. div. inst. 1. 17. 8 insulam Samum scribit Varro prius Partheniam nominatam, quod ibi Iuno adoleverit ibique etiam lovi nupserit.

\(^3\) Supra i. 444 f. figs. 915, 914, iii. 645 n. o fig. 446. See further Overbeck Gr. Kunsthymn. Hera pp. 12—16 Mnatraf. 1, 1—12.

\(^4\) Perhaps in the robe called TTΩΤΩS (Kallim. frag. 495 Schneider ap. Cramer anecd. Oxon. iii. 93, 19 ff., Hesych. s.v. Παρθένια)


seated side by side (figs. 829 and 830). Both deities wear the bridal veil and thereby justify R. Foerster's identification of the subject as the hierbs gamos.

It is highly probable that a Samian festival called the Tonea stood in some relation to this hierbs gamos. The facts regarding it are as follows. A certain willow, which grew in the sanctuary of Hera at Samos, was said to be the oldest

Egyptian earth-god on a papyrus in the British Museum (Lanzone Dizion. di Mitio. Egit. p. 409 f. pl. 159, 6).

Fig. 829.

1 (1) From a child's grave in the Samian necropolis, now at Vienna (J. Böhlau Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen Leipzig 1898 p. 45, id. in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1900 ii. 210 with fig. 84 (= my fig. 829: scale 3)).

(2) and (3) Two similar groups, now at Cassel, said to have come from a single Samian grave. One gives the head of Zeus an opening like a vase-mouth on the top. But both are holed at the bottom (J. Böhlau Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen pp. 48, 159 pl. 14, 6 and 8).

Fig. 830.

4 A similar group, found at Kameiros, now in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Winter Ant. Terrakotten iii. i. 43 fig. 3 = i. 156 fig. 1).

5 A similar but somewhat more advanced group, formerly in the possession of Sir William Gell (Gerhard Ant. Bildw. pl. 1 (= my fig. 830: scale 1), Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus pp. 20, 251, 558, 8. Hera p. 44 f. fig. 4 a, Farnell Cults of Gk. States i. 115 pl. 5, 6).

6 and (7) Winter loc. cit. notes two similar but smaller groups, the one from Tanagra (?) in the Louvre (L. Heuzey Les figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre Paris 1883 p. 9 pl. 11, 6), the other from Kameiros in the British Museum (uncatalogued?).

2 Infra p. 1033.

3 R. Foerster Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera Breslau 1867 p. 24 f., followed e.g. by J. A. Hild in Darenberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 674 fig. 4167.
of all existing trees: it belonged to the species known as ἰγός or ἀγός by the
Greeks (the vitex agnus castus of Linné), and was still thriving in the time of
Pausanius1. It is shown or at least symbolized on coins struck by Gordianus
Pius2. Some maintained that the Heraion, where the tree stood, had been
founded by the Argonauts, who brought the image of Hera with them from
Argos; but the Samians themselves supposed that the goddess had been born
in their island beside the river Imbrasos and beneath this very willow3. Ac-
gording to Menodotos4, a Samian historian, Admete the daughter of Eurystheus5
once fled from Argos to Samos, where she had a vision of Hera and, wishing to
give the goddess a thankoffering for her safe journey, undertook the care of the
temple built by the Leleges and the Nymphs. The Argives, indignant at this,
bribed Tyrrhenian pirates to carry off the image, in order that the Samians
might punish Admete. The Tyrrhenians came to the port of Hera, found the
temple without a door to it, carried off the image, and put it on board their
ship. But, though they loosed their cables, weighed anchor, and rowed their hardest,
they could not get away from the land. So they set the image ashore and,
after offering it sundry cakes, took their departure in fear and trembling. Next
morning Admete raised the alarm, and the searchers discovered the image on
the shore. Being but barbarous Carians6, they believed that it had run away
of its own accord, placed it against a willow fence7, drew towards it the longest
branches on either side of it and wrapped it round about with them. Admete
released the image from these bonds, purified it, and erected it on the pedestal
which it had occupied before. Hence every year the image is carried off to the
shore, disappears from view, and has cakes set beside it8. The festival in
question is named Τέινα9 because the image was so tightly (συντόνως) bound
by those that first sought it. Further it is said that, when the Carians consulted
Apollon of Hybla about these occurrences, the god bade them escape serious
disaster by paying the goddess a voluntary penalty. Prometheus after his release
from bonds had been willing to pay a light penalty, and Zeus had bidden him
wear a willow wreath10. The Carians must do the same and, when feasting,
bind their heads with willow branches just as they had bound the goddess.
They were to abandon the use of every other kind of wreath, with the exception of

1 Paus. 8. 23. 5. 2 Supra p. 645 n. o fig. 446.
2 Paus. 7. 4. 4. Cp. supra p. 1037 n. 1 f. On the probable site of the ἰγός towards the
south-east corner of the precinct see E. Buschor in the Ath. Mitth. 1930 lv. 51 with fig. 7
and pl. 13.
3 Menodotos frag. 1 (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 103 ff. Müller) ap. Athen. 671 e ff.
4 So Syncell. deor. 172 A (i. 324 Dindorf) 'Ἄλλοι δὲ τὴν δέξασθαι θυρώνων ἐν 'Αργεῖ
ἵππεας ἔτη λη.
5 αῦτον ταῦτα τὴν ἱεροεύς διαδέχασται Φαλάδες εκαλώσθη.
6 Strab. 627 cited supra p. 1027 n. 1.
7 πρὸς τὰ λάγον θυράκιαν.
8 E. Buschor in the Ath. Mitth. 1930 lv. 33 would associate these rites with a large
quadrangular flooring in the south-east corner.
9 The form Τέινα is supported by all the MSS. of Athen. 672 b—ε and was accepted
by Dindorf. For the termination cp. the Ποισία of Mytilene and the Ποισία of
Megara (Nilsson Gr. Feste p. 83 f.). A. Meineke, however, cf. τόμα, and G. Kähbel
Ct. Τέινα. The name is connectible with τεῖνω 'stretch,' τίνων 'tension, force, vigour,'
cp. Dysisor. 1. 154 (155) p. 150 Sprengel λάγος δὲ διὰ τὸ πεῖρα λάβοντας αὐτήν ἑτερν.
10 It is not definitely stated, but it is probably implied that Prometheus' wreath was
of λάγος: cp. Aisch. Προμηθέως λάγμανος frag. 203 Nauck2 and Σφιγὴ frag. 235 Nauck2,
Hyg. poet. astr. 2. 15. Apollod. 2. 5. 11 has δεκαμαί οἰκήματος τῶν τῆς θαλάτ. Prometheus' ring (supra i. 329 n. 0) may be a later variant of his wreath.
bay-leaves which might be worn by those that actually served the goddess. This Samian custom of wearing willow is mentioned elsewhere. Anakreon says of a young friend from Samos:

Megistes whose heart answers mine
Ten months ago
Would wreath him so
With willow and drink deep the honeyed wine.

More important is an epigram by Nikainetos of Samos, which throws some further light upon the usage:

Ah, Philotheros, fain would I
Fanned by the western breezes lie
Feasting with Hera—not in town.
Enough for me a mere shake-down.
See, nigh at hand there is a spread
Of native willow for my bed
And osiers, the old Carian wear.
Bring wine, and list the lyre’s sweet air,
That we may drink and praise beside
Our island-queen, Zeus’ glorious bride.

From this it appears that at the feast of Hera the guests not only wreathed their heads with willow, but also reclined upon willow boughs and sang of Hera as the bride of Zeus.

Such rites can be paralleled, at least in part, from other cult-centres. Thus at Sparta the image of Artemis was called *Lygodéisma* the ‘Willow-bound’ as well as *Orthia* the ‘Upright’ ostensibly because it had been found in a thicket of willows, which twining round it kept it upright. And at Athens it was customary for women celebrating the Thesmophoria to lie on a bed of willows. Indeed, priests in general used to strew willow leaves under their couches, and as late as the eighteenth century Christian monks wore girdles made of willow osiers.

1 Tenaros ap. Athen. 672 A states that willow was *ἀγρολευ...στεφάνωμα*. But we do not know who Tenaros was, nor whether his *ἀγροίκας* were Samians. Still less information is given by the jejune note of Aristarchos ap. Athen. 671 B f. ὅτι καὶ λύγαια ἑστεφάνων ὁι δρύαινοι.


3 Nikainetos ap. Athen. 673 B ff.

Both Anakreon and Nikainetos speak of the feasters as drinking wine. E. Maass in Hermes 1891 xxi. 187 n. 3 holds that Hesych. *Ἐλυγίας* Ἀδονίς ἐν Ζάω implies the existence of a Dionysos ‘in the Willow’ (ἐν λύγῳ) at Samos. But the order of the words in Hesychios demands the reading *Ἐλυγίας*: see M. Schmidt ad loc., O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. v. 2567.

4 Paus. 3. 16. 11 (quoted *supra* ii. 421 n. 5). Asklepios at Sparta was called *Αγρίτας* because his wooden image was made of *ἄφρος* (Paus. 3. 14. 7).


7 N. Venette *La Génération de l’homme* Londres 1779 i. 231 f. *quelques moines chrétiens se sont aujourd’hui des ceintures avec des branches de cet arbre (sc. agnus*
The reason commonly given for these practices is that the willow possesses
antiaphrodisiac qualities. If so, the binding of the Samian Hera and her
votaries with willow may have been part of a purificatory ceremony, whereby
the goddess after her annual marriage with Zeus was believed to recover her
virginity. Artemis Lygodësma too was presumably a virgin. And ceremonial
purity was incumbent upon women at the Thesmophoria and priests at all
times. This explanation might be supported by the fact that the Tonea included
a visit of Hera to the sea-shore: salt-water cleansed all.

Nevertheless there are not wanting some indications that the willow was
credited with powers of a precisely opposite character and regarded as a strong
aphrodisiac. Confusion may have arisen owing to the popular but erroneous
assumption that the name ἄγνος was derived from ἁγνός, 'pure,' or from ἄγωνος, 'unfruitful.' On this showing the ritual above described must have
aimed at increasing the fertility of the goddess. But in either case it was
caitus), qui se plie comme de l'osier, et ils prétendent par là s'arracher du cœur tous les
désirs que l'amour y pourroit faire naître.' Etc.—cited by A. de Geburnatis La Mytho-
logie des Plantes Paris 1882 ii. 5. See also P. Sébillyt Le Folk-lure de France Paris 1906
iii. 388.

1 In addition to the authorities given in p. 1030 n. 5f. see Paul. Aeg. 7. 3 ἄγνος ἡ ἱλόγος...
καὶ πρὸς ἄγνοιαν πειστότε ναί, ὅμων ἔθελαμεν καὶ κυκλόμον ἔλλα καὶ ὡστραμαμένον
with the note ad loc. of F. Adams Paulus Ægineta London 1847 iii. 20. Cp. also what
is said of the ἱβά το ὀΧις by All. de nat. an. 4. 23, schol. Od. 10. 510, Eustath. in Od.

2 Supra p. 1027 n. 1.


Gruppe op. cit. p. 858 n. 3 finds traces of a similar ritual in the Homeric hymn to
Dionysos, who appeared by the sea-shore, was captured by Tyrrhenian pirates and
bound with withies of willow, but burst his bonds and took vengeance on his captors
(h. Dion. 1 ff.).

8 J. Jonston Thaumatographia naturalis Amstelodami 1665 p. 191 cites from Scalig.
Exerc. 175 sect. 1 [J. C. Scaliger Exot. exerc. Lutetiae 1557 p. 226] the following account:
'Agnacath est arbor pyri facie & magnitudine perpetuo folio viridissima, nitidissimaque
superficies. Adeo validos ad coitum efficit, ut miraculo sit omnibus ejus efficacia.' See
further A. de Geburnatis op. cit. p. 6 f.

Plin. nat. hist. 14. 60 urinam cintent et mensae...lactis ubertatem faciunt, 62 volvam

A. Thomsen 'Orthia' in the Archiv f. Rel. 1906 ix. 407 ff. showed that Artemis
Ἀγωδήμα or Orthia was a tree-goddess (supra ii. 421 n. 8) and that the flogging of
Spaun youths, presumably with rods of λύχνω (cp. Plout. symp. 6. 8. 1 τόπτωοτε ἄγνων
μάξθαις at the Βουλήμα οξυθάλαι), transferred her virtue to the sufferers. Supra ii. 635 n. 9.

6 Most of the writers referred to supra p. 1030 n. 5f. and p. 1031 n. 1 connect ἄγνος
with ἄγων or ἄγως—both very dubious etymologies (L. Meyer Handb. d. gr. Etym.
i. 121, Boisacq Dict. dym. de la Langue Gr. p. 8).

R. Wünsch Das Frühlingsfest der Insel Malta Leipzig 1902 drew attention to a
Maltese custom recorded by an Arab writer of the sixteenth century. Every year a large
golden idol set with precious stones was thrown into a field of bean-flowers by a monk,
who told the people that their lord had departed. Hereupon there was mourning and
fasting for some three days, till the monk announced that the lord's anger was appeased.
The idol was then brought back to the town in procession with great rejoicings. Wünsch
holds that the idol represented John the Baptist, who here as elsewhere succeeded to
the position of Adonis. His hypothesis has been called in question or controverted by
appropriate to a divine marriage, and we must bear in mind the fact that those who took part in the Tonea sang of Hera as 'Zeus' glorious bride.'

(2) The Hierós Gámós at Knossos.

Another locality in which the hierós gámós was represented by both myth and ritual is Knossos at the base of Mount Ide in Crete. The wedding of Zeus and Hera was said to have taken place near the river Theren (the modern Platyherama). Here in later times a sanctuary was built and yearly sacrifices offered with traditional wedding-rites. I have suggested that the earlier ceremony involved the ritual pairing of solar bull with lunar cow.

(3) The Hierós Gámós on Mount Ide.

More frequently the hierós gámós is attested by a localised myth without direct evidence of a ritual performance.

Thus the famous passage of the Iliad that describes how Zeus consorted with Hera on Mount Ide in the Troad expressly alludes to the tale of their early amours; and we are probably justified in inferring that the tale was told of the mountain in question.

However that may be, it is the myth itself, not the Homeric adaptation of it—and the myth as localised on the Trojan rather than the Cretan

...
Fresco from Pompeii, now at Naples: the *Hieros Gamos* of Zeus and Hera on Mount Ide in the Troad.

*See page 1032 ff.*
The Hierds Gamos

Ide 1—that is represented by the wall-painting found at Pompeii in the 'House of the Tragic Poet' (pl. Ixxii) 2. Here we see Zeus, a kingly figure seated on a rocky throne 3. A himation wrapped about his legs is drawn up so as to cover his hair like a veil 4, and falls again over his shoulder and left arm. The wreath on his head is possibly, but not certainly 5, composed of oak leaves. He rests his left hand, the fourth finger of which wears a wedding-ring, on a long sceptre. With an affectionate 6 and at the same time symbolic 7 gesture of his right hand he draws towards him his bride. She is robed in a white pēplos and an ample veil. Her hair is confined by a richly decorated stephane; and her jewels include earrings, a necklace, bracelets, and a wedding-ring worn like that of Zeus. Her large and brilliant eyes, which recall the epithet bōbōs 8, are averted from the face of her bridegroom and with a subtle blend of outward dignity and inward alarm look straight into the distance. The same mixture of feelings is betrayed by her stately yet hesitating advance, and again by the studied nervous way in which she is holding the end of her veil between herself and Zeus. Hera is followed and supported by Iris, a youthful winged figure whose anxious questioning expression is the natural accompaniment of her mistress' mood. But the difference between bride and bridesmaid is finely brought out by the artist. Hera with head erect and full of virginal pride emerges into the light—a queen indeed. Iris watching her with upturned face obscured by a semidarkness is plainly subordinate and serves as her foil. On the rocks beside Zeus sit three male figures of diminutive size, scantily clad and wreathed with flowers 9: they have been interpreted with much probability as the Idaean Daktyloi.

1 In the Class. Rev. 1903 xvii. 413 f. I accepted the conclusions of Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus pp. 239—243 and maintained that the scenery of the fresco is that of the Cretan mountain. Certainly the woods (supra ii. 932 n. 1), the cult of Rhea (Diod. 5. 65 f.), and the Idaean Daktyloi ([Hes.] frag. 14 Flach op. Plin. nat. hist. 7. 197, Ap. Rhod. i. 119 with schol. ad loc., Diod. 5. 64, Paus. 5. 7. 6 with schol. ad loc., Porph. v. Pyth. 17, Hesych. s.v. 'Idaiou Δακτυλος, et. mag. p. 455, 25 ff., cp. Plin. nat. hist. 37. 170) all suit the neighbourhood of Knossos. But they suit the Trojan Ide equally well: here too were woods (supra ii. 949 n. 5), a cult of Rhea (Strab. 469: see further Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1523 n. 1), and the Idaean Daktyloi (schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 116 and 1131, Strab. 473, Diod. 5. 64, 17. 7; Plout. de musici. 5, Clem. Al. Strom. i. 15 p. 46, 24 ff. Stählin, Hesych. s.v. 'Idaiou Δακτυλος). Moreover, the other frescoes found in the same atrium depict scenes from Homeric epos (Herrmann Denkm. d. Malerei i. 16), and the flowers worn by the Daktyloi may be due to a reminiscence of II. 14. 347 ff.

2 Pl. Ixxii is from Herrmann op. cit. pl. 11, a photographic reproduction which supersedes all previous publications.

3 Supra i. 124 ff.

4 Supra p. 1028.

5 Herrmann op. cit. i. 17 n. 1.


8 Supra i. 444. A drawing of Hera's head, almost full-size, is given by A. Baumsteiner in his Denkm. i. 649 fig. 719.

9 Herrmann op. cit. i. 17 n. 3 (cp. ib. i. 15 fig. 3) states that their wreaths consist of sprays entwined with flowers, but thinks it impossible to decide whether these flowers are, as Helbig Wandgem. Camp. p. 33 f. no. 114 supposed, primroses.
Appendix R

Daktyloi\(^1\), who haunted the woods of Mount Ide and were associated with Rhea, the Idaean Mother\(^2\). The locality is further indicated by wooded hills in the background and a pillar adorned with Rhea's attributes—three bronze lions standing on its capital, a timbrel lying against its base, flutes and cymbals bound by a fillet to its shaft. The whole fresco must be regarded as a good Pompeian copy of a splendid Hellenistic original\(^3\).

The presence of Iris as bridesmaid recalls the similar, though not identical, scenes portrayed by a couple of the later Greek poets. Theokritos in the Hellenistic age writes:

So came about the wedlock of the gods,
Whom puissant Rhea bare to rule Olympos.
One couch she strewed for the sleep of Zeus and Hera—
Iris, a maid with hands all perfume-pure\(^4\).

Nonnos in the age of decadence spoils the picture by far-fetched bombast:

He spake, and rolling cloud on golden cloud
Tower-wise inglobed a circumambient veil,
So shaped and fashioned forth a bridal-bower,
Which then the dazzling diverse-tinted form
Of Iris the ethereal crowned—a covert
Of Nature's make for Zeus and his bright-armed bride,
What time they lay on the mountain, and withal
A perfect copy of their destined union\(^5\).

Iris and the Daktyloi, like the landscape-background, were additions to the accepted type. A Hellenistic relief in island marble, unfortunately much corroded, was found in Rhodes and is now in the Rhodian Museum (fig. 831)\(^6\). It shows Zeus seated on a throne, the side of which is decorated with a large Sphinx. He raises his right hand in admiration of Hera, who stands before him, one hand resting on the god's knee, the other on her own hip. Between them is seen a pillar, on which is perched an eagle with spread wings. A. Maiuri well compares another Hellenistic relief, in Parian marble, likewise found in

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3 Herrmann op. cit. i. 15—17, G. Rodenwaldt Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wandgemälde Berlin 1909 pp. 203—206.

4 Theokr. 17. 131 ff.

5 Nonn. Dion. 32. 76 ff. The text of line 78 f. is disputed. I have translated the passage as it stands in the editions of D. F. Graefe (1826) and A. Ludwig (1911), viz. καὶ θαλάμων ποιήσε ἐν τοπω, ἐν τῶν κύκλων | Ἰρίσος αὐτήρος ἔτερχροος ἐτέσφη μορφή κ.τ.λ. The Count de Marcellus (ed. Paris 1826) prints the conjectural readings δὲ τοτε for ἐν τῶν and ἔτεσφη for ἐτέσφη.

6 A. Maiuri in Clara Rhodos 1932 ii. 44—46 fig. 22 (=my fig. 831).
Rhodes and now in London (fig. 832). Zeus sitting on a very similar throne, with a winged and lion-headed Sphinx, leans his right hand on a long sceptre. Before him stands Hera, also holding a long sceptre—for she plays queen to his king. Between them appears a pillar, on which are the feet of a small statue. In front of it is an ox (for sacrifice?). Behind Zeus was a standing figure, on a

Fig. 831.

1 Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture iii. 223 i. no. 2150, Reinach Rep. Reliefs ii. 493 no. 2. My fig. 832 is from the official photograph.
smaller scale, with a palm-branch in its right hand—possibly Nike, but possibly a victor in some local contest who had dedicated a statue to Zeus and Hera

The pillar present in these Graeco-Roman compositions was itself no part of the older Hellenic type—witness a metope from Selinous now at Palermo

1 This relief has been variously interpreted. P. Perdrizet in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1899 xxiii. 559 f. pl. 3. I thinks that it represents Zeus and Hera, or else Asklepios and Hygieia. W. Amelung in the Rom. Mitth. 1901 xvi. 258—263 fig. 1 reverts to an older view that the deities are Sarapis and Isis. Reinach loc. cit. is non-committal.

For similar thrones see e.g. that of Epiktèsis (supra i. 536 fig. 427) and that of Dionysos (supra i. 710 with pl. xi, 4). A relief in Pentelic marble, now at Munich (A. Furtwängler Ein Hundert Tafeln nach den Bildwerken der kgl. Glyptothek zu München München 1903 pl. 28, id. Glyptothek zu München p. 183 ff. no. 206, Reinach Rep. Reliefs ii. 75 no. 1. My fig. 833 is from a photograph), again shows Zeus on his throne with Hera (?) standing before him, a group of worshippers at their altar, and a pillar surmounted by two archaic figures, male and female, beneath the boughs of a huge plane-tree. Furtwängler comments (p. 183): 'Leider fehlt eine Dedikations-Inschrift, so dass wir das göttliche Paar nicht benennen können. Es kann ebensogut irgend ein lokaler Heros und seine Gattin wie etwa Zeus Philios mit Agathe Tyche sein.'

A. Maiuri, moved by the new Rhodian discovery, inclines to Zeus and Hera. I agree with him: Sarapis, as Amelung admits, ought to have had a chiton and a much more prominent kilihan.

For similar thrones see e.g. that of Epiktèsis (supra i. 536 fig. 427) and that of Dionysos (supra i. 710 with pl. xi, 4). A relief in Pentelic marble, now at Munich (A. Furtwängler Ein Hundert Tafeln nach den Bildwerken der kgl. Glyptothek zu München München 1903 pl. 28, id. Glyptothek zu München p. 183 ff. no. 206, Reinach Rep. Reliefs ii. 75 no. 1. My fig. 833 is from a photograph), again shows Zeus on his throne with Hera (?) standing before him, a group of worshippers at their altar, and a pillar surmounted by two archaic figures, male and female, beneath the boughs of a huge plane-tree. Furtwängler comments (p. 183): 'Leider fehlt eine Dedikations-Inschrift, so dass wir das göttliche Paar nicht benennen können. Es kann ebensogut irgend ein lokaler Heros und seine Gattin wie etwa Zeus Philios mit Agathe Tyche sein.'
This metope, which may be referred to the first half of the fifth century B.C., represents Zeus seated on a rock. He has a diadem in his hair and sandals on his feet. A himation, which has slipped from his left shoulder,
A head cast in blue glass (Greek work of c. 400 B.C.), from Girgenti, now at Queens' College, Cambridge: Hera Lakinia (?).
The Hierds Gamos

is wrapped about his legs; but otherwise his broad and powerful figure is undraped. Leaning back on his left hand, he raises his right and clasps Hera by the wrist. She is bare-footed and clad, like the archaic maidens on the akropolis at Athens, in a long sleeved chitón with a himation slung over her right shoulder and under her left breast. But the stepāne above her brow and the large veil that falls over her head and forms a framework for her whole figure betoken that she is Hera as a bride. With her left hand she is unveiling herself to her bridegroom. In her right she probably held a sceptre.

Variations of the same type may be detected in late Greek vase-paintings, which introduce Zeus and Hera among other deities as accessory figures. Thus a fragmentary Apulian vase in Sir William Hamilton's collection represented a battle of Greeks and Persians below with a council of the gods in the upper register (fig. 835). Here we see Zeus seated on a rock with Ganymedes (?) standing behind him and Hera in front. Zeus is half-draped in a himation and has a fillet in his hair. His left hand, decorated with a bracelet, holds a long sceptre; his right he raises in conversation with Hera. She wears an Ionic chitón, ornamented with a broad stripe down the middle, and a bridal veil, which she is lifting with her right hand. In her left she supports a long sceptre topped by a palmette; and on her head is a handsome stepāne.

A large krater from Ruvo, now at Naples, shows the rape of Persephone,

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1 Other interpretations are considered and dismissed by R. Foerster Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera Breslau 1867 p. 34 n. 6.
Appendix R

again with an upper tier of divine spectators (fig. 836). The design is much damaged, and the greater part of Zeus is a modern restoration. But enough remains to prove that the god sat on a richly embellished throne, which has a couple of swans by way of arm-rests. A himation is wrapped about his legs; and his feet, which are shod, are placed on a footstool. The sceptre in the right hand of Zeus is surmounted by an eagle with spread wings. Before her lord with downcast eyes stands Hera. She is clad in a Doric peplos with a long overfold, and has sandals on her feet. She has also a stephane on her head and a veil. This she raises with her left hand, while in her right she holds a long sceptre. Behind the throne of Zeus stands Ganymedes. And, between them, a winged thunderbolt points downwards to the scene of tumult in progress below.

Fig. 836.

On a bell-shaped krater from Saticula (Santa Agata dei Goti), now in the same collection, there is a further variation of the type (fig. 837). The centre of the design is occupied by a group of Athena and Perseus. But adjoining them is a seated Zeus and a standing Hera, the pose of both being reminiscent of the hieros gamos. Zeus is clad in a himation and wears a wreath in his hair. He rests his right hand on a sceptre and turns to face the centre of interest, regardless of a small hovering Nike, who somewhat needlessly presents him with a second wreath. Before him at a lower level stands Hera, draped in Doric peplos and star-spangled veil. In her right hand is a long sceptre, and


on her head a rayed 
stepháne. She too faces the central group, but is obviously conceived as the bride of Zeus.

(4) **The Hierós Gámós on Mount Oche.**

Euboia, a great centre of Hera-worship, was another place associated with the hierós gámós. It was believed that Zeus had met Hera on Mount Oche, the highest point in the south of the island. In this belief, no doubt, folk-etymology played a part. But it is to be observed that bronze coins of Karystos at the foot of Mount Oche, struck in 4. ii B.C., show sometimes a laureate head of Zeus, sometimes a veiled head of Hera—a suggestive choice of deities.

(5) **The Hierós Gámós at Elymnion.**

Elymnion or Elymnia, an island-town off the coast of Euboia, has been identified with the largest of the Petalian Isles near Karystos, but is better placed on the north coast near Oreos. Sophokles in his *Nauplios* spoke of 'bridal Elymnion,' because this too was reputed to have been the spot where

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1 Supra ii. 902 n. 1.
4 There is, however, no reason to connect with either of them the early corbelled building on Mt Oche (for which see T. Wiegand 'Der angebliche Urtempel auf der Oche' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 xii. 11—17 pls. 2 and 3).
5 Steph. Byz. s. v. Ελυμνος.
6 C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1868—1872 ii. 434 n. 1, H. Kiepert *Formae orbis antiqui* Berlin 1894 Map 15 (with a query), Text p. 3 ('very doubtfully').
Zeus consorted with Hera. But that Zeus in Euboia, like Poseidon in Lesbos, bore the cult-title Elymnios is an unsupported conjecture.

(6) The Hieros Gamos on Mount Kithairon.

Plutarch, who as a native of Chaironeia knew the mythology of Boiotia well, gives us a more detailed account. Hera was brought up as a virgin in Euboia, but was stolen away by Zeus and carried across the strait to Boiotia. Kithairon, the mountain-god, provided the run-aways with a shady nook and a bridal chamber of nature’s making. And, when Makris the nurse of Hera came in search of her and was minded to pry too far, Kithairon prevented her by saying that Zeus was there resting with Leto. So Hera escaped detection and later showed her gratitude by admitting Leto Mychia, ‘of the Nook,’ or Nychia, ‘of the Night,’ to share her altar and her temple. Others declared that Hera herself, since she companied there in secret with Zeus, was called Leto Nychia, ‘the Secret One of the Night,’ but when their union was made public—and this happened first in the neighbourhood of Kithairon and Plataiai—came to be known as Hera Teleia, ‘of the Wedding Rites,’ and Gamelios, ‘the goddess of Marriage.’

Plutarch’s narrative proves that the cult of Zeus and Hera on Mount Kithairon, its ancient ritual notwithstanding, had been influenced by the Euboean worship of Hera, and must in fact be treated as the remodelled form of an earlier cult, in which Zeus had been paired, not with Hera at all, but with Leto Mychia or Nychia.

1 Hesych. 'Ελόμος: Ποσείδων ἐν Λεσβῳ. καὶ ηγος τῆς Εὔβολας. But also Hesych. 'Ελευς: Ποσείδων ἐν Λεσβῳ.
3 Plout. peri τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῶν Δαιδάλων 3 ap. Euseb. praep. ev. 3. 1. 3.
5 Kithairon is described as Ἑπιτώιου Ἰουμᾶ by Hermesianax of Kypros (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 428 Müller) ap. [Plout.] de fluvi. 2. 3: see further K. Dilthey in the Arch. Zeit. 1874 xxxi. 93 f. and S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xvi. 994 f.
7 At Plataiai Hera bore the titles Τελέα and Ὁμφανεύη (Paus. 9. 2. 7).
8 For these epitets see Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 1134 nn. 5 and 3 f.
9 Supra ii. 898 n. 6.
10 Schöll—Studemund anec. i. 269 Erischera "Hias...15 νυχιας with the note: ‘νυχιας potius quam νυξιας videantur in L exstare; nisi potius νυξιας ex μυχιας correctum est.’ See further O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 3298.

An interesting relic of this goddess is a paste in the Vienna collection (fig. 838 is enlarged (€) from T. Panofka Gemmen mit Inschriften Berlin 1852 pp. 132, 135 pl. 4, 49), which shows a cock surrounded by the inscription ΑΕΤΟΜΥΧΙ( Cort. inscr. Gr. iv no. 7361 d) = Λυψά(€) Μυχ(€). The cock was dear to Leto, as to all women in childbirth, because he stood by her to lighten her labour (Ail. de nat. an. 4. 29). Possibly Leto Φωιη of Phaistos (Ant. Lib. 17 (after
(7) The Hier'os Gamos in the Cave of Achilles.

A parallel to the 'nook' of Kithairon in the Boeotian myth is furnished by the cave of Achilles. Ptolemaios Chênnos ('the Quail'), who flourished in the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, in his New or Surprising History told the tale as follows. When Hera was fleeing from the embraces of Zeus, Achilles the earth-born received her in his cave and persuaded her to yield to the importunity of the god. This was their first union, and Zeus rewarded Achilles by a promise that all who bore his name thereafter should become famous. Hence the fame of Achilles son of Thetis. The teacher of Cheiron, too, was called Achilles; indeed Peleus' son was named after him by Cheiron. Now we are not definitely told by Ptolemaios where his cave of Achilles was situated. But it may fairly be surmised that Achilles the earth-born was one with Achilles the teacher of Cheiron; and, if so, the cave of Achilles the earth-born must have been the famous cave of Cheiron on Mount Pelion. The whole story is meant to sound like a genuine Magnesian myth.

(8) The Hieros Gamos at Argos.

(a) Zeus and Hera at Hermione.

Another locality specially connected with the hieros gamos is the Argolid. At Hermione there was a sanctuary of Hera Parthenos; and pious but ignorant folk derived the name of the town from the notion that Zeus and Hera had come to an 'anchorage' here after their voyage from Crete. Aristotle, or perhaps rather Aristokles, in a lost treatise on the cults of Hermione had included the local myth, which told how Zeus had transformed himself into a cuckoo in order to consort with Hera. But we have no proof that the union of these two deities was celebrated at Hermione by actual marriage rites.

(b) Zeus and Hera at Argos.

The same conception of the manner in which Zeus gained his desires was current at Argos also, thirty miles away, in the fifth century B.C. The cult-statue of Hera at the Argive Heraion stood in some relation to Zeus Theos of Phaistos, whose sacred bird was the cock (supra ii. 859 n. 2). 


2 On the cave of Cheiron see supra ii. 869 n. 2. Zeus was worshipped on Mt Pelion as 'Aeitaios (ib.) and 'Akratios (supra ii. 871 n. 3 (1)).

3 Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Ερμιων καὶ 'Ερμιόνη..."Ερμιον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Δια καὶ τὴν 'Προκ νενεώθη ἀπὸ Κρῆτην ἀρκουμένον ἀρμαθεύματι, καὶ τρόπῃ τῶν ὧν ο ἔσεν, οὐδὲ καὶ ἀεχθὼν Προκ παραθέναι ἐν αὐτῇ (cp. Eustath. in Il. p. 286, 39 ff.).

4 Aristot. frag. 287 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 190 Müller) = Aristokl. frag. 3 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 938 Jacoby) ap. schol. vet. Theokr. 15. 64 (Eudok. vio1. 41 f.) cited supra ii. 893 n. 2. For attempts to alter 'Aρωστοῦδες into 'Aρωστοῦδας, 'Αρωστείη, 'Αρωστοκλῆ, etc. see C. Müller ad loc. The most plausible emendation is 'Αρωστοκλῆ, on whom see Tresp Frag. gr. Kultchr. p. 126 ff. (frag. 1).

5 Supra p. 65 from Paus. 2. 36. 2 (cited supra ii. 893 n. 2).

6 Supra p. 65 g.
Appendix R

(see fig. 839) about which strange things were said, and in the other a cuckoo-sceptre which Pausanias explains by the story of Zeus’ metamorphosis.

But was the hieros gamos at Argos represented by definite rites? W. H. Roscher has collected various facts which point towards that conclusion. On the right hand side of the prōnoa or vestibule of the Heraion stood a couch known as Hera’s couch. A sacrifice offered to the goddess was called by the Argives Lechōra, a name presumably related to the word leukos ‘a bed.’ In the story of Kleobis and Biton the priestess of Hera had to visit her temple on a car drawn by white oxen—a circumstance suggestive of a bridal procession.

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Fig. 839.

Fig. 840.


2 Paus. 2. 17. 4 (cited supra p. 65 n. 2).

3 W. H. Roscher Juno und Hera Leipzig 1875 p. 79 f., id. in his Lex. Myth. i. 2101 f.

4 Paus. 2. 17. 3 κλήνη τῆς Ἡρᾶ, cp. Poll. 3. 43 κλήνη τιμώσωμένη γαμηκή.

5 S. Casson in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1920 xl. 137—143 developed the curious view that the central figure of the ‘Ludovisi Throne’ is Hera, who annually recovers her virginity by bathing in the spring Kanathos (Paus. 2. 38. 2 : supra p. 224 n. 3). She is successively Τελεία and Παρθένος (cp. Paus. 8. 22. 2). As Τελεία she is immersed with breasts covered by a cloth symbolic of matronhood. As Παρθένος she emerges with cloth lowered and virginal breasts fully displayed. The figures on the side-arms are typical of Τελεία and Παρθένος.

J. N. Svoronos ‘Le lit de la Héra d’Argosœuvre de Polyclète ou le “trône Ludovisi” avec son “pendant” à Boston’ in the Journ. Intern. d’Arch. Num. 1920—21 xx. 108—159 pl. 3 f. goes further and fares worse. He contends that the ‘Ludovisi Throne’ and its Boston pendant were the actual couch of Hera seen by Pausanias in the Heraion, and that every detail of their relief-decoration has reference to the hieros gamos of the goddess. He cites as relevant Philarg. expl. in Verg. eleg. 4. 63 (H. Hagen Appendix Serviana Lipsiae 1902 p. 88, 6 ff.) pueris nobilibus editis in atrio Lunonis lectus ponitur, Herculi mensa, Myth. Vat. i. 177 templum Iunonis fuit, in quo mensa Hercoes et Diana lectum habuit; ubi portabantur pueri ut de ipsa mensa ederent et inde acciperent fortitudinem, et in lecto Dianae dormirent ut omnibus amabiles Cerent et illorum generation succresceret. But Philargyris is obviously alluding to a Roman custom (Class. Rev. 1906 xx. 374), and the Vatican mythographer is copying him with a blunder or two thrown in. Neither writer says a word about the Argive Heraion.

6 Hesych. ἀλέξαρα ὑπὸ ἄργεων ἡ δοῦλα ἐπιθελομένη τῇ ἴηρᾳ.

7 Supra i. 447 f.

8 Phot. lex. s.v. ἔσυγος ἡμιωκτικόν ἢ ὅπεκαλος σείζατος τῆς λυγροίνας κλαυδα, ἢ εἶτον ὄμοία θείωρα, τῷ τῆς κόμμοισιν μέθοδον ποιόταιν· k.t.l. M. Collignon in Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 1651.
The Hierds Gamos

And on billon coins of Alexandria struck by Nero (fig. 840) Hera Argela is conspicuously veiled.

These considerations, despite the doubts of M. P. Nilsson, do raise a certain presumption that the marriage of Hera was duly celebrated at Argos, though they do not of course prove that the original consort of the goddess was Zeus. But that as early as the fifth century B.C. Zeus had come to be regarded as the rightful partner of the Argive Hera, and that their union was commemorated by the ritual of a hierds gamos, seems to me a reasonable inference from the final scene of Aristophanes' Birds.

At this point the argument can be strengthened by taking into account Roman as well as Greek evidence. Apuleius in his Metamorphoses makes Psyche pray to Hera as follows: 'O sister and wife of mighty Zeus, whether thou abidest in the ancient temple of Samos, which alone can boast thy birth, thine infant cries, and thy nursing, or hauntest thy blissful seat in lofty Carthage, which worships thee as a virgin carried up to heaven on a lion, or presidest over the famous walls of the Argives near the banks of the Inachos, which tells of thee as already the bride of the Thunderer and the queen of the gods etc. etc. Argos is here chosen as a typical centre for the cult of Hera conceived as the bride of Zeus. The same conception underlies the Agamemnon of Seneca, in which a chorus of Mycenaean women invokes Hera thus:

Come, consort of the mighty sceptre, come,
Hera the Queen,—
All we that in Mykenai have our home
On thee must lean.

Later in the play Agamemnon on reaching his palace exclaims:

O father, hurler of the cruel bolt,
Driver of clouds, sovereign of stars and lands,
To whom the conqueror brings his triumph-spoils,
And thou too, sister of an almighty lord,
Argolic Hera, gladly will I serve you
With gifts of Araby and suppliant entrails.


2 Nilsson Gr. Festes p. 44. He notes, however, that the marriage of Hebe and Herakles, a relief on a silver altar in the Heraion (Paus. 2. 17. 6), was perhaps viewed as a parallel to the marriage of Hera and Zeus. And he accepts as probable the suggestion of W. H. Roscher Juno und Hera Leipzig 1875 p. 33 that the wedding of Demetrios Pollorketes, when agonothetes at the Heraia, with Deidameia, daughter of the Molottian king Aiakides and sister of Pyrrhos (Plout. v. Demetr. 25), was designed in imitation of the hierds gamos.

3 I am hinting at Herakles, on whose relations to Hera I have said my say in the Class. Rev. 1906 xx. 371 ff.

4 See supra p. 28 ff.


6 Apul. met. 6. 4 sive prope ripas Inachi, qui te iam nuptam Tonantis et regnam deorum memorat, inculcis Argivorum praesides moenibus.

7 Sen. Ag. 348 ff.

8 Sen. Ag. 839 ff.
But more explicit and detailed is a passage in the Thebaid of Statius. The poet is describing how the wives and children of the Argive warriors implored Hera to protect their absent ones in the perilous expedition against Thebes:

The day of prayer was done, but all night long
They kept their vigil round the altars' flame.
Ay, and they brought a robe by way of gift,
Whose wondrous woof no barren hand had woven
Nor such as lacked a husband—this they brought
In a basket as a veil acceptable
To their chaste goddess. Rich the purple shone
With brodered work and threads of glittering gold—
On it the bride of the great Thunderer
Within her bridal bower: nought she knows
Of wedlock and is fearful to lay by
Her sisterhood; with down-dropped eye she kisses
The lips of youthful Zeus, a simple maid
As yet untroubled by his stolen loves.
With this same veil the Argolic matrons clothed
The ivory goddess, and with tears and prayers
Besought her:—'Look now on the sinful towers
Of Kadmos' daughter, who seduced thy lord,
Queen of the starry sky. Oh, bring to nought
The foemen's rebel hill, and on their Thebes
Fling—for thou canst—another thunderbolt.'

We are surely justified in maintaining that this veil, woven for Hera by fruitful wives and embroidered to represent her wedlock with Zeus, implies the existence of an actual marriage-rite.

One other indication of such a rite is forthcoming, and that from a late and unexpected source. Cyprian, bishop of Antioch, à proposito of the numerous pagan ceremonies through which he passed in his youth, says: 'I went and at Argos, in Hera's rite, was there initiated into the purposes of union—the union, I mean, of lower with upper and of upper with lower air, and likewise of earth with water and of water with lower air.' It can hardly be doubted that this, as L. Preller long since conjectured, refers to the old hieros gamos of Zeus and Hera, still kept up in the third century A.D., though then encumbered with a symbolic and quasi-philosophical significance.

1 Stat. Theb. 10. 54 ff.
2 Cp. supra i. 110 f., iii. 775.
5 For Zeus as αἰθήρ and Hera as ἄθρω see supra i. 31. Such teaching as that to which Cyprian listened would easily be grafted upon the Heraclitean doctrine of flux or a Stoic adaptation of the same (supra i. 28 ff).
At Athens, and at Athens alone, we have evidence of the rite without the myth. The Athenians had a definite festival called the Hieros Gamos, at which they commemorated the marriage of Zeus and Hera. A. Mommsen rightly identified this festival with the Theogamia, which took place towards the end of Gamelion, the month of Hera (our January to February). H. Usener drew attention to a passage of Menandros, which enables us to fix the date more exactly as the twenty-fourth or the twenty-seventh of that month. H. von Prott and L. Deubner further connect with the same festival the sacrifice of a pig for Zeus Heratos recorded in a ritual calendar of the early fifth century found on the Akropolis at Athens. The unique epithet by which the husband is named after the wife recalls the fact that at Samos in deference to Hera Zeus in deference to Hera wore the bridal veil.

1. Hesych. ιέρος γάμος. ἀγωνία Δίας καί 'Ηρας, Phot. lex. s.v. ιέρον γάμον. 'Αθηναίοι ἀγωνία Δίας ἀγωνία καί "Ηρας, ιέρον γάμον καλούσαι, et. mag. p. 468, 56 f. ιέρον γάμον. 'Αθηναίοι ἀγωνία Δίας ἀγωνία καί "Ηρας, οὕτω καλούσαι (text reconstituted by T. Gaisford).

2. Mommsen Feste d. Stadt Athen p. 382 f. But his subsequent contention that Hephaistos and Athena, conceived at the Theogamia, were born nine months later at the Chalkeia and Athenaia respectively is neither proved nor probable.

3. Prokl. in Hes. o.d. 780 διᾶ καί Ἀθηναιαὶ τὰ πρὸς σύνοδον ἡμέρας ἐξελέγησαν πρὸς γάμον καί τὰ θεογαμία τέλους, τότε φυσικῶς ὤναι πρώτων ὀλίμων γάμον, τῇ σελήνῃ ὀδηγή (H. Usener cj. ιοθήγη) πρὸς ἱλιόν σύνοδον. T. Bergk Beitrag zu griechischen Monatskunde Giessen 1845 p. 36 f. and W. H. Roscher Juno und Hera Leipzig 1875 p. 75 and in his Lex. Myth. i. 2100 held that Proklos was referring to the first day of the month. But A. Mommsen Heortologie Leipzig 1864 p. 343 and A. Schmidt Handbuch der griechischen Chronologie Jena 1888 p. 524 showed that the reference must be to the last third of the month, when the conjunction of sun and moon was approaching.

4. Hesych. Γαμηλίαν· διὰ τῶν μνήμων, τῆς "Ηρας ιέρον.


6. Menand. Μέθε frag. 2 (Frag. comm. Gr. iv. 161 Meineke) op. Athen. 114 δ — θαλασσίον διήτριβεν ὁ κομψόστατος ἱερὸς Ἵσιρέβα τοῦ γάμου | φάντασιν ποθέων δευτέρα μετ' εἴδασι (so Usener for δευτέρα μετ' εἴδασι) | καθ' αὐτόν, ὅτα τῇ τετράδι διάνυσι παρ' ἐπάρσ. τῷ τῇ θεός γάρ πανταχὺς ἔχειν καλάς. J. de Prott Leges Graecorum sacrae Lipsiae 1856 Fasti sacri p. 4 expounds: 'gloriatur Chaerepho calliditate sua dicens matrimonium Iovis ac Iunonis, quod Gamelionis diei ultimo attributione usum sacrum sumendum est, domi sese die nefasto [cp. et. mag. p. 131, 13 ff.] antecedente celebratum esse, ne hospites accedant; at Anthesteriones sollemni Veneris apud alias esse cenaturum.'

7. F. G. Allinson ad loc.: 'here the "Fourth" may mean the 24th, i.e. the fourth day after the twentieth, or, more probably, the 27th, i.e. the fourth (the third) day before the "New and the Old."

8. J. de Prott op. cit. p. 4.


11. J. de Prott op. cit. p. 4 'Planc singularum esse Δία Ἡραίον ipse fatere. Non est quod miremur 'Αθηναίοι Ἡμερίαν [supra p. 216 n. 2], Ἀμφίτριτόν Ἱπποδομίαν (schol. Hom. γ 91) aut 'Αμφίλοχον Ἱπποδομίαν Ἰασοῦ καὶ Ἰασοῦν Ἡραία. At deum ab uxoribus nominari aliud est.' He adds ib. n. 4 'Non habeo exemplum similis nisi Hesychii glossam Ἡραίαν. Ἡραία [supra p. 216 n. 1].'

12. Supra p. 1028 fgs. 829 and 830.


Greek art normally recognises Hera as the lawful bride of Zeus. Accordingly they are grouped together in a succession of hieratic types, which perhaps postulate a ritual origin.

(a) Zeus with Hera behind him.

Vases of the mid sixth century, whether Attic or otherwise, represent Olympos by the king and queen of the gods sitting in state. Zeus is enthroned to the right. Hera is enthroned to the right behind him.

(b) Zeus with Hera beside him.

By the end of the sixth century painters had learnt to economize their design. They now represented Olympos by Zeus enthroned to the right with Hera sitting at his side. Zeus as the more important deity is nearer to the eye.

1 Cp. supra pp. 668, 669 ff., 688.
2 So on the krater of Klitias and Ergotimos (Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vase-
maleri i. 58 pl. 11—12, Hoppin Black-fig. Vases p. 150 ff. no. 2, Pfahl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. i. 255 ff.).
3 So on a 'Chalcidian' kylix in the British Museum (supra ii. 771 n. 1 with fig. 724).
4 The red-figured kylix by the potter Sosias, at Berlin (supra ii. 1167 n. 6, iii. 818 n. 6), shows Zeus seated with Hera by his side. The upper part of both figures is missing, but enough remains to prove that Zeus in chiton and himation was holding out a phiale, while his eagle-tipped sceptre leant against his stool (lion-footed and covered with a spotted lion-skin), and that Hera in like costume held sceptre and phiale. Before her stands Hebe ("H[θή], not [Νική], nor "H[πά]), with spread wings, filling Hera’s phiale from an oinochoe.

A red-figured amphora at Munich, attributed to 'the Nikoxenos painter' (Gerhard
of the spectator (fig. 841). Hebe or Iris or other attendants may stand before them.

(γ) Zeus with Hera facing him.

Meantime other painters had hit upon a more effective arrangement. They represent Olympos as an assemblage of deities seated vis-à-vis. The partner of Zeus, who still looks towards the right, is almost always Hera, though once

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Fig. 842.

Auserl. Vasenb. i. 31 ff. pl. 7, Jahn Vasensamml. München p. 137 f. no. 405, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmth. Hera pp. 31 f., 32 f., Hoppin Red-fig. Vases ii. 233 no. 6, J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des röthfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 91 no. 1, E. Buschor in Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmaler i. 250 f. pl. 158 (= my fig. 841), again has Zeus and Hera seated side by side and served by a winged attendant—Hebe (Gerhard, Jahn, Hoppin) or Iris (Beazley) or possibly Nike (Buschor). Buschor notes that the throne of Zeus is shown as if seen from the front, the two Sphinxes being arm-rests and the two wrestlers decorative supports for the seat (cp. supra p. 682 figs. 492 and 493).

He draws up a list of such thrones, which he regards as characteristic of Zeus.

1 A black-figured hydria from Vulci, at Berlin (Furtwängler Vasensamml. Berlin i. 387 f. no. 1899, Lenormant—de Witte Él. mon. cér. i. 39 ff. pl. 22 (= my fig. 842)), promotes Athena to the place of honour—a novelty pardonable on the part of an Athenian painter. With a spear that length she can hardly be Hera, pace R. Förster Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera Breslau 1867 p. 31 f.

2 (i) A black-figured klyx at Berlin (supra ii. 776 n. 3 with fig. 749).

Appendix R

J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 15 no. 49), has Zeus served by Ganymedes and Hestia seated in place of Hera. The figures from left to right are $A$: Hebe (pomegranate, flower), Hermes (flower), Athena (spear, helmet), Zeus (phalē, thunderbolt), Ganymedes (oinochoe), Hestia (branch, flower), Aphrodite (flower, dove), Ares (spear, helmet), and $B$: Thero (thyrsos, doe, snake), Terpes

![Fig. 843.](image)

![Fig. 844.](image)

(πλήκτρον, φόρμινξ), Dionysos (vine, kyntharos), Kalis (lion, thyrsos), Terpon (double flute). On the foot is an Etruscan graffito: *Itun Turuc Venida Telinas Tinas Clitianaras.*

(3) A red-figured stamnos in the Louvre, by the ‘Providence painter’ (*infra* ii. 735 n. 4, E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 3ème Série Paris 1922 p. 237 f. no. 6 370 pl. 138, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 134 no. 31). My fig. 844 is from the *Mon. d. Inst. vi—vii* pl. 58, a. The figures from left to right are: Zeus, Nike, Apollo, Hera, Hermes, Poseidon, Athena, Plouton, Persephone (?).

(4) A red-figured kylix in the British Museum, attributed to the school of Brygos (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 90 f. no. 8 67, E. Gerhard *Trinkschalen und Gefäße des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin und anderer Sammlungen* Berlin 1848 i. 75 f. pl. D
The *Hieros Gamos* 1051

(=my fig. 845), P. Hartwig *op. cit.* p. 361 f., Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 131 no. 61, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 184 no. 1), shows Zeus seated over against Hera. Ganymedes serves the one; Iris, the other. Ares as a sample god stands between them.

(5) A red-figured *hydria* at Leyden, by the 'Onanthe painter' (Roulez *Vases de Leide* pi. i, Miiller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 16 f. pi. i, 7, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 266, 1, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 252 no. 3). Zeus is seated opposite to Hera. Nike (rather than Iris) crowns his head. Hermes starts away, prepared to do his bidding. J. Roulez, followed with some hesitation by S. Reinach, took this vase to
by way of exception, Hestia takes her place\textsuperscript{1}. Iris or Ganymedes or both may be there, and sometimes a Doric column marks the scene as the celestial palace. Others again varied the scheme by making Zeus and Hera change sides, so

represent the \textit{hierds gêmos}. But K. Wernicke concludes: 'Einen tiefen Sinn in dem Bilde zu suchen wäre verfehlt; es ist gewissermassen eine Genrescene im Olymp.'


fig. 19). Zeus seated on an elaborate throne (arm-rest, supported on a lion, ends in a Gorgon-head) has his \textit{himation} drawn up like a veil over the back of his head and holds a sceptre tipped with a dove (Richter) or, more probably, a small eagle (Schefold). Opposite to him is a seated goddess, presumably Hera. And Eros, flying from her to him, presents him with a wreath. Again the scene is suggestive of the \textit{hierds gêmos}.

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{Supra} p. 1050 n. 0 (2) fig. On the association of Zeus with Hestia see \textit{supra} i. 17 n. 1, 149 n. 2, 339 n. 4, ii. 259 n. 0, 317 n. 2, 960 n. 0, 1238 f. More in Gruppe \textit{Gr. Myth. Rel.} p. 1405 n. 2 and Suss in Pauly—Wissowa \textit{Real-Enc.} viii. 1300 f.
that he looks to the left and she to the right. But such transposition is due to mere love of variety.

(8) Zeus with Hera on the frieze of the Parthenon.

The 'Kodros painter,' as Professor Beazley put it, was 'Parthenonian' in his effects. But the Parthenon itself on its eastern frieze combined in one triumphant synthesis all three traditional types—the tandem, the side-by-side, and the face-to-face arrangement. The deities are mostly seen en échelon. Hera is thus behind Zeus, and yet beside him, while with a gesture characteristic of the bride she turns herself to face her bridegroom. Zeus, alone of the gods, sits on a throne with back and arms: its top-bar terminates in a circular disk and its side-rail is supported on a winged Sphinx. His attitude is one of dignified ease. The right arm, sceptre in hand, rests on his lap; the left leans on the back of his throne. He wears a wreath or fillet in his hair, a himation about his legs, and sandals on his feet. Hera sits on a stool, wearing sandals, a Doric ρέπλος, and a large outspread veil. She too has a wreath, which is composed of pointed and serrated leaves—probably those of her sacred tree, the willow. At her side in a Doric ρέπλος stands Iris, who raises her left hand to adjust a mass of hair and in her right probably held a fillet or garland. In this complex Pheidias—for the design was surely his—has given faultless expression to the current Athenian belief about the wedlock of Zeus and Hera. Moreover, as in the vase-paintings, so on the frieze the group of Zeus and Hera is extended to include a series of other seated deities.


The Hieròs Gamos

Not altogether uninfluenced by the Parthenon frieze is the upper row of figures on an 'Apulian amphora in the Santangelo collection at Naples (fig. 850). The painter of this vase has represented in crude and clumsy juxtaposition a sequence of Aphrodite, Hera, Zeus, Athena, and Nike. The arrangement of Hera, Zeus, and perhaps Athena owes something to the Pheidian scheme, modified of course to suit the subject in hand.

(e) Zeus with Hera in archaistic reliefs.

Zeus and Hera, conceived as a wedded pair, had long since taken their place among the traditional gods of Greece. They figure therefore as two of the canonical twelve, who from the fifth century onwards tend to be represented in an affected archaistic style suggestive of long-standing cults. O. Weinreich in a recent article has traced with masterly skill the whole rise and development of these 'Zwölfgetter.' He shows convincingly that they were ab origine the Olympian counterpart of an earthly 'Zwölffaaat'—a divine 'Synoikismos' which shaped itself on Ionian soil at least as far back as the seventh century B.C., that in the fourth century owing to Iranian influence on the Platonic school they came to be viewed as 'Monats- oder Zodiacusgetter,' and that in Graeco-Roman times they played a noteworthy part in the formation of political and social ideals, in theological speculation, and in magic. Here I am concerned merely to illustrate the various positions assigned to Zeus and Hera in the archaistic renderings of the canon.

A votive relief, said to have been found at Tarentum and offered for sale in Paris, was well published by E. Schmidt (fig. 851), who now dates it as early as c. 460 B.C. It represents, on Pentelic marble and in curiously flat technique, the twelve gods standing, not walking, with left foot advanced, as if they were lined up for the start of a procession. Their order from right to left is Apollon

1 Cp. supra i. 200 n. 6.
3 Her relative position may be reminiscent of the Parthenon frieze, but her type is obviously taken from the balustrade of Nike Apteros (R. Kekule Die Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nika Stuttgart 1881 p. 7 pl. 2, E. R. Heberdey 'Die Komposition der Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nika' in the Jahresh. d. ost. arch. Inst. 1922 xxii—xxiii. 14 ff. fig. 10), as is that of the helmet-bearing Nike who stands beside her (Kekule op. cit. p. 8 pl. 4, M, Heberdey loc. cit. p. 22 f. fig. 18).
7 O. Weinreich loc. cit. vi. 830 ff.
8 Id. ib. vi. 855 ff.
9 Id. ib. vi. 837.
10 Brun—Bruckmann Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt. pl. 660 (=my fig. 851) with text by E. Schmidt pp. 1—11, O. Weinreich in Roscher Lex. Myth. vi. 790 ff. fig. 2. Width: 1.195 m.
11 E. Schmidt Archaische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom München 1922 p. 57.
The Hierds Gámos

\(\text{plēktron, kithāra, bay-wreath},\) Artemis (bow, quiver), Zeus (thunderbolt, eagle-sceptre), Athena (spear, owl, helmet, \textit{aigis}); Poseidon (trident), Hera (sceptre), Hephaistos (shorter staff), Demeter (corn-ears, sceptre); Ares (spear, helmet, breastplate), Aphrodite (small oval fruit between fingers of right hand), Hermes (\textit{caduceus, pilos}, Hestia (\textit{phōle}, sceptre). The twelve form three fours, the divisions between them being marked by the fact that the leader of the second and third group turns to address his immediate follower—an action repeated by the final pair. Throughout the line god alternates with goddess. But it is to be observed that Hera's place next Zeus is usurped by Athena—a variation which, as in the case of a black-figured vase already mentioned\(^1\), points to the patriotic design of an Athenian craftsman.

The same arrangement in three fours appears five centuries later on the so-called \textit{ara Borghese} in the Louvre (fig. 852, \textit{a}—\textit{c})\(^2\). This triangular base of Pentelic marble, meant to support a \textit{candelabrum} or a tripod, is embellished with two ranges of divine figures. Above we see the twelve gods grouped as follows from left to right: Zeus (thunderbolt) with Hera (sceptre, bridal veil) and Poseidon (trident) with Demeter (corn-ears?)?; Apollon (\textit{plēktron, kithāra}—wrongly restored as a goddess\(^3\!\)) with Artemis (arrow?, quiver?, bow) and Hephaistos (pincers—again wrongly restored as a goddess!) with Athena (spear, \textit{aigis}, helmet?, shield?)?; Ares (spear, shield, helmet?, breastplate?) with Aphrodite (dove) and Hermes (\textit{caduceus, talaria}) with Hestia (veil, sceptre). Below on a larger scale are the three Charites (joining hands for the dance); the three Horai (flower, grapes, corn); the three Moirai (sceptres). The general effect is that of an archaizing \textit{santa conversazione}. But it is clear that Zeus and Hera head the assembly, and that the Charites\(^4\), the Horai\(^5\), the Moirai\(^6\) are all introduced in relation to Zeus.

The arrangement in fours underlies also the grouping of the twelve on the \textit{puteal Albani}, a well-mouth of Roman date formerly in the Albani collection but now in the Capitoline Museum (fig. 853)\(^7\). This relief, of Greek marble but Roman design\(^8\), divides the gods into two unequal companies, eight moving towards the right, four towards the left. On the one hand we have Zeus (thunderbolt, sceptre), Hera (\textit{stephāne}, bridal veil), Athena (\textit{aigis}, helmet, spear),

\(^1\) Supra p. 1049 n. 1.
\(^2\) Clarac \textit{Mus. de Sculpt.} ii. 1. 170—181 pls. 172—174 figs. 11—17 = Reinach \textit{Rép. Stat.} i. 65 f., Müller—Wieseler \textit{Denkm. d. alt. Kunst} i. 8 pl. 12, 43 and 44, pl. 13, 45 (=my fig. 852, \textit{a}, \textit{c}, \textit{b}), Fröhner \textit{Sculpt. du Louvre} i. 3 ff. no. 1. Height: 2.089 m.
\(^3\) O. Jahn in the \textit{Ber. Sachs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.} Phil.-hist. Classe 1868 p. 193 pl. 5, 1—3 published sketches of the base, made by Pighius c. 1500 A.D., which show the figures without the misleading alterations. A. Baumeister in his \textit{Denkm.} iii. 2137 with figs. 2394—2396 inserts the sketches of Pighius into the drawings of Müller—Wieseler.

\(^4\) Supra i. 155, ii. 233 n. 9 fig. 160, iii. 955.
\(^5\) Supra ii. 37 n. 1, 94 n. 2, 233 n. 0, 373 f., 1138 n. 5, iii. 955.
\(^6\) Supra ii. 231 n. 8, 1138 n. 5.

\(^7\) StuG Jone \textit{Cat. Sculp. Mus. Capit. Rome} p. 106 ff. Galleria no. 31 b pl. 29 (six photographs, each showing two deities), Müller—Wieseler \textit{Denkm. d. alt. Kunst} ii. 137 ff. pl. 18, 197 (= my fig. 853), W. Helbig \textit{Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom} \(^8\) Leipzig 1912 i. 431 ff. no. 783 (who notes that, according to old drawings, the present restored head of Aphrodite should have been looking backwards to link up with the other company), O. Weinreich in Roscher \textit{Lex. Myth.} vi. 798 f. with fig. 4. Height: 0.493 m.

\(^8\) E. Schmidt \textit{Archaische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom} München 1921 p. 25 f. (‘flavische Zeit ist mir das wahrscheinlichste, hadrianische das späteste mögliche Datum’).
Herakles (lion-skin, club, bow), Apollon (pîlktron, lyre), Artemis (bow), Ares (breastplate, helmet, shield, greaves), Aphrodite (bud, flower); on the other hand, Hephaistos (double axe), Poseidon (trident, dolphin), Hermes (pîlusos, winged caduceus, goat), Hestia? (sceptre).

Not three fours, but four threes, was the distribution of the twelve on the so-called *ara Albani*, a quadrangular base of marble still in the Villa Albani (fig. 855)\(^1\). Three slabs only of this relief are extant. They represent a procession of deities passing from left to right—Artemis (torches), Leto\(^2\) (sceptre), Zeus (thunderbolt, eagle-sceptre), Hera (stéphane, sceptre, bridal veil), Poseidon (trident), Demeter (poppies and corn-ears, sceptre), Dionysos (*nebîs* restored as breastplate, *thýrsos*), Hermes (caduceus, *talara*). But these figures were not all. A fragment of drapery to be seen in front of Artemis' right knee (fig. 855, \(c\)) makes it probable that Apollon, chanting, originally led the way. And a fore-arm visible behind Hermes (fig. 855, \(a\)) proves that he was followed by another deity, possibly Hestia. It seems likely that the canonical number was completed by the presence of two more gods on the missing slab.

J. G. Zoega\(^3\) was the first to suggest that this monument showed the wedding of Zeus and Hera. His opinion was adopted by F. G. Welcker\(^4\), who noted the wreaths worn by all the extant figures, and met P. A. Visconti's objection that Zeus and Hera appear on separate slabs by the conjecture that the procession was designed for a circular, not a quadrangular, base. K. Wernicke\(^5\) too endorses Zoega's view, though with some hesitation. But W. Amelung\(^6\) finds this explanation far from convincing. No doubt a well-mouth so decorated would be suitable enough in a private house: the wedding of Zeus and Hera was the prototype of all weddings\(^7\). Nevertheless it would be safer to conclude

1 Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* ii. 14—26 pl. 1, 1, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 174 ff. Atlas pl. 19, 29 a—c, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 18 ff. pl. 1, 9, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 129 no. 1, W. Helbig *op. cit.*\(^3\) ii. 458 f. no. 1930, O. Weinreich *loc. cit.* vi. 800. My fig. 855, \(a—c\) is from photographs of the cast at Cambridge. Height: *0'650*.

The face of Hera has been retouched, that of Demeter more seriously altered. The head and right arm of Hermes, the face and right arm of Dionysos, perhaps also the legs of the latter, are modern. Hermes was originally bearded; and Dionysos wore, not a breastplate, but a *nebîs* over his short *chitôn*. The bird on the sceptre of Zeus is not a cuckoo, as G. Zoega thought, but an eagle.

2 See, however, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *op. cit.* i. 19 'Hier, unmittelbar vor dem Brautpaar, ist die Stelle der Brautmutter; man hat daher entweder auf Rheia oder Têthys (als Pflegemutter) gedeutet; der Gedanke an Leto (weil sie den Mantelzipfel der Artemis fasst) ist entschieden zu verwerfen, solche in dieser Klasse von Reliefs typischen Züge sind inhaltlich ohne Bedeutung.'

3 G. Zoega *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma 1868 ii. 251—257 pl. 101.


5 Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *op. cit.* i. 18 ff. pl. 1, 9.

6 W. Amelung in W. Helbig *op. cit.*\(^3\) ii. 459: 'Doch ist die Deutung auf den Hochzeitstag des Zeus und der Hera keineswegs zwingend.'

7 Diod. 5. 73 προθύμιοι δὲ πρὸ τῶν ἀνάρτων ἀνατείνετο τῷ Δίῳ τῷ Τελείῳ καὶ Ἡρᾳ Τελείῳ διὰ τὸ τούτου ἀνάρτους γεγογέναι καὶ πάντων εὐρέται, Dion. Hal. *arist* rhel. 3. 2 καὶ ὁ οἶνος (sc. οἶνος) ὁ εὐφράτης καὶ διέλευχε τοῖς γάμοις τοῖς ἁγίοις· Ζεὺς γὰρ καὶ Ἡρα, πρῶτοι ξεδρύνοντες τε καὶ συνδιώκοντες· οὕνε τοῦ δὲ μὲν καὶ Πατρὶ καλεῖται πάντων, ἡ δὲ Ἱερά ἀπὸ τοῦ ξενοφόβου τῷ ἄρτῳ τῷ ἄρτῳ. Cp. Aisch. *Eúignwos frag.* 55 Nauck\(^3\) ap. schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 10 and see also schol. Aristoph. *thesm.* 973.
that the twelve gods are here portrayed simply as a divine team arriving to bless the home of their worshippers. They are the plastic counterpart of the painted twelve found more than once at Pompeii (figs. 856, 857). It may be doubted whether their religious significance was much greater than that of our own Apostle-spoons.

(10) The Hieros Gamos in the Far West.

There is no reason to think that the myth of the hieros gamos was ever located at Athens. Athenian poets do indeed occasionally refer to such a myth. Sophokles speaks of the Gardens of Zeus and their proverbial felicity, Aristophanes of the Plain of Zeus and the bridal bed towards which at the triumphant close of his great comedy the birds wing their way. But the home of the Hieros Gamos was much more likely to be in the West.


1 Cp. e.g. Plaut. Epid. 610 f. si undeum deos praeeter sese secum addacat Iuppiter, ita non omnes ex cruciatu poterunt eximere Epidicum.

2 (1) On the outer wall of a corner-house, where the Vicolo dei dodici iddii runs into the Strada dell’ Abbondanza (Reg. viii. 3) (E. Gerhard in the Ann. d. Inst. 1850 xxii. 205—214 pl. K, Helbig Wandgem. Camp. p. 5 f. no. 7, J. Overbeck Pompeji Leipzig 1884 p. 244, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke Ant. Denkm. i. 62 ff. pl. 6, 2 (= my fig. 856), A. Mau Pompeii its Life and Art trans. F. W. Kelsey New York 1902 p. 236, Reinach Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom. p. 5 no. 2, A. Mau Führer durch Pompeji Leipzig 1928 p. 120). The gods, standing between two bay-trees, are—from left to right—Vesta (cup (not apple), sceptre, ass), Diana (spear, bow and arrows, fawn), Apollo (cithara), Ceres (corn-wreath, torch), Minerva (helmet, spear, shield), Jupiter apparently of youthful beardless type (sceptre), Iuno (sceptre), Volcanus of bearded type (pileus, hammer, tongs), Venus Pompeiana (modius, small branch?, sceptre, rudder?), Mars (helmet, breastplate, greaves, shield), Neptunus (trident), Mercurius (winged pilosor, talaria, purse, winged caduceus). Beneath the twelve and under their protection was the painting of an altar set out with various fruits and approached by two snakes (beards, crests, forked tongues) with a background of bay-bushes.

3 On the outer wall of a house in the Strada dell’ Abbondanza (Reg. ix. 11) (M. Della Corte in the Not. Sacri 1911 p. 417 ff. figs. 1, 2, 2 a, R. Delbrueck in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1913 xxxviii Arch. Anz. p. 162 with fig. 17, Reinach Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom. p. 6 no. 3, A. Mau Führer durch Pompeji Leipzig 1928 p. 133 fig. 62, F. Saxl Mithras Berlin 1931 p. 75 n. 4 with pl. 39 fig. 165 (= my fig. 857), O. Weinreich in Roscher Lex. Myth. vi. 808 with fig. 3). The gods, standing en face between two (?). Corinthian pillars, are—from left to right—Jupiter (sceptre, thunderbolt), Iuno (strophus, veil, patera, sceptre), Mars (Oscan helmet, breastplate, spear, round shield, balteus, sword?), Minerva (crested Corinthian helmet, Gorgoneion, patera, spear, round shield), Hercules (lion-skin, balteus, skyphos, club), Venus (veil, winged Cupid), Mercurius (purse, caduceus), Proserpina (modius, sceptre), Volcanus of juvenile type (pileus, hammer), Ceres (corn-wreath, torch), Apollo (bow, quiver, plectrum, lyre), Diana (crown, bow, quiver, patera, sceptre). Adjoining this group is an altar on which were found charcoal and cinders, remains of the last offering, and above it the painting of a sacrifice by the vicomagistri.
The *Hieros Gamos*
of Zeus is placed in the far west—a sunset fancy, for which mortals sigh in vain. Thus Euripides in his *Hippolytos* makes a chorus of Troezenian women, fain to escape from the troubles of this life, exclaim:

O to win to the strand where the apples are growing
Of the Hesperid chanters kept in ward,
Where the path over Ocean purple-glowing
By the Sea’s Lord is to the seafarer barred!
O to light where Atlas hath aye in his keeping
The bourn twixt earth and the heavens bestarred,
Where the fountains ambrosial sunward are leaping
By the couches where Zeus in his halls lieth sleeping,
Where the bounty of Earth the life-bestowing
The bliss of the Gods ever higher is heaping!  

The myth here touched upon is set out more fully by Pherekydes, the logographer of Leros, who is called an Athenian also, probably because he spent most of his life at Athens. When Zeus married Hera,—he says—the gods brought wedding-gifts to the bride. Among them came Ge, bearing boughs of golden apples. Hera, astonished at the sight, bade plant the boughs in her garden hard by Mount Atlas. But Atlas’ virgin daughters, the Hesperides, kept taking of the apples; so Hera set a monstrous snake to guard the tree. This snake was slain by Herakles and translated to the stars by Hera.

Pherekydes’ tale gives prominence to Ge; and it is to be observed that a Pindaric fragment, our oldest source for a marriage of Zeus in the remote west, mentions as his consort, not Hera at all, but Themis—a goddess expressly identified with Ge both in the poetry of Aischylos and in the official nomenclature of Athens.

(11) Inferences concerning the *Hieròs Gámos*.

We have now passed in review the evidence, both literary and monumental, for the *hieròs gámos* of Zeus and Hera. Two points emerge and must be emphasised.


4 This garden is called *Hèrês λευκών* (*Kallim. h. Artem.* 164) or *θεών κήπος* (Pherekyd. *frag.* 33 a (*supra* n. 3)). It is identical with the *Άκεανός κήπος*, where the Clouds array their dance (Aristoph. *Nub.* 271). Cp. τοῦς Σελήνης καὶ Αφροδίτης λευκών (Plout. *amat.* 20).

Here grew the trefoil *ώκιθωσ* (Hesych. *s.v.*), used as fodder by the fawns of Artemis and the horses of Zeus (*Kallim. h. Artem.* 163 ff.).

5 *Supra* p. 489 figs. 318 and 319.

6 *Supra* ii. 37 n. i.

7 *Supra* ii. 176 n. 1.

The *Hieròs Gàmos*

In the first place, the great bulk of the evidence is comparatively late. If we except one passage in the *Iliad*, neither ritual nor myth is attested before the fifth century B.C. Moreover, the single exception is itself certainly an addition, probably a late addition, to the *Iliad*. W. Leaf and M. A. Bayfield assigned it to the third and latest stratum of the poem, a stratum which they date between 1000 and 800 B.C.1 Professor G. Murray, who lays stress on the 'Milesian' tone of the episode, speaks of it as 'that late Homeric story of the *Outwitting of Zeus*' and refers it to a period when 'the Epos as a form of living and growing poetry was doomed'.2 However that may be, not a single allusion to the sacred marriage of Zeus with Hera is forthcoming from the Homeric hymns or Hesiod, from Pindar or the other lyrical poets, one indirect reference only from Aischylos3, none from Sophokles, none from Herodotos, Thoukydides, Demosthenes, Xenophon, Platon, none even from Pausanias. Nor is the scene represented by monuments of any kind belonging to the genuinely archaic period of Greek civilisation. This almost complete absence of early evidence raises a suspicion that the *hieròs gàmos* was of comparatively recent introduction.

In the second place, this suspicion is deepened by the fact that here and there, even where the *hieròs gàmos* is attested, Zeus seems to have had an older partner, who was not Hera, or Hera an older partner, who was not Zeus. For example, we have seen reason to think that on Mount Kithairon Leto *Mychia* or *Nychia* was paired with Zeus before the arrival of Hera4, and that in the myth of Zeus' western marriage Themis, not Hera, was the original bride5. A *kylix* by the painter Oltos strangely ignored Hera in favour of Hestia in a scene perhaps reminiscent of the *hieròs gàmos*.6 At Argos the evidence pointed to a marriage of Hera, but did not prove that her original consort was Zeus7; while at Knossos it was practically certain that the ritual marriage of Zeus and Hera had been preceded by a ritual marriage of a sun-god and a moon-goddess in bovine form8.

In short, the case for Hera as essentially and *ab origine* the bride of Zeus is neither proven nor probable.

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3 *Supra* p. 1060 n. 7.
4 *Supra* p. 1042.
5 *Supra* p. 1064.
6 *Supra* p. 1045.
7 *Supra* p. 1049 n. 2 (2), fig. 843.
8 *Supra* i. 523, iii. 1033.
ADDENDA

1. 2 n. 2. For the blue-black eyebrows of Zeus cp. Apul. met. 6. 7 nec reunits Iovis caeruleum supercillum. See also S. Marinatos in the 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1927—1928 p. 198f. (Mesopotamian technique with inlay of lapis lazuli or blue paste), J. L. Myres Who were the Greeks? Berkeley, California 1930 p. 192f. (normal colouring of Mediterranean physique).

1. 7 n. 2. Add Anth. Plan. 121. 3 ἦ ἐφόρωσαν ἀπ’ αἰθέρος αἱ Δῶσ αὐγαί.

1. 15 n. 6. A parallel to the line of Ennius is the fine passage in Pacuvius Chryses frag. 6 (Trag. Rom. frag. p. 99 f. Ribbeck) ap. Varr. de ling. Lat. 5. 17, Cic. de nat. dōr. 2. 91, de div. i. 131, Non. Marc. p. 209, 8 f. Lindsay.


When the enemy attempted a night-surprise, 7 [----ο θεῖος μετὰ φωλιᾶς φόλαιν πολλά [ἀγώνιος ένεπικεν]$[---κέλος δὲ περὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ χανόν καθ’ ἐποιήθησθαι ἐπεχείρησαν)] [ἐπηγείσθαι χειμών μὲν καὶ καταραγωγήν βροτάτοις συνεχεῖς καὶ διασώσον (άστραπά: διὰ πάντα δὴ δε νομος κατεπλάγης)] [οἱ πολέμιοι: καὶ κραυγὴ πολλή ἐν τοῖς βοσμοίσι τῶν μὲν ΙΧΡΗΝ (ο G. Cousin) φανοῦσθαι, εἶτ’ ἐν ἄραβδοις] μεγάλη τὸ φωνέ μέγαν εἶναι Δία Πανμάρος, k.π.λ. A third and final assault was defeated by the shouting of unseen helpers and the baying of supernatural hounds: 24 [---κόλοπ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ χανόν πολυκορωτος, ἀλαλαγόμεν τὸ αὐτήργιον ὡς βοσμείας] [ικ τις τόποις επεγειρθέονν, καίτερ αὐθάδος φανομένων, καὶ κυνῶν ἀλαλαγοῦ ἐγένετο πολλ’ ὃς προστατευόμενοι τοῖς προσφάλλουσιν] k.π.λ. A. Laumonier in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1934 Iviii. 336 f. no. 20 with fig. (Stratonikëia) Σωζόμενον | Δεί Πανμάρος | καὶ Εκάτην on a marble slab above a lion-head (fountain-jet?) in relief.


S. Aurigenova H. R. Museo di Spina Ferrara 1935 p. 116 pl. 62 publishes a fine Etruscan statuette, of bronze washed in silver, which represents a boy, clad in a chlamys, severing a long tress of his hair with his sword.

1. 26 n. 10. Eustath. in Dionys. per. epist. p. 209, 14 ff. Müller καὶ Ζεὺς μὲν ὁ παρ’ Ὄμηρος, τοῦ περὶ Ὀλύμποι τῶν ἱππέων ἵππεσαν ἀλθέως, αὐτὴ γὰρ αὐτὴ τὴν ἱολάκη τὰ κάτω μεταστοιχείωσε βροτάται, αὐτὸς δὲ μὴ ἐπεξερεισθέντες κατέλαβετέντες. k.π.λ. id. in II. p. 1057, 49 ἦν οὖν Δωδεκά, τούτους αἴθεια καὶ πέργετε.

1. 27. A. Plassart in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1936 i. 408 no. 22 records a dedication from Thespiae [Κα]λλίμαχος [Δίας 7'] Ἀθηναίοι [Παρθένος Ἀθήναι].


1. 38. The heads hanging on the palace-wall appear also on a sarcophagus-lid found in Rome and published by F. Paribeni in the Not. Scav. 1926 p. 295 f. pl. 8, a.

i. 46. Cp. R. Browning The Bishop orders his Tomb at Saint Praxed’s Church 47 ff. ‘So, let the blue lump poise between my knees, I like God the Father’s globe on both his hands | Ye worship in the Jesu Church so gay.’

i. 47. A gilded bronze statuette with eyes of silver inlay, formerly in the Somzée Collection, represented Zeus enthroned with his left foot resting on a high footstool (A. Furtwängler Sammlung Somzée München 1897 p. 38 f. no. 87 pl. 34, Reinach Rép. Stat. ii. 780 no. 1).

i. 52 n. 7. R. M. Dawkins in Folk-Lore 1924 xxxv. 273 n. 29 f. deals with this apple as the ‘orb of dominion.’


i. 60 with fig. 36. A complete publication of this important sarcophagus is now available, F. Gerke Der Sarkophag des Junius Bassus Berlin 1936 pp. i—37 with 32 plates.


i. 66 n. 5. See further J. van der Vliet ‘Quo discrimine dei et homines inter se dignoscantur’ in Mmlymynxe 1901 xix. 207 f. and S. A. Naber ‘Deorum coronae’ ib. 1901 xxix. 304—306.

i. 67 n. 3. W. R. Halliday The Greek Questions of Plutarch Oxford 1928 p. 172 does not, my explanation of Plutarch’s human ἄρχοι. But such usages are very ancient and wide-spread. Engraved and painted on the rock-wall of a cave at Les Trois-Frères near S. Girons (Ariege) is a male figure of the middle Magdalenian period. He has human hands and feet, and a full beard, but hairy animal ears, stag’s antlers, and an equine tail (H. Obermaier Fossil Man in Spain Yale Univ. Press 1924 p. 233 fig. 103, M. Hoernes Urgeschichte des bildenden Kunst in Europa Wien 1925 p. 668 ff. fig. 1, R. de Saint-Périers L’Art préhistorique (Époque paléolithique) Paris 1932 p. 57 ff. pl. 45, 6). Stag-mummers in south Gaul c. 500 A.D. are attested by Caesarius of Arles and Eligius of Noyon. Caesarius serm. 1.30. i says: ‘Quod enim est tam demens, quam virilem sexum in formam muliebris tarpi habuit commutare? quid tam demens, quam deformatem faciem et elementum inducere, quos ipsi etiam daemones expavescunt? quid tam demens, quam incompositos motibus et imprimis carminibus viatorum laudes invocantia; delectatione cantare, indui ferino habitu et capreae aut cervae aut similem fieri, ut homo ad imaginem Dei et similitudinem of Noyon. Caesarius serm. 1.30. i says: ‘Quod enim est tam demens, quam virilem sexum in formam muliebris tarpi habuit commutare? quid tam demens, quam deformatem faciem et elementum inducere, quos ipsi etiam daemones expavescunt? quid tam demens, quam incompositos motibus et imprimis carminibus viatorum laudes invocantia; delectatione cantare, indui ferino habitu et capreae aut cervae aut similem fieri, ut homo ad imaginem Dei et similitudinem of Noyon. Caesarius serm. 1.30. i says: ‘Quod enim est tam demens, quam virilem sexum in formam muliebris tarpi habuit commutare? quid tam demens, quam deformatem faciem et elementum inducere, quos ipsi etiam daemones expavescunt? quid tam demens, quam incompositos motibus et imprimis carminibus viatorum laudes invocantia; delectatione cantare, indui ferino habitu et capreae aut cervae aut similem fieri, ut homo ad imaginem Dei et similitudinem.
more wisely postulates a native origin for the custom. And R. D. Barnett in *Folk-Lore* 1929 xi. 393 f. does good service by collecting allusions to it and by noting that a last trace of it is ‘the running of the deer’ in the carol *The Holly and the Ivy*. A. Nicoll *Masks, Mimes and Miracles* London 1931 p. 165 ff. 115 shows a performance of such masked dancers (stag, hare, fox, old woman, etc.) from a fourteenth-century miniature in the Bodleian MS. 264 of *Li Romans d’Alexandre*.

J. G. McKay ‘The Deer-Cult and the Deer-Goddess Cult of the Ancient Caledonians’ in *Folk-Lore* 1932 xlivii. 144—174 breaks fresh ground and raises a whole crop of important contentions (succinctly stated on pp. 167—169).


- 68 n. 1. The Hesychasts of Mt Athos in the fourteenth century held that divine light shone about the summit of Mt Tabor (S. V. Troitsky in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 473).


1. 100. *Olympos*, a pre-Greek word for ‘mountain’ (C. Theander in *Eranos* 1915 xv. 127—136, M. P. Nilsson *Homer and Mycenaen* London 1933 p. 266. R. J. H. Jenkins in a valuable, but unpublished, dissertation on *The Religions and Cults of Olympia during the Bronze Age* Cambridge 1932 p. 71 n. 4 (MS.) conjectures that *Olympos* was ‘the Early Anatolian for “Mountain,”’ and that at Olympia it was Early Helladic or Early Macedonian (two branches, south and north, of the same race).

- 103 n. 4. D. M. Robinson in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 1934 lxv. 103 f. publishes an inscription, of 336 B.C., recording a treaty between Philip of Makedonia and the Chaleidians. This was to be set up by Philip (line 9) [Ε]πὶ Ἀλκηθών γὰρ ἀρχηγὸν διενεκήσει τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἡμερήσια, τουτουρισμος, τις τυπχόντες και τις αποκατάστασε τα μουσικά του οἰκείων πόλεων τοις ανατολικοῖς, τοις ἄνδροις καὶ τοις γυναικίνσι. In Mexico and Peru the most prominent peaks were likewise objects of direct worship (E. J. Payne *History of the New World called America* Oxford 1892 i. 904).

Addenda

Fig. 858.

Fig. 859.

Fig. 860.
Addenda

i. 107 n. 2. On the Korybantes see further J. Poerner ' De Curetibus et Corybantibus' in the Dissertatio philologicae Halmien 1913 xxii. 445—428.


i. 132. W. H. Roscher Omphalos Leipzig 1913 p. 46 f. argues that Archelaos was representing the omphalos of Branchidai and the Thessalian or the Mysian Olympos.

i. 150. The sword-dance of the Kouretes and Korybantes round the infant Zeus is discussed by L. von Schroder Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda Leipzig 1908 p. 118, F. Kidson—M. Neal English Folk-song and Dance Cambridge 1915 p. 146 f. See, however, Gruppe Myth. Lit. 1931 p. 38: 'Es ist doch...ungleich wahrscheinlicher, dass die göttlichen Kureten und Korybanten mythische Gegenbilder zu irdischen Tänzern sind, als dass diese den Götertanz nachahmen, wie Schroder (131 ff.) glaubt.'


i. 152. On the cult of Zeus at Synnada see also W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder—W. K. C. Guthrie in Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua Manchester Univ. Press 1933 iv. 14 no. 49 pl. 19=my fig. 861 (white marble stoa of local style, c. 200 B.C., showing Zeus enthroned with thunderbolt in right hand and round object in left, votary with round object in right hand, bag or basket on left arm, and two eagles in pediment).

i. 152 fig. 125. A coin of Akmoneia with similar type is published by E. Babelon in the Rev. Num. iii. Série 1891 ix. 38 f. pl. 4, 4.

i. 153 fig. 129. An interesting variant of this coin is given by C. Bosch in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1931 xlvi Arch. Anz. p. 452 with fig. 11.


i. 157 n. 3. My friend and former pupil Mr J. D. S. Pendlebury writes to me: 'The following is the story I heard in June 1935 from an old friend Kosta Kounales of Anogeia, who really does know his mountains πανοραμικοι πανοραμω as they say. It was a propos of a small heap of stones by the Church of Holy Cross on the Nidha Plain, called locally στοις Σταυρως των Τραγαλων. "They say that in Venetian times there was a prince Erotokritos who was out hunting wild boar, and one day his foot slipped as he was about to spear the boar, and his friends shot quickly with their bows to help him, but they shot him instead and they buried him here." In view of what A. Papadakes reports concerning the tomb of Zeus at Anogeta (supra i. 163), it seems fairly certain that we have here a local modification of the belief that Zeus was a Cretan prince killed by a wild boar and buried.


i. 169. See further Olga Rojdestvensky Le culte de saint Michel et le moyen âge latin Paris 1922 pp. 1—73 (summarised by S. Reina in the Rev. Arch. 1922 ii. 357).

i. 181 n. o. On horse-sacrifice in antiquity see H. M. Hubbell in Yale Classical Studies 1928 i. 181—192.
A bust of Zeus Sarapis (*supra* i. 188 ff.) in *lapis lazuli*, presented by Sir H. Howorth in 1912 to the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 368 no. 3939 fig. 94). Height 0'131 m. A socket worked in the top of the head implies the insertion of a *kålathos*.

The technique points to a date *c.* 300 A.D.
Addenda


1. 192. In Bekker anecd. i. 338, 26 'Ἀγόρα' ζεύς παρα Κόκκωνος the ordo verborum demands 'Ἀγόρα'. F. W. Hasluck Cyzicus Cambridge 1910 p. 223 held that the epithet 'referred to an Avenger of Blood.'

1. 193 n. 3. W. M. Calder in the Class. Rev. 1910 xxiv. 77 ff. no. 2 (id. ib. 1934 xxviii. 39 no. 1) published the inscription, of c. 260—270 A.D. (not of s. i.) on an oblong pillar built into a house-wall at Balük-Lenç and derived from a temple of Zeus at or near Sedasa (Ab-Kilisse), where Zeus was identified with the sun-god and presented with a sun-dial: Ταύτης Μ[α]κρίνου δ[υ] καὶ Ἀθάκαρον καὶ Βατάμει Βρατάθει Θρύμην Ἔγγαιον κατὰ κύριον ἐπισκευάσαντες σιν ἑρμογενές ἐκ ἀν[δων] (ἀνδροπλάτων ἄνδρω[ν])]ς, παν δι' Ἰλίας[ι]ος. Since Sedasa lay some fifty miles south-west of Lystra, this association of Zeus and Hermes is rightly held to illustrate Acts 14. 12. Moreover, in 1926, at Kavak near Lystra, W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder found an altar dedicated 'to the Epicókos and to...and to Hermes' (Class. Rev. 1926 xl. 114) and saw a bronze statuette of Hermes with a caduceus resting on his left shoulder and an eagle beside his right foot. (The Manchester Guardian for Jan. 19, 1926, S. Reinach in the Rev. Arch. 1926 ii. 181)—further proof of the same association.

1. 195. Another cult-epithet of Zeus that may be of solar significance is Ἑσυχ. Φώσ. Πόσ. Ζέθος.

1. 196 n. 9. Mr A. S. F. Gow in a letter dated 1 July, 1917, drew my attention to Cornut. theol. ii p. 11. 20 Lang πάντ' ἐφορεῖ Δίος ὕθαλμος καὶ πάντ' ἐπακολούθησα.
Supporting seven-branched palmettes—the whole on a boat, which at stem and stern ends jar-handles of Jericho; it is Aramaic rather than Phoenician (note the form of the ‘h’).

Ad/di- Ad/di

d£ Tb Sid
/d/j.p8a...wapd TO TOV ovpavov Kal TJS yijs

{xdaywt A^yerat,

186. cp. ib. p.

kiss the rod’ implies its sanctity).

in a bird’s head.

uplifted right hand. He is seated on a throne, with a footstool, between two stands bearded god in long robe and high crown, apparently brandishing a thunderbolt in his Arabian series, now at Jerusalem in the collection of M. Salzberger, which reads, not and fig. i cites a fourth-century silver coin, of the same Philisto-Arabian or Egypto-lettering resembles that on the papyri of Elephantine and is rather more archaic than the Symbol des Donar’ in the 1900 xiii. 130 f. (Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie)

edX0a/3^rou in the alleged Persian lab is perhaps derived from the ἔντυμολογία τοῦ ἀλφάβητου in the et. Gud. p. 598 λάμδα...παρά τὸ λάβ’ λάβ δὲ τὸ δᾶ μέσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὶς τῆς χάσμα λέγεται,
Amphora in the Museo Campano di Capua: Ixion on his fiery wheel.

See page 1072.
P. Wolters ‘Kirkе’ in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1930 *i*. 209—236 pls. 14 and 15 discusses a Boeotian *skyphos* at Nauplia, which represents Kirke as a magician, Odysseus, and three of his sailors transformed into swine.

E. Schweizer in *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1930 xxviii. 158 f. takes *Aiax* (*ηφος*) to be for *άιξ* (*άιξ*), ‘die Insel der Morgenröte.’ But R. B. Oinnans in the Cambridge University Reporter for Nov. 30, 1926 p. 454 derives *Aiax* and *Aiphres* from *Aia* = ‘the swan.’

La Bérard *Les Phéniciens et l’Odyssée* Paris 1905 *i*. 214, 1905 ii. 261 ff. An altar at Ptolemaïs (Menihisch) dedicated to *Αβδακρει και *Λεπαν θη[α]λι* | *κ.γ.* (Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr.* sel. no. 53) implies that Horos was conceived as a sparrow-hawk (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 656 f.). The hawk is also an attribute of Apollo (supra i. 656 n. 0: add J. D. Beazley *The Lewis House Collection of Ancient Gems* Oxford 1930 *p*. 41 f. no. 47 pl. 3).

E. Reiss ‘Studies in Superstition and Folklore vii. Homer’ in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1935 xi6. 222 ff. discusses the magic circle (pp. 222—224) and Kirke as a witch (p. 227 f.).


3. 259 n. 0. The fragment of Pindar has now turned up on a papyrus of s. i A.D. (B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1932 xv. 84 ff. no. 1791 pl. 3). It confirms the conjecture of Schneidewin. See also D. S. Robertson in the *Class. Rev.* 1939 xliii. 271.

4. 251 f. G. Karo ‘Schatz von Tiryns’ in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1930 *i*. 127 f., 128 f., pl. 30 A and 31, publishes a pair of wheels made in gold wire with four spokes of bronze covered with amber beads, and portions of a second similar pair of wheels, dating apparently from late Mycenaean times. Karo ib. p. 128 compares the ‘ear-phones’ of the Lady of Elche, and ib. p. 139 conjectures a northern origin for the head-gear. Is it possible, however, that the wheels were solar *tynges*?


2. 270 n. 5. But H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* 2 p. 183 no. 1606 points out that the supposed car is merely a wheel at her feet plus a fracture of the stone!

3. 271 on the wheel of Fortuna. D. M. Robinson ‘The Villa of Good Fortune at Olynthos’ in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxviii. 501 ff. describes and illustrates Hellenic pebble-mosaics from the two rooms in the north-east corner (fig. 1) showing a four-spoked wheel with quadruple rim and a smaller four-spoked wheel with double rim—the whole accompanied by the inscription ΑΓΑΘΟΣΥΧ (fig. 2, b), also a double axe, *swastika*, hand (?), etc. disposed round a Macedonian square, which is lettered ΑΦΡΟΔΙΙΘΗΚΑΑΑΗ and accompanied by a second inscription ΕΥΤΥΧΙΑΚΑΑΗ (fig. 2, a). *Id.* ib. p. 505 n. 1 collects literary allusions from Pind. *Ol.* 2. 23 f. and Soph. *frag.* 787 Nauck = 871 Jebb *op. Plaut. Dem. Grat.* 45 (cp. *frag.* 575 Jubb) onwards, adding that the wheel of Fortune appears here for the first time in art.


5. 273 on the relation of *Némésis* to *Nemeton* etc. J. Coman *L’idée de la Némésis chez Eschyle* Paris 1931 p. 21 f. states and criticises the theory here advanced. He accepts the first part of it, but objects to my suggestion (i. 256) of a confusion between *Némésis* goddess ‘of the Greenwood’ and *Némésis* ‘righteous wrath.’ On p. 22 n. 2

68—2
Coman, following Boisacq, tries to find a possible link. F. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xvi. 238 f. inclines to my view of Nemetona as akin to Nemesis.

i. 276 n. 5. On úpōkloan xeiçai or xeiçai, Hyperdextios, Hypercheirios, etc. see J. G. Leroux in the Rev. Arch. 1935 i. 260 f.

i. 283 n. 0. See further H. Mager Water Diviners and their Methods trans. A. H. Bell London 1931.

i. 285. G. Seure in the Rev. Arch. 1930 i. 81 ff. no. 286 fig. 145 publishes a plaquette (antefix?) of black terra cotta dug up at Ploudio (Philippopolis). On it is a relief representing a horned head (Tyche? Nemesis? Men?) surmounted by a wheel with eight projecting spokes.

i. 288 f. the Celtic god with a wheel. M. Prou in the Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France 1915 pp. 190—204 with 2 figs. publishes a terra-cotta statuette of this god (Taranis?) found at Néris (Alise). His head and the lower parts of his legs are missing. His right hand, which is slightly flexed, holds a wheel against his side. His left hand rests on the head of a small figure with uplifted arms.

i. 292 n. 2. The second disk from Corinth is now included in De Ridder Cat. Bronzes du Louvre ii. 44 no. 1694 pl. 76 ("Oracle d'amour (?)"). A third from Corinth is in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes p. 161 no. 878 ("Child's Toy"). Another, of somewhat simpler type, from a tomb at Vulci, is figured by E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio Diet. Ant. i. 1561 fig. 2904 ("Crepitaculum, Crepitacillum").


i. 299 Seirios used of the sun. Cp. S. Ronzevalle 'Helioseiros' in Arthuse 1930 pp. 1—12 with 4 pls. and 5 figs. (an important article).


i. 303 the Kyklopes as builders. So B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt The Oxyrhynchus Papyri London 1919 xiii. 33 no. 1604 Pind. dith. 1. 6 f. [Κυκλόπους πυθήνα ἀπ' ὐσί] [πνέινα] ἔσινένα... See further S. Etterm in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xi. 234 f. 234d.

i. 305 n. 9 G. F. Hill on the Sicilian triskels. But C. T. Seilman in his Greek Coins London 1933 p. 190 shows that the triskels as symbol of Sicily occurs first on coins of Dionysios i struck shortly before 383 B.C., then on those of Timoleon, and thirdly on those of Agathokles.

i. 307. H. Mattingly in The British Museum Quarterly 1934 ix. 51 pl. 16, 9 publishes as 'probably unique' an as rev. SICILIA S.C. and a large Gorgon's head in a triskels.

See also J. Newton 'The armorial bearings of the Isle of Man; their origin, history and meaning' in the Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool xxxiii. 1934 f. 226.

i. 309 f. 247 and 248. N. E. Henry 'Classic Sicily' in Art and Archaeology 1916 iii. 147 figures an 'Ancient Mosaic Symbol representing Three-Cornered Sicily'—much like the coins of Eboracum.

i. 309 on solar legs. P. Sébillot Le Folkl. de France Paris 1904 i. 35 n. 5: 'En Haute-Bretagne, on dit que le soleil a des jambes [ou des tiris] quand il y a en dessous des rayons qui semblent toucher la terre' (id. in his Traditions et superstitions de la Haute-Bretagne Paris 1883 ii. 363).

i. 312 fig. 249. A photograph of this wall-painting is given by F. Weege Etruskische Malerei Halle (Saale) 1921 p. 28 pl. 65.

C. C. van Essen 'De Cyclope et Cuctu' in Mnemosyne 1930 viii. 301—308 advances some venturesome views. Basing on Eva Fiesel Namen des griechischen Mythos im Etruskischen (Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung Ergänzungsheft v) Göttingen 1928 pp. 35 and 48—56, he argues that pre-Indo-European peoples of the period
Helladic I knew a god of death, *Cuclup (Etruscan Cuclu), dwelling in a cave. Into this cave a sea-faring hero *Uthisse descends with followers, some of whom he is forced to leave behind. Early in the second millennium B.C. Indo-Europeans arrive with a story involving the 'No-man' stratagem (supra ii. 989). Hence in the Mycenaean age *Uthisse develops into both Obris and 'Phnsis ('o433v), while *Cuclup becomes Kufi/pV, and in the Odyssey the original ἄδισαν is attached to other adventures of Odysseus.

Summary in the Class. Quart. 1931 xxv. 213.

i. 326. On the fire-boards of the Chuckchees see also Miss W. S. Blackman in Folk-Lore 1916 xvii. 361 f.

i. 327. L. Siret ‘Prométhée’ in the Rev. Arch. 1931 i. 132—135 with 2 figs. attempts to show that the myth of Prometheus' offence and punishment is but an animistic interpretation of the fire-drill, the wood anthropomorphized into the hero, the bow zoomorphized into his eagle.

Cp. G. Vigfusson—F. York Powell Corpus Poeticum Boreale Oxford 1883 i. 64 VafSrudnis-mál 22 'Mundilfori (Fire-auger) was the father of the Moon and also of the Sun' with note ib. ii. 468 'the Fire-Auger, the holy Drill by which some Teutonic Prometheus first woke the elemental flame.'

i. 328 Odysseus akin to Prometheus the fire-god (?). J. A. Scott 'Odysseus as a Sun-God' in Class. Philol. 1917 xii. 244—252 justly ridicules the contentions of J. Menrad Der Urmythos der Odyssee und seine dichterische Erneuerung, Des Sonnengottes Erdenfahrt Münchén—Lindau 1910.

i. 330 n. i. Eumath. 6. 14 τούτο φῆς τῶν ἄκτων (supra ii. 1141) ὑπεκύπτεσθαι τῆς τοῦ Δὼν προμηθέας plays on the connexion of Zeus with Prometheus, cp. 6. 15 τῷ γάρ τοι Ἐορμηθὲ τῷ μεταμείθην ἄνωφερὸς ἄφωνιστος, κ.τ.λ., but lends no support to the assumption of a Zeus Prokamētheos.

i. 333. In the Rigveda 10. 89. 4 heaven and earth are compared with the wheels at the two ends of an axle (A. A. Macdonell Vedic Mythology Strassburg 1897 p. 9).

A bronze amulet of the Geometric Period (W. Lamb Greek and Roman Bronzes London 1929 p. 36 ff. pl. 13), said to have come from 'Pharsalos,' but more probably from Phrai (Valentino), and now in my possession, shows a duck on a shaft which rises from the axle connecting two wheels (fig. 862: scale 1). Since the duck is pierced for suspension, it is perhaps to be regarded as perched on a celestial chariot.

i. 333 ff. the solar chariot. L. Curtius in Die Antike 1927 iii. 162 ff. deals with the cult of the horse among the Greeks and discusses the solar chariot.
Addenda

Anna RoesGREEK GEOMETRIC ART, ITS SYMBOLISM AND ITS ORIGIN Oxford 1933 p. 22 f. fig. 13 (after A. Minto MARLSLlANA d'ALBEGNA Firenze 1921 p. 291 fig. 30 pl. 52 = F. von Duhn in Ebert REALLEX viii. 53 pl. 11, b) cites a horse with a four-spoked wheel apparently resting on its back—a motif impressed on a buccherio-jar from Marsiliana.

Cp. the combination of horse with wheel below it, which occurs frequently on Gaulish imitations of the gold coins issued by Philip of Macedon.

i. 334 fig. 265. With this pointilled design of horse + disk + bird-like man (?) cp. the pointilled design of horse + wheel + bird + man on the bronze double axe mentioned infra p. 695 n. 3 and figured infra Addenda on ii. 635 ff.


i. 338 n. 1 Zeus conceived as driving a chariot. Mr C. T. Selman notes II. 8. 41—50.


i. 344. D. M. Robinson in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1935 xxxix. 594 reports that at Tanis (Abaris) in 1934 P. Montet and F. Bucher unearthed a granite group of a falcon with a child Pharaoh crouched at its feet. The base was inscribed: ‘The god, son of the sun, beloved of Hurun of Ramses’ (i.e. of Pi-Rameses, the Deltaic capital of Ramses ii). It is argued that Hurun was the falcon-god of the Horites of MtSeat, who had gained a place for himself in Egypt by the end of the eighteenth dynasty.


i. 349 fig. 271. The Naples bust of Zeus Ammon is now well published by O. Waldhauer in Archäologische Mitteilungen aus russischen Sammlungen Berlin—Leipzig 1928 i. 1. 51 ff. no. 27 pl. 20.

O. Rubensohn in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1923/24 xxxvii/ix Arch. Anz. pp. 337—344 with figs. 4—6 describes a seated cult-statue of Zeus Ammon found at el Qos near Beunussa (Oxyrhynchus). The statue, of which head and torso are extant (120 cm high), was made in several pieces of marble and showed the god, in chiton and himation, enthroned with right arm raised and left lowered—Roman work much influenced by the type of Sarapis.

A terra-cotta antefix (6 inches high), formerly in the Blacas collection and now in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas p. 430 no. D 697), has the horns coloured red (my pl. lxxxvi is from an unpublished photograph).


i. 352 n. o. A. H. Kruppe ‘The Karneia’ in the Archiv f. Rel. 1930 xxviii. 380—384 treats Karnos as a ram-shaped deity of the grape-vine akin to Dionysos.


Antefixal ornament from Italy, now in the British Museum:

Head of Zeus Ammon.

See page 1076.

p. 304), identifies the image of the Libyan god with an enthroned bundle representing a dead man in the sitting posture. They appeal to two bronze plaques from Memphis, three faience models from Karnak, and a relief of Roman date at Medinet Habu—for which evidence a different and, I think, less probable interpretation has been given by G. A. Wainwright (supra p. 885 n. 2).

For the sandstone omphaloi from Napata see supra p. 885 n. 2 with fig. 719.

i. 360 n. 6. E. Bevan A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty London 1927 p. 10 explains the alleged guidance of the two snakes on rationalistic lines.

i. 361. On the identification of the Nile with Zeus see H. T. Deas in the Cambridge University Reporter Feb. 15, 1927 p. 728 (reading Find. Isthm. 2. 42 Νείκας αὐτάς, cp. schol. ad loc.) and in the Class. Rev. 1927 xli. 213 (‘Thus the Alexandrians may have argued that the Nile is the same as Zeus, and that if Homer can say Δίας αὐτάς, Pindar can say Νείκας αὐτάς’). Supra p. 348 f.


Fig. 863.
pre-history. Further literature in A. Götte Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients München 1933 pp. 186—188 ('Die ägyptische Wanderung').

i. 363 f. the grove of Ammon. M. Schede in the Arch. Minth. 1912 xxxvii. 212—215 fig. 1, publishes a votive relief of island marble (height 1.17 m.), found in 1910 at Tjérou in Samos. This represents, in the style of i. 1.b.c. (?), a half-length herm of Zeus Ammon with a long sceptor in his raised right hand, a palm-tree at his left side, a shield (?) slung above his head, and an altar before him, on which stands a ram, presumably the gift of the woman supplivant. She holds a sprig of olive in her left hand and raises her right in prayer to the god. My fig. 363 is after A. de Ridder in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1913 xxvi. 414 f.

i. 369 K. A. Neugebauer in Gnomon 1930 vi. 268 regards the Berlin bronze statuette of 'Poseidon from Dodona' (W. Lamb Greek and Roman Bronzes London 1929 p. 172 pl. 63, c) as probably a Zeus Nöblös of late Hellenistic, eclectic, style.

i. 370 n. 4. The inscription may perhaps be read as ΑΛΩΙΑ for Λίωια, who by a play on Ανφισ is linked with Ammon.


i. 376. M. Bieder Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 141 pl. 78 (= my fig. 364) publishes a pflīx-vase at Bari, which shows a visit to the oracle of Zeus Ammon. On a wooden platform supported by Ionic pillars sits Zeus, a dismal white-haired figure, characterized as Ammon by his ape-like features and the palm-tree at his side. He grips his eagle by the throttle, and turns to face his visitor—an old man with pointed pūlos and knotted staff, who is mounting the steps to the platform. Meantime the traveller's servant, with a stick in one hand, a basket and a pail in the other, and a bundle on his back, looks longingly at the provender.


i. 390. E. D. J. Dutilh in the Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num. 1898 i. 437—440 describes a small bronze coin, found in the oasis, with θεός a ram walking to the right, rev. ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ an eagle on a thunderbolt to the left and a six-rayed star before it ('Nous concluons ainsi qu'il s'agit, probablement, d'une pièce frappée sous un des premiers Ptolémées à l'Oasis').

i. 395 vervocceus Jüngiter. Cp. Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 4477 (at Axis ben Tellis in Numitida) d. b. s. (die bonis sacrum) | C. Aponius | Secundus saecerdos agnu domino, taurus domino, ovicula Nutrici, berbece loco, ovicula Teluri, agnu Herculi, edu Mercurio, orbis Saturni, agnu Taurino domino, ovicula Teluri, berbece lio, ovicula [Nutrici, capone | Herculi, edu Mercurio, orbis Saturni, agnu Taurino domino, ovicula Teluri, berbece ], ecclesia Veneri, berbece Testimonio | (duo animalia) [p]ecora |....

i. 395 n. 2. A. H. Krappe Mythologie universelle Paris 1930 p. 45, accepting the etymology of Indra propounded by H. Günter Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland Halle (Saale) 1923 p. 13 f., views the name as 'dérivé d'une forme *indra, appartenue au slave jadra, testicule,' tchëque jadra, "moelle," au pluriel "testicules," et dont la base commune est * withhold—tumescere. Compare aussi oldōw et le v. nor. elsta, "testicule." Indra est donc l'homme fort, viril, comme en Scandinavie Thor, qui élit souvent appelé Thorrkarl. The sequel in Krappe is also ad rem. But other derivations of Indra are noted by Walde—Pokorny Vergl. Worft. d. indogerm. Spr. ii. 323, and a timely warning is sounded by Schrader Reallex. ii. 247°.

i. 395 n. 3 'Itrar.' Better 'Itrar,' as J. Keil 'Meter Hippa' showed in the Wiener Erasse zur fünfziger Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Graz 1909 Wien 1909 p. 102 f. (O. Kern on Orph. frag. 199).

i. 396 n. 1 on the snake as phallic. Cp. F. de Lancre Tableau de l'inconstance des mauxais Anges et Démons Paris 1612 p. 224 'Que le membre du Diable s'il estoit estendu est long environ d'une aulne, mais il le tient entortillé & smineux en forme de serpent.' See further E. Küster Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion Giessen 1933 pp. 186 ff. and M. Oldfield Howey The Encircled Serpent London (1926) p. 126 ff. ('The Serpent as a Phallic Emblem').
Addenda

1. 401 n. 7. Cp. Prob. in Verg. ecl. 1 proem. (iii. 2. 329, 1 Hagen) hircus Libya
cingturus appellatur.

1926 p. 16 n. 3 cites G. Rohde's remarks in F. Jacoby Klassisch-Philologische Studien
Berlin 1925 v. 60 f.

3. 404 golden-fleeced sheep. E. L. Mijatović Serbian Fairy Tales London 1917
pp. 141—145 (The golden-haired Twins) tells how the Twins became successively two
trees with golden leaves and golden blossoms, two boards of a bed made from these
trees, two sparks from the fire that burnt the bed, 'two beautiful lambs with golden fleece,
two golden-hairéd boys.' See also S. Thompson Motif-index of Folk-
literature (FF Communications No. 100) Helsinki 1932 i. 296 B 105. 1 'Ram with
golden fleece.'

4. 405 ff. the golden lamb of Atreus. C. A. J. Hoffmann 'Über den goldenen
Widder des Atreus' in the Zeitschrift für die Altertumswissenschaft 1838 v. 1147—1157,
O. Immisch Das goldene Lamm des Atreus' in the Jahrb. f. class. Philol. Suppl. 1890
v. 203—208, A. H. Krappe 'Atreus' Lamm' in the Rhein. Mus. 1931 xxxvii. 182—184
(citing remarkable Iranian parallels for a great ram as 'ein Symbol der Königswürde,
ein Regalium' [sic] from the 'Geschichte des Artachsir i Papak&n,' founder of the
Sassanid dynasty (T. Nöldeke in the Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen
1879 v. 44 f., also in Firdusi Le Livre des Rois tr. J. Mohl Paris 1877 v. 230 f.)'.

planteus tiv taivai tov, òtoper kai òddov am tàvatai kolabontai kai ferebontai eis
 démàs.'

6. 406 the golden lamb identified with the sceptre. Cp. Sen. Thyest. 228 f. tergore ex
huinis novi | aurata reges sceptra Tantalei gerunt.

7. 414 ff. the golden ram of Phrixos. G. Goerres Studien zur griechischen Mythologie
(Berliner Studien für klassische Philologie und Archäologie x 2) Berlin 1889 i. 72—120
('Zeus Laphystios und die Athamassage'), A. H. Krappe 'The Story of Phrixos and
Modern Folklore' in Folk-Lore 1923 xxxiv. 141—147, id. 'La légende d'Atamas et de
Phrixos' in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1924 xxxvii. 381—389 (contends that the myth arises from
the fusion of two elements—the ancient custom of sacrificing the king or the king's eldest
son in time of famine, and a familiar type of Märchen. Krappe attempts to reconstitute
the original form of the story), J. A. Scott 'The origin of the myth of the golden fleece'

8. 416 a sanctuary of Leukothea. A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the BPh. APh. 1910
pp. 378—382 no. 25 fig. 9 publishes a broken stèle of white marble, found at Larissa in
Thessaly, which shows Dànae daughter of Aphthonetos on her knees before Leukathea.
The goddess, seated on two blocks of stone, raises her left hand to adjust her
kimono. In the background is seen the doorway of her circular temple. The inscription, in
lettering of the early third century B.C., runs: Λευκάθεα | Λάονa | Ἀρτοθείς (sc. öidíkxen or the like). See further L. R. Farnell 'Ino-Leukothea' in the Journ.
Hellen. Stud. 1916 xxxvi. 36—44 (a Minyan myth under Creto-Carian influence) and
J. Wackernagel 'Leukathéa' in Glotta 1925 xiv. 44—46 (cf. Leukathéow in Hes. sc. Hr.
166 ðdðtwv...Leukth èbótw, cp. leukathèwín 'weis glänzen').

9. 419 n. 5. But, according to O. Rosbach, the text of the cod. Vaticanus gives in qua
ovis in caulum asculati (L. Deubner in J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and
Ethics Edinburgh 1913 vii 51b). It is tempting to conjecture in qua ovis in caudum
ascendi, 'wearing which the sheep (golden ram) went up to heaven.'

10. 420 n. o. R. Dussaud 'Une épreuve subie dans un chaudron' in the Revue de
l'histoire des religions 1909 vili. 309, Gruppe Myth. Lit. 1921 p. 185.

11. P. Roussel in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1932 xliv. 228 cites R. Mouterde in the Comptes rendus
de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres 1931 pp. 141—147 an inscription from 'Arrhée in El
Loja recording a thunderstorm and a death by lightning 'Αγνὸς Ἡθος ὕμνημα, δεώ ς κηρά (ον | o-
βολία έφειτεν καλθήτω) (F. Cumont would read κατακάθειν) | Ἄδησον Ἀμαλθέων
δοσοι σπίτ. | (120 in the era of Bonum=325/326 A.D.).

12. 422 human 'bears.' Cp. G. C. Moore Smith 'Straw-bear Tuesday' in Folk-Lore
1909 vii. 203 f. with two pls. V. Allford 'The Springtime Bear in the Pyrenees' ib. 1930
xxi. 265—279 with pls. 9 and 10, ed. Pyrenean festivals London 1937 pp. 16—25, 62 f.,
108—111, 144, 225 f., 236 with fig. opposite p. 18 ('The Bear Hunt in French Catalonia'),
Will-Erich Peuckert in the Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens Berlin—Leipzig
1927 i. 893—896 ('Der Bär als Vegetationsdämon').
i. 423 the 'fleece of Zeus.' W. Kroll in the Archiv f. Rel. 1905 viii Beiheft p. 39 discusses the Scythian custom recorded by Loukian. Txar. 48 [with which cp. Aristot. hist. an. 9. 45. 630 a 22 f.]: 'So wird auch das Sitzen des Mysten auf dem Fell zu erklären sein: er schliesst einen Bund mit dem Gotte, indem er die Haut des diesem geweihten Tieres betritt.' T. Zachariae 'Auf einem Fell nieder sitzen' in the Archiv f. Rel. 1912 xv. 635—638 adds Indian parallels.

Fig. 865.

i. 424 ff. figs. 305 and 306. H. Lewy in the Archiv f. Rel. 1927 xxv. 198 ff. deals with the Jewish rite of Morosóapia. A. Rumpf in D. H. Haas Bildtrailas zur Religionsgeschichte Leipzig 1928 xiii—xiv p. xi with fig. 173 dates the Lambert hydria c. 470 B.C., notes that it is now in the Czartoryski collection at Goluchow near Posen, and interprets the central figure as 'der nackte bekränzte Bräutigam, neben ihm Schwamm und Waschbecken.' But W. Kroll in Glosst 1936 xxv. 154 observes that the vase is better figured by K. Bulas in the Corp. vas. antiqu. Pologne, Goluchow p. 73 f. pl. 33, 34, 3 b, and that the queer object under the man's left foot is in reality non-existent! As Bulas remarks: 'La prendue peau de mouton sous le genou droit de Thésee n'est que son pied gauche mal dessiné.'

i. 424. On the mouse in religion and folklore see J. V. Grohmann Apollo Smintheus und die Bedeutung der Mause in der Mythologie der Indogermanen Prag 1862 pp. 1—87,
Addenda


i. 439 n. 4. A marble purse-bearing Hermes found in a Delian shop has his phallos tipped with a ram's head (M. Bulard La Religion Domestique dans la Colonie Italienne de Délos Paris 1926 p. 261, cp. id. p. 483).

i. 431 Minevis. H. Bonnet in D. H. Haus Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte Leipzig—Erlangen 1934 iv. p. 44 with fig. 44 illustrates a Neolithic Kingdom date at Copenhagen (Valdemar Schmidt Choix de monuments égyptiens pl. 16) showing the worship of Minevis, who appears a bull-headed man with solar disk and plumes.

i. 432 Apis with tokens of sun and moon. Late Egyptian terracottas represent Apis as a bovine bust with a solar disk and uraeus set between his horns and a lunar crescent slung round his neck. So e.g. on a specimen in the Whitway Collection now in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge (fig. 865).


i. 436 n. 4. In Alkaion frag. 35. 3 Bergk, 158. 3 Edmonds, 91. 3 Diehl ap. Athen. 430 B. C. Βήκις, and in Alkaion frag. 46 B. 10 Diehl ap. Pap. Oxyrh. 1924 frag. 2 καὶ πείπλος Békís the ancients took Békíz as to be an Aeolic form of Békís (cf. mag. p. 316, 47 ff. = Herodian. πείπλος frag. 553 (l. 351, 11 f. Lentz) Békíz rhýma Αλλεών, παρά τοι Békíz και Békíz ὃς τοῖσεν τρισίν καὶ οἰκον Οἶκος καὶ τρόφι τοῦ αἰεὶ ὁ γάρ βαθός, cp. H. L. Ahrens De Graecae linguae dialectis Gottingae 1839 i. 78, R. Meister Die griechischen Diatethè Gottingae 1882 i. 58 (sceptical).


i. 438 Bäkehos in Asia Minor. A. Götz in the Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients München 1933 iii. 1. 195 notes the existence of a Lydian deity Bäkt (W. H. Buckler in Sardis vi. 2. 40 ff. no. 27 (pl. 9), 9 [=]. Friedrich Kleinaschichtische Sprachdenkmäler Berlin 1932 p. 117 no. 22, 9 hawek bakkis, 'priest of Bakis' (?), on a marble stele of s. iv c. B.C. found in 1911 near the temple of Artemis at Sardeis, whom the Lydians themselves identified with Dionysos (cp. the bilingual inscription given by W. H. Buckler in Sardis vi. 2. 38 no. 20 (pl. 8) [= J. Friedrich op. cit. p. 116 no. 20] ἵναν αἰάκαλοιν arteimén | Νάνας ἀσκοῖς ἀστρομάν ἐμπρόκειται on a marble statue-base found in 1913 near the temple of Artemis at Sardeis and referred to the second half of s. iv c. B.C. Cp. also Sardis vi. 2. 39 no. 21 (pl. 9) an Ionic column from the same site inscribed ?m[b][η][η][η][η] bakkis bakkis man[el]is [g. q. ?] = J. Friedrich op. cit. p. 116 no. 21.

i. 441 ff. priests and priestesses with animal names. O. Gruppe in the Neue Jahrh. f. klas. Altertum 1918 xliii. 398 thinks that Peleades (women dressed as doves) and Hyades (women dressed as sows) were 'alte Bezeichnungen für Zeus' Ammen.' Their karaomōn came later. W. M. Ramsay 'Pisidian Wolf-priests, Phrygian Goat-priests, and the Old-Ionian Tribes' in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1920 xL 197—202 would interpret the Pisidian name Gagadæos Edagadæos with the help of Hesych. ἔδας...καὶ ὄνομα θηρίου λέγοντας as 'Wolf-wolf the chief Wolf' implying 'an order of priests called Wolves,' the Phrygian...
Addenda

Attakosai with the help of Ἀρνωβικοῦ (Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr. ii. no. 589, 50 f., Eustath. in Od. p. 1625, 37 f.), ἀττάγας (Arnob. ad not. nat. 5, 6), and Hippomach frag. 2 Bergk, 46 Knox ap. Tzetzs. in Lyk. Al. 425 and 741 καθε (W. H. Buckler—D. M. Robinson in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1913 xvii. 363 ff.), Ἑσυχ. καθε ἔριξεν Καθεῖρων...οἱ δὲ καθε ὡς 'goat-priests,' and the Old-Ionian Αἴγριοι as priests wearing Athena's Alyucopeis as 'goat-priests,' and the Old-Ionian B. P. Athen. 441 E—442 A Orthanes, Konisalos, frag. ii. 674 ff. Meineke)


46 ATTABOKAOI no. 589, 50 f., Eustath. Συλλ. inscr. Gr with the help of drr?776s (Dittenberger as priests wearing Athena's Alyucopeis as 'goat-priests,' and the Old-Ionian B. P. Athen. 441 E—442 A Orthanes, Konisalos, frag. ii. 674 ff. Meineke)

5. 6), and Hipponax in Od. 46 Attabokaoi no. 589, 50 f., Eustath. Συλλ. inscr. Gr? with the help of drr?776s (Dittenberger as priests wearing Athena's Alyucopeis as 'goat-priests,' and the Old-Ionian B. P. Athen. 441 E—442 A Orthanes, Konisalos, frag. ii. 674 ff. Meineke)

Addenda

i. 447 ff. Kleobis and Biton. See also S. Eitrem 'Kleobis und Biton' in the Christiania Videnskabs-Selskabs Forhandlinger 1905 No. i pp. 13—20 figs. 13—20 fgs. 16—14, Ernst Meyer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xvi. 431—433. The scanty remains of an archaic temple on the same site include blocks of πρόσω, some with U-shaped lifting-holes, recut for use in the later building and a fragmentary antefix of terra cotta adorned with a polychrome palmette. A deposit of some with U-shaped lifting-holes, recut for use in the later building and a fragmentary antefix of terra cotta adorned with a polychrome palmette. A deposit of some with U-shaped lifting-holes, recut for use in the later building and a fragmentary antefix of terra cotta adorned with a polychrome palmette. A deposit of some with U-shaped lifting-holes, recut for use in the later building and a fragmentary antefix of terra cotta adorned with a polychrome palmette. A deposit of...
Addenda

Crypt with a flooring of white stucco (possibly of Roman date) laid some 1.98m below the level of the naos and reached by a roughish flight of five steps (fig. 867); but the precise purpose of this semi-subterranean sanitum is unknown. The temple had a marble sima carved in relief with dkanthos-work and lion-heads. Three of its lanky Doric columns are still standing. And parallel to the temple-façade are the foundations of a great sacrificial altar, prolonged at some period towards the north so that it now measures 40.58m long by 27.4m wide.

One or two individual finds deserve mention. A phoros base embedded in a wall at the west end of the Gymnasium was inscribed with a hestoprodhētism dedication in lettering of s. vi b.c.: Απολιτος με ανθήκης Δι Ζευς ταν αναχαιτήν νιφών πτεράκις εν Νεμέα Φείδωνος Σήκος το Κλοώκατα (C. W. Blegen in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1937 xxxi. 432 fig. 10, W. Peek in the 'Aρχαία Βυζ. 1931 p. 103 l. no. 1). The inscription, which appears to be our oldest example of an agonistic epigram, was conceived as an elegiac couplet cut out by an iambic pentameter. H. N. Couch 'An Inscribed Votive Bronze Bull' in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1931 xxxv. 44—47 figs, 1 and 2 publishes a solid-cast bull (0.682m in length, 0.070m in height) found in 1927 near the sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea and now in the Museum of Classical Archaeology and Art at the University of Illinois. The bull bears on its left side the pointillte inscription ΑΛΕΑΤΙΣ ά ΑΝΕΟΚΕΗ. On artistic and epigraphical grounds it is assigned to the first half of the fourth century B.C.

Fig. 867.

 généralisations are in the present tense. They may be pertinent to the content of the document. The context provides a detailed exploration of ancient architecture, particularly the temple mentioned, along with specific artifacts discovered during excavations. The text delves into the craftsmanship and historical significance of these findings, offering insights into the cultural and religious practices of the time. The mention of inscriptions, dedications, and specific artifacts like the phoros base and the bronze bull, along with their dates and locations, contribute to a richer understanding of the archaeological site. The document also includes references to other authors and publications, indicating a comprehensive approach to the subject.
inscription Ioua = χαλκουρη = καυματα = λυσσακει = Σαβμω = αβουθερας (Brill. Mus. Cat. Sculpt. iii. 231 f. no. 2162 fig. 26 = my fig. 868, Reinach Rép. Reliefs ii. 489, 1).


i. 464 Theos Tauros. A. Plassart in the Bull. Coll. Hell. 1926 l. 393 f. nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 (my fig. 311 is his no. 11 or 12) and ib. p. 392 n. 4 is able to cite four fresh examples of the inscription Θεός | Ταῦρος, making a total of six, all found at Thessaloniki. A gold coin of the city Pushkalavat, with rev. Indian bull inscribed ΤΑΥΡΟΣ above and Ταῦρος below (E. J. Rapson in The Cambridge History of India Cambridge 1922 i. 537 pl. 6, 10) represents Nandi the bull of Civa (supra i. 637, ii. 791 n. 2). Mosch. 2. 135 πη με φέρεις, θεϊναυρε π. λ. θαύρε; uses the compound of Zeus.

Fig. 868.

i. 469 n. 7. A. Fick 'Asklepios und die heilschlange' in the Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen 1900 xxvi. 313 ff. cij. μωαν = χαλεπα = διάκων, 'playing at blindman's buff.'

Fig. 325 is better published and discussed by Furtwängler Ant. Genenn i pl. 21, 16, ii. 168. Cp. J. H. Middleton The Lewis Collection of Gems and Rings London 1892 p. 50 no. 23. See also Reinach Pierres Gravées p. 59 f. no. 43. 3 pl. 58 'Pólyeidos, Glanaos et Minos' with n. 5.

W. F. J. Knight *Vergil and the Maze* in the *Class. Rev. 1929* xlii. 312 ff., *id.* *Maze Symbolism and the Trojan Game* in *Antiquity 1932* vi. 445—458, *id.* *Myth and Legend at Troy* in *Folk-Lore 1935* xvi. 98—121. K. Eilmann *Labyrinthos Athen* 1931 pp. 1—106 with figs. 1—25 (p. 12 criticises my contention [*supra* i. 476 f.] that the Chossian coin-types originated in a *swastiaka*). C. N. Doedens *The Labyrinth* ed. by S. H. Hooke London 1935 n. 1—42 (thinks that in Egypt the Labyrinth originated in the baffling defences of the royal tomb or, later, of the royal palace). J. Layard *Maze-Dances and the Ritual of the Labyrinth in Malekula* [an island of the New Hebrides] in *Folk-Lore 1936* xvi. 123—170 (the Labyrinth provides a clue to the journey of the soul after death), *id.* *ib.* p. 170 *the horned dancers of Abbots Bromley are thus seen to be not far removed from the bull-headed Minotaur*, *id.* *ib.* xlviii. 115—182 *Labyrinth Ritual in South India: Threshold and Tattoo Designs.*

1. 481 the Labyrinth at Taormina. By a curious coincidence a square mosaic representing the Labyrinth, with battlements all round, angle-towers, and a gateway, has actually come to light at Taormina (*P. Orsi in the Not. Scavi 1930* p. 340 ff. figs. 26—29).

2. 481 the Labyrinth-dance at Delos. The Delian dance had ropes (*βόωολ*) to guide the dancers (*I. R. Arnold in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1933* xxxvii. 455 [F. Dürrbach *Inscriptions de Delos Paris 1926* ii. 77 ff. no. 316, 77 f.]).


The archaic temple of Dерeos, built for Apollo Delphinios (*supra* i. 729 n. 2) early in *viii* b.c., was perhaps half a century later furnished with an altar of unusual form. A hollow structure of vertical slabs set against the back wall was covered by a wooden (?) lid with a circular hole in it (0.15 across), which itself was closed by a carefully rounded potsherd. On this box-altar stood three statuettes of hammered bronze (one male, two smaller female) together with two small iron knives: within it were numerous horns (mostly left horns) of young goats—clearly a *keratbn* comparable with that of Delos (*supra* i. 428) (S. Marintas in the *Bull. Corr. Hell. 1936* lx. 224 ff., 241—244 figs. 17, 18, pls. 26, 27, *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1936* ii Arch. Anz. pp. 215—222 and 227 with figs. 1—4).

4. 482 *swastiaka* and meander. A. S. Georgiades in the *Αρχ. Επ. 1914* p. 195 pl. 5 figs. 1, 2, *ib.* 1915 p. 94 fig. 1 publishes a fine *swastiaka*-pattern, which he calls the *Ἐπερέπτηκας μωλώδος*, from the monastery of S. George at Eretria.

5. 485 Theseus and the Minotaur as central panel of the Labyrinth. C. Bursian *Aventicum Helvetiorum Funfites Heft Zürich 1870 (= Mittheilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich* xvi. Abth. 1. Heft 5) p. 46 pl. 29 publishes a handsome mosaic, found in 1830 at Cornered in the canton of Freiburg and now in the Freiburg Museum: the design shows a Labyrinth with towers at the angles and Theseus with the Minotaur in the centre.

6. 490 ff. the Minotaur. Materials bearing on this vexed problem may be here assembled. Sir J. Marshall *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India* Part I, 1913—14 Calcutta 1915 p. 25 ff. pl. 23 fig. 6 publishes an enamelled terra-cotta relief, found by M. Duroiselle in the ruins of the Siwegegyi pagoda in Burma (*s. v. Α.Θ.*), showing among the subjects that relate to Buddha's flight with Mara two bull-headed beings with human bodies and limbs, nude except for a loin-cloth. The type is suggestive of the Greek Minotaur.


Prof. Max Semper of Aachen, in a letter to me dated Dec. 14, 1926, maintains that there is no convincing representation of the Minotaur in *Minoan* or Mycenaean art, and that the seal-impression always cited as such would never have been so understood had it not been father to the thoughts of C. N. He holds that the mixed creatures of human +animal type, which occur first in the *Late Minoan* age, are due to the impact of C. III.
Addenda
Addenda

Caucasian immigration and a change in the ruling race. Such *Mischwesen* had long been known to the peoples of the eastern Pontos and may well have been introduced as a novel *motif* into 'Minoan' art by the victors. Semper surmises that the Minotaur was first discovered by the Hellenes, probably to represent some traditional 'Minoan' word, whose true sound and sense remain obscure. He notes that the legend of the Minotaur is known from Greek sources only and involves an element of sex (*Taljpos Mwàios*), whose true sound and sense remain obscure. He notes that the legend of the Minotaur is known from Greek sources only and involves an element of sex (*Taljpos Mwàios*), whose true sound and sense remain obscure.

Evans Fiesel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.*, vi a. 279 ff.: comments on a bronze Etruscan mirror (F. Borie 'La mort du Minotaure' in the *Ecole française de Rome. Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 1898 xviii. 51—65 pl. 1—2), which shows not only Minos, Athena, Ariadne, and Herakles (*mine, menour, ariada, herka*), but also the bull-headed Minotaur (*hermunit*). E. Kreuschner in *Glotta* 1921 xix. 216 had pointed out that this Etruscan compound was the equivalent of *[Ta]jpos Mwàios* on *'Chalcidian' hydria* from Caere (*Cervertri*). 

A. Schulten *Numantia* München 1931 ii. 213 notes the prevalence of the bull-cult throughout Iberia. *Id. ib*. ii. 257 pl. 24 and 25 (=my fig. 869) gives the black painted decoration of a red pottery *dolium*, which in a highly stylized geometric manner (A. del Castillo in *Ebert Réalis. ix*. 38) renders a couple of bulls. *Id. ib*. ii. 257 pl. 16 (=my figs. 870 and 871) shows the designs on a polychrome jug, which represents two dancers wearing bulls' horns on their arms and bulls' hoofs (?) on their feet. The dance may be that mentioned by Strab. 164 as celebrated by night *dnwvpios wv prps* in any case the previous existence of such a bull-cult in Spain explains in part the age-long popularity of the Spanish bull-fights. See further V. Alford *Pyrenean Festivals* London 1937 p. 193 f. on the Basque *Toro de Fuego* or 'Fire Bull' (probably...a form of bull devotion, separate from, though existing side by side, with the *corrida* or bullfight).

A. J. Evans in *Arch. Ætol. Gr.* 1925 xxxvii. 344—347 fig. 11 gives a gold ring from a Mycenaean tomb found near the *Theseeion* at Athens: *'The scene represented on the ring is of unusual interest. On the right a man is striding to the right. He has the head of an animal with long ears or short horns. In one hand he carries a branch or spear, and with the other holds the end of a double cord, which is attached to the waist of the foremost of two women behind him. The women have veiled heads, high ruffs around their necks, and pleated skirts.'* The new discovery in Athens may illustrate an early version of the later familiar myth. But Shear's interpretation of the scene is far from certain.

E. Sjöqvist in the *Archaeol. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 344—347 fig. 11 gives the upper part of a terra-cotta statuette from *Aija Irini* in Kypros, which portrays a priest wearing a bull's mask drawn over his head. Sjöqvist cites analogous figures and concludes: *'Es scheint daher, als ob die Tiermaskenverkleidung eine rituelle Tracht wäre, besonders mit zere-monielren Prozession und Tänzen verbunden.* Es ist sicher kein Zufall, dass die mit Sicherheit bestimmmbaren Priestermasken Stierköpfe sind. Die Reminiszenzen in *Aija Irini* von einem ursprünglichen Stiergott sind sicher noch lebendig gewesen, und der Stier war sein heiliges Tier und sein Symbol, auf gleiche Art, wie es mit Hadad in Syrien und seinem Gegenstück in Anatolien der Fall war. Indem der Priester sein Bild anlegte, ging er eine greifbare Vereinigung mit der Gottheit ein, auf gleiche Art wie Demeters Priester in Pheneos bei gewissen Kulaktén die Maske der Göttin anlegte (*supra* ii. 1136 n. 4). Der Brauch hat bereits während der Bronzezeit eine grosse Verbreitung auf Cypern und innerhalb des syro-hettitischen Kulturgebietes gehabt und scheint sporadisch auch in dem minoisch-mykenischen Kreise spürbar zu sein.

With this conclusion I have long been in substantial agreement (*Journ. Hell. Stud. 1894 xiv. 120—132* ('The Cult of the Bull')). It would, I conceive, be true to say that all round the shores of the Mediterranean in early times the thunder-god was envisaged as a hollowed horn, when a human represented himself, when the deity by donning a bull-mask or at least by wearing bull-horns. Even Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah, when he claimed to speak in the name of the Lord, 'made him horns of iron' (1 Kings 22. 11).

i. 197 ff. *'Minoan' Bull-fights. Sir A. J. Evans in *Archaeologica* 1914 lxv. 90 ff. fig. 96 illustrates a couple of *rhytis* from 'Early Minoan' ossuaries in the Messara, Crete, showing bulls with acrobatic performers ('the earliest record of these sports'). W. Crooke 'Bull-


i. 500. On the significance of the drinking-horn see H. Thiersch *Kretische Hornbecher* in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1913 xvi. 75—85 figs. 30—45 (p. 83 f. 'Die Vorstellung, dass das Trinken aus solchem Horn überirdische Kräfte verleihe, ist ja nur durch die in Kreta und in dem von ihm abgetrennten Horn weiterlebe, dass dieses darum auch zur Abwehr allerlei dämonischer Angriffe in hohem Masse geeignet sei').


R. C. Bosanquet drew my attention (7 June 1915) to Hesych. Θάραρός, ὁ ταυροκράτης, οπο πάλαι. The reference is apparently to the Graeco-Buddhist art of ancient Gandhara in north-western India.


i. 514 bees from bulls. A. E. Shipley 'The "Bugonia" myth' in the *Journal of Philology* 1915 xxiv. 97—105 endorses the view of C. R. Osten Sacken On the Oxen-born bees of the Ancients* Heidelberg 1894 pp. 1—80 that the honey-bee (apis mellifica) was confused with the drone-fly (crisalis femeax), which superficially resembles the honey-bee and is often found in a stray carcass or in rotting vegetation.

i. 518 ff. the altar as object of cult. See further E. Maass 'Bomos und Verwandtes'
in the Archiv f. Rel. 1925 xxiii. 227 n. 4, and cp. the mediaeval use of Deus 'pro ipso altari ubi Dominicum Corpus asservatur' (Ducange Gloss. med. et inf. Lat. ii. 819 s.v. 'DEVS').


i. 521 ff. The Marriage of the Sun and the Moon in Crete. S. Eitrem 'Zur Apotheose iv. Die heilige Ehe' in Symbolae Osloenses 1932 xi. 521 ff. The Marriage of the Sun and the Moon in Crete. S. Eitrem 'Zur Apotheose iv. Die heilige Ehe' in Symbolae Osloenses 1932 xi. n—21 deals with 'Die Theogamie des Herrscherkultus,' points out that Caligula as ἡ ἐβραϊκὴ θύσεως (Dittenberger Syll. inscr. Gr.3 no. 796, 3 Kyzikos) married the Moon (Suet. Calig. 22, Dion Cass. 59. 27), and does not scout the hypothesis of 'eine althellenische Theogamie, zwischen Sonne und Mond vollzogen' (p. 18 n. 1).

Frazer Golden Bough?: Taboo p. 113 (Hindus born again by being enclosed in the golden image of a cow and dragged through the usual channel or, failing that, through an image of the sacred Yoni).

Lady Sterry, wife of Sir Wasey Sterry, kindly sent me the following note (Aug. 21, 1931): 'According to the Christians of the Lebanon, the Druses have a sacred calf used in their worship. The calf is said to be made of wood hollowed out inside, and at one of their feasts cakes and sweetmeats are passed through the calf, which are considered blessed and are distributed to their friends, not necessarily only to Druses. The calf is said to be kept in their place of worship, which is open only to the initiated, and women are not allowed to be initiated.'

i. 534 n. 4. A. von Sallet 'Die Umschrift der Europa auf Silbermünzen von Gortyna' in the Zeitschr. f. Num. 1879 vi. 263 ff. (Mt Tituron), J. N. Svoronos 'The inscription Τιουρος on coins of Gortyna' in the Num. Chron. Third Series 1887 vii. 136 ff. (an ethnic =Γοργόνων), cp. Κόρωντιος (supra i. 471) and Κορφωντιος (Hesych. Κορφωντιος αι Γοργόνων), A. Skias 'Τίουρος, Κρητικό πέλας' in the ΕΦ. 1891 p. 191 f. (citing schol. Theokr. 2. 3 (supra i. 534 n. 2)).
Addenda

1093


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Fig. 872.


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i. 551 n. 2. Corp. inscr. Lat. vi. 4 no. 36803.

i. 567 ff. Jupiter Héliopolitanus and the Bull. R. Dussaud 'Héliopolitanus' in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 50—57. Mendel Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople iii. 31 ff. no. 829 fig. (= my fig. 972) publishes a small altar (height 0'69m), of local limestone, from Niha a village of Lebanon at the foot of Djebel Sassuin, which shows the god holding whip and corn-ears, with a patera on his head, a necklace with central medallion on his chest, and stiff drapery with six four-leaved rosettes arranged in panels. He stands on a pedestal, the front of which has a goddess in a niche. And he is flanked by two bulls. Mendel ib. iii. 613 ff. no. 1404 fig. (= my fig. 873) adds a statuette (height 0'76m), of local limestone, from Soukhne to the north-east of Palmyra, which shows a similar type with even richer decoration. On the breast is engraved the god himself, flanked by Helios and Men: on the abdomen, Hera or Demeter, flanked by Athena and Hermes(?). On the base is inscribed in lettering of II—III A.D. [Novo] O(ptimo) M(aximo) H(eliopolitanus) Sex(tus) Passius Proculus praef(ectus) coh(ortis) II Thrac(um) vot(um) posuit. But
Fig. 874.

Fig. 875.
Addenda

1095

the most important monument of the cult found is the idol of gilded bronze (height
0'384m) from Ba'albek itself, slashed and broken by some fanatic but skillfully repaired by M. André for the Charles Sursock collection and admirably published by R. Dussaud in Syria 1930 i. 3-15 pls. 1-4 (of which 1 and 2 = my figs. 874 and 875), S. N. Deane in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1931 xxv. 94 fig. 2, Reinsch Rép. Stat. v. 10 no. 5, The Illustrated London News for May 2, 1931 p. 743. The bronze, which may be dated c. 150 A.D., represents the god as he stood with his usual attributes, wearing a kôlathos (of interlaced reds) and a disk between globules (perhaps meant for schematized uarcti), a long chiton with short sleeves, and a cuirass-like sheath with numerous reliefs (on the chest, a winged disk; below, seven busts—Hefios and Selene, Athena and Hermes, Zeus and Hera, Kronos; and above the feet a lion-head for Gennaios [supra p. 888] behind, another winged disk, an eagle, two rams'-heads to suggest Zeus Ammon, six four-leaved rosettes or stars of diminishing size: at the sides, two elongated thunderbolts). The whole figure is erect on a cubical plinth adorned with a relief of Tyche (turreted crown, rudder, cornus copiae). And the plinth, flanked by a pair of young bulls, rests on a larger base, which is pierced with a circular opening (c. 0.073m across)—possibly a letter-box for the codicilli of persons consulting the god (Macrobr. Sat. i. 23. 14 ff. [supra i. 553 f.]). See further R. Cagnat in Syria 1924 v. 108 ff. and S. A. Cook The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology London 1930 pp. 15, 141 n. 4, 487, 218—222 pl. 39 f.

The biggest harvest of fresh facts bearing on the Ba'albek cults is, however, that garnered in the posthumous work of Sébastien Rostovzeff Jupiter Héliopolitain, Nova et Vetera (Notes et Etudes d'Archéologie Orientale. Troisième Série, ii) in the Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph xxi, i Beyrouth 1937 pp. i—181 with 17 figs. and 51 pls. (reviewed by F. R. Walton in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1938 xii. 435 f.). This monograph publishes a mass of new or little known material, including altars, stelai, engraved gems, lead seals, bronze rings, etc. In particular it furnishes a full account of the rock-cut relief in the quarry at Perzol (pp. 29—71) and of the carved octagonal altar at Fikl or Fäkyc on the west slope of Antilibanos (pp. 87—129). Incidentally it discusses many, if not all, the rams' heads of the second figure on the symbolic corn-ears of Ba'albek (supra i. 558, 560, 572, iii. 1093): 'C'est dans cet épi que se concentre finalement toute l'essence de la religion héliopolitaine sous l'empire romain. Issue de la triade familiale [supra i. 553 f. Hadad, Atargatis, Seimios] groupée autour du grand dieu syrien du tonnerre et de la pluie, Hadad, cette religion devint progressivement celle du dieu du Ciel, B'el-Samin, embrassant dans ses flancs les traits qui, dès l'époque hellénistique, méritèrent à Ba'albek la dénomination d'Héliopolis, et furent d'elle avec le temps le centre culte de tous les cultes solaires de l'époque romaine. Tout se résolvait pratiquement dans l'adoration de l'aste brillant du jour, dans ses fonctions de dispensateur de vie et de prospérité agraire, telles qu'elles nous sont résumées dans l'image récemment découverte à Doura du B'el-Samin—Nebs théb, image par laquelle je mets fin à toute cette étude (pl. XLII) [M. Rostovtseff Dura-Europos and its Art Oxford 1938 p. 63 f. pl. 11, 'Bas-relief of Zeus Kyrios,' p. 68 ff. pl. 13 'Painted decoration of the cella of the temple of Zeus Theos. (Restoration by F. Brown);' The Excavations at Dura-Europos Prelim. Report vii—viii, Yale Univ. Press 1939, pp. 180 ff. (The Temple of Zeus Theos), 284 ff. (The Temple of Zeus Kyrios)].

i. 571 n. 2 leonine gods. At Bir-Debal near Ghardimaou in Tunisia a Punico-Roman sanctuary containing a dedicatory inscription to Saturn was found; also other rustic sanctuaries of s. ii A.D., which could boast life-size statues of terracotta and many statuettes. One life-size head had the face of a lioness wearing fillets and is thought to have represented the Genius Terrae Africanae [L. Carton 'Note sur des édifices renfermant des statues en terre cuite, découverts dans la région de Ghardimaou (Tunisie) in the Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres 1918 pp. 338—347, W. N. Bates in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1919 xxiii. 320), because a dénarius issued by Q. Cassilius Metellus Fius Scipio in 47—46 B.C. shows Sekhet with leonine head, disk, and ankhs accompanied by the legend Γ Τ Α (Babelon Monn. rép. rom. i. 380 no. 51 fig., Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Rep. ii. 572 no. 8 pl. 121, 4 and no. 9 (Genius Tutelaris Africanae or Genius Totius Africaiæ)).

i. 831 the golden thunderbolt of Adad. Cp. Liv. 22. 1 (when prodigies occurred in 117 B.C.) decennvirorum monita decreatum est, liovi primum donum fulmen aureum ponere quinquaginta bercet, etc. Aristoph. av. 1750 [supra p. 59].

A magnificent relief in basalt from Arslan-Tash, dating from the reign of Tiglath-pileser iii (746—727 B.C.), shows Adad, with a double-pronged thunderbolt in either hand, standing on the back and head of a bull as he advances rapidly from left to right (L'art de la Mésopotamie ancienne au Musée du Louvre Paris 1936 v. 300 fig. A).
Addenda

i. 586 Atargatis with her lions. R. Dussaud ‘Patère de bronze de Tafas’ in *Syria* 1924 v. 212—215 with pl. 54, 1 and 2 (E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 342) describes a bronze *patera* of Roman date, found at Tafas in the Hauran but later stolen from the Mohammedan Museum at Damascus. The central relief shows a lion standing in front of a column on which is an image of Priapos. The lion rests his forepaw on a *scabellum* (?). At the left is a musician playing the double flutes; at the right, a woman with a timbrel, towards whom the lion turns his head. Dussaud thinks that the lion of Atargatis prefers the native timbrel to the foreign flutes!


Fig. 876.
Addenda

1097

i. 590 fig. 450. See now Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Arabia etc. pp. xxxii, 28 pl. 4, 15 and 16.

N. Glueck in The Illustrated London News for Aug. 21, 1937 p. 298 ff. publishes finds from a Nabataean temple known as Khirbet-t-Tannur and situated on a hill in southern Transjordania, directly south of the Wadi el-Hosa (the 'brook Zered' of Deut. 2. 13, cp. Num. 21. 14). Excavations in March 1937 yielded bearded heads probably representing Zeus (Adad) (p. 298 fig. 3, p. 299 fig. 11); a relief of Zeus (Adad) enthroned between two young bulls, his neck encircled by a lion-headed torque, his right hand raised perhaps to hold a double axe, his left hand grasping the bull's ears and partly concealed by a conspicuous thunderbolt (p. 299 fig. 15=my fig. 876 from a photograph kindly supplied by Mr Glueck); an incense-altar with reliefs of Zeus (Adad) and Tyche (p. 298 figs. 7—9, 28) the bust of Atargatis in relief with leaf-like decoration (A. B. C.) on forehead, cheeks, and chest (p. 299 fig. 6); the bust of Atargatis in relief with head-dress formed of two fishes (p. 299 fig. 8); a snake-entwined eagle standing on a wreath with a plaster basin below (p. 300 fig. 18); etc. For a fuller account of these important finds see N. Glueck 'The Nabataean Temple of Khirbet-et-Tannur' in the Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research for October 1937 No. 57 pp. 6—16 figs. 2—5, id. 'A newly discovered Nabataean temple of Atargatis and Hadad at Khirbet et-Tannur, Transjordania' in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1937 xlii. 261—276 figs. 1—15; C. Picard 'Les sculptures nabatéennes de Khirbet-et-Tannour et l'Hadad de Pouzzoles' in the Rev. Arch. 1937 ii. 244—249 figs. 1—4.

i. 592 n. o the sacred 'cock'. H. Grossmann 'Der heilige Hahn zu Hieropolis in Syrien' in the Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft Giessen 1915 Beih. xlii. 88—95 (cp. Corp. inscr. Gr. iii no. 4000, 5 (Ikonion) as read by Sir W. M. Ramsay in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1918 xxxviii. 157 φασίδευσιν ἀλέγγουσα, and modern Palestinian customs (J. A. Jaussen 'Le coq et la pluie dans la tradition palestinienne' in the Revue biblique internationale 1924 xxiii. 574—582)).


i. 609. For Υ as the womb of a mother-goddess see the evidence collected by F. Dornseif Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie Leipzig—Berlin 1922 p. 21 f., M. Mayer 'Delta praehistoricum' in the Berl.philol. Woch. 1929 pp. 91—94, E. Wlist in the Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft 1937 i. xvii. 88—95 (cp. Num. 21. 12). Excavations in March 1937 yielded bearded heads probably representing Zeus (Adad) (p. 298 fig. 3, p. 299 fig. 11); a relief of Zeus (Adad) enthroned between two young bulls, his neck encircled by a lion-headed torque, his right hand raised perhaps to hold a double axe, his left hand grasping the bull's ears and partly concealed by a conspicuous thunderbolt (p. 299 fig. 15=my fig. 876 from a photograph kindly supplied by Mr Glueck); an incense-altar with reliefs of Zeus (Adad) and Tyche (p. 298 figs. 7—9, 28) the bust of Atargatis in relief with leaf-like decoration (A. B. C.) on forehead, cheeks, and chest (p. 299 fig. 6); the bust of Atargatis in relief with head-dress formed of two fishes (p. 299 fig. 8); a snake-entwined eagle standing on a wreath with a plaster basin below (p. 300 fig. 18); etc. For a fuller account of these important finds see N. Glueck 'The Nabataean Temple of Khirbet-et-Tannur' in the Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research for October 1937 No. 57 pp. 6—16 figs. 2—5, id. 'A newly discovered Nabataean temple of Atargatis and Hadad at Khirbet et-Tannur, Transjordania' in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1937 xlii. 261—276 figs. 1—15; C. Picard 'Les sculptures nabatéennes de Khirbet-et-Tannour et l'Hadad de Pouzzoles' in the Rev. Arch. 1937 ii. 244—249 figs. 1—4.

i. 603 n. 5 Di-Sandas. R. Rochette in the Mémoires de l'Institut National de France Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres Paris 1848 xvii. 161 insists 'qu'il faut certainement lire de cette manièră: Δι-Σανδᾶς.'

604 the rock-carvings near Boghaz-keui. These are now well published by K. Bittel Die Flebsbilder von Vanitkaya Bamberg 1934 with bibliography, map, plan, 28 photographic pls., and panoramic drawing, id. Die Ruinen von Boghaz-keui. Berlin—Leipzig 1937 pp. 1—107 with 63 figs., chronological table, and 3 plans. It appears that the great procession of Isiły Kaya may be dated between 1350 and 1330 B.C. (C. Picard in the Rev. Arch. 1937 ii. 255).

i. 604 ff. Zeus Dolichonas and Jupiter Dolichenus. To the bibliography given on p. 604 n. 8 should be added F. Cumont Études Syriennes Paris 1917 pp. 173—203 ('Doliché et le Zeus Dolichénoûs') with figs. 55—70, id. 'Groupe de marbre du Zeus Dolichénoûs' in Syria 1930 i. 183—189 pl. 17 (found 'entre Marash et Biredjik' Zeus stands on bull supported by altar with base inscribed Καισαρος καὶ Ζαλιδία[,] K. A. Neugebauer Antike Bronzestatuettei Berlin 1921 p. 118 f. fig. 65 (Genius of Jupiter Dolichenus from Marsäsh, now in the Antiquarium at Berlin), p. 120 fig. 63 (Jupiter Dolichenus from Berlin—Lichtenberg, now in the Antiquarium at Berlin), id. in Gnomon 1930 vi. 269, J. Leipoldt in H. Haas Bilderatlas sur Religiongeschichte Leipzig—Erlangen 1926 ix—
Addenda


i. 611 f. eagle between horns of bull and on short column beneath bull. Perhaps cp. the terra-cotta group published in pl. lxvii, a and b.

i. 619 n. 4. A rosette on the forehead of a bull is a commonplace in ancient art: see J. Déchelette Manuel d'archéologie Paris 1910 ii. 1 480, 1914 ii. 3 1310. A couple of examples will suffice. A gold earring of Greek work (I. iv—iii B.C.), found in Palestine and now in my possession, shows a bull's head with a spiral rosette on the forehead. A gold strap-buckle of the La Tène period, found in the tomb of Chiperich at Tomnaì in 1653 and stolen from the Cabinet des Médailles in 1831, had also a spiral rosette on the forehead (F. Dahn Urgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker Berlin 1833 iii. 480 fig. 18 f., J. Déchelette op. cit. ii. 3 1308 fig. 570, 2). Both are possibly symbolic.

S. Ronzevalle Jupiter Heliopolitain Beyrouth 1937 p. 51 ff. publishes a pair of monuments from the Haurán. A basalt stèle (0.875 m. high) from Tell As'ari near Tafas, now in the Museum at Damascus, shows a bull-headed god en face, and next to him make a large crescent enclosing a rosette. Under his left arm is a smaller rosette. And across his body is a sword (pl. 14 bis, 5 and 5). An almost exact replica of this relief (0.83 m. high) is to be seen in a niche at 'Awas south of Salbad (fig. 12). Ronzevalle cp. a square altar of basalt (0.85 m. high) from Salbad, on which a bull's head appears in relief between the two parts of a Greek dedication to Zeus megas δ ὀραματος (M. Dunand Le Musée de Souëda: Inscriptions et monuments figurés Paris 1934 p. 99 no. 200 δ μεγά λω του θεου | ὑπὲρ σωματος | Μοίρας Βασιλείων Κ[ιθρ]ων | | Α[υσ]ισθενεσ ευνοιαν ευθείαν). 

i. 624 the Milky Way and Hera. So in Siberian mythology a Buriat tale explains the Milky Way as the overflow from the breasts of the Heaven-goddess Manzan Gormo (U. Holmberg Finno-Ugric, Siberian Mythology Boston 1927 pp. 414, 434).


i. 626 the Byzantine list of planets, metals, plants, and animals. S. Langdon in the Museum Journal: University of Pennsylvania 1918 ix. 151—156 with fig. describes a Babylonian tablet c. 1.000 B.C. dealing with symbolism in the Casite period. W. N. Bates in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1919 xxiii. 179 summarises: 'The text explains the divine powers which are controlled or symbolized by various substances and utensils employed in the rituals. Thus the jar of holy water signifies Ninhabsildu, queen of incantations; the tamerisk signifies the god of the heavens; the head of the date palm, Tammuz; the cypress, the aid of Adad; the censer invokes the god of the spring sun, Urasha, etc. It also gives the only information yet recovered about the mystic meanings of metals. Silver is the god of the heavens, gold the earth god, copper the god of the sea, lead the great mother goddess.' Prof. Langdon adds in a letter of Oct. 31, 1919: 'the sky god is symbolized by silver...because for astronomical reasons the Moon (or the silver god) was identified with the sky god at the summer solstice.' See further C. O. Zuretti Alchemica signa (Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs viii) Bruxelles 1932 p. 1 ff.

i. 626 ff. Akin to the silvered or gilded-plates of Jupiter Dolichenus is one of repoussé bronze, found by E. Cunnington in 1883 at the Romano-Celtic temple in Maiden Castle and now in the Museum at Dorchester (fig. 877. a front, b back, from the official photographs). It represents Minerva standing en face with helmet, spear, Gorgon's head, and shield, the whole on a raised oblong surrounded by the usual spear-head and lily-work (R. E. M. Wheeler in The Antiquaries Journal 1935 xv. 272). At the bottom edge are the remains of one or two letters, part of a lost inscription (Lt.-Col. C. D. Drew in a communication dated March 20, 1938). Minerva is known elsewhere on the plates of Dolichenus (supra i. 616 fig. 487, 619 with fig. 490), and it is conceivable that the cult of this maiden goddess, domiciled in the fourth-century temple (for which see R. E. M.
Terra-cotta group in the British Museum, possibly connected with the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus (?).

I am indebted to Mr C. M. Robertson for the following official description: 1907. 5-39. 69 Terracotta eagle with wreath in beak standing on bull's head, all on a flat square base. This now stands on a terracotta column, but it is not certain that they originally belonged together, though both are no doubt antique. They were acquired among a large collection formed at Odessa from excavations of tombs at Olbia.
A bronze mace from Willingham Fen, now in the Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology, Cambridge.

See page 1099f.
Addenda

Wheeler loc. cit. p. 270 ff. pls. 33, 34, 2, 37, 38, 2, Miss M. V. Taylor in the Journ. Rom. Stud. 1935 xxv. 220 f. pls. 40 and 41, 1. C. R. 1937 xxvii. 242 f., contributed something to the popular etymology of Maiden (properly Mai-Dun) Castle. The temple itself may have been that of Dolichenus, a Celtic form of whom is suggested by a votive offering found in 1934 just outside the south-east corner of the building, viis. a three-horned bull (supra i. 639) made of tinned bronze and bearing a triad of busts, one minus its head (K. E. M. Wheeler loc. cit. p. 272 pl. 39 (= my fig. 878), Miss M. V. Taylor loc. cit. p. 270 pl. 41, 2).

Another power associated with Dolichenus in the Celtic area as a pendant to Minerva with her spear was Hercules with his club (supra i. 616 fig. 487). And here we must take into account the interesting bronze mace found in 1857 by a ploughman on Witham Fen, ten miles north-west of Cambridge (M. Rostovtseff—M. V. Taylor 'Commodus-Hercules in Britain' in the Journ. Rom. Stud. 1923 xiii. 91 ff. pl. 3 (inadequate), L. C. G. Clarke in The Antiquaries Journal 1926 vi. 178 f. pl. 31, F. M. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vi A. 925 f. id. in Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society 1935—1936 xxxvii. 56 f. pl. 4, b). The mace had been deliberately broken, perhaps by way of damnatio memoriae after Commodus' assassination in 193 A.D., and enclosed in a wooden chest along with a number of votive bronzes—soldiers on horseback, a bull's head, an eagle, an owl, etc. The three fragments of the mace, which together measure c. $0.345^\text{m}$ in height and had once a
Addenda

wooden core, are decorated as follows (pl. lxxviii): (1) A bust of Commodus, wearing the palaudamentum, forms the handle. (2) On the shaft is a nude beardless god with right hand uplifted (as if to brandish a bolt) and left hand raised (as if to hold a sceptre or spear). He sets his left foot on the bearded (?) head of a giant emerging from the ground. To the left an eagle, now headless, is perched on a globe, which rests on a six-spoked wheel marked with rays. To the right projects the head of a bull with three horns, one of which is now broken off. At the back plunges a dolphin. (3) The mace terminates as a knotted club. It is clear that the artist was primarily concerned to identify Commodus with Hercules (supra ii. 255 n. 6, 903 n. 2). But, since Commodus also posed as a youthful Jupiter holding thunderbolt and sceptre (supra i. 276 n. 5 fig. 202, ii. 1185 figs. 987, 988), a corresponding figure appears on the shaft. Further syncretism equates this Jupiter with the Germanic Ziu, the victorious rider of the Jupiter-columns, who tramples his giant under foot (supra ii. 74 ff.). It equips him also with the eagle-on-globe and the radiate wheel as a sky-god, with the three-horned bull perhaps as an earth-god (F. Dis pater. But E. M. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv A. 2281 ff., 2453 ff. stresses 'Beziehungen zur Wassertiefe' and suspects connexion with Tarvos Trigaranus (supra i. 482 n. 6)), and even with the dolphin as a sea-god—thereby completing his claim to universal dominion.

i. 630 ff. 'where iron is born.' M. P. Charlesworth in a note to me (Oct. 29, 1934) cp. Plin. nat. hist. 33. 118 Iuba minium nasci et in Carmania tradit, Timagenes et in Aethiopia, etc. But a closer parallel is furnished by the Kalevala runo 9. 25 ff. Kirby, where Väinämöinen says 'Well I know the birth of Iron, | And how steel was first created.' He goes on to tell how—

Fig. 878.
Ukko, God of realms supernal,

Rubbed his mighty hands together.
Both his hands he rubbed together,
On his left knee then he pressed them,
And three maidens were created,
Three fair Daughters of Creation,
Mothers of the rust of Iron,
And of blue-mouthed steel the fosterers.

Rallied the maidens with faltering footsteps
On the borders of the cloudlets,
And their full breasts were o'erflowing,
And their nipples pained them sorely.
Down on earth their milk ran over,
From their breasts' o'erflowing fulness,
Milk on land, and milk on marshes,
Milk upon the peaceful waters.

Black milk from the first was flowing,
From the eldest of the maidens,
White milk issued from another,
From the second of the maidens,
Red milk by the third was yielded,
By the youngest of the maidens.

Where the black milk had been dropping,
There was found the softest Iron,
Where the white milk had been flowing,
There the hardest steel was fashioned,
Where the red milk had been trickling,
There was undeveloped Iron.

i. 631 n. 8. A. H. Sayce in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1910 xxx. 315 notes: "Ἀλαβη, or rather Ἀλαβη, corresponds with a Hittite Khaly-wa, "the land of the Halys," just as Ἀραβή corresponds with Arzawa. The Halizini are the Khalitu of a (cuneiform) inscription of the proto-Armenian king Russas II. (b.c. 680),...who says that he had made a campaign against "the Moschians, the Hittites, and the Khalitu." The silver-mines of the Taurus, which were worked by the Hittites, were the chief source of the silver supplied to the early oriental world: hence the metal was a special favourite with the Hittites, from whom the rest of the world obtained it." Cp. Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1938 ii. 1. 169 n. 2. More hazardous conjectures in J. Karst *Die vorgeschichtlichen Mittelmeervölker* Heidelberg 1931 pp. 71 f., 254, 348.

i. 632 n. 5. Add lul. Obs. 39 (Lycosthenes) nures in aedc Iovis aurum roserunt.

i. 633 ff. The monograph of L. Malten 'Der Stier in Kult und mythischem Bild' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1928 xliii. 90—139 has a useful collection of evidence from Egypt (pp. 91—98 figs. 1—11), Mesopotamia (pp. 98—107 figs. 12—27), Asia Minor (pp. 107—114 figs. 28—41), Syria (pp. 114—117 figs. 42—51), Palestine (pp. 117—119 figs. 52—54), Phoinike (pp. 119 fig. 55), Crete (pp. 121—137 figs. 56—69), a brief notice of survivals in classical cults and myths (p. 137 f.), and some consideration of the Bull's significance from first to last (p. 138 f.).

i. 636 bull with body-marks. The best example is one from Ur published by C. L. Woolley in *The Antiquaries Journal* 1923 iii. 331 pl. 34 fig. 1, a: "U 139 is a part of a shallow bowl of steatite originally surrounded by four bulls, of which one is preserved intact. The carving is remarkably good; the ground is inlaid in ivory with designs of sun, moon and stars; on the bull's body are trefoil marks resembling those on the Hathor cows of Egypt, on its shoulder and leg round spots arranged in the order of the stars of the Great Wain; it is the "great Bull of Heaven." A fragmentary inscription assigns it to the Third Dynasty." Mr Sidney Smith kindly informs me (March 24, 1938) that the original is in the Baghdad Museum and should be dated c. 2200 B.C. or a little earlier: he adds that there is a poor cast of it in the British Museum. P. S. Bartoli *Museum Odescalchum* Rome 1752 ii. 90 ff. pl. 42 shows a marble base with relief of a bull walking to the right. On his side is a crescent moon ☽, and above him the inscription BYE API. *Id.* ib. ii. 121 pl. 53 shows a similar (other surface of same) base with relief of a bull walking to the right. On his side is a six-rayed star.

i. 638 bull in bowl surrounded by millet. Cp. perhaps the seated goddesses (of fertility?) and other discoid figures in clay found along with grains of barley, beans, and peas in urns of the Bronze Age at Tarxien, Malta (Sir T. Zammit *Prehistoric Malta*...
Addenda


1. 638 f. H. Frankfort in The Illustrated London News for Sept. 14, 1935 p. 430 fig. 6 publishes the ornament from a Sumerian harp of c. 3000 B.C., which was found at Nusaybi, Iraq. It is a bull’s head in copper with inlaid eyes and forehead. The white of the eyes is shell, the iris lapis lazuli, and the triangle on the forehead mother-of-pearl.

2. i. 639 n. 2 the Celtic cult of bulls. See now an important paper by A. D. Lacaille ‘The Bull in Scottish Folklore, Place-names, and Archaeology’ in Folk-Lore 1930 xlii. 221—248 pls. 3—8, F. M. Heichelheim s.v. ‘Tarvos Trigaranus’ in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv a. 2453—2457, Wirch s.v. ‘Stier’ in the Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens Berlin—Leipzig 1936 viii. 482—486.


4. i. 642 n. 4. On Zeus as ‘a tyrant’ in Aisch. P. v. see G. Thomson ‘Zeis Téyannos’ in the Class. Rev. 1929 xliii. 3—5.

5. i. 643 Mount Tabor. See further J. Boehmer ‘Der Name Tabor’ in the Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete 1929 vii. 161—169, O. Eissfeldt in the Archiv f. Rel. 1930 xxviii. 23 f. n. 3.

6. i. 643, Soph. frag. 348 Dindorf (assigned to the Ανυμια, 70s Nauck 4, 775 Jebb ap. schol. vet. Theokr. 7. 75f/77 d. and ap. et. mag. p. 26, 16 ff. ‘Αθων εκαθάνει νόμα Ανυμια βόμος (so, without Sophokles’ name, Cramer anec. Paris. iv. 96, 17 ff., Zonar. lex. s.v. ‘Αθων, Eustath. in ll. p. 980, 44 ff. Schol. B. L. V. II. 14. 229 ὥσα for νόμα) already implies the proverb which later writers commonly quote as ‘Αθων καλύτερε πλευρά Ανυμια βόμος (Greg. Kypri. 1. 73, aitii. A Latin form of it perhaps in Varr. de ling. Lat. 7. 22 ‘cum nunc <ia> a turma umbram iacit’, which O. Ribbeek Trag. Rom. frag. p. 311 would restore as ε<Αθων> in cornuatum taurum umbram iacit’). Paroemiographers etc. explain that the allusion is to the shadow of Mt Atos which touched a white marble cow on Lemnos (Makar. i. 46, Apostol. 1. 57, Arsen. viol. p. 25 Walz, Souid. s.v.‘Αθων). Plout. de fac. in orb. lun. 12 and et. mag. p. 26, 17 f. state, with greater probability, that the cow was of bronze. Others add that the shadow at the solstice reached the market-place of Myrina (Δρ. Khod. 1. 60f ff. with schol. ad loc., Plin. nat. hist. 4. 73, Solin. 11. 35 cp. Stat. Theb. 5. 49 ff.). The fullest discussion of the facts is that of A. C. Pearson in his edition of The Fragments of Sophocles Cambridge 1917 iii. 26 ff. It is tempting to conjecture that the bronze cow of Lemnos, thus associated with sun and shadow, was akin to the bronze cow of Mt Atabylon. If so, it had a Hittite ancestry.

7. i. 643 the bull of Perillos. On the bull-headed furnace at Byzantium, known as δ Βόιος and used for the burning of criminals, see E. Oberhumer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 1072. The principal text is Kodinos de signis Constantinopolitani 25 d—26 a (p. 45 Bekker) = Anonymos πάτρα 2. 53 (p. 180, 8 ff. Pregler) περὶ τοῦ Βόιος. εἰς τὸν καλό-μένον Βόιον κάμην ὡς ἐκείνο παμμεγήθη ἐκείμην βός έχωνα κεφάλην. ἐνθα καὶ οἱ καμάραι ἐγκατατάφωσαν· δήν καὶ τὸ Ἱουλιανὸν προσφέρετ τοῦ κατάλληλον πόλλας ἐν αὐτῷ κατακεκλείς Χρυσάκοια. ὡς ὅ τὴν κάμην βός τὸ τοῦ παμμεγεθησάτων δέλτατον εἰς κατὰ μέμνην καὶ ἐν τῇ Ναυπαίᾳ βοῖς ἀποτεκνήθη, ὡς ἐν τῇ κάμην ὡς Φωκα (602—610 A.D.), ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ Πρακέλου (610—641 A.D.) ἐχασθεὶς λόγῳ φύλων. This bronze Bull is said to have been brought from Pergamon, which had it used for the martyrdom of Antipas (Kedren. hist. comp. 323 b (p. 366 Bekker) ὅτι δ ὄρεισθε βός ἐκ Περγάμου ἡδε, κάμην δὲ ἔν τῇ τέφλεκτα ὡς ἄγαμο μάρτυς Ἀτταίνας, Ζοναρ. 14. 14 (iii. 304, 11 ff. Dindorf) ὡς δὲ διάστρεφεν σώμα (ἐκ Προκας) καθήματα κατὰ τὸν Βόιο, ἔνα κάμην ὡς, ὡς λέγεται, ἐν χελώς κατακεκλείσθη, εὕρη βοῦς ἔχωνα, ἧπερ ἐκ Περγάμου κέδρωντο, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῶν οἰκήματος. A. G. Solani Pergamum Moderna et Antiqua Athénes 1930 p. 111 figures St Antipas being burnt in the copper bull, and ib. p. 113 observes: ‘Cecum beaus avait été élevé par Attale Ier en mémoire de sa victoire sur les Galates; plus tard, il fut transporté à Constantinople où on le fit servir à diverses exécutions: y furent brûlés, entre autres, Théodore et Stéphane, ministres de Justinien.’ See further S. Baring-Gould The Lives of the Saints Edinburgh 1914 i. 136 S. Antipas (April 11), 304 S. George of Cappadocia (April 23), v. 66 S. Felagia (May 4), x. 319 SS. Eustathius, Theopista, Apafius, Theopistus (Sept. 26). The last-mentioned holocaust is figured in the Excidium militantis triumphi Paris s.a. pl. 9.

A final trace of the Hittite bull-cult, drawn from some classical source and modified by mediæval imagination, may be detected in Perceval le Gallois ou le conte du Graal trans. S. Evans London 1903 p. 214 ff. Branch 18 Title 9 ‘...he came to the Castle of Copper. Within the castle were a number of folk that worshipped the bull of copper and believed not in any other God. The bull of copper was in the midst of the castle.'
upon four columns of copper, and bellowed so loud at all hours of the day that it was heard for a league round about, and there was an evil spirit within that gave answers...'

with the sequel.


i. 650 n. 1 the ὑδρός or 'bull-roarer.' See further R. Battaglia 'Sopra vivenza del roncho nelle Province Venete' in the Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni 1935 i. 3. 190—217 with 7 figs., A. S. F. Gow 'IΛΓΕΡΟΣ, ΡΟΜΒΟΣ, ΡΗΜΟΣ, ΤΟΡΒΟΣ' in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1934 liv. 1—13 with figs. 1—11.

i. 651 n. 1 Zagreus as the god 'of Mt Zagros.' The same derivation is propounded independently by F. Hommel Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orient München 1926 p. 721 n. 3.

i. 653 the Praisians sacrifice to a pig. Cp. Loukian. ιπό. τραγ. 43 Ἀσσώριον περιστρέφεται (cf. lOIOI).

i. 655 on the etymology of Τίτις. A. Nehring 'Griechisch τίταξ, τίτην und ein vorgriechisches Ἀ-Suffix' in Glotta 1925 xiv. 113—192 discussing ἴτερ ἄλτα the word Τίταξ, Τίτην (p. 167 ff.) postulates an original Τίταξ as a 'Lallwort' meaning 'Vater' 'Väterchen,' cp. τίταξ, τίτηξ (Hesych. s.v. τίτηξ cited supra i. 655 n. 2) and relates the whole group to Etruscan and the languages of Asia Minor.

i. 657 n. 2 Μίνος διόδοφωρ. K. Marôt 'Ἀτλας διόδοφωρ' in the Berl. philol. Woch. Mai 22, 1926 pp. 585—590 concludes 'that sich das Epitheton des Ατλας διόδοφωρ nicht auf eine moralische Schuld, sondern blosst auf die Boshäftigkeit eines "Täters," d. h. auf ein mythisch-vorethisches "Verderbensinnen" beziehen kann.'

i. 662. W. K. C. Guthrie Orpheus and Greek Religion London 1935 p. 109 would amend my rendering of Firm. Mat. 6. 4 and 5 pro tumulo extritum templum and deus factus est qui habere non potuit sepulturam with the sequel.

i. 663. W. K. C. Guthrie Orpheus and Greek Religion London 1935 p. 109 would amend my rendering of Firm. Mat. 6. 4 and 5 pro tumulo extritum templum and deus factus est qui habere non potuit sepulturam with the sequel.
some sepulchral attribute or characteristic,' possibly the "double door" (8t + 0pepa-
recounts the slaughter of the goat and its resurrection, and this is accompanied by
dressed up as a goat. The doggerel recited by the "father and son" is corrupt, but it

Elder Edda and Ancient Scandinavian Drama

Cambridge 1920 p. 125 f.: 'The per-

Bukkevise

The

described by B. S. Phillpotts

An interesting Scandinavian parallel is the

1916 xxxvi. 36—44, especially p. 43 f.


1906 i. 137, Sir J. G. Frazer

Apollodorus

Cambridge 1906 i. 137, Sir J. G. Frazer

the second in another from Ikonion (W. M. Calder in the

Journ. Hell. Stud. 1898 xviii. 721

Opfyuv egdpxovs

means "grave-song" or "dirge," and we must regard the

of //. 24. 721

Opfyuv egdpxovs

with just this Mock Death and Revival as its central point and with men dressed as
animals for its performers.'

i. 677 n. o. K. Buresch Aus Lyden Leipzig 1898 p. 160 found at Kaleh near
Temenothyrai 'ein marmorines, dem Zeis Παλάκτων geweihtes Altärchen' and inferred that the site bore the name Galaktion—an inference accepted by L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 514. See also J. Keil in Anatolian Studies presented to Sir W. M. Ramsay Manchester 1923 p. 360 no. 8, E. Fehrle in Roscher Lex. Myth. vi. 615.

i. 677 n. 4. See further G. F. Unger 'Die Luperken' in the Rhein.

No ancient representation of the Lupercalia is known. Reinach Pierres Gravées p. 77 no. 77 pl. 77 'Sacrifice des Lupercales,' a stone published at Paris in 1732 by Lévesque de Gravelle, is an obvious forgery.

i. 679. W. K. C. Guthrie Orpheus and Greek Religion London 1935 p. 132 adds 'the
Bazarsisd of Aeschyus which tells of the dismemberment of Orpheus.'

A doublet of the myth of Pelias may perhaps be seen in that of Minos done to death in a hot bath at Kamikos by Kokalos or his daughters (Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 360, Poland in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xv. 1918 f.).

i. 681 n. 4 Διθρόμαθος. The suffix is discussed by H. Petersson 'Die altindischen Wörter auf -amba' in the Indogermanische Forschungen 1934 xxiv. 232—239.


No ancient representation of the Lupercalia is known. Reinach Pierres Gravées p. 77 no. 77 pl. 77 'Sacrifice des Lupercales,' a stone published at Paris in 1732 by Lévesque de Gravelle, is an obvious forgery.

W. M. Calder 'The Dithyramb—an Anatolian Dirge' in the Class. Rev. 1923 xxxvi. 11—14, dissatisfied with all previous views, mine included, proposed to connect Διθρόμαθος with two Phrygian words or loan-words δίθρα and διφεά. The first of these occurs in an inscription from Tyriaion (J. G. C. Anderson in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1898 xvii. 121 f. no. 67 = J. Friedrich Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler Berlin 1932 p. 132 f. no. 31), the second in another from Ikonion (W. M. Calder in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1911 xxxi. 188 f. no. 49 = J. Friedrich op. cit. p. 155 no. 49). It is claimed that 'δίθρα must be a noun, and διφεά must be either a noun or an adjective...meaning "monument" or some sepulchral attribute or characteristic,' possibly the "double door" (ν + θεα = dhvara, θωρα, fores) of the Phrygian family-tomb 'symbolically leading in two directions—outwards to the world of life, inwards to the world of death.' On this showing Διθρόμαθος means "grave-song" or "dirge," and we must regard the θρόμον θέαραν of II. 24. 721 as the counterpart of τὸν θεώρυτον τῶν διθρόματος in Aristot. poët. 4 1449 a 11.
Calder's explanation, though ingenious and attractive, is however—as he frankly admits—beset by difficulties and uncertainties. Moreover it seems hard to reconcile with the Platonic equation διήθραμμος = Διόνυσον γένεσις (supra i. 682 n. 1). Are we to assume that the 'dirge' dealt with Dionysos' birth, and compare the funereal character of the Attic θεσπίζων (P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii. 1131, id. The griechischen Kulturstifter i. München 1930 p. 237 f.)? Or to argue with J. A. K. Thomson (in a letter to Jane Harrison dated March 31, 1921) 'that the Dithyramb celebrated the γενέσια of Dionysos, his grave-rural.... The Early Christians celebrated the γενέσια or γενέσια, "birth-day," of a martyr on the day of his martyrdom, because he was then truly born—"born again"?'

Calder returns to the charge in the Class. Rev. 1930 xliii. 214 with a shrewd emendation of Glaucos Rhg. frag. 4 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 24 Müller) ap. [Plout.] de music 10 ἡρώικον τὰς ὄρθιν θεσπίσματα (for πράγματα codd.) ἐχονον κ.τ.λ. 'For such was the theme of the dithyramb (διήθραμμα του και διήθραμμα) according to W. R. Halliday in the Indogermanische Forschungen 1926 liv. 34—38 would interpret διήθραμμα, θραμμα, διήθραμμα as 'Zwischritt, Dreischnitt, Vierschnitt.'

W. Brandenstein in the Indogermanische Forschungen 1936 liv. 34—38 would interpret θραμμα, θραμμα, διήθραμμα as 'Zwischritt, Dreischnitt, Vierschnitt.'

i. 682 n. 1. Of the three Pindaric dithyrambs published by B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt The Oxyrhynchus Papyri London 1919 xiii. 27 ff. 1604 one (O. Schroeder Supplementum Pindaricum Berolini 1923 p. 5. frag. 70) describes a festival of Dionysos held by the gods in heaven, another (Schroeder op. cit. p. 7 frag. 70) speaks of a Dionysiac banquet, and the third (Schroeder op. cit. p. 7 frag. 70) must also be concerned with the same deity since it mentions wreaths of ivy. See further J. U. Powell New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature Third Series Oxford 1933 pp. 48—51.

GP Anth. Pal. 9. 574. 5 Δαυγήν, ἤγειν, διήθραμμα, Δίωνον, ib. 19 Σεμεληγενέσθαι, Σεμελία.

i. 684 n. 11. L. Deubner Attische Feste Berlin 1932 p. 65 f. pl. 3, 1 and 3, thinks that this vase represents the Haloia and cites modern usage in Herzegovina ('hier stellt man, wenn die Wintersaat aufgeht, auf dem Felde durch eine tiefe Furche den Umriiss eines erigierten Phallos mit Hoden her. Diese Form des Fruchtbarkeitszaubers wurde früher auf dem Balkan allgemein angewandt' (Vgl. R. N. Salaman, Man 30, 1930, 48)).

i. 684 date of the ritual marriage unknown. L. Deubner in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1927 xlii. 177 ff. argues that the marriage of Dionysos and the Basilituma is both represented (figs. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 16) and parodied (fig. 6, cp. fig. 19) on the 'Choenkannchen' and must therefore have taken place 'am Choentage' (Anthesterion 12). But the argument is insecure, for— as Deubner himself admits (Attische Feste p. 97)—'Nicke Bilder, mit denen die grossen oder kleinen Kannen der typischen Choenform geschmückt sind (es sind jetzt 300—400 bekannt), brauchen sich auf das Choenfest zu beziehen.' And it remains possible to urge that these little vases are simply children's toys, often decorated with Dionysiac scenes, but not necessarily illustrative of the Choes.

i. 687 n. 3 trees planted on graves as a vehicle for the soul. Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 790 n. 1 gives further references for this folk-belief. See also H. Marzell in the Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 955 'Der Baum, der wachsende Baum soll die Seele beherbergen.'

i. 689 n. 5 the Boeotian Xanthos or Xanthios slain by the Nereid Melanthos with the aid of Dionysos Melanagis. A doublet in Plout. quaest. Gr. 13 εκ τοῦκ τουμουραχών οί βασιλεῖς, καὶ τῶν Ίωάκηνος θέρορον ὁ τῶν Άιναν Αβίας ἱήματα ἤρων μετὰ κύκλον αὐτῆς προφερεμένος ὡς ἐφι βίας ποιήσῃ, δεύτερον επάνω κυκλίματα μαχήμενον ἅπελαντος ὁ τῆς θερών τοῦ κύκλῳ καὶ μεταπτωμάτων, λίθῳ βαλὼν τὸ ὄμοι αὐτόν ἀναρέη, κυριαμένοι δὲ τῆς χώρας, τός Ίωάκης μετὰ τῶν Ἀκραίων κεβαλλόντες τῷν μὲν λίθῳ ἵππον ὡς ἱερῶν ἱερων ἕμφιαίνεται καὶ δύσον αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τῇ ὁμοίω πεπερατότων. W. R. Halliday 'Xanthos—Melanthos and the Origin of Tragedy' in the Class. Rev. 1926 xlii. 179—181 and in his note on Plout. loc. cit. thinks that both the Attic and the Boeotian tale were 'a purely secular traditional legend to which no esoteric meaning need be attached.'

i. 694 A. J. B. Wace 'More Mumming Plays' in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1912—1913 xix. 248—265 figs. 1—6 concludes 'That the festival is really a winter festival and has in different places been transferred to a different season. Secondly, that it is by no means a typically Greek festival, for it occurs only in North Greece where there is much mixed blood, and is known to almost all the other South Balkan races.'

i. 695 Athenian substitute for dramatic omophagy. W. M. Lindsay in the Class. Quart. 1916 x. 108 cites a newly discovered note of Fest. in Isid. orig. 8. 7. 6 Hos
Addenda

Hyginus (egimis cod.) primum frusta[m] hircinae carnis praemium accepisse dicit et inde nomem traxisse, scilicet a trago quem Latinis hircum vocant.

i. 697 n. 4. P. Kretschmer comments on Σαλβούς again in Glotta 1915 vi. 308. But F. Solmsen 'Σαλβούς Σάτυρος Τρυψι' in the Indo germanische Forschungen 1912 xxxi. 1–47 connects the word with ἱλιόν, iulus, a by-form of ἱλίως, 'snub-nosed.'


In the fourth century these goatish dancers were assimilated to the south-Italian Pan, e.g. on an 'Apulian' vase published by T. Panofka Musée Blacas Paris 1829 pi. 23 (F. Weege Der Tanz in der Antike Halle/Saale 1926 p. 3 fig. 2) or on an Italoite bell-krater at Lecce published by Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmaler ii. 196 pl. 86, 3 (F. Weege op. cit. p. 166 fig. 144. L. Séchan in Darmember—Saglio Diet. Att. Athens 1924 p. 230). It is certainly going too far to Hartmann to ascribe the end of his article on 'Silenos und Satyros' in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iia. 53. 'So bleibt es dabei, dass die bocksartige Bildung von Satyron erst ein Erzeugnis der in der hellenistischen Zeit aufkommenden Einmischung des Pantypus in den Satyr- und Silentypus ist.'

i. 700 n. 4. E. M. W. Tillyard has since discovered the faint inscription ΚΑΛΟΣ ΗΦΑΣΤΩΣ (sic), which makes it probable that the central figure is Hephaistos carrying his axe. If so, the scene shows Dionysos persuading Hephaistos to accompany him to Olympos—a scene perhaps drawn from Achaios' satyr-play Ἡφαιστος (Trag. Gr. frag. p. 750 L. Nauck) (E. M. W. Tillyard The Hope Vases Cambridge 1913 p. 79 ff. no. 135 pl. 23).

i. 704 early seal-stones portraying human goats etc. Any serious attempt to discuss these much-disputed figures must nowadays take into account analogous types found over a wide area of the ancient world. A sample or two will suffice to show the sort of data required. A whorl of green steatite from Hagios Omphalios near Phaistos shows a horned figure with human legs (A. J. Evans Scripta Minoa Oxford 1909 i. 118 fig. 52, a, id. The Palace of Minos at Knossos Oxford 1921 i. 69 fig. 38 A). A prism-seal in black steatite from Karnak shows a human figure with bovine head running (id. Scripta Minos i. 123 fig. 58, c, Palace of Minos i. 69 fig. 38 b, c). Both these are assigned to the 'Early Minoan i' period (3400–2800 B.C.). Sir J. Marshall Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization London 1931 ii. 389 fig. 356 on pl. 111 notes two human figures (from seals no. 277 and no. 270) with the hoofs, horns, and tail of a bison. Id. ib. ii. 389 fig. 357 on pl. 111 gives a seal on which a similar figure is seen struggling with a fabulous horned tiger. Sir John compares the type with that of Enkidy the companion of Gilgamesh. H. R. Hall, lecturing at Cambridge on Oct. 31, 1938, quoted an 'ibex-headed man on a proto-Elamite tablet' and an 'animal-headed man on a seal from South Caucasus' as evidence of Mesopotamian priority to the fantastic sealings from Zakro (supra p. 845 n. 3). See also Addenda to i. 67 n. 3.

i. 705. R. C. Fickinger 'Tragedy and the Satyric Drama' in Class. Philol. 1913 viii. 261–283 (especially pp. 269–272) discusses the derivation of τραγῳδία, defending the goat-prize tradition and rejecting the goat-men conjectures. Id. The Greek Theater and its Drama Chicago 1918 pp. 13–15, ib. 1936 pp. 13–15, maintains the same standpoint. E. Rostrup Attic Tragedy in the light of Theatrical History trans. I. Andersen Kjobenhavn—Kristiania—London—Berlin 1923 p. 64 ff. denies the dancers 'costumed as he-goats' and holds, on anthropological grounds, that the τραγῳδοι were young men who had undergone puberty rites and were known by an animal name, by which they were known as κωπολοι stadiōn, χοροί τραγῳδών, and χοροί ἄνδρων representing successive age-groups. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge Dithyramb Tragedy and Comedy Oxford 1927 pp. 149–166, after a careful discussion of all the possibilities, returns to the view that τραγῳδοι may well mean 'singer at the goat-sacrifice' or 'singer for the goat-prize.' 'The two may even be reconciled, if the goat was first won and then sacrificed' (p. 165).

i. 706 Zeus Asels. W. M. Calder in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1913 xxxii. 163 compares this appellative with an Old Phrygian text from Eynik in Kappadokia (J. Friedrich Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler Berlin 1932 p. 127 no. 15 a, 3 τερκουσανεκρον), of which
likely that, at some date later than Pausanias' visit, the big Zeus was damaged and the cella at the west end of the temple bore a base designed for a much smaller statue. It seems a good account of the town and temple, from which it appears that a large podium of Pentelic marble, imply a figure about thrice life-size, and suit the pose of the god as shown on the coins. See further D. M. Robinson in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1933, pp. 480.

The fragments (now in the National Museum at Athens, nos. 3377 and 3481) are all close to the same building, and one finger of the right hand, found in 1925 inside it. Figs. 94—97 was able to add the left arm, found by the villagers of Vlowoka in 1920 (Der Arm der Zeusstatue von Eukleides) were inlaid.

Portions of this cult-statue are still extant. O. Walter 'Ein Kolossalkopf des Zeus aus Aigeira' in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1919 xix—xx. 1—14 fgs. 1—9 pls. 1 (= my fig. 880) and 2 published the large head (height 0'87 m) which he had found on Aug. 31, 1916, inside the temple. The marble is hollowed at the back and, as the dowel-holes prove, was ecked out before and behind with adjusted pieces. The eyes were inlaid. Id. 'Der Arm der Zeusstatue von Eukleides' ib. 1932 xxvii. 146—152 fgs. 94—97 was able to add the left arm, found by the villagers of Vlowoka in 1920 close to the same building, and one finger of the right hand, found in 1925 inside it. The fragments (now in the National Museum at Athens, nos. 3377 and 3481) are all of Pentelic marble, imply a figure about thrice life-size, and suit the pose of the god as shown on the coins. See further D. M. Robinson in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1933 xxxvii. 480. O. Walter 'Eine archäologische Voruntersuchung in Aigeira' in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1919 xix—xx Beiblatt pp. 5—42 fgs. 1—26 and 'Versuchsgrabung in Aigeira' ib. 1932 xxvii Beiblatt pp. 223—234 fgs. 109—115 gives a good account of the town and temple, from which it appears that a large podium at the west end of the cella bore a base designed for a much smaller statue. It seems likely that, at some date later than Pausanias' visit, the big Zeus was damaged and

Fig. 879.
replaced by a life-sized figure, perhaps that of a Roman emperor. Otherwise we should have to conclude that the temple to which the big Zeus belonged is still to seek. Eukleides, to judge from the style and technique of this statue, may be regarded as a contemporary of Damophon and dated c. 200 B.C. (A. Hekler 'Eukleides' ib. 1922 xxi—xxii. 120—122), though O. Walter and G. Lippold would place him in the middle of the fourth century B.C. or a little later (Lippold in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. Suppl. v. 220).

Fig. 880.


i. 710 Theseus. M. Bieber Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 18 f. pl. 7, 2 takes this figure to be Nero (cp. E. Strong in the Rev. Arch. 1913 ii. 327 n. 2). In any case see Svoronos Ath. Nationalmus. no. 3078 pl. 200.
Addenda


Fig. 881.

i. 713. A figure-einachhe (Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. i. 408 f.) in my collection shows the infant Dionysos, with a kántharos in his right hand, mounted on a vigorous goat (fig. 881). The vase, which was polychrome, has traces of pink (flesh), red (cloak), yellow (hair, kántharos), and blue (wreath) on a white ground. Height, exclusive of the handle which is in part restored, 54 ins.

i. 713 n. 0. On the cult-statue of Apollon see a mutilated relief from the Amyklaion published by B. Schroeder in the Ath. Mitth. 1904 xxix. 24—31 fig. 2, also E. R. Fiechter 'der Amykläische Thron, Bericht über die Untersuchungen im Amyklaion 1907' in the Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1910 xxv Arch. Anz. pp. 66—70, id. 'Amyklæ.
i. 717 n. 2 bulls sacrificed to Zeus. Add Xen. Cyrop. 8. 3. 11 Ἵ�ροντο μὲν ἧμεν βουνό τῷ Δίῳ ταίριον πάγωλον εἰς τέταρτα καὶ ὧν ἄνωθεν θεὸν οἱ μάγοι ἐξηγοῦντο. Also the Ἰαμβοῦρια at Mylasa (supra ii. 582 n. 5, iii. 570). See, however, Serv. in Verg. Aen. ix. 120 sic in Thracia civitatem condens Αἰενας, quam mox fuerat relocuturas, contra modern Iovis de tauro sacrifici. ('Am. Journ. Arch. i. 20 f.), Isid. orig. ii. 12. 1, 28 Iovius cunctus est quod iavare incipiat hominum usus in terra colenda (supra p. 591 n. 1), vel quia apud gentiles Iovis semper ubique iuvencus immolabatur et nunquam taurus. nam in victimis etiam actas considerabatur.

i. 717 n. 3 goats sacrificed to Zeus. W. M. Lindsay in the Class. Quart. 1916 x. 109 cites Fest. in Isid. orig. 8. 11. 84 Ιουί Κρετήνες capram immolabant.

i. 720 in the golden hound of Crete. An Attic black-figured sklyphos found at Kameiros and now in the Louvre (A 478) (Pottier Cat. Vases du Louvre i. 171, id. Vases antiques du Louvre Paris 1897 p. 20 pl. 17) is interpreted by L. D. Barnett in Hermes 1898 xxiii. 638 ff. as illustrating the discovery by Iris and Hermes of the golden hound in the house of Pandareos—an interpretation now commonly accepted (H. N. Fowler in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1899 iii. 304, W. H. Roscher in his Lex. Myth. iii. 1520 n. "*", Pfuhl Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. i. 348).

i. 723 the cire perdue method of hollow-casting in bronze. Miss van der Kolf in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iv A. 2084 is disposed to adopt my explanation of the Talos-myth (‘eine ansprechende Vermutung’), but regards both myth and method as ‘ziemlich jung.’ S. Casson The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture Oxford 1933 is more precise: ‘One thing is certain—that the Minoans had no knowledge at all of hollow casting by the cire-perdue process’ (cp. L. R. Farnell supra ii. 644 n. 1). But is that so certain? K. Kluge, our greatest authority on Greek bronzes, in his Die antiken Grossbronzen Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 91—105 (‘Der antike Wachserzeuger’) cites the pottery mould for an axe to be cast by the cire perdue process in the seventh stratum at Troy and is now in the Berlin Museum (W. Dörpfeld Troya und Ilion Athen 1902 i. 405 fig. 404, 408 f. supplementary pl. 46, viii a, viii b). Again, Kluge ‘Die Gestaltung des Erzes in der archaisch-griechischen Kunst’ in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1939 xlv. 1—30 (summarised by E. H. Heffner in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1931 xxxv. 466 f.) says (p. 6): ‘Bereits in primitiven Kulturlagen—es sei an die Göttin von Benin erinnert—wird diese Methode des Wachserzeugens beherrscht, und in der ägyptischen Kunst können wir den steilen Anstieg dieses Könners verfolgen.’ Indeed, Mr H. Frankfort in The Illustrated London News Oct. 8, 1933 p. 538 figs. 7—9 shows a statuette from Khafaje in Iraq representing a bearded priest cast in bronze by the cire perdue process c. 3000 B.C. Mr Sidney Smith (Jan. i, 1926) refers me further to F. Thureau-Dangin in the Revue d’assyriologie et d’archéologie orientale 1924 xii. 26 n. 3 and 155, who cites A. Ungnad in the Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmaeler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin Leipzig 1909 Heft viii. 51 n. 103 (‘un quurrurra reçoit 1/3 de mine de cire pour la fabrication d’une clé en métal, c’est le procédé de la cire perdue’). For modern cire perdue casting see A. Toft Modelling and Sculpture London 1911 pp. 187—191.

i. 723 n. 3. For proof that the Sardinians of the Bronze Age worshipped a bull-god in their subterranean temples see R. Pettazzoni ‘Le antichità protosarde di Santa Vittoria’ in the Bullettinio di palenetologia italiana 1910 xxxv. 159—177, A. Taramelli in the Mon. d. Linc. 1915 xxiii. 313—436 (especially p. 325 ff.), T. Ashby in The Times Literary Supplement for Jan. 22, 1930 p. 50, H. Philipp in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i A. 2488, J. Whatmough The Foundations of Roman Italy London 1937 p. 372 (‘Of special interest are the temples discovered in recent years by Taramelli. These are circular in construction and were regularly built over a sacred spring or well. With them is associated the cult of the sacred pillar and also of a deity who took the form of a bull, as the large stone bulls’ heads from the front of the temples show. It is difficult not to admit in these the evidence of oriental influence, as also in the indications of ordeal by water, and of “incubation”...’).

i. 725 Talos, nephew of Daidalos, and the saw. G. M. A. Hanfmann in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1935 xxxix. 189—194 figs. 1—5 pl. 25, A, B publishes a magnificent gold bulla of Etruscan workmanship, found near Ferrara (?) and now in the Walters Art
Article: Addenda

Gallery, Baltimore. Two archaic winged figures in relief, with incised retrograde inscriptions, show Daidalos (ΔΙΑΣΙΔΑΛ) and Ikaros (ΗΚΑΡΟΣ), the former holding a saw in his left hand and an adze in his right, the latter a double axe and a square. E. Fiesel "loc. cit." pp. 195—197 thinks that the inscription originated in Central Etruria, probably in the fifth century B.C. Tuttile and Vikare are correct Etruscan forms of Daidalos and Ikaros, the one being Greek, the other—to judge from the suffix -ap—pre-Greek or Aegrean. A cornealian scarab, from the Blacas collection, now in London, again represents Daidalos, Tuttile (♂), a beardless winged figure, flying above waves, with an adze in his right hand, a saw in his left ("Brit. Mus. Cat. Genus" p. 67 no. 329 pl. x, ib.2 p. 82 no. 663 pl. 11). A second cornealian scarab, from the Blacas collection, also in London, has a somewhat similar, but uninscribed, Daidalos flying with saw in right hand and adze (? in left ("Brit. Mus. Cat. Genus" p. 68 no. 330 pl. E, ib.2 p. 89 f. no. 727 pl. 12, cp. Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i pl. 19, 28, ii. 93 ("Geflügelter Dämon"), Lippold Gemmen pl. 25, 7 p. 171 ("Eros")). Lastly, a stela from Bologna, assigned to the date 390—360 B.C., includes among its reliefs the same beardless Daidalos flying through the air with square and double axe in his right hand and saw in his left (E. Brizio in the Not. Scavi 1890 pp. 130—142 pl. 1, 3).

The art-type of the winged male figure posting through the sky with a double axe may be traced back to a very early date (sub. Minoan?) in the Archipelago: see the Melian (?) gem supra ii. 544 fig. 419. From Melos to Ikaros (Iktaria) is a bare hundred miles. Talos, Daidalos, and Ikaros were perhaps all originally independent but analogous figures (Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rep. p. 250 n. 2; Heeg in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ix. 986, G. M. A. Hanfmann "loc. cit." p. 194), various forms taken by the winged sun-god.


J. D. Beazley 'Icarus' in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1927 xvii. 222—223 illustrates inter alia (p. 231 fig. 6) a small ree-figured lekythos of c. 470 B.C., in New York, on which a winging youth sinking into the sea (?) has above his head a bird 'flying almost straight down'. 'The bird acts as the directional arrow in cartography.' H. J. Rose 'Ikaros and Perdix on a Fifth-century Vase? ib. 1928 xviii. 91 f. acutely conjectures that the painter 'had in his mind the mythical Perdix.'

On πειρείστεیο see K. M. Dawkins ib. 1936 vii. 8 (botanical identifications).


1. 733 n. 6. On Zeus Νούσος of Miletos see now gr. Kruse in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xvii. 1053, who, after mentioning the late sixth-century offering Δι Νόσυ (in inscription no. 31, 9 a sacrificial calendar on the wall of the old hall in the Delphinion), adds: 'Νούσος findet sich dann noch in einer Inschrift nr. 186, einer Schreibung eines Steinmetzes... aus der Zeit vor der Perserkatastrophe.... Auch v. Wilamowitz G. G. A 1914, 100 hält Δι Νόσυ für gesichert, fügt aber mit Recht hinzu: 'es kann wohl nur ein Νούσος sein, so sehr es befremdet.'

1. 735 f. Zeus as a Satyr. Titian's 'Jupiter and Antiope' in the Louvre shows the lustful god, with the ears and legs of a goat, just twitching the last garment off a lustful god, with the ears and legs of a goat, just twitching the last garment off a

On νεφελός see E. Fiesel ib. 1936 vii. 8 (botanical identifications).

1. 733 n. 6. On Zeus Νούσος of Miletos see now gr. Kruse in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xvii. 1053, who, after mentioning the late sixth-century offering Δι Νόσυ (in inscription no. 31, 9 a sacrificial calendar on the wall of the old hall in the Delphinion), adds: 'νούσος findet sich dann noch in einer Inschrift nr. 186, einer Schreibung eines Steinmetzes... aus der Zeit vor der Perserkatastrophe.... Auch v. Wilamowitz G. G. A 1914, 100 hält Δι Νόσυ für gesichert, fügt aber mit Recht hinzu: 'es kann wohl nur ein νούσος sein, so sehr es befremdet.'

1. 735 f. Zeus as a Satyr. Titian's 'Jupiter and Antiope' in the Louvre shows the lustful god, with the ears and legs of a goat, just twitching the last garment off a recumbent and sleeping Antiope (Sir J. A. Crowe—G. B. Cavalcaselle The Life and Times of Titian' London 1881 ii. 317 with pl., J. Addison Classic Myths in Art London 1904 p. 57 f. with pl.).

II. W. Stoll in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 3309 takes Sil. It. 3. 105 ff. (lascivo genitus Satyro nymphaque Myrce | Millichis indignis late regnarant in oris | cornigeram attollens |) to mean that Millichos the horned king of Spain was the son of the nymph Myrke by Zeus in the form of a Satyr.

Zeus Πειρείστειος is attested by Schöll—Studemand addend. i. 164 f. Επιστήμη Αἴσ... 86 πειρείστειος, 266 Επιστήμη Δίσ... 74 πειρείστειος. The epithet, a derivative of πέτος (Stephanus Thes. Gr. Ling. vi. 743 B—744 A), would suit a god of Satyr-like propensities, 'soz also wohl den Zeus als Gott der Fruchtbarkeit bezeichnen, wenn es nicht christlich-apologetischen Ursprungs ist' (O. Höfer in Roscher Lex. Myth. iii. 1752).

1. 735 n. 3 Lykourgos. Bronze coins of Alexander struck by Antoninus Pius represent Lykourgos with his double axe attacking Ambrosia, who according to Nonn. Dion.
Addenda

21. 17 ff. was transformed by Gaia into a vine (K. D. Mylonas in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1898 i. 233 ff. (wrongly numbered 153 ff.) and J. N. Svoronos ib. p. 466 ff.).


i. 741 Aphrodite and her dove in Kypros. W. N. Bates *Aphrodite's Doves at Paphos in 1932* in the *Am. Journ. Philol.* 1933 iiii. 256 ff. notes that the church of St George at New Paphos, built over a temple of Aphrodite (?), has in front of its iconostasis five white doves, which hold in their beaks cords supporting lamps. A larger church recently erected in the neighbourhood again has the same arrangement of five white doves holding lamp-cords. Finally the twelfth-century monastery of St Neophytus, some seven miles from Kitma, can boast the bones of the saint kept in a wooden box made by himself. *'Above them is a sort of canopy surmounted by two rude wooden doves gilded.'* Bates rightly concludes that *'Aphrodite's doves still have a place in their ancient home.'*

i. 741 n. 4 Zeus Μαφεφ. Cp. F. Solmsen in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1897 xxxiv. 49 n. 2: *'Auch in Μαφεφ: ο Ζεύς παρά Φυσιί Ηεσ. wird wohl nur der pers. Αφραύα «par de φυσιί» zu erkennen sein, wie schon de Lagarde annahm.'*


i. 750. For the star on the shoulder of a lion cp. a basalt relief from the level of Thatmos e iii (B.C. 1501—1447 B.C. Breasted) at Belsa, which shows two scenes of a lion attacked by a Molossian mastiff (G. Contenau *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1931 i. 297 with fig. 777: *'Nous noterons sur ce bas-relief une particularité de facture: à l'épaule du lion, les poils forment une sorte de rosace en étoile à rais courbes; on la retrouvera plus tard sur un lion d'Arslan-Tash; à Zendjirli la plupart des lions portent au même endroit du corps deux traits croisés en X').


i. 753 Tios or Tion in Bithynia. L. Robert in the *Rev. Arch.* 1934 i. 93 ff. figs. 1—3 gives an account of his visit to the place with views of its *abödöpolis* etc.

i. 754 Zeus ringed with the zodiac. R. Wood *The Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tadmor of the Desert* London (1753) p. 45 pl. 10, A publishes the circular medallion of a ceiling, which shows Zeus surrounded by six deities and a zodiacal ring. The spandrils are occupied by four eagles. The whole decorates the soffit of the temple of Sol at its southern end—a temple restored by Aurelian (see his letter to Cerronius Bassus in Vopisc. v. Aurelian. 31. 7 ff.).


i. 754 ff. Zeus as lord of the constellations. G. Thiele *Antike Himmelsbilder* Berlin 1898 p. 90 fig. 17 (= my fig. 382) reproduces the fine illustration of Arat. *phaen.* 1 given in cod. Bonon. 188 fol. 20'. An eagle with spread wings carries a thunderbolt in his claws and Zeus recumbent, with globe, sceptre, and rayed nimbus, on his back. Background blue, framework vermilion, eagle brownish yellow, flesh dark brown, nimbus and globe silver, diadem yellow, *himization rose.*

i. 756 n. 6 Zeus Βγχος. J. Cantineau *Textes palmyriens provenant de la fouille du temple de Bél* in *Syria* 1931 xii. 119 no. 3 publishes a bilingual inscription of the year 504—193 A.D., which (Greek 4½. forms an δξαμενεις ἐις) [στρώματι τιμίον εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς θεούς ἰδιότερον] [στρώματι τιμίον εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς θεούς ιδίοτερον]. See further F. Roussel in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1932 xiv. 227.

i. 766 the Dioskouroi on Etruscan mirrors. C. Brakman *De Iuturna et Dioscuris* in *Museum* N.S. 1932 lix. 427—439, following up the trail blazed by F. Altheim *Griechische Götter im alien Rom* Giessen 1930 pp. 4—39 ('Iuturna und die Dioskuren') [cp. T. Altheim *A History of Roman Religion* trans. H. Mattingly London 1938 pp. 243—245], claims that the Etruscans when in Asia had taken over from Greeks or pre-Greeks the cult of the Dioskouroi. These they would have called *'Diutures, 'sons of Zeus,' cp. *Diuturna* [Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3856]=*Iuturna,* 'daughter of Zeus,' hybrid formations. *'A stirpe *Diu (Tove) per suffixum patronymicum -bur vel -tur derivatum*
Fig. 882.

had proposed ib. p. 303 f. Τυνάπιδαι = Etruscan Τίν- (Zeus) + Etruscan patronymic -θυρ or -τυρ (cp. tînthur as a personal name in a tomb-inscription at Naples). He supposes that the θ or τ of the Etruscan suffix became S under the influence of a personal name Τυνάπος related to the place-name Τυνα as Πυνάπος to Πυνας or Μινάπος to Μινάν. These northern names carry with them the northern suffix -απ- (cp. Addenda to i. 725). Kretschmer concludes ib. p. 308: *Die vorgriechische Bevölkerung, in der die unidg. Urbevölkerung und die protidg. Zuwanderer verschmolzen waren, nannte also die mit Zeus gepaarte Göttin einfach mit dem Appellativum für Frau. Der Gott hiess Τιν-, wonach vermutlich unter dem Einfluss einer jüngeren Schicht *Τινος, *Τινς trat; ihm stand eine Göttin als seine Frau, Λάδα [supra i. 763 n. 4], zur Seite. Ihre Zwillingssöhne hießen *Στινατορ- oder ähnl. Wenn wir an dem Ergebnis kommen, dass diese Tyrheno-Pelager bereits den idg. Zeus-Kult nach Hellas gebracht hatten, so wird damit zugleich das Rätsel der berühmten Illustrehe II 233 gelöst: Ζεό δει Σωματωτε, Πεταυματε, ....
Addenda


i. 781. A. D. Knox in the Cambridge University Reporter 1915 xlv. 605 (Cambridge Philological Society, Feb. 25, 1915) suggested that in Phoinix of Kolophon frag. 2. 4 δε ὁδε δ' ἀστέρ' ὁ διόβαυν ἔβισφρω the word 'Δίσω' or the like is Persian for heaven, taken with τιν' τις, 6 from (Ktesias) Δ' Ἀθ. Strab. p. 735, following or correcting Bdt. 1. 14. But the text as given in cod. A of Athen. 530 E ὁδε δ' ἀστέρ' ὁ διόβαυν ἔβισφρω is very corrupt. Emendations are numerous (see the note of J. U. Powell Collectanea Alexandrina Oxonii 1925 p. 232). Knox himself in the Loeb edition (London 1929) frag. 1. 4 now prints δε ὁδε δ' ἀστέρ' ὁ διόβαυν ἔβισφρω, and E. Diehl Anthologia Lyrica Graeca Lipsiae 1936 i. 3. 108 frag. 3. 4 is still content with Naeke's δε ὁδε δ' ἀστέρ' ὁ διόβαυν ἔβισφρω.


ii. 8 n. 7. G. H. Macurdy in the Class. Quart. 1936 xx. 179 f. treats Φιλοποίω as a short form of Φιλόκλον (Attic Φιλοκλόν).

ii. 9 apothecies by lightning. See now H. J. Rose in the Class. Quart. 1924 xvii. 15 f.


ii. 13 ff. Zeus Ktaibates. See now H. Sjöwall Zeus im altgermanischen Hauskult Lund 1931 pp. 108—114 ('Zeus Ktaibates'). A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the Æpp. 'Aρχ. 1924 p. 146 ff. no. 389 fig. 3 publishes a stèle of blackish marble found in the wall of the church of St. Symnirake at Solet near Python in Thessaly. The stèle has an adona with abrotēria above, below which is a smooth space originally occupied by a painting, and then an inscription in letters of c. the beginning of s. iii b.C. Δι Κταιβάτησι ἴπου
This Epikrates was either a chthonian hero or, more probably, a man killed by lightning and worshipped as a hero. On the Thessalian festival Katasthos see Adler in Pauly-Whissowa Real-Enc. x. 246 f. C. Picard in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1936 xxvi. 234 conjectures the use of a bronze statue found in Thasos, which bears a dedication of Roman date to Zeus Katasthos (Bull. Corr. Hell. 1923 xlvii. 537). And G. Daux in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1926 l. 245 f. no. 25 records an inscription from Thasos (on a block of local marble, once a statue-base, to be dated c. the beginning of our era) Δίος Κατασθέος.

The word, which originally meant 'star,' was widened to include omens in general. Theuρας, reープα, 1930 Iviii. 30 f. connect Τειπερις and suppose vergleichende Sprachforschung 99. i f. Anth. Pal. Append. i. cp. Cougny 'Αἰός Κατασθέος and examines Zeus 7. 617. if., in detail relevant religious and linguistic usage.

καταβάτης dbaton marks the spot on which Demetrios Poliorketes died, and explains that at night he sometimes 'descended in a shower' (στραμμός) from his chariot—a descent parodied by Plaut. Curc. 413 ff. where Curculo announces himself as Summanus, the god who sends nocturnal lightnings, and explains that at night he sometimes 'descends in a shower' (στραμμός)!

The pillar of Prometheus, the Elysian Way, the tower of Kronos, etc. were all zodiacal myths. Prof. R. A. S. Macalister subsequently, but independently, hit upon the same explanation. In a letter to me, dated Jan. 19, 1929, he says: 'Apropos of the Sky-pillar... I have been wondering to me, dated Jan. 19, 1929, he says: 'Apropos of the Sky-pillar... I have been wondering if you considered the possibility that it might have been suggested by the Zodiacal Light.

This soft beam of light, which rises vertically from the evening horizon in Spring and the morning horizon in Summer, is not often to be seen in our latitudes: I have often looked for it, in vain. But I have seen it in Palestine, where it looked just like a faintly


ii. 23 n. 2 Numai's law about the man struck by lightning. E. Bickel in the Klein. Misc. 1931 lxx. 279—298 cp. hominem fulmine lovos occisit, Mus. fulmini) lobos occisit, ib. 1934 vi. 89—no.


ii. 30 n. 3 etymology of Brandizium. P. Skok 'Brendisium und Verwandtes' in the Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung 1925/26 i. 81—90.

ii. 31 téras. See further P. Stein ΤΕΡΑΣ Marpurgi Cattorum 1909 pp. 1—66. He classifies the uses of the word and connects τερασία with it, but does not elucidate its etymology. Schrade Reales. 2 ii. 143, 481 a—b and H. Lewy in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 1930 viii. 30 f. connect τέρας, τερας, τερασία and suppose that the word, which originally meant 'star,' was widened to include omens in general.


ii. 33 ff. Zoroastres. A masterly exposition of Zoroaster's life, teaching, and works will be found in J. Bidez—F. Cumont Les Mages hellénisés: Zoroastre Ostanis et Hystaspes d'après la tradition grecque Paris 1938 i. 1—297 ('Introduction'), ii. 1—241 ('Les Textes').


ii. 44 the 'straight light like a pillar' (Plat. rep. 616 b) without a counterpart in astronomical fact or fancy. But what of the zodiacal light (J. P. Julius Schmidt Das Zodiälicht Braunschweig 1856 pp. 1—119)? J. Heimbold Der Allalmythus und Verwandter Mülhausen i. E. 1906 (Beilage zum Jahresbericht des Gymnasiums zu Mülhausen i. E.) p. 5 fig. shows the zodiacal light looking much like an obelisk with rounded top. He thinks that the pillars of Atlas (Od. 1. 53 ff.), the pillar of Prometheus, the Elysian Way, the tower of Kronos, etc. were all zodiacal myths. Prof. R. A. S. Macalister subsequently, but independently, hit upon the same explanation. In a letter to me, dated Jan. 19, 1929, he says: 'Apropos of the Sky-pillar... I have been wondering if you considered the possibility that it might have been suggested by the Zodiacal Light. This soft beam of light, which rises vertically from the evening horizon in Spring and the morning horizon in Summer, is not often to be seen in our latitudes: I have often looked for it, in vain. But I have seen it in Palestine, where it looked just like a faintly
luminous pillar with tapering point. I never saw it as a complete belt across the sky, as some have seen it in high tropic latitudes.'

ii. 45 the 'spindle of Ananke.' P. M. Schuh in the Rev. Arch. 1930 ii. 58-64 pls. 6 and 7 and fig. 1 holds that the spindle of Ananke may be derived from the ancient oriental theme of a spindle-holding goddess, 'la Dame an fuseau' (for which see U. Holmberg 'Der Baum des Lebens' in the Annales Academia Scientiarum Fennica ser. B 1921-1923 xvi. 3. 106 ff.).

ii. 52 n. 2 Iringes wec. Add Stegemann in the Handworterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens 1934 vi. 373 n. 36.

Further evidence for the sky-prop in belief and practice is collected by U. Holmberg in the Annales Academia Scientiarum Fennica ser. B. 1921-1923 xvi. 3. 9-33 figs. 2-15 ('Die Weltsäule'). Id. in J. A. MacCulloch The Mythology of all Races Boston 1927 iv (Finno-Ugric, Siberian). 271 f. says: 'the Samoyeds (Turuhans District) call the North Star the "nail of the sky," a round which the heavens revolve.' The ancient Finns had also a corresponding but now forgotten term, as proved by the name of the North Star, borrowed by the Lapps from the Finns, Boli-naville ("the nail of the north"); its counterpart among the Estonians being the PShjanael.... This nail is, at the same time, also a corresponding but now forgotten term, as proved by the name of the North Star, which in the Kalevala denotes 'eine wundervare Mühle, Glücksmühle,' but is akin to the Wotysk sammas, 'Säule, Wetterhahn,' and Estonian sammas, 'Säule, Pfosten.'
Marble head of Juno Lucina (?), now at Queens' College, Cambridge.
into the earth, and are hardly ever observed to be shaped at all in any way. The pillar of the village of Tsingala is about two fathoms in height, a squared, slender log, not very old. This pillar of Tsingala, which the Ostiaks of that place regard as a deity, is called by them "The iron pillar man," a similar name being given to the post of another village of Tysish, resembling greatly the afore-mentioned "Iron pillar" of the Tatars. Some peoples in North-West Siberia, who have a similar custom, place on the world-pillar a wooden figure of a bird, which sometimes has two heads. The pillars, on which these birds are placed and which have sometimes cross-pieces like branches, are, according to the Dolgans, a symbol of the "never falling props" before the dwelling of the Supreme God. On the cross-pieces, it is said, dwell the sons of God.

E. Jung 'Irminsul und Rolandsaule' in Mannus 1925 xvii. 1—34 figs. 1—14, taking a hint from J. Grimm Teutonic Mythology trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 119 and 394, claims that the Rolandsaule of Niedersachsen, Westfalen, Obersachsen, and Thüringen was a Christianised survival of the pre-Christian Irminsul (summary by E. H. Hefner in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1926 xxx. 509). See further P. J. Hamilton-Griersen in J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Edinburgh 1915 viii. 420 ('Irminsäulen, Rolandsäulen, perrons, and many of the market-crosses of Scotland').

ii. 57 ff. Jupiter-Columns. These are now published and illustrated in detail by Espérandieu Bas-reliefs de la Gaulie Rom. (Index in x. 253 'Chapiteau,' 266 'Restes de colonnes,' 275 f. 'Quatre divinités') and Bas-reliefs de la Germanie Rom. (Index p. 480 'Cavalier et anguipède,' 'Colonne votive,' p. 484 'Quatre divinités'). Add R. I'Antier in the Rev. Arch. 1939 i. 276—278 fig. 1 (group from Neschers).

61 n. a Luna Lucina. In 1934 on the dispersal of the Harland-Peck collection I acquired a fine marble head (Sotheby's Sale Catalogue 1934 p. 11 no. 48: height 22 inches), which represents Luna wearing a stephane adorned with nine crescents (pl. ixixx). I take her to be Luna Lucina as goddess of childbirth—the Roman copy of a Greek type resembling Hera Ludovisi.

ii. 63 f. the Wild Hunt or Furious Host. See further F. Liebrecht Des Gorsius von Tilbury Otia Imperialia Hannover 1856 pp. 173—211 ("La Mesnie furieuse, ou la Chasse sauvage"), K. Meisen Die Sagen vom Wütenden Heer und Wilden Jäger Münster 1935 i. 299—301. I was aware of the influence of Syrian religious art may account for these eight-sided blocks, mounted on a square plinth and supporting a cylindrical column with its crowning group of cavalier and anguiped in the Rev. Arch. 1926 i. 273—277 deals with Lussoius and Bricia, deities of the hot springs at Luxovium. Numerous local reliefs show persons holding a bottle or box in the left hand, a glass or cup in the right. Several such figures bear the sepulchral dedication D • M. a glass or cup in the right. Several such figures bear the sepulchral dedication D • M.

ii. 86 n. a. L. Barbedette 'Le symbolisme des tombeaux gallo-romains' in the Rev. Arch. 1926 i. 273—277 deals with Lussoius and Bricia, deities of the hot springs at Luxovium. Numerous local reliefs show persons holding a bottle or box in the left hand, a glass or cup in the right. Such several figures bear the sepulchral dedication D • M.

ii. 88 the world-pillar in Rhenic Germany. Miss J. R. Bacon in 1949 kindly drew my attention to Skymn. Chi. rer. 188 ff. τοῖς δὲ (τοῖς τὴν Κέλτων κείσα λεγομένη τις θεά] [στῆθη Βορίκκων] ἥλθεν δὲ ἐν χάλκῳ πᾶν | καὶ κυριακήδες πλῆθος ἀνατιόνοις ἔκθρηκεν | ἀκούσα τὴν θεότητα δὲ τοῖς θείοι τοιούτων | Κέλτων δως λήγουσιν ὑπὲρ θεάτων | Βιβλίο τε καὶ τῶν ἐν ἑνοὶς τῆς Αἰδαρί | Ιστραν καθηκόντων λήγοντος τοῖς θοῖσι παρεῖ | τὸν Ἴστρον ἄρχον χαμηλάτων τοῦ θείατος.


ii. 97 n. a. Nero as Zeus. A. D. Nock in the Class. Rev. 1926 xl. 18 notes Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Lydia p. 75 no. 7 (Diosbieron) obv. ΣΕΥΣ | ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΖΑΡ heads of Zeus to left and Nero to right, face to face. Nock cites Calp. Sic. ii. 142 f. το θρόνον μαται ceu Jupiter ipse figura, | Caesar, ades etc.

107 n. a. For the spiral column see also the materials collected by M. Avi-Yonah in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1930 i. 393—309.


Addenda

P. Casimir, *Le trophée d’Auguste à la Turbie*, Marseille 1932 pp. 1—168, S. F. Gimenes, ‘Ce que j’ai vu à la Turbie’ in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1933 pp. 165—168 (built round a pre-existing monument, perhaps several centuries older).

ii. 114 ff. the Pillar of Light. Kallitheneses of Olynthos frag. 8 (Scrip. hist. Alex. Mag. p. 13 f. Müller) = frag. 20 (Frag. gr. Hist. ii. 645 f. Jacoby) ap. Sen. nat. quaest. 6. 26. 4 (cp. ib. 7. 5. 3—5) inter multa...prodigia, quibus denuntiata est durum urbium Helices et Buria versus, suere maxime notabilia columna ignis immens et Delos agitata. But this fiery pillar was presumably a species of comet (O. Gilbert, *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums*, Leipzig 1907 p. 656 n. 1). The Jewish tragedian Ezekiel (c. ib. n. c. 1) sees A. Jacoby in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 378 n. 1 ap. Euseb. *praep. ev.* q. 29. 16 locates Moses’ rock at Elim and says ἄρα δέ χρυσός ἢ ξύλα ἤ νῦν, καὶ σφόν ἐκμεθάνον ὅσον ὁδός πορεία—apparently combining the ‘pillar of fire’ (Ex. 13. 21 f., *aith*), with the ‘rock in Horeb’ (Ex. 17. 6, cp. Num. 20. 8), if not with the ‘rock that followed them’ (1 Cor. 10. 4).


ii. 121 ‘I have fallen as a kid into milk.’ C. W. Vollgraf *EPIΓΩΝ ΞΩ ΠΑΤΕΡΟΝ* (Veröffentlichungen der Koninklijke Academie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde Decl 57, Serie A, N°. 2) Amsterdam 1914 pp. 1—35 (in Dutch, with summary in French) holds that the formula means ‘I, become a kid, flung myself upon the milk,’ i.e. upon the breast of the deity. Cp. the Villa Item fresco, where a Satyress suckles a kid [A. Maiuri, *La Villa dei Misteri* Roma 1931 p. 140 ff. fig. 53 and col. pi. 5 f.].

ii. 121 n. 3 vases showing Thracian women tattooed. To the six examples listed add: (7) A *kotyle* from Caere, now at Schwerin, signed by the potter Pistoxenos (Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 372 ff. no. 3 fig. J. D. Beazley *Atische Vasenmalerei des rotfigurigen Stils* [id. Greek Vasenmalerei ii. 372 ff. no. 3 fig., J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* London 1933 p. 51 pi. 4, r, and S. Casson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1935 xxxix. 514 ff.)—apparently combining the ‘pillar of fire’ (Ex. 13. 21 f., *aith*) with the ‘rock in Horeb’ (Ex. 17. 6, cp. Num. 20. 8), if not with the ‘rock that followed them’ (1 Cor. 10. 4).


ii. 124 ladder as soul-path. Hence perhaps that favourite *motif* in Pompeian art—Eros on a ladder (e.g. Reinauc Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom. p. 85, 3—5, p. 91. 4).

ii. 124 n. 2 pl. vi. J. D. Beazley in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1927 xvii. 230 n. 29 justly objects that I have ignored the explanation of the scene offered by F. Hauser in the *Jahrb. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1909 xii. 96 fig. 56 (Ἀδώνικλοου: the woman on the ladder personates Aphrodite).

ii. 128 Jacob’s ladder. C. F. Coxwell *Siberian and other Folk-Tales* London 1933
Addenda

p. 988 (in Little Russia the staircase seen by Jacob is formed of seven heavens—blue, green, violet, yellow, white, pink, and fiery red).

ii. 128 n. 2. See now T. Dombart Der babylonische Turn Leipzig 1930 pp. 1—36 with 9 figs. in text and 4 pls.

ii. 129 n. 2. Prof. Max Sepmeter of Aachen, in a letter dated Dec. 14, 1926, kindly points out to me that in Chwolson's translation from Makrissi 'Leiter' means, not 'ladder,' but 'leader' ('etwa die Bedeutung von "spiritus rector").


ii. 142 n. 1. Cp. also A. Taramelli 'Chiaramonti.—Navicella votiva protosarda rinvenuta a Nuraghe Spiena' in the Not. Scavi 1925 pp. 322—327 fig. 1 (bronze boat with stag-head prow), F. Behn in Ebert Reallex. xi. 440 with pl. 64, a.


ii. 145 Diana-pillars. C. Cp. a fresco from Pompeii which shows Mercury facing Venus and, between them, a Diana-pillar with crown-shaped top, a pair of ox-horns (?) attached.
Addenda

to the shaft, and a small ithyphallic ex-voto at the base—the whole erected on a rock (B. Quaranta, in the Real Museo Borbonico Napoli 1824 i pl. 32 with pp. 1—9, Helbig Wandgem. Camp. p. 8 no. 30, Reinhac Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom. p. 97 no. 3).  
iv. 160 ff. Agyieus-Pillars. With figs. 104—106 cp. a square bronze weight in the British Museum (1930. 4—17. 2) with an Agyieus-pillar in relief surrounded by the letters A M B P.  

C. A. Rhomaios in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1924 xlii. 211 ff. fig. 1 publishes as an 'Agyieus d'Apollon' a limestone pillar (1'44 m high) of cylindrical shape and tapering towards the top, which was found in Korkyra and bears the inscription [•] ΡΡΟΣΙΩΑΣ, that is δροσοί πιθανοί = τῶν Πειθών or τῶν Πίθαδος, cp. tb. fig. 6 a tapering cylinder (0'90 m high) hollowed at the upper end to serve as an altar, likewise found in Korkyra and inscribed ΟΡΟΣΙΩΑΡΟΣ ΤΑΞΑΚΡΙΤ ΑΣ, that is δροσοί λαπών | τῶν Ἀκράς = of Hera Ἀκρά. Rhomaios is followed by C. Picard La sculpture Paris 1933 i. 82 fig. 1. W. Dittenberger in Inscr. Gr. sept. i. 1 nos. 699 (misread) and 698 had included both pillars in his list of local boundary-stones. (L. B. Holland, ib. i no. 704 accepted as 'Apollinis Agyei simulacrum' the stone of Mys (supra ii. 161 n. 3). So does A. Rumpf in D. H. Haas Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte Leipzig 1928 xiii/xiv p. iii fig. 11.  
At Hephastia in Lemnos the Italians have found a village of the Geometric Age with a sanctuary comprising three large chambers. That to the south has in the centre a small octagonal pointed column, and yielded sherds of Ionic and black-figured Attic wares together with a rich deposit of terracotta figurines and local pots (E. P. Blegen in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1931 xxxv. 196 f., D. Levi in The Illustrated London News for Feb. 28, 1931 p. 328 with a view of the sanctuary).  

C. Bonner has suggested to me in conversation (July 10, 1931) that even in Homer there may be traces of sacred stones comparable with the Agyieus. Thus in ll. 12. 445 ff. Ηektor caught up λίθους... δόλα ταῦτα | ἐστήκει πρόσθε, προσάκτι παχύς, αὐτῷ ὁμιλεῖν | δόλον την... Also in Od. 3. 406 ff. Nestor sat ἐπὶ ('at' rather than 'on') ἑτοίμα λίθους, | οἱ οὓς ἐκ πρώτης θυσίας ὧδας ἄλλων | λειψῶν, ἄρσενον ἀλεθερόν (libations of fat, not polish) ἐξ ἐπὶ μὲν πρὸ | Νερέως ἤτοις, κ.τ.λ. Again, elders in the market-place sat ἐπὶ ἑτοίμα λίθον τοῦ ἐν τάσσεται (Il. 18. 504, cp. Od. 6. 6). I suggested to Bonner that perhaps to sit on the sacred stone was to be filled with the wisdom of the immanent deity. Hence the Agyieus-block might serve as a seat (cp. Primos on his ΘΛΚΟΣ at the gate of Troy as shown on the François-vase (Furtwangler-Reichert Gr. Vasenmalerei i. 58 pl. 11—13), and the elders in council might actually sit on a sepulchral stone-circle to acquire the wisdom from the crypt below to the feet of the Pythoness, who sat on the tripod. This ingenious view, though largely hypothetical, is deserving of careful consideration.  

H. Lacoste in the Fouilles de Delphes ii La Terrasse du Temple 1 pl. 4 gives a
Addenda

restored ground-plan of the fourth-century temple of Apollon, on which is marked the exact position of the side-chapel. Id. ib. ‘Addenda et Corrigenda’ p. (2) amends the facsimile of the inscription on the omphalos (my fig. 120) by prolonging the first stroke of the alpha so that it crosses the second. But there is no doubt that the letter intended was Α.

F. Chapouthier in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1930 xli. 336 draws attention to the curious resemblance of the inscription engraved on an amphora from Mykenai (A. J. Evans Scripta Minoa Oxford 1909 i. 58 fig. 33).

P. de la Coste-Messelière—R. Flacelière ‘Une statue de la Terre à Delphes’ in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1930 liv. 283—295 figs. 1, 2 and pl. 14 publish a limestone base inscribed retrograde ΑΜ=Πα on its upper surface and ΠΑ in later lettering on its front. The base shows four holes for the two feet of a bronze statue. It was found near Kastalia just opposite the big plane-tree, which local tradition identifies with that of Agamemnon. With this base were found five other blocks which may have come from the same monument (?), one inscribed retrograde ΙΜΙΙΟ=Θυευς on its upper surface and ΟΕΜΙΣ in fourth-century letters on its front, another with nothing above but ΚΑΛΛΕΙΤΙΝ in fourth-century style in front, a third with the artist's signature \ ΑΟΙΝ followed by ΕΠΩΝ (F. Courby in the Fouilles de Delphes ii La Terrasse du Temple 2. 165—165). On the whole it seems clear that the bases of Ge and Themis must be connected and prove a joint cult at Kastalia. A deep cavity between the two statues was meant for a large bronze tree-trunk, perhaps a bay (cp. Paus. 10. 5. 9).

176 n. 4 The Delphic Ε. This famous symbol continues to provoke lively discussion.

H. Diels Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* Berlin 1912 ii. 314 n. regards it as 'vermutlich eine κλείς κρύπτη, die zunächst als eine Erfindung gewahrt, dann symbolisch gefasst und endlich als Ε gedeutet wurde. Denn das balanosschliessli sieht einem archaischen Ε sehr ähnlich.' F. Dornseiff Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie (STOIXEIA vii) Leipzig—Berlin 1922 p. 33 cites with approval Diels' explanation, but notes as an alternative possibility R. Eisler's suggestion that we have here to do with 'kleine Tempelmodellchen: im Sohar wird der Buchstabe י hejkal=βαβύλιον. Ε-GAL=ἐκαλλός Τempel genannt,' etc.


W. N. Bates ‘The Ε of the Temple at Delphi’ in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1925 xxix. 239—246 takes it to be a Cretan character, which on a gem in New York is associated with two bulls and two double axes and hence is probably to be read as a symbol of the Cretan Zeus or of the Cretan goddess, at Delphi called Gaia. Sir T. Zammit Prehistoric Malta Oxford 1930 p. 93 f. with pl. 23, 7 publishes an oval stone pebble, bored as a pendant and incised with ΜΠ, from a neolithic site in Malta: significance unknown. C. Fries ‘De Ε Delphiaco’ in the Rhein. Mus. 1930 lxix. 343 f. claims that the symbol derives from Sumer: 'Jeremias...interrogant mihi scribit, E in Sumerorum lingua idem esse quod aedem vel cameram vel domum id quod sescenties in Sumerorum inscriptionibus inveniatur.' Finally, R. Demangel ‘Triglyphes’ has in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1937 xix. 421—438 with 19 figs, (especially pp. 426—438 fig. 9 f.) reverts to my explanation, and extends it in some directions beyond my purview.

ii. 183 n. 3 Rhapso. See U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in Hermes 1926 lxii. 281 (cp. пασαδόλ).

ii. 187 the omphalos as a mound (?). S. H. Hooke in Folk-Lore 1936 xlvi. 24 f. derives the omphalos and its agrain from ‘early Sumerian seals of the “mountain” in which the dead god is imprisoned.’

ii. 187 n. 8 Zeus and Aigina. Zeus in pursuit of a young woman, a not infrequent scene on red-figured Attic vases, is often by a process of elimination labelled ‘Zeus pursuing Aegina’ (e.g. L. D. Caskey—J. D. Beazley Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Oxford 1931 i. 13 ff. no. 17 pl. 6, 43 no. 48 pls. 21 and 26, 45 no. 50 pl. 23). That is very possibly right, but the interpretation is secure only when accompanied by names, or at least by one name—that of the heroine. Thus a stdmnos from Vulci, now in the Vatican (H 504), attributed to the painter Hermonax (c. 470—455 B.C.), shows ΤΕΥΣ with sceptre held horizontally just overtaking ΑΙΑΙΝΑ, whose sisters hasten to tell their father ΑΟΙΝΟΣ (Mus. Etr. Gregor. ii. 5 pl. 20, 1 and 1 a, Overbeck Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus p. 400 f. no. 4. Atlas pl. 6, 1, Müll—Wieseler—Wernicke Ant. Denkm. i. 95 f. pl. 6, 4. Hoppen Red-Fig. Vases ii. 36 no. 571 J. D. Beazley Attische Vasenmaler des rothaarigen Stils Tubingen 1925 p. 300 no. 8), while a column-
krater in New York, attributed to the 'Boreas Painter' (c. 460 B.C.), shows Zeus with uplifted bolt catching AlAwe. She turns to touch his chin in supplication. Her sisters flee in alarm. The reverse perhaps depicts Asopos, at home, receiving the news from his other daughters (Hoppin op. cit. i. 81 no. 8 bis, Beazley op. cit. p. 205 no. 3 'Semele verfolgend'). G. M. A. Richter Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art Yale Univ. Press 1936 i. 110 f. no. 86 pls. 94 (= my fig. 883) and 170. On the ethnic implications of the myth see J. F. Harland Prehistoric Aigina Paris 1935 pp. 59–63.


189 n. o. Dr A. H. Lloyd pointed out to me (Dec. 24, 1926) that on certain tetradrachms of Gela (c. 466—415 B.C.) a flying eagle is attached by two reins to Nike's quadriga. He suggested that this implied Zeus in eagle form. But E. G. Robinson in Ólym. num. Gr. ii pl. 34, 986 says: 'The lines which run down on the reverse from eagle to chariot rail and goad and at first sight seem to be intended to connect the bird to the car appear to be in fact die-flaws.' It must, however, be admitted that on a duplicate given to me by Dr Lloyd the alleged 'die-flaws' are in exactly the same condition (cp. supra ii. 657 n. 3).

i. 191 original character of the Delphic omphalos. C. Picard in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1936 xclviii. 85 n. 2 is more disposed to accept the view that the omphalos was the tomb of Dionysos as advocated by T. Homolle 'Ressemblance de Fomphalos supra condition (cp. ii. 657 n. 3).

ii. 192 ff. the Delphic tripod. C. Clemen Religionsgeschichte Heidelberg 1926 i. 247 fig. 100 (after Springer Kunst des Altertums) fig. 433 restores the Plataean tripod much, as I do, but with legs contracted at the base.


199 n. 2 with pl. xii the Chigi base. A marble replica of (a) and (c), dredged up in the harbour at the Peiraius and referred to a date c. 100 B.C., is figured in The Illustrated London News for Jan. 31, 1931 p. 164 f. A full account of the find is given by E. P. [legen] in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1931 xxxv. 91.

201 n. 1. J. D. S. Pendlebury tells me (March 2, 1927) that at Delphi the plane-tree of Agamemnon is still shown, below Kastalia, at the outlet of the gorge.

205 n. 1 dolphins. See Biedermann Der Delphin in der dichtenden und bildenden Phantastie der Griechen und Römer Halle a. S. 1887 pp. 1—36, E. B. Stebbins The Dolphin in the Literature and Art of Greece and Rome Benasha, Wisconsin 1939 pp. 1—136 (reviewed by A. M. Duff in the Class. Rev. 1930 xliiv. 185 f.).


209. On the Pythia as a case of artificial and voluntary possession see T. K. Oesterreich Possession demoniaca and other among primitive races, in antiquity, in the middle ages, and modern times London 1930 pp. 311—331.

212 n. 0 the Peliades. Cp. also Sogliano Pitt. mur. Camp. p. 103 f. nos. 553, 554

212 n. 3. An almost exact replica of the black-figured lekythos at Leyden is
published by R. B. Bandinelli in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1925 xxx. 524 f. no. 201 fig. 5. Another black-figured *lekythos* of similar style and period, found at Gela, was discussed by P. Orsi *ib.* 1906 xvii. 120 ff. fig. 88. It shows the youthful figure emerging from the cauldron, which is surrounded by roaring flames and flanked by two scared women (Peliades?).


ii. 224 the ivory shoulder of Pelops. H. W. Parke 'The Bones of Pelops and the Siege of Troy' in *Hermathena* 1933 xxiii. 153—162 discussing Paus. 5. 13. 4 ff. holds that the shoulder-blade of Pelops there mentioned as brought from Isis to Troy and later lost off Euboia in a storm, but recovered from the sea by the fisherman Damarmenos and at the bidding of the Delphic oracle restored by him to the Eleans, was identified in s. vi B.C. with Pelops' ivory shoulder—a highly primitive feature of sacrificial or cannibalistic origin, being in reality the *scapula* of some cetacean!

I suspect that Eur. *Bach.* 1300 (Agaue asks of her son's scattered limbs) τὰ ἐν ἀρθροῖς συγκεκλημένον καλῶς; points to an original form of the myth in which Pentheus was recalled to life. This may have been detailed in the lacuna immediately following line 1300.

Cp. the shepherds' treatment of the boy killed by a bear in Apul. *met.* 7. 26 nee usquam ruris aperitur ille sed plane corpus eius membra tum laceratum multisque dispersum locis conspicitur...et cadaver quidem disiectis partibus <collectis> tandem totum aegre quemque concinnatum ibidem terrae dedere. Note also the queer story of Domitia Longina, who collected the flesh of her butchered husband Domitian, put the pieces accurately together, sewed up the whole body, and had a bronze statue of it made and set up at Rome (Prokop. *anecdota* 8. 15—21).

ii. 224 n. i the golden breast. J. A. MacCulloch in J. Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1920 xi. 410*: 'The story of Caradoc, which forms part of the French Perceval cycle [ed. Potvin ii. 191 ff.], relates how a serpent fastened on his arm and sucked away his life. He was saved by a young maiden presenting her breast to the serpent, which took the nipple in its mouth. Cador then cut off its head, but with that also the nipple, which was magically replaced by one of gold. A close parallel exists in a Gaelic folk-tale [*Sheen Billy* in Campbell i. xcv f.], and less close in a Scots ballad [*The Queen of Scotland* in Child no. 301], but it is probable that the source is Celtic, as the name of the wife of the Welsh Kadarawe is Tegau Euntron, Tegau "with the golden breast".' For a full discussion of the tale and its variants see C. A. Harper 'Carados and the Serpent' in *Modern Language Notes* 1898 xiii. 417—431, G. Paris 'Caradoc et le serpent' in *Romania* 1899 xxviii. 214—231.


On this Sonnenmotiv see E. Norden *Die Geburt des Kinder* Berlin p. 175 no. 2.

ii. 230 n. o. A convex sardonyx (owner unknown) shows the Delian Apollo, a nude standing figure with the three Charites on his outstretched right hand and a bow in his hand (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* pl. 40, 7, ii. 191, Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 7, 8 (enlarged)). C. Picard *La sculpture* Paris 1935 i. 573 fig. 199 illustrates a relief at Munich on which the upper part of the Delian Charites is shown—profile to left, full-face, profile to right—perhaps after the cult-statue.


ii. 258 n. 3 Zeus *Bouleus*. O. Broneer in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 564 with fig. 8 publishes a white marble slab—part of a gaming board—found in the well of a shop at Corinth, which is inscribed ΔΙΟΣ ΒΟΥΛΕΟΣ and ΔΑΜΑ[...]. This again associating Zeus *Bouleus* with Demeter.

ii. 258 n. 3 Zeus *Bouleos* or *Eubouleus* grouped with Demeter and Kore. With this chthonian triad M. P. Nilsson in the *Arkiv f. Rel.* 1935 xxxii. 87 justly cp. the Damateros and Zeus *Danadires* of two Rhodian dedications ((1) found by the Danish excavators on the *akropolis* of Lindos [*Αλίαδιν* *Δαματέρων* καὶ δός *Δαματωρίων*. (2) found at *Stia* in Rhodes *Σιανδίισ* τετράδι τισαμένον *Δαματέρων* οίν κυκνάν. Both
Addenda

1125

inscriptions are of late Hellenistic date." Nilsson comments: 'Die Bezeichnung der beiden Göttinnen als Δαιάτες, die m. W. sonst nicht in Griechenland vorkommt und an das Lateinische Cereres [Thes. Ling. Lat. Suppl. i. 341, 57 ff.] erinnert, lässt sich nur durch ihre Wesensidentität erklären; sie sind sozusagen die ältere und die jüngere Auflage derselben Gottheit' [Supra l. 396 f.].

ii. 259 n. o Zeus Boulaios. His cult at Thasos (noted in the Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres 1914 p. 288, Bull. Corr. Hell. 1923 xviii. 537 n. 3) is attested by a couple of dedications [G. Daex in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1938 lili. 57 ff. no. 9 fig. 4 a rectangular base of Thasian marble, from the pyraneion, with oval sinking, inscribed c. 250 B.C. Ἆργος Εὐστήρ Βουλαίος κ αἱ Δί [Βουλαίος], no. 10 fig. 4 a rectangular base of Thasian marble, from the théatron, with rectangular sinking, inscribed c. 250 B.C. Ἀργος Εὐστήρ Βουλαίος κ αἱ Δί [Βουλαίος] | Ἑρμῆς Σφαῖραι [δρόν] | Ποτίστως Ὀρθαμνοῦν] [Ἀραστείδης Ἀλε[---]].


ii. 264 Dionysos displaced by Apollo. C. Watzinger in Furtwängler—Reichhold Gr. Vasenmalerei iii. 340 ff. pl. 174. 1 discusses the fragment of a kilyx-brakte from Tarentum, now at the Hague, which shows a Doric temple (at Delfoi?) containing a cult-statue of Apollo with bow and phîlé. Before the temple are seated Apollo (lyre) and Artemis (spearrs), while beyond the tripod the reverse scene comprises Dionysos (ivy-wreath, nôrther), a Maenad (timbrel), and a Silenos (kîntharos).


ii. 268 n. 4. C. Picard in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1926 xviii. 91 n. 1 notes that C. W. Vollgraff ΕΡΦΟΣ ΕΣ ΤΑΛΕΤΟΝ [Supra Addenda to ii. 121] p. 19 ff. 'suggère un rapport entre Dionysos et le sumerien Domouzi, plus tard appelé Tammuz.'


ii. 270 n. 5. G. Kazarov in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. vii A. 450 records the proper name Βατοβαλτί [Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de Bordeaux iv. 93].

ii. 278 n. 2. The Phrygian formula of execration. W. M. Calder 'Corpus inscriptionum Neo-Phrygizam iii' in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1926 xlii. 22—28 adds fresh examples, and contends 'that they all belong to the latter half of the third century [A.D.], and represent an artificial revival of the epigraphical use of the Phrygian language by the Tekmorian Association' [on which see now the useful article of W. Ruge 'Xenoi Tekmori' in the Rev. Et. Gr. 1929 viii. 453 cites W. M. Calder Monuments Asiat. Minor. Antiqua Manchester Univ. Press 1928 ii p. xiii for 'le Zeus aux épis et Dionais (= Dionysos) gardien de la tombe.'
Addenda

The reference is to Calder op. cit. i. 4 no. 5 an altar of bluish limestone at Shahk Oran in Eastern Phrygia inscribed Μείξες Νικη ανέβησεν κατὰ κέλευσαι τοῦ Διός. On the shaft are three reliefs: (a) in front, a pedestal supporting a bust of Zeus, who holds a bunch of grapes and an ear of wheat; (b) to the left, two wheat-ears planted in round bowls (?); (c) to the right, a pedestal supporting a bust of Helios, radiate. D. i. 5 no. 7 an altar of bluish limestone at Kadyin Khan in Eastern Phrygia inscribed [Ε[ ....... ] όικοπανος Δι | δαμιου καρα | δακνων. On the shaft in relief is a pedestal supporting a bust of Zeus, who holds a bunch of grapes and corn-ears. W. M. Ramsay in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1918 xxxviii. 135 no. 2 restored Ε[ ...? ] and added: ‘Ε[ δαιμον]? was the steward in charge of this department on the imperial estates at Zizyma. ...About this time another oikonomos, Ca[didus?] the younger, made a dedication to Jove Dionysos30 ("The dedication is to ΙΥΩ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟ,... which halts between Jove and Jehovah..."

ii. 58 Zeus Didymbos. D. Detschew in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1934 xix Beiblatt p. 165 f. fig. 60 (= my fig. 884) publishes a square altar of grey marble, still used to support the table-top in the church of the village Sarmadzh (Bezirk Malko-Tarnovo, Regierungskreis Burgas) in Bulgaria. On the altar is inscribed in would-be hexameters: Βρομοι τω διανθηθηκα τιθο Δι τω Διονυσω Δακνωνισκου και Σταθησαι και Σταθησαι | 2 | Και Αιφεσκαι και Αιφεσκαι μεγους | Και Αιφεσκαι | Και Αιφεσκαι μεγους. Detschew ib. p. 166 collects evidence for the identification of Zeus with Dionysos (for Orph. frag. 235 Abel, 236 Kern Ηεν Ζεω Διωνυσου κ.τ.λ. see supra i. 187 n. 10). W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder in Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua Manchester Univ. Press 1939 vi. 123 no. 360 pi. 62 (= my fig. 885) publish an altar of bluish limestone from Had Belli in the Upper Tembris Valley (front relief, krater with ivy-sprays; back, snake biting grape-vine) inscribed [ουκερ της του κυρου (?) Και]παρος νεκες και δαιμονης Ταπανιτηνων | νεκας (?) Δι Διωνυσω δειπνησαν.

ii. 285 n. o (3). Sir W. M. Ramsay Asianic Elements in Greek Civilization London 1927 p. 212 ff. fig. 4 gives a drawing (inexact) of this relief and its inscription made in 1884.

ii. 285 n. o (4). M. V. Taylor and R. G. Collingwood in the Journ. Rom. Stud. 1929 xix. 199 pl. 9 publish a similar plaque of base silver, with figures of the three Mother Goddesses in repoussé work, found in London, and note other examples from Barkway in Hertfordshire. See also supra p. 1100 fig. 878.

ii. 300 n. o the tombstone of Abirkios and Theuprepia. Sir W. M. Ramsay op. cit. p. 240 ff. fig. 5.

ii. 300 n. o the head as the seat of the soul. See further G. A. Grierson ‘The Headless Horseman’ (an Indian ballad) in Folk-Lore 1914 xxv. 382, H. A. Rose

ii. 295 n. 2. A. Carnoy ‘Les noms de Déméter et de Coré’ in the *Annaire de l’Institut de Philologie et d’Histoire Orientales* 1934 ii (Melanges Bidez) pp. 71—77 would connect Δυσφής with γάρ and derive Περιφέρων from *περιφέρον*, ‘qui apporte l’abondance.’

ii. 296 Attis and the Kouretes. O. Brendel in the *Jahrh. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1935 i Arch. Anz. pp. 531—534 fig. 1 (= my fig. 886) gives a preliminary publication of a
silver patera rescued from oblivion by Miss A. Levi and now in the Brera at Milan. When found at Parabiago in Lombardy it was serving as the lid of a grave-amphora. It shows in fine relief of c. 150—200 A.D. the triumph of Attis. He is seated with Kybele in a car drawn by four lions and accompanied by three dancing Kourotes. Above are the rising Sun and setting Moon with Morning and Evening Stars. Below, Okeanos and a Nereid, with fish showing their heads above water. On the left, two Fresh Water Nymphs with reeds. On the right, Earth with cornu copiae, various animals, and a pair of infants. Between, the four Seasons as children. Higher up, Atlas carrying Aion in a zodiacal ring, and an Obelisk twined about with a snake. This cosmic design on a concave circular field is a magnificent specimen of symbolic art, and is to be published with full commentary by Miss Levi in Opere d'Arte del R. Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte (Roma).


ii. 298 fig. 190. F. J. Dölger IXÖYC Münster in Westf. 1927 iv pl. 168 gives a photograph of this singular medius.

ii. 300. W. Technau in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1931 xlv Arch. Anz. pp. 655—657 with figs. 10—14 publishes the sarcophagus of a priest of Kybele and Attis, found in a large columbarium at Porto. The lid shows the priest recumbent, his left hand with five thick rings supporting his head, his right with δεισίδας or 'arm-band' holding pine-sprig and rosary. The arm-band is decorated with reliefs of Kybele seated between two standing figures, Attis and Hermes. And at the priest's feet is the usual kītē. Two oblong reliefs from the same find-spot represent the same priest with his insignia offering fruit before a seated Kybele and holding torches before a standing Attis.


iii. 307 n. 1 the epitaph of Aberkios. See further A. Abel 'Étude sur l'inscription d'Abercios' in bysantion 1926 iii. 321—411.

iii. 312 n. 5 παρά τοῦ Λουκίου ζωείας. A. Nehring in Gnomon 1929 v. 588 supports ζω-νας as a Lydianised form of ζως by quoting ibidem 3:37 and the like from Lydian inscriptions.

iii. 313 ff. the Kabeiros. The fullest survey of the facts is that given by O. Kern 'Kabeiros...und Kabeiroi' in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. x. 1399—1450, with supplementary notes by the same author 'Kabeiroi' in the Archiv f. Rel. 1916—1919 xix. 551—553 and 'Noch einmal Karkinos' ib. 1920—1921 xx. 236. All the legend of traslazione di S. Lorenzo apostolo ad Ortopa a mare e la tradizione del culto cabirico' in the Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire (Ecole française de Rome) 1920 xxxviii. 29—62, carrying further the contention of J. Rendel Harris The Discours in the Christian Legends London 1903 pp. 29—41 that S. Thomas as 'twin' brother of Jesus was essentially Dioscuric.

A. H. Sayce in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1925 xlv. 163 would identify Kabeiroi with Khabiriyas the body-guard of the Hittite kings, and so derive them ultimately from the Khabiri or 'Comrades' of Babylonia. He notes an early deified Hittite king Khassaniti as = Khasezon.

ii. 314 f. Axiokersa, Axiakeros, Axioseros. O. Montelius La Grèce préclassique Stockholm 1924 i. 121 with figs. 349 and 351 regarded as sacred axes the tapering stone heads (in two cases painted) stuck into terra-cotta bodies, which Wace found at Kâkmâni in Thessaly [A. J. B. Wace—M. S. Thompson Prehistoric Thessaly Cambridge 1912 p. 41 with fig. 25, a, b, c].

E. Maass in the Archiv f. Rel. 1926 xxiii. 225 is content to explain 'Αξιωκέρσως and 'Αξικέρσως as deities (Hades and Kore) 'who slay valuable beasts (Δάσα) with the sickle-knife' and 'Αξιόσως as the goddess (Demeter) 'who receives valuable victims.'

A. H. Sayce in the Class. Rev. 1928 xlii. 161 connects 'Αξιό-κέρσως, 'Αξιό-κόρα η με Hesych. κόρα: áξιόν and in the other Hesychian glosses (quoted supra ii. 315 n. 1) cj. άξιόν or άξιόνα for γάμιμας cod. and γάλας for γάμις cod.
G. Seure in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 ii. 60 n. o discusses coins of Odessos with legend ΚΥΡΣΑ (supra ii. 1126 figs. 952, 953) and the possibility that Κύρα = Κύρα was the name of an indigenous deity akin to Αειτήρας (sic). Id. in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1929 xlii. 249 is even more venturesome (ἐξίπλοιος Σάλπατς) or Σάλπατς?). But A. Salač ‘Le grand dieu d’Odéssos-Varna et les mystères de Samothrace’ in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1928 ii. 395—398 had already argued that the Theos Megas at Odessos was *Δαράκας or Δαράκας*, one form of the chief male divinity of the ancient Thracians.

For *Ἀξί-ερος* as the *‘Ακτ-Ερος* cp. *Anakr.* frag. 47 Bergk, 48 Edmonds, 45 Diehl *Hephaist.* 13. 4 p. 39, § 6. Considrou *μεγάλα πνεύμα τοῖς Ἐρωτού κοινοῖς ὄστρες καλύπτει* πεσκε, with the comments of E. Schwyzer ‘Ἀξτ und Hammer’ in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1930 lxxix. 314—318 (πεσκε = σφιροπεσκε, a smith’s axe serving also as a hammer).

Fig. 887.

Fig. 888.

ii. 316 Zeus transformed into Eros. Such a concept provides a partial justification for the late syncretistic figures of Zeus *Panthēs* (L. Robert in the *Rev. Arch.* 1933 ii. 141 no. 176 cites a dedication from Carthage, now in the Louvre, Δι* Ηλίας Μεγάλας Παντείας* = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii no 13493) or Jupiter *Panthēus* (*Dessau Inscr.* lat. sig. no. 5433 (Nescania Baeticae) *Iovem Pantheum Aug. cum aede et tetrastylo solo* [plur. etc.]). A bronze from the Gruau collection, obtained from Greece in 1885 and now in Paris (*Kop. Stat.* ii. 17 no. 4 ‘Zeus pantheus,’ De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* i. 71 no. 452 pl. 36 (= my fig. 887): height c.192 m), shows a nude Zeus with the wings of Eros, the greaves of Ares, and a *stephane* surmounted by three ‘lentos.’ Another, from Cahon (Somme), now at Abbeville (C. Louandre in the *Revue des Sociétés Savantes des Départements* Cinquième Série 1873 v. 322—327, *Reinach Kop. Stat.* iii. 8 no. 3 ‘Zeus Panthēus’) shows a nude Jupiter holding thunderbolt and eagle, with the wings
of Victory, the rayed crown of Apollo (Sun), the disk and horns of Isis (Moon), the cock of Mercury, the fawn-skin of Bacchus, the cornu copiae of Ceres or Fortuna or Abundantia, and a Gaulish armilla on his right arm (my fig. 888 is from a photograph kindly supplied by M. Richard, Conservateur des Musées, Abbeville).


4. 326, 374 f., 377 f. Janiform masks. V. Alford 'The Springtime Bear in the Pyrenees' in Folk-Lore 1930 xlii. 275 reports that two-faced masks are worn by men on Feb. 2 at Arles-sur-Tech in the French Catalan Pyrenees. End. 'The Candlemas Bear' in The National Review 1931 xcvii. 235—244 gives further details. The same observer and R. Gallop in their joint article in Folk-Lore 1935 xlv. 352 ff. state that at Arles-sur-Tech the Candlemas Bear is escorted by from four to twelve two-faced attendants, who wear women's cotton dresses, leathern belts with eight or ten cow-bells attached, and small barrels painted with a face fore and aft by way of head-dress.

5. 328 ff. the Salian Hymn. On Italian and Dutch reconstructions of the carmen Saliae by E. Cocchia (1917), F. Ribezzo (1917—1918), and P. J. Enk (1921) see M. Bacherler in the Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft 1924 cov. 84. 335. Janus. O. Huth fannus Bonn 1932 pp. 1—96 is adversely criticised by H. J. Rose in Gronm 1933 ix. 329—331. Huth finds the essence of Janus to consist in a certain 'polarity,' the contrast of birth-death, summer-winter, fire-water, entry-exit symbolised in Italy by a god with double face, in Germany by the runic sign (J). But the early Italians were no philosophers, and the sign (J) was not runic (?cp. H. Arntz, Die Runenschrift Ihre Geschichte und ihre Denkmaler Halle/Saale 1938 p. 98).

6. 337 n. 4 diem in deo. Cp. Tertull. ad Scap. 4 (i. 783 A Migne) tune et populus adclamans deo deorum, qui solus potens, in lovis nomine deo nostro testimonium reddidit.

7. 339 n. o Iovs = 'lunae.' See further C. Pauli in Roscher Lex. Myth. v. 1056 ff.

8. 340 n. o Daemonium, quod rustici Dianam appellant. Lobeck Aiglophantum ii. 1093 f. 'Acta Symphonianum Rainart. Act. Mart. p. 70 [ib. Amstaelaedami 1713 p. 81]. Dianam quoque daemonium esse meridianum sanctorum industria investigavit, quae per compita current et silvarum secreta perlustrans incredulis hominum mentibus zizaniae tribuit. Huth finds the essence of Janus to consist in a certain 'polarity,' the contrast of birth-death, summer-winter, fire-water, entry-exit symbolised in Italy by a god with double face, in Germany by the runic sign (J). But the early Italians were no philosophers, and the sign (J) was not runic (?cp. H. Arntz, Die Runenschrift Ihre Geschichte und ihre Denkmaler Halle/Saale 1938 p. 98).

9. 342 n. o f. Immediately to the west of the Basque lands we find the word Jana in all its purity... In Sardinia Jana means witch. In the old Neapolitan dialect Janar means nymph... The old Spanish form was Janar... In the Montana de Santander we find the Devil is again Jana... In Portugal... Jana... In the Algarve...women called Jaf or Jans for whom it used to be customary to leave a skein of flax and a cake of bread on the hearth.' Etc.)


11. 343 Νάξαις. Cp. Epiphan. anecor. 106 (i. 208 Dindorf) Ζηρίς δὲ ὠχὺ ἐλα καὶ τρις καὶ πένθος γέγονε τῶν ἄριστων... κ.τ.λ.

12. 344 n. o Δεῖ. This form of the name occurs also on a two-handled Rhodian jar of c. 400 B.C. now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (T. L. Spear in the Am. Journ. Phil. 1908 xxix. 461—466 with pl., C. D. Buck Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects Boston 1910 pp. 67, 293), which bears the painted inscriptions ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΑ ΓΑΣ ΗΑ ΒΡΑΣΙΑ ΗΗΩΣ ΕΜΙΝ ΔΟΚΕΙ (would-be iambic) and ΔΕΝΣ ΗΕΡΜΑΣ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΣ ΑΟΑΝΑΙΑ.
Addenda


Fresh light has been thrown upon the whole business by a simple but convincing discovery of A. Fick Vorgrösserische Ortsnamen Göttiningen 1905 p. 147. 'Πανίς is not "der Hirte," sondern der "Papa," gehört zu den "Lallnamen" Kretschmers 334 f. [P. Kretschmer Einteilung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache Göttiningen 1896 p. 334 ff.] Das weibliche Gegenstück zu Ηϊς ist Μα, in Arkadien als Μαία, Mutter des Hermes Μαδεώς erhalten. 'If so, Pan was in effect another Ζαν, and I had no need to postulate that the former had already stepped into the shoes of the latter. Pan the Great was all along a sort of figure to Ζαν the Great. Pan the goatherd's of the Great. Pan of a sort just as Ζαν the oxherds' god that of an ox (supra ii. 345). And the ritual of the dead Pan, implied by Plutechr's narrative, may well have resembled the ritual of the death Pan. On this showing Pan was a more dignified deity than advancing civilisation was prepared to admit. He had some reason to complain of his neglect by the Athenians on the eve of Marathon (Hdt. 6. 105). But before the close of that century, or very soon afterwards, Attic sculptors had made the amende honorable prepared to admit. He had some reason to complain of his neglect by the Athenians on the eve of Marathon (Hdt. 6. 105). But before the close of that century, or very soon afterwards, Attic sculptors had made the


Addenda


ii. 364 the 'yoke' of spears. M. Cary—A. D. Nock 'Magic Spears' in the Class. Quart. 1927 xxii. 132-127 (sub iugum, sub hasta, etc.).


ii. 381 ff. double herms. R. Lullies Die Typen der griechischen Herme Königsberg Pr. 1931 pp. 66-69 ('Doppelhermen mit nach entgegengesetzten Seiten blickenden Köpfen') argues that this type was originally intended to represent 'Hermes als Totengott' (ib. p. 86)—a view questioned by S. Reinach in the Rev. Arch. 1931 ii. 330.

ii. 382 n. i double bust of Dionysos. Cp. a fine archaistic double bust at Ny Carlsberg (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Billedtavler no. 151 Dionysos pl. 11).

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Fig. 889.


ii. 386 Odkin’s broad hat. H. Naumann ‘Breithut’ in the Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 1550-1552 (cp. id. ib. i. 1386 f. ‘Blauhutel’).


ii. 390 with pl. xxi Janiform arýballos of male and female Dionysiac heads. See now J. D. Beazley ‘Charinos’ in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1929 xlix. 61 (Group N, n. 1 ‘head of Herakles and woman’s head’ [?]).

ii. 392 with fig. 300 double bust of Apis and Isis. H. Gressmann in the Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1923-1924 Berlin—Leipzig 1926 p. 183 pl. 3 fig. 6 assigns this bust to the time of Hadrian and regards it as combining the human and animal forms of Hathor. J. Leipoldt in D. H. Haas Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte Leipzig—Erlangen 1926 ix-xi p. vi with fig. 25 (Die Büste 25 ist insofern altägyptisch empfunden, als Isis auch mit einem Kuhkopfe ausgestattet ist (allerdings handelt sichs um eine künstliche Ägyptisierung; es fehlen altägyptische Analogien einer derartigen Isis).’ Etc.).

ii. 392 ff. double herms at Nemi. On Feb. 10, 1930, during the excavation of Caligula’s second galley, a double herm of bronze was found, representing the conjoined heads of a bearded and a beardless Satyr. The former is wreathed with vine-leaves and
grapes, the latter with pine and cones: both wear a *nebris* (W. Technau in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1930 xlv Arch. Anz. p. 351 with fig. 13). In the summer of 1931 further work on the second galley brought to light another double herm of bronze, the exact counterpart of the first, and a third combining two youthful female heads wreathed with ivy and draped. There can be no doubt that all these herms served as decorative posts of the ship's rail (*id. ib.* 1931 xlvii Arch. Anz. p. 648 with figs. 4 and 5). In the spring of 1932 yet another bronze double herm from the rail was found (*id. ib.* 1932 xlvii Arch. Anz. p. 479). See also *The Daily Telegraph* for June 18, 1931 p. 9 and *The Illustrated London News* for July 4, 1931 p. 19.

I take this opportunity of publishing (fig. 889, a—c) a small double bust of white marble in my collection (height 3½ inches), which represents *adosses* a bearded and a beardless Satyr, wreathed with ivy. It probably topped a slender pillar in somebody's peristyle in 2. i A.D.

**Fig. 890.**

ili. 394 foliate faces. T. Tindall Wildridge *The Grotesque in Church Art* London 1912 p. 142 ff. ('Masks and Faces') gives examples of foliate masks at Beverley Minster (Yorkshire), Dorchester (Oxfordshire), St Mary's Minster (Isle of Thanet), Westminster Abbey, Ewelme (Oxfordshire), Lincoln Cathedral, etc. C. J. P. Cave 'The Roof Bosses in Ely Cathedral' in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* Cambridge 1932 xxvii. 35 f. with pl. 2 shows bosses representing heads with oak-leaves coming out of mouth and nostril. Cave acutely conjectures 'some survival from pre-Christian times.' Finally Lady Raglan 'The “Green Man” in Church Architecture' in *Folk-Lore* 1939 l. 45—57 figs. 1—17 concludes that classical and quasi-classical types (figs. 10—13) were from 2. xiii. onwards influenced by 'the figure variously known as the Green Man, Jack-in-the-Green, Robin Hood, the King of May, and the Garland.' In 1934 I acquired from Mr J. Sinclair of Swanage a limestone corbel (height 7½ inches) said to have come from a fourteenth-century continental church. It represents (fig. 890, a, b) a male head with oak-leaves springing from eyes, nose, and ears, and bears traces of yellow priming and red paint.

Addenda

ii. 417 n. o. On stages in relation to Artemis (Ma, Anatis, etc.) see S. Reinhach in the Rev. Arch. 1923 i. 151 f., who cites F. Cumont 'Larchevêché de Pédachôtô et le sacrifice du Faoon' in Byzan.ion 1931 vii. 521—533 ('Vous là bien un banquet rituel, tradition païenne christianisée').


ii. 410 n. o. On the occurrence of Zeus-emblems (thunderbolt and bay-wreath) in relation to Artemis Ephesia see H. Thiersch op. cit. i. 46 ff., 65 ff., who notes a statue of ζ. ii a.D. in the Museum at Triptolis (no. 29 pl. 27, 1, 3, 4) and a mosaic from Podggo Mirteto in the Vatican (no. 56 pl. 46).

ii. 411 Bendis. C. Picard in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1926 xxiii. 87 n. 3 draws attention to the numerous representations of Bendis on the rocks of Philippoi (ib. 1922 lxxxvi. 117 ff.).

ii. 411 n. 6. C. Picard—C. Avezu 'Le testament de la prêtrise thassaliencienne' in the Bull. Corr. Hellen. 1914 xxxviii. 38 ff. correct F. Perdrizet's reading θεια θόα | θεια Προφορού to πρεσβί θόα | θεία Προφορού, 'Eueia daughter of Prinophoros,' and show that the remainder of this much-misunderstood inscription refers to the ἀδελφα | ritual burning of roses on the tomb—a very different story.

ii. 419 n. 2. A writer in the Times Literary Supplement for June 17, 1926 p. 413 justly objects that scomparse means 'vanished,' not 'scattered.'


ii. 422 the divine Sky as a polyvalent god. K. F. Johanss On die ahnliche Göttin Dhisánd und Verwandte Uppsala 1919 p. 136 ff. argues for a prothetic Indo-Germanic 'zwei-aspektig gedachten herrn go'tt' with dark and light sides, viz. Varuṇa (also Vṛtra) and Dyauṣ (also Mitra). So in Scandinavia we have Ulir and Tryr (also Frötry), cp. the Van pair of gods Ullin and Fillin (ib. pp. 33, 139).


ii. 427 fig. 331. A somewhat clearer illustration of this gilded glass is given by I. Benzinger Ἱεροχαϊκή Ἀρχαιολογία Leipzig 1927 pp. 218 with fig. 274.

ii. 434 ff. The Twins. In addition to the monographs of S. Eltrem (supra ii. 451 n. 1) and J. Rendel Harris (supra i. 760 n. 7) see the contributions of E. S. Hartland 'Twins' in J. Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics 1921 xii. 491—500, Schrader Ruiperst. ii. 489, A. H. Krappe Les dieux jumeaux dans la religion germanique (extr. from the Acta philologica Scandinavica) København 1930 pp. 1—25, Frazer Golden Bough i. 82, 154.


K. Scott 'Drusus, nicknamed "Castor" in Class. Philol. 1930 xxv. 155—161 thinks
that Germanicus and the younger Drusus, like Tiberius and the elder Drusus, may have been associated or even identified with Castor and Pollux—a view confirmed by a recently found inscription from Ephesos (Class. Quart. 1931 xxv. 58).

E. Kornemann Doppelprinzipat und Reichsteilung im Imperium Romanum Leipzig—Berlin 1930 pp. 1—210 is reviewed by M. P. Charlesworth in the Class. Rev. 1933 xlvii. 143—146.


ii. 445 Zethos and Amphion. J. Rendel Harris in the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 1926 x. 345 observes that the Egyptian twins Set and Horos were the architects of Thebes in Egypt just as Zethos and Amphion were the architects of Thebes in Greece. He suggests that the name Zethos may be simply Set, whom Plutarch actually transcribes as $\gamma \zeta \theta \sigma \zeta$ [Where? Plout. de Is. et Os. 41, 49, 62 says $\zeta \theta \sigma \zeta$ without variants. A.B.C.]. A. H. Krappe in the Archiv f. Rel. 1933 xxx. 240 ff. repeats and reinforces the conclusions of Rendel Harris.

ii. 445 ff. double-headed deities in Asia Minor etc. G. Contenau ‘Idoles en pierre provenant de l’Asie Mineure’ in Syria 1927 viii. 193 ff. pls. 44—48 publishes six idols in the Louvre, probably found at Kül-Tepê (‘La colline de cendres’) near Kaisarea in Cappadokia, close to Mt Argaos, where a Semitic colony had long been established—witness numerous tablets in cuneiform from the same site. All the six idols are in alabaster, with a reddish patina. They represent deities with one (pl. 44, a), two (pls. 44, b, 45), and three heads (pls. 46, 47, 4), but only a single rounded body. Id. ib. p. 200 compares Syrian bronzes in the Louvre, which represent a god embracing a goddess attached to his right leg at the knee, or again four deities arranged fan-wise. Id. Manuel d’archéologie orientale Paris 1931 ii. 824 f. figs. 593 and 594 dates the Cappadocien idols c. 2000 B.C. and the Syrian bronzes c. 1000 B.C. A better illustration of a two-headed Cappadocien goddess is given in the Encyclopédie photographique de l’Art L’Art de Mésopotamie ancienne au Musée du Louvre Paris 1931 i. 284 ff. fig. a, and of a Syrian group ib. Canaan, Phénicie Paris 1937 ii. 109 fig. g. On the significance of polycephalic gods in general see L. Weber in the Archiv f. Rel. 1934 xxxii. 172—175.

ii. 448 n. 0 the sickle of Kronos. See now Oxyrhynchus Papryri London 1927 xvii. 65 no. 2080, 71—73 (= Kallim. frags. 501 + 172 Schneider) with A. S. Hunt ad loc.


ii. 453 ff. the original home of Apollon. Wilamowitz’ view that Apollon came from Lydia is energetically attacked also by E. Bette ‘Apollon der Hellene’ in ANTIOPON Festschrift Jacob Wackernagel...gewidmet Göttingen 1933 pp. 14—21.

F. Poulsen Delphische Studien (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser viii, 5) Kjøbenhavn 1924 pp. 3—40 (‘Apollon und Asien’) suggests that the name Apollon is to be explained by the Babylonian terms apšū ‘the Firstborn’ and apšū abaridu ‘the Firstborn Son’, a fixed epithet of kings in honorific inscriptions. Poulsen sees in Apollon a blend of Śamaš, god of the sun, of wisdom, of law, with Marduk, who as symbolising sunlight fought Tiimmāt the dragon of darkness. Hence the lunisolar calendar, the ritual number seven, the omphalos (cp. the Babylonian kudurru), etc.

C. Picard in the Recueil de l’histoire des religions 1936 xcii. 90 ff. thinks it possible that the Hellenic Apollon was a blend of (a) a Creto-Anatolian god and (b) a Hyperborean god—each called Apō llen.

L. Weber ‘Apollon’ in the Rhein. Mus. 1933 lxxxii. 165—191, 193—229 contends that Apollon, originating in Crete as an archer-god (cp. Nilsson Min.-Myc. Rel. p. 296 ff. fig. 85, where note eye and ear), passed thence vēd Delos and Lykia to the Troad, was carried across the Bosporos by the Myssians and Teurcians some time before the Trojan War, and made his way southward through Thrace, Maxedonia, and Thessaly to Delphoi. Homerische epo(r) represents him as a foe of the Greeks because it was a product of the Greeks in the Thessaly, who were naturally hostile to the god of their northern neighbours. Delos as his cult-centre was prior to Delphoi.

C. III.
Addenda

ii. 466 n. 3 (6) Apollon riding on a swan. A rock-crystal scarab of early archaic style shows him thus crossing the sea (waves below, dolphin behind). He guides the swan by the beak with his right hand and holds a leafy branch in his left (Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen iii. 66.1, fig. 66, Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems² p. 55 no. 460 pl. 8).

ii. 462 n. 6 fig. 362 Zeus drawn by eagles on a disk from Tarentum. Other examples at Trieste and Berlin (P. Wulfflemuir in the Rev. Arch. 1932 i. 43 no. 78).

ii. 464. C. Picard ‘La Crête et les légendes Hyperboréennes’ in the Rev. Arch. 1927 i. 349—360 holds that the sacrifice of asses and other ‘Hyperboréen’ tales belonged originally to Crete, and were transferred to the north only when Crete had been captured by northern invaders. Unconvincing.


ii. 475 Zeus seated, yet hurling a thunderbolt. A silver stater of Corinth, struck c. 338—330 B.C., has for symbol Zeus enthroned with thunderbolt in raised right hand and eagle on outstretched left (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Corinth, etc. p. 33 no. 306 pl. 12, 19. There is a second specimen of the type in Hunter Cat. Coins ii. 96 no. 72. I have a third).

ii. 477 n. 0. G. A. Snyder ‘De symbolica Phaethonis fabulae interpretatione apud Romanos’ in Mnemosyne N.S. 1927 iv. 401—409 claims that in Roman times the myth was interpreted as a Mithraic expression for the ascent of the soul to heaven (Class. Quart. 1928 xxii. 219, cp. S. Reinach in the Rev. Arch. 1928 i. 218). A. Lesky ‘Zum Phaethon des Euripides’ in Wiener Studien 1932 i. 1—25 puts the play late in Euripides’ career and attempts to reconstruct the plot. M. F. Scalvizzari Il Mito nel PhAETiON di Euripide Napoli 1937 pp. 1—80 includes a pl. of the Ostia sarcophagus.


ii. 484 n. 6. The etymology of ἀνάκλωσ is discussed by F. Muller Jzn Altitalisches Worterbuch Göttingen 1926 p. 348.

ii. 487 n. 3 Apollon as an ‘apple’-god. Rendel Harris’ view is adversely criticised by J. Toutain in the Revue de l’histoire des religions 1921 lxxiii. 196—300. But there is far more to be said for it than the critics will allow. Kira bien qui vira le dernier.

On Demeter Μαλαφόρεσ at Megara see K. Hanell Megárische Studien Lund (1934) p. 174 ff. Terracottas from her sanctuary at Selinous were published by E. Gábruc in the Not. Scavi 1920 pp. 67—91 figs. 1—33, and we have now the same author’s sumptuous monograph ‘Il Santuario della Malophoros a Selinunte’ in the Mon. d. Linc. 1928 xxi. 1—419 with 97 pls. and 192 figs. (reviewed by F. von Duhn in Gnomon 1939 v. 539—539).

The Times for Oct. 8, 1926 p. 11 in a report by J. Borozdin on ‘Excavations in South Russia’ notes the discovery by Prof. Farmakovsky in 1924 of Apollo’s temple at Olbia. Its ruins stand in the centre of the old town at the outlet of the river Bug. See further E. Diehl in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xvii. 2417, 2421.

ii. 493 n. 2 amber routes. The most thorough and authoritative investigation of the subject is that of J. M. de Navarro ‘Prehistoric Routes between Northern Europe and Italy defined by the Amber Trade’ in The Geographical Journal 1925 lxvi. 481—507 with distribution-maps of Bronze Age Amber Finds in Central Europe and Early Iron Age Amber Finds in Central Europe, also a map of Trans-continental Amber Routes distinguishing Central Routes (opened Early Bronze Age), Western Routes (opened Middle Bronze Age), and Eastern Routes (opened Early Iron Age), and two plans of Bronze Age Amber Finds in Italy and Early Iron Age Amber Finds in Italy. Mr de Navarro does not deal with the amber trade to Greece and the East Mediterranean area, remarking only ‘The Baltic-Black Sea route is, in my opinion, a late development.’

ii. 493 ff. the Hyperboréans. Rendel Harris ‘Apollo at the back of the North Wind’ in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1925 xlv. 129—145 includes chapters on ‘The prehistoric
amber routes,' 'Apollo and the Hyperboreans,' 'The Apollo stations,' and 'a possible third amber route from the land of the Hyperboreans into Greece.' G. H. Macurdy 'Troy and Pauonia' New York 1925 pp. 196—210 returns to the subject with a further section on 'The Hyperboreans.' C. T. Seltman in the Cambridge University Reporter 1928 viii. 685 argues thus: 'It seems improbable that barbarians deviated from all Hellenic connections would have troubled to keep in touch with Delian Apollo. The chief Istrian cult was Apolline. Istrus, like other Milesian Pontic Colonies, was populated by Mix- hellenes and monopolized Danubian trade, having factories far up the river. Perhaps these barbarized descendants of Istrian, i.e. Milesian, stock sent the offerings. If so, the Herodotean Adriatic route employed about 450 B.C. would have been closed by the Celtic invasions of the early fourth century B.C. and the later Istrus, Sinope, Prasiae-route, of (?) Phanodemus, would have been used subsequently. The fourth century B.C. coins of Istrus and Sinope with identical reverse types point to close connections between these States... Accordingly, if the people who sent offerings to Delos were geographically 'Hyperborean,' but not racial or mythical Hyperboreans; if they are less likely to have been the barbarian Proto-Hellenic parent-stock left behind in Central Europe than the semi-barbarized descendants of Ionian traders located in the south of Central Europe, then there is no longer any need to seek for a partially northern origin for Apollo merely on the grounds of his supposed Hyperborean connections.' This acute hypothesis is welcomed by A. D. Nock in the Class. Rev. 1939 xiii. 126 and by M. Cary ib. 1929 xiii. 214. The latter, quoting Kallim. A. Del. 913 f. e μὲν τὰ καλάμαν τε καὶ ἁρδα ἀργυρίματα προδρόμων | ἀταγάνων φορέσων, adds: 'Surely, then, they were the ears of wheat whose haulms served as packing.' Yet the actual custom of packing an egg (Ostertal) in the first or last sheaf, cited by Mannhardt (supra ii. 498 n. 2), tempts us to conjecture that the offerings in question were swans' eggs similarly packed: this would at least suit both their Hyperborean starting-point and their Delian destination, and might further be supported by the ritual preservation of Leda's egg (supra ii. 1015 n. 7). A more remote parallel may be found in a former (c. 1860 a.d.) usage of the Easter Islanders: the man that brought in the first tern's egg of the year, which his servant had procured from a neighbouring islet, swimming across with it in a small basket tied on his head, was saluted as Tangata-Mann, 'Man-Bird,' and chosen as chief for the year (S. Chauvet L'île de Pâques et ses mystères Paris 1935 pp. 35—37).

Addenda


ii. 500 Phoibos. W. Schmid Φώιθας Απόλλων τον Αρχιβ σ. Rel. 1923—1924 xxii. 217—213 tries to persuade us that Phoibos is a metrical substitute for Ωφίς!'

ii. 505 ff. lightning as a weapon. H. Balfour 'Concerning Thunderbolts' in Folk-Lore 1929 xl. 37—49, 168—172 with 23 figs. on 2 pls. surveys and illustrates popular beliefs about 'thunderbolts,' prophylactic or otherwise.

ii. 510 ff. inscribed neolithic celts. The best parallel to figs. 390 and 391 is the implement published by my friend and former pupil J. H. Iliffe 'A neolithic cel with Gnostic inscriptions at Toronto' in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1931 xxxv. 304—309 with 3 figs. It is a polished cel of hard brown stone, acquired in Smyrna but said to have been found at Ephesos, and bears on one side a well-cut design with lettering of s. iv—v. A.D. Enclosed by a snake biting its own tail, stands a nude winged and tailed figure holding a whip with double lash in his right hand, a short rod in his left. A bunch of leaves springs from his head, which bears some resemblance to a winged Crousticnes (φ). He is flanked by
Addenda

two tall sceptres with animal-headed (?) tops, and surrounded by words of power:

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ii. 512 sliced neolithic celts with added inscriptions. A large oblong axe (?) of brownish green jade, formerly in the collection of J. Martinek, Shanghai, and now in my possession, has been sawn lengthwise and bears on the exposed surface an inscription in archaistic Chinese characters, which—Mr A. Waley kindly informs me—are an extract from the Analects of Confucius reading: 'Gentlemen use it (inner power, "virtue" in the sense "potency"). Small men use force.' The Martinek Sale Catalogue (Messrs. Puttick and Simpson Dec. 13, 1929) p. 8 no. 67 refers this piece to the Han period.

ii. 513 ff. The double axe in 'Minoan' cult. M. E. L. Mallowan in The Illustrated London News for Sept. 16, 1933 p. 436 f. fig. 7 publishes beads or amulets in the shape of the double axe, which were found in Iraq at Arpachiyah, a prehistoric mound four miles east of Nineveh, and are attributed to a period earlier than 4000 B.C. These he claims as prototypes of the 'Minoan' symbol.

B. Schweitzer Herakles Tübingen 1922 pp. 21—58 ('Die Doppelaxt in nachkretischer Zeit') adduces a mass of miscellaneous evidence, not always judiciously handled.

ii. 516 n. 6 the sarcophagus of Hagia Triada. To the bibliography add R. Vallois 'Autels et culte de l'arbre sacré en Crète' in the Revue des études anciennes 1926 pp. 121—132. Id. in the Mélange Gustave Glotz Paris 1932 ii. 839—847 cp. a similar arrangement of altar and base in the earliest Artemision at Ephesos.


ii. 522 n. 2 the colour red. See now the careful compilation of Eva Wunderlich Die Bedeutung des roten Farbs im Kultus der Griechen und Römer Giessen 1925 pp. 1—116 (reviewed by S. Eitrem in Gnomon 1926 ii. 95—102 and by E. Fehrle in the Berl. philol. Woch. Mai 15, 1926 pp. 530—535).

ii. 528 ff. double axes imbedded in columns. H. Sandars in the Rev. Arch. 1926 i. 259 f. fig. 2 (=my fig. 891) publishes an Iberian column from the Mina de la Plata between Baeza and Jaen. Its square stone capital is decorated with double axes on all four faces.

ii. 536 hands raised, one palm outwards, the other in profile. The same peculiar and at present unexplained gesture may be seen in a seated terra-cotta goddess of the 'Geometric' period (height: 48 inches), from northern Greece, now in my collection (fig. 892 a, b).

ii. 543 the 'hour-glass' ornament on the indigenous pottery of Apulia perhaps derived from the double axe. This is doubtful. Paintings from the rock-shelters of southern Spain, belonging to the Copper Age, show \[ X \] or the like as the stylised form of a woman (H. Breuil—M. C. Burkitt Rock Paintings of Southern Andalusia Oxford 1929 p. 84 'Spanish Art Group III').

ii. 544 fig. 419 gem from Melos. C. Picard in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1926 xcviii. 70 objects that 'Minoan' deities are wingless and cjt. 'plutôt un génie ptérophore.' Nilsson Min.-Myc. Rel. p. 187 n. 1 adds: 'upward curved wings do not occur in this age' (cp. V. Muller 'Minoisches Nachleben oder orientalischer Einfluss in der frühkretischen Kunst?' in the Ath. Mith. 1925 i. 54 f. with fig. 1). Lastly, the attitude of Knileauf (supra i. 296 n. 6) also points to a post-'Minoan' though still archaic period. Probably the term 'sub-'Minoan' or 'sub-Mycenaean' would best fit the case.
ii. 544 n. 3 the Egyptian *neter*. Miss M. A. Murray 'The sign ![image] in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith* London 1932 pp. 312—315 pl. 49 argues that this sign represents a pole with votive streamers and is descended from an early cult of the poplar or willow.

ii. 547 n. 2 the sacrificial table. H. Mischkowski *Die heiligen Tische im Götterkultus der Griechen und Römer* Königsberg i. Pr. 1917 p. 32 f.

ii. 548 n. 0 sword-worship. Among the Quadi (Amm. Marc. 17. 12. 21 quorum regalis Vitrodorus, Vitudari filius regis, et Agilimundus subregulus, alique optimates et

indices, variis populis praesidentes...eductis...mucronibus, quos pro numinis colunt, iuraverse se permansuros in fide). In the south-east of Sweden (A. Nordén *Östergötlands Bronsskälde* Linköping 1925 pp. 1—407 is summarised by A. J. Uppvall in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1927 xxxi. 394—397, who notes among the rock-carvings in the region of Bråviken 'gigantic swords...now carried by one man, now by two, and found in processions where one being—a giant—towers above the rest.' Cp. O. Almgren in *Ebert Reallex.* iii. 216 with pl. 51, i, H. Sletelig—H. Falk *Scandinavian Archaeology* trans. E. V. Gordon Oxford 1937 p. 167 ff.).


ii. 549 Kronos as 'Chopper.' R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 385 n. 0 attempts to combine two incompatibles: 'Kronos als *Kkop-os = Kelipaw
Addenda

="Schnitter" und Κρούων "Brennen"," G. A. Wainwright in The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 1933 xix. 51 quotes parallels e.g. Kdow, which 'probably originated in the Semitic root קדוש, קדש, ...' 'The Cutter, Breaker', and Μούνιν 'the Crusher.'

i. 550 ff. fig. 426. F. Imhoof-Blumer in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1898 xviii. 178 f. no. 51 pl. 13, 18 observes that on this coin there is drapery over the back of Kronos' head and a small crown with three peaks, also some object in his left hand.


ii. 561 Tyrinmos. A. H. Sayce 'The Phrygian hero 'Tyris' in the Class. Rev. 1932 xlii. 11.

ii. 569 Zeus Asdamaios. E. Kalinka in the Jahrb. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1933 xxviii Beilblatt p. 61 no. 8 figures a marble altar at Asmaras in Bithynia inscribed Οδεόν άνω κήρυξ Ασδαμαίος Κατά τινα παραμόρφωσιν [?].

ii. 570 Α. Προσφέρει θεον Ζεὺς. P. P. Littke in the Tagesblatt p. 99 1928 p. 32 f. reports a votive inscription from Ilios: Τῶν (τῶν) ἄλλων ἥλιων τῷ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπάνω πάντων: τῷ Δόρῳ Βοῦς[ία], [κόριν] Κορώνας τῷ Μύμης = Corp. inscr. Gr. iii. no. 4101. No. 2 at Karabük on a stèle surmounted by a fragmentary wreath ΣΑΠ. Φιλίτας | ΣΤΑΤΕΛΛΟΙ | κόριν Κορώνας [ε]τέσσαρον γενελήν τῷ Μύμης κατεσκεύασον. Anderson loc. cit. p. 165 adds: 'The epithet Bussurios is undoubtedly Celtic, as is clear from a comparison with Bussurios or Bussurigios, a Celtic god identified with Jupiter Optimus Maximus in two inscriptions of the Dacian Apulum and probably in an inscription of Moesia Inferior [Dessau Inschr. Lat. sel. no. 461 with n.]. The termination -mbris, 'great,' is common in Celtic personal names. As Bussurios is Bussu magnus, so Bussurigios is Bussu regius. The Celtic equivalent of rex (O. Irish rí, gen. ríg) is one of the commonest terminations of Gallic personal names...')

ii. 578 Α. W. Persson in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1922 xlii. 399 ff. adds two more inscriptions from Mylasa: no. 4, 15 f. [ἀργαράμμα τέε τόδε τό] [ψηφαίος εν τόι ειρύ τῷ Δόρῳ Οσυγον κατά τοὺν νόμους] and no. 5, 1 f. [ἀργαράμμα τέε τό δέ το βέβαιον εν τόι] [ιεψού τῷ Δόρῳ Οσυγον κατά τοὺς νόμους]. See further an important paper by A. Laumonier 'Notes sur un voyage en Carie' in the Rev. Arch. 1933 ii. 31—55 figs, i—20.

ii. 582 Poseidon originally a specialised form of Zeus. C. Picard in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1926 xci. 100 ff. notes this view to be 'fort vraisemblable.'

ii. 583 ff. the name Poseidön. A. Mommensis Delphika Leipzig 1878 p. 3 f. regards Poseidon as 'ostreichischer Obergotter' and ib. 7 f. already advances the true derivation of his name: 'Das Wort Poseidon bedeutet vielleicht 'leibiger Herr.' Man kann von der aulischen Form Ποιείδαν oder Ποιέαδων (vgl. Ποιειδαν, lokr. Stadtname) ausgehen. Dan ist Zeus. Die beiden ersten Silben gehen auf skt. pätis Herr zurück, welchem Stamme auch griech. πόλις πόλις πόλις angehören. Danach ist Poseidon ursprünglich ein modifizierter Zeus, der Wortissm: Gott der Herr, Herrgot.'

A. Carnoy 'Étymologie du nom du dieu de la mer Poseidon' in the Revue belge de Philosophie et d'Histoire 1924 iii. 390 f.: 'Horis signifiant "maître" (mis au vocatif donne πατέω), et un mot déton signifiant "eau" et qu'on retrouve dans diverses langues indo-européennes avec le sens de corps liquide.'

G. H. Macurdy 'The Name Πασίδανων and Other Names Ending in -νων in the Iliad' in the Am. Journ. Philol. 1930 ii. 386—388 argues that all such names are either Trojan or Northern and postulates a Northern origin for Poseidon.

Addenda

ii. 587 n. 7. C. Picard in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1936 xciii. 73 n. 2 doubts the translation cryptography=crypta, citing C. Autran ‘La Grèce et l’Orient ancien’ in Babylonica 1924 viii. 185 n. 1 (‘balag dont le sens probable est bien plutôt de lyre, ou harpe’), id. Summen und Inde-médiévalen Paris 1923 p. iv n. 1. Further literature on this disputed question is noted by A. Nehring ‘Studien zur indogermanischen Kultur und Urheimat’ in the Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik 1936 iv. 31 n. 11.

ii. 594 pectoral ornament (?). In favour of such a προστήθια see also W. Müller in the Röm. Mith. 1910 xxiv. 93 ff., C. Picard Éphèse et Clares Paris 1922 p. 539 ff., id. in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1936 xciii. 73 n. 1, and especially G. Furlani ‘Ornamenti astrali e corone di dei dell’ Asia anteriore antica’ in Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni 1931 vi. 43 ff.


ii. 600 f. The double axe and the Labyrinth. R. Ganszyniec ‘Labrys’ in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xii. 386–397 gives a well-arranged and interesting survey of the facts. Humborg ib. xi. 314 f. and G. Karo ib. xii. 331 deal with λάβρος and λαβρόμονος. G. Dumézil ‘ΔΑΒΡΤΖ’ in the Journal asiatique 1929 ccxxv. 337–353 derives λάβρος and its congeneres (‘l’asianique et égéen λαβρός, λαβρόμονος’) from a pre-Greek word which he connects with the classical and modern Georgian labvare, ‘lance.’ Early Georgian lances, preserved in churches and museums, have a bifurcated blade. In Mingrelia they are regularly used to be the arms of St George, mounted on horseback attacks evil spirits issuing from the sea with his double lance (‘il leur porte des coups avec sa lance ; chacun de ces coups s’accompagne du tonnerre que nous entendons, et fait jaillir des étincelles, qui sont l’éclair’). Dumézil views the double lance as the final solution of the question of the double axe λαβρος, the essential point being its twofold blade (‘force redoublee? perfection? union des sexes?’)—a convincing conclusion. H. Güntert ‘Labyrinth. Eine sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchung’ in the Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1932/3 Abh. i. 1–49 would relate λαβρόμονος to λαβές ‘stone,’ and takes λάβρος as ‘Steinbeil.’ But his contentions are traversed by P. Kretschmer in Glotta 1924 xxii. 253 f. (‘Diese Etymologie scheint daran, dass λαβρόμονος, λάβρος, λαβρόμονος immer nur mit β, λαβει dagegen nur mit ν bezeuge, die Bed. “Stein” an die Form mit ν geknüpft ist’). See further C. Picard ‘Les origines du Labyrinthe’ in the Rev. Arch. 1939 i. 364 ff.

ii. 601. H. J. Rose in The Hibbert Journal 1927 xxv. 380 thinks that I am here confusing the Quinquennalia of Maxentius, i.e. the celebration of the fifth year of his reign, with the quinquennial agon Capitolinus of Domitian, which had ceased to exist centuries before Maxentius was born. But the Quinquennalia of Maxentius would have lasted up to 212, not 211. Also, Lactantius states that the Quinquennalia in question were held in the reign of Domitian, which had ceased to exist several centuries before Maxentius was born. But the Quinquennalia of Maxentius would have been regular, with the celebration of the fifth year of his reign, with the quinquennial agon Capitolinus of Domitian, which had ceased to exist centuries before Maxentius was born. H. G. Gomperz ‘L’etymologie de “Labarum”’ in Byzantion 1927–1928 iv. 477–482 comes to the following conclusion: ‘La laura en or qui enfermait le Chrisme est l’élément caractéristique du sublimé étendard décoré en outre des images lauréées des pieux em-pereurs. De même qu’on disait le draco, draco, aquila, forêt ou élephant, pour l’étendard surmonté du dragon ou de l’aigle, on a dû qualifier le nouveau vexillum à la couronne d’un nom dérivé de laura. Et, de même que le labarum n’est qu’une variante du laurum, laurum n’est qu’une variante de laurea!’

ii. 613 the hidden meaning of knife or double axe. R. Eisler drew my attention to my view as expressed in the text.

ii. 627 E. Conybeare’s suggestion that the labarum was derived from the libryς. The same solution of the problem was reached independently by E. Harrison, who however—so far as I know—did not publish it.

H. Grégoire ‘L’étymologie de “Labarum”’ in Byzantion 1927–1928 iv. 477–482 comes to the following conclusion: ‘La laura en or qui enferme le Chrisme est l’élément caractéristique du sublimé étendard décoré en outre des images lauréées des pieux em-pereurs. De même qu’on disait le draco, draco, aquila, aigle, pour l’étendard surmonté du dragon ou de l’aigle, on a dû qualifier le nouveau vexillum à la couronne d’un nom dérivé de laura. Et, de même que le labarum n’est qu’une variante du laurum, laurum n’est qu’une variante de laurea!’

Addenda

ce lui-ci une transposition figurée. On constate de plus que certains de ces arrangements ont un sens religieux ou magique.

ii. 614 ff. Zeus (?) and the Centaur. J. C. Hoppin in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1900 iv. 443 ff. pl. 6 (part of which = my fig. 893) published a proto-Corinthian *kythros* of the early seventh century at Boston (inv. no. 6508), interpreting the main scene as a Centaur attacked by Herakles (sheathed sword, branch, tree-root). K. F. Johansen *Les vases sicyoniens* Paris—Copenhagen 1923 p. 146 ff. fig. 109 pl. 22, 2 d thinks that we have here an early version of the *Làpithe* Centaur myth. E. Buschor *Kentauren* in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxxvi. 128 ff. fig. 1 rightly recognizes Zeus with a sword at his side, a sceptre in his right hand, and a thunderbolt in his left, but would have us believe that the horse-monster is Typhon. To my thinking, this thunderbolt-bearing figure strongly supports our explanation of the axe-bearing figure as Zeus.

ii. 620 Sucaelus the mallet-god. For a Cornish counterpart of Sucaelus see ‘Jack of the Hammer,’ whose exploits are told by W. Bottrell *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall* Penzance 1870 p. 10 ff. He passed as ‘a travelling tinkard... hammer in hand,’ but proved more than a match for Tom the eight-foot giant-killer. ‘The tinkard, taking his black-thorn stick in the middle, made it spin so fast that it looked like a wheel flying round Tom’s head and ears... Tom didn’t know the play;—though the few downright blows he gave came down with the force of a sledge hammer,

they had no effect on the tinkard, because he wore a leather coat, the like of which was never seen in the west country before. This coat, made of a black bull’s hide, left almost whole, was without a seam, and dressed with the curly hair on it. On the breast, back, and shoulders it was as hard as iron, and roared like thunder whenever Tom struck it, which made him think he had to deal with the devil.’ Etc. See further Keune ‘Sucellus’ in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 515—540.

ii. 630. Thor’s hammer used as a pendant or amulet is well illustrated by J. J. A. Worsaae *Nordiske Oldsager i Det Kongelige Museum i Kjøbenhavn* Kjøbenhavn 1859 p. 113 fig. 469 and P. Paulsen *Der Goldschatz von Hiddensee* Leipzig 1936 p. 65 ff. figs. 24—26 pls. 17, 2 and 23; (3).

ii. 632 n. 6 axes with animal heads. Other examples are collected by P. Couissin in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 i. 261 ff. pl. 26 discusses an inscribed tombstone from the Via Triumphalis, now in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana at Rome (*Corpus inscr. Lat.* vi no. 2333 = Dessau *Inschr. Lat. sed. no. 4182, Matz—Dahn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom iii.* 173 f. no. 3876). The relief shows L. Lattius Anthus, a *cistophorus* and priest of Bellona *Pulvinensis* wearing a bay-wreath with three medallions (Mars, Bellona, Minerva?) and carrying in his right hand a bay-branch, in his left two small double axes.

ii. 632 n. 6 axes with animal heads. Other examples are collected by P. Couissin in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 i. 261 ff. figs. 6, 7, 8, 9, 15.

ii. 633 fig. 542 f. axes backed by a bull. Cp. G. A. Wainwright in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1933 xix. 43 (supra p. 884 n. 9).

ii. 635 f. Trojan axe-hammers of blue or green stone. H. Schmidt ‘Zu den trojanischen...
Addenda


One is an almost oblong axe of bronze (fig. 894 a, b, c. Length 7½ inches) with dark green patina. On either side of it is incised a lion recumbent on rough or rocky ground with whisking tail. I obtained this axe from a Cretan vendor with no indication of its provenance. But Mr J. D. S. Pendlebury tells me that he had already seen it at Mokhos, 1½ hours south of Mallia. He adds: 'It comes from a place called Μοηπ (the "meeting place"), where are MM and LM sherds, close by a small lake or Λυκτός, near Mot, a place'), where are MM and LM sherds, close by a small lake and from somewhere not far off come Neolithic sherds. Classical-Roman, near Μοηπ.'
Addenda

The rocky ground is characteristic. Sir A. Evans The Palace of Minos London 1928 ii. 2. 450—454 dilates on the 'Minoan passion for rock scenery': cp. e.g. Perrot—Chipiez Hist. de l'Art vi. 848 pl. 16, 12 and 840 fig. 424 = Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i pl. 3, 2 and 46, ii. 14 and 16 = H. T. Bossert The Art of Ancient Crete* London 1937 p. 36 pl. 231

Fig. 894.
The same feature recurs on occasion in later Cretan art (supra i. 528 fig. 394).

The second axe (fig. 895 a, b. Length 2½ inches) was found near Athens. It is of yellow bronze with blackish patination, in part scrubbed off by sand-paper. Its outline is of a later type with more pronounced curves, and it is decorated on both sides with pointillé patterning. Within a border of chevrons are a man, a waterfowl, a horse, and a wheel. I have suggested (supra p. 605 n. 3) that these are the constituents of a solar
equipage as rendered in the Hallstatt period. If so, the axe was presumably in some sense a sacred object.

ii. 645 n. 4 the soul as a butterfly. The Copenhagen gem (fig. 552) is now included in P. Fossing’s

The Thorvaldsen Museum: Catalogue of the antique engraved gems and cameos Copenhagen 1929 p. 91 no. 504 pl. 7. The Berlin amphi
dora (no. 1684) is figured by H. Licht Sittengeschichte Griechenlands Zürich 1928 Ergänzungsband p. 73.

ii. 648 n. 1 axe-pendants from Benin. P. Amaury Talbot Some Nigerian Fertility Cults Oxford 1927 p. 8 ‘A considerable number of examples of the old Minoan double-headed axe cult were found in other parts of West and Central Africa’ (criticised by A. R. Wright in Folk-Lore 1930 xli. 215 f.).

ii. 656 n. 0 ingots. C. T. Seltman Athens its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion Cambridge 1924 p. 1 ff. figs. 1—4 points out that these ingots were cast in the shape of an ox-hide dried and stretched, one side rough and hairy, the other raw with inward curling edges, just because they were an ox-unit, the price of an ox in base metal. Cp. id. Greek Coins London 1933 p. 7 f. with figs. 1 and 2. K. Regling in Ebert Reallex. iv. 1. 292 with pl. 100 a—d still (1926) speaks of them as ‘die doppelbeilförmigen Kupferbarren des Mittelmeergebietes.’ H. T. Bossert The Art of Ancient Crete London 1937 p. 43 pl. 277 fig. 525, a—c is non-committal. But Seltman is clearly right.

ii. 663. W. R. Halliday ‘Tenes’ in the Class. Quart. 1927 xxi. 36—44 insists on ‘the absolute unanimity of tradition which associates Tenes with Apollo,’ not with Zeus or Dionysos. Id. ib. p. 39 quotes Aristides of Miletos frag. 32 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 327 Müller) ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Τένεδος...τὸν ἐν Τένεδῳ Ἀπόλλωνα πέλεκυς κρατεῖν, but questions its reliability.

ii. 664 fig. 603. This bronze plaque is now at Berlin (photograph in F. J. Dölger IXΘΥC Münster in Westf. 1922 iii pl. 33). A marble altar of s. iii (f? A.D. from Ineunu, Phrygia (Mendel Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople iii. 53 ff. no. 846 with 4 figs.), has reliefs on its front, back, left, and right sides. (a) On the front, a rider-god on horse-back, brandishing a double axe, gallops uphill: above him is inscribed ὢξωθαί τόξος θεοῦ Ὀξας καὶ Δ[ε]νδρα[μ]ον Παῦλο[αμ]ον. (b) On the back, a draped goddess holding grape-bunch and cornu copiae stands on a small plinth beside a fruitful vinebranch and a large krater. (c) On the left side, Asklepios with oval object (fruit? egg?) and serpent/staff stands on a small plinth: above him is inscribed Ἀσκληπιός καὶ Ἀσκληπίας, Οὐσίαν τοῖς Καταληκτῖσι. (d) On the right side, Nemesis draped and veiled holding scales (?) and cubit-rule stands on a small plinth between two thick garlands terminated at either end by three ivy-leaves.


ii. 666 n. 1 Cancer, ‘the Crab.’ D’Arcy W. Thompson ‘The Emblem of the Crab in relation to the sign Cancer’ in Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh 1899 xxxix. 603—611 maintains that the crab as divine attribute or emblem regularly presupposes the constellation Cancer, which was domus Lunae, exaltatio Jovis, sedes Mercurii, etc.

ii. 667 n. 3 fig. 606. Cp. Babelon Monn. gr. rom. ii. i. 1547 f. no. 2328 pl. 78, 12, Mclean Cat. Coins i. 238 no. 2032 pl. 65, 5, Syll. num. Gr. ii pl. 26, 794 f. Lloyd. Since on a later tetradrachm of Kamarina Θ + Θ is the beginning of an artist’s name (Syll. num. Gr. ii pl. 20, 868 Lloyd), presumably that of Exakestidas (ib. pl. 29, 871 Lloyd), Ionice Exekestides, it is probable that A + Θ on the Agrigentine coin stands for the name of a magistrate or artist Exakestidas, grandfather of the later engraver. For + instead of Θ see W. Larfeld Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik Leipzig 1907 i pl. 3 (‘Westliche Alphabete’).

ii. 673. A bronze coin of Chersonesos Taurike, struck c. 300—200 B.C., copies the Tenedian combination of god and goddess (Ant. Mtinz. Berlin Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 3 pl. 1, 7 Artemis and Heraclis, Head Hist. num.3 p. 279 young Dionysos (?) and Zeus (?), E. H. Minns Scythians and Greeks Cambridge 1913 pl. 4, 7 Artemis and bearded Dionysus (?). I have another specimen of this scarce coin, and I incline to agree with Head that the type represents Dionysos and Zeus).

ii. 675 androgynous deities. See now the important study of J. Halley des Fontaines La notion d’androgynie dans quelques mythes et quelques rites Paris 1938 with 16 figs. pp. 1—311 (pp. 216—219 ‘Résumé et conclusions’).

ii. 681 figs. 621—624. C. Picard in the Revue de l’histoire des religions 1926 xciii. 75
observes that in the tree-cutting scene on the coins of Aphrodisias the second man averts his face owing to a sort of visual taboo, for which parallels are cited.

ii. 687 rock-carvings of the hafted axe. At the base of Ben Voirlich, not far from the shore of Loch Lomond, a great rock called in Gaelic *Clach nan Tairbh*, 'The Rock of the Bulls,' bears the rough outline of a hafted axe (A. D. Lacaille in *Folk-Lore* 1930 xlii. 233 ff. pls. 4 and 5).

ii. 688 ff. n. o. M. C. Burkitt 'Rock Carvings in the Italian Alps' in *Antiquity* 1929 iii. 155—164 with map and pls. 1—7 discusses the designs rock-marked on the red rock-surfaces of Monte Bego and attributes them to seasonal pilgrimages of a neighbouring agricultural population made during the Bronze Age at different dates but in all cases prior to c. 300 A.D. (absence of Christian symbols). P. Reinecke in *Germania* 1934 xviii. 46—48 reports on two sandstone blocks in the Val Camonica and would date their drawings to the pre-Roman Iron Age or more probably to the Bronze Age. P. Jacobsthal 'Celtic Rock-Carvings in Northern Italy and Yorkshire' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1938 xxviii. 65—69 accepts the contention of F. Altheim and E. Trautmann 'Nordische und italische Felsbildkunst' in *Die Welt als Geschichte* 1937 iii. 93—113 that the largest of all rock-carvings in the Val Camonica (fig. 3 = Jacobsthal pl. 9, 1) represents the Celtic stag-god Cernunnos with a small-scale worshipper. See further *eid.* 'Neue Felsbilder aus der Val Camonica: Die Sonne in Kult und Mythos' in *Wörter und Sachen* N.F. 1938 i. 12—45 pls. 1—32.

ii. 690 Penelope's marriage-test. E. Westermarck *The History of Human Marriage* London 1921 ii. 490 notes that among the Mundas of Chota Nagpur the bridegroom shoots an arrow through the loophole formed by the bride's uplifted arm, and suggests that this was a magical means of securing the bride's safe delivery. I suspect that we have here the ultimate explanation of the marriage-test proposed by Penelope.


ii. 699 'wine-skin' and 'hatchet.' 'Y.' in *The Cambridge Review* 1926 xlvii. 268 draws attention to a better solution of this long-standing problem propounded by S. Koujeas 'ΔΣΚΟΣ-ΠΕΛΑΕΚΤΕΣ' in *Hermes* 1906 xli. 478—480, who remarks that at Abia in Lokonike words meaning 'wine-skin' and 'hatchet' are used in popular speech to denote the contrast of light and heavy: thus πέλεκχεν τὸν ἄξον 'he swims like a wine-skin,' πέλεκχεν τὸν τοσοφέρον 'he swims like an axe.' The visitor bouncing the baby says the tactful thing.

ii. 699 small bronze axes. F. Haverfield in *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Norfolk* London s.a. i. 202 fig. 9 illustrates a tiny bronze axe found at Caister-by-Norwich (Venta Icenorum).


ii. 707 n. 1. E. Kalinka in the *Jahresr. d. ost. arch. Inst.* 1933 xxviii Beiblatt p. 69 f. no. 17 gives a facsimile of this inscription, and dates it in 68 A.D.

ii. 732 Zeus Ἰδρῶτας at Olympia. On the exact site of this statue see E. N. Gardiner *Olympia Its History & Remains* Oxford 1935 p. 574.
Addenda


ii. 724 n. o. On oaths that must be taken in the open, not under a roof, see P. Sartori ‘Das Dach im Volksglauben’ in the Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde 1915 xxv. 234 ff., Weiser in the Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens Berlin—Leipzig 1929/1930 ii. 124.

ii. 725 fig. 660 f. A. Della Seta Italia Antica Bergamo 1921 p. 252 fig. 281 has a photograph of this statue with the arms restored as holding a bow in the right hand, a hawk (?) in the left.

Fig. 896.

ii. 727 Zeus and the boar. The stele of Zeus Karaios at Thespiai (infra on ii. 874 n. 3) has three reliefs—a filleted bucramium, a boar’s skull, and a boar’s jaw (?) (P. Jamot in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1922 xlvi. 162 with fig. 37).

ii. 727 n. 3 Zeus in relation to oaths. An engraved gem of pink jasper (?), found in Macedonia and now in my collection (fig. 896: scale ¼), shows Sarapis (ψυλθάς, wreath) standing before Zeus (sceptre, thunderbolt) and between them the word ΩΜΟ|CA. Fairly good Hellenistic work. Possibly the seal of some public functionary.

ii. 731 fig. 663 Zeus wielding thunderbolt. A. Rumpf Chalkidische Vasen Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 12 ff. no. 10 pls. 23—25.


M. P. Nilsson *Homer and Mycenae* London 1933 p. 267 with fig. 56 claims that a Cypro-Mycenaean vase of c. 1300 B.C., found during the Swedish excavations in the upper burial stratum of chamber tomb no. 17 at Enkomi, represents 'Zeus taking the scales of destiny in order to determine the fate of the combatants, a famous scene of the Iliad,' etc. But Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 2. 659 n. 2 fig. 646 justly demurs. The scene is merely commercial, or at most a matter of ransom.

**Fig. 898.**

ii. 739 ff. early types of Zeus advancing from left to right. C. D. Bicknell suggests to me (Jan. 3, 1934) that a precursor of Zeus advancing with bolt and bird may be seen on a pithos-lid from Knossos, Cretan work of c. 700 B.C., published by S. Marinatos in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xlviii Arch. Anz. p. 311 figs. 20 and 21 (=my fig. 898), cp. T. B. L. Webster in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1939 lx. 102 fig. 1. Pl. lxxxi is from a photograph procured for me from H. G. G. Payne through the kind offices of my old pupil Mr E. J. P. Raven. The lid shows a nude male figure advancing to the right with a triple lightning-fork in his right hand, a bird on his left. Before him is a tripod, on which is another bird with a third on a stone beside it. Beneath the tripod a human head rises from the ground (Pas central support of the tripod: *supra* ii. 193). Marinatos comments: 'Es handelt sich wohl um eine mythologische Szene.' But it is possible that the 'tripod' was meant for an altar, and that the head seen on the face of it marks it as the altar of the advancing god. The interpretation is very uncertain.

A bronze statuette (height 0'165 m: bright green patina), found near Epidauros (?), later in the Tyskiewicz and Dutuit collections, and now in the Petit Palais at Paris, represents a nude bearded male figure advancing to the right with his right arm raised and his left thrown forward—the whole on a bronze base inscribed ἮΒΒΡΗ[Σ] ΣΤΆΣ

ΕΠΟΙΚΕΣ. Peloponnesian work of 600—550 B.C. K. Wernicke in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1889 iv. 157 f., cp. p. 339 took the subject to be a young warrior with spear and shield. But most critics have assumed Zeus fulminant (W. Fröhner *La collection Tyskiewicz* Munich 1892 p. 18 pl. 21 ( = my fig. 899) ('Un aigle perchait sur le revers de la main gauche du dieu; cette main est d'ailleurs perforée'), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 1 no. 2, A. Furtwängler *Kleine Schriften* München 1913 ii. 467 fig. 9, G. Lippold in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 33, A. Rumpf in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte*
Pithos-lid from Knossos, Cretan work of c. 700 B.C.:
Zeus advancing with triple lightning-fork and bird.

See page 1148 and page 1150 fig. 898.

Between April 1926 and September 1928 a magnificent bronze god was fished up piecemeal from a depth of more than 25 fathoms in the sea off Artemision. It seems to have formed part of the cargo on board a ship, which was carrying barrels of late Hellenistic style from northern Greece towards Rome, but foundered in a gale off the upper end of Euboia. If so, the statue had probably been pillaged from some temple in Thessaly or Chalkidike or even Thrace. After careful cleaning from accretions and corrosions, the whole figure (c. 2'10m high) proved to be a nude bearded god striding forwards with right arm drawn back and left arm outstretched— one of the most impressive of all Greek statues (Ch. Karouzos 'The Find from the Sea off Artemision' in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1929 xlix. 141—144 figs. 1 and 2 pls. 7 and 8, id. 'Ο Ποσειδών τοῦ 'Αρτεμίσιου' in the Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 1930—31 xiii. 41—104 figs. 1—42 pls. 1 (=my fig. 900)—5, H. G. Beyen La statue d'Artemision La Haye 1930 pp. 1—55 pls. 1—13 with further bibliography p. 1 n. 1). Several problems arise: (1) To what period, school, and sculptor C. III.
Addenda

should it be assigned? It belongs clearly to the later part of the transitional period when fighting-man developed into fighting-god (supra ii. 739 ff., 1222 f.) and may be dated c. 460 B.C. Beyen attributes it, on rather insufficient grounds, to the Sicyonian school; Karouzos, more explicitly, to the Sicyonian-Boeotian school of Kalamis. (2) Votive figure or cult-image? Hardly the latter. A cult-image should be strictly frontal: the worshipper expects to find a propitious and friendly presence, not to be met by a tremendous antagonist in the act of hurling a missile! (3) Zeus or Poseidon? The attitude would suit either, according as we assume thunderbolt or trident in the right hand. Karouzos and Beyen think that the fingers imply a cylindrical trident loosely held rather than a tightly grasped thunderbolt: yet we must remember that the Greek thunderbolt often had a rounded handle in the middle, to prevent the god burning himself. They note further that there is no trace of an eagle on the extended left hand, and that there is a marked resemblance to the head of Poseidon (certified as such by the trident over his shoulder) in a terra-cotta relief at Munich (Furtwängler Glyptothek zu München² p. 74 f. no. 62). On the other hand it must be admitted that the striding-warrior type points primarily to Zeus fulminant and only secondarily to Poseidon.

Fig. 900.
Indeed, Poseidon leaning on a trident, or striking with a trident, may be fairly frequent. But Poseidon hurling a trident is quite exceptional; and where he is so represented, as on the early silver coins of Poseidonia, he regularly wears a chlamys over his arms. Also the head, with its neat plait twisted round trim locks, its long silky moustache, and its full beard with undulating strands, seems too refined and dignified for any deity beneath the rank of Zeus. I conclude that the originator of this remarkable type was deliberately portraying Poseidon in the guise of Zeus (cp. supra ii. 795 n. 3 figs. 762—764). After all, Poseidon was but a by-form of the greater god (supra p. 736). J. Jäthner,

however, in the Ath. Mitth. 1937 lxii. 136—148 decides for an athlete hurling his akontion.

ii. 741 Zeus Ithomatas. C. T. Seltman in the Cambridge University Reporter 1932 lxii. 799 claims that the Brussels tetradrachm of Zankle-Messana (supra ii. 794 f. fig. 757), which should be dated ca. 461 B.C., the year of liberation from the tyranny, has on the obverse a figure, not of Poseidon, but of Zeus fulminating (Num. Chron. 1883, p. 168) which closely resembles the Zeus Ithomatas on coins of Messenia from 369 B.C. onwards (B.M.C. Peloponnesus, Pl. xxii, r, 6, 7, 10). Thus the Messanians of Zankle showed their sympathy with the Messenians, who in 461 were being besieged on Ithome. Apparently, therefore, Hagelaidas made the statue before 461, therefore at...
Ithome, and not at Naupactus after 455 B.C. This agrees with other dated works by the sculptor and does away with the need either for inventing a younger sculptor of the same name, or for assuming his unnatural longevity.

ii. 745 n. 4. F. Matz 'Ein Zeuskopf in Villa Borghese' in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1931 xlvi. 1—31 with figs. 1—21 and pls. 1 and 2 reaches the following...

ii. 746 n. 2 pl. xxxii, 1 silver statuette of Zeus. A. W. Van Buren in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1937 xii. 489 ff. fig. 6 (= my fig. 901) illustrates a silver bust of 'Jupiter,' which was found in 1924, in a crushed state, at a Roman station on the Little St Bernard ('Mons Minoris Jovis') together with a patterned silver ribbon and a figure of Hercules within the front of a small shrine, likewise of silver (P. Barocelli in the Not. Scam 1932 p. 391). The bust has now been restored and installed in the Museum at Aosta. The thunderbolt in relief on the right side of the chest implies that the silversmith was copying some statue of the god with that attribute in his right hand.

ii. 748 f. beardless type of Zeus. T. Birt 'Anxius und Anxur' in Glotta 1937 xv. 118 discusses the epithet of the Volsciian Jupiter Anxurus (on whom see E. Aust in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 640 fig., id. in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. i. 2653) and supports the derivation from ἄξω, ἄξως already given by Serv. in Verg. Aen. 7. 799 circa hunc tractum Campaniae colebatur puer Iuppiter, qui Anxurus dicebatur, quasi ἄξω ἄξως, id est sine novacula, quia barbam numquam rassiet, et Iuno virgo, quae Feronia dicebatur, cp. Akron in Hor. sat. i. 5. 26 Anxur [autem] dictum, quod ibi inherbis Iuppiter collitur.

ii. 753 the eagle of Zeus. R. E. Jenkins (June 3, 1938) notes: 'With regard to eagles and Zeus, it is interesting to recall that some 3000—4000 B.C. A-anni-padda built a temple to the Earth Mother Nin-khursag at al 'Ubaid, and over the door flew the eagle of the sky-god, Im-dugud.' See C. L. Woolley The Sumerians Oxford (1939) p. 40 f. fig. 10.

ii. 754 n. 1 Tavium. P. Kretschmer in Glotta 1935 xiv. 304 derives the name of the town Tavium 'von einer vorphyrgischen Stammform Tav-w-Zeus, wie die bithynische Stadt Tivow (Strabo [542 f., 562]), kontrahiert Tium (Tios Aelian [de nat. an. 12. 5], Tiv arn. tep. "Tag"=gr. Τίτιος.'

ii. 757 n. 8 the chronology of Pheidias' career. Recent discussion by G. Lippold 'Das Ende des Phidias' in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1923/24 xxxvii/f. 155—158 (Pheidias was already at work on his Zeus c. 448, but may well have been simultaneously engaged upon his Athena), H. Schröder Phidias Frankfurt am Main 1924 p. 27 (his Zeus must be dated between c. 460 and 448, i.e. before his Athena), W. Judeich 'Zum "Phidias-Pappurus"' in Hermes 1925 ix. 50—58 (rejects H. Schröder's view: holds that Pheidias finished his Athena in 438/7, retired to Elis in 433/2, and was at Olympia making his Zeus from 432 onwards), E. N. Gardner Olympia Its History and Remains Oxford 1925 p. 340 f. (his Zeus should be dated 435—432, i.e. after his Athena), C. Picard in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1926 xxii. 30 n. 3 (accepts the finding of H. Schröder), G. M. A. Richter The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks Yale Univ. Press 1939 pp. 166—170 (the later dating of Zeus would seem to be the more likely), but 'We must leave it an open question whether Pheidias left Athens in 438 or in 432'). The contest continues.

ii. 759 the marble statuette of Zeus at Lyons. Espérandieu Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom. iii. 45 f. no. 1810 with three views.

ii. 760 n. 2 throne-legs of white marble. Cp. the statue of Zeus (?) entombed found in Delos (J. Chamard in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1953 lii. 155 ff. fig. 16) and the statuette of Kybele entombed from a neighbouring site (id. in Delos viii. 1. 220 with fig. 97).

ii. 766 f. Alexander's reversion to a pre-Phidiae type of seated Zeus. One of the town-gates of Thasos, which can be dated 403—411 B.C., is adorned with an archaising relief (G. Mendel in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1900 xxiv. 560—569 pls. 14 and 15 wrongly dated c. 470 and interpreted as Demeter with Iris, Nike, or Hebe. J. ff. Baker-Penoyre in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1909 xxix. 293 says more correctly 'the fine relief of Zeus and Nike.' C. Picard 'La porte de Zeus à Thasos' in the Rev. Arch. 1912 ii. 43—76, id. 'Encore la porte de Zeus à Thasos' ib. 1912 ii. 385—398, id. in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1926 xxii. 81 n. 1 recognizes Zeus and Iris). Within a naiskos, the pediment of which is surmounted by an eagle with spread wings, sits Zeus on a throne with back, arm-rest, the feet of dancer (cp. supra p. 682 figs. 492, 493, p. 700 fig. 517), and footstool. He wears an Ionic chiton and himation with formal pleats, holds a long sceptre.
Addenda


At Rás el-Shamra, ‘Fennel Head,’ the capital of ancient Ugarit, some ten miles north of Laodikeia on the Syrian coast, Prof. Claude F. A. Schaeffer, Director of the French Archaeological Mission, in 1932 recovered from a small sanctuary in the western periphery of the great temple a splendidly preserved stèle (1.45 m high), which shows in champlevé relief Ba‘al and, under his protection, a small man—probably a local king. Ba‘al brandishes a club in his right hand and holds in his left a stylised thunderbolt of unique design. Above, it seems to be an elaboration of the bipartite fork with zig-zags.

Below, it ends in a straight shaft and fine spear-head. The date appears to be s. xiv B.C. (C. F. A. Schaeffer in The Illustrated London News for Feb. 11, 1933 p. 213 with figs. 5 and 15 on pp. 178 and 181, Mile M. Rutten in the Encyclopédie photographique de l’Art Le Musée du Louvre: Canaan, Phénicie Paris 1937 ii. 102 with fig. (= my fig. 902)).

As to the thunderbolt on coins of Olympia, another specimen of the very rare ‘fly’-type (supra ii. 781 pl. xxxvi, 5) is now in my collection. Mr C. T. Seltman informed me (April 26, 1934) that one or two examples of a late drachmt had come to light, on which the handle of the bolt took the shape of a small human head, perhaps Keraunos. I am indebted to Mr E. S. G. Robinson for the casts from which my fig. 903 was made. But I should prefer to describe the little facing head as a Gorgoneion, with obvious allusion to the aigis of Zeus aigiochos, and Mr Robinson (Sept. 7, 1938) agrees ‘that the head is probably that of a gorgon.’

ii. 788 sacrifice to living animals on Greek soil. The goddess Boubrostis, to whom a black bull was sacrificed at Smyrna (Metrodoros of Chios (Frag. hist. Gr. iii. 294 Müller) = frag. 3 (Frag. gr. Hist. i. 366 Jacoby) ap. Plout. symp. 6. 8. 1 ékoua δ' ἐν βοσκομέτεις έπανω είνας (εώς τοι βουλημών): τὸ δὲ τεκμήριον έλασθάνει εκ τῶν Μεταβολῶν Ἰωνίων. ἵσταντες γὰρ ὅτι Συμφωνία τὸ παλαιὸν Δίδυμον ὀνείρει θυσίαν Βοσκομέτει ταύρον μέλαν καὶ καστοχάντος αὐτόνδεον ὀνειδοποιοῦσι) may well have been a personified Gadfly (see W. Leaf on Il. 24. 532, but also O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. iii. 933). An Athenian inscription of the early fourth century B.C. prescribes Κοῶν τοῖν ἀνθρωπίνοις (Michel Recueil d’inscr.gr. no. 672, 9), on which see U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff Іστορία των εἰδίκειας Πελοποννήσου Berlin 1886 and supra p. 1083.

ii. 784 Keraunos. C. Picard in the Revue de l’histoire des religions 1926 xcviii. 81 n. 3 suggests that the small figure beneath the throne of Zeus on the gateway at Thasos (supra on ii. 760 f.) may be ‘une personification de la foudre.’ Improbable.

ii. 788 n. o. Two five-pronged forks, aptly illustrating the παταρίδα of Il. 1. 463 = Od. 3. 460, were found in a ‘Depotfund’ of c. 1000 B.C. at Tischciarolo di Pariana in the province of Massa-Carrara and are now at Florence (F. von Duhn in Ebert Reallex. ii. 378 no. 118, id. ‘Pempobolon’ in the Jahrh. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1926 xli Arch. Anz. pp. 331–334 fig. 1).

ii. 789 ff. the trident as a lightning-fork. See now G. Furlani ‘Sulla preistoria del tridente di Posidone’ in Studi e Materiali di storia delle religioni 1932 viii. 42–47 with figs.

E. F. Coote Lake ‘Shrove Tuesday in South Dalmatia’ in Folk-Lore 1927 xxviii. 371–375 describes the Carnival at Cattaro in 1922, when a young man wearing a black mask with sheep’s horns and carrying a small black trident, about two feet long, leapt high in the air throughout the procession. Lake suggests (p. 374) that this was magic to make the crops grow high, and that the magician bore ‘his old trident-thunderbolt as part of the fertility rites.’ Possible, but precarious.

Sir John Marshall’s discovery of a chalko-lithic civilisation on the Indus has enabled us now to trace the figure of Civa back to a period c. 3000 B.C., when he appears as an ithyphallic god with bull’s horns and a raised point between them. Sir John suggested to me in conversation that this arrangement of two curved horns and a central spike may have developed at a later date into Civa’s attribute the trident.

ii. 802. On Jan. 10, 1927 I saw two other specimens of the M. Herennius terra cotta belonging to Messrs W. S. Lincoln & Son. One of these corresponded closely with that
Addenda

described by Mr E. J. Seltman (supra ii. 1224) and was obviously modern. The other, of heavier make and devoid of the signature T. N., represented three herms in juxtaposition—Poseidon, Zeus, Hades—all wearing *kīthāoi* and each marked in front by his attribute. Was this M. Herennius the decuirio of Pompeii who was struck by lightning on a cloudless day (Plin. nat. hist. 2. 137: F. Münzer in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. viii. 664)?

ii. 805 the Etruscan *bidental*. See further G. Furlani 'Il bidental etrusco e un' iscrizione di Tiglatpileser I d' Assiria' in Studi e Materiali di storia delle religioni 1930 vi. 9—49 (reviewed by G. B. Pighi in *Aevum* 1930 iv. 415—417 and by L. Banti in Studi etruschi 1931 v. 924).

ii. 807 n. 5 (3) astragalomancia. E. Rieß in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. ii. 1793 and T. Hopfner ib. Suppl. iv. 51—56. An article on 'Warforakel' is promised for the 'Nachtrag' of vol. ix of the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin 1938—.

ii. 808 n. o (9) Zeus *Keravnios* in Moesia Inferior. C. M. Danoff 'Eine neue Weihung an Zeus Keraunios aus Niedermoesien' in the *Archiv f. Rel. 1936* xxiii. 166—169 with fig. (=my fig. 904) publishes a rectangular limestone altar of Roman date found in 1925 at Tirnovo near Nikopolis. Its dedication runs: Δν Κεραυνίῳ Ζεὺς Κέραυνιος. The husband's name was perhaps Δεκλίμως or Δέκλιμως.

ii. 808 n. o (13) Zeus *Keravnios* in Thessaly. A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the *Arch. Eph. 1924* pp. 143—146 no. 388 fig. 2 (=my fig. 905) publishes a stèle of local grey marble, found in the ruins of a temple of Zeus at Python (Τηφόλαι) in Thessaly. This is inscribed in lettering of c. 200 B.C. or a little earlier [Δαυ or Τυμαχαράς Δαι[τί][σ][δ][πο[ν]] [κα][λ][ή][τ]ας Νασα[δ]ω[ν]] [Δα][κ][ή] Κεραυνίω and bears a relief representing Zeus as a bearded god, in a *kíthimía*, striding from left to right. His raised right hand brandishes a bolt; his outstretched left has an eagle on the forearm and appears to touch the apex of a tombstone, round which is bound a fillet painted purple. To the right of the tombstone stands Epinike, fully draped and perhaps carrying a *phílde*. Kern thought her a priestess, but Arvanitopoulos with more probability supposes that she was the wife of De(?)mokrates, that her husband had been killed by lightning, and that she put up this votive relief to avoid sharing in his fate.

ii. 808 n. o (17) Zeus *Keravnios* at Rome. This inscription is included in the latest (1933) fascicle of the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi. 4 no. 35802.

ii. 811 n. 5 fig. 777. Furtwängler Ant. Gemmen i pl. 48, 4. ii. 4 comments: 'früher Sammlung Blacas...wohl Titus oder Domitian.'

ii. 812 fig. 778. C. T. Seltman in the Cambridge Ancient History Cambridge 1934 Plates iv. 144 fig. 6 speaks of 'a small Cupid (wing and lower part only preserved) helping to support the huge thunderbolt.' I see rather a Giant with snaky legs and curled wing. The Pergamene frieze had set the fashion...
ii. 814 n. 3 with fig. 780 the relief from Emesa. Similar reliefs have been found at Palmyra (Tadmor). H. A. Seyrig in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xlvi Arch. Anz. pp. 715—742 figs. 1—9 presents a preliminary report on the excavations carried out there by the French Department of Antiquities in 1930—1933 and supplements on many points the handsome work of T. Wiegand and his colleagues (*Palmyra Berlin* 1932 i. i—171 with plan of town, ii pls. 1—100). It appears that the Palmyrene temple was dedicated on April 6, 32 A.D. to the triad Bel, Taribol, and Aglibol. Somewhat later it was surrounded by four colonnades, on the north, east, and south by a double row of lower columns, on the west, where the main *Propylaion* lay, by a single row of higher columns, all of the Corinthian order, but unfluted. Work began at the north-west angle in early Flavian times, and continued along the north, east, south, and west sides, reaching completion c. 150 A.D. Within this great quadrangle, some 200' square, still stands on its broad *podium* a Corinthian pseudodipteral temple (8 x 15 columns, fluted) with the foundations of its altar on the north and its lustral basin on the south. It had originally two pediments and was quasi-Greek in plan, a north-to-south oblong with a door at the southern end. The plan, however, underwent sundry modifications. The southern door was built up. A fresh door was opened in the western side, south of its centre. A couple of *adyta* was constructed at either end of the *naos*. The northern *adyton*, with much mythological decoration, seems to have housed the *páreotai* of Bel—the sun-god Taribol and the moon-god Aglibol. These names suggest that the principal
Palmyrene god was properly called Bol, not Bel, the latter spelling being due to Babylonian influence. The southern adyton, with simple geometric and plant designs, was possibly used for the lectisternium of the god. The roof of the northern adyton is a square monolith hollowed out to form a dome, which is decorated with hexagonal compartments containing busts of the seven gods of the week—in the middle Jupiter, round him Sol, Mars, Luna, Venus, Saturnus, Mercurius—and ringed by the signs of the zodiac with four eagles in the spandrels. Bol was clearly conceived as a cosmic power. The lintel of the adyton-door (cp. supra ii. 437) showed a great eagle with spread wings seen against a background of stars and flanked by Iaribol on the right and probably Aglibol on the left. On a level with the eagle's claws is a long snake, symbol of the sun's course, between six balls representing the other planets. Lastly, the space between the columns and the nads-wall was spanned by a series of vertical slabs supporting the roof of the pteron and carved with reliefs illustrative of the cult. The reliefs have been studied by H. A. Seyrig 'Bas-reliefs de la cella du temple de Bél' in Syria 1933 xiv. 253—260 fig. 2 lintel, fig. 5 dome, id. 'Bas-reliefs monumentaux du temple de Bél à Palmyre'

ib. 1934 xv. 155—186. One of them (ib. 1934 xv. 178—181 fig. 2) renders Iaribol in military dress, with rayed nimbus and sceptre, standing between Aglibol, likewise in military dress but with crescent horns and spear, and a fully draped goddess with sceptre (Beltis?)—a fairly close parallel to the relief from Emesa. Another (ib. 1934 xv. 173—178 pl. 22) shows Aglibol joining hands with a second and ill-preserved god over an altar set out with pine-cones, a pomegranate, and an apple, above which hovers an eagle bearing a snake (? in its beak and a palm-branch in its talons. The scene takes place in a sanctuary marked by a cypress-tree etc. Fortunately a Palmyrene relief at Rome with a bilingual inscription enables us to name the second god Malachbolos (W. Helbig Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertumer in Rom Leipzig 1912 i. 566 f. no. 988, Reinach Rép. Reliefs iii. 177 no. 5, Stuart Jones Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome p. 257 f. Scala v no. 3 pl. 100. Inscr. Gr. Sti. I. no. 971 Ἀγλιβόλω καὶ Μαλαχβόλω πατρώῳ θεῷ | καὶ τῷ στίγμα ἄργυρων σῶν παντὶ κέρκῳ ἀνθίθεν | Τ. Αἱροὶ Πήλιορος Ἀντίγονος Αὔριορος Παλμυρὴν ἐκ τῶν ἄλων ὑπέρ | σωμηρίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς συμβολῆς τῆς θέες, ἑτοὺς γὰρ (547 Seleucid era = 235 A.D.) ἱερὸν Περσαίον —another solar power (W. Drexler in Roscher Lex. Myth. ii. 293—295, K. Preisendanz in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xiv. 824—828).

ii. 818 f. Zeus Zbélthiurdos with snake. C. Picard in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1926 xxiii. 77 n. 3 cp. a small unpublished bronze in the Musée Saint-Pierre at Lyons, which portrays the god with a snake rolled round the arm that holds the thunderbolt. But does this betoken his aigis?

G. I. Katsarov in the Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare 1934 viii. 44—68 lists new dedications to deities, e.g. 'rough statues of...Zeus Zbélthiurdos, Kybele, Mithras, Dionysus, etc.' (D. M. Robinson in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1936 xl. 140).
Addenda

ii. 823 n. 1 Dionysos as ὤρος? W. R. Halliday The Greek Questions of Plutarch Oxford 1928 p. 29 prints my emendation ἐλεύθ᾽ ἣπ᾽ ὃς ὶντιν καὶ Ἐρετέους and p. 157 f. is ‘inclined to welcome’ it.

G. Seure 'ΝΕΟΣ ΗΡΩΣ, ΚΩΤΡΟΣ ΗΡΩΣ' in the Rev. Et. Gr. 1929 xlii. 241—254 discusses two sepulchral situlae from Odessaes (Varna), one inscribed 'Ἀγαθὴρος Ἀπαγωγοῦν ἄνος ὤρος (fig. 1), the other Ἀρτέμιδορος Νομερών, ὃς ὤρος (fig. 4). W. R. Halliday in the Rev. Et. Gr. 1929 xlii. 254 f. (ib., p. 241 f. no. 202) says that this Ἀγαθήρος Ἑρωις 'is inclined to welcome' it.

ii. 824 ff. The whip of Zeus. L. Laistner Nebelagen Stuttgart 1879 pp. 45, 160 f. already cites from German folk-lore proof that lightning was regarded as a long whip held by a fiery female form amid thunder-clouds, as a blue whip held by the storm-god, etc. Siegmund in the Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 1400 'Auch als Peitsche, Rute und Kugel in der Hand mythischer Gestalten dient der E[lite].'

ii. 823 n. 8 with fig. 793. See now Mendel Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople iii. 47 f. no. 844 fig. Id. ib. p. 48 ff. no. 843 (=my fig. 906) describes and illustrates a series of small altars dedicated to Zeus Bronton: (1) p. 48 ff. no. 843 with three figs. (=my fig. 906) (Inaevi, early s. iii. A.D.) 'Ἀγαθὴ Τέχνη': I Δί Γροστωττι Ἑπίκεφω Θείς Δάρδας Δαμῆς σῶν τοῖς τούμεν ὸφριστοι καὶ Διομάη καὶ Ἀρταμίς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδιῶν ἐδυνάμετα νεκρῶν. Front: bust of Zeus facing, with large garland round head; below, Hermes with caduceus, purse, and ram before a wreathed altar, on which is perched an eagle with a leafy sprig in its beak. Back: rosette between horns; bull running to right up hill. Left side: two-handled vase with grape-bunches; two bucramia with frontlets above plough. Right side: traces of rosette above plough. Left side: rosette above plough. Right side: rounded vase with two handles, vine-branch. Supra ii. 836.

S. Ferri 'Nuovi monumenti plastici dello Zeus di Bitinia' in Historia 1932 vi. 238—273 starts from a bust of coarse-grained Asiatic marble (figs. 1—3) and a similar head (fig. 4) in the Museum at Brussa (Prousa). Both are third-century effigies of Zeus, comparable with a head at Berlin (fig. 5) and with the inscribed bust of Zeus Bronton in the British Museum (fig. 6 = supra ii. 837 fig. 704). Ferri goes on to consider analogous heads in later art, e.g. the silver bust of Zeus from Little St Bernard (fig. 7 unrestored, supra p. 1153 fig. 901 restored), which he regards as descended from the original type of the Bithynian Zeus.

But by far the most important contribution to our knowledge of Zeus Bronton is the painstaking study by C. W. M. Cox and A. Cameron in Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiquae Manchester Univ. Press 1937 v pp. xxxiv—xxxiv. These two scholars in the course of a four-weeks vacation (March 26—April 21, 1931) traversed the districts of Dorylaeum and Nakoleia, and catalogued there no fewer than 333 monuments, 282 for the first time. Among the new finds are 66 dedications to Zeus Bronton and a useful conspectus of previously published inscriptions is added by way of appendix (pp. 173—176). A propos of 'sepulchral-dedictory inscriptions' the authors comment (p. xxxvii): 'It is curious that nowhere else in Asia Minor should epitaphs explicitly combined with dedications have been found or epitaphs concealed beneath dedications have been reasonably suspected; that the area should be virtually identical with that of the Zeus Bronton cult; and that Zeus Bronton, though by no means monopolising the dedications of the region and very far from dominating the coin-types, should virtually monopolise the dedicatory epitaphs...It may well be that the explicit dedication of the grave to the god was here thought to be the most effective means of rendering it inviolable, and that Zeus Bronton receives the dedications, not only as the most prominent local deity, but as the god who made his presence felt most potently and whose wrath might most drastically strike down the impious or, by drought or storm, devastate their means of livelihood.' But Cox and Cameron 'regard it as still open to question whether Zeus Bronton was a chthonic deity' (p. xliii) and in the Catalogue they list no. 225 (Seyit Gazi (Nakoleia)) Θεός Καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ζεύς ὁ Θόος Ἐρετέους (fig. 4) neatly need not imply any intimate connection between him and the θεός καταχωθένος, though they hasten to add: 'None the less, if only from his constant association with the tomb, Zeus Bronton no doubt came to be conceived as having a chthonic aspect' (p. xliii). They demur (ib.), perhaps rightly, to my contention that he was served with mystic rites in a cave (supra ii. 836 ff. & adhēς, speleum), and note (p. xlii) that he and Apollo 'may
Addenda

have been σώμαν θεόν (nos. 173 Ayvacık, 181 Kuyucak). Lastly, they dissent from Sir W. M. Ramsay's view that Zeus Brontos was called 'the Father god' and 'the Victorious Father' (supra ii. 836). In inscription no. 232 from Seyit Gazi (Nakolea). Lastly, they dissent from Sir W. M. Ramsay's view that Zeus Brontos was called 'the Father god' and 'the Victorious Father' (supra ii. 836). In inscription no. 232 from Seyit Gazi (Nakolea).

ii. 836. On Zeus as 'Hearer of Prayer' see the valuable article by O. Weinreich 'ΕΟΙ ΕΝ ΗΧΟΩΝ in the Ath. Mitth. 1912 xxxvii. 1—68 (especially pp. 23—25) and an interesting supplement to it by the same author in his Gebet und Wunder Stuttgart 1919 pp. 200—204 ('Die θυσίαι am Himmel, beim Ort der Gebetsaudienzen. Eine Interpretation von Lukian, Ιακαρονίππος 23 ff.').

ii. 838 Dionysos Bromios. C. Picard in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1926 xciii. 838 n. 2 would explain the appellative by a reference to R. Pettazzoni / misteri Bologna (1925) pp. i—40 ('Il rombo').


ii. 861 fig. 799. The fragmentary replica at Athens is included in O. Walter Beschreibung der Reliefs im Kleinens Akropolismuseum in Athen Wien 1923 p. 74 no. 125 fig. Another, better preserved, was found at Tragurium (Trojejg) in Dalmatia in 1928 and is published by M. Abramic 'Ein neues Kairos-Relief' in the Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. 1930 xxvi. 1—8 pl. 1 with figs. 2 and 4. A relief at Petrograd is similar, but has the bearded type of Kairos (E. Curtius in the Arch. Zeit. 1876 xxiii. 8 pl. 2, 1 condemns it as a forgery, Reinach Κέρας Reliefs iii. 490 no. 3).

ii. 863 n. 1 fig. 801. H. Volkmann 'Studien zum Nemesiskult' in the Archiv f. Rel. 1918 xxvi. 398 no. 4 with fig. 2.

ii. 869 n. 2 Zeus Aktator on Mt Pelion. The alleged discoveries of A. S. Arvanitopoulos stand in much need of verification. On June 27, 1934 Dr N. Bachtin wrote to me from Athens to say that early in May he had visited Πλαστίδος and found the place indicated by Arvanitopoulos 'still covered with deep snow.' Dr Bachtin continues: 'The περίβολος was nowhere visible (though I cannot absolutely assert that it does not exist, since it might have been under the snow). Moreover, there is not a single sherd anywhere round to suggest the idea of a site that has ever been built on. Three weeks later I returned there with Mr Wade-Gery of Wadham. There was still too much snow to allow a thorough examination, but all that could be seen fully confirmed my suspicions, and Mr Wade-Gery agreed with me entirely. After that, I had the opportunity of meeting in Volo Giannopoulos...and mentioned my fears to him. He too expressed the gravest doubts as to the reliability of the results claimed by Arvanitopoulos.' With praiseworthy persistence Dr Bachtin visited Πλαστίδος yet again in the summer, when the snow had melted, and camped there for some time. He reports (Dec. 11, 1938): 'I found that the site I had examined with Wade-Gery in the spring was not the one which Arvanitopoulos meant: the supposed temple site is just above it—on the very summit marked 1548 on the Greek staff map. The shallow cave, or rather hole, is just below the trig. point and there seem to be some traces of a wall running from summit 1548 towards the lower summit marked 1529. There are also bits of tile... That is all, so that my conclusion remains substantially the same: Arvanitopoulos' sketch of his "excavation" is pure invention.'
ii. 874 n. 2 Zeus Karaios. A. Plassart in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1926 i. 399 ff. no. 17 gives the text of the dedication from Thespiai (i.e. on ii. 737) with αύτος | Ποιήσθην | Σώλων | Νομισμάτος | Διονυσίου | Μάιαν | Αριστοφάνου | Άριστοτέλες. He cp. a stile from Akraiaphia, now at Thebes (inv. no. 957), inscribed τάδε | Διός | Καραώ and perhaps another from the same town inscribed Καραώ (P. Perdrix in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1898 xix. 253 no. 7 that transcribed it as Καράω).


He cp. a ταταραί from Akraiaphia, now at Thebes (inv. no. 957), inscribed 'Απλιβαυράς


This grafting of Jewish henotheism on to a Greek stem is comparable with St Paul’s

This bequest was first published by Sir W. M. Ramsay in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1933 xxxvii. 135.)


Thus we have an altar to Invicto Deo Serapidi, another where Sol Invictus (Mithras)

This bequest was first published by Sir W. M. Ramsay in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1933 xxxvii. 135.)

(11) a) Dacia. C. Daicovicu ‘Contributions au syncrétisme religieux à Sarmizegetusa’ in the Anuarul Universității Cluj, Publ. Institut. Studii clasice 1928—1932 i. 81—88 publishes seven inscriptions on altars found at Sarmizegetusa illustrating syncrétisme.

(12) Delos. For the uplifted hands of my fig. 817 C. Picard in the Revue de l’histoire des religions 1926 xci. 92 n. o cites F. Cumont in the Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia Serie iii Memorie 1923 i. 1 ‘Il sole vindice dei delitti ed il simbolo delle mani alzate’ pp. 65—80. A. Plassart in Delos xi. 289—293 (‘Le sanctuaire de Zeus Hypsistos’) includes fig. 234 ground-plan, figs. 235 and 236 views, fig. 237 four leaden ‘figurines d’envoutement’ found in the precinct, and one inscription on a white marble block II.00—

(23) Phrygia. Sir W. M. Ramsay Asianic Elements in Greek Civilisation London 1927 pp. 182—189 devotes a chapter to ‘The Waggon (Benna)’ and again concludes (p. 185): ‘The god on the car, Bennos or Zeus Bennios, was the peasant-god, the trainer of men in the art of agriculture. He lives in legend as Gordios, whose ox-drawn car was preserved as a holy relic at the Phrygian Gordios’ [Swoboda in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. Erganzungs heft v) Berlin 1904 p. 16 already claims that the famous waggon was first meant for Zeus [cp. supra i. 338 n. 2] and lastly transferred to the ‘Bauernkönig’ Gordios).

(23) a) Pisidia. Suppl. epigr. Gr. vi. no. 550 Saghir δ αὐτόν Σάκρισαμοι καὶ ἐτι | ἐπικατά-

artificially smoothed rock-wall is here decorated with ambitious carvings worked in very high relief. From the top of rock-cut steps rise two rock-cut bases side by side. That on the left supports a column c. 4\textsuperscript{th} high, on which an eagle c. 2\textsuperscript{nd} high but now headless sits withspread wings. That on the right supports an archdrdistyle niche, within which stands a male figure clad in a toga but minus his head. The base below the eagle-column is inscribed Θεός Τυφέους / Εἴσηπτος / Ιονίος / Εὔπορος / Εὐθύμων / Ἐν [τὸν ἄρτι] / Μ[ᾶ] / δ [καὶ]. Above the archdr niche is a tabula ansata with a longer inscription beginning Ἐπί τοῦ [Σερπιλλοῦ] [Σερπιλλοῦ] / Ιονίος / Εὔπορος / Εὐθύμων / [καὶ] / τὴν τούτου / Λατρείαν / Τριώτην. Above the niche is a tabula ansata with a longer inscription beginning Ἐπί τοῦ [Σερπιλλοῦ] [Σερπιλλοῦ] / Ιονίος / Εὔπορος / Εὐθύμων / [καὶ] / τὴν τούτου / Λατρείαν / Τριώτην. A neighbouring inscription in both Latin and Greek (Corp. inscr. Lat. iii Suppl. no. 6983 = Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 5883) shows that the dedicatar was G. Julius Aquila (nomen omen) 'divi Augusti perpetuum saceros,' and dates his dedication to the year 45 A.D.

(39) Syria. Dura on the Euphrates. C. Hopkins in P. V. C. Baur—M. I. Rostovtsev The Excavations at Dura-Europos Second Season 1928—1929 Yale Univ. Press 1931 pp. 86—90 fig. 3 publishes an inscribed stone slab found within the tower of the temple of the Palmyrene gods on what appears to have been the site of an older sanctuary τῶν βασιλέων [μὲν] ἱερακῶν [καὶ] τὰ τῶν χώρων [γενομένων ἡ] πόλις τῶν βασιλέων ἀνάγεται. After Μέγας Λωτ. The exact date of the earthquake would thus be about 10 o'clock in the morning of Oct. 26/7, 160 A.D. Hopkins cp. the votive inscription of Byblos for escape from an earthquake (R. Dussaud in the Rev. Arch. 1836 i. 310) and adds: 'from the north wall of the pronaos come two graffiti to greatest Zeus scratched near the person to the right in the shape of the Roman tribune sacrificing' (F. Cumont Fouilles de Doura-Europos (1922—1923) Paris 1926 p. 387 i. no. 25 Διός Μέγατος, [Δ']ε'ρατία? and below Διός Μεγαθο[ρν] with col. pl. 50). See further R. Cagnat —M. Besnier in the Rev. Arch. 1931 ii. 369 no. 114, A. M. Woodward in the fourn. Rom. Stud. 1933 xxiii. 93. M. Rostovtsev Dura-Europos and its Art Oxford 1938 p. 65 (cp. p. 67 fig. 44 with pl. 6 plan) and restoration by H. Pearson sums up: 'Zeus Megestos was probably the interpretatio graeca of one of the local Semitic names of the great sky god. He succeeded in all probability in this temple to the great Greco-Macedonian god Zeus Olympius. His synoas theos in this temple and his atocly was the Arabian light and carvovan god Aras.'

Damaskos. R. Mouterde in Syria 1925 vi. 246—252 no. 33 pl. 33, 2\textsuperscript{a} and 2\textsuperscript{b} publishes an altar of Zeus Μανάφος found somewhere in the Ἡλλάνη and now at Damaskos. The basalt block bears in high relief of c. 5 iv A.D. a half-length bust of the deity, who is beardless and has curling locks like a sun-god, a Syrian collar, and Greek drapery. Front: Ζεύς Μανάφα, μ[ή]θ[έ][ων] η[ή]της το[ῦ] τῆς ἱερακῆς [μὲν] ἱερακῶν [καὶ] τὰ τῶν χώρων [γενομένων ἡ] πόλις τῶν βασιλέων ἀνάγεται. After Μέγας Λωτ. The exact date of the earthquake would thus be about 10 o'clock in the morning of Oct. 26/7, 160 A.D. Hopkins cp. the votive inscription of Byblos for escape from an earthquake (R. Dussaud in the Rev. Arch. 1836 i. 310) and adds: 'from the north wall of the pronaos come two graffiti to greatest Zeus scratched near the person to the right in the shape of the Roman tribune sacrificing' (F. Cumont Fouilles de Doura-Europos (1922—1923) Paris 1926 p. 387 i. no. 25 Διός Μέγατος, [Δ']ε'ρατία? and below Διός Μεγαθο[ρν] with col. pl. 50). See further R. Cagnat —M. Besnier in the Rev. Arch. 1931 ii. 369 no. 114, A. M. Woodward in the fourn. Rom. Stud. 1933 xxiii. 93. M. Rostovtsev Dura-Europos and its Art Oxford 1938 p. 65 (cp. p. 67 fig. 44 with pl. 6 plan) and restoration by H. Pearson sums up: 'Zeus Megestos was probably the interpretatio graeca of one of the local Semitic names of the great sky god. He succeeded in all probability in this temple to the great Greco-Macedonian god Zeus Olympius. His synoas theos in this temple and his atocly was the Arabian light and carvovan god Aras.'

(33) Aigyptos. C. Roberts—T. C. Skeat—A. D. Nock 'The gild of Zeus Hypsistos' in the Harvard Theological Review 1930 xxix. 39—89 publish with elaborate and valuable commentary a papyrus sheet of the late Ptolemaic period (c. 69—30 B.C.) containing regulations for an annual feast in honour of this great sky god. That on the right supports an archordistyle niche, within which stands a male figure clad in a toga but minus his head. The base below the eagle-column is inscribed Θεός Τυφέους / Εἴσηπτος / Ιονίος / Εὔπορος / Εὐθύμων / Ἐν [τὸν ἄρτι] / Μ[ᾶ] / δ [καὶ]. Above the archord niche is a tabula ansata with a longer inscription beginning Ἐπί τοῦ [Σερπιλλοῦ] [Σερπιλλοῦ] / Ιονίος / Εὔπορος / Εὐθύμων / [καὶ] / τὴν τούτου / Λατρείαν / Τριώτην. Above the niche is a tabula ansata with a longer inscription beginning Ἐπί τοῦ [Σερπιλλοῦ] [Σερπιλλοῦ] / Ιονίος / Εὔπορος / Εὐθύμων / [καὶ] / τὴν τούτου / Λατρείαν / Τριώτην. A neighbouring inscription in both Latin and Greek (Corp. inscr. Lat. iii Suppl. no. 6983 = Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. no. 5883) shows that the dedicatar was G. Julius Aquila (nomen omen) 'divi Augusti perpetuum saceros,' and dates his dedication to the year 45 A.D.
Addenda

to the usage of the sign in the classical period. The lay-out of the 'Geometric' sherds found there imply the arrival of the cult, which vacated c. 725 B.C.

A brief chapter on 'Die Kultstatte des Zeus Hellanios auf dem Oros' includes p. 91 f. a description of the site. The Late Mycenaean settlement on the summit was vacated c. 1250 B.C. The 'Fasti' of the site. The Late Mycenaean settlement on the summit was vacated c. 1250 B.C. The 'Fasti' of the site.

From the ruins of this
building, in Byzantine times, was constructed the monastery of St Nikolaos. That in turn was left derelict in the middle ages, and is now succeeded by the church of the Taxiarchs.

ii. 895 n. 1 Zeus Aphësiós. On the cults of Zeus at Megara—Zeus Olympios (Paus. i. 40. 4), Aphësiós (i. 44. 9), Kóinis (i. 40. 6), with the Muses (i. 43. 6)—see now E. L. Higbarger The History and Civilization of ancient Megara Pt i (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology No. 2) Baltimore 1927 pp. 41—43. K. Hanell Megarische Studien Lund 1934 pp. 79—81 deals with Zeus Aphësiós and his relations to Zeus Apepiántios ("Zeus Aphësiós ist der alte Gott des argivischen Apeasberges, dessen Kultus die Argiver nach Megara mitgebracht haben, wo der Kultus, wie die Funde zeigen, in der geometrischen Zeit gegründet wurde.... An den Kultus des Zeus Aphësiós knüpft sich wie in Argos die Flutsage. Stifter des Kultes ist ein aus der Flut geretteter Heros [supra ii. 877 n. 1], in diesem Falle ein Sohn des Gottes selbst und Eponeum des Landes. Sein Rettungsgeschichte übrigens in einer sehr eigenartigen Weise, indem er dem Geschrei fliegend Kraniche nachschwimmt. Hierdurch wird noch eine schöne Etymologie gewonnen [Paus.

Fig. 907.

i. 40. 1 ἀλλα—πεταλέων γεράνων πρὸς τὴν βωρὲ τῶν ὀρέων αὐτῶν—διὰ τῶν Ἐρμίων τὸ ὄρος ὅπως ἔρωμεθα], und eigentlich ist dieser Zug hinreichend, um die ganze Geschichte als späte dichterische Erfindung zu charakterisieren").

ii. 898. To the mountain-cults of Zeus in Boiotia add that of Zeus Keraíós at Akraiphia and that of Zeus Keraíós at Thespiai (supra on ii. 874 n. 2).

ii. 899 n. 1 Herakles Chdripis. N. G. Pappadakis 'Περὶ τὸ Χαρωπείου τῆς Κερωνίας' in the Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 1916 ii. 217—272.

ii. 901 n. 2 Mt Parnassos. D. W. Freshfield Below the Snow Line London 1923 pp. 128—130 gives the height of Parnassus as 8064 ft. and says of his ascent: ‘When I got to the top a faint gleam was already visible in the eastern sky. It quickly deepened and broadened until, without warning, a spot of light shone on the dark sea horizon, grew to an arch, and in a few moments the sun’s orb was floating on the sky. To the sailors on the Aegean it had not yet risen, and it was some minutes before a path of light flashed across the waters to Euboea. Then the long backbone of the great island stood out with all its heights and hollows blue against the golden east, throwing a clear-cut shadow on the strait that divides it from the mainland. The plains of Boeotia next took the day; the mist rose from its lakes, and the rivers flashed out as silver threads across its broad fields. On the northern horizon, beyond the Gulf of Volo, Pelion, Olympus, and
Addenda

even distant Athos took shape as grey phantoms. Still the shores of the Gulf of Corinth were slow to awaken. Night hung reluctantly over the Adriatic long after Attica was in broad day. But at last the veil of twilight was lifted everywhere; hills and valleys, cities and harbours stood out clear and distinct in local detail and colour. I shall not attempt a catalogue of the famous sights in view. I had had that rare enjoyment, a most successful sunrise, worth a night in the open, and worthy of the Poets' Mountain. Fig. 907, which shows the summit of Parnassos as seen from the south-west, is from a photograph taken by Mr C. M. Sleeman on Sept. 9, 1926.

ii. 907 n. 2 Mt Kennion. N. Pappadakis in 1924 attempted to locate the sanctuary of Zeus Ktounios. He found a massive precinct-wall, 2.4 m thick, extending for a stretch of c. 50 m. The side towards the sea was missing, but three angle-towers were preserved. Neither temple nor altar came to light (Bull. Corr. Hell. 1924 xlvi. 480, A. M. Woodward in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1925 xliv. 224, E. H. Heffner in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1925 xxix. 112). Resuming his search, Pappadakis discovered that the precinct was pentagonal. On the south and south-east the wall had been largely destroyed. The angle-towers also had suffered. They were well built with regular courses of προσωρ-blocks. The walls, 3 m thick, had two faces of προσωρ- masonry with internal filling, the stones being taken from the Lichades. Minor finds were disappointing—a large marble πήδη near the north tower, sherds of Graeco-Roman date (none older than c. 300 B.C.), etc. Within the precinct stands the Church of St Constantine (Bull. Corr. Hell. 1926 l. 554 f.).

ii. 903 Akarnania. At Stratos the temple of Zeus occupied a commanding hill-top. A. K. Orlandos 'Ο ναός Ζεύς Ακαρνανίας ἐν τοῖς Δίβοις' in the Δῆμος. 1923 viii. 1—51 with 43 figs. and 2 pls. purports to give the first full account of the building. But it is not free from inexactitudes, and the author seems to have poached unduly upon the preserves of the French School at Athens, which had been at work on the site intermittently ever since 1892. We must therefore rely on the definitive publication by F. Courby—C. Picard Recherches archéologiques à Stratos d'Acarnanie Paris 1924 pp. 1—124 with 78 figs. and 19 pls. The temple—possibly not the first on the spot—
was built c. 320 B.C. It is a Doric peripteral structure of fine grey limestone with 6 x 11 columns as yet unfluted. Pronaos and opisthodomos had each two columns in antis. Within the naos were Ionic columns, ranged round three sides of it, and these may have carried a carved (?) frieze and dentils. The roof was perhaps, but not certainly, hypaethral.

A. Joubin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 451 f. no. 4 = *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. i nos. 447 f. published an inscription which proves that at Stratos in 2. ii B.C. slaves were manumitted by a deed of sale to Zeus: lines 3—5 read (Courby—Picard p. 13) [ἀ]κριτόρος Δανόντως [Ἀγραφίας | Στράτων τοις Διός τοίς παίδοις | ἔλευσάν με] Ζεὺς [κτλ.]

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ii. 504 Mount Ossa. I am indebted to Dr N. Batchin for photographs of the mountain and of the chapel on its summit taken by Mrs Bachtin in 1934. Fig. 908 shows Ossa as seen from Spelia on the north-west. Fig. 909 gives the entrance into the little chapel of Hagios Elias. Steps down lead to a doorway, within which is a round-headed arch. The roof of the chapel forms the actual summit of the mountain. 'People nowadays prefer to worship St Elias lower down in the valley.'

Hagios Elias. Steps down lead to a doorway, within which is a round-headed arch. The roof of the chapel forms the actual summit of the mountain. 'People nowadays prefer to worship St Elias lower down in the valley.'

ii. 504 n. i Zeus Laphystios. N. I. Giannopoulos in the *Arkheol. Eph.* 1925—1926 pp. 183—185 figs. 1 a, 1 b (= my fig. 910 a, b) publishes a bronze statuette ploughed up in a field among the ruins of Halos, where once stood the sanctuary of Zeus Laphystios. It shows a bearded male figure advancing with right hand raised and left held forward. If, as seems likely, this was meant for Zeus, his right hand must have brandished a thunderbolt, his left may have carried eagle or sceptre (?). Hair projecting like a cap, wedge-shaped beard, mere holes for eyes, incised lines for mouth, triangular chest with two small projections for nipples, double belt above, single belt below—the whole suggesting a date c. 700 B.C. Reinach *Rep. Stat.* vi. 164 no. 1.

ii. 905 n. o. My friend and colleague Mr C. M. Sleeman on Sept. 3, 1926 and again on July 14, 1929 made the ascent of Mt Olympos and secured a series of excellent photographs. These include my pl. lxviii Mitka, the highest peak, as seen from the Ridge, fig. 911 the 'Throne of Zeus' from Mitka Ridge, fig. 912 Skelion from the Brèche, fig. 913 the chapel of St Elias (supra i. 103) from the south-west.

ii. 906 Mount Tomaros. E. Polaszek in Pauly—Wissowa *Real.-Enc.* vi A. 1697 f. draws attention to a group of mountain-names found mainly, if not entirely, in the Illyrian area: (1) Tmor on the Dalmatian coast, north-west of Ragusa; (2) Tomori in northern Epeiros, east of Berat; (3) Tmavros or Tmuros, the modern Olickr, south-west
of Dodona: (4) Τμαρίος in Arkadia (Hesych. Τμάριος: δρος Ἀμεδίας). Whether these names are of Greek or Illyrian formation is uncertain (H. Krahe Die alten balkan-illyrischen geographischen Namen Heidelberg 1925 p. 58). N. Jokl in Ebert Reallex. vi. 34 decides for the latter. In either case they would be connectible with the root *tem- of τέμνειν, ταφή, etc. and so signify 'sheer-cut' or the like (cp. τέμνειν, τέμνω, τομάτος, τοματικός). In Greek times such mountains would be the natural habitat of Zeus. That is certain for Mt Τμάριος or Τμάρως near Dodona (Claud. de bello Getico 16 ff. iactent...Minervam...caeso Tomari lovis augure luco | arbore praesaga tabulas animasse oquaces, Hesych. Τμάριος Ζεὺς ἐν Δωδώνῃ), where the priests of the god were called

tomárois (Strab. 3.28 ἀπὸ τοῦ Τομάρου τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιχοῦ λεγομένους ύποφήτας τοῦ Διός, ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπογόνας, χαμαίκοις καλεῖ, τομάρους φασὶ λεγόναι: κ.τ.λ.) οἱ τομάρουι (supra ii. 693 n. 3). It is probable also that Zeus was worshipped on Mt Tomori near Berat, to judge from the sacred character of that mountain and from certain cult-usages reported by recent travellers. To attest these curious and little-known facts, I cite three eye-witnesses:

J. Swire King Zog’s Albania London 1937 p. 250 ff. describes in graphic terms his ascent of ‘Tomori’s holy summit’ and ib. p. 253 gives the local legend: ‘One August 25 long ago...Abas Ali came from Arabia to Berat; and mounting a great white horse (which has left hoof-marks upon the mountain) he fought the barbarians of the neighbourhood. When he had overcome them he rested for five days on Tomori, then went to dwell on Mount Olympus; but every year he returns on August 25 for five days, when
there come Bektashis—and Christians too—sometimes eight or nine thousand people, to pay him homage. They bring their sheep for food, slaughter them on the summit, then take them down to their bivouacs by the tekke. So Tomori is a holy mountain and per Baba Tomorit a sacred oath. The shrine was built, so Baba Tyrabiu told me, on the site of an antique pagan shrine, so Abas Ali probably inherited his supernatural powers from the pagan god he displaced. *Id. ib.* p. 280 mentions a sacred cave made by Mahomet with passages which may not be defiled by man; and they lead underground...to the top of Tomori and to the tekke on the crag above Kruja.'

R. Matthews *Sons of the Eagle* London 1937 p. 273 ff. (*A mountain of Zeus*) has much the same tale to tell. He too climbed the mountain under the guidance of a kirijee, who had been up it often before and said: “Last year there had been twelve hundred sheep sacrificed on top, or it might be fifteen hundred. And it didn’t do to be disrespectful about these matters either.” When asked why the mountain was so holy, he replied: “Many hundreds of years ago...there were two brothers, very holy men, who lived in Arabia. One day they arrived in Albania: no one knows how, some say through the air. The younger of the two set up his house in Berat, where he was highly venerated for his sanctity and became the patron saint of the town. But the elder brother, Ali, was a great warrior. Through all the countryside he rode on his wonderful horse, challenging and conquering the barbarians who lived around. His horse could cover miles at a single bound. You may still see the marks of its hooves on the rocks of Tomori...At last a day came when Ali had overcome all his enemies. So he retired to the summit of Tomori, to
now, it was indeed to Zeus, under this so thin disguise, that the people of southern
Albania still paid their homage.' *Id. ib. p. 283 All I could feel as I halted finally
beneath the shadow of the shrine was a sentiment of immense pathos. For hundreds
of years, thousands probably, pilgrims had been making their way up the great mountain
to sacrifice to Something on the spot where we stood now....Round these few square
yards had centred the reverence of tens of thousands of men peopling a score of centuries.
Yet they had left nothing behind to see. Just a sacrificial stone. And four bare walls.
Unroofed. Partially breached on one side. The home of Zeus: the Zeus who had never
died for the people of this country round. His last home on earth, probably, and he had
not wherewith to cover his head. But it was easy to understand, lifting one's face to the
strong clean wind that blew out of nowhere, that a god or a saint should have chosen
the summit for his residence. Beneath, and to the west, the whole land lay stretched out
and visible, to the distant sliver of the Adriatic, eight thousand feet below; only in the
south did the chain of the Acroceraunian mountains cut off the view. To the east, wave
beyond wave of peaks, tumbling black in the sunset, conducted the eye to the imagined
Serbian frontier. The evening haze had hidden from sight all trace of human habitation
but one: a square white monastery, folded in a lonely pineclad valley at our feet on the
further side, whose head was the guardian of the sacrifice. We stumbled down another
stony path in the failing light.' At the monastery the baba, a young and scholarly man,
had more to tell (ib. p. 284 f.): 'You must know...that the shrine isn't Tomori's only
claim to veneration. Somewhere on this northern side, they say, is a crag from whose
topmost pinnacle there springs an apple tree. I've never been near there myself, I only
speak of what I hear, but every one talks about it. For this apple tree's fruits are of more
than natural size. But so steep are the precipices that tumble beneath it that not the
hardiest climber has yet been able to scale them to pluck one. Now and then, in
Addenda

I 71

the autumn, a windfall will roll down the rocks to the turf below. Peasants who pass
at that time of year always look to see if there is one there, for those great apples, they
say, have the power of healing all diseases. Even the dying, I have heard men say, can
be brought back to life if such a fruit is given them. 7 Mr Matthews ends his narrative
by noting the resemblance between Tomori in the north and Tomaros in the south:
ib. p. 286 'if you go one way up Tomori to-day, you will eventually reach a village,
itselt called Tomari. Above it is a collection of ruins, so far unexplored, and known
locally as Qyteii (the city). And the biggest among them is named by the villagers
Dodona.'

Mr Hugh Hunt of the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, made the ascent of Tomori in the
spring of 1929 and has kindly furnished me with an account of his experiences: 'In a
tekke (small monastery) at the foot of Mt Tomori I spent the night. I was on my way
from Koritoa to Berat...accompanied by an English police officer and an interpreter.
We were welcomed by the monks, who were of the Bektashite branch of Mohammedans.
The monks professed great interest in the Christian religion and asked me many questions
about the Anglican church, particularly about Saint George, whom they held in great
reverence and whose feast day they celebrated. We learnt that on the following day a
pilgrimage was to be made to the summit of Mt Tomori, where a sacrifice of a white
bull was to take place, and accepted the invitation to join in this festival. On the
following day we rose at daybreak and commenced the climb. The full complement
of monks were in attendance—some forty in all—and a few servants. The climb was
an arduous one and the day was hot. The summit was veiled in clouds—a good omen,
the monks told me, for this indicated the presence of Zeus, to whom this sacrifice was
to be dedicated. I became interested, for although my knowledge of Greek mythology
is remarkably small I began to see that there must be some connection between this
cloud-loving deity and Zeus. But questions proved of little use; the monks appeared
as little informed as myself; the ceremony was an annual rite—or perhaps of more
frequent occurrence, for I am of the opinion that they informed me that they celebrated
St George's day in like fashion, but I cannot be sure of this. We reached the summit—
it was late in the day—and there we found a bull, brought up earlier by the villagers,
and a fire was already kindled. The killing of this beast was an unpleasant spectacle, and
I did not attend very closely, interesting myself in the glimpses of the valley below,
which appeared every now and again like pools of water through the cloud rifts. Prayers
were offered by the chief monk; and the bull, now happily released from pain, was
hoisted on a stout wooden construction and roasted. So far as I remember, it had a
garland of bright flowers round its neck; but these were, I believe, put on after its
decase. I left earlier than the rest, accompanied by the interpreter and my companion,
and regained the village after nightfall. What was the ultimate fate of the bull, I never
discovered.'

The foregoing statements appear to involve a threefold blend of Bektashite usage,
common folk-belief, and classical reminiscence. On the Bektash order and its syncretism
of Islam with Christianity see G. Jacob Die Bektashieff (Abb. d. bayer. Akad. Philos.-
philol. Classe xxiv. 3. 2) Munich 1907 pp. 1—53 figs. 1—3, also F. W. Hasluck
Christianity and Islam under the Sultans; Oxford 1919 ii. 869 Index s.v. Tomor, Mount
(Bektashi tekke on, 1632, 518; Abbas Ali haunts, 932, 548, 548: gold plant on, 643:
oath by, 5489). Folk-belief has provided the magic horse, the underground passages, the
apples of immortality, the gold plant. Classical reminiscence will explain the hoof-marks
of the mountain, the annual pilgrimage to its summit, and the solemn sacrifice of a white
bull by the assembled villagers are ample proof that the ancient cult of the sky-god on his
holy hill goes on from generation to generation almost untouched by the passing changes
of politics and religion.

i. 906 n. 3 the stone ship of Agamemnon. W. Dörpfeld Alt-Olympia Berlin 1935
ii. 265 cites as a possible parallel a ship-like foundation of river-worn stones in the Alti at
Olympia.

1934 xiv. 165 would see Zeus Aineios on a bronze coin of Kranios in Kephallenia (ib.
Cat. Coins ii. 439 no. 6683 pl. 228, 12 (Kephalaos)).

ii. 910 n. 1. The great temple of Zeus at Akragas is still a battle-ground for the
architects. R. Vallois in the Rev. Et. Gr. 1924 xxvii. 158 criticises the results reached
by B. Pace (supra ii. 1237). S. R. Pierce 'Il tempio di Giove Olimpico a Girgenti Sicilia'
in Architettura e arti decorative 1923/1924 iii. 385—391 returns to the charge. P. Marconi
Addenda

Agrigento. Topographia ed arte Firenze 1929 pp. 1—238 with 162 figs. (especially pp. 57—66 figs. 29—36)—an important work, of which T. Ashby in The Times Literary Supplement for May 15, 1930 p. 413 says: 'the excavations conducted some years ago in the vast temple of the Olympian Zeus... which proved that the telamones faced outwards (and not inwards, as Pace and Pierce had believed), are for the first time adequately described.' P. Marconi 'Novità nell’Olimpieon di Agrigento' in Delde 1932 pp. 165—173 gives 5 figs. of these telamones and a reconstruction. Lastly, W. B. Dinsmoor reads a paper, as yet unpublished, on 'The Giants of Agrigento' at the General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, New York 1935 (Am. Journ. Arch. 1936 xli. 126).

ii. 918 n. 1 Zeus Mílos. See the succinct article by gr. Kruse in Panly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xv. 534. C. Bosch of Halle a. S. in the Numismatisches Literatur-Blatt 1932 xlix. 2575 f. reviews Kruse’s article and tries to discredit this appellative: ‘Vaillant und Fioren sind Mionnets Gewährsmänner!...Das Zeugnis aber ist ganz wertlos, denn die Münzen sind bis heute nicht belegt.’ Bosch wants to jettison all the early coin-men, Cohen included. That strikes me as hypersceptical.

ii. 918 Mount Kynthos. Three years after the publication of my note the final and authoritative report of A. Plassart Les sanctuaires et les cultes du Mont Cynthe Paris 1938 pp. 1—319 with 250 figs. and 6 pls. was issued in Delos xi. The sections that chiefly concern me are pp. 51—69 (‘Sommet du Cynthe. Le culte de Zeus et d’Athéna aux temps archaïques’), 71—93 (‘Sommet du Cynthe. Le sanctuaire de Zeus et d’Athéna au temps de l’indépendance Delienne’ (314—166)), 93—114 (‘Sommet du Cynthe. Le sanctuaire de Zeus et d’Athéna sous la seconde domination Athéniennne’), 228—255 (‘Sanctuaire de l’antre’). Plassart has here and there corrected my statements: e.g. on p. 66 n. 2 he regards as arbitrary my assumption that in ‘Minoan’ times the top of Mt Kynthos was tenanted by the earth-mother (Rhea) as well as by the sky-father (Kronos), and on p. 293 n. 4 he refutes my attempt to find traces in Delos of Rhea’s lions. Again, he has succeeded in proving what—in spite of having visited the spot—I had not previously realised: that the supposed prehistoric cave-temple was in reality only a pseudo-antiquity, an artificial grotto put together in Ptolemaic times for Herakles as ancestor of the Ptolemies!

O. Rubensohn in the Jahrb. d. deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1931 xliii Arch. Anz. p. 360 ff. adds some points of interest. In pp. 361—367 (‘Zur Vorgeschichte des Delischen Kultes’) he notes the small prehistoric settlement underneath the sanctuary of Zeus and Athena on the mountain-top as being of early Cycladic date and as probably postulating a cult akin to that of the Cretan Zeus; he connects with the same settlement two large Cycladic graves in the temenos of Apollo—the thýrion of Opis and Arge (Delos v. 63—74 (‘Le Tombeau mycénien’)) and the σφυα of Hyperoche and Laodike (C. Picard—J. Replat in the Bull. corr. hell. 1924 xlviii. 247 ff.); and he finds a survival of early Helladic worship in the altar of horns and its archaic ritual (supra i. 482 n. 1, iii. 1087). In pp. 367—370 (‘Zeus Kynthios und Athena Kynthia’) he distinguishes an archaic period when the square precinct had only a rock-cut altar in the midst; a third-century recon-struction with stairways, propylon, peribolos, oikoi; and a later lay-out (supra ii. 919 with fig. 829) of doubtful significance, possibly the banquet-hall and lustral centre of some mystic society. In pp. 375—379 (‘Das Höhlenheiligtum am Kynthos’) he accepts Plassart’s dating of the bogus cave, but questions his interpretation of it as a Herakleion. Herakles in Delos was associated with the Kabeiroi (P. Kousset Delos Colonie athénienne Paris 1916 p. 233 f.), who had there two distinct sanctuaries, one on the left bank of the Inopos, the other described as τὸ Καβείριον τὲ [τὸ] Κέδρου (Jasr. Gr. Del. ii no. 144, 146) and probably to be identified with the famous cave-temple.

Plassart in Delos xi. 169 records two inscriptions to Zeus Magistatos (e.g. Ἡλίος ἐν Λόφῳ Δίῳ) Μεγίτως | κατὰ πρόσθεμα on a block of white marble found with some Roman lamps in the south-west portion of sanctuary c on the northern slope of Mt Kynthos) and justly treats him as a Semitic god.

ii. 922 Mount Atabyrion. R. Herbig in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1928 xliii Arch. Anz. p. 633 f. mentions as a new undertaking the excavation of the sanctuary of Zeus Atabyrios. No remains of a temple were found, but a massive peribolos-wall (fig. 26) and a building of uncertain use (‘Halle für Votive? Monumentaleingang?’). Many dedications of Graeco-Roman date, all to Zeus Atabyrios, made monotonous reading. Votive objects included numerous small bulls and zebras in bronze and two fine fragments of bronze statuettes representing the god (fig. 27).

O. Eissfeldt ‘Der Gott des Tabor und seine Verbreitung’ in the Archiv f. Rel. 1934 xxxi. 14—41 claims that the name and cult of the Palestinian Tabor spread via Crete to
Rhodes in the second millennium B.C., and thence in 580 B.C. to Agrigentum and later
to the Crimea (Corp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 2103 b (‘Prope Sympheropolin (Akmedschet),
haud procul a montibus Taurorum’) a base inscribed Μετά των Ποσειδών Ποσειδών χαρα-
further discusses the character of the god, who dwelt on a mountain and had the bull for
his symbol, concluding that he was a mountain- and storm-god comparable with Hadad,
Rimmon-Ramman, and Tešub, but also capable of taking an interest in human affairs.

ii. 939 n. i Mt Juktas as a recumbent face. My friend Mr N. G. L. Hammond
supplies me with a good Greek parallel. He writes (Feb. 25, 1931): 'The mountain
identified locally with Diane in repose is called Emértsa (Gk. Ἰμέρτσα). The Austrian
Staff map 1/200,000 (Korfu sheet 38° 40') wrongly calls it Némértika. The mountain
lies on the Albanian frontier north of the headwaters of the Ithomaias (in antiquity
Thyamais).

ii. 941 ff. n. o. To the references for the tomb of Zeus add Ptol. Hephaist. ap. Phot.
Hill. p. 147 b 37 ff. Bekker άυ β εν Κρήτῃ τάφος λεγόμενος τοῦ Διὸς Ὀλύμπου τοῦ Κρήτης
εἶτο, διὰ παρὰ τοῦ Κρώνου λαβὼν τοῦ Δια ἔτρεφε τε καὶ ἐπάθει τὸ θεῖα. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐβάλλει
(φιλεῖ) δ Πελεῖ τὸν προφεῖ καὶ διδασκάλου κεραυνῷ, ὅτι δὴ τοῦ Γνωτας αὐτὸν τῇ βασιλείᾳ

Fig. 914.

εὐπλέονδας ὑπερθεῖον, ἀλλὰ βαλὼν καὶ νεκρῶν ἔχου μετεμελεῖται. μὴ ἔχουσι δ' ἄλλους τὸ πάθος
ἐκκλαναί, δίδωσι τὸ διὸν δομα τῆς τάφος τῶν ἄγνωστον. Epiphan. apocr. 106 (i. 208
Dindorf) καὶ τι μοῦ τὰ πλήθος λεγένων τοῦ γενεαίον τοῦτον φόρον καὶ φόρον διδασκάλου;
οὐ τὸ μνήμη οὐς ἄλγεσι οὐδὲ δήλουν. εἰς Κρήτη γὰρ τῆς νήσῳ εἰς τῷ δρέα τῆς λεγομένην Δαίῳ
(περὶ Laisith) τῷ δὲ πάνω δικτυλιδεκτίτινα.

ii. 946 n. o Zeus Endendros. F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Grumon 1930 vi. 418 cites
Inscr. Gr. ins. v. 2 no. 1027 fig. (=my fig. 914) a white marble slab inscribed Βοῶις Διὸς
ὃ ἐπεδροῦ, τῶν ἀνά Μεγαθεόμενος μῆνες σπένθερα. See further id. 'Zeusaltar aus

ii. 946 ff. n. o Ζευς Velcháno. Attempts to connect Φέκχωρας with Vulcanus are still
rife: see e.g. A. Nehring in Schrader Reallex. ii. 239 n. 1, F. Muller [Jan Altitalisches
i. 321, Margherita Guarducci 'Velchanos—Volcanus' in Scritti in onore di Bartolomeo
Nogara Città del Vaticano 1937 pp. 184—203 pl. 20, 1—4. But such proposals, however
specious, are of very doubtful value.

Prof. J. Vürtheim of Leiden informed me (Feb. 13, 1926) that in a paper communicated
in the Royal Academy of Amsterdam and published in December 1924 he had inde-
pendently reached the same conclusion as Dr Atkinson and myself, viz. that Φέκχωρας
means 'god of the Willow-tree.' See J. Vürtheim Europa (Mededelingen der koninklijke
Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde Deel 57, Serie a, No. 6) Amsterdam
1924 p. 6 ff.

C. Picard in the Revue de l'histoire des religions 1936 xxiii. 92 n. o suggests that a
large vases (?) or ρήχαζ (?) of enamelled gold, shaped like a cock's head, which is figured
among the presents of the Keftiu (Cretans?) in the second register of the tomb-paintings
of Rekhmare (G. A. Hoskins Travels in Ethiopia 1835 col. pl. between pp. 330 and 331).
bore to the cult of Zeus Velhámos the same relation as the lioness-heads of Knossos, Delphi, and Mykenai (in gold) to that of Rhea. He also cp. a sherd of 1435–1123 B.C. found in the Valley of the Kings by Lord Carnarvon in 1920–21 (The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 1923 ix. 1 ff. pl. 2o, r wrongly described as the earliest known drawing of the domestic cock in Egypt) and a genius (?) with a cock’s head on a Cretan intaglio from Mt Ide now in the Museum at Candia.

More about cocks in magic and religion supra p. 45 n. 2. Add J. Praetorius Aletryo-

ii. 951 n. o. with fig. 844 the Stroganoff bust of Zeus. O. Waldhauer in Archäologische Mitteilungen aus russischen Sammlungen Berlin–Leipzig 1930 i. 53 f. no. 41 pl. 32 cp. a fine bronze head from the Uvarov collection, now in the Historical Museum at Moscow (ib. fig. 14, S. Reimann Recueil de têtes antiques idéalisées ou idealisées Paris 1903 p. 194 pl. 239).

ii. 956 n. o. contact with Mother Earth. W. Kroll ‘Unum exuta pedem—ein volk-
kundlicher Seitensprung’ in Glotta 1936 xxv. 152–158 questions my view of the Dodonaean rule and discusses alternatives. His list of relevant usages is interesting, but—so far as I can judge—what he calls the ‘Antaismotiv’ remains the most probable explanation.

ii. 961 n. o. The cult of Hektor at Thebes in Boiotia (Paus. 9. 18. 5) is handled by Miss G. H. Macardy in the Class. Quart. 1926 xx. 179 ff. But her contents (Hektor a shortened form of Echlaos [cp. II. 5. 473] = Echelos, a god of death) are risqués.

ii. 962 n. 2. Zeus at Ephesos. Excavations carried on from September to November 1936 under the direction of J. Keil, M. Theuer, and A. Deissmann discovered on the northern slopes of the Panaghir Daghi (Mt Peion) a number of rock-cut votive niches and near them a stenomenos of Zeus, Oroto (Kybele), and other deities. An altar-shaped rock is inscribed in lettering of c. 300 B.C. reads Zavbs ἵλορος Παρσιβας καὶ Αρτοδακτός τῷ Κύμει

ii. 963 n. o. θεωρεύω. The word is used in a secondary sense ‘struck by lightning’ in Aristophan χρόσ μεγ. frag. 2 (Frag. com. Gr. iii. 338 Meineke) θεωρεύω. Αφ. Stob. flor. 6. 27 (ed. Gaisford l. 162) αἰ τῶν θεωροῦν γάρ δοσκοιν ὄλους | γεγονόν ἐμοῖς τὸς θεοῦ μοί ἀνέδω. AtoTreriJs. The word is used in a secondary sense ‘struck by lightning’ in Aristophan χρόσ μεγ. frag. 2 (Frag. com. Gr. iii. 338 Meineke) θεωρεύω. Αφ. Stob. flor. 6. 27 (ed. Gaisford l. 162) αἰ τῶν θεωροῦν γάρ δοσκοιν ὄλους | γεγονόν ἐμοῖς τὸς θεοῦ μοί ἀνέδω.

ii. 969 n. 4. C. Picard in the Revue de l’histoire des religions 1936 xxiii. 92 n. 0 doubts the religious intervention of the Eumolpid Timotheos at Alexandreia and at Pessinos.

ii. 970 n. 0. Attis and Gallos. A. H. Sayce in the Class. Rev. 1928 xlii. 161 f. quotes Iskallis as the Hittite name of Attis, and connects it with the Hittite verb isall-, iskall- ‘to cut.’ Hence isgallas and iskallis ‘eunuch,’ which appears in Greek as ἵλορος.

ii. 970 n. 0. Agdistis. T. Zielinski La Sibylle Paris 1924 pp. 76–81 distinguishes the Phrygian myth of Agdistis, leading up to the rite of ‘autocastration’ and subsequent recovery, from its doublet the Greek myth of Attis, leading up to the doctrine of death followed by new life.

Addenda

'Aγρόκτεροι, θεοὶ 'Αρείων and considers their significance. He argues that they were primarily 'Hunters'—Sondergotter in Usener's sense (supra ii. 13 n. i)—who were secondarily identified with a variety of greater gods. A similar conclusion, as Weinreich observes, had been reached by L. Malten Kyrene (Philologische Untersuchungen xx) Berlin 1911 p. 10.


Fig. 918.

Fig. 919.


ii. 977 ff. Mount Argáios. The engineer E. J. Ritter 'Erdjias Dag' in the Zeitschrift des Deutschen und Österreichischen Alpenvereins Innsbruck 1931 lxii. 124—148 gives a full account of Mt Argáios (pp. 124—127 (i) 'Vorgeschichte,' 127—133 (ii) 'Der Berg (Lage, Aufbau und Gestalt),' 133—137 (iii) 'Ersteigungsgeschichte,' 137—148 (iv) 'Erlebnisse') with p. 129 'Kartenskizze vom Erdjias Dag,' opposite p. 134 a fine photographic plate of 'Erdjias Dag gesehen von der Seldschukenburg in Kaiserei,' etc., and p. 146 'Zeichnung des Gipfelturmes.' Mr C. M. Sleeman, to whom I am indebted for my knowledge of this article, himself climbed the mountain on Aug. 30, 1936 and took a series of excellent photographs, of which I reproduce two—fig. 915 the rocky summit with the upper part of a snow slope on the northern side, and fig. 916 a rock-pinnacle a little beneath and south-east of the summit with the plain of Everek in the distance.
I take this opportunity of publishing two small bronzes illustrative of the cult on Mt Argosia. They were obtained from a Greek refugee formerly resident in Kaisaricia and are now in my collection. The one is a tiny model of the mountain with a disproportionately large eagle perched on the top of it (fig. 917: height 2 inches). There iss some indication of the aiguilles near the summit, also of streams descending from the snows, of a cavern high up in front, of two foothills (? breasts of the mountain-mother), etc. In brief, the coin-type shown supra ii. 979 fig. 862 is here rendered in the round. The other little bronze (fig. 918: height 1.2 inches) represents an eagle on a pillar, the top of which is shaped like a cone and decorated with six leaves. The waist has a band round it. The base is patterned with crisscross lines and rests on a square plinth. Akin to these diminutive exvotos is a bronze (height 0.15 m) in the Louvre, assigned to the latter half of the second millennium B.C., which figures an eagle perched proudly on the antlers of a stag (Encyclopédie photographique de l’art v. 292 fig. c with text by Mlle Rutten).

The coin-type of Tranquillina as Tyche of Kaisaria wearing Mt Argosia as a headdress (supra ii. 979 fig. 877) can be paralleled by an engraved serpentine of Roman work c. 250 A.D., which has on one side a solar charioteer in his quadriga, on the other the veiled head of Kaisaria in profile to the right with Mt Argosia as a crown and the inscription EVTVXI BOKONTI eβρυχ(e): Βοδονίτ(ες) (Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems ii. 179 no. 1663 pl. 21). Another rare coin-type of Kaisaria shows Zeus standing with a kīlakos on his head and Mt Argosia in his left hand (F. Lenormant in Darmember—Saglio Dict. Ant. iii. 1956 fig. 540 after Mionnet Descr. de méd. ant. iv. 432 no. 178 Alexander Severus (‘Sérapis’), ib. Suppl. vii. 742 pl. 13. 4 (= my fig. 919)).

ii. 981 n. 1 Mt Kasion in Syria. O. Eissfeldt Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchgang der Israeliten durchs Meer Halle (Saale) 1932 pp. 1—72 with sketch at beginning and map at end, especially p. 30 ff. (‘Zeus Kasios’)—reviewed by G. Bertram in Graecia Antiqua i. 1933 ix. 554 f., by F. Nötscher in the Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 1933 xxii. 140 f., and by A. Wendel in the Orientalistische Literaturzeitung 1934 xxxvi. 105 f.—holds that the Semitic Baal Zaphon became by interpretatio Graecia Kasios both in Syria and in Egypt, where his rescue of the Israelites was attributed to Jahwe.


ii. 987 n. 0 anchor inscribed Zεδού Κασίως Σφαίρα from S. Maria di Capua, now at Karlsruhe, represents a scene of departure, in which a young man bids farewell to a woman and is about to step on board his ship. The stern of the vessel has, not only an ἄφθαστον adorned with light and dark fillets, but also a στυλίας set on the steersman’s seat and labelled Υ [X] ΣΣ ΚΤΗΡ (Winnefeld Vasensamml. Karlsruhe p. 83 f. no. 350, dated by F. von Duhn in the Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1888 iii. 229 ff. c. 300 B.C., H. Diels ‘Das Aphlaston der antiken Schiffe’ in the Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde 1915 xxv. 69 fig. 4, L. Deubner in the Jahrh. d. deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1927 xlii. 186 ff. fig. 12).


ii. 1012 n. 1. Similar tales in C. F. Coxwell Siberian and other Folk-Tales London 1933 p. 414 (‘Three Sisters’) and pp. 540—552 (‘The Story of a Wise Maiden’).

ii. 1015 n. 8. The Moliones as figured by a Boeotian fibula from the Idaean Cave and by a geometric sherd from the Argive Heraion have one body, but two heads, four arms, and four legs (C. Blinkenberg Fibules grecques et orientales (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser xiii. 1) Kopenhagen 1926 p. 163 ff. figs. 197, 198). See also O. Weinreich in the Arch. f. Rel. 1935 xxii. 63 ff.


ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἄρσιν ἄπειρον ἐστὶ τῶν ἄλλων. ἔτι γὰρ τὸ βασιλείαν καὶ κράτος τὴς τῶν ἄνδρων φύσεως ἐστὶ τὸ ἄγαθὸν καὶ ἄρσιν, ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς βασιλεύει καὶ κρατεῖ, ὁ Ζεὺς ἂν ἐστι τὸ ἄγαθὸν καὶ ἄρσιν. καὶ ἔτει πρῶτον μὲν κατ᾽ Ὀρφέα τὸ Ἀίσιον γέγονεν, εἰπ' ὁ Ὀσκάκος, τρίτον Χιξ, τέσσαραν ὁ Ὀρφάσας, εἰπ' ἄθανάτων βασιλείας θεῶν ὁ Ζεὺς, δήλου ὅτι καὶ οὕτως.

Fig. 920.
Addenda  

1914 xxix. 179—256 with 42 figs., M. Oldfield *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.*

The actor in some mumming play—and notes i. 248) that the Celtiberians worshipped (pp. cit.

*Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik* 1936 iv. 279—411, R. Bleichsteiner 'Rossweihe und junge'), 1664—1670 ('Pferdekopf'), 1670f. ('Pferdemahr'), 1671—1675 ('Pferdeopfer'), b ii. i72, L. Curtius in —I75 *Die Antike* a Reallex.1927 iii. figs, (popular), Schrader *Troie* in the *Rev. Arch.*

Celtic horse-goddess Epona.

Archiv f. Rel. 1930 xxviii. 253—268 discusses the history of the rival ancient

In the *Archeologia, Lettere e Belle arti Napoli 1920 vii. 295—334 (reviewed by F. Kiesow in the *Rev. Arch.* 1939 i. 236—247 figs, i—3.

692—699, R. Lantier 'Chevaux-Geheimbiinde der Japaner und Germanen. Pferd ' ib. 413—495, A. Slawik 'Kultische Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Volker'


do-wos Kal rov Qtipavov, tfroi rov KOO-/JOV. TT?S Nwcros

Kal rov


1929 xhaxos connected with xhaxofo. F. Börtzler 'Zu den antiken Chaoskosmogonien' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1930 xxvii. 175—168 discusses the history of the rival ancient etymology from


R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himnussmeld München 1910 ii. 410 n. 3 (Letts, Finns, Peruvians, etc.), E. Mogk 'Das Ei im Volksbrauch und Volksglauben in the *Zetschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1915 xxv. 215—223, W. K. C. Kern [—] (Smly cj. baalelo or Esboulwo) *Irekeiavge suoiom με κ.τ.λ., W. K. C.

Guthrie ep. cit. p. 98.


1939 xhaxos connected with xhaxofo. F. Börtzler ‘Zu den antiken Chaoskosmogonien’ in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1930 xxvii. 175—168 discusses the history of the rival ancient etymology from

1940 the horse-cult in Hispania Tarraconensis. A. Schulten *Numantia München 1931 ii. 213 pl. 21 (= my fig. 920) publishes a red Iberian vase (supra p. 1906) bearing the black-figure design of a horse-headed god with human hands and feet—possibly the object in some mumming play—and notes (eph. cit. i. 248) that the Celts and the Celtic horse-goddess Epona.


1944 fig. 939 Helene and Melencios. See now E. Buschor in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 307—311 fig. 147 pl. 170, i. But E. Löwy ‘Archäologisch-Philologisches’ in *Wiener Studien* 1939 xvii. 69 f. still (eph. id. ’Entstehung einer Slagenversion‘ ib. 1912 xxiv. 282—287) argues with much force that Aristoph. Lys. 155 f. ὁ γὰς Ἡρεῖας τὸς Ἑλείας τὰ μᾶλα πα ἡμάς παρανοῦ ἐξῆλθα, οὗτο, τὸ ιερὸς must have had in mind some famous painting by a contemporary Attic artist.

1946 fig. 896 Eros with thunderbolt and sceptre. Another Roman gem has Eros leaning on a pillar with thunderbolt in right hand and sceptre in left (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 43, 55, ii. 209, Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 28, 6 p. 171).

1948 fig. 906 Eros whipped. Cp. the genre scenes in Furtwängler *Geschicht. Steine Berlin* p. 257 no. 6916 pl. 51 id. *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 43, 50, ii. 203 and in the Wilson gems (supra p. 39 in. 6) no. 5218, where three schoolboys, not Erotes, form a similar group.

ii. 1053 fig. 910 Aion. Other effigies of Aion are given by H. Gressmann in the *Vortrage der Bibliothek Warburg 1923—1924 Leipzig—Berlin 1926* p. 186 pl. 4, 8 and 9. O. Brendel in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xlviii Arch. Anz. pp. 595—599 fig. 8 adds an interesting statue at Castel-Gandolfo, which shows him as a four-winged and four-armed god with leonine head, an eye on his chest, small lion-heads on his belly and on either knee. He is flanked by two snakes, which are not twined round him. At his right foot is a hydra and a horned lion; at his left foot is Kerberos. Altogether, an aggregate of symbols worthy of this syncretistic deity (*supra* p. 914 n. 9).

Fig. 921

ii. 1054 ff. Zeus Ktesios. H. Sjöwall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 pp. 53—74 deals at length with this curious cult. After stating my conclusions (pp. 64—66), he proceeds to develop a rival hypothesis, which is roughly as follows. He starts with a primary piece of magic: the jar containing πυραυπία is charged with πνεύματα and serves as a praedeistic means of ensuring perpetual supplies in the storeroom. In course of time come secondary modifications: water and oil are added, and so the whole becomes δυσπότα and is taken to imply a 'Sondergott' Ktesios ('Der ursprünglich magische Zwangsritus ist zum Opferritus geworden'). Ktesios under the influence of the 'Hauschlange' is conceived as a snake, and is finally identified with an Olympian deity as Zeus Ktesios. Reviews by H. J. Rose in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 lii. 149 and in the *Class. Rev.* 1932 xlv. 181, by A. Momigliano in the *Studi e Materiali di storia delle religioni* 1932 viii. 119, by K. Keysaner in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Mai 6, 1933 pp. 493—497, by C. Picard in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1934 xlvii. 377 f. and in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1934 xx. 247—249.
Addenda


i. 1930 ff. burial in the house. H. J. Rose in the *Class. Quart.* 1930 xxiv. 130 quotes F. von Duhn *Italische Gruèberkunde* Heidelberg 1924 i. 36 (Saepinum, Sepino) for the only example of an Italian buried in and with his house. In 1930 G. Mylonas found *'Middle Helladic' houses, both rectangular and apsidal, on the southern slope of the akropolis at Eleusis.* Under the floors of these houses and between the walls were found burials of small children (E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 197. Further details by G. Karo in the *Jahrh. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xvi. Arch. Anz. p. 231 ff.).

But the evidence of such practices is abundant and quite conclusive, as will be admitted by anyone who reads the important articles of G. Wilke *Wohnungsbestattung* in *Ebert Reallex.* xiv. 443—445 and *'Hausgrab'* ib. v. 215 ff.


ii. 1968 the jars of Zeus. A Pompeian painting from a house in the *Strada della Fortuna* published by H. Heydemann in the *Bull. Arch.* 1868 p. 19 ff. and in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1868 xxvi. 53—55 pl. 4 (=my fig. 921) and reproduced by Reinach *Rep. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 9 no. 4 (‘Jupiter consulte le sort’) shows the god seated with one of the Fates holding lots (?) and Nike bearing a palm-branch behind him. He has a long sceptre in his left hand and extends the right, with the lot that he has drawn or is about to draw, over a jar set on the ground at his feet. This painting deteriorated so fast on exposure to the air that a month after its discovery a thunderbolt, originally painted beside the jar in front of the god’s right foot, had completely vanished. Heydemann would connect the whole scene with a picture of Herakles and the snakes painted vertically beneath it on the same wall.

A relief dating from s. iii B.C. and found at Athens in the sanctuary of Artemis Kalliste represents a man and his wife invoking the goddess, with a large torch held in both hands stands behind her altar and in front of two big jars set on the ground (A. Philadelpheus in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1917 lii. 158 no. 1 pi. 8. P. Roussel *ib. pp. 164—169* ‘Remarques sur le bas-relief de Kalliste’ traces the significance of the jars and cites the Homeric parallel. E. H. Heffner summarises both papers in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1928 xxiii. 360.

ii. 1969 f. Zeus Αγαμέμνον. I. Harrie *Zeus Agamemnon in Sparta* in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxxii. 359—360 explains this cult as a case of Hellenistic divinisation (‘die Apotheose wird nicht als der Kult einer wirklichen Gottheit betrachtet, es haftet ihr ein Beigeschmack von serviler Schmeichelei an; diese Spartiaten, die den Agamemnon zum Götterkonig ausrufen, atmen alexandrinische Hofluft’) and seeks to account for its attribution to Sparta by assuming a learned revival of the early lyrical version which connected Agamemnon with Lakedaimon and Amyklai (K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa ii A. 1837—1842, H. J. Thomson *Servius auctus and Donatus*).

But the evidence of such practices is abundant and quite conclusive, as will be admitted by anyone who reads the important articles of G. Wilke *Wohnungsbestattung* in *Ebert Reallex.* xiv. 443—445 and *'Hausgrab'* ib. v. 215 ff.


and stresses the importance of puere ingens patrimi et matrimi in a variety of ancient cults, mystic and otherwise.

ii. 1073 f. Zeus Trophonios. F. Peeters 'À propos de l'oracle de Trophonios. i. Les onctions d'huile et le bain dans l'Hercynia' in Le Musée Belge 1929 xxxii. 27—32 (the anointing with oil before the bath (Paus. 9. 39. 5—7) was not a religious rite, but a practical precaution against cold).


Fig. 922.

ii. 1082 metopes from the temple of Asklepios. But K. A. Neugebauer in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1926 xli. 83 f. infers from their lack of an upper border, from their exact height, and from other indications that these are votive reliefs, not metopes at all.

ii. 1085 ff. Asklepios and the Snake. An echo of Asklepios' snake at Epidaurus may be heard in the legend of St Hilarion (Oct. 21), who at Epidaurus or Epidaurus (Ragusa vecchia) is heard in southern Dalmatia burnt a huge snake, of the sort called boa because they can swallow an ox (S. Baring-Gould The Lives of the Saints Edinburgh 1914 xii. 516 f.). The story is told by Hieron. v. S. Hilar. eremit. 39 (xxiii. 50 B—c Migne).

On Alexandras or the Sham Seer see also A. D. Nock 'Alexander of Abonuteichos' in the Class. Quart. 1928 xxi. 160—162.

Comparable with the coin-types of Glykon is the snake that appears on bronze pieces issued by Caracalla at Pautalia in Thrace. This monster rises erect on quadruple coils with the tail of a fish and a radiate nimbus (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 144 f. nos. 30—32, McClean Cat. Coins ii. 195 no. 4535 pl. 170, 2) or wreath (ib. ii. 196 no. 4526) round his head. A specimen issued by Geta gives him a lion's head (Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 146 no. 46). Other bronze coins of Pautalia struck by Caracalla show Asklepios with his serpent-staff borne through the air by a winged and bearded snake (ib. p. 145 no. 34 fig.). And the same type occurs, under Severus Alexander, at Nikaia in Bithynia (Waddington—Babelon—Reinach Monn. gr. d'At. Min. i. 474 no. 597 (wrongly described as holding a mask in his right hand) pl. 82, 24. Fig. 922 is from a coin of mine).

ii. 1087. One more effort to find a satisfactory etymology for Asklepios is that of D. Detsev, who in the Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare 1925 iii. 131—164 derives the name from a Thracian stem *ašew 'snake' and -ελπίς, καλλιτερ cognate with the Thracian place-name άλφαν-άβα (connected with *glapi and *ašio 'to bend'). On which showing Asklepios might mean 'he who moves with serpent coils.' Further summary of these very rash speculations is supplied by E. H. Hefner in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1926 xxi. 207 f.

ii. 1089 ff. Telesphoros. G. Seure in the Rev. Arch. 1926 ii. 161 ff. no. 276 fig. 117, A publishes a Thracian statuette of Asklepios, with Telesphoros beside him, now in the Museum at Plovdiv. Other examples of the hooded type are fairly numerous: they occur e.g. in bronze at Amiens (Reinach Rép. Stat. iii. 13 no. 2), Avignon (ii. 470 no. 8), Djemila (ii. 470 no. 6), Florence (v. 223 no. 6), Nona in Dalmatia (iii. 22 no. 4 f.), Paris
A selection of Greek epigraphica potiora Lipsiae 1923 p. 337 f. no. 687, M. N. Tod hist. Classe ii. 64 ff. pi. 2 no. 25), E. Schwyzer Dialectorum Graecarum exempla Syll. inscr. Gr. no. 527) and a similar inscription on a block of red trachyte from Chios Recueil denser, gr. compares with it the inscribed tapering stone from Dreros (Michel no. 23, F. Blass in Collitz — Bechtel iii. 2. 239 ff. no. 4952, Dittenberger Gr. Dial.-Inschr. Nordionische Steine (Abh. d. berl. Akad. (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff the top but not made to move : both forms of monument were inscribed from She publishes the limestone fragment of a (Rhizenia?) and Prinias (C. Belger in the Berl. philol. Woch. Mai 14, 1893 p. 640 as a phallus. But see the facts collected by Frazer Pausanias iv. 354—357.

ii. 1990 Zeus Harios. On Zeus 'Opios see also H. J. W. Tillyard in the Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. 1904—1905 xi. 63. S. Eutrem Beitrag zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte Kristiania 1929—30 iii. 53, and E. Fehrle in Roscher Fasti sacri p. 46 ff. no. 26, a 11 (τάδε ὁ ἄγαλμα δή πάντως ὡς ἄγαλμα γίνεται καὶ θεόν ὡς ὡς καὶ θεόν ὡς ἄγαλμα δή πάντως ὡς ἄγαλμα). And the northern boundary of the Thracian Chersonesos was marked by an inscribed altar of the same god ([Dem.] de Halenmis. 39 f. καθὼς Χερσονήσων οἱ άγαλμα ἄγαλμα ἄγαλμα δή πάντως ὡς ἄγαλμα δή πάντως ὡς ἄγαλμα). The type is further discussed by J. Schmidt in the Wiener prähistorische Zeitschrift 1933 xix. 311—323 (two altars inscribed 'Genius Cucullatus' in a small Celtic temple at Wabelsdorf in Carinthia: this deity, worshipped throughout the Romano-Celtic area, was introduced into Greece by the Galatians from Asia Minor, and under the Greek name Telephorus travelled far and wide during the early centuries of our era), K. Kerényi 'Telephorus' in Erygetes Philologici Kazeczyne Budapest 1931 viii. 7—11 (the cult of Telephorus was especially Graeco-Roman), F. J. de Waale in the Ann. Journ. Arch. 1933 xxvii. 446 n. 2 (two figurines from Corinth 'may represent a similar small divinity, a predecessor of Telephorus, as Eumenerion...in Titane (Paus. ii. 11, 7) '). F. M. Heichelheim 'Genii Cucullati' in Archaiologia Aeliana Fourth Series xii. 187—194 (among the Celts of the Danube region, Gaul, and Britain, native deities who wore the cucullus were assimilated not only to the Roman genius and the eastern Telephorus...but also to the Cabiri....A survival of the genii cucullati in the similar representations of dwarfs, holgoblins, and the like, in the post-Roman period...does not seem unlikely').

Addenda 1183

Addenda 1183

ii. 1909 n. 2 the altar of Zeus *Litos* on coins of Nikaia. On these coins see now C. T. Selman in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1936 lvi. 556 (report of a paper read to the Cambridge Philological Society, Nov. 25, 1936).


iv. 1102 n. 4 *Axintes*. H. Krahe *'Zu makelloschem APANTHEON' BRAINTSI* in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 393—395 regards the name as Illyrian.

v. 1103. F. N. Pryce in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1936 lvi. 77 ff. pl. 5 publishes a small Attic bell-krater, said to have been found at Corinth and now in the collection of Mr E. Armytage, which appears to show Theseus waiting at the altar of Zeus *Melichios* to be purified of blood-guiltiness, cp. Bakchyl. 17. 46 ff.

vi. 1103 n. 7 Zeus *Sykhistos*. H. Vorwah *Zum Ursprung des 'Feigenblatts' in the Rhein. Mus.* 1930 lxxix. 319 f. rightly concludes: 'So ergibt die philologische Untersuchung eine Bestätigung der psychoanalytischen Bemerkung, dass das Feigenblatt nicht das Symbol der Keuschheit, sondern der bewusst gewordenen Sexualität sei.'


viii. 1114 Zeus *Melichios* associated with Helios. S. G. Paraskeuades in the *Arch. Eph.* 1932 Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. p. 12 f. no. 1 fig. 1 publishes a grey marble slab from Mytilene bearing a manumission of c. 200 B.C. Τεύτων Ἑωτίτηνα [άφειει λέγεθαι | Πέλεων ὑπὸ Δία καὶ | 'Διον. ἀνήκεσθαι | μυ οἴκεσθαι | ἄτει αὐτὸν βιον ἔργην]. Τεύτων Ἑωτίτηνα [άφειει λέγεθαι | Πέλεων ὑπὸ Δία καὶ | 'Διον. ἀνήκεσθαι | μυ οἴκεσθαι | ἄτει αὐτὸν βιον ἔργην]. He quotes other manumissions ὑπὸ Διονομ. (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* no. 1212 with n. 2, supra ii. 729 n. 0) and ὑπὸ Διονομ. (K. A. Rhomaios in the *Arch. Deut.* 1924—1925 ix. 197 ff. Thermos).


x. 1114 n. 0 a goblet inscribed ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Such γραμματικά ἔκβασμα have been listed and discussed by C. Picard *'A propos de deux coupes du Vatican et d'un fragment du Musée Kircher' in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* (Ecole française de Rome* 1910 xxx. 99—116 pls. 2 and 3 and id. in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 174—178 (ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΑ ΕΚΒΑΣΜΑΤΑ'). He enumerates sixteen specimens, of which now is a *siddha* from Pasana with a painted inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (Rev. Arch. 1910 ii. 1132 n. 4 a kylix of black Attic ware from Pantikapaion inscribed [ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ] (E. Pharmacovskis in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutschen arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv Arch. Anz. p. 209 f.), no. 16 fig. 5 a fragment of a black-glazed *κοκάρα* from the Peirinieus lettered in orange-red paint [ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ]. See further C. Picard in the *Rev. Arch.* 1938 ii. 105—107.

xi. 1112 the soul of the divine king escaped as a bird. A. H. Krappe in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1928 lxxvii. 184 cites an Iranian tale from F. Spiegel *ErzählungenAlterthumskunde* Leipzig 1873 ii. 42: 'So hörten wir (Vt. 19, 34) dass sich die königliche Majestät in Gestalt eines Vögel von Yima entfernte, als derselbe anfing liignerische Worte zu sprechen; immerhin wird man gedacht haben dass die Majestät auf ein anderes Glied der königlichen Familie überging.'


xiii. 1112 n. 6. On sceptre-worship see also M. Cary—A. D. Nock *'Magic spears' in the Class. Quart.* 1927 xxi. 112 n. 5.

xiv. 1113 the central slab from the eastern frieze of the Parthenon (pl. xlv). One or two fresh facts and fancies must be recorded. W. R. Lethaby *'The Central Part of the..."
Addenda

Fig. 923.

Fig. 924.
Eastern Frieze of the Parthenon 'in the Journ. Hell. Stud. 1929 xlix. 7—13 figs. 1—6 (summarised by E. H. Heffner in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1939 xxxiii, 555 f.) observes that esquisse sepia-drawings made in all probability by William Pars in 1765—6 and now in the Elgin Collection at the British Museum bring out sundry details no longer distinct (heads of Athena and Hephaistos, etc.). 'The central group is divided off from the rest of the frieze right and left by intervals of space down through which, on either hand, a slightly scored line may be traced. It is probable, I think, that these lines defined a difference of colour in the background which showed that the central action was on a different plane from the rest, that is, in the interior of the Temple.'

Lilly Ross Taylor 'Sects and Peplos on the Parthenon Frieze' in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1936 xl. 121 and add. 'A Selissternum on the Parthenon Frieze' in Quantula-cumque: Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake London 1937 pp. 253—264 figs. 1—7 suggests that the peplos was intended, not as clothing for the xanion of Athena, but as drapery to be placed over the chair of one of the gods.

ii. 1135 n. 4. N. Valmin 'Die Zeus-Stoa in der Agora von Athen' in the K. Humanistische Veritasensamfundets i Lund Årberättelse 1933—1934 i (Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund 1933—1934 i) Lund 1934 pp. 1—7 with fig. 1 ('Skizzenplan') rightly located the Stoa Basileios and identified it with the Stoa of 'Zeus Soter Eleutherios' Königshalle der Athenen and 'the Stoa of the King,' which was pre-Persic (c. 500 B.C.) was distinct from the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios (shortly before 400 B.C.). But that is not the view taken by the American excavators of the Agora (Hesperia 1937 vi. 225 f.). Thanks to their highly successful researches it is now possible to assert with some confidence that the Stoa Basileios was identical with the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, and to get some idea of its history and appearance. See the definitive account of the building constructed by H. A. Thompson to Hesperia 1937 vi. 5—7 ('Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios') with pl. 1 groundplan, actual state, pl. 3 groundplan, restored, and 39 figs. By the courtesy of Mr Thompson I am able to reproduce both the restored plan (pl. 2 = my fig. 923) and the restored elevation (fig. 34 = my fig. 924) of this important structure. It seems probable that certain earlier remains found beneath the Stoa (rectangular base of poros with neighbouring altar) belonged to a sanctuary of Zeus Soter Eleutherios (schol. Aristoph. Plout. 1175 οἰ δὲ τοιοῦτον Δία οὐ εἶναι πότε, ἐπίκει εἰς Ζύς Εὐθυράντος διότι ἡ άνωθεν ἐπὶ ἐπιταύραν δὲ ἔτοι καὶ Ἐλευθέρων φαίη) who owed his second title to the deliverance from Persia that he had wrought (Harpokr. s.v. 'Ελευθέρος λεγεται: 'Τυρείδεις' frag. 25 p. 379 a 32 ff. Sauppe) 'τού μέν τοίνυν Διώ, ὁ δὲ δικαιο, ἡ ἑπισκόπη γέγονε τοῦ Ἐλευθέρου προσαργίσεις διὰ τοῦτο ἐλεύθερον τῆς στοάς ἀκοδομήματι τὴν πληροφάτον.' ὁ δὲ Διδυμός φήσῃ ἄμαραντος τὸ μῆταρ: ἐκλύθη γὰρ Ἐλευθέρος διὰ τῶν Μιχεῖων ἀπαλλάθησα τούτων ἄθροισιν. ἢτι ἐπιγέρτατο ἐκ τοῦ Ζώορη, ἀνθνίστη χαὶ καὶ Ἐλευθέρως, ὅδοι καὶ Μέσανθος, cp. et. mag. p. 329, 44 ff.).

The pre-Persic statue of the god presumably perished in the sack of 480/479 B.C. and was later replaced by another statue bearing the appellation Eleutherios. When the pre-Persic statue of the god presumably perished in the sack of 480/479 B.C. and was later replaced by another statue bearing the appellation Eleutherios. The building itself was virtually completed by 480/479 B.C. (Inscr. Gr. ed. min. i no. 115, 7 ff. Στοά τῆς Βασιλείας, was a Doric colonnade with a façade of seven columns and two wings of six by four columns—an arrangement perhaps suggested by that of Mnesikes' Propylaea. On the back-wall were paintings of the Twelve Gods (Paus. i. 3. 3); on 'the wall beyond,' probably the south wall, paintings of Theseus and Demokratia and Demos (Paus. ib.); also, presumably on the north wall a painting of the battle fought at Mantinea by the Athenians sent to help the Lacedaemonians (Paus. i. 3. 4). The paintings were by Euphranor (Val. Max. 8. 11. ext. 5, Plin. nat. hist. 35. 129. Plout. de gior. Ath. 2. Loukian. immag. 7, Paus. 1. 3. 4. Eustath. in ll. p. 148. 10 ff.). The tiled roof had two akroteria in terra cotta, which represented Theseus hurling Skiron into the sea and Hemera carrying Hephaistos (Paus. 1. 3. 1), perhaps a relic of the official quarters assigned to the basileis before the Persian invasion (see, however, the suggestions of C. Picard in the Rev. Arch. 1928 ii. 9 ff.). An annex of two large rooms was built behind the Stoa in s. a. b. to secure greater privacy for the court of the basileis and for occasional meetings of the council of the Areopagites (cp. Dem. in Aristag. 1. 23).

ii. 1137 n. 0 the basileis about to wear Athena's peplos (ἡ ἵστρος τῆς Αθηνᾶς). Cp. Diod. 1. 14 (each of the gods honoured Herakles with special gifts) ἄθροις μὲν τῆλες, ὁμοιος δὲ βουλή καὶ πόρος καὶ θυσίας. For interchange of clothing see further W. R. Halliday The Greek Questions of Plutarch Oxford 1918 p. 216 ff.

ii. 1143. K. A. Neugebauer in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1923 xxxvii Arch. Anz. p. 76 no. 25 records the acquisition by the Berlin Antiquarium (inv. no. 30021,
photo 3440) of a small bronze snake (0'18" long) with raised head and inlaid pupils. Its back is inscribed in archaic lettering |ΑΡΟΣΕΜΙΤΟΜΕΛΑΙΨΙΟΤΟ-
ΠΕΛΑΝΑΙ (lapis mutt to Melaichos to Pelana). This was purchased at Paris in 1911 as coming from the Peloponnese, and A. Plassart in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1926 l. 432 f. no. 4 states that in 1916 he saw near the find-spot (Pellana in Melaia) the small bronze snake, but uninscribed, which was said to have been found at the same time.

ii. 1146 n. o pyramidal tombs for horses at Agrigentum. C. M. Firth and J. E. Quibell found at Saqqua two mummies of horses, dating from the reign of Ramses II (Comptes rendus de l'Aud. des inscr. et belles-lettres 1926 p. 205 f.). But on Greek pyramidal structures see now the important paper of L. E. Lord in the Am. Journ. Arch. 1939 xliii. 78—84.

ii. 1150 tomb-ceiling as mimic sky. Sir A. J. Evans in The Illustrated London News for Sept. 26, 1931 p. 485 ff. publishes a temple-tomb close to the palace at Knossos. The rock-cut sepulchral chamber had a central pillar, and 'the rock-ceiling—squares of which were visible between the beams—had been tinted with the brilliant Egyptian blue, or hysnos, so that the dead beneath the vault might not be without the illusion of the sky above.' See further id. The Palace of Minos London 1935 iv. 2. 075 and context.

ii. 1151 Zeus Meilichios at Thespiae, etc. A. Plassart in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1926 l. 422 f. no. 43 cites a fragmentary inscription from Thespiae [Διόκες] [Πηγάρωος | Ιαρτον | Δαίμονες | Διί Μειλιχιός | κ.κ.λ. and no. 44 another from the same place [Θεός | Σωτήρ | Νέους] | Διί Μειλιχιός | Ἰδ. ib. p. 423 n. 2 refers to A. D. Keramopoulos in the Ἀρχ.

ii. 1152 Zeus Meilichios in Thessaly. Inscr. Gr. sept. iii. 2 no. 145 (Thebaci Phthiotides) a white stone inscribed Δι Μειλιχιῶν | Κρονὸς | 'Ἄρωσ [α] | [φθιθα] [θεοῦ].

ii. 1156 Akribois. A. H. Krappe in the Rev. Et. Gr. 1930 xliii. 157 treats Akribois as 'le vieux dieu Cronos lui-même' and compares Akribois' expulsion of the infant Perseus (influencing the legend of Astyages and Kyros the Persian) with Cronos' expulsion of the infant Zeus, concluding that a folk-tale motif may be traced in both myths and even in the quasi-historical legend. L. Bieler in Wiener Studien 1931 xlii. 120—123 ('Der Tod des Akribois') regards 'Ακριβιος as Illyrian, 'Τυραυμᾶς as 'vor-griechisch-pelasgisch.' H. Krahe 'Sprachwissenschaftliches zur Sage von der Flucht des Akribois' ib. 1933 li. 141—143 argues that both 'Ακριβιος and 'Τυραυμᾶς are names of Illyrian origin.

ii. 1156 Zeus Meilichios in Samos. E. Prener in the Ath. Mitth. 1924 xliii. 42 no. 9 a votive inscription from Τιγάντι Κλέας Μεγάλου | Δαίμονες.

ii. 1156 Zeus Meilichios in Nisyros. W. Peek in the Ath. Mitth. 1932 lii. 57 f. no. 8 an inscription of Roman date from Rhodes (G. Jacopi in Clara Rhodos 1932 li. 213 f.

Addenda 1187
Addenda

ii. 1158 Zeus Meilichios at Kyrene. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in Hermes 1930 lxv. 257 f. ("Lesefrüchte" no. 980) cites rock-cut inscriptions at and near Kyrene to show that the dead were associated in cult with the Eumenides and with Zeus Meilichios (after S. Ferri Contributi di Cirene alla storia della religione greca (Collezione Γαρφ. 2) Roma 1923) pl. 10.

ii. 1158 Zeus Meilichios at Selinous. K. Lehmann-Hartleben in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1926 xli Arch. Anz. p. 179 fig. 36 briefly reports the discovery by E. Gabrici of a sanctuary of Zeus Meilichios at Selinous. This small temenos occupied the north-east angle of the large site sacred to Demeter Malophoros, just as the temenos of Hekate Propylale occupied the south-east angle. For a full account of it see E. Gabrici's official publication in the Mon. d. Lincei. 1928 xxxii. 91—107 figs. 53—64.

Fig. 915.

('Edicola ed altari di Meilichios e della Pasikrateia (?)'), 174—181 ('Stele figurate del recinto di Meilichios'), 381—383 (inscriptions), 403—405 (cult). The precinct (pl. 2, part of which = my fig. 925) included a little temple, the base of which measured only 5'20" by 2'97"—a mere casket for the statue or statues within. Two Doric columns stood opposite the antae; but their entablature was of a simplified Ionic order (fig. 58 = my fig. 926). In front of the temple were two oblong altars, one large, one small; and it was originally flanked by a pair of porticoes, each with five columns. Behind the west wall of the precinct were found numerous stelai, mostly small piers square in section, or pyramidal, or cylindrical, and nearly all without inscription. The few inscribed blocks were archaic in character: p. 381 f. no. 3 pl. 97, 4 τὸ Δίως τὸ Μείλιχιον ἐμύ | πρῶτα Θιμερίδου τὸ Πεθίδησθε ('The first-fruits of Eumenides son of Pedarchos, belong to Zeus Meilichios') Wilamowitz in Hermes 1930 lxv. 258 ej. πρῶτα ταῖς Θιμερίδου), p. 382 no. 4 pl. 97, 1 = my fig. 927 Αἰλιώρα (perhaps Παρθιώρα) ἐμύ Μελίχιος, p. 382 f. no. 5 pl. 97, 2 Μελίχιος | τὸ Κλασσιάδας, p. 384 no. 9 pl. 97, 3 τὸ Μελίχιον —ισοπέδω). Other finds on the site were a double altar of simpler type (fig. 62), and several small wells (figs. 63—66) for the storage of lustral water, etc. Offerings made to the god were vases and objects of minor worth, which were burnt along with the animal sacrifice and buried in the ashes: over them was erected a stele, often surmounted by a pair of busts, male and female (pls. 27, 1—4, 28, 1—6, 29, 1—8, of which 27, 3 f. = my figs. 928 f.). Gabrici concludes...
that the whole cult had a chthonian character, Zeus Meilichios and Pasikrateia (?) being the Selinuntine equivalents of Hades and Persephone.

ii. 1158 Zeus Meilichios at Pompeii. For a description of his temple in Reg. viii. 2 (8), 25 see A. Mau—A. Ippel Führer durch Pompeji Leipzig 1928 p. 162 f. R. C. Carrington in the Journ. Rom. Stud. 1933 xxiii. 132 pl. 10 figures the wall of it and dates it early in s. i B.C.


ii. 1163 n. 6. H. J. Rose 'The Bride of Hades' in Classical Philology 1935 xx. 238—243 (the idea underlying Soph. Ant. 815 and other Greek passages is that the earth receives increased fertility from the potential, unused fertility of the chaste).

ii. 1167 love in relation to Zeus. Dion Chrys. or. 4 p. 71 Dindorf ἅμας δὲ καὶ φίλαν οὐκ ἄλλην ἢ τὰῦτα βουλεύει καὶ λιπαροῦτα, οὐκοῦν των οὖν... δὲ δὲν τῷ Δίῳ φιλεῖ καὶ διομήτηρ ήτοι ἔκλειπεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι δὲδοσιν τοῦτο ἐπιθυμεῖ τρόπον ἡ ποιήσεων τι καὶ αληθῶς διανοηθέναι; On this subject of personal intimacy with Zeus see further the able articles of F. Dirlmeier on 'ΘΕΟΦΙΑΙΑ—ΘΙΑΟΘΒΙΑ' in Philologus 1935 xc. 57—77 and 176—193.

ii. 1167 f. Diotima's τέλεια καὶ ἐποτικά. A. M. Desrousseaux 'Plutarque, Mor. 382cd' in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1933 xlv. 310—213 (Plout. de Is. et Os. 78 δὸ καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐποτικός τῶν τὸ μέρος τῆς φιλοσοφίας καλοῦσι, οὐ (Desroussacq corr. την, σιωπαίραν, ἐν δὲ) οὐ τὰ δόξαν καὶ μακά καὶ παντοτάκτων ταύτα παραμεθούμενοι τῷ λόγῳ πρὸ τὸ πρῶτον ἐκεῖνο καὶ ἀκόλουθον καὶ ἀκόλουθον ἐξάλλωται καὶ, ὡς γένοτο ἀκόλου (so Reiske for ἀκόλου) τῆς περὶ αὐτῷ καθαροῖς ἀληθείας, ὅπως ἐν τελείᾳ (so Reiske for ἐν τελείᾳ) τέλος, ἔχουν φιλοσοφίαν κοιμοῦντι—from which it is clear that Aristotle was following the very words of his master in symp. 210 A).

ii. 1176 n. 4 Zeus Ephésteis. See now H. Sjövall Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult Lund 1931 p. 115 f.


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Addenda 1189
Addenda

Fig. 927.

Fig. 928.

Fig. 929.
Addenda

ii. 1179 f. Trajan and Zeus Philios at Pergamon. W. H. Buckler 'Auguste, Zeus Patroos' in the *Rev. Philol.* Troisième Série 1935 i. 177—188 adds a series of official Pergamene inscriptions (nine decrees and two letters) to show that the complete deification of Augustus was reached through three successive phases: (1) from 27 B.C. to 3 B.C. he was autokrátōr Káïlpos theòs Íaion Sêbastos, and his highest priest ð ἄρχερετη θεᾶς Ἡγίαμη καὶ ἀυτοκράτωρ Κάλπαρος θεῶν ὑπὸ Σἐβαστοῦ; (2) from 2 B.C. to 14 A.D. Augustus was autokrátōr Káïlpos theòs Íaion Sêbastos, ἄρχερετη μέγατος καὶ τηρητῆ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύμμαχος τῶν ἄνθρωπων γένους, and his highest priest ð ἄρχερετη θεᾶς Ἡγίαμη καὶ ἀυτοκράτωρ Κάλπαρος θεῶν ὑπὸ Σἐβαστοῦ ἄρχερετης μέγατος καὶ πάτρως τῶν πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύμμαχος τῶν ἄνθρωπων γένους; (3) from 15 A.D. onwards (after his death on Aug. 14, 14 A.D. and his consecration by the Senate on Sept. 17, 14 A.D.) Augustus became theos Sêbavtoû Kâïlpor Peîtôrês autokrátōr and ἄρχερετης μέγατος, πάτηρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύμμαχος τῶν ἄνθρωπων γένους, and his highest priest ð ἄρχερετη θεᾶς Ἡγίαμη καὶ τηρητῆ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύμμαχος τῶν ἄνθρωπων γένους. Thus Augustus while alive was treated as (1) a hero and (2) a demi-god, when dead was raised to the rank of (3) a god and identified with Zeus Patrōn̄s. The documents relevant to this third stage are (1) Sir C. T. Newton *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchiche London 1862—1863 ii. 2. 605—608 no. 6 pl. 87, G. Hirschfeld in *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* London 1893 iv. 1. 63—65 no. 894; (2) J. Keil 'Zur Geschichte der Hymnomen in der Provinz Asia' in *Die jahresk. d. oest. arch. Inst* 1908 xi. 101—107 (Odemish near Hupaïa); (3) Corp. inscr. Gr. ii. no. 3187 (Smyrna). Cp. also (d) a marble pedestal from Aphrodiasis, which must have carried a statue of Zeus with the features of Augustus, inscribed Διὰ Πάτρων [Σεβαστά]ν Καïlç α (W. Kubitschek—W. Reichel in *Anz. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien* Phil.—hist. Classe 1893 p. 103 no. 13); and (e) a dedication from Dorylaeum θεῶν Σεβαστάν Καïlç α [Δια Πάτρων], πάτὴρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύμμαχος τῶν ἄνθρωπων γένους, ? e. t. l. (I. Meliopoulos in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1897 xxii. 486 f., Dittenberger *Ort. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 479). Mr Buckler concludes his very noteworthy article on Augustus at Pergamon by a further suggestion: 'En y acceptant l'épithète divine, Trajan imitait le plus illustre de ses predecesseurs; n'aurait-il pas choisi celle de Zeus Philios, symbole de sa bienveillance, afin de marquer le contraste avec les antiques splendeurs du Zeus Patroos?'

ii. 1187 n. o fig. 990 Zeus Nêmeîntis at Alexanderra. His wreath is probably of oak-leaves, not φίλων. Oak-wreath and áigis are characteristic of Zeus on Alexandrine cameos (supra p. 537 f.).

P. Kabbadias in the *Œph. Arch. 1918 p. 192 f. fig. 39 publishes a dedication (no. 11) from Epidaurus: "Ἡρα Αργεία θῶν Νειμέειον πατριώτους ατριγήνην Ιέρον τούτοις Αρταξέως τούτων Ἰερονήμου τοῦ Σωτήρος τοῦ ΦΩΣ θεῶν (= 297 Α. Κ., Cp. inscr. Gr. Pelop. i nos. 1001 and 1002).

ii. 1187 n. 4. D. M. Robinson at Olynthos found Bottiaen pottery of quasi-Aegean character (A. W. Lawrence on Hdt. 8. 127. See G. E. Mylonas in D. M. Robinson *Excavations at Olynthos* Baltimore 1932 v. 60—63 (Group iii, second half of i. vi to beginning of r. v. B.C.)).

ii. 1191 Olympic contests at Daphne. A bronze statuette (height 6 inches) now in the British Museum shows a naked youth carrying a board (?) inscribed in relief ANTIOX. EΩN | ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙ | ΔΑΦΝΗ (Sr. E. J. Forsdyke in *The British Museum Quarterly* 1929—1930 iv. 70 f. pl. 44, d)—presumably a record of a success in these sports.

ii. 1194 emperors wearing the áiges. J. Arneh *Monumente des K. K. Muns.-und Antiken-Cabinettes in Wien* Wien 1849 p. 31 f. pl. 18, 2 an onyx engraved with Julian (?) as a beardless Zeus. He wears an áigis and holds a sceptre in his raised right hand, a thunderbolt in his lowered left. At his left side is a trophy with seated prisoner; at his right side, an eagle. The legs of Zeus, the field, and the back of the whole gem are covered with 'Gnostic' inscriptions.

ii. 1197 n. 3. To the bibliography of Antiocheia add E. S. Bouchier *A short History of Antioch* 300 B.C.—A.D. 1263 Oxford 1921 pp. 1—324.

ii. 1213 'Jupiter-columns.' M. P. Nilsson 'Zur Deutung der Juppitergigantensäulen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 183—184 argues from the wheel etc. that the god in question was a Celtic deity (Taranis?).

ii. 1213 the Column of Mayence. On Quilling's views see also L. Deubner in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 310 f.

ii. 1216 the omphalos found by F. Courby at Delphoi. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xxiii. 85 n. 1 states that in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 (not 1920) i. 172 he did not regard Courby's omphalos as 'faux,' but holds that the inscription on it
Addenda

I. 192


ii. 1129 the Milky Way conceived as a tree. U. Holmberg in J. A. MacCulloch *The Mythology of all Races* Boston 1927 iv (Finno-Ugric, Siberian). 82 cites the ‘song of the Great Oak’—a Finnish account of the Milky Way ‘regarded by some Arctic tribes as being the trunk of a great tree, along which those killed in battle wander.’

ii. 1131 the axe from Malilla. J. Charbonneaux in the *Mon. Pit. Pict. 1925—1926 xxviii. 6 ff. pl. 2 and figs. 3, 4, 6 publishes this axe as ending in the forepart of a panther, not a lioness. So also C. Picard in the *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 1926 xxiii. 70 n. 1, 78 n. 3, and F. Couissin in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 i. 261 ff. 6.

ii. 1131 fig. 1015 relief of lictors’ axes. For similar reliefs see Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt.* *Pal. d. Conserv.* Rome p. 19 f. Scala i nos. 1 and 2 pl. 9, ib. p. 157 Sala degli Orti Mecenatei no. 6b pl. 59.


ii. 1132 carvings in amber. Other examples (human and simian figures from Vetulonia) in D. R. Maciver *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* Oxford 1934 p. 107 fig. 25.

ii. 1132 fig. 1017 the earliest representation of Zeus(?). S. Benton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1924—1925 xxxv. 85 ff. pl. 21, 1—3 provides three excellent photographs of this little bronze, but calls it cautiously ‘the Dodona thrower,’ ‘the Dodona figure.’ M. P. Nilsson *Homer and Mycenaen London* 1933 p. 80 suggests that a terra-cotta head and a stone axe found in the Mycenaean sanctuary at Asine ‘are the earliest representations of Zeus, the Greek god of thunder.’ See further O. Frödin in *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 25, 1926 p. 548 fig. (3) and Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* pp. xx—xxii pl. 4. The head (o’105 mm.) high showed traces of white on the face, but had eyes, lips, and hair painted red. With it were found five smaller female figures in terra cotta and sundry vases, including a two-handled bowl of the ‘Granary Class’ (A. J. B. Wace in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1912—1913, 1922—1923 xxxv. 40 f. (‘The Granary Class of L. H. III. Pottery’)) and a composite vessel of three cups conjoined.

ii. 1138 Zeus *Teleiosorgos* at Militos. K. Latte ‘Zeus *Teleiosorgos’* in *Philologus* 1930 lxxxv. 325—327 notes that in both inscriptions this is the god to whom sacrifice is made by a new priest at his ordination. Hence, he thinks, we obtain light on Hesych. *telesioqov paisa* τον ἐπεκτεινόν τον τοις θεοις ἐπεκτεινόμενον λεφών, where the manuscript reading *telesioqerov* was wrongly altered by T. Hemsterhuy into *teleiosergav*—a Persephonian god, whose *τέλειος οργός* is the ‘Tomb of the Lictor’ at Vetulonia. See now H. Mühlestein *Die Kunst der Etrusker* Berlin 1929 p. 86 ff. *ib.* p. 228 fig. (3) and Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* pp. xx—xxii pl. 4. The head (o’105 mm.) high showed traces of white on the face, but had eyes, lips, and hair painted red. With it were found five smaller female figures in terra cotta and sundry vases, including a two-handled bowl of the ‘Granary Class’ (A. J. B. Wace in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1912—1913, 1922—1923 xxxv. 40 f. (‘The Granary Class of L. H. III. Pottery’)) and a composite vessel of three cups conjoined.

ii. 1129 relief of Agdistis and Attis. A Hellenistic relief (height o’61 m.), found in the Peiraieus and now in the Berlin Antiquarium, shows Agdistis as a draped goddess, with a tympanum in her left hand, presenting a flower to a youthful Attis, who sits before her in the costume of Asia Minor (*Kurze Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen im Alien Museum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 106 no. 1613).

iii. 35 n. 10. Cp. Nikephoros Basilakes *prozymn.* 7. 10 (i. 489, 3 f. Walz) ἄνωθεν σωτὴρ ὡς τὰς ἐφέσας ὧς Ζεὺς.


iii. 63 n. 3. See now E. Kapp *Ποσεδώνας* in *Philologus* 1929 N.F. xxxviii. 259—261 (defends Ποσαδωνας against Ποσεδώνας).
iii. 165 the sanctity of dew. J. Roscoe The Northern Bantu Cambridge 1915 p. 28: Among the Banyoro is a clan called 'The Basita, whose principal totem is the Milch Cow which has been with a bull, and their second Dew upon the Grass. The members of this clan avoid for several days drinking milk from a cow which has been with a bull, and also refrain from walking in grass while dew rests on it.'

iii. 245 f. The μεθοιον, as its name implies, was a sacrifice subsequent to, or additional to, that of a cow for Athena, and must not be viewed as a preliminary rite.

iii. 292 sea-bathing as a rain-charm. Miss M. A. Murray has kindly sent me a note (July 17, 1938) 'about ceremonial bathing (by the whole population), on a set day in the spring, in the sea. It is done at Gaza by Bedu and fellahin alike, men, women, children & animals. I think it may be connected with the cult of Atargatis.' May we not rather suppose that this is only another case of communal rain-charm?

iii. 298 the formula ἱχμα, ἵμπαξ. I would venture to compare a spell to stop nose-bleeding by a whispered ἵχμα, ἱχμα, ὑφαί (G. F. Abbott Macedonische Folklore Cambridge 1903 p. 233 no. 40 and p. 360 μ'. Περὶ ὁμοί ὑποί τρέχει, λέγε εἰς ὑμένες ἐκάινε ὑποί τρέχει, κρυφὸς εἰς τὸ αἵθρι: ἡλός, πᾶς, ρῖζα, καὶ ἄθλη παύει — an extract from a medical treatise contained in an eighteenth-century MS. possibly written by a physician named Constantine Rizioti).

iii. 322 n. 5. Ναύπαιον ἱππαξ. Cp. the sacred and curious character of Ascension Day rain-water. A. R. Wright—T. E. Lones British Calendar Customs (England i) London 1936 p. 141 f. cite examples from five counties, of which one will serve: 'A Warwickshire cook of a relative of mine was seen last Ascension Day, May 1, standing out of doors, basin in hand, to catch the rain that was falling. In explanation she said that Holy Thursday rain was holy water, and came straight from heaven. The reason that she preserved it was that it was good for weak or sore eyes' (Cuthbert Bede in Notes and Queries Sixth Series 1883 vii. 367).

iii. 336 n. 5. Sieve-superstitions are collected with a wealth of detail by Eckstein in the Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens Berlin—Leipzig 1936 vii. 1662—1686 ('Sieb'), 1686—1701 ('Siebdrehen, Sieblaufen, Siebtreiben').

iii. 341 n. 3. On the pentagram see further Col. Allotte de La Fuaye Le Pentagramme pythagoricien, sa diffusion, son emploi dans le syllabaire cuneiforme' in Babylonica 1934 xiv. 1—56 figs. 1—10.

iii. 345 n. 1. With regard to Egyptian receptacles for viscera Mr Sidney Smith informs me (Nov. 17, 1934) (1) that limestone pots with plain lids go back to the late Old Kingdom (Dyns. v—vi), (2) that jars with lids in the shape of the deceased's head are typical of the Middle Kingdom and occur down to Dyn. xviii, and (3) that 'the four children of Horus' belong to the New Kingdom from the late xviii Dyn. onwards.

iii. 348 the 'Canopi' of Osiris. See now P. W. Freiherr von Bissing Ägyptische Kultbilder der Fünften und Sechsten Dynastie (Der Alte Orient xxxiv. 1/2) Leipzig 1936 pp. 28—34 'Das Kultbild von Kanopos' pl. 4, 10 a and 10 b (an Osiris of Kanopos in marble, from Egypt), pl. 4, 11 a (an Osiris of Kanopos in bronze, from Egypt, resting on an 'Opferfaktel'), pl. 5, 11 b (an Osiris of Kanopos, owned by the Queen of the Netherlands), pl. 8, 18 (a Kanopos with spiral fluting, in the Vatican).

iii. 348 Nile-water. The sanctity of Nile-water is discussed by F. J. Dölger Antike und Christentum Münster in Westfalen 1936 v. 3. 153—187 ('Nilwasser und Taufwasser').

iii. 349. Thoneoe was not the wife, but the unsuccessful lover, of Kanobos (n. 8).

iii. 358 n. 6. G. A. Megas in Hermes 1933 lxxviii. 415 ff. argues that the story of the Danaïdes was a folktales later localised at Argos. He cites (alter B. Chalatianz in the Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde Miinster in Westfalen 1936 v. 3. 153—187 ('Nilwasser und Taufwasser'))
et 4). Comme nous l'avions déjà dit (Cf. Rapport de la troisième campagne, Syria, 1932, p. 12), ils ont dû servir au rite magique, ayant probablement pour but de favoriser la fécondité de la terre et dont l'une des tablettes de Ras Shamra semble donner la formule (Cf. E. C. Yorke in the Journ. Rom. Stud. 1936 v. 316 with fig. 22. 6—8 says: "Is it not possible to connect this type [my figs. 399—402] with the greatest of the Athenian festivals of Zeus, the Diosia, which was of a propitiatory character?" Ead. ib. p. 501 with fig. 11, 1—2 [my fig. 548] would recognise the altar of Zeus Polias [sic!]; and associate it with the Dipoleia. She gives the same explanation of Zeus Polias, to the result that a boy was born (according to one version, from her breast) who afterwards became the great emperor Yu.

iii. 538 n. o pl. xlv. F. Lenormant 'Jupiter Ogygios, camée sur chrysoprase' in the Gaz. Arch. 1875 i. 95—99 pl. 13 published a very large cameo from the Northwick collection (then owned by Feuardent), a chrysoprase in the Asia Minor style of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. Its subject is a facing Zeus, almost exactly like that of my malachite relief, but coarser in effect and without acorns on the oak-wreath.

iii. 564 ff. 'ox-driving.' F. Camont 'St. George and Mithra "The Cattle-Thief"' in the Journ. Rom. Stud. 1936 xxvii. 63—71 notes that at the monastery of Ilor in Mingrelia, as late as c. 1850 A.D., 'every year on the Festival of St. George, to whom the church of the monastery was dedicated, an ox mysteriously entered the building ready for sacrifice.' Cumont argues that St George has here replaced Mithras the bou-khôròs theôs (Porph. de antr. nymph. 18).

iii. 573 Zeus Polieus and altar. (Mrs) J. P. Shear in Hesperia 1936 v. 316 with fig. 22, 6—8 says: "Is it not possible to connect this type [my figs. 399—402] with the greatest of the Athenian festivals of Zeus, the Diasia, which was of a propitiatory character?" Ead. ib. p. 501 with fig. 11, 1—2 [my fig. 548] would recognise the altar of Zeus Polias [sic!]; and associate it with the Dipoleia. She gives the same explanation of Zeus Polias, to the result that a boy was born (according to one version, from her breast) who afterwards became the great emperor Yu.

iii. 580 n. o with fig. 404. See now C. Watzinger in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hausen Gr. Vasenmalerei iii. 343 ff. fig. 163 and pl. 175.

iii. 593 Dionysos, priest of Zeus Polieus, first to slay an ox. But Synkell. chron. 153 b (i. 289 Dindorf) says of Kekrops οὗτος πρῶτος βοῦν ἐναίσακτον καὶ ἑώρα προσπάθειον, δὲ τῶν.

iii. 612 n. o. On the Βαλλάντια see also S. Weinstock in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xvii. 856.

iii. 623 n. 1 with fig. 423. The design on these glass plaques is drawn (rather unsuccessfully) to a larger scale by W. Technau in the Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 1937 lii. 98 f. fig. 12.

iii. 634 n. 2. E. C. Yorke in the Class. Quart. 1936 xxx. 154 ff. maintains that the Prometheus Bound, "if Aeschylus was its author," must have been the latest of his extant plays, to be dated between 458 and 456 B.C. Prof. D. S. Robertson in the Cambridge University Reporter 1938 bix. 387 reviews recent opinions and argues from the Sophoclean features of the play for "the latest possible date." He even suggests that "Aeschylus left the Prometheus trilogy incomplete" and that some of the odes may have been 'supplied by one of his sons, Æphorion and Euaion, or by his nephew Philocles, all tragic poets.'

iii. 655 n. o with figs. 464—469. My conjecture that the head on these coins represents Zeus Obios can, I find, claim the support of A. Reinach, who in the Revue
Bronze statuette of Zeus *Olympios* from Bulgaria, now in the Museum of the Augusta Trajana Society at Stara Zagora.

*See page 1196.*
Addenda

1913 i. 172 no. 461 an inscription from Lampsakos dedicated Θεία Αίσχος observed: 'À la lumière de cette inscription il y aurait lieu de se demander si ce n'est pas Zeus Olbios à cornes de taureau qu'il faut voir sur les monnaies à tête cornue qu'on qualifie de Zeus Ammon, Pan ou Priape corniger.' Johanna Schmidt in Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc. xvii. 2430.


1933 ii. 3 the cult of Athena on the Nike-bastion. P. Lemerle in the Bull. Corr. Hell. 1937 lxii. 443 with figs. 4—7 reports that N. Balanos now recognises at least two successive sanctuaries below the level of the classical temple. One, the less ancient, is connected with the altar found by G. Welter (fig. 6). The other, the more ancient, included a hollowed block on which idols were lying (fig. 7) and an altar of Athena Nike mentioned in an archaic inscription [Michel Recueil d'Inscr. gr. no. 671, a 11 f., Dittenberger Syll. Inscr. Gr. 8, no. 63, a 11 f., Kai βούς λίθου ('Adiectivum indicat fuisse quidem iam ante aram, sed non lapideam'), Inscr. Gr. ed. min. i no. 24, 14 f.]

iii. 832 n. 2 Dr H. Frankfort's paper on 'The Burney Relief' has now appeared in the Archiv für Orientforschung 1938 xlii. 128—135 accompanied by three fresh photographic illustrations. This paper, of which he most kindly sent me an offprint, conclusively vindicates the genuineness of the relief, refers it on stylistic grounds to the Laras period, and inclines to identify the female figure as Lilith or some other 'inhabitant of the Land of Death.' Her domed crown with four horns marks her as divine. Her so-called 'ring and staff' are either 'a measuring rod and line,' as on the idole of Ur-Namûtu, or 'on our relief they might well be a continuous coiled piece of rope,' such measuring instruments serving as symbols of justice.

iii. 845 the earliest Gorgoneion. F. Chapouthier 'A travers trois gemmes prismatiques (époque Minoenne ['M. M. i']) in the Millanges G. Glets Paris 1934 i. 185—201 publishes a three-sided seal-stone in greyish steatite from Mallia, of which one side represents a facing Gorgoneion with bristling hair, large ears and eyes, wide cheeks but small mouth, and pointed chin (photographic pl. and fig. 2 = J. Charbonneaux in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1933 xii. 76 fig. 3). The face is flanked by two small branches.

iii. 927 Akmon. On Dolas the 'Twin'-brother of Akmon see Norbert Jokl in Ebert Reallex. x. 144 and 147 (after A. Pick in the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 1937 xlii. 347).

iii. 958 the temple of Zeus at Olympia struck by lightning (Paus. 5. 11. 9). C. Picard 'Zeus, Aristophane et Socrate' in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1938 lii. 60—63 finds an allusion to this incident in Aristoph. nud. 401 f. 'Prodige favorable et pieuse intention du ciel, disaient les bons esprits! Ti nub.' c'est répliqué le Socrate d'Aristophane, introducteur de dieux nouveaux et destructeur de la tradition religieuse.' This is much better than, with V. Coulon in the Rev. Ét. Gr. 1937 i. 453 f., to assume a like happening in the sanctuary of Zeus Soter and Athena Sátira at the Peiraieus (Lykourg. in Lyr. 17, sib. — see Severin Solder's Die ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas Lnd 1931 p. 2). Picard takes the opportunity of listing all the Zeus-cults in or near Athens—a useful record.

iii. 964 copies of the Pheidias Zeus (?). Mr R. M. Cook in a letter from Athens dated Aug. 16, 1935 drew my attention to a small bronze figure of Zeus Olympios recently discovered in Bulgaria, and very kindly enclosed the photograph reproduced in my pl. Ixxxii. He comments: 'It is a bronze statuette, found last March casually at Smero, a village a little north-east of Stara Zagora. The overall height is about 25 cm.; the height of the figure alone, 18 cm. All of the base is, I believe, original. It is not yet published, though photos of it (from the same negative as this) have appeared in a local paper & in one of the Sofia dailies. It is now in the Museum of the Augusta Trajana Society, at Stara Zagora: the director is Mr C. Raikov.'

iii. 973 Christ in the likeness of Zeus. In the Christian appropriation of pagan statury two methods were followed, which it might be convenient to distinguish as the outward and the inward. The one imposed some external sign of the new religion. The other sought to appreciate the internal qualities of the old. The first adapted. The second adopted. And naturally the former, as the easier process, was more frequent than the latter. The facts are fairly obvious, and I shall content myself with a single example of each.

H. Bulle in the Einzelaufnahmen nos. 1436 and 1437 (= my fig. 930, a and b) Text v. 93 publishes a bearded head of Pentelic marble (height 0.23 m.), which came from the neighbourhood of Athens and is now at Karlsruhe, and comments: 'Gehörte ohne Zweifel zu einer Herme.... Wohl originale Arbeit aus der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrh.
Marble head from Jerash:
a third century Zeus (?), which perhaps served as a fifth-century Christ.

See page 1197.
Addenda

v. Chr.‘ Bulle ignores the incised cross, which is simply omitted also in the small sketch given by the *Jahrh. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1899 v Arch. Anz. p. 5 no. 11. But A. J. B. Wace in the *Class. Rev.* 1932 xlvi. 65 says with more circumspection: ‘Cases are known...where a cross was scratched on a work of art in early Christian times to sanctify what would otherwise have been ungodly.’

J. Garstang in *The Illustrated London News* for July 31, 1926 pp. 193—197 devotes a whole article to the interesting head found by H. Horsfield on the east side of the ‘Street of Columns’ at Jerash (Gerasa). For a detailed study of the site see the reports of J. W. Crowfoot ‘The Church of S. Theodore at Jerash’ in the *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1920* London pp. 17—36, *ib.* ‘The Churches of Gerasa, 1928, 1929’ *ib.* Quarterly Statement for 1930 London pp. 32—42, *ib.* ‘Recent Work round the Fountain Court at Jerash’ *ib.* Quarterly Statement for 1931 London pp. 143—154, *ib.* Churches at Jerash A Preliminary Report of the Joint Yale-British School Expeditions to Jerash, 1928—1930 (British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. Supplementary Papers. iii) London 1931 pp. 1—48 with 13 pls. and a plan. Garstang loc. cit. says: ‘Between the doorway of the Basilica and that of the circular church, nearer to the former, and in the cloister into which both doors open, the head was found lying upon débris about a foot from the floor, and covered with more débris mixed with architectural remains....Such, briefly, is the evidence which attests that the head was in use contemporaneously with the Christian buildings of the area in which it was found.’ Garstang well suggests ‘that the head was originally chosen from among the earlier pagan sculptures of the place, or imported specially, as responding to a Christian conception.’ He agrees ‘that it belongs to the latter half of the second century A.D.’ but adds somewhat inconsistently: ‘One thing seems clear—that it was fashioned by a great artist who, working upon the established and familiar models of pagan Zeus or Asklepios, glorified them in the realisation of an ideal. Did such a genius exist in the fourth or fifth century at Jerash? And was that ideal the Suffering of Christ?’ Accordingly the fine full-face view prefixed to his article is labelled: ‘The earliest representation of Christ?...a remarkable sculptured Christ-like head (probably of the latter half of the 2nd century A.D.) found in a 5th-century Christian church at Jerash.’ I confess that Garstang’s enthusiasm leaves me a little breathless. I had the opportunity of examining the original head soon after its arrival in London (pl. lxxxiii is from the official photographs) and judged it, on stylistic grounds, to be a third-century head of Zeus. I did not think that its pathos was so pronounced as to justify us in calling it an ideal of Suffering. Indeed, the vertical furrows between the eyes, as distinct from the horizontal furrow across the forehead, were suggestive of concentrated thought rather than intense pain. I held, therefore, and still hold, that the Jerash head came from a third-century statue portraying Zeus, perhaps in his character of Providence (supra p. 946), a statue which may conceivably have served the fifth-century Gerasenes as an embodiment of Christ.
CORRIGENDA

i. 13. For 'bliss' read 'bless.'
i. 117 n. o. For 'p. 444' read 'p. 517.'
i. 134 n. 4. For 'Lydia' read 'Ionia.'
i. 175 n. 3. For 'Maas' read 'Maass.'
i. 216 n. 3. For 'Athen. 84 c ff.' read 'Athen. 456 c ff.'
i. 220. For 'báckos' read 'báckos,' and so elsewhere (i. 221, 425, 442, 648, 649, 673).
i. 236 n. 10. For 'Liban. or. ii' read 'Liban. or. ii.'
i. 245. For 'daughter of Helios' read 'granddaughter of Helios.'
i. 272. For 'man' read 'men.'
i. 302 n. 5. Delete comma after 'Μούχρρ.'
i. 330. For 'Saltzmann' read 'Salzmann.'
i. 335 n. 7. For '104' and '105' read '267' and '268.'
i. 375. For 'Libye?' read 'Libye?'
i. 398 n. 4. For 'p. 92' read 'p. 311.'
i. 474. After 'svastika-patterns' insert 'and.'
i. 513 n. 5. For 'fig. 113' read 'fig. 387.'
i. 546 n. 4. For '471 n. 4.' read '471 f.'
i. 571 n. 2. For '§ 10 (a)' read '§ 10 (b).'
i. 591 n. 3. For 'In this' read 'In the.'
i. 604 n. 10. For 'mother-god' read 'mother-goddess.'
i. 646 n. 3. For 'Σαβ' read 'Σαβ.'
i. 660 n. 2. For 'Strab. 476' read 'Strab. 475.'
i. 675. For 'Kuster' read 'Küster.'
i. 717 n. 2. For 'F. Cumont' read 'F. Cumont.'
i. 732 n. 1. For 'n. 1' read 'n. 1.'
i. 768 n. 1. For 'in Alterthum' read 'in Alterthum.'
i. 776. For 'millennium' read 'millennium.'
i. 800. For 'Zeus Πελοναίοσ' read 'Zeus Πελοναίοσ.'
i. 824. For 'Kynados' read 'Kounados.'
i. 827 s.v. Makedonia. For 'Zeus 126 ff.' read 'Zeus 100 ff.'
i. 837 s.v. Phrygia. For 'Zeus Παυλίας 3933' read 'Zeus Παυλίας 3998.'
i. 842 s.v. Seimios. For '533 f.' read '553 f.'
i. 855 s.v. Zeus 'nursed by.' For 'by goat 112, 112, and 720, read 'by goat 112, and 720.'
i. 856 s.v. Zeus Attributes. For 'blue mantle 33,' read 'blue mantle 33.'
i. 867 s.v. Fick, A. For '690q,' read '690q.'
i. 867 s.v. Fure. For 'Zeus 702q,' read 'Zeus 702q.'
i. 870 s.v. Heydemann, H. For '698,' read '698q.'
i. 870 s.v. Hill, G. F. For '356q,' read '356q,' and for '602q,' read '602q.'
i. 875 s.v. Nilsson, M. P. For '669q,' read '669q.'
i. 879 s.v. Rolland, E. For '357q,' read '257q.'
i. 882. For 'Svoronos, J. H. (cont.)' read 'Svoronos, J. N. (cont.)' ii. 894. For 'inform,' read 'inform.'
i. 1093 n. 1. For 'reques' read 'greqes.'
i. 1096 n. 4. For 'μουφυρνος' read 'μουφυρνον.'
ii. 1113 n. o. For 'σφώδιωρες' read 'σφώδιωρες.'
Corrigenda

ii. 1323 s.v. Syria. The last entry 'Sun, Moon, and Morning-Star in folk-tale from 1004 ff.' should have been s.v. Syra.

ii. 1361 s.v. Eitrem. S. For '104211' read '114211.'

iii. 57 n. 2. For 'ὁμιθογογιας θ' read 'ὁμιθογογιας θ'.

iii. 79. For 'Man said' read 'Men said.'

iii. 104 n. 1. For 'n. 3' read 'n. 4.'

iii. 360 n. 4. For 'vi. 2089' read 'iv. 2089.'

iii. 400 n. 2. For 'Gábrici' read 'Gábrici,' and so on p. xxi of vol. ii.

iii. 416 n. 6. For 'Tetz.' read 'Tzetz.'

iii. 518 n. 3. For 'être à' read 'être là.'

iii. 775. For '(fig.)' read '(fig. 569).'

iii. 976. For 'Brugman' read 'Brugmann,' and so on p. 977.

iii. 981. For 'pl. lxix' read 'pl. lxx.'

C. III.
Zeus Τράιος
on a bronze coin of Hierapolis in Phrygia
(Imhoof-Blumer Gr. Münzen
p. 214 f. no. 693 pl. 12, 22).
Supra ii. 571 n. 6.
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 Worshippers Personations Myths Metamorphoses Genealogy Functions Etymology Attributes Types Identifications Assimilations Associations Comparisons Relations Supersedure.

In the Genealogies f. = father, m. = mother, s. = son, d. = daughter, b. = brother, st. = sister, gf. = grandfather, gin. = grandmother, gs. = grandson, gd. = granddaughter, h. = husband, w. = wife.

The larger numerals refer to pages, the smaller numerals to foot-notes.

Abaddir
Cult: Manliana 937o Poeni 937o
Epithet: Sanctus 937o
Priests: eucaddires 937o
Abaris, controls wind 106
Abbeville, statue of pantheistic Zeus at 1129
Abderas, coins of 1002 f. 1008
Aberrickos, epitaph of 972 f. 1128
Abhirkios, tombstone of 1126
Abhorras 1027f
Abydos
Cult: meteorite 886
— coins of 863f
Aebias 646f
Achaeans
Cults: Zeus 650f Zeus 'Haláios 1164
— shaft-graves of 382 (?)
Acheron 983f
Acheron 152 416
Achilles
Cult: Olbia 654f
Epithet: Ἱορώπυς 654f
Myth: Penthesileia 936
Type: passage to Islands of the Blest 135
— shield of 596 f. when dead demands bride 395 (?)
Achilleus, s. of Thetis 1043 See Achilles
Achilleus, the earth-born 1043
Adad
Cults: Heliopolis in Syria 1095
Nabataioi 1097 Palmyra 1003
Attribute: golden thunderbolt 1095
Types: seated between two bulls with thunderbolt 1097 standing on bull with thunderbolt 881 standing on bull with double three-pronged thunderbolt in either hand 1095
Identified with Zeus 945
Compared with Ramman, Tešub, and the god of Mt Tabor 1173
Adighe 1114 See Circassians
Admete, d. of Eurystheus 1029
Adonia 1118
Adonis
Cult: Malta 1031 (?)
Myth: killed by boar 817f
Identified with Aion 914f
Superseded by John the Baptist 1061f (?)
Adora, coins of 907
Adrasteia
Epithet: ὁπλιός 922f
Myth: served by Kelmis, Dama-
meneus, and Akmon 922f
Adrasteia, a Cretan Nymph 931f
Adrian, St 523f
Aeneas 1023f
Aérias 646f
Aether See Aither
Aethlios, s. of Aiolos, reputed to be s. of Zeus 107
Agallis 596f.
Agamedes
Associated with Trophonios 507f
Agamemnon
Myth: Palladion 609
— early connected with Lakedaimon and Amyklai 1181 later divinised as Zeus Agamémnon 1181 stone ship of 1171
Agapius, St 1102
Agatha, St 447f
Agathos Daimon
Type: ὑμηθίος μιλίχιος 843f
Identified with Daimon Milichios (?) 1187
Agane 1124
Agdistis
Cult: Peiraicen 1192
Myth: pomegranate springs from his severed member 815f
Function: doublet of Attis 1174

76—2
Agdistis (cont.)
Type: draped goddess with tympanon presenting flower to Attis 1192
Agdos, Mt
Myth: Agdistis 236
Agenor 161
Aglauros
Rites: human sacrifice at Salamis in Kypros 653 oath of epheboi 242
Myths: Erichthonios 185f. 764f. voluntary death for her country 242
Genealogy: Agraion or Agraion d. of Aktaios or Aktaion 242 w. of Ares 283 m. of the Kekropides 242 m. of Keryx by Hermes 602 f.
Functions: dew 237 earth-goddess 242 water-nymph 237 (?)
Etymology: 237 Associated with Demeter Keuropode 242
Aglibol
Cult: Palmyra 1158f.
Type: in military dress with crescent horns and spear 1159
Associated with Bel and Laribol 1158 f.
Agni
Genealogy: f. of Ekata, Dvita, Trita
Agnostos Theos
Cult: Athens 1162
Agon Capitolinus 1141
Agorakritos 707 (?)
Agra
Cults: Artemis' Argopeia 725 Eileithyia 168 724 Persephone and Demeter 722
Rites: Lesser Mysteries 722
Agrai 168 See Agra
Agraides 650 (?) 660 (?)
Agraia See Aglauros
Agraulos See Aglauros
Agraeus
Cult: Korkyra 271
Attribute: cornu copiae 271
Agrigentum
Cults: Zeus Αραβήσ 525 Zeus Θόριος 1171, coins of 414bc 415bc 1146 Olympia at 1171f. (bibliography) tombs for horses at 1187
Aia 236
Aiaia
Etymology: 1073 (?)
Alkhiades 650
Aikos
Genealogy: forfather of Aeginetans and Fergamenes 1164
Function: judge of dead 402
Type: head on coins of Aigina (?) 1164
Aias
Epithet: τεραμόνος 650
Function: faded god (?) 650
Etymology: 650
Aias, s. of Oileus
Myths: Kassandra 867 956 struck by lightning 868
Aias, s. of Teukros, as name of priestly dynasts at Olba 643, 645 founds cult of Zeus Ωρός 645 prehistory of 650 ff.
Aidonatos 6
Aigaion 139 (?)
Aigaion, Mt 929
Aigeon, Mt 1177
See also Aigaion, Mt
Aigis
Cult: Zeus 1107 f.
— coins of 1107 colossal head of Zeus from 1107 f.
Aigeus
Myths: leaves sword beneath rock at Troizen 484 suicide 1241
Type: witnesses birth of Erichthonios 166
Aigikoreis 1083
Aigina
Cults: Zeus 650 Zeus 'Εκλογος 1164 f.
Festivals: Amphiporites ('Αμφίπορης 603) 608 Hydrophoria 608 f.
Myth: contest of Poseidon with Zeus 751, coins of 1164 (?)
Aigina, d. of Asopos 1121 f.
Aigion
Cult: Eileithyia 663
Aigipan 620 (?)
Aigis, a monster slain by Athena 839
Aigos Potamos, coins of 8869 meteor of 885 f.
Aigyphtos
Genealogy: s. of Belos and twin-b. of Danaos 355 f. of fifty sons 355
Aimilius Paullus impressed by the statue of Zeus at Olympia 960
Aineias
Myth: rescued from Diomedes by Apollon 103
— phantom of 103
Ainesios
Cult: Hermes Περθέας 1137
Myth: Epiegos' statue of Hermes caught by fishermen in net 1137
Aiolic 106 114
Aiolia 161
Aiolos
Epithet: ἰπποχάρμης 109
Genealogy: f. of Aethlios 107 f. of Makedon 110
Function: wind 157
Etymology: 109
Identified with Aiolos Hippodates 109 f. 944
Aiolos Hippodates
Myth: 106 f. 975
Genealogy: six sons and six daughters 106 107
Functions: a dead chieftain 107 944 a
Aiolos Hippopotades (cont.)
sort of Zeus' 107 (?) cp. 944 keeper
or king of the winds 106 f. 944

Etymology: 107a
Identified with Aiolos eponym of
Aeolians 108 ff. 944
Compared with Amakleides (Amal-
keides), Protokles, Protokreon 122a
Aiolos, Islands of, called Plotai 987

Aion
Cult: Alexandreia 913
Epithet: Άιων Αλεξάνδρου 913a
Rite: birth from Kore 913
Function: syncretistic deity combining
Chaldaean, Persian, Phoenician,
Egyptian, and Gnostic elements
914a
Attributes: horned lion 118a Hydra
1180 Kerberos 1180 two snakes 1180
Types: leonine head, four wings, four
arms, eye on chest, lion-heads on
belly and both knees, etc. 1180
naked child marked with five golden
crosses 913 916 f. phoenix with
radiate nimbus 9134 standing in
zodiacal ring carried by Atlas 1128
syncretistic 1180
Identified with Aionis 913a, Osiris 913a
philosophic laudation of 9134

Aisa
Genealogy: d. of Nyx 71a
Function: spinner 716
Associated with Poros 747a

Aischylos, date of
Akrasias See Aegina
date of 634

Akephalos Theos 1127
Akephalos
Genealogy: twin-b. of Doias 1196 of
Oouranos 927
Function: servant of mountain-
mother 922
Etymology: 925
Identified with Kronos 927s Ouranos
927a

Akmoneia
Cult: Zeus 797
— coins of 794 1070

Aktaion
Type: Polygnotos 1067
Aktaion, f. of Aglauros 242a
Aktaios, f. of Agraulos 55b 242
Aktaion, f. of Aglauros 242a

Aktaion, f. of Aglauros 242a

Aktes 1083
Akhmim 884a
See Chemmis

Ak Kilisse
Cult: (Zeus) Πολεύς 1140 (?)

Akhmon
Genealogy: twin-b. of Doias 1196 of
Ouranos 927
Function: servant of mountain-
mother 922
Etymology: 925
Identified with Kronos 927s Ouranos
927a

Alban Mt
Cult: Jupiter Latiaris 492

Acolmene 517 See also Akmene

Alexander the Great
Personates Zeus 540
Types: leonine 957b Lyssippos 957b
thick neck, upward glance, leonine
hair 540a wearing aigis as chlamys
540a
In relation to Zeus Α'μμον 1078 f.
(bibliography)
— coins of 220 consults oracular trees
of Sun and Moon in Prasiake 420a
huris spear at Troad 752a reverts to
pre-Pheidiac type of seated Zeus
1155 f. sacrifices to Liber Pater
in Thrace 1118

Alexandria
Cult: Aion 913 Dometer 990 ff.
Isis 346 Kore 913 Osiris 346 ff.
Serapis 553a Zeus Νεμειος 1191

Rites: birth of Aion 913 γ το το καλάθου
πρόφασος 990
— coins of 346 ff. 904, 913, 991 f.
1045 1111 f. 1191 Koreion at 913
Serapion at 553a
Alexandros

Myth: Helene 78

Ali, Abbas 1168 ff.

Aliphera

Cult: Asklepios 126, Athena 126, Zeus Άλπερας 98, 127

Alipheros, eponym 126

Alkman brings kalathiskos-dance from Sardeis to Sparta 1008 (?)

Amageia, s. of Aerias 646

Amaleia, d. of Hera, born in cave at mouth of 1032, Nymphs of 1032

Amon

Cult: Oxyrhynchos 1076

Myth: hides Dionysos 126 (?)

Genealogy: f. of Dionysos by Amaltheia 126 (?)

Identified with Zeus 945

Ammon

Cult: Amaltheia the goat

Myth: entrusts infant Zeus to her goat 898

Genealogy: m. of Dionysos by Ammon 126 (?)

Ammos in Kypros

Cult: Jupiter Hospe (Zeus Ζήνος) 653, Zeus Αμμίθος 1187

Rite: human sacrifice to Jupiter Hospe (Zeus Ζήνος) 653

Myth: Ceresce 653, — scarab from 507

Ammus, s. of Aërias 646

Ambrosia the nymph, attacked by Lykourgos, is transformed into vine 1111 f. gives bowl to Ganymedes (?)

Amorceus 978 ff.

An

Cult: Napa 882, Thbes in Egypt 882

Function: sky-god 882

Types: aniconic 882, enthroned bundle representing dead man in sitting posture 1077 meteorite (?)

Omphalos 882

Identified with Baal-hammán 1076

Compared with Jehovah 884

Åmen-Râ (cont.)

Identified with Zeus 882, 945

In relation to Min 885, the other ram-gods Heryshef, Khnum, and the Lord of Monde 885

Ammon

Cult: Oxyrhynchos 1076

Myth: hides Dionysos 126 (?)

Genealogy: f. of Dionysos by Amaltheia 126 (?)

Identified with Zeus 945

Ammonion 882, 1076 See Oasis of Siwah

Amnissos, Artemis bastes in 1032

— Eileithyia, d. of Hera, born in cave at mouth of 1032, Nymphs of 1032

Amon 882, 1076 See Åmen

Amphiareion near Orussos, excavations at 1181

Amphion

Amphion and Zethos (bibliography) 1135

Amphipolis, coins of 856

Amphitrite

Epithet: Uotreidiavla. 1047

Function: fountain-nymph 357

Amphitryon

Myth: Alkmene 506 ff.

Genealogy: f. of Iphikles by Alkmene 126 (?)

Amyklai

Cult: Apollo 1100 f.

— throne of Apollo at 220 631, 1109 f.

Amyklion, relief from 1008

Amykos 145

Amymone

Myths: Satyr 356 Poseidon 361 369

Function: fountain-nymph 357

Amynandridai 771

Anagryous See Vari

Anahita

Cult: Persia 916

Function: fountain-nymph 357

Ananke, spindle of 1116

Anarke

Cult: Athens 120

Pries: Anaktotelészai 1068

Anax, spindle of 1116

Anasphe

Cult: Apollo 1100 f.

Function: fountain-nymph 357

Anaximandros 949

Anaximander 949

Anaximenes 157 Phaleron 158

Epithets: Ἐφοιτητι 157 f. κατὰ πρόφανην

Genealogy: 158
Persons Places Festivals 1205

Androst, Isaac hymn from 986
Anechoi
Cult: Tarentum 105f.
See also Venti
Anemokoita 104
Anesitakara 302f.
Anassos 3280 f.
Angeia, folk-tale from 1070
Anoumis
Cults: Delos 154 f. Egypt 480
— oath by (?) 480
Antiochus challenges strangers to wrestling-bout 1764; keeps in touch with mother-earth 1714, grave of, at Tingis
Antitheths 464; myth of, influenced by that of Kykno 440 (?)
Anhedon
Cult: Zeus Maixon 1187
Anhsteia 430f
Antiouscheia
Cult: Zeus T'now 562
Antiochena on the Orontes
Cult: Zeus Sychor 22
Rite: syrarch of Olympic games
personates Zeus 562
— bibliography of 1191 chalice from 972
Antiochos i of Kommagene
Epithets: Tovke Artos of Epharous 951
Personates: Zeus 'Ouranodos 951 (?)
Antiope
Myth: consorts with Zeus 467 469 616
Type: pendant to Dnese 469
Antipas, St 1102
Antiphilos, the painter 627f
Antinonnus Pius
Personates: Zeus 1130
Aonias 531
Aos 512 See also Heos (Eos)
Apameia in Phrygia
Cult: Poseidon 22
Festival: Kibotoi 530 (?)
— coins of 2904 528 f. 580 named Kibotoi 530
Apelotes 130
Apelles 297
Aposes, Mt
Cults: Zeus 'Aspovtnos 1165 Zeus
'Agrodes 1165
Aphrodias in Karia
Cult: Zeus Hapriophor (= Augustus) 1191
— coins of 1148
Aphrodiasia in Kilikia, coins of 763 (?)
Aphrodithe
Cults: Argos 320f Askalon 154 Athens
1706 1707 272 725 f. 726 Athemna or Athmnon 55 Mt Eryx 172 f.
Gaza 550 Louis 269f Cape Kolias 172 Megalopolis 567f Paphos 238f
1112 1134 Samos 66f Saracens 915f
Sparta 729f Thessaly 271 (?)
Epithets: Tovke Artos 297 f. 'Elyei 66f
en Kalamos 66f en Kepos 165 168
Aphrodithe (cont.)
1691 171 174 722 726 'Erkhos 722f
'Erkhos 175 f. kalos 1073 Kypia
2694 Mavhaiviter 567f Ophros 56 162
1683f 1710 723 Paphos 56g 1134
Xaiap (Xaap) 915f 915a 917f
Rite: sacrifice of heifer 171f
Priestesses: lepboimous 1770
Personated by woman on ladder (?) 1118
Myth: springs from seed of Ouranos
274 springs from seed of Zeus 274
is borne by dolphin to Kypros 274
plants pomegranate in Kypros 817
sleeps with Hephaistos 172 transforms Melos the Delian into mpmf
and Pellas into Xaves 817
Genealogy: eldest of the Moirai 1710
m. of Eryx by Boutas or by Poseidon
1780
Functions: mountain-mother 1770
unites Sky with Earth 438 morning
down 172 vegetation 1755
Festival: 274 275 276f
Attributes: bud 1060 dove 1136
1057 doves 1112 flower 1060 mirror
940
Types: acrolithic xoson 567f Alka-
mones 1710 (?) 7282 Capusa 173
Cnidian 970 cone 66a, crouching
561 f. Ides 567f. Dionysian 471
draped and veiled 681 draped and
flanked by two hovering Erotes 1018
draped and flanked by two winged
female figures (Nikai?) 1016 ff.
drawn by sparrows 831 drawn by
swans 831 Frexus 1717 1735 (?) herm
174 1722 holding pomegranate 818 (?)
in archaic relief's of the Twelve
Gods 1055 ff. leaning on archaistic
effigy of herself 1710 leaning on
pillar with tree in background 1714
Melian 1710 nude 834 nude goddess
flanked by two Sirens 1016 nude
goddess pressing her breast with
doves or doves flying about her 1016
Pheidias 699 698 riding on goat
831 rising from sea 957 f.
semi-draped 689 standing with dove on
finger 689 drawn by Eros at her shoulder
1022 with uplifted sandal 1020
stepping on to boat 1994
Identified with Astarte 1770 (?)
Associated with Ares 681 Eros 1700
700 (?) 704 725 f. 726 Eryx 176f
Poseidon 675f 699 f.
Compared with xoik 7472
In relation to Astarte 275f (s) 276f coot
53 f. dove 275f (?) Moirai 722
— meadow 1624
Aphros, father of Aphrodis
Genealogy: f. of Aphrodithe by Astynome
276 f. s. of Kronos by Philyra 276f
Apidanos 365
Apis
Types: bovine bust with solar disk
Apollon (cont.)

between horns and lunar crescent
round neck 1082 double bust (with
Isis) 1192

Apollonios of Tyana greets Pheidias’
Apolloniastai 155

Dionysos of Campi, coins of 856

Athena 725 Bulla Regia 863 Chemyb
983 Delos 119 984 f. Dreros 1087
Ephesos 1174 Gaza 553 Gryneion
100 Hylba 1029 Hyperboreoi 106
Karthaia 262A Kaulonia 830 Kiaros
100 Korkyra 1120 Leukas 137
Miletos 474 Petraiaus 1083 Selinous
614T Teneae 1146 Thesae in
Boiotia 574 880 Theopis 1070 Vari
261 265

Epithet: 'Αργεύς 267 77

Anneclαtα 570 Παλαίος (?) 880

Δελφύνιος 1087 Εμφαλλος ( ‘Εμφα-
φάλος) 324 Eros 261 Ευφάνας 507
889 Κάρμας 926 Καιρός 1079
Διαφάς 1047 Αισχάτη 1574 Άλοις
355 Ναιαδός 100 (?) Ναος 265 297
διομεγής 630 διόμοι 630 Πηδαίος (?)
1120 Πειθός 725 Σκυράντης 413 (?)

Φαλος (= Φάλας) 474 Χαλάς 880

Orculas: Dolphi 100I Gryneion 100
Kiaros 100

Rite: sacrifice of asses 106

Priestess: the Pythia 100 (?) 1122

Myths: is born in Delos 984 f. is hidden
by Leto in Chemyb 983 f. bears
aigis of Zeus 314w wears aigis 866
wraps aigis round Hektor 866
receses Aion from Dionomae 105
steals Delphie tripod 792 visits
Lesbian oracle of Orpheus 99 ff.
woos Theitis 742 Branches 474o
Kroisos 519 f.

Genealogy: s. of Zeus by Leto, and b.
of Artemis 744 (e) s. of Dionysos by
Isis, s. b. of Artemis 994 f. of
Kydon by Akakallis d. of Minos
414 f. of Miletos by Akakallis d. of
Minos 414

Functions: hail 880 sun 120a 726f
welfare 630q

Etymology: 1135 (?) 1186

Attributes: apple (?) 1186 bay-branch
99 hay-wreath 99 bow and arrow
675 hawk 1073 kithara and plēktron
683 684 swan 757f

Types: square pillar inscribed KAPN-
BIOΣ 996 first wooden statues 119
holding double axe 1146 nude, arcaic,
advancing to right with
filleted bay-branch and strung bow
1164 with Charites in right hand

Apollon (cont.)

1124 with hawk on head 46 Kassel
1155 Pheidias (?) 1155 kitharoides
707 ff. 725 contest with Marmyas
659, 710 slaying Niobids 955 riding
on swan 831 1136 in car drawn by
swans 880 f. in archaistic reliefs of
the Twelve Gods 1055 ff.

Identified with Aristaios 367 f. Horos
994

Associated with Artemis 707 958 Zeus
Brotoς 1100 f. Zeus Πηρός 1174

Compared with meteor 885

Superedes Dionysos 1125

— provenance of 1135 1137

Apollonia ad Rhynacenum, coins of 856

Apolionista 155

Apolionios of Tyana greets Pheidias’
statue of Zeus at Olympia 961

Apulia

Myth: Daunus 384

Apul 88q

Apulum

Cult: Jupiter Optimus Bussu-
marus 1140

Jupiter Optimus Maximus Bussu-
marus 1140

Aqua Albanis 1013

Aqua Comata, floating island in 1012 f.

f. sacred to Victory ( ‘Pac, Vacuna) 1012

Aqua Salsulae, floating island in 1015

Aqua Sulis

Cults: Luna 863, Sol 863, Sulis 858 ff.

—— bronze head from 862 large pedi-
mental relief from 802 ff. smaller
pedimental relief from 863 sometimes
called Aqua Sulis 863

Aquileia in Venetia, mosaic from 627

Aquilo 1062

Arabia

Cults: Arsu 1163 Hobal 384 Manaf
1163 Morning Star 615

Myth: Kalifla and Dinna 405

Arschova 335

Arados

Cult: Dagon 1264

— coins of 159

Aramides

Cult: Illyria (?) 1184

Arae, Mt 530, 531

Aratos, the exordium of 947 953 f. 974
quoted by St Paul 954

Arcaean League, coins of 175

Arcadian called περιφερειας 813

— claim to have seen Zeus shake the
aigis 814

Archelaos of Priene 37 1070

Archilechos on rights and wrongs of
animals 949

Areia

Cults: Macedon 1234 Paprennis 3444

Epithet: Θεόδωρος (?) or Θεοδος 252

Genealogy: s. of Zeus 3443 s. of Zeus
by Hera, and b. of Hebe and
Aristaios (cont.)

Genealogy: s. of Apollon by Kyrene and f. of Aktaion 266 f. of Charmos and Kalikarpos 270

Functions: culture-hero 266 f. king embodying sky-god 269

Type: Zeus-like head 270 f.

Identified with Apollo Agrios and Naiad 267 f. Zeus 270 Zeus Aristaios 267 f.

Aristoteles, false reading for Aristokles (?) 1043 f.

Arktos 492 f.

Arkadia

Cults: Aristaios 268 Zeus Ascalus 525

Rite: priest of Zeus Ascalus makes rain by stirring the spring Hagno with oak-branch 315

Arkalechon Cave near Lyktoos, perhaps the famous cave of Zeus and Rhea 1143

1143 treasure from 1143

Arkesias, the sculptor 1022

Arkeses, coins of 820

Armenia

Cult: Astik 293 f.

Festival: Vartevart 293

Rite: pigeons set free 293

Armenios 946

Arnochis 293 f. 322

Aphrodite 293 f. 322


Aristaios, false reading for Aristokles (?) 1043 f.

Aristoteles, false reading for Aristokles 1043 f.

Aristotle 293 f.

Aristotle 492 f.

Arkadia

Cults: Aristaios 268 Zeus Ascalus 525

Rite: priest of Zeus Ascalus makes rain by stirring the spring Hagno with oak-branch 315

Arkalechon Cave near Lyktoos, perhaps the famous cave of Zeus and Rhea 1143

Aristaios, false reading for Aristokles 1043 f.

Aristele 293 f.

Aristotle 492 f.

Arkadia

Cults: Aristaios 268 Zeus Ascalus 525

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Aristaios, false reading for Aristokles 1043 f.

Aristotle 492 f.

Arkadia

Cults: Aristaios 268 Zeus Ascalus 525

Rite: priest of Zeus Ascalus makes rain by stirring the spring Hagno with oak-branch 315

Aristaios, false reading for Aristokles 1043 f.

Aristotle 492 f.
Index I

Artemis (cont.)

Types: cult-statue with veil 899 (a.f.)
Endoios 956 hastening to greet the
new-born Athena (?) 710; 'Colonna'
710 f. riding horned doe 831 slaying
Nioebes 955 standing with wheel-
torch and bow 986, in archaischic
reliefs of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff.

Identified with Bendis 189, 233;
Boutbaetis 984 Diktynna 189, Oupis
189;
Associated with Apollo 707 958

In relation to stages 1134

Superseded by St John the Evangelist
986

— birthday of 178, fawns of 1064,
two images of, on coin of Aspendos
899 (a.f.)

Artemision, bronze statue fished up from
sea off 1151 f.

Ascension Day 1193

Aris

Etymology: 1107

Aries, nephew or brother of Atys 1107

Ariste, 'Mycenaean' finds at 1192

Ariste. Cult: Euyuk 1106 f.

Arkalon

Cult: Aphrodithe of Asia 154

Asklepios

Cults: Aliphera 126, Athens 775
Epidauros 1182 Inkön in Phrygia
1146 Nikaa in Bithynia 1182 Pau-
taiai 1182 Sparta 1060;
Epithet: 'Aphrta 1080;

Metamorphosed into snake 1182

Etymology: 1182 (a.f.)

Type: holding serpent-staff and borne

through air by winged and bearded
snake 1182

Aspalis 983

Aspasia

Epithet: 'Apyei 1080

Personates Hera 329 664

Aspendos, coin of 899 (a.f.)

Asps ev 'Apyei 365 f.

Assteas 611 f.

Assyria, demons of, influence Etruscan
conception of Charon 1143

Assyrioi (= Syrioi)

Cult: dove 1108

Asteroth, kites of (?) 918 f.

Astarte

Cults: Deilos 152 (a.f.) Sidon 1023

Tyre 892 f.

Epithet: Halaeorion 152 f. 153 f.

Myth: finds fallen star 892 f.

Functions: moon 892, the planet Venus
892;

Type: nude goddess 834

Identified with Aphrodithe 177 (a.f.)

In relation to Aphrodithe 276 (a.f.)

Asteria, name of Delos 984 f.

Asterie, Titaness

Myth: Zeus 984 f.

Metamorphosed into quail 985 stone 985

Asterion 619, 628;

Asteropos 1067

Astasyros, Mt, in Rhodes

Cult: Zeus 'Aphros 1172

— excavations on 1172 See also

Atabyros, Mt

Atabyros, Mt, in Rhodes, geology of 986

See also Atabyrion, Mt

Atargatis

Cult: Heliopolis in Syria 1095

Nabatai 1097 Palmyra 1093

Attribute: lions (?) 1096

Types: bust with fish-scales (?) on face

and chest 1097 bust with two fishes

as head-dress 1097

Athanas

Myth: Nephele 73 f.

Athanasias 608;

Athanasios, St 1187

Athena

Cults: Aliphera 126, Argos 729, 785,
Athens 749 f. 827, 859 Aseau 134;
Boiotia 608 820, Corinth 1092
Crete 134 (?) Eile 324 f. Enosa 888
Hephaistia in Lemnos 216, Lion 285;
Korone 782 Kos 566, Mt Kynthos
1172 Lakonike 776 Libye 129, 839
Marathon 1092 Megalopolis 567 f.
Megara 782 f. Olympia 987 Oxyl-
rychoitei nome 190 Eile 659
1196 Pasages 226 Pella 869
Persamon 794 872 Plateiai 778;
Rhodes 356 Salamis in Kypres 653;
Sparta 111 661 Syracuse 860;
Tanagra 567 Tegae 1141 Thespiae
1066 Thessala 608 871 Troy 193;

Epithets: 'Avlauvta 1776 'Aphros 240;
244 Ath. 608 825 f. 795 'Avlauvta
776 'Aphros (not

'Aphros') 989 'Adnc 775 'Aphros
987 Kalavryta 608 659 Bovia
dias 608 686 λαυκών 934 (a.f.)
2013 781 834 844 'Aphros 834
(See Panagia Epithets) 'Aphros 189;

γραφή 844 δρακά 776, δύναμις
νος 307, 'Aphros 662, 'Aphros
1012 'Aphros 191, 795 877 κύδων
768 (?) 'Ωρωτία 567; 'Φρασία
216 213 1047, βήγανδρι δίων αἰγοχώ
866; 'Ισχυρά 186 'Ιπωτία 829, 871;

Kórra 608, κόρη Δίων αἰγοχώ 866;

Κοινά 117 'Ιπωτία 829, 871;

Kórra 608, κόρη Δίων αἰγοχώ 866;

κοίνα 117 'Απελώσ 355 'Αρκαδία
566 'Αρκαδία 567 'Ζήλη 225, 749
535 'Αρκαδία 792, Νάξος 611 839
'Ωρωτία 794 θυρακά 738
Ωβάντλα 1847 (?) 'Ομολογεία
(At Thesproti in Boiotia) 608 'Ομολογεία
781 Pala. 2013 579 743 Πάνθρωπος 246
Pareia 776 Parèthos 578 749 823
1156 Πανδής 213 244 574 614 721
749 758 772 813 Πάνθρωπος 771
Athena (cont.)

**Persons**

- **Attributes:** aigis, chariot, olive-tree, pottery, arts and crafts.
- **Functions:** goddess of the Akropolis at Athens.
- **Birth:** from head of Zeus, birth beside river Triton, birth in Crete from cloud cleft by Zeus, birth at Athens.
- **Attributes:** olive-tree as symbol, helmeted head, human helmeted head, owl, hawk, double axe, infernal snake as symbol, winged horse, snake in basket, gull, infant on her arm.

**Festivals:**

- **Panathenaia:** 720 ff. contest with Poseidon about Athens.
- **Plynteria:** 720 ff. contest with Poseidon about Trozen.
- **Palladion:** 1006 ff. grouped with Twelve Gods.

**Myth:**

- **Birth:** from head of Zeus.
- **Temple:** at Akropolis.
- **Image:** in Peisistratic Hekatompedon.

**Genealogy:**

- **D. of Bronteas:** 60 (d.) of Poseidon by lake Triton.
- **D. of Poseidon:** by lake Triton, adopted by Zeus.

**Persons Places Festivals**

1209
Athens (cont.)

instead of pillar 763, Phœdias 933
(Seealso: Bronze Athens, Landsdowne relief, ‘Lenmia’, Lenormant, Parthenos, Varvakion) pigeon 781 pursued by Hephaistos 230 f. rising from head of Zeus 612 669 673 ff. 688 seated and weaponless 574, seated beside Hephaistos 205 seated beside olive 763, seated beside Zeus 1049, with philtâ, helmet, spear, and snake 614 seated with pomegranate in right hand and helmet in left 811 ff. setting foot on chariots 807, seats 770 (7) standing before Zeus 663 668 ff. standing beside olive 763 standing on knees of Zeus 663 681 ff. standing to left with owl in right hand and spear in left 827 standing to right with owl in left hand and philtâ in right 827 standing to right with owl in right hand and spear in left 830 standing with lance at rest 573 swallow 782 Varvakion 773, 887, 858 vulture 781 wearing helmet with features of Sokrates, Silenos, etc. 804 winged 886 232, 785 604 ff. winged and standing en face between two owls 822 winged and standing to left with brandished thunderbolt and outsretched aigis 820 671 winged and armed on Graeco-Roman gems 822 winged and flying to left with helmet, spear, and shield 821 winged and standing en face between two owls 822 winged and standing to left with owl on head 46 crowns the king’s name with raised right hand and holds shield and spear with left 820 f. winged and standing to left crowns the king’s name with raised right hand and holds shield with lowered right 820 winged and wingless on same vase 820 611 with cock on helmet 604, 671 winged and pomegranate eyes 510 with owl on head 46

Identified with Basileia 60, 616 Gorgon 189

Assimilated to Aphrodite 225

Associated with Hephaistos 200 ff. 736 Herakles 958 Zeus 872 f. Zeus Maxevel 569

Compared with Cretan snake-goddess 189 f. 225 f. meteor 885

In relation to Erechtheus 190 758 Gorgon 836 Nike 811 olive-tree 765 f. owl 781 784 790 791 snake 770

Superseded Demeter 607 f. Ge 188

Superseded by Panagia Γυγογνηκός 189

— birthday of 719 f. five Athenas 842, honoured by Peisistratos and his successors 188, motherhood of, passes into maidenhood 224

Athene, early name of Athens 224 748

Index I

Athena

Cults: Αγνωστος θεος 1162 Anaktês

120 Androgeos 157 Aphrodite 725 f.

Aphrodite in Κήφων 165 168 726

Aphrodite Θησεια 171 192 Apollon

Πειθεις 725 Artemis Καλλιτριξ 1181

Asklepios 775 Athena Ασκληπεις 827, Athena Νικη 811 ff. 819

Athena Πολία 244 573, 614 721 749

758 Athena Τύχεις 775 859, Basilé or Basilie 60, 616 Blaude 177, Eros and Aphrodite 170, Demeter 990 f.

Demeter Xiphos 177 Dionysos 604

Epheseidai Ἐλιδος 574 Eleishthia

588, Eros 725 f. Eumenides 189

Ge Θυμος 168 Ge Καραφόρεος 242

601 Ge Κευραστόρος 177, 244 Ge

Λεμνηα 160, Hephaistos 211 ff.

226 f. 721, Hera 663 725 Hermes 725

Hermes Χόνων 604 Hieros o ἦτοι θεός 177, Isis 304, Klepsos 772, Kronos and Rhe 189 f. Men 308 f.

Meter 67, Moinar 721 Nike Απετρος 811 Nymphs 308 f. Pan 308 f.

Panagia Γυγογνηκός 189, 588

Pandrosos 243 f. Poseidon 721

Poseidon Τανθός 114, Poseidon Εμένηδας 596, Poseidon Τριπατορος 113 ff.

Zeus 1196 Zeus Ελευθέρος 212, 1186 Zeus Έρωτας 243

749 Zeus Ιπαίως 1047 Zeus Κάρως 659, Zeus Μοραγένης 721, Zeus Ωλθηκαος 604, Zeus Πάνθηρας 112

Zeus Πολεμις 317 570 ff. 720 f. Zeus Στριγη 575 1184 Zeus Τριαντάς 954

Zeus εἰρηνας 244 1047 Zeus Ευραθμος 243

Festivals: Anthesteria 430, Aphrardphia

165 ff. Ballets 612, 1104 Bouphonia

(See Rites: Βούφωνα) Choes 1105

Chytrôs 604, Deiphronphoria 241, 246, Díasia 1194, Diisoteria 575, Diphoria 317, 574 ff. 656 f. Genesia 1105


Rites: Απόστος Βούθυνος 606 Βούφωνα

570 576 ff. 673 bridal bath from Kallirrhoë (Κηννακρουνος) 370 f. bull-carrying 1091 communion of worshippers devouring sacred flesh 606 ἐν ὀξύματοι φέροντας καλάθων (v.l. κάλαθων) εἰς τιμή τῷ Δήμητρος 990 f. pitchers placed over tombs of the unmarried 372 sacrifice of pig to Zeus Héraulos 1047 women celebrating Thesmophobia called μέλη

1083 women celebrating Thesmophobia lies on bed of willows 103

Priestesses: 'Ερηφόρος 166, 261 Ουριδής

749

Myths: birth of Athena 720 Bouvyges
Athens (cont.)

606 ff. contest of Poseidon with Athena 760 ff.

In relation to Megara 783

— Acolerti on 242. Asklepieon at 773 1189 Boutuon on 507 bronze double axe with incised man, water-fowl, horse, and wheel found near 1145 f. Christianised Parthenon at 588 sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite at 170 coins of 187 f. 750 ff. 755 f. 775 ff. 794 801 (?) 812 827 830 853 871 897 f. 1194 court at 609 Atos

{rj}os at 600 Dictaterion at 576 Enneakrounos at 370 Erechtheion at 213 ff. 223 701 Kallirrhois at 370 Kekropion at 771 Nike-balustrade at 706 Nike-bastion at 813 Nike-temple (eastern frieze) at 760 olive-tree on the Akropolis at 187 f. Olympieion at 725 Pandroseion at 243 260 749 ff. 768 f. Hephaesteion at 213 ff. 223 701 Nike-balustrade at 706 819 Nike-bastion at 813 1196 Nike-temple (eastern frieze) at 581 olives

As an art institute 748 f. 755 f. 775 779 788 f. 794 801 (?) 812 827 830 853 871 897 f. 1194 court at 609 Atos

Athena

Cult: Zeus 1196 Zeus Tērōs 319, 563

Athena

Cult: 

— Epithets: Θήρα Ζέας 874 ηλιοπορίας στρέφειν έμφυτός 300

— Function: rain 874

— Etymology: 962

— Attributes: pomegranates 815

— Types: recumbent 1128 triumphant 1127 f.

— Associated with Agdistis 1192 Kybele 1174 Kybele and Zeus 1174

— In relation to Christianity 962 Kybele 952 as doublet of Agdistis 1174 as pig (?) 874

— Atys

— Cult: Smyrna 22

— Genealogy: uncle or brother of Asias 1107

— Auge 923 923

Augustus

Cult: 

— Epithets: Αμμαρίου 1163 Αφροδίσιος in Karia 1191 Dorylaeion 1191 Perigammon 1191

— Epithets: έν ούρον πονοσ θεος Σεβαστός = δίων Αὔγουστος 1163

— Priests: άγχυρετος 1163 1191 perpetuum sacrorum 1163

— Personates Zeus Παρηγός 1125 1191

— complete dedication of, reached through three stages (hero, demigod, god) 1181

— Anlus, head of, dug up on Capitol 441 A7025

— Auramazda 1112

— Aurelian, solar monotheism of 945 cp. 907

— Aurora 73

— Aurva 9511

— Avenches See Aventicum

— Aventicum, bronze statuette from 827

— Axieros 1070 1128 f.

— Axiokersa 1070 1128

— Axiokersos 1070 1128 f.

— Ba'al (Baal, Bel)

— Cults: Palmyra 1158 Ras Shamra 1156

— Function: cosmic power 1159

— Type: brandishes club in right hand and holds stylised thunderbolt in left 1158

— Associated with Iaribol and Aglibol 1158 f.

— Ba'albek See Heliopolis in Syria

— Ba'al-ḥammān

— Identified with Amon 1076 Zeus 945

— Ba'al-šamin

— Identified with Zeus 945 1095

— solar eagle of 982
Ba'al Zaphon
Identified with Zeus Káoos in Syria and Egypt 1177

Babylonia
Cult: 'Breakers of Heaven and Earth' 483 'the fettered god' 483 484 7
Iskun 889
Myth: tree of life and tree of the gate of heaven 1136

Bacis, the bull of Hermonthis, bibliography of 1092 See also Bakha, Bouchis

Baganda, kings of, have lion as totem 957

Bakchos
Cult: Halikarnassos 558
Epithet: OÝpiKds 558 560
Function: rain 558

Bakhtis 483 484 See Bacis, Bouchis

Baki(s)
Cult: Lydia 1082

Baktriane, coins of 532 ff. 540 871 f.

Balletys 612 See also Bakha, Bouchis

Balor 933

Bartasar 338 See Also Boso, Bousina

Bath See Aquae Sulis

Bathykles 220 f.

Bau, Palmyrene form of Bel 1159

Bauging, s. of Ouranos by Ge 897 891

Belos
Genealogy: f. of Danaos 363
Function: sky-god 369

Belus (?) 1159

Benacus, Lake, floating island in 1014 f.

Benda
Cult: Philippoi Thrace 189

Benedict, St 334

Beni Hasan, mimetic dances from tomb at 998

Beres
Function: apotropaic 847
Types: female 847 full-face 847 musician 1001 pygmy with wrinkled forehead and nose, broad face, and hanging tongue 847

Bennu See Baalat

Bepha See Baalat

Bephe Clocks 1104 f.

Bepheus 154 See also Bephe

Bepheus See Bephe

Beuleng, St 472

Baros See Embaros

Basileia
Cult: Athens 608 f.
Function: 'Queen of Heaven, or of Underworld (?) 609

Basilica
Identified with Dionysos 1092

Baktriane, coins of 532 ff. 540 871 f.

Balletys 612 See also Bakha, Bouchis

Balor 933

Barbara, St 472

Baris See Embaros

Basileia
Cult: Athens 608 f.
Function: 'Queen of Heaven, or of Underworld (?) 609

Basileia as Athanasia (?) 609 f.

Basileia as personification of Eoyalty (?) 609

Basileia as d. of Zeus (?) 609

Basileia as d. of Ouranos by Titaia (Ge) and st. of Ehea (Pandora), who brought up the Titans, was called MegaleMeter, and became by her b. Hyperion the m. of Helios and Selene (?) 609

Baska
Rites: corrida 1090 Toro de Fuego 1090

Bath See Aquae Sulis

Bathylies 220 f.

Baubo
Type: seated on pig 1119

Begov (?) 434

Beisan See Beth-Shan

Bektashi order still worships Zeus on Mt Tomori near Berat 1170 f.

Bejar 335

Bellator Ponentes 419

Dellon
Cult: Rome 1142

Epithet: Pulvinensis 1142

Priest: costophorus 1142

Bela See Baalat

Benghazi
Cult: 'Praying Boy' on shore of 149 f.

Bosporos
Cults: Twelve Gods 147 f.

Bojan 593

Bojana 1094

Boi, Palmyrene form of Bel 1159

Bononia in Bulgaria
Cult: Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus 1098

Boótes 491

Boreas 150 160 See also Boreas

Boreas, St 129

Borras 335 See also Borreus

Borysthenes 655 (?)

Borysthenes 135 140

Bosporos
Cults: Twelve Gods 147 f.

Boi, Palmyrene form of Bel 1159

Bononia in Bulgaria
Cult: Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus 1098

Boótes 491

Boreas 150 160 See also Boreas

Boreas, St 129

Borras 335 See also Boreas

Borysthenes 655 (?)

Borysthenes 135 140

Bosporos
Cults: Twelve Gods 147 f.

Boi, Palmyrene form of Bel 1159

Bononia in Bulgaria
Cult: Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus 1098

Boótes 491

Boreas 150 160 See also Boreas

Boreas, St 129

Borras 335 See also Boreas

Borysthenes 655 (?)

Borysthenes 135 140

Bosporos
Cults: Twelve Gods 147 f.
Bostra

Cults: Zeus Ἀμυνός 912, Zeus Ἑρωδός 912
— carved lintel of temple near 909 coins of 908 912

Boubaestis

Identified with Artemis 984

Boubaetos

Cult: Smyrna 1156

Bonchis 1082 See Bacis, Bakha

Boupalos 969

Bouphonia 570 576 ff. 873

Boura 21 f. 1118

Bourina 363 ff.

Bousiris, king of Egypt, sacrifices strangers to Zeus 653

Boutas 176

Boutes 589

Boutes, ancestor of Eteoboutadai

Cult: Erechtheion 758

Priest: lepfc 213

Boutike Limne, floating island in 983

Bouto (Boutos, Boutoi) in Egypt

Cult: Leto 983

Bouto, the goddess (earlier Udó)

Identified with Leto 984

Boutypoi, family of clan Kerykes 585 589 597 603

Bouzygai 608 ff. furnish priest of Zeus Teleios, priest of Zeus & Παλλαδία, and priestess of Athene (πη Παλλαδία?) 609 keep sacred oxen at Eleusis 610

Bouzyges, eponym of Bouzygai 608 first to plough with yoke of oxen 606 f. identified with Epimenides 610 plough of 606

Boxing Day 530

Bracchamos 107

Branchos 474

Briareo 120

Briareus 9

Briga 1117

Brizma

Epithets: πώρα 300(1) 918, Ἀργυρός 40

Brimos 300(1) 301 913

Brissai

Myth: taught Aristaios 266

Britomartis

Cult: Gaza 550

Genealogy: d. of Zeus by Hekate (?) 544

Etymology: 550

Associated with Marnas 550

Bronteas 60(4)

Brontes 120

Drundisium

Etymology: 1115

Buddha

Myth: birth from side of Māyā 97(4) fight with Mara 1087

Buenos Aires 160

Bulgaria

Cults: three-headed rider-god with epithets Κόρας θεός and θεως

Bulgaria (cont.)

Πανάγιος (or Πάναγιος) 1125

Zeus Δίωνος 1126

Bullet Regia

Cult: Apollon 825
— two statues of winged Minerva from 825

Byblos

Cult: Zeus Σωρός 1163
— excavation and restoration of temple at 1163

Byzantium, bull-headed furnace at 1102 coins of 1120

Caelenia 1045

Calamia 88 f.

Caligula attempts to bring statue of Zeus Olymipios to Rome 968 f. marries the Moon 1092 personates Helios 1092 personates Zeus 969,

Campania

Cult: Inno Feronia 1155 Jupiter Anxurus 1155

Cancer 589 1146

Canionula 266

Capitoline triad (Jupiter flanked by Inno and Minerva) 40 f. 904

Capua

Cult: Jupiter Obias Sabaenus 562
— Arretine skyphos from 903 coins of 408 mundus at 429 tomb-painting from 900 f.

Caracalla

Personates Zeus 976

Carados and the serpent 1124

Carchemish, Hittite god at 957/9

Carmel, Mt, as object of worship 1068

Carnuntum

Cults: Manaphus 1163 Theandrius 1163

Carthage

Cult: Hera 1045

Rite: sacrifice of children to Kronos by fire 613

Caucasus 286

Celtiberians

Cult: Epona 1179

Celts

Cults: Boussourigios 1140 Bussanus (Bussanarius) 1140 Danu 367 Epona 1179 Genius Oculillatus 553 Taranis (?) 1191

Myth: Tuatha Dé Danann 367
— traverse Europe in second millennium B.C. 367 enter Asia Minor in s. iii B.C. 367

Cerastae 630

Ceres 1124 f.

Ceres

Rite: sacrifice of a pregnant sow 23

Myth: consorts with Jupiter 452

Attributes: corn-wreath 1062(4f) torch 1062(4f)

Type: in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062(4f)
Ceres (cont.)
   Identified with earth 452
Cernunnos, rock-carving of, in Val Camonica 1147
Chaabo (?), 914
Chamaou
   Cult: Petra 914
   Genealogy: m. of Dousares 914 f.
Chamouna
   Rite: Boulion é̂̂̄ānο̂s 1031
   Myth: Kronos swallows stone 929
Chaldaeans
   Cult: fire 339f.
   Myth: outwitted by priest of Kanopos 929
Chalkis ad Belum (?)
   Cult: Helioseiros 1074
Chaos
   Etymology: 1179
   Identified with Poros 747
   — in Orphic theogony 1177 ff.
Charachmoba, coin of 908 f.
Charadros 361
Charis
   Cult: Varia 261
   Associated with Hephaisost 958
Charites
   Genealogy: daughters of Zeus 955
   daughters of Zeus by Eurynome 744f.
   cp. 1070
   Types: joining hands for dance 1057
   — naked 1070 three small females on hand of Apollon 1124
   In relation to Zeus 1057
Charon
   Epithet: 'Aξωνις (?) 997
   Attribute: hammer 997
   — conceived by Etruscans under Assyrian influence 1143 mallet or hammer of, produces chthonian thunder 1143 receives plate of pomegranates 815f. recent bibliography of 1143
Cheiron
   Myth: gives spear to Peles 209
Cheiris
cult: Apollon 983
Chepis
   Cult: Mn 884
Cheironis in Crete, coins of 1092
Cheironis Taurike, coins of 1146
Cheironis Thraikike
   Cult: Zeus 'Opios 1183
Chernobim 3241
Chios
   Cult: Dionysos 'Oμφας 599f.
   — inscribed block of red trachyte from 1183
Chips 624
   Chloia 178f.
   Choe 1105

Christ
   Epithets: η χάρος ημῶν 552
   Consilii Filia 747
   Functions: judge 972 law-giver 972
   teacher 972 timely storm of rain 326 552
   Types: as infant borne by St Christopher 1020 youthful and beardless 970 f. mature and bearded 970 f. bronze group at Kaisareia
   Panes 971 divine ruler 972 enthroned with globe as his footstool 948 seated on globe 948 974 shepherd-judge 972 threatening storm-god 973 in the likeness of Zeus 970 973 1196 influenced by preceding pagan types (the child Zeus or Dionysos? the Theoiak Zeus?) 973f. possibly influenced by other pagan types (Asklepios, Orpheus, Sarapis, etc.) 972f. 973
   Compared with Zeus Asterios 954
   — painted in the guise of Zeus 970 perhaps alludes to the Eleusinian mysteries 907f.
Christina, St 1013
Christmas 915
Christodoulos, St 986
Christopher, St
   Type: bearing infant Christ 1020
Chrysoor, twin-b. of Pegasos
   Genealogy: f. of Geryones 744f.
   Types: in the pediment from Corfu 844f.
   Chrysippus 725 1027f.
   Chyroi, the festival 604
Cicero comments on Pheidias' statue of Zeus at Olympia 960 f.
Circassians (Adighe)
   Type: as infant borne by the child Zeus or Dionysos? the Pheidiak Zeus? 972f. possibly influenced by other pagan types (Asklepios, Orpheus, Sarapis, etc.) 972f. 973f.
   Compared with Zeus Asterios 954
   — painted in the guise of Zeus 970 perhaps alludes to the Eleusinian mysteries 907f.
Claudia Quinta tows ship up the Tiber 895f.
Clusium, tomb of Porsenna at 956f.
Commodus
   Personates Horleus 1100 Jupiter 1100
   Zeus 370 Ziu 1100
   Constantin, St 1116f.
   Constantinople, church of St Sophia at 906f. conflagrations at 970f. House of Lausos at 969f. throne in the Magnaura at 957f.
Consualia 437
Conusus 101
Corfu, archaic pediment from 844f.
   Corinth
   Cults: Athena 'Ελληνις 1092 Zeus
   'Oμφας 526
   Myth: men sprung from mushrooms 478
   — coins of 1186
Persons Places Festivals

Corinthus 727
Coronas 483 f.
Corycian Cave
Cult: Zeus 651

Crete
Cults: Athena 126 (?), Diktynna 182
Helen 181, 180
Zeus 170, 182
Zeus Stratios 182, 412
Zeus Stratios 412
Rites: communion of worshippers devouing sacred flesh 606 ἵππος γάλας 1032, 1092
Myths: Aix, d. of Helios, hidden by Ge in a cave, where—tended by Amaltheia—she nurtures infant Zeus with her milk 839, 840, bull 1032, golden hound 1110 Iasion and Demeter 75 ff. infancy of Zeus 953 Zeus nursed by Meteres 225. In relation to Philistines 551—special virtues ascribed to foreigners from 592 tomb of Zeus in 1070 1173 tubular stands from 195 0.

Cucafa 505
Cuccagna 504 f.
Cuel 1025
Cyama and Qabala, the hell-hounds of Yama 1110 lasion and Demeter 75 ff. infancy of Zeus 953 Zeus nursed by Meteres 225. In relation to Philistines 551—special virtues ascribed to foreigners from 592 tomb of Zeus in 1070 1173 tubular stands from 195 0.

Da, an ancient name of the earth-mother 95
Daisan 1 See Danauna
‘Dagon
Cult: Arados 126
Dagon, that is Siton, s. of Ooranus by Ge 887
Daidalos
Attributes: adze 1111 double axe 1111 saw 1111 square 1111
Compared with Ikaros and Talos 1111
Daimon Milichios
Cult: Lebadein 1187
Attribute: snake 1187
Identified with Agathos Daimon (?) 1187
Dailicost, family of clan Kerykes 585 597 603
Daktylooi
Cults: Mt Ida in Crete 1033, Mt Ida in Phrygia 1033
Function: servants of mountain-mother 922
Etymology: 922 (?)
Type: three small male figures wreathed with flowers 1033
Daldis, coin of 899 5
Damateres
Cult: Rhodes 1124 f.
Rite: sacrifice of pregnant sheep 1124
Damis 612
Damicerion 920 f.
Dammannenus 922
C. III.

Damophon 567, 712 983 1108
Dan
Cult: Boiotia 736
Dan, the Hebrew tribe 364
Danai 361 See also Danaiades
Danaiades 364
Myths: sons Arsie 365 is imprisoned by Akrisios in bronze chamber 364 is visited by Zeus as a fall of golden rain 455 ff. 518 is sent adrift in a chest with Perses by Akrisios 455 is drawn ashore on Seriphos by Dikty s. of Peristhenes 455
Genealogy: d. of Akrisios 364 d. of Akrisios by Eurydike d. of Lake-daimon 455 m. of Perses by Zeus 455
Types: Nikias of Athens 460 463 on coin 471 on gems 469 ff. recumbent undraped 467 f. seated on couch 467 458 460 463 standing behind or in chest 458, 459 standing half-draped 465 f. Titian 466 f. Van Dyck 467
Compared with St Barbara 472, St Irene 472, the Virgin 467
In relation to Danaai, Danaides 476— as described by Simonides of Keos 471 f. as pendant to Antiope 469 as pendant to Leda 465 flanked by Antiope and Leda 467
Danaides 354 f.
Myths: escape from Egypt 355 touch at Rhodes 355 make Argos well-watered 361 f. say Aigyptiadai 356 bury heads of Aigyptiadai at Lerna 356 369 carry water to holed pithos in world below 369 f. 1193 f.
Genealogy: descended, through Epaphos, from Zeus 142
Type: emptying υδριαί into pithos 435
Compared with priests of Akanthos in Egypt 339 354 users of libation-funnels at Ras Shamra 1193
In relation to Danaoi 476 Orpheus 425
Danaoi
Etymology: 362 366
Identified with Danauna 354 360 362
In relation to Danaioid 434 f.
— tholos-tombs of 362 (?)
Danaos
Genealogy: s. of Belos 355 368 twin-b. of Aigypios 355 f. of fifty Danaides 354 f.
Danapis 366
Danastis 366
Danauna attack Rameses iii soon after 1200 n.c. 364 settle in Egypt 368 identified with Danaoi 354 360 363
Dánau 365
Dans 362
Dann 367

77
### Index I

#### Danube

See Danuvius

#### Danuvius

**Epithet:** νεφελόφορος 368\textsuperscript{a}

**Etymology:** 366

Daphne, near Antiocheia on the Orontes

**Festival:** Olympia 1191

Daphnephoria 880

Dardan

**Identified with** Polyarches 77\textsuperscript{a}

Danubius

**Etymology:** 366

Daphne, near Antiocheia on the Orontes

**Festival:** Olympia 1191

Daphnephoria 880

Dardanos

**Identified with** Polyarches 77\textsuperscript{a}

Das, an ancient name of the sky-father 95\textsuperscript{a}

Daunioi

**Etymology:** 364ff. 366

In relation to Danaoi 364 ff.

bury Aetolian envoys alive 365 (?)

Daunios 364?

Daunus 364 ff.

Dazimos 1189

Dazos 1189

Deioneus 72

Deipnophoria 241 246g

Delos

**Cults:**
- Anoubis 154 ff. Aphrodite Opavia 152, 153 ff. Apollon 119
- Zeus Opocrat 155 Kabeiroi 1172 Sarapis 184 f. Tritopator 1189
- Zeus "Týros 1162

**Festivals:**
- Euergesia 593 ff.
- Pataikeia 593 ff.
- Philetaireia 593 ff.
- Sopatreia 593 ff.

**Rites:**
- θαλαν-dance 1087 Labyrinth- dance 1087 Σαλαβρντηε 1087
- Σαλαβρντηε 1087
- Σαλαβρντηε 1087

**Myths:**
- birth of Apollon 984 ff.
- birth of Artemis 985 Hyperoche and Laodike 1172
- Opis and Arge 1172

**Etymology:** 985 (?)

altar of horns at 1087 1172 as a floating island 984 ff. called Asteria 984 f. Egyptian sanctuary in 154 f. formerly sacred to Poseidon and Doris 985 marble group of Aphrodite and Pan from 1020 votive ladder entwined with snakes from 1119 winged Nike from 843

Delphinia 603\textsuperscript{a}

Delphi

**Cults:**
- Apollo 1135 Ge 1121 Themis 1121
- Delphi, a holy place 368
- Zeus sets up stone vomited by Kronos 929 937
- Acanthos-column at 1009 f. Cnidian Leache at 988 distyle bases at 1181 E at 1121 group of Ge and Themis from 1121 'Μυκηναϊκα χάλκια' at 974 omphalos 1120 f. plane-tree of Agamemnon at 1122 west frieze of Siphnian Treasury at 807

Demeter

**Cults:**
- Agra 722 Alexandreia 990 ff.

**Demeter (cont.)**

- 1136 Melite, the Attic deme 202 (?)
- Mytilene 167 Pelasgians 191 (?)
- Phileia 392 Selinous 1136 1158

**Theba.**

**Epithets:**
- άγαλματα 596b 'Αντιοχεία 202a Δεκάβαλος 916 'Ελευσίνη 990a
- ο"Ελευσινής 1182 υπέλαθος 771 Εύξη Κόλων 178b Θεομάρφος 168 2447 'Ιούλια 178b Κορυφόφορος 242 Μελαφόρος 1139 1188 μεγάλα θέατα 662
- Παλαιόγον 916 Παλαιόσ 417c πολυτέρης 990 πολυομήνων 990 Πρόποροι 527 562
- Χρήση Θεός 179b

**Rites:**
- 104 990 ff. sacrifice of ram 178a sacrifice of pregnant sow

**Priest:**
- Φαλαρίς 967a

**Priestesses:**
- βασιλείς 724e κεραφόρος 724e μελαθων 1083

**Personated by priestess**
- 301\textsuperscript{(a)} 301\textsuperscript{(b)}

**Myths:**
- consorts with Zeus 301\textsuperscript{(c)}


**Genealogy:**
- m. of Kore 562 m. of Persephone by Zeus 744, 745

**Functions:**
- earth 725 agriculture 537
- provides food for man and beast 453 birth-goddess 673 ff.

**Etymology:** 1127

**Attributes:**
- corn-ears 1060 poppies 1060
- sceptre 1060 torch 712

**Types:**
- Damophon 712 helping Zeus 1172 as a floating island 984 ff. called Asteria 984 f. Egyptian sanctuary in 154 ff. formerly sacred to Poseidon and Doris 985 marble group of Aphrodite and Pan from 1020 votive ladder entwined with snakes from 1119 winged Nike from 843

Demetra, St 598\textsuperscript{a}

Demetres 301\textsuperscript{(a)}

Demetrios of Phaleron, sumptuary law passed by 380

Demetrios Poliorketes

Persephone 712 Zeus Bouxeus or Persephone 712 Zeus Bouxeus 1124

Superseded by Athena 607 f.

**- table of 177**

Demetra, St 598\textsuperscript{a}

Demetres 301\textsuperscript{(a)}

Demetrios of Phaleron, sumptuary law passed by 380

Demetrios Poliorketes

Personates Zeus Kataiβατες 1115

Demokratia 1186

Demon 121

Demophon

**Festival:**
- Balletys 612a

**Myths:**
- Eleusis 609 614 Palladion 609

Demos 1186

Dendra, tholos-tomb at 623f.

Deo

**Epithet:**
- Βρούμ 301\textsuperscript{(a)}

**Myth:**
- consorts with Zeus 301\textsuperscript{(b)} 615\textsuperscript{(a)}

**Genealogy:**
- m. of Pherephatta or Kore 301\textsuperscript{(a)}
Persons

Places

Festivals

1217

Derwentwater, floating island in 1015

Derezels

Cult: Thrace 1129

Despoina

Cult: Lykosoura 712

Rite: pomegranates taboo in her temple 813

Type: Damophon 712 f.

Associated with Demeter 712

— marriage with 396

Deukalion

Myth: Lykoria 526, 966

— flood of, drained off by cleft at Athens 180, grave of 604

Deus 820 671, 672, 1130 See also Zeus

Devil

Type: serpent 767

— phallos of 1078

Dia

See Hebe

Dia, the festival 320

Diana

Epithet: Laodiceia (? a blundered allusion to the cult at Aricia in supra i. 282, 283, ii. 147, 420, 903)

Function: daemon meridianum 1130

Attributes: bow and arrows 1062 f. (t.)

— crown 1062 f. (t.)

— fawn 1062 f. (t.)

Types: pillar with crown-shaped top 1119 f. in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062 (t.)

Superseded by St Christina (?) 1013

— conch of 1044 name of, still survives as Jana, Janara, Janassana, etc., with a male counterpart Diane, Dianus, or the like 1130

Diasia 320, 1194

Diaskouri or Dias Kourai 684 (?)

Didyma near Miletos

Cults: Zeus Σωρή 563 Zeus 'Tetios 585

Rite: Sopheia 563

Dipoleia 575, 596 See Dipolicia

Dipolia 320, 357, 593 See Dipolicia

Dipolia 179 575, 593 See Dipolicia

Diisoraria 575

Dike

Epithets: άγλαβροφος 950, παντερκής 950

Genealogy: d. of Zeus by Themis 893

Function: pāreta of Zeus 949 f.

Type: guarding Peirithoos 402

Identified with Basilea 950 (?)

Paphia 823 Zeus 951

In relation to Zeus 949 f.

Diktyma

Cult: Crete 189

Identified with Artemis 189

Diktyys, s. of Perithoos 455

Dinos 163

Diodorus, sources of, for things Cretan 1082

Diogenes of Apollon 276

Diogenes the Babylonian 726

Diokaisareia in Kleikia See Olba

Diomedes

Rite: human sacrifice at Salamis in Kypros 653?

— shield of 324

Dione, Attic deme

Cult: Herakles 594 724

Festival: Dioneia 594

Myth: Dioneus 594

Dione, the festival 594

Dionysos 595 f.

Myths: first to kill ox 589 593 661, 1194 founds Kynosopher 594

Etymology: 594 f. 585

Dion Chrysios

Athos, describes Pheidias' statue of Zeus at Olympia 961 ff.

974 enters a plea for idolatry 963

Dion in Macedonia

Cult: Zeus 'Olympios 1089

Dione in repose identified with Mt Emetsa 1173

Dionysus, St 294

Dionysos

Cults: Athens 574 Chios 699 (?) Ephesos 422, Kos 419, Corinth 1118

Lakonike 94, Samos 1050, Teodos 599, (?) Thebes in Boiotia 1103

Thrace-Phrygians 874

Epithets: Άνθρωποφόρος 595, Βασιλεύς 94, Βασιλικός 851, Βράχος 1161 Δεσπότης 755, Δαματέρα 219, δίγονος 1105 δισθραμογένης 1105

Διογένης 1105 Δίας φως 802, 685, Εφαρμόστης 881, 943, Ελευθερός 574

Ἐλευθερίας 1080, Ἐναῦρος 99, Ἐρώτος 105, Ἐνκύροις 515 (cp. 64a, 1179) Ἰησους (?) 1160 Μελανάγιας 887, 1105 Πανταράτου 422, Περικύκλους 351, Πολυγένης 1103, Πυχωνής 1118, ρέξιχων 4, Σεκεμένης 1105

Σεμεληγένετης 1105, Συνιλίκτως 413, 414, 416, Τηγανίσις 1041, Τοῦ 560

974 Patras 595, 895

Rites: at Chytrol 604, ἀθάνατος 1104 f., marriage with Basilos 615, 1105

Worshippers: human ἐρωτος 1104

Mythe: simulated birth from Zeus 89, 797 Zeus rains ambrosia at his birth 477 500 gives Bakchos or Iakhos to Athena as nurse 224 brings Hephaistos to Olympos 1100 attacked by Lykourgos, s. of Dryas 228, beats Falleine in wrestling-match 532, Tyrrhenian pirates 1081, pomegranates spring from his blood 815

Metamorphosed into kid 1104

Genealogy: s. of Ammon by Amaithia 126 (?) τοῦ Σαμενίου 1114 f. by Isis of Apollo and Artemis 984

Functions: earthquake 4, life-giver 515, life-god of Thrace 963, rain 874

Etymology: 594 (t.)

Attributes: bolla 88, ivy-wreath 675

653, kanthoros 673 883, 968 1053, 1109 ωρίθες 88 999, mebroi 1089

77—2
Dionysos

Doros 110
Dios, the Thracian Zeus

Dios Chorion

Dios Hieron in Lydia, coin of 1117
Dioskourides, the gem-engraver

Dioskouroi

Dios Polis 80

Diospolia 575? See Dipolieia

Diospolis 575

Dipoleia 575

Dipolia 575

Dis

Drac, water-spirit of Languedoc 446
Draco 489
Draakon

Drakon

Drakon

Drepanon 83
Drepano 83

Drophos 83

Dros 129

Dousares

Dousarens 911 f. Zeus 1128

Doxas 1196

Doidalses 471

Domaster, Aeolic name for Demeter 289

Domitian

Domouzi (later Tamouz) 1125

Donar

Donaus 1125

Doro's 110

Dorylaeion

Doto 129

Douras

Douts, clipped form of Domater 289

Doxas 1196

Doidalses 471

Domaster, Aeolic name for Demeter 289

Domitian

Dorians

Doros 110

Doros 110

Dorylaeion

Dositheus 718

Doitale 713 f.

Dios, the Thracian Zeus

Dios Chorion

Dios Hieron in Lydia, coin of 1117
Dioskourides, the gem-engraver

Dioskouroi

Dios Polis 80

Diospolia 575? See Dipolieia

Diospolis 575

Dipoleia 575

Dipolia 575

Dis

Diopeia 575

Dipoleia 575

Dipolia 575

Diptalea 713 f.

Dios, the Thracian Zeus

Dios Chorion

Dios Hieron in Lydia, coin of 1117
Dioskourides, the gem-engraver

Dioskouroi

Dios Polis 80

Diospolia 575? See Dipolieia

Diospolis 575

Dipoleia 575

Dipolia 575

Dis

Diopeia 575

Dipoleia 575

Dipolia 575

Dis

Diopeia 575

Dipoleia 575

Dipolia 575

Dis

Diopeia 575

Dipoleia 575

Dipolia 575

Dis

Diopeia 575

Dipoleia 575

Dipolia 575

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Dipolia 575

Dis

Diopeia 575

Dipoleia 575

Dipolia 575

Dis

Diopeia 575

Dipoleia 575

Dipolia 575

Dis

Diopeia 575

Dipoleia 575

Dipolia 575

Dis
Persons Places Festivals

Druses
Rite: cakes etc. passed through wooden calf 1092
Dryas, s. of Lykourgos king of Edonoi 436
Dryas, s. of Palleone
Myth: 322
Compared with Aias 1072
Drynya, name of Samos 1027
Dura-Europos
Dvita 545 ep. 546
Dyanae 331 1194

Easter Island
Rite: Tangata-Manu ('Man-Bird') 1197
Ebera Cerfalis, coins of 1074
Echidna 410
Edonoi 436
Ectyon 77
Egeria 439

Egypt
Cults: Anconius 489 H.A of the Double Axe 351 Heb H. Is1s 302 (6) Zeus Eleusinian 1136
Festival: Neleia 344
Rite: sacrifice of strangers to Zeus 659

Myths: Bousiris 659 Kanobos (Kanopus) 399f.
— floating islands in marshes of 987
invaded by Mediterranean peoples 1077f. (bibliography) regulations for the guild of Zeus Hippéistas in 1163f, supposed influence of, on Eleusinian mysteries 302 (51)

Eleithya 679 See Eleileithya
Eleithyia
Epithet: Εεωδήν (74)
Priestesses: 'Ερυθρόφωροι 168
Genealogy: d. of Hera 711 725 1033d. of Zeus by Hera, and st. of Hebe and Ares 744
Function: birth-goddess 673f.
Etnology: 664, 654
Types: acrolithic σώλων at Aigion 669 helping Zeus in labour 8α (6) 667f. 671f. 673 676f. 679f. flying from scene of Athena's birth 711 youthful 711
In relation to Hebe 711
Supervised by St Eleutherios 589f. Hera 683

Eleileithyia
Cults: Kalchedon 667f. Megara 668
Types: helping woman in labour 80 (13)
helping Zeus in labour 662f.
Ettruscan 665f. winged 86f. 668 664 ep. 85 (10)

Ekata 545 ep. 546
Elagabalos
Mt Tauros 903
Epithet: invictus Sol Elagabalus 901f
Priest: Elagabalus 902f.
Etnology: 390f.
Identified with Helios 901f, Jupiter 902
904 Sol 901, 902
— altar of 902f, stone of 900ff.
Elagabalus brings black stone of Emesa to Rome 902ff. builds temples for black stone at Rome 900ff, collects other holy stones at Rome 903 offers human sacrifices 592
Elafoussé Sebaste
Cult: Zeus "Ολβιος 643, 645
Elche, Lady of 1073
Elektra, d. of Atlas
Genealogy: m. of Dardanos by Zeus 77f. m. of Iason by Zeus 77f
Elektryone 77f
Eleusis 297
Eleusinia
Cults: Demeter 967f. 990 Perséphone 967f. Them 302 (6) 309 Théos 302 (6) 309 Zeus Hêlexis (?) 398 606f
Festivals: Cholia 178f. 179f. Eleusinia 297 Halía 178f. Kalamás 179f
Rites: άλλαξα, μήστα 297 άγαργα 301 (4) bull-carrying 1091 exhibition of corn ear reaped in silence 299 ιεροφάνης...ενερχασμένος...δια κο- νέου...κτέρα μέλεων...ιερόν ές τέχνα κλώνω Βεραίς Βρακών' 300 (1) 301 919 ινώς, δια επαλλάτ- ἑταιρία 611f. πυρόκτων 298 pome- grinates taboo 815f. τῷ καλλάθῳ κατάνωτες 990 θε, κύρ 299 307 454
Priest: ιεροφάνης 300 (1)
Priestesses: 'Αργυρόφωροι 167f. 168
Myths: Demophon 699 611f. Thaloon 597
— burials within 'Middle Helladic' houses at 1181 Dionysion at 297 Itonian Gate at 297 Kallíchoron at 309(4) (?) 'Ploutonion' at 309(4) (?) relics from 309(4) (?). Rhétós at 297 small copies of figures from west pediment of Parthenon found at 696f. supposed influence of Egypt on Eleusinian mysteries 302 (61) tablet of Ninnion found at 722f. Telesterion at 734f. Triptolemos-relief from 292f.
Eleutheros, St 585f.
Eleutherai, coins of 421 (4) gold tablets from 420f.
Elías, St
Cults: Mt Olympos in Makedonia 1167
Mt Ossa 1167
Eliogabalus 901f. See Elagabalus, Elagabalus
Elioun
Cult: Phoinike 763f.
Index I

Elioun (cont.)
Epithet: "Τυρώς 762
Elios
cults: Athena Mytropa 234 f. 749 Sosipolis
Myth: Molips 92 f.
— coins of 938 f.
Elissaha s. of Gedaliah, seal of 1072
Elissa 640
Elois, called Kronos, s. of Ouranos by Ge
887
Elousa
cults: Dousares 915 Lucifer 915
— coins of 915 f.
Elymnion (Elymnia)
Myth: union of Zeus with Hera 1041 f.
Elymnios
myths:
Enalos 133 Enkomi, Cypro-Mycenaean vase from
1150
Enchylaen
myths:
1210
Enkelados 30
Enkidu 1106
Enkidu, Cypro-Mycenaean vase from
1150
Ennau, a hot-bed of magic 332 attached
by cords to columns of Artemision
896 f. coins of 33899 gold
Table: 2550th neolithic pounder,
facetted and inlaid with tin to serve
as idol (?), from 894 ff.
Ephesos

cults: Apollon 1174 Artemis 896, 968
Attis 1174 Dionysos Panaykratier
413 (Kybyle) 893 Athena 1174 Poseidon
599, Zeus Panalphiros (? Hadrian)
422 Zeus Patroos 1174
rites: human hair 599 245 Athena 773
1091
— a hot-bed of magic 332 attached
by cords to columns of Artemision
896 f. coins of 33899 gold
cleaves from 2550th neolithic pounder,
faced and inlaid with tin to serve
as idol (?), from 894 ff.
Epiphany, pagan parallels to Christian
913
Episkopos 593 f.
Epona

cults: Celtiberians 1179 Celts 1179
Epopeus
Personates Zeus (?) 1112
Er, s. of Armenios 946
Erechtheion at Athens 213 574 721 725
737 749 f. 758 f. 867
Erechtheus
myths:
war with Eumolpos 598
genealogy: f. of Prokris 72
etymology: 727 (op. ii. 793) 867
type: snake 773 f. 867
identified with Poseidon 123 737
758 f.
associated with Poseidon 758
confused with Eriuchionis 131 773
in relation to Athena 190 758
Eriuchionis
myths:
birth from ground 220 in
charge of Aglauros and Herse 249
764 f. first sacrifices to Ge Kypor
244
genealogy: s. of Hephaistos by Athena
218 s. of Hephaistos by Athys d. of
Kranos 218
etymology: 181, 220 245

1220
Erichthonios (cont.)
Types: snake 219 753 (?) 771 773 half-snake 773 infant 218 771
Compared with Tithonos 248
Confused with Erechtheus 181 773
— birth of 181 ff.
Erihones
Etymology: 366
Identified with Neilos 349
Erihipastos
Epithet: [βασιλε]ων or [Βοσο]λεων 1179
Function: τομβαρης 64 (ep. 515)
Erimyes
Epithet: αἰδώλος 722
Myth: plant pomegranate on tomb of Eteokles and Polyneikes 815
Genealogy: daughters of Gaia 481
Function: blight the land 426
— as horses 1182 as hounds 413 of (Hera) 925 of Ouranos 925
Erinkos
Epithet: ἄρρηθος 418
— lasses Sisyphos 416
Eros
Cult: Athens 170 725 f.
Epithet: φοινικητής 745 745
Myth: springs from egg laid by Nyx 53
Genealogy: s. of Porphos by Penia 746
Attributes: axe 1129 ball 92 hoop and hoop-stick 688
Types: ἄρρηθος 1019 as infant driving Polyphemus 1020 1023 at the shoulder of Aphrodite 1025 as lover bearing thunderbolt for Zeus 1023 flanking Aphrodite 1018 guiding bull for Europe 1023 hovering 39 465 f. 1018 1023 1032 leading eagle to Ganymedes 1023 on ladder 1118 on shoulder of Herales 1019 f. pouring golden rain on Danae 1023 prompting Aphrodite 1018 1023 1052 receiving Aphrodite 1018 with crossed legs 1108 with thunderbolt and sceptre
Associated with Aphrodite 170 704 746

In relation to Zeus 1129
Erotes
Functions: attendants on historical lovers 1025 attendants on mythological lovers 1023 ff.
Types: hovering 1019 playing about Aphrodite 175 procession 170 two 1023 ff. three 1025 four 1025 six 1025 eight 1025 nine 1025 numerous in early Christian art 1025 1180

Erotes (cont.)
Superseded by Renaissance putti and modern Cupids 1025
Erse See Herse
Ersephoria 166 265
Erychthion 118
Erythrai in Ionia, sale of priesthoods at 1187
Eryx, eponym
Genealogy: s. of Aphrodite by Boudas or by Poseidon 176
Eryx, Mt
Cult: Aphrodite Ερεχθη 172 ff. Venus
Erycines 175
Priestesses: ιεράδες 176
Essenes 1141
Eteoboutadai 589 758
Eteokles 815
Etephilai
Cult: Mytilene 167
Ethea 686 678 1180
Etruria
Cults: Munthuch 430 435 436 Tina (Tinia) 259
Myths: Evan 259 b. Heracle chooses between Menra and Taran 339 Menrun (Memnon) 259 a Tages 203 a
Theseus 259 Tinthun or Tinthun 259
— face-turns from 193
Etrusci, lightning-lore of 156 lore of Tages and Bego (?) 434 mirrors of 86 89 259 677 806 815 839
Euamerion
Cult: Titane 1183
Euboia
Cults: Zeus 'Ευμός 1042 (?) Zeus 'Ευμός 912
Euelpides 44 f.
Eugeria 593
Eukleides of Athens 1107 f.
Eukolos 734 See Eileithyia
Eumeleos of Corinth 628
Eumenides
Cults: Athens 189 Kyrene 1188
Eumenoethus 349
Eumolpos, makes war on Erechtheus 242 f. 598 writes of Palammon (?) 661 661
Euphranor 30 1186
Enriphides, on the nature of Zeus 950
Europe
Myth: consorts with Zeus 469 615
Genealogy: d. of Phoinix and m. of Minos and Rhadamanthys by Zeus 627 d. of Phoinix and m. of Minos, Sarpedon, and Rhadamanthys by Zeus 628
Functions: earth-goddess 1092 tree-and-flower-goddess 617
Etymology: 1092
Eurythia 1109
Euryale 1025
Eury'

Phaede
Euryxenos
Euryxenos
Identified with Poseidon 176
Euryxenos
Types: as infant driving Polyphemus 1020 1023 at the shoulder of Aphrodite 1025...

The above text contains information about various mythical figures, their attributes, genealogies, and cultural contexts. It also includes discussions on the etymology and functions of these figures. For example, Eris is discussed in relation to various figures and events, including her association with Aphrodite and her role in conflicts. Similarly, Eros is described in various cultural contexts, such as his association with Zeus, his role as an attendant, and his function as a god of love and beauty.
Index I

Europe (cont.)
619 622 semi-draped 619 622 naked
619 622 floating 618 recumbent 618
sitting 619 standing 619 standing
to front with basket or vase 980
stooping 618 in mosaics 626 (2)
627 (2) in wall-paintings 624 (1)
— originally named Hellenos (?) 1092

Euros 130
Eurydike
Myth: Orpheus 99
Eurydike, d. of Lakedaimon
Genealogy: w. of Akrisios and m. of
Danae 455
Eurykomis 162
Eurynome
Myths: consorts with Zeus 744 (1) hides
Hephaistos in cave for nine years
Genealogy: d. of Okeanos, and m. of
Charites by Zeus 744
Hephaistos 744
Eurythys, takes refuge in pithos
Eustace, St 1102
Eutychia
Epithet: ταχυνη 1073
Euyuk
Cult: Asia 1106
Evander 314 315
Ezekiel 832
Falerii
Cult: annual sacrifice of virgin to
Iuno 802
Faustina the younger
Fates, See Moirai
Faubus, Lake, floating island(s) in 1012
Gabriel 917
Gadeira
Cult: Herakles 983
— golden olive of Pygmalion at 983
Gaia
Cult: Mt Hymettos 526 (2)
Epithets: μηχνη 454 μήχρι πάνωρ
442 πεδαιρ 928 1076
Gaia (cont.)
Myths: receives infant Zeus from Rhea
and rears him in Crete 928 transforms
Ambrosia into vine 1112
Genealogy: m. of Erinys, Gigantes,
Melai 451
Type: recumbent with hand uplifted
568 601
Associated with Ouranos 419 430 422
477 744 745 928
Galkateia 1023
Galatia
Cult: Zeus Βουκολόπνιος 1140
Ganges
Cult: India 531
Ganymedes
Myth: Zeus 952, 981 f.
Types: feeding eagle 981 f. standing at
knee of seated Zeus 38 469 standing
before seated Zeus 581 (?) 1050
1051 standing behind seated Zeus
1059 (?) 1040
Gargaron, Mt
Myths: Zeus consorts with Hera 35
Zeus visited by Apollo and Iris 35
Gaza
Cults: Aphrodite 553 Apollon 553
Britomartis 553 Hekate 553 Helios
553 Kore 553 Mamas 549 ff. Tyche
553 Zeus 'AXSios or "AXSos 556
Epithet: Μυχια 555
Rite: ceremonial bathing on set day
of spring 1193
— coins of 550 562, 945 1072
Heroeion at 553 Marnecion at 553 ff.
St Porphyrios at 551 ff. Tychaion
at 553
Ge
Cults: Amastris 1140 (?) Athens 168
169 171 244 6012 Delphi 1121
Phyleis 202 Thermos in Aitolia
1124 Vari 265
Epithets: 'Ασπαζόμεθα 202 Θεύς 168
244 949 Καρποφόρος 242 6012
Καρποφόρος 171 244 Κυρία 1140 (?)
Μεγάλη θεός 202 Ολυμπία 169 188
296 265 Πανάδερα 202
Rite: sacrifice to any god preceded
by sacrifice to Ge Καρποφόρα 244
Priestesses: 'Εσπερόφου 168
Myth: brings bough of golden apples
as wedding-gift to Hera 1064 cons-
sorts with Zeus 949
Genealogy: m. by her b. Ouranos of
four ss.—Elos called Kronos,
Baitylos, Dagon that is Siton, and
Atlas 887
Function: earthquakes 22
Attribute: omphalos 265
Types: emergent from ground 181 f.
187 206 208 full-breasted 182
praying Zeus to rain 526 601
Identified with Themis 1064
Associated with Themis 1121 Zeus and
Helios 1184
Persons Places Festivals

Ge (cont.)
Differentiated into Demeter and Persephone 312

Superseded by Athena 188

Geb 1027
Gela, coins of 1123
Gelanor 355 362
Genesia 1105
Genetically
Cult: Cape Kolias 172
Genus Quassilus
Cult: Cela 1183

Assimilated to Kaberroi 1183 Telephones 1183
Survives as post-Roman dwarf, hobgoblin, etc. 1183
Genius Iovis Dolicheni 1097
Genius Terrae Africai (?)
Cult: Ghardimaou 1095
Genetios, St 970
Genauros, Mt 1165
Gerasa, excavations at 1197 head of third-century Zeus perhaps treated as fifth-century Christ at 1197
Germe, coins of 408
Gertrude, St 650
Geryones or Geryones
Genealogy: s. of Chrysaor 1070
— rock-cut throne of, at Temenothyrai 1070
Geta
Personates Zeus 376
Ghardimaou
Cult: Genius Terrae Africai (?), 1095
Saturnus 1095
Gideon 500
Gigantes
Myth: Zeus 552, 560, 574, 306a 534 792-966
Genealogy: sons of Gaia 481
Types: wearing leopard-skin or lion-skin 574a wearing wolf-skin (?) 570a with human legs and snaky legs on same vase 542a with snaky legs 560, 574, 842
Gigandes 1106
Gitiadas 661 (?)
Glaukos
Cult: Karystos 126a (?), 127 (?)
Function: sea-god 129 135
Glykon
Cult: Pautalia (?), 1182
Types: snake with human head 1182

Glykon (cont.)
snake with lion’s head and with fish-tail (-7a) 1182 snake with radiate nimbus (or wreath) round head and with fish-tail (-7a) 1182
Gnostics, formulae of 1137 f.
Gordias
Myth: ox-drawn car of Gordios 1162
Gordios 1162
Gorgon
Cult: Kerne 189f
Epithet: Θηρείη κοιφάληδενοφο πελάριον 844a Δίωρ τέρας αιγόχορος 844b εντά-
ρας 862 Μέδουσα 862a
Myths: contest of beauty with Athena 850a slain by Athena 844 slain by Perseus 843 846a
Attributes: diadem and earrings 851a
Types: archaic 846 middle 842a 849 863 beautiful 849 fl. sinister 851 pathic burnt in bronze bull 1102 Supersedes Aphrodite (?) 1112 Mythos (?) 1194
Geraetos 191f
Geron(e)ia, Mt 1165
Gerasa, excavations at 1197 head of third-century Zeus perhaps treated as fifth-century Christ at 1197
Germe, coins of 408a
Gertrude, St 650
Geryones or Geryones
Genealogy: s. of Chrysaor 1070
— rock-cut throne of, at Temenothyrai 1070
Geta
Personates Zeus 376
Ghardimaou
Cult: Genius Terrae Africai (?), 1095
Saturnus 1095
Gideon 500
Gigantes
Myth: Zeus 552, 560, 574, 306a 534 792-966
Genealogy: sons of Gaia 481
Types: wearing leopard-skin or lion-skin 574a wearing wolf-skin (?) 570a with human legs and snaky legs on same vase 542a with snaky legs 560, 574, 842
Gigandes 1106
Gitiadas 661 (?)
Glaukos
Cult: Karystos 126a (?), 127 (?)
Function: sea-god 129 135
Glykon
Cult: Pautalia (?), 1182
Types: snake with human head 1182
Gygaia Limne (cont.)

Genealogy: m. of Talamenes 989
— called Koloi Limne 988 called Tala (?) 989 floating islands in 988 ff.
Gyges, king of Lydia, finds horse of bronze 1114
Gyges, s. of Ouranos and Ge 120
Gymnopedai 997 1008

Cythion

Cults: Poseidon Taphychos 112 Zeus Aetor or Zeus Kallisto 884, 989 ff. Zeus Thronios 939
Myth: Orastes cured of madness 939 — coins of 12a

Ra of the Double Axe

Cult: Egypt 551
Rite: priest purifies king at his coronation 351

Haell 1093 117 See Adad

Hades

Cult: Myrtilene 6
Epithet: Klimax 593
Types: enthroned with Persephone standing beside him 402 seated with Persephone seated beside him 425
Associated with Zeus and Poseidon 6 1156f. (?)
In relation to pig 5938 — marriage with 395

Hadra, excavations at 618 (3) term-cotta plaque from 618 (3)

Hadran

Cult: Mt Aitne 1779
Identified with Hephastos 1779

Hadrian

Personates Zeus Olympios 959
Hagelaidas 1153 f.
Hagoi Tessarakonta 111
Hagno, spring on Mt Lykaion 315
Halia 134

Halikarnassos

Cults: Bakkhos 'Olympos 558 560a Zeus Anakrias 569
Rite: sacrifice of self-chosen goat 569
Halisones 1101
Halois 178a, 815a, 1105 (?)

Halos

Cult: Zeus Aepistos 1167 — bronze statuette of Zeus (?) from 1107

Halybe See Alybe

Hamalkeides See Amalkeides

Hapi 346

Harbates See Horos Epithet

Harmonia, genealogy of 774 tomb of 978

Harpokrates

Cult: Delos 154a
Type: infant sucking his fingers 1174

Hatnor

Type: double bust (with cow) (? 1132

Hauran

Cults: bull-headed god 1098 Zeus Manofos 1188

Hebe

Cults: Kynosargos 724f. Phlious 184 Sicyon 184a
Epithet: Aia 184
Genealogy: d. of Zeus 724f. d. of Zeus by Hera, and s. of Ares and Eileithyia 744 (1)
Associated with Hera 704 1048, Herakles 704 707 724f.
In relation to Eileithyia 711

Hecate

Cult: Rome 544a
See also Hekate

Hedernheim.

Cult: Jupiter Odibus 556a
— relics from 209 ff.

Heh

Cult: Egypt 914a

Hekate

Metamorphosed into bitch 413a
In relation to Hekate 413a

Hekate

Cults: Chalkes 544a Gazae 553 Pherai 272, Selinous 1188 Stratonikeia 544a 1066
Epitaphs: Gorgos 805a Daphne 544b
Vosor 413a 'Hodos 278a Kallipolos 2898, kwnokos 413a kwna 413a kwna melaina 413a, Mee 805a Myrra 805a toloymoroph 805a
Procavlia 1188 pmphthwv 4a Skv- laixies 413a

Genealogy: m. of Britomartis by Zeus (? 544b
Attributes: myrtle-wreath 272a two torches 272a, 544
Type: holding torches 544
Identified with Ekata (?) 545 Kerberos 413a
Associated with Zeus 544a 544a 1066
In relation to Hekate 413a

Hektor

Cult: Thebes in Boiotia 1174
Etymology: 1114 (?) 1174 (?)

Hel 447a 447a

Helene

Myths: birth from Leda's egg 738f. Alexikos 73 Egypt 73 f. Menelaos 73 f. 1179 Proteus 78 Sparta 78
Genealogy: s. of Helenos 922
Associated with Dionysos 1083 (7)

Helenus

Myths: advises Greeks to fetch Philoktetes from Lemnos 921 receives from Apollo the prophetic stone siderites or oretes 922
Genealogy: b. of Helene 922

Helia 901a

Helike, in Achaia 21 f. 1118

Heliogabalos, Heliogabalus 901a See Eligabalos, Elagabalus

Heliopolis in Syria

Persons Places Festivals

Heliopolis in Syria (cont.)
- excavations at 1093 idol of gilded bronze from 1095

Helios
Cults: Gaza 553 Kara Adili 1071 Mylotene 1184 Thermos in Aitolia 1184
Epitaphs: 'Afrinatos 912 Φέρες 1071
Genealogy: h. of Rhodos, f. of seven sons, g. of Ialysos, Kameiros, Lindos 986
Types: driving chariot 958 driving quadriga up from sea 718 radiate bust 1126 unworked stone 901
 Identified with Elagabalos 901 Theos Hypsistos 1163
Assimilated to Gorgon 856

Hephaistos
Epithets: Aγγέλας 218
Cults: Athenaia 212ff. Chalkela 211ff. Heliaia 213
Rite: marriage with Lemnos 233ff. (?)
Priest: Ιεπερίς 213
Myths: eaves head of Zeus 125f. 222
- as Aurora imported into myth of Prokris 73
Attributes: axe (?) 1106 double axe 125f. 235f.

Hemera
Type: carrying Kephalos 1186
Genealogy: m. of Memnon by Tithonos 260
Types: pursuing Kephalos 187, bearing off Kephalos 187 poring ambrosia (?) over old Tithonos 247
- as Aurora imported into myth of Prokris 73

Heosphoros
Cult: Saracena 915, 917
Hephaisteion at Athens 213ff. 223
Hephaistia in Lemnos
- Aγγέλας-pilar (?) at 1120 coins of 235f.
Hephaistia in Lydia 228
Hephaistia, the festival at Athens 213
Hephaistias in Lemnos 229
Hephaistos See Hephaisteion at Athens
Hephaistia in Lydia 228
Hephaistos, Mts cf. in Lydia 228
Hephaistos
Hera (cont.)

**Epithets:** Άργεια 1120 Ἀργεία 66 1045
1085 Βασίλεια 66 Γασήλος 1042
Εἰκεθύμα 725 Εἰκεθύμα 66 Εἰκεθύμα 2166 Ταφγία 943 10096 Αἴαμος 946
1049 Νυξίμενες 1042 ζαφαίες 611 Παρνάσσα 10271 Φάρδηνα 1043
10444 τολύωνες 611 τόπος 765
siderης regina poli 1046 Τεδελα 65 932
9484 9498 1042 10422 10444 10606
Χήρα 1070

**Festivals:** πενταετής 365 the Shield from Arge 958 767 Τώμα 1028 ff.

**Rites:** annual bathing in Kanathos 224 10828 10444 bathing in Parnesios 10271 (?) 1091 (?) 1032 (?)

**Genealogy:** m. of Eileithyia 711 725

**Myths:** courted by Zeus for three hundred years 1025 wood by Zeus clandestinely 1025 f. grows up and marries Zeus in Samos 1027 bathes in Aborras after marriage with Zeus 1027, consorts with Zeus 35 55 65 111 1111 180 7441, 1025 ff. carried off by Zeus from Euboia to Boiotia 1042 Δός άρη 35 180 924 1065

**Priests:** κλείδωδος 66 Milon holding pomegranate as priest of Hera (?) 816 8176

**Priestesses:** ἱέρας 1085 Kallithyia 1085 (Kydippe or Theano) drawn by Arkive women 1046

**Personated by Aspasia 32 664

**Personated by:** Aspasia 32 664

**Attributes:** ab initio not

**Attributes:** Charites 65 Horai 65 sceptre 65 8165 1039 f. 10454 quack-co-sceptre 85 67 1044 lily-sceptre 92a stephæne 67 1093 f. floral stephæne 92a rayed stephæne 1041 veil 6366 1083 1089 f. 1057 1060 star-spangled veil 1040 wedding-ring 1083 willow-wreath 1053 (?) lily 92a pomegranate 65 8165 1043 lion 6f panther 67

Hera (cont.)

**Types:** pillar 1085 on pillar 635 Athena and Bupalos 989 Smills 1027 Polykleitos 86 8166 1043 f.

**Types:** Praxiteles (?) 932 f. Lydovias 1117 obscene (?) 1027 enthroned 67 f. seated on rock 701 seated beside Zeus as bride and bridgroom 1027 f. seated with Zeus seated beside her 1048 seated with Zeus seated beside her 1048 f. seated with Zeus seated on ekhelon 1053 seated with Zeus seated facing her 1049 f. seated with Zeus standing before her 687 in archaistic reliefs of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff. veiled 1045 virgin seated on lion (Iuno Coelotta) 1045

**Associated with:** Hebe 704 10464 Leto 1042 Zeus 745 958 1025 ff.

In relation to Herakles 1045 Zeus 6363 1095 ff.

Supersedes Eileithyia 662 1046 --- conch of 1044 10444 garden of 1064

Herakles in Lucania, coins of 714 794 820
Herakles Pontikos, pretends on his death-bed to become a snake 7731
Herakles 234 1046
Herakles

**Cults:** Diomela 594 724 Gadeira 983
Kynosarges 724 Mt Kynthos 1172

**Cults:** Sebastopolis (Herakleopolis) 408 Tyre 924 978

**Epithets:** Αλεξίακη 508 δίκη γυνῆ, δικαιοσύνη, | 'Ηδέως, κ. θ. α. 989,
'Αρετείσχος 929 f. 978 | 'Ηεως 2161
1047 ιερόστερος 509 f. 5094 τραχεός
508 998b Χάρυος 1165

**Myths:** courted by Zeus for three hundred years 1025 wood by Zeus clandestinely 1025 f. grows up and marries Zeus in Samos 1027 bathes in Aborras after marriage with Zeus 1027, consorts with Zeus 35 55 65 111 1111 180 7441, 1025 ff. carried off by Zeus from Euboia to Boiotia 1042 Δός άρη 35 180 924 1065

**Genealogy:** m. of Eileithyia 711 725
10824 m. of Hephaistos 235 m. of Hebe, Ares, Eileithyia by Zeus 74419 m. of Herakles by Zeus 925 (?)

**Functions:** not ab initio the wife of Zeus 7444, 1025 1065 marriage-goddess 9484 1042 10604 æd 7264
10465 cloud (?) 761 rain (?) 754

**Attributes:** Charites 65 Horai 65 sceptre 65 8165 1039 f. 10454 quack-co-sceptre 85 67 1044 lily-sceptre 92a stephæne 67 1093 f. floral stephæne 92a rayed stephæne 1041 veil 6366 1083 1089 f. 1057 1060 star-spangled veil 1040 wedding-ring 1083 willow-wreath 1053 (?) lily 92a pomegranate 65 8165 1043 lion 6f panther 67
Hermes (cont.)
Associated with Athena 958 Hebe 704
707 724 f.
In relation to Her 1043 i Pihikdes 506
sea-gull 523
— emerald stèle of 892 initiation of
724 724 pillars of 978 983
provenance of 1186
Heracles 92, 899 1090
Herculanum, silver buckle from 755
Heracles
Cults: Nikaea in Lìguria 492, Numidia
1078
Epithets: Lapidarius 492, Sazanus 492, Personated by Commodus 1100
Myth: birth delayed by Lucina 668
Types: phallos
Function: nikaia in Liguria 492
Cults: in Pompeian painting of 12
Zeus 1055 f. seated with Zeus seated
hand 661 standing with purse,
caduceus, and ram 1160 with caduceus
and eagle 1071 with phallos
ending in ram's head 1082 with
supported foot 638, 640 with winged
head 706
Identified with Thoth 392
Assimilated to Gennasios 1093
Associated with Hestia 958 Zeus 1071
— Epeios' statue of, caught by
fishermen in net 1137
Hermione
Cult: Hera Paidèsios 1043
Myths: Zeus and Hera come to
'anchorage' 1043 Zeus transforms
himself into cuckoo 1043
Hermouths
Cult: Bakha 953
— excavations at 1082
Herodias 162
Heros eirai 168
Heros é bêlophos 177,
Hesiods
Cult: Lembadeia 1182
Hera maia 155
Hermes
Cults: Ainos in Therace 1137 Athens
725 Heliopolis in Syria 1093 Kyllene
725 Lyo-Phrygians 283, Ptolemaic
1085 Pelasgians 191, Sedasa 1071
Epithets: 'Argevphos 1132 dékátopos 492
ékárbeis 332 érhoisios 181 'Erfállcis
(?'Erfállcis) 321, érhoisios 181, Koiválas 383
1168, kósmokrátór 325 kóple 322
Kêllonas 674, Kêfypéis 283, 410, ëróis
frýgikia 661, 333 Muniáin 1131
Mégaiosis 1071 metaisainos 942
567p, tao-krátór 332, peudekadmós
swn 332, Porphéras 1187 pexoíasos
hóios 323, týpos 322, kóple 322, stáro-
vanos 942 stárovanos 942, tetrapóos
323, Triágyonos 332, Ólaloth 332
(?'Ólaloths) 321, Xólos 181, 604
Xalwedófoe 332, Ípsiomóeis 332
Rite: at Chytroi 604
Personated by high-priest at Olba 654
Myths: born on Mt Kerykion 417
eleves head of Zeus 661 attends
birth of Dionysos 892 (3) 894 (2)
Genealogy: s. of Maia 1151 f. of
Kephálos by Herse 246 f. of Keryx
by Aglauros or Pandros (Pandros)
602 f. f. of Taf 323
Etymology: 411 (2)
Attributes: caduceus 675 eagle 1071
goat 1060 winged pétasos 93 purse
1082
Types: phallos 725 zílános 725
bearded 1060, double bust (with
Herakles) 1132 Lysippos 706 f.
Damophon 567 in archaic relief of
the Twelve Gods 1055 f. sandal-
bounding 706, 706 standing axe in
Hermes (cont.)
hand 661 standing with purse,
caduceus, and ram 1160 with cadu-
ceus and eagle 1071 with phallos
ending in ram's head 1082 with
supported foot 638, 640 with winged
head 706
Identified with Thoth 392
Assimilated to Gennasios 1093
Associated with Hestia 958 Zeus 1071
— Epeios' statue of, caught by
fishermen in net 1137
Hermione
Cult: Hera Paydèios 1043
Myths: Zeus and Hera come to
'anchorage' 1043 Zeus transforms
himself into cuckoo 1043
Hermouths
Cult: Bakha 953
— excavations at 1082
Herodias 162
Heros eirai 168
Heros é bêlophos 177,
Hippolytus
Type: with Eros at his shoulder
Hippolytus, St 338
Hippotes 107
Hipsa 1078 1131
Histi See Hestia
Hystie See Hestia
Hittite forms of early Greek names in the cuneiform texts from Boghaz-Keui
Hittites
Cults: bronze cattle (?), dagger-god 1140 (bibliography) Hepit 1131
Iskallis 1174 lion-god 837 mother-goddess standing on lion 834
Mother of the gods 916
Hittite forms of early Greek names in the cuneiform texts from Boghaz-Keui
Hobal 334
Holda
Functions: chthonic 447e fertility of soil 447e sky-power 446 snow 447 souls of the dead 447e
Etymology: 447o
Types: black woman 448 white lady 448
Identified with Minerva 210 (?)
Superseded by St Lucy 447
Holl 446
Holle 446 447e
Horai
Genealogy: daughters of Zeus 955 daughters of Zeus by Themis 744e
Function: doorkeepers of Zeus 34
Types: four Seasons as children 1127f. holding flower, grapes, corn 1057 holding pomegranate in right hand and bird, flower, or doubtful object in left 8186 (?), neo-Attic 659, 660 (?) Sosias-kylix 8186
In relation to Zeus 1057
Horites of Mt Seir
Cult: Hurun 1076
Horos
Epithets: 'Αρβάτης 1073 'Ιπατίς Θεός 1073
Types: head on feeding-bottle 193e swar-mhawk 1073
Identified with Apollo 984—children of 346
Hulda 446
Huilo 446
Hungary, gold cicalas from 253
Hyras 1076
Type: falcon 1076
Hyades 512 518 660a (?), 1082
Hyakinthos 460
Hybla
Cult:Apollo 1029
Hybris, the Silenos 513
Hybris 1150
Hydra
Myths: Herakles 795 ff. Iolas 797— as attribute of Alion 1189
Hydroporia 603 f. 603f
Hygieia, name of, on amulets 343 (?) on lekythos from Gela 775 (?)
Hymitos, Mt
Cults: Gain 526a (?), Zeus "Οφἴρος 526
Hymanriar, Mt
Cult: Zeus Τταρκύ ψε ρε 1177
Hypai, coin of 899, (?), Hypanis 653 cp. 656 (?)
Hypatos, St 999 f.
Hyperboreoi
Myths: Apollo takes Kraios to their land 520
Rite: sacrifice of asses to Apollo 106f.—further bibliography of 1136 f.
Hypereia, fountain-nymph at Pherai 272f
Hypemestra
Myth: saves Lynkeus and is imprisoned by Danaos 556 559, ultimately weds Lynkeus 356
Hyperbiomestra, see Hyperemestra
Hypercoche 1172
Hyperchos, slain by Phemics 1105
Hypnos
Type: with winged head 7062
Hypnypyle 360b
Hypsos grantios 983
Hystaseis, the Mage 1147
Hysteras, the festival 320f
Ialysos, gs. of Helios 986
Ianeum, statue of gilded bronze from Syrian sanctuary on 1114
Iamus
Epithets: divom deus 1130 Quadrifrons 1132
Attribute: petales 1181
— "polarity" of (?) 1130
Iapetos 30
Iapyeis 925
Iapys 364
Iaribil
Cult: Palmyra 1158 f.
Type: in military dress with rayed nimbus and sceptre 1159
Associated with Bel and Aglibol 1158 f.
Iasion
Myths: lies with Demeter 75 ff. or with phantom of Demeter 77 ff. or with statue of Demeter 77 is thunderstruck by Zeus 78
Genealogy: s. of Katreus by Phronia 77 s. of Zeus by Elektra 77 f. of Ploutos 75 f.
Identified with Eetion 77
Iasios 70f See Iasion
Iaso 1083
Iasion
Myths: first sacrifices to Twelve Gods 147f. founded temple of Zeus on Bosporos 148
Genealogy: s. of Aison s. of Kretheus s. of Aiolos 148
Iasion 76f See Iasion
Iasos in Karia 761
Cult: Zeus Τύρως 1162
Iasos 761, See Iasion
Iassos 761, See Iasion
Iberians
Cults: bull 1090 horse-headed god with human hands and feet 1179
Rites: dance of men wearing bulls' horns and hoofs (?) 1090 mumming play (?) 1178
— column of, decorated with double axes 1138
Idaean Daktyloi See Daktyloi
Idas
Compared with Dryas 1072
Idé, a Cretan Nymph 931, 982 (?) 76j
Idé, a Phrygian Nymph 982 (?) 76j
Idé, Mt, in Crete
Cults: Daktyloi 1033, Khea 1033
Idé, Mt, in Phrygia (Mysia)
Cults: Daktyloi 1033
Mother of the gods 893 JRhea 1033
Idaean Daktyloi See Daktyloi
Idas
Compared with Dryas 1072
Idé, a Cretan Nymph 931, 982 (?) 76j
Idé, a Phrygian Nymph 982 (?) 76j
Idé, Mt, in Crete
Cults: Daktyloi 1033, Rhea 1033,
Idé, Mt, in Phrygia (Mysia)
Cults: Daktyloi 1033, Mother of the gods 893 Rhea 1033,
Myths: Daktyloi (Kelmis, Damneneus, Akmon) discover iron 922
Zeus consorts with Hera 35 180
1032 ff. Zeus visited by Apollon and Iris 35
Idounai
Cult: Koze 334j
Iduna 634
Idyia 743j
Ikaria 694
Ikarios
Attributes: double axe 1111 square 1111
Compared with Daidalos and Talos 1111
Ikonion
Myths: Annakos 327f. Prometheus and Athena make images of clay 528
— Pati and Thekla at 523 f.
Ilión
Cult: Athena 283j
Ritae: bull-hanging for Athena 283j
Illyrioi
Cult: Artemis 1184
Myth: Akrisos (?) 1187 Daunus 364
Teutaemidas (?) 1187
Imbrasos 1029
Imbros, Epiphany song from 295 f.
Im-dugud 1155
Inachos
Myth: punished by Poseidon with drought 555 f.
Inachos, the river 224j 361
Inarime 30
India
Cults: Ganges 531 Indra 531 Vrishnun 546, Zeus Πολυδας 531
Ritae: jar of rains 107 f, jar of winds 104; 107 f.
— early coinage of 532f. 540ff. 871f.
Indra
Cult: India 531
Myths: combat with demons 362, slays
Indra (cont.)
Namukí with foam 273 fights Vrtra
531 slays Vrtra with thunderbolt
273, 362
Genealogy: s. of Dyaus 531
Function: storm 544
Etymology: 1078f (?)
Attributed: ayra 926
Identified with Zeus 540 545
— elephant of 546 f.
Ingeniculus See Engonasis
Ino 133 135 1104
Ino in Phrygia
Cults: Asklepios 1164 draped goddess holding grape-bunch and cornu copiae 1146 Nemesis 1146 rider-god
1146 Theoi Hsioi kai Dikaioi 1146
Zeus Βράβων 1160 Zeus Μεγέρων 1160
— altars from 1146 1160
Io
Epithet: Καλλίδρομος 1092 1095
Myths: travels 360j Zeus 615b 631 ff.
Types: heifer 634 heifer with human face 634, maiden with heifer's ears and horns 634 maiden with heifer's horns 634 637f. maiden with heifer at her side 634 641 antefixes 635 in arabesque 640 in bridal array 646
— bibliography of 1082
Ilias
Myths: Delphic tripod 799, Herakles suckled by Hera 89 Hydra 797
Type: duplicated 89 (?)
Iolus
Cults: Aphrodite Κρήναλα 369j Artemis
269
— coins of 269 271
Iovis Opulentia 156
Iovos 1115 See Jupiter
Iphigeneia
Epithet: 'Ορειχάλκια 99
Myth: sacrificed, commuted to sacrifice of deer or bear or bull 283?
Iphikles
Genealogy: s. of Amphitryon by Alkmene 506
In relation to Herakles 506
Irekepaigos 1179 See Erkepaigos
Irene, St 472a
Iris
Functions: bridesmaid of Hera 1033f.
message of Zeus 54
Attributes: knotted or studded staff 94
Types: standing before seated Hera 1051 standing beside seated Hera 1053
Irmisnál, as support of sky 1116 f.
Ishum
Cult: Babylonia 889
Function: fire 889
Iser
Cults: Athens 588, Delos 154 f. Egypt 309 Pompeii 641 Rhodes 986
Isis (cont.)

Genealogy: m. by Dionysos of Apollon and Artemis 964

Functions: earth 902f. 344f. 351
‘Queen of Heaven’ 950

Attribute: starry robe 850

Types: ‘Canopus’ 346 double bust (with Apis) 1132

Identified with Eumenonthis (?) 349

Theonoe (?) 849

Associated with Nophys, Neith, and Lupil.

— earth ‘the body of Isis’ 351 the star of 180

Istalis, Hittite form of Attis 1174

Istar

Functions: morning- and evening-star 8685 source of tar

Types: nude goddess 834

In Pompeian paintings of

Types: Campania 1155 Falerii 802f.

Cults: Athena 126f. 127 ‘Triton’ 126f. 127

— coins of 126f. 127

Itanos

Cults: Athena 126f. 127 ‘Triton’ 126f. 127

— coins of 126f. 127

Itanos, eponym 126f.

Iulianus, the Chaldaean 332

Iuno

Cults: Campania 1155 Falcri 802f.

Lanuvium 887f. Rome 23

Epithets: Coelestis 1048f. Peronia 1155

Lucina 1044f. 1117 Moneta 23f.

Sisipha Mater Regina 887f. Sospita 887f.

Rites: annual sacrifice of virgin at Falcrii 802f. (?) sacrifice of pregnant sow 23

Functions: aer 330f. childbirth 1117

Attributes: peacock 41 stephane with nine crescents 1117

Types: in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062f. 1155f. 3.5. 1160 half-

hair 734f. silver bust 1155 1160 half-

length figure fulminant 333

enthroned above clouds 40 sur-

rounded by zodiac etc. 1150 seated

between Minerva and luna 40 f. 41

enthroned above clouds 40 sur-

rounded by zodiac etc. 1150 seated

between Minerva and luna 40 f. 41

standing on bull 381 holding whip

corn-ears with polos on head

and bulls beside him 1093 in

Pompeian paintings of Twelve

Gods 1062f. 1155f.

Identified with earth 452

— couch of 1044f. star of 180

Iupiter

Cults: Alban Mt 492 Amathous in

Kypros 653f. Apulum 1140 Bononia

in Bulgaria 1099 Campania 1155

Capua 656f. Delos 155 Hedheim

Hedheim 856f. Heliopolis in Syria 856f.

M. Aeneas 1044f. Makedonia 148f.

Nessania 1129 Numidia 1068


Salamin in Kypros 646f. Syriaeae

148 Volsci 1155

Epithets: Aeolus 947 Anxur 1155

Anxur 1155 Brotom 544f. Bus-

sumarius 1150 Bussumarius 148f.

Capitalinus 24f. 582f. 704f. 1056

Conservator 946 Conservator Totius

Polt 947 deus deorum 1130

Iupiter (cont.)

Dolichenus 378f. 881 945 946f. 1097f.

(bibliography) Elicius 433f. Exhibi-
tor Invictus 947 Heliopolianus 945

1093 f. M. Marcus 553f. Ictus

343f. (?) Imperator 148f. Matius 321f.

Nasamonius Tonans 325f. nobilis 36f.

Nem Preistantissimum 947 Oblivus

566f. 564f. Optimus Maximus 947 1038

1098 1140 Pantheus 1129 Ptevialis

324 Plutus 324 335 Purpurio 55f.

Salvius 835f. Salamis 646f.

Secundanus 156f. Secundus 156 157

Secundanus 155 ff. Syrus 902f.

Termini 1183 Terminus 1183

verveceus 1078

Festivals: Latini 432f. Latinae 432f.

Rites: aquaelicium 432f. human sacrifice

to Jupiter Elicius commuted 433f.

Priest: flamen Dialis must neither
touch nor mention dog or goat 243f.

Personated by Commodus 1100

magistrate presiding at games 562f.

Myths: consorts with Ceres 452 in

Gigantomachy gets thunderbolts

from eagle 381 rains blood before
design of M. Marcellus 479 rescues

Alcumena 517 transforms ants into

men (Myrmidones) 608f.

Genealogy: f. of Aegaeus by Aegina 608f.

Functions: aether 235f. ignis 235f.

lightning 235f. rain 235f.

157 protector of boundaries 235f.

ruler of starry sky 235f.

Etymology: 452f.

Attribute: eagle 41

Types: bearded 1062f. 1078 with white

hair 734f. silver bust 1155 1160 half-

length figure fulminant 333

enthroned above clouds 40 sur-

rounded by zodiac etc. 1150 seated

between Minerva and luna 40 f. 41

standing on bull 381 holding whip

corn-ears with polos on head

and bulls beside him 1093 in

Pompeian paintings of Twelve

Gods 1062f. 1155f.

Identified with sir 452 rain 452f. 452f.

sky 4 of Elagabala 902f. 904f. Marmus

555 f.

Iupiter, the planet 71f.

Institia 82f.

Iuturna (Diuurna)

Etymology: 112f.

Ixion

Personates Zeus 141

Myths: Hera 74f. Zeus 74f. 974

Genealogy: f. of Kentaurus 75f.

Types: Greek 1072 Etruscan 1072

Roman 1072 Byzantia 1072

Identified with Enginosan or Ingeni-

culus 483

Jack of the Hammer 1142

Jacob, ladder of 1118f.
Jains 1120
Jehovah
  Cult: Thessalonike 1162
  Epithet: σεαμίσις 21
  Functions: earthquake 5, 10, 21 storm
  Attributes: hawk (?) 558 high crown
  Types: as a solar Zeus 558 bearded
  Identified with: Marnas 558 (?) Theos
Jehovah Cult
  Function: vine-god 1076
  Type: ram 1076
Kaineeus 5
Kairo
  Type: Lysippus 970
  Genealogy: h. of Damos 1177
  - tomb of 978
Kaisaria in Kappadokia
  Cults: Tyche (Tranquillina) 1177 Zeus
  - coins of 1177
  Kaisaria Paneus, bronze group at 971,
  1086 statue of Julian at 972
Kalama 972
Kalama 1172 (?)
Kalchedon
  Cult: Eileithyiai 667 f.
  Comaprared with Amen 884
  In relation to: Zeus Kaisos in Egypt 1177
Jerash See Gerassa
Jews
  Rites: alleged sacrifice of children to
  Moloch (Pire 611, Μωρονδαπία 1081
John the Baptist
  Cult: Malta 1031, (?)
  Supersedes: Adonis 1081, (?)
  John the Evangelist, St, in Patmos 986
Jordan 295 f.
Juktas, Mt, profile of Zeus on 1173
Kabah Festival: annual covering in black with
  inscribed gold band 917 f.
  Myths: brought from heaven by Gabriel
  917 f, first white, then black 917 f,
  escapes deluge 917 f, Abraham
  consorts with Hagar upon it 917 f, 918
  Abraham fastens his camel to it, when
  about to sacrifice Isaac 917 f
  Functions: 'in pre-Islamic times the
  incopetic form of an Arab deity, either
  Dousares himself (Münter) or the Moon
  (V. Dalberg) (?) 917 f, 'originally a goddess embodied as
  an aerialite and annually draped
  in accordance with an ancient
  marriage-rite' (?) 917 f
  - Arab beliefs concerning 917 f
  described by J. L. Burchhardt 919 f.
  described by Sir R. F. Burton 918 f.
  described by Sir W. Muir 919 f
Kabeiron at Thebes in Boiotia, vase from
160 votive table from 580
Kabeiros
  Cults: Delos 1172 Mt Kythonos 1172
  Phoinike 1191
  Priest: σοιος or οίς 1083
  Etymology: 1128
  In relation to: Genius Cucullatus 1188
  Histories 1128 St Thomas 1128
  - bibliography of 1128
Kabeiros
  Cult: Thessalonike 902
Karpathos
  Cult: Poseidon Πόσειδος 189
Karternides See Gortyna
Karthais
  Cult: Apollo 269, coins of 271
Karytos
  Cult: Glaukos 1264 (?) 127 (?) Zeus 1264, 127
  coins of 1041
Kaxion, Mt, in Egypt
  Cult: Zeus Ktesios 1177
Kaxion, Mt, in Syria
  Cult: Zeus Ktesios 1177
Kasmilos 1128
Kassandra
  Myth: Aias, s. of Oileus 867, 956
  Cults: meteorite 884, 886 Zeus Αμμων 882
  — coins of 882, 884
Kastoria and Polydeukes, bibliography of 1134
Katabasis 1115
Kato Zakro, clay seal-impressions from 840, 845, 1106
Katreus 774
Kaulonia
  Cult: Apollo 830
Kavak
  Cults: Theos Olibos 630, Zeus Ολίβος 638 ff.
Kekrops
  Cult: Athens 771
  Priest: teos 771, 1194
  Myths: brought by Athena to Megara 783, 869 f.? buried in Kekropion at Athens 770 f.
  Etymology: 231 a
  Type: with snaky tail 181, 186, 187
  770, 773, 810
Koles 1083
Keliss 922
Kenaion, Mt
  Cults: St Constantine 1166 Zeus Κεναιος (Κεναιος) 1156
Kentauros
  Genealogy: s. of Ixion 75
  Etymology: 1072 (?)
Kentriddai, family of clan Kerykes 585
  597, 603
Kekes
  — coins of 270
Kephallenia
  Cult: Zeus Άνδρων 1171
Kephalos
  Myths: borne off to Syria by Heos (Eos) 246 Prokris 72
Kephalos (cont.)
  Genealogy: s. of Deioneus 72 s. of Hermes by Herse 246 s. of Hermes by Kreousa d. of Erechithes 246 b. of Ainos, Akta, Physikos 187 f. of Tithonos and gr. of Phaeon 246 f.
  Types: borne off by Hemera 1186 borne off by Heos 187 pursued by Heos 187 standing on coins of Kranioi (?) 1171
Kephisos the younger 659
Keranos
  Cult: Esmes 888, 889
  Etymology: 1114
Kerberos
  Epithets: latratus...triaufrs 408, 412 tergaminus 403, triceps 408, triformis 408, Ψαμμίς 408, Θρήσκης 408, τρίχαπος 408, τρίλογος 403, τριάπος 403
  Etymology: 411, 412
  Types: on coins 403, on gems 403 ff. on vases 403 one-headed 403 two-headed 399 three-headed 402 ff. 403 fifty-headed 403 hundred-headed 403
  Compared with Kreon 403
  — as attribute of Aion 1180 in modern Greek folk-songs and folk-tales 412, f. oath by (?) 48, snaky adjuncts of 410
Keres, as hounds 413 a
Kerykon 776
Kerne
  Cult: Gorgon 189
  Myth: Eos and Tithonas 248
Kerykes, priestly clan of Eleusis 104, 585
  589, 597 ff. 603, 737
Kerykion, Mt 417
Keryx, eponym of Kerykes
  Genealogy: s. of Hermes by Aglauros 602 f. s. of Hermes by Pandrosos (Pandrosos) 603
Keteus, s. of Lykaon and f. of Megisto (= Kallistos) 484
Keyx 141
Kbolon 446
Kibotoi 580 (?)
Kibotos See Apanemia in Phrygia
Kinyras 817
Kios or Prousias
  Rite: καλαθος taken in procession 993
Kirke
  Myth: Odysseus 1073
  — gloriole of 1072
Kithairon, Mt
  Cult: Hera 1042 Hera Άναρχα Νοξία 1042
  Leto Νοξία or Νοξία 1042, 1065 Zeus 1042, 1065
  Epithet: Άναρχα μυχα 1042, 1045
  Myths: Zeus consorts with Hera 1042 Zeus consorts with Leto 1042
  1065
Kithairon, the mountain-god 1042
Persons Places Festivals

Klaros
Cult: Apollon 100

Klazomenai
Cult: Zeus Θρασυβόλωρ 1117
— white-figured sarcophagus from 897

Kleantes' Hymn to Zeus 1161 (further bibliography)

Kleidemos
See Kleidemos

Kleobis and Biton 1044 1083

Kleonai
Eite: sacrifice to hail-clouds 879
— official 'hail-guards' at 878 f.

Klitheon, Mt
Eite: 1132 1165
— coins of 1087

Knossos
Cult: natural stones 937
Rite: tsipos γάδιος 1052 1065
— coins of 1087

Kokkyx, Mt
Cult: Zeus 85
Myth: Zeus the cuckoo 63

Komune 246

Kore
Cults: Alexandreia 913 Gaza 553
Mytilene 167 Phyleis 202
Epithets: 'Θεοθήκη 279, Θεομορφής 168
Πρωτογονή 202
Rite: birth of Alon 913

Kratos
Cult: Zeus Αργάνως 566
Genealogy: d. of Demeter 562
Types: bunch of wheat-ears 301 (a) (?)
in corn-stalk and poppy 599 (a ?)
Associated with Demeter 178, Demeter and Zeus Bouleis or Εὐβουλείς 1124

Kronos
Cults: Athens 183, Mt Kynthos (? 1172
Epithets: ἄγαλμαμμής 928, μέγας 928
Rite: sacrifice of children by Kouretes 927
Myths: mutilates Ouranos 481 928, consorts with Rhea 1114 swallows his children by Rhea 744 928 1139 swallows horse in place of Poseidon 929, swallows stone in place of Zeus 927 929 ff. deceived by Kouretes 987 983 expulsion of infant Zeus 1187 deposed by Zeus 966

Kos
Cults: Athena Μάκαιας 566, Dionysos Σκυλλίτης 413, Hera 'Αργαία 'Ελεια Βασίλεια 56, Hestia (Histia) 565 f.
Twelve Gods 566, Zeus Μάκαιας 566, Zeus Πολιεύς 555
Myth: Νιφύρος 134
— Fountain of Bourina in 363 f.

Kottos 120

Kouretes
Rite: sacrifice children to Kronos 937
Myths: sprung from rain 323 478 sprung from tears of Zeus 323 deceive Kronos 937 953 receive infant Zeus from Ehea 931 Types: three male dancers clashing weapons 1127 f. three small male figures wreathed with flowers 1034 (?)
Identified with Korybantes 323, ep. 1070
Associated with Kybele and Attis 1127 f.
— sword-dance of 1070 1127

Koze 334

Kranioi
Cult: Zeus Λυκόσειος (? 1171
— coins of 1171

Kranion
Rite: rain-charm 296 f. 316
— coins of 297

Kratania
Cult: Dionysos 1118

Kritios 849

Kroisos sends gifts to Branchidai 520 sends gifts to Pytho 520 on the pyre 518 ff. taken by Apollon to the Hyperboreoi 520 has ominous dream 522

Kronos
Cults: Athens 183, Mt Kynthos (?) 1172
Epithets: ἀγαλμαμμής 928, μέγας 928
Rite: sacrifice of children by Kouretes 927
Myths: mutilates Ouranos 481 928, consorts with Rhea 1114 swallows his children by Rhea 744 928 1139 swallows horse in place of Poseidon 929, swallows stone in place of Zeus 927 929 ff. deceived by Kouretes 987 983 expulsion of infant Zeus 1187 deposed by Zeus 966

78—2
Index I

Kronos (cont.)

Genealogy: f. by Rhea of Hestia, Demeter, Hera, Hades, Ennosignios, Zeus 925 f. of Zeus 34

Functions: f. 'Minoan' sky-god 200 953 'Minoan' storm-god 34 Saturday 932

Etymology: 1139 f.

Attributes: double axe 200 drapéron 481

Types: three-eyed (?) 938 white-haired 481

Associated with: Akmon 927 Arios (?)

Cults: Hera 'Elevia 662 Zeus 'Elaxtanva 662 Zeus Eléthi 762 Zeus 'Elosos (?) 762 Zeus 'Eudóly 762 Zeus Kράτης (?) 632 Zeus 'Elaγγελια 652

Myths: Aphrodite plants pomegranate 817 of Kyra makes Melos the Delian companion to Adonis and gives him Pélia to wife 817 Melos the Delian and his wife Pélia hang themselves in grief for death of Adonis 817 Melos the Delian transformed into μελέα by Aphrodite and Pélia into σέλεα 817 — coins of 899 face-urns from 193, 193 (b) terra-cotta statuette of priest wearing bull-mask from 1090

Kypselos, chest of 507

Kyrene

Cults: Akamantis 115 Athena 835 Eumeus 1188 Hera 535 (?) Tritopaters 115 Zeus 535 Zeus Βουλικας 1188 — fountain of Apollo at 353 rain-fall at 353 σίφοιοι produced from shower of pitch at 353 f. statue of Zeus from 534 f.

Kynthos, Mt (cont.)

1172 Kabeiroi 1172 Kronos (?) 1172 Rhea (?) 1172 Zeus Kόνθος 1172 Zeus Μέγαρος 1172 — cave-temple on, a pseudo-antiquity 1172 prehistoric settlement on 1172

Kypros

Cults: Hera 'Elevia 662 Zeus 'Elaxtanva 662 Zeus Eléthi 762 Zeus 'Elosos (?) 762 Zeus 'Eudóly 762 Zeus Kράτης (?) 632 Zeus 'Elaγγελια 652

Myths: Aphrodite plants pomegranate 817 of Kyra makes Melos the Delian companion to Adonis and gives him Pélia to wife 817 Melos the Delian and his wife Pélia hang themselves in grief for death of Adonis 817 Melos the Delian transformed into μελέα by Aphrodite and Pélia into σέλεα 817 — coins of 899 face-urns from 193, 193 (b) terra-cotta statuette of priest wearing bull-mask from 1090

Kypros, chest of 507

Kythnos, Mt (cont.)

1172 Kabeiroi 1172 Kronos (?) 1172 Rhea (?) 1172 Zeus Kόνθος 1172 Zeus Μέγαρος 1172 — cave-temple on, a pseudo-antiquity 1172 prehistoric settlement on 1172

Myths: Aphrodite plants pomegranate 817 of Kyra makes Melos the Delian companion to Adonis and gives him Pélia to wife 817 Melos the Delian and his wife Pélia hang themselves in grief for death of Adonis 817 Melos the Delian transformed into μελέα by Aphrodite and Pélia into σέλεα 817 — coins of 899 face-urns from 193, 193 (b) terra-cotta statuette of priest wearing bull-mask from 1090

Kypselos, chest of 507

Kyrene

Cults: Akamantis 115 Athena 835 Eumeus 1188 Hera 535 (?) Tritopaters 115 Zeus 535 Zeus Βουλικας 1188 — fountain of Apollo at 353 rain-fall at 353 σίφοιοι produced from shower of pitch at 353 f. statue of Zeus from 534 f.

Kynthos

Cult: Zeus 794 — coins of 794

Kyzikos

Cult: Zeus 'Ayvfa 1071 — coins of 408 face of determines on preservation of meteorite 886

Labydai, oaths of 585

Labyrinth, on Babylonian tablets 1086 in Crete 1086 in Egypt 1087 in south India 1087 in Malekula 1087 at Taormina 1087 at Tiryns (?) 1086 as dance-theme 1087 as game of Troy 1087 as internal organs of man's body (?) 1086 as map of soul's journey 1087 as mosaic 1087 as royal tomb or palace 1087 bibliography of 1086 f. 1141 etymology of 1141

Lachesis 717

La Chea 482

Lactantius, on the possibility of Zeus being superseded 739

Lado 289

Ladon 404

Laertes in Kilikia, coin of 843 as map of soul's journey 1086 as mosaic 1087 as royal tomb or palace 1087 bibliography of 1086 f. 1141 etymology of 1141

Lacheas 482

La Crea 482

Lactantius, on the possibility of Zeus being superseded 739

Lado 289

Ladon 404

Laertes in Kilikia, coin of 843 as map of soul's journey 1086 as mosaic 1087 as royal tomb or palace 1087 bibliography of 1086 f. 1141 etymology of 1141

Laesias 717

La Crea 482

Lactantius, on the possibility of Zeus being superseded 739

Lado 289

Ladon 404

Laertes in Kilikia, coin of 843 as map of soul's journey 1086 as mosaic 1087 as royal tomb or palace 1087 bibliography of 1086 f. 1141 etymology of 1141

Laesias 717

La Crea 482

Lactantius, on the possibility of Zeus being superseded 739

Lado 289

Ladon 404

Laertes in Kilikia, coin of 843 as map of soul's journey 1086 as mosaic 1087 as royal tomb or palace 1087 bibliography of 1086 f. 1141 etymology of 1141

Lachesis 717

La Crea 482

Lactantius, on the possibility of Zeus being superseded 739

Lado 289

Ladon 404

Laertes in Kilikia, coin of 843 as map of soul's journey 1086 as mosaic 1087 as royal tomb or palace 1087 bibliography of 1086 f. 1141 etymology of 1141

Lachesis 717

La Crea 482

Lactantius, on the possibility of Zeus being superseded 739

Lado 289

Ladon 404

Laertes in Kilikia, coin of 843 as map of soul's journey 1086 as mosaic 1087 as royal tomb or palace 1087 bibliography of 1086 f. 1141 etymology of 1141

Lachesis 717

La Crea 482

Lactantius, on the possibility of Zeus being superseded 739

Lado 289

Ladon 404

Laertes in Kilikia, coin of 843 as map of soul's journey 1086 as mosaic 1087 as royal tomb or palace 1087 bibliography of 1086 f. 1141 etymology of 1141

Lachesis 717

La Crea 482

Lactantius, on the possibility of Zeus being superseded 739

Lado 289

Ladon 404

Laertes in Kilikia, coin of 843 as map of soul's journey 1086 as mosaic 1087 as royal tomb or palace 1087 bibliography of 1086 f. 1141 etymology of 1141

Lachesis 717

La Crea 482

Lactantius, on the possibility of Zeus being superseded 739

Lado 289

Ladon 404

Laertes in Kilikia, coin of 843 as map of soul's journey 1086 as mosaic 1087 as royal tomb or palace 1087 bibliography of 1086 f. 1141 etymology of 1141
Lakonike
Cult: Athena Iaraka 776 Dionysos

Lakatades, votive relief of 3094(3)
Lalan 679(3) See Laran
Lampadokrini 1012
Lampeisos
Cult: Theos Obios 1196

Lanuvium
Cult: Iuno Sospita 874

Laodikeia ad Libanum, sacred stone of quasi-human shape from 910, 911
Laodikeia on the Lykos, coin of 515
Laphystion, Mt, in Boiotia
Cult: Zeus Aavamos 525
Lapithai
Type: fighting Centaur (?) 1142
Laran 679(3) 680(4)
Lares
Epithet: Comitales 119
Function: ancestral spirits 119 ep. 1189
Larissa in Thessaly
Cult: Enhodia 279 Leukathea 1080
Zeus (Melikes) 279
Latian 432
Latinae 4321
Latona 162
La Turbie, further bibliography of 1117 f.
Laussel, horn-bearing woman of 1117 f.

Lebedia
Cult: Daimon Milichios 1187 Hera
Basileis 61, Herkyna 1183 Zeus
Basileis 61, Zeus Tropheus 1182
Zeus 'Téros 563 f.
— water of Lehe and water of Mnemosyne at 4220
Leda
Myth: consorts with Zeus 462, 467
469
Genealogy: d. of Thestios s. of Agenor
s. of Pleuron 161
— as pendant to Danae 455
Leimones 1084 (?)
Leleges
Cult: Tarku (?) 651
Myth: with Nymphs build temple of Hera at Samos 1089

Leimnos
Cult: Hephaistos 226 ff.
Myth: Hephaistos' fall from heaven 228 f. Hysipyle 369, Lemnian
women murder their husbands 369 f.
— Galen's visits to 229 231 Lemnian
earth obtained thaneou 229 231 f.

Lemnos, eponym
Rites: marriage with Hephaistos 238 f. (?) sacrifice of virgins 191, 239
Functions: earth-goddess 233 probably a form of Artemis 238

Leochares 570 573 865
Lerna, springs at 356 361 369 Daonides
bury heads of Aigyptiadia at 356 369

Lesbos
Cult: Poseidon 'Elámos 10421
Poseidon 'Elámos 10421
Priestess: 'Eroúphos 1670 168 261
— coins of 858, oracle of Orpheus' head at 99 ft.
Leithe, in mystic play at Ephesos 422 f.
identified with river Lethon in
Kyrenake 422 f. identified with river Limia in Lusitania 422 f.
water of, as Orphic conception 420, 421 f.
water of, at Lebadeia 422
Leto
Cult: Boutes (Boutes, Boutei) 983 Mt
Kitharon 1042 1065 Phaistos 1042
Epithets: Muia or Nuia 1042 1042
1065 Pterig 1042
Myths: consorts with Zeus 744, birth
of Apollon 984 f. hides Apollon in
Chembis 983 f.
Genealogy: m. of Apollon and Artemis
by Zeus 744, 75
Etymology: 1042
Attribute: cock 1042
Types: birth of Athena 831 Praxiteles (??) 933
Identified with Boutes (earlier Udo) 984
Associated with Hera 1042
Superseded by Hera 1042

Letopolis 884
Leukas
Cult: Apollon Leukowos 1374
Rite: the Leucadian leap 136, 137 1087
Myth: Zeus 941, 75
Leukathea 1080 See Leukothea
Leuke, island in Euxine sea 135 140
Leukippos, s. of Xanthios 590
Leukothea (Leukathea)
Rite: caldron of apotheosis 1104
Metamorphosed into gull 783 i
Libanos, Mt
Cult: baityloi or baitylia 888 f.
Priests: Móphoros 888
— skins spread to catch honey-dew on 500

Liber
Cult: Thrace 1118
Epithet: Pater 1118
— assigned by Etruscans to seventh
region of sky 1504
Libyans, believe the sky to be holed 353
call he-goat titiyrus 1090 fringed
goat-skins worn by women of 838 f.
Libye, the country
Cult: Athena 128, 839
Myth: Gorgones 847, 866
Liguria
Myth: Herakles and rain of stones 483
Ligurians 483
Lilith (?)
Cult: Sumerians 832 ff. 1196
Lilith (?) (cont.)

Epithet: Ardat Lili ('the slave-girl of the Night') 835

Functions: ancestress of Athens, half-bird, half-goddess 834 ravisher of men by night 834

Attributes: coiled piece of rope (?) 1196 head-dress of bovine horns 832 1196 measuring rod and looped cord (?) 832 1196

Types: nude female figure with wings, claws, and spurs of a bird, standing en face on two goats 833 f. nude female figure with wings, claws, and spurs of a bird, standing en face on two lions and flanked by two owls 832 f.

Lindos

Cults: Damateres and Zeus Δαμάτηρ 1124 Hera Bæcilæa 61f.

Lindos, gs. of Helios 986

Lina 243

Lipara 110

Lips 130

Lithobolia 612

Lithuanian gods 108 (Perdoytus) 109f.

Lucerna 1104

Luna

Cult:

Aquæ Sulis 861f.

Attribute: crescent 41

Lupercal 1104

Lupercalia, bibliography of 1104

Luperci 1104

Luxovium in Germania Superior

Cults: Bricia 1117 Lassoïnus 1117

Lydia

Cults: Baki(ε) 1083

Rite: prenuptial free love 1026f

Lydo-Phrygians

Cults: Ἑρēβι Κυνάγχα, Μηνωτέρι Καρδαλία 285

Lykabettos 286

Lykia, solar symbol of 1074

Lykoria

Myth: Deukalion 526; 966

Lykosoura

Cults: Demeter 712 Despoina 712 f.

Lykomargos, king of Arabia

Myth: attacks Ambrosia 1111 f.

Attribute: double axe 1111

Lykomargos, king of Eödoni

Myth: attacks Dionysos and is blinded by Zeus 298, slays his s. Dryas 426f.

Lykies, cave of Arkalochori near 1145

Rhea brings infant Zeus first to 926

Lykeus

Myth: presents Abas with shield dedicated to Danaos to Hera 356f, saved by Hypermestra 396 399f.

Lyra 483 488 877

Lysechides, votive relief of 309f.

Lysippus 157f. 656f. 704f. 706 836 970 1019 f.

Lystra, altar 'to the Epêkoos and to... and to Hermes' 1071 bronze statuette of Hermes with caduceus and eagle 1071

Lyttos

Cults: Zeus 555

— later form of Lykies 928f.

Ma 1134 as equivalent of Μήτηρ 1131

Madagascar

Myth: origin of woman 956f.

Maenads

Attribute: ivy-wreath 1133

Types: double bust 1133 grouped with kalathiskos-dancers 1006 Skopas 471

— artificial skins worn by 956f.

Mageiri 685 See Daitroi

Magna Mater

Cults: Heliopolis in Syria (?) 1093 Rome 896f. 896f.

Magnesia ad Maeandrum

Cults: Jupiter Dolichenus (?) 1098

Minerva 1098

Maiden Castle

Cults: Jupiter Dolichenus (?) 1098 f.

Minerva 1098

Maonia, coins of 899f.

Makedon 110

Makedonia

Cults: Ares Θαῦλος (?) or Θαῦλος 283f

Jupiter Imperator (Zeus Olympos) 148f.

Rite: kithakia 290f.

— coins of 858f. 868f. 957f.

Makris 1042

Malachbelos

Cults: Phalmyra 1159 Rome 1159

Function: solar 1159

Malesites 1085...
Mallia, bronze double axe with incised lions from neighbourhood of 1143 f.
Mallos in Kilikia, coins of 843,
Malta
Cult: Adonis1031, (?) John the Baptist 1031
Rite: golden idol annually thrown by monk into field of bean-flowers
Manaf 1163
Manaphus
Cult: Carnuntum (?) 1163
Manast 914
Manastaeans 1179
Mandibis 969
Manes, as divinised ancestors 440 lower part of mundus consecrated to 431
Mania, m. of the Lares
Manichaens 501
Maniana
Cult: Abadiz Sanctus 937
Mansan Górnó 1098
Maran, fight of Buddha with 1087
Marathon
Cult: Akamantes 115 Athena'Elavtis 1102 Triptopatreis 115
Myth: hiding-place of Athena pursued by Hephaistos 220 ()
committed by leaves on Athena's helmet 812 f.
Marduk 1135
Margaret, St, of Scotland 335
Mardista (?) 680
Marna See Marnas
Marnas
Cult: Gaza 549 ff. Ostia (?) 556
Rites: human sacrifice 554 f. initiation 554
Function: rain 549 551 f.
Etymology: 550
Types: youthful hunter 550 556 f.
Youthful Zeus 557 mature Zeus 557 f.
Identified with Jupiter 555 f. Jehovah 558 (?) Zeus Kretagens 551 553 555
Associated with Britomartis 550
bronze scale of 549 f.
Marnion at Gaza, description of 552 ff. comparison of, with Cretan Laby-
rinth 555
Mars
Cult: Rome 492 1021
Epithet: Uttar 1021
Attribute: Oscan helmet 1062(2)
Type: in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062(1 f.)
Associated with Venus 442 f.
Marsyas
Attributes: cornu copiae 530 flutes 530
Types: contest with Apollo 659 710
seated in grotto 530
Marsyas, river in Phrygia 531
Mary Magdalene, St 355
Mather
Epithet: Idaea 896 896
Mater deum
Attributes: pedum and cymbals 895
Phevige cae 895 pipes 895
Type: black stone of Pessinous 894
Associated with Navis Salvia 895 896
altar of 895 f.
See also Mater Theon, Mother of the gods
Mayence, column of 1191
Mean 88 92
Médard, St 324
Medousa 851 See Gorgon
Megalopolis
Cult: Aphrodite Maxcbaivis 567 Athena
Maxcbaivis 567 Demeter et Eile 603
coins of 712 Δαυτύλων μύπνιa near 1183
Megara
Cults: Athená Athm 782 f. 795 Demeter 569, Demeter Makoiphóros 1136
Elleithyiai 668 Pandion ii 785 Zeus 'Aphoneis 1165 Zeus Kόunos (not Κρόνος, nor Κύων, nor Σεκρήνης, nor Χάριδας) 569 1165 Zeus 'Ολυμ-
píos 1165 Zeus with the Muses 1165
Myth: Athena as gull brings Kekrops 783
In relation to Athens 783
— tomb of Pandion ii at 783 i wild-
olive as life-tree of 762
Megara, w. of Herakles 422
Megaros (Megareus), s. of Zeus 1165
Megisto (=Kallisto), d. of Keteus 484
Meidias, the potter 793,1018 f.
Melimchos 111
Melandry
Myth: taught by Cheiron 793
Genealogy: s. of Amyntho 793
Etymology: 1187
Mellinpe 1094
Melantos slays Xanthos 1105
Melchis 793
Genealogy: daughters of Gaia 481
Meligounis 110
Melite, the Attic deme
Cult: Demeter 'Aγαθώρα 202, (?)
— rock-cut cisterns at 363
Melite in Phthia
Cults: Artemis 283 Aspalis 'Aμελήγη 'Εκατέρη 288
Meliteus 246
Melos, coins of 342f, 'Gigantomachy'
Incised gem from 843 1111 1138
Melos the Delian 8170
Melqarth
Cult: Tyre 898
Identified with Herakles 893
Memnon 259f.
Memphis 78
Mon
Cults: Athens 308f. Theira 992
Functions: dew 309 moon 309
Assimilated to Hermes 309
Associated with Helios 1093 Pan 308f.

Menedemos of Eretria 595
Menelaos
Myth: Helene 78 f. 1179
—— helmsman of 339
3
340

Menerva
Type: winged 679
See also Menrfa, Menrva
Menoikeus, tomb of 815<>
Menrfa 679
(3)
680<
4)
839 See also Menerva, Menrva
Menrva 92
0
1090 See also Menerva, Menrva
Mercurius
Cult: Numidia 1078
Attribute: purse 1062 ff.
Identified with Wodan 210 (?)
Associated with Volcanus and Minerva 825 f.

Mesene
Cults: Artemis' Exeia 66 Zeus' Eteobos 1130 Zeus 'Eπωνυμος 625
Mestha or Ameit 345
Metapontum
Cult: Zeus 'Eπωνυμος 1097
Rite: θεραπευσία dedicated at Delphoi 307f.
—— coins of 307f. 829f.

Meter
Cult: Athens 679
Meteres, nurses of Zeus in Crete 225f.
Meter Theon
Cult: Phaestos 422f.
See also Mater deum, Mother of the gods
Meteis
Epithet: ποτήρι γενέτορ 745f.
Myth: swallowed by Zeus 125f. 567f. 724f. 728f. 743f. 744f. (1)
Metamorphosed into fly 744f. (?) many shapes 744
Genealogy: d. of Okeanos 125d. of Okeanos by Tethys 743 m. of Athena by Zeus 744f. m. of Poros 746f.

Compared with Theitios 745
Metis (masc.)
Epithet: ποτήρι γενέτορ 745f.
Myth: birth from cosmic egg ('the cloud') 727
Identified with Phanes 745
Michael, St
Cult: 1070
Supersedes Zeus 277f. (?)
Midas, captures Silenos by ruse 433f.

Miletos
Cult: Apollon (Philos) 474f.
Zeus Δωσάρης Ζαππή (? ) 912 Zeus Nereus 74 Τίτιν Ζευς Θεσπισίας 1192
Festival: Δῶξ θεώς 564
Miletos, s. of Apollon 414f.

Milichie
Cult: Theespias 1187

Milky Way
Myth: Hera 1098 Manoan Gorm 1098
—— conceived as celestial road 946
1115 conceived as celestial tree 1192

Mimas 3o

Min
Cults: Chemnis 884 Koptos 882f.
Functions: fertility 885f. thunderbolt 882f.
Attribute: thunderbolt 884f.
In relation to Men-Ra 885f. the other bull-gods of Egypt 885f.

Mine 1090

Minerva
Cults: Maiden Castle 1098 Rome 856f.
Epithets: Medica 859
Tritonia 126f.
Tritonis 126f.
Victrix 823 825f.
Types: cornu copiae 825f. mural crown 825f. owl 47f.
Identified with Holda (?) 210
Associated with Volcanus and Mercurius 209f.

Compared with Sulis 859
—— five Minervas 842f. 843f. in Etruscan lightning-lore 136 specially honoured by Domitian 872

Minos
Epithets: Ζηνός ξυμνόσ σκέπτορα 1184
διολοφόρος 1103
Myths: Poseidon 628f. done to death in hot bath by Kokalos or his daughters 1104
Genealogy: s. of Zeus by Europe 627f. 628f. m. of Akakallis 414f.
Etymology: 411f. (7)

Minotaur
Epithet: Taipos Μάρσαλος 1090
Type: leading two captive women (?) 1090

Compared with Aix 840f.
—— bibliography of 1087 ff.

Mithras
Epithets: βασιλέως θεός 1194
Myth: birth from rock 236f.
Identified with Zeus 945
Superseded by St George (?) 1194
Mithra 1134 See Mithras
Mnemia, in mystic play at Ephesus 422f.

Mnemosyne
Cult: Theespias 1070
Myth: consorts with Zeus 744f. (14)
Mnemosyne (cont.)

Genealogy: m. of Muses by Zeus 744

— water of, as Orphic conception 420

Mnevis

Type: bull-headed man with solar disk and plumes

Mochlos, vase from 193

Mochos 1179

Moirai

Cults: Athens 721 Sparta 722

Epithet: Αἰκείς 722

Genealogy: daughters of Nyx 718 daughters of Zeus by Themis 744

Types: holding sceptres 1057 one seated and two standing figures 659 717

three standing figures 715 f. 717

Assimilated to Aphrodite 722

Associated with Zeus Μορφής 721

In relation to Aphrodite 722 Zeus 1057

— eldest of, identified with Aphrodite Οπίαρις 171

Moliones

Type: with two heads, four arms, four legs, one body 1177

Molpis, sacrificed to Zeus Ομβρίος 526 f.

Momes 744

Monea

Etymology: 23

Montezuma 475 f. 1194

Morning Star See Heosphoros, Lucifer

Moses, rock of 1118

Mousylos 232 f. 234

Mother of the gods

Cults: Hittites 916, Mt Ide in Phrygia (Mysia) 893 Poseidios of Boiotia 893

Type: meteorite 893 f.

Associated with Pan 893

— κλεις of (?) 918 star of 180 stone image of, falls from heaven 893

See also Mater deum, Meler Theon

Mondifori 1075

Munthea 430 f. 439 12

Muses

Cult: Megara 1165

Myths: bury Orpheus 1115 feed Komastas, in chest, on honey 246

Thamyris 488

Genealogy: daughters of Zeus by Mnemosyne 4711, 1189

Associated with Zeus 1165

Mutina, floating island in territory of 1014

Mykenai

Cult: Hera 1045

Myth: founded by Perseus 363 478 2

Etymology: 478

Mykenai, rectangular wells at 363 shaft-graves at 363 θῆλος-tombs at 363 "Treasury of Atreus" at 367 12

Mykene, early name of Mykenai 224

Mykonos

Cults: Poseidon Τεμερίς 179 Poseidon Φώκες 179 12

Mylasa

Cults: Zeus Κρήτης 1181 Zeus Οσρυγύα 1140 Zeus Κηπτρίς 1162

Festival: Taurophonia 570 1110

Myra, coin of 995 12

Myrike 1111

Myrmidones 608 12

Myrmix

— Metamorphosed into ant 608 12

Myron 696 f. 850

Mytilos

Myth: Olympia 522 12

Myreine

Cult: Etephiliai 167 Helios 1184

Kariosai 167 Theoi Akraioi 6 Zeus 1184

Priestess: Εραφόρος 167 f.

— mysteries at 167

Naassene hymn 300(1)

Nabataioi

Cults: Ada 1097 Atargatis 1097 Dou- sarae 907 ff. sun 912 Tyche 1097 Zeus 1097

Rites: daily libations and incense offered to sun on roof 912

Nagidos, coin of 763(?)

Nakoria

Cults: Theoi Katachthonioi 1169 Zeus Βροτίς 1160 f. Zeus Βροτίς ται Παρθοί Άφες 1161 (?) Zeus Βροτίς Νεκτάτωρ Παρθό 1161 (?)

— monuments of 1160 f.

Namuk 373

Nana 815 9

Nandi 1676

Nannakos 527 f.

Napata

Cult: Αμέν 892 12

— omphalos from 882 1077

Narkisos

Type: with Eros at his shoulder 1022

Natalis, St 523 12

Naskratis

Cults: Hera 1187 Zeus Απερρώτωρ 1187

Nauplios 868

Naxos

Rite: baby boy placed in bride’s bed on eve of wedding 1026 f. folk-tale from 257 1

Neades or Νεάδες 3 1

Neaepolis in Makedonia, coins of 856 1

Neiaka 811

Neiloia 344 4

Neilos

Cult: Sielis 449

Identified with Eridanos 349 Okeanos 349 Osiris 344 Zeus 349 f. 524 1077

— called Aigyptos by Homer 358 f. extinguishes pyre of Habrokomes 324 rays of 1077

Neith 845 889 12
Nemea
Cult: Zeus 1083 ff.
—— bronze bull from 1085 Epimenides and the lion of 1085 excavations at 1083 ff.
Nemesis
Types: in chariot drawn by two griffins 842
Nemeseis
Type: in chariot drawn by two griffins '842
Nemesis Cults:
—— Inonii in Phrygia 1146
—— Khamnous 955
Types:
—— Aphroditesque 955 standing on man 1073
In relation to Helios 1073
Nemetona 1073 f.
Nemi, double herms at 1132 f.
Neophytus, St 1112
Neo-Platonists 745 887 f. 913 4
914 0
Neoptolemos, tomb of, at Delphi 938
Nephelai
Cults: Orphists 70 296 Sokrates (?) 70
Epithets: ^eyaXai deal a.v8p&<riv apyois 69g ovpdviai 69e iranpaaiXeiaz 70 j
Rite: burnt-offering of myrrh 70
Genealogy:
—— daughters of Aither 70
—— costume of 69 3
Orphic hymn to 70
See also Nephele
Nephele
Myths:
—— Athamas 73 f. Prokris 72
See also Nephele
Nepheleokokkygia 44 ff. 63
Nepheleokokkygia 129 132 ff. 163 237
Nereus
Genealogy:
—— s. of Pontos 743
Function:
—— earthquakes 4
Nero
Personates Zeus 1117
Nesapia
Cult: Jupiter Pantheus 1129
Nero
Personates Zeus 1117
Nescania
Cult: Jupiter Pantheus 1129
New Grange 367f.
New Year's Day 1067
Nikai
Type: dancing 955
See also Nike, Victoria
Nikaia in Bithynia
Cults: Asklepios 1182 Zeus Astraos 1184
—— coins of 948 1182 1184
Nikais in Liguria
Cult: Hercules Lapidarius 492
Nike
Cult: Athens 811 ff.
Epithets: ^Aστερος 811 καλλισφορος 811
Genalogy: d. of Pallas s. of Lykaon and foster-st. of Athena 811 d. of Pallas the Titan by Styx 811 st. of Zelos, Kraios, Bia 811
Functions: abstraction from Athena Nike 811 abstraction from Zeus (?) Nike (cont.)
811 charioteer 76 Eileithyia 850 handmaid to Athena Nike (?) 819
Etymology: 8210 (?)
Attribute: palm-branch 67 f. 1181
Types: drawing votes from urn 758 flanking Aphrodite 1016 ff. (?) half-draped 1180 hovering 659 631s (?) 692 753 755 1040 sandal-binding 706 seated with pomegranate in right hand and helmet in left 811 standing before seated Zeus 1051 2 standing with oinochoe in righthand and pomegranate in left 819 wingless 811
In relation to Athena 811
See also Nikai, Victoria
Nikophoria 794
Nikoskia 754
Nikias, the painter 460 462 637 ff.
Nikias, the potter 1012
Nikomedes, earthquake at 26 f. Elagabalus at 92 f. Martyrs at 523
Nikopolis in Moesia
Cult: Zeus Kepatrix 1157
Nile
See Neitos
Nin-khursag 1155
Ninnion, tablet of 722 723 724
Niobe 542
Nioide 955
Nisyros
Cult: Zeus Melicetus 1187
Myth: flung by Poseidon at Polybotes 14g 18 o
Noah 928 928 f.
Nemesis
Cult: Zeus Melicetus 1187
Myth: flung by Poseidon at Polybotes 14g 18 o
Noah 928 928 f.
Nonae Caprotinae 612 0
Nonnos, on the Ambrosial Petrai 978 f.
Notos, on 'Tower of the Winds' at Athens 130 sieves of 335 f. Skin-bottles of 335 f.
See also Notus
Notus
Type: winged figure streaming with water 927 928 933
—— sent by Jupiter to cause deluge 107
See also Notos
Nuceria, coins of 342 f.
Numa Pompilius, forbids the quenching of ashes with wine 515 founds altar of Jupiter Elicius 433 cp. 738 law of, about man struck by lightning 1115 secures Faunus and Martius Picus by ruse 433
Numantia 1080 1179
Numidia
Cults: Hercules Iupiter 1078
Mecurius 1078 Nutrix 1078
Saturnus 1078 Tellus 1078 Testimonian 1078 Venus 1078
Nutrix  
_Cult_: Numidia 1078  
_Nymphogene_ 129  
_Nymphs_  
_Cults_: Athens 308 f. Gygaia Limne 988 f. Vari 251, 262a, 265a  
_Myth_: teach Aristaios 266  
_Function_: whirlwinds 164  
_Associated with Pan 308 f.  
— Danaides 357 Hyades 512 518  
Oekaninai 743b Oereides 164b  
Archedamos of Thera 357  
Nymphs as nurses of Dionysos 85a  
(?)  
_Nysa_ in Lydia, coins of 1114  
_Nyxa Skythopolis_, coin of 886  
_Nyx_  
_Genealogy_: m. of Moirai 718b  
— advice of 950b in Orphic theology 1177 ff.  
_Oasis of Siwah_  
_Cult_: Zeus Αμφώ 882a  
— additions to bibliography of 1078  
coin found in 1078 earliest reference to  
Ἀμμονεια in 1076 omphaloid  
feish of Ἀμμονεια in 882a  
_Oceana_  
_Type_: recumbent with water flowing  
from urn 41  
_Oohe_, Mt  
_Myth_: union of Zeus with Hera 1041  
— early corbelled building on 1041a  
_Odessa in Thrace_  
_Cult_: Theos Megas 1129  
— coins of 1129 στέλαι of νέος ἱππος  
and νεύνσ ἱππος from 1160  
_Odhin_  
_Attribute_: broad hat 1132  
_See also Woden_  
_Odomantoi_ 522  
_Odysses_  
_Myths_: Aiolos Hippotades 106 Kirke 1075  
_Function_: sun-god (?) 1075  
_Oiangros 99a_  
_Oichalia 509a_  
_Oiodous_  
_Etymology_: 1187  
_Oinanthe_ 183  
_Okeaninai_ See Nymphs  
_Okeanos_  
_Genealogy_: f. of Metis by Tethys 743  
_Type_: large head 129 recumbent with  
ear in hand and crab's claws on  
head 980 cp. 1127 f.  
_Identified with Néllos 349_  
— garden of 1064 in Orphic theology  
1177 ff.  
_Okho_  
_Rite_: myth of rope represented at  
Akanthos in Egypt 338a  
_Myths_: ass and bundle of sticks 401f  
ass and rope 338b  
_Function_: 'Behinderungstram'm 401f  
_Okno (cont.)_  
_Compared with dream of king of Kosala_  
401b  
_Olb_  
_Cults_: Tyche 646b Ζευς "Ολβιας 642a  
_Priest_: ἄρχωσ ἐγγας 642a, 645a  
_Myth_: cult founded by Aias s. of  
Τευκρώς 649a  
— coins of 642a, 645b herion of,  
renamed Diokaisareia 644a ruled by  
pristly dynasts, most of them  
named Teukros or Aias 643a temple  
and tēmenos of Ζευς Ολβίας at 642b  
Tycheion at 646b  
_Old Slavonic deities_ 642b  
_Olympia_  
_Cults_: Artemis Κοραίκης 653a Απόλλων  
1136 Ζευς Άραβος 655b Ζευς  
Βασίλεις 654, Ζευς 'Ελέος 654a  
Ζεύς "Ολβιας 653a 1194 1196 Ζεύς  
Ποιάρχης 654, Ζεύς Σωτήρ 654b  
— coins of 655, 656a, 657a 1194 1196  
temple of Απόλλων at 1136  
_Old Slavonic deities_ 642b  
_Olympia_, the festival at Daphne, near  
Antiocheia on the Orontes 1191  
_Olympos_  
_Etymology_: 1068  
_Olympos_, Mt, in Lykia, fire springing from  
ground on 223  
_Olympos_, Mt, in Makedonia  
_Cults_: St Elias 657 temple of Zeus at 1194 1196  
function of Zeus visited by Hera and Athena 34  
— ascent of 1167 chapel of St Elias  
on 1167 palace of Zeus on 515 cp.  
680b song from 296 summit of 943  
'Throno of Zeus' on 1167  
_Olympos_, the Cretan teacher of Zeus 321a  
1173  
_Olympos_, the Mysian flute-player 321b  
893  
_Olynthos_, 'Villa of Good Fortune' at 1073  
Omphale, as a form of Kybele (?) 916b  
Opionisia 437  
Opis 1172  
_Orthomenos_, Mt  
_Cults_: Hera Τελεία 949b Ζεύς Τελεια  
940a  
_Orcus_, portal of 432 440 portal of, called  
manalia lapis 432  
_Oreia_ See Nymphs  
_Orestes_  
_Myths_: cured of madness at Cythion  
339 founds cult of Scythian Artemis
Orestes (cont.)
in Patmos 985 f. kille Klytaimestra
426
— connected with holy stones 939
941
Oros, Mt
Cult: Zeus 'Elelæos 1164
— bronze hydria from eisern on
1164 summit of 1164
Orpheus
Epithet: χρωσόδρομος 1115
Myths: Eurydice 99 slain by Thracian
women 488 slain by a thunderbolt
1113 dismemberment 1104 buried
by Muses 1115 oracular head 99 ff.
Genealogy: s. of Oiasgos 994
Types: playing κιθάρα 419 oracular
head 99 ff.
Identified with Engonasin or Ingeni-
culus 488
In relation to Danaids 425 —
ddyton of, in Lesbos 100 ascribes
obscenity to the gods 1027
lyre of, found by Lesbian women 101 on
marriage of Earth and Sky 454
Orphic Eros See Eros
Orphic Zeus 745 cp. 746 1177ff. See Zeus
Orphists
Cults: Aither 879 Nephelai 701 ff. 296
Rites: ἔφασος ἐς γαλήνα ἐπέτρων 1118
symbolic ladder 946
Priests: Ορφωτέλεσται 1068
— gold tablets of 396 f. 396 419 ff.
y hymn to Zeus 990 pantheistic
hymn 947 theogony 727 745 (ep.
746) 942 1177 ff. (the succession of
Chaos, Okeanos, Nyx, Ouranos,
Zeus) anthropogony 481 (?) Λυθικά
921 περὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἡρας 1027, Dike
949b 950b Nomos 990 οὐκολλὴ καὶ
cosmic egg 'the cloud' 727 call moon
'Gorgonion' 804 845 call rain 'the
ears of Zeus' 922 hold that in
Hades sinners are sunk in mud
398, Orphic conception of Under-
world possibly illustrated in sixth-
century fresco and thence copied on
black-figured vases 399 ff. Orphic
traits in Underworld as depicted on
'Apulian' vases of s. iv B.C. 402
led by Orpheus to the Queen of the
Underworld 419 influence of, trace-
able at Athens in s. vi B.C. 400 f.
in Crete 1103
Orthanes 1093
Orthros or Orthos
Myth: Geryones 410f
Genealogy: offspring of Echidna 410f
Function: doublet of Kerberos 410f 412f
Types: one-headed, two-headed, three-
headed 410f
Oschophoria 241f
Osiris
Cult: Alexandria 346 ff.
Festival: finding of Osiris 345f
Osiris (cont.)
Rites: dirge called Μαρσύς 305f Osiris-
beds 305f
Functions: god of the Nile 344 grains
of corn 305f
Types: 'Canopus' 346 f. 1193 dead
body with corn springing from it
305ff. figure made of Nile-mud and
filled with corn-grains 305f hollow
form filled with Nile-silt, planted
with corn, and wrapped up like a
mummy 305f mummy with corn
springing from it 305f profile
contour filled in with barley-
grains, etc. 305f
Identified with Aion 914 dead man
344 395 Kanobos, the helmsman of
Menelaus 349 the Nile 344f
Assimilated to wheat or barley germin-
ating 303f — children of 345f king becomes
1131 Nile-water as seed of 344
Ossea, Mt
Cult: St Elias 1167 —
views of 1167
Ostanos 1147
Ostia
Cult: Marnas (?) 556
— tomb-painting of Kronos and Rhea
found near 334 f. winged Minerva
from 828 ff.
Othreis 246
Oulomon 914f
Oups
Cult: Sparta 189f
Identified with Artemis 189f
Ouranos
Epithet: ἀστεριστής 923
Myths: birth of Aphrodite 274 276f
invents βατίτης 887 mutilated by
Kronos 481 926f
Genealogy: s. of Akmnon 927 f. by his
st. Ge of four sons—Elos called
Kronos, Baitylos, Dagon that is.
Siton, and Atlas 887
Identified with Akmnon 927f
Associated with Gaia 419f 420f 422f
477f 744 745 748 928 —
blood of, produces Phaeacians 481
blood-drops of, received by Gaia
481 in Orphic theogony 1177 ff.
Ousos 983
Oxyrhynchite nome
Cult: Athena 190f
Oxyrhynchus
Cult: Zeus Αμωμος 1076
Pa as equivalent of Παρή 1131
Palaimon 129f 135
Palaiopolis in Korkyra
Cult: Artemis 844f
Palamedes
Myth: cleaves head of Zeus 661
Function: form of Hephaistos 191f
Compared with Palamedes 191f
Palamedes 191ο
Pales (masc.)
Epithet: See Palamedes
Palestine, belief about snakes current in 772
Palladion 573 609 1006
Palae
Etymology: 746
Pallas
Myths: attempts to violate Athena 842
Genealogy: f. of Athena by Titanis d. of Okeanos 842
Pallas the Titan
Genealogy: f. by Styx of Zelos, Nike (Neike?), Kratos, Sllj
Pallas, s. of Lykaon
Genealogy: f. by Nike and foster-f. of Athena 81 1
Pallas, king of Athens 186
Pallene 239
Pallene, d. of Sithon 522 f.
Palmyra
-excavations at 1158 f.
Pamphylia, Hittite occupation of 1120
Pan
Cults: Athens 308 f. Mt Parnes 253 0
Thebes in Boiotia 393
Myths: "AypavXos 237% Zevs 6 Kepdarrjs 652 Mfyis 1131 opeubrris
-Etymology:
-Attribute: pipes 640
-Types: assaulted Aphrodite 1020 glorified goat 1131 recumbent 714
-associated with Men 308 f. Mother of the gods 853 Nymphs 253 0
In relation to Aigipan 620 (?) Zan 1131
-- death of 1131 (bibliography)
Panagia
Epithets: ?? 'A<Vata 189! SSSj Qeov 18^ 588!
Panainos, paintings at Olympia by 956
Panakeia 1083
Panamara
Cult: Zeus Haryvmaeos 1066
Panamareia 568
Panathenaea 720
Pandareos
Myth: golden hound 1110
Pandia 320 f.
Pandon
Etymology: 320 (?)
Pandonii, s. of Ektrops ii
Cult: Megara 783 1
Pandora
Function: earth 109
Confused with Pandrosos 240 244 245 1
Pandrosia, coins of 714 1
Pandrose 603 See Pandrosos
Pandrosos
Cult: Athens 243 f. Rite: λατρεία or sacrifice of sheep for Pandrosos in addition to eow for Athena 244
Priests: wears προδώσων or προδώσας, the garment of Pandrosos herself 245 wears small himation called προδώσας and passes the same to man slaying the victim 245
Genealogy: m. of Keryx by Hermes. 603
Function: dow 237 603 944
Type: birth of Erechthonios 186 Confused with Pandora 240 244 245 1
In relation to Zeus 260 f.
Pan, see Raisareia Panas
Panopeia 129
PanaiKEIA Pareon 1126
Papas
Etymology: 952
In relation to Kybele 952
Paphos
Cult: Aphrodite 238 f. 1112 Aphrodite Παφία 1134 Venus 646 0
Papenisi
Cult: Ares 844 3
Parabiago, silver patera from 1128
Parion, coins of 856 f.
Paris
Myth: judgment 66 67 f. 517 6770 770
Type: with Eros at his shoulder 1022
Paris, the city, statue of pantheistic Zeus at 1159
Parjanya
Genealogy: f. of soma 335 3
Function: rain 335 3
Parmenides 50 f.
Parnassos, Mt
Cult: baitylos (?) 889 2
ascent of 1165 f.
Parnes, Mt
Cult: Pan and the Nymphs 283 Zeus 'Απόδοτος 567 Zeus 'Ομήρος 526
-- gold cicala from 253 0
Paros
Cult: Zeus 'Εσθενέας 1173
Parthenia, name of Samos 1027
Parthenia, w. of Samos 1027 f.
Parthenius, Mt 833
Parthenios, river in Samos 1027 1
Parthenon, Aphrodite from east pediment of 698 ff. central slab from east frieze of 1184 1186 early apsidal form of 768 f. (?) east pediment of 657 ff.
est pediment of, as climax of pre-existing types 688 east pediment of, as reconstructed by successive critics 689 ff. épheboi in the west frieze of 706 f. 'Ilissos' or 'Kephisos' from west pediment of 698 on Etruscan mirror 680 (?) small copies
Parthenon (cont.)
of figures from the pediments of
698 699 west pediment of 751 ff.
Parthenos, personification of Mt Par-
thenion 823
Parthenos = Virgo, the constellation 823
Pasikrateia
Cult: Selinous 1186
Compared with Persephone 1188
Pasiphæ
Myths: wooden cow 1093 Zeus 615
Pataikeia 593
Pataikos
Epithets: Alytiwrios 'HpaKX-ijs 1687
Tiyyp&v or Tiywv 1687
Tiyyp&v or Tiywv 1687
ειρων 1587
Function: apotr6paion on land or sea
1587
Etymology: 1587
Types: 1587
Pelasgian
Cults: Athena 'Aλεξίων 869
Compared with 869 f.
Pellasses in Achaia
Cult: Zeus Káσσως 817
— bronze snakes from 1187
Pelicon
Cult: Athena 238
Pelops
Myth: ivory shoulder 1124
Genealogy: s. of Tantalos 417f.
— perhaps a Hittite vassal 417f.
Penthesilea
Myth: Achilleis 956
Penio
Myth: m. of Eros by Boros s. of
Metis 746 f.
Compared with ίηγ 747f.
Penteskuphia, votive
plinakes 672
Penthesilea
Cult:
(Apis) MeXXft'os 1187
bronze snakes from 1187
Penthesilea
Genealogy: m. of Eros by Boros s. of
Metis 746 f.
Compared with ίηγ 747f.
Penteskuphia, votive
plinakes 672
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bronze snakes from 1187
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Compared with ίηγ 747f.
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plinakes 672
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bronze snakes from 1187
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Compared with ίηγ 747f.
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plinakes 672
Penthesilea
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bronze snakes from 1187
Penthesilea
Genealogy: m. of Eros by Boros s. of
Metis 746 f.
Compared with ίηγ 747f.
Penteskuphia, votive
plinakes 672
Penthesilea
Cult:
(Apis) MeXXft'os 1187
bronze snakes from 1187
Penthesilea
Genealogy: m. of Eros by Boros s. of
Metis 746 f.
Compared with ίηγ 747f.
Persons Places Festivals

Persephone (cont.)

Epithets: Κλοπενὴ (?) 593 Χειρογυνα
96(8) 663

Priests: Σημαντζήγς 724, Ερφάραντς 395,
μωτανώγες 395 Φελαντής 961

Priests: Εμπορίας 724

Myth: eats one or more pomegranate-
pipe of Hades 815

Genealogy: d. of Zeus by Demeter
744 θ. m. by Zeus of the first three
Dioskouroi (Triptolemus, Enbou-
levs, Dionysos) 120

Etymology: 1127

Types: borne off in chariot by Hades
991 holding pomegranate 815
seated with corn-ears in right hand
and sceptre in left 713 seated with
Hades 425 standing with cross-
topped torch 402

Associated with Demeter 712
Superseded by St Agatha 447

See also Proserpina

Perseus

Genealogy: d. of Zeus by Demeter
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816 yseated with corn-ears in right hand
and sceptre in left 713 seated with
Hades 425 standing with cross-
topped torch 402

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See also Proserpina

Perseus

Myths: expelled in infancy by Akrisios
1187 Gorgon 843 846 founs My-
kennai 363 478

Genealogy: s. of Zeus by Danaë 455

Attribute: hērpe 843

Types: dangling Gorgon's head 849 f.

See also Proserpina

Persia

Cults: Anahita 916 f. rivers 907 f. 3
sky (?) 1114 Zervan 914 f.

Persus

Myths: born of the gods 893 ff.

Petelia, gold tablet from 419 f. 422,

Phaenix

Cult: Mother of the gods 907 f. sky (?) 1114 Zervan 914 f.

Pessinos

Cult: Mother of the gods 907 f. sky (?) 1114 Zervan 914 f.

Petrachos, Mt

Myth: stone swallowed by Kronos 929

Phaeacia

Cults: Leto Φελαντή 1042 f. Meter Theon
422 Zeus Φελαντή 1043 f.

Etymology: 200 (?) — coins of 617 f.

Phalanthos, Mt 321 (?)

Phaleron

Cult: Androgeos 158

Phanes

Myths: sprung from cosmic egg 745 f.
swallowed by Zeus 745 942

Genealogy: parent and h. of Nyx 745

Phanes (cont.)

f. by Nyx of Gaia and Ouranos,
Rhea and Kronos, Hera and Zeus
745

Type: androgynous 745

Identified with Metis (masc.) 745

Phanellus, Mt

Phaeton 136, 137 f.

Phaestos

Cult: Zeus Θάλασσας 281 f.

Phaethon, coins of 871

Phedias 47 θ. 169, 190 216 f. 216 f. 225, 238, 255, 260 f. 640 f. 662 686 696 698 f. 773

775 f. 297 516 f. 514 933 942 f. 1153

(bibliography)

Phemios, slays Hyperochos 1105

Pheonous 592

Phera

Cults: Enhoia 279 f. Hekate 273

Hypereia 273 f. Zeus Αφρος 271 f.


Philetaerus 593 f.

Philip of Macedon, dreams about birth of
Alexander 957 f.

Philippoi

Cult: Bendis 1134

Philistines

In relation to Crete 551 f.

Phylaktes

Myths: fetched by Greeks from Lemnos
at advice of Helenos 921 healed by
Lemnian earth 231

In relation to Hephaistos 190 f.

Philoktetes

Cults: Demeter 'Αργόσωκος 202 f. (Ge)

Philoktetes 'Αργόσωκος 202 f. Kore Πυρογυγή
202 f.

Pheobos

Etymology: 1137 (?)

Phoinike

Cults: (Hebe) Αίας 184 f.

Phylaxis

Myths: called Δρασάνες after the Δρα-
σανος of Kronos 481 Phaeacians
sprung from blood of Ouranos 481

Phaidros, stage of, at Athens 1107

Phaiostis

Cults: Leuci Φελαντή 1042 f. Meter Theon
422 Zeus Φελαντή 1043 f.

Etymology: 200 (?) — coins of 617 f.

Phalanthos, Mt 321 (?)

Phaleron

Cult: Androgeos 158

Phases

Myths: sprung from cosmic egg 745 f.
swallowed by Zeus 745 942

Genealogy: parent and h. of Nyx 745

Phanes (cont.)

f. by Nyx of Gaia and Ouranos,
Rhea and Kronos, Hera and Zeus
745

Type: androgynous 745

Identified with Metis (masc.) 745

Phannelus, Mt

Phaon 136, 137 f.

Pharao

Cult: Zeus Θάλασσας 281 f.

Phaeacians 272 f. Zeus Αφρος 271 f.


Philetaerus 593 f.

Philip of Macedon, dreams about birth of
Alexander 957 f.

Philippoi

Cult: Bendis 1134

Philistines

In relation to Crete 551 f.

Phylketes

Myths: fetched by Greeks from Lemnos
at advice of Helenos 921 healed by
Lemnian earth 231

In relation to Hephaistos 190 f.

Philoktetes

Cults: Demeter 'Αργόσωκος 202 f. (Ge)

Philoktetes 'Αργόσωκος 202 f. Kore Πυρογυγή
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Myths: called Δρασάνες after the Δρα-
σανος of Kronos 481 Phaeacians
sprung from blood of Ouranos 481

Phaidros, stage of, at Athens 1107

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422 Zeus Φελαντή 1043 f.

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Phalanthos, Mt 321 (?)

Phaleron

Cult: Androgeos 158

Phanes

Myths: sprung from cosmic egg 745 f.
swallowed by Zeus 745 942

Genealogy: parent and h. of Nyx 745
Phorbas 177
Phranios 655
Phrixos

Myths: builds sanctuary on Bosporos
148 dedicates altar to Twelve Gods
148 golden ram 1080

Genealogy: s. of Nephele by Athamas
s. of Aiolos 148

Phronia 77
Phrygia

Myths: builds sanctuary on Bosporos
148 dedicates altar to Twelve Gods
148 golden ram 1080

Genealogy: s. of Nephele by Athamas
s. of Aiolos 148

Phryne, bathes at Eleusis 297

Pisces 324
Pisidia

Cults: Hera Basileis 61 Zeus Kalaha-
kaydios 1162

Platies 88
Pleisthenes 44 ff.
Perseus, Zeus 21 59 f.
— as bridegroom of Basileia 57 ff.
Pitane, coins of 342 ff.
Plataiai

Cults: Athena 'Areta 773, Hera Nymfioumenon 1045, Herakles 932 1045

Platon 745 f. 900 f. 974 bees settle on lips of
infant 265

Plav, floating fen in Delta of Danube 1015
Plegades 976 See Kyaneai
Pleiades 487
Pleione, eponym

Cult: Sparta 161

Etymology: 164

Pleione in Aitolia 161
Pleades 987 f.

Platai, name of Islands of Aiolos 987
name of Strophades 987

Plounton

Etymology: 746 (?)

Attribute: cornu copiae 1053 (f.)
See also Pluto

Pliutos

Genealogy: s. of Iasion by Demeter
75 f.

— birth of 188, springs of 500

Plutarch, repeatedly quotes Pindar's
description of Zeus 964

Pluto, jaws of 482 440

See also Plouton

Plynteria 224
Pneuma 983
Poeni

Cult: Abadir 937
Fagra, coins of 899

Pollux in Lesbos 417
Polos at Tanagra 417
Polyarkhes 77

Polybios 14
Polydeuces and Kastor (bibliography) 1134
Polydora 357
Polyhymnos, the painter 397 f. 712 1067
Polyklitos 65 816 964 965
Polykratos 498
Polyneikes 110
Polyneikes 683 815

Polyphemos

Type: driven by infant Eros 1020 1023

Pompeii

Cults: Isis 641 Jupiter 29

Associated with Isis 747

Porphyry 55

Myths: founds sanctuary of (Aphrodite)

Olympos at Athamnos or Athmonon
55, Gigantomachy 55, 534 1148

makes love to Hera 55, slain by thunderbolt of Zeus and bow of
Heraclis 55

Genealogy: s. or b. of Athamas 55

Etymology: 55

Porphyrios, St 551 ff.

Porphyryis 46

Poseidon

Cults: Aphaia in Phrygia 22 Athens
9, 11, 758 Atlantis 283, 1184 Boeotia
736, Ephesos 599 (a) Erechtheion
114, 758 Cythion 11 Karpathos 18
Lesbos 1042, Myskonos 179, Mytilene
6 Cape Tainaros 21 23 Thera 13

Thera 11, Tralleis 22

Epithets: Aphaia 107 (?), Gaia 119

— birth of 188, springs of 500

Plutarch, repeatedly quotes Pindar's
description of Zeus 964

Pluto, jaws of 482 440

See also Plouton
Poseidon (cont.)

179a γαλας 104 Φοῖνικος
585a Πέτριος 179a Πυράλαμος 527 562

Rites: sacrifice of bull 'to Poseidon and
to Erechtheus' 759 sacrifice of
μαλλιά 370 sacrifice of white
male lamb 179a sacrifice of white
ram 179a

Priest: ἰσπέρα 123

Myths: contest with Athena about
Athens 750 ff. contest with Athena
about Trozen 751 contest with
Hera 751 contest with Zeus 751
Epitaleis 134 floods Thriasian plain
751 gives cow to Teleboes 750a
Koronis 752a Minos 862 Polybotes
140 produces sea at Athens 750 f.
produces springs at Lerna 361
punishes Inachus with drought
528 f. saves Anymone from Satyr
356 shows Anymone the Lernaean
springs 361 369 Tempe 101 wows
Thetis 741 f.

Genealogy: f. of Aloeus by Kanake
f. of Athena by lake Tritonis 128a
f. of Eryx by Aphrodite 176a
f. of Sinis 114

Functions: originally a specialised form
of Zeus 792 786 1140 1153 originally
a lightning-god with lightning-fork,
later a sea-god with fishing-spear
786 agriculture 527 earthquakes 5 ff.
943 sea 726 6 wind astern 162

Etymology: 730a 1140

Attributes: chlamys 1153 dolphin 1060
two dolphins 753 lightning-fork 20
867 trident 10 tunny 671a

Types: bearing the island Nisyros or
Porphyria 14a bronze statue from
Artemision (?) 1151 ff. energetic 697
exhibiting wave 755 (?) 755a (?) holding
diaphastos 755a hurling
trident 1153 in archaic reliefs of the
Twelve Gods 1056 ff. in the
grace of Zeus 1153 leaning on trident
1153 riding on dolphin 627a 831
seated on rock 581a standing with
dolphin and trident 12a striking
with trident 1153 terra-cotta relief
at Munich 1152 with eyes in garnet
217a with glaucous eyes 216 with
horse's head in hand 217a

Identified with Erechtheus 12a 737
758 f.

Associated with Amphitrite 681 953
Aphrodite 675a 699 f. Erechtheus
755 Zeus and Hades 6 1157 (?)
In relation to drunk 53a
Superseded by Zeus 21
— brass pillar of, inscribed with laws
1184 Ionian by descent 730a 751
provenance of 736 1140

Poseidonia, coins of 1153
Poseidonia, the festival 297
Poseidonistai 155

C. III.
Index I

Punt, serpent-king of 984
Pushkalavati
Cult: Nandi 1086
— coin of 1086

Pygmalion
Myths: bids Bousiris cure eight years’ drought by sacrificing a stranger
— slays Acerbas h. of Elissa 646
— golden olive of 983

Pythagoras, bids abstain from eating plough-ox or ram 591; conceives soul of dead friend as hound 413
— controls wind 106 explains earthquakes 25

Pythagoras of Ehegion 850
Pythagoreans, cosmic ship 18 fire at centre and circumference of universe 19
Klotho, Atropos, Lachesis 717
Milky Way 946 pentagram 341

Pythia, the festival 901
Pythion
Cults: Zeus Besarinos 1114 f. Zeus Keraunios 1157
Pytho 929 See Delphi
Python, the vase-painter 510 512 518

'Qaciu 884
Qebhsennu 346
Quadi
Cult: sword 1139
— miracle of 324 ff.
Quinquatrus Minusculae 856
Quinqueniialia 1141
Quintilian describes the effect produced by Pheidias’ statue of Zeus at Olympia 960

Ramman
Type: standing on bull 881
Identified with Zeus 945
Compared with Adad, Teshub, and the god of Mt Tabor 1173
Baal, sacred ploughing in 173, 606 ep. 610
Baal, image of 176, 606
Baal, miracle of 1156
Remus and Romulus (bibliography) 1184 f.

Rhadamantys
Genealogy: s. of Zeus by Europe 627, 629
Function: judge of dead 402
— oath of 47

Rhameus
Cult: Nemesis 955
— sanctuary of Nemesis at 1073
Rome (cont.)

Romulus
Myth: hurl spear at Palatine 754 — and Remus (bibliography) 1134 f.
Rosalia 293.
Sabatoth 1086
Sabazios
 Cult: Thrac-Phtgians 874
 Epith.: "Tn (Tn?) 874
 Function: rain 874
 Identified with Zeus 945 — hear dedicated to 875, regarded as boar (?) 875.
Sabines
 Cult: Vacauna 1012
 Saeceum, burial within house at 1181
 Sagaris, river in Phrygia 918 See also Sagaris
 Sagaritius 924
 Sauti, cult of 408.
Salamis
 Cult: Zeus 660 (?)
 Myth: Teukros 660.
Salamin personified 956
Salamin in Kypros
 Cults: Athens 653, Jupiter Salaminius 646, These ζ Σωματες 561 (?), Zeus 646 f, Zeus Ωμανας 648, 646.
 Rite: human sacrifice to Agraulos or Diodetes 653.
 Myth: Teukros 646, 650.
 — coins of 839, temple called Δωρασα as at 646 f.
Sallad
 Cult: Zeus Me bai ik Kopes 1098
 Sallares, dancing islands in Lydia 989
 Sullah, hymn of 1180
 Salomeus
 Myth: Zeus 966
 Personates Zeus 141
 Salus 1092

Šamaš
 Functions: sun, wisdom, law 1135 law and righteousness 836

Samemronous 983

Samos
 Cults: Aphrodite εν Καλάρων or εν "Eu", Dionysos Ουραγης 1093
 Hera, 645, 969 1027 f. 1045 Zeus 1027 f. Zeus Μαλχος 1187
 Festival: Tumen 1028 ff.
 Rite: θερα γαμου 1027 f. image of Hera annually carried off to the shore 1029 1031
 Myth: Admete 1029 birth of Hera beneath willow beside Imbrasios 1029
 Neades or Neides 86 — called Dryousa 1027, called Parthenia 1027 f. coins of 214, 849, 849, 1029 Hermon at 1027 once occupied by Carians 1027, 1029, willow-tree of Hera at 1028 ff.
Samos, h. of Parthina 1029
Samothrace
 Myth: Dardanos and Iason (Jason) 77 f.
 — mysteries in 133 135
Sakonhoionath 887 891, 1179
Sandanos 366
Sandas
 Type: standing on lion 831
Sangarios, river of Asia Minor 531 See also Sagarios
Sappho 136
Saphos, river of Asia Minor 531 See also Sagarios
Sappho 136
Sacca, mummies of horses at 1187
Saracens
 Cults: Aphrodite Χαλάρα (Χαλάρα) 915, 915, 917, Hecatophorus 915, 917.
Sarapis
 Cults: Athens 588, Delos 154 f.
Sarmizegetusa 1162
 Attributes: eagle 376 kalathos 1148
wreath 1148
Identified with Zeus 945
Associated with Zeus 1148
Sarcon
 Cult: Artemis 1082
Rites: νευροθάύμα και κινήμα (?), 1081
 — coins of 899, 899, 899
Sardus Pater 1119
Sarmizegetusa
 Cults: Fortuna Daciarum 1162 Invictus Deus Serapis 1162 Sol Invictus 1162 Theos Hypsistos 1162
Sartona 1162
Sartop
 Cults: bull-god 1110 pillar 1110 spring or well 1110
Myth: Aristaios 270
Sarpédon the Lycean
 Myth: slain by Patroklos 478
Genealogy: s. of Zeus 478 s. of Zeus by Europe 693.
Sartona 478

Persons Places Festivals 1249

79—2
Saturnus
Cults: Ghardiman 1095 Numidia 1078
Rome 967

Festival: Saturnalia
Rite: human sacrifice commuted
Types: cult-image filled with oil

Satyroi
Attributes: ivy-wreath

Satie
Cults: Hermes Megastos 1071 Zeus Heliopolis 1071

Sedasa
Cult: Hermes Meyio-Tos 1071 Zeus Helios 1071

Seleucia
Cult: Eros 266
Types: dog's head forepart of dog

Sêket or Serqet

Seleucia on the Kalykadnos
Cult: Zeus Boreos 161

Selene
Myth: consorts with Zeus 1111
Genealogy: m. of fifty daughters by Endymion 179 f.
Types: riding horse or mule driving granite down behind hills 718 facing bust with moon on head, seven stars ranged round, and zodiac as framework 1085 f.

Sekhet
Types: with leonine head, disk, and ankh 1064

Selinoi
Cults: Zeus Kastos 884, Zeus Keravnios 884

Selinon

S hemia
Cult: Theos Olbios Zeus Olbios 656

Sennina
Cult: Syria 889

Semele
Cult: Thraco-Phrygians 874
Epithets: 'Bychos 1114 Τη (Τη) 874
Myth: Zeus 820

Semeia
Myth: Diktya s. of Perišthenes draws chest of Danae to land 455

Sestos
Cults: Theos Olbios Zeus Olbios 656, Zeus Olbios 656 (?)

Set
Cult: Astarte 1023

Selinon
Cult: Hera Baoilea (?) 611

Sikyon
Cult: (Hebe) Δεα 184

Silenos
Etymology: 1106
Types: dancing 512 with pig's ears 920

Sikyon
Cult: Neilos Zeus Neilos in Syria 349

Simeon Stylites 779

Sisyphos
Types: rolling stone up hill 399 416 lashed by Erinys 416

Sithon
Myth: gives his d. Pallene to winner of single combat 522 f.

Skedasos, sacrifice to daughters of 565

Skirmion
Cult: Thracio-Phrygians 874

Skepsis, coin of 517 o

Skiron, the suburb of Athens, sacred ploughing at 606

Skiron, the wind 130

Skiria 115

Skikyon
Cult: Astarte 1023

Sisypheus
Myth: gives his d. Pallene to winner of single combat 522 f.

Skedasos, sacrifice to daughters of 565

Skopas, coin of 517 o

Skiria 115

Skiron, the wind 130

Skirephoros 106, 603

Skepsis, coin of 517 o

Skiria 115

Skikyon
Cult: Astarte 1023

Sisypheus
Myth: gives his d. Pallene to winner of single combat 522 f.
Skyllateus 413
Skylla

Etymology: 414, 416
Types: dog 414, semi-human 414 ff.
Connected with Sicily 976
In relation to Zeus Skyllios 1148
Skyllie 414, 1148
Skyllion, Mt 413
Skythia

Cult: semitar 907

Slaevieoic deities (?): Dzowana 64, Dzydzele 64, Jesza 64, Lado 269, Lel 64, Lymia 64, Myzyana 64, Nya 64, Poryzianus 106, Pogoda 64, Polel 64, Zywy 64

Smilis 1027

Smyrna

Cults: Aty 22, Boubrostis 1156 Zeus

Boreas 22

Rites: sacrifice of black bull to

Boubrostis 1156

marble relief at 757 ff.

Sol

Cults: Aquae Sulis 863, Palmyra 1112

Rome 906 ff.

Function: a fusion of Elagabalos and

other oriental Ba'alim (?)

Etymology: 858

Attribute: radiate crown 41

Types: in quadriga pursues Luna in

biga 41 radiate 863

Identified with Elagabalos 901, 902

Solomon, throne of 957

Solon, kyrbeis and dxones of 949

Solon, the gem-engraver 851

Soma 128

Sophatress 593

Sopatres 590 ff. 604, 661

Sophia

Epithet: genetis 746

Sophokles, controls wind 106

Sosipolis

Cult: Elis 239

Sounion

Cult: Zeus Melichos 1184

Sparta

Cults: Aphrodite 'Ephelous 723, Artemis

'Agodos 1030, Artemis 'Agios 1009

Athea 'Ephelous 1030, Athena

Xallosinos 11, 661, Moirai 'Agedeis 722

Oupia 196, Pheuron 161, Zeus

Elanemos 160, Zeus 'Ephelous 1182

Festivals: Gymnopaidiai 997, 1008

Prochemlia 1008

Rites: xamastigosis 1134, Andros popy

1009

Myth: Helene 78

Pedestle from 507

Sphinx

Myth: Mt Phikion 506

Sphinxes

Type: grasping Theban children 955

Stara Zagora, bronze statuette of Zeus

Olimpios at 1196

Statoniensis, Lake, floating island in 1013

Sterope 956

Sosichoros, palinode of 77

Stoics 934 ff. 978 ff. 947, 961 (? 1045

Stonehenge, genetically posterior to Wood-

henge 915

Stratonikea

Cult: Hekate 1066, Hekate 'Aphelous

544, Theos Agathos 1162, Zeus 508

Zeus 'Harmous 544, 1066, Zeus

'Testos 1162

— coins of 508 cp. 589 ox precedes

pries on 568

Stratos in Akarnania

Cult: Zeus 1185

Sthrophades, as floating islands 987 called

Plotai 987

Stymphalos

Cult: Hera Xhpa 1070

— tomb of Zeus at 1070 (?)

Succelus

Compared with Cornish 'Jack of the

Hammer' 1142

Sulis 858

See Sulis

Sulien, St 859

Sulis

Cult: Aquae Sulis 858 ff.

Epithet: Minerva 859

Functions: hot curative springs 858

sun-goddess 859, 863

Compared with Minerva Medica 859

Sumerians

Cults: Domouzi (later Tamouz) 1125

Im-dugud 1155, Liliti (? 832 ff.

Nin-khursag 1155

— balak in relation to pelekys (?)

1141 bull's head from harp of 1102

Summanus 1115

Symbetios

Cult: Syria 889

Symph eropolis

Cult: Zeus 'Arashiopus 1173

Symplegades 975 ff. 983, 987

Symodia

Cults: Zeus 1070, Zeus 'Hardamos 212

— coins of 212

Syra Sec Syros

Syrianos 745

Syrinx

Myth: Pan 1012

Syros, folk-tales from 818 ff. 977

Tabor, Mt

Etymology: 1102

— divine light round summit of

1068 name and cult of, spread to
Index I

Tabor, Mt (cont.)
Crete, Rhodes, Agrigentum, and
Crimes 1172 f.

Tages
Myth: 203
lore of 434

Talamaros, Cape
Cult: Poseidon 21 23

Talaios in Lakonike 237

Taliesin 1174

Talos
Epithet: Perdix 1111
Genealogy: nephew of Daidalos 1110 f.
Attribute: saw 1110

Talos
Epithet: Perdix 1111
Genealogy: nephew of Daidalos 1110 f.
Attribute: saw 1110

Talos, Mt, in Lesbos 417

Talonos
Epithet: Perdix 1111
Genealogy: nephew of Daidalos 1110 f.
Attribute: saw 1110
Identified with Engonasin or Ingenicus 491

Talnique 1111

Tala (?) 989 See Gygaia Limne

Talaimenes 989

Taly (Temsche) 338

Tanagra
Cults: Athena Zoeo trepa 567e Zeus
Maxare 567e — tomb of Orion at 417

Tanai's 366

Tantalos
Epithet: ^epo^oi'-a'is 418o

Genealogy:
s. of Zeus 417o f. of Pelops 417

Functions:
doublet of Atlas 417o Giant or Titan 418
supporter of sky 418

Etymology: 417o

Identified with Engonasin or Ingenicus 491

bones of 566 grave of, at Polion in Lesbos 417 grave of, on Mt Sipylos 417 perhaps a Hittite king 416

Tantslos, Mt, in Lesbos 417

Taos 491

Taranis
Cult: Celts 1191 (?)
Attribute: wheel 1191
Type: holding wheel 1074 (?)

Tarentum
Cult: Anemosi 105f. Hera 636e Zeus 'Eleutheros 1097
Rite: sacrifice of ass to the Winds 105 f.

— antefixes with head of Io from 655 f. coins of 636e 714 794 frieze from tomb at 435 loom-weights from 795 relief of Twelve Gods from 1055 ff. terra-cotta disks from 1119

Tarentum in the Campus Martius 1115

Tark See Tarku

Tarku
Cults: Hittites (?) 651o 652o Leleges (?) 651o

Tarku (cont.)
Identified with Zeus 651o

Tarquiniiensis, Lake See Volsiniensis, Lake

Tartaros
Etymology: 411o (?)

Tartos Trigaranus 1110

Tartren, seated goddesses and other discoid figures from 1101

Tat 332

Taurion
Etymology: 1155

Taurontaphia 570 1110

Taurons, Mt
Cults: Elagabalos 902 Faustina the younger 902

Tav, pre-Pygrian form of Zeus 1155

Tavein See Taurion

Taygeton, Mt, ascent of 1164

Tegea
Cult: Athena 'Aléa at 1141

— temple of Athena Aléa at 1141

Teiresias
Etymology: 1115

Telchines
Function: produce clouds, rain, hail, snow 296 581

Teleboe 507e 608

Telephos 928

Telesphoros
Type: hooded 1182 f.

In relation to Genius Cucullatus 1183

Tellis
Cults: Numidium 1078 Rome 243

Rite: sacrifice of pregnant sow 23

Type: with cornu copiae and child 904

Temenothymai
Cult: Zeus 'Hdóri'tos 1104

— rock-cut throne of Geryones at 1070

Temple 10

Temsche (Tamise) 338

Tenes (Tenes) and Hemithea 458

Tenes (Tenes) and Hemithea 458
See also Tennes (Tenes)

Tennes, "Tower of the Winds" at 129

Tereus
Myth: pursues Prokne and Philomeia 1147

Genealogy: h. of Prokne 53

Attribute: double axe 1147

— in the Birds of Aristophanes 44 ff.

Termessos (Termessus Maior)
Cults: Zeus 'Eleutheros 1175 Zeus 'Eleutheros 1175

Festival: Eleutheria (?) 1176

— coins of 1177

Terminus
Cult: Rome 441

Rite: blood of burnt sacrifice, incense,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>Places</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Terminus (cont.)</strong></td>
<td>corn, honeycombs, wine etc. placed in hole 441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Terra</strong></td>
<td><strong>Cults:</strong> Amen 882, Zeus 1131 Zeus Θεοπαρησί 837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Epithet:</strong> mater 453</td>
<td><strong>Thesia</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Testimonius</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tesor</strong></td>
<td><strong>Telesphorus, coins of 1012</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Compared with Adad, Ramman, and the god of Mt Tabor 1173</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tethys</strong></td>
<td><strong>Tethys</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Genealogy:</strong> m. of Motis by Oceanos 743</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tesana 259</strong></td>
<td><strong>Function:</strong> an emanation from Ge 1064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Testimonius</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cult:</strong> Numidia 1078</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teslab</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Compared with Adad, Ramman, and the god of Mt Tabor 1173</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teukros</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Myth:</strong> founds temple of Zeus at Salamin in Kypros 646, 666, 698 f.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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Thera

Cults: (Poseidon) Παράκτιος 13, (Zeus) Βορεάς 16, (?)

— rain-magic in 284

Therapne

Cult: Poseidon Παράκτιος 11

Theren 1032

Thermos in Aitolia

Cults: Ge 1184 Heleos 1184 Zeus 1184

Thesean 259

'Theoseion' at Athens 223

Theseus

Myths: finds sword of Aigeus 484

Myths: (T) Peirithoos 956 purified at altar of Zeus Meilichios 1184

Skiron 1186

Genealogy: s. of Aigeus by Aithra 484

Types: bidding farewell to Peirithoos 402

Euphranor 1186 fighting Amazons 955

Hurling Skiron into sea 1186

Raising the rock at Troizen 484 ff.

With Minotaur as centre of Labyrinth in mosaic 1087

Identified with Engonasin or Ingeniclus 484

Thesmophoria 166, 168, 169, 1030 f. 1083 f.

Thespiai

Cults: Apollon 1070 Athena 1066

Miletie 1187 Mnemosyne 1070

Theos Ταρρος 1086 Zeus 1070 Zeus Αφρος 1066 Zeus Καπειρος 1148 1162

1165 Zeus Μιλικος 1187

Thesprotis, floating islands in 987

Thesprotia

Cults: Jehovah 1162 Kabeiros 902, Theos Hyperistas 1162

— coins of 902;

Thessaly

Cults: Aphrodite 271 (?), Athena Βασίλισσα 608 Athena Τρευλα 871, Thetis 743, Zeus Ασφαλις 556 1080 1167

Festivals: Katabasis 1115 Sichna 935

Rite: Kledona 290 — coins of 870 f.

Thetis

Cult: Thessaly 743

Myths: hides Hephaistos in cave for nine years 228 seized by Peleus 1019 wooed by Zeus, Poseidon, and Apollon 741.

Type: borne by Triton 129

Associated with Zeus 743 f.

Compared with Metis 745

Thedaisia 570

Therumineis 1090

Thribe, gold ring from 681

Thomas, St, as 'twin' brother of Jesus 1128

Thor

Epithet: Thorrkarl 1078

Attribute: hammer 926 1139 (Mjolnir)

1142

Thorikos

Cult: Harpa Μελικία 725
Persons Places Festivals

Tithonos (cont.)

**Function:** personification of cicada 257

**Etymology:** 257 259

Compared with Erechtheus 248

Tiv, Etruscan moon-goddess 1130

Tituno 1159

Tiv-, Phrygian form of Zeus 1155

Tiv-, Etruscan Tituno 1159

Tiv, Phrygian form of Zeus 1155

Tiv-, Etruscan moon-goddess 1130

Tiv-, Phrygian form of Zeus 1155

Tmarion; Mt, in Arkadia 1168

Tmaros, Mt See Tomaros, Mt, near Dodona

Tmolos, Mt

- **Cults:** Zeus Δέσιος (?) 320, Zeus 'Τεήνω

- **Myth:** birth of Zeus 562

- place called Τοτών, later Δέσιος on 320.

Tmor, Mt, near Ragusa 1167

Tomaros or Tmaros, Mt, near Dodona

- **Cults:**
  - Zeus Aeaios (?) 320
  - Zeus 'Tetiro

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Twelve Gods (cont.)

Euphranor 1186

petuel Albani 1057

ara Albani 1060 f.

in Pompeian paintings 1062 f.

Tyche

Cults: Gaza 553

Nabataei 1097

Olba 646

ara Borghese 1057 f.

Albani 1057 1059 ara Albani 1060 f.

in Pompeian paintings 1062 f.

Enphranor 1186

araBorghese 1057 f.

puteal Albani 1057 1059 ara Albani 1060 f.

in Pompeian paintings 1062 f.

Tyche

Cults: Gaza 553

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puteal Albani 1057 1059 ara Albani 1060 f.

in Pompeian paintings 1062 f.

Enphranor 1186

araBorghese 1057 f.

puteal Albani 1057 1059 ara Albani 1060 f.

in Pompeian paintings 1062 f.

Enphranor 1186

araBorghese 1057 f.

puteal Albani 1057 1059 ara Albani 1060 f.

in Pompeian paintings 1062 f.
Volcanus

**Festival:** Volcanalia 431

**Etymology:** 235 1178

**Types:** beardless 1062 1ff. in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062 2ff.

**Identified with Donar 510 (?)**

**Associated with Minerva and Mercurius 209 f.**

Volsci

**Cult:** Jupiter Anxurus

Volsciennis (or Tarquiniiensis), Lake, floating islands in 1013

Vrtra 273 362 3 531 1134

Wejopatis

**Cult:** Lithuanians

Function: wind

Type: bifrontal

Wettingen, silver simpulum from 938

Willingham Fen, bronze mace from 1099 f.

Wind-gods See Anemoi, Venti

Wodan

**Function:** regnator omnium deus (?) 1117

Identified with Mercurius (?) 210

See also Odhin

Wolfgang, St

Woodhenge, genetically prior to Stonehenge 910

Xanthios, f. of Leukippos

**Function:** wind

Type: bifrontal

Xanthos (or Xanthios), slain by Melanthos 1105

Xanthos, the logographer 519

Xenia 1153

Xuthos

**Myth:** bear's female-child and male-child from his arm-pit, and six-headed son from his feet 98 (7)

Zagreus

**Rite:** annual death and resurrection 953

**Function:** the Cretan Zeus 953

**Etymology:** 953 1103

Zagron See Zagros, Mt

Zagros, Mt 950 1103

Zan

In relation to Pan 1151

Zanes, plural of Zen 1180

Zankle

**Cult:** Zeus 'Iðoματας (?) 1153 f. — coin of 1153 f.

Zedekiah 1090

Zef 1171 See Zeus

Zones, plural of Zen 1130

Zephyros 130

Zervan 914

Zethos

**Etymology:** 1133 (?) — and Amphion (bibliography) 1135

**Cults:** Achaeanas 650 1164 Agridentum 525 1171 f. Algeira 1107 f. Aigina 654 1164 f. Ak Kilisse 1140 (?) Akmonia

Persons Places Festivals
Zeus (cont.)
267 525 5800 1068 Mafetfs 1112
Mat,itdKT?/s 321fl Mdva^os 1163
Mdpvas 6 Ktipios 555 /uL^ya. 6av/j.a,
/j.ty dvdp&iroiffiv oveiap 947 Meyas
531.! 1098 (See also AiKcuotrwos) [Atyas
928 9492 neyaffeevfr 5670 9642 M^7toros 1160 1163 1172 (See also
Ne^ctJTijs) fj-eyiffros 342 /u^ytoTos 0e6s
1112 MetXi'xws 951 1184 1187 ff.
MeXt'xtos (= MetXi'xtos) 1188 MeXXt'xtos ( = MetXtx'os) 1187 Metre/)* etos
2436 M^Xios 1172 MijXcio-ioj 323
fjniriera 5670 743 745 ^TKTT^S 7273
/j.r,Ti6cu 743 928 Mi/xai'etfj 1428 3210
5662 5670 MtXix«>s ( = MeiX^ios)
1187 1188 Moipaytrris 7214 Moptos
762 Ndtos 3204 1078 NV^etos 1191
veipeXriyeptTa 30 ff. 296 314 3210
Ne0wr?;s 6 Meyto-ros 349 NoVtos 72
1111 SeVtos 325 6530 964 1184 1189
68r,yr,T-^p U71 "OX/3tos 628 ff. 1194
1196'OXy/wios 188 236 3204 60426480
6490 7372 954 967j 1068 1107 1155
11651196'(V{pioslll4''O/u/3ptos3204
3245 (?) 525 ff. 562 8734f. 874 944 '0^6yvios 963"0ptos 1183"0p«os946 1147
*'Op<rt'Xoxos 990(?) opffive^s
356
'Qffoy&a 1140 ovpavov...Kpeovri 35g
Otfptos 142 ff. 944 otfptos 5670 iray104 IIdXa£os (?) 1140 ttavdo-os 260 (?) Hai/eXX^wos (? Hadrian)
4220 Havofj.(t>a?os 3204 1076 Uavdirr^
1086 irdvrapxos OeSiv 534 HavTeTr6irT7)s
1086 Trai>T6irTas o3^irai'ToTi.vdKTris2lQ
Udffios 1181 Trdrep (voc. ) 471 5670 7378
947 9496 9642 Ilar-np 9490 10607 (See
also Bpoi>Tu>v)Ha,Tp<£os 5854 9642 1125
1174 Harpfos (= Augustus) 1191
(See also KT^O-IOS) IletciX^s 1111
HeXaayiKos 560e 1113 wepiyeios 1066
noXeiaZos(?) 5758 IIoXicuos (?) 5758
noXidpxw 6540 noXietfs 317 565
570 ff. 720 755 757 963 1194 TroXuve<f>e\as 358 n6Xw^os (?) 1140 Hop<f>vpiuv (?) 555 npo/j.i)0efc (?) 1075
2a/3elfios 87412 SaXa^tos (?) 6480
6490 Sdpan-ts 9730 aeiffix6uv
21
Si^aXeos 2676 S/ci)Xtos 4130 1148
SKtfXXios 413041404160114820X1/^6^
1176 S7rdXa|os 1140 2ir\ayxi'OT6/*os
652o SrpaTijY^s 148 Zi/Kacrtos 1184
crxfOK^aXos 32s SaxriTroXts 239j
599(3) 6047 2wr^/, 563 5759 6540
6590 1163 1177 1181 1184 1196 (See
also Aovffdprji) fftarrip 357 fapyvrivbs
65106520 TeXetos 609 94816949010607
feXecriovpyos 1192 Tepd<rTtos 939
T/idptos 1168 rbv /3iov KO.I fw^s Kai
ffVfj.irdvTwv doTrjpO, TWV dyadwv 9632
TOU KO.T CLffTpO.

ZT)v6s

1112

fpf(pWVLOS

or Tpotpibvios 2697 1182 Tpoiraio<f>6pos
1117 1po<p6vios 1182 (See also
toy) rvpavvos 1102'Tertos 319i

Zeus (cor;*.)
3204 531 561 ff. 5615 873 944
4732"T7/s ('T7?s?) 873 f. 944 'Twa
1177"T7raTos 531 945 9642 tyl
743g v\f/i/j.^8uv 1115 v\j/u>e<f>r)s 357
"TV'WTos 9394 945 1162 ff. 4>aXa«-p6s
(^dXa/cpos) 3210<l>d77'tos 1126 ^etStaKis
966 *iX(os 951 963 1189 1191 (Seealso
'ETrireXeios) 0£Xo<r 3174 3192 $i)|tos
963 0in-dXios 216 *urios 1071 XaXdftos 944 XaXdftos Scifwi' 880 f.
*Xeipoy6vos 99o (?) xpvff6/j^op<f>o^ 456o
'ftpo/j.dff§r)s
951
Festivals: Bouphonia (See .Rites: ^ov(pbvia) Dia 3204 Diisoteria 5759 Atos
^oOs (See Rites) Dipolieia 317 574 ff.
Rites: poyyia 563 povfavia 570 576 ff.
873 Atos jSods 564 Atos Kibdiov 6027
1081 6 did K6\TTov 0e6s 7756 human
sacrifice to lupiter Hospes (Zeus
Xenios) at Amathous in Kypros 6530
human sacrifice to Zeus at Lyttos
525 human sacrifice to Zeus in
Kypros 6520 human sacrifice to Zeus
Atabyrios in Eh odes and Sicily 525
human sacrifice to Zeus Ithomdtas
in Messene 525 human sacrifice to
Zeus Kretagenes (Marnas) at Gaza
554 f. human sacrifice to Zeus
Laphystios in Thessaly and Boiotia
525 human sacrifice to ZeusL^fcazos
in Arkadia 267 525 1068 human
sacrifice to Zeus Ombrios at Elis
267 525 f. libation of honey to Zeus
Endendros in Paros 1173 monthly
banquet in sanctuary of Zeus
Hypsistos 1163 procession of goat
leading priest 569 procession of rainmakers clad in sheep-skins 31 f . 68 f.
rain-magic 314 ff. sacrifice of bull
to Zeus filbios 630 sacrifice of bull,
ram, he-goat, boar etc. to Zeus
Hyetios, according to wealth of
donor 318 563 sacrifice of ox
representing Zeus Polieus 606
sacrifice of ox to Zeus Soter 22
sacrifice of pig to Zeus Heraws 1047
sacrifice of sixty rams to (Zeus)
Machaneus 5662 sacrifice of sheep to
Zeus Hdrios 1183 sacrifice of shegoat to Zeus in Crete 1110 sacrifice
of self-chosen goat 569 sacrifice of
self-chosen ox 581 ff. sacrifice of
white bull by Bektashi monks on
Mt Tomori near Berat
1171
v8po<f>6poi pour water over axe and
knife at Dipolieia 317 583 604
Priests : P. Aelius Aristeides 872 dp1112 dpxiepfvs fteyas 642\
589 f . (?)fiovTt-iros585ff. at Corycian
Cave 651 o pov<f>6t>os 583 586 fa/c6/>os
155i 1552 lepers 155j 1552 iepefis Sid
(liov 1176 /cXeidoCxos 155j of Zeus Iv
HaXXadlp drawn from Bouzygai 609


Zeus (cont.)

of Zeus Teleios drawn from Bou-

zygai 609 ταιμαίοι (τόιμαίοι) 1168

υποθήκη 1168 Ψαλιστοι 967

Priestesses: ἑδραφοί 583 603

Worshippers: Ἐρωμασταί, Ἀπολλωμα-

σταί, Ποιητικασταί 155 ιερόδολοι

Personated by Aeolian kings 141

Alexander the Great 540 alytarch

of Olympian games at Antiochea

on the Orontes 562 Antiochos i of

Kommagenes 951 (?) Antoninus Pius

1180 Augustus 1125 1181 Caligula

969, Caracalla 37, Commodus 37,

dead man 392 Demetrios Polior-

eketes 1115 Dorian 37, early Greek

kings 738 Epopeoïs (?) 1112 Geta 37,

hierophant 301, Ion 141 Keyx

1114 Nerō 1117 Perikles 35, 66

Pisistratos 21 59 priestly king

at Stratonikēs 568 (?) Roman

emperors 537a 537b Salamin 141

Trajan (?) 1191

Myths: adoption of Dionysos by

simulated birth from himself 59, adoption

of Herakles by simulated birth from Hera 99,

s. of Kronos 34 ancestor

poses Kronos 966 Dionysos sewn up

by Kronos 1187 extinguishes pyre

world between the sons of Kronos 34

drinks of Nile and begets Ares 943

Endymion 74 expelled in infancy

by Kronos 1187 extinguishes pyre

by timely rain 506 ff. fights with

Typhon 191 flays the god Ama-
thelis and wears its skin 839

Hephaistos down to Lemnos 285

Ganymedes 469, 955, 981 f. gets aigis

from Hephaistos 866 f. Gigantes

792, 966 gives cup to Alkmene 507,
hangs up Hera with dikmones

fastened to her feet 924 head clef

by Hephaistos 669 f. head clef by

Hermes 661 head clef by Paionios

661 head clef by Prometheus 661

hidden from Kronos in Crete 953

Iasion 75 f. Io 631 ff. 1062 Ixion 74 f.

leaps upon Phanes and swallows

him 745 lends aigis to Apollon 314,

lends thunderbolt to Athena 868

to Apollon 314

lineance 75 f. Io 631 ff. 1062 Ixion 74 f.

Nepenthes 567

knew by Hyades (?) 1082

Meteres in Crete 225, Poleides (?)

1082

nurtured by bears 955 doves 975

prince slain by wild boar and

buried in Crete 1070 rains am-
brosia at birth of Dionysos 477 500

rains blood before battle between

Achaeans and Trojans 478 rains

blood before death of Sarpedon the

Lycian 323 478 rains blood before

single fight between Herakles and

Kyknos 478 f., rains golden snow at

birth of Athena 477 507 rains gold-

snow at wooing of Alkmene 477 507

rains stones to help Herakles

fighting Ligurians 483 492 rains

wine etc. in Utopia 500 Salamin 477

141 966 Semel 52 swallows Metis

724 729 743 f., 942 swallows Phanes

745 942 takes Athena 746 757

threatens to flog Hera 924

Titans 478, 839 966 Typhoens 615,

Typhon 1135 visits Hera clandest-

inely 1025 f. woon Theis 741 f.

Metamorphosed into Amphitiron 597 f.
bull 469 615 f. 528 eplh αεδη 466 f. coins,
chains, rings, trinkets 467 cuckoo
64, 1043 dew 180 261 eage 981

1129 (?) Eros 94 129 golden rain

455 golden snow 477 518 rain 477

Satyr 467 469 1111 swan 63, 467 469

Genealogy: s. of Kronos 34 ancestor

of Danaids 142 reputed f. of

Aithiea the s. of Aiolos 107 f. of

Apollo and Artemis by Leto 744, 1106

f. of Ares after drinking of Nile 344,
Zeus (cont.)

Persons Places Festivals 1261

Zeus (cont.)

f. of Athena by Mesis 744, (cont.)
Atena, d. of Poseidon by lake
Tritonis 128; f. of Basileia (?) 60, (2)
86ff. f. of Britomartis by Hekate (?) 944,
32f. f. of Charites 955 f. of the
(Atelas, Euphrosyne, Tisias) by
Eurynome of Dik 27th f. of
Themis 829 f. of the first three
Dioskouroi (Triptolemus, Enboules,
Dionysos) by Persephone 120
f. of Eriochthonios by Ge 236 f. of
Hebe, Ares, Eliathonia by Hera
744, (1) f. of Hebe 734 f. of Herakles
by Alkmene w. of Amphitrion 506
f. of Herakles by Hera 929 f. (?)
74 f. of Herse 361 f. of Herse by Selene
749f. f. of the Horai (Eunomia, Dike,
Eirene) and the Moirai (Klotho,
Lachesis, Atropos) by Themis
744, (2) f. of Iason by Elektra 771
f. of Megaron (Megareus) 1165 f.
of Medus by Mykke 1111 f. of
Melitess by nymph Othres 246
f. of Minos and Rhadamanths by
Europe 627 f. of Minos, Sarpedon,
and Rhadamanths by Europe 629,
f. of the Muses by Mnemosyne
744, (3) f. of Persephone by Demeter
744, (4) f. of Persephone by Demetra
744, (5) f. of Sarpedon the Lycian
f. of the Lykan the Lycian f. of
Spartaios, Kronios, Kytos by
Himalia 749 f. of Tantalo 417,

Functions: agriculture 526 f. air 180
322, ait de 1045, ancient king 120
chthonian 369, (2) 1160 (?) clouds
30ff. 945 1171 common Father and
Saviour and Keeper of mankind
963 974 contriver 567, cosmic lord
948 creator of the universe 964 974
1179 dew 165 ff. 236 261 ff. 261,
265 944 earthquakes 1 ff. 30 ff. 943
1163 etesian winds 142 266, favouring
wind 141 ff. fertility 666 fire 224
fire in heaven 294 foam 273 ff.
giver of himself to men 961 giver
of livelihood and life and all good
things 963 guardian of théistes
949 hall 868 875 ff. head of Hellenic
pantheon 943 honey-dew 500 law
of mature 950 magician 81 567,
743 marriage-god 609 948, 1066
meteorites 881 ff. 944 mills 1125
mind of man 950 moon 943 north
wind 161 not ab initio the husband
of Hera 744, 1025 1063 oaths (See
witness of oaths) orders the
constellations 1121, 1123 paranastis
745 947 1129 patron of arts 567a, patron
of law and order 949 peace and
harmony 963 protector of the
bloodguilty 951 protector of bound-
aries 1188 protector of suppliants
and strangers 951 f. providence 946
1197 rain 31 294 ff. 314 ff. 319 ff.

464 525 601 f. 868 873 f. 944 sky
942 943 sky-god 948 1092 stars 948
953 storm 55 storm-winds 868 sun
943 945 953 1071 the supreme
spirit 728 (?) transition from sky
to sky-god 948 tyrant 1102 universe
or universal soul 727 weather 519
943 welfare 630 west wind 162 whirl-
winds 162 f. wind 103 ff. 157 944
(See also etesian winds, favouring
wing, north wind, storm-winds,
west wind, whirlwinds) witness of
oaths 245ff. 946 1140 1148

Attitudes: aigis 314 533 ff. Athena
548 chiton 628 chlamys 517, cock
1043 corn-ears 1126 double axe
604 f. eagle 571 573 elephant 545 ff.
globe 1113 golden bay (?)-wreath
464 465 543 544 Nikola 321
nimbius 749 f. oak-tree 528a (?) 568
569 881 (?) oak-wreath 36 537 f. 871,
1033 (?) 119 olive-wreath 688 (?) owl
794 palm 545 f. panther 563, phile
676a plough 1125 pomegranate 817
radiate nimbus 1112 reddish violet
himatia 558 sceptre 658e
1140 sceptre tipped with
1040 1048, 1057 1060 sceptre
tipped with foreparts of winged horse
665 sceptre tipped with Janiform
head 686 sceptre tipped with ram's
head 665, short sceptre 649 snake
1169 spear 241 1147 sword 1142
thorns with back ending in swan's
head 667, throne with seat resting
on small carved figure or group 667,
thunderbolts 36 326 945 f. Thames
685a two snakes 1184 two thunderbolts
946 veil 883, 1083 wedding-ring 1083
winged thunderbolt 465

types: argos aithes 939, 941 as a bull
bearing off Europe 615 ff. as a bull
emerging from sea 980 as conceived
by Alexander the Great 933 beard-
less 684 (?) 1155 birth of Dionysos
on bullae 884 birth of Dionysos on
coma 885 birth of Dionysos on mirrors
569 birth of Dionysos in relief 386 (f.)
birth of Dionysos on vases 805, (f.)
Borghese head 1154 f. bovine 656
bronze statue from Artemision (f.)
1151 f. bust holding grapes and
corn-ears 1125 f. bust shouldering
thunderbolt or sceptre 542 bust
with eagle on right shoulder 1169
bust with large garland round head
1160 carrying infant Dionysos 1107
colour of hair 1066 Dionysios (See
Assimilated to Dionysos) driving
chariot 1076 enthroned en face
676 (?) enthroned with globe as foot-
stool 945 Eukleides of Athens 1107f.
Zeus (cont.)

fair-haired 36 Falerio 535 537 fighting Centaur 1145 fighting Giant 844a 845a fighting Porphyryion 534 1148 fighting Typhon (7) 193, 1142 head in Hermitage 964 head from Mylasa 964 head at Vienna 964 Hellenistic cameos 537 f. holding lots (7) 1181 horned head with long rough hair 658q 656q Hybristias 1150 in archaic relief from Thasos 1155 f. in archaistic reliefs of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff. in chariot drawn by two eagles 324 350 1136 in labour 658q Otricoli 536q 964 parthieia 1129 Phedias 954 f. 1150 Phedias, masterpiece, as described by Dion Chrysostomos 961 ff. Pompeii 534q pot 1114 pre-Pheidias cult-image at Olympia (7) 954q 955q pre-Pheidias figure of Zeus Lykatos 1155 f. progressive senescence 736a pursuit of Alcina d. of Asopus 1121 f. reclining amid clouds 36 recumbent with globe and sceptre on eagle's back 1112 riding in bridal procession with Hera 389q seated beside Hera as bridegroom and bride 1027 q.

Zeus (cont.) seated with thunderbolt in lowered right hand and sceptre in raised left 567 ff. seated yet hurling thunderbolt 1136 semi-bovine 656 standing beside cone of Aphrodite Pupide 650f standing in attitude of oriental slackness 842 standing in front of standing Athens 1057 standing to front with brandished thunderbolt and sceptre 542 standing to right, nude, with lowered bolt 571 f. standing to right, nude, with lowered bolt and phiale (?) held over altar 572 f. standing with gesture of prophylaxis and long sceptre 543 standing with Hekate in his right hand and spear or long sceptre in his left 544 standing with kalathos on head and Mt Argaeos in left hand 1177 standing with phiale in right hand, short sceptre in left, and eagle on right 544a standing with thunderbolt and sceptre 540 f. striding to left with thunderbolt and aigis 532 f. striding to right, nude, with brandished bolt 570 f. striding to right with bolt and bird 1150 1157 Straganevof bust 1174 surrounded by zodiac 9481112 neomorphic 650 wears aigis in Homer and once on an Ionic vase, but not again till Hellenic gives place to Hellenistic art 867 winged 1129

Index I

Dionysos 684q Assimilated to Adad 945 Amen-Re

Identified with Adal 945 Amen-Ra

862q 945 Ammon 945 Aramaean god Qaou 884q Aristaos 267 f.

270 Ba'al-hammâni 945 Ba'al-âmar

945 Ba'al Zaphon 1177 the Devil 653q (?) Dike 951 Dionysos 1126 Dousares 912 Helios 1071 Indra 531 540 545 Jehovah 945 Marnes 557 558 555 Mithras 945 Neleos 344 f.

524 1077 Nomos 951 Mt Olympos 321a rain 451 f. Ramman 945 Roman emperors (See Personated by) Sabazios 915 Sarapis 949 Tarku 651a

Themis 551

Associated with Dionysos 685q

Associated with Aphrodite 1086 Apollon
Persons Places Festivals

Zeus (cont.)


Compared with Christ 954 Hades 1189 Zeus 747 (?) Uther 509 (?) Zeus (cont.)

Compared with Phedias and Polykleitos 964

In relation to boar 1148 Charites 1057 Diok 949 f. Diomos 585a Eros 1120 Hera 632b Horni 1057 Jehovah 1177 Moirai 1057 oaths 1148 Pandora 260 f. Poseidon 21 the problem of evil 974 Prometheus 1075 rain 319ff. Skylla 1148 wren 524

Supersedes a proto-Hellenic mountain divinity 750 Poseidon 21

Superseded by Abbas Ali (?) 1168 ff. St Athanasiou (?) 1187 St Constantine 1166 St Elias 1167 Gordios 1162 Hephaistos 188 St Michael 277 (?)

—which accouchement of 662 ff. amount of 467 469 948 baityloi dedicated to 889 belt of 1167 (?) birth of, as dance-theme 936b blue-black eyebrows of 1066 chronique scandaleuse of 948 clouds of 35 cups inscribed ΔΟΣ ΣΧΩ ΠΟΣ 1184 decline in worship of 966 earliest representation of 1192 (?) eye of 1071 finger of, inscribed Παιδερας καλός 955 (?) fleece of 1061 garden of 746 1062 gold treasures stolen from head of Zeus Olympos 969 ep. 966 goodness of 961 guild of Zeus Hypostis in Egypt 1163 ff. horses of 1064 in Orphic theology 1177 ff. in the plural (Ζώρες) 1130 in the plural (Ζώρες) 1130 jar of 108 jars of 1181 largest extant statue of 568 list of Zeus-cults in or near Athens 1166 love to wards 1189 love-gifts of 688 miracle of Zeus Panamis 1066 moral stability of 948 ff. name of, misspelt by Megarian (?) vase-painter 671a nuptial bed of 59 60 nurturing dews of 366 603 on the theologion 512 rain the child of 322 rain the seed of 451 ff. rain the tears of 322 f. rain the urine of, passed through sieve 333 rain as 'Zeus-drops' (Δα ψαές) 451 rain as 'Zeus-water' (Χρων ιον τόσο) 322 451b rays of 1066 1077 road of 60 946 op. 974 scale of Phedias' statue at Olympia criticised 965 scales of 1150 sceptre of 321 324 1184 sickle of 1135 sneeze of 662 (?) 732 (?) spear of 21 59 3 1081 1084 statue of Zeus Olympios 1075 struck by lightning 968 statue of Zeus Olympos removed to Byzantion 969 f. statue of Zeus Olympos finally burnt in the Lauseion 970 surviving influence of the statue of Zeus Olympos 970 superannuation of 739 ff. tablets of 950 teachers of (Olympos) 323 (Korybantes) tears of 322 323 323 2 temple of, at Salamis in Kypros, called Διός περίδεως 846 f. thémesistes of 949 thron of, at Olympia 956i tomb of, at Anoiea 1070 tomb of, on Mt Juktas 1173 tomb of, near Mt Tmolos (?) 562 f. of, restores Io 633 0 trumpet of 732 ubiquity and helpfulness of 947 974 vicissitudes experienced by statue of Zeus Olympios 967 ff. wagon of 1162 (?) whip of 1160 will of 947 world-significance of 973 f.

Zeus, the planet 342 Zeusis, a Lydianised form of Zeus 1128 Ziz see Ziu Ziu Personated by Commodus 1100 Zizyma, dedication to ἸΩ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΩ at 1126 Zoroastres 1115 Žywyc, the Old Slavonic cuckoo-god 64a
Zeus Olympios

INDEX II

SUBJECTS

Abaddon as name of Kronos' stone 936
as name of Mauretanian god 937
etymology of 937
Abab as name of Mauretanian god 937
etymology of 937
Abata of Tritopatreis 114 of Zeus Katai-
bdtes 1115
Abbott, G. F. 25?! 289 292
Abercromby, Hon. J. 4464
Accouchement 663
Adcock, F. E. 188 1140
Addison, J. 466g
Adler, F. 561 871
Adoption, primitive, by pretended birth from father 89
Adyta of Athena at Pellene 238
of Bel at Palmyra 1159 of Marnas at Gaza 553
of Orpheus at Lesbos 100 of Zeus at Nemea 1083 ff.
Aer 68 161 726
Aetites, the eagle's stone 792
Agnotus as antisapodiscus 1031 as
aphrodisiac 1031
haggling of slave at Chaireneia with rods of 1031
2
Afrarkis or Ahura as antiaphrodisiac 1031 as
aphrodisiac 1031
flogging of slave at Chaironeia with rods of 1031
5
Ammenopis at Nemea 225
Asgard, the eagle's stone 792
2
Agnus cast/us as antiaphrodisiac 1031 as
aphrodisiac 1031
flogging of slave at Chaironeia with rods of 1031
5
flogging
of Spartan youths with rods of 1031
5
statue of Artemis at Ephesos made of 968j (?)
statue of Asklepios Agnitas in
Sparta made of 10304 the willow of
Hera at Samos 1028 f. young married
couples in Greece wear wreath of
1032J (?)
Agnon 1121
Agriculture as an evocatio of earth-powers
to help farmer 202
0
f. deities of 526 f.
561 f.
Agyieus-pillars 1120
Aigis of primitive pre-warlike Athena 189(?) of Athena 837 ff. of
Athena a skin-cape either scaly or feathered as being the exuviae of her former animal
self, either Snake or Owl 837 ff. 842
844 866 of Athena as shield 843 of
Athena decorated with sun (?), moon,
and stars 805 of Athena derived from
fringed goat-skins of Libyan women
838 f. (?) 841 of Athena transferred to
Zeus 866 f. of rustic a cloak of goat-
skin 837f. 841 shaken by Zeus causes
storm 514 taken by priestess of Athena
to home of newly married couple 222
2
841 worn and used by Apollo 866
Aithéris in relation to áér 68 943 equated with
Athena 737 728 Hera suspended by Zeus in 924 wrath made of 78
Aithyia as form of Athena 782 f. as light-
ing-bird 792 f.
Ákon non 924 f.
Ákrotéria, risks in terra cotta as 1074
groups in terra cotta as 1186
Alföldi, A. 976b
Alford, Miss V. 1080 1090 1130
Altar and base in earliest Artemision at
Ephesos 1138 approached by two
snakes 1062(1) as object of cult 1091 f.
at Delos called évéβας θεος 593
octagonal, at Pili or Paxy 1085 of
Aphrodite 'Epv/dvy 'covered with dew
and fresh grass' 174 of Apollon at Delos
1087 1172 of Apollon Delphinius at
Dreos 1087 in Dis in Tarento 1115 of
Elagabalos at Emesa 902 of Liber
Pater in Thrace 1137 of Mater deum
on Tiber-side 895 f. of Venus 518 of
Zeus Herkeios at Athens 749 759 of
Zeus Lúdias at Nikai 1184 of Zeus
Meléchthos at Hiera Syke 1184 of Zeus
Pólietis at Athens 575 755 757 1194
taurobic 66 with remains of last
offering on it 1062(2)
Altars, combination of trípeza with bomós
580 horned in Delos etc. 1091 of
Dionysos 580 of Zeus Lykeinos 580 of
Zeus Pólietis 580 in Erechtheion 213
758 f. on bastion of Athena Nike 1196
Altheim, F. 1112 f.
Alviella, Count Goblet d' 302
0
Aly, W. 414 a 1092
Amann, J. 1179
Amazonomachy 955 956 f.
Ambrosia, etymology of 497 identified with
honey 496 f. brought by doves to Zeus
976 given by Ganymedes to eagle 981 f.
rained by Zeus at birth of Dionysos
477 500
Ameling, W. 537, 689 1096, 1060
Amethyst cameo 951 in bail-charm 876
Amphíbáitina 763
Amphíthálés 1181
Amulets 538 f. 765 f. 1142
80—2
Apple as love-gift to a woman or gift of dominion

Apples, bough of golden, given by Ge to Hera 1064 of Hesperides 1019 (See also Apple-tree) of immortality 1170 f.

Apple-juice impregnates Phanuel's thigh 970

Apple-tree as conventional background 617 of south-European folk-tales 420 of Hesperides 1064 (See also Apples) of silver in Celtic mythology 420 421 on Mt Tomori near Berat 1170 f.

Aquae manale., aquimanile, aquiminarium 435

Arno, as suffix in pre-Greek names 1111


Arbois de Jubainville, H. d' 367 o

Arman, P. 656

Arrhephoria 115 f. route taken by, at Athens 169 f.

Arzt-type of combat modified to express litigation 754 presupposes definite belief and often definite cult 668 presupposes some warrant in earlier literature or art and may ultimately be traced back to remote religious conception (e.g. Hellenistic deity in chariot drawn by sacred animals, Hellenic deity riding on sacred animal, Anatolian deity standing on sacred animal) 831

Arvanitopoulos, A. S. 277 279 f. 1080 1114

Ashby, T. 435 444 444 444 1172

'Asherim in relation to Massebhoth 910 cp. 1092

Ashmore, B. 968

Ash-tree of Odhin's steed, Yggdrasil 404

Ash-ter, men of Bronze Age sprung from Ash-tree of Odhin's steed, Yggdrasil 404. 0

Ashes sacrificed to Apollon among the Hyperboreoi 106 skins of, made into bags to catch wind 105

Astoragalmanteia 1137

Astrogalos, clay vessel, perhaps fetish of Athena 191

Astrology at Alexandria 346 cp. 914 914 in early Greece 1112

Athenian, clay vessel, perhaps fetish of Athena 191

Atkinson, W. C. F. 76 864 364 746 1173

Aubrey, J. 728

Audin, A. 896 896

Aust, E. 1155

'Aucastraution' 1174

Austran, C. 1141

Avezou, C. 1134 1162

Axo, double, Mesopotamian prototype of 1138 of flint 926 of bronze 926 in relation to Labyrinth 1141 (bibliography) in post-Cretan times 1138 from
Axe, double (cont.)
Athens with Halstatt decoration 605
1076 1145 f. in mosaic at Olynthos 1073
on coins of Tenedos 789 of Daidalos
1111 of Epelos 1141 f. of Hephaistos 125,
200 255 477 700 739 789 of Ikarios 1111
of Kronos 200 of Prometheus 1141
of Sethlans 678 of Tereus 1147 of Zeus
604 f. as lineal ancestor of double lance
(λαβρώτατα, τα Ρωμαϊκά) 1141
Axes, double, of amber 1143 of bronze
1143 of bronze with incised designs
1143 ff. of gold 1143 carried by priest
of Belfa 1142 imbedded in columns
1138 on capital of Iberian column
1138
Axes, holy 661
of the Bouphonos at Athens tried and
acquitted 583 ff. of Hermes 661 of
Sopatros 590 of Thaulon 596
small, from Caister-by-Norwich 1147
of Essene neophytes 1141
Axes of copper 1143 of silver 1143
Axe of stone ending in forepart of panther
1192
Axes backed by a bull 1142 blood-stained,
in hail-charm 878 with animal heads
1142
Axe-hammer of blue or green stone
1142 f. with Sumerian inscription 926
Axe-shaped pendants from Benin etc. 1146
Axe-worship 1070
Axis of universe 946 974
Axones 1183 f.
Aymard, A. 1114
Babelon, E. 802 1092
Bachelors after death bring sand from the
Rhone in holed baskets 426
Bachofen, J. J. 89
Bach, A. W. 475
Bajfenius, G. 875
Belgian du Mans, P. 232
Becker, W. A. 49
Beckett, J. T. 642
Bent, J. T. 1141
Benton, Miss S. 1192
Bequignon, Y. 189i 277
Beghins, J. 1141
Belphegor, Christian, compared with Eleu-
sinian λαβρώτατα 297 f.
Barban, E. 501
Barbedette, L. 1117
Baring-Gould, S. 689 739 753 1013
1102
Barley, gold ears of, from grave near
Syracuse 307
Barnes, J. 420
Barnett, L. D. 1110
Barnett, R. D. 1068
Bassett, J. 261
Baldwin, Miss A. 261
Balfour, H. 1137
Bancroft, H. H. 475
Barkhui, G. 723
Baker-Penoyre, J. ff. 1155
Balanso, N. 813 814
Baldwin, Miss A. 261
Balfour, H. 1137
Bancroft, H. H. 475
Beards, Mesopotamian, in shape of double
axe 1138
Beans represent testicles 1032 o
Bean-field, idol thrown into, at Malta 1031;
Beanstalk, Jack and the 1117
Bear as substitute for Iphigeneia 233! boy
killed by 1124 Candlemas 1130 Magistus
(= Kallisto) metamorphosed into 484 in
myth of Polyphemus 572 Springtime 1130
'Bears,' human 1080
'Bears' fat in hail-charm 478
Bear-mask 1068
Beasley, J. D. 184 202 668 669 684 f.
686 f. 702 f. 710 797 807 934 1063
1111 1118 1192
Beckett, F. 95 283 289
Bee, L. 919 923 924
Becker, W. A. 49
Bee guides hero in folk-tale from Syra 977
'Bees,' human 1083
Beehives regarded as thunderbolts 884
Belger, C. 169 1183
Bell, A. W. 475
Bellucci, G. 875
Belon du Mans, P. 232
Bell of Zeus (?) 1167
Bondinelli, G. 136 136 684
Bendorf, O. 18 865 813
Bent, J. T. 642
Benton, Miss S. 1192
'Begni', Y. 189 277
Bercoules, J. 1141

Subjects

Authorities
Index II

Blegen, E. P. 813
Bergk, T. 784, 614, 729 f.
Bernays, J. 578, 590
Bernhard 358
Betha, E. 488 1135
Betwixt-and-between, e.g. a daömon neither mortal nor immortal 746
Beulé, E. 807 f.
Bever, E. 1077
Beyen, H. G. 1151 f.

Bird of Truth 844 speaking 844 understanding all languages (Dikheretto) 844 977
Birds of fiery colouring appropriate as lightning-carriers 792 f. of prey held to be full of celestial fire 791 f. on the sceptres of early kings 674
Birth from arm 95 ff. from arm-pit 98 i 97(4)
Birth of Hestia 178 f. of Stesichoros 77
Birthday of Artemis 178 f. of Athena 719 f. of Helios 915 f. of martyr on day of martyrdom 1105
Bissinger, F. W. von 1198
Bitch suckles infant Zeus 916 f. (?). suckles Kydon s. of Apollo 414 f.
Black bull sacrificed to Boubrostis 1156
Blackened mask with sheep's horns 1156
Madonnas 897 pavement at Olympia, aesthetic effect of 958 pavement at Olympia, practical purpose of 967 stone of Dousares 907 917 stone of Emecu 900 ff. stone of Pessinous brought to Rome 895 ff. trident 1156

Blanchet, A. 441 f
Blegen, C. W. 526
Blochet, A. von 106
Bloch, L. 896
Blindness of Homer 77 of Stesichoros 77
Blinkenberg, C. 189, 555
Bloch, L. 896
Blochet, E. 916
Blood, of Ouranos 481 rain of 478 ff.
Bloomfield, M. 273, 874, 410 ff.

Blue globe 441
Blümel, C. 1003
Blümel, R. 662 f.
Blümer, H. 923, 967 f.
Blum, G. 1183
Blumenthal, A. von 106
Boar as form of Sabazios (?) 875 in relation to Zeus 1148
Boat with stag's head as prow 1119
Bocaccio, G. 501
Bocchini, A. 1127
Bömer, F. 1194
Boisaegh, E. 497, 792
Boll, F. 401, 491, 492, 914 f.
Bolling, G. M. 69, 596 f.
Bole, J. 449 977
Bones, fossil 3 f.
Bone, G. 435 ff.
Bonner, C. 356, 357, 358 ff. 398, 1120
Bosanquet, E. C. 248, 1091
Bosch, C. 1172
Bosom-band of Danaë 463 of Nereid 134 fig. 53
Bosser, H. T. 1146
Bottles of Noesis 335 f.
Bottle-shaped goddesses on coins of Asia Minor 899
Bothell, W. 1142
Boundary-stones 114 177 f. 441, 725, 1120 1181
Bouphónos 586, 589, 656
Bouïpex 589 f. 606, 619
Bourgnet, E. 1131
Bourke, J. G. 476
Bouxños 585 ff. 669
Bové, N. 760
Bow, C. M. 1083
Boyancé, P. 187, 1115
Brakman, C. 1115 f.
Brandis, C. G. 366 f.
Brandenstein, W. 1105
Branding of galley on Samian slaves 791 f. of owl on Athenian slaves 790
Brandis, C. G. 366 f.
Brauchitsch, G. von 574 f.
Braun, E. 185, 815 f.
Bread of Hera sucked by Herakles 89, 92, 94 f. of maiden replaced by one of gold 1124 of Siren beaten in mourning 385(4) of Virgin Mary bared in last appeal 974 f.
Breasts beaten before first corn-ears reaped 305(5) f. cakes shaped like 380(?). held by mother-goddess 193(4) of Anahita 'saax seins arrondis' (?). of Aphrodite (Astarte?) pressed 1016 of Athena full and prominent 225, 607 of St Barbara cut off 472 f. of Chasbô 'Mädchen mit reifer, voller Brust' (?) 914 of St Christina cut off by order of Julianus 1013 of Europe lit up by mysterious glow 626 f. of female figures bared in fifth-century Attic sculpture 698 f. of Helene bared in last appeal
Bull and acrobat from Crete (cont.)

1179 of Hera Parthenos displayed 1044 of Hera Teleta covered 1044 of Hestia virginal but prominent προ-ματος 1107 of Hittite Mother of the gods 916 of Iphigenia bared for sacrifice 369 of Minerva Gormó overflow and form Milky Way 1098 of Ukko’s daughters overflow and form iron 1101 on model of Mt Argoias 1177 (?) on standing on vases 198

Brendel, O. 1137 f. 1190

Bride or bridegroom ceremonially married to men and maidens who have died unwed 384

Brondsted, P. O. 712

Bronner, O. 167; 169; 170 f. 1124

Bronze bull and acrobat from Crete 1091 cast by cire perdue method 1100 decorations of Argive θησεως 564 dis

Buckler, P. 1076

Buckler, W. H. 1071 1125 1126 1191

Bucranium in pediment of temple 645 on altar, filleted 794 on coins of Athens 1194 on στέλε, filleted 1148

Bucrania, two, with frontlets, above plough 1160 with festoon on Artemis mount 1008

Budge, Sir E. A. Wallis 345; 832

Budimir, M. 112; 121; 123; 128 140

Bücher, P. 1076

Buchler, W. H. 1071 1125 1126 1191

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Bucrania, two, with frontlets, above plough 1160 with festoon on Artemis mount 1008

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Budimir, M. 112; 121; 123; 128 140

Bücher, P. 1076

Buckler, W. H. 1071 1125 1126 1191

Bucranium in pediment of temple 645 on altar, filleted 794 on coins of Athens 1194 on στέλε, filleted 1148

Bucrania, two, with frontlets, above plough 1160 with festoon on Artemis mount 1008

Budge, Sir E. A. Wallis 345; 832

Budimir, M. 112; 121; 123; 128 140

Bücher, P. 1076

Buckler, W. H. 1071 1125 1126 1191

Bucranium in pediment of temple 645 on altar, filleted 794 on coins of Athens 1194 on στέλε, filleted 1148

Bucrania, two, with frontlets, above plough 1160 with festoon on Artemis mount 1008

Budge, Sir E. A. Wallis 345; 832
Index II

Calder, W. M. 1071 1104 f. 1106 f. 1123
1126
Calderini, G. 330
1270
Calderon of apotheosis 1080 1104
1270
Caladrons with forty handles 315
1270
Calendar, Babylonian 1135 from Koukou-
nari 115 f. 1183 from Mykonos 179
1270
Calendar-frieze of Panagia Gorgoepekooa
588 602 604
Calaf, wooden, of Druses 1092
Calza, G. 823
Cameron, A. 1160
Campana, G. P. 456
Cangue (xf/lon, kyphon) 560
Canopi' arranged in rows 346 ff. carried
by griffin 348, confronted 348 in shrine
of Osiris 346 ff. of other Egyptian deities 346
set on cushions 346 upborne by eagle 349
‘Canopic jars' at first with human heads
later with heads of the four children of Horos 345f.
Cantineau, J. 1112
Canting badge 1002
Capelle, P. 1115
Capelle, W. 2 1112
Capello, A. 341
Cassinara, G. 950
Carmin, J. 135 8 136 2 136 3
Carmina Burana 501
Carnoy, A. 1127 1140
Carolidis, P. 291 0
Carp with bitter stone in mouth 988 cp.
Carpenter, Rhys 689 3 689 6 690 0
705 705 j 717 718o
Carpenter, W. B. 140 7
Carrington, R. C. 1189
Carter, H. 305 0
Gary, M. 1132 1137 1184
Caryatids, 172 0 (?)
Casson, S. 779 f. 1009 1044 4 1110 1118
4
Castle of Copper 1102 f.
Catalogue of the gods 843 0
Cauer, P. 291 0
Cave, C. J. P. 1133
Cave-sanctuaries at Arkalochori near
Lykots 1143 of Aglauros at Athens
169 f. 242 of Apollon Éros at Vari 261 f.
of Charis at Vari 261 f. of Eros and
Aphrodite at Athens 169 ff. of Gc at
Vari 265 f. (?) of Pan and the Nymphs
on Mtn Parnes 253 of Pan and the
Nymphs at Vari 261, of Zeus Brontion
at Inónu in Phrygia 1160 (?) on Mt
Pelon 1151 (?)
Ceiling of Babylonian palaces, Egyptian
tombs, Mycenaean thelui, Greek temples
and porticoes, Roman arches, temples,
and palaces, etc. imitates sky 445 f.
temple-tomb at Knossos imitates sky
1187 of temple of Zeus at Olympia
imitates sky (supra i. 751) 965 of
Pantheon imitates sky 353 443 f.
Ceramice 887
Cesnola, A. P. di 560
Chabas, F. 364
Chalazophylakes 878 f.
Chalcedony 555 f. 553 1
Chambers, E. K. 1104
Chandler, K. 236 586
Chanot, E. de 931
Chapouthier, F. 1121 1196
Charbonneaux, J. 1192
Chariot from Trundholm 1076 of Athena
drawn by two snakes 769 f. of
Dionysos drawn by two panthers or
lynxes 306 f. of Kybele and Attis
drawn by four lions 1136 of Zeus drawn
by four horses 306 306 0 of Zeus drawn
by two eagles 1136 solar 1075 f.
Chadsworth, M. P. 1100
Charpentier, J. 1115
Chedanne, G. 443 3
Chiflet, J. 341
Childe, V. Gordon 367 6 368 7
Christ, W. 76 7
Christianisation of pagan cave-sanctuary
261 f. of pagan statuary 1195 1196 f. of
pagan temples 553 643 f.
Christianity and Dionysiac worship,
common features of 935 and the cult of
Zeus Asterios 954
Christus Fattens 953
Chronique scandaleuse of Zeus, its real
significance 948
Chrysalis-beads and chrysalis-pendants
252 f. (3)
Chryselephantine doors of Athena's temple
at Syracuse 850 e throne of Solomon
957 0
Chryselephantine statues of Hera at
Argos 65 816 of Nike on hand of Zeus
Olympios 954 of Zeus at Olympia 954 ff.
Chrysoselephant 1194
Chthonian thunder 21 1143
Chthonian pair of Hades and Persephone
402 425 of Zeus Melichios and Pasi-
kratia (? ) 1188 f.
Chthonian triad of Zeus Bouleis or
Enbouleis grouped with Demeter and
Kore 1124 f.
Ciaceri, E. 175 2
Cicala badge of an autochthonous Ionian
people 250 believed to subsist on dew
250 onomatopoeic names for 257 a
personified 257 regarded as earth-born
250 Tithonos in extreme old age trans-
formed into 247
Cicalas as rattles 255 f. gold, from Bosporos
Kirmerios 253 0 gold, from Ephesos
253 0 gold, from Hungary 253 0 f. gold,
from Mtn Parnes 253 0 on coins 254 f.
on gems 253 f. prophylactic 255 f.
Cire perdue See Bronze
Cisterns, bottle-shaped, of Melite at Athens
363 early, on Palatine at Rome 366 1
See also Mundus, Wells
City, celestial, partly based on cloudland
51 0
Clandestine intercourse, a custom of extreme antiquity still practised by Slavs and Swiss, the recognised beginning of married life in Samos, Sparta, etc. 1036 of Zeus and Hera 1025f.

Clarke, E. D. 148, 145, 598,

Clemen, C. 180, 1122

Clement, P. 1083

Clemmensen, M. 1083, 1141

Cleromancy 716

Clinton, H. Fynes 331

Clothing, interchange of 1186

Cloud containing Athena is cleft by Zeus in Crete containing Metis (masc.) in Orphic theogony 727

Clouds gathered by Danube imitated by sheep-skins 31f. 296 personified in cult and myth 68 ff.

Cloud-charm 288, 290, 878 ff.

Cloudland, folk-names for 51, 52o

Cloud-stratum stylised into nebuly 43

Coal, first mention of, as used in Britain 859

Cock and rain in Palestine of Leto of Zeus Velchdnos on Egyptian sherd 1174 on helmet of Athena 46 once king of Persia prophylactic symbol of Himera 615 (?)

Cocks in magic and religion 452, 1174 with hen on vase from Rhodes 664j once king of Persia 45

Cock's head as rhyton (?) of Keftiu 1173 on Cretan intaglio 1174

'Cock,' priest at Hierapolis in Syria called 1097

Cohen, H. 902

Cokaygne See Land of Cokaygne

Collart, P. 277

Collignon, M. 393, 886, 833, 1126

Colossal statue of Nero of Zeus Olimpios called 'the humbroad-colossus' of Zeus Ombratos 557 f.

'Coila,' human 1083

Columbus, G. M. 400x

Column of Marcus Aurelius 324, 332 f. of Trajan 333 spiral 1117 supporting sky 946 1116 f.

Coman, J. 1073f.

Comedy, origin of 1103

Comet seen in 405 B.C. at Aigos Potamos seen in 373 B.C. at Helike and Boura 1118

Communion of worshippers devouring sacred flesh 606 610

Conparreti, D. 419, 450

Conception by pomegranates placed in bosom 815f.

Conington, J. 455

Constats, I. A. 435, 436, 411

Contact with sacred object by means of cord or the like 896f.

Contessa, G. 1112, 1185

Conybeare, E. 1141

Conybeare, F. C. 887

Conze, A. 149, 149, 375a, 380f. 830f.

Cook, R. M. 1196

Cook, S. A. 190, 369, 416f. 548, 553, 889 f. 1072

Cook, Miss P. B. Mudie See Tillyard, Mrs E. M. W.

Copet 52f.

Coppersmiths 212 f.

Corn-baby 774

Corn-daughter 801 (1)

Corn-ear reaped in silence and exhibited to mystics at Eleusis 299

Corn-ears, symbolic, at Ba'albek 1095

Corn-maiden 306a, 438t

Corn-mother 773, 300f. a differentiated form of earth-mother 289

Corndot as ox 599f.

Corn-spirit as ox 599f.

Corn-totem 300f. (?)

Cornford, F. M. 299, 301, 300 (2) a differentiated form of earth-mother 289

Corns of Copiae of Agreus 271, of Eros 466 f. of Jupiter Pantheus 1129 f. of Plouton 1050f. fig. 844 of 1053f. (1) double, on coin of Gaza 557 fig. 378

Cosmogonies, Babylonia 18j Egypt 18j Japan 18j Mandaean 1179 Norse 96f. Orphic 745 ep. 746

Palestine 18j Phoinike 983

Coste-Messelière, P. de la 1121

Couch of Diana of Hera of Juno Lucina of Juno 1044 1044f.

Conislin, F. 404, 1140, 1143, 1192

Conlon, V. 1186

Corn, F. 1186 1191 f.

Cow gilded and draped in black to represent Isis or earth Lemnian, touched by shadow of Mt Athos lunar 1032 1065 totem of the Basita wooden, of Pasiphae 1092

Cox, C. W. M. 1160

Cozzo, G. 444f.

Crayfish (kdrabos) 1146

Crickets in China viewed as incarnations of great warriors 257i

Crocodile-skin in hail-charm 877

Crooke, W. 1090 f.

Cross at Gosforth immersed as rain-charm at Epiphany incised on forehead of bearded herm at Karlsruhe 1196 f.

Crow, W. 1090 f.

Cross at Gosforth 1128 immersed as rain-charm at Epiphany 294 incised on forehead of bearded herm at Karlsruhe 1196 f.

Crossroads, family-ghosts at 119 Lares Compitales at 119 Tritopatores at 119

Crow in folklore as informer 238, lame, helps hero in folk-tale from Epeiros 977 on altar of Athena 784 held by Athena at Korone 782 Koronis transformed into, by Athena 784

Crows avoid the Akropolis at Athens 238

Crowd, human 1095 (?)
Dead associated in cult with Eumenides
Crowfoot, J. W. 1197
Crown of palm-leaves 996 f. 1008 of reeds 1008 with three peaks worn by Kronos 1140 with three peaks worn by stone of Elagabalus 906
Discovery (cont.)

of sea-faring 983 of shield 650 of ship 355 of star fallen from sky 892 917 of trumpet 729

Disk, solar, in pediment 863 in relation to Kronos (?) 936 on head of Apis 1082

Diurnal, magic, from Corinth 1074 magic, from Vulci 1074 of terra cotta from Tarentum 1119 1136

Diyra, origin and etymology of 1104f.

Dittenberger, W. 212

Divination by barley 1115 by Delphic tripod 1120 by divining-glass 1122 by finger-nails 1122 by flour 1115 by knuckle-bones 1157 by lamp 1122 by lots 671 672 by meal 1115 by mirror 1122 by sieve 336 ff.

Divining-glass See Lekanomanteia

Dobschutz, E. von 971

Dobson, Mrs D. P. 862

Dohring, A. 1134

Dolger, F. J. 972 1128 1193

Doer of a deed best able to undo the same 592

Ddrpfeld, W. 370 1171

Dog in myth of Hyperochos and Phemios leads Diomos to Kynosarges 594 See also Hound

Dogs entering market-place at Argos during days called ἄπροδτες are killed 243 5 in war 683 not allowed on the Akropolis at Athens 243 5 749 f. must not be touched nor mentioned by jlamen Dialis 243 5 will not enter the island Sygaros 243 5 will not enter the temple of Hercules at Borne 243 5 'Dogs,' human 1082 (?) 'Dog-mask 1068 (?)

'Dog-skin' cap (καμήλι) made of bull's-hide (καμήλι) or weasel-skin (κακύλι) or goat-skin (κακύλι) 835

Dohan, Mrs E. H. 197 0 681 681 4

Dolls from Myrina 1009

Dolphin as attribute of Poseidon 1060 on rock carried by Poseidon 18 bears Aphrodite to Kypros 274 on mace from Willingham Fen 1160

Dolphins in classical literature and art 1123 in Poseidon's sea at Athens 753

Dolphin-skin 107

Domaszewski, A. von 119 0 328 0 329 0 330 0 904, 1131

Doorway to Otherworld formed by clashing mountain-walls 976 987

Dornseiff, F. 1121 1155

Dotin, G. 1116

Double axe See Axe, double

Douglas, Miss E. M. See Van Buren, Mrs A. W.

Dove on head of Cnossian goddess 827 as embodiment of Aphrodite 175 as attribute of Aphrodite 175 on finger of Aphrodite 638 in relation to Dove (cont.)

Aphrodite 275 (?), sacrifice to 1103 as soul of Ktesylla 269, fiery, ignites the Carro at Florence 791 sent out by Noah 529

Doves bring ambrosia to Zeus 975 flying about Aphrodite (Astarte?) 1015 of Aphrodite at Kypros 1112 'Doves,' human 1062 (?)

Dowsers 1074

Dragendorff, H. 1003

Dream, 'Behinderungstraum' 401 j occasioned by paralysing fear 403 of Klytaimestra 239 i of Kroisos 522 See also Nightmare

Dreams, divinatory, at the Marnecion in Gaza 592

Dressler, F. R. 132

Drew, C. D. 1098

Drexler, W. 183

Drinking-horn 1091

Droop, J. F. 871

Ducazi, P. 710

Duchesne, L. 328

Duck 52 2

Diimmler, F. 559 729

Dugas, C. 1141

Dulin, F. von 1083 1181

Du Jardin, L. 140 0

Dumézil, G. 1141

Dumont, A. 788

Dunham, M. E. 261

Duplication and triplication as early efforts at multiplication 410

Dussaud, E. 912 1095 f. 1163

Dutilh, E. D. J. 1078

Dynamis as equivalent of mana 875 of Zeus 873 of Zeus Keramios 873 2

Dyson, G. W. 1085

E at Delphoi 1121

Eagle as attribute of Hermes 1071 as attribute of Jupiter 43 as symbol of sun (See solar) beneath throne of Zeus 694 charged with intense heat 793 expectant 370 funerary, in Syria 1097 helps hero in folk-tale from Epeiros 977 in pediment 604 of apothecian 1097 of Im-dugud 1155 of Zeus 1155 on altar of Zeus 782 on column 1163 on globe 1100 on head of Zeus 45 on pyramidal structures 1097 on sacred stone 983 on sceptre of Zeus 954 saves life of Valeria Lupera by dropping sword on heifer and leaving mallet for intended victim to use 802 solar 901 ff. 993

Eagles, six species of 802, two, draw chariot of Zeus 324 830 1136 two, in pediment 1070

Earth as a ship 18 believed to rest upon water 18 194 fructified by sun 120 'the body of Isis' 351

Earth-goddess has many names 948 rides bull 1125 sometimes fades into heroine 948
Earth-mother, contact with 1174 in relation to sky-father 289 represented by little girl in bridal veil 292

Earthquakes 1 ff. as viewed by modern Greek peasants 29 attributed to Christians by pagans attributed to pagans by Christians 284 attributed to Zeus or to Poseidon, a specialised form of Zeus 943 called brasmatae or brastae 985 called brastae 483 due to a concourse of the dead 2 due to God nodding his head and shaking his hair 20 due to movements of a subterranean monster or giant or god 2 due to neither thunders 21 due to unknown god or goddess 24 ff. due to Zeus nodding his head and shaking his hair 20 due to waves of nether sea 18 19 attributed to Chry- sostom 27 personified by Goethe 29 personified by Raphael 27 28, 29 votive inscriptions for escape from 1158

Ebony 955 956 (?)

Eckels, R. P. 1135

Eckstein 1199

Edhem Bey 628

Eckel, J. 981

Eckstein 1199

Edhem Bey 628

Edmonds, J. M. 881

Egg. cosmic, in Orphic and quasi-Orphic theogonies 745 f. 1179 in Easter Island rite 1137 in folk-usage and folk-belief 1179 of Leda cracked by Hephaistos 738 f. (Osterei) packed in first or last sheaf 1137

Eggeling, J. 544

Egger, K. 1183

Ehrenberg, C. G. 480

Ehrlich, H. 942

Eichler, F. 955

Eight Bes-like musicians 1001 Phoenician Kabeiroi 1001

Eight years, interval of 987

Eilhmann, R. 1087

Eiraphiotes 942

Eisler, R. 50, 51, 334, 445, 914, 915, 916, 983 1211 1130 1140

Eisfeldt, O. 889 1076 1172 f. 1177

Ellerton, S. 124 416, 519, 634, 634, 1092 1190

Elderkin, G. W. 562, 562, 605

Eceioton 965

Elephant as attribute of Zeus 545 f. as theriomorphic storm-god 547 of Indra (Airavata, Airavana) 546 f.

Eldredge, F. T. 549, 946

Elephant 946 1115

Emerald of Herakles 892 on golden olive of Pygmalion 988

-em as suffix in pre-Greek place-names 224

Enclisis 945

Engelbrecht, A. 1112

Engelmann, R. 510, 518, 633, 634, 705 f.

Engmann, A. 1042

Enthronement, ritual 1161

Ephedra graminata 1134

Epintron or ëonos 389, 910

Epiphany of Dionysos 1118 of Ge 203 f. 206 f. of Pandora 205 f. of Tages 203 f. of Zeus 476 f. 507

Epiphons combined with dedications 1160

Era, Arabian 907 f. 914 of Bostra 1080

Seleucid 905 f. 1159

Erman, A. 345

Ermout, A. 434

Ertephoroi 944

Erich, J. See Escher-Bürkli, J.

Escher-Bürkli, J. 128, 315

Essen, C. C. van 1074 f.

Eumeche, Greek 1174 Hittite 1174 Phrygian 1174

Euphemistic titles of the dead 116 (?) of the Devil 164 of Hades 850

Evans, Sir A. J. 200, 290, 317, 403, 404 f. 405, 559, 664, 757, 789, 790, 887, 937 f. 937, 1090 1120 1137

Evans, Miss Joan 920 f. 921

Evocation of earth-goddess 205 f. 350 of earth-powers 205 f.

Ewen, C. L. Estrange 1192

Expurgation in Homer 621 (?) of 975

Eye, evil Eye, evil

Evocation of earth-goddess 230 f. 350 of earth-powers 205 f.

Evocation of earth-goddess of Dike 954 of God 473 of Zeus 1071

Eyes of archaic harte in diamond 216 f. of Athena glaucous 216 of Athena Parthenos in precious stone 216 f. of marble lion in smaragdos 217 f. of Poseidon glaucous 216 of Poseidon in garnet 217 f.

Evocation of earth-goddess of Dike 954 of God 473 of Zeus 1071

Fawn of Artemis 640 of Diana 1062 f. sacrificed at Pedeathoë 1184

Fawns of Artemis 1064 f.

Fear that sky may fall 1116

Feathered head-dress 1074 1119

Fehrle, A. 124, 223, 224, 875, 876, 877 f. 877 f. 1140

Fere, S. 115, 1160, 1188

Fertility-charm by water-carrying 396 1190 f.

Festoons 1008 1006

Festus of Athens 191 of natural stones 937 f.

Fick, A. 941, 191, 297, 328, 397 f. 275 f. 1131 1196

Fiedel, E. 1090

Fifty Aigypiai 355 Danaiäe 355 357 daughters of Endymion and Selene 357 daughters of Thetis 357 moons of Olympic cycle 357 (?) sons of Priam 360 weeks of the year 357 (?)
Folk-tales, types of: 'Brüderchen und Schwesterchen' 74 'The Death of Pan' 1131 'Einänglein, Zweinänglein und Dreinänglein' 74 'Expulsion' 420 f. 'Hop o' my Thumb' 353 'The floating coffin' 456 f. 'Golden rain' 458 'Hop o' my Thumb' my Thumb' 353 'The floating coffin' 456 f. 'Golden rain' 458 'Flying of boy at Gaza 1065 f. 'Flogging of boy at Gaza 554'!' 'Flood drained off at Athens 1015 f. 'Flooded of boy at Gaza 554'!' 'Flogging of boy at Gaza 1065 f. 'Flood drained off at Athens 1015 f. 'Flooded of boy at Gaza 554'!' 'Flogging of boy at Gaza 1065 f. 'Flood drained off at Athens 1015 f. 'Flooded of boy at Gaza 554'!' 'Flogging of boy at Gaza 1065 f. 'Flood drained off at Athens 1015 f. 'Flooded of boy at Gaza 554'!' 'Flogging of boy at Gaza 1065 f. 'Flood drained off at Athens 1015 f. 'Flooded of boy at Gaza 554'!'
Index II

Freshfield, D. W. 1184 1165 f.
Frickenhauser, A. 574 725
Friedländer, L. 566
Friedländer, P. 417
Fries, C. 1121
Fritze, H. von 243 794
Frobenaus, L. 566 567
Frederik, F. 94
Fröhmer, W. 1150 f.
Frog, helpful 450
Frothingham, A. L. 435 438
Gestures aiding childbirth 663
Gerogiannes, K. 846
Gesichtsurnen See Face-urns
Gerhard, E. 456
Geffcken, J. 330
Garnets 217
Garijns, K. E. 845
Goethe, W. 1091
Gaitéchoi 13
Galley branded on Samian slaves 791
Galling, K. 580
Gallop, R. 1190
Galéos 1174
Galt, J. 724(4)
Garland 1133 See also May-garland
Garment of Athena worn by basileus of Hera 1064
Garden of the gods 1064
Garner, N. 1114 1141
Garden of the gods 1064 of Hera 1064 of Hesperides 404 1064 of Okeanos 1064 of Zeus 766 1092
Gardiner, E. N. 1153
Gardner, E. A. 169 216 694 695 705 771 1197
Gardner, P. 662 203 376 705 771
Garland 1133 See also May-garland
Garment of Athena worn by basileus (?1) of Pandrosos worn by her priestess 245 of Pandrosos' priestess transferred to man slaying victim 245
Garnets 217 705
Garuccio, R. 971
Garstang, J. 1197
Gaster, M. 977
Gateway in Indo-European cult 1114
Genko 665
Geoffken, J. 330 f.
Gell, Sir W. 438
Geoponika 576
Gerard, E. 386
Gerhard, E. 456 456e 515 515 612 614 713 763 784 605 683 815
Gerogiannes, K. 846
Gerichtsurnen See Face-urns
Gestures aiding childbirth 663 669 673 ff.
676 f. delaying childbirth 663 of affection 1033 of alarm 981 of amazement 931 of ἀγαθοκορία 602 of appeal 1074 of benediction or command 542 f. (2) 544 f. of bride 1059 1053 of conversation 1089 of Eileithyia copied

Gestures (cont.)
by Zeus 663 676 f. of gratitude 599 of greeting 877 of Hub 704 of ἱερόν εἰρετικόν χαίρειν or χαίρεται 1074 of invocation 830
of longing desire 1529 of love 1053 of prayer 151 1078 of prophylaxis 549 of respect 151 of salvation 546 of serene meditation 1046 of supplication 1121 unexplained (hands raised, one palm outwards, the other in profile) 1138
Ghislanzoni, E. 535
Giannopoulos, N. I. 271 f. 282 1161 1167
Gigantomachy in art 14 550 565 570 906(f) 534 in literature 796 829 866
Gilbert, G. 433 1194
Gilded bronze statues 862 862
Giles, P. 141 797
Gilles, P. 143
Girard, P. 650
Glass plaques from Dendra represent Europe (?) 629 1194 tesserae in mosaic from Aquileia represent blue water 627 (f)
Globe as footstool of Christ enthroned 948 as footstool of Zeus enthroned 948 1067 (?) as seat of God the Father 948 as seat of God the Son 948 as seat of infant Zeus 948 blue 1067 the Farnese 488 in hand of Zeus 1112 origin and usage of, in antiquity 1066
Glotz, G. 137 298 850
Gluwek, N. 1097
Goat as attribute of Hermes 1060 first killed at Ikaris 594 image of, stamped on Lennonian earth 229 on rock carried by Poseidon 144 (?) 189 ridden by infant Dionysos 1100 sacrifice of she-goat to Zeus in Crete 1110 taboo on the Akropolis at Athens, yet once a year driven up there for solemn sacrifice 841
Goats must not be touched nor mentioned by Jason Dixis 243, substituted for girl-victims to Artemis Mnonychia and probably also to Lenomos 223, (?)
'Goats,' human 1082 f. (?)
Goatish dancers assimilated in s. iv a.c. to Pan 1106
Goat-men or Minoan' gems and sealings from Kaio Zakro 840, 1106
Goat-skin of Dionysos Meldnaigis 837 of Iuno Sospita 837
Goebel, A. 80
Gold apples 1064 basket of Europe 1092 breast 1124 ballea 86 1110 f. eicale from Bosporos Kimmrichios 250 f. eicale from Ephesos 553, eicale from Hungary 253 f. eicale from Mt Parnes 253, eicale worn by Ionians 250 251 c cow used in Hindu rite of rebirth 1092 double axes from Arkalochori Cave 1143 eagle on stone of Elagabalus 901 f. earring of, s. iv a.c. with bull's head 1099 earring of s. iv a.c. with kalathkios dances 1006 ears of barley from grave near Syracuse
Gold (cont.)

Green quartz or 'plasma' as rain-charm

Grégoire, H. 879 1141
Gressmann, H. 1103 1132 1180
Griffin carries 'Canopus' of Ia 348a
Griffins draw chariot of Dionysos 842a
Griffins draw chariot of Nemesis 842a draw chariot of Rhea (?) 842a
Griffin's head on shield of Athena 839
Griffith, F. Li. 346, 882, 1187
Grimm, J. 64, 104, 164, 277a, 446b, 505b, 1026a
Grimm, W. 505, 1026a
Grimme 887,
Grisar, P. H. 328a
Grose, S. W. 695a
Growth, preternatural rapidity of, characteristic of gods, heroes, etc. 922a
Grünwedel, A. 401
Grupe, O. 60, 108, 179, 260, 262a, 267, 275a, 369, 401, 419a, 567a, 806a, 809a, 810, 729, 762a, 791, 811a, 838a, 941, 984, 987, 1031, 1070, 1082
Guarducci, M. 1183f.
Gubernatis, A. de 257a, 846, 1032a
Güntert, H. 308, 497a, 1078, 1114, 1141, 1174
Guild of Zeus Hípsitos in Egypt, regulations for 1183f.
Guillon, P. 131
Gull as bird form of Athena 782f. as bird form of Leukothoe 783a as bird form of sea-nymphs 783f.
Gundel, W. 76, 76a, 475, 882a
Guthrie, W. K. C. 402, 1068, 1070, 1103, 1104, 1179

Hackl, R. 354f.
Haeckel, W. 574a
Hahn, J. G. von 977
Haigh, A. E. 574a
Hail in ancient folklore 875f. in modern folklore 875f.

Hail-charm by amethyst 876 by anointing iron tools with bears' fat 878 by covering meal with russet cloth 878 by crocodile-skin 877 by dedicating picture of grapes in vineyard 877 by hippopotamus-hide 877 by hyena-skin 877 by keys 877 by mirror 876 by owl nailed up 783 875 by seal-skin 876f. by surrounding garden with white vines 879 by threatening sky with blood-stained axes 878 by tortoise 878 by woman in her courses 876 by wooden bulls 877

Hail-clouds chased away by magicians 33
Hair, dedicated at puberty 1066 golden, of the Beauty of the Earth 412a in lightning-spell 483a
Hair-offering, bibliography of 1066
Haley, J. E. 76
Hall, Miss E. H. See Dohan, Mrs E. H.
Hall, H. R. 926, 1106 1122
Halley des Fontaines, J. 1146
Hammond, Miss M. See Dickins, Mrs G.
Hamman 1092
Hammer of Charon 297 of Thor 98 1142
thrown to ratify acquisition of property 1147
Hammond, N. G. L. 1173
Hankaier, J. E. 772
Hands uplifted 1162
Hannell, K. 1136
Hansen, C. 581
Harcum, Miss C. G. 173
Harrild, Miss M. See Hasluck, Mrs F. W.
Harre 977
Harland, J. P. 1164
Harmonism, scholastic 125
Harnack, A. 392
Harp, Sumerian 1102
Head 949
Charlies, I. 1181
Harris, J. Renael 714 393 ff. 345, 363, 369, 506, 1103, 1116, 1128, 1184, 1135, 1136 ff.
Harrison, E. 1141
Harison, Miss J. E. 185, 202, 240
Harriss, Miss J. E. 185, 244, 248, 313, 400, 492, 47, 576
Hart, H. St J. 891
Hartland, E. S. 505, 1194
Hartmann, A. 1106
Hartwig, P. 389
Haslow, F. W. 391, 625, 395, 386, 1071
Hasluck, Mrs F. W. 630
Hatzfeld, J. 1066
Hauser, F. 262, 515, 650, 716, 1118
Hausen, M. 563
Hausset-Beinault, A. 154
Haverfield, F. 683
Hawes, H. Boyd 197
Hawk as attribute of Apollo 1073 as bird
form of Athena 781 of Jehovah (?) 558
on head of Apollo 46
Hawk-headed deity 5
Head as seat of the soul 737 1126 f. of Aulus
dug up on Capitol 441 of St. Christina
swims about Lake Volosiniens 1013 of
Orphes oracular 99 ff. 441
Heads hanging on palace-wall 1066
Head, B. V. 529, 583
Head-dress elaborate, of dolls from Myrina
1009 of bovine horns worn by Mesopota-
mian deities 532 554 of rushes or
basket-work worn by kalathisko-
dancers 996 ff. of two fishes worn by
Atargatis 1097
Heberdey, R. 161, 309, 312, 642, 768 f.
Hedghog 140
Hédon 507
Heichelheim, F. M. 389, 1074, 1083, 1099 f. 1183
Hecker, A. 1108
Helbig, W. 253, 627
Helmblond, J. 1115
Helmet of cock's skin 804 with crest like
animal's head 862 with features of
Sokrates, Silenos, etc. 804, with head and
wing of Medousa 541 with horn
Helmet (cont.) and ear of bull 541 with wheel 1072
with wings 892
Hemlock 914
Henning, R. 164
Henry, N. E. 1074
Henry, V. 368, 369
Henzen, G. 374
Heraldic arrangement See Antithetic
grouping
Herbs, R. 1187
Herkenrath, E. 1068
Herm, early and later types of 725 of
Aphrodite 722 of Hermes 830
Hermes, Janiform 132 used to separate
scenes in relief 866 (a)
Hermann, G. 728
Hermann, K. F. 600 (a)
Heroes as faded gods (?) 650 (Aias, Teukros)
Hero-feast 506 (a)
Hercules containing acanthus-plant 307,
containing bay-branch 307, containing
wheat 306 (a) of Pandion II at Megara
783
Heroes on sepulchral stelai from Odessos
1160
Herrmann, P. 463, 641, 1033, 1053, 1083
Hessey, H. 1031, 1183
Herzfeld, E. 642, 651
Hertzog, A. 373
Hertzog, B. 364
Hexameters, buried 100 (?) 263 dropped
for prose in later oracles of Apollo
100, endings 322 restored 122, 237
would-be 352 628
Heydemann, H. 496, 601
Hicks, E. L. 586, 642
Hierodouloi 176, 177, 1048
Hierophantes at Eleusis rendered sterile
by use of hemlock 300 (a) 913 of
Persephone pronounces Orphic verse
395
Hieroi génos at Argos 1043 ff., at Athens
1047 ff. at Elymion (Elymnia) 1041
at Hermione 1043 at Knossos 1032 1092
at Samos 1027 ff. in the cave of Achilles
1043 in the far west 1062, 1064 of
Athena 221 of Zeus and Europe
(Hellotis) of Zeus and Hera 948, 949, 1025, on Mt. Ida in Phrygia
1032 ff. on Mt. Kithairon 1042 on Mt.
Oche 1041 of comparatively late
introduction 1065 bibliography of 1025
Highbarger, E. L. 1165
Hildebrandt, B. 781, 783
Hill like a recumbent man (Antais) 372
op. 1153
Hill, Mrs B. H. 267
Hill, Sir G. F. 86, 216, 550, 554, 557, 698,
929, 932, 992
Hiller von Gaertringen, F. 167, 266, 267;
285, 1070, 1173
Hippopotamus-hide in hail-charm 877
Hirschfeld, G. 330
Horse in combination with wheel 1076 in
Horned altars in Delos etc. 1091 dancers
'Horns of consecration' as andirons (?)
Horns, altar of, at Delos 1087 altar of, at
Horn as drinking-vessel 1091 set behind
Hoppin, J. C. 1142
Hoplolatry 313
Hopkins, E. W. 546
Hopkins, C. 1163
Hopfner, T. 887
Hoopoe 44 45
Hooke, S. H. 1121
Honey-dew 246 261 caught on skins
Honey-cake 772
Honey-dew 246 261, 498 ff. caught on skins
Honey as celestial diet 496 as dew from
Homolle, T. 1009 1122
Hommel, F. 275 304 334 341
Hommel, E. 1086
Homeric poems originate in Aeolian
Holweck, F. G. 472
'Holy-mawle' used by son to knock his
Holtzmann, H. 971 972 973
Holmberg, U. 405 1116 f. 1192
Holleaux, M. 118
Holland, L. B. 195 354 6 360 363 1074
Holed bucket in German folk-tale 448 f.
Hogarth, D. G. 253
Hoffmann, O. 289
Hoffmann, E. G. 450
Hoffmann, G. 450
Hofer, O. 1021 3111
tiger 1106
Hirzel, R. 49
from Mochlos 845 king of Spain 1111
imp on signet at Abbots Bromley 1087 human figures
Hirst, Miss G. M. 653a 655a
Hirt, H. 654f
Hirzel, R. 406 78g
Höfer, O. 1022 1111
Hoffmann, C. G. 450f
Hoffmann, E. 746a
Hoffmann, O. 289a
Hogarth, D. G. 255a 840f
Holed bucket in German folk-tale 448 f.
'Dipylon' vases 200a 373 loutrophoroi of black-figured or red-figured style 373
vase of fluted red ware from Kypros
375a vessels in Italy 427 ff. vessels else-
Holland, L. B. 195a 354a 360 363 1074
1190 1194
Holleaux, M. 118
Holmberg, U. 405 1116 f. 1192
Holtzmann, H. 971g 972a 973a
Holweck, F. G. 472a
'Holy-mawle' used by son to knock his
father on the head 738a
Homeric poems originate in Aeolian
Thessaly 141 (?) put together at Chios
141 (?)
Hommel, E. 1086
Hommel, F. 375a 276a 334a 341a 984 1103
Homolle, T. 1009 1192
Honey as celestial diet 496 as dew from the sky 246 250 496 as libation to Zeus
Endendros 1173 as libation to Zeus
Tekalos 267 as rain-charm 335a as water of life 981 from ash-trees 498a from lime-trees 499a from oak-trees 498
from reeds 499a identified with ambrosia and nectar 496 f.
Honey-cake 772
Honey-dew 246 261, 498 ff. caught on skins
500a
Hooke, S. H. 1121
Hooper 44 45b
Hopfner, T. 887
Hopkins, C. 1163
Hopkins, E. W. 546a
Hoplolatry 313a (?)
Hoppin, J. C. 1142
Horn as drinking-vessel 1091 set behind
Elagabalus 902 set behind Kabeiros 902a
Horse, altar of, at Delos 1087 altar of, at
Droos 1087 as ritual furniture 1091 of Io progressively minimised 637a prophylactic use of 540a
'Horse of consecration' as andirons (?)
1091 as conventional representation of incranum (?) 1091 as merely decorative (?) 1091 as 'mountain-symbol (?) 1091 on head of 'Minoan' goddess 818a
Horned altars in Delos etc. 1091 dancers at Abbots Bromley 1087 human figures on early seal-stones 1106 imp on signet from Mochlos 845 king of Spain 1111 tiger 1106
Horse in combination with wheel 1076 in cult of the dead 1179 St Irene bound

C. III.

Subjects

Hirst, Miss G. M. 653a 655a
Hirt, H. 654f
Hirzel, R. 406 78g
Höfer, O. 1022 1111
Hoffmann, C. G. 450f
Hoffmann, E. 746a
Hoffmann, O. 289a
Hogarth, D. G. 255a 840f
Holed bucket in German folk-tale 448 f.
'Dipylon' vases 200a 373 loutrophoroi of black-figured or red-figured style 373
vase of fluted red ware from Kypros
375a vessels in Italy 427 ff. vessels else-
Holland, L. B. 195a 354a 360 363 1074
1190 1194
Holleaux, M. 118
Holmberg, U. 405 1116 f. 1192
Holtzmann, H. 971g 972a 973a
Holweck, F. G. 472a
'Holy-mawle' used by son to knock his
father on the head 738a
Homeric poems originate in Aeolian
Thessaly 141 (?) put together at Chios
141 (?)
Hommel, E. 1086
Hommel, F. 375a 276a 334a 341a 984 1103
Homolle, T. 1009 1192
Honey as celestial diet 496 as dew from the sky 246 250 496 as libation to Zeus
Endendros 1173 as libation to Zeus
Tekalos 267 as rain-charm 335a as water of life 981 from ash-trees 498a from lime-trees 499a from oak-trees 498
from reeds 499a identified with ambrosia and nectar 496 f.
Honey-cake 772
Honey-dew 246 261, 498 ff. caught on skins
500a
Hooke, S. H. 1121
Hooper 44 45b
Hopfner, T. 887
Hopkins, C. 1163
Hopkins, E. W. 546a
Hoplolatry 313a (?)
Hoppin, J. C. 1142
Horn as drinking-vessel 1091 set behind
Elagabalus 902 set behind Kabeiros 902a
Horse, altar of, at Delos 1087 altar of, at
Droos 1087 as ritual furniture 1091 of Io progressively minimised 637a prophylactic use of 540a
'Horse of consecration' as andirons (?)
1091 as conventional representation of incranum (?) 1091 as merely decorative (?) 1091 as 'mountain-symbol (?) 1091 on head of 'Minoan' goddess 818a
Horned altars in Delos etc. 1091 dancers at Abbots Bromley 1087 human figures on early seal-stones 1106 imp on signet from Mochlos 845 king of Spain 1111 tiger 1106
Horse in combination with wheel 1076 in cult of the dead 1179 St Irene bound

C. III.

Hists 453.0x680.0
-ikds an exceptional termination of divine appellatives 560
Ilberg, J. 560
Iliffe, J. H. 1137
Imhoof-Blumer, F. 550 902 1140
Immsch, O. 902
Impregnation by blood of Ouranos 481 by dewdrop 475 by the eye of God 473 by falling star 474 by golden snow 477 by rain 475 by the sun 473
Incendiaria avis 791
Index deorum See Catalogue of the gods
Ingots in shape of ox-hide 1146
Initiations of Cyprian 775 1046
Iron, birth of 1100 discovery of 922 displaces bronze in late versions of myth of Danae 473 early use of meteoric 922 in Egypt called ba-n-pet, 'the metal of heaven' 923 cp. 923 oxide used to paint bones 515
Irrigation of Argos by Danaos or the Danai'des 361 practised by Danaoi and Daunioi (?) 366
Isabelle, C. E. 444
Island of ghosts 984 of souls 109 112 975 Islands of the Blest 162 turning or floating, haunted by Harpies 987 See also Floating islands 'Island-stones' 1068 1106
Ithyphallic figure (baskdnion) protects potter's oven 799
Ivy-leaves at ends of garlands 1146 on handles of thyrsoi 1007
Ivy-wreath 675 685 1133
Ivy-wreath on branches 683 1133 Lynx 313 1103
Ivory preserved by damp air of dryton 238 preserved by use of oil made from pitch 967 repairing of, now a lost art 998 seal from Mezara 7902 shoulder of Pelops 1124 See also Chryselephantine
Jade 925
Jahn, 0. 223 570 590 923 954 1147
Jasminum officinarum, conspectus of 1150 head on coins of Tenedos 789 head on sceptre of Zeus 686 herms 1132 masks in springtime festivals of the Pyrenees 1130
Index II

Lange, K. 187
Lapis lazuli, Mesopotamian inlay of 1066 1102
Lark 44 45
Larnax from Miletos in Crete 650
Last, H. 315
Latte, K. 116 992 f. 1127 1192
Lattermann, H. 1070
Lauer, J. F. 729 846
Laufer, B. 257

Laughter of divine derision 969i of Zeus in late Homeric theomachia of Zeus at post-Homeric pranks of Hermes 969i of Zeus Olympics at Caligula's sacrilege 969

Laum, B. 599 (2) 606 3 611
Le, P. 939
Lechat, H. 251g (1) 718 0 720 3 768
Leclercq, H. 528 4 529 4
Le Coq, A. von 1020
Legerlotz, G. 94

Legrain, L. 833o
Le Grand, M. A. 501 3

Legoed, K. 49 0
Leipoldt, J. 1132
Lekanomanteia 1122
Leland, C. G. 259 0

Lemerle, P. 1196
Lemnian earth 229 ff.
Lenormant, C. 300 0 529 4 601 2 734 0 802
Lenormant, F. 884 0 1194
Lenz, H. 0. 759 6
Leonard 248j
Leonardos, B. 1181
Leonine gods 1095 looks of Alexander the Great 957o
Leonid-skin 57o
Leopold, B. 136 2
Lepe, K. 315
Lerat, L. 937 5
Leroux, G. 116 152 6
Leskien, A. 976 f.
Lesky, A. 1092
Lethaby, W. R. 711 1184 f.
Letter-box for persons consulting Jupiter Heliotrope 1095
Lewy, H. 1115

Libation-funnels in use at Ras Shamra 1193 f.
Libertiini, G. 1073
‘Libyans,’ black pitchers set upon tombs of the unmarried 372
Licht, H. 1000 1134 1143
Lictor, axe of, as iron model in tomb at Vetulonia 1192
Lictors, axes of, in Roman reliefs 1192
Lidzbarski, M. 889
Liebrecht, F. 95, 999
Lietzmann, H. 136
Life of Athena manifested by flora and fauna of Akropolis 749 831 837 866
Life-trees at Athens 760 762 at Megara 762 in general 760
Light, pillar of 1115 f.
Lightning as a double axe 943 as a fork 943 as a spear 943 as a sword 943 as a triple fork 1150(?) as a weapon 1137 as a whip 1169 as destructive glances of Zeus 943 as irresistible weapon of Zeus 943 strikes statue of Julian at Kaisareia Paneas 972o strikes statue of Zeus Olympics 968 strikes temple of Zeus Olympics 958 1196
Lightning-lore learnt by Numa from Jupiter Elicitac 438
Lightning-spell with onions, hair, and sprats 433
Litkon as basket-cradle of Tithonos 247 bibliography of 248
Lily-flowers 955
Lily-sceptre 929
Lily-wreath 882
Lindsay, W. M. 1105
Lion as arm-rest of throne 1062, as mount of Juno Caestis 1045 as symbol of royalty 957 as totem of Baganda kings 957, Hittite mother-goddess standing on 834 horned, as attribute of Aion 1180 with star on shoulder 1112 See also Leonine
Lions as decoration of divine or royal thrones 956 957o Sumerian Lilith (?) standing on 832 834
Lionesses-heads from Knossos, Delphoi, and Mykenai 1174
Lion-footed stool 904 957 o 957s
Lion-god of Hittites 837
Lion-god of the lions 957o
Lion-skin of Porphyrion 57o
Lion-skins of Hittite lion-god 837
Lippold, G. 121, 123, 132, 129 570, 807 1108 1155
Lithosphérai 888
Lloyd, A. H. 307, 614 982 1122
Lobeck, C. A. 120 166, 298, 590, 1130
Locatival forms give rise to new nomina-
tives 294 748
Lods, A. 910
Looe, R. van der 233
Loescheke, G. 60, 67, 413, 711
Löwy, E. 207, 1131 1179
Lones, T. E. 1136
Loom-weights from Tarentum 735
Lorimer, Miss H. L. 394
Lots 710, 717
Loutrophóros, nuptial, boy or girl who
brought the bridal bath 371 f. pitcher
carried by girl in bridal procession and
set beside lēbetes for bath 388 f.
Loutrophóros, sepulchral, pitcher placed
over tomb of the unmarried 373 ff. 603
carried by girl in funeral procession and
set up on grave-mound 387 carved on
stèle 392 f.
Loutrophóroi, sepulchral, reducible to
nuptial 396 ep. 427 three-handed 375
388 f.
Love in relation to Zeus 1189
Lucas, A. 984
Lucas, C. W. 781
Lydekker, E. 499
Lycian symbol 1074
Lycanthropy See Were-wolves
Lullies, E. 1132
Lychnomanteia
Ludovisi Throne and its Boston pendant
Maidens, A. 984 (?)
Ludwich, A. 531
Lullies, B. 1132
Lycanthropy See Were-wolves
Lychnomanteia 1122
Lycian symbol 1074
Lydacker, R. 499
Maa, P. 115
Mass, E. 99, 204, 237 f, 416, 567, 594, 1067
1129
Macalister, R. A. S. 145, 1115 f.
MacCulloch, J. A. 119, 387, 549, 1067 f.
1124
Macdonald, Sir G. 789 593
Macdonald, Miss L. 49
Macdouell, A. A. 273, 362
Mace, bronze, from Willingham Fen 1099 f.
Mach, E. von 704
MacLer, F. 293
Macpherson, S. C. 446
Macready, Miss G. H. 1114 1137 1140 1174
Madden, F. W. 529, 529
Maffei, F. S. 896
Magic combined with prayer 315 316
distrust of 428 mimetic, in Naxian
custom 10264 mimetic, in Swedish
custom 10264 See also Cloud-charm,
Hail-charm, Lightning-spell, Rain-
charm, Rain-magic
Magical circle 1073 herbs used by birds 531
horse 1169 1171 marks on amulets 340 ff.
papyri 323, 322 texts (late Greek) 323
322
Magician, Chaldean (Iulianus) 332 Egyptian
(Arnouphis) 325 f. 392 Zeus as 31
Magnusen, Fr. 404 f.
Magpie 1138
Mair, A. W. 268 f.
Maisiri, A. 1034 1036,
Malachite 538, 933, 1194
Mallet used by Valeria Luperca to tap sick
folk and recover them of their sickness
805
Mallowan, M. E. L. 1138
Malthen, L. 181, 190, 221 227, 298 605
1101 1176 1179
Manalis lopus as portal of Orcus 432 1194
as rain charm 432 434 1194 at Rome
429 ff. 1194 etymology of 432 1194
Manales lapides or petrae 434 f. 1194
Manna 495 f.
Mannhardt, W. 65, 235, 289 334, 599 (3)
Man-slayer, attitude of Zeus towards 351 f.
Marcellus, G. 1113 1184
Margoliouth, D. S. 919
Mariani, L. 535
Marinates, S. 189, 1066 1087 1143 1150
Marine cortège escorts souls to Islands of the
Blest 138
Marionettes by Heron of Alexandreia 868
Maritii, G. 591
Marmorstein, A. 446
Maróti, K. 1103
Marriage and mysteries analogous 425 f.
ceremonial, of hierophant (Zeus) and
priestess (Demeter) 301 f endogamic,
in family of Aiolos Hippopodes 110
endogamic, of Danaïdes and Aigryn-
aiadai 369 endogamic, among Thessa-
lians 110 endogamic, of Tofolmenes 111
of brother and sister 110 f. of Danai'des
and Aigyptiadae as fertility-charm 369
426 of Dionysos and Basilimna 1105
of Earth and Sky 289 1092 of Earth
and Sky, the first of all marriages 454 of
Sun and Moon in Crete 1092 of Zeus
and Hera 111 (See also Hieros gamos)
Marriage post mortem 393 f. traces of in
Scandinavia, Germany, Russia, Greece
394 with god or goddess of the Under-
world 395 f. 1189
Marriage-preparations on pyxie 388 et al.
Marriage-procession on vases 388 ff.
Marriage-test of Penelope explained by
parallel from the Munda of Chota
Nagpur 1147
Marshall, F. R. 405, 823
Marshall, Sir J. 1087 1106 1156
Marcelle, H. 1105
Maska (black, with sheep's horns) f. foliate
in church architecture 1133 of early La
Tène art 863 on Dionysiac pillar 1103
Satyrie 599 worn by flute-players at
Rome 866
Maségbooth 891 910 983 in relation to
'déhera 910 prehistory of 910 shaped
into quarter-paw form 910 914
Mât de cocagne
Matrilinear descent, transition from, to
patrilineral descent 99 f.
Matthews, R. 1169 f.
Mattingly, H. 886, 906, 946 1074
Subjects Authorities 1283
Index II

Mann, A. 444
Mayer, M. 387 797 842g 897j 931i 995i 941f.
May-garland 1076 See also 'Garland'
Maylamin, F. 1179
Mckay, J. G. 1068
Meadow of Hera 1064
Meadows of Selene and Aphrodite 1064
Meautis, G. 1131
Megas, G. A. 358
Meier, H. 504 562g
Meillet, A. 94g 543g
Meister, R. 94g 289g
'Melian' reliefs 181f. 414v(a)
Mèlon on coins of Melos a pomegranate, not an apple 817g
Mendel, G. 557f. 558 630f. 1155 1160 1181
Members-receptátes 910g
Mervikim, L. 1111
Merry, W. W. 149f. 978
Meteorite iron, early use of 922f.
Meteorite as luck of Kyzikos 8865 as stone
'Melian' reliefs 181f. 414v(a)
Melian in relation to Kybele 893 ff.
Menschoven, H. 104, 241f. 576, 584d 584t 585 586a 597 719 1047f. 1047d 1140
Mommsen, Th. 329g 444
Monier-Williams, Sir M. 925i 957g
Monster in literature and art made more monstrosus still 405f.
Montelius, O. 1129
Montesus de Ballore, Count de 1
Moutet, P. 1076
Months, gods of the 1055 'Ἀνέστησις' 173f.
604i 1105 'Ἀσελλαίως' 551 Ἄθουριος 553
'Ἄφρος' 271 'Ἀφροδίτιος' 658f. Ἀθνή 345f.
'Βασίλης' 564f. 566f. 'Βασιλική' 598f.
'Βασιλίσσα' 95f. 1047 Δής 551i 1163
'Βασιλικός' 95f. Βασιλούμανθος 720 ζαύβες
1124 Θυρεβάδων 173f. 241 Ιανουαρίου 1067
Κάρνεος 567 Αργαύων 95f. Μακαμερίων
321f. Μαίτης 314f. Μακαμερίων Μακάνεων
567f. Πεδαγείτομεν 567 Περίπτως 1159
'Πτερίδων' 179f. Πτερύγων 169f. 211
'Πτέρυγων' 165f. 211
'Πτέρυγων' 115 165 241 576 598f. 692 72f. 1183
Moen called 'Горгосийα 805f. 845 face in the 805f. 845
Moon, Miss N. See Oakeshott, Mrs W. F.
Moore, G. F. 887 887f. 892 897
Moral stability of Zeus 948f.
Mordtmann, J. H. 1163
Moret, A. 305f. 306g
Morgan, M. H. 315 322f.
Morgal offshoots from the ἀνήθεις αἰαί on the Akropolis at Athens 187f.
Moritz, B. 514f.
Mosaics 129 626f. 627f. 948
Mother-and-child motifs 68f. 681f. 68f. 730ff.
Mother-of-pearl 912
Mucius represented on black-figured kythnos 351f.
Munck, P. A. 447g
'Mundus' as gate of Underworld 431f. as prehistoric tomb 440f. as reservoir of water 438f. as subterranean granary for seed-corn 437f. at Capua 429f. at Rome 429f. etymology of 400f. 431f.
Munro, H. A. J. 453
Munro, J. A. R. 648f. 649g
Mural crown of winged Minerva 825f.
Mural reliefs in marble, *kalathiskos*-dancers 1003 1007 f.

Mural reliefs in terra cotta, Athena and Argo 778 779, Athena (Palladion) between *kalathiskos*-dancers 820 1006

Theseus raising the rock 485 f.

Murray, A. S. 517 633, 519 712 720 815 6

Murray, G. 1065 1068

Nail of the sky 1116

Myths arising from art-forms misunderstood 425 f.

Mysteries and marriage analogous 425 f. of initiates

Mysticism, growth of, in Greece from c. 600 B.C. 395 ff. carrying in 397 ff.

Myrtle-wreath of Hekate 272

Myrtle-boughs covering xoanon of Hermes 725

Myrtle-leaf of Hermes 404

Mylonas, G. E. 1181 1191 1188 1191

Hydros 234

Mushrooms as parents of men 478 as wombs 478

Murray, Miss M. A. 1139 1192 1193

Murray, A. S. 517 720 633 815

Murray, G. 1065 1068

N cremation 478 as a name of power 799 f.

Nephotidktai 992 of Men at Theira 992 water-carrying in 302 135 of Demeter at Thera 992 of Thothmes III as a name of power 357

Nerine 344 as spinner 795

Nèktar identified with honey 496 f. etymology of 497 Foros drunk with 746 drawn from fore-finger of Indra 974

*Néktar* in Polygnotos' fresco at Delphi 974

Niebuhr, A. 1103 1128

Neo-Attic reliefs 659 660, 689 716 1006 f.

Neolithic celts regarded as curative 941

Nerdeck, T. 1163 225 f., 1117 1131 1180 1188

Nelsen, H. 898

Nephotidktai 33 878

Nether, A. 1103

Neubecker, A. 923 966

Neugebauer, K. A. 1078 1182 1184 f.

Neumann, C. 179

Nero, D. 561 578 605 625 650 866

Nero, G. 1074

Nikkilin, T. 1103

Night of Herakles' conception more and more protracted 508 f.

Nightjar as spinner 795

Nightmare personified as Gorgon 846 (?) personified as nude woman with bird's wings and claws (Siren?) 834 personified as Oknos 401 (?)

Nile-water as the seed of Osiris has fertilising virtues 344, 344 the equivalent of snow and rain 348 the sanctity of 1193

Nilsson, M. P. 62 761 141 189 312 404, 578, 599 (3) 603 12 650 825 866 993 1045 1124 f. 1131 1158 1150 1158 1167 1169

Nimbus of Aion, radiate 1139 1141 878

Nippe's head as Cretan amulet 848 0

Nisibus of Ain, radiant 913 of Parthenos = Virgo, blue with golden rays 823 of Zeus, whistled 36 bibliography of 72, 73

Nischn, M. 421 743

Nine days' celebration (novendiale sacrum) 492 days' observance (feriae per novem dies) 492 nights of Heraclides' conception 500 years' concealment of Hephaistos 979

Nippes of Zeus (?) 1167

Nissen, H. 719

Nock, A. D. 56 65 237, 1080 1117 1131 1161 1169 f. 1162 1184

Noldeke, T. 1163

Norden, E. 257, 478, 914

North star called 'The golden pillar', 'The iron pillar', 'The lone post', 'The golden post' 1116 f.

Norwood, G. 4

Nudipedia 483
Nudity of Aphrodite 698 ff. 634 1016 of Astarte 884 1016 (?) of Athena (?) 869 ff. of Charites 1070 of Hittite mother-goddess 894 of Istar 884 of Lilith (?) 852 ff.

Nurses of Bakchos or Iakehos 225 of Dionysos 229 of Zeus 225

Oak, Great, as Finnish conception of Milky Way 1192

Oak-branch used in rain-magic 267

Oak-leaves springing from eyes, nose, and ears of foliate mask 1153

Oak-tree of Zeus 568 569 890 (?)

Oak-trees produce bees and honey 498

Oat-wreath of Zeus 36 537 f. 1033 (?) 1191

Oil used as unguent before bath in the open sky 1148

Oil as attribute of Athena 558 776 ff. as attribute of Minerva 41 as attribute of Zeus 794 as bird form of Athena 781 784 ff. 851 f. as omen of victory 784 f. 513 as bird of ill-omen 858 as lightning-bird 792 ff. as shield-sign 805 as spinner 785 784 as wing of Apollo 784 ff. as 'rain-gathering' stone (?) 330, as tomb of Dionysos (?) 724, 895, 1122 representing meteorite (?) 885, representing mound of earth 885, 1121 representing mountain (?) 885, 1121 representing thunderbolt (?) 885

Onians, R. B. 1073

Onions in lightning-spell 438, 448

Onyx 39 ff. 851 ff.

Opitz, D. 832

Oppermann, H. 1066

Ophelia, G. 116

Olive-wreath of Dionysiac Zeus 685 ff. as attribute of Athena 685 ff. of Zeus 685 ff. of Zeus Olımpios 564

Oliverio, G. 116

Omphalos at Delphos 1120 f. 1191f. amended inscription on Delphic 1120 f. at Knossos (?) 1120 in Egypt (?) 1122 or ovoid stone with snake twined round it on coins of Tyre 982 as navel of earth 1122 as 'rain-gathering' stone (?) 330, as tomb of Dionysos (?) 724, 895, 1122 representing meteorite (?) 885, representing mound of earth 885, 1121 representing mountain (?) 885, 1121 representing thunderbolt (?) 885

Onians, R. B. 1073

Onions in lightning-spell 438, 448

Onyx 39 ff. 851 ff.

Opitz, D. 832

Oppermann, H. 1066

Olive of Apollon 242 of Apollon at Branchidae 530, of Apollon at Delphoi (Pytho) 455 520 590 593 f. 609 of Apollon at Hybla 1029 of balygos 888 f. of Leto at Boutei (Boutos, Boutou) 993 f. of Orpheus' head in Lesbos 999 ff. of Sibylline books 895 896 of Sun-tree and Moon-tree in Prasiako 420, of Zeus Ammon 914 of Zeus at Dodona 1012

Ordeal, trial by, among Greeks and Romans 428, by carrying water in sieve 428 by immersion in sea 298 by towing ship up the Tiber 895 f.

Oreites See Sidereites

Oriental influence in Mediterranean c. 600 n.c. 395

Orlando, A. C. See Orlando, A. K.

Orlando, A. K. 1073 1166

Omnithomorphic conception of Athena passes gradually into anthropomorphic conception 794

Orth, F. 1324 413 683

Owl as attribute of Athena 558 776 ff. as attribute of Minerva 41 as attribute of Zeus 794 as bird form of Athena 781 784 ff. 851 f. as omen of victory 784 f. 513 as bird of ill-omen 858 as lightning-bird 792 ff. as shield-sign 805 as spinner 785 784 as wing of Apollo 784 ff. as 'rain-gathering' stone (?) 330, as tomb of Dionysos (?) 724, 895, 1122 representing meteorite (?) 885, representing mound of earth 885, 1121 representing mountain (?) 885, 1121 representing thunderbolt (?) 885

Olive-wreath of Dionysiac Zeus 685 ff. as attribute of Athena 685 ff. of Zeus 685 ff. of Zeus Olımpios 564

Olive-wreath of Dionysiac Zeus 685 ff. as attribute of Athena 685 ff. of Zeus 685 ff. of Zeus Olımpios 564

Olive-wreath of Dionysiac Zeus 685 ff. as attribute of Athena 685 ff. of Zeus 685 ff. of Zeus Olımpios 564

Olive-wreath of Dionysiac Zeus 685 ff. as attribute of Athena 685 ff. of Zeus 685 ff. of Zeus Olımpios 564

Olive-wreath of Dionysiac Zeus 685 ff. as attribute of Athena 685 ff. of Zeus 685 ff. of Zeus Olımpios 564

Olive-wreath of Dionysiac Zeus 685 ff. as attribute of Athena 685 ff. of Zeus 685 ff. of Zeus Olımpios 564

Olive-wreath of Dionysiac Zeus 685 ff. as attribute of Athena 685 ff. of Zeus 685 ff. of Zeus Olımpios 564

Olive-wreath of Dionysiac Zeus 685 ff. as attribute of Athena 685 ff. of Zeus 685 ff. of Zeus Olımpios 564
Owl (cont.)
weather 793 nailed up to avert hail
793 of Athena equivalent to eagle of
Zeus 793 on altar of Athena 782 on
head of Athena 46 825 827 on helmet
of Athena 47 827 on wing of Athena
809 on column 387 772 772 on
sceptre of Zeus 734 on wrist of Zeus
734 on thunderbolts 794 on tokens
and tokens of Athenian dikastes 789 f.
Polyphonte transformed into 572 with
helmeted head of Athena 801 ff.
Owls draw chariot of Athena 810 war on
crowns 289.
Ox as embodiment of Zeus Polieus 606
enters church of St George ready
for sacrifice 1194 first killed by
Promethens 651 first sacrificed by
Thaumon 597 flayed, stuffed with hay,
and yoked to plough in the Diploeia at
Athens 593 605 f. ploughing, must not be
eaten 591 600 garlanded 591 600 as
sacrosanct 591 592 600 on 605 f.
Ox-head garlanded 628 on shield of Athena
670 670 ox
Ox-hide cape of Argos 634 1. See also Bull's
hide
Ox-murder 576 605 f.

Pagenstecher, R. 3872
Palladion 315 (?), 650 (?), 770 896 908
Palm-tree 1078
Pandarion 913
Pancharita 1180
Panovfka, T. 405, 614
Pan-pipes 640
Pausa, G. 858
Pantheistic types, Jupiter 1129 Zeus 745
1129
Panther of Hera Argelia 67 of Zeus Karios
560
Panther-skin of Argos 638 of Dionysos
713 721
Papadakes, A. 1070
Papadopoulos, A. A. 1161
Pappadakia, N. G. 1165 1166
Paraskeuaides, S. G. 1184
Parasols protecting stone of Elagabalos
902 906 f.
Pateros of mother-goddess, at once her
husband and her child 952
Parke, H. W. 1124
Partridge 1111
Parsch, J. 1 772 760
Pascal, C. 604
Paternity, a primitive notion of, implied
by birth of Athena from head of Zeus
721 f.
Paton, J. M. 213, 758 771, 772
Paton, W. B. 152
Patroni, G. 1131
Pauli, C. 260, 680
Payne, E. J. 476
Payne, H. G. G. 189, 560, 566, 670, 671
1151 1150
Peacock as attribute of Juno 41
Pearson, A. C. 79, 1102
Peck, E. S. 262
Peck, W. 1157
Peeters, F. 1182
Peleus 578
Pelikys in relation to balag (?) 1114
Pempolis 1156
Pendlebury, J. D. S. 159, 1070 1122 1143
Pentagram 843 843
Pentalpha See Pentagram
Péplos given by Athena to Herakles 1186
in the Parthenon friese 1186 of Athena
worn by kastelléa (?) 1186
Perdicium 1111
Perdrizet, P. 183, 540, 785, 795, 795 1036
Peridéros 755
Pernice, E. 425, 373 798
Perrot, G. 1093
Personification of dew (Hers) 345 of aisols
(Tithonos) 527 257 of clouds (Nepheles)
88 f. of earthquakes 27 f. of rain-storm
on column of Marcus Aurelius 338
Perspective, above = beyond 515 of footstool
etc. seen from above 89, of throne etc.
seen from below 92, 695
Persson, A. W. 625, 1181
Pestle called dkeon 925 personified as
Tythens the storm-god (?) 894 See also
Pounder
Petersen, E. 133 223, 252, 279, 327, 383, 380
713 718 719 720 722
Petrikovits, H. 1131
Pettazzoni, R. 190, 944
Pézard, M. 91, 1102
Pfister, F. 103, 1070, 872, 1103
Pfuhl, E. 400, 692, 690 691
Phaidryntai 907
Philara 822
Phallic deities 1083 1183
Phallos as magic instrument 321 as
Pelagian god 191 (?) hooded as Genius
Cucullatus in Romano-Celtic area 1132 f.
in Herzegovina etc. 1105 in ritual basket
993 (?) of Devil 1078 of Hermes tipped
with ram's head 1082 made of island
marble 170 set upright in mortar 170
Phantom made of cloud substituted for
goddess 74 of Aeneas 102 f. of Aeneias
103 of Demeter wooed by Iasion 75 f.
of Dionysos 79 of Euridyke 99 f. 102 of
Holenc 79 of Hera woon by Eydymion
74 of Hera woon by Ixion 74 f. of
Klytaimnstra 102
Pharmakos 321
Philadelphia, A. 1124 1141
Phillos, D. 240, 509, 686
Philippart, H. 102
Philippson, A. 2
Philips, F. C. 896
Phillpotts, Miss B. S. (Dame Bertha) 1104
Philosophy a refinement upon folk-belief
454
Index II

Phegos 791
Phléros 791
Phléakes 784, 783 f.
Phoenix 791, with radiate nimbus 913.
Physical foundations of the cult of Zeus 943 f.
‘Physical’ interpretations of mythology 798 f.
Picard, C. 188, 598, 825 1122 1124
Picard-Cambridge, A. W. 1103 1106 1112
Pig as form of Attis (?) 874 f. first killed by Klymene 933 sacrificed to Aphrodite 320, sacrificed to Zeus 1047
Pigeon as bird form of Athena 781
Pigeons set free in Armenian rite 293
Pillar of Apollo inscribed ΚΑΠΝΙΟΣ 996 of fire 1118 of light 1115 f. of Poseidon inscribed with laws in Atlantis 1184 of Prometheus 1115 of the world 1116 surmounted by oval stone 938 surmounted by owl 778 778 f. with Dionysiac mask or masks 1103
Pillars bear up Delos 984 of Atlas 1155 of Herakles 978 983
Pillar-cults rife in Mediterranean area 937
Pillet, M. 1163
Pine-wreath 1133
Piper, F. 29, 584 (?) 180
Planter, neolithic, facetted and inlaid 393, 378
Planter, inscribed 'Hesperides' 378 f. 379 f. 380 f.
Planter, red leather 380 f.
Pithos of Damnaed 425 of Kurysthes 409 riddled with holes 422
Pithoi of Artemis Kallaste 1181 of Zeus 1181
See also Jar, Jars
Plane-tree in votive relief at Munich 1035 of Agamemnon at Delphi 1122
Planets, Byzantine list of metals, plants, and animals assigned to 1098
Plastart, A. 1162 1172 1184 1187
Plates of Jupiter Dolicheus 1098 of Minerva 1098 f.
Platner, S. B. 444
Plead of Bouzyles dedicated on Akropolis at Athens 606 of Triptolemos 607
Ploughs of Bouzyges dedicated on Akropolis at Athens 606 of Triptolemos 607
Ploughing 'εν ταύταις τενάσσον 606 three sacred (Skiron, Naxia, Athens) 1780 606 610
Poerner, J. 1070
Pohlenz, E. 935
Points of the compass 718 f.
Poisson, G. 416
Pokorny, J. 387, 498, 497 f.
Poleasch, E. 1167 f.
Polites, N. G. 257, 335, 475, 721, 761, 767 f.
Polivka, G. 449 977
Polyecephalism 402, 1135
Polyp 142 183
Pomegranate as food for the dead 815, 816 f. as fruit from the Tree of Life 816 as Pomegranate (cont.) head-decoration of ‘Minoan’ goddess 818, held by priest of Attis 815, in bosom of Namaka her conceiving 815 in hand of Athena Nike 811 ff. in hand of Hera, Argo 68 in spell against sterility of women 814 of Persephone 815, 816 on coins of Side 815 on tomb of Eukleia and Polyneikes 815, planted by Aphrodite in Kyros 817 prince transforms himself into 818, sprung from blood of Dionysos 819, sprung from severed member of Agdistis 816 suggests blood by its red fruit 814 suggests fertility by its many seeds (?) 814 symbolizes renewal of life after death 815 taboo at Athenian Halac, at Eleusinian mysteries, and in Arcadian temple of Despoina 815
Pomegranate-pips falling on ground must not be eaten by women celebrating Thesmaphoria 815 of Hades eaten by Persephone 815
Pomegranate-twigs held by priest of Attis 815 f.
Pomfrow, H. 1009
Pópanon 573 f.
Possession of the Pythia etc. 1122
Postgate, J. P. 403 f., 410 f.
Pot-Zeuses 1114
Potier, E. 375, 739 f.
Pounder, neolithic, facetted and inlaid 393, 378
Prellwitz, W. 940
Preller, L. 357, 360, 1046
Préhistorian, C. 1009
Prayage, attitudes of, in antiquity 151, combined with magic 315 316
Prayers of Christians (‘Thundering’ Legion) call down deluge of rain 326 381 to Zeus for rain 817 f. ‘Praying boy’ on shore of Bosporos 149 f.
Pre-Literary tags in dactylic metre 72, 81, 781, 884 886 f.
Preissendanz, K. 549
Presidoria, J. 337, 1174
Preadul, A. 691
Praechniker, C. 1009
Prawn 18 ( ?)
Prayer, attitudes of, in antiquity 151
Pre-monumental, etc. 1122
Prétoires, J. 337, 1174
Premerstein, A. von 790, 103, 240, 241
Powell, B. 240, 241
Powell, E. York 1075
Praetorius, J. 337, 1174
Pouqueville, F. C. H. L. 721
Poulsen, F. 392 f. 1135
Pounder, neolithic, facetted and inlaid 393, 378
Pound, E. 375, 739 f.
Poulsen, F. 392 f. 1135
Pound, E. 375, 739 f.
Powell, E. York 1075
Praetorius, J. 337, 1174
Pouqueville, F. C. H. L. 721
Poulsen, F. 392 f. 1135
Pounder, neolithic, facetted and inlaid 393, 378
Pound, E. 375, 739 f.
Poulsen, F. 392 f. 1135
Pounder, neolithic, facetted and inlaid 393, 378
Pound, E. 375, 739 f.
Poulsen, F. 392 f. 1135
Pounder, neolithic, facetted and inlaid 393, 378
Pound, E. 375, 739 f.
Poulsen, F. 392 f. 1135
Pounder, neolithic, facetted and inlaid 393, 378
Pound, E. 375, 739 f.
Proverbs: *ab Iove principalium 947* f. 947*12 *Άθεος καλότετε πλευρά Λαμπάς βούς 1102 αἰγός περὶ τόλμη 841* f. 8*41*4 δὲν πόλει 612 γλαυκ' Ἀῳάης 776; γλαῦξ ἐν πόλει 776, γλαυκ' ἐπτατο 784, 785 Δίως ψιθρός 600*44 ἐν δῶο ἄρχωνθεος 947*1 f. Happy is the bride the sun shines on 474*1 if the sky should fall, we should all catch larks 1116 ὑπὸ τὰ Ναυανκού κλάμων 527 κοκυῖον ὄνων ὄνημα 427*10 πάντα γνώμαικες λαταί, καὶ ὃ Ζεὸς ἐφάγαθ' Πρῷ 1026*1 πάρα δικτόν οὐδὲ κοῖταις 427*10 ἔκρηγεν μετὰ Συβίο 499 ἔννοιον τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

Rain (cont.) portent 479*1 of blood as mediaeval prodigy 479*1 of blood as modern scientific phenomenon 480* f. of fish 509*2 509*3 of flesh 509*1(1) of food 498* f. of frogs 502*2 503*1 of iron 924*1 of milk 504*9*1 of oil 504*10 of stones 499* f. of stones, ash, etc., attributed to divine agency 495, ominous, sent by Zeus 478*1 f. on Ascension Day sacred and curative 1193 pyre-extinguishing 506* f.

Rainbow above Alkmene on pyre 512 above Zeus 37 as robe of Billutseh 334*1 as urine of she-fox 334*1 earliest naturalistic representation of 179*1 Rain-charm at Kranon 296* f. 316 by bathing in sea 1193 by burying heads near spring or dropping them into spring 369* by carrying water in holed vessel 396* by dragging *manaii lapis* into Rome 429 by drawing *manaii petrae* round boundaries 344* f. by means of strainer filled with Nile-water 344* by offering of honey 335*3 by opening grave of buried king 372*4 440 by passing *soma* through strainer 355*1 by pouring water over axe and knife 694* f. by pouring water over corpses or parts of corpses 446*1 by pouring water through sieve 336*1(?) 427* f. (?) by sinking axe at sea 605* by spinning *iynx* 313*1 by wearing *plasma* 313*1 by wholesale mutual drenching 399* f. See also Rain-magic, Rain-maker, Rain-making Rain-god identified with mountain 331*1 Rain-magic in Armenia 394*1 in the Balkans 295* f. ep. 317 in ancient Greece 396* f. 314* f. 603* f. in modern Greece 284* f. in Kypros 293 in Megiste (Kastellorizo) 292 in Syria 293 in Thera (Santorini) 294 in the cult of Zeus 314* f. 944 See also Rain-charm, Rain-maker, Rain-making Rain-maker, *Etruscan aquilix* as 433*1 (?) priest of Zeus *Lýkaion* as 525* f. Rain-making 31* f. 34*1 296 313*1 (?) Rain-storm personified on column of Marcus Aurelius 333 Ralsön, W. R. S. 293 976*1 Ram as procreative power 945 golden 1080 must not be eaten 591*1 Rams, sixty, sacrificed to Zeus *Machaneus* in Kos 566*2 Ram's head on *phallós* of Hermes 1082 on sceptre of Zeus 665*1 Rain-skin of Zeus *Thebaicus* 887 Ramsay, J. A. 76*41 Ramsay, W. M. 529*1 529*2 652* 781* f. 1082 1103 1126 1162 Bapp, A. 225* 931 95*1 Rapseon, E. J. 54*2 Battles 313* (?) Raven, helpful, in tale from Epeiros 977 sent out by Noah 529
Ravens, iron-beaked, in tale from Ukraine 977 on bronze ear at Kranon 297 316
Raven, E. J. P. 189 618 1150
Rebirth, Hindu rite of 1092 See also Reincarnation
Red colour a surrogate for blood 515e in Greek and Roman cult 1138
Reed as phallic symbol (?) 1011 f. saluted as ‘kyman’ by Lydians 989 f.
Rende, Tritones wreathed with 132 (?)
Reed-dance of Beni Hasan 993 of Gyaiga Limne 989 f
Reflection of Gorgönion in well 843
Regling, K. 1146
Rhm, A. 494
Reimwortbildung: mundus and fundus 439 f.
Reinach, A. J. 690 f. 1194 1196
Reinsch, S. 100 185 300 304 418 512 668 671 939 1184 1174
Reincarnation of ancestors in descendants 123 See also Rebirth
Reisch, E. 207 213 215 216 218
Reiss, E. 1073
Reitzenstein, F. von 396
Rhomatoi, A. 1120
Rhômboi 1108 1161
Richard, M. 1180
Richardson, Miss H. 18
Richmond, I. A. 1131
Richmond, O. L. 435 486
Richter, Miss G. M. A. 217 931 933 934 999 1155
Ridder, A. de 802
Rider-god accompanied by snake 1215
brandishing double axe 1146 three-headed 1125 superseded by St George 1125
Ridgeway, Sir W. 841, 900 923, 1068
Ring falls from clouds 288 f. ‘of Nestor’ 463 (?) of Prometheus 1029 30 See also Gold, Wedding-ring
Ritter, E. J. 1176
Rivers of Pleasure and Pain 421
River-god as horned head with long rough
hair 6550 (Hypanis? Borythenes?)
River-gods, sacrifice of τροφόχος μυθα to
396
River-god 274
River-water held sacred by ancients 396
River-worship of Egyptians (See Nile-water and Index E Nilos) of Persians 907 f.
Rood of Zeus 51 946 cf. 974
Robe, starry, worn by Isis 350
Robert, C. 109 189 202 205 221 357 358
399 570 628 659 729 758 759 757 768
780 789 823 842
Robert, L. 1187
Roberts, C. 1163
Robertson, D. S. 444 1073 1194
‘Robin Hood’ 1185
Robinson, D. M. 607 679 f. 1073 1162 1191
Robinson, E. S. G. 1129 1156
Rochette, R. 351 465
Rochholz, C. L. 65
Rock at Troizen under which Theseus
found sword of Aegeus 484 hanging on
gold chains between heaven and earth
above Tantalos 470
Rock-crystal 1136
Rock-cut altar on Mt Kynthos 1173
carvings in Italian Alps 1147 carvings
in Scandinavia 1147 carvings in York-
shire 1147 carving of Cernunos in Val
Camonica 1147 carving of hafted axe
near Loch Lomond 1147 carvings of
sword-bearers in south-east Sweden
1139 carvings of the ‘Vogelfelsa’ near
Amastris 1125 f. carvings of Hittites at
Bogaz-Kayi 1097 effigy and omphalos at
Vare 263 f. inscription of Zeus Terktitos
at Gythion 939 inscriptions at and near
Kyrene 1188 precinct of Zeus Hylpistos
at Athens 989 precinct of Zeus Terktitos
at Gythion 939 f. relief in quarry at
Alzor 1026 steps of Helladic fortress
at Athens 721, steps through cave
of Aglauros 169 f. 721 throne, double, on
Finds Tepe 1070 throne near Stymph-
alphos 1070 throne of Geryones at
Temenothyron 1070
Rocky ground characteristic of Cretan art 1144
Rods dedicated to Pyr and Pneuma 983
Roes, Miss A. 624 1076
Röth, E. 276 101
Rogers, B. B. 59 f. 69 163
Rohde, E. 123 425 f.
Bödistvenskii, Olga 1070
Roldanskaiten 1117
Rolland, E. 52
Roncador, L. de 719 101
Ronzeville, S. 982 1074 1095 1098
Roof, in folk-lore 1148
Rouscher, W. H. 139 245 496 498 729 846
1044 1045 1062 1121
Roscoc, J. 957, 1193
Roses burnt on tomb 1134
Rose, H. J. 89 181 189 267 315 358
426 430 432 509 751 751 781 846
1111 1114 1116 1122 1141 1143 1180
1189
Rosen, L. 364 581 709 787 985 f.
Rostovtseff, M. 1163
Rosstrap, E. 1106
Roth, R. 925
Roulez, J. 515 716 806
Rouze, W. H. D. 273
Roussel, P. 118 119 154 f. 1066 1124 1181
1192
Rowe, A. 1954
Rubenson, O. 248 1119 1172
Rückert, E. 728
Ruge, W. 1123
Rush as phallic symbol (?) 1012
Batherford, W. G. 78
Sacrifice by, or with, strangulation 288 f.
of animals that indicate their willing-
ness to die 565 565 566 568 569 581 ff.
Sacrifice (cont.)

504 505 of asses originally Cretan (?) 1136 of bull to Jupiter contra morem 1110 of bull to Poseidon on pillar in Atlantis 283 of bull to Zeus 961 of four fine bulls to Zeus 1110 of white bull to Zeus by Bktashii monks on Mt Tomorri near Berat 1717 of bullock (not bull) to Jupiter 1110 of 6νπκα μηςα to Poseidon and to river-gods 392 of fawn at Pedachtbo 1134 of goats to Zeus 1110 of king or king's son in time of famine 74 of ox to Athena 782 of ox to Zeus Σωτηρ 22 of pig to Aphrodite 320 of pig to Zeus Ηεραίοι 1047 of pregnant sheep to Damateres 1124 of pregnant sow to (Demeter) Eleusinia and to Demeter χλω 179 of pregnant sow to Ceres, Iuno Μονeta, Maia, Tellus, Terra Mater 23 of ram to Athena 782 of ram to Demeter χλω 179 of she-goat to Zeus in Crete 1110 of sheep to Zeus Ηεραίοι 1183 of surrogate for man 493 520 to Iove 1103 to personified Dogs (? ) 1088 1156 to personified Gadfly 1156 to pig 1103 to stone siderites or orretes 922 to stone with which Phemios slew Hyperocchos 1105

Saintyveyes, P. 224 814, 882, 887b
Salač, A. 1129
Sampo 1116
Samter, E. 119
Sanctis, G. de 116a
Sandal of Aphrodite 1020
Sandys, Sir J. E. 420, 953, 960a
Sapphire 929a
Sarcophagi, of child 85a 86b of Iunius Bassus 1067 of priest of Kybele and Attis 1123 from Hagia Triada 1138 white-figured, from Klaazomenai 807 fragmentary 86a, subjects suitable to 935É Erôtes on early Christian 1180 copy of the Kaisareia Paneas bronze on 971 panaymedes feeding eagle on 992 marriage of Pelus and Theseus on 1007 μΕ of Archaos on 1066 ramp of Kore on 601, Tritones on 132
Sardonyx 537, 538, 766, 766 (ΕΙ) 1124
Sartori, P. 1148
Saner, B. 215 532, 689 690, 691 690a 694 697 701 755a
Saner, J. 971 972a, 97b
Savignoni, L. 807;
Sayce, A. H. 948 988 1101 1125 1128 1140 1174
Scales held by Zeus 1150
Scaulger, J. C. 103lsa
Searth, H. M. 869a
Sceptre, origin of the 1086 of early kings surmounted by birds 68 of tragedy-kings surmounted by birds 46 of Hera surmounted by lily 92a of Hera surmounted by palmette 1089 of Hera Άργετα surmounted by cuckoo 65 67a 1044 of priestess of Hera Άργετα sur-

Sceptre-worship 1184
Schachermeyr, F. 651a
Schaaff, C. F. A. 1156 1198 f.
Scharf, G. 863
Schauert, E. 581a
Schelde, M. 958f
Schefolditz, J. 549, 914a
Scheuer, W. 416, 417a
Schlichter, A. 1066
Schlauferland 501, 502, 504a
Schlemann, H. 193a
Schmidt, W. 634, 1187
Schmidt, B. 160, 207, 289 335, 412, 721a
Schmidt, C. 472a
Schmidt, E. 488, 557a 1055 1657a
Schmidt, H. 979
Schmidt, J. 593, 1183
Schmidt, Johanna 1186
Schmidt, J. F. Julius 1759, 1715
Schmidt, M. 959a, 977b
Schmidt, W. 945a
Schmitz, O. 873a
Schnabel, H. 560
Scheider, R. See Schneider, R. von
Schneider, R. von 662, 689 691, 695 1072
Schroeder, V. von 212 213a
Schromen, R. 600
Schroder, H. 789, 880, 1155
Schroder, O. 335, 366 394 f. 414, 932a
Scherer, T. 888, 884a
Schröder, B. 710 1019 f.
Schröder, L. von 274a,b
Schubart, H. C. 967f
Schuchardt, H. 433
Schuh, M. 1116
Schuhm. P. 1116
Schulze, A. 1090 1179
Schultze, V. 593, 971a, 971b, 972a
Schwartz, F. L. W. 1643, 223 335, 729 846
1015
Schwartz, W. 560 363a
Schweisler, R. 122, 140 605, 606, 1073 1138
Schwenck, K. 367
Schwenn, F. 525 578, 606 (6) 615 651a
529, 928, 1068
Schwerzer, K. 689, 691 694 696a, 701
705 707
Schwyzer, 0. 1073
Scorpion 14, 16a
Scott, J. A. 102a
Scott, K. 1115 1184 f.
Scott, B. D. 1174
'Sea' of Poseidon in the Erechtheion 750
758 783a
Sea-gull 53f
Sea-water purificatory 1031 1031f
Seager, R. B. 193 197
Seal, bronze, of Marnas (?) 542f
Sébillot, P. 277 1074
Séchan, L. 618
Seligmann, S. 132
Sellman, Miss E. See Strong, Mrs A.
Sellers, E. J. 1157
Sellers, E. J. See Strong, M. A.
Seán, bronze, of Marnas (?) 549f
Séchan, L. 518
Sebillot, P. 277
Seager, E. B. 193 197 04
Sea-water purificatory 1031 1031f
Sea-gull 52f
Sickle of Kronos 1135 of Zeus 1135
Shooting-stars, superstitions about 475f
Ship, cosmic 18 first devised by Athena
Shield of Achilles 596f of Athena 830 843
Shepard, J. T. 60 80 08 (36)
Sheep first killed by Episkopos 593f
Sheep-skins worn to imitate clouds 31f
Shear, T. L. 132 3
Shear, Mrs J. P. 754 4
Sheaf, T. C. 1163 f.
Shears used with sieve in divination 336f
Sheep-skins worn to imitate clouds 31f
Sheaf among Finns 446 446f among Khonds 446 as attribute of Christian saints 538 connected with witch as rain-maker 450 emptying pool with, as impossible task 449f in Rabbirine literature and Jewish custom 446f of Borras 335 of Erato
Shape-shifting of Metis 744f of Thetis
Shaft-graves at Mykenai 1016 of the Seven as ritual number 1135 gods of the (labella)
Sephulural basins from Athens (mensae)
Sellers, E. J. 1157
Sellers, E. J. See Strong, Mrs A.
Seán, bronze, of Marnas (?) 549f
Séchan, L. 518
Sebillot, P. 277
Seager, E. B. 193 197 04
Sea-water purificatory 1031 1031f
Sea-gull 52f
Sickle of Kronos 1135 of Zeus 1135
Shooting-stars, superstitions about 475f
Ship, cosmic 18 first devised by Athena
Shield of Achilles 596f of Athena 830 843
Shepard, J. T. 60 80 08 (36)
Sheep first killed by Episkopos 593f
Sheep-skins worn to imitate clouds 31f
Shear, T. L. 132 3
Shear, Mrs J. P. 754 4
Sheaf, T. C. 1163 f.
Shears used with sieve in divination 336f
Sheep-skins worn to imitate clouds 31f
Sheaf among Finns 446 446f among Khonds 446 as attribute of Christian saints 538 connected with witch as rain-maker 450 emptying pool with, as impossible task 449f in Rabbirine literature and Jewish custom 446f of Borras 335 of Erato
Shape-shifting of Metis 744f of Thetis
Shaft-graves at Mykenai 1016 of the Seven as ritual number 1135 gods of the (labella)
Sephulural basins from Athens (mensae)
Snake arises from spinal cord of dead man 772 as animal form of Athena 776 (?) 837 (?) as divinised soul of Herakleides Pontikos 773 as soul of buried king 778 bearded 775 biting its own tail 1157 born and snuckled by Klytaimestra 239i burnt by St Hilarion 1182 connected 837 (?) as divinised soul of Herakleides 772 as animal form of Athena 776 (?)

Smyly, J. G. 1179

Sneeze of Zeus 663 (?) 732 (?) regarded by

Socrates, as rebirth of his own father 328

Soul as bird sent forth from hand of goddess 830 as butterfly 1146 as dove 269i as Eros on arm of Aphrodite 830 as bound 415 as small running figure on arm of god 830 as wind 106 as divine king escapes as bird 1184 resided in the head 1196.

Sons as bees 1183 as winds 122 as winged water-carriers 399 on the banks of Acheron 152 thirsty 369

Soul-bird helps Herakles in rape of Delphic tripod 799, of Prokris 795 on column 387

Soul-birds at birth of Athena 688 734

Sow, sacrifice of pregnant 28 179

‘Sows,’ human 1062 (?)

Sparrow-hawk as form of Horos 1073

Spear hurled as symbolic action 754 (?) of Centaur

Spear of Zeus 764 of Pelus 200 of Zeus 1147 two-pronged 1141

Spear, magic 1132 yoke of 1132

Spielbein, head in fourth-century sculpture looks toward 705. See also Standbein

Spindle of Ananke 1116

Spon, J. 145

Spray in lightning-spell 433

Spring, double, near Salamin in Kypros 561

Springs causing death from laughter and restoration to health in Fortunatae 421 of hot and curative at Aquae Sulis 850f. Weeping and Laughing near Kolaimi in Phrygia 421 other miraculous 421 sacred, in Sardinia 1110

Squire, C. 367.

Stählin, G. F. 871

Stihlin, O. 720

Staes, B. 248f. 712

Stage of Axios (Ma, Anaïtis, etc.) 1134

‘Stага,’ human 1067

Stag’s head as prow of votive bronze boat 1119

Stag-mask worn by votary in Kypros 1068

Stag-mummies in south Gaul 1067

Standbein, head in fifth-century sculpture looks toward 705. See also Spielbein

Star, fallen, found by Astarte 929 shooting, a sign of Zeus’ approval 22 six-rayed 1078

Stars as decoration of Danae’s coffin 458 as decoration of Danae’s vault 458 as flowers 1068 shooting (See Shooting-stars)

Statue of Zeus Olympios, description of 954 ff. of Zeus Olympios, vicissitudes experienced by 967 ff.

Statues sweating 3445 weeping 3445

Stege, M. 480f. 875f. 882f. 882

Steiger, H. 709

Stein, Sir Aurel 872

Stein, P. 1115

Steinmetz, H. 129

Steinmetz, H. 129

Steinmeyer, E. 244

Stella at Pyr and Pneuma 953 See also Bepulchral

Steller, G. W. 334

Steller 1179

Stengel, P. 244f. 765ff. 578f. 579f. 584

Stein, P. 1115

Steinmetz, F. 129

Steinmeyer, E. 244

Stefani, G. W. 334

Steller 1179

Stengel, P. 244f. 765ff. 578f. 579f. 584

Stephan, B. 115 1160

Stephan, B. 115 1160

Steps, winged 991 ff.

as attributes of Zeus Melechios 1184 winged 991

‘Steps of Ladders’ 1119

Snake-heads of Hydra 403, of Kerberos 403, of Typhoons 403,

Snake-bird helps Herakles in rape of Delphic tripod 799, of Prokris 795 on column 387

Snake-birds at birth of Athena 688 734
Stery, Lady 1092
Stiending, H. 123
Stibbes or Stibadeia 614
Stoll, H. W. 1111
Stone at Thyateira inscribed Δός Κεπανίου
Stibbedes 873 autóglyphos found in river
Sagaries 918 of Douaures 907 ff. of
Elingabalois 900 ff. of Jacob at Bethel
989 ff. of Kronos 892 927 ff. 944 of
Kronos called abaddār 996 of Kronos
called bātīylos 936 of Kronos called
diskos 936 of Kybele at Pessinous 803 ff.
903 of Zeus Kappótes at Gythion 939 ff.
sidrites or oreites 920 ff. 927 941; sky
made of 935 f. 942
Stones, curative 941, holy, assembled at
Stone at Thyateira inscribed Aids
Storax-trees of Eleuthernai 421
of Selge
Stranger as such can claim divine
protection 599(2)
Surrogates for human sacrifice 433
Swainson, C. 522 770 772 783
Swans draw car of Apollon 830
Swastika in monastery at Eretria 1087 on
coins of Knossos 1087 in mosaic at
Olynthos 1073
Sweating statues 344
Swire, J. 1188 f.
Sword of Aigues left beneath rock at
Troyen 482 ff. of Pelesus made by
Hephaistos 209,
Sword-worship of Hittites 1140 of Quadi
1139 of prehistoric Scandinavians 1139
of Scythians 907
Sykophántes 1217
Symbolism 307, 597 393 496 729 754 (?)
814, 823 995 946 961 1012 (?) 1093
1119 1136 (?) 1163
Symons, G. J. 1015
Syncretism 804 (?) 914, 1126 1171 1180
Systematisers of mythology, ancient 229
Tabling, E. 1189
Table as altar (Egyptian, Assyrian, Syro-
Phoenician, Persian, Hittite) 580 as
altar for vegetable offerings (pda dossier) distinguished from solid altar for burnt-
sacrifice (βοῦς) 579; evolution of, as
altar 580 of Demeter Chôde 177, of
Hercules 1044 of Triptolemus 115
sacrificial, in Greek and Roman religion
1139 votive, from Theban Kabeiron
580
Taboo on activities of soldiers, ships, and
marriages while mundus is open 431 f.
on eating plough-ox and ram 591, 600 on
seeing sacred tree felled 1146 f. on
‘the half-married’ 426 (?)
Tabula Peutingeriana 142 f.
Täubler, E. 499
Tabot, P. Amaury 1146
Tamarisk-droppings 495
Tamborino, J. 775 f.
Tamborino, J. 775 f.
Tarn, W. W. 974
Tattooing in Ptolemaic cult of Dionysos,
in Thracian cult of Dionysos, in Syrian
cult of Atargatis, etc. 1118 of Thracian
women on vases 1118
Taurokathótes 1091
Taylor, A. 456 783, 1181
Taylor, A. J. 862 f. 863 f. 864
Taylor, Lily Boss 1186
Taubler, E. 429
Temple-key 634
Tera 1115
Terra Lemnia See Lemnian earth
Taylor, A. R. 456, 783, 1181
Taw fonction, P. A. 1146
Tamarisk-droppings 495
Tamborino, J. 775 f.
Tarn, W. W. 974
Tattooing in Ptolemaic cult of Dionysos,
in Thracian cult of Dionysos, in Syrian
cult of Atargatis, etc. 1118 of Thracian
women on vases 1118
Taurokathótes 1091
Taylor, A. 456, 783, 1181
Taylor, A. R. 456 f. 862 f. 863 f. 864
Taylor, Lily Boss 1186
Taylor, Miss M. V. 1126
Techman, W. 1125 1128 1194
Teknopagia of Kronos as pantomime 935
Temples, circular, of Leukathea at Larissa
1080 Bomano-Celtic, at Maiden Castle
1098 subterranean, in Sardinia 1110
See also Index I under names of
individual deities and places
Temples, circular, of Leukathea at Larissa
1080 Bomano-Celtic, at Maiden Castle
1098 subterranean, in Sardinia 1110
See also Index I under names of
individual deities and places
Terra Lemnia See Lemnian earth
Terremare villages, quadrangular templum of
Temple of Indra 1078 represented by beans in Maltese custom 1039
Téttix See Cicuta
Thallon, Miss I. C. See Hill, Mrs B. H.
Tétix See Cicala
Theogonies, Hesiodic 743 f. 928 f. Orphic
Themistes 949
Thompson, D'Arcy W. 238 f. 781
fr 783 f.
Thiele, G. 488 1112 10
Theuer, M. 1174
Theomachy 969
Thompson, B. Campbell 835
Thompson, H. A. 1186
Thomsen, A. 1031
5
a 1128
Thompson, E. J. 957
Thomson, G. 1102
Tbomsen, P. 910 5
Thomson, J. A. K. 506
Thunder as trumpet of Zeus 729 chthonian
Thunderbolt as spear of Ba'al 1156 as spear of Zeus 1147 as token of divine approval 958 bipartite fork with zig-zags 1156 boiled in saucepan to make 'essence of
Thunderbolt (cont.)
Thunder, called dímon (?) 925 double lotiform 36 erect on throne at Diokaisarea 654; lotiform 669 670 681 modifications in shape of 1156 of Adad 1055 of Bat'el 1156 of Indra 273; of Zeus 945 f. of Zeus from s. vi B.C. onwards begins to be superseded by sceptre 846 of Zeus survives as symbol of omnipotence or continuous divine activity 946 of Zeus transferred to Athena 967 fl. omitted in Pheidias' statue of Zeus at Olympia 965 f. originally a stone missile 926 shaped like fly 1156 'star-flung' 1118 winged 465 1040 wingless before s. v. n.c. 942 of Zeus etc. in archaising hieratic reliefs 587 f.
Thundering Legion 325
Thurneysen, R. 987 3
Thymiatérion 848 979
Thyreatikoi 996 f. 1008
Thyrsos as sceptre of Zeus 685 2
Thyreoi with handles ending in ivy-leaves 1007
Tillyard, Mrs E. M. W. 36 3
Tillyard, E. M. W. 1106
Thymiaterion 1008
Tin used for 'Thundering' Legion 325
Tin-inlay of Achilles' shield 899
Tin used for 'Thundering' Legion 325
Thyrsoi as sceptre of Zeus 685 2
Thyrsos 996 f. 1008
Thyreatikoi 996 f. 1008
Tip-toe stance of deities, heroes, priestesses, etc. in archaising hieratic reliefs 587 f.
Tianomachy 478 839
Titel, K. 863
Toad buried to safeguard crops 1047
Toads presage rain 1050 spring from raindrops 1050
Tadeusz, A. 63
Töpffer, J. 104
5
240
3
592
240
Topf, J. 104 240 585 585 586 589 592 594 595 610
Tolkien, J. R. R. 858 3
Tomasevich, W. 293
Tomb of Eteokies and Polyneikes at Thebes (?) 815 of Hyperoskhe and Laodike in Delos 172 of Kekrops (Kekropion) at Athens 771 of 'the Lictor' at Vetulonia 1192 of Mendoikos at Thebes 815 of Neoptolomeos at Delphi 938 of Olympos the teacher of Zeus in Crete 1173 of Opis and Arge in Delos 1172 of Pandion ii at Megara 738 of Pelagosókos at Argos 565 of Zeus in Crete 1179
Tombs of Kadmos and Harmony etc. in Ceraunian Mts 978
Torch, cross-topped, of Artemis 698 5 cross-topped, of Persephone 402 of Ceres 1062 f. of Demeter 712 on coins of Ephesia in Ionia 294
Torches of Dionysos (Δίος φῶς) 685 f. of Hekate 274 f. 408
Torr, C. 986
Tortoise in hail-charm 877
Totenbild 598 1198
Totenhochzeit See Marriage post mortem
Index II

Tree of Life 404, 405, 430, 816, 1116

Town-pillars 1116 f.

Tree 'of life' and 'tree of the gate of heaven' in Babylonian beliefs. 2600 B.C. 1136 'of Paradise' described in Cretan poem c. 1500 B.C. 404 f. sacred, becomes successively leafless tree, bare trunk, conventional post or pole, permanent stone pillar (?) 910 with twelve manner of fruits 421.

Trees of Sun and Moon in Prasiake 420.

Trees of Jupiter 404, 405, 430, 816, 1116

Tree 'of life' and 'tree of the gate of heaven' in Babylonian beliefs. 2600 B.C. 1136 'of Paradise' described in Cretan poem c. 1500 B.C. 404 f. sacred, becomes successively leafless tree, bare trunk, conventional post or pole, permanent stone pillar (?) 910 with twelve manner of fruits 421.

Trees of Sun and Moon in Prasiake 420.

Trees of Jupiter 404, 405, 430, 816, 1116

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Trees of Sun and Moon in Prasiake 420.

Tree 'of life' and 'tree of the gate of heaven' in Babylonian beliefs. 2600 B.C. 1136 'of Paradise' described in Cretan poem c. 1500 B.C. 404 f. sacred, becomes successively leafless tree, bare trunk, conventional post or pole, permanent stone pillar (?) 910 with twelve manner of fruits 421.
Vases (cont.)

Vase-handles adorned with snakes or snaky

Venne, Mrs J. A. 900

Venu, J. A. 900

Vendryes, J. 49

Vendyres, J. 49, 440

Venette, N. 1030

Venn, J. A. 900

Venn, Mrs J. A. 900

Verrall, A. W. 44, 70

Vestal Claudia Quanta taws ship up the

Tiber 95 f.

Vendyres, J. 49, 440

Venette, N. 1030

Venn, J. A. 900

Venn, Mrs J. A. 900

Verrall, A. W. 44, 70

Vestal Claudia Quanta taws ship up the

Tiber 95 f.

Vigani, J. F. 232

Vigfussson, G. 1075

Villinganus, G. Victorius 336

Vines, white, in hall-charm 878

Vine-leaf 574

Vine-stem 658

Vine-wood (?), statue made of 969

Vine-wreath 681 1132

Vine, E 139

Virginity (cont.)

by bathing in the spring Kanathos 224

1027 1032 1044 of Hera renewed

by bathing in the river Parthenios

1027 ( ?) 1029 ( ?) 1032 ( ?) of Hera re-

newed by bathing in the river Theren

1052 (?)

Vissconti, C. L. 934, 935

Visconti, E. Q. 183

Visconti, P. A. 1060

Volcanos, Alban Hills as prehistoric and

possibly historic 493 traces of, in

Rhodes 986

Volkman, H. 1073

Vollgraf, W. 566 871

Vorreth, H. 1184

Voss, I. 96(3)

Voting-urn 753

Votive offerings in bôthroi or favissae 278

in case 1143

Vouillé, M. 151

Vürthheim, J. J. G. 360, 660, 651 1173

1184

Vulpe, R. 1189

Vulture as bird form of Athena 781 in

Thracian myth 574

Vase, A. J. B. 322 (3) 290 f. 363 871 1105

1158 1192 1197

Wachsmuth, C. 169

Wackernagel, J. 575 575, 576

Wale, F. J. de 1183

Waggon of Gordios 1162 of Zeus (?) 1162

Wagner, F. 837

Wainwright, G. A. 882 882 a 884 885 891

1077 1101 1113

Walter, Miss M. C. 119 1070

Waltz, T. 976

Walde, A. 484, 485, 497, 703

Waldhauer, O. 1174

Waldstein, Sir C. See Walston, Sir C.

Waley, A. 1138

Walls, cosmic 50

Walston, Sir C. 174, 698 699, 718 723

Walser, O. 1107 f. 1186

Walters, B. H. 674 183 324 352 408 680 747 807, 839 1073 1131

Waltz, F. B. 1083

Ward, W. H. 891

Wasgr, O. 338 844

Water, importance of, in early religion

320 apothecosis by 137a dancing 420

being heal and life-giving 976 f. kept in

jars by Egyptians 345, 5 maiden

drenched with, in rain-charm 985 f. of

immortality 977 of life 519, 977 979

981 f. ‘speechless’ 290

Waters, Blessing of the, in the Greek

church at Epiphany 294 of life and

deadly 976 f.

Water-carrying a fertility-charm in general

and a rain-charm in particular 396 in

connexion with marriage 370 f. in

connexion with mysteries 370 f. in

connection with marriage 370 f. in

connection with mysteries 370 f.
Water-carrying (cont.)
myth of Danaides 335 ff. 427 in sieve as proof of divine power 460 460
Water-spirits, believed to bestow offspring 39
Weber, W. 344
Webber, L. 157 1125 1135
Water-powers, supernaturally wise 743
Wecklein, N. 358 518
Wedding-ring of Hera 1033 of Zeus 1033
See also Gold, Ring
Wege, F. 992 1008
Wed, days of the 210 444 f. 938 1159
Weckley, E. 49
Weeping statues 344
Webster, T. B. L. 1150
Wedding-rings of Hera 1033 of Zeus 1033
See also Gold, Ring
Weege, F. 993 1008
Weiner, A. 1068 1116
Wells, J. E. 501
Weicker, F. G. 135 357 360, 456
Weizsacker, P. 893
Wehrli, F. 1042
Weicker, G. 801
Weickert, C 663
Weinreich, O. 189, 225 729 f. 743
Wells in Marneion at Gaza 555 of Achaioi 1147 1174 f. 1177 1188
Weinberg, T. 768 1041 1158
Weiss, G. 1164 1189 1196
Weinroth, R. 261
Wells of the Capitol 1135 4
Water-spirits, believed to bestow offspring 39
Weizsacker, K. 328
Weiss, G. 1164 1189 1196
Weinroth, R. 261
Wells of the Capitol 1135 4
Water-carrying (cont.)
White, Miss B. E. See Wedd, Mrs N.
Whitehead, R. B. 532 540, 541 542, 542b 543, 546
White-poplar as Borderland tree 421
Wide, S. 160 942
Wiegand, T. 768 1014 1158
Wieseler, F. 60 480 978
Wilanowowitz-Moellendorff, U. von 64 116
119 f. 227, 276, 600, 624, 729 f. 749
664 984 1135 1177 1188
Wild Hunt 1117
Wildridge, T. Tindall 1133
Wilford, F. 411
Wilhelm, A. 160, 642
Wilson, G. 515, 1181
Wilkinson, Sir J. G. 881
Williams, Mrs B. E. 197
Willow-leaves, priests under their couches strew 1030 women at Thesmophoria lie on 1030
Willow-oisers, monks wear girdles of 1030
Willow-tree of Hera at Samos 1028 ff.
Willow-crests of Carians 1029 of Hera 1053 (?) of Prometheus 1029 (?) of Samians 1030
Wilpert, J. 971
Wilson, H H. 96
Wilotsky, F. 1026
Winds caught in bags of asses’ skins 105
conceived as latus ventris 108, following aft identified with ancestral spirit 157 160
Winds as souls 1012 aschthonian powers (?) 987 bound in bag of dolphin-skin 107 bound in bag of ox-hide 106 conceived as horses 110 eustolian 142 266 345 men believed to control 103 ff.
Towar of, at Athens 129 f. Toward of, at Tenos 129
Wind-rose of Eratosthenes 130
Windows of heaven in Semitic belief 353, 445
Wine as surrogates for blood 515b used to quench ashas 515b
‘Wine-skin’ and ‘hatchet’ 1147
Winged figures of Etruscan art 88, 259, 655, 679, 680 (8) 865 f.
Wings on feet of Zeus 1029 in combination with horse 1076
Wentzel, G. 145
Whip of Zeus 1160
Whirlwinds in ancient Greece connected with Zeus 162 f. in modern Greece attributed to Nereids or Nymphs 163 f. elsewhere regarded as demons or witches or wandering souls 163
Whisky as water of life 515b
White bull sacrificed to Zeus on Mt Tomori near Bernt 1171 cypruss beside water of Lethes 420, 421 garments worn by mystics of Zeus lados 953 horse of Poseidon 752 oxen draw priestess of Hera 1044
White bull sacrificed to Zeus on Mt Tomori near Bernt 1171 cypruss beside water of Lethes 420, 421 garments worn by mystics of Zeus lados 953 horse of Poseidon 752 oxen draw priestess of Hera 1044
White bull sacrificed to Zeus on Mt Tomori near Bernt 1171 cypruss beside water of Lethes 420, 421 garments worn by mystics of Zeus lados 953 horse of Poseidon 752 oxen draw priestess of Hera 1044
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White bull sacrificed to Zeus on Mt Tomori near Bernt 1171 cypruss beside water of Lethes 420, 421 garments worn by mystics of Zeus lados 953 horse of Poseidon 752 oxen draw priestess of Hera 1044
White bull sacrificed to Zeus on Mt Tomori near Bernt 1171 cypruss beside water of Lethes 420, 421 garments worn by mystics of Zeus lados 953 horse of Poseidon 752 oxen draw priestess of Hera 1044
White bull sacrificed to Zeus on Mt Tomori near Bernt 1171 cypruss beside water of Lethes 420, 421 garments worn by mystics of Zeus lados 953 horse of Poseidon 752 oxen draw priestess of Hera 1044
'Wolves,' human 1089 (?)
Wolff-lore, Greek 1135
Wolff-mask 1068 (?)
Wolff-skin 57, (?)
Wolters, P. 307, 375, 388, 393
Woman, origin of, in Malagasy tale 98, 60
Women, excluded from initiation of Druses 1092 rub themselves on rock to obtain children 72, 60, 142 stylised as 'hour-glass' pattern 1138
Woodpecker claims sceptre of Zeus 45 cp. 57 popularly held to be a king (?) 45 in Thracian myth 57
Woodward, A. M. 1117, 1162
Wool, unspun, placed on stone of Kronos 93
Woolley, C. L. 832, 1011
Wordsworth, C. 265, 689
World-nail of Scandinavians 1116
World-pillars 1116 f.
World-tree of 'Minoans' 404 (?), of Scandinavians 404, 1116
Woua 797 f.
Wrede, W. 1105
Wren 52
Wright, A. 353, 445
Wright, A. R. 1193
Wright, Miss W. C. 481
Wroth, W. 414
Wünsche, K. 1134, 1031
Wünsche, A. 977
Wüst, E. 60, 62, 63, 66
Wullemier, P. 850, 1119
Wunderlich, Eva 515
Wuttke, A. 475
Xanthoudides, S. 248
Xóanon, acrolithic, of Aphrodite Machanitis
Xóanon (cont.)
at Megalopolis 567, acrolithic, of Eileithyia at Aigion 663, of Aion at Alexandria 912, of Apollon in Delos 119, of Artemis by Endolos at Ephesos 968 of Asklepios Agritius at Sparta 1090, of Athena Nike at Athens 811 f. of Hera by Smilis at Samos 1027 of Hera, Argeia at Argos 1085 of Hermes at Athens 725, of Zeus Oúrios at Hieron on the Thracian Bosporos 147, of Zeus Pheidias at Olympia 966

'Y.' 1147
Year, great (= eight years) 72
Yoke of spears 1132
Yoni 1092
Yorke, E. C. 1194
Zachariæ, T. 1081
Zeller 1104
Zahn, R. 183, 1970
Zannit, Sir T. 1121
Zebus 1172 cp. 991
Zellar, T. 846
Zénion kúdor 392, 451, 1103
Zepf, M. 914
Ziegler, K. 1108
Ziehen, L. 573, 1083, 1091
Zielinski, T. 1174
Zippers, F. X. M. 922
Zodiac, gods of the 1055 of eleven signs 1119 round Aion 1127 f. round Jupiter 1159 round Selene 1085 f. round Zeus 948, 1112
Zodiacal light 1115 f.
Zoege, J. G. 1060
Zschietzschnann, W. 375, 1073